AKHMIMIC. The Akhmimic dialect (siglum A), along with the Sahidic (S) and the various vernaculars of the Lycopolitan dialect group (L), is one of the Upper Egyptian DIALECTS of Coptic. Its range of distribution extends from Aswan to Akhmim (Coptic, Ḥmīn or Ḥmîn; Arabic, Ḥmîn; Greek, Panos or Panopolis). Thebes is considered the point of origin as well as the center of the Akhmimic-speaking region (Kahle, 1954, pp. 197–203; Vergote, 1973, Vol. Ia, p. 4). However, according to the former view of Kasser (1982a), the proto-Sahidic dialect (a reconstructed entity, symbol *pS, very like DIALECT P) also began to develop in Thebes after having infiltrated from the north as early as the second half of the third century A.D. As a result, in the fourth century A and S were in concurrent use in the Upper Thebaid. While Akhmimic had not been uniformly standardized, it became a medium of writing as early as the fourth century and reached its zenith in the fourth and fifth centuries. Beginning in the fifth century, it was gradually displaced by the Upper Egyptian koine (S), although for its part A (besides L?) both influenced S—as seen in the Nag Hammadi texts and Shenute—in the fourth and fifth centuries and left traces in nonliterary texts from Thebes dating from the seventh and eighth centuries. These observations imply that even after being displaced by S, A was still in use as a spoken language.

1. General Characteristics


1.1 Grapheme Inventory. Beyond S and L, A adds the alphabetic symbol a, the postpalatal spirant /a/ (or h, [x] from the Egyptian h or h); in P, the symbol for this is ħ.

1.2 Phonetic Characteristics.

1.2.1. A, L /a/, S /o/ in a closed stressed syllable before a nonlaryngeal sound, e.g., A, L can, S con, brother.

1.2.2. A, L /ε/; S /o/ in a closed stressed syllable, e.g., A, L pen; S pan, name.

1.2.3. A /i/; S /e/ before a laryngeal in the medial and final position, e.g., A mēkē, mēhē, S mēhē, L mēhē, crowd; A omyēh, S, L omyēh, priest; A pi, S, L pn, sun; A oya, S, L oya, night.

1.2.4. A, (L5) /i/; S, L /o/ in a long final position or before a laryngeal, e.g., A, (L5) ko, S, L4 (L5) ko, to place (< Egyptian h3); A, (L5) eyo, S, L4 (L5) eyo, to remain (< demotic g3, g' <); A poy, S, L4, L6 poy, winter; A, (L5), L6 poy: S, L4, L5 poy, to say.

1.2.5. */ew/ in stressed final syllables: A /o/, L /ey/, S /au/, e.g., A, L4 (ManiH = Manichaean Homilies) ho, L hey, S hey, to see; A, L4 (ManiH) etihē, L etihē, S etihē, that (literally, which is there).

1.2.6.1. Typical of certain A texts (but not orthographically standardized throughout in A), insertion
of a nasal before /f/ following /æ/ in open stressed syllables: A in I Clem., Herm., Prov. (minority), Lm. (minority) mowyte, S, L, etc., and elsewhere in A mowyte, to call; A in I Clem., Herm., Prov. (majority) mowyte, S, L, etc., and elsewhere in A mowyte, God.


1.2.7. Anaptyctic vowel [ə] as well as /e/ is written as e at the end of a word following a closed syllable of the pattern /voiceless consonant + voiceless consonant or sonorant/, by which A and L4 form a group distinct from L5, L6, e.g., A, L4 /ómátc/, S, (L4), L5, L6 /ómátc/, to hear; A, L4 /táxé/, S /táxé/, to be invited (versus S, A, L /táxé/, to invite you [L]), A /tárrte, l /tárrte/, S /tárrte/, to be amazed. Naturally, the consonant can also be /i/, e.g., A /óyála/, L4 /óyála/, S, L5, L6 /óyála/, to be holy (< w'b). Note that while the representation in spelling of the anaptyctic vowel e in the configuration /consonant + sonorant/—not /laryngeal + sonorant/—is not standardized in L4, the spelling with e predominates by far. Consistent spelling occurs only in Clayne, to know (also P /cóoyne/). The anaptyctic vowel noted here by /ə/ is phonemically relevant according to Hince (1980).

1.3 Morphological Features.

1.3.1. Second present tense in A, B(!) /ví/, S, L /ví/(in affirmative sentences, it is homophonie with the circumstantial verbal prefix).

1.3.2. Imperfect: A, B(!) /ní/ (He), S, L /né/ (He).

1.3.3. Second perfect: A /ní/, S, L /níc/.

1.3.4. In the "etá̄ group" (see 3.2.1.1), the relative morpheme of the perfect remains invariably etá̄ if the subject of the relative clause is identical to the antecedent in the main clause.

1.3.5. Homophony exists between the subject pronom of the conjunctive tense and that of the first present, except the form of the first-person singular: first present S, A, L /v{|/; conjunctive A /tá/, S, L (H)/tá/.

1.3.6. Causative prefix A /tá|, S, L5, L6 /tá/; (in L4 the prefix is not standardized, /tá/ occurring alongside /tá/).

1.3.7. The qualitative form of /tá/ causative verbs in A almost entirely ends in -á̄mT.

1.3.8. The negation of the nominal sentence and the bipartite conjugation pattern in A is realized without n, i.e., only with en (S n...an): A (L) /émátc/ en, S /émátc/ an, while he does not hear; A /éntémátc/ en, S /éntémátc/ an, who does not hear.

1.3.9. Definite articles in A, including those preceding double consonants and expressions of time, are n, t-, and n- (without e).

1.3.10. The second-person feminine singular possessive articles in A, B are ne-, té-, he-, S noy-, toy-, noy-.

1.3.11. The third-person plural possessive articles in A, B are noy-, toy-, noy-, S ney-, tey-, ney-.

1.4 Lexical Features (Akhmimic Isoglosses).

1.4.1. Significant function words:

1.4.1.1. A /áoy/, S, L /áoy/, and.

1.4.1.2. Directional preposition to or toward (< Egyptian τ) A, L /áo/, S e, including the adverbs containing the formative /e/ A, L /áo/, S /áo/, e.g., /áo/, /éo/, to invite you. This distinction is found only in L6 of those texts belonging to the L group: eáoy, to be strctchcd.

1.4.1.3. Negative imperative A /né/, S, L /né/.

1.4.1.4. Lexical and functional distinction between conditional particles formed from -t and -é: A /táne, ane/, if (in the sense "supposing it is true that") is to be differentiated from /táné, ané, if (in the sense "as if it were"). The equivalent of émá in S. This distinction is found only in L6 of those texts belonging to the L group: aíne as opposed to emá (Funk, 1983).

1.4.2. A number of nominal and verbal lexemes specific for A (cf. Till, 1928, pp. 276–78; Kasser, 1979). While the vocabulary of Akhmimic has been treated throughout in Crum (1939), Kasser (1964), and Westendorf (1977), a fully documented lexicon of Akhmimic has not yet been compiled.

1.5 Syntactic Features.

1.5.1. Connecting objects.

1.5.1.1. Nonreduction of the stressed vowel of the infinitive occurs also when the object is attached directly to it. In such cases, the infinitive retains the form of the status absolutes. In the bipartite conjugation pattern this construction is possible only with objects not modified by a determinative (Shisha-Haley, 1976).

1.5.1.2. There is a tendency toward placing a pronominal indirect object (dative) before the direct object (accusative) without an accusative particle, in the case of /v/, to give: kito, to bring back; and xéo, to bring forth, which then take the respective forms té /né/ accusative, kité /né/ accusative, and xéo /né/ accusative.

1.5.2. As in L, the affirmative final clause following xéo is almost always the second future (S third future, or futunm energicctum).
As is apparent in sections 1–5 above, not all of the described features are exclusively characteristic of A. Further, it is the totality of all features (or, if not all features appear in a given text, the combination of sufficient individual features within a text) that assigns a document to the Akhmimic dialect.

The following sections will include a discussion of the phonemic inventory (2) and the conjugation system (3) of A, out of which the criteria for group classification (4) of Akhmimic texts will be derived. At the end (5), problems associated with a number of texts traditionally assigned to A will be treated.

2. The Phonemic Inventory of Akhmimic

As is traditional, consonants and vowels will be treated separately in this inventory.

2.1 Consonants.

2.1.1. Consonantal phonemes and graphemes are as shown in Table 1. The eighteen consonantal phonemes of A correspond to seventeen graphemes. The laryngeal stop /ʔ/ does not have its own sign but is expressed, or may be recognized, by the following:

- graphic vowel doubling (or “breaking” of vowels) (e.g., ḳpā → q, to place him)
- syllabic structure /voiceless consonant + voice consonant + a/ (cf. 1.2.7: ọya̩ba, ọyọba, i.e., /wa'b(ə)/)
- vowel narrowing /e/ → /u/ (µ, p; cf. 1.2.3), /o/ → /u/ (kö, koy; cf. 1.2.4)
- the postconsonantal first-person singular suffix pronoun (k3a → t, to place me, i.e., /ka't/)

The phonetic articulation of /b/ is disputed; Vergote assigns it to the bilabial category, but see his Grammaire copte (1973, Vol. 1a, sec. 28).

The bilabial /p/ by p in the unstressed syllable np (e.g., S ṃoyk, ṃoyy, to form) is foreign to A. Except in Greek loanwords, ζ is not represented in A, since Ξʔήβό (or variously Ξʔήβό), school, is not attested in Akhmimic.

ϕ, θ, and Χ are, as in S and L, monographic characters of the phoneme combinations /p' + h/, /t' + h/, and /k' + h/. Only in Bohairic do aspirants corresponding to /p', /t', /k'/' occur. The symbols Ψ and Θ represent the phonemic combinations /p + s/ and /k + s/, e.g., Ψk, nine, and θk, foot. The graphemes (o)γ and (η) also serve to indicate those vowels, [u:] and [i:], which are homorganic with the voiced spirants.

Note that in causative verbs such as χνπ, to cause to be ashamed (< dj-_spell>, χ may be interpreted in A as biphonemic /t + ]-' compare S, L χπ, χπ, Π to bring forth (< dj-lpr>.

2.1.2. Phonetic alternations of consonants.

2.1.2.1. Assimilation: n before p > np is not standardized, e.g., ηp appears side by side with mp (ηp as well as ηp not in EpAp). ηp is side by side with em (rare, I Clem.), n before m > mn (rare), ṃhọyq, and we fill (Prov. 13:1); s before θ > θ, ṣp appears side by side with ṭọp, it is fitting.

2.1.2.2. Dissimilation: mn > mn, ṃhọ (status pronominalis of Ṽ) A (standard) versus ṃhọ (EpAp); mp > np: ṃhọ (negative first perfect) A (standard) versus ṃhọ (EpAp).

2.1.2.3. Partial depalatalization: k' before s > ks, S ṃọyq, ṃọyq, to be wrought; ṃọq, ṃọq, ṃọq, to bite; ṃọq side by side with ṃọq, to reap.

2.2 Vowels.

2.2.1. The vocalic phoneme inventory. A new and comprehensive system of Coptic vowel phonemes, especially modified for the separate dialects, has been proposed by Vergote (1973, Vol. 1a, sec. 60–65, A sec. 62). According to the phonemic system developed by Satzinger (1979), vocalic phonemes appear always as carriers of the stressed syllable. "All vocalic articulation outside of the stressed syllable may be explained as consonantal phonemes or as anaptyctic vowels which emerge according to specific rules" (ibid. p. 344). While Satzinger’s system has

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<th>TABLE 1. Consonants of Akhmimic</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BILABIAL</strong></td>
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<td>Voiceless stops</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless spirants</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced spirants</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
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<td>Lateral/vibrants</td>
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the advantage of greater clarity, it ignores morphophonological connections. The result is that all morphemes that in the co-text do not function as the main stressed syllables remain unconsidered. The following summary relies on Vergote’s analysis but does not treat all possible phonetic articulations. [3] as an anaptyctic vowel in closed syllables, with or without a sonorant, is not considered a phoneme (otherwise Hintze, 1980; cf. 1.2.7).

2.2.1. Short vowels:

/a/ A: BAT6, abomination; CAM, brother. Articulated before laryngeals and in stressed final position as [o], as in go, thousand; TEK6, to destroy; A001, to be; O002, moon; but OYALI3, to be holy.

/e/ e: NE610, half; P6N, name. Articulated as [3] before a sonorant concluding a syllable or before continuants, as in 6X6, shard, pottery; 666, to circumcise; T660, to bring back.

/o/ o: in unstressed initial, medial, and final sounds, but not as an anaptyctic vowel: 6A6, glory; 666CH6, hunter; P666, man, as opposed to 666/ /666(3)/, to kill; T666/ /tahma/, to call you (fem. sing.), as opposed to /k66/ /tah6(3)/ to be invited.

2.2.1.2. Lung vowels:

/u/ u: K66, Egypt; 666, going; N676, to you (pl.); 666, wine. Articulated before laryngeals and at the ends of words as [i]: M66, truth; O66, night; /h6p/ /b6n/, to be hidden, as opposed to /k66/ /k66/, to be laid.

Note that according to Vergote, u [e:] is an allophone of [i] before and after sonorants (66666, N676).

/o/ o: KAT6, to build; N6T6, to run; P666, to burn; thereto the allophone [u] (OY) after /m/ and /n/ before laryngeals and when final, as in MOY/ /6676, to call; MOY/ /6676, God; KOY, to place; P666, winter; but FINDING.

/o/ OY: SO66, interior; COY66, thorn; TO666676 (6565), to reveal (this last is different in Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, sec. 56).

2.2.1.3. Contraction vowel:

/e/ o, w only in final sounds after /m/ and /n/: HO, HW, mother; NO, to see; FINO, there. The written variations HO, HW do not indicate the neutralization of a supposed opposition o versus o, since in the A vocalic system [o] does not appear as a phoneme, but exists only as an allophone of /a/.

Note that w for o occurs occasionally as the final sound /a/' of the causative verb TAK66, to increase (1 Clem. 59:3, p. 77:9; Elias 33:9).

2.2.2. Vocalic opposition dependent upon syllabic structure (long-short opposition).

/6/, /a/: /k66/ KAT6, to build, /kat6/ KAT6, to build it (masc.). /po6X/ N66, to spread out, /par6X/ N66X6, to spread it (masc. out. /m6nk/ NOY66, to form, /mank6/ MAN66, to form it (masc.). /m6k/ NOY, to bind, /m6T/ MAK6, to bind it (masc.). Before laryngeals: /k66p/ /m66/, to become, /k66p/ /m66/, to be.

Note that in the status nominals, /a/ before a sonorant is reduced to [3]: MT, to bind someone/something; P666, to spread out someone/something.

/6/, /a/: /n6hk= /66767676, to trust, /n6h6T /667676, trusting (there are no further examples).

/e/, /e/: /n66p(3)/ NISH6, to you (pl.), /nek/ NEK, to you (sing. masc.). /c66ce/ 6666, hunter; /c66ce/ 66666, hunters.

Note that /e/ for 0 occurs occasionally as the final sound /-a'/ of the causative verb TAK66, to increase (1 Clem. 59:3, p. 77:9; Elias 33:9).

3. The Conjugation System

The summary of the system is based on Polotsky (1960) and Funk (1981). Except in special instances (e.g., conjunctive), the form cited here is only the third-person masculine singular and the corresponding prenominal form (nom. = before nominal subject). The entire paradigm is not attested in all conjugations.

Unless specifically mentioned, the form is affirmative (neg. = negative). Every basic tense (abbreviated hereafter to “basic”) is followed (if attested) by its satellites, after “And”: circ. = circumstantial, rel. = relative, pret. = preterite, H = second tense. Forms

<table>
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<th>Table 2. Summary of Vocalic Opposition</th>
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<td><strong>LONG</strong></td>
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<td><strong>CLOSED/DARK</strong></td>
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<td>/6/o</td>
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<td>/6/oy</td>
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between brackets […] are reconstituted from very similar forms (zero = no verbal prefix, no particle, etc.).

3.1 Bipartite Pattern.

3.1.1. Present (basic) τι, nom. zero. And circ. εὑρε, nom. 6- or εὑρε- (cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55); rel. ἦς or ἦς- resp., nom. εὗρε- or εὗρη-: preter. ἦν ... (he; also ню, 1 Cor. 1:5, by influence of S?), nom. πα/ (Jn. 12:2; πα- see also second perfect) or μάρα ... (he): II μαρά (with με, μαράγγι, I Clem. 48:2), nom. αὐ- or ἀφ- or ἀττα- (cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55).

3.1.2. Future (basic) μαρά-, nom. zero ... μαρά- And circ. εὑρα, nom. 6- ... μαρά-; rel. εὗρα- or εὗρη-: nom. εὗρη ... πα; preter. εὗρα- ... πα (in the apodosis of the hypothetical form = Irrealis); II μαρά-, nom. α- ... ματα- or ματα- ... ματα- (second feminine singular ματα-, I Clem. 20:7, cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 59; second masculine singular also εὗρα-, EpAp. 23:4, with με, μαράγγι, first plural μαράγγια, I Clem. 58:11; second masculine singular also εὗρα-, Prv. 5:2; nom. πα- ... ματα- Prv. 3:22, but με ... ματα- Prv. 3:10; nom. ἀττα- ... πα-; cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55).

3.2 Tripartite Pattern.

3.2.1 Tenses with special negations (if not II). Independent (sentence) conjugations.

3.2.1.1. Perfect (basic) ματα- (second feminine singular ματη-,), nom. α-: neg. ματη-, nom. τη-, (in EpAp. a dissimilative τη-, nom. τη-). And circ. εὗρη-: nom. εὗρη-; neg. εὗρη-; rel. εὗρη- or εὗρη-: nom. εὗρη- (to the εὗρη-group belong EpAp.; Elias; Ex. 2:14, 4:11; I Clem.; Jn.; and Ost.; nevertheless, the inflected form εὗρη- also appears in these texts under identical syntactic conditions; ζητη-, Prv. 18:22, and ζητη-, Elias 22:11, are to be considered as influenced by S?); II ματα-, nom. πα- (Polotsky [1937 and 1944] is to be credited with the discovery of the Akhmimic second perfect; it is found with a derivative of the second degree only in the protasis of the hypothetical form = Irrealis, εὗραγαε, if they had gone. Prv. 2:20, also εὗρη- (I Clem. 31:3, [εὗρη-] I Clem. 32:3, νενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενενε

for the formal category, affirmative substitute Σ μαράγγι εὑρε- has already …, neg. Σματη-, has not yet …, see Funk, 1981, pp. 191-94); neg. Σματη- (in EpAp. a dissimilative [Σματη-], third plural Σματη-), nom. Σματη- (EpAp. [Σματη-] not attested). And circ. neg. Σματη-, nom. Σματη-.

3.2.1.3. Aorist (basic) μαρή-, (second plural μαρητη-, Hg. 2:16), nom. μαρη-: neg. ματη-, nom. μαρη- or ματη- (cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55). And circ. μαρη-, nom. μαρη-; neg. ματη-; rel. εὗρη-, nom. εὗρη-; neg. εὗρη-; rel. εὗρη-, nom. εὗρη-; neg. εὗρη- (Prv. 14:23); preter. [μαρητη-] third plural μαρητη-; II μαρητη- (Elias 38:13), nom. μαρητη- (Prv. 11:10, 19:14, also εὗρη-, Prv. 19:15 by influence of S?).

3.2.1.4. Futurum energicum (or third future) (basic) ματη-, nom. α-; neg. ματη- (also ματη-, Sir. 22:19), nom. ματη- with με, μαράγγι, nom. α-; neg. [ματη-] (e.g., third feminine singular ματη-), Lk. 18:5), nom. ματη- (Elias, I Clem.).

3.2.1.5. Imperative, e.g., ματη, see! (Ex. 4:13; for imperative with preformatives, see Till, 1928, sec. 147d); or infinitive; or ματη- (also ματη-; cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55). And circ. ματη-, nom. ματη- (also ματη-; cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55). And circ. ματη-, nom. ματη-; neg. ματη- (also ματη-, Sir. 22:19), nom. ματη- with με, μαράγγι, nom. α-; neg. [ματη-] (e.g., third feminine singular ματη-), Lk. 18:5), nom. ματη- (Elias, I Clem.).

3.2.1.6. Causative imperative ματη-, nom. ματη-, absolute ματη- (Mi. 4:2); neg. ματη-, nom. ματη-.

3.2.2 Tenses with neg. τιτ(τι). Subordinate (clause) conjugations.


3.2.2.2. Future conjunctive τατε- (second plural τατετη-,) nom. τατε-.

3.2.2.3. Temporal: Group I τατε-, nom. τατε- (Jn.; Herm.; Prv.; ApocSoph. 11:2; Elias; EpAp. 3:14, 19:10); Group II τατε-, nom. τατε- (I Clem., Ex., EpAp., MinProph.).

3.2.2.4. Luminative ("until ") ματη-, (first singular ματη-), nom. ματη- (also ματη-, ApocSoph. 18:5).

3.2.2.5. First conditional ματη-, (also ματη-, I Clem.; second plural ματητη-, also I Clem., but once ματητη-, I Clem. 63:2), nom. ματη- (also ματη-, I Clem.).

3.2.2.6. Second conditional [ματη-] (only second plural ματητη-) Zec. 6:15. The conjugation here referred to as second conditional is that termed "simple"
conditional by Funk [1981, p. 197], in contrast to his "expanded" conditional constructed with ἡλία (S ἡλία). That the "protatic" διέφθαρσε belongs to the tripartite conjugation was discovered by Shisha-Halevy, 1974. Affirmative forms are notoriously rare in literary texts. The protatic διέφθαρσε does not occur in clauses beginning with εἰρέτω and is only to be distinguished from the second present when it may be defined by its syntactic behavior as a (tripartite) subordinate conjugation. Neg. first singular ἀμφίθι, Mi. 3:8; second masculine singular ἀμφίθι, EpAp. 40,12,14; third plural ἀμφίθι, Ex. 4:8).

3.2.2.7. Causative infinitive τετελεί, nom. τετελεί (second plural τετελετεῖς, Mal. 1:7, or τετελετεῖς, Mal. 2:17; τετελετεῖς, Prv. 24:23; also τετελετεῖς; concerning the second plural, see Polotsky, 1960, sec. 56; unique in A third masculine singular τετελετεῖς, Lk. 12:49, influenced by L).

4. Categorization Within Standard Akhmimic

The Akhmimic literary texts exhibit a high degree of standardization. Disregarding sporadic deviations which may occur within the same texts, four criteria may be taken for an attempt at classification:

1. dissimilation n/m and m/p → n/m and n/p: (1.1.1) ἰημο, there → ἰημο, EpAp. 12:13, 28:14, 29:7; (1.1.2) ἰημο + ῶ + ἰημο +, EpAp. 1:5, 13; 19:1, 12; 17:7, 29:12; (1.2.1) ἰημο, neg. perf. → ἰημο, EpAp. (Ῥογγος, 25:3); (1.2.2) ἰημο, neg. completive → ἰημο, EpAp. (Ῥογγος, 36:4)
2. the uninflected relative form of the perfect ἐταξ-, (as opposed to ἐταξ-) 3. the temporal conjugation τακε- (as opposed to τηνακε-)
4. the variant lexical appearance of the conditional particle "if (it happens that . . .)" ἐκείνες, ἐκείνη

The criterion noted first pertains only to EpAp. This phonetic feature is supplemented by the fact that the assimilation n/p = m/p very rarely occurs at morpheme junctures in this text, the standard for a morpheme juncture in EpAp. being the unassimilated form (ἀν ἠπεί, etc.).

The distribution of the remaining distinctive forms may be represented in Table 3. Where ἐταξ- and ἐταξ-, τακε- and τηνακε-, occur simultaneously, the second form is to be considered as unmarked.

A special group is constituted by I Clem., Ex., EpAp., and Elias, which possess three common features. EpAp., moreover, is distinguished by dissimilation in its labial features. In I Clem., a distinction is still to be made between the conditional particle in Old Testament quotations and its form outside of such quotations (see footnote to Table 3). At the opposite end of the spectrum is Proverbs, which is the one Akhmimic text characterized only by the conditional particle ἐκείνες while lacking ἐταξ-, τακε-, and ἐκείνη. John and the Minor Prophets assume a middle position: ἐκείνες occurs in both, but John also

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<tr>
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<th>ἐταξ-</th>
<th>τακε-</th>
<th>ἐκείνες</th>
<th>ἐκείνη</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Clem.</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Clem. (R)</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ (a)</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jn.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prv.</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MinProph.</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ost.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Temporal not attested</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attestations of ἐκείνες and ἐκείνη are distributed in the Berliner Handschrift for I Clem. as follows: ἐκείνες: p. 36, 18 (I Clem. 27:7); p. 69, 8 (I Clem. 54:2).

The form ἐκείνη is used in four out of five passages that cite the Old Testament, whereas ἐκείνες occurs only outside of such quotations. The remaining form ἐκείνη on p. 23,14 may have been attracted to the identical form on p. 23,12. In I Clem., therefore, two levels of language can be recognized in the case of the conditional particle.
employs εταξικ and ηταςικ, while the text of the Minor Prophets uses ηταςικ and ταξικ. The position of Ἱς., which employs εταξικ and ηταςικ, remains uncertain because of the lack of a form of the temporal. The most strongly neutralized document is I Clem.(R) in which no distinctive form (εταξικ, ταξικ, or ηταςικ) appears.

A summary by morphological characteristics appears in Figures 1 and 2. Both types of morphological classification lead to the same "extreme" groups: I Clem., EpAp., Ex., and Elias, on the one hand, and I Clem.(R) and Prv., on the other. Jn. and MinProph. have no distinguishing features in common with the other main groups, but form a class of their own.

5. Akhmimoid Texts

5.1. A number of literary and nonliterary texts (e.g., letters, magical texts) have traditionally been designated Akhmimic:


5.1.3 Magical texts. Same as above, with footnote 32; Ernšteidt, 1959, no. 70.

5.2. The literary texts Ascls., Berlin Genesis, and the Hymn were previously described by Kahle (1954, pp. 204-205) as "Akhmimic with Subakhmimic [that is, L] influence," with Ascls. and Genesis forming a group of their own. The latter texts were shown by Kasser to be early forms of the dialect L (see especially Kasser, 1979b and 1982b, in which Ascls. and Genesis are referred to as I and I7, respectively; see also Funk, 1987). Ascls. and the Berlin Genesis have definitely to be eliminated from the body of Akhmimic texts, as does the Hymn of Hierakas, which corresponds more closely to I7 (and L) than to Α (h > /s/ ηων : h > /s/ ητην), without an aspiratic vowel in the syllable /CR/ = voiceless consonant + voiced consonant or sonorant); second perfect ηπατ; vocalization of the stressed syllable as in L) or to Galatians (see Kasser and Satzinger, 1982).

5.3. Akhmimic Psalm 46, which is characterized by irregular orthography, is to be considered an early form of L rather than Α, since none of the dialectical features of Akhmimic are distinctly marked: e.g., λγω, and not λτω (see 1.4.1.1); ελαστ', to be holy.
(for "οὗτος") and not ἐκαθε (see 1.2.7); οὔτε (for "οὐδὲ") and not οὐ(α)τε, (he is) fearful. In this connection, it is noteworthy that instead of the Akhmimic πάροδος, fear, the S (L) lexeme ἡστήμε (ἡστήμε) is employed.

5.4. The nonliterary texts were delineated earlier by Simon (1940) as Akhmimic with Sahidic influence, or As (for the letters) and "As vulgaire," or vulgar Akhmimic with Sahidic influence (for the magical texts). While detailed evidence cannot be offered here, it should be pointed out that the Mele­elian letter PAP. 2121 (between 330 and 340 A.D.; ed. Crum, in Bell, 1924) clearly belongs to L, as does the letter from the John Rylands Library, no. 396, which was claimed by Crum (1909, p. vii) as an example of "a practically pure Akhmimic" text.

5.5. It may be concluded that the more or less Akhmimoid texts should no longer be counted with the corpus of texts written in the Akhmimic dialect, not even with the mitigating addition of a small s, which is to indicate Sahidic influence. This means, furthermore, that the A dialect is only represented by literary texts (i.e., biblical, apocryphal, and patristic) and that, finally, "Akhmimic" is identical to "standard Akhmimic." The Akhmimic texts are exclusively documents translated from Greek or Sahidic. Just for the most comprehensive texts (MinProph., Prv.) it has been shown that they represent interlinear versions of Sahidic (Till, 1927b, p. xxx; Böhlig, 1936, p. 35).

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ALEPH. Not only in Coptic but in other languages also, aleph (=//I) is a consonant of a very special kind: it is certainly a laryngeal elusive, but is it really unvoiced? For some, it clearly is (e.g., Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 12–13), while others hesitate to place it either among the unvoiced or among the voiced sounds, or resign themselves to putting it somewhere between the two (e.g., Dietz, 1950, p. 98; Dubois et al., 1973, p. 25; Kasser, 1981a). It is best thought of as a stop followed by an abrupt emission of sound, especially a stop separating two adjacent vowels, for instance at the beginning of a syllable after a hiatus (e.g., in “recenter” or in French “la haine” [la’en]), or as a “glottal stop” replacing a consonant hurried over in pronunciation (e.g., “wa” or “water” for “water”; cf. the Arabic hamza). In Coptic, so far as it is really preserved, it is in every case a CRYPTOPHONEME (that is, a phoneme not rendered by any written letter of its own), and it is no doubt for this reason that its existence in this language has long been ignored or disputed; even today it is not universally accepted. For this reason, it occupies a very special place in the Coptic phonological inventory.

It is true that pharaonic Egyptian, down to its last full manifestation prior to Coptic (i.e. demotic), possessed both the phoneme aleph = /\ and the corresponding grapheme (the “Egyptian vulture” of Gardiner, 1957, p. 27, a hieroglyph that, among other things, became s in demotic; cf. du Bourguet, 1976, pp. 3, 75). Now this 3 was, on the one hand, almost everywhere muted and disappeared (cf. Vergote, 1945, pp. 80–98, and 1973, Vol. 1b, pp. 28–33; and “AYIN”); but, on the other hand, the aleph does indeed seem to have reappeared in Coptic as a phoneme /\ and as a product of the transformation of various other consonants. It is appropriate in this connection to examine above all what can be observed in P. Bodmer VI, the sole witness to DIALECT P (which in its orthography and phonology often looks like what can be known about a primitive proto-