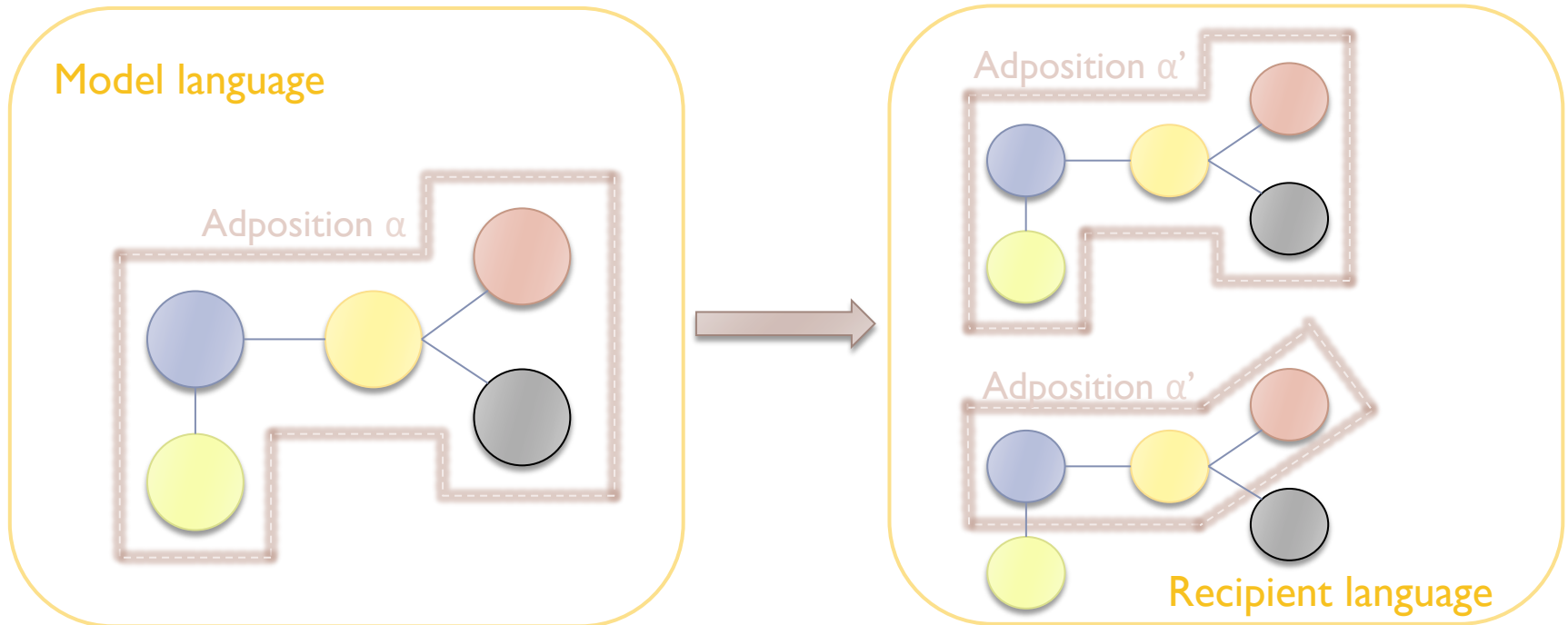


Polysemy in Language Contact

Borrowing of the Greek-origin adposition κατά in Coptic

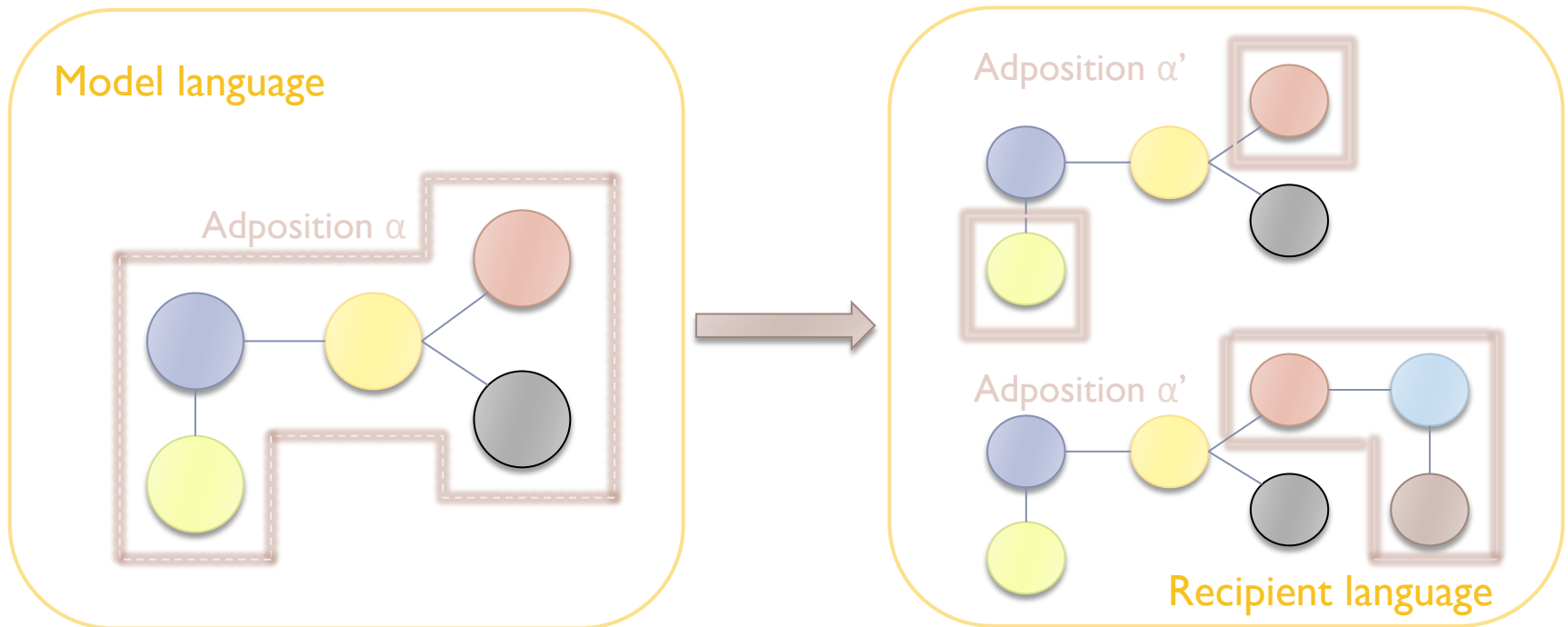
Goal

- ▶ The aim of this talk is to examine an aspect of the semantics of adposition borrowing, focusing on the extent to which polysemy networks associated with source-language adpositions are borrowed



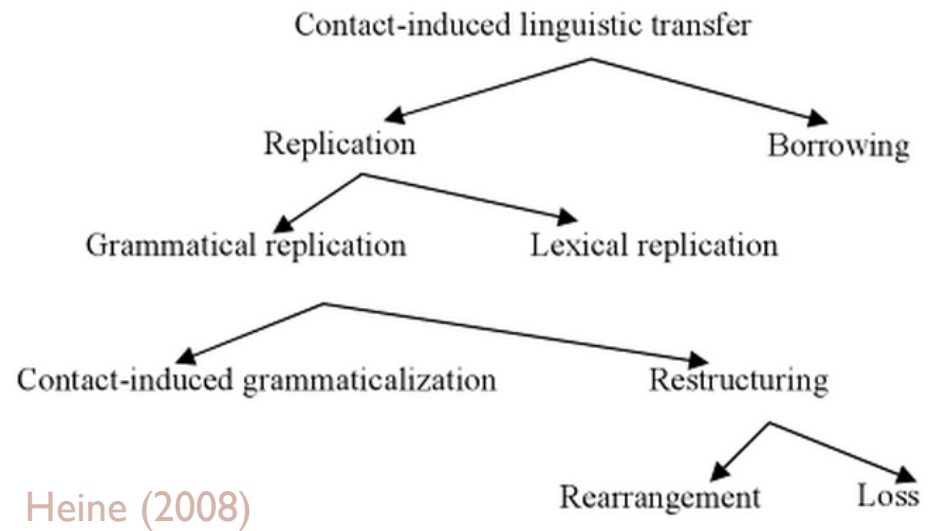
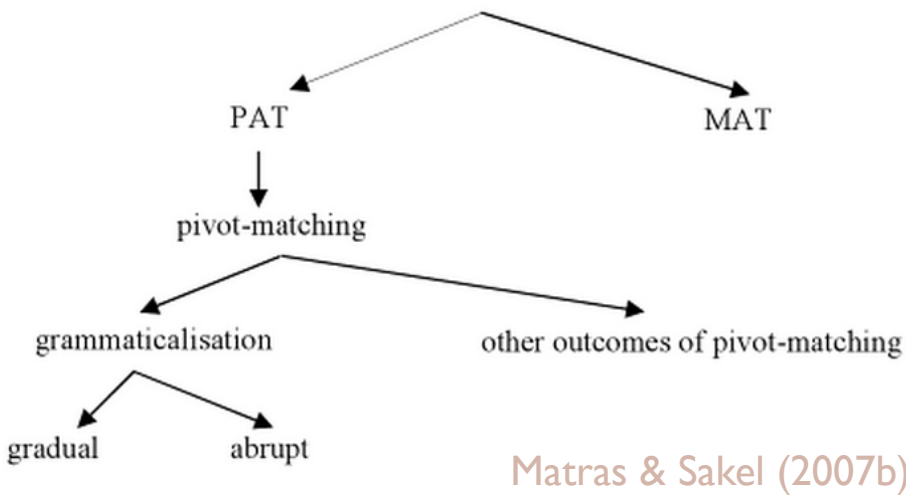
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Status quaestionis

- ▶ Polysemy networks and language contact phenomena
 - ▶ Polysemy networks have been dealt with intensively in analyses of **PAT transfers**



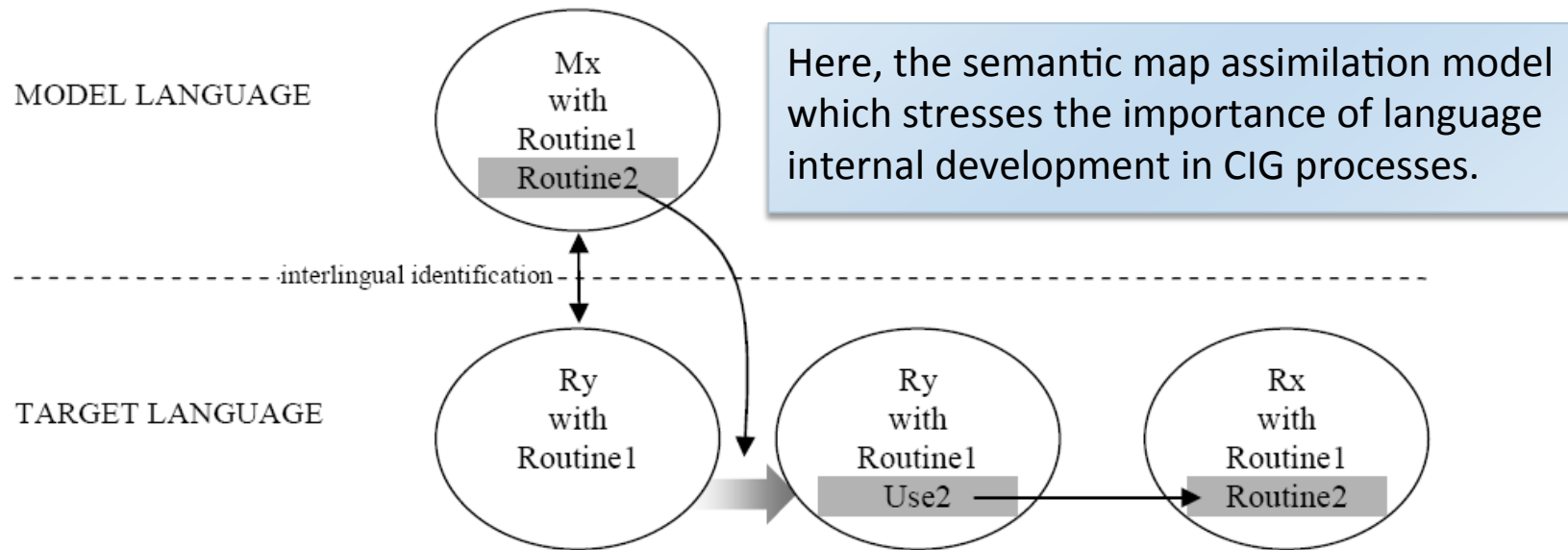
- ▶ MAT(ter) transfer (or *borrowing*): when morphological material and its phonological shape from one language is replicated in another language
- ▶ PAT(tern) transfer, *calque* or *replication*: when only the pattern of the other language is replicated, i.e. the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical and semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed

Status quaestionis

- ▶ Polysemy networks and language contact phenomena
 - ▶ Polysemy networks have been dealt with intensively in analyses of **PAT transfers**
 - ▶ It became an especially hot topic recently, as a follow-up to the ‘language-internal’ grammaticalization studies, i.e. **C(ontact) I(nduced) G(rammaticalization)**
 - ▶ The kinds of PAT-transfer that involves polysemy received various labels over the 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*
 - ▶ These labels refer to different ways of describing, understanding and explaining contact-induced language changes that involve **polysemy**, or more precisely, new patterns of polysemy/polyfunctionality that occur under the impact of language contact.

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 - ▶ The basic principle can be phrased 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, the number of functions of y in R is extended, based on the polysemy network of x .

Hebrew (age 4-6) - R

ze avál yafé!

This but nice

“This is very nice indeed!”

German - M

Das ist aber schön!

This is but nice

“This is very nice indeed!”

Matras (2009: 26)

Status quaestionis

- ▶ Polysemy networks and language contact phenomena
 - ▶ Polysemy networks have been dealt with intensively in analyses of **PAT transfers**
 - ▶ Much less interest for this topic in the framework of **MAT transfers**
 - ▶ The borrowing of signs, i.e. of form-meaning pairings, has been neglected to some extent for the grammatical items
 - ▶ Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005, 2012, etc.) refrained explicitly from examining MAT transfers, i.e. borrowed items, in their study of grammatical change

Status quaestionis

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However, Wiemer & Wälchli (2012) 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)

They stress that

**“A major question is how much pattern structure
a borrowed items can possibly drag along.”**

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This leads to distinguishing 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
2. **'Neglected'**: as carrier of what kind of PAT?

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Traditional approaches to borrowability already paid attention to functional aspects of borrowing, e.g. Aikhenvald (2007: 26-35) who lists (at the 16th and last position in her list of favouring factors) **'Unifunctionality and semantic transparency'** => avoidance of polysemic items

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As carrier of what kind of PAT?

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

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); 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”)

Status quaestionis

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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 regarding other semantic domains or about polysemic items

What is needed?

- ▶ Corpus based case-studies of the transfer of polysemic items
- ▶ The borrowing of Greek prepositions in Coptic will do
 - ▶ Adpositions are highly polysemous items
 - ▶ For a start, we have at our disposal the most famous parallel corpus, namely the Bible (on the Bible text as parallel corpus for language comparison, see Cysouw & Wälchli 2007; Granger 2010; Mayer & Cysouw, here).
- ▶ One *caveat*: the corpus investigated is limited to the New Testament (5000 lemmata; 140,000 words). As such:
 - ▶ The observations apply only to this corpus and not to ‘Greek’ or ‘Coptic’ in general.
 - ▶ Generalizations that are proposed here are purely tentative and should be elaborated further based on other case-studies. See Matras & Sakel (2007: 3) on some generalizations about borrowing that have been proposed with reference to a case study of just one single contact situation (e.g. Haugen 1950, van Hout and Muysken 1994, Ross 2001, Field 2002)

Outline of the case-study

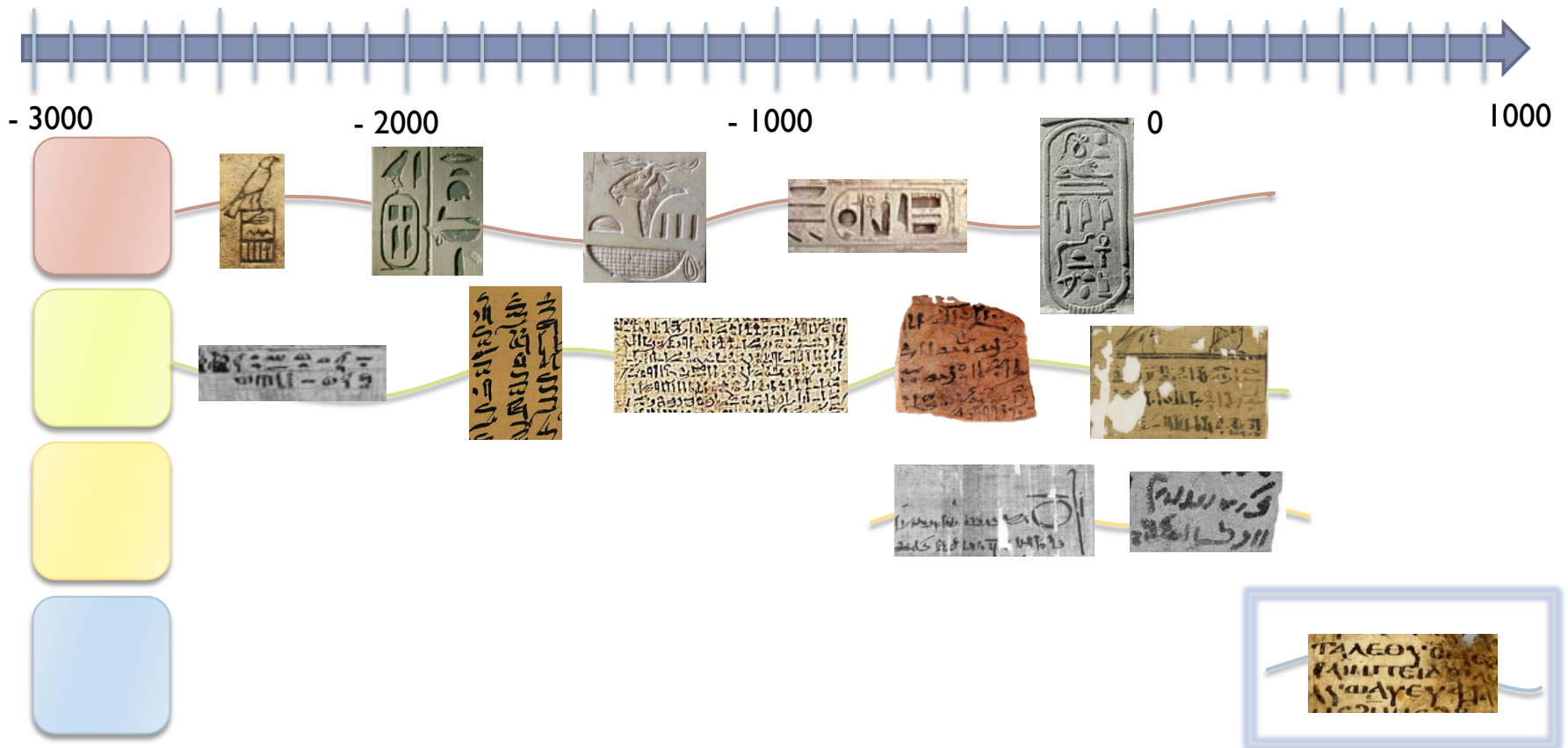
- ▶ Background
 - ▶ The language contact situation: Greek and Coptic
 - ▶ The Greek-origin prepositions in Coptic
- ▶ The polysemy network of κατά in Greek
- ▶ The polysemy network of κατα in Coptic
 - ▶ Sahidic
 - ▶ Bohairic
- ▶ Morphosyntactic integration of κατα in Coptic
- ▶ Conclusions



Contact situation: The Coptic language

▶ Coptic

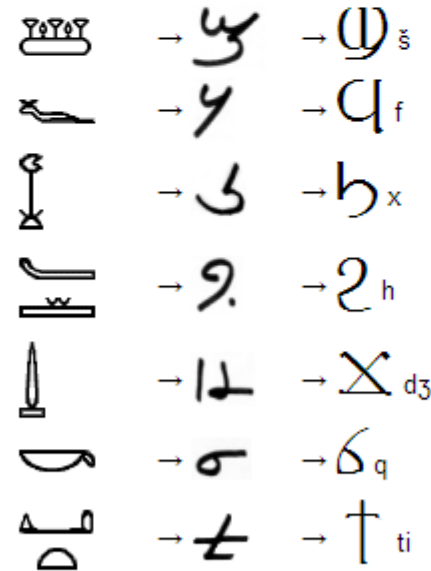
- ▶ Latest stage of the Ancient Egyptian language (2nd-14th A.D.)



Contact situation: The Coptic language

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- ▶ Script: Greek alphabet + 6/7 graphemes (> Demotic > Hieroglyphs)



Contact situation: The Coptic language

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- ▶ Latest stage of the Ancient Egyptian language (2nd-14th A.D.)
- ▶ Script: Greek alphabet + 6/7 graphemes (> Demotic > Hieroglyphs)
- ▶ Significant dialectal variation
 - ▶ A(khmimic)
 - ▶ B(ohairic)
 - ▶ F(aiyumatic)
 - ▶ L(ycopolitan)
 - ▶ M(esokemic) or M(iddle Egyptian)
 - ▶ S(ahidic)



Contact situation: Greek and Coptic

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▶ Greek and Coptic

- ▶ When the first texts written in Coptic emerge in our documentation, Egypt is a multilingual society for centuries, which implies that, by that time, the Egyptian language had long been subject to contact-induced language change
- ▶ Greek holds an exceptional position by the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.: *lingua franca* (as everywhere else in the Middle East since the campaigns of Alexander the Great) and associated with high social prestige due to its usage by the elite

Contact situation: Greek and Coptic

▶ Coptic

- ▶ Latest stage of the Ancient Egyptian language (2nd-14th A.D.)
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▶ Greek and Coptic

▶ Coptic of the New Testament

- ▶ The texts of the corpus on which the case-study relies, however, do not only testify of this long contact situation: it is a corpus of **translated texts**. As Shisha-Halevy (1990: 100, n. 4) puts it, the kind of language contact between Greek and Coptic “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.**’”

Greek-origin prepositions in Coptic

Greek form	Coptic form		Coptic meaning
ἀντί	ⲁⲛⲧⲓ	<i>anti</i>	“instead of”
κατά	ⲕⲁⲧⲁ	<i>kata</i>	“according to, by (distributive)”
παρά	ⲡⲁⲮⲁ	<i>para</i>	“beyond”
πρός	ⲡⲮⲠⲟⲥ	<i>pros</i>	“for” (temporal)
χωρίς	ⲭⲠⲮⲓⲥ	<i>khôris</i>	“without”
ὡς	ⲒⲠⲠⲟⲥ	<i>hôs</i>	“likes, as”

- ▶ Harmonic linear order
- ▶ Unlike Greek prepositions, Greek-origins prepositions in Coptic have:
 - ▶ No case endings on the complement (!semantics!)
 - ▶ No relationship with compound verbs or free adverbial element (as do the “proper” Greek prepositions)

Greek-origin prepositions in Coptic

Dialects	κατα <i>kata</i>	προς <i>pros</i>	παρα <i>para</i>	χως <i>hôs</i>	χωρις <i>k^hôris</i>	αντι <i>anti</i>
Mesokem.	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Light blue	Diagonal lines	Light blue	Light blue
Akhmimic	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Light blue	Light blue	Diagonal lines
Fayyumic	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue
Lycopol.	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue	Light blue
Bohairic	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Light blue
Sahidic	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines	Diagonal lines

- ▶ The Coptic dialects do not necessarily borrow the same prepositions in the extant documents, which leads to a rough hierarchy of preposition borrowing in Coptic (Grossman 2010):

κατα (*kata*) > προς (*pros*), παρα (*para*) > χως (*hôs*), χωρις (*k^hôris*) > αντι (*anti*)

Greek-origin prepositions in Coptic

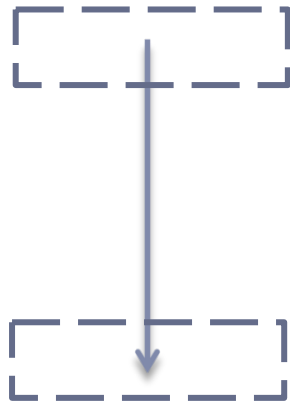
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The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

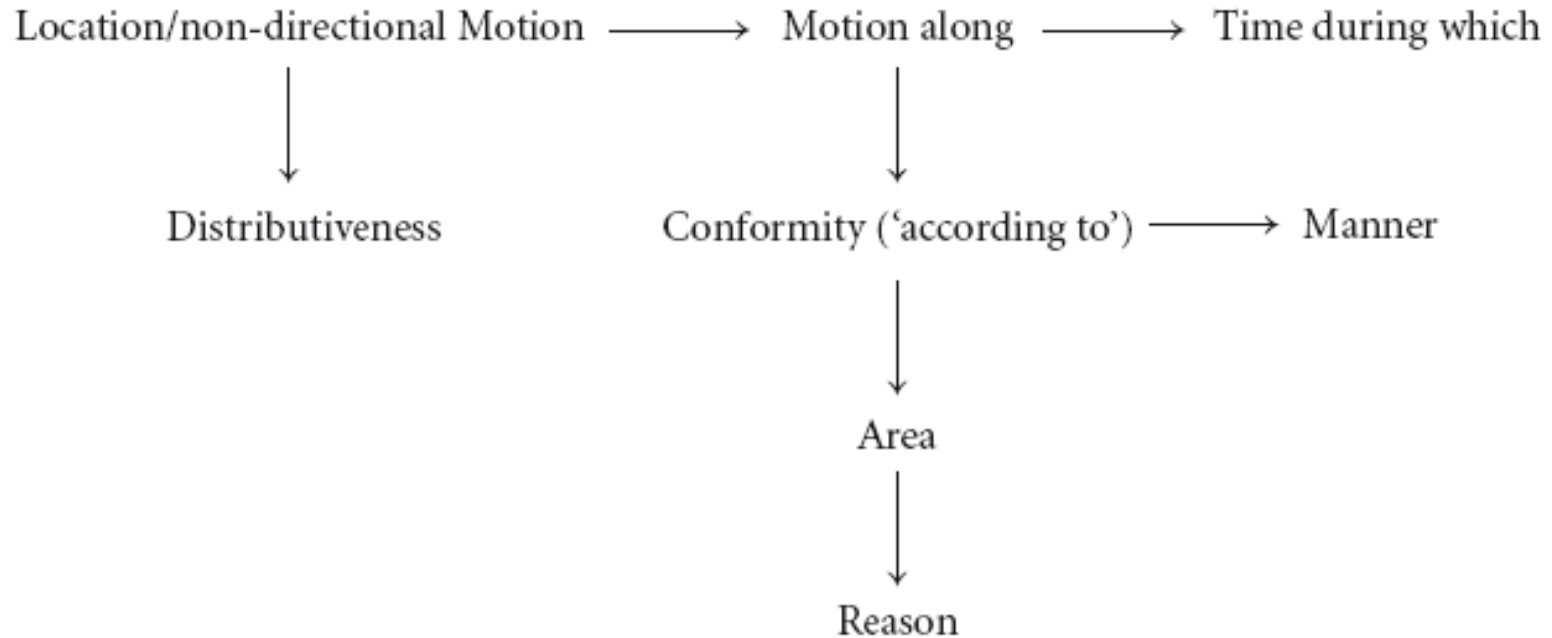
- ▶ Attested since Homer down to today
- ▶ Regarding its semantics, there seem to be an agreement among the scholars that this preposition implies a(n originally downwards) **trajectory**
- ▶ It governs two cases
 - ▶ Genitive. Spatial meaning: down (from or upon into)
 - ▶ Accusative. Spatial meaning: throughout, along(side)



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- ▶ Significant expansion of the meanings associated with κατά in the diachrony of Ancient Greek

The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

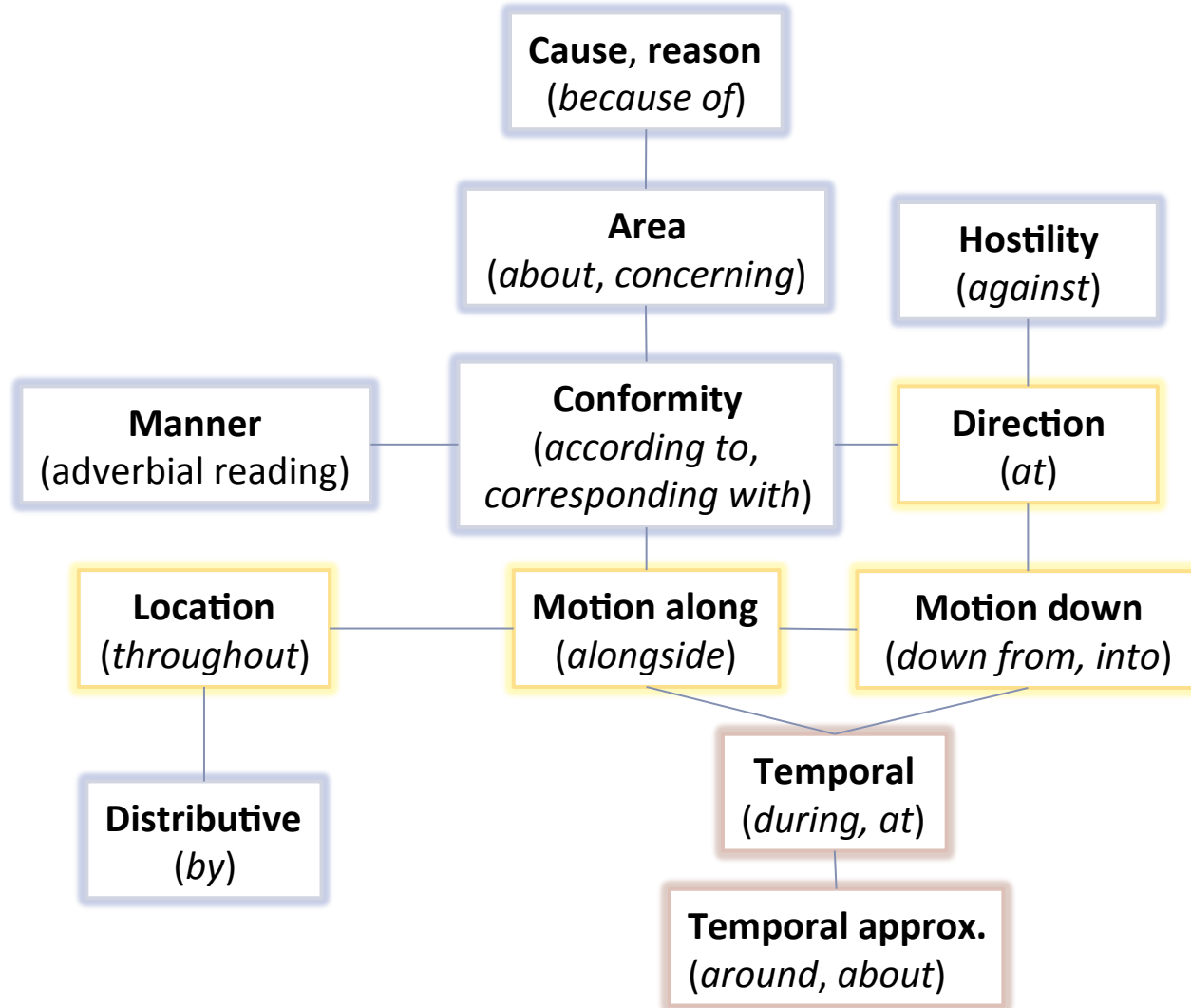


The meaning extensions of κατά with the accusative in Ionic-Attic after Luraghi (2003: 213)

The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

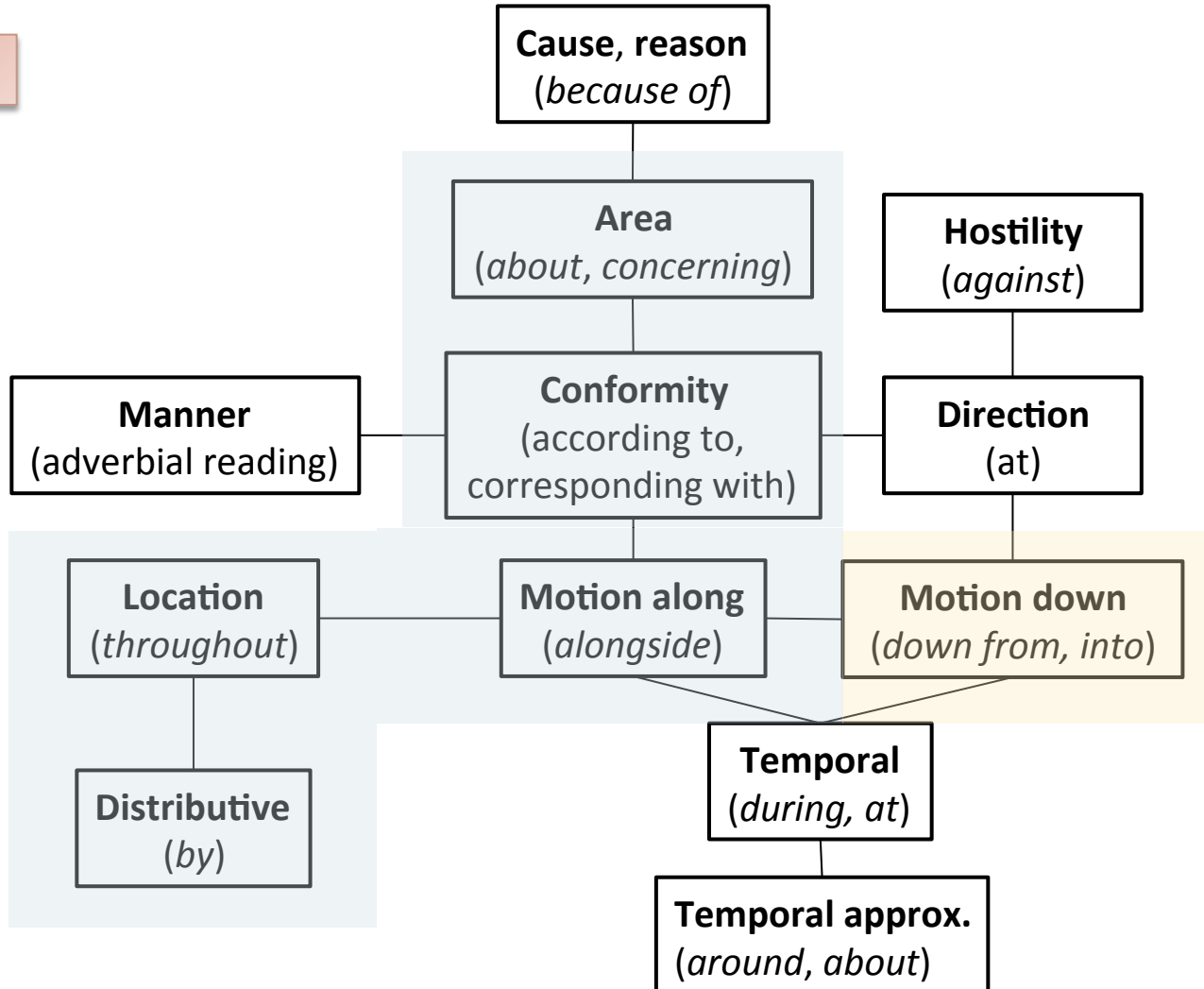
	MEANING	SPECIFIC	1 ST OCC.	EXAMPLES
+ GEN. [71-74 occurrences]	Space; denoting motion from above	<i>down from someth.</i> [cf. ABL.]	[Hom.↓]	PL., <i>Lg.</i> 944a: κ. κρημνῶν ῥιφέντες “being thrown <i>down from</i> the bank”
	Space; denoting downwards motion	<i>down upon, over, into↓, below</i> [from to — => <i>at the back of</i>] (resultative aspect → all types of predicates)	[Hom.↑]	PL., <i>R.</i> 398a: μύρον κ. τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέαντες “having spilt perfume <i>down over</i> the head; HOM., <i>II</i> , 23.100: ψυχὴ κ. χθονὸς ὤχετο “the soul went <i>down under</i> the earth” [also geom. with the meaning upon: αἱ γωνίαι κ. κύκλων περιφερειῶν ἐνεχθήσονται the angles will move <i>on</i> the circumferences of circles]
	Space; denoting motion	<i>towards</i>	[Koinê]	HDN, 6.7.8: τοξεύειν κ. σκοποῦ “to shoot <i>at</i> a guardian”
	Space; denoting extension	<i>throughout</i>	[Post.class. (e.g. Lucan, Polyb.)]	POLYB., 3.19.7: κ. τῆς νήσου διεσάπρησαν “they scattered <i>throughout</i> the island” [ACC. expected]
	Time; extension	<i>for</i>	[Class.]	IG ¹² .94.37 [418/7 ^a] μισθοῦν κ. εἴκοσι ἐτῶν “to rent <i>for</i> twenty years” [mainly epigraphic]
	Metaph.; <i>by, towards, against</i>	In oath; <i>by or towards</i>	[Class.]	[swear by] LYS., 32.13: ἐπιτορκήσασα κ. τῶν παιδῶν “having sworn <i>by</i> the children” [swear towards, of offering; rare]
		In hostile sense [male-factive]; <i>against</i>	[Class.]	AR., <i>Lys.</i> , 22.7: ψεύδεσθαι κατὰ τινος “to lie <i>against</i> someone”
		Concerning	[Class.]	PL., <i>Ap.</i> 37b: λέγειν κατὰ τινος “to say <i>of</i> s/one”

The polysemy network of κατά in Greek



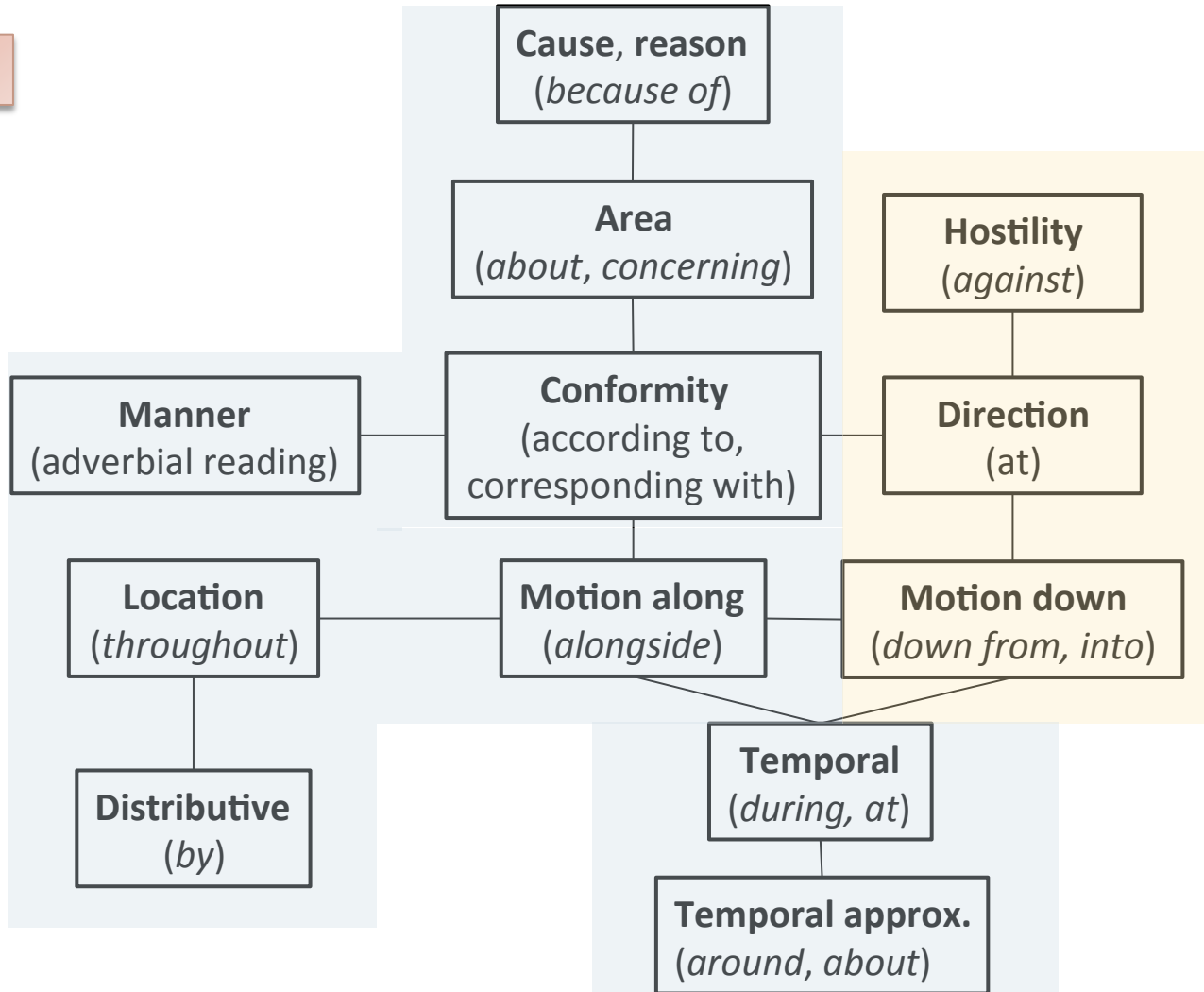
The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

Homeric Greek



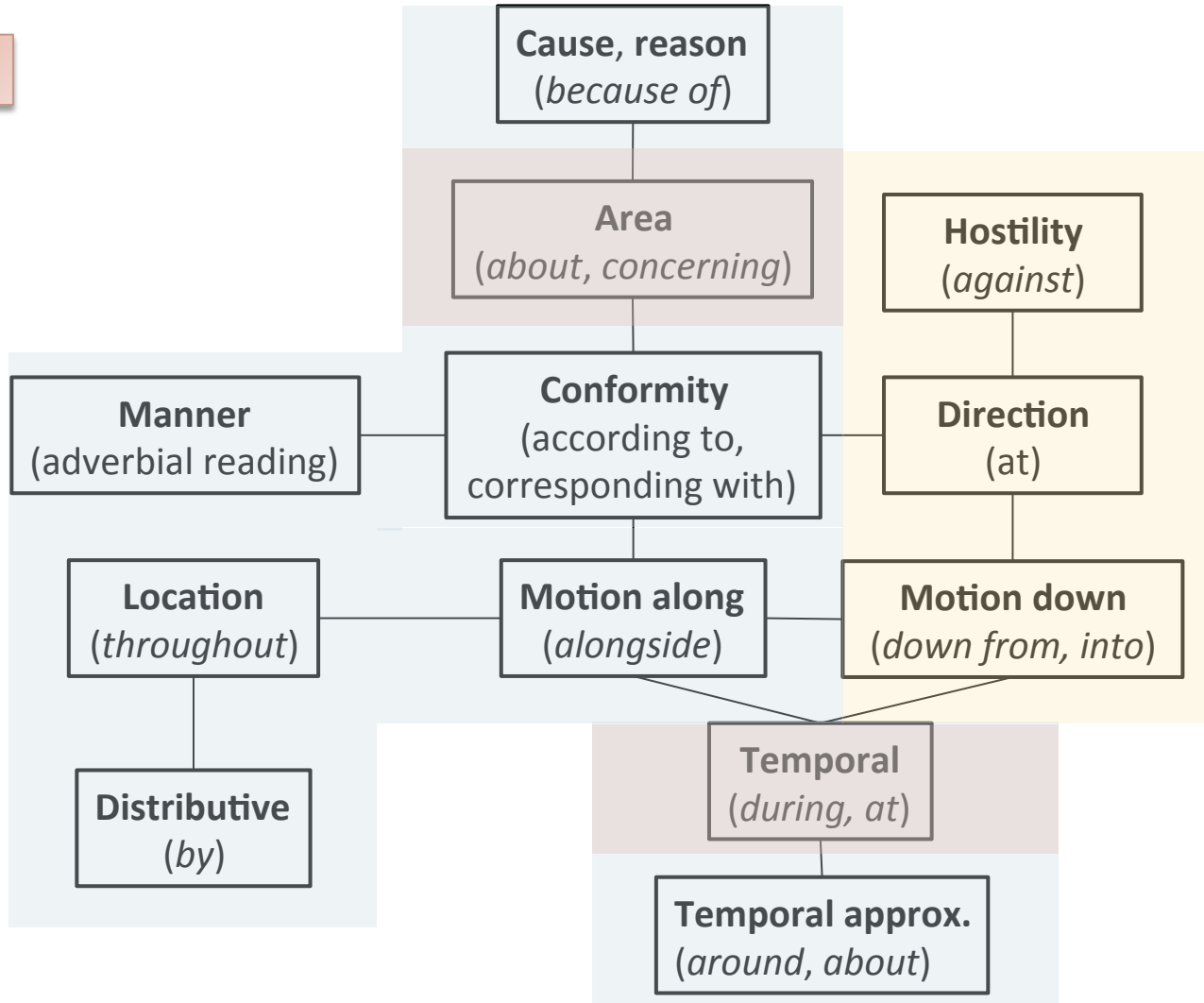
The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

Classical Greek



The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

Classical Greek



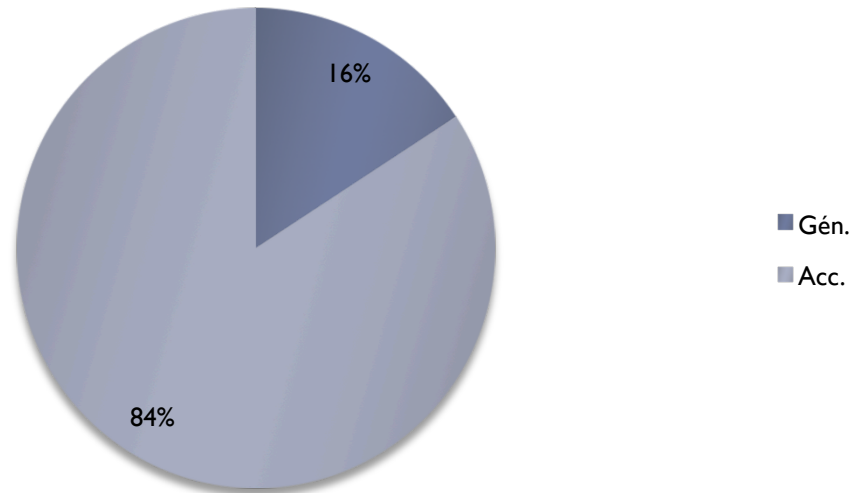
The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

- ▶ In NT koinê Greek, κατά underwent considerable changes
 - ▶ It is 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”
 - ▶ For the main tendencies of the evolution 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.)
- ▶ Regard (1919) : “[l]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*.”

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κατά in the NT

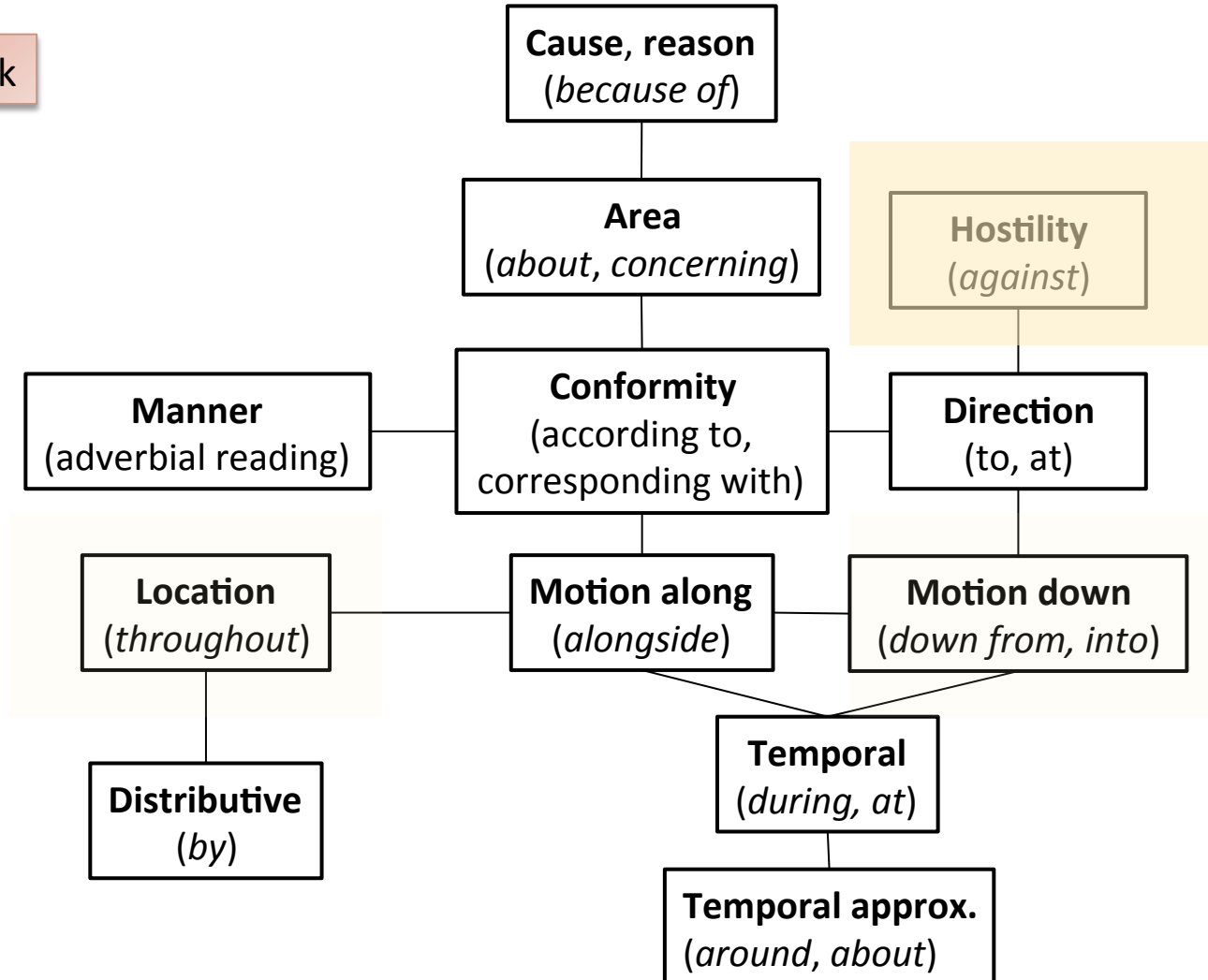


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- ▶ κατά + genitive (74 occurrences in the NT)
 - ▶ The spatial meanings “**down** from” (1 occ.) and “**down** over, into” (9 occ.) are residual. For the Ptolemaic Greek, see Mayser (1934: 428): “[d]ie locale Bedeutung (von – herab) ist völlig erloschen.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

The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

NT Koinê Greek

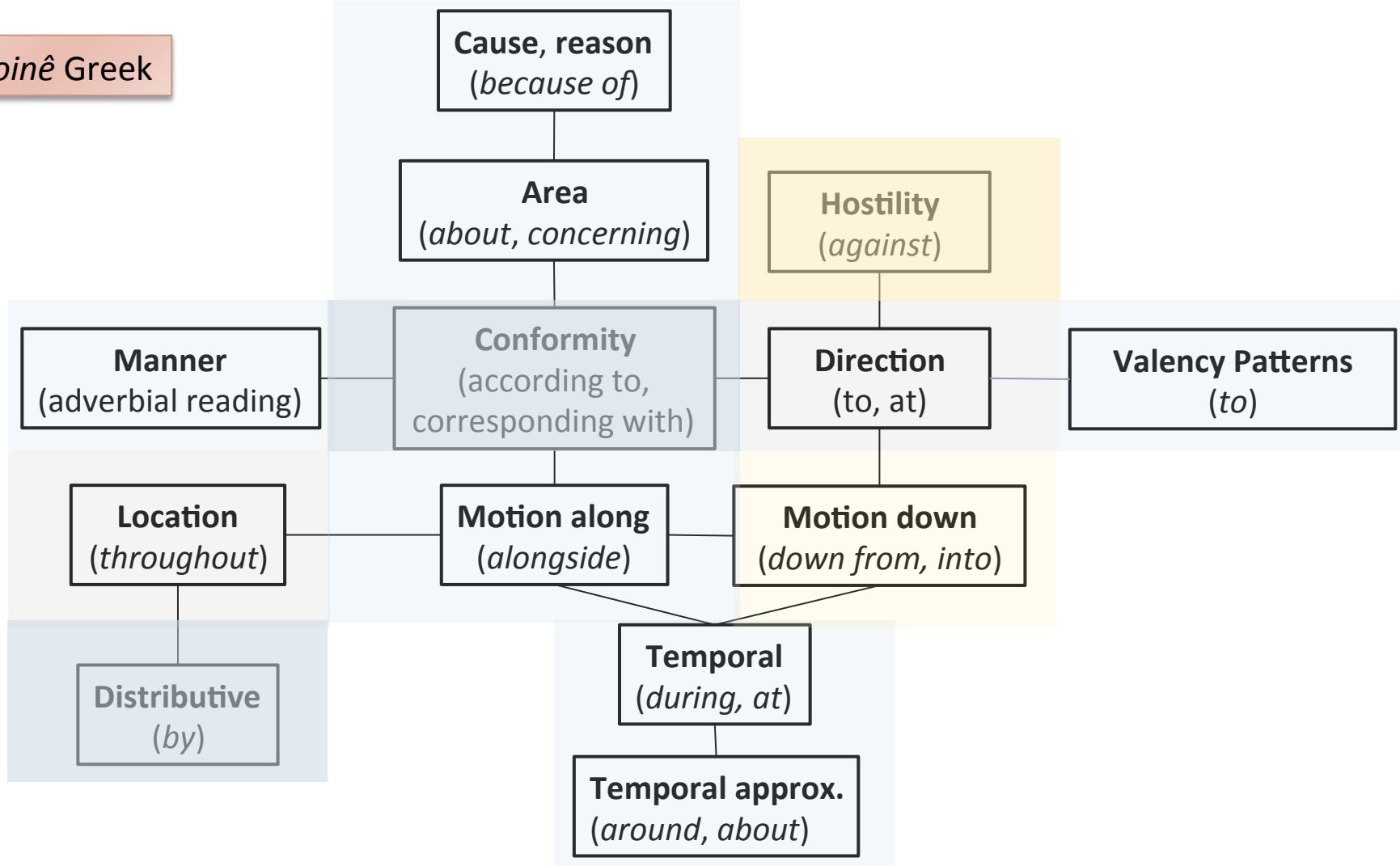


The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

- ▶ In NT koinê Greek, κατά underwent considerable changes
- ▶ 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*.”
- ▶ κατά + genitive (74 occurrences in the NT)
- ▶ κατά + accusative (396 occurrences in the NT)
 - ▶ 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]
 - ▶ The **distributive** meaning is also well attested (57 occ.) [CONCEPTUAL SPHERE]
 - ▶ **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 explain the fact that, at the same time, the preposition enters valency-patterns (e.g. Acta 27.12: [...] λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον “a harbour of Crete facing both southwest and northwest).

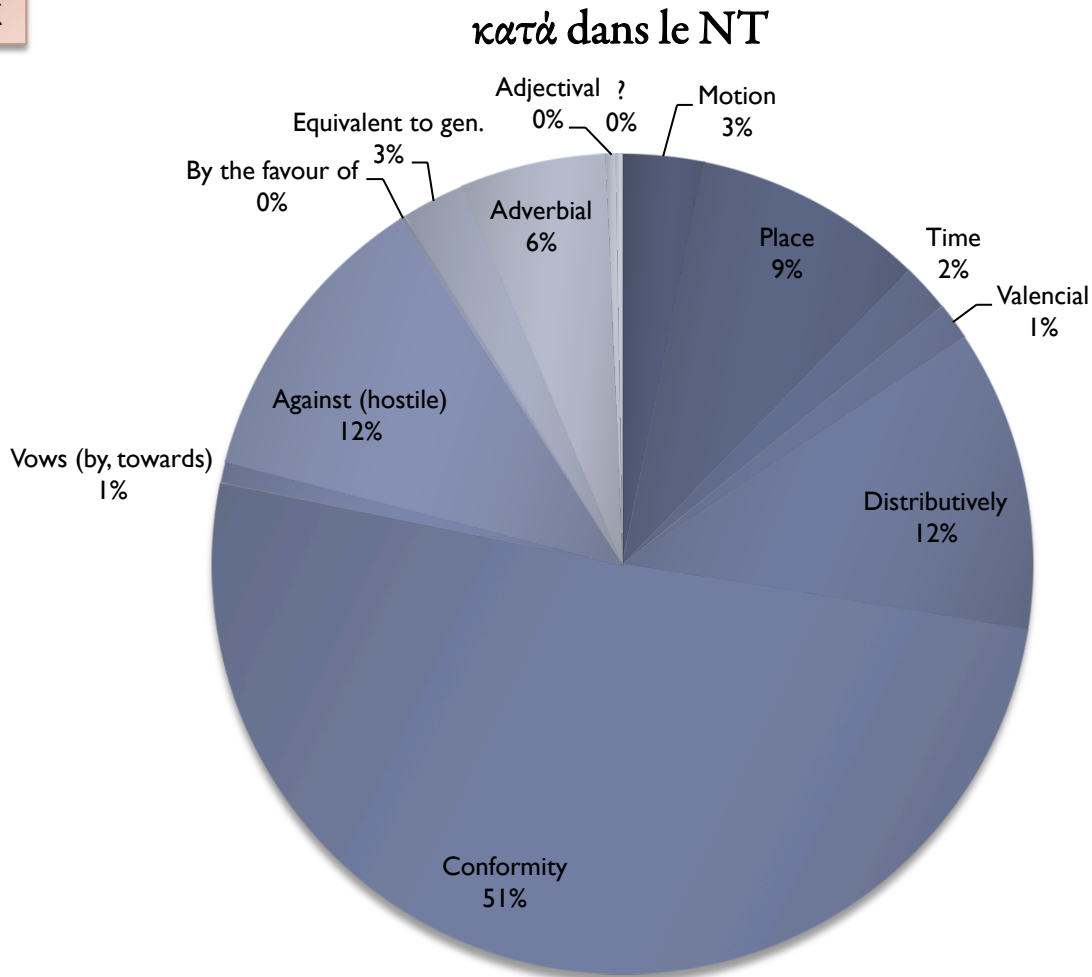
The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

NT Koinê Greek



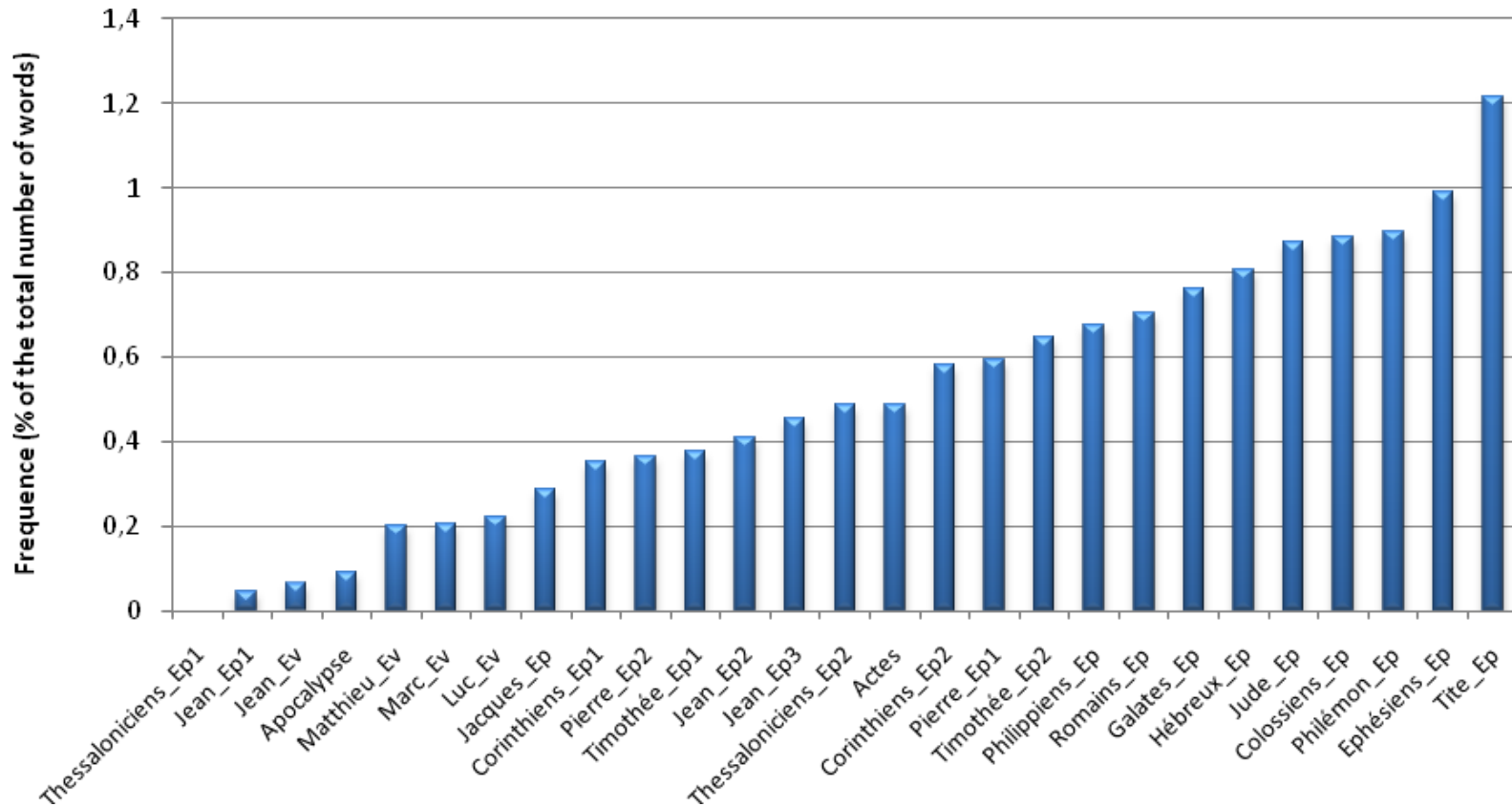
The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

NT Koinê Greek



The polysemy network of κατά in Greek

NT Koinê Greek



The polysemy network of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ in Coptic

- ▶ In the grammatical descriptions of Coptic
 - ▶ “according to, like” (see e.g. Shisha-Halevy 1986: 58; Layton ²2004: §200-202)
 - ▶ “by” [distributive]; this preposition “can also have a distributional interpretation” (Reintges 2004: 110)
- ▶ It would mean that, among all the functions attested for the preposition in Post-Classical Greek, Coptic only borrowed the **two best attested meaning of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ + ACC.**
 - ▶ Frequency matters: respectively 51% and 12%
 - ▶ Both belong to the “conceptual domain” (expected on the scale of borrowability)

The polysemy network of *κατά* in Coptic

- ▶ In the grammatical descriptions of Coptic
- ▶ It would mean that, among all the functions attested for the preposition in Post-Classical Greek, Coptic only borrowed the **two best attested meaning of *κατά* + ACC.**
- ▶ What do we see in the Coptic translations of the NT?
 - ▶ The meanings expressed by *κατά* + genitive are never PAT-transferred
 - ▶ Frequency is not the only argument, since the meaning expressed by *κατά* + genitive are never borrowed (even the “hostile” meaning which occur as frequently as the distributive meaning which is borrowed)
 - ▶ 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 in CPR IV, 1,7 [VIIth-VIIIth], cf. Förster 2002: 384)
 - ▶ The fact that *κατά* + GÉN. was not borrowed has not been a constraint forbidding the borrowing of Greek verbs and nouns such as *καταφρονει* “to disdain”, *καταλαλει* “to slander”, etc. 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*

The polysemy network of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ in Coptic

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- ▶ It would mean that, among all the functions attested for the preposition in Post-Classical Greek, Coptic only borrowed the **two best attested meaning of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ + ACC.**
- ▶ What do we see in the Coptic translations of the NT?
 - ▶ The meanings expressed by $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ + genitive are never PAT-transferred
 - ▶ Several meanings expressed by $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ + accusative are PAT-transferred

The polysemy network of *κατά* in Coptic

- ▶ In the grammatical descriptions of Coptic
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Conformity
(according to,
corresponding with)

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

ερε πχοεις τωωβε ναϭ κατα νεϭρβηγε

ερε πβοιϭ †ωεβιω ναϭ κατα νεϭρβηογι

The Lord will repay him according to his deeds

The polysemy network of *κατά* in Coptic

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Area

(about, concerning)

κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γινόμενος ἄμεμπτος (Phil 3.6)

αιψωπε νατνοβε κατα τδικαιοςυνη ετψοοπ ρμ πινομος

κατα †μεθμη ετηεν πινομος αιψωπι ειοι ναταρικι

As to righteousness, being under the law blameless

The polysemy network of *κατά* in Coptic

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μη σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν [...] κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (Heb 3.8)

ⲙⲡⲣⲓⲛⲱⲟⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲓⲫⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ [...] ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲤ ⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲤ
 ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲓⲛⲱⲟⲧ ⲛⲕⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲫⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ [...] ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲤ ⲛⲓⲣⲏⲓ ⲓⲛ
 ⲡⲱⲁⲕⲉ

Do not harden your hearts as in the rebellion, during the day of testing in the wilderness

Temporal
(during, at)

The polysemy network of *κατά* in Coptic

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Distributive
(*by*)

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

ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΡΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ

ΠΙΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΤΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ ΝΗΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ

The Holy Spirit testifies for me from town to town

The polysemy network of *κατά* in Coptic

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Distributive
(*by*)

ἐξηγεῖτο καθ' ἕνα ἕνα τῶν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς (Acta 21.19)

αχταγε πογα πογα ννερβηγε ντα πνουτε ααγ

ναχσαχι βατοτοου κατα ουαι ουαι ννη ετα φνουτ αιτου

He related one by one the things that God had done

The polysemy network of *κατα* in Coptic

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Εἰ ἔξεστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπολῦσαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν
(Matt 19.3)

ENEZECETEI MPRWME ENOYXE EBOL NTECZIME **KATA** AITIA NIW
AN CWE NTEPIRWMI ZI TECZIMI EBOL **HEN** NOBI NIBEN

Is it allowed to divorce one's wife for any reason?

Cause, reason
(*because of*)

The polysemy network of *κατά* in Coptic

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- ▶ It would mean that, among all the functions attested for the preposition in Post-Classical Greek, Coptic only borrowed the **two best attested meaning of *κατά* + ACC.**
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οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὗρόν με [...] οὔτε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς οὔτε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
(Acta 24.12)

[...] ΟΥΔΕ ΖΗ ΝΕΥΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ

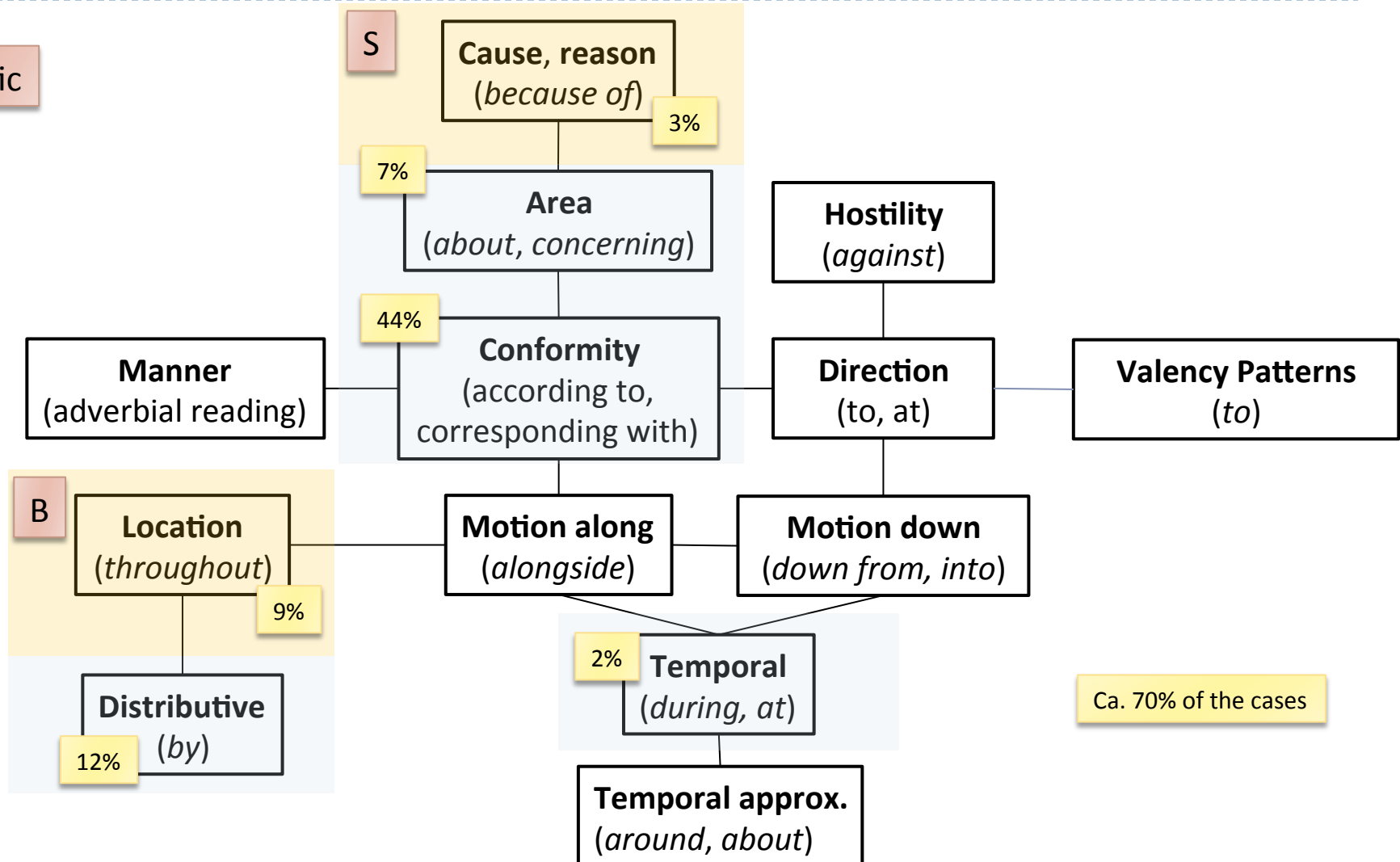
[...] ΟΥΔΕ ΞΕΝΝΙΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ

And they did not find me either in the temple or in the synagogues or in the city

Location
(*throughout*)

The polysemy network of *κατα* in Coptic

Coptic



The morphosyntactic integration of **κατα**

- ▶ The assimilation [or integration] scale of a loanword 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 [...]” (Shisha-Halevy 1986)
 - ▶ Used productively in Coptic when Greek has another construction (e.g. *πρός* or *διά* + acc., adverbs, etc. (7 examples).
 - ▶ The comparative locution ‘*κατα* *θε* + relative clause’ (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]
 - ▶ It inflects for person marking in Coptic, even though the pre-pronominal allomorph *καταρο*= seems to be systematically avoided in the NT translation

ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ’ ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήμασιν (Acta 17.28)

ΝΘΕ ΟΝ ΝΤΑΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ

ΜΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΥΧΟΣ ΝΧΕΖΑΝΚΕΧΩΟΥΝΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΝΙΠΟΙΤΗΣ ΕΤΞΕΝ ΘΗΝΟΥ ΧΕ

As even some of your own poets have said [...]

The morphosyntactic integration of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$

- ▶ The assimilation [or integration] scale of a loanword 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 [...]” (Shisha-Halevy 1986)
 - ▶ Used productively in Coptic when Greek has another construction (e.g. $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ or $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ + acc., adverbs, etc. (7 examples).
 - ▶ The comparative locution ‘ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon$ + relative clause’ (litt. “after the manner that”) translates the following Greek adverbs and conjunctions: $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ [6], $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ [2], $\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma$), $\acute{\epsilon}\phi’\acute{\omega}$ [1; ‘because of this’], $\kappa\alpha\theta\grave{\alpha}$ [1], $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{o}\tau\iota$ [4], $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho$ [10], $\acute{o}\mu\acute{o}\iota\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ [1], $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ [170]
 - ▶ It inflects for person marking in Coptic, even though the pre-pronominal allomorph $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho$ = seems to be systematically avoided in the NT translation
 - ▶ Only S have it for reflexive meanings

The morphosyntactic integration of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$

- ▶ However, as Grossman (2010) noted, unlike other Coptic prepositions
 - ▶ It does not mark valential arguments of verbs
 - ▶ It cannot be a predicate in the “adverbial predicate” clause construction (dedicated to adverbial and prepositional predicates)
 - ▶ (It is restricted collocationally)



Conclusion

- ▶ The semantics of the borrowed preposition 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
- ▶ It does not correspond to a clearly connected region (*connectivity hypothesis*) on a semantic map but rather to the more frequent meaning in the source language
- ▶ The frequency apparently plays a major role, but cannot account for all the meaning that are borrowed (collocational approach is needed here, cf. κατά πολις)
- ▶ The structure, system of opposition, of the target language, constrains the outcome of the borrowing in terms of PAT. This point is illustrated by the contrast between the uses of the preposition (PAT) in S and B (dialectal parameter is of primary significance, cf. reflexive construction)
- ▶ From global vs. Selective to *adaptative* copying