

Shill,

BOHAIRIC, a major dialect of Coptic, called "MEMPHITIC," "the northern dialect," or "dialect of Lower Egypt" in earlier terminology, and simply "Coptic" in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century treatises, Bohairic being the first Coptic dialect with which Western scholarship became acquainted. "Bohairic" (*B*) was first used by Stern (1880, p. xii).

Originally the northern local dialect of the western Delta (Buhaira) and Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Bohairic spread dramatically (beginning after, and as an indirect result of, the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT) eastward and southward. In the eighth and ninth centuries it broke the monopoly of Sahidic as a Pan-Coptic idiom and by the eleventh century had largely completed the process of becoming virtually the sole dialect of Coptic. Bohairic became the official ecclesiastical language, and the classical Bohairic version of the Scriptures, the official text. Bohairic, which survives only as a liturgical language, was the dialect that saw Coptic out as the living idiom of Egypt. The old controversial question of its prehistory—whether it was never a literary language before the Arab conquest (Stern, 1880, p. 1; Lefort, 1931) or was, on the contrary, an old literary dialect (Worrell's opinion) has not yet been settled. What survives in the way of Bohairic documentation consists, on the one hand, of manuscripts later than the ninth century with scriptural, homiletic, hermeneutic, hagiographical, and liturgical texts and, on the other, a much smaller collection of fourth- and fifth-century fragments, all biblical (see sec. 5 on the varieties of Bohairic).

Bohairic shares isoglosses with most other dialects of Coptic, mainly with Fayyumic, Middle Egyptian (MESOKEMIC), Sahidic, and, more subtly, certain Nag Hammadi varieties of Sahidic (especially some tracts in Codex VII), DIALECT G and DIALECT P. The persistent, somewhat biased impression of Bohairic as an innovating dialect is refuted by careful internal and contrastive examination, which shows it to be rather of a conservative nature (cf. Shisha-Halevy, 1981). Not only its grammatical minutiae but even some major issues are still obscure and in need of rigorous and methodologically careful investigation. Far from being "sufficiently well known" (Kahle,

1954, p. 232), it has, following Steindorff's *Grammatik* of 1894, been superseded by Sahidic as far as research and tuition are concerned. (For Stern, 1880, it was still the primary illustration dialect.) Since the 1890s "Coptic" par excellence has been Sahidic, and Bohairic has been suffering grave scholarly neglect (cf. Erman, 1915, p. 161). This article will attempt to provide a brief typological profile of Bohairic grammar. While details of phonology and nonsystemic morphology are relatively well known, its *système de valeur* and syntax still hold quite a few mysteries for the linguist. The account given here is predominantly synchronic and noncontrastive.

1. Phonology, Morphophonology, and Graphemics

1.1. Probably the most striking feature of Bohairic is the nonpertinent, allophonic status of consonant aspiration in words of native Egyptian stock. The aspirated allophone (θ, φ, χ) occurs "combinatorily" before, and in contact with, a sonorant (any of /b/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /r/, /w/, and /j/) in initial clusters and elsewhere (χΛΟΗ, crown; ΛΘΜΟΥ, immortal; φΜΕΝΡΙΤ, the beloved) or "spontaneously" as the onset of a stressed syllable (indeed, "stress" is a feature equivalent to "sonority," and thus the "spontaneousness" is relative and only a manner of speaking). β, the allophone of χ before sonorants (βΛΟΒ, bed), nonetheless constitutes a phoneme (βΗ, quince, versus χΗ, dish).

1.2. The *B* phonemic inventory features the opposition /x/ : /h/, graphemically ϣ : ϣ (ϣΡΗΪ, lower part: ϣΡΗΪ, upper part).

1.3. The open final unstressed (posttonic) vowel in *B* is /i/ (ΡΩΜΙ, man; ΜΕΥΤ, think, thought). Table 1 displays the facts in the case of closed unstressed syllables (cf. Polotsky, 1933).

1.4. Nonfinal historical laryngeals (primary and

TABLE 1. Closed Unstressed Syllables in Bohairic

PRETONIC	POSTTONIC			
	STRESS SYLLABLE CLOSED		STRESS SYLLABLE OPEN	
	SONORANT ONSET	NO SONORANT	SONORANT CODA	SONORANT ONSET/ NO SONORANT
e	e	θ	e	θ
ϥΕΡϥΩΡϥ	ϥΘΡΕΜΕϥ	ϥΟΤΤΙϥ	ϥΩΤΕΜ	ϥΩΛΠ ϥΩΤΠ
entreat/ destroy him	hear him	choose him	hear	break choose

secondary, evolved from *r* or *t*) are not realized in Bohairic: $\alpha\omega\eta\uparrow$, in existence; $\tau\eta\beta$, finger; $\zeta\epsilon\pi\iota$, remain over; $\pi\epsilon-$, thy- (second fem. sing.) Finally, one finds *i*: second fem. sing. $\zeta\omega\iota$, thou $\tau\omega\sigma$; $\tau\omega\sigma\gamma\eta\iota$, stand thee up; masc. $\sigma\gamma\lambda\iota$, one.

1.5. Palatal sibilant assimilation is the rule: $\alpha\lambda\eta\omega$, make live, nourish; $\alpha\omega\omega$, despise.

1.6. Long diphthongs lengthened from short vowels occur with *w* and *j*: $\omega\iota\kappa$, bread; $\omega\sigma\gamma$, honor.

1.7. The syllabicity of vowels and nasal sonorants is indicated by means of a superposed point ($\chi\iota\kappa\iota\mu$; see DJINKIM). In classical usage (manuscripts prior to the fourteenth century), this applies to any vowel constituting by itself a syllable ($\lambda\chi\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omega\lambda$, he went out; $\lambda\eta\iota\sigma\gamma\iota$, bring [imp.]) and to η and ι constituting a radical or a grammatical element and preceding another ($\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\mu$, rest; $\acute{\eta}\theta\omega\alpha$, he; $\acute{\eta}\phi\uparrow$, for God). This syllabicity is canceled in certain combinatory circumstances (cf. Polotsky, 1949). In later Bohairic, one finds the djinkim on other consonants ($\zeta\theta\theta\iota$ smell; $\kappa\eta\eta\omega\gamma$, you are coming).

1.8. Numbers are usually symbolized by letters and not written out (Dt. 34:8, $\acute{\eta}\kappa$ $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\sigma\gamma$, for thirty days; Mk. 6:40, $\kappa\lambda\tau\alpha$ \uparrow \uparrow $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\kappa\lambda\tau\alpha$ \uparrow \uparrow , by hundreds and by fifties).

1.9. The phoneme /i/ is usually expressed by an iota, even when initial (i, come, go; $\iota\beta\iota$, thirst).

1.10. Proclitically weak elements are not always marked as such (Erman, 1915): $\lambda\eta\omega\kappa-$, $\sigma\gamma\omega\eta-$, $\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\eta-$.

2. Morphology and Word Formation

2.1. There is superficial (structurally resolvable) coincidence of the perfect base with the second present/future converter, both λ (opposed to the circumstantial ϵ). *a*-vocalism characterizes the preterite converter $\eta\lambda\chi-$ and the negative aorist $\acute{\eta}\mu\lambda\chi-$.

2.2. The relative converter $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ is common to the bipartite and all tripartite conjugation forms ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\chi-$, relative perfect).

2.3. The relative and second perfect converters coincide, as $\epsilon\tau-$, with systemic consequences.

2.4. The relative converter $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ has no pronominal allomorph, thus differing from the other three converters before the bipartite pattern. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon-$ is an alternant (variant?) of the circumstantial before the existential $\sigma\gamma\omega\eta$. The converters and some bases have a $\uparrow\pi\epsilon-$ allomorph before the short second plural suffix: $\lambda\uparrow\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta-$, $\eta\lambda\uparrow\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta-$, $\omega\lambda\uparrow\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta-$, ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau$) $\lambda\uparrow\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta-$, etc.

2.5. The base of the conjunctive is $\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon-$, pronominally as well as presuffixally. In the first singular the base-plus-actor is $\acute{\eta}\tau\lambda-$; in the third plural it is $\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\gamma-$, which is opposed to $\acute{\eta}\zeta\epsilon-$, the sole representative in

Bohairic of a syntagm (the Sahidic conjunctive) in which $\acute{\eta}$ - marks as modifier a nexus of "actor plus verb."

2.6. The so-called third future is largely convertible in Bohairic (Stern, 1880, sec. 418-19; Andersson, 1904, pp. 62ff.).

2.7. In one variety of Bohairic (see 5.3) there occurs a special negative-conditional base, $\lambda\eta\eta\epsilon-$ (discussed by Černý, 1963, and Kasser, 1963). $\omega\lambda\eta\eta$ occurs only in the affirmative form of the conditional clause-tripartite conjugation form. The negated base coincides with the second present ($\lambda\chi\omega\tau\epsilon\mu-$), a coincidence that is diachronically significant but synchronically probably superficial.

2.8. The negative jussive (causative imperative) base is in Bohairic $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\eta\omega\pi\epsilon-$; its connection with the negative imperative characteristic $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\pi-$ is thus severed.

2.9. The negative aorist base is $\acute{\eta}\mu\lambda(-)$, showing diachronic affinities with the second tense.

2.10. $\tau\epsilon\pi\lambda-$ is the second singular feminine form of the future.

2.11. The first singular and third plural actor suffix pronouns are syllabic with the causative infinitive ($\theta\pi\iota-$, $\theta\pi\omega\gamma-$) and negative third future ($\acute{\eta}\eta\iota-$, $\acute{\eta}\eta\omega\gamma-$; cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 49).

2.12. **Verb Lexeme/Stative Peculiarities.** Historical *3ae infirmae* -i infinitives (Stern's class III) usually have no *-t=* in the pronominal state ($\epsilon\eta\zeta$, bring; $\mu\epsilon\zeta$, give birth to; $\chi\epsilon\mu$, find; $\beta\lambda\zeta$, exalt). On the other hand, the imperative form marked by λ often has *-t=* ($\lambda\uparrow\pi\tau$, do; $\lambda\uparrow\eta\tau$, bring). Verbs of Greek origin have in Bohairic the Greek infinitive form ($-\iota\eta$, $-\epsilon\zeta\theta\epsilon$) and are integrated in the Coptic conjugation by means of the auxiliary $\epsilon\pi-$ ($\epsilon\pi$ $\phi\omega\pi\eta$, bear; $\epsilon\pi$ $\lambda\sigma\pi\lambda\zeta\epsilon\zeta\theta\epsilon$, embrace, greet). The stative of the causative lexeme class ends in *-t=* ($\eta\omega\gamma\uparrow$, $\theta\lambda\mu\eta\eta\omega\gamma\uparrow$, being created).

2.13. The imperative of "give" has three allomorphs: $\mu\omega\iota$, $\mu\lambda-$, $\mu\eta\iota$ (Polotsky, 1950, pp. 78ff.; 1971, 213ff.).

2.14. A verb-nominalization form in $\chi\iota\eta-$ is grammaticalized as $\uparrow\chi\iota\eta\tau\epsilon-$ / $\theta\pi\epsilon-$ (Stern, 1880, sec. 470-72; Mk. 14:55, $\epsilon\pi\chi\iota\eta\sigma\theta\theta\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$, to kill him).

2.15. The definite determinator pronoun { η } has only one form (with no special precluster allomorph).

2.16. Bohairic has a plural infix *-u-* ($\lambda\eta\lambda\gamma\omega$, oaths; $\zeta\eta\lambda\gamma\zeta$, fetters).

2.17. The first plural object suffix is usually (post-consonantly) $-\tau\epsilon\eta$ (rarely $-\epsilon\eta$).

2.18. Postadjunctive Greek-origin adverbial modifiers may be marked by $\acute{\eta}$ ($\acute{\eta}\kappa\lambda\omega\zeta$).

3. Syntagmatics, Paradigmatics (Role Relationship), and Prosody

3.1. Focalization Patterns. The second tense focalizes adverbs only, not actor or object (pronouns (except for $\lambda\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho$ $\omicron\upsilon$, How are you?, cf. Polotsky, 1960, p. 409). Interrogative pronouns may be construed with an unmarked (basic tense) topic, especially the first perfect (Gn. 27:33, $\mu\eta\mu$ $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$ $\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\eta\mu$, Who then hunted game for me?), but enter more usually the nominal cleft-sentence pattern. In the latter case, the topic constituent is either the invariable $\mu\epsilon\tau$ - (Polotsky, 1962, pp. 419f. [=CP 424]), which differs from the "substantivized" relative $\phi\eta$ $\epsilon\tau$ - (the relative expanding a demonstrative and indefinite pronouns as well as proper names; cf. Polotsky, 1962, sec. 9; Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 321f.): Mt. 3:14, $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho$ $\chi\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\iota$ $\omega\eta\varsigma$, It is I who need to be baptized; Mt. 9:5, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\mu\omicron\tau\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\varsigma$, What is it that is easy to say? Mt. 2:22 $\lambda\rho\chi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ $\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\rho\omicron$, It is Archelaos that is king; Mk. 8:37, $\phi\eta$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\iota\rho\omega\mu\iota$ $\mu\lambda\tau\eta\iota\chi$ $\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\epsilon\beta\iota\omega$ $\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\psi\gamma\chi\eta$, This is what a man will give in exchange for his soul.

3.2 Extraposition. Bohairic is strikingly topic-marking, favoring a front (topicalizing) extraposition as topic of a nominal sentence (Gn. 24:65, $\mu\alpha\rho\omega\mu\iota$ $\mu\eta\mu$ $\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\tau\eta$, Who is this man yonder?) and in other constructions (Shisha-Halevy, 1981, p. 321). The rear extraposition of a noun lexeme to an "interlocutive" (first-second person) pronoun is marked in Bohairic by $\delta\lambda$ - (e.g., Acts 10:41, Jas. 4:12).

3.3 Nominal Syntagmatics. The Bohairic system of determinator nuclear pronouns ("articles") is quaternary: definite-deictic ($\{\mu\eta\}$), definite nondeictic ($\{\mu\}$), indefinite ($\{\omicron\upsilon\}$), generic, nonindividualizing ($\{\beta\}$). Of these, the first two are interrelated in a complicated, still partly obscure set of factors, some external (cotextual), others internal (i.e., selection of $\{\mu\}$ by a special lexeme paradigm in a construction $\{\mu\}$ $\acute{\eta}$ - expressing inalienable possession, opposed to $\{\mu\}$ $\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon$, which expresses noninherent "appurtenance"). Elucidating this issue is probably the most urgent single task to be undertaken by students of this dialect. $\acute{\eta}$ - is also used to add further lexemes to the determinator-plus-lexeme basic unit: $\mu\eta=$ $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta$ $\acute{\eta}$ -, as in Mt. 23:17, 19, $\mu\eta\omicron\chi$ $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta$ $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$, the stupid and blind; *Acta Martyrum* 1.21.2f., $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\psi\omega\epsilon\mu\eta\tau$ $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta$ $\acute{\eta}\mu\lambda\eta\tau$ (nom. predicate) "pitiful and merciful."

3.4. The predication of possession is effected in Bohairic by a paradigm of adverbial-predicate patterns predicating $\acute{\eta}\tau\lambda$ $\acute{\epsilon}$ (Lk. 3:11), and not only by a

verboid ($\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\lambda$ $\acute{\epsilon}$ / $\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\tau\lambda$ $\acute{\epsilon}$, as in Gn. 16:1; cf. Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 317f.). The pronominal *possessum* never occurs as object of the verboid, but as the subject of the adverbial predication (Dt. 4:38).

3.5. The pronominal subject of affirmative bimembral nominal sentences is sometimes zeroed when it is anaphoric to a determinator or an extraposed topic (Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 328f.; I Cor. 5:18, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\omega\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\mu$ $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\lambda\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon\tau$ $\rho\lambda\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\psi$ $\chi\epsilon$ con $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\rho\eta\omicron\varsigma$). The most common instance of this is the distinctively Bohairic possessive $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\omega$ $\acute{\epsilon}$ ($\acute{\eta}$ -) (Lk. 6:30, 16:12).

3.6. $\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron$, the grammatically operative causative infinitive of $\iota\rho\iota$, is in Bohairic subject to the Stern-Jernstedt Rule and thus incompatible with the mediate ($\acute{\eta}$ -/ $\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron$ $\acute{\epsilon}$) direct-object construction in the bipartite pattern (Stern, 1880, p. 292; e.g., Mt. 5:32; De Vis, 1922-1929, 1.14.6).

3.7. The bipartite pattern predicating an adverb favors the intermediation of a copular stative (Gn. 26:24, $\dagger\chi\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\mu\lambda\kappa$, I am with you).

3.8. Gender. The cataphoric gender in "impersonal" predications is as a rule the feminine. On the other hand, the pronominal subject of the predicate ("to the debit/obligation of...") is (at least as a variant) the masculine: Gal. 5:3, $\psi\epsilon\rho\psi$ $\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\rho$ $\phi\eta\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\rho\psi$, he is obliged to observe the whole Law.

3.9. Tempuslehre Idiosyncrasies. The so-called third future is in Bohairic a true tense, not a mode, in paradigm with the present-based imminent future marked by $-\mu\lambda$ -. The conjunctive has often a subjunctival or "that"-form value (Stern, 1880, sec. 442), such as expanding the cataphoric feminine in "impersonal" predications (Mt. 5:29, cep $\mu\omicron\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\mu\lambda\kappa$ $\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\lambda\iota$ $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\lambda\kappa\omicron$, It is good for you that one of your members perish...). The second relative perfect form serves not only its topicalizing adnominal function but also as a temporal-protatic "temporalis" topic before a main clause (constituting a "topic-comment" nexus on a macrosyntactic level of analysis; Jn. 11:28, $\phi\lambda\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\varsigma\chi\omicron\psi$ $\lambda\varsigma\omega\epsilon$ $\mu\lambda\varsigma$, Having said this, she went away). The temporal clause is thus not expressed by a specific clause-tripartite conjugation base. (Incidentally, the second perfect in Bohairic cannot be further converted by the circumstantial converter.) The final and conditional clause paradigms include in Bohairic the conjunctive (after Greek final conjunctions of $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\omega\eta$, respectively, I Cor. 12:25, Mt. 6:14ff.). The postimperative paradigm lacks in Bohairic a specific marked apodotic form ($\tau\lambda\rho\psi$ - in other dialects, especially Sahidic) and features, typically, imperative

ric" elements in Old Coptic, see Kahle (1954, pp. 243f.).

5.4. Nitrian Bohairic is attested mainly in hagiographical, homiletic, and hermeneutical texts from the Nitrian Monastery of Macarius, where they are generally supposed to have been transposed from a Sahidic *Vorlage* in the ninth century, but is also found "seeping through" into classical sources. This idiom has not yet been redeemed from neglect due to the bias of "secondhandedness" and "tainting," and Nitrian grammar has not had the attention it deserves. Phonologically, one observes here δ fluctuating with ϵ (e.g., in $\epsilon\delta\rho\eta$, down) and ϵ with α (in $\text{co}\alpha$, fool; $\chi\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda$, camel). Typically there are $\omega\omega\eta\eta$, tree; cmont , form; $\text{t}\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$, stand up; and $\text{ko}\gamma\iota$, small. Sporadically, combinatory aspiration is absent. As regards morphology, one finds $\lambda\sim\epsilon$ for the second present converter; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ is found as a variant of prenominal $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$; in certain classes the presuffixal allomorph of the verb lexeme is extended to the prenominal state, leveling simplification into two—absolute and preobject—allomorphs (see Polotsky, 1930, p. 875 [=CP 344]): $\text{co}\gamma\omega\eta$, $\text{to}\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$, $\omega\omega\eta$, tom , $\omega\omega$, $\omega\omega\delta$; typical are the conjugation bases $\omega\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$ and $\eta\mu\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$ (first sing. $\eta\mu\lambda\eta\tau\alpha$, $\omega\lambda\eta\tau\alpha$); $\theta\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$ occurs for the second plural after $\eta\tau\omicron\tau$. One encounters the "freezing" of the possessive suffix in $\text{ne}\epsilon\omega\omega$, $\text{pi}\omega\omega$ (Polotsky, 1934, p. 61 [=CP 366]); Greek loan verbs occur also without $\epsilon\tau$. Syntactically, one finds the relative to be compatible with indefinite determination ($\text{o}\gamma\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\lambda\epsilon$, Balestri and Hyvernat, 1907–1950, 2.206.23; $\rho\omega\mu$ $\epsilon\theta\eta\lambda\eta\epsilon\omega$, *Homélie* 1.101.4) and the circumstantial expanding definite nouns ($\text{pi}\mu\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\text{pi}\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$, Balestri and Hyvernat, 1907–1950, 2.184.22f.). As in Sahidic, the second tense may have a nonadverbial focus (Polotsky, 1944, pp. 22, n. 1, and 31; 1971, pp. 126, 135). The negator $\lambda\eta$ is compatible with independently negative elements: $\eta\mu\eta\eta\eta$ $\lambda\eta$ (Balestri and Hyvernat, 1907–1950, 1.9.8), $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau$ $\lambda\eta$ (*ibid.* 216.3). The regulation of pi $\eta\tau\epsilon$ versus pi η adnominal expansion appears to be disrupted or changed. ne occurs (as a backgrounding of macrosyntactic subject) after verb forms other than the imperfect (Hyvernat, 1886–1887, 135.13f., $\lambda\epsilon$; 146.6f., $\epsilon\gamma$, circumstantial; 150.13, $\text{o}\gamma\omicron\eta$). Although many of these traits are attributable to the influence of Sahidic, this is by no means true of all.

5.5. Liturgical Bohairic has never been especially considered from the grammatical point of view. The djinkim occurs over most consonants, including surds; phonetic spellings are very common. η is often zeroed. Some of the syntactic characteristics of

Nitrian Bohairic are in evidence; the word order is occasionally remarkable; "agrammatical" constructions (such as $\alpha\epsilon$ + fut. I in a final clause, $\omega\epsilon$ $\text{na}\delta$ in the durative conjugation) occur. Nominal sentences with zeroed ne are common; the conjunctive occurs in initial position.

5.6. Nonliterary Bohairic is still a complete mystery. The sixth–eighth-century inscriptions of Kellia in Wādī al-Naṭrūn belong here only in a sense (they include tombstone and other personal religious texts); they are interesting (and as yet unresearched) from the linguistic point of view. One finds here sporadic variation of $\beta\sim\gamma$, $\omicron\sim\omega$, $\epsilon\mu\sim\eta$; the conjunctive $\tau\epsilon$; the spelling $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\delta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma$; sporadic absence of nasal-labial assimilation ($\eta\eta\mu\lambda\eta\eta$) and of combinatory aspiration ($\text{pi}\eta\epsilon\gamma\iota$). Proper names are expanded by $\eta\tau\epsilon$ ($\text{i}\omega\sigma\eta\phi$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\text{pi}\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\epsilon$). On the whole, the language conforms with the classical rather than the Nitrian standard of Bohairic.

5.7. Kahle's "semi-Bohairic" Bala'izah no. 19, a fourth-century papyrus text with passages from Philippians, shows some Fayyumic and Sahidic affinities.

6. Selected Bibliographical Information

6.1 Major or Comprehensive Text Editions. Biblical, hermeneutic: Tattam (1836, 1852 [Prophets]), de Lagarde (1867, 1886 [Pentateuch, New Testament Catena]), Burmester and Devaud (1925, 1930 [Psalms, Proverbs]), Porcher (1924 [Job]), Horner (1898–1905 [New Testament]). Patristic, hagiographical, homiletic: Hyvernat (1886–1887), Balestri and Hyvernat (1907–1950), de Vis (1922–1929).

6.2 Grammatical Discussion. Andersson (1904) contains, beside blatant errors, a few notable observations. Mallon (1956) is the only modern special grammar (cf. Polotsky, 1959, his major treatise concerning Bohairic, as well as 1930, 1934, 1944, 1950) with extensive bibliography, chrestomathy, and glossary; it leaves much to be desired. While Peyron's venerable grammar (1841) is still of value, Stern (1880) is still by far the best treatment of Bohairic (as of Sahidic) grammar; the Schwarze (1850) grammar is skeletal, but contains numerous important grammatical observations. Note also Schwarze's unwieldy work of 1843, and the early grammars by Tuki and by Scholtz and Woide (both 1778). Chaîne (1933), a detailed and extensive contrastive-dialectological grammar, has many merits and makes quite a few pioneering statements. Till (1931) is superficial and almost useless (cf. Polotsky, 1934). Finally, Erman's famous, yet unfollowed, contrastive study of

junction (1915) aims at reviving interest in Bohairic, and Shisha-Halevy (1981) dwells on some conservative characteristics of this dialect.

6.3 General Dialectological Discussion. Kahle (1954) is still the prime source of information (esp. pp. 231ff., 248ff.). Worrell (1934, esp. chaps. 1–2) treats Bohairic phonology and the general status of the dialect. Vergote (1973, Vol. 1b) discusses *B* phonology as a component in a panoramic presentation. Bohairic features in all of Kasser's important dialectological studies (see esp. 1981, pp. 92ff.).

6.4 Lexicology. Only Peyron and Tattam (both 1835) cater specially to *B*. The priceless information in Crum's *Dictionary* (1939) must yet be resolved for the individual dialects. G. Bauer's concordance (1975) of the invariable Greek elements in the Bohairic New Testament is a welcome tool of research, which, one hopes, is to be extended to the rest of the Greek, as well as the indigenous, lexicon.

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