

Diachronic lexical semantics in Ancient Egyptian–Coptic

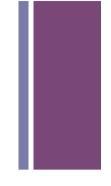
The Egyptianness of basic vocabulary in Coptic

+ Background

- It is well known that Coptic, as it comes down to us in written texts, is massively influenced by Greek in the domain of lexicon
- The Leipzig-Berlin *Dictionary and Database of Greek Loanwords in Coptic* project, headed by T. Sebastian Richter, has already recorded c. 5000 loan word types and c. 60.000 loan word tokens



Background



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- On this basis, linguists, philologists, and historians often make assumptions about the nature and extent of bilingualism. Some linguists have even proposed that Coptic is a case of 'code-mixing' of Egyptian and Greek, which assumes extensive bilingualism among Egyptians in Late Antiquity

Goal of the talk

- We tackle this question from another angle, by determining the extent to which Greek influenced Coptic in terms of its basic vocabulary
- It may be that we can learn more about bilingualism in Late Antique Egypt this way, since overall lexical borrowing need not correlate with lexical borrowing in the domain of basic vocabulary
- As a (significant) side effect of this study, we can also say something about the rate of replacement of basic vocabulary in Egyptian-Coptic across its 4000 years of attestation, as well as the semantic domains and periods in which lexical replacement was faster or slower



Basic vocabulary lists

What they are and what they're for

- The most famous lists are that of Morris Swadesh (1909-1967) in the 1950s (with first 225, then 165, 215, 200 and finally meanings)
- Basic vocabulary is an intuitive notion, as Swadesh proposed his list on an intuitive basis for his historical-comparative purposes



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1. I	11. one	21. dog	
2. you	12. two	22. louse	
3. we	13. big	23. tree	The first 00
4. this	14. long	24. seed	The first 20
5. that	15. small	25. leaf	items of the
6. what	16. woman	26. root	classical
7. who	17. man	27. bark	Swadesh list
8. not	18. person	28. skin	Swadesii iist
9. all	19. fish	29. flesh	
10. many	20. bird	30. blood	

Morris Swadesh, 1950. Salish Internal relationships, IJAL 16, p. 157-sq.

Morris Swadesh, 1952. Lexico-statistic dating of prehistoric ethnic contacts, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 96, p. 457-sq.

Morris Swadesh, 1953. Mosan I: A problem in remote common origin, IJAL 19, p. 26-sq.

Morris Swadesh, 1971. The origin and diversification of language. Chicago: Aldine.



Basic vocabulary lists

What they are and what they're for

- This list is often criticized...
- but basic vocabulary lists are widely used by linguists and anthropologists
 - Cross-linguistic comparison (e.g., measuring borrowability; Greenberg [1957: 39] already stated that basic, 'fundamental', vocabulary is much less susceptible to borrowing than non basic, 'cultural', vocabulary)
 - Determining relatedness of languages (whether and how languages are related to each other) - basic vocabulary is least likely to be borrowed, and so is better for establishing cognates
 - Synchronic description among the first words to be elicited in fieldwork

Intuitive notion of basic vocabulary in Coptic

 Every specialist in Egyptian-Coptic would probably draw up an intuitive list, based on frequency, assumed cultural importance and universality



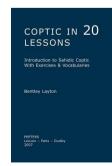
Intuitive notion of basic vocabulary in Coptic



■ An example

- Layton (2007), in the first lesson with a vocabulary list, gives a list of words from the domain of 'the family' (human being, man, woman, father, parent, mother, brother/sibling, sister, son/child, etc.) and the domain of 'authority/power' (master/lord, mistress/lady, servant/slave, power, fear, glory/honor, king/emperor, etc.), as well as a short list of grammatical items (the, this, a, of, and).
- In the vocabulary list of the second lesson, Layton adds words from the domain of 'daily life' (water, food, stone, boat, fire, city, fruit) and 'religion/ethics' (god, Jesus, Christ, sin, baptism, salvation, life, death, etc.)







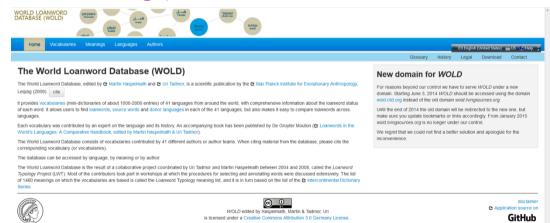
Intuitive notion of basic vocabulary in Coptic

- Every specialist in Egyptian-Coptic would probably draw up an intuitive list, based on frequency, assumed cultural importance and universality
- Such list will reflect an actual experience of Coptic texts,
- but it is probably not comparable to basic word lists in other languages, as the criteria are not explicit and much is culturallydependent



Recent empirical approach

- A large-scale typological project headed by Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor of the Linguistics Department of the Max Plank Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and its Jakarta Field Station, aiming at a crosslinguistic survey of lexical borrowing, resulted in the publication of
 - Loanwords in the world's languages: A comparative handbook, Berlin: De Gruyter (2009)
 - The World Loanword Database (online database: http://wold.clld.org/)



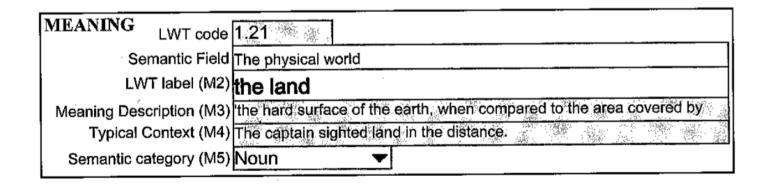






Recent empirical approach

- Methodology
 - 1460 meanings in a world-wide sample of 41 languages
 - For each meaning, specialists listed words that lexicalize the meaning, and provided rich data about the word's origin, age, analyzability, semantic field, semantic word class, and more, as well as more general information about the language contact situation









Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

Table 1: Lexical borrowing rates in LWT project languages

Borrowing type	Languages	Total words	Loanwords	Loanwords as % of total
Very high	Selice Romani	1,431	898	62.7%
borrowers	Tarifiyt Berber	1,526	789	51.7%
High borrowers	Gurindji	842	384	45.6%
High borrowers	Romanian	2,137	894	41.8%
	English	1,504	617	41.0%
	Saramaccan	1,089	417	38.3%
	Ceq Wong	862	319	37.0%
	Japanese	1,975	689	34.9%
	Indonesian	1,942	660	34.0%
	Bezhta	1,344	427	31.8%
	Kildin Saami	1,336	408	30.5%
	Imbabura Quechua	1,158	350	30.2%
	Archi	1,112	328	29.5%
	Sakha	1,411	409	29.0%
	Vietnamese	1,477	415	28.1%
	Swahili	1,610	447	27.8%
	Yaqui	1,379	366	26.5%
	Thai	2,063	539	26.1%
	Takia	1,123	291	25.99

Borrowing type	Languages	Total words	Loanwords	Loanwords as % of tota
Average borrowers	Lower Sorbian	1,671	374	22.4%
	Hausa	1,452	323	22,2%
	Mapudungun	1,236	274	22.2%
	White Hmong	1,290	273	21.2%
	Kanuri	1,427	283	19.8%
	Dutch	1,513	289	19.1%
	Malagasy	1,526	267	17.5%
	Zinacantán Tzotzil	1,217	195	16.0%
	Wichí	1,187	188	15.8%
	Q'eqchi'	1,774	266	15.0%
	Iraqw	1,117	162	14.5%
	Kali'na	1,110	. 156	14.0%
	Hawaiian	1,245	169	13.6%
	Orogen	1,138	137	12.0%
1	Hup	993	114	11.5%
	Gawwada	982	111	11.3%
	Seychelles Creole	1,879	201	10.7%
	Otomi	2,158	231	10.7%
Low borrowers	Ket	1,030	100	9.7%
	Manange	1,009	84	8.3%
	Old High German	1,203	70	5.8%
	Mandarin Chinese	2,042	25	1.2%







Recent empirical approach

- Results
 - Correlation between lexical borrowing rates and sociolinguistic situations







Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

- Correlation between lexical borrowing rates and sociolinguistic situations
- Borrowability according to semantic fields

Table 6:	Borrowing	bу	semantic	field
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Semantic field	Loanwords as % of total
Religion and belief	41.2%
Clothing and grooming	38.6%
The house	37.2%
Law	34.3%
Social and political relations	31.0%
Agriculture and vegetation	30.0%
Food and drink	29.3%
Warfare and hunting	27.9%
Possession	27.1%
Animals	25.5%
Cognition	24.2%
Basic actions and technology	23.8%
Time	23.2%
Speech and language	22.3%
Quantity	20.5%
Emotions and values	19.9%
The physical world	19.8%
Motion	17.3%
Kinship	15.0%
The body	14.2%
Spatial relations	14.0%
Sense perception	11.0%
All words	24.2%







Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

- Correlation between lexical borrowing rates and sociolinguistic situations
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Table 6:	Borrowing	by	semantic	field
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Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

- Correlation between lexical borrowing rates and sociolinguistic situations
- Borrowability according to semantic fields
- A list of the most borrowingresistant meanings

Ranl	k Label	Unbor Score
1	he/she/it	1.000
1	we (inclusive)	1.000
1	we (exclusive)	1.000
1	up	1.000
1	this	1.000
6	where?	0.997
7	why?	0.995
8	which?	0.994
9	we	0.991
10	married woman	0.990
11	younger sister	0.989
11	to rise	0.989
13	day after tomorrow	0.987
13	to spin	0.987
15	stinking	0.982
15	to bring	0.982
17	day before yesterday	0.981







Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

- Correlation between lexical borrowing rates and sociolinguistic situations
- Borrowability according to semantic fields
- A list of the most borrowingresistant meanings
- As noted by Tadmor (2009: 66), "[t]he least borrowed items on this list contain surprisingly few of the meanings traditionally associated with the notion of 'basic vocabulary', such as body parts and important natural phenomena"

Ranl	k Label	Unbor. Score
1	he/she/it	1.000
1	we (inclusive)	1.000
1	we (exclusive)	1.000
1	up	1.000
1	this	1.000
6	where?	0.997
7	why?	0.995
8	which?	0.994
9	we	0.991
10	married woman	0.990
11	younger sister	0.989
11	to rise	0.989
13	day after tomorrow	0.987
13	to spin	0.987
15	stinking	0.982
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Recent empirical approach

- Not yet a list of basic vocabulary...
- Resistance to borrowing is not the only factor involved in basic vocabulary
 - **Age** the longer a word has persisted in a language without being replaced, the better evidence it provides for being resistant to change in general
 - Simplicity some meanings are lexicalized by combinations of words (compounds, etc.), and as such, are not good examples of basic vocabulary
 - Representativeness meanings that are not well-represented as words in the sample's languages (e.g., younger sister), i.e., meanings that are not lexicalized in many languages, are not good examples of basic vocabulary (or of resistance to borrowing)







Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

■ The weighted-list of basic vocabulary _

Table 8:	The Leipzig	-Jakarta lis	t of basic	vocabulary
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Rank	Word meaning	Unborrowed	Age	Simplicity	Representa~	Composite
		score	score	score	tion score	score
1		0.965	0.939	0.995	1.000	0.901
2	nose	0.973	0.906	0.980	1.000	0.864
3	to go	0.963	0.887	0.974	1.000	0.832
4	water	0.909	0.926	0.987	1.000	0.831
5	mouth	0.920	0.904	0.982	1.000	0.817
6	tongue	0.934	0.908	0.954	1.000	0.808
7	blood	0.904	0.890	1.000	1.000	0.805
7	bone	0.918	0.904	0.971	1.000	0.805
9	2sG pronoun	0.958	0.893	0.933	1.000	0.798
9	root	0.944	0.869	0.973	1.000	0.798
11	to come	0.968	0.876	0.940	1.000	0.796
12	breast	0.947	0.856	0.967	1.000	0.783
13	rain	0.916	0.898	0.950	1.000	0.782
14	1sg pronoun	0.970	0.875	0.936	0.976	0,776
15	name	0.915	0.886	0.955	1.000	0.774
15	louse	0.950	0.861	0.946	1.000	0.774
17	wing	0.884	0.904	0.968	1.000	0.773
18	flesh/meat	0.877	0.892	0.986	1.000	0.771
19	arm/hand	0.881	0.903	0.966	1.000	0.768
20	fly	0.948	0.858	0.942	1.000	0.766
20	night	0.931	0.880	0.934	1.000	0.766
22	ear	0.896	0.888	0.961	1.000	0.764
23	neck	0.895	0.881	0.964	1.000	0.760
23	far	0.944	0.850	0.948	1.000	0.760
25	to do/make	0.947	0.877	0.914	1.000	0.759
26	house	0.893	0.876	0.969	1.000	0.758
27	stone/rock	0.895	0.882	0.958	1.000	0,756
28	bitter	0.975	0.872	0.889	1.000	0.755
28	to say	0.972	0.837	0.928	1.000	0.755
28	tooth	0.882	0.877	0.975	1.000	0.755
31	hair	0.944	0.871	0.917	1.000	0.754

Rank	Word meaning	Unborrowed score	Age	Simplicity score	Representa- tion score	Composite score
32	big	0.889	0.864	0.980	1.000	0.753
32	one	0.870	0.893	0.969	1.000	0.753
	who?	0.968	0.838	0.924	1.000	0.749
34	3sg pronoun	1.000	0.893	0.955	0.878	0.749
36	to hit/beat	0.955	0.827	0.947	1.000	0.748
37		0.856	0.897	0.972	1.000	0.747
38	0	0.840	0.898	0.987	1.000	0.745
38		1.000	0.851	0.897	0.976	0.745
38	*****	0.855	0.885	0.984	1.000	0.745
41		0.958	0.843	0.922	1.000	0.744
42	,	0.904	0.877	0.934	1.000	0.741
42		0.951	0.866	0.899	1.000	0.741
	navel	0.878	0.860	0.982	1.000	0.741
45		0.981	0.847	0.889	1.000	0.738
46		0.964	0.861	0.887	1.000	0.736
46		0.918	0.868	0.924	1.000	0.736
48		0.828	0.900	0.987	1.000	0.736
49		0.916	0.863	0.929	1.000	0.734
50		0.971	0.804	0.939	1.000	0.732
5		0.929	0.866	0.930	0.976	0.730
-	2 egg	0.910	0.846	0.945	1.000	0.728
5	00	0.913	0.878	0.907	1.000	0.727
	3 new	0.920	0.860	0.920	1.000	0.727
5		0.951	0.860	0.889	1.000	0.727
	6 not	0.965	0.880	0.974	0.878	0.726
	6 good	0.893	0.860	0.945	1.000	0.726
	8 to know	0.933	0.856	0.908	1.000	0.725
	9 knee	0.911	0.862	0.922	1.000	0.724
_	i9 sand	0.901	0.866	0.928	1.000	0.724
	of to laugh	0.942	0.844	0.910	1.000	0.723
	i to hear	0.953	0.848	0.895	1.000	0.723
	63 soil	0.900	0.883	0.954	0.951	0.722
	64 leaf	0.897	0.823	0.977	1.000	0.721
	64 red	0.926	0.864	0.900	1.000	0.721
	66 liver	0.869	0.857	0.967	1.000	0.720
	67 to hide	0.928	0.847	0.913		0.718
	67 skin/hide	0.889	0.875	0.924		0.718
	67 to suck	0.940	0.860	0.888		0.718
	70 to carry	0.919	0.838	0.953		0.717
	71 ant	0.865	0.850	0.975		0.716
		0.011	0.074	0.901	1.000	0.716









Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

■ The weighted-list of basic vocabulary

Rank	Word meaning	Unborrowed score	Age score	Simplicity score	Representa- tion score	Composite	
71	to take	0.900	0.898	0.887	1.000	0.716	
74	old	0.896	0.867	0.920	1.000	0.715	
75	to eat	0.920	0.840	0.925	1.000	0.714	
76	thigh	0.906	0.856	0.918	1.000	0.712	
76	thick	0.950	0.827	0.906	1.000	0.712	
78	long	0.956	0.824	0.898	1.000	0.707	
79	to blow	0.962	0.857	0.878	0.976	0.706	
80	wood	0.860	0.871	0.940	1.000	0.705	
81	to run	0.976	0.833	0.867	1.000	0.704	
81	to fall	0.946	0.825	0.903	1.000	0.704	
83	cye	0.904	0.847	0.918	1.000	0.703	
84	ash	0.853	0.891	0.921	1.000	0.699	
84	tail	0.883	0.813	0.973	1.000	0.699	
84	dog	0.838	0.869	0.960	1.000	0.699	
87	to cry/weep	0.871	0.871	0.921	1.000	0.698	
88	to tie	0.879	0.836	0.948	1.000	0.697	
	to see	0.918	0.842	0.900	1.000	0.695	
89	sweet	0.914	0.857	0.887	1.000	0.695	
91	rope	0.848	0.824	0.993	1.000	0.694	
	shade/shadow	0.887	0.840	0.931	1.000	0.694	
	bird	0.842	0.857	0.962	1.000	0.694	
	salt	0.848	0.838	0.976	1.000	0.694	
-	small	0.909	0.790	0.966	1.000	0.694	
	wide	0.955	0.819	0.885	1.000	0.692	
	star	0.830	0.859	0.970	1.000	0.691	
	in	0.948	0.856	0.943	0.902	0.691	
	hard	0.918	0.833	0.903	1.000	0.690	
100 1	to crush/grind	0.919	0.845	0.886	1.000	0.688	

It comprises the notions normally associated with the concept of basic vocabulary

- stability = age score
- simplicity = analyzability score
- universality = representation score



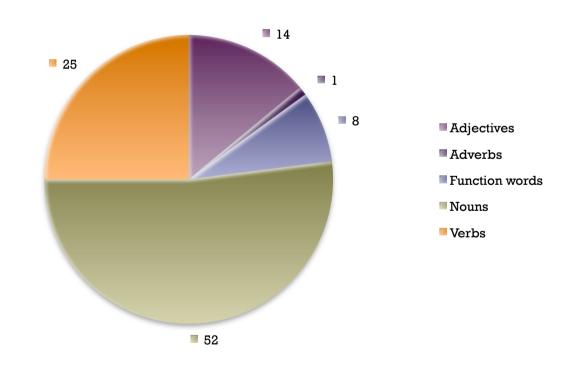




Recent empirical approach

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

■ Categories and semantic fields









Recent empirical approach

- Categories and semantic fields
- Adjective
 - Time (*old*, *young*)
 - Color (*black*, *red*)
 - Measure (big, heavy, small, long, etc.)
 - Quality (good, hard, etc.)
 - Taste (*bitter*, *sweet*)
- Adverb (far)

- Function word
 - Singular pronouns (*I*, you, he/she)
 - Some interrogatives (what?, who?)
 - Demonstrative (this)
 - Preposition (in)
 - Negation

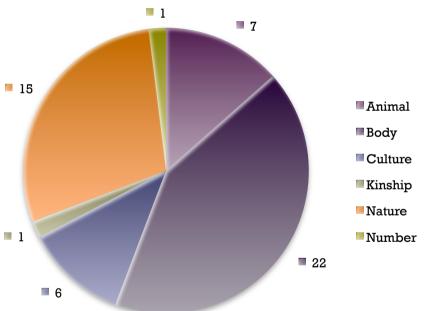






Recent empirical approach

- Categories and semantic fields
- Noun
 - Body parts (mouth, ear, nose, hand/arm)
 - Natural phenomena (fire, water, stone, rain, night, star)
 - A few generic animal terms (fish, bird, dog) as well as louse, ant, fly
 - A single kinship term (child)



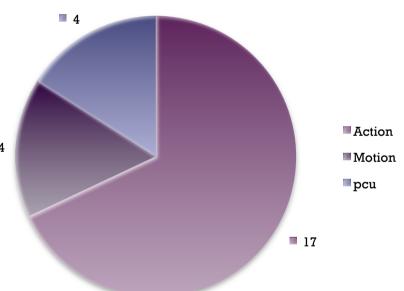






Recent empirical approach

- Categories and semantic fields
- Verbs
 - Generic actions (bite, burn, carry, eat, give, laugh)
 - Motion (come, go, run, fall) ■
 - Perception-cognitionutterance (hear, see, know, say)













Collect all possible **Egyptian-Coptic** lexemes that lexicalize one
 of the 100 meanings of the Leipzig-Jakarta list





- Methodology
 - Collect all possible Egyptian-Coptic lexemes that lexicalize one
 of the 100 meanings of the Leipzig-Jakarta list
 - Crum's (1939) English Index

ENGLISH INDEX

This index is strictly alphabetical, e.g. break and broken, sick and sickness are independent entries. The repeated occurrence of a word in the same column is not indicated. Entries in roman type are those of words not amenable to more precise translation. (Add) indicates Additions and Corrections.



abandon 95 a, 97 a, 98 a, 284 a, 1 495 a abased 516 b abide by 10 a, 537 a able, be 455 b, 541 a, b, 648 b, 816 b aboard, go 408 a, b abode 24 b abominable, make 45 b abominate 45 b, 529 a abomination 45 b, 378 b, 379 a abortion 642 b about I a, 50 b, 126 b, 154 a, 218 a, 235 b about to, be 29 a, 70 a, 199 b, 204 a, 210 a, 500 b above, 259 a, 550 a, 645 b, 698 a ff

add to 30 a, 360 b, 393 b, 409 a, 505 b. 506 a. b addition 448 b. 757 b address 192 b, 442 b adhere 330 b, 814 b adhesive 150 a, b, 151 a adjacent, be 452 b adjoin 452 b adjure 181 a, 430 a, b, 529 b admire 581 b admit 95 a, 97 b, 491 b admonish 356 a admonition 401 b. 407 a adorn 138a, 331b, 332a, 390b, 435b adornment 324 b, 332 a, 339 a, 388 b -, loving 435 b, 604 b

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- Collect all possible Egyptian-Coptic lexemes that lexicalize one
 of the 100 meanings of the Leipzig-Jakarta list
 - Crum's (1939) English Index & Vycichl's (1983) French Index



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LES MOTS FRANÇAIS

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Towards a list of basic vocabulary in Coptic



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- 3. Try to find the earliest date of attestation for each lexeme (with the available lexicographical tool, esp. the *TLA* [http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html])

 Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae



- Synthesize the data for 4 dialects
 - Sahidic
 - Bohairic
 - Fayyumic
 - Akhmimic

	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	meaning	Sahidic	Bohairic	Fayyumic	Akhmimic	Crum	Crum_Meanir	Cerny	Vycichl
56	tooth	naChe	naChi		neeCe	249	tooth (of man)	[119] gender?	-
57	tooth	obhe		ab(a)h	abhe	254			[154] f. "dent"
58	tooth	Sol	Sol		xal	557		[239] a loan word	[260] m. "défense" ou "molaire"
59	to say	co:	co:	co:	co:u	754			[323] vb. "dire, raconter, "chanter"
60	hair	fo:	fo:i	fo:i	foue	623			[280] m. cheveu, cheveux
61	hair	kap	kap	-	-	113	For a single h	> material for ban	-
62	hair	sir				353			[195] m. "cheveu, bande"
63	hair	Cok / Cak				761	Hair of man o	-	-
64	big	noc	noC	nac/noC	nac	250		[119] > nxt 'strong	[153] grand, étym. obscure; reject previous sugge
65	big	noucte	niSti					[119] > nxt 'strong	[149 & 153] same entry as the previous one

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57	Eg	ibH	N	OK	Pyr	tooth	Wb 1, 64.2-4	E 4 (AbH, tooth)
58	Eg	xl	N	NK	-	(lion) tooth	Wb 3, 298.7; Lesko, Dictionary II, 183;	E 368 (xl "canine")
59	Eg	Dd	N	OK	Pyr	say	Wb 5, 618.9-625.2	E 689
60	Eg	fa-aA	N	NK	OAD	hair	BIFAO 57, 210-111, BIFAO 62, 1964,10	E 144,4 (fay, hair)
61	?Eg	kp	N	?	-	Material for bandage	Wb. 5, 18,13-14	?
62	Eg	sr	N	MK	-	Hair of a woman (perruque	Wb 4, 191.3-4; FCD 235; Wilson, Ptol.	Lexikon, 880
63	?Sem?	-	N	Coptic	-	?	?	?
64	? Eg	? nx	N	Coptic	-	?	?	?
65	Eg	? nxt	N	OK	-	strong	Wb 2, 315.5-316.3	

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■ General results

■ 233 Egyptian-Coptic lexemes lexicalize these 100 meanings (2,33 lexemes per meaning)

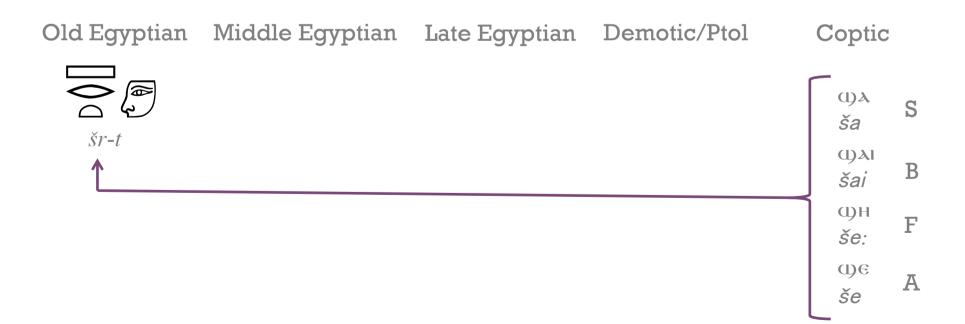
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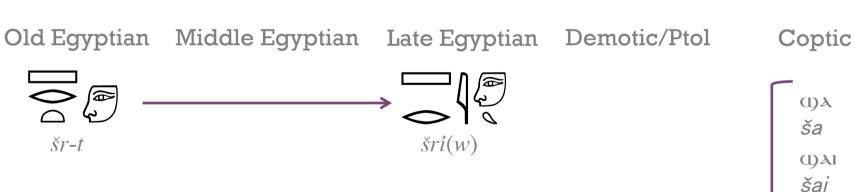
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(I)A Ša	S
u)الا šai	E
Œ)H še:	F
⊕ <i>še</i>	P

Coptic

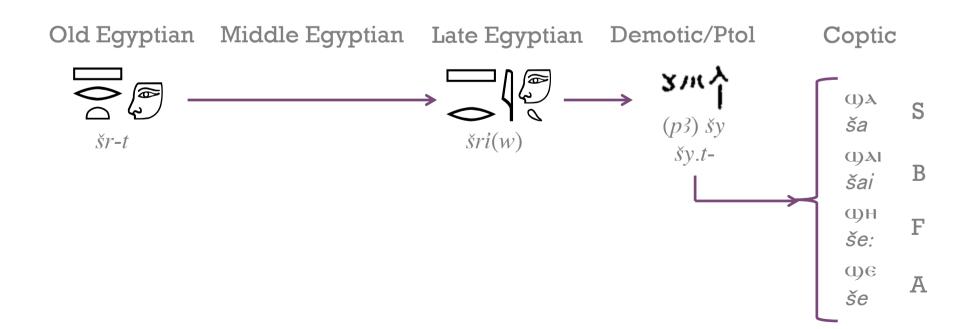
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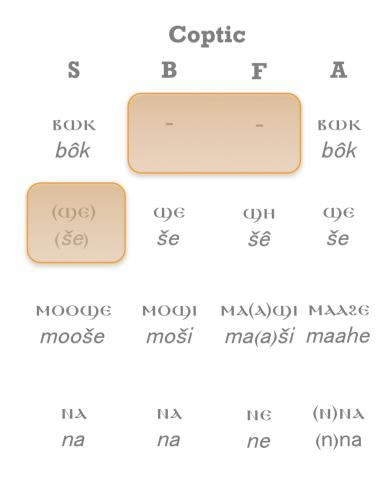
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Coptic								
S	В	F	A					
вшк bôk	-	-	вшк bôk					
(a)e)	⊕€	ωн	⊕					
(<i>še</i>)	<i>še</i>	<i>šê</i>	<i>še</i>					
моофє	мофі	ма(а)(1)1						
<i>mooše</i>	<i>тоšі</i>	ma(a)ši						
NA	NA	N€	(N)N <i>ฉ</i>					
na	na	ne	(n)na					

Coptic							
S	В	F	A				
вшк bôk	-	-	вшк <i>bôk</i>				
(⊕€) (še)	⊕ <i>še</i>	(1)Н <i>šê</i>	⊕ <i>še</i>				

MOOU)€ mooše	мофі <i>moši</i>	ма(а)(і) і ma(a)ši	
NA	NA	NE	(ท)ทล
na	na	ne	(n)na



		Coptic			
Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotion	S	В	F	A	
	BWK bôk	-	-	вшк bôk	
	(we) (š e)	⊕ <i>še</i>	ijн <i>šê</i>	ധഭ <i>še</i>	
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '	 моофе <i>mooše</i> 	мош) moši	Ma(a)(I)I ma(a)ši		
	NA NA na	NA na	N€ ne	(N)NA (n)na	

• Meaning to go				
Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotio		Col	ptic	
Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotio	S	В	F	A
?	вшк bôk	-	-	вшк bôk
	(a)e) (še)	a)€ <i>še</i>	(1)Н <i>šê</i>	⊕ <i>še</i>
•	моофє <i>mooše</i>	моф) <i>moši</i>	M&(&)(ป)เ ma(a)ši	
	NA na	NA na	nе <i>ne</i>	(N)NA (n)na

■ Meaning 'to go'

Coptic Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotic A ВШК ВШК bôk bôk h3b(a)e0.06**a)e** CL)H (še) še šê še MA(A)(I) MAARE моофе I(DOM ma(a)ši maahe I mooše moši (N)NA $N\lambda$ Nλ иє na na (n)na ne

Moaning 'to go'

• Meaning to go				
Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotic		Cor	otic	
Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotic	S	В	F	A
?	вшк bôk	-	-	вшк <i>bôk</i>
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	(a)€) (<i>še</i>)	⊕ še	(1)Н <i>šê</i>	⊕ <i>še</i>
•	моос)є <i>mooše</i>	мофі <i>moši</i>	ма(а)(1)1 ma(a)ši	
	NA na	NA na	N€ ne	(N)NA (n)na

■ Meaning 'to go' Coptic Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotic A ВШК ВШК bôk bôk (I) (E 0.06(L)H šê še šm MA(A)(I) MAARE I(DOM moši ma(a)ši maahe Nλ NA (N)NA ие na (n)na na ne

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na(i)

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na(i)

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(n)na

ne



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 - One single lexeme for one meaning in all dialects
 - Several lexemes for one meaning in several dialects
 - Lexemes poorly attested in Coptic were also included, even if their belonging to the 'basic vocabulary' is certainly questionable (e.g. S GPA cra / TPA tra 'leg', cf. Demotic gr.t)

(8111) 1/2 Fuss (4). fam.

Val. Gps Crum 429 tr.

(Philae 60,7,9 neben

Aht Lendenstück")

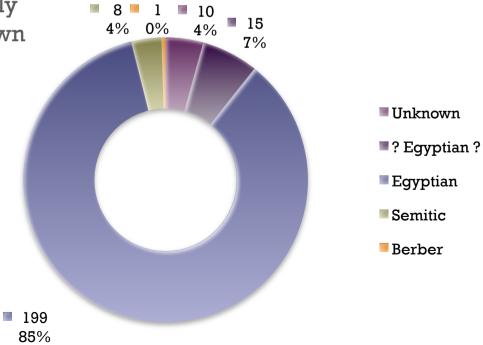
■ General results

■ 233 Egyptian-Coptic lexemes lexicalize these 100 meanings (2,33 lexemes per meaning)

■ Among these 233 lexemes, the vast majority has cognates in

pre-Coptic Egyptian, with only 10 lexemes having an unknown

etymology



■ General results

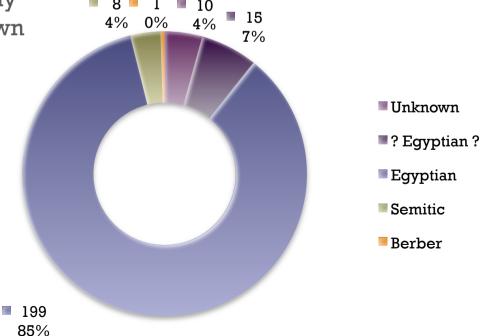
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 There is no correlation between unknown etymologies and a particular semantic field

- adjective [time]
- noun [body, kinship, natural]
- verb [action, motion]



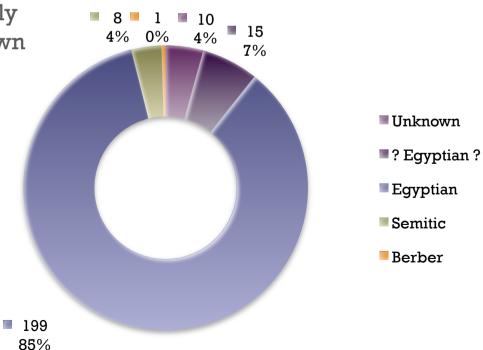
■ General results

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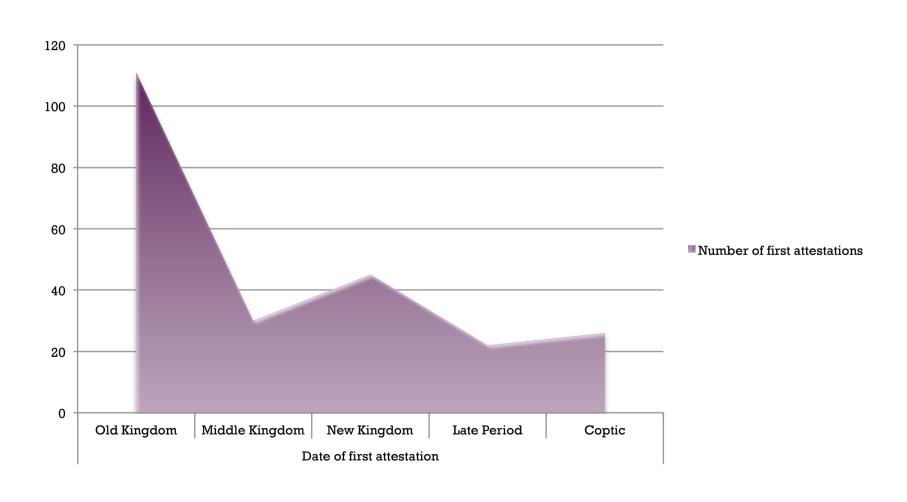
9 lexemes can be linked to roots in Semitic or Berber, but are not attested earlier in Egyptian (recent borrowing?)



■ General results

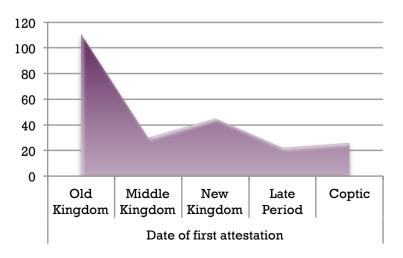
- 233 Egyptian-Coptic lexemes lexicalize these 100 meanings (2,33 lexemes per meaning)
- Among these 233 lexemes, the vast majority has cognates in pre-Coptic Egyptian, with only 10 lexemes having an unknown etymology
- Out of the 199 lexemes already attested during previous stages of Egyptian, 8 could be interpreted as earlier lexical borrowings
 - [?1 MEg] 'to be sweet, take delight' $20\lambda 6^{\dagger}$ (S) $-20\lambda x^{\dagger}$ (B) $-20\lambda 6^{\dagger}$ (F) $-2\lambda\lambda 6^{\dagger}$ (A) > LEg $\sqrt[4]{20\lambda}$ > MEg $\sqrt[4]{20\lambda}$ 'to be happy, to rejoice'
 - [8 LEg], e.g., 'tooth' $\omega_{O\lambda}$ (SB) > Dem δl > LEg hl l | ω_{I} | ω_{I} 'fangs (of lions), canine teeth' (cf. Hoch 19\$\$\$: n° 336)

Age of attestation



Age of attestation

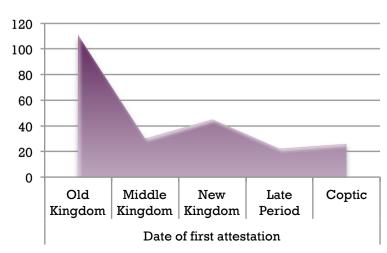
■ 48% of the basic vocabulary in Coptic is already attested in Old Egyptian, namely nearly 3000 years before Coptic



Age of attestation

- 48% of the basic vocabulary in Coptic is already attested in Old Egyptian, namely nearly 3000 years before Coptic
- Taking Old Egyptian into consideration leads to revising Lees (1953) [ref. due to S.T. Richter]
 - His aim was to calculate a universal constant 'to express the average rate of retention k of the basic-root-morpheme [I]'
 - $k = 0.8048 \pm 0.0176$ per millennium', which means that on the

average, c. 80% of the basic root of a language will survive as cognate after 1000 years



+

A list of basic vocabulary in Coptic

Age of attestation

- 48% of the basic vocabulary in Coptic is already attested in Old Egyptian, namely nearly 3000 years before Coptic
- Taking Old Egyptian into consideration leads to revising Lees (1953) [ref. due to S.T. Richter]
 - Coptic quite interestingly has the lowest retention rate, with a score of 0.76 per 1000 years (Klaus Baer provided the data for Coptic [200 words] with only 106 cognates in MEg, i.e. 53%)

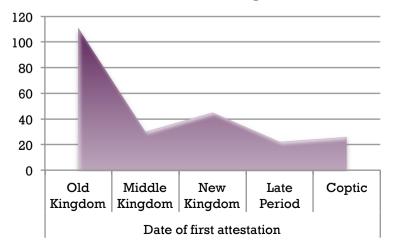
LANGUAGE	F_s	t	k
1. English	.766	1.0	.766
2. Spanish	.655	1.8	.790
3. French	.625	1.85	.776
4. German	.842	1.1	.854

3 ·			
. 530	2.20	.760	
.690	2.07	.836	
.678	2.07	.829	
.796	1.0	.795	
.850	1.02	.854	
.686	2.15	.839	
.629	2.15	$\cdot .806$	
.560	2.15	.764	
.606	2.15	.793	
	.690 .678 .796 .850 .686 .629	.690 2.07 .678 2.07 .796 1.0 .850 1.02 .686 2.15 .629 2.15 .560 2.15	

Mean $\bar{k} = .8048 \pm .0176/\text{mill}$.

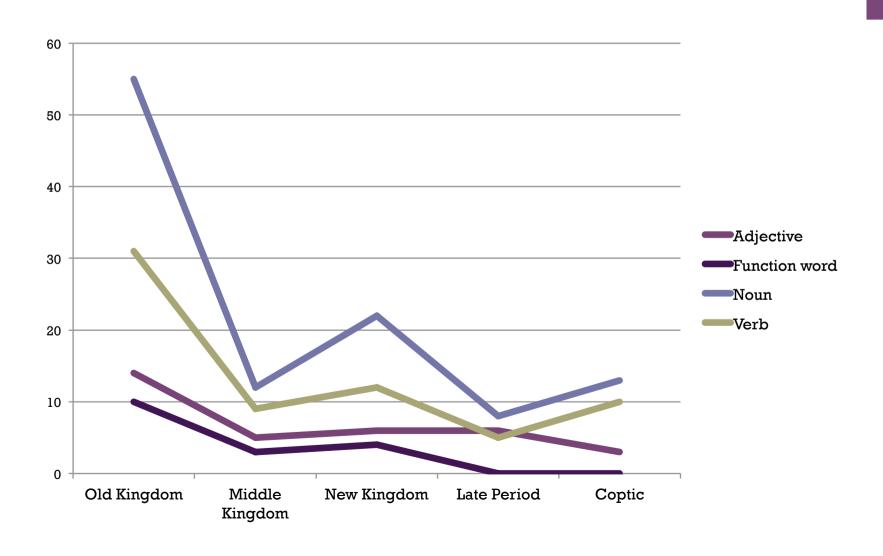
Age of attestation

- 48% of the basic vocabulary in Coptic is already attested in Old Egyptian, namely nearly 3000 years before Coptic
- Taking Old Egyptian into consideration leads to revising Lees (1953) [ref. due to S.T. Richter]
- Moreover, one sees that some stages of Egyptian are characterized by a lower/higher degree of first occurrences



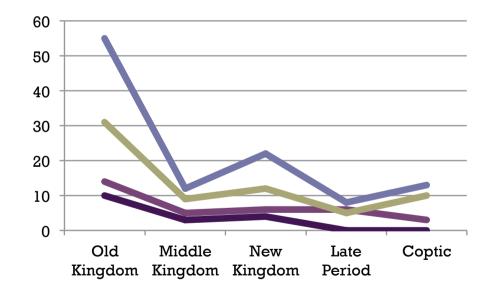
of new lexemes for expressing meanings of the basic vocabulary. As such, the constant rate of evolution is, at least, questionable

Age of attestation: a closer look



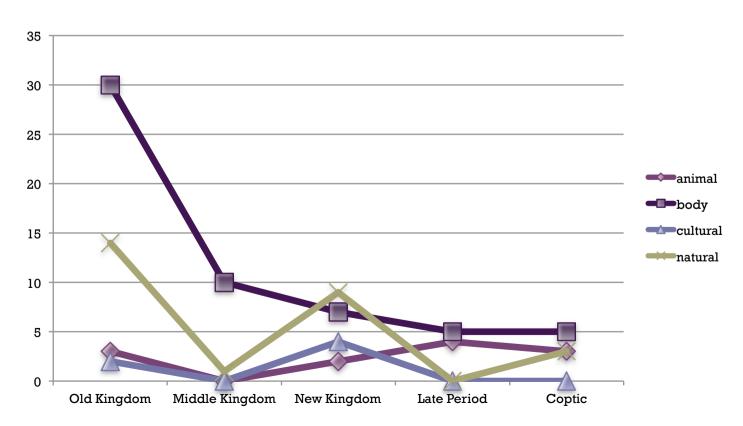
Age of attestation: a closer look

- All Coptic function words of the basic vocabulary have cognates that are already attested with the same meaning during the New Kingdom (min. 1500 years before)
- Overall, the New Kingdom is a period when many new lexemes belonging to the Coptic basic vocabulary occur for the first time
 - Lexical borrowing?
 - Bigger corpus of 'daily life' texts?



Age of attestation: a closer look

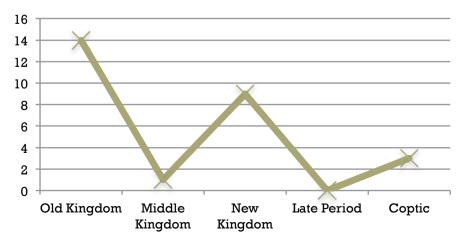
■ Evolution of the **nouns** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)



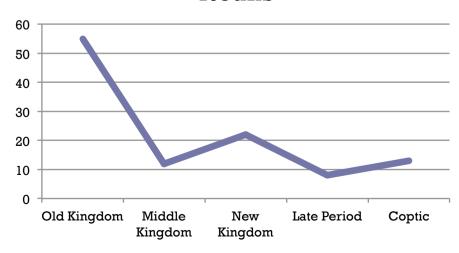
Age of attestation: a closer look

- Evolution of the **nouns** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)
- The most striking variation has to do with the [natural/physical world], which is the category mainly responsible for the sinusoidal look of the evolution of the nouns

Natural/physical world



Nouns



Age of attestation: a closer look

- Evolution of the **nouns** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)
- The most striking variation has to do with the [natural/physical world], which is the category mainly responsible for the sinusoidal look of the evolution of the nouns

New Kingdom

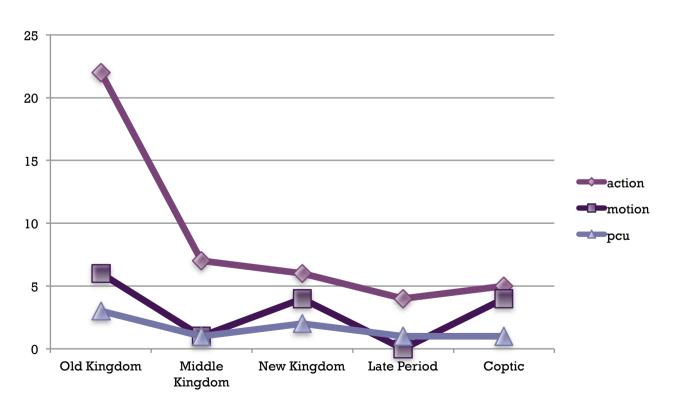
- Fire, smoke, ashes
- root, leaf
- wind, soil
- shadow

Coptic

- Fire, smoke, ashes
- _
- _
- _

Age of attestation: a closer look

■ Evolution of the **verbs** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)



Age of attestation: a closer look

■ Evolution of the **verbs** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)

	Niddle Econtinu I eta Econtinu I Demotin	Coptic			
Old Egyptial	Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotic	S	В	F	A
	'to say'	XW	X,W	X.O	X.WY
dd		čô	čô	čô	čô

Age of attestation: a closer look

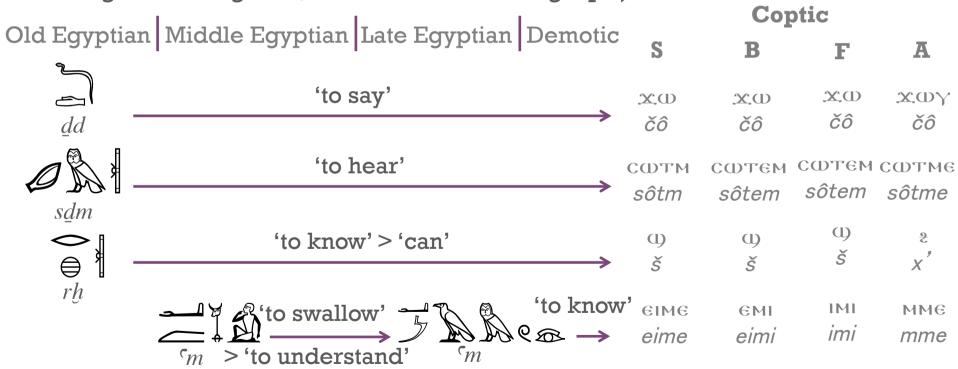


Age of attestation: a closer look

			Coptic			
Old Egyptia	n Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotic	S	В	F	A	
	'to say'	X,O	.X .(II)	X ,(1)	አ መአ	
<u>d</u> d		čô	čô	čô	čô	
	'to hear'	CWTM sôtm		сфтем sôtem		
sdm		SOUII	Sotem	3010111	Sourie	
	'to know' > 'can'	(1) š	(1) š	(1) Š	₹ X	
⊜ 1 - <i>rḥ</i>		_				

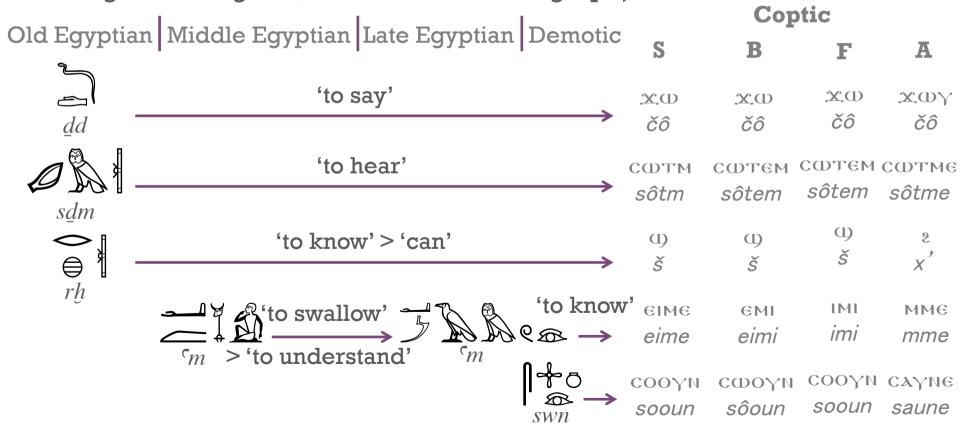
Age of attestation: a closer look

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Age of attestation: a closer look

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Age of attestation: a closer look

■ Evolution of the **verbs** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)

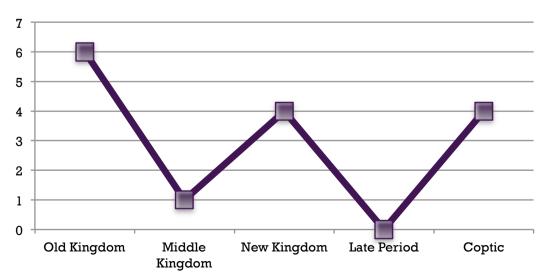


■ Similarly with verbs of vision (see Winand 1986; Depuydt 1988; Stella 2013)

Age of attestation: a closer look

- Evolution of the **verbs** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)
- Much like the nouns belonging to the [natural/physical world], the **verbs of motion** display a characteristic 'sinusoidal' behavior

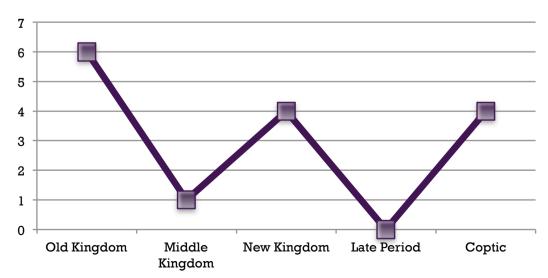
Verbs of motion



Age of attestation: a closer look

- Evolution of the **verbs** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)
- While the lexeme lexicalizing the meaning 'to come' is stable from Old Egyptian to Coptic, the meaning 'to go', 'to run' and 'to fall' are definitely less so

Verbs of motion



Meaning 'to go'

Old Egyptian Middle Egyptian Late Egyptian Demotic				Coptic			
Old Egyptian	Iviidale Egyp	man Late Egyptia	n Demotic	S	В	F	A
?	?	?	?	вшк bôk	-	-	вшк bôk
₹ šm		$\longrightarrow \overset{\text{N}}{\nearrow} \qquad -$ $\check{s}(m)$	→ ∠ &	(□)€) (<i>še</i>)	⊕€ <i>še</i>	ωн <i>šê</i>	⊕€ <i>še</i>
?	?	→ ∭ ☐ ∫ ∧ - mša	→ +433 mša	моофє <i>mooše</i>	мофі <i>moši</i>	ма(а)(і) і ma(a)ši	
na(i)		→	→ 41.3 na	NA na	NA na	N€ ne	(N)NA (n)na

Age of attestation: a closer look

- Evolution of the **verbs** of the basic vocabulary according to semantic fields (only the 4 main semantic fields, with significant figures, are included in the graph)
- While the lexeme lexicalizing the meaning 'to come' is stable from Old Egyptian to Coptic, the meaning 'to go', 'to run' and 'to fall' are definitely less so

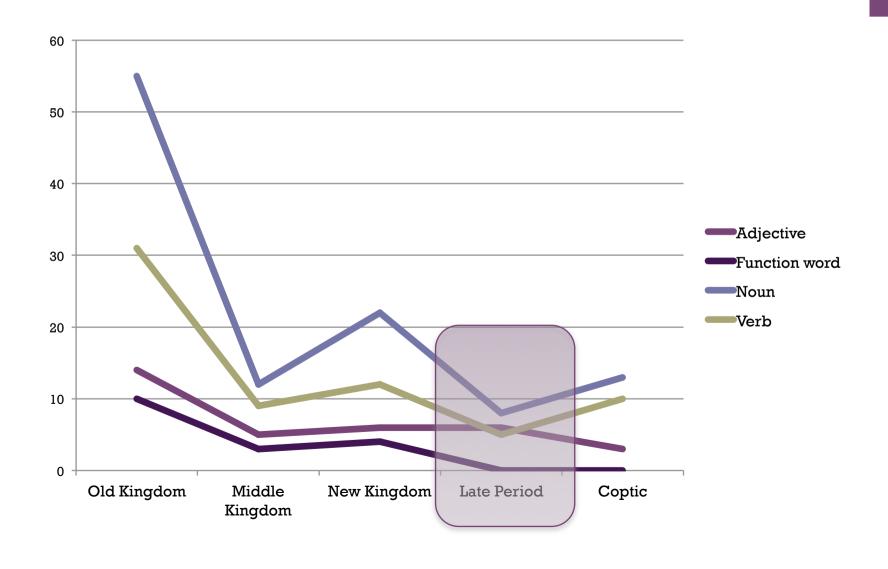
New Kingdom

- 'to run' (pd, kd)
- 'to go' (*mš*^c, *n*^c)

Coptic

- _
- 'to go' (вшк *bôk*)
- 'to fall' (срочреч srofref, чорчер forfer, сладте slaate)

Age of attestation: a closer look



Age of attestation: a closer look

- The figures are very low, but the proportionally higher proportion of new adjective in the Late Period can be related to two phenomena
 - The appearance of a new grammatical construction in Demotic for adjectival meaning

$$n\beta$$
- nfr '(be) good' > NANOY- '(be) good'

■ The first occurrence of new compound adjectives

$$\frac{1}{4}$$
 // $\frac{1}{4}$ // $\frac{1}{4}$ 'old-boy' > 2220 'old (person)'

Analycity

■ Among the 233 Egyptian-Coptic lexemes that lexicalizes the basic vocabulary of Coptic, only 8 can be positively identified as compounds, most of which are late

Old Kingdom [1]	Late Period [3]	Coptic [4]
tp- r ? 'utterance, word'	E.g. f \mathfrak{F} $ti-n^{\mathfrak{r}}$ 'to cause to be fine' > 'to grind finely'	E.g. * <i>mst.t-n-ḥ3ty</i> 'basket of the heart'
тапро tapro 'mouth'	TNNO tnno 'to grind/crush'	местигнт <i>mestnhêt</i> 'breast'

Representativeness

■ All meanings on the list are lexicalized by words in Egyptian-Coptic, allowing for the size of the corpora of some of the dialects/periods.

- Number of lexemes lexicalizing the basic vocabulary in each dialect
 - Sahidic = 212 lexemes for 100 meanings
 - Bohairic = 198 lexemes for 100 meanings
 - Fayyumic = 139 lexemes for 92 meanings
 - Akhmimic = 138 lexemes for 94 meanings
- 8 meanings are not lexicalized by Egyptian-Coptic words in Fayyumic and 6 in Akhmimic
 - 1. Not attested because of the type of corpus at our disposal?
 - 2. These meanings are expressed by lexical borrowing from Greek?

Word type	Semantic field	Fayyumic	Akhmimic
adjective	size	-	long
noun	animal	louse	louse
noun	animal	fly	-
noun	animal	ant	-
noun	animal	dog	-
noun	body	navel	navel
noun	body	-	back
noun	body	tail	-
noun	product	egg	-
noun	product	-	salt
verb	action	to suck	to suck

Word type	Semantic field	Fayyumic	Akhmimic
adjective	size	-	long
noun	animal	louse	louse
noun	animal	fly	-
noun	animal	ant	-
noun	animal	dog	-
noun	body	navel	navel
noun	body	-	back
noun	body	tail	-
noun	product	egg	-
noun	product	-	salt
verb	action	to suck	to suck

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adjective	size	-	long
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noun	animal	fly	-
noun	animal	ant	-
noun	animal	dog	-
noun	body	navel	navel
noun	body	-	back
noun	body	tail	-
noun	product	egg	-
noun	product	-	salt
verb	action	to suck	to suck

Word type	Semantic field	Fayyumic	Akhmimic
adjective	size	-	long
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noun	animal	fly	-
noun	animal	ant	-
noun	animal	dog	-)
noun	body	navel	navel
noun	body	-	back
noun	body	tail	-
noun	product	egg	-
noun	product	-	salt
verb	action	to suck	to suck

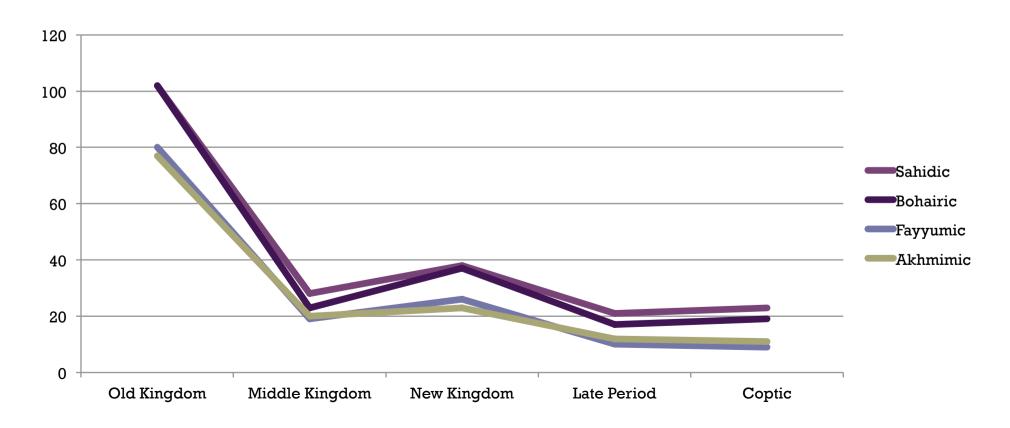
Word type	Semantic field	Fayyumic	Akhmimic
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noun	animal	ant	-
noun	animal	dog	-
noun	body	navel	navel
noun	body	-	back
noun	body	tail	-
noun	product	egg	-
noun	product	-	salt
verb	action	to suck	to suck

Word type	Semantic field	Fayyumic	Akhmimic	Greek	DDGLC
adjective	size	-	long	μακρός	NO (Nag Hammadi)
noun	animal	louse	louse	-	-
noun	animal	fly	-	-	-
noun	animal	ant	-	-	-
noun	animal	dog	-	-	-
noun	body	navel	navel	-	-
noun	body	-	back	-	-
noun	body	tail	-	-	-
noun	product	egg	-	-	-
noun	product	-	salt	ἁλάτιον	NO l occ. in Förster
verb	action	to suck	to suck	-	-

Word type	Semantic field	Fayyumic	Akhmimic	Greek	DDGLC
adjective	size	-	long	μακρός	NO (Nag Hammadi)
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noun	animal	fly	-	-	-
noun	animal	ant	-	-	-
noun	animal	dog	-	-	-
noun	body	navel	navel	-	-
noun	body	-	back	-	-
noun	body	tail	-	-	-
noun	product	egg	-	-	-
noun	product	-	salt	άλάτιον	NO l occ. in Förster/
verb	action	to suck	to suck	_	- /

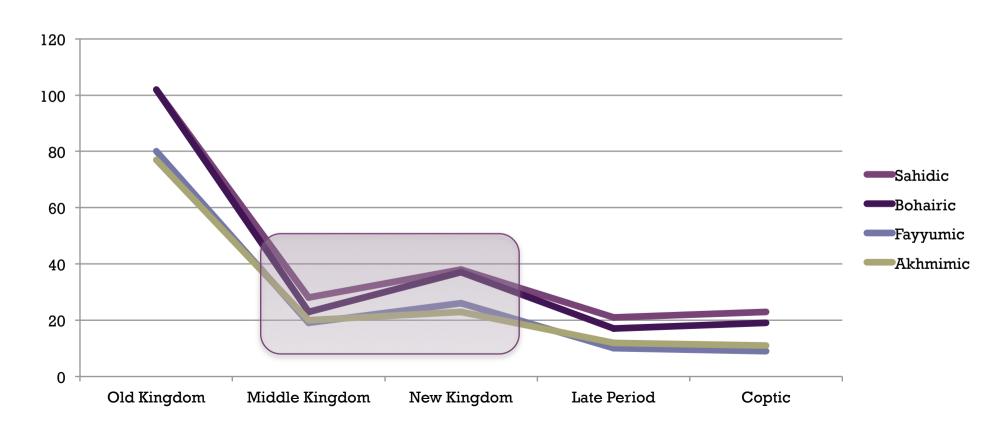
Across dialects

■ Rate of appearance of new lexemes in the basic vocabulary for each dialect



Across dialects

■ Rate of appearance of new lexemes in the basic vocabulary for each dialect



Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

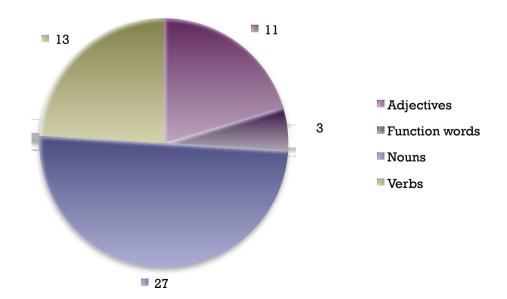
Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

Methodology

■ Look in the DDGLC lemma-list [many thanks to T.S. Richter and his team] and check among the c. 5000 loan word types which lexemes could express the 100 meanings of the basic vocabulary, crucially integrating the results of Förster (2002)

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

- Methodology
 - Look in the DDGLC lemma-list [many thanks to T.S. Richter and his team] and check among the c. 5000 loan word types which lexemes could express the 100 meanings of the basic vocabulary
 - It results in 85 lexemes for 54 meanings



Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

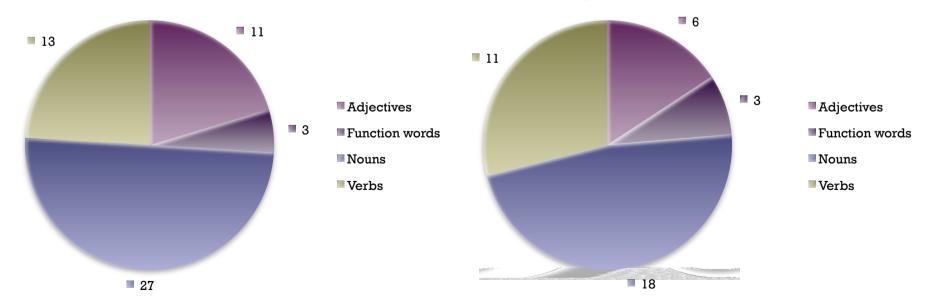
- Methodology
 - Look in the DDGLC lemma-list [many thanks to T.S. Richter and his team] and check among the c. 5000 loan word types which lexemes could express the 100 meanings of the basic vocabulary
 - In a second step, we took out of this list the lexemes
 - That do not occur at all in the DDGLC tokens

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

- Look in the DDGLC lemma-list [many thanks to T.S. Richter and his team] and check among the c. 5000 loan word types which lexemes could express the 100 meanings of the basic vocabulary
- In a second step, we took out of this list the lexemes
 - That do not occur at all in the DDGLC tokens
 - That were not mentioned in the questionnaire submitted to Coptologist colleagues

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

- Look in the DDGLC lemma-list [many thanks to T.S. Richter and his team] and check among the c. 5000 loan word types which lexemes could express the 100 meanings of the basic vocabulary
 - It results in 85 lexemes for 54 meanings
 - which left us with 54 lexemes for 38 meanings



Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

- Look in the DDGLC lemma-list [many thanks to T.S. Richter and his team] and check among the c. 5000 loan word types which lexemes could express the 100 meanings of the basic vocabulary
- In a third step, we made judgments about the results
 - Taking out all the lexemes that only occur in phraseological expressions, e.g.
 - ero egô (lsg), only appearing in colophons (Alain Delattre)
 - χειρ in the formula διὰ χειρός εἰς χεῖρας dia xeiros eis xeiros 'from hand to hand' (as opposed to payments made through a bank)
 - 6N en 'in', which is highly restricted since it can govern only Greek borrowed lexemes, also in formula (Jean-Luc Fournet)
 - and rare lexemes that occur in codeswitching contexts

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

- Look in the DDGLC lemma-list [many thanks to T.S. Richter and his team] and check among the c. 5000 loan word types which lexemes could express the 100 meanings of the basic vocabulary
 - It results in 85 lexemes for 54 meanings
 - which left us with 54 lexemes for 38 meanings
 - ending up with 19 lexemes for 15 meanings

A list of basic vocabulary in Coptic

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

■ Results

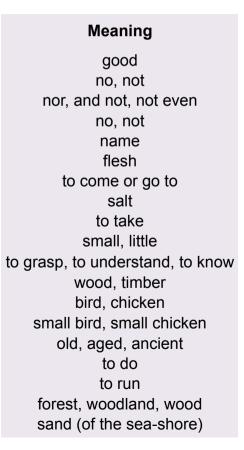
LJL- Meaning	Greek-Coptic Lexeme	Meaning	Frequency score
good	ἀγαθός	good	4
not	oὐ(χ)	no, not	4
not	οὐδέ	nor, and not, not even	4
not	οὐχί	no, not	4
name	ὄνομα	name	2
flesh/meat	σάρξ	flesh	2
to go	(προσ)έρχομαι	to come or go to	1
salt	ἁλάτιον	salt	1
to take	λαμβάνω	to take	1
small	μικρός	small, little	1
to know	νοέω	to grasp, to understand, to know	1
wood	ξύλον	wood, timber	1
bird	ὄρνεον	bird, chicken	1
bird	ὀρνίθιον	small bird, small chicken	1
old	παλαιός	old, aged, ancient	1
to do/make	πράττω, πράττομαι	to do	1
to run	τρέχω	to run	1
wood	ΰλη	forest, woodland, wood	1
sand	ψάμαθος	sand (of the sea-shore)	1

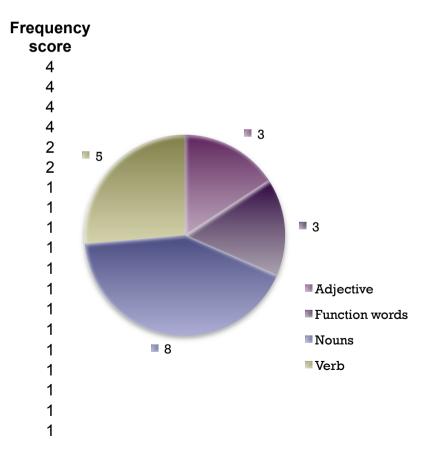
A list of basic vocabulary in Coptic

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

■ Results

Greek-Coptic
Lexeme
ἀγαθός
oὐ(χ)
οὐδέ
οὐχί
ὄνομα
σάρξ
(προσ)έρχομαι
ἁλάτιον
λαμβάνω
μικρός
νοέω
ξύλον
ὄρνεον
ὀρνίθιον
παλαιός
πράττω, πράττομαι
τρέχω
ὔλη
ψάμαθος





A list of basic vocabulary in Coptic

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

■ Results

LJL- Meaning	Greek-Coptic Lexeme	Meaning	Frequency score	Egyptian-Coptic lexeme(s)
good	άγαθός	good	4	Υ
not	oὐ(χ)	no, not	4	Υ
not	οὐδέ	nor, and not, not even	4	Υ
not	οὐχί	no, not	4	Υ
name	ὄνομα	name	2	Υ
flesh/meat	σάρξ	flesh	2	Υ
to go	(προσ)έρχομαι	to come or go to	1	Υ
salt	ὰλάτιον	salt	1	Υ
to take	λαμβάνω	to take	1	Υ
small	μικρός	small, little	1	Υ
to know	νοέω	to grasp, to understand, to know	1	Υ
wood	ξύλον	wood, timber	1	Υ
bird	ὄρνεον	bird, chicken	1	Υ
bird	ὀρνίθιον	small bird, small chicken	1	Υ
old	παλαιός	old, aged, ancient	1	Υ
to do/make	πράττω, πράττομαι	to do	1	Υ
to run	τρέχω	to run	1	Υ
wood	ΰλη	forest, woodland, wood	1	Υ
sand	ψάμαθος	sand (of the sea-shore)	1	Y

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

- Co-existence = 19 lexemes
 - 6 frequent to occasional
 - 13 are rare to very rare
- Replacement = 0 lexeme

Integrating the data from Greek-Coptic

- Co-existence = 19 lexemes
 - 6 frequent to occasional
 - 13 are rare to very rare
- Replacement = 0 lexeme
- Bottom line: Basic vocabulary in Coptic is almost entirely native
- Greek loanwords co-exist with native words, but most are rare of limited either in meaning or in terms of collocation (e.g., most of the negative words)
 - E.g. Egyptian-Coptic Aq af 'flesh, meat' vs Greek-Coptic CAPZ sarks 'flesh' (as oppososed to the spirit)

How does Coptic compare to the rest of the world's languages?

- Using the data from the World Loanword Database, we extracted all loanwords that lexicalize meanings from the Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary.
- Using their data, each word was ranked by a language specialist as:
 - Borrowed
 - Probably borrowed
 - Perhaps borrowed
 - Very little evidence for borrowing

Coptic vs the world's languages

Scoring loanwords

■ Each language received a score for the sum of loanwords attested

■ Probably borrowed 0.75

Perhaps borrowed0.5

■ Very little evidence 0.25

Coptic vs the world's languages

Scoring loanwords

Ranking	Language	Score	Ranking	Language	Score
1	Saramaccan	35.17	22	Swahili	3.54
2	Gurindji	33.09	23	Zinacantán Tzotzil	3.2
3	Selice Romani	23.98	24	Mandarin Chinese	3
4	Thai	22.58	25	Q'eqchi'	2.75
5	Tarifiyt Berber	19.65	26	Yaqui	2.6
6	Kildin Saami	18.97	27	Mapudungun	2.54
7	Malagasy	18.69	28	Kanuri	2.4
8	Ceq Wong	17.04	29	Oroqen	2.37
9	White Hmong	15.62	30	Lower Sorbian	2.02
10	Indonesian	12.95	31	Iraqw	1.86
11	English	11.94	32	Kali'na	1.69
12	Japanese	10.76	33	Dutch	0.88
13	Archi	10.67	34	Old High German	0.24
14	Romanian	10.45	35	Iraqw	0.23
15	Takia	10.43	36	Kali'na	1.69
16	Vietnamese	.09	37	Dutch	0.88
17	Seychelles Creole	7.04	38	Old High German	0.24
18	Sakha	6.8	39	Iraqw	0.23
19	Imbabura Quechua	5.23	40	Hup	0
20	Hausa	4.87	41	Bezhta	0
21	Gawwada	4.61			

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Depending on whether one consider all the Greek lexemes or only the frequent ones, Coptic has a score of 7.53 or 2.38 (which places it in the middle zone of basic vocabulary borrower anyway)

Coptic vs the world's languages

Scoring loanwords

	1				
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+ Conclusions

Coming back to the beginning

- It is well known that Coptic, as it comes down to us in written texts, is massively influenced by Greek in the domain of lexicon ('translation language')
- On this basis, linguists, philologists, and historians often make assumptions about the nature and extent of bilingualism. Some linguists have even proposed that Coptic is a case of 'code-mixing' of Egyptian and Greek, which assumes extensive bilingualism among Egyptians in Late Antiquity

Conclusions

By looking only at basic vocabulary

- On a typologically-based, empirically constructed list of 100 meanings, we have shown that
 - Basic vocabulary is largely stable in Egyptian-Coptic (half of the list is stable from the Old Kingdom down to Coptic)
 - There are several periods in which changes in basic vocabulary can be observed, with different rates

Conclusions

By looking only at basic vocabulary

- Coptic basic vocabulary is almost entirely native
- The 6 commonly-used loanwords in the domain of basic vocabulary co-exist with native words, i.e., loanwords have not replaced native basic vocabulary
- Compared to other languages in the WOLD sample, Coptic is a middle borrower
- It is neither like post-creoles (Thai) nor languages whose speakers are universally bilingual (Selice Romani, Tarifiyt Berber)

Conclusions

By looking only at basic vocabulary

- However, much work remains to be done in order to understand the relationship between
 - a) overall borrowing in a language's lexicon,
 - b) borrowing of basic vocabulary, and
 - c) characteristics of the sociolinguistic contact situation
- We believe that the kind of work we have presented here is the basic empirical research needed in order to address these questions



Thanks!

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