

Polysemy in Language Contact

Borrowing of the Greek-origin preposition κατά in Coptic

Stéphane Polis (F.R.S.-FNRS – ULg)

0 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine one aspect of the semantics of adposition borrowing, focusing on the extent to which polysemy networks associated with model-language adpositions are borrowed in the recipient language. Taking the Greek-origin adposition κατά (Luraghi 2003, Bortone 2010) in Coptic as a case-study, I intend to show that polysemic adpositions are probably not borrowed with their entire polysemy networks. Rather some meanings are preferred over others in the borrowing process.

This paper goes on the assumption that the meanings associated with an adposition are not contextually derived from a single basic (and very abstract) meaning. It also assumes that these meanings are not organized or distributed randomly at a semantic level. Following a trend of research in lexical semantics, I will consider that *polysemy* is a more insightful analysis of the one-to-many form-function mappings associated with adpositions (e.g. Hagège 2008, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2008, Grossman & Polis 2012). In this field, the recent burst of work on semantic maps (see e.g. the special number of *Linguistic Discovery* 8/1, 2010) has provided a useful tool for evaluating the empirical validity of polysemy and it will be used here in a language contact situation for comparing the polysemy networks of adpositions in the source and target language.

Based on these prerequisites, different scenarios are possible when describing the transfer of any polysemic item. Given an item α that covers a connected region of five points on a semantic map (Fig. 1. left), we can theoretically envision five options:¹ (1) the whole polysemy network of the item is borrowed (full PAT transfer); (2) a connected region of the polysemy network is borrowed (partial PAT transfer 1); (3) disconnected regions of the polysemy network are borrowed (partial PAT transfer 2, see Fig. 1); (4) a connected region of the polysemy network is borrowed, but the meaning of the item in the target language also extends to a new *connected* region on the semantic map (innovative PAT transfer 1); (5) a connected region of the polysemy network is borrowed, but the meaning of the item in the target language also extends to (a) new disconnected region(s) on the semantic map (innovative PAT transfer 2).

¹ A fifth option, which is not considered here, is that no PAT is drag along with MAT in the transfer; this would mean that none of the senses of the polysemic item in the source language is copied in the target language, rather only new meanings are

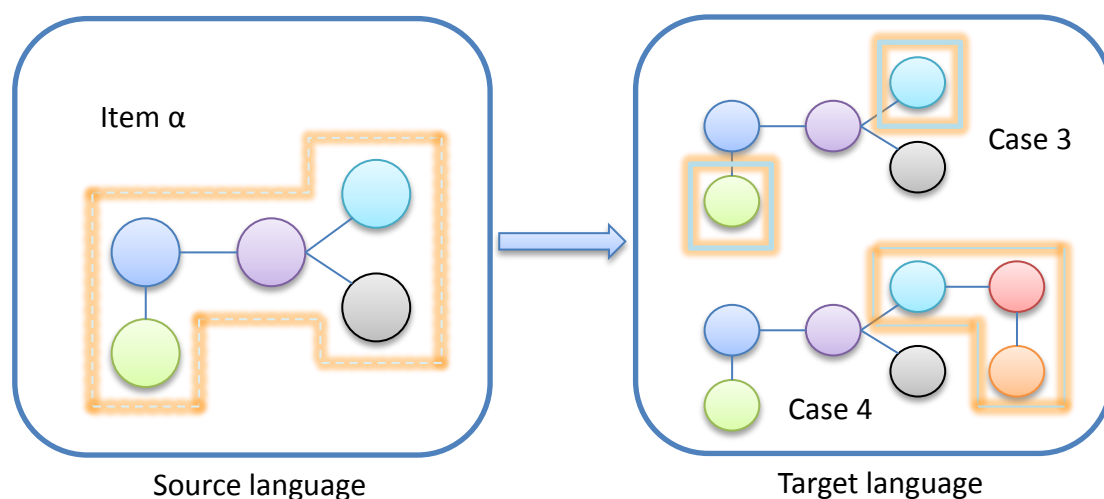


Fig. 1. The borrowing of polysemy network (Case 3 and 4)

If some of these options intuitively appear more likely, the goal of this contribution is to provide a corpus-based case study that could be a base for addressing such an issue. It is structured as follows. In a first section, I give an overview of how polysemy networks have been dealt with in language contact studies. In the second section, background information regarding the language contact situation between Greek and Coptic is given, as well as general observations regarding the transfer of adposition from Greek to Coptic. The third section is devoted to the case study

1 Polysemy networks in language contact: status quaestionis

Polysemy networks have been intensively dealt with in analyses of PAT transfers (also known as *cliques* or replications, see Matras & Sakel 2007b; Heine 2008; Grants 2012), i.e. when only the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical and semantic meaning of the source language is replicated, while the form itself is not borrowed. In MAT transfers, i.e. when the morphological material and its phonological shape from one language is replicated in another language, it received much less attention in the scholarly literature.

1.1 Polysemy and PAT transfer

In the field of PAT transfer (especially in the literature on *Contact Induced Grammaticalization*), polysemy networks are of paramount importance. Indeed, one of the major issues is to describe and explain how new patterns of polysemy/polyfunctionality occur under the impact of language contact. This phenomenon received various labels over time: Weinreich's (1953) *identification*; Breu's (2003) *borrowed meanings*; Heine & Kuteva's (2005) *polysemy copying*; Matras & Sakel's (2007a) *pivot-matching*; Gast & van der Auwera's (2012) *semantic map assimilation*.

Even if they differ with respect to the types of mechanisms and explanations involved, these labels all refer to a similar phenomenon that one can synthesize as follows: "Given one form x in M and one form y in R , which share at least one similar function/meaning so that they can be matched by speakers, the number of functions of y in R is extended, based on the polysemy network of x in M ".

For the sake of illustration, an example quoted by Matras (2009: 26) is the influence of German on Hebrew in the case of a 4-6 years old child:

German - M

Das ist aber schön!
This is but nice "This is very nice indeed!"

Hebrew - R

ze avál yafé!
This but nice "This is very nice indeed!"

1.2 Polysemy and MAT transfer

In the field of MAT transfer, on the other hand, i.e. when a sign (form-meaning pair) is borrowed, the questions linked to the transfer of polysemic items have been much less systematically studied. This is especially true for grammatical items² such as adpositions which are notoriously polysemous.

Wiemer & Wälchli (2012), however, showed with several examples that MAT and PAT transfers occur very often together in grammatical borrowing (see e.g. Hansen & Birzer 2012 about the Yiddish modals, with MAT = Germanic, while PAT = Slavic) and they stress that "[a] major question is how much pattern structure a borrowed item can possibly drag along." This is, in a way, just another phrasing for the aim of this paper (as developed in §0 below) and leads one to distinguish two dimensions among the *borrowability* issues:

1. Traditional: what kind of MAT can be borrowed? (*adaptability or borrowability scales, likelihood of transfer*), focusing on MAT categories and semantic/pragmatic properties of these categories.³
2. 'Neglected': as carrier of what kind of PAT?

At this point, it should be noted that this second, "neglected", issue, has already been broached in some previous studies on borrowability. Aikhenvald (2007: 26-35), for example, already paid attention to functional aspects of borrowing when she listed — at the 16th and last position — 'Unifunctionality and semantic transparency', which means avoidance of polysemic items, as a among the favouring factors for borrowing.

Regarding this question "as carrier of what kind of PAT?", Wiemer & Wälchli (2012) further suggest a basic distinction between:

1. Global copying: entire sign (signifier/signified) is borrowed.
2. Selective copying: only certain aspects of a unit from the model core are transferred.

A survey of the literature indicates that the second option is supported by remarks in Kukanda (1983: 10, monosemic borrowing of polysemic lexemes in Lingala); Mann (1993); Stolz & Stolz (1996: 108, borrowed elements are often used in a subdomain of their original use); see also Breu (2003: 361-363, reconfiguration of the signified in R, but "no statement can be made about the percentage of semantic adaptations and the complications that arise in the process").

² Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005, 2012, etc.), for instance, refrained explicitly from examining MAT transfers in their study of grammatical change

³ Regarding adpositions, Matras (2007) notes that, in the spatial domain "'Core' relations ('in', 'at', 'on') are borrowed less frequently than "peripheral" relations ('between', 'around', 'opposite'), and this finds some support in the appearance of 'between' as the most frequent borrowing in the sample." But nothing is said about other semantic domains nor about polysemic items.

However, it seems that there is virtually no study focusing specifically on how network of meanings associated with a polysemic item are transferred from one source language to a target language.

2 Adposition borrowing between Greek and Coptic

Coptic (Afro-Asiatic, Egyptian) is the latest stage of the Ancient Egyptian language (2nd-14th centuries; see Loprieno 1995). It is written with the Greek alphabet to which have been added six or seven graphemes — depending on the dialect — directly inherited from the Demotic script (and transitively from the Hieroglyphs) for rendering phonemes alien to the Greek language.

Coptic is characterized by significant dialectal variation (see Funk 1988): A(khmimic), B(ohairic), F(aiyemic), L(ycopolitan), M(esokemic) or M(idle Egyptian), S(ahidic), and very many other less attested dialects.

2.1 The language contact situation

When the first Coptic texts emerge in our documentation (c. 100 AD), Egypt is a multilingual society for centuries,⁴ which implies that, by that time, the Egyptian language had long been subject to contact-induced language change.⁵ Among the languages that used to be spoken and written in Egypt, Greek holds an exceptional position by the beginning of the Hellenistic period (3rd century BC). Indeed, not only was it a *lingua franca* (as everywhere else in the Middle East since the campaigns of Alexander the Great), but it was also associated with high social prestige due to its usage by the elite.

2.2 The Greek prepositions in Coptic

Following Grossman (2010) who gave a general overview of the formal and functional aspects of the borrowing of Greek prepositions in Coptic, one can summarize the data as follows. There are six Greek-origin prepositions that are borrowed in Coptic (Shisha-Halevy 1986: 58-61), all of them with harmonic linear order (cf. Grossman here):

Greek form	Coptic form		Coptic meaning
ἀντί	αντι	<i>anti</i>	“instead of”
κατά	κατα	<i>kata</i>	“according to, by (distributive)”
παρά	παρα	<i>para</i>	“beyond”
πρός	προς	<i>pros</i>	“for” (temporal)
χωρίς	χωρις	<i>khôris</i>	“without”
ὡς	ως	<i>hôs</i>	“likes, as”

Fig. 2. Greek prepositions in Coptic

Unlike Greek prepositions, Greek-origins prepositions in Coptic (1) have no case endings on the complement (which obviously has an influence on the semantics of these prepositions) and (2) they

⁴ As Matras (2009: 4) would put it, people living in Egypt at the time definitely had at their disposal “a complex repertoire of linguistic structures”.

⁵ See e.g. Chamoreau & Légliše 2012, with previous literature on the topic. Acknowledging the influence of Greek on Coptic, does not necessarily entail a definition of Coptic as a *bilingual language variety* (Reintges 2001; 2004).

have no relationship with compound verbs or free adverbial element (as do the “proper” Greek prepositions).

Unlike Coptic prepositions, Greek-origins prepositions in Coptic (1) are always compatible with nominal complements, but inflect rarely for person-marking, (2) they do not mark valential arguments of verbs, (3) they cannot be predicates in the clause construction dedicated to adverbial and prepositional predicates.

It terms of semantics, it should be noted that none of these six prepositions encode basic spatial meanings, which is in agreement with the generalization in Matras 2007 regarding the semantics of the adpositions that are borrowed.

Dialects	κατά <i>kata</i>	προς <i>pros</i>	παρά <i>para</i>	ἕως <i>hōs</i>	χωρίς <i>kʰôris</i>	ἀντί <i>anti</i>
Mesokem.						
Akhmimic						
Fayyumic						
Lycopol.						
Bohairic						
Sahidic						

Fig. 3. Greek prepositions across Coptic dialects

Further, Grossman (2010) showed that, in the extant documentation, Coptic dialects do not necessarily borrow the same prepositions (and not with the same frequency in all sub-dialects), which leads to a rough hierarchy of preposition borrowing across Coptic dialects, based on Fig. 2.

κατά (*kata*) > προς (*pros*), παρά (*para*) > ἕως (*hōs*), χωρίς (*kʰôris*) > ἀντί (*anti*)

As it appears, the focus on κατά (*kata*) in this paper is motivated by the fact that this preposition is borrowed the most frequently borrowed in the Coptic dialects. Furthermore, I will limit my investigation to the Sahidic and Bohairic dialects, which are the ones that borrow the most prepositions from Greek.

3 The Greek preposition κατά in Coptic

3.1 The corpus

The corpus investigated here is limited. I focus on the Coptic Sahidic and Bohairic versions of the New Testament. As such, the generalizations made here apply only to these corpora and not to ‘Greek’ or ‘Coptic’ in general. I think that it is a sound preliminary step in order to isolate well-established usages against which it will be possible to describe the grammar and semantics of the preposition in other corpora.⁶

⁶ In the same vein, see Layton’s (1981) study of compound prepositions in the Sahidic version of the New Testament: “then these results might be used on the one hand to investigate how far the Old Testament books

It should be stressed that the texts on which the case-study relies do not only testify of a long contact situation (see §2.1): it is a corpus of translated texts.⁷ As Shisha-Halevy (1990: 100, n. 4) puts it,⁸ the kind of language contact between Greek and Coptic in this case “is (...) a distinct type of bilinguality: not a matter of double linguistic competence, but the contact of two texts. One text is an authoritative source, given, ever-present, decoded (but also interpreted and often imitated) by the author of the target text; the other text is created on the basis of the source text. This is a situation of ‘text in contact’ (encoded with decoded) as well as ‘languages in contact.’”

There are at least two advantages to limiting the scope of the study to a limited corpus (c. 138 000 occurrences in Greek). First, a restricted and relatively homogeneous corpus allows ‘high resolution’ in the semantic description. Hence, one can get a complete picture of the phenomena involved when studying the borrowing of a preposition in Coptic.⁹ Second, the Coptic dialects dealt with here, Sahidic and Bohairic, are rather heterogeneous themselves, with significant lexical and grammatical differences across sub-corpora. For example, Early and later Bohairic are quite different in terms of borrowed prepositions: in the former corpus, only *kata* and *pros* are attested, while in later Bohairic, at least five Greek-origin prepositions occur.

3.2 The polysemy network of *κατά* in Greek

The preposition *κατά* is one of the eighteen so-called “proper” prepositions in Greek¹⁰ and it is attested since Homer. Regarding its semantics, there seem to be an agreement among the scholars¹¹ that this preposition implies a(n originally downwards) trajectory. It governs two cases:¹²

1. The genitive, with the spatial meaning “down (from or upon ,into)”.
2. The accusative, with the spatial meaning “throughout, along(side)”.

From Homeric down to Classical Greek, there are significant differences between the senses that can be expressed by this preposition (as well as regarding the frequency of these meanings). Based on the lexicographical tools and grammatical studies available,¹³ the senses of *κατά* can be divided between three semantic domains: the spatial, the temporal and the conceptual. Here is a list of the 12 meanings covered by the preposition in classical Greek:

or Shenute represent the same kind of Sahidic as the New Testament [...], or on the other hand to build a define framework within which to define the differences among the dialects.”

⁷ The juxtaposing of two texts imposes “a semantic judgement, the setting forth of a semantic path which may reasonably be taken to have led from one text to another” (Barr 1979: 285) and (Barr 1979: 325) “the solution had to be *semantic*, in correct representation of the meanings, and not *formal*, in exact following of the formal patterns of the original.”

⁸ See additional methodological remarks in Shisha-Halevy 2007: 23-27.

⁹ In this respect, it should be noted that “Scripture Greek: the Septuagint and NT systems are of course distinct, but both carry an aura, or different auras, of ancient authority and irrevokable givenness, and serve as rhetorical basis and *point de repère*.”

¹⁰ They are distinguished from other prepositions — and called “proper” prepositions — by the fact that they share a peculiar morphosyntactic behavior: “beside functioning as prepositions, they can also be found in compound verbs, and have a function similar to English or German verbal particles, as *up* in *give up*, or *auf-* in Germ.” (Luraghi 2003: 75). As *preverbs*, they actualize one or several meanings of the prepositions.

¹¹ See however Brugmann *KVG*: 315-316, 479; *Grundbedeutung* = “along something so as to remain in connexion and contact with the object” [cf. accusative spatial meaning].

¹² In cognitive terms, one would say that the difference in meaning between the genitive and the accusative is related to the position of the landmark relative to the trajectory.

¹³ (REF. TO BE INSERTED). For recent linguistic approaches to the polysemy of this preposition, see Luraghi 2003: 197-213; Bortone 2010.

1. SPATIAL
 1. Extension (“*throughout*”)
 2. Motion along (“*alongside*”)
 3. Motion down (“*down from, down into*”)
 4. Direction (“*at*”)
2. TEMPORAL
 1. Temporal situation (“*at, during*”)
 2. Temporal approx. (“*around, about*”)
3. CONCEPTUAL
 1. Conformity (“*according to, corresponding to*”)
 2. Area (“*about, concerning*”)
 3. Cause, reason (“*because of*”)
 4. Manner (*adverbial reading*)
 5. Distributive (*by*)
 6. Hostility (*against*)

3.2.1 Towards a semantic map of the meaning associated with the preposition κατά

There seems to be no semantic map in the literature that covers the range of meaning expressed by the preposition κατά in Greek. The tentative map that follows is a very preliminary version that (1) is compatible with the semantic map drawn in Grossman & Polis (2012) based on a crosslinguistic sample of 54 allative markers in Rice & Kabata (2007), (2) respects the connectivity hypothesis when mapping the diachronic development of κατά in Greek and (3) integrated the results of Luraghi (2003: 213) regarding the meaning extensions of κατά with the accusative in Ionic-Attic. A questionnaire is being prepared for testing this map on a sample of 20 languages.

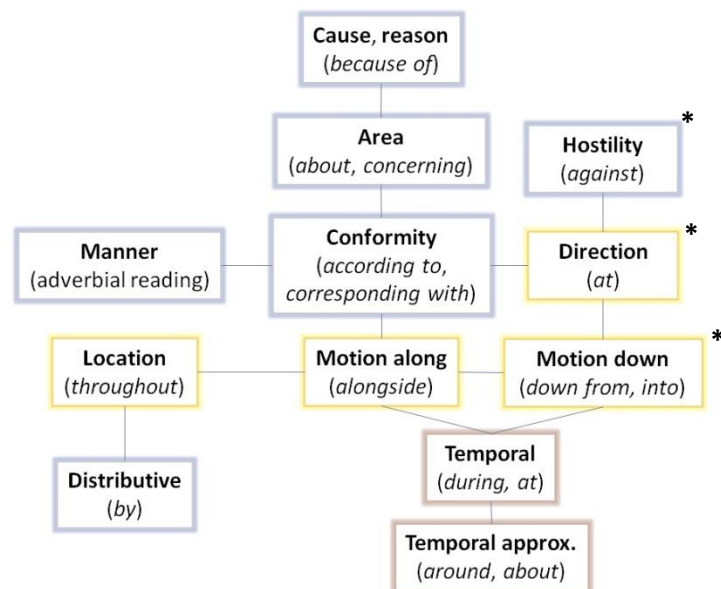


Fig. 4. A preliminary Semantic Map of the senses covered by κατά in Classical Greek (the senses marked by * are expressed by κατά + gen.; all others by κατά + acc.)

3.2.2 The polysemy network of κατά in Koinê Greek

When compared to its uses in Classical Greek, κατά underwent considerable changes¹⁴ by the time it is used in the NT Greek.¹⁵ As already stated by Regard (1919): “[I]es sens usuels de l’époque classique sont représentés par un petit nombre d’exemples avec le *génitif*, par un grand nombre avec l’*accusatif*.” Furthermore, as shown by Fig. 5, the frequency of the preposition in the NT books varies quite sensibly:¹⁶

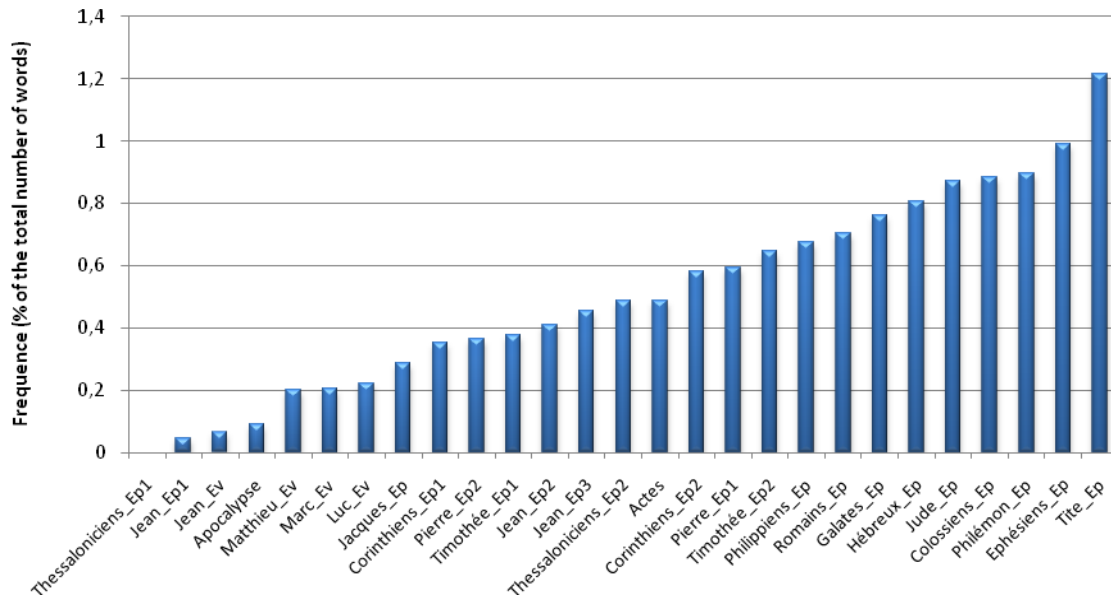


Fig. 5. Frequency of use of κατά in the NT books

The ratio between κατά + genitive and κατά + accusative is 16% vs 84%. The analysis of the corpus shows that:

1. There are 74 occurrences of κατά + genitive.
 1. The spatial meanings “down from” (1 occ.) and “down over, into” (9 occ.) are residual. For the Ptolemaic Greek, see Mayser (1934: 428): “[d]ie locale Bedeutung (von – herab) ist völlig erloschen. Dagegen ist der reine Genitiv mit der Richtung nach unter [...] in zwei Beispielen vertreten”).
 2. The “against” hostile meaning is the best attested one (56 occ.; 75% of the examples); see also Modern Greek *katharevousa* κατά της κυβερνήσεως “against the government”.

¹⁴ It was already the case during the Ptolemaic Period, see e.g. Mayser (1934: 337): “[d]er erste Blick in eine ptolemäische Urkunde [...] läßt erkennen, daß der Gebrauch der Präpositionen im Vergleich zur klassischen Zeit wesentlich zugenommen hat”. See also Mayser (1934: 427-428): “[d]ie relative Häufigkeit von κατά in den ptol. Urkunden übertrifft zwar die des N.T. [...], steht aber weit zurück hinter dem Gebrauch bei Polybios, bei dem κατά [...] die allererste Stelle einnimmt und in allerlei neuen Bedeutung verwendet wird”.

¹⁵ For the main tendencies of the evolution of its meaning in the NT Greek, see *inter alii* Deissmann (1901: 138-140); Moulton (1908: i, 98-105); Regard (1919: 466-490); Robertson (1934: 607-609); Moule (²1959: 58-sq); Blaß, Debrunner & Funk (1961: § 224-225 ; § 248,1); Balz & Schneider (1990); Porter (1994: 162-164); Arndt & Gingrich (³2000: s.v.).

¹⁶ On the kinds of Greek in the NT books, see Horrocks (2010: 149).

3. One new meaning: extension in space “throughout” (= κατά + acc.; cf. Polybius, but only in *Luke* and *Acta* for the *NT* [always quantified by ὅλος “entire”], see Regard 1919: 489; Robertson 1934: 607; Blaß *et al.* 1961: §225).
2. There are 396 occurrences of κατά + accusative.
 1. The conformity meaning (with its variants “in accordance with, according to, similarly to”) is attested 240 times and represents more than 50% of all the occurrences of κατά in the *NT*; [conceptual sphere]
 2. The distributive meaning is also well attested (57 occ.) [conceptual sphere]
 3. Extension of the meaning of the preposition to the spatial Allative meaning “to”, which was not attested in Classical Greek (only the semantics associated with the trajectory remains). It could be linked to the fact that, much at the same time, the preposition enters valency patterns (e.g. *Acta* 27.12: [...] λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλέποντα κατά λίβα καὶ κατά χῶρον “a harbour of Crete facing both southwest and northwest).

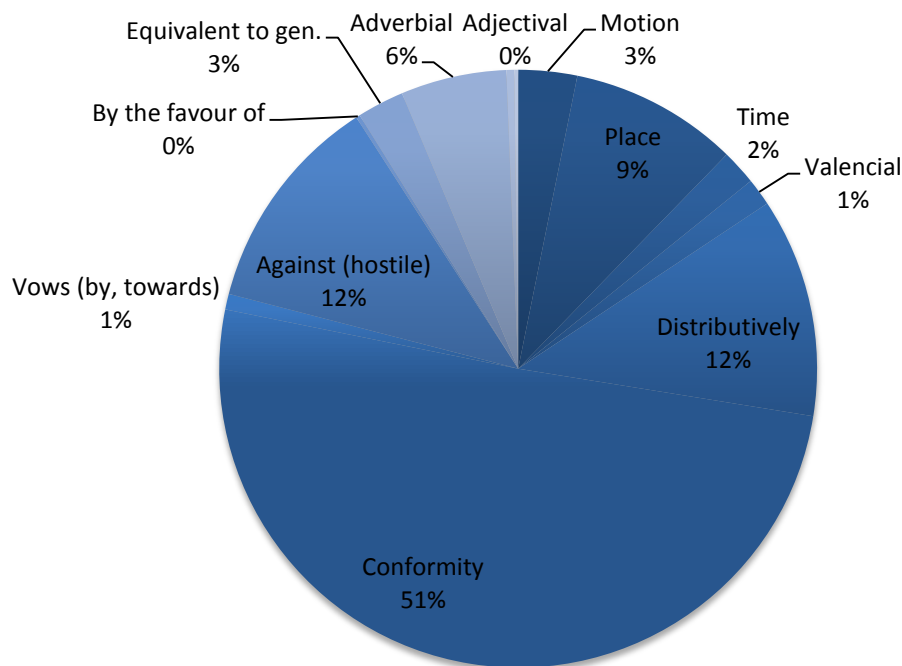


Fig. 5. Distribution of the senses of κατά in *NT* Greek

3.3 The polysemy network of κατά in Coptic

Let's now turn to the analysis of the Coptic data. First it should be stressed that the grammatical descriptions of Coptic usually emphasize two meanings for this preposition: the conformity meaning ‘according to, like’ (see e.g. Shisha-Halevy 1986: 58; Layton ²2004: §200-202) and the distributive meaning “by” (Reintges 2004: 110).

Limiting ourselves to these remarks would lead to the conclusion that, among all the functions attested for the preposition in Post-Classical Greek, Coptic borrowed the *two best attested meanings* of κατά + accusative. This correlatively means that (1) frequency matters, (2) meanings belonging to the conceptual domain (crucially not only forms, but form-function pairing) are favoured in the borrowing (see above n. 3, with Matras 2007), (3) the cases (gen. vs acc.) might have an influence on borrowability, since none of the senses attested for κατά + genitive is borrowed.

3.3.1 Meanings of κατά in NT Coptic

The analysis of the *NT* corpus shows that the meanings expressed by κατά + genitive are never PAT-transferred,¹⁷ both Bohairic and Sahidic Coptic using other strategies. Frequency is not the only argument, since the meaning expressed by κατά + genitive are never borrowed (not even the hostile “against” meaning¹⁸ which represents some 12% of the occurrences of κατά in *NT* Greek)

On the other hand, several meanings expressed by κατά +accusative in Greek are indeed PAT-transferred in *NT* Greek.

Conformity (“according to”, “corresponding with”)¹⁹

Greek ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ (Tim2 4.14)

Sahidic ερε πδοειс τωωβε ναϥ κατα νεϥρβηγε

Bohairic ερε πφοис †ϥεβιω ναϥ κατα νεϥρβηογι
FUT the_Lord repay:INF for=3SM according his_deeds

“The Lord will repay him according to his deeds”

Area (“about”, “concerning”)

Greek κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ (γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος) (Phil 3.6)

Sahidic κατα τδικαιοcυνη ετ ψοοπ ρμ πινομос

Bohairic κατα †μεθμη εт ъен πιномос
As_for the_righteousness REL is in the-law

“As to righteousness, being under the law (blameless)”

Temporal extension (“during”)

Greek κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (Heb 3.8)

Sahidic κατα περοοϥ [...] μπειρασмос ρн терммос

Bohairic κατα πιεροοϥ [...] нтепиρασмос нрри ρи пϥаϥε
during the_day [...] of_the_testing in wilderness

“(Do not harden your hearts as in the rebellion), during the day [...] of testing in the wilderness”

Distributive (“by”)²⁰

Greek τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ πόλιν διαμαρτύρεται μοι (Acta 20.23)

¹⁷ Outside this corpus, see Shisha-Halevy (1986: 58 n. 146): “I have found no instance of *kata* in the sense ‘against’ or ‘as for’”; see also Gordon (1965), *BIFAO* 63, p. 135-137. In the documentary corpus, see however *CPR* IV, 1,7 [viith-viiith], cf. Förster 2002: 384.

¹⁸ The fact that κατά + gen. was not borrowed has not been a constraint forbidding the borrowing of Greek verbs and nouns such as *katafronei* “to disdain”, *katalalei* “to slander”, etc. where the preverb *kata* has this hostile meaning. It is therefore worth noticing that a phenomenon such as the one taking place with the Greek prefix προ- (cf. Funk 1979) did not occur with κατά.

¹⁹ A first case of differential borrowing between Sahidic and Bohairic will be discussed here: when the norm ‘according to’ which the predication takes place is understood as a reason or as a cause, *kata* tends not to be used, which is especially the case in Bohairic always preferring the Egyptian preposition ъен, see e.g. Acta 3.17, Matt 19.3, Phil. 3.1.

²⁰ A second case of differential will borrowing be discussed. The locution ‘κατὰ + number’ is not translated similarly in Sahidic and Bohairic. In the *NT* Sahidic, *κατα* is never borrowed; the number is repeated (a Coptic device which is also attested in koinê Greek). In Bohairic, on the other hand, there is a systemic opposition between \emptyset -determined numbers (*κατα* systematically occurs + doubling) and determined numbers (*κατα* is never used, only doubling).

Sahidic ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΡΛΥΝΤΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ
Bohairic ΠΙΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΞΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ ΝΗΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ
 the_Spirit which_is_holy (he)_testify:INF for_me DISTRIB town
 “The Holy Spirit testifies for me from town to town”

Spatial extension (“throughout”) – Bohairic only

Greek οὔτε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς οὔτε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν (Acta 24.12)

Sahidic ΟΥΔΕ ΖΝ ΝΕΥΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΝ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ
Bohairic ΟΥΔΕ ΞΕΝ ΝΙΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ
 neither in the_synagogues neither in (the)_city

“(And they did not find me either in the temple) [...] or in the synagogues or in the city”

When mapped on the semantic map suggested in §3.2.1, the analysis of the senses of *κατα* in the *NT* books, can be summarized as follows:

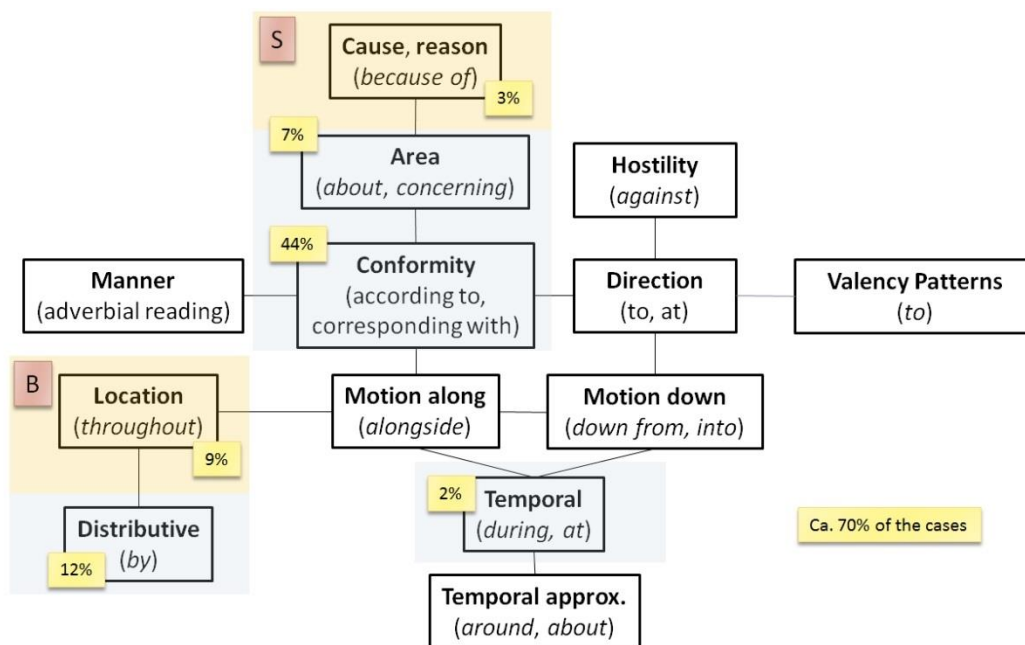


Fig. 6. The meanings covered by *κατα* in Sahidic and Bohairic

3.3.2 The entrenchment of *κατα* in the Coptic grammatical system

Following Shisha-Halevy (1986), one can suggest that the assimilation [or integration] scale of a loanword such as *κατα* can be established “in terms of productivity, of integration into the Coptic semasiological system, and (sometimes) in terms of phonological structure and properties – all three criteria presupposing in-depth monographic investigation [...]”

It obviously falls out of the scope of the present paper to evaluate all these dimensions regarding the integration of *kata* in the Coptic grammatical system of the new testament, but some points should be pinpointed.

First, it is worth noticing that *κατα* is used productively in Coptic when Greek has another construction (e.g. *πρός* or *διά* + acc., adverbs, etc. [7 examples]).

Greek πρὸς – **Coptic** κατὰ

<i>Greek</i>	πρὸς	τὸ θέλημα	αὐτοῦ [...] (Luke 12.14)
	following	the_will	his
<i>Sahidic</i>	κατὰ	πεϥ	οϥωϩ
	according	his	will

“And that servant who knew his master’s will but did not get ready or act according to his will”

Second, the comparative locution ‘κατὰ θε + relative clause’²¹ (litt. “after the manner that”) translates the following Greek adverbs and conjunctions: ὡς [6], ὡσπερ [2], ὡσαύτως), ἐφ’ ᾧ [1; ‘because of this’], καθὰ [1], καθότι [4], καθάπερ [10], ὁμοίως καθὼς [1], καθὼς [170].

Greek καθὼς – **Coptic** κατὰ θε

<i>Greek</i>	καθὼς	γέγραπται	περὶ	αὐτοῦ (Matt 26.24)
	as	is_written	about	him
<i>Sahidic</i>	κατὰ	θε	ετ-σηρ	ετβηητ=ϥ
	according_to	manner	REL-is_written	about=him

“As it is written about him”

However, even if κατὰ inflects for person-marking in Coptic (pre-pronominal κατὰρο=), this allomorph seems to be systematically avoided in the *NT* translation. The only exception is found in Sahidic (but never in Bohairic) when κατὰ expresses pronominal reflexivity:

Sahidic – **Bohairic** κατὰ

<i>Greek</i>	νεκρά ἐστιν καθ’ ἑαυτήν (Jac 2.17)
<i>Sahidic</i>	εμοουτ κατὰρο=ϥ
<i>Bohairic</i>	μωουτ ϩαριϩαρο=ϥ
	it_is_dead REFL=3SF/3SM

“(So also, the faith, if it does not have works,) is dead by itself”

4 Conclusions

First, the semantics of the borrowed preposition in Coptic is much richer than one could imagine when looking at the existing grammatical and lexicographical descriptions: mostly conceptual senses, but also spatial (*throughout*) and temporal (*during*) ones are borrowed. This case-study suggests that languages do not “simply” borrow a *vocable*, i.e. a couple associating a *signifiant* with all its *signifiés*, (global-copying) from the source language, but one or several specific *signifié(s)* associated with a *significant* (selective copying).

One step further, one observes clear, even if limited, differences between the meanings borrowed in Sahidic on the one hand and Bohairic on the other. The structure, system of opposition, of the target language, constrains the outcome of the borrowing in terms of PAT. Therefore, it could be better to talk of *adaptive copying* rather than selective copying.

²¹ See Layton (2004: 505-506) regarding the adverbial expression of comparison *just as, as* $\bar{n}\theta\epsilon$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha-\theta\epsilon$. Comparison of equality can also be introduced either by the Coptic expression $^S n-t-he \neq ^B m-p^h-r\acute{e}ti$ “as, like (lit. in the way/manner)”. Sometimes, other words of similar semantics such as *smot* “pattern”, *mine* “sort, quality, manner”, *k’ot* “size, form”, or $^B mai\acute{e}$ “kind” are employed (see Müller to appear).

Regarding the kinds of meaning borrowed, the frequency of each meaning in the source language apparently plays a major role, but cannot account for all the meaning that are borrowed (a collocational approach is needed here, cf. *κατα πολιν*). Apparently, the meanings expressed by one case (accusative) are clearly preferred over the other (genitive).

Finally, the meanings of *κατα* in Coptic do not correspond to a clearly connected region (*connectivity hypothesis*) on a semantic map. The reason for this lack of connectivity lies in the fact that the core spatial meaning *MOTION ALONG* is not borrowed in Coptic. However, it should immediately be stressed that this meaning is not at all salient in NT Greek, which can account for this lack of connectivity on the map (cf. van der Auwera's claim that the best semantic map is a diachronic semantic map).

References