

Coptic interference in the syntax of Greek letters from Egypt

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Abstract

Egypt in the early Byzantine period was a bilingual country where Greek and Egyptian (Coptic) were used alongside each other. Historical studies as well as linguistic studies of the phonology and lexicon of early Byzantine Greek in Egypt testify to this situation. In order to describe the linguistic traces the language-contact situation left behind in individuals' linguistic output, this thesis analyses the syntax of early Byzantine Greek texts from Egypt. The primary object of interest is bilingual interference in the syntax of verbs, adverbial phrases, discourse organising devices and formulaic sections.

The thesis is based on a corpus of Greek and Coptic private letters on papyrus, all of which date from the fourth to mid-seventh centuries, originate from Egypt and belong to bilingual, Greek-Coptic, papyrus archives. The data is analysed with a particular focus on three interrelated questions:

- (1) What kinds of deviations from the standard pattern appear and to what extent can language-internal confusion account for them?
- (2) How are instances of language-internal confusion and bilingual interference distributed over the selected syntactic domains?
- (3) Do deviations from the standard accumulate in certain letters or archives belonging to the corpus and do they correlate with additional indicators of bilingualism such as code-switching or circumstantial information about writers?

In addition to answering these questions, the thesis seeks to explain the observed distributions.

The results obtained from this study suggest that bilingual interference is linked to the way writers assimilated structures. In fact, there is a marked difference between deviating syntactic structures in non-formulaic and formulaic contexts. The study further suggests that bilingual interference does not affect every domain of syntax to the same degree. The degree of complexity of the syntactic structure in question as well as the degree of divergence from the corresponding Coptic structure seem to play a role.

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Table of Contents

Part I Setting the Scene	11
1 Introduction	12
1.1 Topic	12
1.2 Previous research	15
1.3 Objectives	24
1.4 Method	24
1.5 Outline	27
2 Setting the Scene	28
2.1 General linguistic concepts	28
2.1.1 Variations vs deviations	28
2.1.2 Grammaticality vs idiomaticity	30
2.1.3 The structural level vs the surface level	31
2.1.4 External vs internal factors	31
2.1.5 Direct vs indirect interferences	34
2.1.6 Phenomena that add to the picture	40
2.2 Socio-linguistic concepts	43
2.2.1 Describing a society	43
2.2.2 Multilingual Egypt	44
2.2.3 Overview of periods	46
2.2.4 Bilinguality	47
2.2.5 Bilingualism and bilinguality	48
2.3 Greek and Coptic	49
2.3.1 Language change: Internal evolution and language contact	49
2.3.2 Contact varieties: Koines, regional varieties and mixed languages	52
2.3.3 Greek: Phonology and lexicon	57
2.3.4 Coptic: Phonology and lexicon	59
2.3.5 Defining the standard	60
2.4 The informants	62
2.4.1 Criteria	62
2.4.2 Writers	64
2.4.3 Writers' contexts	65
2.4.4 Modes of writing	66
2.4.5 Texts	67
Part II Analysis	70
3 Considering Nuclei: Verbal Syntax	71
3.1. Introduction	71
3.1.1 Formation	71
3.1.2 Syntax	77
3.1.3 Post-classical Greek	81
3.1.4 'Collocation', 'idiom' and 'formula'	84
3.1.5 Classification of verbs	92
3.2 Variation	94
3.3 Deviations	97
3.3.1 Transitive verbs (1453 instances)	97
3.3.2 Intransitive verbs (326 instances)	123

3.3.3 The verb 'to be' (95 instances)	128
3.3.4 Modal verbs (76 instances).....	130
3.3.5 Auxiliary verbs (58 instances)	131
3.3.6 Impersonal verbs (37 instances).....	134
3.4 Phenomena across classes of verbs	136
3.4.1 Phrasal verbs.....	136
3.4.2 Support-verb constructions.....	139
3.4.3 Collocations and idioms	142
3.5 Summary and conclusion	148
4 Adding Information: Adverbial Phrases	152
4.1 Introduction.....	152
4.1.1 Morphology	152
4.1.2 Syntax.....	154
4.1.3 Semantics.....	154
4.1.4 Synchronic standard	156
4.1.5 Context	157
4.1.6 Statistics (prepositional phrases).....	157
4.2 Analysis.....	157
4.2.2 Plain cases.....	157
4.2.3 Prepositions that combine with one case	164
4.2.4 Prepositions that combine with two cases	173
4.2.5 Prepositions that combine with three cases	180
4.3 Summary and Conclusion	185
5 Presenting Information: Discourse Organisation	189
5.1 Introduction.....	189
5.1.1 Clause types	189
5.1.2 Clause connectors	189
5.1.3 Post-classical Greek	191
5.1.4 Greek and Coptic	191
5.1.5 Colloquial discourse.....	194
5.1.6 Statistics.....	195
5.2 Dependent clauses	196
5.2.1 Standard patterns.....	196
5.2.2 Variation.....	213
5.2.3 Deviations.....	216
5.3 Independent clauses	223
5.3.1 Standard patterns.....	223
5.3.2 Variation.....	234
5.3.3 Deviations.....	241
5.4 Summary and conclusion	247
6 Working with Givens: Formulaic Language	250
6.1 Introduction.....	250
6.1.1 Form and function of formulae.....	250
6.1.2 The internal address (IA).....	252
6.1.3 The epistolary frame.....	256
6.1.4 The letter body	257
6.2 The epistolary frame	258
6.2.1 Standard patterns and variants	260
6.2.2 Variation.....	270
6.2.3 Deviations.....	271

6.2.4 Excursus: Personal names (PN)	287
6.3 The letter body	289
6.3.1 Standard patterns and variants	290
6.3.2 Variation.....	302
6.3.3 Deviations.....	307
6.4 Summary and conclusion	313
Part III Contextualising Deviations	319
7 Summary and Conclusion	320
7.1 Summary: Types of deviations.....	320
7.1.1 External factors	320
7.1.2 Internal factors	321
7.1.3 Individual factors	321
7.1.4 Classificatory difficulties.....	322
7.2 Conclusion 1: Deviation type and syntactic domain.....	323
7.2.1 Contexts.....	323
7.2.2 Interferences	325
7.2.3 Idiolects	326
7.3 Conclusion 2: Contextual information.....	327
7.3.1 The relevance of the context.....	327
7.3.2 Internal and external contexts	329
7.3.3 Code-switching and script-switching	330
7.3.4 Personal names.....	332
7.3.5 Contextual flags	333
7.3.6 Case studies	336
Excursus: Contextualising avoidance patterns	337
7.4 Language acquisition as the underlying cause	339
7.4.1 Circumstances.....	339
7.4.2 Approaches	340
7.4.3 Lexicon.....	342
7.4.4 Levels of proficiency.....	344
7.5 Outlook	347
Appendix	350
Bibliography.....	351
Appendix: Corpus of texts	397

Abbreviations (in alphabetical order)

A	Achmimic dialect of Coptic
ACC	Greek accusative case
AcI	accusative with infinitive
ADV	adverbial
AJ	Archive of Apa John
AN	Archive of Apa Nepheros
AO	Archive of the Apiones of Oxyrhynchos
AOR	aorist tense (In Coptic, the unmarked form of the aorist tense is referred to.)
AP	Archive of Apa Paieous
ART	article (ART.DEF = definite article / ART.INDF = Coptic indefinite article)
ATT	attributive
AUX	auxiliary verb
B	Bohairic dialect of Coptic
CG	classical Greek
CINF	Coptic causative infinitive
CND	Coptic conditional conjugation
CNJ	Coptic conjunctive
COP	Greek copular verb / Coptic non-verbal copula
CPL	complement
CS	Coptic circumstantial conversion
DA	Archive of Dioscoros of Aphrodito
DAT	Greek dative case
DcI	dative with infinitive
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DOM	Coptic direct object marker
f	feminine gender
FUT	future tense (In Coptic, the unmarked form of the future tense is referred to.)
FUTH	marked form of the Coptic future tense
FUTIII	modal form of the Coptic future tense (optative)
GeI	genitive with infinitive
GEN	Greek genitive case
IM	infinitive marker
IMP	imperative

IMPF	Coptic imperfect conversion / Greek imperfect tense
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IUS	Coptic jussive
L	Lyko-Diospolitan dialect of Coptic
LV	light verb
LVC	light-verb construction
m	masculine gender
M	Mesokhemic dialect of Coptic
MATT	Coptic marker of attribution
MC	main clause / independent clause
MG	Modern Greek
n	neutral gender
NcI	nominative with infinitive
NOM	Greek nominative case
NT	New Testament
OPT	Greek optative
PCG	post-classical Greek
PCS	Coptic precursive
PDC	predicative
PK	Archive of the village of Kellis (Greek texts)
PKC	Archive of the village of Kellis (Coptic texts)
PL	plural
PN	predicative noun in a support-verb construction
POSS	possessive
PR	present tense (In Coptic, the unmarked form of the present tense is referred to.)
PRII	marked form of the Coptic present tense
PRF	perfect tense (In Coptic, the unmarked form of the perfect tense is referred to.)
PRFII	marked form of the Coptic perfect tense
PRN	pronoun
PRP	preposition
PRT	particle
PTC	Greek participle
REL	relative
S	subject
S	Sahidic dialect of Coptic
SBJ	Greek subjunctive

SC	subordinate clause / dependent clause
SG	singular
SL	Source language
STA	Coptic stative
SV	support verb
SVC	support-verb construction
TL	Target language
VOC	Greek vocative case

For abbreviations of bibliographical references, see Bibliography.

Part I Setting the Scene

1 Introduction

1.1 Topic

Fourth to mid-seventh century Egypt was a bilingual country.¹ Greek and Egyptian (Coptic) were used alongside each other as papyrological evidence suggests: Both Greek and Coptic documents dating from this period were found in Egypt with documents written in both languages often discovered together. Moreover, there are bilingual documents (e.g. PKC 22) as well as documents that contain Greek passages in Coptic script or vice versa. Furthermore, historical studies of early Byzantine² Egypt such as Bagnall (2007) confirm a situation of bilingualism. This situation was not new. Already in the Hellenistic period, Greek had been firmly established in Egypt. In fact, studies on the linguistic interaction between Greek and Demotic such as Fewster (2002) and Vierros (2012b) indicate that at least some people knew both languages. [1] reflects an awareness of this linguistic situation in the fourth century:

[1] PKC 19.13–14 μελετε n-n[εκ]-ψαλμος ειτε n-ουιανιν ειτε n-ρμν-κμμε
 ροοϣ <nιμ>
melete n-n[ek]-psalmos eite n-ouianin eite n-rmnkēme hooun <nim>
 take.care.IMP DOM-POSS.PL.2sg-psalm **either in.PRP-Greek or in.PRP-Egyptian** day <every>
 ‘Study³ your psalms <every> day **either in Greek or in Egyptian!**’

The coexistence of Greek and Egyptian for more than a millennium seems to have resulted in a situation of stable bilingualism by the fourth century.⁴

¹ Neither Latin, the importance of which was vanishing with the loss of Roman power in the East, nor minority languages, such as Syriac in Kellis (cf. Gardner 2007, Worp 1995: 178–179; PK 10.17–21), have an impact on this contact situation.

For Latin in earlier periods, see Adams 2003: 527–641, and in early Byzantine Egypt, cf. PKC 20.24–26.

² Cf. further Section 1.2.

³ Förster 2002: 510 (from Greek μελετάω).

⁴ For stable bilingualism, see Thomason 2001: 23. For instability, see Section 2.2.2 (domain stability). The alternative is language shift (cf. Meakins 2013 (direction of), Thomason 2001: 21–25 and 66–76 (due to imperfect learning), Hamers and Blanc 2000: 22 (pace of), Adams 2003: 367–380 (considering generation shift)) resulting in language death (cf. Romaine 2010). An example of this is the disappearance of minority languages in the Roman empire, cf. Clackson 2012, Wilson 2012 (using the example of Punic). For internal variation preceding shift / change, see Stolk 2015b: 25–26 and Matras 2009: 60.

Yet, how did individuals cope with the bilingual surroundings?⁵ Is there evidence for their bilinguality? What traces did juggling two languages leave in people's linguistic output, their texts?

Viewing bilingualism as a general linguistic phenomenon, the study of texts from early Byzantine Egypt is a case study. This case study concerns a period of the distant past. Nevertheless, building on Fleischman's (2000: 46) programmatic statement that 'the "native speakers" of a text language are the texts', the existing sources are sufficient to assess this language-contact situation. In assessing this language-contact situation, the present thesis focuses on idiolects rather than large-scale contact phenomena such as regional varieties.⁶

In order to assess people's linguistic ability without being misled by their linguistic creativity, we will examine phenomena that have resulted from unconscious processes. Thus, while surface-level phenomena owing to conscious processes such as code-switches⁷ may complement the picture, our main concern will be interferences. Interferences are structures that have resulted from one language interfering with another below the surface level. [2a] is a modern example:

[2a] the man **on** the photograph

The preposition 'on' is incorrect in English. Supposing that the system of another language interfered with English in [2a], we may consider [2b] and [2c].

[2b] l'homme **sur** la photo

[2c] der Mann **auf** dem Photo

Both French *sur* and German *auf* could account for English *on* in [2a]. While [2a] is an English sentence at the surface level, the preposition *on* is conceptually incorrect in English. Interferences are unintended by the writer / speaker and thus idiolectal.⁸ Theoretically, however, two people may produce the same structure.

⁵ For the relative independence of an individual from the surrounding society, see Hamers and Blanc 2000: 31 and 49, Thomason 2001: 48–54, Winford 2010: 171.

⁶ For levels of analysis concerning bilingualism, see Section 2.2.1.

⁷ Cf. Section 2.1.6 and Chapter 7.

⁸ Cf. Adams 2003: 426, Grosjean 2001: 6 (monolingual mode), Myers-Scotton 2006: 242.

For practical reasons, we can assess neither all Greek texts dating from the early Byzantine period nor all areas of the language. Therefore, a selection of texts forms the basis of the present study (see further chapter 2). In these texts, a selected number of syntactic domains are examined.⁹ The chosen syntactic domains are (a) verbs, (b) adverbial phrases and (c) conjunctions and particles. These have been chosen because

- (a) Greek and Coptic syntax differ significantly in all three domains,
- (b) the three selected domains vary in syntactic complexity, and
- (c) cross-linguistically, second-language learners encounter difficulties with all three domains.

Ad (a): The Greek verbal system was becoming more analytic in the post-classical period.¹⁰ However, Greek remained a synthetic language, whereas Coptic is an agglutinative language. Greek operates with a dual system to form adverbial phrases: with bare cases in an adverbial function and with prepositions. Conversely, Coptic operates only with prepositions. Finally, the syntactic organisation of discourse has been identified as a major difference between Greek and Coptic.¹¹ While Greek structures discourse explicitly, Coptic – like other Semitic languages – structures discourse implicitly.¹²

Ad (b): Complexity refers to the degree of integration of an item into the system of a language. In essence, how many syntactic links does an item have to other items in the same sentence? Hence, how many aspects must be considered when using the item in question in a sentence? For instance, verbs are usually integrated more tightly than prepositions. A verb is at the very least linked to its subject and its object(s), whereas a preposition in an adverbial phrase is closely linked only to its complement. The explicit organisation of discourse is often even optional rather than essential.

Ad (c): Since second-language learners of modern languages generally struggle with all three domains, it seems reasonable to test whether our ancient data falls in line with modern studies.

Torallas Tovar's (2004b: 57–58) remark that literate speakers avoid interference thus seems problematic. However, see Hamers and Blanc 2000: 41–42 (with reference to Ben-Zeev 1977), who mention specific mechanisms of the balanced bilingual to avoid interferences.

⁹ Past studies of phonology and semantics provided promising results (cf. section 1.2).

¹⁰ Cf. Markopoulos 2009, Bentein 2014 and 2016b, Mandilaras 1973.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Hasznos 2006: 91–93.

¹² For Semitic languages, see Lipinski 1997: § 55.1–8 (who notes the combination of formal parataxis and logical hypotaxis).

Noticeably, items of all three domains were borrowed from Greek into Coptic. Native speakers apparently perceived there to be two systems. By borrowing a Greek item, they complemented their own system. However, the need for accommodation strategies to integrate the Greek items shows that these were still perceived as coming from a different system (cf. further section 2.3).

Additionally, set phrases and epistolary formulae have been analysed for two reasons: Firstly, the syntax of set phrases and epistolary formulae is known from monolingual corpora so that we have a clearly defined standard against which we can measure deviations. Secondly, deviations in set phrases and epistolary formulae may be indicative as to how our writers learnt a second language.

1.2 Previous research

Greek and Egyptian texts from Egypt have been studied from different angles and with different aims. The three primary aims seem to have been:

- (1) reconstructing the large-scale historical circumstances of Greek-Egyptian cohabitation,
- (2) reconstructing the social context of individuals living in early Byzantine Egypt, and
- (3) reconstructing the linguistic situation of a bilingual country.

Accordingly, the available data has been treated very differently. Studies with the aim of shedding light on large-scale historical developments have tended to focus on quantitative statistical data such as the number of texts written in Greek and Egyptian in one place. Furthermore, they explore the content of the relevant texts and its links with other sources, such as literary works.¹³ In that, the emphasis is often on single illustrative passages and their meaning. By contrast, when intending to explore individuals' social context, the nature of the Greek and Egyptian texts becomes essential. For example, texts may be official contracts as opposed to private records. Based on this data, inferences about language use in several domains of life can be made. Additionally, specific passages such as formulae referring to a person's literacy¹⁴ or the clause ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἑλληνίζειν in P. Col. Zenon II 66.21 (= P. Col. 4 66.21) can provide insights.¹⁵ Finally, studies exploring the linguistic situation in Egypt primarily rely on qualitative analysis of texts. Yet, while a text may be written in Greek on the surface, it may contain clear indications of an insecure writer.

¹³ An example is the description of Cleopatra's language skills mentioned by Thompson 1994: 74. This is based on Plutarch, *Antonius* 27.3–4.

Generally against taking literary works at face value, see Henkelman *et al.* 2011: 465.

¹⁴ Cf. Kraus 2000; Choat and Yuen-Collingridge 2009.

¹⁵ Cf. Rochette 1996.

A comprehensive description of individuals' ability to operate in two languages, their bilinguality, is still a desideratum. This appears to be the case because of three shortcomings of many existing studies:

- (1) There is no linguistic analysis of the data but only descriptive statements.¹⁶
- (2) The same examples such as the lack of case inflection in personal names are requoted.¹⁷
- (3) A small number of 'glamorous' examples are analysed.¹⁸

The only corpora that have attracted scholarly attention are the Narmouthis ostraca dating from the Roman period (Leiwo 2003, Bagnall 2007a, Rutherford 2010) and *agoranomos*-contracts dating from the Ptolemaic period (Vierros 2007 and 2012b). One may add Clarysse's (1993) selection of texts, which is based on the feature of being written with an Egyptian rush, and his selective study of the language of the archive of Kleon and Theodoros (Clarysse 2010b). All these texts date from the Ptolemaic period.¹⁹ However, many studies concerned with the period before the emergence of Coptic are relevant to the present study since Coptic has developed from earlier Demotic and since many structures have remained unchanged.

Apart from the different angles from which studies approach the issue of bilingual interference, the prominence attributed to bilingual interference varies considerably. In her contribution to *A companion to the ancient Greek language*, Torallas Tovar (2010a: 259) writes:

[3] 'Egyptians learning Greek often reached a high level of proficiency and thus many documents produced by them cannot be distinguished from documents produced by native speakers of Greek since one cannot identify divergences from the correct language.'

¹⁶ Cf. Fournet 2009b: esp. 442 and MacCoull 1987: 311–312 mentioned above. Similarly, see Luiselli 2008: 715, Richter 2014: 137.

¹⁷ Cf. also Section 2.1.6.

Another example is the confusion of case-endings. Cf. e.g. Fewster 2002: 235 and Stolk 2015b: 22–24 (with further references).

¹⁸ Cf. Mussies 1968; Clackson 2010; Torallas Tovar 2010a.

¹⁹ Evans' (2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2012a, 2012b, 2015) comprehensive study of the Zenon archive has found only a few instances of bilingual interference (cf. e.g. the relative-clause structure mentioned in Evans 2010b).

Gignac (2013) hints at several structures where he suspects bilingual interference.

Conversely, Fournet's treatment of the early Byzantine period in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* describes P. Ross. Georg. IV app. p. 99 as 'a letter full of Copticisms' (Fournet 2009b: 444).²⁰

Below, the letter is given with an interlinear translation. Instances of potential Coptic interference are set in bold, and colloquialisms are underlined.

[4] P. Ross. Georg 4 App p. 99–105

† εἶδεν ὁ ἀγαθός μο(υ) δεσπότης ὅτι **πολὰ κόπον ἔπαθα** καὶ(?).]μ[. α]υτα ἀλλὰ
'My good master (may) be aware that I have suffered a lot from beating and ... but also the
Persians:

καὶ τοὺς Πέρσο\υ/ς ἦλθεν ἐν Τηνί ἦει²¹ καὶ ἐξέν\ε/κέν μοι εἰς τῷ Φοσσᾶτον καὶ ἐβασάνισέν μοι
(They) came, stayed in Tinis and (then) carried me away to Fustat and (they) interrogated me

ἀπὸ ὠξιτήου καὶ μαρμάρων εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ εἰς τὴν ῥῆναν καὶ ἀπέθανα ὡς ἓναν ἐκ
with vinegar and stones in my mouth and nose and I (would have been) dead like one from the
tombs,

τῶν μινιμίων καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ὥρας ἦλθεν μοι πνόην καὶ ἡῦρον αὐτο[ὺ]ς ἀπὶ λθασιν καὶ καίασέν μοι
but after three hours (fresh air) reached me and I found them, (who) had gone away and left²²

ἐκ βορᾶ τῆς Λυτοῦς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐβοήθισέν μοι **ἐξήλιστα** εἰς **τὰς χύρας αὐτοῦ** καὶ ἦλθα
me north of Letopolis. Because God helped me, I (managed to) escape from their hands and I
went

εἰς Ἀρσενοῖτην καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀειτισώμην. κιμουμένω <μου> καὶ τὰ πεδία μο(υ) ἐλάβεν εἰ Πέρσις εἰς
to the Arsinoite nome, but behold I was unwell. While I was sleeping, the Persians took even my

ἐμ'. ἔτη [ἐ]γὼ μωνον κιμνὸς ἦλθα ἐνταῦθα. παρακαλ[ο] τῷ ἀγαθον μου δεσπότη.
children away from me. Furthermore, I arrived there being alone and naked. I appeal to my good
master.'

²⁰ Similarly about the same letter, cf. MacCoull 1987: 311–312.

²¹ CG ἦ(ν) 'he was', cf. Jernstedt 1927.

²² καίασέν μοι stands for καὶ εἰσάν με. The third person singular is used as a default form and μοί for μέ appears several times in the letter.

The following phonetic spellings can be found:

- iotacism (οι / η / ει / υ)
- vowel length (ο / ω)
- <ε> for <αι>
- gemination
- <σ> for <ζ> (cf. l. 6 ἀειτισώμην for ἀηδιζόμην)
- week final <ν> (cf. l. 4 πνόην for πνόη)
- <κ> for <γ>
- <τ> for <δ>

The following features of post-classical morphology and syntax appear in the text:

[5] Morphology and syntax of P. Ross. Georg 4 App p. 99–105

Morphology	Syntax
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the conflation of the thematic and athematic aorist-patterns • regularisation of masculine second-declension nouns in <ης>²³ • the accusative of the third declension with an additional <ν> • the diminutive ending -ιον without semantic value²⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the use of the present indicative for the future indicative / present subjunctive²⁵ • the choice of prepositions (location / direction, source / instrument)²⁶ • the focus particle ἰδοῦ²⁷

Colloquial syntax is evident in:

- the use of the third-person singular of verbs as a default²⁸,

²³ Cf. l. 2 τοὺς Πέρσο\υ/ς for CG τοὺς Πέρσας.

²⁴ Cf. Horrocks 2014: 175–176 (Roman period).

²⁵ Cf. l. 1 εἶδεν for εἶδῃ.

Cf. Markopoulos 2009, Lucas 2014.

²⁶ Cf. Luraghi 2003: 332 (concerning the encoding of location / direction); Luraghi 2003: 122–123 (with ex. (16)) and 322 (for ἀπό in expressions of instrument).

²⁷ See Chapter 5.

²⁸ One may argue for interchange between <ε> and <ο> in a final unaccented syllable. This does not apply to ἦει ‘to be’ in l. 2 and is difficult to uphold for the three instances in which an enclitic pronoun immediately follows the verb (ἐξέν\ε/κέν μοι, ἐβασάνισέν μοι, καίασέν μοι).

- asyndetic sentence connection,
- the ‘and’-style.

This leaves us with the following passages, which Jernstedt related to Coptic idioms:

- [6a] l. 1 $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\theta\alpha$
 literal: ‘I *frequently* suffered from beating.’²⁹
 $\Delta-I-\omega\pi$ $\chi\Delta\chi$ $\Pi-\chi\iota\epsilon$
a-i-šp hah n-hise
 PRF-1sg-receive much of.PRP-beating
 ‘I suffered from *much* beating.’
- [6b] l. 3–4 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\theta\alpha\nu\alpha$ $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu$ ³⁰ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\mu\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$
 literal: ‘I was dead *like one from the tombs*.’
 $\Delta-I-\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\Pi-\theta\epsilon$ $\Pi-\omicron\upsilon-\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\chi\eta-\Pi\epsilon-\mu\chi\Delta\Delta\upsilon$
a-i-mou n-t^he n-ou-ebol hn-ne-mhaau
 PRF-1sg-die in.PRP-manner of.PRP-ART.INDF.SG-out of-ART.INDF.PL-tomb
 ‘I was dead like *one from the tombs*.’
- [6c] l. 5 $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\lambda\iota\sigma\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$
 literal: ‘I escaped *towards* their hands.’
 $\Delta-I-p$ $\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon-\Pi\epsilon\upsilon-\sigma\iota\chi$
a-i-r-bol e-neu-kidⁱ
 PRF-1sg-do-outside of-POSS.PL.3pl-hand
 ‘I escaped *from* their hands.’

In [6a], the translation into Greek resulted in a slight modification of the meaning. In [6b], the Coptic parallel, $\Pi-\theta\epsilon$ $\Pi-$ *n-t^he n-*, may account for the accusative after $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. While $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ introduces an elliptic subordinate clause, $\Pi-\theta\epsilon$ $\Pi-$ *n-t^he n-* is a preposition, and in Greek,

For Egyptians struggling with final unstressed syllables, see Leiwo 2003: 8. For unstressed final syllables and the development towards a stress accent in Greek, see Horrocks 2014: 112 and 118.

²⁹ Since $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ (CG $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$) is neuter and $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$ is masculine, a construal as ‘much beating’ ($\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$) seems less likely than the construal suggested here.

³⁰ Jernstedt (1927: 103) considers $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ($\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) equivalent to MG $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ($\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\nu$), a preposition meaning ‘like / as though’. This preposition calls for a complement in the accusative. The accusative $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu$ is analogous to other third-declension accusatives with an additional -v in this period.

prepositions call for oblique cases. In [6c], multivalent Coptic ε- *e-* may explain the choice of εἰς, which does not suit the semantic context.³¹

On balance, Fournet's judgement, 'full of Copticisms', oversimplifies the situation.³² The letter is a prime example of the multitude of influences that impacted on our writers' texts.³³ Bilingual interference only shines through in three idiomatic passages.

In general, singular instances of bilingual interference were identified in all areas of the Greek language: There are phonological, morphological³⁴, syntactic, semantic and phraseological interferences.³⁵

To start with Egyptian influence on Greek lexicon and semantics, Torallas Tovar (2004a, 2004b) provides a comprehensive account of Egyptian loanwords in Greek. Moreover, Torallas Tovar (2004a: 171), [7a], and Derchain (1955), [7b], provide examples of loan shifts:

[7a] ὄρος	τοου	'mountain' and 'monastery'
	<i>toou</i>	
[7b] θάλλος	<i>mnh</i> and <i>mnh.t</i>	'young branch' and 'gift'

Greek ὄρος means 'mountain' whereas Coptic τοου *toou* means not only 'mountain' but also 'monastery'. Resulting from this mismatch, Greek ὄρος could adopt the meaning 'monastery'. Similarly, Greek θάλλος means 'young branch'. Yet, based on the Egyptian near-parallel *mnh.t*, θάλλος could adopt the meaning 'gift'. Finally, idiomatic expressions are naturally difficult to identify. Some remarks appear in Torallas Tovar (2010a) and one clear case is analysed by Derchain (2001).

³¹ See further, Chapter 4.

³² Cf. also Evans 2012b: 122 (who notes a tendency among scholars to 'overstate interference').

³³ The hypothesis of phraseological confusion is feasible but impossible to prove here. See further Chapter 6.

Similarly, several instances discussed in Mussies 1968 can be explained as features of PCG, as colloquialisms or as mistakes resulting from false analogies.

³⁴ Cf. e.g. Torallas Tovar 2004a: 172 (for Coptic ⲙⲁⲛ- *man-*), but also Lipinski 1997: § 29.21.

³⁵ Structures that were labelled interference in the past, but that do in fact not qualify as such are mentioned in Section 2.3 with the evidence that refutes a construal as interference. For ἰδοῦ, see Chapter 5.

Secondly, the phonology of Greek in documents from Egypt has been considered by, for instance, Horrocks (2014) and Dahlgren (2016, 2017).³⁶ Dahlgren in particular concludes that a regional variety of Greek in Egypt developed from the second century onwards.³⁷

Thirdly, a number of syntactic structures have been identified as reflecting bilingual interference:

(1) When the numeral ‘two’ functions as a quantifier in combination with a noun, a plural noun is required in Greek, but a singular noun in Coptic. However, the singular noun must precede the numeral. Greek phrases such as Νεφερῶτι δύο (AN 11.2–3) may thus reflect Coptic syntax.³⁸

(2) Vierros in particular analysed the syntax of relative clauses in Greek under the influence of Demotic. She found that writers tend to identify the Greek relative pronoun with the Demotic relative converter and the subject in the relative clause. This results in difficulties with the choice of the correct gender and number of the relative pronoun. Given that the syntax of relative clauses did not change significantly in Coptic, we can apply her findings to Coptic. A theoretical example is [8]:

[8] ὁ ἀνήρ	ἦν	ὁρᾷς	
π-ρωμε	ετε-	ναυ	ερο-ϥ
<i>p-rōme</i>	<i>ete-</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>ero=f</i>
ART.DEF.SG-man	REL.2sg.f	see	DOM=3sg.m
‘the man who you (fem.) see’			

Assuming that the writer is female, the subject in the Coptic relative clause would be female.³⁹ Since the Coptic relative converter and subject of the relative clause appear in the same position as the Greek relative pronoun, these may be equated. The Coptic female

³⁶ Bubenik (1993) compares phonological phenomena in Greek texts from Egypt with phenomena in Greek texts from other areas. Confusion between voiced and voiceless plosives is not found in Syria and Palestine.

³⁷ Cf. also Fewster (2002: 235) on the confusion between <τ> and <δ> as a feature of everyday speech rather than a scribe’s mistake. Further, see Section 2.3.

³⁸ Cf. Kramer and Shelton 1987: 72. For the Coptic pattern, see Layton 2011: § 70b, EGB: chapter 6.3.1.

³⁹ A pronominal subject ‘you (feminine)’ is covert in Coptic such that ‘who you’ (relative converter + subject) and ‘who’ (relative converter) are both represented by ετε- *ete-*. Cf. Layton 2011: § 396.

subject would then trigger an incorrect female relative pronoun in the Greek version of the clause.⁴⁰

(3) Several Greek verbs call for a specific preposition to attach their complement in the post-classical period. One of these verbs is εὔχομαι, which calls for περί or ὑπέρ ‘about’. Conversely, Coptic ⲙⲁⲛⲁ ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲓ ‘to pray’ calls for ⲉⲭⲏⲓ- *edʾn-* ‘above / on top of’. This parallel explains some writers’ choice of ἐπάνω after εὔχομαι.⁴¹

[9] P. Lond. 6 1926.14 ἐὰν εὔξῃ ἐπάνω μου εἶσιν λαμβάνω

‘If you pray for me, I will get better.’⁴²

(4) While Greek operates with a verbal copula (εἶναι), Coptic operates with a nominal copula (πε/τε/νε *pe/te/ne*). Yet, this nominal copula is optional in most syntactic contexts. Clarysse points out that the secondary addition of copular εἶναι by a writer should hence be interpreted as suggesting a bilingual writer proofreading his work.⁴³

(5) Coptic employs two main possessive patterns: (1) {possessed} ⲏⲧⲉ- *nṯe-* {possessor} and (2) {possessed} ⲡⲁ-/ⲧⲁ-/ⲏⲁ- *pa-/ta-/na-* {possessor}.⁴⁴ In pattern (1), the form of ⲏⲧⲉ- *nṯe-* is independent of the form of the possessed. In pattern (2), the choice between ⲡⲁ-/ⲧⲁ-/ⲏⲁ- *pa-/ta-/na-* depends on the form of the possessed. In contrast, the Greek possessive genitive is independent of the form of the possessed. This mismatch results in difficulty choosing the correct number and gender for the article preceding a noun in the possessive genitive. A theoretical example is [10]:

[10]	οἱ παῖδες	ⲧⲱⲛ	πατὴρ
	ⲏ-ⲙⲁⲣⲉ	ⲏⲁ-	ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ
	<i>n-šēre</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>p-eiōt</i>
	ART.DEF.PL-child	those.of-	ART.DEF.SG-father
	‘the father’s children’		

⁴⁰ For relative clauses showing indications of bilingual interference, see Mussies 1968 (*attractio relativi*), Vierros 2008 and 2012b, Clarysse 1993: 198 (gender of the relative pronoun). For regular internal developments, see Section 2.3.

⁴¹ Torallas Tovar 2010a: 263. For ὑπό and ἰδοῦ, see Chapter 5.

⁴² The writer repeats the construction in l. 24.

⁴³ Cf. Clarysse 2010b: 42.

⁴⁴ Cf. Müller forthcoming b.

In Coptic, $\pi\alpha$ - *na*- must be plural because the possessed is plural. In Greek, the article would have to be singular because the possessor is singular.⁴⁵

A recurrent issue is the perception of Coptic π - *n*- in the nominal state, i.e. when preceding a nominal complement. While π - *n*- in the nominal state may have several functions, it changes its form according to its function in the pronominal state, i.e. when preceding a pronominal complement. Since native speakers of Coptic must have been able to pronominalize every phrase in their utterances, it is unlikely that they were not aware of the different functions of π - *n*- and mistranslated π - *n*- in Greek. It has been argued that writers, for instance, put a dative instead of a genitive in Greek because both a dative and a genitive would be rendered by π - *n*- + noun in Coptic. However, the equivalents to the dative and genitive of pronouns clearly differ in Coptic: $\pi\alpha$ = *na*= as opposed to $\pi\tau\alpha$ = *nta*= . The issue is taken up in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

(6) While post-classical Greek draws on bare cases as well as prepositional phrases in predicative, attributive and adverbial phrases, Coptic only employs prepositional phrases. Hence, writers' struggle with the correct choice of a bare case and their preference for prepositional phrases may be assumed to be traits of bilingual writers. Stolk however carefully argues that case interchange is by no means always due to a writer's bilinguality and that the preference for prepositional phrases is a trend in which post-classical Greek coincides with Egyptian.⁴⁶

(7) Opinions are divided about cleft-sentence patterns and periphrastic verb forms consisting of the verb 'to be' and a participle. Parallels certainly exist in Coptic and other Semitic languages. However, neither cleft-sentence patterns nor periphrastic verb forms are limited to contexts in which bilingual interference is likely. Furthermore, neither structure is ungrammatical in Greek.⁴⁷

Fourthly and finally, instances of phraseological transfer have been noted by Clarysse (2010b) and Bagnall (2007a) regarding dating-formulae, by Mussies (1968) regarding formulae in sales contracts and by Jernstedt (1927) as we saw above. Phraseological transfer means that a formulaic or idiomatic expression characteristic of Egyptian is transferred into Greek. The resulting structure may be grammatical or

⁴⁵ Vierros 2012b: 195–203.

⁴⁶ See Stolk 2015b: 22–24 (with further references).

⁴⁷ For cleft-sentences, see Lefort 1928. (He cites Judges 6.18 ἐγὼ εἰμι καθήσομαι / Hebrew original: subject pronoun + verb in the imperfect. Yet this instance would only be a cleft-sentence proper with a relative pronoun ὃς between the copula and καθήσομαι). For periphrastic verb forms, see Gignac 2013: 417 (who attributes them to Semitic influence, i.e. *hjh* + participle), Bentein 2016b: 247–249.

ungrammatical in Greek. In either case, it is unidiomatic. Consider the invented internal address, the first sentence of every letter, in [11]:

[11] {ὁ Παῦλος}_{sender} {τῷ Μαρίας}_{addressee} {χαίρειν}_{greeting}
 ‘Paul to Mary, best wishes.’

The regular order in Greek of this period would be ‘addressee – sender’ rather than ‘sender – addressee’. Conversely, the order common in Coptic internal addresses is ‘sender – addressee’, for syntactic reasons. Therefore, the order ‘sender – addressee’ in [11] would contradict contemporary Greek usage but would reflect Coptic patterns of usage. Yet, the choice of this order would not impact on the syntactic correctness of the entire sentence.

1.3 Objectives

The central aim of the present study is to identify and describe comprehensively traces of Egyptian (Coptic) impact on Greek syntax in texts that were produced by writers who are presumed to be bilingual. The present study therefore sets out to answer the following three questions:

- (1) What kinds of ungrammatical structures occur? What is the relative distribution of internal confusion and external impact (interference)?
- (2) What is the relative distribution of internal confusion and / or interference in the areas of syntax analysed?
- (3) What is the relative distribution of internal confusion and / or interference in the texts and archives of the corpus? Are there particular clusters? Can we hence identify writers that are more likely to have been bilingual?

Assuming that our writers learnt a second language at some point during their lives, we may finally consider learning methods as a potential explanation for our writers’ modifications of the standard language.

1.4 Method

Firstly, this study takes a corpus-based approach. Corpus-languages such as Greek and Coptic are only accessible through written sources.⁴⁸ In the case of early Byzantine Greek

⁴⁸ For corpus / text languages, see Langslow 2002: 23–24, Fleischman 2000: 34–35.

and early Coptic, we lack detailed grammatical descriptions.⁴⁹ Research on early Byzantine Greek is piecemeal, unlike on Ptolemaic papyri (cf. Mayser) and on New Testament Greek (cf. BDR, Moulton). However, statistical analyses of the corpus selected for the present study can often be complemented by studies on single phenomena, such as Markopoulos (2009) on the future or Bentein (2015a, 2017b) and Hult (1990) on verbal complementation patterns. The corpus chosen for the present study consists of documentary texts. We therefore should be careful when drawing on literary sources as a point of comparison⁵⁰ since writers of documentary texts did not aim at literary excellence but comprehensibility. In fact, a multiplicity of factors impacted on their texts.⁵¹

Secondly, this study considers bilinguality / bilingualism⁵² a cross-linguistic phenomenon. Situations of bilingualism exist all over the world and individual bilinguality was studied in-depth in the past. Our ancient language-contact setting differs from modern settings only insofar that interviews with native speakers are impossible since we are dealing with text-languages.⁵³ Also, the amount of available evidence is not easily multipliable.⁵⁴ Apart from this, the examination of texts from early Byzantine Egypt is a case study of bilingualism in a long-term language-contact setting.

Thirdly, manual analysis is preferable as the following four examples taken from the letters of the corpus illustrate. In [12a], orthographic variability has an impact on which verbal lemma we catalogue.

[12a] AP 1.19 καὶ τὸν μονάριν Ἡρακλίδην **δύ[σα]ντες** καὶ ὑβρίσαντες

‘concerning the monk Heraklides, having **bound / plunged** and maltreated (him)’

Depending on whether we assume iotacism, <υ> for <η>, or not, we may read either δύω or δέω. Both readings suit the context. In [12b] and [12c], orthographic variability has an impact on syntactic correctness.

[12b] AJ 7.7 ἵνα ἀπολύομαι

⁴⁹ For the obstacles in research on Greek and Coptic, see Clackson 2004 and Oréal 1999: 197–302.

⁵⁰ Coptic grammars are usually based on literary sources, a fact that must be born in mind. For Coptic dialects until the end of the 5th c. AD, see Chapter 2.3.

⁵¹ Cf. Evans 2012b: 123 (considering the factors of diachronic development, register, level of education, and social context).

⁵² For the distinction between the two, see Section 2.2.4.

⁵³ Adams (2003: 3) draws attention to the fact that written sources must be treated differently from spoken sources.

⁵⁴ Cf. Torallas Tovar 2010a: 253–254.

‘so that I may be released’

[12c] AP 2.13 ἵνα<α> καὶ ὑμῖς γινώντες συμβάλλεσθε αὐτῷ

‘so that you too, then being aware (of it), may help him’

If we assume a lack of vowel-length distinction between <ο> and <ω> in [12b] and between <ε> and <η> in [12c]⁵⁵, both instances reflect classical syntax. Alternatively, we may construe the apparent indicatives as modern, colloquial structures.⁵⁶ Finally, in [12d], orthographic variability is relevant to the voice of the verb.

[12d] AN 13.11]πραὺ ἐπιξάμε[v -ca.?

‘we urged ...’

If we read ἐπείξαμεν, the verb is active; if we read ἐπειξάμην, the verb is middle. The context is too damaged to decide conclusively.

Besides orthographic variation, frequent abbreviations of words and misspellings render an automatized search difficult. Often, only the context of the entire letter clarifies which option is more likely. For example, AJ 7 is a letter that contains several ungrammatical structures. In light of these, reading an indicative after ἵνα in [12b] seems conceivable. However, AJ 7 also contains various phonetic spellings so that interchange of <ο> and <ω> cannot be excluded.

Fourthly, a necessary premise is the assumption that Greek and Coptic are autonomous languages rather than Coptic being a mixed language variety. This issue is detailed in Section 2.3.

In essence, the analysis proceeds as follows: First, a standard pattern is established for each relevant structure. Next, variations of and deviations from this standard pattern are singled out. All grammatical instances that do not reflect the standard are termed variation. All ungrammatical instances that do not reflect the standard are termed deviation. The question against which standard⁵⁷ we measure deviations and variations is considered in detail in Section 2.3.

⁵⁵ Cf. Clarysse 1993: 197.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hult 1990: 171–172 (ἵνα + indicative in complement clauses).

⁵⁷ For the concept of ‘standard language’, see Versteegh 2002: 55, Hult 1990: 23.

Throughout the present study a two-step approach is adopted in that the syntactic structures are first considered on their own (cf. Chapters 3 to 6) and only later in connection with their internal and external contexts (cf. Chapter 7). On the one hand, this approach aims at giving equal weight to the linguistic analysis and the contextual features rather than allowing awareness of the latter to influence the former. On the other hand, this approach aims at as much objectivity as possible. When encountering a structure for the first time, the reader does not know whether the ancient writer struggled with Greek syntax in all his writing, was certainly bilingual or was still learning Greek. Like this, the reader's attention is focussed on the syntactic features of the structure in question.

All Greek texts are quoted in the form in which they appear in the relevant edition of the text, including spurious apostrophes. Only occasionally a correction is suggested, primarily with regard to the accentuation of single words. The version of the text given in the edition is then quoted in a footnote.

1.5 Outline

Chapter two introduces the reader to the societal and linguistic context of early Byzantine Egypt, to our corpus of texts, and to relevant linguistic concepts. Chapters three to five are dedicated to verbal, nominal and discourse syntax, whereas Chapter six shifts the focus away from grammaticality towards idiomaticity. Chapter seven brings the findings together and revisits the questions posed in Section 1.3.

A standard-ideology (cf. Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2012) seems to have existed at least from the Roman period onwards (cf. Chapter 7 (grammar teaching) and Section 2.1.1 (Atticism / Second Sophistic)). For past approaches, see Depauw and Stolk 2015 (relying on editorial corrections); Evans 2012a and 2012b, Bagnall 2007a: esp. 21, Vierros 2007, Fewster 2002: 233–235 (clearly refuting the notion of 'bad Greek'); Clackson 2004 (considering the impact of the discourse of a specific period on research activity).

2 Setting the Scene

2.1 General linguistic concepts

The following section introduces five pairs of opposites. In all but one pair, the present study concentrates on one of the two. At the end of the section, a number of phenomena that can help identify bilingual writers but that are not central to the present study are briefly outlined. These structures are revisited in Chapter 7.

2.1.1 Variations vs deviations

In what follows, grammatically correct structures that do not reflect the synchronic standard are termed variations. Conversely, grammatically incorrect structures that do not reflect the synchronic standard are termed deviations. Variations are register-related divergences from the standard. Variations include post-classical, ‘modern’, syntax and morphology alongside structures that reflect the impact of the production circumstances. These reflexes take the form of colloquialisms and especially elaborate structures.

Generally speaking, although letters are written, they seem to occupy an intermediate position between formally written and informally spoken discourse.⁵⁸ The crucial point is that the situational context allows our writers to resort to an informal register.⁵⁹ To put it another way, our writers may sometimes have written as they would have spoken so that they neither planned nor revised their utterances and operated with repetitions and means of emphasis as needed for comprehension in spoken discourse.⁶⁰ Studies that are concerned with the concept of register commonly treat letters on papyrus as representatives of the lower registers.⁶¹ The following characteristics of colloquial discourse appear in our texts:

- (1) context-dependence: omissions, vague expressions⁶²;

⁵⁸ Biber and Conrad (2009: 105) view letters as representing an intermediate register. Similarly, Koch and Oesterreicher (1985: 18 fig. 2) situate the ‘Privatbrief’ in position f, a middle position, on their scale reaching from ‘Nähe’ to ‘Distanz’ discourse.

⁵⁹ Cf. Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.

⁶⁰ For the linguistic form of colloquial speech as opposed to written texts, see Koch and Oesterreicher 1985, Biber and Conrad 2009. See also Chapter 5.

⁶¹ For register variation in Greek, see Willi 2003 (CG), Bentein 2013b (PCG), James 2008 (PCG).

⁶² Cf. Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 322–323 (with reference to the English example ‘thing’).

- (2) simplification: listing style⁶³, use of set phrases and default structures⁶⁴;
- (3) emphasis through redundancy: personal pronouns⁶⁵, explicative structures⁶⁶, repetitions⁶⁷;
- (4) incoherence triggered by: extra-position, floating accusatives, parentheses;
- (5) modern morphology and syntax.

On the other end of the continuum, elaboration of the linguistic form essentially means avoiding the default pattern and choosing an alternative.⁶⁸ Elaboration is often achieved by inserting classical features that had fallen out of use in the early Byzantine period.⁶⁹ The movements of Atticism and the Second Sophistic⁷⁰ fostered ambitious writers' use of structures they deemed classical.⁷¹ Frequently appearing kinds of elaborate structures in our letters are:

- (a) repetition with variation;
- (b) the use of classical syntax and morphology;
- (c) a preference for syntactic complexity and variation;
- (d) the use of elements of the language of administration.

⁶³ Cf. Fewster 2002: 240 and n. 48 (with reference to numerals), Leiwo 2003: 6–7, Mussies 1968: 72–73 (with reference to the overuse of nominatives).

Perhaps a listing-style also underlies Torallas Tovar's (2010a: 263, with reference to Loprieno 1995: 71–72, Layton 2011: 57) plural numerals with a singular article.

⁶⁴ Examples may be παράδοτε for παράδος in AJ 7.12 (by contrast, see Clackson 2010: 94) and ὑπάρχει followed by its semantic subject in the accusative in BGU 1002.15–16 (by contrast, see Mussies 1968: 76).

⁶⁵ Cf. Gignac 2013: 413 as opposed to Lefort (1928: 158–159), who considers their overuse a reflection of bilingual interference.

⁶⁶ Perhaps also λέγων ὅτι 'saying that' instead of simple ὅτι should be subsumed here. For classical occurrences of λέγων ὅτι, see Luiselli 1999: 224–227.

⁶⁷ Cf. Clarysse 2010b: 48 (with reference to a letter that is in fact a desperate plea).

⁶⁸ Marked features are those that are difficult to learn and are therefore acquired late (cf. Thomason 2010: 43). Unmarked features are the default patterns.

⁶⁹ This results from the notion of development as decay (cf. Fleischman 2000: 48), a notion which is incidentally obvious in grammatical descriptions that only consider deviations from the classical language, e.g. Psaltes (1913: esp. VII). Cf. Wahlgren 2002.

For the insertion of 'unassimilated high-profile items', see Luiselli 1999: 185. Examples are the optative and the dual, cf. Luiselli 1999: 69–84.

⁷⁰ Cf. Horrocks 2014: 133–141, Adams 2013, Lee 2013, Benaissa 2012: 532–535. Cf. also PK 10.17–21 Πινακίδιον εὐμετρον καὶ ἀστίον δέκα πτυχῶν πέμψον τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἰσίῳ. Ἑλληνιστῆς γὰρ γέγονεν καὶ ἀναγνώστης συρια {τ}τικός. 'Send a well-proportioned and elegant writing tablet to your brother Ision. For, he has become a reader of Greek and Syriac.'

⁷¹ Lee 2013: 285.

Sometimes writers seem to have attempted an elaborate structure but did not produce it correctly. An example is the complementation of verbs of request by means of ἵνα and an infinitive. In the post-classical period, non-finite complementation patterns were retreating and had hence become the marked choice.⁷² Marking the infinitive by means of τοῦ / τό / ὅς was grammatical in post-classical Greek, whereas marking it by means of the subordinator ἵνα was at best a substandard pattern.⁷³ However, the use of the infinitive reflects a writer's intention to avoid the default pattern of a complement clause. Successful and attempted elaboration point to well-educated writers with an awareness of the linguistic form of their texts.⁷⁴

Variations are not catalogued systematically in Chapters 3 to 6. Only instances that may be mistaken for errors or interferences are discussed.

2.1.2 Grammaticality vs idiomaticity

Non-standard structures may diverge from the standard either as regards their grammaticality or as regards their phraseology. In the former case, we find ungrammatical structures, in the latter unidiomatic ones. Chapters 3 to 5 focus on ungrammatical structures, whereas Chapter 6 considers primarily unidiomatic structures. This is because the form of set phrases and formulae can be defined well enough to decide whether an instance is idiomatic or unidiomatic in a certain context.

In the letter body, there are some structures that seem unidiomatic, but not ungrammatical. These may reflect what Goglia and Matras⁷⁵ have termed 'avoidance strategy'. Writers may avoid more complex structures and instead resort to simpler structures. The difficulty in identifying such structures is not only that we can hardly assess idiomaticity in the letter body, but also that simplification of complex structures may be due to the impact of colloquial habits. Some seemingly obvious examples are mentioned in Chapters 3 to 6, but no attempt has been made to list relevant structures systematically.

⁷² For verbal complementation patterns as indications of register variation, see James 2008, Bentein 2017b and Bentein (Ghent), *Morpho-syntactic variation in the Greek documentary papyri (III BC - VI AD). A socio-historical investigation*; <http://research.flw.ugent.be/en/projects/morpho-syntactic-variation-greek-documentary-papyri-iii-bc-vi-ad-socio-historical> (accessed: 31.04.2017). Cf. also Kavčič 2016.

⁷³ Cf. Bentein 2015a: 127.

⁷⁴ For evidence of ancient editing, which points to a register-sensitive writer, see Luiselli 2010, Clarysse 2010b.

For (ambitious) well-educated writers, see Luiselli 1999, Evans 2012a: 26–30 (Ptolemaic period).

⁷⁵ Goglia 2005: 189–208, Goglia 2009: 233–237 (noting that Italian c'è appears in expressions of existence and possession), Matras 2009: 80.

2.1.3 The structural level vs the surface level

Language-contact phenomena take various forms. We find the import of foreign phonological material alongside seemingly ungrammatical structures. Yet, on closer inspection, the latter appear to reflect a foreign syntactic pattern. A distinction between three levels at which languages may interact is therefore helpful: The first step of every writer / speaker is to choose the idea or concept they want to convey. This happens at the conceptual level. The selected concept is subsequently realised syntactically at the structural level. Languages often differ at this level. A structure common in one language may be completely unknown in another. Finally, the syntactic structure is realised in the form of morphological forms and phonological material at the surface level.⁷⁶

With regard to the structural and surface level, Matras' (2009: 236) distinction between matter and pattern replication is informative. Matter replication refers to the import of phonological material.⁷⁷ Obvious examples are code-switches and loanwords. Pattern replication refers to the import of a structure without the import of phonological material. Hence, while matter replication concerns the surface level, pattern replication concerns the underlying structural level. Instances of matter replication are briefly described in Section 2.1.6 since they only add to the general picture of our texts. Chapters 3 to 6 concentrate on instances of pattern replication.

2.1.4 External vs internal factors

Languages change due to external factors, language contact, and internal factors such as language-internal grammaticalization. Similarly, divergences from the standard may be caused by external factors or internal factors. In the former case, we find bilingual interferences whereas in the latter case, we find the following phenomena. This clear-cut division of labour holds in structural terms, whereas it is often impossible to uphold when explaining why a deviation occurred. All examples below are discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 to 6. They are quoted here in the shortest possible manner.

⁷⁶ Myers-Scotton's (2002: 96) three-tier 'abstract level model' is helpful here: lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument-structure, morphological realization.

⁷⁷ Matras and Sakel 2007: 829.

(1) Hypercorrection refers to the overgeneralisation of a rule. For instance, a writer omitted a preposition in a verbal complementation pattern in [1].⁷⁸

[1] βαίνει <πρὸς> σε
‘it happens to you’

Most likely, writers learnt the classical rule that bare case forms suffice to mark the direct and indirect objects in Greek.⁷⁹ What makes [1] ungrammatical is that the writer dropped the preposition but did not adjust the case of the complement.

(2) Internal confusion refers to the phenomenon that writers apply a pattern to an item that calls for another pattern based on confusion of patterns of the same language. For instance, in [2] a writer corrected himself because he realised that the complementation pattern he had chosen initially did not apply to the verb he had chosen

[2] DA 66.4 ἀλλὰ πάντως κατάλαβέ μ **【οι】** \ε/ πρὸ διαφύματος
‘but certainly visit me before dawn’

The dative would suit a semantically equivalent verb such as συμβάλλω. Similarly, Stolk (2016: 1320–1322) argues convincingly that the dative in δέομαί σοι, or more specifically in the formula δέομαι οὖν, did not result from bilingual interference but rather from a writer’s incorrect assumptions about the structure of the target language Greek.⁸⁰

(3) Chunking refers to the insertion of combinations of words, phrases or even sentences without attention to the syntactic requirements of the context.⁸¹ For instance, the formula γινῶναί σε βούλομαι ὅτι ‘I want you to know that’ marks new or salient information. After ὅτι a factive subordinate clause is needed. However, writers sometimes prefix this formula to a main clause thereby disregarding the syntactic constraints imposed by ὅτι.⁸²

⁷⁸ Cf. also Fournet 1999: § 63 (with regard to the archive of Dioscoros).

⁷⁹ Cf. Schreier 2012: 541, ODP s.v. ‘overgeneralisation’.

⁸⁰ For an opposing view, see Clarysse 1993.

⁸¹ For the cognitive process of chunking, see Bybee 2010: 33–56. For Greek, see James 2008 (formula F1).

⁸² The adjustment of pronominal elements in the clause following ὅτι often clarifies whether it is a dependent or an independent clause. For further discussion, see Chapter 5.

(4) The application of false analogies may result in a lack of grammaticality. Analogies⁸³ may be of phonological or morphological nature. Also, analogies may either be between two Greek structures or between a Greek and a Coptic structure.

[3a] phonological analogy (in Greek): BGU 3 1002.16 καὶ ἐπεγράφησαν ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω **μαρτύρω**<v> δέκα ἕξ⁸⁴ ‘and sixteen witnesses were listed on the verso’

The <v> is left out because of preceding ὀπίσω ending in <ω>.

[3b] phonological analogy (between Greek and Coptic): P. Ross. Georg. IV app. p. 99 μοί as direct object

μοί resembles Coptic **mmo=i** phonologically.⁸⁵ However, Greek μοί is a dative and thus assumes the function of an indirect object, whereas Coptic **mmo=i** has the function of a direct object equivalent to the Greek accusative.⁸⁶

[3c] morphological analogy (in Greek): BGU 3 1002.9 λιβὸς **έτέρας αὐλῆς** ‘to the South, another property’

The genitive έτέρας αὐλῆς is chosen because of the preceding genitive λιβὸς although syntactically, a nominative έτέρα αὐλή would be needed since έτέρα αὐλή functions as the subject of the relevant sentence.⁸⁷

[3d] morphological analogy (between Greek and Coptic): πολλήν σῖτον ‘much wheat’

⁸³ Stolk (forthcoming) distinguishes between, on the one hand, mechanical and factual errors, which result from the process of composition, and structural errors, which result from false (analogical) assumptions about the structure of a language.

⁸⁴ Mussies (1968) alternatively considers influence from the Egyptian construction of numerals (numeral + n / n- + multiplied entity).

⁸⁵ Cf. Jernstedt 1927. For the context, see Chapter 1.

⁸⁶ Incidentally, the similarity of [2] and [3b] illustrates the fact that it is sometimes difficult to determine what exactly underlies a deviation.

⁸⁷ Cf. Mussies 1968.

The feminine form of the adjective, πολλήν, is chosen because ‘wheat’ is a feminine noun in Coptic, ⲧⲓⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ *t-blbile* ‘grain’.⁸⁸

(5) Duplication errors refer to the redundant duplication of an item in a sentence.

[4a] Would you turn **on** the light **on**?

Duplication errors can often be explained by Fay’s sentence-shift theory. This theory states that while phrasing his sentence a speaker / writer shifted at some point from model 1 to model 2. For [4a], we would assume that a speaker / writer shifted from [4b] to [4c].⁸⁹

[4b] Would you turn on the light?

[4c] Would you turn the light on?

Naturally, there are also some *slips of the pen*. These are deviations from the standard pattern for which no explanation based on internal or external factors can be proffered.

2.1.5 Direct vs indirect interferences

Interferences are structures that reflect the influence of a source language (SL) on a target language (TL).⁹⁰ The SL-influence concerns the structural level. On the surface level, only TL-matter appears. In a bilingual’s mind, two languages may interfere with each other more often than is visible in our evidence. In fact, if a structure in language A exactly resembles a structure in language B, the structure we observe may have been chosen based on the grammar of either language. For instance, French and German employ the same preposition in [5a] and [5b].

⁸⁸ Gignac 2013, Torallas Tovar 2010a. Note however that the more common word for ‘wheat’ is masculine *coro souo*.

⁸⁹ The example is taken from Fay 1982. An example in our corpus is PK 15.6–8 (concerning a quantifier).

⁹⁰ The terms discussed for referring to such structures differ depending on the context for which they were coined. Terms such as ‘substratum-interference’ (Matras 2009: 237), ‘shift-induced interference’ (Thomason 2001: 277) and, on the other hand, ‘influence of’ (Goglia 2005: 70–73), ‘imposition (SL-agentivity)’ (Winford 2010: 170–172) and ‘transference’ (Watt 2013: 17) exist. For a critique of the term ‘interference’, see also Hamers and Blanc 2000: 41.

[5a] l'homme **sur** la photo

[5b] der Mann **auf** dem Photo

Hence, a French-German bilingual may have produced [5a] in a French text based on [5a] or [5b]. Conversely, English calls for a different preposition:

[6a] the man **in** the picture

Thus, if an English-French bilingual produced [6b] in an English text, [6b] would be identifiable as an interference.

[6b] the man **on** the picture

The examples just given pertain to the distinction between positive and negative transfer.⁹¹ Positive transfer refers to pairs like [5a] and [5b] in which a bilingual may have produced [5a] correctly based on [5b]. Negative transfer refers to pairs like [5a] and [6b], in which a bilingual seems to have produced [6b] based on [5a], but [6b] is ungrammatical. Since instances of positive transfer are unidentifiable in our sources, we will focus on instances of negative transfer. The concept of positive transfer may however explain an 'unexpected impression of grammatical skill'⁹² in certain cases.

As regards identifiable interferences, we can distinguish between direct interferences and indirect interferences.⁹³ Direct interferences result from the matching of every item of the SL to an item of the TL. The matching process is mainly based on the semantics of the relevant items.⁹⁴ Direct interferences often appear in idiomatic expressions, but they may also concern smaller units. Compare [7a] to [7c]:

[7a] I will not beat about the bush.

⁹¹ Cf. Butler and Hakuta 2004: 129–134.

Goglia (2005: 70–71) dismisses this distinction based on his dismissal of interferences as 'mistakes'.

⁹² Mussies 1968: 74–75 (with reference to an instance of *attractio relativi* in a document that contains several ungrammatical structures).

⁹³ Cf. Matras 2009: 245–248 (lexical/semantic vs grammatical replication), Heine and Kuteva 2005: 100–103 (polysemy copying vs grammaticalization). Stolk (forthcoming) makes a similar distinction.

⁹⁴ For polysemy-copying / isomorphic replication, see Heine and Kuteva 2005: 100–103, Matras and Sakel 2007: 838, Matras 2009: 239 (semantic shift), Myers-Scotton 2002: 234–236 (an overview of Haugen's loan shifts, etc.).

[7b] Je ne tournerai pas autour du pot.

[7c] Ich werde nicht um den heißen Brei reden.

The idiomatic expressions [7a] to [7c] match semantically and functionally, but the meaning of each is lost when they are transferred into another language by means of word-by-word translation (polysemy-copying). Such is the case for the Egyptian idiom Derchain (2001) identified in Herodotus:

[8a] Hdt II.133 ἔς τε τὰ ἔλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανῶμεν
 ‘we shall wander to the meadows and groves’

The meaning only becomes clear when the Egyptian original is considered:

[8b]	<i>z3b</i>	<i>zš.w</i>
	<i>wander.around</i>	<i>marsh.PL</i> ⁹⁵
	‘to enjoy oneself’	

Another case of polysemy-copying is the choice of the preposition in the verbal complementation-pattern in [9a]:

[9a] P. Lond. 6 1926.14 ἐὰν εὖξῃ ἐπάνω μου
 ‘if you pray for me’
 P. Lond. 6 1926.24 εὖχ[ου] ἐπάνω αὐτῷ
 ‘pray for him’

The preposition ἐπάνω shares a spatial meaning ‘over’ with ὑπέρ, which would have been one of the expected options after εὖχομαι (Jim 2014). Torallas Tovar (2010) however convincingly construes [9a] as modelled on [9b]:

[9b] 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏

⁹⁵ Wb 3.483.12–485.2 (*zš*) and Wb 3 420.15–421.5 (*z3b*).

šlēl edʾn-
 pray for.PRP
 ‘to pray for’

Coptic εχῆν- *edʾn-* regularly has a metaphorical meaning when combined with ὡς ἄνω *šlēl* although ὡς ἄνω *ha-* is the more common alternative. The resemblance between ἐπὶ ἄνω and εχῆν- *edʾn-* can be summarised as follows:

- (1) semantics : ‘over’ (spatial);
- (2) morphological structure : complex preposition (ἐπί, ἄνω; ε- *e-*, χω= *dʾō=*);
- (3) phonological structure : initial /e/.

Indirect interferences, on the other hand, result from consideration of an entire structure. This is what Matras and Sakel (2007) describe as pattern replication or pivot-matching. Somebody identifies an appropriate structure for their communicative purpose. If the structure is in a language other than the one required by the situational setting, they consider the entire structure and identify functional pivots. Pivots are features they deem essential to the structure. They then match the chosen pivots to TL-structures. Finally, they realise the structure in the TL.⁹⁶ Matras and Sakel identify three relevant forces that trigger matching of pivots⁹⁷:

- (1) the polysemy and polyfunctionality of the SL-model;
- (2) the morpho-syntactic potential of the TL-structure;
- (3) the phonetic similarity between SL and TL.

Concerning (1) they note that while theoretically all semantic and functional nuances of an item may be used for pivot-matching, usually the most frequent and concrete semantic and functional nuances are explored first.⁹⁸ (2) is the reason for syntactic constraints imposed by the TL. The TL-item must somehow be capable of assuming the function of the pivot to which it is matched. Since two languages rarely have items that exactly match, functional and semantic reduction, extension and reanalysis of the chosen TL-item may

⁹⁶ Cf. Matras 2009: 241 and 243, Matras and Sakel 2007: 851 and 854, Adams 2003: 428–431.

⁹⁷ Matras 2009: 241–265, Matras and Sakel 2007: 851–857.

⁹⁸ Matras and Sakel 2007: 852.

be required.⁹⁹ Concerning (3) Matras and Sakel note that it is a marginal force on its own but may in combination with (1) or (2) trigger a writer's choice between two or more options.¹⁰⁰

An example of pivot-matching is the Coptic internal address (IA) in the formulaic opening of a letter in [10a]:

[10a] PKC 21.1–4 {*na*-[*c*]*an* [*na*]-*d*isaue [*e*]-*tai* ntot *pšmpnoute mn-ky*
[*ri*]*a mn-maria*} addressee {*anak makarios*} sender {*hn-p-d'ais p-noute*} 'in the
Lord God' {*khairain*} verb
{na-[s]an [na]-d'isaue [e]-tai ntot pšmpnoute mn-ky[ri]a mn-maria} addressee
{anak makarios} sender *{hn-p-d'ais p-noute}* 'in the Lord God' *{khairain}* verb
POSS.PL.1sg-brother POSS.PL.1sg-master CS-honour.STA by.PRP.1sg ART.DEF.SG-name
with-name with-name **I.S** name in.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-lord ART.DEF.SG-god greet.INF
'My brothers, my masters, who are honoured by me, Pshempnoute and Kyria and
Maria, **I**, Makarios, in the Lord God, best wishes.'¹⁰¹

The idiomatic forms of Greek and Coptic IAs differ (cf. Chapter 6). The structure in [10a] is idiomatically Greek: The addressee is named before the sender, a prepositional phrase referring to God follows, and the formula finishes with the verb 'greet'. The two features that contradict Coptic syntax are: (1) putting the addressee's name first, (2) the lack of a finite verb.¹⁰²

[10a] would be an example of polysemy-copying if it was not for the subject-pronoun *anak* preceding the sender's name. A subject pronoun in an internal address is unidiomatic in Greek. Case inflection clarifies the syntactic function of each element. [10b] would be an idiomatic Greek translation of [10a]:

[10b] τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου (...) Μακάριος ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ χαίρειν.
'To my brothers (...), Makarios, in the Lord God, best wishes.'

⁹⁹ Matras and Sakel 2007: 853–856.

¹⁰⁰ Matras and Sakel 2007: 856–857, Matras 2009: 246.

¹⁰¹ Other instances of this transfer of a Greek structure into Coptic: AJ 24 (severely damaged); PKC 14; PKC 15; PKC 21; PKC 22 (code-switch); PKC 25; PKC 26. The combinations of senders and addressees indicate that the structure is not owing to idiolects.

¹⁰² *hn-p-d'ais p-noute* by itself is a direct interference rendering ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ word for word.

The subject pronoun is needed in [10a] since the syntactic structure would be unclear without it,¹⁰³ but its addition only remedies the first half of the formula. Coptic syntax would still require a finite verb.

Another example of indirect interference is [11a], which is modelled on [11b].¹⁰⁴

[11a]	τῷ τόπῳ	ἐν ᾧ	καθεύδει
[11b]	ⲙⲁ-	ⲛ-	ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲧⲕ
	<i>ma-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>nkotk</i>
	place	of	sleep.INF
	‘sleeping place’		

Instead of regular Greek κοιμητήριον, a noun derived from κοιμάω and with the suffix -τήριον, which indicates a place¹⁰⁵, the writer invented a periphrastic structure to match the Coptic prefix ⲙⲁ-ⲛ- *ma n-*. Thus, the morpho-syntactic constraint of the TL Greek, the non-existence of a suitable prefix, accounts for the periphrastic structure.¹⁰⁶

By and large, while direct interferences result from a lack of attention to the underlying structure of an utterance, indirect interferences stem from considering the structural properties of an utterance. This is summarised in [12].

[12] Types of interferences

	Process	Considering ...	Aspect of language	Preservation of meaning
Direct interference	polysemy-copying	each item separately	semantics	poor
Indirect interference	pivot-matching	an entire structure	syntax	reasonable

¹⁰³ For significant Greek influence on Coptic epistolary formulae from Kellis, see Choat 2007 and 2010.

¹⁰⁴ Torallas Tovar 2004a: 172.

However, since a pattern equivalent to the Coptic one exists in Semitic languages (Lipinski 1997: §29.21), the model of the Greek structure cannot be determined conclusively.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. BDR § 109.8.

¹⁰⁶ The writer's choice of καθεύδω instead of κοιμάω may have played a role. While a derived noun exists for the latter, there is none for the former.

Borrowing refers to the import of matter from another language with subsequent nativisation in the TL.¹¹³ In [14], the SL is Latin, and the TL is Greek.

[14] ὁ κόμης, τοῦ κόμετος

Latin *comes, comitis*

‘the companion’

Unlike code-switches borrowings are fully integrated into the system of the TL. Loanwords from several languages have passed into Greek and Coptic due to the contact situation in Egypt as summarised in [15]:

[15] Borrowings

Source languages	Target language: Greek	Target language: Egyptian
Latin	Dickey 2003, Cervenska-Ehrenstrasser and Diethart 1996–2000 (A to D), Daris 1991	
Egyptian	Torallas Tovar 2004a, 2004b, 2007, forthcoming	ø
Greek	ø	Ray 1994, Clarysse 1987, Clarysse 2013, Fournet 1989, Richter 2009: 407–408 Förster 2002 ¹¹⁴
Aramaic		Ray 1994
Pahlavi	Sänger 2011: 659–660 (sellarios)	Ray 1994

However, some categories of items resist matter-replication so that only pattern-replication is possible (cf. Matras and Sakel 2007: 844–845, Matras 2015).

¹¹³ Cf. Haspelmath 2009: 35–54, Thomason 2001: 72–73 (noting that a short period of time may be sufficient), Muysken 2010: 276 (insertional code-switches), Myers-Scotton 2002: 54–99 (insertions in the M(atrix)L(anguage)F(rame)), Hoffmann 1991: 99–100 and Myers-Scotton 2006: 253–260 (ad hoc borrowings; one-off borrowings).

Opinions are divided about the relation between borrowing, code-switching and interference (cf. e.g. Matras 2009: 110–114 (continuum) versus Bakker 2003).

For the nativisation of Egyptian words in Greek, see Torallas Tovar 2004a, Torallas Tovar 2004b, Torallas Tovar 2017.

¹¹⁴ For the representation of Greek words in Coptic, see Förster 2002: XIV–XIX, Clackson 2010: 79–82.

The line between code-switching and borrowing is here drawn by means of the feature \pm nativisation. While a more fine-grained differentiation, for example, between ad hoc borrowings (e.g. *switch-en* in German) and established borrowings, can be applied to modern languages, we often lack sufficient evidence to make such nuanced distinctions for corpus-languages like Greek.

Regionalisms are features that have resulted from convergence of two languages in a specific spatially limited language-contact setting. Regionalisms form a regional variety (cf. further Section 2.3.2).

One category of words must be treated separately, proper names. Personal names and place names constitute a morpho-syntactic category of their own.¹¹⁵ Proper names may be inserted into the surrounding syntax in a declined, an undeclined and an indeclinable form. A name that can be fitted into a Greek declension is ‘declined’ when it is inflected according to the requirements of the syntactic context. The same name is ‘undeclined’ when it is left in the nominative despite the requirements of the syntactic context. A name is ‘indeclinable’ when it cannot be fitted into a Greek declension so that declension according to the requirements of the syntactic context is impossible.¹¹⁶

A personal name that seemingly appears in a declined, an undeclined and an indeclinable form in the greeting sections of our corpus is ‘Hor’¹¹⁷:

[16]	<div> <div>Declined</div> <div>• PK 17.24 Ὡρα</div> </div> <div> <div>'Hor' in GSs</div> <div>Undeclined</div> <div>• AN 12.11 Ὡρ</div> </div> <div> <div>Indeclinable</div> <div>• AP 1.60 Ὡρ</div> </div>		
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One could however argue for confusion of vowel lengths in AP 1.60. This would render the name undeclined but not indeclinable.

Personal names are inserted into slots in external addresses (EA), internal addresses (IA) and greeting sections (GS) (cf. Chapter 6).¹¹⁸ They must then be inflected according to the syntactic requirements of the relevant slot. For instance, Ὡρα in the GS

¹¹⁵ Anderson 2007: 169–170 and 287.

¹¹⁶ Indeclinable names may be marked with an apostrophe, cf. Kramer and Shelton 1987: 38. Confusion of vowel length may disguise some undeclined names, e.g. Ὡρ for Ὡρ. Weak final consonants (<ς> and <ν>) may disguise some undeclined or even declined names, e.g. Γένα(ς).

¹¹⁷ Regular third-declension pattern: Ὡρ, Ὡρός.

¹¹⁸ Names primarily appear in epistolary formulae rather than the letter body.

in PK 17.11–24 fills the direct-object slot of *προσαγορεύω* and must therefore be inflected as accusative.

However, unlike attributes such as ‘father’ or ‘brother’ personal names are an independent category.¹¹⁹ In many languages, personal names are not nativised, unlike other nouns.¹²⁰ In Greek, there are means to nativise a foreign name¹²¹, e.g. *Ψάιν* in PK 17.18 or *Σεραπίων*¹²² in AN 12.1. Whether a writer chose to nativise a name is ideologically rather than syntactically motivated.¹²³ For instance, in AP 1.59–62 (GS) all names but ‘Hor’ are correctly inflected.¹²⁴

2.2 Socio-linguistic concepts

This section is intended to introduce the reader to the surrounding in which our writers lived by substantiating three observations¹²⁵:

- (1) The relationship between Greek and Coptic varied during their millennium of coexistence in Egypt.
- (2) In the fourth century, separate groups of ‘Greeks’ and ‘Egyptians’ no longer exist, neither in social nor in linguistic terms.¹²⁶
- (3) A bilingual environment does not guarantee widespread bilinguality.¹²⁷

2.2.1 Describing a society

In order to describe a group of people, we may refer to its structural properties such as the number of members of a group and its attitudinal properties such as whether a group

¹¹⁹ For names and attributes, see Section 2.1.4 (‘chunking’).

¹²⁰ Yet, names may be nativised, cf. Anderson 2007: 159.

¹²¹ Cf. Brunsch 1978, Muhs 2010.

¹²² *Ψαίς* – *P3-šy* – *πωαι* – god Shai; the genitive, dative and accusative are formed by inserting the name into the third declension (*Ψαίτος*, *Ψαίτι*, *Ψαίν*). In the letters from Kellis, the name is also used in an undeclined form (e.g. in PK 13.38–41).

The name *Σεραπίων* is related to the god Sarapis. Cf. Trismegistos – people (<http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=5663>; accessed: 13.05.2017).

¹²³ For the opposite opinion, see Vierros 2003: 16f., Vierros 2007: 720–721 (with reference to Pestman 1978), Fewster 2002: 238–239, Torallas Tovar 2010a: 262.

¹²⁴ In Chapter 6, personal names in epistolary formulae are considered. This has been chosen as a case study since personal names are almost limited to epistolary formulae in our letters.

¹²⁵ For relevant parameters in language-contact settings, see Thomason 2001: 66 and 77–85 (listing as factors duration, number and socioeconomic standing of speakers, and speakers’ attitudes), Matras 2009: 45–47 (listing as a factor educational support).

¹²⁶ For language loyalty / language as a carrier of culture / identity marker, see Hamers and Blanc 2000: 9, Thomason 2001: 47, Matras 2015, Matras 2009: 53–57.

For cultural identity, see Hamers and Blanc 2000: 9 and 26 table 2.1.

¹²⁷ Cf. Winford 2010: 171, Hamers and Blanc 2000: 49.

welcomes innovations or approves of bilingualism.¹²⁸ A large group of people who live together form a society. In a society, all people are linked by means of certain obligations. A smaller group of people within a society such as a family constitutes a social network.¹²⁹ In a social network, people are linked by multiple links (close-knit networks) or only a few (loose-knit networks). Individuals are part of a social network and thereby also of a society.¹³⁰

Societal life usually takes place in numerous contexts or domains. For the present study, it suffices to distinguish broadly between a private and an official domain. All dealings that do not involve the government are termed private. This includes small-scale business dealings and deliveries as well as dealings with clerics of a lower status such as local abbots. Common text types in this domain are letters and informal petitions. All dealings that involve the government, both the local and the imperial government, are termed official and so are dealings with high church officials.¹³¹ Common text types in this domain are petitions and contracts.

2.2.2 Multilingual Egypt

Languages may coexist in a country either when they are spatially separated as in modern-day Canada or Switzerland or when there is regulatory hierarchical ranking.¹³² Hierarchical ranking results in a situation of diglossia¹³³, as in colonial settings. We can then often distinguish the following ranks:

A national language is used in governmental institutions all over the country.

A regional language is used in specific regions and may be used in local courtrooms.

¹²⁸ Language choice in several kinds of documents is usually considered an indication of attitude. See however Matras 2009: 41–44 (pointing to the multiplicity of impacting factors). Societal attitudes may not coincide with individual attitudes. Cf. Adams (2003: 598) on the Roman soldier Terentianus.

For the status of bilingualism, see Butler and Hakuta 2004: 116 table 5.1, Thomason 2001: 32–36, Hamers and Blanc 2000: 9 (noting the aspect of self-regulation).

¹²⁹ Cf. Conde-Silvestre 2012 (distinguishing between eco- vs socio-centric networks), Bergs 2012.

¹³⁰ For levels of analysis, see Muysken 2010: 268 table 13.1 (the level of the individual, community, region, area), Hamers and Blanc 2000: 24 and 32 (individual, interpersonal, intergroup, and societal level).

¹³¹ Cf. Section 2.4.3.

¹³² Cf. Hamers and Blanc 2000: 31–32.

¹³³ Cf. Colvin 2009: 36 n. 9, Matras 2009: 44–53 (language-domain mapping), Crespo 2007: 40–41.

A vernacular is used for day-to-day business, but usually, does not have a place in official dealings.¹³⁴

At the beginning of the fourth century, Greek and Egyptian had already coexisted in Egypt for approximately a millennium. While Greek was initially a minority language limited to some trade harbours in the north, it rose to the status of a widely used official language under the Ptolemaic kings and remained the working official language under Roman rule.¹³⁵ However, in the early Byzantine period, the situation seems to have changed.¹³⁶

Clearly distinguished groups of speakers existed during the earliest encounters in the seventh and sixth centuries.¹³⁷ Tensions between the incoming speakers of Greek and the local populations have been suggested by Torallas Tovar (2010b: 21–24, 2010a: 255–256) for the Ptolemaic period.¹³⁸ Yet, Kraus (2000: 333–334) convincingly suggested that by the Roman period the former ethnical stratification had been superseded by a social stratification based on wealth.¹³⁹ In AD 275, the *institutio Antoniniana* underscored this.¹⁴⁰

In this situation of fundamental change, the establishment of a writing system (Coptic) and a standard dialect (Sahidic) took place.¹⁴¹ The earliest Coptic texts date from the third / fourth century.¹⁴² They are mostly of private nature, but there are also some

¹³⁴ Cf. Matras 2009: 47–50, Thomason 2001: 38.

¹³⁵ Cf. Adams 2003: 534. Further, see Adams 2003: 545–576 and 597–599.

¹³⁶ Cf. Jannaris's (1897: §§ 14–18) label 'transitional'.

¹³⁷ Cf. Torallas Tovar 2004a: 164, Torallas Tovar 2010a: 255 (considering the development of a local pidgin).

¹³⁸ However, for the Ptolemies' accommodating approach at the societal level, see Turner 1974, Thompson 1994: 72–73 and 80, Manning 2010: 28; Crespo 2007: 42–43.

¹³⁹ Representative individuals are described, for example, by Keenan 2007: 233–237 (Phoibammon) and Vierros 2012b (Hermias).

For theories of a cultural merger, see Torallas Tovar 2010b: 24, Choat 2009: 344–345, Crespo 2007: 39.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Jördens 2012: 256. For changes in AD 212, see Adams 2003: 758. From AD 212 onwards, the wills of Roman citizens could be written in Greek rather than Latin.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Choat 2012: 587, Choat 2009: 342.

For the importance of a writing system and a standard language, see Thomason 2001: 38–42.

For the lack of a writing system for Egyptian in the centuries before the emergence of Coptic, see Bagnall 1993: 236–237, Clarysse 1993: 201.

Opinions are divided with regard to the exact circumstances of the creation of the Coptic script. Cf. Torallas Tovar 2004b: 59 (who relates it to the rise of Christianity), Choat 2009: 354 (who notices the empire-wide tendency of local languages to gain in importance) and Clackson 2010: 94 (who refutes its connection with nationalistic trends).

¹⁴² For the oldest texts, see Choat 2012: 584–585, Clackson 2010: 75, Richter 2009: 410–414, Depauw 1997: 32–33 (Old Coptic).

more official ones.¹⁴³ The first Coptic legal documents date from the sixth century.¹⁴⁴ Applying Matras' concept of domain stability¹⁴⁵ to this situation, we notice that the official and the private spheres underwent a change in terms of their linguistic profile.¹⁴⁶ As a result, Coptic came to be utilised more widely.¹⁴⁷

On balance, our writers lived in a multilingual environment with two almost equal players, Greek and Coptic.

2.2.3 Overview of periods

At the societal level, languages are accepted for certain functions. These functions are usually assigned to them by the government. This assignment of functions obliges people to use the available languages in certain contexts. Hence, the political context is here chosen as a means to label historical periods. The constellation of coexisting languages in Egypt and their relative status is summarised in [17].¹⁴⁸

[17] Historical periods

Periods	Political situation	Official language	Lingua franca	Vernacular
Classical Greek (CG)	Pharaonic kingdom	Egyptian		Greek, etc.
Classical Greek (CG)	Achaemenid satrapy	Aramaic	Egyptian	Greek, etc.
Post-classical Greek (Hellenistic Greek) PCG (HG)	Ptolemaic kingdom	Greek	Egyptian (?)	Egyptian, etc.
Post-classical Greek (Roman Greek) PCG (RG)	Roman province	Latin ¹⁴⁹	Greek	Egyptian, etc.

¹⁴³ Cf. Choat 2009: 347 (Douch), Choat 2007: 669 n. 18.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Richter 2002: 22–26, Fournet 2010, MacCoull 1993. All texts belong to Dioscoros' archive with the earliest Coptic legal text dating from AD 534.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Matras 2009: 50–53. Similarly, Winford 2010: 171, Hamers and Blanc 2000: 22.

¹⁴⁶ For the domain hypothesis concerning Greek (official) and Coptic (private), see Gardner *et al.* 2014: 11–12, Clackson 2004: 23 and 36–39, Fournet 2009b: 434–441, Choat 2012: 589. Crespo (2007: 39) however reminds us that Greek was widely used in the private sphere.

¹⁴⁷ A famous example of the spread of Coptic is the wills of the abbots of the monastery of St. Phoibammon, see Krause 1969: 57–67, Fournet 2009b: 439, Bucking 2012: 254, Clackson 2004: 23 n. 11, Richter 2014: 139, Till 1964: 144–148, MacCoull 2009: 18. While the will of AD 610 is written in Greek, the will of AD 634 is written in Coptic.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Pestman and Groningen 1994: 6–13. Pestman and Groningen (1994: 12) consider AD 284 the beginning of a new era because the administration of Egypt was fundamentally reorganised. Cf. also Stolk 2015b: 45.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Adams 2003: 597.

Post-classical Greek (early Byzantine Greek) PCG (EBG)	part of a Byzantine diocese	Greek	Egyptian	others
ø	Arab conquest	Arabic		Greek, Egyptian, etc.

2.2.4 Bilinguality

Bilinguality refers to an individual's capacity to communicate in more than one language. Someone may be bilingual from birth¹⁵⁰ or they may have learnt a second language at some point. For the latter group of people, it has been claimed that speakers of Egyptian were learning Greek, but speakers of Greek were not learning Egyptian. More recently, pieces of information such as

- (1) the passage in UPZ 1 148¹⁵¹,
- (2) alphabets with a separate section for those Coptic letters that were adopted from Demotic¹⁵²,
- (3) bilingual schoolbooks¹⁵³, and
- (4) the evidence from monasteries¹⁵⁴

have indicated otherwise. At least some speakers of Greek evidently learnt Egyptian.¹⁵⁵

Overall, the availability of educational support appears more balanced in the early Byzantine period than in earlier periods. Educational support for Egyptian had become more accessible, being no longer limited to the priestly class in the old temples. Also, bilingual education seems to have existed at the basic level. The importance of education is considered in more detail in Chapter 7. It here suffices to echo Evans's (2012a: 40) observation that someone's educational level could influence their writing more profoundly than their ethnic and socioeconomic background could.¹⁵⁶

By and large, acquisition of bilingualism was not unidirectional, but bidirectional. We therefore expect to meet L2-speakers of Greek and Coptic in the sources.

¹⁵⁰ For Egypt, see Criore 2009: 327, Fewster 2002: 233, Fournet 2009b: 437 (with reference to Tithoes).

¹⁵¹ UPZ 1 148.1–4 (2nd c. BC) πυνθανομένη μαρθάνειν σε Αἰγύπτια γράμματα συνεχάρην σοι καὶ ἑμαυτῇ 'Knowing that you are learning the Egyptian letters / language, I am happy for you and myself'. Cf. Torallas Tovar 2010b: 33–34 and Criore 2001: 25.

¹⁵² Cf. Criore 1999: 282 and Clackson 2010: 88 (alphabets).

¹⁵³ Cf. Criore 1999: 282 and Parsons 1970 (schoolbook).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Choat 2009: 349 and Torallas Tovar 2010b: 36–42 (desert, monasteries), Bagnall 1993: 245 and Torallas Tovar 2010b: 40–41 (Ammon).

¹⁵⁵ The actual number might have been even more considerable, but we are lacking conclusive evidence.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. similarly Manolessou 2005: 245, Bagnall and Criore 2006: 201–217. Wealth may however have been the key to educational institutions (cf. Criore 2001: 250).

2.2.5 Bilingualism and bilinguality

Bilinguals may know both their languages equally well (balanced bilinguals). We then expect transfer of linguistic features from either language into the respective other.¹⁵⁷ Alternatively, bilinguals may be more proficient in one of their languages (dominant bilinguals¹⁵⁸). We then expect transfer of linguistic features primarily from their stronger into their weaker language. Butler and Hakuta (2004: 129–134) however mention that the converse also occurs.¹⁵⁹ This observation corroborates that bilingual surroundings can significantly impact on either of a bilingual's languages.¹⁶⁰

In light of the bi-directionality of transfer, the labels L1 and L2 are inapplicable for the present study. The two languages involved are therefore termed source language (SL) and target language (TL). The SL is the language from which a structure originates; the TL is the language in which this structure is realised.¹⁶¹

In dominant bilinguals, the levels of proficiency in their second language can considerably vary¹⁶² as Greek-Egyptian bilinguals whose proficiency has been described in scholarly literature illustrate¹⁶³: Vierros (2008, 2012) demonstrates that the bilingual, Greek-Demotic, notary Hermias seems to have been proficient in his second language, Greek. Adams (2003: 593–597 esp. 594) concludes that the Roman soldier Terentianus was able to use both his languages, Latin and Greek, proficiently. In PKC 19, the writer asks the addressee, Mathaios, to study the psalms either in Coptic or in Greek (l. 13–14). Conversely, the Roman tax-officials described by Fewster (2002) knew just enough Greek to draw up receipts and records. Even these often comprised syntactic mistakes. According to Kraus (2000), Ischyron and Petaus, two village scribes of the Roman period, knew hardly enough Greek to perform their duties.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Grosjean's (2001) model of language modes (monolingual, intermediate, bilingual).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Hamers and Blanc 2000: 24–25. For types of bilinguality, see Butler and Hakuta 2004: 116 table 5.1, Hamers and Blanc 2000: 26 table 2.1.

¹⁵⁹ For the concept of a pragmatically dominant language, see Matras 2009: 97–98.

¹⁶⁰ For models of processing two languages, see Hamers and Blanc 2000: 162–197, Grosjean 2001, Costa 2004, Ellis 2003.

¹⁶¹ For approaches to labelling, see Winford 2010: 171 (donor and replica language), Matras 2009: 238 (model and replica language).

¹⁶² Cf. Butler and Hakuta 2004: 120–129, Hamers and Blanc 2000: 6–8 and 33–43, Matras 2009: 79–85. For the concept of interlanguage, see Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000 (composite Matrix Language), Matras 2009: 74–79.

For an example of low proficiency, see Matras 2009: 82 (with reference to the infinitive style).

¹⁶³ Cf. Fewster 2002: 236–245, Torallas Tovar 2010b: 30–31 and 2010a: 257–259.

On balance, the individual is only to a certain extent influenced by its environment. Hence, we encounter multiple levels of bilingual proficiency.

2.3 Greek and Coptic

In theory, we can approach languages from a diachronic or a synchronic perspective. Practically, the two perspectives can hardly be separated.¹⁶⁴ The present study reflects this state of affairs: Although we are going to take a synchronic approach, the diachronic level of analysis will be relevant insofar as early Byzantine Greek evolved from classical and post-classical Greek and into medieval and modern Greek. Equally, Coptic developed from earlier Egyptian (Demotic).¹⁶⁵ Diachronic trends will help us distinguish between structures that are owing to internal evolution and those that are genuinely foreign to Greek grammar.

The aim of this section is to describe the two language varieties relevant to the present study, early Byzantine Greek in Egypt and Coptic, and to demonstrate their autonomy.¹⁶⁶

2.3.1 Language change: Internal evolution and language contact

Language change often results from a combination of internal and external factors that impact on a language variety for a significant amount of time. Internal factors are language-internal evolutionary processes. External factors are the contact with other languages.¹⁶⁷ Internal evolution is relevant to the present study since any comparison of our texts with classical or New Testament Greek would impute more mistakes to our writers than they actually made. We can broadly distinguish between three kinds of internal developments:

- (1) Post-classical Greek reflects cross-linguistically common paths of development.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Aitchison 2012: 19.

¹⁶⁵ Egyptian does not share all common Semitic features, cf. Allen 2013: 1–2.

¹⁶⁶ For contrary views about Coptic, see Oréal 1999: 299 and Reintges 2001a: 233. Similarly to the latter, see also Loprieno 1995: 26, Cribiore 1999: 280.

¹⁶⁷ For the question of how to determine whether contact-induced change has happened, see Thomason 2001: 91–95.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Hendery 2012 (relative clauses), Heine and Kuteva 2007 (relative clauses); Rubino 2005 (distributive expressions); Company Company 2006 (the particle ‘behold’), Heine and Kuteva 2002 (terms for body parts, the indefinite article).

Although it is reasonable to assume that these developments have primarily resulted from internal evolution, external factors may have acted as reinforcement. The relevant structures continue in the Modern language. Relevant structures are:

- ➔ invariable relative converters¹⁶⁹
- ➔ the numeral ‘one’ as indefinite article¹⁷⁰
- ➔ distributive constructions by means of repetition¹⁷¹
- ➔ a focus particle ‘behold’¹⁷²
- ➔ the use of body-part terms in abstract structures¹⁷³
- ➔ the loss of morphologically encoded adjectival comparison¹⁷⁴

(2) Post-classical Greek displays a middle stage of a linear development from Classical to Modern Greek.

Some features in our texts already resemble the Modern language. Although these features seem to have primarily resulted from internal evolution, external factors may have acted as catalysts. Relevant structures are:

- ➔ the replacement of adverbial cases by prepositional phrases¹⁷⁵
- ➔ the generalisation of the accusative after prepositions¹⁷⁶
- ➔ the disappearance of the classical participial system¹⁷⁷
- ➔ the disappearance of the *schema Atticum*¹⁷⁸
- ➔ the disappearance of discourse-structuring particles¹⁷⁹

¹⁶⁹ For Greek, see Gignac 2013: 415 and 417, Evans 2012a: 34, Evans 2012b: 107–108, Torallas Tovar 2010a: 264.

For Semitic languages, see Lipinski 1997: § 57.1–9.

¹⁷⁰ For Greek, see Gignac 2013: 413 and 416, Lefort 1928: 158–159, Torallas Tovar 2010a: 262–264.

For Semitic languages, see Lipinski 1997: § 33.10 and 18.

¹⁷¹ For Greek, see Gignac 2013: 415 and 417, Lefort 1928: 158–159, Clackson 2010: 85–87, Torallas Tovar 2010a: 263.

For Semitic languages, see Lipinski 1997: § 35.33.

¹⁷² For Greek, see Lefort 1928: 158–159. See further, Chapter 5.

For Semitic languages, see Lipinski 1997: § 49.6. For Coptic, see Layton 2011: §§ 245 and 485, EGB: chapter 11.2.

¹⁷³ Cf. Lefort 1928: 159–160.

For Coptic, see Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Lefort 1928: 159–160.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Leiwo 2003: 5, who calls O. Narm. 6.5–6 μετά κολακίας ‘modernish use’ (μετά in an expression of manner), and Bagnall 2007a: 20, who calls O. Narm. 103.14–15 σημαίνει μετά^{GEN} a ‘minor case of unidiomatic usage’. For ἐν, see Chapter 4.

Cf. also Fournet 1999: § 64 (with reference to Dioscoros’ archive).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Mussies 1968 (μέχρι), but also Bortone 2010: esp. 183 and 203–206.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Clarysse 2010b: 47–48, but also Manolessou 2005: esp. 245.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Clarysse 1993: 197–198, but also James 2008: 180–182.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Clarysse 1993: 199–200, Clarysse 2010b: 41–42, but also Evans 2012b: 111, Bentein 2015c: 723–724.

(3) Post-classical Greek displays a structure that is not continued in the Modern language, a dead end.

The structure can be connected to a classical structure but seems to have disappeared either in the early Byzantine period or in later periods before the emergence of the Modern language.

➔ the semantics of certain prepositions¹⁸⁰

One of the most prominent internal evolutionary processes is internal grammaticalization. Grammaticalization describes the process in which an item or construction with a concrete lexical meaning comes to serve grammatical functions.¹⁸¹ For instance, Markopoulos proved this for θέλω, μέλλω and ἔχω in combination with an infinitive. These constructions developed from modal verbs with a concrete lexical value ‘I want / should / can do something’ into future auxiliaries with a purely grammatical function.¹⁸²

To turn away from internal evolution, language contact pertains to the present study since Greek and Egyptian coexisted in Egypt for a long time so that this language-contact situation left traces in Greek. When languages get in contact with other languages, convergence may occur.¹⁸³ For instance, features may be adopted, and internal trends may be reinforced.¹⁸⁴ The Greek perfect auxiliary ‘to have’ has been discussed as a product of internal and external factors.¹⁸⁵

One approach to account for language change in general is the systemic-functional approach.¹⁸⁶ This approach considers the individual speaker the agent of language

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Bortone 2010: 192–193, Bentein 2017a (διδά).

¹⁸¹ Cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003: esp. 1–18, Heine and Kuteva 2002.

¹⁸² Cf. Markopoulos 2009.

¹⁸³ For convergence, see Muysken 2010: 272–273, Matras 2010: 68–69, Matras 2009: 238–240, Myers-Scotton 2002: 100–105, Myers-Scotton 2006: 234 (Code-switches concern the surface level, whereas convergence patterns concern the structural level of a language).

For metatypy, see Muysken 2010: 275–276.

¹⁸⁴ For the option of mutual reinforcement of internal and external trends, see Thomason 2010: 46, Stolk forthcoming.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Bentein 2016: esp. 175–179 (who in the end argues for ‘independent parallel developments in genetically related languages [i.e. Latin and Greek]’, Drinka 2017: 94–111 (who argues for the bidirectionality of language contact between Latin and Greek). For Europe as a linguistic area (*Sprachraum*), see Matras 2009: 268–271.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Matras 2009: 74–79 and 310–312, Matras and Sakel 2007: esp. 849, Matras 2010: esp. 80, Muysken 2010: esp. 265 and similarly also Romaine 1982: 245 (‘a grammar is not just a collection of idiolects’). This approach is applied to Greek by Bentein 2012.

For the respective importance of social and linguistic factors, see Thomason and Kaufman 1991: 14 (giving priority to social factors), Thomason 2010: 46 (presenting a more balanced view), Schreier 2012: 544–546

change. The individual speaker produces utterances that comply with and those that do not comply with the synchronic standard. The non-standard structures are either approved of or rejected by the surrounding speaker community. If structures are rejected, they remain marginal. If structures win approval, they are integrated into the standard system. What makes this approach interesting for the present study is that the individual is the centre of gravity. The individual produces utterances because they want to communicate.¹⁸⁷ This need to communicate makes the individual produce all kinds of utterances. For the present study, the non-standard constructions that became standard are only relevant insofar as we must recognise them as post-classical standard. Non-standard constructions that never became standard are our main concern.

2.3.2 Contact varieties: Koines, regional varieties and mixed languages

Early Byzantine Greek is a koine. A koine is a common language that has developed from mutually intelligible languages. These languages are fused into a new language, a koine, through mixing, levelling, reallocation and simplification. Koines are fully developed and fully functional language systems. A Greek Koine first developed in the 4th c. BC. In the 3rd c. BC, it spread to a wider geographical area with the Macedonian conquest and subsequently adopted local colouring in several regions. This is natural when a language is used in a vast spatial area.¹⁸⁸ Bubenik (1993) summarises these developments as follows:

Attic-Ionic Koine	= ‘stabilized Koine’;
Hellenistic Koine	= ‘expanded Koine’;
Egyptian Greek	= ‘nativised Koine’. ¹⁸⁹

It has been argued that Koineization is an expression of forming new social relations.¹⁹⁰ This is certainly true of the contexts in which the Attic-Ionic Koine and the Hellenistic Koine developed.

(giving equal weight to both types of factors), Matras 2009: 235–240 (giving equal weight to both types of factors), Matras 2015.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Matras and Sakel 2007: 854.

¹⁸⁸ For Latin, see Adams 2003: 284–287, Adams 2007.

¹⁸⁹ For the regional diversification of Greek, see Bubenik 1993: 16–21 (Palestine, Asia minor, Egypt), Brixhe 2010 (Asia minor), Horrocks 2014: 110–114 (Egypt, Asia minor), Evans 2010a: 198 (Egypt).

¹⁹⁰ For Koineization, see Tuten 2003: 90–93, Schreier 2012, Bubenik 1993, Colvin 2009: 43.

Early Byzantine Greek in Egypt is a nativised Koine, to use Bubenik's taxonomy, or, a regional variety / dialect, to use a more general term for a language variety that has developed in a specific spatial setting.

[18] Adams 2003: 426 'The link language may be said to be 'indigenised', as it takes on features in the different regions which may to some extent be due to interference from the first languages of the new speakers.'

Regional varieties are fully developed and fully functional language systems. Regional varieties that have developed from the same language may be mutually unintelligible.¹⁹¹

The concept of a regional variety is relevant to Greek and Coptic. Coptic was split into regional varieties at least until the end of the fifth century¹⁹² and Greek seems to have developed an Egyptian variety.¹⁹³

The main phonological features of Egyptian Greek are listed in [19].¹⁹⁴ All features have resulted from the fact that a distinction that exists in Greek is non-existent in Coptic so that writers confused sounds.¹⁹⁵

[19] Egyptian Greek

Classes of sounds involved	Sounds involved	Example	Standard orthography
Confusion of voiced and voiceless plosives ¹⁹⁶	/g/ and /k/	AP 5.15 κλοκελέας	γλυκελαίας, τῆς
	/d/ and /t/	AJ 7.17–18 οὐτέποτε	οὐδέποτε

¹⁹¹ Cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 3–12 (dialect continuum).

A dialect can involve all areas of a language, cf. Adams 2007: 8–12.

¹⁹² Cf. Choat 2012.

For the development of the language without a 'centre of gravity', see Clackson 2010: 76 and Choat 2009: 354. The result of this informal development was the dialectal fragmentation.

¹⁹³ Cf. Adams 2003 ('Greek of Egypt'), Torallas Tovar 2010a: 253, Luiselli 1999: 17, Horrocks 2014: 111, Dahlgren 2017, implicitly also Fewster 2002: 235 (when commenting on the interchange between /t/ and /d/). Conversely, Stolk (2015b: 38) thinks that there is no significant difference between Greek in Egypt and Greek in other areas.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Horrocks 2014: 111–113 (Ptolemaic period) and 165–172 (Roman period), Dahlgren 2016, Dahlgren 2017.

¹⁹⁵ For methods of identifying significant phonetic spellings, see Manolissou 2008: 72–75, Adams 2007: 6–7, Meurman-Solin 2012: 475.

Interestingly, Adams (2007: 726–731) finds that accents are more common than syntactic regionalisms in his Latin data.

Dahlgren (2016: 100–101) argues that confusion of vowels may have resulted from the imposition of Coptic stress patterns onto Greek.

¹⁹⁶ Bubenik 1993: 17 (/t/ and /d/, /g/ and /k/), Bagnall 2007a: 17 (/t/ and /d/, /g/ and /k/), Fewster 2002: 235 (/d/ and /t/).

For the fluctuation between **Apa** and **Abba**, see Section 2.4.4.

Confusion of voiceless aspirated and non-aspirated plosives¹⁹⁷	/p/ and /p ^h /	ἀφέσταλκα	ἀπέσταλκα
	/k/ and /x/	DA 56.1 ἔχθε[σιν]	ἐκθεσιν
Confusion of liquids¹⁹⁸	/r/ and /l/	AP 1.17 προερθῖν	προελθεῖν
Confusion of vowel lengths¹⁹⁹	/e/ and /ē/	TM 1654.2 ἔσαν	ἦσαν
Confusion of closed vowels²⁰⁰	/o/ and /u/	AP 4.7 διὰ ἐμοῦ τῷ ταπεινῷ	τοῦ ταπεινοῦ
		AP 4.2 ἐν δεσπό[τῃ] Ἰη]σοῦ Χριστοῦ	Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
Confusion of unstressed vowels in word-final syllables	/a/, /e/ and /o/	AP 2.14 [το]ῦ μακαρίου ἀποστό[λ]ου λέγοντες	λέγοντος
Underdifferentiation of vowels	/y/ and /u/	cf. Dahlgren 2016: 94–95	

One syntactic regionalism seems to be the preposition ὑπό in predicative possessive constructions.²⁰¹ Worp (2011–2012) also identified (δια)φυλάσσω + dative ‘to protect somebody’ as a potential regionalism.

In regional varieties, one language clearly provides the major part of lexicon and grammar, unlike in mixed languages. A mixed language is a language that clearly combines elements of two languages whereby both languages contribute equally.²⁰² For instance, one language may provide the grammar and another the lexicon.²⁰³ The mixed-language debate will only be touched upon here²⁰⁴ to demonstrate that Coptic never reached the point when the label ‘mixed language’ would be justifiable.²⁰⁵ This becomes clear when considering Greek impact on its lexicon, morphology and syntax.

¹⁹⁷ Horrocks 2014: 112. Evans (2010b: 64–66) identifies it as a feature of Amyntas’ idiolect (3rd c. BC, Zenon archive).

¹⁹⁸ Clackson 2010: 81, Fournet 2009b: 444. However, there may be a parallel internal development, cf. Manolessou 2008: 74 n. 44 (with further references).

¹⁹⁹ Clarysse 1993: 197, Clarysse 2010b: 47.

²⁰⁰ Horrocks 2014: 112. Some interchanges are contextually conditioned (e.g. the one between voiceless aspirated and non-aspirated plosives before another aspirate), whereas others are not.

²⁰¹ Cf. Fendel forthcoming a.

²⁰² Cf. Meakins 2013: 180–181 (‘two clear and often equal parents’).

²⁰³ For kinds of mixed languages, see Bakker 2003: 108–125: (a) intertwined (grammar-lexicon), (b) converted (form-semantics), (c) lexically mixed (e.g. verb-noun), (d) others.

²⁰⁴ For a summary of positions, see Meakins 2013: 186–198.

²⁰⁵ Cf. similarly Mussies 1968: 70, who compares Coptic to English with its half-French vocabulary.

At the lexical level, Greek impact is widespread and is further discussed in Section 2.3.4. Essentially, borrowings from Greek were apparently ornamental rather than essential.

At the morphological level, there is no evidence for borrowing.²⁰⁶ Accommodation to Greek morphology can only be found in a few nouns that develop a morphological plural. Yet, this may be by analogy to the few preserved lexical plurals of Coptic adjectives and nouns.²⁰⁷

Generally speaking, no Greek item is borrowed with its Greek syntax. If borrowed items cannot be fitted into the inherited syntactic system, accommodation strategies are applied. For instance, Greek verbs are borrowed as nouns and integrated into a sentence by means of light-verb constructions, ‘do’-periphrases.²⁰⁸

[20] †-p-παρακαλει μμο=k
ti-r-parakalei mmo=k
 1sg-do-ask DOM=2sg
 ‘I beg you’

Greek prepositions must be adapted to the Coptic system insofar as a pronominal state must be created.²⁰⁹ In Coptic, the form of a preposition differs depending on whether a noun or a pronoun follows. In the former case, we speak of the nominal state of the preposition; in the latter case, we speak of the pronominal state of a preposition.

[21] κατα-π-καρ, καταπο=q

Conversely, see Reintges 2001a: 233, who maintains that Coptic should ‘not so much be regarded as the final stage of Ancient Egyptian, (...), but rather a bilingual language variety’.

For mixed languages as expressions of identity rather than a necessary tool, see Meakins 2013: 186.

²⁰⁶ For reasons why morphology is rarely borrowed, see Matras 2015.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Clackson 2010: 82.

For inherited plurals of some adjectives and nouns in Coptic, see EGB: chapter 2.1 and 6.2.1, Layton 2011: § 108b.

²⁰⁸ For Coptic verbs, see Layton 2011: § 167, EGB: chapter 5.1, Reintges 1995: esp. 200–201, Reintges 2001b: esp. 99.

For the borrowing of Greek verbs, see Reintges 2001a: 201 and 196–207. He argues for a covert light-verb construction in Sahidic. For the form in which Greek verbs are borrowed into Coptic, see Förster 2002: XV–XXIV.

For LVCs, see also Chapter 3. For LVCs in language-contact settings, see Myers-Scotton 2002: 134–139, Winford 2010: 174–175, Bakker 2003: 130–134. For LVC in the contact-setting Greek-Demotic, see Rutherford 2010: esp. 203.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Clackson 2010: 84.

For the occasional necessity to nativise items before they can be used, see Haspelmath 2009: 42.

kata-p-sah, kataro=f

according.to.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-teacher, according.to.PRP=3sg

‘according to the teacher, according to him’

Greek coordinators and subordinators seem to be inserted as code-switches.²¹⁰ They are prefixed to either an inherited pattern of the same meaning, [22a], or to a multifunctional inherited pattern, [22b].²¹¹

[22a] ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ-ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ

hinas d'e-nne-k-ei

so.that that-NEG.FUTIII-2sg-go

‘so that you may not go’

(cf. in the corpus: PKC 127.36)

[22b] ⲉⲱⲕ ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲟ ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲉ

hōs e-k-o n-sah

because CS-2sg-do.STA as-teacher

‘because you are a teacher’

A different strategy seems to underlie the adoption of the Greek particle δέ. Reintges argues that it is adopted with its Greek pattern, the positioning after the first phonological word. Since the definition of a phonological word differs in Greek and Coptic, the particle may sometimes seem to be placed too late in a sentence.²¹²

To sum up, neither Coptic syntax nor morphology are affected. Rather, Greek items that require a syntactic configuration foreign to the Coptic system are integrated by means of accommodation strategies.²¹³ An interesting approach in this context is Richter

²¹⁰ For contact-phenomena involving discourse-markers, see Matras 2009: 95 and 98 (with reference to bilinguals under pressure), Muysken 2000: 114 (discussing a pragmatic advantage), Myers-Scotton 2002: 240 (noting that they appear at prime switch-points).

Muysken (2000: 106–114) interprets discourse-markers taken from another language as alternational code-switches. For code-switching, see Section 2.1.6.

For discourse-organisation in Greek and Coptic, see Chapter 5.

²¹¹ Note in this context that the Coptic conjunctive is sometimes used after borrowed items. The conjunctive, unlike the Greek subjunctive, is an exclusively coordinating pattern without modal value.

For the Coptic conjunctive (CNJ), see Hasznos 2012: 74–79.

²¹² Cf. Reintges 2001a: 207–232 (positioning after the first ‘phonological word’).

For particles in later Greek, see Bentein and Janse and Soltic 2012.

²¹³ Cf. Oréal 1999: 299 and 302, Richter 2009: 408, Reintges 2001a: 232, Hasznos 2012: 3 (ⲛⲉⲓ- ⲛⲉⲓ).

(2009), who applied Myers-Scotton's turn-over hypothesis²¹⁴ to Coptic. The turn-over hypothesis states that at the point when the major part of grammar and lexicon is imported, there has been a turn-over. Richter concludes that this is not the case for Coptic.²¹⁵ The perception of contemporary speakers underscores these observations as we saw in [1] in Chapter 1.

Characterising Coptic as an autonomous language, the last stage of Ancient Egyptian, which displays traces of the long-term contact-situation in Egypt, rather than as a mixed language is relevant to our study since we thus compare two autonomous linguistic systems.²¹⁶

2.3.3 Greek: Phonology and lexicon

Only phonological and lexical aspects of early Byzantine Greek are outlined here. Syntactic structures are dealt with in the chapter dedicated to the relevant syntactic domain.

Regular phonological features are²¹⁷:

- iotacism (ει / η / υ / οι / ι)

Dickey (2009: 152) mentions interchange between <υ> and <ι> as typical of Egyptian Greek until the Byzantine period.²¹⁸ Dahlgren (2016: 95–98) considers whether fluctuation of /i/ and /e/ was conditioned by co-articulatory effects triggered by the surrounding consonants, a feature typical of, for instance, Coptic.

- weak final <υ> and <σ>

Weak final <υ> and <σ> appear from the Roman period onwards (Horrocks 2014: 171–172). Leiwo (2003: 8) interprets vowel confusion in unstressed final syllables as an Egyptianism. Vierros (2007, 2012b: 722) attributes the struggle of Egyptian notaries with the first declension accusative and genitive to phraseological confusion and rather automatized copying of a model.

- lack of vowel-length distinction (ο / ω)

For <ε> and <η>, see [19] above.

²¹⁴ Myers-Scotton 2002: 242 and 247–250.

²¹⁵ Richter 2009: 408–410 and tables 17.3 and 17.4.

²¹⁶ The time gap between the last written Demotic documents and the first Coptic documents may explain why Coptic appears to be so different from earlier Egyptian. Also, written Demotic seems to have been considerably more conservative than the spoken language (cf. Thompson 2009: 399, Richter 2009: 403, Oréal 1999: 295, Depauw 1997: 36).

²¹⁷ Cf. Dickey 2009: 150–153, Depauw and Stolk 2015: 207 table 1.

²¹⁸ Cf. also Horrocks 2014: 163 and 274 (middle Byzantine period).

- <ε> and <αι>

Dickey (2009: 152) attributes the interchange to the loss of vowel quantities. Horrocks (2014: 112) interprets the interchange in unstressed syllables as Coptic interference.

- fluctuation of initial aspiration

Initial aspiration was subject to fluctuation in both Greek (Horrocks 2014: 171 and 179) and Coptic (Layton 2011: § 17).

Concerning the lexicon, three major trends are evident in our texts:

(1) Items increase in frequency and apparently gain acceptancy in higher registers.

λαλέω²¹⁹ appears three times in our sixth-century texts, always in combination with a dative.²²⁰ Judging from its appearance in Dioscoros' papers, λαλέω has become a valid alternative to classical λέγω although the latter still prevails in the corpus. παρασύρω 'to sweep away, carry away' is in CG virtually limited to theatre. Its frequency slightly increases only in the post-classical period.²²¹ AJ 5 is too severely damaged to determine whether the verb is active or passive.²²²

[23] AJ 5.7–8 ἵνα μὴ παρασύρωμεν [— —] . εως εἰς τὰ ἄνω μέρη [
'in order that we are not swept away / do not sweep away (?) ... to the upper parts'
(Gonis 2005: 83)

The case is however less clear than for λαλέω since we are lacking an unequivocal classical equivalent.

(2) Technical terms related to the administration and tax collection appear.

Frequently occurring items include:

- συντελέω 'to pay towards common expenses' (Lampe: 1341 n. 7)
- ἐμβολή 'the embole-tax' (Bagnall 1985: 303)
- official titles such as λογιστής 'a kind of inspector' (Van Minnen 2007: 220, Choat and Yuen-Collingridge 2009: 117 n. 24, ODB)

²¹⁹ TLG-statistics: Of the 41 CG attestations, 31 are found in Aristophanes' comedies.

²²⁰ In DA 37.6, εἰς^{ACC} is a topic expression; in DA 18.13, ἐπὶ τὸ^{ACI} is an expression of purpose.

²²¹ TLG-statistics: Of the 120 attestations, only 3 are found in CG texts (Aristophanes, *Equites*, v. 527; Aeschylus, *Prometheus vinctus*, v. 1065; Aristoteles, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, 1250a23). *De virtutibus et vitiis* may not have been written by Aristotle.

²²² Principal parts: παρασυρῶ, παρέσυρα, παρασέσυρμαι, παρεσύρην.

Options: (a) present subjunctive active 1pl (with a direct object being lost in the lacuna), (b) aorist subjunctive passive 1pl (with e.g. an adverb lost in the lacuna).

(3) Items develop a metaphorical meaning.²²³

(a) τελειόω appears in DA 9.7 with the meaning ‘to satisfy (one’s need)’ rather than classical ‘to terminate / finish’ (cf. συντελέω ‘to fulfil’ but also ‘to pay’). (b) In DA 3.3–4 περιέρχομαι carries a meaning ‘to administer (the property)’ instead of the classical spatial ‘to encompass’. It is used alongside διοικέω. (c) The personal passive of εὐρίσκω, CG ‘to find’, seems to assume a meaning ‘be deemed / be considered’ in DA 43.16. The verb is only complemented by an adjective (cf. ἡγέομαι).

(4) New items emerge.

ὕπομειδίω appears only from the fourth century onwards.²²⁴

2.3.4 Coptic: Phonology and lexicon

Coptic phonology necessitated the adaptation of the writing system.²²⁵ The Greek alphabet was only partly sufficient to represent Coptic phonology.²²⁶ Some letters were superfluous and were mainly used in Greek loanwords.²²⁷ For sounds that did not exist in Greek, Demotic letters were adopted in modified form. The exact number of letters varies depending on the Coptic dialect.²²⁸

[24a] Sahidic : ϣ /š/, ϣ /f/, ϣ /h/, ϣ /dʲ/, ϣ /kʲ/, ϣ /ti/

[24b] Bohairic : ϣ /š/, ϣ /f/, ϣ /h/, ϣ /dʲ/, ϣ /kʲ/, ϣ /ti/, ϣ /χ/

[24c] Achmimic : ϣ /š/, ϣ /f/, ϣ /h/, ϣ /dʲ/, ϣ /kʲ/, ϣ /ti/, ϣ /χ/

Coptic adopted a large number of Greek loanwords (cf. Förster 2002). However, it is unclear, particularly as regards words of the core vocabulary, whether Greek loanwords

²²³ The semantics of each relevant verb shifted from a concrete to a metaphorical meaning in a specific context: The object seems to trigger the shift in (a) and (b), the head noun in PK 16.16–17 (τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ), cf. further Chapter 3, and the surrounding syntax in (3).

²²⁴ TLG-statistics: 6 instances (dating from the 4th / 5th c. AD); in all of them, the verb is intransitive. In DA 43.8–9, it is combined with an accusative of respect (BR § 172.1a). The classicising syntax fits in with the profile of the letter (a model copy).

²²⁵ For its development, see Choat 2012: 586 (considering priests and an urban environment crucial), Depauw 2012: 501 (viewing it as a reflection of intensified contact). The script was not created but promoted by the Christians, cf. Choat 2012: 588–589 and Richter 2009: 416–417.

²²⁶ Richter 2009: 412.

²²⁷ Cf. Allen 2013: 12 (γ, δ, ζ).

²²⁸ Cf. Layton 2011: § 8 (S), EGB: chapter 1.2 (B), Till 1928: 6–7 (A), Allen 2013: 12 (A, B).

are doublets or convey a particular nuance.²²⁹ Furthermore, the significant numeric difference between Greek loanwords in Demotic and Coptic²³⁰ may be due to both the conservative nature of written Demotic and the fact that import was easier in Coptic than in Demotic. In Coptic, a Greek word could be transcribed and inserted into the Coptic frame.²³¹ In Demotic, the representation of vowels and the assignment of determiners posed problems. Also, the direction of writing was left-bound so that insertion of a Greek word in Greek letters was difficult.²³²

Essentially, three observations concerning Greek loanwords in Coptic are relevant to our study:

- (1) Greek items were not borrowed with their syntactic pattern but called for an accommodation strategy in Coptic.²³³
- (2) Greek items did not replace Coptic items (relexification). Nor was there a verb-noun-split so that, for instance, all verbs were taken from Greek and all nouns from Coptic.²³⁴
- (3) Lexical borrowings from Greek are rare in our texts. They appear mostly in formulaic sections.²³⁵

Consequently, large-scale borrowing does not seem to have gone beyond the surface level.²³⁶ Further comment is beyond the scope of the present study.

2.3.5 Defining the standard

In Chapter 1, the issue of defining a standard against which variations and deviations can be measured was raised. In the absence of a comprehensive grammar of post-classical

²²⁹ For the concept, see Haspelmath 2009: 48–49, Adams 2003: 337–340. A sample pair is *πατήρ* *patros* (Greek *πατήρ*) and *ειῶτ* *eiōt* ‘father’. The former only appears in pious formulae, whereas the latter is the regular word for ‘father’.

²³⁰ Cf. Torallas Tovar 2004a: 168 (loanwords of all word classes). Further for loanwords, see Section 2.1.6. For hypotheses concerning the adoption of loanwords, see Ray 1994: 259 (advocating an early date) as opposed to Depauw 2012: 498–499 (being in favour of a late date).

²³¹ For syntactic requirements, see Section 2.3.2.

²³² For the representation of Greek words in Demotic, see Rutherford 2010 (direction of writing), Clarysse 1987: 15–20 (issues related to the transliteration of words), Clarysse 2013 (issues related to the assignment of determiners).

²³³ Richter (2009: 408) points out that primarily content words were borrowed (neither numerals nor pronouns). Exceptions in the corpus are *indiction*-dates and cardinal numbers in formulae. These seem to be instances of code-switching rather than borrowing.

For content / function words, see Myers-Scotton 2002: 69–72.

²³⁴ Cf. Torallas Tovar 2004a: 167–169.

²³⁵ Cf. also Zakrzewska 2015.

²³⁶ The import of legal phraseology is a social phenomenon. For the import of legal phraseology from Greek, see Richter 2014: 140–143, Richter 2002: 26–27.

Greek²³⁷, three measures are adopted to distinguish between post-classical standard Greek in Egypt and deviations from the standard. The three measures are:

(a) frequency

Mere token frequency is not indicative. For instance, we may have a fair number of tokens of a structure, but all of them appear in the writings of the same person. In this case, the structure may rather reflect an idiolect than a general trend.²³⁸ The frequency measure is readily applicable only to high-frequency items (> 10 attestations).

(b) grammaticality

If a pattern appears in Classical Greek, the Ptolemaic papyri²³⁹ or the New Testament (NT)²⁴⁰, it is considered grammatical. The New Testament is a well-studied corpus of Roman Greek literature. Despite it being a work of literature, its language is generally regarded as closely resembling standard Roman Greek.²⁴¹ What is challenging is the fact that the NT has come down to us in a multiplicity of manuscripts and consequently a multiplicity of versions of the text.²⁴² If a pattern has clearly developed from a pattern attested in one of the three varieties just mentioned reflecting a regular evolutionary path²⁴³, it is also considered grammatical.

It must incidentally be kept in mind that due to the restructuring of many areas of the language system and the resulting coexistence of several patterns, even native speakers may sometimes have struggled to apply what seems to have still been the standard pattern.²⁴⁴

(c) convergence (cf. Section 2.3.1).

²³⁷ Evans and Obbink (2010b: 11) mention the lack of a third volume of Gignac's grammar.

²³⁸ Cf. also Ellis 2003, Stolk 2015b: 65–67.

²³⁹ Cf. Mayser.

²⁴⁰ See BDR, Moulton 1957–1976, Robertson 1919, Bailey 2009, Kirk 2012.

The Septuagint is less relevant to our purposes primarily because it was translated from Hebrew around the third century BC (cf. Horrocks 2014: 106–108). Hence, the time-gap between it and our early Byzantine data is significant. Nonetheless, despite being a translated text, the Septuagint seems to reflect regular diachronic trends.

For example, Evans (2015: 80) finds this to be true for the choice of verbal aspect. See also Evans 2001.

²⁴¹ Cf. Horrocks 2014: 147, Deissmann 1908: 40, BDR § 3, Mandilaras 1973: §§ 21–22 and 35, Watt 2013: 21–24. Gignac (2013: 419) emphasises the bilingual surroundings from which the NT emerged.

For the Coptic NT (a translation from Greek), see Hasznos 2006, Hasznos 2012: 74–78, Oréal 1999: 295. For translation-techniques, see Langslow 2012: 143–145.

²⁴² Cf. Ehrman 2016: esp. 23, Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 50 and 250–299.

²⁴³ For verbal morphology, see Manolissou 2005 (participles), Markopoulos 2009 (future tense), Crellin 2012 (perfect tense), Clarysse 2008 (θέλω), Gignac 1976–1981, Mandilaras 1973.

For verbal complementation, see James 2001–2005, James 2008, Bentein 2015a, Bentein 2017b, Hult 1990, Kavčič 2016.

For nominal complementation, see Danove 2013 (δίδωμι), Martin 2003 (μηνήσκομαι), Stolk and Nachtergaele 2016 (verbs of command), James 2008: 24 (ἀκούω).

²⁴⁴ For a period of fluctuation preceding a change, see Chapter 1.

When trends in Greek and Coptic converge, the resulting structure may appear commonly or rarely. In the former case, it may be a regionalism rather than a case of interference. In the latter case, a proficient bilingual may have produced the structure as part of their idiolect.

The above observations are summarised in [25]:

[25] The measures of frequency, grammaticality and convergence

(a) Frequency	(b) Grammaticality	(c) Convergence		
✓	✓	–	→	standard
✓	✓	✓	→	regionalism
–	–	–	→	interference
–	✓	✓	→	idiolect

Structures that have resulted from interference or a proficient individual's idiolect are discussed in Chapters 3 to 6.

One additional piece of evidence in our search for a standard is that writers occasionally amended their own mistakes. Such self-corrections are interesting as they point to these writers' awareness of an existing standard language. Some writers thus apparently strove to avoid ungrammatical and perhaps also substandard structures. Scribal corrections are noted in passing when they appear in ungrammatical or unidiomatic passages but are not listed systematically.²⁴⁵

2.4 The informants

2.4.1 Criteria

Essentially, the texts of the corpus to be examined meet four criteria:

(1) All texts date from the early Byzantine period. The earliest Coptic texts date from the fourth century, which has therefore been chosen as starting point. With the Arab conquest in the middle of the seventh century (AD 642), the linguistic situation in Egypt dramatically changed. This will therefore be our endpoint.

(2) All texts originate from Egypt. To meet this criterion, we have to rely on the information about the place where a text was found.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Stolk (Ghent), *Scribal corrections and language variation and change in Greek documentary papyri from Egypt (300 BCE – 800 CE)*; <http://research.flw.ugent.be/en/projects/scribal-corrections-and-language-variation-and-change-greek-documentary-papyri-egypt-300> (accessed 01.04.2018).

(3) All texts allow for maximum flexibility on the part of writers. Here, Biber and Conrad's (2009: 15) three perspectives on a text become relevant: genre, register and style. The genre perspective focusses on culturally determined textual norms.²⁴⁶ The register perspective concentrates on the production circumstances of a text.²⁴⁷ The style perspective focusses on idiosyncratic aesthetically motivated variation.²⁴⁸

The genre 'letter' has been chosen since Greek and Coptic letters dating from the entire period under investigation exist. The same cannot be said of other genres.²⁴⁹ Additionally, this genre imposes only very few genre-related norms²⁵⁰: Letters usually consist of three parts, a formulaic opening, a freely composed letter body and a formulaic closing. Genre markers appear at the start and end (cf. Chapter 6).

Texts reflecting a private register have been chosen because the situational pressure on writers was presumably low when they were producing these texts. Under low situational pressure²⁵¹, writers can flexibly choose linguistic structures, show personal involvement²⁵² and minimise the amount of formality (cf. Section 2.4.4). Writers are also more likely to refrain from copying models and from revision²⁵³. Under such circumstances, even less proficient bilinguals may have put their thoughts into writing.

Finally, stylistic variation is idiosyncratic. We thus expect stylistic variation in the corpus since our letters are written by numerous individuals.²⁵⁴

(4) All texts originate from a bilingual surrounding. Although bilingual individuals may have lived in the whole of Egypt, for practical reasons, only texts for which a bilingual surrounding is particularly likely are considered. This is where papyrus

²⁴⁶ Cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 16.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 6. See also Koch and Oesterreicher 1985 and Heylighen and Dewaele 2002, and for the notion of register in relation to Greek, Willi 2003 and 2010, Bentein 2013b and 2016b, Adams 2013: 107–110.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 18.

²⁴⁹ Coptic legal documents emerge in the sixth century (cf. Section 2.2) and Coptic literature only develops over time. There is no continuity with earlier Egyptian literature (cf. Cribiore 1999: 280).

²⁵⁰ Genre-related norms heavily impact on other kinds of non-literary, documentary, texts such as petitions (cf. White 1972) or contracts (cf. Vierros 2012b). These kinds of texts are therefore less suitable for our purposes (cf. Schneider 2013: 59 (a variationist's point of view)).

Similarly, stylistic ambition and genre-related norms deeply impact on literary texts (cf. Heylighen and Dewaele 1999: 7–8 (with reference to poetry); Willi 2003: 198–225, Halla-aho 2010: 171 (with reference to literary texts); Meakins 2013: esp. 184 and 195, Barber 1983 (on secret languages and magical papyri)).

²⁵¹ For parameters to describe the situational setting of a discourse, see Biber and Conrad 2009: 40.

²⁵² When writers focus on conveying personal stance, their focus may be shifted away from the form of their texts. For expressions of emotion / personal involvement, see Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 319 and 325 (considering these informal), Biber and Conrad 2009: 170–174. For expressions of emotion in papyrus letters, see Clarysse 2010c. Examples in the corpus are PK 14.33 and PKC 105.79–80.

²⁵³ For a lax norm in in-group-correspondence, see e.g. Richter 2008: 748–751 (on Shenoute in the monastic sphere). For evidence of authorial revision, see Luiselli 2010, Clarysse 2010b: 41–45.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Luiselli 1999: esp. 251–253, Evans 2012a: 26–30.

archives come into play. Papyrus archives are groups of texts that have been assembled by modern scholars based on the common origin of the texts or on prosopographical data in the texts indicating that the texts were *sent to* the same person or *originated from* the same community.²⁵⁵ The owner of an archive received or collected all texts that constitute the archive. Thus, it is not the archive owner's, but his surroundings' linguistic ability that we can assess by considering an archive.²⁵⁶ If an archive contains Greek and Coptic texts²⁵⁷, we can assume that the archive originated from a bilingual environment.²⁵⁸

2.4.2 Writers

It has frequently been remarked that papyrus letters may have been written by a professional scribe rather than the named sender, or that they may have been dictated²⁵⁹ to a secretary. These practices are undeniable but irrelevant to the present study. No attempt is made to associate interferences with named individuals.²⁶⁰ The idiolects we observe may be those of a scribe, a secretary or the named sender or even a combination of several due to dictation. The important aspect is that in the case of an interference, one person involved in the writing process could apparently draw on languages A and B. If we wanted to associate the phenomena we find with named individuals, the role of scribes would have to be explored in more detail. As interesting as this may be, it goes beyond the scope of this study to assess whether several scribal hands appear in one letter or whether there is external evidence that a letter may have been written by a scribe or dictated to a secretary. Due to the origin of our texts in the private sphere, there are no formulae such as 'I have written for him' or 'X was the scribe' in our texts.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ For archives, see Jördens 2001, Clarysse 2010a: 48–53, Vandorpe 2009: 226–229.

Papyrus archives represent social networks (cf. Section 2.2.1 and Gardner *et al.* 1999: 6 (with reference to Kellis)).

²⁵⁶ An exception is the archive of Apollinarios (cf. Vandorpe 2009: 237–238), who kept copies of his own letters / documents. For archives that contain several letters by the same person due to long-term contact, see Evans 2012a: 26–29 (Philinos) and 34–39 (Iason), Evans 2007 (Ktesias, Hierokles, Artemidoros), Evans 2010b: 64–66, Evans 2015 (Zenon, Amyntas, Hierokles), Kramer and Shelton 1987: 24–32 (Paulos), Luiselli 2008: 680–681.

²⁵⁷ For bilingual archives, see Clarysse 2010a, Vandorpe 2009: 242 fig. 10.8, Clackson 2010: 89–99, Fournet 2009b: 435–441, Wipszycka 2009: 80–99, www.trismegistos.org (accessed 17.10.2017).

²⁵⁸ Cf. Fewster 2002: 236.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 45–48 and 101–107.

²⁶⁰ For language-biographies, see Hamers and Blanc 2000: 40, Goglia 2005: 50–58, Elspass 2012: 165.

²⁶¹ For the issue of authenticity, see Fleischman 2000: 46–47. For Greek, see Wahlgren 2002: 201–202, Manolessou 2008: 72–75.

For the role of scribes (i.e. the issue of authorship), see Choat and Yuen-Collingridge 2009: 122–130 (on relevant formulae), Kraus 2000: esp. 325–326 (on relevant formulae), Evans 2015: 62, Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 201–217 (on letter hands and writing practices).

What we can assess is the distribution of phenomena in an archive and in one archive compared to another. We can also draw diachronic conclusions about the group of people whose idiolects are examined (cf. Chapter 7).

2.4.3 Writers' contexts

Describing a context as either 'private' or 'official' is generally difficult.²⁶² For our purposes, it suffices to adopt Palme's (2009) distinction between texts that are related to the governmental administration and those that are not. In texts belonging to archives the central figures of which do not have any relation to the governmental administration, it is unlikely that social distance between writer and addressee triggered an official tone.

The situational context of our letters can broadly be described by drawing on the criteria Biber and Conrad (2009: 40) propose: Letters are an interpersonal register. They are not intended for an audience other than the addressee. The writer and addressee are of approximately equal social status and can apparently draw on shared knowledge. From a modern perspective, these references to shared knowledge are sometimes difficult to decode.²⁶³ All our texts are written, but the exact production circumstances can only be glimpsed. On the one hand, the writer of DA 55 hurried to write his letter as a letter-carrier was just available. On the other hand, despite some traces of authorial revision, letters usually seem to have been written without careful planning. In terms of content, our writers refer to their immediate surrounding without interest in the great events of history.²⁶⁴ Our texts reside in the private sphere. As a result, writers take a subjective viewpoint in their messages and frequently express their own emotions with regard to the events they recount. Often, a message comprises a range of topics and serves more than one purpose. However, generally speaking, messages concern general rather than highly specific purposes. Recurring topics include:

- (a) asking a favour;

Richter (2014: 140) points out that the use of a scribe may not prove someone's illiteracy, but rather someone's status as being rich enough to afford a scribe.

Cf. for issues regarding corpus data, Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2012.

²⁶² For the lack of a standard-typology, see Depauw and Stolk 2015: 210, Porter and O'Donnell 2010: 302. For the distinction 'private – official', see OED s.v. 'private' and 'official', Palme 2009: 361–363 (who distinguishes between documents related to the government and those that are not), Adams 2003: 600 (who considers the army), Mandilaras 1973: §§ 9 and 15 and Clarysse 2010b (who distinguishes between business and family letters), Grob 2010: 123 (who considers the factors of the density of information and the interpersonal relationship).

²⁶³ Cf. Evans 2012b: 107. See e.g. PKC 107.8–20.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Parsons 2007: 134, Gardner *et al.* 1999: 5 (with reference to Kellis).

- (b) showing concern for the addressee and mutual acquaintances;
- (c) outlining one's own (troublesome) situation;
- (d) requesting / planning a meeting;
- (e) referring to a former correspondence;
- (f) sorting out small-scale business dealings.

2.4.4 Modes of writing

We frequently encounter phraseology owing to politeness standards and the figurative use of kinship terms in our texts. Both these features reflect a degree of formality that would presumably be more appropriate to an official than a private register. However, their presence becomes explicable when we apply Heylighen and Dewaele's concept of formality.

The phenomenon of politeness is well-known in Byzantine texts.²⁶⁵ The usage of politeness formulae increased over time²⁶⁶ and is in some texts so excessive that it hampers comprehension of the central message (e.g. AP 4). Titles such as 'your kindness' or 'your superiority' or titles referring to someone's profession are evidently due to politeness standards.²⁶⁷ Conversely, this is less obvious for the use of kinship terms as mere titles of respect or endearment, thereby deprived of their literal meaning. The phenomenon gained in importance in the early Byzantine period.²⁶⁸

Heylighen and Dewaele establish two parameters to measure formality: context-independence and preciseness. The more context-independent and precise a text is, the more formal is it.²⁶⁹ They then distinguish between surface formality and deep formality. Surface formality is 'characterized by attention to form for the sake of convention or form itself' (Heylighen and Dewaele 1999: 3), whereas deep formality is characterised by 'attention to form for the sake of unequivocal understanding' (Heylighen and Dewaele 1999: 3).²⁷⁰ The insertion of politeness formulae and titles thus qualifies as surface

²⁶⁵ Cf. Papathomas 2007, Papathomas and Koroli 2014, Dickey 2016.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Dickey 2016.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Heylighen and Dewaele 1999: 6. However, homonymy (cf. Depauw 2014: 79, Jördens 2001: 254, Worp 1995: 51–54) and the Manichaean habit of omitting personal names (cf. Gardner *et al.* 1999: 207, Gardner 2006: 318) may sometimes have necessitated a reference to someone's profession for reasons of identification.

For ἄπα / ἄββα – ἀπα / ἀββα, see Wipszycka 1994: esp. 225–227, Spiegelberg 1927.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Dickey 2004a, Arzt-Grabner 2002.

²⁶⁹ For contracts, see e.g. Depauw 2010 and 2014, Vierros 2012b.

²⁷⁰ Their concrete measure of formality, the F-measure, is problematic for Coptic and post-classical Greek. However, their concepts are applicable to Greek and Coptic.

formality. Conversely, deep formality would be expected in a text of a more official register.²⁷¹

2.4.5 Texts

Archives that meet the criteria outlined in Section 2.4.1 are the fourth-century monastic archives assembled around the central figures of the successive abbots Apa Paieous and Apa Nephros in the monastery of Hathor²⁷² and the anchorite Apa John.²⁷³ All three archives are assembled based on prosopographical data. Additionally, the village archive of Kellis, a village in the Western desert, meets our criteria.²⁷⁴ This archive is assembled based on the archaeological provenance of the texts. While the archives of Apa Paieous and Apa Nephros contain only a comparatively small number of Coptic texts, the number of Greek and Coptic texts is balanced in the archive of Apa John and the number of Coptic texts exceeds the one of Greek texts in the archive of Kellis.

Any fifth-century evidence is lacking²⁷⁵, most likely as a result of the general decrease in papyrus documentation in the fifth century.²⁷⁶

The only sixth-century archive that meets our criteria is the archive of the notary and town official Dioscoros, his father Apollo and his wife Sophia.²⁷⁷ Their papers often oscillate between the private and official spheres mainly because of their prominent social

²⁷¹ Dates referring to *indications* and the Egyptian calendar are no clear indications of a more official register (cf. Bagnall and Worp 2004: 3–6 and 12–35 and 88–98, Depuydt 1997: 126–130). Consular dates would be indications (cf. Adams 2003: 391 and 566), but none appear in the texts of the corpus.

Dates are rare in papyrus letters (cf. Parsons 2007: 122). Dates appear in: PK 5, PK 19, DA 75; DA 81, DA 83.

²⁷² Cf. Kramer 1993, Hauben 2002.

For Paieous / Pageous, see DN: 355, see Hauben 2002: 351–352, Fournet 2009b: 435, but also Horrocks 2014: 170 (and e.g. SB 15462.4 (3rd c. BC)).

For Nephros, see DN: 641.

²⁷³ For John, see Zuckermann 1995: 190–194, Palladius, *Lausiac history*, chapter 35 (ed. Butler 1904), Blumell 2012: 249–261 (on Christian names).

For John's linguistic profile, see Chapter 7.

²⁷⁴ Kellis has been excavated since 1986 (cf. Worp 1995: 1). For the temporal range of evidence, see Gardner *et al.* 2014: 12. Greek texts date from the period AD 290–390, whereas Coptic texts date from the period AD 355–380.

For the Manichaean community there, see Gardner *et al.* 2014: 29–38, Gardner 2006, Blumell 2012: 71–74 (who calls for caution with regard to terminology used in texts), Gardner *et al.* 1999: 155 (PKC 19).

For the multilingual population of Kellis, see Fournet 2009b: 437. For traces of Syriac, see Chapter 1.1.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Choat 2009: 347 (with reference to bilingual archives).

²⁷⁶ Cf. Habermann 1998.

²⁷⁷ For Dioscoros and his archive, see Clackson 2004: 25–28, Fournet 2008a: esp. 307–343, MacCoull 1988.

For the time range of the evidence, see Fournet 2008b: 19 and 29 (AD 506–585).

Dioscoros' Greek poems, conjugation tables, glossaries and library prove his engagement with the Greek language and culture (cf. Fournet 2009b: 439, Luiselli 1999: 199–205, Schwendner 2008: 55–66, Cribiore 2001: 40, Fournet 2008a: 309–310, Fournet 1999).

role. Since the number of sixth-century texts is comparatively smaller than that of fourth-century texts, a control group of texts belonging to a monolingual sixth-century archive is considered. The control group consists of twenty-five letters belonging to the archive of the family of the Apiones. This family's social standing resembles that of Dioscoros since the Apiones owned one of the large estates of the early Byzantine period.²⁷⁸ The control group is solely intended to facilitate the differentiation between standard features and deviations. [26] summarises the relevant archives and the number of relevant texts.

[26] Archives and texts

Owner of the archive	Abbreviation	Time range	Place / region and nome	Coptic dialect	Greek letters	Coptic letters
Apa Paieous	AP	4 th c. AD	Phator / ME U20	M	6	4
Apa Nephros	AN	4 th c. AD	Phathor / ME U20	M	18	2
Apa John	AJ	4 th c. AD	Hermopolis / ME U15	M	15	12
Village of Kellis	PK	4 th c. AD	Kellis, Western desert / UE L16	L	19	89
Dioscoros of Aphrodito	DA	6 th c. AD	Aphrodito / ME U10	A	69	30
TOTAL					127	137
Apiones of Oxyrhynchos	AO	6 th c. AD	Oxyrhynchos / ME U19	–	25	ø

(Coptic dialects: M = Mesokhemic, A = Achmimic, S = Sahidic, B = Bohairic, L = Lyco-Diospolitan)

Due to the dialectal variation of Coptic, the geographical provenance²⁷⁹ and the expected Coptic dialect²⁸⁰ are also listed for each archive in [26]. The following groups of letters display a dialect other than the one expected²⁸¹:

- (1) AP 7 (S), AP 8 (L);
- (2) AN 15 (S), AN 16 (S^a);
- (3) AJ 16–25 (S), AJ 26 (L);
- (4) PKC 50 (Th).

This demonstrates that texts and speakers could travel long distances.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ Cf. Hickey 2012. Texts date from the period AD 540–619 (Hickey 2012: 21).

²⁷⁹ Regions and nomes are according to Helck 1974.

²⁸⁰ Abbreviations are according to WKH: XIII–XXIV and Gardner *et al.* 1999: 84–95.

²⁸¹ Cf. Richter 2002: 19.

²⁸² See also the letters between Kellis and the Nile valley (cf. Gardner *et al.* 1999: 11–14) and Paulos' letters in the Nephros archive.

Finally, the following texts must be treated with caution as they border on a more official register:

- PK 18 is a surety in epistolary form.
- AN 20 and AP 1 are reports in epistolary form. AN 20 is written by a speculator / detective and is addressed to his superior, an exactor. AP 1 is addressed to Paieous and Patabeit in their role as priests of the monastery of Hathor and outlines several incidents.
- PK 12 seems to be a short note addressed to a tax official (λογιστής). The writer assures that he is taking care of exacting money.
- In DA 1, we find a witness formula and in DA 23 a signature formula. In either case, at least the formula is imported from the official language.
- PK 6 seems to be a letter of recommendation.²⁸³
- PK 31, PKC 19 and PKC 21 are circular letters. PKC 31 is explicitly circular (cf. l. 53–54). PKC 19 (cf. l. 28 and 77) and PKC 21 (three addressees) are implicitly circular. DA 79 and AN 19 are letters written by a group of people. DA 79 is written by the clergy of the holy Mary; AN 19 is written by a village community. Either among the addressees or the senders of all these letters, on-lookers exist so that the audience is wider than in a normal private letter.
- DA 43 and DA 44 are secondary copies that were kept in the archive of Dioscoros. Luiselli suspects DA 43 to be a model letter.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Cf. Worp 1995: 167–170.

²⁸⁴ Luiselli 1999: 101–103.

Part II Analysis

3 Considering Nuclei: Verbal Syntax

The present chapter is dedicated to the 2045 attestations of the 436 verbs in the corpus. The chapter is divided into five parts. Section 3.1 outlines the principles of verb formation and syntax in post-classical Greek. Section 3.2 considers register-related variations. Section 3.3 explores deviations in each class of verbs. Deviations that cut across classes of verbs are examined separately in Section 3.4. Section 3.5 presents some concluding remarks after bringing the results together.

3.1. Introduction

3.1.1 Formation

Three patterns of verb formation deserve to be commented upon briefly, not only because they reflect an internal development from classical to post-classical Greek, but also because Greek and Coptic significantly differ from each other with regard to these three formations.

a) Compound verbs and phrasal verbs

Classical Greek employed compound verbs. A compound verb consists of a simplex verb such as ἔρχομαι ‘to go’ and a prefix such as κατα- ‘down’. The semantics of a compound verb is an amalgam of the semantics of the simplex verb and the semantics of the prefix, as in κατέρχομαι ‘to go down / return’. Yet in the post-classical period, the semantic contribution of the prefix seems to have become weakened. This is borne out by three phenomena:

- (1) Compound verbs are used instead of their respective simplices without any semantic difference, e.g. συναρπάζω for ἀρπάζω (DA 68.7 and DA 68.17);²⁸⁵
- (2) Compound verbs from the same simplex are used interchangeably, although they are not originally synonymous, e.g. the use of παραινέω for ἐπαινέω in the sense of ‘to praise’ (DA 43.16);²⁸⁶
- (3) Double compound verbs appear. In these, a second prefix is added. This second prefix alters the semantics, whereas the original prefix seems to be

²⁸⁵ TLG statistics: συναρπάζω (25 CG / 134 PCG), ἀρπάζω (139 CG / 1532 PCG). For ὀχλέω and ἐνοχλέω, see Section 3.1.4.

²⁸⁶ παραινέω is occasionally used for ἐπαινέω already in CG (cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπαινέω II).

semantically bleached. For instance, in *συνκατέρχομαι*²⁸⁷ ‘to accompany’, *κατέρχομαι* seems to be the semantic equivalent of the simplex *ἔρχομαι*. Similarly, in DA 56.6, we find *καθυπογράφω*²⁸⁸ ‘to sign’ for the classical *ὑπογράφω*.²⁸⁹

However, the underlying structure of compound verbs must still have been clear to writers, not only because augmentation is mostly correctly appended to the stem rather than the prefix, but also because we find the reverse phenomenon compared to the one of the interchange of prefixes, as in [1].²⁹⁰

[1] AN 20.3–6 (...) καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρεσ[βυτ]έρου μεθοδευθέντος πληρῶσαι \οὐ μόνον/ τοὺς χρεωστούμενους μισθοὺς [Π]υιβῆκι τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπὸ Νήσων ἐστῶτι συμμάχῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπὸ Θελβῶ, καὶ κατ’ ἄγνοιαν **προσεφώνησεν**.
 ‘(...) and when this priest was made to pay the salaries owed to Puibex, who is the *symmachus* in charge of not only the people of Nesos but also the people of Thelbo, he **agreed** out of ignorance.’²⁹¹

προσφωνέω ‘to address, issue orders, make a report’ does not fit the context in the way that *προσομολογέω* ‘to agree’ does. Apparently, the writer used the simplex verbs of communication *φωνέω* and *ὁμολογέω* interchangeably.²⁹²

Unlike Greek, Coptic operates with phrasal verbs.²⁹³ A phrasal verb consists of a simplex verb and a preposition or adverb.²⁹⁴ For instance, Coptic *ⲉⲓ ⲉϣⲏⲣⲏ* *ei edʰn-* corresponds to Greek *εἰσέρχομαι* ‘to arrive at’ and Coptic *ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ* *ei ebol* to Greek *ἀπέρχομαι* ‘to depart’. Examples in English include *to go up* (with an adverb) and *to go with* (with a preposition), rather than *to ascend* and *to accompany*.

²⁸⁷ TLG statistics: 6 CG, 11 PCG.

²⁸⁸ TLG statistics: 12 PCG (from the 4th / 5th c. AD).

²⁸⁹ Robertson (1919: 565) however insists that each prefixed preposition has still semantic value.

²⁹⁰ In DA 21.2, *ἀποφάσκω* may replace the more common *ἀπαγορεύω*, but the context is severely damaged. *ἀποφάσκω* / *ἀπόφημι* – (a) ‘to speak out’, (b) ‘to deny’ (TLG statistics: 1 CG, 36 PCG);

ἀπαγορεύω – (a) ‘to forbid’, (b) ‘to renounce’ (TLG statistics: 46 CG, 522 PCG).

²⁹¹ Literally: *προσεφώνησεν* ‘he conceded (sc. the payment) (sc. to them)’.

²⁹² The existence of a corresponding Coptic phrasal verb may have aided the interchange (*ⲱⲗⲁⲕⲉ ⲉϣⲏⲣⲏ* ‘to speak for’).

²⁹³ Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 181–182.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Krishnamurthy 2006: 596–600.

In Greek, the formation of compound verbs increased rather than declined in the post-classical period,²⁹⁵ and owing to this phrasal verb patterns in Greek call for an explanation (cf. section 3.4).

b) Support-verb constructions, light-verb constructions and analytic forms

An auxiliary verb which is semantically almost empty appears in the following three formations. This is why they are grouped together. Support-verb constructions (SVC) are a cross-linguistic phenomenon.²⁹⁶ They exist in many Indo-European and Semitic languages. Prototypical SVCs are combinations of a support verb (SV) and a predicative noun (PN),²⁹⁷ such as:

[2a] {to give}^{SV} {a speech}^{PN}

[2b] {φόβον}^{PN} {λαμβάνω}^{SV}
 {fear}^{PN} {to receive}^{SV}
 ‘to be afraid’

While the PN carries the semantic weight, the SV has an almost exclusively grammatical function.²⁹⁸ It is, for instance, marked as an infinitive, as in [2a]. In non-prototypical SVCs, we may find a prepositional phrase instead of a PN.²⁹⁹ Often, there is a corresponding base verb, as in the English pair *to take a decision* / *to decide*.

Common cross-linguistic SVs include *to have*, *to take* and *to give*, as in *avoir besoin de* ‘to have need of / need’, *avere fretta* ‘to be in a hurry’ and *zu etwas Stellung nehmen* ‘to comment on’. SVCs are generally construed as semi-compositional; they are not as semantically and syntactically fixed as idioms, but are more fixed than their respective base-verb constructions. SVCs may lexicalise internally, such that the SVC’s elements assume a meaning that they cannot have outside the SVC. An example is Coptic εἶρε *eire* ‘to do’.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Robertson 1919: 558 (with further references).

²⁹⁶ See Kyriacopoulou and Sfetsiou 2002.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Langer 2005.

²⁹⁸ Cf. Storrer 2009: esp. 166 and 182–183, Langer 2005.

²⁹⁹ AJ 9.20 seems intransitive (ἐν πίστει ἔχε ‘Be faithful!’), and PK 11.29 borders on phrasal verbs (ἐν συστάσει ἔχε ‘Keep (them) together!’).

- [3] ⲧ-ⲣ- ϣⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲥⲕ
 ti-r- k^hreia mmok=k
 1sg-do need DOM=2sg
 SV PN CPL
 ‘I have need of you’

SVCs already existed in classical Greek (cf. grammaticality). The pattern is thus not borrowed from Coptic. Moreover, Coptic employs solely prototypical SVCs, unlike Greek.³⁰⁰

In the corpus, six Greek verbs function as SVs:

[4] Greek SVCs

SV	Basic meaning	LSJ	SVC-meaning	Total no. of instances
ἔχω	‘to have’	A.I.8	state	11
ὁμολογέω	‘to grant’	∅	state	3
δίδωμι	‘to give’	A.I.5	action	2
παρέχω		A.V	action	1
ποιέω ³⁰¹	‘to do’	A.II.5	action	3
λαμβάνω ³⁰²	‘to take’	A.II.3	state / action (perception)	2

The Coptic counterparts are the following³⁰³:

[5] Coptic SVCs

Greek SV	Coptic SV	SVC-meaning
ἔχω	ⲉⲓⲣⲉ <i>eire</i>	‘to be/become / to have’
	ⲉⲓⲛⲉ <i>k^hine</i>	‘to find’

³⁰⁰ Note however that, in Coptic, non-durative adverbial sentences call for an ⲉⲓⲣⲉ *eire*-periphrasis (Layton 2011: § 180b). Yet all Greek SVCs in the corpus contain an SV in the present.

³⁰¹ Classical ποιέομαι + noun appears in DA 19.4–5 and AP 3.8–9; on both occasions, the PN is modified by an article. DA 50.3 (ἐπιστολὴν πεποίημαι) resembles these, since ποιέω meaning ‘to write’ (cf. LSJ A.4) is usually active.

PK 15.11–12 (ποιήσης τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ συνάγεις) may reflect the disappearance of the middle voice (cf. James 2008: 218 n. 501 for προσκύνημα-ποιέω / ποιέομαι). The paratactic complementation may be a colloquialism.

³⁰² The duality of meaning results from the fact that λαμβάνω + predicative noun describes ‘conceiving feelings and the like’ (LSJ A.II.3). The dual semantics is evident, for example, in φόβον λαμβάνω ‘to perceive fear’, hence ‘to be afraid’.

³⁰³ In SVCs, ⲉⲓⲣⲉ *eire* may describe a state or the initiation of a state. In the absence of a lexical verb ‘to have’ in Coptic, ⲉⲓⲣⲉ *eire* matches ἔχω in grammaticalised structures such as ἔχω ϣⲣⲉⲓⲁ = ⲣ-ϣⲣⲉⲓⲁ *r-k^hreia* (cf. Layton 2011: § 180; for ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ-, see Müller forthcoming a).

ὁμολογέω	ⲱⲡ ⲥⲣ	‘to accept’
δίδωμι	ⲧ ti	‘to give’
παρέχω		
ποιέω	ⲉⲓⲣⲉ <i>eire</i>	‘to do’
λαμβάνω	ⲭⲓ <i>dʿi</i>	‘to take / receive’

In prototypical Greek SVCs, the SV is active and the PN is inflected as accusative. The PN is not accompanied by any modifier.³⁰⁴ However, sometimes, the addition of an article or adjective does not seem to disrupt the SVC-structure. Compare [6a] and [6b]³⁰⁵:

[6a] AP 1.12 φόβον θεοῦ ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
‘being afraid of God in the heart’

[6b] AJ 13.4 \τοῦτον/ τὸν φόβον ἔχων
‘having this fear’

A related but different phenomenon are light-verb constructions (LVC). These consist of a light verb ‘to do’, which supplies the grammatical features, and a phrase, which carries the semantic weight. LVCs are commonly used to integrate a borrowed verb into the system of the recipient language.³⁰⁶

[7] AJ 18.2 ⲧ-ⲣ- ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲕ
 ti-r- parakali mmo=k
 1sg-do ask DOM=2sg
 LV INF CPL
 ‘I beg you.’

In AJ 18.2, the inherited pattern immediately following [7] is : ⲧ-ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ *ti-saps mmo-k* ‘I beg you’.

Finally, analytic verb forms consist of an auxiliary verb and a complementary participle or infinitive. The former supplies the semantic features in the resulting structure, whereas the latter supplies solely grammatical features.

³⁰⁴ For Coptic, see Satzinger 2017: 344. For exceptions in Coptic, see Layton 2011: § 180d.

³⁰⁵ Cf. also AN 8.3 χάριν ἔχω vs PK 8.15 δίδωμι τὴν χάριν and DA 51.7 δίκην δίδωμι vs DA 65.10 τὰ δίκαια δίδωμι.

For PK 8.13 πληρώω τὴν χάριν, see Fendel forthcoming a.

³⁰⁶ For Coptic, Reintges 2001a. For LVCs in language-contact situations, see Chapter 2.

- [8] γεγραμμένος ἦ
 PTC AUX
 ‘It shall be written’

SVCs are rather scarce in Greek³⁰⁷, but form an integral part of the Coptic lexicon. LVCs are an exclusively Coptic structure, and analytic verb forms are an exclusively Greek one. These fundamental differences between Greek and Coptic explain why writers struggle to use these three structures correctly in Greek.

c) Post-classical formations (Greek)

Several verbs that occur in the corpus are not attested in classical Greek. Others have undergone a semantic change and subsequently also a change of syntax in the post-classical period. All relevant items are listed in [9].

[9] Post-classical formations

Verb	Syntax and Semantics	Process	CG predecessor
Semantic Change			
DA 50.13 συνκατέρχομαι	‘to accompany [somebody] ^{DAT} ,	double compound	συνέρχομαι
New formations			
DA 56.6 καθυπογράφω	‘to sign [something] ^{DAT} ,	double compound	υπογράφω
DA 17.8 and 11 ῥογεύω	‘to ask [somebody / for something] ^{ACC} ,	Latin loan verb (rogare) ³⁰⁸	(ἔρωτάω)
AN 19.13 ἐρημῶνω	‘to desolate [somebody / something] ^{ACC} ,	nasal suffix on contract verb ³⁰⁹	ἐρημόω
DA 3.7 λοιπάζω	‘to owe [something] ^{ACC} [to somebody] ^{DAT} ,	denominal derivative ³¹⁰	(χρεωστέω)
DA 69.2 ἀκηδιάζω	‘be careless’	denominal derivative ³¹¹	(ἀμελέω, ὀλιγορέω)
AP 6.18 εἴμεθα, PK 13.33 ἤμην	‘to be’	transfer to the middle paradigm ³¹²	εἶναι

³⁰⁷ For PK 14.18, see Chapter 5.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Browning 1983: 41 (rog-εύω).

³⁰⁹ Cf. Horrocks 2014: 305–307. Doubling of consonants occurred occasionally and accounts for the double nasal in AN 19.13.

³¹⁰ For λοιπάζ (CG τὸ λοιπὸν) as ‘remainder’, ‘debt’ in PCG, see Lampe, LBG.

³¹¹ TLG statistics: (a) CG: ἀκηδέω (Homer (2) / Aeschylus (1)), ἀκηδής; (b) PCG: ἀκηδιάω (from the 4th c. AD, 63 instances), ἀκηδιάζω (Johannes Chrysostomus, *Scr. Eccl. De jejuni*, vol. 62, p. 736, l. 57), ἀκηδεῖα (2) / ἀκηδία (114).

³¹² Cf. Horrocks 2014: 154 and 303–304.

DA 37.6 ἔνι	‘to be’	reanalysis of a locative adverb ³¹³	εἶναι
Semantic and Syntactic Change			
DA 7.1 μαρτύρομαι	‘to testify [something] ^{ACC} [to somebody] ^{DAT} ’	loss of causative syntax and semantics	‘to call [somebody] ^{ACC} to witness [of something] ^{GEN/ACC} ’

3.1.2 Syntax

A verb is integrated into its syntactic context by means of its links to the subject and one or more objects. Since Greek is an inflecting language while Coptic is a word-order language, the encoding of the links between a verb and its subject and object(s) in each language differs widely. The following three aspects deserve further comment.

a) Congruence with the subject (Greek)

In classical Greek, the verb agrees with the subject in number, with two exceptions. (1) One exception is the *schema Atticum*, which concerns subjects in the neuter plural.³¹⁴ The verb is then inflected as singular.³¹⁵ However, this construction is largely lost in the corpus.³¹⁶ (2) The other exception is the *schema Pindaricum*. Here, a verb in the initial position is left in the singular, although the subject that follows it is plural.³¹⁷ This construction appears occasionally in the corpus.³¹⁸

A particularly interesting example seems to be AP 1.18 λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ πραιπόσιτος καὶ ὁ σκρίβας. The participial verb precedes its subject. However, we should perhaps read a third person plural aorist (ἔ)λαβον with the augment omitted resulting in a translation ‘the *praepositus* and the scribe took them’.³¹⁹ Such a construal would remove the *schema Pindaricum* from the picture.

³¹³ Cf. Horrocks 2014: 304.

³¹⁴ In Coptic there is no neuter. The functions of the Greek neuter are split between the masculine and feminine (cf. e.g. Layton 2011: ch. 22). In modern Greek, subjects in the neuter plural require a verb in the plural.

³¹⁵ Cf. KG II § 364; Mayser II.3 § 151.

³¹⁶ James (2008: 180–182) made the same observation in his post-classical corpus.

³¹⁷ Cf. KG II § 367; Mayser II.3 § 150.

³¹⁸ Cf. further Chapter 6 (greeting sections). In Coptic, a verb in the initial position is generally preferred (cf. Grossman 2015).

³¹⁹ For omission of the augment, see Mandilaras 1973: §§ 232–275.

b) The focalising conversion (Coptic)

In Coptic, verbal forms can appear in an unmarked form, as an equivalent of the Greek indicative, and in a marked form, for which there is no equivalent in Greek. The latter appears when one element of the sentence is to be emphasised. Compare [10a] and [10b] taken from Layton (2011: § 445). The verbs are printed in bold.

[10a] unmarked form : Matt 27.53 **ⲁ-ⲣ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ**=ⲟⲩ **ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** ⲛ-ⲉⲁⲉ
***a-u-ouonh**=ou **ebol** n-hah*
 PRF-3pl-reveal=3pl out to.PRP-many
 ‘They revealed themselves to many.’

[10b] marked form : John 21.1 **ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ**=ⲉ **ⲗⲉ** **ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲉ
***nta-f-ouonh**=f de **ebol** n-tei-he*
 PRFII-3sg-reveal=3sg and out in.PRP-DEM.SG-
 manner
 ‘And he revealed himself *in the following* way.’

In [10a], no element is given particular emphasis; in [10b], the prepositional phrase ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲉ *n-tei-he* ‘in the following way’ is marked as the focal point of the sentence.

Marked forms are commonly used to emphasise adverbial phrases or interrogative pronouns. They may however also serve to emphasise the subject, object or a complement clause.³²⁰

c) Complementation patterns (Greek, Coptic)

Syntactically speaking, verbs that allow for a complement may subcategorise for a direct and / or an indirect object. While the indirect object is always of nominal nature, the direct object may be either nominal or verbal in nature. The slot for the indirect object is usually filled by a dative in Greek. Yet some verbs call for an accusative, such as διδάσκω ‘to teach **somebody** something’. The Coptic equivalent is a prepositional phrase with ⲛ-/ⲛⲁ= *n-/na*= or, less commonly, ⲉ-/ⲉⲣⲟ= *e-/ero*= . The slot for the direct object is usually filled by an accusative in Greek. Yet some verbs call for a different case, for instance,

³²⁰ Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 444–458.

μυμνήσκομαι + genitive ‘to remember’ and χράομαι + dative ‘to use’. Alternatively, a complementary infinitive or a complement clause may appear. In Coptic, the direct object may be attached by means of incorporation³²¹ – except in the present system (Stern-Jernstedt rule) –, the object marker π -/ $\mu\mu\mu\circ$ =³²² n -/ mmo = or the preposition ϵ -/ $\epsilon\rho\circ$ =³²³ e -/ ero =. The lattermost of these is limited to verbs of perception and cognition, such as $\pi\alpha\chi$ - *nau* ‘to look at / see’ and $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ *eime* ‘to know’. [11] summarises the above observations:

[11] Nominal complementation patterns

	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
Greek	NOM	ACC GEN DAT	DAT ACC
Coptic	($\pi\sigma\iota$ - <i>nk'i</i> -)	incorporation π -/ $\mu\mu\mu\circ$ = n -/ mmo = ϵ -/ $\epsilon\rho\circ$ = e -/ ero =	π -/ $\pi\alpha$ = n -/ na = ϵ -/ $\epsilon\rho\circ$ = e -/ ero =

The syntax of semantically equivalent items in Greek and Coptic often differs, as in the intransitive θαυμάζω (περί) ‘to be surprised about’ as opposed to the transitive ρ - $\psi\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ n - *r-špēre n*- (e.g. DA 86.2).

Semantically speaking, verbs that allow for a complement may take a complement that refers to reporting a fact (e.g. λέγω ‘to say something’), or a complement that refers to manipulating the future (e.g. ἄξιόω ‘to ask / beg to do something’). The former group of complements are factive, whereas the latter group of complements are prospective.³²⁴ However, some strict classical distinctions are blurred, partly because the predicative participle is on the verge of disappearing.³²⁵ We can broadly distinguish three categories of complementation patterns:

- (1) non-finite complementation patterns (i.e. complementary infinitives and participles);

³²¹ Cf. Grossman 2015, Reintges 1995, Reintges 2001b.

For example, PKC 15.22–23 ϵ - κ - $\psi\alpha\pi$ - $\chi\iota\tau$ - ϵ $\pi\eta$ - ι $\epsilon\psi\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\eta$ - ι *e-k-shan-dit-s shei nē-i* ‘As soon as you receive it, write to me!’

³²² For a discussion of the status of the object marker, see Engsheden 2006, Winand 2015.

³²³ Cf. Layton 2011, §§ 166–172; EGB: chapters 4.7 and 9.4; Reintges 2004: 217–231.

More generally, for verbs of perception and transitivity, see Hopper and Thompson 1980: 269–270 (degree of affection).

³²⁴ For a comprehensive discussion of the concept of factivity, see Schulz 2003. Schulz identifies factive complements as anaphoric in the discourse. The truth value of a factive proposition can then be confirmed or cancelled depending on its semantic-syntactic context.

³²⁵ Cf. Bentein 2017b, James 2008.

- (2) finite complementation patterns (i.e. dependent complement clauses headed by a subordinator); and
- (3) asyndetic complementation patterns (i.e. independent clauses that are not headed by a subordinator³²⁶).

A fourth pattern also seems to exist. While in Greek a distinction is made between dependent and independent clauses, this distinction is less clear in Coptic. Consequently, the conjunction $\pi\epsilon d'e$, which heads complement clauses, may be followed by either a dependent or an independent clause. A similar pattern existed with Greek $\delta\tau\iota / \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ and spread in the post-classical period. $\delta\tau\iota / \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is then followed by an independent clause and functions as an equivalent to an English colon (':').³²⁷ [12] summarises the existing complementation patterns. These are not attested with equal frequency. Example passages are given in the footnotes.

[12] Verbal complementation

Language	Semantics of the Verb	Complementation Patterns			
		non-finite	finite (hypotactic)	finite (paratactic)	asyndetic ³²⁸
Greek	factive	ACC + PTC ³²⁹	$\delta\tau\iota / \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ + SC	$\delta\tau\iota / \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ + MC	MC ³³⁰
	prospective	(ACC / DAT / GEN +) INF	$\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha / \acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$ + SC	($\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha / \acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$ + MC ³³¹)	MC
Coptic	factive	CINF (ϵ - $\tau\rho\epsilon$ -S-INF e - tre -	$\pi\epsilon d'e$ + SC ³³³	$\pi\epsilon d'e$ + MC ³³⁴	—

³²⁶ The subsequent clause is identifiable as an independent clause based on (1) the mood of the finite verb and (2) the constellation of subject and object. For adjustments in indirect speech, see KG II.2 §§ 592–595 (CG), Mayser II.3 § 163.2 (PCG), Layton 2011: §§ 519–22 (Coptic).

³²⁷ See further Chapter 5.

³²⁸ Cf. also Section 3.2 below.

³²⁹ See PK 14.21 $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$ 'to know'.

³³⁰ See PK 6.17–20 ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon \eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon \kappa\omicron\mu\iota\acute{\omicron}\mu[\epsilon]\nu\omicron\iota \tau\acute{\alpha} [\tau]\eta\varsigma \acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon[\tau]\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\acute{\eta}\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha, \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega [\cdot] \cdot \nu$) if my reconstruction of $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ in the final lacuna is correct, and AN 18.25–27 ($\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \delta\psi\epsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu \cdot \acute{\omicron} \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$). In PK 6.17–20, the phrase $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \acute{\upsilon}[\mu\acute{\iota}\nu]$ seems to be a way to stress the preceding statement ('I (can) tell you (that)'); in AN 18.25–27, the phrase $\delta\psi\epsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$ seems to be an alternative to the prepositional phrases 'by God' as the sentence following it seems to be a quote or a maxime.

³³¹ This pattern is limited to AJ 7.11 $\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\omega$ 'to ask / beg (to do something)'. Conversely, for the development of $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ into a modal particle, see Chapter 5.

³³³ See PKC 92.9 $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ *meue* 'to know'.

³³⁴ See PKC 20.36 $\tau\eta\eta\alpha\upsilon$ *tnnau* 'to send (sc. a message)', PKC 25.41 $\varsigma\eta\epsilon\iota$ *shei* 'to write', PKC 25.57 $\varsigma\eta\epsilon\iota$ *shei* 'to write'.

	prospective	S-INF), INF (ε- e-) ³³²	ζε d'e + SC (FUT II / FUT III) ³³⁵	ζε d'e + MC ³³⁶	MC / CNJ ³³⁷
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Moreover, the distribution of these complementation patterns differs in Greek and Coptic, as shown in [13].

[13] Complementation patterns in Greek and Coptic

Language	Semantics of the Verb	Complementation Patterns			
		non-finite	finite (hypotactic)	finite (paratactic)	asyndetic
Greek	factive	✓	✓	✓	rare
	prospective		✓	rare	✓
Coptic	factive	✓	✓	✓	–
	prospective		in translation literature	rare	✓

3.1.3 Post-classical Greek

In the post-classical period, verbal complementation patterns were affected by three major developments. Firstly, the Greek case system was being restructured. The process of restructuring was ongoing during the period under investigation. Hence, both an older and a newer pattern coexisted simultaneously.³³⁸ This situation may have complicated assimilation of the correct complementation pattern of a verb, even more so for a non-native speaker, since Coptic is not an inflecting language. Instead, prepositions were used to encode syntactic functions. Secondly, the Greek participial system was being restructured and a preference for finite over non-finite complementation patterns is evident. Complementary infinitives were on the retreat and came to be marked by an article τοῦ or τό (e.g. PK 16.24 διστάζω τό, AP 2.36 ἀμελέω τό, DA 69.8 δηλόω τοῦ). Thirdly, the middle voice was also becoming less widespread, with the result that active forms appear for classical middles, as in DA 18.17 **χρήσω** γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα ‘for I need him here’.³³⁹

³³² See PKC 37.22–23 οὐωμε *ouōse* ‘to want’ + INF / PKC 24.17–18 ἀξιου *axiou* ‘to ask’ + CINF.

³³⁵ See PKC 31.29 ἀξιου *axiou* (+ FUT II) ‘to ask’, PKC 36.23 ἀξιου *axiou* (+ FUT III) ‘to ask’. Prospective complement clauses are rare in Coptic. Hasznos claims that they mostly appear in translation literature. Cf. Layton 2011: § 521, Hasznos 2012.

³³⁶ See DA 74.9 ἀρι-τ-ἀγαπῇ *ari-t-agapē* (+ ζε *d'e* + CNJ) ‘to be so kind as to’.

³³⁷ See DA 87.19 ἀρι-τ-ἀγαπῇ *ari-t-agapē* (+ IMP) ‘to be so kind as to’, DA 88.2 ἀρι-τ-ἀγαπῇ *ari-t-agapē* (+ CNJ) ‘to be so kind as to’.

³³⁸ For a period of confusion preceding a change, see Stolk 2015b: esp. 26 (with research review).

³³⁹ For the future, Mandilaras 1973: 369–371.

The restructuring of the case system impacted primarily on nominal complementation patterns. The following developments are of particular relevance:

- (a) The dative was gradually disappearing. In the corpus, the dative is often replaced by prepositional phrases when it had previously performed adverbial functions, whereas it remained generally operative in its function as an indirect object.³⁴⁰
- (b) The genitive was frequently replaced by prepositional phrases in its adverbial functions, such as the partitive function. This is relevant for verbs such as *φροντίζομαι* ‘to take care of’.³⁴¹
- (c) The object accusative was only replaced when a classical idiom was abandoned, for which cf. (d) below, or when a semantic shift resulted in a syntactic shift (such as the loss of causative semantics).³⁴²
- (d) Many idiomatic patterns, i.e. patterns that contradict the pattern of the class of verbs to which a verb belongs, existed in classical Greek. Most of these patterns were abandoned in the post-classical period. This reflects a natural tendency towards regularization in Koineization processes (cf. Chapter 2).³⁴³

A combination of the processes described in (c) and (d) underlies the post-classical pattern of *δέομαι*. In the classical period, *δέομαι* ‘to need’ called for an idiomatic complementation pattern, a genitive (+ infinitive). In AP 2.10, *δέομαι* ‘to ask’ appears with an accusative (+ infinitive), thus adhering to the regular pattern of verbs of request. The few classical predecessors identify this change in semantic patterns as a regular evolutionary path (e.g. Thucydides, *Historiae* 5.36.2).

[14a] summarises the instances in the corpus in which a classical plain case complementing a verb is replaced by a prepositional phrase or a different case. The expected adverbial datives of reason with *ἡδομαι* and *εὐχαριστέω* are also included.

[14a] Post-classical complementation patterns I

A classical middle-deponent form appears in AN 1.16 for *ἀκούω* and possibly in PK 10.11–12 for *ὀράω*. Yet the context of the latter passage is severely damaged.

³⁴⁰ Cf. BDR §§ 187–202, Mayser §§ 91–98. For its disappearance at least by the 14th century, see Wahlgren 2014.

For the early Byzantine period, see Stolk 2017a: esp. 188 and 209.

³⁴¹ Cf. BDR §§ 169–181, Mayser §§ 82–90.

³⁴² Cf. BDR §§ 148–161 (esp. 151), Mayser §§ 99–106 (§ 102 (with two accusatives)).

³⁴³ Cf. BDR §§ 151–152 (ACC / DAT), James 2008: 24 (*ἀκούω*, already in NT Greek), Mayser §§ 85 and 108 (genitive), §§ 91 and 96 and 109 (dative), 99 and 110 (accusative).

Verb	Class of Verbs	Meaning	CG	Corpus	Attestations
Transitive verbs					
λαμβάνομαι ³⁴⁴	5	‘to take hold of’	GEN	ἀπό ^{GEN}	DA 56.3
φροντίζομαι	4	‘to take care of’	GEN	παρά ^{GEN}	DA 10.5 ³⁴⁵
ἄπτω ³⁴⁶	3	‘to attack’	GEN	DAT	DA 43.16
μυμνήσκομαι ³⁴⁷	6	‘to remember’	GEN	DAT	AJ 2.8; AJ 2.12
ἐλπίζω ³⁴⁸	2	‘to hope for’	DAT	εἰς ^{ACC}	DA 16.3
Intransitive verbs					
ἡδομαι ³⁴⁹	14	‘to be pleased with’	DAT	ἐπὶ ^{DAT}	DA 44.25
εὐχαριστέω ³⁵⁰	14	‘to be grateful for’	DAT	ἐν ^{DAT}	DA 69.25

The default substitute for a classical plain case is the topic expression περί^{GEN} ‘concerning something’.³⁵¹ This usage appears, for instance, with εὔχομαι ‘to pray’ and ἀμελέω ‘to forget’ instead of classical εὔχομαι + accusative and ἀμελέω + genitive. However, περί^{GEN} is then an avoidance strategy rather than a syntactic innovation. This may also apply to εἰς with ὀλιγορέω³⁵² and ἀκούω.³⁵³

[14b] Post-classical complementation patterns II

Avoidance Strategy					
ὀλιγορέω	4	‘to take heed for’	GEN	εἰς ^{ACC}	DA 26.5
ἀκούω	6	‘to listen to’	ACC	εἰς ^{ACC}	AJ 13.3

The restructuring of the participial system impacted primarily on verbal complementation patterns. The following developments are of particular relevance:

³⁴⁴ A possessive genitive is substituted by ἀπό in the same sentence.

³⁴⁵ A passive construal does not suit the context: DA 10.5–6 εἰς φροντίζ[όμενος] παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων τὴν μνή(μην) ὅμων εὐκλεῶν γονέω[v] ‘the one who always cares for our most well-remembered famous parents’.

For παρά as often merely strengthening the function of the plain case, see Luraghi 2003: 131–145.

³⁴⁶ Cf. LSJ s.v. ἄπτω III.

³⁴⁷ In the common wish to be remembered, it is unlikely that an infinitive, on which the dative could depend, should be lost in the lacuna; the writer may have copied the second instance from above. For the dative with verbs of remembrance, see Martin 2003.

³⁴⁸ Cf. LSJ I.4 and BDR §§ 187₂, 233₃, 235₄.

³⁴⁹ The prepositional phrase appears already in Xenophon.

³⁵⁰ A dative of reason appears in DA 1.5–6 εἰς[ὕ]χαριστήσαι τῷ πράγματι.

³⁵¹ For περί as an ‘as for’-topic marker, see Kirk 2012: 229. Some instances are however classical, for example, PK 2.8 ζητέω περί, for which see LSJ I.4.

³⁵² There is one classical attestation: Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1379b27 τοῖς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀλιγοροῦσιν, for which cf. LSJ II. The accusative also became standard in the later period: LSJ III.

³⁵³ The classical animation split was blurred (James 2008: 24). In the corpus, this is obvious with the synonymous ἀκροάομαι.

Coptic ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉ- *sōtm e-* would also provide a match.

(e) Predicative participles were disappearing. They occasionally appear with verbs of perception and cognition (e.g. AP 1.13 εὐρίσκω). James (2008) claims that complementation by means of a predicative participle is neutral with regard to register; Bentein (2017b: 33) ascribes it to the higher register.

(f) Circumstantial participles were developing into gerunds ending in invariable -οντα.³⁵⁴ Gerunds appear only occasionally in the corpus (AN 4.17 λαβόντα, PK 18.29 ἔχοντα), with circumstantial participles still prevalent. However, circumstantial participles occur only in the nominative and accusative (e.g. AP 1.10 οἰνόμενοι ἦλθασιν, PK 18.23 ἔλθῃ ὑγιαίνων, PK 18.15 χρ[ον]ίσαντα).

(g) Attributive participles are still common, especially participles in the middle / passive voice with the ending -μενος / -η / -ον.

This ending was occasionally overused, as is shown in [15].³⁵⁵

[15] AP 2.23–24 τῶν ἱματίων τῶν **τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ** περισκεπασμένων
‘of the clothes that covered his ugliness’

The perfect middle / passive participle of περισκεπάζω in this example refers to ‘the clothes’. Its reduplication (ἐ-) is omitted. A direct object in the accusative appears in the attributive position between the participle and its article. The object requires the verb to be transitive (and thus active), i.e. ‘to cover / hide’.³⁵⁶

3.1.4 ‘Collocation’, ‘idiom’ and ‘formula’

a) Definitions

Several verbs may appear in more than one syntactic configuration.³⁵⁷ More specifically, several verbs may appear with several complementation patterns. In order to refer to each of these patterns and explain deviations, the concepts of ‘collocation’, ‘idiom’ and ‘formula’ are adopted and applied to the complementation patterns of verbs. These three

³⁵⁴ Cf. Manolossou 2005, Horrocks 2014: 181–183. For MG, see Holton and Mackridge and Philippaki-Warbuton 2011: II 7.16 (οντας) and III 1.7 (S reference).

³⁵⁵ Cf. James 2008: 17 and n. 40.

Similarly, for the suffix -ιον, see Chapter 1.

³⁵⁶ There is no editorial correction for this passage. A middle form is not attested.

TLG statistics: 2 (4th c. AD, Basilus and Theodoretus).

³⁵⁷ Inferable omissions are irrelevant since they have been assumed to be colloquialisms.

concepts describe the combination of elements at the interface of syntax and semantics.³⁵⁸

A pattern is termed ‘collocation’, ‘idiom’ or ‘formula’ according to

- (a) whether it reflects the standard (cf. Chapter 2);
- (b) whether it reflects the prototype syntax of the class of verbs under which the relevant instance has been subsumed; and
- (c) its syntactic and semantic transparency³⁵⁹;
- (d) its pragmatic flexibility.

These three concepts are illustrated by way of the high-frequency verb γράφω:

[16] Complementation patterns of γράφω

Concept	Syntax	Group of Verbs	Meaning
Collocation	ACC / ὅτι, DAT	communication	‘to write’
Idiom	INF, DAT	command	‘to order’
Formula	ἵνα / ὅπως, DAT	request	‘to beg’

The standard complementation pattern of a verb is called its ‘collocation’. This pattern reflects the prototype syntax of the class of verbs under which the relevant instance of a verb has been subsumed. The pattern is syntactically and semantically transparent. There is no contextual restriction regarding its use. For instance, the collocation of γράφω is complementation by a direct and an indirect object. This is the regular pattern for verbs of communication. The indirect object in the dative refers to the recipient of the message; the direct object in the accusative or in the form of a factive complement clause refers to the message communicated. γράφω then means ‘to write’.

[17a] DA 3.2–3 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἠναγκάσθην γράψαι τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ κόμ(ετι) Ἀμμωνίῳ

‘And I was made to write this to my most magnificent master, the *comes* Ammonios.’

An alternative complementation pattern of a verb is its ‘idiom’. This pattern is syntactically and semantically less transparent than the collocation of the verb.³⁶⁰ There

³⁵⁸ For the term ‘colligation’ referring to the co-occurrence of a word with a specific grammatical item / structure, see Fellbaum 2009b: 8 (with further references).

Phrasal verbs are treated separately.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Hollós 2010: 86, Namba 2010, Wood 2015: 35–51. For collocations, see Erman 2009: 327–331, Hollós 2010: 88–95.

³⁶⁰ For idioms in general, see Ayto 2006, Fellbaum 2009b.

is no contextual restriction regarding its use. As for the adherence of idioms to the standard pattern of the class of verbs under which an instance has been subsumed, idioms may either reflect this standard pattern (idiom type 1) or they may differ from it (idiom type 2). For instance, the idiom of γράφω is complementation by an indirect object and a direct object in the form of an infinitive, the regular pattern of verbs of command. The indirect object in the dative refers to the recipient of the command; the direct object in the form of an infinitive refers to the action that somebody is ordered to perform. γράφω then means ‘to order’.

[17b] DA 2.1 καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐγράφη ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτὰ καταλαβεῖν·

‘And at another time it was written to us to come immediately.’ / ‘And at another time we were ordered to come immediately.’

The idiom of γράφω reflects idiom type 1. An example of idiom type 2 is θαυμάζω πῶς ‘I wonder why...’. Unlike other verbs of the same class, the reason for the emotion is given by means of an indirect question headed by πῶς, rather than a causal clause or a circumstantial participle.

[17c] PK 8.3–5 θαυμά[ζ]ω πῶς οὐκ ἔγραψάς μοι μίαν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλῳ.

‘I wonder why you did not write to me (at least) one letter about anything at all.’

Finally, some verbs appear with a complementation pattern that is restricted to a formulaic context. This pattern is the verb’s ‘formula’. The formula is often semantically and syntactically opaque.³⁶¹ It may or may not conform to the prototype syntax of the class of verbs under which the relevant instance has been subsumed.³⁶² For instance, the formula of γράφω is complementation by an indirect object and a direct object in the form of a prospective complement clause, a pattern similar to the regular pattern of verbs of request. The indirect object refers to the recipient of the request, while the direct object,

³⁶¹ Formulae often preserve earlier stages of the language. These have been fossilised in a specific formulaic context and are no longer analysable based on synchronic standards. For formulae in general, see Wray 2006, Wray 2009, Weinert 2010.

For epistolary and other formulae in Greek, see also further Chapter 6.

³⁶² ‘Formula’ is here used to refer to a syntactic configuration rather than to a formulaic phrase. For formulae in the latter sense, see Chapter 6.

rendered in the form of a prospective complement clause, conveys the request. γράφω then means ‘to beg’.³⁶³

[17d] AN 8.13–15 διὸ ἀνα[γκαῖ]ον ἡγησάμην γράψαι σοι πρωτοτύπῳ[ς], [ε]ἴνα μνημονεύης ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς σου (...)

‘Therefore, I considered it necessary to write to you in the first instance so that you may remember us in your prayers (...) / ‘Therefore I considered it necessary to beg you in the first instance that you may remember us in your prayers.’

The above observations are summarised in [18].

[18] Collocations, idioms and formulae

	Conformity to the Standard Pattern	Conformity to the Prototype Syntax of its Class	Syntactic Opacity	Contextual Restriction
Collocation	✓	✓	–	–
Idiom type 1	–	✓	semi-transparent	–
Idiom type 2	–	–		
Formula	–	– / ✓	✓	✓

Noticeably, the three syntactic patterns of γράφω are occasionally clarified by the addition of a circumstantial participle of a verb meaning ‘to ask / beg’ in the formula, ‘to order / command’ in the idiom, and ‘to inform / tell’ in the collocation.³⁶⁴ The participial verb then determines the complementation pattern. An example of the formula is AN 20.14 παρακαλῶν γράφω τούτους κελεῦσαι (...) ‘I write asking to order these men (...)’.

b) Syntactic versatility

In the corpus, sixty-two verbs occur in more than one syntactic context. This kind of syntactic versatility is typical of Greek but not of Coptic. The relevant verbs appear in their standard pattern, which in all cases is that of a transitive / intransitive verb, and an additional pattern.³⁶⁵ The additional patterns have resulted from:

³⁶³ See further Chapter 6 (formula F2).

³⁶⁴ The only exception is DA 55.3–5, where the participle αἰτῶν appears in the collocation of γράφω as the addition of the nominal direct object ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν clearly shows: DA 55.3–5 ἐν εὐφροσύνῳ εἰμι ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράψας αἰτῶν ὑμᾶς πρὸ διαφάματος πέμψαι (...) ‘I have happily written this letter asking you to send before dawn (...)’.

³⁶⁵ For the coexistence of patterns (a) for verbs of perception and declaration, see James 2008, and (b) for verbs of communication, see Bentein 2017b: 17 (+ AcI = construed as verbs of ordering).

- (a) language-internal grammaticalization,
- (b) valency reduction,
- (c) semantic extension, and/or
- (d) a semantic and syntactic shift.

These four factors are considered one by one in the following section.

α) Grammaticalization, valency reduction and metaphorical extension

The concepts of collocation, idiom and formula cannot be applied to items that appear in more than one syntactic configuration as a result of language-internal grammaticalization, valency reduction or semantic extension. On the one hand, the resulting patterns do not reflect a change in the syntax coinciding with a change in the semantics, but there is only a change in either the syntax or the semantics. On the other hand, the resulting patterns are semantically and syntactically transparent.

Grammaticalization means that the semantics of a formerly transitive / intransitive verb were bleached, and the verb came to be used, for instance, as a modal verb. One such example is ἀμελέω. As a transitive verb, it means ‘to be neglectful of’. As a modal verb, it means ‘do not’ in requests. Instances of internal grammaticalisation are discussed under ‘collocation’ in the relevant groups of verbs.

Valency reduction means that a verb subcategorises for fewer objects than in the original pattern. Many verbs automatically undergo valency reduction when put into the middle or passive voice: for example, ἐπείγω ‘to urge’ vs. ἐπείγομαι ‘to hurry’ and χρεωστέω ‘to owe’ vs. χρεωστέομαι ‘to be in debt’. However, there are also verbs that undergo valency reduction without a change of voice: for instance, ποιέω ‘to act’. πείθω additionally undergoes valency reduction when put into the perfect. The verb is transitive in the present active, but intransitive in the perfect active.³⁶⁶ For some verbs, patterns that have resulted from internal grammaticalisation exist alongside those that stem from valency reduction.

Metaphorical extension means that a verb with a concrete meaning adopts a more metaphorical meaning. The two meanings may coexist. Essentially, metaphorical extension is a regular internal process in all languages. For instance, in PK 16.16–17

³⁶⁶ Cf. Crellin 2012: 103–104.

ἐπικειμένου apparently means ‘stored’. This meaning is triggered by the noun ‘the harvest’ in relation to which ἐπικειμένου assumes the role of an attributive participle.³⁶⁷

All relevant items in the corpus are summarised in [19a]. Presumably, their syntactic versatility posed difficulty to our writers, since Coptic verbs appear in only one syntactic configuration.

[19a] Multivalent items (I): an overview

Grammaticalization	Valency Reduction	Grammaticalization and Valency Reduction	Metaphorical Extension
1. ἀμελέω 2. βούλομαι 3. γίγνομαι ³⁶⁸ 4. δοκέω 5. εἶμι 6. εὔχομαι 7. καθίστημι 8. μέλλω 9. μιμνήσκω 10. μνημονεύω 11. παροράω 12. τίθημι 13. τυγχάνω 14. φαίνω 15. φθάνω	change of voices: 1. δυνσώπew 2. ἐκπλήσσω 3. ἐπείγω 4. λαμβάνω 5. χαρίζομαι 6. χρεωστέω 7. πείθω no change of voices: 8. ἄρχω 9. κομίζω 10. πιστεύω 11. σπεύδω	1. δέομαι 2. θέλω 3. θλίβω 4. ποιέω 5. φέρω	1. ἐπισκέπτω 2. ἐπιτίθημι 3. πράσσω 4. συμβάλλω 5. ὑποδέχομαι
15	11	5	5

[19b] details the relevant patterns of each verb listed in [19a] according to the groups of verbs described in Section 3.3.

[19b] Multivalent items (I): syntax

	Standard Pattern	Grammaticalised Pattern	Valency-reduced Pattern	Metaphorical Extension
ἀμελέω	class 4	auxiliary		
βούλομαι	class 9	auxiliary		
γίγνομαι	impersonal verb	copula		
δοκέω	class 2	impersonal verb		

³⁶⁷ See PK 16.14–19 μάθε δὲ ὅτι ἦρκεν τὰς ἐλαίας ὁ πατήρ Κλωδιανὸς καὶ δέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, δέδωκεν δὲ τὰς ἐλαίας Ψενπνούθη, καὶ ὡς ἄρτι οὐπω ἐσχέκαμεν μισθοὺς. ‘Know that father Klaudianus collected (LSJ I.2) the olives and gave us the (proper) share of the crop that had been stored and he gave the olives to Psenpnouthē, but until now we have not yet got (our) wages.’

³⁶⁸ Also, the verb appears once instead of παραγίγνομαι (PK 9.23).

εἰμί	class 13 impersonal verb	copula auxiliary (modal verb)		
εὔχομαι	class 9	modal verb		
καθίστημι	class 3	copula		
μέλλω	auxiliary (modal)	auxiliary (temporal)		
μιμνήσκω	class 6	auxiliary		
μνημονεύω	class 6	auxiliary		
παροράω	class 4	class 6 (cf. Chapter 5)		
τίθημι	class 3	copula		
τυγχάνω	class 5	copula modal verb impersonal verb		
φαίνω	class 8	modal verb		
φθάνω	class 5	modal verb		
δυσωπέω	class 4		class 14	
ἐκπλήσσω	class 3		class 14	
ἐπείγω	class 3		class 12	
λαμβάνω	class 5 (+ accusative)		class 5 (+ genitive)	
χαρίζομαι	class 7		class 14	
χρεωστέω	class 8		class 13	
πείθω	class 9		class 2	
ἄρχω	class 3		class 13	
κομίζω	class 7		class 5	
πιστεύω	class 8		class 2	
σπεύδω	class 8		class 12	
δέομαι	class 9	impersonal verb	class 4	
θέλω	class 9	modal verb auxiliary	class 4	
θλίβω	class 4	(cf. deviations)	class 14	
ποιέω	class 9	auxiliary	class 3 class 12	
φέρω	class 7	class 9 (causative construction)	class 3	
ἐπισκέπτω	class 4			class 5
ἐπιτίθημι	class 3			class 7
πράσσω	class 3			class 6
συμβάλλω	class 11			class 2
ὑποδέχομαι	class 5			class 4

β) Collocations, idioms and formulae

The coexistence of semantically and syntactically differing patterns for a verb may be the result of several processes. Firstly, a classical and a post-classical pattern may coexist. For instance, classical ἀξιόω + genitive ‘to be worthy of’ coexists with post-classical ἀξιόω + accusative + prospective complement clause ‘to ask somebody to do something’. For almost all relevant items, the classical pattern is termed collocation and the post-

classical one is termed idiom, since the latter appears less often than the former.³⁶⁹ The only exceptions are ἀξιόω and καταξιόω; the new pattern appears very frequently with these and is syntactically simpler than its classical alternative. Therefore, the post-classical pattern is termed collocation.

Secondly, some verbs appear with either a nominal or a verbal complement while other verbs appear with either a factive or a prospective complement. Based on the regularity and frequency of the patterns, the nominal and factive complementation patterns are termed collocation. The only exception to this rule is τάττω, for which instances of the prospective pattern far outnumber those of the factive pattern, with the result that the latter has been termed idiom.³⁷⁰ Three verbs ἔχω, ἡγέομαι and χράομαι appear with two distinct nominal complementation patterns: ἔχω ‘to have’ (ACC) and ‘to have as / regard as’ (ACC, ACC), ἡγέομαι ‘to lead’ (ACC) and ‘to regard as’ (ACC, ACC) and χράομαι ‘to use’ (DAT) and ‘to need’ (GEN). The syntactically simpler and more common pattern is termed collocation for these verbs. ἀπαλλάττω patterns with these verbs in a specific context (cf. Section 3.2).

Thirdly, for three verbs that appear in the epistolary frame (cf. Chapter 6), a collocation and a formula coexist: προσκυνέω, ρώννυμι and χαίρω. φυλάττω patterns with these since it appears in the epistolary frame and in one seemingly idiomatic pattern (cf. Section 3.2). Additionally, three almost synonymous verbs appear in discourse-structuring devices: γινώσκω, μανθάνω and οἶδα.³⁷¹ For γινώσκω and οἶδα, a collocation, an idiom and a formula exist. For μανθάνω, a collocation and a formula exist. This is summarised in [20a].

[20a] Multivalent items (II): γινώσκω, μανθάνω and οἶδα

Verb	Collocation	Idiom (hedging device)	Formula (disclosure formula)
γινώσκω	class 2 ‘to know’	class 2 ‘to be aware’ (elliptical syntax)	class 6 ‘to realise’

³⁶⁹ For ἀπολύω, see LSJ III.4. For ἐάω, see LSJ I (end). For θαρσέω, see LSJ I.2.c. ὀχλέω and ἐνοχλέω seem to be used interchangeably, since ἐνοχλέω appears with an infinitive (for PCG, cf. LSJ s.v. ὀχλέω II (middle/passive)) and ὀχλέω with a dative.

ἐάω, ὀχλέω / ἐνοχλέω additionally appear in a pattern that has resulted from valency reduction and καταξιόω in one that has resulted from internal grammaticalization.

For θαυμάζω, see James 2008, Mackridge 1987 (πῶς) and Clarysse forthcoming (emotions as structuring devices).

³⁷⁰ With διοικέω the infinitive is non-classical, but the semantic extension from ‘to administer’ to ‘to order’ is feasible.

³⁷¹ For γινώσκω, μανθάνω and οἶδα in formulaic contexts (formula F1), see Chapter 6. For γινώσκω and οἶδα in hedging devices (with the object omitted), see Chapter 6.

μανθάνω	class 2 'to know'	∅	class 6 'to realise'
οἶδα	class 2 'to know'	class 2 'to know' (elliptical syntax)	class 6 'to learn'

All relevant items in the corpus are summarised in [20b]. Presumably, their syntactic versatility posed difficulty to our writers since Coptic verbs appear in only one syntactic configuration.

[20b] Multivalent items (II): an overview

(1) CG and PCG patterns	(2) Nominal vs. verbal CPL	Factive vs. prospective CPL	Nominal CPLs	(3) Epistolary formulae	Discourse- structuring formulae
1. ἀξιόω 2. ἀπολύω 3. ἐάω 4. ἐνοχλέω 5. θαρσέω 6. θαυμάζω 7. καταξιόω 8. ὀχλέω	1. εὐρίσκω	1. βλέπω 2. γράφω 3. δηλόω 4. διοικέω 5. λέγω 6. τάττω	1. ἀπαλ- λάττω 2. ἔχω 3. ἡγέομαι 4. χράω	1. προσκυνέω 2. ῥώννυμι 3. φυλάττω 4. χαίρω	1. γινώσκω 2. μανθάνω 3. οἶδα
8	1	6	4	4	3

3.1.5 Classification of verbs

Attestations of verbs have been grouped according to their syntactic context. Objects that are omitted but that are contextually inferable are taken into account. Inference of an object is usually unproblematic.³⁷² Semantically, most of these syntactically conditioned groups represent one general idea.

Verbs may have a solely grammatical function, or they may have both grammatical and semantic functions. In the former case, the relevant verb cannot appear without a complement supplying the lexical semantics. In the latter case, the relevant verb can appear without a complement. Verbs that have both grammatical and semantic functions may either allow or not allow for a direct object. In the former case, the verb is transitive. In the latter case, the verb is intransitive.³⁷³ These considerations result in the following classification of attestations:

³⁷² Omitted objects do not necessarily indicate a non-native or careless writer. They may also reflect pragmatic economy since the texts of the corpus reflect people's everyday habits (cf. Chapter 2).

³⁷³ Cf. Crellin 2012: 55–58. Generally, see Hopper and Thompson 1980.

[21] Categories of verbs

Grammatical and Semantic Function	Grammatical Function
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intransitive verbs / impersonal verbs • transitive verbs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • copular verbs • modal verbs / impersonal verbs • auxiliaries

Impersonal verbs are treated separately below, not only because their syntax is unique but also because impersonal verbs may describe a state or a modal relation such as necessity.

As has just been mentioned, most syntactically conditioned groups represent one general idea. This is evident when we assign semantic roles to the subject and object(s) that a verb allows for. A summary of semantic roles is given in [22]. Columns one and two of this table are copied from Kroeger (2005: 54–55). Column three summarises the situation in our corpus.

[22] Semantic roles

Semantic role	Explanation	Greek
Agent	causer or initiator of events	NOM ACC (DAT)
Experiencer	animate entity which perceives a stimulus or registers a particular mental or emotional process or state	NOM DAT
Recipient	animate entity which receives or acquires something	NOM DAT (ACC)
Beneficiary	entity (usually animate) for whose benefit an action is performed	(DAT)
Instrument	inanimate entity used by an agent to perform some action	(DAT)
Theme	entity which undergoes a change of location or possession, or whose location is being specified	ACC / verbal
Patient	entity which is acted upon, affected, or created; or of which a state or change of state is predicated	ACC
Stimulus	object of perception, cognition, or emotion; entity which is seen, heard, known, remembered, loved, hated, etc.	ACC / verbal
Location	spatial reference point of the event (the SOURCE, GOAL, and PATH roles are often considered to be sub-types of LOCATION)	(DAT)
Source	the origin or beginning point of a motion	(GEN)
Goal	the destination or end-point of a motion	DAT / verbal
Path	the trajectory or pathway of a motion	

Note however that Coptic verb formation does not allow for compound verbs, but only phrasal verbs. Compare, for example, Coptic $\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{po}$ = ‘to greet’ with Greek $\pi\rho\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ‘to greet’: While the former does not allow for a direct object, the latter does. Hence, the class of intransitive verbs is significantly larger in Coptic than it is in Greek.

Accompaniment	entity which accompanies or is associated with the performance of an action	(DAT)
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Claims about verbs that occur only once or twice in the corpus must remain preliminary. However, grouping these with verbs that call for the same complementation pattern allows us to determine whether the low-frequency items in question deviate from the standard pattern of a class of verbs.

3.2 Variation

Variations include omissions and redundant additions of elements as well as reflexes that reveal the writer's desire for precision and explicitness. The omission of elements concerns complementary infinitives, as in [23]³⁷⁴:

[23] PK 13.33–35 ἀλλὰ καὶ καγὼ ἤμην κρίνας μὴ γράψαι καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἐδ[υ]νήθην **βαστάζει**

‘But I had also decided not to write. However, I was unable to bear (sc. not to write).’

An accusative functioning as head of a direct object is also occasionally omitted, as in [24]³⁷⁵:

[24] DA 55.1–2 κατέλαβεν Μουνκρηκεως διὰ τὴν ἐμβολὴν (...)

‘He reached (sc. the city of) Mounkrekis because of the *embole*-tax (...)

The omitted infinitive in [23] and the omitted accusative in [24] are clearly inferable from the context. Only twice does the omission of elements impact on the comprehensibility of the passage:

[25] PK 8.43–47 τοίνυν οὖν βλέπεις τὴν μητέρα μου. ὅσα ἔχεις ἐγὼ τήρησον αὐτὰ ὅτι οὐπω ἐμαθε{ς} τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε.

³⁷⁴ Further relevant passages are: AN 1.14 παύομαι, AJ 14.9 ὑπερτίθεμαι, PK 1.14–15 ὑπερτίθεμαι, AP 3.21–22 ὀκνέω, PK 2.40–41 θέλω + ACC, DA 65.9 αἰτέω + ACC, AP 1.21 ἐάω + ACC.

³⁷⁵ Further relevant passages are: AJ 6.13 ποιέω + ο + INF. In PK 14.16–17, a pragmatically necessary direct object is omitted (‘effort’). The modification of this object is turned into an accusative.

‘You shall now look at my mother. As much as you can³⁷⁶, watch over *her* because *she* has not yet learnt what happened to me there.’

[26] AN 19.10–14 καὶ ἐὰν θελήσης ἀποκτῖναι αὐτούς, ἡμεῖς ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν ποιοῦμεν, ἐπεὶ ἐρημώνουσιν οὗτοι ὅλην τὴν κώμην.

‘And if you want them to kill (sc. us), we’d rather do it ourselves, because they are going to desolate the entire village.’

The interpretations given in [25] and [26] are the most probable options based on the pragmatic and morpho-syntactic context.

The omission of elements may also concern sentence linkage. In AP 1.37–38 the reason for the emotion, ἄθυμέω ‘to be unhappy’, is expressed paratactically, and even without καί, rather than by the expected participle or causal clause (cf. further on this aspect Chapter 5). Several times, an elliptical parenthesis is added to a request for reasons of emphasis.³⁷⁷ The most extensive example is [27], which follows the actual request:

[27] AJ 7.15 νῦν οὖν μὴ ἀμελήσης, δέσποτα, διὰ τὸν [Θ]εό[ν].

‘Now, do not forget it, master, with God’s help!’

The expected infinitival complement of μὴ ἀμελέω is omitted.

Apart from simplification by means of omission, redundancy as in [28] is typical of colloquial discourse:

[28] AP 1.57–58 καὶ ποιήσον Τουᾶν ἀπὸ Ταμούρω ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέλθῃ εἰς Ταμούρω ἔνεκεν τῆς ἀρτάβης τοῦ σίτου

‘And make Touas of Tamouro leave for Tamouro because of the *artaba* of wheat.’

³⁷⁶ Literally ‘as much as you can (do) for me’.

³⁷⁷ Relevant passages are: **AJ 14.20 [IMP for INF]** and AJ 7.15 and AN 12.15 and AN 12.19 and AP 3.28 (μὴ ἀμελέω) recapitulate a request. AN 11.16–17 (σπουδάζω) anticipates a request. **PK 13.43–44 (ἀξιόω)** is situated within a request.

In the only Coptic instance, the combination of an inherited and a borrowed verb may be relevant (AJ 18.2–3 †-παράκαλι †-σαπς *ti-parakli to-saps* ‘I beg, I beg’). It anticipates a request.

Two aspects here make the syntax incoherent and ungrammatical.³⁷⁸ Firstly, ποιέω ‘to make somebody do something’ calls for complementation by an accusative and an infinitive. Instead, we find a prospective complement clause (ἵνα). Secondly, the agent, Touas, is referred to twice, Τουᾶν ἀπὸ Ταμούρω and καὶ αὐτὸς. The double reference may have resulted from the switch of complementation patterns. The addition of ἀπὸ Ταμούρω presumably distracted our writer. He may then have applied a false analogy between causative ποιέω and verbs of request. The former allows only for non-finite complementation, while the latter allows for clausal and non-finite complementation. Furthermore, diachronic evolution made clausal complementation preferable, so [28] may reflect a writer’s insecurity concerning non-finite complementation patterns.

As opposed to typically colloquial impreciseness and implicitness, several letters display a writer’s desire for precision and explicitness. The following structures are noticeable:

- Verbal synonyms or near-synonyms may be combined, as in DA 2.2 ὁρμήσατε καὶ ἀπε[λάσ]ατε ‘depart’.³⁷⁹
- Plain imperatives and subjunctives are avoided in requests. Instead, periphrastic structures with modal verbs such as θέλω appear.³⁸⁰
- Classical syntax and stylistics are occasionally employed, as in DA 18.13 π[οι]ῆσαι προᾶξιν ‘to act’, ποιέω and an internal object.³⁸¹
- Some writers strive for variation in the complementation pattern, as in DA 44.29–30 πεῖθω {ὥς SC}^{CPL-SC} {AcI}^{non-finite CPL}.³⁸²
- Articular infinitives may be preceded by a preposition, as a feature of ‘bureaucratic Greek from Hellenistic times’.³⁸³

³⁷⁸ There is no reason for assuming interference from Coptic. Coptic operates either with causative verbs (prefix τ-) or with the jussive (e.g. μαρεμμομε *mare-f-moše* ‘Let him go / Make him go’, cf. Layton 2011: § 340.).

³⁷⁹ Relevant passages are: DA 53.2–3 (‘to depart’), AJ 12.11–12 (‘to wander around’), PK 18.27–28 (‘to seek’). The hypotactic structure in AP 4.13 resembles these: ὁ [σ] ται δαὶ ἐξέβην ἄπηλθα εἰς τὸ [. Note the twofold conditional (ἐάν, εἰ δὲ) that precedes ζητεῖν ἢ ἀπαιτῆσαι in PK 18.27–28, a surety in epistolary form.

³⁸⁰ Particularly elaborate instances are: AJ 6.4 and AN 4.3–4 (two modal verbs), AJ 13.10 and AN 19.4 (παρακαλέω and a modal verb), AP 4.14–15 (πάν ποιέω and παρακαλέω). For further elaborate requests in PK 3.7, PK 15.27 and PK 16.31–32, see Chapter 5.

³⁸¹ Also in DA 18.11, στέλλω has a highly specialised medical meaning (LSJ IV.3 ‘to make costive’). The letter DA 18 finishes with a greeting section, a rarity in our sixth-century texts, and a polite request for a reply (τὸ οὖν δοκοῦν διὰ ταχέων γράψατε, δέσποτα. ‘If it seems right to go, write (me) soon, master.’).

³⁸² For switches between predicative participle and infinitive with verbs of perception and cognition, see James 2008: 90–98 (the participle encroaches on the domain of the infinitive).

³⁸³ Horrocks 2014: 157 (and see also 94–96).

- The phrases φυλάττω τὸ δίκαιον + dative ‘to preserve justice for somebody’³⁸⁴, ἀπαλλάττω τὸ πρᾶγμα + genitive ‘to resolve the issue of something’³⁸⁵ and συνάπτω + dative + accusative ‘to join somebody (in trouble) with somebody (who will provide help)’³⁸⁶ all recur in Dioscoros’ papers. All three phrases are limited to a very specific context. They may be adopted from the official language. Perhaps περινοέω in the sense of ‘to pay back (the debt to the creditors)’ aligns with these.

PK 7.7–9 ἐδηλώσας (...) ὥς ὅτι and AP 4.12 ἔμυ[να -ca.?- (?)³⁸⁷] [πειρ]αζόμενος are discussed in Chapter 7. These structures may be the result of either register-variation or bilingual interference. However, by considering the external and internal contexts of both instances, a tentative decision can be reached.

3.3 Deviations

3.3.1 Transitive verbs (1453 instances)

a) *Class 1: {agent}^{nominative} {theme}^{accusative/infinitive/factive complement clause} (171 instances)*

Collocation

Verbs of class one describe a speech act, e.g. ἀρνέομαι ‘to deny’ and ἀσπάζομαι ‘to greet’. The grammatical subject refers to the agent, while the direct object refers to a theme. The latter is always inflected as accusative if it is referring to an animate entity, whereas if it is referring to an inanimate entity, an infinitival complement may appear instead, e.g. AN 20.13 ἀρνέομαι + AcI, or otherwise a clausal one, e.g. PK 2.9–10 φημί + ὅτι (colon). The direct object may be dropped if the contextual inference is clear.

The phrasal verb pattern of καλέω is discussed in Section 3.4.1.³⁸⁸

Relevant passages are: DA 69.6 (τοῦ μεῖναι χάριν), DA 38.7 (κατὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι αὐτοὺς).

³⁸⁴ Relevant passages are: DA 7.6, DA 32.7, DA 59.16 (?).

³⁸⁵ Relevant passages are: DA 5.14–15, DA 15.3, DA 54.2, AN 13.8–9 (?).

³⁸⁶ Relevant passages are: DA 41.2, DA 50.8.

³⁸⁷ Six to eight letters are lost.

³⁸⁸ προσφωνέω seems to replace προσομολογέω, so it is discussed with the latter. For deviations concerning ἀσπάζομαι, προσαγορεύω, προσκυνέω and χαίρω, see Chapter 6 (greeting sections and internal addresses).

Deviations

1) Indirect interference (φημί)

In [29a], a group of people is secondarily specified by listing their names. The reference to the group of people takes the form of a prepositional phrase, *παρά*^{GEN}. The secondary specification is preceded by the insert *φημί δὴ*.

[29a] DA 10.5–7 (...) ἀεὶ φροντιζ[όμενος] παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων τὴν μνή(μην) ὑμῶν εὐκλεῶν γονέω[ν], **φημί δὴ** Ἀμμωνίου(ν) καὶ Ἰωάννου(ν) καὶ Φοιβάμμωνος τῶν ἀειμνήστων (...)

‘(...) the one who always cares for the honourable parents who are most famous in our memory, I mean, Ammonius and John and Phoibammon, the ones always to be remembered, (...)’

Conversely, the secondary specification in [29b] takes the form of an independent clause with *λέγω*. For this reason, the names of the people are here inflected as accusatives.

[29b] PK 14.44–46 ἐλυπήθημεν δὲ πάνυ MANY TRACES μὴ δεξάμενοι διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς νυνὶ ἐληλυθότων, Νεστόριον δὲ **λέγω** καὶ Βησῶν Σύρου.

‘We were sad because we did not receive (sc. a message) through those who have now come to us, I mean Nestorius and Besas, Syros’ son.’

While in either case an apposition would have been sufficient, both writers apparently wanted to underline the appositional status of the names. In Coptic, the names in the appositional phrase would have to be introduced by *ⲕⲉ ⲃⲉ*.³⁸⁹ *ⲕⲉ ⲃⲉ* regularly introduces factive subordinate clauses (cf. Chapter 5). In the pattern of the apposition, it may be an abbreviation of a clause such as *ⲉ(ⲧ)³⁹⁰–ⲟⲩ–ⲕⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲉ(ⲧ)–ⲟⲩ–ⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲥ ⲃⲉ* ‘which is said to be’. This may have caused our writers’ reluctance not to indicate the apposition in Greek explicitly. [29a] and [29b] are grammatical in Greek. The addition of a verb of utterance is, however, redundant, and may be modelled on the equivalent Coptic pattern.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Layton 2011: § 129b.

³⁹⁰ For virtual and actual relative clauses in Coptic, see Chapter 5.

b) Class 2: {agent}^{nominative} {theme}^{accusative/infinitive/factive complement clause} (68 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class two describe an act of thinking, e.g. πιστεύω ‘to believe’ and κρίνω ‘to decide’. The grammatical subject refers to the agent, while the direct object refers to a theme. If it is nominal, we find an accusative, whereas if it is verbal, an infinitive or a factive complement clause (ὅτι, ὥς) appears. The only exceptions are PK 14.21 οἶδα + predicative participle and AN 20.11–12 νομίζω + predicative participle. The predicative participle is classical with οἶδα, whereas in AN 20.11–12 we may wonder whether an infinitive ‘to be’ has been omitted. We could then construe νομίζω with the regular AcI pattern.

The phrasal verb pattern of μετρέω is discussed in Section 3.4.1.

Deviations

None

c) Class 3: {agent}^{nominative} {patient}^{accusative} (267 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class three describe a physical activity. The grammatical subject refers to the agent while the direct object refers to a patient. This group falls into three subcategories: (I) verbs that describe movement of the object such as βάλλω ‘to throw’, (II) verbs that describe keeping the object somewhere such as κατέχω ‘to hold back’, and (III) verbs that describe treating the object such as θεραπεύω ‘to treat’. The direct object is always inflected as accusative except for some classical relics in group (III):

- (1) ἄπτω + genitive (DA 43.16);
- (2) χράομαι + dative (PK 6.13–14, PK 7.17, DA 50.2, DA 58.5); and
- (3) χορτάζομαι + genitive (AJ 1.14–16).

The direct object may be omitted if the contextual inference is clear.

The three subcategories vary with respect to the prepositional additions they attract. Verbs of group (I) may be accompanied by a separative genitive or a prepositional phrase with ἀπό^{GEN} or ἐκ^{GEN} ‘away from’³⁹¹, by a prepositional phrase with εἰς^{ACC}, πρὸς^{ACC} or παρά^{ACC} ‘towards’ or occasionally by an expression of location. The

³⁹¹ Only in PK 9.20 (κρύπτω) does the editor restore a dative.

preposition used to form a compound verb is repeated before the object in AP 1.39 (ἐμβάλλω, ἐν) and DA 17.5 (ὑποτίθημι, ὑπό)³⁹² and, considering PCG developments, also in PK 15.12 (συνάγω, μετά).

[30] The syntactic context of class 3 verbs

‘away from’	‘towards’	‘in’
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRP (8) • GEN (6) • [DAT (1)] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRP (17) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRP (3)

Verbs of group (II) may be accompanied by an expression of location in the form of a prepositional phrase with ἐν^{DAT} or παρά^{DAT} (7 instances) or once in the form of a plain dative (DA 44.25 ἐνπεριέχομαι). Verbs of group (III) may be accompanied by a dative of beneficiary³⁹³ (3 instances). The passive of πίμπλημι is complemented by a genitive specifying what the writer is ‘full of’ (PK 6.25). There are two expressions of location, AP 3.39–40 (συνλέγω, παρά^{DAT}) and AP 1.2 (πράττω, ἐνταῦθα).

The phrasal verb patterns of αἶρω (group 1) and ἔχω (group 2), as well as the SVCs of ἔχω (group 2) and ποιέω (group 3), are discussed in Section 3.4.1.

Deviations

1) Direct interference (predicative possessive with ἔχω)

In [31a], the addition of the prepositional phrase ἐν χειρσί seems redundant.³⁹⁴ The writer is referring to his own property, so ἔχω would be sufficient.

[31a] PK 14.19–22 θαυμάζω δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἐπέστειλās μοι καὶ κἂν ποκάρι[ο]ν ἐν εἰδῶς ἡμᾶς μὴ ἄλλο ἔχοντας ἐν χειρσί.

‘I wonder why you did not send me even one ball of wool, knowing that we did not have anything else.’

³⁹² Prepositional phrases with ἀπό or ἐκ appear with compound verbs whose prefix is ἀπό or ἐκ.

³⁹³ In DA 10.15, the *dativus incommodi* is replaced by πρός^{ACC}: DA 10.14–15 καὶ μὴ συγχωρήσαι ξένον διελθεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτοῦ) πρὸς λόμην τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγίου) τόπο(ν) κ(αὶ) τῆς ὑμῶν προσφορᾶς, δέσποτα ☩.

³⁹⁴ Compare however the two SVCs with reflexive meaning: AN 5.9 (ἔχων παρὰ σεαυτῷ) and DA 43.5 (ἐπ’ ἀγκάλαις ἔχω).

While Greek predicative possessive structures consist of εἰμί + dative³⁹⁵ alongside ἔχω and other lexical verbs (e.g. κέκτημαι), Coptic lacks a verb for ‘to have’ and instead resorts to existential structures. The owner is then introduced by a range of prepositions. The most common pattern, which employs a comitative preposition, has partly grammaticalised.

$$[31b] \quad \text{oyn-}\{\text{property}\} \text{nte-} / \text{nta=}\{\text{owner}\} \rightarrow \text{oynnte-}\{\text{owner}\}\text{-}\{\text{property}\} \\ \text{oun-}\{\text{property}\} \text{n-te-/nta=}\{\text{owner}\} \rightarrow \text{ounte-}\{\text{owner}\}\text{-}\{\text{property}\}$$

A common alternative pattern, also employing a comitative preposition, is:

$$[31c] \quad \text{oyn-}\{\text{property}\} \text{ntn-} / \text{ntoot=}\{\text{owner}\} \\ \text{oun-}\{\text{property}\} \text{ntn-/ntoot=}\{\text{owner}\}$$

The grammaticalised pattern was in use alongside non-grammaticalised patterns. Given that oynnte- *ounte-* comes close to ἔχω³⁹⁶ and that ntn-/ntoot= *ntn-/ntoot=* consists of n- *n-* ‘in’ and tn-/toot= *tn-/toot=* ‘hand’, [31a] may be modelled on Coptic. In the absence of an existential particle in Greek, ἔχω is matched to oyn. ἐν χειρὶ is a literal translation of ntoot= *ntoot=*. Admittedly, we would expect a possessive genitive μου. Yet, the first-person pronoun with ntoot= *ntoot=* is never expressed for phonological reasons.³⁹⁷

d) Class 4: {agent}^{nominative} {stimulus}^{accusative} (103 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class four describe a mental activity. The grammatical subject refers to the agent while the direct object refers to a stimulus. This group falls into three subcategories: (I) verbs that describe treating the object such as ἀγαπάω ‘to love’, (II) verbs that describe showing concern about the object such as ἐπιστρέφωμαι ‘to take care of’, and (III) verbs that describe desire for the object such as διψάω ‘to long for’. The direct object is inflected

³⁹⁵ For Greek and Coptic predicative possessives, see Section 3.3.3 (copular verbs).

³⁹⁶ Cf. Coptic adjective-verbs such as nece-c *nese-s* be.beautiful=S.3sg ‘it is beautiful’.

³⁹⁷ Cf. Layton 2011: § 86 (*ntoot=t *ntoot=t*).

as accusative except for the following items of groups (II) and (III), which call for a genitive³⁹⁸: ἀμελέω ‘to be neglectful of’, ἀντιποιέω ‘to seek after’, διψάω ‘to long for’, ἐπιλανθάνομαι ‘to forget’, ἐπιστρέφομαι ‘to take care of’, προνοέω ‘to take care of’, φροντίζω ‘to take care of’, and χράω ‘to have need for’.

Alternatively with items of groups (II) and (III) an infinitive or subjunctive may fill the direct object slot.

- (1) infinitive : ἀμελέω, φροντίζω; δέομαι, ζητέω
 (2) subjunctive : βλέπω

The direct object may be omitted if the contextual inference is clear.

Deviations

1) Partial familiarity with a collocation (ἀξιόω)

In [32a], the writer complains about not having been deemed worthy of a visit by the addressee:

[32a] DA 9.9–12 ὑμῶν κατερχομένων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντινοέων πρὸς τοὺς λαμπρ[οτάτου]ς ἡμῶν δεσ[πό]τας παγάρχους ζητήσατέ με εἰς Ἑρμο[ῶ] πόλι[v]. ἐπεὶ οὐκ(?) ἡξιώθην ὑμᾶς εἰς Εὐφρόσυνον, κἂν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μ[ου], ἵνα ἀξιωθῇ ὁ οἶκός μο(υ) τὴν ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητα.

‘When you are coming to Antinoopolis to our most famous masters, the *pagarchs*, visit me in Hermopolis. Because I was not deemed worthy of you (sc. of your visit) in Euphrosyne, even though (sc. it was) in my own town, my house shall (now) be deemed worthy of your brotherhood (sc. your brotherhood’s visit).’

ἀξιόω is inflected as passive. Instead of the expected genitive indicating what the subject was deemed worthy of, we find an accusative. Since the classical pattern of ἀξιόω (GEN, ACC) still appears frequently, it is unlikely that insecurity about adverbial genitives, which were disappearing, underlies [32a]. Rather, our writer may have been only partly familiar with the complementation pattern of ἀξιόω.

[32b] ἀξιόω

Voice	Regular Pattern	Meaning	Deviations
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³⁹⁸ For ὀλιγορέω and PCG syntax of ἀμελέω, φροντίζω and ὀλιγορέω, see Section 3.1.3.

Active	ἀξιόω + ACC + GEN / INF	‘to deem somebody worthy of something’	
Passive	ἀξιοῦμαι + GEN / INF	‘to be deemed worthy of something’	ἀξιοῦμαι + ACC

In an active construction, the accusative refers to an animate entity and the genitive to an inanimate entity. Although our writer observed the valency-reducing property of the Greek passive by adding only one entity, the passive construction may have contributed to his confusion. He automatically put the animate object ‘you’ into the accusative.³⁹⁹

2) Disregarding a collocation (προνοέω)

In [33], the expected genitive with προνοέω is replaced by an accusative. The object is not completely preserved.⁴⁰⁰

[33] AN 12.18–19 γράφω σοι, Νεφερώ[ς], π[ρ]ονοήσης τὸ μικρὸν [.]. οὐ γῆν
 ‘I write to you, Nepheros, so that you may take care of my little plot of land.’

The accusative is already attested in classical Greek but prompts a meaning ‘to provide’ for προνοέω. Only in combination with a prospective complement clause, an infinitive or a genitive is the verb attested with the meaning ‘to take care of’.

Since our writer seems to struggle with Greek grammar in the entire letter (e.g. l. 4–5 προσαγορεύω + dative and l. 11 Ὡρ πα Τ-α2μουρώ), we may wonder whether he used the accusative as the default object case.⁴⁰¹

3) Indirect interference (φροντίζω, ⲡⲉⲙⲧ ⲛⲏⲧ)

DA 69 is a desperate request to protect a holy place from impious people. After describing the troublesome situation, the writer addresses a request to the addressee in [34a]:

[34a] DA 69.11–16 διὸ τοίγυν παρακαλῶ (ACC) τὴν ἀεὶ προσ[κ]υνουμένην
 [π]ᾶσι λαμπρὰν ὑμῶν δεσποτείαν (ITJ) εἰς χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ τοῦ

³⁹⁹ Correct versions would be: (a) ἡξιώθην τῆς ὑμῶν ἀφιξέως, (b) ἡξιώθην ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι ὑφ’ ὑμῶν. Perhaps avoidance of the passive infinitive also played a role.

DA 68.3 () ἀξιώθω αὐτὴν κατόπιν () may be similar, but the passage is severely damaged.

⁴⁰⁰ Perhaps compare Clarysse’s (1993: 200) identification of γῆς ἄρουραι as modelled on Demotic *st3 n 3H*. Coptic preserves this lemma, i.e. ⲉⲓⲱⲗⲉ *eiōhe*.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Vierros 2012a: 52.

μακαρίτο\υ/ ἡμῶν πατρὸς καὶ τῆς ὑμῶν φυγῆς τὸ συμβαλλόμενον (INF1)
 κελεῦσαι ἕναπο[-2-3-] (INF2) **φροντίζειν ἐκ ψυχῆς τοῦ/ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου/ τόπο\υ/**
 ἀδιαφόρως ὡς ἰδίου ὑμῶν ὄντ[ος] καὶ (INF3) ἀποπαῦσαι Λουκανὸν ἢ κ(αὶ)
 λοιποὺς τοὺς θέλοντας καινοτομῆσαι τὸ εὐαγ[ἐς ὅ]ρος⁴⁰² καὶ παρὰ ἔθος ἔλκεσθαι
 ζητοῦ\ντας τοῦ\το εἰς Ἀφαριανοῦ\ς λόγους - ca.12 –

‘So therefore I ask your brilliant power that is always honoured by everyone on behalf of God and especially on behalf of our blessed father and your soul to order the arrangement to ... (and) to take care of the same holy place just as if it was your own one and to stop Lykanos or also the others who want to rebuild the holy place and who are seeking it to be drawn towards Apharianes’ words against the custom.’

The infinitive φροντίζειν complements παρακαλῶ. The lacuna preceding φροντίζειν may have contained a conjunction to join φροντίζειν and κελεῦσαι. The object of φροντίζειν is inflected as genitive (τοῦ/ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου/ τόπο\υ/) as expected but is preceded by ἐκ ψυχῆς. The fact that ψυχῆς is not accompanied by an article renders likely an interpretation such as an adverbial phrase ‘wholeheartedly.’⁴⁰³

The placement of this adverbial phrase between the verb and its object seems peculiar. Given that φροντίζειν itself refers to a mental process we may then wonder whether the prepositional phrase merely underlines the meaning of the verb.

In Coptic ‘the non-spatial adverb *n-hēt* combines with verbs and helps to express emotional processes and states’,⁴⁰⁴ as in [34b] and [34c].

[34b] PKC 19.35 †-n_{AE} n-h_{HT} a-sm_{ME}
ti-nae n-hēt a-smme
 1sg-have.mercy in.PRP-heart IM-petition
 ‘I have mercy to petition’

[34c] PKC 20.17 e-n-r-p-ke-h_{AE} a-pn-h_{HT} har_ω=tne
e-n-r-p-ke-hase a-pn-hēt harō=tne

⁴⁰² For ὅρος, see Chapter 1.

⁴⁰³ On the other hand, it makes it unlikely that ἐκ functions like παρά in DA 10.5 (φροντιζ[όμενος] **παρὰ** τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ‘taking care of the highly honoured ones’).

⁴⁰⁴ Layton 2011: § 207.

PRII-1pl-do-ART.DEF.SG-other-worry to-POSS.SG.1pl-heart
 about.PR=2pl
 ‘We are worried about you’

π-εἰς *n-hēt* consists of the simplex preposition π- *n-* ‘in / from’ and the noun εἰς *hēt* ‘heart, mind’. Our writer seems to have replicated the Coptic model in Greek.⁴⁰⁵

The addition of ἐκ ψυχῆς seems odd in the Greek sentence but does not disrupt the syntax once it is taken as a unit of its own. The entire sentence is elaborately phrased and employs a complex syntax. This may have been a minor lapse by a proficient bilingual or a reflection of effort made by a creative writer.

e) Class 5: {recipient}^{nominative} {theme}^{accusative} (137 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class five describe an act of receiving a concrete entity, e.g. ἀναδέχομαι ‘to receive’. The grammatical subject refers to the recipient while the direct object refers to a theme. The direct object is inflected as accusative⁴⁰⁶ except with τυγχάνω and λαμβάνομαι⁴⁰⁷, which preserve the classical genitive. The direct object may be dropped if the contextual inference is clear.

Several adverbial phrases appear. There are indications of the point of origin mostly in the form of παρά^{GEN}, of an intermediary in the form of διὰ^{GEN} and of a beneficiary in the form of a plain dative, παρά^{DAT} and πρός^{ACC}. There are also indications of the price of the object with verbs meaning ‘to buy’ in the form of a plain genitive and ἐκ^{GEN}.

[35] The syntactic context of class 5 verbs

Origin	Intermediary	Beneficiary	Price
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • παρά^{GEN} (20) • GEN (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • διὰ^{GEN} (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DAT (5) • παρά^{DAT} (1) • πρός^{ACC} (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GEN (2) • ἐκ^{GEN} (1)
22	2	7	3

⁴⁰⁵ For prepositional phrases instead of adverbs, see Chapter 4.

⁴⁰⁶ The meaning of some verbs varies depending on whether the object is referring to an animate or an inanimate entity, for instance, καταλαμβάνω ‘to visit somebody’ but ‘to reach something’.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Section 3.1.

The verb ἔχω is subsumed under class five when it is combined with an adverbial phrase referring to the point of origin. It seems to equal ‘to have got’ in these cases rather than the static ‘to have / to own’.

The phrasal verb patterns of τηρέω and ἔάω and the SVC with λαμβάνω are discussed in Section 3.4.

Deviations

1) Indirect interference (ἔχω^{GEN} ‘to owe’)

In [36a] and [36b], a writer is complaining about somebody who is unwilling to repay their debt:

[36a] AN 2.1–5 μνήσ[θητι] δέ, κύριε ἄδελφε, λαβεῖν **τὰς δεκαεὺς ἀρτάβας ὥς ἔχει ἡμῶν** Παπνοῦτις Ὡρίωνος ἵνα σὺν θεῷ τὰ παιδιά ἡμῶν εὕρωσιν αὐτά.

‘Remember, (my) lord brother, to take the sixteen *aratabae* which Papnoutis, Horion’s son is still owing us so that our children will find / receive them, with God(’s help).’

[36b] AN 18.11–17 ὥς γὰρ ἴδατέ με ἐν τριούτῳ κερῷ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ’ ἄ<λλ’> ὅτι τὸν κερὸν σήμερον **ἔχετέ μου** τῶ(ν) ἀνὰ χεῖρα σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ὅς καίτοι οἴδατε τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου ὅτι γυνή εἰμι, οὐ δύναμαι ἀγοράσαι.

‘(...) since you know that I am in such a situation and that things are no different because you owe me to this day six *artabae* of wheat of my property; yet, you know the price of wheat (and) that I am a woman (and) can (therefore) not do business.’

In both passages, we find ἔχω + genitive instead of the common χρεωστέω. The subject of ἔχω refers to the debtor, the genitive to the creditor and the direct object in the accusative to the debt.⁴⁰⁸ The relative clause in [36a] clarifies that the genitive should not be construed as a possessive with the direct object. A colloquialism is unlikely, since we would then expect a prepositional phrase rather than a plain case (genitive). Moreover,

⁴⁰⁸ Note that PK 7.11 and AN 3.3, where a prepositional phrase παρά^{GEN} follows, are regular instances of ἔχω ‘to have (got)’.

the phrase τῷ(ν) ἀνὰ χεῖρα in [36b] seems to be modelled on Coptic (ετε-ντοοτ *ete-ntoot*).⁴⁰⁹

Aligning the structure of [36a] and [36b] with the regular Coptic pattern to express ‘to owe’ reveals some parallels⁴¹⁰:

[37] Coptic ‘to owe’

	‘to have’	Debtor	Debt	Creditor
Greek	ἔχω	subject	direct object (ACC)	GEN
	‘to have’	Creditor	Debt	Debtor
Coptic	ουντε- ⁴¹¹ <i>ounte-</i>	subject	direct object	ε- <i>e</i> -debtor

[38] is an example of the Coptic pattern.

[38] Deut 24:12 εἰωπε δε ε-ουντ-κ-οϣ-χομντ ε-π-ετ-ϣιτοϣω=κ
ešōpe de e-ount-k-ou-homnt e-p-et-hitouō=k
 if and CS-there.is-2sg-ART.INDF.SG-money
 against.the.account.of.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-REL-next.to.PRP=2sg⁴¹²
 ‘And if the one next to you (i.e. your neighbour) owes you money.’

The fact that Coptic ε- *e*- means both ‘to(wards)’ and ‘(away) from’ explains the Greek genitive in the final column of [37].⁴¹³ However, while the Greek and Coptic patterns align on a purely structural level, the semantic functions of the subject and the prepositional phrase / genitive are swapped. The reason for this may be that the Coptic pattern for ‘to owe’ is highly idiomatic. The meaning of the preposition ε- *e*- in this pattern is uncommon in any other context.

In sum, the meaning of the structure as a whole is same and the constituents of the structure are also the same in Greek and Coptic. Yet the syntactic realisation of the structure and thus the syntactic function of the constituents does not match in Greek and Coptic. Hence, the writers of [36a] and [36b] did not copy a Coptic structure word by word into Greek but considered the structure as a whole.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. Layton 2011: § 204. For Greek, see LSJ s.v. χεῖρ II.6.a (ἀνὰ χεῖρα ‘at hand’).

⁴¹⁰ Alternatively, the Greek loan verb χρεωστέω is used.

⁴¹¹ As mentioned, Coptic lacks a lexical verb ‘to have’. ουντε- *ounte-* is the grammaticalised predicative possessive pattern.

⁴¹² Cf. Layton 2011: § 392.

⁴¹³ For the semantic scope of Coptic simplex prepositions, see Chapter 4.

f) Class 6: {experiencer}^{nominative} {stimulus}^{accusative/infinitive/participle/factive complement clause} (99 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class six describe an act of perceiving or experiencing something. The grammatical subject refers to an experiencer and the direct object to a stimulus. Verbs of this class fall into three groups: (I) verbs of sensual perception such as ἀκούω ‘to hear’, (II) verbs referring to an experience such as πάσχω ‘to suffer’, and (III) verbs describing the acquisition of knowledge such as μανθάνω ‘to learn / realise’. If the direct object is nominal, we find an accusative. However, the classical genitive is preserved with γεύομαι ‘to taste’ (AJ 1.17), μεταλαμβάνω ‘to participate’, μιμνήσκω ‘to recall’ and μνημονεύω ‘to remember’.⁴¹⁴ It also appears with ἀκούω ‘to hear’ (AN 1.16) when its object is referring to an animate entity.⁴¹⁵ If the direct object is verbal, the following patterns appear:

[39] The syntactic context of class 6 verbs

	Complement clause	AcI	AcP	Infinitive ⁴¹⁶	Indirect Question
Group (I)	ἀκούω	ἀκούω	ἀκούω, διαγυλάπτω, φυλάπτω	∅	∅
Group (II)	∅	∅	∅	ἀνέχω	∅
Group (III)	γινώσκω, μανθάνω	γινώσκω	εὕρισκω	∅	γινώσκω (ἐν ποίῳ θλίψι), μανθάνω (εἰ)
Total	15	3	7	4	2

When a nominal direct object is combined with a ὅτι-clause (AP 1.37 (ἀκούω); DA 9.4 (ἀκούω), [DA 68.16 (μανθάνω)]), the latter assumes an explicative function (cf. Chapter 5). In one case an explicative ὅτι-clause further specifies a topic expression rather than a direct object: PK 14.12 (ἠκούσθης περὶ ... ὅτι). The direct object may be omitted if the contextual inference is clear.

⁴¹⁴ Only animate entities appear in the object position, expect for DA 43.7 (τὴν ἀρχὴν μέμνημαι), the only accusative, and AN 3.3 (μνημονεύω τῆς εὐλογίας).

⁴¹⁵ The classical animation split is not preserved with ἀκροάομαι. Cf. DA 63.5–6 ἀκροάσθ[σθαι] τῶν [λ]εγομένων παρὰ τοῦ γραμματικ[ό]ρου.

⁴¹⁶ For μιμνήσκω and μνημονεύω + INF as modal auxiliaries, see Section 3.3.4.

Deviations

1) Lexical confusion in a collocation (ὁράω / οἶδα)

In [40], the direct object of the infinitive ἰδαίνει (CG εἰδέναι) is the ‘sunlight’. Confusion between the verbs οἶδα and ὁράω thus seems to underlie [40].

[40] AP 4.7 (...) διὰ ἐμοῦ τω ταπινῷ καὶ ταλεπώρῳ, καὶ [οὐ κ]αταξί[ω] τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου **ἰδαίνει** (...)

‘for the sake of⁴¹⁷ me who is humble and miserable and unworthy of seeing the sunlight’

It is unlikely that the writer was aware of the etymological link between εἰδέναι and ἰδεῖν.⁴¹⁸ Coptic clearly distinguishes between ‘to know’, *εἰμε* *eime*, and ‘to see’, *ⲛⲁⲩ* *nau*. ἰδαίνει in [40], hence seems to be an instance of mere lexical confusion within Greek.

2) Indirect interference (μεταλαμβάνω, appositions)

In [41], the writer greets the addressee and asks the latter’s news before describing his own attitude:

[41] DA 44.31–35 παρακαλείσθω τοίνυν κ(αὶ) νῦν προσκυνεῖσθ[ω] πρὸς ἐμοῦ **ἢ σὴ φιλία** καὶ γράφειν [μ]οι συχνῶς τ[ὰ] περὶ **αὐτῆς**, πρὸ ὁμμάτων ἀ[ν]ελόντι ἐν ἐμαυτ[ῷ] τ[ὴν] περὶ **αὐτῆς** μνηῖαν ἀνάγραπτον, κ(αὶ) εὐχομένῳ αἰσίας **α[ὐ]τῆς** ἀκοῇ[ς] ἐφ’[ἐ]κάστης μεταλαβεῖ[ν] πρὸς πάντας [γ]ιγνομένης.

‘You(r friendship) shall therefore be requested – and it (i.e. your friendship) shall now be greeted by me – to write often that which concerns it (i.e. your friendship) to me who visualises its remembrance, (which is) engraved in myself, and who wants to take part in its (i.e. your friendship’s) actual news⁴¹⁹, namely in everything that happens to all the people.’⁴²⁰

While there is some classical morphology, the syntax of [41] is almost entirely post-classical:

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Chapter 4.

⁴¹⁸ The form εἰδέναι remained current in the post-classical period in both literary and documentary texts (DDbDP statistics: 40 instances).

⁴¹⁹ Cf. αἴσιος ‘right, correct’; ἀκοή ‘report’.

⁴²⁰ For third-person references to the addressee, see Bentein 2017c.

(a) classical morphology: παρακαλείσθω / προσκυνείσθ[ω], ἐμαυτ[ῶ], σὴ.

(b) post-classical syntax:

For εὔχομαι as a modal verb, see Section 3.3.4.

For καί (marking the start and end of a digression), see Chapter 5.

For prepositional phrases in verbal complements, see Section 3.1.3.

([γί]γνομένης, μεταλαβε[ῖν])

Considering post-classical syntax generally, it is surprising to find μεταλαβε[ῖν] complemented by the plain genitive αἰσίας ἀκοῆ[ς]. However, the writer specifies the ‘actual news’ further by a prepositional phrase, ἐπὶ^{GEN}. When phrased like this, the appositional status of [ἐ]κάστης πρὸς πάντας [γί]γνομένης is underlined. This is unnecessary in Greek, but in Coptic the apposition would have to be introduced by *ⲭⲉ*.⁴²¹

The switch from a plain case to a prepositional phrase is unexpected in Greek, since we would expect our writer to stick to either the classical (plain case) or the post-classical pattern (prepositional phrase). Since both complementation patterns coexisted in the post-classical period, our writer may have used one to complement the verb and reinterpreted the other to reflect the Coptic syntactic requirement in relation to appositions.

3) Direct interference (μνημονεύω)

In [42a], the writer complains that despite his own concern the addressee did not return the affection:

[42a] PK 8.34–38 οἶδες καὶ σὺ ὅτι ἐγὼ μνημονεύεις. διὰ τί καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐμνημόνευεις, ἀλλὰ λήθαργος σοί⁴²²;

‘You know that I remember you. Why did you not remember us, but were neglectful?’

In the first sentence, the direct object seems to have been dropped, but the ending of the verb does not match the first-person singular ending required by the subject pronoun. Unlike the second-person singular subject marked on the verb, the first-person singular subject expressed by the pronoun suits the context. In the second sentence, the direct

⁴²¹ Cf. Layton 2011: §129.

⁴²² The form is due to iotacism (CG σύ).

object seems to have been topicalized by means of καί, so that it appears before the verb, καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἡμεῖς neither matches the ending of the verb, ἐμνημόνευεις, nor suits the context. Rather, in analogy with the final sentence of [42a], the second-person morphology of ἐμνημόνευεις seems correct.

Schematising [42a] reveals a chiasmic structure from which only the reference to the addressee in the first half is missing:⁴²³

[42b]	PK 8.34–38 οἶδες καὶ σὺ ὅτι ἐγὼ μνημονεύεις, διὰ τί καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐμνημόνευεις (...)			
	ὅτι ἐγὼ μνημονεύεις	διὰ τί καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐμνημόνευεις		
	ἐγὼ	?	καὶ ἡμεῖς	ἐμνημόνευεις

Overall, this writer struggles with pronominal and occasionally verbal inflection, and regularly uses καί as a topicalising device. Of the thirty-six personal pronouns in the letter, eight are inflected incorrectly: l. 20 σὲ for σύ, l. 38 σοί for σύ, l. 23, 29 and 45 αὐτὰ as default resumptive pronoun, l. 27 and 44 ἐγὼ for μοί, and l. 36 ἡμεῖς for ἡμᾶς. Of the forty-two verbs, two are inflected incorrectly: l. 35 μνημονεύεις for μνημονεύω and l. 46 ἔμαθες for ἔμαθε (cf. Section 3.2 for discussion). Both incorrect forms happen to be second-person singular forms, but the writer also produces six correct second-person singular forms. καί functions as a topicalising device five times. However, only in the passage cited above is a pronominal object topicalised.⁴²⁴ Elsewhere, nominal objects and pronominal subjects are fronted.

Considering the writer's use of καί and his struggle with pronominal inflection, we may assume that ἐγὼ and ἡμεῖς are incorrectly left in the nominative. σοί, at the end, may reflect an iotacism, i.e. <οι> for <υ>. Conversely, since the writer does not have significant difficulty with verbal inflection, it is unlikely that he chose μνημονεύεις because of the persisting second-person singular subject in the vicinity.

In light of the chiasmic structure of the sentence, we may rather wonder whether he used μνημονεύεις in accordance with Coptic syntax. In Coptic, pronominal objects can

⁴²³ Although a direct object could be contextually inferred, its omission disrupts the chiasmic structure.

⁴²⁴ In l. 21–23 and 27–29, a nominal direct object is topicalised and pronominally resumed. In l. 16 and 35, a pronominal subject is flagged. The instance in l. 36 is also the only question example. Cf. further Chapter 5.

be attached to the pronominal state of the verb. Verbal conjugation is achieved by means of prefixes.

[42c] ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩⲧⲭ *a-i-tnneu=k* PRF-1sg-send=2sg ‘I sent you’

In this example ⲓ- *i-* is the infix marking the verb as a first-person singular form, ⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩⲧ- *tnneu-* is the pronominal state of the verb ‘to send, and ⲧⲭ ⲧⲭ *=k* is a personal suffix functioning as the direct object. If we align this Coptic structure with [42a], not only do we have a reference to the addressee in the first sentence, but the ‘redundant’ subject pronoun ⲉγὼ also assumes a meaningful function.

[42d] Alignment of structures

Tense Marker	Subject	Verb	Object	Translation
	ἐγὼ	μνημονεύ-	εἰς	‘I remember you’
ⲁ- a-	ⲓ- <i>i-</i>	ⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩⲧ= <i>tnneu=</i>	ⲕ <i>k</i>	‘I sent you’

As Coptic does not allow for the attachment of objects to the pronominal state of the verb in the present system (Stern-Jernstedt rule)⁴²⁵, the perfect-tense form of the verb is given in [42c].

g) Class 7: {agent}^{nominative} {theme}^{accusative} {recipient}^{dative} (219 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class seven describe the delivery of a concrete entity, e.g. δίδωμι ‘to give’. The grammatical subject refers to the agent, the direct object to a theme and the indirect object to the recipient. The direct object is inflected as accusative and the indirect object as dative⁴²⁶ except with πληρώω ‘to pay’, where both direct and indirect objects are inflected as accusatives.

⁴²⁵ Perhaps ἡμεῖς was left in the nominative because it is fronted. Cf. Grossman 2015. Cf. also Chapter 5.

⁴²⁶ Note <ov> for <ω> in AP 4.12 (παραδίδωμι).

The prepositions preceding the relative pronouns in AP 2.30–31 and AP 3.25–26 (δίδωμι) depend on the superordinate verbs.

Nominatives appear in personal names and in PK 8.27, the writer of which struggles with pronominal inflection.

The direct and indirect objects may be omitted when they are contextually inferred. The direct object ‘message’ is always omitted in the external address of a letter (EA) and occasionally also elsewhere with verbs meaning ‘to send’, as in [43]:⁴²⁷

[43] AJ 1.9–10 ἀξιῶ σοι πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτ[ὸ]ν εἶνα ἀπολύσῃ μαι
‘I ask you to send (a message) to him so that he may release me’

If the recipient is the writer himself, as is the case in requests to send something, or the addressee (e.g. PK 2.50–51 ἀποπέμπω), the external context provides the necessary information for inference of the recipient.

The dative specifying the recipient may be substituted by πρὸς^{ACC} or εἰς^{ACC}, but substitution is comparatively rare in our corpus. If an inanimate destination rather than an animate recipient is indicated, we find εἰς^{ACC}. In DA 49.2 (πέμπω), a recipient and a destination co-occur.⁴²⁸

[44] The syntactic context of class 7 verbs

ø direct object	ø indirect object	Indirect object substitution	Destination
43 (incl. 13 external addresses)	59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> εἰς^{ACC} (2) πρὸς^{ACC} (9) 	εἰς ^{ACC} (10) ἐπὶ ^{ACC} (2)

The phrasal verb patterns of φέρω, ἀφίημι and δίδωμι are discussed in Section 3.4.1.

Deviations

None

h) Class 8: {agent}^{nominative} {theme}^{(accusative)/infinitive/complement clause} {recipient}^{dative} (221 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class eight describe the delivery of a message, e.g. δηλώω ‘to inform’ and ἐντέλλω ‘to order’. The grammatical subject refers to the agent, the direct object to a theme and the indirect object to the recipient. This class of verbs falls into two subcategories: (I) verbs of communication and (II) verbs of command. The indirect object

⁴²⁷ See also PK 6.17 (ἐκπέμπω?), AP 1.57 (ἀποστέλλω).

⁴²⁸ See also DA 18.8 (φέρω) with ἐν for εἰς.

is inflected as a dative⁴²⁹ except with διδάσκω ‘to teach’ (group (I)), ἀπαιτέω ‘to demand’ and εἰσπράττω⁴³⁰ ‘to exact’ (group (II)), in which case the classical accusative is preserved. It is occasionally also preserved with κελεύω ‘to order’. Prepositional substitution of the dative is rare in this class of verbs (8 instances). The direct object may be nominal or verbal with verbs of group (I), but only verbal with verbs of group (II). If the direct object is nominal, we find an accusative. If it is verbal, a variety of structures appears with verbs of group (I), but almost always non-finite structures with verbs of group (II).

[45] The syntactic context of class 8 verbs

	Complement clause	Infinitive	Asyndetic Structure
Group (I)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • εἰ [δηλώω, ὑποδείκνυμι] (4) • ὅτι / ὥς [ἀγγέλλω, γράφω, δηλώω, ὑποδείκνυμι, μεταδίδωμι] (9) • colon [ἀνταγορεύω, γράφω, ἐπαπειλέω, λέγω] (8) <p>[explicative: PK 13.21–22 (γράφω), DA 7.1 (μαρτύρομαι)]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • INF [ἐπαγγέλλω, ὁμολογέω, παρακλίνω] (3) • AcI [δηλώω, θαρσέω] (2) 	MC [λέγω, ὁμνυμι] (2)
Group (II)	ὥστε [παραγγέλλω] (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • INF (23) • AcI (8) • κατὰ τὸ AcI [ἀπαιτέω] (1) 	IMP [γράφω] (1)
Total	22	37	3

The only exceptions in group (II) are AP 1.22 (παραγγέλλω ὥστε), which is further discussed in Chapter 5, and DA 17.12 (γράφω, IMP), which is a colloquialism (cf. Section 3.2).⁴³¹ The direct and indirect objects are commonly omitted when the contextual inference is clear.⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Note <ου> for <ω> in DA 68.8 (τοῦ ἀπόρου οὐ γεγενημένο)ν χρεωστῶ) and AP 1.22 (παρήγλαν αὐτοῦ).

⁴³⁰ For the CG pattern, cf. Isocrates, *Philippus* 5.146 (...) ὅτι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος χρημάτων εἰσπράξασα τοὺς συμμάχους εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν (...). εἰσπράσσω appears only in AP 2.19 and is middle there (‘exact for oneself’).

⁴³¹ In AP 1.20 (ἐνέτιλιν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπαπιλούμενοι, ὅτι κατὰ ποίαν ἐτίαν (...)), the addition of the participle of a verb that allows for a factive complement clause is an avoidance strategy.

⁴³² For example, in AN 18.24–25 (ἐὰν ἀποστερεῖτέ με δηλώσατέ μοι), the direct object is inferred from the preceding conditional clause.

Often the direct object, the message or order, is less salient than its characteristics, the topic of the message or order. The topic is usually referred to by περί^{GEN} , once by περί^{ACC} (PK 4.17, δηλόω), once by ὑπέρ^{GEN} (DA 1.1, σημαίνω), and twice by εἰς^{ACC} (AN 4.5⁴³³ and AN 10.19, κελεύω). Only in [46] is the topic expression fronted so that it has scope over the entire sentence.

[46] PK 13.10–14 *περὶ τῆς σῆς πρὸς ἡμ[ᾶ]ς ἀφίξεως*, [τ]ιμιώτατε, ὅσημέραι {κ} προσδοκοῦμεν ἐκ πάλαι, ἐξ ὅτου *γεγράφηκας*.

‘Concerning your visit to us, most honoured one, we have been waiting (sc. for it) every day for a long time since you wrote (sc. to us about it).’

Occasionally an accusative or a complement clause are combined with a topic expression.

[47] Additions to class 8 verbs

Topic Expression	In addition to the topic expression, there is ...			Total
	∅	ACC	factive complement clause	
Group I	13	2	3	18
Group II	8	∅	∅	8

Verbs of group (II) may appear in a personal passive construction (AN 4.5 κελεύω, DA 68.17 κελεύω, DA 17.8 παραγγέλλω).

The ὁμολογέω-SVC is discussed in Section 3.4.2.

Some apparent deviations with verbs of this class are discussed in subsequent chapters: the relative clause with *χρωστέω* in AN 1.22 (*attractio relativi*) is considered in Chapter 5, the complement clause with *δηλόω* in PK 7.7–9 in Chapter 7, and the ethical datives in PK 1.21–22 and PK 16.24 in Chapter 5.

⁴³³ ἐν appears for εἰς.

Deviations

1) Partial familiarity with a collocation (γράφω)

[48] contains two imperatival requests, the second of which is of interest here. γράφω is accompanied by a dative of beneficiary, a dative periphrasis indicating the recipient, and an accusative referring to the topic of the communication.

[48] PK 1.18–24 (request 1) εἰ ἔδοξεν ὃν τῇ εὐγενείᾳ, πέμψον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τιμόθεον, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, (request 2) καὶ **γράφον μοι ὄνον πρὸς Γάϊον ἵνα** ἐπειχθῶ, **ἐπειδ[ὴ]** οὐκ ἔχω []νι κτήνος.

‘If it seems good to (your) nobility, send the brother Timotheos so that he may handle the matter on my behalf, and write to Gaius for me concerning the donkey so that I may hurry because I do not have a pack-animal (now?).’

The writer continues to explain his request, first in the form of a purpose clause (ἵνα) and then in the form of a causal clause (ἐπειδ[ὴ]). The accusative ὄνον is unexpected. We would expect a topic expression such as *περί^{GEN}* or *περί^{ACC}*.⁴³⁴ In light of the following dative periphrasis, a hypercorrect omission of a preposition is unlikely.

The writer may rather have misunderstood the complementation pattern of γράφω. An accusative is only used to refer to the message itself, not to the topic of the message. In the latter case, a prepositional phrase was required. If he learnt γράφω as a verb of communication, which calls for an accusative and a dative, he may have confused the reference to the message with the reference to the topic of the message.⁴³⁵

2) Direct interference (γράφω)

In [49a], the writer asks the addressee to write a message to a third person:

[49a] AJ 7.6–8 γράψον εἰς ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ψοῖς ἀπὸ Τάετῶ ἀπὸ τριβούνου, ἵνα ἀπολύομαι ἐὰν μὴ ἀπολυθῶμαι.

⁴³⁴ An accusative of respect (BR § 172) is unlikely (a) because of the verb γράφω, which does not qualify for one, and (b) because plain adverbial cases were disappearing (cf. Chapter 4). The dative of beneficiary is not surprising because it often appears with imperatives in Coptic (cf. Chapter 6 (greeting sections)).

⁴³⁵ Fournet (1998: 765) suggests taking γράφω as ‘inscrire, compabiliser’ and consequently understanding ‘louer auprès de Gaios un âne’. However, such a construal supposes a specialised meaning of the verb γράφω and an equally infrequent meaning of the preposition πρὸς^{ACC}. PK 1 is proficiently written but does not seem to be particularly formal such as to justify a technical term like γράφω ‘to rent (out)’.

‘Write a letter to Psois of Toeto, one of the *tribunes*, so that I may be released if I have not been released.’

The nominative εἷς ἐπιστολή refers to the message, with the numeral εἷς functioning as an indefinite article. The prepositional phrase πρὸς Ψοῖς ἀπὸ Τάετω ἀπὸ τριβούνου refers to the recipient. The writer does not inflect nouns: both the recipient’s name (Ψοῖς) and the place name referring to his place of origin (Τάετω) are left in the nominative (cf. Chapter 2). The reference to the message is also left in the nominative (ἐπιστολή), as is its indefinite article. In the apposition referring to the rank of the recipient (ἀπὸ τριβούνου), the noun does not seem to be declined either.⁴³⁶

Instead of declining nouns, the writer resorted to prepositions: πρὸς is used to indicate the recipient, and ἀπὸ to indicate his place of origin and his membership in a group. The direct object is placed immediately after the verb in order to disambiguate its syntactic status. If we translate the sentence into proper Greek and Coptic, we may drop most prepositions in the former case⁴³⁷, but we need prepositions and particles in the latter:

[49b] γράψον ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ψαίτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Τόετω ἐνὶ τῶν τριβούνων (...)

[49c] σεε-επιστολη η-ψαις πα-ταετο πα-η-τριβουνου (...)
seh-epistolē n-psais pa-taeto pa-n-tribounou (...)
 write.IMP-letter to.PRP-name the.one.of-name the.one.of-ART.DEF.PL-tribun (...)

Our writer seems to have applied Coptic syntax but used Greek words. He effectively replicated a Coptic pattern by using Greek matter.

3) The effects of copying (παραγγέλλω)

In [50], the syntax of the active παραγγέλλω ‘to order’ is applied despite using the passive form of the verb. The subject refers to the agent (ὁ θεῖος λόγος), the direct object to the order (βον[θεῖ]ν), and the indirect object to the recipient (ἡμῖν).

⁴³⁶ Greek nouns in -ος were often borrowed by Coptic in a form ending in -ου.

⁴³⁷ Dative periphrasis is uncommon with γράφω. τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τριβούνων could replace the partitive genitive in PCG.

[50] AP 2.3–4 Τοῖ[ς ἐν . . .]ηφθονει συμφορᾷ παραπεσοῦσιν βοη[θεῖ]ν
 π[α]ρ[α]γγέλ<λ>εται ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος λόγος.

‘We have been told to help those who have fallen into ... misfortune (by) the
 divine word.’

An active form of the verb (παραγγέλλει) would render the sentence grammatical, as would the omission of the nominative ὁ θεῖος λόγος or the use of a prepositional phrase with ὑπό instead of the nominative.

The fact that ὁ θεῖος λόγος appears at the end of the sentence may suggest that the writer added it secondarily for reasons of clarity. Therefore, he may not have adjusted the syntax after entering this addition, e.g. by changing the verb into an active form.⁴³⁸ Since the writer quotes a biblical maxim, it is likely that he copied it into his letter.⁴³⁹ This would explain the combination of a proficiently phrased first half of the sentence in [50] as compared to a considerably less proficiently phrased second half.⁴⁴⁰

*i) Class 9: {cause}^{nominative} {agent}^{accusative} {action}^{accusative/infinitive/prospective complement clause}
 (162 instances)*

Collocation

Verbs of class nine describe an action that is initiated by one entity and carried out by another entity. The grammatical subject refers to the cause of the action, the first direct object to the agent, and the second direct object to the action. This class of verbs falls into three subcategories: (I) causative verbs such as ὀρκίζω⁴⁴¹ ‘to make somebody swear something’, (II) verbs of request such as παρακαλέω ‘to ask somebody to do something’, and (III) verbs of motivation such as καταναγκάζω ‘to force somebody to do something’.

The reference to the agent appears in the accusative. The only consistent exceptions are εὔχομαι, in which case the classical dative⁴⁴² is preserved when God is

⁴³⁸ A passive construction might also be preferred, since ὁ θεῖος λόγος is referring to an inanimate entity. It is thus not a prototypical agent.

⁴³⁹ For lists from which authors copied quotations, see Adams and Ehorn 2016: 10.

⁴⁴⁰ The phrase ‘to fall into misfortune’ is less proficiently phrased in AP 3.28–29 (ἐπιδὴ παραπεσοῦσιν ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοιαύ[τη]ν ἀνάγκην) where it is extracted from the seemingly biblical quotation and used more freely. The editor assumes that AP 3 was written by the same writer as AP 2.

⁴⁴¹ The editor’s reconstruction, ἀναγκασθήσεται, in AN 8.30 would suggest that ὀρκίζω had lost its causative syntax and semantics (AN 8.30–31 γινωσκέτω ὅτι <ἀναγκασθήσεται>] περὶ τούτου ὀρκίζειν). Perhaps <θέλω αὐτόν> is more likely: ‘May he know that <I want> to make <him> swear about this.’

⁴⁴² For the occasional replacement by παρὰ^{DAT}, see Clarysse forthcoming.

addressed,⁴⁴³ and δέομαι in which case the classical genitive is preserved (AJ 6.13). The dative with γράφω reflects the origin of the formulaic pattern F2 (cf. Chapter 6).

The reference to the action may be nominal or verbal. If it is nominal, we find an accusative (with εὔχομαι, ῥογεύω⁴⁴⁴). If it is verbal, we find various structures with verbs of group (II), but only non-finite ones with verbs of group (III). Yet the infinitive does not appear when a state rather than an action is initiated.⁴⁴⁵

[51] The syntactic context of class 9 verbs

	Complement clause	Infinitive	Asyndetic Structure
Group (II)	[ἀξιόω, γράφω, δέομαι, παρακαλέω, ὑπομιμνήσκω] (18)	[αἰτέω, ἀξιόω, δέομαι, εὔχομαι, παραιτέομαι, παρακαλέω, ῥογεύω, ψυχαγωγέω, γράφω] (19) [εὔχομαι in FHW and OP (cf. chapter 6)] (37)	IMP [ἀξιόω, παρακαλέω] (6) SBJ [ἀξιόω, γράφω, δισκώ, παρακαλέω] (5) ὅτι SBJ [γράφω] (2)
Group (III)	[ποιέω] (1) ⁴⁴⁶	28 (incl. DA 50.10 DcI (ὀχλέω))	∅
Total	19	84	13

With verbs of group (II), the distribution seems exemplar-based: αἰτέω, παραιτέομαι and εὔχομαι⁴⁴⁷ consistently preserve the classical infinitive, whereas the high-frequency items ἀξιόω and παρακαλέω, as well as the less common δέομαι, allow for all kinds of complementation patterns. Also with verbs of group (II), topic expressions may replace a reference to the action (as with ἀξιόω, γράφω, εὔχομαι, παρακαλέω, προσεύχομαι).

ἀξιόω appears in a grammaticalised pattern (ἀξιωθείς in direct requests) in letters from Kellis. Considering the distribution of this pattern in literary and documentary sources in general, it seems to identify as a regionalism. Further comment on this pattern, however, goes beyond the scope of the present study.

⁴⁴³ The dative in DA 63.11 (εὔχομαι ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα) is a dative of beneficiary.

⁴⁴⁴ The relevant instances are: AP 4.2 (εὔχομαι), DA 63.11 (εὔχομαι), DA 17.8 (ῥογεύω). In PK 4.3–4 (εὐχόμενός σε διὰ παντός <ὕγιαίνειν>), an infinitive may be lost. The accusative would then complement this infinitive.

⁴⁴⁵ The relevant instances are: AP 1.36–37 (ἐποίησεν καὶ τοὺς τριῖς ἔξω), AP 1.14 (ἐμαρώεις ποιησάμενοι), AN 10.9 (ὕγιαίνοντά με ἤνεγκαν). Cf. LSJ s.v. ποιέω III.

⁴⁴⁶ For AP 1.57–58, see Section 3.2.

⁴⁴⁷ The occurrence of εὔχομαι in epistolary formulae may explain its syntactic conservatism.

Deviations

1) Direct interference (προσεύχομαι)

[52a] is a request to pray for the writer, which intervenes between two greeting sections.⁴⁴⁸ A second request to pray for the writer appears later in the letter at the end of a series of greetings, in [52b].

[52a] AN 12.3–4 ὅπως προσε<υ>χῆς [. . . .]. μου ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις σου προσευχα<ι>ς

‘you may pray for me in your holy prayers’

[52b] AN 12.18 ὅπως προσεύχη[σθ]αι περὶ ἐμοῦ

‘you may pray for me’

The pattern of [52b] is the regular Greek pattern with προσεύχομαι. The pattern in [52a] shows two peculiarities. Firstly, the verb seems to be in the active voice rather than the middle.⁴⁴⁹ Secondly, a preposition introducing the beneficiary of the prayer seems lost in the lacuna, as is indicated by the preserved genitive μου. The lacuna is however too long for περὶ^{GEN} or ὑπέρ^{GEN}, which are the regular Greek options. The editors also note that an <ε> may have been the first letter lost in the lacuna. Neither περὶ nor ὑπέρ begins with an <ε>.

In light of these observations, what might be lost in the lacuna is the preposition ἐπάνω. Torallas Tovar identified εὐχομαι ἐπάνω as a Copticism (cf. Chapter 2). The Greek structure is modelled on Coptic ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲭⲏⲏ/ⲉⲭⲏⲱ= *šlēl edʾn-/edʾō*. The overlap between ἐπάνω and ⲉⲭⲏⲏ/ⲉⲭⲏⲱ= *edʾn-/edʾō* in fact goes beyond their semantics: both are compounds consisting of a simplex preposition (ἐπί, ⲉ- *e-*) meaning ‘on’ and a second element meaning ‘top’ (ἄνω ‘upwards’, ⲭⲱ= *dʾō* ‘head’).⁴⁵⁰

[52a] is certainly damaged and in the end ἐπάνω is a reconstruction, though a likely one. The only explanation for the co-occurrence of the regular and an aberrant pattern in the same letter is that the writer paid more attention to his use of Greek syntax

⁴⁴⁸ For ὅπως as a particle here, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁴⁹ For the disappearing middle voice, see Section 3.1.3. However, εὐχομαι behaves more conservatively than other verbs, and supposedly this also applies to its compounds.

⁴⁵⁰ Given the syntactic versatility of the old body-part terms (cf. phrasal verbs, prepositions), people may still have been aware of their contribution to compound prepositions. Conversely, Clarysse doubts that people were still aware of the etymological origin of these compound prepositions.

in the second instance. Any claim about [52a] must remain tentative in light of these uncertainties.

2) Chunking (ἀξιόω)

[53] is the only passage in which a subordinator that heads a prospective complement clause is followed by an independent clause.⁴⁵¹ ἵνα is chosen in accordance with the superordinate verb that calls for a prospective complement.

[53] AJ 7.11–13 ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν ἵνα ἢ ἀπόλυσόν μαι ἢ παράδοτε μοι τὸ χρυσ(οῦ) νομ(ισμάτια) η.

‘I ask God: either release me or pay me the eight *nomismata* of gold.’

We can exclude the option of construing ἵνα as a modal particle, since imperatives rather than subjunctives follow it in [53] (cf. further Chapter 5). Consequently, either the pattern of ὅτι *recitativum* was overgeneralised from factive to prospective complement clauses,⁴⁵² or ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν ἵνα was inserted as a chunk. The clear structure of the independent clause following ἵνα, ἢ ... ἢ, renders chunking likely. The writer phrased a direct request and then added a kind of hedging phrase (cf. further Chapter 6).

3) Confusion of collocations (παρακαλέω)

In [54], a ὥς-clause complements a verb of request:

[54] AJ 9.7–10 καὶ παρακαλῶ σ[ε] ὥς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ μνηθῆς ἐμοῦ τοῦ Χαιρήμονος.

‘And I beg you that you may remember me, Chairemon, in (your) prayer.’

In addition to heading prospective complement clauses, ἵνα / ὅπως could head purpose and result clauses. ὥστε / ὥς could head result clauses. The distinction between purpose and result clauses was blurred in the post-classical period (cf. Chapter 5). The confusion of items and patterns underlying [54] may have been as follows:

⁴⁵¹ Conversely, compare the avoidance strategy in AP 1.20.

⁴⁵² Cf. Bentein 2015a: 117–118. He considers the analogy between factive and prospective complement clauses and the functional overlap of the subjunctive and imperative.

Note that Coptic allows for $\pi\epsilon$ *dē* + independent clause in prospective contexts. This parallel may have reinforced the writer’s choice.

- ἵνα / ὅπως and ὥστε / ὡς appear in purpose and result clauses because the distinction between purpose and result clauses became increasingly fluent in the post-classical period (cf. Chapter 5). Conversely, only ἵνα / ὅπως appear in prospective complement clauses.
- Based on an incorrect analogy, that is all subordinators that appear in purpose and result clauses can also head prospective complement clauses, the writer extended the function of ὥστε / ὡς to prospective complement clauses.⁴⁵³
- The verb of prospective complement clauses is usually inflected as a subjunctive. The writer combined ὥστε / ὡς with a subjunctive by analogy.

Coptic ⲭⲉ *dʿe* + future II / future III appears in prospective complement clauses as well as purpose and result clauses. This parallel may have facilitated confusion.⁴⁵⁴

j) Class 10: {agent}^{nominative} {theme 1}^{accusative} {theme 2}^{accusative/infinitive} (6 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class ten describe the equation of one entity to another, e.g. ἔχω ‘to have as’ and ἡγέομαι ‘to regard as’. The grammatical subject refers to the agent, the direct object refers to one theme and a predicative phrase refers to another theme, which is equated to the first theme. The direct object is always inflected as accusative; the predicative phrase may take the form of an accusative or an infinitive. The reference to the first theme may be dropped, as in [55]:

[55] AN 8.13 διὸ {ἀνα[γκαλῖ]ον}^{theme 1} ἡγησάμην {γράψαι σοι (...)}^{theme 2}
 ‘Therefore, I considered (it) {necessary}^{theme 1} {to write to you (...)}^{theme 2}’

In the post-classical period, prefixing ὡς ‘as’ to the second theme is common.⁴⁵⁵

Deviations

None

⁴⁵³ For ὡς in purpose clauses, see Hult 1990: 76–79. For ὥστε in complement clauses, see Bentein 2015a: 125–126.

Conversely, ὥστε in AP 1.22 is technically pleonastic (cf. Hult 1990: 205–207): (...) **παρήγγιλαν** δὲ αὐτοῦ **ὥστε μὴ ὑποδέχεσθαι αὐτὸν** μοναχοὺς (...) ‘(...) and they ordered him that he may not welcome monks (...)’. A graphic interchange between <ου> and <ω> may explain the apparent genitive αὐτοῦ.

⁴⁵⁴ Since prospective complement clauses are rare in Coptic, it is unlikely that ὡς was directly modelled on ⲭⲉ *dʿe*. For the overlap, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. BDR: § 157.5 (attributing it in the NT to ‘Semitic impact’).

3.3.2 Intransitive verbs (326 instances)

a) *Class 11: {agent}^{subject} {destination}^{adverbial phrase} (120 instances)*

Collocation

Verbs of class eleven describe a motion in space, e.g. ἔρχομαι ‘to go’. The grammatical subject refers to an agent. Adverbial complements refer to the destination of the movement. We find prepositional phrases with πρὸς^{ACC}, εἰς^{ACC} and ἐν^{DAT} (for εἰς^{ACC})⁴⁵⁶ or a plain dative.⁴⁵⁷ There is one instance of ἀπὸ^{GEN} and ἐκ^{GEN} respectively.

[56] The syntactic context of class 11 verbs

πρὸς ^{ACC}	πρὸς ^{ACC}	εἰς ^{ACC}	εἰς ^{ACC}	ἐν ^{DAT}	ἐπὶ ^{ACC}	ἐπὶ ^{ACC}	DAT	DAT
person	inanimate	place	person	place	person	place	person	place
25	2	15	2	5	2	2	6	4

Only ἔρχομαι appears in combination with circumstantial participles denoting manner (AP 1.9, AP 1.10 and PK 18.23), all instances of which date from the fourth century, and with circumstantial participles denoting purpose (DA 3.1, DA 3.1), all instances of which date from the sixth century.⁴⁵⁸

Deviations

1) Copying and hypercorrection (παραπίπτω)

παραπίπτω ‘to fall into’ is regularly accompanied either by a dative or εἰς^{ACC} / πρὸς^{ACC} indicating the destination of the movement. The only exception is [57a], where an accusative appears instead:

[57a] AP 3.28–29 ἐπειδὴ παραπεσοῦσιν ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοιαυ[τη]ν ἀνάγκην
‘because the brother fell into such trouble’

The verb, παραπεσοῦσιν, is copied from [57b], which the editor assumes to have been written by the same person and where the dative plural participle is correct:

⁴⁵⁶ The fact that the same differentiation between animate and inanimate destinations existed in Coptic (ⲙⲁ-/ⲙⲁⲣⲟ = ša-/šaro=; ⲉ-/ⲉⲣⲟ = e-/ero=) may have aided the preservation of the classical distribution.

⁴⁵⁷ Prepositional substitution of a classical dative appears with ἀπαντάω (πρὸς) ‘to meet’, γίνομαι (for παραγίνομαι) (πρὸς) ‘to go to’ and ἐπέρχομαι (εἰς) ‘to go to’.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Hult 1990: 71–118.

[57b] AP 2.3–4 τοῖς ἐν . . .]ηφθονει συμφορᾷ παραπεσοῦσιν βοη[θεῖ]ν
 ‘To help those who have fallen into . . . misfortune’

The writer did not adjust the form of the verb to the new syntactic context in [57a]. It thus also seems plausible to interpret the accusative in [57a] as an instance of a hypercorrectly dropped preposition.

b) Class 12: {agent}^{nominative} {goal}^{infinitive/dative} (47 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class twelve describe a behaviour, often goal-oriented, e.g. ὀκνέω ‘to hesitate’ and βοηθέω ‘to help’. The grammatical subject refers to an agent, while the goal is usually indicated by an infinitive⁴⁵⁹ or a dative.⁴⁶⁰ Only ἀντιλαμβάνω ‘to help’ preserves the classical genitive.

Deviations

1) Disregarding a collocation (βοηθέω, συμβοηθέω)

In [58a] to [58c], βοηθέω and συμβοηθέω ‘to help’ are complemented by an accusative rather than the expected dative:

[58a] AJ 7.2–3 βοήθησόν⁴⁶¹ **μαι** ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ‘Help me as far as it is in your and God’s power!’

[58b] AJ 7.5 νῦν οὖν βοήθησόν **μαι**
 ‘Now help me!’

[58c] AP 3.18–20 εἰ δὲ ἔχετε μοι ὡς ἀδελφὸν **τοῦτον** συνβοηθήσατε, ἀγαπητοί,
 ὅτι (...)’

‘If you regard me as brother, help this man, dear ones, because (...)’

⁴⁵⁹ For the articular infinitive in PK 16.24 (διστάζω), see Section 3.1.

For the prepositional infinitive in DA 18.12 (βοηθέω), see Section 3.2.

⁴⁶⁰ A prepositional phrase only appears with συντελέω where it was already current in CG (συντελέω LSJ II).

⁴⁶¹ Line 5 repeats line 2 for reasons of emphasis and with a structuring effect. On the basis of this, the editorial addition βοηθήσον<τι> is unnecessary here.

[58a] and [58b] originate from the same letter, which displays several signs of wrestling with the Greek syntax, e.g. the combination of active βοηθέω with the prepositional phrase ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ in [58a] (cf. further Chapter 4) and disregard of the idiom ἔχω ‘to have as’ in [58c] (cf. further Section 3.4.3).

The use of a complementary accusative instead of a dative may thus either reflect a hypercorrect omission of a preposition such as πρὸς^{ACC} / εἰς^{ACC}, or the use of the accusative as the default object case.⁴⁶² In light of the writer’s struggles with Greek syntax, the latter option may be more likely. Furthermore, dative periphrasis is generally rare in the present group of verbs.

2) A hypercorrect dative (σπουδάζω)

In [59], σπουδάζω is complemented by a dative, which the editor also restores analogically in AP 3.13. The dative is referring to a person:

[59] AP 3.16–17 πάνυ σπουδάσατε αὐτῷ ἀόκνως

‘Really pay serious attention to him without hesitation’

Classical Greek does not allow for the dative but resorts to prepositional phrases (cf. LSJ I.2) with πρὸς^{ACC}, εἰς^{ACC}, περὶ^{GEN} or ὑπέρ^{GEN}. The latter two are topic expressions, the use of which is an avoidance strategy in verbal complementation (cf. Section 3.1.3). πρὸς and εἰς, on the other hand, are common dative periphrases. Our writer may thus have substituted a plain dative for the expected prepositional phrase.

c) Class 13: {experiencer}^{nominative} {circumstances}^{adverbial phrase} (97 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class thirteen describe a physical condition, e.g. ἀσθενέω ‘to be weak’ and ἔνεμι ‘to be in (a place)’. The grammatical subject refers to an experiencer. Adverbial complements mostly define the spatial and temporal setting. They appear in the form of prepositional phrases and adverbs. Only with ἔνεμι (DA 69.18) and περικείμεαι (DA 18.11) does a plain dative appear as an indication of a location.

⁴⁶² Cf. Vierros 2012a: 52.

[60] The syntactic context of class 13 verbs

Adverbial phrases referring to ... with verbs of class thirteen		
Place	Time	Others
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRP (5) • ADV (2) • GEN (1) • DAT (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRP (2) • ADV (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DAT of reason (2) • ACC of respect (1) • PRP [superiority] (2) • PRP [manner] (1) • PRP [topic] (2)
10	3	8

Verbs of this class often appear as nominalised attributive participles or as circumstantial participles.⁴⁶³

The phrasal verb pattern of μένω is discussed in Section 3.4.1.

Deviations

None

d) Class 14: {experiencer}^{subject} {reason}^{adverbial phrase} (62 instances)

Collocation

Verbs of class fourteen describe a state of the mind or an emotion, e.g. ἡδομαι ‘to be pleased’. The grammatical subject refers to an experiencer. Adverbial complements refer to the reason for the mental state. We find circumstantial participles, causal clauses, and prepositional phrases as well as plain datives and accusatives. Occasionally, a causal clause is replaced by an independent clause (cf. Chapter 5). Only θαυμάζω ‘to be surprised’ deviates from the standard pattern of this class of verbs in that the reason for the state of surprise is always indicated by an indirect question headed by ὅπως (idiom type 1) or πῶς (idiom type 2). Alternatively, a topic expression may appear.

[61] The syntactic context of class 14 verbs

PTC	Causal Clause	PRP	DAT	ACC	Independent Clause	Indirect Question
	ὅτι (2)	ἐπί (1)				πῶς (5)

⁴⁶³ Relevant instances of nominalised participles are: AP 2.18 (ἄρχω), AP 2.15 (ἀσθενέω), DA 69.7 and 26 (μονάζω), PK 4.10–11 (ὀλοκληρέω), DA 19.8 (σκάζω). πάρεμι appears almost exclusively as a nominalized adjective meaning ‘present’.

Relevant instances of attributive participles are: AN 20.5 and 15 (ἴστημι).

Relevant instances of circumstantial participles are: AP 1.10 (οἰνόω), PK 3.8 (πάρεμι) (?), PK 18.23 (ὕγιαίνω), PK 18.15 (χρονίζω).

	ὥς (2) διότι (1)	περί (1) ἐν (1)				ὅπως (2)
8	5	3	2	5	3	7

When the subject of the verb of emotion and the subject of the verb providing the reason for the emotion are the same, we usually find a circumstantial participle, except in AJ 8.5 (εὐχαριστέω ‘to thank’, + ὥς). When the two subjects differ, we find a causal clause.

The classical accusative of respect is preserved with αἰσχύνομαι and δυσωπέομαι ‘to be ashamed’. It is also found with ἐκπλήττομαι ‘to be surprised’ and ἀκηδιάζω ‘to be neglectful’.

Deviations

1) Struggling with a collocation (θαυμάζω)

In [62], the editor reconstructs ὅπως with θαυμάζω, the collocation of the verb.

[62] PK 11.10–14 **θαυμάζω ὅ[πως] μὴν** ἐσχόλασας ἀπ[ελθεῖν εἰς] Μεσοβὴ [. . .]οις . []ν οἰκοδ[ο][μ]ησα[] TRACES

‘I am surprised that you did not have time to come to Mesobe ... I built ...’

The sentence preceding [62] contains a complaint about the addressee’s failure to send letters. In the sentence after the lacuna following [62], the writer reveals his own intention to visit the addressee. Thus, [62] may constitute another complaint, this time concerning the addressee’s failure to visit. Such a construal would however require us to interpret μὴν as a negative (with weak final /n/) rather than as the classical particle (‘indeed’).

The additional –ν may have resulted from the writer’s awareness of the existence of movable –ν to avoid hiatus in e.g. ἐστί(ν). However, in an indirect question with a verb in the indicative, μὴ contradicts Greek grammar.

Perhaps the writer either generalized μὴ in subordinate clauses or misinterpreted ὅπως as the head of a prospective complement clause. Since there are no instances of οὐ(κ) in the same letter, the former hypothesis is unprovable.⁴⁶⁴ Prospective complement clauses were commonly headed by ὅπως and the verb in the subjunctive would call for

⁴⁶⁴ Only μὴ + participle (l. 6) and μὴ + subjunctive (l. 17, 20, 25) occur.

The infinitive and participle generally call for μὴ in PCG. Conversely, the negative in subordinate clauses is still determined by the form of the verb. This also applies to Coptic.

the negative μή. The writer seems to have realised his misinterpretation in time to put the verb into the indicative. Yet he did not substitute οὐκ for μή.

3.3.3 The verb ‘to be’ (95 instances)

Collocation

Greek has two verbs for ‘to be’, εἰμί and γί(γ)νομαι. The elaborate alternative τυγχάνω appears only three times in the corpus (e.g. AP 2.17).⁴⁶⁵ The verb ‘to be’ has three main functions in Greek:

- (1) when combined with a predicative phrase, it functions as a copula in descriptions of a state;⁴⁶⁶
- (2) when combined with a genitive or dative, it functions as a copula in predicative possessive patterns;⁴⁶⁷ and
- (3) it appears in existential clauses.⁴⁶⁸

In the corpus, εἰμί and γί(γ)νομαι both appear in descriptions and existentials, but only εἰμί appears in predicative possessives. τυγχάνω appears in descriptions and perhaps in an existential pattern.

[63] Greek ‘to be’

	(I) Descriptions	(II) Existentials	(III) Predicative possessives	Lost
εἰμί	54	7	5	1
γί(γ)νομαι	11	4	0	1

εἰμί is always inflected in the present tense in copular constructions.⁴⁶⁹ Conversely, γί(γ)νομαι appears in the present (3 instances), aorist (8 instances), perfect (3 instances) and future tenses (2 instances). γί(γ)νομαι also appears in all moods, unlike εἰμί.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. LSJ A.II.2 and Clarke 2010: 129–130.

⁴⁶⁶ For example, AJ 6.17 (+ noun) and PK 14.40 (+ prepositional phrase).

⁴⁶⁷ For example, DA 18.12 (+ GEN), and AN 5.16 (+ DAT). Cf. Benvenuto and Pompeo 2015 and Bailey 2009: 187–194.

⁴⁶⁸ For example, AP 1.23. Cf. Bailey 2009: 125–159 and 219–233.

⁴⁶⁹ Phonetic spellings intervene in AN 10.16 (ἤσμεν) and AP 4.9 (ἤσμαιν). In AN 10.16, ἤσμεν appears in a concessive clause that refers to an event that takes place simultaneously with the event referred to in the superordinate clause. In AP 4.9, ἤσμαιν appears in a temporal clause expressing simultaneity. There are two optatives: DA 43.2 (εἴης), DA 44.28 (εἴεν).

Coptic does not have a verb ‘to be’.⁴⁷⁰ Instead, a non-verbal copula (πε/τε/νε *pe/te/ne*) or an existential particle (οὐν-/μν- *oun-/mn-*) appear. Often, a structure, such as the adverbial clause in [64], is grammatical without a copula.

[64] PKC 15.33 π-ετ-ζη-π-ηι τηρ=οὐ

n-et-hn-p-ēi tēr=ou

ART.DEF.PL-REL-in.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-house all=3pl

‘all those who are in the house (i.e. all your family members)’

Coptic predicative possessives are, in the absence of case inflection, based on prepositions. The following patterns appear⁴⁷¹:

- (a) comitative πτε-/ντα=, πτην-/ντοοτ=, μν-/νεμα= (default pattern)
n-te-/nta=, ntn-/ntoot=, mn-/nema=
- (b) locative π-/μμο=, ζην-/νητ=
- n-/mmo=, hen-/nhēt=*
- (c) allative ε-/ερο=, ζα-/ζαρο=
- e-/ero=, ha-/haro=*
- (d) existential σ-ωπ να=
- s-šop na=*

Greek and Coptic patterns are contrasted in [65]:

[65] ‘to be’ in Greek and Coptic

	Grammatical subject: definiteness	Complement	Greek	Coptic
Descriptions	+ / –	noun / adjective	COP	nominal sentence (COP optional)
	+ / –	prepositional phrase / adverb	COP	adverbial sentence (COP optional)
Existentials	–	–	‘to be’	οὐν-/μν- <i>oun-/mn-</i>
Possessives	+	genitive	COP	(οὐν-/μν- <i>oun-/mn-</i>
	– ⁴⁷²	dative	COP), preposition

⁴⁷⁰ Periphrastic structures based on ὥστε *šōpe* (stative, nominal sentences) and εἶπε *eire* (adverbial sentences) exist for temporal distinction (like the Arabic كان). Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 255 and 312 and 427.

⁴⁷¹ The patterns are given according to Müller forthcoming a, hence in the Bohairic dialect. For Sahidic, see Layton 2011: § 204.

⁴⁷² For predicative possessives, see Benvenuto and Pompeo 2015: 29 table 1.

When the stative aspect of a description was to be emphasised, *κεῖμαι* and its compounds, as well as *διαμένω* and intransitive *καθίσταμαι* and its compounds, could be used.⁴⁷³ Similarly, in Coptic, the stative of *ἠωπε* *šōpe* can be employed for aspectual distinction.

Deviations

1) Direct interference

In [66], a plural subject is combined with a copular verb in the singular.

[66] AP 1.48 Ἐμῖς καὶ Πέτρος εἰς αὐτούς **ἐστίν**, υἱὸς Τουβέστις.

‘Emis and Petros were among them, Toubestis’ son.’

The sentence consists of a subject, a predicative phrase in the form of a prepositional phrase, and the copular verb *ἐστίν*. It is unclear whether the apposition *υἱὸς Τουβέστις* refers to Emis and Petros or to only one of them. In other words, does the singular *υἱός* stand for the plural *υιοί*? The personal name at the end of the sentence, *Τουβέστις*, is incorrectly left in the nominative. Apparently, the writer struggled with Greek morphology and syntax. *ἐστίν* may thus be used as an invariable default copula comparable to Coptic invariable *πε* *pe*.⁴⁷⁴

3.3.4 Modal verbs (76 instances)

Collocation

Modal verbs describe the modalities of an action, e.g. *δύναμαι* ‘to be able to’. Modal verbs must be combined with a complement which specifies the action that is carried out. This class of verbs falls two subcategories: (I) verbs describing an agent’s approach to an action and (II) verbs describing the circumstances of an action. Verbs of group (I) refer to wishes, abilities and obligations and must be complemented by an infinitive.⁴⁷⁵ Verbs of group (II) refer to external circumstances such as the pace of the action and call for a

⁴⁷³ For the same phenomenon in CG, cf. e.g. Lysias.

The status of three passages is slightly ambiguous: DA 62.2 (*ἐπίσταμαι* ‘to be established’), DA 19.8 (*εὐρίσκω*), DA 53.4 (*εὐρίσκω*). For the latter two, compare French *se trouver*.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. Müller 2016: 61–65, Layton 2011: §§ 252–284.

⁴⁷⁵ The infinitive ‘to have’ may be omitted with *βούλομαι* and *θέλω*. Coptic *οἰωω* *ouōš* also allows for a direct object (cf. Engsheden 2006; Layton 2011: §171d).

participle in classical Greek. In the post-classical period, they have mostly shifted to an infinitival complementation pattern.⁴⁷⁶

Several classical transitive and intransitive verbs had become modal verbs, e.g. εὔχομαι⁴⁷⁷ and εὐρίσκω⁴⁷⁸. On the whole, post-classical Greek was moving from a synthetic to an analytic system with regard to the encoding of modality. Conversely, Coptic employs a synthetic system.⁴⁷⁹ [67] contrasts Greek and Coptic means:

[67] Conveying modality

	Wish	Ability	Obligation
CG	(εἰ / εἴθε +) optative	modal verbs	subjunctive
PCG	modal verbs (e.g. θέλω)	modal verbs (e.g. ἔχω)	subjunctive / modal verbs (e.g. ὀφείλω)
Coptic	FUT III / IUS	infix -ω- -š-	FUT I / FUT III, infix - ⲭⲡⲉ- - <i>dʰpe</i> -

Deviations

None

3.3.5 Auxiliary verbs (58 instances)

Collocation

Auxiliary verbs are verbs that convey only grammatical relations without having any semantic weight. Auxiliary verbs must co-occur with a complement that carries the semantic weight. This class of verbs falls into two subcategories:

- (I) verbs that encode temporal relations (present, future, past); and
- (II) verbs that encode modal relations (imperatives / subjunctives).

Under category (I), we can subsume future periphrases consisting of ἔχω, θέλω and μέλλω plus an infinitive.⁴⁸⁰ They only occur in our sixth-century texts, but even there infrequently. However, in the letters from Kellis, the apodosis to a prospective protasis (ἐὰν + subjunctive) twice contains ἔχω combined with an adverb of ἐτοῖμος and an

⁴⁷⁶ The infinitive with εἶθε and φαίνω is classical.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. Clarysse forthcoming.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. James 2001–2005: 158 and LSJ II.2.

⁴⁷⁹ Modal verbs appear far less frequently than in Greek. The few that exist are: οὐωω *ouōš*, ρηε-/ρηα= *hne-/hna* ‘to want’; εἰμε η- *eime n-*, ω-σ-μ-σ-ο-μ *š-km-kʰom* ‘to be able to’. For expressions of obligation there is no modal verb, but, besides the patterns listed above, there are: ρ-χρηα η- *r-kʰreia n-* + INF, ωωε ε- *šše e-* + INF, ἀναγκη *anagkē* + CINF, οὐ-ἀναγκη πε ε- *ou-anagkē pe e-* + INF, τε-χρηα τε *te-kʰreia te* + CINF, ρ-απε (πε) *haps (pe)* + INF / CNJ, ρ-απε *haps* + MC / CS). Cf. Müller 2014.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Markopoulos 2009, Lucas 2014.

infinitive (PK 15.18 and PK 18.19–20). This combination functions as a future periphrasis, since neither apodosis is conveying a wish, but the writers' firm intention to act. In both passages, the writer assures the addressee that he is going to pay him. Under category (I), we can also subsume perfect and pluperfect periphrases consisting of εἰμί and a participle. Both are already current in classical Greek. In the post-classical period, εἰμί-periphrases spread to be found in the present and aorist.⁴⁸¹

Under category (II), we can subsume subjunctive and imperative periphrases consisting of θέλω and an infinitive, e.g. AN 19.5 μὴ θελήσης ἐντυγχῖν 'do not intervene'. They already existed in the classical language. Yet, in the corpus, the repertoire of such periphrases is expanded. Formerly transitive and intransitive verbs such as καταξιώω and μὴ ἀμελέω apparently lost their semantic weight and assumed an exclusively grammatical function⁴⁸²: καταξιώω is then inflected as imperative or subjunctive and complemented by an infinitive⁴⁸³; and μὴ ἀμελέω is then inflected as second person singular of the subjunctive and complemented by an infinitive.⁴⁸⁴

Light-verb constructions (cf. Section 3.1.1) also conform to the concept of combining an auxiliary verb, which has a grammatical function, with a complement, an infinitive, which carries the semantic weight. The light verb ποιέω 'to do' is used to encode both temporal and modal relations.

Deviations

1) Direct interference (LVCs)

In [68a], ποιέω itself seems to have a purely grammatical function while the infinitive accompanying it carries the semantic weight.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Bentein 2016b, Bentein 2012 (perfect tense), Bentein 2013a (present tense).

⁴⁸² For such periphrases as a politeness strategy, see Papathomas 2007. This may be the reason for the extension of the repertoire.

For the optional addition of a semantic nuance by means of auxiliaries, see Storrer 2009 (function words). DA 24.1 is perhaps another instance of an auxiliary, but the lacuna makes assessment here difficult: DA 24.1 μὴ **συγχωρήσῃ** ἢ σὴ [εὐδοκίμησις (?) -ca.?-] 'Your reputation may be willing to (?) ...'

⁴⁸³ Only 2/18 instances date from the fourth century. For the CG and PCG patterns of καταξιώω, see Section 3.1.4.

There may be one prospective complement clause: see DA 26.3.

⁴⁸⁴ The only exception is AP 2.36 (imperative). For parenthetical μὴ ἀμελέω, see Section 3.2.

[68a] DA 54.1–3 *πάραυτα οὖν [πρὸς ἡμᾶς **κατά(?)**]λαβε ἵνα ἀπαλλάξαι τὸ πρᾶγμα σο(υ) πρὶν τοῦ μὴ κατελθεῖν [ἡμᾶς(?) εἰς Μουνκ]ρῆκιν ἐν ἀβάκειον **ποιήσατε πέμψαι** ἡμῖν εἰς λόγον τῶν [*

‘Now, come to us immediately in order to resolve your issue before we leave for Mounkrenis (and) send one abacus to us on account of ...’

Construing ποιέω as a causative verb and inferring an omitted accusative does not render a meaning that suits the context. Moreover, an accusative is not contextually inferable, unlike in AJ 6.13, as has been discussed in Section 3.2.

ποιήσατε πέμψαι may rather be construed as LVC. The imperative seems to parallel the preceding one, [κατά(?)]λαβε. While LVCs are alien to Greek syntax, Coptic regularly resorts to them when borrowing Greek verbs such as ἀξιόω in [68b]⁴⁸⁵:

[68b] PKC 35.36–38 *†-p-axiou mma=k pa-d'ais pa-san d'e-k-a-shei ni-tetras nē=i*
ti-r-axiou mma=k pa-d'ais pa-san d'e-k-a-shei ni-tetras
nē=i
 1sg-do-ask DOM=2sg POSS.SG.1sg-lord POSS.SG.1sg-brother that-
 2sg-FUT-write DOM.ART.DEF.PL-tetrad to.PRP=1sg
 ‘I ask you, my lord, my brother, that you may write me
 (about) the tetrads (...)’

The writer of [68a] thus seems to have transferred a Coptic structure into Greek.

2) Indirect interference (focalising conversion)

In [69], we find an aorist periphrasis consisting of the auxiliary εἰμί and an aorist active participle instead of the simple ἔγραψα.⁴⁸⁶ An adverbial expression is fronted.

[69] DA 55.3–5 *ἐν εὐφροσύνῳ εἰμι ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν **γράφας** αἰτῶν ὑμᾶς πρὸ διαφύματος πέμψαι*
 ‘Happily, I have written this letter asking you to send before dawn.’

⁴⁸⁵ πέμπω is not listed in Förster 2002(: 634).

⁴⁸⁶ The aorist may be an epistolary tense.

The fronting of the adverbial phrase suggests that this part of the sentence was to be emphasised. The writer may therefore have sought a way to replicate the duality of an unmarked and a marked verbal form in Coptic (cf. Section 3.1.2). Since periphrases spread in the post-classical period, a periphrastic and a simple form coexisted in the aorist.⁴⁸⁷ The writer may have matched the simple form to the Coptic unmarked form and the periphrastic form to the Coptic marked form.⁴⁸⁸ He thus matched a Coptic concept to the morphological and syntactic means available in Greek.

3.3.6 Impersonal verbs (37 instances)

Collocation

Impersonal verbs are verbs that appear only in a third-person singular form and always call for an impersonal subject.⁴⁸⁹ This class of verbs falls into two subcategories:

(I) verbs describing a physical or mental state, such as μέλεται ‘to be an object of care’; and

(II) verbs describing a modality, such as δεῖ ‘it is necessary’.⁴⁹⁰

With verbs of category (I), a dative refers to a experiencer. Only with verbs referring to a mental state may an infinitive appear in the subject slot.⁴⁹¹ With verbs of category (II), a dative or an accusative refers to the agent. An infinitive may appear in the subject slot.

Equivalent Coptic structures are mostly of a nominal rather than a verbal nature. The semantic experiencer or agent is introduced by *n-* *n-* or *e-* *e-*, the equivalent to the Greek dative. The impersonal subject may be expanded by an infinitival or clausal structure.⁴⁹² Examples are *oun-t^he* ‘it is possible’, *mpša/haps/hōti* ‘it is necessary’⁴⁹³, *c-ṣe/mpša* *s-še/mpša* ‘it is proper’ and *c-ṣωπε s-šōpe* ‘it happens’.

⁴⁸⁷ For εἰμί + AOR.PTC, see Bentein 2013b: 18–21 (peripheral aorist periphrasis).

⁴⁸⁸ AP 1.35–36 is less clear. A fronted adverbial expression is accompanied by ἦσαν γράψαντες. Unlike the aorist, the pluperfect was disappearing in the post-classical period, so the periphrasis may have resulted from this.

⁴⁸⁹ Impersonal verbs are rare in the corpus. This may be because impersonal constructions are more common in official registers than in private ones (cf. James 2008: 167–233). Not only that, impersonal constructions often consist of a noun or adjective in the neuter singular in combination with a copular verb (cf. Coptic *oun* and *πε*, Müller 2014).

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. Dahl 2014.

⁴⁹¹ The impersonal subject may be specified by a genitive with μέλεται as in CG (LSJ A.I.4). Cf. AJ 8.4–5 μ[έλε]ται μου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου μου σοι. ‘I and my family matter to you.’ and, for instance, Plato, *Apologia Socratis* 32c8 (...) ὅτι ἐμοὶ θανάτου μὲν μέλει (...).

⁴⁹² Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 486–489.

⁴⁹³ Cf. Müller 2014.

Deviations

1) A hypercorrect accusative (βαίνει)

In [70], impersonal βέβηκαί⁴⁹⁴ is complemented by an accusative rather than by the expected dative μοί. In the sentence-final subject phrase, the adjective διαβολική should be neuter, διαβολικόν.

[70] AP 4.13–14 καὶ νῦν βέβηκαί με παράπτωμα διαβολική

‘And now an evil error happened to me.’

με may have resulted from the hypercorrect omission of, for example, πρὸς^{ACC}. Substitution of a prepositional phrase for the dative is common, particularly with the synonymous γίγνεται ‘it happens’. Moreover, the intransitive βαίνω ‘to go (to)’ would call for a prepositional phrase with πρὸς^{ACC}. This may have prompted the omission of the preposition in [70]. If the writer was aware of the two syntactic configurations of βαίνω, and of the fact that intransitive βαίνω calls for a prepositional phrase, whereas impersonal βαίνει allows for a plain case or a prepositional phrase, he may have dropped the preposition to underline the status of βαίνω as an impersonal verb.⁴⁹⁵

2) Indirect interference (θλίβει)

In [71a], θλίβω ‘to distress’ is complemented by an accusative referring to the person who is distressed / concerned and a topic expression referring to the object of concern.

[71a] AP 3.18–22 εἰ δὲ ἔχετε μοι ὡς ἀδελφὸν τοῦτον συμβοηθήσατε, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι πάνυ σφοδρῶς ἔθλιβε ἡμᾶς οὕτως περὶ ταύτης ἀνάγκης καὶ ἡμῖς οὐκ ὀκνήσωμεν.

‘If you regard me as brother, help this man, beloved ones, because this hardship very much distressed us in such a way that we will not hesitate’

This writer seems to be struggling with Greek syntax: ἔχω ‘to have as’ should be complemented by two accusatives and συμβοηθέω ‘to help’ by a dative. The article with

⁴⁹⁴ The CG equivalent would be the compound verb συμβαίνει.

⁴⁹⁵ Since the accusative is pronominal, weakening of the dative case and subsequent confusion may also be considered (cf. Stolk 2015b).

the demonstrative pronoun is omitted (ταύτης ἀνάγκης) and paratactic καί substitutes a hypotactic result clause (καὶ ... ὀκνήσωμεν).

Essentially, θλίβω is a transitive verb calling for complementation by an accusative. Semantically close impersonal alternatives, which however do not convey the degree of desperation that θλίβω expresses, would be ἐπιβάλλει + AcI / DcI (LSJ II.7) or μέλεται + dative + genitive. Compare [71a] with [71b]:

[71b] AJ 8.4–5 μ[έλε]ται **μου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου** μου σοι.

‘I and my family matter to you.’

The accusative ἡμᾶς in [71a] may have been retained from the transitive pattern of θλίβω. The topic expression περὶ^{GEN} may be an avoidance strategy compared to the genitive in [71b].⁴⁹⁶

The reinterpretation of θλίβω as an impersonal verb may have been aided by the parallel Coptic structure. In Coptic, ϣ-ϣⲟⲟⲩⲱ *r-roouš* may be both intransitive ‘to be anxious about’ or impersonal ‘it is a matter of concern’ (stative).⁴⁹⁷ On the other hand, the reinterpretation of θλίβω may also have been triggered by the need to express desperation, something which none of the existing patterns could do to the intended degree.

3.4 Phenomena across classes of verbs

Two formations described in Section 3.1.1, phrasal verbs and support-verb constructions (SVC), affect all classes of verbs. Similarly, the confusion of patterns of classes of verbs concerns more than one class of verbs. Therefore, the discussion of relevant passages is separated from the discussion of verbs as arranged by classes.

3.4.1 Phrasal verbs

(a) **Actual phrasal verbs (indirect interference)*

Phrasal verb patterns are foreign to Greek grammar. Instead, Greek operates with compound verbs (cf. Section 3.1.1). The following phrasal-verb formations appear in the corpus. They fall into three groups:

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Section 3.1.3.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. Layton 2011: § 486.

- (a) phrasal verbs consisting of a simplex verb and a preposition;
- (b) phrasal verbs consisting of a simplex verb and an adverb; and
- (c) phrasal verbs consisting of a compound verb and a preposition.

[72] Phrasal verbs

Instance	Greek verb	Greek compound verb	Coptic equivalent	Meaning
(a) verb + preposition				
1. AJ 11.5	ἄρῃ ἀπό ^{GEN}	ἀπαίρω	ϣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ <i>fi ebol</i>	‘to carry away’
2. AP 4.22	καλέσωσιν πρός ^{ACC}	προσκαλέω	ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲗⲏ- <i>moute edⁿ-</i>	‘to call on’
3. AP 1.40–41	ἦνεκεν ἀπό ^{GEN}	ἀποφέρω	ⲭⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ/ ⲏⲧⲏ- <i>dⁱ ebol/ntn-</i>	‘to take away’
4. AP 1.50	τυρῇ μετά ^{GEN(rfl)}	συντηρέω	ⲕⲱ ⲏⲧⲏ- <i>kō ntn-</i>	‘to keep (in hand)’
5. PK 7.6–7	ἔμεινας παρά ^{DAT(rfl)}	παραμένω	ⲱⲗⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ <i>ōhe epahou</i>	‘to stay (behind)’
(b) verb + adverb				
1. AP 1.36	ἦρκεν ἔξω	ἀπαίρω	ϣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ <i>fi ebol</i>	‘to carry away’
2. AP 1.50	ἔξω ἀρθῇ			
3. AP 1.37	ἔχι ἔξω	ἀπέχω	ⲭⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ <i>dⁱ ebol</i>	‘to keep away’
4. AN 9.8–9	ὁμοῦ ἐμέτρησα	συμμετρέω	ϣⲓ ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲓ <i>ši ehrai</i>	‘to add up’
(c) compound verb + adverb				
1. AP 1.49	ἀφῆκαν ὀπίσω	ἀφίημι	ⲕⲱ ⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ <i>kō epahou</i>	‘to leave behind’

With phrasal verbs of group (a), the case following the preposition is always correct. For *τηρέω μετά^{GEN}* and *μένω παρά^{ACC}*, it must be noted that the complement of the preposition is always reflexive, i.e. it refers back to the subject of the verb. Moreover, the match *μένω παρά* and *ωλε επαλου* *ōhe epahou* is conceptually conditioned⁴⁹⁸ rather than triggered by the one-to-one matching of constituents. Greek *μένω* and Coptic *ωλε* *ōhe* could mean ‘to stay’ without the addition of Greek *παρά^{DAT(reflexive)}* and Coptic *επαλου* *epahou* ‘behind’ respectively. Compared to the simplex verb, the phrasal verb pattern seems to merely add emphasis.

Three regular post-classical developments are reflected in the phrasal verb patterns of the corpus. (1) Certain adverbs at this time were developing into prepositions,

⁴⁹⁸ The concept to be expressed is ‘to stay behind / to stay at home’ rather than more general ‘to stay’.

so that we find e.g. AP 1.36 ἦρκεν ἔξω for ἐξῆρκεν.⁴⁹⁹ (2) Synonymous items ousted each other, so that we find e.g. AP 1.50 τηρέω **μετά** for **συν**τηρέω. (3) In compound verbs, the semantic contribution of the prefix was weakened, so that we find AP 1.49 ἀφῆκαν ὀπίσω for simple ἀφίημι.⁵⁰⁰

Writers may have adopted the Coptic pattern of phrasal verbs into Greek because compound verbs posed problems. Compound verbs are a specifically Greek concept, which moreover became blurred in the post-classical period (cf. Section 3.1.3). In addition to this, most phrasal-verb patterns in the corpus are built on high-frequency items, such as φέρω, ἔχω and δίδωμι, so writers must have been familiar with the syntax of the corresponding simplex verbs. Adopting the Coptic pattern of phrasal verbs then enabled them to apply these familiar patterns.

(b) Seemingly phrasal verbs

In the corpus, we find four more passages that seem to display a phrasal-verb pattern. All structures consist of a class 7 verb and a preposition meaning ‘with’ (σύν / μετά / ἅμα).

[73] Seemingly phrasal verbs

Passage	Relevant verb	Compound verb	Phrasal verb	Meanings
1. AJ 14.22	φέρειν σύν ^{DAT}	συνφέρω	ⲭⲓ ⲙⲙ-	‘to gather’ – ‘to bring sth with sb’
2. AP 1.9	φέροντες μετά ^{GEN}		/ⲛⲉⲙⲁ=	
3. PK 13.25	φέρειν μετά ^{GEN}		<i>dʿi mn-</i> /nema=	
4. PK 9.17	δέδωκα ἅμα ^{DAT}	συνδίδωμι	ⲧⲓ ⲛⲧⲛ- ⁵⁰¹ <i>ti ntn-</i>	‘to grant / give’ – ‘to give sb. sth. to take with them’

However, the apparent phrasal-verb pattern and the respective compound verb are not semantically equivalent. For instance, φέρειν μετά^{GEN} in [74] could not be replaced by συνφέρω.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. further Chapter 4.

⁵⁰⁰ The position of the augment indicates that the morphological structure was transparent to the writer (cf. Mandilaras 1973).

⁵⁰¹ Note that ⲧⲓ ⲛⲧⲛ- *ti mn-* means ‘fight with’.

⁵⁰² However, two late attestations of συνφέρω ‘to carry along with’ are listed in LSJ B.IV.

[74] PK 13.24–27 διὸ μὴ ἀμελήσης ἐ[λ]θεῖν. **φέρε μοι μετὰ σοῦ** πελύκιον καὶ βατέλλιον χαλκοῦν κλιβανωτόν.

‘Therefore, do not forget to come. Bring (me) with you an axe and a small iron oven dish.’

While the preposition is integrated into the verbal semantics in συμφέρω ‘to gather’ and συνδίδωμι ‘to contribute’, the prepositional phrase is more independent in structures such as φέρω μετὰ ‘to bring something *with* somebody’. In fact, the prepositional phrase allows for the addition of extra information. The structures in [73] can only be applied in contexts where someone goes somewhere and brings something with them. These structures must have been chosen deliberately for their semantics rather than to avoid a Greek compound verb.

3.4.2 Support-verb constructions

Greek and Coptic SVCs differ with regard to their status in the language system, their complementation patterns, and their semantics.

SVCs are rather scarce in Greek but form an integral part of the Coptic lexicon. Some Coptic SVCs such as σμ-σoμ *kʰm-kʰom* ‘to be able to’ do not even have a corresponding base verb.⁵⁰³

Greek prototypical SVCs do not allow for an object in the accusative. The underlying structure of the SVC, with the direct object slot being filled by the predicative noun carrying the semantic weight, was apparently transparent.⁵⁰⁴ Conversely, some Coptic SVCs such as p-χpεία n-/mmo= *r-kʰreia n-/mmo=* ‘to need something’, †-oce n-/mmo= *ti-ose n-/mmo=* ‘to lose something’ allow for a direct object, yet the direct object must be attached by means of n-/mmo= *n-/mmo=*.⁵⁰⁵

Greek SVCs are mostly semantically transparent. By adding up the meanings of each constituent, the meaning of the SVC is retrievable. Conversely, the meaning of certain Coptic SVCs is no longer retrievable by adding up the meanings of their

⁵⁰³ Alternatives are the infix -yy- -š- and ειμε n- *eime n-*, literally ‘to know how to’.

⁵⁰⁴ When a prepositional phrase fills the predicative slot, a direct object in the accusative is unproblematic.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Layton 2011: § 180.

constituents, e.g. $\omega\pi-\rho\mu\omicron\tau$ *šp-hmot* ‘to thank / to be grateful’, where $\omega\pi-$ *šp-* ‘to receive, accept’ would suggest the opposite sense, i.e. ‘to be thanked / receive thanks’.⁵⁰⁶

[75] Prototypical SVCs (SV + PN)⁵⁰⁷

Passage	PN	Base verb	Coptic equivalent	Meaning	Complementation
SV = ποιέω					
AP 1.28 (καί)	ἀγάπην	ἀγαπάω	ⲣ-ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲏ <i>r-agapē</i>	‘to do a favour’	διά + ACC (= reason)
DA 7.7	παράλογον	παραλογίζομαι	ⲣ-ⲱⲡ <i>r-ōp</i>	‘to calculate’	∅
DA 1.3–4 (NEG)	φροντίδα	φροντίζω	ⲣ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ <i>r-roouš</i>	Greek: ‘to make mention of’ Coptic: ‘to take care of’	DAT, περί ^{GEN} (= topic)
SV = ἔχω					
AN 4.34 AN 10.18 AP 5.16 PK 11.25–26 PK 14.18 PK 16.32 DA 2.4–5	χρείαν	χράομαι	ⲣ-ⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ <i>r-k^hreia</i>	‘to have need of’	ACC (τρία ἢ τέσσαρα) περί ^{GEN} (= topic) ∅ GEN (μού) GEN (σού), εἰς ACC (= purpose) GEN (σού) GEN (ύμῶν)
AP 1.12	φόβον	φοβέομαι	ⲣ-ⲫⲟⲩⲧⲉ <i>r-hote</i>	‘to be afraid of’	GEN (θεοῦ)
AN 8.3	χάριν	εὐχαριστέω	ⲣ-ⲫⲱⲟⲩⲧ <i>r-hmot</i>	‘to be grateful for’	ὅτι = reason
PK 14.26–27	σχολήν	(σχολάζω)	ⲣ-ⲥⲩⲣⲉ <i>r-sfre</i>	‘to be busy’	ἀπό ^{GEN} (τῶν τοιούτων)
DA 7.5	ἐξουσίαν	ἐξουσιάζω, ισχύω	ⲣ-ⲫⲟⲩⲙ <i>r-k^hom</i>	‘to have power over’	ACC (τὰ γήδια αὐτῶν)
SV = δίδωμι					
DA 18.16	λόγον	λογίζομαι, λέγω	ⲧ-ⲱⲡ (ⲱⲁⲗⲉ) <i>ti-ōp</i> (šad ⁱ e)	‘to notify’	DAT (αὐτῷ)

⁵⁰⁶ Another example is DA 1.3–4 φροντίδα ποιέω as being semantically equivalent to σημαίνω ‘to mention’ (DA 1.1). DA 1 is a letter from Menas to Apollo and Dioscoros, in which the latter authoritatively demands payment of taxes (DA 1.4–6). Considering that φροντίς often simply means ‘thought / reflection’ (cf. Bauer), φροντίδα ποιέω matches σημαίνω when adding up the constituents. Conversely, the Coptic equivalent $\rho-\rho\omicron\omicron\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ *r-roouš* is grammaticalised, ‘to take care of’. For καὶ ἰδοῦ (digression), see Chapter 5. TLG statistics: The SVC is not attested in CG but appears occasionally from the second century onwards (parameters for the proximity search: maximum distance of 5 words, active / middle voice of the verb, ACC.SG.f of the noun).

⁵⁰⁷ Note that for those non-prototypical SVCs (i.e. SV + prepositional phrase, SV + modified PN) that are attested in the corpus, a corresponding Greek base verb and a Coptic counterpart do not always exist.

DA 51.7	δίκην	δικάζω	ⲧⲏⲗⲁⲡ <i>ti-hap</i>	‘to judge’	lost
SV = ὁμολογέω					
AN 6.9–10 AN 9.4 AN 9.14–15	χάριν	εὐχαριστέω	ⲱⲡⲏⲗⲙⲟⲧ <i>šp-hmot</i>	‘to thank’	ø DAT, ὅτι = reason DAT, ὅτι = reason
SV = παρέχω					
AP 1.29	κάματον	καματόω (cf. Lampe)	ⲧⲏⲗⲁ <i>ti-hba</i>	‘to trouble’	DAT, δία + ACC (= reason)
SV = λαμβάνω					
AN 4.23	χάριν	εὐχαριστέω	ⲭⲓⲗⲙⲟⲧ <i>dʿi-hmot</i>	‘to be grateful for’	ὅτε = reason
AP 3.42	ἐγγύην	ἐγγυάω	ⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲱ <i>dʿi n-euō</i>	‘to vouch for’	ACC (αὐτόν) , παρά GEN (τῶν στρατιωτῶν)

Deviations

a) Direct interference (ἔχω-SVC)

In [76a], the object of the SVC is the numbers three and four, which had become invariable in the post-classical period, so that it is unclear whether an accusative was intended.

[76a] AN 4.33–34 εἰάν τις τῶν πρόβατα ἐχόντων δέρματα προβάτων παρ’ ἡμῖν
δυνηθ[ῆ] εὐρεῖν, **τρία ἢ τέσσαρα χρίαν ἔχω**.

‘If any of those who own sheep can find the hides of sheep for us, we need three or four.’

In [76b], the object of the SVC is clearly inflected as accusative:

[76b] DA 7.4–5 εἰ ο(ῦ)ν οἱ οὐκ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν τὰ γήδια αὐτῶν,
μανθάνετε πλέον·

‘Be well aware that the ... do not have power over their fields.’

An accusative complementing an SVC contradicts Greek syntax if we do not assume that the SVC had grammaticalised to the point that a direct object could appear.⁵⁰⁸ Yet some Coptic SVCs allow for direct objects.

⁵⁰⁸ Since the ἔχω-χρίαν SVC was very frequent, grammaticalisation is conceivable, but any evidence is lacking.

b) Conflation of collocations (λαμβάνω-SVC)

In AP 3, the writer asks the addressee to help a brother who is in trouble. To corroborate his request, he outlines his own efforts (e.g. AP 3.22–24). In [77], he finally reveals that he even borrowed money on behalf of the brother involved.⁵⁰⁹

[77] AP 3.39–43 εἴ τι ἐ[ὰν δυνήσατε συνλῆξαι(?)] παρὰ τοῖς γιτονοῖς ἀδελφοῖς [. . .] ρ. . . α. [. . .] ἀσφ]αλὴν καὶ σφράγιζον αὐτήν [. . .] νοστ. λ. . . [. . .] αὐτοῦ ἐγ'γύην αὐτὸν ἔλαβα παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πεντακοσίω(ν) ταλάντων κεφάλειον καὶ τόκον, (ταλάντων) φ.

‘If you can collect (money) among the neighbouring brothers in any way, ... (write?) a receipt (?) and seal it ... (for?) I have given surety for him to the soldiers, an amount of 500 talents plus interest, 800 talents (in total).’

In the SVC, we would expect the debtor, who is the beneficiary of the writer’s action, to be referred to by a dative rather than an accusative (αὐτόν). The direct object slot is already filled by the predicative noun ἐγγύην.

However, if we assume that the pattern of the base verb was applied to the SVC, αὐτόν is regular.⁵¹⁰ Yet instead of the prepositional phrase παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, which attests to the underlying structure of the SVC, we would then expect a dative. In [77], the patterns of the base verb and the corresponding SVC seem to have been conflated.⁵¹¹ In this respect [77] differs from [76b]. In [76b], an SVC is syntactically treated like the respective base verb; in [77], an SVC is treated neither like the respective base verb nor with an awareness of the underlying structure.

3.4.3 Collocations and idioms

Sometimes writers apply the collocation of a class of verbs to an item that does not belong to that class of verbs.⁵¹² This confusion seems to have been motivated by the semantic

⁵⁰⁹ It is unclear whether an article modified the predicative noun due to the lacuna preceding the SVC.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Demosthenes, *Contra Apaturium*, 28 εἰ γὰρ ἡγγυησάμην ἐγὼ τοῦτῳ τὸν Παρμένοντα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως τοῦτῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἀπηχθόμην (...) ‘If I had given surety for Parmeno to this man, it is not right that I should be hated by this man on that man’s behalf (...)’.

⁵¹¹ Topicalisation and pronominal resumption (αὐτόν) of ‘pledge’ would impute an agreement mistake to the writer (feminine noun vs. masculine pronoun).

⁵¹² Similarly, Stolk (2015a) and Stolk and Nachtergaele (2016) consider the transfer of patterns an option for the dative in certain cases.

resemblance of the patterns involved. Occasionally, a collocation is overgeneralised at the expense of an idiom. This seems to be prompted by the degree of familiarity with a pattern.

a) Confusing collocations (καταλαμβάνω, συμβάλλω, ἀξιόω, παρακαλέω)

καταλαμβάνω calls for a direct object in the accusative, ‘to reach something / visit somebody’. In [78a], a dative appears instead; in [78b], the editor reconstructs a dative periphrasis, and in [78c], the dative is corrected into an accusative.

[78a] DA 13.6 καταλάβῃ τέ σοι απ[-ca.?-]

‘and he may visit you’

[78b] DA 54.1–2 πάραντα οὖν [πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατά(?)]λαβε

‘Now, visit us immediately’

[78c] DA 66.4 ἀλλὰ πάντως κατάλαβέ μ [οι] \ε/ πρὸ διαφάυματος

‘but certainly, visit me before dawn’

The opposite is found with συμβάλλω ‘to meet’, which takes a dative.⁵¹³ In [79], an accusative appears instead.

[79] DA 3.5 συμβάλ[λω γ]άρ σε κατὰ Θεόν

‘For I am going to meet you, by God.’

Given that ‘to visit somebody’ is semantically close to ‘to meet somebody’, confusion of the relevant collocations may underlie the structures in [78a] to [79]. Verbs meaning ‘to visit’ or ‘to welcome’ such as καταλαμβάνω and ὑποδέχομαι are mostly transitive and call for a complement in the accusative. Verbs meaning ‘to meet’ such as ἀπαντάω and συμβάλλω are mostly intransitive and call for a dative specifying the person who is being met.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹³ Cf. LSJ II.1.c and II.4 ‘to meet’ + dative.

⁵¹⁴ In the corpus, the dative with ἀπαντάω is commonly replaced by πρὸς^{ACC}. συμβάλλω + accusative could thus have also resulted from the hypercorrect omission of a preposition.

In [80a] and [80b], a causative verb of request is substituted in place of an expected modal verb referring to a wish.⁵¹⁵ In [80a], the relevant structure appears in a causal clause.

[80a] DA 3.6–9 [ἐπ]ειδὴ δὲ εἰς γεωργὸς **παρεκάλεσεν** δύο νομίσματα **διδόναι** ὑπὲρ δέκα ἑξ ἄρταβῶν/ σίτο\υ/ λοιπασθεισῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ, **θελήσῃ** σου ἡ θαυμα(σιότης) ταῦτα **δέξασθαι**, καὶ ἐν μὲν νόμισμα \παρὰ τέσσαρα/ ἀποστεῖλαί μοι ὑπὲρ σιδήρο(υ) ἀγορασθέντος καὶ δοθέντος Στεφάνῳ τῷ στρατιώτῃ
 ‘Since a farmer wants to pay / will pay two *nomismata* for the sixteen *artabae* of wheat which are owed by him, your excellence may accept these and may send one *nomisma* in addition to four (sc. *nomismata*) to me for the iron that was bought and given to Stephanus, the soldier.’

The main clause clarifies that the farmer does not want anyone else to pay the money, but that he wants to / will pay it himself. The addressee is asked to accept the payment.⁵¹⁶ In [80b], the writer asks the addressee rather than anyone else to help the letter carrier.

[80b] AJ 6.19–22 Ἱεραξ οὖν τῷ [κατα]φέροντί σοι ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα **[ἀξι]ῶσον συνβοηθῆσαι** αὐτῷ εἰς ὃ ἐὰν [δυνα]τόν σοι τῇ τιμιότητι.
 ‘Hierax, who delivers this letter of mine to you, help him in whatever way it is possible to your honour.’

The relative clause at the end of the sentence corroborates this construal.

In [80a], either a modal verb ‘to want’ or a future periphrasis is intended⁵¹⁷, while in [80b] an imperative periphrasis is intended. Since there is no corresponding Coptic structure for either of these formulations, the reason for the writer’s choice of παρακαλέω and ἀξιόω must be sought within Greek. The most common auxiliary in future and imperative periphrases, as well as the most common modal verb ‘to want’, is θέλω. θέλω

⁵¹⁵ If no accusative is lost in the lacuna, DA 17.11 may also be relevant (DA 17.11 [-ca.?-] α ῥογεύσω βλέπειν ο(ὐ) μέμφθω ‘I want (you?) to see to it that I shall not be blamed’).

⁵¹⁶ It is also unlikely that an accusative was implied since the contextual inference is unclear, and omission of an object otherwise rarely obscures the meaning. The context would allow for inference of a reference to the writer and the addressee only. If the farmer asked the writer (‘me’) to pay the money, why would the writer ask the addressee to accept the money? If the farmer asked the addressee (‘you’), why would the addressee have to be asked to accept money he paid himself?

⁵¹⁷ Variation in periphrastic structures may have been intended.

appears in a causative and a non-causative pattern. It also becomes an auxiliary in the post-classical period.⁵¹⁸ Likewise, εὔχομαι appears in a causative and a non-causative pattern and becomes a modal ‘to want’ in the post-classical period.

[80c] Causative and non-causative verbs

Non-causative: modal verb		Causative: transitive verb of request
	INF	ACC, INF
θέλω	‘to want to do’	‘to want somebody to do’
εὔχομαι	‘to wish to do’	‘to wish / pray that somebody does’
παρακαλέω	∅	‘to ask somebody to do’
ἄξιόω	∅	‘to ask somebody to do’

Not only do ἄξιόω and παρακαλέω share with θέλω and εὔχομαι the causative complementation pattern of verbs of request⁵¹⁹, but also the semantic link between a request and a wish is evident. The writers may thus have transferred the non-causative pattern of θέλω and εὔχομαι onto ἄξιόω and παρακαλέω.⁵²⁰

b) Disregarding idioms (μετέρχομαι, ἀπαιτέω, ἔχω, θαυμάζω)

In [81a], the writer assures the addressee that he is willing to pay the debt of a woman’s husband if the latter is no longer alive⁵²¹:

[81a] PK 18.4–16 ἐπειδὴ ἐβουλήθης **μετελθεῖν τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου τῇ γυναικί** τινος λεγομένου Καπίτωνος, βουλόμενον **ἀπαιτῆσαι** αὐτήν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μυριάδα μίαν ἥμισυ, γί(νεται) (μυριάς) α (ἥμισυ), ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως τοῦ χρυσαργύρου αὐτοῦ, ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν σώματι εἶ[ναι] μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος χρ[ον]ίσαντα ἐν τῇ [Αἰγ]ύπτῳ, δ[ιὸ] παρέχω (...)

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Papathomas 2007.

⁵¹⁹ Non-finite complementation patterns were still common although becoming less common with verbs of request.

⁵²⁰ Since the syntax of both passages is generally modern and rather colloquial, the fact that the loss of causative semantics affected several verbs in the post-classical period may have facilitated the transfer. [80a] contains the numeral εἷς used as an indefinite article and a subjunctive periphrasis with θέλω. [80b] contains a topicalised and pronominally resumed complement (of συνβοηθέω) and an appositional instead of a possessive structure (σοι τῇ τιμότητι).

Also, in [80b] in ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα the possessive pronoun is inserted between the demonstrative pronoun and its noun, a structure that resembles the Coptic possessive article. The personal name Ἰεραξ is not declined.

⁵²¹ The syntax is generally modern: αὐτός is used as a demonstrative pronoun (αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον) and τινος as an indefinite article (τινος λεγομένου Καπίτωνος). The participle βουλόμενον is left in the accusative instead of being declined correctly.

‘Because you wanted to demand of my sister, the wife of a certain Kapiton, intending to demand of her one and a half myriads on his behalf, (so that) it is one and a half myriads in total, concerning the demand for his money, but (because) we do not know whether this man is still alive until now (and) living in Egypt, therefore I give (...)’

The phrase ‘demand of her’ is doubled: μετελθεῖν + dative and ἀπαιτῆσαι + accusative. While ἀπαιτέω is complemented correctly, we would expect an accusative instead of the dative with μετέρχομαι (cf. LSJ IV). By the same token, ἀπαιτέω in [81b] is complemented by an accusative and a dative rather than two accusatives.

[81b] DA 61.3–4 θέλησον οὖν π[ᾶσ]ιν τρόποις ἀπαιτῆσαι αὐτοῖς ὅσα χρεωστοῦσιν τῷ αὐτῷ Κολλούθῳ εἰς τὰ ἕξ νομίσματα καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς γραμματηφόροις.

‘Demand of them in every possible way everything that they owe to the same Kollouthos up to six *nomismata*, and hand (it) over to the letter carrier.’

Both μετέρχομαι in [81a] and ἀπαιτέω in [81b] assume the pattern of the class of verbs to which they belong instead of preserving their own idiomatic pattern. Verbs of ordering generally call for complementation by a dative which refers to the recipient of the order; conversely, the recipient should be referred to by an accusative with μετέρχομαι and ἀπαιτέω.⁵²²

In [82], ἔχω ‘to have as’ is complemented by a dative and an accusative rather than by two accusatives. ὥς ‘as’ is prefixed to the predicative accusative.

[82] AP 3.18–20 εἰ δὲ ἔχετε μοι ὥς ἀδελφὸν τοῦτον συμβοηθήσατε, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι (...)

‘If you have me as brother, help this man, beloved ones, because (...)’

⁵²² μετέρχομαι has a concrete and a metaphorical meaning and accordingly appears in two syntactic configurations: (1) ‘to go to’ (+ εἰς^{ACC}), (2) ‘to pursue’ (+ accusative). However, even if we assumed that the writer confused (1) and (2) and incorrectly applied (1) in [81a], this would imply substitution of a dative for a prepositional phrase. The parallel with ἀπαιτέω makes this option rather unlikely.

Since verbs calling for complementation with two accusatives are a residual group in the post-classical period, it seems plausible to assume that the writer resorted to the more widespread dative-and-accusative pattern.

Overall, verbs that call for two accusatives either allow for the regular dative-and-accusative pattern (e.g. πληρώω ‘to pay’) or cause difficulty to writers.⁵²³

Finally, [83] is an instance of the formula F4: {θαυμάζω ὅπως}^{F4} {subordinate clause}_{context-specific information} (cf. Chapter 6). F4 here flags a topic at the beginning of the letter body.⁵²⁴ The subordinate clauses of F4 contain the expected past-tense verbal forms in the second person.

[83] PK 7.5–15 **θαυμάζω ὅπως** ἔμεινας παρὰ σοί, **ὥς δέ** ἐδηλώσας περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὥς ὅτι {ε} ἐδέξατό \τι/ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀρσενίου. οὐδὲν **οὖν** ἔσχεν παρ’ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ὠμείλησεν αὐτῷ περὶ φορέτρου, ἀλλὰ σὺ λαβὼν παρ’ αὐτοῦ \δύο νομισμάτια/ δέδωκας τῷ αὐτῷ υἱῷ.

‘I wonder why you stayed at your own place but said about the son that he had received something from brother Arsenios. In fact, he has not got anything from him, neither did he meet him concerning the travel expenses, but you, after taking two *nomismata* from him, gave (them) to this son.’

θαυμάζω is expanded first by an indirect question (ὅπως) and then by a causal clause (ὥς). The two clauses are connected by δέ⁵²⁵ and serve to emphasise the contrast between the addressee’s action and words. The following sentence expands on the topic introduced by means of F4 (οὖν). There is a switch from the idiom of θαυμάζω (idiom type 1), an indirect question, to the regular pattern of the class of verbs, a causal clause. Regular ὅπως may have resulted from the proximity of the subordinator to θαυμάζω, with the sequence θαυμάζω ὅπως being familiar to the writer.⁵²⁶ Later in the sentence, the writer could not

⁵²³ Cf. also the accusative with συμβοηθήσατε, which was above interpreted as an instance of the accusative as the default object case.

⁵²⁴ The next topic is introduced by ἰδοὺ γάρ in l.19.

⁵²⁵ Although δέ allows for either a conjunctive or a disjunctive construal, three aspects speak against ὥς δέ ἐδηλώσας περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ as being parenthetical and consequently ὥς ὅτι as continuing θαυμάζω. (1) Factive complement clauses with θαυμάζω were common in CG but had yielded to indirect questions in PCG. (2) The ὥς- and ὅπως-clauses both contain a verb in the second person aorist active, whereas the ὥς ὅτι-clause contains a third-person subject. (3) Pragmatically, the formula F4 flags a topic. The topic of the following discourse is *the son*. περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ is thus unlikely to appear only in a parenthetical clause.

⁵²⁶ For the relevance of proximity, see Bybee 2007: 313–334.

draw on this known sequence and therefore reverted to the regular pattern of the class of verbs.⁵²⁷

3.5 Summary and conclusion

Fifty passages have been identified as deviations in the present chapter. Their distribution over the classes of verbs is summarised in [84]. However, the phrasal-verb patterns that have been discussed are omitted, since these are grammatical and comparatively frequent. They are considered further in Chapter 7.

[84] Distribution of deviations

Transitive Verbs	Intransitive Verbs	Function Verbs	Other Verb Formations
class 1 (1) class 2 (∅) class 3 (1) class 4 (4) class 5 (5) class 6 (3) class 7 (∅) class 8 (4) class 9 (5) class 10 (1)	class 11 (2) class 12 (4) class 13 (∅) class 14 (2)	'to be' (1) modal verbs (∅) auxiliary verbs (2) impersonal verbs (2)	SVCs (3)
24	8	5	3

Deviations are spread over almost all classes of verbs except for classes 2, 7 and 13. On the one hand, Greek and Coptic complementation patterns resemble each other for these classes of verbs. On the other hand, the patterns are semantically and syntactically transparent. In addition, deviations do not concern modal verbs. This may be the case because modal verbs are a specifically Greek concept. Thus, writers could not confuse a Greek with a Coptic pattern.

In Chapter 2, a distinction was made between deviations resulting from external factors and those resulting from internal ones. We may add deviations that apparently resulted from certain learning methods. [85] summarises the distribution of types of deviations.

[85] Types of deviations

⁵²⁷ The idiom of θαυμάζω in the formula F4 may have caused problems since standard syntax appears in the Coptic parallel. See further Chapter 6.

Deviations due to:	External factors		Internal factors			Learning methods	
Type of Deviation	Direct interference	Indirect interference	Struggle with collocations	Struggle with idioms	Hypercorrection	Chunking	Copying
Total 1	8	7	16	4	3	1	1
Total 2	15		23			2	

There is no significant difference between the total number of deviations resulting from external factors and those resulting from internal ones. This leads to the conclusion that many writers were indeed familiar with an array of Greek patterns but could not always apply them correctly. However, in the group of deviations that resulted from internal factors, deviations concerning collocations outnumber those concerning idioms. This is not surprising, given that idioms are generally rarer than collocations.

Finally, three instances deserve further mention. Firstly, the chunked phrase ‘I ask God that’ (AJ 7.11–12) may be inserted as a hedging device. The writer may have memorised the phrase as a hedging device for requests (on which see further Chapter 6). Secondly, in AP 2.3–5, the copying of a biblical quotation seems to have played a role. Copying entailed the addition of a phrase indicating the source of the quotation. Here, the coexistence of an active and a passive version seems to have confused the writer. Thirdly, one passage discussed above is of a purely lexical nature. The writer of AP 4 confused οἶδα / εἰδέναι and ὁράω / ἰδεῖν.

In Section 3.1.4, attention was drawn to verbs that appear in more than one syntactic configuration. Given that this is a property of Greek verbs only, it was expected that the relevant items would cause particular difficulty to writers. Cross-checking the examples of deviation with the list of syntactically highly versatile items reveals an overlap of ca. 42.5%.

[86] Deviations concerning syntactically versatile items

Syntactically versatile items	
ἄξιόω	3
ἔχω	4
μνημονεύω	1
οἶδα	1
γράφω	2
θαυμάζω	2
εἰμί / γίγνομαι	2
ποιέω	1
συμβάλλω	1

Total	17
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As noted, Coptic verbs are linked to one pattern whereas several Greek verbs allow for more than one pattern. However, a change in pattern often entails a change in meaning of the verb. The fact that 42.5% of the deviations discussed in the present chapter occur with syntactically versatile items seems to confirm the suggestion that the systemic difference between Greek and Coptic verbal syntax caused particular problems to writers.

Deviations are spread over the archives of our corpus, as summarised in [87]:

[87] Deviations in the corpus

Archive	AP	AN	AJ	PK	DA
Letters (examples of interference)	AP 1 (1) AP 2 (1) AP 3 (6) AP 4 (2)	AN 2 (1) AN 4 (1) AN 12 (2) AN 18 (1)	AJ 6 (1) AJ 7 (4) AJ 9 (1)	PK 1 (1) PK 7 (1) PK 8 (1) PK 11 (1) PK 14 (1) PK 18 (1)	DA 3 (2) DA 7 (1) DA 9 (1) DA 10 (1) DA 13 (1) DA 44 (1) DA 54 (2) DA 55 (1) DA 61 (1) DA 66 (1) DA 69 (1)
Total number of examples	10	5	6	6	13
Letters in an archive	4 out of 6	4 out of 18	3 out of 15	6 out of 19	11 out of 69

A comparatively large number of letters in the archive of Apa Paieous and the village archive from Kellis contain deviations. While most letters contain only a single instance of deviation, there are eight letters that contain several instances:

- AP 3, AP 4,
- AN 12,
- AJ 7, and
- DA 3, DA 54.

Excursus: Avoidance strategies

Three kinds of avoidance strategies appear. (1) Topic expressions such as phrases with $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}^{\text{GEN}}$ and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$ replace a specific case required by the surrounding syntax.⁵²⁸ (2) A circumstantial participle allowing for a factive complement clause ($\delta\tau\iota$) is inserted in order to avoid a prospective complementation pattern. $\delta\tau\iota$ is treated like a colon; an independent question implying the intended command follows it. (3) A paratactic structure is chosen instead of a participial or hypotactic one.

[88] Avoidance patterns

Phenomenon	Instance	Class of verbs	Syntactically versatile	High-frequency
$\delta\lambda\iota\gamma\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega \epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (for GEN)	DA 26.5	4	–	–
$\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omega} \epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (for GEN)	AJ 13.3	6	–	✓
$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \delta\tau\iota$ (for prospective CPL-SC)	AP 1.20	8	–	–
$\acute{\alpha}\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ MC (reason) (for circumstantial PTC)	AP 1.37–38	14	–	–

Avoidance patterns co-occur with instances of interference in AP 1. Avoidance patterns primarily appear with low-frequency items, the only exception being $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omega}$. However, the syntax of $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omega}$ significantly changed in the post-classical period (cf. Section 3.1.3).

An accumulation of SVCs in a text is not in itself a reflection of an avoidance strategy. SVCs were a pattern that both Greek and Coptic shared. Yet SVCs may be a more colloquial alternative to the respective base verb, they may have developed a specific semantic nuance in comparison to their respective base verb, and/or they may not even have a respective base verb. Some additional comments on SVCs are proffered in Chapter 5.

⁵²⁸ With $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ and $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, topic expressions appear so commonly that they seem to have become standard. For $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ literary sources corroborate this. TLG proximity search: maximum distance of 2 words, attestations dating from the 2nd c. AD onwards, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ / $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$.

For $\delta\lambda\iota\gamma\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega \epsilon\iota\varsigma$, there is one classical example (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1379b28). TLG proximity search: maximum distance of 3 words, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ / $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$, without hits.

The topic expression in AP 3.20 discussed above may also be an avoidance pattern (impersonal $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\iota$ + accusative + $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ semantic subject).

4 Adding Information: Adverbial Phrases

This chapter examines one area of nominal syntax; that is adverbial phrases. Greek and Coptic clearly diverge in this area with Greek drawing on both prepositional phrases and plain cases, whereas Coptic can only utilise the former option. The chapter is divided into three parts: Section 4.1 provides an overview of the morphology, syntax and semantics of adverbial phrases in Greek and Coptic; Section 4.2 presents the analysis of all relevant passages in the corpus; Section 4.3 brings the results of the analysis together.

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Morphology

Greek adverbial phrases may take the form of either a prepositional phrase or a plain case in adverbial function. In the latter case, the genitive, dative and accusative are all attested. As regards the former case, Greek prepositions are invariable items that may be combined with a nominal or a pronominal complement.

[1] πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν	πρὸς αὐτόν
‘towards the river’	‘towards it (sc. the river)’

Conversely, Coptic prepositions come as a set of allomorphs, and the form of a preposition depends on the nature of the complement. Compare [1] with [2]:

[2] ε-π-εἰερο	ερο=εἰ
<i>e-p-eiero</i>	<i>ero=f</i>
to.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-river	to.PRP=3sg
‘towards the river’	‘towards it (sc. the river)’

Coptic ε- *e-* becomes ερο = *ero* = when prefixed to a pronoun.⁵²⁹

Traditionally, Greek grammars distinguish between the core of mono- and disyllabic ‘proper’ prepositions such as πρὸς and longer ‘improper’ prepositions such as

⁵²⁹ A pronominal state had to be created for the few Greek prepositions that were borrowed into Coptic (πρὸς, κατά, παρά), cf. Layton 2011: § 200.

For εἰ-/εἰωω = *hi-/hiōō* =, see Müller 2016: 67–68.

ἐπάνω.⁵³⁰ The former appear as prefixes in compound verbs (cf. Chapter 3); the latter cannot fulfil this function. Coptic grammars, on the other hand, distinguish between simplex and complex prepositions. Complex prepositions are formed according to several general formation rules. Layton (2011: §§ 208–214) distinguishes between the following classes of complex prepositions⁵³¹:

- (1) combinations of a simplex preposition and a possessed noun such as $\pi\tau\pi-$ / $\pi\tau\phi\phi\tau=$ *ntn-/ntoot=* ‘from’ derived from $\pi-$ / $\mu\mu\phi\phi=$ *n-/mmo=* and $\tau\pi-$ *tn-* ‘hand’⁵³²;
- (2) combinations of a simplex preposition, an article, a noun and a construction of general relationship such as $\mu-\pi-\beta\phi\lambda$ *n- m-p-bol n-* ‘outside of’ derived from $\beta\phi\lambda$ *bol* ‘outside’;
- (3) combinations of a preposition, a noun and $\pi-$ / $\mu\mu\phi\phi=$ *n-/mmo=* such as $\rho\alpha-\pi-$ $\epsilon\chi\tau$ *n- hapēsēt n-* ‘underneath’ derived from $\epsilon\chi\tau$ *esēt* ‘ground’;
- (4) combinations of $\pi\phi\alpha-$ *nsa-*, a noun and $\pi-$ / $\mu\mu\phi\phi=$ *n-/mmo=* such as $\pi\phi\alpha-\beta\phi\lambda$ *n- nsa-bol n-* ‘beyond’ derived from $\beta\phi\lambda$ *bol* ‘outside’.

Moreover, simplex prepositions may be combined with a ‘combinative adverb’⁵³³, as in $\epsilon\phi\phi\pi$ $\epsilon-$ *ehoun e-* ‘into’ consisting of the adverb $\epsilon\phi\phi\pi$ *ehoun* ‘inside’ and the simplex preposition $\epsilon-$ *e-* ‘to’.⁵³⁴

In the post-classical period, the Greek repertoire of forming adverbial phrases was changing. Old simplex prepositions were retreating or disappearing completely⁵³⁵, while former adverbs and plain adverbial cases were grammaticalising into prepositions.⁵³⁶ The use of plain adverbial cases yielded to prepositional phrases. Moreover, we may consider

⁵³⁰ Cf. Bortone 2010: 118–119.

⁵³¹ Additionally, he lists several items under ‘miscellaneous’ (Layton 2011: § 213). Conversely, Reintges (2004: 110–113) distinguishes only between complex prepositions based on a possessed noun and those based on noun incorporation.

⁵³² For ‘defective prepositions’, combinations in which the noun can no longer be combined with a possessive suffix so that a periphrastic structure is needed, see Reintges 2004: 113.

Opinions differ as to whether the possessed noun in a complex preposition was still recognised as an old term for a body part. For opposing views, see Reintges 2004: 113, Houghton 1959a: 216–220. Willy Clarysse does not believe in any recognition.

⁵³³ A combinative adverb may precede a preposition in order to specify its semantics (formation: $\epsilon-/n-/ \mu\phi\alpha-$ *e-/n-/ša-* with $\beta\phi\lambda/\rho\phi\pi/\pi\epsilon\chi\tau/\rho\phi\lambda/\phi\pi/\pi\alpha\rho\phi$ *bol/houn/pesēt/hrai/t^hē/pahou*). Combinative adverbs are also relevant to phrasal verbs (cf. Chapter 3) and verbs of emotion (cf. Chapter 3). Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 206–207, Reintges 2004: 114–115.

⁵³⁴ The adverb $\epsilon\phi\phi\pi$ *ehoun* is itself a combination of the preposition $\epsilon-$ *e-* ‘to’ and the noun $\rho\phi\pi$ *houn* ‘inward part’.

⁵³⁵ Cf. Bortone 2010: 184–187 and 227–234.

⁵³⁶ Cf. Bortone 2010: esp. 171–194.

the loan translations from Hebrew in the New Testament such as *πρὸ πρόσωπον* ‘in front of’.⁵³⁷ While these do not conform to inherited Greek usage, they somewhat reflect the shift of preferences from plain adverbial cases to prepositions. In the corpus, we find e.g. *χαρίτι τοῦ θεοῦ* ‘thanks to God’ alongside constructions that resemble *πρὸ πρόσωπον*.

4.1.2 Syntax

Prepositions in Greek and Coptic must be complemented by a nominal or pronominal phrase. Greek prepositions can generally combine with one, two or three cases. In the post-classical period, the range of cases with which a preposition combines somewhat shrank for certain items.⁵³⁸ Since there is no case syntax in Coptic, an equivalent requirement does not exist for Coptic prepositions.

Greek and Coptic prepositional phrases like Greek plain cases may have a predicative, an attributive or an adverbial function. This chapter only deals with the adverbial function. Predicative uses are discussed in Chapter 3.⁵³⁹ Attributive uses are only noted in passing.⁵⁴⁰

4.1.3 Semantics

The semantics of Greek prepositions that allow for combination with more than one case depend on the case of the complement. For example, *διὰ*^{GEN} means ‘through’ whereas *διὰ*^{ACC} means ‘on account of’. The significance of the case of the complement was however fading in the post-classical period.⁵⁴¹ In particular, the distinction between expressions of location and direction, which was previously encoded by a complement in the dative as opposed to one in the accusative, increasingly vanished.⁵⁴² Moreover,

⁵³⁷ Cf. BDR § 217.

⁵³⁸ Cf. Bortone 2010: 183. For a detailed analysis of case loss with prepositions in classical Greek already, see Luraghi 2003.

⁵³⁹ In Greek, these are references to the addressee or recipient with verbs (cf. Stolk 2017b, Luraghi 2003: 324) and prepositional phrases with verbs that call for a partitive genitive in the classical language (cf. Fournet 1999: § 63). For predicative possessives with *ὑπό*, see Fendel forthcoming a. In Coptic, these include constructions equivalent to Greek ‘to owe’ and ‘to have’ (cf. Chapter 3) as well as phrasal verbs and predicative ‘as’.

⁵⁴⁰ The syntax of attributive phrases diverges profoundly in Greek and Coptic (cf. e.g. Müller forthcoming b, Egedi 2009). An in-depth analysis goes beyond the scope of the present thesis.

⁵⁴¹ Cf. Bortone 2010: 156–160 (and 238–310 (MG)), Luraghi 2003: 328–331.

In prepositional phrases referring to the spatial plane, *πόλις* in the appropriate case is often omitted so that the name of a town comes to stand on its own in the genitive as in DA 17.5 *εἰς τὴν Ἀνταίον*(ν). An article marking the absence of *πόλις* as in DA 17.5 is not always present. Since omission of *πόλις* is a regular colloquial omission, relevant instances are not considered deviations.

⁵⁴² Cf. Luraghi 2003: 332, Fournet 1999: § 65.

ablative expressions receded so that confusion arose between them and expressions of place.⁵⁴³ In the absence of case inflection, there is no equivalent correlation between complement and preposition in Coptic. Also, the distinction between location and direction was always less pronounced in Coptic and ablative expressions could often be based on a preposition that at the same time referred to a direction or a location.⁵⁴⁴

Generally speaking, the semantic scope of Coptic simplex prepositions is significantly wider than that of Greek simplex prepositions. Compare for instance [3a] and [3b]:

[3a] $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{ACC}$ (a) spatial: ‘towards, next to’, (b) temporal: ‘around the time of’, (c) metaphorical: ‘against / towards, regarding, for the purpose of, according to’⁵⁴⁵;

[3b] $\epsilon-/ε\rho\omicron=e-/ero=$ (a) spatial: ‘towards, away from’, (b) temporal: ‘from’⁵⁴⁶, (c) metaphorical: ‘for (somebody), about, for the purpose of, on account of, by means of, against, in comparison to’.⁵⁴⁷

However, the semantic scope of Greek simplex prepositions is only narrower if we compare the combination $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{ACC}$ with $\epsilon-/ε\rho\omicron=e-/ero=$. If we instead compare the range of meanings $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ can assume in combination with all three cases to the semantic range of $\epsilon-/ε\rho\omicron=e-/ero=$, the difference in semantic scope is significantly less pronounced.

In Coptic, complex prepositions often have a narrower scope than simplex prepositions. Compare [4a] and [4b]:

[4a] $\text{ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ-} \textit{mphoun n-}$ ‘inside’;

[4b] $\text{ⲛ-/ⲙⲙⲟ=} \textit{n-/mmo=}$ (a) spatial: ‘in, away from, towards’, (b) temporal: ‘at, during’, (c) metaphorical: ‘by means of, from, in the way of’⁵⁴⁸.

⁵⁴³ Cf. Bortone 2010: 165–166, Luraghi 2003: 319.

⁵⁴⁴ Prominent examples are $\epsilon-$ *e-* and ⲛ- *n-*.

⁵⁴⁵ BDR § 239.

⁵⁴⁶ Reintges 2004: 103 (b).

⁵⁴⁷ For idiomatic uses, see Reintges 2004: 104.

⁵⁴⁸ For idiomatic uses, see Reintges 2004: 105.

Similarly, ‘improper’ prepositions often have a narrower scope than ‘proper’ prepositions. Compare [5a] and [5b]:

[5a] ἔνεκα^{GEN} ‘on account of, concerning’;

[5b] ἐπὶ^{DAT} (a) spatial: ‘in / on, towards’, (b) temporal: ‘at / on’; (c) metaphorical: ‘on account of, in addition to, for the purpose of’.⁵⁴⁹

As in the examples already cited throughout this chapter, a distinction is made between spatial, temporal and metaphorical uses of a preposition.⁵⁵⁰ There seems to be a general trend for prepositions to lose their spatial and adopt an increasing number of metaphorical meanings.⁵⁵¹ That is, older prepositions lose spatial meanings and assume more metaphorical meanings, whereas newly emerging prepositions often start out with exclusively spatial semantics. In this context, it is notable that all instances of plain adverbial cases in the corpus have either a temporal or a metaphorical meaning, but never a spatial meaning.

4.1.4 Synchronic standard

On the one hand, the post-classical period witnessed the loss of prepositional items, which resulted from a previous loss of semantic nuances. Consequently, items became synonymous and thus redundant.⁵⁵² In some cases, the older item is not yet lost but retreated into formulaic expressions or higher registers. The distribution in the corpus reflects a clear preference for the modern items on the part of our writers. On the other hand, prepositions developed new, mostly metaphorical, meanings (cf. Section 4.1.3). This poses problems for the modern reader since the semantic development of prepositions in the post-classical period is all but well described. Moreover, this

⁵⁴⁹ BDR § 235.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Luraghi 2003.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. Bortone 2010: 47–53 and 302–303 (with further references). A counterexample is μετά^{ACC}, which develops a new spatial meaning from its temporal one (cf. Luraghi 2003: 318).

⁵⁵² Cf. Bortone 2010: 147–149.

development was not always linear so that the modern language cannot provide a secure point of comparison.⁵⁵³

4.1.5 Context

We can distinguish between synchronically productive combinations of a preposition and a case resulting in a certain meaning for the preposition, as in μετά^{GEN} ‘with’, and fossilised combinations of a preposition and a noun such as σὺν θεῷ ‘with God(’s help)’.⁵⁵⁴ The same distinction applies to plain adverbial cases: there are productive semantic functions of plain cases alongside those that are solely preserved in formulaic contexts.

4.1.6 Statistics (prepositional phrases)

In the texts of the corpus and the control group, there is a total of 1182 prepositional phrases. [6] summarises their syntactic and semantic functions.

[6] Prepositional phrases

	Predicative	Attributive	Adverbial				Lost
			Spatial	Temporal	Metaphorical	Formulaic	
total 1	93	106	238	91	426	162	66
	irrelevant here		relevant here				lost
total 2	199		917				66

4.2 Analysis

4.2.2 Plain cases

About one third of all adverbial phrases in the form of a plain case appear either in formulaic contexts, such as the final health wish as in [7], and the opening prayer (cf. further Chapter 6), or in fixed expressions such as νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ‘day and night’ (genitive), παντὶ τρόπῳ ‘in any way’ (dative) and λόγῳ ‘in fact’ (dative).

[7] AN 2.10–12 ἐρρ[ῶ]σθαί σε εὖχομαι **ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι**, κύριε ἀγαπητέ.

‘I pray that you are well with regard to body and soul, beloved master.’

⁵⁵³ For ‘dead ends’, see Bortone 2010: 192–193, Bentein 2017a: esp. 2. An example is the use of ὑπέρ^{GEN} to refer to the comparee in a comparison.

⁵⁵⁴ For fossilized structures, see Luraghi 2003: 254 (μετὰ ἡμέραν ‘during the day’) and LSJ s.v. χεῖρ II.6.a (ἀνὰ χεῖρα ‘at hand’).

[8] summarises the distribution of plain cases with an adverbial function in the corpus.

[8] Plain cases with an adverbial function

	Spatial	Temporal	Metaphorical	Formulaic context and fixed expressions	Total
Genitive	ø	3	15	4	22
Dative	ø	4	36	29 ⁵⁵⁵	69
Accusative	ø	8	7	ø	15
Total	ø	15	58	33	106
	0 %	≈ 14 %	≈ 55 %	≈ 31 %	100 %

In the corpus, there is a clear preference for prepositional phrases over plain cases in adverbial function: 917 instances of the former stand against 106 instances of the latter. This ties in with Bortone's (2010: 179–180) observation that there was a tendency to give preference to prepositions in later periods. Notably, a comparatively high percentage of adverbial phrases in the form of a plain case appear in formulaic contexts and fixed expressions. Generally speaking, both formulae and fixed expressions often preserve older, no longer productive patterns (cf. further Chapter 6). Hence, a plain case in adverbial function in either context may represent a relic of an earlier stage of the language.

4.2.2.1 Standard

Plain cases may only constitute adverbial phrases referring to time or to the metaphorical plane, whereas adverbial phrases referring to space always take the form of prepositional phrases (cf. Section 4.1.3).

In adverbial phrases referring to time, the genitive, dative and accusative are possible. The genitive refers to a short period of time whereas the dative refers to a specific point in time. Apart from these classical functions, the dative may also refer to a stretch of time and the accusative is comparatively flexible in terms of function. However, while the functional extension of the dative seems to be a regular internal development⁵⁵⁶, all instances of the accusative seem to deviate from the standard.

⁵⁵⁵ In DA 38.7 τῷ [λόγῳ] οὐ/, interchange between <οὐ> and <ω> is assumed.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. George 2014: 259–261 and 263–274.

With reference to the metaphorical plane, the genitive, dative and accusative assume a range of functions summarised in [9].⁵⁵⁷

[9] The metaphorical plane

	Genitive (15)	Dative (36)	Accusative (7)
Standard functions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • price (6) • comparison (3) • (separation)⁵⁵⁸ (5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • beneficiary (12) • reason (5) • agent (3) • means / manner (3) • measure (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respect (3)
Functional extensions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respect (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ethical (12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • manner (4)⁵⁵⁹

Particularly in light of the common observation that in the post-classical period the dative was retreating from its adverbial functions⁵⁶⁰, its functional flexibility in the corpus is noticeable.

However, we also witness the accusative intruding into areas that were formerly covered by the dative, namely expressions of means and manner. Additionally, in AJ 12.6, DA 59.8 and DA 68.6, we find τὰ νῦν instead of simple νῦν. A neuter article could occasionally be added to the adverb already in classical times. The combination of article and adverb then became a fixed expression (BR § 174). Modelled on expressions such as τὸ νῦν / τὰ νῦν, we also find prepositional phrases that are preceded by a neuter article.

[10a] AP 1.17–18 μέχρις τοῦ τ[ὸ]ν πραιπόσιτον προερθῖν ἐν τοῖς ᾽ σίγνοις **τὸ πρὸς προεῖ**

‘until the *praepositus* came to the offices **in the morning**’⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷ The following passage is not included: In PK 13.46–47 χαρ[ι]σω σοι ἐρέαν εἰς ἱμάτιον **τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτῆς**, the genitive seems to function as an apposition to or to be in a predicative relationship to ἐρέαν. Perhaps, the sequence of accusatives seemed unclear to the writer and he therefore chose the genitive. Alternatively, the genitive may have resulted from the omission of a preposition such as περί. For explanations based on the multivalence of Coptic *n*– *n*–, see Chapter 7.

⁵⁵⁸ Relevant passages are: PK 18.26 λυθῆναι, AN 1.18 ἀπαλλαγῆναι, DA 52.3 ἀποδιῶξαι, DA 61.2 παρεκράτησεν, DA 68.15 ἀπέστησαν.

⁵⁵⁹ See e.g. [11] below.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Chapter 3.

⁵⁶¹ TLG proximity search: τὸ πρὸς πρωί, maximum distance of two words, in sequential order, case and diacritics sensitive. There are four instances in Basilios Caesariensis, *Homiliae super psalmos* (4th c. AD).

[10b] PK 16.3 ἀσπάζομαι σε πολλά **τὸ πρὸ πάντων**

‘I greet you a lot **above all**’⁵⁶²

The article is strictly speaking redundant here. The accusative seems to be utilised as a default adverbial case. In [10a], the adverbial phrase refers to time; in [10b], the adverbial phrase refers to manner.

4.2.2.2 Variation

In [11] to [13], an accusative indicates manner. While [11] reflects a fixed phrase already existing in classical Greek (BR § 174), in [12] and [13], we would either expect a dative or a preposition prefixed to the neuter accusative article.

[11] AN 8.10–11 ὥς γίνεσθ[αι μ]υριάδα[ς] **τὸ πᾶν** ἐνενήκοντα,

‘so that there are 90 myriads in total’

[12] DA 17.12 **τὸ δο]**κοῦν ὑμῖν κελεύσ\α/τε γράψαι μοι

‘As it suits you, order (him) to write me’

[13] DA 18.18–19 **τὸ οὖν** δοκοῦν διὰ ταχέων γράψατε, δέσποτα.

‘As it suits (you), quickly write, master.’

The common hedging phrase ‘as it suits you’ is further discussed in Chapter 6. [12] and [13] show identical phrasing in this regard. Even though a dative of manner or a prepositional phrase ‘according to X’⁵⁶³ may be what we expect, the combination of a

⁵⁶² TLG proximity search: τὸ πρὸ πάντων, maximum distance of two words, in sequential order, case and diacritics sensitive. Of the eleven hits, only J. Chrysostomous, *In Joannem* (4th / 5th c. AD) and Cyrillus, *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate* (4th / 5th c. AD) and N. Gregoras, *Epistulae* display the relevant structure (13th / 14th c. AD).

⁵⁶³ The phrase is usually integrated into the syntax of a sentence, for instance, by means of a preposition, as in Thukydides, *Historiae* 1.84.2 **παρὰ** τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν and 5.85.7 **πρὸς** τὸ μὴ δοκοῦν ἐπιτηδείως λέγεσθαι, or assuming the role of the subject or the direct object of a sentence. Conversely, in [11] to [13], the phrase is extra-syntactic if we do not assume an adverbial use of the accusative.

neuter accusative article with an agreeing participle may have been an established alternative to a subordinate clause.⁵⁶⁴

4.2.2.3 Deviations

(a) Indirect interference (extraposition) (1 instance)

After the internal address, the letter AJ 7 continues as follows:

[14] AJ 7.2–5 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ περὶ σοῦ βοήθη-
 σόν⁵⁶⁵ μαι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· **πάσας**
γὰρ ψυχῆς ἔξωσων σαι διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν <πρὸς>
τὸν παντοκράτωρ. νῦν οὖν βοήθησόν μαι·
 ‘I thank God and the one with you. Help me,
 as is in your and God’s power. **For, as regards all**
souls, they always surround⁵⁶⁶ you because of (your) piety
towards the Almighty.⁵⁶⁷ Therefore, help me now!

The writer is evidently struggling with Greek syntax. The one deviation we are interested in now, since it regards the usage of a plain case, appears in the sentence set in bold. At the beginning of that sentence, the phrase **πάσας γὰρ ψυχῆς** is difficult. Two explanations seem possible: Firstly, the writer may have intended **ἐκ πάσης ψυχῆς** ‘wholeheartedly’ but omitted the preposition **ἐκ**. However, who, then, are ‘they’? Secondly, the writer may have intended **περὶ πάσας ψυχάς** ‘as regards all souls’ but omitted the preposition **περὶ**. In this version, the reference of the subject ‘they’ is clear. Assuming a higher degree of deviation, the writer may also have intended **περὶ πάσης ψυχῆς** ‘as regards every soul’. The verb should then however be in the singular rather than the plural.

In either case, the phrase in question is extra-syntactic, and it seems to have been put in extraposition for reasons of emphasis. We may either assume what Evans called a ‘floating accusative’ (cf. Chapter 5) or we may assume omission of what Kirk (2012: 229)

⁵⁶⁴ The phrase cannot be idiolectal as the two letters are written by different writers. The use of a correct participle renders an insecure writer unlikely. Thus, a likely rationale seems to be the general weakness of the modal dative and the subsequent functional extension of the accusative.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. Section 3.3.2 for the dismissal of the editorial correction.

⁵⁶⁶ ἔξωσων is taken as a phonetic spelling of a sigmatic aorist with athematic endings (ἔξωσον). It seems to be a case of a gnomic aorist.

⁵⁶⁷ The preposition **πρὸς** was dropped hypercorrectly and **παντοκράτωρ** was treated as a title and therefore left undeclined.

called ‘the ‘as for’ topic marker’, that is *περί*. In favour of the accusative, one could argue that floating accusatives are a widespread phenomenon, particularly in colloquial texts. In favour of the hypercorrectly omitted preposition, one could point to the final phrase of the sentence. Yet, while *πρὸς* is frequently omitted hypercorrectly, *περί* is usually not. Another explanation for the omission of the preposition may be that Coptic syntax does not allow for prepositions with items in left-dislocation.⁵⁶⁸

(b) *Phraseological transfer / direct interference (ethical dative) (4 instances)

Classical grammars attribute the ethical dative to colloquial speech (BR § 189.2; BDR § 192). This dative is however much more common in Coptic than it is in Greek.⁵⁶⁹ In the corpus, in all but one instance, which is an editorial reconstruction, the ethical dative is immediately adjacent to the verb in the imperative. Eight of the twelve relevant instances appear in formulaic sections, namely in greeting sections (GS) and final health wishes (FHW):

- PK 13.8–10 (GS), PK 13.27–28 (GS), PK 13.38–41 (GS), PK 13.41 (GS), PK 13.47 (FHW), PK 13.54 (FHW)
- PK 14.38–40 (FHW)
- AJ 8.24–25 (FHW)

These ethical datives are uncommon in the relevant Greek formulae, but common in the Coptic equivalents (cf. further Chapter 6). The remaining four instances of ethical datives appear in contexts that indicate an insecure writer.

[15a] PK 1.21–22 καὶ γράψον μοι ὄνον πρὸς Γάϊον
 ‘and write for me to Gaius about the donkey’

As discussed in Chapter 3, the writer here apparently struggled with the complementation pattern of *γράφω*.

[15b] PK 9.10 ἀ[γό]ρασόν μοι ἐριδίων [
 ‘buy (amount?) of wool for me’

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. Grossman 2015.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. Layton 2011: § 181.g, EGB: chapter 11.8.

[15c] PK 9.18 ἀγόρασ[ον αὐτά μοι]

‘buy it for me’

The writer of PK 9 makes ample use of structuring formulae, but his letter nevertheless reflects a somewhat uncommon structure at the end: The first half of the letter seems carefully planned and ends with a final health wish. Despite the fact that the final health wish is usually the final section of a letter, the writer nevertheless continues into a second half. The syntax of this second half is less secure (cf. e.g. l. 17). Overall, the letter is severely damaged so that more indicative passages may be lost.

[15d] PK 14.36–38 ἀξιω[θ]εῖς δὲ καλόχρωμον ἀγοράσόν μοι τὸ μικρὸν ἐρίδιον.

‘Please, buy a small amount of multi-coloured wool for me!’

Finally, for PK 14, external evidence suggests that the writer, Pekysis, was bilingual. The syntax of [15d] is correct: The initial ἀξιωθεῖς is likely to be a regionalism⁵⁷⁰ and the extraposition of the adjective καλόχρωμον does not entail a redundant resumption after the verb (cf. further Chapter 5).

Considering all instances, ethical datives appear numerous in three letters from Kellis, PK 13, PK 14 and PK 9. The writers of the first two of these letters seem to have been bilinguals based on external evidence (cf. Chapter 6). The one ethical dative in the archive of Apa John appears in a creatively phrased final health wish (cf. Chapter 6).

Ethical datives are treated in more detail in Chapter 6 and the relevance of the external context is discussed in Chapter 7. Judging by the distribution and the internal contexts of ethical datives outlined here, they seem to identify rather as an interference pattern than as a colloquialism.

(c) Internal confusion (1 instance)

The adverbial use of plain cases is an exclusively Greek pattern, whereas Coptic adverbial phrases are always prepositional phrases. In AN 18, we find two instances in which the writer referred to a specific point in time, a function of the dative, by means of an accusative. The accusative is classical in [16a].⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Chapter 3.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. LSJ s.v. δεύτερος I.2.

[16a] AN 18.9–10 **τοῦτο δεύτερον** ὑμῖν γράφω
 ‘another time / again I write you’

The accusative substitutes a dative in [16b].⁵⁷²

[16b] AN 18.13–14 ὅτι **τὸν κερὸν** σήμερον ἔχετε μου
 ‘because now, to this day, you have from me’

On the one hand, the pattern of a plain case with an adverbial function may have been difficult to grasp for a non-native writer. On the other hand, the accusative was commonly used to refer to periods of time and the dative was retreating from adverbial functions. This situation may have made the accusative the preferred choice in [16b].

4.2.3 Prepositions that combine with one case

4.2.3.1 Low-frequency items (≤ 50 instances)

All prepositions that appear less than fifty times in the corpus and combine with only one case are treated in the following section. [17] summarises all relevant instances in the corpus. Note that all improper prepositions are low-frequency items in the corpus.

[17] Low-frequency items (≤ 50 instances)

	Predicative	Attributive	Adverbial Non- formulaic	Formulaic	Lost	Total
ἀνά	0	1	0	0	0	1
ἀντί	0	0	1	0	0	1
ἐκ	0	4	20	6	2	32
πρό	0	0	14	14	0	28
σύν	1	11	7	28	3	50
ὥς	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total 1	1	16	43	48	5	113
ἄμα	1	0	1	1	1	4
ἄνευ	0	0	1	0	0	1
ἄχρι	0	0	4	0	1	5
ἐγγύς	0	0	1	0	0	1
ἐκτός	0	0	1	0	0	1
ἐνδον	0	0	1	0	0	1

⁵⁷² Cf. BR § 193.

ἐνεκεν	∅	∅	9	1	1	11
ἐξω	∅	∅	1	∅	∅	1
ἐπάνω	1	∅	3	∅	∅	4
ἕως / ὡς	∅	∅	12	∅	∅	12
κατόπιν	∅	∅	∅	∅	1	1
μακράν	∅	∅	1	∅	∅	1
μεταξύ	∅	∅	1	∅	∅	1
μέχρι	∅	∅	9	∅	∅	9
πρίν	1	∅	1	∅	∅	2
ὑποκάτω	∅	∅	1	∅	∅	1
χάριν	1	∅	1	∅	1	3
χωρίς	∅	∅	4	∅	∅	4
Total 2	4	0	52	2	5	63
Total 3	5	16	95	50	10	176

[17] shows two significant distributions: Firstly, low-frequency proper prepositions appear in about fifty percent of all instances in a formulaic context or an otherwise fixed expression. Closer inspection reveals that the majority of these items are those that are losing the battle against a newer alternative in the post-classical period:

- ἐκ^{GEN} is yielding to ἀπό^{GEN}.⁵⁷³
- σύν^{DAT} is yielding to μετά^{GEN}.⁵⁷⁴
- ἀνά^{DAT,ACC} has long yielded to ἐν^{DAT} and ἐπὶ^{DAT/ACC}.⁵⁷⁵

Secondly, improper prepositions are almost entirely absent from formulaic sections and fixed expressions. This corroborates Bortone's observation that they are only becoming increasingly common in the post-classical period (cf. Section 4.1.1).

(a) Standard

The standard patterns and associated semantics of the relevant items are the following:

ἐκ combines with the genitive. Its most basic meaning 'out of' shines through in its temporal ('since') and metaphorical meanings (price, reason). In the post-classical period, the distinction between ἐκ and ἀπό is blurred so that the former comes to be used for the latter occasionally.

σύν combines with the dative. Its basic meaning 'with', with reference to either space or in a wider sense accompaniment, is rare in the corpus.⁵⁷⁶ σύν never refers to time.

⁵⁷³ Cf. Bortone 2010: 184–185.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Bortone 2010: 184–185.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. BDR § 204, BR § 197.2, Luraghi 2003: 196.

⁵⁷⁶ Note however the significant number of attributive constructions based on this basic meaning.

πρό combines with the genitive. Its basic meaning ‘before’ is evident in expressions referring to both space and time.

ἀνά appears only once in the corpus, there in attributive position. It is combined with an accusative. The passage is discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the periphrastic expression ‘to owe’.

ἀντί combines with the genitive. It appears only once in the corpus and there means ‘in the place of / on behalf of’ (cf. LSJ III).

ὥς combines with the accusative. It appears only once in the control group. There, the adverbial phrase refers to the metaphorical plane (‘for that purpose of’).⁵⁷⁷

All improper prepositions combine with the genitive except for ἄμα, which calls for a dative. In the following list, improper prepositions are ordered according to the semantic area to which they refer in the corpus:

[18a] space: ἐγγύς^{GEN} ‘near’, ἐκτός^{GEN} ‘out of’, ἔξω^{GEN} ‘out of’, μακράν^{GEN} ‘away from’⁵⁷⁸, μεταξύ^{GEN} ‘between’, ἄμα^{DAT} ‘with’, κατόπιν^{GEN} ‘behind’;

[18b] time: μέχρι^{GEN} ‘until’, πρίν^{GEN} ‘before’, ἕως^{GEN} ‘until’;

[18c] metaphorical plane: ἄχρι^{GEN} ‘up to, until’, ἄνευ^{GEN} ‘without’, ἐνδόν^{GEN} ‘by means of’, ἔνεκεν^{GEN} ‘on account of, concerning’, ἐπάνω^{GEN} ‘in addition to’ (cf. LSJ VI), ὑποκάτω^{GEN} ‘under the supervision of’, χάριν^{GEN} ‘on account of’, χωρίς^{GEN} ‘without’.

The only item that appears with reference to both time and the metaphorical plane is ἄχρι^{GEN}. Since the latter instances outnumber the former, ἄχρι^{GEN} is listed with prepositions that appear only in phrases referring to the metaphorical plane. Finally, ἔνεκεν^{GEN} and χωρίς^{GEN} may appear either as prepositions or as postpositions.

(b) Formulaic contexts and fixed expressions

As already mentioned, about fifty percent of all instances of low-frequency prepositions appear in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions. The following patterns are relevant:

⁵⁷⁷ ὥς seems to be used for εἰς, which could appear in adverbial phrases expressing purpose in the post-classical period (cf. BDR § 207.3). The overlap of ὥς and εἰς is in on the spatial plane ‘to / towards’.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Bortone 2010: 191.

- The basic semantics of ἐκ shine through in its capacity to combine with nouns such as ἔθος and ψυχὴ to form fixed expressions, ‘customarily’ and ‘spiritually’ respectively.
- πρὸ is most commonly found in two fixed expressions, πρὸ πολλοῦ ‘in particular’ and πρὸ πάντων ‘first of all’.
- σὺν appears almost exclusively in the fixed phrase σὺν θεῷ ‘with God’s help’ (27 out of 38 instances), a phrase that is often added to requests and epistolary formulae such as external addresses.

The number of instances of these three prepositions in formulaic contexts and fixed expressions amounts to 48 as shown in [17] above.

(c) Deviations

Low-frequency prepositions that combine with only one case seem to have posed hardly any problems. Some predicative instances are discussed in Chapter 3⁵⁷⁹ but are irrelevant here. Some adverbial phrases that seem to reflect Coptic rather than Greek phraseology are discussed in Chapter 6 in the context of the relevant formulae and fixed expressions.⁵⁸⁰

Since improper prepositions are comparatively infrequent in the corpus, their high frequency in two letters seems suspicious. In PK 9 and AP 1, writers opt for improper prepositions in expressions like ἐκβάλλω ἐξω / ἐκτός ‘to throw out of’. Presumably, a bilingual writer preferred improper prepositions because, like Coptic complex prepositions, improper prepositions have a smaller semantic scope. This facilitates the selection of the correct preposition in a given context. Moreover, improper prepositions combine with only one case. The concept that the case of the complement of a preposition determines the meaning of the preposition is exclusively Greek and may hence have posed problems to bilingual writers. PK 9 and AP 1 are further discussed in Chapter 7 in order to evaluate whether the internal or external context confirms or refutes the above hypotheses.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. predicative ἐπάνω (with εὔχομαι), χάριν (with ψυχαγωγέω), ἀνὰ χεῖρα (with ἔχω).

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. σὺν and ὅμα in greeting sections, πρὸ in greeting sections and opening prayers, and ἐξ οὗ in hedging devices.

4.2.3.2 High-frequency items (≥ 51 instances)

All prepositions that appear more than fifty times in the corpus and combine with only one case are treated in the following section. [19] summarises all relevant instances in the corpus.

[19] High-frequency items (≥ 51 instances)

	Predicative	Attributive	Adverbial Non- formulaic	Adverbial Formulaic	Lost	Total
ἀπό	7	35	18	0	2	62
εἰς	14	3	100	15	3	135
ἐν	8	13	115	47	4	187
Total	29	51	133	62	9	384

It is noticeable that the percentage of instances that appear in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions is significantly smaller than for the low-frequency items considered in the previous section. Apparently, ἐν, εἰς and ἀπό were in common use in the post-classical period.

(a) Standard

The standard patterns and associated semantics of the relevant items are the following:

ἀπό combines with the genitive. The majority of instances in the corpus appears in predicative and attributive constructions.⁵⁸¹ ἀπό is found in adverbial phrases referring to space ('away from' / 'from (sender)'), time ('since') and the metaphorical plane. Under the latter category, we can subsume expressions of source and material and expressions of intermediary as in AN 19.12 ἡμεῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦμεν 'we do it ourselves'.⁵⁸²

εἰς combines with the accusative. εἰς appears in adverbial phrases referring to space ('in', 'into') and the metaphorical plane ('about', 'for (the purpose of)' / 'resulting in', 'for (the sake of)', 'by means of', 'due to') whereby the former outnumber the latter.

⁵⁸¹ In four passages, ἀπό seems to be used like Coptic πᾶ-/τᾶ-/ἡᾶ- *pa-/ta-/na-* 'the one(s) of' (AJ 7.7; DA 1.2; DA 61.1; DA 68.9). In three passages, ἀπό substitutes a classical possessive genitive (AO 23.7; DA 56.3; DA 65.13). Cf. Luraghi 2003: 332.

⁵⁸² ἀπό came to be used in agent expressions in the post-classical period. For the relationship between expressions of intermediary and agent expressions, see Luraghi 2003: 322–323. The semantic extension is feasible.

In both kinds of adverbial phrases, we witness some overlap of εἰς and ἐν ('in'; 'by means of', 'due to'). This is a regular post-classical development.⁵⁸³

ἐν combines with the dative. ἐν is the most frequent preposition in the corpus. It appears in adverbial phrases referring to space ('in' / 'among', 'into'), time ('during', 'on' / 'at') and the metaphorical plane ('by means of', 'under (certain circumstances)', 'concerning').⁵⁸⁴ In adverbial phrases referring to both space and the metaphorical plane, ἐν often replaces εἰς ('into' and 'concerning').

(b) Formulaic contexts (incl. variation)

Of the items discussed in this section, ἀπό does not appear in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions in adverbial phrases in the corpus.

εἰς appears in the fixed complex preposition εἰς λόγον^{GEN} 'on account of' (LSJ s.v. λόγος I.2).⁵⁸⁵ All but one relevant instances in the corpus come from the archive of Dioscoros and the sixth-century control group. The one instance in the archive of Apa John appears in a desperate request to the anchorite (AJ 15). εἰς λόγον^{GEN} thus seems to have been borrowed from a more formal register. Furthermore, εἰς appears in fossilised temporal expressions such as εἰς τέλος (LSJ II.2b) as well as in the phrases DA 9.14 εἰς ὄψιν 'in person' (cf. LSJ s.v. ὄψις) II.2 and DA 43.8 εἰς μέμψιν 'blamefully'.⁵⁸⁶

Of the items discussed in this section, ἐν appears most often in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions. Most commonly, we encounter the phrase 'in the lord' and variants in the formulae of the epistolary frame (cf. further Chapter 6).⁵⁸⁷ Additionally, the phrase 'in / during someone's prayers' recurs in requests to be remembered or to be included in someone's prayers. Finally, the more common adverbial accusative πρῶτον 'first of all' at the start of a letter is replaced by ἐν πρώτοις in AN 13.3.

⁵⁸³ Cf. BDR §§ 205–206 and Section 4.1.3.

For the semantic range of εἰς in post-classical Greek, see Lampe, who lists the following meanings: A. 'in'; B. 'into, on to'; C. 'in the form of'; D. 'by reason of'; E. 'for the purpose of'; F. 'by means of, by'; G. 'at a time'; H. 'with, possessing'.

⁵⁸⁴ Metaphorical ἐν-phrases are not *per se* foreign to Greek grammar. Only a particular accumulation of them is usually ascribed to bilingual interference. Cf. Gignac 2013: 415 and 417, Torallas Tovar 2007: 689, Torallas Tovar 2010a: 263, Luraghi 2003: 332, Bortone 2010: 193, George 2014: 282.

For Hebrew ב' ע, the relevant model for the language of the New Testament, see Jenni 1992. For Semitic languages, see Lipinski 1997: § 48.5.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. also Bortone 2010: 252–253 (MG).

⁵⁸⁶ εἰς replaces ἐν in this expression of manner.

⁵⁸⁷ The three strictly speaking attributive phrases παρὰ θεῶν κυρίῳ (AP 4.1–2, AP 4.5–6, AP 4.14) outside the formulaic contexts in which the ἐν τῷ θεῷ-phrase usually appears may point to its fossilised nature. The writer of AP 4 retained the formulaic ἐν^{DAT} in the internal address but opted for παρὰ in these three attributive phrases.

(c) Deviations

Direct interference (ablatival ἐν)

In [20a], the writer expresses his hopes to return home with God's help. Instead of being combined with regular ἐκ^{GEN}, ἀπό^{GEN} or a separative genitive (cf. LSJ s.v. σῶζω III.3), the verb σῶζω 'to save' is combined with the preposition ἐν in [20a].

[20a] AN 1.19–20 (...) εἴπερ καταξιοῖ ἡμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης **σωθῆναι ἐν** τῇ ξενειτίᾳ ἡμῶ(ν)
 '(...) if the lord grants us to be rescued from our life away from home'

The distinction between separation and direction / location is upheld in post-classical Greek, but the most common Coptic prepositions to refer to separation and direction / location, ε- *e-* and η- *n-*, cover both notions. This explains the common patterns of Coptic *nouh* *nouhm* and *sote* *sote* 'to rescue, save':

[20b] <i>nouh</i> ε-/ητn-	<i>nouhm e-/ntn-</i>	'to save from' ⁵⁸⁸
<i>sote</i> ε-/ητn-	<i>sote e-/ntn-</i>	'to rescue from'

However, in many contexts, the semantic shift from 'from' to 'in' does not significantly impact on the eventual meaning. For instance, in [20a] we could interpret ἐν as referring to the circumstances the writer is currently in. Equally, in [21a], an attributive phrase with ἐν appears in a comprehensive characterisation of a person.

[21a] AN 6.24 πα\ρὰ/ Ὡρ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἀγκυρῶνι συγγενοῦς Εὐδαίμονος Ἀβασκάντου
 'from Hor, the monk, the one from Ankyrene, Eudaimon Abaskas' relative'

Rather than to be told about the person's current place of residence, we would naturally expect to be informed about their place of birth. In [21b], an attributive phrase with ἐν 'among' suits the context.

⁵⁸⁸ The verb may be transitive or intransitive ('to save' and 'to be saved'). The verb's transitivity does not impact on the choice of the preposition that follows.

[21b] DA 50.9 ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις
 ‘the one of the blessed ones’

Yet, what is at stake here is a person’s membership of a group. The classical equivalent would be ὁ τῶν ἁγίων, which would equal post-classical ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων.⁵⁸⁹

Considering the impossibility to morphologically encode a distinction between location / direction and separation in Coptic and the fact that the semantic difference in Greek is sometimes small, the distinction between direction / location and separation may have been difficult to assimilate for a learner. [20a] thus seems to be a case of direct interference.

Avoidance pattern (ἐν ‘in the form of’) (2 instances)

In [22] to [26], the preposition ἐν replaces a genitive of material. In all passages, we find the structure ‘measure – ἐν – material’.

[22] PK 2.50 ἔπεμψα διὰ Σινέ[ως εἰς τιμ]ῆν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐν σίτῳ [[ου]]
 καγκ(κέλλους) ὀκτώ
 ‘I sent eight *cancelli* in the form of / of wheat through Sineus for the price of one’

[23] DA 9.6–7 λα[β]εῖν π[α]ρ[ὰ] τοῦ γραμματηφόρου δύο κεράτια ἐν κέρμασι
 ‘to take two *keratia* in the form of / of coins from the letter carrier’

The equation of ἐν^{DAT} with the genitive is particularly clear in [24] because both options appear in the same sentence.

[24] PK 7.20–25 μέμνησο δὲ ἐνεγκεῖν μοι τοὺς ἐννέα ζέστας μέλιτος (...) ἀλλ’ ἐν καλῷ μέλιτι.
 ‘remember to bring me nine *xestae* of honey (...) but in the form of / of good honey’

⁵⁸⁹ A proximity search in the TLG database however reveals that the phrase is common in Byzantine literature, usually in the form article – prepositional phrase – noun.

Generally speaking, we may assume that writers preferred a prepositional phrase, which was a viable option in post-classical Greek⁵⁹⁰, to a genitive of material, given that Coptic always used the marker of appurtenance *n-* *n-*. *n-* *n-* functions morphologically and syntactically as a preposition.

However, the use of a prepositional phrase also facilitates the sentence structure since the word order can be freer without compromising comprehension. For instance, in [24], the writer wants to emphasise that he will not be content with any kind of honey, but only with top-quality honey. While he chooses the genitive first, he opts for a prepositional phrase at the end of the sentence. In this way, he is not forced to repeat the reference to the amount. Even clearer examples are [25] and [26].

[25] AN 5.7–8 ἀρτάβας μὲν τρεῖς ἐν ψωμίῳ διαδῶς
‘you may provide three *artabae* in the form of / of bread’

[26] AN 5.8–10 τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς δεκατρεῖς ἔχων παρὰ σεαυτῷ κατὰ τρεῖς ἡμῖν
ἀποστ\ε/ίλης ἐν ψωμίῳ
‘keeping the remaining thirteen (sc. *artabae*) with you, you may send them to us
in three portions in the form of bread’

The writer’s main concern is that the addressee may send a certain amount of wheat. Yet, rather than sending the raw wheat, he asks the addressee to use the wheat to make bread and send the latter. Using a genitive of material would require the writer to specify the number of loaves of bread he expects the addressee to produce.

Thus, in [22] and [23], the prepositional phrase with ἐν can be interpreted as an avoidance strategy since a genitive could easily be substituted. Conversely, in [24], the choice of ἐν allows the writer to avoid repetition. Finally, in [25] and [26], ἐν was the writer’s only option.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. Lampe s.v. ἐν: A. in, B. into, on to, **C. in the form of**, D. by reason of, E. for the purpose of, F. by means of, by, G. at a time, H. with, possessing.

4.2.4 Prepositions that combine with two cases

All prepositions that combine with two cases, the genitive and the accusative, are treated in the following section. All items but *διά* show a clear preference for one or the other case. [27] summarises the distribution of relevant instances in the corpus.

[27] Prepositions that combine with two cases

	Predicative	Attributive	Adverbial Non- formulaic	Adverbial Formulaic	Lost	Total
<i>διά</i> ^{GEN}	1	∅	50	∅	∅	51
<i>διά</i> ^{ACC}	1	∅	38	4	∅	43
<i>διὰ</i>	∅	∅	∅	∅	10	10
<i>κατά</i> ^{GEN}	2	1	2	∅	∅	5
<i>κατά</i> ^{ACC}	1	8	28	18	∅	55
<i>κατὰ</i>	∅	∅	∅	∅	5	5
<i>μετά</i> ^{GEN}	4	2	44	15	∅	65
<i>μετά</i> ^{ACC}	1	∅	7	11	∅	19
<i>μετά</i>	∅	∅	∅	∅	2	2
<i>περί</i> ^{GEN}	11	9	49	∅	∅	69
<i>περί</i> ^{ACC}	∅	2	5	∅	∅	7
<i>περί</i>	∅	∅	∅	∅	10	10
<i>ὑπέρ</i> ^{GEN}	2	1	24	∅	2	29
<i>ὑπέρ</i> ^{ACC}	∅	∅	1	∅	∅	1
Total	23	23	248	48	29	371

Noticeably, the percentage of instances that appear in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions is comparatively small. Apparently, the five items considered here were all in common use in the post-classical period.

(a) Standard

The standard patterns and associated semantics of the relevant items are the following:

*διά*⁵⁹¹ combines with the genitive and accusative. The number of instances with either case is balanced. In combination with the genitive, *διά* appears in adverbial phrases referring to time (‘throughout / during’) and the metaphorical plane (‘with’ (instrument), ‘through’ (intermediary)⁵⁹², ‘by’ (manner)). In combination with the accusative, *διά* only appears in adverbial phrases referring to the metaphorical plane (‘due to’, ‘for someone’s

⁵⁹¹ For *διά* in later Greek, see also Bentein 2017a.

⁵⁹² In AO 13.8, the adverbial phrase is reflexive.

sake’).⁵⁹³ Noticeably, *διὰ*^{ACC} once encodes an intermediary (AO 8.1 ‘through’). This is usually a capacity of *διὰ*^{GEN}. However, as outlined in Section 4.1.3, the semantic significance of the case of the complement faded in the postclassical period.

κατά combines with the genitive and accusative. In the corpus, instances with the accusative outnumber those with the genitive. *κατά*^{ACC} appears in prepositional phrases referring to space (‘in’, ‘to’, ‘facing’ (LSJ B.I.3)), time (‘in’, ‘on’) and the metaphorical plane (‘according to’, ‘due to’, ‘related to’⁵⁹⁴). Both on the spatial and temporal plane, *κατά* can add a distributive notion to the meaning. *κατά*^{GEN} appears in prepositional phrases referring to space (‘towards’)⁵⁹⁵ and the metaphorical plane (‘against’).

μετά combines with the genitive and accusative. In the corpus, instances with the genitive outnumber those with the accusative. Prepositional phrases based on *μετά*^{GEN} always refer to the metaphorical plane (‘with’ expressing accompaniment, manner, means / instrument).⁵⁹⁶ Prepositional phrases based on *μετά*^{ACC} refer either to time (‘after’) or to the metaphorical plane (‘as a result of’, ‘according to’). The latter group of instances seems to stem from a metaphorical extension of the temporal meaning ‘after’.

περί combines with the genitive and accusative. In the corpus, instances with the former outnumber those with the latter. Combined with the genitive, *περί* appears only in adverbial phrases referring to the metaphorical plane (‘about’, ‘for the purpose of’, ‘beyond’⁵⁹⁷).⁵⁹⁸ Adverbial phrases based on *περί*^{GEN} may function as topic expressions. The adverbial phrase then appears at the beginning of a sentence and may be resumed pronominally after the verb.⁵⁹⁹ Combined with the accusative, *περί* appears in adverbial phrases referring to space (‘around’), time (‘around’) and the metaphorical plane (‘about’⁶⁰⁰).

⁵⁹³ In expressions of cause / reason, the complement refers to an inanimate entity (except for AO 13.2); in expressions of beneficiary, the complement refers to an animate entity. For the expression of beneficiary, see Luraghi 2003: 332.

⁵⁹⁴ The phrase concerns the descent of two people from the same mother (DA 69.22–23).

⁵⁹⁵ In DA 30.3, a *κατά*^{GEN}-phrase replaces an indirect object in the dative.

⁵⁹⁶ For the spread of expressions of instrument and manner based on *μετά*^{GEN}, see Luraghi 2003: 254.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. Luraghi 2003: 272.

⁵⁹⁸ Note however that in the attributive phrase in AJ 7.2, *περί*^{GEN} refers to space. We would expect *σύν* / *μετά*^{GEN} ‘(those) with’ rather than *περί*^{GEN} ‘around’. Yet, the latter is neither ungrammatical nor renders the passage incomprehensible.

For the impersonal construction in AP 3.20 (ἔθλιβε), see Chapter 3. For the relative-clause construction in DA 61.7 (χρεώστούνται), see Chapter 5. Both are considered adverbial phrases referring to the metaphorical plane (‘about / concerning’).

⁵⁹⁹ Relevant passages are: PK 13.10–14, AO 7.4–5 and AO 24.10–13. Cf. also Chapter 5.

⁶⁰⁰ For expressions of area with *περί*^{GEN} / *περί*^{ACC}, see Luraghi 2003: 281–282. Noticeably, in AP 5.11–12, a writer switched from a genitive to an accusative complement. This again reflects the fading relevance of the case of the complement.

ὕπερ⁶⁰¹ combines with the genitive and accusative. In the corpus, there is only one instance with an accusative. There, ὕπερ refers to the metaphorical plane (‘beyond our power’). ὕπερ with the genitive never appears in adverbial phrases referring to a concrete space or time. On the metaphorical plane, prepositional phrases based on ὕπερ^{GEN} refer to the exchange of goods (‘for’), a beneficiary (‘on behalf of’), a reason (‘on account of’) and a topic (‘about / concerning’). Furthermore, in AN 20.5, AN 20.6 and AN 20.15 ὁ ὕπερ τῶν ἀπὸ {place name}^{GEN} translates as ‘the assistant representing the inhabitants of’ (cf. LSJ s.v. ὕπερ II.2). While we may wonder whether ἐπί^{GEN} (LSJ III.1) would have been the more natural alternative and whether the fading distinction between ‘on’ (ἐπί) and ‘above’ (ὕπερ) was relevant, the choice of ὕπερ seems reasonable enough given that the reference is to assistants rather than higher officials.

(b) Formulaic contexts

The following patterns are considered formulaic or fixed expressions:

- The fixed expression διὰ τὸν θεόν is further discussed in Chapter 6. Unlike in the more grammaticalised phrases with similar meaning, σὺν θεῷ and κατὰ θεόν, the article τὸν is always present.
- κατ’ ὄνομα ‘by name’ appears in greeting sections when a group of people such as ‘all my brothers’ is greeted. The fixed expression κατὰ θεόν is further discussed in Chapter 6.
- μετὰ^{GEN} may assume the meaning ‘and’ in greeting sections. While Greek grammar does not consider this construction ungrammatical, μετὰ^{GEN} ‘and’ is unexpected in a context as formulaic as greeting sections (cf. Chapter 6). μετὰ^{ACC} appears in the classical fixed expression μεθ’ ἡμέραν ‘in broad daylight’. Additionally, a phrase like μετὰ τὸν θεόν is regularly added to expressions of praise for the addressee. The writer thereby clarifies that the highest praise is still reserved to God, an important assertion in a Christian context, but that the addressee is worthy of the highest praise on earth.

Adverbial phrases with περί or ὕπερ do not appear in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions.

⁶⁰¹ For ὕπερ in later Greek, see also Jim 2014.

(c) Deviations

Internal confusion (μετά^{GEN} ‘after’)

In [28], μετά seems to be combined with a genitive, but the context is severely damaged and the hypothetical complement πλησου [το]ῦ καρποῦ is unclear.⁶⁰²

[28] PK 1.8–16 ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ἡ σὴ εὐγένεια, ἤθελον ἐξαυτῆς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν σὴν [χ]ρη[σ]τότητα, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ {ἐν τῷ [. . .]..... Π(οῦν) Βερι βορινοῦ⁶⁰³}place { [. . .] ἡμερῶν }^{period of time} {μετὰ πλησου [το]ῦ καρποῦ}^{time reference}, διὰ τοῦτο τέως ὑπερ[ε]θέμην, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθω [μηδ’ ἀ]φανίσθῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα.

‘As your excellence ordered, I wanted to come to you(r kindness) immediately, but because (I was) in the (village?) of northern Moun Beri for (a number of) days after the end (?) of the harvest, therefore I have postponed (sc. my visit) so far so as to avoid that I come, but the matter disappears.’

The translation provided here assumes that the copular verb ‘to be’ is either omitted or lost in the first lacuna. In the second lacuna, a numeral is presumably lost. If both assumptions are correct, the μετά-phrase would refer to time. However, the author’s genitive case would then be implausible. Since there is a marked difference between μετά^{GEN} and μετά^{ACC}, a post-classical blurring of case significance is less likely than for διὰ (cf. below) and περί (cf. above), for instance. Rather, the writer of PK 1 may have been unaware of the relevance of the case of the complement.⁶⁰⁴

Internal confusion (διὰ^{GEN} ‘for the sake of’)

The writer of AP 4 seems to have generalised the genitive with διὰ. This results in one correct instance of διὰ^{GEN} in an expression of instrument (AP 4.8). Conversely, in [29a] to [29d], διὰ in combination with a genitive referring to an animate entity refers to the beneficiary of the action.

[29a] AP 4.6–7 ὅπως ἐφάρης τὰς χῖράς σου πρὸς τὸν δεσ[π]ότην θαιὸν ὡς τοίπως σταυρῶ . [.]. [. . .]ζια⁶⁰⁵ θεῶ μαιμαιλημαίνῃ διὰ ἐμοῦ τῷ ταπινῷ καὶ ταλεπώρῳ

⁶⁰² πλησου may be a noun or an adjective and is perhaps related to πίμπλημι, ἔπλησα.

⁶⁰³ Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/10024> (accessed: 28.04.2018).

⁶⁰⁴ For the ‘correct’ genitive in PK 1.6, see Chapter 6 (greeting sections). There is no instance of μετά^{ACC} in the letter.

⁶⁰⁵ Presumably, this is a dative of reason.

‘so that you may raise your hands to the lord, God, like the shape of the cross, because of the ... that is dear to God, **for the sake of me**, the humble and miserable one’

[29b] AP 4.17–18 ἔγραψα δαὶ καὶ τῷ ἅπα Ἀμμωνι καὶ τῷ ἅπ[α κ]αὶ τῷ ἅπα Πεβὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄνω μαίρη πρὸς Μικαλώνην (...) **διὰ ἐμοῦ** ἵνα (...)’
 ‘and I wrote to Apa Ammon and to Apa ... and to Apa Pebe and to the upper parts of the country, to Mikalone, (...) **for my sake** so that (...)’

[29c] AP 4.18–21 ἵνα ἐφάρωσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀγίω[τάτας αὐτῶν] χираν πρὸς τὸν [[θεόν]] θεὸν (...) **διὰ [ἐμοῦ σπο]**υδαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸν θαιόν.’
 ‘so that they may raise their hands to God (...) making an effort in front of God **for my sake**.’⁶⁰⁶

[29d] AP 4.23–24 ἵν’ οὕτως καὶ αὐτοὶ [γράφωσι με]τ[ὰ σπου]δῆς ὅλη[ς] καρδίας **διὰ [ἐμοῦ]** εἰς τὰ ἄν]ω μαίρη καταατὰ μονήν
 ‘so that in this way, they too may write wholeheartedly to the upper parts of the country, to every monastery, **for my sake**’

A complement in the accusative would always render the syntax correct and meaningful. Since the writer of AP 4 struggled with Greek syntax in general, as even the four short passages in [29a] to [29d] clearly show, he may have chosen to use *διά* exclusively with the genitive. Either he was unaware that the case of the complement was relevant to the meaning of a prepositional phrase or he accepted the risk that about half of his *διά*-phrases would be incorrect.

Internal confusion (*διά*^{ACC} ‘-wise’)

In [30], the writer complains that the addressee had not sent purple dye. He adds the phrase καὶ μόνον *διὰ σάκκον* for emphasis.

⁶⁰⁶ The choice of *διά* may have been reinforced by the Coptic parallel *ⲉ-ⲗⲁ- ⲙⲁⲣⲱⲩⲥ* *ε-/ⲗⲁ- fi-roous e-/ha-*, which may both mean ‘because of’.

[30] PK 14.30–33 εἰ γὰρ ἡγόρασας τὴν μικρὰν [πορ]φύραν καὶ μόνον διὰ σάκκον, οὐκ ἔπεμψας.

‘For (even) if you have bought a small amount of purple dye, and even (if) only measured by sack, you did not send it.’

Evidently, the phrase καὶ μόνον διὰ σάκκον is referring to the amount of purple dye which the addressee may have bought. Two prepositions would therefore be feasible alternatives: ἐν^{DAT} ‘in the form of’ and κατὰ^{ACC} ‘in’ with a distributive notion. Examples of both these appear in the letters of the corpus. κατὰ^{ACC} and διὰ^{ACC} semantically overlap in expressions of cause / reason. This overlap may underlie our writer’s confusion of the two items.

Internal confusion (causal phrases)

In [31] and [32], a causal phrase appears where we would not expect it. However, in neither passage, a causal phrase ‘on account of’ renders the sentence completely meaningless.⁶⁰⁷ In [31], we would expect a topic expression, περί^{GEN} ‘about’, rather than a causal phrase (διὰ^{ACC}).

[31] PK 11.6–9 γράμματά [σ]ου μὴ δεξάμενος διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου διὰ τὸ ἀνήκόν σοι πρᾶγμα περὶ Πακύσι[ο]ς.

‘having not received letters from you for such a long time about your issue with Pekysis’

περί^{GEN} regularly appears with verbs like ‘to write, to show, to inform’ to refer to the topic of communication.⁶⁰⁸ In [32], we would expect a reference to a limitation rather than a causal phrase (ὕπέρ^{GEN}).

[32] PK 7.20–25 μέμνησο δὲ ἐνεγκεῖν μοι τοὺς ἐννέα ξέστας μέλιτος οὓς χρεωστεῖς μοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τότε λόγου \τῆς ἐπιστολῆς σου/. ἀλλ’ ἐν καλῷ μέλιτι.

⁶⁰⁷ Another borderline case is AP 2.10–12 ὅθεν ἐδέησεν ἡμᾶς ἐπιθεῖνε δι’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφότητα ὑμῶν, δηλώσας τὴν τοῦτου πᾶσιν πρᾶξιν ‘Therefore, he asked us to dispatch these letters to your brotherhood *because of these events* in order to show this man’s entire action(s).’ πᾶσι(ν) for παντί may be caused by phonetic analogy. The troublesome events are described before so that a causal phrase would be redundant, but contextually feasible.

⁶⁰⁸ If we accepted causal διὰ^{ACC}, the prepositional phrase in question would instead refer to the reason for the writer’s complaint.

‘Remember to bring me the nine *xestae* of honey which you owe me according to the previous record of your letter; but in the form of good honey.’

κατά^{ACC} ‘according to’ seems to be the natural choice in [32].

If we accept that causal phrases were intended neither in [31] nor [32], we must seek an explanation for their appearance. In [31], the writer may have chosen διά^{ACC} in order to avoid two περί^{GEN}-phrases in quick succession, which in fact are even syntactically dependent on each other.⁶⁰⁹ In [32], the overlap of κατά^{ACC} and ὑπέρ^{GEN} in causal expressions may underlie the confusion.

Misusing an idiom (μεθ’ ἡμέραν ‘every day’)

In [33], the temporal phrase μεθ’ ἡμέραν neither carries its literal meaning ‘after (the) day’ nor its idiomatic meaning ‘during the day’, but seems to substitute καθ’ ἡμέραν ‘every day’.

[33] AJ 8.8–13 προσαγορεύω σου τοιγαροῦν τὴν εὐλάβειάν {σου} διὰ τούτων μου π[ῶν γ]ραμμάτων, παρακαλῶν ὅπως μνημονεύῃς καὶ καμοῦ τοῦ σε προσκυνοῦντος καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐν αἱ<ς> ἀναπέμπεις [ἀεὶ] καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν εὐχαῖς τῷ κυρίῳ σωτῇρει ἡμῶν.

‘Therefore, I now greet your piety through these letters of mine asking you to remember me, who always honours you, and my entire family in the prayers which you send to our saviour, the lord, always and every day.’

The most feasible explanation may be that our writer learnt the idiom μεθ’ ἡμέραν but struggled with its correct application because of its non-literal meaning. The reference to time is clear, but in [33], a reference to a duration of time is not sensible. The writer rather stresses the fact that the prayers are sent on a regular basis.

⁶⁰⁹ An alternative explanation would be that the confusion is based on Coptic ⲉⲧⲃⲉ- *etbe-*, which means both ‘concerning’ and ‘on account of’.

4.2.5 Prepositions that combine with three cases

All prepositions that combine with three cases, the genitive, the dative and the accusative, are treated in the following section. All items but ἐπί show a clear preference for one case. [34] summarises the distribution of relevant instances in the corpus.

[34] Prepositions that combine with three cases

	Predicative	Attributive	Adverbial Non- formulaic	Adverbial Formulaic	Lost	Total
ἐπί ^{GEN}	2	0	4	0	0	6
ἐπί ^{DAT}	1	0	10	0	0	11
ἐπί ^{ACC}	0	0	20	0	0	20
ἐπί	0	0	0	0	1	1
παρά ^{GEN}	3	1	67	0	0	71
παρά ^{DAT}	2	4	12	0	0	18
παρά ^{ACC}	1	0	12	0	0	13
παρά	0	0	0	0	6	6
πρός ^{GEN}	0	0	1	0	0	1
πρός ^{DAT}	0	0	1	0	0	1
πρός ^{ACC}	26	7	43	0	0	76
πρός + ADV	0	1	0	0	0	1
πρός	0	0	0	0	10	10
ὑπό ^{GEN}	0	0	7	2	0	9
ὑπό ^{DAT}	0	0	1	0	0	1
ὑπό ^{ACC}	2	2	1	0	0	5
ὑπό	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	37	15	179	2	18	251

Noticeably, the percentage of instances that appear in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions is marginal. These items were apparently all in common use in the post-classical period.

(a) Standard

The standard patterns and associated semantics of the relevant items are the following:

ἐπί is a low-frequency item in the corpus. In combination with the genitive, it features in adverbial phrases referring to space ('in / on') and time ('in the time of'). Instances in the corpus are rare. In combination with the dative, ἐπί appears in adverbial phrases referring to space ('in / on'), time ('on / at') and the metaphorical plane ('because of', 'in addition to', 'in charge of', 'in (a situation)'). Most frequent are instances of ἐπί combined with a complementary accusative. These adverbial phrases refer to space

(‘towards’), time (‘for’) and the metaphorical plane (‘up to’, ‘for the purpose of’). Noticeably, in AP 6.20 (‘in’) and PK 8.25 (‘in (a situation)’), writers seem to have overgeneralised the accusative at the expense of the dative. With the dative increasingly disappearing in the period under investigation and with most prepositions allowing for combination with the genitive and accusative only, these instances may reflect the internal evolution of Greek rather than interference from Coptic.

παρά in combination with a complementary genitive features only in adverbial phrases referring to the metaphorical plane, namely in agent expressions with morphological passives⁶¹⁰ and in source expressions (‘from’) most commonly with verbs of reception.⁶¹¹ παρά in combination with a complementary dative appears in adverbial phrases referring to space (‘near / with’, ‘amongst’) and the metaphorical plane (‘for (somebody)’ (beneficiary)). παρά in combination with a complementary accusative features in adverbial phrases referring to space (‘towards’) and the metaphorical plane (‘in addition to’, ‘beyond / exceeding’, ‘in violation of’). Since παρά mostly combines with complements referring to animate entities, names often appear in the complement slot. These names are occasionally left in the nominative and only sometimes an apposition clarifies the intended case. These names may also be left in an indeclinable form (cf. Chapter 2). All relevant instances are counted as instances of παρά with the case that seems to be intended in the context.

In the corpus, πρὸς is accompanied by a complement in the accusative, except in two instances. πρὸς^{GEN} appears in an agent expression with a morphological passive and πρὸς^{DAT} appears in an adverbial phrase referring to the metaphorical plane (cf. below). Combined with an accusative, πρὸς appears in adverbial phrases referring to space (‘towards’, ‘in front of’), time (‘at’) and the metaphorical plane (‘in addition to’, ‘for the purpose of’, ‘in comparison with’, ‘concerning’). Noticeably, in adverbial phrases referring to space, the complement is always referring to an animate entity, in those referring to time to an inanimate entity and in those referring to the metaphorical plane mostly to an inanimate entity. Yet, some complements refer to an animate entity.

ὕπο is a low-frequency item in the corpus. Complemented by a genitive, ὕπο only features in agent expressions. The verb of the relevant clause can be either a grammatical

⁶¹⁰ The only potential instance of a lexical passive (πάσχω), DA 63.6–7, is severely damaged and is therefore counted as ‘lost’.

⁶¹¹ In AO 23.10, the complement is lost, but the context (an external address) clearly indicates a source expression.

or a lexical passive. Complemented by a dative, ὑπό appears only once in the corpus. There, the adverbial phrase refers to the metaphorical plane (‘under the power of’). Complemented by an accusative, ὑπό features in adverbial phrases referring to space (‘towards’).

(b) Formulaic contexts

None of the prepositions discussed here normally appear in formulaic contexts or fixed expressions. However, ὑπό seemingly intruded into a formulaic context in AJ 7 (cf. Chapter 6).

(c) Deviations

Direct interference (παρά^{NOM})

In AJ 7.19, a rather obscure context that is further discussed in Chapter 7, we find παρά τὰκτυλος ‘on the finger’. Rather than inflect the complement of the preposition, the writer chose to leave it undeclined. The complement is neither a name nor a title for which a lack of declension would be explicable (cf. Chapter 2). However, given that the writer of AJ 7 generally struggles with Greek morphology and syntax, the nominative after the preposition is not surprising. It appears to be modelled on Coptic syntax.

Internal confusion (ὑπό ‘from’)

AP 1 is a report in letter form about the maltreatment of Melitian monks. In the first half of the letter, upheavals against Melitian monks in Alexandria and nearby Letopolis are described. The monks were expelled from Nikopolis and those who used to accommodate them were threatened not to do so anymore. At this point in the letter, we find the following phrase:

[35] AP 1.24–25 θλιβόμεθα οὖν πάνυ διεір[γμέ]νοι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν κατὰ τόπον.⁶¹²

‘Therefore, we are very distressed to be separated from them in every place.’

⁶¹² The singular τόπον rather than the plural τόπους appears already in classical texts, cf. e.g. Plato, *Timaeus* 57c2–3 διέστηκεν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γένους ἐκάστου τὰ πλήθη κατὰ τόπον ἴδιον διὰ τὴν τῆς δεχομένης κίνησιν ‘for, the masses of (each) type differ in every single place because of the motion of the receiving entity’.

ὕπό^{GEN} here seems to have spatial reference rather than to function as an agent expression. The sentence preceding [35] concludes the description of the maltreatment of the brothers who used to accommodate the monks:

[36a] AP 1.23–24 ἄλλος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ μὴ οὔ[τοι οἱ] δύο ὑποδέχομενοι τοὺς ἀδελφούς· ἐποίησαν αὐτοὺς διλανθῆναι.
 ‘For, there is no other brother except these two who used to accommodate brothers. (For,) they made them cowards.’

The sentence following [35] widens the scope. Not only are the monks separated from their fellow brothers but also from bishop Heraeiskos of Alexandria:

[36b] AP 1.25–26 ἐπιλοιπούμεθα οὖν {ουν} ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἡμῖν πρὸς τ[ὸν] πάπαν Ἡραεῖσκον ἀπελθῖν καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι αὐτόν.
 ‘Now, we are also distressed because they did not allow us to go to Apa Heraeiskos and visit him.’

The context of [35] thus clearly suggests that the writer’s distress is caused by the separation from loved ones. Conversely, the guilty party, Athanasius’ followers and the officials in the campsite (cf. l. 8–9 and 17–18), have already been named in the first half of the letter. There is no need for another reference to them in the form of an agent expression. Moreover, if we construed ὑπὸ αὐτῶν as an agent expression, a reference to those from whom the monks were separated would be lacking in [35].⁶¹³

The rationale behind choosing ὑπό in [35] may be twofold: On the one hand, a verb in the perfect passive precedes the prepositional phrase. The default choice may therefore be an agent expression. ὑπό^{GEN} is one of the common options in agent expressions. On the other hand, the alternative prepositions for agent expressions, namely ἐκ^{GEN} and ἀπό^{GEN}, could designate either an agent or a spatial relationship (‘away from’). ὑπό cannot assume the latter function. The writer may have made his choice without being aware that ὑπό^{GEN} is functionally more limited than ἐκ^{GEN} and ἀπό^{GEN}.

⁶¹³ The monks are not complaining about being separated from each other (‘we are distressed to be separated’) but about being separated from people living in Letopolis and Alexandria.

Internal confusion ($\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{DAT}}$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{DAT}}$ [metaphorical] / $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{ACC}}$ [temporal])

In [37] and [38], the prepositions $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ seem to have been confused. In the letter DA 8, the writer is complaining about the addressee's negligence. In [37], he offers an explanation for his reaction to it.

[37] DA 8.2–4 καὶ **$\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ τῷ αὐτῇ ἐιδέναι καὶ ἀμεριμνήσαι**, γεγράφηκα Πλίνθον δὲ τὸν κεφαλαιωτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἑπτὰ τυλαρίων [καταλαβεῖν(?)] τὴν πόλ[ι]ν
✠

‘And because you (sc. τῆς σῆς ἀδελφότητος) were aware (of the situation), but did not care, I have told Plinthos, the principle, in writing to come to the city together with the other seven porters (?).’

A cause-result relationship between the initial adverbial phrase and the main clause seems most likely but would require $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{DAT}}$ (cf. LSJ B.III.1) rather than $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{DAT}}$. In [38], the writer is underlining his own preoccupation with religious duties.

[38] PK 14.24–28 οὐ μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς σχολάζει εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς λειτουργίας, ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς σχολὴν **$\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ μίαν ὥρ[α]ν** οὐκ ἔχω ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων·

‘For, it is not only he who is busy with the provision of the liturgy, but I myself do not have time off these matters for (even) one hour (either).’

The adverbial phrase most likely refers to a period of time. Yet, this interpretation would require $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{ACC}}$ rather than $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{ACC}}$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$ overlap in two very common functions: Both appear in adverbial phrases referring to a direction (‘towards’) and to a purpose (‘for’). However, on the temporal plane $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$ usually designates a point in time rather than a period, as in [38]. This semantic difference may not have been clear to the writer of [38]. He may have $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{ACC}}$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$ equivalents.

The confusion between $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{DAT}}$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{DAT}}$ in [37] is less clear. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota^{\text{DAT}}$ was commonly used in adverbial phrases referring to the metaphorical plane whereas the dative with $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{DAT}}$ was disappearing. Conversely, as mentioned above, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ functionally overlap in combination with a complement in the accusative and in

combination with a complement in the accusative, *πρός* is significantly more frequent than *ἐπί*. This situation may have triggered the writer's preference for *πρός* and his extension of this preference to *πρός*^{DAT}.

Deviating instances that are discussed in other chapters:

Two deviating instances that involve prepositions discussed in the present section are discussed in Chapter 6 since the reasons for the incorrect use of the prepositions in question seems to be related to the formulaic contexts in which the relevant phrases appear.

- In PK 8.53, a personal name seems to have been copied into the formulaic frame of an external address, (*π(αρά) Φιλαμμων{ι}*). The writer copies his own name in exactly the same form also into the internal address where a nominative would be required.
- In AJ 7.3 *ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*, a writer chose *ὑπὸ* based on semantic rather than syntactic grounds.

4.3 Summary and Conclusion

Adverbial phrases display five main types of deviations in the corpus. Regarding adverbial phrases in the form of a plain case in adverbial function, writers sometimes ...

- (1) ... chose the wrong case for the intended adverbial function;
- (2) ... used a plain case instead of an expected prepositional phrase.

Regarding adverbial phrases in the form of a prepositional phrase, writers sometimes ...

- (3) ... chose the wrong case with a preposition;
- (4) ... chose the wrong preposition;
- (5) ... used a prepositional phrase instead of an expected plain case.

In one case, the use of an incorrect preposition can be traced back to a writer's struggle with a classical idiom. In addition to the types of deviations listed above, there are four instances of an ethical dative. These seem to reflect phraseological transfer rather than syntactic incorrectness. They are therefore omitted in [39] and further considered in Chapter 7. [39] summarises the distribution of the types of deviations in the archives of the corpus.

[39] Types of deviations

Adverbial phrase	Plain case		Prepositional phrase			Total
	(1) Incorrect case	(2) Avoidance pattern	(3) Incorrect case	(4) Incorrect preposition	(5) Avoidance pattern	
AJ	∅	1	1	1	∅	3
AN	1	∅	∅	1	∅	2
AP	∅	∅	4	1	∅	5
PK	∅	∅	1	4	1	6
DA	∅	∅	∅	1	1	2
Total	1	1	6	8	2 ⁶¹⁴	18

Relatively speaking, plain cases and prepositional phrases seem to have posed an equal amount of difficulty. Approximately 1.9% of all adverbial phrases in the form of a plain case and approximately 1.7% of all adverbial phrases in the form of a prepositional phrase show deviations. We may have expected writers to encounter relatively more problems with adverbial phrases in the form of a plain case because they were falling out of use in the post-classical period and were an exclusively Greek pattern. However, (a) such adverbial phrases were relatively rare and (b) they were often fossilised. In the latter case, writers did not have to construct them actively.

[39] shows that the most common problem writers encounter is to choose the correct preposition in a given context. However, not all prepositions cause difficulty to the same degree. [40] correlates the instances of deviations with the syntactic complexity of prepositions.

[40] Syntactic complexity and deviations

Preposition combines with:	One case	Two cases	Three cases	Total
Incorrect case	∅	5	1	6
Incorrect preposition	1	4	3	8
Total	1	9	4	14

⁶¹⁴ PK 2.50 and DA 9.6–7 may either be seen in the context of plain cases in an adverbial function yielding to prepositional phrases or in the context of bilingual interference.

Less complex prepositions cause fewer problems than more complex ones. Noticeably, the one deviation in relation to a preposition that combines with one case only concerns a high-frequency item (ἐν). Conversely, low-frequency items that combine with one case were largely restricted to fossilised expressions (cf. Section 4.2.3.1). Writers may have learnt these as invariable chunks. By contrast, the high-frequency prepositions that combine with one case were apparently part of the living language.

By and large, fewer deviations concern adverbial phrases referring to space or time than those referring to the metaphorical plane. [41] correlates the number of deviations with the semantics of the adverbial phrases.

[41] Semantics and deviations

Adverbial phrase referring to:	Space	Time	Metaphorical plane	Fixed expression	Total
Total	3	4	10	1	18

This distribution is not surprising since adverbial phrases referring to the metaphorical plane are semantically more complex than those referring to space and time. Adverbial phrases in formulaic contexts and fixed expressions are further discussed in Chapter 6.

[42] shows the distribution of deviations in adverbial phrases in the letters of the corpus.

[42] Distribution of deviations in the corpus

Archive	AJ	AN	AP	PK	DA	Total
	AJ 7 (2) AJ 8	AN 1 AN 18	AP 1 AP 4 (4)	PK 1 PK 2 PK 7 PK 11 PK 14 (2)	DA 8 DA 9	
Total	3	2	5	6	2	18

Deviations particularly accumulate in two letters, in AP 4, a letter that is written in an overblown diction and displays a range of ungrammatical structures, and in PK 14, a letter that is written by someone who we know was bilingual based on external evidence (cf. Chapter 7).

Remarkably few instances of deviation can be linked to interference from Coptic. Only in AN 1.20 (σωθῆναι ἐν), an incorrect preposition seems to have been chosen

because of the equivalent Coptic structures. Only in AJ 7.3, a Coptic pattern seems to have been mirrored in Greek, and only in AJ 7.19, an incorrect case seems to have been chosen drawing on the Coptic model. The instances of the ethical dative seem to reflect influence of Coptic phraseology. All remaining instances seem to stem from internal confusion.

5 Presenting Information: Discourse Organisation

The present chapter is concerned with the organisation of discourse. For this purpose, classical and postclassical subordinators, coordinators and particles are considered. The chapter is divided into four parts: Section 5.1 outlines the general characteristics of discourse organisation in Greek and Coptic. Section 5.2 examines dependent clauses and Section 5.3 independent clauses. Section 5.4 brings the results together.

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Clause types

In Greek and Coptic, we can distinguish between dependent and independent clauses. Any sentence contains an independent clause on which other clauses may depend. The latter can be subcategorised according to their relation to the superordinate clause as in [1].

[1] Categories of clauses:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) independent clauses (MC) : | (1) main clauses |
| (b) dependent clauses (SC) : | (2) predicative subordinate clauses |
| | (3) attributive subordinate clauses |
| | (4) adverbial subordinate clauses |

Predicative subordinate clauses function as verbal complements. As mentioned in Chapter 3, these *complement clauses* may be factive or prospective. Attributive subordinate clauses serve to modify an item, their antecedent. Greek and Coptic employ *relative clauses* for this purpose. Relative clauses may be restrictive or non-restrictive. Adverbial subordinate clauses refer to the circumstances of the action described by the superordinate verb.

5.1.2 Clause connectors

Clauses of equal syntactic status are joined by means of a coordinator, those of unequal syntactic status by means of a subordinator. In the former case, the clauses involved enter into a paratactic relationship, in the latter case into a hypotactic one. An example of parataxis is [2a].

[2a] PK 14.17–19 ἐλθὲ σύ, **καὶ** χρείαν σοῦ οὐκ ἔχει εἰς τοῦτο.

‘Come *and* he does not need you for this.’

[2a] can be transformed into a hypotactic structure if we substitute a subordinator for καί:

[2b] ἐλθὲ σύ **ἐπειδὴ** χρείαν σοῦ οὐκ ἔχει εἰς τοῦτο.

‘Come *because* he does not need you for this.’

Broadly speaking, there are simplex subordinators such as ἵνα ‘in order that’ and $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\ d^{\prime}e$ ‘that, because’ and complex subordinators such as ἕως ὅτε ‘until’ and $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon-\chi\epsilon\epsilon\ etbe-d^{\prime}e$ ‘because’. The latter are rare in Greek. Moreover, in either language combinations with a relative pronoun may lexicalise, for instance, ἀφ’ οὗ ‘since’ and $\eta-\theta\epsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon- n-t^he\ ete-$ ‘in the way that / as’.⁶¹⁵

Apart from subordinators and coordinators, which must appear in clause-initial position, there are, in line with classical grammar, particles.⁶¹⁶ *Particles* may have a modal function like ἄν, an emphasising function like γέ and -περ or a structuring function like δέ. Modal particles serve to clarify a modal nuance such as a wish or a command. Emphatic particles serve to highlight a phrase, a clause or an entire sentence. They are the Greek counterpart to Coptic marked tenses (cf. Chapter 3). Structuring particles serve to coordinate formally independent clauses. Of the classical structuring particles, only three appear frequently in the corpus: δέ, γάρ and οὐν. Particles are overall more common in Greek than in Coptic. Neither modal⁶¹⁷ nor structuring⁶¹⁸ particles exist in Coptic and the range of emphatic⁶¹⁹ particles is very limited.

⁶¹⁵ The combination εἰ μὴ ὥς is elliptical since εἰ μὴ is no preposition.

⁶¹⁶ For approaches to coordinators / subordinators / particles, see Bonifazi and Drummen and de Kreij 2016, Porter and O’Donnell 2007. For the contexts of particles in classical Greek, see George 2009.

⁶¹⁷ Modal infixes equivalent to Greek modal verb forms appear instead (e.g. -ϣ- š ‘to be able to’).

⁶¹⁸ For Coptic initial attitude markers, see Layton 2011: §§ 238–239 (only adverbs).

⁶¹⁹ For $\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\ k^{\prime}e$ and $\rho\omega\ r\bar{o}$, see EGB: chapter 12.4, Layton 2011: § 235. For $\iota\epsilon/\epsilon\eta\pi\pi\epsilon\ is/h\bar{e}ppe$, see Section 5.3. For $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon\ e\check{s}d^{\prime}e$, see Section 5.2.1.

5.1.3 Post-classical Greek

The repertoire of classical subordinators, coordinators and particles underwent fundamental changes in the post-classical period.⁶²⁰ Some classical items were disappearing and seem to have retreated into high-register discourse. Simultaneously, new items and patterns were spreading; for example, *πῶς* ‘that’ for classical *ὅτι* and *ἵνα* for classical *ἄν*. The main changes are:

- (1) The range of patterns was generally decreasing.
- (2) Circumstantial participles, which were the multifunctional pattern to express a range of semantic relations, classical generalising relative pronouns (*ὅστις*, etc.) and modal verb forms were losing ground.⁶²¹
- (3) Some classical subordinators were grammaticalised, i.e. became modal particles. However, their classical and postclassical patterns coexisted (e.g. *ἵνα*).

These changes resulted in the following situation:

- (1a) The means to encode semantic differentiation morpho-syntactically became more limited. For instance, *ὥστε* with infinitive could now refer to an imagined or an actual result.
- (1b) The use of classical items and patterns became an indicator of stylistic elaboration.⁶²²
- (2) The use of clause connectors (particularly of *καί*) increased in frequency.⁶²³
- (3) The distinction between dependent and independent clauses became blurred in that some patterns could function as either clause type.

5.1.4 Greek and Coptic

The Greek and Coptic systems of discourse organisation differ as regards the syntactic and semantic versatility of patterns.

In Greek, the strict distinction between dependent and independent clause patterns is blurred in the post-classical period. However, most patterns still fall clearly under one or the other category. In Coptic, the distinction is generally less pronounced. For instance,

⁶²⁰ Cf. Bentein 2015c (general frequency), Bentein and Janse and Soltic 2012 (positioning), BDR §§ 438–457 (situation in the NT).

⁶²¹ Cf. Manolissou 2005. Mandilaras (1973: § 901) calls the use of a *καί*-structure instead of a circumstantial participle a colloquialism.

⁶²² Chains of particles or of particles and coordinators became uncommon. Occasionally, we only find *οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί* (5 instances), *ἔτι μὴν καί* (2 instances), and *οὐ μὴν δέ (ἀλλὰ καί)* (2 instances).

⁶²³ This reflects a tendency towards a system of discourse syntax that is more analytic than in the classical period.

Greek ἵνα came to express an independent wish or command apart from a dependent purpose. Coptic ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ *dʿekas* + future III naturally appeared in either pattern.⁶²⁴

Greek subordinators and modal particles usually allow for only one pattern.⁶²⁵ This one-to-one correspondence intensified in the post-classical period as some patterns with items that formerly allowed for several patterns disappeared. For example, ὥστε ‘so that’ appears almost exclusively with the infinitive in the post-classical period.⁶²⁶ In Coptic, most coordinators and subordinators allow for combination with several patterns. Among other things, they often allow for combination with multifunctional ⲭⲉ or the circumstantial. For instance, ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ *ešōpe* ‘if’ may be combined with a conditional, a circumstantial or a subordinate clause.

The Coptic conditional (CND) is a form of the verb that on its own constitutes the equivalent to a Greek conditional clause, e.g. ⲉ-ϣ-ⲱⲡ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ *e-f-šān-sōtm ero-s* ‘if he hears it’.⁶²⁷ The Coptic circumstantial (CS) is a multifunctional subordinate clause pattern. Like the Greek participle, the circumstantial establishes only a formal relationship with its syntactic environment. The specific semantics of the circumstantial must be inferred from the context, e.g. ⲉ-ϣ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ *e-f-sōtm ero-s* ‘while he hears it / because he hears it / although he hears it’. The circumstantial can appear either on its own or in combination with a subordinator such as ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ *ešōpe* ‘if’ mentioned above.⁶²⁸

Many inherited Coptic patterns are semantically multivalent whereas most Greek patterns are semantically definite. This classical situation changes in the post-classical period with patterns being used with a wider semantic scope.⁶²⁹ In this context, one pattern deserves particular mention: ⲭⲉ *dʿe* is the most common Coptic subordinator and appears in a range of patterns as summarised in [3]⁶³⁰:

[3] ὥς and ⲭⲉ *dʿe*

Heading ...	ὥς ⁶³¹	ὅτι ⁶³²	ⲭⲉ <i>dʿe</i>
(a1) factive complement clauses	✓	✓	✓

⁶²⁴ Cf. Layton 2011: § 338.a.ii.

⁶²⁵ Coordinators and structuring particles are independent of the sentence pattern.

⁶²⁶ Another example is subordinators heading clauses in historic sequence.

⁶²⁷ Cf. Layton 2011: § 346.

⁶²⁸ Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 413–433.

⁶²⁹ ἔπειδῃ is ambiguous already in CG in that it can be a temporal or causal subordinator. Relevant instances are: AP 1.30, DA 17.6, DA 23.2. A newly ambiguous pattern in PCG is that of final and consecutive clauses.

⁶³⁰ Cf. EGB: chapter 12.4.

⁶³¹ ὥς with a participle may express a reason and a condition. For ὥς with an infinitive, see Section 5.3.1.

⁶³² Confusion between ὅτι ‘that, because’ and ὅτε ‘when’ may occur because of the weak vowel in the unaccented final syllable.

(a2) factive independent clauses ⁶³³	✓	✓	✓
(a3) prospective complement clauses	✓	∅	✓
(b) causal clauses	✓	✓	✓
(c) purpose / result clauses	✓	∅	✓
(d) clauses of comparison	✓	∅	∅
Being part of ...			
(e) complex subordinators	∅	∅	✓

ⲁⲉ *dē* matches Greek ὅς, and to a lesser extent Greek ὅτι, in this respect. Based on this overlap, we may expect writers to overuse ὅς.

Coptic discourse organisation is often called implicit, whereas Greek discourse organisation is explicit. The feature of implicitness / explicitness refers to the expression of hierarchic and semantic relationships between clauses. Coptic discourse organisation mainly relies on formal parataxis that implies logical hypotaxis. The formal structure is thus semantically imprecise and semantic inference is left to the reader. Alternatively, a multivalent subordinating pattern could be used. This too is semantically imprecise and semantic inference is left to the reader. By contrast, Greek discourse organisation mainly relies on formal and logical hypotaxis. The formal structure is hence semantically precise.⁶³⁴ Alternatively, there is a range of semantically precise discourse-structuring particles and coordinators.

An indication of the fundamental difference between the two systems is the fact that a range of Greek semantically precise coordinators and subordinators were borrowed into Coptic.⁶³⁵ An illustrative example is that Coptic cannot differentiate between ‘and’ and ‘but’. For explicit differentiation, for example, Greek ἀλλὰ *alla* had to be borrowed.⁶³⁶ The process of integrating Greek items into the Coptic system was discussed in Chapter 2.

⁶³³ For ὅτι *recitativum*, see Chapter 3.

⁶³⁴ Cf. Hasznos 2006: 91–93. For post-classical Greek, see BDR § 442 and 471, Bentein 2015a: 109 (increase in asyndetic structures).

⁶³⁵ Cf. Müller 2009, Müller 2012, Müller 2017a, Müller 2017b, Cook 2015, Layton 2011: § 493, EGB: chapter 12.3.3, Hasznos 2012. For Greek particles in Coptic, see Reintges 2001a (ⲁⲉ/ ⲉⲉ).

⁶³⁶ Cf. Cook 2015: 89–116, Müller 2017b: section 3.3, Hasznos 2006: 93.

5.1.5 Colloquial discourse

Because parataxis is easier to produce than hypotaxis⁶³⁷, it is preferred in spoken discourse.⁶³⁸ Furthermore, using a multivalent item like καί ‘and’ rather than a semantically more specific item such as ἀλλά ‘but’ facilitates rapid production and is therefore preferred in spoken language. Typically colloquial structures are thus semantically imprecise and context-dependent.⁶³⁹ Consequently, there is a significant resemblance of typically colloquial and Coptic discourse organisation. Hence, overuse of paratactic and particularly multifunctional paratactic patterns does not per se qualify as an avoidance strategy or an indication of bilingual interference.

To distinguish between bilingual interference and colloquialism, studies on modern languages such as that of Bisiada (2013) on German under the influence of English, and studies on Greek such as that of Aejmelaus (1982) on Greek under the influence of Hebrew in the Septuagint are informative. Bisiada concludes that the use of parataxis in German increases under the influence of English, but that hypotaxis is not yielding to parataxis. It therefore seems that an accumulation of paratactic semantically imprecise structures in places where we would expect hypotactic semantically precise ones could indicate a bilingual writer.⁶⁴⁰ However, the mere appearance of paratactic semantically imprecise structures only reflects the impact of colloquial habits on our texts.⁶⁴¹

Apart from formal and semantic imprecision, it should also be mentioned that both emphasis and clarity are important tools for spoken language. This explains the common use of emphatic and discourse-structuring particles in our texts.⁶⁴²

One more aspect is relevant here. Several classical patterns were disappearing and retreated into high-register contexts (cf. Section 5.1.3). For the interaction between the

⁶³⁷ For economy in speech production, see Vatri 2017: esp. 156–157.

⁶³⁸ Cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 1985: 21–23, Pilch 1990: esp. 12–13, Halford 1990: 34. Halford in particular advocates the existence of an independent ‘oral syntax’, which is not a mere derivative, a less formal, less elaborate alternative to written / standard syntax, but comprises patterns that are exclusive to it.

⁶³⁹ Cf. Heylighen and Dewaele 1999: esp. 4–9.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. also Bortone (2010: 193) and Gignac (2013: 415 and 417) on instrumental ἐν in the NT. Instrumental ἐν is not completely foreign to Greek grammar (cf. Luraghi 2003: 332), but the extraordinarily large number of instances is due to interference from Semitic languages, presumably the writers’ first languages. Cf. similarly Aejmelaus (1982: esp. 145–147) on apodotic καί in the Septuagint. Classical predecessors make this pattern grammatical (cf. Bonifazi and Drummen and de Kreij 2016: IV.2, §113).

⁶⁴¹ A comparison of Gignac’s (2013: 415) general remark and Clarysse’s (2010b: 41–42) context-specific remark (referring to P. Petr. II 4 9) epitomises the issue: Gignac calls asyndesis a colloquialism; Clarysse identifies a scribe’s secondary addition of linking words as auto-correction of interferences.

⁶⁴² For the complex situation in the classical language, see George 2009: esp. 169.

register and language-internal developments, compare [4a] and [4b]. Both passages are an author's personal comment that is attached to a formulaic greeting section.

[4a] PK 14.7–11: **ἀσπάζεται** σε ὁ ἀδελφός σου Ὡρος καὶ Θε[όγ]νωστος καὶ Ψαῖς καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡμέτεροι **καὶ ἐρρωμένοι ἐσμὲν πάντες θεοῦ χάριτι.**

‘Your brother(s) Horos and Theognostos and Psais and all those related to you greet you *and* we are all fine thanks to God.’

In [4a], common ῥώννυμι in the perfect, the regular phrase ‘thanks to God’ and the less versatile verb of greeting appear (cf. Chapter 6). Here the writer chose paratactic καί.

[4b] PK 13.4–8 προηγουμένως πολλὰ τὴν σὴν εὐλάβειαν **προσαγορεύομεν** ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ σύμβιος καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ κατ’ ὄνομα, **εὖ ἔχοντες τέως προνοία τοῦ θεοῦ.**

‘First of all, we much greet your piety, (i.e.) I and (my) wife and (our) sons, each by name, *while* being well in the meantime because of God’s providence.’

In [4b], we find classical intransitive ἔχω with an adverb of manner, a variation of the phrase ‘thanks to God’ and the more versatile verb of greeting. Here the writer chose a circumstantial participle. The simpler phrasing in [4a] correlates with the semantically imprecise paratactic structure in the author’s personal comment whereas the more elaborate phrasing in [4b] correlates with the classical circumstantial participle.

To sum up, colloquial habits, Coptic interference and language-internal evolutionary trends are tightly interwoven in the area of discourse organisation. The difficulty – and sometimes impossibility – of distinguishing these recurs in the present chapter.

5.1.6 Statistics

[5] and [6] provide statistics for all attestations of items relevant to this chapter in the corpus.

[5] Dependent clauses

Item	Function	Number of instances
Predicative subordinate clauses	factive	60
	prospective	23
Indirect questions		14

Attributive subordinate clauses	head-external	36
Lost: 2	head-internal	5
	headless	43
Adverbial subordinate clauses	conditional	82
	temporal	20
	causal	74
Lost: 1	final	49
	consecutive	12
	comparative	36
Total		457

[6] Independent clauses

Item	Number of instances
Modal particles	31
Emphasising particles	93
Structuring particles	488
Total	612

5.2 Dependent clauses

5.2.1 Standard patterns

(a) *Complement clauses (83 instances)*

Complement clauses appear in the direct-object slot of verbs.⁶⁴³ Complement clauses may be factive or prospective depending on the semantics of the verb on which they depend.⁶⁴⁴

Factive complement clauses existed in classical Greek but spread in the post-classical period. Prospective complement clauses are an innovation of the post-classical period.⁶⁴⁵

The complement clauses in [7a] and [7b] are factive:

[7a] PK 13.36–37 οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι διψῶμεν (...);

‘Do you not know that we are longing (...)?’

[7b] AJ 18.3–4 τί-κο[ο]γνε ξε-α-κ-να-ε(...)

ti-so[o]une d'e-a-k-na-e (...)

1sg-know that-FUTII-2sg-FUT-do(...)

‘I know that you are going to do (...).’

⁶⁴³ In the corpus, there are only two instances in which a ὅτι / ὥς-clause fills the subject-slot: DA 44.27–28 (τὸ εἰρημένον ὥς, colon) and AJ 12.4–5 (γέγραπται ὅτι).

⁶⁴⁴ Some verbs allow for either complement clause (cf. Chapter 3).

⁶⁴⁵ For complement clauses in post-classical Greek, see Hult 1990: 166–207, Bentein 2015a.

Those in [8a] and [8b] are prospective:

[8a] AN 4.10–11 **παρακαλῶ, ἵνα** μου μνημονεύσης (...)

‘I beg that you may remember me (...)’

[8b] PKC 36.23–24 **†- [p-ax]iou mma=k to[nou] xe-nne-k-p-amelei a-tei=ou** (...)

ti-[r-ax]iou mma=k to[nou] dʒe-nne-k-amelei a-tei=tou (...)

1sg-do-ask DOM=2sg very.ADV that-FUTIII-2sg-do-fail IM-give=3pl

‘I beg you a lot that you may not fail to send them (...)’

Prospective complement clauses are rare in Coptic (cf. Chapter 3).

The subordinators that appear in the corpus are summarised in [9].⁶⁴⁶ Items in brackets are deviations. In Greek and Coptic, the mood of the verb in factive complement clauses is the indicative. In Greek, the mood of the verb in prospective complement clauses is the subjunctive⁶⁴⁷, and in Coptic, we have a future II or future III.

[9] Patterns (predicative clauses)

Factive complement clauses	Prospective complement clauses
ὅτι, ὥς, ὥς ὅτι	ἵνα, ὅπως, (ὥς), (ὥστε)
xe dʒe	xe dʒe
all tenses.IND	Greek: all tenses.SBJV / Coptic: FUTII / FUT III

ὅτι and ἵνα are the default patterns. ὥς and ὅπως are elaborate variants.⁶⁴⁸ ὥς ὅτι appears only once. The combination of pleonastic ὥς and common ὅτι is occasionally attested in classical literature (cf. LSJ). Its frequency increases in later centuries.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁶ Note the modern structures οἶδα πῶς and εὐρίσκω ὅτι in the control group.

⁶⁴⁷ The classical optative in a historic sequence is preserved only in AP 1.41 (εἶνα γνοῖται for CG γνοῖτε) and possibly in AP 4.3 (ἵνα ἀνάγνοις for CG ἀναγνοῖς or ἀναγῶς), but for the latter, see subsection (d) Adverbial subordinate clauses, (δ) Final and consecutive clauses. Both are instances of the formula F2.

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. Clarysse 2010b (ἵνα vs ὅπως), James 2008: 47 (ὥς vs ὅτι). The semantic distinction between ὥς and ὅτι was lost (cf. Bentein 2017b: 5 (with reference to Cristofaro 1996)).

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. BDR § 396.2 (and n. 6). Bentein (2015a: 114–115) assigns its use tentatively to the higher register.

Verbal complementation patterns containing a subordinator fall into three categories⁶⁵⁰: Structures that reflect pattern (1) are proper complement clauses.

- (1) {verb} {subordinator} {subordinate clause}
 ‘{I know} {that} {you will help me}.’

In structures that reflect pattern (2), the subordinate clause is strictly speaking explicative.

- (2) {verb} {direct object} {subordinator} {subordinate clause}
 ‘{I know} {it}, {namely that} {you will help me}.’

In structures that reflect pattern (3), the subordinator functions like a colon in English.

- (3) {verb} {subordinator} {main clause}
 ‘{I know} {:} {You will help me}.’

The Greek subordinator is chosen in accordance with the intended semantics of the verb on which it depends. For instance, λέγω ‘to say’ combines with ὅτι rather than ἵνα.

Pattern (1) is relevant to both factive and prospective complement clauses. Pattern (2) is relevant only to factive complement clauses. This results from the fact that prospective complement clauses appear with verbs of request, which do not allow for a nominal direct object.⁶⁵¹ Pattern (3) is limited to factive complement clauses in Greek⁶⁵² but applies to factive and prospective complement clauses in Coptic (cf. also Chapter 3).⁶⁵³

[10] Statistics (predicative clauses)⁶⁵⁴

Subordinator	Pattern 1 ⁶⁵⁵	Pattern 2	Pattern 3	Total
Factive				
ὅτι	33 + 1	6	11	50 + 1

⁶⁵⁰ For a different approach (‘relevance theory’), see Sim 2011.

⁶⁵¹ A topic expression in the form of a prepositional phrase such as περί^{GEN} may precede a prospective complement clause in AP 3.33 (γράφω).

Such topic expressions more often precede factive complement clauses: PK 14.12 (ἀκούω), AP 3.9 (ἀγγέλλω), PK 7.7–8 (δηλώω), AN 5.18 (μεταδίδωμι). Syntactically speaking, these do not affect the status of the complement clause, unlike direct objects.

⁶⁵² For ὅτι *recitativum*, cf. BDR § 470.1 and Luiselli (1999: 224), who calls it a ‘current unpretentious usage’.

⁶⁵³ Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 519–524.

⁶⁵⁴ AP 6.18 (ἐν στέρνοις ἔχω) and AP 4.21 (πάν ποιέω) are included. Conversely, AN 19.4–5 and AN 19.14–16 παρακαλέω μή / μηδέν are counted as asyndetic.

⁶⁵⁵ In the following passages the complement slot of the verb is filled with a factive complement clause and an additional subordinate clause depending on the former but preceding it: AN 10.13 (γινώσκω), AJ 12.13 (γινώσκω), AP 4.8 (γινώσκω), DA 1.4 (μανθάνω). An example is: AN 10.13–16 {γινώσκω γὰρ ὅτι} head verb and complementizer {ὅσον ἐν μνήμῃ με ἔχεις ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς σου} adverbial subordinate clause {οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει με ὁ δεσπότης θεός} complement clause. ‘I know that as long as you remember me in your prayers, the Lord God will not abandon me.’

ὥς	7	∅	1 + 1	9
Prospective				
ἵνα	13	∅	1	14
ὅπως	6	∅	∅	6
ὥς	1	1	∅	2
ὥστε	1	∅	∅	1
Total	62	7	14	83

(b) *Indirect questions (14 instances)*

Indirect questions may appear instead of complement clauses as in [11].

[11] AN 5.13–14 {μνήσθητι **δηλῶσαι**}^{head verb} {ἡμῖν}^{indirect object}, {εἰ/ὅτι ὑπεδέξω τὸ ἐλάδιον, ὃ ἀπεστίλαμεν}^{direct object}
 ‘Remember to tell me, whether you have received the oil which we sent’

The indirect question is then always headed by εἰ ‘whether’ and may be explicative.⁶⁵⁶ Indirect questions may also appear instead of an expression of reason as in θαυμάζω ὅπως ‘to wonder why’. In the corpus, these are the only two syntactic configurations in which indirect questions appear. The mood of the verb in the indirect question is always the indicative.

[12] Statistics (indirect questions)

Subordinator	εἰ	εἰ expl	ὅπως	(πῶς)	Total
Number of instances	5	2	2	5	14

(c) *Relative clauses (86 instances)*

Attributive subordinate clauses describe the antecedent on which they depend. Greek and Coptic employ relative clauses for this purpose.

The range of subordinators differs in Greek and Coptic. In Greek, we find simple relative pronouns optionally expanded by an emphasising particle. Since Hellenistic times, articles could appear alternatively.⁶⁵⁷ Additionally, there are compound relative pronouns consisting of a simple relative pronoun and a generalising particle⁶⁵⁸ as well as correlative pronouns. The latter could also be combined with generalising particles.

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. AJ 14.7–8 οὐκαίτι **μου** ἐπιστρέφῃ **εἰ** ζῶ **εἰ** ἀπέθανα ‘you do no longer care about me, (about) whether I live or have died’.

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Horrocks 2014: 186–187.

⁶⁵⁸ For εἴ τις = ὅστις, see BDR § 372.2c.

[13] Patterns (attributive clauses)

Simple relative pronouns	Compound relative pronouns	Correlative pronouns
ὅς / ἥ / ὅ	ὅστις / ἥτις / ὅτι	οἷος / οἷα / οἷον
ὅπερ / ἥπερ / ὅπερ	ὅς / ἥ / ὅ ἐάν	ὅσος / ὅση / ὅσον
(ὃ / ἡ / τό)	ὅς / ἥ / ὅ δέποτε	οἷος / οἷα / οἷον δέποτε
	εἷ τις / εἷ τι	

In Coptic, there are the relative converter (ετε- *ete-*) and the circumstantial (ε- *e-*).⁶⁵⁹

Based on the relationship between the relative clause and its antecedent (head), we can distinguish between head-external, head-internal and headless relative clauses⁶⁶⁰, as illustrated in [14].

[14] Types of relative clauses

Type of pattern	Example	Translation
Head-external	ὁ ἀνὴρ ὃς ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν κώμην ὁρᾷ οἶκον π-ρωμε ετε-(q)-ει ε-π-τιμε q-ναγ ε-ογ-χι <i>p-rōme ete-(f)-ei e-p-time f-nau e-ou-ēi</i> ART.DEF.SG-man REL-(3sg)-come to.PRP- ART.DEF.SG-village 3sg-see DOM-ART.INDF.SG- house	‘The man who is coming to the village sees a house.’
Head-internal	ὃς ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν κώμην ἀνὴρ ὁρᾷ οἶκον ∅	
Headless	ὃς ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν κώμην ὁρᾷ οἶκον π-ετε-q-ει ε-π-τιμε q-ναγ ε-ογ-χι <i>p-ete-f-ei e-p-time f-nau e-ou-ēi</i> ART.DEF.SG-REL-3sg-come to.PRP-ART.DEF.SG- village 3sg-see DOM-ART.INDF.SG-house	‘The one who is coming to the village sees a house.’

⁶⁵⁹ The shape of the relative converter and the circumstantial converter are subject to phonological processes in systems other than the present system.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. Kirk 2012: 177–224.

While all three types exist in Greek⁶⁶¹, head-internal relative clauses do not exist in Coptic. Moreover, in Coptic headless relative clauses, an article must precede the relative converter. The distribution in the corpus is as follows:

[15] Statistics (relative clauses)

Type of relative clause	Head-external	Head-internal	Headless	Lost	Total
Number of instances	36	5	43	2	86

Pragmatically speaking, we can distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. This distinction is morphologically encoded in Coptic, but not Greek.

[16] ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲓ ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧⲏ ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲙⲉⲗ ⲛ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ⁶⁶²

a-f-d'i n-tef-melōtē e-s-meh n-oeik e-f-šouōou

PRF-3sg-take DOM-POSS.SG.3sg-satchel CS-3sg-fill.STA of.PRP-bread CS-3sg-dry.STA

‘He took *his satchel*, which was full of dry bread.’

e-s-meh in [16] is a virtual relative clause, a circumstantial functioning as a relative clause. It is non-restrictive, in that it provides optional information.

[17] ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲛ-ⲧⲓ-ⲕⲱⲗⲩⲉⲁⲛ ⲛ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲉⲧⲙⲟⲙ ⲛ-ⲛⲱ ⲉⲣⲟ=ⲓ ⲛ-ⲉⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ (...)

mmon n-ti-kōluean n-laau et-na-škēm-kōm n-d'ō ero=i n-hōb nim (...)

no NEG-1sg-stop DOM-anyone REL-FUT-be.able IM-say to.PRP=1sg DOM-thing every (...)

‘No, I do not stop *anyone* who will be able to tell me everything (...).’⁶⁶³

et-na-š-kēm-kōm n-d'ō ero-i n-hōb nim in [17] is a relative clause. It is restrictive, in that it provides essential information.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶¹ Only in DA 69.24, an entire sentence functions as antecedent (relative pronoun: ὅπερ).

⁶⁶² ^SAP #163 ed. Chainé 36.27 = Müller 2015: 145, example n. 103.

⁶⁶³ ^SShenoute, *Why, O Lord* ed. Layton 2014: 158 rule 44 = Müller 2015: 154, example n. 128.

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Reintges 2004, Müller 2015.

Syntactically speaking, the role of the relative pronoun in the relative clause must be defined. In Greek, inflection of the relative pronoun solves the problem.⁶⁶⁵ In Coptic, a resumptive pronoun must be inserted in the relative clause since the relative converter is invariable. Compare [18a] and [18b]:

English translation: ‘The man *who* you see is running.’

Greek: [18a] ὁ ἀνὴρ *ὃν* ὁρᾷς τρέχει

Coptic: [18b] π-ρωμε ετ(ε)-κ-ναυ ερο=ϣ ϣ-πωτ
p-rōme et(e)-k-nau ero=f f-pōt
 ART.DEF.SG-man REL-2sg-see DOM=3sg 3sg-run

In [18a], the relative pronoun is in the accusative, which clarifies that it is the direct object of the verb in the relative clause. In [18b], only the phrase ερο=ϣ *ero=f* clarifies that the relative converter is to be interpreted as the direct object of the verb in the relative clause. Essentially, relative pronouns may function as arguments or adjuncts of the verb in the relative clause.⁶⁶⁶ Relative pronouns are frequently preceded by a preposition. The preposition is chosen depending on the syntax of the superordinate clause in headless relative clauses but depending on the syntax of the relative clause in head-external and head-internal ones.⁶⁶⁷

(d) *Adverbial subordinate clauses*

(α) Conditional and concessive clauses (82 instances)

Conditional and concessive clauses are treated together because, in Greek, they differ solely as regards the range of subordinators. Coptic concessive clauses take the form of a circumstantial or they are headed by a borrowed Greek subordinator.

⁶⁶⁵ The two instances of *attractio relati*vi are inconclusive as regards grammatical correctness: AN 1.22 and AN 3.3. In both, we find attraction of an accusative to a genitive (cf. Kirk 2012: 202–206). We may wonder whether case attraction was a conscious choice.

⁶⁶⁶ 21 / 31 instances of a relative pronoun in the genitive are preceded by a preposition, 10 / 11 of one in the dative and 9 / 39 of one in the accusative. Naturally, 0 / 5 instances of a relative pronoun in the nominative are preceded by a preposition.

⁶⁶⁷ Grammaticalised exceptions are: ὅφ’ οὔ ‘since’, ἕως οὔ ‘until’, καθ’ ὅσον ‘as far as / as long as’. Cf. also, ὅσον ‘as long as’.

All conditional sequences consist of a protasis, the if-clause, and an apodosis, the superordinate clause. An example is [19]:

- [19] AN 4.29 {ἐὰν ψωμία γένηται}^{protasis}, {πέμψον ἡμῖν ψίαθον μεστήν}^{apodosis}.
 ‘If there are loaves of bread, send a full sack (?) to us!’

A detailed study of conditional clauses in the New Testament is Elliot (1981). He showed that the classical types (1) to (3) in [20] are fully preserved, but type (4) is attested only sporadically.⁶⁶⁸

[20] Greek patterns (conditional clauses)

Type of condition	Protasis		Particle	Apodosis
	Subordinator	Verb		Verb
(1) Simple	εἰ	all tenses.IND	ο	all tenses.IND
(2) Unreal	εἰ	past tenses.IND	ἄν	past tenses.IND
(3) Probable	ἐάν	all tenses.SBJ	ο	FUT.IND, all tenses.IMP
(4) Possible	εἰ	all tenses.OPT	ἄν	all tenses.OPT

The classical distinction between εἰ and ἐάν is overall weakened. Therefore, Elliot relies on the verb in the conditional clause for classification – this method is adopted here. For example, instances of εἰ + subjunctive are classified as type (3) and instances of ἐάν + indicative as type (1). Future indicatives with ἐάν and εἰ are counted as type (3).⁶⁶⁹ The Greek morphological future was on the verge of disappearing in the post-classical period. As a result, confusion between subjunctives, future indicatives and even present indicatives is common.

In the corpus, types (2) and (4) are almost absent and evidence for confusion between εἰ and ἐάν is more extensive than in the New Testament.⁶⁷⁰ Moreover, conditional clauses function as polite hedging devices, for instance, ‘if you like’ in requests (cf. Chapter 6). Such hedging devices seem structurally rather fossilised⁶⁷¹ and ellipsis is frequent.

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. Elliot 1981, BDR §§ 371–376.

⁶⁶⁹ ἐάν + future: AJ 7.7. There is no clear example in the NT (cf. BDR § 373.3). εἰ + future: AN 20.12, PK 2.25, PK 2.32, AO 19.5.

For the future, see Markopoulos 2009, Lucas 2014.

⁶⁷⁰ For εἰ + subjunctive, cf. Elliot 1981: 132–134; for ἐάν + indicative, cf. Elliot 1981: 84–88.

A non-elliptical protasis headed by εἰ is mostly combined with a prospective apodosis (cf. [22]).

⁶⁷¹ For the preservation of the optative in polite formulae, see Elliot 1981: 184–191, Dickey 2016: 244–247.

[21] Coptic patterns (conditional clauses)⁶⁷²

Type of condition	Protasis		Apodosis	
	Subordinator	Verb	Particle	Verb
(1) Simple (future, present, past)	εϣωπε <i>ešōpe</i>	MC, CS, CND	(ειε <i>eie</i>)	all tenses
(2) Unreal present	CS	IMPF.PR		IMPF.FUT, IMPF
(3) Unreal past	CS	IMPF.PRF		PRF

In Coptic, S εϣϣε *ešdʿe* and S εϣωπε *ešōpe* ‘if’ coexist, but only S εϣωπε *ešōpe* is comparable to Greek conditional clauses. S εϣϣε *ešdʿe* is used in ‘factual (unconditional) presuppositions’ (Layton 2011: §495) and carries a causal meaning. In Greek, a type (1) conditional may have a causal sense, but this is entirely context-dependent. The distinction between ει and ἐάν thus had to be learnt by a bilingual writer. However, the blurring of this distinction in the post-classical period makes confusion between ει and ἐάν an inconclusive criterion for a writer’s proficiency in Greek. Additionally, in Coptic, the indication of the apodosis by a particle or adverb ‘then’ is sometimes obligatory and generally more common than in Greek.⁶⁷³

[22] Statistics (conditional clauses)

Lost: DA 59.20 (ει) DA 59.33 (ἐάν) self- correction: AO 1.6 (ει)	Type (1)-SC [2 x ἐάν, 1 x εἴπερ, 29 x ει]	Type (2)-SC [3 x ει / 1 x ἐάν]	Type (3)-SC [23 x ἐάν, 9 x ει]	Type (4)- SC [2 x ει]	Total
Type (1)-MC simple	2 [ἐάν, εἴπερ] + 1 [AOR] + 16 (elliptical)	∅	∅	∅	19
Type (2)-MC unreal	∅	1 (elliptical) + 1 (?)	∅	∅	2
Type (3)-MC probable	12 + 1 [ἐάν]	2 (hedging; two- fold conditional)	22 + 9 [ει] + 1 [AOR, ἐάν]	2	49
Type (4)-MC possible	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
Total	32	4 ⁶⁷⁴	32	2	73 (incl. 3 lost)

⁶⁷² Layton 2011: § 494–501; EGB: chapter 12. For the Coptic imperfect conversion, see Layton 2011: §§ 434–443. The imperfect conversion is in parts comparable to the Greek imperfective aspect.

⁶⁷³ Cf. Section 5.2.2 (variation).

⁶⁷⁴ Counterfactuals: DA 14.1 (?), PK 1.18–19 (hedging device), PK 18.24–27 (twofold conditional), AJ 1.18 (elliptical).

Regarding Greek concessive clauses, it is noteworthy that $\kappa\alpha\iota\upsilon$ is always combined with an indicative in the corpus. This is not ungrammatical considering the confusion between $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\epsilon\iota$. Furthermore, there are two instances of classical $\omega\varsigma$ + genitive absolute ‘as if’ (AP 1.40; DA 69.14).

[23] Statistics (concessive clauses)

Lost: \emptyset	Type (1)-SC [4 x $\kappa\alpha\iota\upsilon$, 3 x $\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$, 2 x $\epsilon\iota$]	Type (2)-SC	Type (3)-SC	Type (4)-SC	Total
Type (1)-MC simple	3 + 1 [AOR] + 2 [$\kappa\alpha\iota\upsilon$]	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	6
Type (2)-MC unreal	1 [IMPF]	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	1
Type (3)-MC probable	2 [$\kappa\alpha\iota\upsilon$]	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	2
Type (4)-MC possible	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset
Total	9 ⁶⁷⁵	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	9

(β) Temporal clauses (20 instances)

Temporal clauses may refer to

- (1) previous events, thus expressing anteriority;
- (2) current events, thus expressing simultaneity;
- (3) future events, thus expressing posteriority;
- (4) repeated events, thus expressing iteration.

Clauses of types (1) and (2) display the simple structure ‘subordinator –verb in the indicative’. Clauses of type (4) are rare in the corpus. The two existing attestations reflect post-classical standard.⁶⁷⁶ Clause type (3) is affected by the general restructuring process of the future system. In [24], relevant subordinators and patterns in the corpus are summarised:

[24] Patterns (temporal clauses)

⁶⁷⁵ Relevant passages with $\epsilon\iota$ are: AJ 6.17, PK 14.30–32. Relevant passages with $\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ are: AJ 13.9 (\emptyset PR.COP: $\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$), DA 43.15, DA 44.30.

⁶⁷⁶ For standard patterns, see BDR § 382.3–4 (present: $\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$ + subjunctive, past: $\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$ + past indicative).

Anteriority	Simultaneity	Posteriority	Iteration
<div>ὅτε ἐπεὶ (ἀφ'οὔ), καθώς</div> <div>AOR.IND</div>	<div>ὅτε (ὅσον)</div> <div>PR.IND</div>	<div>ὅτε ἕως / (ἕως οὔ) / ἕως ὅτε (ἐάν, εἰ)</div> <div>FUT.IND / PR.IND / (ἄν) all tense.SBJ</div>	<div>ἐπάν ὅταν</div> <div>ἄν + all tenses.SBJ</div>

Fixed combinations of a preposition and a relative pronoun, as well as conditional patterns are put in brackets since these are not prototypical temporal clauses. Rather, relative and conditional clauses may function as temporal clauses by contextual inference. Additionally, three aspects deserve commenting:

- (1) ὅτε appears in all four types of temporal clauses. Phonetic spellings may account for occasional interchange between ὅτε and ὅτι. The final vowel of ὅτε is unaccented and thus weak.⁶⁷⁷
- (2) Against the background of the restructuring of the future system, coexistence of patterns and the appearance of indicatives in posterior temporal clauses are inconclusive⁶⁷⁸.
- (3) Where Greek must resort to a subordinate clause or, although rarely in this period, a participle, in Coptic, two verbal inflection patterns may be used. The *precursive* expresses anteriority:

[25a] PKC 20.27–28 ⲡⲧⲁⲣⲉ–ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲁ=ⲓ

ntare-piene ei šara=i

PCS-name come to.PRP=1sg

‘after Piene had come to me’

The *limitative* expresses posteriority:

⁶⁷⁷ AJ 14.5 is grammatically correct: AJ 14.5–6 καὶ ταῦτα ὅτε ἤκουσας τὰ ὄντα ‘even when you heard (about) the current events’. For καὶ ταῦτα, see LSJ A.I.2. The fact that καὶ ταῦτα was borrowed into Coptic as a subordinator, ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ *kaitauta*, may however explain the writer’s choice of καὶ ταῦτα + subordinator instead of a concessive clause.

⁶⁷⁸ In classical Greek, we would expect ἄν + subjunctive (cf. BR § 286.2b). In post-classical Greek, the indicative and the subjunctive with and without ἄν appear (cf. BDR §§ 382–383).

[25b] DA 79.6 ὡς ἀντε-τεῖ-μις θωσ(ις) μουχ

šante-tef-mist^hōs(is) mouh

LIM-POSS.SG.3sg-payment fill

‘until his payment is complete’

Overall, many Greek temporal subordinators are borrowed into Coptic. Inherited temporal patterns are prepositional with the only alternatives being the precursive, limitative and the multifunctional circumstantial.⁶⁷⁹

[26] Statistics (temporal clauses)

	Anterior	Simultaneous	Posterior	Iterative	Total
ἐπὶ	0	0	0	1	1
ἐπεὶ	1	0	0	0	1
ἕως	0	0	2	0	2
ἕως ὅτε	0	0	2	0	2
καθὼς	1	0	0	0	1
ὅταν	0	0	0	1	1
ὅτε	3	2	2	0	7
ὅτι (for ὅτε)	0	1	0	0	1
ὥς (for ἕως)	0	0	4	0	4
Total	5	3	10	2	20

The distribution of verbal forms in the temporal clauses of the corpus is overall as expected:

- anterior clauses : AOR (5/5)
- simultaneous clauses : PR (1/3), **AOR (2/3)**
- posterior clauses : PR (8/10), FUT (1/10), SBJ (1/10)
- iterative clauses : SBJ (2/2)
- cf. also: ἐξ οὗ / ἀφ’ οὗ (3) [PRF, AOR, PR (!)], ὅσον (1) [PR], ἕως οὗ (2) [AOR, lost]

However, twice, an aorist indicative appears in what seems to be a temporal clause expressing simultaneity: AP 1.27 is discussed in Section 5.2.2, and in [27], the following context is lost so that construing the verbal action as anterior, ‘after’, may not be completely ruled out.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. Müller 2012: 111–122.

[27] AJ 12.13–17 γινωσκει(ν) σε βούλομαι, ὃ ἀγαπητὲ πάτερ, ὅτι **ὅτε ἀπήντησα** τῷ δουκὶ μετὰ τῆς εὐλογίας[ς σου, **ἐ]δέξατο** αὐτὴν με[τα -ca.?-]

‘I want you to know, dear father, that **when I met** the dux with your blessing, **he welcomed** it with ...’

However, judging solely from what is preserved of the passage, a construal as simultaneous, ‘while / when’, seems to be most suitable.

(γ) Causal clauses (74 instances)

Causal clauses regularly appear with verbs of emotion (cf. Chapter 3)⁶⁸⁰ but also in other contexts. In the corpus, most causal clauses are combined with a superordinate clause expressing a request, wish or promise. The syntax of causal clauses is summarised in [28]:

[28] Patterns (causal clauses)

Verbs of emotion

- ὅτι / ὅτε, ὡς, διότι
- verb in the indicative

Other contexts

- ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ, ὅτι, ὡς
- verb in the indicative

Causal clauses may be signposted by expressions such as διό ‘therefore’ in the superordinate clause; alternatively, causal subordinators may be accompanied by particles or adverbs, such as γάρ, which emphasise the causal meaning of the subordinator. The only future tense in a causal clause is an editorial reconstruction:

[29] AP 4.25 ὅτι ὁ θεὸς μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμ[ων γενήσεται (?)]

‘because God will be (?) generous and merciful’

The verbless parallel earlier in the same letter, AP 4.19–20, makes this future questionable.

In four instances, phonetic spellings intervene:

- ἐπί for ἐπεὶ : AJ 7.18, AJ 11.6 and AO 16.5

⁶⁸⁰ For the indirect questions with θαυμάζω, see section (b) above and Chapters 3 and 6.

Syntactically, there is no confusion between the preposition ἐπί and the subordinator ἐπεὶ although iotacism in the final syllable makes them homonymous.

- ὅτε for ὅτι : AN 4.24

In [30], ὅτε appears with superordinate χάριν λαμβάνω:

[30] AN 4.23–25 ἐγὼ γὰρ χάριν λαμβάνω, ὅτε καταξιοῖς παρ’ ἐμοῦ δέξασθαι ὁδῆποτε.

‘For, I am grateful that you are deigning to receive anything from me.’

Synonymous εὐχαριστέω, ἔχω χάριν and ὁμολογέω χάριν are combined with clauses of reason introduced by ὅτι or ὥς. A spelling mistake is therefore more likely in [30] than construing a temporal clause.

Finally, to complete the picture, classical ὥς with genitive absolute appears four times in the corpus.

[31] Statistics (causal clauses)

Lost: ἐπεὶ (1) ἐπειδὴ (2)	With a verb of emotion	+ Particle / + μάλιστα	+ Resumption in the superordinate clause	Others	+ Participle	Total
διότι	1	∅	∅	∅	∅	1
ἐπεὶ	∅	1 (οὖν)	∅	9	∅	11
ἐπειδὴ ⁶⁸¹	∅	3 (μάλιστα / γάρ / οὖν)	3 (οὖν, ὅθεν / διὰ τοῦτο / διό)	28	∅	36
ὅτε	1	∅	∅	∅	∅	1
ὅτι	7	2 (μάλιστα)	∅	7	∅	16
ὥς	2	2 (γάρ)	∅	1	4	9
Total	11	8	3	45	4	74 (incl. lost)

(δ) Final and consecutive clauses (62 instances)

The relevant patterns for final and consecutive clauses are:

[32] Patterns (final and consecutive clauses)

⁶⁸¹ ἐπειδὴ: For AP 3.28–29 (counted as AOR.IND), see Chapter 3; for PK 1.11–14 (counted as COP.IMPF), see Chapter 4.

Consecutive clauses	Final clauses
ὥστε / ὥς + Acl (+ IND)	ἵνα / ὅπως μή / μήπως + SBJ

Negative final clauses are headed either by ἵνα μή (AJ 5.7, AN 19.7, PK 1.15) or by μή / μήπως (DA 19.5, DA 25.3, DA 68.7; DA 18.13 and (?) AP 1.49–50).⁶⁸² ὥς in purpose clauses had already been rare in classical prose and had largely disappeared in the fourth century.⁶⁸³ It is not attested in the corpus.

Semantically speaking, the distinction between final and consecutive clauses is increasingly blurred in the post-classical period. Hult (1990) notes that confusion primarily occurs in the speech sections of her fifth-century data.⁶⁸⁴ An example from the corpus is [33]:

[33] DA 43.15–18 (...) εἰ καὶ πενιχραῖς ἐλπίσιν ηὐξάνοντο, καὶ μὲ μὲν παρα[1]νοῦντες, [ἢ]μμένοι δὲ κακείνῳ, **ὅπως** ἐγὼ μὲν **ε[ὕρεθω]** πρὸς φίλους σωφρονέστερος, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν προστατ'τομένῳ[ν] αλτνη πραγμάτων).

‘...even though they were dwelling on poor hopes by praising me, but clinging on to that man **with the result that I was found (to be)** more sensible towards the friends, but he responsible (?) for the ordered things’

The writer was praised *with the result of* rather than *for the purpose of* him being considered more sensible.

Syntactically speaking, the infinitive became standard in consecutive clauses, whereas the indicative became a stylistically marked alternative.⁶⁸⁵ The generalisation of the infinitive is illustrated in [34].

⁶⁸² For ἵνα μή and μή, see Hult 1990: 79 and 115–116.

⁶⁸³ ὥς (+ subjunctive) in purpose clauses almost disappeared in Hellenistic prose, gained frequency among Atticists, but lost popularity after the 4th c. AD (cf. Hult 1990: 76–79).

⁶⁸⁴ For occasional substitution of consecutive for final clauses, see Hult 1990: 85. For occasional substitution of final for consecutive clauses, see Hult 1990: 123–125. Cf. also Mandilaras 1973: §§ 772–774.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. Hult 1990: 139–141 and 145–146 (esp. ὥς + infinitive).

For CG, see KG § 583 (A distinction is made between a real result and an expected / likely result).

[34] AP 1.13–15 καὶ ἐκίνων μὴ εὐρεθέντων ἐγβάντων αὐτῶν εὔραν τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμαρώεις ποιησάμενοι ὥστε αὐτοὺς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἐξεβαλαν αὐτοῦ ἔξω τῆς Νικοπόλεως.

‘And after those people had not been found, going out they found four brothers who were walking in the camp, and they struck them down and made them bloody / injured them severely so that they were at risk and threw them out of Nikopolis.’

The brothers’ lives were certainly at risk because of their severe injuries.

In Coptic, final and consecutive clauses cannot be syntactically distinguished by means of inherited patterns, and either can be headed by $\chi\epsilon$ *dʒe* (+ future II / future III).⁶⁸⁶ In final clauses, non-finite patterns were preferred.⁶⁸⁷

Final and consecutive clauses are here differentiated based on the verb in the superordinate clause. When a verb of motion or a deontic verbal form appears, either of which calls for a goal expression, the subordinate clause in question is counted as a final clause.⁶⁸⁸

[35] Statistics (final and consecutive clauses)

Clause type	ἵνα [lost: AP 1.32]	ὅπως	ὥστε	ὥς	μή	μήπως	Total
Final	40	8	1	0	0	0	49
Consecutive	0	1	2	4	3	2	12
Total	41	9	3	4	3	2	62 (incl. 1 lost)

All instances of present indicatives with ἵνα may be the result of phonetic spellings.

- ἵνα +PR. IND : AJ 7.7 (ἀπολύομαι for ἀπολύωμαι), AP 2.13 (συμβάλλεσθε for συμβάλλησθε)

All instances of future indicatives with ἵνα may reflect confusion between the subjunctive and the future since the latter was disappearing.

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. Müller 2012: 132–138 (who lists $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ *dʒekas* only for final clauses), Layton 2011: § 493.64–66. Note that a future conjunctive or limitative could be used instead.

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. Hasznos 2012: 37–38 and 73.

⁶⁸⁸ Solely contextual inference suggests a purpose clause in: AJ 7.10 and PK 1.15.

- ἵνα + FUT.IND : AP 4.22 (γενέσονται for γένωνται), AO 25.7 (γνώσωμεν for γνῶμεν)

In AP 4.3, ἵνα may be combined with an unclassical optative or subjunctive affected by phonetic spelling.

- ἵνα + OPT/SBJ : AP 4.3 (ἀνάγνοις for ἀναγνοίης or ἀναγνῶς)

Given that the letter contains several struggles with Greek syntax and morphology, the subjunctive may be the likelier assumption. The optative was a learned form, which would point to a well-educated writer.

(ε) Comparative clauses (35 instances)

Comparative clauses are syntactically simple. In the corpus, the following subordinators appear: ὥς, καθώς, ὥσπερ, (καθ' ὅσον). Strictly speaking, καθ' ὅσον is a correlative pronoun with a prefixed preposition and heads a relative clause, yet, this clause may function as a comparative clause by contextual inference. The verb in a comparative clause is always in the indicative. In Coptic, no simplex subordinator exists; instead, Coptic always resorts to $n-\theta e / \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha -\theta e$ $n-t^h e / kata-t^h e$ + relative clause.

The distribution of comparative clauses in the corpus is as follows:

[36] Statistics (clauses of comparison)

Subordinator	ὥς	ὥσπερ	καθώς	ὅπως	Total
Number of instances	28	2	5	1	36

In DA 62.3 (?)⁶⁸⁹ and AO 8.5, the copula ‘to be’ is dropped (cf. also idiomatic ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν in AP 2.8). There are seven elliptical instances in which ὥς / ὅπως is only combined with a noun. The implied verb is the superordinate verb, as in [37]:

[37] DA 3.10 καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀντιποιήθητι τοῦ πράγματος ὥς ἰδίου.

‘And to summarise, lay claim on the matter like (you would lay claim on) your own.’

⁶⁸⁹ DA 62.1-3 μετὰ τὸ ἐπελθεῖν τὸν δεσπότην μου τὸν λαμπρότατον κύριον Μην[ᾶν(?)] εἰς τὸ ἄριστον (MC) ἄλλος ταξεώτης **ἐπέστη μηνύων** τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἰλλουστρίου ἀδ[...]. [-ca.?-] **ὥς φθάσαντα** τὴν ἀποθήκην διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο **ἀνελθὼν** εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐμβολὴν διὰ τὸν [...] σχο[...]. [-ca.?-] ‘After my master, the most brilliant lord Menas, had died (euphemism!), another tax-official was appointed revealing the care of the most famous illustrious (and ...) the storage as before (literally: **ὥς (τὰ) φθάσαντα (ἦν)** ‘as the past arrangement was’), having come up because of nothing else than the *embole*-tax ...’ (cf. τὰ φθάσαντα ‘the past’, LSJ II.1).

5.2.2 Variation

Hypotactic structures display four kinds of variation:

- (1) ellipsis and simplification;
- (2) the appearance of obsolete classical patterns;
- (3) the appearance of modern patterns;
- (4) secondary additions that interfere with the standard syntax.

(1), (3) and (4) are due to the encroachment of colloquialisms on our texts, whereas (2) points to highly educated writers striving for elaboration.

(a) *Complement clauses*

Variation in predicative subordinate clauses is discussed in Chapter 3 since these clauses can only be analysed in combination with the superordinate verb.

(b) *Indirect questions (ellipsis, common pattern)*

In [38], εἴ ποῦ seems to introduce an indirect question.

[38] DA 69.6–8 (...) καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ ποιήσας ἕως \οὐ/ ἐδυνήθη πεῖσαι αὐτὸν πεμφθέντα μεθ' ἐτέρων μοναζόντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω μέρη δι[1]ὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ζῶα **εἴ ποῦ** εὕρωσι ταῦτα ἀναλαβε[-3-4-].

‘(...) and having really done a lot until I could convince him, who was sent with the other monks to the upper parts of the country because of these living pictures (to find out) whether they could recover (?) them in any way.’

[38] is elliptical since a verb ‘to find out / to discover / to establish’, on which εἴ ποῦ could depend, is omitted.⁶⁹⁰ In classical Greek, εἴ ποῦ has an alternative, εἴ πως. A cursory look at the attestations of either combination of subordinator and particle in the TLG corpus reveals that εἴ ποῦ is generally more common than εἴ πως.⁶⁹¹ This observation combines well with the observation that in [38], we find an elliptical structure in the superordinate clause. Both observations suggest colloquial usage.

⁶⁹⁰ For ποῦ as hedging device in CG, see Willi 2003: 183.

⁶⁹¹ In the NT, only εἴ πως appears. Cf. Elliot 1981: 80–81 (three times + infinitive, twice + subjunctive, once + optative).

(c) Relative clauses (modern patterns, simplification)

In attributive subordinate clauses, we find variation in the subordinator. This is unsurprising since the classical relative pronouns were gradually being replaced. Twice classical ὅστις or post-classical ὃς ἐάν are replaced by ὃς δάν (AN 4.5 and AN 10.19).⁶⁹² Both instances are grammatically correct.

In [39], a writer chose invariable ὅτε, spelt ὅτι, instead of ἐν ᾧ, which we find at the beginning of the same sentence. [39] appears in direct speech.

[39] AP 1.26–28 ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ γὰρ ἐν ᾧ ὑβρίσθησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὁ πραι[π]όσιτος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔπεμψεν φάσιν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ λέγων ὅτι ἡμάρτησα καὶ ἐπαρυνήθην ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ **ὅτι** τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς **ὑβρίσα**.

‘For, in the night in which the brothers were maltreated the *praepositus* of the soldiers sent a message to the bishop saying: I made a mistake because I was drunk in the night when I maltreated the brothers.’

This is the only instance in the corpus in which an invariable item replaces the fully inflected relative pronouns.

(d) Adverbial subordinate clauses (ellipsis, redundancy, classicism, secondary addition)

Ellipsis of the verb appears in two conditional clauses: PK 9.29 (εἰ μή) and AJ 1.18 (εἰ μή), both of which are grammatical. In [40], the apodosis begins with ἐπεὶ ‘then’.

[40] AJ 1.18–20 ἡ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ, **ἐπὶ** ἔμελλον ἀποθανῖν τῇ πίνῃ.

‘If it had not been for God, I would have died of thirst.’

Given the preceding ellipsis, ἐπεὶ may be inserted for reasons of emphasis. Classical μέλλω rather than more common ἔχω in the apodosis may be a learned archaism.⁶⁹³

For the redundant repetition of a temporal clause after a parenthesis, see Section 5.2.3.

⁶⁹² δάν / δάν seems to be a modal particle that appears primarily in temporal and relative clauses. Whether it resulted from fusion of δέ and ἄν or δὴ and ἄν is debated. Cf. Tabachovitz 1943: 26–29, Ljungvik 1932: 17, Youtie 1973: 16. For δάν in the Nephros archive, see Kramer and Shelton 1987: 46. Kirk (2012: 182–184) does not list it.

⁶⁹³ Markopoulos (2009: 84–85) concludes that already in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, only ἔχω (or rather εἶχον) could appear as an auxiliary in counterfactual conditionals (and not μέλλω). He generally assigns the use of μέλλω to the higher register.

In [41], the writer essentially wants to assure the addressee that he will visit him in any case (εἰ ... ἥ).⁶⁹⁴ The phrase ὥς + a participle in the genitive here seems to be a secondary addition.

[41] PK 11.23–26 εἰ γράμματα λάβοιμι τοῦ κυρίου μου γεούχου ἢ ἐὰν μὴ γράψῃ
ὥς χρεῖαν μου ἔχοντος, ἐλε[ύ]σομαι.

‘Whether I receive letters from my lord, the landowner, because he needs me, or when he does not write, I will come.’⁶⁹⁵

Rather than attaching ὥς χρεῖαν μου ἔχοντος to its head τοῦ κυρίου μου γεούχου, the writer first completed his outline of options, εἰ ... ἥ. Only secondarily, he clarified why the landowner may write to him.⁶⁹⁶

[42] seems to be an example of redundant repetition.⁶⁹⁷ A purpose clause begins with ἵνα and continues with a prepositional phrase referring to the most salient piece of information.

[42] AP 1.48–50 μὴ ἀμελήσῃται οὖν περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐπιδὴ τὰ ψωμία ἀφῆκαν
ὀπίσω, **ἵνα διὰ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον μὴπως ἔξω ἀρθῇ** ἵνα τυρῇ αὐτὰ μετ’ αὐτοῦ.

‘Do therefore not neglect us, brothers, because they left behind the bread⁶⁹⁸ in order for it – for the bishop’s sake – not be delivered, so that he may keep it with himself.’

After inserting the key piece of information, the writer seems to have realised that he wanted to express a negative purpose. He inserted μὴπως without deleting ἵνα and continued with the verb.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁴ For the addressee’s plan to visit, see PK 11.21–23.

⁶⁹⁵ Note the change from εἰ + optative to ἐάν + subjunctive.

⁶⁹⁶ Alternatively, we would have to assume a genitive absolute with αὐτοῦ being omitted. For genitive absolutes referring to the subject, cf. Manolassou 2005: esp. 245–246. A construal as a complement clause would impute a syntactic mistake to the writer. This seems unnecessary.

⁶⁹⁷ For a similar structure, see AP 1.56–58 in Chapter 3.

⁶⁹⁸ The third person plural is referring to general ‘they’. For ἀφίημι ὀπίσω, see Chapter 3.

⁶⁹⁹ Alternatively, we could construe μὴπως as compound negative.

Note that μὴπως was borrowed into Coptic as a subordinator (cf. Müller 2012: 134).

Finally, the following classical patterns are attested: In final clauses, ὅπως ἔν appears in DA 69.25 and DA 69.27.⁷⁰⁰ In consecutive clauses, ὡς + indicative appears in AP 6.31.

5.2.3 Deviations

(a) Complement clauses

Deviations in predicative subordinate clauses are discussed in Chapter 3 since these clauses can only be analysed in combination with the superordinate verb.

(b) Indirect questions

For θαυμάζω ὅπως ... ὡς in PK 7.5–7, see Chapter 3.

(c) Relative clauses

(1) Resumptive pronouns (direct interference)

[43] is the only passage in the corpus in which a resumptive pronoun seems to appear in a relative clause.⁷⁰¹ The relative clause is headless and the relative pronoun is correctly inflected as required by the superordinate verb.

[43] DA 61.7 ἀπάλλαξον δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὧν χρεωστοῦνται **περὶ αὐτῶν**

‘Release them also from those things, concerning which they are still in debt’

The syntactic role of the relative pronoun in the subordinate clause is admittedly difficult to determine without the prepositional phrase. The writer could have opted for a head-external relative clause (τούτων περὶ ὧν) instead.⁷⁰² Headless relative clauses theoretically seem to be a more complex pattern than head-external ones, and the writer may therefore have struggled with this pattern. Since headless relative clauses existed in Coptic, although with an article prefixed to the relative converter, the writer may then have applied Coptic syntax to Greek.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. Hult 1990: 76–79.

⁷⁰¹ For resumptive pronouns in relative clauses, cf. Torallas Tovar 2010a: 264, Gignac 2013: 415 and 417.

⁷⁰² In a head-internal relative clause (περὶ ὧν), the syntactic function of the implied head in the main clause would again have been difficult to retrieve.

(2) Inflection of the relative pronoun (internal confusion, indirect interference)

Writers occasionally struggle with the form of the neuter relative pronoun. Confusion between the nominal and pronominal endings of the neuter (-ov / -o) may be the underlying cause in [44].

[44] AP 4.15–16 τόν for ὅ: **τὸν** ἐν υἱῷ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ὃ ἐν πατρὶ ἐν υἱῷ
 ‘That which is in the son is in the father, and that which is in the father is in the son.’

In [45a] and [45b], the gender of the noun τόπος ‘place’ seems to cause problems.⁷⁰³

[45a] DA 68.13–14 ὃν for ὅς: καὶ ἔγνωσαν τὸ ὄν(ομα) ἐν⁷⁰⁴ κείνῳ **ὃ{ν}**⁷⁰⁵ [ἐ]ν τῷ
 τόπῳ Πκαρκάρου **ἐστὶν ὑπὸ** τὸν υἱὸν Ταχυμίας
 ‘And they knew the name for that (place), which Tachymia’s son owned in the region of Karkaros⁷⁰⁶’

[45b] PK 8.6–8 ὃ for ὅς: τήρησον τὸν τόπον μου **ὃ ἐστὶν** ἐπὶ μισθῷ **ὃν**.⁷⁰⁷
 ‘Watch over my place, which is being rented out.’

Coptic has grammatical gender like Greek and unlike, for instance, English (Layton 2011: § 105a). Yet, there are only two genders: masculine and feminine. Greek neuters that are borrowed into Coptic automatically become masculine in Coptic (Layton 2011: § 105b). This may have made the distinction between neuter and masculine more difficult for bilingual writers.

⁷⁰³ Coptic **ⲙⲁ** *ma* ‘place’ is masculine.

⁷⁰⁴ CG εἰς.

⁷⁰⁵ The writer presumably struggled with pronominal as opposed to nominal neuter morphology. Alternatively, we could assume that the relative pronoun is incorrectly inflected, as an accusative rather than a nominative. However, while scribes rarely struggle with the case of the relative pronoun, confusion of genders is rather common (cf. also Vierros 2012b for earlier periods). Perhaps, the fact that choosing the correct gender for the relative pronoun meant looking beyond clause boundaries was more difficult to assimilate than the fact that the Greek relative pronoun needed to be inflected according to the syntactic structure of the relative clause.

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. Chapter 7.

⁷⁰⁷ The seeming neuter form of the participle may be due to interchange between <ω> and <ο>.

A periphrastic verbal form also appears in the relative clause in AP 1.16 (ἡσὶν ἐπιξενούμενοι). By contrast, Fournet (1998: 766) suggests reading ἐπὶ μίσθῳσιν ‘(qui est) à louer’. This reading does not resolve the incorrect gender of the relative pronoun. Worp’s reading is accepted here because it seems more likely that the addressee is asked to keep an eye on the writer’s tenant. Yet, one may also argue that the addressee is asked to keep an eye on the property while no tenant is looking after it.

In [46], a neuter antecedent seems to be referred to by means of a feminine relative pronoun. Alternatively, we could construe a prospective conditional clause with ἐάν.

[46] PK 8.21–23 καὶ τὸ μικκὸν ἐλάδιον ἦν⁷⁰⁸ ἐάγῃς παρὰ σέ, πώλησον αὐτὰ
 ‘Concerning the little amount of oil which you may bring / if you bring (it) to your place, sell it.’

In either interpretation, the form ἐάγῃς is unclear. An aorist may have been intended with <η> for <ε> in the ending. The form would however be analogical since ἄγω has a reduplicated aorist in Classical Greek. Alternatively, a present subjunctive could have been intended. The subjunctive would then be accidentally augmented.⁷⁰⁹

Given that the same writer struggles with the gender of the relative pronoun in l.6 too and uses ἐάν (rather than contracted ἦν) in lines 10 and 14, we may explore the option of a feminine relative pronoun further. If [46] is construed as a relative clause, it seems to match the structures Vierros (2012) discovered in a bilingual Demotic-Greek environment. She found that the case of the relative pronoun is determined by the verb of the relative clause, but its gender and number match the gender of the subject of the relative clause. She explains this situation by aligning Greek and Demotic relative clauses. The same alignment of structures applies to Coptic and is provided below, with relevant parallel marked in grey.

[47] Interference in relative clauses

Greek: ὁ ἀνὴρ	ὄν	ὁρᾷς	τρέχει
Coptic: π-ρωμε	ετε-κ-	nau	epo=ɣ ɣ-πωτ
<i>p-rōme</i>	<i>ete-k-</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>ero=f f-pōt</i>
ART.DEF.SG-man	REL-2sg-	see	DOM=3sg 3sg-run
‘The man	who you	see	(him) runs.’

The Greek relative pronoun appears where the Coptic relative converter followed by the subject of the relative clause appears. PK 8 is addressed to Tekose, a woman. Thus, the subject of the relative clause in [46], ‘you’, refers to her.

⁷⁰⁸ The form printed in the edition is ἦν (CG ἐάν).

⁷⁰⁹ For augmentation, see Mandilaras 1973: §§ 232–275.

(3) Headless relative clauses (indirect interference)

Although the article was increasingly used as a substitute for the relative pronoun from Hellenistic times onwards, it is peculiar that in the corpus, the article replaces relative pronouns only when the relative clause is headless as in [48].⁷¹⁰

[48] AP 4.15–16 τὸν ἐν υἱῷ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ὃ ἐν πατρὶ ἐν υἱῷ

‘That which is in the son is in the father, and that which is in the father is in the son.’

The incorrect case of τὸν in [48] was discussed above. Moreover, the copula ‘to be’ is omitted throughout the sentence in [48].⁷¹¹ Further relevant instances are:

- AN 19.17 (τὸ θέλεις)
- PK 8.17 (τῷ ἐγένετο)
- AP 1.3 (τὰ ἐπάθαμεν)
- AP 5.17 (περὶ τῶν εἶπεν⁷¹²).

PK 8, AP 1 and AP 5 display several instances of grammatical incongruities as noted in previous chapters. Apparently, these writers struggled with Greek.

In Coptic headless relative clauses, an article must precede the relative converter. Given that the article was a viable alternative to the relative pronoun in post-classical Greek, its substitution for a relative pronoun in headless relative clauses may be an instance of indirect interference. An existing Greek pattern was functionally reinterpreted.

(4) General relative clauses (internal confusion / analogy)

In [49] and AP 3.39 later in the same letter, εἴ τι substitutes classical ὅστις / ὅτι⁷¹³. The subordinator is followed by the modal particle ἐάν⁷¹⁴ and what seems to be an imperative.

⁷¹⁰ The only exception is the instance of *attractio relativi* in AN 1.22 (ἀπὸ τοῦ σίτου τοῦ χρεωστεῖ).

⁷¹¹ The copula is elsewhere omitted only in AJ 6.21–22, a hedging device, and perhaps in PK 19.30, an archival note.

⁷¹² The third-person-singular form of the verb instead of a first-person-singular form may be due to vowel weakness in an unaccented final syllable.

⁷¹³ For εἴ τις = ὅστις in PCG, cf. BDR § 372.2c, and in CG, cf. BR § 290.4.

Note that ὅστις and ὅς were often interchanged. Cf. Horrocks 2014: 186–187, Kirk 2012: 182–184.

⁷¹⁴ In AP 3, εἰ also appears in lines 18 and 22; ἐάν does not appear. ἐάν does not appear either in AP 2, which may be written by the same writer, who knew Coptic judging from the few Coptic lines at the end of this letter. Hence, there is no indication of idiosyncrasy with regard to the writer’s use of ἐάν.

[49] AP 3.24 εἴ τι ἐάν **δυνήσατε** συνλέξατε ἀργύρια

‘Whatever you can (sc. collect as regards money), collect money’

δυνήσατε seems to be an aorist active imperative (CG δυνήθητε).⁷¹⁵ The form may be chosen by analogy with the following imperative συνλέξατε.⁷¹⁶ The infinitive complementing δύναιμι is contextually implied.⁷¹⁷ The neuter form εἴ τι does not agree with the intended object ἀργύρια.

An interpretation as a conditional sequence is difficult: {{εἴ}if {τι}^{PRT} {ἐάν δυνήσατε}verb phrase}protasis {συνλέξατε ἀργύρια}apodosis ‘if you can (sc. do so) in any way, collect money’. Firstly, ἐάν as a modal particle appears almost exclusively in relative clauses.⁷¹⁸ In the protasis of a prospective conditional sequence, a bare subjunctive after either εἰ or ἐάν is the regular pattern. Secondly, hedging devices are likely to have been fixed expressions (cf. Chapter 6); for example, PK 15.27 ἐάν δύνῃ and AN 5.5 εἰ δοκεῖ σοι. Thus, a writer is unlikely to interfere actively with their syntax. The insertion of a modal particle or the doubling of the conditional subordinator ‘if’ would be an active interference.

The lack of agreement between the neuter singular εἴ τι and the neuter plural ἀργύρια may be seen in the context of writers struggling with correct neuter forms. Alternatively, we may wonder whether the accusative εἴ τι should be read as an adverbial accusative, ‘in whatever way’.

(d) Adverbial subordinate clauses

(α) Conditional and concessive clauses

(4) Underspecification (indirect interference)

In [50], simple εἰ appears where the context suggests a concessive clause.

⁷¹⁵ For the disappearing middle voice, see Chapter 3.

There is no evidence for regular interchange between <α> and <η> so that we could read δυνήσατε as an aorist active subjunctive.

⁷¹⁶ For the application of analogies by writers, see Chapter 2.

Alternatively, the interchangeability of the imperative and subjunctive in many contexts may explain the writer’s choice (cf. Bentein 2015a: section 3.1.6).

⁷¹⁷ Since εἴ τι ἐάν also appears in l. 39 (εἴ τι ἐάν δυνήσατε συνλέξαι(?)) παρὰ τοῖς γιτονοῖς ἀδελφοῖς [.], it is unlikely that the writer intended a hedging device, ‘if you can’, but accidentally started with εἴ τι only to realise later that ἐάν was needed.

⁷¹⁸ Cf. Ljungvik 1932: 15–18.

[50] PK 14.30–33 εἰ γὰρ ἠγόρασας τὴν μικρὰν [πορ]φύραν καὶ μόνον διὰ σάκκον, οὐκ ἔπεμψας.

‘For, (even) if you have bought a little purple dye, even (if) only in sacks, you did not send it.’

Concessive clauses are a subcategory of conditional clauses. In light of this, the writer of [50] underspecified the relation between the main and subordinate clauses. The absence of a Coptic pattern and the fact that the multifunctional circumstantial was used instead⁷¹⁹ may have triggered the writer’s choice of widely used εἰ instead of a more specific subordinator.

If we accept the editor’s reconstruction, [51] resembles [50].

[51] AJ 6.15–19 γινῶθει δὲ, [ὅτι ἐ]λυπήθην διό\τι/ ἀπεδήμησας ἀλόγως [εἰ {μ}ῆ] αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ συνταγή, ἀλλ’ ἐχάρην [ἀκού]σας διὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτου, ὅτι ἀνέρχῃ [ταχ]υτέρου πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

‘Know that I was sad because you went away without a word (even) if it was the order, but I was happy to hear through the *praepositus* that you are going to visit us soon.’

Yet, the negative μή causes additional problems. It may be more plausible to assume an emphasising particle such as δὴ after εἰ.

(β) Temporal clauses

(5) ἀφ’ οὗ and ὅτε (internal confusion and colloquial syntax)

In [52], the writer apologises for not having sent oil just yet (οὐδέπω), explains why (γὰρ) and promises to send oil (ἀποστέλλω).

[52] AN 3.4–8 ἀληθῶς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐαυτοῖς ἐλάδιον οὐδέπω ἐκομισάμεθα· ὅτε δὲ σὺν θεῷ λαμβάνω – περὶ γὰρ ταύτας τ[ᾶ]ς ἡμέρας φροντίζω τῶν παιδίων προνοήσασθαι – ἀφ’ οὗ λαμβάνω, μετὰ χαρᾶς πολλῆς ἀποστέλλω σοι.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. Müller 2009 and 2012.

‘In fact, we have not even for ourselves received oil yet. But when I receive (any), by God – for, these days I am busy making precautions for the children – as soon as I receive (any), I will send (it) to you happily.’

The contextual inference of the direct object ‘oil’ with λαμβάνω and ἀποστέλλω is clear. The ὅτε-clause may express posteriority since the verb is in the present tense. An explanatory digression intervenes between the ὅτε-clause and the main clause, περὶ γὰρ (...) προνοήσασθαι. After this, the writer seems to have repeated the temporal subordinator, but chose ἀφ’ οὗ instead of repeating ὅτε.

ἀφ’ οὗ usually means ‘since’.⁷²⁰ Alternatively, it could carry its literal meaning ‘from that which (I receive)’. However, this seems unlikely with the direct object ‘oil’, the potential antecedent, omitted from the ὅτε-clause and the main clause, and considering the positioning of the ἀφ’ οὗ-clause.

The syntax of [52] may have resulted from (a) the parenthetical insertion⁷²¹, and (b) difficulty with the finely graded Greek system of temporal subordinators.

(γ) Final and consecutive clauses

(6) ἵνα + infinitive (internal confusion)

In [53], ἵνα is combined with an infinitive and the combination refers to a purpose.⁷²²

[53] DA 54.1–2 *πάντα οὖν [πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατὰ(?)]λαβε ἵνα ἀπαλλάξαι τὸ πρᾶγμα σο(υ)*

‘Visit us immediately in order to resolve your issue.’⁷²³

The writer may have confused the syntactic patterns of final and consecutive clauses.⁷²⁴ While the infinitive was common in the latter, the subjunctive was required in the former. On the one hand, the distinction between final and consecutive clauses was blurred in the

⁷²⁰ Cf. Probert 2015: 172–176, Culy 1989: 79–80 (section 3.4).

⁷²¹ Another parenthetical insertion which prompts marking the return to the main discourse is DA 65.6–9 = example [62].

⁷²² In AO 20.11–12 (ἵνα κἄν ὁλίκα ἐξ αὐτοῦ *πέμψαι* μοι ἐνταῦθα), *πέμψαι* can be construed as phonetic spelling since a third-person-singular subject suits the context (i.e. *πέμψαι* for *πέμψη*). In [53], we would need a second person subject so that a construal as phonetic spelling is impossible.

⁷²³ For the phrase *ἀπαλλάττω τὸ πρᾶγμα* + GEN, see Section 3.2.

⁷²⁴ Cf. Bentein 2015a: 127. Mandilaras (1973: § 591) calls the combination of ἵνα with an infinitive colloquial.

post-classical period. On the other hand, the bare infinitive could convey a purpose but was then commonly marked by τοῦ or ὥς.⁷²⁵ This made the pattern ὥς + infinitive ambiguous. Our writer may have extended this ambiguity to ἵνα.

(e) *Slip of the pen*

Two passages seem to display mere slips of the pen: In [54], ὅσου replaces expected ὅσον:

[54] AJ 6.14–15 ὅσου γὰρ [παρέ]χεις, λήμψι ἐκ πλήρους.

‘For, he will completely receive everything you provide.’

In [55], ἐπειδὴ is combined with ὥς at the beginning of a causal clause.

[55] AO 6.3 (...) καὶ χρεία ἐστὶν τὸ φιλοκαληθῆναι αὐτό, ἐπειδὴ ὥς θέλω πέμψαι ἐν Ἀλεξανδρε(ίᾳ). †

‘(...) it is necessary that it is repaired since I want to send (it) to Alexandria.’

For PK 8.10–15, see Chapter 6.

5.3 Independent clauses

Three types of particles are considered in this section: (1) modal particles, (2) emphatic particles and (3) structuring particles and coordinators. These three types are defined broadly before turning to the items in question in the corpus.

5.3.1 Standard patterns

To start with modal particles, the classical modal particles ἄν and εἰ (γάρ)⁷²⁶ seem to have fallen out of use so that their appearance points to an educated writer. Their functions are taken over partly by ἐάν and partly by ἵνα / ὅπως.

- ἐάν (5) : All instances appear in generalising relative clauses.⁷²⁷
- ἵνα (17) / ὅπως (7) : The distinction between dependent and independent

⁷²⁵ Cf. Section 5.3

⁷²⁶ Cf. BR §§ 224 and 228.

⁷²⁷ In AP 3.22, we find καὶ (εἴ τι καὶ εὐρήκαμεν). For AP 3.24 (εἴ τι ἐάν δυνήσαστε), see Section 5.2.3.

clauses is sometimes unclear.⁷²⁸

Overall, the use of ἔάν, ἵνα and ὅπως as modal particles seems widespread enough to be considered grammatical in Greek⁷²⁹ but still limited to the lower registers.⁷³⁰

To move on to emphatic particles, classical emphatic particles such as γέ ‘certainly’, δὴ ‘indeed’ and μὴν ‘indeed’ are virtually absent from the corpus. The few existing instances may be the work of writers applying what they learnt at school. Instead, we find adverbs such as κἄν (νῶν) ‘at least’ (cf. LSJ I.3) and μάλιστα / ἐξαιρέτως ‘especially’ or the particles ἰδοῦ and καί. Where both classical καί and emerging ἰδοῦ could appear, the latter seems to be the marked choice. In our Coptic texts, the parallels consistently used are ϣω(ω)= *hō(ō)*= and the subject pronouns.⁷³¹

Syntactically speaking, emphatic particles appear in two configurations, in extraposition and in instances of internal marking. Extraposition refers to the placing of an element in initial or near-initial position, optionally preceded by the particles ἰδοῦ or καί⁷³² as in [56]⁷³³:

[56] AP 1.19–22 καὶ τὸν μονάριν Ἡρακλίδην δύ[σα]ντες καὶ ὑβρίσαντες ἐνέτιλαν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπαπιλούμενοι, ὅτι (...) καὶ ἄλ'λον ἀδελφὸν Ἀμ'μωνα ὄντα ἐν τῇ παρεμβ[ο]λῇ [κ]αὶ αὐτὸν ὑποδεχόμενον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς συνέκλισαν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, παρήγλαν δὲ αὐτοῦ (...)

‘And the monk Heraclides, after chaining and maltreating him, they ordered him threatening: (...) And another brother, Ammon, who lived in the camp and who (also) welcomed brothers, they shut him in the camp and ordered him (...)’

In [56], a list of brothers who could be relied on in the past but were maltreated for their support of fellow brothers is presented. The most salient piece of information in each

⁷²⁸ The corresponding negative construction (μὴ + subjunctive) is already common in classical Greek. For ἵνα, the development from a subordinator into a particle was still ongoing in the early Byzantine period.

⁷²⁹ For ἵνα and ὅπως, see Sim 2011; Mandilaras 1973: § 587.

⁷³⁰ Cf. Hult 1990: 86–87 and 115 (ἵνα vs ὅπως).

⁷³¹ Emphasis in Coptic is mostly expressed by means of marked tenses, cleft-sentences, extraposition, the addition of a subject pronoun and occasionally ϣηπε *ic hēppe* is rather than emphatic particles (cf. EGB: chapter 11.2).

For σ *ε* *kē* and ϣω *rō*, see Section 5.1.2.

⁷³² For classical Greek, see Bonifazi, Drummen and de Kreij 2016: IV.2, esp. § 143 (sentence-initial καί / x δέ / x τε).

For New Testament Greek, see Kirk 2012: esp. 50, 99, 107 and 226.

For περί as a topic-marker, see Kirk 2012: 229 and Chapter 4.

⁷³³ No particle is added in AJ 15.4–7 (πάντας τοὺς εἰς σὲ καταφεύγοντας καὶ ἐλεεῖς καὶ σώζεις).

sentence is the name of the maltreated brother because this is the piece of information that continues the list. While case inflection clarifies the syntactic function of the element in extraposition in Greek⁷³⁴, a resumptive pronoun after the verb is needed in Coptic as in [57]⁷³⁵:

[57] AJ 21.7–8 ΤΕΝΟΥ-ΣΕ ΙC ΠΕΝ-CON ΠCΕΝΤΕΑΠΙC Α-ΕΙ-ΤΕΝΝΟΥ=ϣ ψΑΡΟ=κ
tenou-ḳe is pen-son psenteapis a-ei-tennoou=f šaro=k
 now.ADV-PRT behold POSS.SG.1pl-brother name PRF-1sg-send=3sg to.PRP=2sg
 ‘Now (then), (behold) our brother Psenteapis, I sent **him** to you.’

Internal marking refers to the addition of a particle to an item that does not stand in extraposition. The particle often seems to be inserted to facilitate comprehension as in [58].

[58] AP 1.28 ποίησεν δὲ καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν ἐκίνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἐλ’λην ὦν δ[ιὰ] τὸ ἀμάρτημα ὃ ἐποίησεν.
 ‘Although being Greek, he did a favour on that day because of the mistake he had made.’

The subject of the sentence is the *praepositus*. He apologises to the bishop whose brothers he had hurt. ἀγαπὴν ποιέω is an established support-verb construction (cf. Chapter 3). However, in [58], the predicative noun ἀγαπὴν is marked by means of καί. This may be the case because the recompense, ἀγαπὴν, is the pivotal item in the sentence.⁷³⁶ An item that is marked with increasing frequency is the infinitive.⁷³⁷

Both extraposition and internal marking seem to reflect a writer’s intention to facilitate comprehension and thus the impact of colloquial habits on our texts. At the same

⁷³⁴ Gignac (2013: 413 and 415) interprets resumptive pronouns referring to fronted items as a colloquialism, but resumptive pronouns in relative clauses as the result of bilingual interference. For redundant anaphoric pronouns, see also Evans 2012b: 111 (NT, MG), Torallas Tovar 2010a: 261, Clarysse 1993: 199.

⁷³⁵ Cf. Layton 2011: §§ 454–455.

For the lack of case marking in fronted elements, see Grossman 2015.

For *casus pendens* constructions in Semitic languages, see Lipinski 1997: §§ 50.8 and 20.

⁷³⁶ Construing καί as an adverb ‘even’ is not excluded. Yet, it does not change the function of καί in the sentence. καί would still serve to mark ἀγαπὴν.

⁷³⁷ Cf. Bentein 2015a: 126–127; Hult 1990: esp. 208–219, BDR § 388.1.

time, both configurations are absolutely natural in Coptic discourse (cf. Section 5.1). [59] summarises the distribution of emphatic particles in the corpus:

[59] Emphatic particles

Archive	AJ	AN	AP	PK	DA	Total
γέ	1	∅	∅	∅	1	2
δή	∅	∅	∅	1	3	4
μήν	∅	1	∅	∅	∅	1
-περ	∅	1	∅	∅	2	3
καί focalising / topicalising	3	4	8	6	10	38
καί verb-marking	1	3	2	1	2	9
καί subject-marking	∅	∅	1	5	1	7
καί object-marking	∅	∅	(2) + 3	∅	(2)	(4) + 3
καί adverb-marking	1	3	1	5	9	19
ὥς	1 ⁷³⁸	∅	∅	∅	1	2
Total						93

Finally, structuring particles and coordinators are treated together because both connect clauses in parataxis. On the one hand, their use fundamentally differs in Greek and Coptic. On the other hand, colloquial syntax heavily impacts on the choice of structuring particles and coordinators (cf. Section 5.1). [60] summarises the distribution of structuring particles and coordinators in the corpus⁷³⁹:

[60] Structuring particles and coordinators

Archive	AN	PK	AP	AJ	DA	Total
δέ	27	30	19	10	70	156
οὖν	5	10	23	7	21	66
γάρ	17	13	11	18	19	78
καί	20	29	34	13	46	142
ἀλλά	3 + 1	8 + 2	2 + 1	5	10 + 1	33
Total						475

After this general overview of types of particles, we turn to the eight items under investigation.

⁷³⁸ In AJ 8.14, the positioning of ὥς immediately after πέποιθα and separated from the infinitive by several sentence constituents may raise the question whether the writer originally intended a complement clause.

⁷³⁹ τοίνυν and τοιγαροῦν ‘therefore’ border on adverbs. Similarly, Coptic ተ-ἵ-ἵ ti-nou ‘now’ is commonly used as a structuring device at the beginning of a new section.

(a) ἵνα, ὅπως

In order to decide whether ἵνα and ὅπως function as particles or subordinators, the contexts of all instances are examined. Three factors are relevant to distinguishing between particle and subordinator:

- (a) Is there a superordinate clause that allows for a final clause or a prospective complement clause?
- (b) Is the verb belonging to ἵνα / ὅπως in the expected subjunctive?
- (c) Does the semantic context allow for a final clause?

[61] summarises the distribution of instances according to the criterion that suggests that ἵνα or ὅπως is a particle.⁷⁴⁰

⁷⁴⁰ For MG *να* + subjunctive, see Chondrogianni 2011: 325–328. *να* + subjunctive in independent clauses may express wishes and deliberations as well as polite requests and prohibitions.

[61] ἵνα / ὅπως as a particle

Group	Structure	Criterion	Example	Total of relevant passages
(1)	ἵνα + SBJ ὅπως + SBJ	The parallel independent clause contains a request or command. ⁷⁴¹	[61a] PK 15.20–23 μὴ κατέχῃς τὸν υἱόν μου παρὰ σοί· ἵνα ἐλθῇς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ γλεύκου. ‘You shall not keep my son with you, (but) you shall go with him at the time of the harvest.’	5
(2)	ἵνα + SBJ	The parallel independent clause contains a verb calling for a factive complement clause.	[61b] AJ 11.3–6 μετὰ τὼν Θεὸν τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν προσδωκῶ , ἵνα ἀξιώσις τὼν τριβοῦνων τὼν Γοῦνθον καὶ ἄρη αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας μου, ἐπὶ χήρα γυνή εἰμι. ‘After God, I expect your help: You may ask the <i>tribunus</i> Gounthos that he may remove them from my house because I am a widow.’	5
(3)	ἵνα + SBJ ἵνα + IND ⁷⁴² ἵνα + OPT	The combination of ἵνα and οἶδα / μανθάνω constitutes an instance of F1 (cf. further Chapter 6).	[61c] DA 1.3–6 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐποίησέν μοι μηδεμίαν φροντίδα περὶ αὐτῶν. ἵνα π[ε] μάρθητε ὅτι εἰ μὴ δι[ὰ] τῆς αὔριον ἐξενέγκητέ μοι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ τε ἀστικο(ῦ) καὶ κωμητικο(ῦ) ἐ<κ> πλήρους, ο[ὕ]κ [ἔ]ξετε ε[ὐ]χαριστήσαι τῷ πράγματι. ‘And behold, he did not make any mention of them to me. And you may know.’ ⁷⁴³ If you do not pay me (your) share of the city and village tax in full by tomorrow, you will not like the (resulting) affair.’	4

⁷⁴¹ Compare incidentally the uses of the Coptic conjunctive (Layton 2011: §§ 351–356).

⁷⁴² The indicative may be caused by the irregular paradigm of οἶδα, the verb in the relevant passage.

⁷⁴³ ὅτι may be interpreted as ὅτι *recitativum*, as in the translation given, or as the factive complementiser ‘that’.

(4)	ἵνα / ὅπως + SBJ	The parallel independent clause is either a greeting section (GS) or a final health wish (FWW).	[61d] AN 12.17–18 ἀσπάζομαι ὑμ<ᾱ>ς πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς μ', ὅπως προσεύχη[σθ]αι περὶ ἐμοῦ. 'I greet you, all my brothers. You may pray for me.'	5 ⁷⁴⁴
(5)	ἵνα + SBJ	A second clause is joined by means of a coordinator (ἀλλά) or a subordinator (ἐπεὶ, ὥς (οὕτως)).	[61e] DA 9.11–13 [ἐπεὶ οὐκ](?) ἡξιώθην ὑμᾶς εἰς Εὐφρόσυνον, κἂν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μ[ου], ἵνα ἀξιωθῇ ὁ οἶκός μο(υ) τὴν ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητα. πάλιν ἀσπάζ[ομαι] αὐτὴ[ν] ... 'Because / when I was not deemed worthy of you in Euphrosyne, even though (it was) in my own city, my house shall be deemed worthy of your brotherhood (now). Again, I greet it ...' ⁷⁴⁵	3 ⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁴ The context of PK 4.30–31 is severely damaged so that the passage can only tentatively be subsumed here. Cf. also Fournet 1998.

⁷⁴⁵ For the independence of the greeting section from the ἵνα-clause, see explanations to group (4).

⁷⁴⁶ For PK 2.50–51 and AN 10.3–6, see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.

While identification in groups (1) to (3) is quite secure, identification in groups (4) and (5) is fairly tentative. For instances of groups (1) and (2), there is no clause that could serve as a superordinate clause allowing for a final clause or a prospective complement clause. Rather, in instances of group (1), we find two parallel independent clauses expressing a command or request, and in instances of group (2), we find two parallel independent clauses the first of which expresses a statement and the second a command or request. The criterion for group (4) depends on whether one allows for a purpose clause that expands a formulaic section. The construal as purpose clause would suggest that the greeting or health wish in the relevant passage is only articulated in order to make the addressee do something for the sender (cf. further Chapter 6). All passages of group (5) appear in damaged contexts.⁷⁴⁷

(b) δέ, γάρ and οὖν

Essentially, the structuring particles δέ, γάρ and οὖν have the following functions in our texts:

- δέ may (a) indicate a new topic (or section) within a discourse, (b) link two elements ('and') and (c) contrast two elements ('but'). The classical combination with μέν is particularly common in the Dioscoros archive.⁷⁴⁸
- γάρ indicates a reason.
- οὖν commonly appears with deontic verbal forms and then seems to (a) either signal or (b) merely emphasise the request that is expressed. (c) It may also signal a continuation such as an expansion of what was said before.

δέ, γάρ and οὖν did not cause problems to our writers. The choice and placement of particles fluctuated occasionally because the particle system was being restructured in the post-classical period. Thus, difficulty with neither points to an insecure writer.⁷⁴⁹ Furthermore, statistical cross-checking reveals that most letters contain at least one instance of δέ, γάρ and οὖν, even letters in which several ungrammaticalities indicate an insecure writer. δέ, γάρ and οὖν hence seem to have been commonplace items rather than stylistically marked.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ Generally, the Coptic parallel $\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ *d'ekas* + future III may have facilitated the assimilation of the Greek pattern and may explain the frequency of correct instances in our texts.

⁷⁴⁸ Bentein (forthcoming) identifies μέν as a feature of a high register.

⁷⁴⁹ A wealth of discourse-structuring particles is characteristic of Greek only. In the absence of an equivalent Coptic pattern, writers could merely make mistakes or omit particles (cf. Clarysse 2010b: 47).

⁷⁵⁰ For disappearing classical items as becoming stylistically marked, see Section 5.1.

δέ, γάρ and οὖν will therefore not be examined further. Yet, their general functions serve to clarify the surrounding syntax. To evaluate the impact of the formally and semantically implicit Coptic system on the formally and semantically explicit Greek system, the structures with καί are examined.

(c) καί

καί is syntactically and semantically highly versatile in the corpus. Also, it outnumbers any other clause connector by far. The instances of καί in the corpus fall into four broad categories⁷⁵¹:

(1) καί as a conjunction at the phrasal level⁷⁵²;

(2) καί as a conjunction at the clausal level

(including instances of digression / explication⁷⁵³, and those of return to the main line of thought);

(3) καί as a (semantically empty) focus particle

(including instances of a preposition + καί);

(4) καί as an adverb (additive) ‘also’ / (restrictive) ‘even’⁷⁵⁴

(including instances of ‘even if’ and ‘as well as’).

Instances of categories (1) and (4) are irrelevant here. Instances of category (1) reflect a regular pattern in Greek and Coptic. The alternative is listing items asyndetically. Instances of category (4) reflect a regular pattern in Greek. More elaborate alternatives are e.g. αὖ and ἐξαίρετως.

⁷⁵¹ For CG, see Bonifazi and Drummen and de Kreij 2016: IV.2, § 94. They describe καί as a multifunctional particle that may appear in combination with other particles or on its own and may display what they term ‘enrichment’, i.e. a contextually inferable adverbial function in addition to the connecting one.

⁷⁵² An interesting case is AP 1.52–56. In a list of people to be greeted in the form of syndetically joined elements, there is one instance of asyndetic linking. The writer may either have wanted to clarify that there were two separate groups of people (but why not two verbs of greeting then?) or he may have forgotten to put ‘and’ (but why only this once?). For degrees of connection, see Chapter 6.

For AP 5.18–19, see Chapter 6 (GS, chunking). For AP 1.18 and AP 1.48, see Chapter 3 (*schema Pindaricum*).

⁷⁵³ Bonifazi, Drummen and de Kreij (2016: IV.2, §§ 102–105) connect the explicative function to the idea of climax, which καί conveys. By ‘pinning something down’, the author zooms in on an item, which thus becomes a pivotal element in the discourse.

καί is commonly used to join greeting sections primarily when there is a change of subjects (e.g. AP 6.23–28), when two separate parties are to be greeted (e.g. PK 16.6) or when the verb of greeting is changed (e.g. DA 63.11).

⁷⁵⁴ For PK 14.30 εἰ for εἰ καί and καί for καὶ ‘at least’, see Section 5.2.3. καί functions as a focus particle in combination with the adverb καὶ ‘at least’ in PK 13.31, PK 14.20. The adverb καὶ ‘at least’ appears in combination with οὖν in the fixed expression ‘nevertheless’ (LSJ I.3) in AJ 14.8 and AN 6.13.

Instances of category (2) pertain to the difference in Greek and Coptic discourse organisation and the impact of colloquial habits on our texts.⁷⁵⁵ *καί* may link an independent clause and

- (a) ... another independent clause: and, and then, thus, therefore, etc.;
- (b) ... an adverbial subordinate clause: while, because, so that, etc.;
- (c) ... an attributive subordinate clause;**
- (d) ... a predicative subordinate clause.

The impact of colloquial habits on our texts seems to underlie instances of subgroups (a), (b) and (d).⁷⁵⁶ Conversely, instances of subgroup (c) deserve further commenting as they significantly deviate from the standard Greek pattern.

In instances of category (3), *καί* is redundant in Greek. Examples are apodotic *καί*, *καί* as a marker of an item in extraposition, *καί* as a marker of a verb, subject or object and *καί* as a marker of an adverb.⁷⁵⁷ In none of these patterns does *καί* carry semantic weight. However, the addition of the particle often facilitates comprehension as, for instance, in the context of digressions. In [62], the digression is put in italics.

[62] DA 65.6–9 *μίαν ταύτην αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἀσφαλῆ καλῶς ὑπολαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοσύνης ἐπικουρίαν ταύτης δεῖται τυχεῖν παρ’ ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἤτησεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.*

‘After fortunately receiving this one actual help to him, your justice’s help – he (always) needs to receive this from you – he asked (to send) the letter about these things to you.’

καί marks the return to the main clause after an inserted comment in the form of an independent clause. The addition of *καί* thus helps the reader resume the line of thought. The translation provided reflects an interpretation of the letter as an expression of gratitude.⁷⁵⁸ Other structures subsumed under category (3) are *καί* marking an item in

⁷⁵⁵ A more elaborate alternative is e.g. *καίτοι* ‘and yet’ indicating an opposition in AN 18.15.

⁷⁵⁶ This is also confirmed by the fact that Bentein (2016a: 44–45) regards *καί* as uncommon replacement of more specific causal particles in petitions, a higher-register text type.

⁷⁵⁷ Classical alternatives are apodotic *ἐπὶ* ‘then’ in AJ 1.19 as well as *ὥς* preceding an adverb in AJ 13.1 and PK 13.1 and perhaps also in PK 16.18 (if not *ὥς* for *ἕως*, which would also suit the context).

For AP 1.58 (subject marking), see Chapter 3 (variation).

⁷⁵⁸ This interpretation is suggested by lines 1–6 (recounting past events that ended fortunately). Only in l. 11 (‘make an even greater effort now’), the writer moves on to a request. This request is carefully hedged in lines 9–11. Alternatively, one could construe [62] along the following lines: After receiving your help in

extraposition and *καί* marking a complementary infinitive. [63] summarises the distribution of *καί* in the corpus:

[63] *καί*

Archive	AP	AN	AJ	PK	DA	Total
(1) Conjunction (phrasal level)	124	65	34	71	93	387
(2) Conjunction (clausal level)	34	20	14	29	46	143
(3) Emphatic particle	17	10	5	17	24	73
(4) Adverb	15	7	5	5	17	49
Lost	4	1	5	1	18	29
Total	194	103	63	123	198	681

(d) *ἰδοῦ* / *ἴδε*

Torallas Tovar explained *ἰδοῦ* in [64] by the multivalence of Coptic *εἰς eis* as a focus particle or preposition ‘since’.⁷⁵⁹

[64] BGU 3 948.4–6 γινώσκινε [θ(?)]έλω(?) ὅτι εἶπέν σοι ὁ πρα\γ/ματευτ[ῆς ὅ]τι
 {ἡ μητρ} ἡ μήτηρ σου Κοφαίνα ἀσθενῖ, **εἰδοῦ, δέκα τρις μῆνες**.

‘I want (you) to know that the *pragmateus* told you that your mother Kophaina has been ill for thirteen months.’

(cf. DA 17.13 in the corpus)

However, Bailey’s exhaustive study of *ἰδοῦ* / *ἴδε* in the New Testament demonstrates that the structure in [64] is both grammatical and frequent in post-classical Greek. He identified five main patterns with *ἰδοῦ* / *ἴδε*⁷⁶⁰:

(1) deicticthetic particle (visual attention)

pattern: *ἰδοῦ* / *ἴδε* {noun phrase}^{NOM}

Mat 25.6 *ἰδοῦ ὁ νυμφίος*, ἐξέρχεσθε εἰς ἀπάντησιν (αὐτοῦ)

‘Here is the bridegroom, go out to meet him!’

(2) deictic or semi-deicticthetic particle

pattern: *ἰδοῦ* / *ἴδε* {noun phrase}^{NOM} {verb / participle}

Jhn 12.15 *ἰδοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται*

the past, he now needs to receive it and (therefore) sent the present letter. The letter would then solely be a request for help. In light of lines 1–6, 9–11 and 11, the translation provided in [62] is preferable.

⁷⁵⁹ Torallas Tovar 2010a: 262.

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. Bailey 2009: 314–384. *ἰδοῦ* and *ἴδε* resemble aorist imperatives of the verb *ὁράω* ‘to see’, but with a change in their accentuation patterns.

‘Here comes your king.’

(3) deictic (non-thetic) particle

pattern: ἰδοῦ / ἴδε {clause}

Mat 25.20 ἴδε **ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα ἐκέρδησα**

‘Look, I gained another five talents.’

(4) focus particle (time, degree)

pattern: ἰδοῦ / ἴδε {noun phrase}^{NOM}

Luke 15:29 Ἰδοὺ **τοσαῦτα ἔτη** δουλεύω σοι

‘I have been serving you for so many years.’

(5) (non-deictic) particle (mental attention)

pattern: ἰδοῦ / ἴδε {clause}

Mat 20.18 ἰδοὺ **ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα**

‘We are going (up) to Jerusalem.’

Essentially, ἰδοῦ may introduce a new topic into the discourse or bring into focus an already familiar element.

[64] is an example of pattern (4).⁷⁶¹ Torallas Tovar’s argumentation could hence only be taken as an argument in favour of convergence of Greek and Coptic.⁷⁶² The New-Testament evidence here helps distinguish between interference and regular internal development (cf. Chapter 2).

In the corpus, ἰδοῦ appears only once on its own, in AP 5.12. In all other instances, ἰδοῦ is combined with another particle such as καί, γάρ and οὖν.

5.3.2 Variation

In what follows, patterns owing to variation are briefly described. On the one hand, these reflect some writers’ desire for elaboration. We find classical obsolete patterns, distinctly precise formulations and the choice of the marked item between alternatives. On the other hand, some passages discussed reflect colloquialisms such as modernisms, imprecise formulations, a preference for the default pattern and redundant repetition of elements. None of the structures discussed in this section is the result of bilingual interference.

⁷⁶¹ It is an example of patter C4a, to be precise, cf. Bailey 2009: 350. Incidentally, the bare accusative could express a duration of time (cf. George 2014).

⁷⁶² The relevant Greek pattern is neither the most nor the least common one with ἰδοῦ in the NT. Yet, perhaps, it was a common regionalism in Egypt. The overlap between ἰδοῦ / ἴδε and *S eis eis* goes beyond this pattern. However, further assessment of this hypothesis goes beyond the scope of the present study.

(a) *Modality*

In [65], εὐχομαι is complemented by a dative referring to the recipient of the prayer, God, and a περί-phrase referring to the object of the prayer, the addressee's wellbeing.

[65] AN 10.3–6 προηγουμένως **εὔχομαι** τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ περὶ τῆς ὁλοκληρίας σου **ὅπως** ὑγιαίνουντί σοι καὶ εὐθυμοῦντι **ἀποδοθείη** ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα.

‘First of all, I pray to the almighty God for your health. May my letters be delivered to you being well and cheerful.’

The clause beginning with ὅπως could either add a second, this time verbal, object or would be explicative.⁷⁶³ The latter construal is pragmatically impossible. Syntactically, εὔχομαι ‘to pray’ overall behaves more conservatively than other verbs of request so that a prospective complement clause is unexpected. Moreover, this construal would imply that the reference to the addressee’s wellbeing is doubled in an unusual way: περὶ τῆς ὁλοκληρίας σου and ὑγιαίνοντί σοι καὶ εὐθυμοῦντι.⁷⁶⁴ It thus seems more likely to construe two independent clauses than one.⁷⁶⁵

The writer opts for the optative, which was obsolete by this period, rather than the common subjunctive.⁷⁶⁶ The optative was however still occasionally used in wishes in the form of independent clauses. The writer also opts for ὅπως rather than expected ἵνα. ἵνα and ὅπως were interchangeable as the head of a prospective complement clause with ὅπως being the high-register alternative to ἵνα. Yet only ἵνα seems to have become a particle in later Greek and, as a particle, it was still limited to the lower registers in the early Byzantine period. Finally, a classical *schema atticum* appears in the ὅπως-clause and the prayer is expanded by a wish for the safe reception of the letter (cf. Chapter 6).

These morphological, syntactic and phraseological choices seem to reflect an attempt at elevating the register. Classical and modern features are mixed and the function

⁷⁶³ A purpose clause is unlikely because of the politeness-argument outlined in Section 5.3.1.

⁷⁶⁴ Neither Coptic nor Greek opening prayers (OP) display this. For example, in PKC 122.7–9 (ⲉⲁ-ⲛ-ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲁ-ⲡⲕ-ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲭⲁ-ϣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲁⲓϥ ⲁⲣⲁ=ⲕ ⲛⲉ=ⲛ ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ<ⲓ>ⲱ ha-n-šlēl n-p-noute ha-pk-oudēeite dʿa-f-na-raiś ara=k ne=n n-nou-nakʾ n-oua<i>š ‘We prayed to God for your wellbeing that he may always watch over you for us.’), the wish for the addressee’s health is not repeated in the complement clause (ⲭⲁ-ϣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲁⲓϥ... dʿa-f-na-raiś ...).

⁷⁶⁵ It cannot be excluded that the existence of a parallel Coptic structure guided the author's choice of the pattern in question. Cf. Layton 2011: § 338.a.ii (Ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ *d'ekas* + future III).

⁷⁶⁶ In post-classical Greek, the optative appears in primary and secondary sequence and overall more often with ὅπως than ἵνα (Hult 1990: 79–81). For the optative in PCG, see Evans 2001: 175–197.

of ὅπως seems to be extended by analogy perhaps because the writer felt the need to somewhat strengthen the cupitive optative.

The following classicising patterns appear in the corpus:

- ὅπως ἄν (2) : cf. final and consecutive clauses;
- εἰ (2) : DA 11.3 (direct speech, SBJ), DA 44.28 (quotation, OPT).⁷⁶⁷

Their appearance points to a well-educated writer. On the other hand, the following modern patterns, which are still limited to the lower registers, are attested:

- generalizing particles in relative clauses and in DA 69.8 (εἴ που);
- generalizing particles in combination with indefinite pronouns in PK 16.29 and DA 38.3 (both times: τί ποτε) and AJ 6.8 (οἰουδήποτε).

Their appearance attests to the encroachment of colloquial patterns on our texts.

(b) *Emphasis*

Redundant marking of subjects, objects, finite verbs, adverbs / adverbial phrases and apodotes should most likely be seen in the context of colloquialism.⁷⁶⁸ For instance, marking of the finite verb after an initial participial phrase, as in [66], or an initial subordinate clause, as in [67], as well as marking of a postponed subject (cf. Chapter 6) all facilitate comprehension.

[66] AP 1.8–9 ἀκούσαν[τε]ς οὖν οἱ διαφέροντες Ἀθανασίου **καὶ** ἦλθασιν (...)
 ‘After Athanasius’ trouble-makers had then heard (sc. about the events), they came (...).’
 (similarly AN 20.6)

[67] AP 4.8–9 γινῶναί σαι οὖν θαίλω, [γνησιώτ]αται καὶ μακαριώταται, **ὅτι** ὅτε
 ἡσμαιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῆς Μέμφ[εως] μαιτ[ὰ] τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἀδελφῶν **καὶ**
 ἐποί[ησαν πε]ρὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν διαθήκην (...)

⁷⁶⁷ εἰ + optative in DA 44.28 appears in a quotation from Homer, *Iliad* II 489.

⁷⁶⁸ For non-finite verbs (complementary, consecutive and final infinitive constructions), see Section 5.3.3.

‘I want you to know, dearest and most blessed one, that when we were on the island of Memphis with the holiest brothers, they reached an agreement concerning me (...)’⁷⁶⁹

(cf. also DA 65.6–9 above)

Classical alternatives to καί in such contexts are rare in the corpus:

- marker of the apodosis (ἐπ(ε)ί) in AJ 1.19;
- the combinations of ὥς with an adverb in AJ 13.1 and PK 13.1 (in both instances ὥς ἀληθῶς).

Only an accumulation of instances of such marking or a context that independently of the relevant instance(s) of καί indicates a bilingual writer may point to bilingual interference (cf. further Chapter 7).

The few instances of classical emphatic particles may either be the work of a keen student or a highly educated writer.

δὴ : PK 13.21, DA 1.2, DA 10.6, DA 51.13

γέ : DA 9.4, AJ 13.4

μήν : AN 20.11

[cf. also discussion of PK 11.10–11 in Chapter 3]

-περ : DA 50.3, DA 69.24, AN 14.3

The emerging particles ἰδοῦ / ἴδε seem to function as the marked choice in comparison to inherited καί.

Occasionally, writers seem to have avoided the complex syntax related to ἰδοῦ / ἴδε either to be creative or to simplify. The resulting structures are grammatical:

[68a] DA 69.23 καὶ παρίδητε καὶ συγχωρήσητε (...)

⁷⁶⁹ Construing ὅτι ὅτε as a complex subordinator, i.e. ὅτι as the default subordinator of F1 and ὅτε as a consciously selected complementiser, is unlikely: ‘I want you to know, dearest and most blessed one, *that* we were (IMPF) on the island of Memphis with the holiest brothers *and* they reached (AOR) an agreement’. Not only is the corresponding Coptic pattern simple *zε d’e* and thus cannot serve as a model for ὅτι ὅτε ‘that’, but (b) καὶ would also coordinate a durative background description and a perfective event. Furthermore, (c) we would have to assume vowel interchange in an unaccented final syllable in ὅτε despite its co-occurrence with ὅτι.

‘behold and allow (...)’⁷⁷⁰;

[68b] AN 18.25–26 καὶ ὄψετε πρὸς τὸν θεόν· (...)

‘behold in front of God (...)’⁷⁷¹;

[68c] PK 8.43–44 τοίνυν οὖν βλέπεις τὴν μητέρα μου. (...)

‘behold, my mother (...)’⁷⁷².

In all three passages, a verb meaning ‘to see’ replaces ἰδοῦ / ἴδε. In [68a], a direct request is highlighted; in [68b], a quotation of a saying that implies a threat follows; in [68c], a new protagonist is introduced in the discourse. Similar structures also appear in our Coptic letters. For instance, ⲁⲛⲁⲩ *anau* ‘look!’ in DA 75.12 points to an amount (of money); ⲭⲁⲣⲙⲭ *harēh* ‘watch!’ in PKC 103.18 underlines a prohibition; ⲭⲁⲣⲙⲭ *harēh* ‘watch!’ in PKC 103.43 introduces a new protagonist in the discourse.⁷⁷³

Conversely, [68d] borders on grammaticalisation. A singular imperative of ‘to see’ precedes a plural subjunctive expressing the principal request.

[68d] AP 3.28 ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσατε (...)

‘behold, do not forget (...)’

Noticeably, grammaticalised ἰδοῦ does not appear alongside the creative alternative in any of the relevant Greek letters (DA 69, AN 18, PK 18 and AP 3).⁷⁷⁴

(c) *Structure (particles and coordinators)*

Four passages with καί in an explicative function (‘in fact’) reflect the impact of colloquial habits on our texts. The passages contain semantically imprecise καί instead of a semantically precise conjunction. Moreover, in three of them, part of the preceding clause is redundantly repeated. An example is [69]:

⁷⁷⁰ For semantic bleaching of the prefix of compound verbs, see Chapter 3. If we do not accept semantic bleaching, καὶ παρίδῃτε καὶ συγχωρήσῃτε must be read as a combination of synonyms.

⁷⁷¹ For the disappearance of the middle, see Chapter 3. For the modal connotation of the future, see Lucas 2014.

⁷⁷² For a discussion of the passage, see Chapter 3.

⁷⁷³ In *AJ 18.18, ⲭⲁⲣ<ε>ⲭ *har<e>h* may precede a positive imperative, but the lacuna makes assessment difficult.

⁷⁷⁴ For contextualisation of the passages, see Chapter 7.

[69] AN 19.8–12 (...) ἀλλὰ καταξιώσον οὖν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ εἴ τι θέλεις κέλευσον καὶ γίγνεται. **καὶ ἐὰν θελήσης** ἀποκτῖναι αὐτούς, ἡμεῖς ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν ποιοῦμεν, (...)

‘But come to us and order *whatever you want*⁷⁷⁵ so that it will happen. *In fact, if you want* them to kill (us), we will (rather) do it ourselves.’

The other relevant passages are: AP 4.13 and AP 1.21.⁷⁷⁶

The impact of colloquial habits on our texts is also reflected in the connection of what is semantically an adverbial subordinate clause or a complement clause by means of καί instead of by means of a semantically precise conjunction.⁷⁷⁷ As far as complement clauses are concerned, the only relevant passages are [70a] to [71].

[70a] AJ 11.4–5 ἵνα ἀξιῶσις τῶν τριβοῦντων τῶν Γοῦνθον **καὶ ἄρῃ** αὐτάς
‘you may ask the *tribunus* Gounthos **that he may lift them**’

[70b] PK 15.11–12 ἵνα ποιήσης τὴν σπουδὴν **καὶ** συνάγεις μετ’ αὐτοῦ
‘so that you make an effort **to carry (them) together with him**’

In one passage, καί is explicative:

[71] DA 19.8 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσεις τοῦτο **καὶ** ζημιώθῃ τὰ γεγ<v>ήματα καὶ εὐρέθῃ τὸ δημόσιον σκάζον.

‘Yet, do not forget this, *namely that the production will be penalised* with the result that public damage will occur.’

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. Chapter 6 (formula F3).

⁷⁷⁶ In AJ 14.5, the repetition of the preceding sentence is condensed in a demonstrative pronoun: AJ 14.3–6 πολλακεῖ σε μετεπεμψάμην καὶ οἷ]κ ἐβουλήθης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐμέ, **καὶ ταῦτα** ὅτε ἤκουσας τὰ ὄντα. ‘I have often sent for you, but you did not want to come to me, and (you did) this, (even) when you had heard what happened.’

Cf. LSJ s.v. καὶ I.2 limiting / defining ‘and this too’.

⁷⁷⁷ For parataxis replacing predicative subordinate clauses, see Bentein 2015a: 109–112, James 2008: esp. 236–237.

In DA 18.16, a perfect seems to assume modal value (like the present elsewhere): Κυριακὸς δὲ ὁ παῖς ἐνταῦθά ἐστι, δέ[σπ]οτα, **καὶ δέδωκα αὐτῷ** λόγον εἰ κελεύετε. ‘Kyriakos, the child, is here, master, so that I (could) let him know if you want.’

In all three passages, a prospective complement clause is substituted by a paratactic structure. [72] summarises the distribution of the relevant instances in the corpus:

[72] καί as linking device at the clausal level

Archive	PK	AN	AJ	AP	DA	Total
Logical hypotaxis	9	4	5	9	15	42
<i>of these: complement clauses</i>	1	0	1	0	1	3
<i>of these: relative clauses (see Section 5.2.3)</i>	0	0	1	1	0	2
Logial parataxis	20	16	9	25	31	101
<i>of these: explicative / digression</i>	2	1	1	2	4	10
Total	29	20	14	34	46	143

A desire for precision and expressivity seems to underlie the combination of καί and ἰδοῦ in [73]. As noted before, the patterns of inherited καί and emerging ἰδοῦ are apparently complementary. However, the combination of both is also common.⁷⁷⁸ In [73], καὶ ἰδοῦ first marks the start of an explanatory comment, a digression, and subsequently the return to the main discourse.

[73] DA 1.1–4 οὐδὲν παντελῶς ἐσήμανέν μοι ὁ θεοφιλέστατος διακονητῆς [ὅ]περ τῆς κόμης ὑμῶν, καὶ ἰδοῦ οἱ μεγάλοι κτήτορες τῆς πόλεως, λόγῳ δὴ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ ἐνδ[οξ(οτάτου(?)) ἀπὸ] ἐπάρχων Ἰουλιανοῦ, συντελοῦσα εἰς τὸ κωμητικὸν ἤδη ἐπλήρωσεν τὸ μέτρον α[ὐτῆς(?)](?) καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐποίησέν μοι μηδεμίαν φροντίδα περὶ αὐτῶν.

‘The most pious deacon did not mention anything at all to me concerning your village – In fact, the great owners of the city or rather the power of the most famous one of the *eparchoi* (?), Julian, who usually pays towards the village-tax, has already paid his share. – now, he did not mention these things to me.’⁷⁷⁹

Simple καί would have been sufficient, but the writer apparently wanted to indicate the points of transition more clearly.

Given the pervasive frequency of καί in multiple structures, it is worth summarising briefly the distribution of classical alternatives in the corpus:

⁷⁷⁸ See Bailey 2009: 376–377.

⁷⁷⁹ For the SVC φροντίδα ποιέω, see Chapter 3.

[74] Alternatives to καί

Function	At the phrase level	At the clause level	As an adverb	Lost	Total
τε	2	1	1	4	8
τε καί	5	∅	∅	∅	5
οὐδέ	3	1	3	∅	7
οὐτε	6	2	∅	1	9
Total					29

Their distribution in the archives of the corpus is as follows: PK (9 instances), AN (7 instances), AJ (1 instance), AP (∅), DA (12 instances).

5.3.3 Deviations

(a) Modality [internal confusion]

ἵνα and ὅπως could function either as subordinators or as modal particles. Yet, the distinction between these functions is not always straightforward. Therefore, we adopted the general rule to construe ἵνα / ὅπως as subordinator when a verb of sending / moving preceded the ἵνα / ὅπως-clause. In [75], a writer seems to have mixed the two functions of ἵνα / ὅπως.

[75] PK 2.50–51 ὡς προεῖπον οὖν, ἔπεμψα διὰ Σινέ[ως εἰς τιμ]ῆν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐν σίτῳ
 [ου] καγκ(κέλλους) ὀκτώ, ὅπως τὰ δύο ἀποστείλατε.

‘As I said before, I sent eight cancelli in the form of wheat at the price of one through Sineus. You shall now send the two.’

Pragmatically speaking, the writer first states what he has already done for the addressee (ἔπεμψα) and subsequently asks the addressee to fulfil his part of the agreement (ἀποστείλατε). Syntactically speaking, according to our rule, ἔπεμψα would justify a construal of ὅπως as subordinator heading a final clause. However, the verb following ὅπως is an imperative rather than the expected subjunctive. It cannot finally be decided whether the writer:

- (a) used the imperative ἀποστείλατε because he intended an independent request and added ὅπως without considering that this particle would call for a subjunctive;
- or

(b) intended a final clause but confused the imperative and the subjunctive based on their functional overlap in independent clauses.⁷⁸⁰

In either case, there is no evidence for interference from Coptic. Rather, the writer when struggling with the Greek pattern resorted to internal analogies.

(b) **Emphasis [functional extension / direct interference]*

In the corpus, the particle *καί* marks an infinitive five times. The relevant instances fall into two categories:

- (a) *καί* marks a complementary infinitive;
- (b) *καί* marks an adverbial (final) infinitive.

In category (a), we find the following three instances:

[76a] DA 44.31–32 *παρακαλείσθω (...) καὶ γράφειν*
 ‘he may be asked (...) to write’

[76b] AN 4.3–5 *εὐχομαι (...) καταξιοῦσθαι (...) καὶ κελεύεσθαι*
 ‘I wish to be considered worthy of receiving orders’

[76c] PK 3.7–9 *μὴ ἀμελήσης (...) καὶ τάχειον ἀποστεῖλαι*
 ‘do not forget to send quickly’⁷⁸¹

In all three passages, several elements intervene between the verb of request / modal verb and the complementary infinitive. The particle *καί* may thus be added for reasons of clarification.

Yet there are regular patterns for marking an infinitive⁷⁸²:

[77] Post-classical infinitive markers:

- τοῦ
- τὸ

⁷⁸⁰ There is no evidence for a regular interchange between <α> and <η> so that one could read a subjunctive ἀποστείλητε.

⁷⁸¹ One may argue for *καί* as a marker of the adverb ‘quickly’. This construal cannot fully be excluded. However, given the number of intervening elements, marking of the infinitive may have been crucial to the reader’s comprehension.

⁷⁸² Cf. Section 5.3.1.

- ὥς / ὥστε

In light of the function of καί as an emphatic particle marking, for instance, objects, subjects and finite verbs, the extension to non-finite verbs seems understandable even if Greek syntax would require one of the patterns in [77]. The Coptic parallel does not suggest otherwise. Coptic like post-classical Greek regularly employs a marker for complementary and final infinitives, ε-. However, this marker is by no means as multifunctional as καί. Thus, the use of καί in [76a] to [76c] seems to be the result of overgeneralisation of the multifunctionality of καί and particularly of its function as an emphatic particle.

In category (b), we find the following two instances: In [78a] and [78b], καί heads semantically final constructions. In both passages, the final construction follows a request.

[78a] AN 6.11–14 παρ[α]καλῶ δέ, κύριαι πάτερ, **δυσώπησον** Παφνουῖτιν Οὐρείωνος τὸν ἀγνώμονα **καὶ** κὰν νῦν ἡμῖν ἀρτάβας τρῖς σίτου **δοῦναι**, (...) ‘I beg (you), lord, father, abash Paphnoutis, Horion’s son, the reckless one in order that (he may) give us at least now the three *artabae* of wheat.’

[78b] AJ 13.4–6 διό, δέσποτα, τῆς σῆς μόνης παρουσίας/ ἐστὶν **ἀνορθῶσε** μου τὴν ὑπόλημψιν **καὶ** ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς **εἶναι ἡμᾶς** ἐκ τῆς συστάσεως τῆς σῆς τελιότητος ‘Therefore, master, it is your designated duty to restore my subsidy in order that we may be in the same (situation) because of your perfection’s friendship.’⁷⁸³

As in [76a] to [76c], several elements intervene between the head verb and the infinitive. Also, the writers may have intended to clarify which items are to be taken with the head verb as opposed to the infinitive.

⁷⁸³ Syntactically speaking, one can analyse the passage as containing two infinitive constructions under the same head and connected by means of ‘and’. However, semantically speaking, the second infinitive carries a final connotation. The writer poses two requests, the first of which is only a means to arrive at the second one: The writer eventually wants to be in the same situation as he was before his misery. In order to achieve this, his subsidy must be restored.

In [78a] and [78b], *καί* seems to replace *ὥστε* in combination with an AcI. Although the accusative is omitted in [78a], the context suggests that the reference must be to Paphnoutis. The patterns employed for complementary infinitives, cf. [77], could also be used for final infinitives. These patterns could be combined with an AcI or an infinitive. Equally, Coptic *ε-* *e-* was used not only with complementary and final / consecutive infinitives but also with both bare and so-called causative infinitives, the equivalent to Greek AcI constructions.

While *καί* in its function as an emphatic particle is merely extended to non-finite verb forms in [76a] to [76c], in [78a] and [78b], *καί* heads an AcI-structure. Coptic *ε-* *e-* could appear in the equivalent Coptic pattern, but *ὥστε* would be expected in Greek. Thus, in [78a] and [78b], *καί* seems to substitute *ὥστε* based on the Coptic parallel, *ε-* *e-*.

Finally, *καί* could mark an item in extraposition.⁷⁸⁴ [79] summarises the distribution of relevant instances in the corpus:

[79] Extraposition

Extraposition of ... with <i>καί</i> being prefixed	PK	AN	AJ	AP	DA	Total
an object	5	2	3	3	6	19
an adverbial phrase	1	2	∅	2	4	9
a subject	∅	∅	∅	1	∅	1
<i>of these with a resumptive pronoun</i>	2	1	∅	2	∅	5
Total	6	4	3	6	10	29

Essentially, the addition of a resumptive pronoun is redundant in Greek and would qualify as a colloquialism. However, in instances like [80] a pronominal reference to the item in extraposition is syntactically conditioned.

[80] AP 1.19–20 (...) ἐγβληθῆναι ἐκτὸς τῆς Νικοπόλεως· **καὶ τὸν μονάρι<ο>ν Ἡρακλίδην** δύ[σα]ντες καὶ ὑβρίσαντες ἐνέτιλαν **τῷ αὐτῷ** ἐπαπιλούμενοι, ὅτι κατὰ ποίαν ἐτίαν (...)

⁷⁸⁴ Since an item in extraposition usually refers to a new topic, *καί* is unlikely to have a connecting function ('and') in the relevant instances.

‘(...) to be thrown out of Nikopolis. The monk Herakleides, having bound him and maltreated they ordered him threatening: For what reason (...)’⁷⁸⁵

The element in extraposition is correctly inflected as accusative.⁷⁸⁶ The pronominal reference to it later in the sentence is necessary because the second verb calls for a complementation pattern different from the first.⁷⁸⁷ If the pronominal reference was omitted, it could however be supplied by contextual inference.

A different situation appears in [81a] and [81b], which are taken from the same letter.

[81a] PK 8.18–23 ἀπλῶς δὲ περὶ πάντων πιστεύσω σοι τὸν ἐμὸν τόπον, ἵνα τηρήσης σ{ε}<ὸ> αὐτόν. καὶ τὸ μικκὸν ἐλάδιον ἦν⁷⁸⁸ {ἐ}άγης παρὰ σέ, πώλησον αὐτὰ καὶ ταχέως (...)

‘In short, above all, I entrust my place to you so that you may watch it. The little amount of olive oil which you may take to your place, sell it and soon (...)’

[81b] PK 8.26–30 (...) ὅτι πολλὰ ζημία ἐγὼ ἐδόθη ἐνθάδε. καὶ τὸν πῶλον, πώλησον αὐτὰ καὶ πέμψης τὴν τιμήν.

‘(...) because many penalties were given to me here. The foal, sell it and send (me) the price!’

The writer has a list of demands. The item that he is demanding is always put in extraposition. The accusative case would be correct with the following verb (πώλησον). However, like elsewhere in the letter, the writer struggles with pronominal forms. He uses αὐτὰ as a default resumptive pronoun. Also, the syntax of the relative clause in [81a] reflects bilingual interference (ἦν {ἐ}άγης) (cf. Section 5.2.3). In other words, [81a] and [81b] display an item in extraposition that is marked by καί and pronominally resumed

⁷⁸⁵ For δῆσαντες ‘binding’, see Chapter 1. For the periphrastic complementation in ἐνέτιλαν ἐπαπιλούμενοι ὅτι ‘ordering:’, see Chapter 3. Note also the quotation of direct speech.

⁷⁸⁶ For the accusative as default object case, see Vierros 2012a: 52. For a ‘floating accusative’ in Greek, see Evans 2012b: 107.

⁷⁸⁷ The same syntactic configuration is found in AP 1.21. As in AP 1.19, the element in extraposition is a new protagonist that is introduced into the context. Additionally, in AP 1.21 the inserted specification ([κ]αὶ αὐτὸν ὑποδεχόμενον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς) and the unusual complementation of παραγγέλλω ‘to order’ (ὥστε) are noteworthy.

⁷⁸⁸ The form printed in the edition is ἦν (CG ἐάν). The passage is discussed as example [46] above.

after the verb. The marker *καί* is redundant in Greek as is the resumptive pronoun, but the structure is not ungrammatical *per se* (cf. further Chapter 7).

Conversely, the item in extraposition in [82] is not declined correctly but left in the nominative. The resumptive pronoun *σοί* appears after the verb.

[82] AN 12.4–5 **καὶ ὁ ἄλλος Νεφερός πρεσβύτερος**, πολλὰ π[ρ]οσαγορεύω **σοί**.
 ‘The other Nephros, the priest, I greet you a lot.’

Both the nominative of the item in extraposition, a personal name and title, and the dative of the resumptive pronoun are not in line with Greek syntax. The dative is further discussed in Chapter 6 as an instance of bilingual interference. Concerning the nominative, Grossman (2015) observes that Coptic does not allow for case marking before the verb. Given additionally the writer’s struggle with Greek syntax in the entire letter, and in this sentence, we may attribute the nominative in [82] to bilingual interference.

(c) *Structure [avoidance] (coordinators and particles)*

In [83a] and [83b], a paratactic structure with *καί* seems to replace an attributive subordinate clause (relative clause).⁷⁸⁹

[83a] AJ 7.18–20 (...) ἐπὶ ἔστί μοι [πλ]έα [ἀ]φορμὴ παρὰ **τακτυλος καὶ οὐ πεπν[ωτ]ε** οὐδὲ οὐ σφραγισμεν[ο]ς.
 ‘(...) because I have a valid excuse on the finger which has not been operated upon (so that) I was not registered.’⁷⁹⁰

In [83a], the relative clause would be non-restrictive. It provides the additional piece of information that the injury on the writer’s finger has not been treated.

[83b] AP 1.4–5 **εἰσὶν γὰρ καὶ τινες ἀδελφοὶ** ἐκ τῶν ἐλ[θ]όντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ **καὶ δύνονται καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πραχθέντα** [ὑ]μῖν ἀναγῖλαι.

⁷⁸⁹ Bonifazi, Drummen and de Kreij (2016: IV.2, § 103) only discuss *καί* in relative clauses, but not *καί* as a substitute for a relative converter.

⁷⁹⁰ The passage is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

‘In fact, among those who have come to you with us to the house, there are some brothers who can also themselves tell you what happened.’

In [83b], the relative clause would be restrictive. The antecedent is indefinite, *τινες ὁδελφοί*.⁷⁹¹ In both passages, the antecedent and the subject of the relative clause refer to the same entity.

Neither passage is in essence ungrammatical: In [83a], the generally poor syntax hampers comprehension, which could have been improved by opting for a relative clause instead of paratactic *καί*. In [83b], the clause-initial existential /thetic structure almost calls for a defining relative clause. The explicative function of *καί* is noted by Bonifazi, Drummen and de Kreij (2016) for classical Greek and instances of redundant repetition in combination with explicative *καί* were discussed in Section 5.3.2. Given that writers significantly struggled with relative clauses (cf. Section 5.2.3) and that both AP 1 and AJ 7 display a range of ungrammatical structures, we may construe [83a] and [83b] as reflecting an avoidance strategy.

5.4 Summary and conclusion

Deviations in the area of discourse organisation are relatively evenly spread over dependent and independent clauses. However, within these broad categories, there are two accumulations:

- Twelve of the sixteen deviating instances in dependent clauses concern relative clauses. This is not surprising as the syntax of relative clauses significantly differs in Greek and Egyptian (cf. e.g. Vierros 2012, Gignac 2013).
- Six of the nine deviating instances in independent clauses concern emphasising particles. However, when redundantly added to non-finite complementation patterns or non-finite final patterns, the Greek particle merely had to undergo functional extension. The relevant structures are therefore omitted from the statistics below and instead further considered in Chapter 7. An emphatic particle is once added redundantly to an item in extraposition where the Greek particle was used in a natural way, but an uninflected item in extraposition as well as its pronominal resumption are unnatural.

Our writers' deviations overall seem to have resulted from the following three difficulties:

⁷⁹¹ Cf. Bailey 2009: 125–279 and esp. 146–153.

- (1) Some patterns fundamentally differ in Greek and Coptic, for instance, relative clauses. These patterns were particularly difficult to assimilate.
- (2) The range of Greek patterns exceeds the range of Coptic ones. This results in insecurity about patterns that could not be matched to a Coptic equivalent.
- (3) The functional capacity of patterns and items differed in Greek and Coptic. This difference occasionally resulted in functional extension or reinterpretation in order to make a pattern or item suitable to a particular context.

[84] summarises all instances of deviation according to their type.

[84] Types of deviations

Clause type	Direct interference	Indirect interference	Internal confusion	Avoidance strategy	Total
Dependent clauses	1	8	7	ø	16
Independent clauses	1	ø	1	2	4
Total	2	8	8	2	20

The relatively high number of instances of indirect interference and internal confusion is caused by the writers' struggle with relative clauses. The distribution of deviating instances is otherwise rather even.

The distribution of deviations across the archives of the corpus is equally even with two marginal peaks in the archive of Kellis and the archive of Apa Paieous.

[85] Deviations across the archives of the corpus

Archive	AN	AJ	AP	PK	DA	Total
Dependent clauses	2	1	6	4	3	16
Independent clauses	1	1	1	1	ø	4
Total	3	2	7	5	3	20

Furthermore, four letters contain a noticeably high number of instances:

- AP 1, AP 3 and AP 4 (2 instances each)
- PK 8 (3 instances)

All other letters contain only one instance.

One final caveat is necessary with regard to the present chapter: More often than in previous chapters, we referred to the internal evolution of Greek and to the production

circumstances of our texts. Classical Greek discourse organisation relied on a complex system that was based on formal and semantic explicitness, but in the post-classical period, this system was simplified. The loss of patterns led to a higher degree of implicitness. Moreover, the production circumstances of our texts favoured semantic implicitness and formal simplicity. Both were also essential features of the system underlying Coptic discourse organisation. Since at least three trends, namely internal, external and situational factors, heavily impacted on our writers' ways of discourse organisation, there may be instances of bilingual interference that have gone unnoticed as they were mistaken for colloquialisms or regular post-classical patterns.

6 Working with Givens: Formulaic Language

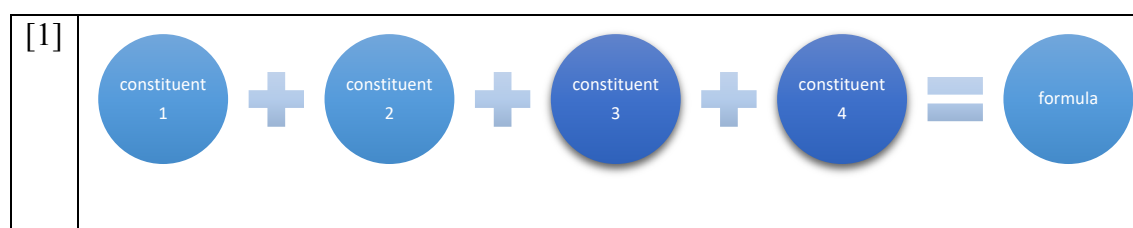
This chapter explores the formulaic sections of our texts. A fixed set of formulae is the epistolary frame, the presence of which marks a text as a ‘letter’, whereas a more flexible set of formulae appears in the letter body. The presence of these formulae reflects a scribe’s considerations. The chapter is divided into three parts: Section 6.1 outlines the syntactic and functional properties of formulae. Section 6.2 discusses the epistolary frame and Section 6.3 the formulaic sections of the letter body. Section 6.4 brings the results together.

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Form and function of formulae

A formula is a relatively invariable phrase or clause with a specific contextual function.⁷⁹² From a synchronic perspective, its syntax and semantics may be opaque. For example, a formula may preserve a syntactic pattern that has fallen out of use or display an elliptical structure that fossilised. While the ellipsis was initially resolvable, over time awareness of the underlying structure vanished.

Formulae are here described as modular.⁷⁹³ They consist of a specific set of constituents, which are arranged in a specific order. We could thus schematise a formula as in [1] where every circle represents a constituent.



Often, there are obligatory and optional constituents. In [1], the light blue circles represent obligatory constituents and the dark blue ones optional constituents. Also, certain formulae allow placing constituents in several positions. By adding optional constituents and by rearranging constituents, the syntax of the formula is not changed in Greek. In Coptic, rearrangement often poses problems due to the non-existence of case inflection.

⁷⁹² Conversely, in Chapter 3 the concept ‘formula’ was applied only to the complementation patterns of verbs.

⁷⁹³ Cf. similarly Kim 2011: e.g. 122–145 (for the structure of internal addresses).

Generally, the fixed structure of formulae restricts their contextual versatility. However, many formulae contain gaps⁷⁹⁴ in which context-specific material must be inserted. These gaps are fixed syntactic slots. For instance, internal addresses (IA) serve to identify the sender and the addressee of a letter. IAs have two gaps, one for the sender's and one for the addressee's name. The former must appear in the nominative and the latter in the dative.

While the standard pattern of a formula is largely invariable, there may be variants of the standard pattern. These differ syntactically but not functionally from the standard pattern. However, since the function of most formulae is less clear-cut than the function of the IA just mentioned, it is often difficult to distinguish clearly between a variant and a new formula.⁷⁹⁵ For example, the disclosure formula (F1) regularly appears in New Testament letters, but also in our corpus:

[2a] AJ 1.4–8 **γινώσκειν σαι βούλομε**, κύριέ μου πάτηρ, **ὅτι** ἤλθον πρὸς σαι καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀξιῶν σα[ι] τῇ\ν/ σὴν χρηστότητα περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου (...)
 ‘**I want you to know**, my lord, father, **that** I went to you also another time in order to beg you, your kindness, concerning Apollonios (...)’

Porter and Pitts meticulously discuss the function and forms of this formula. In their discussion, they term the following formula a subtype of F1:

[2b] AP 1.41–42 **ἔγρα[α]ψα εἶνα** γνοῖται ἐν ποίᾳ θλίψει ἐσμέν⁷⁹⁶
 ‘**I wrote (to you) in order that** you may know in what trouble we are’ / ‘I beg you to realise in what trouble we are.’

In the corpus, a clear functional difference between F1 and the formula shown in [2b] exists. The latter is therefore considered a separate formula and is termed polite-request formula (F2). F1 serves to flag new or salient information; F2 is used to appeal politely to the addressee.

Finally, Greek and Coptic formulae that functionally match often differ both syntactically and phraseologically. A phraseological difference often discloses a

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. Wray 2009.

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. Porter and Pitts 2013b.

⁷⁹⁶ The aorist is an epistolary tense.

difference in the underlying conceptualisation.⁷⁹⁷ For instance, Greek IAs are based on the verb ‘to say’, whereas Coptic IAs are based on the verb ‘to write’. Thus, Greek IAs represent letter writing as an act of oral communication whereas Coptic IAs characterise it as an act of written communication.⁷⁹⁸

In Section 6.2.1, the standard pattern of each formula is defined. Minor changes such as the addition of optional constituents, the rearrangement of constituents, and the alternation between a classical and a post-classical pattern are construed as variants of the standard. More significant changes are discussed separately. Syntactically and phraseologically correct deviations from the standard are termed variation and are attributed to register variation.⁷⁹⁹ Syntactically or phraseologically incorrect deviations from the standard are termed deviation.

6.1.2 The internal address (IA)

The internal address (IA) of letters may serve as an example to illustrate the modular nature of formulae. IAs are functionally comparable to e.g. ‘Dear (addressee)’ in an English letter. In Greek and Coptic IAs, the sender and the addressee are usually identified.

[3a] is an example of a Greek fourth-century IA:

[3a] AJ 12 τῷ ἀ<γα>πητῷ μου καὶ θεοσεβεστάτῳ πατρὶ Ἰωάννῃ Ἰωάννης διάκονος ἐν κυ(ρίῳ) πλεῖστα χαίρει(ν).

‘To my beloved and most pious father John, John the deacon, in the lord, all best wishes.’

We can single out five constituents: (1) a reference to the addressee, (2) a reference to the sender, (3) a reference to God, (4) an adverb of degree, and (5) a verb of greeting. Constituents (1) and (2) are obligatory. Constituents (3) and (4) are optional. Constituent

⁷⁹⁷ For the independence of the Coptic epistolary tradition, see Choat 2009 and 2010.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. Depauw 2014 (who calls the introduction of a verb of writing into the Egyptian pattern the ‘disappearance of oral fiction’).

⁷⁹⁹ For a situational need for free composition, see Wray 2009. Formulae raise clear expectations in the interlocutor.

For creativity in set phrases, see Arzt-Grabner 2010: esp. 157–158 (Paul); Nachtergaele 2013 (Isidora’s idiolect).

(5) is optional but mostly present. Generally speaking, Greek IAs reflect the structure illustrated in [3b]:



If we apply [3b] to [3a], it is evident that all obligatory and optional constituents are present.

[3c] AJ 12 {τῷ ἀ<γα>πητῷ μου καὶ θεοσεβεστάτῳ πατρὶ Ἰωάννῃ}^{addressee} {Ἰωάννης διάκονος}^{sender} {ἐν κυ(ρίῳ)}^{'in the lord'} {πλεῖστα}^{'most / many'} {χαίρει(ν).}^{verb}

In [3d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:



The syntax depends on the omitted predicate λέγει.⁸⁰⁰ While λέγει was present, the syntax was clear: The sender’s name filled the subject slot, the addressee’s name the indirect-object slot and the infinitive χαίρειν the direct-object slot. In the fourth century, λέγει had long been dropped and the structure had fossilised.⁸⁰¹ Outside of the IA, χαίρειν was uncommon as a greeting. In greeting sections, the verbs προσαγορεύω and ἀσπάζομαι appear (cf. Section 6.2.1). Most likely, writers applied the formulaic structure (IA) they learnt without awareness of its underlying syntax.

The Greek IA allows for limited variation only: Optional constituents may or may not appear.⁸⁰²

[4a] is an example of a Coptic fourth-century IA:

⁸⁰⁰ The use of a third-person form sets the IA clearly apart from the letter body (cf. van der Hout 1949).

⁸⁰¹ Cf. Koskeniemi 1956: 155–158. For CG IAs, see van der Hout 1949. These do initially not contain χαίρειν but only λέγει. χαίρειν appears from the 4th c. BC onwards.

⁸⁰² Of the standard IAs, the sender is omitted only in AJ 7 and AJ 22.

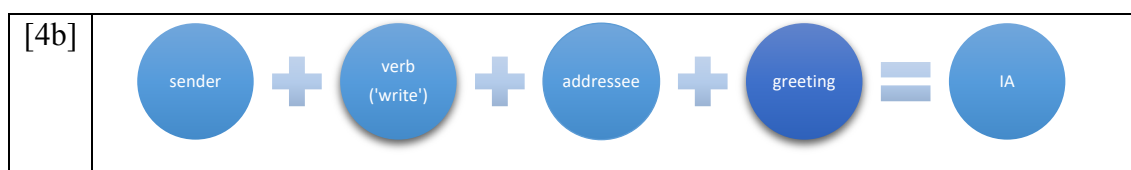
[4a] AP 9 $\text{BHC} \quad \text{mn-aphink'e} \quad \text{p-et-shei} \quad \text{n-} \cdot \text{lo} \quad \text{--} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{mn-ne-snēou} \quad \text{tēr=ou} \quad \text{e-u-šin(e)} \quad \text{era=k} \quad \text{pen-eiōt}.$

Bēs mn-ap^hink^je p-et-shei n- . lo – a mn-ne-snēou tēr=ou e-u-šin(e) era=k pen-eiōt

name with.PRP-name ART.DEF.SG-REL-write to.PRP-[...] with.PRP-ART.DEF.PL-brother
all=3pl CS-3pl-greet to.PRP=2sg POSS.SG.1pl-father

‘It is Bes together with Aphinge, who is writing to ... and all the brothers while greeting you, our father.’

We can single out four constituents: (1) a reference to the sender, (2) a verb, (3) a reference to the addressee, and (4) a greeting section. Constituents (1) to (3) are obligatory, whereas constituent (4) is optional. Generally speaking, Coptic IAs reflect the structure illustrated in [4b]:

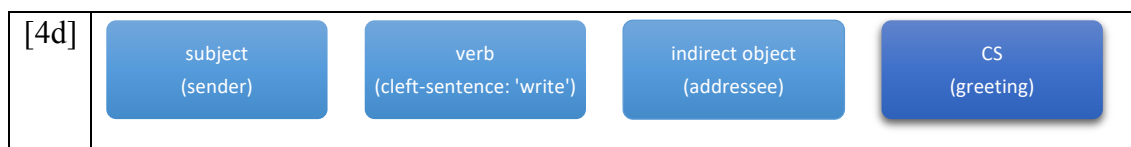


If we apply [4b] to [4a] it is evident that all obligatory and optional constituents are present.

[4c] AP 9 { $\text{BHC} \quad \text{mn-aphink'e}$ }^{sender} { p-et-shei }^{verb} { $\text{n-} \cdot \text{lo} \quad \text{--} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{mn-ne-snēou} \quad \text{tēr=ou}$ }^{addressee} { $\text{e-u-šin(e)} \quad \text{era=k} \quad \text{pen-eiōt}$ }^{greeting}

{*Bēs mn-ap^hink^je*}^{sender} {*p-et-shei*}^{verb} {*n- . lo . a mn-ne-snēou tēr=ou*}^{addressee} {*e-u-šin(e) era=k pen-eiōt*}^{greeting}

In [4d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:



The syntax is transparent. A cleft-sentence structure with *cʒei shei* ‘to write’ is at the heart of the IA. The sender’s name fills the subject slot and the addressee’s name the indirect-object slot. The direct object, ‘message’, is omitted, but contextually inferred. If a greeting section is appended, it takes the form of a circumstantial subordinate clause.

There is little evidence for variation of this pattern: The optional constituent may be omitted.

Be this as it may, three independent variants exist: Firstly, fusion of the Greek and Coptic patterns occurs in documents from Kellis. In [4e], the relative order of the references to sender and addressee reflects the Greek standard. *ʒn-π-χαίς χαίρειν hn-p-dʹais kʰairein* seems to be attached as an invariable unit.⁸⁰³

[4e] PKC 12 {πα-ψηρε μ-με[ρ]ιτ ετ-ταιαιτ ντοτ τονοϣ
 ψαμοϣν} addressee {ανδκ πεκ-ιωτ †τοϣε} sender {π-ετ-ϣει} verb {ne=k} addressee
 {ʒn-π-χαίς χαίρειν} Greek verb
 {pa-šēre m-mer[i]t et-taiat ntot tonou šamoun} addressee {anak pek-iōt titoue} sender
 {p-et-shei} verb {ne=k} addressee {hn-p-dʹais kʰairein} Greek verb
 POSS.SG.1sg-brother MATT-beloved REL-honour.STA by.PRP.1sg very.ADV name I.S
 POSS.SG.2sg-father name ART.DEF.SG-REL-write to.PRP=2sg in.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-lord
 greet
 ‘My beloved son who is highly honoured by me, Shamoun, it is me, your father
 Titoue, who is writing to you, in the lord, best wishes.’

Coptic syntactic constraints necessitate pronominal resumption of the fronted indirect object after the verb (*ne=k* *ne=k*, *S na=k* *na=k*) and marking of the subject by means of the pronoun ‘I’ (*ανδκ anak*, *σανοκ anok*).

Secondly, ‘to greet’ rather than ‘to write’ occasionally appears in the cleft-sentence structure of the IA as in PKC 90 (*π-ετ-ψηνε p-et-šine*).

Thirdly, a greeting section on its own may serve as IA as in PKC 75. A subject pronoun (*ανδκ anak*) is then prefixed to the sender’s name.⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰³ *ʒn-π-χαίς hn-p-dʹais* always co-occurs with *χαίρειν kʰairein* in our texts except for: PKC 67, PKC 76. Three instances are too damaged to be conclusive: PKC 28, PKC 70, PKC 109.

⁸⁰⁴ In only 6 / 30 instances, there is no subject pronoun: in PKC 41, PKC 102, PKC 106 (note the code-switch from Greek into Coptic!), PKC 120 and DA 77 without *χαίρειν* and in PKC 20 with *χαίρειν*.

Comparing Greek and Coptic IAs reveals two main differences: For one thing, Greek IAs are semantically and syntactically opaque from a synchronic perspective because they preserve an older pattern, whereas Coptic IAs reflect standard syntax. Additionally, Greek IAs are variable to a limited degree only and independent variants do not exist. For Coptic IAs, on the other hand, there is a range of independent variants. We will see below that this situation pertains to Greek and Coptic epistolary formulae more widely.

6.1.3 The epistolary frame

The epistolary frame consists of five formulae in Greek and Coptic. Of these, (2) and (5) function as genre markers (cf. Chapter 2).

- (1) External addresses (EA)
- (2) Internal addresses (IA)
- (3) Opening prayers (OP)
- (4) Greeting sections (GS)
- (5) Final health wishes (FHW)

External addresses have the practical function to provide instructions for the delivery of the letter. Internal addresses serve to identify sender and addressee. Yet, in the post-classical period, identification is often by means of honorific titles, like ‘your kindness’, or metaphorically used kinship terms rather than names (cf. Chapter 2). Opening prayers, which function as an expression of concern for the addressee’s wellbeing, are an optional element.⁸⁰⁵ Greeting sections are also optional – these include greetings to the addressee, greetings to third parties and greetings from third parties to the addressee. Final health wishes mark the end of the letter. They serve as a final expression of concern for the addressee’s wellbeing.

In the fourth century, the Greek epistolary frame had existed for centuries and many formulae were syntactically opaque. Conversely, the Coptic epistolary frame was rather young so that its syntactic transparency is unsurprising.⁸⁰⁶ In the sixth century, the Greek epistolary frame had mostly disappeared⁸⁰⁷ whereas the Coptic one remained in common use.

⁸⁰⁵ In the corpus, Coptic OPs appear almost exclusively in letters from Kellis; Greek OPs appear in all fourth-century archives except for AJ.

⁸⁰⁶ For the origin of the Coptic epistolary frame (i.e. the question whether it is an invention or a continuation of earlier traditions), see Depauw 2006: 127–159 and Choat 2010: 162–167.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. Fournet 2009a: esp. 41 (with reference to Procopius).

The phenomenon of Byzantine politeness (cf. Chapter 2) left obvious traces in the Greek formulae, for instance, the relative positioning of the sender's and addressee's names⁸⁰⁸ and the use of honorific titles. By contrast, no traces appear in the Coptic formulae.

Greek⁸⁰⁹ and Coptic⁸¹⁰ epistolary formulae have been the subject of many in-depth studies, references to which are provided in the footnotes. Especially as regards variations, the reader is referred to these.

6.1.4 The letter body

In the letter body, formulae are optional. While some letters such as PK 13 are interspersed with them, others do not contain any. Formulae in the letter body serve to convey information clearly, acceptably and politely: Clarification may be achieved by signposting bits of information by means of three verbal structures, the disclosure formulae (F1), the polite-request formula (F2) and the topic-shift formula (F4).⁸¹¹ Acceptance of a claim, request or promise may be gained by commending it to God by means of several adverbial phrases.⁸¹² Finally, politeness is expressed by hedging requests and claims by means of conditional clauses and clauses of comparison. Less specific general strategies such as the following are not considered⁸¹³:

- signposting a piece of information by expressing a strong emotion towards it⁸¹⁴;
- signposting a piece of information by making it the sole object of a verb 'to write' or 'to know';

For the discreteness of epistolary frame and letter body already in the Ptolemaic period, see Evans 2010a: 201.

Instead of an IA, some sixth-century letters begin with an acknowledgement of receipt of a previous letter (7 instances).

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. Fournet 2009a: 43 (with references).

⁸⁰⁹ For EA, IA and FHW, see Zilliacus 1943 (3rd c. AD); Koskeniemi 1956 (until AD 400); Tibiletti 1979 (3rd / 4th c. AD); Kim 2011 (2nd / 3rd – 5th c. AD); Luiselli 2008 (1st – 8th c. AD); Ziemann 1910 (Ptolemaic and Roman periods, esp. ch. A.V for IAs and ch. D.II for FHWs).

For OPs, see Stolk and Nachtergaele 2016; Collins 2010 (opening); Arzt-Grabner 2010, Clarysse forthcoming (3rd c. BC – 4th c. AD).

For GSs, see Kim 2011, Stolk and Nachtergaele 2016.

⁸¹⁰ Cf. Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983; Choat 2007 (4th c. AD); Choat 2010 (4th c. AD); Richter 2008.

⁸¹¹ Cf. Porter and Pitts 2013b (F1, F2), James 2008 (F1, F4). For θαυμάζω and letter initial thanks as being related to the main topic of the letter, see Arzt-Grabner 2010: 156 (θαυμάζω) and 158 ('thanks').

⁸¹² Cf. Clarysse forthcoming (who alludes to a 'rhetoric of Christianity').

For phraseology reflecting Christian belief, see Ziemann 1910: 300–302, Luiselli 2008 and Kim 2011 (epistolary formulae), Blumell 2012: 36–88, Nobbs 1998, Choat and Nobbs 2001–2005, Arzt-Grabner 2010 and Collins 2010 (thanking).

⁸¹³ Note that GSs are apparently used a structuring device in AP 9.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. Clarysse forthcoming.

- hedging a request by prefixing any conditional clause to it⁸¹⁵;
- hedging a request by pointing out one's own humble subordination.⁸¹⁶

Advanced or creative writers may prefer these to existing fixed expressions.⁸¹⁷

The standard patterns of the relevant verbs, prepositions and conjunctions were described in previous chapters. The aim of this chapter is to establish to what extent formulaic patterns caused problems and were disregarded in favour of standard patterns.

6.2 The epistolary frame

The key elements of the epistolary frame, the IA, the EA and the FHW, are not always present. Where they are absent, they may be lost or may never have existed. Documents on papyrus are often damaged at the edges so that the beginning and end of a letter are particularly vulnerable to damage.⁸¹⁸ Yet, the EA may also have been omitted as it was not needed. For example, when a letter carrier was employed on a regular basis, he did not need instructions for the delivery of the letter or when a friend was asked to deliver the letter, instructions were perhaps given orally. The IA may be omitted in Manichaean communities (cf. Chapter 2).

Importantly, the named sender and addressee in the EA and the IA of a letter may not match so that one cannot rely on one to reconstruct the other. The mismatch may have resulted from the letter being sent to the head of a household. The EA would then show the latter as the addressee whereas the IA would identify the intended addressee.⁸¹⁹

[5a] summarises the distribution of epistolary formulae in the corpus, including instances of variation and deviation. For GSs the number of letters is listed since often, more than one GS appear in a letter *and* since the long Coptic letters from Kellis, which contain up to 25 GSs, would otherwise distort the statistics.

⁸¹⁵ In our Coptic texts, we find (a) conditionals with a personal subject, e.g. in PKC 19.20 ε-κ-ω-α-η-π-ο-υ-ε α-ε-ι α-η *e-k-šan-noue a-ei an/i* 'if you are going to come, bring (...)', (b) conditionals of an existential pattern, e.g. in PKC 32.33–34 ε-ω-ω-π-ε ε-ο-υ-η-π-ε-π-η-ε ε-γ-ο-υ-η-ε † *ešōpe e-ounte-nēh e-f-ouēh ti* (...) 'if there is oil available, give (...)'.
Hedged imperative GSs are attested in PK 14.38–40 (Greek), PKC 66.38–39 (Coptic).

⁸¹⁶ In combination with a request, we find (1) a result clause μη φορτικὸς δὲ ὅμως γε[νέσ]θαι (...) in AJ 6.7–8, (2) a participial structure ὅπως κάγω κελυόμενος ἀόκνως ὑμῖν ὑπουργῆσαι in DA 68.17 and (3) a clausal sequence καὶ τὸ θέλεις ποιοῦμεν in AN 19.17–18.

⁸¹⁷ Cf. Arzt-Grabner 2010: 158, Collins 2010: 184.

⁸¹⁸ For instance, the EA is lost (35 letters), only preserved in traces (4 letters), completely doubtful (3 letters) or we find what looks like an archival note instead (3 letters). In 70 letters it seems to have been omitted deliberately.

⁸¹⁹ Cf. Bagnall and Cribiore (2006: 181–194) concerning women's letters, but the phenomenon seems more widespread.

[5a] Epistolary formulae in the corpus

Archive	AN	AJ	AP	PK	PKC	DA	Total
Total of letters	20	27	10	19	89	99	264
EA (Greek)	17	5	4	14	57	33	130
EA (Coptic)	1	3	1	ø	2	6	13
EA (Greek-Coptic)	ø	ø	2	ø	4	ø	6
Total							149
IA (Greek)	14	15	6	17	15	1	68
IA (Coptic)	1	8	4	ø	68	8	89
Total							157
OP (Greek)	3	ø	2	7	ø	ø	12
OP (Coptic)	ø	1	ø	ø	22	ø	23
Total							35
GS (Greek)	12	3	3	14	ø	6	38 letters
GS (Coptic)	ø	7	2	ø	77	14	100 letters
Total							138 letters
FHW (Greek)	13	4	2	19	32	2	72
FHW (Coptic)	ø	3	1	ø	26	14	44
Total							116

[5a] does not bear out the fact that there are Greek EAs, IAs and FHWs in Coptic letters, but that the reverse phenomenon does not exist. [5b] summarises the fraction of Greek instances in Coptic letters.⁸²⁰

[5b] Greek epistolary formulae in Coptic letters

Archive	AN	AJ	AP	PK	PKC	DA	Total
EA	1	ø	ø	ø	57	ø	58
IA	ø	ø	ø	ø	15	ø	15
FHW	ø	ø	1	ø	32	ø	33

There are no Greek OPs or GSs in Coptic letters nor are there OPs or GSs that display code-switching.⁸²¹ This distribution ties in with the above observation that GSs and OPs are optional elements of the epistolary frame. We will see below that either reflects post-classical standard grammar. EAs, IAs and FHWs, on the other hand, may have been

⁸²⁰ For code- and script-switching, see Chapter 7.

⁸²¹ Rarely, a verb of greeting is borrowed into Coptic: (a) ἀσπάζε *aspaze*: DA 74.13; DA 90.13; PKC 128.26, (b) προσκύνει *proskuneĩ*: DA 70.4; DA 79.2; DA 88.5; DA 89.12; DA 94.4; DA 99.10.

transferred into Coptic as chunks. We will see below that their syntax is fossilised by the fourth century.

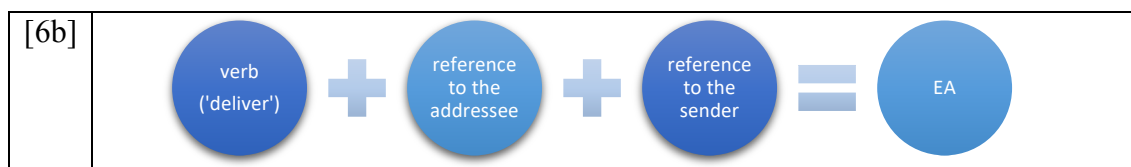
6.2.1 Standard patterns and variants

a) External address (EA)

A Greek fourth-century EA is [6a].

[6a] AP 2 Ἀπόδ(ος) Παιηοῦτι πρεσβ(υτέρῳ) XXX παρὰ Ἑριήους ἀδελφός.⁸²²
 ‘Deliver (it)⁸²³ to Paieous, the priest, from Herieous, the brother.’

Generally speaking, Greek EAs reflect the structure illustrated in [6b]:



If we apply [6b] to [6a], it is evident that all constituents are present:

[6c] AP 2 {Ἀπόδ(ος)}^{verb} {Παιηοῦτι πρεσβ(υτέρῳ)}^{addressee} {παρὰ Ἑριήους ἀδελφός}^{sender}.

In [6d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:



Variation in Greek EAs is very limited, not least because of the simple structure of the formula. All optional constituents may be omitted and the reference to the sender may either take the form of a nominative or a prepositional phrase. Strictly speaking, variation between ἀποδίδωμι and ἐπιδίδωμι in the verb slot should be taken as a reflection of independent variants, but no syntactic change is involved.

⁸²² For the nominative after παρὰ, see Section 6.2.3.

⁸²³ The direct object ‘the letter / message’ is always omitted.

An example of a Coptic sixth-century EA is [7a]:

[7a] DA 75 † ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ [] ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲟⲛ
 ⲙⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲧⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲥⲛⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
taa=s n-na-merit n-n-iote n-et-ouaab [] p^hoibammōn mn-dioskoros hitn-
mōusēs nf-šēre
 give.IMP=3sg to.PRP-POSS.PL.1sg-beloved MATT-ART.DEF.PL-father ART.DEF.PL-
 REL-be.holy.STA [] name with.PRP-name from.PRP-name POSS.PL.3sg-child
 ‘Deliver it (sc. the letter) to my beloved fathers, the holy ..., Phoibammon and
 Dioskoros, from Moses (and?) his children.’

Since Coptic EAs are made of the same constituents as Greek ones, [6b] is applied to [7a]. It is evident that all constituents are present:

[7b] DA 75 {ⲧⲁⲁⲥ} ^{verb} {ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ []
 ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲙⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ} ^{addressee} {ⲉⲓⲧⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲥⲛⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ} ^{sender}
 {*taa-s*} ^{verb} {*n-na-merit n-n-iote n-et-ouaab [] p^hoibammōn mn-*
dioskoros} ^{addressee} {*hitn-mōusēs nf-šēre*} ^{sender}

In [7c], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:

[7c]	IMP (verb)	PRP ^{indirect object} (addressee)	S / ⲉⲓⲧⲛ <i>hitn</i> (sender)
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Statistics for variation in Coptic EAs are not representative due to the small number of attestations. Optional constituents may be omitted and the reference to the sender may take the form of a nominative or a prepositional phrase.

The only independent variant appears in AP 10. There, the structure of the IA is repeated as EA.⁸²⁴

⁸²⁴ In DA 73, two prepositional phrases seemingly constitute the EA (ⲙⲁⲥ- *ša-* addressee, ⲉⲓⲧⲛ- *hitn-* sender).

b) *Opening prayers (OP) + wish to meet*

The syntax of Greek OPs partly reflects post-classical standard syntax rather than a classical pattern which was by this time opaque.⁸²⁵ This distinguishes OPs from IAs and EAs. OPs appear in two forms in the corpus:

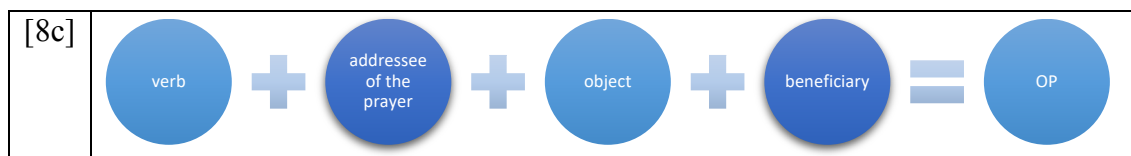
[8a] PK 14.3–5: *πρὸ παντὸς πο[λ]λά σε προ[οσα]γορεύω ε[ὐ]χόμενος ὁλοκ[λη]ρεῖν.*

‘First of all, I greet you a lot while *praying for your wellbeing*.’

[8b] AP 4.2–3 *πρὸ μὲν πά[ν]των εὐχομαί σοι τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θαιῶ.*

‘First of all, I pray to God for you for health.’

The structure in [8a] is elliptical⁸²⁶ and, in the corpus, restricted to Kellis.⁸²⁷ The structure in [8b] reflects the standard complementation pattern of εὐχομαι. Generally speaking, Greek OPs reflect the structure illustrated in [8c]:



If we apply [8c] to [8b], it is evident that all constituents are present:

[8d] AP 4.2–3 *πρὸ μὲν πά[ν]των {εὐχομαί}^{verb} {σοι}^{beneficiary} {τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν}^{object} {παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θαιῶ}^{addressee of the prayer}*

From the fourth century onwards, an OP could be combined with a wish for the safe reception of the letter.⁸²⁸ In the three instances in the corpus, the wish for the safe reception is twice expressed as the object of the prayer (AN 1.4–6 and AN 18.5–9) and once by means of a following main clause.⁸²⁹ Strictly speaking, this combination of an

⁸²⁵ OPs must contain a verb in the first person. All other instances are considered non-formulaic, for example, requests to be included in someone’s prayers (AN 1.11, AJ 9.14–16, AP 4.24).

⁸²⁶ Yet, the omitted accusative σέ is easily inferable from the context.

⁸²⁷ Yet, there are attestations from outside Kellis and the surrounding oases (cf. DDbDP).

⁸²⁸ Cf. Stolk and Nachtergaele 2016: 21; Kim 2011: 145–154.

⁸²⁹ For AN 10.3–6, see Chapter 5.

OP and a wish should be identified as an independent variant, but the syntax of εὔχομαι is unaffected.

In [8e], the function and syntax of each constituent of an OP are correlated. The instances in which a wish for the safe reception of the letter is appended are included:

[8e]	IND (εὔχομαι) (verb)	DAT / παρά ^{DAT} (recipient)	ACC / περί ^{GEN} / INF (object)	DAT (beneficiary)
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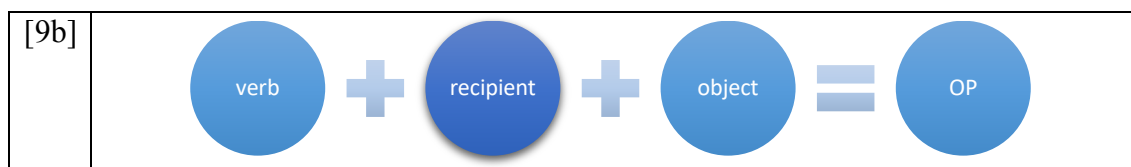
Variation concerning the syntax of the references to the recipient and the object of the prayer results from the coexistence of classical and post-classical complementation patterns of εὔχομαι.⁸³⁰

A Coptic fourth-century OP is [9a]:

[9a] PKC 50.2–4 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲓⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲡⲏⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲉⲁⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲱⲛ
 ⲡⲉⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲙⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙⲛⲧⲕⲙⲟ
auō ti-šlēl a-p-n[o]ute ha-pek-oud'ei n-t-euṣē pe-hoou ntok mn-nek-snēou mn-tk-
mo

and 1sg-pray to.PR-ART.DEF.SG-god for.PR-POSS.SG.2sg-health in.PR-ART.DEF.SG-
 night ART.DEF.SG-day you with.PR-POSS.PL.2sg-brother.PL with.PR-POSS.SG.2sg-mother
 ‘And I pray to God for your health day and night, for yours and your brothers’
 and your mother’s.’

Generally speaking, Coptic OPs reflect the structure illustrated in [9b]:



If we apply [9b] to [9a], it is evident that all constituents are present:

⁸³⁰ In AP 6.13–14, *περὶ σοῦ καὶ περὶ [τῶν ἀδελφῶν]* refers to the object of the prayer. Cf. also Luraghi 2003: 268–283. *ὑπὲρ* appears only outside of formulaic sections to indicate the object of the prayer (AN 1.11–13). Cf. also Jim 2014. For *παρά*^{DAT} indicating the recipient of a prayer, see Clarysse forthcoming.

[9c] PKC 50.2–4 ἄνω {†-ψαῖν} ^{verb} {ἀ-π-ν[ο]υτε} ^{recipient} {ἐ-π-ε-κ-ο-υ-ξεῖ} ^{object}
 ἡ-τ-ε-ψαῖν πε-χοοῦ ἡ-τοκ ἡ-ν-ε-κ-σ-η-ο-υ ἡ-ν-τ-κ-μο
*auō {ti-šlēl} ^{verb} {a-p-n[o]ute} ^{recipient} {ha-pek-oudēi} ^{object} n-t-euše pe-hoou ntok
 mn-nek-snēou mn-tk-mo*

In [9d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated⁸³¹:

[9d]	<div>IND (verb)</div>	<div>ε-/επο= e-/ero= (recipient)</div>	<div>ἐ- ha-/ CINF / ξε d'e (object)</div>
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Variation in the OP concerning the syntax of the reference to the object of the prayer reflects the coexistence of several complementation patterns for ‘to pray’.⁸³² Strictly speaking, the alternation between τωβζ *tōbh* (1 instance) and ψαῖν *šlēl* (19 instances) should be taken as a reflection of an independent variant, but no syntactic change is involved.

There are two independent variants: Firstly, an OP may be phrased as a nominal rather than a verbal sentence. Instead of †-ψαῖν *ti-šlēl* ‘I pray’ we find πεῖ πε πα-ψαῖν *pei pe pa-šlēl* ‘this is my prayer’ in PKC 25.12–23 (cf. variation) and PKC 29.7–13. The recipient, God, is then indicated by means of ψα- *ša-* ‘towards’. The object of the prayer is referred to by means of a complement clause in PKC 25 and a future conjunctive in PKC 29.

Secondly, OPs may be combined with a wish to meet soon as in [9e].

[9e] PKC 78.6–12 †-ψαῖν ἀ-π-νο-υ-τε ξε-φ-να-ραῖς ἀρα=κ ε-κ-ο-υ-α-ζ
 (...) ψα-†-νο ἀρα=κ ἡ-κε-σαπ τα-πα-ρε-ψ-ε ζωκ ἀβ-α-λ
*ti-šlēl a-p-noute d'e-f-na-raiś ara=k e-k-ouad' (...) ša-ti-no ara=k n-ke-sap ta-pa-
 reše d'ōk abal*

⁸³¹ In PKC 41.2, ἐ-α-ρ-ω=τ-η *harō=tn* refers to the object of the prayer. Cf. n. 813.

⁸³² ε-χ-η- *ed'n-* only appears in non-formulaic contexts.

A subordinate clause or CINF-structure often contains a verb Σ-ρο-ε-ις *roeis* ‘to watch over’. God is asked to watch over the addressee *while* (CS) the latter is well and healthy. Relevant passages are: PKC 78, PKC 79, PKC 67, PKC 76, PKC 31, PKC 109, PKC 122 (cf. variation), PKC 25 (cf. variation), PKC 29.

1sg-pray to.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-god that-3sg-FUT-watch.over DOM=2sg e-k-ouad[†] (...) LIM-1sg-see DOM=2sg in.PRP-other-moment CNJ-POSS.SG.1sg-joy be.complete away
 ‘I pray to God that he may watch over you being well (...) until I see you again and my joy will be complete.’

The wish to meet is then expressed by means of a limitative. In addition to [8e], there are PKC 32.23–24 and PKC 35.25.⁸³³ The syntax of ‘to pray’ is unaffected in these instances.

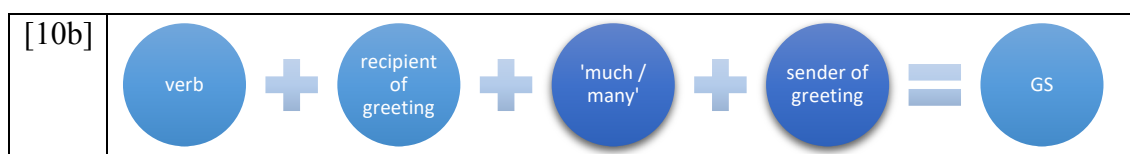
c) Greeting sections (GS)

Greek GSs reflect the post-classical standard rather than a classical pattern. ἀσπάζομαι, προσαγορεύω and προσκυνέω are semantically reduced to the meaning ‘to greet’ and contextually restricted to GSs.⁸³⁴ A Greek fourth-century GS is [10a]:

[10a] AN 11.11–16 πάνυ προσαγορεύω τὸν πατέρα Πέσανς **καὶ** πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοὺς σὺν ἡμῖν ὄντας **καὶ** πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς **κατ’ ὄνομα**.

‘I very much greet the father Pesans and all the soldiers of Christ, who are with us, and all the others, (each one) by name.’

Generally speaking, Greek GSs reflect the structure illustrated in [10b]:



If we apply [10b] to [10a], it is evident that all constituents are present. The reference to the sender of the greeting is encoded in the verbal ending.

⁸³³ An OP may be replaced by a prayer to meet soon. Relevant instances are: AP 7.8–9, PKC 11.3–4, PKC 20.6, PKC 22.10–11, PKC 82.7, PKC 115.4. All these clearly appear before the transition into the letter body.

⁸³⁴ In CG, the semantic range of all three verbs was wider. Moreover, the meaning ‘to greet’ seems to be a later development that resulted from a slight semantic shift.

[10c] AN 11.11–16 {πάνυ} ‘much’ {προσαγορεύω} ^{verb} {τὸν πατέρα Πέσανς καὶ πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῦ Χρηστοῦ τοὺς σὺν ἡμῖν ὄντας καὶ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς κατ’ ὄνομα} ^{recipient}.

In [10d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:

[10d]	IND (verb)	ACC (recipient)	ACC ^{ADV} ('much / 'many')	NOM (sender)
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[10a] displays two more features of Greek GSs: Firstly, if more than one person is greeted, the references to each person or group of people to be greeted are linked by means of καί. Secondly, if an otherwise undefined group of people is greeted such as πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς in [10a], a prepositional phrase κατ’ ὄνομα ‘by name’ may be added (14 instances).

Variation in GSs is rather limited. Optional constituents may be omitted. There is limited lexical variation concerning the adverb of degree (πολλά, πάνυ). Strictly speaking, the alternation between the verbs of greeting should be taken as a reflection of two independent variants, but no syntactic change is involved.⁸³⁵

A Coptic fourth-century GS is [11a]:

[11a] PKC 11.4–6 πεκ-ιωτ yine ara=k tonou mn-tek-sōne tsemnout^hēs mn-nek-šēre tēr=ou kata-pouren
pek-iōt šine ara=k tonou mn-tek-sōne tsemnout^hēs mn-nek-šēre tēr=ou kata-pouren

POSS.SG.2sg-father greet to.PRP=2sg very.ADV with.PRP-POSS.SG.2sg-sister name with.PRP-POSS.PL.2sg-child all=3pl by.PRP-POSS.SG.3pl-name

‘Your father greets you very much and your sister Tsemnouthes and all your children, (each one) by their name.’

⁸³⁵ προσαγορεύω appears in 20 / 40 instances in a form other than the first person singular and ἀσπάζομαι in 9 / 69. Cf. Kim (2011: 159), who reaches the same conclusion.

Since Coptic GSs are made of the same constituents as Greek ones, [10b] is applied to [11a]. It is evident that all constituents are present.

[11b] PKC 11.4–6 {πεκ-ιωτ} sender {ϣινε} verb {αρα-κ} recipient {τονοϣ} 'much' {mn-tek-sōne tseṃnouθnc mn-nek-ϣhre tḥr-ou kata-pou-ren} recipient
 {pek-iōt} sender {šine} verb {ara-k} recipient {tonou} 'much' {mn-tek-sōne tseṃnout^hēs mn-nek-šēre tēr-ou kata-pou-ren} recipient

Coptic GSs differ from Greek GSs in three main aspects: (1) ἀσπάζομαι, προσαγορεύω and προσκυνέω all call for a direct object in the accusative whereas ϣινε assumes a meaning 'to greet' in combination with the preposition S ε-/ερο= *e-/ero* = (L α-/αρα= *a-/ara*=).⁸³⁶ Since ϣινε *šine* is not a verb of perception, ϣινε ε-/ερο= *šine e-/ero*= must be construed as a phrasal verb (cf. Chapter 3). (2) When more than one person is greeted, the references to all persons or groups of people to be greeted are usually joined by means of the preposition mn-/νεμα= *mn-/nema*=. The conjunction αϣω *auō* 'and' appears rarely.⁸³⁷ The distribution of mn-/νεμα= *mn-/nema*= and αϣω *auō* is semantically determined, with the former indicating a close connection and the latter loose one.⁸³⁸ In GSs, a close connection between those who are greeted is naturally common. (3) GSs with a verb in the imperative appear frequently. Imperative ϣινε *šine* may be accompanied by an ethical dative, most often nh=i *nē=i* 'for me'.⁸³⁹

As in Greek, if an otherwise undefined group of people is greeted, like νεκ-ϣhre tḥr-ou *nek-šēre tēr-ou* in [11a], a prepositional phrase κατα-POSS-ren *kata-POSS-ren* 'by name' may be added (51 instances).⁸⁴⁰

In [11c], the function and syntax of each constituent of a GS are correlated:

⁸³⁶ Non-formulaic instances of ϣινε *šine* in the corpus are (31 / 426): (1) ϣινε nca- *šine nsa*- 'to seek after' (14 instances), (2) ϣινε n-/mmo= *šine n-/mmo*= 'to look for' (9 instances), (3) ϣινε ε-/ερο= *šine e-/ero*= 'to look after' (8 instances: AJ 20.3; PKC 28.31 (3x); PKC 43.26; PKC 81.53; PKC 102.15 (ϣα- *ha*-); PKC 106.33).

⁸³⁷ The following 8 instances of αϣω stand against hundreds of instances of mn-/νεμα= *mn-/nema*=: AJ 17.3; AP 7.4; AP 9.12–13; DA 88.2; DA 89.6, DA 89.7 (2x), (PKC 80.38).

⁸³⁸ Cf. Müller 2017b: section 3.1, Layton 2011: § 145.

⁸³⁹ Cf. EGB: chapter 11.8.

⁸⁴⁰ Both κατα-ποϣ-ren *kata-pou-ren* 'by their name' and κατα-νεϣ-ren *kata-neu-ren* 'by their names' are attested.

[11c]	nominal S (sender)	IND / IMP (verb)	n-/na= n-/na= eth. DAT	e-/ero= e-/ero= (addressee)	ADV (τοιοῦ <i>tonou</i>) (‘much’ / ‘many’)
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Ethical datives are an optional feature in imperatival greetings sections only.

Variation is limited to the omission of optional constituents and the morphological form of the verb. If the verb is inflected as imperative, an ethical dative may appear. There are no independent variants.⁸⁴¹

d) Final health wishes (FHW)

A Greek fourth-century FHW is [12a]⁸⁴²:

[12a] AN 9.17–22 ἐρρῶσθε ὑμᾶς εὖχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐν
θ(ε)ῷ ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί.

‘I pray that you are well all the time, while you are held in high esteem, in God,
beloved brothers.’

Generally speaking, Greek FHWs reflect the structure illustrated in [12b]:



If we apply [12b] to [12a], it is evident that all constituents are present:

[12c] AN 9.17–22 {ἐρρῶσθε ὑμᾶς}^{object} {εὖχομαι}^{verb} {πολλοῖς χρόνοις}^{‘all the time’}
{εὐδοκιμοῦντας}^{circumstances} {ἐν θ(ε)ῷ}^{‘in the lord’} ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί.

The reference to the object of the prayer always consists of the infinitive ἐρρῶσθαι and an accusative σέ / ὑμᾶς, which refers to the addressee.

In [12d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:

⁸⁴¹ Only in AP 8.22–23, the author seems to have intended οὐωωτ: τωω(sic) τωωωω [Δ]ιοσκορος *ouōšt ti-ši ti-ouōš dioskoros*.

⁸⁴² For its origin, see Dickey 2004b: 506 (*valere te opto*).

[12d]	<div>Acl (ἐρρῶσθαι) (object)</div> <div>DAT (πολλοῖς χρόνοις) (‘all the time’)</div> <div>PRP (ἐν) (‘in the lord’)</div> <div>PTC in ACC (circumstances)</div> <div>IND (εὐχομαι) (verb)</div>
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Variation in the FHW is very limited. Optional constituents may be omitted and the verb ‘to pray’ as well as the reference to the addressee, ‘you’, may be singular or plural. There are no independent variants.

[13a] is a Coptic fourth-century FHW:

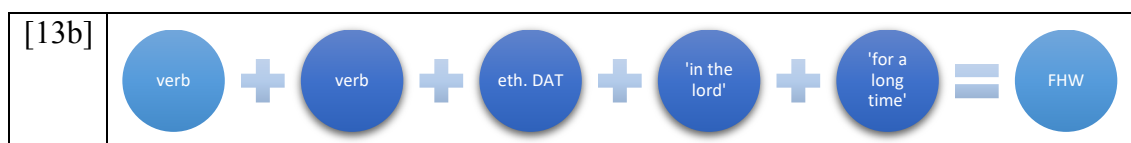
[13a] PKC 71.35 ωηϢ ητε-την-οϣξειτε ηη=ι η-οϣ-ηαϢ η-οϣαιϣ

ōnh nte-tn-oudʿeite nē=i n-ou-nakʿ n-ouaiš

live.IMP CNJ-2pl-be.well.STA for.PRP=1sg in.PRP-ART.INDF.SG-long MATT-time

‘Live and be well for me for a long time!’

Generally speaking, Coptic FHWs reflect the structure illustrated in [13b]:



If we apply [13b] to [13a], it is evident that all constituents but one are present:

[13c] PKC 71.35 {ωηϢ}^{verb} {ητε-την-οϣξειτε}^{verb} {ηη=ι}^{eth. DAT} {η-οϣ-ηαϢ η-οϣαιϣ}^{‘for a long time’}

{ōnh}^{verb} {nte-tn-oudʿeite}^{verb} {nē=i}^{eth. DAT} {n-ou-nakʿ n-ouaiš}^{‘for a long time’}

In the corpus, there is no instance in which all constituents co-occur. In [13d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:

[13d]	<div>IMP (verb)</div> <div>CNJ (verb)</div> <div>η-ηα= η-/ηα= (eth. DAT)</div> <div>ηη- ηη- (‘in the lord’)</div> <div>η-οϣ-ηαϢ η-οϣαιϣ <i>n-ou-nakʿ n-ouaiš</i> (‘for a long time’)</div>
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Variation in the FHW is limited to the omission of optional constituents. There are no independent variants.

6.2.2 Variation

There are no instances of variation in the EAs and IAs of our texts. Their practical function to identify addressee and sender may have prevented variation since it could hamper identification.⁸⁴³

There is some variation in OPs and GSs. In either of these, it is the phenomenon of juxtaposing synonyms. All examples of GSs are Greek. One is [14]:

[14] DA 9.1 ✠ πρὸ μὲν παντὸς λόγο(υ), **προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι** τὴν σὴν ἀδελφικὴν εὐδοκίμησιν.

‘First of all, I welcome and greet your brotherly good reputation.’

All relevant instances mirror [14] and originate from Dioscoros’ papers.⁸⁴⁴ In OPs, juxtaposition of synonyms involves the whole prayer section. The only Greek example is AP 6.4–14. Here, the writer repeats his initial prayer in a shortened form to conclude the prayer section.⁸⁴⁵ More significant variation is the substitution of a blessing-section for an OP as in [15].⁸⁴⁶

[15] DA 7.1 ✠ πληροφορήσῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελφικὴν διάθεσιν.

‘May God satisfy your brotherly attitude.’

Since OPs are otherwise absent from our sixth-century corpus, [15] reflects a writer’s free composition reminiscent of the older epistolary tradition. Finally, the third-person imperative in the GS in DA 44.32 is a learned form.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴³ Cf. the observation by Wray (2009) that formulae raise certain expectations in the interlocutor.

⁸⁴⁴ The other relevant instances are: DA 68.1–2 (ἀσπάζομαι καὶ προσκυνῶ) as well as DA 5.11–12 and DA 63.9 (προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι), for which see Section 6.2.3.

⁸⁴⁵ Cf. in Coptic: PKC 25.12–26 (verbal pattern + nominal pattern), PKC 122.7–16 (verbal pattern + verbal pattern).

⁸⁴⁶ The only Coptic example is DA 87.15–18, a blessing reminiscent of the Old Testament. It may have been copied in.

⁸⁴⁷ Cf. Clarysse 2010b.

Most variation exists in FHWs. In Greek, there is a literary variant⁸⁴⁸ that contains a predicative participle. An example is [16]:

[16] AN 14.5–10 **ἐρρωμένον** σε καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν τῇ σῇ πολιτείᾳ ἡ θεία πρόνοια **[δ]ιαφυλάττοι**, ἀγαπητὲ τιμιώτατε.
 ‘May the divine foresight keep you well and highly esteemed in your community, beloved (and) most honoured one.’

All relevant instances in the corpus come from the archive of Apa Nephros.⁸⁴⁹

In one Coptic FHW, [17], a *ὑωπε*-periphrasis appears to create a stative imperative.

[17] PKC 15.34–35 *ὑωπε ἐ-κ-οὐαδ ἐ-κ-ανθ ν-οὐ-ναδ ν-οὐαειω (...)*
šōpe e-k-ouad' e-k-anh n-ou-nak' n-ouaeiš (...)
 become.IMP CS-2sg-be.well.STA CS-2sg-live.STA in.PRP-ART.INDF.SG-long MATT-time
 ‘Be well and live for a long time (...)’

While a non-stative imperative is regular in the FHW, this writer seemingly intended to emphasise the unchanging nature of the addressee’s wellbeing.

6.2.3 Deviations

a) *Chunking (18 instances) [grammatical / ungrammatical]*

In the corpus, a third-person-singular form of a verb of greeting always appears in combination with a pronominal object as in [18].⁸⁵⁰

[18] PK 14.7–11 **ἀσπάζεται σε** ὁ ἀδελφός σου Ὡρος καὶ Θε[όγ]νωστος καὶ Ψαῖς καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡμέτεροι
 ‘Your brother Horos and Theognostos and Psais and all our (relatives) greet you.’

⁸⁴⁸ Cf. Kim 2011: 167–174.

⁸⁴⁹ Relevant instances are: AN 1, AN 5, AN 7, AN 14, AN 17.

⁸⁵⁰ Exceptions are AJ 6.26, an instance of interference, and AP 5.18–19 (verb – subject – καὶ object), an instance of chunking.

In the relevant passages, the pronominal object immediately follows the verb. The pronominal object may follow or precede the verb only if it is attached to an adverb.

Four passages seemingly display a *schema Pindaricum*: PK 14.7–10, PK 15.4–6, PK 15.6–8 and PK 14.5–7. In all these the pronominal object immediately follows the verb. The *schema Pindaricum* is very rare outside of GSs.⁸⁵¹ The density of instances in GSs and the fact that in all instances the sentence starts with ἀσπάζεται σε / προσαγορεύει σε may therefore suggest that writers learnt the sequence ἀσπάζεται σε / προσαγορεύει σε as a chunk, which they then used without considering the number of the subject.

Chunking also appears in formulae that contain gaps for the insertion of personal names. [6a] is repeated from above:

[6a] AP 2 Απόδ(ος) Παιηοῦτι πρεσβ(υτέρῳ) XXX παρὰ Ἑριήους ἀδελφός.
 ‘Deliver (it) to Paieous, the priest, from Herieious, the brother.’

In [6a], neither the sender’s name, Ἑριήους, nor its attribute, ἀδελφός, are inflected although Ἑριήους ἀδελφός complements the preposition παρὰ ‘from’, which here calls for a complement in the genitive. Personal names are usually inflected but may also appear in an undeclined or indeclinable form (cf. Chapter 2). The writer of [6a] was apparently familiar with the formulaic frame but disregarded the syntactic constraints of the final gap.

Only those instances in which a name and its apposition are inserted into a gap but do not meet the syntactic constraints of the gap are relevant to the phenomenon of chunking. When only an undeclined name is inserted, the status of the name is likely to have impacted on the choice of the morphological form.⁸⁵² [19] summarises all instances resembling [6a] just discussed.

[19] Chunking

Formula	EA	IA	GS
Relevant passages	AP 2 AJ 7	AN 12 AJ 7 AJ 10 ≈ AP 4	AN 12.5 AN 12.6 AN 12.8 AN 12.10

⁸⁵¹ For the *schema Pindaricum*, see Chapter 3.

⁸⁵² Mostly, the apposition is declined as required by the formulaic frame and only the name is inserted in an undeclined or indeclinable form (29 instances).

			AN 12.10–11 AP 5.3–6 AP 5.8–10 AP 5.18–19 ⁸⁵³
Total	2	4	8

b) Indirect interference (4 instances)

In Chapter 4, we touched upon confusion between ἐν / εἰς encoding location and ἀπό encoding separation based on the multivalence of the corresponding Coptic items. Confusion between εἰς for ἀπό may underlie the EA in [20].

[20] AN 12 ἀπόδ(ος) Ν[εφ]ερῶς πρεσβ(υτέρω) ××××× π(αρά) Σεραπίων
μοναχοῦ εἰς Μ×××××ουή κώμη(ν)

‘Deliver (i.e. the letter) to Nephros, the priest, from Serapion, the monk of (sc. the village of) Moue Kome.’

The writer states his profession, μοναχοῦ, so that the next expected element of identification is his origin.⁸⁵⁴ A phrase ‘the one who (lives) in’ would be rather surprising. Taking εἰς as ‘towards’ would suggest that Nephros was not in the monastery but in the nearby village.⁸⁵⁵ Neither of these scenarios is likely, but it is impossible to disprove them reliably.

Accepting the assumption that a reference to Serapion’s origin would be expected, the regular Coptic structure would be an absolute possessive (πα- *pa-* ‘the one of’ + noun). The regular Greek structure would be a prepositional phrase with ἀπό^{GEN}. Consequently, the writer of [20] did not import a Coptic pattern but overextended the semantic range of Greek ἐν / εἰς based on the Coptic parallel (ε-/επο= *e-/ero*=, n-/mmo= *n-/mmo*=).

In the following **GSs**, the person to be greeted is referred to by a pronominal dative rather than an accusative.

⁸⁵³ The object in the nominative is marked by means of καί (VSO word order).

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. PKC 77 (EA) κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ Χ Καπίτωνι Πεκῦσις ἀπὸ Ἀφροδείτης. ‘To my lord, brother Kapiton, Pekysis of Aphrodito’.

⁸⁵⁵ Expressions of direction appear in PKC 26 (EA) κυρία μου μητρί Χ Μαρία Μαθαῖ[ος] ἀπ’ Ἐρμού πόλεως εἰς Κέλλιν and PKC 73 (EA) τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ Χ ἀδελφῷ [.] . . . εἰς Κέλλιν However, the relevant prepositional phrases are adverbial rather than attributive in both passages.

[21a] AP 5.2–3 $\pi\rho\acute{o}$ $\mu\epsilon[\nu]$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi[\acute{\alpha}]\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\kappa(\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota})\omega$,

‘First of all, I greet you a lot in the lord.’

[21b] AN 12.4–5 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ \acute{o} $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{N}\epsilon\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta$ $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi[\rho]\omicron\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$.

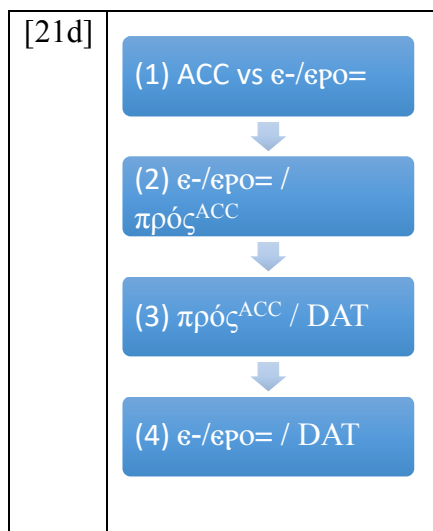
‘And the other Nepheros, the priest, I greet you a lot.’

In [21b], $\sigma\omicron\iota$ resumes fronted \acute{o} $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{N}\epsilon\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta$ $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$. In [21c], we find a nominal dative.⁸⁵⁶

[21c] AJ 6.26 $[\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha]\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\eta$ $\sigma\eta$ $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ \acute{o} $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\text{P}\alpha\pi\nu\acute{o}\theta\eta\varsigma$.

‘The beloved Paphnoutis greets your attitude.’

While Greek verbs of greeting are transitive, Coptic $\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\omicron=$ $e\text{-}/ero=$ is a phrasal-verb pattern (cf. Section 6.2.1). $\epsilon\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\omicron=$ $e\text{-}/ero=$ is essentially a preposition meaning ‘to / towards’. It semantically matches Greek $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$ or $\epsilon\iota\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$, both of which often replace a classical plain dative in verbal complementation patterns (cf. Chapter 3).



[21d] summarises the following explanation for the dative in [21a] to [21c]⁸⁵⁷: Confusion of the Greek and Coptic pattern for GSs, (1), necessitated finding a match for Coptic $\epsilon\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\omicron=$ $e\text{-}/ero=$. Based on the semantic overlap, this match was $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$, (2). In verbal complementation patterns, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma^{\text{ACC}}$ and the plain dative are often interchangeable, (3), with the plain dative being the more elaborate alternative. Considering that [21a] to [21c] come from the fourth-century monastic archives, writers are likely to have

striven for an elaborate style and thus chose the dative.⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵⁶ For confusion between pronominal accusatives and datives in this period, cf. Stolk 2015b. Considering [21c], [21a] and [21b] are unlikely to reflect general confusion. In [21c], only weak final [n] could be held responsible.

⁸⁵⁷ $\epsilon\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\omicron=$ $e\text{-}/ero=$ is also the less common alternative to $\pi\text{-}/\pi\alpha=$ $n\text{-}/na=$, the equivalent to the Greek dative.

⁸⁵⁸ Stolk and Nachtergaele (2016: 12–16) suggest confusion of $\pi\text{-}/\pi\alpha=$ $n\text{-}/na=$ and $\pi\text{-}/\mu\mu\mu\omicron=$ $n\text{-}/mmo=$ since a morphological difference only emerges in the pronominal state. However, (1) $\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$ $\pi\text{-}$ $\acute{s}\iota\eta$ $n\text{-}$ ‘to greet’ is uncommon (and $\pi\text{-}$ $n\text{-}$ is then most likely a preposition rather than the accusative marker, cf. $\epsilon\text{-}$ $e\text{-}$) and (2) native speakers must have differentiated between $\pi\text{-}/\pi\alpha=$ $n\text{-}/na=$ and $\pi\text{-}/\mu\mu\mu\omicron=$ $n\text{-}/mmo=$ also in order to be able to use a correct pronominal state. Cf. further Chapter 7.

Depending on whether one accepts the final Coptic GS in AJ 6 (l. 27–31) as written by the writer of the rest of the letter, this GS may corroborate the writer’s bilinguality.⁸⁵⁹

c) Slips of the pen (5 instances)

In the EA in [22], a dative replaces a second possessive genitive at the end.

[22] PKC 35 τῷ δεπότῃ **μου** ἀδελφῶι Ψαῖτι Οὐᾶλης ὁ ἀδελφός **σοι**

‘To my master, brother Psaid, Ouales, your brother.’

The weakness of pronominal forms or the disappearing dative may be responsible.

In [23], the quantifier that modifies the direct-object phrase headed by τοὺς is inflected as dative.⁸⁶⁰

[23] AN 12.16–17 **ἀσπάζομαι** τοὺς ἐν τῇ μοναστηρίῳ **παῖσι**, μικροὺς καὶ μεγάλους·

‘I greet all those in the monastery, the young and the old ones.’

The quantifier follows the phrase it modifies.⁸⁶¹ Perhaps the case of the preceding word, μοναστηρίῳ, confused the writer. The agreement mistake between article and noun in τῇ μοναστηρίῳ may point to a change from τῇ μονῇ to τῷ μοναστηρίῳ.

In [24], ἀδελφούς twice seems to have been re-copied into the formulaic frame. The first two instances of ἀδελφούς are correct.

[24] AP 6.23–28 προσαγορεύω σε πολλὰ καὶ τοὺ[ς] ἀδε[λφ]ο[υ]ς πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα τοὺς σὺν σοί, καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος προσαγορεύει σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοὶ ἀδελφούς, κα[ὶ] **οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν πάντες ἀδελφούς** προσαγορεύου[σιν] σε μετὰ καὶ πάντων **τῶν σὺν σοὶ ἀδελφούς**.

⁸⁵⁹ See further, Chapter 7.

Note the correct greeting section in AJ 6.22–24 (προσαγορεύω [τῇν] σὴν διάθεσιν (...)), in the letter body.

⁸⁶⁰ Unlike in [21a] to [21c], the head of the direct-object phrase is correctly inflected (τοὺς).

⁸⁶¹ While this is syntactically obligatory in Coptic (cf. τῇρ=), it is one of two options in Greek.

‘I greet you a lot and all the brothers, (each one) by name, who are with you, and the blessed Paulos greets you and the brothers who are with you, and all the brothers who are with us greet you and all the brothers who are with you.’

In the final two instances, the syntactic frame is correct, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν πάντες and τῶν σὺν σοὶ, but ἀδελφούς is not morphologically adjusted to it.

In [25], the possessive genitive depending on the accusative object of a **GS** is doubled.

[25] AJ 8.8–9 προσαγορεύω σου τοιγαροῦν τὴν εὐλάβειάν σου διὰ τούτων μου τ[ῶν γ]ραμμάτων

‘I now greet your {your} piety through these letters of mine.’

The fact that a pronominal object ‘you’ often immediately follows the verb may explain the positioning of σου. The second possessive genitive appears in the expected position after the noun it modifies, τὴν εὐλάβειάν σου.⁸⁶²

d) Simplification (11 instances)

In the **EA** in [26], simple δίδωμι replaces one of its commonly used compounds.

[26] DA 9 † δῶ[θῆ]ν⁸⁶³ τ(ῶ) ἐλ[λογιμωτ(άτω)] Διοσκόρω πρωτοκω(μήτη) τ
† Φοιβάμμων . . ρικ.

‘Give (it) to the noblest Dioskoros, the village official, ... Phoibammon ...’

The semantics of many compound verbs were bleached in the post-classical period (cf. Chapter 3). Furthermore, compound verbs are an exclusively Greek pattern and Coptic *ti* ‘to give’ is regular in EAs.

⁸⁶² Conversely, the writer of AJ 9.4 corrected himself: AJ 9.4–6 προη[γ]ουμένω\ς/ [[σεω]] προσαγορεύω τὴν ἀμίμητόν σου διάθεσιν ‘First of all, I greet your inimitable attitude’.

⁸⁶³ Similarly, in DA 15.5 and DA 23.6, the editor suggests reading ἐπιδ(οθὲν) in what looks like an EA. We would then have to assume an archival note rather than an EA. There is no reason for this. The abbreviation of the verb in the EA is moreover common.

In the **IA** in [27], the infinitive χαίρειν is replaced by an imperative χαῖρε. The latter can only be considered syntactically correct if it is construed as independent of the dative referring to the addressee.⁸⁶⁴

[27] AP 4 {τῷ γνησιωτάτῳ καὶ φω[τ]ινωτάτῳ μ[α]καριωτάτῳ ἀ[γαπητ]ῷ καὶ θεῷ μαιμελημαίνῳ καὶ [π]αί[π]ληρωμαῖνος πνεύματος ἁγίου/ καὶ τιμιωτατος παρὰ κυρίῳ θαιῷ ἅπα Παιηοῦ}^{addressee}, {ἐν δεσπό[τῃ] Ἰη]σοῦ Χριστοῦ}^{in the lord} {χαῖραι}^{verb}

‘To the dearest and brightest (and) most blessed one, the beloved one, who is also dear to God and full of the holy spirit and most honoured in the lord, God, Apa Paieous, in the Lord Jesus Christ, best wishes.’

A fossilised formulaic structure accounts for the infinitive χαίρειν. Conversely, the imperative χαῖρε is syntactically more transparent.

In only three **EAs** and four **IAs**, the sequence ‘reference to the sender – reference to the addressee’ supersedes the reverse sequence. Greek syntax allows for either sequence although the latter is clearly preferred in EAs and IAs.

Relevant EAs are:

[28a] AN 15 {Ἀπα [Παπνοῦτ]ε}^{sender} {ἀπόδος}^{verb} {Νεφερῶτ(ι) πρ(εσβυτέρῳ)}^{addressee}

‘Apa Paphnoutis, deliver (it) to Nepheros, the priest.’

[28b] DA 2 [✠ {Λαυτω(?)}ν ἐξουσία]^{sender} vac.? {Ἀπολλῶτι κ(αὶ) λοιπ(οῖς) πρωτοκωμ(ήταις) Ἀφροδίτ(ης)}^{addressee}

‘Lauton, the power, to Apollo and the other village officials of Aphrodite.’

[28c] DA 41⁸⁶⁵ {Κολλουθοῦ}^{sender} {Ἀπολλῶτι πρωτοκ(ωμήτῃ)}^{addressee}

‘(From) Kollouthos, to Apollo, the village official.’

⁸⁶⁴ For the rarity of the imperative, see Kim 2011: 153–160.

⁸⁶⁵ The preposition παρὰ^{GEN} resembling Coptic ⲡⲁⲣⲁ- *hitn-* seems to have been omitted (cf. DA 73 (EA) ⲡⲁⲣⲁ- *ša-* ‘to’, ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ- *hitn-* ‘from’).

Although the sequence ‘sender – addressee’ is odd in either language, it seems pragmatically straightforward. The sender effectively signed his letter before providing instructions for its delivery. This is most obvious in [28a]. Incidentally, AN 15 is a Coptic letter.

Relevant IAs are:

[29a] AN 17⁸⁶⁶ {ἄπα Ἐλω . [-ca.?-]} sender {Πετεςανς} addressee [-ca.?- {χαίρειν} verb.]

‘Apa Elo... to Petesans ... best wishes.’

[29b] PK 8⁸⁶⁷ {Φιλ]άμμ[ων]{ι}} sender {Τεκοσε τῇ ἀ[δ]ελφῇ μ[ο]υ} addressee {πολλὰ} ‘much’ {χαίρειν} verb.

‘Philammon to my sister Tekysis, all best wishes.’

[29c] PK 9 {Παμοῦρ} sender {Ψαράπι τ[ῷ] } addressee {χαίρειν} verb.]

‘Pamour to Psarapis, the ... best wishes.’

[29d] (?) PK 5 {TRACES} sender? {Λέωνι τῷ ἀπαιτητῇ} addressee⁸⁶⁸

‘To Leo, the tax-gatherer.’

For syntactic reasons, the sequence ‘sender – addressee’ is standard in Coptic IAs, whereas in Greek, it had long been reversed.⁸⁶⁹ This reversal may have appeared syntactically obscure to a Coptic writer. Noticeably, [29a] and [29b] contain indeclinable personal names.

In the literary variant of the **FHW** in [30], the predicative participle ἐπρωμένον is dropped.

⁸⁶⁶ Considering the EA and its standard pattern, the sender of AN 17 was Apa Elo... and the addressee Petesans. EA: AN 17 ἀπ(όδος) Πετεςανς ××××××××× [-ca.?-]. [-ca.?-]. [.] . ×××××××××.

⁸⁶⁷ Τεκοσε is indeclinable and Φιλ]άμμ[ων]ι is incorrectly copied in. The passage is further discussed as example [49b] below.

⁸⁶⁸ Since Leon is addressed in his official role as tax-collector, the omission of the sender’s name is unlikely.

⁸⁶⁹ Cf. Fournet 2009a: 43.

[30] AJ 8.22–28 ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς διαφυλάξει σε ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἡμῖν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς.

‘The almighty God may watch over you for a long time on behalf of us sinners.’

The disappearance of predicative participles was mentioned in Chapter 3. Also, the fossilised dative of duration is substituted by a prepositional phrase.

In [31], a second reference to the addressee is attached at the end of an **FHW**. This second accusative can only be considered syntactically correct if it is construed as an apposition.

[31] PKC 22.51–52 ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι [α] ἐν θεῷ ὑμᾶς

‘I pray that you are well in God, you.’

Since PKC 22 is addressed to more than one person (cf. IA), the writer may reasonably have intended a plural ‘you’. However, due to the fossilised nature of the Greek FHW in the fourth century, σέ commonly appears in letters to more than one addressee. Either the writer learnt the FHW as an invariable phrase and added ὑμᾶς for clarification or he was aware of the syntactic structure but forgot to delete σέ.⁸⁷⁰

e) Internal phraseological confusion (2 instances)

In [32], κατ’ ὄν[ο]μα appears in an **IA**. The phrase is common in GSs but not in IAs.

[32] AP 3 τοῖς παν[αγίο(?)]ις ἀγαπητοῖς [καὶ γλυ]κυτάτοις [Παι]ηοῦτι πρεσβ[υτέρῳ καὶ] Διοσκορο[ς καὶ] Ἱεραξ καὶ [-ca.?-] καὶ ἅπα Σ[ου]ροῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελ[φοῖς καὶ] πᾶσι τ[οῖς] περὶ [ὑμᾶς] κατ’ ὄν[ο]μα Μωυση[ῆ] καὶ Ἑρηνό[υ]ς(?) [οἱ] ὑποδεέστεροι ὑμῶν ἐν [κ(υρίῳ) χαίρειν.]

‘To the very holy and beloved and most dear Paieous, the priest, and Dioscoros and Hierax and ... and Apa Sourou and all the brothers and all those with you, each by his name, Moses and Herieous, your most inferior (servants), in the lord, best wishes.’

⁸⁷⁰ Note the correct FHW at the very end of the letter: PKC 22.85 ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι ἐν κυρίῳ.

The reverse case is [33]. Here ἐν κυρίῳ, which is typical of IAs only, appears in a **GS**.

[33] AP 5.2–3 πρὸ μὲ[ν] πάντων ἀσπ[ά]ζομαί σοι πολλὰ ἐν κυρίῳ
 ‘First of all, I greet you a lot in the lord.’

Although the addition of either prepositional phrase is grammatical, both seem unidiomatic. In [33], the writer’s insecurity concerning Greek is corroborated by the complementation of ἀσπάζομαι by means of a dative, σοί.⁸⁷¹

f) Adopting Coptic phraseology (35 instances)

[34] is a verbless **EA**. The sender’s name is however preceded by a personal pronoun.

[34] PKC 66 τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Πεκύσι ἐγὼ Παμοῦρ [ὁ ἀδελφ]ός σου
 ‘To my lord, brother Pekysis, I, Pamour, your brother.’

While reversing the order of the subject and indirect object is unproblematic in Greek, in Coptic syntactic constraints necessitate the insertion of a subject pronoun when the subject, here the reference to the sender, is postponed. Most prominently, this appears in IAs from Kellis that imitate the Greek pattern (cf. Chapter 2). The fact that [34] is found in a Coptic letter corroborates the hypothesis of bilingual interference.

[35] is the beginning of a sixth-century letter. Recall that Greek **IAs** had disappeared in the sixth century, whereas Coptic IAs remained in use.

[35] DA 17.1 [-ca.?- διὰ τῆς πα]ρούσης ἐπιστολῆς **γράφω προσκυνῶν** τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην
 ‘(First of all?) I write (to you?) through the present letter greeting my master.’

In the initial lacuna, the writer’s name or an adverbial phrase may be lost. To the finite verb γράφω ‘to write’, a greeting is attached in the form of a circumstantial participle.

⁸⁷¹ In [32], the italicised names are undeclined or indeclinable. However, none of these is combined with an incorrectly declined attribute.

The phraseology of [35] is Coptic.⁸⁷² Compare [4c], a typical Coptic IA, repeated from above⁸⁷³:

[4c] AP 9 {ΒΗC ὡΝ-ΑΦΙΝΘΕ} ^{sender} {Π-ΕΤ-ΣΕΙ} ^{verb} {N[.]ΛΟ[.]Α | ὡΝ-ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΟΥ ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ} ^{addressee} {Ε-Υ-ΩΙΝ(Ε) ΕΡΑ-Κ ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ} ^{greeting}
 {*Bēs mn-ap^hink^je*} ^{sender} {*p-et-shei*} ^{verb} {*n- . lo . a mn-ne-snēou tēr-ou*} ^{addressee} {*e-u-šin(e) era-k pen-eiōt*} ^{greeting}
 name with.PRP-name ART.DEF.SG-REL-write to.PRP-[...] with.PRP-ART.DEF.PL-brother
 all=3pl CS-3pl-greet to.PRP=2sg POSS.SG.1pl-father
 ‘It is Bes together with Aphinge who is writing to ... and all the brothers while greeting you, our father’

A bilingual writer may have felt uncomfortable not starting his letter with an IA. Therefore, he transferred the Coptic model into Greek.⁸⁷⁴

In the **GS** in [36a], we find a redundant subject pronoun like in [34].

[36a] PK 13.52–53 *ἐγὼ Μαρία προσαγορεύω τὴν κυρίαν μου τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μετὰ τέκνων.*
 ‘I, Maria, greet my lady, the mother and the sister and (her) children.’

Maria’s greeting is appended to a letter by Pamour. Maria and Pamour are bilingual as e.g. PKC 65, a letter by Pamour to several people (cf. PKC 65.1–6 (IA)), confirms. [36b] is the start of Maria’s appended greeting section in PKC 65.

[36b] PKC 65.35–37 [Α]ΠΑΚ ΜΑΡΙΑ †-ΩΙΝΕ Α-ΤΑ-ΜΕΥ ΤΑ-ΧΑΙC ΤΟΝΕ
 ὡΝ-ΤΑ-ΩΕΡΕ ΧΕΜΝΟΥ[Τ]Ε

⁸⁷² Only in PKC 122, the IA contains a first-person-plural form of ‘to write’ rather than a cleft-sentence pattern.

⁸⁷³ Cf. also DA 79 (IA) ([Π-ΕΤ-ΣΗ]Σ Ε-Υ-ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ *p-et-sēh e-u-proskuneī*) with a Greek loan-verb ‘to greet’.

⁸⁷⁴ A similar transfer may also underlie DA 65.1–2 [Δίος]κ[ορο]ς ὁ θαυμασιος ὁ τήνδε μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀποδιδούς [τῇ ὑμ]ετέρα ἐνδόξῳ ὑπεροχῇ ὥρμηται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας (...) ‘Dioscoros, the famous one, the one who delivers this letter of mine to you(r famous superiority) has left the Theban area (...)’. However, syntactically, DA 65.1–2 is correct if we construe ἀποδιδούς as an attributive participle. To gain a syntactic match to the Coptic IA, we would have to suppose omission of the copula ‘to be’. Cf. the structures discussed in Gonis 2005 and Choat’s (2010: 177) comments on Gonis 2005. Still, only the syntax would resemble Coptic IAs, since Dioscoros is *not* the sender of the letter, but only the letter-carrier.

[a]nak maria ti-šine a-ta-meu ta-d'ais tone mn-ta-šere d'emnou[t]e

I.S name 1sg-greet to.PRP-POSS.SG.1sg-mother POSS.SG.1sg-lady very.ADV with.PRP-POSS.SG.1sg-daughter name

‘I, Maria, greet my mother, my lady, very much and my daughter Djemnoute.’

Maria regularly appends greetings to letters by Pamour. Since these GSs are an independent addition to the letter, they are introduced by a variant of the IA. The addition of ἐγὼ in Greek resembles passages like [36b].

The **GS** in [37] contains a postponed subject marked with καί.⁸⁷⁵ This is grammatical but redundant in Greek.⁸⁷⁶

[37] PK 13.53–54 προσαγορεύει ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ τέκνα μου.

‘My children greet you.’

The writer of [37] may however have considered obligatory *nsi- nk'i-* with postponed subjects. As with the instances of καί as an emphatic particle discussed in Chapter 5, it cannot be denied that an additive nuance, ‘also’ may be present in [37]. However, the fact that τὰ τέκνα μου is morphologically speaking ambiguous makes the insertion of καί as an emphatic particle even more plausible.

We noted that imperatival **GS** are common in Coptic, but rare in Greek.⁸⁷⁷ Ten Greek GSs are imperatival⁸⁷⁸: ἀσπάζομαι (1), προσαγορεύω (8), προσκυνέω (1). Three contain a prepositional phrase ‘from me’ (AJ 8.20–22, PK 3.22–24 and DA 63.11–12) and five an ethical dative, a common element of Coptic imperatival GSs. Four of these five instances come from PK 13 (l. 8, 27, 38–39 and 41), the letter written by our bilinguals Pamour and Maria, and one from PK 14 (l. 38), the letter written by bilingual Pekysis. An example is [38]:

⁸⁷⁵ Unlike in the instances discussed under ‘chunking’, the pronominal object here is plural. Moreover, [37] displays a *schema Atticum*. Whether the latter was a writers’ conscious choice must remain open.

⁸⁷⁶ In greeting sections with a pronominal direct object, the sentence-initial subject is marked in: AN 18.28, AP 6.25, AP 6.26. For καί as a focus particle in GS, see the explanations to AN 12.4–5 above.

⁸⁷⁷ Cf. also Kim 2011: 156–160.

⁸⁷⁸ For DA 44.32, see Section 6.2.2.

[38] PK 13.38–41 **πρόσε[ι]πέ μοι** Καπίτωνα καὶ Ψαῖς Τροφάνους μετὰ συμβίων καὶ τέκνων.

‘Greet for me Kapiton and Psais, Tryphanes’ son, and (their) wives and children’

In [38], two more aspects may point to a bilingual writer: Only the first direct object is correctly inflected⁸⁷⁹, and the references to the final two groups of people to be greeted are attached by means of μετὰ rather than καί.

The latter aspect is relevant now: In some Greek **GSs**, writers seemingly adopted the Coptic concept of distinguishing between close and loose connection by means of using a preposition as opposed to a conjunction. [39] summarises Greek GSs in which a comitative preposition substitutes expected καί or asyndeton.⁸⁸⁰

[39] Comitative phrases in GSs

Preposition	Instances	Total
σύν	AN 12.8–9	1
μετά	PK 1.6, PK 3.4, PK 4.7, PK 4.9 (με), PK 4.31, PK 11.4, PK 13.40, PK 13.53, AP 6.27 (μετὰ καί), DA 5.12, DA 63.10, DA 63.11, DA 63.13	13
ἅμα	DA 18.18	1

The fourteen passages listed in [39] stand against 86 instances of καί connecting objects in GSs. A preposition is often chosen when someone *and* their family or fellow brothers are greeted as in [40]:

[40] PK 3.4–6 [Ἀσπά]ζ[ομαι] πολλά σε μετὰ [τ]ῶν παρὰ σοὶ ἀδελφῶν κατ’ ὄνο[μ]α εὐχ[ό]μενος ὁλοκληρεῖν.

‘I greet you a lot and the brothers who are with you, (each one) by name, while praying for (your) wellbeing.’

⁸⁷⁹ For this phenomenon with regard to the complements of prepositions, see Leiwo 2003: 6–7.

⁸⁸⁰ Kim (2011:155–162) terms these ‘adverbiale Ergänzungen’. In the data he presents, the following prepositions have an additive function: μετὰ in P. Giss. 103.3–6; P. Mich. 221.17–18; P. Giss. 54.18–19 (2 x ?); PSI 825.21–22, AP 6.26–28 / σύν in P. Lund. II 4.22–23 (3 x); P. Oxy 1299.15–17; P. Mich. 219.21–26 (3 x) / ἅμα in P. Bas. 16.13–17.

By choosing the preposition the close connection between the two parties is underlined. Already in classical Greek, comitative prepositions could be used as an alternative to καί in a list of items.⁸⁸¹ However, their use in GSs may reflect Coptic phraseology.

In [41a], the addition of ἐκ πάσης μο(υ) ψυχῆς in a **GS** only resembles ἐκθύμως in DA 5.12.⁸⁸²

[41a] DA 9.13–14 πάλιν ἀσπάζ[ομα]ι αὐτὴ[ν] ἐξ[αιρετῶ]ς ἐκ πάσης μο(υ) ψυχῆς, ἕως ὅτε σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ βλέπω ὑμᾶς εἰς ὄψιν, δέσποτα καλέ, φίλε.

‘Again, I particularly greet it (i.e. your attitude) wholeheartedly until, by God, I see you face to face, dear lord, friend.’

Conversely, the addition of a phrase (ϣ)ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣ=ϣ (h)m-pa-hēt tēr=f, (ϣ)ⲏ-ⲧⲁ-ψⲣⲭⲏ ⲧⲏⲣ=c (h)n-ta-psuk^hē tēr=s ‘wholeheartedly’ is common in Coptic IAs and letter initial GSs such as [41b].⁸⁸³

[41b] DA 81.1 ϣⲁ-ⲑⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲏ-ϣⲱⲃ ⲏⲙⲙ ⲧ-ϣⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲱ=ⲧⲏ ⲧⲱⲛⲉ ϣⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣ=ϣ ⲙⲏ-ⲧⲁ-ψⲣⲭⲏ ⲧⲏⲣ=c

hat^hē men n-hōf ni[m] ti-šine erō=tn tōne hm-pa-hēt tēr=f mn ta-psyk^hē tēr=s

in.PRP-ART.DEF.SG.beginning on.the.one.hand of.PRP-thing every 1sg-greet to.PRP=2pl very.ADV in.PRP-POSS.SG.1sg-heart all=3sg with.PRP-POSS.SG.1sg-soul all=3sg

‘First of all, I greet you very much **with all my heart and all my soul**.’

The writer of [41a] apparently experimented with phraseology, thereby possibly drawing on Greek and Coptic models. Apart from ἐκ πάσης μο(υ) ψυχῆς, he also transferred a wish-to-meet phrase into Greek.

⁸⁸¹ Since the Greek and Coptic patterns match, this may be an instance of positive transfer (cf. Chapter 2). The relevant passages do not point to a bilingual writer by themselves, but a particular accumulation and / or a context that suggests a bilingual writer may be indicative.

⁸⁸² Cf. also DA 69.13 (φροντίζω) discussed in Chapter 3.

The positioning of the possessive genitive between the adjective and its noun may be significant. While Coptic freely varies between (a) possessive – adjective – marker of attribution – noun and (b) possessive – noun – marker of attribution – adjective (cf. Egedi 2009, Müller forthcoming b), Greek would require the possessive genitive to follow the noun.

⁸⁸³ Cf. also Coptic IAs: ‘who is honoured by me in my soul’. A similar addition in Greek appears only in Paulos’ FHWs (in the archive of Apa Nephros).

Letter-initial GSs and opening prayers often begin with a phrase ‘first of all’. This phrase usually takes either the form *πρὸ πάντων* (4 instances) or the form *πρὸ παντὸς* (3 instances). However, in two sixth-century letters, the writers chose to add the word *λόγος*.

[42a] DA 9.1 *πρὸ μὲν παντὸς λόγο(υ), προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τὴν σὴν ἀδελφικὴν εὐδοκίμησιν.*

‘First of all, I send regards and greet your brotherly good reputation.’

[42b] DA 68.1–2 † *πρὸ μὲν παντὸς λόγ[ου - ca.21 - ἀσπάζομαι καὶ προσ]κυνῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν [*

‘First of all, ... I greet and send regards to you ...’

Coptic greetings sections at the beginning of a letter often begin with a phrase *ⲉⲗ-ⲙⲏ ⲛ-ⲉⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ* *hat^hē n-hōb nim*, literally ‘before all other things’. *ⲉⲗ-ⲙⲏ ⲛ- hat^hē n-* is equivalent to Greek *πρό*. While Greek however allows for nominalised adjectives such as *πάντων* in [42a] and [42b], Coptic does not allow for a combination of the quantifiers *ⲛⲓⲙ nim* and *ⲧⲏⲣ= tēr=* with an article only. Rather, a noun must always be present. This could explain the addition of *λόγο(υ)* in [42a] and [42b]. The choice of *λόγος* instead of *πρᾶγμα*, the exact equivalent to Coptic *ⲉⲱⲃ hōb*, may point to a competent writer, who considered Greek phraseology. In the absence of an idiomatic phrase, the choice of *λόγος* seems more natural than *πρᾶγμα* at the start of a letter, which is in essence a series of many words.

The wish-to-meet appears in Coptic with OPs, GSs and FHWs. The only Greek instances are [41a] above and [43]. In both, the wish is appended to a GS.

[43] PK 17.5–11 *προηγουμένως πολλά σου τὴν φιλαδελφίαν προσαγορεύω εὐχόμενός σε προσκυνεῖν ἐν τάχει.*

‘First of all, I greet your brotherly love a lot while wishing to welcome you soon.’

προσκυνεῖν in [43] matches *ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ* ‘to welcome’ or ‘to greet’. A Coptic parallel is [44a]:

[44a] PKC 11.3–4 †-ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ-ⲛⲟ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁ-ⲧⲣ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲛ-ⲡⲁ-
ⲏⲓ ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲉⲁⲡ

ti-šlēl n-no nim a-tri-ouōšt tef-hikōn hn-pa-ēi n-ke-sap

1sg-pray in.PRP-hour every IM-CINF-1sg-greet POSS.SG.3sg-face in.PRP-POSS.SG.1sg-house
in.PRP-other-moment

‘(And) I pray every hour that I may greet his face in my house again.’

In [41a], the wish-to-meet takes the form of a temporal subordinate clause. This matches structures with the limitative like [44b]:

[44b] PKC 32.17–24 †-ⲱⲓⲛⲉ <aro> ⲧⲟⲛⲟⲩ (...) ⲱⲁⲧ-ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲱ=ⲧⲛ ⲁⲛ

ti-šine <aro> tonou (...) šat-n-neu arō=tn an

1sg-greet <DOM.2sg> very.ADV (...) LIM-1pl-see DOM=2pl again.ADV

‘I greet you very much (...) until we see you again.’

[45] summarises the structure of Coptic wishes-to-meet in the corpus:

[45] The wish to meet

Constituents	Head verb	Dependent verb	Form of the head verb	Total
Type 1	ⲱⲗⲏⲗ <i>šlēl</i> ‘to wish’ ⲟⲩⲱⲱ <i>ouōš</i> ‘to want’	ⲛⲁⲩ ‘to see’ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ <i>ouōšt</i> ‘to welcome’	circumstantial / conjunctive	6
Type 2	ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ <i>ouōšt</i> ‘to welcome’ ⲛⲁⲩ <i>nau</i> ‘to see’ ⲧⲱⲙⲧ <i>tōmt</i> ‘to meet’	∅	limitative	6

An imperatival **FHW** appears in fifteen letters.⁸⁸⁴ In [46], the imperative is in the singular.

[46] PK 13.47 ἔρρωσό μοι, κύριε.

‘Be well for me, Lord!’

The imperative was standard in earlier Greek FHWs but had long fallen out of use in the fourth century.⁸⁸⁵ It may however still have been taught in schools. In Coptic, on the other

⁸⁸⁴ Both forms co-occur in PK 14: PK 14.40–42 (AcI) vs PK 14.50 (ἔρρωσ<θ>αι).

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. Nachtergaele 2013: 280 (already in the 1st c. AD).

hand, the imperative reflects the standard spattern of FHWs.⁸⁸⁶ Hence, while the imperative is grammatical in Greek, it contradicts the post-classical standard pattern of Greek FHWs and instead falls in line with the standard pattern of Coptic FHWs.⁸⁸⁷

Noticeably, 10 / 16 imperatival FHWs appear in Coptic letters from Kellis⁸⁸⁸, 3 / 16 in PK 13 and PK 14⁸⁸⁹, letters written by certainly bilingual writers⁸⁹⁰, and the remaining 3 / 16 in damaged contexts.⁸⁹¹ Imperatival FHWs were apparently preferred by bilingual writers.

6.2.4 Excursus: Personal names (PN)

[47] summarises the distribution of declined, undeclined and indeclinable personal names (PN) in the EAs, IAs and GSs of the corpus.

[47] PNs in EAs, IAs and GSs

	Indeclinable	Undeclined	Declined	Total
EA	10	21	173 + 5 ⁸⁹²	209
IA	12	11	105	128
GS	21	42	67	130
total	43	74	350	467
Percentage	≈ 9 %	≈ 16 %	≈ 75 %	100 %

[47] shows that the majority of PNs in the corpus are correctly inflected. Only about 25% are either not declined or treated as indeclinable. Undeclined and indeclinable names do not appear in the archive of Dioscoros, but this may be due to the comparatively smaller number of formulaic sections in this archive.

For PNs, several paradigms of declension may coexist. Two prominent examples in the corpus are ‘Andreas’ and ‘Nepheros’.⁸⁹³

⁸⁸⁶ Cf. Choat 2010: 176.

⁸⁸⁷ For the rare imperatival FHW, see Kim 2011: 167–174; Luiselli 2008: 705–707.

Practically speaking, an imperative could be fitted everywhere, whereas the regular FHW required more space.

⁸⁸⁸ 9 / 10 Coptic letters display an abbreviation: PKC 11.27 ἐρρ(ωσο), PKC 17.42 ἐρρ(ωσο), PKC 40.34 ἐρ-, PKC 41.17 ἐρ-, PKC 75.40 {ἐρ-}, PKC 95.18 ἐρ(ρωσο), PKC 102.21 ἔρρ(ωσο), PKC 105.83 ἔρρ(ωσο), PKC 106.43 ἔρρ(ρωσο). The final relevant passage, PKC 92.36–38 (ἐρρωσο), contains an ethical dative.

⁸⁸⁹ PK 13.47 (ἐρρωσο), PK 13.54 (ἐρρωσθε) contain an ethical dative. PK 14.50 (ἐρρωσ<θ>αι) does not.

⁸⁹⁰ For Pamour and Maria, cf. the section ‘adopting Coptic phraseology’. Pekysis, the writer of PK 14, was also bilingual as e.g. PKC 77, a letter from Pekysis to Kapiton, documents. It contains a Greek EA and IA before switching to Coptic. For the brothers Pamour and Pekysis, see Gardner *et al.* 2014: 83–117.

⁸⁹¹ Of the Greek letters, the context of AN 18.28, DA 44.35 (where the editor adds ‘pray’) and DA 64.2 is too damaged to allow for any conclusion.

⁸⁹² The preposition παρὰ^{GEN} seems to have been dropped. The genitive we find is then correct.

⁸⁹³ Nominatives are inconclusive due to the frequent lack of vowel length distinction in writing.

[48] Andreas and Nephros

	Second declension	Third declension
Nephros	Νεφερῶ (14)	Νεφερῶτι (5) Νεφερῶσιν (1)
Andreas	Ἀνδρέα (5) Ἀνδρέαν (1)	Ἀνδρέαντι (1)

The coexistence of paradigms may point to the flexibility in nativising a name. Yet, this cannot explain the coexistence of paradigms for a Greek name like ‘Andreas’.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, several names appear in a declined, an undeclined and an indeclinable form.⁸⁹⁴ This may point to the flexible morphological treatment of PNs.

Deviations

The only instances of incorrectly declined names are [49a] to [49d]. In [49a] to [49c], the relevant names seem to be copied in without being adjusted to their new syntactic context.

[49a] AJ 11 (IA) τῷ κυρίῳ μου **θεωσεβῇ Ἄπα Ἰωάνην** Λεῦχis Μάλαμος.⁸⁹⁵

‘To pious lord Apa John, Leuchis, Malamos’ son.’

[49b] PK 8 (IA) **Φιλ]αμμ[ων]ι** Τεκοσε τῇ ἀ[δ]ελφῇ μ[ο]ν πολλὰ χαίρειν.⁸⁹⁶

‘Philammon to my sister Tekysis, all best wishes.’

[49c] PK 8 (EA) Τεκοσε ἀδελφῇ μου {ι} × π(αρά) **Φιλαμμωνι**

‘To Tekose, my sister, from Philammon.’

In [49d], the correct plural of the EA is not repeated in the IA:

[49d] AN 11 (IA) τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ χρηστοφόροις ἀδελφοῖς **Νεφερῶτι** δύο πρεσβυτέροις νομῆς Ἀθύρτι Καπίτων ἀδελφὸς ἐν θ(ε)ῶ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

⁸⁹⁴ Cf. also Hauben 2002 (with reference to Paieous).

⁸⁹⁵ Note also the undeclined father’s name at the end. For the accusative as default object case, see Vierros 2012a: 52. For Coptic $n-/n\Delta = n-/na =$ and $n-/mm\Delta = n-/mmo =$, see Chapter 7.

⁸⁹⁶ Perhaps the writer copied his own name from a letter he had received (e.g. from the IA of that letter). Alternatively, he may have been familiar with the regular structure ‘dative – nominative – χαίρειν’ but struggled with the correlation of functional roles with each structural constituent.

‘To my beloved and Christian brothers, the two Nepheroi, the priests of the monastery of Hathor, Kapiton, (your) brother, in God, all best wishes.’

The postponed number δύο may explain the singular form of the name (Νεφερωτι). This is the regular Coptic pattern with the number ‘two’.⁸⁹⁷

6.3 The letter body

Since formulae are optional in the letter body, the number of instances considerably falls below the one of epistolary formulae. [50] summarises the distribution of instances in the corpus including instances of variation or deviation.

[50] The letter body (statistics)

	AN	AJ	AP	PK	PKC	DA	Total
Verbal formulae							
F1 – Greek	3	4	4	5	ø	4	20
F1 – Coptic	ø	ø	ø	ø	5	ø	5
F2 – Greek	6	ø	4	2	ø	1	13
F2 – Coptic	ø	1	2	ø	ø	1	4
F4 – Greek	1	ø	ø	9	ø	ø	10
F4 – Coptic	ø	ø	ø	ø	31	2	33
Nominal formulae							
God as a cause (κατά ^{ACC} , χάριτι ^{GEN})	1	ø	ø	2	ø	3	6
God as a cause (τοϣεϣτε n- touešte n-, borrowed patterns)	ø	2	ø	ø	5	1	8
God as an enabling power (διά ^{ACC} , σύν ^{DAT} , variation)	8	4	2	2	ø	5	21
God as an enabling power (borrowed patterns, variation)	ø	1	ø	ø	1	2	4
God as an onlooker (μά ^{ACC} , ναί ^{ACC}) + 1 x AO	ø	ø	ø	1	ø	2	3
God as an onlooker (ϣα- ša-)	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	5	5
Conjunctive formulae							
Prospect (conditional) Greek	ø	ø	ø	3	ø	ø	3
Prospect (conditional) Coptic	ø	1	1	ø	10	ø	12
Possibility (conditional) Greek	4	ø	ø	2	ø	2	8
Possibility (conditional) Coptic	ø	ø	2	ø	7	ø	9
Reality (comparison) Greek	ø	ø	1	2	ø	9	12
Reality (comparison) Coptic	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
Invariable formulae							
F3 – Greek	5	ø	1	4	ø	1	11
F3 – Coptic	ø	1	1	ø	10	1	13
Total							
	28	14	18	32	69	39	200

⁸⁹⁷ See Chapter 1.

6.3.1 Standard patterns and variants

a) Verbal patterns (F1, F2, F4)

Three verbal formulae frequently appear in the letter body:

(1) the disclosure formula⁸⁹⁸ (F1) already mentioned in Section 6.1,

[2a] AJ 1.4–8 **γινώσκειν σαι βούλομε**, κύριέ μου πάτηρ, **ὅτι** ἤλθον πρὸς σαι καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀξιῶν σα[ι] τῇ\ν/ σὴν χρηστότητα περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου (...)

‘I want you to know, my lord, father, that I went to you also another time in order to beg you, your kindness, concerning Apollonios (...)’

(2) the polite-request formula (F2) also mentioned in Section 6.1,

[2b] AP 1.41–42 **ἔγραψα εἶνα** γνοῖται ἐν ποίᾳ θλίψει ἐσμέν⁸⁹⁹

‘I wrote (you) in order that you may know in what trouble we are’ / ‘I beg you to realise in what trouble we are.’

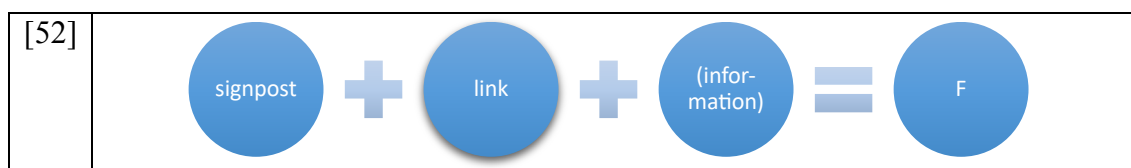
(3) the topic-shift formula (F4).

[51] PK 8.3–5 **θαυμάζω πῶς** οὐκ ἔγραψάς μοι μίαν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ οὐδενὸς ἁπλῶς.

‘I am wondering why you did not write me a letter about anything at all.’

[51] appears at the beginning of the letter body. It marks the transition from the epistolary frame into the letter body.

Verbal formulae seem modular like epistolary formulae. Generally speaking, they reflect the structure illustrated in [52]:



⁸⁹⁸ Porter and Pitts (2013b) are cautious to call structures F1.

⁸⁹⁹ The aorist is an epistolary tense.

Each formula consists of a verb functioning as a signpost, a conjunction functioning as a link and a gap for context-specific material. Syntactically, this gap is a subordinate clause following the link-conjunction.⁹⁰⁰ The mood of the verb in the subordinate clause is consequently determined by the signpost-verb and the link.⁹⁰¹ If we apply [52] to [2a], [2b] and [51], it is evident that all constituents are present.

[2a] AJ 1.4–8 {γινώσκειν **σαι βούλομε**}^{signpost}, κύριέ μου πάτηρ, {ὅτι}^{link} {ἤλθον πρὸς **σαι καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀξιῶν σα**[ι] τήν/ σὴν χρηστότητα περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου (...)}^{information}

[2b] AP 1.41–42 {ἔγρα[α]ψα}^{signpost} {εἴνα}^{link} {γνοῖται ἐν ποία θλίψι ἐσμέν}^{information}

[51] PK 8.3–5 {θαυμά[ζ]ω}^{signpost} {πῶς}^{link} {οὐκ ἔγραψάς μοι μίαν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς}^{information}

In F1, the signpost-verb must be in a deontic form such as the combination with βούλομαι in [2a] or a plain imperative. In F2 and F4, the signpost-verb must be a first-person-indicative form. Past tenses of signpost-verbs may appear as epistolary tenses.⁹⁰² In F4, the verb in the subordinate clause must be a past tense.⁹⁰³

In [53], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated. Columns one and two are independent of each other as illustrated by the grid line dividing them, whereas columns two and three depend on each other.

[53]	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	verb (signpost)	conjunction (link)	CPL (information)	

⁹⁰⁰ The syntactic constraints relevant to the gap for context-specific material are more complex than in epistolary formulae.

⁹⁰¹ Combination of a nominal and a verbal complement is occasionally attested. The latter then assumes explicative function.

In AP 1.2 and DA 11.4–5, a participle with an article appears in the complement slot.

⁹⁰² The addition of adverbs or particles does not affect the structure. Also, a reference to the addressee in the dative may appear in F2.

⁹⁰³ Usually, a complaint that sets the scene for the following discourse is signposted.

<div> <div> <div>μανθάνω</div> <div>γινώσκω</div> <div>οἶδα</div> <div>[ἀγγέλλω]</div> </div> <div>}</div> <div>statement</div> </div>	ὅτι	SC (IND)	F1
<div> <div>γράφω</div> <div>request</div> </div>	ἵνα	SC (SBJ)	F2
<div> <div>θαυμάζω</div> <div>statement</div> </div>	ὅπως πῶς	SC (IND) SC (IND)	F4

The term ‘formula’ is here applied to an entire phrase / clause. The concept of ‘formula’ in verbal complementation patterns (cf. Chapter 3) should clearly be distinguished. Only in F2 do we find prototypically formulaic syntax (cf. Chapter 3). In F1, the syntax differs from the collocation of the relevant verbs insofar as only verbal complements may occur. The verbs acquire a meaning ‘to realise’ in the formulaic context of F1. F4 reflects post-classical standard syntax.

Strictly speaking, variation of the signpost-verb in F1 should be taken as a reflection of three independent variants, yet no syntactic change is involved. Variation concerning the link appears in F4.

F1, F2 and F4 also exist in Coptic although, as [50] shows, F1 and F2 are significantly less common in Coptic than they are in Greek.

(1) F1

[54] PKC 22.12 **ⲙⲙⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲭⲓ-ⲡ-ⲱⲁⲧ ⲙⲛ-ⲡ-ⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲛ-ⲛⲏⲫ** (...) *mme kē dē-a-i-dʿi-p-šat mn-p-akon n-nēh* (...)
 know.IMP PRT that-PRF-1sg-receive-ART.DEF.SG-pillow with.PRP-ART.DEF.SG-akon
 of.PRP-oil
 ‘Know then that I have received the pillow and the *akon*⁹⁰⁴ of oil (...).’

(2) F2

[55] AP 10.24 **ⲫⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲫⲏⲧ ⲛⲁ=ⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ-ⲡⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ-(ⲉ)ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁ=ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁ-**
ⲛⲟⲃ[ⲉ *ha-i-shēt na=k etbe-pai dē-(e)ke-kō na=i ebol na-nobe*
 PRF-1sg-write to.PRP=2sg about.PRP-DEM that-FUTIII.2sg-put to.PRP=1sg away.ADV
 POSS.PL.1sg-sin

⁹⁰⁴ The word intended may be *lakon*, a well-known measure of oil.

‘I have written to you about this in order that you may forgive me my sins.’

(3) F4

[56] PKC 70.44 †-ρ-ϣπηρε †ε-μπε-τπ-εϣει

ti-r-špēre dʿe-mpe-tn-shei

1sg-do-amazement that-PRF.NEG-2pl-write

‘I am wondering why you did not write.’

The patterns of F1, F2 and F4 reflect standard syntax.⁹⁰⁵ In terms of structure, [52] pertains to Coptic verbal formulae too. When applied to [54] to [56], it is evident that all constituents are present.

[54] PKC 22.12 {μμε σε} signpost {†ε-} link {†-ι-†ι π-ϣατ μπ-π-ακον π-ππ} information

{*mme kʿe*} signpost {*dʿe*-} link {*a-i-dʿi p-šat mn-p-akon n-nēh*} information

[55] AP 10.24 {ε†-ι-εϣητ †α-κ ετβε-παι} signpost {†ε} link-{(ε)κε-κω †α-ι εβολ †α-πολ[ε]} information

{*ha-i-shēt na-k etbe-pai*} signpost {*dʿe*-} link-{(e)ke-kō na-i ebol na-nobe} information

[56] PKC 70.44 {†-ρ-ϣπηρε} signpost {†ε-} link {μπε-τπ-εϣει} information

{*ti-r-špēre*} signpost {*dʿe*-} link {*mpe-tn-shei*} information

In [57], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated.

[57]	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	verb (signpost)	conjunction (link)	(information)	
	S ειμμε <i>eime</i> statement (L μμμε <i>mme</i>)	†ε <i>dʿe</i>	SC (IND)	F1
	S εϣαι <i>shai</i> request (L εϣει <i>shei</i>)	†ε <i>dʿe</i> CS / CNJ (‘to ask’) ⁹⁰⁶	SC (FUT II / FUT III) INF / CINF	F2

⁹⁰⁵ We made the same observation regarding epistolary formulae in Section 6.2.

⁹⁰⁶ For the conjunctive, see Layton 2011: §§ 351–356.

<p> $\rho-\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ <i>r-špēre</i> $\rho-\mu\alpha\iota\eta\epsilon$ <i>r-maihe</i> $\rho-\theta\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ <i>r-t^hauma</i> $\rho-\theta\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ <i>r-t^haumaze</i> </p>	} statement	<p> $\chi\epsilon d'e$ $\chi\epsilon \pi\omega\varsigma d'e p\bar{o}s$ </p>	<p> SC (IND) SC (IND) </p>	F4
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As with the Greek patterns, lexical variation of the signpost-verb in F4 should theoretically be construed as a reflection of three independent variants, yet no syntactic change is involved. There is variation concerning the link in F2 and F4.

b) Nominal patterns (God as an agent, a cause, an onlooker)

Nominal patterns reflecting fixed expressions and formulae take the form of adverbial phrases. These are either of prepositional nature or contain a bare case in an adverbial function. In the complement slot of prepositions and, strictly speaking, in the function of an attributive genitive with a bare case in adverbial function, the noun ‘God’ appears. This noun is always inflected correctly.

God is characterised as an enabling power by means of $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha^{ACC}$ and $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu^{DAT907}$, as a cause by means of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}^{ACC}$ and $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota^{GEN}$ and as an onlooker by means of the oath particles $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ / $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$. Classical, as opposed to post-classical, syntax seems to underlie the majority of these patterns. In particular, $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ was disappearing from the living language and had mostly retreated into formulaic phrases.⁹⁰⁸ Similarly, the use of $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ / $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$ seems to be a learned feature rather than a reflection of current usage. Only the structure with $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota$ is syntactically and semantically transparent.

When all relevant passages are correlated with the contexts in which they appear, as in [58], differences in usage emerge.

[58] Contexts of Greek nominal patterns

Pattern	Request promise	/ Claim	Lost context
$\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}^{ACC}$	1	2	∅
$\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota^{GEN}$ and variants	∅	3	∅
$\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha^{ACC}$	5	∅	∅
$\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu^{DAT}$	8	2	∅
conditionals / genitive absolutes with S = God	4	∅	∅

⁹⁰⁷ Cf. also Luraghi 2003: 151.

⁹⁰⁸ For $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ θεῶ as having lost its Christian connotation, cf. Clarysse forthcoming.

ὑπό ^{GEN}	1	∅	∅
εἰς χάριν ^{GEN}	1	∅	∅
μὰ / ναί ^{ACC}	∅	3	∅

[blue = variation // green = deviation]

σύν was apparently contextually most flexible, whereas χάριτι is limited to claims, and διά mostly appears in requests. κατά seems most common in claims, but the small number of instances may be deceiving. μὰ / ναί appear primarily in claims. In [59], the above observations are summarised:

[59] Summary of Greek nominal patterns

[59]	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="background-color: #4a86e8; color: white; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">cause / limitation</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">κατά^{ACC}, χάριτι^{GEN}</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">claims</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">'because of God('s will)'</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="background-color: #4a86e8; color: white; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">cause / enabling power</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">διὰ^{ACC}, σύν^{DAT}</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">requests / promises</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">'with God's (help)'</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="background-color: #4a86e8; color: white; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">onlooker</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">μὰ / ναί^{ACC}</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;">claims</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">'by God'</div> </div> </div>
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The corresponding Coptic range of structures is considerably smaller. God is characterised as an onlooker by means of the oath particle $\omega\alpha$ - *ša-* and as a cause by means of the fixed phrase $\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$ μ - π - $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ *touešte m-p-noute* 'according to God's will'. Occasionally, Greek $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - *kata-* was borrowed. For code-switched passages, the reader is referred to Chapter 7 ($\epsilon\gamma\eta\theta\epsilon\omega$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$, $\chi\iota\pi\omega\mu\iota\mu\epsilon$ *hi-p-ōmine*). In [60], the relevant structures are correlated with the contexts in which they appear:

[60] Contexts of Coptic nominal patterns

Item	Request promise	/ Statement	Lost context
$\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$ n - <i>touešte n-</i>	∅	4	1
$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - <i>kata-</i>	1	1	∅
$\chi\iota$ - π - $\omega\mu\iota\mu\epsilon$ <i>hi-p-ōmine</i>	∅	1	∅
$\epsilon\gamma\eta$ $\theta\epsilon\omega$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$	1	1	∅
conditional with S = God	2	∅	∅
$\omega\alpha$ - <i>ša-</i>	1	4	∅

Like the Greek oath particles, the Coptic oath particle prevails in claims. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ *touešte m-p-noute* appears only in claims. In [61], the above observations are summarised:

[61] Summary of Coptic nominal patterns

[61]	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="357 472 520 555">cause / limitation</th><th data-bbox="635 472 798 555">onlooker</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td data-bbox="389 568 624 651">$\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ <i>touešte m-p-noute</i></td><td data-bbox="667 568 943 651">$\omega\alpha-$ $\xi\alpha-$</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="389 667 520 750">claims</td><td data-bbox="667 667 798 750">claims</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="389 766 520 848">'according to God('s will')</td><td data-bbox="667 766 798 848">'by God'</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	cause / limitation	onlooker	$\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ <i>touešte m-p-noute</i>	$\omega\alpha-$ $\xi\alpha-$	claims	claims	'according to God('s will')	'by God'
cause / limitation	onlooker								
$\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ <i>touešte m-p-noute</i>	$\omega\alpha-$ $\xi\alpha-$								
claims	claims								
'according to God('s will')	'by God'								

One more prepositional phrase deserves brief comment: In $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$, the preposition $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ never has a temporal, but always a metaphorical meaning, since a hierarchy is described. The phrase usually co-occurs with a verb ‘to trust / rely on’ as in [62].

[62] AJ 1.21–22 $\langle\mu\epsilon\rangle\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\theta\alpha\rho\tilde{\omega}$.

‘In fact, after God I trust you.’

The extension from temporal ‘after (time)’ to metaphorical ‘after (superior)’ is natural. However, the metaphorical meaning seems limited to the context shown in [62].

The same extension from the temporal to the metaphorical plane in the vicinity of a verb ‘to trust / rely on’ appears in Coptic. The relevant preposition is $\mu\pi\eta\eta\varsigma\alpha-$ *mnnsa-*.

c) Conjunctional patterns

Imperative requests may be hedged by means of conditional clauses.⁹⁰⁹ The two recurring patterns in the corpus are:

[63a] PK 15.27 $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ $\delta[\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta]$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$

⁹⁰⁹ In AN 5.5 and PKC 77.24, already polite requests are hedged. In AN 5.5, an instance of F2 is hedged, and in PKC 77.24, a jussive is hedged.

‘Please⁹¹⁰, do everything, if you can, to send me the products.’

Here, the conditional clause is prospective and its verb is a modal verb conveying ability.

[63b] AN 5.3–8 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν Ἀσπιδᾶ καὶ Παύλου <ἔγραψα> πρὸς τὴν σὴν θεοσέβιαν, ἵνα **ἔῃ σοι**, τὸν σῖτον, (...), λαβὼν ἀρτάβας μὲν τρεῖς ἐν ψωμίοις διαδῶς τοῖς δεομένοις, (...)

‘And through our brothers Aspidas and Paulos, I wrote to your piety so that, if it seems good to you, after receiving the wheat (...) it may give three *artabae* in the form of bread to the poor ones (...)’

Here, the conditional clause has general reference and we find an impersonal construction conveying possibility.⁹¹¹ In [63a] and [63b], the semantic subject in the conditional clause is the addressee. In [63a], the reference to the addressee is the grammatical subject whereas in [63b] it is the indirect object. The reference to the addressee may be omitted. The complements of the modal verb and the one of the impersonal construction are only implied. For instance, in [63a] we understand ‘if you can (send me the products)’.

Claims, on the other hand, may be hedged by means of a clause of comparison as in [63c]:

[63c] DA 61.5 χρεωστοῦσιν δέ, **ὥς εἴρηται** παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κολλούθου.

‘They owe (it), as was said / confirmed by the same Kollouthos.’

Here, λέγω is used in the passive, yet the verb could also be used in active forms. These two syntactic configurations can be schematised as in [64]:

[64] ὥς εἴρηται {παρὰ^{GEN}}_{agent}
ὥς λέγει {NOM}_{agent}

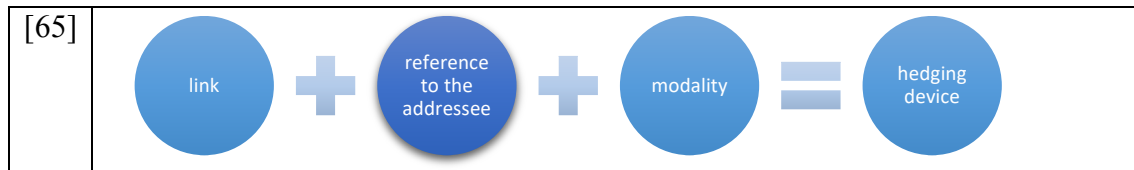
⁹¹⁰ Cf. Chapter 3.

⁹¹¹ The only exception, AN 5.12, is discussed in Section 6.3.2.

If the verb is in the active voice, the agent is either explicitly defined or seems to be the same as the agent of the main-clause verb. Regarding the two passive instances, the agent is defined in [63c], by means of $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha^{\text{GEN}}$, and omitted in DA 2.4.

The insertion of a clause of comparison essentially serves to shift the responsibility for a claim to a third party. It is left open whether the implied recipient of the message, ‘as he tells {somebody}^{recipient}’, is the addressee or the sender.

Generally speaking, hedging devices reflect the structure illustrated in [65]:



If we apply [65] to [63a] to [63c], it is evident that all constituents are present in [63a] and [63b], but that there is no reference to the addressee in [63c].

[63a] PK 15.27 (...) {ἐάν}link {δ[ύνη]}reference to the addressee + modality (...)

[63b] AN 5.3–8 (...) {ἐ/ἰ}link {δοκεῖ}modality {σοι}reference to the addressee (...)

[63c] DA 61.5 (...) {ὥς}link {εἴρηται}modality $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κολλούθου.

In [66], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:

[66]	conjunction (link)	S / DAT / \emptyset (addressee)	verb (modality)	hedged sentence
ἐάν εἰ		S DAT / \emptyset DAT	verb conveying an ability impersonal construction conveying a possibility	request / command
ὥς		\emptyset DAT	indicative of λέγω	claim

In conditionals, variation is limited to lexical variation of the verb. In clauses of comparison, the voice of the verb may be varied. In either, the optional constituent may be omitted.

In Coptic, only structures equivalent to Greek hedging devices for requests exist.

[67a] PKC 39.28–29 **εῴωπε ε-τετν-ουῶς** *cʒei cexε ne=f*

ešōpe e-tetn-ouōš *shei sed'e ne=f*

if CS-2pl-want write message to.PRP=3sg

‘If you like, write a message to him!’

In [67a], the conditional clause contains a modal verb.

[67b] PKC 19.22 **εἰῴξε [ο]ῡν-σᾶμ** *ani ouε ʒω=f* **μ-γενᾶ**

eišd'e oun-k'am *ani oue hō=f m-gena*

if there.is-chance bring.IMP one PRT=3sg for.PRP-name

‘If there is any chance, bring one for Gena!’

In [67b], the conditional clause contains an existential pattern. The structure illustrated in [65] pertains to Coptic hedging devices too. If we apply [65] to [67a] and [67b], it is evident that all constituents are present in [67a], but that there is no reference to the addressee in [67b].

[67a] PKC 39.28–29 {εῴωπε ε} link- {τετν} reference to the addressee- {ουῶς} modality (...)

{*ešōpe e*} link- {*tetn*} reference to the addressee- {*ouōš*} modality (...)

[67b] PKC 19.22 {εἰῴξε} link { [ο]ῡν-σᾶμ } modality (...)

{*eišd'e*} link {*oun-k'am*} modality (...)

In [68], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated.

[68]	conjunction (link)	S / DAT / ∅ (addressee)	verb (modality)	hedged sentence
	εῴωπε <i>ešōpe</i>	S	verb conveying a wish	request /
	εῴωπε / S εῴξε <i>ešōpe</i> / S <i>ešd'e</i>	∅	existential with S σᾶμ <i>k'om</i>	command

Lexical variation of the predicate phrase is marginal. The optional constituent may be omitted.⁹¹²

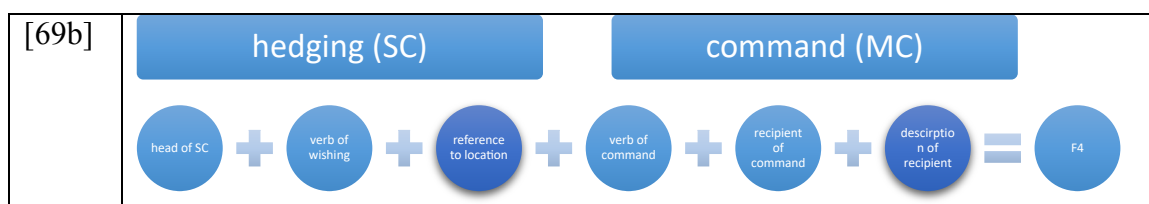
d) Invariability (F3)

In the last structure to be discussed here, the insertion of context-specific material is very limited. The formula F3 expresses a polite offer to the addressee and thereby underlines the sender's willingness to be of service. It is therefore termed 'polite-offer formula'. An example is [69a]:

[69a] PK 12.9–11 $\pi\epsilon[\rho]\iota\delta\epsilon\ \tilde{\omega}\nu\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\ [\mu\omicron\iota\ \eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma]\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau[\iota.]$

'Concerning whatever you want, give an order to me who is glad (sc. to be of service).'

F3 consists of a main clause based on a verb of command in a deontic form and a subordinate clause with a second-person subject. In light of the preceding discussion of hedging devices, one could construe the subordinate clause as hedging the main clause. Generally speaking, F3 reflects the structure illustrated in [69b]:

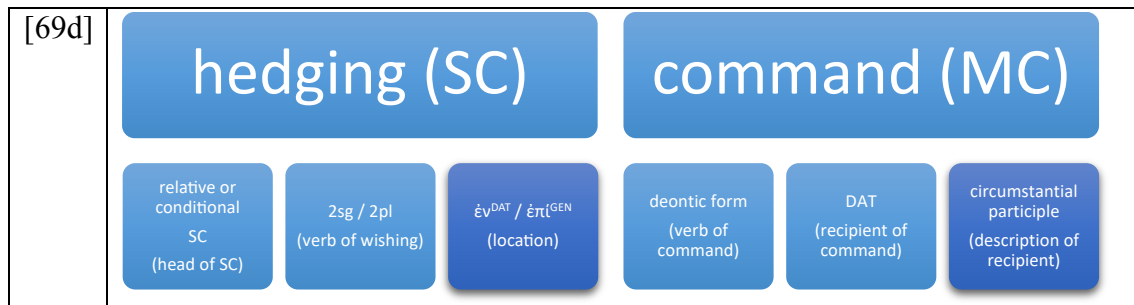


The reference to a location is the only slot in which context-specific material could be inserted. If we apply [69b] to [69a], it is evident that all constituents but a reference to a location are present.

[69c] PK 12.9–11 $\{\pi\epsilon[\rho]\iota\delta\epsilon\ \tilde{\omega}\nu\}$ head of SC $\{\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\}$ verb of wishing $\{\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\}$ verb of command
 $\{[\mu\omicron\iota]\}$ recipient $\{\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\]\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau[\iota.] \}$ description of recipient

In [69d], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated:

⁹¹² For $\text{S}_{\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon}$ *ešōpe* 'if (ever)' and $\text{S}_{\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon}$ *ešd'e* 'supposing that / if', see Layton 2011: §§ 495–496.



There is lexical variation concerning the verbs in the main and subordinate clauses. Strictly speaking, variation of the verb in the main clause should be construed as a reflection of two variants, but no syntactic change is involved. The subordinate clause may be a relative clause, a generalising relative clause or a conditional clause. Note the one impersonal structure in a subordinate clause, AN 5.16 *χρεία ἐστιν*. Optional constituents may be omitted.

There are no independent variants.

F3 also exists in Coptic:

[70a] PKC 35.48 ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥⲓ ⲛⲏⲙⲁ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲁⲉⲥⲓ ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲱⲥⲉ

hōb e-k-ouaš=f n-ni-ma keleue nē=i ti-na-e=f e-i-reše

thing CS-2sg-want=3sg in.PRP-ART.DEF.PL-place order.IMP to.PRP=1sg 1sg-FUT-do=3sg CS-1sg-be.happy

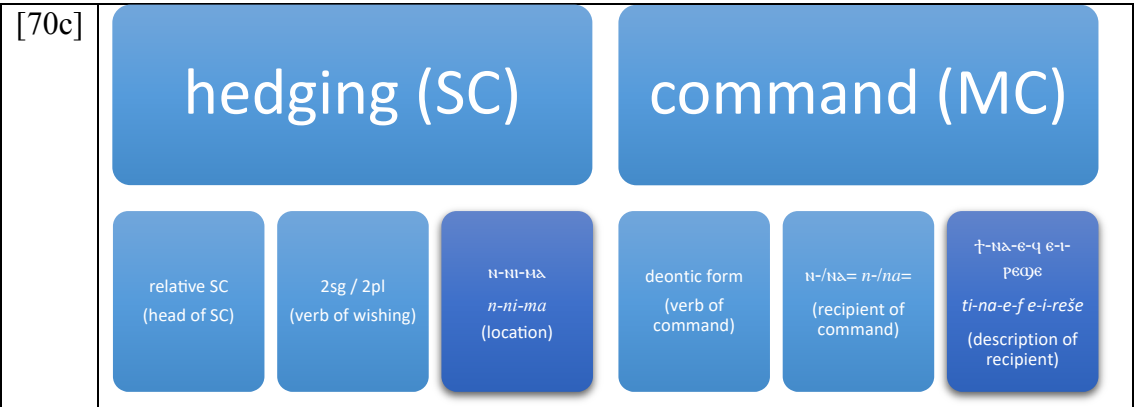
‘Anything you want there, give an order to me (and) I will do it happily.’

The structure shown in [69b] pertains to Coptic too. If we apply [69b] to [70a], it is evident that all constituents are present.

[70b] PKC 35.48 {ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥⲓ ⲉ}link- {ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥⲓ}verb of wishing {ⲛⲏⲙⲁ}location
 {ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ}verb of command {ⲛⲏⲓ}recipient {ⲧⲏⲁⲉⲥⲓ ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲱⲥⲉ}description of the recipient
 {*hōb e*}link- {*k-ouaš-f*}verb of wishing {*n-ni-ma*}location {*keleue*}verb of command {*nē-*
i}recipient {*ti-na-e-f e-i-reše*}description of the recipient

However, the description of the recipient of the command takes the form of an independent clause, ⲧⲏⲁⲉⲥⲓ *ti-na-e-f* ‘I will do it’, that is attached to F3.

In [70c], the function and syntax of each constituent are correlated⁹¹³:



Variation is limited to lexical variation of the verbs in the main and subordinate clauses. Twice, the verb in the main clause is omitted resulting in an elliptical structure (PKC 35.36, PKC 89.35–37). Strictly speaking, variation of the verb in the main clause should be construed as a reflection of variants, but no syntactic change is involved. Optional constituents may be omitted.

6.3.2 Variation

Patterns that reflect the encroachment of colloquialisms on our texts or a proficient writer’s efforts to elaborate the style of his text are listed in [71].

⁹¹³ For Coptic relative clauses, see Chapter 5.

[71] Variation in fixed expressions

Type of pattern	Colloquialism	Register elevation
Verbal patterns: complementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AN 12.18: asyndetic (F2) PK 8.30–31 and (PK 14.28–33⁹¹⁴): asyndetic (F4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AN 8.4 and AJ 8.6–7 and (?)DA 6.1: AcI (F1)⁹¹⁵ AN 8.17: ὥς (F1)⁹¹⁶ AN 20.10: εἰς τὸ AcI (F2) AN 11.20–22: ὅπως (F2)⁹¹⁷ AP 3.8–14 (and AP 1.41–42): fusion of F1 and F2 <p><i>Coptic:</i> <i>PKC 110.5: copying a Greek pattern (F4) ρ-ωπηρε πως r-špēre pōs</i></p>
Nominal patterns: substitution of a preposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AN 12.12: parenthetical χάρις (for χάριτι) DA 18.8, DA 52.5, DA 61.5 and DA 17.14: parenthetical MCs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PK 13.7–8: προνοία (for χάριτι) AN 6.8: genitive absolute (for σύν^{DAT}/διὰ^{ACC}) DA 36.6 and DA 62.1 and PK 13.14: ναί / μά⁹¹⁸
Conjunctive patterns: lexical variation, classicising structures, resolution of ellipsis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PK 9.29 εἰ μή: ellipsis for PK 8.44, see Chapter 3 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AN 5.12: hedging (εἰ, explication of implied elements) DA 17.12 and DA 18.18–19: τὸ δοκοῦν (for conditional clause) DA 65.3: φημί (for λέγει) DA 50.6 and DA 5.18 and AP 2.8 and PK 6.27–28 for ‘as they say’ [ἐξ ὧν ὁρῶ, ὡς ὁρῶ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, καθ’ ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐ[στι] δυνά[τὸν]) PK 1.8–9 (ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ἡ σὴ εὐγένεια) for ‘as they say’ <p><i>Coptic:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>PKC 80.26 and AJ 17.23 ((κατα)-REL-ρ-ρῆα (kata)-REL-r-hna for εγωπε ε-κ-ορωω ešōpe e-k-ouōš ‘if you want’)</i> <i>PKC 116.14 (εγωπε ε- ešōpe e, σῆ-θε κῆ-τῆ e for εγωπε ουν-σολ ešōpe oun-k’om ‘if there is any chance’)</i>

⁹¹⁴ A verbal adjective of θαυμάζω follows the relevant complaint whereas preceding ἐκπλήττομαι marks the general topic: PK 14.28–33 (high-punctus) ἐκπλήττομαι δέ σου τὸ ἀμέριμνον περὶ ἡ{μ}ῶ/[|α|]ν. εἰ γὰρ ἠγόρασας τὴν μικρὰν [πορ]φύραν καὶ μόνον διὰ σάκκον, οὐκ ἔπεμψας. **θαυμαστόν**· (high-punctus).

⁹¹⁵ Cf. Bentein 2017b and James 2008.

⁹¹⁶ Cf. Bentein 2015a: 112–114.

⁹¹⁷ Cf. Clarysse 2010b.

⁹¹⁸ In DA 62.1, the surrounding syntax corroborates register elevation: a prepositional infinitive and an alternative to existential ‘to be’.

In lower registers, σύν θεῷ seems to have become multifunctional, cf. also Clarysse forthcoming.

Invariable pattern: F3	∅	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AN 10.16–19: rearranging constituents <p><i>Coptic:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> AP 9.23 and DA 74.10–11: INF (for SC) and τη-ο γαρ η- ζετοιμος προθυως tn-o gar n-hetoimos prot^humōs (for CS)
Total	10	23

In either category, colloquialism and register elevation, we mostly find the same phenomena as those discussed for verbs, adverbial phrases and patterns of discourse organisation in Chapters 3 to 5. However, there are five additional ones:

(1) Fusion of formulae

F1 and F2 are fused twice. The resulting structure is both times grammatical.

(2) Avoidance of formulae

Fixed expressions and formulae are occasionally replaced by syntactically and semantically more transparent structures. Firstly, a request, promise or claim is often commended to God by means of a main-clause structure, rather than by means of one of the nominal patterns described in Section 6.3.1. An example of a parenthetical main clause is [72a].

[72a] AN 12.12–13 καθὼς ἐξῆλθα ἀπὸ σοῦ, **χάρις τ[ῷ] θεῷ**, ἦλθα εἰς Ὁμβων.
 ‘When I left you, **thanks to God**, I went to Ombo.’

An example of a syntactically integrated main clause is [72b]:

[72b] AN 9.4–6 **χάριν ὁμολογῶ τῇ θεῇ προνοίᾳ, ὅτι** με τὸν ἐλάχιστο(ν) κατηξιώσατε ὑπουργῆσαι ὑμῖν.
 ‘**I thank the divine foresight that** you deemed me, the humblest one, worthy of serving you.’

Secondly, once a writer seems to substitute a clause of comparison by an independent clause in order to hedge a claim (DA 67.3).

All relevant structures are summarised below:

- εὐχαριστέω / χάριν ὁμολογέω {God}^{DAT} {because ...}^{causal SC} ‘to thank’ [5 instances]
- ὡπ-ε-μοτ *šp-hmot* {God}^{indirect object} {because ...}^{causal SC} ‘to thank’ [2 instances]
- ἐστί {God}^{GEN} {to do something}^{INF} ‘to have the task to’ [1 instance]
- {God}^S οἶδεν / ζῇ ‘to know / to live’ [4 instances]
- {God}^S σοοϣη/ρ-μντρε *sooun/r-mntre* {something / that ...}^{direct object / CPL-SC} ‘to know’ [11 instances]
- λέγει {that ...}^{CPL-SC} ‘to say’ [1 instance]

Thirdly, in Greek and Coptic, God may be characterised as an enabling power by means of a conditional clause.

Essentially, substituting a fossilised nominal structure by a syntactically and semantically more transparent clausal one may be interpreted as an avoidance strategy. However, parenthetical clauses are also typical colloquialisms⁹¹⁹ (cf. [71]). Conversely, the substitution of a nominal pattern by a conditional clause could also be a stylistically elaborate variant.⁹²⁰

(3) Change of syntactic patterns

In one general conditional that serves to hedge a request, a personal structure is chosen, perhaps because the usually implied complement of the verb is spelt out, [73].

[73] AN 5.12–16 καὶ \ε/ὶ καταξιοῖς ἡμῖν ἀντιγράψαι, μνήσθητι δηλῶσαι ἡμῖν, (...).

‘And **if you deign to reply to us**, remember to inform us (...).’

The writer seems to have been aware of the underlying structure of hedging devices.

(4) Change of semantic patterns

In three passages, a claim is hedged by adding a clause that shifts the focus to the writer’s own limited horizon rather than shifting the responsibility for the claim to a third party. An example is [74]:

[74] DA 5.18 μὴ [ὀ]κνήσατε· δὲ ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸ μικρὸν κτήμα ἐπεὶ ὥς ὀρῶ καὶ ἡ . . . οὐδέπ[οτε] (only single letters)

‘Do not hesitate to manage the small property because, as far as I (can) see, (we?) ... never ...’

(5) Rearrangement of constituents

Invariable F3 is once varied insofar as a writer rearranged its constituents in a grammatically correct way, [75].

[75] AN 10.18–19 ἡδέως γὰρ ἔχω ἐάν μοι κελεύσης εἰς ὃ δὲν θέλῃς·

‘I am happy when you order me concerning whatever you want’

⁹¹⁹ For the relationship between avoidance strategies and colloquialisms, cf. Chapter 7.

⁹²⁰ Relevant passages in Greek texts are: PK 8.10–11 (cf. deviations), AP 5.17, AN 1.19–20. Relevant passages in Coptic texts are: AJ 16.8, PKC 24.37–38.

In sum, the range of variation in formulae of the letter body clearly exceeds the one in epistolary formulae. This reflects the more fixed nature of the epistolary frame.

6.3.3 Deviations

a) *Chunking*

(1) F1 for focus particle [= grammatical]

[76] is an instance of F1. However, in the gap for context-specific material after *ὅτι*, a protasis-apodosis sequence appears instead of a simple subordinate clause.

[76] DA 1.4–6 ἵνα τ[ἐ] μάθῃτε ὅτι εἰ μὴ δι[ὰ τ]ῆς αὔριον ἐξενέγκητέ μοι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ τε ἀστικο(ῦ) καὶ κωμητικο(ῦ) ἐ<κ> πλήρους, ο[ὗ]κ [ἔξετε] ε[ὗ] χαριστήσαι τῷ πράγματι.

‘You shall know: If you do not bring me (your) share of the city and village tax in full by tomorrow, you will not like the (resulting) issue.’

We may either assume that *ὅτι recitativum* intruded into a formulaic context or that [76] is an instance of chunking. The former construal would impute disregard of formulaic syntax to our writer. Concerning the latter construal, it must be noted that [76] is not ungrammatical since the apodosis can be construed as continuing *ὅτι*. However, given that focus particles such as *ἵδού* existed, the writer’s choice of F1 (ἵνα τ[ἐ] μάθῃτε ὅτι) in [76] seems odd.⁹²¹

b) *Formulaic as opposed to standard syntax*

(1) F2 – collocation for formula [= ungrammatical]

[77a] and [77b] are instances of F2 originating from the same letter. In both, the formulaic syntax is disregarded since an independent clause follows *ὅτι*.

[77a] PK 8.5–8 ἔγραψά σοι πρὸ τούτου ὅτι· τήρησον τὸν τόπον μου ὃ<ς> ἐστὶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὄν.

‘I wrote to you before: Take care of my place, which is being rented out.’

⁹²¹ For chunking of F1, cf. also James 2008.

[77b] PK 8.31–34 **ἔγραψά σοι ὅτι· πέμψης** τὸ μα{ρ}φόρτιόν μου καὶ ἴουκε
τὸ χιτῶνιον, καὶ οὐκ ἠμέλησέ σοι·
‘I wrote you: You shall send my cape and tunic, but you did not care.’

Neither is a prototypical instance of F2 since the writer recalls past requests that went unnoticed as *πρὸ τούτου* in [77a] underlines. The aorist of the verb ‘to write’ can thus not be interpreted as an epistolary tense. However, since both passages clearly indicate a request which the sender made and, by repeating it here, is making, we would expect the formulaic pattern F2.

Three explanations for the structures in [77a] and [77b] may be considered:

Firstly, given the parallel between *γράφω* and *λέγω* illustrated in Chapter 3, *ὅτι* may be construed as *ὅτι recitativum* (cf. BDR § 470). However, this would impute disregard of formulaic syntax to the writer since *ὅτι recitativum* may only appear in the collocation of *γράφω*.⁹²²

Alternatively, we may consider bilingual interference, given that the writer of PK 8 struggles with Greek syntax in several instances (cf. Chapter 3). In Coptic, factive and prospective complement clauses are headed by *ⲭⲉ dʿe*⁹²³, but the latter are very rare.

Finally, we may wonder whether the writer used the collocation, rather than the formula, of *γράφω* to signpost requests. The collocation of *γράφω* is the complementation by a direct object in the accusative or a factive complement clause. The imperative in [77a] and the subjunctive in [77b] show that the writer wanted to convey requests. Given that requests are a function of the formula of *γράφω*, F2, the function, unlike the syntax, of F2 was apparently clear to the writer.

The writer’s struggles with Greek syntax indicate that he may not have been a native speaker. F2 may therefore have caused problems for three main reasons:

- (1) *γράφω* is syntactically and semantically highly versatile in Greek, unlike in Coptic.
- (2) The Greek formulaic pattern is syntactically and semantically not transparent.
- (3) In Coptic, formulae reflect standard syntax, unlike in Greek.

⁹²² For instances of asyndetic complementation in F2, see Section 6.3.2. Considering other verbs of request, this is the typical way of syntactic simplification.

⁹²³ Cf. Chapter 3.

(2) F2 – overgeneralising the pattern of a class of verbs [= ungrammatical]

[78a] seems to be an instance of F2. A preposition may be lost in the first lacuna and a verb ‘to help / support’ in the second one. The coordinated imperative (καὶ κατάστησον) seems to corroborate a construal as F2.⁹²⁴

[78a] AP 3.33–35 γράφω σε οὖν, ἄδελφε Παιῆου[ς -ca.?-] ταύτην τὴν ἀνάγκην,
ἵνα [-ca.?- παν]τὶ τρόπῳ καὶ κατάστησον [-ca.?-]

‘I write to you now, brother Paieous, (concerning?) this misfortune so that (you may help him?) in every possible way. And put down ...’

The accusative referring to the recipient (σέ) is unlikely to have resulted from the hypercorrect omission of, for example, πρὸς because dative periphrasis is rare with γράφω. We could hold responsible the gradual disappearance of the dative and some writers’ insecurity particularly in using weak pronominal forms. Alternatively, we may wonder whether the semantics of F2 prompted the writer to use the regular syntax of verbs of request in the formulaic context of F2. In [78b], the two relevant patterns are aligned with [78a]:

[78b]

verbs of request	: παρακαλέω / ἀξιόω	{ACC}agent	{INF / CPL-SC}action
F2	: γράφω	{DAT}agent	{CPL-SC}action
AP 3.33–35	: γράφω	{ACC}agent	{CPL-SC}action

[78a] may be an instance of a collocation of a class of verbs encroaching on a formulaic context.

(3) F1 – formula and collocation [= ungrammatical]

DA 7 is a desperate request for help. In [79], the addressee’s attention is drawn to an unknown person’s authority over a property. [79] seems to be the key piece of information that is provided to secure the addressee’s help.

⁹²⁴ Although the context is damaged, DA 9.8–9 may be another instance of F2 with an accusative complementing γράφω: DA 9.8–9 μὴ ἀποτύχω δὲ | εἰς τοῦτο θαρρῶν | ὁμᾶς ἔγραψ[α . . .] εἰ[. . .] . . . καλούσης.

[79] DA 7.4–5 **εἰ ο(ῥ)ν ο . ι οὐκ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν τὰ γήδια αὐτῶν, μανθάνετε πλέον**

‘That therefore the ... do not have power over their fields, you shall know exactly.’

Instead of *μανθάνετε ὅτι*, the typical pattern of F1, we find *εἰ*, the pattern of indirect questions.

Construing *εἰ* as an indirect question is impossible in [79]. The writer is not asking *whether* the addressee knows but orders him to know / realise *that* something is the case as the imperative *μανθάνετε* underlines. Outside of F1, an indirect question with *μανθάνω* would be syntactically unproblematic.⁹²⁵ Our writer seems to have let non-formulaic standard syntax encroach on a formulaic passage.

(4) *εἰς χάριν*^{GEN} in a request [= grammatical]

[80] is a request in the form *παρακαλῶ {ACC}^{agent} {INF}^{action}*. This structure is not obscured by the lacuna.

[80] DA 69.11–13 διὸ τοίνυν παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀεὶ προσ[κ]υνουμένην [π]ᾷσι λαμπρὰν ὑμῶν δεσποτείαν **εἰς χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου/ ἡμῶν πατρὸς καὶ τῆς ὑμῶν φυχῆς**⁹²⁶ τὸ συμβαλλόμενον κελεῦσαι ἑναπο[-2-3-] φροντίζειν (...)

‘Therefore, **by God and particularly by our blessed father and your soul**, I ask your brilliant power that is always honoured by everyone to order that the contribution ... (and) to take care of (...)’

A prepositional phrase with a reference to God is inserted in the request. However, in requests, God is normally invoked as an enabling power, hence in a prepositional phrase with *σύν*^{DAT} or *διὰ*^{ACC}, whereas we find *εἰς χάριν*^{GEN} in [80].

Three explanations seem possible:

⁹²⁵ TLG proximity search: maximum distance of word, *εἰ* after *μανθάνω* – 38 relevant instances, attestations already in CG.

⁹²⁶ Initial <φ> is an orthographical mistake.

(1) The writer was insecure concerning fossilized phrases with God in the complement slot. As mentioned above, σύν- and διά-phrases may have been semantically and syntactically opaque from a synchronic perspective.

(2) He deliberately characterised God as a cause, ‘because of God(‘s will)’. Both (1) and (2) presuppose that εἰς χάριν is a dative periphrasis. The interchange between a plain dative and an εἰς-periphrasis is common in the post-classical period.

(3) εἰς encodes a purpose, a standard function of the preposition: εἰς χάριν ‘for the pleasure of ...’. The genitives attached to χάριν would then refer to the beneficiaries of the action.

In essence, (1) imputes a lack of proficiency to the writer, (2) assumes a proficient writer, and (3) implies that the writer used standard syntax instead of formulaic one. The entire letter is well written, such that (1) seems unlikely. Whether (2) or (3) underlie the structure cannot be decided conclusively.

c) Internal confusion

(5) Semantics, syntactic versatility and familiarity (ὕπο in a request) [= ungrammatical, wrong preposition]

In requests, God was often invoked as a supporter / enabling power. This seems to be the case in [81a] even though the choice of preposition is peculiar. [81a] appears at the beginning of a desperate begging letter.

[81a] AJ 7.2–3 βοήθησόν⁹²⁷ μαι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ

‘Help me **as far as it is in your and God’s power!**’

We would expect God to be characterised as an enabling power, hence a prepositional phrase with σύν^{DAT} or διὰ^{GEN}. The request is repeated two lines further down without the prepositional addition:

[81b] AJ 7.5 νῦν οὖν βοήθησόν μαι·

‘Now help me!’

⁹²⁷ Cf. Section 3.3.2 for the dismissal of the editorial correction.

The writer's second request also appears twice. In the first instance, it is preceded by an introductory phrase addressing God.

[82a] AJ 7.11–12 **ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν ἵνα** ἢ ἀπόλυσόν μαι ἢ παράδοτέ μοι.

'I beg God: Either release me or give (it back) to me!'

In the second instance, regular *διὰ τὸν θεὸν* is added.

[82b] AJ 7.15 νῦν οὖν μὴ ἀμελήσης, δέσποτα, **διὰ τὸν [Θ]εόν[ν]**.

'Now, don't forget (it), master, by God!'

The reason for the writer's choice of *ὑπό* in [81a] seems to be internal confusion. Correct options would be *σὺν θεῷ* and *διὰ τὸν θεόν*. By means of either of these, God is invoked as a supporter ('with God's help').

If we compare *σύν*^{DAT}, *διά*^{ACC} and *ὑπό*^{GEN}, the following observations can be made:

- (1) Although *ὑπό* was considerably less frequent than *σύν* and *διά*, it was syntactically more versatile. It appears with all three cases.⁹²⁸
- (2) *ὑπό*^{GEN} and *διά*^{GEN} appear in agent expressions with passive verbs. While *ὑπό*^{GEN} is the established option in these, *διά*^{GEN} is theoretically profiling an intermediary. However, it comes to be used increasingly with morphological passives. The overlap between *διά*^{ACC} and *ὑπό*^{GEN} may then have resulted from the weakened significance of the case complementing a preposition.
- (3) *σύν*^{DAT} was giving way to *μετά*^{GEN} and had largely retreated into fixed expressions so that the syntax of *σὺν θεῷ* may have been opaque from a synchronic viewpoint.

Consequently, *ὑπό*^{GEN} is a versatile, established⁹²⁹ and transparent pattern. These characteristics may have appealed to a less experienced writer such as the writer of AJ 7. His choice was finally motivated by pragmatics. In [81a], God is referred to as a supporter and thus as an agent, since he is expected to provide help. While *ὑπό*^{GEN} encodes an agent

⁹²⁸ For *ὑπό* in the predicative possessive pattern, see Fendel forthcoming a.

⁹²⁹ For overgeneralization of a familiar pattern, see Goglia 2009: 237.
Note also that the writer resorted to a clausal option in [82a].

in other contexts, the choice of the preposition is peculiar in [81a] where a fixed expression such as *σὺν θεῷ* would be needed.

d) Slip of the pen (1 instance)

In [83], a reference to God is twice added to a promise. Both times, it takes the form of a conditional clause with ‘God’ in the subject slot.

[83] PK 8.10–15 *ἐὰν δὲ ὁ θεὸς κελεύει σ’ ἀπολῦσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ ζήσωμεν, ἐγὼ πληρώσω σοι τὴν χάριν σου, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὁ θεός, δίδωμί σοι τὴν χάριν.*

‘If God orders you to release us so that we live, I will be grateful to you, if God (does) not, I will (sc. nevertheless) thank you.’

At the beginning of [83], the conditional clause is complete. At the end of [83], the writer apparently intended the conditional clause to be elliptical. However, instead of mere *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ*, he kept the subject *ὁ θεός* from the original structure and only omitted the predicate phrase. Perhaps he copied the start of the conditional clause from before and only inserted a negative.

The writer may merely have been insecure concerning elliptical structures in Greek. Note the paratactic structure *καὶ ζήσωμεν*, the doubled reference to the addressee *ἐγὼ πληρώσω σοι τὴν χάριν σου* and the idiosyncratic substitution of *πληρώω* for *δίδωμι*. [83] seems to indicate a proficient writer, who also freely used colloquial structures.

6.4 Summary and conclusion

[84] summarises the kinds of deviations found in the epistolary formulae and the formulae of the letter body.

[84] Types of deviations

Impacting factors	Internal factors				External factors		Total
Type of deviation	Chunking	Simplification	Internal confusion (syntax)	Internal confusion (phraseology)	Indirect interference	Adoption of Coptic phraseology	
Epistolary formulae	✓	✓	∅	✓	✓	✓	70
Letter body	✓	∅	✓	∅	∅	∅	8
Total 1	19	11	7	2	4	35	78
Total 2	29				39		78

Evidently, epistolary formulae posed more problems to our writers than the formulae of the letter body. This is due partly to the larger number of epistolary formulae in the corpus. Yet, it is also due to the more fixed nature of the formulae of the epistolary frame. They allow for so little variation that writers could easily make mistakes.

Overall, the number of deviations caused by internal factors and external factors is almost balanced. This may be because the Greek and Coptic formulaic repertoires significantly differed so that matching up equivalents was relatively difficult. Zooming in on deviations caused by external factors, syntactic interference accounts only for a fraction of the deviating structures whereas phraseological interference is considerably more prominent.

The modular nature of formulae allows us to explain the phenomena of chunking and internal phraseological confusion.⁹³⁰ The difference between Greek and Coptic formulae can account for the adoption of Coptic phraseology and the intrusion of standard patterns into formulaic contexts (internal confusion). Finally, the syntax of a formulaic structure is often simplified and thus made more transparent by resorting to post-classical standard patterns.

[84] shows that the ratio of syntactic to phraseological deviations is about 3:4. Phraseological deviations, that is grammatical passages discussed as deviations, point to advanced writers who may merely have been puzzled by the phraseological differences between Greek and Coptic. Even when they adopted Coptic phraseology, they arrived at grammatically correct formulations (see [86] below).

Three patterns appear with particular frequency:

- (1) imperatival GSs;
- (2) imperatival FHWs;
- (3) comitative prepositions in GSs.

Imperatival GSs are very common in Coptic letters but rare in Greek ones. Imperatival FHWs are the standard in Coptic, but in Greek, the imperative had been supplanted by the ἐπρωσθαί-σε-εὔχομαι FHW long before the fourth century AD. Comitative prepositions instead of common καί occasionally appear in classical Greek, but καί was the regular pattern in GSs.

⁹³⁰ For phraseological confusion, cf. Stolk and Nachtergaele 2016 (GS, OP); Vierros 2012a.

The distribution of imperatival FHWs in the corpus indicates that they were preferred by bilingual writers. The picture is less clear for imperatival GSs and comitative prepositions in GSs.⁹³¹ Imperatival GSs accumulate in PK 13 and PK 14 (5 / 11 instances). An ethical dative, resembling common $\mu\pi\tau\epsilon \text{ } \pi\eta\text{--}\iota$, accompanies the imperative only there. Imperatival GSs and comitative prepositions seem pragmatically conditioned. The Coptic parallel may however account for a particular accumulation of these patterns.

Grammatical deviations are particularly frequent in the village archive from Kellis and the archive of Dioskoros. [85] summarises grammatical deviations in the corpus.

[85] Grammatical deviations

Archive	AJ	AN	AP	PK	DA	PKC	Total
Chunking	∅	∅	∅	PK 14 (2) PK 15 (2)	DA 1	∅	5
Simplification	AJ 8	AN 15 AN 17	AP 4	PK 5 PK 8 PK 9	DA 2 DA 9 DA 41	PKC 22	11
Internal confusion (syntax)	∅	∅	∅	∅	DA 69	∅	1
Internal confusion (phraseology)	∅	∅	AP 3 AP 5	∅	∅	∅	2
Coptic phraseology	∅	AN 12 AN 18	AP 6	PK 1 PK 3 PK 4 (3) PK 11 PK 13 (10) PK 14 (2)	DA 5 DA 9 (3) DA 17 (2) DA 18 DA 44 DA 63 (3) DA 64 DA 68	PKC 66	35
Total	1	4	4	25	15	2	54

It goes beyond the scope of this thesis to assess whether the accumulation of phraseologically deviant patterns may reflect a local variety. The Coptic letter formulae from Kellis certainly show distinctive local traits.⁹³² The accumulation of instances in the archive of Dioskoros may partly be due to the disappearance of the epistolary frame in the sixth century. In a transitional period, variation is usually comparatively high.

⁹³¹ Cf. further Chapter 7.

⁹³² Cf. Choat 2007 and 2010.

For the general aim of this thesis, the assessment of Coptic interference with the syntax of Greek, only those deviating instances that are ungrammatical are of further relevance. All deviations discussed are therefore listed with their contexts according to the feature ‘grammaticality’ in [86].

[86] Grammatical and ungrammatical deviations

Grammaticality	Kind of deviation	Instances	Total
Grammatical	epistolary frame		
	chunking	GS (4)	4
	simplification	EA (4), IA (5), FHW (2)	11
	internal confusion (phraseology)	IA (1), GS (1)	2
	adoption of Coptic phraseology	EA (1), IA (1), GS (27), FHW (6)	35
	letter body		
	chunking	F1 (1)	1
	internal confusion (syntax)	‘thanks to God’ (1)	1
Total		EA (5), IA (7), GS (32), FHW (8) F1 (1), ‘thanks to God’ (1)	54
Ungrammatical	epistolary frame		
	chunking	EA (2), IA (4), GS (8)	14
	indirect interference	EA (1), GS (3)	4
	letter body		
	internal confusion (syntax)	F1 (1), F2 (3), ‘thanks to God’ (1), ‘by God’ (2)	6
Total		EA (3), IA (4), GS (11) F1 (1), F2 (3), ‘thanks to God’ (1), ‘by God’ (2)	24

Overall, GSs and IAs seem to cause most problems. This may be because the structure of IAs is fossilised and was non-transparent from a synchronic perspective, as well as the fact that the structure of GSs profoundly differed in Greek and Coptic. Moreover, verbs of greeting were restricted to GSs so that someone unfamiliar with the syntax of GSs could not draw on a non-formulaic pattern. Noticeably, OPs and F4 are not affected at all. This may be because they reflect post-classical standard syntax.

The distribution of ungrammatical deviations in the corpus is summarised in [87]:

[87] Ungrammatical deviations

Kind of deviation	AJ	AN	AP	PK	DA	Total
Chunking	AJ 7 (2) AJ 10	AN 12 (6)	AP 2 AP 4	ø	ø	14

			AP 5 (3)			
Indirect interference	AJ 6	AN 12 (2)	AP 5	ø	ø	4
Internal confusion	AJ 7 (2)	ø	AP 3	PK 8 (2)	DA 7	6
Total	6	8	7	2	1	24

The following letters contain a particularly high number of deviations:

- AJ 7 (4 instances);
- AN 12 (6 instances);
- AP 5 (4 instances);
- PK 8 (2 instances).

Part III Contextualising Deviations

7 Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Summary: Types of deviations

Types of deviations can be summarised along two essential distinctions: In Chapter 2, a clear distinction was made between variations⁹³³ and deviations. Only the latter were analysed in Chapters 3 to 6. Structures that occur rarely and are ungrammatical were considered deviations in Chapters 3 to 5. In Chapter 6, the scope was widened to include structures that contradict natural language use but retain grammaticality. Secondly, we can broadly distinguish between deviations having resulted from external factors and those having resulted from internal factors. However, we noticed that several structures cannot clearly be subsumed under either category.

7.1.1 External factors

Direct interference means that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the Greek and Coptic structures. If we align the Coptic structure with the structure in our Greek text, all parts must match. For instance, σωθῆναι ἐν corresponds to Coptic ⲡⲟⲩⲗⲙ ⲉ- *nouhm e-*.

[1]	σωζεῖν	ἐν
	ⲡⲟⲩⲗⲙ	ⲉ-
	<i>nouhm</i>	<i>e-</i>
	save	into/from.PRP
	‘to save from’	

The regular Greek structure would be σωθῆναι ἐκ or ἀπό.

Indirect interference means that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the Greek and Coptic structures. If we align the Coptic structure with the structure in our Greek text, the parts do not match. For instance, προσαγορεύω σοί corresponds to Coptic ⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲟ= *šine ero=*.

[2]	προσαγορεύω		σοί
	†-ⲱⲛⲉ	ⲉⲣⲟ=	κ

⁹³³ Variations include innovations, regionalisms, colloquialisms, archaisms / classicisms, and elaborate structures. Most variations are the result of conscious processes.

<i>ti-šine</i>	<i>ero=</i>	<i>k</i>
1sg-greet	to.PRP	=2sg
‘I greet you’		

The regular Greek structure would be *προσαγορεύω σε*.

7.1.2 Internal factors

Internal confusion means that writers use an existing Greek structure that is incorrect in a given context. In essence, a writer knows a range of Greek structures but cannot apply them correctly in a context. The writer consequently confuses structures. For instance, *καταλαμβάνω* ‘to visit’ calls for an object in the accusative referring to the person who is visited whereas *συμβάλλω* ‘to meet’ calls for an object in the dative referring to the person who is met. The two verbs are almost synonyms but differ in the syntactic pattern they call for. This explains passages such as [3] and [4]:

[3] DA 13.6 *καταλάβῃ τέ σοι*
 ‘and he may visit you’

[4] DA 3.5 *συμβάλλω γ]άρ σε κατὰ Θεόν*
 ‘for, I am going to meet you, God willing’

Internal confusion concerns both non-formulaic and formulaic contexts. One form of internal confusion is hypercorrection since external factors could only indirectly but not directly trigger it. Another form of internal confusion is the disregard of idiomatic or formulaic patterns. Idiomatic or formulaic patterns have been identified as one area of language use that poses particular difficulties to our writers. This is because these patterns are syntactically and semantically less transparent from a synchronic viewpoint.

7.1.3 Individual factors

In Chapter 6, we looked at formulaic contexts. Here, most deviations have resulted from the way each writer assimilated idiomatic and formulaic language.⁹³⁴ On the one hand,

⁹³⁴ The only interference patterns are the dative in greeting sections and the choice of an incorrect preposition in an external address (indirect interference).

we find instances of chunking and simplification of patterns. On the other hand, there are instances of phraseological confusion. The latter relate to the distinction between structures that are grammatically correct and reflect natural language use and structures that are grammatically correct but do not reflect natural language use (cf. Chapter 2). We noted that grammaticality can usually be measured with sufficient certainty, whereas idiomaticity is difficult to assess. The only contexts in which idiomaticity can be assessed with a reasonable degree of confidence are formulaic contexts.

7.1.4 Classificatory difficulties

We encountered two main difficulties when classifying deviations: On the one hand, the line between direct and indirect interferences is not always clear. A writer may have had a structure in mind even though the result resembles a word-by-word translation. All structures that can be analysed as direct interferences are subsumed under this category. On the other hand, the classification of deviations stemming from the impact of external or internal factors on our writers' language is not always straightforward. Some cases of internal confusion may not only be caused by insecurity as to how to utilise the full range of Greek syntax correctly, but at the same time by consideration of Coptic syntax. Some borderline cases are pointed out in the relevant chapters, but others may have gone unnoticed.⁹³⁵

One aspect that was only noticed in passing is avoidance strategies. Only those passages where a writer clearly avoided a more complex pattern were noted. Avoidance of complex patterns may have been more widespread. However, the line between colloquialisms and avoidance patterns is notoriously blurred. Avoidance patterns identified in previous chapters are briefly considered in Section 7.3.

Finally, we raised the issue of whether the number of certain structures was boosted by the contact setting. The only way of assessing this is to consider the internal and external context. If either or both suggest a bilingual writer, an increased number of instances of a structure that could identify as interference may attest to bilingual interference.

⁹³⁵ In Greek, the distinction between deviations reflecting internal confusion and 'dead ends' is sometimes impossible.

7.2 Conclusion 1: Deviation type and syntactic domain

All deviations that were identified in Chapters 3 to 6 are summarised in [5]. Avoidance patterns are not included since they were not assessed comprehensively, and as a result no complete picture can be presented. Deviations are broadly subsumed under the three categories outlined in Section 7.1:

- (1) structures that stem from the impact of external factors on our writers' language use;
- (2) structures that have resulted from the impact of internal factors on our writers' language use;
- (3) structures that reflect the way our writers dealt with formulaic and idiomatic patterns potentially as a result of assimilation strategies.

From Chapter 6, only deviations that resulted in ungrammatical structures are included.

[5] Overview of deviations

Relevant factor	Sub-categories	Verbs	Adverbial phrases	Discourse structure	Formulaic / fixed expressions	Total
Interference	direct	8	2	2	0	12
	indirect	7	1	8	4	20
Internal confusion	non-formulaic patterns	16	12	8	0	36
	hypercorrection	3	0	0	0	3
Learning strategies	idiomatic and formulaic patterns	4	1	0	6	11
	chunking	1	0	0	14	15
	copying	1	0	0	0	1
Total		40	16	18	24	98
Passages assessed		2045	982	1069	518	4096 + 518
Percentage		≈ 1.9	≈ 1.6	≈ 1.7	— ⁹³⁶	

7.2.1 Contexts

If we consider all deviations in each syntactic domain, writers seem to have struggled most with verbal syntax and least with adverbial phrases. However, measured against the number of instances that were assessed, the number of deviations is comparatively small in each of these syntactic domains. The relevant sections of [5] are repeated below:

⁹³⁶ A formulaic passage often contains more than one deviation.

Relevant factor	Verbs	Adverbial phrases	Discourse structure	Formulaic / fixed expressions	Total
Total	40	16	18	24	98
Passages assessed	2045	982	1069	518	4096 + 518
Percentage	≈ 1.9	≈ 1.6	≈ 1.7	–	

With regard to verbs, the Greek and Coptic systems differ in both formation and consequently also in syntax. In Chapter 3, we observed that Greek and Coptic resort to diagonally opposed patterns in verb formation, for instance, phrasal as opposed to compound verbs. Moreover, the Greek feature of case declension that is relevant to the valency requirements of verbs has repeatedly been pointed out as a fundamental difference from Coptic.

Noticeably, writers encounter more problems in the domain of discourse organisation than in the domain of adverbial phrases. Greek and Coptic syntax profoundly differ in the domain of discourse organization, as has repeatedly been pointed out (cf. Chapter 5). The results of this thesis fall in line with these previous observations. Furthermore, discourse organization goes beyond a basic understanding of a language, in that it requires the writer to think of his text as a whole. Conversely, the syntax of adverbial phrases is less complex than verbal syntax as well as the organisation of discourse. It is thus not surprising to find that our writers seem to encounter least difficulties when dealing with adverbial phrases.

Finally, in Chapter 6, we identified 54 passages that are grammatical but unidiomatic. These are not included in [5] because they are irrelevant to the issue of syntactic deviations. However, considering writers' treatment of formulaic compared to non-formulaic contexts, those passages become relevant. In non-formulaic contexts, we find 89 deviating structures. In formulaic contexts, we find 78 deviating structures if we include the grammatical but unidiomatic structures. Measured against the number of instances that were assessed, the number of deviations in formulaic contexts is thus significantly larger than the one in non-formulaic contexts.

In fact, in formulaic contexts, writers struggled with two aspects: phraseology and syntax. On the one hand, the phraseologies of Greek and Coptic in formulaic contexts and fixed expressions widely differ. A writer thus had to be familiar with Greek phraseology in order to produce a text reflecting natural language use. On the other hand, Greek and Coptic syntax in formulaic contexts and fixed expressions profoundly differ. While Greek

formulae and fixed expressions are mostly fossilised reflecting syntactic patterns of former periods that had long fallen out of use, Coptic formulae and fixed expressions represent synchronic standard syntax. Writers could construe them freely without sounding unnatural.

7.2.2 Interferences

To concentrate on interferences, the number of interferences relative to the total number of deviations in each syntactic domain that has been assessed reflects the picture gained from considering all deviations in a syntactic domain. The relevant sections of [5] are repeated below:

Relevant factor	Sub-categories	Verbs	Adverbial phrases	Discourse structure	Formulaic / fixed expressions	Total
Interference	direct	8	2	2	0	12
	indirect	7	1	8	4	20
Total of deviations		40	16	18	24	98
Passages assessed		2045	982	1069	518	4096 + 518

About 19% of all deviations in adverbial phrases have resulted from interference. About 37.5% of all deviations in the domain of verbal syntax and about 55.5% of all deviations in the domain of discourse organisation stem from interference. Yet, only about 17% of all deviations in formulae and fixed expressions are owing to interference.

Like instances of internal confusion, instances of bilingual interference are spread over all syntactic domains. However, both internal confusion and bilingual interference rarely affect formulaic contexts. This suggests that writers approached non-formulaic and formulaic contexts differently. Most likely, the way they assimilated non-formulaic syntax differed from the way they assimilated formulae and fixed expressions (see further Section 7.4).

Finally, the ratio of direct to indirect interferences is almost 1:2. However, taking a closer look at the distribution in each syntactic domain, one notices that instances of direct and indirect interference are rather balanced with regard to the syntax of adverbial phrases and verbs. A significant numerical difference emerges in relation to discourse structuring devices. This may be because the Greek and Coptic systems of organising

discourse differed so profoundly that a word-by-word translation was often impossible and only the adoption of a foreign structure was a viable option.

7.2.3 Idiolects

As explained in Chapter 1, the approach of this study is that of a case study. The group of people whose idiolects are studied has been chosen because their surroundings are likely to have been bilingual. Generalisations from this group of people to the entire society of Egypt in the early Byzantine period cannot be made for three main reasons:

- (1) Our documentation is too fragmentary for statistics to be revealing.⁹³⁷
- (2) While statistics concerning the societal level suggest that Egypt was a bilingual country, Hamers and Blanc's (2000: 49) programmatic statement about the independence between individual and society calls for caution at the level of the individual.⁹³⁸
- (3) All our sources are written⁹³⁹ so that we can only assess the linguistic proficiency of those who were capable of performing in a second language in writing.⁹⁴⁰

However, the distribution of deviations can point to individual writers who faced particular difficulties in writing Greek. In previous chapters, the following letters were identified as displaying a particularly high number of deviations in one syntactic domain:

[6] Accumulations of deviations

Archive	Verbs	Adverbial phrases	Discourse structuring devices	Formulae and fixed expressions
AJ	AJ 7 (4)	AJ 7 (2)	ø	AJ 7 (4)
AN	AN 12 (2)	ø	ø	AN 12 (6)

⁹³⁷ People disposed of official and private documents (cf. Vantorpe 2009: 221–225). The preserved official documents may outnumber the preserved private documents either because more official than private documents existed or because people's habits concerning reuse and disposal differed with regard to private and official documents.

⁹³⁸ Cf. similarly Thomason 2001: 48–54, Winford 2010: 171.

⁹³⁹ Literacy is a separate skill. Even if someone only signed their name or added a greeting passage, neither points to a low level of bilingual proficiency. A scribe may have written the rest of the text on dictation. For signature literacy, see Bucking 2012: 260 n. 110. An example is Petaus (cf. Cribiore 2001: 167–172). For the addition of a greeting section as quasi-signature, see Luiselli 2008: 689, Luiselli 1999: 228 (P. Oxy. 1 122), Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 202. For scribal hands, see Cribiore 1996: 97–118, Luiselli 2008: 689–692, Fournet 2009a: 32–37, Evans 2007 (Zenon archive).

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. Adams 2003: 8 (performance is key).

Thus, people who were either only passively familiar with the language (cf. Thomason 2001: 139–142 and 32–36 and 48–54) or employed an interpreter (cf. Fewster 2002: 231–232, Torallas Tovar 2010b: 29 and n. 51 and 38–41; Torallas Tovar 2010b: 28 (SB 18 13867.1–4), Fournet 2009b: 445 (P. Cair. Masp. 1 67031.16)) are unidentifiable from a modern perspective.

AP	AP 3 (6) AP 4 (2)	AP 4 (4)	AP 1 (2) AP 3 (2) AP 4 (2)	AP 5 (4)
PK	∅	PK 14 (2)	PK 8 (3)	PK 8 (2)
DA	DA 3 (2) DA 54 (2)	∅	∅	∅

Letters that were flagged for more than one domain are the following:

- AJ 7 is flagged for two syntactic domains and for formulaic contexts.
- AN 12 and PK 8 are flagged for one syntactic domain and for formulaic contexts.
- AP 3 and AP 4 are flagged for two or more syntactic domains.

All letters listed in [6], and the ones that are flagged for more than one domain in particular, seem to point to bilingual writers who struggled with Greek syntax and phraseology. In the next section, these letters will serve as contextual evidence that may corroborate the point that a deviant structure is the result of bilingual interference rather than internal confusion.

7.3 Conclusion 2: Contextual information

7.3.1 The relevance of the context

Often, more than one explanation for a deviation seems possible. For instance, in Chapter 5, we pondered whether colloquial habit, bilingual interference or internal confusion of patterns underlies the structure in PK 8.5–6 (γράφω ὅτι + imperative). The difficulty of distinguishing between colloquialisms and instances of bilingual interference in relation to structures that reflect simplification was repeatedly highlighted in previous chapters.⁹⁴¹

On the one hand, some structures' high frequency may have been caused by a parallel that was the standard in Coptic. Relevant structures are:

- phrasal verb patterns (cf. Chapter 3);
- ethical datives in non-formulaic contexts (cf. Chapter 4);
- the use of improper prepositions (cf. Chapter 4);
- καί encoding logical hypotaxis (cf. Chapter 5);
- καί as an emphatic particle (cf. Chapter 5).

⁹⁴¹ Several factors may also interact.

On the other hand, some structures could not clearly be identified as the result of bilingual interference. While their phraseology is unnatural in Greek, they are syntactically correct.

The following structures are relevant:

- verbal complementation patterns (cf. Chapter 3);
PK 7.7–9 ἐδηλώσας (...) ὥς ὅτι (...)
AP 4.12 ἔμι[να -ca.?- (?)⁹⁴²] [πειρ]αζόμεινος (...)
- creative substitutes for ἰδοῦ (cf. Chapter 5);
DA 69.23 καὶ παρίδητε καὶ + imperative
AN 18.25–26 καὶ ὄψετε πρὸς τὸν θεόν· + independent clause
PK 8.43–44 τοίνυν οὖν βλέπεις + accusative, independent clause
AP 3.28 ὄρα + imperative
- imperatival greeting sections (cf. Chapter 6);
- imperatival final health wishes (cf. Chapter 6);
- comitative prepositions in greeting sections (cf. Chapter 6).

Cross-referencing instances of these structures with internal and external contexts that indicate a bilingual writer will help to reach a tentative classification for them. [7a] provides a numerical overview of the passages to be checked.

[7a] Ambiguous structures I (statistics)

Cat. 1	Phrasal verbs	Ethical datives	Improper prepositions	Formal parataxis, logical hypotaxis	Marking (καὶ)
Total	10	4	57	41	73
Cat. 2	Verbal complements	Creative 'behold'	Imperatival greeting sections	Imperatival final health wishes	Comitative prepositions in greeting sections
Total	2	4	10	16	15

However, in category 1, we are only interested in letters that display an accumulation of the relevant structure (≥ 2 instances). These are listed in [7b].

[7b] Ambiguous structures II (distribution)

Cat. 1	Archive	Phrasal verbs	Ethical datives	Improper prepositions	Formal parataxis, logical hypotaxis	Marking (καὶ)
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⁹⁴² Six to eight letters are lost.

	AP	AP 1	ø	AP 1	AP 1 AP 3 AP 6	AP 1 AP 4
	AN	ø	ø	ø	ø	AN 1 AN 20
	AJ	ø	ø	ø	ø	AJ 8
	PK	ø	PK 9	PK 9 PK 16	PK 14 PK 16	PK 6 PK 8 PK 11 PK 13
	DA	ø	ø	DA 63	DA 17 DA 18 DA 19	DA 3 DA 8 DA 17 DA 68 DA 69

7.3.2 Internal and external contexts

The internal context of a structure is the letter itself. Several letters contain more than one instance of deviation. Some also contain deviations that concern several syntactic domains and / or formulaic contexts (cf. Section 7.2). We may add two more aspects of the internal context that can be indicative, code-switches and the syntactic treatment of names.⁹⁴³ Code-switches attest to a writer who knew both Greek and Coptic and lapsed into Coptic at some point.

One caveat is pertinent to our use of the internal context as means to prove or disprove bilingual interference: The manipulation of language for reasons of elaboration is a conscious process whereas the occurrence of interference is owing to an unconscious process. Hence one does not depend on the other. Misused classicising structures may nonetheless attest to a writer who strove for an elaborate phrase but lacked sufficient linguistic proficiency.

The external context is information about our writers that is independent of their letters, but this kind of information is scarce. However, we know that Pekysis and Pamour whom we meet in the letters from Kellis were bilingual, since Greek and Coptic letters in their name exist.⁹⁴⁴ Also, in the case of AP 2 and AP 3, the editor suspects that both letters

⁹⁴³ The choice of a name seems to have been determined by cultural habits. For instance, we find a range of Greek, Egyptian (cf. Depauw 2014: 77–79), Graeco-Egyptian, Latin, pagan and Christian names (cf. Blumell 2012: 36–88 and 261), as well as aptronyms in PKC 19, a letter addressed to several people in Kellis (cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/ref_list.php?tex_id=85870 (accessed: 19.11.2017)).

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. Chapter 6.

were written by the same person, such that we may be able to combine the impression we gain from both letters.⁹⁴⁵ AP 2 ends with a Coptic passage. For AJ 7, Clackson mentions the use of punctuation, which is typical of a school environment.⁹⁴⁶ Finally, the authorship of AJ 6 has been the subject of a vivid debate as the letter may be the work of Apa John, an anchorite known from literary sources (cf. Section 7.3.3).

7.3.3 Code-switching and script-switching

Neither code-switching nor script-switching is common in the freely composed sections of our letters. However, in the formulaic sections, several instances occur. These are not interesting for their syntax since writers manage smooth switches, but the appearance of switches proves a writer's familiarity with both languages. Switches point to two groups of writers: Firstly, there are writers who manage a perfect code-switch without disrupting the syntax. A code-switched passage then confirms that the writer was familiar with Greek and Coptic. Secondly, there are writers who use a Greek formula, but Coptic script. These writers were apparently familiar with Greek and Coptic but may have learnt Greek informally (cf. further Section 7.4).

Code-switches appear comparatively frequently in the form of Greek formulaic sections in Coptic letters. However, there are also three formulaic sections in Greek letters that display code-switches.

[8a] Code-switches in formulaic sections

Phenomenon	Instances	Total
Single-word switch	AJ 10 (IA, π-) ⁹⁴⁷ AN 12.11 (GS, πα-)	2
multi-word switch	AJ 6.27–31 (GS)	1

In the letter body, code-switches in Coptic letters concern mostly fixed expressions imported from Greek. In our Greek letters, only three code-switches appear.

[8b] Code-switches in the letter body

Phenomenon	Instances	Total
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⁹⁴⁵ Cf. Bell and Crum 1924: 72–80.

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. Clackson 2010: 94.

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. Luiselli 2008: 715.

Single-word switch (in Greek script)	AN 12.14 (λιβιτου ⁹⁴⁸) XXX DA 68.13 (Π-καρκάρου ⁹⁴⁹)	2
Multi-word switch (in Coptic script)	AP 2.38–39 (ερο XXX π-οϣαϣ-η-επ-τωοϣ π-οϣαϣ-η-επ-τωοϣ <i>ero XXX p-ouah-n-ep-tōou p-ouah-n-ep-tōou</i> ‘To (you), the dwelling-place in the desert, the dwelling-place in the desert.’)	1

Based on the evidence presented in [8a] and [8b], five Greek letters display code-switches:

- AJ 6;
- AJ 10;
- AN 12 (2 instances);
- AP 2;
- DA 68.

The writers of AJ 10 and DA 68 merely added a Coptic article to a title or place name that exists in Greek and Coptic in the same form. Conversely, the writer of AN 12 imported Coptic morphology (the absolute possessive) and a Coptic common noun. In AP 2, a complete Coptic phrase is appended to the letter. Finally, the case of AJ 6 is more complicated.

AJ 6 can be divided into three sections:

- (1) the letter;
- (2) an appended Greek greeting;
- (3) an appended Coptic greeting.

Grenfell and Hunt (1901: 177–178) assigned (1) and (3) to the same writer and (2) to another writer. This view was accepted by Van Minnen (1994: 84). Wilcken (1927: W.Chr. 53), on the other hand, assigned (1) and (2) to the same writer and (3) to another writer, and was followed by Zuckermann (1995: 189 n. 25). Luiselli (2008: 716 n. 283) and Sheridan (2010: 129) also accepted this view. Consequently, it depends on what assignment of hands we follow whether the Coptic greeting section points to a bilingual

⁹⁴⁸ Cf. Torallas Tovar 2004a: 170–171, Lampe: 794 and 798, Förster 2002: 466.

⁹⁴⁹ According to www.trismegistos.org (last accessed: 20.07.2017), it is a place in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome.

writer who managed to write a Greek letter body and append a Coptic greeting⁹⁵⁰ or whether the greeting section rather functions as a kind of signature by a second party.⁹⁵¹

7.3.4 Personal names

In the formulaic sections of the corpus, a total of 471 instances of names occur. Of these, only 117 are not correctly declined. However, among these 117, only four instances display a name that is unequivocally declined incorrectly.⁹⁵² In all other instances, a name is left in the nominative or appears in the form of what looks like the transcription of an Egyptian name. [9] summarises all instances of incorrectly declined names:

[9] Incorrectly declined names

Archive Instances	AN	AJ	AP	PK	DA	PKC
	AN 1 (2)	AJ 2 (2)	AP 1 (9)	PK 1 (2)	ø	PKC 19
	AN 7	AJ 7 (2)	AP 2	PK 3		PKC 37
	AN 8	AJ 9	AP 3 (3)	PK 4		PKC 43
	AN 10	AJ 10 (4)	AP 4 (2)	PK 6		PKC 51
	AN 11 (<u>2</u>)	AJ 11 (<u>2</u>)	AP 5 (12)	PK 8 (3 <u>+2</u>)		PKC 74
	AN 12 (39)	[AJ 23 (2)]	[AP 7, AP 8]	PK 12		PKC 75 (3)
	AN 17 (2)			PK 13		PKC 89
	AN 18			PK 15 (2)		PKC 90
	[AN 15]			PK 18		PKC 109 (2)
						PKC 115
						PKC 120
Total	49	12	29	13	ø	14

Incorrectly declined names accumulate in four letters (≥ 3 instances):

- AN 12 (39 instances);
- AP 5 (12 instances);
- AP 1 (9 instances);
- AJ 10 (4 instances);

⁹⁵⁰ The internal address names Apa John as the sender. Zuckermann (1995) identified the named Apa John with the anchorite known from literary sources. Opinions about the latter Apa John's linguistic profile widely differ. This debate is largely irrelevant to the present study since no attempt is made to name the individuals who seem to be bilingual.

For Apa John's linguistic profile, see Clackson 2010: 93 (who assumes that he could read and write, but not speak Greek) and Wilcken 1927: 77; W.Chr. 53 (who assumes that he may have been bilingual but not biliterate), Fournet 2009b: 437 (who assumes that he was monoliterate and monolingual), and Butler 1904: 213 (who considers whether he required an interpreter because he spoke a Coptic dialect other than the one his visitors spoke).

See also Choat and Yuen-Collingridge 2009: 122–130 (who discuss the case of Ammonius, a clergyman who was perhaps remotely literate in Greek only, i.e. could reproduce formulae).

⁹⁵¹ For the addition of a greeting passage like a signature, see Section 7.2.

⁹⁵² The relevant instances are underlined and italicised in [9].

- AP 3, PK 8, PKC 75 (3 instances).

The clearly incorrectly declined names appear in:

- AJ 11;
- AN 11;
- PK 8 (2 instances).

These letters seem to have been written by people who struggled with Greek syntax. Conversely, a single name that is not correctly declined according to Greek syntax is not actually conclusive, as a writer may have opted for a transcription for ideological reasons (cf. Chapter 2).

7.3.5 Contextual flags

In Sections 7.2.3, 7.3.2, 7.3.3 and 7.3.4, we flagged letters that display characteristics typical of bilingual writers. These letters are summarised in [10]. Categories (1) to (3) in [10] concern the internal context whereas category (4) concerns the external context.

[10] Contextually flagged letters

Archive	(1a) Accumulation of instances	(1b) Accumulation of instances in more than one domain	(2) Code- switches	(3) Syntactic treatment of personal names	(4) External context
AJ		AJ 7	AJ 6 AJ 10	AJ 10 AJ 11	AJ 6 AJ 7
AN		AN 12	AN 12	AN 11 AN 12	
AP	AP 1 AP 5	AP 3 AP 4	AP 2	AP 1 AP 3 AP 5	AP 2 AP 3
PK	PK 14	PK 8		PK 8	PK 13 PK 14
DA	DA 3 DA 54		DA 68		

These four contextual features are cross-referenced with structures the number of which may have been boosted by a bilingual surrounding and with structures that were not clearly identifiable as interference patterns in previous chapters. [11a] and [11b]

summarise the results. Only instances that appear in letters that are contextually flagged are listed. A relevant structure that appears in a letter that is not contextually flagged can theoretically stem from bilingual interference, but we are lacking conclusive evidence in these cases. Equally, in the case of phraseologically odd patterns, instances that do not appear in contextually flagged letters do not help prove that phraseological confusion underlies the structure. They are therefore not listed.

[11a] Cross-referencing contextual flags and ambiguous instances: Boosting

Structure and passage	Letter	Criterion (1)	Criterion (2)	Criterion (3)	Criterion (4)
Phrasal verbs	AP 1	x		x	
Improper prepositions	AP 1	x		x	
καί encoding logical hypotaxis	AP 1	x		x	
	AP 3	x		x	x
	PK 14	x			x
καί as an emphatic particle	AP 1	x		x	
	AP 4	x			
	PK 8	x		x	
	PK 13				x
	DA 3	x			
	DA 68		x		

The following conclusions can be drawn on the basis of [11a]:

- Of the ten phrasal-verb patterns discussed in Chapter 3, five appear in AP 1, a letter for which contextual flags seem to point to a bilingual writer.
- None of the instances of an ethical dative in a non-formulaic context appears in a contextually flagged letter. The relevant passages may thus rather be attributed to the impact of colloquial habit on the texts of the relevant writers.
- The number of ‘improper’ prepositions is noticeably large in only one contextually flagged letter, AP 1. Based on this observation, it seems that the use of improper prepositions does not correlate with bilingualism. Improper prepositions are generally more common in the sixth than in the fourth century. More than 50% of all improper prepositions in the corpus appear in the archive of Dioscoros and the control group – this is a distribution which is expected (cf. Chapter 4).
- καί encoding logical hypotaxis appears in three contextually flagged letters, AP1, AP 3 and PK 14.

- καί as a semantically (almost) empty emphatic particle, inserted to clarify syntactic relationships, seems to correlate well with bilingualism. In this regard, two passages deserve particular mention. In Chapter 5, we considered PK 8.21 and PK 8.27 as instances of extraposition and pronominal resumption. The item in extraposition is marked by means of καί and the resumptive pronoun is incorrectly inflected. We can now see from [11a] that PK 8 is a letter that is contextually flagged. Hence, the two passages in question are likely to be the result of bilingual interference. Incidentally, contextual flags also corroborate the identification of the instance of extraposition in AN 12 as owing to bilingual interference.

[11b] Cross-referencing contextual flags and ambiguous instances: –/+ interference

Structure and passage	Letter	Criterion (1)	Criterion (2)	Criterion (3)	Criterion (4)
Verbal complement	AP 4	x			
Creative ἰδοῦ	AP 3	x		x	x
	PK 8	x		x	
Imperative greeting sections	PK 13				x
	PK 14	x			x
Imperative final health wishes	PK 13				x
	PK 14	x			x
Comitative prepositions in greeting sections	AN 12	x	x	x	
	PK 13				x

The following conclusions can be drawn on the basis of [11b]:

- Of the verbal complementation patterns set aside in Chapter 3, only AP 4.12 appears in a contextually flagged letter (cf. further Section 7.3.6).
- Of the alternatives to expected ἰδοῦ, only AP 3.28 and PK 8.43–44 appear in contextually flagged letters – this does not come as a surprise. While the structures in AP 3 and PK 8 seem to be functional and the one in AP 3 may even show signs of conventionalisation, the remaining two structures are considerably more elaborate.
- 50% of all imperative greeting sections (GS) appear in contextually flagged letters. Equally, the majority of imperative final health wishes (FHW) appear in Coptic letters (from Kellis) or in contextually flagged letters. These observations seem to indicate that bilingual interference underlies the choice of the imperative.

- Finally, comitative prepositions in greeting sections appear in only two contextually flagged letters. Consequently, they seem to be an established pattern even though a rather marginal one in Greek greeting sections.

7.3.6 Case studies

The two instances of verbal complementation patterns that may or may not reflect bilingual interference exemplify how the context can shed light on the reasons for a deviating structure.

In PK 7.7–9, register elevation or indirect interference from Coptic could theoretically underlie ἐδήλωσας (...) ὥς ὅτι ‘you showed (...) that’.⁹⁵³

- In favour of register elevation, we may note that ὥς ὅτι occasionally appears in classical literature and gains in frequency in later periods. Bentein (2015a: 114–115) tentatively attributes ὥς ὅτι to the higher registers.
- In favour of indirect interference from Coptic, we may note that ὥς functionally matches multifunctional Coptic *xe d'e* (cf. Chapter 5) and that our writer also prefers ὥς to the expected idiom with θαυμάζω in PK 7.7 (cf. Chapter 3). ὅτι could then have been added as the standard complementizer to regularise the syntax.

The letter is written in a rather colloquial style with omissions and modern syntax but does not contain any obvious struggles with Greek syntax. Thus, an isolated high-profile item, which the writer may have learnt at school, was inserted, or a pattern was borrowed from Coptic, i.e. the combination of a specific subordinator with a multifunctional or default subordinator. *xe d'e* usually appears on its own in factive complement clauses. Since PK 7 is not contextually flagged, it seems more plausible to assume an isolated high-profile item than an instance of bilingual interference.

In [12], μένω appears twice in succession, first expanded by a participle and then by an adverb and a prepositional phrase.

⁹⁵³ δηλώω is flexibly combined with εἰ, ὅτι, τοῦ + infinitive and an AcI struture. There is no strong collocation with ὥς, which would suggest chunking of the collocation and addition of ὅτι *recitativum*.

[12] AP 4.12–13 ἵνα παραδῶσται μοι του [ἄ]πα Σουρους ἰπς τὴν μονὴν αὐτοῦ.
καὶ ἔμ[υ]να -ca.?- (?)⁹⁵⁴ [πειρ]αζόμεινος ἐν τῷ κηπολαχάνῳ, καὶ ἔμ[υ]να ἐκτὶ ἕως
τοῦ Φαμαι[ν]ώθ καὶ ὅ[σ]ται δαὶ ἐξέβην ἄπηλ'θα εἰς τὸ [
'(...) so that you gave me to Apa Sourous into his monastery. And I kept trying
myself (there?) in the garden and I stayed there until the month Phamenoth, but
when I left, I went to ...'

In the lacuna following the first instance of μένω, either a reference to Apa Sourous, 'with him', or to the place to which he was brought, 'there', may be lost.

μένω may have been doubled in order to combine no more than two adverbial phrases with one verb. The first instance would then be complemented by a reference to the place (?) and to the activity the writer was performing there, and the second by a reference to the place and to the temporal frame. Alternatively, the first instance of μένω may be meant to equal classical διάγω / διατελέω / διαγίγνομαι (+ participle)⁹⁵⁵ and Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲛ *moun* (+ ε- *e-* infinitive) as modal verbs. The choice of μένω instead of one of the classical options may have resulted from their disappearance and the parallel to Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲛ *moun*.⁹⁵⁶

The writer seems to have struggled with Greek syntax throughout the letter, such that both colloquial doubling and interference from Coptic would be possible explanations. Since AP 4 is contextually flagged, the latter option may be preferable.

Excursus: Contextualising avoidance patterns

As mentioned before, avoidance patterns have not been analysed systematically. However, it is noticeable that some avoidance patterns that were noted in previous chapters correlate with contextual flags. [13] lists only those instances that appear in contextually flagged letters:

[13] Cross-referencing contextual flags and avoidance patterns

	Criterion (1)	Criterion (2)	Criterion (3)	Criterion (4)
Verbal complementation:				

⁹⁵⁴ Six to eight letters are lost.

⁹⁵⁵ Cf. BR § 243.

⁹⁵⁶ An infinitive with μένω would be ungrammatical in Greek (rather: μένω + Acl 'wait for somebody to do something'). A construal of the participle as an expression of purpose ('wait in order to'), like CG (ὥς +) future participle, is unlikely since he apparently stayed at the monastery after *being sent* there.

AP 1.20 (factive / prospective CPL)	x		x	
AP 1.29 (parataxis for hypotaxis)	x		x	
Discourse organization				
AJ 7.19 (καί for a relative clause)	x			x
AP 1.5 (καί for a relative clause)	x		x	
Simplification in formulae				
AP 4 (imperative IA)	x			
PK 8 (sequence in IA)	x		x	
Simplification in fixed expressions:				
AJ 7.2 (nominal pattern)	x			x
AJ 10.5–6 (nominal pattern)		x	x	
AP 1.46 (nominal pattern)	x		x	
PK 8.10–11 (nominal pattern)	x			
AP 5.17 (nominal pattern)	x		x	

The following patterns do not correlate with contextual flags, such that an explanation as avoidance strategy seems unlikely:

The topic expressions with, for instance, $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota^{\text{GEN}}$ instead of an expected bare case in verbal complementation patterns appear in letters that are not contextually flagged. They are apparently a common feature of either post-classical Greek in general or the lower (colloquial) registers in particular.

A prepositional phrase $\epsilon\nu^{\text{DAT}}$ instead of a genitive indicating a material is syntactically more versatile and follows simpler rules. It provides a writer with more flexibility in phrasing. The substitution of $\epsilon\nu^{\text{DAT}}$ for a bare genitive may thus rather be motivated by language economy than be based on a lack of knowledge.

Of the eleven instances of simplification in formulae, only two appear in contextually flagged letters. Similarly, of the fourteen instances of the substitution of a freely formulated clausal pattern for a fixed phrase, only five appear in contextually flagged letters. On the one hand, this distribution shows that intervening with formulaic structures does not have to be the result of insecurity but may also be a conscious deviation from the norm for reasons of variation. On the other hand, those passages that appear in contextually flagged letters may point to writers who were not comfortable with the non-transparent syntax and semantics of Greek formulae and fixed expressions.

In order to arrive at a comprehensive picture of when and why writers resort to avoidance patterns, and which patterns are genuine avoidance patterns, the latter would have to be analysed systematically. This goes beyond the scope of the present study. From the data presented above, it nevertheless becomes clear that several avoidance patterns appear in letters for which the context indicates a bilingual or insecure writer.

7.4 Language acquisition as the underlying cause

In Section 7.2, it appeared that writers approach non-formulaic and formulaic syntax differently. It was suggested that this is based on the way they assimilate either type of syntax. The following sections are therefore concerned with the circumstances of education in early Byzantine Egypt and with two general approaches to learning a language. These seem to explain the difference between the types and number of deviations in formulaic and non-formulaic contexts.

7.4.1 Circumstances

Language acquisition may be formal or informal. Usually, formal schooling is only available in countries where the relevant language is supported by the government. In this respect, the provision of educational resources is a language policy.⁹⁵⁷ As regards Egypt, Cribiore has extensively studied the existing educational resources and the following observations pertain to the present study:

- (1) Bilingual education in Greek and Coptic existed at least at the elementary level.⁹⁵⁸
- (2) Monasteries became places of education, especially in the countryside⁹⁵⁹ whereas higher education was limited to the urban centres.⁹⁶⁰
- (3) The acquisition of literacy in Egyptian was less exclusive than in the Ptolemaic period. Literacy seems to have spread in general.⁹⁶¹

⁹⁵⁷ Cf. Thomason 2001: 38–39, Matras 2009: 53–57. For overt / covert policies, see Thomason 2001: 39, Crespo 2007: 35.

We have little evidence for linguistic policies from Egypt. Overt policies are the decrees in 145 BC (summaries under contracts became obligatory, P. Paris 65; cf. e.g. Depauw 2011: 190–196), AD 212 (Greek in official documents, e.g. wills, became acceptable; cf. Chapter 2), and AD 706 (Greek was no longer the official language; cf. Sijpesteijn 2007: 450, Foss 2009). Covert policies are the exemption of teachers from the salt-tax (cf. Thompson 1994: 75, Crespo 2007: 43–45; Clarysse and Thompson 2006). Depauw (2012: 403) also suspects the choice of languages on the Gallus's stele, 29 BC, to be one (cf. Hoffmann *et al.* 2009).

⁹⁵⁸ Cribiore 1999: 281–283. Conversely, higher education was limited to Greek. Cf. Choat 2009: 349 and Cribiore 1999: 281 (who mentions that there was no grammar teaching in Coptic).

⁹⁵⁹ For the temples as educational centres, see Torallas Tovar 2010b: 32–33, Cribiore 2001: 22–23 (priests of Narmouthis; Kellis, temple of Tutu). For monasteries as educational centres, see Choat 2009: 347–349 (monastic context), Cribiore 2001: 23–24 (Beni Hassan, Thebes, Epiphanius, St. Phoibammon), Bucking 2012 (Deir el-Bahri, Beni Hassan).

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. Cribiore 2001: 40–41, Van Minnen 2007: 217–218.

⁹⁶¹ For the situation in Demotic times, see Choat 2009: 347 (for Egyptian), Maehler 1983: 203 (for Greek).

On the other end of the spectrum, Goglia's (2005: esp. 225–226) study of a modern scenario of unguided second-language acquisition (SLA) presents a good starting point. He examined how people learn a language from their bilingual surrounding without formal education.⁹⁶² We may wonder how many of our writers learnt their two languages in an informal setting given that a teacher must be paid for his services – a costly affair.⁹⁶³

7.4.2 Approaches

Opinions about how people learn a language are divided.⁹⁶⁴ Following traditional models, we can distinguish between a rule-based and an exemplar-based approach. For instance, in order to master the English past tense, one may learn the general rule of adding *-ed* to the stem of the verb. However, one will then encounter difficulties with high-frequency items such as 'to go' and 'to see'. Today, most teaching of modern languages starts from a more or less general rule and then adds exceptions. Thus, a rule-based and an exemplar-based approach are combined.⁹⁶⁵ The range of deviations described in Chapters 3 to 6 seems to indicate that a similar split of approaches may also pertain to the situation in early Byzantine Egypt.

With a rule-based approach, learning proceeds by assimilating rules. Simple rules are assimilated before more complex ones since many of the latter rely on some of the former. For example, a student may learn that many verbs of communication, such as λέγω, subcategorise for a direct and an indirect object, '{to tell} {somebody}^{indirect object} {something}^{direct object}'. Later, it may be added that the direct object may be expressed verbally or nominally, 'to tell somebody {something}^{accusative}' or 'to tell somebody {that}^{complement clause}'. Tools such as glossaries and conjugation tables bear witness to grammar teaching from the Roman period onwards.⁹⁶⁶

The rule-based approach can eventually result in the full applicability of the acquired rules. However, a learner is unlikely to become fully proficient by only relying on this approach given the immense number of rules that govern a language and given the numerous exceptions to every rule. Mistakes resulting from a rule-based approach are

⁹⁶² For the role of the surrounding, see also Hamers and Blanc 2000: 9 and 42–43. For the development of a collective interlanguage, see Matras 2009: 74–79.

⁹⁶³ For teachers, see Cribiore 2001: 18 and 36–41 and Cribiore 1996: appendix 1.

⁹⁶⁴ For a brief summary, see Bybee 2010: 73–74.

⁹⁶⁵ In this context, Vanpatten's (2011) proposal that syntax 'is stubborn', in that it resists explicit teaching is noteworthy. An exemplar-based approach, which crucially depends on the input a learner gets, would thus seem necessary for certain aspects of language acquisition.

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. Cribiore 2009: 332, Maehler 1983: 201.

the overgeneralisation of a rule (hypercorrection) and the confusion of rules (internal confusion).

With an exemplar-based approach, leaning proceeds by means of examples.⁹⁶⁷ Thus, a learner may assimilate the combination of λέγω ‘to tell somebody something’ with an accusative and a dative but cannot transfer the pattern to ἀγγέλλω ‘to report something to somebody’. The reason is that he has not learnt the pattern of verbs of communication, but the item λέγω in combination with its pattern. Exemplar-based learning may concern words, phrases, clauses or entire sentences. In this respect, it is noteworthy that both copying⁹⁶⁸ and memorizing⁹⁶⁹ passages seem to have formed an essential part of Greek and Coptic education. Students were made to copy and memorize bible verses, letter formulae⁹⁷⁰ and verses of classical texts such as Homer.⁹⁷¹

The exemplar-based approach can eventually result in complete mastery of the language. However, progress fundamentally depends on the regular encounter of the same examples and on the range of examples encountered. A mistake resulting from an exemplar-based approach is, for instance, chunking.⁹⁷² Formulae and fixed expressions are likely to have been learnt as chunks. However, they do usually contain gaps which call for some syntactic processing (cf. Chapter 6).⁹⁷³

Leaving instances of bilingual interference aside, the distribution of deviations in formulaic as opposed to non-formulaic contexts seems to indicate that writers relied on a rule-based and an exemplar-based approach in non-formulaic contexts. This is similar to

⁹⁶⁷ Cf. Weinert 2010: 13. For a comprehensive description of an exemplar-based model of language acquisition and usage, see Bybee 2010.

⁹⁶⁸ For copying as an educational strategy, see Criboire 1996: 148–152, Criboire 2001: 160–184 (first circle), Criboire 2009: 327 (blind copying).

For texts that were copied, see Adams 2003: 53–63 (a frame with gaps), Vierros 2003: 22, Vierros 2012b: 204–223 and esp. 222 (the work of notaries), Criboire 1999: 282–283 (psalms in Greek and Coptic), Criboire 2001: 169 (quotes and maxims in Greek) and 178–180 (making use of these chunks of language). For model letters, see James 2008: 39 n. 125, Luiselli 1999: 101–103.

⁹⁶⁹ Cf. Criboire 2001: 166.

Implicitly, the description of the language of the Narmouthis ostraca suggests that these scribes applied an exemplar-based approach. There are numerous learned idioms, rare words and technical terms (cf. Bagnall 2007a: esp. 19, Rutherford 2010: esp. 203, Leiwo 2003: esp. 9–10). Bagnall (2007a: 17) additionally mentions the unconventional syllabic divisions that points to a school environment.

⁹⁷⁰ Evidence suggests that writing letters was a part of scribal education in the post-classical period (cf. Criboire 2009: 328 (Coptic), Criboire 1999: 280 (Greek), Criboire 2001: 215–219 (stage 2 / an advanced stage). The case is much clearer for Coptic than for Greek.

⁹⁷¹ For the resulting influence of classical Greek, see Horrocks 2014: 229–230.

⁹⁷² Perhaps doubling mistakes such as ‘I switch **on** the light **on**’ have also resulted from inserting chunks (cf. Chapter 2).

⁹⁷³ Relying on fixed expressions reduces the amount of active processing of syntactic structures (cf. Wray 2009: esp. 32).

the approach of learners of modern languages as mentioned above. Conversely, our writers seem to rely on an exemplar-based approach for formulaic contexts. This is expected given that synchronically speaking, the syntax of many formulae is opaque. [14] summarises the distribution of deviations.

[14] Formulaic and non-formulaic contexts

Relevant factor	Sub-categories	Non-formulaic contexts (cf. chapters 3 to 5)	Formulaic contexts (cf. chapter 6)	Total	Approach
Interference	direct	12	∅	12	∅
	indirect	16	4	20	∅
Internal confusion	non-formulaic patterns	36	∅	36	R
	hypercorrection	3	∅	3	R
Learning strategies	idiomatic and formulaic patterns	5	6	11	E
	chunking	1	14	15	E
	copying	1	∅	1	E

E = exemplar-based approach / R = rule-based approach

Remember that the one instance of chunking in a non-formulaic context is likely to be a strategy to avoid a formula by a less proficient writer and that the one instance of copying concerns the context of a quotation (cf. Chapter 3).

Bilingual interference is rare in formulaic contexts. This may be the case because writers only interfered minimally with the fixed frames they learnt. Conversely, bilingual interference is more common in non-formulaic contexts in which writers had to formulate freely.

7.4.3 Lexicon

The observation that lexical items are usually acquired earlier⁹⁷⁴ than syntactic structures ties in with these two approaches. Lexical items are learnt as exemplars. Writers do not have to learn a rule or a pattern to learn a lexical item as a match to an item in their first language. They may however not be able to explore the full range of contexts of application related to the item in the target language until they have learnt the relevant pattern or rule related to the item.

⁹⁷⁴ Cf. e.g. Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000: 1087 (SLA hypothesis), Thomason 2001: 70–71.

This scenario explains passages such as [15], a rather obscure passage at the end of AJ 7.⁹⁷⁵ The writer used highly specialised vocabulary but had a poor command of the syntax.

[15] AJ 7.17–20 καὶ οὐτέπο[τ]ε στρατεύουμαι ἀνί<κ>ανος, ἐπὶ ἐστί μοι [πλ]έα
[ἀ]φορμὴ παρὰ τάκτυλος καὶ οὐ πεπύ[ωτ]ε οὐδὲ οὐ <ἐ>σφραγισμέν[ο]ς

The sentence consists of a main and a subordinate causal clause (ἐπὶ). Given that the content is obscure, the lost letters pose significant problems. The following interpretations were suggested:

(a) Rees (1964): ‘And I never go on active service being unfit since I have a complete excuse for this by reason of my finger; it has not festered (πυόομαι) nor has it healed either.’

(b) Zuckermann (1995):

- οὐτέπο[τ]ε στρατεύ<ει> μαι Ἀνιανός or οὐτέπο[τ]ε στρατεύουμαι <ὕπ’> Ἀνιανο<ῦ> ‘Annianios has not yet drafted me’
- οὐδὲ οὐ <ἐ>σφραγισμέν[ο]ς ‘... nor has it been marked with the imperial sphragis yet.’

(c) Andreas Willi (2018)⁹⁷⁶: ‘... new outgrowth which has festered (πυόομαι) and has not healed’

It seems easier to assume that ἀνί<κ>ανος is an adjective and that the copula ‘to be’ (here: ὄν) is omitted⁹⁷⁷, particularly considering the second omission of a copula at the end of the sentence (οὐδὲ οὐ <ἐ>σφραγισμέν[ο]ς). The alternative, construing πεπύ[ωτ]ε <ἐ>σφραγισμέν[ο]ς as a causative construction, is unlikely since not the finger but the person was sealed (*‘it was made sealed’).⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷⁵ For a discussion of AJ 7, see Clackson 2010: 93–95; Zuckermann 1995: 183–188.

⁹⁷⁶ Personal communication.

⁹⁷⁷ For the omission of the copula, cf. Section 1.2.

⁹⁷⁸ If we accepted Zuckermann’s reading ‘Anianos’, ποιέω would still have to be active (‘he made (me) sealed’) and the participle would have to be in the accusative. Construing πεποίηται as perfect auxiliary would again make the finger rather than the person the subject (‘it was sealed’).

(d) Version assumed here: ‘I will never serve in the army being unable to, because I have a valid⁹⁷⁹ excuse on the finger which / since it has not been operated upon (ποιέω / πεπύ[ητ]ε) (so that) I was not registered⁹⁸⁰.’

Assuming interchange between <ου> and <ω>⁹⁸¹, the main clause contains a subjunctive substituting a morphological future tense.⁹⁸² The causal clause seems to contain a predicative possessive construction consisting of the copula ‘to be’ and a dative referring to the possessor. Instead of the dative after παρά, we find a nominative (τάκτυλος) without an article.⁹⁸³ καὶ οὐ πεπύ[ωτ]ε seems to function like a relative clause⁹⁸⁴ describing the finger, the cause of the writer’s trouble. The final section, οὐδὲ οὐ <ἐ>σφραγισμέν[ο]ς, would then outline the effect of the injured finger.

Whether one follows interpretation (a), (b), (c) or (d), both πεπύ[ωτ]ε and <ἐ>σφραγισμέν[ο]ς carry a highly specific meaning related to a medical and / or an official context. Incidentally, Zuckermann assumes an equally specific meaning for στρατεύομαι. By contrast, the sentence shows clear signs of a writer struggling with Greek syntax and opting for the simplest available syntactic structure. Twice, a copular verb is dropped. Also twice, a hypotactic structure is substituted by a paratactic one. Finally, the complement of the preposition παρά is left undeclined.

As using specialised vocabulary is generally easier than using complex syntax, the most likely explanation for this mismatch between the levels of syntax and lexicon is to assume a learner who was trying to boast when writing his begging letter to Apa John.

7.4.4 Levels of proficiency

We pointed out in Section 7.1 that direct interference results in a word-by-word correspondence between the Coptic model and the Greek structure found in our texts, whereas indirect interference does not result in such a correspondence. The two examples given in Section 7.1 are repeated below but this time analysed according to the three-tier model introduced in Chapter 2.

⁹⁷⁹ [τέλ]εα ‘complete / valid’ would suit the context and the available space.

⁹⁸⁰ For the interpretation of the verb, see Zuckermann 1995.

⁹⁸¹ Note also the constant interchange between <τ> and <δ>. Both interchanges are typical of Egyptian Greek.

⁹⁸² Cf. Lucas 2014, Markopoulos 2009.

⁹⁸³ Cf. Chapter 4.

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. Chapter 5.

Direct interferences happen at the surface level. In the example, a writer chose an incorrect preposition.

[16] Direct interferences

Concept	Structure	Surface
, to save somebody from	{σῶζω} to save {ACC} somebody {ἀπό ^{GEN} / ἐκ ^{GEN} } from something verb – direct object – prepositional phrase	σῶζω σε ἀπὸ τοῦ πένθους
	{νοῦχμ/νεχμ-} to save {n-/mmo= object / object} somebody {ε-/επο= object} from something {nouhm / nehm-} to save {n-/mmo= object / object} somebody {e-/ero= object} from something verb – direct object – prepositional phrase	†-νοῦχμ μμο=κ ε-τ- μντεβιην <i>ti-nouhm mmo=k e-t- mntebiēn</i>
		AN 1.19–20 εἶπερ καταξιοῖ ἡμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης σωθῆναι ἐν τῇ ξενειῳᾷ ἡμῶ(ν)

Indirect interference, on the other hand, happens at the structural level. In the example, the writer chose the Coptic over the Greek structure and accommodated Greek syntax to the extent that he used a dative rather than a prepositional phrase.

[17] Indirect interferences

Concept	Structure	Surface
, to greet somebody	{προσαγορεύω / ἀσπάζομαι} to greet {ACC} somebody verb – direct object	προσαγορεύω σε / ἀσπαζομαί σε
	{ῥινη} to greet {ε-/επο= object} to somebody {sine} to greet {e-/ero= object} to somebody verb – prepositional phrase	†-ῥινη ερο-κ <i>ti-sine ero-k</i>
	AN 12.4–5 {π[ρ]οσαγορεύω} to greet {DAT} to somebody verb – indirect object	προσαγορεύω σοι

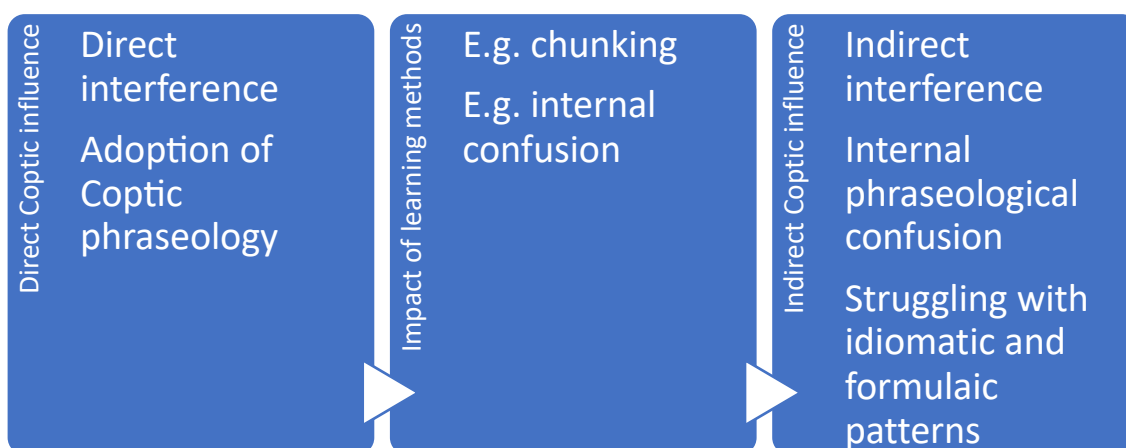
It seems reasonable to assume that a writer who only considers the surface level is less advanced than a writer who considers the structural level. Thus, direct interferences may

appear more frequently in a text written by a less proficient writer, whereas indirect interferences may appear more frequently in a text composed by a more proficient writer.

Furthermore, we saw that learning methods impact on how our writers deal with syntactic structures. From a purely syntactic point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that mistakes stemming from an exemplar-based approach are more frequent in texts by a less advanced writer, whereas those stemming from a rule-based approach are more frequent in a text written by a more advanced writer. In the former case, the writer does not pay enough attention to the syntactic context whereas in the latter case, the writer pays attention to the syntactic context but is not yet in full control of it.

Finally, we noticed repeatedly that idiomatic and formulaic language poses significant problems to our writers. Considering at what stage idiomatic and formulaic language is fully acquired in modern languages, it seems reasonable to attribute those mistakes that concern either an idiomatic or a formulaic pattern to rather experienced writers. The above considerations are summarised in [18].

[18] Levels of proficiency



Genuine ‘avoidance patterns’ may tentatively be subsumed under ‘indirect Coptic influence’ and attributed to rather experienced writers. On the one hand, avoidance patterns are grammatically correct so that writers must have had a sufficient command of Greek syntax. On the other hand, avoidance patterns attest to a flexible use of Greek syntax. The writer may not have known the idiomatic or formulaic pattern that would be natural in a given context but managed to construe an alternative. Since avoidance patterns have not been studied comprehensively, they are omitted in [18].

7.5 Outlook

From a Hellenistic perspective, the present study has focussed on the syntax of predicative and adverbial structures. Chapter 3 examines verbal complementation; Chapter 4 analyses adverbial additions; Chapter 5 sheds light on the embedding of verbal actions in a coherent discourse. Finally, Chapter 6 considers these aspects in formulaic contexts. This approach has been chosen because Greek is a verb-centred language.

Purely nominal structures such as adnominal possessive patterns or attributive phrases are not examined, essentially because they are rather infrequent in the corpus. Given that Coptic is, unlike Greek, a language that has inherited a considerable repertoire of non-verbal syntax from earlier Egyptian⁹⁸⁵, such structures may however be an interesting object of study. Some peculiar structures that appear in the corpus have been mentioned in passing, for example, the combination of an article, a possessive genitive and a noun, a structure that seems rather unnatural in Greek.

Furthermore, we repeatedly touched upon avoidance patterns, a comprehensive examination of which may provide insights into scribal education and learning strategies. A comprehensive examination of avoidance patterns is beyond the scope of the present study since avoidance patterns are grammatical and can only indirectly contribute to the study of bilingual interference.

From a Coptological perspective, it would be interesting to establish the extent to which native speakers perceived an item such as *n- n-* as a homonym or as multifunctional. Stolk and Nachtergaele (2016: 136) suggested that writers may confuse datives and accusatives based on the multivalence of *n- n-*. Stolk (2017a) suggested that writers may confuse datives and genitives in adnominal position based on the multivalence of *n- n-*.

In previous chapters, it was maintained that native speakers are likely to perceive *n- n-* as a homonym⁹⁸⁶ but clearly separate its various functions.⁹⁸⁷ They would otherwise not be able to form the pronominal state correctly. The following conversions apply:

⁹⁸⁵ Cf. Loprieno and Müller and Uljas 2017.

⁹⁸⁶ In its nominal state, Coptic *n- n-* can indicate a possessive, attributive, partitive and predicative relationship between two items and can function as marker of the direct and indirect objects (cf. Layton 2011: §§ 96, 147, 203).

⁹⁸⁷ Vierros (2012a: 51) assumes that writers may confuse genitives and accusatives based on the use of Demotic *N-+ noun* as an equivalent to both.

- (a) genitive : $\pi\text{-}/\pi\tau\epsilon = n\text{-}/nte =$
 (b) dative : $\pi\text{-}/\pi\alpha = n\text{-}/na =$
 (c) accusative : $\pi\text{-}/\mu\mu\omicron = n\text{-}/mmo =$

For instance, $\mu\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ *mprōme* in the function of a direct object turns into $\mu\mu\omicron = q$ *mmo = f*, whereas $\mu\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ *mprōme* in the function of an indirect object becomes $\pi\alpha = q$ *na = f*. To a certain extent, this resembles assimilation phenomena in modern languages such as French and German. While assimilation commonly happens in [19a] and [19c], native speakers must still be able to reverse the assimilation to convert the phrase into an expression of direction, in [19b], or the singular, in [19d].

- [19a] ~~in dem~~ Haus → im Haus ‘in the house’
 [19b] in das Haus → in das Haus ‘into the house’
 [19c] ~~à les~~ maisons → aux maisons ‘in the houses’
 [19d] à la maison → à la maison ‘in the house’

However, if evidence for confusion between the functions of $\pi\text{-}$ $n\text{-}$ could be found in texts originating from a monolingual environment, this would prove that native speakers perceived $\pi\text{-}$ $n\text{-}$ as multifunctional rather than a homonym.

On balance, the present study has added another piece of information to the still hazy picture of the ‘transitional’⁹⁸⁸ early Byzantine period. The linguistic situation in early Byzantine Egypt was ‘transitional’ insofar as (a) the Greek language was substantially changing in all areas, and (b) the societal status of Greek seems to have been weakened. Greek and Coptic had apparently become equal players during this period. Further study concerning early Byzantine Greek in monolingual contexts and language contact with languages other than Egyptian is needed to further complete the picture.

⁹⁸⁸ Cf. Jannaris 1897: §§ 14–18; Horrocks 2014: 194–197 (declining West, prospering East). For the historical perspective, see Chapter 2.

Appendix

Bibliography

Abbreviations of monographs:

Bauer	Arndt and Danker 2000
BDR	Blass and Debrunner and Rehkopf 1990
BR	Bornemann and Risch 1978
CDD	Johnson 2001–2014
DN	Lüddeckens 1980
DDbDP	Duke Database of Documentary Papyri (http://papyri.info)
EGB	Müller forthcoming c
ELL	Brown and Anderson 2006
EGLL	Giannakis 2014
KG	Kühner and Gerth 1890–1904
Lampe	Lampe 1961
LBG	Trapp 2001–2017
LSJ	Liddell and Scott and Jones
Mayser	Mayser 1906–1934
MTH	Menge and Thierfelder and Wiesner 2010
ODB	Kazhdan and Talbot and Cutler and Gregory and Ševčenko 1991
ODP	Colman 2009
OED	Oxford English Dictionary (http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2355/)
TLG	Thesaurus linguae Graecae (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu)
Wb	Ermann and Grapow (1926–1963)
WKH	Westendorf 1977

Abbreviations of journals:

AfP	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JGL	Journal of Greek linguistics
JJP	Journal of juristic papyrology
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

ZPE | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Appendix: Corpus of texts

Archive of Apa Nepheros

Kramer and Shelton 1987

Archive of Apa John

Choat and Gardner 2006

Crum 1909

Grenfell and Hunt 1901

Gonis 2008

Hasitzka 2012

Kenyon and Bell 1907

Naldini 1998

Rees 1964

Rupprecht 1983

Rupprecht 1993

Archive of Apa Paieous

Bell and Crum 1924

Crum 1927

Papyri from Kellis

Gardner and Alcock and Funk 1999

Gardner and Alcock and Funk 2014

Wagner 1987

Worp 1995

Archive of Dioscoros of Aphrodito

Armoni et al. 2008

Bell 1917

Bilabel 1931

Fournet 2001

Fournet 2008a

Gronewald et al. 1985

Hasitzka 2004

MacCoull 1981

MacCoull 1992
 MacCoull 1993
 Maspero 1911
 Maspero 1913
 Maspero 1916
 Pinaudi 1980
 Rupprecht 1997
 Satzinger 1967
 Schwartz 1963
 Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto 1927
 Vitelli 1915
 Zereteli and Jernstedt 1930
 Zereteli and Jernstedt 1935

Control group (Apiones of Oxyrhynchus)

Grenfell and Hunt 1924

Abbreviation Papyrus		
4 th c. texts		
Archive of Apa John		
1)	AJ 1	P. Misc. Inv. 2 70
2)	AJ 2	P. Misc. Inv. 2 98a + I 134a
3)	AJ 3	P. Misc. Inv. 2 179a
4)	AJ 4	P. Misc. Inv. 2 11a
5)	AJ 5	P. Misc. Inv. 2 20a
6)	AJ 6	P. Amh. Gr. 2 145
7)	AJ 7	P. Herm. 7
8)	AJ 8	P. Herm. 8
9)	AJ 9	P. Herm. 9
10)	AJ 10	P. Herm. 10
11)	AJ 11	P. Herm. 17
12)	AJ 12	P. Lond. 3 981
13)	AJ 13	SB 14 11882
14)	AJ 14	SB 18 13588

15)	AJ 15	SB 18 13612
16)	AJ 16	P. Ryl. Copt. 268
17)	AJ 17	P. Ryl. Copt. 269
18)	AJ 18	P. Ryl. Copt. 270
19)	AJ 19	P. Ryl. Copt. 271
20)	AJ 20	P. Ryl. Copt. 272
21)	AJ 21	P. Ryl. Copt. 273
22)	AJ 22	P. Ryl. Copt. 274
23)	AJ 23	P. Ryl. Copt. 275
24)	AJ 24	P. Ryl. Copt. 276
25)	AJ 25	P. Ryl. Copt. 301
26)	AJ 26	P. Ryl. Copt. 396
27)	AJ 27	KSB 4 1695
Archive of Apa Nephros (AN)		
28)	AN 1	P. Neph. 1
29)	AN 2	P. Neph. 2
30)	AN 3	P. Neph. 3
31)	AN 4	P. Neph. 4
32)	AN 5	P. Neph. 5
33)	AN 6	P. Neph. 6
34)	AN 7	P. Neph. 7
35)	AN 8	P. Neph. 8
36)	AN 9	P. Neph. 9
37)	AN 10	P. Neph. 10
38)	AN 11	P. Neph. 11
39)	AN 12	P. Neph. 12
40)	AN 13	P. Neph. 13
41)	AN 14	P. Neph. 14
42)	AN 15	P. Neph. 15
43)	AN 16	P. Neph. 16
44)	AN 17	P. Neph. 17
45)	AN 18	P. Neph. 18

46)	AN 19	P. Neph. 19
47)	AN 20	P. Neph. 20
Archive of Apa Paieous		
48)	AP 1	P. Lond. 6 1914
49)	AP 2	P. Lond. 6 1915
50)	AP 3	P. Lond. 6 1916
51)	AP 4	P. Lond. 6 1917
52)	AP 5	P. Lond. 6 1918
53)	AP 6	P. Lond. 6 1919
54)	AP 7	P. Lond. 6 1920
55)	AP 8	P. Lond. 6 1921
56)	AP 9	P. Lond. 6 1922
57)	AP 10	British Museum, inv. P. 2724
Archive of the village of Kellis (Greek texts)		
58)	PK 1	P. Kell. 1 5
59)	PK 2	P. Kell. 1 6
60)	PK 3	P. Kell. 1 7
61)	PK 4	P. Kell. 1 12
62)	PK 5	P. Kell. 1 17
63)	PK 6	P. Kell. 1 63
64)	PK 7	P. Kell. 1 64
65)	PK 8	P. Kell. 1 65
66)	PK 9	P. Kell. 1 66
67)	PK 10	P. Kell. 1 67
68)	PK 11	P. Kell. 1 68
69)	PK 12	P. Kell. 1 69
70)	PK 13	P. Kell. 1 71
71)	PK 14	P. Kell. 1 72
72)	PK 15	P. Kell. 1 73
73)	PK 16	P. Kell. 1 74
74)	PK 17	P. Kell. 1 75
75)	PK 18	P. Kell. 1 76

76)	PK 19	P. Kell. 1 77
Archive of the village of Kellis (Coptic texts)		
77)	PKC 11	P. Kell. Copt. 11
78)	PKC 12	P. Kell. Copt. 12
79)	PKC 13	P. Kell. Copt. 13
80)	PKC 14	P. Kell. Copt. 14
81)	PKC 15	P. Kell. Copt. 15
82)	PKC 16	P. Kell. Copt. 16
83)	PKC 17	P. Kell. Copt. 17
84)	PKC 19	P. Kell. Copt. 19
85)	PKC 20	P. Kell. Copt. 20
86)	PKC 21	P. Kell. Copt. 21
87)	PKC 22	P. Kell. Copt. 22
88)	PKC 23	P. Kell. Copt. 23
89)	PKC 24	P. Kell. Copt. 24
90)	PKC 25	P. Kell. Copt. 25
91)	PKC 26	P. Kell. Copt. 26
92)	PKC 27	P. Kell. Copt. 27
93)	PKC 28	P. Kell. Copt. 28
94)	PKC 29	P. Kell. Copt. 29
95)	PKC 30	P. Kell. Copt. 30
96)	PKC 31	P. Kell. Copt. 31
97)	PKC 32	P. Kell. Copt. 32
98)	PKC 33	P. Kell. Copt. 33
99)	PKC 34	P. Kell. Copt. 34
100)	PKC 35	P. Kell. Copt. 35
101)	PKC 36	P. Kell. Copt. 36
102)	PKC 37	P. Kell. Copt. 37
103)	PKC 38	P. Kell. Copt. 38
104)	PKC 39	P. Kell. Copt. 39
105)	PKC 40	P. Kell. Copt. 40
106)	PKC 41	P. Kell. Copt. 41

107)	PKC 43	P. Kell. Copt. 43
108)	PKC 50	P. Kell. Copt. 50
109)	PKC 51	P. Kell. Copt. 51
110)	PKC 52	P. Kell. Copt. 52
111)	PKC 59	P. Kell. Copt. 59
112)	PKC 60	P. Kell. Copt. 60
113)	PKC 64	P. Kell. Copt. 64
114)	PKC 65	P. Kell. Copt. 65
115)	PKC 66	P. Kell. Copt. 66
116)	PKC 67	P. Kell. Copt. 67
117)	PKC 68	P. Kell. Copt. 68
118)	PKC 70	P. Kell. Copt. 70
119)	PKC 71	P. Kell. Copt. 71
120)	PKC 72	P. Kell. Copt. 72
121)	PKC 73	P. Kell. Copt. 73
122)	PKC 74	P. Kell. Copt. 74
123)	PKC 75	P. Kell. Copt. 75
124)	PKC 76	P. Kell. Copt. 76
125)	PKC 77	P. Kell. Copt. 77
126)	PKC 78	P. Kell. Copt. 78
127)	PKC 79	P. Kell. Copt. 79
128)	PKC 80	P. Kell. Copt. 80
129)	PKC 81	P. Kell. Copt. 81
130)	PKC 82	P. Kell. Copt. 82
131)	PKC 84	P. Kell. Copt. 84
132)	PKC 85	P. Kell. Copt. 85
133)	PKC 87	P. Kell. Copt. 87
134)	PKC 88	P. Kell. Copt. 88
135)	PKC 89	P. Kell. Copt. 89
136)	PKC 90	P. Kell. Copt. 90
137)	PKC 92	P. Kell. Copt. 92
138)	PKC 93	P. Kell. Copt. 93

139)	PKC 95	P. Kell. Copt. 95
140)	PKC 96	P. Kell. Copt. 96
141)	PKC 97	P. Kell. Copt. 97
142)	PKC 98	P. Kell. Copt. 98
143)	PKC 99	P. Kell. Copt. 99
144)	PKC 100	P. Kell. Copt. 100
145)	PKC 101	P. Kell. Copt. 101
146)	PKC 102	P. Kell. Copt. 102
147)	PKC 103	P. Kell. Copt. 103
148)	PKC 105	P. Kell. Copt. 105
149)	PKC 106	P. Kell. Copt. 106
150)	PKC 107	P. Kell. Copt. 107
151)	PKC 108	P. Kell. Copt. 108
152)	PKC 109	P. Kell. Copt. 109
153)	PKC 110	P. Kell. Copt. 110
154)	PKC 111	P. Kell. Copt. 111
155)	PKC 112	P. Kell. Copt. 112
156)	PKC 115	P. Kell. Copt. 115
157)	PKC 116	P. Kell. Copt. 116
158)	PKC 118	P. Kell. Copt. 118
159)	PKC 119	P. Kell. Copt. 119
160)	PKC 120	P. Kell. Copt. 120
161)	PKC 121	P. Kell. Copt. 121
162)	PKC 122	P. Kell. Copt. 122
163)	PKC 124	P. Kell. Copt. 124
164)	PKC 127	P. Kell. Copt. 127
165)	PKC 128	P. Kell. Copt. 128
6th c. texts		
Archive of Dioscoros		
166)	DA 1	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67060
167)	DA 2	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67061
168)	DA 3	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67062

169)	DA 4	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67063
170)	DA 5	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67064
171)	DA 6	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67065
172)	DA 7	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67066
173)	DA 8	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67067
174)	DA 9	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67068
175)	DA 10	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67069
176)	DA 11	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67070
177)	DA 12	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67071
178)	DA 13	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67072
179)	DA 14	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67073
180)	DA 15	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67074
181)	DA 16	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67075
182)	DA 17	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67076
183)	DA 18	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67077
184)	DA 19	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67078
185)	DA 20	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67079
186)	DA 21	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67080
187)	DA 22	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67081
188)	DA 23	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67082
189)	DA 24	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67083
190)	DA 25	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67084
191)	DA 26	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67085
192)	DA 27	P. Cair. Masp. 1 67086
193)	DA 28	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67185
194)	DA 29	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67191
195)	DA 30	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67192
196)	DA 31	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67193
197)	DA 32	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67194
198)	DA 33	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67195
199)	DA 34	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67196
200)	DA 35	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67197

201)	DA 36	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67198
202)	DA 37	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67199
203)	DA 38	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67200
204)	DA 39	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67201
205)	DA 40	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67202
206)	DA 41	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67203
207)	DA 42	P. Cair. Masp. 2 67204
208)	DA 43	P. Cair. Masp. 3 67295.page3.1–19
209)	DA 44	P. Cair. Masp. 3 67295.page3.21–35
210)	DA 45	P. Cair. Masp. 3 67337
211)	DA 46	P. Cair. Masp. 3 67342
212)	DA 47	P. Cair. Masp. 3 67346
213)	DA 48	P. Cair. Masp. 3 67349
214)	DA 49	P. Cair. Masp. 3 67356
215)	DA 50	P. Köln 5 240
216)	DA 51	P. Köln 11 462 R
217)	DA 52	P. Lond. 5 1681
218)	DA 53	P. Lond. 5 1682
219)	DA 54	P. Lond. 5 1683
220)	DA 55	P. Lond. 5 1684
221)	DA 56	P. Lond. 5 1685
222)	DA 57	P. Lond. 5 1839
223)	DA 58	P. Lond. 5 1840
224)	DA 59	P. Ross. Georg. 3 16
225)	DA 60	P. Ross. Georg. 5 9
226)	DA 61	PSI 8 938
227)	DA 62	PSI 8 939
228)	DA 63	P. Stras. 6 279
229)	DA 64	P. Vat. Aphrod. 21A
230)	DA 65	SB 4 7438
231)	DA 66	SB 20 14119
232)	DA 67	SB 20 14120

233)	DA 68	SB 20 14241
234)	DA 69	SB 20 14262
235)	DA 70	BKU 3 415
236)	DA 71	BKU 3 437
237)	DA 72	BKU 3 506
238)	DA 73	SB Kopt. 2 848
239)	DA 74	Ismailia Museum 2241 (MacCoull 1992: 104–106, n. 1.)
240)	DA 75	Ismailia Museum 2240 (MacCoull 1992: 104–106, n. 2.)
241)	DA 76	S. R. 3733.9 (MacCoull 1993: 27, n. 3.)
242)	DA 77	S. R. 3733.26 (MacCoull 1993: 27–28, n. 4.)
243)	DA 78	MacCoull 1993: 29–30, n. 6.
244)	DA 79	MacCoull 1993: 30–32, n. 7.
245)	DA 80	S. R. 3733.8 (MacCoull 1993: 32–33, n. 8.)
246)	DA 81	S. R. 3733.10 (MacCoull 1993: 34, n. 9.)
247)	DA 82	S. R. 3733.17 (MacCoull 1993: 34–35, n. 10.)
248)	DA 83	MacCoull 1993: 35–37, n. 11.
249)	DA 84	MacCoull 1993: 37–39, n. 12.
250)	DA 85	S. R. 3733.40(a) (MacCoull 1993: 39, n. 13.)
251)	DA 86	S. R. 3733.40(c) (MacCoull 1993: 39–40, n. 14.)
252)	DA 87	MacCoull 1993: 40–42, n. 15.
253)	DA 88	S. R. 3733.12 (MacCoull 1993: 42–43, n. 16.)
254)	DA 89	S. R. 3733.42 (MacCoull 1993: 46–47, n. 20.)

255)	DA 90	S. R. 3733.25 (MacCoull 1993: 47–49, n. 21.)
256)	DA 91	S. R. 3733.11 (MacCoull 1993: 49, n. 22.)
257)	DA 92	S. R. 3733.39 (MacCoull 1993: 49–50, n. 23.)
258)	DA 93	S. R. 3733.4(a) (MacCoull 1993: 51–52, n. 25.)
259)	DA 94	S. R. 3733.38 (MacCoull 1993: 52–54, n. 26.)
260)	DA 95	P. Musée Copte Inv. 6602 (Fournet 2008b: 26–27.)
261)	DA 96	P. Cair. SR 3733(4) (Fournet 2001: 482–483.)
262)	DA 97	Old Cairo, Coptic Museum, Aphrodito material (MacCoull 1981: 201–206, n. 1.)
263)	DA 98	Old Cairo, Coptic Museum, Aphrodito material (MacCoull 1981: 201–206, n. 2.)
264)	DA 99	Old Cairo, Coptic Museum, Aphrodito material (MacCoull 1981: 201–206, n. 3.)
Control group: Archive of the Apiones		
265)	AO 1	P. Oxy. 16 1829
266)	AO 2	P. Oxy. 16 1830
267)	AO 3	P. Oxy. 16 1840
268)	AO 4	P. Oxy. 16 1844
269)	AO 5	P. Oxy. 16 1845
270)	AO 6	P. Oxy. 16 1846
271)	AO 7	P. Oxy. 16 1847
272)	AO 8	P. Oxy. 16 1848
273)	AO 9	P. Oxy. 16 1849
274)	AO 10	P. Oxy. 16 1850
275)	AO 11	P. Oxy. 16 1851
276)	AO 12	P. Oxy. 16 1852

277)	AO 13	P. Oxy. 16 1853
278)	AO 14	P. Oxy. 16 1854
279)	AO 15	P. Oxy. 16 1855
280)	AO 16	P. Oxy. 16 1856
281)	AO 17	P. Oxy. 16 1857
282)	AO 18	P. Oxy. 16 1858
283)	AO 19	P. Oxy. 16 1859
284)	AO 20	P. Oxy. 16 1860
285)	AO 21	P. Oxy. 16 1861
286)	AO 22	P. Oxy. 16 1868
287)	AO 23	P. Oxy. 16 1932
288)	AO 24	P. Oxy. 16 1936
289)	AO 25	P. Oxy. 16 1937