RES BIBLIOGRAPHICAE

A Definitive Sahidic Coptic Grammar[1]

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I. Preliminary

This is beyond doubt the finest Coptic grammar ever written, a splendid achievement, masterfully carrying out the formidable task of making the leap from Stern's pre-scientific (if insightful) *Koptische Grammatik* of 1880, to bridge a century of Coptic and Egyptian linguistic study. By painstaking and elegant grammatical charting, the Sahidic dialect of Coptic now has a definitive, authoritative description, which I daresay will be superseded only if the corpus changes considerably. The work consolidates the findings of almost a century of research work on Coptic grammar, adding numerous new insights in statements that result from a correct and penetrating analysis of complicated data. It opens much new ground, while providing a clear, even-handed and lucid account of established comprehension, and puts much in a fresh perspective, often contradicting orthodoxy and deepening or clarifying the insights offered in many a study.

This work sets a very high standard for Coptic grammatography in the 21st century, in the tension mounting in the last decades of the 20th between Coptic Studies and Egyptology (including Egyptian linguistics), "theology" (Eastern Christian Studies), Oriental Studies and linguistics. More particularly, the work gives rise to reflections on the relationship and compatibilities between a didactic exposition, a reference source and a scientific description in the grammatical context, as well as on "ancient-language linguistics" with its familiar caprices of documentation. (One would certainly have welcomed in the Introduction some words concerning the special predicaments of, and constraints on, grammatical description in written language and — which is not the same — written *dead* language: cf. however §33.)

Although it claims to be primarily directed at a non-specialist readership, this is a 'linguist's grammar' in the sense that it more than satisfies modern analytic criteria, expertly and concisely tackling intricate issues while cleverly (and programmatically) avoiding hermetic terminology and jargon. With an excellent sense of overall structure, never overstepping the bounds of the evidence, Layton subtly delineates most topics of Coptic syntax and morphology. This is certainly not a traditional grammar. A major virtue of this work lies in the fact that, unlike most run-of-the-mill Coptic grammars, it does not hang the Coptic facts onto the Greek *Vorlage* (see below, on the Coptic-Greek interface).

This work ought to establish Coptic reliably again as a prominent typological landmark on the General Linguistics map, whence it all but disappeared after the Second World War, as an Egyptological, orientalist, general-linguistic consultation instrument. The deplorable situation where linguists had still to look to Till's grammar or (in the US and also outside it) Lambdin's textbook, or to Loprieno's compendium[2] for Coptic specific or typological information, is now finally over.

The luxuriant documentation and exemplification in Layton's Grammar is no less than pure pleasure: the reader is (in Denniston's words) literally bathed in examples. The translation into polished idiomatic English is precise, always sensitive to lexicon and syntax and to the subtle modulations and complexities of the Coptic. I would if I may dwell a little on this aspect of the work. While example and element translation is not tantamount to description, and the conceptual and categorial filter of the translation-target language does inevitably tend to bias comprehension of the study-object language, this is still a primary channel of approach. However, caution is here in order with respect to two difficulties that are in my experience most often encountered: first, differences between the languages in the *value* of elements or patterns; second, basic discrepancies in the two respective *systems*.

A striking example of the first difficulty is translating Coptic Cleft Sentence constructions, and especially the Focalizing Conversion (*alias* Second Tense). Its rendering in French or to a lesser extent British English would correspond with Cleft-Sentences, but normal written American English — or at least its stylistically conscious typical varieties — refrains from using the CS, unless for "heavy" emphasis. Consider the translation of the examples on p. 246 f. The author himself observes on this in his discussion of the Focalizing Conversion (p. 356), but when he says that the "less common English construction *It is... that...* often has an excessively elaborate and clumsy effect", one might expect a specification of the variety/register/dialect of 'English' that he is referring to as well as the cotext/context. A related difficulty is encountered even with non-focal predicates (ⲁⲛⲅ-ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ "I am a prophet" [p. 200] or "what I am is a prophet"?). A striking case of the second difficulty, amounting to translation-inspired description, is the collection of Coptic equivalents for "have" (§393), many of which are not possessive at all — "She had a high fever", "a man who had demons" (the same rhematic preposition in Coptic), "Judas had the money box", and many more. The equivalence with English "have" stands, of course, but, one may ask, what of it? The range of English "have" exceeds possession by far, and anyway cannot be taken as defining the 'possession' range for another language. The only Coptic elements in this range that are felicitously rendered in English are the possessive articles (≈ English possessive articles: *my, your* ...) and their unreduced prosodic alternants, the so-called possessive pronouns (*mine, yours* ...). All others, including {ⲛⲁ-}, are only very approximately described by awkwardly paraphrastic translating. A second example: barring the Celtic languages, English is, of all NWE-type languages, best suited to render the Egyptian-Coptic Circumstantial throught the converb or gerund *-ing*, which, however, is no less "ambiguous" (cf. p. 338) than the Coptic Circumstantial. I cannot therefore see why (ibid.) "English translations often must supply *although, when, whenever, while, if (ever), inasmuch as, unless* etc.". It is in effect not clear which of the four main "roles" of the Circumstantial (§415)

[1] Review-article of Bentley Layton, *A Coptic Grammar, with Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect.* Porta Linguarum Orientalium, N.S. Band 20. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000. xix-520 p. 15,5 × 23. DM 148,—.

[2] A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian: a Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge 1995).

is in the author's opinion a real syntactical function, or a reflection of a cate-
gorization engendered in an English-oriented linguistic competence. The Circum-
stantial as a "that" form (p. 342), as in the case of "I found that he was accused"
(ⲁⲓϭⲛⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲕⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲁϥ) is certainly a phantom 'translation category', for in
Coptic it is normally adnexal to the formal cataphoric (lit. "I found it he being ac-
cused").

Objectionable or doubtful translations are extremely rare among the vast num-
ber of examples: John 4:23 "The hour is coming, and this is it" (not "and now is",
p. 51); 2 Cor 11:22 ⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲅⲱ "I, too, am one" and not "so am I", p. 43;
ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ "he is", not "That's what he is"); Luc. 11:31 (p. 386) ⲉⲓⲥ-ⲅⲟⲩⲉ-ⲥⲟ-
ⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ "more than S.", not "something greater than S."; ⲭⲉⲛⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ (p. 265) is
almost exactly "pour ne pas dire".

Layton's consistent expositive policy is to approach phenomena and features
recursively, again and again, revisiting them at different levels of detailedness or
resolution and different subsystemic contexts, with constant cross-referencing. This
is not only practically called for when the canvas is so large and diverse, in a mul-
ti-dimensional system of great complexity and richness, and not only didactically
wise; in the structure that informs all, it also meets the Hjelmslev–Halliday require-
ments of descending structural analysis of grammatical class as class of classes, in
an ever-increasing delicacy of analysis; and, of course, it is *true*, in suiting the lin-
guistic system, in which every element and element cluster is held in a mesh of re-
lationships and (cross-)dependencies, in subsystems that are themselves interrelated,
interdependent or mutually opposed.

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Here follow some observations, critical and otherwise, mostly to be considered
a structural linguist's reactions to the work — highlights of intellectual analytic
pleasure in applying Layton's statements for so to speak levering reflections on
questions of general principle and import, methodology, and grammatical theory, or
a critique offered on topics of central importance in Coptic grammar, with Layton's
discussion as it were a peg on which to hang further assessment or an alternative
viewpoint. Some criticisms relate to an alternative methodological *Weltanschauung*;
others point out 'cosmetic' blemishes, while none detract from the present re-
viewer's appreciation and admiration for this grammatographic *tour de force*.

II. General

(1) *The Preface* (p. ix ff.) is important as an explicit, reasoned declaration of
policy. Among the noteworthy points, and one in which I have to declare a special
vested interest, is the explicit aim of making "Shenoute's grammar more acces-
sible" (p. ix). Prominently stressing the Shenouteanity of specific features in the
course of the exposition — constructions that are distinctively or almost exclusively
Shenoutean — would have helped, and even given us a veritable Grammar of She-
noutean usage, which, if stated contrastively, could also put in perspective and re-
lief the relativity of statements about Scripture usage as a marked set and even
contribute to a future contrastive Coptic-Greek presentation.

So, for instance (this is a partial list of features, many of which are attested in
pre-Coptic Egyptian), in §62b *zero* and indefinite article phrase reiterated (in-

cidentally, the meaning "in any given individual case, respectively" for the latter is
well established); §165 ⲙⲛϥⲱⲙⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ; p. 258; the greatly extended
form set and range of ⲙⲉⲅⲁ⸗ (§381); conversions of ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧϥ (ⲛ-) (p. 301), of
the Cleft Sentence (p. 372); the interplay of masculine and feminine cataphoric ref-
erence to a clause (p. 393); the conjunctive extending protatic clauses (circum-
stantial or relative, §353); special circumstantial-topic focalizing constructions
(p. 365 f.); the Focalizing Conversion extended (p. 364 f.); various figures involv-
ing the Focalizing (§444-460) or the Circumstantial Conversion (p. 342); adnominal
ⲭⲉ in a doubly negative environment (§483, discussed below); narrative ⲉⲁϥϭⲱⲧⲙ
(§428); paratactic relative clauses (p. 389); double and triple conversions (§414,
416 f.); and more.

As is generally realized, Sahidic is not monolithic. While Shenoute, the Scrip-
tures, patristic and hagiographical sources are well mined, the work programmat-
ically ignores several important corpuses (the great gnostic codices, Pistis Sophia,
the Bruce Codex, see p. x n. 5): an understandable, but perhaps contestable de-
cision, be it only in view of the wealth of instructive special or 'raisin' examples
occurring in these rejected sources, whose only disqualifications is in showing
"non-Standard peculiarities". One may take exception to this, in a work of such
calibre and scope. Non-literary Coptic too is underrepresented, which I find regret-
table because of the rich vein of syntax and morpho(phono)logy to be struck in
genres of untranslated authentic Coptic — and registers that may be our only win-
dow to more colloquial and idiomatic varieties of Coptic. A special Grammar of
Non-Literary Sahidic is after all not likely to be compiled and published in the
near future.

I also believe it would have been useful to give, in the Preface and on special
occasions throughout, some pertinent contrastive information regarding other dia-
lects (esp. Bohairic: for instance, ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛ- is anything but rare in Bohairic; cf.
p. 60). (A general suggestion, for a future reprint or re-edition: a small select bibli-
ographical list for each topic, for further advanced reading, will satisfy the curiosity
and improve the orientation of the reader whose grammatical sensibilities are excit-
ed by the Coptic.)

When variants (esp. morphemic and morphophonemic ones) are presented, a
word on their relative statistical weight and typical corpus/genre/period distribution
would have been helpful (e.g. the 2nd fem. forms in §78 or the suffix pronouns in
§86).

It is in the nature of things in a work of such scope that some chapters and
sections should, subjectively to a reviewer, appear to be particularly successful or
more well-conceived than others. Among my favourites are the Nominal Sentence
(Chapter 13), the Conditional Sentence (§494 ff.), Correlated Comparison (ⲛⲑⲉ
ⲉⲧ-/ⲛ-...ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ and the like, §505 ff.), and Reported Discourse (Chapter 24,
§509 ff.). Less successful, although very detailed, and a source of much new infor-
mation are, in my opinion, the Tense System (Chapter 25) and Adverbials
(Chapter 9).

(2) *New terminology.* This is a major issue and must always be a prime con-
cern for the grammarian, for terms represent concepts, and terminology often has a
way of taking over much of the mental process unconsciously, often insidiously
guiding and manipulating analytic thought. This issue is addressed in the Preface
(p. xi f.; see n. 10 for a selection of new terms) and *passim* throughout the work. I

select here a few of these new terms for critical attention (see also below, under specific topics).

"Entity term", "entity statement" (Chapters Six, Twenty-two etc.): this is probably the most controversial and consequential new coinage in the work, to cover all nominals and pronominals, including verbal nominalizations, infinitives etc. I would here call for some caution: substantives, infinitives (verb lexemes), nouns and pronouns ought epistemologically not to be covered by the same term. Their "occurring in the same set of syntactic positions" (p. 106) is only true to a degree, is not precise enough and may conceal crucial differences and idiosyncrasies. There are cases (such as §379) where "expanded by an entity statement" (of ₴ⲛⲁⲷ) really means "expanded by an infinitive" and amounts to disinformation. In §486 ff., an important and well-presented chapter on pronominal cataphora to nexal and verbal nominalizations — a feature typologically so central in Coptic, a language which, even more than Egyptian, separates in the syntagm the lexemic from the grammemic, and in which pronominals play a crucial role in representing and incorporating lexemes, lexeme-centered phrases, included nexus within basic patterns and so on — in the case of pronominals, "entity term" is apt to mislead.

"Specifier" (Chapter Three), mostly for different kinds and constructions of quantifiers, is infelicitous, especially since 'specificity' had best be reserved for the set of phenomena — the issues involved in which are deep — involving the determination of nouns, with some corollaries and correlates in the verb. Thus, ⲉⲁⲉ ⲛⲗⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ, illustrating a specifier phrase (p. 55), is not special in any sense, while ⲉⲁⲉ is, in determination grading and ensuing syntactic properties.

"Nexus morph" (§248) "morphs which occur only where nexus is present, and which thus (at least incidentally) signal or imply or are associated with the presence of nexus, even if their main function is to express some other grammatical categories". Even didactic helpfulness apart, this coinage and such a notion is worth considering, the only reservation being the possible sharper usefulness of reserving such a term for the *nexus-signifying* morph, i.e. the copula. All nexal patterns have nexus morphs: in the Durative Pattern, with nominal themes it is the Stative and Eventual Converbs that are nexus morphs (*pace* the author, §317); but the rhematic adverb with nominal theme is marked as rhematic and not adjunctal only by the *absence of another* (i.e. verbal) *rheme*.

"Nucleus" (p. 28) as "syntactic base of departure", while certainly true, is not full or clear enough. The non-trivial nucleus is rather the constituent of a syntagm that defines and signals its commutation properties (paradigm), and represents the whole syntagm in the larger syntagmatic whole.

"Bases" and "gendered bases" for the proclitic nuclear deriving morphs (§109, 112), mostly highly-grammaticalized lexemes in what is properly *in initio compositi* status, leads into confusion, if not blunder. Why are ⲷⲃⲣ- and ⲙⲉⲉ- not bases? The "genderless" deriving suffixes confirm the grammaticalized compounding nature of Coptic derivation; I would certainly include ⲁⲧ-, ⲣⲉϥ- and ⲙⲁⲓ- in the word-formation/derivation/compounding sections.

"Gendered" (§104 ff. etc., e.g. ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ, ⲧⲙⲉ): marked for gender? Markable for gender? Compatible with gender markers?

"Mutable" for infinitives with pre-object morphophonemic allomorphs (§167), or conjugation-carrying converters (Chapter 14, §171 etc.); "immutable" Converters (§395 f.). This terminology is inconsistent, for the immutables too do have their allomorphs (e.g. ⲉ-, ⲛⲧ-, ⲉⲛⲧ, ⲉⲧⲉ- for the Focalizing Conversion), while the muta-

bles are not always allo-morphemically interrelated. This distinction is less than helpful, and, being "morphological" in the most primitive sense of the word, more often than not raises the descriptive question.

"Verboids" (§373 ff.), extended by the author beyond the possession verboid ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ, to include "suffixally conjugated verboids" such as ⲛⲉⲝⲁϥ, ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ etc. and others. I suggest that at least for the latter, the old term ("Adjective Verb") should be at least mentioned: it is not that bad, both historically (in Demotic, where this formation is first productively attested, it is intimately connected with the adjective, derived from it by means of ⲛⲓ-) and synchronically, since it is an important adjective-correspondent in Coptic.

"Personal morph" (*alias* personal pronouns) has the double disadvantage of detaching the personal pronouns from the pronominal association class and obscuring the relationship between different, partly allomorphic subclasses of the personal pronouns.

"Past tense" for the traditional Latinate 'perfect' (§334) is a welcome and worthwhile break with tradition. I wish it would catch on.

"Construct participle" for ⲙⲁⲓ- etc. is misleading. We have here synchronically a word-formational compounding procedure, with a residual (albeit productive to a degree) *in initio compositi* form of verbs, with the nominal *in fine compositi* constituent, with either *zero* or possessive articles, in actantial *object* dependency with the *i.i.c.* one. Functionally, this is a *nomen agentis* + *object* formation (so Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, §173), comparable to English *kill-joy* or Italian *asciuga-mano* and Indo-European compounds (inverse sequence) of the *veda-vid, ponti-fex* pattern, or Proper Names of the Ἀρκεσί-λαος, *Vladi-mir* type. It is not a synchronic participle.

"Inflected modifier" or "personal modifier" for the *Verstärker* or *augens* set (§152 ff.) are correct as a descriptive word-class description, but I think a pithy functional name is still desirable; the focalizing role of the augens is wholly ignored.

III. Fundamental Notions and Specific Issues

(1) *Syllables* (§18, 35 ff.), here conceived of as "the minimal units of articulated speech" are no less problematic in written texts than are the graphematic representation of phones and phonemes, since they raise the uneasy question of the relationship of written and spoken language. Indeed, the syllable *is* a problematic notion in many respects. It is certainly indispensible for the linguistic describing the realization of phonemes — in Coptic, all stop phonemes, including the glottal one (an active sonorant synchronic phoneme, as ought to be prominently stated) — can be realized as syllable peak, and not only in onset and coda, as well as for morphonology, even morphology. In the discussion of the syllabic stroke (§38), a mention of the the Bohairic Jinkim would have been in order.

(2) *The Word. Syntax and morphology. Juncture. Linkage. Prosody. Morphology. Morphonology. Morphosyntax.*

Word division (§19), entirely strange to Coptic and Egyptian analytical sensibility[3], accommodates the western student's bias, in a subjective and imprecise con-

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[3] Word division differs from final-boundary signalling for word-analogue units. Needless to

ception, suited to the (Indo-)European typical parcel unit of lexical stem and grammemic affixes, packaged as a 'word', which often conflicts with the Coptic native typology of lexical units preceded by affixes. Moreover, since clauses are constructed of morphs and morph syntagmes, the stratificational distinction of syntactic and morphological level easily fades away in Coptic: indeed, this is one of the prime lessons of Coptic typology. The word is no longer a notion of general analytical significance. This might have been pointed out in the exposition.

Morphology *stricto sensu* plays a very limited role in Coptic, which is one of its main interests, not to say charms. The main morphological interest of Coptic is, I believe, in historical (and in the formidable 4000-year span of Egyptian diachrony Coptic has a unique role to play) as well as dialectal-comparative typological perspectives. This is very striking for instance in the case of the converters, esp. of the Relative and Focalizing ones. The much-quoted "Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax" loses its point almost entirely[4].

Juncture — the phenomenology and marking of linkage and delimitation — is of fundamental significance for syntagmatics. Layton's important perspective on the junctural gradience and status of syntagmes and constitutive elements (§27 ff.) highlights the centrality of this issue, but I believe is not among the most successful parts of the book, partly because of the terminology, but mainly due to the too fluid and problematic conceptualization, which raises a number of questions. I shall here refer only to several points and classes that I find especially problematic. It is essential to remember that (by definition) all subtextual units and subunits are mutually linked ("bound"), in different grades of linkage and types of (inter)dependence. However, I doubt that describing ⲛϭⲓ- or the *nota relationis* ⲛ- as "initial bound morphs"; or determinators, prepositions, infinitives with object as "nonterminal" — in both cases to convey their occurring after (and indeed co-marking) boundaries; or suffix pronouns, but also noun lexemes and Proper Names, as "terminal bound morphs", to indicate their being or occurring as final delimiters — is the best way of noting the junctural properties of the elements concerned, especially since many or most occur in more than one category. Except for a few grammemes, it is not the element *per se* that is initial or (non-)terminal, but the slot occupant in the construction in question. And then, class 5a (for instance, lexemes and PNs) can hardly be considered "free of bound relationship", later even defined as 'autonomous', in cases like ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ or ⲧⲛⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲟϭ. This is even less acceptable in the case of 5b (ⲁⲩⲱ, ⲏ, ⲉⲓⲥϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ etc.) and 6 (enclitics, ...ⲛⲓⲙ — "which never occur in bound relationship"). Underlying the author's classification here seems to be the somewhat trivializing conception of boundness as prosodically and morphophonologically close juncture — one detects again the word and word-internal juncture as a *point de repère*. This means losing sight of the finer gradation within close juncture and beyond it, of the scalarity of inter-lexemic and inter-grammemic juncture, and indeed of lexemicity and grammemicity in

say, the word may be defined language-specifically as a junctural unit with given junctural delimitative properties and internal linkage, but not coextensive with other definitions.

[4] Cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, "Stability in Clausal/Phrasal Pattern Constituent Sequencing: 4000 Years of Egyptian (with Some Theoretical Reflections, also on Celtic)", in: *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns over Time*, ed. R. Sornicola et al. (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2000) 71-100.

themselves, and of the overruling fact that juncture is a distinctive quality of *patterns* and pattern constituent slots, not of individual elements. "Autonomy" as defined in this way (p. 25) is tautological and epistemologically problematic, since so very subjective and open to circular interpretation. So indeed is the definition of *cliticity* (ibid., and see below). Thus, for instance, describing the absolute state of the infinitive (p. 26) as terminal bound/unbound is not helpful, unless we specify its boundness conditions and add information pertaining to its junctural properties as lexeme. (Generally speaking, grammemes contract closer, lexemes more open juncture; this insight may prove useful in presenting the structure of conjugation forms, see §326 f.). Grammatical relations, dependencies and hierarchies such as the nucleus/expansion one, very well discussed in §34, do not overrule juncture but rather *conjoin* it.

Different *zero* elements enter different junctures; hence the need to specify their identity — e.g. the 2nd s. fem. suffix pronoun: cf. p. 74, Table 7 n. 1.

The use of "enclitic" is too generous or too generally applied: ...ⲛⲓⲙ, for instance, is not an enclitic article (p. 48), but a postposed one; nor is ϣⲏⲙ (ibid.) enclitic. It ought to have been stressed that (§182) encliticity is a relative and scalar property of many elements, rather than an absolute property of a special group of entities. In the case of the enclitic particles (§235b), the characterization "which cannot occur first in their clause" is somewhat skewed as a definition, and "clause" must at least be replaced by "colon" or "prosodic unit".

ⲭⲛⲉ-/ⲭⲛⲓ- (p. 148), ⲭⲉ-/ⲭⲓ are junctural variants, as Steinthal-Misteli observed as early as 1893.

The difficult case of "bare ⲉⲧ°-" (ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ, §405[5]) becomes clearer upon processing conjointly its diachronic systemics (other dialects, notably Oxyrhynchite, are also instructive here). For here we have an ⲉⲧ-, similar to the Past relative or 'participial' ⲉⲣ-, that is obviously not (yet) really a converter, and so constitutes both relative link and actor-slot occupant, while in the ever better-attested type, ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ (Shenoute ed. Leipoldt, IV 28) it is seen in full converter-hood. We have thus in Coptic a state of things eminently analogous to the tension in English between WH-pronouns and adnominal *that*, or even closer to Italian pronominal *che* (/*cui* etc.) and the currently lower-register "weak relative conjunction" *che*.

I believe ϣⲉⲧ- is phonemically not /š't/ (§189) but /šV't/, with 'V' the vocalic morphemic exponent of the prenominal lexeme; it is not "zero grade". Similarly, I believe the phonemic difference between the prepositional stems of ⲉⲣⲟⲟ ‖ ⲧⲉ and ⲉⲧⲟⲧ ‖ ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ is not in the respective absence and presence of a vowel (so Layton, §37) but in the respective higher and lower closeness of linkage with the pronoun: the latter form shows the glottal stop realized as *zero* in syllabic preconsonantal non-absolute coda, the former in absolute syllabic coda, as a vocalic 'echo' written as a doubled-vowel complex. In cases like ⲥⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ, only the primary stress must have fallen on the object noun syntagm; the verb lexeme had secondary stress.

[5] I find objectionable the use of "bare" for zero in this instance; "The bareness (∅ morph) of ⲉⲧ∅- is compatible with sing. masc., sing. fem. and plur. antecedents" is even more dubious. Nothing is here really "bare": the absence of an actor expression (whether anaphoric or not) is no stranger here than in the case of English "the world that was".

.The "Second Suffixes" (§90 and p. 311) are still mysterious with regard to their synchronic and diachronic nature, their juncture with the preceding environment, i.e. their left-hand boundaries, and general morphosyntax. They do not always join with "active" analyzable suffix pronouns, or for that matter with suffix pronouns at all: consider ᴄⳉⲀⲓ⸗ or Ⰰⲣⲓ⸗ and suchlike. Their peculiar morphonology has at any rate nothing to do with phonetic or (morpho)phonemic exclusion or incompatibility. For instance, -ᴄ- is very often an inter-pronoun boundary signal or buffer. (By the way, the vocalic doubling in ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉϥ is probably also a case of the glottal stop manifest in the hiatus of two identical vowels; see Polotsky, *OLZ* 1957, 231a.) The placement of these suffixes is as a rule conditioned; consider -ᴄ- in -ⲧⲉ-ᴄ-ⲡⲉⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲕ ⲛⲉ "cause him who takes your property to give it back" (Table 12 p. 134), which cannot be final, probably because it does not back" (Table 12 p. 134), which cannot be final, probably because it does not (ad)join a lexeme or a whole clause. This -ᴄ- neutralizes number in its anaphoricity ("it"/"them"). In the contact between pronominal possessor and *possessum* (p. 309 ff.), the case of a *zero* (2nd sgl. fem.) with a contiguous non-zero conditions and overrules their sequence, which is then neutralized and so non-pertinent (thus -ϥ-ⲉ- "you (have) him"). Another sequence-neutralizing factor is the lexeme (nominal possessor) and grammeme (pronominal *possessum*): ⲛ̄ⲕⲀ ⲛⲓⳙ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧ-ⲉ-ⲛⲀⲉⲓⲱⲧ.

(3) *Pronouns ("Personal Morphs")*, Chapter 4 (see also above, on juncture and morphosyntax, and below on Noun Determination): a perceptive morphological treatment of a deeply interesting and extremely important - arguably *the* most important — subsystem of features in Coptic syntax. It is of the utmost typological import to observe that in Coptic, as in other languages, but much more strikingly so than in most European ones, the pronouns, and their kindred the pro-verbs, call the tune: their relation to noun and verb lexemes and syntagms is not ancillary or complementary, but combinatory as well as representative. The pro-forms actualize ('activate') and integrate the lexemes, and the very few 'morphological forms' there are, in the text; the lexemes themselves (sharply distinct from the grammemes, most of which are pronominalia) are peripheral. Some observations in a more critical spirit follow.

As already implied, I believe the association between nouns and pronouns (and Proper Names) is somewhat misrepresented by subsuming them all as "entity terms" (see §141).

While the terminological coinage is here on the whole unexceptionable (I only take some exception to {Ⰰⲛⲅ}- as a 'personal prefix'), I for one miss the distinction (originating in Damourette and Pichon's *Des mots à la pensée*) between interlocutive (= locutive + allocutive) and delocutive, which in Coptic is probably more salient and formally as well as functionally more consequential than in most other languages I am acquainted with.

Personal suffix allomorphs (p. 69, Table 6 with notes). It is obvious that here the allomorphic alternation is of the verbal lexeme (infinitive) itself rather than of the pronoun: it would perhaps have been advisable to present this along with the syllabication factor, which is here essentially involved. Distinguishing the motivant and the conditioning from the motivated and conditioned is a matter of fundamental significance in linguistic analysis. It is a fact that the lexeme — or rather its final boundary — is rather sensitive to morphophonemic alternation. Generally speaking, the interaction and junctural interface of lexemic and grammemic seg-

ments is especially intriguing in Coptic. Another question to be cleared up is the hierarchy of primary and secondary morphs, i.e. pertinent vs. alternant morphology (e.g. *zero* vs. -ⲧ for the 1st sgl.; §89).

(p. 65) Ⰰⲛⲟⲕ etc. ("Personal Independents") occur, with the invariable ⲛⲉ, also in acclamatory, proclamatory, theodictic patterns ("Ⰰⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲉ X" etc.)

The generic (here called "general") person (p. 64): I am convinced that the 2nd and 3rd sgl. masc. do not meaninglessly fluctuate, although a special study has yet to be conducted into their specific respective distribution and sequencing. The 3rd plural does not properly belong here; it is not really generic, but impersonal. In combination with ⲉⲃⲟⳆ ⳉⲓⲧⲛ̄- in the dynamic passive construction, it is simply another member of the "person/number" category. In fact, the pronom ᴄⲉ-/-ⲩ- expressing the actor in forms of eventual or dynamic passive diathese is not the 3rd plural (§175), but a pronominal homonymous with it; it is non-referential (as the authour himself says), and by this token distinct from the 3rd plural which refers to a "plurality of actors". It is of the essence that in cases like ᴄⲉⲛⲀⲉⲃⲃⲓⲟϥ "he shall be humbled" it is the *object* that makes a passive reading at all possible, since it is only when all the matricial slots are filled that a passive-decodable pattern may be activated. The same is true of the infinitive: ⲕⲀⲧⲀⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⳆⲀⲓ ⲉⲕⲟⲟⲥⲟⲩ John 19:40 is "according to the custom of the Jews to be buried", and not as translated here (p. 131).

, On the "Second Suffixes", brilliantly described in this work, see above.

(4) *Specificity. Noun determination. Zero determination. Genericity and related topics* (Chapter Two).

Determination is a difficult issue, perhaps among the most difficult for any language, only half-understood and with no coherent interpretation yet achieved — a syndrome of several converging categories marked in and around the noun syntagm, rather than a simple category. Its pan-systemic import is well manifested in its recurrence throughout the work. Some critical remarks and reservations about the author's generally very good presentation are called for:

(p. 35) The 'definite articles' are in Sahidic best illustrated by the ⲛ- ⲧ- ⲛ̄- series, not ⲛⲉⲓ- etc., which is strongly deictic. I would present the nuclearity of the determinators more prominently and in the very beginning (§42). The list of determinators is not clear and sometimes questionable: ⲕⲉ- is not a article/pronoun pairs is not clear and sometimes questionable: ⲕⲉ- is not a determinator, but a quantifier; the thematic pronoun ⲛⲉ is not directly related to determination; ⲛⲀ- (possessive pronoun) is determination-indifferent, and is not a determinator at all (see further below); nor would I consider ⲛ-...ⲉⲧⳙⳙⲀⲩ, ⲛⲉⲧⳙⳙⲀⲩ, ...ⲛⲓⳙ or ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⳙ article/pronoun pairs in the sense of ⲟⲩ- and ⲟⲩⲀ, ⲛⲓ- and ⲛⲏ. Indeed, I find the "determinator pronoun" (§42 ff.) as presented and contrasted with "articles" an altogether problematic notion; I doubt that ⲟⲩⲀ, ϭⲉ, ⲟⲩⲟⲛ (ⲛⲓⳙ) ⲛⲓⲙ⸗ and most others are in any sense determinators.

(p. 38) ⲛⲕⲉ-, ⳉⲉⲛⲕⲉ- are not 'complex articles' but cases of articles expanded by quantifiers (which precede the lexeme in an entirely different slot, see also §51); ⲛⲉⲓ- is certainly not complex.

ⲛ- (§49; also elsewhere). The motivation of gender (and in a different sense number) in the determinators is indeed "according to what the speaker wishes to communicate", which may be considered somewhat trivial; but when the author says that "the selection of gender is *also* motivated by the grammatical class and function of the expansion element", namely the lexeme (my italics), he seems to be

missing the syntactical point, for п- in the possessive article, though nuclear, *is* un-equivocally motivated by the expanding lexeme.

Actualization of possessed nouns is expressed either by the possessive article or (for the inalienables §140 f.) by the suffixed possessor (not 'self-actualizing').

The delocutive thematic pronoun (пɛ тɛ нɛ, §53 "nexus pronoun", also p. 199) has actually nothing to do with the determinators other than a common deictic component. It does not express determination (*pace* the author p. 46), but *theme-hood* (and by implication nexus), and is marked for gender and number.

The quantifiers, and esp. the numbers, do not express determination either (*pace* the author, §66). However, they do bring home the asymmetry and difference between the singular and plural determination sets; a difference so drastic, in fact, that I would present them in one continuous list, in one column, and not in two as is usual.

The much discussed so-called possessive pronoun {пл-}, {пω*} — perhaps better 'relating pronoun', certainly not *possessed* pronoun — occurring in the *pre-determinator*, not pre-lexemic slot, is not specific or marked for specificity (its deixis is exclusively anaphoric, never cataphoric), but rather indifferent with regard to specificity; thus not "*the* one related to" (on p. 47 the author does enclose "the" in parentheses, without comment). That the possessive article "consists of the simple def. article followed by personal intermediates" is not even morphologically correct. At least for the 'pronominal' column of the list of possessive constructions (§147), I believe the description is flawed by a fallacious conception. пɛq- isn't, and cannot be treated as п- expanded by "his": "when the nucleus has simple definite determination, the possessive article ... ('*the ... of* ...') occurs instead of 'the simple def. article". On the other hand, пɛq- is indeed an article (somewhat higher on the specificity scale than п-), and its internal dependency cannot be seen other than through its non-proclitic allomorph {пωq}, which in turn is a pre-personal allomorph of пл- — which is certainly nuclear (expandable by a determinated noun or Proper Name), but is not an article or determinator pronoun (*pace* the author, often, e.g. p. 112).

The deictic functional idiosyncrasy of {пı-} (p. 49) lies in its expressivity, abstracting and intensifying qualities immanent (as semes) in lexemes. This may diachronically be considered a metaphoric application of its original distal role, as in пıcʌ or пıкро, and still prominently in other dialects, but not in the generic plural in нөɛ нпı-. {пɛı-} is essentially interlocutive rather than proximal (§56). While I would not consider п(...) ɛтʌʌʌʌ†† to be a basic "farther demonstrative" (§57), it is certainly true that, like *yonder* in some varieties of English, adnominal ʌʌʌʌ† supplies the deixis corresponding to the ɛ̇кɛ̄ series in Greek.

(§47) Zero article (§§47 f., 59, 145d). Generics. Graphemically indicating *all cases* of the Ø-article before every noun in the Coptic texts, in every Coptic example, even in the Chrestomathy and the Index at the end of the book, is courageous — this is about the most confidently structuralist stand-taking possible — and didactically justifiable, but still open to some objections of a theoretical but even didactic nature[6]. For it must be remembered that, beside word-division, this is the on-

ly analytical information presented segmentally in the Coptic text; the gain here must be weighed against ensuing complications. *Zero* article is a feature of partic ular interest and certainly among the most difficult ones, both notionally and analytically. Defensible and comprehensible only structurally, it needs constan structural validation, as the temptation is strong to treat the 'bare noun' or 'article lessness' as an undifferentiated phenomenon. The linguistic *zero* element in genera is very well presented in the work, and indeed is one of its most welcome cardina contributions; *zero* article is certainly the most conspicuous case in point. The *zer* vs. *nil* distinction, while not fuzzy, is still difficult and tricky. Unlike *nil*, whic means indifference/non-involvement in the determination syndrome, *zero* article existing where a commutation exists, positively expresses determination (while be ing a negative formal signal), as a meaningful absence of any of the components c specificity. Thus, *nil* is for example the case of the possessive article пл-, or th noun lexeme following ʌʌнт-, or, as the authour cogently notes on p. 110, follow ing ɡı- in ɛɡoʏcıʌ нoʏωʌʌ ɡıcω, or preceding p̄- in ɛтʌ̄рɡωß. On the oth hand, oʏoн is hardly *zero*, formally speaking (while its role as a notionally empt slot-filler is very well put forth here). Following the *nota relationis* н- we do hav *zero* determination, even of an adverbial: thus н-*zero*-ɥʌɛнɛɡ, н-*zero*-кʌтʌ (*pace* the author, §124). By the way, the last-quoted case, as opposed to the case ɛ oʏʌттɛλoc ɛßoλ ɡнтпɛ, also illustrates nicely the distinction between an a nominal н-marked, *zero*-determinated adverbial (compatible with all nuclear d termination grades), and the adnominal adverbial, not compatible with specific n clei.

Functionally speaking, the issue of Generics (§47 etc.), currently very much vogue — the despair of grammarians and the staple diet and delight of logicia semanticians — the generic reading of *zero* and other determinators might ha been given pride of place here. This topic is not merely a sub-issue of syntactic semantics (not to mention philosophy of language), but of syntax pure and simpl ranging from noun determination to verbal categories and especially tense. "Engli: has no one single equivalent of the Coptic *zero* article" is an awkward statemer the universal incommensurability of grammatical systems and *systèmes des valeu* in different languages is commonplace. More to the point is the observation that Coptic (as in English and other languages) most, if not all, articles can have gene ic reading, albeit for different kinds of genericity; it is as if generic types take on metaphoric guise of specificity characterizations. The *zero* determinator (p. 36 a §47) does express "a suppression of [gender/number] categories", but by definiti not of definiteness/indefiniteness.

The indefinite article (§§45, 50)[7] imparts higher individualization to the int rogatives ʌɥ and oʏ. It is no coincidence that the interrogative нıʌ is incoi patible with the articles (p. 57); it is an interrogative/indefinite pro-Proper Nan while ɡʌɡ and oʏнp, respectively "number name" and corresponding pro-numt interrogative/indefinite, are incompatible with the number constituent of all but t *zero* determinator. In the case of the indefinite article, as distinct from the defin

Then there are numerous cases where it may be objected that *nil*, not *zero* is present. Moreov there are arguably syntactical *zeroes* that are not indicated, such as *zero* object.
⁷ The recent *Partitivität und Indefinitheit*, by M. Presslich (Frankfurt/Main 2000) treati the relevant phenomena in West European, is especially illuminating for Coptic.

articles (§50), symmetry between singular and plural is doubtful. Incidentally, the cohesion inside the whole article set is flimsy and breaks down easily, since only the definite articles and demonstratives are deictic; the possessive article and the indefinites are not.

While gender/number do constitute a separate grammatical category, "relative distinctness", "relative distance from the speaker" etc. are at least arguably manifestations or readings of specificity and deixis respectively.

(p. 36 and §60) ΝΙΜ comprises a homonymous pair of determinator ("all") and quantifier ("any", "every"), corresponding to two semantic types of totality. The latter, like ϰε-, is *compatible* with *zero* determination (also with ᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧ, §74 d), the former *commutable* with it; the former coordinated by ᴧᴧΝ-, the latter by ϩΙ- (cf. p. 51); the former expanded by the relative, the latter by the circumstantial[s]. I believe the appearance of an "unstable mixture of features" will prove to be but an impression ensuing from this syntactic variety.

The determination of the infinitive is idiosyncratic in paradigmatic structure (the indefinite has a different value). Also, cases like Νϰοοϲ-Τ and ΝεΤΝ-Τ (p. 86) relate to specificity via the actantial structure of the verb lexeme.

ΝεΤ- (§§110, 411) is a concise account of a complicated subject. The discussion and especially formulation here is open to several reservations; the phrasing seems to betray a slight unease. The invariability, if any, is of Ν-; which is in this case not the article but a substantiving pronominal, bringing the relative form into lexemic status and slot, as a determination with *zero* determination grade. It is only apparently homonymous with the masculine def. article. "The noun based on ΝεΤ- has two characteristics..." is awkward. "Before an articulated attributive Ν-εΤ[º]- (etc.) no article can occur since an article is already present" is tautological and begs the descriptive question. In fact, ΝεΤ- has three, not two readings and analyses, not really difficult to resolve in actual pattern slots: the third is the very same case-raising formally specific generic as is marked for lexemes by the definite article: "any specific ... that...".

(5) *The Noun. Nominal syntax. Noun categories. The nota relationis and determinative syntagms. Noun expansion.*

The noun defined (§91): I must quarrel with the author's definition. The noun is not a category, but a cumulative 'conglomerate of categories'. It must be defined (in Coptic, not universally) by its compatibility with signals of specificity, deixis, number and quantification, and incompatibility with such categories as tense and person. It must also be defined by its privilege of constituency in patterns, e.g. the Nominal Sentence, statements of existence, *possessum* with the possession verboid, actor in the conjugation forms, partitive expansion of articles and many more. The semantic definition here is no more cogent than for the verb: "referring to an object of thought as distinct from predicating a process or action" is objectionable; a process or action can very well be "an object of thought", and is not necessarily predicated; the (mentalistic? philosophical?) "object of thought" (see esp. §141) is in itself epistemologically problematic; a pronoun or a Proper Name does not really refer to an "object of thought"; pronouns do not "express content", whether

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[s] ΟΥ- ...ΝΙΜ (see p. 51) and Ν- ...ΝΙΜ, when not phantom forms, support the quantifying 'adjectival' analysis of of ΝΙΜ.

grammatical or lexical, but denote; article phrases and possessed nouns are in reality pronouns expanded by lexemes; and so on.

The difference (§93) between the "semantic functions" "denoting" (as in ΤεΙϲϩΙΜε, ΤΜε; outside the usual contrast of denotation and connotation) and "describing" (as in ΟΥΝΟϭ ΝεΙΡεϥΡΝΟϐε, ΤεεϐΟᴧ ϩΝΤΝε, ΝΜεϩϥΤΟΟΥ) is fuzzy, Eurocentric in essence, and, I believe, obscuring in effect. The difference between ΤΜε and ΟΥΜε is real, but is not a directly semantic one detached from the syntactic reality of the noun syntagm. It involves the relationship of the determinator with the lexeme, the text, its pragmatic context and 'hypertext'. The determinator-lexeme relationship in Ν-ϲΥᴧᴧᴧϐΗ ("the syllable-book") is not descriptive, neither is ϩεΝϣε ϩΙ-ΟϢΝε; in both cases, the determinator represents a *hyper-nuclear* noun, textually or extratextually present and decodable (Ν-χϢϢΜε, ϩεΝ-ΝΟΥΤε respectively). This dependency is very different from, and of higher rank than, the dependency between the constituents of Ν-/Τ- and of "Τ-Με", "the truth" on the other. In the ϩΜϩᴧᴧ etc. on the one hand and of "Τ-Με", "the truth" on the other. In the Ν-/Τ-ϩΜϩᴧᴧ and Ν-/Τ-Ρεϥ-/-Οϲ classes, the determinator is not motivated or 'selected' but fully pertinent: "the female/male servant" etc. In "Τ-Με" the selection is lexically motivated, and the article gender non-pertinent: the two lists, of determinators and lexemes, are related in a basic dependency of the type of Hjelmslev's compatibility-selection function, concerning which all one can say (beside some formal diachronic information) is that the list indeed exists and the function obtains. This difference in dependencies is entirely neutralized for ΟΥ-Με, without, I believe, any lexico-semantic correlates[9]. Moreover, rhematic ΟΥΜε is a component of the impressive comparative/diachronic adjective-correspondence system in Coptic; in contrast to ΝᴧΝΟΥϥ (here: "suffixally conjugated verboid", §376 f.) and Statives this is Coptic's form of non-statal rhematic adjectives. This should have been presented in a special synthesis paragraph on "adjective correspondence".

(§99, p. 85; §113 ff.) "Gendered common nouns occur [as] attributive terms": it is the *zero* article following Ν- that marks them as attributive (cf. also p. 87 — *zero* determination is the reason why the morphological plural hardly ever occurs in an attributive role). Grammatical gender, outside of the noun syntagm a purely cohesive device, is inside the noun syntagm a matter of mutual compatibility and definite determinator-pronominal selection (in Greek-origin words, compatibility of the 'Greek' gender/number suffix with determinator). The motivator of gender/number in the linear contextual stretch is in point of fact the determinator and not the lexeme (§106); the double compatibility of such lexemes as ϩΜϩᴧᴧ stems historically from their having had morphological sex marking, but synchronically from their containing a sex seme activated by the pertinent determinator pronoun. As already pointed out, several different dependencies and determinator value are

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[9] Consider (Cod. Brucianus 250 f.) the lexical constituency in the lexical-rheme slot between ΟΥ- and (ΤΗΡϲ) Τε: numerous Greek-origin abstracts (ᴧΤᴧΝΗ, ϩεᴧΝΙϲ, ϲΟφΙᴧ, ᴧΝᴧ ϲΤᴧϲΙϲ, ΝΙϲΤΙϲ, ΤΝϢϲΙϲ, ᴧᴧΗεΙᴧ, ϲΙΤΗ), Egyptian semi-abstracts with 'prior' masculin[e] compatibilities (ϢΝϩ, ΟΥΟεΙΝ) and clear (again, Greek) non-abstracts of different kinds with n[o] preferred gender compatibilities (ΝᴧΝΜΝΤϢΡ, ΝᴧΝΤεᴧᴧΙΟϲ, ᴧϩΟΡᴧΤΟϲ, ϐᴧΘΟϲ, ϩεϐᴧΟ Μᴧϲ, ᴧεϰᴧϲ).

at the basis of gender categorization in Coptic: first ('primary' or lexemic gender, with no *signifié*) the purely formal compatibility selection of non-partitive definite determinators, formal grammatical nucleus, by lexeme classes (in this sense only, gender is 'inherent' to them, §115): ⲧ-ⲙⲉ "the truth"; second, the biological-sex-markable (not 'genderless', see below) ⲉⲙⲉⲁⲗ compatible with both masculine and feminine, themselves primary and pertinent, and partively expanded by the lexeme; third, the determinator as both a grammatical phoric index and a nucleus to its partitively expanding lexeme: ⲡ-ⲙⲉ "the true one (m.)", with its own referate, textual-anaphoric or exophoric, overruling the lexemic one.

Nouns are "gendered" or "genderless" (§104 ff.): this is taking a stand on the question, very weighty in Coptic, of where gender structurally "resides". The ⲥⲟⲛ/ⲥⲱⲛⲉ set (§107, 117a) may be united as a case of a glottal-stop feminine morph(on)eme, thus as a syntagm. Similar, but morphologically rather more complex, are the instances of plural formation (p. 87), the roles and distribution of which are still enigmatic. Generally speaking, the diachronic loss of the suffixed gender-signalling nucleus of the Egyptian noun syntagm, the phasing- and fading-out of the adjective as a word-class and the emergence of the gender-number signalling definite articles are tightly interrelated.

Animate (human) vs. inanimate (non-human) is a gender distinction in Coptic, formally visible only in Greek loan nouns (§117[c]; cf. Shisha-Halevy, *Categories*, Chapter Four).

The *nota relationis* ([§100]; further discussed under noun expansion below) should have provided an opportunity to illustrate the elegant hierarchical sophistication of the noun phrase, its essentially partitive nature and the nuclearity of the determinators:

"ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ":
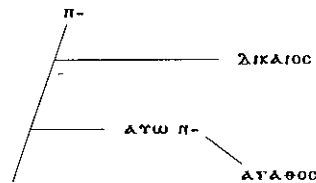
The nuclearity of the conjugation bases, from several aspects analogous to the determinators, should also have been pointed out apropos of the comparable ⲙⲛⲡϥⲱⲙⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ construction (§165). In the final analysis of ⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, and especially ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ (§102), the nuclei are still ⲛⲛⲟϭ, ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ and the expansion is ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲛ-ⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ; the *nota relationis* here does not expand the article, nor the lexeme (as in the case of bracketing determinators), but the article-lexeme complex ("some items of the 'wise-person' class"), which, at least when the sequence is commutable with the inverse one, is thematic to the ⲛ-introduced rheme — roughly renderable as "wise persons [that are also classable as] scribes".

The "attribution by means of ⲛ-" (§99 ff.) too would have much benefited from association with the *nota relationis*, for the functional load of "attribution" falls on the *zero* determinator following ⲛ-. "The appurtenance construction" (§148) is part of a complicated system of several determinative or associative patterns combining one (pro)nominal with another by means of the *notae relationis* ⲛ- and ⲛⲧⲉ-, ranging in function from loose appurtenance to intimate (inalienable) possession. Several parameters regulate the formal means, primarily perhaps the specificity of the grammatical nucleus (first the nominal, which when non-specific or highly specific is compatible with ⲛⲧⲉ-). As already intimated, *Possession* in Coptic (§393 etc.) is part of a spectrum too complex to be adequately handled under this somewhat simple heading. The possessive pronoun and possessive article, the *notae relationis* associative phrases, the existential possessive verboid and various rhematic prepositions are all constituent parts of this complex. A factor not given due prominence in the exposition is the so-called inalienable-possession relationship. Scalar, not an absolute built-in lexemic factor, properly speaking not possession at all, it is signalled conjointly by convergence of lexeme and environmental syntagmatic exponents.

The formalities of *noun expansion* (§103) are to a striking extent correlated in Egyptian and Coptic to nucleus determination and specificity. This applies to adverbial satellites (including ⲭⲉ- "called") with indefinite determination, ⲭⲉ- "that" with *zero* in negative environment, and, of course, the *communis opinio* of nexal expansion of a noun correlating with specific/non-specific nucleus. However, this last set — the two nexal expansion forms of a nominal, viz. relative and circumstantial — should *on no account be taken as alternants* (so explicitly the author himself, on p. 327). This old facile fallacy is very tempting in its false simplicity and didactically handy automatism, and the author unfortunately perpetuates here (without actually using it) W. Till's still ineradicable imprint, the "unechter/uneigentlicher Relativsatz", by a contrastive presentation such as (§404) ⲡϣⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ "the tree that is good, the good tree" vs. ⲟⲩϣⲏⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ "a tree that is good, a good tree". This is gravely misleading, since it allows no status for or information on ⲛϣⲏⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ, which is the only environment where the true value of the circumstantial in opposition to the relative becomes evident — not unlike English -*ing*, as against *who/which/that* relatives. This misconception is at the origin of such phrasing as (ibid.) "the appositive attributive enables both relative and circumstantial to modify all these types of antecedent". This quite confuses the issues of function (decoding or 'reading') and syntactical privilege; the adnominal Circumstantial is anything but "attributive" (§430). I fear the author confuses here the two characterizations, the first formal-syntactic ("attributive" for adnominal?), the second semantic-functional. The two conversions, Circumstantial and Relative, are formally and functionally very different, adnexal-rhematic and attributive respectively, a difference adnominally in evidence only when they stand in opposition, namely following specific nominal or pronominal nuclei: consider ⲁⲛⲭⲛⲟϥ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ "We bore him blind", ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡϣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲅ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲗⲁⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ (Shenoute ed. Leipoldt III 94) "We have the Tree of Life of the Cross burning bright"; ⲉⲙⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲡⲓⲣⲉ (Shenoute ed. Leipoldt III 87) "at the time the sun is about to shine", or, probably most striking, the case of the Circumstantial following ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛ- + specific noun (Layton §505 iii), where the Circumstantial is adnominal-adnexal, i.e. fully *rhematic* to the noun's theme: ⲛⲟⲉ

ⲚⲚⲔⲈⲀⲢⲞⲤ Ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲁⲧ ⲚⲥⲂⲱ (Shenoute ed. Leipoldt IV 82) "Just as the lazy are deprived of wisdom". Admittedly, the relative is all but excluded following a non-specific nominal[10], but this again no more than defines a slot of neutralization between attributive and adnexal. In fact, the roles of the adnominal circumstantial presented here are a mixed lot: (ii) and (iii) constitute one category (ⲚⲀⲓ ⲉϥ-); (iv) has temporal-noun nuclei; (v) (ⲚⲚⲉⲧⲚⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲂⲟⲗ Ⲛⲅⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲧ) is not really adnominal, but adverbial/adverbial; the epistolary self-presentation or signature construction (PN ⲉϥⲥⲅⲁⲓ: §432) is a presentative clause with the adnexal Circumstantial and a Proper Name, and belongs rather in the Nominal Sentence/ Cleft Sentence discussion, with PN ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲅⲁⲓ and related patterns; see in some detail below. Incidentally, for the affirmative Aorist the adnominal circumstantial is the rule: adverbal ⲉⲩⲁϥ- (and ⲉⲙⲉϥ- ?) is very rare (not occurring to my knowledge in Shenoute; for Luc. 8:13, see p. 344).

Apposition is a syntactically special type of noun expansion, here too briefly described (§149). Of interest here would have been the association of apposition with Proper-Name syntax and its correlation with high-specificity nuclei (even to the point of alternation with non-appositive expansion); the rhematic/adnexal status of appositives where opposed to non-appositive expansion; the appositive relatives, ⲡⲉⲧ- and ⲚⲀⲓ ⲉⲧ-; the text-grammatical distinctive role of anaphoric ⲚⲀⲓ-.

The *adnominal* ⲭⲉ in the negative-existence pattern #ⲙⲙⲚ- Substantive ⲭⲉ- + neg. nexus# has finally found here its long-awaited discussion (§483). This important construction is in Sahidic a favourite of Shenoute, and occurs less frequently in Bohairic (I don't know of exx. outside these two dialects). It achieves, by double negation, a high degree of totality focalization: "there isn't (or cannot be) any whatsoever that does not or is not" = "absolutely all do/are". The non-existence implied in a special type of rhetorical question is here strikingly expressed: "What ... is (there) that ...?" = "There is absolutely nothing/none that ...".

The Proper Name (§126 ff.) is not, traditional semantic-philosophical consensus notwithstanding, a special kind of noun — indeed, it is not a linguistic entity at all, but a class of elements marked for a special quality of signalled ultra-high-specificity: *propemess*[11]. It denotes, indicates and does not "express a content". ⲙⲀⲣⲓⲀ, despite first impressions, does not in itself indicate a "unique ... definite biologically and grammatically feminine person" (cf. §141) but, more like a special kind of personal pronoun, it is an index for a set of individual objects. Its particularity is pragmatic, depending on specific pragmatic application, not intrinsic nature. The special formalities and semantics of the attributive expansion of a PN, as also other syntactic idiosyncrasies, stem from (or rather co-signal) its ultra-high

[10] On the relative converter expanding non-specific nuclei, a phenomenon almost entirely ignored in the literature, see Stern, *Grammatik* §424: Mt. 19:12 is a good example, Stern's doubts notwithstanding; we now have here several witnesses, incl. M 569 ed. Aranda, collated (H. Quecke by letter, 15/11/88). Consider also Benjamin, *Homily on the Nuptials of Cana*, ed. C. D. G. Müller (Abh. Heidelberg. Akad. 1968/1) p. 132. In Sahidic, cf. ⲧⲀⲀⲩ ⲉⲧ- Shenoute ed. Leipoldt IV 158.19. See also A. Shisha-Halevy, "Bohairic–Late Egyptian Diaglosses", in: *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, ed. Dwight W. Young (East Gloucester 1981) 314-338, see p. 323.
[11] Cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, *The Proper Name: Structural Prolegomena to Its Syntax — a Case Study in Coptic* (Wien 1989).

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specificity; this should have been pointed out in §408. Specific determinators (ⲡⲉⲓ-, ⲡⲔⲉ-, §128) are compatible with PNs only as exponents of deixis or quantification. The PN ought certainly to have a special treatment also in Nominal Sentence patterning.

(6) The Nominal Sentence (NS). Noun Predication Patterns. The Cleft Sentence (CS).

Here (Chapter 13) we have I believe one of the best chapters of Layton's grammar, and undoubtedly the best treatment to date of this topic, fascinating both synchronically and diachronically. This (§§252-304) is a veritable monograph on this crucial issue, with a brilliant scanning of patterns and formal (§286) and semantic (§287 ff.) classification of predicates. My reservations in this context are mostly on matters of emphasis, basic descriptive tactics and technicalities, rather than essence.

(a) I would add *pattern names* — descriptive and essential — to the Coptic constructions in the list on p. 200.

(b) I would emphasize the fact that the Coptic NS is in reality a "Pronominal Sentence": with the determinator a pronominal nucleus, this absolute fact is of great significance for Egyptian diachronic typology. (In the endophoric pattern, it is to the predicate *determinator*, not the predicate [§266], that the formal theme refers.)

(c) I would use the sharp difference between interlocutive and delocutive theme pronouns and ensuing constituential differences as a prime principle for pattern typology[12].

(d) I would use the phoricity (ana-, cata-, endo- and exo-) parameter as a prime principle for classifying, identifying and defining the patterns ("variable or invariable ⲡⲉ", p. 207, hardly does justice to the formal and functional intricacies of this "nexus morph"). Indeed, "invariable ⲡⲉ" is somewhat infelicitous as a general term, esp. when used to include the "backgrounding" ⲡⲉ in narrative (see p. 46 and here below). Macrosyntactic integration is a distinctive set of parameters to be applied to all patterns (not just 6 and 7, see p. 210).

(e) I would make explicit use of the rheme/theme determination parameter (for instance, the exclusion of *zero* determination as rheme of the copular and interlocutive patterns) and macrosyntactic integration in pattern definition.

(f) The difference between ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ and ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ in terms of respectively denotative and descriptive function (p. 201) is complicated and often doubtful, and correlates both with the respective lexemes and with the semantic-functional spectrum of the relationship between indefinite determinator and noun lexeme (see above).

(g) I find problematic the postulation of inter-pattern suppletion, e.g. (§260 f.) "Some excluded predicates can be predicated of the 1st and 2nd persons by other means: ..." is only approximately and schematically justifiable, since the patterns in question differ from each other in several important parameters. For instance, Proper-Name predication has several special properties; ⲟ ⲛ- and ⲣ- (p. 209) is not

[12] See A. Shisha-Halevy, "Grammatical Discovery Procedure and the Egyptian Nominal Sentence", *Or* 56 (1987) 147-175; W.-P. Funk, "Formen und Funktionen des interlokutiven Nominalsatzes in den koptischen Dialekten", *LOAPL* 3 (1991) 28 f.

simply the way to predicate zero determination, although zero determination is certainly part of their predicative type.

(h) The fact that the deictic pronoun family, of which ne is the enclitic member, cannot in some ways be predicated — a fact which is at the root of the polysemy of ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ patterns (§280 ff.), is related to the exclusion of {ⲡⲁⲓ} as rheme in the interlocutive, an exclusion probably due to the incompatibility of non-phoric, non-deictic interlocutives with the extremely deictic and phoric demonstrative.

(i) The present-tense ⲟ ⲛ- for incidental predication, probably the most extreme case of verbal grammaticalization in Coptic (p. 150, §179 f.), is best presented in paradigmatic association with the Nominal Sentence. Its compound-verb connection (p. 141), while certainly of importance, is more problematic, since p̄-NOUN cases neutralize the opposition of "transitive" and copular ("intransitive") p̄-, and there's no way of predicting p̄- or ⲟ ⲛ- in the durative, or resolving the corresponding semantic difference. (Moreover, there's also the only seemingly copular p̄- which is not incidental and circumstance-oriented — hence, it is transitive and non-alternating with ⲟ ⲛ-: "constitute": Shenoute ed. Chassinat 21 [said to Satan/Kronos] ⲛⲧⲣⲅⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲉ ⲛⲧⲣⲥⲅⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲣⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲉ ⲅⲧⲟ ... ⲛⲧⲣⲅⲟϥ ⲗⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲛ "Your constitution is not male, nor female, nor bovine, nor equine ... nor serpentine", lit. "You do not constitute/make [up] a male", etc.).

There are a few points, about which I must disagree with the author:

I doubt that the pronoun in John 8:12 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲟ is a focal point in any sense of focality approaching that of the Focalizing Conversion (§276 and p. 203). It is rhematic, no more, no less. Incidentally, since ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ is not endophoric, the Cleft Sentence based on it — "with invariable ⲡⲉ" (p. 372, see below) — must in Sahidic be considered distinct and treated separately.

"lexical" (subject) is, I believe, better than "explicit" in Pattern 6 (§275), for {ⲡⲉ} is in no way 'implicit'. Moreover, the lexicon includes lexemic pronouns such as ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, ⲡⲁⲓ.

I cannot see ⲡⲉ in ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ "it is I" in any way as endophoric (§281), for ⲡⲉ is here non-commutable and there is anyway no determinator to refer back to. In fact, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ cases seem to have either a deictic-anaphoric, or indefinite, or pragmatic (exophoric, non-commutable) ⲡⲉ, the last very much like it's or c'est. Indeed, "invariable ⲡⲉ" is treated with a certain lack of distinction. In §285, for ⲡⲉ outside the NS, we have at least three different statuses. In anaphoric cases (Patterns 9-10) like "... and I am, j'en suis un" or "... and I am, je le suis" (John 13:13, Mt. 26:23 ff., Shenoute Or. 157, all quoted here, p. 221), it is (ana)phoric ⲡⲉ that appears to be rhematic, with ⲁⲛⲟⲕ thematic, but with a switch of prosodic roles. (The intriguing absence of ⲡⲁⲓ as rheme in the Interlocutive NS pattern is possibly connected.) In Pattern 11 "I am someone", ⲡⲉ seems to be a rhematic non-phoric indefinite pronoun (rather than assertive of existence), again with the same strange exchange of prosodic weight. (And again, the exclusion of indefinite pronouns from the rheme slot in the Sahidic Interlocutive NS pattern seems to be related.)[13] Pattern 12 (§284: "extension of cleft sentence Pattern I") is not a separate pattern, but a macrosyntactically distinct occurrence of the endophoric one.

[13] See W.-P. Funk, op. cit. 28 f.

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(7) *The Cleft Sentence* ("CS": Chapter 20, §461 ff.): *varieties and ambiguities.*

In his account, the author sharply separates the Focalizing Conversion (see below), some patterns of which may be in structure a Cleft Sentence (most patently and closely to the West European CS type in focus-initial cases, and to the Egyptian-African, incl. Ethiopian, type in others) and the CS *stricto sensu* in normal Egyptological usage, that is, the construction of nominal or pronominal focus preceding a relative topic. In Egyptian and Coptic, it is often possible to relate the latter construction formally to the NS, unlike the former one; this explains the location of this feature in the work under review. However, since both functional and formal traits of the two constructions show numerous points of contact or overlap, and (as H. J. Polotsky claimed[14]) the two constructions arguably share a near-complementary-distribution alternation, and both are, in information-structure context and terms, focalizing constructions, I believe they ought to have been presented in contiguity, perhaps following the Nominal Sentence.

The analysis of ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥ- (§469 ff.) and kindred constructions are, I believe, flawed on two counts. First, formally, since ⲡⲉ is in this case *not* endophoric — it is properly speaking not textually phoric at all, but pragmatically or situationally 'anchoring'. Second and in consequence, functionally: the Circumstantial is here not just a meaningless variant of the relative. These are rather *presentative* clauses, and the circumstantial not topical but adnexal, rhematic, with the pronoun not focal in any sense; ⲡⲉ (pragmatic theme) marks the entire rest of the clause as rhematic. This type is not found in English at all, and, indeed, is difficult if not impossible to translate adequately into English — but is very Egyptian (from the OE/ME *jnk pw sḏm.n.j* on), and occurs in Celtic and French[15]. It is macrosyntactically operative and marked. The alleged existential role of ⲡⲉ ("its information structure is like the existential sentence expanded by a circumstantial clause", p. 376; also p. 383) stems either from projecting the *Vorlage* on the Coptic (so for instance in Ps. 18(19):3) or from an ethnocentric rendering perspective (e.g. "there was", in the narrative-initial slot), at the price of losing the considerably greater sophistication of the Coptic. "Existential ⲡⲉ" is, I believe, a phantom entity. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ in ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲡⲓⲁ does *not* mean "there was a man" (which would be ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ)[16]; ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ... ⲉϥⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲡⲓⲁ "a man (...) building a place for his use" is predicated of ⲡⲉ ("c'est", "it's", approx. "the case/matter/story is"). So too in Luc. 15:11, in Coptic not "There was a man who had two sons", but "The story goes (or sim.) that a man had two sons". This existentially introduces or *presents*, not a nominal entity, a new character, but *a full nexus*, an act or a state of affairs or a scene into discourse (*pace* the author, §462). Similarly distinct from the true CS is the narrative-opening CS-like #N ⲡⲉⲧ-# (§465); ⲡⲉ here too is not endophoric but situational. Unlike the CS, its structure is not sharply dichotomous (focus ‡ topic) between the noun and a ⲡⲉⲧ-constituent; the noun alone is not focal. I see a related presentative

[14] Most elaborately perhaps in H. J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Le Caire 1944) 62 f.; see also idem, *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus* I (Decatur 1987) 6 f.

[15] Cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, "Grammatical Discovery Procedure" (n. 12); also *Structural Studies in Modern Welsh Syntax: Aspects of the Grammar of Kate Roberts* (Münster 1998) 28 ff.

[16] Indeed, *rmt pw* is compatible with the participial *wn* "existing, who existed" in the opening of the Middle Egyptian Eloquent Peasant: *rmt pw wn* means "It happened that there was a man", which might be rendered in English by "(Once upon a time) there was a man".

construction in the epistolary opening signature #PN (пє) єq-# and the CS-like #PN пєт-# (§466), similarly not built on the endophoric пє, but on a formal non-referential theme; neither is focalizing. The text-grammatically marked ᴇᴀᴇ ᴍєɴ ɴϣᴀxє ᴇᴀɴxooʏ... (§482), also a chunk-opening-marking pattern in narrative, is no more existential (and there's absolutely no suppresion or deletion of oʏɴ here!); the translation as "there is/are ... which ...", while tempting from an English point of view, is distorting: the Shenoutean passage goes "Many words have we spoken ..." or, suppressing in English the macrosyntactic chunk-initial distinctiveness of the pattern, "We have spoken many words ...". The text oʏᴇᴧᴧo ɴᴀɴᴀχωpɪᴛнc єoʏɴᴛᴀq ᴍᴍᴀʏ ɴoʏᴧɪᴀкoɴɪᴛнc (Apophth. 99) may indeed be rendered "There once was a venerable hermit ...", as translated here (p. 388), but not because the Coptic construction is existential, as ɴєoʏɴ- would be, but only because this is the most immediate idiomatic English functional correspondent to the Coptic pattern.

The relative topic in the ɴє-less CS (§468) is almost as dependent for analytic comprehension on diachronic profile as is the relative occupying the first slot of the Durative nexus pattern (or Conjugation Form) in пpωᴍє єᴛ-cωᴛᴍ — i.e. a case of relative pronoun, not converter. Moreover, in the relative (in the Coptic noun syntagm, almost invariably dependent on a determinator or deictic pronoun for its operation) alone as topic constituent we have a direct descendant of the Egyptian participle in the very old CS pattern called by A. H. Gardiner "Participial Statement". By the way, it is not clear to me why the focal point here is said to contain a resumptive morph (p. 374).

(8) *The Verb. Tense. Verbal syntax. Definition* (§159). *Actualization* (§160). *Morphology* (§186 ff.).

The trap of definition awaits the student of Coptic, where striking a false descriptive note can result in serious distortion. The Coptic (and generally Egyptian) verb is an elusive entity; but generally too, the verb is the one part of speech that is not a "part" at all, but a set of nexal pattern-syntagms. The verb is not a lexeme, nor a word-class; the infinitive is not a "basic form" of the verb, but a lexical constituent of the nexal complex. The infinitive expresses nothing that the noun does not express, including action, process, state, event. Its distinction is exclusively in the formal idiosyncratic privilege of potentially being a constituent in a verbal nexus pattern. Morphologically, the verb 'family' includes two converbs, here cogently treated (albeit under other names), namely the Stative and "Durative Infinitive", the former morphologically, the latter syntactically marked. When the history of the Egyptian Coptic verb is referred to (§186), a word — and more — on the *sḏm.f* is surely in order; this verbal format is arguably still alive and well in Coptic[17], in the Base and Causative Conjugations (one wistfully watches a precious opportunity slip by to see the conjugation bases for what they no doubt are, namely finite auxiliaries or pro-verbs, contracting with their nominal or pronominal themes a nuclear grammemic nexus; see §325. See also below). The author considers the Durative Sentence (Chapter 14) to be the marked term, and the Non-Durative Sentence (Chapter 15) the unmarked term in the taxonomy of Conjugation Patterns, and thus "durativity" the key factor of this opposition, a factor formally signalled by the

[17] Cf. Shisha-Halevy, "Stability" (see n. 4).

Stern-Jarnstedt Rule etc. This, while useful didactically, is only approximately correct, in the absence of a true *ceteris paribus* opposition between the two pattern sets, which contrast in tense as well; there is at the most true opposition between the Present and specific Non-Durative Conjugation Forms, such as the Aorist.

The infinitive classes (§189) are not of a kind. I to III and VI are purely, merely formal, not even morphological groups *stricto sensu*; the others are pertinently morphological: V causative; IV probably at least in part synchronically "intensive"; VI qualitative.

"Conjugation" (§165). Quite rightly, the author speaks of the "suffixation of the subject to a conjugation base or mutable converter". I would however stress that while it is the base that is in fact conjugated, that is, grammatically "the verb", this is not true of the converters. And then, while (ii) qcωᴛɴ and (iii) ᴛєc-ᴇɪᴍє cωᴛɴ are two subpatterns, different only in the linkage grading that results from the junctural environment of grammemic and lexemic themes, respectively, of a single set, (i) is a drastically different matrix. In that sense, (ii) and (iii) are by no means patterns "that contain no base": the question of their containing bases does not arise.

The nuclearity of the conjugation bases, well presented in §325, is shared in fact by the theme ([ᴀ-q]-, [ᴀ-пpωᴍє]-). This is why the base+theme unit is found to bracket an infinitive (as in John 9:3, see §165) or is repeated for a single infinitive (ᴍпє-...ᴍпє- ᴍпє-..., Shenoute ed. Chassinat 26 f.). It is this formal nexus that is topicalized in the ᴀ- ᴀq- construction (see below).

"Transitivity" (§166 ff.), as part of diathesis phenomenology, is an issue of great importance, perhaps the most striking instance of 'seepage' between lexicon and grammar, and must needs be conceived of as part of a combinatory profile of a given verb profile. The main structural point here is of course *valency*, that is, the differences, lexemic and syntagmatic, in meaning that ensue upon or correlate with different formal satellital-actantial matricial parameters for homonymous lexemes. The number and nature of actants, the slots in the idiosyncratic valential matrix, are distinctive of individual verbs. In this context, "objectless transitive" (§169) can be immediately treated as a case of *zero*. (Again, *zero* occupancy of a slot differs from *nil*: ᴀʏoʏωᴍ [p. 131] "they engaged in eating" is a case in point.) Valency, here continuously skirted but never explicitly invoked and systematically invoked and presented, would structure, for instance, cases like кωᴛє єᴀoʏɴ єᴃoᴧ, here flatly described as "Two combinative adverbs can combine with a single verb", p. 166; the combinative adverbials (post-verbs, as it were) in general have an important valential significance (§206); valency could replace such statements as (p. 165) "the adverb seems to be present because of the context or in the interests of more precise phraseology". Valency is essential in making sense of "incomplete predication" (§185), which it not to be conceived of *a priori* as a built-in quality of a verb, but an environmentally signalled property of many a verb lexeme — and also of different grades of verbal grammaticalization. Expansion of a verb by means of є- + infinitive or єᴛpєq- or xє- with the Optative may be either actantial or non-actantial — a fundamental difference — and is at any rate non a case of incomplete predication (p. 150). The author rightly points out rectional constituents (§181), as "marking direct objects" (p. 143), but then describes them also as "contributing to the expression of a particular verbal idea", whereas they are, by definition, totally devoid of meaning as separate segments (they do formally distinguish homonymous

verb lexemes). The presentation of verbs with two object-actant slots as trivalent would be considerably more satisfying than (p. 144) "the lexically fixed phrasing of many verbs includes combinations that contain more than one preposition". Valency accounts elegantly for the nature and properties of compound verbs (§180. For didactic and typological purposes, I would here stress the similarity, even analogy of the deriving auxiliaries in Coptic with Greek and generally Indo-European derivational suffixes). "Predicative expansion of the object" too (§178) is locatable in the valency matrix. All "double object" (§172 f.) constructions, including ⲛⲁ⸗ as a "partner" actant[18] are considerably refinable in the exact typology of trivalents. Here too belongs the Circumstantial Converb as a rhematic second or third actant, in cases like ⲁϥϭⲱ ⲉϥ- and ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲛⲛⲁⲓ: this analysis is more forceful than the question-begging "completive circumstantial" (§426). The seeming ambiguity of "an infinitive of the transitive class, for it can be understood either as an objectless transitive or as an ingressive" (ibid.) does not apply to all verbs and is partly a translation-induced pseudo-problem.

The Stern-Jernstedt Rule. The author cogently presents the mediate (ⁿ-) object construction as marked. The main danger in using "Durative Infinitive" (§308) — which is in fact not an infinitive at all, but a a non-finite *converb* or adverbial form of the verb (like the Stative, and like adverbial *-ing* in English and *-ip*, *-e* etc. in Turkish; the term has by now considerably spread from its Turkological beginnings) — is that one is prone to slip inadvertently into "infinitive" pure and simple and confuse the issue, as happens on p. 235: "When the predicate is an infinitive ...". The durative converbs are adverbial grammeme-lexeme conglomerates, not lexemes. Their only slot privilege in Coptic is rhematic (in pre-Coptic Egyptian they were, like the Coptic circumstantial and its ancestors, also adnexal or subnexal). The realization that in the Durative ⲥⲱⲧⲙ and ⲥⲟⲧⲡ (Dynamic and Stative Converbs respectively) we have an adverbial element all but solves the difficulty of understanding the dependence and the seam between the verbal rhemes and ⲟⲩⲛ-/ ⲙⲛ- in the Durative Conjugation Pattern (non-specific theme): the durative predicate does indeed "expand the basic existential pattern" (§479) — it expands it adnexally, and the non-specific nominal/pronominal is simultaneously existant and theme. The verb lexeme, alias "infinitive", is complexive or indifferent (not "non-durative"; this is carefully explained in §328). To contrast with the Stative (= Statal Converb), for this form, so different in every way from the (substantival!) verb lexeme, I would advocate the term 'Dynamic (or Eventual) Converb' which I believe defines this category excellently, and even covers the absence of this form for certain verb valencies. The somewhat frayed 'Gerund' is slightly less clear, but certainly better than "infinitive".

The seeming fluctuation of the mediate and immediate constructions in non-durative environment (§171c) is I believe but provisional, pending further precise information on distribution. Four parameters are almost certainly at (inter)play here: (a) conjugation patterning and tenses; (b) considerations of verb-lexemic (and probably also object-noun/pronoun) shape and extent (rhythm); (c) the nature and shape of other segments in the cotext of the object constructions, such as ad-

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[18] "Indirect object" (as on p. 359, of ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ... ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) seems to be a slip into careless tradition rather than considered terminology.

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verbials and particles, and (d) — most elusive of all — overall sequencing (word-order) factors, which also involve [b-c] above. The almost insurmountable difficulty with integrating these parameters into a coherent whole accounts for the contemporary stasis in resolving this opposition. Some minor observations here: (p. 132) ⲛ- in ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲧⲉ "arrow-throw" is probably not the object-introducing ⲛ-, or at any rate it neutralizes two constructions, adnominal and adverbial. ⲛⲕⲟⲟⲥⲧ, ⲛⲙⲉ-ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ are of interest as revealing the non-specifying effect of the pronominal/nominal object, in this very different from ⲡⲱⲣϥ, ⲅⲛⲧⲣϥ etc. Prepositional object, in this very different from ⲡⲱⲣϥ, ⲅⲛⲧⲣϥ etc. Prepositional phrases and other adverbials are predicated by ⲣ̄- in non-durative conjugation forms, and not just in the Nominal Sentence (cf. p. 237)[19]; the same is also true of ⲅⲛⲁϥ "it is agreeable, acceptable to him" (§379).

The Stative (§162) Converb expresses a state that is passive or not, in correlation with the lexeme's diathetic valency; in fact, this is a fine means for defining a lexeme's diathesis. The opposition of Stative vs. Infinitive is an essential feature here. Are ⲧⲙⲟⲩ, ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ at all attested (outside the generic or non-durative present, which is not discussed by Layton at all)? The future auxiliary ⲛⲁ- is very probably a grammaticalized stative, and had best be presented accordingly (§§184, 305, 311).

Tempuslehre. The Tense System (Chapter Twenty-Five), involving issues of high complexity, is presented rather conventionally, that is (a) as a functional feature in word extent, i.e. as a function of *a form*, not of a form in (co)textual and textemic environment (However, in §527 the author does reflect on the "Interaction of Tense and Discourse Perspective", which I believe should be a primary consideration); (b) in a notional-philosophical rather than grammatical framework conception of temporal categorization, with little reference to syntactic (even deictic) function; (c) without any statements of syntagmatic compatibility and mutual exclusion, i.e. with adverbials, other tenses, and without reference to parameters such as negativity, person, interrogativity and the like; (d) with little regard for the structural perspective of opposition (as e.g. of the aorist and the present), (e) with no componential semantic analysis. Descriptive accounts of temporal categories are notoriously prone to ethnocentricity and translation-bias, for the metagories are notoriously prone to ethnocentricity and translation-bias, for the metalinguistic perspective is here especially difficult. In fact, of the three cardinal temporal reference points (§525), only the past is (relatively!) straightforward — indeed, it may be the only real tense in Coptic, while even "tenselessness" is not a monolithic notion (see further below), comprising at least several types of genericity and habitativity.

The Aorist (§337, also p. 434) ⲱⲁϥ-, ⲙⲉϥ-. I would prefix here a short terminological history. To the distinctive semantic characterization "generally" I would add "by (inherent) nature, inevitably". Also, in certain environments, the essential *sequelling* nature of the Aorist and the finality of ⲙⲉϥ-[20] should not be underplayed or ignored (p. 439). The complicated genericity/habitativity/atemporality issue should have been explicitly presented. The generic Present is ignored in

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[19] For ⲧ-ⲃ-ⲙⲟⲓⲅⲉ on p. 421 read (?) ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲓⲅⲉ.

[20] H. J. Polotsky, "Zur altägyptischen Grammatik", *Or* 38 (1969) 477; A. Shisha-Halevy, "Some Reflections on the Egyptian Conjunctive", in: *Divitiae Aegypti* (Festschrift Martin Krause), edd. C. Fluck et al. (Wiesbaden 1995) 300-314.

the work — Shenoute ed. Amélineau I 276.10 ϥⲣ̅ϩⲟⲩⲉ-ⲛⲱⲧ is differently explained (p. 147), and the zero-determinated-object exception to the Stern–Jernstedt Rule is not considered from the tense angle (p. 132); see also §168 *sub finem*. As already pointed out, "timelessness" in the Coptic verb is not of a kind: I believe it is a mistake to combine the Aorist and the Conjunctive as instances of "tenseless nexus" (p. 441), for the former signals its own tense — indeed, the Aorist is not "tenseless" (p. 274, Table 19) at all, but in a sense "timeless"; the latter (which is yet another converb or gerund) is tensed environmentally, like converbs in such converb-rich languages as Turkish. In the Nominal Sentence, the timeless-essentiality information is certainly close to that expressed in the aorist, but packed as a nominal rheme: ⲙⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ is comparable to ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ, ⲙⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ to ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ/ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲡⲉ. The inherent-predication NS is not really on a par with the present (*pace* the author, §255), while the incidental ϥⲟ ⲛ- is certainly a present tense.

Futures — tense and modalities (§§184, 311, 338, 341). This is a notoriously difficult issue of general linguistics. Arguably, no futurity is completely free of modal semantic components. Therefore, the contrastive account of the functional and semantic spectra of ϥⲛⲁ- and ⲉϥⲉ- calls for more than a few lines of passing remark (p. 239). "ⲉⲣⲉ- expresses a future tense without explicit connection to the speaker's present situation ... Thus it contrasts with the more usual, durative, present-based ⲛⲁ- future ... ⲉⲣⲉ- expressing future tense with a strong expectation of fulfillment ..." (p. 264). This over-simplifies things; ⲉⲣⲉ- has some pronounced modalities (the author adopts the term "Optative" for this form; a short terminological history would have been useful here too). Differences between affirmative and negative, between different personal environments; (in)compatibility with interrogation and condition; sequelling (apodotic) status; macrosyntactic slotting, and so on — all contribute to the distinctive profile of ⲉϥⲉ-, and, by implication, to that of the ⲛⲁ- future (which is imminent rather than immanent, §311). "Purpose and result" (§502 ff.), also consequence and goal, are merely familiar landmarks in a difficult and often fuzzily demarcated semantic spectrum of *sequelling*, including also true superordinate apodoticity, as in post-protatic and post-imperatival slots. Precise parametring as well as componential analysis and ranking of constructions (e.g. negation/affirmation, focalization, intentionality, desirability, actor involvedness; immediate constituence in combination of several final/consecutive adjuncts, and so on) may serve to resolve this spectrum, in which form and function nuances are not yet clearly demarcated. One minor functional observation: the form ⲉϥⲛⲁ- (§339), morphologically probably (judging by diachronic and dialectological correspondences) Focalizing Future, is a Jussive/Injunctive rather than Optative.

Existence and Possession. Presentation (Indication): ⲙⲙⲁⲩ with the possession verboid is not untranslatable (p. 306); English "there" is after all there as an analogue for formal location (in English, also formal subject) of existence, which is very rarely unlocated.

The role of *possessum* determination as a correlate of possession-construction is all but ignored in the discussion (see e.g. p. 309).

ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ with the Circumstantial Converb as second actant (p. 341) has a *nexus for possessum*: compare French "j'ai mon ami qui est malade", to be analyzed as "j'ai [mon ami qui est malade]", with the adnexal *qui* comparable to our Circumstantial.

ⲙⲛ- does not signal the negation of existence, i.e. of ⲟⲩⲛ- (§477), but is an independent *positive exponent of non-existence*; grammatically, it is asymmetrical to its affirming 'counterpart'. I would therefore add ⲙⲛ- to Table 27 (by the way, the "present tense", attributed to ⲟⲩⲛ- ands ⲙⲛ- on p. 383, is essentially different from the 'verbal' present, and is closer to that of the Nominal Sentence and Cleft Sentence). See above on adnominal ⲭⲉ- expanding the non-existant and the equivalence of rhetorical questioned existence with non-existence.

Neither ⲟⲩⲛ-/ⲙⲛ-, nor ⲉⲓⲥ- are verbal, nor are they rhematic. They are 'prethematic' clauses, introducing into discourse elements that are subsequently taken up as thematic to rhemes; this is certainly not the case of "a narrative formula at the beginning of a parable, tale, etc." (p. 386), but a living, essential and meaningful construction[21]. Consequently, the nominals or pronominals following them are by no means "subjects" (Table 27, p. 383).

The superordinating role of ⲉⲓⲥ, well brought home by the example quoted from Mt. 2:13, should be explicitly pointed out. This deictic presentative does not exactly correspond to any specific element in English; hence, the author's comparative statement (p. 383) — I would add here Greek ἰδοῦ, and of course Biblical Hebrew *hinnêh*, Modern Hebrew *hiné* —, and therefore the translation of some texts cannot do justice to Coptic idiom. This is especially striking in authentic untranslated Coptic, such as Shenoute's sophisticated construction ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ, quoted here, expressing something like "(And if you argue that ... — then, as a counter-argument,) peacocks are there too (i.e. in the church)" — not independent in any way, but superordinated to the preceding topicalizing ⲉϣⲭⲉ-clause; the author's "Look, there's a peacock over there!" is off the mark. This is quite different from the focalizing ⲉⲓⲥ (§485). Cases like Mt. 15:22 (quoted p. 389) are arguably topicalizing, while the paradigm-narrative opening ⲉⲓⲥ is presentative, sensitively and cleverly translated as "Here today is (a parable of) ..." (§481).

The Conjunctive. First, the pronominal morphology (§83): The 1st sgl. ⲧⲁ- is apparently supplied by ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-, and not the other way around (p. 351), while ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ- may historically be hybrid. (In the newly emerging Kellis dialect [coded "L*" by W.-P. Funk] we find the 1st sgl. ⲛ̅-ϯⲥⲱⲧⲙ and ϯⲥⲱⲧⲙ, also other persons without ⲛ̅-, which I believe all but clinches the case for a formal affinity of the Conjunctive with the durative nexus [Shisha-Halevy, *Categories*, Chapter Seven].) Indeed, ⲛ̅- is not really a conjugation base, for whereas bases constitute a nexus with their suffixed themes (subjects), ⲛ̅- in the Conjunctive *governs a whole nexus*, and does not form a core nexus with the actor exponent. In fact, it approaches converter status, subordinating nexus to preceding verb/noun; this is not true of any other Clause Conjugation form. In a certain affinity with the *nota relationis*, which (in a sense predicatively) adjoins noun to noun, we have here a kindred morph adjoining nexus to nexus or to noun. The mysterious case of the Conjunctive coordinated to the (relative, circumstantial) present etc. (§353) seems to be not so much a matter of the verbal conversion as such, but of the generic 'case-raising' protatic nature of the clause, typically generic: ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ, ⲉϣⲭⲉ, concessive ⲕⲁⲛ, the 'case-laying« (*fallsetzend*) legalistic ⲛⲉⲧ- and so on. The Conjunctive as a 'that'-form is important, and ought not to be buried away as "[con-

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[21] Cf. Shisha-Halevy, *Structural Studies* (n. 15) 186 f.

junctive] extending or completing other elements" (see §354c). A 'that'-form role of the Conjunctive is identifiable elsewhere in this paragraph (§354a-b), in constructions of the type of ∈п𝖒𝖆 ⲛⲧⲉ-, 𝖒ⲛⲛⲥⲁ-ⲛⲧⲉ-, ∈ι𝖒нтι ⲛⲧⲉ- and arguably even ⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ- and 𝖒∈ϣⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲉ-.

ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧ𝖒 (§357 f., §372) is the marked occupant term in the post-imperatival slot. It is not the case that negative final constructions occur "instead of the missing negation" (p. 284): this is not real suppletion in any sense, in view of the special marked semantic load of ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-. It is also overstating things to attribute a "speaker's promise" to ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-; the seme in question is much more subtle than that, and is subtly blended with the post-imperatival sequelling and apodotic components: *guaranteed or inevitable sequel* would be a closer description. There was certainly an evolution in the role of ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ- in Sahidic (§358e), although register and genre may also have played a role, and even the most 'final' readings still preserve the inevitability factor of the form. The locutive forms are special (if only as a consequence of the historical locutive component in ⲧⲁ-); their initial (rather than "independent" = not post-imperative) role (§358c) is *deliberative-interrogative*, not "polite request" (other languages use special 'that' converters in that function: Modern Greek vá-, Modern Hebrew *še*-).

The *causative conjugation* is brilliantly treated by the author: this is a topic I find among the most rewarding in the work. A point I find under-represented is that an important role of ⲧⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧ𝖒 is to supply the infinitive with an actor expression, a fascinating widespread phenomenon[22], and one that seems to be concomitant with the very existence of an infinitive; one that, in Coptic, may or may not have been triggered into prevalence by Greek influence, yet has deep Egyptian roots.

Suppletive ϣⲱⲡⲉ (§§369, 429): ϣⲱⲡⲉ + Circumstantial Dynamic Converb means "get into the habit (of doing), acquire the habit (of doing)". This too is suppletive, like ϣⲱⲡⲉ + Circumstantial Stative: ϣⲱⲡⲉ enables both converbs in other conjugation environments than the Durative. Imperative ϣⲱⲡⲉ + adverbial, including ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ-, ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ is not simply suppletive to the Nominal Sentence (p. 295) if only because of its opposition in this slot to ⲁⲣⲓ- (p. 294 f.). It seems that the filter of rendering of all these through English "be" is at least partly influential in associating these with the Nominal Sentence.

(9) *Macrosyntactic and Text-grammatical issues: Clause Combination and Ordination. Modification and Linkage. Adverbials. Connectors. Conversion. Information Structure: Topicalization and Focalization. Word-Order. Narrative and Dialogue* (esp. Chapters 7, 9, 10, 19 and 20): a complex of difficult topics, ranging from textual and discourse status to inter-clausal relations to information structure.

All grammars, in E. Sapir's famous resigned dictum, leak. "Adverbials", "Conjunctions", Connectors, Initial Attitude Markers, Discourse Signals — these are probably the least watertight compartments: all may, as the author says here, and do

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[22] Cf. the Greco-Latin *Accusativus cum infinitivo*; the "personal infinitive" in Portuguese and its correspondent in south Italian dialects; Welsh "i *cum infinitivo*" (Shisha-Halevy, *Structural Studies* [n. 15] 56 f.) and its probable calque, "for him to hear" in English.

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overlap (and not only "as regards the feature of position", §230) and indeed do synchronically have homonymously various roles and belong to several categories.

"Conjunctions" (§231 ff.) seem the least satisfactory, since least clear-cut as a grammemic category; in their terminological and conceptual origin, they are hardly more specific than 'links'. "Subordination" (e.g. §234 a) is conceived of in Indo-European-style. "Premodifying conjunctions" (presented on p. 180) are in a sense a contradiction in terms: some of these are non-governing adverbial (ϩⲁⲑⲏ, ∈ⲧⲓ, ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ, ⲛⲑⲉ, ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲑⲉ, ∈п𝖒ⲁ etc.), some variously governing elements (∈ϣⲱⲡⲉ, ∈ϣⲝⲉ, 𝖒ⲛⲛⲥⲁ, ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ, (∈ⲃⲟⲗ) ⲭⲉ-, ⲝⲓⲛ- etc.), others familiar as discourse particles (ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓ, ⲕⲁⲓⲡⲉⲣ) or as true conjunctions — in Greek (н, ϩⲱⲥ, ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ, ⲛⲏⲛⲱⲥ etc.). The impression is that at least for some it is the clause-form following them that is indicative of their functional synchronic nature. "Correlative Conjunctions" (§233: 𝖒∈ⲛ ... ⲗⲉ ..., ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ... ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ...) and "Enclitic Conjunctions" (§235b: ⲅⲁⲣ, ⲗⲉ etc.) make "conjunction" a synonym of "exponent of linkage" *tout court*. The categorization here is often ethnocentric and translation-biassed; here too the insidious distorting work of rendering description is in evidence. Why are preceding ∈ϣⲱⲡⲉ protases — and protases in general — a case of "adverbial modification" of the apodosis (p. 179)? What about the adnominal/adverbal circumstantial? And why is ϩⲟⲧⲉ in ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲩ ... ϩⲟⲧⲉ ... (ibid.) not adnominal? As a matter of fact, the 'syntaxic' (A. Meillet's term) status of a clause is surely not to be stated in binary terms of "main" and "subordinate", not even "included"; this model, going back to the old rhetorical-stylistic dichotomous notion of *hypotaxis* as marked *vis-à-vis parataxis*, and essentially sentence-grammatical, not discourse oriented. Cohesive *linkage* is the quintessential and intrinsic quality of subtextual units as such (cf. the concatenation of linguistic events in narrative). It is rather in the multifarious gamut of inter-unit relation, signalling the textual status of a unit, that all these grammemic elements — eminently including also conversions and clause conjugation forms — operate; formally, these units are mutually joined and delimited in different types and grades of linkage and delimitations.

In the presentation of the "Adverb", there lifts its insidious head again the Part-of-Speech model. Beyond the very narrow (and in itself complicated) syntactic-slot strip of 'modifier of verb', the adverb is the last-resort part of speech, to which are relegated those not assignable to others. Adverbials also modify nouns, clauses as such, nexus as such, other adverbials and other clause constituents; subdivision into "basic" and "additional" functions only begs the main functional question and justification for this hierarchy. Adverbials are actualized also without articles; what the determinator does in cases like ϩⲉⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⲝ, is to provide it with a pronominal quantity/specificity-marking nucleus and mark it in its turn as expansion. The difference between modifiers, premodifiers and "conjunction"-type connectors is not one of boundary, but well-determinable syntactic slotting (there is considerable homonymy here — adverbials that 'are also' connectors and/or premodifiers). Both "combinative" (∈ⲃⲟⲗ, ∈ϩⲟⲩⲛ etc.) and rectional adverbials (§181) play an important rule in the verbal valency matrix, as "postverbs" or verb-lexemic complements. In fact, they cannot be properly understood without the hierarchical insights afforded by the valency matrix — and English translation (p. 165) is, as 'rendering description' usually is, an unreliable guide.

I find the "catalogue of adverbial clauses" (§493) helpful only in part, for the members of the list are not all of a kind, and arguably do not sometimes belong together at all, or at all in this list, which ought at least to be more clearly subdivided. So, for instance, we find ετρεϥ-, *also* a prospective 'that'-form; finite nexal patterns - clause conjugation forms, like εϥϣαn-, nτερεϥ-, which typically occur, not in adverbal status but as topicalizing 'presets' of a nexus; εϣχε- is certainly a topicalizing clause, not normally adverbal or adverbial (even if topical clauses may be considered "premodifiers"); another 'preset' case is con... con...; ειε "there", §492, is dubious too; and so on.

The "Verbal Pre-extensions" (the 'conjugation mediators' of Shisha-Halevy, *Categories* Chapter Three), are well presented (§183). This structurally curious feature of Coptic, to my knowledge not yet occurring in earlier stages of the language, is in many ways functionally (and perhaps even formally) analogous to Indo-European preverbs, and like them are *in initio compositi* compounding constituents rather than true expansions (the determinatum-to-determinans *Grundrichtung* of Coptic is not really violated). However, I wouldn't (as some scholars do) readily attribute this feature to translation influence of the Greek, seeing that it occurs in other languages with analytic verbal conjugation patterns, notably Neo-Celtic[23]. I cannot agree with the author on the point of their modifying "the sentence as such" (p. 146), but believe they are *always pre-lexemic* (indeed, this is the only way to 'touch' the verb lexeme and modify its in-conjugation). All this is well reflected in the author's translations.

nτε-/nτα⸗ is strangely denied prepositional status: it "does not meet the definition of a preposition since it never modifies a preceding verb or verbal clause (nor does it premodify)" (p. 113 and §203). In the first place, this is in no way a prerequisite for preposition-hood; besides, nτε- does occur as verbal valential complement (especially where it concurs with nτn-/nτοοτ⸗). It is certainly true that nτε- is even in Sahidic highly grammaticalized, specialized almost like the *nota relationis* n-, but a grammaticalized preposition is still a preposition.

Conversion (§395 ff.) of nexal patterns or clauses is among the most complicated and fascinating topics of Coptic grammar, and among the best-treated in the book. This is one of Coptic's most striking showpieces and lessons for general linguistics. All converters, prefixed to a nexal unit, are links and macrosyntactic status signals, each with its specific information about the status of its nexus within a smaller or larger macrosyntactic frame; this is far more sophisticated and *true* than the objectionable dichotomic 'ordination' (mainly subordination) model. Here lies my only reservation about the author's approach to this issue. I would emphatically advocate here a binary classification, dividing the four converters (four in all Coptic dialects, and only in Coptic), into two groups of two: the first (Circumstantial and Relative) adjoining a nexus (respectively) predicatively and attributively to a foregoing clause or nominal clause constituent, the second (Focalizing Converter, and ne- [conventionally called Preterite Converter], with the ne- conversion of the Present often called 'Imperfect') marking its nexus, in dialogue or exposition

[23] An almost exact parallel to this slot occurs in Welsh: *hen-* "of old", *newydd* "recently" and others.

and narrative textemes respectively, as *relief* terms in the information-structural texture of the text[24]. The interplay and associations of the Relative and Circumstantial are manifold. Consider the adnominal status (see above) and the "adverbial" εϥ- (§425), which must be related to the "antecedent-less" εϥ- and in turn to nετ-; the Focalizing and Preterite Conversions, the latter with and without subsequent ne, are the main operators in the respective dialogic and narrative textures.

Information structure and appositive relative expansion (§408 ff.). Although the conventional distinction between 'restrictive' and 'non restrictive' is not supported by empirical facts in Coptic (or to my knowledge in other languages), this is, I believe, partly due to its alleged absolute dichotomy; if anything, this feature is a gradient; what we actually have is a continuum of attributive expansion forms (in Sahidic ετ-, nετ- and nαι ετ-), largely correlatable with nucleus specificity but also with junctural linkage properties.

Topicalization, formally introduced in §330, is quite properly discussed and illustrated recurringly, apropos of individual patterns. The special construction of the type α- αϥ-, εpε- εϥ- already referred to (§§313, 321, 332) is not uncommon by any means, although of differing weight in different genres and texts: it is quite normal, for instance, in *Pistis Sophia*, and well attested in the NT and Shenoute, as also in other dialects; it is of considerable interest, since it seems to be a rare case of *topicalized nexus* between a conjugation base or converter (formal rheme) and a nominal theme. Wherever this occurs, it calls for a study of its functional opposition to its non-topicalized correspondent, as for instance in nominal theme-introduction in narrative: αpωμε αϥ- (§332) vs. αϥ- nϭι-pωμε vs. α-pωμε- vs. pωμε αϥ-. Adverbials may also be topicalized (cf. §333), as 'presets' (this is formally marked as topic in Late Egyptian, by *jr-*). I suggest we should see different protases – notably the conditional (§346 f.), nτερεϥ- (§344 f.), εϣχε (§§151, 493) – as subtypes of a basic information-structure marked form, namely high-level topic. Generally speaking, temporal clauses are not necessarily modifiers of a "main statement", even when they follow it, but may, seen text-grammatically, be marked clause or clause-complex forms in the intricate patterning of information packaging or staging or 'chunking'. For instance, the various configurations in narrative of nτερεϥ- with subsequent αϥ- or nτερεϥ-, or, less typically, the Conjunctive (§345) differ in properties of juncture and information blocking from other parameters such as theme switching indicative or symptomatic of juncture. For nτερεϥ- (§343 f.), I would suggest "since" as the primary English rendering. For εpϣαn- (§346), I would introduce *eventuality* as a primary component: "if/when eventually ..."; I would also point out here its clause association with apodotic ϣαϥ-, indicative of genericity.

Focalization. The Focalizing Conversion ("FC"), alias Second Tenses (§§444-460)[25]. *The augens* (§152-158). This is yet another showpiece feature of Egyptian-

[24] Cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, "Work-Notes on Demotic Syntax", *Or* 58 (1989) 28-60. The interrelations of the Preterite and Focalizing Conversion are also morphological (α-vocalism), although this is obscured in Sahidic. For conversion as a general phenomenon, cf. idem, "Structural Sketches of Middle Welsh Syntax, I: the Converter Systems", *Studia Celtica* 29 (1995) 127-223.
[25] A terminological new coinage of major importance. Cf. H. J. Polotsky, *Grundlagen* p. 2, sharply on the term 'Second Tense': "eine unsinnige Bezeichnung, deren Beseitigung ich gerne

Coptic, and another instance of brilliant discussion by the author. These forms and sets of constructions have been since 1937, both key and keynote of H. J. Polotsky's gradual unveiling of the entire Egyptian verb system; a word on diachrony and the significance of these forms would not have been amiss.

Rhetorical environment of the FC: not only н εκο нκρⲓⲧⲏⲥ ...? (Shenoute ed. Chassinat 36), but also and especially the Focalizing Future ⲙⲏ ⲉⲓⲛⲁϣϣⲱⲡ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ ...? (ibid. 43). In a forthcoming study of the FC in Oxyrhynchite, the present reviewer attempts to show *inter alia* that, although FC in rhetorical questions often involves local focussing (esp. of adverbials), some considerations, including the Greek *Vorlage*, indicate that this is a special type and role of 'envelope' or 'broad target' focalization[26]. The rhetoricity of this type of simulated interrogation is part of the *signifié* of the FC. The 'broad focus' situation is well brought home in the author's opening words to the functional discussion of the FC (§445). However, one point ought to have been elaborated, namely, the role of the cotext in resolving the 'narrow focussing' target. The cotextual, or macrosyntactic data towards the precise decoding interpretation of the clause are not incidental; they belong rather as constituent elements in the pattern itself — an ultra-clausal pattern, but a pattern for all that.

The circumstantial-topic constructions are cogently presented (see §459 f.; information from other dialects[27] would have enriched the argument here). The case for a synchronic 'that'-form FC (briefly in §457) is still weak. Actant (noun/' pronoun) focussing, the difficult but fascinating nexus focussing and the important focus-initial patterning are, I believe, under-represented in the discussion.

The *augens* is a cohesive adverbial focalizer with built-in anaphoric pronoun. The augential elements ⲛⲁ� as in ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲁⲕ and ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲱϣ ... ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲩ are not of a kind (§181 g): in the former construction we have ⲛⲁⲣ reinforcing the imperative; in the second, it characterizes a special egocentric or self-involved *Aktionsart*[28]. The prosodically weak augens {ⲁⲛⲟⲕ} is not always easy to distinguish from the homonymous lexemic and prosodically full extraposed pronoun; instances of #antecedent + {ⲁⲛⲟⲕ} + relative# clearly belong in the former, not the latter category (p. 326). The account of the augens (Chapter 7: this category, typologically precious, does merit a whole chapter) is excellent. The ungainly ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲙⲙⲟ, as the author rightly presents it, *is* a close-juncture unit, and the isolation of ⲙⲙⲟ synchronically no more than popular etymology. What I miss here is better focussing on two aspects that probably constitute the main formal interest of this category, namely their anaphoric cohesion and their prosodic properties.

Sequencing ('Word Order') is the most complex issue of syntax, even in Coptic, where its tagmemic (pertinent or meaningful) role is limited. For example, in

the case of expansions of the verb and adverbials (§182), the primary question whether placement is a pattern feature (be the valency matrix pattern ever so complex, and allowing for the prosodic conditioned-placement factor), or wheth placement is a supra-pattern or 'floating' feature, or whether (which is probab true) it is both. Anyway, this deserves a more leisurely discussion, and the stat ment (concerning the order of verb expansion) "not rigidly determined ... vari quite a lot, reflecting small semantically related groups ... and expressing the a thor's free rhetorical choices and overall textual arrangement", while certainly cc rect as it stands, is insufficient.

Narrative and *Dialogue Grammar* call for separate special discussions. Tl Preterite Conversion is intimately associated with narrative, rather than with pz tense. As the author says (p. 348): "[it] is not essentially a mark of anterior tin [but] signals a temporary shift (in any of several ways), a stepping away from tl primary line of discourse". I believe the first steps have now been made towards d termining the prime role of ⲛⲉ- ...ⲡⲉ (§438)[29], namely, to mark a shift into the Cor ment Mode of narrative, which includes *i.a.* background and Omniscient Narratoi information, while a switch from the main narrative carrier (ⲁ.�q-) to ⲛⲉ- alone Evolution Mode signals a slow-motion, close-up, zoom-in view action and the lik In the former connection, ⲛⲉ as in ⲛⲉ�ⲅⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲉ is certainly an "essential patte constituent" (*pace* the author, pp. 46, 242, §285), in the macrosyntactic scope of tl pattern. True, ⲛⲉ, a veritable post-posed converter in the role of signalling a spe trum of backgrounding or rhematizing functions, is compatible also with other co versions and clause-forms (with the ⲛⲁ-future it is apodotic-super-ordinatinɡ When units signifying 'linguistic events' in narrative are concatenated in juxtapo: tion, this is a true *zero* tagmemic *signifiant*, a marked term, and must be explicitly indicated, see p. 183; this is inverse to the European 'staccato' concatenation, ai typically corresponds to the Greek *participium coniunctum* with the aorist. The nz rative sequelling ⲉⲁ.ⲣⲥⲱⲧⲙ (§428), so favoured by Shenoute, is yet another term the ⲁ.ⲅ- ⲁ.ⲣⲱ ⲁ.ⲅ-/ⲁ.ⲅ- ⲁ.ⲅ- paradigm, and must be considered in this light. Nari tive should be distinguished from typically non-concatenating *report* (a separate rc of the Past Tense, not mentioned in §334; unlike true narrative, report does not di tinguish Evolution and Comment Modes). One cannot be entirely sure that ⲛⲉ.ⲭ.ⲁ really "signals direct discourse in past time" (§380); it may well be its narrative e vironment that is formally "past" (compare Latin *ait*/*inquit*, Greek ἦ, English *quoı* all synchronically non-praeterital; cf. Septuagint Greek λέγει, or epistolograph ⲛⲉ.ⲭ.ⲁ.ⲅ "he says", e.g. in the recently published Kellis letters).

For Dialogue, such precious features of Coptic as the tensed pro-nexal r sponse forms (briefly referred to e.g. in §326) should have been conspicuous presented; these too are exquisite typological showpieces of Coptic.

The signalling of *questions* is discussed (§511): I find here somewhat questio able the use of "optional", expressing here and elsewhere the notion of non-oblig tory occurrence of a morph; "optional" must surely refer to the meaningful decisic of the speaker to use a morph, a decision entailing a choice-between-distinct-entiti

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noch erleben möchte". I must admit to feeling some sentimental regret upon the deposition of the venerable Second Tense, going back in Coptic grammatical literature at least to the seventeenth century (the Augustinian Father Bonjour's manuscript grammar in the Bibliotheca Angelica, Rome, currently being edited by Nathalie Bosson), and perhaps less infelicitous (and certainly less harmful) than many other terms of Egyptian-Coptic grammar.

[26] Cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, *Structural Studies* (n. 15) 28, 34.

[27] Although this is a Sahidic grammar, one may contest the advisability of totally ignoring other dialects, when Sahidic manifests grammatical levelling or merging; the Circumstantial conversion of the FC is a case in point; Oxyrhynchite ⲉⲁ.ⲅ-ⲛⲉ- (Circumstantial Focalizing Future), well established historically, is instructive.

[28] On (*j*)*r*=, the old [Middle Egyptian] ancestor of this augens, with a sharp demarcation of the two roles, see A. Shisha-Halevy, "(*j*)*rf* in the Coffin Texts: a Functional Tableau", *JAOS* 106 (1976) 641-658.

[29] Cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, "Middle Egyptian Gleanings", *Chronique d'Egypte* 58 (1983) 31 329; idem, "Bohairic Narrative Grammar", in: *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christ cher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, 20.-26. Juli 1996*, Bai 2: *Schrifttum, Sprache und Gedankenwelt*, edd. S. Emmel et al. (Wiesbaden 1999) 375-389.

and implying a semantic charge? Cases like ∈ϥⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲩ (ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲛⲩⲱⲥ ⲛⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲱϥ), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ (ⲧⲁⲣⲛⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ) (p. 285), while occurring in a rhetorical texteme, are hardly "Rhetorical Questions"; they do solicit an answer.

Reported speech and associated topics are handled well, esp. the important special constructions of verbs of saying and cognition (§513 ff.), where we witness two dominant typological traits in Coptic, namely (a) the tendency to separate the lexical and free component from the formal one, and to represent the former and its grammatical status by grammemes (esp. pronouns), and (b) the typical cataphoric referential vector, to herald subsequent clauses pronominally in the nuclear governing clause. Here again, a rigorous application of the valency model would have clarified complexities. Some remarks: ⲝⲉ — a grammaticalized converbal adverbial from of ⲝⲱ — is actantial, and structurally belongs together with the 'saying' lexeme. Both ⲝⲱ ⲉ - and ⲝⲉⲣⲟ⸗ correspond to English "mean, refer to" as early as Demotic (see §515d, e). Indirect Discourse (§519 ff.) is much more problematic; I would not overplay the "shifting" approach, but stick to the signalling description, which brings home the fact that the difference between "direct" (i.e. dialogic) and reported discourse is one of degree and scale, as evident not only in the special blend of both called "Free Indirect Discourse" (*style indirect libre, erlebte Rede*) but in the special Egyptian feature of 'obstinate' interlocutive pronominal signals attested from Late Egyptian on.

Negation. Negators are defined (§250) as "morphs that express negation of a nexus ('not')": this is obviously insufficient; witness non-nexal negation, which may relate to the theme, to any nexus constituent or to a focus. The distinction between nexal and non-nexal negation is of course essential in understanding focalizing constructions; see §452 ff. (note that nexal negation does not occur in non-rhetorical interrogative focalization).

The coupling of negative and affirmative systems as in §326 or §305 f., natural to the Eurocentric linguistic instinct and perhaps didactically useful, is scientifically wrong and distorting. I would certainly always present and illustrate both ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ independently, and, being so different in several respects, not take one as representative of both. Besides, ⲙⲛ is *not* a negator (§250c), not even in the durative nexus pattern, certainly not in existential statements. Negative clauseforms are only artificially correspondents or even alternants of affirmative ones; since there is pronounced asymmetry in the properties and semantic-functional structure of members of the two lists; even ⲩⲁϥ- and ⲙⲉϥ- differ considerably, let alone ⲁϥ-/ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥ- and ⲁⲡⲁⲧϥ-.

The difference, well pointed out, between the negation of the Focalizing and Circumstantial Conversions (§320), ⲛⲉϥ- ⲁⲛ[30] and ⲉ-ⲛϥ- ⲁⲛ respectively, is not only a matter of descriptive order, but of a deeper junctural distinction; it means that while the former negates the nexus between the thematic Focalizing ⲉϥ- and its rheme, the circumstantial converts an already negativized form.

ⲁⲛ in ⲝⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ does not negate the conjunction (§236), but the whole final or consecutive clause as an adverbial.

In ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ, ⲅⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉϥⲧⲙⲥⲱⲧⲙ it is respectively the grammemic ('auxiliary') infinitive ⲧ- (signal for 'to cause') and the lexemic infinitive ⲥⲱⲧⲙ that are negatived, and not ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥ-, ⲅⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉϥ- as such (§359).

(10) An '*Interjections*' class (Chapter Eleven), unless taken very *stricto sensu*, is in principle even more problematic than the category of adverbials, and more dependent on 'translation view'. The highly mixed bag presented here contains real living clauses (ⲁⲅⲣⲟ⸗, presented here as "What!", or ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁ⸗ or even ⲙⲁⲣⲟ⸗), the deictic presentative-existential ⲉⲓⲥ (ⲅⲏⲏⲧⲉ) (p. 188: I would have expected some information on the distinctive syntax of specific variants), and such pro-nexal elements, precious for dialogue grammar and text-grammatical features, as "yes" and "no" (§241), which are not interjections in any sense of the word.

(11) *The Greek element in Coptic* (§§7 f., §39). *Coptic/Greek contrastive statements.*

The remarkable phenomenon of deep-working Greek loans in Coptic acquires special piquancy not only due to their quantity and quality — they include some categories of veritable grammatical import, in conjunctions, discourse signals, word-order features, even morphological and word-formational affixes (consider the opposition -ⲟⲥ/-ⲱⲥ) — but also to their high degree of integration in the native grammatical and lexical systems. Moreover, in the complicated sociolinguistic circumstance of Hellenistic Koine and Byzantine Greek as it were enveloping the Demotic and Coptic linguistic communities, not to mention the circumstance of *textual* languages-in-contact: the massive translation from Greek into Coptic of Biblical and non-Biblical religious texts, Christian, Gnostic, Manichaean, which played a formative role in the emergence of literary Coptic, Coptic/Greek language contact presents a formidable issue that still awaits informed special study (as any student of Coptic knows, we do not yet have even a Greek-Coptic lexicographical database, structured or not). This makes the Coptic-internal transitions from "Egyptian" into "Greek" often border on code-switching, and the internal tension between Atticist and Hellenistic and Byzantine Greek shape a microcosm of real, if exiled, Greek diachrony. Not least, the Coptic lexicon, which must still be resolved into diachronic and dialectal sublexica, is informed and structured by the massive Greek corpus of loan-words not yet charted, and by the new religious cultures, as well as by the very presence of Greek in Egypt. An appreciation of the Greek triggering of the inherent Egyptian *grammatical* potential would have been in order (arguably, every Greek-induced phenomenon of Coptic still has its roots in Egyptian features), with some words on the definitely un-Greek components, and the numerous cases where the Coptic presents a system more sophisticated than the Greek correspondent, as for instance in the placement of the theme in conjugation forms, or the Nominal Sentence pattern set, or focalization, or tensing. I suggest that Greek correspondence to Coptic features should generally and briefly be given where possible (e.g. in Scripture sources), since this contrastive dimension lends the Coptic features, both for the beginner and advanced student and scholar, additional depth in its functional frame of reference.

Greek loan-verbs (§192). For the sake of didactic clarity, I would here also stress the fact that in Sahidic, unlike many other dialects, we have in cases like ϥⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ and ϥⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲉ, not the Greek morphological infinitive, but a Greek *zero*-affix form for the Coptic structural (syntactic) infinitival entity or entities.

IV. Varia

Some exceptionable formulations or terminology or translation:

"Restrictive relationship" for ϩⲉⲛ(ⲕⲉ)ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ or ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ ... ⲉⲙⲛⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ (p. 51) is hardly apt.

"Possessive relationship" (p. 51) for ⲧⲁ- in the case of ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲱⲓ ⲧⲉ is proven to be inadequate by the very compatibility of the possessive article and rhematic possessive pronoun.

"Affective demonstration" is less than satisfactory for the anaphoric-deictic ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ (Luke 15:4, p. 52).

"By definition, adverbial modifiers are terms that can modify a *preceding verb or verbal clause*" (§195) is tautological to a degree. The distinction between "adverbial" (a synthetic part-of-speech term) and adverbal/adnominal (names for analytically isolated syntactic status) is of the essence here; "adverbs" may well be adnominal. Incidentally, the modification of a clause may well precede it, albeit in a different information-structure value.

"Rhetorical arrangement" for diverging modifier placement (p. 160) is question-begging, distracting attention from the parametrical spectrum between the two extremes of information-structure and prosodic conditioning of placement.

"Verbs of speaking" (§510): "verbs of saying" is preferable.

"Periphrastic(ally)" for ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲛ-" (p. 301): I suggest that "periphrastic" be reserved for use in cases of auxiliation.

The "Impersonal Predicate" (for ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲕⲏ, ϩⲱ, ϩⲛⲁ-, ϩⲁⲡⲥ, ⲉϣⲉⲥⲧⲓ etc.: Chapter 22): a predicate *per se* is not personal or impersonal (ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲓϩⲉ in ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲓϩⲉ ⲧⲉ isn't any more personal than ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲕⲏ); a pronoun may be referential or not, or perhaps "impersonally" referential.

"The imperative, which contains only one main information unit, does not express nexus and so is not a clause" (p. 291). This is a *non sequitur*, for nexal patterns (i.e. ones with the theme/rheme interdependence) are only one — admittedly, prevalent — type of clause. Existential and presentative clauses are not cases of nexus; interjective and imperative utterances are fully privileged clauses.

"Completing ⲛⲁ-, (ⲉ)ϣ ...ⲧⲣⲉ expresses causative meaning ... but completing ⲟⲩⲉϣ-, it has only grammatical meaning" (p. 288; also Table 20, p. 287): ⲟⲩⲱϣ has ⲧⲣⲉ- as a possible valential object actant; ⲧⲣⲉ-, for its part, is the substantival nexal form compatible as object with the lexeme ⲟⲩⲱϣ ("ⲧⲣⲉ as common noun"). "Grammatical" cannot be contrasted to "causative" meaning, even if the former has a purely formal role.

"An ambiguous set of forms such as ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟϥ" (p. 371): this ambiguity is illusory, existing only within the insignificant, functionally trivial extent of the "word": it is the slot in the pattern that gives the form — any form — its distinctive meaning and indeed functional identity.

"Thus the reader's choice, though subjective, is based upon real structural criteria: the '*focalization*'... whose presence is elicited by this conversion is, finally, an act performed by the reader, and *yet* it is not *arbitrary*" (p. 354). The italicized words call for further clarification. The author does touch here upon two important points, that of the interfaces between encoder and decoder and between *langue* and *parole*. But the "choice" is the encoder's (speaker, writer) to make, between formal terms that exist in-paradigm; the decoder — reader or listener — does not choose,

but interprets these formal terms, these signals, assuming and reconstructing the encoder's choice. Nothing whatever in this procedure is arbitrary.

A final word, on *the Indexes* — one would jocosely say, only marginally less important than the book itself: these are outstanding. We are offered a Subject Index (469 ff.), followed by a Select Coptic Index (501 ff.). In the Coptic Index, the entries are rationally arranged in the normal Coptic dictionary order, although numerous Greek-origin and other non-Egyptian items are included. My reservations concern only the absence of ⲅⲁⲣ, ϭⲉ, ⲟⲩⲛ (ⲁⲣⲁ does occur), the presence of several Ø-entries (520) — *zero* had better be treated as a 'subject' —, and, lastly, perhaps a mere matter of personal taste, the sadly mutilated abbreviations of the type "bs of gendd comm nn" (507), "pers intermed" (514), "vbl auxil" (507), "pers pref nom" (501), side by side with full definitions such as "penultimate personal object morph" (505).

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

In concluding, may I express a *grammaticus*'s gratitude for a work of consummate scholarship, with never an instance of shoddy thinking or sloppy treatment? While there's still so much that remains an enigma in the exquisite Coptic language — even in Sahidic, the least mystifying of Coptic dialects —, present and future scholars will stand in Bentley Layton's debt for supplying the definitive word on most of its features.

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Orientalia Stylesheet

1. Contributions should be sent to The Editor, *Orientalia*, Pontifical Biblical Institute, Via della Pilotta 25, I-00187 Rome, Italy.

2. Contributions should be typewritten, with double-spacing, on one side of the paper only, with ample margins all around. For articles, footnotes should be placed on separate pages with consecutive numeration. In reviews, footnotes are not used; all material should be in the main text.

3. (a) In referring to books and articles, authors should use the abbreviations of *Orientalia* 36 (1967) xxiii-xxviii or those contained in a standard list for a particular field of studies: for Egyptian and Coptic, the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, and as far as this lacks Coptic titles, also *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*; for Mesopotamian studies, *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*; for Hittite, Friedrich–Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch²* and *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*.

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(c) Examples of bibliographic references on first occurrence: [book] A. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*: I. *Schrift- und Formenlehre* (AnOr 28; Rom ²1978) 128-133. [part of a book] W. G. Lambert, "The Problem of the Love Lyrics", in: H. Goedicke – J. J. M. Roberts, *Unity and Diversity* (Baltimore/London 1975) 98-135. [article] P. Steinkeller, "Notes on Sumerian Plural Verbs", *Or* 48 (1979) 54-67.

(d) Examples of later abbreviated reference: Falkenstein, *Grammatik* I 53; Lambert, *Unity and Diversity* 104; Steinkeller, *Or* 48, 65-66.

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