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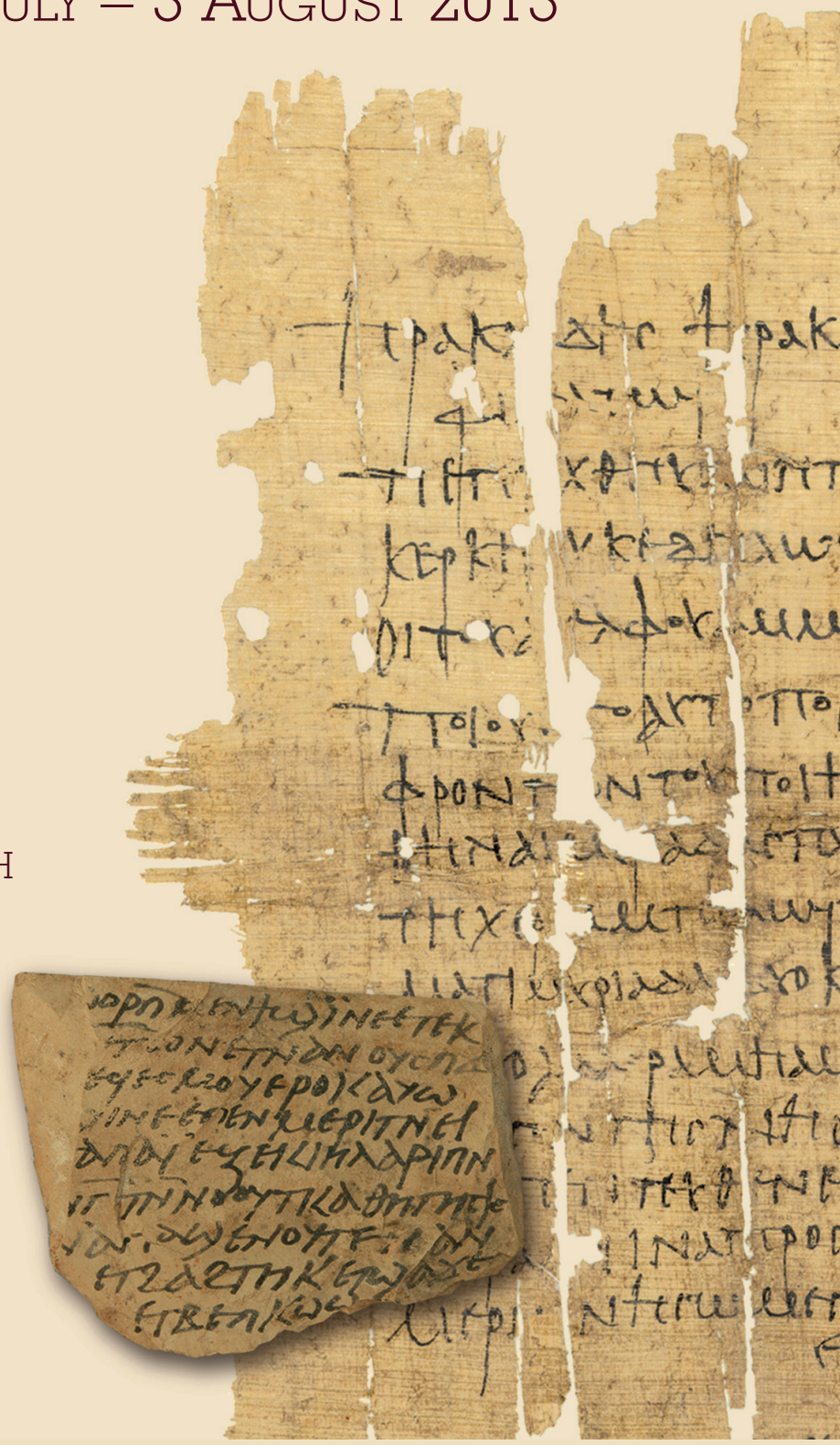

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TOMASZ DERDA
ADAM ŁAJTAR
JAKUB URBANIK

VOLUME XXVIII

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of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology
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Joanne Vera Stolk

DATIVE AND GENITIVE CASE INTERCHANGE IN GREEK PAPYRI*

1. INTRODUCTION

Greek documentary papyri and ostraca offer valuable source material for studying variation and change in the Greek language, as has been noticed in recent years in several publications on 'the language of the papyri'.[1] The so-called 'decline of the dative' is an important diachronic change in the Greek case system and examples from the papyri are often used to illustrate this change.[2] Since the last comprehen-

* This article presents the first results from my ongoing PhD project at the University of Oslo; more results will be published elsewhere. I would like to thank the participants at the Congress for their contributions to the discussion as well as Anastasia Maravela, Mark Janse, Willy Clarysse, Trevor Evans and the anonymous reviewer for valuable comments on previous versions of this article.

[1] E.g. the papers in T. V. Evans & D. D. Obbink (eds), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford 2010, and in M. Leiwo, Hilla Halla-Aho & Marja Vierros, *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin* [= *Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens* 17], Helsinki 2012, among others.

[2] E.g. K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von hellenistischen Zeit*, Leipzig 1898, p. 150; R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1983, p. 37; G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2nd ed.,

sive publication about this topic, Jean Humbert's *La disparition du datif en Grec* in 1930, the corpus of published documentary papyri from Egypt has grown substantially and published Greek papyri have become searchable through the *Papyrological Navigator* (*PN*). This allows for a more detailed analysis of this process of changes in the Greek case system.

In this paper I will focus on the earliest examples of dative-genitive interchange in the papyri from the Ptolemaic period (323–30 BC), as they are often taken to represent the start of the process of dative replacement in the Greek language. I will first provide a short introduction into the process of dative case syncretism in the Greek language (2). Then, I will show that the dating of the start of dative by genitive replacement in the first century BC needs to be reconsidered (3). After that, I suggest a possible method to find new examples of dative by genitive replacement in the papyri from the Ptolemaic period (4) and how to interpret them (5). Finally, the new examples of dative by genitive replacement (6) and genitive by dative replacement (7) are introduced and subjected to qualitative analysis, before drawing some preliminary conclusions (8).

2. DATIVE CASE SYNCRETISM

Case syncretism is understood here as 'the functional merging of paradigmatic categories'.[3] Mechanisms that contribute to case syncretism are (1.) the formal merger of case forms due to phonetic processes, (2.) analogical morphological developments, such as paradigmatic levelling or paradigm reduction, and (3.) the overlap of semantic and syntactic functions, i.e. the partial synonymy among cases.[4]

Chichester 2010, p. 116; G. Horrocks, 'Syntax: from Classical Greek to the Koine', [in:] A.-F. Christides (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 628–629.

[3] G. Meiser, 'Syncretism in Indo-European languages – motives, process and results', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 90 (1992), p. 187.

[4] L. Kulikov, 'Case systems in a diachronic perspective: a typological sketch', [in:] L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov & P. de Swart (eds), *Case, Valency and Transitivity*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 33.

In Greek, phonological change might have caused a similar pronunciation of the dative and genitive singular endings in the first and second declension paradigms and the third person pronouns, but the interchange of case endings of the first and second person pronouns does not seem to be affected by these phonetic processes to the same extent.[5] On the other hand, Humbert noted that the examples of case interchange can in fact be found with personal pronouns in the papyri.[6] Hence these pronominal examples are significant for the study of semantic and syntactic overlap of the case forms, i.e. the functional replacement of the dative.

The functional replacement of the dative by the genitive is part of the process of dative case syncretism in the Greek language. The functions of the dative case were taken over by the genitive and accusative cases and by prepositional phrases. The reduction of the usage of the dative case with certain prepositions starts already in Classical Greek and continues in the later periods.[7] Partial synonymy among the cases can also be found in Classical Greek, e.g. in possession constructions where a possessor can be constructed in the dative and genitive case.[8] Case variation is also found with verbal objects.[9] This appears both as synchronic alternation of the expression of the direct object with small semantic or pragmatic differences as well as diachronic changes in the distribution of case

[5] During the Ptolemaic period formal and functional syncretism cannot easily be distinguished, see E. Mayser & H. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit,* I: *Laut- und Wortlehre,* 1. Teil, 2nd ed., Berlin 1970, pp. 116–117 and 180–183. Formal merger becomes evident in the Roman and Byzantine periods, cf. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods,* vol. I: *Phonology*, Milan 1976, pp. 124–125, 183, 208–211, 215 n. 1, vol. II: *Morphology*, Milan 1981, pp. 213–217.

[6] J. Humbert, *La disparition du datif en Grec du I^er^ au X^e^ siècle*, Paris 1930, p. 166.

[7] Silvia Luraghi, *On the Meaning of Prepositions and Cases*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2003, pp. 330–333, P. Bortone, *Greek Prepositions. From Antiquity to the Present*, Oxford 2010, pp. 182–186.

[8] Cf. Maria Carmela Benvenuto & Flavia Pompeo, 'Expressions of predicative possession in Ancient Greek: "εἶναι plus dative" and "εἶναι plus genitive" constructions', *AION Sezione Linguistica* 1 (2012), pp. 77–103.

[9] E.g. D. Riaño Rufilanchas, 'Differential object marking in Ancient Greek', *Linguistics* 52.2 (2014), pp. 513–541.

forms.[10] The dative case seems to be preserved the longest as the third argument of a verb in the roles of beneficiary, addressee and recipient.[11] Case interchange between dative and genitive in these functions is only occasionally found before the final stages of dative decline in Medieval Greek.[12] Therefore, interchange in these constructions during the Ptolemaic period is of particular interest for the study of dative case syncretism in general and the functional motivations for dative by genitive replacement in particular.

3. PREVIOUSLY FOUND EXAMPLES

The first examples of the use of the genitive case for functions commonly expressed by the dative case were presented by Karl Dieterich in 1898.[13] Dieterich dates the two examples of *σου* instead of *σοι* in *P. Grenf.* II 41 (= *M.Chr.* 183), 16 and 20, to the first century BC. These are often

[10] E.g. from genitive to dative with the verbs *μιμνήσκομαι* and *μνημονεύω* 'remind, make mention of' and accusative to dative for *(δια)φυλάσσω* 'protect, guard', cf. resp. A. Martin, '"Souviens-toi de moi dans tes saintes prières." Témoins tardifs de la vitalité du datif grec', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 144 (2003), pp. 177–180; K. Worp, '*(ΔΙΑ)ΦΥΛΑΣΣΩ* + DAT.: a linguistic regionalism in inscriptions from Christian Egypt', *Analecta Papyrologica* 33–34 (2011–2012), pp. 237–239.

[11] Humbert, *La disparition* (cit. n. 6), pp. 161–163, 199–200.

[12] E. Trapp, 'Der Dativ und der Ersatz seiner Funktionen in der byzantinischen Vulgärdichtung bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 14 (1965), pp. 21–34; Tina Lendari & Io Manolessou, '*Η εκφορά του έμμεσου αντικειμένου στη Μεσαιωνική Ελληνική: εκδοτικά και γλωσσολογικά προβλήματα*' [The indirect object in Medieval Greek: editorial and linguistic problems], [in:] *Studies in Greek Linguistics. Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (17–19 May 2002)*, Thessaloniki 2003, 394–405.

[13] Dieterich, *Untersuchungen* (cit. n. 2), p. 150. The examples include: *P. Grenf.* II 41, 16 and 20 (AD 46), *BGU* I 260, 6 (AD 89), *BGU* I 232, 2 and 4 (AD 108), *Pap. Graec. Mag.* II. VIII, 109 (4th cent. AD), *Pap. Graec. Mag.* I. II, 19 (4th cent. AD), C. Wessely, 'Die griechische Papyri Sachsens', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königliche sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* (1885), p. 278 = *UPZ* I 35, 21–22 (2nd cent. BC), and C. Wessely, 'Der Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El-Faijûm', *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 37 (1889), p. 116 ref. to Ap. 418.

taken as the earliest examples of dative by genitive replacement. However, *P. Grenf.* II 41 is in fact dated September 11, AD 46 rather than 46 BC, see the titles of emperor Claudius in lines 7–9 and 25–27, and the dating of the *editio princeps* and *M.Chr.* 183. Humbert unfortunately followed this incorrect dating, despite his remark about the difficulties of verifying Dieterich's texts.[14] As Humbert's monograph is still used as the primary source for dative decline in the papyri, the notion that the replacement of the dative by the genitive started in the first century BC is found throughout modern literature on Greek dative decline.[15] Adjusting the dating of the earliest example to the first century AD might lead to the conclusion that dative by genitive replacement is not found in the Ptolemaic papyri at all and only starts to appear in the early Roman period. On the other hand, the large corpus of Greek papyri published online in the *Papyrological Navigator* collects many more texts than the publications which Humbert had at his disposal in 1930. Therefore, it might be possible to uncover new examples of dative-genitive interchange in Ptolemaic papyri. The main challenge is how to find them.

4. FINDING CASE INTERCHANGE

Attestations of the replacement of the dative case by the genitive case in the papyri are not widespread. Humbert found only twelve examples in total in volumes of papyri published before 1930, and *P. Grenf.* II 41 was the only text which he (incorrectly) dated to the Ptolemaic period.[16]

[14] Humbert, *La disparition* (cit. n. 6), pp. 168–169: 'nous renvoyons d'ailleurs aux exemples cités par Dieterich, sous bénéfice ... d'un difficile inventaire; car malheureusement nous n'avons pu que rarement les vérifier, et, partant, les utiliser'. He also leaves out the other of Dieterich's examples from the Ptolemaic period, i.e. *UPZ* I 35 (2nd cent. BC), cf. n. 13 and example (2).

[15] E.g. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (cit. n. 2), p. 37; Horrocks, *Greek* (cit. n. 2), p. 180; A. Cooper & Effi Georgala, 'Dative loss and its replacement in the history of Greek', [in:] Ans M. C. van Kemenade & Nynke de Haas (eds), *Historical Linguistics 2009. Selected Papers from the 19th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Nijmegen, August 10–14, 2009* [= *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 320], Amsterdam 2012, p. 281;

[16] Humbert, *La disparition* (cit. n. 6), pp. 168–171.

A possible method to find examples of nonstandard language, i.e. deviations from Classical Greek or contemporary sources, in the papyri is to make use of the expertise of scribes and editors. Corrections by the scribe on the papyrus are usually noted in the edition by adding 'corr. ex' and the corrected form.[17] These corrections could give us some idea of the common confusions and the actual standard that was aimed at by the scribe. However, scribal corrections of cases are rare. An additional, more productive method would be to single out the nonstandard expressions according to judgement of the modern editors. Since the early days of papyrology it has been common practice to note instances of nonstandard orthography or morphosyntax in the text or apparatus of a papyrus edition. Gathering these instances of case corrections by modern editors provides us with a tentative overview of the attested linguistic variation in the published papyrus documents. In order to try this method, I filtered manually all instances of case corrections from the displayed results for genitive personal pronouns of the first and second person singular and plural (*μου, ἐμοῦ, σου, ἐσοῦ, ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν*) in the *PN*.[18] More recently, this method has resulted in a database of editorial corrections, making the results of this type of searches easily available for everyone.[19]

The newly acquired results show that although the examples of the interchange of cases are limited for the Ptolemaic period, interchange is already attested before the first century BC. Throughout the Ptolemaic period (3rd–1st cent. BC) I found three interchanges for the first person

[17] I include among 'scribal corrections' all corrections made by a writer in antiquity, regardless whether this writer was the author of the text or a professional scribe. For the notions of authorship and authorial revision see R. Luiselli, 'Authorial revision of linguistic style in Greek papyrus letters and petitions (AD i–iv)', [in:] T. V. Evans & D. D. Obbink (eds), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford 2010, pp. 71–74; R. S. Bagnall & Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC – AD 800*, Ann Arbor 2006, pp. 59–60.

[18] Search queries for the genitive forms of the personal pronouns (*μου – ἐμοῦ – σου – ἐσοῦ – ἡμῶν – ὑμῶν*) in the *Papyrological Navigator*; any form with a case correction (by the scribe or by the editor) visible among the displayed search results was selected; carried out in August (1st and 2nd sg.) and October (1st and 2nd pl.) 2012.

[19] See www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities and M. Depauw & Joanne Stolk, 'Linguistic variation in Greek papyri: towards a new tool for quantitative study', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 55 (2015), pp. 196–220.

singular (*μου-μοι*), four for the second person (*σου-σοι*) and one for the first person plural (*ἡμῶν-ἡμῖν*). This allows for a qualitative analysis of these attestations in sections 6 and 7.

5. INTERPRETING CASE INTERCHANGE

Case interchange could have multiple causes. Scribal errors in spelling or morphology may result in an apparent case interchange without reflecting an actual change in the language. Bilingual intereference could play a role as well. For example, *P. Grenf.* II 41 (see section 3) was written by Tesenouphis son of Tesenouphis one of the officials working in the *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos. He is probably identical with the writer of several contracts in Greek and Demotic.[20] Andrea Jördens notices a tendency of the scribes of the *grapheion* to write *οι* instead of *ου*, e.g. *οἰλή* for *οὐλή* in *P. Louvre* I 7, 17 and 19 (Soknopaiou Nesos, AD 41–54).[21] Apart from the interchange of the pronouns *μου-μοι* (l. 5) and *σου-σοι* (l. 16, 20) interchange of the vowels *ο-ου-οι-υ* is found in the dative plural endings of *σὺν καθήκοσι* (l. *καθήκουσι*) *καὶ προσδια|γραφομένους* (l. *προσδια|γραφομένοις*) *καὶ συμβολικῦς* (l. *συμβολικοῖς*) 'along with the payments due, added taxes and charges accruing for making out receipts' in ll. 10-11 of *P. Grenf.* II 41. Therefore, the morphosyntactic abnormalities in this text are probably due to influence from the scribe's native language and his imperfect learning of the Greek written language rather than providing an early example of Greek dative replacement.[22]

Confusion of cases in Greek papyri is often explained by interference from the Egyptian language, because Egyptian scribes might have had difficulties with the Greek case system.[23] While in Greek the dative case

[20] For the identification of Tesenouphis see Andrea JÖRDENS & K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *P. Louvre* I, pp. 51 and 68.

[21] Cf. *P. Louvre* I, p. 50.

[22] See the interchanges of *tau* and *delta* (l. 13, 15), *kappa* and *gamma* (l. 2, 5) which are typical for Egyptians writing Greek, and especially in the Fayum also the interchange of *rho* and *lambda* (l. 2), cf. GIGNAC, *A Grammar* (cit. n. 5), pp. 63, 80–83, 85–86, 106–107.

[23] Cf. Penelope FEWSTER, 'Bilingualism in Roman Egypt', [in:] J. N. ADAMS, M. JANSE &

is marked by inflectional morphology on nouns and pronouns, Egyptian generally uses prepositions for the marking of the indirect object of verbs. This typological difference should not pose an immediate problem for bilingual scribes. However, the argument-realization patterns also vary between the two languages. For example, in Greek a possessor could be denoted by the dative and the genitive case (depending on the construction) and an addressee of speech by the dative case (with verbs of speaking) or by the accusative case (with verbs of asking). On the other hand, in Demotic the preposition *n*- is used to mark an attributive relation between nouns (cf. genitive), as well as the function of nominal direct object and indirect object (cf. accusative-dative).[24] Unawareness of these differences could result in case interchange.[25] This does not imply that every case interchange in a Greek text written by a scribe whose native tongue was Egyptian can only be caused by imperfect learning of the second language. As Trevor Evans argues, identifying bilingual interference in Greek papyri requires a careful consideration of all possible explanations, such as the linguistic and educational background of the scribe, the process of text composition and the development of the language.[26] Pursuing Marti Leiwo's approach, I use the following questions to examine the sociolinguistic context of a case interchange.[27]

S. Swain (eds), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and Written Text*, Oxford 2002, p. 235: 'What we do occasionally see is confusion over case endings. Demotic did not have them, and so this may be a sign of Greek's being used as a second language.'

[24] The marking of these functions is slightly different for pronominal forms, so that the direct and indirect object can be distinguished, see further R. S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees*, Oxford 1996, p. 100–110.

[25] Marja Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries in Hellenistic Egypt. A Study of Greek as a Second Language* [= *Collectanea Hellenistica* V], Brussels 2012, pp. 139–175; eadem, 'Phraseological variation in the agoranomic contracts from Pathyris', [in:] M. Leiwo, Hilla Halla-Aho & Marja Vierros, *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin* [= *Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens* XVII], Helsinki 2012, pp. 43–56.

[26] T. V. Evans, 'Complaints of the natives in a Greek dress: the Zenon archive and the problem of Egyptian interference', [in:] A. Mullen & P. James (eds), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 109–114.

[27] Based on the ten questions to study nonstandard language proposed by M. Leiwo, 'Scribes and language variation', [in:] Leena Pietilä-Castrén & Marja Vesterinen (eds),

(i) What would be the standard form?
(ii) Is it possible to interpret the unexpected form in another way?
(iii) Was the text composed, dictated or copied?
(iv) Does the linguistic context point to a scribal error or copy mistake?
(v) Could the text reflect a spoken practice?
(vi) What could have been the native language of the scribe?[28]
(vii) What was the linguistic situation of the place where the text was composed?
(viii) Could the nonstandard form be explained by interference from another language?

The possibility of bilingual interference in early examples of dative by genitive replacement does not mean that the process of dative replacement in the Greek language is caused by Egyptian interference. It is clear from the internal developments in the language and the geographical spread of the changes that this is an unlikely course of events.[29] Interference could easily have been limited to idiosyncratic language and ephemeral phenomena. Still, when language contact is understood as 'a cause of any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation', the process of dative case syn-

Grapta Poikila I (= *Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens* 8), Helsinki 2003, p. 2. The above questions 3, 5, 6, and 7 resemble the questions 9, 5, 7 and 10 in his study, while my questions 1 and 8 overlap partly with the questions 1, 3 and 6.

[28] The linguistic background cannot unambiguously be interpreted from the Greek or Egyptian name of the scribe. W. Clarysse, 'Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and administration', *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), pp. 57–66, has shown that in the second and first century BC people working in the government service could have both a Greek and an Egyptian name. They would use the name that was most appropriate in each context. The office of the *agoranomos*, for example, was predominantly taken by people with a Greek name, even when they were in fact Egyptians, the opposite could have been the case for the office of the *komogrammateus*. For more references to literature on onomastics and ethnicity in Ptolemaic papyri see also Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries* (cit. n. 25), pp. 39–49. There are other ways to assess the likelihood of a bilingual context, such as the writing method, language features or the context of provenance, see also Evans, 'The Zenon archive and Egyptian interference' (cit. n. 26), pp. 112–115

[29] As already observed by Humbert, *La disparition* (cit. n. 6), pp. 17–18.

cretism is likely to have been influenced by non-native speakers.[30] The synchronic variation in the heterogeneous population of the Hellenistic period might well have accelerated these and other historical changes in the Greek language.[31]

6. ANALYSIS OF EXAMPLES OF GENITIVE FOR DATIVE INTERCHANGE

The earliest example of the genitive instead of the dative case is presented in example (1).

(1) *SB* XVI 12687, 4–5 (Arsinoites, late 3rd cent. BC):

αὐτοῦ γὰρ συνγραψαμ[ένου] (l. *συγγραψαμ[ένου]*) | *μου* (l. *μοι*) *συνγραφὴν* (l. *συγγραφὴν*) *συνοι[κισίου]*

As he himself had a marriage contract drawn up with me.

The papyrus contains an *enteuxis* from a woman named Tenes daughter of Marres concerning her marriage contract. Her name and patronymic (*Τενῆς Μαρρήους*, see *editio princeps*, n. to l. 2) suggest that she is Egyptian, but she probably did not write the petition herself. The editor Guido Bastianini (*editio princeps*, p. 149) proposes that the marriage contract might have been written in Demotic originally, based on the sum of money (see p. 149 and n. to l. 6) and the expression *ἐἰς΄ ἱμ[ατισμόν* which corresponds to the Demotic formula *n p3y-t ḥbs* 'for your clothes' (n. to l. 7).[32] The emendations in l. 7 and 10 (additions of resp. *εἰς* and *ἐπὶ τῶν τό[πων]* above the

[30] Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact: An Introduction*, Edinburgh 2001, pp. 61–62.

[31] V. Bubeník, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area* [= *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, Series IV: *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 57], Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1989, p. 287.

[32] Cf. G. Bastianini, 'Un abbozzo di enteuxis (P. Vindob. Barbara 9)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 44 (1981), pp. 147–152. The editor maintained that the text was written with a rush pen, but the characteristic style of a brush is lacking. According to

line) and the abrupt ending in the middle of a word in l. 13 (*τῶι ἀρχιφ* <vac.>) suggest that the papyrus was probably a draft of a petition drawn up by a bilingual scribe for this Egyptian woman.[33] The dative pronoun *μοι* is expected here instead of the genitive pronoun *μου*, cf. *συγγραψάμενοι γάρ μοι συγγραφήν* in *P. Enteux.* 54, R° 3 (Bakchias, 11 May 218 BC).[34] Part of the explanation could be that the scribe formed the genitive *μου* analogical to the previous words ending in *–ου* (unfortunately, the ending of the preceding participle *συνγραψαμ[ένου]* can only be supplemented). However, it is not impossible either that the scribe understood the genitive pronoun with the following noun *μου συνγραφήν* 'my marriage contract', referring to the woman's contract which was signed by her husband. Especially in an oral context, the confusion between 'he drew up a contract with me' and 'he signed my contract' is easily made. If the scribe intended or confused the possessive reading here, this cannot be regarded as an example of dative replacement. On the other hand, precisely the ambiguous interpretation of dative and genitive in a position between a verb and a noun is likely to have been at the basis of the merger of cases.[35]

Another interesting case of dative by genitive replacement is found in an ***hypomnema*** in which the ***hypodioiketes*** Sarapion is asked to write to Mennides the ***epimeletes*** to deliver a certain amount of oil to the Sarapieion in Memphis (2).

(2) *UPZ* I 35, 16, 21–24 (Memphis, before 23 January 161 BC):

ἀξιῶ σε ... γράψαι Μεννίδει | τῶι ἐπιμελητει (l. *-τῆ*, corr. ex *επιμελε-τει*) *προσαποδοῦναί μου* (l. *μοι*) *| καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔτους τὸν καθήκοντα ἔλαιον* (l. *ἐλαίου*) *| μετρητὴν καὶ κίκιος μετρητήν*

Clarysse (personal communication, 28 Jan. 2014) the use of a bad pen would explain the variation in thickness better.

[33] Cf. W. Clarysse, 'Egyptian scribes writing Greek', *Chronique d'Égypte* 68 (1993), p. 200.

[34] Bastianini, 'Un abbozzo di enteuxis' (cit. n. 32), p. 151, n. to l. 4–5.

[35] Joanne Vera Stolk, 'Dative by genitive replacement in the Greek language of the papyri: a diachronic account of case semantics', *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 15.1 (2015), pp. 91–121.

I ask you ... to write to Mennides the epimeletes to deliver to me also for this year the due metretes of sesame oil and the metretes of castor oil.

The genitive instead of the dative pronoun as the recipient of the delivery (*προσαποδοῦναί μου*, l. 22) is used only in one of the four preserved copies of this *hypomnema* (*UPZ* I 35), the other documents (34 and 36) preserve the same phrase with a dative pronoun. This suggests that a dative was intended here as well. Apart from the official petition containing subscriptions in different hands (*UPZ* I 36), the others are considered to be drafts by the hand of Apollonios.[36] Ptolemaios and his brother Apollonios sons of Glaukias of Macedonian descent are known from the archive of the *katochoi* of the Sarapieion in Memphis (cf. *UPZ* I). Living in the Egyptian environment of the temple in Memphis, Ptolemaios and Apollonios spoke probably both Greek and Egyptian.[37] Regardless of the Greek background of Apollonios, there are many orthographic and scribal mistakes in the copies and drafts by his hand. One could argue that the mistakes might be caused by his young age (as he was still called *παιδάριον* at the time when he copied the petition in example 2), but not only would this be a highly speculative line of argumentation, it also does not explain why it resulted in precisely this interchange of forms.[38] The context would allow the case interchange to be caused by a copy mistake, perhaps by analogy with the directly following genitive ending in *-ου* (the conjunction *καί* was added later in the margin in this version). His confusion could be partly due to the use of the genitive in spoken Greek, but this cannot be established with certainty.

[36] Cf. U. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, pp. 226–228.

[37] Ptolemaios points out his Greek background in various instances, e.g. as the reason for him being attacked by Egyptians Ptolemaios gives *παρὰ τὸ Ἕλληνά με εἶναι* in *UPZ* I 7, 21–22 (Memphis, 19 November 163 BC), see similar phrases in *UPZ* I 8, 14 (Memphis, after 8 November 161 BC) and *UPZ* I 15, 16–17 (Memphis, after 8 May 156 BC), cf. also Anne-Emmanuelle Veïsse, 'Les identities multiples de Ptolémaios, fils de Glaukias', *Ancient Society* 37 (2007), pp. 69–78 and Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis Under the Ptolemies*, 2nd ed., Princeton – Oxford 2012, pp. 213–214. Apollonios might have been able to read and/or write Egyptian, based on the Egyptian texts preserved in the archive, but this is not certain, cf. U. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, pp. 115–116.

[38] Cf. *παιδαρίου Ἀπολλωνίου* in *UPZ* I 39, 19 (Memphis, 161 BC) and Wilcken, *UPZ* I, pp. 113–115.

A slightly later example is the letter from Pikos son of Psenminis to his sister's husband Totoes son of Zmanres (3). The letter is part of the private family archive of Totoes. All family members have Egyptian names and the archive contains more Demotic than Greek texts.[39]

(3) *PSI* IX 1023, 3–11 (Pathyrites, 9 July 106 BC):

ὁμολογῶι (l. *ὁμολογῶ*) *ἀπέχειν* | *παρὰ σοῦ χαλκοῦ νο*|*μίσματος τάλα-ντα* | *δύο δρα*(*χμὰς*) *ὀκτακοσίας* | *ἐκ τοῦ δανείου τῶν* | *ταλάντων τεσ-σάρων* | *ἣν τέθειμαί σου* (l. *σοι*) *ἐν* | *τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγορα*( ) | *ξενικοῦ*

I acknowledge to have received from you two talents 800 drachmas of bronze money from the loan of four talents (according to the loan contract) which I have drawn up with you at Apollonios' foreign notary office.

Although the archive concerns the dealings of an Egyptian family, this private receipt for the partial repayment of a loan is in Greek and related to a Greek loan contract.[40] The antecedent of the relative *ἣν* can be understood as a reference to the loan contract according to which the payments are executed, cf. *κατὰ δανείου συγγραφήν* in the *editio princeps*, note to l. 9. Based on the parallel of *P. Oxy.* LV 3777, 11–13 (Oxyrhynchos, 2–31 August 57 or 56 BC[41]) *κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τῆς* | *ὁμολογίας ἣν τέθειμαί σοι διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ*ε[*ι*] | *ἀρ*[*χ*]*είου*, a dative pronoun was expected in this phrase. However, there are various possibilities for the

[39] E. Boswinkel & P. W. Pestman, *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues* (*Pap. Lugd. Bat.* 19), App. A, pp. 193–205.

[40] Corrected by P. W. Pestman to l. *ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγορα*(*νομείῳ*) | *ξενικῷ* (*BL* V 125) against the *editio princeps* *ἐν* | *τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγορα*(*νόμου*) *ξενικοῦ* (perhaps <*ἀρχείοις*>). The Ptolemaic office of the *agoranomeion xenikon* could denote an institution especially for foreigners or it is how the Egyptians called the Greek notary offices in opposition to their local offices, see Gabriella Messeri Savorelli, 'Lista degli agoranomi di età tolemaica', [in:] R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* [= *Papyrologica Florentina* 7], Firenze 1980, pp. 248–249, n. 112.

[41] Cf. C. Bennett & M. Depauw, 'The reign of Berenike IV', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 160 (2007), p. 213.

formulation of this expression, cf. also the petition from the bilingual family archive of Amenothes son of Horos in *P. Tor. Amen.* 8, 5–6 (Mnemoneia, 20 November – 19 December 116 BC) *ἐθέμεθα πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς | ὁμολογίαν διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῆι Διὸς πόλει ξενικοῦ ἀγορανο̣μ̣ίου* 'we drew up between each other a contract through the foreign notary office in Diospolis'. Here, the petitioner refers to a contract which was made *πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς* 'to' or 'between themselves' (instead of the expected *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*). The formulation as *ἣν τέθειμαί σοι* seems not fixed and some degree of variation might be expected, especially between different types of documents and different scribes. In the receipt for payment of the loan in (3), the formulation only partially renders the parallel phrases. The relative pronoun *ἣν* does not directly refer to the loan contract drawn up previously, as expected, but rather to the loan itself (*ἐκ τοῦ δανείου*, l. 7). The sender Pikos acknowledges to have received back two talents and 800 drachmas 'from the loan of four talents'. The loan then receives a further modification, namely *ἣν τέθειμαί σου* the one 'which I made to/from you', where the verb *τίθεμαι* 'to draw up, to execute' would generally be accompanied by the party of the execution of the contract.[42] Even though the scribe seems to have skipped some parts of the phrase, it would be difficult to interpret the genitive here in the meaning of a source or possessor of the loan or the contract. The scribe might have been thinking about something else, but it is unclear what that could have been from the actual linguistic context. However, it seems unlikely that he had a general tendency to use the genitive instead of a dative, as a dative pronoun is used in the phrase following immediately afterwards: *ἔτι ἐνλίπει* (l. *ἐλλείπει*) *μοι ἐκ τοῦ δανι̣ίου* (l. *δανείου*) *τοῦ προγεγρα(μμέ-νου) χα(λκοῦ) | τάλαντον ἓν δρα(χμὰς) π̣ε̣ν̣|τακισχιλίας διακο|σίας* 'there is still left to me of the aforementioned loan: one talent of bronze and 5200 drachmas', l. 11–16.

A last example of the replacement of a dative by a genitive pronoun is found in a business letter about a delivery of pottery (4).

[42] Cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin 1926, p. 599.

(4) *BGU* VI 1302, 5–7 (unknown provenance, 28 July 94 or 19 July 61 BC):

ὁμολογγο (l. ὁμολογῶ) δόσιν (l. δώσειν) σοι τ̣ὰ ἐ̣[ἰς] | τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ (ἔτους) κ διὰ τὸ Πτολεμαῖαν (*l.* Πτολεμαῖον) | εἰρηκέναι μου (*l.* μοι) ἀποδοῦναί σ̣οι

I agree to give to you those for the 21st year, because Ptolemaios told me to give (them) to you.

The letter was sent by Kollouthes to another Egyptian man Nekteroïs.[43] The text was written by Alexandros son of Herakleides (ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος | Ἡρακλίδης, l. Ἡρακλείδου, l. 8–9), because allegedly the author could not write (διὰ τὸ φάσκιν (l. φάσκειν) | αὐτὸν μὴ ἠδέναι (l. εἰδέναι) <γράμματα>, l. 9–10). Although the writer has a Greek name, he leaves his patronymic in the nominative (Ἡρακλίδης for Ἡρακλείδου, l. 9), while he writes in the dative (Κολλούθηι, l. 1) what is presumably the name of the sender.[44] The Egyptian names of the sender and addressee and the case inflections of the personal names could point to a bilingual Egyptian-Greek background. The confusion of ἑνὸς καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους and (ἔτους) κα (see *editio princeps*, n. to l. 6) might reflect the transposition from spoken to written language, perhaps through dictation of the letter, or at least in the scribe's mind during the process of text composition. The linguistic context of this case interchange is particularly interesting, because we find in the same sentence two dative pronouns as the recipient of a verb of giving (δόσιν, l. δώσειν, σοι, l. 5, and ἀποδοῦναί

[43] Possibly a variant of Nechtpheroys, cf. *Trismegistos People* at www.trismegistos.org, February 2, 2014.

[44] Another option is to take the datives Κολλούθηι Νεκτερώιτι as the name and the patronymic of the addressee, but this would leave us with no information about the sender of the letter. I prefer the interpretation of the more conventional opening: sender (nominative) – addressee (dative) – χαίρειν, although introductory formulae omitting the name of the sender are occasionally found both in Greek and Egyptian letters, cf. F. X. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography. The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, Washington 1923, pp. 58–59 and M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter. A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra- and Intercultural Background* [= *Demotische Studien* 14], Sommerhausen 2006, pp. 141–144.

ϩοι, l. 7). Hence, why would Alexandros put the addressee of speech in the genitive (εἰρηκέναι μου, l. 7) and the recipient of giving in the conventional dative case? Both the recipient of giving and the addressee of speech can be marked by the preposition *n-* in Demotic.[45] Therefore, it is not likely that the Egyptian background was directly responsible for the interchange of genitive and dative in this sentence.

7. ANALYSIS OF EXAMPLES DATIVE FOR GENITIVE INTERCHANGE

Above I presented four examples of the replacement of the dative by the genitive case from the Ptolemaic period. However, the opposite interchange, the use of a dative instead of an expected genitive, is also attested in this period. Three petitions from the Zenon archive contain the formulaic phrase δέομαι οὖν σου 'I beg you then' with the dative instead of the usual genitive pronoun, cf. (5)–(7).

(5) *P. Mich.* I 29, 11 (Philadelphia, 13–21 July 256 BC):

δέομαι ον (l. οὖν) σοι καὶ εἱκετεύω (l. ἱκετεύω)
I beg and beseech you then.

(6) *SB* XXII 15462, 7 (Philadelphia, 3 November 255 BC):

δέομαι οὖν σοι, ἰ (l. εἰ) καί σοι δοκεῖ
I beg you then, if it pleases you.

(7) *PSI* VI 656, 7 (Philadelphia, mid-3rd cent. BC):

δέομαι οὖν σου (corr. ex σοι), εἴ σοι δοκεῖ
I beg you then, if it pleases you.

[45] Cf. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 44), pp. 115–118, 144–147, 252–254 and 274–275; Simpson, *Demotic Grammar* (cit. n. 24), pp. 106–110.

P. Mich. I 29 (5) and *SB* XXII 15462 (6) are written in the same hand and in both cases the pronoun is written in the dative case, while in *PSI* VI 656 (7) the dative pronoun (σοι) was corrected again into a genitive (σου) by the scribe.[46] All three texts are painted with a rush pen which seems a strong indication of the Egyptian background of the scribe.[47] Therefore, Willy Clarysse suggested that the choice for the dative pronoun might have been influenced by Egyptian syntax, since the Egyptian verbs for 'to ask, to beg' are not constructed with a source complement as in Greek (δέομαί σου, cf. English 'to ask from/of'). The Demotic equivalent of the Greek formulaic phrase δέομαι οὖν σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ would be *tw=y tbḥn-im=s iw=f ḫpr iw=s ḥs* 'I beg (it) if it happens that it pleases', also once attested with the indirect object of the request expressed, cf. *tw=y tbḥn-im=k* 'I am begging you'.[48] In this phrase the personal indirect object is usually not expressed, or constructed by means of the prepositional object phrase *n-im=* which is used for pronominal direct objects. Why then did the Egyptian scribe choose a dative case as replacement for the Greek genitive with δέομαι and not, for instance, the accusative case that is found with other Greek verbs for asking (e.g. ἀξιῶ οὖν σε 'I ask you then')?

Egyptian interference can be observed in direct transfer features, such as occasionally found in translations of documents from Demotic to Greek.[49] But this is not the only type of bilingual interference. Language learners also need to acquire the rules of the second language, and their correct and incorrect assumptions about the grammatical system could result in new formations that are not directly influenced by the grammatical structure of the first language.[50] Especially in a situation of different

[46] Clarysse, 'Egyptian scribes' (cit. n. 33), pp. 196–198.

[47] Clarysse, 'Egyptian scribes' (cit. n. 33), pp. 197–200. Clarysse also mentions several other Egyptian features in the Greek language of these scribes; see discussion in Evans, 'The Zenon archive and Egyptian interference' (cit. n. 26), p. 111.

[48] The examples, resp. from *Demotische Texte auf Krüge*, Vessel B 2, 17, and *O. Thebes* 14, 5, are taken from Depauw, 'The Demotic letter' (cit. n. 44), pp. 267–268.

[49] E.g. G. Mussies, 'Egyptianisms in a late Ptolemaic document', [in:] E. Boswinkel, B. A. van Groningen, P. W. Pestman (eds), *Antidoron Martino David oblatum, Miscellanea Papyrologica* [= *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XVII], Leiden 1968, pp. 70–76.

[50] H. H. Hock & B. D. Joseph, *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relation-*

patterning of the morphological marking of dependency relations, Egyptians might end up with wrong assumptions about the Greek case system. This could be the reason why these Egyptian scribes used the dative case as the addressee of δέομαι 'to beg, to request', as they assumed that the addressee of speech is always denoted by the dative in Greek.

A different background is found in (8). This *enteuxis* from two Greeks, Dioskourides and Nikanor, against the Egyptian woman Nephersouchis contains a case correction, but relatively few other deviations.

(8) *P. Enteux.* 44, 2–4 (Arsinoites, 26 February 221 BC):

δανεισαμένη γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν (corr. ex ἡμῖν) τοῦ κϛ (ἔτους) παρὰ [Διοσ]κουρίδου μὲν χαλκοῦ (δραχμὰς) ι παρὰ Νικάνορος | χαλκοῦ (δραχμὰς) ιδ ὥστ' εἶναι (δραχμὰς) κδ οὐκ ἀποδ<ίδ>ωσιν [ἡμῖν] παρὰ τὸ ἀπεληλυθέναι αὐτὴν εἰς Κ[ϵ]ρ[κϵ]σ[οῦχα] | τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδ[ο]ς

For having borrowed from us, in the year 26, from Dioskourides 10 bronze drachmas and from Nikanor 14 bronze drachmas, i.e. 24 drachmas in total, she does not pay back to us because she has moved to Kerkesoucha in the meris of Herakleides.

Since the orders from the *strategos* Diophanes to Deinias the *epistates* of Kerkesoucha are added in a second hand below the petition, this document must have been the official version. The text is written in a cursive and experienced hand and the language is close to standard Greek. Only a few errors reveal the presence of the scribe, among them is ἡμῶν (corr. ex ἡμῖν) in l. 2.[51] The minor errors are corrected on the spot leaving little room for doubt about the language competence of the scribe. The discrepancies might have been due to routine and imprecision rather than

ship. An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics, 2nd ed., Berlin – New York 2009, p. 357.

[51] Cf. also the correction of the ο in ἀνακαλεσάμενον in l. 6 and the later addition of the υ to αὐτήν in l. 7.

inexperience. In this situation, the scribe might have confused the genitive complement of the preposition *παρά* denoting source (*παρ' ἡμῶν* 'from us') with the dative complement denoting location (*παρ' ἡμῖν* 'with us, at our place'), perhaps because the party in question in fact represents the intended recipient of the repayment. Both constructions (*παρά* with dative and with genitive) are used in Ptolemaic period, although the genitive clearly is the most frequently attested case form with this preposition.[52] If the scribe did not have any other intention with the dative case in this phrase, it might just have been a case of confusion or hypercorrection, quickly adjusted afterwards.

8. CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to re-examine the evidence for dative by genitive replacement in Ptolemaic papyri. It is argued that there is no particular reason to date the beginning of this process to the first century BC, as the only text on which the conclusion was based can in fact be dated to the early Roman period. Furthermore, new examples from the Ptolemaic period can be found now and more may be found in the future. Based on editorial and scribal corrections of the dative and genitive case forms in first and second person pronouns, I presented a new group of dative-genitive interchanges, dating to the third, second and first centuries BC.

Remarkably, the genitives are attested in various constructions. If these attestations reflect the actual linguistic situation, a modest degree of variation between the dative and genitive case might already have been present for several functions of the dative case, e.g. addressee and goal. However, qualitative analysis of the sociolinguistic context showed that the motivations for dative by genitive replacement in the Ptolemaic period can be manifold. Because Egyptian verbs might have a different pattern of argument-realization than comparable verbs in the Greek lan-

[52] See E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit.* II.2. *Satzlehre, Analytischer Teil*, Berlin – Leipzig 1934, p. 482.

guage, bilingual interference is a potential cause of case confusion. Some of the examples clearly originate from an Egyptian context, but the attestations of the genitive instead of the dative cannot straightforwardly be explained by bilingual interference. The process of text composition, e.g. a draft version or copy of a document, might provide the circumstances for an unusual formulation or apparent case interchange (cf. examples 1 and 2). In order to explain the resulting occurrence of the genitive in such a document, the direct linguistic context is important as well. Apart from analogical formation that might have played a role in examples 1 and 2, the genitive could sometimes also be understood in its natural meaning of possessor or source (1). If that is the case, the editorial correction into a dative pronoun might have been superfluous.

Apart from the replacement of the dative by the genitive, the opposite change, i.e. the use of the dative instead of genitive case, is also found in the same period. Based on the confusion of genitive and dative with the verb δέομαι 'to beg, to request', I suggested that bilingual interference cannot only be found in direct transfer features from the first language, but also includes the interchange of cases based on incorrect assumptions about the structure of the second language.

Thus, since there can be several motivations for linguistic variation, individual examples should not be taken as evidence for language change before close examination of the social and linguistic context is completed. Multiple factors might have influenced the outcome. In order to draw any conclusions about the process of dative replacement in the written language of the papyri, further study is desirable, addressing both the particular features of standard and nonstandard language in the Ptolemaic period as well as the later developments concerning case interchange in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

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