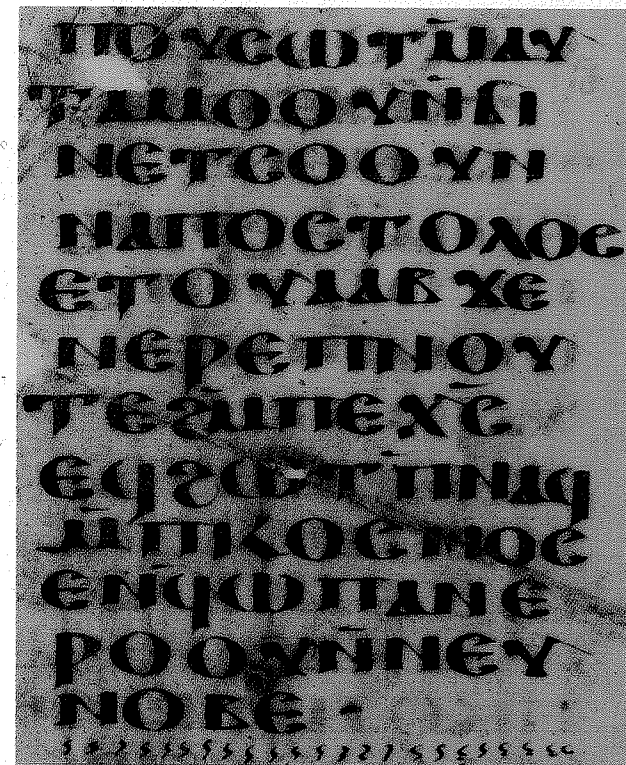


PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM

Bentley Layton

A COPTIC GRAMMAR

Second Edition, Revised and Expanded



Harrassowitz Verlag

PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM

Neue Serie

Herausgegeben von Werner Diem und Lutz Edzard

Band 20

2004

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

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With Chrestomathy and Glossary

Sahidic Dialect

Second Edition, Revised and Expanded
With an Index of Citations

2004

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2004 A 2817

Cover Illustration: From a Standard Sahidic literary manuscript, 7th or 8th century (?).
For description, see figure following table 1. Courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript
Library, Yale University.



ED 2760

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de l'École Biblique
de Jérusalem*

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek:
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek:
Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the
internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

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Typesetting by Peeters, Louvain, Belgium, printing and binding
by Memminger MedienCentrum AG.
Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printed in Germany

www.harrassowitz.de/verlag

ISSN 0554-7342

ISBN 3-447-04833-6

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Preface

AS THE first edition of this grammar went out of print, the publisher kindly agreed to the proposal of a new edition—revised, corrected, and substantially augmented—which would replace the old one of 2000. Although the overall shape of the work and most of its terminology remain intact in this new edition, I have improved the description of quite a number of grammatical patterns, expanded the documentation for a few, and corrected very many of the ambiguities and errors that are almost inevitable in the first version of a full-scale grammar (the subject index and select Coptic index have also been revised accordingly). In this task I have benefited from suggestions made by several colleagues, of whom Ariel Shisha-Halevy and Stephen Emmel must be especially thanked. Prof. Shisha-Halevy's review in *Orientalia* n.s. 71 (2002):423–59 has been particularly helpful; it also contains many interesting proposals for future research on the structure of Coptic.

The original paragraph numbering has not been changed.

An entirely new section has also been added at the end of this second edition, consisting of a full index locorum of the examples cited in the course of the grammar. More than 2,700 passages are indexed there; some of these passages are cited more than once (thus 818 references are made to the 726 passages from Shenoute). These include 1,878 passages from the Bible (231 from the Old Testament and 1,647 from the New), 726 from Shenoute, and 123 from other ecclesiastical literature. Citations are the backbone of any reference grammar, and the new index will now give readers immediate access to a grammatical discussion of about three thousand citations of classical Coptic.

It remains for me to thank Harrassowitz Verlag and their printers (Drukkerij Peeters) for meticulous care in publishing both editions of this work. The original electronic text was composed by the author in WordPerfect 5.1 (DOS version) and then reformatted for typesetting by the printing house using their proprietary software on a Macintosh computer.

Other scholars and institutions who supported this project are acknowledged at the end of the Preface to First Edition, which is reprinted below, and I would like to renew my thanks for their great generosity.

Yale University, New Haven (Connecticut)

Preface to First Edition

AS A NEW CENTURY of Coptic studies begins, this grammar is meant to provide a fundamental reference tool describing and documenting the classical dialect, Sahidic, found in literary texts of the fourth to eighth centuries A.D. in Egypt. Of all the Coptic dialects, Sahidic conveniently shared the greatest number of features with others; it also had a prestigious association with the orthodox Christian establishment. The powerful combination of convenience and prestige turned Sahidic into a nationwide medium of communication for orthodox ecclesiastical and monastic Christianity in early Coptic speaking Egypt. It is the idiom of most native authors in Coptic.

This book does not presuppose a technical knowledge of linguistics; undefined linguistic jargon is carefully avoided. I have explained each grammatical term, even 'noun' and 'verb', where it is first discussed in the book—and specifically as applying to Coptic, which bears little structural resemblance to the familiar Indo-European languages of Europe. Definitions can also be located through the subject index. I also call attention to the select Coptic index, which can help readers to identify many ambiguous or puzzling grammatical forms.

Unlike my predecessor Ludwig Stern,¹ I have drawn extensively from the writings of Apa Shenoute (*alias* Sinouthios or Shanūdah, A.D. ca. 350–465), now regarded as a major stylist in Sahidic and an important source of historical information; one of the secondary aims of this grammar is to make Shenoute's Coptic more accessible. The vast corpus of Shenoutean evidence was hardly available in Stern's day (1880), nor is much of it found in the more recent hand grammars.² But within the last few years Shenoute's language has been richly documented and presented to linguists through the efforts of Ariel Shisha-Halevy;³ and Shenoute's literary corpus has at last been put in order by Stephen Emmel,⁴ though a unified critical edition of Shenoute's works does not yet exist. I cite works originally known under Shenoute's authorship with the siglum Sh (more than 800 such citations will be found below). A few of

¹ L. Stern, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1880; reprint, Osnabrück 1971).

² In the Porta series, the present volume replaces Georg Steindorff's brief *Koptische Grammatik* (Berlin 1894; 2d ed. 1904).

³ Both his "Circumstantial Sentence" and the *Categories*, as well as the valuable *Chrestomathy*, draw examples entirely from Shenoute.

⁴ S. Emmel, "Shenoute's Literary Corpus" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1993).

these in fact belong to other authors, but for simplicity of reference I mostly keep this siglum even where attribution to Shenoute can no longer be accepted; they are in any case a good sample of standardized Sahidic. I cite the published works by page and line of the edition, there being no conventional reference system by title and chapter. Citations from unpublished manuscripts are transcribed from microfilm copies.

Naturally, I have taken most of the illustrations from the Bible. There is no reason to doubt that Biblical Sahidic Coptic is normal, idiomatic, and polished in character even though its wording and rhetoric are also governed by the Greek original. The Biblical version is the earliest literary monument of Sahidic Coptic, and must have exercised a powerful influence on all subsequent Sahidic literature. The examples cited in this grammar thus represent three somewhat distinct linguistic layers: Bible, the Shenoute corpus, and other ecclesiastical literature. Despite my personal involvement in editing the fourth-century "Gnostic" manuscripts discovered near Nag Hammadi, I entirely refrain from citing those works here, for they scarcely illustrate the standardized Sahidic dialect.⁵ At the other end of the scale I make no reference to the non-literary texts (personal, legal, magical, medical, graffiti), whose linguistic character shows striking divergences from standard literary Sahidic and which deserve their own special grammars.

Coptic citations are mostly quoted from modern printed editions; within typographical limits, they reproduce or omit superlinear strokes according to the practice of their modern editors, whether or not this corresponds to the manuscripts. Citations are thus what a reader can expect to find in one modern edition or another; for some texts, several editions are cited. Only a few published citations have been recollated against the manuscript (mostly from microfilm copy), and these are indicated. English translations of the Bible are more or less according to the Revised Standard Version (© 1952–71, Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ U.S.A.), and sometimes Brenton's English in the Bagster Septuagint, both very often with alteration. Translations of other works are my own. Occasional observations on the English translation of Coptic, which appear within parentheses or in smaller type, are not a part of the grammatical description; their only purpose is practical, and they can be safely ignored by technical readers.

⁵ Those Nag Hammadi texts whose language resembles Sahidic display a non-Standard mix of isoglosses, sometimes fluctuating, from all over Egypt. Their dialectal peculiarities extend beyond phonology, word formation, and lexicon into the area of syntax. For similar if less urgent reasons I ignore the Bruce, Askew, and Berlin Gnostic codexes. Even the work entitled *Pistis Sophia*, whose language in many ways resembles standard Biblical Sahidic, shows peculiarities. In any case, the features that all these manuscripts share with standardized Sahidic are, I trust, well illustrated in this book by other texts, even as their non-Standard peculiarities are signalled by tacit omission here.

Twentieth-century Coptic linguistics was established by two scholars, both oriented to the mainstream of European descriptive structuralism: P. V. Ernštedt or Jernstedt (1890–1966) in St. Petersburg and H. J. Polotsky (1905–1991) in Jerusalem. Ernštedt (a student of Baudouin de Courtenay) laid down a theoretical basis, with far-reaching implications, for investigating Coptic phrasal syntax and governance by his analysis of Coptic direct object syntax, noun determination, and referential linkage.⁶ At a larger analytical level, the basic Coptic clause types and most of the complex clause patterning were correctly analyzed for the first time by Polotsky.⁷ Furthermore, Polotsky's highly innovative studies on focalization patterns in Coptic⁸ opened a new door not only for Coptic studies but also for Egyptology in general and even for general linguistics. The analytical outlook, comprehensive knowledge, and scrupulous method of these two linguists prepared several generations of successors, in various countries, to undertake their own creative, ambitious, and original studies of both special problems and the overall structure of Coptic, following in their footsteps.⁹ This ongoing tradition—now international in scope—is non-dogmatic; it continues to revise, innovate, and develop. The Select Coptic Linguistic Bibliography below lists items, mostly from within the tradition, to which the present grammar is especially indebted. These are works that I confidently recommend to the reader—above all, A. Shisha-Halevy's *Coptic Grammatical Categories* (1986), a book that has radically transformed the study of Coptic syntax.

Finally, a word about traditional terminology. Readers accustomed to the traditional terms of Coptic grammar in English, French, or German will find many of these included, as cross-references, in the subject index at the end of this book. But as might be expected in a new full-scale grammar some old terms had to be abandoned or replaced, and some new ones created, when the overall structure of the language more precisely came into view. For these

⁶ "Das koptische Praesens und die Anknüpfungsarten des näheren Objekts" (1927); "K determinacii v koptskom jazyke" (1949, German translation 1978). Ernštedt's influence upon the rest of European scholarship was delayed by international political circumstances. His extensive notes for a complete survey of Coptic grammar were edited only twenty years after his death, as *Issledovanija po grammatike koptskogo jazyka*, Moscow 1986; a bibliography of his publications is included in the preface to that volume, pp. 51–55. The writings of Ernštedt's successor A. I. Elanskaja for the years 1955 to 1987 are listed in *Journal of Coptic Studies* 1 (1990):1–12 ("Bibliographie A. I. Elanskaja," by P. Nagel).

⁷ "The Coptic Conjugation System" (1960), "Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence" (1962), "Grundzüge des Nominalsatzes" (ca. 1972; published in his *Grundlagen* vol. 1, 1987).

⁸ Beginning with "Les temps seconds" in his *Études* (1944).

⁹ The underlying linguistic approach of this tradition owes a great deal to classic descriptive structuralism in the tradition of Saussure, Bloomfield, Bally, Hjelmslev, etc.—synchronic in perspective, oriented to syntax, non-universal, and viewed from a reader's standpoint of decipherment; and based on textual philology, as befits a non-living language. It is described in more detail by A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, pp. 5–13, and *passim*; and W.-P. Funk, "Toward a Synchronic Morphology of Coptic."

innovations I ask the readers' indulgence, hoping they will look beyond the new names and consider, instead, the enduring structural entities that they merely serve to label.¹⁰

* * *

It remains for me to thank those whose generosity made my work possible. The greatest debt is to my revered teacher H. J. Polotsky, whose analytical brilliance, vast knowledge, absolute respect for data, cool judgement, and unstinting hospitality left a deep mark on all his students and, most certainly, upon this book; and, likewise, to Ariel Shisha-Halevy—to both of these scholars I am deeply indebted for twenty years of study, discussion, and textual analysis together; and to my first instructor of Coptic and general linguistics Thomas Lambdin. Prof. Shisha-Halevy very generously commented in detail on several successive drafts of this grammar; his brilliant criticism and tireless help pointed the way to improvements of the text on almost every page and saved me from countless errors; I gratefully acknowledge his collaboration.

The project of a new Coptic grammar was first proposed to me by the late Prof. Roland Tournay, O.P. and Prof. (now Cardinal) Carlo Martini, S.J. then directors respectively of the École Biblique de Jérusalem and the Pontificio Istituto Biblico in Rome. The preparation of this book was made possible by a grant from the Research Tools Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency (which asks its grant recipients to state that their work does not necessarily represent the view of the Endowment). Its publication at an affordable price was generously subvented by the Yale Endowment for Egyptology, funded by the Marilyn M. Simpson Charitable Trust, through the good offices of Prof. William Kelly Simpson. To both I am extremely grateful. I am grateful also to the administrators of Yale University for their unwavering encouragement of Coptic Studies; likewise to my old colleagues at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem for a scholarly environment and warm collegiality second to none; the Harvard Society of Fellows for extremely

¹⁰ The old second tenses are here called the 'focalizing conversion'. Polotsky's bipartite and tripartite conjugation patterns are here the 'durative sentence' and 'non-durative conjugation'. Personal pronoun is mostly replaced by 'personal morph', status constructus by 'prenominal state', and status pronominalis by 'prepersonal state'. The Verstärker have become 'inflected modifiers'. Old adjective verbs are here a subclass of the 'suffixally conjugated verboid' (chapters 17–18), and the term adjective is entirely avoided. In chapter 3 is isolated a pronoun-like word class (ⲗⲁⲗⲱ, ⲁⲱ, ⲱⲟⲙⲛⲧ, etc.), which, for brevity's sake, I simply call the 'specifier'. The noun (chapter 5) is analyzed as a set of four distinct classes. 'Initial attitude marker' is tentatively distinguished from conjunction (chapter 10). On the other hand, important composite categories of 'entity term', 'entity statement', and 'nexus morph' had to be established for syntactic and semantic reasons (chapters 6 and 12).

generous research support; the American Council of Learned Societies under a program funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, for an assisting grant; so also to Stephen Emmel for computerization of the project; David Brakke for creating an analytical database of the Sahidic New Testament, and the Packard Foundation for the Humanities, which supported him; Wolf-Peter Funk for advice on dialectology; Howard Gralla for consultation on certain matters of design; Robert Babcock (Beinecke Library); Anne Boud'hors (CNRS, Paris); and the A. Whitney Griswold Humanities Research Fund of Yale University. Citations were checked by Andrew Crislip. For book design I acknowledge the model of the University of Chicago *Manual of Style*, 12th edition. I am indebted to Franz Rosenthal for arranging the publication of this grammar, and to Stanley Possick for essential personal support.

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Introduction

The Coptic Language

1 COPTIC is the last phase of the Egyptian language, from about A.D. 200 to 1000. Egyptian, the indigenous language of Egypt, had been expressed in writing since before 3000 B.C.; it constituted a language group unto itself but also had affinities with Semitic and various African languages, being classified as a sibling of the Berber, Cushitic, and Semitic language groups. The written attestation of standardized Coptic Egyptian begins with Biblical manuscripts dating to about A.D. 300, shortly after the translation of the Christian Bible into Coptic; and continues well beyond the extinction of Coptic as a spoken daily language (perhaps about A.D. 1000), down to the last faltering letters written by learned Copts in Egypt at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹ Native literature originally composed in Coptic dates almost exclusively to the early Byzantine period, roughly A.D. 325–800.² After the Arab conquest of Egypt (A.D. 642) there began a period of Arabization and Islamization in which Coptic was gradually replaced by Arabic for most practical purposes. Eventually, the Coptic language was reduced to the status of a mere religious and ethnic relic, cultivated only by learned members of a Christian minority in Egypt. In the thirteenth century we see a burst of interest on the part of Egyptian Christian scholars in the philology of their ancient tongue, but now in the form of Coptic grammars, vocabularies, and textual editions *written in Arabic* and taking account of Arabic grammatical tradition,³ thus signalling the disappearance of spoken Coptic as a language of fluent communication even among the learned. Such works belong to the Arabic Christian literature of the Copts.⁴ This is the only recorded elaboration of grammatical theory among the ancient Copts. The Coptic Orthodox Church in Egypt today retains a liturgy chanted in Medieval Coptic (Bohairic dialect) with certain passages in Greek; Biblical lections are read in both Coptic and Arabic. But Arabic has

¹ T. Orlandi, "Literature, Coptic," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York 1991) vol. 5, pp. 1450–60; Coptic letter by Athanasius of Abūfīg written in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic ca. A.D. 1800, ed. and trans. W. E. Crum in *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester and London 1909) no. 461, pp. 231–3.

² Surveyed in Orlandi, "Literature."

³ W. Vycichl, "Muqaddimah," in *Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 8, pp. 166–9; "Sullam," vol. 8, pp. 204–6.

⁴ S. Rubenson, "Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt," in *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996):4–14; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Vatican City 1944–53).

long been the practical language of the Egyptian church and its members. Occasional reports of the continuous survival of spoken Coptic into modern times are unsubstantiated and unlikely. A movement to revive the Coptic language existed in Egypt throughout the twentieth century, but with almost no permanent results.

- 2 The modern word *Copt* means a Christian native of Egypt as opposed to a Moslem or Jew. It derives from neo-Latin *coptus* < Middle Arabic *qibṭī*, *qubṭī* < Greek Αἰγύπτιος 'Egyptian'/ἡ Αἴγυπτος 'Egypt'. Ancient Coptic speakers called themselves ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲓⲕⲏⲙⲉ 'the people of Egypt'; their language, ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲛⲓⲕⲏⲙⲉ 'the abstract category associated with people of Egypt'; and their land, ⲕⲏⲙⲉ.
- 3 Coptic comprised a family of regional *dialects* spoken and written from the Mediterranean coast and the Delta all the way south up the Nile Valley into the Sudan (ancient Nubia), and also in the oases of the Western Desert of Egypt. More than a dozen dialects are distinctly represented in ancient literary manuscripts, and Biblical texts are attested in no less than eight of these.⁵ The natural homes of these dialects are a matter of abstract scholarly calculation, in the absence of objective geographical evidence.⁶ A basic contrast probably existed between those of the Delta on the one hand, and those of the extreme southern end of the Nile Valley on the other. At their greatest extremes, the dialects are sufficiently different to have been mutually incomprehensible to their native speakers, while those in closer proximity would have had more features in common.
- 4 The leading dialect in the pre-Islamic period was *Sahidic* (from Arabic *ṣaʿīd* 'Southern Egypt'); it is thought⁷ to have begun as a regional dialect of the southern Nile Valley, emanating from Šmun/Hermopolis (modern Ashmunin) or possibly somewhat south of that town. Sahidic is the dialect that has the most features in common with the other dialects of Coptic, and it has a very small number of peculiarities unto itself. Such a level profile would have made Sahidic easy to understand and use as a nationwide medium of communication; in fact, it came to be written and understood up and down the Nile Valley and (at least later) to some degree in the North. It was roughly about A.D. 300, under historical circumstances now unknown, that Sahidic began to be written in literary form. From the beginning, literary Sahidic was remarkably standardized in alphabet, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, phraseology, and translation technique: this is *Standard Sahidic*, the subject of the present

⁵ The number of dialects that must be reckoned with has increased since the publication of W. E. Crum's authoritative *Coptic Dictionary*; the ongoing discovery of ancient manuscripts in the Nile Valley causes these numbers to rise from time to time.

⁶ W.-P. Funk, "Dialects Wanting Homes: A Numerical Approach to the Early Varieties of Coptic," in *Historical Dialectology, Regional and Social* (ed. Jacek Fisiak; Berlin 1988) pp. 149–92.

⁷ Funk, "Dialects."

grammar. (The earliest manuscripts show variation in spelling and a slight admixture of other dialect forms. A fully standardized spelling was attained perhaps about the sixth century.⁸) Sahidic was an influential language of both Egyptian monasticism and the orthodox Christian power structure more or less throughout Egypt in the early Byzantine period. Almost all native authors in Coptic write in this dialect; their dates range from the fourth to eighth centuries A.D. Sahidic literature continued to be recopied and used in Egypt until somewhat beyond the extinction of Coptic as a living daily language; for example, important Sahidic literary manuscripts were still being copied and collected from the ninth to early eleventh centuries in the Faiyum Oasis, Sohag, Esna, and Edfu. (Late, post-Standard spelling systems are strikingly evident in some of these manuscripts.) But in the end it was the Bohairic dialect, originally centered in the Western Delta and the great monasteries of the Wadi Naṭrun, that outlived Sahidic and the others as the liturgical language of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

- 5 Unlike the earlier phases of Egyptian, Coptic is written in an *alphabet* of Greek letters supplemented by additional signs taken from the Egyptian Demotic script 8. There are six additional letters in the Sahidic alphabet: ϣ ϣ 2 x 6 †. Many of the dialects and sub-dialects are written in a special variety of the Coptic alphabet, some having more or fewer additional letters than Sahidic. At present, fourteen Coptic alphabet systems have been recorded. There is no record, even legendary, of the circumstances in which the Coptic alphabet was invented. From the Macedonian capture of Egypt under Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. down to the Arab conquest of A.D. 642, *the Greek language* was an ever-present fact of daily life in Egypt, used increasingly in administrative, religious, literary, and scientific affairs. Greek was retained as the chief administrative language under Roman rule, and to some extent it remained in administrative use even until A.D. 1000. Egypt of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was bilingual, with Alexandria (an influential Greek metropolis) as the main diffusion point of Hellenistic culture, which travelled along a Greek-speaking administrative and cultural network spread throughout the country. In this period, Hellenism had a deep influence on the lexicon of the Egyptian language. A considerable portion of Coptic vocabulary comes from Greek 7, including words from all aspects of life and belonging to most word classes; the Greek word stock seems to occur as frequently in native Coptic authors as in literature translated from Greek and so must be considered a real part of the Coptic literary lexicon.⁹ On the other hand, Coptic shows little influence of Greek syntax.

⁸ Crum's intention in the *Dictionary* is to give in first place the principal standardized spelling in Standard Sahidic, as far as it was known at his time.

⁹ L. Th. Lefort, "Gréco-copte," in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston 1950) pp. 65–71.

- 6 *Coptic literature (in all dialects)*,¹⁰ a good part of which survives in fragmentary form, consists of both original works in Coptic and translations from the Greek. It is almost entirely religious in content, serving primarily the needs of worship and edification in the non-Greek monasteries and churches of Egypt. After the Council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, Egyptian orthodoxy was anti-Chalcedonian (Monophysite), as the Egyptian national church and that of Constantinople had separated from one another in permanent schism. Coptic Orthodox ecclesiastical literature includes Bible and lectionaries; Biblical commentary (homiletic genre); liturgical works and hymnody; canons and monastic rules; sayings collections; literary epistles; ecclesiastical history and conciliar acts; theological controversy literature; homilies, martyrologies, and lives of saints. Much of the homiletic and hagiographical literature, though attributed to famous Patristic authors, is in fact pseudepigraphic. The style ranges from simple narrative to a highly elaborate rhetoric that imitates Greek sophistry. The most prolific native author is Apa Shenoute, who was archimandrite (from 385 to 465) of the White Monastery near Sohāg; he writes in Sahidic. Also preserved are legal and business documents (abundant), school texts, and personal letters of both secular and religious content; funerary monuments and graffiti; and in much smaller quantity medical, arithmetical, and alchemical texts and philological works such as concordances and interlingual vocabularies. A number of scriptural, liturgical, and philological manuscripts are bilingual, with Greek, Medieval Arabic, or even Syriac as the additional language. Conspicuously absent from surviving orthodox literature are systematic theology and corpora of major works by the great fathers of the church; these would have been read in Greek, Arabic, or Syriac if at all. The non-orthodox literature includes apocryphal gospels, epistles, acts, revelations, and sapiential texts; Gnostic and Valentinian works; Manichaean scriptures; and Hermetica. Native Egyptian religion survives in a corpus of Coptic texts inexactly classified under the heading of "magic." There are almost no secular intellectual, educational, or technical works in Coptic nor belles lettres. For access to such literature, Egyptian readers would have turned to the broader and more varied literature available to them in Greek or Arabic, languages to which Coptic was always politically and socially subordinate. Although spoken Coptic was used as a language of everyday life, *literary* Coptic was almost exclusively a tool of religion, spirituality, and ethnic solidarity.

¹⁰ Orlandi, "Literature"; W. Kammerer et al., *A Coptic Bibliography* (Ann Arbor, Michigan [USA] 1950); supplemented at intervals by Unione accademica nazionale, *Corpus dei manoscritti copti letterari*, *Coptic Bibliography*, ed. T. Orlandi (Rome 1989–); T. Orlandi, *Elementi de lingua e letteratura copta* (Milan 1970). Special articles on Coptic authors and literary genres can be found in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vols. 1–7.

Abbreviations

For full bibliographic entries, see also Text Editions Consulted, p. xviii.

- a* = column a
alt., alts. = alternant(s)
ApophPatr = Apophthegmata Patrum Aegyptiorum
b = column b
BAp = Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*
BM = Crum, *Catalogue . . . British Museum* [now British Library (London), Oriental and India Office Collections (formerly Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books)], according to entry number, page, and line
BMar = Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*
BMis = Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*
BritLib = manuscripts of the British Library, London (formerly British Museum), Oriental and India Office Collections (formerly Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books), according to manuscript number
c = column c
CairoHamuli = manuscripts of the Coptic Museum (Cairo), Hamuli collection, according to letter designation (see Dep., page lxxxiii) etc.
Cant = Canticles
Col = Colossians
Crum Dict. = W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford 1939, according to page and column
Dan = Daniel
Dep. = L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Corpus van verluchte handschriften, vol. 4. Louvain 1993, according to entry number
Deut = Deuteronomy
(e) = optional occurrence of e within a written morph
ed. = edited by
e.g. = exempli gratia, for example
Ep Jer = Epistle of Jeremiah
Eph = Ephesians
Esth = Esther
Exod = Exodus
Ezek = Ezekiel
fem. = grammatically feminine
frag. = fragment
Gal = Galatians
Gen = Genesis
Heb = Hebrews
i.e. = id est, that is to say
Isa = Isaiah
Jas = James
Jdt = Judith
Jer = Jeremiah
Josh = Joshua
Judg = Judges
K = manuscripts (K series) in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), Papyrussammlung, according to manuscript number etc.
Layt. = Layton, *Catalogue . . . British Library* (London 1987), according to entry number
Lefort Œuvres = Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme*
Lev = Leviticus
Leyd = manuscripts of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden), as edited by Pleyte and Boeser, *Manuscripts coptes*, according to page, column, and line

ABBREVIATIONS

masc. = grammatically masculine
 Matt = Matthew
 Miss4 = Amélineau, *Monuments*
 Miss8 = Bouriant, *Fragments coptes relatifs au concile d'Éphèse*
 Morgan = manuscripts (M series) of the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York), according to manuscript number etc.
 Morgan Facs. = *Bybliotheae Pierpont Morgan codices Coptici photographice expressi*
 (N-) = optional occurrence (in formal patterns) of the morph N-
 Num = Numbers
 Phil = Philippians
 Phlm = Philemon
 pl. = plural
 Prov = Proverbs
 Ps = Psalm, according to Septuagint numbering (with MT numbering in parentheses)
 r = recto
 reflex. = with reflexive construction 176
 Rev = Revelation
 Rom = Romans
 Rossi = Rossi, editions of Coptic texts in *Memorie . . . Torino, serie seconda*, according to volume, fascicule, page, and line. Where pagination of the separate edition (*Papiri copti del museo egizio di Torino*, designated by the siglum R in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*) differs, it is given in parentheses.
 Sh = works attributed, whether rightly or wrongly, to Shenoute, as follows
 ShAmél = Amélineau, *Œuvres de Shenoudi*
 ShBesa = Sh published in Kuhn, *Letters and Sermons of Besa*
 ShBM = Sh published in BM
 ShChass = Chassinat, *Le quatrième livre des Entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti*
 ShEnch = Shisha-Halevy, "Unpublished Shenoutiana in the British Library"

ShGué = Guérin, "Sermons inédits de Senouti"
 ShIF2 = manuscrit copte 2 in the Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
 ShInvect = Young, "A Monastic Invektive against Egyptian Hieroglyphs"
 ShLefort = Lefort, "Catéchèse chrétologique de Chenoute"
 ShLeyd = Pleyte and Boeser, *Manuscripts coptes*
 ShMing = Mingarelli, *Aegyptiorum codicum reliquiae*
 ShMiss4 = Sh as edited by Amélineau in Miss4
 ShMun = Munier, *Catalogue générale*
 ShOr = Shisha-Halevy, "Two New Shenoute-Texts from the British Library"
 ShOrig = Orlandi, *Shenute, Contra Origenistas*, according to paragraph number, page, and line
 ShOxford = manuscripts in the University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Department of Oriental Books, according to manuscript number etc.
 ShP = manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), Département des manuscrits, Division des manuscrits orientaux, according to manuscript number etc.
 ShRossi = Sh as edited in Rossi
 ShRyl = Crum, *Catalogue . . . John Rylands Library* according to entry number, page, and line
 ShVienna = manuscripts in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), Papyrussammlung, according to manuscript number etc.
 ShWess9 = Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte*, vol. 1 (= *Studien*, vol. 9), according to page, column, and line
 ShWess18 = same, vol. 5 (= *Studien*, vol. 18)
 ShYoung = Young, *Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery*

ABBREVIATIONS

ShZ = Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Coptiorum*
 ShIII = Leipoldt and Crum, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia*, vol. 3
 ShIV = same, vol. 4
 sing. = singular
 Sir = Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), according to Septuagint numbering where applicable
 TillHML = Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden*
 v = verso
 var., vars. = variant, variants
 Vienna = manuscripts (K series) in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), Papyrussammlung, according to manuscript number etc.
 Wess9 = Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte*, vol. 1 (= *Studien*, vol. 9), according to page, column, and line
 Wess18 = same, vol. 5 (= *Studien*, vol. 18)
 Wis = Wisdom
 Z = Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum*, according to page and line
 1 Cor = 1 Corinthians
 1 Pet = 1 Peter
 1 Sam = 1 Samuel
 1 Thess = 1 Thessalonians
 1 Tim = 1 Timothy

1st = first person
 2 Cor = 2 Corinthians
 2 Pet = 2 Peter
 2 Sam = 2 Samuel
 2 Thess = 2 Thessalonians
 2 Tim = 2 Timothy
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 4 Kgdms = 4 Kingdoms (2 Kings)
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Part 1

The Basic Components of the Sentence and Their Phrasal Syntax

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SOURCES OF THE COPTIC WORD STOCK

- 7 Coptic word stock mainly comes from Egyptian 1 and Greek 5. These two components—'Egyptian Coptic' and 'Greco-Coptic'—belong to very different language structures and to some extent must be described separately. Some 3,308 Egyptian Coptic vocabulary entries are recorded in W. E. Crum's authoritative *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1939), along with many derived forms.

Two-thirds of Crum's Egyptian Coptic entry words can be traced back to an earlier stage of Egyptian; cf. J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge 1976). The remainder have no attested Egyptian etymology, including some of the most common vocabulary in Sahidic.

The sizeable *Greco-Coptic* vocabulary 5 is not recorded in our modern Coptic dictionaries; the lexica of classical and Byzantine Greek must be consulted.

Not all meanings of these Greek items came into Coptic nor did all Greek words of the period enter Coptic. Greco-Coptic items are not inflected (formally marked in paradigms) as they are in Greek; for example, Greek substantives and adjectives come into Greco-Coptic in an invariable form, recognizable as the Greek nominative singular. Despite the large amount of Greek vocabulary in Coptic, little influence of Greek syntax is evident.

Most Coptic items expressing general grammatical categories (conjugation bases, auxiliaries, converters, articles, affixes, personal morphs, and adverbial modifiers) are Egyptian in origin.

WRITING, SOUNDS, AND PHONEMES

- 8 *Alphabet*. Since Sahidic Coptic ceased to be a spoken language many centuries ago 1, what now remains is written text, expressed in a system of thirty *alphabetic letters* (table 1) and associated signs. The other expression of the language consisted of *spoken sounds*; these are now lost. Text is written from left to right in an alphabet consisting of the twenty-four Greek capital letters (in lunate i.e. rounded form, thus ϵ ς ω instead of E Σ Ω) supplemented by six additional letters taken from the Egyptian Demotic script and stylized to resemble lunate Greek capitals: ϖ ϱ χ ξ ϕ ψ .

TABLE 1
THE SAHIDIC ALPHABET WITH EGYPTIAN COPTIC VALUES
(For illustrations, cf. 10)

	BROAD PRONUNCIATION		MODERN NAME	UNDERLYING PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES 9, 20
	Syllabic	Non-syllabic		
α	a		alpha	/a/; also syllabic /' / (or /y/) Also as allophone of /y/ and /o/
β	$^e b$	b	beta	/b/
γ	$^e g$	g	gamma	Egyptian Coptic allophone of /k/ Occurs mainly in Greco-Coptic morphs
Δ	—	(d)	delta	Occurs only in Greco-Coptic morphs
ϵ	e		epsilon	/e/; under many conditions, non-phonemic Also as allophone of /a/, /y/, and /' /
ζ	—	z	zeta	Egyptian Coptic allophone of /s/, only in $\alpha \mathbf{N} \mathbf{Z} \mathbf{H} \mathbf{B} \mathbf{C}$ Occurs mainly in Greco-Coptic morphs
η	\bar{e}		eta	/ē/
θ	—	th'	theta	/t/ + /h/ (two distinct phonemes)
\mathbf{I} or $\epsilon \mathbf{I}$	i	y	iota	/y/
κ	$^e k$	k	kappa	/k/
λ	$^e l$	l	lambda	/l/
μ	$^e m$	m	mu	/m/
ν	$^e n$	n	nu	/n/
ξ	—	ks	ksi	Non-phonemic in the syllable $\mathbf{M} \mathbf{N} \mathbf{T}$ /mt/ /k/ + /s/ (two distinct phonemes)
\omicron	o		omicron	/o/
π	$^e p$	p	pi	/p/
ρ	$^e r$	r	rho	/r/
ς	$^e s$	s	sigma	/s/
τ	$^e t$	t	tau	/t/
γ or $\omicron \gamma$	u	w	upsilon	/w/
ϕ	—	ph^2	phi	Also as allophone of /ō/ /p/ + /h/ (two distinct phonemes)
χ	—	kh^3	khi	/k/ + /h/ (two distinct phonemes)
ψ	$^e ps$	ps	psi	/p/ + /s/ (two distinct phonemes)
ω	\bar{o}		omega	/ō/
ϖ	$^e \check{s}$	\check{s}	šai	/š/
ϱ	$^e f$	f	fai	/f/
χ	$^e h$	h	hore(h)	/h/
ξ	$^e \check{c}$	\check{c}^4	djandja	/č/
ϕ	$^e k^y$	k^y	kyima	Also /t/ + /š/ (two distinct phonemes) ⁵ /k ^y /
ψ	ti	ty	ti	/t/ + /y/ (two distinct phonemes)

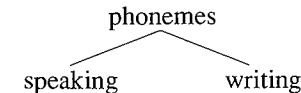
NOTE: Broad spoken correspondents in the table follow W. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* (Ann Arbor, Michigan [USA] 1934).

¹th Two sounds, cf. Engl. "Hit him!" ²ph Two sounds, cf. Engl. "Slap him!" ³kh Two sounds, cf. Engl. "Think hard!" ⁴Cf. Engl. 'church' ⁵Infinitive $\varpi \omicron \chi \tau$ 'cut', stative $\varpi \epsilon \tau \varpi \omega \tau$ /šotšt, šetšōt/, consonantal skeleton $\varpi - \tau - \varpi - \tau$

- 9 *Phonemes*. Underlying both written and spoken Sahidic is a system of twenty-two *minimal (smallest), distinctive elements of structure*, which are potential and latent in nature and whose main function is to be distinct from one another. These twenty-two fundamental elements, called the primary 'phonemes' of Sahidic Coptic

/a e ē o ō b y k l m n p r s t w š f h č kʸ ʔ/

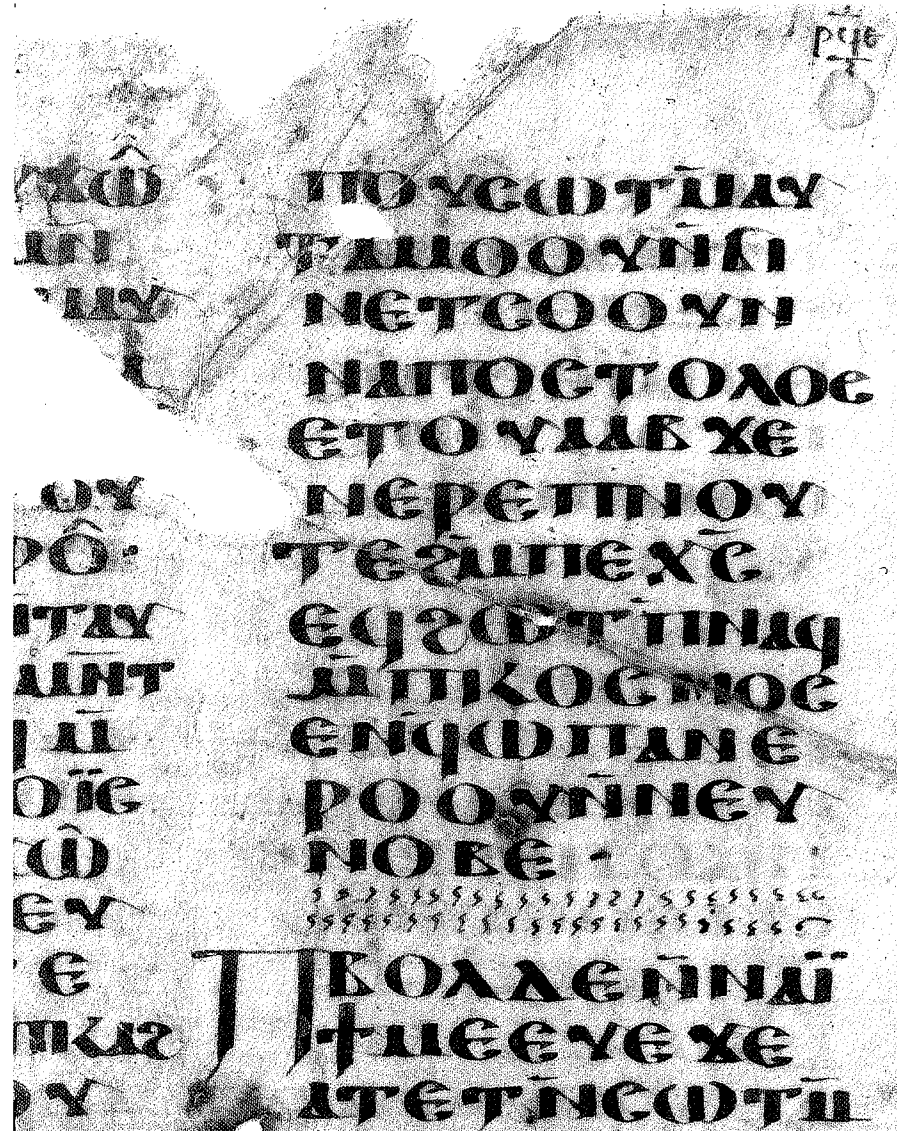
were actualized and manifested in two ways: speaking (sounds) and writing.¹



Generally in languages, the relationship of phonemes, sounds, and letters is notoriously inconsistent, arbitrary, and hard to predict; so it should be no surprise that in Coptic (a non-living language), the sounds and their articulation can only be vaguely reconstructed from written texts alone. Table 1 gives conventional (broad) spoken correspondents of the alphabet as it expresses Egyptian Coptic phonemes in the Sahidic dialect. Whether the phonemes of Greco-Coptic had these same broad pronunciation values is impossible to know. One of the phonemes (the glottal stop /ʔ/) has no primary correspondent in the alphabet, cf. 36. In a narrower sense, the exact pronunciation of Egyptian Coptic sounds is unknown.

The ancient Sahidic *names of the letters* are not attested. Following Medieval sources, the six Egyptian Demotic letters can be called ω *Šai* (*Shai*), ϣ *Fai*, ϥ *Hore* (*Horeh*), ⲭ *Djandja*, Ⲭ *Kyima*, ⲭ *Ti*, by analogy to their names in the Bohairic dialect; and the other letters can be called by their conventional Greek names. The letters (marked with a superlinear stroke) also function as numerals 67.

A reliable survey of Coptic phonology can be found in H. Satzinger, "Phonologie des koptischen Verbs (sa'idischer Dialekt)" in *Festschrift Elmar Edel* 12. März 1979 (Bamberg 1979) pp. 343–68 (specifies conditions under which allophones 20 occur). Recent work calls into question some basic assumptions of Coptic phonological theory, making it impossible to follow the older treatments without reservation; cf. L. Depuydt, "On Coptic Sounds," *Orientalia* 62 (1993) 338–75. In table 1, the standard phonemic equivalents have been adapted to this newer picture, but with uncertain results especially as regards the status of phonemes underlying the hypothetical sounds *ī* and *ū* as apex of a syllable.



THE COPTIC ALPHABET IN A STANDARD SAHIDIC (4) LITERARY MANUSCRIPT. Fragment of Shenoute (6), *Discourses*, book 8. The author lived until A.D. 465; this manuscript is a later copy, made in the 7th or 8th century (?) in Shenoute's monastery near Sohag (White Monastery codex ZD). Note the use of connective superlinear strokes ⲥⲱⲧⲙ (38), circumflexes ⲱ (11), and tremas ⲛⲁⲓ (12). A double row of ornaments and a projecting, enlarged initial letter π (19) mark the beginning of a new work πβολ δε ἡνⲁⲓ etc. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, MSS Coptic 2, folio 2 recto; the top right corner of a page numbered ϩⲓⲛ (cf. 67). Scale approx. 1:1. Courtesy Beinecke Library.

¹ Phonemes will be notated between slant lines / /, hypothetical spoken sounds in *italic type*, and written expression in Coptic type. E.g. /ē/ was written η and spoken as ē.

- 10 *Illustrations to accompany table 1:* αρε, βωε/βω, νρ-/κογων-ρ, ερε, ανζηβε/—, ηπε, —/θοογт, нпм and ειμε/ταίο, совк/καρ, βλλε/λο, ζμζαλ/μα, νωот/ноб, —/зоγρ, он, бωαπ/πε, вρρε/ρο, ωмс/со, зотзт/то, μογρ and μογте/νεγзоор (не-γзоор), —/φο (π-зо), —/χοιαχ, κλψ/ψις, ρω, παρψ/ωο, ογωсқ/қо, ογωνζ/ζο, παρξ/χω, ζωλδ (Acts 20:10)/бе, †με/с†ώζε (ShChass 99:44). Cf. also товтб, стои/с†-, зокзк, солсλ, бомбм, тонтн, сопсн, ωорωρ, коскс, потпт, соогтн/согтωн, бовбб, ωоqωq, тазтз, бохбх. Syllabic ʒ ‘ks’ occurs only in Greco-Coptic morphs, e.g. αρξ ‘bear’ and сарξ ‘flesh’.
- 11 *Circumflex* is written (rarely) in some manuscripts over single letters or linking pairs of letters; its function is obscure. E.g. ογλ̂, ρ̂ε, η̂, βο̂θηεια, ω̂μμ̂ο, ω̂, ω̂ω, ω̂νζ̂, ω̂χ̂ν, ε̂ι, ε̂ιρннн, ε̂ε̂ιε-, ρ̂ι̂ε̂ιβ, π̂ε̂ιλατος, τε̂ε̂ι-, α̂ε̂ι-, ο̂γ̂ε̂ι, ν̂сω-ε̂ι, νο̂ε̂ι, κο̂γ̂ε̂ι, ν̂α̂λ, τ̂β̂α, ρ̂ι-, ο̂γ̂, мнт-ε̂ρ̂ο, ρ̂-, со̂п̂т, снωω̂д, ω̂ω̂ε. The form or position of circumflex is misrepresented in some printed editions. Cf. figure following table 1.
- 12 *Trema* (¨) is written (rarely) in some manuscripts over the letter ι or (more rarely) over γ. Its function is obscure. E.g. ν̂сω-ι̂, ι̂ογδα̂ι, πα̂ι, ε̂ι̂ε-, ρ̂ι̂-, н̂ι̂м, ι̂- (for ρ̂ι-), ι̂ρε, ι̂ (for ε̂ι), ε̂ι̂те (ε̂ι̂те), мω̂γснс. Cf. figure following table 1.
- 13 *Monograms*. The alphabet of thirty letters contains six ‘monograms’, ʒ x ψ φ † θ, i.e. single letters that always express a combined pair of phonemes instead of a single phoneme. For purposes of grammatical analysis, a monogram is always understood to express two phonemes.
- | | | |
|---------------------|----|------------------|
| /k/ followed by /s/ | ʒ, | equivalent to κс |
| /k/ followed by /h/ | x, | equivalent to κζ |
| /p/ followed by /s/ | ψ, | equivalent to πс |
| /p/ followed by /h/ | φ, | equivalent to πζ |
| /t/ followed by /y/ | †, | equivalent to τι |
| /t/ followed by /h/ | θ, | equivalent to τζ |

Rarely, /t/ + /ʃ/ = x, equivalent to τψ (table 1); mostly x = /č/, a single phoneme. Each of these phoneme pairs is also susceptible to being written with two simple letters (κс, κζ, πс, πζ, τι, τζ); the use of monograms was a matter of spelling convention in particular words. The phonemes expressed by a monogram can belong either to the same morph (ε̂ββιο ‘humiliate’) or to different morphs that are grammatically united (ε̂ε for τ̂ζε ‘The manner’). In standard spelling (i) ʒ x ψ φ occur mostly in Greco-Coptic morphs; (ii) † in Egyptian Coptic morphs; (iii) θ in both.

Examples in standard spelling (Egyptian/Greek): (i) зоγρ (only this?)/сарξ, сγнαξις, ʒεнн; χοιαζх (= κοιαζκ, standard?)/христос, αρχеи, χαριζε, μοναχος; ψις, ψιτε (only?)/ψγхн, ψαλλеи, θλιψις; φοогт (= πзоогт, standard?)/гραφн, софос, φορει; (ii) †, †-, †βс, †ме, †ζε, ε†- (ε†- + ι), †ογδα̂ια (†ιογδα̂ια)/—; (iii) ε̂ββιο, ε̂αβ, ε̂μο, ε̂λο, ε̂ε (= τ̂ζε), ε̂λλαсса (= τ̂ζαλαсса), ε̂εεεε (= τ̂ζεεεεε), ε̂ооγ (= ε̂т̂зоог)/αγαθος, ε̂нριον, ε̂λιβε

- 14 *r, Δ, and z*. In Egyptian Coptic morphs, r and z express alternants 20 of /k/ and /s/ when associated with preceding /n/

r = allophone of /k/

z = allophone of /s/

and Δ does not properly occur.

Standard spelling prefers r for /k/ when forming syllable with preceding /n/ (νρ- instead of νκ-, нρ- instead of нκ-, ε-н-ρ... αν instead of ε-н-κ... αν); and z in the word ανζηβε ‘school’, var. ανχηβε.

However, r Δ z occur in the classical Greek spelling of Greco-Coptic morphs (e.g. ραρ, Δε, παιδαγωγος, ζητημα, πειραζε). Whether they expressed distinct phonemes in such morphs is unknown; cf. 39(b).

- 15 *Digrams*. In Egyptian-Coptic morphs, the phonemes /y/ and /w/ are expressed either by a simple letter ι, γ or by a ‘digram’—that is, a pair of letters combined to express a single phoneme: ει and ογ expressing /y/ and /w/. Thus

/y/ is written as ι, ι̂, ει, or ε̂ι

/w/ is written as γ, γ̂, ογ, or ο̂γ

/y/ also occurs in the monogram † /ty/. In standard spelling digrams occur only in Egyptian Coptic morphs.

- 16 *Orthography of the phonemes /y/ and /w/*. In the formation of spoken syllables, the consonants /y/ and /w/ each had two potential functions 35: syllabic and non-syllabic.

/y/ = syllabic i and non-syllabic y (cf. English big, you)

/w/ = syllabic u and non-syllabic w (cf. English push, wish)

The spelling of these two phonemes (and corresponding four sounds) fluctuates, even in good, early manuscripts. (Because the letters ι and γ are not marked by a superlinear stroke 38, syllabic/non-syllabic functions cannot be thus distinguished in writing.)

/y/ (both i and y) is written ι, ι̂, ει, or ε̂ι

/w/ (both u and w) is written γ, γ̂, ογ, or ο̂γ

However, the tendency of standard orthography can be described in terms of the letter sequences listed below, where N means ‘non-syllabic manifestation of any consonant phoneme’, V means ‘vowel (/a e ē o ō/, allophone 20 u)’, and # means ‘beginning or end of a morph’.

(a) *The phoneme /y/*

- i. written as ι or ει or ε̂ι or ι̂

N + V + /y/ #: e.g. παι, πα̂ι, πα̂ει, πα̂ε̂ι (‘this one’)

V + /y/ #: e.g. ει, ε̂ι, ε̂ει, ε̂ε̂ι, ε̂ι̂ (‘come’ or present tense conjugation base + ‘I’); αι, α̂ι, α̂ει, α̂ε̂ι (mark of past tense + ‘I’)

- ii. written as simple letter ι̂

N (+ N) /y/: e.g. qι̂ (‘take’), xι̂ce (‘lift up’)

- # N + N + /y/: e.g. *czime* ('woman'), *xpio* ('shame')
 # N + /y/ + V: e.g. *zin* ('road'), *zime* ('women')
 # N + /y/ + N: e.g. *nim* ('who?'), *box* ('hand'), *qit-q* ("Take it away")

iii. written as the digram *ei*

- # /y/ . . . #: e.g. *eine* ('bring'), *eiwpm* ('be astonished')

Other spellings also occur. Nouns in the pattern #N + /y/ + V take the long definite article (*pe-*, *te-*, *ne-*), implying that *i* is here non-syllabic 52(a): *tezin tehyē* "The road," *nezime nehyome* "The women."

(b) The phoneme /w/

i. Simple letter *γ* is normal after *α*, *ε*, *η*, *α-*, and *ε-*. E.g. *naγ* 'hour', *maγ* 'mother', *ney-* 'their', *meeye* 'think', *cnny* 'brothers', *α-γαογμα ει εβολ* "A decree came forth," *α-γυελεετ ωωπε* "A wedding occurred," *ε-γμετανοια* "For forgiveness," *ε-γν-zenmatot zarat-*⁰ "Having soldiers in my charge," *nelyzoor* "The dogs."

ii. After the double vowel *oo* manifesting /o'/ 36, simple letter *γ* is normal: /jo'w/ *xooy* i.e. *xoo-γ* "Say them."

iii. Elsewhere the digram *oy* is normal. E.g. *mooy* 'water', *eooy* 'glory', *zaw-oy* 'they too', *eieryoy* 'rivers', *oywn* 'night', *woyo* 'flow', *woywoy* 'pride oneself', *oynta-i* "I have," *oylozwar* "A dog."

iv. Nouns beginning with the following two sequences

oy + N . . .

N + *oy* . . .

optionally take the long definite article (*pe-*), implying that (o)*γ* has non-syllabic function 52(a): *peleyoy* (but sometimes *peleyoy*) "The season," *peleyaxi* (rarely *peleyaxi*) "Salvation," *peleywn* "The night," *nelyzoor* "The dogs"; *pezoey-* (rarely *pezoey-*) "The greater . . ."

(c) Accordingly

ei expresses either /y/ or /ey/

oy expresses either /w/ or /ow/

E.g. *nei-cwtp* /neysōtp/ "I was choosing," *neei-cwtp* /neysōtp/ "I was choosing," *xoo-γ* /jo'w/ "Say them" (*xoo=* + *γ*), *xo-oy* /jow/ "Sow them" (*xo=* + *oy*).

(d) In standardized spelling, wherever word division would cause simple *i* or *γ* to occur as the first letter of a manuscript line, *ei* or *oy* is written instead. E.g. *palai*, *thloytn*.

- 17 The weakness of /h/. The phoneme /h/ (*h z*) is sometimes not written and also sometimes written in the wrong place, suggesting that the phoneme was expressed weakly or not at all and thus open to misrepresentation. E.g. *apez* instead of *zapez* John 2:10 'keep'; *i-naī* instead of *zi-naī* Mark 15:39 'thus'; *pka* instead of *pkaz* Prov 1:11 (ed. Worrell) "The earth"; *oyw* instead of *oywz* Prov 9:18 'add'; *nzapa-q* instead of *nnazpa-q* Prov 24:36 "In his own opinion"; *zcime* instead of *czime* Acts 24:24 (ed. Hintze-Schenke) 'woman'; *n-* often occurs where *zn-* is expected.

MORPH AND SYLLABLE

- 18 Although one can conceive of the primary phonemes 9 individually, as the smallest elements of linguistic structure, in reality they always occur in units (of one, two, three, or more phonemes) called 'morphs'. Morphs are the *minimal (smallest) units of grammatical or lexical meaning*. E.g.

/mpe/	(mark of negated past tense)
/n/	(mark of general relationship 147)
/k/	'you' (singular, masculine)
/rōme/	'person'
/bōk/	'go'
/nhēt/	'in'

In other words, phonemes always occur as constituents of morphs and/or strings of morphs (some morphs consist of a single phoneme).

/nhēt-k/ "In you (sing. masc.)," two morphs (5 phonemes)

But when phonemes were realized and manifested in spoken form, the sounds were uttered in units of one, two, three, or more sounds to form 'syllables'—the *minimal (smallest) units of articulated speech* that occur.

^enhēl^{rk} "In you," probably three syllables (5 sounds)

Sounds always occurred as constituents of syllables as well as expressing morphs.

These two natural systems of division, morph and syllable, did not necessarily coincide; e.g.

morphs:	/nhēt-k/ n̄zht-k (n̄zht 'in' + k 'you')	} "In you"
syllables:	^e nhēl ^{rk} (probable division in speech)	

As this example shows, a single morph could underlie more than one syllable or part of a syllable (as the morph /nhēt-/ underlies the syllables ^enhēl . . .), and one syllable could cut across several morphs or parts of morphs (the syllable ^{rk} cuts across two morphs /nhēt-k/). The exact syllable articulation of a non-living language such as Coptic is uncertain and beyond the empirical reach of linguistics. But the isolation and identification of morphs is sure, provided that grammatical analysis has been carried out correctly, fully, and efficiently. Subsequent chapters of this book are concerned with the relationships and configurations of morphs as known in written form, without paying further attention to syllables and pronunciation. By definition it is the morphs that convey meaning.

- 19 Ancient Sahidic writing generally has no word division. It does not regularly mark the boundaries of syllables, morphs, or bound groups 27: they are neither set apart by spaces nor tied together by ligatured writing in literary

manuscripts. It is only modern printed editions that introduce systematic word division, following one or another modern system. In some manuscripts clauses, sentences, or similar rhetorical periods are set off by a raised point, comma, or other mark.

In some manuscripts *apostrophes* occur sporadically at the end of a few syllables or morphs and elsewhere: ἀρ' ἑλός, οὐααβ'; sentences or clauses are sometimes set off with *raised points*, *low points*, *commas*, *blank space*, etc. Larger sections of text (paragraphs) are often set off by an *enlarged initial letter* at the left margin, a *leftward extension (ekthesis) of a line*, and/or a *marginal symbol* (paragraphos) sometimes keyed to a colon (:) in the text. In Biblical wisdom literature, any runover text of a verse is often indented. Cf. figure following table 1.

ALTERNANTS AND VARIANTS

- 20 *Allophones and allomorphs*. Some phonemes have only a single manifestation; thus the phoneme /ē/ was spoken and written as ē η. Others have two or more manifestations that regularly occur as alternatives to one another (and without causing a change of meaning) according to their environment: these are 'allophones'.

For example when the phoneme /ō/ forms a syllable with preceding non-syllabic /m/ or /n/, it is always manifested as u ου; otherwise, /ō/ is ō ω. Hence the paradigm /pō, tō, nō/ is manifested as πω=τω=νω (= pō, tō, nu) 'the one(s) belonging to . . . ' 54. ω and ου (ō and u) are allophones = /ō/.

Likewise, some morphs have two or more manifestations that regularly occur as alternatives to one another (and without causing a change of meaning) according to their environment: these are 'allomorphs'.

For example the 1st sing. personal suffix morph ('me') always is manifested as -i (-ī) after a single vowel and -t (-τ) after a doubled vowel: να-ī to me, ζιωω-τ on me (table 6, p. 69). -i and -t (-ī and -τ) are allomorphs.

A regular manifestation that is an allophone or allomorph of another is its 'alternant' (alt.). But one that only sometimes occurs instead of another or fluctuates irregularly, with or without relationship to particular conditions (and without causing a change of meaning), is its 'variant' (var.), i.e. free variant.

For example the 1st sing. prefix morphs αν̄- and αν̄οκ- "I am" both occur under the same conditions and without any distinction of meaning 262. αν̄- and αν̄οκ- are variants.

- 21 *Assimilation of syllabic /n/ (ν̄-) (alternants and variants)*

- (a) *Alternant ν̄-*. All morphs spelled ν̄- are regularly replaced by the allomorph 20 μ- when followed by non-syllabic μ or π.

ALTERNANTS AND VARIANTS

E.g. ν̄- 'the' (pl.) 52(g), ν̄|ρωμε "The men," but ν̄|μεεγε "The thoughts," ν̄|πηγε "The heavens." So also ν̄- 'to' and ν̄- 'of': ν̄-ιωζαννης "To John, Of John," but ν̄-μαρια "To Mary, Of Mary" and ν̄-πετρος "To Peter, Of Peter."

In compound prepositions of the type *simple preposition* + *possessed noun* 208(i), final ν̄- is normally replaced by μ- under the same conditions.

E.g. ερ̄ν-/ερ̄μ- 'to', εζ(ρ)ν̄-/εζ(ρ)μ̄- 'to', εχ̄ν-/εχ̄μ̄- 'upon', ν̄τ̄ν-/ν̄τ̄μ̄- 'in', ζιρ̄ν-/ζιρ̄μ̄- 'at', ζατ̄ν-/ζατ̄μ̄- 'beside', ζιτ̄ν-/ζιτ̄μ̄- 'through', ζιχ̄ν-/ζιχ̄μ̄- 'upon'

In a few other bound morphs, final ν̄- is occasionally replaced by the variant μ- under the same conditions (αχ̄ν-/αχ̄μ̄- 'without', ναζρ̄ν-/ναζρ̄μ̄- 'in the presence of', ὁν̄-/ὁμ̄- 'find', ν̄-/μ̄- 'bring', νετ̄ν-/νετ̄μ̄- 'your' [pl.], etc.).

- (b) *Variants ν̄-, λ̄-, and π̄-*. In some early manuscripts, morphs spelled ν̄- are often replaced by the variants ν̄-, λ̄-, π̄- when followed by non-syllabic β, λ, and ρ respectively (ν̄βλλε Luke 4:18 ed. Quecke, λ̄λακμ̄ Mark 8:8, π̄ρωμε Mark 3:28).

- 22 Other variants of morphs spelled ν̄-

(a) *Variant omission*. ν̄- is sometimes not written before ου or ει. E.g. ουοεικ ουωτ instead of ουοεικ ν̄-ουωτ Mark 8:14; τ̄ν-κω εβολ ουον νιμ instead of ν̄-ουον νιμ Luke 11:4 "We forgive every one"; π̄ρρ̄ ν̄-ιουααϊ instead of ν̄-ν̄ιουααϊ (textual var. ν̄-ν̄ιουααϊ) Luke 23:3 "The King of the Jews."

(b) *Variant doubling*. ν̄- is sometimes expressed double (ν̄ν, νν, etc.) especially before vowels. E.g. ν̄νεν-ζηκ αν̄ instead of ν̄-εν-ζηκ αν̄ 2 Cor 10:3 "We are not girded"; τ̄ου ν̄νοϊκ instead of ν̄-οϊκ Luke 9:13 "Five loaves"; ν̄ναρχη instead of ν̄αρχη Luke 12:11 "The rulers"; αq-χι ν̄ννοεικ instead of ν̄-νοεικ Luke 6:4 "He took the loaves."

(c) *Variant simplification*. The morph sequence ν̄-ν̄- is sometimes simplified to ν̄. E.g. τ̄εσβω ν̄αποστολος (textual var. ν̄-ναποστολος) Acts 2:42 "The teaching of the apostles."

- 23 κ and κ̄ are manifested by their alternants ρ and ρ̄ 14 as follows:

by ρ when forming syllable with preceding ν̄-, i.e. ν̄-ρ- 'ng
by ρ̄ when forming syllable with preceding ν̄-, i.e. ν̄-ρ̄- n'g

- 24 *Simplification of repeated vowels (variants)*

(a) The sequences αα and εε (within a bound group 27) are sometimes simplified as αα and ε. E.g. μν̄ ν̄τοκ ε-ναα-κ instead of ε-νααα-κ John 4:12 "Are you greater?"; τρααq instead of τρα-αα-q, cf. Matt 20:32 "For me to do (it)"; ει-αδ̄ μ̄-παϊ instead of ε-ει- . . . ShChass 102:23-24 "By which I am saying the following . . ." 414; in cleft sentence pattern 1 464 πε-ετ̄, πε-ετ̄ε-, πε-εντ̄-ᾱ, πε-ε-ᾱᾱ etc. are normally simplified as πετ̄, πετ̄ε-, πεντ̄-ᾱ, πε-ᾱᾱ, etc.

(b) The sequence ου-ου (within a bound group) is sometimes simplified as ου. E.g. οῡνηβ instead of οῡοῡνηβ Luke 1:5 "A priest"; οῡεῑεν̄ιν instead of

ογογεῖενιν Acts 16:1 “A Greek”; νεγερhte instead of νεγογερhte Rev 11:11 “Their feet”; ντερογω instead of ντερογ-ογω Mark 15:20 “When they had ceased”; εμπογω instead of ε-μπογ-ογω Mark 8:3 “Without their having eaten”; соγα instead of соγ-ογα ‘first day of the month/week’.

(c) The sequence ει-ει (within a bound group) is sometimes simplified. E.g. ντ-αει and αι instead of ντ-αει-ει and αι-ει John 16:28 “I have come”; αι- instead of αι-ια- John 13:14 “I have washed”; εειρε instead of ει-ειρε Mark 11:29 “I do.”

- 25 /e-/ before morph-initial \bar{b} , $\bar{\lambda}$, \bar{m} , \bar{n} , \bar{p} . When a morph-initial syllabic sonorant (\bar{b} , $\bar{\lambda}$, \bar{m} , \bar{n} , or \bar{p}), especially the nasals \bar{m} and \bar{n} , is preceded by the morph /e-/

ε- \bar{m} π \bar{q} -cωτπ
ε- \bar{n} -ce-cωτπ an

two variants commonly occur:

- i. the sonorant is non-syllabic (has no superlinear stroke), e.g.

ε- \bar{m} π \bar{q} -cωτπ
ε- \bar{n} -ce-cωτπ an

- ii. or else, /e-/ is not manifested, e.g.

\bar{m} π \bar{q} -cωτπ = ε- \bar{m} π \bar{q} -cωτπ
 \bar{n} -ce-cωτπ an = ε- \bar{n} -ce-cωτπ an

In some manuscripts, one or the other of these variants occurs rather persistently.

- 26 The sequence /mt/, closing a syllable, normally occurs as *m^ent* \bar{m} π with non-phonemic ‘n \bar{n} ; abnormally, as *m^et* \bar{m} π. E.g. ογομ = ‘eat’ + -τ ‘me’ = ογομπτ “Eat me” (John 6:57), textual var. ογομπ. Likewise, /šomt/ \bar{w} omπτ ‘three’, abnormal var. \bar{w} omπ.

BOUNDNESS (ADJACENT DEPENDENCY) AS A FEATURE OF MORPHS

- 27 *Bound groups of morphs*. Coptic morphs—the building blocks of patterns and constructions—typically occur in strings, which are united by relationships of adjacent dependency or ‘boundness’. Such morph strings will be called ‘*bound groups*’. (Morphs simultaneously enter into other kinds of dependency, cf. 34.) In the following example, all the morphs united in bound groups are linked by hyphens; seven bound groups occur (one consists of a single morph, αγω):

ζ \bar{n} -τε-ζογεῖτε νε-q-ωοοπ \bar{n} δi-π-ωαχε αγω π-ωαχε νε-q-ωοοπ \bar{n} ναζρ \bar{n} -π-νογτε “In the beginning I was I the Word, I and I the Word I was I with God” (John 1:1)

The constituents, sequence, and boundaries of a bound group are regulated by the basic dependency properties of each morph that happens to occur within it,

as well as by other factors. Bound morph groups presumably had a correlate in speech (stress accent groups 32). They are not set off in ancient writing 19. A bound group does *not* necessarily correlate to a complete syntactic construction (cf. 34).

In this book, dependent morphs that enter into bound groups are set off by hyphens (ζ \bar{n} -, \bar{n} δi-, \bar{n} ναζρ \bar{n} -, etc.) except that the following combinations are written solid (without hyphens):

(a) *articles* are not set off by hyphen (τεζογεῖτε “The beginning,” πωαχε “The Word,” ογρεq- \bar{p} - \bar{n} οβε “A sinner,” τεῖςζιμε “This woman,” τεκςζιμε “The other woman,” πεq \bar{n} i “His house,” πεῖ \bar{w} omπτ “These three,” ογπαρα-τεγφγςις “An unnatural thing,” κεcβω “A different teaching,” \bar{p} ροφ \bar{n} ητς “Prophet[s]”), except that π/τ/η is hyphenated when antecedent of the articulated relative construction 411 (π-εντ-αq-παρ $\bar{\lambda}$ αδoγ \bar{n} μο-q “The one who betrayed Him”);

(b) *mutable converters and non-durative conjugation bases* are written solid with the personal intermediate (νεq-, αq-);

(c) *components of the inflected modifier* $\bar{\lambda}$ νο=/ \bar{n} το= ($\bar{\lambda}$ νοκ, \bar{n} τοκ etc.) 153;

(d) *components of the possessive article* (πα-, πεκ-, etc.);

(e) *initial \bar{n} forming adverb* is not set off by hyphen, even in analyzable forms (\bar{n} ζογο, \bar{n} τεγ \bar{n} ογ, \bar{m} πμεζ-ceπ c \bar{n} αγ, \bar{n} θε);

(f) *combinative adverbs* 206 (εβολ, ωαζογ \bar{n} , etc.);

(g) *non-combinative adverbs of spatial orientation* 223 (\bar{n} βολ, ζιογ \bar{n} α \bar{m} , εβολ ζ \bar{n} τπε);

(h) *bound elements within a compound preposition* 208 (επμα \bar{n} -, \bar{n} cαβολ \bar{n} -, etc.).

These conventions are typographical and aesthetic, and have no grammatical significance. They are *not* a recommendation for editorial practice in text editions.

- 28 *Boundness classes and autonomy*. Relationships of adjacent dependency, which unite (and disunite) morphs into bound groups, amount to compatibilities and incompatibilities in terms of

i. which classes of morph must, can, or cannot combine with which others in general: they are by their very nature ‘*bound*’, ‘*bound/unbound*’ (occurring both bound and free), or ‘*unbound*’ respectively

ii. which positions, if any, the members of a morph class can or must occupy within a bound group: they are by their very nature ‘*initial*’, ‘*non-terminal*’ (occurring in both initial and medial position), ‘*medial*’, or ‘*terminal*’

With these terms in mind, every morph in the Coptic language can be classified in one of six classes, as follows.

(1) *Initial bound morphs*

e.g. \bar{n} δi-; \bar{n} - in attributive construction of the noun

which only occur in initial position within any bound group. These cannot be preceded even by \bar{x} e- marking reported discourse. This is a very small class notably containing

\bar{n} - the mark of relationship 203, $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ - 204, $\bar{n}\delta\iota$ - 87(b), and the inflected modifiers 152. E.g. $\sigma\gamma$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\sigma\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$ "A wise person," $\eta\epsilon$ - q - $\omega\sigma\sigma\pi$ $\bar{n}\delta\iota$ - π - $\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$ "The Word existed."

(2) *Non-terminal bound morphs*

e.g. π -, $\sigma\epsilon\tau\pi$ -, $\sigma\tau\pi$ -, $\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ -, $\bar{\tau}$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho$ -, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ -, $\eta\alpha\eta\sigma\gamma$ -, $\eta\alpha\eta\sigma\gamma$ -

which can occur in either initial or medial position, but not in terminal position. This is a large class containing articles, infinitives in the prenominal and prepersonal states 30, conjugation bases, prepositions, suffixally conjugated verboids, etc. E.g. π - $\eta\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$, α - $\pi\eta\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$; α - $\pi\chi\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\epsilon\tau\pi$ - $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\sigma\varsigma$, $\alpha\eta$ - $\sigma\epsilon\tau\pi$ - $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\sigma\varsigma$; α - $\pi\eta\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\tau\pi$ - q , $\alpha\eta$ - $\sigma\tau\pi$ - q ; $\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\rho\sigma$, ϵ - $\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\rho\sigma$; $\bar{\tau}$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$, \bar{n} - $\bar{\tau}$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$ $\alpha\bar{n}$; $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho$ - q - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$, $\chi\epsilon$ - $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho$ - q - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$; $\eta\alpha\eta\sigma\gamma$ - ς , $\eta\epsilon$ - $\eta\alpha$ - $\eta\sigma\gamma$ - ς .

(3) *Medial bound morphs (infixes)*

e.g. $-\bar{\iota}$ -, $-\varsigma$ -

which only occur in medial position (and not in terminal position). This is a small class consisting mainly of the personal intermediates 80. E.g. $\alpha\bar{\iota}$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$, $\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$.

(4) *Terminal bound morphs*

e.g. $\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}\alpha$ -, $-q$

which only occur in terminal position, always preceded by at least one other bound morph. This class contains non-selfactualizing proper nouns, personal suffixes, etc. E.g. $\tau\bar{\iota}$ - $\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}\alpha$, $\sigma\tau\pi$ - q , $\sigma\upsilon\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ - γ - $\varsigma\epsilon$.

(5) *Terminal bound/unbound morphs*

which can occur either bound in terminal position (preceded by at least one other bound morph) or free of bound relationship. These are of two distinct types, 5a and 5b.

(5a) E.g. $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$, $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$, $\sigma\tau\pi$, $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$, $\sigma\upsilon\eta\rho$, $\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$, $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$, $\alpha\eta\sigma\kappa$

This is a very large subclass containing infinitives in the absolute state 30, statives, determinator pronouns, specifier pronouns, common nouns, self-actualizing proper nouns, personal independents, etc. E.g. $\alpha\eta$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$, α - $\pi\eta\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$; q - $\sigma\tau\pi$, $\pi\lambda\lambda\sigma\varsigma$ $\sigma\tau\pi$; $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ - $\chi\epsilon\kappa$ - $\sigma\upsilon\eta\rho$, $\sigma\upsilon\eta\rho$ $\pi\epsilon$; $\bar{\tau}\bar{n}$ - $\omega\sigma\mu\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ \bar{n} - $\tau\sigma\sigma\gamma$, $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ η $\omega\sigma\mu\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$; $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$, $\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\iota\mu$; $\tau\bar{\iota}$ - $\eta\sigma\kappa$ \bar{n} - $\pi\sigma\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $\tau\pi\sigma\lambda\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\sigma\kappa$; α - $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ $\sigma\mu\sigma\gamma$, $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ $\sigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau$.

(5b) E.g. $\alpha\gamma\omega$, η , $\epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\eta$, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$

These morphs usually occur free of bound relationship. They occur bound in terminal position only if preceded by $\chi\epsilon$ -. This subclass contains most first-position conjunctions 235 and initial attitude markers 239 and some interjections. E.g. $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ - $\pi\bar{\tau}\lambda\lambda\sigma$ $\eta\alpha$ - q $\chi\epsilon$ - $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\kappa$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - $\sigma\gamma$ \bar{n} - $\eta\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\sigma\gamma$ ApophPatr 181 (Chafine 43:28) "The senior monk said to him, And what are you doing with all these vessels?"; $\epsilon\eta$ - $\chi\omega$ $\mu\mu\sigma$ - ς $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\tau}$ - $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 9 (Garitte 14:2-3) "Saying, Look! Here I am."

(6) *Unbound morphs (enclitics)*

e.g. $\alpha\bar{n}$, $\Delta\epsilon$, $\pi\epsilon$, ... $\eta\iota\mu$ (article)

which never occur in bound relationship (they cannot even be preceded by $\chi\epsilon$ -). This is a small miscellaneous class containing morphs that by nature cannot occur first in their

clause (enclitics). (Inasmuch as they must follow some other morph or morph group, enclitics are not free.)

Autonomy. Within a particular text, any morph (whatever its class may be) that actually happens to occur free of bound relationship can be called 'autonomous'. Autonomous morphs belong to classes 5 and 6: class 5 morphs sometimes occur autonomously; class 6 morphs, always. E.g. α - $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$ "The woman chose" (class 5a), $\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\iota\mu$ "Every woman" (5a + 6), $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$ "And she chose" (5b), $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$ $\Delta\epsilon$ "But she chose" (6), $\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$ "It is just" (6). In close textual analysis, an autonomous morph makes up a bound group consisting of one morph.

At a broader level of analysis a single unit, corresponding in speech to a single colon under one primary stress accent, was probably formed by the combination of any enclitic (class 6 morph) together with the preceding bound group: e.g. $\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\iota\mu$ or $\iota\alpha\varsigma$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\pi$ $\Delta\epsilon\iota$. The cohesiveness of such units sometimes seems to be reflected in the spelling of the morph preceding the enclitic, either (1) without vowel or with substitution of ϵ , e.g. $\rho\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon$ $\varsigma\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ = $\rho\sigma\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\varsigma\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ "Two years," $\sigma\epsilon\pi$ $\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ = $\sigma\sigma\pi$ $\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ "Twice, Two times"; (2) with final vowel doubled $\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$ = $\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$ "It is just" 252.

29 *Adjacent dependency analysis of bound groups.* Every bound group begins with an Initial or a Non-terminal and ends with a Terminal. Between these two boundaries, various Non-terminals and/or Medials can occur. Enclitics (unbound morphs) do not join into bound groups, but float between or after them; each enclitic can be thought of as a bound group consisting of a single morph. In the example analyzed below, class numbers are designated in parentheses, e.g. (2), (4), (6), etc.

I(nitial), class 1

M(edial), class 3

N(on-terminal), class 2

T(erminal), classes 4, 5a, 5b

U(nbound, enclitic), class 6

π - $\omega\sigma\sigma\pi$ $\mu\epsilon\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - $\lambda\sigma\gamma\sigma\varsigma$ α - $\bar{\iota}$ - $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\sigma$ - q $\bar{\omega}$ $\theta\epsilon\sigma\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ - $\tau\omega\beta$ $\eta\iota\mu$
N- T U I - T N- M- N- T T T N - T U
(2) (5a) (6) (1) (5a) (2) (3) (2) (4) (5a) (5b) (2) (5a) (6)

"I wrote Book One, O Theophilus, about all the things

$\bar{n}\tau$ - α - $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ \bar{n} - θ - $\alpha\alpha$ - γ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ \bar{n} - θ - $\bar{\tau}$ - θ - $\varsigma\beta\omega$ $\bar{n}\tau\eta\tau$ - $\sigma\gamma$
N- N- T T N- N- N- T T N- N- N- N- T N- T
(2) (2) (5a) (5a) (2) (2) (2) (4) (5b) (2) (2) (2) (2) (5a) (2) (4)

that Jesus began to do and to teach with" (Acts 1:1)

30 *Mutable morphs: the three states.* Some morphs occur as a set of allomorphs

$\sigma\omega\tau\pi$, $\sigma\epsilon\tau\pi$ -, $\sigma\tau\pi$ = 'choose'

$\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta\tau$ = 'because of'

traditionally called 'states', namely

i. 'absolute state', a terminal bound/unbound morph **28(5a)** (e.g. $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ 'choose')

ii. 'prenominal state', a non-terminal bound morph **28(2)** that must be completed by a non-personal entity term, i.e.

any prenominal + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{determinator pronoun } 44, \text{ specifier pronoun } 63, \text{ article} \\ \text{phrase } 43, \text{ specifier phrase } 64, \text{ proper noun } 126, \text{ or} \\ \text{possessed noun } 138 \text{ (after some prenominal states, also} \\ \text{the 2d pl. alternant personal suffix } -\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta} \text{ table 6,} \\ \text{p. 69)} \end{array} \right.$

(prenominal states are marked with a single hyphen in modern dictionaries, e.g. $\varsigma\epsilon\tau\pi-$ 'choose', $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon-$ 'because of')

iii. 'prepersonal state', a non-terminal bound morph that must be completed by a personal entity term, i.e.

any prepersonal + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{personal intermediate } 80, 82 \text{ or suffix } 85 \text{ (with some} \\ \text{further allomorphic alternations)} \end{array} \right.$

(prepersonal states are marked with the symbol \neq in modern dictionaries, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta\tau\neq$ 'because of', $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi\neq$ 'choose'). States are thus alternate forms whose selection relates to what kind of morph, if any, is suffixed to them.

Traditionally, the three states are *status absolutus*, *status constructus*, and *status pronominalis*.

Mutable transitive infinitives **167** occur in all three states, e.g. $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$, $\varsigma\epsilon\tau\pi-$, $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi\neq$ 'choose'. Occurring only in prenominal and prepersonal states are: (i) prepositions, e.g. $\epsilon-$ / $\epsilon\rho\omega$ 'towards', $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha-$ / $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\omega$ 'according to' $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$, $\gamma\bar{\eta}-$ / $\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau$ 'in'; (ii) conjugation bases and mutable converters, e.g. $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon-$ / $\omega\alpha$ aorist, $\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$ / ϵ circumstantial, $\lambda-$ / $\lambda\omega$ past tense; (iii) suffixally conjugated verboids, e.g. $\bar{\eta}\lambda\alpha\eta\omega\gamma-$ / $\lambda\alpha\eta\omega\gamma$ 'be good', $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-$ / $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha$ 'said', $\omega\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon-$ / $\omega\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha$ 'have'. Inflected modifiers **152** and inflected interjections **242** occur only in the prepersonal state, e.g. $\tau\eta\rho$ 'all' and $\lambda\gamma\rho\omega$ 'what is the matter with . . . ?'.

31 *Absolute spelling of the prenominal state* sometimes occurs as a variant, in which the prenominal is spelled like the absolute ($\omega\gamma\omega\mu-$ for $\omega\gamma\epsilon\mu-$ 'eat'). E.g. $\epsilon\bar{\iota}-\lambda\alpha-\omega\gamma\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}-\pi\gamma\omega\beta$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ ShChass 65:19–20 (where $\omega\gamma\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}-$ is for $\omega\gamma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}-$) "I shall demonstrate this assertion," $\epsilon\gamma-\tau\alpha\gamma\omega-$ ⁰ $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omega\varsigma$ ShIII 175:24 (with textual var. $\epsilon\gamma-\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon-$) "Bearing fruit," $\lambda\eta\omega\kappa-\omega\gamma\rho\epsilon\gamma-\bar{\rho}-\bar{\theta}\eta\omega\beta\epsilon$ ApophPatr 160 (Chaîne 36:3) ($\lambda\eta\omega\kappa-$ for $\lambda\eta\bar{\iota}-$, very common variant) "I am a sinner."

32 *Stress accent groups: the hypothetical spoken correlate of boundness.* Normally in Egyptian Coptic morphs $\bar{\epsilon}$, \bar{o} , and $\bar{\delta}$ (η , ω , and ω) seem to occur only in the last or next to last syllable of a bound group, and no more than one

of these sounds/letters occurs within any bound group (with a few exceptions such as $\epsilon\tau\omega\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ /et'ttēwt̄n/ "To you"). (It must also be noted that there are many bound groups in which none of these three sounds/letters occurs.) This and other factors have led to the following hypothesis: the major stress accent in each spoken bound group fell upon the last or next to last syllable; and, furthermore, it coincided with $\bar{\epsilon}$, \bar{o} , or $\bar{\delta}$ if one of these sounds happened to occur; and, furthermore, a doubled letter coincided with a stressed syllabic sound in most cases, **36(a)**.

$\alpha\gamma\omega\ \gamma\bar{\eta}-\pi-\mu\epsilon\gamma-\omega\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\ \bar{\eta}-\gamma\omega\gamma\ \lambda-\gamma-\omega\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\tau\ \omega\omega\pi\epsilon$

$aw\bar{o}\ h^{\epsilon}mpmeh\bar{s}\acute{o}m^{\epsilon}nt\ \epsilon^{\eta}h\acute{o}'w\ aw\bar{s}el\acute{e}'t\ \bar{s}\acute{o}pe$

"On the third day there was a marriage" (John 2:1)

This hypothesis implies that in speech, a bound group (optionally followed by an enclitic unbound morph **28[6]**) correlated to a complete spoken phrase (stress group, breath group, prosodic colon). But the pronunciation of Greco-Coptic morphs is not accounted for by this hypothesis, since their presence often causes several letters of the $\eta\ \omega\ \omega$ set to occur in a single bound group.

SENTENCE INTONATION CONTOURS: QUESTIONS, FOCAL POINTS, ETC.

33 Completely lost, because not represented in writing, are the contours of sentence intonation that would have distinguished e.g. questions from assertions. This causes ambiguity especially since Coptic writing does not employ a question mark nor is there a distinctive interrogative word order. Some written interrogative sentences can be identified in other ways **511**, but many cannot. Also unrecorded are the distinctive intonation contours that would have marked focal points **445** in the flow of information; their absence leads to ambiguity in interpreting sentences marked by the focalizing conversion. Indeed, it must be supposed that all individual patterns as such would have been characterized by distinct intonation contours. This manner of speech would have resolved many of the ambiguities of the text as represented only in writing.

NUCLEUS AND EXPANSION IN SYNTACTIC PATTERNS

34 The strictly sequential analysis of bound groups **29** by no means exhausts the dependent relationships among morphs. At the next level of analysis we find syntactic patterns that contain hierarchies of elements in grammatical relationships, which are in fact the main topic of this book. E.g.

$\omega\gamma\rho\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\eta\omega\beta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$ "He is a sinner" =
 $([\omega\gamma-(\rho\epsilon\gamma-[\bar{\rho}-(^{\theta}\eta\omega\beta\epsilon)])]\ [\pi\epsilon])$

In this example, $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{p}\text{no}\beta\epsilon$ "A sinner" and $\pi\epsilon$ "He (is)" are both essential (co-dependent) elements in a nominal sentence pattern 267; furthermore, $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{p}\text{no}\beta\epsilon$ is an article phrase 43 that contains an indef. article $\sigma\gamma-$ + $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{p}\text{no}\beta\epsilon$, which is a composite agential common noun 121 that contains an agential prefix $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}-$ + $\bar{p}\text{no}\beta\epsilon$, which is a compound verb 180 that contains an infinitive $\bar{p}-$ 'do' + $^0\text{no}\beta\epsilon$, which is an article phrase that contains a zero article 0 + a gendered common noun $\text{no}\beta\epsilon$ 'sin'. In adjacent dependency analysis 28, $\sigma\gamma-\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}-\bar{p}-^0\text{no}\beta\epsilon$ is simply a bound group consisting of five morphs of classes 2-2-2-2-4 (N-N-N-N-T). But at the subsequent level of analysis, even the exclusively unbound morphs (enclitics) of bound group analysis, such as $\pi\epsilon$, will stand in a dependent relationship with some other element of the syntactic pattern to which they belong.

Within such a hierarchy, each non-terminal bound morph ($\sigma\gamma-$, $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}-$, $\bar{p}-$, 0) functions as a 'nucleus' (syntactic base of departure) that is 'expanded' (added to) by a grammatically compatible element. Many expansion elements are themselves complex, containing within themselves one or more nuclei with their own expansion elements. Thus in the previous example

$\sigma\gamma-$ is expanded by $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{p}\text{no}\beta\epsilon$
 $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}-$ is expanded by $\bar{p}\text{no}\beta\epsilon$
 $\bar{p}-$ is expanded by $^0\text{no}\beta\epsilon$
 0 is expanded by, and actualizes 92, the lexeme $\text{no}\beta\epsilon$

'Expansion' also occurs on a scale larger than the single bound group, as when a determinator pronoun or personal morph is expanded by an entity term: e.g. $\sigma\gamma\mu\epsilon \underline{\pi\epsilon} | \underline{\pi\text{no}\gamma\tau\epsilon}$ John 3:33 "God is true" (true is-He | God) 275; $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha-\underline{q}$ $\Delta\epsilon | \underline{\text{no}\beta\iota-\iota\bar{c}}$ Luke 9:62 "Jesus said" (said-He | Jesus) 375; or a verb, by its adverbial expansions 181.

SYLLABLE FORMATION

- 35 *Syllabic and non-syllabic manifestation of phonemes.* Broadly, Sahidic Coptic sounds fall into two physiological classes: 'vowels' (those sounded without obstructing the flow of air through mouth, nose, or throat)

$a\ e\ \bar{e}\ o\ \bar{o}$

and 'consonants' (those made with some kind of constriction of mouth, nose, or throat)

$b\ y\ k\ l\ m\ n\ p\ r\ s\ t\ w\ \check{s}\ f\ h\ \check{c}\ k'$

In some languages, e.g. classical Greek, every syllable necessarily contains a vowel, which functions as the apex (resonant peak) of the syllable. But this is not so in Egyptian Coptic morphs. It is a remarkable property of Egyptian

SYLLABLE FORMATION

Coptic syllable formation that not only every vowel but also every consonant can have syllabic function, that is, can function as the apex (resonant peak) of a syllable.

The discrepancy between Greek and Egyptian Coptic syllable formation may account for the use of a special written symbol in Sahidic Coptic (the superlinear stroke 38) to mark those syllables whose apex does not contain a Greek vowel letter ($\check{z}\bar{\alpha}-$, $-t\bar{\pi}$, $\bar{b}-$ in $\check{z}\bar{\alpha}\lambda o$, $c\omega t\bar{\pi}$, $\bar{b}\omega\epsilon$); these are syllables of a character that could not occur in Greek.

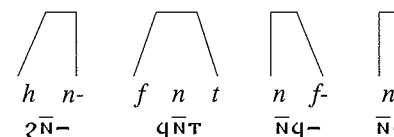
Egyptian Coptic *vowels* always have syllabic function, i.e. always function as the apex (resonant peak) of their syllable. Such, for example, is the sound \bar{o} in the following one-syllable morphs.

(apex, i.e. resonant peak)



Egyptian Coptic *consonants* each can have both syllabic and non-syllabic function, depending on the particular syllable to which they happen to belong:

- i. a 'syllabic' function (as the apex of a syllable), e.g. the phoneme /n/ as sounded in the following examples

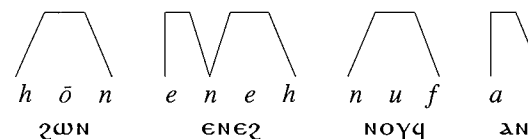


In the hypothetical spoken form of such examples, a non-phonemic resonance occurs *just before* the syllabic phoneme is articulated: en , n , en .

h^en- f^ent $^enf-$ $^en-$

The non-phonemic resonance (e) of the syllabic sounds $^eb\ ^el\ ^em\ ^en\ ^er$ is sometimes written as e : $e\bar{b}\ e\bar{\lambda}\ e\bar{m}\ e\bar{n}\ e\bar{p}$. E.g. $\bar{b}\omega\epsilon$ and $e\bar{b}\omega\epsilon$ 'forgetfulness', $\bar{b}\bar{\lambda}-$ and $e\bar{b}\bar{\lambda}-$ 'loosen', $\sigma\gamma\bar{m}-$ and $\sigma\gamma\bar{e}m-$ 'eat', $\check{z}\bar{n}-$ and $\check{z}e\bar{n}-$ 'in', $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{p}-$ and $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{e}p-$ 'do not'. This is non-standard orthography, and it also occurs with other syllabic consonants; e.g. $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{k}-$ and $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{e}k-$, $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{q}-$ and $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{e}q-$ (negative past tense), $\check{z}\omega\bar{b}\bar{c}$ and $\check{z}\omega\bar{b}e\bar{c}$ 'cover', $\omega\bar{n}\bar{z}$ and $\omega\bar{n}e\bar{z}$; similarly non-phonemic λ (before \check{z}), $\sigma\gamma\omega\bar{n}\bar{z}$ and $\sigma\gamma\omega\bar{n}a\bar{z}$ 'reveal', $t\omega\bar{b}\bar{z}$ and $t\omega\bar{b}a\bar{z}$ 'pray'.

- ii. a 'non-syllabic' function, e.g. the phoneme /n/ as sounded in the following examples



Thus all the consonants had two potential functions in the syllable. For example, the consonant phoneme /b/ had both syllabic function and pronunciation ^eb, as in

*e*bše (βωε ‘forgetfulness’)
t^ebt (τβτ ‘fish’)
wōt^eb (ογωτβ ‘change place’)

and non-syllabic function and pronunciation b , as in

bō (βω 'bush')
bōk (βωκ 'go')
kōb (κωβ 'double' [verb])

Consequently, manifestations of the phoneme /b/ are transcribed as both *^hb* and *b*, depending on its function in particular syllables. The same is true for all seventeen consonants:

b y k l m n p r s t w š f h č k' '
e b i e k e l e m e n e p e r e s e t u e š e f e h e č e k' a l e

Note that the sounds *i*, *u*, *a*, and *e* occur in this series as syllabic counterparts of *y*, *w*, and non-syllabic /*ʔ*/.

36 *Expressions of the glottal stop /ʔ/.* The phoneme /ʔ/ (glottal stop) does not have a corresponding letter in the Sahidic alphabet. Generally, a ‘glottal stop’ is a sound produced by closing the vocal chords and then releasing a burst of air. (This sound is heard in the second syllable of English “water” as pronounced in London Cockney dialect or “gotten” as in some American New England dialects: *wa-^ʔer*, *go-^ʔen*; also in deliberately spoken German at the onset of any accented syllable beginning with a vowel: “der *Erste*.”) Whatever its pronunciation may have been, the Coptic glottal stop is a consonant, and it had two functions in Coptic syllable formation: syllabic function and non-syllabic function. Expressed in writing, the glottal stop phoneme has four manifestations: (a) doubling of a preceding vowel letter, (b) ⲁ, (c) ⲉ, and (d) nothing (non-representation, zero). The occurrence of these manifestations, in *alternation 20*, is determined by the conditions and environment in which /ʔ/ occurs.

(a) *Non-syllabic expression.* Doubling of the letter λ, ε, η, ο, or ω, or (as allophone of /θ/) ογ, where the letter that is doubled manifests the *stressed* syllabic phoneme of a bound group 32. E.g. φαλλτ= /so't/ 'cut', σεεπε /sa'p/ or /sa'py/ 'remain', τηηηπ /tē'p/ 'be accustomed', σοοφ /so'f/ 'be polluted', μανογογ= /m'no/ 'feed' (where ογ is the allophone of /θ/), φωωτ 'cut' /θō't/.

(b) *Syllabic expression.* Unstressed syllabic **α** preceding the stressed **32** syllable. E.g. **τα**νζο /t'nho/ 'make alive', **τα**κο /t'ko/ 'destroy', **μα**νογογ= /m'no/ 'feed', **α**ρω /rōʒ/ 'become cold'.

(c) Both non-syllabic and syllabic expression, two simultaneous and discontinuous manifestations within the same morph. Relevant morphs have the following forms (where *N* = 'non-syllabic phoneme'):

/N ō N' /, e.g. /pōn'/ πωωνε
/N o N' /, e.g. /pon'/ ποονε

/ʔ/ is manifested both as doubling of the preceding stressed ω or ο and simultaneously (provided it is the last phoneme in its bound group) as unstressed ε. But if /ʔ/ is followed by another phoneme in its bound group, only the doubling feature is manifested. E.g. /wōt/, wot-, wot-/ οὔωτε, οὔοτε, οὔοτε 'separate'; /hōk/, hok-, hok-/ ῥωωκε, ῥοοκε, ῥοοκε 'shave'; /pōn/, pon-, pon-/ πωωνε, ποονε, ποονε 'turn'.

(d) *Non-syllabic: nothing, zero.* The phoneme /ʃ/ is not manifested if it (α) immediately precedes a stressed syllabic phoneme (/ʃōtp/ ωπῆ ‘load’; /wʊp/ ογοπ ‘become pure’); or (β) immediately follows a stressed syllabic phoneme and is the last phoneme in its bound group (/yō-/ ειω, but /yo-/ ειαα= ‘wash’; /sō-/ cω, but /so-/ coo= ‘drink’; /nō-/ noγ ‘go’; /ha-/ ze ‘fall’); or (γ) is non-syllabic and unstressed (/et’ttēwn/ ετοτ-θυήν ‘To you,’ but /eto’ts/ ετοοτ-τ ‘To her’).

37 *Articulatory classification of sounds.* A hypothetical reconstruction of the spoken articulation of sounds in Sahidic has yielded the results in table 2.

TABLE 2
ARTICULATORY CLASSIFICATION OF EGYPTIAN COPTIC SOUNDS
IN THE SAHIDIC DIALECT

VOWELS (5)

(Having Only Syllabic Function)
a e ē o ō

CONSONANTS (17)

(Each Having Both Syllabic and Non-syllabic Function)

Sonorants (7)
b y l m n r w
ɸ i ɹl ɹm ɹn ɹr u

Obstruents (10)

Fricatives
s ʃ f h
ɹs ɹʃ ɹf ɹh

Stops
k p t kʲ
ɹk ɹp ɹt ɹkʲ

Affricate
tʃ
ɹtʃ

Voiced

Voiceless

ADAPTED FROM: L. Depuydt, "On Coptic Sounds," *Orientalia* 62 (1993):346

38 *The superlinear stroke as an optional indicator of syllabic function.* Many syllables in Egyptian Coptic morphs do not contain a vowel. As stated above **35**, the apex or resonant peak of these syllables was formed by a consonant with syllabic function: ^eb, ^ek, ^el ^ep, ^es, etc. In written Sahidic Coptic, such syllables—a type that does not occur in Greek, where every syllable contains a vowel—were marked with a special symbol, the ‘superlinear stroke’: τβ̄, τκ̄, β̄λ̄, τπ̄, ω̄, etc. (except that notation of syllabic /y/, /w/, and /ʃ/, i, u, and a/e, are not marked with the superlinear stroke.) The superlinear stroke was an optional sign; it was written most often when the consonant belonged to the

sonorant class $b l m n r \bar{b} \bar{\lambda} \bar{m} \bar{n} \bar{r}$. Thus the stroke is a signal related to syllable formation; it is not the expression of a phoneme.

Very few Greco-Coptic morphs occur with a superlinear stroke marking syllabic function, notably $\epsilon\alpha\rho\bar{\epsilon}$ 'flesh', $\alpha\rho\bar{\epsilon}$ 'bear', and $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\rho\bar{\epsilon}$ 'whip'. In non-standard orthography, the Greco-Coptic syllables $\epsilon\bar{b}$, $\epsilon\bar{\lambda}$, $\epsilon\bar{m}$, $\epsilon\bar{n}$, and $\epsilon\bar{r}$ are sometimes replaced by \bar{b} , $\bar{\lambda}$, \bar{m} , \bar{n} , and \bar{r} (thus $\bar{z}\bar{b}\bar{\alpha}\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$ ἐβδομάς, $\bar{z}\bar{\lambda}\pi\iota\bar{z}\epsilon$ ἐλπίζειν, $\pi\alpha\rho\bar{m}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\lambda\eta$ παρεμβολή, $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\lambda\eta$ ἐντολή, $\sigma\pi\bar{r}\bar{m}\alpha$ σπέρμα).

Position of the stroke. Some scribes wrote the superlinear stroke precisely above the letter whose sound had syllabic function (and was the apex of its syllable) or shifted slightly to the right.

$\bar{z}\bar{n}$, $\bar{z}\bar{n}$, $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\bar{q}$, $\omega\rho\bar{\pi}$, $\tau\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{b}\epsilon$ h^en , $erat^ef$, sor^ep , $tm^entsabe$

Others wrote it above all or most letters of such a syllable, without indicating where the syllabic consonant (and syllable apex) was located. Such strokes often went from the middle of one letter to the middle of another.

$\bar{z}\bar{n}$, $\bar{b}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$, $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\bar{q}$, $\omega\rho\bar{\pi}$, $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}$, $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}$,
 $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}$, $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}$

Thus, *two systems of superlineation* are employed in standard spelling: a single-stroke system and a connective stroke system. In both systems the stroke is able to occur over any consonant letter except ι and γ , with which (for obscure reasons) the superlinear stroke is incompatible; cf. 35. Cf. figure following table 1.

Modern printed editions often misrepresent the length and position of superlinear strokes because of the technical difficulty of printing a connective stroke. Nevertheless, citations in this book reproduce the printed editions even when these misrepresent the manuscript, thus giving what readers may expect to find in one modern edition or another.

For example, the Barcelona manuscript of Mark 16:6, ed. Quecke (plate 3), actually has $\alpha\tau\omega\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{a}$ $\bar{a}\bar{n}$ (written solid), which, for typographical reasons, was represented in the same edition as: $\alpha\tau\omega\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{a}$ $\bar{a}\bar{n}$. Some modern editors omit the superlinear stroke altogether, especially when editing a work whose manuscript witnesses employ more than one system of superlineation.

In Sahidic manuscripts copied after the eighth century A.D. superlineation usually does not correspond to the standard system (its function has not yet been systematically studied). In this period the stroke is written very narrow, virtually resembling a dot; this form is interpreted in the present book as a short superlinear stroke.

Superlinear stroke representing line-final n. In manuscripts, non-syllabic n that would occur at the end of a line is optionally replaced and represented by a superlinear stroke over the preceding vowel. E.g. $\epsilon\bar{q}\omega\bar{a}$ = $\epsilon\bar{q}\omega\bar{a}\bar{n}$ Matt 15:14 ed. Kasser; $\alpha\bar{k}\bar{m}\bar{h}$ = $\alpha\bar{k}\bar{m}\bar{h}\bar{n}$ 15:16; $\bar{z}\bar{e}$ = $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ 15:30; etc.

THE NOTATION OF GRECO-COPTIC MORPHS

39 *The spelling of Greek morphs.* The Greek and Coptic phoneme systems were entirely different in structure. As a result, two different norms of spelling are followed in Coptic literary manuscripts, one for Greco-Coptic vocabulary items and one for Egyptian Coptic. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods the living Greek language underwent major changes, especially a reduction in the number of Greek vowel phonemes that were significantly distinguished in actual speech. These changes are evident in spellings that occur in non-literary Greek documents of the period. But Greek literature continued to be written and copied in the older, classical Greek spelling. Accordingly in early Sahidic literary manuscripts Greco-Coptic morphs are normally written in classical Greek spelling. However, in later Sahidic manuscripts (and to some extent in the early ones) the copyists write non-classical spellings of Greco-Coptic morphs. Some of these probably reflect late Greek pronunciation (especially $\epsilon\iota = \eta = \iota = \gamma$ and $\alpha\iota = \epsilon$), while others seem to be influenced by Egyptian-Coptic ($r = k$, $\Delta = \tau$, $z = c$). Historically, they coincide with increasing isolation from Greek learning, especially after the separation of Coptic Orthodoxy from the Greek-speaking Chalcedonian church of Constantinople (after A.D. 451) and, a few centuries later, the gradual replacement of Coptic by Arabic 1.

(a) The following sets of Greek vowel letters are sometimes exchanged for one another. To some degree eventually there was general confusion in the spelling of Greek vowel phonemes.

i. $\epsilon\iota = \eta = \iota = \gamma$ (rarely = $\omicron\iota$). E.g. $\lambda\eta\pi\epsilon\iota$ $\lambda\upsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\lambda\gamma\eta$ $\lambda\upsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\delta\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\delta\alpha\kappa\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\eta\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon$ $\kappa\eta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\pi\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\beta\omicron\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$ $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\phi\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\iota\varsigma$, $\alpha\eta\alpha\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha$ $\alpha\eta\alpha\theta\eta\mu\alpha$, $\epsilon\pi\gamma\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\gamma\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$.

ii. $\alpha\iota = \epsilon$. E.g. $\alpha\iota\tau\iota$ $\xi\tau\iota$, $\bar{z}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\varsigma\iota\varsigma$.

iii. $\omicron = \omega$. E.g. $\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$, $\mu\omega\gamma\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\omicron}\gamma\iota\varsigma$.

iv. Other occasional vowel exchanges: $\alpha = \omicron$, $\alpha\iota = \omicron\iota$, $\alpha\iota = \gamma$, $\epsilon = \iota$, $\epsilon = \gamma$, $\eta = \epsilon$, $\omicron\iota = \epsilon$, $\omicron\gamma = \omicron$

(b) The following pairs of Greek consonant letters are sometimes exchanged for one another.

i. $r = k$. E.g. $\gamma\alpha\rho\bar{\rho}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\bar{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'fruit', $\kappa\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$ 'scripture'.

ii. $\Delta = \tau$. E.g. $\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\alpha\iota\alpha\bar{n}\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\bar{n}\omicron\varsigma$ 'Christian', $\varsigma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\eta$ $\varsigma\kappa\alpha\bar{n}\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ 'stumbling block'; $\omicron\gamma\lambda\epsilon$ and $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ are interchangeable in Coptic (cf. οὐδέ, οὐτε).

iii. $z = c$. E.g. $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\alpha\bar{z}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'command' (verb), $\bar{z}\eta\bar{z}\eta\bar{z}\eta\bar{\tau}\iota$ $\varsigma\bar{u}\bar{z}\eta\bar{\tau}\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'debate' (verb).

(c) $\kappa\iota$ (or $\kappa\epsilon\iota$) is sometimes replaced by $\delta\iota$ (or $\delta\epsilon\iota$). E.g. $\delta\iota\theta\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\kappa\iota\theta\alpha\rho\alpha$, $\epsilon\eta\gamma\kappa\alpha\delta\iota$ and $\epsilon\eta\gamma\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\epsilon\iota\nu$.

(d) Doubled consonants are sometimes simplified and single consonants doubled. E.g. $\theta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$ $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta\eta\eta\eta\mu\alpha$ $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\eta\mu\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\omicron\iota\mu\iota\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$.

40 *z* in place of both rough and smooth breathing. Greek initial /h/ (spiritus asper, rough breathing) regularly occurs in Greco-Coptic morphs as *z*; e.g. *z*αγίος ἅγιος, *z*εβδωμας ἑβδομάς, *z*ομοίως ὁμοίως, *z*υμνεγε ὑμνεύειν, *z*ωστε ὥστε, *z*ρωμη Ῥώμη. But also in the normal spelling of some Greco-Coptic morphs, initial *z* occurs where Greek has a smooth (lenis) breathing (no /h/); e.g. *z*εθνος for ἔθνος, *z*ελπιζε ἐλπίζειν, *z*ικων εἰκόν.

41 The superlinear stroke in Greco-Coptic morphs has five functions:

(a) (Normal) To mark abbreviated writings of some Biblical names and words of sacred importance to Christianity (*nomina sacra*). Such abbreviations, made by omission of letters from the middle of a morph, are called '*compendia*' (or '*suspensions*'). The following compendia persistently occur in Coptic literary texts, instead of the unabbreviated form:

ⲁⲗⲁ (ⲁⲗⲱⲉⲓⲁ) *David* (in Old Testament books)

ⲑⲓⲗⲏⲙ, ⲑⲓⲏⲙ etc. (ⲧⲓⲗⲓⲉⲣⲱⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ) *Jerusalem*

ⲓⲏⲗ (ⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗ) *Israel*

ⲓⲥ or ⲓⲏⲥ (ⲓⲏⲥⲱⲥ) (i) *Jesus*, (ii) *Joshua*

ⲡⲏⲗ (ⲡⲏⲉⲩⲙⲁ) *spirit*; and derivatives, e.g. ⲡⲏⲓⲕⲟⲛ (ⲡⲏⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ) *spiritual*, ⲡⲏⲗⲁⲧⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ (ⲡⲏⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ) *inspired*

Ⲫⲣⲟⲥ (ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ) *cross*

Ⲫⲣⲟⲩ (ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩ) *crucify*

ⲭⲥ or ⲭⲣⲥ (i) *christos Christ*, (ii) *xristos excellent*

E.g. ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲁⲩ-Ⲫⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ-ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲗ Gal 5:24 (ed. Thompson) "Those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh."

(b) (Rare) To mark, occasionally, non-Greek names; e.g. ⲁⲭⲁⲣ Josh 7:20 (ed. Kasser), ⲓⲗⲁⲗ Josh 22:32, ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲣⲣⲁ Josh 7:17, ⲓⲣⲟⲩⲃⲏⲏ Josh 22:30

(c) To represent *n* at the end of a line in a manuscript. Cf. 38.

Note also its use

(d) Rarely, to mark syllabic function 38, e.g. ⲥⲁⲣⲗ 'flesh'

(e) In non-standard orthography, replacing a preceding *ε* in syllables *εβ*, *ελ*, *εμ*, *εν*, *ερ* 38; e.g. *z*βδωμας ἑβδομάς.

2

Determinators: Articles and Determinator Pronouns

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THE NATURE OF COPTIC DETERMINATORS

42 *Definition and list of determinators.* 'Determinators', comprising articles and pronouns, are morphs that express the following grammatical categories

Determination (*definite* versus *indefinite* and/or *non-definite* 45)

Number (*singular* versus *plural*)

Grammatical gender (*masculine* versus *feminine* 46)

in the following intersections:

Def. Articles and Pronouns

Def. sing. masc.	e.g. πεῖ-	παῖ	} this/these
Def. sing. fem.	τεῖ-	ταῖ	
Def. pl.	νεῖ-	ναῖ	

Indef. Articles

Indef. sing.	e.g. οὐ-	a
Indef. pl.	ἑν-	(some . . .)

Indef. Pronouns

Indef. sing. masc.	e.g. οὐα	} someone/some
Indef. sing. fem.	οὐει	
Indef. pl.	οἷνε	

The zero determinator **47** expresses a suppression of these categories. (Gender is not expressed in the plural forms, nor in the indef. sing. articles. With some gaps determination, number, and gender are also expressed by the cardinal numbers **66**.)

Most determinators also express an additional grammatical category: relative distinctness (*other/different*), nexus (*is*), relative distance from the speaker (*this, that*), totality (*each/every*), or relation to a following element (*related to . . .*); cf. also **61**. Articles and determinator pronouns mostly occur in corresponding pairs.

Article	Pronoun	
οὐ-	οὐα	a; someone/-thing 50
κε-	ἄε	another; another one 51
π-	—	the 52
—	πε	he/it is . . . 53
π ¹	πω ²	my (your, etc.); mine (yours, etc.) 54
— ³	πα-	the one related to . . . 54
πκε-	πκε	also the; the other; the other one 55
πεῖ-	παῖ	this; this one 56
π- . . . εἰμαῦ	πεῖμαῦ	that; that one 57
πι-	πη	the/that; this one/that one 58
∅ ⁴	οὐον	Cf. 47, 59
. . . ΝΙΜ ⁵	οὐον ΝΙΜ	any/every/all; any one/every one/all 60

¹The . . . related to . . . : π-α-, π-εκ-, etc. (possessive article); e.g. παῶαχε "My word"

²The one related to . . . : πω-ῖ, πω-κ, etc. (possessed pronoun) "Mine, yours, (etc.)" ³Cf. the construction of general relationship *the . . . related to . . .* **147**, e.g. πηῖ ἄ-πχοεῖς "The house of the Lord"

⁴Zero article: expressed by significant absence of any morph in a position where an article could be expected; e.g. ὅαχε "Words/Any word/Any words/A word (etc.)."

The symbol ∅ is a modern convention used only for grammatical analysis. ⁵Enclitic; e.g. ὅαχε ΝΙΜ "Any/Every word, All words"

43 The article phrase

'Articles', e.g.

οὐ- a, π- the, πεῖ- this . . . , . . . ΝΙΜ any/every/all . . .

are determinators that must be expanded **34** by a common noun, preposition of relationship, specifier, or relative clause, thus forming an 'article phrase'. For compatibilities, cf. table 3. The article phrase consists of any article + its expansion. Article phrases play the role of entity term **141**. E.g. οὐ|πολις "A city," πλχοεῖς "The Lord," ὅαχε ΝΙΜ "Every word," πλεβολ ἑν-ναζα-ρεθ "The One from Nazareth," πεῖ|ῶομῃτ "These three," πλεντ-αῖ-πα-ραδιδου ἡμο-α "The one who betrayed Him."

Every article is the nucleus, expressing grammatical categories and sometimes referentially linking the article phrase to other points in the text; the expansion element expresses content (usually lexical **91-92**). For example,

Article	|	Noun
τ	|	πολις ("The city")
nucleus	|	expansion
(grammatical	|	(lexical
and referential	|	information)
information)	|	

Articles actualize common noun lexemes in the article phrase, cf. **92**.

A single article can actualize several coordinated nouns (rare): e.g. αῖ-σμοῦ ερο-[∅]ε-[∅]τμ-τρε[∅]-ῶωτ μ-ποεῖκ ἑν-ῶοτε (π- + οεῖκ ἑν-ῶοτε) ShIII 205:23-24 "He has blessed you so that you do not run short of *bread and clothing*"; αἱγ-οῦμον-αχός αἱ γιν-μπεῖναῦ ἡ οὔνην ShIII 25:1-2 "From this time on, I am a *monk* no longer, *nor priest*" (οὐ- + μοναχός ἡ οὔνην) **257**. All the articles are prefixes (non-terminal bound morphs **28[2]**) except . . . ΝΙΜ, which is an enclitic **28(6)**. Thus article phrases have two forms: (1) *Article + Expansion Element*; (2) *Expansion Element + ΝΙΜ*.

TABLE 3
COMPATIBILITY OF EXPANSION ELEMENTS WITH ARTICLES
IN THE ARTICLE PHRASE

EXPANSION ELEMENT	COMPATIBLE ARTICLES
Any common noun 92	All articles
Prepositions of relationship ¹ 124	π-, τ-, Ν-, οὐ-, ἑν-
Specifiers (cf. table 4, p. 57):	
Cardinal numbers 66	All def. sing. articles; κε-
οὐ, αῖ 'what? which?'	οὐ-, ἑν-
ἅαῦ 'any'	κε-, οὐ-, ἑν-, . . . ΝΙΜ
Relative clause 411	π-, τ-, Ν- as antecedent 408, 411

¹E.g. εβολ ἑν-

ZEN-, Π-, Τ-, Ν- are also formative elements in ZENKE-, ΠKE-, ΠEΨ-, Π- . . . ETMMAY, ΠI-, ΠΞ. The articles Π- and Τ- occur as a component of certain proper nouns, 126, 127, e.g. ΓΑΛΙΛΑΪΑ "Galilee." ΠEΨ-, Π- . . . ETMMAY, and ΠKE- can occur with proper nouns 128, e.g. ΠEΨIMEΛXICEΔEK "This Melchizedek."

- 44 'Determinator pronouns' are determinators that are actualized entity terms 141 by their very nature. As *pronouns* they present an object of thought by speaking of it in grammatical categories (as would the corresponding article), but without denoting, naming, or describing it by any lexical (non-grammatical) content. E.g. OYA *someone*, ΠAΪ *this one*, OYON NIM *any one/every one/all*, ΠΩΤῆ *yours* (cf. the articles OY-, ΠEΨ-, . . . NIM, and ΠETῆ-).

ZEN-, Π-, Τ-, Ν-, . . . NIM are formative elements in complex determinator pronouns: ZENKOYCE, ΠKE(T), ΠAΪ, ΠETMMAY, ΠH, ΠΩΞ, OYON NIM.

- 45 'Determination' (def. versus indef. and/or non-definite) is a complex grammatical category, which cannot be described simply. Its minimal expression is the contrast of simple indef. article and simple def. article, which (according to context) can convey, for example:

(a) Extent of presupposed knowledge + absence or presence of referential linkage (cross-reference)

Indef. (OY-): Known to speaker but not to listener and now being introduced as a topic of discourse, e.g. at the beginning of a story. No referential linkage. E.g. NE-YṢ-OUKPTHC ZṢ-OUΠOΛIC E-N-Q-R-⁰ZOTE AN ZHT-Q M-ΠNOYTE Luke 18:2 "In a certain city there was a judge who did not fear God."

Def. (Π-): Known to or anticipated by both speaker and listener because the entity term is either mentioned in the preceding text (retrospective referential linkage) or heralded as coming in what follows (prospective referential linkage). E.g. (retrospective) A-YKLOOLE OYΠE . . . A-YCMH ΔE OYΠE EBOA ZṢ-TEKLOOLE Luke 9:34-5 "A cloud came . . . And a voice came out of the cloud"; (prospective) TEPOMΠE NT-A-OCIC ΠPPO MOY N ZHT-C Isa 6:1 "The year in which King Ozias died"; ΠPAN M-ΠXOEIC Mark 11:9 "The name of the Lord."

(b) Particularity versus generality

Indef. (OY-): One particular instance of a class, of limited extent. OYPOME "One person, A person"; OYMOOY "Some water, Water"; OYEOOY "Glory (in one particular situation)"; OYNOYB "A piece of gold"; OYOEIK "A loaf of bread, Some bread, Bread"; OYME "A truth, The truth (about one matter)"; OYKAKE "Darkness (on one occasion)"; ZENTOM NZHT ZENMMNT-COB ZENMMNT-AT-COON ZENΠOPNIA ZENMICE ZENNOB M-MNT-ACEBHC ShIII 206:1-2 "Acts of hardheartedness, acts of folly, acts of ignorance, acts of illicit sexuality, acts of strife, and acts of great impiety."

Def. (Π-): (i) The general name of a class. TME "Truth"; ΠMOOY "Water (the substance)"; ΠPOME "The human species, Humankind, The human being, A person (generally)." (ii) A type *par excellence*. ΠCOΦOC ZṢ-ΠEQZHT Prov 10:8 σοφός καρδιά "The person who is wise in heart"; NEE N-NICEOY Rom 8:36 ὡς πρόβατα "As sheep." (iii) The general totality of a class. NPOME Rom 3:5 "Humankind"; NTOPYAΔI . . . NCAMAPITHC John 4:9 "Jews . . . Samaritans."

(c) Degree of typicalness

Indef. (OY-): An ordinary instance or instances of a class. NEE N-OUZALHT E-ΩAQ-CWOYZ EZOYN N-NECMAC Matt 23:37 "Like a (typical) bird that gathers its young"; NEE N-OUVRHBE Luke 10:18 "Like a stroke of lightning" (but with def. article NEE ΓAP N-TEVRHBE Luke 17:24 "Like lightning [in its essence]"). So also ZN-OY- . . . forming adverbs of manner, ZN-OYME "Truly."

Def. (Π-): (i) The most typical or essential instance of a class. ΠNOYTE "God" 136 (NOYTE always takes Π- when referring to the God of the Bible); ΠNOMOC "The Law" [i.e. of Israel]; ΠEPTE "The Temple" [i.e. of God in Jerusalem]. (ii) The name of a unique item or set of items. TEYON "Nighttime, Night"; ΠEZOY "Daytime, Day" (consisting of twelve hours John 11:9); TΠE "Heaven"; ΠKAZ "Earth"; NCIOY 1 Cor 15:41 "The stars."

(d) Direct address (vocative)

All common nouns in direct address require a def. article 137(ii): TESCZIME John 2:4 "Woman!"; ΠENEIOT ET⁰-ZṢ-MΠHYE Matt 6:9 "Our Father who art in heaven!"; O ΠPOME OYON NIM ETK-KPINE Rom 2:1 "O fellow, whoever you are, you who judge another!" No contrast with the indefinite is possible, hence the def. marks only the direct address status, not determination.

A fuller account of the contrast between Π- and OY- would also require an elaborate semantic classification of lexemes.

In some patterns a syntactic distinction between definite versus 'non-definite' (i.e. indef. together with zero 47 article phrases and determinators) is manifested: cf. 322, 323, 404, 408, 430, 476, 477, 479, 480, 482. For indef. versus zero, cf. 48, 145, 171.

- 46 'Gender' (grammatical gender) is a grammatical category permanently associated with certain classes of noun lexemes 105, 126, whether denoting inanimates or denoting items with biological gender: thus *sky* (TΠPE "The sky"), *mother* (TΠMAAY "The mother"), *Rome* (ZPOMH), and *Mary* (MAPIA) are fem.; *place* (ΠMA "The place"), *father* (ΠPEIOT "The father"), *evening* (POYZE 132), and *Shenoute* (OYENOYTE) are masc. (For the motivation of gender in articles, cf. 49.) To a limited degree, gender is also expressed by the personal morphs 75.

The freely used *general gender* (default gender, unmarked gender) is formally the masculine, which expresses generalizations, etc. As such it includes males, females, and/or inanimates indiscriminately. E.g. NNEK-ZOTB I Π-ET⁰-NA-ZOTB ΔE Q-O N-ENOXOC E-TEKPCIC Matt 5:21 "You shall not kill; and whoever kills is liable to judgement"; ZṢ-ΠTPPE-ΠACEBHC XICE NMO-Q OYAPE-ΠZHKE XEP O Ps 9:21(10:2) "While the *ungodly one* acts proudly, the *poor* is inflamed"; Π-EΨ-MOSTE NMO-Q ΠAΪ ΠEΨ-EIPE NMO-Q Rom 7:15 "As for what I hate—it is this that I do"; and in certain lexically fixed expressions, e.g. ETBE-ΠAΪ "Therefore (*literally* Because of this)." Correspondingly, many masc. gendered common nouns that denote biological males also have a general sense that refers to males and/or females indiscriminately: ΠOYHP "The child (also The son)"; ΠPOME "The person (also The man, male)"; ΠPEIOT "The ancestor, The parent (also The father)"; ΠICON "The sibling, The

- 49 *Motivation of gender expression.* The selection of determination, number, and gender within the set of articles or determinator pronouns is according to what the speaker wishes to communicate. But in articles, the selection of gender is primarily motivated by the grammatical class and function of the expansion element. In form, most articles do not signal gender (\bar{n} -, $\sigma\gamma$ -, $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}$ -, $\kappa\epsilon$ -, $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon$ -, \emptyset , ... $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$), yet even these assume a potential gender, which is realized and manifested when gendered cross-reference to them occurs.

Motivation of gender expressed in articles

- (a) Expanded by a gendered common noun

i. noun with *denoting* function **93(a)**: the article signals the gender of the noun

ii. noun with *descriptive* function **93(b)**: the article signals a gender appropriate to the sense of the passage, e.g. with cross-reference to another item

E.g. (i) $\tau\bar{i}\mu\epsilon$ "The truth"; $\sigma\gamma\bar{i}\mu\epsilon \tau\epsilon\bar{\tau}$ - $\chi\omega \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{c} Rom 9:1 "I am speaking the truth" *literally* It is ($\tau\epsilon$) a truth that ($-c$) I speak"; (σ) $\gamma\bar{i}\mu\alpha\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\sigma\gamma\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{z}$ $\epsilon\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$ Acts 4:16 "A notable ($-q$ -) sign"; $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{p}\bar{\lambda}\bar{h}\bar{g}\bar{h}$ \bar{n} - $\zeta\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ Rev 21:9 "The last ($\zeta\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ fem.) plagues"; (ii) $\bar{p}\bar{i}\mu\epsilon$ Rev 19:11 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ "The (\bar{p} -) True, the true one (of masc. grammatical gender, **93**)"; $\tau\bar{i}\bar{p}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ Luke 5:36 $\tau\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}$ "The tattered one (of fem. gender, scil. $\omega\bar{\tau}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ 'garment')"; $\sigma\gamma\bar{i}\mu\epsilon \bar{p}\epsilon \bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ John 3:33 "God is ($\bar{p}\epsilon$) true"; $\sigma\gamma\bar{i}\mu\epsilon \tau\epsilon \bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{p}\bar{r}\epsilon$ John 5:32 "His testimony is ($\tau\epsilon$) true"

- (b) Expanded by a gendered cardinal number **66**: article and cardinal number both signal the gender that is appropriate to the sense of the passage, e.g. with cross-reference to another item

E.g. $\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ Luke 15:4 "That ($\bar{p}\bar{i}$ -) one [i.e. $\epsilon\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ 'sheep', masc.]"; $\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}$ $\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}$ John 2:6 "Each (\bar{p} -) one [i.e. $\zeta\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{\alpha}$ 'stone jar', fem.]"; $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ 1 Cor 13:13 "These ($\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{e}\bar{i}$ -) three [masc., the general gender **46**]"; $\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{\tau}\epsilon \bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\gamma}\bar{h}$ Rev 9:18 "These ($\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{i}$ -) three plagues [$\bar{p}\bar{\lambda}\bar{h}\bar{g}\bar{h}$, fem.]"

- (c) Expanded by a genderless common noun: the article signals a gender appropriate to the sense of the passage of text, e.g. with cross-reference to another item

E.g. $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{l}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}$ Mark 1:11 "My ($\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}$ -) beloved [i.e. $\omega\bar{h}\bar{r}\epsilon$]"; $\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}$ Rom 16:12 "My beloved [in apposition to fem. personal name $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{c}\bar{i}\bar{s}$]"

- (d) In an inverted attributive construction of the noun **102** whose initial term is genderless, the article signals the gender of the modified noun.

E.g. $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\delta} \bar{n}$ - $\omega\bar{\omega}\bar{c}$ Heb 13:20 "The great shepherd"; $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\delta} \bar{n}$ - $\bar{\delta}\bar{o}\bar{m}$ Acts 8:10 "The great power"

In cross-reference, $\kappa\epsilon$ -, \emptyset , and $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ sometimes signal their assumed potential gender and sometimes arbitrarily signal masc. or pl. **48, 51, 60.**

Determinator pronouns signal a gender appropriate to the sense of the passage, e.g. with cross-reference to another item. The general gender, which is used to express generalizations, etc., is formally the masculine **46.**

SURVEY OF DETERMINATORS

50 The indefinite article and pronoun

Article	Pronoun
sing. $\sigma\gamma$ -, var. $-\gamma$ -	sing. masc. $\sigma\gamma\bar{\alpha}$ sing. fem. $\sigma\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}$
pl. $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}$ - (abnormal var. $\zeta\bar{n}$ -)	pl. $\zeta\bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$, var. $\zeta\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$ $-\gamma$ - occurs often (in some manuscripts, regularly) after $\bar{\alpha}$ -, ϵ -, and after some monosyllabic non-terminal bound morphs ending in $\bar{\alpha}$ or ϵ (e.g. $\omega\bar{\alpha}$ -, $\bar{n}\epsilon$ -).

Article (cf. **43, 45**): *A; one specimen of the lexical class of . . . ; one specimen having the quality of the lexical class of . . . ; and pl. (The sing. $\sigma\gamma$ - can also express the cardinal number 'one', **70**.)*

$\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}$ - is often translated in English by the absence of article before a plural or singular form of the English noun: $\bar{\alpha}\bar{c}$ - $\bar{\delta}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$ - $\epsilon\bar{q}$ \bar{n} - $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{c}$ Luke 2:7 "She wrapped Him in swaddling cloths."

Pronoun: *Someone/-thing, anyone/-thing, a certain person/thing; one of those (aforementioned), such, so; and pl. (some).* (The sing. $\sigma\gamma\bar{\alpha}/\sigma\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}$ can also express the cardinal number 'one', **70**; as such, it can expand $\kappa\epsilon$ - or any def. sing. article.)

Examples: $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$ ϵ - $\sigma\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{x}$ - $\bar{\delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$ Mark 9:38 "We saw someone casting out demons"; $\sigma\gamma\bar{\alpha} \bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{n}$. . . $\kappa\epsilon\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\epsilon$. . . (textual var. $\zeta\bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon \bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{n}$. . . $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\epsilon \bar{\alpha}\epsilon$. . .) Mark 4:4-5 "One . . . Another . . . (var. Some of them . . . Others . . .)"; $\sigma\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i} \bar{n}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}\bar{i}\bar{c}$ Luke 5:12 "One of the cities"; $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\epsilon \bar{c}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma} \bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$ - $\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{k}$ $\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ ϵ - $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{p}\epsilon$ ϵ - $\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{h}\bar{\lambda}$ $\sigma\gamma\bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\epsilon$ ϵ - $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\phi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ $\bar{p}\epsilon \bar{p}\bar{k}\epsilon\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\epsilon$ $\sigma\gamma\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}\bar{w}\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{c}$ $\bar{p}\epsilon$ Luke 18:10 "There were two men who went up into the temple to pray, one being a Pharisee and the other a tax collector"; $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{v}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{s} \bar{n}\epsilon$ \bar{i} $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - $\sigma\gamma\bar{\alpha}$ $\zeta\bar{\omega}$ - $\bar{\delta}$ 2 Cor 11:22 "Are they Hebrews? So am I"; $\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{c}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{m}\epsilon \epsilon\bar{\tau}$ - $\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega} \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{c} $\bar{x}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{g}$ - $\sigma\gamma\bar{\bar{p}}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ ϵ - $\sigma\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ $\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ ShAmel II 62:3-4 "The woman who says I am a virgin, even though she isn't one"; $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}$ - $\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega} \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{c} $\bar{x}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ - $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{i}$ ϵ - \bar{n} - $\zeta\bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon$ Rev 3:9 "Who say that they are Jews and are not." The def. correspondent to indef. $\sigma\gamma\bar{\alpha} \bar{p}\epsilon$ "He is one of those, such" is $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{q} \bar{p}\epsilon$ "That's what he is" (nominal sentence Pattern 10, cf. **282**).

51 'Another' (cf. 55)

Article	Pronoun
sing. $\kappa\epsilon$ - (var. $\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ -)	sing. masc. $\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ (var. $\kappa\epsilon$); vars. $\kappa\epsilon\bar{\tau}$, $\kappa\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$ fem. $\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ (var. $\kappa\epsilon$); vars. $\kappa\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon$, $\kappa\bar{h}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$
pl. $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon$ - (var. $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon\gamma$ -)	pl. $\zeta\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\epsilon$

The sing. pronoun is normally $\delta\epsilon$ (or $\kappa\epsilon$), which does not distinguish gender. Sing. masc. $\kappa\epsilon(\epsilon)\tau$ and fem. $\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (or $\kappa\eta\tau\epsilon$) are rare.

Article: *Another (contrasting) . . . , an alien . . . , a different . . . ; another (second) . . . , an additional . . . ; and pl.*

Pronoun: Same meanings (*one that is different, another one, etc.*)

52 The simple definite article

$\pi-$, alt. $\pi\epsilon-$; var. $\bar{\pi}-$

$\tau-$, alt. $\tau\epsilon-$; var. $\bar{\tau}-$

$\bar{\eta}-$, alts. $\eta\epsilon-$, $\bar{\eta}-$; vars. $\eta-$, $\bar{\eta}\eta-$, $\bar{\eta}-$, $\bar{\lambda}-$, $\bar{\rho}-$

$\tau-$ normally combines with a following /y/, e.g. $\tau\eta\eta\eta$ ($\tau + \epsilon\iota\eta\eta\eta$) "The peace"; $\tau\eta\eta\eta\eta$ ($\tau + \iota\eta\eta\eta\eta$) "Judaea."

$\pi-$ or $\bar{\eta}-$ sometimes combines with a following /y/ ($\epsilon\iota$) as $\pi\iota$ or $\eta\iota$: e.g. $\pi\iota\omega\tau$ "The father ($\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$)"; $\pi\iota\epsilon\rho\omega$ "The river ($\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\omega$)"; $\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$ "The rivers ($\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$)"; but normally the longer spelling occurs: $\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$, $\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\omega$.

$\pi-$ sometimes combines with a following /h/ as ϕ : e.g. $\phi\omega\beta$ Acts 25:14 Tho. (same as $\pi\tau\omega\beta$); $\tau-$ often combines with a following η as θ : e.g. $\theta\epsilon$ "The manner" (regularly, same as $\tau\eta\epsilon$); $\theta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$ "The hope" Acts 16:19 Tho. (same as $\tau\eta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$); $\theta\eta\mu\alpha\lambda$ "The handmaid" Luke 1:38 Que. (but masc. usually $\pi\eta\mu\alpha\lambda$ Luke 12:43 Que. "The manservant").

Meanings (cf. 43, 45): *The; the item belonging to the lexical class of . . . ; the item having the quality of the lexical class of . . . ; and pl.*

Alternants and variants of $\pi-$, $\tau-$, $\bar{\eta}-$

- (a) The long form $\pi\epsilon-$, $\tau\epsilon-$, $\eta\epsilon-$ is normally required before a morph beginning with a consonant cluster in which the second phoneme is not syllabic (could not bear a superlinear stroke in that particular written morph): $\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\beta\omega\gamma\iota$ "The student"; $\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\eta$ "The deceit"; $\eta\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon\omega\gamma$ "The cries." *Alternant.*

A special case occurs if the first of these consonants is basically syllabic (would bear a superlinear stroke). Normally the first consonant loses its superlinear stroke (and syllabicity): $\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\tau\omega$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ "The presence" ($\bar{\eta}\mu\tau\omega$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$); $\eta\epsilon\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$ "The things" ($\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha$); $\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ "The temple" ($\bar{\rho}\eta\epsilon$). But in some manuscripts, the short form $\pi-$, $\tau-$, $\bar{\eta}-$ occurs and the superlinear stroke is maintained: $\pi\bar{\eta}\mu\kappa\alpha\tau$, textual var. $\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\kappa\alpha\tau$ Acts 7:34 "The suffering"; $\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$, textual var. $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ John 18:16 "The maid"; $\bar{\eta}\mu\kappa\omega\sigma$, textual var. $\eta\epsilon\mu\kappa\omega\sigma$ 2 Cor 1:7 "The sufferings."

When the initial cluster contains ι or $(\omicron)\gamma$, both the long and short forms of the article can occur (some nouns elicit more fluctuation than others): $\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ and $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ "The salvation"; $\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron$ "The abundance"; $\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\eta$ "The way." Note that the letters θ ϕ χ ψ each represent two nonsyllabic consonant phonemes 13. Thus $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\beta\iota\omicron$ /pethbbyo/ "The lowliness"; $\tau\epsilon\iota\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ "The

gift"; $\pi\epsilon\iota\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "The philosopher"; $\tau\epsilon\iota\psi\chi\eta$ "The soul." However, when occurring before ι the letter χ often functions as though it expressed a single phoneme: $\pi\iota\chi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ Acts 21:31 "The chiliarch."

Limitations: (i) $\tau\eta\epsilon-$, $\tau\eta\epsilon$ the causative infinitive 359 as a verbal noun does not take the long form ($\pi\iota\tau\eta\epsilon\gamma-\varsigma\omega\tau\tau$ "The act of him choosing, His act of choosing"). (ii) $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ 'king, emperor' normally has sing. $\pi\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ "The king," rarely $\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron$; but pl. both $\eta\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon\omega\gamma$ and $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\rho\omega\gamma$. (iii) With morphs in which the first of the consonants is ς , both the long and short forms occur: $\eta\epsilon\lambda\varsigma\tau\epsilon\epsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ and $\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}\varsigma\tau\epsilon\epsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ Mark 7:28 "The crumbs."

- (b) $\pi\epsilon-$, $\tau\epsilon-$, $\eta\epsilon-$ is normally required before three words denoting time: $\tau\omicron\omega\gamma$ 'day' ($\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\gamma$); $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ 'time' ($\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$); and $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ 'year' ($\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$). ($\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$ 'night' and $\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'hour', which also might be classified here, can be explained by [a], above.) *Alternant.*
- (c) $\pi\epsilon-$, $\tau\epsilon-$, $\eta\epsilon-$ optionally occurs before noun phrases formed from $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\tau\bar{\eta}\eta$ 124 (e.g. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\tau\bar{\eta}\eta\tau\epsilon$ Jas 3:17 "The one from above"; $\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\tau\bar{\eta}\eta$ - $\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\theta$ (textual var. $\pi\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$) Matt 21:11 "Jesus, the One from Nazareth"). *Variant.*
- (d) $\bar{\pi}-$, $\bar{\tau}-$, for $\pi-$, $\tau-$, optionally occurs before nouns beginning with π , τ , if conditions (a) and (b) are not met: $\bar{\pi}\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma\chi\alpha$ Mark 14:12, $\bar{\tau}\iota\tau\alpha\pi\tau\omicron$ Luke 1:70. *Variant.*
- (e) $\eta-$ (article), without superlinear stroke, often (but optionally) occurs before words of Egyptian or Greek origin that begin with an unstressed vowel. $\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\eta\tau$ "The promises"; $\eta\iota\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ "The apostles." *Variant.*
- (f) $\bar{\eta}\eta-$, for $\bar{\eta}-$ and $\eta-$, optionally occurs before a vowel: $\bar{\eta}\eta\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ (for $\eta\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ and $\bar{\eta}\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\eta$) Luke 12:11 "The rulers." *Variant.*
- (g) $\bar{\eta}-$ for $\bar{\eta}\eta-$. Before non-syllabic /m/ or /p/ (i.e. μ or π without superlinear stroke) $\bar{\eta}\eta-$ normally occurs as an assimilated form of $\bar{\eta}-$, provided that conditions (a) and (b) are not met: $\bar{\eta}\iota\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ "The Magi"; $\bar{\eta}\iota\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ "The heavens." *Alternant.*
- (h) Similarly, in some early manuscripts $\bar{\eta}\eta-$, $\bar{\lambda}\eta-$, $\bar{\rho}\eta-$ occur as assimilated forms of $\bar{\eta}-$ before non-syllabic manifestation of the /b/, /l/, /r/ respectively (i.e. β , λ , ρ without superlinear strokes): $\bar{\eta}\beta\bar{\eta}\lambda\epsilon$ Luke 4:18 "The blind (pl.)"; $\bar{\eta}\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\bar{\eta}$ Mark 8:8 "The pieces"; $\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ Mark 3:28 "Humankind (pl.)." *Variant.*

Otherwise, the basic form $\pi-$, $\tau-$, $\bar{\eta}-$ occurs: $\pi\iota\varsigma\bar{\beta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ "The circumcision"; $\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau-\epsilon\rho\omicron$ "The kingdom"; $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\omega\gamma\iota\epsilon$ "The young men"; $\bar{\eta}\eta\iota$ "The houses"; $\pi\iota\eta\gamma$ "The hour"; $\pi\iota\tau\omicron\gamma$ "The five."

53 The nexus pronoun

- (a) Variable $\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\eta\epsilon$

sing. masc.	$\pi\epsilon$
sing. fem.	$\tau\epsilon$
pl.	$\eta\epsilon$

expresses determination, number, gender, and nexus **248** of subject and predicate.

- (b) Invariable $\pi\epsilon$ expresses determination and nexus but not number or gender.

In terms of adjacent dependency $\pi\epsilon$ in all its forms is an enclitic **28(6)**, a class of morphs that by nature cannot occur first in their clause.

$\pi\epsilon$ (both variable and invariable) is a nexus morph in nominal sentence Patterns 3–11, where it is an essential pattern component **252**; and in the cleft sentence (chapter 20). In nominal sentence Patterns 3–9, it has subject function ('he is . . . ' etc.); in Pattern 10, anaphoric predicate function ('is he, is such' etc. **282**). Variable $\pi\epsilon$ is also an element in presentative cleft sentences **462**, in which $\pi\epsilon$ *there is* asserts existence and introduces some person or thing into the actual line of discourse.

Invariable $\pi\epsilon$ also occurs in some other types of sentence **285**, especially those in preterit conversion; but not as an essential pattern constituent. Its function in such sentences is unknown.

54 The possessive article and the possessive pronoun

Possessive Article	Possessive Pronoun
$\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon$	$\pi\alpha$ -, $\tau\alpha$ -, $\nu\alpha$ -
<i>the-related-to-(me, you etc.)</i>	$\pi\omega$ -, $\tau\omega$ -, $\nu\omega$ - 20
= <i>my, your, etc.</i>	= (the) <i>one related to . . .</i>
	= (NN)'s, <i>mine, yours, etc.</i>

Meaning: Both article and pronoun express a general, logically ambiguous relationship (*related to, belonging to*), exactly like the mark of relationship \bar{n} -**147**. The pronoun occurs only in prenominal and prepersonal states. The possessive article consists of the simple def. article followed by personal intermediates **84**: π - α -, π - $\epsilon\kappa$ -, π - $\omicron\gamma$ -, etc.

Possessive Article $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon$			
$\pi\alpha$ -	$\tau\alpha$ -	$\nu\alpha$ -	my . . .
$\pi\epsilon\kappa$ -	$\tau\epsilon\kappa$ -	$\nu\epsilon\kappa$ -	your . . .
$\pi\omicron\gamma$ -	$\tau\omicron\gamma$ -	$\nu\omicron\gamma$ -	your . . .
$\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ -	$\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ -	$\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ -	his . . .
$\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ -	$\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ -	$\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ -	her . . .
$\pi\epsilon\eta$ -	$\tau\epsilon\eta$ -	$\nu\epsilon\eta$ -	our . . .
$\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -	$\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -	$\nu\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -	your . . .
$\pi\epsilon\gamma$ -	$\tau\epsilon\gamma$ -	$\nu\epsilon\gamma$ -	their . . .

Examples with $\eta\bar{n}$ house: $\pi\alpha\eta\bar{n}$ My house, $\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\bar{n}$ Our house, $\nu\epsilon\eta\eta\bar{n}$ Our houses, $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\bar{n}$ Her house. Or with $\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ mother: $\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ My mother, $\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ Our mother, $\nu\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ Our mothers, $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ His mother, $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ Her mother

Possessive Pronoun $\pi\alpha$ -, $\tau\alpha$ -, $\nu\alpha$ -

$\pi\alpha$ - $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$	$\tau\alpha$ - $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$	$\nu\alpha$ - $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$
$\pi\alpha$ - $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\gamma\iota\mu\epsilon$	$\tau\alpha$ - $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\gamma\iota\mu\epsilon$	$\nu\alpha$ - $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\gamma\iota\mu\epsilon$
$\pi\alpha$ - $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$	$\tau\alpha$ - $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$	$\nu\alpha$ - $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$

(the) one(s) relating to the man/the man's

(the) one(s) relating to the woman/the woman's

(the) one(s) relating to the brethren/the brethren's

For invariable (?) $\pi\alpha$ - forming composite common nouns, cf. **111**.

Thus $\pi\alpha\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ means "My man" (π - α - possessive article), while $\pi\alpha\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ means "(The) one relating to the man, The man's" ($\pi\alpha$ - possessed pronoun).

Examples: $\pi\alpha$ - $\omicron\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ ϵ - $\nu\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ - γ Prov 24:28 "It is the part of a sound understanding"; $\nu\alpha$ - $\gamma\epsilon\eta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ Constantine of Assiut, First Encomium on St. Claudius of Antioch (Drescher 73b:31–74a:1) "Church property"; $\pi\mu\epsilon\varsigma\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\pi\alpha$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\alpha\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon$ Gal 3:20 "Now, an intermediary is not just related to one individual; whereas, God is one"; $\tau\alpha$ - $\gamma\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ \bar{n} - $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\eta\tau$ - $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ \bar{n} - $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ Mark 10:14 "For to such belongs the kingdom of God"; $\nu\alpha$ - $\gamma\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ Celestine I of Rome, Encomium on St. Victor the General (BMar 77:3) "The property of other people"; $\pi\epsilon\rho\eta\tau$ \bar{n} - $\pi\omega\eta\bar{\gamma}$ $\pi\alpha$ - $\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ \bar{n} - $\pi\alpha$ - $\pi\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$ 1 Tim 4:8 "Promise for life—that which belongs to this place and also that which belongs to the other one"; $\tau\epsilon\gamma\mu\eta\tau$ - $\alpha\tau$ - $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$. . . $\tau\alpha$ - $\eta\iota\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ 2 Tim 3:9 "Their folly . . . that of those other people"; $\tau\alpha$ - $\nu\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ \bar{n} - $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\eta\tau$ - $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ \bar{n} - $\mu\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ Matt 19:14 "For to such belongs the kingdom of the heavens"; $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ \bar{n} - $\pi\alpha$ - $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\iota\omega\tau$ \bar{n} - $\pi\alpha$ - $\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ Luke 9:26 "His glory and that of His father and that of His holy angels"; $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ \bar{n} - $\pi\alpha$ - $\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta\mu$ Wis 2:15 "His manner of life is unlike that of everyone (else)"; $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\mu\epsilon\eta$ $\alpha\eta\bar{\gamma}$ - $\pi\alpha$ - $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 1 Cor 1:12 "I belong to Paul"; $\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\nu\alpha$ - \bar{p} - $\tau\alpha$ - $\eta\eta\mu$ John 19:24 "Whose shall it be?"

Possessive Pronoun $\pi\omega$ -, $\tau\omega$ -, $\nu\omega$ -

$\pi\omega\bar{\iota}$	$\tau\omega\bar{\iota}$	$\nu\omega\bar{\iota}$	mine
$\pi\omega\kappa$	$\tau\omega\kappa$	$\nu\omega\kappa$	yours
$\pi\omega$ - $^{\theta}$	$\tau\omega$ - $^{\theta}$	$\nu\omega$ - $^{\theta}$	yours
$\pi\omega\varsigma$	$\tau\omega\varsigma$	$\nu\omega\varsigma$	his
$\pi\omega\varsigma$	$\tau\omega\varsigma$	$\nu\omega\varsigma$	hers
$\pi\omega\eta$	$\tau\omega\eta$	$\nu\omega\eta$	ours
$\pi\omega\tau\bar{n}$	$\tau\omega\tau\bar{n}$	$\nu\omega\tau\bar{n}$	yours
$\pi\omega\omicron\gamma$	$\tau\omega\omicron\gamma$	$\nu\omega\omicron\gamma$	theirs

Examples: $\pi\omega$ - κ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\beta$ | $\pi\omega$ - κ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\gamma\alpha\tau$ | $\tau\omega$ - κ $\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\eta\eta$ \bar{n} - η - $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\eta\eta\tau$ - ς $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\omicron\gamma$ ShIII 90:19–20 "Yours is the gold, Yours is the silver, Yours is the inhabited world and all who are in it"; $\nu\omega\gamma$ - η \bar{n} - $\mu\alpha$ - γ $\nu\epsilon$ ShChass 63:6–7 "They belong to us and to him"

55 'The other' (cf. 51)

	Article	Pronoun
sing. masc.	$\pi\kappa\epsilon$ -	$\pi\kappa\epsilon$, var. $\pi\kappa\epsilon\tau$
sing. fem.	$\tau\kappa\epsilon$ -	$\tau\kappa\epsilon\tau$, var. $\tau\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$
pl.	$\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon$ -, $\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon\gamma$ -	$\bar{n}\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$

Article: *Also the . . . , the other (second); the other (contrasting) . . . , the alien . . . , the different . . . ; even the . . .* Also with possessive article *πακε-*, *πεκκε-*, etc. (John 9:3).

Pronoun: Same meanings (*the other one, etc.*).

56 The nearer demonstrative

	Article	Pronoun
sing. masc.	πεῖ-, var. πεει-	παῖ, var. παει
sing. fem.	τεῖ-, var. τεει-	ταῖ, var. ταει
pl.	νεῖ-, var. νεει-	ναῖ, var. ναει

Notes: (a) In manuscripts that have the longer spelling variant *πεει-* etc., the form *πει-* (without iota trema) is the affective article **58** (otherwise spelled *πι-*). (b) In some normalized modern works (Horner's New Testament, Crum's dictionary) tremas are typographically omitted, leading to confusion of *πεῖ-* and *πει-*.

Article: *This . . . (nearer to me); the just-previously-mentioned . . . , that . . . ; the just-about-to-be-mentioned . . . , the following . . . ;* and pl.

Pronoun: Same meanings (*this one, etc.*). *παῖ* refers to either a preceding or a following referent, e.g. *μαρε-παῖ θε μεεγε ε-παῖ ξε-* . . . 2 Cor 10:11 "Let that person understand the following thing, namely that . . ." It also forms the articulated attributive **411** and appositive attributive **408** clause constructions.

57 The farther demonstrative

	Article	Pronoun
sing. masc.	π- . . . ετ ^θ -ᾠμαγ	πετᾠμαγ
sing. fem.	τ- . . . ετ ^θ -ᾠμαγ	τετᾠμαγ
pl.	ᾠ- . . . ετ ^θ -ᾠμαγ	νετᾠμαγ

π- etc. is the simple def. article with alts. and vars. **52** and *ετ^θ-ᾠμαγ* is a relative clause **405**. The pronoun *π-ετ^θ-ᾠμαγ* is an articulated attributive construction **411**.

Article: *That (over there, farther from me); the previously mentioned . . . ;* and pl.

Pronoun: Same meanings (*that one, etc.*).

58 The affective demonstrative

	Article	Pronoun
sing. masc.	πι-, var. πει-	πῃ
sing. fem.	†-, var. τει-	τῃ
pl.	νι-, var. νει-	νῃ

Notes: (a) In manuscripts that have the longer spelling variant *πει-* etc. (without iota trema), the nearer demonstrative article 'this' **56** is normally spelled *πεει-*. (b) In some normalized modern works (Horner's New Testament, Crum's dictionary) tremas are typographically omitted, leading to confusion of *πει-* and *πεῖ-*.

Article: *The . . . , that . . . , this . . . ,* and pl., expressing emotional appreciation or involvement; or, in a few adverbial expressions, literal remoteness from the speaker, in time or place.

(a) Expressing deprecation, awe, foreboding, admiration, etc.: *ογα ᾠ-νικογει* Matt 25:45 "One of these little ones"; *†ψχη ετ^θ-οει εματε* ShChass 95:58-96:1 "This soul, which is so valuable"; *νινοθ ᾠ-ωτορτρ ετ^θ-ᾠ-νιπολις ᾠ-νιτμε ᾠ-νιτω* ShChass 96:29-33 "The great troubles in the cities and the villages and the nomes"; *νιωβω δε ᾠ-ᾠλα ετ^θ-βητ* 1 Tim 4:7 "Abominable old women's tales" (*τοὺς βεβήλους καὶ γραῶδεις μύθους*); *σινουθιος πιελαχιστος πετ^θ-εζαι* *μ-πεεμεριτ ν-ιωτ ν-θεοφιλεστατος* ShIII 13:19-20 "The most humble Shenoute, writing to his dear father who is beloved of God"

(b) Untranslatable, in generalizations *ᾠθε ᾠ-νι . . .* "Like . . ." (*ᾠθε ᾠ-νιεσοογ* Matt 9:36 *ὡσεὶ πρόβατα* "Like sheep")

(c) Insisting upon identification (*πι . . . ᾠ-ογωτ*): *ᾠ-πιζητ ᾠ-ογωτ ᾠ-†γνωμη ᾠ-ογωτ* 1 Cor 1:10 "In the same mind and the same judgement"

(d) In adverbial phrases of remote past: *ᾠπιογοειω* "Formerly, in times past" (opposite of *τενογ*)

(e) *The farther*, in prepositional phrase comparing 'there' and 'here': *ε-*, (*ᾠ-*, *ᾠκα-*, *ᾠι-*, etc.) *πικα οτ πικρο (ᾠ-)* "On the other side or farther shore (bank) of"; *μ-πικρο ᾠ-πιορδανης* John 1:28 *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* "Beyond the Jordan"; *μαρον ε-πικρο* Mark 4:35 *διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν* "Let us go across to the other side"; *ᾠι-πικα ᾠ-παι ᾠ-πιερο* Rev 22:2 "On either side of the river" *literally* On the other side, and this one, of the river

Pronoun: *This one, that one, he, she, it*, and pl., often with contrast between two entities or groups (*οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ . . .*): *νη μεν . . . παῖ δε . . .* Heb 7:20-21 "Those . . . This one . . ."; *ᾠτ-αγ-ταα-ε νη-τᾠ . . . νη δε ᾠπογ-ταα-ε να-γ* Matt 13:11 "To you it has been given . . . To them it has not been given."

59 The zero article and pronoun

Article	Pronoun
∅	ογον

Article: For typical uses, cf. **47**; for cross-reference to ^θ, cf. **48**.

Pronoun: Untranslatable and empty of any semantic content. Like the zero article, *ογον* does not express determination, number, or gender. Like the other pronouns, it does not express any lexical content. It fills positions in which a terminal bound/unbound morph **28(5)** is syntactically compatible.

E.g. $\zeta\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ 'find', i.e. perform the act of finding (versus $\zeta\epsilon$ 'fall'), $\omega\alpha\alpha\tau\bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ 'suffer lack' (versus $\omega\alpha\alpha\tau$ 'be cut short, be cut off'); $\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}q$ Matt 23:16 "He must, He is bound by his oath" $\delta\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota$ (*literally* He owes, There exists against him); $m\bar{n}\text{-}n\text{-}\epsilon\tau^0\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma m\bar{n}\tau\text{-}\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $m\bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $\omega\alpha\lambda\pi\alpha\iota\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Rom 3:12 "No one does good, not even one" *literally* "The one doing good does not exist; does not exist ($m\bar{n}\text{-}$), even to the extent of one." See also 60, $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ 'any one'.

60 'Any, every, all'

Article	Pronoun
... $n\text{IM}$	$\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$

$n\text{IM}$ forms an article phrase by following the noun that it determinates. It is autonomous ($c\zeta\iota m\epsilon\ \Delta\epsilon\ n\text{IM}$ 1 Cor 11:5).

Article: (i) *any* . . . , *every* . . . (discontinuous, distributive totality; quantification); (ii) *all* . . . (universal totality). Although logically distinct, these two meanings are not consistently distinguished by differences of syntax.

All (of) the . . . , . . . all (integral totality) is expressed by the inflected modifier $\tau\eta\rho$ = 152.

Pronoun: Same meanings (*any one, etc.*).

Syntactically, ... $n\text{IM}$ and $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ display an unstable mixture of features associated with the indef., def., and zero article:

- (a) In cross-reference, these determinators are both sing. and pl. indiscriminately. A simple attributive clause 403 modifying an article phrase of ... $n\text{IM}$ can be in either circumstantial or relative conversion, but the pronoun $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ takes the relative.

Examples: $\zeta\omega\beta\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon q\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ (textual var. $\zeta\omega\beta\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\theta\theta\omicron\gamma$) Matt 5:11 "All kinds of evil"; $\zeta\omega\beta\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}n\alpha\text{-}\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\ m\bar{m}\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ Matt 18:19 "Anything they ask"; $\omega\eta n\ \delta\epsilon\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}n\text{-}\bar{q}\text{-}n\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\ \alpha n\ \bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\text{-}n\alpha n\omicron\gamma\text{-}q$ Matt 3:10 "Every tree therefore that does not bear good fruit"; $\zeta n\alpha\lambda\gamma\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{-}n\epsilon n\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\alpha\text{-}\gamma\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \zeta\iota\text{-}n\epsilon n\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha$ ShIV 55:9-10 "Every dish that our fathers put upon our tables"; $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon n\tau\text{-}\alpha q\text{-}\kappa\alpha\text{-}\bar{h}\text{I}\ \bar{n}\zeta\omega\text{-}q\ h\ \bar{h}\text{CON}$ Matt 19:29 "Everyone who has left houses or brothers"; $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $r\alpha\rho\ n\text{IM}$ $\zeta\epsilon\text{-}n\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\kappa\rho\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\bar{n}\text{-}\tau\varsigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ Mark 9:49 "Everyone will be salted with fire"

- (b) A fem. noun + $n\text{IM}$ is treated as sing. fem., sing. masc., or pl. indiscriminately.

Examples: $m\bar{n}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho\omicron\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\varsigma\omega\alpha n\text{-}\pi\omega\omega\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\chi\omega\text{-}c$ Matt 12:25 "Every kingdom divided (-c-) against itself"; $c\gamma n\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\varsigma\iota\varsigma\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\text{-}n\alpha n\omicron\gamma\text{-}q$ Acts 23:1 "All good (-q) conscience"; $\psi\chi\eta\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{n}\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\text{-}n\alpha\text{-}c\omega\tau\bar{m}\ \alpha n$ Acts 3:23 "Every soul that ($\zeta\epsilon\text{-}$) does not listen"

- (c) As subject, in the durative sentence, ... $n\text{IM}$ and $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ occur in both Pattern 1 317 and Pattern 3 322.

Examples: $\bar{n}\kappa\alpha\ n\text{IM}$ $c\bar{b}\tau\omega\tau$ Matt 22:4 "Everything is ready"; $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ $n\eta\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\text{-}\bar{q}$ John 3:26 "All are going to him"; but $m\bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ $n\alpha\text{-}\omega\text{-}q\ \zeta\alpha\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ Matt 19:11 "Not all can bear this saying" $\omicron\delta\ \alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \chi\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$

- (d) As direct object in the durative sentence, ... $n\text{IM}$ and $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ are mostly introduced by $\bar{n}\text{-}$ 171(b).

Examples: $\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega n\bar{z}\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{m}\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\text{-}n\alpha n\omicron\gamma\text{-}q$ Titus 2:10 "Showing all true fidelity"; $\dagger\text{-}\omega\pi\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{n}\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta\ n\text{IM}$ $\chi\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\epsilon n\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\ n\epsilon$ Phil 3:8 "So I consider all things to be a loss"; $n\epsilon q\text{-}c\omicron\omicron\gamma n\ \bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ John 2:24 "He knew all people"; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\text{-}c\omicron\omicron\gamma n\text{-}\bar{n}\kappa\alpha\ n\text{IM}$ Jude 5 "Although you are fully informed (know all things)"

- (e) Coordination ('and') before ... $n\text{IM}$ and $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ is sometimes expressed by $\zeta\iota\text{-}$ and sometimes by $m\bar{n}\text{-}$.

Examples: $\epsilon q\text{-}\bar{p}\text{-}\bar{h}\pi\alpha\zeta\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\omega\omega n\epsilon\ n\text{IM}$ $\zeta\iota\text{-}\lambda\omicron\chi\lambda\epsilon\chi\ n\text{IM}$ Matt 9:35 "Healing every disease and every infirmity"; $\tau\epsilon q\zeta\iota m\epsilon\ m\bar{n}\text{-}n\epsilon q\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ m\bar{n}\text{-}\bar{n}\kappa\alpha\ n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\tau^0\text{-}\omega\omicron\omicron\pi\ n\alpha\text{-}q$ Matt 18:25 "His wife and his children and all that he had"; $n\omicron\beta\epsilon\ n\text{IM}$ $\zeta\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\ n\text{IM}$ Matt 12:31 "Every sin and every blasphemy"; $\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\rho\text{-}\bar{c}\ m\bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ $n\text{IM}$ $\epsilon\tau^0\text{-}c\omega\tau\bar{m}\ \epsilon\text{-}n\alpha\iota$ Acts 5:11 "The whole church and all who heard of these things"; $\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\alpha\ n\text{IM}$ $\zeta\iota\text{-}\kappa\rho\omicron q\ n\text{IM}$ $\zeta\iota\text{-}\zeta\gamma\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma\ n\text{IM}$ $m\bar{n}\text{-}\lambda\alpha\ n\text{IM}$ $m\bar{n}\text{-}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\ n\text{IM}$ (textual var. $m\bar{n}\text{-}\dots m\bar{n}\text{-}\dots m\bar{n}\text{-}\dots$) 1 Pet 2:1 "All malice and all guile and all insincerity and all envy and all slander"

ADDITIONAL COMBINATIONS OF THESE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

- 61 (a) *Indefiniteness combined with the following:*

Restrictive expansion 146: $\zeta\epsilon n\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\bar{h}\varsigma\alpha\rho\bar{z}\ n\tau\alpha\text{-}\gamma$ ShIV 61:11 "Relatives of theirs, Some of their relatives"; $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha n\omega n\ \dots\ \epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\text{-}\pi\omega\text{-}n\ \alpha n\ \pi\epsilon$ 2 Cor 10:16 "A field that is not ours"

'(An)other' + restrictive expansion 146: $\zeta\epsilon n\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\bar{h}\varsigma\alpha\rho\bar{z}\ n\tau\alpha\text{-}\gamma$ ShIV 81:5 "Some other relatives of theirs"; $\kappa\epsilon\chi\omega\omega m\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\pi\omega n\bar{z}\ \pi\epsilon$ Rev 20:12 "Another book, which is the book of life" *literally* Another book, which is the one related to life

'Another': $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Matt 21:35 "Another"

Nearer demonstration: $\alpha n\text{-}\zeta\epsilon n\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota m\iota n\epsilon\ \omicron n$ 2 Cor 10:11 "That is how we are"; $c\text{-}n\eta\gamma\ \bar{n}\delta\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma n\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon$ John 4:23 "The hour is coming, and now is" *literally* "An hour is coming, namely this one"

'Any' + restrictive expansion 146: $\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau\ n\text{IM}$ $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}\bar{q}$ Exod 12:48 "Every male of him" $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\nu\ \alpha\rho\sigma\epsilon n\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$

- (b) *Definiteness combined with the following:*

Nearer demonstration + 'another': $m\bar{\pi}\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\pi$ Judg 16:18 "Yet this once"; $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\tau$ ApophPatr 181 (Chaîne 43:30) "This other one"; $n\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ 2 Tim 3:8 "These others"

DETERMINATORS

Nearer demonstration + nearer demonstration: $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\gamma \zeta\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon \tau\alpha\iota$ ShIII 219:4 “Now, in this very year”

Nearer demonstration + farther demonstration: $\pi\alpha\iota \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ ShIII 121:19 (and often) “That person”

Nearer demonstration + restrictive expansion **146**: $\tau\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\varsigma\iota\alpha \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ 1 Cor 8:9 “This liberty of yours”

Affective demonstration + nearer demonstration: $\zeta\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma \omicron\bar{\eta}\nu \pi\alpha\iota$ ShChass 44:29–30 “In precisely this (awesome) time, moreover”

Possessive (general **147**) relationship + ‘another’: $\eta\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\rho\zeta$ ShIII 115:15 “Also their flesh”; $\eta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\tau\bar{\iota}$ Matt 24:24 “Even my elect”

Possessive relationship + nearer demonstration: $\eta\alpha\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\iota \eta\epsilon$ Matt 7:24 “These words of Mine”

Possessive relationship + possessive relationship: $\tau\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\eta\eta\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\iota} \tau\epsilon$ John 14:27 “My peace (My own peace, My peace that belongs to me)”

(c) Zero combined with the following:

General **147**/Appurtenant **148** relationship: $\theta\zeta\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma \eta\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta$ ShIII 203:20 “Any voice from Him”; $\theta\varsigma\mu\eta \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta$ John 5:37 “His voice”

(d) ... $\eta\iota\mu$ combined with the following:

General **147**/Appurtenant **148** relationship: $\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha \eta\iota\mu \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta$ Matt 13:44 “All that he has”; $\mu\alpha \eta\iota\mu \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\text{-}\gamma \eta\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\eta$ 1 Cor 1:2 “Every place of theirs and of ours (sic)”

Still other combinations contain two expressions of determination, often with an additional grammatical category or categories, e.g.

(e) Particularity (an element of determination **45**[b]) combined with the following:

Indefiniteness: $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Matt 20:9 “Each one of them”

‘Another’ + indefiniteness: $\pi\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Matt 6:24 “The other one”

Nearer demonstration + ‘other’ + indefiniteness: $\bar{\rho}\text{-}\pi\alpha\iota \eta \pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Jas 4:15 “Do this or *that*”

Affective demonstration + indefiniteness: $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Luke 15:4 “The one (sheep that was previously mentioned)”

Affective demonstration + ‘another’ + indefiniteness: $\pi\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Luke 20:11 “That other one”

Possessive (general **147**) relationship + ‘another’ + indefiniteness: $\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ Luke 6:29 “Your other one also”; cf. also **54**, $\pi\alpha\text{-}$ ‘(the) one belonging to ...’

REITERATION OF THE ARTICLE PHRASE

62 (a) Def. article phrase reiterated: “Each . . . , Every . . . , Each and every . . . ”

E.g. $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\zeta\mu\text{-}\pi\eta\iota \zeta\alpha\tau\eta\text{-}\eta \alpha\gamma\omega \tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota \tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\zeta\mu\text{-}\pi\eta\iota \zeta\alpha\tau\eta\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$ ShIV 73:19–20 “Every man in the house among us, and every female in the house among you”; $\zeta\omega \epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\alpha$ Matt 6:34 “Sufficient

REITERATION OF ARTICLE PHRASE

for each and every day is its (own) evil”; $\zeta\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\omega\iota \bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \pi\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Eph 4:16 “According to the measure of every individual part”; $\epsilon\text{-}\omega\alpha\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\gamma\eta\text{-}\pi\omega\eta\eta \gamma\alpha\rho \pi\omega\eta\eta \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \zeta\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Luke 6:44 “For by its fruit each tree is known”; $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha \pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ “Each one”; $\eta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \eta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ShIF2 p. 62 a: 5–7 “These various sins”

(b) Zero article phrase reiterated: “One . . . after another, . . . by . . . ”

i. after $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ of incidental predication **179**; e.g. $\alpha\gamma\text{-}\eta\omicron\chi\text{-}\omicron\gamma \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\omicron \bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\alpha\gamma\eta\tau$ $\theta\alpha\gamma\eta\tau$ Mark 6:40 “They sat down in groups” *literally* They sat down being group by group; $\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\iota \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\omicron \eta\text{-}\theta\acute{\omega}\tau\zeta \theta\acute{\omega}\tau\zeta$ ShIV 172:10 “A ship that is full of holes”

ii. in compound verb formed by $\bar{\rho}\text{-}\theta$ **180**, e.g. $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\mu\alpha \epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\rho\text{-}\theta\alpha\varsigma \eta \eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\rho\text{-}\theta\alpha\varsigma \eta \theta\pi\lambda\delta\epsilon \theta\pi\lambda\delta\epsilon$ ShAmél I 108:11–12 “The curtains that have grown old or those that will grow old or *ragged*”; $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \eta\iota\mu \eta\text{-}\alpha\tau\text{-}\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\eta\varsigma\omega\upsilon\zeta \mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \pi\alpha\iota\alpha\upsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma \rho\text{-}\theta\omicron\gamma\lambda\pi\epsilon \theta\omicron\gamma\lambda\pi\epsilon \zeta\iota\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ ShAmél II 26:12–13 “Every godless person on whom the leprosy of their father the devil has turned *spotty*”

iii. forming an adverb expressing successive distribution **228**, e.g. $\theta\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \theta\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ “One day after another, day by day, daily”; $\theta\mu\alpha \theta\mu\alpha$ “One place after another”; $\theta\omega\eta\mu \theta\omega\eta\mu$ “Little by little”

iv. after a distributive preposition, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\theta\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \theta\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ShAmél I 150:3 “Day by day”

(c) Indef. article phrase reiterated (rare, meaning uncertain): $\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \epsilon\varsigma\omega\alpha\eta\text{-}\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon \eta\omicron\beta\iota\text{-}\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\zeta\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon$ Num 5:12 ed. Maspero $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\bar{\eta}$ $\acute{\eta} \gamma\upsilon\eta\eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ “Whosoever wife shall transgress”; $\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota \eta\zeta\alpha\zeta \alpha\eta \eta\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\pi \mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \eta\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\eta\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \zeta\epsilon\eta\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota \mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon \mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon \eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega \eta\iota\mu$ ShIV 66:13–16 “Not only celebrating the eucharist frequently, *on various days* (?), but celebrating absolutely every day **198** always”

(d) Reiterated pair of nouns or pronouns expanding a single article (rare, meaning uncertain): $\eta\iota\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma \omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ ShChass 156:48–9 “Those various hours” (?) [trans. Shisha-Halevy]; $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\varsigma \eta\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ ShChass 157:2–4 “Various (A few) nummus coins” (?); $\zeta\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha \omicron\gamma\alpha$ ShAmél II 26:7 “Various people” (?); $\zeta\epsilon\eta\varsigma\omicron\pi \varsigma\omicron\pi$ ShYoung No.8 $\varsigma\kappa\alpha\text{:}36$ “Various times” (?)

Reiteration of noun in an attributive construction, **97**(iii).

3 *Specifiers: Cardinal Numbers and Other Specifiers*

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THE NATURE OF COPTIC SPECIFIERS

- 63 *Definition and list of specifiers.* The ‘specifier’ is a class comprising
- cardinal numbers* (except τβα ‘ten thousand’) 67(e), which express quantity
 - six non-numerical specifiers* 72, mostly interrogative, which express quantity (οὐνρ ‘how many? how much?’; 222 ‘many, much’) selection
 - particular (νιμ ‘who? which?’)
 - generic (οὐ ‘what? what kind of?’)
 - within a group (22 ‘which?’; 222γ ‘any at all’)

Specifiers are *pronouns*: i.e., they are actualized entity terms 141 by their very nature, which present an object of thought by speaking of it in grammatical categories (quantity or selection) but without denoting, naming, or describing it by any lexical (non-grammatical) content. They are thus analogous to determinator pronouns 44.

THE NATURE OF COPTIC SPECIFIERS

64 The specifier phrase

Specifiers can be expanded by lexical content in a ‘specifier phrase’

Specifier \bar{n} - *Common Noun*

ϣομντ \bar{n} -ρωμε “Three men” (Acts 10:19)

ϣομτε \bar{n} -σκηνη “Three booths” (Matt 17:4)

νιμ \bar{n} -22ιμε “What woman?” (Luke 15:8)

222 \bar{n} -22ιμονιον “Many demons” (Mark 6:13)

222 22 \bar{n} -ϣορπ “Many that are first” (Matt 19:30)

in which the specifier actualizes a common noun (gendered or genderless) as an entity term. The specifier shares this actualizing function with the article 43.

article phrase οὐ-22ιμονιον “A demon”

specifier phrase 222 \bar{n} -22ιμονιον “Many demons”

Specifier | \bar{n} - Common Noun

222 | \bar{n} - 22ιμονιον

nucleus | expansion

(grammatical information) | (lexical content)

The lexical expansion of the specifier is mediated by the morph \bar{n} - 203 and follows the specifier; two bound groups are formed, which can be separated by an autonomous morph (οὐ γαρ \bar{n} -πεθου Matt 27:23 “Why, what evil?”). Plural forms of the common noun apparently do not occur as the lexical expansion. If the specifier has formal marking for gender, it expresses the gender of the common noun that it actualizes (ϣομντ...ρωμε, ϣομτε...σκηνη). (The numerical specifiers ‘one’ and ‘two’ normally occur in a different construction 70.) To a limited extent, specifier pronouns and specifier phrases are compatible with articles, cf. 65.

Further examples: \bar{n} ντ-22ου22 \bar{n} -22ε \bar{n} -22ου Rev 11:3 “Twelve hundred and sixty days”; \bar{n} ντ-22τε \bar{n} -22ε22 Matt 1:17 “Fourteen generations”; 22ω \bar{n} -22ω \bar{n} -ρωμε Rom 11:4 “Seven thousand people”; 22ω \bar{n} -22ου22ια Matt 21:23 “Which authority?”; \bar{n} νν-222γ \bar{n} -22τ-22ομ Matt 19:26 “There is not any impossible thing”; 222γ \bar{n} -2222ον Rom 7:18 “Any good thing”; οὐ \bar{n} -22ωβ \bar{n} -22ω ShIV 94:10 “What kind of deed or ordinance?”; οὐνρ \bar{n} -222-22εκε Luke 15:17 “How many hired servants”

Elaborations of the specifier phrase: \bar{n} ντρε 222γ \bar{n} ϣομντ Matt 18:16 “Two or three witnesses”; 22-22ου22 \bar{n} -2222ιον \bar{n} 2222 John 6:19 “About twenty-five or thirty stadia”; 22-ϣομ22ν 22ε \bar{n} \bar{n} τ \bar{n} -22ου22 Acts 25:6 “About eight or ten days.”

- 65 *Determination status of specifiers as expressed in syntax.* (a) The syntax of ‘bare’ specifier pronouns and specifier phrases (i.e. those without article) is in most ways like a zero article phrase or an indefinite.

i. In the durative sentence, the bare specifier as *direct object of a mutable infinitive* is suffixed to the infinitive **171(a)**, a feature shared with the zero article phrase. E.g. $\tau\bar{n}-\chi\kappa-\gamma\alpha\gamma$ Mark 5:9 “We are many”; $\bar{n}-\tau-\chi\epsilon-\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\bar{n}$ (i.e. $\epsilon-\bar{n}-\tau-\chi\epsilon-\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\bar{n}$) Acts 26:22 “Without me saying anything”; $\alpha\bar{n}\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon-\epsilon\gamma-\rho-\omicron\gamma$ $\gamma\bar{n}-\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\bar{n}$ Mark 2:24 “Look what they are doing on the sabbath”; $\bar{n}\epsilon\gamma-\mu\epsilon\gamma-\mu\bar{n}\tau-\varsigma\bar{n}\omicron\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ $\bar{n}-\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ Acts 19:7 “They amounted to twelve people.”

An exception is the expression $\epsilon\bar{i}\rho\epsilon$ \bar{n} —‘amount to’ ($\epsilon\gamma-\epsilon\bar{i}\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{n}-\tau\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\tau\bar{\beta}\alpha$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\alpha\tau$ Acts 19:19 “Amounting to 50,000 silver pieces”).

ii. The *coordinating preposition* (‘and’) is $\mu\bar{n}-$ before all bare specifiers except $\gamma\alpha\gamma$ and $\lambda\alpha\gamma$, which take $\gamma\bar{i}-$. (Interrogative specifiers are typically linked by η ‘or’.)

Examples: $\psi\omicron\mu\bar{n}\tau$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\bar{n}-\psi\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\psi\eta$ Matt 12:40 “Three days and three nights”; $\bar{n}\bar{i}\mu$ $\mu\bar{n}-\bar{n}\bar{i}\mu$ “So-and-so” and $\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma$ “This and that” **73**; $\tau\bar{n}-\bar{n}\alpha-\bar{\rho}-\alpha\psi$ $\mu\bar{n}-\alpha\psi$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\omega\beta$ Athanasius, On the Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God (Rossi II 1 93[47]a: 11–13) “We shall do such-and-such things”; $\mu\bar{n}\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha-\omicron\gamma\eta\rho$ $\mu\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\eta\rho$ $\bar{n}-\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ ShAmél I 190:6 “After so-and-so many years”; $\gamma\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{i}-\gamma\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\chi\omicron\epsilon\bar{i}\varsigma$ 1 Cor 8:5 “Many gods and many lords”; $\bar{\theta}\gamma\omicron\bar{i}\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{i}-\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\bar{n}\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon-\pi\tau\eta\rho-\gamma$ $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon-\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma$ ShIII 205:24 “Clothing and any thing whatsoever from the earth”

iii. In the durative sentence, a *bare specifier as subject* is preceded by $\omicron\gamma\bar{n}-$ or $\mu\bar{n}-$, a feature shared with both the zero article phrase and indefinites **322**. E.g. $\omicron\gamma\bar{n}-\varsigma\bar{n}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{n}\alpha-\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{n}-\tau\varsigma\omega\psi\epsilon$ Matt 24:40 “Two (people) will be in the field”; $\epsilon-\mu\bar{n}-\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\chi\omega\gamma\bar{m}$ $\bar{n}\gamma\eta\tau-\bar{c}$ \bar{n} $\tau\omega\lambda\bar{m}$ \bar{n} $\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\omega\beta$ $\bar{n}-\tau\epsilon\epsilon\bar{i}\gamma\epsilon$ Eph 5:27 “Without any spot (*literally* There not being any uncleanness in it) or stain or any such thing.”

iv. *Simple attributive clauses* **403** modifying a bare specifier are mostly circumstantial and sometimes relative.

Examples: $\alpha\bar{i}-\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omega-\tau\bar{n}$ $\epsilon-\gamma\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\omega\beta$ $\epsilon-\bar{n}\alpha\bar{n}\omicron\gamma-\omicron\gamma$ John 10:32 “I have shown you many good works”; $\bar{n}\bar{n}-\epsilon\bar{n}-\omicron$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\alpha\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\omicron$ $\bar{n}-\theta\epsilon\psi\omega\tau$ $\gamma\bar{m}-\pi\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{n}-\pi\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ 2 Cor 2:17 “For we are not like the many who are peddlers of God’s word”; $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}-\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\epsilon\gamma-\gamma\eta\pi$ $\epsilon-\bar{n}-\bar{q}-\bar{n}\alpha-\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{n}\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\alpha\bar{n}$ Luke 8:17 “For nothing that is hidden will not become manifest”

(b) With severe limitations, specifiers are compatible with articles, as shown in table 4.

TABLE 4
COMPATIBILITY OF SPECIFIERS WITH ARTICLES

SPECIFIER	COMPATIBLE ARTICLES	
	Article Expanded by a Specifier Phrase	Article Expanded by a Specifier Pronoun
Cardinal numbers	$\kappa\epsilon-$ ‘another’ Any def. sing. article 66	$\kappa\epsilon-$ ‘another’ Any def. sing. 66
Other specifiers		
$\omicron\gamma\eta\rho$	.....	.....
$\gamma\alpha\gamma$	.....	.....
$\bar{n}\bar{i}\mu$	.....	.....
$\omicron\gamma$	$\omicron\gamma-/ \gamma\epsilon\bar{n}-$	$\omicron\gamma-/ \gamma\epsilon\bar{n}-$
$\alpha\psi$	$\omicron\gamma-/ \gamma\epsilon\bar{n}-$	$\omicron\gamma-/ \gamma\epsilon\bar{n}-$
$\lambda\alpha\gamma$	$\kappa\epsilon-, \dots \bar{n}\bar{i}\mu$	$\omicron\gamma-/ \gamma\epsilon\bar{n}-, \dots \bar{n}\bar{i}\mu$

CARDINAL NUMBERS

66 *Expression of determination, number, and gender.* Cardinal numbers occur either ‘bare’ (without article), or with the article $\kappa\epsilon-$ ‘another’, or with any of the def. singular articles. They are incompatible with plural articles. E.g. $\varsigma\bar{n}\alpha\gamma$ η $\psi\omicron\mu\bar{n}\tau$ Matt 18:20 “Two or three (people)”; $\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\psi\bar{q}$ $\bar{m}-\pi\bar{n}\alpha$ Matt 12:45 “Seven other spirits”; $\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\bar{n}\tau-\varsigma\bar{n}\omicron\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ $\bar{m}-\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ Matt 10:1 “His twelve disciples.” Thus are expressed (with some gaps) *determination, number, and gender* **42**.

(a) *Determination.* With the sing. def. article a cardinal number functions as definite; with $\kappa\epsilon-$, as indefinite; and bare (without article), as non-definite, having a mixture of zero and indef. features **65**.

(b) *Number*—sing. versus pl.—is expressed by the meaning of the cardinal number. Those from “two” up function as *plurals, even when they expand the sing. def. article*. E.g. $\gamma\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}-\varsigma\bar{n}\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon$ Matt 19:6 “So they are not two”; $\pi\epsilon\bar{i}\psi\omicron\mu\bar{n}\tau$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\bar{n}\epsilon$ 1 John 5:8 “These three are one (These three agree).”

However, $\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ (“The forty days”) in the sense of ‘Lent’ is sing. in meaning and syntax: $\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{n}-\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\tau\eta\rho-\gamma$ $\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\gamma-\epsilon\psi-\pi\bar{i}\varsigma\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\gamma\eta\tau-\gamma$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\eta\rho-\gamma$ ShIV 54:29 “As regards the whole of Lent, they shall not be allowed to cook within it at all.”

When an inflectable common noun is modified by a cardinal number it occurs in its main form, not the plural one **108(b)**, **114**: $\varsigma\omicron\bar{n}$ $\varsigma\bar{n}\alpha\gamma$ Matt 4:18 “Two brothers,” $\tau\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{n}-\epsilon-\beta\omicron\tau$ Luke 1:24 “Five months.”

(c) *Grammatical gender*—masc. versus fem. (in a polar opposition)—is formally expressed in numbers 1 to 10; in 20 and 30; and in those above ten whose last digit is 1, 2, 8, or 9 (cf. **67**). It is also expressed by the def. sing. article, when

present. The gendered forms are selected so as to express the gender of the noun that they actualize or to which they refer.

Further examples: $\text{†ΟΥ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-OΕΙΚ } \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-TΒΤ } \text{CNAΥ} \dots \text{†ΟΥ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-OΕΙΚ } \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΠΤΒΤ } \text{CNAΥ}$ Matt 14:17-19 "Five loaves and two fish ... *the* five loaves and *the* two fish [retrospective cross-reference]"; ΠΜΝΤ-CNOOYC "The Twelve" [i.e. $\bar{\text{M}}\text{-MAΘHTHC}$ 'disciples']; $\text{ΤΠΙCΤΙC } \ThetaΕΛΠΙC } \text{ΤΑΓΑΠΗ } \text{ΠΕΕΙΩΟΜΝΤ}$ 1 Cor 13:13 "Faith, hope, love—these three"; ΠΚΕΨΙC Luke 17:17 "The nine, as well"; $\text{ΚΕQTOOY } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΕΒΟΤ}$ John 4:35 "Another four months, Four more months"; $\text{ΕΙC-ΩΟΜΝΤ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΡΩΜΕ } \text{CΕ-ΩΙΝΕ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{CΩ-Κ}$ Acts 10:19 "Behold, three men *are* looking for you"; ΠΕΙ-MNT-CNOOYC $\text{AQ-XOOY-CΕ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{ΔΙ-IC}$ Matt 10:5 "As for these twelve, Jesus sent *them* out"; $\text{ΩΟΜΝΤ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ZOOY } \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΩΟΜΤΕ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΟΥΩΗ}$ Matt 12:40 "Three days and three nights"; $\text{ΠCΑΩQ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC} \dots \text{N-TCAΩQΕ } \text{N-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ}$ Rev 1:20 "The seven angels of the seven churches"; $\text{ΩΟΜΤΕ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-CΚΗΝΗ } \text{ΟΥΕΙ } \text{NΔ-Κ } \text{ΑΥΩ } \text{ΟΥΕΙ } \bar{\text{M}}\text{-ΜΩΥCΗC } \text{ΑΥΩ } \text{ΟΥΕΙ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΗΛΕΙΔC}$ Mark 9:5 "Three booths, one for you and one for Moses and one for Elijah"; $\text{ZME } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ZOOY } \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-ZME } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΟΥΩΗ}$ Matt 4:2 "Forty days and forty nights"

67 Formation

In page numbering, tabulation, etc. the numbers are expressed by alphabetic figures (listed below), usually with a superlinear stroke; e.g. $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{E}}$, '195'. Cf. figure following table 1. In literary texts the numbers are written out as full words.

(a) Units 'one' to 'nine'

		Masc.	Fem.
$\bar{\text{A}}$	one	ΟΥΑ	ΟΥΕΙ
$\bar{\text{B}}$	two	CNAΥ	CNTΕ
$\bar{\text{Γ}}$	three	ΩΟΜΝΤ	ΩΟΜΤΕ
$\bar{\text{Δ}}$	four	QTOOY	QTO , var. QTΟΕ
$\bar{\text{E}}$	five	†ΟΥ	† , var. †Ε
$\bar{\text{Z}}$	six	COOY	CO , var. COΕ
$\bar{\text{Z}}$	seven	CAΩQ	CAΩQΕ
$\bar{\text{H}}$	eight	ΩMOYH	ΩMOYNE
$\bar{\text{Θ}}$	nine	ΨIC	ΨITE

(b) Decades 'ten' to 'ninety'

	Independent	Prefixal component
$\bar{\text{I}}$	ten	masc. MHT , fem. MHTΕ MNT-
$\bar{\text{K}}$	twenty	XOYWT , fem. XOYWTE XOYT-
$\bar{\text{X}}$	thirty	MAAB , fem. MAABE MAB-
$\bar{\text{M}}$	forty	ZME ZME- (ZMET- before AQTE/ACE)
$\bar{\text{N}}$	fifty	TAEIOY TAEIOY-
$\bar{\text{Ξ}}$	sixty	CE CE- (CET- before AQTE/ACE)
$\bar{\text{O}}$	seventy	ΩQE ΩQE-
$\bar{\text{Π}}$	eighty	ZMENE ZMENE- (ZMENET- before AQTE/ACE)
$\bar{\text{Q}}$	ninety	ΠCTAIOY ΠCTAIOY-

Round numbers 'ten', 'twenty', etc. are expressed by the independent forms. The intervening numbers (11, 12 ..., 21, 22 ..., etc.) are expressed by a prefixal component of the decade (MNT- , XOYT- , MAB- etc.) plus one of the following terminal components:

Terminal Components

$\dots \bar{\text{A}}$	\dots -one	masc. -ΟΥΕ , fem. -ΟΥΕΙ
$\dots \bar{\text{B}}$	\dots -two	masc. -CNOOYC , fem. -CNOOYCE
$\dots \bar{\text{Γ}}$	\dots -three	-ΩΟΜΤΕ
$\dots \bar{\text{Δ}}$	\dots -four	-AQTE
$\dots \bar{\text{E}}$	\dots -five	-TH (but simply -H after MNT- and XOYT-)
$\dots \bar{\text{Z}}$	\dots -six	-ACE
$\dots \bar{\text{Z}}$	\dots -seven	-CAΩQΕ
$\dots \bar{\text{H}}$	\dots -eight	masc. -ΩMHN , fem. -ΩMHNΕ
$\dots \bar{\text{Θ}}$	\dots -nine	masc. -ΨIC , fem. -ΨITE

(Terminal components in this list also produce 'eleven' to 'nineteen', despite the translations given above.) E.g. MNT-ΟΥΕ Matt 28:16 'eleven', MNTH John 11:18 'fifteen', XOYT-AQTE Rev 4:4 'twenty-four', ZMENET-AQTE Luke 2:37 'eighty-four'. Variant spellings of the prefixes and terminal components occur.

(c) Hundreds

$\bar{\text{P}}$	100	ΩΕ
$\bar{\text{C}}$	200	ΩHT
$\bar{\text{T}}$	300	ΩMNT-ΩΕ
$\bar{\text{Y}}$	400	$\text{QTOOY } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΩΕ}$, QTEY-ΩΕ

Etc. ($\bar{\text{Q}}$ 500, $\bar{\text{X}}$ 600, $\bar{\text{Ψ}}$ 700, $\bar{\text{Ω}}$ 800, $\bar{\text{P}}$ 900)

Higher multiples of ΩΕ also occur, e.g. $\text{MHT } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΩΕ}$ '1,000', $\text{MNT-CNOOYC } \bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΩΕ}$ '1,200.'

Multiples of XOYWT 'score, twenty' also occur: $\text{QTOOY } \text{N-XOYWT}$ 2 Sam 19:32 "Four score, Eighty" $\delta\gamma\delta\sigma\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$.

(d) Thousands

The highest number expressed by a single specifier is 1,000 (ΩO).

$\bar{\text{A}}$	1,000	ΩO
$\bar{\text{B}}$	2,000	$\text{ΩO } \text{CNAΥ}$
$\bar{\text{Γ}}$	3,000	$\text{ΩΟΜΝΤ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{ΩO}$, ΩMNT-ΩO

Etc. like the hundreds.

(e) Ten thousands. TBΔ 'ten thousand, myriad' is a masc. gendered common noun (collective **108[a]**) and not a specifier at all.

10,000	ΟΥΤΒΔ
20,000	$\text{ΤΒΔ } \text{CNAΥ}$

Etc.

Combinations of these numbers proceed from highest to lowest, with or without MN- 'and' before the last number, e.g. $\text{qTOOY-}\omega\epsilon\ \text{MAAB}$ "430" (Gal 3:17); $\text{MNT-}\text{CNOOYC}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\omega\epsilon\ \text{MN-}\text{ce}$ "1,260" (Rev 11:3).

- 68 'Approximately'. The prefix a- (var. $\bar{\text{N}}\text{a-}$) $\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, before a cardinal number expresses approximation: $\text{a-}\text{TOY}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\omega\epsilon$ Acts 4:4 "Approximately five thousand," $\bar{\text{N}}\text{a-}\text{MNTH}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{CTADION}$ John 11:18 "Approximately fifteen stades."

- 69 Simple fractions are formed with the gendered nominal bases 109 for 'part' plus a masc. number: OYN- ($\text{OYN-}\bar{\text{N}}-$, $\text{OYON-}\bar{\text{N}}-$, $\text{OYEN-}\epsilon-$, cf. OYON masc.), pe- (cf. PO masc.), etc.: $\text{POYN-}\omega\text{OMNT}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ Rev 8:8 "A third of the sea"; pe-MNT Heb 7:4 "Tithe(s)." 'Half' is PAWE (fem.) or BOC (masc.); 'half a . . . ' is PAW- or BOC- ; ' . . . and a half' is $\text{MN-}\text{OYPAWE}$ or (without 'and') simply OYBOC .

70 Constructions of 'one' and 'two'

- (a) 'One . . . ' is normally expressed by the prefix OY- (cf. OYA , OYEI). E.g. $\epsilon-\gamma\text{CATEERE}\ \text{MPEZOY}$ Matt 20:2 "For a denarius a day"; $\text{OYBAPIXE}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{COYO}\ \text{ZA-}\gamma\text{CATEERE}\ \text{AYW}\ \omega\text{OMTE}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{BAPIXE}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\epsilon\text{IOT}\ \text{ZA-}\gamma\text{CATEERE}$ Rev 6:6 "A quart of wheat for a denarius, and three quarts of barley for a denarius."

The very rare specifier phrase $\text{OYA}\ \bar{\text{N}}-$ insists upon precise number, e.g. $\epsilon\chi\text{N-TEOY-}\text{CIA}\ \text{M-POYA}\ \text{N-ZIEI}\bar{\text{B}}$ Num 15:5 (Morgan M566 f.67v a: 1-2; Dep. 1) $\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\tilde{\omega}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}$ "As a sacrifice for every single lamb." Note also: (i) $\text{OY-}\dots\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OYOT}$ 'a single . . . ' ('precisely one . . . , no more than one . . . , even one . . . '); $\text{OYCAP}\bar{\text{X}}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OYOT}$ Matt 19:6 "One single flesh"; (ii) $\text{PI-}\dots\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OYOT}$ 'one and the same . . . , the very same . . . ': $\text{AQ-WAHL}\ \epsilon\text{q-TAOYO}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{PIWAHE}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OYOT}$ Mark 14:39 "He prayed, saying the same words."

- (b) 'Two . . . ' CNAY , CNTe normally is enclitic and follows the noun that it quantifies.

$\text{PAWE}\ \text{CNAY}$ two men

$\text{KEPOME}\ \text{CNAY}$ another two men

$\text{PAWE}\ \text{CNAY}$ the two men

E.g. $\text{XOEIC}\ \text{CNAY}$ Luke 16:13 "Two masters"; $\omega\text{THN}\ \text{CNTe}$ Luke 3:11 "Two coats." So with articles: $\text{KENOB}\ \text{CNTe}\ \text{N-CZIME}$ ShIV 108:3 "Two other female leaders" or "Two other leading women"; $\text{POINBOP}\ \text{CNAY}$ Matt 25:22 "The two talents"; $\text{PNOB}\ \text{CNAY}\ \text{N-PEQ-R-}\theta\text{OYOIEIN}$ ShOrig 305 (Orlandi 20:37) "The two great lights."

The rare specifier construction $\text{CNAY}\ \bar{\text{N}}-$ insists upon a unit of two ("A pair of . . . "), e.g. $\text{ZN-TMHTe}\ \text{M-PECNAY}\ \text{N-XAIPOYBIN}$ Num 7:89 (Morgan M566 f.56v a: 23-25; Dep. 1) $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\upsilon\omicron\ \chi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\mu$ "Between the pair of cherubs"; $\text{PICNAY}\ \text{RAP}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{ZOB}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{KEFALLAION}\ \text{AYW}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{ANARKAION}$ ShChass 86:50-53 "For this pair of central and basic things"; $\text{PZAHN}\ \text{M-POYOIEIN}\ \text{NOYOYNOY}\ \text{MN-TPAWE}\ \text{N-OYNOY}\ \text{H}\ \omega\text{A-CNTe}\ \text{N-OYNOY}$ ShIV 53:4-6 "An hour and a half, or even a couple of hours, before daylight."

- 71 The numerical affixes are suffixed or prefixed to a noun, and the gender of the compound is motivated by the noun. (E.g. $\omega\text{PP-}\text{COOYN}$ is masc. because based on COOYN masc.)

Cardinals: -CNAY 'set of two . . . , double . . . '

$\omega\text{MT-}$ or $\omega\text{MNT-}$ 'set of three . . . , triple . . . '

qTOY- or qTEY- 'set of four . . . , quadruple . . . '

Ordinal: $\omega\text{PP-}$ or $\omega\text{PPN-}$ (expanded by infinitive as verbal noun 183) 'original . . . , first . . . ', pPOTO- , pPO-

Examples: $\bar{\text{N}}-\text{CEP}\ \text{CNAY}$ "Twice, For two times"; $\bar{\text{N}}-\omega\text{MT-}\text{COWP}$ "Thrice, For three times"; $\bar{\text{M}}-\text{PMEZ-}\text{CEP}\ \text{CNAY}$ "For a second time" John 21:16; PEQTOY-THY "The four winds"; $\text{PWERP-}\text{COOYN}$ 1 Pet 1:2 "Foreknowledge" pPOTONOTIS

NON-NUMERICAL SPECIFIERS

- 72 The six non-numerical specifiers

OYHP 'how many? how much?'

ZAZ 'many, much'

} quantity

NIM 'who? which . . . ?' (proper name or class name)

AY 'which?' (of several people/things)

OY 'what? what kind of . . . ?'

} selection

LAY 'any at all', 'any . . . at all'

are genderless and numberless, being both sing. and pl. in cross-reference.

LAY is constructed both in the specifier phrase 64 and as an enclitic (following the noun that it selects). The enclitic construction expresses rhetorical affect: e.g. $\text{MN-}\theta\text{AIKAIOS}\ \text{LAY}\ \text{MN-OYA}$ Rom 3:10 "None is righteous, no, not one [There is not any righteous person, there is not one such]." Rare.

- 73 The four interrogatives also have generic, non-interrogative meanings: AY 'one-or-another'; $\text{AY}\ \text{MN-AY}$ 'such-and-such'; $\text{NIM}\ \theta\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ 'so-and-so', also $\text{NIM}\ \text{MN-NIM}$; OY 'something-or-other', $\text{OY}\ \text{MN-OY}$ 'this and that' (i.e. various unspecified things); OYHP (as expansion of MEZ- 123 and COY- 134) 'such-and-such'; $\text{OYHP}\ \text{MN-OYHP}$ 'so-and-so many'. OYHP also has an exclamatory non-interrogative meaning 'how much!', e.g. $\text{PKAKE}\ \text{OYHP}\ \text{PE}$ Matt 6:23 "How great is the darkness!"

- 74 Expanding an article (cf. table 4, p. 57)

- (a) OY-/ZEN- is compatible with the specifier phrases $\text{AY}\ \bar{\text{M}}-\text{MINE}$, $\text{AY}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{ZE}$, $\text{OY}\ \bar{\text{M}}-\text{MINE}$ "What sort?"; and $\text{AY}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{AEIHC}$, $\text{AY}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{BOT}$ "What magnitude?" mostly occurring as nominal sentence predicates of similarity 301 ("Of what sort is . . . ? How is . . . ?"; very often as an admirative exclamation "How great is . . . !").

Examples: $\text{OYAY}\ \bar{\text{M}}-\text{MINE}\ \text{PE}\ \text{PAI}$ Matt 8:27 "What sort of Man is this?"; $\text{ANAY}\ \epsilon-\text{NEIWN}\epsilon\ \text{XE-ZENAY}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\text{ZE}\ \text{NE}$ Mark 13:1 "Look, what wonderful stones! (Look how these stone are!)" ; $\text{AXI-C}\ \epsilon\text{PO-I}\ \text{XE-NT-}\text{AK-NAY}\ \epsilon\text{PO-OY}\ \text{ZA-OYAY}\ \bar{\text{M}}-\text{MINE}\ \bar{\text{N}}-\theta\text{YHN}\ \epsilon\text{Y-WAXE}\ \text{MN-NEYEPHY}$ John Chrysostom, Homily on Susanna (BHom 56:2-3) "Tell me what kind of tree you saw them under when they were talking to one another"

- (b) ογογ, pl. ζενογ, occurs as a nominal sentence predicate requesting class name (“What is . . . ?”, often derogatory), cf. 299.

Examples: ντκ-ογογ αζρο-κ κ-ζηπ ShIII 38:17–18 “What are you? Why are you hidden?”; ανον-ζενογ δε ζωω-ν . . . ξε-τν-ο ν-^θατ-αωτμ ShLeyd (Ephrem?) 362b:12–21 “And who, then, are we . . . to be disobedient?”; ζενογ νη-τν νε νεϊωνε ετ^θ-κη εζραϊ Josh 4:6 (ed. Thompson) “What are these stones to you?”

- (c) κελλαγ ν- . . . (sing.) “Any other . . .” (κε- expanded by specifier phrase λαγ ν-) occurs freely as a specifier phrase.

Examples: ζν-βελλαγ μ-μα ShIV 120:10 “In any other place, Anywhere else”; βελλαγ ν-ρωμε ζολωε εγ-διακονει ζν-ζωβ νιμ ShAmél I 141:14–142:1 “Any other person at all who serves in any job”

- (d) ογλαγ, pl. ζενλαγ, expresses insignificance (“is something trivial, is nothing,” *literally* an instance of any at all). It occurs mostly as a nominal sentence predicate of insignificance, cf. 294.

Examples: αντ-ογλαγ 1 Cor 13:2 “I am nothing”; αq-δωψτ ερο-ογ εq-μεεγε ξε-εq-να-χι-ογλαγ ντοοτ-ογ Acts 3:5 “He fixed his attention upon them, expecting to receive some little thing from them”

- (e) The enclitic article . . . νιμ 60 is compatible with λαγ both as pronoun and forming a specifier phrase: λαγ νιμ “All, no matter which one” and λαγ ν- . . . νιμ “All . . . no matter which one” (both rare). E.g. π-εντ-αq-τ-^θραν ε-λαγ νιμ αγω ετ^θ-σοογν ν-ζωβ νιμ ντοq ετ^θ-σοογν ν-νενραν Paphnoute Cephalas, Life of Onnophrius the Anchorite (BMar 219:7–9) “He who named all without exception and who is acquainted with all things—it is He who knows our names”; λαγ ν-ρωμε νιμ ετ^θ-να-ρ-^θζοτε ζητ-κ νσε-τ-^θαγαπη ζι-μντ-να ζμ-πεκραν Timothy II (Aelurus) of Alexandria, On Abbaton Angel of Death (BMar 243:4–5) “All people without exception whosoever fear you and give alms and oblations in your name”

4

Personal Morphs: Personal Pronouns and Affixes

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DEFINITION AND LIST OF PERSONAL MORPHS

- 75 ‘Personal morphs’ comprise six sets of morphs that express the following grammatical categories

Person $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1st \text{ person (speaker)} \\ 2d \text{ person (addressee, dialogue partner)} \\ 3d \text{ person (other, not speaker or addressee: living or inanimate)} \end{array} \right.$

Number (*sing.* versus *pl.*)

Gender (*masc.* versus *fem.*, 46)

in the following intersections:

PERSONAL MORPHS

1st sing.	1st pl.	<i>I/me</i>	<i>we/us</i>
2d sing. masc.	2d pl.	<i>you</i>	<i>you</i>
2d sing. fem.		<i>you</i>	
3d sing. masc.	3d pl.	<i>he/him/it</i>	<i>they/them/people in general</i>
3d sing. fem.		<i>she/her/it</i>	

(Gender is not expressed in the 1st persons and in the plural.) The category of nexus **248** is also expressed by two of the sets **78, 79**. Personal morphs are entity terms **141**. They play a central role in referential linkage (cross-reference) **48** by referring to other entity terms with formal agreement of person/number/(gender). Their target of reference either precedes them in anticipation **313** or follows them as an expansion of information **319, 486**. This cross-referential function helps to weave together individual sentences and also to fit them into a large-scale coherent fabric of textual discourse.

Anomalous, the penultimate personal object morph **82** expresses only undifferentiated 3d person.

The *general person* (rhetorical person) is usually 3d sing. masc. ('one') or 2d sing. masc. ('you'), and can fluctuate; e.g. οὐμντ-μακαριος πε ὁτ μ-πρηκε νq-τμ-χι ντοοτ-q η ε-ακ-χι ον νγ-ζω ερο-κ ε-τωβειω ν-ν-εντ-ακ-ταα-γ να-q ShIII 65:27-66:2 "It is a blessed thing to give to the poor, and for one to not get anything back from that person; or alternatively, for you to have gotten something back and to be satisfied with the reciprocation for what you have given to that person." The general 3d pl. functions as (i) a general, pro forma actor expressing passive meaning in progress (an entity undergoing some action **175**), e.g. οὐον νιμ ετῶ-χιε μμο-q ce-να-εββιο-q Luke 18:14 "Every one who exalts himself will be humbled" ταπεινωθήσεται; (ii) a general object of a preposition or direct object of a verb, e.g. α-μωγςνς τ-θε να-ν ε-ῶτ-ογχωμε να-γ ν-ῶτογιο αγω ε-ῶνοχ-ογ εβολ Mark 10:4 "Moses allowed us to give a certificate of divorce (to one's wife) and dismiss (her)" ἀποστασίον γράψαι καὶ ἀπολύσαι; ντοq γαρ πε-ωαq-μοκz-ογ αγω νεq-ταρο-ογ ε-πεγμα Job 5:18 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν "For it is He who causes pain and who restores again." Cf. also **59** (οὐον). For masc. as the general gender, cf. **46**.

76 Personal morphs are of two kinds:

i. *independent morphs* (also called *personal pronouns*), which can occur either in a bound group **27** or autonomously **28**

αнок (etc.) **77** Personal independents

ii. *dependent morphs* (also called *personal affixes*), which always occur united with another morph or morphs in a bound group

†- (etc.) **78** Personal prefixes of the durative sentence

ант- (etc.) **79** Personal prefixes of the nominal sentence

-ī- (etc.) **80** Personal intermediates (and three affiliated sets **82-84**)

-ī (etc.) **85** Personal suffixes

-cq (etc.) **88** Personal second suffixes

PERSONAL DEPENDENTS

PERSONAL INDEPENDENTS (PERSONAL PRONOUNS)

77 Personal independents (personal pronouns)

	sing.	pl.
1st	αнок	ανον
2d	ντοκ (masc.) ντο (fem.)	ντωτн
3d	ντοq (masc.) ντος (fem.)	νтоογ

These morphs occur: (a) as an extraposed topic (subject) at the head of a sentence; (b) as subject or predicate of a nominal sentence containing πε; (c) as the focal point of a cleft sentence **464, 468, 470, 284**; (d) introducing a proper noun in extraposition before a 1st or 2d person subject, **87(c), 129(d)**; (e) mediating a proper noun in apposition **129(d)**; (f) standing for a dependent personal morph in ellipsis; (g) in certain exclamatory phrases **242**.

Examples: (a) νтоογ ce-να-ze εβολ ντοκ δε κ-ωοоп Heb 1:11 "As for them, they will perish; but Thou, Thou remainest"; ντοκ νтк-ογπροφнтс John 4:19 "As for You, You are a prophet"; (b) νтоκ πε πρρο н-ниоγдai John 18:33 "Are You the king of the Jews?"; теनेπιστολη ντωτн πε 2 Cor 3:2 "Our letter is you"; αнок τε зроγө Ruth 3:16 "I am Ruth"; ανον πε νтоq ShIII 22:16 "We and he are as one"; (c) νтоq γαρ πετῶ-на-тоγχο м-πεqлаос Matt 1:21 "For it is He who will save His people"; (d) αнок παγλος αї-сзai н-табїx Phlm 19 "I, Paul, have written this with my hand"; τ-ωιne ερω-тн зм-пχοεїс αнок тертїос Rom 16:22 "I Tertius greet you in the Lord"; (e) κ-на-ογχαї νтоκ αγω πεκнї Acts 16:31 "You will be saved, you and your household"; κω εβολ на-ї αнок пїρεq-р-ῶ nove Luke 18:13 "Be merciful to me a sinner!"; (f) q-на-δω зраї нзнт-ῶ αγω αнок ζω зраї нзнт-q John 6:56 "He will abide in Me, and I in him"; та-ογωм нмма-q αγω νтоq нмма-ı Rev 3:20 "And I will eat with him and he with Me"; (g) εїсзннте αнок пχοеїс Acts 9:10 "Here I am, Lord"

PERSONAL DEPENDENTS (PERSONAL AFFIXES)

78 PERSONAL PREFIXES OF THE DURATIVE SENTENCE

	sing.	pl.
1st	†-	тн-
2d	κ-, alt. r- (masc.) τε-, var. тр- (fem.)	тетн-
3d	q- (masc.) c- (fem.)	ce-

are nexus morphs **248** that occur only in the durative sentence, Pattern 2 (**318**). E.g. †-cωтп "I am choosing."

PERSONAL MORPHS

The alternant $r-$ (2d sing. masc.) occurs only after negative $\bar{n}-$ (e.g. $\bar{n}-r-\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$ or $\bar{n}-\bar{r}-\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$ "You do not choose").

Conjugation of future auxiliary $\text{na}-$

2d sing. fem. $\text{tena}-$, var. $\text{terna}-$ and $\text{tera}-$, "You (sing. fem.) are going to . . ."
2d plur. $\text{tetna}-$, var. $\text{tetnna}-$, "You (pl.) are going to . . ."

79 PERSONAL PREFIXES OF THE NOMINAL SENTENCE (252)

	sing.	pl.
1st	$\text{an}\bar{r}-$, var. $\text{anok}-$	$\text{an}-$, var. $\text{anon}-$ (rarely $\text{ann}\bar{n}-$)
2d	$\bar{n}\tau\bar{k}-$, var. $\bar{n}\tau\text{ok}-$ (masc.) $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon-$, var. $\bar{n}\tau\text{o}-$ (fem.)	$\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-$, var. $\bar{n}\tau\omega\tau\bar{n}-$

are nexus morphs **248** that express 1st and 2d person subject. They occur only in the nominal sentence, Patterns 1 and 2 (**259**). E.g. $\text{an}\bar{r}-\text{te}\text{q}\text{c}\omega\text{ne}$ "I am his sister."

The 3d person nexus morph in the nominal sentence is variable and invariable ne **252**. Only one instance of a 3d person nexal prefix ($\bar{n}\tau\bar{q}-$ sing. masc., 2 Cor 10:7) is on record; it is a unique occurrence.

PERSONAL INTERMEDIATES (INFIXES)

80 The primary set of personal intermediates (cf. table 5)

	sing.	pl.
1st	$-\bar{i}-$, $-\bar{a}-$, $-\bar{i}-$	$-\bar{n}-$, $-\bar{n}\bar{n}-$, $-\epsilon\bar{n}-$
2d	$-\bar{k}-$, $-\bar{k}\bar{-}$, $-\epsilon\bar{k}-$ (masc.) $-\bar{\emptyset}-$, $-\bar{p}-$, $-\bar{p}\epsilon-$, $-\epsilon\bar{-}$, $-\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}-$, $-\epsilon\bar{p}\epsilon-$, $-\bar{p}-$ (fem.)	$-\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-$, $-\tau\bar{n}-$, $-\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-$
3d	$-\bar{q}-$, $-\bar{q}\bar{-}$, $-\epsilon\bar{q}-$ (masc.) $-\bar{c}-$, $-\bar{c}\bar{-}$, $-\epsilon\bar{c}-$ (fem.)	$-\bar{\gamma}-$, $-\text{o}\bar{\gamma}-$

These morphs are suffixed to: (a) non-durative conjugation bases **325**, as subject $\text{ai}\bar{r}-\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$ "I chose"; (b) mutable converters **396**, as subject $\text{nel}\bar{i}-\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$ "I was choosing"; (c) $\text{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{n}\tau\bar{a}\bar{=}$, $\text{m}\bar{n}\tau\bar{a}\bar{=}$ 'have/not have' **383**, as subject when followed by a personal second suffix $\text{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{n}\tau\bar{a}\bar{-}\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{-}\bar{q}$ "I have it" **390(e)**; (d) the reduced prepersonal state of double-object causative verbs (e.g. $\tau\tau\text{o}$ 'make . . . to give . . .') **172**, as first direct object $\text{ai}\bar{r}-\text{to}\bar{=}\bar{k}-\text{c}\bar{\epsilon}$ "I made you give it back"; (e) the double-object infinitive $\bar{t}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{=}$ **173**, as first object $\bar{q}-\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{-}\bar{t}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{-}\bar{k}-\text{c}\bar{\epsilon}$ "He will give them to you." (Table 5 shows the conditions under which the allomorphs occur.) Other personal intermediates are: the penultimate personal object morph **82**, personal intermediates of the conjunctive base **83**, and those contained in the possessive article **84**.

PERSONAL DEPENDENTS

TABLE 5
CONDITIONING OF THE PERSONAL INTERMEDIATE ALLOMORPHS: PRIMARY SET
(For paradigms, cf. **81**)

PERSON	BASE			
	$\bar{a}\bar{=}$, $\bar{\omega}\bar{a}\bar{=}$, $\text{me}\bar{=}$ $\epsilon\bar{=}\bar{\omega}\bar{a}\bar{n}$, $\epsilon\bar{=}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{=}$, $\text{ne}\bar{=}$ ¹ 325, 396	$\text{tre}\bar{=}$, $\bar{n}\text{ne}\bar{=}$ $\text{m}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{\tau}\text{re}\bar{=}$ ² 325	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{=}$, $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{=}$ $\bar{\omega}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{=}$, $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{=}$ $\text{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{=}$, $\text{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{=}$ 325, 386, 396	$\text{ma}\bar{r}\bar{=}$, $\text{ta}\bar{r}\bar{=}$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{=}$ 325
<i>Singular</i>				
1st	\bar{i}	\bar{a}^3 (\bar{i})	\bar{i} , \bar{i}/\bar{y}^4	\bar{i}
2d masc.	\bar{k}	\bar{k}	\bar{k} (\bar{k} , $\epsilon\bar{k}$)	$\epsilon\bar{k}$
2d fem.	$\bar{\emptyset}$, \bar{p} , $\bar{p}\epsilon^5$	$\bar{\emptyset}$	ϵ , $\epsilon\epsilon$ ($\epsilon\bar{p}\epsilon$, \bar{p}) ⁶	ϵ
3d masc.	\bar{q}	\bar{q}	\bar{q} (\bar{q} , $\epsilon\bar{q}$)	$\epsilon\bar{q}$
3d fem.	\bar{c}	\bar{c}	\bar{c} (\bar{c} , $\epsilon\bar{c}$)	$\epsilon\bar{c}$
<i>Plural</i>				
1st	\bar{n}	\bar{n}	\bar{n}	\bar{n} or $\epsilon\bar{n}$
2d	$\text{te}\tau\bar{n}$	$\tau\bar{n}$ ($\text{te}\tau\bar{n}^7$)	$\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$	$\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$
3d	$\bar{\gamma}$	$\bar{\gamma}$	$\text{o}\bar{\gamma}$	$\text{o}\bar{\gamma}$

¹Also the double-object infinitive $\bar{t}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{=}$ **173** ²Also the reduced prepersonal states of $\text{tm}\bar{m}\bar{o}$, tco , (t) to , and (x) o , viz. $\text{tm}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{=}$, $\text{tce}\bar{=}$, (t) $\text{te}\bar{=}$, and $\text{x}\bar{e}\bar{=}$ **172** ³ $\text{tra}\bar{-}$, $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{-}$, $\text{m}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{\tau}\bar{ra}\bar{-}$ with loss of final ϵ of the base (rare vars. $\text{tre}\bar{-}\bar{i}\bar{-}$ and $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{-}\bar{i}\bar{-}$); but $\text{tce}\bar{-}\bar{i}\bar{-}$ "Make me drink . . ." **172** ⁴ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{-}$, but $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{-}$, $\bar{\omega}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{-}$, $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{-}$, $\text{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{-}$, $\text{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{-}$ ⁵ $\bar{a}\bar{-}$ (var. $\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{-}$), $\bar{\omega}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{-}$, $\text{me}\bar{r}\bar{-}$, $\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{-}$ (var. $\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omega}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{-}$), $\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{-}$ (optative, circumstantial, or focalizing), $\text{ne}\bar{r}\bar{-}$ ⁶ $\text{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{-}\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\bar{-}\bar{q}$ "You (sing. fem.) have it ($-\bar{q}$)"; $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{-}$ and $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{r}\bar{-}$ (2d sing. fem.) as vars. of $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{-}$, the relative ⁷Non-standard variant $\text{tre}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\bar{-}$

81

Paradigms Illustrating Table 5

$\text{ai}\bar{r}-\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\text{tra}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$ & $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$
$\text{ak}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\text{trek}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$, $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{ek}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$
$\text{a}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$, $\text{ap}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$, $\text{tre}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$		$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$
$\text{ape}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$			
$\text{aq}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\text{treq}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{q}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$, $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{q}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{eq}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$
$\text{ac}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\text{tre}\bar{c}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{c}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$, $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{c}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{ec}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$
$\text{an}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\text{tren}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{n}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$
$\text{ate}\tau\bar{n}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\text{tre}\tau\bar{n}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$, $\text{m}\bar{p}\bar{e}\tau\bar{n}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$		$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{e}\tau\bar{n}\bar{-}$
	$\text{tre}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$		$\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$
$\text{ay}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\text{tre}\bar{\gamma}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$	$\bar{n}\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{-}\text{c}\omega\tau\tau\text{an}$

82 The penultimate personal object morph seems to express undifferentiated 3d person. This set contains only one morph, which occurs however in many variant forms. (Very rare.)

3d $-\epsilon\bar{-}$, vars. $-\epsilon\bar{c}\bar{-}$, $-\bar{c}\bar{-}$, $-\bar{c}\bar{q}\bar{-}$, $-\bar{q}\bar{-}$, $-\bar{q}\bar{c}\bar{-}$

Despite their partial resemblance to the primary set of personal intermediates, the variant forms in this set are apparently equivalent, expressing no distinction of gender and number and occurring interchangeably with one another.

This morph functions (a) as a direct object (thing possessed) suffixed immediately to the verboid base $\sigma\gamma\eta\tau(\lambda)\neq$, $\mu\eta\tau(\lambda)\neq$ 'have/not have' and followed by a suffixed subject; e.g. $\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\ \eta\mu\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\gamma\eta\tau-\epsilon\zeta-\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ (textual vars. $\sigma\gamma\eta\tau-\zeta-$, $\gamma\eta\tau-\epsilon-$, $\sigma\gamma\eta\tau\alpha-\zeta-$, $\sigma\gamma\eta\tau\alpha-\zeta\epsilon-$) John 16:15 (collated) $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \delta\sigma\alpha\ \xi\chi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ "All that my Father has"; $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\ \zeta\omega\omega\tau-\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}-\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\sigma\gamma\eta\tau\alpha-\zeta-\epsilon\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron-\zeta$ (collated) ShZ 387:14-15 = ShAmél I 41:2 "Just like the desire that you (-ε sing. fem.) too have for him" (such occurrences are in relative conversions or cleft sentences with the personal intermediate functioning as the resumptive morph 390[b]); (b) as a first direct object after the prepersonal state of a double-object causative verb (e.g. $\tau\tau\omicron$ 'cause . . . to give . . .'), where the first suffixed object (the thing given) is a personal morph and the second suffixed object (the one caused to give) is not: $\eta\tau-\tau\bar{\eta}-\tau\epsilon-\zeta-\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\iota\ \bar{\eta}-\eta-\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\ \eta\epsilon$ Luke 6:30 "Do not cause the one who takes away ($\pi-\epsilon\tau\theta-\zeta\iota$) your goods ($\eta-\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\eta\omicron\gamma-\kappa\ \eta\epsilon$) to give them (-ε-) back."

- 83 *Personal intermediates suffixed to the conjunctive base $\bar{\eta}\neq$ (vars. $\eta\neq$ and $\eta\epsilon\neq$) 351, mostly resembling the personal prefixes of the durative sentence 78*

	sing.	pl.
1st	$-\tau\lambda-$ ¹	$-\tau\bar{\eta}-$
2d	$-\eta-$, $-\bar{\eta}-$, $-\kappa-$ (masc.) $-\tau\epsilon-$ (fem.)	$-\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}-$
3d	$-\zeta-$, $-\bar{\zeta}-$ (masc.) $-\zeta\epsilon-$, $-\bar{\zeta}\epsilon-$ (fem.)	$-\zeta\epsilon-$

NOTE: $-\bar{\eta}-$, $-\bar{\zeta}-$, $-\bar{\zeta}\epsilon-$ occur after the base $\eta\neq$; $-\kappa-$ after $\eta\epsilon\neq$
¹ $\bar{\eta}\tau\lambda-$, but also simply $\tau\lambda-$ (with absence of the preceding base $\bar{\eta}\neq$)

- 84 *Personal intermediates as components of the possessive article 54*

	sing.	pl.
1st	$-\lambda-$	$-\epsilon\eta-$
2d	$-\epsilon\kappa-$ (masc.) $-\omicron\gamma-$ (fem.)	$-\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}-$ [?]
3d	$-\epsilon\zeta-$ (masc.) $-\epsilon\zeta-$ (fem.)	$-\epsilon\gamma-$

Thus: $\pi\lambda-$, $\pi\epsilon\kappa-$, $\pi\omicron\gamma-$, $\pi\epsilon\zeta-$ etc. 'my, your (sing. masc.), your (sing. fem.), his' etc. expanded by masc. nouns; $\tau\lambda-$, $\tau\epsilon\kappa-$, $\tau\omicron\gamma-$, $\tau\epsilon\zeta-$ etc. expanded by feminines; $\eta\lambda-$, $\eta\epsilon\kappa-$, $\eta\omicron\gamma-$, $\eta\epsilon\zeta-$ etc. expanded by masculines and by feminines

- 85 PERSONAL SUFFIXES (CF. TABLE 6)

	sing.	pl.
1st	$-\bar{\eta}$, $-\epsilon\tau$, $-\theta$, $-\tau$, $-\bar{\eta}\tau$, $-\tau$	$-\eta$, $-\bar{\eta}$, $-\epsilon\eta$
2d	$-\kappa$, $-\epsilon\kappa$, $-\bar{\kappa}$, $-\bar{\eta}$ (masc.) $-\theta$, $-\epsilon$, $-\tau\epsilon$ (fem.)	$-\tau\bar{\eta}$, $-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$
3d	$-\zeta$, $-\epsilon\zeta$, $-\bar{\zeta}$ (masc.) $-\zeta$, $-\epsilon\zeta$, $-\bar{\zeta}$ (fem.)	$-\gamma$, $-\omicron\gamma$

These morphs are suffixed to: (a) prepositions 200, $\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau-\bar{\kappa}$ "Within you"; (b) mutable transitive infinitives 167 as direct object, $\zeta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ "Choose you"; (c) inflected modifiers 152, $\zeta\omega\omega-\eta$ "We too"; (d) suffixally conjugated verboids as subject, $\eta\lambda\gamma\alpha\tau-\bar{\zeta}$ "Blessed is he!" 373, $\sigma\gamma\eta\tau\alpha-\zeta$ "She has" 383; (e) possessed nouns 138, $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau-\bar{\zeta}$ "His hand(s)"; (f) the possessive pronoun 54, $\pi\omega-\bar{\eta}$ "Mine"; (g) the inflected interjections $\alpha\zeta\omicron\pi\omicron=$ 242. (Table 6 shows the conditions under which the allomorphs occur.)

TABLE 6
CONDITIONING OF THE PERSONAL SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS
(For paradigms, cf. 86)

PERSON	TERMINATION OF PRECEDING BASE (PREPERSONAL STATE) (MOTIVATING FACTOR)				
	(1) Vowel (Not Doubled)	(2) Consonant + $\bar{\eta}\ \lambda\ \eta\ \eta\ \rho$ ¹	(3) Final τ	(4) Other Consonant	(5) Doubled Vowel
		$\zeta\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}\neq$, $\delta\omicron\omicron\lambda\neq$ $\pi\omicron\psi\eta\neq$, $\tau\lambda\zeta\mu\neq$ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\zeta\bar{\rho}\neq$	$\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\eta\eta\tau\neq$ $\zeta\omicron\tau\neq$	$\zeta\omicron\tau\pi\neq$	$\lambda\lambda\neq$ $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\neq$
<i>Sing.</i>					
1st	$\bar{\eta}$	$\epsilon\tau$	θ or τ	$\bar{\tau}$, τ , or $\bar{\eta}\tau$ ²	τ
2d masc.	κ	$\epsilon\kappa$	$\bar{\kappa}$ or κ	$\bar{\kappa}$, κ , or $\bar{\tau}$ ³	κ
2d fem.	θ ⁴	ϵ	ϵ	ϵ	$\tau\epsilon$
3d masc.	ζ	$\epsilon\zeta$	$\bar{\zeta}$ or ζ	$\bar{\zeta}$ or ζ	ζ
3d fem.	ζ	$\epsilon\zeta$	$\bar{\zeta}$ or ζ	$\bar{\zeta}$ or ζ	ζ
<i>Pl.</i>					
1st	η	$\bar{\eta}$ or $\epsilon\eta$	$\bar{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	η
2d	$(:)\ \tau\bar{\eta}$ ⁵ or $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ¹⁰	$\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ⁶	$\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ⁷	$\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ⁸	$\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ⁹
3d	$(\omicron)\gamma$ ¹¹	$\omicron\gamma$	$\omicron\gamma$	$\omicron\gamma$	$(\omicron)\gamma$ ¹²

NOTE: The paradigm of the inflected modifiers 152 is slightly irregular.

¹Final $\bar{\eta}$, λ , η , ρ of the prepersonal state forms a syllable with the personal suffix: *tah-met*. Here $-\epsilon\eta-$ is produced by union of base and suffix and is non-phonemic. Abnormally spelled manuscripts show the forms $-\tau$, $-\bar{\kappa}$, $-\epsilon$, etc. ²Poorly spelled manuscripts show the forms $-\epsilon\tau$, $-\epsilon\kappa$, $-\epsilon$, etc. $\mu\neq + \tau$ forming syllable normally occurs as $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau$ (where $\bar{\eta}$ is formed by union of base and suffix and is non-phonemic 26). ³Forming syllable with preceding $\eta\neq$; e.g. $\zeta\omicron\gamma\omega\eta-\bar{\tau}$ *swō-n'g* John 17:25 "Know You" ⁴Final $\bar{\eta}$ normally is manifested as ϵ before θ (e.g. $\eta\lambda\neq$, $\eta\epsilon-\theta$ "To you"; yet, $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\lambda\lambda\lambda-\theta$) ⁵ $(:)$ indicates that final λ and \omicron of the base normally become η and ω respectively ⁶Suffixed to the prenominal state, $\tau\epsilon\zeta\bar{\eta}-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ⁷Suffixed to either the prenominal state ($\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$, $\zeta\epsilon\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$, $\tau\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$, $\tau\bar{\eta}-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$) or the prepersonal state ($\tau\omicron\omicron\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$, $\tau\omicron\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$), depending on selection of lexeme. Rare variation occurs in some instances ($\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$, var. $\zeta\bar{\eta}-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$). Some mutable morphs only manifest a prepersonal state, $\rho\alpha\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$. ⁸Suffixed to the prenominal state $\zeta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ⁹Suffixed to the prenominal state ($\zeta\iota\omega\omega\neq$ shows anomalies: $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\tau$, $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\kappa$, $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\zeta$, $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\varsigma$, $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\eta$, $\zeta\iota\omega\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$, $\zeta\iota\omega\omicron\gamma$) ¹⁰ $(:)$ $\tau\bar{\eta}$ suffixed to the prepersonal state or sometimes $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ suffixed to the prenominal state: $\pi\epsilon\chi\lambda\neq$, $\pi\epsilon\chi\eta-\tau\bar{\eta}$ or $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$; $\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\neq$, $\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}$ or $\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$; $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\neq$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}$ or $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$; $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\neq$, $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}$, $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ¹¹Simple letter γ after λ , ϵ , η ¹²Simple letter γ after $\lambda\lambda\neq$

86 Paradigms illustrating table 6

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
ΝΑΙ	ΕΡΟΙ	ΧΩΙ	ΤΑΖΜΕΤ	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ, ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̄
ΝΑΚ	ΕΡΟΚ	ΧΩΚ	ΤΑΖΜΕΚ	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̄Κ
ΝΕ	ΕΡΟ	ΧΩ	ΤΑΖΜΕ	ΕΤΒΗΗΤΕ
ΝΑQ	ΕΡΟQ	ΧΩQ	ΤΑΖΜΕQ	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̄Q
ΝΑΣ	ΕΡΟC	ΧΩC	ΤΑΖΜΕC	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̄C
ΝΑΝ	ΕΡΟΝ	ΧΩΝ	ΤΑΖΜ̄Ν	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̄Ν
ΝΗΤ̄Ν	ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν	ΧΩΤ̄Ν	ΤΕΖ̄ΜΤΗΥΤ̄Ν	ΕΤΒΕΤΗΥΤ̄Ν
ΝΑΥ	ΕΡΟΟΥ	ΧΩΟΥ	ΤΑΖΜΟΥ	ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ
	(4)	(5)		
COTΠ̄	ΑΑΤ			
COΠ̄Κ	ΑΑΚ			
COΠ̄Ε	ΑΑΤΕ			
COΠ̄Q	ΑΑQ			
COΠ̄C	ΑΑC			
COΠ̄Ν	ΑΑΝ			
CEΠ̄ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν	Ρ̄ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν			
COΠ̄ΟΥ	ΑΑΥ			

EXPANSION OF THE PERSONAL DEPENDENT

87 A personal dependent morph can be expanded (provided with explicit lexical content) by an entity term

ΖΑΡΟ-С Ν-ΤΠΕ “Under heaven” (ShIII 96:21)

ΕΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ Ν-ΝΕΠ̄ΝΑ Ν-ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ “Into the clutches of the unclean spirits” (ShIII 48:3-4)

ΠΕΧΑ-Q ΔΕ Ν̄ΒΙ-ΙC “And Jesus said” (Luke 9:62)

ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑ-Ῑ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΡΕQ-Ρ̄-⁰ΝΟΒΕ “Be merciful to me a sinner!” (Luke 18:13)

Q-ΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟ-С ΝΤΟQ ΠΧΟΕΙC “For the Lord says” (ShIII 60:4-5)

with the mediation of \bar{n} - or $\bar{n}\delta i$ -, or in apposition. In these constructions, the personal dependent morph (c, oy, q, etc.) is a grammatical nucleus, and the expansion (тπε, νεπ̄να н-ακαθαρτον, ιc, etc.) expresses additional content in a postponed, rhetorically distinct element. Selection of mediator (\bar{n} -, $\bar{n}\delta i$ -, $\alpha\nu\omicron\kappa$, or none) depends mostly upon the syntactic context, as described below. (Mediator morphs do not have a distinct translation in English.) The number/(gender) of the personal morph anticipates and heralds the entity term; thus -c . . . тπε or -oy . . . νεπ̄να or -q . . . ιc or -ī . . . $\alpha\nu\omicron\kappa$ πιρεq-ρ̄-⁰νοβε or q- . . . нτοq πχοεις in the examples above. The missing prenominal state of certain prepositions and possessed nouns is also supplied in this way (pαт-q \bar{n} -, pαт= ‘foot/feet of’ 139).

(a) Mediated by \bar{n} -. Third person suffixes on a preposition or possessed noun are expanded by the mediation of the preposition \bar{n} - 203.

ΖΑΡΑТ- \bar{q} \bar{n} -ΟΥΖ̄ΡΩΙΡΕ “At the feet of a young man” (Acts 7:58)

ΖΗТ- \bar{c} \bar{n} -ТЕQМΑΑΥ “His mother’s womb” (Luke 1:15)

ΡΩ-ΟΥ \bar{n} -ΝΕΖΤΩΡ “(The) mouth(s) of horses” (Jas 3:3)

i. simple prepositions, e.g. $\bar{e}\rho o-q$ \bar{n} -ΝΩΖΕ Gen 7:16 “Upon Noah”; $\bar{e}\rho o-q$ \bar{n} -ΓΕΝΟC ΝΙМ \bar{n} -⁰ΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC ShChass 102:9-11 “Incumbent on all classes of Christian” (cf. 310[i])

ii. possessed nouns 138, compound prepositions, and verbs based upon them, e.g. pω-q \bar{m} -ΠΜΟΥ 2 Tim 4:17 “The lion’s mouth”; ΖΗТ-q \bar{m} -ΠΕQΤΗΗΒΕ Luke 16:24 “The end of his finger”; $\bar{n}\tau o o t-q$ \bar{m} -ΠΚΕΝΤΥΡΙΩΝ Mark 15:45 “From the centurion”; ΟΥΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC ΕQ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ ΕΡΑТ-q \bar{n} -ΟΥΡΕQ-ΜΟΥТЕ ΝQ-ΕΝ- (i.e. $\bar{n}q-\bar{n}$ -) ΖΗТ-С \bar{n} -ΟΥCΖΙМЕ ΕΠΕCΗТ ΟΥΟΙ ΑΛΗΘΩC Μ-ΠΑΙ Ν-ΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ Athanasius, Homily on Murder and Greed, and on St. Michael Archangel (Morgan M602 f.106v b.31-f.107r a:4; Dep. 116) “Any Christian who consults (goes-to-feet-of) an enchanter so as to cause an abortion (bring-down-womb-of a woman)—woe indeed to this kind of person!”

Periphrastic prenominals are also formed with invariable -q. E.g. ΖΗТ-q \bar{n} -ΝΕΖΙΟМЕ ShEnch 66a:30-32 “(The) belly of the women”; ΚΟΥΝ- \bar{q} \bar{n} -ΤΕCΖΙМЕ John the Archimandrite, Exegesis (Canon) (BritLib Or.8811 f.17v b:4-5; Layt. 85) “(The) womb of the woman.” A personal second suffix 88 as subject, following a penultimate personal object morph 82, is expanded by the mediation of \bar{n} -; e.g. $\bar{n}\kappa\alpha$ ΝΙМ $\bar{e}\tau e$ -ΟΥΝТА-СQ- \bar{q} \bar{m} -ΠΡΩМЕ Job 2:4 “All that a man has”; cf. 390(c).

First and 2d person suffixes are incompatible with such expansion; for suppletions, cf. (c) below. For ΟΥΝТА-СQ- \bar{q} \bar{n} - cf. 388.

(b) Mediated by $\bar{n}\delta i$ -. Third person morphs with subject function, in all nexus patterns where they occur, are expanded by mediation of the preposition $\bar{n}\delta i$ -, which is compatible with all non-personal entity terms.

ΝΕC- \bar{m} ΜΑΥ ΔΕ $\bar{n}\delta i$ -ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΓΔΑΛΗΝΗ Μ̄Ν-ΤΚΕΜΑΡΙΑ “Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were there” (Matt 27:61)

ΑQ-ΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ $\bar{n}\delta i$ -ΙΩCΗΦ “Joseph got up” (Matt 1:24)

Ζ̄М-ΠΤРЕΥ- $\bar{n}\kappa o t k$ ΔΕ $\bar{n}\delta i$ - $\bar{n}\rho\omega\mu e$ “While people were sleeping” (Matt 13:25)

ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΩΩ-ΟΥ ΟΝ $\bar{n}\delta i$ -ΝΑΡГОC “But the lazy, too, are numerous” (ShIII 115:1-2)

ΟΥΝТ- \bar{q} -⁰ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ \bar{m} ΜΑΥ $\bar{n}\delta i$ -ΠΩΗΡΕ \bar{m} -ΠΡΩМЕ “The Son of Man has authority” (Mark 2:10)

$\bar{n}\delta i$ - can also resume the actor expression (-eq-) in formations like TEQ \bar{b} IN-СΩΠ̄ “His activity of choosing” 109(ii) as a synonym of ΠΤРЕQ-СΩΠ̄ $\bar{n}\delta i$ - . . . : e.g. ΠΤΩΩ Μ-ΠΕΙΟΥCΕΙΩ Μ̄Ν-TEQ \bar{b} IN-ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ν-ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΝΖΗТ-q $\bar{n}\delta i$ -ΠΝΟΥТЕ ShAméI I 90:4-5 “The situation of this present age and, within it, God’s activity of forgiving our sins.”

First and 2d person subjects are incompatible with such expansion (for suppletions, cf. [c]); except that the phrase $\bar{\nu}\delta\iota-\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha \rho\omicron\gamma\alpha \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ “Each of (us, you)” can expand a 1st or 2d person pl. subject, e.g. $\nu\omega\kappa \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta-\kappa\tau\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta \bar{\nu}\delta\iota-\tau\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota \mu\mu\omega-\tau\eta \epsilon-\pi\eta\acute{\iota} \eta-\tau\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$ Ruth 1:8 “Go now, each of you return to the house of her mother.” (For lexical expansion of the subject pronoun $\eta\epsilon$ in nominal sentence Pattern 6, cf. 275.)

Further examples: ἀγ-εἰ δε ἄνδ-αν-α-χπ-μῆτοϋε Matt 20:9 “Those hired about (literally, related to) the eleventh hour came”; ἀγ-οὔωϋβ δε ἄνδ-πн John 9:25 “He answered”; τότε σε-να-σκанаααλize ἄνδ-ζαγ Matt 24:10 “And then many will fall away”; ζῆ-τεροϋεῖτε νεγ-ωοоп ἄνδ-πwαxe John 1:1 “In the beginning was the Word”; се-на-ωυπε ἄνδ-зенмаῖн Luke 21:25 “There will be signs”; νεγ-ωοоп δε ζαггн-н пе ἄνδ-саγῗ ἄ-con Matt 22:25 “Now there were seven brothers among us”; се-боpῗ гаp ep-o-г ἄνδ-⁰ζογo ε-зме ἄ-pωme Acts 23:21 “For more than forty men lie in ambush for him”; ἀγ-сгwe ἄνδ-згггг-⁰ Rev 10:10 “My stomach was made bitter”; ἄνδ-οϋон нм Luke 21:15, ἄнδ-пмῡῡ Matt 20:24, ἄнδ-ἡακαῖος Matt 25:37, ἄнδ-ἡсавн Matt 25:9, ἄнδ-ἡкеμαεηтс John 20:25, ἄнδ-ἡқаῖ-⁰ωпe Luke 7:24, ἄнδ-невол ζῆ-οἡταλῖа Heb 13:24, ἄнδ-οϋpωme ἄ-pῡмао Matt 27:57, ἄнδ-тweepe ωнм Matt 9:24, ἄнδ-οϋноб ἄ-хамн Matt 8:26, ἄнδ-кеоϋннв Heb 7:11, ἄнδ-сноq нм ἄ-ακαῖος Matt 23:35, ἄнδ-а-ωмт-ωо ἄ-ψγхн Acts 2:41, ἄнδ-пeῖкесoоγ ἄ-con Acts 11:12, ἄнδ-зoεῖne ἄ-неpгамматеϋс Matt 12:38, ἄнδ-наῖ ет-⁰ммаγ ShIII 133:11-12, ἄнδ-н-еῡ-⁰ммаγ ShIII 160:22

- (c) *Apposition*. First and 2d person morphs (which are incompatible with expansion through \bar{n} - and $\bar{n}\delta$!) are expanded by apposition **149**; a proper noun in apposition must be mediated by $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa$ etc. **129(d)**.

τῆ-να-βωκ γάρ ἐζοῦν ἐ-περμα ἡ-μῶν ἡ-ἐντ-αῦ-πίστευε
 “For we, who have believed, will enter His place of rest” (Heb 4:3)
 ὧγε δε ἐρο-ν ἀνὼν ἡ-ἐτε-οῦν-⁰βρω ἡμο-οῦ ἐ-⁰τρην-γι
 ἡ-μῶν-δωβ “It is right for us, who are strong, to bear with the fail-
 ings” (Rom 15:1)
 πεγαγγελιον . . . παῖ ἐντ-αῖ-ωωπε να-γ ἀνοκ παῦλος ἡ-⁰κηνρῆ
 αἰω ἡ-⁰διακονος “The gospel . . . of which I, Paul, became a herald
 and minister” (Col 1:23)

Third person morphs are optionally expanded by apposition, to form a syntactically and rhetorically distinct element (and contrasting with expansion through \bar{n} - and $\bar{n}\phi$ -).

q-χω γαρ μμο-с ντοq πχοεic “For the Lord says (For He, the Lord, says)” (ShIII 60:4-5)

All three persons (1st, 2d, 3d) can be expanded by the appositive attributive construction **408**.

ἀλλὰ ἐτιβηήτ-ν ῥωω-ν ὅν ναὶ ἐτοῦ-να-ὀπ-ς ἐρο-οῦ “But also for the sake of ourselves, to whom it will be reckoned” (Rom 4:24)

88 PERSONAL SECOND SUFFIXES

	sing.	pl.
1st	-т	[?], -сн
2d	-к, -с-к, -т-к (masc.) [?] (fem.)	-тн-ч-тн̄
3d	-ч or -с-ч (masc.) -с (fem.)	-с-е or -с-о-ч

- (a) express the direct object after personal conjugation of οὐκ ἔστιν, μὴ ἔστιν ‘have/not have’, and thus are suffixed to a personal intermediate **390(e)**; e.g. πκε ετε-οὐκ ἔστιν-ε-ε Matt 13:12 “Even what he has”
- (b) express the direct object after $c_2\lambda i$ = ‘write’, $\tau\eta\nu\theta ooy$ = ‘send (hither)’, τooy = ‘buy’, χooy = ‘send (thither)’, and θooy = ‘make narrow’; after the double-object infinitive $\dagger n\alpha$ = ‘give . . . unto’ **173**; and after transitive special affirmative imperatives ending in i = ($\lambda n i$ = ‘bring’, $\lambda p i$ = ‘make’, $\lambda \gamma e i$ = ‘bring’, and $\lambda \chi i$ = ‘say’) **366(b)**

Examples: $\eta\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\tau\bar{\eta}\nu\nu\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\epsilon\epsilon$ Matt 21:3 “He will send them”; $\alpha\eta\iota\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ Luke 19:27 “Bring them here”; $\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\varsigma\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\text{-}\iota\ \epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ Matt 17:17 “Bring him here to me”; $\chi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\iota\epsilon\text{-}\tau\eta\nu\nu\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\tau\kappa\ \psi\alpha\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ Theodosius of Alexandria, Encomium on St. John Baptist (Morgan M583 f.44r a: 31–b: 1; Dep. 164) “So that I might send you to them”; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\eta\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\chi\iota\text{-}\rho\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\eta\nu\nu\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\ \psi\alpha\rho\omicron\text{-}\kappa$ ibid. f. 45r a: 7–10 “So that we might bring the news to those who sent us to you”; $\alpha\eta\omicron\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\kappa\ \mu\mu\alpha\gamma\ \zeta\omega\varsigma\text{-}^{\theta}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ Prochorus, Acts of St. John Evangelist (Morgan M576 f.2v b: 13–15; Dep. 102) “As for us, we think of you as a father” (We have you as a father)

- (c) are required as the second suffixed personal object after a double-object causative verb (τῆμο, τσο, ττο, τχο) **172**; e.g. ἡῑ-το-κ-σε ἡραστε Sir 20:15 (20:14 Lagarde) “And tomorrow he will make you give (ττο=) them back”
- (d) express the subject when suffixed to a penultimate personal object morph that is attached to οῡἡτα=ἡἡτα= ‘have/not have’ **390(c)**; e.g. ἡκα ἡἡ ἡτε-οῡἡτα-κ-ῑ ἡ-πρωμε Job 2:4 “All that a man has” (Every thing such that he [-ῑ] has it, namely the man)

ZERO (\emptyset) AS AN EXPRESSION OF PERSON

- 89 The absence of any overt morph after a prepersonal state (table 7) expresses
- i. 1st sing. (var. of $-\bar{T}$), after morphs ending in $\tau \neq$
 - ii. 2d sing. fem. (alt. of $-\epsilon$), after morphs ending in a vowel

PERSONAL MORPHS

TABLE 7
ZERO MORPHS AS A SIGNAL AFTER PREPERSONAL STATES

PREPERSONAL STATE	PERSON EXPRESSED BY ZERO MORPH	
	1st Sing.	2d Sing. Fem.
Mutable infinitives ending in τ=	-∅
Prepositions ending in τ=	-∅
Any prepersonal state ending in α=, ¹ η=, ο=, or ω=	-∅
Conjugation base α=	-∅ ²
Conjugation bases τρε=, $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon=$, $\bar{\mu}\pi\tau\tau\epsilon=$	-∅

EXAMPLES: $\varphi\omicron\tau-\emptyset$ 'Obliterate me'; $\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau-\emptyset$ 'In me'; $\epsilon\rho\omicron-\emptyset$ 'Against you (sing. fem.)'; $\tau\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\omicron-\emptyset$ 'Teach you (sing. fem.)'; $\alpha^0-\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ 'You (sing. fem.) chose'; $\tau\tau\epsilon^0-\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ '(To) make you (sing. fem.) choose'

¹The phoneme /a/ is normally manifested as ε before 2d sing. fem. -∅; e.g. $\eta\epsilon-\emptyset$ 'to you'

²Varies with -ρ- and -ρε- (giving $\alpha^0-\lambda\rho-\lambda\rho\epsilon-$)

PERSONAL RECIPROCITY

- 90 Personal reciprocity ('one another') is expressed by the common noun $\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ expanding a possessive article.

$\alpha\gamma-\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}-\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ 'They said to one another' (Luke 4:36)

The personal element within the possessive article—e.g. $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ —always refers back to an entity term (usually plural) previously expressed or implied in the sentence. The possessive person agrees in person/number/(gender) with this antecedent: thus $\alpha\gamma-\dots\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$.

Further examples: $\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\nu}-\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\bar{\eta}-\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Rom 12:5 'We are the members of one another'; $\alpha\rho\iota-\emptyset\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\zeta}\alpha\lambda\bar{\eta}-\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Gal 5:13 'Be servants of one another' ($\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}-$ resolves the plurality of persons addressed in the imperative); $\varsigma\epsilon-\eta\alpha-\varsigma\kappa\alpha\eta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{\delta}\iota-\bar{\zeta}\alpha\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}-\eta\varsigma\epsilon-\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}-\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma\bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\epsilon-\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Matt 24:10 'Many will stumble, and betray one another, and hate one another'; $\pi\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon-\emptyset\tau\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}-\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\varsigma\bar{\alpha}-\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\zeta}\iota\tau\bar{\eta}-\tau\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau^0-\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}-\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Rom 1:12 'And this means for us to encourage one another by each other's faith'; $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}-\omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau-\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \pi\omega\rho\chi\ \epsilon-\eta\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Mark 3:24 'If a kingdom (collective noun 108[a]) are divided against one another'; $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\bar{\eta}-\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\omega\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}-\kappa\omega\tau\ \pi\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \pi\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{\mu}-\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ 1 Thess 5:11 'Encourage one another and build one another up'

5

Nouns

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DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

- 91 The 'noun' is a set of word classes
 (1) Common noun
 Gendered, ρωμε 'person/human' 104
 Genderless, νοβ 'great (one)' 113
 (2) Proper noun, μαρια 'Mary' 126
 (3) Possessed noun, ρω= 'mouth of . . . ' 138

whose distinguishing features are

i. that they are 'lexemes', i.e. basic units of Coptic vocabulary whose meanings are particular rather than general (as distinct from the general terms that express grammatical categories, such as determinators, specifiers, personal morphs, etc.), and also

ii. that they can occur as *entity terms* 141, which present or refer to an object of thought (as distinct from predicating a process or action, or expressing a relationship)

Common and proper nouns are very numerous classes; the possessed noun is a small and closed class. The common noun comprises two sets, gendered 104 and genderless 113; their characteristics are individually described later in this chapter.

COMMON NOUNS (GENDERED AND GENDERLESS)

ACTUALIZATIONS OF THE LEXEME: ENTITY TERM AND ATTRIBUTIVE

- 92 When considered abstractly, apart from actual sentences, Coptic common noun lexemes are just virtual possibilities stored in memory for eventual utterance (terms in an abstract, potential linguistic repertory). The occurrence of a lexeme in an actual written or spoken text is its 'actualization'. There are two basic syntactic constructions by which any common noun lexeme can be actualized:
- (a) It can be actualized in an 'entity term construction', i.e. an article phrase 43 or specifier phrase 64. Entity terms (discussed in chapter 6) are, by definition, syntactically interchangeable items that present or refer to an object of thought (as distinct from predicating a process or action or expressing relationship) 141. E.g. παῖκαῖος "The righteous (person)," πετ̄ν̄ρρο "Your king," ογ̄νοβ "A big one," ϑ̄ροφ̄ητης "Prophet(s)," ϣομ̄ντ̄ ν-ζοογ "Three days."
- (b) It can be actualized in an 'attributive construction' 96. Attributive terms 'modify' (i.e. descriptively expand) another noun. There are three syntactic patterns that express an attributive term; e.g. τεϛζ̄β̄ϛω ν-̄ρρο Acts 12:21 "His royal robe," ζεν̄ωηρε ϣ̄ημ Matt 11:16 "Some little children," ογ̄νοβ̄ μ-μ̄ηηϣε John 6:5 "A great multitude."

DENOTATION AND DESCRIPTION: INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ENTITY TERM

- 93 Entity term constructions 92(a) can present/refer to an object of thought in two alternative 'semantic functions' (resulting in two kinds of meaning): denotation or description.

- (a) In 'denoting', an entity term construction names, as a particular instance of a class or as a unique individual, some entity or entities; e.g. $\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$ "This woman" (particular instance), $\tau\mu\epsilon$ "The truth" (unique/generic entity), $\gamma\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}-\Delta\Delta\iota\mu\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ "Many demons" (particular instances). The denotative function is also present in all proper nouns 126 and in possessed nouns 138, e.g. $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ "Mary," $\rho\omega-\bar{\iota}$ "My mouth."
- (b) In 'describing', an entity term construction speaks of an entity by its quality, $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\delta$ "A big one"; activity, $\pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon\varsigma-\rho-\bar{\theta}\nu\omicron\beta\epsilon$ "This sinner"; relationship, $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\pi\epsilon$ "The one from above" 302; or selection within a group, $\pi\mu\epsilon\gamma-\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ "The fourth one"—but without explicitly naming (denoting) the particular entity to which it refers. (The function of description is also performed by attributive constructions 96; e.g. . . . $\bar{\mu}-\mu\epsilon$ "True"; $-\nu\omicron\delta\bar{\nu}$. . . "Large.")

For the amplified descriptive entity term, of the form $\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\mid\lambda\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}-\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ "The one who is just and holy," cf. 100.

According to these two functions, an article or specifier can express two alternative kinds of meaning in relation to its noun: (i) 'one specimen (the one, two, many, etc.) belonging to the lexical class of . . . ' (denotation); and (ii) 'one specimen (the one, two, many, etc.) having the quality of the lexical class of . . . ' (description).

Lexemes in the class of genderless common noun 113 can only describe: $\pi\omicron\kappa\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ 'wicked', $\gamma\alpha\epsilon$ 'last', $\omega\eta\mu$ 'small, few'. Those in the class of gendered common noun 104 can both denote and describe: $\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'a person'/'a human entity, human'; $\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$ 'a lamp'/'a luminous entity, luminous'; $\omicron\gamma\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ 'a king'/'a royal entity, royal'. Cf. table 8.

TABLE 8
DISTRIBUTION OF POSSIBLE SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS OF THE NOUN AS ENTITY TERM

NOUN AS ENTITY TERM	DENOTATIVE FUNCTION	DESCRIPTIVE FUNCTION
Genderless common noun	—	always
Gendered common noun	x	x
Proper noun	always	—
Possessed noun	always ¹	—

¹Meaning usually merges with another element in a compound verb or preposition

Ambiguity of the gendered common noun. The distinction between denotation and description in the gendered common noun (table 8) is ambiguous since, with one exception, it is not signalled by the form of actualization. Rather, the reader or listener interprets in accordance with signals in the larger textual

argument, sentence pattern, selection of article, semantic character of the noun lexeme, and other contextual factors.

However, in a def. sing. article phrase if the article $\pi-/τ-$ disagrees with the grammatical gender 105 of the noun lexeme, this disagreement unambiguously signals a descriptive entity term. E.g.

$\mu\epsilon$ fem. noun ($\tau\mu\epsilon$ "Truth")

$\pi-\mu\epsilon$ (δ) $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ "The True, The entity of masc. grammatical gender having the quality of $\mu\epsilon$ " (Rev 19:11, 1 John 5:20); descriptive entity term

$\pi\bar{\lambda}\delta\epsilon$ masc. noun ($\pi\pi\bar{\lambda}\delta\epsilon$ "The rag")

$\tau-\pi\bar{\lambda}\delta\epsilon$ "The tattered one (i.e. $\omega\tau\eta\eta$ 'garment' fem.), The entity of fem. grammatical gender having the quality of $\pi\bar{\lambda}\delta\epsilon$ " (Luke 5:36); descriptive entity term

$\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ fem. noun ($\tau\epsilon\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ "The wonder, The amazement")

$\pi\epsilon-\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ "The terrible one, The entity of masc. grammatical gender having the quality of $\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ " (Dan 9:4); descriptive entity term

Such constructions are rare. Overall, gendered common nouns are usually denotative except when they have the role of predicate in the nominal sentence 292, where descriptive function often occurs, typically formed with $\omicron\gamma-$ or $\gamma\epsilon\kappa-$; e.g. $\gamma\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon$ "They are true, They are ones having the quality of $\mu\epsilon$."

GREEK SUBSTANTIVES AND ADJECTIVES IN COPTIC

- 94 Greek substantives occur in Greco-Coptic as gendered common nouns ($\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ masc. 'angel') and Greek adjectives, as genderless common nouns ($\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ 'lawless person').

DEGREES OF DESCRIPTIVE MEANING (COMPARATIVE, SUPERLATIVE)

- 95 Degrees of descriptive meaning (cf. English *comparative* and *superlative*) are expressed by addition of a preposition of inclusion or exclusion, or by some other element of the context. E.g. $\pi\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota\ \alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron-\gamma\ \pi\kappa\omicron\delta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron-\gamma\ \pi\epsilon$ Matt 11:11 "He who is *least* is greater than he" (The small one compared to him is the great one compared to him); $\pi\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\delta$ Acts 8:10 "The greatest of them"; $\alpha\omega\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\kappa\omicron\delta\mid\pi\kappa\omicron\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\pi\ \pi\epsilon\mid\chi\bar{\nu}-\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\tau\bar{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\ \bar{\mu}-\pi\kappa\omicron\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\pi$ Matt 23:17 "For which is greater, the gold or the temple that makes the gold sacred?"

ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMMON NOUN

- 96 Survey of patterns. Only common nouns (gendered and genderless) can be actualized as an attributive term. Attributive terms perform the function of description 93(b). Common nouns occur in 'attributive' position in one or more of the following constructions, according to their compatibility (table 9).

Note that an attributive can only modify a *gendered* common noun (or its equivalent, the commonized proper noun **136**).

In ShYoung No.28 π:13–22 the indef. pronouns *zoine* and *zenkooye*, in anaphoric parallel to *zenrwme*, are modified by an attributive noun: *zenrwme m-prōphētēs zoine n-apōstolos zenkooye n-kritēs m-me zoine m-parēnōs zenkooye n-nant n-req-† zoine ay-qī m-peycfōs ay-oyaz-oy nsa-pxoēs* “Some who were [attributive expressing occupation **99**] prophets, some who were apostles, others who were just judges, some who were virgins, others who were generous compassionate people—some, at least, took up their cross and followed the Lord.”

- (a) Main patterns (where π- stands for any article except . . . *nim*; and *n̄*- includes alt. *m̄*- **21** and vars. **22**)

- (1) π- Gendered Common Noun *n̄*- Attributive Noun **99**
ποεικ *m̄*-*mē* “The true bread”
- (2) π- Gendered Common Noun Attributive Noun **101**
τωερε *ωhm* “The little girl”
- (3) π- Attributive Noun *n̄*- Gendered Common Noun **102**
τνοδ *n̄*-*ōm* “The great power”

- (b) When the article is . . . *nim*, these constructions have the following alternant forms:

- (1) Gendered Common Noun *nim* *n̄*- Attributive Noun
πνα *nim* *n̄*-*akathartōn* “All the *unclean* spirits”
- (2) Gendered Common Noun Attributive Noun *nim*
ωhre *ωhm* *nim* “All the *male* children”
- (3) Attributive Noun *nim* *n̄*- Gendered Common Noun
πονηρος *nim* *n̄*-*rwme* “Every *vile* person”

TABLE 9
COMPATIBILITY OF COMMON NOUNS WITH THE
THREE ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

CLASS OF COMMON NOUN	COMPATIBILITY ACCORDING TO TYPE OF ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTION		
	(1) Mediated 99	(2) Unmediated 101	(3) Inverted 102
Gendered	All	.....	.....
Genderless	All ¹	Only κογι νοδ, ωhm	All ²

¹Except *ωhm* and composites based on invariable *pet-* **110**. The syntax of composites based on *pa-* **111** is obscure. ²Except *ac*, *v̄re*, *ka-me*, and *caie* **114(c)**

As table 9 displays, only genderless common nouns (e.g. *ponēros* ‘wicked’) occur in more than one construction, e.g. *ponēros* ‘wicked’ occurs in both (1) and (3).

97 One attributive term elaborating another

i. by coordination or disjunction, e.g. *nezbh̄ye n-dikaion ayw n-tbbo zi-me* ShIII 34:17 “Deeds that are just and pure and true”; *ōynoō h zennoō m-mhsthrion* ShAmél I 281:9 “One or more great mysteries”; *zennoō n-rwme on ne zi-noō n-czime* ShAmél I 65:11–12 “They are also adult men and adult women”

ii. by expansion, e.g. *laay n-zwb n-nobe m-moy* ShIII 156:19 “Any *mortally* sinful deed”; *peir̄pe m-moynḡ n-bix* Mark 14:58 “This temple that is made *with hands*” (This *hand* made temple)

iii. by reiteration (cf. **62**), e.g. *n̄kolacis m̄-mine mine* ShChass 183:45–47 “The diverse punishments” (The punishments of one kind after another)

- 98** Specific negation of the attributive noun. The grammatical relationship of the attributive, as an individual component of the text, can be negated by the enclitic *an*, which usually comes after the target of negation. E.g. *tnoō n-sknhn̄ et̄⁰-xhk̄ eboā m̄-moynḡ n-bix an ete-pāi pe n-ta-peei-cwnt̄ an* Heb 9:11 *Tῆς μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς οὐ χειροποιήτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως* “The greater and more perfect tent, *not made with hands*, that is, not of this creation.”

The three attributive constructions of the common noun

99 Pattern 1: the mediated attributive construction

Below, π- stands for any article except . . . *nim*.

π- Gendered Common Noun *n̄*- Attributive Noun

ποεικ *m̄*-*mē* “The true bread” (John 6:32)

τεσκnhn̄ *m̄*-*mē* “The true tent” (Heb 8:2)

ογρwme *n̄*-*dikaiōs* “A righteous man” (Mark 6:20)

Attributives in this construction include: all gendered common nouns; and all genderless common nouns (except *ωhm* ‘small’). Cf. table 9, above.

The most frequent attributive construction of the noun. The attributive noun (*mē*, *dikaiōs*) is mediated by the morph *n̄*- **203** and follows the term that it modifies. Two bound groups are formed, which can be separated by an autonomous morph such as *de*.

This is the only construction in which a *gendered* common noun can be actualized as an attributive. (Such attributives usually require an adjective translation in English: e.g. the lexeme *pro* ‘king’ actualized as an attributive *n̄-pro* means “royal” βασιλικός Acts 12:21.) For *n̄-oywt*, cf. **158**.

When the article is . . . *nim*, the pattern assumes the following form:

Gendered Common Noun nim n̄- Attributive Noun

ζωβ *nim n̄-αγαθον* “Every good work” (2 Cor 9:8)

Further examples of *gendered common nouns actualized as attributive nouns*: *ρωμε* ‘human being’, *n̄-ρωμε* 1 Cor 2:13 “*Human*” (ἄνθρωπινῃ); *σωμα* ‘body’, *n̄-σωμα* Luke 3:22 “*Bodily*” (σωματικῶς); *κακε* ‘darkness’, *n̄-κακε* Luke 11:36 “*Dark*” (σκοτεινός); *ωνε* ‘stone’, *n̄-ωνε* John 2:6 “*Stone* [adjective]” (λιθινός); *ογοειν* ‘light’, *n̄-ογοειν* Matt 17:5 “*Bright*” (φωτεινός); *ωπηρε* ‘amazement’, *n̄-ωπηρε* 1 Pet 2:9 “*Marvelous*” (θαυμαστός); *βολ* ‘falsehood’, *n̄-βολ* 2 Pet 2:3 “*False*” (πλάστος); *μντ-ρμν-ζητ* ‘intelligence’, *n̄-μντ-ρμν-ζητ* ShChass 104:3-4 “*Intelligent*”; *μντ-ζηκε* ‘poverty’, *n̄-μντ-ζηκε* ShIV 162:20 “*Cheap, poor*”; *νιγε ντε-πνουτε* “*Breath of God*,” *n̄-νιγε ντε-πνουτε* 2 Tim 3:16 “*Inspired by God*” (θεόπνευστος); *χνουγ* ‘to burn’, *βρβρ* ‘to boil’, *ογπλγн n̄-χνουγ* *n̄-βρβρ* ShIII 50:5 “*A burning, boiling plague*”; *πιε* (πειθειν) ‘to persuade’, *ογπαρδακμα n̄-πιε* ShIII 42:8 “*A convincing example*.” *Examples with genderless common nouns*: *зенρωме n̄-понηρος* ShIV 206:12 “*Wicked people*”; *зенсвω n̄-ωμμο* Heb 13:9 “*Strange teachings*”; *ταιαθηκ n̄-βρρε* Matt 26:28 “*The new covenant*”; *ω тгенеа n̄-ат-наzte* Mark 9:19 “*O faithless generation*”; *ογρωме p̄-ρεq-p̄-⁰нове* Luke 5:8 “*A sinful man*”; *пмоу n̄-μεz-снау* Rev 2:11 “*The second death*”

The mediated attributive also expresses *occupation, type, and citizenship*. E.g. *(ο)γρωме n̄-εωωт* Matt 13:45 “*A merchant (A person who is a merchant)*”; *εμzαα n̄-μnote* Proclus of Constantinople, Homily on St. John Baptist (Rossi I 3 118[56] b:1-2) “*The doorkeeper (The servant girl who is the doorkeeper)*”; *ογρωме n̄-ογннв* Lev 21:9 “*A man who is a priest*”; *нток пе παxс* (i.e. *παχοεις*) *n̄-сон* Life and Martyrdom of Eustathius, Theopista, and Their Children (BMar 121:1) “*You are my lord brother*” (noble title of respect for elder brother); *тc пнаzωpαιος παі ενт-αq-ωωπε n̄-ογρωме n̄-профнтис n̄-αγναтос zм-φωв nm-пωαxε* Luke 24:19 “*Jesus of Nazareth, who became a man who was a prophet, mighty in deed and word*” (ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ προφήτης δυνατός ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ); *ογρωме n̄-εбωω n̄-сioγp̄ n̄-αγнастис нте-καναакн тp̄ω n̄-небооω* Acts 8:27 “*A man who was an Ethiopian, a eunuch, and a minister of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians.*”

At a level of analysis broader than the bound group, in the spoken language the modified and the attributive seem to have formed a single unit (colon) under one primary stress accent. The cohesiveness of such units sometimes appears to be reflected in written expression, by loss of vowel (or substitution of *ε*) in the modified, e.g. *ωp̄ n̄-ογωт* = *ωнpe n̄-ογωт* “*Only son*.”

Not to be confused with Pattern 1 is the gendered common noun denoting a container or quantity amplified by the partitive preposition *n̄-*, *μμο=* “of” 203: *ογαпот n̄-μмоу* Mark 9:41 “*A cup of water*”; *ογαгелн δε n̄-рip ε-наzω-ογ* Matt 8:30 “*A herd of many swine*”; *зенкемннωε n̄-ωαxε* Acts 2:40 “*Many other words*” (Additional multitudes of words).

100

Amplification of a descriptive entity term by a mediated attributive construction (“The one who is . . . and who is . . .”) has the following form; linkage by a conjunction 231 such as *αγω* is optional.

Descriptive Entity Term | (αγω) n̄- Common Noun

παικαιος | αγω *n̄-αγαθος n̄-ζοpω-⁰ζηт*

“The one who is just | and holy and patient” (ShGué 16b:10)

Further example: *пωан-зтн-q n̄-заpω-⁰знт ετε-наzε-πεqна* ShIII 123:13-14 “*The One Who is compassionate and patient and Whose mercy is great*”

101 Pattern 2: the unmediated attributive construction

Below, *π-* stands for any article except . . . *nim*.

π- Gendered Common Noun Attributive Noun

тωεερε *ωнм* “The little girl” (Matt 9:24)

Attributives occurring in this construction include only: the genderless common nouns *κογi* ‘small’, *ноб* ‘large’, and *ωнм* ‘small’. This is the usual construction of *ωнм*; but for *κογi* and *ноб* it is unusual and presumably expresses a special nuance. Cf. table 9, p. 80.

The attributive noun (*ωнм*) is *not* mediated by the morph *n̄-* and is autonomous 28; it follows the term that it modifies. E.g. *зенωнpe κογi* Mark 10:13 “(Some) little children”; *νεχαpиcма nob* 1 Cor 12:31 “The great spiritual gifts.” (Two bound groups are formed, which can be separated by an autonomous morph such as *δε*; e.g. *пωнpe δε ωнм аз-αγzανε* Luke 1:80 “And the child grew.”)

When the article is . . . *nim*, the pattern assumes the following form (with *nim* after the unmediated attributive noun):

Gendered Common Noun Attributive Noun nim

ωнpe ωнм nim “All the male children” (Matt 2:16)

102 Pattern 3: the inverted attributive construction

Below, *π-* stands for any article except . . . *nim*.

π- Attributive Genderless Noun n̄- Gendered Common Noun

пноб n̄-ноyтe “The great God” (Titus 2:13)

тноб n̄-бom “The great power” (Acts 8:10)

The framework of this pattern is like Pattern 1 (*π- . . . n̄- . . .*) 99, but the positions of attributive and modified term are reversed, so that the attributive comes first. Compared to Pattern 1, this inversion expresses rhetorical affect or a special nuance in the attributive: e.g. *ογпонηρος n̄-ρωме* “A vile person” (Pattern 3, affective) versus *ογρωме n̄-понηρος* “A wicked person” (Pattern 1, normal); cf. 116.

The article expresses the gender of the gendered common noun that it actualizes (*π- . . . noyтe, т- . . . бom*), despite being separated from it. Only genderless common nouns 113 and composite nouns based on invariable *πεт-*

110 occur as attributive term in Pattern 3.

E.g. $\zeta\epsilon\sigma\phi\omicron\varsigma \bar{n}$ - $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ Matt 23:34 "Wise scribes"; $\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\theta\tau \bar{n}$ - $\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ ShAmél I 76:12 "This foolish woman"; $\theta\eta\omicron\beta \bar{n}$ - $\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ Rev 13:5 "Great utterances"; $\pi\mu\epsilon\zeta$ - $\varsigma\eta\lambda\gamma \bar{m}$ - $\mu\omicron\gamma$ Rev 20:6 "The second death"; $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\omega$ - $\tau\eta \bar{n}$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ShIII 117:5 "A person like you"; $\pi\zeta\alpha\epsilon \bar{n}$ - $\kappa\omicron\delta\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ Matt 5:26 "The last penny"

When the article is enclitic . . . $\eta\iota\mu$, the pattern assumes the following form:

Attributive Genderless Noun $\eta\iota\mu \bar{n}$ - *Gendered Common Noun*
 $\pi\omicron\eta\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma \eta\iota\mu \bar{n}$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ "Every vile person"
 (ShRossi II 3 75b:34-c:1)

(Similarly with the enclitic $\omega\eta\mu$: $\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota \omega\eta\mu \bar{m}$ - $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ - η John the Archimandrite, Exegesis [Canon] [Vienna K9028r a:28-b:2; cf. Layt. 85] "A few trivial good deeds.")

103 MODIFICATION OF THE ENTITY TERM CONSTRUCTION

Modification (descriptive expansion) of the entity term construction 92(a) has the following forms: (a) an attributive construction of the noun 96; (b) a following adverbial modifier 195(ii) (e.g. $\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\eta$ - $\tau\eta\epsilon$ ShIII 194:22 "An angel from heaven"; $\omicron\gamma\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon \epsilon$ - $\theta\chi\omicron\omicron$ - η $\eta\alpha$ - κ Luke 7:40 "Something to say to you"; $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega \pi\epsilon \epsilon$ - $\theta\tau\rho\epsilon\eta$ - $\kappa\alpha$ - $\rho\omega$ - η ShIII 224:19 "Is it time for us to keep silent?"; $\pi\omega\eta\zeta \omega\alpha$ - $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta$ Mark 10:17 "Eternal life, Living forever"; $\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\alpha \delta\epsilon \eta\alpha\mu\epsilon$ 1 Tim 5:5 "She who is really a widow"); (c) a following phrase introduced by $\chi\epsilon$ - under certain conditions 129(b) (e.g. $\omicron\gamma\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\iota\varsigma \delta\epsilon \chi\epsilon$ - $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha$ Luke 2:36 (Morgan M569) "A prophetess, Anna"); (d) a following attributive clause 404, 408; (e) other types of clausal expansion 146 (e.g. $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma \eta\tau\epsilon$ - $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \beta\eta$ - $\theta\omicron\omicron\mu \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota \epsilon\chi\eta$ - η - $\epsilon\tau$ - θ - $\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\zeta \zeta\eta$ - $\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ ShIV 121:22-23 "A time when sin will prevail over those living in this place"); (f) an inflected modifier 152 before or after the entity term construction (e.g. $\pi\varsigma\alpha\tau\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma \zeta\omega\omega$ - η Luke 11:18 "Satan also"); (g) another entity term in linkage, restrictive expansion, or apposition 144.

Several modifiers, including those of different kinds, can modify the same entity term construction, with or without linkage 145. E.g. (\omicron) $\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \bar{n}$ - $\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{m}$ - $\mu\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma \bar{m}$ - $\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma \bar{n}$ - $\eta\omicron\gamma\chi$ Acts 13:6 "A certain magician, a Jewish false prophet" (A person who was a Jew, magician, and false prophet); $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \bar{n}$ - $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma \alpha\gamma\omega \bar{n}$ - $\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\epsilon \alpha\gamma\omega \bar{n}$ - $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma \eta\alpha\mu\epsilon$ ShChass 111:35-38 "A good and wise and truly religious father"; $\eta\alpha\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma \bar{m}$ - $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha\omega$ - $\omicron\gamma$ Phil 4:1 "My beloved brethren whom I long for"; $\omega \tau\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\alpha \bar{n}$ - $\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau$ - θ - $\delta\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon$ Luke 9:41 "O faithless and perverse generation!"; $\pi\omega\eta\epsilon \bar{n}$ - $\delta\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon \acute{\eta}$ $\epsilon\tau$ - $\eta\epsilon\beta\omega$ - η ShWess9 110a:5-7 "The ugly, unseemly stone"; $\eta\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\eta$ - $\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\tau$ - θ - $\alpha\varsigma\omega\omicron\gamma$ ShAmél II 419:14-420:1 "These babblers and vain persons"; $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon \delta\epsilon \omicron\eta \epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\eta\beta$ $\alpha\gamma\omega \bar{n}$ - $\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ Acts 8:7 "And many who were paralyzed or lame"; $\zeta\epsilon\eta\varsigma\omega \bar{n}$ - $\omega\mu\mu\omicron$ $\alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\gamma$ - $\omega\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ Heb 13:9 "Strange and diverse teachings"; $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\beta \bar{n}$ - $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha \epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta \epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η $\alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\gamma$ - $\zeta\omicron\rho\omega$ Acts 25:7 "Great and serious charges against him"; $\omicron\gamma\pi\omicron\rho\eta\omicron\varsigma \bar{n}$ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\eta$ Heb 12:16 "Someone promiscuous or who is defiled"; $\omicron\gamma\chi\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\eta$ - $\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\eta$ Ps 24(25):8 "Good and upright"; $\kappa\epsilon\eta\omicron\beta \varsigma\eta\tau\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\varsigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ ShIV 108:3 "Two other female leaders" or "Two other leading women"; $\pi\eta\omicron\beta \varsigma\eta\gamma \bar{n}$ - $\rho\epsilon\eta$ - ρ - $\theta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ ShOrig 305 (Orlandi 20:37) "The two great lights";

$\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon \epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\eta\rho\alpha\eta \pi\epsilon$ $\iota\omega\varsigma\eta\phi \epsilon$ - $\gamma\upsilon\beta\omicron\gamma\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma \pi\epsilon$ \bar{p} - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \bar{n}$ - $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma \bar{n}$ - $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \pi\alpha\iota \epsilon$ - η - η - η $\alpha\eta$ $\eta\eta$ - $\pi\epsilon\gamma\omega\chi\eta\epsilon \alpha\gamma\omega \pi\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omega\upsilon \epsilon$ - $\gamma\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \pi\epsilon \zeta\eta$ - $\alpha\rho\iota\mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\alpha \tau\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma \bar{n}$ - $\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{m}$ $\pi\alpha\iota \epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\eta$ - $\delta\omega\omega\tau \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\eta\tau$ - $\varsigma \bar{n}$ - $\tau\mu\eta\tau$ - $\epsilon\rho\omicron \bar{m}$ - $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ Luke 23:50-52 "A man named Joseph, who was a member of the council, a good and righteous man, who had not consented to their purpose and deed, from the Jewish town of Arimathea, who was looking for the kingdom of God"

GENDERED COMMON NOUNS

104 'Gendered common nouns' are a very large class of nouns, which have the semantic functions of denotation and description 93. They occur as both entity terms 141

$\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ "The light," $\tau\eta\mu\epsilon$ "Truth," $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\tau$ - $\bar{p}\rho\omicron$ "A kingdom," $\zeta\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\epsilon$ "Stones," $\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ "A person," $\theta\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ "Prophets," $\pi\mu\epsilon$ "The true one" $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (Rev 19:11)

and attributive terms (only in the mediated attributive construction 99)

\bar{n} - $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ "Bright," \bar{n} - $\bar{p}\rho\omicron$ "Royal," \bar{n} - $\omega\eta\epsilon$ "Stone (adjective)," \bar{n} - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ "Human (adjective)"

They can occur as target of modification in all attributive constructions of the noun 96.

GRAMMATICAL GENDER

105 (a) *Associated gender*. Nouns in this class have an associated (inherent) grammatical gender 46, either masc. or fem.; for those denoting an entity with biological sex, gender coincides with sex. A noun's gender is expressed not by its form (rare exceptions, 107), but rather by the articles (π/τ), pronouns ($\omicron\gamma\alpha/\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$, $\pi\alpha\iota/\tau\alpha\iota$), personal morphs (q/c), and gendered cardinal numbers ($\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma/\varsigma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$), whose selection is motivated by it within the text; cf. 48, 49. Gender is motivated only when the gendered noun has the semantic function of denotation 93.

(b) *Greek nouns* of masc. and fem. gender have these same genders in Greco-Coptic; Greek neuters are masc. in Greco-Coptic. E.g. $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ "The angel"; $\eta \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma \tau\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ "The city"; $\tau\omicron \pi\eta\upsilon\mu\alpha \pi\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha \omicron\gamma \pi\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\alpha$ "The spirit."

(c) The *infinitive as actorless verbal noun* is masculine. Potentially, all infinitives 160 can occur as a masc. common noun (nomen actionis), denoting either (i) a type of action, event, or process $\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\pi\omicron$ Luke 1:14 "His birth; or (ii) the result or object of action, etc. $\zeta\epsilon\eta\chi\pi\omicron$ Prov 23:18 "Offspring." Transitive

infinitival nouns occur in all three states and also with ingressive meaning; they are non-durative 328.

Examples: πετῆ† Matt 6:1 "Your charity"; πει εβολ ᾠ-πῆλ ῥῆ-κῆμε Ps 113(114):1 "The going forth of Israel from Egypt"; πείπιε Gal 5:8 "This persuasion" (πείθειν, but the Greek original has ἡ πείσμων); οὔχπε-ῥαζ Prov 8:18 "Abundant possessions (Acquisition of many things)"; πκοοc-τ Matt 26:12 "My burial (The burying-Me)"; ῥεν† ε-ἡανοῦ-οῦ Matt 7:11 "Good gifts"; ἁχῆ-ῥκῆρῆ ῥι-ῥμοκῆκ Phil 2:14 "Without grumbling or questioning." The infinitive can occur in an attributive construction of the noun 99: οὔπαλγῆ ἡ-ῥνοῦq ἡ-ῥῥῥ ShIII 50:5 "A boiling hot plague" (cf. ῥῥῥ 'to boil').

The lexical content of the infinitive as verbal noun can be negated by the negator τῆ- 'not' 251. The combination τῆ- *Infinitive* enters into article phrases with π- and with the zero article (after ε-): πτῆ-†-ῥῥωντ δε ἡα-q ShAmél II 233:13 "Not making him angry"; πτῆ-οπ-ῥ ApophPatr 105 (Chaîne 25:2 = Z 298:7) "Not to think highly of oneself"; ἡανοῦ-ῥτῆ-οῦεμ-ῥαῖ οὔδε ε-ῥτῆ-σε-ῥῥῥ Rom 14:21 "It is right not to eat meat or drink wine."

- 106 *Anomalies.* A small number of nouns can, while denoting, motivate both masc. and fem. gender, but otherwise have the characteristics of the gendered common noun, e.g.

i. ῥῆῥαλ (masc., fem.) 'manservant, maidservant', ῥοεic (masc., fem.) 'lord, lady', ῥῥῥῥε (masc., fem.) 'young man, young woman'

ii. some species names of animals, which are constructed as both masc. and fem. in order to distinguish the biological sexes: ῥαλῥοῦ (masc., fem.) 'small dog', ῥααῃπε (masc., fem.) 'goat'. Some other species names formally distinguish the male and the female, 107.

Such nouns are also formally marked for gender by suffixation of (ῆ-)ῥοοῦτ 'male' and (ῆ-)ῥῥῥῥε 'female': οὔῥααῃπ-ῥοοῦτ, οὔῥααῃπε ἡ-ῥῥῥῥε Lev 4:23, 28 (Morgan M566 4v b:23-24, 5r a:25-26; Dep. 1) "He-goat, she-goat"; ἡῥῥῥαλ ἡ-ῥοοῦτ ἡῆ-ἡῥῥῥαλ ἡῥῥῥῥῥε Acts 2:18 "My menservants and my maidservants."

- 107 *Special formal marking for gender.* A few nouns (fewer than twenty) occur in formally related gender pairs distinguishing male and female biological sex, e.g. ῥῥο/ῥῥῥ 'king, queen'. Cf. 106(ii).

Formation. (a) Fem. distinguished by final ε accompanied by alteration or doubling of an internal vowel: ἡνοῦτ/ἡνο(ο)τε 'male/female doorkeeper', ῥον/ῥῥῥε 'brother, sister', ῥῥῥῥ/ῥῥῥῥε 'male/female friend', ῥῥῥῥε/ῥῥῥῥε 'son, daughter'; (b) fem. distinguished by final long vowel: ῥαλε/ῥαλη 'blind man/woman', ῥοq/ῥῥῥ 'male/female serpent'.

NUMBER

- 108 (a) *Collective nouns* are those which can occur in a sing. entity term construction to denote a collection of individuals (πῆῃῥε "The crowd") and can receive

cross-reference in the plural; cf. also 66(b). E.g. οὔῃῃῥε εῦ-ῥοκῥ ἡ-ῥῥῥῥε Mark 1:34 "A crowd who were afflicted with illnesses"; τῥοlic τῥῥ-ῥ ἁῦ-ῥῥοῦῥ Acts 13:44 "As for the whole city, they gathered"; πῥε-ῥεεπε ἁῦ-ῥοῦ Rev 19:21 "As for the rest, they died."

- (b) *Formal marking for individual concrete plural.* The main form of any common noun can be constructed with the plural articles: ῥῥῥῥε "The people," ῥῥῥῥ "The brothers." However, about one hundred nouns also have a distinctly plural form that is sometimes used (for some, almost persistently used) when the article phrase is plural; e.g. ἡεῥῥῃῥ Luke 8:19 "His brothers"; ῥενῥῥῥῥε Mark 15:40 "Women." Selection of this plural form seems to express the category of *individual concrete plurality*. If this is so, then ἡεῥῥῃῥ (the plural form) would mean "The brothers" as a set of individuals, whereas ῥῥῥῥ (the main form) "Brothers, the brothers" would not formally convey (be marked for) this category. (Nouns that have no plural form could not express such a distinction.) The plural form is found almost exclusively in the role of entity term and only very rarely as an attributive. It is extremely rare after ῥῥε ῥῥ-ῥῥῥ . . . "Like . . ." or the zero article, and apparently does not occur in the specifier phrase.

Formation. (i) Plur. endings containing ῥ or οῦ, viz. -ἁῦ, -εεῦ, -ῃῥ, -ῃῥε, -εῖοοῦε, -οοῦ, -οοῦε, -οῦῥ, and -ῥοῦ; e.g. ῥον/ῥῥῃῥ 'brother(s)', ῥοοῦ/ῥοῦεῖοοῦε 'water(s)', ῥῥῃῥ/ῥῥῃῥοοῦε 'animal(s)'. (ii) Plur. ending -ἁτε or -οτε; e.g. εῖοτ/εῖατε 'month(s)', εῖοτ/εῖοτε 'father(s)'. (iii) The broken plural, in which a vowel within the basic form is doubled, sometimes also being replaced by a different vowel; e.g. οῦῥοῥ/οῦῥοοῥ 'dog(s)', ῥῥῃῥ/ῥῥῥῥ 'friend(s)', ῥῥῃῥ/ῥῥῥῥ 'property (properties)'. (iv) Miscellaneous other plur. formations entailing alteration, addition, and/or deletion of vowels in the basic form; e.g. ῥῥῥῥ/ῥῥῥῥ 'village(s)', ῥοῦῥ/ῥοῦῥῥῥ 'mountain(s)', ῥῥῥῥ/ῥῥῥῥῥ 'wife, wives', ῥῥῥῥ/ῥῥῥῥῥ 'forearm(s)'. Some nouns of Greek origin form a Greco-Coptic plural in -οοῦε: ῥῥῥῥῥ/ῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ 'soul(s)'.

DERIVED AND COMPOSITE FORMS

- 109 *Gendered bases.* The following are examples of gendered bases that form common nouns; some are extended by the morph ῆ- 203. These bases do not combine freely but rather occur in a limited number of composite nouns. The gender of the composite noun is motivated by the base: thus τῥῥῥῥ-ῥῥῥ "Kingdom, Kingship" is fem. (because based on ῥῥῥῥ- fem.).

i. ῥῥῥῥ-, fem., denotes abstractions. Combines, rather widely, with common nouns, some specifiers, and other nominal bases. ῥῥῥῥ-ῥοῦτε 'divinity', ῥῥῥῥ-ῥοῥ 'greatness', ῥῥῥῥ-οῦἁ 'unity', ῥῥῥῥ-ῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ 'Latin language', ῥῥῥῥ-ἁτ[119]-ῥῥῥ 'powerlessness', ῥῥῥῥ-ῥῥῥ[120]-ῥῥῥῥ 'Coptic language'.

ii. ῥῥῥῥ-, fem., denotes kinds of action. Combines with some infinitives. ῥῥῥῥ-οῦῥῥῥῥ, ῥῥῥῥ-ῥῥ 'eating, drinking/foodstuff, drink'; ῥῥῥῥ-ῥῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ Acts of the Council of

Ephesus (Miss8 38:8–9) “Laying on of hands” (action of ordination). Meaning similar to the infinitive as verbal noun **105(c)**.

iii. **μα-ν-**, masc., ‘place of . . .’ Combines with some gendered common nouns. **μα-ν-ελοολε** ‘vineyard’, **μα-ν-ωωπε** ‘residence, dwelling place, monastic cell’, **μα-ν-ωελεετ** ‘wedding hall’.

iv. **βω-ν-**, fem., denotes species of tree or vine. Combines with some names of fruits. **βω-ν-ελοολε** ‘grapevine’, **βω-ν-χοειτ** ‘olive tree’.

v. **ζαμ-** or **ζαμ-ν-**, masc., types of artisans. Combines with some names of artisanal materials. **ζαμ-ωε** ‘carpenter’.

vi. **ειεπ-**, fem., denotes artifacts of crafts and other occupations. Combines with some names of artisanal materials. **ειεπ-νογβ** ‘gold work, gilt’, **ειεπ-ωε** ‘wooden artifact’. But also **ειεπ-ωωτ** ‘merchandise’ (based on **ωωτ** ‘merchant’).

vii. **ζογε-** or **ζογο-**, masc., ‘excess of, excessive, greater . . .’ Combines, rather widely, with common nouns and other nominal bases. **ζογε-καρπος** ‘greater harvest’, **ζογε-сζα** ‘excessive learning’, **πεζογε-μντ-ρμμο** “The immeasurable riches.”

viii. **ωογ-**, masc. (only?), ‘worthy of . . .’ Combines with some infinitives (negative **ωογ-тм-**). **ωογ-μεριτ-г** (-с, -ογ) “Worthy of being loved”; **πειωογ-тм-таγε-πεφран ζм-πειμα** ShAmél I 440:10 “This man who deserves to have his name not uttered here.”

ix. **ογν-**, **ογν-ν-** and **ρε-**, masc., form arithmetical fractions. Combine with masc. cardinal numbers, **69**. **πογν-ωομντ м-пκαζ** Rev 8:7 “A third of the earth.”

x. **са-н-**, masc., ‘maker of, dealer in’. Combines with some names of artisanal products (mostly in non-literary texts) and of vices. **са-н-хнбе** ‘seller of purple goods’, **са-м-пееооу** ‘evildoer’.

- 110** *Invariable* **пет-**, masc., ‘one who is . . .’, forms descriptive nouns of quality, describing persons and things. E.g. **ппет-зооу** “The evil one,” **зенпет-наноу-г** “Good things, Good deeds.” The base **пет-** combines with some statives **162**, **наноу= 376** ‘is good’, and **εωωε 488** ‘is right, fitting, necessary’ (e.g. **пет-ουαав** ‘saint’, **пет-зһп** ‘hidden thing, secrecy’, **пет-ωογειт** ‘empty thing, vanity’, **пет-εωωε** ‘necessary thing, necessity’). Plurals based on **наноу=** have either a formally sing. subject (**наноу-г**) or a pl. subject (**наноу-οу**), indifferently: **зенпет-наноу-г** and also **зенпет-наноу-οу** “Good things.”

Despite its masc. gender the noun based on **пет-** has two characteristics of a genderless common noun: as an attributive it can occur (indeed, usually occurs) in the inverted attributive construction **102**; its meaning is only descriptive (never denotative) **93**.

Invariable **пет-** must be carefully distinguished from the articulated attributive clause construction **411** consisting of (i) the simple def. article (**п-**, **т-**, **н-**) as antecedent, expanded by (ii) any relative converter (**ет^θ-**, **етере-**, **етз-**, **ете-**, **ент-**, **е-**), and (iii) any type of sentence pattern or predicate, affirmative or negative, that is compatible with relative conversion. Before an articulated attributive **п-ет^θ-** (etc.), no article can occur since an article is already present (the plural of **п-ет^θ-** is **н-ет^θ-**, while the def. plural

of composites based on invariable **пет-** is **мпет-**). Thus an isolated formation such as **петουαав** has two interpretations: either (i) **п-ет^θ-ουαав** (articulated attributive construction) “The holy one, The one who is holy, He who (or That which) is holy, Whoever is holy”; or alternatively (ii) **пет-ουαав** (zero article + composite formed by invariable **пет-**) “Saint(s).” The articulated attributive (**п-ет^θ-**) is much more common than composites based on invariable **пет-**.

Examples: **ουпет-ουαав τε** ShIII 57:26 “She is a saint”; **зенпет-ωογειт** ShIII 41:11 “Vain things”; **нейпет-ωογειт** Acts 14:15 “These vain things”; **εите^θαга-сон εите^θпееооу** 2 Cor 5:10 “Good or evil”; **аг-р-заз м-пееооу н-некпет-ουαав** Acts 9:13 “He has done much evil to thy saints”; **пекειωт ет^θ-зм-ппеһп** Matt 6:6 **ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ** “Your Father who is in secret”; **неккепе-һп тһр-οу** ShIII 57:21 “All her other hidden aspects”; **н-ент-ау-είρε н-мпет-наноу-г** (textual var. **н-зенпет-наноу-οу**) John 5:29 “Those who have done good (good things)”; **пенпет-ουαав н-ειωт ет^θ-таһноу ката-смот ним апа-θεοδωσιос** Theodosius of Alexandria, On St. Michael Archangel, title (BMis 321:1–3) “Our holy and in all ways glorious father Apa Theodosius”; **зен-коуи м-пет-наноу-οу е-а^θаа-у** ShIII 206:21 “Some trivial good deeds that you (fem. sing.) have done”; **ккпет-наноу-г** ShChass 88:16–17 “Any other good deed”; **ουпет-εωωε πε е-ωуаһа ахн-ωхн** Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 3 (Garitte 6:4–5) “It is fitting to pray constantly”; **ουпет-εωωε аһ пент-аї-аа-г** ShChass 43:6–8 “What I did was not a necessity”; **аһа зһн-ουпет-εωωε нт-аї-ωп-наї | н-ет^θ-ммау гар неу-егкратеуе ммау пе аһок ае зω е-неї-ωооп зһн-οуβωа еβоа** ShP 130^{488r} b:11–17 “But I suffered this out of necessity; for they used to abstain, whereas I used to live in dissolution”

As predicate in a nominal sentence, these composite nouns predicate identification with an entity term of quality (**ουпет-ωογειт τε** ShAmél II 436:5 “It is a vain thing, It is futile”) and are nearly synonymous with predicating the quality itself in a durative sentence (**се-ωογειт** 1 Cor 3:20 “They are futile”).

- 111 (a)** *Invariable* **па-** forms a composite common noun **παταδιακονια** ‘one who belongs to the διακονια (service division of a monastery)’. Its syntax is uncertain. E.g. **ουπαταδιακονια** ShIV 46:9 “One who works in the διακονια”; similarly **ουρωμε зһн-мπαταδιακονια** ShIV 45:3 “A person among those who work in the διακονια.”
- (b)** Invariable **τεїmine**, **теїзе** “such” and interrogative **ау м-mine** (etc. **301**) “what sort?” occur as expansions of the indef. articles **ογ-** and **зен-**. E.g. **н-ет^θ-мокмек е-зентеїmine** ShIII 116:21 “Those who ponder such things”.
- 112** *Composites formed with a genderless affix*. When affixed to a gendered morph, the following have no effect upon its usual associated gender:

i. The genderless prefix **ωβр-**, var. **ωβһр-** ‘fellow . . . , co- . . .’, Greek **συν-** (cf. **ωβһр/ωβеере** ‘male/female friend’); e.g. **паωβр-матої** Phil 2:25 “My fellow soldier” (**матої** is masc.); **тоуωβр-ωελεεт** Ruth 1:15 **σύν-υμφός σου** “Thy sister-in-law” (**ωελεεт** is fem.). However, if the complet-

ing element is an infinitive, $\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}$ - is an agential base (like $\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - 121). Whether the infinitive motivates masc. gender in all such compounds is unclear; e.g. $\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}$ - ρ - $\theta\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}$ Rom 16:9 "Our fellow worker." Cf. also 183.

ii. The genderless prefix $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - forms gendered masc. and fem. ordinal-number nouns only when combining with the following cardinal numbers: numbers from 'two' to 'ten'; 'twenty'; 'thirty'; and numbers above ten whose last digit is 1, 2, 8, or 9. E.g. $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\sigma\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ 'second person/thing' (masc.), $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\sigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ 'second person/thing' (fem.). For the other ordinals, cf. 123.

Examples: $\pi\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\omega\mu\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\nu}$ 2 Pet 2:5 "The eighth"; $\pi\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\sigma\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\omega\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}$ Rev 4:7 "The second beast"; $\tau\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\sigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\epsilon\pi\bar{\iota}\sigma\tau\bar{o}\lambda\eta$ 2 Pet 3:1 "The second letter"; $\pi\mu\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\sigma\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ Rev 2:11 "The second death"; $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\chi\bar{o}\gamma\tau$ - $\sigma\alpha\omega\gamma\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\rho\bar{o}\mu\pi\epsilon$ 4 Kgdms 15:1 "But in the twenty-seventh year"

Expressing 'second', $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - is also compatible with a gendered common noun followed by $\sigma\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ or $\sigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ in enclitic construction: $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\rho\bar{o}\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\sigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\pi\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\tau$ $\sigma\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$, i.e. $\tau\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ -($\rho\bar{o}\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\sigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$) and $\pi\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ -($\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\tau$ $\sigma\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$) Num 10:11 "In the second year, in the second month."

iii. The genderless suffixes (which are affixed to gendered common nouns and proper nouns)

- $\alpha\sigma$ or - $\alpha\alpha\sigma$ 'old, well aged'
- $\beta\omega\omega\bar{\nu}$ 'bad'
- $\mu\epsilon$ 'high-quality, genuine'
- $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\gamma\tau\bar{\mu}$ 'sweet' (opposite of - $\gamma\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\tau$)
- $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ 'pleasant, enjoyable'
- \bar{o} or - ω 'great, venerable'
- $\gamma\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\tau$ 'undomesticated, uncultivated, wild'

The principal (stressed?) vowel of the first element is sometimes replaced by ϵ or by no vowel (as though unstressed: $\epsilon\rho\bar{\pi}$ - or $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$ - for $\eta\rho\bar{\pi}$ - 'wine'); the second element is sometimes mediated by $\bar{\nu}$ -. E.g. $\epsilon\rho\bar{\pi}$ - $\alpha\sigma$ or $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$ - $\alpha\sigma$ or $\eta\rho\bar{\pi}$ - $\alpha\sigma$ or $\eta\rho\bar{\pi}$ - $\bar{\nu}$ - $\alpha\sigma$ 'vintage wine'; $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\mu}$ - $\mu\epsilon$ or $\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\mu}$ - $\mu\epsilon$ 'precious stone'; $\chi\bar{\iota}\tau$ - $\gamma\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\tau$, $\chi\bar{\iota}\tau$ - $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\gamma\tau\bar{\mu}$ 'wild olive, sweet olive'; $\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\bar{\mu}$ - \bar{o} "Pachomius the Great."

iv. For the numerical affixes (e.g. $\gamma\tau\bar{o}\gamma$ - 'fourfold'), cf. 71.

GENDERLESS COMMON NOUNS

113 'Genderless common nouns' are a very large class of nouns, whose only semantic function is description 93. They occur both as entity terms 141

$\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\pi}\bar{o}\eta\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\varsigma$ "A wicked (person)"; $\bar{\nu}\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ "My beloved (pl.)"; $\gamma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omega\eta\bar{\mu}$ ShIII 109:5 "A few (things)"; $\theta\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ "Sinner(s)"; $\gamma\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\omega\rho\bar{\pi}$ Matt 19:30 "Many that are first (Many *first ones*)"

and as attributive terms 96

$\bar{o}\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\sigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ "A wise person"; $\bar{o}\gamma\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\omega\eta\bar{\mu}$ "A little child"; $\pi\omega\rho\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ "The first human being"; $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\alpha\sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\alpha\rho\chi\bar{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma$ ShIII 37:17-18 "The godless high priests"

What distinguishes this class most clearly from the gendered common noun is their syntax: each genderless common noun is freely compatible with both π - and τ -; and each occurs in two or even three different attributive constructions of the noun 116 (with a small number of exceptions, table 9, p. 80). Also, genderless common nouns cannot occur as target of modification in an attributive construction of the noun. This class might also be called adjectives.

TYPES OF GENDERLESS COMMON NOUN

114 The genderless common noun comprises:

(a) A large stock (perhaps open-ended) of *borrowed Greek adjectives*, many of them occurring in Greco-Coptic pairs that end in $-\bar{o}\varsigma$ and $-\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$, cf. 117(c). They have the form of Greek nominative singular. E.g. $\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\mu\bar{o}\varsigma$, $\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\mu\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ 'lawless person/thing'; $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\varsigma$ 'impious person/thing'; $\alpha\bar{\iota}\kappa\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{o}\varsigma$, $-\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ 'righteous person/thing'; $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\bar{\iota}\sigma\tau\bar{o}\varsigma$, $-\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ 'least person/thing'; $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\varsigma$ 'high-born person/thing'; $\pi\bar{o}\eta\eta\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\varsigma$, $-\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ 'wicked person/thing'; $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\bar{\iota}\kappa\bar{o}\varsigma$, $-\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ 'carnal person/thing'; $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\varsigma$, $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\eta$, $-\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ 'worthy person/thing'.

(b) A small group of *non-Greek morphs*, including

- $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\eta\bar{\nu}$ 'wretched person/thing'
- $\kappa\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\iota}$ 'small person/thing'
- $\mu\epsilon\rho\bar{\iota}\tau$ (pl. $\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$) 'beloved person/thing'
- $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\theta}$ 'big, great person/thing'
- $\sigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ (fem. $\sigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\eta$, pl. $\sigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\gamma$) 'wise person/thing'
- $\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\pi}$ 'excellent, chosen person/thing'
- $\omega\eta\bar{\mu}$ (fem. $\omega\eta\bar{\mu}\epsilon$) 'small person/thing, few'
- $\omega\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}$ (fem. $\omega\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omega$) 'foreign person/thing'
- $\omega\rho\bar{\pi}$ (fem. $\omega\rho\bar{\pi}\epsilon$) 'first person/thing'
- $\gamma\alpha\epsilon$ (fem. $\gamma\alpha\eta$, pl. $\gamma\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\gamma$) 'last person/thing'
- $\gamma\alpha\kappa$ 'sober, prudent person/thing'
- $\gamma\eta\kappa\epsilon$ 'poor person/thing'
- $\gamma\bar{\alpha}\lambda\bar{o}$ (fem. $\gamma\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omega$, pl. $\gamma\bar{\alpha}\lambda\bar{o}\bar{\iota}$) 'old person/thing'
- $\gamma\bar{o}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}\tau$ (fem. $\gamma\bar{o}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}\tau\epsilon$, pl. $\gamma\bar{o}\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$) 'first person/thing'
- $\chi\omega\omega\rho\epsilon$ 'strong person/thing'
- $\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ (pl. $\chi\bar{\iota}\chi\epsilon\epsilon\gamma$, $\chi\bar{\iota}\chi\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) 'hostile person/thing'

(c) *Limited non-Greek morphs* (very few in number), which unlike the preceding type are not attested in the inverted attributive construction of the noun 102.

αc 'old person/thing'
 β̄ρρε 'new person/thing'
 καμε 'black person/thing'
 καιε 'beautiful person/thing'

(For ογωτ, *fem.* ογωτε 'single, same', cf. 158.)

When actualized as an attributive, these nouns occur in the mediated attributive construction of the noun 99; e.g. ογcβω β̄-β̄ρρε Mark 1:27 "A new teaching."

- (d) *Derived and composite genderless nouns* based on ατ- (privative) 119, ρ̄μ-(̄ν-) ('person related to . . .') 120, ρεγ- (agential) 121, the construct participle (e.g. χαcι-) 122, μεζ- (forming ordinal numbers, some gendered and some genderless) 123, and prepositions of relationship (e.g. εβολ ζ̄ν-) 124.

LACK OF ASSOCIATED GENDER

- 115 Nouns in the class of genderless common noun have no associated (inherent) grammatical gender: ππονηρος/τπονηρος "The wicked person," πμερ-ιτ/τμεριτ "The beloved one." An article (or specifier) that is expanded by such a noun assumes a gender appropriate to the sense of the passage of text 49, e.g. referring to another item. Although some of these nouns have a distinctly *fem.* variant form 117(a), the basic form is indifferent to gender.

Also showing both *masc.* and *fem.* gender are a small group of denoting nouns, e.g. ζ̄μζαλ (*masc.*, *fem.*) 'manservant, maidservant', which for other reasons are classified with the gendered common noun 106.

GENDERLESS COMMON NOUNS AS ATTRIBUTIVES

- 116 *Genderless common nouns as attributives.* As attributive terms, genderless common nouns are distributed over the three attributive constructions of the noun, cf. table 10. Most genderless common nouns occur in two roughly synonymous attributive constructions: the mediated attributive 99 πρωμε ̄μ-πονηρος and the inverted attributive 102 ππονηρος ̄ν-ρωμε. For any given noun, these two constructions have slightly different meanings, and the kind of difference varies from one to another: for some it is lexical, and for others it lies in the presence or absence of marked emotion. The usual, emotionally neutral one is the mediated attributive, πρωμε ̄μ-πονηρος "The wicked person" (versus the emotionally affected phrase ππονηρος ̄ν-ρωμε "The vile person"); except that for ω̄νμ the usual construction is the unmediated attributive 101, ζενω̄νρε ω̄νμ "Little children" (versus ζενκεω̄νμ δε ̄ν-τβ̄τ Mark 8:7 "Also a very small amount of fish").

GENDERLESS COMMON NOUNS

TABLE 10
 THE GENDERLESS COMMON NOUN AS AN ATTRIBUTIVE

NOUN TYPE	COMPATIBLE ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS		
	Mediated Attributive ¹ 99	Unmediated Attributive ² 101	Inverted Attributive ³ 102
All, except as noted below	×	×
κογι, νοβ	×	×	×
ω̄νμ	×	×
Limited genderless nouns 114(c)	×
Compounds based on πετ- 110	×

¹πρωμε ̄μ-πονηρος ²ω̄νρε ω̄νμ ³ππονηρος ̄ν-ρωμε

SPECIAL FORMAL MARKING FOR GENDER, NUMBER, OR ANIMATENESS

- 117 The main form of a genderless common noun is compatible with both *masc.* and *fem.*, both *sing.* and *pl.* articles (e.g. πωορπ Rev 1:17 "The first"; τωορπ Heb 9:1 "The first"; ταλᾱνηκ ̄ν-ωορπ Heb 9:15 "The first covenant"; τωορπ ̄ν-σκνηκ Heb 9:6 "The outer [first] tent"; νασνη̄ ̄μ-μεριτ 1 Cor 15:58 "My beloved brethren"). Some also have an optional variant that formally marks feminine or plural, or have both. If a *fem.* or *pl.* form occurs, it expresses the gender and/or number of the item that it modifies or refers to.
- (a) *Formal marking for feminine.* For Greco-Coptic *fem.* forms, cf. (c) below; non-Greek items that have an optional *fem.* form are listed in 114(b). E.g. τωορπε Acts 16:12 "The leading one" (i.e. πολιc 'city'); νεπλη̄η ̄ν-ζαη Rev 21:9 "The last plagues"; ε̄αη ̄μ-πλη̄η Matt 27:64 "The last fraud"; ζενω̄νρε ω̄νμ ̄μν-ζενω̄ερε ω̄νμε ShWess9 93b:27-94a:2 "Boys and girls"; νεζῑομε ο̄ν ̄ντε̄ιζε (μαρογ-ωωπε) ̄ν-σεμνη 1 Tim 3:11 "The women likewise (must be) serious."

Formation. (i) *Fem.* with added final ε: ωορπ/ωορπε 'first'; (ii) *fem.* with different final vowel: cαβε/cαβη 'wise', ω̄μμο/ω̄μμω 'foreign'.

- (b) *Formal marking for plural.* Items which have an optional *pl.* form are listed in 114(b). E.g. ναμερατε 1 Cor 10:14 "My beloved"; νεκζβ̄νγε ̄ν-ζαεγ Rev 2:19 "Your latter works"; ̄νζαεογ ̄ν-ζοογ ShChass 161:1-2 "The last days."

Formation. (i) *Plur.* ending -εεγ or -εεγε: cαβε/cαβεεγ 'wise'; (ii) *plur.* ending -ατε: μεριτ/μερατε 'beloved'.

- (c) *Formal marking for animate versus inanimate (-οc versus -ο̄ν).* Many borrowed Greek adjectives occur in Greco-Coptic in pairs with the endings -οc

and -ОН (114[b]); these express a contrast between animate (human) in -OC and inanimate (non-human) in -ОН. (Animateness is also expressed by the construct participle 122.) E.g. πCα2 \bar{n} -αγαθOC Mark 10:17 "Good Teacher"; νε210με ετ⁰-ογααβ \bar{n} -αρχα10C ShIV 28:20 "The ancient holy women"; 2ωβ \bar{n} 1M \bar{n} -αγαθON 2 Cor 9:8 "Every good work"; τεντολ \bar{n} ογααβ... α2ω ογαγαθON τε Rom 7:12 "The commandment is holy... and good"; ο2ψ2χ10COC Δε \bar{n} -ρωμε 1 Cor 2:14 "The natural person"; ⁰Cωμα \bar{n} -ψ2χ10COC 1 Cor 15:44 "A natural body." Although forms in -OC are compatible with both male and female, Greek sing. fem. adjectives in final -H or -A are also borrowed to describe the human female, e.g. ο2C210με \bar{n} -102αα1 \bar{n} -π1CτH Acts 16:1 "A Jewish woman who was a believer"; ο2C210με \bar{n} -χα \bar{n} α \bar{n} α1α Matt 15:22 "A Canaanite woman."

Greek adjectives with the sing. fem. ending -H also modify non-human items in a few lexically fixed expressions taken from or based upon Greek syntax: τCα1 \bar{n} H Δ1αθ \bar{n} κH ShChass 175:32-33 and τCα1αθ \bar{n} κH \bar{n} -β \bar{p} ρε Matt 26:28 "The new covenant"; ο2Cαθ \bar{o} λ1κH εκκλ \bar{n} α1α ShIII 61:1-2 "A universal church."

DERIVED AND COMPOSITE FORMS

118 The following are examples of bases (non-terminal bound morphs 28[2]) that form composite nouns in the class of genderless common noun.

119 ατ-, the *privative base* ('not having...', 'unable to...', cf. Greek ἀ- privative), combines with any gendered common noun (including infinitives), e.g. ατ-ε1ωτ 'fatherless', ατ- \bar{n} OC 'sinless', ατ- \bar{c} βε 'uncircumcised', ατ- \bar{t} ακο 'imperishable', αθ \bar{n} τ (ατ-2 \bar{n} τ) 'foolish', ατ- \bar{b} OM 'powerless, unable'; πλ \bar{t} ατ- \bar{n} OC τε \bar{n} -Δ1αβ \bar{o} λOC ShIV 128:3 "The godless devil"; 2 \bar{n} ερωμε \bar{n} -ατ- \bar{c} βε Acts 11:3 "Uncircumcised men"; \bar{t} - \bar{x} ω μ \bar{m} OC- \bar{c} νε-⁰ τλ \bar{t} ατ- \bar{c} βω (collated) ShAmél II 309:9 "I tell you, O ignorant woman"; τε1αθ \bar{n} τ \bar{n} - \bar{c} 210με ShAmél I 76:12 "This foolish woman."

To express what has not been done or cannot be done, ατ- is expanded by the infinitive with a personal direct object agreeing in number/(gender) with the item that is modified: ατ- \bar{c} ONT- \bar{q} (- \bar{c} , -OC) 'uncreated, uncreatable'; ατ- \bar{p} OC- \bar{q} (- \bar{c} , -OC) 'undivided, indivisible'; ατ- \bar{n} α2 ερ \bar{o} - \bar{q} (- \bar{c} , -OC) 'unseen, invisible'.

120 \bar{p} 1- or \bar{p} 1 \bar{n} - 'person related to...' combines with some gendered common nouns (including infinitives), many place-names, and τω \bar{n} 'from where?'. In certain combinations the base ends in an extension element \bar{n} while in others it does not, as a matter of fixed phraseology (\bar{p} 1 \bar{n} -κ \bar{n} με 'Egyptian' but \bar{p} 1- \bar{t} αρCOC 'person from Tarsus'). E.g. \bar{p} 1- \bar{p} α2 \bar{n} 'neighbor'; \bar{p} 1 \bar{n} -2 \bar{n} τ 'intelligent person'; \bar{p} 1- \bar{t} αραβ1α 'Arabian'; \bar{n} τ \bar{k} -ο2 \bar{p} 1- \bar{t} ω \bar{n} Martyrdom of St. Victor the General (BMar 31:5) "Where do you come from?"; τρ \bar{o} φ1- \bar{m} OC \bar{p} 1 \bar{n} -εφ \bar{e} COC Acts 21:29 "Trophimus the Ephesian"; τρ \bar{p} 1 \bar{n} -κ \bar{n} με

"The Egyptian woman" Theodosius of Alexandria, On St. Michael Archangel (BMis 408:16, 32); τρ \bar{p} 1 \bar{n} - \bar{n} 1 ShIV 61:2 "The house mother" (of monastery); ο2 \bar{m} ατο1 \bar{n} - \bar{p} 1 \bar{n} - \bar{n} OC τε Acts 10:7 "A devout soldier"; 2 \bar{n} ερ \bar{m} - \bar{n} -2 \bar{n} τ \bar{n} -ρωμε ShIV 59:7-8 "Intelligent people."

121 \bar{p} eq-, the *agential base* ('...-ing; doing...'), is completed by verb forms, either infinitive (in any state) or stative; both transitive and intransitive verbs are compatible. E.g. \bar{p} eq-βωλ 'interpreter'; \bar{p} eq-ω \bar{m} ωε-⁰ε1αωλON 'idolatrous, idolater'; \bar{p} eq- \bar{p} -⁰OC 'sinful, sinner'; \bar{n} τ \bar{k} - \bar{p} α \bar{p} eq-ω \bar{o} π- \bar{t} ερ \bar{o} - \bar{q} Ps 90(91):2 ἀντ1λ1πτωρ μου ε1 "Thou art my Helper (One who takes me unto Himself)"; \bar{p} eq- \bar{m} OCYT (stative) 'dead, deadly'; \bar{p} eq- \bar{c} ωτ \bar{m} 'attentive, hearer'; μαρ1α τρε \bar{q} - \bar{x} πε- \bar{p} OC τε 2 \bar{n} -ο2 \bar{m} ε Cyril of Alexandria, On the Virgin Mary, title (BMis 139:6-7) "Mary who is truly the bearer of God"; τρε \bar{q} - \bar{t} -⁰ω1πε Sir 22:4 "The one (i.e. ωερε) that brings shame"; ⁰ματο2 \bar{n} - \bar{p} eq- \bar{m} OCYT Jas 3:8 "Deadly poison"; ο2 \bar{p} ωμε \bar{n} - \bar{p} eq- \bar{p} -⁰OC John 9:16 "A man who is a sinner."

122 The '*construct participles*' (traditionally called participium coniunctum or p.c.)

μα1- 'loving...'

χαC1- 'elevating...'

are descriptive nouns expressing tenseless, generic verbal action, process, etc. (similar in meaning to the English present participle). Their only function is the formation of compound genderless common nouns, e.g. μα1-⁰OC τε 'devout' (loving-⁰god, God-loving), \bar{q} α1-⁰α2β 'beast of burden' (bearing-⁰yoke, yoke-bearer). They are only compatible with reference to animate beings, i.e. express the category of animateness 117(c).

Each construct participle corresponds formally to the phonemic verbal skeleton of an infinitive, having the vowel α after the first consonant of the verbal skeleton 187.

Infinitive	Construct participle
με	μα1-
ο2ω \bar{m}	ο2α \bar{m} -
ωω \bar{n} ε or ω \bar{o} OC	ωα \bar{n} -, ω \bar{n} -
q1	qα1-
2λOC	2αλ \bar{b} -
χ1Cε	χαC1-

The number of construct participles is very limited, being very much smaller than the number of verbs in the lexicon. Most of the corresponding infinitives are mutable transitives. In dictionaries, the 'p.c.' is listed with the corresponding verb.

The construct participle is always completed by an article phrase (usually formed on ⁰), which expresses a general reference point. After transitives this may be perceived as a direct object, $\text{μαῖ-}^0\text{ρωμε}$ ‘philanthropic’ (loving with respect to people, loving-⁰people); after intransitives, as an adverb of manner, $\text{ζαλб-}^0\text{ωαχε}$ ‘eloquent’ (sweet with respect to words, sweet verbally). In meaning, the construct participle and the term that completes it blend to express a single idea: $\text{χаси-}^0\text{ζηт}$ ‘arrogant’ (lifting-⁰heart), $\text{μαῖ-}^0\text{ωῃμο}$ ‘hospitable’ (loving-⁰stranger), $\text{χαῖ-}^0\text{βεκε}$ ‘wage earning’ (taking-⁰wage); μαῖ-νεγωηρε Titus 2:4 φιλότεκνος ‘loving, fond of one’s children’; μαст-πενῃτον , μαῖ-πενῃτον ShMing 92a:19–23 ‘diligent, lazy’; $\text{ωαηλ εχм-πενμαῖ-}^0\text{ноүте}$ \bar{n} -ε(ι)ωт \bar{n} -αγω \bar{n} -παναρετοу $\alpha\pi\alpha$ - $\bar{n}\text{im}$ Collecte, grec-copte (Leyd 131:25–26) “Pray for our *devout* and virtuous father, *Apa* so-and-so”; ογογερητε \bar{n} - $\text{χаси-}^0\text{ζηт}$ Ps 35(36):11 “A *haughty* foot” (i.e. person).

- 123 μεз- , *base forming ordinal numbers* (‘second’, ‘third’, etc.), produces both gendered and genderless common nouns. It is completed by any cardinal number 67 from 2 up or by ογнр 73 (пμεз-ογнр ‘the how-many-eth?’). (Cf. verb μογз ‘fill up’.) Cardinal numbers from 2 to 10 and higher numbers whose final digit is 1, 2, 8, or 9 occur in gendered pairs (masc. and fem. in an either/or opposition); the ordinals based on these have gender accordingly. The other ordinals are genderless. (‘First’ is ωορη , fem. var. ωορηε 113 .)
- 124 *Prepositions expressing relationship* can be actualized as a genderless entity term in the article phrase; and as an attributive term in attributive constructions of the noun. As such, they are analogous to genderless common nouns. To a large degree they occur in lexically fixed expressions. Both prenominal and prepersonal states 30 of prepositions occur. Cf. 298, 302. Examples of such prepositions are

εβολ ζῃ- ‘from in, from’ 302
 εβολ ζιτῃ- ‘through, by, from’
 κατα- ‘according to, like, by (distributive)’
 παρα- ‘contrary to, in comparison with, beyond, more than’
 προς- ‘in accordance with, for, than’
 ωα- ‘to, toward’
 ζι- ‘on, at, in’
 ζιρῃ- ‘beside (door)’
 $\text{ζιτπε } \bar{n}$ - ‘above’
 $\text{ζαөн } \bar{n}$ - ‘in front of, before’
 χιν- ‘since’

Examples: (i) *entity terms* $\text{ῑс πεβολ ζῃ-ναзарεθ}$ Acts 10:38 “Jesus of Nazareth”; $\text{тсоφια δε тееβολ ζῃтπε}$ Jas 3:17 “The wisdom from above”; $\text{ῃπρος-}^0\text{ογοειω}$ ShChass 97:35–36 “Temporal affairs”; ογπαρα-τεγфүсис ShChass 21:26–27 “An

unnatural one”; $\text{анг-ογκатарω-тн ан}$ ShIII 116:17–18 “I am not like you”; $\text{ζенката-}^0\text{сарῃ нта-q}$ ShIV 122:24–25 “Blood relations of his”; $\text{}^0\text{ζιρῃ-про}$ Mark 2:2 τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν “The place(s) about the door”; $\text{}^0\text{ζατεзη } \bar{n}$ - псаббатон Mark 15:42 “(The day) before the sabbath”; (ii) *attributives* $\text{ογῃнт-ерῶ } \bar{n}$ - $\text{ωα-}^0\text{εнез}$ ShChass 98:36–38 “An eternal kingdom”; $\text{πεγαγγελιον н-ката-ιωζанннс}$ ShIII 58:29 “The gospel according to John”; $\text{πζωв н-ката-}^0\text{сарῃ}$ ShIV 159:13 “Bodily activity”

But when playing the role of *attributive*, the prepositions of this class are usually constructed as a bare adnominal preposition 103(b), that is, without the mediation of \bar{n} - ($\text{ογαγγελος εβολ ζн-тπε}$ ShIII 194:22 “An angel from heaven”).

- 125 $\text{κογ-} \bar{n}$ - ‘small’; cf. the attributive construction $\text{κογι } \bar{n}$ - 102. E.g. $\text{ῃ-т-на-ω-χω ан } \bar{n}$ - $\text{ογκογ-ῃ-μερος εβολ } \bar{n}\text{ζηт-ογ}$ Celestine I of Rome, Encomium on St. Victor the General (BMar 62:10–11) “I shall not be able to recount even a small part of them.” Poorly attested in Sahidic.

(2) PROPER NOUNS

DEFINITION AND FORMATION

- 126 ‘*Proper nouns*’ are a very large class, which are typically used to call one particular person, nation, place, topographical feature, time of day, month, deity, etc. by a distinguishing name. More precise identification of the individual is sometimes expressed by a construction of general relationship 147, apposition 129(a), expansion by χε- 129(b), etc. Proper nouns play only the role of entity term 92 and have only a denoting 93 function—that is, they present a unique object of thought to the reader or listener by naming it. Proper nouns have an associated (inherent) gender, masc. or fem. For names of human beings, this coincides with biological sex.

Personal names are of many and various forms, being partly taken over from pre-Coptic Egyptian and from Greek, Arabic, etc.; and partly created out of current Coptic word stock. *Compounds* often contain the pre-Coptic components masc. πα- ‘he belonging to . . .’, πατε- ‘he given by . . .’, πωεν- ‘the son of . . .’, with corresponding feminines in initial τ (and χεν- for τωεν-); some other kinds of name contain a component resembling the def. sing. article as their first component: περηт “Perēt” male (ερηт masc. ‘promise’); ταгапн “Tagapē” female (αгапн fem. ‘love’). Of the *Greco-Coptic personal names*, those of the Greek second declension ($-\text{ος}$) occur not only with final $-\text{ος}$ (μαρκος “Mark”) but also with final $-\text{ογ}$ (μαρκογ “Markou”) and $-\text{ε}$ (γεωργε “Geōrgeh”). Some occur in a *shortened form* as well as a full one: χαηλ “Khaēl,” cf. μιχαηλ “Mikhaēl”; гаври “Gabri,” cf. гавриηλ “Gabriēl.”

ACTUALIZATION

127 Proper noun lexemes occur in an actual written or spoken text (are actualized **92**) in three ways.

- (a) Most names of persons, and many other proper nouns, normally enter into syntax without uniting with an article: they are *self-actualizing* (like determinator pronouns). E.g. $\omega\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ masc. "Shenoute," $\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ masc. "Jesus," $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ fem. "Mary," $\kappa\eta\mu\epsilon$ masc. "Egypt," $\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$ "Alexandria (Egypt)," $\rho\omicron\gamma\zeta\epsilon$ masc. "Evening."
- (b) Many (though not all) topographical names and a few other proper nouns are *always actualized by either π- or τ-*, expressing grammatical gender. E.g. $\pi\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ "Israel"; $\tau\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ "Galilee"; $\theta\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu$, i.e. $\tau\zeta\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu$ "Jerusalem"; $\pi\iota\omicron\rho\alpha\delta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$ "The Jordan (name of river)."

Comparable to subclass (b) are def. article phrases of the gendered common noun that name particular, unique items such as $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$ "Earth," $\tau\pi\epsilon$ "Heaven," $\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\upsilon\tau$ "East," $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ "God" **136** (the God of the Bible, invariably with π), $\pi\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ "Water" (name of elemental substance), $\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$ "Nighttime."

- (c) Greco-Coptic names of pagan deities and a few place names fluctuate between actualization by π -/ τ - and self-actualization: $\pi\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ "Zeus," $\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ "Ephesus."

THE REFERENTIAL DEFINITE ARTICLE

128 A *referential complex def. article*—e.g. $\pi\epsilon\iota$ - 'this very'; $\pi\kappa\epsilon$ - 'also, even'—can unite with a proper noun of actualization type (a) or stand in place of π - or τ - in types (b) and (c), expressing referential information: $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\chi$ Heb 7:1 "This Melchizedek"; $\pi\kappa\epsilon\mu\omega\upsilon\varsigma\eta\varsigma$ Heb 3:5 "Moses too"; $\tau\kappa\epsilon\zeta\rho\omega\mu\eta$ Acts 19:21 "Also Rome"; $\zeta\mu$ - $\pi\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ Luke 7:9 "Even in Israel." The referential article π - . . . $\epsilon\tau\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ 'the aforesaid' is manifested as . . . $\epsilon\tau\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ with type (a); e.g. $\zeta\rho\alpha\chi\alpha\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ Cyril of Jerusalem, Homily I on the Passion (Campagnano 40:16) "The aforesaid Rahab."

SYNTACTIC PECULIARITIES

129 Syntactically all proper nouns, whether self-actualizing or actualized by π -/ τ -, have definite determination status. Thus, generally,

$\omega\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ functions e.g. like $\pi\alpha\iota$, $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$
 $\pi\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ functions e.g. like $\pi\alpha\iota$, $\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$
 $\tau\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ functions e.g. like $\tau\alpha\iota$, $\tau\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\alpha$, etc.

However, certain peculiarities of syntax set the proper noun apart from the definite pronoun or article phrase:

- (a) An *accompanying modifier* i.e. descriptive expansion of a proper noun is normally expressed by apposition **149** and not by a simple attributive construction. E.g. $\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\iota\omega\beta$ ShChass 38:10–11 "Job, the just"; $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$ $\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ShIII 173:10 "Abel, the just"; $\iota\varsigma$ π - ϵ - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - ς $\chi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\epsilon}$ Matt 27:17 "Jesus who is called Christ"; $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ $\tau\alpha$ - $\iota\omega\varsigma\eta\varsigma$ Mark 15:47 "Mary, the female relative of Josés." (Rarely, it is expressed by an attributive construction: $\pi\eta\omicron\beta$ μ - $\mu\omega\upsilon\varsigma\eta\varsigma$ ShChass 76:3–4 "The great Moses"; $\tau\beta\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omega\eta\eta$ $\eta\omicron\beta$ Rev 16:19 "Great Babylon.")
- (b) In apposition to an indefinite or demonstrative entity term ($\omicron\gamma$ - 'a . . .', $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ 'someone', $\pi\alpha\iota$ 'this one', etc.), a proper noun must be introduced by $\chi\epsilon$ -. E.g. $\omicron\gamma\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha$ Luke 2:36 (Morgan M569) "A prophetess, Anna"; $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\iota\mu\omega\eta$ Acts 10:6 "A certain person (named) Simon"; $\pi\alpha\iota$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Acts 19:26 "This Paul."
- (c) As *predicate* of the first or second person (I am, you are) a proper noun is expressed in a naming construction **130**, **278** and not by interlocutive nominal sentence predication.
- (d) As a *term in extraposition/apposition*, i.e. lexically expanding **149** a first or second-person subject, the proper noun is preceded/mediated by a personal independent ($\alpha\eta\eta\kappa$, etc.); cf. **87(c)**. E.g. *extraposition*: $\alpha\eta\eta\kappa$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\iota$ - $\varsigma\alpha\iota$ η - $\tau\alpha\beta\iota\chi$ Phlm 19 "I, Paul, have written this with my hand"; $\alpha\eta\eta\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ \dagger - $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\eta\mu\omega$ - $\tau\eta$ 2 Cor 10:1 "I, Paul, entreat you"; *apposition*: $\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\eta$. . . $\pi\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\eta\tau$ - $\alpha\iota$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha$ - ς $\alpha\eta\eta\kappa$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ η - $\kappa\eta\rho\gamma\zeta$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ η - $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta\omicron\varsigma$ Col 1:23 "The gospel . . . of which I, Paul, became a herald and minister."
- (e) Proper nouns do not occur in the construction of distributive *reiteration* **62**. A repeated proper noun is emotive, calling for attention to the speaker: $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu$ $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu$ Gen 22:11 "Abraham, Abraham!"

NAMING CONSTRUCTIONS

130 Typical naming constructions include the following.

- (a) *Telling someone's name*: $\pi\rho\alpha\eta$ η - $\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\eta\mu\omicron$ - $\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\varsigma\epsilon\phi\phi\omega\rho\alpha$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\pi\rho\alpha\eta$ η - $\tau\mu\epsilon\zeta$ - $\varsigma\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\phi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Exod 1:15 "The name of the one was Sephora; and the name of the second, Phua"; (\omicron) $\gamma\eta\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - $\tau\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ ϵ - $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\epsilon\theta$ Luke 1:26 "A city of Galilee named Nazareth"; $\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\eta\rho\alpha\eta$ $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ η - $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\eta$ $\omicron\eta$ η - κ - η - $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\eta\omicron\upsilon$ - κ $\eta\epsilon$ $\zeta\mu$ - $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - ς ϵ - $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\rho\eta\tau$ - $\omicron\upsilon$ η - $\eta\alpha\zeta\rho\alpha$ - κ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\eta$ η - $\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\zeta\iota$ - $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\zeta\iota$ - $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\upsilon$ ShGué 161b:28–31 "Our name is Sin, not Human Being. Moreover, You have Your own beings

throughout all the world, called Angel and not merely Just or Faithful or Holy" (*proper name* + ρῆτ, without π, a special naming construction; cf. [d]); ἀνοκ τε ρροϋθ Ruth 3:16 "I am Ruth"; ἡτοκ πε πετροс Matt 16:18 "You are Peter"; ἡτοϋ πε πεχс Matt 16:20 "He (was) the Christ." Cf. 278.

(b) *Assigning a name to someone*: αὔ-μοϋτε ε-βαρναβас ε-πзеϋс παῦλοс ε-περῆμнс Acts 14:12 "Barnabas they called Zeus, and Paul, Hermes"; οὔα ἡ-πμῆт-снооϋс π-εε-ψαὔ-μοϋτε εро-ϋ ε-ιοῦδαс Matt 26:14 "One of the Twelve, who was called Judas"; αὔ-μοϋτε ε-πεсran ε-пхωρε εвол Gen 11:9 "Its name was called Dispersion"

(c) *Giving an alternate name*: κρονос εε-петве πε ShAmél I 383:15-384:1 "Kronos, i.e. Petbe"; симων π-ент-αὔ-т-рин-ϋ ε-петрос Luke 6:14 "Simon, who was named Peter"; ἀκελδαμαх εε-παί πε бѡм ἡ-песноϋ Acts 1:19 "Akeldama, that is, Field of Blood"; іс π-ε-ψαὔ-моϋτε εро-ϋ ε-πεхс Matt 27:17 "Jesus who is called Christ"; κηфа π-ε-ψαὔ-οὔαζм-εϋ ε-петрос John 1:42 "Cephas, which is translated Peter"

(d) *In identity dialogue*: ним πε πεκραн Luke 8:30 "What is your name?"; ним ε-рнт-к . . . λεγιων πε пран Mark 5:9 "What is your name? . . . The name is Legion" (ним + ε-рнт or ним + ρῆт, without π, a special naming construction; cf. [a]); ним ρω-οῦ не некеиоте | πεха-ϋ ε-сартων πε мн-евиων Cyril of Jerusalem, Homily on the Virgin Mary 27 (Campagnano 170:18-19) "And who are your forebears? They are Sarton and Ebion, he said"; нте-ним таϋεερε | πεха-с на-с ε-анок те ρροϋθ Ruth 3:16 "Who are you, my daughter? She said to her, I am Ruth"

(e) *Confirming identity*: εие-нток πε азана ек-пнт нсω-і | πεха-ϋ ε-анок πε 2 Sam 2:20 "Is that you, following me, Azazel? He said, It's me"; еῦδοξία еῦδοξία . . . πεха-с ε-εисρῆнте анок пахоеис Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre 35 (Orlandi 50:16-18 = Rossi I 3 94[32]c: 19-25) "Eudoxia! Eudoxisia! . . . She said, Here I am, my Lord!"; н-таі ан те версавее 2 Sam 11:3 "Is this not Bathsheba?"

TELLING TIME (218)

- 131 The twelve *hours of the day* ἡ-περσοϋ, running from dawn to dusk (roughly 0600 to 1800), and of the *night* ἡ-теϋωн are formed with the self-actualizing fem. proper noun base хп- expanded by a fem. cardinal number 66, 67: хп-ϋомте Matt 20:3 "The third hour" (midmorning).

- 132 *Periods of the day; yesterday—today—tomorrow*

ρтооϋε masc. 'dawn'	сαϋ, сαϋ ἡ-ρσοϋ masc. 'yesterday'
ϋωρηп 'morning'	пооϋ, пооϋ ἡ-ρσοϋ masc. 'today'
меερε 'midday'	расте, расте ἡ-ρσοϋ masc. 'tomorrow'
роϋзе masc. 'evening'	

Relative reckoning by days. (i) *Past*: ραон ἡ-сαϋ 'day before yesterday'; ϋмῆт-ε-пооϋ, мпϋмῆт-ε-пооϋ 'three days ago'; ϋтоϋ-ε-пооϋ 'four days ago'. (ii) *Future*: ἡса-расте, са-расте 'day after tomorrow'. (iii) *Counting days hence*: Adverbs formed with the masc. sing. possessive article, reckoning with reference to the situation of the speaker or some other person represented in the text (but

possessive element untranslated in English): ἡπα(πεκ-, ποϋ-, etc.)снаϋ (ϋомῆт, ϋтооϋ, etc.) 'on the second (third, fourth, etc.) day'; ε-περρтооϋ πε 'on the fourth day' (etc.). E.g. ἡἡса-οῦρσοϋ ἡερε-οῦтоϋ-рнс ниде ан-еі мпенснаϋ ε-понтіолос Acts 28:13 "And after one day a south wind sprang up, and on the second day (on-the-with-reference-to-us-two) we came to Puteoli." Similarly (but 3d person as fixed expression) ἡπερрасте 'on the next day'.

- 133 *The week* (псаббатон, ἡсаббатон, тзевдомас), common nouns

1. Sunday тκυριακη οг ποῦα
2. Monday песнаϋ οг пѡρηп ἡ-ρσοϋ ἡ-οῦωϋ ['vacant' or ordinary day, not fast day]
3. Tuesday ϋомῆт οг пмеρ-снаϋ ἡ-ρσοϋ ἡ-οῦωϋ
4. Wednesday пертооϋ οг ткоῦі ἡ-ннстia οг тннстia ϋнм
5. Thursday птоϋ οг ποῦωϋ οг ποῦωϋ ἡ-тмнте [the intermediate ordinary day]
6. Friday псооϋ οг тпараскеϋн οг тноб ἡ-ннстia οг тннстia-ω
7. Saturday псаббатон

- 134 *Days of the month* are formed with the self-actualizing masc. proper noun base соϋ- (cf. снϋ, masc.) expanded by a masc. cardinal number 66, 67, соϋ-тоϋ "The fifth." The first (day) of the month or week is соῦа (combining соϋ- and οῦа); the last (30th) of the month is a proper noun, αлке "The last day of the month."

- 135 *Months of the Egyptian calendar*

ѳооϋт	begins near the end of August (in modern reckoning)
паопе	begins near the end of September
ραωρ	begins near the end of October
κοιαρк	begins near the end of November
тωве	begins near the end of December
ἡϋир	begins near the end of January
пармρотп	begins near the end of February
пармоϋте	begins near the end of March
паϋонс	begins near the end of April
паϋне	begins near the end of May
епнп	begins near the end of June
месорн	begins near the end of July

The Egyptian year, consisting of twelve thirty-day months, concludes with five (in leap years, six) intercalary days αі ἐπαγομέναι, each intercalary day being referred to as an επαγομενον, επαγομενη, απαγομενον, etc. The beginning and ending dates of each month are not fixed in relation to modern reckoning A.D., but vary slightly from year to year. Accurate conversion tables are provided in Marius Chaîne, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie* (Paris 1925).

THE COMMONIZED PROPER NOUN AND THE PROPERIZED COMMON NOUN

- 136 Sometimes the idea to be expressed in a passage requires a proper noun to have the function of a common noun, as though it denoted a type of entity and not just one particular individual. In such a case, the *commonized proper noun* has the syntax of a gendered common noun. E.g. πκοῦі н-іакωвос Mark

NOUNS

15:40 “James the younger” (The smaller James), as opposed to some other James; τνοβ \bar{n} -σιδων Josh 11:2 “The great Sidon” as opposed to another place of the same name; πταε δε \bar{n} -αδαν 1 Cor 15:45 “The last Adam”; κε $\bar{\tau}$ c 2 Cor 11:4 “Another Jesus”; μαρια τμαγδαληνη $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ -τκεμαρια Matt 27:61 “Mary Magdalene and the other Mary.”

The opposite also occurs, namely, a common noun is properized, when it is used in a naming construction 130 as though it were a proper noun. E.g. αq-†-ραν ερο-q κε-λογος αγω ωηρε ShOrig 327 (Orlandi 26:10) “He named Him Word and Son”; νοβε πε πενραν ρωμε αν ShGué 161b:28–29 “Our name is Sin, not Human Being.” Cf. 290. “God” (the unique God, known from the Bible) is always named by the def. article phrase πνογτε.

DIRECT ADDRESS

137 Direct address can be signalled by

i. a proper noun, e.g. σιμων εκ- \bar{n} κοτ \bar{k} Mark 14:37 “Simon, are you asleep?”; ιακωβος $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ -ιωζαννης ροεις Cyril of Jerusalem, Homily on the Virgin Mary 47 (Campagnano 186:21–22) “James and John! Observe!”

In direct address, Greco-Coptic personal names ending in -oc or -ac sometimes occur with final -e or -a as the Greek vocative form; e.g. ω τιμοθее 1 Tim 6:20 “O Timothy!” (cf. τιμοθееoc); ανανια Acts 9:10 “Ananias!” (cf. ανανιαc).

ii. a common noun. In direct address this always has the simple def. or possessive article. E.g. πσαζ αναγ ε-νε $\bar{\omega}$ νε Mark 13:1 “Teacher, look at these stones”; \bar{n} ρωμε \bar{n} τε- \bar{p} - \bar{n} ηλ αγω \bar{n} -ετ $\bar{\theta}$ - \bar{p} - $\bar{\theta}$ ζοτε \bar{z} ητ- \bar{q} \bar{m} -πνογτε cωτ \bar{m} Acts 13:16 “People of Israel and you that fear God, listen!”; \bar{n} ρωμε \bar{n} εc \bar{n} ηγ Acts 2:29 “Men! Brothers!”; τωκ \bar{m} μο- $\bar{\theta}$ ταωερε Matt 9:22 “Take heed, my daughter”; πανογτε πανογτε ετβε-ογ ακ-καα-τ \bar{n} cω-κ Mark 15:34 “My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?”

Direct address can be accompanied by $\bar{\omega}$ 238 for rhetorical affect: $\bar{\omega}$ τρενα \bar{n} -ατ-ναzte $\bar{\omega}$ α-τναγ ε $\bar{\iota}$ -να- $\bar{\omega}$ ωπε \bar{n} μμη-τ \bar{n} Mark 9:19 “O faithless generation, how long am I to be with you?”

(3) POSSESSED NOUNS

DEFINITION AND LIST OF POSSESSED NOUNS

138 ‘Possessed nouns’ are a closed class of twenty lexemes that occur in a prepersonal state. Half of them occur also in a prenominal state (prenominal states are also formed periphrastically 139).

POSSESSED NOUNS

Prenominal State	Prepersonal State	Etymological Meaning (Reference to Crum’s Dict.)
.....	ανα=	pleasure, will (11a)
.....	αρηx(\bar{n})=	end (16b)
βλ-, βλ \bar{n} -	βλλα=	outside (βολ 33b)
(ειερ-, εια \bar{n} -)	ειατ=	eye(s) (εια 73b)
.....	κογν(τ)=, κογογν=	bosom (111b)
.....	λικτ=	covering (140a)
ρ \bar{n} -	ρω=	mouth (ρο 288a)
ρεn-	ρ \bar{n} τ= etc.	name (ραν 297b)
.....	ρατ=	foot, feet (302b)
.....	coγ \bar{n} τ=	value (coγεν 369b)
τ \bar{n} -, τε-	τοοτ=	hand(s) (τωρε 425a)
τογ \bar{n} -	τογω=	bosom (444b)
.....	ωαντ=	nose (ωα 543b)
.....	ζητ=	fore part (ζη 640b)
.....	ζητ=	belly, womb (ζη 642b)
2ρ \bar{n} -, 2 \bar{n} -	2ρα=	face (ρο 646b)
2ρογ \bar{n} -	2ρα=	voice (2ροογ 704b)
(2)τε-, (2)τ \bar{n} -	2τη=	heart (ζητ 714a)
.....	2τη=	tip (ζητ 718a)
x \bar{n} -	xω=	head (756a)

The suffixed item expresses the possessor; e.g. ρω-κ Luke 19:22 “Your own mouth,” \bar{z} ητ- \bar{c} Luke 1:41 “Her womb,” κογν- \bar{q} \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ βραζαμ Luke 16:22 “Abraham’s bosom.” Cf. 141. Possessed nouns are not compatible with descriptive expansions such as attributive constructions of the noun, attributive clauses, prepositional phrases, etc. Their function is denotation 93, not description. For ca-, cω= (side), cf. 209.

Most possessed nouns refer, at least etymologically, to a part of the body. Their meaning usually merges with another term in a compound expression (ετοοτ-q “To him” [to-hand/hands-of-him], αq-κτε-ειατ-q “He looked” [He turned-eye/eyes-of-himself]). They do not express or motivate the expression of any particular determination status, number, or gender (αq-κα-τοοτ- \bar{q} ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας Mark 8:25 “He laid His hands”).

THE PERIPHRASTIC PRENOMINAL STATE

139 Most prenominal states end in the morph \bar{n} - 203 (alt. \bar{m} - 21, vars. 22) as an extension element. Selection of suffixes after the prepersonal state follows the pattern of personal suffixation described in table 6 (p. 69). E.g.

τ- \bar{n} - (var. τε-), τοοτ= [hand of]

χ- \bar{n} -, χω=, [head of]

Prenominal states are also formed *periphrastically*, by the expansion morph \bar{n} - 87(a) after an appropriate 3d person suffix -q, -c, -γ on the prepersonal state; e.g. ρω-q \bar{n} - and ρω-ογ \bar{n} - 'mouth of' in

ρω-q \bar{n} -πμογῖ "The lion's mouth" (2 Tim 4:17)

ρω-ογ \bar{n} -νεζτωωρ "The mouth(s) of horses" (Jas 3:3)

or on invariable (and thus genderless) -q

ζητ-q \bar{n} -νεζιομε "(The) belly of the women" (ShEnch 66a:30-32)

κογν-q \bar{n} -τεεζιμε "(The) womb of the woman" (John the Archimandrite, Exegesis [Canon] [BritLib Or.8811 f.17v b:4-5]; Layt. 85)

The periphrastic construction supplies the missing form for those which have no prenominal state; e.g. ζαρατ-q \bar{n} -πτοογ Mark 5:11 "On the hillside"; ζαρατ-q \bar{n} -ογζρωιρε Acts 7:58 "At the feet of a young man."

MEANING AND USAGE

- 140** Most possessed nouns are etymologically related and formally similar to some gendered common noun, with which they are listed in modern dictionaries. E.g. ρο masc. 'door, opening, mouth' and ρ- \bar{n} -, ρω= 'mouth'; τωρε fem. 'handle, oar, hand' and τ- \bar{n} -, τοοτ= 'hand'; ζο masc. and ζρα= 'face'.

Mostly, possessed nouns (and also some of their related common nouns) occur as components of compound prepositions **209** and compound verbs **180(a)**, e.g. εχ \bar{n} -, εχω= 'upon, on to' (towards head [χ-, χω=] of . . .), ταγε-ριν= 'to mention' (to put forth name [ριν=] of . . .), γπ \bar{n} -⁰τωρε \bar{n} μο= 'to be a guarantor for' (to take hand of? . . .). In this, they contribute an *abstract, relational meaning* as a component. A few also can have a literal meaning as an entity term **141**, e.g. ρω= 'mouth of . . .', τοοτ= 'hand of . . .', ζητ= 'belly of . . .'. In this role they are actualized (by the suffixed possessor) without article; and unlike self-actualizing entity terms, do not express any grammatical categories.

To denote literally the parts of the body as entity terms, another set of ordinary gendered common nouns is normally in use.

	Common Noun (In entity term construction)	Possessed Noun (As component)
'eye'	βαλ	ειατ-q \bar{n} -, ειατ=
'foot/leg'	ογερητε	ρατ-q \bar{n} -, ρατ=
'hand'	βιχ	τ- \bar{n} -, τοοτ=
'head'	απε	χ- \bar{n} -, χω=
'mouth'	ταπρο	ρ- \bar{n} -, ρω=

As direct object after a mutable infinitive (forming compound verbs **180[a]**), possessed nouns vary as to whether they (i) are always suffixed (e.g. γπ \bar{n} -ζητ= *reflex.* 'have pity'); (ii) have the syntax of a non-zero article phrase (Stern-Jernstedt rule **171[a][b]**) (e.g. κω \bar{n} -ρω=/κα-ρω= *reflex.* 'be silent'); or (iii) fluctuate in this regard (e.g. ειρε \bar{n} -ζητ=/ \bar{p} -ζητ= *reflex.* 'regret' 2 Cor 7:8/Prov 13:12).

6 Entity Terms, Entity Statements, and Their Phrasal Syntax

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THE NATURE OF THE COPTIC ENTITY TERM

141 Definition and classification of entity terms. 'Entity term', e.g.

- i. $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ "This one (masc.)"
- ii. $\omega\omicron\mu\bar{\eta}\tau$ "Three"
- iii. $\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa$ ($\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ -, $\bar{\iota}$ -, $-\bar{\iota}$ -, $-\tau$ -, or $-\emptyset$) "I, me"
- iv. $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\kappa\alpha\bar{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ "The righteous"; $\pi\epsilon\rho\pi\epsilon$ "The temple"; $\xi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\beta$ \bar{m} - $\mu\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ "Great signs"; $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ "People, Anyone"; π - $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\alpha\eta$ - $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\bar{\iota}\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{m}\mu\omicron$ - η "The one who betrayed Him"; $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\lambda$ $\xi\bar{n}\tau\pi\epsilon$ "The one from above" 302, etc.
- v. $\omega\omicron\mu\bar{\eta}\tau$ \bar{n} - $\xi\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ "Three days"
- vi. $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ "Mary"
- vii. $\rho\alpha\tau$ - η "His foot/feet"

refers to a set of morphs and constructions, from several word classes, that are united both in syntax and in the kind of content that they express. *Syntactically* they occur in the same set of syntactic positions, so that (with some important limitations) where one entity term can occur, the others can occur. (Typical syntactic

NATURE OF THE ENTITY TERM

positions—in addition to the patterns described in the present chapter—include: subject in all sentence types, predicate in the nominal sentence, direct object suffixed to the infinitive, object of preposition, term suffixed to $\omicron\gamma\bar{n}$ -/ $\mu\bar{n}$ - or $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ -.) *Semantically* an entity term presents or refers to an object of thought (as distinct from predicating a process or action, or expressing a relationship), cf. 92. Seven kinds of item, illustrated above, play the role of entity term:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| i. determinator pronoun 44 | } expressing only
grammatical content |
| ii. specifier pronoun 63 | |
| iii. personal morphs 75 | |
| iv. article phrase 43 | } expressing both grammatical and
lexical (non-grammatical) content |
| v. specifier phrase 64 | |
| vi. proper noun 126 | |
| vii. possessed noun 138 | |

The main types of entity term (i-vi) express an intersection of basic grammatical categories: (1) either Determination or Person + (2) Number, + (3) in some morphs also Gender. In some morphs additional grammatical categories are expressed.

In types (i)-(iii) the entity term only expresses grammatical categories: e.g. $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ 'the def. sing. entity of masc. grammatical gender near to me, which I now indicate', $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\kappa$ 'you, sing. masc. personal entity with whom I now communicate'.

In types (iv)-(vi) a nucleus expressing grammatical categories (e.g. π -) is expanded by lexical (non-grammatical) content: e.g. π - $\alpha\bar{\iota}\kappa\alpha\bar{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ 'the typical, indicated def. sing. grammatically masc. entity belonging to the lexical class Righteous Person'; $\omega\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ 'three grammatically fem. specimens belonging to the lexical class Year'; $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ 'the unique, def., biologically and grammatically fem. person who is distinguished by the name Mary'. In types (iv) and (v) the grammatical nucleus and its lexical expansion are expressed by distinct morphs (π - + $\alpha\bar{\iota}\kappa\alpha\bar{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$); in type (vi) a single morph expresses both ($\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$).

Type (vii), $\rho\alpha\tau$ - η 'foot/feet of him', expresses lexical content ('Foot'), general (possessive) syntactic relationship ('of') 147, and an expression of Person (but not Determination, Number, or Gender). Its main function is to contribute to the formation of compound verbs and prepositions; e.g. $\alpha\eta$ - $\kappa\alpha$ - $\rho\alpha\tau$ - \bar{q} $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{n}\omicron\bar{\iota}$ - $\pi\bar{\rho}\rho\bar{\omicron}$ \bar{m} - $\pi\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}$ ϵ - $\bar{\theta}$ $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha$ - $\tau\alpha\psi\chi\eta$ 1 Sam 26:20 "The king of Israel has come out ἐξελήλυθεν to seek my life" (Has set-foot/feet-of him outwards); $\epsilon\gamma\omega\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\pi\alpha\bar{\eta}\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\xi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau$ - η Mark 3:11 "Whenever they beheld Him they fell down before Him" προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ (They bent-themselves at-foot/feet-of-Him). In this function it is a component.

Personal entity terms (iii) 'I, you, he, she, etc.' differ from the others inasmuch as they occur in several alternant sets of morphs 76, which are selected according to syntactic function and/or preceding morph or phoneme. E.g. $\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ "It is I," $\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ - $\omicron\gamma\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ "I

am a king"; $\text{†-}\epsilon\omega\tau\tau$ "I choose," $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\iota-\epsilon\omega\tau\tau$ "When I chose," $\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\tau\alpha-\bar{i}$ "I have," $\varsigma\omicron\tau\tau\bar{\iota}$ "Choose me," $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau-\bar{\theta}$ "Kill me."

A mutable morph 30 (e.g. $\bar{z}\bar{n}-/\bar{n}\bar{z}\eta\tau\bar{\iota}$ 'in') preceding an entity term occurs in the prepersonal state before a personal entity term (iii), and in the prenominal state before all other types.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| i. $\bar{z}\bar{m}-\text{παῖ}$ | } | Types i, ii, and iv–vii must be preceded by the prenominal state (e.g. $\bar{z}\bar{n}-$) of a mutable morph. |
| ii. $\bar{z}\bar{n}-\text{ωομῆτ}$ | | |
| iv. $\bar{z}\bar{m}-\text{περπε}$ | | |
| v. $\bar{z}\bar{n}-\text{ωομῆτ } \bar{n}-\bar{z}\omicron\omicron\gamma$ | | |
| vi. $\bar{z}\bar{m}-\text{μαρία}$ | | |
| vii. $\bar{z}\bar{n}-\text{ρω-}\bar{q}$ | | |
| iii. $\bar{n}\bar{z}\eta\tau-\bar{q}$ | } | Type iii (–q) must be preceded by the prepersonal state (e.g. $\bar{n}\bar{z}\eta\tau\bar{\iota}$) of a mutable morph. |

142 *Hypostasis: other kinds of element functioning as entity term.* Any kind of textual element (word, phrase, clause, sentence, fragment, letter of the alphabet) can be treated as an entity term (the rhetorical term for this function is 'hypostasis'). E.g. $\chi\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon-\acute{\omega}\ \mu\bar{\iota}\rho\tau\epsilon-\acute{\omega}\ \chi\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon\rho\omicron-\kappa$ St. Pachomius quoted in ShChass 111:42–43 "Sing to (the letter) *Omega*; do not let *Omega* sing to you"; $\text{νοβε πε πενραν ρωμε αν}$ ShGué 161b:28–29 "Our name is *Sin*, not *Human Being*"; $\tau\varsigma\omega\psi\epsilon\ \text{πε } \pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Matt 13:38 "The phrase 'the field' is (stands for) the world"; $\tau\omega\rho\bar{\iota}\ \tau\epsilon\ \varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\iota}\ \pi\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\alpha\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\text{ννογτε } \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\gamma\alpha\ \text{πε}$ Mark 12:29 "The first (commandment) is, *Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord, is one*"; $\text{πενωαχε εντ-αγ-πωζ } \omega\rho\omega-\tau\bar{n}\ \bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\varsigma\epsilon\ \text{αν } \text{πε } \bar{m}\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\bar{\iota}\mu\mu\omicron\text{ν}$ 2 Cor 1:18 "Our word to you has not been *Yes and No* (a Yes and a No)."

143 *Specific negation of the entity term.* The grammatical relationship of an entity term, as an individual element of a text, can be negated by the enclitic αν

ανοκ αν "Not I"

which usually comes after the target of negation. Optionally, negative $\bar{n}-$ is also prefixed (with αν following the negated term), e.g. $\bar{m}-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{αν}$ "Not the Lord."

Examples: $\text{†-}\chi\omega\ \text{δε } \bar{m}\mu\omicron-\varsigma\ \bar{m}-\pi\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\text{πε } \text{ανοκ } \bar{m}-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{αν}$ 1 Cor 7:12 "To the rest, I myself (and *not the Lord*) say . . ."; $\text{†-}\eta\eta\gamma\ \text{δε } \omega\rho\omega-\tau\bar{n}\ \dots\ \bar{n}\tau\alpha-\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\text{αν } \epsilon-\text{πωαχε } \bar{n}-\bar{n}-\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}-\chi\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\ \bar{n}\bar{z}\eta\tau\ \text{αλλα } \tau\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\ \text{αν}$ 1 Cor 4:19 "But I will come to you . . . and I will find out *not the talk* of the arrogant people but their power"; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-\omicron\ \bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{z}\alpha\ \bar{m}-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \text{αν}$ Eph 6:7 "Rendering service to the Lord, *not human beings*"; $\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \bar{m}-\bar{\theta}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\gamma\omega\varsigma\ \bar{z}\bar{m}-\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}\ \text{αλλα } \bar{n}-\bar{z}\alpha\bar{z}\ \bar{n}-\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \text{αν}$ 1 Cor 4:15 "Countless guides in Christ but *not many fathers*"; $\text{μη } \bar{m}-\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \text{αν } \text{πε-εντ-αγ-}\chi\omega\omega\text{ρε } \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{z}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\iota\lambda\bar{\eta}\bar{m}\ \bar{n}-\bar{n}-\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}-\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \bar{m}-\pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\alpha\text{ν}$ Acts 9:21 "Is *not this* the man who made havoc in Jerusalem of those who called on this name?"; $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{ν } \gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\iota\mu\ \text{αν } \text{εντ-αγ-}\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{z}\bar{m}-\pi\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\alpha\ \eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\alpha$ Rom 9:6 "For *not all* who are descended from Israel are Israel"; $\pi\epsilon\kappa\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\psi\ \dots$

$\bar{m}-\pi\omega-\bar{i}\ \text{αν}$ Luke 22:42 "Not *My will* but *Thine*"; $\text{ανοκ αν } \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 1 Cor 7:10 "Not *I* but the Lord"; $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha-\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha-\bar{n}\ \text{αν}$ ShP 130²110v b:3–4 "They, and not we ourselves, said . . ."

PHRASAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF ONE ENTITY TERM WITH ANOTHER

144 Entity terms enter into three kinds of phrasal construction with one another: linkage (coordination and disjunction) **145**, restrictive expansion (possession and appurtenance) **146**, apposition **149**.

145 *Linkage: coordination and disjunction.* The relationship of 'linkage' (coordination or disjunction) enables two or more entity terms to function as a single unit in syntax.

(a) *Coordination* ('and') can be expressed by various prepositions, selected according to the term that follows:

Preposition (‘and’)	Coordinated Entity Term
$\bar{n}\bar{m}\mu\alpha\bar{\iota}$	Personal suffix
$\bar{z}\bar{i}-$	Zero article phrase or term with zero determination
$\bar{m}\bar{n}-$	(var. $\bar{n}\bar{m}-$) All other terms

(For the selection of prepositions before specifiers, cf. **65[a][ii]**.) It is also expressed by

$\alpha\gamma\omega$ **231** before all kinds of entity term
 $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{m}\bar{n}-$ (rare), conditions as for $\bar{m}\bar{n}-$ 'and'

Examples: $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{n}\bar{m}\mu\alpha-\bar{n}$ Acts 16:17 "Paul and us"; $\epsilon\gamma-\chi\eta\kappa\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\ \bar{z}\bar{i}-\bar{\theta}\beta\omicron\mu$ Acts 6:8 "Full of grace and power"; $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \bar{n}\bar{m}-\eta\epsilon\bar{z}\omicron\omicron\gamma$ John 2:15 "The sheep and oxen"; $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \bar{m}\bar{n}-\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\alpha\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ShChass 39:3–5 "You and your father, the devil"; $\bar{z}\eta\text{νμαειν } \bar{m}\bar{n}-\bar{z}\eta\text{νωπηρε}$ Acts 4:30 "Signs and wonders"; $\bar{n}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \eta\epsilon\bar{z}\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon$ Acts 8:12 "Men and women"; $\bar{z}\eta\text{ννοβ } \bar{m}-\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\text{ν } \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{z}\eta\text{νωπηρε}$ Acts 6:8 "Great wonders and signs"

Coordinated article phrases sometimes refer to two different aspects of the same referent: $\pi-\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}-\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-\lambda\rho\eta\alpha\ \bar{m}\mu\omicron-\bar{q}$ Acts 3:14 "You denied the Holy and Righteous One"; $\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{n}-\tau\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \bar{m}\bar{n}-\pi\rho\epsilon\bar{q}-\chi\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ Heb 12:2 "The pioneer of the faith and the perfecter, Jesus" (i.e. the pioneer and perfecter); $\pi-\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}-\omega\omicron\omicron\pi\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \pi-\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\eta\epsilon\bar{q}-\omega\omicron\omicron\pi\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \pi-\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}-\eta\eta\gamma$ Rev 4:8 "The One who is and was and is to come" (cf. **412[d]**).

Linked items are also listed in sequence without linking term, in a rhetorical figure called 'asyndeton'. E.g. $\bar{z}\eta\text{νωμ } \bar{n}\bar{z}\eta\tau\ \bar{z}\eta\text{νμντ-}\varsigma\omicron\bar{\theta}\ \bar{z}\eta\text{νμντ-}\lambda\tau-\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\ \bar{z}\eta\text{νπορνια } \bar{z}\eta\text{νμιωε } \bar{z}\eta\text{ννοβ } \bar{m}-\bar{m}\bar{n}\tau-\lambda\varsigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma\ \lambda-\pi\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \bar{n}\tau-\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{n}\bar{z}\eta\tau-\omicron\gamma$ ShIII 206:1–3 "As for acts of hardheartedness, of folly, of ignorance, of illicit sexuality, of strife, and of great impiety—God delivered you from them."

(b) *Disjunction* (H, EITE, XN-, OYTE, OYAE)

- i. *non-restrictive* (and, or, and/or, or perhaps, or likewise): H; correlative pairs (either ... or ..., whether ... or ...) EITE ... EITE ...
- ii. *restrictive* (or else): XN-, vars. XE-, XEN-
- iii. *resumptive* (nor, not even): OYAE (var. OYTE); correlative pairs (neither ... nor ...) OYTE ... OYTE ...
- iv. '(Not) ... but rather' is expressed by (negation) ... ALLA ...

Examples: ΠΝΟΜΟΣ Η ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ Matt 5:17 "The law and the prophets"; ΧΟΥΤΗ Ν-ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ Η ΜΑΔΒ John 6:19 "Twenty-five or thirty stadia"; ΠΑΒΙΟΣ ΤΗΡ-Q ... ΕΙΤΕ ΘΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΘΜΝΤ-ΝΑ ApophPatr 248 (Chaine 77:13-14 = Z 349:29-30) "My entire way of life ... whether asceticism or acts of charity"; ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΣ ΧΝ-ΙC Matt 27:17 "Barabbas or Jesus"; ΜΠQ-†-ΘΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΑ-Q ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤ-Q ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΤΑΘCΕ Ν-ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ Acts 7:5 "He gave him no inheritance in it, not even a foot's length"; ΟΥΝΟΥΒ ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΖΑΤ ΟΥΔΕ ΘΖΟΜΝΤ ΖΝ-ΝΕΤΝΜΟΧΖ ΟΥΔΕ ΘΠΗΡΑ Ε-ΤΕΖΙΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΨΤΗΗ CΗΤΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΤΟΟΥΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΒΕΡΩΒ Matt 10:9-10 "No gold, nor silver, nor copper in your belts, no bag for your journey, nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor a staff"

- (c) *Patterning*. In a group of three or more linked terms the placement or variation of linking term(s) varies according to rhetorical choice: it is sometimes *consistently repeated*, ΕΡΩΑΝ-ΠΕΚΒΑΛ Η ΤΕΚΒΙΧ Η ΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ CΚΑΝΑΑΛΙΖΕ ΜΜΟ-Κ ShIII 193:5-6 "If your eye or your hand or your foot impedes you"; ΧΩΡΙC-ΘΔΕΙΚ ΖΙ-ΘΑΡΠ ΖΙ-ΘΒΙΝ-ΟΥΩΜ ΖΙ-ΘΤΩΖ ΖΙ-ΘΕΙΩΤ Ν-ΝΕΤΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ShChass 46:18-23 "Not to speak of bread and wine and foodstuffs and fodder and barley for your animals"; sometimes placed *only before the last term*, ΖΕΝΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΖΕΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΖΕΝΑΠΟC-ΤΟΛΟC ΖΕΝΓΡΑΦΗ Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ ΖΕΝΚΑΘΗΓΗΣΙC ΝΤΕ-Ν-ΕΤΘ-ΟΥΑΔΒ ΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ-ΖΕΝCΒΟΟΥΕ Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ ShIII 207:8-10 "Prophets, gospels, apostles, numerous scriptures, sermons by the saints, orations, and numerous teachings"; and sometimes *arranged to create subgroups*, ΑΥΩ ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΝΜ-ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC ΝΜ-ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟC ΜΝ-ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟC ΝΜ-ΘΩΜΑC ΑΥΩ ΙΑΚΩΒΟC ΠΩΗΡΕ Ν-ΑΛΦΑΙΟC ΜΝ-ΘΑΔΑΔΑΙΟC ΑΥΩ CΙΜΩΝ ΠΚΑΝΑΝΑΙΟC, ΝΜ-ΙΟΥΔΑC ΠΙCΚΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ Mark 3:18 "Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, and Thomas; James the son of Alphaeus and Thaddaeus; Simon the Cananaean and Judas Iscariot."

- (d) When the linked item is an *infinitive* with zero determination, it is expressed either

- i. as a verbal noun **105(c)** (ΑΧΝ-ΘΚΡΜΡΜ ΖΙ-ΘΜΟΚΜΕΚ Phil 2:14 "Without grumbling or questioning"), or
- ii. as an entity statement **150** in the form of Ε- + ⁰infinitive (ΟΥΜΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ ΑΥΩ Ε-ΘΤΜ-Ρ-ΘΜΑΪ-ΘΖΟΜΤ ShChass 98:45-48 "Poverty and not being greedy")

Further examples: ΠΩΠΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ Ε-ΘΨΠΤΕ ΖΗΤ-Q Ν-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕQ-ΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ Ε-ΘΨΠΤΕ ΑΝ ΖΗΤ-Q Ν-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν-ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟC ShWess9 98a:6-13 "Shame, but specifically, feeling shame before a holy person rather than feeling shame before an impure person"; ΘΕΧΟΥCΙΑ Ν-ΘΟΥΩΜ ΖΙ-CΩ ΑΥΩ Ε-ΘΤΜ-Ρ-ΘΖΩΒ ShIII 94:12 "The authorization of eating and drinking and of not doing work"; ΟΥ ... ΕΙΜΗΤΙ

Ε-ΘΟΥΩΜ Ν-ΤΕΤΡΟΦΗ ShAmél II 333:11-12 (= Z 589:29-30) "What else but eating their food?"

- 146** '*Restrictive expansion*' (i.e. general relationship **147** and appurtenance **148**) is a construction of two entity terms such that one restricts the meaning of the other by limiting the number of referents to which it applies: e.g.

ΤΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
"The kingdom of God"
restrictive expansion
element

ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΤΑ-Q
"A servant of his"
restrictive expansion
element

ΤΕQΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ
"His kingdom" (the-related-to-Him-kingdom)
restrictive personal
infix

The restrictive element is mediated by prepositions and preposition-like marks, which occur in prenominal and prepersonal states; and is also expressed in the possessive article **54**. Personal morphs cannot be expanded by a restrictive expansion.

147 The general relationship (possessive) construction

The construction of '*general*' (or '*possessive*') *relationship* (table 11, below)

ΠΕΙΩΤ Ν-ΜΜΝΤ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΤΗ-Q "The Father of mercies" (2 Cor 1:3)
ΠΕQΡΑΝ "His name" (Matt 1:21)

is the broadest and most frequent kind of restrictive expansion. It expresses a general, logically ambiguous restrictive relationship ('*related to, of*') between nucleus (the Father, name) and expansion element (mercies, His). Its form depends on the choice of expansion element.

- (a) Non-personal expansion element: mediated by Ν- 'of' the mark of relationship **147** (alt. Μ- **21**, vars. **22**)

ΠΗΪ Μ-ΠΧΟΕΪC "The house of the Lord" (Ps 22[23]:6)
(The-house related-to-the-lord)

ΠΧΟΕΙC Μ-ΠΗΪ "The lord of the house" (Matt 24:43)
(The-lord related-to-the-house)

- (b) Personal expansion element (*his*, etc.)

i. when the nucleus has simple definite determination ('*the* ...'), the possessive article Π= **54** ('*the* ... of ...') occurs instead of the simple def. article

πεφηνί "His house" (the house + *related-to-him*)

πεφχοεic "Its master" (the master + *related-to-it*)

ii. otherwise, the personal expansion is mediated by ντα=; cf. 148

ουηί ντα-q "A house of his" (a house *related to him*)

ηί ντα-q "House(s) of his" (house[s] *related to him*)

πείηί ντα-q "This house of his" (this house *related to him*) etc.

Comparable is the possessive pronoun πα-, πω= 'the one related to/belonging to . . .', cf. 54.

Further examples. (a) πογωνζ εβολ μ-πσοογν μ-πεοογ μ-πνογτε 2 Cor 4:6 "The manifestation of the knowledge of the glory of God"; πραν ν-ογπροφητης Matt 10:41 "The name of a prophet"; ννοб ν-τγαλilαia Mark 6:21 "The leading men of Galilee"; τμντ-савε ν-νсавееγ 1 Cor 1:19 "The cleverness of the clever"; πсawq н-αγγελος . . . н-тсawqe н-εκκλησια Rev 1:20 "The seven angels of the seven churches"; ζενζβhoγe ν-zenpωme epe-neyzht takhγt epo-oy 1 Tim 6:5 "Projects of people whose minds are corrupted"; μπαρεμβολη ν-zenkooye Heb 11:34 "Foreign armies" (The encampments of others); κανα ν-τγαλilαia John 2:1 "Cana of Galilee"; απα-зηλιαс ν-ωιηт ApophPatr 270 (Chaine 83:13 = Z 354:7) "Apa Elijah of Scetis"; ογβαπτιсma μ-μετanoia Mark 1:4 βάπτισμα μετανοίας "A baptism of repentance(s)"; ογωze ν-θpωme Matt 4:19 "Fishers of human beings"; ζωс-θapocтoлoc μ-пexт 1 Thess 2:7(2:6) "As apostles of Christ"; e-θzih ν-θzeonoc Matt 10:5 "Among the Gentiles" (Into way[s] of Gentile[s]); zoine ν-тeίμiνe John 4:23 "Such" (Some of this sort); тпicтic ν-zoine 2 Tim 2:18 "The faith of some"; ммнтpe ν-neyωxαe Acts 5:32 "The witnesses of these words"; pω-q μ-πmoγi 2 Tim 4:17 "The lion's mouth" 139; ναi ν-тeίμiνe Matt 19:14 "Such" (These of this sort); πeиe ν-ναi ShChass 21:52 "The likeness of these things"; тaи on тe oe ν-на-πnoγte 1 Cor 2:11 "So also, those belonging to God" (This too is the manner of those belonging to God); μπε-oyon ν-тeиze oywнz eβoλ eneγ zμ-πiнa Matt 9:33 "Never was anything like this (*any of this sort*) seen in Israel"; coφia ниμ ν-нpмн-кнme Acts 7:22 "Every sort of the wisdom of the Egyptians"; тaπe ν-apxh ниμ zi-eзoycia ниμ Col 2:10 "The head of all rule and authority"; zαh ν-cooy ν-zooy e-ппacxa John 12:1 "Six days before the Passover" (At the front of six days to the Passover); zαz ν-cωma ν-n-e-oyab Matt 27:52 "Many bodies of the saints"; e-yze мн-oyтwoγn н-zαz Luke 2:34 "For the fall and rising of many"; oγmmт-xωpе ν-aγ ν-aειnc ne neψγxh ν-npωme eт-ō μ-παρεenoc ShOr 165a:4-7 "What a great resource (A strength of *what magnitude*) are the souls of people who are virgins!"; zixh-тмнтe ν-xω-к ShChass 41:49-50 "On the crown of your head"; epe-тpeтн-р-зoγo zн-тapaн eзoyн e-neyтepнγ . . . кaтa-oe ν-aнon eзoyн epω-тн (elliptical) 1 Thess 3:12 "May He make you abound in love to one another . . . as we (do) to you" (in the manner of us to you)

(b) (i) Possessive article: πεφhι Matt 24:43 "His house" (the-related-to-him-house); aнok пe пeyωopп 1 Tim 1:15 "I am the foremost of them" (I am the-related-to-them-first); neγwoγwт . . . neγpo ShAmél II 26:6 "Their windows . . . their doors" (the-related-to-them-windows . . . the-related-to-them-doors); (ii) ντα= forming expansion element: zenkata-θcapз нта-γ ShIV 61:11 "Relatives of theirs, Some of their relatives"; oγzooyт ниμ нтоот-q (collated) Exod 12:48 (rare construction) αὐτοῦ

πᾶν ἀρσενικόν "Every male of him"; ογβαλ ντε-ογzμzαλ ντα-q ShChass 131:55-56 "The eye of one of his slaves"; θcmh ντα-q John 5:37 "His voice"; н-ет-зhп нта-γ Jer 29(49):10 (quoted in ShAmél II 92:12) τὰ κρυπτά αὐτῶν "Their secret places"

More restrictive, unidirectional kinds of relationship are optionally expressed by various prepositional phrases 195(ii), and by the appurtenance construction 148 (whose prepersonal form ντα= overlaps with the construction of general relationship).

148 The appurtenance construction

The construction of 'appurtenance' (table 11)

μμελος ντε-πсωma "The parts of the body" (1 Cor 12:22)

expresses the subsumed natural relationship of part to whole, component to system, offshoot to source, etc.—the first term being the part and the second being the whole. It is more restrictive in meaning than general relationship. It is mediated by the mark of appurtenance ντε-/ντα= (204).

ογποlic ντε-τγαlilαia "A city of Galilee"

ογποlic ντα-с "A city belonging to it, One of its cities"

ντε-/ντα= does not meet the definition of a preposition 194 in as much as its only functions are as a restrictive expansion of entity terms and as predicate in the lexically fixed expression eт-νта- (q) "Which belongs to (him)."

The prepersonal state ντα= is formally indistinguishable from the expression of general relationship under certain conditions (cf. table 11).

Further examples: тaиaнkн ν-bppe ντε-пecзaи aн aлaл μ-пeπпa 2 Cor 3:6 "The new covenant, not in a written code but of the Spirit" (The new covenant not belonging to writing but related to the Spirit); пxω νте-нixω Cant subscript title "The Song of Songs"; пeйoyxai νте-πnoγte Acts 28:28 "This salvation of God"; naxpawн νте-пeтaиowн 1 Cor 2:8 "The rulers of this age"; nazaret νте-тγαlilαia Mark 1:9 "Nazareth of Galilee"; oγmнwе aε νте-тпoлeиc Luke 7:12 "And a crowd from the city"; zenoiкoдomн нте-zenpωнpe ωнм ey-xi-zpa-γ zn-oyw ShAmél II 433:13 "Constructions made by little children playing in the sand"; koиwнia ниμ νте-пeπпa Phil 2:1 "Any participation in the Spirit"; ζωс-θiaкoнoc νте-πnoγte 2 Cor 6:4 "As servant(s) of God"; мнт н-zmzαλ нта-q (textual var. нтоот-q) Luke 19:13 "Ten of his servants" (Ten servants belonging to him); θpooγ нта-q ShIII 203:20 "Any voice from Him"; тeтe-зoycia νте-тнγтн 1 Cor 8:9 "This liberty of yours"; oγcmot мн-oyзaйвec νте-на-тпe Heb 8:5 "A copy and shadow of the things of heaven"; neonп νте-πnoγte 1 Cor 2:10 "The depths (hidden parts) of God"; oγнp ν-xai-beke νте-пaйwт Luke 15:17 "How many hired servants belonging to my father"; пzae ν-zooy nob νте-пwa John 7:37 "The last day of the feast, the great day"; псawq μ-пnα νте-πnoγte Rev 3:1 "The seven spirits of God"; ppeq-xi-θcвw нтм-πnoγte (textual var. нте-) John 6:45 "People taught by God"

TABLE 11
MARKS OF GENERAL RELATIONSHIP AND OF APPURTENANCE

CONSTRUCTION TYPE	MARK OF RESTRICTIVE EXPANSION	
	Prenominal	Prepersonal
General relationship		
Restricting a simple def. entity term ('the')	\bar{n} -	Possessive article in place of def. article
Otherwise 147(b)	\bar{n} -	$\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ = ¹
Appurtenance	$\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ -	$\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ = ²

¹Same as appurtenance entity term

²Same as general relationship except when restricting a simple def. entity term

- 149 *Apposition*. The relationship of apposition enables one entity term to amplify, describe, identify, name, explicate, etc. another or several others by being placed after it, more or less immediately. Items in apposition speak, in different ways, of the same referent and thus are equatable.

$\alpha\kappa-\nu\alpha\gamma \epsilon-\dot{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \bar{n}-\zeta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\delta\alpha\dot{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ "He saw James *the son of Zebedee*" (Mark 1:19)

A term in apposition (*the son of Zebedee*) has the same syntactic status as the one that it amplifies (*James*), as though replacing it. Appositional items need not agree in gender, number, determination, or person. For proper nouns in apposition, cf. 129.

Examples: $\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\tau \pi\alpha\dot{\iota} \epsilon\dot{\nu}\tau-\alpha\kappa-\tau\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma-\bar{q} \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{q}\bar{n}-\eta-\epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau$ Gal 1:1 "God, the Father, who raised Him from the dead"; $\dot{\iota}\varsigma \pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ "Jesus Christ"; $\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \gamma\alpha\rho \varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\bar{n} \pi\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\tau$ Matt 6:8 "For God your Father knows"; $\omicron\gamma\alpha \pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\tau \dot{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\alpha\kappa$ Rom 9:10 "One man, our forefather Isaac"; $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta\eta\lambda\dot{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \omicron\gamma\zeta\epsilon\kappa\alpha-\tau\omicron\eta\tau\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma \omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \bar{n}-\delta\dot{\iota}\kappa\alpha\dot{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ Acts 10:22 "Cornelius, a centurian, an upright man"; $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta-\omicron\gamma\alpha \gamma\alpha\rho \nu\alpha\gamma \epsilon\rho\omicron-\kappa \pi-\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\tau\alpha-\bar{q} \bar{m}\alpha\gamma \bar{m}-\pi\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta \epsilon\kappa-\eta\eta\chi$ 1 Cor 8:10 "For if anyone sees you, a person of knowledge, at table"; $\alpha\gamma-\kappa\tau\omicron-\omicron\gamma \omicron\eta \alpha\gamma-\kappa\omega\tau \mu\omicron\mu\omicron-\bar{q} \pi\pi\gamma\rho\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\bar{m}\alpha\gamma$ ShIII 21:18-19 "They came back and built it, namely that tower"; $\pi\alpha\dot{\iota}\kappa\alpha\dot{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \dot{\iota}\omega\beta$ ShChass 38:10-11 "Job, the just"; $\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta \eta\dot{\iota}\mu \dots \theta\pi\omicron\eta\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma \bar{q}\bar{\iota}-\theta\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ Matt 22:10 "All . . . both bad and good"; $\zeta\epsilon\eta\alpha\omega\rho\omicron\eta \omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta \mu\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\lambda\dot{\iota}\beta\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma \mu\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\omega\alpha\lambda$ Matt 2:11 "Gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh"; $\tau\eta\dot{\iota}\varsigma\tau\dot{\iota}\varsigma \theta\epsilon\lambda\pi\dot{\iota}\varsigma \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\eta\eta \pi\epsilon\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\mu\eta\tau$ 1 Cor 13:13 "Faith, hope, love, these three"

Similar meaning is expressed by the mediated attributive construction of the noun specifying occupation, type, or citizenship 99.

THE ENTITY STATEMENT (SYNTACTIC EQUIVALENT OF THE ENTITY TERM)

- 150 *The nature of Coptic entity statements*. 'Entity statements' (clauses and phrases in lieu of an entity term; substantive clauses; *that* clauses) are constructions

that express action, the content of a proposition, or reported discourse, as an entity and/or target of cross-reference

$\epsilon-\theta\tau\rho\epsilon\bar{q}-\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ for him to choose

$\epsilon-\theta\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ to choose (verbal actor not expressed)

$\chi\epsilon-\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta-\varsigma\bar{q}\alpha\dot{\iota}-\varsigma\omicron\gamma$ for you to write them

$\chi\epsilon-\alpha\bar{q}-\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{q}\bar{n}-\eta-\epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau$ that He has arisen from the dead

$\theta\epsilon \bar{n}\tau-\alpha\bar{q}-\nu\alpha\gamma \epsilon-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma \bar{q}\bar{n}-\tau\epsilon\bar{z}\dot{\iota}\eta$ how (or that) on the road he had seen the Lord

$\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{m} \pi\dot{\iota}\varsigma\gamma\alpha\eta\lambda$ 'Hear, O Israel'

such that the construction has in some way the syntax of an entity term. The entity statement as subject expansion of a clause is surveyed in chapter 22, reported discourse in chapter 24.

Many entity statements can occur as subject or predicate in nominal sentence patterns

$\pi\alpha\dot{\iota} \Delta\epsilon \pi\epsilon \epsilon-\theta\tau\rho\epsilon\eta-\varsigma\bar{\lambda}\varsigma\bar{\lambda}-\eta\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\gamma$ "And this means *for us to encourage one another*" (Rom 1:12)

Most are capable of receiving cross-reference, both retrospective (anaphora) and prospective (cataphora) 270, at least in certain constructions.

$\epsilon-\theta\bar{z}\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma \Delta\epsilon \bar{n}\varsigma\alpha\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\alpha\bar{m} \bar{m}\mu\omicron-\dot{\iota} \eta \varsigma\alpha\bar{z}\beta\omicron\gamma\rho \bar{m}\mu\omicron-\dot{\iota} \bar{m}-\pi\omega\dot{\iota} \Delta\eta \pi\epsilon \epsilon-\theta\tau\alpha\alpha-\bar{q}$ "But *sitting* on My right or on My left is not Mine to bestow" (Mark 10:40) [$\pi\epsilon$ and $-q$ refer back to $\epsilon-\theta\bar{z}\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$, 272]

$\bar{q}-\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\bar{z} \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\epsilon-\epsilon\rho\epsilon-\pi\alpha\dot{\iota}\kappa\alpha\dot{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \eta\alpha-\omega\eta\bar{z}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{q}\bar{n}-\tau\pi\dot{\iota}\varsigma\tau\dot{\iota}\varsigma$ "That *the righteous shall live* by faith, is evident (It is evident that the righteous etc.) (Gal 3:11) [\bar{q} - is heralds and anticipates the $\chi\epsilon$ - clause 486]

$\mu\omega\gamma\chi\eta\varsigma \gamma\alpha\rho \alpha\bar{q}-\chi\omicron\omicron-\varsigma \chi\epsilon-\tau\mu\alpha\dot{\iota}\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\tau \mu\bar{n}-\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ "For Moses said, Honor your father and your mother" (Mark 7:10) [$-c$ heralds and anticipates the $\chi\epsilon$ - clause]

Most can stand in apposition to a demonstrative pronoun or article phrase

$\kappa\omicron\rho\beta\alpha\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\pi\alpha\dot{\iota} \pi\epsilon \chi\epsilon-\omicron\gamma\alpha\omega\rho\eta \pi\epsilon$ "Corban, which means the following, *that it is an offering*" (Mark 7:11)

$\alpha\dot{\iota}-\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{m} \epsilon-\pi\varsigma\omicron\epsilon\dot{\iota}\tau \mu-\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\tau \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta \alpha\pi\alpha-\bar{z}\alpha\rho\omega\eta \chi\epsilon-\epsilon\bar{q}-\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \bar{q}\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha \epsilon\gamma-\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \epsilon\rho\omicron-\bar{q} \chi\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\alpha$ "I heard about the reputation of our holy father Apa Harōn, namely *the fact that he was conducting* his career in a place called Peia" (Paphnoute Cephala, Stories of the Monks of the Desert [BMis 472:24-26])

To a very limited extent, some can be suffixed to a transitive verb or preposition as its object; rare.

οὐρῶμε \bar{n} -βαλε $\chi\iota\bar{n}$ -ε \bar{q} - $\bar{n}\bar{z}$ ητ- \bar{c} \bar{n} -τε \bar{q} μα $\bar{\alpha}\gamma$ "A man lame since he was in his mother's womb (from *his being in his mother's womb*) (Acts 3:2)

151 Formal classification of entity statements

i. $\chi\epsilon$ - and $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\lambda)\bar{c}$ expanded by a clause

$\chi\epsilon$ - $\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{c}\omega\tau\eta$ he chose (directly quoted discourse); that he chose; the fact *or* idea *or* statement *or* possibility that he chose
 $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\lambda)\bar{c}$ ε \bar{q} ε- $\bar{c}\omega\tau\eta$ for him to choose, that he might choose

ii. def. sing. masc. article or zero article, expanded by $\tau\bar{p}\epsilon$ - **362**

$\pi\tau\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\bar{c}\omega\tau\eta$ the fact of his choosing
 $\emptyset\tau\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\bar{c}\omega\tau\eta$ his choosing

iii. the preposition ε- or \bar{n} - expanded by $\emptyset\tau\bar{p}\epsilon$ - or \emptyset infinitive

ε- $\emptyset\tau\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\bar{c}\omega\tau\eta$ for him to choose (verbal actor expressed)
 ε- $\emptyset\bar{c}\omega\tau\eta$ or \bar{n} - $\emptyset\bar{c}\omega\tau\eta$ to choose (no verbal actor expressed)

iv. clauses expressing *if* and *since* (ε $\bar{p}\omega\lambda\bar{n}$ -, ε $\omega\chi\epsilon$ -, ε- $\bar{n}\epsilon$ -)

\bar{n} -ο \bar{y} ω $\pi\eta\bar{r}\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{n}$ τε ε $\gamma\omega\lambda\bar{n}$ - $\delta\epsilon\pi$ -ο $\bar{y}\alpha$ ε \bar{q} - $\chi\iota\bar{o}\gamma\epsilon$ "It is not to be wondered at *if one should be taken stealing*" (Prov 6:30)

$\bar{n}\alpha\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ - \bar{c} δε ε $\omega\chi\epsilon$ - $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ - \bar{p} - $\emptyset\bar{r}\bar{p}\bar{o}$ "And it would be better *if you had reigned*" (1 Cor 4:8)

$\bar{n}\alpha\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ - \bar{c} $\bar{n}\alpha$ - \bar{q} $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}$ ε- $\bar{n}\epsilon$ - $\bar{y}\bar{n}$ -ο $\bar{y}\omega\bar{n}\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\bar{c}\iota\kappa\epsilon$ $\lambda\omega\epsilon$ ε- $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\bar{m}\alpha\kappa\bar{z}$ "It would be much better for him *if a millstone were hung round his neck*" (Mark 9:42)

v. $\pi\bar{m}\alpha$ 'where' or $\theta\epsilon$ 'how, that' expanded by a relative clause, introducing indirect discourse **522** ?

$\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ -ο \bar{y} ε- $\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\tau$ - $\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha\bar{y}$ ε- $\bar{p}\chi\bar{o}\epsilon\iota\bar{c}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\tau\epsilon\bar{z}\iota\bar{n}$ "He declared to them *how on the road he had seen the Lord*" (Acts 9:27)

vi. clauses in conjunctive conjugation **354**

$\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{c}\alpha$ - $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ - $\bar{p}\chi\bar{o}\epsilon\iota\bar{c}$ †- $\emptyset\bar{m}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{\pi}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\lambda}$ "After *the Lord had given Israel rest*" (Josh 23:1)

vii. reported discourse without $\chi\epsilon$ - (hypostasis **142**)

$\tau\omega\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{\pi}$ τε $\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{m}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{p}\chi\bar{o}\epsilon\iota\bar{c}$ $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{p}\chi\bar{o}\epsilon\iota\bar{c}$ ο $\bar{y}\alpha$ $\bar{p}\epsilon$
 "The first (commandment) is, *Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord, is one*" (Mark 12:29)

viii. clauses in circumstantial conversion, expanding - \bar{c} in $\bar{n}\alpha\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ - \bar{c} it is a good thing, $\delta\bar{n}\tau$ - \bar{c} find out, and $\bar{z}\epsilon$ ε $\bar{p}\bar{o}$ - \bar{c} find out **426**; and expanding $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{i}$ 'how good it would be if'

ix. unconverted nominal sentence after $\delta\bar{n}$ - **516**

$\alpha\bar{y}\omega$ $\bar{p}\alpha\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\delta\bar{n}$ - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\Gamma}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ "My people has not regarded *who I am*" (Isa 1:3)

x. clauses in focalizing conversion, under very limited syntactic conditions **457, 493(34)(66)(67)(68)**

$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ - $\delta\bar{n}\bar{n}$ -ε \bar{y} - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - \bar{p} -ο \bar{y} $\bar{n}\alpha$ - \bar{q} "They did not find out what to do (*what they might do*) to Him" (Luke 19:48)

7 Inflected Modifiers

Definition and List of Inflected Modifiers 152

ἄνο= / ἑντο= 153

Placement and Word Order 154

Specific Negation of the Inflected Modifier 157

ἡματε and ἡ-ογωτ 158

DEFINITION AND LIST OF INFLECTED MODIFIERS

152 The six 'inflected modifiers'

ἄνο= / ἑντο= (my)self
ἡμινῆμο= ... (my)self
μαῦαα(τ)= ... alone
οὔαα(τ)= only ...
τηρ= ... all
ζωω= ... too

only occur in a prepersonal state 30 and are inflected by the personal suffixes 85.

ἄνο= / ἑντο= (my)self (yourself, himself, etc.), for (my) part, personally, (I) for one 153

For the invariable enclitic ἑντοq, cf. 156

ἡμινῆμο= (vars. ἡμινεῆμο=, ἡμινουῆμο=, μοῦνημο=, μωνῆμο=) (my)self, own (often reflex.)

μαῦαα(τ)= (var. ἡμαῦαα=) alone, only, mere, (my)self (yourself, himself, etc.), own (sometimes reflex.)

... μαῦαα(τ)= ἀν ἅλα not only ... but also ... For the absolute state ματε, cf. 158.

οὔαα(τ)= only, alone

For the absolute state οὔωτ, cf. 158

τηρ= ... all, entirely, all ... , utter; also utterly (as though adverb, relating to an adjacent verb)

π- ... τηρ= the whole ... ; οὔ- ... τηρ= a whole ... ; ζεν- ... τηρ-οὔ all sorts of ... ; ... (σναῦ) τηρ-οὔ (two) whole ... ; cf. πτηρ-q (invariable article phrase) the entirety, the universe τὸ πᾶν; ε-πτηρ-q wholly, at all

INFLECTED MODIFIERS

ζωω= too, for (my) part

ετε-ζωω= πε (which is) real, genuine, natural (Luke 16:11, Rom 11:21). For the invariable enclitic ζωωq, cf. 156.

They express categories of distinctive confrontation (exclusive μαῦαα=, οὔαα=, ἡμινῆμο=; inclusive ζωω=, ἄνο= / ἑντο=) or integral totality (τηρ=). Modifier is linked to its target of modification by agreeing with it in person/number/(gender), and occurs in the same textual environment though not necessarily adjacent (for placement and word order, cf. 154).

The target of modification is either a *personal morph* of any kind

ἄ-κοῦων-ε ἄνοκ "I have known you personally" (ShIII 21:9)

ἑντοκ μαῦαα-κ "Thou (sing. masc.) alone" (Rev 15:4)

ἡανοῦ-^θ τηρ-ε ταῶβερε "Thou (sing. fem.) art all fair, my companion" (Cant 4:7)

τεqπολις ἡμινῆμο-q "His own city" (Matt 9:1)

ἡἡ-οῦμνηδε ἄγω ἡἡμα-ἰ ζω-^θ "With many and with myself as well" (Rom 16:2)

†αῶρεα ἡ-οὔωτ ἡθε ζωω-ἡ ἡτ-αq-† ἡα-ἡ "The same gift as He gave to us too" (Acts 11:17)

ἡτωτἡ τηρ-ἡἡ "All of you (pl.)" (ShIII 139:21)

or the addressee of an imperative (2d person)

καταλαλει δε νω-ἰ τηρ-ἡἡ | τῶαειο-ει δε ζι-οὔσop νεσνηῦ
"So, despise me, all of you (pl.); condemn me, all (of you) together, brethren" (ShAmél I 70:4-5)

τενοῦ δε ζωω-κ (textual var. ζωω-q) σωτεμ ἡσα-πεζροοῦ
ἡ-τεκζῆζαλ "And now hearken, for thy (sing. masc.) part, to the voice of thine handmaid" (1 Sam 18:22)

βωκ ζωτ-ἡἡἡἡ ε-παμα-ἡ-ελοολε "You [pl.] go into my vineyard too" (Matt 20:4)

or a non-personal entity term (which motivates a 3d person suffix).

πειωτ μαῦαα-q Matt 24:36 "The Father only," τραλῖαλα τηρ-ε Matt 4:23 "All Galilee," ζενῶβε μαῦαα-ῦ Matt 21:19 "Leaves only," ^θοεικ μαῦαα-q Matt 4:4 "Bread alone," πετρος ζωω-q on John 18:18 "Peter also," ναῖ ζω-οὔ Rom 11:31 "They (These) also," ἡἡἡἡ-οὔεβοτ ἡ σναῦ ἡ ῶωμτ τηρ-οὔ ShIV 71:4-5 "After one month, or two or three at most," ζοεινε τηρ-οὔ νε ShAmél II 16:8 "They are all of such a kind"

Inflections: (i) ἄνοκ, ἑντοκ, ἑντο, ἑντοq, ἑντοc, ἄνον, ἡτωτἡ, ἡτοοῦ 153; (ii) ἡμινῆμο= like the preposition ερο=; (iii) μαῦαατ, μαῦαακ (var. μαῦαατῑ), μαῦαατε, μαῦααq (μαῦαατῑ), μαῦααc (μαῦαατῑ), μαῦααν (μαῦαατἡ), μαῦατἡἡἡἡἡἡ (μαῦαατἡἡἡἡἡἡ), μαῦααῦ (μαῦαατοῦ); (iv)

have done violence to my *own* self with every sort of iniquity”; $\eta\zeta\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \tau\eta\rho\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ ShAmél I 373:9–10 “All the heretics, *too*”

Compatibilities, word order, frequency, syntax, and meanings of the inflected modifiers are further described in Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* (chapter 6).

- 156 The invariable enclitics $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma$ ‘moreover’, etc. and $\zeta\omega\omega\gamma$ ‘on the contrary, actually’ belong to the class of enclitic conjunction 235(b)/initial attitude marker 239 like $\gamma\alpha\rho$, $\Delta\epsilon$, $\omicron\eta$, $\rho\omega$, $\beta\epsilon$ etc. Invariable $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma$ often occurs in the configurations $\Delta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma$, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma$, $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma$, and $\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma$.

SPECIFIC NEGATION OF THE INFLECTED MODIFIER

- 157 The grammatical relationship of an inflected modifier, as an individual element of the text, can be negated by the enclitic $\alpha\eta$

$\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\eta$ “Not every one of . . .” (John 13:10)

which usually comes after the modifier; optionally, negative $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ is also prefixed to the modifier. E.g. $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\eta\ \zeta\omega\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}\ \tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\bar{\epsilon}\beta\eta\gamma\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\eta$ (textual var. $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \tau\eta\rho\text{-}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\eta$) John 13:10 “And you are clean, but *not every one of you*.”

$\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ AND $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$

- 158 Akin to the inflected modifier are two non-inflected modifiers, $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ and $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ (var. $\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$, optional fem. $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$). They are related in origin, form, and meaning to ($\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha(\tau)\neq$ and $\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha(\tau)\neq$, respectively.

- (a) $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ‘only’ is an adverbial modifier 194. It mostly modifies a preceding verbal clause nexus but can also modify other individual elements of the text. (Correlative pairs: . . . $\alpha\eta\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ . . .$ “Not only . . . but also . . .”; . . . $\alpha\eta\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ . . .\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ “Not . . . but only . . .”; $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota\ \epsilon\text{-}\ . . .\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\text{-}\ . . .\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ “Except for . . . alone.”)

Examples: $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omega\zeta\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\pi\tau\omicron\pi\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\eta\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Matt 14:36 “That they might *only* touch the fringe of His garment”; $\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\ \eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau\text{-}\gamma$ (i.e. $\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau\text{-}\gamma$) $\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ShAmél II 18:9 “Achar was slain not *only* because of his sins”; $\alpha\eta\ \omicron\kappa\ \tau\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\text{-}\alpha\eta\ \alpha\eta\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \alpha\eta\ \bar{\eta}\mu\text{-}\pi\omega\tau\ \epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\alpha\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ John 8:16 “As for Me, My judgment is true, for it is not a matter of Me *alone*, but of Me and the Father who sent Me”; $\pi\alpha\iota\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \text{-}\gamma\epsilon\omega\text{-}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ Gal 3:2 “I wish to know *only* this from you”

- (b) $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$, rare fem. $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$ ‘single, same’ (var. without $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$) is an attributive phrase. It modifies indef. and def. article phrases, proper nouns, $\omicron\gamma\alpha$, and $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha$, and follows the target of modification (neg. . . . $\alpha\eta\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ “not . . . alone . . .”). $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ is comparable to the modifier in the mediated attributive construction of the noun 99.

Examples: $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\ \eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ (var. $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\ \omicron\gamma\omega\tau$) Mark 8:14 “A *single* loaf of bread”; $\kappa\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta\zeta\ \zeta\eta\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \mu\eta\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ShAmél I 7:7–8 “Even if I live in locations *shared in common* with other people”; $\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ (textual var. $\omega\rho\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$) John 1:18 “The *only* Son”; $\pi\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ John 3:16 “His *only* Son”; $\alpha\text{-}\tau\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon\ \omega\epsilon\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\omicron\ \epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\pi\eta\tau\ \bar{\eta}\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\gamma\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\alpha\omega\epsilon$ Martyrdom and Miracles of St. Mercurius the General (BMis 257:8–10) “*One of* his feet (?) tangled in the saddle cloth, and the mule continued to run with him hanging”; $\eta\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\iota\psi\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ ShChass 47:37–38 “*These several* oppressions”; $\text{-}\text{-}\Delta\omega\rho\epsilon\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ Acts 11:17 “The *same* gift”; $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\kappa\ \alpha\eta\ \eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\text{-}\gamma$ Interprétation de la résurrection (Leyd 423 middle:3–4) “It is not Isaac *alone* that He saved”; $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Phil 4:2 “Agree (Think one *single* thing) in the Lord”; $\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\iota\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ John 5:44 “The glory that comes from the One who is *Unique*” $\tau\eta\eta\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha\eta\ \tau\eta\eta\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\upsilon$

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DEFINITION OF THE COPTIC VERB

For verbal morphology, cf. 186–93. For the tense system, cf. chapter 25.

- 159 'Verbs' are a very numerous word class whose distinguishing features are
- i. that they are '*lexemes*', i.e. basic units of Coptic vocabulary whose meanings are particular rather than general (as distinct from the general terms that express grammatical categories, such as determinators, specifiers, personal morphs, etc. 91), and also
 - ii. that their basic form, the '*infinitive*', expresses action, process, and/or entry into a state and can be conjugated 165; e.g. $\text{c}\omega\tau\pi$ 'choose', $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ 'believe', $\mu\sigma\gamma$ 'die', $\sigma\gamma\beta\alpha\omega$ 'turn white'; $\alpha\text{c-}\text{c}\omega\tau\pi$ "She chose," $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\iota\text{-}\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ "We believe," etc.

ACTUALIZATIONS OF THE VERB LEXEME

INFINITIVE

- 160 Considered abstractly, apart from actual sentences, Coptic verb lexemes are just virtual possibilities stored in memory for eventual utterance (terms in an abstract, potential linguistic repertory). The occurrence of a lexeme in an actual written or spoken text is its '*actualization*'. The main actualization form of the verb is called the '*infinitive*'. (Syntactically, the infinitive can be identified as that class of morphs which occurs as the third essential constituent of non-durative conjugation 325.) In modern dictionaries, verbs are filed under their infinitive form. The formation of the infinitive is described in 187–89. Verb lexemes are actualized as infinitives in several different syntactic functions: (i) durative conjugation (the '*durative infinitive*' 308); (ii) non-durative conjugation (the '*non-durative infinitive*' 328); (iii) masc. verbal noun 105(c) (in the word class of gendered common noun 104); (iv) lexical completion after the future auxiliary $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ 'is going to' 311 or other auxiliaries 184 such as $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\omega\text{-}$ 'want to'. Furthermore (v), the ordinary affirmative imperative (chapter 16) has the same form(s) as the infinitive.

- 161 *Specific negation* of the lexical content (as such) of an infinitive is expressed by the negator $\tau\bar{m}$ - 105(c). E.g. $\pi\tau\bar{m}-\dagger-\theta\delta\omega\bar{n}\tau \Delta\epsilon \bar{n}\lambda-q$ ShAmél II 233:13 “Not making Him angry”; $\pi\tau\bar{m}-o\pi-\bar{k}$ ApophPatr 105 (Chaîne 25:2 = Z 298:7) “Not to think highly of oneself” 181(f); $\bar{n}\lambda\bar{n}o\gamma-\theta\tau\bar{m}-o\gamma\epsilon\bar{m}-\theta\lambda q$ $o\gamma\Delta\epsilon \epsilon-\theta\tau\bar{m}-c\epsilon-\theta\bar{n}p\bar{\pi}$ Rom 14:21 “It is right not to eat meat or drink wine”; $\bar{n}\lambda\bar{n}o\gamma-\pi\tau\bar{m}-\omega\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon \bar{n}\zeta o\gamma o \epsilon-\theta\omega\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$ ShAmél I 38:1 “Not seeking is better than seeking.” For the compatibility of $\tau\bar{m}$ - and $\tau p\epsilon$ -, cf. 359.

STATIVE

- 162 Some Egyptian Coptic verbs are also actualized in a ‘stative’ form, also called ‘qualitative’, which expresses being-in-a-state. The stative describes the enduring state of a subject in a condition that is associated with verbal action or verbally expressed acquisition of a quality. E.g. $c\omega\tau\bar{p}$ ‘is chosen’ (is in the enduring state of having been chosen), is exquisite’; $m\bar{o}o\gamma\tau$ ‘is dead’ (is in the state of having died); $o\gamma o\bar{b}\omega$ ‘is white’. In modern dictionary entries, the stative form is identified by a raised dagger: $c\omega\tau\bar{p}^{\dagger}$, $m\bar{o}o\gamma\tau^{\dagger}$, etc. All statives, except the five listed in 168(c), can contrast in meaning one way or another with the corresponding infinitive; cf. 168(a)(b). E.g.

$\dagger-c\omega\tau\bar{p}^{\dagger}$: $\dagger-c\omega\tau\bar{p}$	I am exquisite [†] , chosen [†] : I choose
$\dagger-m\bar{o}o\gamma\tau^{\dagger}$: $\dagger-m\bar{o}\gamma$	I am dead [†] : I die
$\dagger-o\gamma o\bar{b}\omega^{\dagger}$: $\dagger-o\gamma\bar{b}\Delta\omega$	I am white [†] : I become white

The formation of the stative is described in 190. The only syntactic function of the stative is predicate in the durative sentence; its presence signals nexus 248.

For a few statives, no corresponding infinitive is attested in Sahidic, e.g. $k\bar{i}\omega o\gamma^{\dagger}$ ‘is fat’, $\zeta o o\gamma^{\dagger}$ ‘is bad’.

IMPERATIVE

- 163 Most affirmative imperatives are identical in form to the infinitive, and all negatives are marked by prefixed $\bar{m}p\bar{r}$ - or $\bar{m}p\omega\bar{r} \epsilon$ - (chapter 16). Ten Egyptian Coptic verbs occur in a special form expressing affirmative imperative 366; e.g. $\Delta\bar{n}\lambda\gamma$ “Look” corresponding to the infinitive $\bar{n}\lambda\gamma$ ‘see’.

CONSTRUCT PARTICIPLE

- 164 A fourth actualization of the verb is a descriptive noun called the ‘construct participle’ (participium coniunctum, ‘p.c.’); it is a nominal component forming composite genderless common nouns 122. Only a small number of Egyptian Coptic verbs occur in this form.

CONJUGATION

- 165 ‘Conjugation’ (the formal marking of verbs to indicate and express the actor [subject]) is accomplished not by varying the form of the verb itself 186, but rather (i) by suffixation of the subject to a conjugation base or mutable converter, or (ii) union of the verb with the personal subject prefixes of the durative sentence 78, or (iii) by occurrence of the subject in the appropriate position of a conjugation pattern that contains no base 317. E.g. (i) $\Delta q-c\omega\tau\bar{p}$ *he chose*, $\Delta-TECZIME$ $c\omega\tau\bar{p}$ *the woman chose* (where Δ is the past tense conjugation base); (ii) $q-c\omega\tau\bar{p}$ *he chooses*; (iii) $TECZIME$ $c\omega\tau\bar{p}$ *the woman chooses*. The conjugation patterns are described in chapters 14 and 15.

Two or more infinitive lexemes as such can be linked by conjunction ($\lambda\gamma\omega$, h , etc.) within the conjugation pattern. E.g. $\epsilon-m\bar{n}-o\gamma\hat{\alpha} \bar{n}-o\gamma\omega\tau \chi\epsilon-\bar{m}p\bar{q}-\omega\bar{m}\bar{c} \lambda\gamma\omega q\omega\tau\epsilon \epsilon\bar{b}o\lambda$ ShWess9 87a: 30–33 “Without there being a single one who did not sink and perish”; $\epsilon\gamma\omega\Delta\bar{n}-\chi\bar{n}o\gamma-k \bar{h} \chi\bar{n}o\gamma-\tau\bar{n}$ ShAmél II 528:7 “If they ask you or ask us”; $\Delta\bar{n}\tau\bar{i}-\theta\tau p\epsilon\gamma-\omega\bar{p}\chi \bar{h} \tau\omega\bar{m} \epsilon\bar{p}o-o\gamma$ ShAmél II 505:5 “Instead of strengthening and closing them.”

TRANSITIVITY: DIRECT OBJECT SYNTAX OF THE INFINITIVE

TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE

- 166 Every infinitive by its very nature belongs to one or the other of two syntactic classes, *transitives* and *intransitives*, according to the following definition.
- (a) ‘Transitive’ infinitives are those which at the speaker’s choice can be constructed so as to express action directed at a ‘direct object’, i.e. at a receiver or goal of action. A direct object follows the infinitive. E.g. $\lambda\gamma-\bar{n}\lambda\gamma \epsilon-\bar{p}\omega\bar{n}p\bar{r} \omega\bar{h}\bar{m} \dots \lambda\gamma-o\gamma\omega\bar{n} \bar{n}-\bar{n}\epsilon\gamma\lambda\bar{z}\omega\bar{p}$ Matt 2:11 “They saw the child . . . They opened their treasures”; $\zeta\bar{h}p\omega\Delta\bar{h}\bar{c} \bar{r}\bar{a}p \bar{n}\Delta-\omega\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon \bar{n}\bar{c}\Delta-\bar{p}\omega\bar{n}p\bar{r} \omega\bar{h}\bar{m}$ Matt 2:13 “Herod is about to search for the child”; $\lambda\gamma-c\omega\tau\bar{p} \bar{n}-\bar{c}\tau\epsilon\phi\bar{a}\bar{n}o\bar{c}$ Acts 6:5 “They chose Stephen.” By this definition, $\bar{n}\lambda\gamma$, $o\gamma\omega\bar{n}$, $\omega\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$, and $c\omega\tau\bar{p}$ (‘see, open, search, choose’) are classed as transitives, even though they can also occur without direct object. The direct objects in these Coptic examples (*the child, their treasures*, etc.) are marked as such by an appropriate preposition (ϵ -, \bar{n} -, $\bar{n}\bar{c}\Delta$ -); each transitive infinitive has its own particular preposition(s) that mark objects. Furthermore, with mutable infinitives 167, under certain conditions a direct object can or must be immediately suffixed to the infinitive instead of being mediated by a preposition; cf. 171. E.g. $\Delta q-c\epsilon\tau\bar{p}-\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}-\bar{c}\bar{n}o\bar{o}\gamma\bar{c}$ Luke 6:13 “He chose twelve”; $\bar{n}\epsilon\gamma-\dagger-\theta\bar{c}\bar{b}\omega$ Acts 5:21 “They taught (gave teachings)”; $\epsilon-\theta\tau\bar{a}k\bar{o}-q$ Matt 2:13 “To

destroy Him.” (Transitivity is also a property of the suffixally conjugated verboid $\sigma\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon$ —383.)

By the definition used here, transitivity or intransitivity does not just refer to the construction in which a verb happens to occur in one sentence or another; but rather, to the verb’s *potential* compatibility with the direct object construction—its *ability* to take a direct object—as a permanent feature of its lexical character. In other words, transitivity is here defined as the essential property of a lexical subclass of verbs, not an incidental feature of usage in one particular sentence or another.

- (b) ‘Intransitives’ are those whose infinitive cannot, under any circumstances, be constructed so as to express action directed at a direct object (receiver or goal of action). E.g. $\sigma\gamma\beta\alpha\omega$ ‘turn white’, $\omega\alpha$ ‘rise’.

Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* (p. vii) uses ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’ in quite different senses.

MUTABLE TRANSITIVES

- 167 ‘Mutable’ transitive infinitives are those which occur as a set of allomorphs called ‘states’ 30: (i) ‘absolute’ state, (ii) ‘prenominal’ state, and (iii) ‘prepersonal’ state. (Traditionally these are called status absolutus, status constructus, and status pronominalis.)

The Three States of the Mutable Transitive Infinitive (Examples)

(i)	(ii)	(iii)	
$\sigma\omega\tau\tau$	$\sigma\epsilon\tau\tau-$	$\sigma\omicron\tau\tau\equiv$	choose
$\kappa\omega\tau$	$\kappa\epsilon\tau-$	$\kappa\omicron\tau\equiv$	build
$\tau\alpha\mu\omicron$	$\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon-$	$\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\equiv$	inform
$\chi\iota\sigma\epsilon$	$\chi\epsilon\sigma\tau-$	$\chi\alpha\sigma\tau\equiv$	raise
$\sigma\omicron\lambda\sigma\bar{\alpha}$	$\sigma\bar{\alpha}\sigma\bar{\alpha}-$	$\sigma\bar{\alpha}\sigma\omega\lambda\equiv$	console
$\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$	$\bar{\rho}-$	$\lambda\lambda\equiv$	make, do

Direct objects after the *absolute* state ($\sigma\omega\tau\tau$) must be mediated by the preposition $\bar{n}-/\bar{n}\mu\omicron$ (e.g. $\alpha\eta-\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon \bar{n}-\sigma\gamma\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon$ Luke 1:68 “He has wrought redemption”; $\dagger-\tau\alpha\mu\omicron \bar{n}\mu\omega-\tau\bar{n}$ 1 Cor 12:3 “I tell you.”) Direct objects after the *prenominal* state ($\sigma\epsilon\tau\tau-$) and *prepersonal* state ($\sigma\omicron\tau\tau\equiv$) must be suffixed, as follows:

prenominal	+	{	determinator pronoun 44, specifier pronoun 63, article phrase 43, specifier phrase 64, proper noun 126, or possessed noun 138 (after some prenominal states, also the 2d pl. alternant personal suffix $-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$ 85)
prepersonal	+	{	personal intermediate 80, 82 or suffix 85 (with some further allomorphic alternations)

TRANSITIVITY: DIRECT OBJECT SYNTAX

Examples: (*prenominals*) $\alpha\eta-\sigma\epsilon\tau\bar{m}-\eta\alpha\bar{\iota}$ Luke 18:23 “He heard this”; $\bar{m}\rho\omicron\gamma-\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon-\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ Luke 9:36 “They told no one”; $\alpha\eta-\tau\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{m}-\sigma\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$ Luke 14:16 “He invited many (a crowd)”; $\bar{m}\rho\bar{q}-\bar{p}-\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma \Delta\epsilon \bar{n}-\delta\omicron\mu$ Mark 6:5 “He did no mighty work”; $\alpha\eta-\kappa\alpha-\beta\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\varsigma \eta\alpha-\gamma \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ Mark 15:15 “He released for them Barabbas”; $\alpha\eta-\kappa\alpha-\tau\omicron\omicron\tau-\bar{q} \tau\iota\chi\bar{n}-\eta\epsilon\bar{q}\beta\alpha\lambda$ Mark 8:25 “He laid His hands upon his eyes”; $\alpha\bar{\iota}-\sigma\epsilon\tau\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$ John 15:19 “I chose you”; (*prepersonal*) $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\kappa \alpha\kappa--\sigma\omicron\tau\tau-\tau$ Wis 9:7 “Thou hast chosen me”; $\alpha\gamma-\sigma\epsilon\tau\sigma\omega\tau-\bar{q}$ Matt 8:34 “They entreated him”; $\rho\omicron\rho\kappa-\bar{q}$ Matt 18:9 “Pluck it out”

The occurrence of these three states with a direct object is regulated in accord with the Stern-Jernstedt rule 171. All other infinitives are classified as ‘immutable’, i.e. occurring only in the absolute state. These include the remaining transitives and all the intransitives.

CONTRAST OF INFINITIVE AND STATIVE

- 168 The contrast between infinitive and stative (for verbs that occur in both forms) is clearest in the durative sentence, which is the only environment where both forms can, according to the speaker’s choice, occur and replace one another. The contrastive meanings of infinitive and stative fall into three patterns, as follows.

- (a) *Transitives*. The infinitive expresses action; and the stative expresses a descriptive, static passive meaning—i.e. the enduring state of a subject after it has finished undergoing or receiving some action.

$\sigma\epsilon-\sigma\omega\tau\tau$ (infin.)	They choose
$\sigma\epsilon-\sigma\omicron\tau\tau^{\dagger}$ (stat.)	They are chosen (state), are exquisite
$\sigma\epsilon-\mu\omicron\gamma\bar{z}$ (infin.)	They fill
$\sigma\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\bar{z}^{\dagger}$ (stat.)	They are full
$\sigma\epsilon-\kappa\omega\tau$ (infin.)	They build
$\sigma\epsilon-\kappa\eta\tau^{\dagger}$ (stat.)	They are built (state), are situated, are established
$\sigma\epsilon-\sigma\mu\omicron\gamma$ (infin.)	They praise
$\sigma\epsilon-\sigma\mu\alpha\alpha\tau^{\dagger}$ or $\sigma\epsilon-\sigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\tau^{\dagger}$ (stat.)	They are praiseworthy, are blessed

The stative of transitive verbs expresses a static passive meaning as distinct from the dynamic (process-oriented) passive meaning of the 3d pl. construction described in 175: $\eta-\kappa\eta\tau^{\dagger}$ “It is built/situated” (static passive) versus $\sigma\epsilon-\kappa\omega\tau \bar{n}\mu\omicron-\eta$ “It is being built/established” (dynamic passive, in process).

- (b) *Ordinary intransitives*. The infinitive expresses process or entry into a state; and the stative describes the enduring state of the subject after the process has come to an end or the quality has been acquired.

$\sigma\epsilon-\omega\sigma\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ (infin.)	They become dry, dry out
$\sigma\epsilon-\omega\sigma\gamma\omega\gamma^{\dagger}$ (stat.)	They are dry

- ce-oyba^ϥ (infin.) *They turn white, whiten*
 ce-oyob^ϥ† (stat.) *They are white*
 ce-moy (infin.) *They die*
 ce-mooy† (stat.) *They are dead*
 ce-zon (infin.) *They approach*
 ce-zhn† (stat.) *They are near*

Descriptive predication (corresponding to adjectives in Western Indo-European languages) is also expressed by three other means: suffixally conjugated verboids of quality 376, *nanoy-q* "He/It is good"; the stative construction *o n-* with incidental predicate 179, *q-o n-⁰no6* "He/It is great"; and the nominal sentence predicate of description 292(b), *oyno6 ne* "He/It is great." In some instances these constructions come very close in meaning, forming synonyms: *oyara6on ne/nanoy-q* "It is good"; *oykoyi ne/q-covk* "It is small"; *naoy-q/q-oy* "It is much"; *naaa-q/q-o n-⁰no6* "It is great."

- (c) *Intransitives with a stative of ongoing motion.* Of the intransitive verbs that signify motion, a group of five verbs stands apart:

- bwk, bnh*† *go*
ei, nhy† *come*
powt, pnt† *run*
ze, zhy† *fall* (also *ze e-*, *zhy*† *e-* *find*)
zwl, zhl† *fly*

When any of these five is the predicate of a durative sentence only the stative occurs, and it expresses ongoing (durative) motion. The infinitives of this group only occur in non-durative construction 328. Thus

Durative	stative only	q-bnh†
Non-durative	infinitive only	aq-bwk

E.g. *t-pnt*† "I run"; *ney-bnh*† "They went, were going"; *c-nhy*† "It is coming, will come"; and *ai-powt* "I ran"; *ay-bwk* "They went"; *ac-ei* "It came." There are no sentences in which these infinitives and statives could, by the speaker's choice, replace one another and contrast in meaning. (But the other verbs signifying motion are ordinary intransitives 168[b] and do not belong to this group, e.g. *q-zon* "He approaches", *q-zhn*† "He is near.")

Yet, the infinitives of this group occur in durative conjugation after *oyw eq-* 'finish' 185(a) and after a verbal preextension 183 (e.g. *q-pzoye-powt zwl-q n6ei-pmatoi* ShAmé I 276:10 "Even more so, the soldier will generally flee").

OBJECTLESS TRANSITIVE INFINITIVES

- 169 *The objectless transitive infinitive*

a-pnoyte cwtm "God heard" (Ps 77[78]:59)

expresses transitive action directed at an unmentioned receiver or goal. Cf. also 181(b)(ii). E.g. *ay-oywm de ay-ci* Mark 8:8 "They ate (some unspecified food) and were satisfied"; *ce-xw rap ayw n-ce-eipe an* Matt 23:3 "They say and they do not do" (i.e. perform the action of saying things but not of doing things); *mh nt-a-oya eine na-q e-⁰oywm* John 4:33 "Has any one brought (anything) to Him to eat?" An infinitive of the transitive class without direct object construction is ambiguous, for it can be understood either as an objectless transitive or as an ingressive 174; e.g. *aq-moyz* "He filled (something unnamed)" and "He became full." These two interpretations are distinguished only by context. (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* p. vii, mislabels both of these meanings intransitive.)

For the attributive circumstantial clause modifying an unexpressed object (*netn-oywm eboz nzhnt-oy eq-oywt* Exod 12:9 "You shall not eat from them anything that is raw"), cf. 431.

A semantically empty direct object is also expressed by (i) the pronoun *oyon* 59, e.g. *pet-⁰wine q-na-ze e-oyon* Matt 7:8 "The one who seeks will find"; (ii) a 3d pl. personal morph, e.g. *ntoq rap ne-waq-mokz-oy ayw neq-tazo-oy e-peyma* Job 5:18 *aut6s gar algein poiei, kai palin apokathisthsin* "For it is He who causes pain and who restored again"; *kata-pcwnt n-nioyadai e-⁰kooc-oy* John 19:40 *kath6s 6thos 6stin tois Ioudaiois entafiaztein* "As is the burial custom of the Jews (According to the Jews' custom for burying them)."

DIRECT OBJECT OF THE IMMUTABLE INFINITIVE

- 170 Direct objects after an immutable infinitive are always marked and mediated by a preposition that marks direct object function for that particular verb; co-occurrence with a particular direct object preposition is a characteristic of the verb's phraseology, 166. E.g. *ce-wine erw-tn* 1 Cor 16:19 "They greet (*wine e-*) you"; *etbe-oy te6ireneaz kwte nca-oymaein* Mark 8:12 "Why does this generation seek (*kwte nca-*) a sign?"

DIRECT OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS AFTER THE MUTABLE INFINITIVE: THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE

- 171 When the mutable infinitive 167 is expanded by a direct object, it has two possible constructions: (i) object mediated by the preposition *n-/nmo=* 203 after the absolute state; (ii) object directly suffixed to the prenominal or prepersonal state. Thus with *noyxe* (*eboz*) 'cast (out), divorce' the options are:

	Before a Non-personal Object	Before a Personal Object
(i) Absolute state	noyxe n-	noyxe nmo=
(ii) Bound states	nex-	nox=

The choice between the absolute and bound states is regulated as follows.

- (a) *Suffixation of objects having zero determination.* If the direct object is a *zero article phrase*, it normally must be suffixed to the dependent (prenominal) state, no matter what the construction: NEX-^0 . Bare specifiers are also suffixed 65.

Examples: $\epsilon\kappa\text{-NEX-}^0\text{ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-ΒΕΕΛΖΕΒΟΥΛ}$ Luke 11:15 "He casts out demons by Beelzebul"; $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\text{-NEX-}^0\text{HPI}\bar{\text{B}}\text{-BPI}\bar{\text{P}}\epsilon\text{-}^0\text{ΖΩΤ}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\alpha\varsigma$ Mark 2:22 "No one puts new wine into old wineskins"; $\epsilon\text{-N-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\rho\epsilon\pi\text{-}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\text{-}\alpha\text{N}$ Titus 2:10 "Not hiding anything." (Exceptionally, $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau^0\text{-}\mu\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}^0\text{ΕΙΩΤ H}^0\text{ΜΑΛΛ ΕΖΟΥΕΡΟ-Ι}$ Matt 10:37 "Any one who loves father or mother more than Me.")

Possessed nouns forming compound verbs 180(a), 181(e) vary from one fixed lexical expression to another as to whether they (i) are always suffixed (e.g. $\omega\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\rho\omega\text{-}\text{reflex}$. 'have pity'); (ii) have the syntax of a non-zero article phrase, described in points (b) and (c) below (e.g. $\kappa\omega\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\rho\omega\text{-}\kappa\alpha\text{-}\rho\omega\text{-}\text{reflex}$. 'be silent'); or (iii) fluctuate in this regard (e.g. $\epsilon\text{IP}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\rho\omega\text{-}\bar{\text{P}}\text{-}\rho\omega\text{-}\text{reflex}$. 'regret' 2 Cor 7:8 *versus* Prov 13:12).

- (b) *Prepositional mediation in durative conjugation.* Other kinds of direct object, when occurring in a *durative* sentence pattern, must be mediated by $\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}/\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}$ after the absolute state: thus $\kappa\text{-}\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}$, $\kappa\text{-}\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}$.

Examples: $\text{NEQ-NOY}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{OY}\Delta\text{A}\text{IMONION}$ Luke 11:14 "Now He was casting out a demon"; $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{NOK}\text{-}\epsilon\text{I-NOY}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{N}\Delta\text{AIMONION}$ $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{BEE}\lambda\text{ZEBOY}\lambda$ Matt 12:27 "If I cast out demons by Beelzebul"; $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{I}\Delta\text{H}\text{-}\text{TET}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\omega\text{-}\text{T}\bar{\text{N}}$ Acts 13:46 "Since you thrust it from you"

Article phrases with $\dots\text{NIM}$ and the pronoun OYON NIM are mostly mediated in this way 60(d). For $\text{TP}\epsilon\text{-}$, $\text{TP}\epsilon\text{-}$ cf. 359.

- (c) *Fluctuation elsewhere.* When occurring in *other kinds of syntax*, non-zero direct objects fluctuate (by speaker's stylistic choice) between the two constructions: NEX- var. $\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}$, NOX- var. $\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}$.

Examples: $\text{NTEP}\epsilon\text{Q-}\text{NEX-}\text{OYNOB N-}\rho\text{POOY}$ Mark 15:37 "And when He had uttered a loud cry" and $\alpha\text{Q-NOY}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{NE}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}}\Delta\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\tau\text{ON}$ Matt 8:16 "He cast out the unclean spirits"; $\text{NEO}\text{OY}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\text{NOX-}\text{OY}\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}$ Matt 13:48 "They threw away the bad" and $\alpha\text{Q-NOY}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\Delta\epsilon\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}\kappa$ Luke 4:35 "He threw him down"; $\epsilon\text{-}^0\text{NEX-TEQ}\varsigma\text{ZIME}\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}$ Mark 10:2 "To divorce his wife" and $\epsilon\text{-}^0\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{NET}\bar{\text{N}}\text{ZIO}\text{ME}$ Matt 19:8 "To divorce your wives"; $\epsilon\text{-}^0\text{NOX-}\text{OY}\text{-}\epsilon\text{BOL}$ Mark 10:4 "To get divorces (To divorce them)" and $\epsilon\text{-}^0\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}\kappa\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{NE}\gamma\text{ZOOP}$ Matt 15:26 "To throw it to the dogs"; $\pi\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\text{NET}\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Rom 13:8 "To love one another (The practice of loving one another)" and $\pi\text{NOY}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\text{N-}\text{OY}\varsigma\text{OTE}$ Gen 21:16 "An arrow-shot (The distance of shooting an arrow)"; $\pi\kappa\text{OOC-T}$ Mark 14:8 "My burial (The act of burying me)" and $\pi\chi\text{ICE}\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}\text{I}$ ApophPatr 136 (Chaine 30:20 = Z 304:4) "My advancement (The act of elevating me)"

- (d) *Limitations:*

i. $\text{OY}\epsilon\omega\text{-}$, $\text{OY}\alpha\omega\text{-}$ 'want, desire, love' always has its direct object suffixed, even in *durative* conjugation.

Examples: $\epsilon\text{I-}\text{OY}\epsilon\omega\text{-}\text{OY}\alpha\text{NA}\text{-}\epsilon\text{ZOY}\epsilon\text{-}\text{OY}\theta\gamma\varsigma\text{IA}$ Matt 9:13 "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice"; $\alpha\gamma\omega\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\text{OY}\epsilon\omega\text{-}\pi\alpha\varsigma\pi\alpha\varsigma\text{MOC}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{N-}\text{NAGOP}\alpha$ Mark 12:38 "And who like salutation in the market place"; $\mu\text{H}\text{-}\text{NEIOTE}\text{-}\text{OY}\epsilon\omega\text{-}\text{NE}\gamma\omega\text{HP}\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{N}$ ShAmél II 153:4 "Pray tell, do not parents love their children?"; $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{Q-}\text{OY}\alpha\omega\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\text{NTOOT-N}$ ShIII 223:14 "What He wants from us"; $\pi\alpha\text{I}\bar{\text{B}}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{I-}\text{OY}\alpha\omega\text{-}\bar{\text{Q}}$ 2 Cor 1:17 "So when I wanted to do this"

ii. $\alpha\omega\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}\text{C}\chi\epsilon\text{-}$ 'say' + *reported discourse* always has direct object -C suffixed in non-durative conjugation $\text{XOO-C}\chi\epsilon\text{-}$ (for the untranslatable object -C , cf. 514[a]): $\kappa\text{-}\alpha\omega\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}\text{-}\text{C}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\dots$ "He says, ..."; $\alpha\text{Q-}\text{XOO-C}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\dots$ "He said, ..."; $\epsilon\text{-}^0\text{XOO-C}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\dots$ "To say ...".

iii. The compound verb $\bar{\text{P}}\text{-}\pi\text{ME}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}$ 'remember' [make-the-thought-of] (but not the construction $\bar{\text{P}}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{QME}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) escapes special regulation in *durative* conjugation, so that both object constructions occur. E.g. $\epsilon\epsilon\text{I-}\epsilon\text{IP}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\pi\text{ME}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{NEKPM}\bar{\text{E}}\text{IH}$ 2 Tim 1:4 "As I remember your tears"; but also $\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{TE}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\bar{\text{P}}\text{-}\pi\text{ME}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{N}\bar{\text{M}}\text{-}\pi\text{TOY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{OEIK}$ Matt 16:9 "Do you not remember the five loaves?"

DOUBLE-OBJECT CAUSATIVE VERBS

- 172 The four double-object causative verbs (belonging to Class V, 193)

$\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}$ 'cause ... to eat ...', $\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{MHY}^\dagger$ (cf. $\text{OY}\omega\text{M}$)
 $\bar{\text{T}}\text{CO}$ 'cause ... to drink ...', $\bar{\text{T}}\text{CHY}^\dagger$ (cf. $\text{C}\omega$)
 $\bar{\text{T}}\text{TO}$ 'cause ... to give ...' (cf. $\bar{\text{T}}$)
 $\bar{\text{T}}\text{XO}$ 'cause ... to take ...' (cf. XI)

are mutable transitives whose infinitive can be constructed with two direct objects

$\bar{\text{T}}\text{CO M-PEY}\epsilon\text{I}\omega\text{T}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}\text{OYHP}\bar{\text{I}}$ "Cause *their father* to drink *wine*" (Gen 19:33)
 (make-drink + their father + some wine)

expressing person caused to eat, drink (etc.) + thing to be eaten, drunk (etc.). These verbs show three peculiarities as regards their direct objects. (i) Personal morphs are always suffixed to the infinitive and cannot be mediated by a preposition. (ii) Two direct objects can be suffixed to the infinitive in a string, one after another.

$\bar{\text{T}}\text{MME-Q-}^0\text{OEIK}$ "Cause him to eat bread" (ShIII 106:18)
 (make-eat + him + bread)

When these consist of a personal morph followed by an article phrase, the infinitive occurs in a reduced prepersonal state (e.g. $\bar{\text{T}}\text{MME}$ for $\bar{\text{T}}\text{MMO}$ in the preceding example).

abs.	prenom.	prepers.	reduced prepersonal state
$\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}$	$\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{ME-}$	$\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO=}$	$\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{ME=}$
$\bar{\text{T}}\text{CO}$	$\bar{\text{T}}\text{CE-}$	$\bar{\text{T}}\text{CO=}$	$\bar{\text{T}}\text{C(}\epsilon\text{)=}$
$[\bar{\text{T}}\text{TO}]$	$(\text{T})\text{TE-}$	$(\text{T})\text{TO=}$	$(\text{T})\text{TE=}$
$[\bar{\text{T}}\text{XO}]$	.....	.....	$(\text{T})\text{XE=}$

(iii) The second direct object, if not a personal morph, can be mediated by the preposition $\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}$ except that a zero article phrase stands alone as a separate group without being

mediated by a preposition (e.g. $\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\ \theta\rho\epsilon\mu\eta\tau$ Heb 7:6 "Make Abraham give tithes"). The resulting patterns are illustrated in table 12, using the model verb $\tau\sigma\omicron$ 'cause . . . to drink . . .'.

TABLE 12
DOUBLE DIRECT OBJECT PATTERNS AFTER $\tau\sigma\omicron$ 'CAUSE . . . TO DRINK . . .'

PERSON CAUSED TO DRINK	THING TO BE DRUNK	
	Entity Term (Not Personal Morph)	Personal Morph
Entity Term (Not Personal Morph)	(1) $\tau\sigma\omicron\ \bar{m}\text{-}\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma^a$ $\tau\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma^b$ "Cause the man to drink some water" $\tau\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \theta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma^c$ "Cause the man to drink water" Person + Thing $\tau\sigma\omicron$ = absolute state $\tau\sigma\epsilon$ = prenominal state	(2) $\tau\sigma\epsilon\text{-}c\text{-}\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon^d$ "Cause the man to drink it ($-c-$)" Thing + Person $\tau\sigma\epsilon$ = reduced prepersonal state c = penultimate personal object morph 82
	(3) $\tau\sigma\omicron\text{-}q\ \bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma^e$ $\tau\sigma\epsilon\text{-}q\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma^f$ "Cause him to drink some water" Person + Thing $\tau\sigma\omicron$ = prepersonal state $\tau\sigma\epsilon$ = reduced prepersonal state $-q$ = personal suffix $-q-$ = personal intermediate	(4) $\tau\sigma\omicron\text{-}q\text{-}c\bar{q}^g$ "Cause him ($-q-$) to drink it ($-c\bar{q}$)" Person + Thing $\tau\sigma\omicron$ = prepersonal state $-q-$ = personal intermediate $-c\bar{q}$ = personal second suffix 88

NOTE: The order of direct objects is reversed in combination (2).

$\alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\sigma\omicron\ \alpha\epsilon\ m\text{-}\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ n\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta\rho\bar{\pi}$ Gen 19:33 "So they made their father drink wine"
 $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\epsilon\ \bar{m}\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\tau\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \bar{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Job 22:7 "Neither hast thou given water to the thirsty ($n\text{-}\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$) to drink"
 $\alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\ \theta\rho\epsilon\mu\eta\tau$ Heb 7:6 "He made Abraham give tithes"; $m\pi\rho\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \theta\omicron\sigma\epsilon$ Luke 3:14 "Rob no one by violence" (Do not cause any to give forfeit)
 $\theta\eta\bar{\iota}\text{-}\tau\bar{m}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}c\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{q}\bar{i}\ \bar{n}\text{-}\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\ \eta\epsilon$ Luke 6:30 "Do not cause the one who takes away your goods ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}q\bar{i}\ \bar{n}\text{-}n\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\eta\omicron\gamma\text{-}\kappa\ \eta\epsilon$) to give them ($-c-$) back (Of the person who takes away your goods, do not ask them back)"
 $\alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\bar{m}\omicron\text{-}\kappa\ \bar{m}\text{-}\pi\bar{m}\alpha\eta\alpha$ Deut 8:3 "He fed thee manna"
 $\alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\zeta\bar{m}\bar{x}$ Ps 68(69):21 "They made me drink vinegar"; $\alpha\gamma\text{-}x\text{-}\bar{q}-$ (i.e. $x\epsilon\text{-}q-$) $\zeta\epsilon\eta\sigma\alpha\omega$ Luke 10:30 "They beat him (caused him to take blows)"; $\epsilon\text{-}\theta\rho\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\tau\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\text{-}q\text{-}\theta\omicron\epsilon\bar{i}\kappa\ n\text{-}\theta\alpha\bar{i}\psi\bar{i}\kappa\ m\text{-}\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ n\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\tau\sigma\epsilon\text{-}q\text{-}\theta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ n\text{-}\theta\alpha\bar{i}\psi\bar{i}\kappa$ ShIII 106:18-19 "So that he was made (they made him) to eat bread of affliction of the prophet and was made to drink water of affliction" (cf. 3 Kgdms 22:27); $m\alpha\text{-}\tau\sigma\text{-}i\text{-}\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\bar{i}\ m\text{-}\theta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Judg 4:19 ed. Thompson "Give me a little water to drink"; $m\alpha\text{-}\tau\text{-}\bar{q}-$ (i.e. $\tau\epsilon\text{-}q-$) $\theta\epsilon\ \bar{m}\text{-}\theta\pi\omega\lambda\delta\ \bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ Luke 12:58 "Let him provide the opportunity to settle with you"
 $\eta\bar{n}\bar{q}\text{-}\tau\omicron\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\ \bar{n}\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$ Sir 20:15 (20:14 Lagarde) "And tomorrow he will make you give them back"

DOUBLE-OBJECT $\dagger\text{-}n\alpha\epsilon$

- 173 The double-object infinitive $\dagger n\alpha\epsilon$ (vars. $\tau\bar{n}n\alpha\epsilon$, $\tau\alpha n\alpha\epsilon$) 'give . . . unto' takes two objects always immediately suffixed in a string, one after another, expressing personal recipient + thing given. The first object is always a personal intermediate. E.g. $\bar{n}\eta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\dagger n\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}\theta\mu\alpha\epsilon\bar{i}\eta$ (textual var. $\tau\alpha n\alpha\text{-}c-$) Luke 11:29 "They shall not give her signs (No sign shall be given to it)"; $q\text{-}n\alpha\text{-}\dagger n\alpha\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\ \bar{m}\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Sir 20:15 (20:14 Lagarde) "Today he will bestow them upon you." Etymologically this verb is a fusion of the infinitive \dagger 'give' and the prepersonal preposition $n\alpha\epsilon$ 'unto' in a single unit. (It is synonymous with the much more usual phrase $\dagger\ \bar{n}\text{-}/\bar{m}\omicron\omicron\epsilon\text{-}\bar{n}\text{-}/n\alpha\epsilon$ consisting of three separate groups.) The affirmative imperative is $m\alpha\text{-}n\alpha\epsilon$ 366; e.g. $m\alpha\text{-}n\alpha\text{-}i\text{-}q\ \bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\tau\bar{e}$ 2 Sam 20:21 "Just give him to me."

INGRESSIVE MEANING OF THE TRANSITIVE INFINITIVE

- 174 The absolute state of a transitive infinitive, when constructed without direct object, can express the process of entering into a state (incipient action): this is the 'ingressive' meaning of the transitive infinitive, $\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$ *become open*, $m\omicron\gamma\zeta$ *fill (become full)*, $\nu\alpha\pi\tau\bar{i}\zeta\epsilon$ *get baptized*, etc.

$\alpha\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\ \bar{n}\delta\bar{i}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\rho\pi\epsilon\ \bar{m}\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ "God's temple opened (became open, was opened)" (Rev 11:19)

Examples: $\alpha\gamma\text{-}m\omicron\gamma\zeta$ Matt 22:10 "It *became full*"; $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\nu\alpha\pi\tau\bar{i}\zeta\epsilon\ \alpha\epsilon\ \bar{n}\delta\bar{i}\text{-}\bar{i}\bar{c}\ \bar{n}\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\bar{i}\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{i}\ \zeta\bar{m}\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Matt 3:16 "And when Jesus *had gotten baptized*, He went up immediately from the water"; $q\text{-}n\alpha\text{-}\pi\omega\rho\bar{\kappa}$ Matt 15:13 "It will *become uprooted*"; $\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\bar{\zeta}\ n\alpha\text{-}\gamma\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ Acts 1:3 "Appearing (Becoming apparent) to them"; $\bar{n}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\tau\omicron\eta$ Mark 16:18 "And they will *recover* (become rested)"; $\dagger\text{-}\theta\alpha\bar{i}\nu\epsilon$ Ps 30(31):9 $\theta\lambda\bar{i}\beta\omicron\mu\alpha\bar{i}$ "I *am (becoming) afflicted*"; $\bar{i}\bar{c}\ \pi\epsilon\chi\bar{c}\ \alpha\gamma\text{-}\tau\omicron\delta\text{-}\bar{q}\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\bar{c}\bar{\rho}\omicron\bar{\gamma}$ Gal 3:1 "Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος" "Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as (*getting*) crucified"; $n\text{-}\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\nu\alpha\pi\tau\bar{i}\zeta\epsilon\ \zeta\alpha\text{-}n\text{-}\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}m\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$ 1 Cor 15:29 $\omicron\bar{i}\ \beta\alpha\pi\tau\bar{i}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\omicron\bar{i}\ \delta\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\omicron\eta\eta\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\eta\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\eta$ "People who are *baptized* on behalf of the dead"; $\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\eta\bar{i}\omicron\eta\ \sigma\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\ n\alpha\text{-}n$ Luke 10:17 $\kappa\alpha\bar{i}\ \tau\alpha\ \delta\alpha\bar{i}\mu\omicron\eta\bar{n}\alpha\ \delta\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\bar{i}\ \eta\mu\bar{i}\eta\bar{n}$ "Even the demons are *subject* to us"; $n\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\ \sigma\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\alpha\bar{i}\zeta\epsilon$ Luke 7:22 $\pi\omega\chi\omicron\bar{i}\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\bar{i}\zeta\omicron\eta\tau\alpha\bar{i}$ "The poor *have good news preached* to them" (thus most manuscripts; textual var. adds $n\alpha\text{-}\gamma$)

In some verbs of the transitive class, ingressive meaning occurs frequently; in others it is unattested. Thus in the absence of a direct object construction, an infinitive of this class is ambiguous, for it can be understood either as an ingressive or as an objectless transitive 169. These two interpretations are distinguished only by context. (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* p. vii, mislabels both of these meanings intransitive.)

DYNAMIC PASSIVE: 'IS BEING BUILT'

- 175 *Dynamic passive meaning (an entity undergoing some action)* is only expressed by 3d pl. conjugation of a transitive verb + direct object:

They-are-building-it = *It is being built*, $\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\omega\tau\ \bar{m}\omicron\omicron\text{-}q$

They-built-it = *It was built (dynamic)*, $\alpha\gamma\text{-}\kappa\omega\tau\ \bar{m}\omicron\omicron\text{-}q$

The forms illustrated above are ambiguous since their 3d pl. personal subject (σε, γ) can either (i) be non-referential (express passive meaning) or (ii) refer to a plurality of actors. Thus

σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ = (i) It is being built, (ii) They are building it

Dynamic passive is also expressed with an objectless transitive infinitive 169: π-ετ^θ-τωρ^θ σε-να-ογων να-γ Luke 11:10 "For the one who knocks, opening will occur (they will open)."

More elaborate constructions can resolve this ambiguity in either direction.

- (a) Passive meaning (*is being built*) is unambiguous when the agent of action is expressed by an agential preposition such as ζιτῆ- and εβολ ζιτῆ- 'by':

σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ εβολ ζιτῆ-ταμααγ or εβολ ζιτοοτ-γ
It is being built by my mother or by her

- (b) Active meaning (*they are building*) is unambiguous when the 3d pl. subject is anticipated or expanded by a plural entity term or 3d plural inflected modifier.

νεῖζιόμε σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ These women are building it
ναῖ σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ These are building it
ἑαυτοὺ σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ They themselves are building it
σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ ἡδὲ-νεῖζιόμε These women are building it
σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ ὡ-ογ They too are building it

Similar to the dynamic passive is the ingressive meaning of the transitive infinitive 174, which is also ambiguous: γ-να-πωρκ = It will become uprooted/It will uproot something.

Dynamic passive contrasts with static passive as expressed by the stative 168(a); e.g. γ-κητ[†] "It is built" (static) versus σε-κωτ ἡμο-γ "It is being built" (dynamic); νεγ-κητ[†] "It was built" (static) versus αγ-κωτ ἡμο-γ "It was built" (dynamic) or νεγ-κωτ ἡμο-γ "It was being built" (dynamic).

Examples: (i) *without agential preposition (ambiguous)*, σε-να-εββιο-γ Luke 18:14 "He will be humbled" ταπεινωθήσεται; αγ-σωτῃ ε-πεκσοπς Luke 1:13 "Your prayer has been heard" εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου; τενογ δε σε-σολα ἡμο-γ Luke 16:25 "Now he is comforted"; ογсмн αγ-σωτῃ ερο-с ζῆ-ραμα Matt 2:18 "A voice was heard in Ramah"; ις δε ἡτερογ-απο-γ ζραι ζῆ-βηθεεεμ Matt 2:1 "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem"; σε-να-δινε м-пωнн ετ^θ-ммаγ ε-αγ-порк-γ ShIII 141:15-16 "They will find that tree to have been uprooted"; αἰ-ωωπε εγ-μαστιγογ ἡμο-ι Ps 72(73):14 "I was plagued"; σε-να-μογτε ερο-γ ε-пωннre ἡ-п-ετ^θ-χοσε Luke 1:32 "He will be called the Son of the Most High"; αζρο-ι δε σε-κρине ἡμο-ι ζωс-^θρεγ-р-^θнове Rom 3:7 "Why am I still being condemned as a sinner?"; χιν-εनेз ἡпоγ-σωτῃ ε-αγ-ογων ε-нвал ἡ-ογα ε-αγ-απο-γ εγ-ο ἡ-вλλε John 9:32 "Never has it been heard that the eyes of a person born blind have been opened"; (ii) *with agential preposition (unambiguous)*, π-ент-αγ-χοо-γ ζιτῆ-πεпрофнтс Acts 13:40 "What was said by the prophet"; μαρια таῖ εнт-αγ-απε-ις εβολ ἡзнт-с Matt 1:16 "Mary, of whom Jesus was born"; εβολ

ζιτῆ-πεις (i.e. πεῖς) σε-таγε-^θοειω ηη-тῆ ἡ-пкω εβολ ἡ-нетῆнове Acts 13:38 "Through this Jesus forgiveness of your sins is proclaimed to you"; αγ-таγε-^θοειω ζῆ-βεροια ἡ-пωαε ἡ-пноγте εβολ ζιτῆ-παγλос Acts 17:13 "The word of God was proclaimed by Paul at Beroea"; σε-ογαω-γ ζιτῆ-ἡзнке се-ме ἡмо-γ ζιτῆ-ἡкеѣρωγ ἡ-μαῖ-^θноγте ShChass 106:47-50 "He is desired by the poor and loved even by the devout emperors"

REFLEXIVE MEANING

- 176 'Reflexive' meaning (actor directing action at itself) is expressed by any direct object personal suffix agreeing in person/number/(gender) with the verbal actor.

α-ις ογονζ-γ ε-негмаөнтс "Jesus revealed Himself to His disciples" (John 21:1)

With a 3d person subject, taken out of context such sentences are ambiguous: e.g. α-ις ογονζ-γ means both (i) Jesus revealed some other person and (ii) Jesus revealed himself. The reflexive construction is also an essential combinative constituent of some verbal constructions 181(e).

Further examples: μαρεγ-арна ἡμο-γ Mark 8:34 "Let him deny himself"; кан анок еѣгван-р-^θмнтрε ζаро-еῖ John 8:14 "Even if I do bear witness to Myself"; псаеин ари-^θпазре еро-к Luke 4:23 "Physician, heal yourself"

If the direct object is accompanied by ἡμινῆμο= '(my)self' 152, this marks it as explicitly reflexive: αγ-таа-γ ἡμινῆмо-ογ Eph 4:19 "They gave themselves up." However, ἡμινῆμο= rarely occurs; very few reflexive objects are marked in this way.

RECIPROCITY

- 177 Reciprocity (actors directing action at 'one another')

αγ-ωαε нῃ-неγерноу "They said to one another" (Luke 4:36)

is expressed by constructions of ернγ 90.

PREDICATIVE EXPANSION OF THE DIRECT OBJECT
(ACTOR CAUSING OBJECT TO BE OR BECOME SOMETHING)

- 178 Some transitive verbs, such as еире 'make', хооγ 'send', ωп 'consider', каөиста 'make', кω 'set or appoint', моγте 'call' etc., can take a direct object followed by a 'predicative expansion'

α-пноγте хооγ-γ ἡ-^θархων аγω ἡ-^θрег-сωте "God sent him as ruler and deliverer" (Acts 7:35)

печс аγ-аа-н ἡ-^θрмзге "Christ has set us free" (Gal 5:1)

i.e. by an element that conveys new information about the direct object and is united with it in a grammatical relationship, as of a predicate with a subject **247**. (Such, in the examples above, are the elements \bar{n} - θ αρχων αγω \bar{n} - θ ρεq- ς ωτε and \bar{n} - θ ρμζε.) Predicative expansions or complements are marked in several ways, depending on the lexically fixed phrasing associated with the verb:

- (a) By \bar{n} - of incidental predication **179**. E.g. in the examples above \bar{n} - θ αρχων αγω \bar{n} - θ ρεq- ς ωτε “As ruler and deliverer,” \bar{n} - θ ρμζε “Free.”
- (b) By other prepositions or conjunctions. E.g. νεγ-χι \bar{n} μο-q πε ς ω ς - θ προ-φητης Matt 14:5 “They held him to be a prophet”; ογπολις ε- ς αγ-μογτε ερο- ς ς ε- ς αζαρεθ Matt 2:23 “A city called Nazareth” (for ς ε-, cf. **513**[b]).
- (c) By the completive circumstantial **426**. E.g. αq- ς αα-q εq-ονζ ShChass 32:10–11 “He left him alive.”

\bar{n} - OF INCIDENTAL PREDICATION

- 179** Predicative \bar{n} - **203**, usually expanded by a zero article phrase, occurs after the direct object of εipε when it has the sense of ‘make . . . into, cause . . . to be’ and after its stative o with the sense of ‘is . . .’ (exists in the state of having been made into . . .); and similarly after other verbs of being and causing to be.

αα-κ \bar{n} - θ ρμμαθ “Make yourself rich” (ShChass 85:34)
 π-ετ θ - ς α- ς ωτβ δε q-ο \bar{n} - θ ενοχος ε-τεκρις “Whoever kills is liable to judgment” (Matt 5:21)
 \bar{n} -ετ θ -ο \bar{n} - θ δαιμονιον “Demoniacs (Those who are demon-like)” (Matt 4:24)
 αγ-qιτ-ογ \bar{n} - θ αιχμαλωτος “They were taken captive (They took them captive)” (ShAmél II 252:2)
 ταζο-κ ερατ-κ \bar{n} -ογ ς ωτπ \bar{n} -πνογτε “Present yourself to God as one approved” (2 Tim 2:15)
 †- ς α- ς ωρ ς π- ς ααποθηκη ς α-κοτ-ογ \bar{n} - ς εννοθ “I will pull down my barns and build them larger” (Luke 12:18)

In this function, the preposition \bar{n} - expresses ‘*incidental*’ (non-essential) predicative expansion **178** of a direct object or a stative: ‘is’ for the present moment, circumstantially, accidentally, non-essentially. This is opposed to ‘*inherent*’ (essential) predication, as expressed by the nominal sentence predicate **292** (‘is’ unchangeably, permanently, unconditionally, essentially, or without marked distinction). Predicative \bar{n} - is compatible with article phrases, specifier phrases, determinator pronouns, and specifier pronouns. A

gendered common noun after predicative \bar{n} - either denotes (“make . . . into . . .”) or describes (“cause . . . to be . . .”) **93**: no formal distinction between denotation and description is expressed.

Since there is no preterit conversion of the 1st and 2d person nominal sentence expressing prior time **256**, the preterit νε(ι) -ο \bar{n} - θ . . . supplies the missing persons.

Descriptive predication (corresponding to adjectives in Western Indo-European languages) is also expressed by three other means: the stative of intransitive verbs whose infinitive expresses process or entry into a state **168**(b), q-ογobw “He/It is white”; suffixally conjugated verboids of quality **376**, ς ανογ-q “He/It is good”; and the nominal sentence predicate of description **292**, ογρωμε πε “He/It is human.” In some instances these constructions come very close in meaning, forming synonyms: ογα- ς αον πε/ ς ανογ-q “It is good”; ογκογ πε/q- ς obk “It is small”; ς αω- ς α-q/q-ο \bar{n} - θ νοθ “It is great.”

Further examples: †-εipε \bar{n} μο-q \bar{n} - θ ζαα 1 Cor 9:27 “I subdue it (make it a slave)”; τα- \bar{n} - θ ηγτ \bar{n} \bar{n} - θ ογωζε \bar{n} - θ ρωμε Matt 4:19 “I will make you fishers of human beings”; εq- ς α- ς ωογν αν εq- ς ωογωογ η εq-ο \bar{n} - θ κωω ς αλλα q- ς α- ς ωογν \bar{n} - θ ωμα \bar{n} -πνευματικον εq- ρ οογτ ε- \bar{n} -q- ς αατ αν \bar{n} - ς ααγ ShAmél II 401:2–4 “He will not arise dried up or as a corpse, but he will arise as a spiritual body, flourishing and not lacking anything”; ς εκας ετετνε- ς ωπε \bar{n} - θ ηρε \bar{n} -πετνειωτ Matt 5:45 “So that you may be children of your Father”; ς ωπε δε \bar{n} - θ αβε \bar{n} εε \bar{n} - θ ιζοq αγω \bar{n} - θ ακεραιος \bar{n} εε \bar{n} - θ ιβροομπε Matt 10:16 “So be wise as serpents and innocent as doves”; ς ε- ς ωοπ ς α-γ \bar{n} - θ νομος ς αγaa-γ Rom 2:14 “They live as a law to themselves”; \bar{n} ει-ο \bar{n} - θ ωμμο πε Matt 25:35 “I was a stranger”; ς α-οπ-τ \bar{n} - θ μακαριος ε- ς α- ς απολογιζε ς ιωω-κ Acts 26:2 “I think myself fortunate that . . . I am to make my defence”; π αζ \bar{n} - \bar{n} -ο αν \bar{n} - θ ροογ ς ς ε- \bar{n} - ς α- ς ωογ Mark 4:38 “Teacher, do You not care that we are about to perish?”; π-επ-α-πνογτε δε αα-q \bar{n} -ογα \bar{n} -ογωτ Mark 10:9 “What therefore God has joined together (made one single thing)”; π α q- ς α- ς ωπε \bar{n} -ογνοθ αγω ς ε- ς α- ς ωογτε ερο-q ς ε- ς ωηρε \bar{n} -π-ετ θ - ς οε Luke 1:32 “He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High”; ς κ-εipε \bar{n} μο- \bar{n} \bar{n} -ογμντ-ερο \bar{n} -πεννογτε αγω \bar{n} - θ ογννβ Rev 5:10 “Thou hast made us a kingdom and priests to our God”; †- \bar{n} ετ \bar{n} κα εβολ | ς αα-γ \bar{n} - θ μντ- \bar{n} α Luke 12:33 “Sell your possessions; give them away as alms”; \bar{n} ερρωογ \bar{n} - θ ζεονος ς ε- \bar{n} \bar{n} -πεγ ς οις Luke 22:25 “The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them (are their lords)”; \bar{n} η ανος αν \bar{n} - ς ετπ- θ ηγτ \bar{n} \bar{n} -πμντ- ς νοογς John 6:70 “Did I not choose you to be the twelve?”; ς κ-εipε \bar{n} μο-κ \bar{n} - \bar{n} ιμ John 8:53 “Who do You claim to be (make Yourself out to be)?”; αγ- ς α-πεqζοιτε αγω αγ-αα-q \bar{n} -qτοογ \bar{n} -ογων John 19:23 “They took His garment and made it into four parts.” Similarly after the direct object of επικαλει ‘call . . . by the name of’ (Heb 11:16), καθιστα ‘make . . . into’ (Acts 7:27), κω ‘set or appoint . . . to be, make . . . into’ (Acts 13:47, 20:28; Rom 4:17), τωω ‘appoint . . . as’ (Acts 26:16), ς ι ς ε ‘exalt . . . as’ (Acts 5:31), ς οογ ‘send . . . as’ (Acts 7:35), etc.

COMPOUND VERBS

- 180** ‘Compound verbs’ are closely joined combinations of verb and noun to form a lexically fixed expression, in which the nominal component often has prominence (denominal verbs).

(a) The usual type

\bar{p} -⁰NOBE to sin [make-sin(s)]
 TAWE-⁰OEIW to proclaim [increase-call(s)]
 XI-⁰BAΠTICMA to be baptized [get-baptism(s)]
 †-PNT= to name [give-name of]
 OM-⁰DOM to be able (to) [find-ability]

consists of prenominal infinitive **167** + zero article phrase, fusing into a single unit in boundness, syntax, and meaning; possessed nouns also occur in this role **171(a)**. Compounds of †- ‘give’ and XI- ‘take’ express active meaning *versus* dynamic passive meaning (†-⁰BAΠTICMA ‘baptize’, XI-⁰BAΠTICMA ‘be baptized’). E.g. AI-P-⁰NOBE Matt 27:4 “I have sinned” (ἡμαρτον); AY-XI-⁰BAΠTICMA NTOOT-Q ZM-ΠIOPAΔANHC ΠIEPO Mark 1:5 “They were baptized by him in the river Jordan” (ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ).

The nominal component can be elaborated by one or more other, linked bare noun lexemes **145** so that all are expansions of the same article; e.g. N-ENT-AY-P-⁰XAIE AYW WAW ShIII 214:13 “Those who have become abandoned and devastated”; XE-ETETNA-XI-⁰TAIEO NAME ZN-TEṬNAPXH AYW EOOW ZI-CMOY ShChass 101:44-48 “So that you might be truly honored, and glorified and praised, in your administration.”

Some compound verbs are transitive, i.e. can be further expanded by a direct object

$\bar{n}q$ -†-⁰OCE \bar{n} -TEQYXCH “And forfeit his life” (Mark 8:36)

i. If the nominal component is a common noun, the direct object is mediated prepositionally (the preposition varies from one verb to another as a matter of lexically fixed phrasing). E.g.

†-⁰CBW \bar{n} -/NA= E- teach (someone) about (something)
 XI-⁰CBW E- learn (something)
 P-⁰XPEIA \bar{n} -/MMO= need (something)
 TAWE-⁰OEIW \bar{n} -/MMO= proclaim (something)
 †-⁰OCE \bar{n} -/MMO= lose (something)

E.g. AQ-†-⁰CBW NA-Y Matt 5:2 “He taught them”; CE-NA-TAWE-⁰OIW MMO-Q Luke 12:3 “It shall be proclaimed/They shall proclaim it” (κηρυχθήσεται).

ii. If the nominal component of the compound is a possessed noun **138**, the direct object is suffixed to the possessed noun. E.g.

\bar{n} -PAT= discern, track down
 \bar{n} -ZHNT= induce abortion in (ZHNT= belly, womb)
 †-PNT= name, call

†-TOOT= help
 TCABE-EIAT= EBOA OF TOYN-EIAT= EBOA instruct
 WE-P-ZPA= receive, accept (ZPA= face)

E.g. AQ-APXI \bar{n} -TOYN-EIAT-OY EBOA Mark 8:31 “He began to teach them”; A-XALEB XI-PW-Q M-PLAOC NNAPZPM-MWYCHC Num 13:31 “Chaleb stayed the people from speaking before Moses.” For regulation and fluctuation of these compound verbs according to the Stern-Jernstedt rule, cf. **171**. For compound verbs in which the possessed noun has a reflexive construction, cf. **181(e)**.

(b) Compound verbs meaning ‘have/perform the function of, have the characteristic of’ are based on O \bar{n} - in the durative sentence, but on P- in non-durative conjugation. Because of their complementary distribution in this construction, O \bar{n} - and P- have the same meaning.

Durative	Non-durative	
O \bar{n} - ⁰ ZMZAΛ	P- ⁰ ZMZAΛ	‘serve’ (δουλεύειν)
O \bar{n} - ⁰ PPO	P- ⁰ PPO	‘reign’ (βασιλεύειν)
O \bar{n} - ⁰ XOEIC	P- ⁰ XOEIC	‘be master’ (κυριεύειν)
O \bar{n} - ⁰ PMZE	P- ⁰ PMZE	‘be free’ (ἐλευθεροῦσθαι)

Those based on P- in non-durative conjugation can also have *ingressive* meaning, expressing entry into a state; in other words, the distinction between being and becoming is cancelled. E.g. HAH ATETN-P-⁰PMMAO 1 Cor 4:8 “Already you have become/been rich”; CE-NA-P-⁰PMMAO ShChass 116:36-37 “They will become/be rich.”

Whereas situational prepositions enter into the durative sentence as predicate **310**, in non-durative sentences they must be preceded by the non-durative infinitive P- **312**. E.g. AY-P-ZAPW-I M-PEZOOW M-PAMKAZ Ps 17(18):18 “They were before me in the day of my affliction.”

(c) *Elliptical resumption*. When a compound verb is repeated within a passage of text, its second occurrence is often elliptically represented by the absolute state of the infinitive alone.

EIWAN-P-⁰NOBE H EIWAN-TM-EIRE “Whether I sin (P-⁰NOBE) or whether I *don’t* (TM-EIRE + Ø)” (ShChass 71:31)

Further examples: ZM-PTRE-PLAOC THP-Q XI-⁰BAΠTICMA AYW NTERE-IC XI Luke 3:21 “Now when all the people were being baptized, and after Jesus *had been*”; PE-ET⁰-OYAW E-⁰CAWM MAREQ-CAWM . . . AYW PE-ET⁰-OYAW E-⁰PA-⁰CAWM MAREQ-EIRE ShIII 165:15-17 “Whoever wishes to obey, let them obey . . . And whoever wishes to disobey, let them *do so*.”

Inversion. Similarly, the nominal component of the compound can be uttered before the verbal sentence pattern, in extraposition, as a fragmentary topic for consideration. E.g.

⁰αναψ μεν μοу-εἶρε ShIII 18:15-16 "As for swearing (i.e. ⁰αναψ)—this they did not do" (As for ⁰oath, they did not make + ⁰).

- (d) Some compound verbs contain a *definite* article phrase as a formal characteristic of their construction. The two components fuse into a single unit in meaning, and their syntactic relationship (εἶρε \bar{n} - versus \bar{p} -) is regulated in accord with the Stern-Jernstedt rule 171. An essential element of many such compounds is the construction of general relationship 147, e.g. \bar{p} -πωβω \bar{n} -/ \bar{p} -πε(q)ωβω 'forget' [make the unconsciousness of]; \bar{p} -πμεεγε \bar{n} -/ \bar{p} -πε(q)μεεγε 'remember' [make the thought of]; $\bar{b}\bar{m}$ -πωινε \bar{n} -/ $\bar{b}\bar{m}$ -πε(q)ωινε 'visit' [discover the news of].

Examples: $\bar{m}\bar{p}$ - \bar{p} -πωβω γαρ \bar{m} - \bar{p} -εντ-α-πεωβηρ χοο- \hat{q} ShChass 102:42-45 "I have not forgotten what the friend said"; $\bar{t}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{i}$ -⁰ω $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}$ - \bar{p} -πεωβω Heb 13:2 "Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers (As for hospitality to strangers; do not make its forgetting)"; κ- $\bar{b}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ \bar{m} -πεqωινε Heb 2:6 "Thou visiteth him"; $\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{b}\bar{m}$ -παωινε Matt 25:36 "You visited Me"; ε-⁰χε-παπεθοοу Mark 9:39 "To speak evil of Me"

The compound \bar{p} -πμεεγε \bar{n} - (but not \bar{p} -πεqμεεγε) escapes regulation according to the Stern-Jernstedt rule in durative conjugation, so that the two object constructions of the verb, εἶρε \bar{n} - and \bar{p} -, fluctuate in durative conjugation. E.g. $\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{i}$ -εἶρε \bar{m} -πμεεγε \bar{n} -νεκρ $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ 2 Tim 1:4 "As I remember your tears"; but also \bar{n} -τε $\bar{t}\bar{n}$ - \bar{p} -πμεεγε $\bar{a}\bar{n}$ -π $\bar{f}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ \bar{n} -οεικ Matt 16:9 "Do you not remember the five loaves?"

EXPANSIONS OF THE VERB: ADVERBIAL, COMBINATIVE, AND RECTIONAL

- 181 The verb is usually followed by one or more expansion elements consisting of prepositional phrases or adverbs 194; or adverbial clauses or infinitive phrases (chapter 23).

сωτ \bar{m} $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{a}$ -νετ $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ κατ \bar{a} -смот $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ "Obey your parents in everything" (Col 3:20)

μαρεq-εἰ ἐπεснт $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ $\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{x}\bar{n}$ -πεс $\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ "Let Him come down now from the cross" (Mark 15:32)

- (a) *Adverbial complements.* Some expansion elements merely provide complementary adverbial information about the verbal statement; for example, as independent expressions of time, place, manner, circumstance, degree, or attitude. These are semantically independent, contributory elements, whose absence or replacement would not cause a different meaning of the verb lexeme to be expressed. Thus in the previous examples κατ \bar{a} -смот $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ "In everything" and $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ "Now" are semantically independent adverbial complements.
- (b) *Combinative constituents.* Other elements, however, are so essentially tied in meaning to the verb, that verb and expansion element must both be present in

order to express the intended verbal idea. Such, in the previous example, is ἐπεснт (in εἰ ἐπεснт 'descend, come down'). The absence or replacement of these constituents would cause a different verbal meaning to be expressed (e.g. εἰ alone means 'come', εἰ ἐπεснт means 'descend'). Combinative constituents of the verb always follow the verb.

In meaning, the dividing line between adverbial complement and combinative constituent is not a clear two-fold distinction, but rather a spectrum ranging over various degrees of closeness and independence.

i. Typical combinative constituents of the verb are the twelve *combinative adverbs* 206, such as εβολ and εзоуn, whose function is to combine with verbs (also with prepositions and adverbs), and thus to form lexically fixed expressions. They are composed of a preposition (ε- to, \bar{n} - in, ω \bar{a} - up to) expanded by a nominal component (βολ outside, зоуn inside, πεснт bottom, $\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{i}$ top/bottom, $\bar{o}\bar{n}$ front, παзоу rear, $\bar{z}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ mind), and mostly help to express spatial orientation (in, out, up, down, ahead, back) though they merge in meaning with the verb. Cf. table 16 (p. 165). In some combinations the meaning is clear and calculatable; e.g. εἰ alone 'come', εἰ εβολ 'leave' (come + outwards), εἰ εзоуn 'enter' (come + inwards), etc. But in others it is less so; e.g. κω 'place, appoint', κω εзоуn 'admit, bring into port'.

ii. *Constituents that are both combinative and rectional.* If the combinative constituent of a transitive verb is a preposition, it brings the infinitive into both semantic and syntactic relationship (rection) with an entity term, which is the prepositional object. E.g. κωτε $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{a}$ - 'seek'.

νεγ-κωτε $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{a}$ -οуmn \bar{t} - $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{p}\bar{e}$ εзоуn ε- $\bar{t}\bar{c}$ "They sought testimony against Jesus" (Mark 14:55)

Such prepositions thus serve two functions: lexically, to contribute to the expression of a particular verbal idea; and syntactically, to mark direct objects of the verb. They are both combinative and rectional. E.g. ωινε ε- 'visit', ωινε ε $\bar{x}\bar{n}$ - 'ask concerning'; \bar{t} \bar{n} -/ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{z}$ + \bar{n} -/ $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{z}$ 'give (something) to (someone)'; \bar{t} \bar{n} -/ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{z}$ + $\bar{z}\bar{i}$ - 'clothe (someone) with (something)'; \bar{t} οуβε- 'fight against'; etc.

The semantically objectless transitive construction 169 of such a verb either (i) omits the preposition or (ii) has the semantically empty pronoun οуon 59 as its object. E.g. (i) $\bar{a}\bar{y}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{y}$ $\bar{a}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{h}\bar{h}\bar{w}\bar{e}$ $\bar{a}\bar{y}$ - \bar{p} -⁰зоτε Matt 9:8 "When the crowds saw, they were afraid"; (ii) \bar{p} -ε \bar{t} -ωινε q- $\bar{n}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{e}$ ε-οуon Matt 7:8 "The one who seeks will find."

iii. *Purely rectional constituents.* A few infinitives co-occur with a preposition that only serves to mark the direct object of the verb and does not alternate with other combinative prepositions. E.g. сωтп \bar{n} - 'choose', μοуот \bar{n} - 'kill', смоу ε- 'bless'. Such prepositions are purely rectional (required in direct object relationship).

- (c) Thus, any given preposition has more than one possible relationship to verbs. In some sentences it forms an adverbial complement, while in others it is a combinative/rectional constituent. As a matter of lexically fixed phrasing, most verbs are compatible with their own particular repertory of combinative/rectional expansion elements. In this way, from a small number of lexemes an elaborate system of verbal meanings is distinctly expressed.
- (d) The lexically fixed phrasing of many verbs includes combinations that contain more than one preposition. E.g. $\tau\sigma\alpha\upsilon\omicron \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron =$ *person* $\epsilon\rho\omicron =$ *thing* ‘tell (someone) (something)’: $\eta-\tau\sigma\alpha\upsilon\omicron \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\eta \epsilon-\zeta\omega\beta \text{ } \eta\iota\mu$ John 5:20 “He shows Him all.” Some combinations include the same preposition twice, each with a different function depending on its position in sequence. E.g. $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron = \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron =$ ‘ask (someone) for (something)’: $\pi-\epsilon\tau\eta-\eta\alpha-\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\kappa \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\eta$ Mark 10:35 “Whatever we ask of You” *literally* That which we shall ask + You + it.
- (e) *The reflexive construction as a combinative constituent.* In many verbal constructions, reflexivity 176 is an essential combinative constituent, e.g. $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron =$ *reflex.* ‘return’ [turn oneself], $\omega\beta\omega \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron =$ *reflex.* $\epsilon-$ ‘overlook, neglect’ [forget oneself as regards . . .], $\omega\zeta\epsilon \epsilon\rho\alpha\tau =$ (var. $\alpha\zeta\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau =$) *reflex.* ‘stand’ [stand on one’s feet].

αγ-κοτ-ογ δε ν̄βι-ν̄ψοος “And the shepherds returned (turned themselves)” (Luke 2:20)

Both verb and reflexive direct object must be present in order to express the verbal idea. E.g. $\alpha\gamma-\text{nox}-\text{o}\gamma$ "They sat down" [threw-themselves]; $\alpha\gamma-\text{πα}\tau-\text{o}\gamma$ "They bowed down" [bent-themselves]. The presence of a particular combinative preposition is also essential in some constructions; e.g. $\text{o}\gamma\omega\tau \bar{\text{n}}-$ *reflex.* $\bar{\text{n}}\text{ca}-$ 'follow': $\alpha\gamma-\text{o}\gamma\alpha\tau-\text{o}\gamma \bar{\text{n}}\text{cw}-\text{q}$ "They followed him" [*put-themselves after him*].

Many such constructions are compound verbs in which the nominal element is a possessed noun **138** and whose personal suffix reflexively agrees in person/number/(gender) with the subject of the verb.

κτε-ειατ= (cf. κτο 'turn') *look* [turn one's eye]
 ζι-τοοτ= (cf. ζιογε 'lay') *begin* [lay one's hand(s)]

Cf. 171(a). E.g. $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\chi-\kappa\tau\epsilon-\dot{\iota}\alpha\tau-\chi\ \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha-\chi$ Mark 10:23 “When He had looked around He said”; $\alpha\chi-\zeta\dot{\iota}-\tau\omicron\omicron\tau-\chi\ \alpha\chi-\rho\dot{\iota}\mu\epsilon$ Mark 14:72 “He began to weep [He began and wept].”

Examples: κτε-ειατ= look around, με2-ειατ= \bar{n} - look intently at, $\epsilon\chi\bar{n}$ -ειατ= $\epsilon\chi\bar{n}$ - fix one's gaze upon, η 1-ειατ= $\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\bar{i}$ look up; $\kappa\alpha$ - $\rho\omega$ = fall silent, με2- $\rho\omega$ = bite, $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta$ - $\rho\omega$ = display facial emotion; $\kappa\alpha$ - $\rho\alpha\tau$ = εβολ go forth, $\omicron\eta\epsilon\eta$ - $\rho\alpha\tau$ = set foot (in); εια- $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = $\bar{n}\kappa\alpha$ - despair of, renounce, $\kappa\alpha$ - $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = εβολ despair, \bar{n} - $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = *reflex. ερσ*= *reflex. desist*, \bar{n} - $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = $\epsilon\chi\bar{n}$ - seize, με2- $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = lay hold of,

ῥ-α-τοοτ= (vars. ῥ-να-τοοτ, ῥ-απατοοτ) endeavor, $\text{cm}\bar{\text{n}}\text{-toot}$ = agree (with), †-τοοτ= ε- seize, †-τοοτ= $\text{m}\bar{\text{n}}$ - and †-τοοτ= $\bar{\text{n}}$ - help, $\omega\text{ep}\text{-toot}$ = betrothe, promise, $\text{z}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-toot}$ = undertake, begin; $\text{na}\omega\text{pt}\text{-}\omega\text{ant}$ = blow one's nose, $\epsilon\text{ak}\text{-}\omega\text{ant}$ = sneer; (zra = *face*) $\text{x}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-zra}$ = amuse or occupy oneself; (zra = *voice*) $\text{na}\omega\text{t}\text{-zra}$ = (construct participle 122) imprudent, $\text{q}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-zra}$ = raise one's voice, $\text{x}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-zra}$ = cry; (zth = *heart*) $\text{ka}\text{-zth}$ = put one's trust (in), ῥ-zth= repent, regret, †-zth= pay heed, observe, $\omega\bar{\text{n}}\text{-zth}$ = have pity; $\text{cm}\bar{\text{n}}\text{-}\omega\text{}$ = undertake

- (f) When the reflexively constructed infinitive functions as a common noun (unconjugated), reflexive meaning can be expressed by a general 2d person sing. masc. direct object -κ ('yourself' i.e. oneself). E.g. πτῆ-οπ-κ AphrPatr 105 (Chafne 25:2 = Z 298:7) "Not to think highly of oneself"; νανογ-ογαζ-κ ἡσα-πχοεic Sir 46:10(16) "It is good to follow [put yourself after] the Lord"; οὔμντ-εια-τοοτ-κ ἡσω-κ ἡμινῆμο-κ Ephrem Syrus, Asceticon (BMar 169:2-3) "Self-despair" [Washing your hands of yourself].

- (g) **na=** as an expansion element (traditionally called *dativus ethicus*)

ՀՄՕՕՐ ՆԱ-Կ “Just sit down”

expresses an attitude of subjective insistence on the speaker's or actor's part. It occurs after intransitives, especially of movement or posture, or after transitives (mainly imperatives?) without direct object. If the verb is an infinitive, $\text{na}=\text{}$ is a reflexive construction; e.g. $\alpha\gamma-\sigma\gamma\omega\psi \text{ } \Delta\epsilon \text{ } \overline{\text{NB}}\text{-}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}}-\text{KHM}\epsilon \text{ } \epsilon-\text{ }^{\emptyset}\text{BOK NA-}\gamma$ ApophPatr 69 (Chaine 15:21) "And the Egyptians wanted to *be gone*." If the verb is an imperative, the object of $\text{na}=\text{}$ manifests the person/number/(gender) of the 2d person addressee(s); e.g. $\text{pe}\chi\alpha-\text{q} \text{ } \chi\epsilon-\text{ } \alpha\text{NAX}\omega\text{P}\epsilon\text{I NH-TN}$ Matt 9:24 "He said, *Depart*" $\alpha\nu\alpha\chi\omega\epsilon\text{I}\tau\epsilon; \text{ } \zeta\text{MOOC NA-K } \overline{\text{ZM}}-\text{PEIMA TA-BOK}$ Paphnoute Cephalas, Stories of the Monks of the Desert (BMis 473:34-474:1) "*Just sit down* here and I will go"; $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon-\epsilon-\text{ }^{\emptyset}\text{ZN}\epsilon-\text{ }^{\emptyset}\text{AN } \epsilon-\text{ }^{\emptyset}\text{ZWT}\text{P } \epsilon-\text{TOYCWNE} \dots \epsilon\text{IE-NTO H NTOC CAZW-TN } \epsilon\text{BOL H } \alpha\text{NAX}\omega\text{P}\epsilon\text{I NH-TN}$ ShAmél I 73:2-7 "If indeed you are unwilling to reconcile with your sister . . . then you and she must leave, that is, *get out*"; $\text{MOOWE NA-K } \epsilon\text{ZPAI } \text{ZI-NTWPTR M-PHI } \epsilon\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-NEIOTE N-NEK-EIOTE KOT-q NA-}\gamma$ ShIII 192:1-2 "*Make your way up* the steps of the house that your ancestors built for themselves"; $\sigma\gamma\omega\text{M NA-K } \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\psi}\overline{\omega}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}$ ApophPatr 100 (Chaine 22:34 = Z 295:10) "*Eat your meal* in the morning."

- (h) The only detailed source of lexical information about verbs and their combinative constituents is W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (1939).

WORD ORDER: THE ORDER OF EXPANSION ELEMENTS AFTER
THE VERB

- 182** As stated above **181**, a verb is often followed by several expansion elements, which can include not only a direct object **166** or an indirect object (the

person for whom an action or process is accomplished), but also prepositional phrases and adverbs that express time, place, manner, circumstance, degree, and attitude, or that cooperate with the verb lexeme to express a verbal idea. Generally, the order of these expansion elements can be understood by invoking several principles. These abstract principles often conflict with one another; among them are the following. (i) Direct and indirect objects tend to precede other elements. (ii) Modifier and modified, nucleus and expansion, tend to occur close to one another. (iii) Enclitic morphs such as *αν* 'not' or *ον* 'again', and the preposition *να* 'to, for', tend to precede non-enclitics, and to occur in a predictable order when they occur together. (iv) The rhetorical parallelism of linked clauses or sentences can account for items out of basic order. (v) Deliberate rhetorical effects can be expressed by unusual word order.

In fact, the order of expansion elements is not rigidly determined. In actual texts it varies quite a lot, reflecting small semantically related groups within the sentence structure and expressing the author's free rhetorical choices and overall textual arrangement. Euphony (choices of rhythm or phrasing) may also have played a part.

VERBAL PREEXTENSIONS

183 The three 'verbal preextensions'

ῥπκε- also, additionally, moreover, even

ῥωῥπ- (vars. *ῥωῥπν-*, *ῥωοῥπν-*, *ωῥπ-*, and *ωῥπν-*) first, before hand, previously

ῥζογε- (var. *ῥζογο-*) more, even more, greatly

are modifying prefixes that are affixed to both infinitives (durative and non-durative in all three states) and statives.

εωχε-τν-ῥπκε-ωαχε *ντεειζε* "Even if we speak thus" (Heb 6:9)

πνουτε δε αγω πεφχς ῥζογε-ογονζ[†] εβολ "Then God and His Christ are abundantly visible" (ShChass 138:9-12)

They modify either (i) the sentence as such, by expressing a sense in which the sentence is being asserted (i.e. in which the predication is made); or (ii) (especially *ῥωῥπ-*) the verbal lexeme as such.

Further examples: *εωχε-ακ-ῥπκε-χι* 1 Cor 4:7 "If indeed, furthermore, you received it"; *αντ-ογζηκε εγ-ῥπκε-μοκζ[†]* Ps 68(69):29 "I am poor and sorrowful (I am a poor person who is also sorrowful)"; *ε-ῥπκε-χοο-γ* Eph 5:12 "Even to speak of them"; *с-ῥζογε-αγζανε νβι-τετνπιςτις* 2 Thess 1:3 "Your faith is growing abundantly"; *се-ῥζογο-сζογορτ[†]* ShIII 41:4 "They are utterly damned"; *ογδαθενκη ε-α-πνουτε ωῥπ-ταχρο-с* Gal 3:17 "A covenant that God

previously ratified"; *νεβζηγε ετερε-νδαιμων ρωρπν-ειρε* *μμο-ογ* ShIV 194:1-2 "The deeds which the demons did before"; *ε-αγ-ωῥπ-соγων-ῥ* *μεν ζαθη ν-τκαταβολη ν-πκοσμος* 1 Pet 1:20 "Having been destined (literally they having foreknown Him) before the foundation of the world"; *κατα-πωρπ-соγν-πνουτε πιωτ* 1 Pet 1:2 "According to the foreknowledge of God the Father"

Preextension and verb combine into a single syntactic, semantic, bound group, with the preextension subsumed by the verb: thus the syntax of an infinitive or a stative is not affected by the presence of a preextension. For example, the regulation of direct objects of the mutable infinitive according to the Stern-Jernstedt rule 171 is the same with or without a verbal preextension.

τ-ωῥπ-χω *νμο-с* 2 Cor 13:2 "I state in advance"

αι-ωῥπ-χοο-γ Matt 24:25 "I have told you before hand"

However, after a verbal preextension an intransitive verb with stative of ongoing motion 168(c) occurs in the infinitive; e.g. *q-ῥζογε-πωτ ζωω-q* *νβει-πματοι* ShAmél I 276:10 "Even more so, the soldier will generally flee."

Several preextensions can combine: *τν-ῥπκε-ῥζογε-τ-ῥωντ* *να-q* *ζν-νεννντ-αεβηс* ShChass 105:3-6 "We also make Him extremely angry with our impious acts" (also greatly give anger to Him).

VERBAL AUXILIARIES

184 The eight 'verbal auxiliaries', e.g. *ω-* 'be able to'

νπογ-ω-βωκ *να-q* *εζογν* "They could not get near Him" (Mark 2:4) are directly followed, and semantically completed, by a non-durative infinitive (such as *ω-βωκ* in the preceding example). They are

μερε- love to

να- future auxiliary 311, (be) going to, will

πζν- (do) for once, succeed in (doing), just (do)

таωε- frequently, greatly (do something)

ογεω- want to

ογεζν- again (do something)

ω-, var. *εω-* be able to, can

χπι-, var. *χπε-* have to, must

Most of these are identical with prenominal infinitives; cf. *με*, *νογ*, *πωζ*, *таωο*, *ογωω*, *ογωζν*. Syntactically the auxiliaries are the main verb in their conjugation pattern, except when expanding *να-* the future auxiliary, thus differing from the verbal preextensions 183. The placement of *ω-* requires special note (c).

- (a) *να-* (the future auxiliary 311) *is going to, will* is one of four predicate types that interchange in the durative sentence (chapter 14). For non-durative counterparts, cf. 312. E.g. *†-να-τῆννοογ-α* *ψαρω-τῆν* John 16:7 “I will send Him to you”; *πεπροχληγτος ετῶ-νεμα-κ* *α-να-ρ-ζιχω-κ* *εματε* Deut 28:43 “The stranger that is with thee shall come to be over thee very greatly (*ἀναβήσεται ἔνω ἔνω*).” *να-* can be followed by another verbal auxiliary (e.g. *μῆ-λααγ* *να-ω-βωκ* *εζογν* *ε-πνεῖ* *μ-πχωρε* Mark 3:27 “No one can enter a strong man’s house”).
- (b) *ογεω-* is synonymous with *ογωω* *ε-* and has the same distribution; cf. 171(d).
- (c) *ω-* (var. *εω-*) *be able to, can*. (i) Constructed with a conjugation base, *ω-* or *εω-* comes before a non-personal subject but after a personal one. E.g. *ννε-ω-λααγ* *ν-ρωμε* *ζατη-ν* *αγω* *ζατη-τηγτην* *βωκ* *ε-πσωογζ* ShIV 60:13–14 “Let no person in our community or yours go to the assembly”; *ναω* *ν-ζε* *ερε-ω-ναῖ* *να-ωπε* John 3:9 “How can this be?”; *νθε* *δε* *ν-ογβαλε* . . . *ερε-νεφογερητε* *μεν* *μμο-α* *ε-ν-α-εω-* *μοοφε* *δε* *αν* ShChass 87:22–29 “Like a lame person . . . who has legs but cannot walk”; *ννεγ-εω-ρ-ανα-α* *μ-πνογτε* Rom 8:8 “They cannot please God.” (ii) The *present tense* is mostly expressed in combination with future *να-*, without distinguishing present and future: *νιμ* *πετῶ-να-ω-κα-ῶ* *νοβε* *εβολ* *νσα-πνογτε* *μαογαα-α* Mark 2:7 *τις* *δύναται* *ἀφιέναι* *ἁμαρτίας* “Who can (*or will be able to*) forgive sins but God alone?” (iii) *Synonyms* include *ω-δῆ-ῶ* *ε-* and *δῆ-ῶ* *ε-*, *ογν-ῶ* *ε-* and *ογν-ῶ* *ε-* 394, which also supply the objectless construction of *ω-* (e.g. *εωχε-ογν-ῶ* *ε-* *μαρε-πειχω* *σαατ-ῶ* Matt 26:39 “If it be possible [Since it is possible], let this cup pass from Me”).
- (d) *απι-* (var. *απε-*) occurs only in the semantic context of a future, either expanding auxiliary *να-* or in aorist conjugation; e.g. *ζηλειας* *α-να-απι-ει* *νωορη* Mark 9:11 *Ἠλῖαν* *δεῖ* *ἐλθεῖν* *πρῶτον* “First Elijah must (will have to) come”; *πειερο* *ετῶ-μμαγ* *ψαρε-ογον* *νιμ* *απε-περα* *μμο-α* Pambo of Scetis, Life of Apa Cyrus (BMar 135:3–4) “Everyone must (has to) cross that river.”

Further examples: *πλην* *νεα-μερε-δω* *ζι-πτοογ* *νδῖ-ππετ-ογααβ* *παρα-ζωβ* *νιμ* Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 84 (Garitte 91:5–6) “But the saint liked above all to remain on the mountain”; *π-εντ-αα-πζῆ-σαατε* *δε* *αγω* *αα-ζε* *μαρεα-δεπν* *νῆ-τωογν* John Chrysostom (Jejunator), On Repentance (BHom 22:23–24) “Whoever has already stumbled and fallen, let them hasten to arise!”; *εαωαν-πζῆ-τωογν* *νδῖ-πχοεῖς* Luke 13:25 “When once the householder has risen up”; *α-να-ταωε-κτο* *εβολ* *μ-πεαδωντ* Ps 77(78):38 “He will (*να-*) frequently (*ταωε-*) turn away His wrath”; *μπῶ-ογεω-α-νεαβαλ* *εζραῖ* *ε-τπε* Luke 18:13 “He would not even lift up his eyes to heaven”; *εκ-ογεω-τρεν-βωκ* *ε-των* Mark 14:12 “Where will You have us go?”; *ναω*

ν-ζε *κ-ογεω-α* *εβολ* *ζιτοοτ-ῶ* John 4:9 “How is it that You want a drink from me?”

The auxiliaries fall into three groups according to their attestation (i.e. eligibility?) in durative and non-durative conjugation, as displayed in table 13.

TABLE 13
ATTESTATION OF THE VERBAL AUXILIARIES IN DURATIVE AND
NON-DURATIVE CONJUGATION

	CONJUGATED IN DURATIVE CONJUGATION	CONJUGATED IN NON-DURATIVE CONJUGATION
(i) <i>μερε-</i> like to	×	×
<i>ογεω-</i> want to	×	×
<i>ω-</i> , var. <i>εω-</i> be able to	×	×
(ii) <i>πζῆ-</i> (do) for once, succeed in (doing), just (do)		×
<i>ταωε-</i> frequently, greatly		×
<i>ογεζῆ-</i> again		×
<i>απι-</i> , var. <i>απε-</i> have to (= must)		×
(iii) <i>να-</i> be going to, will 311	×	312

NOTE: Morphs in group (ii) are poorly attested and their compatibilities with durative conjugation are uncertain.

VERBS OF INCOMPLETE PREDICATION

- 185 ‘Verbs of incomplete predication’ are those which (at least in certain meanings) can be, tend to be, or even must be completed by additional information (a ‘predicative complement’).

αγ-αο *εγ-μοοφε* *νῆμα-α* “They ceased going about with Him” (John 6:66)

These verbs or verbal constructions express wishing, commanding, beseeching, forbidding, beginning, ending, possibility, necessity, desirability, difficulty, making into, causing to be, etc. (The verbal auxiliaries 184 are similar in meaning but have a different syntax.)

The predicative complement follows the verb, and it occurs in one or more of the following forms.

- (a) *Completive circumstantial clause*, cf. 426

Further examples: *αα-ογα* *εα-ρ-ῶ* *νοεῖκ* *ερο-α* *μ-πεαζητ* Matt 5:28 “He has already committed adultery (he-has-finished he-committing-adultery) with her in his heart”; *δεкас* *ννεκ-ογωνζ* *εβολ* *ν-νρωμε* *εκ-νηστεγε* Matt 6:18 “That you may not be seen to be fasting” (be seen you-fasting)

The verb $\sigma\gamma\omega$ 'finish' is completed by the circumstantial durative conjugation of an infinitive ($\epsilon\varphi$ - $\sigma\omega\tau\tau$). (i) In past affirmative conjugation, $\alpha\varphi$ - $\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\varphi$ - means 'he has already (done something)', the counterpart of $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\varphi$ - 'he has not yet (done something)'. (ii) Otherwise, $\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\varphi$ - means 'to finish (doing something)'. (iii) A direct object of the infinitive after $\epsilon\varphi$ - . . . is regulated according to the Stern-Jernstedt rule 171 in the Bible and Shenoute, but not always so in other texts; e.g. α - $\kappa\epsilon\sigma\gamma\alpha$ $\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\varphi$ - $\chi\eta\sigma\gamma$ $\mu\mu\omega$ - $\sigma\gamma$ ShIII 20:26 "Someone else has already interrogated them"; $\alpha\epsilon\iota$ - $\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\iota$ - $\chi\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omega$ - σ $\eta\eta$ - $\tau\bar{\eta}$ John 9:27 "I have told you already"; but $\alpha\iota$ - $\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\iota$ - $\chi\omega\sigma$ - σ $\epsilon\rho\omega$ - κ Theodore of Antioch, Encomium on St. Theodore the Eastern (BMis 25:30) "I have already told you." (iv) An intransitive verb with stative of ongoing motion 168(c) occurs in the infinitive when expanding $\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\varphi$ -; e.g. α - $\gamma\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\sigma$ $\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\varphi$ - $\epsilon\iota$ Matt 17:12 "Elijah has already come."

(b) *Predicative* $\bar{\eta}$ - expanding the stative σ 'is'; cf. 179

Examples: $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota$ - σ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\theta\omega\bar{\mu}\mu\omega$ $\pi\epsilon$ Matt 25:35 "I was a stranger"; π - $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\eta\alpha$ - $\gamma\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\Delta\epsilon$ φ - σ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\theta\epsilon\eta\sigma\chi\omega\sigma$ ϵ - $\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ Matt 5:21 "Whoever kills is liable to judgment"; η - $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - σ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\theta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\eta\iota\omega\eta$ Matt 4:24 "Demoniacs (Those who are demon-like)"; $\epsilon\varphi$ - $\eta\alpha$ - $\tau\omega\sigma\eta\eta$ $\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\varphi$ - $\omega\sigma\gamma\omega\gamma$ η $\epsilon\varphi$ - σ η - $\kappa\omega\omega\sigma$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ φ - $\eta\alpha$ - $\tau\omega\sigma\eta\eta$ η - $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ μ - $\pi\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omega\eta$ $\epsilon\varphi$ - $\rho\omega\sigma\tau$ ϵ - η - φ - $\omega\alpha\alpha\tau$ $\alpha\eta$ η - $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ ShAmél II 401:2-4 "He will not arise dried up or as a corpse, but he will arise as a spiritual body, flourishing and not lacking anything"

Semantic completion of a verb of incomplete predication is also expressed by the following constructions.

(c) *Preposition + θ infinitive or θ τρει-*, cf. 363, 502. Mostly ϵ - and $\bar{\eta}$ - $\mu\mu\omega$ = occur (sometimes as textual variants of one another), depending on choice of verb. The infinitive is negated by prefixed $\tau\bar{\mu}$ - 161.

Examples: $\alpha\varphi$ - $\epsilon\rho\eta\tau$ ϵ - $\theta\tau\alpha\alpha$ - φ $\eta\alpha$ - φ Acts 7:5 "He promised to give it to him"; $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\sigma\omega\sigma\eta\eta$ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\theta\tau$ (textual var. ϵ - $\theta\tau$) $\bar{\eta}$ - $\gamma\epsilon\eta\tau$ ϵ - $\eta\alpha\eta\omega\gamma$ - $\sigma\gamma$ Matt 7:11 "You know how to give good gifts"; $\eta\eta$ - $\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ μ - $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\pi\kappa\epsilon\sigma\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omega$ - φ $\chi\iota\eta$ - $\sigma\eta\sigma\gamma\varphi$ 2 Cor 8:10 "To you, who began a year ago not only acting but desiring (to act)"; $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\varphi$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\alpha\varphi$ - $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha$ - γ ϵ - $\theta\tau\bar{\mu}$ - $\chi\epsilon$ - π - $\epsilon\eta\tau$ - $\alpha\varphi$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\lambda}$ - $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ Luke 8:56 "He charged them not to tell anyone what had happened"; $\alpha\gamma$ - $\tau\omega\gamma\eta$ - $\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau$ - $\sigma\gamma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\sigma\gamma\alpha\sigma\omega\gamma$ ϵ - $\theta\tau\bar{\mu}$ - $\kappa\omega\tau$ - $\sigma\gamma$ $\omega\alpha$ - $\gamma\eta\rho\omega\alpha\eta\eta\sigma$ Matt 2:12 "And they were warned in a dream not to return to Herod"; $\mu\eta$ $\sigma\gamma\eta$ - $\omega\beta\omega\mu$ ϵ - $\theta\tau\rho\epsilon\varphi$ - $\beta\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$ ϵ - $\gamma\eta\tau$ - σ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\tau\epsilon\varphi\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta$ John 3:4 "Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb?"; $\eta\epsilon\gamma$ - $\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\sigma\alpha$ - $\theta\mu\omega\sigma\gamma\tau$ - $\bar{\eta}$ Luke 19:47 "They sought to destroy Him"; $\alpha\rho\eta\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\sigma\omega\eta$ $\tau\eta\tau$ $\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau$ $\alpha\eta$ ϵ - $\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\alpha$ - η ApophPatr 238 (Chafne 70:21 = Z 343:19) "Perhaps the brother is not willing to talk to us"; $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varphi$ - $\sigma\gamma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota$ - $\alpha\rho\gamma\eta\pi\pi\alpha\sigma$ ϵ - $\theta\eta\tau$ - $\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ Acts 12:6 "When Agrippa was about to bring him out"

(d) $\chi\epsilon$ - or $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ + optative, cf. 338(b)

E.g. $\alpha\varphi$ - $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\iota\mu\alpha$ $\eta\alpha$ - γ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\gamma$ - $\sigma\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ - $\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ Matt 12:16 "He ordered them not to make him known"

(e) Somewhat similarly, $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ "It happened that . . ." marks the beginning of a new unit of narration (it is often left untranslated in English), and is compatible with the following completions:

i. a complete sentence in the past tense or the preterit durative, or $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\varsigma$

Examples: $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\varphi$ - $\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota$ - $\bar{\tau}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau$ Mark 1:9 "In those days Jesus came from Nazareth"; $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\beta\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\pi\iota$ $\gamma\eta\tau\omega\sigma\tau$ - $\sigma\gamma$ ϵ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\bar{\eta}\omega\sigma\omega\varsigma$ $\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}$ - $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Luke 2:15 "When the angels went away from them into heaven, the shepherds said to one another"; $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\gamma$ - $\pi\omega\rho\chi$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omega$ - φ $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omega\varsigma$ Luke 9:33 "And as they were parting from Him, Peter said"

ii. ϵ - $\theta\tau\rho\epsilon$ -, cf. 502

E.g. $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ η - $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma$ ϵ - $\theta\tau\rho\epsilon\varphi$ - $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ ϵ - $\pi\tau\omega\sigma\gamma$ ϵ - $\theta\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$ Luke 6:12 "In those days He went out to the mountain to pray"

(f) $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -, cf. 358

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

FORMAL CLASSES OF THE EGYPTIAN COPTIC (NON-GREEK) VERB

186 The history of the Egyptian verb (and of Egyptian grammar in general) can be traced for three millennia down to the Coptic period. During this long history, sound patterns and individual phonemes evolved in regular but diverse ways, and individual verbs and morph classes came under the sway of other morphs or classes by force of analogy, and changed. For this reason, a complete formal classification of the Sahidic Coptic verb would require a large number of subclasses and special explanations, which could be fully understood only in reference to etymology and the long historical development of Egyptian including its typological evolution. In the course of this history a major typological change occurred, so that by the Coptic stage of Egyptian the verbal lexeme was itself no longer conjugated—as a verbal stem or base—as in the older language. Instead, conjugational inflection for person, number, and gender was now applied to an array of isolated conjugation auxiliaries (the conjugation bases, prefixes, and mutable converters of Coptic) preceding and mostly expanded by the verb lexeme, in which tense, mood, etc. were to some extent now vested. To these, the Coptic verbal lexeme (infinitive) merely served as a completion or expansion, expressing lexical content.

If the Coptic verb is examined synchronically, as a single system apart from its historical antecedents, most of its striking formal regularities can be summarized in seven broad morph classes.

	infinitive	stative
I.	ϣΩΤΠ (ϣΕΤΠ- ϣΟΤΠ=)	ϣΟΤΠ [†]
II.	κΩΤ (ΚΕΤ- ΚΟΤ=)	κΗΤ [†]
III.	πωΩΝΕ (ΠΕΝΕ- ΠΟΟΝΕ=)	ΠΟΟΝΕ [†]
IV.	ϣΟΛϣ̄ (ϣ̄Λϣ̄- ϣ̄ΛϣΩΛ=)	ϣ̄ΛϣΩΛ [†] ΟΓ ϣ̄ΛϣΟΛΤ [†]
V.	τακο (τακε- τακο=)	τακΗΥ [†] ΟΓ τακΗΥΤ [†]
VI.	ζλοб	ζοΛб [†]
VII.	χιϣε (χεστ- χαστ=)	χοϣε [†]

In modern dictionary entries, as in the preceding list, the absolute state is listed first, then the prenominal (marked by a single hyphen -), the prepersonal (marked by a slanted double stroke =), and the stative (marked by an elevated dagger †), giving four principal forms of the mutable transitive verb: e.g. κωτ κετ- κοτ= κητ[†] 'build', ϣωτп ϣετп- ϣοτп= ϣοτп[†] 'choose', etc. For verbs that have a construct participle (participium coniunctum or p.c. 122, 164), dictionaries add a fifth form: e.g. χιϣε χεστ- χαστ= χοϣε[†], p.c. χαϣι-.

- 187 *The consonantal skeleton.* The most constant and distinctive feature of Egyptian Coptic verbs is their 'consonantal skeleton'. The skeleton is a series of written consonants 35 (from one to five in number) that occurs to greater or lesser extent in all forms of the verb—infinitive, imperative, stative, and construct participle, including all states of a mutable infinitive. E.g. ϣ-τ-п occurs in ϣωτп ϣετп- ϣοτп= ϣοτп[†] 'choose'; ϣ-λ-ϣ-λ occurs in ϣοΛϣ̄ ϣ̄Λϣ̄- ϣ̄ΛϣΩΛ= ϣ̄ΛϣΩΛ[†] 'comfort'; б-к occurs in бωк бηк[†] 'go'; ογ-м occurs in ογωм ογεμ- ογομ=, p.c. ογαμ- 'eat'.

Modern dictionaries of Coptic contain only Egyptian Coptic words, excluding those taken from Greek. They are alphabetized primarily by consonantal skeleton, and secondarily by vowel. Verbs are entered under the infinitive (in absolute state).

(a) A vowel followed by a glottal stop consonant 36(a) is expressed in writing by a doubled vowel; e.g. ωωωτ expresses /šō't/.

(b) A few verbs are classified as having one of their skeletal consonants realized as zero (unwritten). E.g. ωηζ belongs to Class I πωζτ, ϣωτп, ϣωογζ, etc.; κω and ωп to Class II κωτ, πωτ, ζωп, etc.; ειβε to Class VII ρικε, ζικε, χικε, etc. Cf. 36(d).

- 188 *The distinctive vowel of the infinitive.* With the exception of final ε, doubled vowel 187, non-phonemic ε (as in νοбнеб) and λ (as in ογωηζ) 35, and λ expressing /' 36 or /y/, each absolute state of the infinitive 167 contains only one vowel, which is its 'distinctive vowel' (all seven vowels occur in this role); or in the absence of a distinctive vowel, contains a distinctive consonant with syllabic function 38 (ϣ̄βε 'circumcise' with distinctive β̄). Hypothetically, the spoken stress accent fell upon this vowel or this syllabic consonant 32. E.g. κаск̄ 'whisper', мееге 'think', ψληλ 'pray', χιϣε 'exalt', ψορψ̄ 'upset', μογκζ 'afflict', χωк 'complete', ϣ̄βε 'circumcise'. This vowel, or this syllabicity of a consonant, is often a distinctive mark of the

infinitive's identity, along with its consonantal skeleton: με 'love', μογ 'die'; χι 'receive', χο 'sow', χω 'say'; κаск̄ 'whisper', κоск̄ 'bend'; κρ̄м̄ρ̄м̄ 'murmur', κρ̄ом̄ρ̄м̄ 'become dark'; ματε 'reach', μογτε 'speak'; ψινε 'seek', ψωνε 'become sick'.

(a) Before ζ, or sometimes before glottal stop, λ expresses /o/, and (sometimes) ε expresses /ē/. Thus πωζτ πεζτ- παζτ= belongs to Class I ϣωτп ϣετп- ϣοτп=; and μογζ μεζ- μαζ= μεζ[†], to Class II κωτ κετ- κοτ= κητ[†].

(b) Forming syllable with a preceding н or м, ογ expresses /ō/ 20. Thus μογζ belongs to Class II κωτ, πωτ, ζωп, etc.

189 Allomorphs of the absolute infinitive: prenominal and prepersonal states

- (a) The 'prenominal state' of the infinitive is an allomorph of the absolute state (167), whose distinctive vowel is rendered either as ε or as syllabicity of a consonant (ϣετп- corresponding to ϣωτп, ϣ̄Λϣ̄- to ϣοΛϣ̄, ωετ- /še't/ to ωωωτ /šō't/ 36). Hypothetically, the prenominal and its suffixed direct object formed a single stress group (prosodic unit) of speech, with stress falling upon the direct object, e.g. ϣετп-м̄н̄тсн̄ооγс set^epm^entsnows "Choose twelve." In verbs of Class III (193), the doubled distinctive vowel of the prenominal is undoubted. In verbs of Class VII, final τ- occurs in place of final ε of the absolute state.

I.	ϣΩΤΠ: ϣΕΤΠ-
II.	κΩΤ: ΚΕΤ-
III.	πωΩΝΕ: ΠΕΝΕ-
IV.	ϣΟΛϣ̄: ϣ̄Λϣ̄-
V.	ταλο: ταλε-
VI.	This class (ζλοб) is immutable.
VII.	χιϣε: χεστ-

Further examples: κετ-ογπγρос "Build a tower," πενε-^θτοογ εβολ "Remove mountains," ϣ̄Λϣ̄-νενερηγ "Encourage one another"; таλε-негбих езрай "Lay His hands"; χεστ-п̄ωηре м̄-ρωме "Lift up the Son of man"

The prenominal state is sometimes written like the absolute 31 (e.g. ογωηζ- for ογηνζ-): ϣ-на-ογωηζ-ζωв н̄м еρω-т̄н̄ Eph 6:21 "He will tell you everything"; ογнове πε^θογωм-ποεик н̄-ογρωме ShChass 104:39-41 (ογωм- for ογεμ-) "It is a sin to eat someone's food"; λγ-с̄зай-з̄аз н̄-ψахе еγ-р̄-^θвооие ShIV 72:19 (с̄зай- for с̄ез-) "They have written many harmful words."

- (b) In all but Class V, the 'prepersonal state' 167 contrasts with the absolute in one or more of the following features: different location of syllable boundary, different distinctive (stressed) vowel, vowel in a different position, occurrence of τ= in place of final ε. Cf. table 14.

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TABLE 14
DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE PREPERSONAL STATE
(Major Verb Classes)

	NEW LOCATION OF SYLLABLE BOUNDARY	DIFFERENT DISTINCTIVE VOWEL	DIFFERENT POSITION OF VOWEL	T≠ INSTEAD OF FINAL ε
I. ϙω|τπ: ϙοτπ≠	ϙοτ|π-ϙ	ω > ο	.....	.....
II. κωτ: ϙοτ≠	κοτ|τ-ϙ	ω > ο	.....	.....
III. πωω|νε: ποονε≠	.....	ω > ο	.....	.....
IV. ϙολ|ϙλ: ϙλϙωλ≠	ϙλ|ϙωλ-ϙ	ο > ω	Later	.....
V. τα|λο: ταλο≠	.....	.....	.....	.....
VI. ζλοβ is immutable.	.....	.....	.....	.....
VII. χι|ϙε: χαϙτ≠	χαϙ|τ-ϙ	ι > α	.....	ε > τ≠

For additional examples, cf. Appendix 193

- 190 *The stative.* In each of the seven major verb classes, the stative form 162 regularly contrasts with the infinitive in one or more of the following formal features: different distinctive vowel, vowel in a different position, added consonantal ending. Cf. table 15.

TABLE 15
DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE STATIVE FORM
(Major Verb Classes)

	DIFFERENT DISTINCTIVE VOWEL	DIFFERENT POSITION OF VOWEL	ADDED ENDING
I. ϙωτπ: ϙοτπ [†]	ω > ο [†]
II. κωτ: κητ [†]	ω > η [†]
III. πωωνε: ποονε [†]	ω > ο [†]
IV. ϙολϙλ: ϙλϙωλ [†]	ο > ω [†]	Later	.....
ϙολϙλ: ϙλϙολτ [†]	Later	-τ
V. ταλο: ταληγ [†]	ο > η [†]	-γ
τακο: τακηγ [†]	ο > η [†]	-γτ
VI. ζλοβ: ζολβ [†]	Earlier	.....
VII. χιϙε: χοϙε [†]	ι > ο [†]

For additional examples, cf. Appendix 193

Verbs not falling into one of the major classes are classified as 'irregular', i.e. belonging to a very small or unique pattern: e.g. αμαζτε 'grasp'; ειρε π-αα= ο[†] 'make, do'; ϙζαι ϙεζ- ϙαζ= ϙηζ[†] 'write'; † †- ταα= το[†] 'give'.

APPENDIX: SEVEN MAIN FORMAL CLASSES

THE FORM OF GRECO-COPTIC VERBS

- 191 Many Coptic verbs come from Greek 5. All of these Greco-Coptic verbs are immutable, occurring only as an absolute state of the Coptic infinitive. They have no stative form. Direct objects are mediated by a preposition.
- 192 From the standpoint of Greek morphology these Greco-Coptic infinitives resemble the Greek *active imperative singular*, sometimes in a Koine Greek form; this is very close to the Greek verbal stem. E.g. αναστρεφε 'act, behave', αποτασσε 'take leave', αρεσκε 'please', αρχει (var. αρχεσθαι) 'begin', αρνα 'deny', βαπτιζε 'baptize', γυμναζε 'train', διακονει 'minister', ζελπιζε ελπιζειν 'hope', ευαγγελιζε 'preach good news', θεραπου 'heal', κωλυε (var. κωλυ) 'prevent', μετανοει 'repent', παραδιου 'deliver, betray', πιστευε 'believe', πλανα 'lead astray', πολιτευε 'live, conduct oneself', σκανδαλιζε 'cause to fall', σταγρου 'crucify' (often written ϙροϙ), χρω 'make use of'. E.g. ϙε-να-παραδιου γαρ μμω-τν Mark 13:9 "They will deliver you up"; αγ-πιστευε ε-τετραφη John 2:22 "They believed the scripture"; ετετν-τμ-μετανοι Luke 13:3 "Unless you repent."

193 APPENDIX

ILLUSTRATION OF THE SEVEN MAIN FORMAL CLASSES OF THE EGYPTIAN COPTIC VERB

Class I. Three consonants, ϙωτπ: ϙοτπ[†]. Vowel /ō/ ω.

μοϙογτ (μεγτ-)	μοογτ≠	.....	kill (mulw ^{et})
πωζτ (πεζτ-)	παζτ≠	παζτ [†]	bend
ϙωτμ (ϙετμ-)	ϙοτμ≠	.....	hear
ϙωτπ (ϙετπ-)	ϙοτπ≠	ϙοτπ [†]	choose
ϙωογζ (ϙεγζ-)	ϙοογζ≠	ϙοογζ [†]	gather
τωζμ (τεζμ-)	ταζμ≠	ταζμ [†]	summon
ογωνζ (ογενζ-)	ογονζ≠	ογονζ [†]	show
ωνζ		ονζ [†]	live

A final obstruent 37 consonant of the Class I absolute and prenominal states and statives often bears a superlinear stroke, e.g. ϙωτπ ϙετπ- ϙοτπ[†] or ογωνζ ογενζ- ογονζ[†].

Class II. Two consonants, κωτ: κητ[†]. Vowel /ō/ ω.

βωκ		βηκ [†]	go
βωλ	(βελ-)	βηλ [†]	loosen
κω	(κα-)	κη [†]	place
κωτ	(κετ-)	κητ [†]	build
μογν		μην [†]	remain
μογρ	(μρ-)	μηρ [†]	bind
μογζ	(μεζ-)	μηζ [†]	fill

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πωτ			πντ†	run
πωψ	(πεψ-	ποψ=)	πνψ†	divide
ογων	(ογν-)	ογνν†	open
ογωζ	(ογεζ-	ογλζ=)	ογνζ†	put
ωπ	(επ-	οπ=)	νπ†	count
ωππ	(ωεπ-	ωοπ=)	ωνπ†	receive
qωτε	(qετ-	qοτ=)	.....	wipe
ζων			ζνν†	approach
ζωπ	(ζεπ-	ζοπ=)	ζνπ†	hide
χωκ	(χεκ-	χοκ=)	χνκ†	complete

Class III. Glottal stop as the second of three consonants (notated by doubling the distinctive vowel 36), πωωνε: ποονε†. Vowel /ō/ ω.

πωωνε	(πενε-	ποονε=)	ποονε†	turn
τωωβε	(τεβε-	τοοβ=)	.....	repay
τωωμε			τοομε†	join
ψωωτ	(ψετ-	ψοετ=)	ψαατ†	cut

Class IV. Reduplicated pair of consonants, ρολαλ: ραλρωλ† or ραλρωλ†. Vowel /o/ ο.

νοβνεβ	(νεβνεβ-	νεβνοβ=)	.....	reproach
σρκρκρ	(σρκρκρ-	σρκρκρ=)	σρκρκρ† or σρκρκρ†	roll
ρολαλ	(ραλραλ-	ραλρωλ=)	ραλρωλ† or ραλρωλ†	comfort
ψτορτρ	(ψτρτρ-	ψτρτρ=)	ψτρτρ†	disturb

Final added τ of the statives in Class IV sometimes bears a superlinear stroke, e.g. ραλρωλ†.

Class V. Transitives in initial τ and final ο with basic meaning 'cause . . . to . . . ' (mostly corresponding to another, non-causative verb), τακο: τακ-νγ(τ)†. Vowel /o/ ο.

κτο	(κτε-	κτο=)	κτνγ†	make . . . to turn [κτο for τκτο] (κωτε turn)
τββο	(τββε-	τββο=)	τββνγ†	make pure (ογοπ become pure)
ταειο	(ταειε-	ταειο=)	ταεινγ†	honor (αλα increase in size)
τακο	(τακε-	τακο=)	τακνγ†, τακνγ†	destroy
ταλο	(ταλε-	ταλο=)	ταλνγ†	lift (ωλ take)
ταμο	(ταμε-	ταμο=)	.....	inform (ειμε tell)
τμμο	(τμμε-	τμμο=)	τμμνγ†	feed (ογωμ eat) 172
τσαβο	(τσαβε-	τσαβο=)	τσαβνγ†, τσαβνγ†	make wise (σαβε wise)
τογχο	(τογχε-	τογχο=)	τογχνγ†	make whole (ογχα become whole)
ταχρο	(ταχρε-	ταχρε=)	ταχρνγ†, ταχρνγ†	make strong (ωρχ confirm, be firm)
χο	(χε-	χο=)	χνγ†	sow [χο for τωο] (ωε go)
χπο	(χπε-	χπο=)	.....	acquire [χπο for τωπο] (ωωπε come to exist)

Affirmative imperatives of Class V verbs optionally take the prefix μα- 367.

APPENDIX: SEVEN MAIN FORMAL CLASSES

Class VI. Three consonants (intransitives), ζλοб: ζολб†. Vowel /o/ ο.

мκαζ	мокζ†	come to be painful
мтон	мотн†	come to be at rest
нωот	наωт†	become hard
ζλοб	ζολб†	become sweet

A final obstruent 37 consonant of the statives in Class VI often bears a superlinear stroke, e.g. мокζ†, ζολб†.

Class VII. Three consonants (including unstable final τ, which is realized as ε in the absolute state and the stative), χιце: χοце†. Vowel role played by syllabic manifestation 35 of /y/ ι.

ΕΙΒΕ		ΟΒΕ†	become thirsty
ΡΙΚΕ	(ΡΕΚΤ-, ΡΕΚΤ=)	ΡΟΚΕ†	bend
ΖΙCE	(ΖΑCT-, ΖΑCT=)	ΖΟCE†	trouble
ΧΙCE	(ΧΕCT-, ΧΑCT=)	ΧΟCE†	exalt

Adverbial Modifiers: Prepositions and Adverbs

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THE NATURE OF COPTIC ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS

THE BASIC FUNCTION OF ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS

- 194 The ‘*adverbial modifier*’, comprising prepositions and adverbs, is a numerous class of terms whose defining feature is their ability to descriptively expand, modify, or complete a preceding verb, verbal clause, or imperative. Cf. 181.

\dagger - $\bar{m}e$ $\bar{m}\omega$ - $\bar{t}\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\bar{m}ate$ “I love you *very much*” (2 Cor 12:15)

$\pi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{n}eq$ - $\omega o\pi$ $\bar{n}na\bar{z}\bar{r}\bar{n}$ - $\pi no\gamma te$ “The Word was (dwelled) *with God*” (John 1:1)

q - $co\pi\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{n}zo\gamma o$ “That is *far* better” (Phil 1:23)

$\pi\omega n\bar{z}$ ωa - $\epsilon ne\bar{z}$ “Eternal life” (The process of living-*forever*) (Mark 10:17)

$\alpha\chi i$ - c $\bar{n}mate$ $\bar{z}\bar{m}$ - $\pi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ “Just say it, *with a word*” (Matt 8:8)

In this function, adverbial modifiers express circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude; or express an object of the verb (sometimes also contributing to the expression of a particular verbal idea 181[b]). They fall into two groups:

i. ‘*prepositions*’ 200, which are dependent morphs (or constructions) that occur in prenominal and prepersonal states 30 and so always combine with another element, to make up a prepositional phrase ($\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{te}zo\gamma e\bar{i}te$ “In the beginning,” $\bar{n}z\eta\tau$ - q “In Him”)

ii. ‘*adverbs*’ 215, which are either unitary, unanalyzable terminal morphs ($\bar{te}no\gamma$ now) or prepositional phrases that are lexically fixed expressions ($\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\emptyset\gamma me$ truly, ϵ - $\pi ezo\gamma o$ too much)

For the use and non-use of hyphens to divide components of the adverbial modifier in this book, cf. 27.

ADDITIONAL FUNCTIONS

- 195 The term ‘*adverbial*’ conveys far too limited a picture of these modifiers, for they are not limited to postmodification of the infinitive, stative, imperative, or verbal clause. Very many of them can also perform one or more of the following functions or occur in the following positions:

i. modifier within or at the end of a non-verbal sentence pattern, e.g. $\emptyset\gamma te$ $\dagger\bar{p}h\bar{n}h$ \bar{n} - $\bar{z}en\bar{r}\omega me$ $\bar{n}na\bar{z}\bar{r}\bar{n}$ - $\pi no\gamma te$ ShChass 168:56–169:1 “What does the peace of human beings amount to *in the eyes of God?*”; $\emptyset\gamma at$ - $\beta o\bar{m}$

ἡ ἀδύναμις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Matt 19:26 "This is impossible *with human beings*"; οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος κόσμος ὑποκάτω τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ShOrig 303 (Orlandi 20:28–29) "There is another world *beneath this one*"; ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ShOrig 303 (Orlandi 20:26) "One *absolutely* ought not to . . ."; ὁ προφήτης οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ John 4:44 "A prophet does not have honor *in his own country*"; πολλὰ καὶ παντα τοῦτο γίνεται ἐν παντί Rom 3:2 "It is much *in every way*"

ii. modifier of a preceding entity term **103(b)**, e.g. τῆς πίστεως ἐξουσία ShIII 87:15 "Their faith *in Christ*"; οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ δώδεκος ShOrig 303 (Orlandi 20:26) "One *of the twelve*"; ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ShIV 63:1 "Anyone *among you*"

iii. modifier of a preceding adverbial modifier, e.g. ὡς πολλάκις ShAmél II 317:1 "Very often"

iv. actualized by an article, like a genderless common noun **124**, e.g. ὁ ἐν κατὰ σὰρξ ShIV 122:24 "Relatives (blood relations)"

v. predicate in a nominal sentence with πᾶς, e.g. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡ ἀντοχή ShIV 46:18 "For them, their endurance is *in vain*" **196**

vi. predicate in a durative sentence **305**, e.g. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ps 90(91):15 "I am *with him*"

vii. premodifier before a sentence pattern, to lay down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the sentence is being asserted (i.e. under which the nexus occurs); e.g. ὁ ἀρχὴν ἦν ὁ λόγος John 1:1 "In the beginning was the Word"; ἡ ἀδύναμις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Matt 19:26 "With God there is no impossible thing"; ὡς πολλὰ καὶ παντα τοῦτο γίνεται ἐν παντί 1 Cor 1:18 "But *to us* who are being saved it is the power of God"; ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος κόσμος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ Mark 9:23 "As for saying the words Whatever You can do, all things are possible to the one who believes"; cf. **258, 314, 333, 409, 420, 442, 456, 473**

The boundary line is not entirely clear between adverbial modifier with premodifying function, conjunction **231**, and initial attitude marker **238**; e.g. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος κόσμος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ Luke 14:20 "I have married a wife, *and therefore* I cannot come" and ἐπεὶ ἀνακρίνει με ὁ κύριος ἔτι πρὶν ἵνα ἔλθω 1 Cor 4:4–5 "It is the Lord who judges me. *Therefore* do not pronounce judgement before the time, before the Lord comes."

viii. between non-personal subject and verbal predicate (rhetorical arrangement, rare); e.g. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ ἡρώδης ὁ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπέσχετο τῷ ἡρώδῃ Mark 6:21 "When Herod on his birthday gave a banquet"; ἡ ἐλεῖσις τοῦ κυρίου

ποῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Luke 13:15 "Does not each of you on the sabbath untie their ox?"; μαρτυρεῖται πάντοτε Col 4:6 "Let your speech always be gracious"

ix. focal point in a focalizing conversion pattern **444**; e.g. ἐρεῖται πάντες καὶ ζήσονται Rom 1:17 "The righteous will live *by faith*"

x. combinative adverb (e.g. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ), cf. **206**

xi. the prepositions ἐν and ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ also play a major role in linking entity terms; cf. **145**.

By definition, adverbial modifiers are terms that can modify a preceding verb or verbal clause. Additionally, functions (i) to (x) are each performed by a restricted number of the modifiers, but with considerable overlap among these subgroups. Subgroups (iv) and (v) are almost identical; on the other hand, subgroups (v) and (vi) are mutually exclusive. Thus any given adverbial modifier performs only some of the possible functions. Certain kinds of subordinate clause (e.g. the circumstantial) also perform some of these syntactic functions, including modification of a preceding verb and premodification, and are syntactically comparable to the adverbial modifier (chapter 23).

196 Prepositions expressing *relationship* can be actualized as a genderless entity term (in the article phrase) or as an attributive, and can function as predicate in the nominal sentence **124, 298**. Those expressing *situation* can be predicate in the durative sentence **310**. E.g. περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν John 12:6 "His care is *for* the poor" (relationship); ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ps 90(91):15 "I am *with* him" (situation).

LINKAGE, ASYNDETON, APPPOSITION, AND REPETITION OF ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS

197 Two or more adverbial modifiers can be linked to form a single unit by αὐτὸς and, ἢ (and ἢ ἄλλος) or, ἢ ἄλλος or else, (οὐδέ) . . . οὐδέ (neither . . .) nor, or (εἴτε) . . . εἴτε (either . . .) or. E.g. τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ πάντοτε ShIV 197:9 "Now and forever"; ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ShIII 129:24 "Criminally or legally"; ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (i.e. ἀλλος) οὐδέ ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ μακάριος ShAmél II 519:9–10 "Without me or on your own"; οὐδέ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Matt 12:32 "Either in this age or in the one to come"; εἴτε ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἴτε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 1 Cor 8:5 "In heaven or on earth."

(a) Adverbial modifiers also occur in *asyndeton*, i.e. in succession without any linking term; e.g. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ShChass 118:6–16 "He who is not different from His Father in any power, in any glory or honor, in any compassion or mercy, in any benevolence or kindness."

- (b) They can occur in *apposition* 149: $\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\text{-}\eta\kappa\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\zeta\eta\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ Mark 1:38 "Elsewhere, to the other nearby towns."

- 198 *Repetition* of an entire adverbial modifier expresses intensification: $\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ShAmél II 87:9 "Very, very"; $\mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\ \mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$ ShIV 66:15 "Absolutely every day."

SPECIFIC NEGATION OF THE ADVERBIAL MODIFIER

- 199 The grammatical relationship of an adverbial modifier, as an individual element of a text, can be negated by the enclitic $\alpha\eta$

$\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\eta$ "For no good purpose" (Gal 4:17)

which usually comes after the target of negation. E.g. $\zeta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\pi\bar{\eta}\alpha\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\eta$ Rom 2:29 "Spiritually and not literally"; ... $\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ Rom 2:29 "Not from human beings but from God"; $\epsilon\pi\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\theta\eta\ \alpha\eta$ ShIII 212:4 "Backwards, not forwards."

PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

THE TWO STATES OF THE PREPOSITION

- 200 Prepositions are dependent morphs: they are completed by another element (the 'object' of the preposition) to form a 'prepositional phrase'. They are either simple 202 or compound 208. Most prepositions occur in two *states* (allomorphs) 30, e.g. $\epsilon\text{-}$, $\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ against; $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}$, $\epsilon\chi\omega\text{-}$ upon; $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{-}$, $\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta\tau\text{-}$ because of. (A few are defective, lacking one or the other of these, cf. 214).

- (a) The *prenominal state* is completed by a non-personal entity term.

prenominal state + { determinator pronoun 44, specifier pronoun 63, article phrase 43, specifier phrase 64, proper noun 126, or possessed noun 138 (after some prenominal states, also the 2d pl. alternant personal suffix $\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ 85)

- (b) The *prepersonal state* is inflected by the personal suffixes 85; e.g. $\epsilon\rho\text{-}\varsigma$ "To it," $\epsilon\chi\omega\text{-}\bar{\iota}$ "Upon me," $\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ "Because of them."

In modern dictionary entries the prenominal state is marked by a single hyphen (-) and the prepersonal, by a slanted double stroke (=).

Of the prepositions taken from Greek, only three have a Coptic prepersonal state: $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}$ [$\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$]; $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\text{-}$, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\text{-}$ [$\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$]; $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\text{-}$, $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\rho\text{-}$ [$\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$] (rare):

$\alpha\gamma\text{-}\theta\epsilon\omega\lambda\omicron\gamma\text{-}\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\rho\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ Cyril of Alexandria, Encomium on Revelation 7-12 [Morgan M591 f.12r b:30-31; Dep. 157] "He speculated about them".

LINKAGE OF THE PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS

- 201 Prepositional objects can be linked by $\mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}/\mu\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\text{-}$ 'and', permitting either or both of the objects to be a personal suffix; e.g. $\pi\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\eta\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\bar{\iota}\chi\omega\text{-}\mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}\eta\epsilon\eta\gamma\eta\rho\epsilon$ Matt 27:25 "His blood be on *us and* (on) *our children!*"; $\zeta\alpha\rho\text{-}\bar{\iota}\ \mu\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ Matt 17:27 "For *Me and* (for) *yourself!*"; $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ ShChass 147:14-15 "About *the Lord and* (about) *it!*"; $\zeta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varsigma\zeta\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon$ Gen 3:15 "Between (in the midst of) you and the woman."

SIMPLE PREPOSITIONS

- 202 *Catalogue*. The simple prepositions (which cannot be analyzed completely into smaller recognizable Coptic morphs) are

$\alpha\eta\tau\bar{\iota}\text{-}$ ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\bar{\iota}$) instead of

$\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}$, $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\tau\text{-}$ (often erroneously spelled $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}$) without

$\epsilon\text{-}$, $\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ to, for, against, in comparison to

$\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{-}$, $\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta\tau\text{-}$ because of, concerning

[$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\text{-}$ prefixed to an entity term of time or measure, cf. 485]

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}$ ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$) according to, like, by

$\mu\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\text{-}$ in the presence of (a god) [rare]

$\mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ (var. $\mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}$), $\mu\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\text{-}$ with, and

$\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\text{-}$, $\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{-}$ after (of time)

$\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ (alt. $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ 21, vars. 22), $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\text{-}$ 203: of, out of, from, related to; marks direct object of mutable infinitives. For $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ the mark of relationship, cf. 203.

$\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ (alt. $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ 21, vars. 22), $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ to, for

$\mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}$, cf. $\mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}$

[$\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\text{-}$, $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\text{-}$ of (mark of appurtenance, not definitionally a preposition 204)]

$\bar{\eta}\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\text{-}$, mediator of postponed subject 87 (untranslatable in English)

$\eta\alpha\zeta\rho\bar{\eta}\text{-}$, $\eta\alpha\zeta\rho\alpha\text{-}$ (var. $\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\zeta\rho\bar{\eta}\text{-}$, $\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\zeta\rho\alpha\text{-}$) in the presence of, before, in relation to

$\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\text{-}$, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\text{-}$ ($\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$) contrary to, in comparison with, beyond, more than

$\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\text{-}$, $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\rho\text{-}$ 200 ($\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) in accordance with, for; than (in comparisons)

$\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon\text{-}$, $\omicron\gamma\beta\eta\text{-}$ opposite, towards, against

$\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\text{-}$, $\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\text{-}$ between, among

$\chi\omega\rho\bar{\iota}\varsigma\text{-}$ ($\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$) without, apart from

- ψα-, ψαρο= to, toward
 ζα-, ζαρο= under, from, in respect of, on behalf of
 ζι-, ζιωω= on, at, in
 ζν-, νζητ= in, at, on, from; cf. also 209 (ζη) and (ζο) εζρνν- var. ζνν-
 ζαριζαρο= apart, on (my, your, etc.) own
 ζωс- (ὥς) like, as if
 χιν- since (time, place); for χινε- and χινν-, cf. 213

- 203 \bar{n} -/ $\bar{m}\mu\sigma$ = marks (i) the direct object of mutable infinitives 171, (ii) incidental predicative expansion 179, (iii) partitive relationship (the relationship of individual to class, discrete object or quantity to constituent stuff, container to stuff contained—the first term being the individual etc. and the second [mediated by \bar{n} -/ $\bar{m}\mu\sigma$] being the class etc.).

Examples: (ii) λα-κ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ ρμμαδ ShChass 85:34 "Make yourself rich"; $\theta\epsilon$ ϵ - $\bar{n}\epsilon\eta$ -ο $\bar{m}\mu\sigma$ -с Jas 1:24 "How he was (What he was like, The manner such that he was it)" $\delta\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$ \bar{n} ; (iii) ογεί \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\varsigma\gamma\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$ Luke 13:10 "One of the synagogues"; $\zeta\epsilon\theta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ ρωμε Acts 17:26 "Every nation of human beings"; ογα \bar{n} - $\bar{\pi}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ Acts 1:24 "One of these two"; $\eta\mu\iota\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\pi}\epsilon\alpha\omega\bar{\eta}$ Matt 22:28 "Which of the seven?"; λααγ \bar{n} - \bar{n} - $\epsilon\eta\tau$ - $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ - $\chi\omicron\omicron$ -γ Acts 8:24 "Anything of what you have said"; πογα \bar{n} - $\bar{m}\pi\gamma\lambda\omega\eta$ Rev 21:21 "Each of the gates"; $\zeta\omicron\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\tau\kappa\omicron\gamma\varsigma\tau\omega\delta\iota\alpha$ Matt 28:11 "Some of the guard"; ογμνη $\omega\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ ζοογ Acts 9:23 "Many days" (A multitude of days); $\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta$ \bar{p} - $\bar{\theta}$ ριρ Mark 5:13 "The herd of swine"; $\rho\omicron\gamma\bar{n}$ - $\omega\mu\bar{n}\tau$ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ Rev 9:15 "A third of humankind"; $\omega\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ σογo Luke 16:7 "A hundred measures of wheat"; ογс† $\omega\zeta\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ γωτ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ καζ ShChass 99:43-45 "A single aroura of land"

The mark of relationship \bar{n} - (but not $\bar{m}\mu\sigma$ =) also forms attributive constructions of the noun 96 and the general relationship (possessive) construction 147, extends personal suffixes in periphrastic constructions 87, and is an extension element in gendered nominal bases 109 and prenominal states of the possessed noun 139. It is a formative element in compound adverbs, e.g. $\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha$ somewhere 217-19.

- 204 $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ -/ $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ = 'of', the mark of appurtenance, does not meet the definition of a preposition since it never modifies a preceding verb or verbal clause (nor does it premodify). Its only functions are restrictive expansion of a preceding noun 147, 148, and predicate in the lexically fixed expression $\epsilon\tau^{\bar{\theta}}$ - $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ -(γ) "Which belongs to (him)."
 205 *Inflection of prepositions.* Selection of personal suffixes after the prepersonal state follows the pattern 85 described in table 6 (p. 69).
 The 2d pl. is expressed variously, depending on which preposition is selected:
 i. prepersonal state + $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$ (e.g. $\eta\eta$ - $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$, $\epsilon\rho\omega$ - $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\omega$ - $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$, $\bar{m}\mu\omega$ - $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$, $\omega\alpha\rho\omega$ - $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$, $\zeta\alpha\rho\omega$ - $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$, $\omicron\gamma\tau\omega$ - $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$)
 ii. prenominal state + $\bar{n}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$ (e.g. $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ - $\bar{n}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$, $\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon$ - $\bar{n}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$, $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ - $\bar{n}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$)
 iii. prepersonal state + $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$ (e.g. $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau$ - $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$, $\zeta\eta\tau$ - $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$)

- 206 'Combinative adverbs', such as $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ or $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$, are those whose function is to combine in meaning with prepositions, adverbs, or verbs, and thus to form lexically fixed expressions. Mostly they help to express spatial orientation (in, out, up, down, ahead, back), though they merge in meaning with the other element of the expression. In their combinative function, they come before a combining preposition or adverb

$\zeta\bar{n}$ - in; $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{n}$ - from
 $\bar{m}\mu\alpha\gamma$ there; $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{m}\mu\alpha\gamma$ thence

but after a combining verb 181

κω place, appoint; κω $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ admit, bring into port

In the preceding examples the presence or absence of a combinative adverb causes obviously different meanings to be expressed by the preposition, adverb, or verb. But in other instances, the adverb seems to be present because of the context or in the interests of more precise phraseology (and here a English translation may not express any distinction: $\zeta\bar{n}$ - in, $\zeta\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\zeta\bar{n}$ - in.) Combinative adverbs enable a larger number of meanings and nuances to be expressed from a limited lexical stock of prepositions and verbs.

TABLE 16
 CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMBINATIVE ADVERBS WITH OTHER MORPHS

COMBINATIVE ADVERB	COMBINES WITH			
	Verb	Simple Preposition	Compound Preposition (Types i, ii) 208	Adverb
<i>Spatial Orientation:</i>				
Inside (ζογν)				
εζογν	x	x	x	.....
νζογν	.....	x	.....	.....
ψαζογν	.....	x	x	.....
Outside (βολ)				
εβολ	x	x	x	x
Top, bottom (ζραῖ)				
εζραῖ	x	x	x	.....
νζραῖ	.....	x	.....	.....
ψαζραῖ	.....	x	.....	.....
ζραῖ	.....	x	x	.....
Bottom (πεснт)				
επεснт	x	x	.....	.....
Front (θн)				
εθн	x	.....	.....	.....
Rear (паζογ)				
επαζογ	x	.....	.....	.....
<i>Emotional orientation:</i>				
Mind (ζηт) 207				
νζηт	x	.....	.....	.....

- (a) The eleven combinative adverbs of spatial orientation (table 16) are formed by union of one of three prepositions

ε- to, toward
 ἄ- in, at
 ὡς- up to

with one of the following nominal components in a zero article phrase:

ἔξω outside
 ὦς inside
 πῶς bottom (syntax as if unitary noun lexeme πῶς, but filed in dictionaries under ἐς)
 ὅρῳ top (also bottom)
 ὅρῳ front
 ὀπίσθῳ rear

(ὅρῳ also occurs without preposition, 217.) Like most other adverbs, they have the form of a prepositional phrase (ε-ἔξω, etc.) and are lexically fixed expressions 216. A single preposition can be expanded by two nominal components, e.g. εἰ ἐξ ὅρῳ ἢ ἔξω (ε- + ὅρῳ ἢ ἔξω) ShIII 200:17 "Come up from or out of." Two combinative adverbs can combine with a single verb, e.g. ὅρῳ κῶτε ἐξ ὅρῳ ἐβόλ ShIV 81:11-12 "Comings and goings." In modern dictionaries, combinative adverbs are filed under their nominal component.

- (b) Those which combine with verbs 181(b) include: ἐβόλ, ἐξ ὅρῳ, ἐπῆς, ἐξ ὅρῳ, ἐθῆ, ἐπαξ ὅρῳ.

- (c) Those which combine with simple prepositions 202 include the following.

- i. ἐβόλ: ἐβ. ἄ-/ἄμο= from; ἐβ. οὔτε-/οὔτω= from among, between; ἐβ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= from off, from; ἐβ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= from in, from
- ii. ἐπῆς: ἐπ. ε-/επο= down to; ἐπ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= down from off
- iii. ἐξ ὅρῳ: ἐξ. ε-/επο= to, for, over against; ἐξ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= in beneath; ἐξ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= in toward; for ἐξ. ὅρῳ- (= ἐξ. ἐξ ὅρῳ-), cf. 209 (ὅρῳ)
- iv. ἐξ ὅρῳ: ἐξ. ε-/επο= up to, up against, down to, to; ἐξ. ἐξ ὅρῳ- (like ἐξ ὅρῳ- upon, etc.); ἐξ. οὔτε-/οὔτω= up to, up against; ἐξ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= under, up to, up beneath; ἐξ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= down from, up from, upon
- v. ὀπίσθῳ: ὀπίσθ. ε-/επο= upon; ὀπίσθ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= in beneath; ὀπίσθ. ὅρῳ-/ὅρῳω= in; ὀπίσθ. ὀπίσθ- (or ὀπίσθ-)/ὀπίσθω= within
- vi. ὀπίσθῳ: ὀπίσθ. ὀπίσθ-/ὀπίσθω= in
- vii. ὡς ὅρῳ: ὡς. ε-/επο= until, up to, even to
- viii. ὡς ὅρῳ: ὡς. ε-/επο= up to, even to
- ix. ὅρῳ: ὅρῳ. οὔτε-/οὔτω= Crum Dict. 495a; ὅρῳ. ὀπίσθ-/ὀπίσθω= in; ὅρῳ. ὀπίσθ- (like ὀπίσθ-)/ὀπίσθω= upon, etc.

- (d) Those which combine with a compound preposition of type (i) or (ii) are listed with those prepositions below 209, 210. They include ἐβόλ, ἐξ ὅρῳ, ἐξ ὅρῳ, ὡς ὅρῳ, ὅρῳ.
- (e) Two compound adverbs contain ἐβόλ, namely ἐβόλ ἄμαγ thence and ἐβόλ τῶν whence?.
- (f) Some combinative adverbs can occur as part of the predicate of a durative sentence, cf. 310.
- (g) ἐβόλ, ἐπῆς, ἐξ ὅρῳ, and ἐθῆ, in the temporal sense of onwards, occur as non-combinative adverbial complements after prepositional phrases expressing time since; e.g. ἄμαγ-... ἐβόλ, ὡς-... ἐπῆς, ὡς-... ἐξ ὅρῳ, ὡς-... ἐθῆ, ὡς-... ἐθῆ.
- (h) For non-combinative adverbs of spatial orientation (ἄμαγ outside, ὡς ὅρῳ within, etc.), cf. 223.

- 207 The non-spatial combinative adverb ὀπίσθῳ (cf. ὀπίσθ heart, mind) combines with verbs 181(b) and helps to express emotional processes and states. E.g. ἄμαγ ὀπίσθ 'be(come) disturbed'; πῶς ὀπίσθ 'be(come) astonished'; τῶς ὀπίσθ 'be(come) courageous'; τῶς ὀπίσθ 'be(come) troubled'; ὡς ὀπίσθ 'be(come) arrogant'; etc.

COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS

- 208 The compound prepositions are lexically fixed expressions, which are formed in five ways:

i. simple preposition + possessed noun 209: ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= behind, i.e. ἄμαγ + ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= [ἄμαγ + the side of]

ii. simple preposition + π- noun + construction of general relationship 210: ἐπῆς ἄμαγ-/ἐπῆς(α)μαγ instead of; i.e. ε- + πῆς ἄμαγ-/πῆς(α)μαγ [ε- + the place of/(his) place]

iii. simple preposition + ὀπίσθ noun (or πῆς noun) + ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= 211: ὡς ὀπίσθ ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= behind, i.e. ὡς + ὀπίσθ ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= [ὡς + the rear of]

iv. ἄμαγ- ὀπίσθ noun + ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= 212: ἄμαγ ἄμαγ ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= outside of, i.e. ἄμαγ + ὀπίσθ ἄμαγ-/ἄμαγω= [ἄμαγ + the outside of]

v. miscellaneous other formations 213

In a few of these no initial preposition is expressed: (i) ὡς ὀπίσθ (= ἐξ ὀπίσθ-), ὡς ὀπίσθ; (ii) πῶς ἄμαγ, πῶς ἄμαγ; (iii) πῶς ἄμαγ, οὔτε ἄμαγ, ὡς ἄμαγ; (iv) ὡς ἄμαγ, ὡς ἄμαγ ἄμαγ, ὡς ἄμαγ ἄμαγ.

209 (i) Simple preposition + possessed noun 138. Although most possessed nouns refer, at least etymologically, to a part of the body, in compound prepositions they have a general, relational meaning rather than a particular, anatomical one: $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau-\eta$ "To him" [etymologically, *toward the foot of him*]; $\epsilon\chi\bar{\mu}-\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ John 6:3 "Up on the mountain" [*toward the head of the mountain*]. Nevertheless, they often occur after verbs or in phrases or contexts where the action or state described relates at least metaphorically to an anatomical part; this factor helps to account for selection of preposition in Coptic usage. Thus one way of saying "to him" is $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau-\bar{\eta}$ [*towards the hand of him*], another is $\epsilon\rho\omega-\eta$ [*towards the mouth of him*]; the first is used if handing an object 'to' someone, the second if striking a blow 'to' someone's face. However, prepositions are selected primarily to express an abstract relationship, regardless of etymology and context: $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}-\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\rho\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ Rev 11:11 "On their feet" [etymologically *toward the head(s) of their feet*]. (Literal, particular reference to parts of the body is expressed by a different set of nouns **140**.)

($\beta\omicron\lambda$) $\beta\bar{\lambda}-/\beta\bar{\lambda}\bar{\nu}-/\beta\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\nu}-$, $\beta\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}$ = [outside of]
 $\bar{\nu}\beta\bar{\lambda}-$, $\bar{\nu}\beta\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}$ = beyond, except

$\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau$ = [eye(s) of]; for prenominal state cf. **214**
 $\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau$ = before

$\lambda\iota\kappa\tau$ = [covering of]; for prenominal state cf. **214**
 $\bar{\nu}\lambda\iota\kappa\tau$ = over, covering

($\rho\omicron$) $\rho\bar{\nu}-$, $\rho\omega$ = [mouth of]
 $\epsilon\rho\bar{\nu}-$, $\epsilon\rho\omega$ = to, upon
 $\psi\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\rho$ until
 $\gamma\alpha\rho\bar{\nu}-$, $\gamma\alpha\rho\omega$ = beneath, before
 $\gamma\iota\rho\bar{\nu}-$, $\gamma\iota\rho\omega$ = at, upon

$\rho\alpha\tau$ = [foot/feet of]; for prenominal state cf. **214**
 $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau$ = to (person)
 $\psi\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\rho$ until
 $\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\tau$ = beneath
 $\gamma\iota\rho\alpha\tau$ = toward

($\varsigma\alpha$) $\varsigma\alpha-$, $\varsigma\omega$ = [side of]
 $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha-$, $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega$ = behind, after, from, except
 Cf. also the simple preposition $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha-$

($\tau\omega\rho\epsilon$) $\tau\bar{\nu}-$, $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = [hand(s) of]
 $\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}-$, $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = to
 $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\nu}-$ (var. $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon-$), $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = in, by, with, beside, from
 $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\bar{\nu}\tau$ from
 $\gamma\alpha\tau\bar{\nu}-$ (var. $\gamma\alpha\gamma\tau\bar{\nu}-$), $\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = beside, with
 $\gamma\iota\tau\bar{\nu}-$, $\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = through, by, from
 $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\gamma\iota\tau$ Same as preceding

$\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}-$, $\tau\omicron\gamma\omega$ = [bosom of]
 $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}-$, $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega$ = beside, at, with
 $\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}-$ (vars. $\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon-$, $\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$), $\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega$ = beside, next to

($\gamma\eta$) $\gamma\eta\tau$ = [front of]; for prenominal state cf. **214**

$\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau$ = before (of place)

$\gamma\eta\tau$ = Same as previous

($\gamma\eta$) $\gamma\eta\tau$ = [belly of]

Cf. the simple preposition $\gamma\bar{\nu}-$, $\bar{\nu}\gamma\eta\tau$

($\gamma\omicron$) $\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}-/\gamma\bar{\nu}-$, $\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha$ = [face of]

$\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}-$ (vars. $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}-$, $\gamma\bar{\nu}-$), $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha$ = to, among

$\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma$ in toward, before

$\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha\iota\epsilon\gamma$ to, at

$\gamma\bar{\nu}-$, $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha$ = Same as $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}-$ **208**

$\gamma\iota\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha$ = on the face of; for prenominal state cf. **214**

Cf. also the simple preposition $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}-$

($\gamma\eta\tau$) ($\gamma\tau\epsilon-$)/($\gamma\tau\bar{\nu}-$), $\gamma\tau\eta$ = [heart of]

$\gamma\alpha\gamma\tau\bar{\nu}-$ (vars. $\gamma\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon-$, $\gamma\alpha\tau\bar{\nu}-$, $\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon-$), $\gamma\alpha\gamma\tau\eta$ (var. $\gamma\alpha\tau\eta$) = with, beside, from
 beside

$\chi\bar{\nu}-$, $\chi\omega$ = [head of]

$\alpha\chi\bar{\nu}-$. See $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}-$; also simple preposition $\alpha\chi\bar{\nu}-$ **202**

$\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}-$ (var. $\epsilon\chi\omega-$), $\epsilon\chi\omega$ = upon, over; for, on account of; against; to; in addition
 to, after (also erroneously expressed as $\alpha\chi\bar{\nu}-$)

$\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\chi$ out from

$\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\chi$ into the presence of

$\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha\iota\epsilon\chi$ Same as $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}-$

$\gamma\alpha\chi\omega$ = before (of time, place); for prenominal state cf. **214**

$\gamma\iota\chi\bar{\nu}-$ (var. $\gamma\iota\chi\omega-$), $\gamma\iota\chi\omega$ = upon, over, in, on, at, beside, for, through, from upon

$\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\gamma\iota\chi$ from upon

$\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\chi$ upon

210 (ii) Simple preposition + $\pi-$ noun + construction of general relationship 147.

Each preposition has both a prenominal and a prepersonal state, e.g. $\bar{\mu}-\pi\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'outside of', $\bar{\mu}-\pi\epsilon(\eta)\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'outside of (him)'.

$\pi\beta\omicron\lambda\bar{\nu}-$, $\pi\epsilon(\eta)\beta\omicron\lambda$ (vars. $\beta\bar{\lambda}$ and $\beta\eta\lambda$) [the outside of]

$\bar{\mu}\pi\beta\omicron\lambda\bar{\nu}-$ outside of (place, rarely time); independent of

$\pi\beta\omicron\lambda\bar{\nu}-$ Same as preceding

$\pi\iota\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$, $\pi\epsilon(\eta)\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon$ [the top of] (syntax as if masc. noun $\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon$ i.e. $\tau\pi\epsilon$, but filed in dictionaries under $\pi\epsilon$)

$\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$ above, over

(Cf. also $\pi\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon$ and $\tau\pi\epsilon$ **211**)

$\pi\iota\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$, $\pi\epsilon(\eta)\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ [the inquiry of]

$\bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$ about, concerning

$\gamma\bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$ Same as preceding

$\pi\iota\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}-$, $\pi\epsilon(\eta)\mu\alpha$ [the place of]

$\epsilon\pi\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}-$ in place of, instead of

$\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$, $\tau\epsilon(\eta)\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ [the midst of]

$\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$ to, into the midst of, between

$\bar{\nu}\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$ in the midst of, between, from the midst of; $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\bar{\nu}$ from the midst of

$\gamma\iota\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$ in, through the midst of

$\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}-$ in the midst of, between; $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\gamma$ from out of the midst of

πε(μ)το εβολ \bar{n} -, πε(q)μτο εβολ [*the presence of*]
 μπεμπτο εβολ \bar{n} - in the presence of, before

π(с)α \bar{n} -, πε(q)сα [*the side of*]

επсα \bar{n} - to

εχμπсα \bar{n} - toward

μπсα \bar{n} - near

γ(п)сα \bar{n} - in the vicinity of, near to

π(с)α \bar{n} -βολ \bar{n} -, πε(q)сα \bar{n} -βολ [*the outer side of*]

επсα \bar{n} βολ \bar{n} - out of, to the outside of

π(с)α \bar{n} -ρουν \bar{n} -, πε(q)сα \bar{n} -ρουν [*the inner side of*]

επсα \bar{n} ρουν \bar{n} - into, to the inside of

γμπсα \bar{n} ρουν \bar{n} - in the midst of

(π(с)-α \bar{n} -, cf. 211)

τ(ο)υναμ \bar{n} -, τε(q)ουναμ [*the right hand of*]

γ(т)ουναμ \bar{n} - at the right of

τ(ε) \bar{n} - (spelled θε \bar{n} -), τε(q)ε [*the manner of*]

нθε \bar{n} - in the manner of, even as, like (cf. 506)

τ(η) \bar{n} - (spelled θη \bar{n} -), τε(q)η [*the front of*]

γ(α)η \bar{n} - in front of, before (of time, place) [but adverb γαη = γα-⁰θη 223]

γ(т)η \bar{n} - Same as preceding

π(ε)ουν \bar{n} -, πε(q)ουν [*the inside of*]

μπ(ε)ουν \bar{n} - inside, within (of place, time)

π(ε)ουν \bar{n} - Same as preceding

π(ε)οτ εβολ \bar{n} -, πε(q)οτ εβολ (vars. ζωτ, зоте, and ζωτε) [*the presence of*]

μπ(ε)οτ εβολ \bar{n} - in the presence of, opposite

- 211 (iii) Simple preposition + ⁰noun (or π(с)- noun) + \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= 203. Each preposition has both a prenominal and a prepersonal state, e.g. ψα-⁰βολ \bar{n} - out of, ψα-⁰βολ \bar{m} mo-(q) out of (it).

βολ \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*outside of*]

[εβολ \bar{n} - from, cf. 206(c)]

ψαβολ \bar{n} - to the outside of, out of

γαβολ \bar{n} - from, away from

γ(ι)βολ \bar{n} - outside of; beyond, excepting

π(с)α \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*the farther 58(e) side of*]

επ(с)α \bar{n} - to beyond

μπ(с)α \bar{n} - beyond

π(с)α \bar{n} - beyond

γ(п)π(с)α \bar{n} - on the other side of

γμπ(с)α \bar{n} - beyond

⁰πεснт \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*bottom of*] (syntax as if noun πεснт, but filed in dictionaries under εснт)

μπεснт \bar{n} - at the bottom of, below

ψαπεснт \bar{n} - as far as, down to

γαπεснт \bar{n} - underneath

⁰петπε \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*top of*] (syntax as if noun петπε, but filed in dictionaries under πε)

μпетπε \bar{n} - above, over

γμпетπε \bar{n} - Same as preceding

(Cf. also тπε *infra*, εтπε 210)

⁰παροу \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*rear of*]

επαροу \bar{n} - behind

γ(п)παροу \bar{n} - behind (place); before (time)

⁰тπε \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*top of*] (тπε masc. common noun, but filed in dictionaries under тε)

нтπε \bar{n} - above

γ(т)тπε \bar{n} - Same as preceding

γ(н)тπε \bar{n} - Same as preceding

(Cf. also петπε *supra*, εтπε 210)

⁰θη \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*prow of*] (θη masc. common noun, Acts 27:41)

γ(т)θη \bar{n} - before, in front of

⁰ουναμ \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*right hand of*]

γ(т)ουναμ \bar{n} - at the right of

⁰οуωψ \bar{n} - [*gap of*]

нοуεψ \bar{n} - without, in the absence of

οуεψ \bar{n} - Same as preceding

⁰уωωт \bar{n} - [*need of*]

уααт \bar{n} - (vars. уαт \bar{n} -, уαтe-) short of, excepting, minus

⁰η \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*front of*]

γ(т)η \bar{n} - before

⁰звоуp \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*left hand of*]

γ(т)звоуp \bar{n} - at the left of

⁰ρουν \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*inside of*]

нρουν \bar{n} - within

γ(т)ρουν \bar{n} - Same as preceding

- 212 (iv) \bar{n} сa- ⁰noun + \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= 203. Each preposition has both a prenominal and a prepersonal state, e.g. \bar{n} сa-⁰βολ \bar{n} - outside of, \bar{n} сa-⁰βολ \bar{m} mo-(q) outside of (him).

⁰βολ \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*outside of*]

нсaβολ \bar{n} - outside of, beyond, away from

⁰πεснт \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*bottom of*] (syntax as if a noun lexeme πεснт, but filed in dictionaries under εснт)

нсaπεснт \bar{n} - at the bottom of, below

⁰тπε \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*top of*] (тπε masc. common noun, but filed in dictionaries under тε)

нсaтπε \bar{n} - over

сaтπε \bar{n} - Same as preceding

⁰ουναμ \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*right hand of*]

нсaουναμ \bar{n} - at the right of

сaουναμ \bar{n} - Same as preceding

⁰звоуp \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [*left hand of*]

нсaзвоуp \bar{n} - at the left of

⁰20YN \bar{n} -/ \bar{m} mo= [inside of]
 c220YN \bar{n} - within, from within

213 (v) Miscellaneous other formations

ειμητι ϵ - except
 \bar{n} cavhλ (cf. βολ)
 \bar{n} c. ϵ -, \bar{n} c. ϵ τβε-, \bar{n} c. \bar{n} -, \bar{n} cavλλα= except, if it were not for
 χινε- since
 χιν \bar{n} - Same as preceding

PERIPHRASTIC PRENOMINAL STATES

- 214 Most defective prepositions possessing only a prepersonal state (ϵ ρατ=, ϵ ρht=, \bar{n} λικτ=, λ αειατ=, λ αρατ=, λ ιρατ=, λ ητ=, λ ιρρα=, λ αχω=) have a *periphrastic prenominal state*, formed by the extension element \bar{n} - after an appropriate 3d person suffix (-q, -c, -γ) on the prepersonal state; e.g. λ αρατ-q \bar{n} - in λ αρατ-q \bar{m} -πτοογ Mark 5:11 "On the hillside"; λ αρατ-ογ \bar{n} nmπετρα (i.e. \bar{n} -mπετρα) Theodore of Antioch, Eleventh Encomium on St. Theodore Stratelates (Morgan M608 f.1v b:2-4; Dep. 142) "On the rocky cliffs." This construction optionally occurs with non-defective prepositions; e.g. λ αρο-ογ \bar{n} - in λ αρο-ογ \bar{n} -νετνογερhte Mark 6:11 "On your feet" (but also, λ α-νεφoγερhte Matt 15:30 "At His feet"); ϵ τοοτ-ογ \bar{n} -νεπ \bar{n} α \bar{n} -ακαθαρτον ShIII 48:3-4 "Into the clutches of the unclean spirits"; α -πχοεic πνογτε ψ там \bar{m} -про \bar{n} -тκiβωτος ϵ ρο-q \bar{n} -νωze Gen 7:16 "The Lord God shut the door of the ark upon Noah." Cf. 87(a).

To express indebtedness in the durative sentence, the prenominal state is always expressed by the periphrastic construction ϵ ρο(-q) \bar{n} -, cf. 310(i).

ADVERBS

SIMPLE ADVERBS

- 215 *Simple adverbs*, which cannot be analyzed completely into smaller recognizable Coptic morphs, include
- ϵ mate greatly
 ϵ may thither; cf. \bar{m} may
 ϵ ne2 forever, eternally, ever
 λ ay at all, cf. 220
 \bar{m} mhne daily
 \bar{m} mate only, exclusively 158
 \bar{m} may there; cf. ϵ may

\bar{n} χοqτ \bar{n} headlong

on again

ταi 'here' occurs only in the relative construction ϵ τ⁰-ταi "Which is here" and so does not meet the definition of adverbial modifier used in this book

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των where? whence? how?

τενογ now

τωνογ (var. τωne) very, greatly, certainly

τναγ (var. τ \bar{n} naγ) when?

τερομπε (vars. τ \bar{n} ρομπε, τ \bar{r} ρομπε) each year, annually

be any more

Some Greek adverbs occur as Greco-Coptic simple adverbs, e.g. λ ικαιωc with justice¹, πολλakis often, σ ωματικωc in bodily form.

COMPOUND ADVERBS

- 216 Compound adverbs have the structure of a prepositional phrase, but do not result from the free (optional) combination of a preposition and some other element, each with its own meaning. Rather, they are lexically fixed expressions, whose meaning cannot always be calculated by adding up the constituents. Combinative adverbs (ϵ βολ, ϵ zoγn, etc.) have already been described in 206.

- 217 Many adverbs are *formed with initial \bar{n} -* 203 (alt. \bar{m} - 21, vars. 22) expanded by a non-personal entity term. E.g.

i. \bar{n} - + *indef. sing. article phrase*: \bar{n} ογκογi a little (to a small degree, for a short time), \bar{n} ογμα somewhere, \bar{n} ογμnhγε \bar{n} -⁰con often, \bar{n} κεcon again, \bar{n} ογοειω \bar{n} im always

ii. \bar{n} - + *def. sing. article phrase*: \bar{n} πκωτε round about, \bar{n} πεγοειω ϵ τ⁰- \bar{m} may at that time, then, \bar{n} τεγwh by night, \bar{n} πεzoγ \bar{m} \bar{n} -τεγwh by day and by night, \bar{n} τmhte in the midst, \bar{n} ee \bar{n} - as . . . , \bar{n} πεiκεcon yet once more, \bar{n} πιογοειω once, formerly, \bar{n} πεqρατε on the next day thereafter, \bar{n} τειze thus

iii. \bar{n} - + *specifier pronoun*: \bar{n} λλay at all; \bar{n} ογhр how much?

iv. \bar{n} - + *zero article phrase*: \bar{n} αρχαιoc (i.e. \bar{n} -⁰αρχαιoc) in ancient times, of old, \bar{n} βρpe recently, \bar{n} zae finally, \bar{n} zo zi-⁰zo face to face, \bar{n} zoγo greatly, \bar{n} ωop at first, formerly, \bar{n} zωп secretly, \bar{n} ноγx falsely, \bar{n} xioγe by stealth

v. \bar{n} - + *specifier phrase*: \bar{n} ay \bar{n} -ze how?, \bar{n} ce \bar{n} -c \bar{n} α \bar{n} ιον (by a distance of) sixty stades, \bar{n} cayq \bar{n} -zoγ for seven days, \bar{n} za2 \bar{n} -con often, \bar{n} ωmт-cωwh thrice, for three times 71

vi. \bar{n} - + *proper noun*: \bar{n} поογ today, \bar{n} cay yesterday, \bar{n} ωωp early 132

- 218 Time of day, day of the week or month, etc., are expressed with initial \bar{n} - 217; e.g. \bar{n} поγa \bar{n} - \bar{n} cavbaton 'on the first day of the week', \bar{n} coγ-xoγth 'on

the twenty-fifth of the month', $\bar{\eta}\tau\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\upsilon$ 'on Sundays', $\bar{\eta}\chi\pi\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ 'at the tenth hour'.

- 219 Quantified adverbs formed with initial $\bar{\eta}$ - 217 include: $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ 'both (as a group of two)', $\bar{\eta}\pi\omega\theta\omicron\mu\bar{\eta}\tau$ 'together (as a group of three)', $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\upsilon$ 'together (as a group of four)', etc.; $\bar{\eta}\pi\omega\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\upsilon$ 'three days ago', $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\upsilon$ 'four days ago', etc.; $\bar{\eta}\pi\mu\epsilon\tau\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\pi\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ 'for a second time', $\bar{\eta}\pi\mu\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omega\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\pi$ 'for a third time', etc.

- 220 A few adverbs are formed without initial preposition, mostly as a variant of initial $\bar{\eta}$ -; e.g. $\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha$ elsewhere, $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ at all, $\pi\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ outside, $\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ (also $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\omicron\lambda$, etc.) outside, $\theta\varsigma\omicron\pi$ sometimes, $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\upsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$ ApophPatr 231 (Chaîne 68:21 = Z 341:23-24) "Neither by day nor by night," $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\eta\iota\mu$ always, $\omega\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\upsilon$ three days ago, $\tau\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\pi$ often.

- 221 $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ and $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta$. Adverbs of manner are formed in two productive patterns: (i) affirmative $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}$. . . , e.g. $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon$ truly, $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\epsilon$ joyfully, $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$ briefly (Eph 3:3); (ii) negative $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta$. . . , e.g. $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ fearlessly, $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\omega\chi\bar{\eta}$ ceaselessly, without ceasing.

Further examples: (i) $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\upsilon\eta\eta$ justly, $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\text{-}\alpha\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\sigma\upsilon\eta$ Acts 3:17 in ignorance (ignorantly), $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\beta$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\omega\epsilon$ Matt 28:8 "With fear and great joy," $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\chi\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ 1 Pet 1:13 fully, $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon\pi\eta$ quickly, $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omega\tau\bar{\chi}$ $\eta\iota\mu$ Acts 5:23 securely (very firmly); (ii) $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ lawlessly (without the law), $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\tau\omicron\sigma\upsilon\omega$ undistractedly, $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\kappa\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\mu\omicron\kappa\mu\epsilon\kappa$ Phil 2:14 "Without grumbling or questioning"

- 222 Other prepositional formations include e.g. $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\tau$ wholly, at all, $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron$ too much, $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ in the evening, $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ into the midst, forward, $\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{-}\varsigma$ afterward, $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\text{-}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ on the day after tomorrow, $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\text{-}\text{reflex.}$ forthwith, $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\text{-}\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha$ apart, $\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$ for a (short) while, $\omega\alpha\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ thus far, up to now, $\tau\iota\text{-}\eta\alpha\iota$ thus, $\tau\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\pi$ together, at one time, $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha$ Acts 13:35 elsewhere, $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\mu\alpha$ anywhere (Apostolic Canons 19 [Lagarde 216:9-10]), and many other lexically fixed combinations.

- 223 Non-combinative adverbs of spatial orientation are formed like the combinative adverbs 206 but never combine in meaning with adjacent verbs, prepositions, or adverbs.

i. Outside ($\upsilon\omicron\lambda$): $\bar{\eta}\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ outside, the prevailing condition (weather, etc.); $\omega\alpha\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ to the end, utterly; $\tau\iota\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ on the outside, from without

ii. Inside ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta$): $\tau\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta$ within

iii. Bottom ($\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$; syntax as if noun lexeme $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$, but filed in dictionaries under $\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$; cf. $\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$): $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$ below; $\tau\iota\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$ on the ground, from off the ground; $\chi\iota\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$ from below

iv. Top ($\tau\epsilon\tau\iota$): $\tau\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\iota$ upward, above

v. Top ($\tau\epsilon\tau\iota$ masc. common noun, but filed in dictionaries under $\pi\epsilon$): $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\pi\epsilon$ from above; $\bar{\eta}\tau\pi\epsilon$ in a superior place, above; $\tau\iota\tau\pi\epsilon$ above; $\chi\iota\eta\tau\pi\epsilon$ from above

vi. Front ($\theta\eta$ masc. common noun, Acts 27:41): $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\theta\eta$ henceforth; $\tau\alpha\theta\eta$ before [but $\tau\alpha\theta\eta$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ = $\tau\alpha\tau\iota\tau\eta$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ 210]; $\tau\iota\theta\eta$ forward

vii. Rear ($\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$): $\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$ formerly, $\tau\iota\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$ same

viii. Right ($\omicron\gamma\eta\mu$): $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\eta\mu$ to the right; $\tau\iota\omicron\gamma\eta\mu$ on the right

ix. Left ($\tau\upsilon\omicron\gamma\tau$): $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\omicron\gamma\tau$ to the left; $\tau\iota\tau\upsilon\omicron\gamma\tau$ on the left

224 Preposition + adverb

$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\eta$ whither?; $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ now; $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ each year, annually; $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\eta$ where? whence? how?; $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ each year, annually; $\omega\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau$ for ever, eternally; $\omega\alpha\text{-}\tau\omega\eta$ whither?; $\omega\alpha\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ till now; $\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\omega\eta$ where?; $\chi\iota\eta\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau$ for ever, ever; $\chi\iota\eta\text{-}\tau\omega\eta$ from whence?; $\chi\iota\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ from now

- 225 Combinative adverb + adverb: $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\gamma$ thence, $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\tau\omega\eta$ whence?

- 226 Combinative adverb + preposition + adverb: $\omega\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ till now

- 227 Preposition + preposition + adverb: $\bar{\eta}\chi\iota\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ at present

REITERATED ENTITY TERMS

- 228 Adverbial modifiers expressing successive distribution (one . . . after another; . . . by . . .) are formed by reiteration of any zero article phrase 62 or bare cardinal number, without initial preposition. E.g. $\theta\tau\omicron\sigma\gamma$ $\theta\tau\omicron\sigma\gamma$ one day after another, day by day, daily; $\theta\mu\alpha$ $\theta\mu\alpha$ one place after another; $\theta\omega\eta\mu$ $\theta\omega\eta\mu$ little by little; $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ one by one; $\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ two by two.

INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS

- 229 Examples of interrogative adverbs: (a) simple, $\pi\omega\varsigma$ how?, $\tau\omega\eta$ where?, whence? how?, $\tau\eta\alpha\gamma$ when?; (b) compound, $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\tau\omega\eta$ whence?, $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\eta$ whither?, $\bar{\eta}\alpha\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ how?, $\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\eta\tau$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\pi$ how many times?, $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ why?, $\chi\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ why?

10 Conjunctions and Initial Attitude Markers

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THE SIMILARITY OF CONJUNCTION AND INITIAL ATTITUDE MARKER

230 In this chapter two more or less distinct word classes are described: conjunctions (αὐω, η, τότε etc.) and initial attitude markers (ἀρα, μη, ὅντως etc.). These share a feature of position, namely, that they only occur at the head of a clause—in first position or enclitic position (and in some instances either), according to the property of each particular morph 235, 239. Initial position can also be occupied by adverbial modifiers functioning as premodifier 195(vii), and so as regards the feature of position there is some overlap of adverbial modifier, conjunction, and initial attitude marker.

Indeed, some morphs occur (as homonyms) in more than one of these classes, being distinguished by sentence position, accompanying environment, and meaning: e.g. *τενοῦ* now, at present (postverbal, adverb, John 13:7)/*τενοῦ* δε or *τενοῦ* βε now then (initial, attitude marker Acts 3:17); *καν* at least (initial, attitude marker ShChass 87:49)/*καν* εἰωπε + main clause even if (initial, subordinative conjunction 234[b])/*καν* ερε— even if (initial, premodifying conjunction 234[b]); *ναμε* really, truly (postverbal, adverb)/*ναμε* truly (initial/enclitic, attitude marker, ShAmél I 72:4 etc.); and others.

CONJUNCTIONS

Such items are described in Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 42–60.

CONJUNCTIONS

231 *Function.* By definition, ‘conjunctions’ are morphs that signal ‘linkage’ (connection or disconnection) of one element to another; they also express a particular circumstance or relationship of the linked items. The prepositions *μη*– and *χι*– ‘and’ also play an important role in entity term linkage 145, 201.

βαρabbas *χ**ν*–*ι**τ* “Barabbas or Jesus” (Matt 27:17)

*ι**τ* *α**υ**ω* *νε**ρ**μ**α**ε**θ**η**τ**η**ς* “Jesus and His disciples” (Matt 9:10)

*ζ**ο**τ**αν* *ε**ρ**ω**α**ν*–*ο**υ**α* *τ**α**ρ**μ*–*ε**κ* *μ**π**ρ*–*ν**ο**α**χ*–*κ* *ν**τ**π**ε* “When someone invites you, do not sit down in a place of honor” (Luke 14:8)

*ε**ν**ζ**ο**ο**ο**ν* *†*–*ζ**μ*–*π**κ**ο**ς**μ**ο**ς* *α**ν**τ*–*π**ο**υ**ο**ε**ι**ν* *μ*–*π**κ**ο**ς**μ**ο**ς* “As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world” (John 9:5)

Linkage occurs at all levels of structure ranging from lexemes as such, to large units of text:

i. *connecting noun lexemes*: *π**λ**ο**ε**ι**κ* *χι*–*ζ**ο**ι**τ**ε* ShIII 205:23–24 “Bread and clothing”; *π**ε**λ**μ**κ**α**ζ* *ν**η**τ* *χι*–*α**υ**π**η* *χι*–*α**υ**α**ρ**ο**μ* *χι*–*ν**ο**β**ν**ε**β* *χι*–*ο**υ**ω**λ**ς* *ν**η**τ* ShAmél I 77:6–7 “Grief, pain, sighing, reproach, disillusionment”; *ε**ι* *ε**ι**ζ**ρ**αι* *η* *β**ο**α* 206(a) ShIII 200:17 “Come up from or out of”; *α**ν**τ*–*ο**υ**ι**μ**ο**ν*–*α**χ**ο**ς* *α**ν* *χι**ν**η**μ*–*π**ε**ι**ν**α**υ* *η* *ο**υ**η**η**β* ShIII 25:1–2 “From this time on, I am a monk no longer, nor priest” 257; *ζ**ε**ν**ι**ν**ο**β* *ν*–*ω**ν**ο**ν**τ**ε* *ο**υ**τ**ε* *ν**ο**β* *ν*–*κ*–*α**λ**α**τ**ο**ς* *ο**υ**τ**ε* *ν**ο**β* *ν*–*ω**ε* ShIV 73:15–16 “(Not) any large bushes or large branches or large pieces of wood”

ii. *connecting infinitive lexemes*: *μ**π**ρ**τ**ρ**ε**ν*–*ν**κ**ο**τ**κ* *α**υ**ω* *†**ζ**ε* *α**υ**ω* *β**ω* *ζ**μ*–*π**κ**α**κ**ε* ShChass 165:30–33 “Let us not sleep and be intoxicated and remain in the darkness”; *μ**η*–*ο**υ**α* *ν*–*ο**υ**ω**τ* *α**ε*–*μ**π**τ**ρ*–*ω**μ**ς* *α**υ**ω* *α**υ**ω**τ**ε* *ε**β**ο**α* ShWess9 87a:30–33 “There is not a single one that did not sink and get obliterated”

iii. *connecting entity terms* of all kinds (extremely common): *τ**π**ε* *ν**μ*–*π**κ**α**ζ* Luke 16:17 “Heaven and earth”; *ς**ν**α**υ* *η* *ω**μ**ο**ν**τ* Matt 18:20 “Two or three”; *π**α**γ**λ**ο**ς* *ν**μ**μ**α*–*ν* Acts 16:17 “Paul and us” 145

Linked entity terms also occur listed in sequence without conjunction, in a rhetorical figure called *asyndeton* 145; e.g. *ζ**ε**ν**τ**ω**μ* *ν**η**τ* *ζ**ε**ν**μ**ν**τ*–*ς**ο**β* *ζ**ε**ν**μ**ν**τ*–*α**τ*–*ς**ο**ο**υ**ν* *ζ**ε**ν**π**ο**ρ**ν**ι**α* *ζ**ε**ν**μ**ι**ω**ε* *ζ**ε**ν**ν**ο**β* *μ*–*μ**ν**τ*–*α**ς**ε**β**η**ς* *α*–*π**ν**ο**υ**τ**ε* *ν**τ*–*ε* *ε**β**ο**α* *ν**η**τ*–*ο**υ* ShIII 206:1–3 “As for acts of hardheartedness, foolishness, ignorance, promiscuity, strife, (and) great impiety—God delivered you from them.”

iv. *connecting adverbial modifiers* (extremely common): *ε*–*π**ς**ω**φ**ο**υ**ζ* *η* *ε*–*π**μ**α* *ν*–*ο**υ**ω**μ* Pachomius, Praecepta 100 (Lefort *Œuvres* 31:24–25) “To the assembly or to the refectory”; *ε**τ**β**η**η**τ*–*τ**η* *χ**ν*–*ε**τ**β**ε*–*κ**ε**ο**υ**α* Acts 8:34 “About himself or about some one else”

v. *connecting clauses* 234, also converted clauses accompanied by their converters (extremely common): $\zeta\bar{n}$ -τεροϋεῖτε νεq-φοοп \bar{n} бι-πωαхе $\lambda\gamma\omega$ πωαхе νεq-φοοп \bar{n} ναζp \bar{n} -πνοϋτε John 1:1 “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God”; η αc η ηϋ... η αῖ ετε-νοϋ-οϋ η ε \bar{n} ειοτε $\lambda\gamma\omega$ \bar{n} τ-α-πε \bar{x} c ϵ i ϵ βολ \bar{n} ζητ-οϋ κατα- $\bar{\theta}$ cap \bar{x} Rom 9:3, 5 “My brethren . . . , to whom belong the ancestors and out of whom, according to flesh, has come the Christ”; $\kappa\alpha\bar{n}$ ϵ ωωπε λ q- \bar{p} - ζ ενκενοβε ς ε-- η α- $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ - γ η α-q ϵ βολ Jas 5:15 “Even if he has committed sins, too, he will be forgiven them”

Expressions of clause linkage without conjunction include: asyndeton, i.e. absence of conjunction 237, 335, 345, 347, 412, 429, 443; \bar{n} τε- conjunctive conjugation 315, 335, 341, 345, 347, 349, 352, 353, 357, 372, 391; ϵ -α- sequential circumstantial 335, 412, 433, 443, 458; ϵ - $\bar{\theta}$ τρε- + infinitive 341. They are selected according to type of clause that is extended.

Lexemes and entity terms (i-iii) are linked by $\lambda\gamma\omega$, \bar{n} - ζ i- and; η or; $\chi\bar{n}$ - or else; ϵ iτε or, either/or; ς υδε (var. ς υτε) nor, neither/nor; adverbial modifiers (iv) by $\lambda\gamma\omega$, η , $\chi\bar{n}$ -, ϵ iτε, ς υδε. ‘Not . . . but rather . . .’ is expressed by (*negation*) . . . $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$. . . (For the selection of preposition/conjunction linking entity terms, cf. 145.)

- 232 *Formation*. Conjunctions are either simple or compound. E.g. (a) *simple formation*, (i) terminal morph 28(b), unanalyzable in Coptic: $\lambda\gamma\omega$ and, η αρ because, ϵ i \bar{m} ητι unless, $\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ and so 503; (ii) prefixal (bound): ϵ ω χ ε- since, χ ε- because, $\chi\bar{n}$ - or else; (b) *compound formation*, (i) complete bound group 27, analyzable: $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}\varsigma\omega$ -c afterwards, \bar{n} -τεῖ ζ e thus, ζ εν $\bar{\iota}$ cop sometimes; (ii) two separate bound groups 27: ϵ i \bar{m} ητι χ ε $\kappa\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ (var. χ ε $\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) unless, $\kappa\alpha\bar{n}$ ϵ ωωπε even if; (iii) bound group + bound morph: ϵ βολ χ ε- because, $\kappa\alpha\bar{n}$ ϵ ω χ ε- even if, \bar{n} αβ η α χ ε- if . . . were not . . . ; (iv) bound morph + bound group: χ ε- ϵ πει $\bar{\iota}$ η because; (v) bound morph + bound morph: ϵ τβε- χ ε- because; (vi) complete clause: ταῖ τε θ ε so 507.

- 233 *Correlative conjunctions*. Some conjunctions occur in *correlative pairs* and express coordination or disjunction, i.e. signal that two or more elements function, in parallel, as a single unit: η . . . η . . . (either) . . . or . . . ; ϵ iτε . . . ϵ iτε . . . either . . . or . . . ; whether . . . or . . . ; μ εν . . . $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$. . . (with first element negated) not . . . but rather . . . ; μ εν . . . $\alpha\epsilon$. . . , . . . but (with μ εν left untranslated in English); ς υμονον . . . $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$. . . not only . . . but also . . . ; \bar{n} οε . . . ταῖ τε θ ε . . . just as . . . so also . . . 506; $\bar{\theta}$ cop . . . $\bar{\theta}$ cop . . . or ς cop . . . ς cop . . . or ζ εν $\bar{\iota}$ cop . . . ζ εν $\bar{\iota}$ cop . . . sometimes . . . at other times . . . ; ς υτε . . . ς υτε . . . (var. ς υδε . . . ς υδε . . .) or ς υτε . . . η . . . (with negated clauses) (neither) . . . nor . . . ; $\bar{\theta}$ ωop μ εν . . . $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$. . . first of all . . . but . . . ; $\bar{\theta}$ ooy . . . $\bar{\theta}$ ooy . . . one day . . . and another day . . .

Examples: ϵ iτε $\bar{\theta}$ ooyτ ϵ iτε $\bar{\theta}$ c ζ iμε ShIII 16:13 “No matter whether male or female”; ς υτε \bar{n} τοκ ς υτε β e Besa, Frag. 28 (Kuhn 92:4) “Neither you nor anyone else”; ς υτε ϵ - $\bar{\theta}$ χωκ $\bar{\eta}$ \bar{n} ϵ - $\bar{\theta}$ ε $\bar{\iota}$ α-q ϵ βολ $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\varsigma$ Pachomius, Praecepta 92 (Lefort Œuvres 31:5) “Neither to bathe nor to wash oneself in a bad way”; $\bar{\theta}$ cop μ ητ- ς αωq

\bar{n} -p $\bar{\iota}$ [o]b μ η η νε $\bar{\theta}$ cop μ ητ- $\alpha\varsigma$ ε \bar{n} -[p]τοβ $\bar{\theta}$ cop ϵ η ζ oγo ShIII 70:5-7 “Sometimes seventeen artabes daily, at other times sixteen artabes, sometimes more”; η γαρ q- η α- μ ε ς τε- ς υα \bar{n} q- μ ε ρ ε- ς υα η \bar{n} q- β ολ χ -q \bar{n} - ς υα \bar{n} q- κ ατα-φρονει \bar{m} - π κεoγa Matt 6:24 “For either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other”; π ει \bar{n} α μ εν ροoyτ τ cap \bar{x} α ε ς υ α ς ϵ εν η c τε Matt 26:41 “The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak”; ς υδε \bar{m} ποϋ- κ αα-q $\zeta\bar{n}$ - α μ \bar{n} τε ς υδε \bar{n} πε-τεqcap \bar{x} η αϋ ϵ - π τακο Acts 2:31 “He was not abandoned in Hades, nor did His flesh see corruption”

Unlike its use in classical Greek, Greco-Coptic μ εν often has no correlate; e.g. ϵ τετ \bar{n} -o \bar{n} οε \bar{n} - η ιταφoc ϵ τ $\bar{\theta}$ - χ η ζ ϵ τ- η ε ς ω-οϋ μ εν \bar{m} - π εϋβολ ϵ ρε- π εϋ ς α \bar{n} - ζ oϋ \bar{n} μ ε ζ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ κ $\alpha\varsigma$ \bar{n} - κ ωωc ζ i- α κ α θ α ρ ς iα η i \bar{m} Matt 23:27 “You are like whitewashed tombs, which appear beautiful (μ εν) on their outside, with their inside being full of dead people’s bones and all uncleanness.”

- 234 *Linkage of clauses*. Linked clauses occur in two kinds of syntactic function, according to the which conjunction is selected: extension and adverbial modification.

- (a) *Extension* continues the line of discourse expressed in the preceding clause. If main tense is being expressed, the extension expresses a new step in the narrative or exposition.

π ε χ α-q η α-q χ ε- η αῖ τ ηρ-οϋ $\bar{\iota}$ - η α- τ αα- γ η α- κ ϵ κωαν- π α ζ τ- \bar{k} \bar{n} τ-οϋωτ η α- $\bar{\iota}$ | τοτε π ε χ α-q η α-q \bar{n} бι- $\bar{\iota}$ c χ ε- β ωκ ϵ πα ζ οϋ \bar{m} mo- $\bar{\iota}$ π α τ α \bar{n} αc Matt 4:9-10 “He said to Him, All these I will give You, if You will fall down and worship me. Then Jesus said to him, Begone, Satan!”

Extension is signalled by conjunctions that express coordination/disjunction, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega$ and, $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}\varsigma\omega$ -c and then, $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ and next, $\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ and so 503, ταῖ τε θ ε likewise 507, η , ϵ iτε or, $\chi\bar{n}$ - (vars. χ ε-, χ εν-) or else, ς υδε nor, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ but rather, α ε and/but, $\omicron\eta$ again.

- (b) ‘*Adverbial modification*’ (subordination) is descriptive expansion or circumstantial qualification of another clause.

\bar{n} νε- ς υα η ζητ-οϋ ϵ ω- α παντα ϵ - λ α γ \bar{n} - ς ζiμε χ ωp $\bar{\iota}$ c- ϵ ϋ- μ μαϋ μ η- η εϋεp η ϋ “No man among them shall be permitted to meet with any woman, *except when* they are there all together” (ShIV 108:7-8)

ς οϋ \bar{n} - ς οϋ \bar{n} οϋ η ηϋ ζ οτε \bar{n} - ϵ ῖ- η α- ω α χ ε β e $\alpha\bar{n}$ \bar{n} μ \bar{m} η- $\bar{\tau}$ η $\zeta\bar{n}$ - ζ εν π αρ ζ οi \bar{m} iα “The hour is coming *when* I shall no longer speak to you in figures” (John 16:25)

ϵ ωωπε α ε π ε κ βαλ ς οϋ π ο \bar{n} ηpoc π e π ε κ ωμα τ ηρ-q η α- ω ωπε ϵ q-o \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ κακε “But *if* your eye is not sound, your whole body will be full of darkness” (Matt 6:23)

This is the role of *adverbial clause* (more fully surveyed in chapter 23). An adverbial clause can precede or follow the modified clause.

At the head of an adverbial clause a conjunction can play two roles, according to the type of clause that it heads.

Premodifying conjunctions. Before an adverbial clause (namely *ερε*- circumstantial, *ερωαν*- conditional, or *ντε*- conjunctive), the conjunction expresses a particular kind of circumstance or relationship: this is the function of *premodification* 195(vii). The exact boundary between premodifying conjunction and initial attitude marker is not clear in every instance. (Two prepositions here function as conjunctions, *μννσα*- and *χωρις*-.) Such '*premodifying conjunctions*' include:

αλλα ερε- Though, But, Rather
αγω ερε- And, And indeed, Too, Furthermore
ε-πμα ντε- Instead of . . . -ing
ειμητι ερε-/*ερωαν*-/*ντε*-/*χεκα(λ)ς* (+ optative) Unless, Except for . . . -ing
ενζοσον ερε- As long as, While
εφοσον ερε- (*επζοσον ερε*-) As long as, Inasmuch as
ετι ερε- While . . . still . . .
εωωπε ερε-/*ερωαν*- If (ever)
εωχε-ερε- Supposing that
η ντε- Unless, Alternatively
καιπερ ερε- Although
καιτοι ερε- Although
καν ερε-/*ερωαν*-/*ντε*- Even if
κατα-θε ερε- Just as 505
μαλιστα ερε- Especially if/since
μννσα-ντ-α- (focalizing)/*ντε*- (conjunctive) After . . . -ing
μννσω-ς ντε- And afterwards
μηπως ντε- Lest
μηποτε ντε- Lest
νωε ερε- Just as 505
νσавηλ ντε- Unless
παλιν ον ερε- Moreover, And yet
σοп ερε- . . . *σοп ερε*- . . . At one time . . . at another time . . .
χωρις-ερε- Except when, Unless
ζαон ε-нπατε- (often written *ζαон нπατε*-) Before
ζαμα ερε- At the same time
ζως ερε- As, As if, On the grounds that
ζως εωχε-ερε- As if
ζοσον ερε- As long as
ζωστε ντε- Consequently, As a result, So that
ζотан ερε-/*ερωαν*- Whenever, As soon as, Such that
χε-μηποτε ντε- Lest

Subordinative conjunctions. Before one of the main-clause patterns, an adverbially modifying conjunction signals adverbial role (subordination) as well as expressing a circumstance or relationship. Such '*subordinative conjunctions*' include:

εβολ χε- Because

ειε- (+ past negative basic clause) Unless, Without . . . having (very rare)
ειμητι χε- Unless, Except for . . . -ing
ενζοσον As long as
επει οг επειαν οг επειανπερ Since (causal)
εφοσον As long as, Inasmuch as
εтве-χε- Because
εωωπε If (ever)
εωχε-, var. *εωχπε*- Given that, Supposing that, If (as is or seems to be the case), If indeed, Since (causal), Even though
καν εωωπε Even if, Even though
καν οг кан εωχε- Even though
μηποτε Lest, That, So as to prevent that
νсавηλ χε- But for the fact that 498
ζοпоу In so far as
ζως εωχε- As if
ζοσον As long as
ζοτε When
ζотан Whenever, As soon as, Such that
χε- οг *χε-επειαν οг χε*- . . . *γαρ* Because
χε-μηπως οг χε-μηποτε Lest, That, So as to prevent that
χιν-ερε- (focalizing durative present) Already . . . when
χιν-ντ-α (focalizing past) Since (time elapsed)

For other forms of adverbial clause, cf. chapter 23.

Tense in the adverbial clause expresses relative time 529 in relation to the clause that it modifies; e.g.

αγω εβολ χε-μн-⁰ноуне нмо-οу аг-ωοοуε "And since they had no root they withered away" (Matt 13:6)
ατετн-тне на-ї м-πεїρωμε ζως εφ-ωτορτρ м-πλαος "You brought me this Man as (one who was) perverting the people" (Luke 23:14)

235 *Position: initial and enclitic.* Conjunctions occur at the head of a linked clause.

(a) Most are *first-position conjunctions*, which precede or are the first element of the clause that they head.

Examples: *αλλα* but rather, nevertheless; *αγω* and; *εβολ χε*-, *εтве-χε*-, and *χε*- because; *ετι* still; *η οг*; *καν* even though; *μαλλον* rather; *μονον* but; *παλιν* yet; *τοτε* then, next; *οуκετι* not any longer; *οуτε* (var. *οуδε*) and, nor (before negated clause); *ζομως* nevertheless; *ζωστε* (+ conjunctive) so that; *ζοτε* when; *χε*- and *χε-ενε*-, var. *χενε*- (introducing reported discourse, cf. chapter 24; in some contexts translated *that* or *whether*, otherwise untranslatable); *χн*- (vars. *χε*-, *χεν*-) or else

(b) *Enclitic conjunctions* (sentence particles) are those which cannot occur first in their clause. Their earliest possible occurrence is in second position, i.e. immediately after the first autonomous morph or first bound group of morphs. E.g.

πετρος δε πεχα-*q* Acts 2:38 “And Peter said”; νε-*zenowze rap ne* Mark 1:16 “For they were fishermen.” All conjunctions in this group are unbound morphs (enclitics) 28(6).

(i) In second position: *rap* for; *δε* and, but, on the other hand; *μεν* now, on the one hand; (ii) in second position or slightly later: *ντοq* or *ντοoy* rather, but, on the other hand, again; *ον* again, also, still; *ζωq* but, on the other hand; *θε* then, therefore, any more. A few conjunctions occur as homonyms, both in first position and as enclitics: e.g. *ντειze* thus, *ταxy* immediately.

Conjunctions vary in their compatibility and incompatibility with one another; within these restrictions some of them occur side by side. If two or more enclitics co-occur in the same clause, their sequence is more or less determined according to an elaborate hierarchy of precedence, with *rap*, *δε*, and *μεν* taking the lead.

Examples: *αγω ζμ-πειαιων ον q-να-χαριζε να-ν n-νεσμοy n-н-ετ⁰-οyααb τηp-oy* ShIV 151:2–4 “And in the present age as well, He will grant us the blessings of all the saints”; *ζοταν θε εκωαν-ειρε n-oyμнт-на* Matt 6:2 “Thus when you give alms”; *oyδε rap mн-керan ζαπεснт н-тпе* Acts 4:12 “For there is no other name under heaven”; *αγω ον ney-наy ε-πρωμε νт-ay-таλбо-q* Acts 4:14 “And also they saw the man that had been healed”; *αγω етi οн теноy mπн-пωλб εβολ νзнт-oy* ShChass 91:20–23 “And still even now, we have not escaped from them”; *пхi-⁰oyα δε νтоq m-πεπна n-се-на-каа-q an εβολ* Matt 12:31 “But the blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven”; *ααγεια мен rap ζн-теггегеа αq-ωмψe m-поуω m-пноyте* Acts 13:36 “For in his own generation David served the counsel of God”; *εβολ δε οн хе-ак-тнnooy ψаро-и* ShIII 81:24 “But since you also sent word to me”; *hαh мен ζολωс pω oyψωт нн-тн пе хе-oyнтн-тн⁰ζап mн-нетнepny* 1 Cor 6:7 “To have lawsuits at all with one another is defeat for you.” For details of the relative placement of Coptic sentence enclitics, cf. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 164–71.

- 236 *Negation with conjunctions.* The grammatical relation of an adverbial clause 491, headed by a conjunction, to its main clause can be negated by the enclitic *an*

хекаас an “Not (in order) to . . .” (1 Cor 7:35)

which usually comes after the conjunction; optionally, negative *n-* is also prefixed to the conjunction.

Further examples: *хекаас an εie-т n-oyελω εзнт-тнyтн алаа прос-oyтcанo* 1 Cor 7:35 “Not to lay any restraint upon you, but to promote good order”; *хе-атетн-ayπi an алаа хе-атетн-ayπi ε-ymεтaнoиa* 2 Cor 7:9 “Not because you were grieved, but because you were grieved into repenting”; *n-εβολ an хе-анг-oyмакаpиoс mπemтo εβολ m-пноyте* ShIII 116:18–19 “Not on the assumption that I am blessed in the eyes of God”; *ζωс εi-о an n-⁰хоeиc epω-тн алаа етвe-тагaπн m-пноyте* ShIII 21:16–17 “Not as if I am your master but because of God’s love”

- 237 *Asyndetic linkage of the past tense.* The minimal form of clause linkage—and one of the most frequent forms—is ‘*asyndeton*’, in which two or more main

clauses in the past tense (*a-*, *az*, *mπε-*, *mπe*) and/or *πεχε-*/*πεχα=* ‘said’ occur in succession without any linking term. E.g. *ay-παзт-oy ay-oyωψт na-q* “They bent down and worshiped Him”; *αq-oyωψт πεχα-q* “He answered and said.” Cf. also 185(e).

Further examples: *αq-сωтнm δε νбi-знpωaнc пpпо | αq-ψτοpтp εmate mн-θiepoγcoλyмa τηp-с mнmа-q | αq-сωoyз εzoyn n-nαpхiepeyc τηp-oy mн-neypαmmateyc m-πλαoс | αq-ωиne εβολ зитоот-oy* Matt 2:3–4 “Then (δε) Herod the king heard this, was troubled greatly as was all Jerusalem with him, assembled all the chief priests and scribes of the people, and inquired of them” (ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . ἐταράχθη . . . καὶ συναγαγὼν . . . ἐπυνθάνετο); *a-nαai-mωnιoн coyn-пxoеиc mπeиoyoeиy | ay-παзт-oy | ay-oyωψт na-q | ay-αψkak εβολ ζн-oyнoб n-cmн* ShIII 85:23–86:1 “The demons then recognized the Lord, bent down, worshiped Him, and cried out in a loud voice”

Asyndeton expresses closer linkage than *αγω, δε, mнncω-с*, or the other conjunctions. E.g. *αγω νтepoy-εi εзpαι ε-пни ay-наy ε-пωнpe ωнm mн-мapиa тeгmаay | ay-παзт-oy | ay-oyωψт na-q | ay-oyωн n-neyαzωop | ay-εиne na-q n-zenαωpон oyнoyb mн-oyλивaнoс mн-oyψaλ | ay-тoyn-εiaт-oy δε εβολ ζн-oypacoγ ε-⁰тm-кoт-oy ψa-знpωaнc* Matt 2:11–12 “And (αγω), when they had come into the house, they saw the child with Mary His mother, fell down, worshiped Him, opened their treasures, and offered Him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh. Then (δε), they were warned in a dream not to return to Herod.” (Consequently, English translations can freely subordinate any clause or clauses to one of the others, or else express linkage by the English conjunction *and*: e.g. *ay-παзт-oy | ay-oyωψт na-q* “Falling down, they worshiped Him . . .” or “They fell down, worshipping Him . . .” or “They fell down and worshiped Him” or “When they had fallen down and worshiped Him . . .”)

Further examples: *ay-т-neyoyoi epo-q | αq-p-⁰παзpe epo-oy* Acts 28:9 “They came and he cured them”; *an-ze ε-zenснny mмаy | ay-сeπcωп-н ε-⁰бω ζaтн-y* Acts 28:14 “There we found brethren and were invited to stay with them”; *a-παггeлoс δε oyωψт πεχα-q na-q* Luke 1:19 “And the angel answered and said to him” (καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν αὐτῷ); *an-ωep-⁰зice ζн-тeyωн τηp-с | mπн-бep-aaay* Luke 5:5 “We toiled all night and took nothing” (δὲ ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιάσαντες οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν); *mпоy-ze ε-пeгcωmа ay-εi* Luke 24:23 “Not finding His body, they came back” (καὶ μὴ εὑροῦσαι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἦλθον); *ai-тωoyн | ai-вawк ε-пma ε-ney-nзнт-q | ai-змooc зipм-пpo* Paphnoute Cephalas, *Stories of the Monks of the Desert* (BMis 472:28–29) “I arose, went to the place where he was, and sat at the door”

- 238 *Function.* ‘Initial attitude markers’ are morphs that mark (but do not link) their clause in relation to the line of discourse by expressing the *speaker’s attitude* in which the following utterance will be asserted. They belong to the

realms of direct discourse and didactic exposition. The exact boundary between initial attitude marker and premodifying conjunctive is not clear in every instance.

πεχα-ϣ ἡ-πεσιουρ δε-α~~ρα~~ κ-νοϊ ἡ-ν-ετκ-ωψ ἡμο-οϣ "He asked the eunuch, *So* do you understand what you are reading?" (Acts 8:30)

Examples: αληθως truly; α~~ρα~~ (initial, marking interrogation ἄρα) so . . . ?; α~~ρα~~ (enclitic, expressing inference ἄρα) then; αρηγ perhaps; εἶε- and εψαπε (expressing inference) then, well then; ενε-, var. νε- (marking interrogation); η (before ironic rhetorical questions) so . . . ?; καλως fittingly; λοιπον well then; μη is it the case that . . . ?; μη (+ negated clause) is it not the case that . . . ?, surely . . . ; μοις hardly; μονον at all events; μεψα-κ perhaps 381; name (enclitic) truly; οντως var. οντος in fact, actually; παντως no doubt; ρω indeed, but, even, at all; ταχα perhaps; ω O . . . (direct address marker, calling attention to the speaker and implying a bond with the dialogue partner); ωρπ μεν first of all; ζολως at all, actually; ζαπαζαπλως in short

Some initial attitude markers can be expanded by the conjunctive conjugation 354(b) (α~~ρα~~ ἡτε-ογοϣαἰ ψωπε ἡ-ζαζ ShChass 168:8-9 = ShIII 78:18-19 "And so—will salvation come to many?").

- 239 *Position*. Like conjunctions, initial attitude markers occur at the head of a marked clause. They are mostly (i) *first-position markers*, which precede or are the first element of the clause that they head (e.g. α~~ρα~~, αρηγ, εἶε-, ενε- var. νε-, εψαπε, η, καλως, λοιπον, μη, μοις, μονον, μεψα-κ, οντως, ταχα, ωρπ μεν, ζαπαζαπλως), or else (ii) *enclitic*, e.g. ἡπρ-βωκ ρω εζοϣν ε-τκωμη Mark 8:26 "Do not *even* enter the village."

11 Interjections

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THE NATURE OF COPTIC INTERJECTIONS

- 240 The term '*interjection*' can be used broadly to describe miscellaneous short utterances of exclamatory content and other discourse signals (*Yes, No, Behold, Hello, Don't!*), which belong exclusively to the realm of direct discourse 523. Their length ranges from single unitary morphs (ce Yes) to short clauses comprising several morphs (ἡνες-ωωπε By no means!, literally "It shall not be"). They are generally capable of standing alone as a complete statement, at least in immediate analysis. They cannot be negated, and most are restricted in their ability to be converted and to express past, present, and future time. Formally, they are of three types: (a) *inflected* 242, which contain an expression of person, such as αζρο-ϣ What! (What-is-the-matter-with him!); (b) *non-inflected* 245, which contain no personal morph (ἡμον No); and (c) *clausal*, i.e. that are lexically fixed expressions 246 (ερε-ωωπε So be it! Amen!).

Because the items described in this chapter overlap with other word classes and sentence types, the exact limits of this group are blurred. For example, expressions of the speaker's attitude such as αζρο-ἰ What!, εἰςζητε Behold!, and ζω Enough! are usually followed by a clause, and so might naturally be classed as initial attitude markers (chapter 10) like αρηγ Perhaps, καλως Fittingly, and name Truly.

Likewise those of type (c) resemble established sentence types: thus those on the pattern of τεχαρις ἡ-τῇ Grace be unto you! and ογοἰ να-ἰ Woe is me! are formally comparable to the durative sentence with situational predicate 310; ερε-ωωπε So be it! and ἡνες-ωωπε By no means! are optative clauses 338; ζῃ-πχοεις χαιρε Greetings in the name of the Lord! (an

epistolary salutation), οὐχαῖ Hello/Goodbye, and perhaps ὥ Enough! are imperatives; ναῖατ= Blessed is . . . ! (great-are να[α]-[the]-eye[s]-of εἰατ=) is based on the suffixally conjugated verboid ναα- 378.

- 241 *Yes and no.* In form and syntax, words for *yes* and *no* are associated with nexus morphs of the major sentence patterns, and their usage is conditioned more or less accordingly. Thus

Yes!

οὐον	He (etc.) exists (Jer 44:17)	οὐν- 322
εζε	(?)	?
ωο	He (etc.) does	ωα= 337
σε	(?)	?

No!

ῃμον	He (etc.) does not exist	ῃμν- 322
ῃπε	He (etc.) hasn't	ῃπ= 334
ῃνο	He (etc.) shall not	ῃνε= 338

(ῃπωρ Don't! is associated with ῃπρ-, the negator of the imperative 368.) μαρο-κ Won't you go and μαρο-ν Let's go! might be thought to presuppose an unexpressed verb βωκ 'go'.

INFLECTED INTERJECTIONS

- 242 '*Inflected interjections*' are those which are formally marked ('inflected') to express person/number/(gender) 75; some also can incorporate a non-personal entity term (τεχαρις ῃ-).

αζρο= What is the matter with . . . ?; cf. 243. Not subject to conversion. εἰςζηντε ανοκ etc. Here (I etc.) am! Acts 9:10 (for εἰςζηντε, cf. 245).

Not subject to conversion.

μιο= Greetings to . . . (sometimes in a context of thankfulness); e.g. μιω-την τηρ-την ShIII 25:5-6 (near end of a controversial epistle) "Greetings to all of you." Not subject to conversion.

μαρο-κ Won't you go, μαρο-ν Let's go

ναῖατ= Blessed is . . . !, cf. 378. Subject to conversion. Cf. οὐοῖ ῃ- Woe is . . . ! Woe unto . . . !

τεχαρις ῃ-/να= Grace be unto . . . ! and similar constructions. Not subject to conversion; can be modified by adverbial premodifier or by expansion elements.

οὐοῖ ῃ-/να= Woe is . . . ! Woe unto . . . !; cf. 244. Subject to conversion and compatible with distinctions of time; can be modified by adverbial premodifier or by expansion elements. Cf. ναῖατ= Blessed is . . . !

- 243 αζρο= What! What is the matter with . . . ? expresses astonishment or puzzled regret. Cf. also 246.

- (a) Directly followed by a main clause that picks up the suffix of αζρο=: What! Why . . . ! (What is the matter with . . . so that . . . ?). E.g. αζρο-^θ τε-ριμε John 20:13 "Why are you (sing. fem.) weeping?" (What! You are weeping!).

Further examples: αζρο-κ ακ-ταμιο-ῖ ῃτεῖζε Rom 9:20 "Why have You made me thus?"; αζρο-ῖ βε σε-κρινε ῃμο-ῖ ζωσ-^θρεφῃνοβε Rom 3:7 "Why am I still being condemned as a sinner?"; αζρο-q ντοq η ετβε-ογ ν-q-να-qi-προογω αν ν-ν-ετ^θ-ζ[εα]πιζε ερο-[q] ShIV 42:16-17 "But why, and for what reason, would He not care for those who put their hope in Him?"

- (b) αζρο= . . . ῃν-/ῃνμα=: What does . . . have to do with . . . ?

Examples: αζρο-κ ῃνμα-ν ῃς πναζωραιος Mark 1:24 "What have You to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth?"; η αζρο-ῖ ῃν-^θρωμε ξε-εγ-ογωμ ναω ν-ζε ShIV 156:27-28 "Indeed, what do I have to do with any people, as to (ξε-) how they eat?"; αζρο-q ^θζοογτ ῃν-^θςζιμε ShIV 107:5 "What business does male have with female?"

- 244 οὐοῖ ῃ-/να= Woe is . . . ! Woe unto . . . ! is subject to conversion (including preterit past), and a fuller range of tenses, etc. can be expressed by periphrastic conjugation of ωωπε completed by a circumstantial conversion 427 of οὐοῖ ῃ- (see example below). E.g. οὐοει ν-παι ετ^θ-μμαγ ShIII 121:19 "Woe to that person"; οὐοῖ νη-την ρῃμμαο Luke 6:24 "Woe to you, O you who are rich."

Conversions: (i) relative (ετε-), (ii) circumstantial (ε-), (iii) preterit (νε-), (iv) focalizing (ε-)

Examples: (i) πκαιρος ετε-ογοι να-γ νζητ-q ShIV 94:25-26 "The time that is woeful for them" (The time in which woe is them); (ii) σε-να-ωωπε ε-ογοι να-γ ῃμαγ ShIV 4:12-13 "It shall be woeful for them there" (They will be such that woe unto them there 427); (iii) νε-ογοει να-ῖ ξε-αγ-απο-ει ρῷ αγω ῃπι-μογ ζῃ-οη ShWess9 142d:9-12 "It would be woeful for me (woe is me) that I had been born at all and had not died in the womb"; (iv) ναω ν-ζε तेनोγ ε-ογοι αν ν-ν-ετ^θ-σωκ ν-νεγερηγ εζραι ε-νειζιειτ ετ^θ-μμαγ ν-κακε ζι-βοcm ShAmél II 155:4-5 "Surely it is (How is it not) woeful for those who draw one another down into those dark and tempestuous pits." οὐοῖ also occurs in negative questions (where αν negatives the interrogative and οὐοῖ ῃ- is affirmative): ετβε-ογ ντοογ ογοι να-γ αν न॑ε ετε-ογοι ε-νεκοογε ShAmél II 11:3-4 "Why not woe is them, too, just as it is woeful unto the others?"

NON-INFLECTED INTERJECTIONS

- 245 '*Non-inflected interjections*' are unitary morphs. They are not subject to conversion, except for ῃμον. For expression and usage of words for *Yes* and *No*, cf. 241.

εξε Yes!

εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ (vars. εΙCΖΗΤΕ, εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ, εΙCΖΗΗΝΕ, εΙCΝΕ ShIII 39:11, εΙCΤΕ) Lo! Behold! Listen! calls attention to the statement that follows and sometimes marks an important new moment in narrative exposition. Cf. also 242, εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ. For εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ εΙC-, cf. 476.

Examples: CWTM | εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΓ-ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ-Π-ΕΤ⁰-ΧΟ Ε-⁰ΧΟ Mark 4:3 "Listen! A sower went out to sow" (beginning of a parable); εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ †-ΧΩ ΝΗ-ΤΗ Ν-ΟΥΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ 1 Cor 15:51 "Lo! I tell you a mystery"; εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΝΓ-ΘΜΖΑΛ Μ-ΠΧΟΕΙC Luke 1:38 "Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord"; εΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΕΤΗ-ΩΙΝΕ ΝCΩ-Ι Acts 10:21 "Behold, it is I whom you are looking for"

ΜΗΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ (var. ΜΕΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ) By no means! God forbid! μη γένοιτο (ShIII 77:15, 47:24)

ΜΜΟΝ No! There isn't!

ΜΠΕ No!

ΜΠΩΡ No! Don't!

ΝΝΟ No!

CΕ Yes!, CΕ ΤΩΝΟΥ Yes indeed!

ΟΥΑ Oh, woe! (Mark 15:29)

ΟΥΟΝ Yes! There is!

ΟΥΧΑΪ Hello, Goodbye, Greetings, Farewell (can be modified by an adverbial premodifier or by expansion elements)

ΧΑΙΡΕ (more formally, ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ) χαΐρε (χαΐρετε) Greetings. Can be modified by an adverbial premodifier or by expansion elements.

ΩΟ Yes!

ΖΩ Enough!

ΖΑΕΙΟ Truly! Indeed!

ΖΑΜΗΝ Amen! May it be! *

Conversion: ΜΜΟΝ can occur in circumstantial conversion, forming the adverbial modifier Ε-ΜΜΟΝ 'Otherwise, Else, For then' 424.

246 CLAUSAL INTERJECTIONS (LEXICALLY FIXED EXPRESSIONS)

ΑΖΡΟ-ϣ (invariable) What!, directly followed by a clause. E.g. ΑΖΡΟ-ϣ ΔΕ | ΤΑΡΝ-Ρ-⁰ΝΟΒΕ Rom 6:15 "What then! Are we to sin?" 243

ΕΦΕ-ΩΩΠΕ So be it! Amen! (optative 338); cf. ΝΝΕC-ΩΩΠΕ

ΝΝΕC-ΩΩΠΕ By no means! God forbid! (optative 338); cf. ΕΦΕ-ΩΩΠΕ

12 Nexus Morphs and Negators

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NEXUS MORPHS

247 *Subject and predicate.* In terms of communicating information, almost all complete utterances contain two basic information units, which are grammatically united: a subject (logical subject, theme) and a predicate (logical predicate, rheme). The 'subject' represents, or gives a reminder of, the topic under discussion and conveys information that is relatively more familiar, presupposed, or given. The 'predicate' conveys new information about the topic/subject. For example,

They | spat in His face

Topic under discussion | Statement about the topic

(Presupposed information) | (New information)

SUBJECT | PREDICATE

(ΑΥ-ΝΕΧ-⁰ΠΑΔCΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ-ΠΕΦΖΟ Matt 26:67). The order, arrangement, and word class of subject and predicate vary according to Coptic sentence pattern. Many Coptic subjects and predicates can be formally identified by noting the constituents and arrangement of the sentence pattern in which they occur. In the absence of other signals, the focus of attention is, by definition, on the predicate.

Special versions of sentence patterns also occur in which the center of attention, as of a predicate, is refocused on some unusual item. These 'focalizing' versions of the basic sentences are signalled either syntactically, by the focalizing conversion 444 or cleft sentence (chapter 20); or rhetorically, by the overall structure of the passage within which the sentence occurs. In addition, the spoken performance of a basic sentence presumably allowed it to be communicated in focalized form through the speaker's intonation pattern and other prosodic features. Various performance options were available.

248 *Nexus, clause, and nexus morph.* The grammatical union of subject and predicate can be called 'nexus'. Nexus is the mutual dependence of subject and predicate such as to compose a whole statement. Such a whole statement is a 'clause'. E.g.

νεῖρωμε ζεντοῦδαῖ νε "These men are Jews"; ἀνῖ-οὔπροφήτης "I am a prophetess"; †-σωτπ "I choose"; νανοῦ-οὔ "They are good"; α-τεσζιμε σωτπ, ντερес-σωтп "The woman chose, When she had chosen"; εὔ-ῖ-ζωт "As they sailed"

In immediate analysis, clauses can be classified as either main or subordinate. A 'main clause' is one that in immediate analysis is self-sufficient, i.e. could occur without the presence of a subordinate clause. A 'subordinate (or dependent) clause' is one that is not self-sufficient and which cannot occur without the presence of a main clause to which it belongs as one of its parts or complements. (Of course, every so-called 'main' clause in a text is actually part of a larger textual structure and, at that level of description, is a subordinate member of that larger structure.)

Thus in *As they sailed He fell asleep* (εὔ-ῖ-ζωт δε αἰ-ωβω Luke 8:23), *He fell asleep* (αἰ-ωβω) is a main (self-sufficient) clause, and *as they sailed* (εὔ-ῖ-ζωт) is a subordinate (dependent) clause that is not self-sufficient and which belongs to the main clause. In meaning, the degree of self-sufficiency that distinguishes main and subordinate clauses varies, for some formally main clauses strongly anticipate a complement and in this immediate sense are not obviously self-sufficient (αἰ-λο εὔ-μοοωε νῖμα-α John 6:66 "They ceased going about with Him" 426); whereas some formally subordinate clauses simply add an additional statement to a main clause and thus have an unusual measure of self-sufficiency (αἰ-νοχ-ῖ ε-πεωτεκο ε-αἰ-ταα-α ετοот-οὔ м-мнтасε м-магоῖ Acts 12:4 "He put him in prison, and he handed him over to sixteen soldiers" ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν παραδούς . . . 428).

For nexus in the adverbial clause construction, cf. 236, 448, 491; in the cleft sentence, 461; in the focalizing conversion, 448, 451.

Coptic 'nexus morphs' are 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 other grammatical categories. (In the examples above, the following are nexus morphs: νε 'they [are]', ἀνῖ- 'I [am]', †- 'I [am]', νανοῦ- '[is] good', α- past tense conjugation base, ντερес precursive conjugation base, ε= circumstantial mutable converter.)

A Coptic nexus morph is therefore *not* the same thing as the English 'copula', which is a verb (such as *is*) whose function is to signal the union of subject and predicate. Most Coptic nexus morphs primarily signal some other grammatical category and/or lexical content and only secondarily or incidentally imply and signal the presence of nexus, in association with clause pattern; and most are not verbs. For πε/τε/νε with exclusively copular function, cf. 277.

When nexus is present in a basic sentence pattern, its presence can always be detected by the occurrence of one or more of the following nexus morphs as an element of a particular sentence pattern. (A partial exception is unconverted Pattern 1 of the durative sentence 317 which does not contain a nexus morph, e.g. παοεις ζῖ-πεαῖπε ετ⁰-οὔααβ Ps 10:5[11:4][10:4 Budge] "The Lord is in His holy temple.")

THE NEXUS MORPHS

- i. Personal prefixes of the nominal sentence 79, 252 ἀνῖ-, etc.
- ii. Nexus pronouns of the nominal sentence 53, 252 πε/τε/νε and invariable πε
- iii. Personal prefixes of the durative sentence 78, 318 †-, etc.
- iv. The class of statives 162, 309 σωтп, etc.
- v. Verbal auxiliaries 184 να-, ω-, etc.
- vi. Non-durative conjugation bases (chapter 15) α-/αε, ντερес-/ντερε-, тре-/треε-, etc.
- vii. Suffixally conjugated verboids (chapter 17) νανοῦ-/νανοῦε, πεχε-/πεχαε-, etc.
- viii. οὔντε-/οὔνταε 'have' (chapter 18)
- ix. οὔν- 'there is/exists' (chapter 21)
- x. Impersonal predicates 487 ζω, εζεετι, ωωε, etc.
- xi. Mutable converters 396 (ετερε-/ετε, ере-/еε, нере-/неε)
- xii. Immutable sentence converters 396 (ετε-, εт-, ент-, нт-, е-, не-)

With three exceptions, each type of nexus morph occurs in only one basic sentence type and thus *signals the identity of the sentence type* in which it occurs. Exceptions are: invariable πε, which also occurs outside of the nominal sentence (cf. 285); verbal auxiliaries 184, which (except for να-) occur in both durative and non-durative conjugation; and immutable sentence converters 396, some of which occur before all convertible basic sentence patterns.

- ἀνῖ-, etc. Nominal sentence (chapter 13)
 πε/τε/νε. Nominal sentence (chapter 13)
 †-, etc. Durative sentence (chapter 14)
 σωтп, etc. Durative sentence (chapter 14)
 να- (future auxiliary). Durative sentence (chapter 14)
 α-, etc. Non-durative conjugation (chapter 15)
 νανοῦ-, πεχε-, etc. Suffixally conjugated verboids (chapter 17)
 οὔντε-. 'Have' (chapter 18)

οὐν-. 'There is/exists' (chapter 21; Pattern 3 of the durative sentence 322) ζω, etc. Impersonal predicate, usually expanded by an entity statement 487 ετερε-, etc. Durative sentence (chapter 14)

Since by definition the presence of a nexus morph entails the presence of a whole clause of one particular type, the nexus morphs will be treated mainly in part 2, as each of the basic sentence types is described. (πτε is also treated with the determinators 53, and †- and αν̄- with the personal morphs 78, 79; verbal auxiliaries [να- etc.] are treated in 184.)

- 249 The imperative (chapter 16) and the non-inflected interjection 245 can be thought of as containing only one main information unit, and thus do not express nexus or contain a nexus morph. E.g. βωκ "Go"; ογα "Oh, woe!" For interjections based on nexus morphs (ογον, ωο Yes! μμον, μπε, ννο, No!), cf. 241.

NEGATORS

- 250 'Negators' are morphs that express negation of a nexus ('not').

- (a) *Negative alternants*. Five negative, main-clause, non-durative conjugation bases alternate (in polar opposition) with affirmatives; cf. chapter 15.

Affirmative	Negative Alternant
α-	μπε-
αφ-ογω εφ-	μπατε-
ωαρε-	μερε-
ερε-	ννε-
μαρε-	μπρτρε-

E.g. μπου-σωτμ "They *did* not listen" versus αγ-σωτμ "They listened."

Three negative impersonal predicates 487 alternate with affirmatives.

Affirmative	Negative Alternant
γενοίτο	μηγενοίτο
εἴεστι	οὐκεἴεστι
ωφε	μεωφε 488

- (b) τμ- negatives four of the subordinate-clause non-durative conjugations (ντερε-, φαντε-, εφωαν-/ερε-, ντε-) and the causative infinitive τρε- (chapter 15). E.g. εφωαν-σωτμ "If they listen" versus εφωαν-τμ-σωτμ "If they *do* not listen."

(i) When τμ- negatives a subordinate clause conjugation 342, it comes before (rarely, after) a non-personal subject but after a personal one. E.g. ερε-τμ-τβλβλε ν-σογο γε εζραϊ εχμ-πκαζ νς-μογ John 12:24 "Unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies"; εωωπε δε εφωαν-τμ-σωτμ νςω-κ χι ν-κεογα

νμμα-κ η σναγ Matt 18:16 "But if he does not listen, take one or two others along with you"; ... ντε-τεκογερντε τμ-χι-χρον Prov 2:5, 3:6 "And your feet will not stumble." (ii) When τμ- negatives the causative infinitive, ε-τρεφ-σωτπ has the form of ε-τμ-τρεφ-σωτπ; but ζμ-πτρεφ-σωτπ has ζμ-πτρεφ-τμ-σωτπ; cf. 359. (iii) Outside of conjugation, τμ- is expanded by a non-durative infinitive, e.g. ε-τμ-κοτ-ογ φα-ζηρωανς Matt 2:12 "Not to return to Herod"; παρα-πεκογωγ γαρ πε ε-τμ-τρε-λααγ μ-ψυχη μογ ShGué 161a:16-17 "Since, for no soul to die is contrary to Your will." τμ- is also compatible with a verbal auxiliary, e.g. ουν-ζαζ να-ωινε νςα-βωκ εζογν νςε-τμ-εω-βμ-βομ Luke 13:24 "Many will seek to enter and will not be able."

- (c) The negator μν- alternates (in polar opposition) with ουν- in existential sentences (chapter 21), including Pattern 3 of the durative sentence 322; e.g. ουν-βομ μμο-γ "He can"/μν-βομ μμο-γ "He cannot." Likewise negative μντε- replaces affirmative ουντε- 'have' (chapter 18); e.g. ουντα-γ "He has"/μντα-γ "He does not have."
- (d) μεωα= 'not know', the suffixally conjugated verboid 381, is by its very nature negative.
- (e) μεωφε and (ν-)ωφε αν. The impersonal predicate ωφε 'it is right, fitting' is negated in two ways: by the negator (ν-) ... αν mostly in main clauses; and by being replaced by its negative alternant μεωφε in relative and circumstantial conversion; cf. 488.
- (f) (ν-) ... αν. All other kinds of nexus are negated by the enclitic negator αν or by ν- ... αν. Optionally, negative ν- is prefixed to the first essential element of its sentence pattern (after any extrapositions); negative ν- only occurs in tandem with αν. Negated by (ν-) ... αν are: the nominal sentence (chapter 13); durative sentence Patterns 1 and 2 (chapter 14); the suffixally conjugated verboids formed in initial να 376; ζνε- 379; some impersonal predicates 487; the nexus of the focalizing conversion 452, the cleft sentence 464, 468, 471, and the adverbial clause construction 236, 491. The possible positions of αν (and of ν-, if present) vary from one sentence pattern to another; they are treated in parts 2 and 3, where the basic clause patterns and complex clause patterning are described.

Examples: ντκ-πεωβνρ αν μ-πρρο John 19:12 "You are not Caesar's friend"; ν-φ-μ-πείμα αν Luke 24:6 "He is not here"; ν-νανογ-πετνωογωγ αν 1 Cor 5:6 "Your boasting is not good"; ζω αν ερο-γ δε-αφ-ρ-νοβε ShMiss4 822:14 "For him merely to have sinned was not enough"; ες-ζμ-πείμα αν η παι ShAméI II 462:10-11 "It is not here or there"; ντωτν γαρ αν πετ-ωαδε Mark 13:4 "For it is not you who speak"

μη ... αν "Pray tell ... not ... ?" expresses a negative rhetorical question whose expected answer is yes. μη is an initial attitude marker 238 and also signals interrogation; the indispensable negator is αν. E.g. μη μ-παι αν πε πωνρε μ-πζαμ-φε Matt 13:55 "Is it not this one who is the carpenter's son?"

- (g) Incapable of being negated are: (i) the suffixally conjugated verboids $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau-$ 'blessed is . . . ' 378, $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon-$ 'said' 380, $\mu\epsilon\phi\rho-$ 'is pleasant' and $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau-$ 'is distinct' 382; (ii) $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-$ the future conjunctive base 357; (iii) the impersonal predicate $\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\iota$ 487; (iv) the existential-indicating base $\epsilon\iota\varsigma-$ 'behold' 477.

SPECIFIC NEGATION OF AN INDIVIDUAL ELEMENT OF THE TEXT

251 The following morphs can express negation where nexus is not present.

- (a) The prefix $\tau\bar{\mu}-$ negatives the lexical content of the infinitive as verbal noun, and the combination $\tau\bar{\mu}-$ *Infinitive* enters into article phrases; cf. 105(c).
 (b) $(\bar{n}-)$. . . $\alpha\bar{n}$ can specifically negative the grammatical relationship of an individual element of the text (attributive term 98, entity term 143, inflected modifier 157, adverbial modifier 199).

Examples: $\alpha\bar{n}\omicron\kappa \alpha\bar{n} \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 1 Cor 7:10 "Not I but the Lord"; $\alpha\bar{n}\omicron\kappa \bar{\mu}-\mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \alpha\bar{n}$ 1 Cor 7:12 "I myself and not the Lord"; $\tau\bar{n}\omicron\beta \bar{n}-\varsigma\kappa\eta\eta\eta \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\chi\eta\kappa \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{\mu}-\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\gamma \bar{n}-\beta\iota\chi \alpha\bar{n} \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\mu\alpha\acute{\iota} \mu\epsilon \bar{n}-\tau\alpha-\mu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omega\eta\tau^{\theta} \alpha\bar{n}$ Heb 9:11 "The greater and more perfect tent, *not made with hands*, that is, *not of this creation*"; $\gamma\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\eta\alpha \gamma\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\varsigma\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota} \alpha\bar{n}$ Rom 2:29 "Spiritually and not literally"; $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-\tau\bar{\upsilon}\beta\eta\eta\gamma \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \bar{n}-\tau\eta\rho-\tau\bar{n} \alpha\bar{n}$ John 13:10 "You are clean, but not every one of you/not all of you"

- (c) The negative imperative 368 is formed by the prefix $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}-$ (or $\bar{\mu}\pi\omega\rho \epsilon-$) + infinitive. E.g. $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}-\omega\rho\bar{\kappa}$ "Do not swear."

For negative interjections, cf. chapter 11.

Part 2

The Basic Clause Patterns and the Imperative

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 122:18–22 “Now, ‘fall on its hind-quarters’ means that she often with-
 drew”

Nexus Morphs

A nominal sentence contains and is signalled by one or another of the follow-
 ing *nexus morphs* 248.

- (a) The $\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}$ - paradigm: subject-function personal prefixes 79; ‘interlocutive’,
 i.e. 1st and 2d person only

$\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}$ - var. $\lambda\alpha\kappa\text{-}$	‘I (am)’	} interlocutive
$\bar{n}\tau\bar{\kappa}\text{-}$ var. $\bar{n}\tau\kappa\text{-}$	‘you (are)’ <i>sing. masc.</i>	
$\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\text{-}$ var. $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\text{-}$	‘you (are)’ <i>sing. fem.</i>	
$\lambda\alpha\text{-}$ var. $\lambda\alpha\omicron\text{-}$, rarely $\lambda\alpha\bar{n}\text{-}$	‘we (are)’	
$\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\text{-}$ var. $\bar{n}\tau\omega\tau\bar{n}\text{-}$	‘you (are)’ <i>pl.</i>	

Only one instance of a 3d person nexus prefix ($\bar{n}\tau\bar{\kappa}\text{-}$ *sing. masc.*, 2 Cor 10:7) is on
 record; it is a unique occurrence.

- (b) The variable $\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\eta\epsilon$ paradigm, enclitic determinators (nexus pronouns) 53;
 ‘delocutive’, i.e. 3d person only

... $\pi\epsilon$	‘he/it (is)’	} delocutive
... $\tau\epsilon$	‘she/it (is)’	
... $\eta\epsilon$	‘they (are)’	

- (c) Invariable $\pi\epsilon$, enclitic

... $\pi\epsilon$	‘it (is)’ (cf. impersonal <i>it</i> , not expressing number/gender)
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Invariable $\pi\epsilon$ also occurs as a predicate pronoun (‘is *he*, is *such*’), in Pattern 10.

As a variant, the concluding vowel of a monosyllabic morph immediately before
 $\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\eta\epsilon$ is (rarely) doubled 28: $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\eta\alpha\gamma\ \eta\text{-}\chi\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\ \pi\epsilon$ John 4:6 = $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\eta\alpha\gamma\ \eta\text{-}\chi\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\ \pi\epsilon$ “It was the sixth hour”; $\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon$ John 5:30 = $\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon$ “It is just”;
 $\eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \zeta\eta\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{n}\text{-}\eta\alpha\lambda\ \eta\epsilon$ Sir 44:10 (44:11 Lagarde) = $\eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \zeta\eta\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{n}\text{-}\eta\alpha\ \eta\epsilon$
 “These are merciful men”; $\pi\eta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\text{-}\bar{n}\tau\text{-}\alpha\eta\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ (cleft sentence 464) John 19:21
 “It is this man who said”; etc. Doubling also occurs before invariable $\pi\epsilon$ in verbal sen-
 tences 285: $\tau\bar{n}\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \pi\epsilon$ Deut 5:25 = $\tau\bar{n}\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma\ \pi\epsilon$ “We shall die.”

Members of the $\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}$ - paradigm are personal morphs (chapter 4), those of the
 $\pi\epsilon$ paradigm are determinator pronouns (chapter 2). In the nominal sentence
 these paradigms complement one another to cover the full range of eight per-
 sons:

THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOMINAL SENTENCE

COMPONENTS AND PATTERNS OF THE NOMINAL SENTENCE

- 252 The ‘nominal sentence’ is a set of sentence patterns whose predicates (under-
 lined in the examples below) are entity terms; entity statements; and/or prepo-
 sitional phrases that express relationship. Many patterns have restricted pred-
 icate compatibility. (English translation of the nominal sentence requires addi-
 tion of the verb *to be* as copula, whereas these Coptic patterns are non-verbal
 in the sense that the verb has no formal association with their structure.)

$\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\pi\bar{\rho}\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ “I am a prophet” (I-a prophet)

$\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$ “He is our God” (our God he)

$\epsilon\text{-}\pi\chi\iota\eta\chi\eta\ \eta\alpha\text{-}\gamma\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\gamma\zeta\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\eta\eta$ ShIV 46:18 “For them, their
 endurance is in vain (unto vanity)”

- (i) sing. pl.
1st αν̄- αν-
2d ν̄τκ- (masc.) ν̄τετν-
ν̄τε- (fem.)
- (ii) [3d] ... πε (masc.) ... νε or (c) invariable ... πε
... τε (fem.)

The elements of a nominal sentence are: one of these nexus morphs together with one, two, or three free entity terms (or other compatible items), arranged in one of the patterns listed below. (A 'free' term here means one that is neither linked with nor an expansion of nor in apposition to a preceding term.) Elaborations or modifiers can also be present 257, 258.

THE NOMINAL SENTENCE PATTERNS
(Predicates are underlined)

- (1) αν̄-οὔπροφνητς, 263
I am a prophet.
- (2) αν̄οκ αν̄-οὔπροφνητς, 264
As for me, I am a prophet.
- (3) πωωμ πε, 266
It's summer.
- (4) πεννοῦτε πε, 267
He is our God.
- (5) νεῖρωμε ζεν̄ιουδαῖ νε, 272
These men are Jews.
- (5a) πισατανας πισατανας ον πε, 273
Satan is always the same.
- (5b) ν̄σοῦτ δε ν̄τοοῦ ν̄τοοῦ ον πε, 274
Walls are always the same.
- (6) οὔμε πε πνοῦτε, 275
God is true.
- (6a) αν̄οκ πε ποῦοῖν μ-πκοσμος, 276
It is I who am the light of the world.
- (7) πεῖλαποτ πε ταῖαθνηκη μ-β̄ρε, 277
This cup is the new covenant.
- (7a) αν̄οκ πε Γαβριηλ, 278
I am Gabriel.
- (8) πκοῦι ν̄ητ-τηῦτν̄ τηρ-τ̄ν παῖ πε πνοῦ, 279
The one who is least among all of you is the great one.
- (9) αν̄οκ πε, 281
It is I/It's me.
- (10) αν̄οκ πε, 282
I am he/I am such.
- (11) αν̄οκ πε, 283
I am someone important.
- (12) αλλ̄ νεφμαθνητς νε, 284
Rather, it was His disciples (who were doing so).

The nominal sentence is also a formative element in the cleft sentence (chapter 20, Patterns 1, 1a, 3, and 3a).

PREDICATES

Each pattern is compatible with a particular set of predicates from among entity terms 141, entity statements 150, and prepositional phrases expressing relationship 298. Generally, the *range of compatible predicates* varies according to which nexus morph the pattern is built upon.

- i. subject, αν̄- *paradigm*: very restricted 259
- ii. subject, πε/τε/νε and invariable πε: very wide (Patterns 3 and 4 are perhaps somewhat restricted 265 and by definition Patterns 5a, 5b, 6a, 7a, 9, 10, and 11 have very restricted predicates)

For a more detailed classification of predicates, cf. 286–304. *Entity terms* in predicate function either *denote* (name an instance of a class or a unique individual), οὔπροφνητς πε He is a prophet; or *describe* (speak of an entity by its quality), οὔμε πε πνοῦτε God is true. Cf. 141.

Further examples: ν̄τκ-νιμ John 1:19 "Who are you?"; πεῖνοῦτε πε ζητ-οῦ Phil 3:19 "Their god is *their belly*"; αν̄οκ πε John 6:20 "It is I"; παῖ δε πε ε-θ̄τρην-σ̄λσ̄λ-νενερηῦ Rom 1:12 "And this means *for us to encourage one another*"; ταρ̄ε αν̄οκ τε δεκας ε̄ειε-ε̄ιρε μ-ποῦωμ μ-π-εντ-αφ-ταοῦ-ε̄ι John 4:34 "My own food is *to do the will of Him who sent Me*"; τωορ̄π τε σωτμ πισραν̄ (etc.) Mark 12:29 "The first (commandment) is, *Hear, O Israel* ...; πεφροῦω πε ετβε-ν̄ρηκε John 12:6 "His care is *for the poor*"

- 253 *Extraposited topic as a pattern component*. Some patterns have only two members—a subject morph (αν̄-, πε) and a predicate. But a more complex structure occurs in Patterns 2, 5, 5a, 5b, and 8. These begin with an *extraposed topic*

νεῖρωμε | ζεν̄ιουδαῖ νε
"These men are Jews (*these men*, | Jews they)"

i.e. with an item placed at the front of the clause ('extraposed') and thus set off as the topic of the sentence (νεῖρωμε in the preceding example) 313. These five patterns can be analyzed as an extraposed topic expanded by a two-member nominal sentence (the 'kernel statement'), which contains the predicate and within which the topic is represented and referred to by the subject αν̄- or πε etc., agreeing with it in (person)/number/(gender)

νεῖρωμε | ζεν̄ιουδαῖ νε "These men are Jews"
Topic + Two-member kernel statement
(subject νε represents and refers back to νεῖρωμε)

or, in 5b and 8, expanded by a three-member structure. Such sentences consist of two units: topic | statement.

Kernel (Pattern 1) αν̄-οὔπροφνητς
Pattern 2 αν̄οκ | αν̄-οὔπροφνητς

Kernel (Pattern 4)	ΖΕΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΕ
Pattern 5	ΝΕΪΡΩΜΕ | ΖΕΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΕ
Kernel (Pattern 4)	ΠΙΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ ΠΕ
Pattern 5a	ΠΙΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ | ΠΙΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ ΟΝ ΠΕ
Kernel (Pattern 5a)	ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΟΝ ΠΕ
Pattern 5b	ΝΣΟΒΤ | ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΟΝ ΠΕ
Kernel (Pattern 7)	ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΘ
Pattern 8	ΠΚΟΥΪ ΝΖΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΝ | ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΘ

Patterns 7 and 7a cannot be analyzed into two units.

NEGATION OF NEXUS

- 254** Negation of nexus is always expressed by the enclitic negator **αν** **250**. It follows the predicate in all patterns but Pattern 7/7a; it always precedes **πε/τε/νε** and invariable **πε**. Optionally, negative **ν-** is also prefixed to the first essential element of the pattern. E.g. **αν̄-ογανομος αν** 1 Cor 9:21 "I am not without law"; **ν-σναγ αν νε** Matt 19:6 "They are not two"; **ντωτν δε ντεϊζε αν τε** Luke 22:26 "But you are not thus"; **μη ν-zenγαλλιαιος αν νε ναϊ τηρουγ ετ^θ-ωαχε** Acts 2:7 "Pray tell, are not all those who are speaking Galileans?"

Negative **ν-** is often absent in Patterns 1 and 2, sometimes absent in the other patterns, and normally absent in the preterit conversion of the nominal sentence.

TENSE AND 'INHERENT PREDICATION'

- 255** The basic sentence patterns express present tense. (For the overall Coptic *tense system*, cf. chapter 25.) A fuller range of tenses, etc. can be expressed by periphrastic conjugation of **ωπε** completed by a circumstantial conversion of the nominal sentence **427**. E.g. **μαρεq-ωπε ε-ογα πε** Sir 5:12 "Let it be one thing"; **αγω περει εβολ εq-να-ωπε ε-τεθαλασσα τε** Josh 17:9 **και εσται αυτου η διεξοδος θαλασσα** "And the sea shall be its termination."

In the nominal sentence, the *category of inherent, or essential, predication* **179, 292** is co-expressed along with tense; cf. **526**. The combination of present time and essential predication is a typical component ('timelessness') of the general, unconditional discourse perspective of 'timeless truth' **527**, e.g. in description of the nature of God, moral truths, or other unchangeables.

CONVERSIONS

- 256** Conversions of the nominal sentence are marked by immutable sentence converters (relative, circumstantial, and preterit only):

ετε-	relative
ε-	circumstantial
νε-	preterit

(Some patterns are further restricted, as noted below; those based on the **αν̄**-paradigm have no relative conversion, and their preterit is restricted to contrary-to-fact conditionals **498** and regret **499**.)

Focalization. An initial adverbial modifier of the nominal sentence is made the focal point by selection of the circumstantial focalization pattern **459**; e.g. **αγω ν-αω ν-ζε ε-γνοθ αν πε πρωμε εq-ταιηγ εματε** ShAmél I 305:4-6 "And *surely* (And *how* can it not be that) the human being is great and very glorious." A personal element of the nominal sentence is made the predicate by selection of Pattern 6a (**276**); e.g. **ανοκ πε πογοϊν ν̄-πκοσμος** John 8:12 "It is *I* who am the light of the world." Otherwise, there is no focalizing conversion of the nominal sentence.

ELABORATION OF SUBJECT OR PREDICATE

- 257** An entity term functioning as subject or predicate can be elaborated by (i) linkage **145**, (ii) restrictive expansion **146**, (iii) apposition **149**, (iv) attributive construction of the noun **96**, or (v) other modifying construction **103**.

In patterns containing **αν̄**- etc. subject and predicate are bound, and any enclitic conjunction such as **δε** **235(b)** or an elaborating element (or both) appears after the predicate: **αν̄-ογζιαιωτης δε** 2 Cor 11:5 "I am unskilled." But in patterns containing **πε** etc., subject and predicate are not bound; consequently, an enclitic can interrupt the sequence of Predicate | Subject: **zenzicaggelos rap ne** Luke 20:36 "For, they are equal to angels."

Examples: (i) **εωχε-ντκ-ουπ̄να η ογαγγελος** ShIII 38:18-19 "If indeed you are a spirit or an angel"; **νεκωαχε μν-νεκτωω τηρ-ογ zenme ne** ShIII 141:14 "All Your words and Your commandments are true"; **τεζερε ν̄-πρωμε πε ογοεικ μν-ογμοου μν-νκετροφη** ShRossi II 3 90b:6-9 "The food of the human being is bread and water and the other foodstuffs"; **zennoθ αγω zenωπηρε νε νεκzβηγε πχοεις** Rev 15:3 "Great and wonderful are Thy deeds, O Lord!"; (ii) **ντετν-ογκωτ ντε-πνουτε** 1 Cor 3:9 "You are a building of (i.e. built by) God"; **πχοεις rap ν̄-πcαββατον πε πωηρε ν̄-πρωμε** Matt 12:8 "For the Son of Man is Lord of the sabbath"; (iii) **ανον-νεκληρονομος νεκληρονομος μεν ν̄-πνουτε νωβρ̄-κληρονομος δε ν̄-πεχc** Rom 8:17 "We are the heirs—the heirs of God and the fellow heirs of Christ"; **παι πε παγλος παποστολος** ShIV 198:6 "This is Paul, the apostle"; **κεzωβ . . . ετε-παϊ πε ε-^θτρεν-ρ-^θzοτε zητ-^q** ShChass 160:11-16 "One more thing . . . , namely this: for us to fear Him"; (iv) **αν̄-ογcζιμε ν̄-саμαριτης** John 4:9 "I am a Samaritan woman"; **zenbote n̄πεμτο εβολ ν̄-πχοεις νε zenωι ν̄-κροq** Prov 11:1 "False balances are abominations before the Lord"; (v) **αν̄-ογζικανος αν ε-^θπαzт-^θ** Mark 1:7 "I am not

worthy to bend down"; $\zeta\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ - $\zeta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\kappa\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon$ ϵ - $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ - $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ShIV 68:14-15 "As though they were idols that do not speak"

In a predicate, the noun lexeme (as such) of an article phrase can be elaborated either by either simple linkage or conjunction + \bar{n} -, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega$ \bar{n} -.

Examples: $\zeta\epsilon\kappa\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\chi\kappa$ - $\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon\zeta\beta\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\omicron\gamma$ ShLefort 43:29 "His works are all one set of wonderful things after another (i.e. manifold and wonderful)"; $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ - $\zeta\epsilon\kappa\psi\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$ $\lambda\kappa$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\zeta\iota$ - $\rho\bar{\mu}\bar{n}$ - $\delta\omicron\iota\lambda\epsilon$ Eph 2:19 "Thus, you are no longer strangers and sojourners" 231; $\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota\kappa\omega\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\lambda\gamma\omega$ \bar{n} - $\psi\beta\rho$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - $\zeta\omega\beta$ 2 Cor 8:23 "He is my partner and fellow worker"; $\omicron\gamma\pi\omicron\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon$ \bar{n} \bar{n} - $\rho\epsilon\zeta$ - $\psi\bar{\mu}\psi\epsilon$ - $\theta\epsilon\iota\delta$ - $\omega\lambda\omicron\kappa$ 1 Cor 5:11 "He is an adulterer or idolater"

ADVERBIAL PREMODIFIER

- 258 An adverb or prepositional phrase (chapter 9) preceding the sentence pattern lays down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the sentence is being asserted (i.e. under which the predication is made).

Premodifier | Sentence Pattern

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa$ | $\tau\epsilon\zeta\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma$ $\tau\epsilon$

"As to divine dispensation, | she is His mother" (ShLefort 42:21-22)

Adverbial modifiers also occur within and after nominal sentence patterns. E.g. $\omicron\gamma$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\eta$ \bar{n} - $\zeta\epsilon\kappa\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\eta\alpha\zeta\bar{\rho}\bar{n}$ - $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ ShChass 168:56-169:1 "What does the peace of human beings amount to *in the eyes of God*?" Conjunctions and initial attitude markers (chapter 10) also occur in premodifier position.

THE NOMINAL SENTENCE PATTERNS

A. PATTERNS CONTAINING THE $\lambda\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - PARADIGM (PATTERNS 1 AND 2)

PATTERN RECOGNITION AND COMPATIBLE PREDICATES

- 259 Patterns 1 and 2 can be recognized from the presence of the $\lambda\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - (var. $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ -) paradigm, which occurs only in these patterns. $\lambda\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - is the subject. The predicate immediately follows this prefix, e.g. $\lambda\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - $\omicron\gamma\rho\rho\omicron$ John 18:37 "I am a king." (For the ambiguity of $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ - versus $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$, cf. 262.)

The logical inversion of Patterns 1 and 2 is provided by Pattern 6a in which a personal independent is in predicate focus 276. E.g. $\lambda\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ - $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\bar{n}$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ John 9:5 "I am the light of the world" (Pattern 1) has as its inversion $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\bar{n}$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ John 8:12 "It is *I* who am the light of the world" (Pattern 6a).

Range of predicates. Very restricted: (i) def. article phrases of either the simple def. article π - 'the' or the possessive article $\pi\epsilon$ 'my, your, his (etc.)'; (ii) the possessive pronoun 54 $\pi\alpha$ -/ $\pi\omega$ = '(the) one related to . . .'; (iii) indef. article phrases; (iv) $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ / $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ (not $\zeta\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$?) 'one, such a one, such'; (v) $\eta\mu$ 'who?'. Strikingly absent are zero article phrases, proper names, and demonstrative articles/pronouns.

PREDICATE SUPPLETIONS

- 260 Some excluded predicates can be predicated of the 1st and 2d persons by other means: (i) *zero article phrase* can be predicated in the verbal constructions \omicron \bar{n} - . . . or $\bar{\rho}$ - . . . 179, 180(b); e.g. $\epsilon\kappa$ - \omicron \bar{n} - $\theta\psi\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$ ϵ - $\theta\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu$ Luke 24:18 "Are you foreign to Jerusalem?"; (ii) the *retrospective demonstrative pronoun* $\pi\alpha\iota$ is conveyed by $\pi\epsilon$ in Pattern 10, $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ "I am *he*, So I am"; (iii) the *personal independent* ($\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ etc.) is predicated in Pattern 7a, e.g. $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\omicron\zeta$ ShIII 22:16 "We and he are as one"; (iv) the *proper noun* is predicated in Pattern 7a, e.g. $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\zeta\rho\omicron\gamma\theta$ Ruth 3:16 "I am Ruth"; (v) *cardinal numbers* from 'two' up, $\omicron\gamma\eta\rho$ 'how much/many?', and $\zeta\alpha\zeta$ 'much/many' are predicated in the verbal construction $\chi\epsilon\kappa$ - ($\mu\epsilon\zeta$ -, $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ \bar{n} -) 'amount to . . .', e.g. $\tau\bar{n}$ - $\chi\kappa$ - $\zeta\alpha\zeta$ Mark 5:9 "We are many"; $\theta\eta\omicron\delta$ \bar{n} - $\tau\bar{\epsilon}\tau$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\psi\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma$ $\psi\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon$ John 21:11 "Large fish, a hundred and fifty three of them"; (vi) $\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$, $\alpha\psi$, and $\omicron\gamma$ 'what?' 299 (the first two in lexically fixed expressions 294, 301) are predicated as an expansion of $\omicron\gamma$ - $\zeta\epsilon\kappa$ - in Patterns 1 and 2, e.g. $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ - $\zeta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\gamma$ $\lambda\epsilon$ $\zeta\omega\omega$ - \bar{n} . . . $\chi\epsilon$ - $\tau\bar{n}$ - \omicron \bar{n} - $\theta\alpha\tau$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ ShLeyd (Ephrem?) 362b:12-21 "And who, then, are we . . . to be disobedient?"; (vii) *prepositional phrases expressing relationship* 298 are predicated as an expansion of $\omicron\gamma$ - $\zeta\epsilon\kappa$ - in Patterns 1 and 2, e.g. $\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma$ $\bar{n}\tau\bar{\kappa}$ - $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$ Mark 14:70 "Truly, you are one of them," and by $\bar{\rho}$ - in non-durative conjugation 180(b).
- 261 When the predicate acclaims or questions the personal identity of a person ("You are . . .!" "Are you . . .?") Pattern 7a, *Subject $\pi\epsilon$ Predicate*, is often employed. E.g. $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$ \bar{n} -(\bar{n}) $\iota\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\iota$ John 18:33 "Are You *the Jewish king*?" This pattern is also normal when the predicate is a proper noun (cf. 260[iv]).

SUBJECT PREFIX $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ - VERSUS PERSONAL INDEPENDENT $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$

- 262 The personal prefix $\lambda\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\bar{\kappa}$ -, etc. often occurs in a variant spelling containing the vowel \omicron or ω , i.e. $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\kappa$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\omega\tau\bar{n}$ - 252, etc. In written Coptic these variant spellings might be confused with the independent personal morphs $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$, $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\kappa$, etc. The distinguishing features of $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ - versus $\lambda\kappa\omicron\kappa$ are given in table 17. Cf. also 153.

TABLE 17
DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF $\lambda\text{NOK-}$ VERSUS λNOK

$\lambda\text{NOK-}$ (VAR. OF $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-$)	λNOK (PERSONAL INDEPENDENT 77)
Prefix (bound morph)	Can be autonomous
Immediately followed only by an eligible predicate of Patterns 1 or 2 (cf. 259)	Immediately followed by any class of morph
1st and 2d persons only	1st, 2d, and 3d persons
Subject only	Subject or predicate or extraposed topic
	Homonym of the inflected modifier $\lambda\text{NOK} \neq \bar{\text{NTO}} = 152$
Always present in Patterns 1 and 2	Excluded in Pattern 1
	Always present in Pattern 2, along with the prefix $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-$ (var. $\lambda\text{NOK-}$): 1st and 2d persons only
Excluded in Patterns 3–12	Optional in Patterns 3–7, 8, and 12
	Always present (by definition) in Patterns 7a, 9–11

263 Pattern 1: the simple interlocutive nominal sentence

$\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-$ Predicate

$\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{PO}\Phi\text{HTHC}$ "I am a prophetess" (Rev 2:20)

Negation: $(\bar{\text{N}}-)\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{PO}\Phi\text{HTHC } \lambda\text{N}$

Conversion: Converter- $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-$ Predicate. Attested are preterit (forming contrary-to-fact clauses 498, 499[b]) and circumstantial.

Further examples: $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\Theta\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{L}} \bar{\text{M}}-\text{PXOEIC}$ Luke 1:38 "I am the handmaid of the Lord"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{HP}\bar{\text{E}} \Delta\epsilon$ Gal 4:7 "You are a son"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{OY}$ ShIII 38:17 "What (sort of thing) are you?"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}-\text{ZEHCNHY}$ Acts 7:26 "You are brethren"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}-\text{PE}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}} \lambda\text{N} \bar{\text{M}}-\text{P}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}$ John 19:12 "You are not Caesar's friend"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}-\text{ZEHCNOA} \Delta\epsilon \lambda\text{N} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}-\text{PKOCMOC}$ John 15:19 "And you are not of the world"; $\lambda\text{N}-\text{ZEHCETEIMINE ON}$ 2 Cor 10:11 "That is how we are (We are also like this)" τοιοῦτοί (ἐσμεν); $\lambda\text{NOK}-\text{PW}-\eta \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{W}}-\text{N}$ 2 Cor 10:7 "We too are His"; $\bar{\text{N}}-\lambda\text{NOK}-\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}-\text{T}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{L}} \lambda\text{N}$ Gal 4:31 "We are not the children of the female servant"; $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}-\text{T}\bar{\text{N}}$ 1 Cor 9:2 "I am one (i.e. an apostle) for you"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}-\text{NIM}$ John 1:19 "Who are You?" Conversions: $\epsilon-\lambda\text{NOK}-\text{P}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}} \Delta\epsilon \bar{\text{M}}-\text{P}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$ Acts 17:29 "Since, then, we are God's offspring"; $\epsilon-\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}} \lambda\text{N} \bar{\text{M}}-\text{P}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$ 1 Cor 9:21 "(Me) not being without law toward God"; $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}-\lambda\text{NOK}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}-\text{OY}$ ShIV 92:18 "If only we were one of them!"

264 Pattern 2: extraposed topic with Pattern 1

$\lambda\text{NOK} \mid \lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-$ Predicate

$\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} \mid \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{PO}\Phi\text{HTHC}$

"As for You, You are a prophet" (John 4:19)

Structure: personal independent + Pattern 1. I.e. extraposed topic 253 + kernel statement, forming two rhetorical units. The personal subject morph $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-$ (etc.) represents and refers back to the extraposed topic, agreeing with it in person/number/(gender).

Negation: $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} (\bar{\text{N}}-)\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{PO}\Phi\text{HTHC } \lambda\text{N}$

Conversion: ?

Further examples: $\lambda\text{NOK} \Delta\epsilon \lambda\text{NOK}-\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{C}} \bar{\text{M}}-\text{M}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{C}}$ John 9:28 "But as for us, we are disciples of Moses"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}-\text{N}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}$ John 15:14 "As for you, you are My friends"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{W}}-\text{T}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}-\text{OY}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}} \lambda\text{N}$ ShIII 22:14 "You also are not a mother"; $\lambda\text{NOK} \lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}} \lambda\text{N} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}-\text{P}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}$ John 8:23 "For My part, I am not of this world"; $\lambda\text{NOK} \Delta\epsilon \lambda\text{NOK}-\text{N}\bar{\text{A}}-\text{P}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$ ShChass 166:6–8 "But as for us, we belong to the daylight"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} \Delta\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}-\text{NIM}$ John 1:22 "Then as for you, who are you?"

The extraposed topic λNOK can receive explicit lexical content from a following entity term in apposition, e.g. $\lambda\text{NOK} \Delta\epsilon \text{PIT}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}} \lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{HK}\bar{\text{E}}$ ShChass 99:2–4 "But as for me, wretch that I am (*literally* as for me this wretched one), I am poor."

In sentences of the form $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\text{PO}\Phi\text{HTHC } \lambda\text{NOK}$, the morph λNOK is the inflected modifier 153, 'myself, personally'. E.g. $\lambda\text{N}\bar{\Gamma}-\text{OY}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}} \lambda\text{NOK}$ Matt 20:15 "I myself am good."

B. PATTERNS CONTAINING VARIABLE OR INVARIABLE PE

PE WITH ONE ENTITY TERM (PATTERNS 3 AND 4)

For special patterns of $\lambda\text{NOK } \text{PE}$, cf. 280.

265 Pattern recognition. Patterns 3 and 4 consist of two elements: a free 252 entity term or other compatible predicate, followed by the subject pronoun $\text{PE}/\text{TE}/\text{NE}$.

Predicate $\text{PE}/\text{TE}/\text{NE}$

$\text{PW}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{M}}-\text{P}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}} \text{PE}$ "He is the son of God"

Cf. also Pattern 12.

Range of predicates: A rather wide range of predicates is compatible, at least with Pattern 4. Perhaps excluded are the zero article phrase and $\epsilon-\bar{\theta}\text{TP}\bar{\text{E}}-$. The personal independent (λNOK etc.) occurs only as an explanatory or evaluative predicate 293. For other patterns of $\lambda\text{NOK } \text{PE}$, see Patterns 9–11.

Interlaced composition. A modifier or other elaboration 257 of the predicate, or at least the last part of one, can occur in postponed position, at the end of the sentence after PE . E.g. $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}} \epsilon\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}-\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}} \epsilon-\text{M}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}-\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}$ ShIV 68:14–15 "As though they were idols that do not speak"; $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}-\text{M}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}$

ΔΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΑΓΔΑΛΗΝΗ Luke 24:10 “Now, there was Mary Magdalene.” Such an interweaving of predicate with πє is called interlace (hyperbaton); it is a compositional device. Cf. also 271.

266 Pattern 3: the unexpanded delocutive nominal sentence (endophoric πє)

Predicate πє/тє/нє

πϣωм πє “It’s summer” (ShIV 110:22)

Structure: πє as ‘endophoric’ subject pronoun, i.e. one that refers to an internal element within the pattern (the predicate). In this pattern variable πє, the subject, focusses attention on the predicate and agrees with it formally in number/(gender). (English translations typically employ impersonal “it is, it’s.”) This pattern is also a formative element of the cleft sentence 464, 470. Closely related is Pattern 12. Cf. also Pattern 9. In some occurrences of Pattern 3, πє introduces some person or thing into the actual line of discourse or into a story (English “There is/are”), like ογ̄н- 476. Cf. the presentative cleft sentence 462.

Negation: (м-)πϣωм аη πє

Conversion: Converter-Predicate πє. Preterit (only?) is attested.

Further examples: тєπρω тє ShIV 111:2 “It is winter”; тπαρаскеυη тє Mark 15:42 “It (was) Friday (the day of Preparation)”; кє-ϣтооϣ н-євот нє нтє-пωρ̄с̄ єī John 4:35 “There are four more months and the harvest comes”; οϣмн н-ноϣтє тє аϣω н-οϣмн н-ρωмє аη тє Acts 12:22 “It is a divine voice and not a human voice”; єіс-ωомтє ρ-ромпє πє єī-нноϣ єī-ϣиη нса-⁰кар-пос Luke 13:7 “Lo, these three years I have come seeking fruit”; мн̄нса-пмєρ-снаϣ Δє н-каταπετасμα тєскннн тє єтє-ϣαϣ-моϣтє єро-с хє-н-єт⁰-οϣααβ н-н-єт⁰-οϣααβ Heb 9:3 “And after the second curtain, there is the tabernacle that is called the Holies of the Holies”; н-аηок аη нматє πє аλλα аηок нм-пωт єηт-αϣ-таοϣο-єī John 8:16 “It is not a matter of Me alone, but of Me and the Father who sent Me.” *Conversion:* нє-οϣϣиη н-γ аη πє ShChass 169:37–39 “It would not be a scandal unto them”; нє-пнаϣ Δє πє н-хп̄-ωомтє Mark 15:25 “Now, it was the time of the third hour.”

267 Pattern 4: the unexpanded delocutive nominal sentence (anaphoric πє)

Predicate πє/тє/нє

πєηноϣтє πє “He is our God” (John 8:54)

Structure: In this pattern variable πє is ‘anaphoric’ (retrospective), i.e. refers back to some item outside of the present sentence, which has already been mentioned in the text. πє represents the outside item and agrees with it formally in number/(gender), e.g. сє-пиθє γαρ γα-ιϣωρ̄αηηηηс хє-

οϣпроф̄ηт̄с πє Luke 20:6 “For they think, as regards John, that he is a prophet.”

Negation: (м-)πєηноϣтє аη πє

Conversion: Converter-Predicate πє. Relative, circumstantial, and preterit occur.

Suppletion: The zero article phrase is predicated of the 3d person in the verbal constructions ο н- and ρ- 180(b), e.g. ϣ-ο н-⁰ноєік Matt 19:9 “He is an adulterer or is adulterous.”

Further examples: οϣρεϣ-ρ̄-⁰ноβє тє Luke 7:39 “She is a sinner”; мн̄ н-зєηαι-τοϣργικον аη м-п̄ηα т̄ηρ-οϣ нє Heb 1:14 “Pray tell, are they not all ministering spirits?”; аϣ βє πє павекє | хєκαас πє єī-єϣαγγєλιζε тα-ка-пєϣαγγєλιον нοϣєϣ н-⁰хо євоα єро-ϣ 1 Cor 9:18 “What is my reward? It is that, as I preach, I might present the gospel without its being paid for”; нθє м-п-єт⁰-на-б̄ω мн̄-т-єт̄οϣ-ō н-⁰ноєік єро-с πє ShChass 169:25–28 “He is like the man who will abide with an adulterous woman”; аηαϣ є-нєїωηє хє-зєηαϣ н-зє нє Mark 13:1 “Look at these stones, look how they are!”; οϣєвоα γ̄м-п̄ноϣтє тє John 7:17 “It is from God”; н-зєηєвоα аη γ̄м-п̄κοσμос нє John 17:14 “They are not of the world”; οϣπρος-⁰οϣοєіϣ πє Matt 13:21 “It is temporary (is something for a while).” *Conversions:* ηαϣαхє єтє-ηαι нє Matt 7:24 “These words of Mine (My words, which are these)”; ηєρ̄пєθ̄ηп . . . єтє-тєρ̄бom тє н-ϣα-єηєρ̄ мн̄-тєρ̄м̄ηт̄-ноϣтє Rom 1:20 “His secrets . . . which is His eternal power and His deity”; п-єтє-м̄-п̄ω-т̄η аη πє Luke 16:12 “That which is not yours”; п-єтє-п̄ω-ї аη πє ShChass 77:18–19 “What does not belong to me”; м̄-пєρ̄αстє Δє єтє-м̄н̄нса-тπαρаскеυη тє Matt 27:62 “Next day, that is, after the day of Preparation”; т̄βαϣор . . . єтє-н̄т̄ок πє п̄ζм̄γαλ м̄-п̄м̄мм̄ωηαс ShChass 38:35–39 “The fox . . . which means you, O servant of Mammon” (explanatory predicate 293); (ο)ϣρωмє . . . є-п̄αρχωη πє н̄-т̄с̄γ̄ηαγ̄ωγ̄η Luke 8:41 “A man . . . who (was) the ruler of the synagogue”; οϣμοοϣ є-м̄-п̄ω-к аη πє ShOr 155:42–44 “A water . . . which is not yours”; тєс̄ζиηє єт̄⁰-хω м̄мо-с хє-аηγ-οϣ̄п̄αρ̄єηос є-οϣєі аη тє ShAmél II 62:3–4 “The woman who says I am a virgin, even though she isn’t one”; н-єт̄⁰-хω м̄мо-с хє-аηон-зєηαпос-толос є-н̄-ρ̄οиηє аη нє Rev 2:2 “Those who call themselves apostles but are not (are not such)”; нє-οϣκοϣ̄і πє γ̄н̄-тєρ̄бот Luke 19:3 “He was small of stature (in his stature)”

πє WITH TWO OR THREE OTHER ELEMENTS (PATTERNS 5 TO 8)

268 *Pattern recognition.* Patterns 5 to 8 consist of three or four elements: a free 252 entity term (or other compatible term) as extraposed topic or as subject, another one as predicate, and variable and/or invariable πє in a mediating role. Additionally, Patterns 5b and 8 contain a third free element. (In the following models πє stands for πє/тє/нє and ‘Entity Term’ also includes entity statements.)

Pattern	Constituents	Analysis
5	Entity Term + Entity Term + πε	Topic Predicate πε
5a	Entity Term + Same + ον πε	Topic Predicate πε
5b	Entity Term + ἡτοϋ ἡτοϋ ον πε	Topic | Resumed Topic + Predicate πε
6	Entity Term + πε + Entity Term	Predicate πε Subject
6a	ανοκ + πε + Entity Term	Predicate πε Subject
7	Entity Term + πε + Entity Term	Subject πε Predicate
7a	ανοκ + πε + Entity Term	Subject πε Predicate
8	Entity Term + παῖ + πε + Entity Term	Topic | Resumed Topic πε Predicate

E.g.

- (5) πκαζ τηρῷ πω-ῖ πε Job 41:2 “The whole earth is Mine”
 (5a) πεκζρβ πεκζρβ ον πε ShChass 21:57–58 “Your form is unchangeable”
 (5b) ἰς πεχς . . . | ἡτοϋ ἡτοϋ ον πε Antiphonary and Hermeneiai, Antiphon for Feast of the Council of Nicea (Drescher, Apa Mena 176:1; Dep. 58) “As for Jesus Christ . . . He is the same”
 (6) πω-ῖ γαρ πε πκαζ τηρῷ Exod 19:5 “For the whole earth is Mine”
 (6a) ἡτοϋ πε πνοϋτε ShChass 84:11–12 “It is *He* who is God”
 (7) πκαζ πε πζγποποδιον ἡ-ναοϋερhte Acts 7:49 “The earth is the footstool of My feet”
 (7a) ανοκ πε τανασταςις John 11:25 “I am the resurrection”
 (8) πκοϋῖ νζητ-τηϋτῇ τηρ-τῇ | παῖ πε πνοῶ Luke 9:48 “The one who is least among all of you is the one who is great”

Patterns 6 and 7 both have the form

Entity Term πε Entity Term

and are formally distinguished, as patterns, only by opposite arrangements of predicate and subject. (There may also be a slight difference in the congruence of πε/τε/νε.)

Predicate πε Subject = Pattern 6

Subject πε Predicate = Pattern 7

The same is true of Patterns 6a and 7a.

ανοκ πε Subject = Pattern 6a

ανοκ πε Predicate = Pattern 7a

For these pairs, identification of predicate and subject is not signalled at the level of the individual sentence; rather, it is signalled within a larger unit of text that includes the preceding sentences with their ongoing argument or narrative and the way they present entities to the reader. It is in view of this larger constellation of signals that an entity term in Pattern 6/6a or 7/7a can be identified as being (i) the subject (theme) 247 if it expresses that which is relatively more familiar, presupposed, or given, or as being (ii) the predicate (rheme) if it expresses that which conveys new information about the subject under discussion. To the extent that ambiguity nevertheless remains, the ancient reader had to make a personal decision of how to interpret (perform) the sentence, reading it either as Pattern 6/6a or as Pattern 7/7a by choice.

General range of predicates: Taken as a whole, patterns in this group attest all types of predicate 286 except anaphoric ογα/ζοῖνε. However, it is not certain that every one of these patterns is compatible with all predicates.

General range of subjects/topics: Entity terms (including ⁰infinitive); entity statements; prepositional phrases expressing relationship.

269 *Congruence of πε/τε/νε in number/(gender).* When subject and predicate are definite and they differ in number/(gender), the selection of πε, τε, or νε fluctuates, in some clauses agreeing with one entity term and in other clauses with the other as though number/(gender) had no influence. Invariable πε also occurs (rarely), at least in Pattern 5.

270 *The referential function of πε/τε/νε differs in Patterns 5, 6, and 7* (Pattern 8 belongs with 7). In Pattern 5, invariable πε also occurs.

i. In Pattern 5 (272), πε/τε/νε is a subject pronoun, and it is *anaphoric* (retrospective) i.e. refers back to a preceding item, the extraposed topic 253. E.g. νεῖρωμε | ζεντοϋδαῖ νε “These men are Jews (These men, | they are Jews).” Here, within the two-member kernel statement, πε pronominally represents the extraposed topic: Extraposed Topic | Predicate + Subject Pronoun.

ii. In Pattern 6 (275), πε/τε/νε is a subject pronoun, and it is *cataphoric* (prospective) i.e. looks ahead to a following apposition, which is the subject made lexically explicit. E.g. πω-ῖ πε πκαζ “The earth is mine (Mine it-is, the earth).” Here, within the two-member kernel statement, πε heralds and anticipates the coming explicit subject: Predicate + Subject Pronoun | Explicit Subject in apposition.

iii. In Pattern 7 (277) and 8, πε/τε/νε is neither a subject pronoun nor does it cross-refer. Rather, it only signals nexus between subject and predicate (has ‘copular’ function, functions as a ‘copula’, signals union of subject and predicate): Subject + Copula + Predicate. The pattern cannot be reduced to a two-member kernel statement and a peripheral element. E.g. πεῖαποτ πε ται-αθηκη ἡ-βρρε 1 Cor 11:25 “This cup is the new covenant” (Subject + Copula + Predicate).

For *endophoric* πε (referring to an element within the pattern), cf. Patterns 3, 9, and 12. For *anaphoric* πε as a predicate pronoun, cf. Pattern 10.

271 *Interlaced composition (hyperbaton) in patterns 5, 6, and 7.* In Patterns 5 to 7, a modifier or other elaboration 257 can follow either entity term. Most simply, such a modifier comes immediately after its entity term. In other words, if we represent entity terms etc. by letters A and B (no matter whether extraposed topic, subject, or predicate) and their modifiers by *a* and *b*, the least complicated positions of the modifiers are

- Pattern 5 A a B b πε
 Pattern 6 A a πε B b
 Pattern 7 A a πε B b

However, a modifier or other elaboration (*a* or *b*) or the last part of one can also occur in postponed position, after πε—like part of a strand (A . . . *a*, or B . . . *b*) interwoven through the sentence pattern. This compositional device is called interlace (hyperbaton), and its simplest forms are

- Pattern 5 A B πε *a*
 and
 A B πε *b*
 Pattern 6 A πε a B
 and
 A πε B a
 Pattern 7 A πε a B
 and
 A πε B a

(with *a* and *b* as optional items).

E.g. (Pattern 5):

[A B πε *a*] παῖ οὔμε πε ντ-α⁰-χοο-*q* John 4:18 “This which you (sing. fem.) have said, is true”

[A B πε *b*] πεῖρωμε οὔωηρε πε ν-νοὔτε Mark 15:39 “This Man is a divine child”

(Pattern 6):

[A πε *a* B] γενπιστος, νε μ-μεριτ ν-ετ⁰-βολᾱ μ-πρω ετ-να-νογ-*q* 1 Tim 6:2 “Those who cleave to good work are faithful and beloved”

[A πε B *a*] ννου2 νε ναῖ ντ-αυ-σωλπ ShChass 150:3–4 “These are the ropes that broke”

(Pattern 7):

[A πε *a* B] κεφαλαιον δε πε ν-ν-ετν-χω μμο-οὔ οὔντα-ν μμαγ ν-οὔαρχιερεῦς ν-τεῖμινε Heb 8:1 “Now the point in what we are saying is that we have such a high priest”

[A πε B *a*] ποῖκ δε ετ-να-ταλ-*q* ανοκ πε τασαρ3 2λ-πων2 μ-πκοςμος John 6:51 “And the bread that I Myself shall give for the life of the world is My flesh”

272 Pattern 5: extraposed topic with Pattern 4

Extraposed Topic | *Predicate* πε/τε/νε

νεῖρωμε | γενῖοῦσαι νε “These men are Jews” (Acts 16:20)
 (These men, | they are Jews)

Structure: entity term (or other compatible item **268**) + Pattern 4. I.e. extraposed topic **253** + kernel statement, forming two rhetorical units. The pronominal subject morph πε/τε/νε often agrees with the predicate in number/(gender). Rarely, invariable πε occurs (2 Cor 3:2, cited below).

Negation: νεῖρωμε (ν-)γενῖοῦσαι αν νε. Negative ν- (if present) is prefixed to the predicate.

Conversion. Two patterns. (i) Preterit: *Extraposed Topic* | *Converter-Predicate* πε; (ii) circumstantial or preterit: *Converter-Extraposed Topic* | *Predicate* πε.

Further examples: τενεπιστολη ντωτῇ πε (collated) 2 Cor 3:2 “Our letter is you”; ναῖ δε ταρχη τε ν-νναακε Mark 13:8 “These amount to (*literally* is) the beginning of the birth pangs”; αγαθον νιμ νογ-*q* νε ShIII 72:8 “All good things are His”; νεκωαχε μν-νεκτω τηρ-οὔ γενμε νε | νογ-ει δε γενβολ νε ShIII 141:14–15 “All your words and your commandments are true, but mine are false”; πεχc ic πε Acts 17:3 “The Christ is Jesus”; μμελος δε τηρ-οὔ μ-πσωμα 2α2 νε 1 Cor 12:12 “All the members of the body are many”; ντωτῇ δε ντεῖζε αν τε Luke 22:26 “But you are not thus”; ε-⁰2μοος δε νσαοῦναμ μμο-ι η σα2βοῦρ μμο-ι μ-πωῖ αν πε ε-⁰ταλ-*q* Mark 10:40 “But sitting on My right or on My left is not Mine to bestow”; πεῖπιθε ν-ογεβολ αν πε 2μ-πτω2μ μ-πεχc ShEnch 79:46–49 “This persuasion does not come from Christ’s ordination”; τεινο6 ν-αωρεα ογεβολ 2ιτμ-πνοῦτε τε αῶ ογεβολ 2ιτν-⁰ρωμε αν τε ShIII 107:17–18 “This great gift is from God and not from human beings”; πενωοῦωοῦ γαρ παῖ πε τμῆτ-μῆτρε ν-τενσῦνιαης 2 Cor 1:12 “For our boast is *this*, the testimony of our conscience”; πcβε οὔλααῦ πε 1 Cor 7:19 “Circumcision is of no importance”; ντοq γαρ αῶ πεγειωτ οὔα νε ShGué 17a:2 “For He and His father are one”; π-ετ-να-τ-⁰π ερω-*q* ντοq πε Mark 14:44 “As for the one whom I kiss, it is He.” *Conversions*: (i) τπετρα γαρ νε-πεχc πε ShIII 51:28 “For the rock was Christ”; ντοq δε νε-οὔσαμαριτς πε Luke 17:16 “Now he was a Samaritan”; βαρabbas δε νε-ῦσοone πε John 18:40 “Now, Barabbas was a robber”; (ii) πεοοῦ να-κ εβολ 2ιτν-νεκ2βηγε τηρ-οὔ ντοκ αῶ πεκωηρε ετ⁰-смамаат ε-νεκ2βηγε νογ-*q* νε αῶ ε-ноγ-*q* νε ноγ-к ShWess 9 129:17–25 “Glory to You from all your works—to You and to Your blessed son, *for Your works are His and His are Yours*”; νε-τεγειοπε τω-οὔ τε Acts 18:3 “His trade was the same as theirs”

273 Pattern 5a: predicate of unchanging identity in Pattern 5

Entity Term | Same Entity Term *ον πε/τε/νε*
πισατανας | *πισατανας ον πε*
 “Satan is always the same” (ShAmél II 290:8)
 (Satan, I he is again Satan)

Structure (a subpattern of 5): extraposed topic + repeated entity term + *ον* + *πε/τε/νε*. The repetition of the extraposed topic as predicate and the presence of *ον* ‘again, still’ express unchangeableness, ‘always the same’. For an extraposed topic expanded by 5a, cf. Pattern 5b.

Negation: ?

Conversion: Converter-Extraposed Topic | Predicate *ον πε*. Relative and circumstantial (only?) are attested.

Further examples: *πεκζρβ πεκζρβ ον πε* ShChass 21:57–58 “Your form is unchangeable”; *ντοκ δε ντοκ ον πε* *αγω νεκ-ρομπε να-ωχν αν* Ps 101(102):27 “But Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail” *σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ*.
Conversions: *ντειζε ον τοργη ν-να-τοργη ετε-ντοου ντοου ον νε ν-ετθ-κω ν-ρτη-γ ε-ρενειδωλον ν-δαμονιον* (collated) ShGué 163b:40–42 “Likewise, let there be anger for those who belong to anger and who are always the same—they who trust in demonic graven images [sic]”; (*The sun returns*) *νq-ογωνε εβολ ντοq ντοq* (i.e. *ε-ντοq ντοq*) *ον πε ρμ-πεφογοειν* ShIII 31:9–10 “... and reappears, being ever the same in its light”

274 Pattern 5b: extraposed topic with Pattern 5a

νσοβτ δε | *ντοου ντοου ον πε*
 “Now, walls are always the same” (ShChass 143:20–22)
 (Walls, I them, I they are again them)

Structure (a subpattern of 5a, but with invariable *πε*): entity term + 3d personal independent + repeated personal independent + *ον* + *πε* (invariable). This is a complex pattern:

Greater Topic + (Lesser Topic + Lesser Kernel Statement)
 Greater Kernel Statement

The ‘greater’ extraposed topic 253 is an entity term with lexical content. The ‘lesser’ topic is a grammatical (non-lexical) morph (*ντοq/ντος/ντοου*) that represents and refers back to the greater topic, agreeing in number/(gender) (*νσοβτ* ... *ντοου*). The pronominal subject morph *πε* is (in the recorded examples) invariable; it refers back to *ντοq/ντος/ντοου* but does not express number or gender. *πε* is invariable, unlike Pattern 5a.

Negation and conversion: ?

Further examples: *ις πεχς νσαq μν-ποου ντοq ντοq ον πε* Antiphonary and Hermeneiai, Antiphon for Feast of the Council of Nicea (Drescher, Apa Mena 176:1; Dep. 58) “As for Jesus Christ, yesterday and today He is the same”; *νεκωαδε μν-νεκεντολη ντοου ντοου ον πε χινν-ωορπ ωαζραι ε-τενοy αγω ωα-εμεz* ShAmél II 290:6–7 “As for Your words and Your commandments, they are unchanging from the beginning down till now and unto eternity”; *νεqρβηγε αγω νεqτωω χινν-ωορπ ντοου ντοου ον πε* ShIII 42:22–23 “Since the beginning, His deeds and commandments have been the same”

275 Pattern 6: explicit subject expanding *πε*

Predicate πε/τε/νε Explicit Subject

οyme πε πνοyτε “God is true” (John 3:33)
 (True is He, God)
ογυπη δε ν-τεqμααy πε ογυηρε ν-αθнт Prov 10:1
 “A foolish son is a grief to his mother”
 (A grief to his mother is he, a foolish son)

Structure: a two-member pattern (cf. Patterns 3 and 4) expanded by an entity term or other compatible subject 268 in apposition to *πε* and making it lexically explicit (*‘explicit subject’*). The explicit subject does not form a distinct rhetorical unit. Here *πε* is cataphoric 270 (prospective), i.e. refers ahead and heralds the coming explicit subject. For sentences in which the explicit subject is an entity statement (e.g. *ωλοq πε θχοο-γ* ShAmél I 228:7 “To speak of them amounts to disgrace itself”), cf. chapter 22. Invariable *πε* also occurs.

Negation: (*ν-*)*οyme αν πε πνοyτε*

Conversion: Converter-Predicate *πε Explicit Subject*. Relative, circumstantial, and preterit occur.

Further examples: *οyσωμα ν-οyωτ πε ανον τηρ-ν* I Cor 10:17 “All of us are one single body”; *οyα πε πνοyτε* Rom 3:30 “God is one”; *τωote μ-πχοεις πε ωι cнаy* Prov 20(LXX 23):17 “A double weight is the Lord’s abomination”; *οyκροq δε τε ттаpro ν-наceвнc* Prov 12:6 “The words of the ungodly are crafty”; *οyтако δε νε νεzιοoye ν-μπαpаномос* Prov 13:15 “The ways of the lawless amount to destruction”; *та-ним те тееizικων нм-неicзаi* Mark 12:16 “Whose is this likeness and these inscriptions?”; *ν-οyсарξ ν-οyωт an те capξ ним* I Cor 15:39 “All flesh is not a single (kind of) flesh”; *zeneβiηn δε on νε pμmao ним ν-αт-θна* ShRossi II 3 75b:31–33 “Moreover, all stingy rich persons are poor”; *οyαω μ-μине πε παi* Matt 8:27 “What sort of Man is this?”; *zenoye νε nenωi* ShIII 107:24 “What are our capacities?”; *αγω кемкаz нзнт πε παi нzoγo ннаzрн-н-ент-αy-наy еρω-тн eneз* ShAmél I 462:5–6 “And this is just one more great cause of pain for those who have at any moment seen you”; *πeнpooyω an πε θzωв н-τειze* ShIII 83:24–5 “Such things are no concern of ours”; *ним те таi* ShChass 121:9–10 “Who is this?”; *iωzανннc πε пeqpan* Luke 1:63 “His name is John”; *nee ν-οyωπнpe*

πε πεκραν Ps 8:9 (8:10 Budge) "How wonderful (*Like* a wonder) is Thy name"; εβολ
 ριτν-ουρωμε ον πε πτωοyn n-н-ετ⁰-μοοyт 1 Cor 15:21 "The resurrection of
 the dead is also by a man"; nөө an ριτм-πιογα ενт-αq-р-⁰novе πε πετμαειο
 Rom 5:16 "The justification is not as by the one who sinned"; ⁰ωλοq πε ⁰χοο-γ l
⁰ωπe πε ⁰сωтм ερο-οy ShAmel I 228:7 "To speak of them amounts to disgrace
 itself, to hear of them amounts to shame itself"; οy δε πε αq-βωκ ερρā Eph 4:9
 "What does 'He ascended' mean?" *Conversions*: naceвнc namе етe-zenвote
 м-пхоeиc ne neγziоoye ShIV 10:14-15 "The really impious ones, whose ways are
 abominations unto the Lord"; παї етe-n-ноy-q an ne necooy John 10:12 "He
 whose own the sheep are not"; ⁰ρωme ε-zenπpαziс знм ne neqzвнye ShIV 25:4
 "People whose works are little activities"; εωπe ε-γpмn-ноyтe πε oγa John
 9:31 "If any one is a worshipper of God"; namе ne-пwhpe m-пnoyтe πε παi
 Matt 27:54 "Truly, this was the Son of God"; ne-пcαββαтon δε πε πεzooy εт⁰-
 mмаγ John 5:9 "Now that day was the sabbath"; ne-п-εт⁰-mмаγ an πε ποyoiн
 John 1:8 "He was not the light"

276 Pattern 6a: the personal independent in predicate focus within Pattern 6

ανοκ πε *Explicit Subject*

(Predicate πε *Explicit Subject*)

ανοκ πε ποyoiн m-пκοcмoc

"It is I who am the light of the world" (John 8:12)

(I it is, the light of the world)

Structure (a subpattern of 6): In this pattern, the predicate is a personal independent (ανοκ etc.). This forms the logical inversion of Patterns 1 and 4, by focussing upon the personal element of the nexus. E.g.

(Pattern 1) an-поyoiн m-пκοcмoc John 9:5 "I am the light of the world"

(Pattern 6a) ανοκ πε ποyoiн m-пκοcмoc John 8:12 "It is I who am the light of the world"

(Pattern 4) πnoyтe πε ShChass 66:17-18 "He (the aforementioned Christ) is God"

(Pattern 6a) nтоq πε πnoyтe ShChass 84:11-12 "It is He who is God"

In the examples on record, only the sing. masc πε occurs. This pattern might be analyzed as Pattern 9 (281) + explicit subject.

Negation and conversion: ?

277 Pattern 7: the ternary nominal sentence (copular πε)

Subject πε/те/не Predicate

πεїaπot πε тaиaөнкн m-вppe

"This cup is the new covenant" (1 Cor 11:25)

Structure: entity term (or other compatible subject 268) + copula 270 + entity term (or other compatible predicate 268). Not analyzable into kernel statement and peripheral element. Copular πε signals nexus and does not cross-refer 270.

Negation: (m-)πεїaπot an πε тaиaөнкн m-вppe. The negator an precedes the copula and predicate and negates the nexus as such. (E.g. m-пwoрп an πε πεπneγμαтiкon αλλα πεψγхиκon 1 Cor 15:46 "The first [man] is not the spiritual one but the animate one"; mн m-пai an πε пwhpe m-пzαm-ωe Matt 13:55 "Pray tell, is this Man not the son of the carpenter?")

Conversion: Converter-Subject πε Predicate. Relative, circumstantial, and preterit occur.

Further examples: παї πε пcωma 1 Cor 11:24 "This is My body"; тcωωe πε пκοcмoc Matt 13:38 "The phrase 'the field' is (stands for) the world"; πεбpoб δε ет-nanoy-q ne nwhpe n-тmнт-epo Matt 13:38 "The 'good seed' means the children of the kingdom"; тпeтpa δε ne nαι ε-ωaγ-сωтm Luke 8:13 "And 'the rock' means those who listen"; nαι ne твa n-χοeит cнтe Rev 11:4 "These are the two olive trees"; пеклom n-nzλλo πε nwhpe (i.e. zenwhpe) n-⁰whpe Prov 17:6 "The crown of the elderly is grandchildren"; nzoq мен ет⁰-cωωe ziχm-пkaз ne zeλλhн nim ShChass 139:32-35 "Now, the snakes creeping on the ground stand for all Greeks"; πεyноyтe πε знт-οy Phil 3:19 "Their god is their belly"; пwoрп πε cиmωn Matt 10:2 "The first one is Simon"; neqсннy πε iαkwвoc mн-iωcнc mн-cиmωn mн-ioyaaс Matt 13:55 "His brothers are James and Josеs and Simon and Jude"; ποyноq n-naikaic πε p-пzαп Prov 21:15 "The joy of the just is to do judgement"; тaзpe ανοκ тe xekac eei-e-ειpe m-поyωω m-п-ент-αq-таoγo-ει John 4:34 "My own food is to do the will of Him who sent Me"; m-пxωк an m-пnoмoc πε tм-р-⁰anaω n-ноyх . . . αλλα пxωк εβολ m-пnoмoc πε tм-р-⁰anaω ε-птнр-q ShIII 66:17-20 "The fulfillment of the Law does not consist in not swearing falsely . . . but rather, the fulfillment of the Law consists in not swearing at all"; παї δε πε ε-тpeн-cлcл-neпepнy Rom 1:12 "And this means for us to encourage one another"; пwoγωoy n-тeнmиne n-⁰ρωme πε oyмнт-знke aγω ε-⁰tм-р-⁰maї-⁰zomт ShChass 98:43-48 "The boast of our kind of people is poverty and not being greedy"; тwoрп тe cωтm пic-pana пxoic пeнnoyтe пxoic oγa πε Mark 12:29 "The first (commandment) is, Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord, is one"; пкeφaλaiον δε πε n-n-εтн-xω mmo-oy oyнтa-n mмаγ n-oyαρχиepεyc n-тeимиne Heb 8:1 "Now the point in what we are saying is that we have such a high priest"; тeпpō тe xe-n-ce-noei an n-пeгpaфн ShEnch 79:31-33 "Winter means that they do not understand the scriptures"; oyαnomia γap нн-тн тe xe-εтeтн-czai-coy ShIII 26:4 "For, it is a transgression for you to even write them"; nтeйze on πε avpaзam mн-icaak mн-iaкow ShChass 75:44-46 "Such also is the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob"; m-пекpooy an πε za-aaγ Matt 22:16 "You care for no man (Your care is not for anyone)"; пixoeic γap n-oyωт πε mmo-oy тнр-oy Rom 10:12 "The same Lord belongs to all"; neγμεpиc ne нөө ет⁰-cнz xe-ce-na-ωωπε n-⁰то n-⁰baωoop ShIII 47:19-20 "Their portions are as written, They shall be portions for foxes (Ps 62[63]:10)." *Conversions*: тпapacкeγн . . . етe-παї πε

ζα-τεζη ᾱ-πσавбатон Mark 15:42 “Friday (the day of Preparation), which is before the sabbath”; π-ετε-περβονθος πε πνουτε ν-ιακωβ Ps 145(146):5 “He whose helper is the God of Jacob”; ᾱτοκ αγω ν-ετ^θ-ρητ εзраϊ νμμα-κ ετε-νεκκαρπος ᾱ-ποννηρον νε νοу-оу αγω νοу-оу νε νοу-κ ShP 130²109v:12-18 “You and those who flourish along with you, to whom your wicked fruits belong, just as theirs belong to you”; (ο)γρωμε . . . ε-πεφραν πε μαθθαιος Matt 9:9 “A man . . . whose name (was) Matthew”; νε-τευτεχνη гар πε ^θρεφ--ταμιε-^θскυνη Acts 18:3 “For their occupation was tentmaker”

278 Pattern 7a: personal independent as subject in Pattern 7

ανок πε/τε/νε *Predicate of Identification*
(*Subject πε Predicate*)

ανок πε гавриηλ “I am Gabriel” (Luke 1:19)

Structure (a subpattern of 7): personal independent (ανок etc.) + πε/τε/νε + predicate of identification (proper name, identifying epithet, personal independent), expressing an important announcement of identity. I.e. subject + copula + predicate. (With 1st and 2d personal independents as subject, this pattern supplies predications excluded in Patterns 1 and 2 [260(iv)].)

Negation and conversion: ?

Further examples: *Proper name as predicate* ανок τε ρουθ Ruth 3:16 “I am Ruth”; ᾱτοκ πε πετροс Matt 16:18 “You are Peter”; *article phrase as predicate* ανок πε πνουτε ᾱ-αβραζαμ πνουτε ᾱ-ισαακ πνουτε ᾱ-ιακωβ Matt 22:32 “I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob”; ᾱτοκ πε παωρηε παμεριτ Mark 1:11 “You are My Son, My beloved”; ᾱτοκ πε πεχс Matt 16:20 “He (was) the Christ”; ανок τε (textual var. πε) тесμη ᾱ-п-ετ^θ-ωω εβολ ρι-пχαїе John 1:23 “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness”; анок пе тапастасїс αγω πωηζ John 11:25 “I am the resurrection and the life”; анок пе твω н-ελοοε ᾱ-με John 15:1 “I am the true vine”; *personal independent as predicate* ανон πε нтоқ ShIII 22:18 “We and he are as one (We are him)”

279 Pattern 8: extraposed topic with Pattern 7

Extraposed Topic | παї πε/τε/νε *Predicate*
(*Topic* | *Subject πε/τε/νε Predicate*)

пкоуї нзнт-тнүтн тнр-тн | παї πε πноб

“The one who is least among all of you is the greatest one” (Luke 9:48)
(The least among you all, | this is the great one)

Structure: entity term + παї/ταї/ναї (or ᾱτοқ/ᾱтос/ᾱтооу) + copula + Predicate; i.e. extraposed topic 253 + kernel statement. Forms two rhetorical units. Within the kernel statement (subject πε predicate), the subject (παї or

ᾱтоқ) is a pronoun that represents and refers back to the extraposed topic, agreeing with it in number/(gender).

Negation and conversion: ?

Further examples: π-ετ^θ-на-εїре гар ᾱ-поуωω ᾱ-пноуτε | παї πε псон αγω тасωне αγω тамаау Mark 3:35 “For whoever does the will of God, this one is My brother and My sister and My mother”; π-ετ^θ-ннү де ᾱтоқ εβολ ριτм-про | ᾱтоқ πε πωωс ᾱ-несооу John 10:2 “But he who goes through the door, he is the shepherd of the sheep”; оуон гар нїм аη εηт-ау-εї εβολ ρм-пїсrah | наї не пїсrah Rom 9:6 “For not all who are descended from Israel are Israel”

SPECIAL PATTERNS OF анок пе (PATTERNS 9 TO 11)

280 Pattern recognition. Patterns 9 to 11 consist of two elements: a personal independent (анок etc.) followed by πε/(τε/νε). (Because of small documentation, the variableness of πε is open to doubt in Pattern 9; πε is invariable in 10, but variable in 11.)

Pattern	Constituents	Analysis
9	анок пе “It is I”	Predicate + Subject
10	анок пе “I am he, I am such”	Subject + Predicate
11	анок пе “I am someone important”	(?) + (?)

Patterns 9 and 10 are formally distinguished, as patterns, only by opposite arrangements of predicate and subject. Identification of predicate and subject is not signalled at the level of the individual sentence; rather, within a larger unit of text to which the pattern belongs, cf. 268.

Apart from these three patterns, анок пе (presumably with variable πε) also occurs in Patterns 3, 4, and 12. E.g. ᾱ-анок аη ᾱмате πε алаа анок нм-пїωт εηт-ақ-таоуо-εї John 8:16 “It is not a matter of Me alone, but of Me and the Father who sent Me”; твaωop . . . ете-ᾱток πε пзмзаᾱ ᾱ-пмаммонас ShChass 38:35-39 “The fox . . . which means you, O servant of Mammon” (explanatory predicate 293).

281 Pattern 9: анок пе “It is I” (endophoric πε)

анок (etc.) πε
(Predicate + Subject)
“It is I/It’s me,” French *c’est moi*

Structure: πε as endophoric 266 subject pronoun as in Pattern 3 (тепрω те “It is winter”). This pattern occurs in *dialogue*. It announces the speaker’s identity, either to answer (or cut off) an unexpressed question of identity (such as “Who’s that?” “Who’s there?” “What are we looking at?”—Answer, “It is I!”) or to correct a misimpression of identity (“It’s a ghost!”—Answer,

“No, it’s me!”). Recorded examples of this pattern occur as discourse spoken by a single male speaker, and thus do not indicate whether *πε* is invariable or variable; accordingly, this may be a subpattern of Pattern 3 (with variable *πε/τε/νε*). (English translations typically employ impersonal “It is . . .”). Closely related is Pattern 12.

Negation and conversion: ?

Examples: *αγ-ναγ ε-ις εφ-μοωψε ριχ-θαλασσα . . . αγ-αγ-ρ-ροτε . . . | πεχα-γ να-γ γε-ανок πε | μπρ-ρ-ροτε* John 6:19–20 “They saw Jesus walking on the sea . . . And they were afraid. He said to them, *It is I*; do not be afraid”; *ντερογ-ναγ δε ερο-γ . . . αγ-ωτορτρ εγ-χω μο-с γε-οуφантаσμα πε αγ-εвоλ ρη-εοτε αγ-χι-ωκακ εвоλ | ντεуноу δε αq-ψαхе нма-γ εq-χω μο-с γε-τωκ ρηт | анок πε | μπρ-ρ-ροτε | αq-οуωψε δε να-г нби-петрос . . . γε-пхоεις εψхе-нток πε оуεr-сазне на-г ε-тра-ει ψаро-к ριχ-н-мооу* Matt 14:26–28 “But when they saw Him . . . they were terrified, saying, It is a ghost! And they cried out for fear. But immediately He spoke to them, saying, Take heart, *it is I*; have no fear. And Peter answered Him, Lord, if *it is indeed You*, bid me come to You on the water”

282 Pattern 10: *анок πε* “I am he, I am such” (anaphoric predicate *πε*)

анок (etc.) *πε* (invariable)

(Subject + Predicate)

“I am he, I am such, So I am,” French *je le suis*

Structure: *πε* as invariable, yet anaphoric, predicate pronoun. *πε* refers back to a previously mentioned name or epithet of *definite* determination status. This pattern occurs both in (i) dialogue, to confirm one’s identity in response to a question (“Are you *Azael*?”—Answer, “I am *he*”) and in (ii) exposition, to identify the subject with a previously mentioned type of entity (“We should be called the children of God. And so we are”).

The pattern that refers back to an *indef.* epithet is *ант-оуа/оуе/зоїне* 289 in Patterns 1 and 2 and *оуа πε* etc. 267 in Pattern 4. E.g. *зен-зевраиос не | ант-оуа зω-ο* 2 Cor 11:22 “Are they Hebrews? So am I (I am *one*, also).”

Negation: *н-анок ан πε*

Conversion: *Converter- анок πε*. Relative and circumstantial (only?) are attested. (Relative *п-ετε-нтоq πε* “Whoever or Whatever he may be.”)

Examples: (i) *dialogue*, *αγ-χноу-г δε γε-нток πε ρηλiас αγ-πεχα-г γε-н-анок ан πε* John 1:21 “They asked Him, Are You *Elijah*? He said, *I am not he*”; *πεχα-с на-г нби-тесzиме γε-εне-нток πε iωав | πεχα-г γε-анок πε* 2 Sam 20:17 “The woman said to him, Art thou *Joab*? and he said, *I am he*”; (ii) *exposition*, *πεχα-γ δε τηр-оу γε-нток πε пωhre м-пноуτε | нтоq δε πεχα-г на-γ γε-нτωтн ететн-χω нмос γε-анок πε* Luke 22:70 “And they all said, Are You the Son of God, then? And He said to them, You yourselves say

that *I am He*”; *нτωтн тетн-моуτε еро-εї γε-псаz αγ-пхоεις αγ-καλως тетн-χω нмо-с | анок гар πε* John 13:13 “You call Me teacher and Lord; and you are right, for *so I am*”; *αq-οуωψε . . . γε-п-ент-αq-сωп н-теqбix нма-г ρη-тхн παι петн-на-парадаиоу нмо-г . . . αq-οуωψε δε нби-иоуδас . . . γε-мнтi анок πε ρраbbei* Matt 26:23–25 “He answered, He who has dipped his hand in the dish with Me, will betray Me . . . Judas answered . . . , *Am I the one*, Master? (Am I *he*, Master?)”; *α-пноуτε тоунос м-пінл м-псωτηr ιс . . . iωzanhс δε . . . neq-χω нмо-с πε . . . γε-αzрw-тн тетн-мееуе еро-г γε-анок πε | н-анок ан πε | αλλα ειсzнhte q-ннy мннсw-г* Acts 13:23–25 “God raised up to Israel a Savior, Jesus . . . And John . . . said . . . , Why do you suppose that *I am He*? I am not He. But look, He is coming after me”; *γε-εуе-моуте еро-н γε-нωhre м-пноуτε αγ-анон πε* 1 John 3:1 “That we should be called the children of God; and *so we are*”; *καιτοι εγ-χω нмо-с γε-тапе н-тесzиме πε песzаї αγ-нтоq наме πε* (sic) ShOr 157:25–30 “For it is said that the head of a woman is her husband (1 Cor 11:3); and *so he is*.” **Conversions:** *зенωhre ωнн п-ετε-нтоq πε ρηт-оу εψωπε оуzнке πε н оурmmao* Ruth 3:10 (ed. Shier) “Young men, *whatever any of them might be*, whether poor or rich”; *таї те ое е-ψак-тауе-оeиу н-зaz н-соп хинм-пαιων ρη-н-ετε-ноу-к не γε-εан те е-нтос ан πε* ShChass 22:58–23:7 “Likewise, many times from of old, you have been wont to announce among your people that it is the end (Pattern 3), whereas *it was not* (Pattern 10)”

283 Pattern 11: *анок πε* “I am someone important”

анок (etc.) *πε/τε/(не?)*

“I am someone important”

Structure: Uncertain. This pattern, in which *πε* is presentative, announces self-importance; it usually occurs in reported discourse imbedded within *narrative*, where the narrator employs a derogatory tone.

Negation: *анок ан πε*

Conversion: ?

Examples: *αq-τωоyn нби-оeутас εq-χω нмо-с еро-г γε-анок πε* Acts 5:36 “Theudas arose, giving himself out to be somebody important (saying I am someone important)”; *εвол δε ρη-н-ет-χω нмо-с γε-анон πε* Gal 2:6 “From those who were reputed to be something (who said We are ones who are important)”; *γε-εуе-таа-г еzраї е-тбix н-таї етоу-мееуе еро-с γε-нтос πε | αγ-εψωπε нтос ан πε αλλα таї нтос tent-ас-еи е-θχι тоте е-тρε-тн-кω еzраї м-п-ет-о н-ноб н пет-соп* (collated) ShP 130²98r:28–98v:9 “So that they might put it (food) into the hand of the woman whom they consider to be someone important. But even if she is not really someone important, nevertheless, for her part, it is she who has come to be served and, furthermore, to have you dish out the larger or choicer portion”; *с-мееуе гар еро-с γε-анок те нби-т-ете-мнтс-пpaxic е-γλαау те* Athanasius of Alexandria, Epistle on Virginitу 3 (First Pseudo-Clementine Epistle On Virginitу 3) [Lefort 255:28–29] “For, the one who has no good deeds thinks, I am someone important, while in fact she is of no account”

EXTENSION OF CLEFT SENTENCE PATTERN 1

284 Pattern 12: extension of cleft sentence Pattern 1 (464, 467)

Focal Point + πε/τε/νε (or invariable πε)

ἮΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ-ΝΕΥ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ | ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΝΕ

“It was not Jesus who baptized; rather, it was His disciples who were doing so (i.e. ΝΕ-ΝΕΥ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) (John 4:2)

Related closely to Patterns 3 and 9, which contain endophoric 266 πε focussing attention on the predicate.

Structure: entity term + πε. (Both variable and invariable πε occur.) Follows and depends upon a preceding cleft sentence 464, whose topic element (a relative clause) this pattern presupposes. Thus

Focal Point πε-Relative Clause (cleft sentence)

followed by

Focal Point πε (nominal sentence Pattern 12)

Pattern 12 can also extend other kinds of sentence; e.g. ΜΗ-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΝΑ-Ω-ΘΙ ΖΑ-ΠΕΙΩΑΧΕ | ΑΛΛΑ Ν-ΕΝΤ-ΑΥ-ΤΑΑ-Σ ΝΑ-Υ ΝΕ (i.e. ΝΕ-ΕΤ^θ-ΝΑ-Ω-ΘΙ) Matt 19:11 “Not all can bear this saying; rather, it is those to whom it has been given who can do so.”

Negation and conversion: like cleft sentence Pattern 1

Range of focal points and congruence of πε: like cleft sentence Pattern 1

Further examples: ἮΝ-ΟΥΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΑΝ Ἦ-ΒΡΕ ΤΕ†-ΣΖΑΙ ΜΜΟ-Σ ΝΗ-Τῆ | ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ Ἦ-ΑΣ ΤΕ 1 John 2:7 “It is not a new commandment that I am writing to you; rather, it is the old cōmmandment (that I am writing);” Ἦ-ΠΕΥΘΒΟΙ ΑΝ ΠΕΝΤ-ΑΦ-ΤΟΥΧΟ-ΟΥ | ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΚΟΥΝΑΜ ΤΕ Μῆ-ΠΕΚΒΟΙ Ps 43(44):3 “It is not their own arm that delivered them; rather, it is Your right hand and Your arm (that did so);” Ν-ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΠ-Τ ΕΡΟ-Φ | ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΝΤ-ΑΦ-ΤΝΝΟΥ-Τ ΠΕ Mark 9:37 “It is not Me that he will receive; rather, it is the One who sent Me (that he will receive);” ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΝΕΤ^θ-ΗΠ Ε-ΘΡ-ΘΝΗΣΤΙΑ | ἮΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΜΕ ΝΕ ShChass 102:46-50 “It is the monks who should fast; it is really they (who should);” ΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ Ἦ-ΟΥῆΤΗΘ ΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ Ἦ-ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΑΝ ΤΕΝΤ-ΑΣ-ΤΑΛΘΟ-ΟΥ | ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΚΩΑΧΕ ΠΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΤ^θ-ΤΟΥΧΟ Ἦ-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ Wis 16:12 “For it was neither herb nor drug that cured them: but it was Your word, which heals all, (that did), O Lord” (with ΕΤ^θ-ΤΟΥΧΟ modifying ΠΕΚΩΑΧΕ). After interrogative cleft sentences: ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝΤ-ΑΦ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-ΟΥ Ν-ΘΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Μ-ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ Ν-ΘΥΑΖ Ν-ΣΑΤΕ | ΜΗ ΝΤΟΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΙΩΤ ShOrig 309 (Orlandi 22:13-14) “Who made them spiritual angels and made his servants flames of fire? Pray tell, was it not He and His Father (who did so)?”; ΝΙΜ ΠΕ-ΝΤ-ΑΦ-Ρ-ΘΝΟΒΕ | ΠΑΙ ΠΕ | Χῆ-ΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΕ John 9:2 “Who is it that sinned? Is it this man (who did)? Or is it his parents (who did)?”; ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝΤ-ΑΦ-ΑΑ-Σ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ | ... ΜΗ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ ShOrig 357 (Orlandi 32:12-13) “Who is it that made it be this way? ... Pray tell, is it not you (that did)?”;

ΕΝΕ-ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΝΑΜΕ ... ΝΕΤ^θ-ΗΠ Ε-ΘΡ-ΘΝΗΣΤΙΑ | Χῆ-ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ShChass 103:31-38 “Is it really the monks ... who ought to fast? Or it is you (who ought to)?”; ΝΙΜ ΠΕ-ΝΤ-ΑΦ-ΧΩΖ ΕΡΟ-Τ ... | Ἦ-ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝ ΝΕ Luke 8:45 (in dialogue) “Who was it that touched me?— ... Not us (It is not we who did so)”

INVARIABLE ΠΕ IN OTHER TYPES OF SENTENCE

285 Invariable πε occurs with some other types of sentence, especially preterit clauses; but not as an essential pattern constituent. Here, the category or structure optionally signalled by πε, the motivation for its use, and the conditions of its occurrence are at present unknown. These occurrences of πε may be somehow related to nominal sentence structure. Like the other enclitics, πε tends to come early in the sentence. E.g.

- (a) With the preterit conversion, cf. 438 (very frequent): ΝΕΥ-ΩΛΗ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥ-ΣΜΟΥ Ε-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Acts 16:25 “They were praying and blessing God”; ΝΕΡΕ-ΠΕΦΝΟΒ ΔΕ Ἦ-ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ Ζῆ-ΤΣΩΩΕ Luke 15:25 “Now his elder son was in the field”; ΝΕ-ΑΥ-ΑΪΔΕΙ ΠΕ Ζῆ-ΝΕΥΖΟΟΥ Luke 1:7 “They were advanced in years (had become great in their days)”; ΝΕ-ΝΕΣΩ-Φ ΠΕ Ζῆ- (i.e. ΕΖΡῆ-) ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Acts 7:20 “He was beautiful before God.”
- (b) With the main statement of a conditional sentence or equivalent (infrequent):
 - (i) future (ΝΑ-), ΕΝΩΑΝ-ΟΥΩΖ ΑΝΟΝ ΕΤΟΟΤ-Ἦ Ε-ΘΣΩΤῆ ΟΝ Ε-ΤΕΣΜΗ Ἦ-ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ Τῆ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥΟΥ ΠΕ Deut 5:25 “If we hear the voice of the Lord our God anymore, then we shall die”; (ii) optative, ΕΩΧΕ-Α-ΤΑΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΡΙΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ-ΤΕΦΖῆ ΕΩΧΕ-Α-ΠΑΖΗΤ ΟΥΑΖ-Φ ἮΣΑ-ΠΑΒΑΛ ΕΩΧΕ-ΑΪ-ΧΩΖ ΔΕ Ε-ΘΑΩΡΟΝ Ζῆ-ΝΑΒΙΧ ΕΪΕ-ΧΟ ἮΤΩΟΥΝ ΠΕ ἮΤΕ-ἮΚΟΟΥΕ ΟΥΟΜ-ΟΥ Job 31:7-8 “If indeed my foot has turned aside out of its way, or if my heart has followed my eye, and if too I have touched gifts with my hands, then let me sow and let others eat”; (iii) past Ε-ΜΜΟΝ ΕΩΧΠΕ ΑΥ-ΟΠ-ΟΥ ΠΕ ΖΩΣ-ΘΖΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΣ ShAmél II 341:7-8 (= Z 591:6-7) “Otherwise, then they were counted as heretics.”
- (c) With the focalizing conversion (rare): ἮΤ-Α-Ἦ ΔΕ ΧΟΟ-Σ ΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ-ΠΕΦ-ΜΟΥ | ΝΗ ΔΕ ΑΥ-ΜΕΥΕ ΧΕ-ΕΦ-ΧΕ-ΠΕΝΚΟΤῆ Ἦ-ΠΩΒΩ John 11:13 “Now Jesus had spoken of His death, but they thought that He meant taking rest in sleep.”
- (d) With the imperative (rare): †-ΝΑ-ΧΝΟΥ-Τῆ ΖΩ-Θ Ε-ΥΩΑΧΕ | ΑΧΙ-Φ ΕΡΟ-ΕΙ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ-Θ †-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Σ ΝΗ-Τῆ ΧΕ- ... Mark 11:29 “I will ask you a question; answer me, and I will tell you ...”
- (e) With ωψε ‘it is right, fitting, necessary’ 488 (rare): ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΠΕ Ε-ΘΤΡΕΥ-ΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ ἮΜΟ-Ι ΖΙΤΕ-ΤΗΥΤῆ 2 Cor 12:11 “For I ought to have been commended by you.”

TYPES OF NOMINAL SENTENCE PREDICATE

FORMAL CLASSIFICATION OF PREDICATES

- 286 Various formal types of nominal sentence predicate 252 can be distinguished, of which the most usual are the def. and indef. article phrase. (Many of the nominal sentence patterns are compatible with only some of these types.)

ε-⁰infinitive: Action as an entity 288

ε-⁰τρε-: Explanatory or evaluative comment 293; action as an entity 288

ἴσθαι ἴσθαι: Similarity (Is like . . .) 301

π- + noun: Denotation and description (i.e. identifying and describing) 292; explanatory or evaluative comment 293

πα-, πω=: Possessedness (Belongs to . . .) 296

ογ- + noun: Denotation and description (i.e. identifying and describing) 292; explanatory or evaluative comment 293

ογαω ἴσθαι-ζε and ογτεῖρε (or ογαω ἴσθαι-mine, ογτεῖmine, ογαω ἴσθαι-607): Similarity, admiration (Of what sort is . . . ? How is . . . ? Is like this, Is such, O how . . . !) 301

ογεβολ ζῆ- or ογεβολ των: Source (Comes from . . .) 302

ογ- + other prepositional phrases: Relationship of time, place 'from' or 'towards', or manner 298

ογλααγ: Insignificance, near non-existence (Is nothing, Is something trivial) 294

ογογ: Request for class name (What is . . . ?) 299

ογα, ογει, ζοῖνε: Anaphoric reference (Is one of them, Is such) 289

But ογα, ογει is also a cardinal number, meaning 'is/are one, a unity, one single entity, as one' (John 10:30)

χε- + clause: Explanatory or evaluative comment (The fact or statement or idea or possibility that . . .) 293

χεκα(α)с + clause: Explanatory or evaluative comment (For . . . to . . . , That . . . might . . .) 293

⁰ + common noun: Class name, as such 290; explanatory or evaluative comment 293

⁰ + infinitive: Explanatory or evaluative comment 293; action as an entity 288; class name, as such 290

Demonstrative pronouns παῖ this, πετῆμαγ that, and πη this: Demonstration (pointing something out, cross-reference) 291; παῖ, also explanatory or evaluative comment (Means this, Is tantamount to this) 293

Personal independent (ἀνοκ): Explanatory or evaluative comment 293; personal identification 295; self-importance 300; (repeated + ον) unchanging identity 303

Possessed noun (e.g. ζῆτ= 138): Denotation 292

Prepositional phrase (without expressed article): Relationship of time, place 'from' or 'towards', or manner 298

Proper noun: Denotation 292

Repeated entity term + ον: Unchanging identity (Is always the same) 303

Reported discourse without χε-: Explanatory or evaluative comment 293

Specifiers (ὡς ὅμοι, αὖ etc.) and specifier phrases 64: Explanatory or evaluative comment 293; quantity and other categories of 'specification' 297. Cf. also 294, 299, 301.

SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF PREDICATES

- 287 Nominal sentence predicates (in their sentence patterns) express the following semantic distinctions, of which the most frequent are denotation and description. These distinctions are only approximate and overlap to some extent.

Action as an entity, eating and drinking; for us to fear Him 288

Admiration, Oh, how . . . ! 301

Anaphoric reference, (is) one of them; (is) he; (is) such 289

Class name, (is) tentmaker 290

Demonstration, this 291

Denotation and description, a person; great 292

Description, great 292

Explanatory or evaluative comment, (means) the place of the skull 293

General relationship. See Possessedness

Inherent (essential) identify and quality, is (by nature) rich 292

Insignificance, nothing; insignificant 294

Personal identification, Gabriel, you 295

Possessedness, the Lord's; mine 296

Quantity and other categories of the specifiers, two 297

Relationship of time, place 'from' or 'towards', and manner, contrary to Your will 298

Request for class name, what . . . ? 299

Self-importance, something important 300

Similarity and admiration, like this; of what sort?; Oh, how . . . ! 301

Source, of this world 302

Unchanging identity, always the same 303

- 288 Action, spoken of as an entity 150, is predicated by ⁰infinitive (as masc. common noun), ε-⁰infinitive, and ε-⁰τρε-.

Examples: τῆντ-ερο γαρ ἂν ἴ-πνοῦτε πε ⁰ογωμ ζῖ-⁰сω Rom 14:17 "For the kingdom of God is not a matter of eating and drinking"; πῶκ εβολ м-пномос πε ⁰тм-р-⁰анаω ε-птнр-г ShIII 66:19-20 "The fulfillment of the law is not swearing at all"; τεφγсῖс ἴ-несооу πε ⁰ογἂз-оу ἴса-пфωс name пexс αγω τεφγсῖс ἂν τε ε-⁰ογἂз-оу ἴса-поγῶнγ псатанас ShChass 65:24-33 "The natural inclination of the sheep is following the true shepherd Christ, and their inclination isn't following the wolf Satan"; ἴ-псωνт ἂν πε ἴ-незρωмаῖос ε-⁰тн-оурωме εγ-катнгорῖ ἴмо-г ε-⁰тако-г ἴпате- (i.e. ε-ἴпате-)

ἡκατηγορος εἰ ᾤπερτο ἐβολ Acts 25:16 “It is not the custom of the Romans *to hand over* any accused person to be killed before the accusers have come into that person’s presence”; **παὶ δὲ πε ε-^θτρην-ελ̄αλ̄-νενεργη** Rom 1:12 “And this means *for us to encourage* one another”

289 *Anaphoric reference* (cross-reference back to a previously mentioned entity)

- i. *to a def. entity term* (is *he*, is *such*), is predicated by the def. determinator pronoun $\pi\epsilon$ (in Pattern 10);
- ii. *to an indef. entity term* (is *one of them*, is *such*) is predicated by the indef. determinator pronoun $\sigma\gamma\alpha/\sigma\gamma\epsilon\iota/\sigma\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon$.

Examples: (i) πεχα-γ δε τηρ-ογ ξε-ντοκ πε πωηρε μ-πνογτε | ντογ δε πεχα-γ να-γ ξε-ντωτν ετετν-χω μμοc ξε-ανοκ πε Luke 22:70 “And they all said, Are You the Son of God, then? And He said to them, You yourselves say that I am *He*”; ξε-εγε-μογτε ερο-н ξε-νωηρε μ-πνογτε αγω ανοη πε 1 John 3:1 “That we should be called the children of God; and *so* we are”; (ii) ζηνζεβραιος νε | αντ-ογα ζω-⁰ 2 Cor 11:22 “Are they Hebrews? So am I (I am *one*, also)”; η-ετ⁰-χω μμο-с ξε-ανοη-ζεναποστολος ε-η-ροине αν νε Rev 2:2 “Those who call themselves apostles but are not (are not *such*)”; ογν-⁰сζιμε ε-ωаре-песцаї зγποптеγ ερο-с ξε-ογноеик τε . . . αγω ε-ογε name те ShOr 159:42–50 “There is a kind of woman whose husband suspects that she is adulterous . . . and indeed she is (is *such*)”

290 *Class name*, as such, is predicated by a zero article phrase: νε-τευτεκνη γαρ πε⁰ρεφ-ταμιε-⁰σκυνη Acts 18:3 “For their occupation was tentmaker.” Cf. also **136**.

Further examples: πεῖνογιτε γαρ πε^θρωμε ShIV 183:6 “For their god is *the human being as such*”; ^θωλοϩ πε^θχοο-γ^ι | ^θωιπε πε^θσωτωμ ερο-ογ ShAméI I 228:7 “To speak of them amounts to *disgrace itself*, to hear of them amounts to *shame itself*.”

291 *Demonstration (pointing something out)* is predicated by the three demonstrative pronoun sets παῖ this, περὶμαυ that, and πη this; e.g. τμεζ-сн̄те δε ет⁰-εине ἡμο-с те ται Matt 22:39 “And the second, which is like it, is *this*.”

292 *Denotation and description* are the most frequent types of nominal sentence predicate. They have the form of entity terms, namely indef. or def. article phrase (table 18), possessed noun, or proper noun. (Cf. also action **288**, class name **290**, explanatory or evaluative comment **293**, quantity **297**, request for class name **299**, self-importance **300**, and unchanging identity **303**.) Generally speaking, the nominal sentence predicate expresses ‘*inherent*’ (unchangeable, permanent, unconditional, essential) or *unmarked* identity or quality, in contrast to \bar{n} - of ‘*incidental*’ predication **179**, which marks momentary, circumstantial, accidental, non-essential identity or quality. E.g. $\alpha\eta-\bar{\pi}^{\emptyset}\chi\eta\kappa\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon-\gamma\rho\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\omicron$ $\pi\epsilon$ 2 Cor 8:9 “Though He was (inherently) rich,

for your sake He became poor”; $\alpha\alpha-\kappa \bar{n}-^{\emptyset}\bar{p}_{MM}\alpha\hat{o}$ ShChass 85:34 “Make yourself (non-essentially) rich.”

- (a) *Denotation.* A denotative predicate is one that names an entity as an instance of a class or as a unique individual: $\sigma\upsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ (is) a person; $\varsigma\iota\mu\omega\kappa\omicron\kappa\iota$ (is) Simon; $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\sigma$ (is) their belly. (Also for naming constructions, cf. 130.) Denotative predicates belong to the following classes: proper noun ($\varsigma\iota\mu\omega\kappa\omicron\kappa\iota$), possessed noun ($\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\sigma$), article phrases of the gendered common noun ($\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$).

All proper noun and possessed noun predicates are denotative (except that possessed nouns also enter into compound prepositions and compound verbs 209). But a gendered common noun predicate is ambiguous, being susceptible of two interpretations: both denotation and description (οὐνοῦτε πε “He is a god” and “He is divine”).

- (b) *Description*¹. A descriptive predicate is one that speaks of an entity by its quality but without explicitly naming (denoting) the particular entity to which it refers: $\sigma\gamma\kappa\omicron\sigma$ (is) great, $\sigma\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (is) lawless, $\sigma\gamma\beta\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$ (is) new, $\sigma\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ (is) human, $\sigma\gamma\mu\epsilon$ (is) true, $\sigma\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\iota\kappa$ (is) bright, $\sigma\gamma\rho\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\text{--}\zeta\eta\tau$ (is) intelligent. Descriptive predicates are indef. and def. article phrases of either a gendered common noun or a genderless common noun. They are usually introduced by $\sigma\gamma\text{--}$ or $\zeta\epsilon\kappa\text{--}$ (rarely by the def. article $\pi\text{--}$ ‘the one characterized as . . .’).

All genderless common noun predicates are descriptive. But a gendered common noun predicate is ambiguous, being susceptible of two interpretations: both denotation and description (οὐνοῦτε πᾶ “He is divine” and “He is a god”).

Modern Coptic dictionary entries (e.g. Crum's) for gendered common nouns feature the denotative meaning, though in fact both semantic functions potentially belong to every gendered common noun. The descriptive function occurs more frequently with certain semantic classes than with others (those denoting abstractions, substances, etc.).

TABLE 18
SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS OF COMMON NOUN PREDICATES
WHEN EXPANDING $\sigma\gamma$ - OR π -

	GENDERED COMMON NOUNS 104	GENDERLESS COMMON NOUNS 113
Denotation	οὔρῳμε (is) a person πρῳμε (is) the person	..........
Description	οὔρῳμε (is) human	οὔνο6 (is) great
Description with anaphora ¹	οὔρῳμε (is) a human one πρῳμε (is) the human one	οὔνο6 (is) a great one πνο6 (is) the great one

NOTE: In the table, $\sigma\gamma-$ stands for $\sigma\gamma-$ or $\gamma\epsilon\eta-$; $\pi-$ stands for the three forms of $\pi-$, $\pi\kappa\epsilon-$, $\pi\epsilon\iota-$, $\pi-$... $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$, $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$, and $\pi\iota-$.

¹Cross-reference to a previously mentioned entity

Descriptive predication (corresponding to adjectives in Western Indo-European languages) is also expressed by three other means: suffixally conjugated verboids of quality 376, $\eta\lambda\alpha\eta\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta$ “He/It is good”; the stative construction $\sigma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma$ with descriptive incidental predicate 179, $\eta\text{-}\sigma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma$ “He/It is great”; and the stative of intransitive verbs whose infinitive expresses process or entry into a state 168(b), $\eta\text{-}\sigma\eta\upsilon\omega$ “He/It is white.” In some instances these constructions come very close in meaning, forming synonyms: $\sigma\gamma\alpha\lambda\theta\eta\sigma\ \eta\epsilon/\eta\lambda\alpha\eta\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta$ “It is good”; $\sigma\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota\ \eta\epsilon/\eta\text{-}\sigma\omega\kappa$ “It is small”; $\eta\lambda\omega\omega\text{-}\eta/\eta\text{-}\sigma\omega$ “It is much”; $\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\text{-}\eta/\eta\text{-}\sigma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma$ “It is great.”

- 293 An *explanatory or evaluative comment* can be predicated by (i) an entity term 141, (ii) $\chi\epsilon\text{-}$ or $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ expanded by a clause 150, (iii) some other expression of action as an entity 288, (iv) reported discourse (hypostasis 142). Items (ii) to (iv) permit a complete statement to function as predicate.

Examples: (i) $\rho\omicron\lambda\gamma\theta\epsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\mu\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\eta\iota\sigma\ \eta\epsilon$ Matt 27:33 “Golgotha, which means the place of the skull”; $\tau\varsigma\omega\psi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\beta\rho\omicron\beta\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\lambda\alpha\eta\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\ \eta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\omega\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho\omicron$ Matt 13:38 (explaining a parable) “(The phrase) ‘the field’ is (stands for) the world, and ‘the good seed’ is the sons of the kingdom”; $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ Rom 7:7 “Does the Law amount to sin?”; $\bar{\eta}\rho\omicron\eta\ \mu\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\tau\text{-}\sigma\omega\psi\epsilon\ \gamma\iota\chi\bar{\alpha}\mu\text{-}\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\ \eta\iota\mu$ ShChass 139:32–35 “Now, the snakes creeping on the ground stand for all Greeks”; $\pi\eta\lambda\gamma\ \eta\text{-}\sigma\eta\omega\mu\ \eta\gamma\eta\tau\text{-}\sigma\eta\ \eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega\ \eta\iota\mu$ ($\eta\tau\omicron\sigma\eta\ \pi\epsilon\iota\omega\mu\eta\tau\ \eta\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\tau\ \eta\epsilon$) . . . ShIV 153:20–22 “In general, the mealtime during them (and ‘them’ means these three months) . . .”; $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta\text{-}\tau\omega\psi\omega\rho\ \alpha\psi\kappa\alpha\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \alpha\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\bar{\eta}\mu\gamma\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\mu\alpha\mu\omega\eta\alpha\varsigma\ \gamma\bar{\eta}\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\eta\gamma\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\omega\psi\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\pi\mu\omicron\gamma\iota\ \tau\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\bar{\eta}\mu\gamma\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma$ ShChass 38:35–39 “It is not when the fox—which means you, O servant of Mammon—barks with loud yelps that the lion—which means me, the servant of Christ—is afraid”; (ii) $\kappa\omicron\rho\beta\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\eta\delta\omega\rho\ \eta\epsilon$ Mark 7:11 “Corban, which means that it is an offering” 514(c); $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\sigma\eta\gamma\tau\omicron\ .\ .\ .\ \epsilon\eta\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\gamma\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\sigma\omicron\eta\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\text{-}\theta\eta\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\ .\ .\ .\ \tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\varsigma\gamma\eta\alpha\gamma\eta\eta\ .\ .\ .\ \theta\gamma\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\eta\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\text{-}\theta\eta\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\sigma\omicron\eta\ \alpha\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\alpha\gamma\omega\text{-}\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\text{-}\eta\ \alpha\varsigma\text{-}\sigma\eta\omega\psi\tau\ \gamma\omega\omega\text{-}\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\eta$ ShChass 121:53–122:24 “For like a horse . . . that often falls on its hind-quarters . . . just so is the Synagogue . . . Now, ‘fall on its hind-quarters’ means that she (the Synagogue) often withdrew and that she too worshiped idols”; $\alpha\psi\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \mid\ \chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varsigma\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\text{-}\kappa\alpha\text{-}\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\omega\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\chi\omicron\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\eta\ \eta\epsilon$ 1 Cor 9:18 “What is my reward? It is that, as I preach, I might present the gospel without its being paid for”; (iii) $\pi\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\theta\bar{\rho}\epsilon\eta\text{-}\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\eta\ \eta\epsilon$ Rom 1:12 “And this means for us to encourage one another”; $\tau\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \alpha\eta\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \theta\omicron\sigma\eta\mu\ \gamma\iota\text{-}\theta\varsigma\omega$ Rom 14:17 “For the kingdom of God is not a matter of eating and drinking”; (iv) $\epsilon\pi\phi\alpha\theta\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon\ \sigma\eta\omega\eta$ Mark 7:34 “Ephphatha, which means the following: Be opened”; $\tau\omega\rho\bar{\eta}\ \tau\epsilon\ \varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\eta}\ \pi\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\eta\alpha\ \eta\epsilon$ Mark 12:29 “The first (commandment) is, Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord, is one”

- 294 *Insignificance, near non-existence* (is nothing, is something trivial) is predicated by $\sigma\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma$, $\gamma\epsilon\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma$ 74(d). E.g. $\pi\varsigma\bar{\epsilon}\upsilon\epsilon\ \sigma\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \tau\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\tau\text{-}\varsigma\bar{\epsilon}\upsilon\epsilon\ \sigma\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma\ \tau\epsilon$ 1 Cor 7:19 “Circumcision is of no importance and uncircumcision is of no importance”; $\alpha\eta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\sigma\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma$ 1 Cor 13:2 “I am nothing.”
- 295 *Personal identification* is predicated by a proper name, identifying epithet, or the personal independent. E.g. $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \eta\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\upsilon\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ Luke 1:19 “I am Gabriel”

(278); $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\psi\eta\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ Mark 1:11 “You are *My Son, My beloved*”; $\alpha\eta\omicron\eta\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\tau\omicron\eta\ \text{ShIII 22:18}$ “We and he are as one (We are *him*)”; $\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\ \eta\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}\ \eta\epsilon$ 2 Cor 3:2 “Our letter is *you*”; $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\eta\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ John 8:12 “It is *I* who am the light of the world” (276); $\tau\omega\psi\omega\rho\ .\ .\ .\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \eta\epsilon$ “The fox—which means *you*.”

- 296 *Possessedness, or general (undefined) relationship*, is predicated by the possessive pronoun $\pi\alpha\text{-}/\pi\omega\text{-}$ 54 ‘belongs to . . .’. (An expression of the possessor is suffixed to the possessive pronoun.)

Examples: $\pi\alpha\text{-}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\kappa\alpha\gamma$ 1 Cor 10:26 “The earth is the Lord’s”; $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \mu\epsilon\eta\ \alpha\eta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 1 Cor 1:12 “I belong to Paul”; $\tau\omega\text{-}\sigma\eta\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\mu\pi\eta\eta\epsilon$ Matt 5:3 “Theirs is the kingdom of the heavens (The kingdom of heaven belongs to them)”; $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\omega\text{-}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\eta\ \mid\ \lambda\gamma\text{-}\omega\epsilon\pi\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \gamma\alpha\text{-}\sigma\eta\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma$ 1 Cor 6:19–20 “You are not your own; you were bought for a price”

- 297 *Quantity and other categories of the specifiers* 63 are predicated by a specifier or a specifier phrase.

Examples: $\gamma\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\varsigma\eta\lambda\gamma\ \alpha\eta\ \eta\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \sigma\eta\varsigma\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\sigma\eta\omega\tau\ \tau\epsilon$ Matt 19:6 “So they are not *two* but one single flesh”; $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\text{-}\omega\mu\tau\epsilon\ \rho\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\text{-}\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\iota\text{-}\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\varsigma\alpha\text{-}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Luke 13:7 “Lo, these *three years* I have come seeking fruit”; $\alpha\psi\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\omicron\beta\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$ Matt 22:36 “Which is the great commandment?”; $\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\eta\text{-}\sigma\eta\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\gamma\ \eta\epsilon$ 1 Cor 12:12 “All the members of the body are *many*”

- 298 *Relationship of time, place ‘from’ or ‘towards’, and manner* is predicated by an appropriate preposition either (i) expanding the indef. article, e.g. $\sigma\eta\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\text{-}\theta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega\ \eta\epsilon$ Matt 13:21 “It is temporary (is *for* a while)”; or (ii) (more commonly) without article, e.g. $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \alpha\eta\ \chi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\phi\rho\omicron\sigma\eta\omega\ \eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\kappa\epsilon$ John 12:6 “Not that he cared for the poor (Not that his care was *for* the poor).” Cf. also possessedness 296, similarity 301, and source 302.

Prepositions expressing relationship are not eligible to be predicate of the durative sentence, 310.

Further examples: (i) $\alpha\eta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\sigma\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\tau\eta\ \alpha\eta$ ShIII 116:17–18 “I am not *like* you”; $\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\eta\lambda\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\sigma\eta\ \alpha\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\eta\omega\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\ \eta\epsilon$ 2 Cor 4:18 “The things that we do not see are eternal (*unto* eternity)”; (ii) $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \pi\omega\eta\gamma\ \epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\text{-}\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\theta\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\mu\eta\ \eta\epsilon$ ShAmé II 247:12–248:1 “For, if it were *before* life and light came into the world, we would have an excuse”; $\chi\iota\eta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\chi\omega\text{-}\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\mu\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\eta\eta\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \omega\alpha\text{-}\chi\omega\text{-}\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\phi\mu\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\theta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota$ ShChass 59:55–60:2 “The sun’s rising is *from* one extreme of heaven and its setting is *unto* the other extreme of heaven”; $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\chi\iota\eta\chi\eta\ \eta\alpha\text{-}\gamma\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\eta\eta$ ShIV 46:18 “For them, their endurance is in vain (*unto* vanity)”

- 299 *Request for class name* (What is . . . ?) is predicated by $\sigma\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma$, $\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$, and forms a belittling, rhetorical question when predicated of a person.

$\eta\tau\kappa\text{-}\sigma\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\rho\omicron\text{-}\kappa\ \kappa\text{-}\gamma\eta\eta$ ShIII 38:17–18 “What are you? Why are you hidden?”; $\alpha\eta\omicron\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\ \eta\ \gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\eta\omega\iota$ ShIII 107:23–24 “Who are we? And what are our

The Basic Sentence of Existence and Indication Formed with ΟΥΝ- and ΕΙΣ-

(ΟΥΝ-⁰αγγελος Angels exist, ΕΙΣ-πετ⁰ν⁰ρρο Here is your king)

See chapter 21

14 *The Durative Sentence*

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Conversions of Pattern 3 324

COMPONENTS AND PATTERNS OF THE DURATIVE SENTENCE

305 The 'durative sentence'

π⁰νουτε δε σοου⁰ν ⁰ν-νετ⁰νητ "But God knows your hearts" (Luke 16:15)

†-ο⁰βε "I am thirsty" (John 19:28); †-ζ⁰μ-πιωτ "I am in the Father" (John 10:38)

ου⁰ν-ζαζ γαρ να-ει ζ⁰μ-πα⁰ραν "Many are going to come (will come) in My name" (Mark 13:6)

is a set of three sentence patterns that share the ability to have all of the following items, interchangeably, as their *predicate* 247:

The Interchangeable Predicates

Infinitive (COCYH "knows") 308

Stative (OBE "[am] thirsty") 309

Situational preposition or adverb (2N- "[am] in . . .") 310

Future auxiliary NA- ("[am] going to . . . , will") completed by an infinitive 311

The category of 'durativity' is expressed by these four interchangeable predicates, in the sense that they attribute to their subject

an enduring, ongoing, or general action or process (*knows*) 308

an enduring state (*am thirsty*) 309

a static situation (*am in the Father*) 310

an imminent future action or process envisaged from the speaker's present situation (present-based future) (*am going to come, will come*) 311

306 The three sentence patterns (here illustrated with the infinitive KOT)

(1) ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΩΤ, 317

God builds, God is building

(2) †-ΚΩΤ, 318

I build, I am building

(3) ΜΝ-ΛΑΔΥ ΚΩΤ, 322

No one builds, No one is building

each with the four interchangeable predicates

Pattern 3 is based on an existential sentence formed with OYN-

correspond to three types of *subject*:

Definite subject ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΝΑΪ, ΜΑΡΙΑ, etc. in Pattern 1

Personal subject †-, -Ι- in Pattern 2

Non-definite subject OYCON, ^θCON, ZENCNHY, ZOINE, ΛΑΔΥ, etc. in Pattern 3

Thus each of the three sentence patterns enables a particular type of subject to enter into nexus (grammatical union of subject and predicate 248) with the set of four interchangeable predicates.

Pattern	Subject Types	The Interchangeable Predicates
1	Definite	} + { Durative Infinitive Stative Situational Preposition/Adverb NA- (future auxiliary)
2	Personal	
3	OYN- Non-definite	

1	ΠΡΩΜΕ	} { COTΠ 2M-ΠΕΙΜΑ NA-COTΠ
2	†-	
3	OYN- ^θ ΡΩΜΕ	

In Pattern 3a based on EIC- (a minor pattern), both definite and non-definite subjects can occur; cf. 323.

These patterns also occur in relative, circumstantial, preterit, and focalizing conversion 320, 324.

When the predicate is an infinitive (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΩΤ, †-ΚΩΤ, ΜΝ-ΛΑΔΥ ΚΩΤ), the sentence expresses 'durative conjugation' of the infinitive, contrasting with non-durative conjugation (chapter 15), which is unmarked for the category of durativity.

TENSE AND DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVE

307 The basic durative sentence patterns express present tense; cf. also 312. (For the overall Coptic *tense system*, cf. chapter 25.) Depending on the type of discourse perspective 527 that is signalled in their immediate textual environment, durative sentences describe the subject in terms of either *contemporaneous observation* (as at the time that the sentence is uttered) or *timeless* (general, usual, recurrent, predictable, potential) *truth*. E.g.

i. present (or present-based future) tense + durativity + discourse perspective of contemporaneous observation

EICZHHTE NEKMAΘHTHC CE-EIP E M-Π-E TE-MEΩΦE E-^θAA-Q
"Look, Your disciples *are doing* what is not lawful to do" (Matt 12:2)

TENOY NTOTN NEΦAPICCAIOC . . . PETNCA-N-ZOYN ΔE MEZ N-^θTWP
ZI-^θAKAΘAPCIA "Now, you Pharisees . . . your insides *are full* of extortion and uncleanness" (Luke 11:39)

EIC-NOYEPHTE N-N-ENT-AY-TWMC M-ΠΟΥΖΑΪ CE-ZIPM-ΠPO AYW
CE-NA-QIT-E "Hark, the feet of those that have buried your husband *are at* the door, and they *are just about to* carry you out" (Acts 5:9)

ii. present (or present-based future) tense + durativity + discourse perspective of timeless truth

NPEQ-P-^θNOBE CE-ME N-N-ET-^θME MMO-OY "Sinners *love* those who love them" (Luke 6:32)

NEZIOOYE M-ΠΡΩΜΕ N-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ COTΠ M-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ "The ways of the righteous person *are acceptable* with God" (Prov 15:28)

OYN-OYPIHGH N-^θΩN ZN-NEZIOOYE N-TCOΦIA "A fountain of life *is in* the ways of wisdom" (Prov 13:14)

ΘΕΛΠΙΣ ΔΕ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\bar{\eta}$ ΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΝΑ-ΤΑΚΟ "The hope of the ungodly *will* perish"
(Prov 10:28)

THE FOUR INTERCHANGEABLE PREDICATES

THE DURATIVE INFINITIVE

- 308 When a verb lexeme is actualized **160** as an infinitive predicate in one of the durative patterns, this actualization can be called the '*durative infinitive*': \dagger - $\eta\epsilon\chi$ - $\bar{\theta}$ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ \dagger -ΕΙΡΕ Ν-ΖΕΝΤΑΛΒΟ ΜΠΟΟΥ Ν $\bar{\eta}$ -ΡΑΣΤΕ Luke 13:32 "I am casting out demons and performing cures today and tomorrow." Its durativity is signalled by sentence pattern and direct object syntax, and not by any formal characteristic of the infinitive morph. General details of verbal syntax can be found in chapter 8.

Direct object syntax. After a durative mutable infinitive **167**, e.g. $\eta\sigma\chi\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\chi$ - 'cast (out)', any zero article phrase as direct object is normally suffixed to the prenominal state. E.g. \dagger - $\eta\epsilon\chi$ - $\bar{\theta}$ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ Luke 13:32 "I am casting out demons." Other direct objects of the durative mutable infinitive must be mediated by the preposition $\bar{\eta}$ -/ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΟ, following the absolute state. For full details of direct object syntax (the Stern-Jernstedt rule), cf. **171**.

Examples with non-zero object: $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\eta\sigma\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΟ- η ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΩ- $\tau\bar{\eta}$ Acts 13:46 "You thrust it from you"; $\eta\epsilon\chi$ - $\eta\sigma\chi\epsilon$ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\eta}$ -ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ Luke 11:14 "Now He was casting out a demon"; $\epsilon\iota$ - $\eta\sigma\chi\epsilon$ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\bar{\eta}$ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ Matt 12:27 "I cast out demons"

THE STATIVE

- 309 Statives **162** only occur as the predicate of the durative sentence. Stative and durative infinitive contrast in meaning in predictable ways **168**, as follows.

- (a) Transitive verbs **168(a)**: the stative expresses a descriptive, static passive meaning (the enduring state of a subject after it has finished undergoing or receiving some action), η - $\kappa\eta\tau$ "It is built (describing a state), is situated, is established," and the infinitive expresses enduring, ongoing, or general action $\sigma\epsilon$ - $\kappa\omega\tau$ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΟ- η "They build/are building it."

The stative σ $\bar{\eta}$ - (cf. infinitive $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$) expresses *incidental* (non-essential) predication as contrasted with *inherent* (essential) predication of the nominal sentence **179**, **180(b)**; e.g. σ - σ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ ΣΑΒΗ she is wise (at the moment or under a certain condition, incidentally) versus $\sigma\gamma\sigma\alpha\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\epsilon$ she is wise (permanently or by nature, inherently).

- (b) Intransitive verbs (except those listed in [c]): the stative describes the enduring state of the subject after some process has come to an end or some quality has been acquired, $\sigma\epsilon$ - $\psi\sigma\gamma\omega\omega\gamma$ "They are dry," and the infinitive

expresses enduring, ongoing, or general process or entry into a state, $\sigma\epsilon$ - $\psi\sigma\sigma\gamma\epsilon$ "They are becoming dry, They dry out."

- (c) However, of the following five intransitives

$\beta\omega\kappa$, stative $\beta\eta\kappa$ *go* $\gamma\epsilon$, stative $\gamma\eta\gamma$ *fall* (also $\gamma\epsilon$ ϵ -, $\gamma\eta\gamma$ ϵ - *find*)
 $\epsilon\iota$, stative $\eta\eta\gamma$ *come* $\gamma\omega\lambda$, stative $\gamma\eta\lambda$ *fly*
 $\pi\omega\tau$, stative $\pi\eta\tau$ *run*

only the stative occurs in durative sentences, and it expresses enduring, ongoing, or general *motion*, $\sigma\epsilon$ - $\beta\eta\kappa$ "They are going, They go." The infinitives of this group only occur in non-durative conjugation (chapter 15); thus, no contrast between infinitive and stative can be expressed in the durative sentence, cf. **168(c)**.

THE SITUATIONAL PREPOSITION AND ADVERB

- 310 The situational predicate is expressed by prepositions of place (and by extension, those of time and manner) that do not imply motion; and by a limited number of situational adverbs. E.g. $\pi\eta\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\tau\epsilon\sigma\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ Ps 45(46):5 "God is in the midst of her." (English translation of this predicate type requires addition of the verb *to be* as copula.)

Examples of *situational prepositions* that occur as predicate: $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}$ -, $\mu\bar{\eta}$ -, $\bar{\eta}$ ΠΕCΗΤ $\bar{\eta}$ - or simply $\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau$ $\bar{\eta}$ -, $\bar{\eta}$ -, $\bar{\eta}$ Τ $\bar{\eta}$ -, $\eta\lambda\gamma\bar{\eta}$ -, $\sigma\gamma\beta\epsilon$ -, $\gamma\alpha$ -, $\gamma\iota$ -, $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ -, $\gamma\alpha\rho\omega$ -, $\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\tau$ -, $\gamma\alpha\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ -, $\gamma\iota\chi\bar{\eta}$ -. Such prepositional predicates can be premodified by a combinative adverb **206**, e.g. $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}$ -, $\bar{\eta}$ ΖΟΥΝ $\bar{\eta}$ -, $\bar{\eta}$ Ζ $\gamma\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ -, $\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ -, $\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\iota\chi\bar{\eta}$ -, etc. Examples of *situational adverbs* (that cannot be further analyzed as prepositional phrases) occurring as predicate: $\bar{\eta}$ ΠΟΟΥ "is today, falls on today's date"; $\tau\omega\bar{\eta}$ "is where? Where is . . . ?"; $\tau\alpha\iota$ "is here" (occurring only in the relative construction $\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}$ - $\tau\alpha\iota$ "Which is here"). For $\bar{\eta}$ -, $\eta\alpha$ "unto" in clausal interjections such as $\tau\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\eta$ - $\tau\bar{\eta}$ "Grace be unto you", cf. **240**.

Further examples: $\pi\alpha\bar{\eta}\nu\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ Π $\alpha\bar{\eta}$ ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\eta}$ ΟΥΘΕΙΩ $\eta\bar{\eta}$ Μ Ps 50(51):3 "My sin is continually before me"; $\bar{\eta}$ - $\tau\mu\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\pi\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\bar{\eta}$ 1 John 2:4 "The truth is not in him"; \dagger - $\bar{\eta}$ Μ $\mu\alpha$ - η $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\tau\epsilon\phi\theta\alpha\iota\psi\iota\varsigma$ Ps 90(91):15 "I am with him in his affliction"; $\tau\sigma\gamma\alpha$ - $\psi\tau\epsilon$ μ - $\pi\psi\alpha\iota$ $\mu\pi\sigma\gamma$ ShAmél I 379:6-7 "The festal worship of Pshai falls on today's date, is today"; σ - $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$ ShIV 18:13 "It is there, It is present"; $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}$ Μ $\mu\alpha\gamma$ Acts 9:38 "Peter (was) there"; η - $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\sigma\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\iota\chi\omega$ - $\sigma\gamma$ ShIII 189:15 "Those that the curse rests upon"; $\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ ΒΟΛ John 20:1 "For it was still dark" (darkness still being outside); $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\sigma\gamma\eta\sigma\bar{\theta}$ η - $\kappa\alpha\gamma\omega\omega\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\beta\omega\lambda$ Paphnoute Cephalas, Stories of the Monks of the Desert (BMis 474:15-16) "While a bad sirocco was blowing"

But *prepositions of relationship* (time, place 'from' or 'towards', and manner, e.g. $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ - $\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\gamma\omega\psi$ "Contrary to your will") are predicated in the nominal sentence **298**, and by $\bar{\rho}$ - in non-durative conjugation. Source ("is from, comes from") is also predicated in the nominal sentence by $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - **302**.

At least a few prepositions occur as predicate in both durative and nominal sentences, with a distinction in meaning. E.g. $\chi\iota\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\iota\eta\ \kappa\eta\ \gamma\alpha\tau\eta\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ (i.e. $\gamma\alpha\text{-}\tau\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$) $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\eta}\psi\eta\eta$ Matt 3:10 "From this time forth the axe is laid to (lies under) the root of the trees: versus $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\text{-}\lambda\alpha\gamma$ Matt 22:16 "You care for no man (Your care is not *on behalf of* any).

Two prepositional predicates require special comment:

i. $\epsilon\rho\text{-}(q)\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ describes *financial and moral indebtedness*: "is a deficit against the account of, is owed by, is incumbent upon." E.g. $\bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\kappa\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\rho\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}\kappa$ Luke 16:7 "How much do you owe?" (As for you, how much is against your account?); $\mu\eta\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}\iota$ ShIII 133:15 "No sin is imputable to me." Non-personal prepositional objects must be introduced by periphrastic $\epsilon\rho\text{-}q\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\text{-}c\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}$. Optionally, the creditor is specified by $\bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\tau\text{-}\bar{\eta}\text{-}/\bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\tau\text{-}$ 'in the reckoning of . . .'; e.g. $\mu\eta\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}\iota\ \tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\tau\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\sigma\phi\gamma\lambda\sigma$ Judg 15:3 "For once, I am guiltless with regard to the foreigners" (This time, sin is not a deficit against me in the reckoning of the foreigners).

English translations of this construction usually reverse the dynamic and use the verb *owe*, with the Coptic subject translated as the amount or thing owed and the object of the Coptic preposition as the debtor: Coptic *A is owed by B* becomes English *B owes (the sum of) A*. Impersonal $c\text{-}\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ means "It is incumbent on . . .". Further examples: $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}\gamma\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\delta\iota\eta\delta\omega\rho\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}q$ Matt 18:24 "One who owed many talents"; $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\ \text{ShIV } 43:28$ "What they owe"; $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}q$ ShIII 149:6-7 "The debtor"; $\pi\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\delta\tau\text{-}q\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\chi\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ShChass 98:51-53 "For we have this as an obligation unto the Lord"; $\eta\gamma\sigma\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\eta\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\text{-}\theta\text{-}\tau\eta\psi\ \epsilon\tau\text{-}c\text{-}\epsilon\rho\text{-}q\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\eta\sigma$ $\eta\eta\mu\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\sigma\ \epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\text{-}\gamma$ ShChass 102:7-12 "The obligatory fast days that it is incumbent on all classes of Christian to keep." In meaning, this construction may be compared with $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}$. . . $\epsilon\text{-}$ or $\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ 'have (a claim) against' 392, in which creditor and debtor must be specified.

ii. $\bar{\eta}\text{-}/\bar{\eta}\mu\sigma\text{-}$ describes *relationship between a constituent member and the organism to which it belongs* ('is a constituent of'), as with the members and faculties of the body or the parts of a plant. E.g. $\mu\eta\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \bar{\eta}\mu\sigma\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\gamma$ Matt 13:6 "They have no root" (No root is a constituent of them); $\rho\omega\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\mu\sigma\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ Ps 134(135):16 (134:17 Budge) "They have a mouth, but they cannot speak." Other prepositions ($\mu\eta\text{-}$, $\bar{\eta}\tau\eta\text{-}$, $\gamma\iota\text{-}$, $\gamma\eta\text{-}$, $\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\text{-}$, $\gamma\iota\chi\eta\text{-}$, etc.) can express similar close relationships such as appurtenance, custody, infection, etc. (various kinds of 'having'); for examples, cf. 393.

English translations of this construction must reverse the dynamic and use the verb *has*, with the Coptic subject translated as the possessed and the object of the Coptic preposition as the possessor: Coptic *A is a constituent of B* becomes English *B has A*. Further examples: $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\eta\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\text{-}c\eta\sigma\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\text{-}c\eta\tau\epsilon\ \mu\text{-}\pi\sigma\upsilon\tau\ \eta\text{-}\tau\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (collated) Rev 21:14 "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations"; $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\pi\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\eta\psi\eta\eta$ Matt 3:9 "God is able (has the ability) to raise up children." The general possessive $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}/\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}$ 'have' (chapter 18) overlaps these constructions in meaning.

THE PRESENT-BASED FUTURE

311 $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ the *future auxiliary* 'is going to . . . , will . . . ' expresses an imminent future envisaged from the speaker's present, enduring situation. This is the normal, broadly functioning future tense in Coptic, usually found in exposition, generalization, narrative, and dialogue. $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ is completed by a non-durative infinitive 328 or another verbal auxiliary 184. E.g. $\dagger\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\chi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\pi\alpha\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\sigma\varsigma\ \gamma\iota\gamma\eta\ \mu\mu\sigma\text{-}\kappa$ Mark 1:2 "I shall send my messenger before thee"; $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau\ \psi\alpha\text{-}\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ Matt 11:23 "You will go down to Hades"; $\bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\text{-}\bar{q}\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\psi\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma\mu\text{-}\epsilon\eta\ \alpha\eta$ Mark 15:31 "He cannot save Himself." It is only $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ that occupies the predicate position in the sentence pattern; the completing infinitive is non-durative (mutable infinitives occur in all three states), and any direct object of the infinitive is regulated as for a non-durative infinitive (in accord with the Stern-Jernstedt rule 171).

In meaning, the $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ future is opposed to the optative future $\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ 338: whereas $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ expresses a time perspective that is explicitly connected to the speaker's present expectation ("He is going to . . ."), $\epsilon\rho\text{-}$ expresses a strong expectation of fulfillment without explicit connection to the speaker's present situation ($\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\dagger\text{-}\theta\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\ \eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\alpha$ "No sign shall be given to this generation"). A promissory future, which expresses a speaker's promise that an event will happen if a certain command is obeyed, is expressed by the future conjunctive $\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}$ 357 ($\alpha\iota\tau\iota\ \tau\alpha\rho\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\dagger\ \eta\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$ "Ask and they shall give unto you").

i. In an articulated attributive clause ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}c\omega\tau\eta$ "Whosoever chooses, If one chooses"), $\eta\alpha\text{-}$ can express generalization and potentiality 501(a) rather than futurity.

Examples: $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\eta\tau\sigma\lambda\eta$ Matt 5:19 $\delta\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \lambda\upsilon\sigma\eta\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$ "Whoever then relaxes one of these commandments"; $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$ Matt 5:21 $\delta\varsigma\ \delta'\ \alpha\eta\ \phi\sigma\eta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\eta$ "Whoever kills"; $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \eta\eta\mu\ \epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\delta\epsilon$ Matt 5:22 $\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\ \delta\eta\gamma\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\sigma$ "Every one who is angry"; $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\gamma\eta\mu\omicron\mu\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \psi\alpha\beta\sigma\lambda$ Mark 13:13 $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\eta\varsigma$ "The one who endures to the end"

ii. The explicitly *durative past situation-based future* is $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}$. E.g. $\alpha\gamma\text{-}c\omega\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\gamma\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\gamma\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon\ \eta\text{-}\tau\beta\tau\ \epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\psi\omega\text{-}q\ |\ \eta\epsilon\rho\text{-}\eta\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\text{-}\pi\omega\gamma\ \pi\epsilon$ Luke 5:6 "They enclosed a great shoal of fish; and their nets were about to break" ($\delta\iota\epsilon\rho\eta\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\circ\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\ \delta\iota\kappa\tau\upsilon\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\eta\varsigma$). (The non-durative past-based future is expressed periphrastically by the $\alpha\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}$ "He was about to" 427.)

iii. The *preterit conversion* $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}$ with *hypothetical meaning* "He would . . ." (as the main clause in a contrary-to fact conditional sentences) is discussed in 498. E.g. $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\bar{\eta}\psi\eta\eta\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu\ \eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\text{-}\bar{\rho}\text{-}\eta\epsilon\gamma\beta\eta\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu$ John 8:39 "If you were Abraham's children, you would do what Abraham did."

iv. The *present-based future* of $\epsilon\iota$ 'come' is often expressed by the stative $\eta\eta\gamma$ (= $\eta\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) 'is going to come, is coming, will come'. E.g. $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\eta\gamma\sigma\sigma\upsilon\gamma$

ΔΕ ΝΗΥ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΥΩΑΝ-ϞΙ ΝΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ Μ-ΠΑ-ΤΩΕΛΕΕΤ | ΤΟΤΕ ΣΕ-ΝΑ-ΝΗCΤΗΥΕ Mark 2:20 “The days *will come* (ΝΗΥ), when the bridegroom is taken away from then, and then they will (ΝΑ-) fast.”

EXPRESSION OF TENSE

- 312 The basic sentence pattern expresses present tense. (For the overall Coptic tense system, cf. chapter 25.) Past tense can be signalled by preterit conversion. Otherwise, a fuller range of tenses etc. can be expressed by periphrastic conjugation based on ωωπε or ει completed by a circumstantial conversion of the durative sentence 427. Periphrastic conjugation of the *stative* is based on ωωπε; of the *situational prepositions*, on ρ- 180(b); of the *να- future*, on ει 427. The *infinitive* is more fully conjugated by selection of non-durative conjugation, chapter 15.

Examples: (*stative*) Ϟ-ΝΑ-ωωπε εϞ-ΜΗΡ Matt 16:19 “It will be/will come to be bound”; ακ-ωωπε εκ-ΝΖΟΤ Matt 25:21 “You have been faithful”; χεкас ερε-πεγкеса Ν-βολ ωωπε εϞ-ΤΒΒΗΥ Matt 23:26 “That their outside also may be clean”; μαρε-ογον ΝΙМ ωωπε εϞ-CΒΤΩΤ Luke 6:40 “Let every one be prepared”; еρωан-пескλаллос ωωπε εϞ-ΛΗΚ Matt 24:32 “As soon as its branch becomes tender”; Νсе-ωωπε εϞ-ογох мпеснаϞ Matt 9:17 “And so both are preserved”; е-θтрен-ωωπε ен-ογaal Eph 1:4 “That we should be holy”; ωωπε ететн-сβтωт Matt 24:44 “Be ready”; (*situational preposition*) πεπροснаλγтос ет-нема-к Ϟ-НА-Р-ΖΙΧω-к емаτε емаτε ΝТОК ΔΕ ΝΓ-Ρ-ΠЕСНТ ММО-Ϟ емаτε емаτε Deut 28:43 δ προσήλυτος δς εστιν εν σοι αναθήσεται ανω ανω κτλ. “The stranger that is with thee will be very greatly over thee, and thou shalt be very much below him”; αγ-ρ-ζαρω-ι Μ-περοοϞ Μ-ПАМКАЗ Ps 17(18):18 προέφθασάν με κтл. “They were before me in the day of my affliction”; ари-зигн м-пхоеис зН-ογωνζ евол (i.e. зН-ογогωνζ евол) Ps 146(147):7 “Be before the Lord manifestly”; акмнн а-кезѧп ρ-еро-с ShIV 12:21 “Now a different law has become incumbent upon it”; а-навал ρ-еен (sic) НН-ογρωе (i.e. Н-ογогρωе) Ps 76(77):4 “My eyes were before a watch tower” (the usual past tense of the situational predicate is the preterit conversion, e.g. неϞ-зи-пекро Mark 6:47 “He was on the shore”); (НА- future) аз-еи еϞ-НА-ЗОТВ-еϞ Acts 16:27 ημελλεν εαυτον αναρειν “He was about to kill himself”; еρωан-ноϞ е-сaлпизе Rev 10:7 εταν μέλλη σαλπίζειν “When he is going to sound the trumpet”; алаа мпате-εан ной е-ωωπε Mark 13:7 аλλ’ ουπω το τέλος “But the end has not yet begun to arrive”

THE DURATIVE SENTENCE PATTERNS

TERM IN EXTRAPOSITION

- 313 Any personal morph (or personal element of the possessive article) within the sentence pattern can be anticipated by a term in extraposition, that is, a term placed at the front of the sentence pattern (‘extraposed’)

Extraposited Term	Sentence Pattern (contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)
Anticipation	Resumption

Topic under discussion | Comment

ΝΤΩΤΝ | ΤΕΤН-ωове е-ζαζ Ν-χαχ

“But as for you, | you are of more value than many sparrows”
(Matt 10:31)

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition and personal morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The agreeing personal morph shows how the extraposed term relates to the sentence.

Rarely, a 3d person demonstrative pronoun within the sentence pattern is preceded by a term in extraposition: π-ετ^θ-НА-Т-ωωπε ρар НА-І НМ-НАΨΑХЕ | ПΩНРЕ М-ПРΩМЕ НА-Т-ωωπε М-ПАІ Luke 9:26 “Whoever is ashamed of Me and of My words, of *that person* will the Son of man be ashamed.”

(a) 1st and 2d person morphs can only be preceded by an extraposed personal morph: namely, the personal independent

αϞω аноκ | Т-НА-ТОϞНОC-Ϟ М-ПЗАЕ Н-ЗООϞ
“And as for Me, | I will raise him up at the last day” (John 6:40)

or its semantic equivalent

Н-ετ^θ-δ Ν-θРММАδ ΝΖНТ-Н | ТН-НІТ е-θР-θНке
“As for those of *us* who are rich, | *we* must become poor” (ShChass 98:48–51)

(b) 3d person morphs can be preceded by either a personal independent or other entity term.

ΝΤΟΟϞ ТНР-ΟΥ | СЕ-О Н-РεϞ-κωζ е-ΠНОМОC
“All of them, | they are zealous for the law” (Acts 21:20)

ПАІ | Ϟ-НА-ωωπε Н-οϞНОб
“He will be great” (This one, | He will be great) (Luke 1:32)

ПΩНРЕ М-ПРΩМЕ | СЕ-НА-ТАА-Ϟ ΕΖРАІ ΕΤΟΟТ-ΟΥ Н-РРΩМЕ
“As for the Son of Man, | He will be delivered into the clutches of men” (Mark 9:31)

Extraposition occurs mostly with Pattern 2. Cf. also 321. Several terms can occur in extraposition, side by side.

НАІ | ζωω-Ϟ ПΩНРЕ | ΖΟМОΙωC | Ϟ-НА-ΑΑ-Ϟ
“These the Son, too, will do likewise” (John 5:19)
(These | also the Son | likewise | He will do them)

Further examples. *Pattern 1*: π-ετ^θ-CωТМ | ПЗωВ ЗОРω ННАЗРА-Ϟ ShChass 116:20–22 “To anyone who listens, the proposition seems difficult.” *Pattern 2*: ζαζ ρар Н-Н-εтере-неПНА Н-ΑΚΑΘΑΡТОН ΖΙω-ΟΥ | НЕϞ-ωϞ евол Acts 8:7 “For many of those who had unclean spirits cried out”; ΝТОК ΔΕ | СЕ-МОϞΚΖ ММО-к Luke 16:25 “And you are in anguish”; π-ετ^θ-НА-арна ΔΕ ММО-І МПЕМТО евол Н-РРΩМЕ | СЕ-НА-арна ММО-Ϟ Luke 12:9 “The one who denies Me before human-kind will be denied”; ΝκεПНА Н-ΑΚΑΘΑΡТОН | Ϟ-οϞεζ-θCαζне НА-Ϟ Mark 1:27

“He commands even the unclean spirits”; $\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Luke 18:4 “I do not fear God”; $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Luke 6:47 “Every one who comes to Me and hears My words and does them, I will show you what that person is like.” *Pattern 3*: $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \sigma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Luke 2:35 “And a sword will pierce through (come through) your own soul also”; $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Acts 4:20 “For we cannot but speak of what we have seen and heard”

ADVERBIAL PREMODIFIER BEFORE THE SENTENCE PATTERN

- 314** *Adverbial premodifier before the sentence pattern.* An adverb or prepositional phrase (chapter 9) preceding the sentence pattern lays down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the sentence is being asserted (i.e. under which the predication is made).

Premodifier | Sentence Pattern

$\chi\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ (i.e. $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$)
 $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ “From this time forth, the axe is laid to the root of the trees” (Matt 3:10)

$\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ “But in his soul he was very alert” (Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 9 [Garitte 15:5])

$\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ “So, with many other words He exhorted them” (Luke 3:18)

Adverbial clauses **490** occur in this position with the same function; e.g. $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Prov 8:27 “When He was going to prepare the heaven, I was with Him.” Conjunctions and initial attitude markers (chapter 10) also occur in premodifier position.

EXTENSION OF THE CONVERTED DURATIVE SENTENCE

- 315** For *extension* of the converted durative sentence by a clause in conjunctive conjugation

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$
 $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ “Those who know about their deeds and conceal them are greatly cursed along with them” (ShIII 41:5–6)

cf. **353**. For conjunctive clause extending the non-durative infinitive after $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$, cf. **352(1)(a)**; extending $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ‘is going to come’, **352(1)(b)**.

INVARIABLE $\pi\epsilon$ IN THE DURATIVE SENTENCE

- 316** Invariable $\pi\epsilon$ occurs in some durative sentences (especially in *preterit conversion*), but not as an essential pattern constituent **285**. Here, the category or

structure optionally signalled by $\pi\epsilon$, the motivation for its use, and the conditions of its occurrence are at present unknown. E.g. $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Luke 15:25 “Now his elder son was in the field”; $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Deut 5:25 “If we hear the voice of the Lord our God anymore, then we shall die.”

317 Pattern 1: Definite Subject*Definite Subject | Predicate*

$\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$

“The Lord loves the righteous” (Ps 145[146]:8)

Negation: $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ and $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$. The indispensable signal of negation is enclitic $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$, which follows the predicate more or less immediately. If $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ is present it is prefixed to the subject.

Examples: $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Acts 8:21 “For your heart is not right”; $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Matt 24:35 “But My words will not pass away”

Subject: definites (def. article phrases and pronouns, def. specifier phrases, proper nouns); also possessed nouns. The pronoun $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ and article phrases with . . . $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ occur sometimes in this pattern and sometimes in Pattern 3.

Rarely occurring as subject are entity statements **150**, e.g. $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Matt 15:20 ed. Kasser “But to eat (e- $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$) without washing your hands does not defile the person.” Cf. chapter 22.

Subject and predicate are not bound; consequently, an enclitic conjunction such as $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ **235(b)** or a modifier of the subject can interrupt the sequence of Subject | Predicate: $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$. (This is the only Coptic nexus pattern that can occur without the consistent presence of a nexus morph **248**; the occurrence of a stative or the future auxiliary $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ signals a durative sentence.)

Further examples: $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Matt 24:35 “Heaven and earth will pass away”; $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ ShChass 39:1–2 “And Jesus is sufficient against you”; $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Acts 11:14 “He will declare to you a message”; $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ John 10:14 “And My own know Me”; $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ ShIV 86:10 “Every thing will taste good”; $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ John 3:26 “All are coming to Him”; $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Luke 1:28 “The Lord is with you”; $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ John 6:24 “So when the people saw that Jesus was not there, nor His disciples”; $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ 1 John 5:7(8) “The three bear witness (There are three witnesses)”; $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ Ps 134(135):16 (134:17 Budge) “They have mouths” **310(ii)**

Conversions: relative, circumstantial, preterit, focalizing. Cf. **320**.

318 Pattern 2: Personal Subject

Personal Prefix + Predicate

†-με ἡμο-κ "I love you" (John 21:16)

Negation: \bar{n} -†-με αν and †-με αν. The indispensable signal of negation is enclitic αν 250, which follows the predicate more or less immediately. If \bar{n} - is present it is prefixed to the subject.

Examples: n - \bar{q} - $n\alpha$ -κω νητ- \bar{n} αν εβολ Matt 6:15 "He will not forgive you"; $\alpha\nu\kappa$ \bar{o} ε †- $\alpha\nu\bar{n}\bar{z}$ αν πε \bar{x} c δε $\alpha\nu\bar{n}\bar{z}$ \bar{n} ζητ- \bar{o} Gal 2:20 "So I for my part do not live; rather, Christ lives in me"

Subject: personal prefixes 78 in the basic pattern, and personal intermediates 80 in the conversions. (The personal prefixes of the durative sentence only occur in this pattern.)

The Personal Prefixes			
†-	$\tau\bar{n}$ -	I am	we are
κ-, alt. ρ-	τε $\tau\bar{n}$ -	you (masc.) are	you (pl.) are
τε-, rare var. τ \bar{p} -		you (fem.) are	
q-	ce-	he/it is	they are
c-		she/it is	

The alternant ρ- 'you' occurs only after negative \bar{n} - (e.g. \bar{n} -ρ- $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ αν "You do not choose").

Special combinations with the future auxiliary $n\alpha$ -

2d sing. fem.: $\tau\epsilon n\alpha$ -, vars. $\tau\epsilon\rho n\alpha$ - and $\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ -, "You are going to . . ."
2d plur.: $\tau\epsilon\tau n\alpha$ -, var. $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}n\alpha$ -, "You are going to . . ."

The personal prefix is bound to its predicate, forming a bound group, and the sequence Subject + Predicate cannot be interrupted by an enclitic or other element: †-με δε.

Further examples: α - \bar{o} ηγ δε $\bar{n}\bar{o}$ i- $\tau\pi\gamma\lambda\eta$ Matt 7:14 "For the gate is narrow"; †- $\alpha\omega$ δε $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - α νη- $\tau\bar{n}$ Matt 8:11 "I tell you"; κ- $\tau\omega\rho\tau\bar{i}$ \bar{n} - α -ετε- $\nu\bar{o}\gamma$ -κ αν νε ShChass 41:29-31 "You seize things that are not yours"; τε- $\gamma\kappa\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ τε- $\bar{o}\bar{v}\epsilon$ \bar{m} - $\pi\bar{o}\epsilon\iota\kappa$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\pi\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$ ShIII 204:4 "You are hungry, you are thirsty, for bread and water"; τε $\tau\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\tau\bar{m}\bar{h}\bar{t}\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{o}$ \bar{m} - $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ εγ- $\bar{o}\omega$ ShChass 97:28-31 "You are in the midst of many great projects"; n - \bar{q} - $\bar{m}\bar{p}\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ αν Luke 24:6 "He is not here"; †- $n\alpha$ - $\tau\alpha\bar{m}\omega$ - $\tau\bar{n}$ Luke 6:47 "I will show you"

Conversions: relative, circumstantial, preterit, focalizing. Cf. 320. When converted, Pattern 2 has the following structure:

Mutable converter 396 + Personal Intermediate + Predicate
 $n\epsilon$ - \bar{i} -με ($n\epsilon\bar{i}$ -με) "I loved" (preterit)

Thus

Basic: $\alpha\epsilon$ -με "They love"

Converted: $\epsilon\tau\bar{o}\gamma$ -με, $\epsilon\gamma$ -με, $n\epsilon\gamma$ -με, $\epsilon\gamma$ -με

319 *Postponed subject:* entity term expanding a personal subject. A 3d-person subject (q, c, $\alpha\epsilon/\gamma$) can be expanded by an entity term later in the clause. The expansion element is usually mediated by $\bar{n}\bar{o}$ i- 87(b).

q- $\alpha\omega\gamma\bar{n}$ ραρ $\bar{n}\bar{o}$ i- $\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau$ - $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{m}\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ "For your Father in heaven knows" (Matt 6:32)

$n\epsilon\alpha$ - $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\gamma$ δε $\bar{n}\bar{o}$ i- $\bar{m}\bar{a}\rho\iota\alpha$ $\tau\bar{m}\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta\bar{n}\bar{n}$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\tau\kappa\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{a}\rho\iota\alpha$ "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were there" (Matt 27:61)

Much less often, it is expanded by apposition 87(c).

q- $\alpha\omega$ ραρ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - α $\bar{n}\tau\bar{o}\alpha$ $\pi\chi\bar{o}\epsilon\iota\alpha$ "For the Lord says" (ShIII 60:4-5)

A first or 2d-person subject must be expanded by apposition 87(c).

†- $\omega\iota\bar{n}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omega$ - $\tau\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{m}$ - $\pi\chi\bar{o}\epsilon\iota\alpha$ $\alpha\nu\kappa$ $\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\bar{i}\bar{o}\alpha$ "I Tertius greet you in the Lord" (Rom 16:22)

In these constructions, the personal morph (†-, - \bar{i} -, κ-, q-, etc.) expresses grammatical information, and the expansion expresses lexical content in a postponed, rhetorically distinct element.

CONVERSIONS OF PATTERNS 1 AND 2

320 Affirmative: Formed with mutable converters 396

	Pattern 1 (pronominal state)	Pattern 2 (prepersonal state)
Relative	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\tau$ (and $\epsilon\tau$ - 405)
Circumstantial	$\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	ϵ ≠
Preterit	$n\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	$n\epsilon$ ≠
Focalizing	$\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	ϵ ≠

Thus

Basic $n\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$, $\alpha\epsilon$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ "The women choose, They choose"

Rel. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $n\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$, $\epsilon\tau\bar{o}\gamma$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$, $\epsilon\tau$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ 405

Circ. $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $n\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$, $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$

Pre. $n\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $n\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$, $n\epsilon\gamma$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$

Foc. $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $n\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$, $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$

Negations: expressed in the following variant forms (where αν always comes after the predicate)

(i) Without negative \bar{n} -: affirmative conversion + αν

Rel. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $n\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ αν, $\epsilon\tau\bar{o}\gamma$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ αν, $\epsilon\tau$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ αν 405

Circ. $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $n\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ αν, $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\alpha\omega\tau\tau$ αν

Pret. $\text{νερε-νεζιομε σωτп an, νεγ-σωтп an}$

Foc. $\text{ερε-νεζιομε σωтп an, εγ-σωтп an}$

(ii) With negative \bar{n} - (var. $\bar{n}n$ -): \bar{n} - + affirmative conversion + an . Only focalizing conversion

Affirm. foc. $\text{ερε-νεζιομε σωтп, εγ-σωтп}$

Neg foc. $\text{n-ερε-νεζιομε σωтп an, n-εγ-σωтп an}$
(vars. $\bar{n}n$ -ερε-νεζιομε σωтп an, $\bar{n}n$ -εγ-σωтп an)

This looks like the negative preterit conversion.

(iii) Immutable sentence converter + negated basic pattern (\bar{n} - ... an): relative and circumstantial (the usual negation)

Basic \bar{n} -νεζιομε σωтп an, \bar{n} -се-σωтп an
"The women do not choose, They do not choose"

Rel. $\text{ετε-}\bar{n}$ -νεζιομε σωтп an, $\text{ετε-}\bar{n}$ -се-σωтп an

Circ. $\text{ε-}\bar{n}$ -νεζιομε σωтп an, $\text{ε-}\bar{n}$ -се-σωтп an

Also occurs with circumstantial preterit 498 (rare)

$\text{ε-νε-}\bar{m}$ -παῖ \bar{p} - $\bar{\theta}$ πεθοογ an
"If this Man were not an evildoer" (John 18:30)

(iv) Focalizing conversion with negation of topic element 453

$\text{ετε-}\bar{n}$ -се-σωтп an + Focal Point

Thus, negative circumstantial and negative focalizing are distinguished as follows.

Circ. $\text{ε-}\bar{n}$ -се-σωтп an
var. εγ-σωтп an
Foc. $\text{ετε-}\bar{n}$ -се-σωтп an
var. \bar{n} -εγ-σωтп an, εγ-σωтп an

Examples. (a) *Relative*: $\text{πρωμε ετερε-τεφβix} \text{ωγωoy}$ Luke 6:8 "The man whose hand (was) withered"; $\text{т-ετερε-χω-с} \text{ροoke}$ 1 Cor 11:5 "She whose head is shaven"; $\text{тκωmн} \bar{n}$ -ερημος $\text{πμα} \text{ετογ-αναχωρει} \bar{n}$ $\text{ζηт-}\bar{q}$ Life of St. Pachomius (Lefort 107a:2-5) "The deserted village where they had made their retreat"; $\text{πζλλο} \text{εт}^{\bar{\theta}}$ -ογαав απα-παλαμων Life of St. Pachomius (Lefort 102b:20-21) "The holy senior monk Apa Palamon"; $\text{παῖ} \text{ετερε-тмнт-сnooyce} \bar{m}$ -φγλн \bar{m} -πενгенос $\text{ζελπιζε} \text{ε-}\bar{\theta}$ $\text{ταzo-}\bar{q}$ Acts 26:7 "Which the twelve tribes of our people hope to attain to"; (negation [i]) $\text{тaῖ} \text{тe} \text{εε} \text{ετερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{κεзнт} \bar{n}$ - \bar{n} $\text{ρωме} \text{εινε} \text{an}$ \bar{n} - νεγερнγ Prov 27:19 "So the hearts of people are not like one another"; $\text{неккemнт-aceвнc} \text{εтн-}\bar{p}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{xpia} \text{an} \bar{n}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{xoo-}\bar{y}$ $\text{oyā} \text{oyā}$ ShChass 34:23-26 "Your other impious deeds, which we need not enumerate"; $\text{n-εт}^{\bar{\theta}}$ - $\text{oyey-}\bar{p}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{нове} \bar{m}$ - $\text{n-εт}^{\bar{\theta}}$ - $\text{oyey-}\bar{e}$ $\text{ειpe} \text{an}$ ShChass 66:58-67:2 "Those who want to sin and those who don't"; (negation [iii]) $\text{πμα} \text{ετε-}\bar{m}$ - $\text{πεγqнт} \text{na-}\bar{moy} \text{an}$ Mark 9:48 "Where their worm does not die"; \bar{n} $\text{ρωме} \text{ετε-}\bar{n}$ - $\text{ce-}\bar{p}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{ωay} \text{an} \bar{n}$ - $\text{тмнт-epō} \bar{n}$ - mπнγe ShChass 113:41-44 "People who are not worthy of the kingdom of the heavens"; $\text{n-εт}^{\bar{\theta}}$ - \bar{p} - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{zwb} \dots \text{n-εтe-}\bar{n}$ - \bar{q} - \bar{p} - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{zwb} \text{ae} \text{an}$ Rom 4:4-5 "One who works

... One who does not work." (b) *Circumstantial*: $\text{ερε-}\bar{z}$ $\text{ηρωαnс} \bar{o}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{тетpαρχнc} \text{εxн-тpαλλαia}$ Luke 3:1 "And Herod being tetrarch of Galilee"; $\text{ερε-}\bar{x}$ - c $\text{βολπ} \text{εβολ}$ 1 Cor 11:13 "With her head being uncovered"; $\text{εγ-}\bar{moo}\bar{w}$ $\text{ε} \bar{n}$ - $\text{нentoлн} \text{тнp-oy} \bar{n}$ - \bar{n} $\text{αικαiωμα} \bar{m}$ - πxoeic Luke 1:6 "Walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord"; (negation [i]) $\text{зeнpωme} \dots \text{ερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{εγmнт-ακaεapтoc} \text{знт an} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ εγepнγ ShChass 168:57-169:4 "People whose impurities are no secret to one another"; $\text{oyнт-с-тeзoyciα} \text{ε-}\bar{\theta}$ $\text{κωνc} \text{n} \text{ε-}\bar{\theta}$ $\text{тм-κωνc} \text{εγ-κελεγε} \text{na-с an}$ ShIV 13:13-14 "It has the authority to slay or not slay, without being ordered to do so"; (negation [iii]) $\text{oypωme} \text{n-oywt} \bar{m}$ - $\text{πonнpoc} \text{ε-}\bar{m}$ - $\text{πxoeic} \text{ωooп} \bar{n}$ $\text{mα-}\bar{q}$ an ShIII 134:12 "Any single wicked person with whom the Lord does not dwell"; $\text{зeнкemαῖн} \dots \text{naῖ} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ - $\text{ce-}\bar{ch}$ $\text{z an} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ εῖxωme John 20:30 "Other signs ... which are not written in this book." (c) *Preterit*: $\text{νερε-}\bar{poyα} \text{пoyα} \bar{t}$ \bar{m} - $\text{πεqoyoi} \text{εzoyн} \text{epo-}\bar{q}$ $\text{z n-oyнoб} \bar{n}$ - cmн Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 9 (Garitte 14:24-25) "Each one was rushing at him with a loud cry"; $\text{nωaxε} \text{neq-ωooп} \bar{n}$ naзpн-πnoyтe John 1:1 "The Word was with God"; (negation [i]) $\text{νερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{εqкecннγ} \text{gap} \text{пcтeтeγe} \text{epo-}\bar{q}$ an John 7:5 "For even His brothers did not believe in Him"; $\text{neq-oyωy} \text{gap} \text{an} \text{πε} \text{ε-}\bar{\theta}$ $\text{moo}\bar{w}$ $\text{z n-}\bar{t}$ oyαaia John 7:1 "For He did not want to go about in Judea." (d) *Focalizing*: $\text{εβολ} \text{των} \text{n} \text{зитн-oy} \text{ερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{ai} \text{ωooп} \text{na-}\bar{n}$ ShIII 72:2-3 "Whence or how is it that these things are happening to us?"; $\text{ερε-тпнγн} \bar{m}$ - $\text{пωnз} \bar{z}$ \bar{n} - $\text{тбix} \bar{m}$ - пaικaιoc Prov 10:11 "The fountain of life is in the hand of the righteous"; $\text{n-εт}^{\bar{\theta}}$ - $\text{xocε} \text{εγ-xocε} \text{εтвe-}\bar{n}$ $\text{εγпpαзic} \text{n-}\bar{n}$ αpαθoн ShIV 4:2-3 "The exalted are exalted on account of their good deeds"; (negation [i]) \bar{m} $\text{ερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{πεγβωλ} \text{ωooп an} \text{εβολ} \text{зитн-πnoyтe}$ Gen 40:8 "Is not the interpretation of them through God?"; $\text{тмнт-epo} \bar{n}$ - $\text{mπнγe} \text{εc-}\bar{z}$ $\text{m-πeιma} \text{an} \text{n} \text{пaῖ}$ ShAmél II 462:10-11 "The kingdom of the heavens is not here or there"; (negation [ii]) $\text{n-ερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{пpωme} \text{na-}\bar{w}$ \bar{n} $\text{an} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{пoeиk} \text{mмate}$ Luke 4:4 "A person shall not live by bread alone"; \bar{m} $\text{n-εн-ωy} \text{an} \bar{n}$ - $\text{nιγpαфн} \text{n-oywt}$ ShAmél I 183:9 "Do we not read the very same scriptures?" $\text{пeῖωwнe} \bar{n}$ $\text{n-εq-ωooп an} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ пmoγ John 11:4 "This illness is not unto death"; (negation [iv]) $\text{n-εт}^{\bar{\theta}}$ - $\text{oywm} \text{εq-oywm} \bar{m}$ - $\text{πxoeic} \dots \text{ayw} \text{n-εтe-}\bar{n}$ - \bar{q} - $\text{oywm} \text{an} \text{εтe-}\bar{n}$ - \bar{q} - $\text{oywm} \text{an} \bar{m}$ - πxoeic Rom 14:6 "As for the one who eats, it is in honor of the Lord that he eats ... And as for the one who does not eat, it is in honor of the Lord that he does not eat"

321 *Extrapolation of the subject 313 with its own extraposed mutable converter* is rare.

Examples: *circumstantial* ($\text{ερε-}\dots \text{ε} \dots$) $\text{oyмннγe} \text{aq-εῖ} \text{ερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{ε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{ωay-}\bar{moyтe} \text{epo-}\bar{q}$ $\text{xε-}\bar{iou} \text{ααc} \dots \text{εq-}\bar{moo}\bar{w}$ знт-oy Luke 22:47 "A crowd came, with the one called Judas ... preceding them"; *preterit* ($\text{ε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{ερε-}\dots \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ \dots , circumstantial preterit) $\text{онтoc} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{ερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{тbнooγe} \bar{m}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ $\text{mine} \bar{n}$ $\text{im} \text{ayw} \bar{n}$ $\text{кезwon} \dots \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{εγ-}\bar{n}$ $\text{noi} \bar{m}$ - $\text{n-εтoγ-na-}\bar{moy} \text{εтвннт-}\bar{q}$ $\text{εγwan-oyom-}\bar{q}$ $\text{ney-na-}\bar{mep-}\bar{p}$ - $\text{oy} \text{epo-}\bar{q}$ $\text{an} \text{εнeз}$ ShGué 164b:12-15 "Truly, if all kinds of beasts and other living things ... knew what they would die from if they ate it, they would never take a bite of it"; *focalizing* ($\text{ερε-}\dots \text{ε} \dots$) $\text{ερε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{nnoβε} \text{gap} \bar{n}$ - $\text{nзeллнн} \bar{m}$ - $\text{na-}\bar{n-εт}^{\bar{\theta}}$ - $\text{oyωyт} \text{тнp-oy} \bar{n}$ - $\text{nзeиkωн} \bar{n}$ - $\text{nααиmонион} \text{εγ-oyонз} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{πnoyтe} \text{mαγaa-}\bar{q}$ $\text{an} \text{αλλα} \text{ε-}\bar{n}$ $\text{нкepωme} \text{on}$ ShIII 209:13-15 "For the sins of the Greeks, and those of all people who worship images of demons, are plain not only to God but also to human beings"

322 Pattern 3: Non-definite Subject

οὐν- + *Non-definite Subject* | *Predicate*

οὐν-δε δε κωτ εχω-с

"Another is building upon it" (1 Cor 3:10)

This pattern consists of a basic existential sentence (οὐν-/μν- 'there is/there is not') expanded by a durative predicate 479. οὐν-/μν- is sometimes absent in conversion 324(ii).

Negation: μν- 250 replaces οὐν-

οὐν-, var. ουν-; μν-, var. μμν-. After converters, οὐν- (ουν-) is often written ὕν- (ύν-), and μν- is often written μμν- without its first superlinear stroke: ε-ὕν-, νε-ὕν-, ετε-μμν- (more rarely ετε-ὕν-) etc.

Subject: non-definites (indef. and zero article phrases and pronouns), bare specifiers, and bare specifier phrases. The pronoun οὐον νιμ and article phrases with ... νιμ occur sometimes in this pattern and sometimes in Pattern 1.

Subjects in the negative often have a zero article, whereas the corresponding affirmatives often have indef. ογ- or ζεν-; likewise, corresponding to οὐν-ογα and οὐν-ροεινε "Someone is . . . , Some are . . ." is negative μν-λααγ "No one is . . . , None are . . .".

Subject and predicate are not bound; consequently, an enclitic conjunction such as δε 235(b) or a modifier of the subject can interrupt the sequence of Subject | Predicate: οὐν-δε δε κωτ. For οὐν-⁰δομ 'be able (to)', cf. 394.

Further examples: εωωπε οὐν-ογμελος ωωνε 1 Cor 12:26 "If one member suffers"; αγ-ναγχε-μν-δεχοι μμαγ John 6:22 "They saw that there had been no other boat there"; μη οὐν-⁰μεεγε πολυμει μμμα-κ ApophPatr 181 (Chaine 44:16-17 = Z 317:21-22) "Are any thoughts bothering you?"; εωχε-οὐν-ογα δε με μ-πνουτε 1 Cor 8:3 "But if indeed one loves God"; π-ετε-ουν-ουν-επο-q ShIII 149:6-7 "The debtor"; name ουν-αγαθον νιμ να-ωωπε να-q ShIV 188:1-2 "Truly, every good thing will happen to him"; μν-ουν νιμ να-ω-qi ζα-πειωαχε Matt 19:11 "Not all can bear this saying"; οὐν-ζαζ ωογ-ωογ μμο-ογ 2 Cor 11:18 "Many boast"; οὐν-ογνρ н-οειк нте-тнγтн Matt 15:34 "How many loaves have you?"; μη μн-мнт-снooyс н-ογнoу 2м-πεζooy John 11:9 "Pray tell, are there not twelve hours in the day?"

Conversions: Relative, circumstantial, preterit, focalizing. Cf. 324.

323 Pattern 3a: Definite or non-definite subject presented by ειс-

A similar pattern is formed with ειс- 'here is, behold'.

ειс- + *Definite or Non-definite Subject* | *Predicate*

ειс-поγρро ннγ не-⁰

"Behold, your king is coming to you" (Matt 21:5)

When formed with ειс-, this pattern is compatible with both definite and non-definite subjects; it has no negation and no conversions. For further examples, cf. 479.

CONVERSIONS OF PATTERN 3

- 324 (i) *Affirmative and negative:* Immutable sentence converter (ετε-, ε-, νε-, ε- 396[b]) + whole basic pattern

Basic οὐν-ζενζιομε σωтп, μн-⁰сζιμε σωтп

"Some women choose, No women choose"

Relative ετε-(ο)ὕν-ζενζιομε σωтп, ετε-μн-⁰сζιμε σωтп

Circumstantial ε-(ο)ὕν-ζενζιομε σωтп, ε-μн-⁰сζιμε σωтп

Preterit не-(ο)ὕн-ζενζιομε σωтп, не-μн-⁰сζιμε σωтп

Focalizing ε-(ο)ὕн-ζενζιομε σωтп, ε-μн-⁰сζιμε σωтп

- (ii) *Affirmative variant:* Mutable converter (ετερε-, ере-, нере-, ере-) in place of οὐн-

Basic οὐн-ζενζιομε σωтп, "Some women choose"

Relative етере-ζенζиome σωтп

Circumstantial ере-ζенζиome σωтп

Preterit нере-ζенζиome σωтп

Focalizing ере-ζенζиome σωтп

- (iii) *Focalizing with negation of topic element* 453

ετε-μн- . . . σωтп

Examples. (a) *Relative:* (i) пζωв ετε-οὐн-ζαζ нoγχε μмо-q εпазоу μмо-ογ εтве-⁰ζомт ShChass 85:40-44 "The thing that many neglect for money"; μма μ-петра пма ετε-μн-⁰каз ε-наωω-q нзнт-q Matt 13:5 "Rocky ground, where there (was) not much soil"; (ii) пма гар етере-снаγ н ωомнт сооγз еро-q ε-паран Matt 18:20 "For where two or three are gathered in my name." (b) *Circumstantial:* (i) ε-ὕн-ογмннωε μмаγ Acts 1:15 "Inasmuch as a crowd was there"; ε-μнн-⁰ρωме наγ еро-q ShChass 14:35-37 "Without anyone seeing him"; (ii) ζωс ере-ογс†χαριон то зiωω-q ApophPatr 180 (Chaine 43:25 = Z 316:29) "As though he were wearing a tunic." (c) *Preterit:* (i) не-ὕн-ζенωоос δε ζн-теχωρα ет⁰-μмаγ Luke 2:8 "And there were shepherds in that region"; не-μнн-лааγ ментoi ωахе етвннт-q ζн-ογпаррнcia John 7:13 "Yet no one spoke openly of Him"; (ii) нере-ογноб н-ωне тааηγ еро-q Paphnoute Cephalas, Stories of the Monks of the Desert (BMis 474:17-18) "A huge stone was lying upon him." (d) *Focalizing:* (i) ара ε-οὐн-ζентнζ μ-πноγте πпан-тократωр ShChass 186:41-44 "So, does God almighty have wings?"; ε-μн-ωбom енез ε-⁰χωк εвоλ н-н-ет⁰-†-πεγoγoi еро-ογ Heb 10:1 "It can never make perfect those who draw near"; н наω н-ze ε-οὐн-лааγ ωооп ζа-теqзh ShWess9 147c:22-25 "Or how is it that anything exists before Him?"; (ii) ере-ниμ на-на на-н ShP 131⁴v a:14 "Who will have mercy upon us?"; (iii)

ἐτε-μν-^θῶρδ δε νηγ ἐχν-νιμ ἐβολ ζίτοοτ-ῳ Job 25:3 "And upon whom will there not come a snare from him?"; μη ἐτε-μν-ῶμ ἴμο-ει ἐ-^θτογ-χε-τηγτῆ Isa 50:2 "Pray tell, is it that I do not have the ability to save you?"

15 Non-durative Conjugation

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THE STRUCTURE OF NON-DURATIVE CONJUGATION

COMPONENTS AND PATTERNS OF NON-DURATIVE CONJUGATION

325 'Non-durative conjugation' is a set of three patterns

- (1) $\alpha-\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\sigma\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\beta}$ "But Jesus answered" (Luke 22:51)
 $\alpha\varsigma-\sigma\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\beta}$ "He answered" (Matt 3:15)
- (2) $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon-\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\sigma\gamma\omega$ "When Jesus had finished" (Matt 7:28)
 $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma-\sigma\gamma\omega$ $\Delta\epsilon$ "And when He had ceased" (Luke 5:4)
- (3) ... $\tau\rho\epsilon-\iota\eta\varsigma\sigma\gamma\varsigma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\kappa\omicron\tau-\bar{\eta}$ "... Jesus to return"
... $\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma-\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ "... Him to speak"

(e.g. in $\gamma\bar{\mu}-\pi\tau\rho\epsilon-\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\kappa\omicron\tau-\bar{\eta}$ Luke 8:40 "Now as Jesus was returning" and $\gamma\bar{\mu}-\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma-\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ Luke 11:37 "While He was speaking")

each containing a non-durative conjugation base ($\alpha-$, $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$, $\tau\rho\epsilon-$, etc.) as its first essential constituent, as follows:

Conjugation Base + Entity Term + Infinitive

The conjugation bases are nexus morphs 248, and they occur in two states 30—prenominal and prepersonal.

STRUCTURE OF NON-DURATIVE CONJUGATION

Prenominal Prepersonal
State State

Pattern (1): Main Clause Bases

$\alpha-$	$\alpha\epsilon$	Past Tense 334 affirm. (<i>He chose</i>)
$\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon-$	$\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon$	Past Tense neg. (<i>He did not choose</i>)
$\bar{\eta}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon-$	$\bar{\eta}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$	'not yet' 336 (<i>He has not yet chosen</i>)
$\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon-$	$\psi\alpha\epsilon$	Aorist 337 affirm. (<i>He chooses</i>)
$\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$	$\mu\epsilon\epsilon$	Aorist neg. (<i>He does not choose</i>)
$\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon-$	Optative 338 affirm. (<i>He shall choose</i>)
$\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon-$	$\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon$	Optative neg. (<i>He shall not choose</i>)
$\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon-$	$\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon$	Jussive 340 affirm. (<i>Let him choose</i>)
$\bar{\eta}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\epsilon-$	$\bar{\eta}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\epsilon$	Jussive neg. (<i>Let him not choose</i>)

Pattern (2): Subordinate Clause Bases

$\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$	$\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$	Precursive 'after, when' (past) 344 (<i>After he chose</i>)
$\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\eta-$	$\epsilon\epsilon\psi\alpha\eta-$	Conditional 'if, when' 346 (<i>If he chooses</i>)
var. $\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$	$\epsilon\epsilon$	
$\psi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon-$	$\psi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon$	Limitative 'until' 349 (<i>Until he chooses</i>)
$\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon-$	$\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$	Conjunctive 351 (... and choose)
$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-$	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$	Future Conjunctive 357 (... and he shall choose)

Pattern (3): Causative Infinitive Base

$\tau\rho\epsilon-$	$\tau\rho\epsilon\epsilon$	Causative Infinitive 359 (... him to choose, ... cause him to choose)
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The bases are conjugated by suffixation of an entity term as subject ($\alpha-\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$, $\alpha-\varsigma$, etc.); personal subjects are expressed by the personal intermediates 80.

Two of the prepersonal bases ($\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon-$ and $\epsilon\epsilon\psi\alpha\eta-$) are split morphs, in the middle of which the personal morph occurs (thus $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ occurs as $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon-$, etc.) A special set of personal intermediates occurs with the conjunctive base $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon-$ 83.

The conjugated base actualizes 160 the verb lexeme as a non-durative infinitive 328. (General details of verbal syntax can be found in chapter 8.) Base + infinitive together constitute the predicate 247, in two (or three) discontinuous parts. The base is the syntactic nucleus of the predicate, and the infinitive expresses lexical content. The entity term is subject (actor of the verb).

		<i>subject</i>			
α	$-$	$\iota\eta\varsigma\sigma\gamma\varsigma$	$\sigma\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\beta}$	"Jesus answered"	
past	+	"Jesus"	+	"answer"	
tense					
(base)				(infinitive)	
		predicate ("answered")			

In patterns built on a prenominal conjugation base, subject and infinitive are not bound; consequently, an enclitic such as $\Delta\epsilon$ 235(b) or an elaborating element (or both) can interrupt the sequence of Subject | Infinitive: $\alpha-\bar{\iota}\omega-\gamma\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\pi\omega\beta\alpha\pi\tau\bar{\iota}\varsigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ Luke 7:33 "For John the Baptist has come."

In elliptical rhetoric, the infinitive is not expressed and the base by itself makes up the predicate. E.g. οὐτε ἴπε-παῖ ῥ-⁰νοβε οὐτε ἴπε-νεϣκεῖοτε John 9:3 "This man did not sin; and also his parents *didn't*."

TENSE AND CO-OCCURRING CATEGORIES

- 326** The overall Coptic *tense system* is described in chapter 25. Some non-durative bases express *past* or *future* time range within the main tense system. Others express a *tenseless* reference point; still others express *relative time*. Two of the bases are unrelated to the tense system.

Past: α-/ἴπε- **334**, ἴπατε- **336**

Future: ερε-/ἴνε- **338**, ταρε- **357**

Tenseless: ϣαρε-/μερε- **337**, ἴτε- **351**

Relative time: *after* ἴτερε- **344**, *when(ever)/if* ερϣαν- **346**, *until* ϣαντε- **349**

Unrelated to tense: μαρε-/ἴπῖτρε- **340**, τρε- **359**

Most bases also co-express *non-tense categories*, such as affirmation/negation, completion or expected completion of action, factual versus hypothetical action, intention/wish, sequel, causation. Those of Patterns (1) and (2) also signal main or subordinate clause status **248**, respectively.

Still other, co-occurring, non-tense categories are formally signalled on a larger scale by the *discourse type* **527** (e.g. narrative, generalization, authoritative command) in which the sentence occurs. The *discourse perspective* of a particular type of discourse (e.g. statement of timeless truth, contemporaneous observation, etc.) is a major factor in the meaning expressed by any actual occurrence of a non-durative pattern, as all these category systems intersect.

Some of the bases of Pattern (1) also occur as in absolute state. Without subject or predicate expressed, they have the function of non-inflected interjections **241** of affirmation and denial; e.g. ϣο 'Yes!' (I, we, you, it, somebody *etc.* habitually does, cf. ϣα= **337**); ἴπε 'No!' (I, we, you, it, somebody *etc.* did not, cf. ἴπ= **334**); ἴνο 'No!' (It shall not come to pass!, cf. ἴνε= **338**). With personal subject attached, the base μαρε= **340** forms the inflected interjections **242** μαρο-ν "Let's go" and μαρο-κ "Won't you go."

327 DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE THREE PATTERNS

(1) *Pattern 1* (**334**) forms *main clauses* **248** and is negated by substitution of the negative alternant base **250** (thus ἴπε- in place of α-); e.g. αс-моу Matt 22:27 "She died"; neg. ἴπс-моу Matt 9:24 "She has not died, She did not die." It is subject to conversion (except for affirm. conditional ερε-).

(2) *Pattern 2* (**342**) forms *subordinate clauses* **248** and is negated by τἴ- **250** occurring between base and infinitive. It is not subject to conversion. E.g.

ἴτεροу-зе еро-қ Mark 1:37 "When they found Him"; ἴτεроу-тм-зе еро-қ Luke 2:45 "When they did not find Him."

(3) *Pattern 3* (**359**), the *causative infinitive*, functions simultaneously as conjugation base and infinitive. Being an infinitive, тре can either be conjugated (αқ-трес-сәтп "He caused her to choose"), or complete a verbal auxiliary (қ-на-трес-сәтп "He will make her choose"), or be actualized as a masc. common noun (п-трес-сәтп "Her [act of] choosing"). This ambivalence sets тре apart, in function and rank, from the other bases. It is negated by τἴ- **250(b)**. E.g. ε-⁰треқ-вәк езоуи ε-тἴ-т-еро ἴ-п-ноуи Mark 10:25 "For him to enter the kingdom of God"; ε-⁰тἴ-треқ-вәк езоуи ε-п-еуатрон Acts 19:31 "For him not to venture into the theater."

THE 'NON-DURATIVE' INFINITIVE

- 328** In durative sentence patterns (chapter 14) the infinitive is actualized so as to express *durativity* (the enduring, ongoing, or general character of an action or process). But when the infinitive is actualized in other environments, namely

non-durative conjugation

as a masc. common noun **105(c)**

as the imperative (chapter 16)

as a lexical complement after the future auxiliary на- 'is going to' **311** or other verbal auxiliary **184** such as оуеу- 'want to'

there is no expression of the category of durativity. Such may be termed the '*non-durative infinitive*', bearing in mind that *this means nothing more than 'an infinitive not explicitly expressing the category of durativity'*. (In other words, these four environments do not signal information about the category of durativity one way or the other.) Syntactically, the non-durative infinitive is less restricted than the durative infinitive in how it relates to direct objects **329**.

DIRECT OBJECT SYNTAX OF MUTABLE INFINITIVES

- 329** *Direct object after the non-durative mutable infinitive*. After a non-durative mutable infinitive **167**, e.g. нәуәе нәх- нәх= 'cast (out)', any zero article phrase as direct object normally is suffixed to the prenominal state. E.g. ме́ре-лаау нәх-⁰нрп̄ в-в̄рре ε-⁰зәт н-ас Mark 2:22 "No one puts new wine into old wineskins." Any other direct objects of the mutable infinitive occur both mediated by the preposition н-, ἴмо= and suffixed to the infinitive

нәуәе н- varies with нәх-

нәуәе ἴмо= varies with нәх=

and these two constructions vary with one another in stylistic contrast. For examples and further details, cf. 171(c).

TERM IN EXTRAPOSITION

- 330 Any personal morph (or personal element of the possessive article) within the sentence pattern can be anticipated by a term in extraposition, that is, a term placed at the front of the sentence pattern ('extraposed')

<i>Extraposed Term</i>	<i>Sentence Pattern</i>
	(contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)
Anticipation	| Resumption
Topic under discussion	| Comment

αβραζαμ | αψ-χοπο ν-ισαακ
 "Abraham, | he begat Isaac" (Matt 1:2)

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition and personal morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The agreeing personal morph shows how the extraposed term relates to the sentence.

(a) 1st and 2d person morphs can only be preceded by an extraposed personal independent.

ντωτν δε | ατετν-αα-ψ ν-σπηλαιον ν-σοονε
 "But as for you, | you made it a den of robbers" (Matt 21:13)

(b) 3d person morphs can be preceded by either a personal independent or some other entity term.

ντοψ δε | ντερεψ-βωκ
 "He, | when he came" (Acts 11:23)

πειρωβ | αι-ναψ ερο-ψ
 "I had the following vision (As for the following thing, | I saw it)" (ShIII 38:3-4)

(For extraposition of the subject with its own conjugation base, cf. 332[a].) Several terms can occur in extraposition, side by side.

ταϊ δε | εβολ ζμ-πесψωωτ | π-ετ⁰-ντα-с τηρ-ψ | αс-нох-ψ
 "But she out of her poverty put in all that she had (But she, | out of her poverty, | all that she had, | she put it in)" (Luke 21:4)

ντωτν δε | π-ετ⁰-ογααβ αψω παικαιος | ατετν-αρνα νμο-ψ
 "But you denied the Holy and Righteous One (But you, | the Holy and Righteous One, | you denied Him)" (Acts 3:14)

Further examples: ναϊ | ετετνψαν-ζαρεζ ερω-τν ερο-οψ Acts 15:29 "If you keep yourselves from these"; ζαζ δε ν-ν-ενт-αψ-сωτм ε-ψααε | αψ-πιστεψε Acts 4:4 "But many of those who heard the word believed"; νм н-ppo εψ-на-βωк ε-⁰μιψε νм-кєрро | мн н-ψ-на-ζμοос αν νψορп νψ-χι-⁰ψοαηε Luke 14:31 "What king, going to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel?"

POSTPONED SUBJECT: ENTITY TERM EXPANDING A PERSONAL SUBJECT

- 331 A 3d-person subject (ψ, с, γ) can be expanded by an entity term later in the clause. The expansion element is usually mediated by νδ1-.

αψ-ει νδ1-ιс (Matt 3:13) "Jesus came"

ντερεψ-μοψ δε νδ1-ζηρωαηс "But when Herod had died" (Matt 2:19)

ζм-πtreψ-τωмνт εро-ψ νδ1-мєλχисєαєк "While Melchisedek was encountering him" (Heb 7:10)

αψ-χноу-ψ νδ1-петрос νм-їακωβос νм-їωζαnnηс мн-ан-αρεαс "Peter and James and John and Andrew asked Him" (Mark 13:3)

Much less often, it is expanded by apposition; cf. 87(c).

A 1st or 2d-person subject must be expanded by apposition 87(c).

πεγαγγελιον . . . παϊ ενт-αї-ψωπε να-ψ ανок παυλος ν-⁰κηρυξ αψω ν-⁰διακονос "The gospel . . . of which I, Paul, became a herald and minister" (Col 1:23)

хекаас . . . ενε-χι να-н ν-οусопс εψ-таχρηψ н-ент-αψ-пωт εζοуη "So that we who have fled for refuge . . . might have strong encouragement" (Heb 6:18)

In these constructions, the personal morph expresses grammatical information, and the expansion expresses lexical content in a postponed, rhetorically distinct element.

OTHER ELABORATIONS OF SUBJECT OR INFINITIVE

- 332 Other elaborations of subject or infinitive. Additionally, the following elaborations of subject and infinitive also occur.

(a) Extraposition of the subject 330 with its own extraposed base: α-πρωμε αψ-сωтп

Examples: α-неграмматеус δε νм-нефариссаиос αψ-архи м-⁰мокмєк Luke 5:21 "And the scribes and the Pharisees began to question"; хєкаас ере-пноуте м-пенхоєис ιс пєχс пєиωт м-пєооу еψє-† нн-тн ν-οуπnα ν-сοφια Eph 1:17 "So that the God of our lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, might give you a spirit of wisdom"; η ерван-зоуō е-нмннψє нт-ак-хоо-с хє-сє-χι-⁰ζнау на-ψ еуψан-пωнт на-ї єхн-†-⁰сo ShChass 41:11-16 "Indeed, if more than the crowds that you claim are bringing possessions to him are ceaselessly transferring their allegiance to me"; нте-тмнт-ат-сѣве тевоа ζн-тефүсис є-αс-хєк-пномос εβολ нс-крпне ммо-к Rom 2:27 "And the uncircumcision of the physical element that has kept the Law (i.e. those who are physically uncircumcised but have kept the Law) will condemn you"

- (b) Multiple subjects expanding one single base: α-πρωμε αγω τεσζιμε
 σωτπ

Two or more non-personal subjects can be linked by $\overline{m\bar{n}}$ -, αγω, η, etc. within the conjugation pattern. E.g. α-νεφαιρссαιос δε $\overline{m\bar{n}}$ -неγραμματεуς κр̄м̄р̄м̄ εζοуη
 ε-νεφμαεnтнс Luke 5:30 "And the Pharisees and the scribes murmured against His disciples."

- (c) Multiple subjects each with its own base: α-πρωμε (αγω) α-τεсζιμε
 σωтп

Examples: $\overline{n\bar{t}o\bar{k}}$ δε $\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\theta\rho\epsilon\eta}$ - $\overline{p\epsilon\zeta\tau}$ - $\overline{\theta\varsigma n o\eta}$ εβολ $\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\theta\rho\epsilon\eta}$ - $\overline{\omega\bar{m}\omega\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\theta\epsilon\iota\delta o\lambda o\eta}$ $\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\theta\zeta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta n}$... $\overline{\tau\varsigma\iota o}$ -κ ShChass 26:53-27:11 "But for your part, murderers, idolaters, pagans (etc.) did not satisfy you"

- (d) Multiple infinitives expanding one single base and subject: α-πρωμε βωκ
 αγω εἶ

Two or more infinitives as such can be linked by conjunction (αγω, η, etc.) within the conjugation pattern. E.g. ε- $\overline{m\bar{n}}$ -οу̇λ̇ \overline{n} -οу̇ωт̇ хε- $\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{q}}$ -ωмс̇ αγω қωт̇ε εβολ ShWess9 87a:30-33 "Without there being a single one who did not sink and perish"; εу̇ωλ̇η-х̇ноу̇-κ η х̇ноу̇-т̇η ShAmél II 528:7 "If they ask you or ask us"; α̇ντ̇ι- $\overline{\theta\tau\epsilon\gamma}$ -ωр̇х̇ η т̇ωм̇ εро-οу̇ ShAmél II 505:5 "Instead of strengthening and closing them."

ADVERBIAL PREMODIFIER BEFORE THE SENTENCE PATTERN

- 333 An adverb or prepositional phrase (chapter 9) preceding the sentence pattern lays down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the sentence is being asserted (i.e. under which the predication is made).

Premodifier | Sentence Pattern

ζραι δε $\overline{z\bar{n}}$ -νεζοοу̇ εт̇ $\overline{\theta}$ - $\overline{m\bar{m}\alpha\gamma}$ | αq-εἰ $\overline{n\bar{b}i}$ -ιωζανннс̇ п̇βαπт̇ιςт̇нс̇
 "In those days came John the Baptist" (Matt 3:1)

εβολ ζιт̇ \overline{n} -кез̇иη | αγ-α̇ναх̇ωρεἰ "By another way, they departed"
 (Matt 2:12)

$\overline{n\theta\epsilon}$ ε̇νт̇-α̇κ-πισт̇εу̇ε | μαρεс̇-ω̇ωп̇ε ηα-κ "As you have believed be it done for you" (Matt 8:13)

Adverbial clauses and infinitive phrases 490 occur in this position with the same function; e.g. $\overline{n\tau\epsilon\rho o\gamma}$ -ηαγ δε ε- $\overline{p\varsigma\iota o\gamma}$ | αγ-ραу̇ε Matt 2:10 "When they saw the star, they rejoiced." Conjunctions and initial attitude markers (chapter 10) also occur in premodifier position.

THE NON-DURATIVE CONJUGATION PATTERNS

PATTERN 1: THE MAIN-CLAUSE BASES

334 The past tense α-

αq-с̇ωт̇п̇/ $\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{q}}$ -с̇ωт̇п̇

He chose *or* has chosen

He did not choose *or* has not chosen

Bases: affirm. α-, α̇; neg. $\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon}$ -, $\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}}$

Affirmative		Negative	
1 αἶ-	α̇η-	$\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{i}}$ -	$\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{n}}$ -
2 α̇κ-	α̇т̇εт̇ \overline{n} -	$\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{k}}$ -	$\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon\tau\bar{n}}$ -
α-, vars. α̇р̇-, α̇р̇ε-		$\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon}$ -, var. $\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{p}}$ -	
3 α̇q-	α̇γ-	$\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{q}}$ -	$\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{o}\gamma}$ -
α̇с̇-		$\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{c}}$ -	

α- expresses the past time range without reference to durativity. (English translations of α- are influenced by the discourse type 527 in which it occurs; e.g. event-oriented narrative, αγ-εἶ ψα-ἰωζανннс̇ John 3:26 "They came to John," versus present-based description of the past, \overline{n} -α̇но̇к̇ α̇η̇ п̇ε̇ п̇ε̇х̇с̇ α̇λλα хε- $\overline{n\bar{t}}$ -αγ-тау̇о-εἶ ζα̇θ̇η̇ \overline{m} -п̇-εт̇ $\overline{\theta}$ - $\overline{m\bar{m}\alpha\gamma}$ John 3:28 "I am not the Christ, but I have been sent before Him.")

Further examples: αq-х̇ι̇ \overline{n} -οу̇οἰ̇к̇ αq-с̇моу̇ εро-q αq-поу̇- \overline{q} αγω αq-та̇α- \overline{q} ηα-γ Mark 14:22 "He took bread, blessed it, broke it, and gave it to them"; $\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{q}}$ - \overline{p} -α̇α̇α̇γ̇ δε \overline{n} -βο̇м̇ $\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{m}\alpha}$ εт̇ $\overline{\theta}$ - $\overline{m\bar{m}\alpha\gamma}$ Mark 6:5 "And He did no mighty work there"; α̇κ-ι̇ ε- $\overline{\theta}$ -та̇ко-η̇ Luke 4:34 "Have You come to destroy us?"; $\overline{m\bar{p}\bar{c}}$ -моу̇ α̇λλα εс̇- $\overline{n\bar{k}o\tau\bar{k}}$ Mark 5:39 "She has not died but is sleeping"; $\overline{p\bar{n}o\gamma\tau\epsilon}$ $\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon}$ -α̇α̇α̇γ̇ ηαγ̇ εро- \overline{q} ε̇νε̇ζ̇ John 1:18 "No one has ever seen God"; α̇но̇к̇ αἶ-εἶ̇ $\overline{z\bar{m}}$ -п̇ран̇ \overline{m} -παἶ̇ωт̇ αγω $\overline{m\bar{p}\epsilon\tau\bar{n}}$ -х̇ι̇т̇ $\overline{\theta}$ John 5:43 "I have come in My Father's name and you have not received Me" (or I came in My Father's name and you did not receive Me); α-п̇ω̇η̇ρε̇ με̇н̇ м̇-п̇ε̇с̇т̇рат̇η̇λα̇η̇т̇нс̇ εт̇ $\overline{\theta}$ - $\overline{z\bar{n}}$ -т̇πο̇λ̇ις̇ $\overline{n\bar{n}\epsilon\zeta o\gamma}$ εт̇ $\overline{\theta}$ - $\overline{m\bar{m}\alpha\gamma}$ то̇λ̇μα̇ ε- $\overline{n\epsilon\iota\mu\bar{n}\tau}$ - $\overline{p\epsilon\eta}$ -т̇ω̇ζ̇ ShIII 32:27-28 "Indeed, the son of the general who was then in the city dared to espouse these confused doctrines"; α-γ̇ω̇т̇ο̇ρ̇т̇ \overline{p} δε ω̇ω̇п̇ε̇ ε̇х̇η̇-ο̇γ̇ο̇η̇ $\overline{n\bar{i}m}$ Luke 4:36 "And they were all amazed (And amazement came upon all)"; α-ο̇γ̇α̇ δε εἰ Acts 5:25 "And some one came"; α-κε̇α̇г̇ε̇λ̇ο̇с̇ εἰ εβολ Rev 14:17 "And another angel came out"; α-παἶ̇ ω̇ω̇п̇ε̇ ε̇q-ο̇γ̇ο̇η̇ \overline{z} εβολ Acts 9:42 "This became known"; α- $\overline{\tau\bar{c}}$ ο̇γ̇ω̇ψ̇β̇ Luke 4:8 "Jesus answered"; α-р̇ω̇- \overline{q} δε ο̇γ̇ω̇η̇ Luke 1:64 "And his mouth was opened"; α- $\overline{\theta}$ -ω̇п̇- $\overline{\theta}$ -т̇ω̇ρε̇ та̇ке̇- $\overline{\theta}$ - $\overline{m\bar{n}\eta\eta\omega\epsilon}$ εγ̇-с̇ο̇γ̇т̇ω̇η̇ Sir 29:18 (29:20 Lagarde) "Hand-shakes have ruined multitudes who are upright"; α-ζα̇ζ̇ πισт̇εу̇ε̇ εро- \overline{q} John 7:31 "Many believed in Him"

Conversions: affirm. (i) relative (ε̇νт̇-α- and var. $\overline{n\bar{t}}$ -α-), (ii) circumstantial (ε-α-), (iii) preterit (не̇-α-), (iv) focalizing ($\overline{n\bar{t}}$ -α- and var. ε̇νт̇-α-);

neg. (v) relative (ετε-μπε-), (vi) circumstantial 'without . . . -ing' (ε-μπε- and var. μπε-), (vii) preterit (νε-μπε-), (viii) focalizing with negation of topic element 453 (ετε-μπε=). Often, the circumstantial conversion of the negative base is simply written μπε-, μπε= (for ε-μπε-, ε-μπε=); e.g. *ννευ-εω-ρ-λααυ ν-ζωβ εχω-ογ μπου-χνου-ογ* ShIV 44:27 "They shall not be empowered to do anything *without asking* them."

Further examples: (i) *πχοεις εντ-ακ-χι-ογλ ερο-q* ShChass 42:34-35 "The Lord, whom you have blasphemed"; (ii) *ογεπιστολη ε-αφ-σαζ-ε φα-νεσνηυ ετ^θ-ζν-τεζηνε* Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony, title (Garitte 1:3-4) "An epistle that he wrote to the brethren who were in foreign countries"; (iii) *νε-αφ-ει εβολ ζμ-πειοορ αυω νεφ-μεζ ν-μσαζ . . . ντοφ δε αφ-ωληλ αφ-χιοορ* Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 15 (Garitte 21: 7-9) "He had come via the canal and it had been full of crocodiles . . . But he prayed and went across"; (iv) *πειρωβ ντ-αι-ναυ ερο-q ζμ-πεβοτ επηη* ShIV 198:15 "It was in the month of Epep that I had this vision"; (v) *πρωμε ετε-μπε-βωκ ζμ-πωοχνε ν-πασεβης* Ps 1:1 "The person who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly"; (vi) *ε-μπε-σουν-οζοογτ* Luke 1:34 "Without my having known a man"; cf. also below; (vii) *ε-νε-μπε-ει* John 15:22 "If I had not come"; (viii) *ετε-μπε^θ-χωζμ ζν-αω μ-μα* Jer 3:2 (quoted in Besa, Frag. 35 [Kuhn 116:14-15]) "In what place is it that you (fem.) have not been defiled?"

335 Extension of α- by another clause occurs in four patterns:

(a) α- . . . αυω α-

(b) α- . . . α- . . . ('asyndetic' linkage, i.e. without conjunction)

Very close linkage, signalled by absence of a conjunction between clauses; e.g. *αυ-παζτ-ογ αυ-ογωφτ να-q* "They bent down and worshiped Him"; *αν--ωεπ-θζιςε ζν-τεγυνη τηρ-ε μπν-βεπ-λααυ* Luke 5:5 "We toiled all night and took nothing." Cf. 237.

(c) α- . . . ε-α- . . . (sequential circumstantial, cf. 428)

(d) α- . . . (αυω) ντε- . . . (ντε- expanding relative or circumstantial conversion of α-)

336 'Not yet' μπατε-

—/μπατq-σωτη

He has not yet chosen

Base: neg. (only) μπατε-, μπατ=

(Negative)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|----------|
| 1 | μπατ-, rare var. μπατα- | μπατν- |
| 2 | μπατκ- | μπατετν- |
| | μπατε- | |
| 3 | μπατq- | μπατογ- |
| | μπατς- | |

μπατε- is a negative base. It expresses a present-based description of the past in terms of what has not happened up to now and expresses the expectation that it can or will eventually occur: *μπατς-σωτη* "She *has not yet* chosen."

Examples: *μπατε-ταογνογ ει* John 2:4 "My hour has not yet come"; *μπατογ-νοχ-κ ρω ε-νεωτεκωογ νεε ν-νετ^θ-μμαυ* ShIII 103:19-20 "They have not yet even thrown you into prison, as they did to those others"

A corresponding affirmative ("She already has or had . . .") is supplied by: (i) *ηδη* 'already' ηδη with the past tense (e.g. *ηδη ατετν-ρ-θρμμο* 1 Cor 4:8 "Already you have become rich"); (ii) past tense of the verb *ογω* completed by the circumstantial durative construction of a verb 185(a), e.g. *αφ-ογω εφ-ρ-θνοεικ ερο-с* Matt 5:28 "He has already committed adultery with her."

Conversions: (neg.) (i) relative (ετε-μπατε-), (ii) circumstantial 'before . . . ' (ε-μπατε- and var. μπατε-), (iii) preterit (νε-μπατε-), (no focalizing conversion). Often the circumstantial conversion is simply written μπατε-, μπατ= (for ε-μπατε-, ε-μπατ=); e.g. *μπατε-ογαλεκτωρ μογτε νсеп снау к-на-апарна μμο-ι νωμнт-сωωп* Mark 14:72 "Before a rooster has crowed twice, you will deny my three times"; *ζαөн μπατε-πεχс βωλ εβολ ν-тбom τηρ-с μ-пαιαβολос ζι-πεсрoс* ShChass 74:46-50 "Before Christ on the cross had destroyed all the devil's power."

Further examples: (i) *ογон гар нпм ете-μπατογ-соуōн-г μн-некмагя* ShChass 36:31-35 (= ShIII 77:26) "For all those who have not yet gotten to know you and your magic"; (ii) *πχοεις αμογ επеснт ε-μπατε-пαωнре мoγ* John 4:49 "Sir, come down before my child dies (while my child has not yet died)"; (iii) *νε-μπατογ-нех-ιωζανнс гар пе е-пewтeкo* John 3:24 "For John had not yet been put in prison"

337 The aorist ωаре-

ωαφ-сωтп/мeφ-сωтп

He (generally) chooses or will choose or chose

He (generally) does not or will not or did not or cannot choose

Bases: affirm. ωаре-, ωа=; neg. мepe-, мe=

	Affirmative	Negative
1	ωаї- ωан-	мeї- мен-
2	ωак- ωатеτн-	мeк- мететн-
	ωаре-	мepe-
3	ωаф- ωау-	мeφ- меу-
	ωас-	мeс-

ωаре- expresses nexus between actor and verbal action without reference to any particular range of time. It is a tenseless (generic, atemporal, extratemporal,

omnitemporal) reference point next to the Coptic tense system 525. (Its name, the *ao*rist or 'unlimited' conjugation, should not be confused with the term 'aorist' in ancient Greek grammar.) $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - often co-occurs with the discourse perspective 527 of timeless truth (gnomic/wisdom literature, theology) so as to express generalizations and gnomic assertions about habitual actions or propensities; and about what does or does not, will or will not, can or cannot, did or did not, happen by nature. (English correspondents of the aorist are usually the generalizing present simple *he chooses* and the generalizing future simple *he will choose*, negative *he does not choose/will not or cannot choose*.) Also, like the conjunctive 351, it can come under the aegis of any time range that has already been expressed or implied by the preceding text to which it is a sequel. For $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - in a past tense context, cf. also 348. The Coptic durative present tense η - $\omega\tau\tau\iota$ also occurs in this kind of discourse 527.

Examples: $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\omega\gamma\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\sigma\phi\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\phi\rho\alpha\eta\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ Prov 10:1 "A wise son makes his father glad" $\nu\iota\delta\varsigma$ $\sigma\phi\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\delta\phi\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$; $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma$ $\omega\alpha$ - $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta$ Prov 10:30 "The righteous shall never fail" $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$; $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ - $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\omicron\gamma\zeta\eta\nu\beta\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{n}\varsigma\epsilon$ - $\chi\iota$ - η $\zeta\alpha$ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\iota$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\kappa\alpha\alpha$ - η $\zeta\iota\chi\bar{n}$ - $\tau\lambda\chi\eta\nu\alpha$ $\bar{n}\eta$ - \bar{p} - θ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ Matt 5:15 "Nor do people light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but they put it on a stand, and it gives light"; $\zeta\omicron\tau\alpha\eta$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\eta$ \bar{n} - $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\alpha\eta$ - $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{m}$ - $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\omega\alpha\eta$ - $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\iota\tau\bar{n}$ - $\zeta\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha$ ϵ - $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - θ $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma$ Matt 12:43 "Whenever the unclean spirit has come out of a person, it passes through waterless places"; $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ - $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\epsilon\beta\iota\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\alpha\eta$ - \bar{p} - $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\eta$ \bar{n} - $\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ $\bar{m}\pi\iota$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$ (i.e. ϵ - $\bar{m}\pi\iota$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$) ϵ - $\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ $\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ $\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - η - $\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ - η $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\zeta\iota$ - $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\pi$ $\omega\alpha\iota$ - $\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota$ - $\delta\omega\psi\tau$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\eta\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{n}\theta\epsilon$ \bar{n} - $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\eta$ $\bar{m}\pi\bar{q}$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$ (i.e. ϵ - $\bar{m}\pi\bar{q}$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$) ϵ - $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta$ $\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\omicron\rho\mu\pi\epsilon$ ShBesa, Frag. 36 (Kuhn 122:10-14) "If indeed I, wretched as I am, pass a single week without seeing your children and your brothers and your menfolk and all those who are with us, I start worrying about them like a brother who has not seen his brethren for a whole year"; $\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\alpha\eta$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\pi\alpha\zeta\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\zeta\alpha\rho\alpha\tau$ - \bar{q} Mark 3:11 "Whenever they beheld Him they fell down before him"; $\zeta\alpha\zeta$ η - $\varsigma\omicron\pi$ $\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\alpha\eta$ - $\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$. . . $\omega\alpha\iota$ - $\omega\tau\omicron\rho\tau\bar{p}$ $\zeta\bar{p}\alpha\iota$ $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau$ - θ $\zeta\eta$ - $\omicron\gamma\mu\kappa\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau$ ShIII 150:14-17 "Often when I got up . . . I was painfully disturbed"; $\alpha\eta$ - $\epsilon\iota$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ϵ - $\alpha\eta$ - τ $\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon$ - $\alpha\eta\tau\omega\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$. . . $\pi\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\eta\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon$ η - $\zeta\epsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\chi\alpha\zeta\bar{m}$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η | $\alpha\eta\tau\omega\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\zeta\omega\omega$ - η $\omega\alpha\eta$ - $\omega\omicron\omicron\rho$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\zeta\iota\tau\eta$ - $\eta\epsilon\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$ | $\omega\alpha$ - $\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ η - $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$ η - $\theta\gamma\alpha\omicron\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η | $\alpha\eta\tau\omega\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\zeta\omega\omega$ - η $\omega\alpha\eta$ - $\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\omega\alpha\eta$ - $\kappa\tau\omicron$ $\bar{n}\eta$ - $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\beta\tau$ ϵ - $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\omega\eta\alpha$ $\zeta\eta$ - $\tau\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\tau\eta\eta\tau\bar{\alpha}$ | $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\eta$ $\eta\epsilon$ - $\omega\alpha\eta$ - $\chi\iota$ η - $\pi\zeta\bar{p}\bar{\eta}$ η - $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$ $\eta\eta$ - \bar{p} - θ $\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ $\eta\eta$ $\zeta\eta$ - $\zeta\epsilon\eta\varsigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\eta\alpha$ - \bar{p} - θ $\zeta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{n}\eta$ - $\alpha\eta\tau\omega\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ | $\eta\tau\omicron\eta$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ ϵ - $\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ $\zeta\eta$ - $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\zeta\eta\tau$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\rho\bar{\zeta}$ η - $\eta\omicron\eta$ - $\rho\omicron\eta$ \bar{n} - $\tau\epsilon\eta\psi\chi\eta$ $\omega\alpha\eta$ - $\omega\psi\bar{m}$ η - $\eta\epsilon\chi\eta\bar{\nu}\bar{\varsigma}$ η - π - $\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\gamma$ (collated) Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 5 (Garitte 8:10-22) "He came out and fought against Anthony . . . As the enemy insinuated filthy thoughts into him, Anthony repelled them through prayer. The enemy brought upon him the wish for pleasure, but Anthony started to feel shame and built a barricade around his body through faith and fasting. Furthermore, at night the devil had taken the form of woman and had assumed various forms of appearance, so that he might deceive Anthony. But he, by thinking on Christ in his heart and the intellectual vision of his soul, extinguished that enemy's glowing coals"; $\alpha\gamma\omega$ η -

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\tau\iota\bar{g}\bar{\zeta}$ $\zeta\iota\omega$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\eta\epsilon\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}$ \bar{n} - $\alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\alpha\eta$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\pi\alpha\zeta\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\zeta\alpha\rho\alpha\tau$ - \bar{q} $\bar{n}\varsigma\epsilon$ - $\chi\iota$ - θ $\omega\kappa\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ Mark 3:10-11 "And whenever those who had torments and unclean spirits saw Him, they fell down before Him and cried out"; $\mu\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\rho\omicron$ $\omega\alpha\gamma\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha$ ShIII 170:19 "They don't flame up, and are quenched"

Conversions: affirm. (i) relative ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - and var. ϵ - $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -), (ii) circumstantial (ϵ - $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -), (iii) preterit ($\eta\epsilon$ - $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -), (iv) focalizing (ϵ - $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -); neg. (v) relative ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -), (vi) circumstantial (ϵ - $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -), (vii) preterit ($\eta\epsilon$ - $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -), (no focalizing conversion?)

Examples: (i) $\varsigma\iota\mu\omega\eta$ π - $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η $\chi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Matt 4:18 "Simon, who is called Peter"; $\pi\alpha\iota$ ϵ - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η $\chi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ Matt 1:16 "(The One) who is called Christ"; (ii) $\omega\alpha\zeta\bar{p}\alpha\iota$ ϵ - $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\tau\bar{\theta}$ ϵ - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\mu\omicron\alpha\zeta$ - $\omicron\gamma$ ShIV 85:12 "Even salted herbs"; $\eta\epsilon$ - $\alpha\eta$ - \bar{p} - $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\tau\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{g}\bar{a}\bar{p}$ \bar{n} - $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ ϵ - $\omega\alpha\eta$ - $\tau\omicron\rho\tau\bar{p}$ - \bar{q} Luke 8:29 "For it had spent much time in seizing him"; (iii) $\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\eta\epsilon\iota\zeta\beta\eta\gamma\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ ϵ - $\eta\alpha\psi\omega$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\epsilon$ - $\omega\eta\alpha\eta$ - $\alpha\alpha$ - γ $\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\eta\epsilon$ - $\omega\eta\alpha\eta$ - $\chi\omicron\omicron$ - γ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$ ϵ - θ $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon$ η - $\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau$ - $\zeta\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\gamma$ | $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\eta\epsilon$ - $\mu\epsilon\eta$ - $\epsilon\omega$ - $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\pi\epsilon$ ShIII 149:23-25 "We did and said these words and these deeds, and many others, wishing to persuade the aforementioned senseless people; and we could not succeed in persuading them"; (iv) $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{g}\bar{a}\bar{p}$ $\zeta\bar{m}$ - $\pi\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ϵ - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\varsigma\omicron\gamma\eta$ - $\pi\omega\eta\eta$ Matt 12:33 "For the tree is known by its fruit"; (v) $\pi\bar{m}\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\chi\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\zeta\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$ $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau$ - \bar{q} Matt 6:20 "Where neither moth nor rust consumes"; (vi) $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ϵ - $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\omega\psi\bar{m}$ Matt 3:12 "Unquenchable fire"; (vii) neg. preterit, cf. (iii) above

338 The optative $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -

$\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\tau\iota$ / $\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\tau\iota$

He shall choose, *or* . . . (that) he might choose

He shall not choose, *or* . . . (that) he might not choose, . . . lest he choose

Bases: affirm. $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ -; neg. $\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon$ -, $\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}$ (and $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}$, cf. below)

Affirmative		Negative	
1 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\alpha$ -, rare var. $\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$ -
2 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -
	$\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon$ -	
3 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma$ -
	$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ -	

Immediately following $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$, a variant of the negative based on $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ can occur (the identity of initial ϵ in this variant is uncertain). 1st sing. neg. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ - is liable to confusion with 1st pl. affirm. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\eta\alpha$ - 339.

Negative Variant

1 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ -	$\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$ -
2 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa$ -	$\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -
	$\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ -
3 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$ -	$\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma$ -
	$\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ -

Prenominal: $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ -

For $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ - $\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\kappa$ - $\eta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\eta\alpha$ - etc. as optative, cf. 339.

Conversions: (i) neg. relative (ετε- $\bar{n}ne\bar{z}$, var. ετε- $\bar{n}e\bar{z}$); (ii) neg. circumstantial (ε- $\bar{n}ne\bar{z}$, var. $\bar{n}ne\bar{z}$ with ε- unwritten)

Examples: (i) $\bar{n}oe$ ετε- $\bar{n}ne\bar{y}$ -εω-μεωτ- $\bar{n}za\bar{p}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}no\bar{y}te$ $\bar{a}\bar{y}\omega$ ετε- $\bar{n}ne\bar{y}$ -εω- \bar{n} - $\bar{p}at$ -ογ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}eq\bar{z}iooye$ (textual vars. ετε- $\bar{n}e\bar{y}$ -... ετε- $\bar{n}e\bar{y}$ -...) Rom 11:33 "How unsearchable are God's judgements and how inscrutable his ways!"; (ii) $\bar{n}eq\bar{z}o\bar{i}te$ $\bar{a}\bar{y}$ -μογ \bar{e} - $\bar{a}\bar{y}$ -ογβαω $\bar{e}ma\bar{t}e$ ε- $\bar{n}ne$ -ω-ογρατ \bar{n} -τωδς $\bar{t}pe\bar{y}$ -πιρε $\bar{z}i$ - $\bar{n}a\bar{i}$ $\bar{z}i\bar{x}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}ka\bar{z}$ Mark 9:3 "And his garments became glistening, intensely white, as no fuller on earth could bleach them"; $\bar{a}k$ -κω $\bar{n}a$ -γ \bar{n} -ογτωω $\bar{n}ne\bar{y}$ - (i.e. ε- $\bar{n}ne\bar{y}$ -)εω- $\bar{c}aa\bar{t}$ - \bar{q} Ps 103(104):9 "Thou hast set them a bound which they shall not pass"

Generally, ερε- expresses a future tense without explicit connection to the speaker's present situation (e.g. to formulate legislation of what is to be done). Thus it contrasts with the more usual, durative, present-based $\bar{n}a$ - future 311 ('is going to ...'). Following $\bar{x}e(\bar{k}aa\bar{c})$ it forms the usual expression of purpose (*So that he might*).

(a) Main (independent) clause

i. ερε- expressing future tense with a strong expectation of fulfillment

ερε- $\bar{p}xo\bar{e}ic$ τωωβε $\bar{n}a$ - \bar{q} κατα- $\bar{n}eq\bar{b}z\eta\bar{y}e$ "The Lord shall requite him for his deeds" (2 Tim 4:14)

In actual occurrences, the meanings of main-clause ερε- are greatly affected by the types of discourse 527 in which it occurs and the authority status of the speaker, in context. These include: authoritative promises, and predictions (*I will or will not, You shall not, They shall*); commands, legislation, and oaths (*You shall, They shall, I will*); prohibitions (*You shall not, They shall not*); strong wishes (*Let me, You must, May he*); etc. For extensions of the main-clause optative, cf. 341.

Further examples: $\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{e}$ -κω \bar{n} -ογμ $\bar{n}t$ - $\bar{x}a\bar{x}e$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ -τεκμητε $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ -τε $\bar{c}z\bar{i}me$ Gen 3:15 "I shall put enmity between (in the midst of) you and the woman"; $\bar{z}am\bar{n}$ \bar{t} - $\bar{x}\omega$ $\bar{m}mo$ - \bar{c} $\bar{n}h$ - $\bar{t}\bar{n}$ $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{n}ne\bar{y}$ - \bar{t} - $\bar{m}ae\bar{i}n$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}e\bar{i}ge\bar{n}ea$ Mark 8:12 "Truly, I say to you, no sign shall be given to this generation"; $\bar{n}ne\bar{n}$ -ογωμ ογ $\bar{a}e$ $\bar{n}ne\bar{n}$ - $\bar{c}\omega$ $\bar{w}an\bar{t}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\omega\bar{t}\bar{b}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}a\bar{y}l\bar{o}c$ Acts 23:12 (oath) "We shall not eat nor drink until we have killed Paul"; $\bar{n}nei$ - $\bar{x}io\bar{y}e$ | $\bar{n}nei$ - \bar{p} - $\bar{m}n\bar{t}pe$ \bar{n} - $\bar{no}\bar{y}\bar{x}$ | $\bar{n}nei$ - $\bar{x}i$ - $\bar{b}\bar{o}a$ ShIII 20:13-14 (oath) "I shall not steal, I shall not bear false witness, I shall not lie"; $\bar{p}ano\bar{y}te$ $\bar{a}e$ ερε- $\bar{x}\omega\bar{k}$ $\bar{e}bo\bar{a}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}et\bar{n}x\bar{p}ia$ $\bar{t}h\bar{r}$ - \bar{c} Phil 4:19 "And my God will supply all your need"; $\bar{n}ne$ - $\bar{t}harpoc$ $\bar{w}\omega\bar{p}e$ $\bar{e}bo\bar{a}$ $\bar{n}z\bar{h}t$ - \bar{e} $\bar{x}in$ - $\bar{t}eno\bar{y}$ $\bar{w}a$ - $\bar{e}ne\bar{z}$ Matt 21:19 "May no fruit ever come from you again!"; $\bar{e}ke$ - $\bar{t}ae\bar{i}e$ - $\bar{p}eke\bar{i}ow\bar{t}$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{t}ek\bar{m}a\bar{y}$ Matt 19:19 "You shall honor your father and your mother"; $\bar{n}nek$ - $\bar{w}p\bar{k}$ $\bar{n}no\bar{y}\bar{x}$ | $\bar{e}ke$ - \bar{t} $\bar{a}e$ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}ekana\bar{y}\omega$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}xo\bar{e}ic$ Matt 5:33 "You shall not swear falsely, but shall perform to the Lord what you have sworn"; $\bar{c}aw\bar{q}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{z}ooy$ $\bar{e}tet\bar{n}e$ -ογωμ \bar{n} - $\bar{z}ena\bar{a}\bar{b}$ Exod 12:15 "Seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread"; $\bar{n}nek$ - $\bar{z}\omega\bar{t}\bar{b}$ Deut 5:17 "Thou shalt not commit murder"; $\bar{n}net\bar{n}$ - $\bar{w}\omega\bar{p}e$ $\bar{n}\bar{o}e$ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}z\bar{y}pok\bar{r}it\bar{h}c$ Matt 6:5 "You must not be like the

hypocrites"; $\bar{n}ne$ - $\bar{t}h\bar{w}me$ $\bar{a}ma\bar{z}te$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}\bar{b}i\bar{x}$ \bar{m} - \bar{p} - $\bar{e}t$ - $\bar{z}ito\bar{y}\omega$ - \bar{q} $\bar{z}o\bar{a}\bar{w}c$ ShIV 168:12 "No person shall under any circumstances hold hands with the one who is next to them"; $\bar{n}to\bar{q}$ $\bar{a}e$ $\bar{p}xo\bar{i}c$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}h\bar{r}n\bar{n}$ $\bar{e}qe$ - \bar{t} $\bar{n}h$ - $\bar{t}\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}h\bar{r}n\bar{n}$ 2 Thess 3:16 "Now may the Lord of peace Himself give you peace"; $\bar{a}\bar{y}\omega$ $\bar{e}qe$ - $\bar{x}oo$ - \bar{c} $\bar{n}\bar{b}i$ - $\bar{p}la\bar{o}c$ $\bar{t}h\bar{r}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{e}qe$ - $\bar{w}\omega\bar{p}e$ $\bar{e}qe$ - $\bar{w}\omega\bar{p}e$ Ps 105(106):48 "And all the people shall say, Amen, Amen (Let it be, Let it be)"; $\bar{t}ap\bar{n}$ - $\bar{b}\omega$ $\bar{z}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}no\bar{b}e$ $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{e}pe$ - $\bar{t}ex\bar{a}p\bar{i}c$ \bar{p} - $\bar{t}ho\bar{y}o$ | $\bar{n}ne\bar{c}$ - $\bar{w}\omega\bar{p}e$ Rom 6:1-2 "Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound? By no means (It shall not be)!"; $\bar{t}h\bar{r}n\bar{n}$ $\bar{e}ce$ - $\bar{w}\omega\bar{p}e$ $\bar{n}a$ - \bar{k} Judg 6:23 "Peace be to thee"; $\bar{e}w\omega\bar{p}e$ $\bar{e}i\bar{w}an$ - $\bar{p}apa\bar{b}a$ \bar{m} - \bar{p} - $\bar{e}nt$ - $\bar{a}i$ - $\bar{z}omo$ - $\bar{lo}gei$ $\bar{m}mo$ - \bar{q} $\bar{e}ie$ - $\bar{n}a\bar{y}$ \bar{e} - $\bar{t}m\bar{n}t$ - $\bar{e}po$ \bar{n} - $\bar{m}p\bar{h}ye$ $\bar{n}ta$ - $\bar{t}m$ - $\bar{b}\omega\bar{k}$ $\bar{e}zo\bar{y}n$ $\bar{e}po$ - \bar{c} ShIII 20:15-17 "If I violate the oath that I have sworn, may I see the kingdom of the heavens and not go into it"

ii. $\bar{x}e$ - or $\bar{x}eka(\bar{a})\bar{c}$ + ερε- expressing polite or restrained command/prohibition (*Would you . . .*); or polite wish directed to a 1st or 3d person (*Let me, May he*)

$\bar{x}ekac$ $\bar{b}e$ $\bar{e}ke$ - $\bar{e}i$ $\bar{n}\bar{f}$ - $\bar{k}a$ - $\bar{t}oot$ - \bar{k} $\bar{z}i\bar{x}\omega$ - \bar{c} "Come and lay Your hands on her" (Mark 5:23)

Further examples: $\bar{a}lla$ $\bar{x}ekac$ $\bar{e}ye$ - $\bar{x}\omega\bar{k}$ $\bar{e}bo\bar{a}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}i$ - $\bar{n}e\bar{r}pa\bar{f}h$ Mark 14:49 "But let the scriptures be fulfilled"; $\bar{p}l\bar{h}n$ $\bar{n}t\omega\bar{t}\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\omega\bar{t}$ - $\bar{t}h\bar{y}t\bar{n}$ $\bar{p}o\bar{y}a$ $\bar{p}o\bar{y}a$ $\bar{m}are\bar{q}$ - $\bar{m}ere$ - $\bar{t}eq\bar{c}zime$ $\bar{n}teq\bar{z}e$ | $\bar{t}ec\bar{z}ime$ $\bar{a}e$ $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{e}ce$ - \bar{p} - $\bar{t}ho\bar{t}e$ $\bar{z}h\bar{t}$ - \bar{q} \bar{m} - $\bar{p}ec\bar{z}a\bar{i}$ Eph 5:33 "However, let each one of you love his wife as himself, and let the wife see that she respects her husband"; $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{e}ye$ - \bar{p} - $\bar{p}a\bar{i}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ -ογρα $\bar{w}e$ Heb 13:17 "Let them do this joyfully"; $\bar{z}amo\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}te$ - $\bar{t}m$ - $\bar{p}ei\bar{w}ax\bar{e}$ $\bar{t}\omega\bar{m}nt$ \bar{e} - $\bar{z}az$ $\bar{n}z\bar{h}t$ - \bar{n} $\bar{a}n$ | $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{n}na$ - $\bar{x}oo$ - \bar{c} $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{z}az$ $\bar{n}z\bar{h}t$ - \bar{n} $\bar{a}lla$ $\bar{p}en\bar{z}o\bar{y}o$ ShAméI 231:2-3 "I hope that this saying does not apply to many of us-let me not say many but most"

(b) Subordinate clause (dependent)

$\bar{x}e$ - or $\bar{x}eka(\bar{a})\bar{c}$ + ερε- forming adverbial clause of purpose/result 502, 504 (*so that . . . might . . .*; *so as to . . .*, *so that . . .*)

$\bar{x}ekac$ $\bar{a}e$ $\bar{n}ne\bar{n}$ - $\bar{c}kana\bar{a}a\bar{i}ze$ $\bar{m}mo$ -ογ $\bar{b}\omega\bar{k}$ ε- $\bar{t}alla\bar{c}ca$ $\bar{n}\bar{f}$ - $\bar{no}\bar{y}\bar{x}e$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}eko\bar{e}ime$ "However, so that we might not give offense to them, go to the sea and cast your hook" (Matt 17:27)

$\bar{t}ote$ $\bar{a}\bar{y}$ - $\bar{e}ine$ $\bar{n}a$ - \bar{q} \bar{n} - $\bar{z}en\bar{w}h\bar{r}e$ $\bar{w}h\bar{m}$ $\bar{x}ekac$ $\bar{e}qe$ - $\bar{t}ale$ - $\bar{n}eq\bar{b}i\bar{x}$ $\bar{e}x\omega$ -ογ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{w}l\bar{h}$ "Then children were brought to Him that He might lay His hands on them and pray" (Matt 19:13)

After $\bar{x}eka(\bar{a})\bar{c}$, negative $\bar{n}ne$ -/ $\bar{n}ne\bar{z}$ is often spelled $\bar{e}nne$ -/ $\bar{e}nna\bar{z}$.

In this construction $\bar{x}e$ - is immediately bound to the conjugation base, e.g. $\bar{x}e$ - $\bar{e}pe$ - $\bar{t}ma\bar{y}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}axo\bar{e}ic$ $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{e}pat$ - \bar{t} Luke 1:43 "That the mother of my Lord should come to me." But $\bar{x}eka(\bar{a})\bar{c}$ (a terminal morph) is often separated from the conjugation base by an intervening element (term in extraposition 330, adverbial premodifier 333, enclitic conjunction such as $\bar{a}e$ 235[b] or initial attitude marker, inflected modifier, adverbial clause); e.g. $\bar{x}ekac$ $\bar{z}\omega\bar{w}$ - \bar{c} $\bar{e}ce$ - $\bar{w}\omega\bar{p}e$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{t}pape\bar{r}enia$ Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 3 (Garitte 5:3-4) "So that she too might live in the manner of a virgin"; $\bar{x}ekac$ $\bar{n}t\omega\bar{t}\bar{n}$ $\bar{e}tet\bar{n}e$ - $\bar{b}\omega\bar{k}$ $\bar{n}tet\bar{n}$ - \bar{t} - $\bar{t}harpoc$ John 15:16

“That you should go and bear fruit”; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ - $\pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\chi\omicron\omicron\rho\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon$ - $\omicron\upsilon$ ϵ - $\gamma\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$ John 11:52 “But to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad.”

Further examples: (i) *purpose*, $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}$ - $\kappa\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$ - $\kappa\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\omega$ - $\tau\bar{\nu}$ Matt 7:1 “Judge not, that you be not judged”; $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - $\pi\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon$ ϵ - $\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron$ $\gamma\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\alpha\rho\bar{\nu}$ - $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\lambda\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - γ ϵ - $\theta\tau\bar{\mu}$ - $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\beta\epsilon$ Acts 4:17 “But in order that word may spread no further among the people, let us warn them to speak no more”; $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ - $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\gamma\omega\omega$ - γ $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\tau\bar{\nu}\upsilon\epsilon$ - $\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ $\gamma\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\epsilon\phi\varsigma\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}$ - γ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\pi\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\pi\gamma\lambda\eta$ Heb 13:12 “So Jesus also died outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through His own blood”; $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\mu\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}$ - $\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ μ - $\pi\epsilon\phi\tau\bar{\mu}\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$ - $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omega\chi\lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - γ $\mu\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\epsilon\phi\varsigma\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\gamma\omega\upsilon$ Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 2 (Garitte 4:18–20) “And he bestowed them upon the people of his village, so that he and his sister might not be encumbered by any affairs” (or Lest he and his sister be encumbered); $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\kappa\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}$ - $\kappa\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ Rom 15:20 “Lest I build on another man’s foundation”; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\chi\omicron\omicron$ - ς $\chi\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$ - $\upsilon\alpha\pi\tau\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ ϵ - $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$ 1 Cor 1:15 “Lest anyone should say that you were baptized in my name”; (ii) *result* $\gamma\rho\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - $\theta\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ | $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\chi\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\phi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ (textual var. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ - $\chi\pi\omicron$ - γ $\epsilon\gamma$ - \omicron $\bar{\nu}$ - $\theta\bar{\nu}\lambda\epsilon$ John 9:2 “Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?”; $\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\omega\rho\bar{\iota}$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ - $\gamma\epsilon$ Rom 11:11 “Have they stumbled so as to fall?”; $\tau\epsilon$ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\varsigma\bar{\iota}\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\theta\alpha\bar{\iota}$ - $\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ - $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega$ - θ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\mu\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\phi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ShIII 203:9–11 “You eat from all the filth of demons, so that you are hated by Jesus and His angels”

$\chi\epsilon(\kappa\alpha\varsigma)$ $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - also occurs after certain verbs of incomplete predication 185(d), e.g. verbs of agreement, command, entreaty, exhortation, fear, gladness, persuasion, profitableness, sufficiency, worthiness, etc. Cf. 502.

$\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\iota}$ - $\bar{\mu}\pi\psi\alpha$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\gamma\alpha$ - $\tau\alpha\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\bar{\iota}$
“I am not worthy for you to come under my roof” (Matt 8:8)

This function overlaps in meaning with ϵ - $\theta\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ - 363. Further examples: $\bar{\nu}$ - γ - $\mu\pi\psi\alpha$ $\rho\omega$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\theta\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ - $\pi\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$ μ - $\pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - ρ - $\theta\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\mu\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}$ - γ ShIII 17:9–10 “He is not even worthy to utter the name of God, especially so as to take an oath on it”; $\alpha\chi\bar{\iota}$ - ς $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\rho}$ - $\theta\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}\kappa$ Matt 4:3 “Command these stones to become loaves” (Say for these stones to become loaves); $\varsigma\epsilon\pi\bar{\varsigma}$ - $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\alpha\epsilon$ μ - $\pi\omega\gamma\bar{\varsigma}$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\chi$ - $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ ϵ - $\pi\epsilon\phi\omega\gamma\bar{\varsigma}$ Luke 10:2 “Pray therefore the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest”; $\varsigma\epsilon$ - ρ - $\theta\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta\tau$ - γ μ - $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$ - $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon$ $\mu\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}$ - $\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\gamma$ - $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$ - $\omicron\upsilon$ ShIV 21:2–4 “They fear lest the angel strike and kill them.”

The grammatical relationship of clauses headed by the morphs $\chi\epsilon$ - and $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ is negated by $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ (“not so that . . .”; cf. 236); e.g. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau$ - $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ - $\omicron\upsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron$ 1 Cor 7:35 “Not to lay any restraint upon you, but in the interest of good order.”

(c) Forming an entity statement 150

$\chi\epsilon$ - or $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ + $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ -, e.g. as predicate of a nominal sentence or as subject expansion of a clause 486

$\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\mu}\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\kappa\omicron\gamma\bar{\iota}$ “It is not the will of My Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish” (Matt 18:14)

Further examples: $\tau\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi$ $\bar{\mu}$ - π - $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\tau\alpha\omicron\gamma\omicron$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ John 4:34 “My own food is for Me to do the will of Him who sent Me”; $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - γ $\chi\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ - $\psi\omicron\rho\bar{\iota}$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ 1 John 3:11 “For this is the message that we have heard from the beginning, that we should love one another”; $\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha\psi$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\gamma\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\eta$ $\bar{\nu}\tau$ - α - $\pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$ $\tau\alpha\alpha$ - ς $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ - $\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - $\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 1 John 3:1 “See how great is the love that the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God”; $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\omega\upsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ ϵ - π - $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau$ - α - $\pi\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\omicron\gamma$ - γ John 6:29 “This is the work of God, that you believe in Him whom He has sent”

339 $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - as optative. Shenoute and other Sahidic authors (as well as some Biblical passages) sometimes express the optative as $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - . . . $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ -. *Affirm.* 1st pl. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ is liable to confusion with *neg.* 1st sing. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - (var. of *neg.* $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ -).

Examples. (a) *Commands, rules, wishes, etc.*: $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\omicron\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\varsigma\omicron\pi$ $\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\pi\gamma\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\upsilon\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ ϵ - $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\varsigma\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\omega\gamma\eta$ ShIV 58:1–2 “Twelve times per year, the Senior Monk shall enter all the houses of the congregation”; $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - ψ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ ϵ - π - $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\psi\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\gamma\eta\tau$ - $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\mu\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ ϵ - π - $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\eta\pi$ ϵ - $\theta\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ϵ - π - $\epsilon\tau$ - $\epsilon\psi\omega\epsilon$ ϵ - $\theta\alpha\lambda$ - γ ShIV 161:11–13 “They shall be permitted to examine a sick person inside of our community; and there they shall prescribe what needs to happen and what should be done”; $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}$ - $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\phi\gamma\varsigma\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon$ ShChass 164:58–165:4 “Each of those who commits abominations shall know”; $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\tau\alpha\alpha$ - γ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - γ $\gamma\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\psi\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\tau\eta\psi$ ShIV 55:20 “They shall receive it in the appointed amount”; $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\bar{\nu}\omega$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\kappa\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon$ ϵ - $\tau\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon\omicron\lambda\eta$ (textual var. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon$) Mark 13:28 “From the fig tree you shall learn the parable” $\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon\omicron\lambda\eta\gamma$; $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\phi\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ - $\bar{\nu}$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\bar{\nu}$ $\gamma\bar{\iota}$ - $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\pi$ ShIII 62:10–11 “May his holy blessings be with us all collectively”; (b) *after* $\chi\epsilon$ -, $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ *purpose*: $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\chi\bar{\iota}$ - $\theta\tau\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\mu\epsilon$ ShChass 101:41–45 “So that you might be truly honored”; $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\psi\bar{\nu}$ - $\gamma\tau\eta$ - γ $\epsilon\chi\omega$ - $\omicron\gamma$ ShChass 98:11–12 “That He might be merciful to them”; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ - $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\rho\omega\psi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - γ Life of St. Pachomius (Lefort 113a:2–3) “So that each might be self-sufficient”; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - $\theta\gamma\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ - $\alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 5 (Garitte 8:19–20) “So that he might deceive Anthony”; $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon$ (textual var. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ -) Mark 2:10 “But that you may know . . .”

The negative of $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - is extremely rare (e.g. $\epsilon\kappa\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\tau\omega\omega\beta\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}$ - $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\tau\omega\omega\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - κ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\gamma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ShIII 104:27–28 “You shall not retaliate against those who retaliate against you with evil deeds”).

PATTERN 2: THE SUBORDINATE-CLAUSE BASES

342 *Negation.* The clauses in Pattern 2 are negated by the negator $\tau\bar{m}$ – ‘not’ **250**, which comes after a personal subject and before a non-personal one.

ΩANTC-TM-CΩTP

ΩΑΝΤΕ-ΤΜ-ΤΕC2ΙΜΕ CΩΤΠ

Rarely, $\overline{\tau\mu}$ - follows a nominal subject: . . . $\overline{\eta\tau\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon}$ $\overline{\tau\mu}$ - $\chi\iota$ - \emptyset $\chi\rho\omicron\pi$ Prov 2:5, 3:6 “And your feet will not stumble.”

The base $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-$ (future conjunctive **357**) is not negated.

Conversions: none

A. BASES FORMING ADVERBIAL CLAUSES: \bar{n} TEPE-, EPWAN-, WANTE-

343 **π**τερε-, **ε**ρωαν-, and **ω**αντε- form adverbial clauses **490**, and either precede or follow the clause that they modify. They express *relative time* **529** in relation to the time of the modified clause:

i. **ἡτέρε- 344**: accomplished event, in a relatively preceding stage (*when* he chose/had chosen)

ii. **ερῳαν- 346:** undifferentiated time/cause, without distinguishing fact
(*since* he chooses) *versus* stipulation (*when/ever*)/if he chooses/chose)

iii. **WANTE-349**: the event beyond which the action or process of the main statement no longer continued/continues/will continue (*until* he chooses/chose)

344 The precursive $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\text{P}\epsilon$ —: ‘after, when’ (past time)

ΝΤΕΡΕΦ-ΣΩΤΗ

When *or* After he chose *or* had chosen

Base: $\bar{n} \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon -, \bar{n} \tau \epsilon \rho =$

Negation: $\tau\bar{M}-$, cf. 342

1	ἡ̅τερῖ-	ἡ̅τερῖἡ̅-, var. ἡ̅τερῖἡ̅-
2	ἡ̅τερῆκ-	ἡ̅τερῆτῖἡ̅-
	ἡ̅τερῆ-, var. ἡ̅τερῆρ-	
3	ἡ̅τερῆq-	ἡ̅τερῶγ-
	ἡ̅τερῆς-	

In relation to the clause that it modifies, $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$ expresses an immediately preceding single event **348**, as being relatively completed and past: ‘*after* she chose; *when* she *had* chosen’.

αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ ἔμειναν ὡς ἡμερᾶς ἑξήκοντα. “And they were surprised when he lingered in the temple” (Luke 1:21)

ἡμετερον-την-πιθε δε αν-κα-ρω-ν “And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased” (Acts 21:14)

ἸΠΤΕΡΟΥ-ΣΕΙ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑ-Ϟ Ἰ-ΝΕϞΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ “And when they had eaten their fill, He told His disciples” (John 6:12)

ἄτερε- belongs to narrative and typically describes the background against which a past event is said to have taken place; it is typically combined with the past tense **α-**, the preterit durative sentence **νερε-**, and **πεξε-** ‘said’. Cf. also chapter 23 (adverbial clauses).

Further examples: $\eta\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\delta\iota\text{-}\eta\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\mu\text{-}\eta\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\psi\eta\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\alpha\alpha\text{-}\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \eta\psi\eta\rho\epsilon\ \psi\eta\mu\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\chi\iota\text{-}\theta\psi\kappa\alpha\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$
 $\gamma\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\rho\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\chi\omega\ \eta\mu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\text{-}\omega\varsigma\alpha\eta\eta\eta\alpha\ \pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon\ \eta\text{-}\alpha\lambda\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota$
Matt 21:15 “But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that He
did and the children crying out in the temple, Hosanna to the Son of David! they were
indignant”; $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\eta\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\delta\ \eta\text{-}\psi\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\ \psi\omicron\omicron\pi$
 $\gamma\eta\text{-}\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$ Acts 12:18 “Now when day came, there was a great stir among the sol-
diers”; $\eta\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\kappa\ \eta\text{-}\iota\alpha\varsigma\omega\eta$ Acts 17:6 “And when they
could not find them, they dragged Jason”; $\pi\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau\ \eta\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\pi\ \eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\iota\varsigma$
 $\omicron\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\gamma\text{-}\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\epsilon\eta\eta\varsigma\ \eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\theta\text{-}\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau$ John
21:14 “The third time that Jesus revealed Himself to His disciples after He rose from the
dead”; $\pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\alpha\lambda\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \alpha\alpha\text{-}\gamma\ \eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\gamma\kappa\omicron$ Luke 6:3 “What David did when he
was hungry”; $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\delta\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\delta\iota\text{-}\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\text{-}\theta\eta\tau\text{-}\eta\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\ \epsilon\tau\theta\text{-}$
 $\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ Acts 12:6 “The very night when Agrippa was about to
bring him out, Peter was sleeping” **528(d)**; $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$
 $\eta\text{-}\rho\omega\text{-}\eta\ \pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\omega\eta$ Acts 18:14 “But when Paul was about to open his mouth,
Gallio said . . .”; $\tau\eta\text{-}\psi\pi\text{-}\theta\gamma\mu\omicron\tau\ \eta\tau\mu\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \iota\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\eta\text{-}\psi\eta\eta\lambda\ \gamma\alpha\rho\omega\text{-}\tau\eta\ \eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi\ \eta\mu\ \eta\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma$
 $\iota\varsigma$ Col 1:3-4 “We always thank God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, when we pray
for you, *after having heard of your faith in Christ Jesus*”

345 *Extension of $\bar{\text{NTEPE-}}$ by another clause* occurs in four patterns:

(a) $\bar{n} \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon - \dots (\alpha \gamma \omega) \alpha - \dots$

(b) $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon - \dots \lambda\gamma\omega \bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon - \dots$

(c) $\bar{N}TEPE-\dots\bar{N}TEPE-\dots$

(d) $\bar{N}TEPE - \dots \bar{N}TE - \dots$

Examples: (a) $\lambda\psi\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{--}\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\eta}\text{--}\alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu\ \rho\alpha\gamma\tau\text{--}\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\text{--}\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\gamma\ \lambda\psi$
 $\alpha\eta\text{--}\omega\psi\ \epsilon\nu\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\text{--}\omicron\gamma\nu\omicron\bar{\beta}\ \bar{\eta}\text{--}\gamma\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\eta\text{--}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\nu\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\text{--}\eta\ \text{Mark 1:26}$ “And when
the unclean spirit had thrown him to the ground and he had cried with a loud voice, it
came out of him”; (b) $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\text{--}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\text{--}\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\omega\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\text{--}\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\ \bar{\eta}\text{--}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\chi\varsigma$
 $\lambda\psi\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{--}\omicron\gamma\nu\omicron\bar{\beta}\ \bar{\eta}\text{--}\rho\omicron\ \omicron\gamma\omega\nu\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\text{--}\bar{\eta}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\pi\iota\text{--}\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu\ \bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\text{--}\bar{\eta}\pi\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\ \text{2 Cor}$
 $2:12\text{--}13$ “When I had come to Troas to preach the gospel of Christ and a door had
opened for me in the Lord, my mind could not rest”; (c) $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{--}\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\omega\bar{\gamma}\ \alpha\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{--}\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma$
 $\bar{\gamma}\omega\nu\ \epsilon\text{--}^{\theta}\chi\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\nu\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\text{--}\tau\alpha\varsigma\bar{\iota}\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\text{--}\bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{--}\eta\ \bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\text{--}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\rho\text{--}$
 $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\gamma\text{--}\epsilon\gamma\gamma\text{--}\bar{\eta}\mu\bar{\eta}\nu\omega\ \tau\eta\rho\text{--}\bar{\eta}\ \text{Acts 21:27}$ “When the seven days were almost
completed the Jews from Asia, having seen him in the temple, assembled all the crowd”;

347 *Extension of ερωαν- by another clause occurs in three patterns:*

- (a) ερωαν-... ἄτε- ...
 (b) ερωαν-... αὐω ἄτε- ...
 (c) ερωαν-... ερωαν- ...

Examples: For (a) and (b), see examples above; (c) αὐω εἰρωαν-εἰ ἄ-ταγορα εἰ-τῆ-δεωδω-οὐ μεγ-οὐωμ Mark 7:4 “And when they come from the market place if they have not sprinkled themselves they do not eat”

348 *Temporal clauses (ἄτερε-, ερωαν-) referring to the past*

When ἄτερε- or ερωαν- modifies a non-durative statement about the past

αν-τωκ νητ ντερν-σωτμ ε-νωαχε ν-τσοφια μ-πνοῦτε ετ⁰-
 νητ-κ “We became encouraged *when we heard* the words of God’s
 wisdom that are within you” (ShIII 14:3-4)

ζαζ ν-σοπ εἰρωαν-τωοῦν... ωαι-ωτορτρ ζραι νητ-⁰ ζν-οὐμκαζ
 νητ “Often *when I got up* . . . I was painfully disturbed” (ShIII
 150:14-17)

alternant forms of sentence occur, according as the temporal clause refers to a single event (ἄτερε- *when, after*) or a generalization (ερωαν- *whenever*), and according as the main statement expresses the perspective of narrative past (*they rejoiced*) or descriptive past (English past perfect *they have rejoiced*). The alternant combinations are given in table 19.

TABLE 19
 SELECTION OF TEMPORAL CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS
 MODIFYING THE NON-DURATIVE PAST

APPLICATION OF TEMPORAL CLAUSE	PERSPECTIVE OF MAIN STATEMENT	
	Narrative Past (they rejoiced)	Descriptive Past (they have rejoiced)
Single event (<i>when, now that</i>)	ἄτερε-... α- ¹	
Generalization about multiple events (<i>whenever</i>)	ερωαν-... ωαρε- ² , ερωαν-... νε-ωαρε ⁴	ερωαν-... α- ³

¹αι-ραψε εματε ντερι-χι ν-νεσζαι ν-τεκμντ-ειωτ ετ⁰-οὐααβ ShIII 13:22-23 “I rejoiced greatly when I received the letter from Thy Holy Fatherhood/I have rejoiced greatly now that I have received . . .” ²Tenseless, whether past or non-past. εἰρωαν-ναγ ερο-q ωαγ-παζτ-οὐ ζαρατ-q Mark 3:11 “Whenever they beheld Him they fell down before Him”; εἰρωαν-ἄτ-οὐ να-q ὄν ωαγ-χοο-с хе-καα-γ εζραι ε-πεϋμα | εἰ-τῆ-ντ-οὐ δε να-q οὐδε μεq-ρῖκε-ωῖνε οὐδε μεq-χοο-с м-п-ент-αq-χῖт-οὐ εἰμῆτεῖ οὐσοп ν-οὐωτ ApophPatr (Elanskaya 1994) 15a: 1-8 “Whenever things were returned to him, he said Put them in their place; and whenever they were not returned, he neither inquired after them nor spoke to the one who had borrowed them more than once”

³ενωαν-εἰρε γαρ ν-τμε αν-ταε-τμε ShIII 112:25 “For whenever/if we do the truth, we have honored the truth” ⁴νε-ωα= giving background information with the narrative: ερωαν-μωϋснс вωк εζοῦν ε-τεскннн νε-ωαq-εἰ επесчт ἄби-песчлос ἄ-теклооε nq-αζερατ-q Exod 33:9 “And whenever Moses entered into the tabernacle, the pillar of the cloud descended and stood”

349 *The limitative ωαντε-: ‘until such time as’*

ωανтq-сωтп

Until he chose *or* chooses *or* has chosen *or* had chosen

Base: ωαντε-, ωант=

Negation: тῆ-, cf. 342

- 1 ωант-, rare var. ωанта- ωантῆ-
 2 ωантῆ- ωантетῆ-
 ωанте-
 3 ωантq- ωантоγ-
 ωантс-

In relation to the clause that it modifies, ωанте- expresses the limiting event beyond which the main event no longer continued, continues, or will continue: ‘until such time as, until the point where, until’.

αq-αωαῖ ζῆ-κῆμε ωантq-τωοῦν ἄби-кеῖро εζραι εхῆ-κῆμε
 “It multiplied in Egypt till another pharaoh arose over Egypt” (Acts
 7:17-18)

Or it expresses, similarly, a circumstance under which a command is to be carried out.

ῶω ἄζηт-q ωантетῆ-εἰ εβολ ζм-ῖма εтῆ-ῖмаγ “Stay there until
 you leave that place” (Mark 6:10)

Cf. also chapter 23 (adverbial clauses).

Further examples: νεq-ωοоп δε ζῆ-ῖма εтῆ-ῖмаγ ωанте-ζηρωαнс μογ Matt 2:15 “And he remained there until Herod had died”; αγ-χι-ῶοα γαρ ε-ιωснф ζм-пнι м-прмн-κῆμε ωантq-εἰ εζραι ε-ζенноб н-өлиψис ShIII 103:4-6 “For they spoke lies against Joseph in the house of the Egyptian, until the point where he entered into great afflictions”; αὐω мπε-н-εтῆ-ῖмаγ εἰ ωанте-πноῦτε ὅωνт εро-οὐ nq-тpeγ-вωк επесчт ε-амнте εγ-онз ShIII 143:7-8 “And those people did not come, until God had already become angry at them and made them descend alive into hell”; αὐω αq-παтассе ῖмо-q мῆ-пeqωнре мῆ-пeqлос тнр-q ωантq-тм-ωεῗт-ῶсеεпe ἄта-q Num 21:35 “And he smote him and his sons and all his people, until he left none of his”; αὐω αγ-ζιοуε нсω-οὐ ωантоγ-тм-ка-лааγ epазоγ ε-ῶтpeq-οὐχαῖ Josh 8:22 “And they smote them until not any was left behind to survive”; ωαι-ωληα ωант-наγ ε-пзо м-пexс ShAmél I 467:8-9 “I am accustomed to pray until I see the face of Christ”; †-бнп ωант-q-αωк εβολ Luke 12:50 “How I am constrained

until it is accomplished!"; $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\beta\tau\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\delta\omega\psi\tau$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\psi\alpha\tau\bar{\kappa}$ - $\chi\iota$ - $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega$ $\eta\alpha$ - γ Acts 23:21 "And now they are ready, waiting until you issue a statement to them"; $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\gamma\tau\bar{\mu}\tau\omega\mu$ η - $\bar{\gamma}$ - $\eta\alpha$ - $\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha$ - γ $\alpha\eta$ $\psi\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\epsilon\gamma\lambda\eta$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\omicron\gamma\chi\rho\omicron$ Matt 12:20 "He will not quench a smoldering wick until He brings His judgment in victory"; $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\kappa$ - $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\psi\alpha\tau\bar{\kappa}$ - τ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\gamma\alpha\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\kappa\omicron\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ Matt 5:26 "You will not get out till you have paid the last penny"; $\gamma\lambda\bar{\epsilon}$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\pi\epsilon$ ϵ - $\theta\tau\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - $\theta\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ $\psi\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\kappa\omega$ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\eta\epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\gamma\lambda$ - $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ 1 Cor 15:25 "For He must reign until He has put all His enemies under His feet"; $\psi\alpha\tau\eta$ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ - $\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\iota\omega\tau\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ η $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\alpha\lambda\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\psi\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$ - $\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\omicron\gamma$ Matt 5:18 "Till heaven and earth pass away, not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the law until all is accomplished"; $\psi\alpha\tau\eta$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta$ - $\gamma\bar{\eta}$ - $\eta\epsilon\iota\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ ShIII 18:2 "How long are we to be in these labors?"; $\psi\alpha\tau\eta$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\pi\epsilon\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\beta$ μ - $\mu\epsilon$ ϵ - η - γ - $\kappa\rho\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ Rev 6:10 "O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long ($\xi\omega\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$) before Thou wilt judge?"

Extension. A limitative clause can be extended by $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ - . . . ; e.g. $\alpha\gamma$ - $\mu\omicron\omicron$ - $\omega\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\psi\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\gamma$ - $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau$ - $\bar{\gamma}$ $\epsilon\chi\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ Matt 2:9 "It went before them, till it came and rested over the place."

B. CONJUNCTIVE BASES: $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ -, $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -

- 350** The two conjunctive bases $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ - and $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - must follow another clause or element. (An apparent exception is the independent construction of $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - 358[c].) In this sense they are dependent clauses. Unlike $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -, $\psi\alpha\tau\eta$ -, and $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta$ - 343, they cannot precede the clause or item on which they are dependent, and they extend rather than modify.

351 The conjunctive $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ -

$\bar{\eta}\gamma$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$

. . . and choose *or* . . . to choose *or* . . . and he chooses/will choose *etc.*

Base: $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ -, $\bar{\eta}\neq$ (and vars. as displayed below). The prepersonal state is conjugated with a unique set of personal intermediates 83.

Negation: $\tau\bar{\mu}$ -, cf. 342

1 $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha$ -, var. $\tau\alpha$ -	$\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}$ -
2 $\bar{\eta}\gamma$ -, vars. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}$ -, $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\kappa$ - $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ -	$\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ -
3 $\bar{\eta}\gamma$ -, vars. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}$ -, $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\eta}\varsigma$ -, vars. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$ -, $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\varsigma$ -	$\bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon$ -

Variants based on $\bar{\eta}\neq$ (not the standard spelling) can be distinguished from the preterit durative $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ by their negation with $\tau\bar{\mu}$ -; by their less restricted relationship to the direct object with mutable infinitives 329, including occurrence of the prepersonal state of the infinitive; and by their occurrence with $\beta\omega\kappa$, $\epsilon\iota$, $\pi\omega\tau$, $\gamma\epsilon$, or $\gamma\omega\lambda$ 168(c).

The 1st sing. $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha$ - or $\tau\alpha$ - supplies the missing 1st sing. of the future conjunctive $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -.

In syntax and meaning, $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ - signals more or less closely joined extension after verbs and certain other kinds of element. Apart from signalling sequentiality, $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ - is an 'empty' base in the sense that it is outside of the tense system and expresses no other grammatical categories or lexical content—no time relation, mood, aspect, particular kind of subordination, or the like. Like the aorist $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - 337, the conjunctive is a tenseless reference point next to the Coptic tense system 525. It signals only nexus and sequel after what came before. Thus by default, a conjunctive clause can come under the aegis of any time, range, mood, subordination, etc. that has already been expressed or implied by the preceding text of which it is an extension. Choice of subject is free, i.e. not affected by the preceding text.

- 352** The syntactic environments of $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ - are: (1) extending a non-narrative verb 352; (2) extension within a subordinate clause 353; (3) extending or completing other elements 354; (4) following $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ 355; (5) as a main clause in sequel to an adverbial clause 356.

(1) *Extending a non-narrative verb.* Verbal constructions that freely are extended by the conjunctive are

- (a) *non-durative infinitives*, namely (i) non-durative conjugation bases (including $\tau\rho\epsilon$ - and excluding α - and $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ -) with their infinitive; the conjunctive itself can be extended by another conjunctive; (ii) the imperative; (iii) the infinitive as a verbal noun 105(c), including its occurrence in adverbial function (chapter 23); (iv) the infinitive after future auxiliary $\eta\alpha$ - 311
- (b) $\eta\eta\gamma$ in the durative sentence with future meaning (like $\eta\alpha$ - $\epsilon\iota$) "(Is) going to come."

Thus $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ - does not occur in the main line of past narrative (not after unconverted α - and $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ - nor after $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - nor $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ - 'said') nor in durative statements about the present.

Examples. *Non-durative infinitives:* (a)(i) $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\rho\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - θ $\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\chi\iota$ $\epsilon\chi\omega$ - γ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}$ - $\tau\bar{\mu}$ - $\tau\alpha\alpha$ - γ ! $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\omega\bar{\eta}$ - $\gamma\tau\eta$ - γ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}$ - τ Ps 36(37):21 "The sinner borrows, and will not pay again: but the righteous has compassion, and gives"; $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\omega$ - $\tau\eta$ $\eta\gamma$ - $\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\eta$ - $\tau\eta$ η - $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\omicron\gamma$ ShIII 179:10-12 "And God shall bless you and increase you in all your labors"; $\chi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - γ Mark 15:32 "That we may see and believe"; $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\mu\eta\rho$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\beta\varsigma$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - $\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\eta\iota$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - $\delta\omega\psi\tau$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\eta\tau$ - $\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ Luke 12:35-36 "Let your loins be girded and your lamps burning, and be like people who are waiting for their master"; $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma$ - $\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}$ - $\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon$ - $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ - $\pi\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ $\alpha\gamma$ - τ $\epsilon\chi\omega$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (collated) Life of St. Pachomius (Lefort 112b:14-18) "But when he had tested them and had seen that their character was good, he clothed them in the monastic habit"; $\epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\eta$ - τ - θ $\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}$ -

сорм-εφ δε ζωω-q н нq-†-⁰οσε нмо-q Luke 9:25 “If one gains the whole world and loses or forfeits one’s own self”; ψαντοу-нох-οу ερραι ε-πκωzт аyw ερραι ε-πμοу аyw нсе-ραzт-οу ε-πκαz ShIV 24:13–14 “Even as far as throwing them into the fire and into the water and hurling them onto the ground”; ζωστε нсе-р-ωпнре тнр-οу нсе-†-⁰εοοу н-πноуτε Mark 2:12 “So that they were all amazed and glorified God”; ενωαν-тн-ζωтп оу петн-на-χοо-q н ен-на-р-οу зн-танаγκн ет⁰-на-ει εχω-н н оу пет⁰-ωοοп на-н нмау таpн-таа-у тнр-οу ψαzраі ε-пzае н-κοαpανтнс нтн-таа-у нтн-р-⁰βολ ShChass 197:50–198:5 “If we do not become reconciled, what shall we say or do in the crisis that will befall us, and what awaits us there? (Bear this fact in mind,) and we shall give everything away, down to the last penny—give it away to escape!” (ii) ανινε εβολ н-тестолн ет-наноу-с нтетн-таа-с зiωω-q нтетн-† н-οуzοуp ε-теqбix Luke 15:22 “Bring the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand”; (iii) ογнове πε ⁰οуωм-ποεικ н-οуpωме нт-тм-р-πεqzωв ShChass 104:28–31 “It is sinful to eat a person’s bread and not perform his labor”; καιгар ουν-⁰бom ммо-οу ε-⁰ωληλ εχω-ι нте-пxοеic κω на-ι εβολ ShIII 135:29–136:1 “For, they can pray for me and so the Lord will forgive me”; аq-ернт на-у он ε-⁰тpeу-οуωм нсе-сw нмма-q ShChass 131:23–26 “He also promised that they would eat and drink with Him”; н-етq-на-тpe-амнте οуωн н-рω-q нq-омк-οу ShChass 114:56–115:1 “Those whom He will make hell open its mouth and swallow up”; ас-ωωπε δε зм-птpeу-ψахе аyw нсе-сyнзнтi а-тс зωн εzοун еро-οу Luke 24:15 “And it happened that while they were talking and discussing together, Jesus drew near”; (iv) †-на-ωорωp-наапоөнкн нта-кот-οу н-зенноб та-сωоуz еро-οу н-псoуо тнр-q нм-наагаθон Luke 12:18 “I will pull down my barns and build them larger; and there I will store all the grain and my goods”; аyw се-на-сωтм ε-тасмн нсе-ωωπε н-οуoze н-οуωт оуωωс н-οуωт John 10:16 “And they will heed My voice and become one flock, one shepherd”; неq-на-роеic пе нq-тм-каа-у ε-⁰бωтz ε-πεqнι Matt 24:43 “He would have watched and would not have let his house be broken into”; (b) ннy with future meaning: ουν-зензооу нноу εрраі εχω-⁰ нте-ноухахе кте-οуψωλz еро-⁰ нсе-отп-ε εzοун нса-са ним Luke 19:43 “For the days shall come upon you, when your enemies will cast up a bank about you and surround you, and hem you in on every side”; зhиaс мен ннy нq-аποκαθiста н-зωв ним Matt 17:11 “Elijah is coming, and he is to restore all things”

In this environment, the conjunctive indiscriminately expresses both the next distinct action in sequence (βωк нтетн-ωине зн-οуωpх етве-пωнре ωнм Matt 2:8 “Go and search diligently for the child”) and closely related or synonymous action (ωине нса-†рннн нт-пωт нсω-с Ps 33[34]:14 “Seek peace, and pursue it”). Furthermore, the closeness between conjunctive and preceding verb varies from relatively looser sequential, consequential, cumulative, or synonymous relationships (ωωωт нт-οуωм Acts 11:7 “Kill and eat”; сωте нмо-ι нт-на на-ι Ps 25[26]:11 “Redeem me, and have mercy upon me”) to a much closer kind, with nuances of purpose and result (ка-нωнре ωнм нсе-ει ерат-⁰ Luke 18:16 “Let the children come to me”; еі-на-р-οу та-κληροноми н-пωнz ψа-enez Luke 18:18 “What shall I do to inherit eternal life?”).

Extending a verb, нте- is optionally preceded by a conjunction such as αλλα (but), аyw (and), ε-πма (instead of), н (or), or tote (and then), but mostly occurs without such a linking term.

Examples preceded by conjunction: †-παρακαλει н-тетнмнт-рмн-знт ε-⁰тм-тpeтeтн-zomeлeи нзнт-οу αλλα нтетн-χι-зрн-тн ε-нψαхе ет⁰-οуααв ShIII 31:3–5 “I urge you (‘Your Sagacity’) to pay no attention to them, but rather to attend to the holy words”; н гар q-на-мeстe-οуα нq-мepе-οуα н нq-ανεixε н-οуα нq-καταφρονι н-οуα Luke 16:13 “For either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other; αμοу нωорп εβoλ зн-неkάκαθapcia tote нг-χοо-с хе-пасωтнр ShP 130⁵83r b: 10–14 “First have done with your unclean deeds, and only then say the words O my Savior”

The subject of a conjunctive clause can be either the same as that of the preceding verb or different.

Further examples with different subject: мннсω-с δε он †-на-нау еpω-тн нте-петнзнт раве John 16:22 “But later I will see you again and your hearts will rejoice”; εicзнтe †-на-тpeу-ει нсе-οуωт мпмто εβολ н-некоу-рннтe аyw нг-еime хе-анок аi-мepит-к Rev 3:9 “Behold, I will make them come and bow down before your feet, so you learn that I have loved you”; εic-тπαρενος на-ωω нс-хпо н-οуωнре нсе-моуτε ε-πεqпан хе-εμμανοуηλ Matt 1:23 “Behold, the virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and they will call His name Immanuel (His name shall be called Immanuel)”; тωоун нтн-метаноι ShIII 181:10 “Rise and let us repent”; καιгар ουν-⁰бom ммо-οу ε-⁰ωληλ εχω-ι нте-пxοеic κω на-ι εβολ ShIII 135:29–136:1 “For, they can pray for me and so the Lord will forgive me”; маpе-пaі ωωπε εq-οуонz нн-тн εβολ аyw нтетн-χι-⁰смн ε-наψахе Acts 2:14 “Let this be known to you, and give ear to my words”

After an imperative, the personally conjugated conjunctive base resolves the unexpressed categories of number/(gender).

Examples: тωоун нт-мооуе Acts 8:26 “Rise and go (sing. masc.)”; βωк бе нте-азioу ммо-q етве-пaлoc мн-тπολic нте-р-пмееуе н-незооу м-поуεββio Esth 4:8 “Go and beg (sing. fem.) him for the people and the city, and remember the days of thy low estate”; μετανοι бе аyw нтетн-кет-тнyтн Acts 3:19 “Repent therefore, and turn (pl.) again”

Negation and the conjunctive. (i) Following a negative verbal clause, the conjunctive can fall under the aegis of the previous negation; e.g. εωωπε еуωан-тм-сωтм аyw нсе-χι-⁰свω ε-р-рмн-знт еу-на-нох-οу εβολ зpαι нзнт-н ShIV 106:5–6 “If they do not listen and learn to be wise, they shall be expelled from among us”; хе-ннеq-патасce ммо-οу аyw нq-мооут-οу ShIV 21:3–4 “Lest he strike and kill them.” (ii) Often, however, a logically displaced negation occurs because *neg. main clause + affirm. conjunctive* expresses the logical equivalent of *affirm. presupposition/stipulation + neg. main statement*; e.g. мпp-сωтм нтоq еро-ι еі-χω н-наі нтетн-εβω-тнyтн ε-нзооу н-ннстeia ет⁰-тнy ShChass 102:2–8 “However, do not listen to me say these words and then forget all about the appointed fast days” (= If you hear me say these words, do not forget . . .); меу-хере-οуzнвс нсе-каа-q за-οуωι Matt 5:15 “People do not light a lamp and put it under a bushel” (= When people light a lamp, they do not put it under a bushel). So too, *neg. main clause + neg. conjunctive* can express the logical equivalent of *neg. main statement + neg. presupposition/stipulation*; e.g. н-тн-на-οуем-ααу аη мπειма нт-тм-хω на-н нωорп хе-ау те тeт(i.e. тек)εpαcia ApophPatr 241 (Chafne

73:28–29 = Z 346:21–22) “We will not eat anything here and have you not first tell us what your occupation is” (= We will not eat anything here unless you first tell us what your occupation is). (iii) Or the conjunctive may introduce a negation after a preceding affirmative, or an affirmation after a preceding negation; e.g. $\epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \eta\ \eta\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\chi\iota\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \mu\mu\alpha\gamma\ \tau\alpha\chi\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\gamma\sigma\eta\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\phi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\chi\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ ShIV 85:3–5 “And if they notify them *and do not* assist them or remove them from there immediately, their blood shall be upon them”; $\epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\eta\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\rho\text{-}\theta\alpha\eta\alpha\psi\ \mu\text{-}\pi\rho\alpha\eta\ \mu\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \eta\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\alpha\eta\alpha\psi\ \eta\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\ \mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\chi\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\rho\text{-}\theta\omicron\beta\alpha\ \epsilon\iota\text{-}\tau\omicron\rho\eta\ \epsilon\iota\text{-}\theta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ShIII 19:4–6 “If they do not swear an oath in the name of God *but rather* ($\delta\epsilon$) *swear* a different kind of oath and they violate it, they shall escape the wrath that is to come.”

- 353** (2) *Extension within a subordinate clause.* When the conjunctive extension occurs within the following subordinate clauses

circumstantial clause

relative clause

ΕΩΧΕ- ΟΓ ΕΩΩΠΕ ... ('if')

the range of sentence types eligible to be extended by the conjunctive is somewhat longer, including also the *past tense* $\alpha\text{--}, \bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{--}$, the *durative sentence* with all its predicate types **305**, and $\sigma\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\text{--}$ ‘have’ (chapter 18), as well as the possibilities mentioned in (I).

εωωπε ου̅ντη-τ̅ν-⁰πιστις̅ μα̅γ̅ α̅λ̅ω̅ ν̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ν̅-τ̅μ̅-ρ̅-ζ̅η̅τ̅ σ̅να̅γ̅ “If
you have faith *and do not doubt*” (Matt 21:21)

N-ΕΤ⁰-COOYN E-NEΥ2BHYE NCE-2ΩΠ ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ CE-P2OYO-C2OY-
OPT NMMA-Υ “Those who know about their deeds *and conceal* them are
greatly cursed along with them” (ShIII 41:5-6)

Further examples of the additional types: $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\alpha\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\mu\text{-}\text{n}\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\varsigma\alpha\zeta\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$
 $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\text{-}\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\pi\lambda\omicron\varsigma\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\text{-}\tau\eta\tau\omega\text{-}\text{n}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\eta\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\rho$ ShIV 196:14–16 “If they
have eaten *and not withdrawn* from them, reason would compare them to dogs”;
 $\zeta\eta\eta\zeta\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ (i.e. $\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$) $\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\eta\text{-}\text{n}\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\text{-}\alpha\gamma\omega$
 $\text{n}\tau\alpha\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{n}\omicron\kappa\text{-}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\zeta\lambda\lambda\omicron$ ShIII 157:1–2 “Deeds that are ‘non-existent’,
or rather, which do exist but *I and the Senior Monk do not know* about them”; $\eta\omicron\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\alpha\text{-}\rho$
 $\text{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\zeta\eta\text{-}\text{n}\epsilon\gamma\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}^{\theta}\tau\text{-}\rho\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\delta\mu\text{-}\rho\omicron\gamma\omega\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon$
 $\alpha\gamma\omega\text{-}\text{n}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\tau\beta\omega\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\text{-}\zeta\eta\text{-}\text{n}\epsilon\kappa\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ShIII 204:12–14 “It
is like the example of a man who lives in iniquity and who has come from far away to
visit you *and to whom you say* Get clean of your iniquity”; $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ (i.e.
 $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$) $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\text{-}\zeta\mu\text{-}\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\text{-}\alpha\gamma\omega\text{-}\text{n}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\text{-}\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\text{-}\zeta\mu\text{-}\pi\alpha\pi\omicron\tau$ ShIV
66:17–18 “Before eating from the bread *and drinking* from the cup”; $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu\text{-}^{\theta}\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\text{-}\text{n}\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\mu\text{-}\text{n}\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\iota\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\rho\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}^{\theta}$
 $\alpha\gamma\omega\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\zeta\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\pi\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\text{-}\zeta\iota\text{-}\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\text{-}\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\omega\text{-}\text{n}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}^{\theta}\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$
 $\text{n}\text{-}\text{n}\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\text{-}\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\eta\text{-}\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\varsigma\omega\omega\gamma$ ShIII 40:21–24 “If I eat with them and
they with me, or if my hand and theirs are in the same dish upon the same table, *and they*
dare to harm God’s creatures with any pollution”; $\omicron\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\tau\text{-}\delta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}$
 $\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\gamma\text{-}\eta\gamma\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\text{-}\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ ShChass 194:57–195:2 “The person who has
possessions and *does not bestow charity* with them is foolish”; $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta\text{-}\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\text{-}\epsilon$
 $\gamma\text{-}\rho\alpha\iota\text{-}\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\rho\text{-}\mu\text{-}\rho\text{-}\mu\text{-}\dots\text{-}\alpha\gamma\omega\text{-}\text{n}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\text{-}\text{n}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\text{-}\iota\text{-}\zeta\eta\text{-}\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$

M-MNT-MNTPE CNAΥ . . . NAI N-TEIMINE EY-P-⁰NOBE EPO-OY MAAAY-Y SHIII
139:16-21 “If indeed there are some of us who complain . . . *and yet do not notify me*
with two supporting testimonies . . . such people sin against themselves alone”; OYRWME
ΠENT-A-ΠNOYTE † NA-Q N-OYMN-T-PMMAO MN-ZENZYPAHXONTA AYW
OYEOOY E-N-Q-ΨAAT AN N-ΛAAY ZH-N-ETQ-NA-EPIΘYMEI EPO-OY
THP-OY AYW NTE-TM-ΠNOYTE †-⁰EZOYCIA NA-Q E-⁰OYWM EBOΛ N2HT-C
ShAméI II 363:12-364:3 “Once upon a time there was a man to whom God gave a fortune
and possessions and fame, who lacked none of the things that he desired, *and to*
whom God did not give the ability to profit from them”

- 354** (3) *Extending or completing other elements*

- (a) Premodifying conjunction **234(b) + $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ –**

ε-πμα ντε- Instead of . . . -ing

ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΝΤΕ- Unless . . .

и \overline{NTE} — Unless . . .

ΚΑΝ ΝΤΕ- Even if . . .

$\overline{m}\overline{n}\overline{n}ca-\overline{n}t\epsilon-$ After . . . -ing

μηπως ἴτε- Lest . . .

ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕ-, ΧΕ-ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕ- Lest . . .

̄NCABHL ̄NTE- Unless . . .

2ωCTE NTE— So that . . . , Consequently, As a result . . .

forms an adverbial clause 493.

ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΝΤΕΤΝ̄-ΚΕΤ-ΤΗΥΤΝ̄ ΝΤΕΤΝ̄-Ρ̄-ΘΕ Ν̄-ΝΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ Ν̄ΝΕΤΝ̄-
ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-ΤΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ Ν̄-ΜΠΗΥΕ “Unless you turn and become
like children, you shall not enter the kingdom of the heavens” (Matt
18:3)

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐρανὸς εἴποι ἡμῶν ἢ ἄγγελος ἐκείνῳ ἡμῶν
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες ὑμᾶς ἐκείνῳ ἡμῶν
 ἐκείνῳ ἡμῶν “But even if we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you
 a thing contrary to that which we have preached to you, let him be
 accursed” (Gal 1:8)

αφ-ταλε-περβλοб εχω-q αφ-ει εβολ ριθн mmo-oγ τηρ-oγ |
 ζωστε ncε-ρ-ωπηρε τηρ-oγ ncε-†-⁰εοογ m-πνογτε “He
 took up his pallet and went out before them; *so that they were* all amazed
 and glorified God” (Mark 2:12)

- (b) Initial attitude marker 238 + NTE-

απα ΝΤΕ- So then . . . (before a question)

арнү нтє— Perhaps . . .

MOGIC $\bar{N}TE-$, ϵ -MOGIC $\bar{N}TE-$... hardly ... ; ... almost ... not

мѣща-к 381 нѣ- Perhaps . . .

forms a main clause.

εν-να-αζερατ-ν̄ ζ̄ν-ογσοογτ̄ν̄ ζ̄ν-ογωῑ μ̄-με | αγω ε-μογic
ν̄τ̄ν̄-κωλχ̄ ν̄-τ̄ν̄ναζ̄β̄ “We shall stand very measurably upright; and

we shall scarcely incline our shoulders" (ShWess9 125a:32–b:6 = ShIV 67:21–23)

αρα ντε-ογογχαϊ ωωπε ν-ζαζ “And so—will salvation come to many?” (ShChass 168:7–9 = ShIII 74:18–19)

(c) *Forming an entity statement expanding the subject of a clause etc.* 486

ἄλλο ἄλλοις – ... ἄλλο ἄλλοις – It is one thing if ... but another thing if ...

ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΝΤΕ- Let us hope that . . .

κεκογί πε ντε- Just a little while longer and . . .

μηγενοιτο ν̄τε— God forbid that . . .

(νε-)νανογ-с πε ντε- It is better that . . .

παρα-κεκογι πε ντε- (and similar phrases) It is almost that . . .

οὔμοιζε τε/οὔωπε πε ἄτε- (and similar phrases) It is a wonder/a shame that . . .

ωωπε ντε— Be the case that . . .

ζαμοί ν̄τε- How good it will be if . . . , I hope and pray that . . .

E.g.

ἀγὼ ὁ ἄλλος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐλπίσας ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἡ προφητεία ἐν πολλοῖς ἡμῶν “And I hope
 and pray that this saying does not apply to many of us” (ShAmél I
 231:1-2)

ΟΥΜΟΕΙΖΕ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΝΤΕ-ΤΕΙΨΟΜΤ Ν-ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΜΟΥΖ ΖΝ-ΖΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ
 Ν-ΣΕ-ΨΟΟΠ (i.e. Ε-Ν-ΣΕ-ΨΟΟΠ) ΑΝ Η ΝΤΟΙ ΕΥ-ΨΟΟΠ ΑΥΩ
 ΝΤΑ-ΤΜ-ΕΙΜΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΖΛΛΟ “It is no wonder *if these three con-*
gregations are full of deeds that are ‘non-existent’, or rather, which do
 exist but I and the Senior Monk do not know about them” (ShIII
 156:28–157:2)

κεκου̅ει̅ πε̅ ν̅τε̅τ̅ν̅-λο̅ ε̅τε̅τ̅ν̅-να̅γ̅ ε̅ρο̅-ε̅ι̅ “A little while, *and you will see me no more*” (John 16:16)

355 (4) Following $\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda(\alpha)\zeta$. In a clause of purpose $\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda(\alpha)\zeta$ optionally is expanded by the conjunctive (instead of optative **338**) if an adverbial clause stands between $\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda(\alpha)\zeta$ and the conjunctive.

κεκαας ε-ατετ̄ν-ναυ ερο-ᾱ ν̄τετ̄ν-ραψε οη “That, once having
seen him again, you may rejoice” (Phil 2:28)

κεκας εωπη ουν-⁰δου ντε-τεϊουνογ σαατ-q “That, if it were possible, the hour might pass from Him” (Mark 14:35)

χεκαας ειτε ειψαν-ει τα-ναυ ερω-την ειτε ε-ν-†-ρατε-τηντην
 αν τα-σωτην ε-πετνοουω “So that whether I come and see you or am
 absent, I may hear of you” (Phil 1:27)

ΔΕΚΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ-ΘΕ ΝΤ-ΔΤΕΤΝ-СΩΤМ ΧΙΝΝ-ΦΟΡΠ ΝΤΕΤΝ-ΜΟΟΨΕ

2PAI N2HT-C “That, just as you have heard from the beginning, so you might walk in it” (2 John 6)

356 (5) The conjunctive as a main clause in sequel to an adverbial clause (the apodotic conjunctive). Following a factual presupposition clause **495** (or its logical equivalent), the conjunctive can also function like a main clause in sequel to the preceding one.

ερε-wine nca-⁰prime ε-ογcωne | nte-toeit ερο-⁰mmmmmo-⁰
 “When you set out to weep for a sister monk, *you mourn* for your own
 self” (ShAmél I 204:14–205:1)

ἀγῶ ἐκῳαν-εἰ ἐβόλ ἐ-πτοοῦ ἐτ^θ-ζιβόλ | ᾠτῆ-κύναρε μῆ-νε-
 σῆη “And whenever we come out to the outer mountain, *we celebrate*
 Mass with the brethren” Paphnoute Cephalas, *Stories of the Monks of the*
Desert (BMis 441:32–33)

The conjunctive can optionally be preceded by an adverbial modifier such as $\alpha\gamma\omega$ or η .

Further examples: ΕΝ-ΣΟΒΤΕ Ν-ΤΑΔΑΠΝΗ Μ-ΠΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ Μ-ΠΠΑΣΧΑ | Ν
 ΝΓ-ΤΜ-ΧΩΚΜ ΖΝ-ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΓ-ΤΜ-ΤΑΖC-Κ Ν-ΟΥΝΕΖ ShAméI I 210:3-5
 “Given that we are preparing the provisions for the conclusion of Easter, *aren’t you at
 least washing with water and rubbing yourself with oil?*”; ΑΥ-ΝΕΧ-ΠCΑΤΑΝΑΣ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΝ-ΤΠΕ ΧΕ-ΑQ-ΚΩΤΕ ΝCΑ-ΘΕ Ν-Ρ-ΝΕQΒΟΤΕ | ΝΓ-ΑΑ-Υ ΔΕ ΖΩΩ-Κ ΑΥΩ
 ΝΓ-ΧΟΚ-ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΝΠΑΡΑΦΥCΙC ΝCΕ-ΧΙΤ-Κ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΜΑΥ ShBM 198
 (82b: 22–25) “Satan was cast out of heaven because he tried to perform his sexual abomi-
 nations—and *are you too performing and perfecting* them in the form of perversions, *and
 expecting to be brought* into that heavenly place?” (= Since Satan was cast out . . . can
 it be that do you too perform . . . and then expect . . . ?); ΜΗ ΠΑΝΡ Ρ-^ΘΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΝ
 ΖΜ-ΠΕΖΟΥQ Α Ν-ΤΝ-ΘΩΩΤ ΑΝ Ν-ΖΑΖ Ν-CΟΠ ΩΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ . . . ΑΥΩ
 Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΑΥ ΑΝ Ε-ΛΑΑΥ ΑΝΟΝ | ΠΩΑΝΖΤΗ-Q ΟΝ ΝQ-ΤΜ-ΤCΑΒΕ-ΝΕΝΕΒΙΗΝ
 ShChass 15:14–27 “Now, isn’t the atmosphere luminous during the daytime? And don’t
 we often look up . . . and we personally see nothing?—and then (ΟΝ), *The Merciful One
 does not instruct* our wretched selves” (= When we look up, the Merciful One does not
 instruct us); ΜΜΝ-^ΘΩΩΝΕ . . . ΜΜΝ-^ΘΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟ-Κ ΖΙΤΝ-ΖΕΝΠΕΙΡΑCΜΟC
 ΕΥ-ΖΗΠ ΝΤΕ-ΠCΑΤΑΝΑΣ | ΑΥΩ ΝΓ-ΤΜ-ΕΩ-† ΟΥΒΕ-ΠΝΟΒΕ ShChass 13:12–27
 “You have no illness . . . or test through hidden trials from Satan—and *you can’t even
 struggle* against sin?” (= Since you have no illness, can’t you at least struggle against
 sin?)

357 The future conjunctive ταρει-

ΤΑΡΕΦ-ΣΩΤΗ

... and he shall choose

Base: таρε-, таρ= (rare var. нтаре-, нтаρ=)

Negation: none

A single negative example is on record, and it is of dubious text-critical status (ταρν-† χν-ταρν-τμ-† Mark 12:14 [textual var. ταρν-† χν-μπωρ] “Shall we give or shall we not give?”). In place of the missing negation occur χε-ννε= and χεκα(α)с εννε= (or ννε=), the optative negative 338(b); these constructions, however, do not explicitly express the category of speaker’s promise. E.g. μπρ-τδαιο χε-ννεγ-τδαιε-τηγτн | κω εβολ ταρογ-κω нн-тн εβολ Luke 6:37 “Condemn not, so you might not be condemned; forgive, and you will be forgiven.”

- | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1 (ταρι-) | ταρν- |
| 2 ταρεκ- | ταρεтн-, rare var. таρεтетн- |
| ταρε- | |
| 3 таρεг- | тарог- |
| тарес- | |

The 1st sing. is rare. In its place occur the conjunctive нта- (var. та-) 351 and αγω †-να-; these, however, do not explicitly express the category of speaker’s promise. E.g. теноу де ζω-г сωтн нса-περροу н-текзмζαλ нта-κω εζραι ζαρω-κ н-ογзρε н-οοειк (textual var. τωογн та-κω ζаро-κ н-ογοειк) I Sam 28:22 “And now hearken, I pray thee, to the voice of thine handmaid, and I will set before thee a morsel of bread”; теноу азєрат-тнγтн αγω †на-†-ζап еρω-тн I Sam 12:7 “Now stand still, and I will judge you.”

ταρε- signals more or less closely joined extension after an affirmative command (imperative, μαρε- 340, or ε=να- 339) and expresses the speaker’s promise or assurance that an event will occur in the future if the command is obeyed. (Its English correspondent is ‘and’ plus the special future of speaker’s wish, intention, etc.: *and* I will, *and* you shall, *and* he shall, *and* she shall, etc.). It occurs almost exclusively in dialogue (allocution), both realistic and rhetorical.

358 The syntactic environments of ταρε- are: in sequel to an expressed command or a question; as an initial clause (expressing a deliberative question); after a verb of incomplete predication; and expressing purpose.

(a) In sequel to an expressed command

αιτι ταρογ-† нн-тн | ωине таρεтн-δине | τωζм тарогωн (i.e. тарог-ογωн) нн-тн “Ask and they shall give unto you, seek and you shall find, knock and they shall open unto you” (Luke 11:9)
μαρν-просехе ε-νεγψαχε тарн-ειμε ε-п-етн-ωине нсω-г
“Let us pay attention to His words, and we will understand what we are looking for” (ShLefort 41:9)

The closeness between ταρε- and the preceding command seems to vary along a spectrum ranging from (i) a relatively looser sequential relationship, as in the examples above, to (ii) a much closer relationship, with possible nuances of purpose or result 504, as in the following:

τωμ де ерн-аномια нм мн-хи нбонс нм . . . таρε-н-ет-сооγн ммо-к
срде ε-ρ-ζмζαλ на-к “So put a stop to all acts of lawlessness and violence . . .

so that those who know You might have the leisure to serve You” (or “and those who know You shall . . .”) (ShChass 48:53-49:7)

ταμτο на-ι н-ογλβω тарі-κω на-ι м-πεκρ-πμεεγε ζн-тамωнн “Make a net for me, so that I might have a reminder of you in my cell” (ApophPatr [Elanskaya (1994) 23b:26-29])

(b) In sequel to a question, таρε- implies an unspoken imperative commanding the interlocutor to answer the question.

εг-των πογωнω таρε-ωωс πωт нсω-г “Where is the wolf?— (Tell me,) and shepherds shall pursue it” (ShAmél II 510:7-8)

ним пе тарн-макарize ммо-г “Who is he?—(Tell me,) and we will call him blessed” (Sir 34[31]:9)

ταρε- expresses the speaker’s assurance that an action will occur if the question is answered. (Here, too, the closeness between таρε- and the preceding question ranges from a relatively looser sequential relationship to a much closer kind, with possible nuances of purpose.)

In place of the 1st sing. the conjunctive occurs; e.g. ним пет-на-† на-ι н ζентнζ ное н-нибroomπε та-ζωλ εβολ та-мтон ммо-ι Ps 54(55):6 “Who will give me wings as those of a dove? Then will I (= Tell me, and I will) flee away, and be at rest.”

(c) An initial construction of таρε= occurs, only with 1st-person plural subject, expressing a deliberative question. This implies an unspoken imperative asking the interlocutor to grant permission. таρε- expresses the speaker’s assurance that action will occur if permission is granted.

пхоεις тарн-ζιογε н-тнге “Lord, shall we draw the sword?”
(= Command us, and we shall draw) ει πατάχομεν εν μαχαίρη (Luke 22:49)

тарн-ωληλ гар хе-ογ “Indeed, what shall we pray for . . . ?
(= Command us what we shall pray for)” (Rom 8:26)

In place of the 1st sing. the conjunctive occurs; e.g. та-ογαζ-т нсω-к пхоεις Luke 9:61 “I will follow You, Lord” (Permit me, and I shall follow You).

(d) таρε- can function as a completing clause after certain verbs of incomplete predication 185 such as κω ‘permit’; e.g. ка-наї тарог-вωк John 18:8 “Let these men go.”

(e) The future conjunctive occurs (very rarely) after narrative, expressing purpose; e.g. αг-моγн де εβολ εг-ωληλ ζаро-с тарес-ογχα | αγω а-пноуге сωтн еро-г ApophPatr 240 (Chaîne 73:5-6 = Z 345:32-346:1) “And he continued to pray for her to become well, and God hearkened to him”; αг-τωογн ε-тρεг-вωк ψα-λπα-ιακωв па-таїακониā нг-κωρω еро-г таρεг-† на-г м-πζολοκοτιнос таρεг-таа-г м-πсон ApophPatr (Elanskaya [1994] 13b:36-14a:6) “He got up to go to Apa James the Almoner to ask him to give him the sum of one solidus so that he might repay the brother”

PATTERN 3: THE CAUSATIVE INFINITIVE TYPE-

359 The causative infinitive $\tau\rho\epsilon-$

ΤΡΕΥ-ΣΩΤΗ

... him to choose, for him to choose, him choose *or*

... cause him to choose, make him choose

Base: $\text{TP}_{\text{E-}}, \text{TP}_{\text{E=}}$

1	тpа-, rare var. тpеї-	тpен-
2	тpек-	тpетн̄-, var. тpететн̄-
	тpе-	
3	тpеq-	тpеу-
	тpес-	

τρο, an independent state of the causative infinitive, abnormally occurs in St. Anthony quoted in Besa, Frag. 30 (Kuhn 100:28–101:17, at 101:2 and 17) perhaps as a non-Sahidic dialect form σε-φθονει ερω-τῆ ἡνάγυ νιμ . . . εϋ-τρο ἡ-πενζητ ε-²ζλοπαλεπ “They (demons) envy you constantly . . . *making* our spirits become depressed.” (Here τρο ἡ- exemplifies the Stern-Jernstedt rule 171 like any other durative transitive infinitive.) The independent state (spelled θρο) is a normal element of the Northern (Bohairic) dialect and is also attested in dialect L6 of Middle Egypt (τρο); but in Sahidic it is generally non-existent, and all direct objects are suffixed to τρε-/τρε=.

In some constructions (table 20) $\tau\text{pe-}$ means 'cause . . . to', and in others it does not mean 'cause'. Like the other bases, $\tau\text{pe-}$ is followed by entity term and infinitive (*Base + Entity Term + Infinitive*)

τρε-πεχορτος ψοογε “(cause) the grass to wither”
 τρε-γ-ει “(make) them come”

Unlike the other bases, the morph $\tau\text{pe-}$ is at the same time a transitive infinitive (occurring in prenominal and prepersonal states). Thus, for example, the sentence

αφ-τρε-πεχορτος ωοογε "It caused the grass to wither" (Jas 1:11)

contains two infinitives: the infinitive $\tau\pi\epsilon$ '(cause) . . . to' and the infinitive $\omega\theta\omega\gamma\epsilon$ 'wither'. Each infinitive (together with its base) relates to its own subject in a relation of nexus **248**:

[illegible]

PATTERN 3: CAUSATIVE INFINITIVE TYPE-

TABLE 20
SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES OF $\tau\pi\epsilon$ -
IN ITS FOUR FUNCTIONS

	MEANING		NEGATION BY ТМ-1
	'cause'	Does Not Mean 'Cause'	
(1) Conjugated ТРЕ-	×
(2) Completing verbal auxiliary: After н ₂ - or (е)у-	×	н ₂ -ТМ-ТРЕ-
After оуеу-	×	?
(3) ТРЕ- as common noun	×	?
(4) Adverbial infinitive phrases ε- ⁰ ТРЕ-	×	ε- ⁰ ТМ-ТРЕ-
Others	×	(2М-П-ТРЕ- ... ТМ-)

¹See below, *Negations*

Negations: (i) $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\bar{\text{m}}\text{-}\tau\text{p}\epsilon\text{q}\text{-}\text{c}\omega\text{tp}$; (ii) $\text{z}\bar{\text{m}}\text{-}\text{p}\tau\text{p}\epsilon\text{q}\text{-}\tau\bar{\text{m}}\text{-}\text{c}\omega\text{tp}$. In (i) $\tau\bar{\text{m}}$ -negatives $\tau\text{p}\epsilon\text{q}$ - ('not cause'); in (ii) it negatives the infinitive ('not choose').

Examples: (i) $\text{νε-}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\text{om } \bar{\text{m}}\text{mo-q on } \text{πε } \epsilon\text{-}\bar{\theta}\text{tm}\text{-trε-paī } \text{moγ}$ John 11:37
 “Could He not have kept this man from dying?”; (ii) $\text{αγ-τολμ-ογ } \bar{\text{n}}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\text{cnoq } \text{ζm-ptrεγ-tm-}\bar{\theta}\bar{\text{m}}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\text{om } \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{n}} \bar{\tau}\bar{\omega} \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \bar{\delta}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\theta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota} \bar{\alpha}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\varsigma}$ Lam 4:14
 “They were defiled with blood in their weakness (while they were not being enabled)”

360 The syntactic environments of $\tau\text{ρε-}$ are: conjugated **360** $\alpha\eta\text{-}\tau\text{ρε}\gamma\text{-}\omega\text{πη}$ *He caused them to exist*; expanding a verbal auxiliary **361** $\dagger\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\tau\text{ρε}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ *I will make them come*; as a gendered common noun **362** $\text{π}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\text{ρε}\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\lambda\gamma\text{π}\epsilon\iota$ *This grieving of yours*; and forming adverbial infinitive phrases **363** $\gamma\bar{\eta}\text{-}\text{π}\tau\text{ρα}\text{-}\omega\eta\gamma$ *While I am living*. Cf. table 20.

(1) *Conjugated.* τρε- is conjugated in both durative

q-tp-e-peqri qa exn-nagathos mn-mponhros “He makes His sun
rise on the good and on the evil” (Matt 5:45)

and non-durative conjugation

αφ-τρα-ογωζ ζν-ογμα ν-ογοτογет "He has made me dwell in a place of green grass" (Ps 22[23]:2)

χεκαας εφε-τρετν-ζων εζουν ε-πνουτε "So that He might make
 you draw near to God" (1 Pet 3:18)

In both syntactic environments all direct objects are directly suffixed to $\tau\pi\epsilon-$ or $\tau\pi\epsilon\pi-$. Conjugated $\tau\pi\epsilon-$ always expresses causative meaning ('cause . . . to . . . ', 'make . . . ').

Further examples: *durative* αἰ-αἰαἰ νη-την . . . εἰ-τητην-ειρε μ-μμεεγε Rom 15:15 “I have written to you . . . by way of reminder (reminding you)”; αγω

εκ-τρε-zenkooγe απата nmma-κ ShChass 43:28–31 (= ShIII 81:23) “And you make others go astray along with yourself”; *non-durative* αq-τρεγ-ωπε τηρ-ογ ShIV 36:21 “He caused them all to exist”; αq-τρε-πεχορτος φoογe Jas 1:11 “It caused the grass to wither”; κανα n-τταλilαia пма ενт-αq-τρε-пмооγ p-⁰hpi John 4:46 “Cana in Galilee, where He had made the water turn into wine”; mπq-τρε-⁰mooy p-⁰hpi ShWess9 142c:13–17 “He did not cause water to turn into wine”; πноуге ае еqе-таqе-тнγтн аγω еqе-тρεтн-р-⁰зоγo зн-та-гапн 1 Thess 3:12 “May God make you increase and make you abound in love”; ψαγ-τρεγ-κωте зн-ογχназ φαντογ-ογβαω ApophPatr 29 (Chaine 6:2–3) “They are swirled about forcibly until they become clean”; φαντεq-τρεq-ζομολογει n-νεqμεεγe ApophPatr 181 (Chaine 44:22 = Z 317:27) “Until he made him confess his thoughts”; екψαν-τρεγ-р-⁰анаω м-пран м-πноуге ShIII 16:19–20 “If you make them swear an oath by the name of God”; еiψан-тм-тρε-пκαз оγων н-рω-q нq-омк-ог ShIII 131:20 “If I do not cause the earth to open its mouth and swallow them up!” (a divine oath in Biblical style = I shall surely cause the earth to open its mouth and swallow them up); каа-т та-тρε-несннγ р-оγанаω на-ι ShIII 16:12–13 “Let me make the brethren swear an oath before me”; ζωστε нq-тρε-нкеаλ cωтм аγω немпо нq-тρεγ-φαхе Mark 7:37 “He even makes the deaf hear and the dumb speak”; оγат-бom пе е-⁰тρε-пaиaвoлoс тpe-⁰pωme р-⁰нoвe ShChass 63:12–15 “It is impossible for the devil to make people sin”

361 (2) As the expansion of a verbal auxiliary 184, тpe- is compatible with

- на- ‘is going to’
- ω- (var. еω-) ‘is able to’
- на-ω- (or на-еω-) ‘is able to’
- оγеω- ‘wants to’

Completing на-, (е)ω-, or на-(е)ω-, тpe- expresses causative meaning ‘cause . . . to . . .’, ‘make . . .’; but completing оγеω-, it does not (and has no distinct translation in English).

Examples: †-на-тpeγ-еи nce-ογωψτ Rev 3:9 “I will *make them come* and bow down”; еiψан-тм-зpoψ †-на-тм-тpeγ-сωт е-⁰ωпe [з]н-натопoc ShP 130⁵98r:4–6 “When/If I cease to burden them, I shall stop them from dwelling any longer in my places”; тимоθeос . . . παί ет⁰-на-тpeтн-р-пмееγe n-на-зiooye 1 Cor 4:17 “Timothy . . . who will remind you of (*make you remember*) my ways”; зм-пма етк-на-тpeγ-р-⁰анаω ммаγ ShIII 16:22–23 “In the place where you are going to *make them swear* an oath”; н-етq-на-тpe-амнте-ογων n-рω-q нq-омк-ог ShChass 114:56–115:1 “Those whom He will *make hell open its mouth* and swallow up”; еωхе-заөн mпate-(i.e. е-мпate-)пexс вoл евоа n-тбom тнр-с m-пaиaвoлoс зи-пeсpoc mπq-еω-тpe-⁰pωme p-⁰нoвe пapa-пeφoγωψ пocωмaλλoн еq-на-ω-тpeγ-еиpe мннca-тpeγ-еи е-пкocмoc ShChass 74:45–58 “Since before Christ on the cross had destroyed all the devil’s power, he was not able to *make any one sin* against their will, how much less can he make them do so after His coming into the world”; пaψoγωγ етe-мн-лааγ на-ω-тpeγ-ωпe еq-ωoγeиτ 1 Cor 9:15 “My ground for boasting, which no one can *make empty*”; аγω нoе етeтн-ογeω-⁰тpe-рpωme аа-с нн-тн ари-с зωт-тнγтн на-γ Luke 6:31 “And as you wish *that people would do* to you, do so to them”; оγ пeтeтн-ογeω-тpa-а-γ (i.e. тpa-аа-γ)

нн-тн Matt 20:32 “What do you want *me to do* for you?”; πноуге πенcωтнр παί ет⁰-ογeω-тpe-рωme ним ωнz 1 Tim 2:3–4 “God our savior, who desires *all people to live*”

362 (3) As a gendered common noun. Like all infinitives тpe- can be actualized in the article phrase as a masc. common noun **105(c)**; here it has only grammatical meaning (and is without distinct translation in English). It is compatible only with def. sing. (п-, пееи-) and zero articles.

еис-пееи[1]тpeтн-аγпi γар каа-πноуге аq-р-⁰зωв нн-тн е-γноб n-споγдн “For see what earnestness *this your godly grieving* (the fact of your godly grieving) has produced in you” (2 Cor 7:11)
пeзooγ пe n-⁰тpeγ-пapaγe нте-мпγлн n-мпнγe n-мпнγe оγων n-⁰αiακαioс тнр-ογ m-пκαз nce-вωк eзoγн нзнт-ογ е-νεγма n-мтон “It is the day of *their disappearing* and for the gates of the heavens of heavens to open unto all the just of the earth and for them to enter, through them, into their resting places” (ShChass 178:54–179:6)
нанoγ-⁰тpe-пpωme moγ нzoγo е-⁰ωнz еq-р-⁰нoвe “For a *person to die* is better than to live sinfully” (ShAmél I 52:9)
еизннтe оγ пeт⁰-нанoγ-γ н оγ пeт⁰-нoтн nca-⁰тpe-зeнcннγ оγωз зн-ογма n-ογωт “See now! what is better or what more pleasant, *than for brethren to dwell together?*” (Ps 132[133]:1)

Further examples of тpe- forming entity statement **151**: παί ае пe е-⁰тpeн-сλсλ-ненepнγ Rom 1:12 “And this means *for us to encourage one another*”; кeзωв . . . етe-παί пe е-⁰тpeн-р-⁰zoтe знт-γ ShChass 160:14–16 “One more thing . . . , namely this: *for us to fear Him*”; оγ пe пeθβbio нзнт | пexе-пzλλo на-γ xe-е-⁰тpek-р-ппeтнанoγ-γ пe n-н-ет⁰-р-пeθooγ на-κ ApophPatr 137 (Chaine 30:23–24 = Z 304:7–8) “What is humility? The senior monk said to him, It is *for you to do good* unto those who do evil unto you”

363 (4) Forming adverbial infinitive phrases, as described in chapter 23 (**490**); e.g. зм-птра-ωнz “While I am living.”

нoе n-ογoειω ним γ-на-αiαi он тeнoγ нбi-пexс зм-пacωma еиτe зм-птра-ωнz еиτe зм-птра-moγ “Now as always Christ will be honored in my body, *while I am living and while I am dying*” (Phil 1:20)
зм-птpeγ-нkoтk ае нбi-нpωme аq-еи нбi-пeγxaxe “But *while people were sleeping*, his enemy came” (Matt 13:25)
мпq-xe-лааγ н-ωaxе на-γ мннca-⁰тpeγ-пapaтi “He said nothing more to them *after they had refused*” (ShIII 148:7)

The following lexically fixed expressions occur **493**: антi-⁰тpe- Instead of . . . -ing, ахн-⁰тpe- Without . . . -ing, е-пма е-⁰тpe- Instead of . . . -ing, е-птpe- and е-⁰тpe- In order for . . . to, еимнтi е-⁰тpe- Unless, мннca-⁰тpe- and мнн-

σα-ε-⁰τρε- After ... -ing, χωρις-⁰τρε- Except when/Unless, ζαεν ε-⁰τρε- Before ... -ing, ζμ-πτρε- While ... -ing, ζωστε ε-⁰τρε- So that, ζιτμ-πτρε- Because of ... -ing

Especially important are infinitive phrases of purpose 502 and result 503.

ΤΟΤΕ ΑΦ-ΕΙ ΝΒΙ-ΙC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΤΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ-ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ
ΨΑ-ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ Ε-⁰τρεφ-χι-⁰βαπτισμα εβολ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ḳ Matt 3:13
“Then Jesus came from Galilee to the Jordan to John, to be baptized by him”

ΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ Ν-ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΟΥ-ΜΟΥ ΖΝ-ΝΕΙΠΛΗΓΗ ΜΠΟΥ-ΜΕΤΑ-
ΝΟΕΙ ΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ Ν-ΝΕΥΒΙΧ Ι Ε-⁰τμ-τρεγ-ογωψῑ
Ν-ΝΔΔΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ Ν-ΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ-ΝΖΑΤ Rev 9:20 “The rest of humankind,
who were not killed by these plagues, did not repent of the works of their
hands *so as* to cease worshipping golden demons and silver ones”

ε-⁰τρε- also expands some verbs of incomplete predication 185; e.g.
ΑΦ-ΟΥΕΖ-⁰CΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ Ε-⁰τρε-ΜΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΟΧ-ΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ-ΠΕΧΟΡ-
ΤΟΣ Matt 14:19 “Then He ordered the crowds to sit down on the grass.” For
ε-⁰τρε- continuing the optative, imperative, or jussive expressing com-
mands, prohibitions, or strong wishes, cf. 341.

16 The Imperative

The Nature of the Coptic Imperative 364

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THE NATURE OF THE COPTIC IMPERATIVE

364 The ‘imperative’

CΩΤḲ “Listen!” (Mark 4:3)

ΜΠΡ-ΖΩΤḲ “Do not kill” (Luke 18:20)

ΑΡΙ-ΠΑΙ “Do this” (Luke 10:28)

ΜΑ-ΤΑΜΟ-Ι 367 “Tell me” (Matt 2:8)

ΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΤḲ-CḲṬΩΤ “Be ready” (Matt 24:44)

is an actualization of the verb 160 that expresses the speaker’s request or command to an addressee/addressees (2d person). It belongs to the realm of direct discourse and dialogue 521.

In meaning, the imperative ranges from the humblest petition to the most authoritative command (e.g. CΩΤḲ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ε-ΠΑΨΛΗ Ps 54[55]:1 “Hear my prayer, O God”; CΑΖΕ-ΤΗΥΤḲ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟ-Ι Ν-ΕΤḲ-CḲΟΥΟΡṲ Ε-ΤCΑΤΕ ΨΑ-ΕΝΕΖ Matt 25:41 “Depart from me, you cursed, into the fire for ever”). The command expressed by the ordinary imperative and by ΜΑΡΕ- 370 contrasts with the optative ΕΡΕ-, which expresses a strong expectation of fulfillment 338(a) (ΕΚΕ-ΤΑΙΕ-ΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ “You shall honor your father”). Polite or restrained command is expressed by the ΧΕ- or ΧΕΚΑ(Α)C + optative 338(a)(ii) (ΧΕΚΑC ΕΚΕ-ΕΙ “Would you come”). A polite request for permission to act is expressed by the 1st sing. conjunctive ΤΑ- and 1st pl. future conjunctive ΤΑΡḲ- 358(c) (ΤΑ-ΟΥΑΖ-Τ ΝCΩ-Κ “Let me follow you”).

The imperative, which contains only one main information unit, does not express nexus and so is not a clause 248 (though it forms a complete

utterance). Nevertheless, it is useful to describe it here, in association with the infinitive of non-durative conjugation (chapter 15) to which it is mostly identical in form and generally identical in syntax: its direct object construction is that of the non-durative infinitive **328, 329**; *terms in extraposition* **330** and *adverbial premodifiers* **333** can occur before it; it can be followed by the usual expansion elements of a verb **181**. Invariable $\pi\epsilon$ sometimes occurs with the imperative, cf. **285**. For $\mu\alpha$ = *reflex.* (dativus ethicus) after the imperative ($\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\alpha-\kappa$ "Just sit down"), cf. **181(g)**. For negations, cf. **368, 369**.

AFFIRMATIVE IMPERATIVES

365 The 'infinitival' imperative is the usual form of the affirmative; it has the same forms as the non-durative infinitive **328**

$\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ "Listen"
 $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi, \varsigma\epsilon\tau\pi-, \varsigma\omicron\tau\pi=$ "Choose"
 $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ "Believe"
 $\gamma\iota-\mu\alpha\iota$ "Take these"
 $\gamma\iota\tau-\gamma$ "Seize him"

except for the ten verbs listed in **366**; mutables occur in all three states.

Examples: $\gamma\iota\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\epsilon\kappa\delta\lambda\omicron\delta$ Mark 2:11 "Take up your pallet"; $\gamma\iota-\mu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\bar{\mu}-\mu\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ John 2:16 "Take these things away"; $\gamma\iota\tau-\gamma\ \gamma\iota\tau-\gamma\ \varsigma\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\ \mu\mu\omicron-\gamma$ ShIV 7:16 "Seize Him, seize Him, crucify Him"; $\chi\iota-\theta\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau\ \gamma\eta\tau-\tau\ \mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Ps 85(86):11 "Guide me, O Lord"; $\mu\alpha\ \mu\alpha-\iota\ \mu\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha-\mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\omicron\delta\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\alpha$ Ps 50(51):1 "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy great mercy"; $\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\gamma\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon-\mu\epsilon\kappa\eta\epsilon\iota$ Mark 5:19 "Go home"; $\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma-\kappa\ \bar{\mu}\varsigma\omega-\epsilon\iota$ Mark 2:14 "Follow Me"; $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\mu}\varsigma\omega-\epsilon\iota$ Mark 1:17 "Follow Me"; $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma\beta\ \gamma\alpha\pi\epsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\pi\omicron-\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\ \mu\omega\mu\epsilon\ \tau\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma-\varsigma\omicron\gamma\ \mu\alpha-\iota$ ShIII 24:22-23 "Keep the money, send me the men"; $\mu-\epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\mu\alpha-\mu\alpha\gamma\tau-\bar{\kappa}\ \epsilon-\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\gamma\omicron\beta\epsilon\ \kappa\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\pi\omicron-\gamma\ \bar{\mu}-\tau\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ Luke 6:29 "To the person who strikes you on the cheek, offer the other also"; $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha-\mu\alpha\psi\alpha\iota\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\eta\tau-\psi\alpha\mu-\gamma\tau\eta-\gamma\ \mu\omega\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\alpha\mu\omicron\beta\epsilon$ Ps 50(51):1 "According to the multitude of Thy compassions blot out my transgression"

366 *Special affirmative imperatives.* Ten verb lexemes form 'special affirmative imperatives', mostly beginning in α -

$\alpha\lambda\omicron=$ <i>reflex.</i> cease ($\lambda\omicron$)	$\alpha\gamma$ hand over
$\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ come ($\epsilon\iota$)	$\alpha\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ open ($\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$)
$\alpha\mu\iota\mu\epsilon$ bring ($\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$)	$\alpha\chi\iota$ say ($\chi\omega$)
$\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma$ look ($\mu\alpha\gamma$)	$\mu\alpha$ give (τ)
$\alpha\pi\iota\pi\epsilon$ do ($\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$)	$\mu\omicron$ take away

instead of an infinitival **365** imperative. All except $\mu\alpha$ - **367** are the normally occurring imperative of their verb lexeme.

(a) Intransitives

($\epsilon\iota$) $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ (said to one male); $\alpha\mu\eta$ (to one female); $\alpha\mu\eta\iota\tau\bar{\mu}$ var. $\alpha\mu\eta\epsilon\iota\mu$ (to several addressees) 'come'

($\mu\alpha\gamma$) $\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma$ 'look'

(b) Transitives, mostly mutable **167**; prepersonal states terminating in $\epsilon\iota=$ or $\iota=$ take the personal second suffixes **88** (e.g. $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota-\varsigma\bar{\kappa}$ "Bring him"; $\alpha\chi\iota-\varsigma\omicron\gamma$ "Say them")

($\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) $\alpha\mu(\epsilon)\iota\mu\epsilon, \alpha\mu\iota-, \alpha\mu\iota=$ 'bring'

($\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$) $\alpha\pi\iota\pi\epsilon, \alpha\pi\iota-, \alpha\pi\iota=$ 'do' (and $\alpha\pi\iota-$ forming imperatives of compound verbs **180(a)**)

($\lambda\omicron$) $\alpha\lambda\omicron=$ *reflex.* 'cease' (stop yourself)

($\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$) $\alpha\omicron\gamma\omega\mu, \omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}-, -$ 'open'

($\chi\omega$) $-, \alpha\chi\iota-$ (var. $\alpha\chi\epsilon-$), $\alpha\chi\iota=$ 'say'

($-$) $-, \alpha\gamma-$ (var. $\alpha\gamma\epsilon-$), $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota=$ 'hand over, bring'

($-$) $\mu\omicron$ (var. $\mu\omega$), $-, -$, 'take'

(τ) $\tau, \tau-,$ rare var. $\mu\alpha-, \tau\alpha\alpha=$ 'give' (the imperative of $\tau\mu\alpha=$ **173** is $\mu\alpha\mu\alpha=$)

Examples: (a) $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\omega\mu\epsilon$ Mark 5:8 "Come out of the man"; $\alpha\mu\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\ \mu\alpha-\iota\ \mu-\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ Mark 12:15 "Bring me a denarius coin"; $\alpha\mu\iota-\varsigma\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon-\mu\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ Luke 19:27 "Bring them here"; $\alpha\pi\iota-\mu\alpha\iota\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \kappa-\mu\alpha-\omega\mu\bar{\gamma}$ Luke 10:28 "Do this, and you will live"; $\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\iota-\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Luke 23:42 "Jesus, remember me, Lord"; $\alpha\lambda\omega-\tau\bar{\mu}\ \gamma\alpha\pi\omicron-\varsigma$ Mark 14:6 "Let her alone"; $\mu\omega\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}-\varsigma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu-\tau\delta\iota\chi\ \bar{\mu}-\varsigma\gamma\alpha\iota\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}-\tau\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\phi\pi\alpha\gamma\iota\varsigma$ Martyrdom of St. Victor the General (BMar 29:25-26) "Take it and you will recognize your father's handwriting and his seal"; $\tau\ \beta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\alpha-\mu\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$ Matt 22:21 "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's"; $\tau-\mu\alpha-\mu\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\ \beta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$ Mark 12:17 (same); $\mu\alpha\ \mu\alpha-\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\mu}\varsigma\epsilon-\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ Luke 9:13 "You give them something to eat"; $\tau-\theta\mu\bar{\mu}\tau-\bar{\mu}\alpha$ Luke 11:41 "Give alms"; $\mu\alpha-\mu\mu\omicron\beta\mu\epsilon\delta\ \bar{\mu}-\mu-\epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\varsigma\omega\psi\bar{\gamma}$ Ps 122(123):4 "Give reproach to them that scorn"; $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\kappa\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\mu\mu\omicron\gamma\ \tau\alpha\alpha-\gamma\ \mu\alpha-\mu\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\mu\epsilon$ Luke 11:3 "Give us each day our daily bread"; $\mu\alpha-\mu\alpha-\iota-\gamma\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ 2 Sam 20:21 "Just give him to me"

367 *Prefixation of $\mu\alpha$ - to form affirmative imperatives.* Compound verbs formed by $\tau-$ **180(a)** and Class V causative verbs (in initial τ and final \omicron **193**, such as $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron$ 'instruct') fluctuate between the infinitival affirmative imperative **365** and a form marked by prefixation of $\mu\alpha$ -.

$\tau-\gamma\tau\eta-\kappa$, var. $\mu\alpha-\tau-\gamma\tau\eta-\kappa$ "Pay attention (Give-your-mind)"
 $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron$, var. $\mu\alpha-\tau\alpha\mu\omicron$ "Instruct"

Examples: $\tau-\gamma\tau\eta-\tau\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon\pi\omega-\tau\bar{\mu}$ Mark 12:38 "Beware"; $\mu\alpha-\tau-\gamma\tau\eta-\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\omicron-\iota$ Ps 21(22):1 "O God, my God, attend to me"; $\tau-\theta\varsigma\beta\omega\ \bar{\mu}-\mu\iota\alpha\tau-\varsigma\beta\omega$ 1 Thess 5:14 "Instruct the ignorant"; $\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\chi\eta\pi\alpha$ 1 Tim 5:3 "Honor widows; $\mu\alpha-\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ (textual var. omits $\mu\alpha-$) $\mu\bar{\mu}-\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\gamma$ Matt 15:4 "Honor your father and your mother"; $\mu\alpha-\tau\bar{\epsilon}\beta\omicron-\omicron\gamma\ \gamma\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\bar{\mu}-\tau\mu\epsilon$ John 17:17

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“Sanctify them in the truth”; $\mu\alpha\text{-}\kappa\tau\omicron\text{-}\nu$ (i.e. $\text{-}\tau\kappa\tau\omicron\text{-}\nu$) $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ Ps 84(85):4 “Turn us, O God”; $\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\omicron\text{-}\nu$ $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\grave{\alpha}$ Ps 84(85):7 “Show us thy mercy, O Lord”; $\tau\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\omicron\text{-}\iota$ $\epsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\tau\text{-}\alpha\kappa\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\text{-}\gamma$ $\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$ Life and Martyrdom of Eustathius, Theopista, and Their Children (BMar 109:15) “Tell me about what you said to me”; $\mu\alpha\text{-}\chi\eta\epsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\iota}$ John 18:21 “Ask those who have heard”; $\epsilon\rho\text{-}\omega\alpha\text{-}\nu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\gamma\kappa\omicron$ $\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ Prov 25:21 “If thine enemy hunger, feed him”; $\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\varsigma\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\bar{\iota}$ $\mu\text{-}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Judg 4:19 ed. Thompson “Give me a little water to drink”

NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES

- 368 Negative imperatives are formed by prefixation of $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}$ 251 (vars. $\bar{\mu}\pi\omega\rho\text{-}$, $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\rho\text{-}$) to the non-durative infinitive.

$\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}$ | *Non-durative Infinitive*

Examples: $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\rho\text{-}\kappa\alpha\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ (textual var. $\bar{\mu}\pi\omega\rho\text{-}\kappa\alpha\text{-}$) $\gamma\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\tau$ 2 Sam 13:20 “Do not put this matter in your heart”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\bar{\rho}\text{-}\bar{\rho}\text{-}\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon$ Matt 14:27 “Have no fear”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\nu\omicron\chi\text{-}\bar{\kappa}$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\pi\epsilon$ Luke 14:8 “Do not sit down in a place of honor (up high)”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\kappa\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ Luke 6:37 “Judge not”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ Matt 24:26 “Do not go out (come out)”

The rare construction $\bar{\mu}\pi\omega\rho$ $\epsilon\text{-}$ + *Infinitive* expresses an emotive negative imperative ‘Oh, do not . . . ; Please! do not . . . ’; e.g. $\bar{\mu}\pi\omega\rho$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\text{-}\nu$ $\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\varsigma\omicron\rho\mu\text{-}\epsilon\kappa$ $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\text{-}\kappa$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{-}\kappa$ Besa, Frag. 28 (Kuhn 94:20–21) “So please! my brother, do not lead yourself astray; and get up and search for your self.”

PERIPHRASTIC IMPERATIVES

- 369 ‘Periphrastic imperatives’ consist of $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ or $\alpha\rho\iota\text{-}$ (the special imperative of $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) expanded by a non-infinitival predicate:

- (a) $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ (‘be, become’) + circumstantial 427

$\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}/\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\text{-}$
 $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}/\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\text{-}$ } + *Durative Predicate*

Examples: $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\upsilon$ 1 Pet 1:16 “Be holy”; $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\kappa$ $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}\text{-}\chi\iota\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\gamma\alpha\pi$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon\pi\eta$ Matt 5:25 “Be accommodating to your accuser quickly” $\bar{\iota}\sigma\theta\iota$ $\epsilon\delta\nu\omicron\delta\bar{\nu}$; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\kappa$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\text{-}\kappa$ ShAmél II 503:2–3 “Do not start making yourself righteous, by your own means”

$\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{-}$ + *Other Sentence Patterns*
(Negation, presumably $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{-}$)

E.g. $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\text{-}\bar{\kappa}\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\mu\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Luke 19:17 “Have authority over ten cities”

- (b) $\alpha\rho\iota\text{-}$
 $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ } + *Situational Preposition* 310

FORMATION OF THE IMPERATIVE

E.g. $\alpha\rho\iota\text{-}\gamma\iota\gamma\eta$ $\mu\text{-}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\bar{\gamma}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ (i.e. $\gamma\bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\bar{\gamma}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$) Ps 146(147):7 “Be before the Lord manifestly”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\nu\iota\gamma\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ Matt 6:16 “Do not be like hypocrites”

An imperative of a *nominal predication* of the nominal sentence can be expressed by $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}$ + *Common Noun*; e.g. $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\rho\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ Jas 1:22 “Be doers of the word”; $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ Eph 4:32 “And be kind to one another”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ Prov 3:7 “Be not wise in thine own conceit.” $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ can also be completed by a *prepositional predicate*; e.g. $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\chi\rho\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{\iota}$ 1 Cor 10:32 “Give no offence (Be without impediment) to Jews”; $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ Gal 4:12 “Become as I am.”

THE JUSSIVE/IMPERATIVE PARADIGM

- 370 The imperative fits together with the pattern of the jussive $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}$ 340 (negative $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}$) to form a combined paradigm

1 $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$	$\mu\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$	} imperative	Let me choose	Let us choose
2 $\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (masc.)	$\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$		Choose	Choose
$\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (fem.)			Choose	
3 $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (masc.)	$\mu\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$		Let him choose	Let them choose
$\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (fem.)			Let her choose	

with corresponding negatives

1 $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$	$\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$	} imperative
2 $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (masc.)	$\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$	
$\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (fem.)		
3 $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (masc.)	$\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$	
$\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ (fem.)		

RESOLUTION OF NUMBER/GENDER OF THE ADDRESSEE

- 371 The number/(gender) of the addressee(s) is not formally expressed by the imperative (except in $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma/\alpha\mu\eta/\alpha\mu\eta\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$ var. $\alpha\mu\eta\epsilon\iota\eta$ 366), but can be resolved by

i. the def. article of an article phrase in direct address, e.g. $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$ $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\gamma\iota\mu\epsilon$ John 4:21 “Woman, believe me”; $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\iota$ $\mu\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\omega\kappa$ $\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau$ ShIII 179:9 “So, beloved ones, take courage”

ii. a personal independent or inflected modifier agreeing with the addressee(s), e.g. $\omega\upsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Matt 5:48 “You, therefore, must be perfect”; $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\gamma\omega\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\rho\iota\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\gamma$ $\nu\alpha\text{-}\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon$ Matt 7:12 “Do so to them”

iii. an accompanying circumstantial clause, e.g. $\beta\omega$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\omega\eta\varsigma$ ShIV 13:13 “Stop killing”; $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\bar{\eta}\eta\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\tau\omega\gamma\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon$ Matt 6:17 “But when you fast, anoint your head”

iv. a reflexive construction of the imperative 181(e)(g), e.g. $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ Mark 1:17 “Follow me”; $\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\nu\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ Paphnoute Cephalas, Stories of the Monks of the Desert (BMis 473:34–474:1) “Just sit down”

v. any other personal morph referring to the addressee(s) of the command, e.g. $\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{-}\nu\alpha\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ShIV 131:14–15 “Incline your ear to my words”

EXTENSION OF THE IMPERATIVE

- 372 The imperative can be *extended* by $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon-$ (conjunctive) 351, with or without a conjunction such as $\lambda\gamma\omega$. E.g. $\lambda\psi\alpha\bar{i} \bar{n}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-\lambda\bar{i}\alpha\bar{i} \bar{n}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-\mu\epsilon\zeta-\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\zeta\bar{n}-\bar{n}\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ Gen 1:22 “Increase and multiply and fill the waters in the seas”; $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{m} \lambda\gamma\omega \bar{n}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-\bar{n}\omicron\epsilon\bar{i}$ Matt 15:10 “Hear and understand.” For affirmative imperative extended by the future conjunctive $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-$, cf. 358(a) ($\psi\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon \tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{n}-\omicron\bar{i}\bar{n}\epsilon$ “Seek and you shall find”). Cf. also 341.

17 *The Suffixally Conjugated Verboid*

The Nature of the Suffixally Conjugated Verboid 373

Term in Extraposition 374

Postponed Subject 375

Verboids Beginning with $\bar{n}\alpha$ or $\bar{n}\epsilon$ 376

Expression of Tense 377

$\bar{n}\alpha\bar{i}\alpha\tau\equiv$ 378

$\zeta\bar{n}\epsilon-$, $\zeta\bar{n}\alpha\equiv$ ‘It Is Pleasing to, Be Willing’ 379

$\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-$, $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\equiv$ ‘Said’ 380

$\mu\epsilon\psi\alpha\equiv$ ‘Not Know’ 381

$\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{p}-$ ‘Be Pleasant’ and $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau-$ ‘Be Distinct’ 382

$\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\tau\epsilon-$ ‘Have’. See chapter 18

THE NATURE OF THE SUFFIXALLY CONJUGATED VERBOID

- 373 The items described in this chapter express predicative meaning like that of verbs (infinitive or stative), but formally they are a distinct class. Hence they may be called ‘verboids’, i.e. morphs that in some respects resemble verbs. Verboids are nexus morphs 248, and their subject is directly suffixed to the morph, terminating a bound group.

$\bar{n}\epsilon\varsigma\omega-\kappa$ “You are beautiful”

$\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-\bar{i}\bar{n}\varsigma\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ “Jesus said”

Because the subject must be suffixed, verboids occur in two alternant *states* 30: (i) a *prenominal* state, which must be completed by a non-personal entity term as subject; (ii) a *prepersonal* state, which must be conjugated by suffixation of the personal suffixes, according to the eightfold pattern of persons 75. (Some verboids occur in only one state or the other.)

$\bar{n}\alpha\epsilon-\pi\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ “God is great,” $\bar{n}\alpha\lambda\lambda-\bar{q}$ “He is great”

$\bar{n}\alpha\bar{i}\alpha\tau-\tau\bar{h}\gamma\tau\bar{n}$ “Blessed are you!” $\bar{n}\alpha\bar{i}\alpha\tau-\bar{q} \bar{m}-\pi\bar{r}\omega\mu\epsilon$ “Blessed is the person”

$\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{p}-\pi\epsilon\bar{r}\pi-\alpha\varsigma$ “The old wine is good”

Tense. The basic forms (except $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-$) express present tense; other tense formations are given in table 21. (For the overall Coptic *tense system*, cf. chapter 25.)

TABLE 21
TENSES EXPRESSED BY SUFFIXALLY CONJUGATED VERBOIDS

	PRESENT	PAST	OTHER
Beginning in να/νε	×	Preterit conversion	-ωυπε ε-
ζηε-	×	αφ-ῖ-ζνα=	Conjugated ῖ-ζνα=
πεξε-	×
μεωα=	×
νεqr-/ογερ-	×

Negation. Verboids vary as to whether or not they are compatible with negation. If compatible, they follow the pattern (**ῖ-**) *Verboid* + *Subject* + **αν** 250.

ῖ-νανογ-πετῖωογωογ αν “Your boasting is not good” (1 Cor 5:6)
νανογ-ζενωηρε ωημ αν ευ-κω νσω-ογ μ-πετῖωαξε “Children are not good when they ignore your words” (ShIV 96:1–2)

The indispensable signal of negation is enclitic **αν**, which follows more or less immediately. If **ῖ-** is present it is prefixed to the verboid.

Adverbial complements follow the verboid.

- 374 *Term in extraposition.* Any personal morph (or personal element of the possessive article) within the sentence pattern can be anticipated by a term in extraposition, that is, a term placed at the front of the sentence pattern (‘extraposed’)

<i>Extraposited Term</i>	<i>Sentence Pattern</i>
	(contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)
Anticipation	Resumption
Topic under discussion	Comment

ζοῖνε δε ῖζητ-ογ | πεχα-γ
 “But as for some of them, I they said” (John 11:37)

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition occurs only before verboids with initial **να-** or **νε-** 376 and before **πεχα=** 380. Extraposition and personal morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The agreeing personal morph shows how the extraposed term relates to the sentence.

(a) 1st and 2d person morphs can only be preceded by an extraposed personal morph: namely, the personal independent.

ανοκ δε | πεχα-ῖ
 “And for my part, I I said” (Acts 26:15)

(b) 3d person morphs can be preceded by either a personal independent or some other entity term.

ῖτοογ δε | πεχα-γ να-γ
 “For their part, I they told him” (Matt 2:5)

παῖωτ | νααα-γ ερο-ῖ
 “As for my Father, I He is greater than I” (John 14:28)

Further examples: **ωντ ραρ νιμ ῖτε-πνογτε | νανογ-ογ** 1 Tim 4:4 “For everything created by God is good”; **ῖε δε | πεχα-γ ξε-ανοκ πε** Mark 14:62 “And Jesus said, I am he”

- 375 *Postponed subject: entity term expanding a personal subject.* A 3d-person subject (**γ**, **с**, **γ**) can be expanded by an entity term later in the clause.

αλλα ναωω-ογ ον ῖβι-ναπρος “But the lazy, too, are numerous” (ShIII 115:1–2)

πεχα-γ να-γ ῖβι-ῖε “Jesus said to them” (Mark 1:17)

The expansion element is mediated by **ῖβι-**. In this construction, the personal morph (**γ**, **с**, **ογ**) expresses grammatical information, and the expansion expresses lexical content in a postponed, rhetorically distinct element.

VERBOIDS BEGINNING WITH **να** OR **νε**

- 376 A set of seven verboids

ναα- (var. **ναε-**), **νααα=** (var. **ναα=**) ‘be great’
 [For **ναῖαατ=**, cf. 378]
νανογ- (var. **νανε-**), **νανογ=** ‘be good’
νεσε-, **νεσω=** ‘be beautiful’
 (—), **νεσβωω=** ‘be intelligent’
ναωε-, **ναωω=** ‘be many, much, plentiful’
 (—), **ναζλωδ=** (var. **ναζλοδ=**) ‘be pleasant’
 (—), **νεδω=** (var. **νεδωω=**) ‘be ugly’

These, respectively, are historically related to: **αἰαῖ** ‘increase in size,’ **αναῖ** ‘be pleasant,’ **σα** ‘be beautiful,’ **τсаво** ‘teach’/сво ‘learn,’ **αυαῖ** ‘become many,’ **ζλωδ** ‘be sweet,’ **τῶαειο** ‘make ugly’.

are formed with initial **να** or **νε**. They express descriptive meaning, predicating a quality.

νανογ-πετῖωογροτ “Your zeal is excellent” (ShIII 27:5)

For **νανογ-с ε-νε...** (“It would have been better if...”), cf. 499(a). Descriptive predication (corresponding to adjectives in Western Indo-European languages) is also expressed by three other means: the stative of intransitive verbs whose infinitive expresses process or entry into a state 168(b), **γ-ογωω** “He/It is white”; the stative construction **ο ῖ-** with descriptive incidental predicate 179, **γ-ο ῖ-ῖνοδ** “He/It is great”; and the nominal sentence predicate of description 292, **ογρωμε πε** “He/It is human.” In some instances these constructions come very close in meaning, forming synonyms: **ογαγαθον πε/νανογ-γ** “It is good”; **ογκογῖ πε/γ-совк** “It is small”; **ναωω-γ/γ-ογ** “It is much”; **νααα-γ/γ-ο ῖ-ῖνοδ** “It is great.”

Further examples: $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\bar{\omega}-^{\theta}\ \bar{\zeta}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}-\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon-^{\theta}\ \bar{\zeta}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\chi\epsilon$ (i.e. $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}-\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\chi\epsilon$) Jdt 11:23 “And now thou art both beautiful in thy countenance, and witty in thy words”; $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon-^{\theta}\chi\bar{\iota}\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\bar{\zeta}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon-^{\theta}\rho\omega\kappa\bar{\zeta}\ 1\ \text{Cor}\ 7:9$ “For it is better to marry than to be aflame”; $\bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon-\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon-\bar{\pi}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\eta\tau\ 1\ \text{John}\ 3:20$ “God is greater than ($\bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon-\dots\epsilon-$) our hearts”; $\bar{\pi}\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\zeta}\lambda\omega\delta-^{\theta}\ \text{Matt}\ 11:30$ “For My yoke is easy”; $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma\bar{\zeta}\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon-\kappa\ \bar{\pi}\alpha\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\omega-\kappa\ \epsilon-^{\theta}\bar{\omega}\omega\tau\ \bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega-\kappa\ \text{Cant}\ 1:16$ (ShIII 53:6–7) “Behold, thou art fair, my brother, and beautiful to gaze upon”; $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon-\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}-\bar{\pi}\rho\omega\bar{\mu}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau-^{\theta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\bar{\zeta}\ \epsilon-\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\upsilon-\chi\bar{\rho}\omicron-^{\theta}\ \text{Matt}\ 26:24$ “It (– $\varsigma\ 486$) would be better for that man if he had not been born”; $\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\tau-\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon-^{\theta}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ 110\ \text{Heb}\ 5:14$ “Good and evil”

Negation: ($\overline{\mathbf{N}}$ -) Verboid + Subject + \mathbf{aN}

Conversions: (i) relative ($\epsilon\tau-$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$), (ii) circumstantial ($\epsilon-$), (iii) preterit ($\mathbf{n}\epsilon-$), (iv) focalizing ($\epsilon-$). In relative construction if the resumptive morph has the function of subject, the converter is $\epsilon\tau-$; otherwise, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$ occurs.

Examples: (i) ΝΕΤΝΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-ΟΥ Matt 5:16 “Your good works”; ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-ΟΥ ΔΝ ShIV 11:1–2 (= ShAmél I 307:6) “Evil deeds” (Deeds that are not good); ΠΕΧΘ ΕΤΕ-ΝΑΨΕ-ΠΕΦΝΑ ShGué 16b:8 “The Christ whose mercy is great”; ΤΖΟΕΙΤΕ Μ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΕ-ΝΑΨΕ-COΥΝΤ-С ΔΝ ShIV 162:19–20 “The cheap garment that is not worth much”; (ii) ΝΑΝΟΥ-ΟΥΡΑΝ Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-q ΕΖΟΥΕ-ΟΥΜΝΤ-ΡΨΜΑΟ Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-С Prov 22:1 “A fair name is better than much wealth”; ^θΡΑΨΕ... Ε-ΝΑΑ-q Ε-ΠΑΙ 3 John 4 “Any greater joy than this”; ΖΕΝΖΟΙΤΕ Ε-ΝΑΨΕ-COΥΝΤ-ΟΥ 1 Tim 2:9 “Costly attire” (Garments whose prices are great); ΖΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-ΟΥ ΔΝ ShP 131^{740r} b:9–8up “Things that are not good”; Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ ΔΝ ^νΒΙ-Ν-ΕΤ^θ-ΝΑ-^ρ-^θΒΟΛ ShChass 173:7–9 “If those who are going to elude it were not numerous”; (iii) ΝΕ-ΝΕCΩ-q ΠΕ Ζ^ν- (i.e. ΕΖΡ^ν-)ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Acts 7:20 “He was beautiful before God”; (iv) ΖΙΤ^ν-ΟΥ Ε-ΝΑΑ-Υ Ε-ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ShChass 135:44–46 “How are some greater than others?”

377 *Expression of tense.* In addition to the preterit conversion expressing past tense, a fuller range of tenses etc. can be expressed by periphrastic conjugation of $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ completed by a circumstantial conversion of the na verboid, cf. **427**. (For the overall Coptic *tense system*, cf. chapter 25.) E.g. $\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ $\eta\text{-na-}\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{-na}\omega\omega\text{-}\eta$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon$ Luke 6:23 “Your reward *will be* great in heaven.”

378 **ναῖατ**= ‘Blessed is . . . !’ (**μακάριος** . . .) can be analyzed as a nexus of the verboid **ναα**- ‘is great’ **376** and the possessed noun **ειατ**= ‘(the) eye(s) of . . .’ **138**. It can function as an interjection **240**.

ναῖατ-θηοῦτῆ ἐρψαν-ρῶμε νιμ μεστω-τῆ “Blessed are you when
all people hate you” (Luke 6:22)

“Blessed is the person who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly” (Ps 1:1)

A prenominal state is formed periphrastically, by the extension morph \bar{n} -
139: $\text{na}\bar{\text{f}}\text{aT-q } \bar{n}$ -, $\text{na}\bar{\text{f}}\text{aT-c } \bar{n}$ -, $\text{na}\bar{\text{f}}\text{aT-oY } \bar{n}$ - (e.g. $\text{na}\epsilon\text{iaT-oY n-n}\bar{\text{z}}\text{m-}$
 $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\text{l } \epsilon\text{T}^{\theta}\text{-m}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{y}$ ShIV 25:20-21 “Blessed are those servants”). The antonym is
 oYoei na = “Woe unto.”

Negation: none

Conversions: (i) relative ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$), (ii) circumstantial ($\epsilon-$), (iii) focalizing ($\epsilon-$)

Examples: (i) ται τε θε ετε-ναειατ-ογ ν-ν-ετ⁰-να-δν-ογπαρρησια μ-
πναγ ν-ταναρκη ShIII 68:22–23 “Thus (This is the way that) blessed are those who
find the ability to speak freely in the time of necessity”; (ii) ογοει να-ν
χε-αν-αμελει ε-ναειατ-ογ ντοογ ν-ν-ετ⁰-ογαδβ τηρ-ογ χε-αγ-
ωοπ-νεινοδ ν-γίσε ShAmél II 374:7–8 “Woe unto us for we have been negligent,
whereas (ντοογ) blessed are all the saints for they have received these great suffer-
ings”; (iii) ε-ναιατ-ν ερψαν-πρωτηρ ις ναζμ-εν ε-μπεθοογ μ-πκα-
τανας ShAmél II 51:10–11 “It is when the savior Jesus saves us from the evils of Satan
that we are blessed”

$$2N\epsilon-, 2Na = \text{'IT IS PLEASING TO, BE WILLING'}$$

379 $\gamma\eta\epsilon-$, $\gamma\eta\alpha=$ ‘It is pleasing to, Be willing, Be content, Agree’ occurs both absolutely ($\alpha\gamma-\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \omega\alpha\rho\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon-\gamma\eta\alpha-\gamma$ 2 Cor 8:17 “He has come to you of his own accord”) and expanded by $\epsilon-$ ⁰infinitive or $\epsilon-$ ⁰ $\tau\rho\epsilon-$ ($\gamma\eta\alpha-\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\ \epsilon-\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\bar{\eta}-\pi\tau\omega\mu\alpha$ 2 Cor 5:8 “It is very pleasing to us to come out of the body, We are very willing to come out of the body”). Formally, $\gamma\eta\epsilon-/ \gamma\eta\alpha=$ must be treated here as a suffixally conjugated verboid. But syntactically it belongs with the impersonal predicates such as $\alpha\lambda\alpha\rho\kappa\eta$ and $\gamma\omega$.

Negation: (\bar{n} -) Verboid + Subject + α_N (e.g. \bar{n} - $\zeta n\epsilon$ - $\tau\alpha\psi\chi\eta$ α_N \bar{n} $\zeta\eta\tau$ - \bar{q}
Heb 10:38 “My soul has no pleasure in him”)

Conversions: (i) relative ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$), (ii) circumstantial ($\epsilon-$), (iii) focalizing ($\epsilon-$)

Examples: (i) In *simple attributive* constructions if the resumptive morph has the function of subject, the converter is ετε- and the subject is expressed as a personal suffix on the verboid: ν-ετε-ζνα-γ αν ε-⁰σαζω-ογ εβολ ν-τεσβω εθοογ ShOrig 365 (Orlandi 34:4) “Those who are not willing to withdraw from evil doctrine.” But if the resumptive morph would have non-subject function, no resumption is expressed (cf. 489): εκε-γωωτ νῖ-ογем-⁰αq κατα-π-ετε-ζνε-τεκψγχη (i.e. ε-⁰ογom-γ) Deut 12:15 “Thou shalt kill and eat flesh according as thy soul is pleased to”; ογῖῃη τε ε-⁰ζμοос мῃ-π-ετε-ζνα-с (i.e. ε-⁰ζμοос нῃμα-q) 1 Cor 7:39 “She is free to be married to whom she wishes”; πεογοειω ῃ-π-ετε-ζνα-κ πε πνογτε Ps 68(69):13 “It is a propitious time, O God” (It is the time of that which You are pleased with); ζм-πτωω ете-ζνα-q ShEnch 69:62–63 “Just as he pleases” (In the manner with which he is pleased); τειμине ν-ρωме ете-ν-ζνα-γ αν ε-⁰сωтм ε-πεqωαхе ShAmél I 61:3–4 “This sort of person, whose words they are not willing to listen to”; (ii) ζῆν-ογζтор αν αλλα ε-ζνη-тῆ 1 Pet 5:2 “Not by constraint but willingly”; †-на-χω де на-к м-пейωахе ε-н-ζна-г ан

ε-⁰χοο-q ShAmél II 191:11 “I am going to say the following to you, even though I am not happy to say it”; †-να-ζῖογε ερο-οу нта-qт-οу ε-ζῖα-γ an Martyrdom and Miracles of St. Mercurius the General (BMis 263:17) “I shall beat them and steal these things against their will”; (iii) ε-ζνε-πχοεις ζῖ-н-ετ⁰-ῖ-⁰ζοτε ζнт-q Ps 146(147):11 “The Lord takes pleasure in them that fear Him”; αγω αληως ε-ζνα-γ an ε-⁰τρε-ααу н-ρωμε μακαριζε μμο-οу ε-πτηр-q ShIII 161:29–162:1 “And it is really true that they are not at all willing for any person to congratulate them”

Other tenses (including non-durative conjugation and να- future) are formed in a reflexive construction of ῖ-ζνα= ‘be willing’, in which the suffix of ζνα= agrees in number/(gender) with the subject of the infinitive ῖ-.

ερωан-πχοεις ῖ-ζνα-q “If the Lord wills” (Jas 4:15)

ан-ῖ-ζνα-н ε-⁰ει ψαρω-тн “We wanted to come to you” (1 Thess 2:18)

Further examples: н-тетна-р-ζνη-тн an ε-⁰нау ε-нетнωhre мн-нетнсннү ShAmél II 278:7 “You will not be happy to see your children and your brothers”; αῦ-ῖ-ζνα-γ гар Rom 15:27 “For they were pleased to do it”; οуοι νε-⁰ ε-μπε-р-ζне-⁰ ε-⁰ει εζραι н vol ζн-ноукаκία ShIII 200:17 “Woe unto you (sing. fem.), for you have not been willing to come up from or out of your acts of wickedness”; нтереq-р-ζна-q де нби-пноуге паї ент-αq-порх-т̄ εβολ χιν-εει-н-ζнт-с̄ н-тамаау αγω αq-тазм-ет εβολ ζит̄м-πεqзмot ε-⁰βαπ-πεqωhre εβολ нζнт-⁰ Gal 1:15–16 “But when He who had set me apart since I was in my mother’s womb, and had called me through His grace, was pleased to reveal His Son in me”; р-ζна-к н оуωу ζн-некмнт-ψан-ζтн-q . . . ε-⁰κω на-н εβολ ShAmél I 83:7–8 “Be pleased, and will, in Your mercies . . . to forgive us”; πχοεις аri-ζна-к ε-⁰тоуχο-ι Ps 39(40):13 “Be pleased, O Lord, to deliver me”

πεχε-, πεχα= ‘SAID’

380 πεχε-, πεχα= ‘said’ (chapter 24) signals direct discourse in past time, and is extremely common. It has no negation or conversions.

πεχε-ιc на-γ “Jesus said to them” (Mark 2:19)

Unlike its synonym χω ἡμο-с ‘say’, it cannot be followed by indirect discourse **519**. Paradigm: πεχαї, πεχακ, πεχη (ShAmél I 74:6), πεχαq, πεχас, πεхан, πεхнт̄н or πεχε-тнγт̄н, πεχαу.

Negation: none

Conversions: none

Constructions: (a) Completed by χε- to introduce reported discourse, synonymous with α(q)-χοο-с χε-

Examples: πεχε-νεqμαθнтс на-q χε-εκ-οуеу-трен-вωк ε-тωн Mark 14:12 “His disciples said to Him, Where will You have us go?”; αq-εї бε ψа-сїмωн петрос | πεχε-пн на-q χε-πχοεις John 13:6 “So He came to

Simon Peter, and the latter said (λέγει, Greek *praesens historicum*) to Him, Lord”; πεχε-ζοїне н-неqμαθнтс н-неуернү χε- John 16:17 “Some of His disciples said to one another”; πεχε-кеоуа де χε- Luke 9:61 “Another said”; πεχε-ιc де на-γ χε- Mark 6:31 “And Jesus said to them”; πεχα-ї χε-нпωр πχοεις Acts 11:8 “But I said, No, Lord”; αq-οуωу де нби-ιc πεχα-q на-γ χε- Matt 11:4 “And Jesus answered and said to them” (ἀποκριθεῖς . . . εἶπεν αὐτοῖς)

(b) Parenthetical in the midst of quoted matter

Examples: с-на-ψωπε мн̄нса-наї πεχε-пноуге нта-пωзт̄ εβολ ζм-пап̄на εхн-сар̄з ним Acts 2:17 “And afterwards it shall be, *God has said*, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh”; п-ετ⁰-ме μμο-ι πεχα-q q-на-ζареz ε-παψахе ShAmél I 38:9–10 “One who loves Me, *He has said* (John 14:23), will keep My word”

(c) Following reported discourse. E.g. мн̄н-⁰рауе ψооп н-н̄асевнс πεχε-πχοεις Isa 48:22 (ShChass 169:11–13 = ShIII 75:13) “There is no joy to the ungodly, said the Lord.”

An *adverbial clause preceding* πεχε- lays down a circumstance or relationship in which the sentence is being asserted (i.e. under which the predication is made).

Premodifier | Verboid

εу-οуωм де | πεχα-q на-γ “And as they were eating | He said to them” (Matt 26:21)

Conjunctions and initial attitude markers (chapter 10) also occur in premodifier position; e.g. мн̄нсω-с де | πεχα-q н-неqμαθнтс John 11:7 “Then after this | He said to His disciples.”

μεψа= ‘NOT KNOW’

381 μεψа= ‘not know’ occurs only as a negative morph.

наме меψе-⁰ χε-ним не н оу не “Truly, you (sing. fem.) [μεψа= + ⁰ 89] do not know who or what they are” (ShAmél I 76:1–2)

Somehow related is the expression меψе-ним ‘A certain person who shall remain nameless, Such-and-such’ ὁ δεῖνα. Otherwise, the prenominal state of this verboid does not occur.

Conversion: relative (examples below)

Constructions: (a) Followed by object constructions н-, ε-, or by χε-: ‘not know’. Rare. (Much more usual expressions of *know* are the infinitives εїме and сооун.)

Examples: меψа-q м-пнау етq-на-кω нсω-q м-пкосмос ShEnch plate 14 а:12–15 “He does not know when he will leave the world”; мпр-танзет-

н-ετε-μεφα-н ερο-ογ ξε-ογ не ShIF2 p. 180 b:20-23 "Do not trust those whose nature we do not know" (those about whom we do not know what they are); for μεφα= ξε-, cf. example cited above.

(b) The lexically fixed expression μεφα-κ forms an initial attitude marker **238**: 'perhaps, maybe', literally "You (invariable, general 2d sing. masc.) don't know . . ." It is followed immediately by a main clause or conjunctive clause.

Examples: μεφα-κ δε †-να-6ω ζατε-τηγτη̄ 1 Cor 16:6 "And perhaps I will stay with you"; μεφα-κ ντοq πε πεχ̄с Luke 3:15 "Perhaps it is he who is the Christ"; μεφα-κ αq-πιραζε ммω-тн̄ н̄би-п-ετ̄-πιραζε 1 Thess 3:5 "Perhaps the tempter has tempted you"; μεφα-κ гар н̄т-αq-ογε̄ мм̄ο-κ εтве-πᾱι προσ-ογ̄ογ̄νογ Phlm 15 "For perhaps it is because of this that he was parted from you for a while"; μεφα-κ гар н̄те-ογᾱ толма̄ ε-мо̄γ̄ ζα-ογᾱγᾱθος Rom 5:7 "For perhaps one will dare to die for a good man"

неq̄р- 'BE PLEASANT' AND ογ̄ετ- 'BE DISTINCT'

382 Two verboids occur only in a prenominal state:

неq̄р- 'be pleasant, enjoyable' (cf. ноq̄ре 'profit, advantage')
ογ̄ετ- (var. ογ̄ωτ-) 'be distinct, different' (cf. н̄-ογ̄ωτ 'single') **158**

E.g. неq̄р-περп-ас Luke 5:39 "The old wine is good."

Negation: . . . αν

Conversions. (i) неq̄р: none. (ii) ογ̄ετ-: circumstantial (ε-).

Constructions of ογ̄ετ-: (a) alone ογ̄ετ- . . . 'is distinct'; (b) correlative pair, ογ̄ετ- . . . (αγ̄ω) ογ̄ετ- . . . " . . . is one thing and . . . is another"

Examples of ογ̄ετ-: (a) ογ̄λαος ε-ογ̄ετ-τεq̄б̄иn-φᾱχε . . . ζεν̄λαος . . . ε-ογ̄ετ-πεγ̄ζροογ̄ н̄ ε-ογ̄ετ-τεγ̄ас̄πε Ezek 3:6 "A people of different speech . . . nations of other speech or of other tongues"; нен̄нове . . . ογᾱ ογᾱ επ̄ιαν ογ̄ετ-π̄нове π̄нове Psote of Psoi, Farewell Address before His Martyrdom (BMis 154:7-8) "Our sins . . . one by one, since each sin is distinct"; (b) ογ̄ετ-π̄ναγ̄ н̄-ε̄πιτιμᾱ ογ̄ετ-π̄ναγ̄ н̄-сопс̄ ShAmél II 4:2 "The hour of threats is one thing, and the hour of entreaties is another"; ογ̄ετ-п-ετ̄-χο̄ αγ̄ω ογ̄ετ-п-ετ̄-τω̄ζс̄ John 4:37 "One sows and another reaps" (The sower is one thing and the reaper is another); ογ̄ετ-πεооγ̄ мен̄ н̄-н̄-ετ̄-ζ̄н̄-т̄пе̄ ογ̄ετ-πεооγ̄ δε̄ н̄-н̄-ετ̄-ζ̄н̄-п̄ка̄з̄ 1 Cor 15:40 "The glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another"; н̄ ογ̄ετ-ζ̄ен̄μᾱсп̄о̄р̄ετ̄ ан̄, ογ̄ετ-ζ̄ен̄ρω̄ме̄ ShIV 156:18 "So, are not mules one thing and human beings another?"

18 Predication of Possession: 'Have'

ογ̄н̄те- (мм̄аγ̄) and м̄н̄те- (мм̄аγ̄) **383**

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b. Prepositional complements of ω̄ωπε/ω̄ωοп̄ **393**

c. *Belong to* па-/πω= **393**

d. *Which he has* ετ̄-н̄та-q and ετε-ογ̄н̄та-q-с̄q̄ **393**

e. *Get, come to have, acquire* κω̄ на̄=, χ̄ι, χ̄πο̄ на̄= **393**

f. *Consider as . . . ογ̄н̄та̄= . . . ζω̄с̄ and . . . -н̄то̄от̄= ζω̄с̄- Have the ability to, Be able to, Can* **394**

ογ̄н̄те- (мм̄аγ̄) AND м̄н̄те- (мм̄аγ̄)

383 The nature of ογ̄н̄те- and м̄н̄те-. The verboid ογ̄н̄те-, ογ̄н̄та̄= (negative м̄н̄те-, м̄н̄та̄=) is a very common and ordinary expression of possession: 'have/not have'.

ογ̄н̄те-в̄ва̄ω̄р̄ не̄γ̄в̄н̄в̄ αγ̄ω ογ̄н̄те-н̄ζ̄ᾱλᾱτε̄ н̄-т̄пе̄ не̄γ̄μᾱζ̄
"Foxes have their holes, and birds of the sky have their nests" (Luke 9:58)
ογ̄н̄τη-т̄н̄-по̄γ̄ο̄ӣн̄ (textual var. ογ̄н̄те-т̄н̄-) John 12:36 "You have the light"

м̄н̄те-λᾱαγ̄ θ̄ᾱρᾱп̄н̄ ε-на̄αα-q̄ ε-та̄ε̄ῑ "No one has greater love than this" (John 15:13)

мм̄нта-н̄-б̄ε̄ζε̄ᾱл̄п̄с̄ мм̄аγ̄ "We have no other hope" (ShIII 136:19)

Historically and formally related to the existential morph ογ̄н̄- **476**, in Sahidic Coptic ογ̄н̄те- is a transitive **166(a)** suffixally conjugated verboid

373, whose subject (*the possessor*) is directly suffixed to the verboid: οὔντα-ἰ “I have,” μντε-⁰προφητης “A prophet does not have.” The list of entity terms that can occur as subject/possessor is restricted, 384.

Like other suffixally conjugated verboids οὔντε- occurs in two states 30, prenominal and prepersonal.

οὔντε-, οὔντα= ‘have’ (vars. οὔντε-, οὔντα=)
μντε-, μντα= ‘not have’ (vars. μμντε-, μμντα=)

Prepersonal alternants 386: οὔντα=, (μ)μντα=

A direct object (*the possessed*) is optionally expressed. Like the subject, a direct object can be either a personal morph or some other entity term; for patterns of subject + direct object, cf. 390. In most patterns, a direct object follows the suffixed subject.

After converters (ετε-, ε-, νε-, ε-), οὔντε- etc. is sometimes written ὕντε- etc., and μμντε- etc. is sometimes written μμντε- etc. (without its first superlinear stroke): ε-ὕντε-, νε-ὕντε-, ε-μμντε-, etc.

The adverb μμαγ (*untranslatable*) often accompanies οὔντε- and (μ)μντε-, coming soon after the verboid as though it were an enclitic.

οὔντα-ἰ ον μμαγ ν-ζενκεεσογ “And I have other sheep” (John 10:16)
οὔντα-ν μμαγ μ-πενειωτ αβραζαμ “We have Abraham our father”
(Luke 3:8, textual var. οὔντα-ν-πενίωτ)

Its function and the conditions for its presence or absence are at present unknown. (μμαγ has no distinct translation in this construction.)

Negation: (μ)μντε- 250 etc. occurs in place of οὔντε- etc.

Conversions: (i) relative (ετε-), (ii) circumstantial (ε-), (iii) preterit (νε-), (iv) focalizing (ε-), focalizing with negation of topic element 453 (ετε-μντα=)

Examples: (i) νθε γαρ ετε-ὕντε-πιωτ πωνη John 5:26 “For as the Father has life”; τευγαπη ετε-οὔντα-γ-с ShIV 52:20 “Their love that they have”; nie-соог ετε-μμντ-ογ-⁰ωωс Matt 9:36 “Sheep without a shepherd”; π-ετε-οὔντα-г . . . π-ετε-μντα-г Matt 13:12 “The person who has . . . the person who has not . . .”; (ii) ε-ὕντα-г-негωнре зн-ογзγпотагн 1 Tim 3:4 “Keeping his children in submission”; зензвнге н-воте ε-мнτ-ογ-⁰нпе ShEnch 94:2-4 “Countless, abominable deeds”; (iii) νε-ὕντε-ογδανιcтнс ε-рωме снзγ пе Luke 7:41 “A certain creditor had two debtors (Had something against two people)”; не-μμнτ-ογ-⁰ωнре ммаγ пе Luke 1:7 “They had no child”; (iv) ε-οὔντα-г-с зн-н-ет-ка-⁰ма нз-г ShIII 85:14 “It is among those who make a place for him that he has it”; ε-μнτ-ογзωв де ммаγ εг-орх ε-⁰сзай м-прро етвннт-г Acts 25:26 “But I have nothing definite to write to the emperor about him”

384 The following kinds of subject (possessor) are compatible with the prenominal state οὔντε-/(μ)μντε-: definite, indefinite, and zero article phrases; ογ and λззγ. (Other kinds of subject occur in the constructions described in 393.)

Examples: μη οὔντε-πзмзл ⁰змот Luke 17:9 “Does the servant have any thanks?”; не-ὕнτε-ογδανιcтнс ε-рωме снзγ пе Luke 7:41 “A certain creditor had two debtors (Had something against two people)”; ммнте-⁰пна ⁰кас зг-⁰сарз Luke 24:39 “Spirits do not have bones and flesh”; не-οὔнτε-ογз ογвω н-кнте Luke 13:6 “A certain person had a fig tree”; мнте-λззγ ⁰агпн ε-нааа-г ε-таѳ John 15:13 “No one has love that is greater than this”

385 Inflections of the prepersonal state. Full conjugation of the prepersonal state οὔнτα= follows the same pattern as the preposition на=.

1	I have	οὔнτα-ἰ	1	I do not have	μнτα-ἰ
2	you have	οὔнτα-к	2	you do not have	μнτα-к
	etc.	οὔнτε- ⁰		etc.	μнте- ⁰
3		οὔнτα-г	3		μнτα-г
		οὔнτα-с			μнта-с
1	we have	οὔнτα-н	1	we do not have	μнта-н
2	etc.	οὔнтн-тн	2	etc.	μнтн-тн
3		οὔнта-γ	3		μнта-γ

386 When a non-personal direct object is suffixed to the conjugated prepersonal state, reduced (zero) vocalization occurs: οὔнт=, (μ)μнт=. E.g. не-ὕнт-ογ-зєнкегнм де н-твт Mark 8:7 “And they had also a very small amount of fish.” Cf. 390(d2).

1	οὔнт- (ount-i-)	1	μнт- (mnt-i-)
2	οὔнт-к-	2	μнт-к-
	οὔнт-ε-		μнт-ε-
3	οὔнт-г-	3	μнт-г-
	οὔнт-с-		μнт-с-
1	οὔнт-н-	1	μнт-н-
2	οὔнте-тн-	2	μнте-тн-
3	οὔнт-ογ-	3	μнт-ογ-

But fully vocalized spellings (like 385) often occur in this position; e.g. егωппе οὔнтн-тн-⁰пистис ммаγ (= οὔнте-тн-⁰пистис ммаγ) Matt 17:20 “If you have faith.”

Fully Vocalized Spelling of the Reduced Forms

1	οὔнта-ἰ-	1	μнта-ἰ-
2	οὔнта-к-	2	μнта-к-
	οὔнте- ⁰ -		μнте- ⁰ -
3	οὔнта-г-	3	μнта-г-
	οὔнта-с-		μнта-с-
1	οὔнта-н-	1	μнта-н-
2	οὔнтн-тн-	2	μнтн-тн-
3	οὔнта-γ-	3	μнта-γ-

- 387 *Term in extraposition.* Any personal morph (or personal element of the possessive article) within the sentence pattern can be anticipated by a term in extraposition, that is, a term placed at the front of the sentence pattern ('extraposed')

Extraposited Term(s)	Sentence Pattern
	(contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)

Anticipation | Resumption
Topic under discussion | Comment

ΝΑΕΙ ΔΕ | ΜΜΝΤ-ΟΥ-⁰ΝΟΥΝΕ ΜΜΑΥ

"But as for these, | they have no root" (Luke 8:13)

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition and personal morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The agreeing personal morph shows how the extraposed term relates to the sentence.

1st and 2d person morphs can only be preceded by an extraposed personal morph: namely, the personal independent.

ΑΝΟΚ | ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι ΜΜΑΥ Ν-ΟΥΖΡΕ Ε-⁰ΥΟΜ-⁰

"For my part, | I have food to eat" (John 4:32)

ΝΒΑΨΟΡ | ΟΥΝΤΑ-Υ-ΝΕΥΒΗΒ "As for foxes, | they have their holes" (Matt 8:20)

ΠΖΟQ | ΟΥΝΤΕ-ΤΕQΜΑΤΟΥ ΝΕCΨΙ

"As for the serpent, | its venom has its limitations" (ShChass 28:24-26)

- 388 *Postponed subject (possessor): entity term expanding a personal subject.* A 3d-person possessor (q, c, γ) can be expanded by an entity term later in the clause. The expansion element is mediated by ΝΒΙ-.

ΟΥΝΤ-⁰Q-⁰ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ-ΠΩΗΡΕ Μ-ΠΡΩΜΕ Ε-⁰ΚΑ-⁰ΝΟΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ
"The Son of Man has authority to forgive sins" (Mark 2:10)

For other possibilities, cf. 87.

A personal second suffix 88 as subject, following a penultimate personal object morph 82, is expanded by the mediation of Ν- rather than ΝΒΙ-; e.g. ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-CQ-Q Μ-ΠΡΩΜΕ Job 2:4 "All that a man has" (Every thing such-that has-it-he Μ- the man); cf. 390(c).

In this construction, the personal morph (-q etc.) expresses grammatical information, and the expansion expresses lexical content in a postponed, rhetorically distinct element.

- 389 *Expression of tense.* The basic forms express present tense. (For the overall Coptic tense system, cf. chapter 25.) A fuller range of tenses, etc. can be expressed by periphrastic conjugation consisting of ωπτε completed by a circumstantial conversion of ΟΥΝΤΕ-, cf. 427.

Examples: ΟΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΔΕ ΜΑΡΕC-ΩΠΤΕ Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-C ΜΜΑΥ Ν-ΟΥΖΩΒ Ν-ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ Jas 1:4 "And let steadfastness have its full effect"; ΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ε-⁰ΤΡΕQ-ΩΠΤΕ Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Q ΜΜΑΥ Ν-ΟΥΜΝΤ-ΜΝΤΡΕ Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-C 1 Tim 3:7 "Moreover, it is necessary for him to have a good recommendation"; ΧΕ-ΑΚ-Ρ-⁰ΠΙC-ΤΟC 2Ν-ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΩΠΤΕ Ε-ΥΝΤ-Κ-⁰ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΜΜΑΥ ΕΧΝ-ΜΗΤΕ Μ-ΠΟΛΕΙC Luke 19:17 "Because you have been faithful in a very little, have authority (come to have authority) over ten cities"; ΜΠΡ-ΩΠΤΕ Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ-2Α2 Ν-2ΑΙ ShAmél II 62:4-5 "Do not acquire (literally come to have) many husbands"

But a more usual means of expressing these other conjugations of 'have' is the reflexive verbal construction ΚΩ ΝΑ= reflex. + Ν- ('have', 'come to have').

Examples: ΜΠΑΤΕΤΝ-ΚΑ-⁰ΠΙCΤΙC ΝΗ-ΤΝ Mark 4:40 "Do you not yet have faith?"; Ε-⁰ΤΡΕQ-ΚΩ ΝΑ-Q Μ-ΠΩΗ2 2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤ-Q John 5:26 "For Him to have life in Himself"; Ε-Υ-ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΤΕ Ε-ΠΑΙ Ε-⁰ΚΩ ΝΑ-Q Μ-Π-ΕΤQ-ΝΑ-ΤΑΛΟ-Q Ε2ΡΑΙ Heb 8:3 "Hence it is necessary for this person to have something to offer"

- 390 *Syntax of the direct object (the possessed).* The subject (possessor), and likewise the direct object (possessed), can be either (i) a non-personal entity term 384 or (ii) a personal morph. Thus there are four combinations, whose syntax is illustrated in table 22 with the affirmative ΟΥΝΤΕ-. The order of subject and object depends upon which pattern has been selected.

TABLE 22
SYNTAX OF THE DIRECT OBJECT (THE POSSESSED) AFTER ΟΥΝΤΕ-
(For resumptive ΝΒΙ-, cf. 388)

SUBJECT (POSSESSOR)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSED)	
	Non-personal Entity Term	Personal Morph
Non-personal entity term	(a) ΟΥΝΤΕ-ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗ2 ¹ "The Father has life" Subject + Object	(b) (ΕΤΕ-)ΥΝΤ- ⁰ C-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ² "Which God has" (Such-that has-it-God) Object + Subject
Personal morph	..... (d1) ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ Ν-ΟΥΟΥΩ ⁴ "I have a desire" Subject + Object (d2) ΟΥΝΤ-ΤΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ⁶ "I have the power" Subject + Object variant spelling: ΟΥΝΤΑΙ-ΤΕΞΟΥCΙΑ	(c) (ΕΤΕ-)ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q-Ε ³ "Which you (fem.) have" (Such-that have-it[q]-you[ε]) Object + Subject (e) ΟΥΝΤΑ-C-CE ⁵ "She (c) has them (ce)" Subject + Object

¹ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΕ-ΥΝΤΕ-ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗ2 2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤ-Q John 5:26 "For as the Father has life in Himself" ²ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΤΕ-ΥΝΤ-⁰C-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤ-Ν 1 John 4:16 "The love that

God has among us"; τμντ-ἀγαθος ἐτε-οὔντα-q-π-νοῦτε ἐζοῦν ἐ-ν-ετ⁰-πнт ἐζοῦν ἐρο-q 2⁰-οὔμντ-2ακ (collated) ApophPatr 191 (Chaine 49:15-16 = Z 322:14-15) "The goodness that God has towards those who soberly flee to Him" 3⁰ ποῦω ἐτε-οὔντα-q-ε ἐζοῦν ἐρο-⁰ ⁰nee 2ωωτ-ε ⁰π-ποῦω ἐτε-οὔντα-q-ε ἐζοῦν ἐρο-q (collated) ShZ 387:14-15 = ShAmel I 41:1-2 "The desire that He has for you, just like the desire that you (ε) have for Him" 4⁰ ἐ-γῆτα-ἰ δε ἡμαγ ⁰π-οὔωω ἐ-⁰εἰ ψαρω-τῆ Rom 15:23 "And since I have longed to come to you" (Having a wish to come to you) 5⁰ ⁰π-ετε-γῆτα-с-се (textual var. -соу) τῆρ-οὔ Mark 5:26 "All (pl.) that she had" 6⁰ οὔντ-τεζοῦcia ἐ-⁰καα-с John 10:18 "I have power to lay it down." Similarly, ἐ-μῆτα-ἰ-⁰αγαπῆ δε ἡμαγ 1 Cor 13:2 "Without having love"

Notes on the five combinations (table 22, constructions [a] to [e])

- (a) The direct object (the possessed) is autonomous **28**, and is not mediated by a preposition. Subject and direct object can be interrupted by another autonomous element such as δε; e.g. νε-οὔντε-τῶορπῖ μεν ζεναικαι-ωμα π-ωμωε Heb 9:1 "Now the first one had regulations for worship."
- (b) Base with reduced vocalization (οὔντ= etc. **386**) + penultimate personal object morph (-ε-, -εс-, -с-, -сq-, -q-, -qc-) **82** as direct object + non-personal subject. Extremely rare and in writing sometimes hard to distinguish from combination (e). Seemingly attested only in relative conversions or cleft sentences, with the direct object person suffixed to οὔντ(α)= and functioning as resumptive morph. E.g. ἡκα νιμ ετε-γῆτ-εс-παειωτ (textual vars. οὔντ-с-, γῆт-ε-, οὔντα-q-, οὔντα-qс-) (collated) John 16:15 πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατήρ "All that my Father has"; ε-м-πιζωβ αν π-οὔωτ πετε-οὔнт-ε-ἡμελος τῆρ-οὔ Rom 12:4 "Without its being the same function that all the members have."
- (c) Fully vocalized base (οὔντα=) + penultimate personal object morph **82** as direct object + personal second suffix **88** as subject. Like (b), this construction is extremely rare; it is hard to distinguish from combination (e). As with (b), the attestation is in a relative conversion, where the direct object person suffixed to οὔнта= functions as resumptive morph. A subject expansion is mediated not by π61- but by π- **203**. E.g. ἡκα νιμ ἐτε-οὔнта-сq-ḡ м-πρωме Job 2:4 "All that a man has" (Every thing such-that has-it-he м- the man).
- (d) A non-personal direct object (the possessed) relates to the conjugated verboid in either of two ways:
- (d1) Fully vocalized base + personal suffix (οὔнта-ι-, οὔнта-κ, etc.), and direct object mediated by the preposition π-. If present, ἡμαγ usually stands between subject and object. E.g. οὔнта-ἰ π-οὔπρoφнτια 1 Cor 13:1 "I have prophetic powers"; οὔнта-ἰ ἡμαγ н-οὔβεке 1 Cor 9:17 "I have a reward."
- (d2) Conjugated base with reduced vocalization (οὔнτ-, οὔнтк-, etc. **386**) + non-personal direct object suffixed to the conjugated base; e.g.

οὔнт-ḡ-οὔωωωωωω ἡμαγ Rom 4:2 "He has something to boast about"; οὔнт-к-παι ἡμαγ Rev 2:6 "This you have." Fully vocalized spellings (οὔнταἰ-, οὔнτακ-, etc.) are also common; e.g. ε-γῆта-q-νεqωнре 2⁰-οὔ2γποταгн 1 Tim 3:4 "Keeping his children in submission"; н-ετε-οὔнта-γ-ἰс ShChass 39:32-33 "Those who have Jesus." Normally when the object is a zero article phrase it occurs in construction (d2): н-ετε-γῆт-οὔ-⁰хрнма ἡμαγ Mark 10:23 "Those who have riches."

- (e) Fully vocalized base + personal intermediate **80** as subject (οὔнта-ι-, οὔнта-κ-, etc.) + personal second suffix **88** as direct object (possessed)

Personal Second Suffixes

	sing.	pl.
1st	-т	[?], -сн
2d	-к, -ск, -тк (masc.) [?] (fem.)	-тнγтῆ
3d	-q or -сq (masc.) -с (fem.)	-се or -соу

Further examples: ὁγ γαρ πετε-οὔнта-εи-q Ps 72(73):25 "For what have I?"; π-ετε-γῆт-ε-сq John 4:18 "He whom you (-ε-) have"; π-ετε-οὔн-тн-тн-ḡ 2 Cor 8:11 "What you have"; πкарпос ε-не-οὔнтн-тн-εq Rom 6:21 "The profit that you had"; мнта-γ-сq ShIII 90:18 "They do not have it"; πке ετε-οὔнта-с-сq Matt 13:12 "Even what he has"; ε-οὔнта-с-с 2⁰-н-εт⁰-ка-⁰ма н-а-с (focalizing conversion) ShIII 85:14 "It is among those who make a place for him that he has it"; тмнт-мнтре ε-не-οὔнта-γ-с Rev 6:9 "The witness they had borne" (The witness they had); н-ετε-γῆта-γ-се εζοῦн εро-сq Acts 25:19 "The things that they have against him"; ε-мῆта-с-соу (textual var. -се) δε ε-⁰таа-γ Matt 18:25 "But since he could not pay" (But not having them so as to pay them); анон οὔнта-н-ск ἡμαγ 2ωс-⁰еиωт Prochorus, Acts of St. John Evangelist (Morgan M576 f.2v b:13-15; Dep. 102) "As for us, we think of you as a father" (We have you as a father)

- 391** For extension of οὔнте- by a clause in conjunctive conjugation, cf. **353**.

- 392** Expressions of indebtedness with οὔнте- include

οὔнте- Creditor + Amount or Thing Owed + ε- Debtor
οὔнте- Creditor + ε- Debtor

(English translations of this construction usually reverse the dynamic and use the verb *owe*, with the prepositional object of ε- translated as the person who owes: Coptic *A has [an amount] against the account of B* becomes English *B owes to A [an amount]*). E.g. εωωπε δε ε-οὔнт-к-οὔ2омнт ε-π-εт⁰-2ιτογω-к Deut 24:12(10) "If your neighbor owes you money" (If you have money against your neighbor); н-ετε-οὔнте-πεqхоеис εро-сq Luke 16:5 "His master's debtors" (Those such that his master has [some unspecified amount] against them). In meaning, this construction overlaps with the

situational predicate $\epsilon\rho\omega = \bar{n}/\epsilon\rho\omega$ in the durative sentence 310(i), except that here the creditor must be specified.

OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF POSSESSION ('HAVE')

The rest of this chapter is organized around the concept 'have' in English and is meant to serve the needs of translators.

- 393 (a) *Durative prepositional predicates*. Particular kinds or degrees of possession, constituent (inalienable) membership, appurtenance, custody, infection, etc.—various kinds of 'having'—can be expressed by a prepositional predicate in the durative sentence 310. The subject is the possessed and the prepositional object is the possessor.

$\bar{m}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{o}\bar{y}$ "They have no root" (Matt 13:6)
(No root is in them)

(English translations of this construction must reverse the dynamic and use the verb *has*, with the Coptic subject translated as the possessed and the prepositional object as the possessor: Coptic *A is in the possession of B* becomes English *B has A*.) As the following examples demonstrate, selection of preposition ($\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{z}$, $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{z}$, $\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{z}$, $\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{z}$, etc.) is motivated by the semantic class of the subject/possessed item in Coptic. For $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}$ 'be able', cf. 394.

Further examples: $\chi\bar{e}-\epsilon\bar{\pi}\bar{i}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{t}-\bar{q}\bar{n}-\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}$ John 13:29 "Because Judas had the money box" (proper noun as possessor); $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{b}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{y}-\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{y}\bar{e}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$ | $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{y}-\bar{s}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ | $\bar{r}\bar{\omega}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{y}-\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{e}$ | $\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{t}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{y}-\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{m}$ | $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{b}\bar{i}\bar{\chi}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{y}-\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{b}\bar{m}$ | $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{y}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{h}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{y}-\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{e}$ Ps 134(135):16–17 "They have eyes, but they cannot see; they have ears, but they cannot hear; they have a mouth, but they cannot speak; they have a nose, but they cannot smell; they have their hands, but they cannot touch; they have their feet, but they cannot walk"; $(\bar{o})\bar{y}\bar{b}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}\bar{n}-\bar{k}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}$. . . $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}-\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{w}\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}-\bar{s}$ Mark 11:13 "A fig tree in leaf" (having leaves); $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{b}\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}$. . . $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}-\bar{t}\bar{n}-\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}-\bar{s}$ John 5:2 "A pool . . . which has five porticoes"; $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}-\bar{\psi}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{s}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}-\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{y}\bar{t}\bar{n}$ Luke 9:3 "Having (i.e. wearing) two tunics"; $(\bar{o})\bar{y}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{e}$. . . $\bar{e}-\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}-\bar{q}$ Luke 8:27 "A man . . . who had demons"; $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{e}$. . . $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{\bar{n}}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}-\bar{\Delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{n}-\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{h}\bar{t}-\bar{q}$ Luke 4:33 "A man . . . who had the spirit of an unclean demon"; $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{q}$ John 10:20 "He has a demon"; $\bar{n}\bar{e}-\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{b}\bar{n}-\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}-\bar{s}$ $\bar{p}\bar{e}$ Luke 4:38 "She had a high fever"; $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{r}\bar{n}-\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}-\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{y}\bar{t}\bar{n}$ Matt 15:34 "How many loaves have you?"; $\bar{m}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}\bar{s}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{t}-\bar{k}$ John 4:11 "You do not have a jar"; $\bar{e}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{k}\bar{i}\bar{\theta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{m}-\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\alpha}$ Rev 5:8 "Each holding a harp"; $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{z}\bar{e}-$ "Be able to" (Have capacity to), e.g. $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{k}\bar{e}-\bar{\theta}\bar{t}\bar{b}\bar{b}\bar{o}-\bar{i}$ Luke 5:12 "You can make me clean." But the general possessive verboid $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}-$ overlaps these prepositional constructions in meaning; e.g. $\bar{p}\bar{e}-\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}-\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{t}-\bar{q}-\bar{\theta}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{y}\bar{e}-\bar{s}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ Luke 8:8 "The person who has ears to hear" (= $\bar{p}\bar{e}-\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{q}\bar{e}-\bar{s}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ Luke 14:35)

- (b) *Prepositional complements of $\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{p}\bar{e}/\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{p}$ 'be' function like those in (a) above.*

Examples: $\bar{m}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{z}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}-\bar{q}$ Matt 13:21 "He has no root in himself" (Root does not exist in him); $\bar{p}\bar{e}-\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{t}-\bar{\alpha}-\bar{\lambda}\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{e}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{q}$ Mark 5:15 "The man who had (the demon named) Legion." Especially typical is $\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{p}\bar{e}/\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ 'have': $\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{q}$ Matt 13:46 "All that he had"; $\bar{\alpha}-\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{e}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{i}\bar{e}-\bar{\theta}\bar{t}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{s}\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{h}-\bar{t}\bar{n}$ Jude 3 "I had need ($\bar{p}\bar{e}-\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}-\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{e}$) to write to you."

- (c) *'Belong to'.* Relatedness (being possessed, owned, etc.) is expressed by the possessive pronoun $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}-/\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{z}$ 'the one of', cf. 296.

Examples: *nominal sentences* $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{k}\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{i}-\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{\chi}\bar{s}$ 1 Cor 1:12 "I belong to Christ"; $\bar{t}\bar{\omega}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}-\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{n}-\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{h}\bar{y}\bar{e}$ Matt 5:3 "Theirs is the kingdom of the heavens"; $\bar{p}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{n}-\bar{s}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}-\bar{q}\bar{m}-\bar{p}\bar{\omega}-\bar{i}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}$ John 14:24 "The word that you hear is not Mine but My Father's"; *expanding \bar{p} - in non-durative conjugation* $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{k}\bar{\lambda}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{r}-\bar{t}\bar{\omega}-\bar{n}$ Mark 12:7 "The inheritance will be ours"

- (d) *'Which he has' is expressed by either $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}-\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{q}$ (etc.) or $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{q}-\bar{s}\bar{q}$ (etc.) 390[e]*

Examples: $\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}-\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{q}$ Matt 13:44 "All that he has"; $\bar{p}\bar{e}-\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}-\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{r}-\bar{q}$ Luke 21:4 "All that she has"; $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{q}-\bar{s}\bar{q}$ Matt 13:12 "Even what he has"

- (e) *'Get, come to have, acquire' is expressed by $\bar{k}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ reflex., by $\bar{\chi}\bar{i}$, or by $\bar{\chi}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ reflex., i.e. $\bar{t}\bar{\psi}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$, the Class V causative verb 193 corresponding to $\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ (cf. [b] above).*

- (f) *'Consider . . . as . . . , Hold . . . to be . . . ' is expressed either by $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$. . . $\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}$ or by . . . $-\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{z}\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}-$ or $\bar{\chi}\bar{e}-$ ([a] above). E.g. $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}-\bar{n}-\bar{s}\bar{k}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{y}\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}-\bar{\theta}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}$ Prochorus, Acts of St. John Evangelist (Morgan M576 f.2v b: 13–15; Dep. 102) "As for us, we think of you as a father"; $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{q}-\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{t}-\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}-\bar{\theta}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{f}\bar{h}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{s}$ Matt 21:46 "They held Him to be a prophet."*

- 394 *'Have the ability to, Be able to, Can' (constructions containing expressions of actor [entity term] and action [infinitive as noun])*

- (a) $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{n}-/\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{z}$ [power exists in . . .], like expressions of constituent membership 393(a); negation, $(\bar{m})\bar{m}\bar{n}-$

$\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{n}-$ actor $\bar{e}-\bar{\theta}$ action

$\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\psi}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{n}-$ actor $\bar{e}-\bar{\theta}$ action (for $\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}-$, cf. 184[c])

All four conversions occur (focalizing only in the negative?).

Examples: $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}-\bar{\theta}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{m}-\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}-\bar{\theta}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{s}-\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\psi}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{n}-\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}-\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ Matt 3:9 "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham"; $\bar{m}\bar{n}-\bar{\psi}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{i}\bar{e}-\bar{\theta}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{e}$ ApophPatr 182 (Chaîne 45:11) "I cannot

walk”; π-ετε-οὐν-⁰δομ ἡμο-⁰q ε-⁰qι μαρεq-⁰qι Matt 19:12 “Let the one who is able to receive, receive”; ἡν-⁰νιθῦcia ἡ-οὐωτ ετοῦ-ταλο ἡμο-οὐ εἰραῖ ἡ⁰α⁰ ἡ-⁰cop τερομπε ε-⁰μν-ωδομ ε⁰ε⁰ ε-⁰χωκ εβολ ἡ-⁰н-ετ⁰-⁰на-⁰†-πεγογοῖ ερο-οὐ Heb 10:1 “It can never, by the same sacrifices which are continually offered year after year, make perfect those who draw near”

Related constructions: (i) οὐν-⁰δομ absolute ‘it is possible’; (ii) οὐν-⁰δομ ἡ-/ἡμο= actor “is empowered, is skilled”; (iii) οὐν-⁰δομ ε-⁰action ‘it is possible to’; (iv) οὐν-⁰δομ ε-⁰τρε- actor + action ‘it is possible for . . . to . . . ’; (v) οὐν-⁰δομ ἡτε- [conjunctive] same as preceding; (vi) οὐν-⁰δομ ε- + article phrase [not infinitive] expressing act + ἡ-/ἡμο=ἡ⁰α⁰α⁰ρῆ- etc. actor ‘. . . is possible for . . . ’

Examples: (i) εψε-οὐν-ωδομ Rom 12:18 “If possible”; (ii) οὐρωμε ε-γῆτ-⁰q-⁰πωαε ε-γῆ-⁰δομ ἡμο-⁰q ἡ⁰ε⁰-⁰νε⁰ραφῆ Acts 18:24 “An eloquent man, well versed in the scriptures”; (iii) ε-⁰не-οὐν-⁰δομ ε-⁰κα-πεῖρωμε εβολ ἡ⁰α⁰βη⁰α⁰ ε-⁰α⁰-ε⁰πικα⁰εῖ ἡ-⁰πῆρο Acts 26:32 “This man could have been set free if he had not appealed to Caesar”; (iv) ἡ⁰μ⁰ν-ωδομ ε-⁰τρεq-⁰ρ-⁰μα⁰θη⁰тс⁰ на-⁰ῖ Luke 14:26 “He cannot be My disciple”; (v) ἡ⁰μ⁰ν-⁰δομ ἡτε-τε⁰ραφῆ (textual var. ε-⁰τρε-τε⁰ραφῆ) εβολ ε⁰α⁰ John 10:35 “Scripture cannot be broken”; (vi) οὐν-⁰δομ ε-⁰ωβ⁰ н⁰м⁰ π-ετ⁰-⁰πιστε⁰ε⁰ε Mark 9:23 “All things are possible to the one who believes”; οὐν-⁰δομ ερο-οὐ ἡ⁰α⁰α⁰ρῆ-⁰π⁰νοῦτε Luke 18:27 “They are possible with God”

(b) Compound verb **180(a)** ὁμ-⁰δομ [find-power]

Actor (. . .) ὁμ-⁰δομ ε-⁰action

Actor (. . .) (ε)ω-ὁμ-⁰δομ ε-⁰action

occurs in both durative and non-durative environments.

Examples: ἡ⁰τερεq-εῖ⁰ δε εβολ ἡ⁰π⁰q-εω-ὁμ-⁰δομ ε-⁰ωαε⁰ н⁰м⁰а-γ Luke 1:22 “And when he came out, he could not speak to them”; αq-α⁰ρχε⁰σθαι ἡ-⁰та⁰ωε-⁰οῖω ἡ⁰α⁰α⁰ α⁰ω ε-⁰с⁰р-⁰πωαε⁰ ἡ⁰ω⁰ε⁰ н⁰q-⁰т⁰м- (textual var. т⁰м-εω-)⁰δομ ε-⁰βωк ε⁰ροῦн ε-⁰т⁰πο⁰л⁰и⁰с⁰ ἡ⁰ω⁰ωн⁰ε Mark 1:45 “He began to talk freely about it and to spread the news, so that He could no longer openly enter a town”; ε-⁰ε⁰не-ω-ὁμ-⁰δομ ἡ⁰ω⁰ω-⁰н ε-⁰с⁰ε⁰п⁰с-⁰н-ετ⁰-⁰ἡ⁰ω⁰ιψ⁰и⁰с⁰ н⁰м⁰ 2 Cor 1:4 “So that we may be able to comfort those who are in any affliction”; нес-οὐωω ε-⁰мо⁰οῦт-⁰q | ἡ⁰πес-ὁμ-⁰δομ δε Mark 6:19 “She wanted to kill him; but she could not”; οὐρο εq-οὐ⁰н⁰н ε-⁰м⁰н-⁰α⁰α⁰γ⁰ на-εω-ὁμ-⁰δομ ε-⁰ωωт⁰м⁰ мо-⁰q Rev 3:8 “An open door, which no one is able to shut”

Cf. also ω-, εω-, на-ω- 184.

The Impersonal Predicate

(ἀναγκη, ἡω, ἡне-/ἡнаε, ἡпс, γενοίτο, εἴεσσι, ὡωε, ἡμοῖ)

See chapter 22

Part 3

Complex Clause Patterning

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THE NATURE OF CONVERSION IN COPTIC

THE FUNCTION OF CONVERSION

- 395 The sentence patterns (nexus patterns) described above in part 2 are 'basic' sentence forms, meaning that they are the basis of four grammatical super-structures called 'conversions':

- Relative 399
- Circumstantial 413; cf. 403-4, 408, 411
- Preterit 434
- Focalizing 444

(The imperative [chapter 16] is not subject to conversion, not being a nexus pattern.) Each conversion is formed upon the main-clause basic nexus patterns by the prefixation or substitution of a 'converter' 396, a morph that signals that the converted clause has a special (marked) relationship to the surrounding text, in syntax and/or structuring of information. For example

Basic: ce-σωτπ "They choose"

Relative: ετογ-σωτπ ἡμο-q "... whom they choose"

Circumstantial: εγ-σωτπ "... (they) choosing"

Preterit: नेग-σωτπ "They chose"

Focalizing: εγ-σωτπ (ἡτεῖζε), as in "It is (in this way) that they choose"

(Converters: ετ= relative, ε= circumstantial, ने= preterit, ε= focalizing)

so likewise

Basic: αγ-σωτη "They chose"

Relative: εντ-αγ-σωτη μοο-q " . . . whom they chose, had chosen"

Circumstantial: ε-αγ-σωτη " . . . (they) having chosen"

Preterit: νε-αγ-σωτη "They had chosen"

Focalizing: ντ-αγ-σωτη (ντεϊζε), as in "It was (in this way) that they chose"

(Converters: εντ- relative, ε- circumstantial, νε- preterit, ντ- focalizing)

In immediate sentence-level analysis, relative and circumstantial clauses can be classified as 'subordinate' clauses; preterit and focalizing clauses, as 'main' clauses (cf. 248). But because preterit and focalizing conversions each signal a special structuring of information that has meaning only within a textual structure larger than a sentence, they cannot ultimately be classified as independent.

THE CONVERTERS

396 Converters enter into two types of construction with the converted clause:

(a) *Mutable converters* occur as prenominal and prepersonal states **30**, within certain patterns of the durative sentence **320, 324**.

	(i) Prenominal State	(ii) Prepersonal State
Relative	ετερε-	ετ-, ετ ^θ -
Circumstantial	ερε-	ε=
Preterit	νερε-	νε=
Focalizing	ερε-	ε=

The personal intermediates **80** are suffixed to the prepersonal state, replacing the personal prefix of the basic durative sentence (e.g. *basic* τ-σωτη, *preterite conversion* νε-ι-σωτη)

	Relative	Circumstantial and Focalizing	Preterit
Sing. 1	ετ- (ετ= + -ι-)	ει-	νει-
2	ετκ-	εκ-	νεκ-
	ετε-, var. ετερε-	ερε-	νερε-
3	ετq-	εq-	νεq-
	ετc-	εc-	νεc-
Pl. 1	ετν-	εν-, var. ν-	nen-
2	ετετν-	ετετν-	νετετν-
3	ετογ-	εγ-	νεγ-
	ετ ^θ - 405		

Mutable converters with the future auxiliary να-:

2d sing. fem.

Rel. ετενα-, vars. ετερενα-, ετερνα-, and ετερα-

Circum. ερενα-, vars. ερνα- and ερα-

Pret. νερενα-, vars. νερνα- and νερα-

Foc. ερενα-, vars. ερνα- and ερα-

2d plur.

Rel. ετετνα-, i.e. ετ-ετ(ν)-να-

Circum. ετετνα-, i.e. ε-ετ(ν)-να-

Pret. νετετνα-, i.e. νε-ετ(ν)-να-

Foc. ετετνα-, i.e. ε-ετ(ν)-να-

(b) *Immutable sentence converters* are converters prefixed to a whole basic sentence pattern (with alternants selected according to sentence pattern). They occur where the mutable converters do not occur and vice versa.

Relative **399**: ετε-, alts. ε-, ετ-, εντ- (common var. ντ-)

Circumstantial **413**: ε-

Preterit **434**: νε-

Focalizing **444**: ε-, alts. ντ- (var. εντ-), ετε-

TABLE 23
ATTESTED SIMPLE CONVERSIONS OF THE SENTENCE PATTERNS

	RELATIVE	CIRCUMSTANTIAL	PRETERIT	FOCALIZING
Nominal sentence (chapter 13)				
Containing αντ- etc.	.....	x	x ¹	.....²
Containing πε etc.	x	x	x	.....³
Durative sentence				
Patterns 1 and 2 320	x	x	x	x
Pattern 3 ογν-/μν- 324	x	x	x	x
Non-durative conjugation				
αq-/μπq- 334	x	x	x	x
μπατq- 336	x	x	x	.....
ωαq-/μεq- 337	x	x	x	x ⁴
εqε- 338	.....	.....	.....	.....
ννεq- 338	x	x	.....	.....
Suffixally conjugated verboids				
In initial να or νε 376	x	x	x	x
ναϊατ- 378	x	x	.....	x
zne- 379	x	x	.....	x
μεωα- 381	x	.....	.....	.....
ογετ- 382	.....	x	.....	.....
ογντε-/μνντε- 383	x	x	x	x
Cleft sentence Pattern 1 464	x	x	x	.....⁵
ογν-/μν- 477	x	x	x	x
Impersonal predicate 487, 488	x	x	x	x
ογοι ν- 244	x	x	x	x
μμον, μογic, ν-κατα- ... αν 424	.....	x	.....	x

¹Only in contrary-to-fact conditional sentence 498 and regret 499? Cf. 179. ²Cf. 451 ³Cf. 451 and 459 ⁴Not attested with neg. μεq-? ⁵The basic cleft sentence already has the function of focalization 461

397 Double conversion. The conversions that are main clauses (preterit and focalizing) are subject to simultaneous, second conversion by the relative (ετε-, var. ε-), circumstantial (ε-), or focalizing (ε-) converters, as shown in table 24.

TABLE 24
DOUBLE CONVERSIONS

PRIMARY CONVERSION	SECONDARY CONVERSION			
	Relative (ετε- or ε-)	Circumstantial (ε-)	Preterit (νε-)	Focalizing (ε-)
Preterit	401	416(a)	.....	446
Focalizing durative	.....	416(b)	cf. 398	.....
Focalizing past tense (affirm.)	.....	416(b)	cf. 398	.....

398 Triple conversion. The focalizing conversion is subject to what formally appears to be simultaneous conversion by the circumstantial + preterit immutable sentence converters, as shown in table 25.

TABLE 25
TRIPLE CONVERSIONS

PRIMARY CONVERSION	SECONDARY + TERTIARY CONVERSIONS: CIRCUMSTANTIAL OF THE PRETERIT (ε-νε-)
Focalizing durative ερε-	417
Focalizing past tense (affirm.) ντ-α=	417¹

¹ενε-ντ-α= is not focalizing in meaning, cf. 498

THE RELATIVE CONVERSION

THE NATURE OF THE RELATIVE CONVERSION

399 Forms of the converter

Immutable sentence converter (allomorphs)

- ε-: before φαρε- 337 (var. ετε-φαρε-) (aorist affirmative) and as secondary converter of the preterit conversion (var. ετε-) 401
 εντ- (common var. ντ-): before α- 334 (past tense affirmative)
 ετ-: before νανογ- etc. under conditions described in 376
 ετε- before: durative Patterns 1 and 2 negative, under conditions described in 320; nominal sentence (chapter 13); cleft sentence Pattern 1

464; impersonal predicate 487, 488; μπε- 334 (past tense negative); μπατε- 336; μεφα= 381; ναιατ= 378; ννε- 338 (optative negative); νανογ- etc. under conditions described in 376; ογοί ν- 244; ογν-/μν- 477; ογντε-/μντε- 383; φαρε-/μερε- (affirm. var. ε-φαρε-) 337 (aorist); ζνε- 379; and as secondary converter of the preterit conversion (var. ε-) 401

ντ-: cf. εντ-

Mutable converter (allomorphs)

ετερε-, ετ=: in the durative sentence under conditions described in 320

ετ⁰-: in the durative sentence under conditions described in 320, 405

ερ-: cf. 406

400 The function of relative conversion. The relative conversion signals that the converted clause modifies, i.e. descriptively expands, a preceding entity term; or forms an entity term by expanding π-. It plays the following roles:

- the simple attributive construction 404 (the star *that they saw*)
- the appositive attributive clause construction 408 (Mary, *who has worked hard among you*, ...)
- the explanatory relative clause 410 (One, *that is*, God)
- the articulated attributive construction, an entity term 411 (*that which you hear*)

It is also an element in the cleft sentence (chapter 20). *Tenses* in the relative clause express relative time 529.

401 As a *secondary converter*, the relative is an element in relative preterit conversion (a double conversion 397): ετε-νε, var. ε-νε. E.g. π-ετε-νεq-φοοπ αν ShAmél II 418:7 "That which was non-existent"; πεοογ ε-νε-γντα-ι-q ζαζη-κ ε-μπατε-πκομοc φωπε John 17:5 "The glory that I had with Thee before the world came into being"; πτωφ ε-νει-νζητ-q ShIII 117:29 "The rule that I was living by."

402 Term in extraposition. A dependent personal morph, usually the subject, within the relative clause can be anticipated by a personal independent (ανοκ etc.) in extraposition, that is, placed at the front of the relative clause ('extraposition') before the converter

Antecedent + Extraposited Term	Converted Sentence Pattern (contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)
Anticipation	Resumption
Topic under discussion	Comment

αὐτὸ πρὸς ἀνὸκ | ἐπὶ-να-βῶκ ἐρο-α “And the place where I am going” (John 8:21)

(And the place, for My part, | which I am going to)

ἄλλος ἄλλος | ἐπὶ-α-ποῦοειν “As He is in the light” (1 John 1:7)

(In the way, for His part, | that He is in the light)

ταὶ βε τε ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ | ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ-α-α-α-α-α “This, then, is how you shall pray” (Matt 6:9)

(So this is, for your part, the way | that you shall pray)

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition and dependent morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The dependent morph within the relative clause shows how the extraposed term relates to the clause.

Also occurring in this position are inflected modifiers that agree with an element within the relative clause; e.g. ἄλλος ἄλλος-α-α-α-α-α Acts 11:17 “As He gave to us too (Just as, us too, He gave to us)”; κατὰ-ὅτι ἄλλος-α-α-α-α-α 2 Pet 3:15 “So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you (Just as, also he, our beloved brother Paul wrote to you).” So, possibly, ἀνὸκ etc.

ROLES OF THE RELATIVE CONVERSION

403 The simple attributive: relative and circumstantial as alternants

Since relative and circumstantial 413 alternate in three attributive constructions (404, 408, 411), both conversions will have to be mentioned in these paragraphs; cf. also 430.

An ‘attributive clause’ modifies (descriptively expands) a preceding non-personal entity term.

πρὸς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α ἐρο-α ἄλλος-α-α-α-α-α “The star that they had seen in the East” (Matt 2:9)

πρὸς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α ἐρο-α “The man who had the withered hand” (whose hand was withered) (Mark 3:3)

The modified term (πρὸς, πρὸς) is its ‘antecedent’. Tense in the converted clause expresses relative time 529. Antecedent (except π-) and attributive clause can be separated from one another by modifiers or other autonomous sentence elements: ἄλλος ἄλλος ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α ἄλλος-α-α-α-α-α ShChass 39:30–32 “For just as no thievery exists.”

404 The ‘simple attributive clause’ construction

πρὸς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α “The tree that is good, The good tree”

οὕτως ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α “A tree that is good, A good tree”

(i) (ii) (iii)

contains three essential elements:

i. *Antecedent*, the nucleus of the construction (πρὸς, οὕτως)

ii. *Converter (relative or circumstantial)*, followed by the rest of the converted clause (ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α, ἐ-α-α-α-α-α)

iii. ‘*Resumptive morph*’ occurring as part of the converted clause, i.e. a morph that agrees with the antecedent in number/(gender), and refers to it (πρὸς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α). Resumptive morphs include: all personal morphs (including the personal element in the possessive article); variable πρ, τρ, νρ and invariable πρ in the nominal sentence; -α-α (in ε-α-α ‘thither’, ἄλλος ‘there’, and ε-α-α ‘thence’) expressing place. Under certain limited conditions described below, the resumptive morph is not expressed 405, 407. For ἄλλος, οὕτως, με-α-α, and ε-α-α-α-α-α in relative conversion, cf. 379, 488, 489.

Alternation of relative and circumstantial. After definite antecedents (π- etc.) the attributive role is filled by a relative clause, after non-definites (οὕτως, etc.) by the circumstantial; after ... ἄλλος and οὕτως ἄλλος, cf. 60; after bare specifier, 65(iv).

(a) πρὸς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α (Mark 3:3, textual var. ἐπ-)

(b) οὕτως ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α (Matt 12:10)
(antecedent) (attributive clause)

(a) “The man who had the withered hand”; (b) “A man who had a withered hand”

(But after definite antecedents expressing time or manner ‘in which’, both relative and circumstantial occur indifferently 407.)

Definite antecedents are: def. article phrases (π- ...), def. determinator pronouns (παῖ), proper nouns (μωϋσῆς). Article phrases built on ... ἄλλος and at least some determinators (such as ἄλλος) are modified by either relative or circumstantial indifferently. Possessed nouns 138 are not compatible with any kind of attributive clause. All other non-personal entity terms are non-definite and are modified by the circumstantial or by the appositive attributive clauses 408. Personal morphs are modified only by the appositive attributive. Indeed, the appositive attributive enables both relative and circumstantial to modify all these types of antecedent.

Further examples: πρὸς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α Luke 2:15 “This saying that has come to pass” (This saying + CONVERTER + it has come to pass); (οὕτως) ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α Matt 13:24 “A person who sowed seed” (A person + CONVERTER + he sowed seed); μωϋσῆς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α Acts 7:35 “Moses whom they refused” (Moses + CONVERTER + they refused him); οὕτως ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α Acts 2:22 “A man who was attested” (A man + CONVERTER + They attested him); πρὸς ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α Matt 28:16 “The mountain that He directed them to” (The mountain + CONVERTER + he directed them to there); οὕτως ἐπὶ-α-α-α-α-α-α Mark 7:25 “A woman who had a daughter” (A woman

In construction (a) formed with $\pi\alpha\iota$, the semantic antecedents are definite, non-definite, or personal; relative and circumstantial vary freely as the attributive clause. But in construction (b) formed with $\pi-$, semantic antecedents are restricted to definite or personal, and only the relative occurs.

The 'semantic antecedent' is the obvious meaningful antecedent; the 'formal antecedent' ($\pi\alpha\iota$, $\pi-$) stands in apposition to it, agreeing in number/(gender). (The formal antecedent has grammatical, not lexical, meaning and so in English is usually left untranslated. The construction may be compared to the English non-restrictive relative, with a comma before *who* or *which*; e.g. "London, which is in England.") When the semantic antecedent is a place name, the formal antecedent is expressed as $\pi\mu\alpha$ (literally "The place"): $\nu\alpha\varsigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\ \pi\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau-\alpha\gamma-\varsigma\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\omega-\bar{\eta}\ \nu\eta\tau-\bar{\eta}$ Luke 4:16 "Nazareth, where He was brought up" $\nu\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \omicron\upsilon\ \eta\bar{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon\theta\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$; $\nu\alpha-\theta\tau\pi\epsilon\ \pi\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\nu}\eta\tau-\bar{\eta}$ Col 3:1 "The things that are above, where Christ is." Bare $\epsilon\tau$ occurs under the same conditions described in 405. There is no obvious difference in meaning between relative and circumstantial in construction (a); circumstantial occurs less frequently.

Further examples of construction (a). *Def. antecedent*: + *relative*, $\pi\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau-\alpha\kappa-\varsigma\bar{\omega}\tau-\eta$ Luke 2:30–31 "Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared"; $\pi\rho\iota\varsigma\kappa\alpha\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}-\alpha\kappa\upsilon\lambda\alpha\ \dots\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha-\gamma-\kappa\omega\ \bar{\mu}-\pi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\kappa\bar{\zeta}\ \gamma\alpha-\tau\alpha\psi\chi\eta$ Rom 16:3–4 "Prisca and Aquila . . . , who laid down their necks on behalf of my soul"; $\pi-\epsilon\upsilon\tau-\alpha\eta-\varsigma\omega\upsilon\tau\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\tau\ \psi\alpha-\nu\iota\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\zeta$ Rom 1:25 "He who created, who (θ -) is blessed forever"; $\pi\iota\pi\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon-\psi\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}-\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\bar{\nu}-\varsigma\epsilon-\bar{\rho}-\theta\chi\rho\iota\alpha\ \alpha\bar{\nu}-\bar{\theta}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ Luke 15:7 "The ninety-nine righteous persons, who need no repentance"; + *circumstantial*, $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\ \dots\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon-\nu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\pi\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \beta\omicron\lambda\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ Ep Jer 31 (30 Kasser) "Their priests . . . , whose heads are uncovered"; $\tau\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau-\bar{\varsigma}-\varsigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon-\pi\epsilon\varsigma\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}-\pi\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\eta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon$ Heb 11:10 "The city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God." *Non-def. antecedent*: + *relative*, $\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\zeta\bar{\nu}\ \dots\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\bar{\nu}\pi\epsilon-\nu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \psi-\bar{\beta}\bar{\mu}-\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\omicron\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon-\bar{\theta}\eta\ \gamma\alpha\rho\omicron-\eta$ Acts 15:10 "A yoke, which neither our ancestors nor we have been able to bear"; + *circumstantial*, $(\omicron)\gamma\omicron\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\ \bar{\nu}-\bar{\theta}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\gamma-\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron-\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon-\alpha\eta-\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ Luke 24:23 "A vision of angels, who said that He had arisen"; $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}-\varsigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \dots\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\eta-\eta\alpha-\psi-\bar{\beta}\bar{\mu}-\bar{\theta}\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon-\bar{\theta}\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ 1 Cor 6:5 "Any wise person, who can decide"; $(\omicron)\gamma\chi\eta\bar{\beta}\ \dots\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon-\mu\pi\epsilon-\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\rho}-\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron-\eta$ Luke 19:30 "A colt, on which no one has ever yet sat."

One very important function of construction (a) is to enable an attributive clause—such as $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\bar{\nu}-\varsigma\epsilon-\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$ "Who do not walk"—to modify a personal morph: thus, $\bar{\nu}\eta\tau-\bar{\nu}\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\bar{\nu}-\varsigma\epsilon-\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$ Rom 8:4 "In us, who do not walk." This function cannot be exercised by the simple attributive construction 403, whose antecedent is always non-personal.

Examples of personal antecedent: + *relative*, $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\eta\ \pi\epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\eta\alpha-\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\varsigma\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}\ \dots\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\eta\gamma\alpha\ \gamma\bar{\nu}-\tau\epsilon\eta\bar{\beta}\iota\chi$ Luke 3:16–17 "It is He ($\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\eta$) who will baptize you . . . , He whose winnowing fork is in His hand"; $\bar{\nu}\eta\tau-\bar{\nu}\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\bar{\nu}-\varsigma\epsilon-\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha-\bar{\theta}\varsigma\alpha\rho\bar{\zeta}$ Rom 8:4 "In us, who walk not according to the flesh"; + *circumstantial*, $\nu\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon-\varsigma\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon-\bar{\theta}\psi\omega\chi\pi\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \nu\eta\tau-\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\nu}-\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}-\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}-\kappa\alpha\alpha-\gamma\ \epsilon-\gamma\bar{\nu}-\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\omicron\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron-\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon-\bar{\theta}\epsilon\mu\kappa\omicron\ \bar{\mu}-\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \tau\eta\rho-\eta$ Jdt 10:19 "Better not to leave a single man of them ($-\omicron\gamma$), who if permitted could afflict the whole land."

Further examples of construction (b): *def. antecedent* $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\eta\eta\eta\ \bar{\mu}-\bar{\mu}\epsilon\ \tau-\epsilon\bar{\nu}-\tau\alpha-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\eta\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron-\varsigma$ Heb 8:2 "The true tent, which the Lord set up"; $\iota\bar{\varsigma}\ \pi-\epsilon-\psi\alpha\gamma-\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron-\eta\ \chi\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ Matt 27:17 "Jesus who is called Christ"; $\bar{\omega}\ \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \pi-\epsilon\tau\bar{\kappa}-\kappa\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ Rom 2:1 "O fellow, you who judge"; $\pi\epsilon\pi\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \bar{\nu}-\tau\bar{\mu}\epsilon\ \pi-\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}-\psi\omicron\bar{\beta}\omicron\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\nu}-\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon-\bar{\theta}\chi\iota\tau-\bar{\eta}$ John 14:17 "The Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive"; *personal antecedent* $\tau\bar{\eta}-\eta\alpha-\beta\omega\kappa\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon-\pi\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\ \bar{\nu}-\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}-\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau-\alpha\gamma-\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ Heb 4:3 "For we, who have believed, will enter His place of rest"; $\epsilon\rho\omicron-\kappa\ \pi-\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha-\eta\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\mu}-\pi\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ 1 Cor 8:10 "You, a person of knowledge"

- 409 *Unconverted attributive clause after $\pi\alpha\iota$ + adverbial premodifier*. When $\pi\alpha\iota/\tau\alpha\iota/\nu\alpha\iota$ is immediately followed by a premodifying adverb or adverbial clause, the attributive often occurs in unconverted (basic) form.

Antecedent + $\pi\alpha\iota$ + Adverbial Premodifier + Unconverted Clause, with resumptive morph

$\pi\tau\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\beta}\omicron\ \mid\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \alpha\chi\bar{\nu}\tau-\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}-\bar{\theta}\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \eta\alpha-\eta\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ "Holiness, without which no one will see the Lord" (Heb 12:14)

Further examples: $\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon-\pi\mu\alpha\ \bar{\mu}-\pi\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\kappa\eta\ \eta\alpha-\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \alpha\eta-\gamma\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \epsilon-\pi\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ Heb 12:2 "Jesus, who instead of the joy that was set before Him endured the cross"; $\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \tau\iota\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \dots\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\eta\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}-\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\bar{\nu}-\omicron\gamma\bar{\beta}\epsilon\pi\eta\ \bar{\eta}-\bar{\nu}\eta\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha-\eta\ \psi\alpha\rho\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}$ Heb 13:23 "Our brother Timothy . . . , with whom I will come to you, if he comes quickly"; $\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \dots\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota-\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}-\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\iota\eta\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\eta\tau-\tau\eta\gamma\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota-\tau\eta\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\eta\tau\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon-\bar{\nu}-\bar{\eta}-\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$ 2 Cor 10:1 "I, Paul . . . , who am humble ($\pi\alpha\iota\ \dots\ \bar{\eta}-\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\iota\eta\gamma$) when I am in your presence, but who am confident ($\epsilon\epsilon\iota-\tau\eta\kappa\ \delta\epsilon$) in you when I am not in your presence." *With converted attributive clause*: $\nu\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\iota\ \gamma\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau-\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\alpha-\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\iota\ \gamma\bar{\nu}-\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\eta$ ShIII 224:20–21 "These words, through which our life will improve in virtue"

410 The explanatory relative clause

The 'explanatory relative clause' of the nominal sentence

(a) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\dots\ \pi\epsilon$ namely . . . , Which is to say . . .

(b) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon/\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon/\eta\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon$ namely the following . . .

e.g.

(a) $\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$ "One, namely God" (Luke 18:19)

(b) $\pi\epsilon\eta\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ "His body, that is, the church" (His body, which is the following: the church) (Col 1:24)

relates to the antecedent more like apposition than attributive. The resumptive morph ($\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\eta\epsilon$) either agrees in number/(gender) with the antecedent or is expressed as invariable sing. masc. $\pi\epsilon/\eta\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon$ 252(c). These constructions seem to be compatible with antecedents of any determination status.

Further examples: (a) οὔμααυ ν-οὔωτ ετε-θῆλῆμ ν-τπε τε ShIV 129:7–8 “A single mother, namely the Jerusalem of heaven”; οὔοὔνοῦ . . . ετε-τενοῦ τε John 5:25 “A time . . . namely now”; ζενσαζ ετε-βαρναβας πε μῆ-συμεων Acts 13:1 “Some teachers, namely Barnabas, Symeon”; σαῦλος δε ετε-παῦλος πε Acts 13:9 “Saul, who is (also called) Paul”; πείμα ν-οὔωτ ετ^θ-μμαυ ετε-τμντ-ρρο ν-μπνυε πε ShAmél I 227:12–13 “That very place, which is the kingdom of the heavens”; (b) πεθαβ ετε-ταῖ τε οὔποκρις ν-νεφαιρςαιος Luke 12:1 “The leaven, that is, the hypocrisy, of the Pharisees”; ρωμε снаγ . . . ετε-наῖ νε мωѳснс нм-ζηλειас Luke 9:30 “Two men . . . , namely Moses and Elijah”; ακελαμαх ετε-παῖ πε πῶωμ ῃ-песноq Acts 1:19 “Akeldama, that is, Field of Blood”; επφαθα ετε-παῖ πε οὔων Mark 7:34 “Epaphatha, which means the following: Be opened”; тпараскеῦн . . . ετε-παῖ πε за-тезн ῃ-псав-ватоn Mark 15:42 “Friday (the day of Preparation) . . . , that is, (the day) before the sabbath”; корван ετε-παῖ πε хе-оὔαωρον πε Mark 7:11 “Korban, which means that it is an offering”

411 The articulated attributive clause constructions

The ‘articulated attributive clause constructions’

(a) π-ент-а-мωѳснс сзаῖ εтвннт-ῥ “Him of whom Moses wrote” (the-whom Moses wrote about) (John 1:45)
пн ετε-неq-о в-^θвῶλε “The man who had been blind” (that-who was blind) (John 9:17)

(b) наῖ ент-ау-сωтῃ е-пῡахе “Those who heard the word” (Luke 8:15)

паῖ е-а-ауеῖа аа-q “What David did” (Luke 6:3)

usually consists of the def. sing. article π-/т-/н- (or rarely, the pronoun пн/тн/нн) expanded by a relative clause, forming an entity term: *the person who . . . , helshel/they who . . . , the one who . . . , whoever . . . , the thing that . . . , that which . . . , the one that . . . , what . . . , whatever . . .* The construction is also (rarely) formed by паῖ/таῖ/наῖ expanded by either a relative or a circumstantial. Bare εт^θ- occurs under the same conditions as described in 405 (e.g. наῖ εт^θ-сωтῃ Luke 8:14 “Those who hear”).

(a) π- } + Relative clause, with resumptive morph
пн }

(b) паῖ + Relative/Circumstantial clause, with resumptive morph

There is no obvious difference in meaning between relative and circumstantial in construction (b); circumstantial is very rare. By far the most frequent construction is (a) formed with π-; пн and паῖ are rare.

Further examples: н-етῃ-наῦ еро-оὔ мῃ-н-ете-н-тῃ-наῦ еро-оὔ аn Col 1:16 “Things visible and invisible” (Those which we see and those which we do not see); п-ете-н-ῥ-нῃма-ї аn еq-† оὔвн-ї Luke 11:23 “The one who is not with

Me is against Me”; т-етере-хω-с зооке 1 Cor 11:5 “She whose head is shaven”; н-ете-ноῦ-q не ет^θ-ῥῃ-пкосмос John 13:1 “His own who were in the world” (Those who are ones belonging to Him and are in the world); п-ете-γῃтῃ-^θмаахе е-^θсωтῃ Mark 4:9 “Whoever has ears to hear”; п-ететῃ-сωтῃ еро-q Matt 10:27 “What you hear”; п-ете-ῃ-палаос аn пе Rom 9:25 “The one who was not My people”; н-ете-мῃ-^θбом ῃмо-оὔ Rom 15:1 “The weak” (Those in whom there is not power); п-ент-аῦ-аа-q John 11:45 “What He did”; н-ент-аῦ-оὔωм Mark 6:44 “Those who ate”; н-ете-ῃпе-^θвал наῦ еро-оὔ 1 Cor 2:9 “What no eye has seen”; нн е-ῡау-оῡ-оὔ езоῡн е-ннеῖ 2 Tim 3:6 “Those who make their way into households”; п-ете-нтоῦ пе Gal 5:10 “Whoever he may be”; п-ет^θ-нтоот-к Rev 3:11 “What you have” (That which is in your grasp); п-ет^θ-ῃмаῦ “That one; He; It” (The one that is over there) ἐκεῖνος, -ον; т-ет^θ-спагала 1 Tim 5:6 “She who is self-indulgent”; нн тнр-оὔ ет^θ-еро-к Matt 18:32 “All your debt” (All those things that are against your account); н-ет^θ-оὔеῡ-ῥ-^θнове мῃ-н-ет^θ-оὔеῡ-еῖре аn ShChass 66:58–67:2 “Those who want to sin and those who don’t”; паῖ ет^θ-сзаῖ ShIV 64:16 “The one who writes”

Generalizations in which natural and grammatical number and gender are irrelevant are expressed with the general number and gender 46, which is formally sing. masc.; e.g. п-ететῃ-еῖре ῃмо-q 1 Cor 10:31 “Whatever you do.” Such general statements typically contain present tense, на- future 311, or aorist.

Further examples: п-етоῡ-на-оὔом-ῥ Mark 8:1 “Anything to eat”; п-ет^θ-на-хῖ-^θоῡа де е-пепῃа ет^θ-оῡаав Mark 3:29 “But whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit”; п-ет^θ-на-өбвио-q се-на-хаст-ῥ Matt 23:12 “Whoever humbles himself will be exalted”; п-е-ῡау-ка-оὔкоῡῖ де на-q евол ῡаῡ-ме ῃ-оὔкоῡеῖ Luke 7:47 “The one who is forgiven little, loves little”; п-е-ῡаῡ-тако 1 Cor 10:10 “The Destroyer”; п-е-ῡаῡ-моῡте еро-q хе-їоῡаас Luke 22:47 “The man called Judas”; п-ете-γῃтῃ-ῥ-^θмаахе ῃмаῦ е-^θсωтῃ маρεῡ-сωтῃ Matt 11:15 “Whoever has ears to hear, let them hear.” For the invariable and unanalyzable nominal base пет- forming masculine gendered common nouns, cf. 110; e.g. некпет-оῡаав Acts 9:13 “Thy saints”

EXTENSIONS OF THE RELATIVE CONVERSION

412 A relative conversion can be extended (carried on) in several ways. The extension, like the preceding relative, usually contains a resumptive morph that refers to the antecedent. Linkage by conjunction is optional.

Rarely, the resumptive morph (provided it is not the subject) is omitted in the extension clause: e.g. পেঁতাঁও পাঁ নত্বত্ৰ এতেন-নাῦ еро-ῡ аῡῡ ететῃ-сωтῃ Acts 2:33 “This honor which you yourselves see and hear.”

(a) Antecedent | Relative Clause + (аῡῡ) Relative or Circumstantial Extension Clause

415 *The function of circumstantial conversion.* The ‘circumstantial conversion’ signals that the converted clause modifies (descriptively expands), completes, or carries on another clause or a preceding entity term. It plays the following roles:

- i. adverbial clause **421** (*When they hear*, Satan immediately comes)
- ii. completive clause **426** after a direct object (We found him *sitting*), a verb of incomplete predication (They ceased *going about*), or the like
- iii. sequential clause **428** (He asked me *whereupon I said*)
- iv. attributive clause **430** (A person *who sowed seed*)

It is also an element in several focalization patterns **459**, **460**, **470**, **471**, and is a predicative expansion of presentative sentences **480**, **482**. As a completive clause (ii) it can form an entity statement **426**. *Tenses* in the circumstantial clause express relative time **529**, except for the sequential circumstantial **428**, which extends narration in the same time line.

416 As a *secondary converter* (in double conversion **397**), the circumstantial occurs in (a) circumstantial preterit conversion and (b) circumstantial focalizing conversion (where *ε-* often is not written **414**). *Examples:* (a) *α-απα-μακαριος ουωρ ζν-τνοδ ν-ερημος ε-νε-ντορ μαγαα-ρ πε ερ-αναχωρει ζν-πμα ετ-μμαγ* ApophPatr 181 (Chaîne 43:21–22) “Apa Macarius dwelt in the Great Desert, and it was **428** he alone who was living as a hermit in that place”; *ζμ-πεγοειω τηρ-ρ ε-νεγ-ωοορ ζιχμ-πκαρ* ShAmél II 539:14–15 “In the whole time when they were dwelling on earth”; as a contrary-to-fact stipulation clause **498**, *ε-νεκ-μπεείμα* John 11:32 “If You had been here”; *η ε-νε-ογψυχη αν ν-ζωον τετ-νζητ-ογ νεγ-να-ωω εβολ αν πε κε- . . .* ShIII 220:7–8 “So, if it were not a living soul that resided within them, they would not cry out saying . . .”; after *ζαμοί* **499**, e.g. *ζαμοί ε-νε-μτq-καα-ρ ογβη-ν* ShChass 70:7–9 “How good it would have been if He had not set Himself against us!”; attested sentence types include nominal sentence, durative, past tense (negative only?), aorist (affirmative only?), cleft sentence (Pattern 3), existential. Attributive *ε-νε* is ambiguous (relative preterit/circumstantial preterit). (b) *Circumstantial focalizing durative* *αρρ-ρ q ζοογτ μν-εζιμε ε-ερε-εζιμε ο ν-ογ μν-εζοογτ ζραι νζητ-ν* ShIV 107:5–6 “What business does a man have with a woman, for among us what is woman in relation to man?”; *η ερε-τμητ-ερο ν-μπηγε σβτωτ ν-νζοογτ μαγαα-γ ε-ν-εσ-σβτωτ αν ν-νεζιμε* ShIV 38:22–24 “So, is it for *men alone* that the kingdom of the heavens is prepared, without it being prepared for *women*?”; *circumstantial focalizing past tense affirmative*, *ογν-ρενσιογρ γαρ ε-ντ-αγ-χπο-ογ εβολ νζητ-ε ν-τεγμααγ ντειρε* Matt 19:12 “For there are eunuchs who were born *from their mothers* in this condition”; *κεογνβ παί ε-ντ-αγ-ωωπε αν κατα-πνομος ν-τεντολν-ν-σαρκικον αλλα κατα-τβον μ-πωνζ ψα-εμερ* Heb 7:16 “Another priest, who has become a priest not *according to a legal requirement concerning fleshly descent* but by the power of indestructible life.”

417 As a *tertiary converter* (in triple conversion **398**), the circumstantial occurs in what formally appears to be circumstantial preterit focalizing conversion (durative and past tense). E.g. *ε-νε-ερε-πνογτε ενεργει αν μ-παικαιον ζν-ν-ερε-νογ-ρ νε νογοειω νιμ νερε-πχι νβονς να-ρ-πκοσμος ν-εκακε πε* ShAmél I

241:3–4 “If God did not activate justice among His own at all times, violence would make the world into darkness”; *ε-νε-ντ-ατετν-ειμε κε-ογ πε τ-ογεω-ογνα νζογο ε-γθγcia νε-τετνα-τδαιο αν πε ν-ν-ερε-μμν-ενοβε ερο-ογ* Matt 12:7 “If you had known what ‘I want mercy more than a sacrifice’ means, you would not condemn those who are without sin.”

418 *Term in extraposition.* A personal morph within the circumstantial clause can be anticipated by a term in extraposition, that is, a term placed at the front of the sentence pattern (‘extraposed’) before the converter

<i>Extraposited Term(s)</i>	<i>Converted Sentence Pattern</i> (contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)
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Anticipation | Resumption

Topic under discussion | Comment

εωωπε ογπιστη | ε-ογντ-ε-ογχηρα “If (*εωωπε ε-*) any believing woman has (a relative who is) a widow” (1 Tim 5:16)

εωωπε ταιαθνηκν ν-ογρωμε | ε-αγ-ταχρο-ε “If a person’s last will and testament has been ratified” (Gal 3:15)

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition and personal morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The agreeing personal morph shows how the extraposed term relates to the sentence.

Also occurring in this position are inflected modifiers that agree with an element within the circumstantial clause; e.g. *ται τε θε ζωω-κ ε-γντ-κ-ζοινε εγ-αμαρτε ν-τεσβω ν-νικολαιτης* Rev 2:15 “So you also have some who hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans.”

419 *An extraposed subject can be accompanied by its own extraposed converter* (thus *ερε- . . . ε=*); rare. E.g. *ογμνηγε αq-εί ερε-π-ε-ψαγ-μογτε ερο-ρ κε-τογδαα . . . | εq-μοογε ζητ-ογ* Luke 22:47 “A crowd came, with the one called Judas . . . preceding them.”

420 *Adverbial premodifier before the converted sentence pattern.* An adverb or prepositional phrase (chapter 9) preceding the converted sentence pattern lays down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the converted clause is being asserted (i.e. under which the predication is made).

Premodifier | Converted Sentence Pattern

ζν-ζαζ μ-μερος αγω ζν-ζαζ ν-εμοτ | ε-α-πνογτε ψαχε μν-νενειοτε νωορπ ζν-νεπροφητης . . . “After, in many places and various ways, | God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets . . .” (Heb 1:1)

ετι ντοq | εq-ψαχε . . . “While He was still speaking . . .” (Mark 5:35)

Examples: $\bar{\nu}\alpha\omega \bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ϵ - $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\gamma$ ShChass 79:51–57 “How shall we not conclude that their wish is the wish of the demons *as also* ($\alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon$ -) the wish of the demons is their wish?”; $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\epsilon$ ϵ - $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\varsigma}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$ - $\chi\iota$ (i.e. $\theta\varsigma\iota\mu\epsilon$) 1 Cor 7:9 “But *if* ($\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \epsilon$ -) they cannot (are not going to) exercise control, let them marry”; $\kappa\alpha\bar{\nu}$ ϵ - $\gamma\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\tau\alpha$ - $\bar{\iota}$ - $\tau\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\bar{\varsigma}$ $\rho\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ ϵ - θ $\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ - θ $\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ 1 Cor 13:2 “*Even if* ($\kappa\alpha\bar{\nu} \epsilon$ -) I have all faith so as to remove mountains”; $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\omega\tau\omicron\rho\tau\rho$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ Luke 23:14 “You brought me this Man *as* ($\rho\omega\varsigma \epsilon$ -) (one who was) perverting the people”; $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\theta\epsilon$ ϵ - $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$ - $\pi\omega$ - $\bar{\nu}$ 2 Cor 1:14 “*Just as* ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\theta\epsilon \epsilon$ -) you are ours”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}$ - $\bar{\rho}$ - θ $\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\tau\bar{\eta}\rho\omicron$. . . $\rho\omega\varsigma$ ϵ - $\gamma\bar{\rho}\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\theta$ - $\tau\alpha\rho\omicron$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omega$ - $\tau\bar{\nu}$ 1 Pet 4:12 “Do not be surprised at the burning . . . *as though* ($\rho\omega\varsigma \epsilon$ -) it were something new that were happening to you”

- 423 The *second member of an antithesis* can be loosely attached by adverbial ϵ - α -, which is sometimes modified by $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ or . . . $\alpha\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\omega\gamma$ ‘but rather’ 422.

$\alpha\varsigma$ - $\bar{\iota}$ - θ $\omicron\gamma\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\theta\bar{\gamma}$ | $\bar{\nu}$ - $\omicron\gamma\tau\eta\eta\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$. . . | $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ϵ - $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\bar{\iota}$ - θ $\omicron\gamma\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\theta\varsigma\gamma\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$ “What did it blossom? Not a finger . . . ; rather it blossomed (having, rather [$\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$], blossomed) the fruits of righteousness” (ShChass 183:2–9)

Contrast between antithetical clauses is optionally signalled by focalizing conversion 444 in the first clause.

Further examples: $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha\rho\bar{\chi}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\bar{\nu}\omega\omega\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$. . . $\bar{\nu}$ - $\alpha\tau$ - $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\omega$ $\varsigma\omega\lambda\bar{\theta}$ (i.e. $\varsigma\omega\lambda\kappa$) $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ ϵ - $\bar{\pi}\bar{\beta}\epsilon\rho\omega\bar{\nu}$ | $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ϵ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\kappa\alpha$ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\theta$ - $\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ϵ - $\mu\alpha\varsigma\tau\iota\gamma\bar{\chi}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ ShIII 76:20–77:1 (= ShChass 171:10–21) “He makes the flesh and blood of ignorant sons . . . adhere not to the rod, having rather allowed punishments worse than any whip”; $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\bar{\omega}\mu\alpha$ $\kappa\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\bar{\chi}\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ - $\pi\kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\nu}\theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ - (i.e. $\bar{\nu}$ -) $\tau\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\theta$ - $\kappa\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\bar{\chi}\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$ | $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ϵ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\omicron\gamma\tau$ - $\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\epsilon\gamma\bar{\theta}\omicron\mu$ ShChass 59:45–54 “And the heaven or firmament rests not upon particular positions of the earth as a ceiling rests upon a house; rather ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$), He nailed it (he-having-nailed it, rather) there by His power”; ϵ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ ϵ - θ $\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\gamma$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\omega\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\pi\omicron\eta\bar{\rho}\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ϵ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ ϵ - θ $\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\gamma$ - $\theta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}$ - $\epsilon\tau\theta$ - $\bar{\iota}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - γ . . . ϵ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\omega\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\omicron\gamma\omicron$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\bar{\chi}\omega$ - $\omicron\gamma$ ShIII 163:19–22 “Instead of doing good, they rather ($\rho\omega\omega\gamma$) did evil; and instead of humbly submitting to their instructors . . . they rather exalted themselves all the more (furthermore [$\alpha\gamma\omega$], instead of submitting . . . , having rather [$\alpha\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\omega\gamma$] exalted themselves)”

- 424 Adverbial modifiers/initial attitude markers are also formed by circumstantial conversion of the following elements:

ϵ - + $\begin{cases} \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}$: ‘otherwise, else, for then’
 $\mu\omicron\gamma\iota\varsigma$ + conjunctive: ‘hardly, almost . . . not’
 $\bar{\nu}$ - $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - . . . $\alpha\bar{\nu}$: ‘and not according to . . . ’

Examples: $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ - $\chi\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$ - ς $\chi\epsilon$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$. . . $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ ϵ - $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ - $\pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\kappa\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\omega$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ Rom 3:5–6 “Am I saying that God is unjust . . . ? By no means! *For then* how could God judge the world?”; $\alpha\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ - γ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\pi\omicron\rho\omega$ - γ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\iota$ - $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ - $\tau\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\rho}\iota\chi\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}$. . . $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ϵ - $\mu\omicron\gamma\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\chi\eta\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\rho}$ ShAmél II 299:1–5 “Why did he prostrate himself on the ground in your presence . . . and *barely* force himself to get up again?”;

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ϵ - $\bar{\nu}$ - $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ Col 2:8 “According to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe, *and not according to* Christ Jesus”

- 425 Invariable $\epsilon\gamma$ - forms impersonal adverbial modifiers from a small number of verbs (durative present affirmative): $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ ‘round about, around’ ($\kappa\bar{\upsilon}\kappa\lambda\omega$, $\kappa\bar{\upsilon}\kappa\lambda\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\bar{\nu}$), $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\alpha\omega\epsilon$ ‘bitterly’ ($\pi\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\theta}\varsigma$). E.g. $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ - τ $\bar{\iota}$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\bar{\rho}\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\alpha\omega\epsilon$ Isa 22:4 “Let me alone, I shall weep bitterly” (*it being bitter*).

426 The completive circumstantial

As a completive clause, the circumstantial expresses new, supplemental information relating to a direct object

$\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ ϵ - $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ “Let him listen to the prophet saying (he-saying) these words” (ShChass 89:12–15)

or the subject of a verb of incomplete predication 185

$\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{\theta}\omega$ ϵ - $\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\gamma}$ - $\kappa\iota\bar{\mu}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ “It remained motionless” (It continued it-not-moving) (Acts 27:41)

The converted clause contains a resumptive morph 404 that agrees in number/(gender) with either (i) the direct object or (ii) the subject of the preceding verb (listen to the prophet *he*-saying, it continued *it*-not-moving).

(i) The completed direct object construction typically occurs e.g. after $\kappa\omega$ *leave*, $\kappa\omega\tau$ *build*, $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ *see*, $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ *hear*, $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}$ *know*, $\bar{\iota}$ *give*, $\tau\omega\omega$ *ordain*, $\tau\alpha\rho\omicron$ *establish*, $\omega\bar{\nu}\omega$ *forget*, $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ *find*, $\bar{\rho}\alpha\rho\epsilon\bar{\rho}$ *keep*, $\chi\omega$ *say*, $\bar{\theta}\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ *find*, and the verboid $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ - *have*.

Examples: $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ ϵ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\chi$ - θ $\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$ Mark 9:38 “We saw a person *casting out* (he-casting out) demons in Your name”; $\alpha\kappa$ - $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$ ϵ - $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\chi$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ Rev 2:2 “You found them *to be* (they-being) false”; $\alpha\varsigma$ - $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ ϵ - $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omega\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\bar{\nu}\eta\chi$ $\bar{\rho}\iota$ - $\pi\epsilon\bar{\theta}\lambda\omicron\bar{\theta}$ ϵ - α - $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\lambda\omicron$ $\bar{\rho}\iota\omega$ - ς Mark 7:30 “She found her daughter *lying* (she-lying) *in bed* (and) *the demon gone from her*”; $\alpha\gamma$ - $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ - γ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\theta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}$ ShChass 32:10–11 “He left him *alive* (he-living)”; $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ - $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\theta}\bar{\nu}\tau$ - γ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\varsigma\eta\bar{\rho}$ ShIII 21:18 “We have heard, or found it *written* (it-being-written)”; . . . $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\bar{\theta}\bar{\nu}\tau$ - $\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\eta\tau$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\psi\chi\bar{\eta}$ $\omega\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}\tau$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\gamma$ - $\bar{\rho}\kappa\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\tau$ ShIV 37:26–38:1 “And find us *with our hearts* and *our souls empty and hungry*”; $\varsigma\epsilon$ - $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ - $\bar{\theta}\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$ - $\pi\omega\eta\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\tau\theta$ - $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ ϵ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\pi\omicron\rho\kappa$ - γ ShIII 141:15–16 “They will find that tree *to have been uprooted* (they-having-uprooted-it)”

(ii) The completed subject construction typically occurs after verbs of incomplete predication, such as $\kappa\alpha$ - $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ = *reflex*. $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ *cease*, $\lambda\omicron$ *cease*, $\omicron\gamma\omega$ *already have (done)*, $\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ (ingressive) *appear to, be seen to*, $\bar{\theta}\omega$ *continue*, $\omega\varsigma\bar{\kappa}$ *continue*, $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ *happen to*. (Similarly, the circumstantial completes $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ ‘be’ and $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ ‘come’ to form periphrastic conjugation 427.)

Examples: αq-ογw εq-ρ-⁰νοεικ ερο-с qm-πεqzнт Matt 5:28 “He has already committed adultery (he-has-finished he-committing-adultery) with her in his heart”; αγ-λο εγ-μοοωε n̄mα-q John 6:66 “They ceased going about (ceased they-going-about) with Him”; xεkαc n̄nek-ογwηz εβολ n̄-n̄ρωμε εκ-νηcтeyε Matt 6:18 “That you may not be seen to be fasting” (seen you-fasting); αq-ωωπε δε n̄bι-īωzαnnηc εq-†-⁰βαπτισμα m-πχαīε Mark 1:4 “John happened to be baptizing (John became he-baptizing) in the wilderness”

Forming an entity statement

As an entity statement

αī-6̄nt-с εγ-εγκαλει nα-q εтβε-zenzhtma n̄te-πεγνομос “I found that he was accused (I-found-it they-accusing him) about questions of their law” (Acts 23:29)

the completive circumstantial expands the following invariable morphs; and does not contain a resumptive morph in grammatical agreement:

i. the invariable sing. fem. morph c in the expressions

6̄nt-с ερε- ‘find out that . . . ’ 516

ze ερο-с ερε- ‘find that . . . ’ 516

nαnoγ-с ερε- ‘it is a good thing that . . . ’ 486

ii. zamoī ερε- ‘how good it would be if . . . , if only . . . ’

Examples: nenzbh̄ye rap net⁰-tre-neiwahe †-⁰zαp ερο-n | αγw nαnoγ-с εγ-† ShRyl 69 (34:1-2) “For it is our deeds that cause these words to pass judgement upon us; and it is a good thing that they do so (it-is-good they-doing-so)”; n̄oe nt-αν-ze ερο-с εq-xi-⁰kba mmo-ογ τηp-ογ αγw εq-κατακρινε mmo-ογ ε-πμογ ShAmēl II 543:11-12 (ShWess9 159a:8-14) “Just as we found that he was taking vengeance (we-found-it he-taking-vengeance) upon them all and condemning them to death”; zamoī on ε-ανon-zenmaī-penm̄ton an z̄n-zwb nim ShMing 92a:20-24 “How good it would be if we were not lazy (how-good-it-would-be we-not-being-lazy) in everything!”

427 Completive circumstantial in periphrastic conjugation

- (a) *Tenses*. The circumstantial completes constructions of ωωπε and εī, to enlarge the range of tenses 528 expressed in sentence patterns whose basic predicate is restricted to present and preterit (i.e. nominal sentence 255, durative sentence [stative, preposition, nα-] 312, suffixally conjugated verboid 377, 389); and ογοī n̄- ‘woe to . . . ’ 244.

q-nα-ωωπε εq-mhp z̄n-m̄ph̄ye “It will be bound (It-will-be it-being-bound) in the heavens” (Matt 16:19)

This construction is ‘periphrastic’ conjugation (conjugation that is based on an added auxiliary verb). A periphrastic jussive (μαρε-) is also formed:

μαρεq-ωωπε ε-ογαα πε “Let it be one thing” (Let-it-be it-being one) (Sir 5:12)

For periphrastic imperative, cf. 369.

All periphrastic expressions of tense containing a circumstantial clause are based on ωωπε ‘be/become’ except that εī occurs instead of ωωπε to enlarge the range of nα- (future auxiliary), cf. below.

αq-ει εq-nα-zotb-εq “He was about to kill himself” (He-came he-going-to-kill-himself) (Acts 16:27)

Further examples: . . . n̄zλλo n̄ce-ωωπε εγ-τοp̄z n̄-⁰ceμnoc n̄-⁰p̄m̄n-zht Titus 2:2 “(Bid) the older men be temperate (they-be they-being-temperate), serious, sensible”; tn-nα-ωωπε ε-ογn-zennoб n-κpιma zixw-n εβολ zitm-πnoγte ShIII 158:11-12 “We will be such that great condemnations are upon us (we shall be there-being-great condemnations upon us) from God”; pet̄n̄veke q-nα-ωωπε ε-nαωw-q z̄n-тπε Luke 6:23 “Your reward will be great (it-will-be it-being-great) in heaven”; ce-nα-ωωπε ε-ογοī nα-γ mμαγ ShIV 4:12-13 “It shall be woe for them (shall be it-being-woe unto them) there.” No resumptive morph is possible when the basic sentence is a nominal sentence (unusual): αγw πεqει εβολ εq-nα-ωωπε ε-τεθαλαсса τε Josh 17:9 και ἔσται αὐτοῦ ἡ διέξοδος θάλασσα “And the sea shall be its termination” (its coming out shall be it-being-the-sea).

Periphrastic εī occurs instead of ωωπε in order to enlarge the range of nα- ‘is going to . . . ’ 311.

Further examples: n̄tere-παγλос δε ει εq-nα-ογw n̄-pw-q Acts 18:14 “But when Paul was about to open (came he-going-to open) his mouth”; εωωπε δε εκωαν-ει εκ-nα-ταλο εzrai m̄-πεκαωpon εx̄m̄-πεθγcιαcтpиon Matt 5:23 “So if you are about to lift up (if you come you-going-to-lift-up) your gift onto the altar”

- (b) ‘Incipient action’ (subject beginning to act, entering a state, beginning to participate in a process, acquiring a quality, cf. 174) is expressed by periphrastic conjugation based on ωωπε ‘become’ 528.

Examples: ac-ωωπε εс-†-⁰πi ε-neqoγephte Luke 7:38 “She began kissing (she-became she-kissing) His feet”; atet̄n̄-ωωπε etet̄n̄-ρ-⁰xp̄ia n̄-ογepwte Heb 5:12 “You have come to need (you-have-become you-needing) milk”; p̄zwb ε-neq-mok̄z̄ n̄ωop̄ αq-ωωπε εq-mot̄n̄ n̄-n̄ρωme Athanasius, Lettres festales et pastorales (Lefort 76:21-22) “The thing that was difficult before, became easy (the thing became it-being-easy) for people”

The sequential circumstantial

- 428 As a sequential clause, the circumstantial expresses an event or state that is in sequel to or is an aspect of that which is being asserted in the preceding clause. It typically occurs in narrative, almost always extending the past tense α-.

αφ-חנוּוּי-עַי ע-אִי-חֶפְאִי

"He asked me, *whereupon* I said the following thing"

Sequel and simultaneity are not formally distinguished; e.g. αφ-κωως δε ν-στεφανος νβι-ζενρωμε ν-ρεφ-ρ-⁰ζοτε ε-αυ-ειρε ν-ουνοβ ν-νεζεπε εζραι εχω-q Acts 8:2 "Devout men buried Stephen and (next? simultaneously?) made great lamentation over him." *Tense in the converted clause does not express relative time; rather it belongs to the same narrative plane as the preceding clause (main tense 525).* This distinguishes the sequential circumstantial from the adverbial circumstantial 421.

Examples: (i) *expressing a consecutive event or state* in the narrative line αφ-ουκομεс хноу-עי... ε-αἰ-χε-παῖ να-q ShChass 54:52–58 "A count asked me... and I said the following thing to him"; ντερι-ψαχε μν-ουα... αφ-ουωψ... ε-αἰ-ουωψ να-q... ShChass 104:17–36 "When I spoke with a certain person... he replied... and I replied to him..."; α-πνουτε ναυ ε-πευμκαζ ε-αφ-† ν-ζενωηρε ν-ιακωβ εβολ ζν-ζραχλη ShIV 27:26–27 "God saw their distress, and gave Jacob children by Rachel"; ουχαι να-ν πενμεριτ ν-ειωτ ετ⁰-сма-маат ек-ειρε м-пенм[εεуе ζ]ν-некωλη ShIII 13:15–16 (the conclusion of a letter) "Farewell, our blessed beloved Father, and remember us in your prayers"

(ii) *Reexpressing an event in a different way* αφ-ειρε ν-пеква м-п-ετοу-моуκζ нмо-q ε-αφ-ζωτв м-прмн-кнме Acts 7:24 "He avenged the one who was oppressed, by slaying the Egyptian"; αφ-καα-q νсω-οу ε-αυ-кот-οу ζν-νευζнт ε-кнме Acts 7:39 "They abandoned him, in turning within in their hearts towards Egypt"; α-φιλιππος δε ουων ν-ρω-q ε-αφ-археи εβολ ζν-теітраφн Acts 8:35 "And Philip opened his mouth and began from this scriptural passage"

(iii) *Expressing an aspect or simultaneous part of an event* βαρναβас δε μн-саулос ау-кот-οу εβολ ζн-θιζнм... ε-αυ-χι нмау-γ ν-йωζανннс Acts 12:25 "And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem... bringing with them John"; ναει δε нмнт-οу-⁰ноуне нмау ε-ψау-пisteуе прос-⁰оуоеиу Luke 8:13 (explaining a parable) "These have no root, and believe for a while"; οyon δε ним ау-χωωре εβολ... ψатн-напостолос мауаа-у ε-ау-бω ζн-θιλнм Acts 8:1 "And all became scattered... except only the apostles, and they (the apostles) remained in Jerusalem"

429 The sequential circumstantial (optionally linked by a conjunction such as αγω) can also extend any of the conversions, i.e. relative 412(a), circumstantial 433(a), preterit 443(b), and focalizing 458(b). Tense in the circumstantial extension belongs to the same narrative plane as the preceding relative clause and does not express relative time.

430 The attributive circumstantial clause

As an attributive clause (described in 403) the circumstantial modifies, i.e. descriptively expands, a preceding entity term. In this extremely common

function, circumstantial and relative alternate and vary according to syntactic environment; for details, cf. 404, 407, 408, 411, 431. Tense in the converted clause expresses relative time 529.

i. ουρωμε ερε-τεφбix ωοωοу "A man who had a withered hand" (Matt 12:10)

ii. νεγοуһнв... ναῖ ερε-неуапһоуе боlπ εβολ "Their priests..., whose heads are uncovered" Ep Jer 31 (30 Kasser)

iii. παῖ ε-α-αуеиd αα-q "That which David did" (Luke 6:3)

iv. ννεζοοу гар ен-ζн-тсарѣ "For while (in the days when) we were in the flesh" (Rom 7:5)

v. νнетн-οуωм εβολ νзнт-οу εq-οуωт "You shall not eat from them anything that is raw" (Exod 12:9)

As these illustrations show, the circumstantial attributive occurs after

i. non-definite antecedent clause: the simple attributive 404, 408

ii. appositive παῖ (following any kind of antecedent): the appositive attributive 408

iii. παῖ: forming the articulated attributive clause 411

iv. any kind of antecedent expressing time or manner 'in which' 407

v. an unexpressed antecedent 431

431 An unexpressed direct object antecedent, as in νнетн-οуωм "You shall not eat (anything)," is modified by the circumstantial (rare) and the resumptive morph is q. E.g. νнетн-οуωм εβολ νзнт-οу εq-οуωт Exod 12:9 "You shall not eat from them anything that is raw"; ен-на-еіне тων εq-еіне ммо-οу ε-† не-⁰ Idt 12:3 "Whence shall we bring anything that resembles them, to give it to you?" Recorded examples are affirmative durative present.

432 In epistles, a salutation formula (based on the verb czaῖ 'write') contains the circumstantial conversion.

Examples: παулос мн-тимоѳеос нзмζαλ м-печс іс еу-сзаῖ н-н-ετ⁰-οуα-ав тнр-οу ζм-печс іс ναῖ ετ⁰-ωοоп ζн-нефилиппос мн-непископос ауω нδιακονос | τεχαριс нн-тн мн-†рннн Phil 1:1–2 "Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus, writing to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons: grace to you and peace" Παῦλος καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλιπποῖς κтл.; напостолос мн-непресвѣтерос еу-сзаῖ н-неcннγ ετ⁰-ζн-тантiоxia мн-тсγria мн-ткγλiκia н-ετ⁰-ωοоп ζн-нζεенос | χαιrete Acts 15:23 "The apostles and the elders, writing to the brethren in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, who are dwelling among the Gentiles: greetings"; απα-ωрсiнсe εq-сзаῖ м-πεqmнpиτ н-ωнре εт-таеиγ ауω н-ωοу-οуау-q наме ѳеоαωpос | ζм-пхоеис χαιpиn Horsiese, Letter (Lefort Œuvres 65:22–23 "Apa Horsiese, writing to his beloved, distinguished, and truly lovable son Theodore: greetings in the Lord"

EXTENSIONS OF THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL CONVERSION

- 433 A circumstantial conversion can be extended (carried on) by another clause, and if it contains a resumptive morph **404, 426**, the extension clause does also. Linkage by conjunction is optional.

(a) Circumstantial Clause + (αγω) Sequential Circumstantial Clause

With conjunction: ε-υπροφητης βε πε αγω εφ-σοογν . . . Acts 2:30 “Being therefore a prophet and knowing . . .”; ζενρωμε εγ-χω μμο-с хе-мнταν-⁰ωηρε ε-ογνταγ-ζαζ αγω ε-αγ-хπε-ζαζ ShOr 153:30–35 “People who say, We have no children, although possessing many and having begotten many”; ογс†ωζε н-ογωτ н-⁰καζ . . . ει-р-⁰ζωβ нζηт-с ⁰соп ε-ωαї-χο еро-с н-пїбροб ⁰соп ε-ωαї-χο еро-с н-пїкеογλ (collated) ShChass 99:43–52 “A single aroua of land . . . that I labor in, sometimes sowing it with one seed and sometimes sowing it with another”; ε-αντ-ογανомос αν н-пноуге αλλα ε-ανт-ογєнномос н-πεхс 1 Cor 9:21 “Not being without law toward God, but rather being under the law of Christ”; ειτε εγ-χι-⁰сζιμε ειτε εγ-ζμοос нн-⁰ζαι ειτε εγ-χο ειτε εγ-ωλ ειτε ζн-ζωв нн ShIV 39:26–27 “Whether marrying a woman or marrying a man or sowing or gathering or in anything.” *Without conjunction:* αq-αρχι нбї-пмннхе . . . εγ-ραφε εγ-смоу ε-пноуге Luke 19:37 “The multitude . . . began rejoicing (and) praising God”; ογмζαοу ε-αγ-кезκωζ-^q ε-мпоу-ка-αααу нζηт-^q εнез Luke 23:53 “A tomb that had been dug out (and) that no one had ever been put in”; ογρωμε ε-αγ-тннсоу-^q εβολ ζιτм-пноуге ε-πεφραν πε ιωζανннс John 1:6 “A man who had been sent by God (and) whose name was John”

(b) Circumstantial Clause + (αγω) Unconverted Extension Clause

In this construction, one circumstantial converter is expanded by two (or more) clauses: Converter + (Clause + Clause). *With conjunction:* нпр-χι-⁰бол ε-нетнєрну ε-атєтн-ка-тнγтн каζηу н-прωме н-ас мн-неqзвнхе αγω атєтн-† ζιωт-тнγтн н-пв̄рре Col 3:9–10 “Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old person with its practices and have put on the new one”; ε-αq-моу мен ζн-тсарз αq-ωνз δε ζн-πεпнλ 1 Pet 3:18 “Having died in the flesh, but having become/been alive in the spirit”; αααу ε-н-ент-аγ-ер-ана-^q м-пноуге ζн-ογме εγ-κοινονει ε-пгамос αγω се-тбαιο ан м-пєхπε-⁰ωηρε ShIV 39:23–25 “Consider those who have truly pleased God by partaking of marriage and not despising the begetting of children”; ε-н-тн-нау ероу ан оγδε н-т-н-сωтм ан ε-⁰ζрооу нта-^q ShIII 203:19–20 “Not seeing Him and not hearing any voice from Him.” *Without conjunction* (limited to the past tense?): (ο)γθав ε-α-γсζιμε χιτ-^q ас-нох-^q ε-ωомнт н-ωї н-ноит Luke 13:21 “Leaven that a woman took and hid in three measures of flour”; ε-αq-χιсе δε езраї ζн-тоунам н-пноуге αq-χι н-пернт н-пейнλ . . . εт-ογαав αq-пωзт н-пейтаїо Acts 2:33 “Having become exalted at the right hand of God and having received the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this gift.”

(c) For the conjunctive within a circumstantial clause, cf. **353**.

THE PRETERIT CONVERSION

434 FORMS OF THE CONVERTER

не-: Immutable sentence converter; secondary converter (in triple conversion, **398**)

нєре-, нє=: Mutable converter

Vars. не- . . . пе, нєре-/нє= . . . пе, cf. **438**

Negative нєре-/нє= . . . ан, taken in isolation, is ambiguous, being identical with the negative focalizing conversion **452** н-єре-/н-є= . . . ан.

THE FUNCTIONS OF PRETERIT CONVERSION

- 435 The ‘preterit conversion’ signals that the converted sentence has a special relationship to the ordinary train of narration, exposition, or dialogue by

i. *providing background information*, either simultaneous

мпоу-хе-αααу δε н-ωαхе ε-αααу | нєγ-р-⁰ζοτε γαρ “And they did not say any thing to any one. For *they were afraid*” καї οὐδενι οὐδєν εїпан: εφοβοῦντο γάρ (Mark 16:8)

or anterior

αγω πχιλιαρχос αq-р-⁰ζοτε нтєρεq-εїме хе-ογζρωмаїос пе εβολ хе-не-αq-мор-^q пе “And the tribune was afraid when he realized that he (Paul) was a Roman citizen; for, *he had bound him*” (Acts 22:29)

ii. or by *slowing the pace of narration*

пωαхе δε н-пноуге αq-αγзанє | αγω нєс-αωαї нбї-тнπε н-ммаөтнс емате ζн-өїлнм “And the word of God increased; and the number of disciples *was multiplying* greatly in Jerusalem” (Acts 6:7)

iii. or by expressing *remote hypotheticality or wish* (contrary-to-fact), thus shifted away from the factuality of the main discourse; cf. **498**

пхоєїс ε-нек-мπεεїма нєре-пасон на-моу ан пе “Lord, if You *had been* here, my brother *would not have died*” (John 11:32)

ζαμοї нє-анон-ογα μμο-οу “If only *we were* one of them!” (ShIV 92:18)

Despite its Latin name (‘already past’, *praeter-itus*) the Coptic preterit conversion is not essentially a mark of anterior time. The preterit signals a tem-

porary shift (in any of several ways), a stepping away from the primary line of discourse.

- 436 As a *secondary converter* (in triple conversion 398), the preterit occurs in circumstantial preterit focalizing conversion (ε-νε-ερε- durative, ε-νε-ντ-α= past tense). For examples, cf. 417.
- 437 *The preterit secondarily converted.* The preterit is subject to secondary conversion, as relative preterit (ετε-νε etc. or ε-νε etc.) 401, circumstantial preterit (ε-νε etc.) 416(a), and focalizing preterit conversion (ε-νε etc.) 446. Thus the combination ε-νε etc. is triply ambiguous.

INVARIABLE ΠΕ IN PRETERIT CLAUSES

- 438 Many preterit clauses contain invariable πε 285, coming soon after the preterit converter. The function, meaning, and conditions for the presence or absence of πε are unknown.

νεγ-ωλη πε αγω νεγ-σμογ ε-πνογτε “They were praying (+ πε) and blessing God” (Acts 16:25)

νεϊ-νηστεγε αγω νεϊ-ωλη ρμ-πανι (without πε) “I was fasting and praying in my house” (Acts 10:30)

νερε-ογзоте гар нма-γ (textual var. нма-γ πε) “For fear was (var. + πε) with them” (Mark 16:8)

Like the other enclitics, πε tends to come early in the sentence (though always after the converter). It does not occur in preterit delocutive nominal sentences.

The presence and absence of πε is often a textual variant when manuscripts are compared (e.g. in Mark [ed. Quecke] 1:45, 2:15, 5:42, 6:3, 6:19, 6:53, 8:9, 11:14, 11:18, 12:37, 12:38, 16:8).

PRETERIT IN NARRATIVE OR EXPOSITION

- 439 In narrative or exposition, preterit clauses often serve to portray the background against which the main line of discourse is being asserted—for example, by giving an explanation

неφρωме аγ-εї εвол ε-αμαзте ммо-q | нег-хω гар ммо-с хе-а-πεгзнт пωψс “His family came out to seize him; *for, people were saying* He is beside himself” (Mark 3:21)

or by building suspense in anticipation of what will be told next

κατα-ωα δε νε-ωаре-пгнгемωн ка-ога εвол м-пмннψε εг-мнр п-ετε-нег-огаω-q | не-γнта-γ δε ммаγ мπεογоеψ εт-ммаγ н-ога εг-мнр εг-о н-οοεит ε-ωαγ-моγте ерог хе-вараввас | εγ-сωогз δε εзогн пеха-q на-γ нби-пилаотс

“Now at each feast the governor *was accustomed to release* for the crowd any one prisoner whom they *wanted*. And they *had* then a notorious prisoner, called Barabbas. So as they gathered, Pilate said to them” (Matt 27:15–17)

Because of its durativity 305 the conjugated preterit converter νερε-, νε= can express the usual, general, or recurrent character of an action, condition, or quality: νεг-сωтп “He was choosing, He used to choose, He chose [over a period of time]” *versus* narrative аг-сωтп “He chose.” E.g.

αγω нтерог-сопс а-пма ким ε-нег-соогз ρραї нзнт-q аг-могз тнр-ог εвол ρм-πεпна εт-ογαав | αγω нег-таψε-οοεψ м-пωахе м-пноγте ρм-паррнса ним | . . . нег-о н-ογзнт н-ογωт агω ογψγхн н-ογωт | агω не-мн-ааγ хω ммо-с ε-н-εт-ωοоп на-q хе ноγ-ї не | алаа нере-нка ним ωοоп на-γ зι-ογсоп | агω ρн-ογноб н-бom нере-напостолос † н-тмнт-мнтре н-танастасис м-пхоеис тс | агω не-γн-ογноб н-харис ωοоп ερраї εхω-ог тнр-ог | не-мн-ааγ гар нзнт-ог ψаат πε “And when they had prayed, the place in which they were gathered together was shaken, and they all became filled with the Holy Spirit. And *they spoke* the word of God with all boldness. They *were* of one heart and one soul, and no one *said* that the things which he possessed were his own, but they *had* everything in common. And with great power the apostles *gave testimony* to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and great grace *was upon them* all. For no one among them *was needy*” (Acts 4:31–34)

These various perceptions of the background preterit are not mutually exclusive, as the following passages will show.

Further examples: νηθania δε нес-знн εзогн ε-θιероγсалам . . . | ογмнн-ψε δε εвол ρн-ογαаї (i.e. ρн-н-ογαаї) не-аγ-εї πε ψа-марθα нм-мариа . . . | марθα бе нтерес-сωтм хе-тс ннγ ас-εї εвол знт-q | мариа δε нес-змоос πε ρм-пнєї | пеха-марθα бе н-тс John 11:18–21 “Bethany was near Jerusalem . . . and many Jews *had come* to Martha and Mary . . . When Martha heard that Jesus was coming, she went and met him; and Mary *was sitting* in the house. Martha said to Jesus”; агω нтерог-εї εвол ρм-пемзог аг-пωт | нере-ογзоте гар нма-γ | агω нег-р-ωпнре | мпоγ-хе-ааγ δε н-ωахе ε-ааγ | нег-р-зоте гар Mark 16:8 “And when they came out of the tomb they fled. For fear *was with them*. And they *were astonished*. And they did not say any thing to anyone. For they *were afraid*”; тоте негмаэнтнс тнр-ог аг-кω ммо-q нсω-ог аг-пωт | нтоог δε аг-амазте н-тс аг-хи ммо-q ψа-каифас пархιερεус . . . | петрос δε нег-ογнз нсω-q мпоγε . . . нтерег-вωк δε εзогн нег-змоос πε мн-нзγпнретнс ε-наγ ε-εан | нархιερεус δε мн-псγнзеарιον тнр-q нег-ωине нса-ογмнтре н-ноγх εзогн ε-тс . . . | агω мпоγ-зе ε-ογон . . . | мннсω-с аг-†-пегογοεї нби-снзγ Matt 26:56–60 “Then all His disciples forsook Him and fled. Then the others seized Jesus and took Him to Caiaphas the high priest . . . But Peter *was*

following Him at a distance . . . And having gone inside, he *was sitting* with the servants to see the end. Now the chief priests and the whole council *were seeking* false testimony against Jesus . . . And they found none. At last two came forward”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\epsilon\iota-\omicron$ $\bar{\nu}-\theta$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota-\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\zeta\omega\varsigma-\theta$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota-\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\zeta\omega\varsigma-\theta$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota-\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\zeta\omega\varsigma-\theta$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ | $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\rho\iota-\bar{\rho}-\theta$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\beta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\alpha\iota-\omicron\upsilon\omega\varsigma\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}-\bar{\nu}\alpha-\pi\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ 1 Cor 13:11 “When I was a child, I *spoke* (i.e. *used to speak*) like a child, I *thought* like a child, I *reasoned* like a child; when I became a man I gave up childish ways”; $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\iota\omega$ $\epsilon-\bar{\nu}\epsilon\kappa-\omicron$ $\bar{\nu}-\theta$ $\omega\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\omega\eta\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\omega\alpha\kappa-\mu\omicron\rho-\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}-\bar{\nu}\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon-\bar{\mu}\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\kappa}-\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omega-\bar{\eta}$ | $\zeta\omicron\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}-\bar{\rho}-\theta$ $\bar{\eta}\lambda\omicron$ $\kappa-\bar{\nu}\alpha-\pi\bar{\rho}\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\bar{\delta}\iota\chi$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon-\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ $\mu\omicron\rho-\kappa$ John 21:18 “When you *were young* you *used to gird yourself* and walk where you would; but when you become old you will stretch out your hands and another will gird you”; $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\alpha-\gamma$ $\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon-\pi\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\bar{\zeta}\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon$. . . | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon-\bar{\nu}\epsilon\chi-\iota\omega\bar{\zeta}\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ | $\alpha-\gamma\bar{\zeta}\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ John 3:22–25 “He *was there* with them baptizing. John also *was baptizing* . . . For John *had not yet been put* in prison. Now a discussion arose . . .”; $\alpha\bar{\eta}-\bar{\nu}\omega\kappa$ $\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon-\tau\bar{\gamma}\alpha\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\bar{\zeta}\alpha\pi\bar{\varsigma}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon-\theta$ $\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\zeta}\iota\tau\bar{\eta}-\tau\varsigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ | $\alpha\bar{\eta}-\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ $\epsilon-\gamma\bar{\upsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon-\tau\varsigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ John 4:3–4 “He departed again to Galilee. He *had to pass* through Samaria. So He came to a city of Samaria”; $\alpha\bar{\eta}-\varsigma\epsilon\pi\varsigma\omega\pi-\bar{\eta}$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}-\tau\alpha\lambda\bar{\delta}\epsilon-\pi\epsilon\bar{\eta}\omega\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\bar{\nu}\alpha-\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\pi\epsilon$ John 4:47 “He begged Him to come down and heal his son, for he *was at the point of death* (was going to die)”; $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-\iota\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha-\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon-\mu\alpha\bar{\rho}\epsilon-\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\chi-\omicron\upsilon$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\gamma\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon-\bar{\nu}\alpha-\omega\omega-\bar{\eta}-\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\mu}-\bar{\mu}\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}-\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ | $\alpha-\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\chi-\omicron\upsilon$ John 6:10 “Jesus said, The people should sit down. Now *there was* much grass in that place; so the people sat down”; $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\varsigma\alpha-\bar{\nu}\alpha\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\delta}\iota-\iota\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\tau\bar{\gamma}\alpha\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\omicron\upsilon\omega\gamma\omega$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon-\theta$ $\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\alpha\iota\alpha$ $\chi\epsilon-\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma-\omega\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\varsigma\omega-\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\delta}\iota-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon-\theta$ $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma-\tau-\bar{\eta}$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\nu}}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\bar{\nu}}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\delta}\iota-\pi\omega\alpha$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\alpha\iota$ $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\eta\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\pi\eta\gamma\iota\alpha$ | $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha-\gamma$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha-\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\delta}\iota-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\epsilon\bar{\eta}\varsigma\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\eta}$ John 7:1–3 “After this Jesus *went about* in Galilee; He *did not want* to go about in Judea, because the Jews *were seeking* to kill Him. Now the Jews’ feast of Tabernacles *was at hand*. So His brothers said to Him”; $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\bar{\eta}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\omega\kappa\bar{\bar{\mu}}$ $\epsilon\chi\bar{\bar{\mu}}-\pi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\eta}-\bar{\nu}\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\mu\omicron\kappa\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\zeta}\eta\tau$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\bar{\nu}\alpha\omega\bar{\eta}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\delta}}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\gamma\bar{\bar{\nu}}\tau\alpha-\bar{\eta}-\varsigma\omicron\gamma$ Mark 10:22 “At that saying his countenance fell and he went away sorrowful; for *many were* the properties that he owned”

TERM IN EXTRAPOSITION

- 440 Any personal morph (or personal element of the possessive article) within the sentence pattern can be anticipated by a term in extraposition, that is, a term placed at the front of the sentence pattern (‘extraposed’) before the converter

Extraposed Term(s)	Sentence Pattern
	(contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)

Anticipation | Resumption

Topic under discussion | Comment

$\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\tau\bar{\delta}\iota\chi$ $\bar{\mu}-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma-\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\mu}\alpha-\gamma$

“And as for the hand of the Lord, | it was with them” (Acts 11:21)

FUNCTIONS AND SYNTAX OF PRETERITE CONVERSION

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition and personal morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The agreeing personal morph shows how the extraposed term relates to the sentence.

- (a) 1st and 2d person morphs can only be preceded by an extraposed personal morph: namely, the personal independent.

$\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota-\omicron$ $\bar{\mu}-\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon-\theta$ $\tau\bar{\rho}\alpha-\pi\omega\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}-\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{\nu}-\bar{\nu}-\epsilon\tau\bar{\theta}-\chi\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}-\iota$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\varsigma}}$

“But for my part, | I was not at liberty to pursue those who were doing me wrong” (ShIII 145:2–4)

- (b) 3d person morphs can be preceded by either a personal independent or some other entity term.

$\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\bar{\eta}$ $\delta\epsilon$ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\eta}-\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\omicron\upsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}-\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\kappa}$

“But as for him, | he meekly obeyed” (Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 4 [Garitte 6:11–12])

$\pi\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau-\alpha\bar{\eta}-\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\lambda}}$ $\bar{\bar{\mu}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\lambda}}\bar{\bar{\lambda}}$ | $\epsilon\iota\bar{\epsilon}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}-\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\nu}}}\bar{\bar{\theta}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}$ $\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}-\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ $\omicron\bar{\bar{\nu}}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon-\theta$ $\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\nu}}}-\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\rho}}\epsilon-\pi\alpha\iota$ $\mu\omicron\gamma$

“As for Him who opened the eyes of the blind man, | could He not have kept this man from dying?” (John 11:37)

$\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\bar{\delta}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}$ $\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\zeta}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\rho}}\bar{\bar{\chi}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\chi}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}$ | $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\zeta}}-\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}-\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\lambda$

“And as for their plots of land and their goods, | they sold them” (Acts 2:45)

441 An extraposed subject can be accompanied by its own extraposed converter (thus $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon-\dots$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\zeta}$); rare. E.g. $\omicron\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\rho}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\nu}}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}$ $\bar{\bar{\mu}}-\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\kappa}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}-\bar{\bar{\zeta}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}$. . . | $\epsilon-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\zeta}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}$ $\bar{\bar{\mu}}-\bar{\bar{\pi}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}-\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\omicron\upsilon\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}-\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\zeta}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\zeta}}-\bar{\bar{\rho}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}-\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}-\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}$ ShGué 164b: 12–15 “Truly, if all kinds of beasts and other living things . . . knew what they would die from if they ate it, they would never take a bite of it.”

ADVERBIAL PREMODIFIER BEFORE THE CONVERTED SENTENCE PATTERN

- 442 An adverb or prepositional phrase (chapter 9) preceding the converted sentence pattern lays down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the converted clause is being asserted (i.e. under which the predication is made).

Premodifier | Converted Sentence Pattern

$\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\tau\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}$ | $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}-\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\delta}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}-\pi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$

“In the beginning | was the Word” (John 1:1)

$\epsilon\tau\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}-\pi\alpha\iota$ $\bar{\bar{\beta}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\zeta}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}$ | $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\zeta}}-\omega\iota\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}$ $\bar{\bar{\bar{\nu}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\omega}}}-\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ $\bar{\bar{\bar{\nu}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\delta}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\iota}}}-\bar{\bar{\bar{\nu}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\iota}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\omicron}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\gamma}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\alpha}}}\bar{\bar{\bar{\iota}}}$

“And for this reason all the more | the Jews sought Him” (John 5:18)

Adverbial clauses 490 occur in this position with the same function; e.g. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}-\pi\epsilon\bar{\gamma}\bar{\lambda}\omega\varsigma\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}-\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ | $\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}-\bar{\zeta}\bar{\bar{\omega}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}$ $\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}-\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}-\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\chi}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}$ $\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}-\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}-\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ John 12:6 “And as he had the money box, | he used to take what was put into it.” Conjunctions and initial attitude markers (chapter 10) also occur in premodifier position.

EXTENSIONS OF THE PRETERIT CONVERSION

- 443 A preterit conversion can be extended (carried on) by another clause. Linkage by conjunction is optional, at least in (a) and (b).

(a) Preterit Clause + (αγω) Preterit Extension

Examples: $\overline{\text{NEI}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NHCTEY}}\text{ αγω } \overline{\text{NEI}}\text{-}\overline{\text{WΛHΛ}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ZM}}\text{-}\overline{\text{PAH}}\text{I}$ Acts 10:30 “I was fasting and praying in my house”; $\overline{\text{MPEYOEIY}}\text{ EI-O } \overline{\text{N}}\text{-}\overline{\text{KOYI}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NEEI}}\text{-}\overline{\text{WAXE}}\text{ PE } \overline{\text{ZWC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{KOYI}}$ $\overline{\text{NEI}}\text{-}\overline{\text{MEEY}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ZWC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{KOYI}}$ $\overline{\text{NEI}}\text{-}\overline{\text{WOXNE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ZWC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{KOYI}}$ 1 Cor 13:11 “When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, (and) I reasoned like a child”

(b) Preterit Clause + (αγω) Circumstantial Extension

Examples: $\overline{\text{NTOC}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ΔE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NEC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{COWE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{H}}\text{ } \overline{\text{EC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{PAWE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{EC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{POOYT}}\text{ } \overline{\text{MMATE}}$ ShAmél I 53:9–10 (= ShZ 392:9–10) “But for her part, she laughed and rejoiced with great gladness”; $\overline{\text{AGW}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NEQ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ZN}}\text{-}\overline{\text{TEPHMOC}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NZME}}\text{ } \overline{\text{N}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ZOY}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ERE}}\text{-}\overline{\text{PCATANAC}}\text{ } \overline{\text{PIPAZE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NMOC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{Q}}\text{ } \overline{\text{EQ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{WOOH}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NM}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NEOHPION}}$ Mark 1:13 “And He was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and He was (καὶ ἦν) with the wild beasts”; $\overline{\text{N}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ET}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NHY}}\text{ } \overline{\text{GAP}}\text{ } \overline{\text{AGW}}\text{ } \overline{\text{N}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ET}}\text{-}\overline{\text{BHK}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NE}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NAW}}\text{-}\overline{\text{OY}}\text{ } \overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{MAY}}\text{-}\overline{\text{KAA}}\text{-}\overline{\text{Y}}\text{ } \overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{CPQE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{OYOM}}$ Mark 6:31 “For as for those coming and going, they were many, and they had no leisure to eat”

(c) Preterit Clause + αγω Unconverted Extension Clause

In this construction, one preterit converter is expanded by two (or more) clauses: Converter + (Clause + Clause). Durative conjugation perhaps does not occur as the extension. E.g. $\overline{\text{NEC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{T}}\text{-}\overline{\text{COEIT}}\text{ PE } \overline{\text{AGW}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NANOY}}\text{-}\overline{\text{C}}\text{ } \overline{\text{EMATE}}$ ShChass 122:12–15 “It was famous and good indeed.”

THE FOCALIZING CONVERSION

Traditionally Called the “Second Tenses”

FORMS OF THE CONVERTER

- 444 Immutable sentence converter (allomorphs)

$\overline{\text{ENT}}\text{-}$: cf. $\overline{\text{NT}}\text{-}$

$\overline{\text{ETE}}\text{-}$: before negation, under certain conditions described in 453

$\overline{\text{NT}}\text{-}$ (var. $\overline{\text{ENT}}\text{-}$): before past tense affirmative $\alpha\text{-}$

$\overline{\text{E}}\text{-}$: under all other conditions; and as secondary and tertiary converter

Mutable converter: $\overline{\text{ERE}}\text{-}$, $\overline{\text{E}}\text{=}$

For neutralization of the formal distinction between focalizing and circumstantial conversion, cf. 460.

Negations: cf. 452, 453

Sometimes $\overline{\text{NT}}\text{-}$ represents $\overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NT}}\text{-}$; $\overline{\text{ENT}}\text{-}$ represents $\overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ENT}}\text{-}$ or $\overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NT}}\text{-}$; $\overline{\text{ERE}}\text{-}$ and $\overline{\text{E}}\text{=}$ represent $\overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ERE}}\text{-}$, $\overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{E}}\text{=}$; all of these are simplified writings of the circumstantial conversion of the focalizing converter 414, a double conversion.

FUNCTIONS AND SYNTAX OF FOCALIZING CONVERSION

Shenoute and other Sahidic authors (as well as some Biblical passages) sometimes express the *optative* as $\overline{\text{ERE}}\text{-}$... $\overline{\text{NA}}\text{-}$, $\overline{\text{E}}\text{=}\overline{\text{NA}}\text{-}$; in this function it does not signal focalization. For examples, cf. 339.

THE FUNCTIONS OF FOCALIZING CONVERSION

- 445 The focalizing conversion signals that the converted sentence contains a special ‘focal point’—i.e. a special point of emphasis or attention. The location of the focal point is not indicated by the converter. In other words this conversion marks the sentence as one that has a special structure of information 448, but without indicating the exact contour of that special structure.

Basic (unmarked):

$\overline{\text{AG}}\text{-}\overline{\text{OYONZ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{OY}}\text{ } \overline{\text{EBOA}}\text{ } \overline{\text{N}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ZAZ}}$ “They appeared to many” (Matt 27:53)

Focalizing (marked):

$\overline{\text{NT}}\text{-}\overline{\text{AQ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{OYONZ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{Q}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ΔE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{EBOA}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{EIZ}}\text{E} = \text{Signal of Focalization} + \text{“He revealed Himself in the following way” (John 21:1)}$

Knowing the full context of this sentence in John 21:1, a reader might reasonably assign focus to the phrase *in the following way*, thus: “It was *in the following way* that He revealed Himself.” (Context: $\overline{\text{MNNCA}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NAI}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ON}}\text{ } \overline{\text{A}}\text{-}\overline{\text{IC}}\text{ } \overline{\text{OYONZ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{Q}}\text{ } \overline{\text{E}}\text{-}\overline{\text{NEQMATHTHC}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ZIXN}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ΘALLACCA}}\text{ } \overline{\text{N}}\text{-}\overline{\text{TIBEPHAC}}\text{ } | \overline{\text{NT}}\text{-}\overline{\text{AQ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{OYONZ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{Q}}\text{ } \overline{\text{ΔE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{EBOA}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{EIZ}}\text{E}$ “After this Jesus revealed Himself again to His disciples by the Sea of Tiberias; and He revealed Himself *in the following way*.” A story follows.)

Many kinds of sentence element are eligible to be interpreted (decoded) as the focal point—subject, predicate, verbal object, adverbial modifier, adverbial clause, etc.; for examples, cf. 449. Eligible focal points range in complexity from a single lexeme (love ‘mad’) to a complete clause ($\overline{\text{EQ}}\text{-}\overline{\text{PIPAZE}}\text{ } \overline{\text{NMOC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{Q}}$ “Testing him”). In choosing some particular element as the focal point (the center or *raison d’être* of the message), a reader is guided by overall rhetorical and grammatical structure, vocabulary, standard phraseology, larger context and its train of thought, reader’s expectations, and any other relevant signals. Thus the reader’s choice, though subjective, is based upon real structural criteria: the ‘focalization’ (making a particular sentence element into a focal point) whose presence is elicited by this conversion is, finally, an act performed by the reader, and yet it is not arbitrary. (Despite careful attention, in many instances choice of a focal point is open to several reasonable possibilities.) The focalizing conversion occurs frequently and is a typical feature of literary Coptic. But it hardly ever occurs in the main story line of a narrative.

Some items are by *their very nature focalized in meaning*, so that they frequently elicit a focalizing conversion (or cleft sentence 461): e.g. interrogative specifiers (αω ‘which?’, νιμ ‘who?’, ογ ‘what?’, ογνρ ‘how many?’), interrogative adverbs (των ‘where?’, τναγ ‘when?’) and items in certain focalizing rhetorical structures (“Not here but rather there”; “Here and not there”).

Repeated text is no longer new information and usually plays the role of topic element. E.g. α-τ̄ ογονζ-ḡ ε-νεφμαθ̄ητ̄ς ζιχ̄ν-θαλασσα ν̄-τιβεριας | ν̄τ-αḡ-ογονζ-ḡ δε εβολ ν̄τεῖζε John 21:1 “Jesus revealed Himself again to His disciples by the Sea of Tiberias. And He revealed Himself *in the following way*”; εωχε-ογντ-ḡ-ογβom γαρ on ε-ογντα-ḡ-ς ζν-ν-ετ̄-κα-ḡμα να-ḡ ν̄ζντ-ογ ShIII 85:13–14 “For, if indeed he [Satan] has a certain degree of power, it is *among those who make a place for him within themselves* that he has it”; ν̄τερι-ει ψαρω-τ̄ν ν̄αcνν̄η ν̄τ-αῖ-ει ζν-ογχιcε αν ν̄-ḡψαχε ν̄ ν̄-ḡcοφια 1 Cor 2:1 “When I came to you, brethren, I came to you *not in loftiness of word or wisdom*”; ερωαν-πμοναχοc ν̄ηcτεγε μ̄ν εḡ-ν̄ηcτεγε να-κ ShChass 104:5–8 “If a monk fasts, pray does he fast *for you*?”; π-ετ̄-π̄cτεγε ερο-ῖ ν-εḡ-π̄cτεγε ερο-ει αν αλλα ε-π-ε̄ντ-αḡ-ταογο-εῖ John 12:44 “He who believes in Me, believes *not in Me but in Him who sent Me*”; ζωβ νιμ ν̄τ-αḡ-αα-γ ν̄τ-αḡ-αα-γ τ̄νρ-ογ ετ̄βε-πενογχαῖ ShAmél II 463:13–464:1 “All the things that He did—He did them *entirely for our salvation*”; εῖ-ν̄ν̄η ψαρω-τ̄ν εει-ν̄ν̄η ζν-ογχωκ εβολ ν̄-ḡcμογ ν̄τε-πεχ̄c Rom 15:29 “When I come to you I shall come to you *in the fullness of the blessing of Christ*.”

ELIGIBLE FOCAL POINTS IN DURATIVE AND NON-DURATIVE PATTERNS

- 449 Most focalizing conversions are based on a durative or non-durative sentence (for other sentence types, cf. 450). The following elements of the underlying basic sentence structure are eligible to be chosen (by the reader) as focal point of the converted sentence: subject, predicate, suffixed direct object, expansion of an entity term, and adverbial complement. By far the most frequent is type (ν), the adverbial complement, which occurs in either initial or final position of the sentence.

i. Subject: entity terms

μ̄ν ερε-πεχογc να-εζομολογει να-κ “Shall *the dust* give praise to Thee?” (Ps 29[30]:9)

ν̄τ-α-αω ν̄-εκκληcια ῖ-ḡζωβ ε-ογωογ-μεριτ-ḡ πε ν̄εε μ̄-π-ετ̄-ḡμ̄μαγ “Which *church* has done any deed as admirable as that man has?” (ShChass 203:48–55)

ερε-βεελζεβογλ ν̄μ̄μα-ḡ “It is *Beelzebul* who has afflicted Him, *Beelzebul* is with Him” (Mark 3:22)

ii. Predicate: infinitives, statives, prepositional phrases/adverbs; also the predicate together with its complements

ν̄τ-αc-ωοογε “It has *dried up!*” (Mark 11:21)

ḡπ̄c-μογ αλλα εc-ν̄κοτ̄κ “She has not died but *is sleeping*” (Mark 5:39)

π-ετ̄-να-ογωω γαρ ε-ḡναζ̄μ-τεḡψ̄γχη εḡ-να-cορμ-εc “For whoever would save his life *will lose it*” (Mark 8:35)

ετετ̄ν-λοβε “You are *mad!*” (1 Cor 14:23)

τ̄μ̄ντ-ερο γαρ μ̄-π̄νογτε ν-εc-ζν-ḡψαχε αν αλλα ζν-ογβom “For the kingdom of God consists *not in talk but in power*” (1 Cor 4:20)

εc-ḡμ̄μαγ ν̄βι-τ̄μ̄ντ-ρ̄μ̄ζε “It is *there* that freedom resides” (2 Cor 3:17)

μ̄ν εḡ-να-ḡι-ογβερωβ εζραῖ ερο-ῖ “Pray tell, is he *going to take a rod against me?* (Surely he will not take a rod against me!)” (ShChass 70:49–51)

iii. Suffixed direct object: entity terms

ḡcοπ μ̄εν ε-ψαγ-χι-ḡμε ḡcοπ δε on ε-ψαγ-χει-ḡβολ “Some-times they speak *the truth*, but other times they speak *lies*” (ShAmél I 249:2–3)

αγ-μεγε χε-εḡ-χε-π̄ενκοτ̄κ μ̄-πωβω “They thought that He meant *taking rest in sleep*” (John 11:13)

iv. Expansion of an entity term: attributive constructions of the noun 96, terms in general relationship (‘of . . .’) 147

Attributive noun. μερε-ααγ νεχ-ḡνρ̄π̄ β̄-β̄ρ̄ρε ε-ḡζωτ̄ ν̄-αc . . . αλλα ε-ψαγ-νεχ-ḡνρ̄π̄ β̄-β̄ρ̄ρε ε-ḡζωτ̄ β̄-β̄ρ̄ρε “No one puts new wine into old wineskins . . . but new wine is put into *new* wineskins” (Mark 2:22)

General relationship. ζν-ταναcταcιc β̄ε εc-να-ḡ-ḡcζιμε ν̄-νιμ μ̄-μοογ “So in the resurrection *whose* wife will she be?” (Mark 12:23)

v. Adverbial complement: adverbs/prepositional phrases 194, adverbial clauses/infinitive phrases 490 (direct/indirect objects marked by a preposition are included here). The most frequent type. Complements occur in initial and final position.

Some complements seem to be restricted to initial position or final position; such restrictions in Shenoute’s Coptic have been tabulated by Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* 80–81, 84, 87. Whether the same restrictions occur in other authors remains to be seen. Complements that are compatible with both positions express a stylistic (rhetorical) effect depending on which position has been selected.

Adverbial complement in initial position:

Adverb. ḡ-cοογν αν χε-εβολ τ̄ων ν̄τ-α-ζωριγενηc cωογζ εζογν ν̄-ογαωη ν̄-ḡψαχε μ̄-μ̄ντ-ααβ ShWess9 131a:1–7 “I do

not know *wherefrom* Origen collected a large number of impudent statements”; μοῖσις γὰρ ἐν-να-αἰσθάνε ShAmél II 476:1 “For, it is *only with difficulty* that we will perceive it”

Prepositional phrase. ἀγὼ μεψα-κ ρω ἐτβε-παῖ NT-α-πεινοῦ Ν-σαζοῦ εἰ ἐζραι ἐχμ-πειρηνεμων Ν-ανωμος ἐτ^θ-μμαγ εβολ ζιτμ-πνοῦτε ShIII 26:7–9 “And perhaps this great curse fell from God upon that lawless hegemon *for the following reason*”; ἐτβηнт-с он ε-ψαγ-κτο-q εβολ ζм-πεqбωнт ShIV 14:10–11 “It is *on account of her*, too, that He turns from His anger”

Adverbial clause. ντερεq-тcio-q ммо-q нт-α-πεqсτομαχος ανα-τρεπε ShAmél II 430:13 “It was *after he made him drink it* that he vomited”; ερψαν-твaψop aψkak εβολ αν . . . ζн-zenzpooy ey-oψ ερε-πμοῦι τῖρε ShChass 38:35–42 “It is not *when a fox barks with noisy cries . . .* that a lion is afraid”; εἰ-τολμα εἰ-χω ναῖ (i.e. ἡ-ναῖ) ShMun 96 (verso text):14–15 “I say this *daringly*”

Alternatively, some of the sentences in this pattern could be classified as being built around a circumstantial conversion 460.

Adverbial complement in final position:

Adverb. ερε-ναῖ να-ψωπε τнаγ Mark 13:4 “When will this be? (When will these come to pass?)”

Prepositional phrase. ἡт-α-παῖ ψωπε εβολ ζιτм-пxoeic Ps 117(118):23 “It is (or was) *through the Lord* that this happened”

Adverbial clause. ε-ψαγ-qi-пzhbc ммаγ ерψан-поyoein εἰ ἐζραι ShIV 20:12–13 “It is *when the sunlight comes up* that the lamp is taken away”; εἰ-χω ἡ-ναῖ εἰ-т-ψиπε нн-тн 1 Cor 15:34 “I say this *by way of putting you to shame*”

Infinitive phrase. нт-α-пxoeic γαρ εἰ αν ε-καταλue м-пномос мн-непpофнтс αλλα ε-^θxок-oy εβολ ShIII 66:14–16 “For the Lord came not *to abolish* the law and the prophets but to fulfill them”

Direct object. п-εт^θ-на-ψеп-пейωнpe ψнм еро-q εхм-паран еq-ψωп ἡмо-ἰ еро-q Luke 9:48 “As for whoever receives this child in My name, it is *Me* that they receive”; ἡт-атетн-εἰ εβολ ε-τερн-мос ε-^θнаγ ε-oy Luke 7:24 “What did you come out into the wilderness to behold?”

Indirect object. пxoeic ек-χω на-н ἡ-тепараβολн | xen-ек-χω ἡмо-с ε-oyон ним Luke 12:41 “Lord, are You telling this parable *for us* or are You telling it *about all*?”

Reiterated article phrase 62. ε-ψαρε^θ-ер-oy на-γ нто | мн ε-ψαρε^θ-паз-oy ан н ψαρε^θ-ocз-oy ^θпобε ^θпобε н ^θлакм ^θлакм “What do you do to them? Isn’t it true that you tear them and slice them *into fragments and pieces*?” (ShAmél I 108:9–10)

FOCALIZING CONVERSION OF OTHER SENTENCE PATTERNS

440 Other sentence patterns that occur in focalizing conversion include (i) suffixally conjugated verboids, (ii) oyн-/(м)мн- ‘there is’, and (iii) oyнте-/(м)мнте- ‘have’.

Examples: (i) зиτн-oy ε-нааа-γ ε-neyepny ShChass 135:44–46 “How are some greater than others?”; αγὼ αληθως ε-зна-γ ан ε-тре-лааγ н-рwме μακαριζε ммо-oy ε-пτηр-q ε-треγ-χοо-с етвннт-oy хе-zenpeq-т^θ-свw не ShIII 161:29–162:1 “And it is really true that they are not at all willing for any person to congratulate them, and to say of them that they are teachers”; ε-наιαт-н ерψан-псωтнр тс назм-ен ε-мπεθooγ м-псатанас ShAmél II 51:10–11 “It is when the savior Jesus saves us from the evils of Satan that we are blessed”; (ii) αρα ε-oyн-zenтнz м-пноyте ппантократωρ ShChass 186:41–44 “So, does God almighty have wings?”; ε-мнт-oy-лааγ ἡ-ψαхе ε-^θχω на-к Acts 21:25 “They do not have anything to say to you”; ε-мн-ψбom eneз ε-^θxок εβολ ἡ-н-εт^θ-т-пeyoyoi еро-oy Heb 10:1 “It can never (It does not have the ability ever to) make perfect those who draw near”; (iii) ε-oyнта-q-с зн-н-εт^θ-ка-^θма на-q ShIII 85:14 “It is among those who make a place for him that he has it”; ε-мнт-oyзwb де ммаγ еq-орx ε-^θсзai м-пppo етвннт-q Acts 25:26 “But I have nothing definite to write to the emperor about him”

451 Shift of focus in the nominal sentence

(a) The nominal sentence does not occur in the focalizing conversion. Instead, shifted focus in the nominal sentence can be expressed by shifted position of subject and predicate (the predicate being by definition the focal point of attention); e.g. (in nominal sentence Pattern 5 *Topic | Predicate* πε 272) пноyте пeneиwt пе “God is *our father*” versus пeneиwt пноyте пе “Our father is *God*.” If the predicate type requires it, such a shift is accompanied by a shift of sentence pattern 259: ант-поyoein “I am *the light*” (Pattern 1 [263]) versus анок пе поyoein “It is *I* who am the light,” “The light is *Me*” (Pattern 6 [275]).

(b) The adverbial modifier of a nominal sentence can be focalized in the circumstantial cleft sentence without πε 459.

NEGATION

452 (a) *Negation of the focalization nexus*. Negation usually applies to the nexus 448 between focal point and topic element: *It is not . . . that . . .* Negation of nexus is expressed by enclitic . . . ан or optionally ἡ(н)- . . . ан. The indispensable signal of negation is ан 250. If ἡ(н)- is present, it is prefixed to the converter. ан occurs before, after, or in the midst of the focal point, depending on sentence arrangement.

Before the focal point. $\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\omega\eta\epsilon \bar{n}n\text{-}\epsilon\eta\text{-}\omega\sigma\sigma\pi \underline{\lambda}n\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\pi\mu\sigma\upsilon$ John 11:4 “This illness is not *unto death*”; $\mu\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\pi\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota \underline{\lambda}n\text{-}\chi\rho\omicron\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon \bar{z}n\text{-}\eta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\sigma\omicron\tau\upsilon\epsilon\eta\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\iota\omega\epsilon$ ShIII 200:2–3 “Pray, is it not *by means of his combat weapons* that a soldier defeats his enemies?”

After the focal point. $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\bar{\iota}n\text{-}\epsilon\eta\text{-}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \underline{\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\epsilon\iota\lambda}n$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ John 12:44 “He who believes in Me, believes *not in Me* but in Him who sent Me”

In the midst of the focal point. $\tau\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}n\text{-}\mu\pi\eta\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\bar{z}m\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \underline{\lambda}n$ $\eta\text{-}\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ Sh Amél II 462:10–11 “The kingdom of the heavens is not *here or there*”

Taken in isolation, negative $n\text{-}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}/n\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\dots \lambda n$ is ambiguous, since it looks like the negative preterit $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}/\eta\epsilon\text{-}\dots \lambda n$.

Rhetorical questions containing a negated nexus expect an affirmative reply (they are often preceded by $\mu\eta$ ‘pray tell’).

Examples: $\mu\eta\text{-}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omega\lambda \omega\sigma\sigma\pi \lambda n \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{z}\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ Gen 40:8 “Is not the interpretation of them *through God*?”; $\mu\eta\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\bar{\iota}\text{-}\sigma\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\bar{\varsigma} \bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\kappa \lambda n$ $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ Matt 20:13 “Did I not settle with you *for one denarius*?”; $\mu\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\eta\omega\epsilon \lambda n \eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\kappa\text{-}\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\bar{\iota}\gamma\omicron\upsilon \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{\iota}$ ShAmél I 81:10–11 “Pray tell, isn’t it *because of my sins* that You have scourged me?”; $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\bar{\iota} \lambda n \bar{\beta}\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\text{-}\pi\lambda\alpha\eta\alpha$ Mark 12:24 “Is not *this* why you are wrong? (So is it not *for the following reason* that you are wrong?)”

- 453 (b) *Negation of the topic element.* Quite a different, and rarer, type of negation has the attested forms of

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{n}\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi \lambda n$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{n}\text{-}\dots \varsigma\omega\tau\pi$ etc.
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\pi$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$

(Formally, these are identical with the relative conversion of a negated clause.)

$\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu \epsilon\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu \bar{m}\text{-}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma \dots \lambda\gamma\omega \pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}n\text{-}\bar{q}\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu \lambda n$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}n\text{-}\bar{q}\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu \lambda n \bar{m}\text{-}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ “As for the one who eats, it is in honor of the Lord that he eats . . . And as for the one who does not eat, it is *in honor of the Lord* that he does not eat” (Rom 14:6)

In such a sentence, negation applies only within the topic element (“He does not eat”), whereas the overall nexus is affirmative (“It is in honor of the Lord that . . .”). Because this structure is rare, it cannot be easily investigated.

Rhetorical questions containing a negated topic element expect a negative reply. E.g. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{n}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\omega\rho\bar{\delta} \bar{\Delta}\epsilon \eta\eta\gamma \bar{\epsilon}\chi\bar{n}\text{-}\bar{n}\bar{\iota}\bar{m} \bar{\epsilon}\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{z}\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{o}\omicron\tau\text{-}\bar{q}$ Job 25:3 “And *upon whom* will there not come a snare from him?”

Further examples: $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omega\bar{z}\bar{m} \bar{z}\bar{n}\text{-}\lambda\gamma \bar{m}\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ Jer 3:2 (quoted in Besa, Frag. 35 [Kuhn 116:14–15]) “Where (In which place) have you not been defiled?”; $\varsigma\alpha\bar{z}\omega\omega\text{-}\kappa \bar{\beta}\epsilon \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \tau\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma \chi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\tau\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\eta\text{-}$ (i.e. $\chi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\bar{q}\text{-}$) $\epsilon\bar{\iota} \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau \epsilon\tau\bar{v}\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa \bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\eta \epsilon\bar{\iota}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\tau\bar{v}\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\bar{\theta}$ ApophPatr 192 (Chaine 49:34–50:1 = Z 323:2–4) “So depart and let me see whether it is *on account of you* that it did not come down; if not, then it is on account of me”; $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta \epsilon\tau\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\eta\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ (i.e. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\bar{q}\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$) $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau \epsilon\tau\bar{v}\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\bar{\kappa} \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{-}\chi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\varsigma\omicron\eta \omega\sigma\bar{m} \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\kappa$ ApophPatr 192 (Chaine 50:5–6 = Z 323:8) “Isn’t it *on account of you* that it did not come down, because the brother is annoyed at you”

They can question the veracity of the basic clause statement as a whole (“Is it that . . . ?”). E.g. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{m} \dots \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\text{-}\pi\bar{\iota}\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda \epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{m}\epsilon$ Rom 10:18–19 “Is it that *they did not hear*? . . . Is it that *Israel did not understand*?”

Further examples: $\mu\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{n}\text{-}\bar{\beta}\omicron\bar{m} \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\iota} \epsilon\text{-}\bar{\theta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{n}$ Isa 50:2 “Pray tell, is it that I do not have the ability to save you?”; $\mu\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\bar{m}\bar{n}\text{-}\tau\eta\tau\bar{n}\text{-}\bar{\theta}\eta\epsilon\bar{\iota} \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\gamma \epsilon\text{-}\bar{\theta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu \lambda\gamma\omega \epsilon\text{-}\bar{\theta}\varsigma\omega$ 1 Cor 11:22 “Pray tell, is it that you do not have houses to eat and drink in?” However, these examples could also be understood to express negation of a focal point 452 — “Did they not *hear*?”; “Do I not have *the ability*?”; “Do you not have *houses*?”

TERM IN EXTRAPOSITION

- 454 Any personal morph (or personal element of the possessive article) within the sentence pattern can be anticipated by a term in extraposition, that is, a term placed at the front of the sentence pattern (‘extraposed’) before the converter

Extraposited Term(s)	Sentence Pattern
	(contains a personal morph agreeing with the extraposition)
Anticipation	Resumption
Topic under discussion	Comment

$\lambda\gamma\omega \bar{n}\bar{\tau}\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma \bar{\iota} \epsilon\chi\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\phi\rho\alpha\eta\epsilon \epsilon\chi\omega\text{-}\kappa$
 “And for their part, they rejoice in You” (ShGué 161b:36)

and thus set off as a topic of thought. Extraposition and personal morph agree in (person)/number/(gender). The agreeing personal morph shows how the extraposed term relates to the sentence.

(a) 1st and 2d person morphs can only be preceded by an extraposed personal morph: namely, the personal independent.

$\lambda\eta\eta\eta\bar{\alpha} \bar{\Delta}\epsilon \bar{\iota} \epsilon\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\psi\tau \bar{m}\text{-}\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{q}$
 “But as for us, we worship *what we know*” (John 4:22)

(b) 3d person morphs can be preceded by either a personal independent or some other entity term.

ΝΤΟΟΥ | ΕΥ-ΖΙ-ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΤΜΝΤ-ΕΠΡΑ
“As for them, they are *altogether* formed out of vanity” (Ps 61[62]:9)

ΤΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ | ΕΣ-ΨΟΟΠ ΖΜ-ΠΩΜΑ ΕΤΒΕ-⁰ΜΟΟΨΕ
“As for the foot, it exists in the body *for walking*” (ShChass 54:19–22)

Also occurring in this position are inflected modifiers that agree with an element within the relative clause; e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΖΩ-⁰ ΕΙ-ΝΑ-ΤΑΜΙΕ-ΟΥΗΙ ΝΑ-Ι ΝΤΝΑΥ Gen 30:30 “Now then, also as for me, when shall I set up my house?”

- 455 An *extraposed subject* can be accompanied by its own *extraposed converter* (thus ΕΡΕ-... Ε=); rare. E.g. ΕΡΕ-ΝΝΟΒΕ ΓΑΡ Ν-ΝΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΜΝ-ΝΑ-Ν-ΕΤ⁰-ΟΥΩΨΤ ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ Ν-ΝΖΕΙΚΩΝ Ν-ΝΔΔΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ | ΕΥ-ΟΥΟΝΖ Ε-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ Ε-ΝΚΕΡΩΜΕ ΟΝ ShIII 209:13–15 “For the sins of the Greeks, and those of all people who worship images of demons, are plain not only to God but also to human beings.”

ADVERBIAL PREMODIFIER BEFORE THE CONVERTED SENTENCE PATTERN

- 456 An adverb or prepositional phrase (chapter 9)—as distinct from the focal point—can precede the converted sentence pattern, laying down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the converted clause is being asserted (i.e. under which the focalization is to be made).

Premodifier | Converted Sentence Pattern

ΕΤΒΕ-ΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΔΕ ΝΤ-ΑΥ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ | Ε-ΜΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΨΑΧΕ
Ε-⁰ΧΩ ΝΑ-Κ “As for the Gentiles who have believed, they have *nothing* to say to you” (Acts 21:25)

ΖΝ-ΤΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC ΔΕ | ΕC-ΝΑ-Ρ-⁰ΖΙΜΕ Ν-ΝΙΜ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ “In the resurrection, therefore, *whose* wife will she be?” (Luke 20:33)

Adverbial clauses 490 occur in this position with the same function; e.g. ΕΡΨΑΝ-ΠΕΧC ΕΙ | ΜΗ ΕQ-ΝΑ-Ρ-ΖΟΥΟ Ε-ΜΜΑΙΝ ΕΝΤ-Α-ΠΑΙ ΑΑ-Υ John 7:31 “When the Christ appears, will He do *more* than the signs that this Man has done?” Conjunctions and initial attitude markers (chapter 10) also occur in premodifier position.

THE FOCALIZING CLAUSE AS AN ENTITY STATEMENT

- 457 A focalizing clause functions as an entity statement 150, (i) after the prepositions ΜΝΝCΑ- (+ focalizing durative past) ‘after’ and ΧΙΝ- (+ focalizing durative present or past) ‘since’

ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν-ΒΑΛΕ ΧΙΝ-ΕQ-ΝΖΗΤ-C Ν-ΤΕQΜΑΑΥ “A man lame since he was in his mother’s womb” (Acts 3:2)

- (ii) expressing reported discourse after negative conjugation of the infinitive ΘΝ- var. ΘΝΝ- (cf. ΘΙΝΕ) ‘(not) find out that ...’ 516(iii); (iii) as an entity statement expanding the subject of a clause 486.

Examples: (i) ΜΝΝCΑ-ΝΤ-ΑΥ-ΝΟΥΧΕ Μ-ΠΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΤΠΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ-ΠΚΑΖ John Evangelist, Book of the Investiture of St. Michael Archangel 4 (Müller 14:7–8) “After the accuser had been cast from heaven”; ΧΙΝ-ΕΡΕ- ‘*already* ... *when*’: Q-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥΖ Μ-ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤ⁰-ΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΙΝ-ΕQ-ΖΝ-ΖΗΤ-C Ν-ΤΕQΜΑΑΥ Luke 1:15 “He will be already filled with the Holy Spirit when he is within his mother’s womb”; ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΑΨΑΧΕ ΕΝΤ-ΑΙ-ΧΟΟ-Υ ΝΗ-ΤΝ ΧΙΝ-ΕΙ-ΨΟΟΠ ΝΜΜΗ-ΤΝ Luke 24:44 “These are my words that I spoke to you while I was still with you”; ΧΙΝΤΑ-, for ΧΙΝ- + ΝΤ-Α-, ‘*since*’: ΧΙΝΤ-Α-ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΚΟΤΚ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ 2 Pet 3:4 “For ever since our ancestors fell asleep, all things have continued in this way”; ΜΠΙ-Ρ-ΖΟΥΟ Ε-ΜΝΤ-CΝΟΟΥC Ν-ΖΟΥΥ ΧΙΝΤ-ΑΙ-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-ΘΙΛΗΜ Ε-⁰ΟΥΩΨΤ Acts 24:11 “It is not more than (I have not spent more than) twelve days since I went up to Jerusalem to worship”; ΕΙC-Α-ΟΥΗΡ Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΧΙΝΤ-Α-ΠΑΕΙ ΤΑΖΟ-Q Mark 9:21 “About (Α- 68) how long has this afflicted him?”; (ii) Ν-Τ-ΘΝ-ΕΡΕ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-C ΑΝ ΧΕ-ΟΥ Mark 14:68 “I do not understand (ΘΝ- ... ΑΝ) what you are saying”; Ν-Q-ΝΑ-ΘΝ-ΕQ-ΝΑ-QΙ-ΝΕQΒΑΛ ΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ ShAmél I 118:1–2 “He will not find out (ΘΝ- ... ΑΝ) how he might lift up his eyes to God”; ΜΠΟΥ-ΘΝΝ-ΕΥ-ΝΑ-Ρ-ΟΥ ΝΑ-Q Luke 19:48 “They did not find out what to do (what they might do) to Him.” (In these attestations, the focalizing conversions contain an interrogative specifier and are affirmative durative.) The nominal sentence, which has no focalizing conversion, is directly suffixed to negative ΘΝ- in unconverted form; e.g. ΑΥΩ ΠΑΛΑΟC ΜΠΕQ-ΘΝ-ΑΝΤ-ΝΙΜ Isa 1:3 “My people has not known who I am”; (iii) ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΤΕ ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΟΥ-ΧΟΟ-C ΝΑ-Q ΧΕ-ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΚ-ΕΡΗΤ ΝΑ-Ν Ν-ΖΕΝΕΡΟΝΟC Severian of Gabala, Encomium on Saints Peter and Paul (Foat 93:18–19) “It is a wonder that they did not say to Him, Look, You promised us thrones”

EXTENSIONS OF THE FOCALIZING CONVERSION

- 458 The focalizing conversion can be extended (carried on) by another clause. Linkage by conjunction is optional, at least in (b), (c), and (d).

- (a) Focalizing Clause + ΑΥΩ Focalizing Extension

Examples: ΕΡΕ-ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΟΥΘΨQ ΝΟΥΗΡ ΑΥΩ ΕQ-ΤΑΚΗΥ ΕQ-ΒΗΛ ΕΒΟΛ CΧΕ-ΔΟΝ ΝΘΕ Ν-ΝΙΖΑΛΟΥC ShChass 119:45–50 “How much their hearts (*lit.* heart) are crushed and are ruined, being undone almost like spider webs!”; ΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ Η ΝΤ-ΑΝ-ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ-ΠΜΑ ΕΝΤ-ΑΝ-ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ-Q ΕΤΒΕ-ΠΑΙ ΕΤ⁰-ΜΜΑΥ ΧΕ-ΑQ-ΧΙΤ-Ν ΝΘΟΝC ShIII 134:16–19 “It is because of that man that we are going to leave, indeed, have left, the place from which we have come, because he abused us”

- (b) Focalizing Clause + (ΑΥΩ) Circumstantial Extension

Examples: Κ-ΝΑΥ ΧΕ-ΝΤ-ΑQ-CΝΤ-ΜΠΗΥΕ ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ ΝΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ ΖΜ-ΠΕQΛΟ-ΓΙCΜΟC ΑΥΩ Ε-ΑQ-Ρ-ΖΙΤΠΕ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ ShMing 288b:1–8 “You see how He established all the heavens by His reasoning and surpassed them all”; ΜΗ ΝΤ-ΑQ-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-ΤΠΕ ΝΘΙ-ΠΑΖΩΜ-Ο Ε-ΑQ-ΕΙΝΕ ΕΠΕCΗΤ Ν-ΝΕQΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΧΕΚΑC

ENE-CWTM EP-OY NTN-AA-Y ShIII 120:7-9 “Did Pachomius the Great go up into heaven and bring down his rules, so that we might hear them and do them?”; cf. also 423

(c) Focalizing Clause + (αγω) Unconverted Extension Clause

In this construction, one focalizing converter is expanded by two (or more clauses): Converter + (Clause + Clause). E.g. MH E-ΦAPE-ΠAZ-OY AN H ΦAPE-OCZ-OY ⁰ΠΟΒΕ ⁰ΠΟΒΕ H ⁰ΛΑΚΜ ⁰ΛΑΚΜ ShAmél I 108:9-10 “Isn’t it true that you tear them and slice them into fragments and pieces?”; NT-AN-OYAZ-N ΓAP AN NCΑ-ZENΦAXE E-AY-TBTWB-OY AN-OYWNZ NH-TN EBOL N-TBOM M-ΠENXOEIC IC ΠEXC MN-TEΓΠAPOYCIA 2 Pet 1:16 “For it was not that we followed cleverly devised myths and (thus) made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

(d) Focalizing Clause + (αγω) Conjunctive Extension Clause

Examples: (OYΠNΔ E-NAHOY-Q) EQΦAN-OYWNZ NA-Q EBOL E-ΦAQ-MEPIT-Q NTQ NZOYO AYW NQ-PAΦE EXW-Q | Q-COON ΓAP XE-EQ-T OYBH-Q AN ALLA EQ-POEIC AYW EQ-ZAPEZ E-⁰TM-ΠAZT-Q N-OYΔAIMONION AYW NQ-ΦWΠE ZΑ-TEZOYCIA N-OYΠNΔ [N-]X[AXE] ShIII 40:11-15 “If it (a good spirit) appears to him, he for his part loves it very much and rejoices over it. For he knows that it does not oppose him but rather keeps watch and prevents him from bowing down to a demon and coming to be under the authority of a [hostile] spirit”; EP-E-Π-E⁰-ΦAXE NMME-⁰ NA-KW AN N-ZENMATOI ZAPAT-Q NQ-KWΛYE N-N-E⁰-CWTΠ NA-Y M-ΠMOY NZOYO E-ΠWNZ ZPAI NZHT-E ShIII 188:20-22 “He who speaks to you is not going to put soldiers in his charge and stop those among you who are choosing death rather than life” (EP-E . . . NA- optative 339)

- (e) The infinitive in itself can be extended by conjunction + infinitive 231(ii): NT-A-ΠXOEIC ΓAP XOO-C AYW AA-N N-⁰MPWA E- ShIII 73:5-6 “For the Lord spoke and made us worthy for . . .”

When focalizing conversion with negated focalization nexus is extended, optionally a single AN occurs.

Examples: MH E-ΦAPE-ΠAZ-OY AN H ΦAPE-OCZ-OY ⁰ΠΟΒΕ ⁰ΠΟΒΕ H ⁰ΛΑΚΜ ⁰ΛΑΚΜ ShAmél I 108:9-10 “Isn’t it true that you tear them and slice them into fragments and pieces?”; E-NAIAT-Q ΓAP AN M-Π-E⁰-KAΘHKEI . . . OYTE E-NAIAT-OY N-N-ETOY-KAΘHTEI MMO-OY . . . ShOxford Clar.Pr.b.4 67r a:28-b:16 “For congratulations should not be offered to one who instructs . . . nor should congratulations be offered to those who are instructed . . .”

459 FOCALIZATION EXPRESSED BY THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL CONVERSION

Adverbial Focal Point | Circumstantial Clause

ETBE-PAI | E-N-Q-ΦWΠE AN E-⁰MOYTE EP-OY XE-NA CNHY
“It is for that reason that He is not ashamed to call them My brethren”
(Heb 2:11)

In this focalization pattern the focal point is an adverbial modifier or adverbial clause occurring in initial position, and the conversion is circumstantial. The identifying mark of the pattern, and signal of focalization, is the grammatical union of an adverbial modifier or clause with a following circumstantial conversion (affirmative or negative) to form a complete, main-clause sentence. Note that a nominal sentence in circumstantial conversion is eligible to function as topic element (ShAmél I 305:4-6, cited below). Only sentences containing an unambiguous circumstantial form (E-N-Q-ΦWΠE AN, E-N-Q-NA-NAY AN, E-MPATQ-BWA EBOL, E-AQ-ZOP-Q, E-YNOB AN PE ΠPOME, etc.) are cited below; but cf. also 460.

Negation of focalization nexus (“it is not . . . that . . .”): The indispensable signal of nexus negation is enclitic AN, which occurs before the circumstantial clause.

Further examples: NAΦ N-ZE Π-E⁰E-OYNTA-Q MMAX M-ΠCOON N-NEPAPH | E-N-Q-NA-NAY AN E-ΠAΓΓEΛOC AYW NQ-COYWN-Q ShP 130^{247v} (p. CKF) b:18-25 “How will the one who has knowledge of the Scriptures not surely see and recognize the angel?”; ETBE-NEHXWZM MN-NEHCWQ . . . | ΠXOEIC AYW ΠAΓΓEΛOC E-MPATQ-BWA EBOL NMMA-N ShAmél II 318:11-319:1 “It is because of our pollutions and our abominations . . . that the Lord, together with the angel, has not yet come to terms with us”; MEΦA-K ΓAP EQ-ΔOKIMAZE N-TECAPH | E-AQ-ZOP-Q EP-O-C ΠPOC-OYKOYI ShIII 56:17-18 “For perhaps it was by way of his testing her love that he hid himself from her for a while”; NAΦ N-ZE NZOYO | E-N-TAIAKONIA AN M-ΠEΠNΔ NA-ΦWΠE ZN-OYEOOY 2 Cor 3:8 “How will the dispensation of the Spirit not surely be all the more in splendor?”; AYW NAΦ N-ZE | E-YNOB AN PE ΠPOME EQ-TAINH EMATE ShAmél I 305:4-5 “And surely (How can it not be that) the human being is great and very glorious”; MH ETBE-TMNT-CTMHT AN | E-A-NAI XWK EBOL N-ZWB NIM E-NAHOY-Q || H ETBE-TMNT-AT-CWTM AN NTQ | E-A-NEIKOOYE XWK EBOL N-NINOB M-ΠEΘOY ShWess9 106a:7-17 “Pray, is it not through obedience that these accomplished every good thing, and is it not through disobedience that these others accomplished such great evils?”; MH ETBE-NIZBHYE PΩ AN ETN-ΠAACE MMO-OY ZM-ΠENZHT MMINMO-N AYW TMNT-PEQ-KA-ZTH-N EP-O-N MAYAT-N | E-AY-XOO-C NBI-NEΠPOFHNTIC ET⁰-OYAAV EY-MIΦE EY-XW MMO-C XE-BWK ZM-ΠOYOEIN M-ΠETNKWZT ShAmél I 219:7-10 “Pray, was it not precisely because of these deeds that we conceive in our own heart, and our self-isolation, that the holy prophets said, struggling as they spoke, Walk in the light of your fire?”; ZITN-OY Π-ENT-AQ-β-NAI THP-OY NA-Q N-⁰ZMZAΛ ΦANTOY-ΦWΠE N-⁰ENOXOC E-TOPH | E-AQ-β-⁰EBIHN ZIWA-Q NBI-ΠAAIMONION ET⁰-MMAQ ShWess9 86b:21-28 “How is it that this demon became impotent against Him, the One who created all these unto Himself as servants to the point that they became liable to the Anger?”; ZAZ N-COP ETBE-N-ET⁰-MMAQ | E-AI-XOO-C ShIII 145:25 “There were many times, concerning them, that I said . . .”

NEUTRALIZATION OF FOCALIZING VERSUS
CIRCUMSTANTIAL CONVERSION

- 460 Because some conversion forms such as εϕ-σωτη, εϕ-σωτη αν, ε-ψαϕ-σωτη, ε-υντα-ϕ, etc. do not by their appearance express a distinction between circumstantial *versus* focalizing, some of the examples cited as focalizing conversions, above and elsewhere in this book, such as

2μ-παρχων ν-νδαιμονιον | εϕ-νεχ-δαιμονιον εβολ “It is *by the prince of demons* that He casts out demons” (Mark 3:22)

2ιτν-ογ | ε-νααα-γ ε-νεγερη “How are some greater than others?” (ShChass 135:44-46)

ερψαν-τβαωρ αψκακ εβολ αν ... | ερε-πμογι τρρε “It is not *when a fox barks* ... that a lion is afraid” (ShChass 38:35-42)

could just as well be said to contain a circumstantial and assigned to the main-clause focalizing pattern consisting of | *Adverbial Focal Point + Circumstantial Clause* | 459. But it is even more accurate to say, from the viewpoint of decipherment, that the topic element of main-clause sentences in this form is neither distinctly focalizing nor distinctly circumstantial, but that such a distinction is here neutralized, i.e. not maintained:

Adverbial Focal Point + Neutralized Focalizing/Circumstantial Clause

provided that it is a complete main-clause sentence.

The Cleft Sentence

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THE FOCALIZING FUNCTION OF THE CLEFT SENTENCE

- 461 Like the conversions, the cleft sentence is a grammatical superstructure, which is formed upon some of the main-clause ‘basic’ sentence patterns (nexus patterns) described in part 2. For example,

Basic (non-durative past, chapter 15):

αγ-πλαςσε γαρ ν-ααα νωορη “Adam was formed first”

Cleft sentence (superstructure, built upon the basic form):

ααα γαρ πενη-αγ-πλαςσε μμο-ϕ νωορη “For it is *Adam* who was formed first” (1 Tim 2:13)

and

Basic (durative future, chapter 14):

κ-να-ωμωε να-ϕ μαγαα-ϕ “You shall serve Him alone”

(e.g. ... ΠΕ-ΕΝΤ- ... or ... ΠΕΝΤ- ...) signals that the information of the sentence can be understood as a cleft sentence. In Pattern 2, the sequence

Personal Independent + Relative Clause

(e.g. ΝΤΟΚ ΕΝΤ- ...) signals cleft sentence structure unambiguously.

464 Pattern 1 (endophoric πε and relative clause)

Entity Term + { ΠΕ-/ΤΕ-/ΝΕ- / Π(Ε)-/Τ(Ε)-/Ν(Ε)- + Relative Clause
focal point containing a resumptive morph

ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΤ⁰-ΖΑΤΝ-ΤΕΖΙΗ "It is *these* that are along the path" (Mark 4:15, textual var. ΝΕ-ΕΤ⁰-ΖΑΤΕ-)

ΤΕΚΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΕΝΤ-ΑΣ-ΝΑΖΜ-ΕΚ (i.e. ΤΕΚΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΕ-ΕΝΤ-ΑΣ-) "It is *your faith* that has made you well" (Luke 18:42)

ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ Ν-ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ-ΕΤΕ-ΜΕΡΕ-ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ ΜΜΟ-Q "Indeed, *what son* is it whose father does not discipline him?/Indeed, *what son* is it whom his father does not discipline?" (Heb 12:7)

This is the most frequent cleft sentence pattern. It consists of two units: a two-member, delocutive nominal sentence with endophoric 266 πε (ΝΑΙ ΝΕ, ΤΕΚΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΕ, ΝΙΜ Ν-ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ) plus a relative clause containing a resumptive morph (ΕΤ⁰-ΖΑΤΝ-ΤΕΖΙΗ, ΕΝΤ-ΑΣ-ΝΑΖΜ-ΕΚ, ΕΤΕ-ΜΕΡΕ-ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ ΜΜΟ-Q).

Nominal	Sentence		Relative Clause
ΝΑΙ ΔΕ	ΝΕ-	←→	-ΕΤ ⁰ ΖΑΤΝ-ΤΕΖΙΗ
predicate	endophoric subject	grammatical union	converter clause elements
focal point		focalization signal	topic element

The morph πε/τε/νε unites with the relative converter to form a bound group, usually eliding with the initial ε of the converter (ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΤ- = ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕ-ΕΤ-).

Focal point: any entity term

Topic element: any relative clause, either affirmative or negative, except the relative of a nominal sentence; contains resumptive morph. (Attested are durative with def. or non-def. subject, past tense, aorist, optative negative, οὐντε-/(ν)μντε-, and the preterit conversion.)

Nexus morph: endophoric 266 πε/τε/νε or π(ε)/τ(ε)/ν(ε) agreeing in number/(gender) with the focal point, "It is ..."; or invariable πε or π(ε), endophoric

Negation of cleft sentence nexus: the indispensable signal of negation is enclitic αν, which occurs before πε. If negative ν- is present it is prefixed to the focal point. E.g. ν-ανοκ αν πετq-να-ωπ-τ̄ (i.e. πε-ετq-) ερο-q Mark 9:37 "It is not *Me* that he will receive."

αν, which tends to come early in the sentence, can occur in the midst of the elements that make up the focal point: ν-π-ετ⁰-βηκ αν ερουν ε-τταπρο ν-πρωμε πετ⁰-σωωq ν-πρωμε Matt 15:11 "It is not *what goes into the mouth of a person* that defiles the person."

Elision: Final ε of πε/(τε/νε) usually elides with initial ε of the relative converter (thus τεnt for τε-εντ-), so that ε is written for εε 24(a). E.g. ΤΕΚΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΕΝΤ-ΑΣ-ΝΑΖΜ-ΕΚ, variant of ΤΕΚΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΕ-ΕΝΤ-ΑΣ-ΝΑΖΜ-ΕΚ.

Elided (usual)	Unelided
ΠΕΤΕ-, ΠΕΤΕΡΕ-, ΠΕΤε, ΠΕΤ-	ΠΕ-ΕΤΕ-, ΠΕ-ΕΤΕΡΕ-, ΠΕ-ΕΤε, ΠΕ-ΕΤ
ΠΕ-ΩΑ-	ΠΕ-Ε-ΩΑ-
ΠΕΝΤ-Α-	ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α- or ΠΕ-ΕΝΤ-Α-
etc.	etc.

Ambiguities: (i) Graphically, the elided forms (ΠΕΤΕ- = ΠΕ-ΕΤΕ- etc.) are identical with the articulated attributive clause (ΠΕΤΕ- etc. "The one who ... " 411). Thus taken out of context πχοεις πετμοone μμοi Ps 22(23):1 means both "It is *the Lord* who shepherds me" (cleft sentence) and "The Lord, who shepherds me, ... " (appositive attributive). (ii) The articulated attributive clause (an entity term) is eligible to occur as the focal point of a cleft sentence with elision, producing an ambiguous sentence such as πετ⁰σοοyn μμοq πετ⁰χω μμοq (i.e. ΠΕΤ⁰-σοοyn μμο-q ΠΕ-ΕΤ⁰-χω μμο-q) John 3:11 "It is *what we know* that we speak of"; πετqογαωq πενταqααq ζν-ζντ-ε m-μαρια (i.e. ΠΕΤq-ογαω-q ΠΕ-ΕΝΤ-αq-αα-q ...) ShLefort 42:21 "It is *that which He wanted* that He made in Mary's womb" (i.e. In Mary's womb, He made what He wanted to make).

Further examples. *Variable πε/τε/νε:* ν-πσωμα αν ετ⁰-να-ωωπε πε-ωακ-χο-q (i.e. ΠΕ-Ε-ωακ-) 1 Cor 15:37 "It is not *the future body* that you sow"; ιc πε-ντ-αq-ταλβο-i John 5:15 "It is *Jesus* who healed me"; ογματοy ν-ροq τετ⁰-ζα-νευcποτοy Rom 3:13 "The *venom of asps* is under their lips"; ντος on τεκκλнcia τετοy-ωαχε ερο-с хе-πχοεις ζν-τεcmнte ShChass 147:35-40 "Moreover, it is *she—the church*—about whom it is said, The Lord is in her midst"; τοyπicтic τε-ντ-ас-наzm-ε Mark 5:34 "Your *faith* has made you well (It is *your faith* that has saved you)"; нτωтн гаp нетере-пωахе хω μμο-с еρω-тн ShIII 48:18-19 "For it is *you* against whom the saying is directed"; οy ν-κατηγοria πετεтн-ine μμο-q εροyn ε-πεйρωme John 18:29 "What accusation do you bring against this Man?"; εie-νim πετε-yn-⁰бom μμο-q ε-⁰ωνz Matt 19:25 "Then *who* can live?"; нim πετε-неq (optative neg.) -p-⁰zote ζнт-к пхc Rev 15:4 "Who shall not fear You, O Lord?" тis ce oδ μн φοβηθн κύpиe; αω гаp πεт⁰-moтн Matt 9:5 "For, *which* is easier?"; ζαz гаp нет⁰-таzm | ζенkoγi де нет⁰-coтп Matt 22:14 "For *many* are called, but *few* are chosen"; тoγ ν-бimбωp нент-ак-таа-γ на-i Matt 25:20 "You delivered to me *five talents* (It is *five talents* that you delivered to me)"; наi нетq-хω μμο-οy нбi-пωнpe м-ппоyте Rev

2:18 "It is the following things that the Son of God says"; οὐα εβολ νζнт-тнγтн πετ^θ-να-παρалаιου μο-ι Matt 26:21 "One of you will betray me"; н-ογον ним ан нент-ау-еи εβολ ζн-κнме зитн-мωψснс Heb 3:16 "Was it not all who came out of Egypt under the leadership of Moses?"; εἶε-εωωπε οὐπνα н οὐαγγελος πε-ент-αφ-ωαχε нма-φ Acts 23:9 "What if a spirit or an angel spoke to him?"; н-сарз ан зι-снoφ пент-αφ-белп-пαι на-к εβολ Matt 16:17 "Flesh and blood has not revealed this to you (It is not flesh and blood that has revealed this to you)"; нтоκ петк-зω μο-с John 18:37 "You say" (textual var. нтоκ пет^θ-зω мо-с); ерψан-п-ет^θ-ωωχε хро н-ογсоп н-ογωт оу-κлом н-ογωт пе-ωαф-хит-φ (collated) ShAmél I 392:14-15 "If a wrestler is victorious in one bout, it is a single crown that he wins"

Invariable пе: τбom нте-п-ет^θ-хосе пет^θ-на-р-θζαῖβес еро-^θ Luke 1:35 "It is the power of the Most High that will overshadow you"; нтос гар пе-е-нес-моone н-несооу м-песiωт Gen 29:6 "For it was she who was tending the sheep of her father"; нтωтн гар ан пет^θ-ωαχε (with textual var. нет^θ-ωαχε) Mark 13:11 "For it is not you who speak"; анон ан пент-ан-мере-пноуτε | алаа нтоφ пент-αφ-мерит-н 1 John 4:10 "It is not we who loved God; rather, it is He who loved us"

Conversions: (i) relative (ετε-); (ii) circumstantial (ε-); (iii) preterit (νε-).
Double conversion: (iv) circumstantial of preterit (ε-νε-).

Examples: (i) талеiθa κουμ ете-пαι пе-ωαу-οуαζм-εφ хе-тψеере ψнм ... Mark 5:41 "Talitha cum, which means (which is translated as the following), Little girl, ..."; нөө он ете-амнте пет^θ-на-κληρονομει н-нет^θ-на-моу зрай ζн-νεγнove ShAmél I 232:12-13 "Just as it is hell that will inherit those who die in their sins"; τσοφια м-пноуτε ... тαι етере-ταικαιосυνн ннυ εβολ нзнт-с азω оуеооу мн-оуmnt-рmmaо нет^θ-зiоуnam азω зiзβοур ммо-с ShIII 14:3-6 "God's wisdom ... from which justice proceeds and which is such that it is glory and wealth that are at her right and left"; (ii) аз-вωк он е-теφχαρις тет^θ-р-змме ммо-оу ShIII 87:4-5 "They also receded, for it was His grace that guided them"; ннеу-εψ-χι-οуζнаау е-οуом-φ нтоот-оу н-н-ет^θ-διακoneи е-н-анок ан пент-аи-таа-φ на-γ ShIV 113:16-18 "They shall not be able to receive anything to eat from the servers, without it being me who has given it to them"; мпр-р-ωпнре м-птмзо ... зωс е-γζωв н-врре пет^θ-тазо ммω-тн 1 Pet 4:12 "Do not be surprised at the burning ... as though it were something new that were happening to you"; (iii) не-пαι гар пет^θ-на-παρалаιου ммо-φ John 6:71 (textual var.) "For he was going to betray Him"; ζαөн мпатоу-(i.e. е-мпатоу-) снт-тпе мн-пκαζ не-оу пет^θ-ωооп ShOrig 814 (Orlandi 60:40-41) "What existed before heaven and earth were created?"; (iv) е-не-оуχι нбонс н оуζωв еφ-зооу пент-αφ-ωωπε ω нioγaλi νεi-на-ανεχε пе ммω-тн еγлог-ωс Acts 18:14 "If it were a matter of wrongdoing or vicious crime that had occurred, I should have reason to bear with you, O Jews"; н е-не-οуψγχη ан н-ζωон тет^θ-нзнт-оу неу-на-ωψ εβολ ан пе хе- ... ShIII 220:7-8 "So, if it were not a living soul that resided within them, they would not cry out saying ..."

465 Pattern 1a (presentative пе and relative clause)

Indef. Entity Term + пе-/τε-/νε- + Relative Clause (containing a resumptive morph)

οὐρωме н-рmmaо пент-αφ-тωбе н-ουμα н-ελοοε "There once was a rich man who planted a vineyard" (Matt 21:33)

In form this subpattern is a cleft sentence (Pattern 1), but its information structure is like the existential sentence predicatively expanded by a circumstantial clause 480: here пе expresses introduces a new person or thing, and its situation, into the story line. Like Pattern 3a below 471, this subpattern often is a narrative formula at the beginning of a parable, tale, etc. (English equivalent, *Once upon a time there was a ... who ...*; *There once was a ... who ...*). For other expressions of existence and predicative expansion, cf. 471, 482.

Focal point: indefinite article phrases and pronouns

Topic element: relative clause of present, past, and preterit; contains resumptive morph

Nexus morph: пе-/τε-/νε-

Negation of cleft sentence nexus: none?

Conversions: none?

Further examples: οὐρωме петε-οунт-φ-ωнре снау Luke 15:11 "There once was a man who had two sons"; οὐρωме пе-не-γнта-φ нмау н-ωнре снау Matt 21:28 "There once was a man who had two sons"; οὐρωме р-рmmaо пе-нт-α-теφχωра оуωωε Luke 12:16 "There once was a rich man whose land brought forth plentifully"; ρωме снау нент-αу-вωк езраї е-перпе е-ωαηλ Luke 18:10 "There once were two men who went up into the temple to pray"; кега петк-ωаат ммо-φ Luke 18:22 "There is one thing that you still lack"; зенкооуе нент-αу-хо-оу езраї е-нwonте Mark 4:18 "There were others that were sown among thorns"; етi ке-коуї н-οуοiψ пеτ-ωооп нмн-тн John 7:33 "There is a little while longer that I shall be with you" (no resumptive morph after a focal point expressing time 'in which' 407); зенсоп соп нетоу-таμιδ ммо-оу ShYoung No.8 сκκ:36-38 "There are various times 62(d) when they are prepared"

466 Pattern 1a at the beginning of epistles. Salutation formulas (based on the verb сζαῖ 'write') at the beginning of literary epistles can have the form of (perhaps) Pattern 1a, in which the function of пе is more indicating ('here is ...') 476, like εic, than existential or focalizing.

Examples: сiноуθiос πiελαχιςтос пет^θ-сζαῖ (i.e. пе-ет^θ-) м-πεφμεrit н-еiωт н-εеоφiεcтaтoс азω м-макарiωтaтoс апа-тiмoθeоc παρχ-ιεpиcкoπoс | зм-пxоeиc χaиpe ShMun 95:6-13 "The most humble Shenoute, to his dear father Archbishop Apa Timothy beloved by God and most blessed: greetings in

the Lord"; $\omega\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\varsigma\alpha\iota\ \bar{\nu}\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\mu$ ShIII 21:6 "Shenoute, to Tahom"; $\bar{\nu}\eta\varsigma\alpha\ \pi\iota\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\varsigma\alpha\iota\ \bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\ \bar{\nu}\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Besa, Frag. 28 (Kuhn 91:7) "The most humble Besa, to his beloved brother Matthew"

467 *Extension of Pattern 1* has the form of nominal sentence Pattern 12 (284); e.g.

$\bar{\iota}\varsigma\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\ \pi\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\ |\ \bar{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon$ "It was not Jesus who baptized; rather, it was his disciples who were doing so (i.e. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon$)" (John 4:2)

where $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon$ represents $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\varsigma}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon$. For further examples, cf. 284.

468 *Pattern 2 (relative clause without $\pi\epsilon$)*

Personal Independent + $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - (or $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}$)
focal point

$\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\kappa\text{-}\tau\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omicron\text{-}\bar{\iota}$ "Thou hast sent Me (It is *You* who have sent Me)" (John 17:21)

$\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ "It is *you* who say it" (Matt 27:11)

This pattern does not contain $\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\bar{\nu}\epsilon$. Focal point and topic element are not bound to one another, i.e. they can be interrupted by another, autonomous element 28 ($\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}$ ShAmél I 104:11–12 "For, it is *you* who know").

Focal point: only personal independents ($\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa$ etc.)

Topic element: relative clause, only $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - and $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}$; contains resumptive morph

Nexus morph: none

Pattern recognition: since personal independents are *not* eligible to be the antecedent of a relative clause, any grammatical union of

Personal Independent + *Relative Converter*
e.g. $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\text{-}$

unambiguously signals this pattern.

Negation of Cleft Sentence Nexus: the indispensable signal of negation is enclitic $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$, which occurs before the relative converter.

Conversions: none

Further examples. *Affirmative*: $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\alpha\text{-}\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omega\text{-}\tau\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda\gamma\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$ John 5:45 "It is *I* who shall accuse you to the Father"; $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\theta\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ Ps 68(69):19 "For *Thou* knowest my reproach (It is *You* who know my

reproach"); $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\rho\omega\omega\epsilon$ ShIV 98:24 "It is *they* who are responsible"; $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\alpha\text{-}\kappa\omicron\tau\text{-}\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\gamma\text{-}\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\text{-}\bar{\nu}$ ShIV 74:25, cf. Ps 84(85):6 "It is *You* who will turn and revive us"; $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\nu}\alpha\text{-}\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda\gamma\bar{\mu}\text{-}\epsilon\tau\ \epsilon\text{-}\tau\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\chi\ \bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\phi\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 1 Sam 17:37 "He will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine"; *negative*: $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\text{-}\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\gamma\bar{\iota}\ \gamma\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \tau\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\gamma\bar{\iota}\ \gamma\bar{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\kappa$ Rom 11:18 "Since you do boast, remember it is not *you* that support the root, but it is the root that supports you"; $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\text{-}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\tau\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\omega\gamma\bar{\varsigma}\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}$ John 4:35 "Is it not *you yourselves* who say, There are yet four months, then comes the harvest?"

PATTERNS FORMED WITH $\pi\epsilon$ AND A CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSE

469 Patterns 3 and 3a are minor patterns, which occur more rarely. The *topic element* (or in Pattern 3a, predicative expansion) is a circumstantial clause

Basic: $\gamma\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\gamma$ "He lives as an anchorite alone"

Cleft: $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ "It was *he alone* who lived as an anchorite" (ApophPatr 181 [Chaine 43:21–22]; fuller citation below 470)

containing a resumptive morph 404, which agrees with the focal point in number/(gender) ($\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\ \dots\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\bar{\iota}$).

470 *Pattern 3 (endophoric $\pi\epsilon$ and circumstantial clause)*

Personal Independent
Interrogative Specifier } + $\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ + *Circumstantial Clause*
 $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}/\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}/\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$
focal point containing a resumptive morph

$\bar{\nu}\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \gamma\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\bar{\mu}\alpha\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ "It was *he alone* who was living as an anchorite in that place" (ApophPatr 181 [Chaine 43:21–22]; fuller citation below)

This pattern consists of two units: a two-member, delocutive nominal sentence with endophoric 266 $\pi\epsilon$ ($\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\gamma\ \pi\epsilon$) plus a circumstantial clause ($\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\bar{\iota}$). Focal point and topic element are not bound to one another, i.e. they can be interrupted by another, autonomous element.

Focal point: restricted to personal independents, interrogative specifiers and the nearer demonstrative pronoun ($\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$)

Topic element: circumstantial clause, either affirmative or negative; contains resumptive morph

Nexus morph: endophoric 266 $\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\bar{\nu}\epsilon$, agreeing in number/(gender) with the focal point, "It is . . ." (and invariable $\pi\epsilon$?)

The extraposed element is represented within the cleft sentence pattern by a cross-referring personal dependent, which agrees with the extraposition in number/(gender). Thus in the example above, the personal element -εκ- (of τεκπρνοια) agrees with $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa$.

- (b) *Extraposition, before the cleft sentence, of an element belonging to the topic element.* A personal morph within the topic element can be preceded by a term in extraposition before the cleft sentence pattern.

Extraposed Term | Cleft Sentence Pattern

$\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\eta\ \bar{\eta}\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\iota\ |\ \zeta\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\ \eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}\alpha\iota\tau\iota\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$
 “For, as for the Jews—it is signs that they demand” (1 Cor 1:22)

Thus in the example above, -ογ- agrees with $\bar{\eta}\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\iota$.

Further examples: $\eta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\ |\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \tau\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\alpha\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ Matt 20:12 “As for these last, it is *only one hour* that they spent”; $\eta\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma\ |\ \pi\iota\pi\eta\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ 1 Cor 12:11 “All these are inspired by *one and the same Spirit* (As for all these, it is *one and the same Spirit* that inspires them); $\eta\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \tau\eta\rho\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ |\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\theta\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ Luke 12:30 “For, as for all these things, it is *the nations of the world* that seek them”; $\alpha\eta\omicron\eta\ |\ \omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\omega\omicron\omicron\pi\ \eta\alpha\text{-}\eta$ 1 Cor 8:6 “As for us, there is a single God who exists for us”; $\pi\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\ |\ \eta\iota\mu\ \pi\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ Ps 60(61):7 “As for his mercy and truth, *who* will seek them out?”

ADVERBIAL PREMODIFIER AND POSTPONED SUBJECT

- 473 An *adverbial premodifier* (or adverbial clause 490) can precede the topic element, laying down a circumstance or relationship of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the topic element is being asserted. It occurs either before the entire cleft sentence pattern

$\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\zeta\rho\bar{\eta}\text{-}\eta\alpha\iota\ |\ \eta\iota\mu\ \pi\epsilon\tau^{\theta}\text{-}\bar{\mu}\pi\omega\alpha$ “When it comes to these things, *who* is sufficient?” (2 Cor 2:16)

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\text{-}\epsilon\iota\ |\ \eta\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon\tau\text{-}\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ “As my Father taught me, it is *this* that I say” (John 8:28)

or before the topic element but located within the cleft sentence pattern

$\eta\iota\mu\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\iota\text{-}\bar{\theta}\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\omega\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta\text{-}\bar{\theta}\delta\omicron\mu\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\text{-}\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}\bar{\theta}\gamma\epsilon\zeta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\eta$ “Which of you, by being anxious, can add a cubit to his stature?” (Luke 12:25)

Postponed subject. Likewise, a 3d person subject (η , ς , $\varsigma\epsilon/\gamma$) in the topic element can be expanded by an entity term later in the clause, mediated by $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota$ —87(b). E.g. $\eta\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\text{-}\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\delta\iota\text{-}\pi\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ Rev 2:18 “It is the following things that the Son of God says.”

CLEFT SENTENCE VERSUS NOMINAL SENTENCE

- 474 A cleft sentence such as

(a) $\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\eta\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ (i.e. $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\eta\text{-}$, cleft sentence) “For, it was not *David* who ascended into the heavens” (Acts 2:34, Chester Beatty manuscript ed. Thompson)

differs significantly in syntax and meaning from a nominal sentence such as

(b) $\bar{\eta}\text{-}\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\eta\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ (nominal sentence) “For, David is not the one who ascended into the heavens” and “For, the one who ascended into the heavens is not David” (Acts 2:34, British Library MS Or.7594 ed. Budge)

Both (a) and (b) are special (marked) presentations of the information $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta\ \beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ “David did not ascend into the heavens.” The cleft sentence (a) is a focalizing presentation, while the nominal sentence (b) is not focalizing. The distinguishing features of (a) and (b) are given in table 26.

TABLE 26
DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF EXAMPLES (a) AND (b)

	CLEFT SENTENCE (a)	NOMINAL SENTENCE (b)
Minimum number of bound groups	Two	Three
Focalization	Present	Absent
Articulated attributive 411	None	Third component of the pattern
Nexus arrangement	Focal Point + Topic	Subject + Predicate <i>or</i> Predicate + Subject
Location of focal point/predicate	Known (first item)	Ambiguous: depends on interpretation
Reference status of $\pi\epsilon$	Endophoric	Ambiguous: anaphoric or cataphoric
Correlate of resumptive morph	$\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta$	$\pi\text{-}(\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-})$
Translation	<i>It is X who Y</i>	<i>X is the one who Y, and The one who Y is X</i>

NEGATIVE RHETORICAL QUESTIONS FORMULATED AS A CLEFT SENTENCE

- 475 (a) *With negated cleft sentence nexus* a rhetorical question presupposes ‘Yes’ in reply. It is often (optionally) preceded by the initial attitude marker $\mu\eta$ ‘pray tell’.

Examples: $\mu\eta\ \bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\alpha\iota\ \alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{-}\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}\bar{\theta}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau\text{-}\bar{\eta}$ John 7:25 “Is it not *this Man* whom they seek to kill?”; $\mu\eta\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\eta\ \tau\epsilon\text{-}\omega\alpha\gamma\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\text{-}\varsigma$

ⲭⲉ-ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛⲁⲙ Matt 13:55 “Is it not *His mother* who is called Mary?”; ⲙⲏ ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
 ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁⲓ-ⲥⲉⲧⲡ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲙ-ⲡⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ John 6:70 (Morgan M569) “Is it
 not *I* who chose you to be the Twelve?”; ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁⲩ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
 ⲓⲛ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲓⲩⲧⲛ-ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ Heb 3:16 “Was it not *all* who came out of Egypt under the
 leadership of Moses?”; ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧ⁰-ⲭⲱ ⲛⲙⲟ-ⲥ ⲭⲉ-... John 4:35 “Is it not
you yourselves who say ...?”

- (b) *With negated topic element* (and affirmative cleft sentence nexus) a rhetorical question often presupposes a negative reply: ‘Nothing’, ‘No one’, etc.

Examples: ⲟⲩ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲓ-⁰ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛⲧ-ⲓⲁⲛ ShChass
 115:9–12 “For *what* is there in which the Lord God is not glorified?”; ⲛⲓⲙ ⲓⲁⲣ
 ⲛ-ⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲩⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲟ-ⲓ Heb 12:7 “For *what son* is
 there whom his father does not discipline?”

Sentences of Existence and Indication Formed with ⲟⲩⲛ- and ⲉⲓⲥ-

The Nature of the Coptic Existential-Indicating Sentence 476

The Functions of ⲟⲩⲛ- and ⲉⲓⲥ- 476

Syntactic Comparison of ⲟⲩⲛ- and ⲉⲓⲥ- 477

Sentence Patterns 478

Pattern 1 ⲟⲩⲛ-⁰ⲙⲁ and ⲉⲓⲥ-ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲣⲣⲟ 478

Predicative Expansions of the Basic Pattern 479

Pattern 2 ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲡⲉⲭⲥ | ⲛⲓⲛⲧ-⁰ 479

Pattern 3 ⲙⲛ-⁰ⲓⲙⲓⲁⲗ | ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲗⲗ-ⲓ ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲩⲉⲓⲥ 480

Multiple expansions of Pattern 1 481

Pattern 3a ⲓⲁⲣ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ | ⲉ-ⲁⲛ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ 482

Pattern 4 ⲙⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ | ⲭⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧⲓⲥ-ⲱⲙⲥ 483

Pattern 5 ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲓⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ | ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ
 ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲓⲛ-ⲓⲛⲥⲙⲟⲧ 484

ⲉⲓⲥ- Indicating Time or Measure 485

THE NATURE OF THE COPTIC EXISTENTIAL- INDICATING SENTENCE

THE FUNCTIONS OF ⲟⲩⲛ- AND ⲉⲓⲥ-

- 476 The sentence patterns described in this chapter (except Pattern 3a) begin with the prenominal **30** morphs ⲟⲩⲛ- ‘there is’ (negative ⲙⲛ-) or ⲉⲓⲥ- ‘behold’, completed by an entity term.

ⲟⲩⲛ-: vars. ⲟⲩⲛ-, ⲩⲛ-, ⲩⲛ-

ⲙⲛ-: vars. ⲙⲙⲛ-, ⲙⲙⲛ-

After converters, ⲟⲩⲛ- or ⲟⲩⲛ- is often written ⲩⲛ- or ⲩⲛ-, and ⲙⲙⲛ- is often written ⲙⲙⲛ- (without its first superlinear stroke): e.g. ⲉ-ⲩⲛ-, ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲙⲛ- (more rarely ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛ-), etc.

ⲟⲩⲛ-⁰ⲁⲓⲣⲉⲗⲟⲥ “Angels exist” (Acts 23:8)

ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲩ “An hour is coming” (John 4:21)

ⲙⲛ-⁰ⲓⲙⲓⲁⲗ ⲉⲩ-ⲭⲟⲥⲉ ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲩⲉⲓⲥ “There is no servant who is above his master” (Matt 10:24)

ΕΙC-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕQ-ΜΕZ Ν-CΩΒΑZ “Lo, there was a man full of leprosy” (Luke 5:12)

ΜΝ-ΟΥΑ Ν-ΟΥΩΤ ΧΕ-ΜΠQ-ΩΜC “There is not a single one that did not sink” (ShWess9 87a:30-32)

ΟΥΝ-ΖΟΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΖΝ-ΝΕQΕCΟΟΥ CΕ-ΝΑ-ΩΩΠΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΝ-ΖΕΝCΜΟΤ Ε-Ν-Q-ΟΥΑΩ-ΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ “There are some of his sheep that will then assume characteristics that he does not like in them” (ShChass 204:30-35)

Pattern 3a (without ΟΥΝ- or ΕΙC-):

ΖΑZ ΜΕΝ Ν-ΦΑΧΕ Ε-ΑΝ-ΧΟΟ-Υ “There are many words that we have spoken” (ShLefort 42:25)

ΕΙC- and ΟΥΝ- express a spectrum of meaning, which ranges from pure ‘indication’ (deixis, demonstration, pointing, *here is*, and in traditional narrative style *lo*) to ‘existence’ or ‘presentation’ accompanied by mild indication (. . . *exists, there once was . . . , . . . is here*). Generally, ΕΙC- expresses indication and ΟΥΝ- expresses existence. ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ- can form questions as well as affirmations, while ΕΙC- cannot.

ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΖΕΝΩΟC ΔΕ ΖΝ-ΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΕΤ^θ-ΜΜΑΥ “And in that region there were shepherds” (Luke 2:8)

ΕΙC-ΠΕΧC ΠΕΡΙΕΙΒ Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ “Behold the Christ, the Lamb of God” (John 1:36)

ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΙC-ΟΥCΒΩ Β-ΒΡΡΕ “What is this? A new teaching!” (Mark 1:27)

ΟΥΝ-ΖΕΝΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟC Ι ΜΑΡΟΥ-CΜΜΕ ΝΑ-Υ “There are proconsuls; let them appeal to them!” (Acts 19:38)

ΕΙC-ΠΑ-ΤΩΕΛΕΕΤ “Behold, the bridegroom!” (Matt 25:6)

ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΖΕΝΟΥΕΙΕΝΙΝ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-Ν-ΕΤ^θ-ΒΗΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-ΟΥΩΩΤ Μ-ΠΩ “Now among those who went up to worship at the feast there were some Greeks” (John 12:20)

ΜΝ-^θΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ-ΟΥΑ “There is no God but one” (1 Cor 8:4)

ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΙC-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ε-ΩΑΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ-Q ΧΕ-ΖΑΚΧΑΙΟC “And there was a man named Zacchaeus” (Luke 19:2)

ΕΩΧΕ-ΟΥΝ-^θCΩΜΑ Μ-ΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ ΟΥΝ-^θCΩΜΑ ΟΝ Μ-ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ “If there is a physical body, there is also a spiritual body” (1 Cor 15:44)

ΜΝ-^θΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΛΑΑΥ Ι ΜΝ-ΟΥΑ “There is not any righteous person, there is not one such” (Rom 3:10)

For ΕΙC- prefixed to entity terms of time or measure, cf. 485.

In function, ΟΥΝ- and ΕΙC- bring an entity term to the attention of the reader/listener and make it an actual part of current discourse as an ‘existent’ or

‘indicated’ item. (Similar function can be exercised e.g. by French *voici, voilà*, Italian *ecco*.) ΟΥΝ-/ΕΙC- is an essential element in one of the durative sentence patterns 322, where its occurrence is conditioned by the non-definite status of the subject; cf. 479.

ΕΙC- means ‘here is . . .’ only in the sense of indication; thus it can co-occur with the lexically explicit expression of being-in-a-place, such as ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ‘right here, in this place’; e.g. ΕΙC-ΠΕΧC ΜΠΕΙΜΑ Η Μ-ΠΑΙ Matt 24:23 “Christ is right here! Or, Over there!”; ΕΙC-ΠΤΑΟC ΜΜΑΥ ΜΝ-ΤΕCΜΟΥΝΕ ShIII 45:3 “Look, there is a peacock over there! and a goose!” ΕΙC- can also be preceded by the indicating interjection ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ‘Lo!, Behold!, Listen!’ 245. At the other end of the semantic spectrum, the fact of existing is lexically expressed by the verb ΩΩΠΕ, ΩΟΟΠ ‘exist’.

SYNTACTIC COMPARISON OF ΟΥΝ- AND ΕΙC-

ΟΥΝ- and ΕΙC- differ in their patterning and syntactic compatibilities, as table 27 displays.

Negation. (a) ΟΥΝ-: substitution of (Μ)ΜΝ- 250 for ΟΥΝ-; (b) ΕΙC-: none

TABLE 27
SYNTACTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ΟΥΝ- AND ΕΙC-

	NEGATABLE	DEFINITE SUBJECTS EXCLUDED	ΑΝΟΚ ELIGIBLE TO BE SUBJECT	CONVERTIBLE	TIME REFERENCE EXPRESSED
(a) ΟΥΝ-	ΜΝ-	x ¹	.....	x	x
(b) ΕΙC-	.....	(In Pattern 3?)	In Pattern 1	.....	.....

¹See below, *Subjects*

Subjects. (a) After ΟΥΝ-: non-def. article phrases and pronouns; ΖΑZ, ΟΥΗΡ, ΛΑΑΥ, and cardinal numbers without article; the articulated attributive clause Π-ΕΤ^θ 411 “The one who, Whoever”; and (only in Pattern 1) ΘΕ Ν- (+ ^θinfinitive) “A way of (doing so-and-so)”; personal forms are excluded. (b) After ΕΙC-: entity terms (though Pattern 3 is perhaps limited to non-def. subjects); the personal independent occurs (perhaps limited to Pattern 1; 1st sing. is attested).

Conversions. (a) ΟΥΝ-: relative (ΕΤΕ-), circumstantial (Ε-), preterit (ΝΕ-), and focalizing (Ε-); (b) ΕΙC-: none

Tense. (a) ΟΥΝ-: basic patterns express present tense, and contrast only with preterit past ΝΕ-ΥΝ-; (b) ΕΙC- is tenseless. For the overall Coptic *tense system*, cf. chapter 25.

SENTENCE PATTERNS

478 Pattern 1 (ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ- and ΕΙC-): The basic pattern

- (a) ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ- + *Existent/Indicated Entity*
 (b) ΕΙC- + *Indicated/Existent Entity*
 (a) ΑΓΩ ΟΝ ΟΥΝ-⁰ΜΑ “And still there is room” (Luke 14:22)
 (b) ΕΙC-ΠΕΤΝ̄ΡΡΟ “Here is your king” (John 19:14)

The existent or indicated item is often expanded by a modifying phrase or clause.

ΟΥΝ-⁰CΩΜΑ ΟΝ Μ-ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ “There is also a spiritual body” (1 Cor 15:44)

ΕΙC-ΟΥΜΝΤ-ΧΑΧΕ Ε-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΜΕ “Here, truly, is hostility against God!” (ShIII 75:7)

But expansion by an attributive circumstantial clause is described under Pattern 3 (480), e.g. ΜΝ-⁰ΖΜ̄ΖΑΛ Ι Ε-ΝΑΛΛ-Q Ε-ΠΕQΧΟΕΙC John 15:20 “There is no servant who is greater than his master.”

In traditional narrative, a new character is often introduced (or given renewed vividness) by ΕΙC- *lo, behold* (ἰδοῦ etc.), followed immediately by a narrative tense, forming Pattern 5 484.

ΕΙC-ΖΕΝΜΑΓΟC Ι ΑΥ-ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-Μ̄ΜΑ Ν-ΦΑ “Behold, wise men came from the east” ἰδοῦ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο (Matt 2:1)

Ν̄ΤΕΡΟΥ-ΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΙC-ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC Μ-ΠΧΟΕΙC Ι ΑQ-ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΟΥΡΑCΟΥ Ε-ΙΩCΗΦ “And when they had departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream” Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδοῦ ἄγγελος κυρίου φαίνεται κατ’ ὄναρ τῷ Ἰωσήφ (Matt 2:13)

Further examples: (a) ΜΝ-⁰ΑΓΓΕΛΟC Acts 23:8 “Angels do not exist”; ΟΥΝ-ΘΕ Μ-⁰ΜΡ-ΟΥCΑΩ Ι ΑΓΩ ΟΥΝ-ΘΕ Ν-⁰ΖΩΤΠ ΖΝ-ΟΥΜΙΩΕ Sir 27:21 “There is a way of (N-) binding up a wound, and there is a way of reconciling in a conflict”; ΕΦΧΕ-ΟΥΝ-Ν-ΕΤ⁰-ὸ Ν-⁰ΝΟ6 ΑΓΩ ΕΤ⁰-ΧΟCΕ ΖΝ-Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ Ν-Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΖΙΧ̄Μ-ΠΚΑΖ ShChass 117:32-36 “Even though there are those who are great and high among the sons of men on earth”; ΜΝ-Π-ΕΤ⁰-ΕΙΡΕ Ν-ΟΥΜΝΤ-ΧΡΗCΤΟC Ι ΜΝ-ΟΥΟΝ ΦΑΖΡΑΙ Ε-ΟΥΑ Rom 3:12 = Ps 13(14):1 “No one does good, not even one”; ΟΥΝ-ΖΕΝΠΩΡΧ ΔΕ Ν-⁰ΖΜΟΤ 1 Cor 12:4 “Now there are varieties of gifts”; Ν̄ΝΑΖΡΜ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ Μ̄ΜΝ-ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΑΤ-ΒΟΜ Matt 19:26 “With God there is no impossible thing”; ΜΝ-⁰ΤΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΑ-⁰ΝΟΒΕ Heb 10:18 “There is no longer any offering for sin”; ΜΝ-⁰ΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΖΙ-⁰ΖΕΛΛΗΝ Gal 3:28 “There is neither Jew nor Greek”; ΟΥΩΗΡΕ... Ε-ΜΝ-ΘΕ Ν-⁰ΩΑΧΕ Ν̄ΜΜΑ-Q 1 Sam 25:17 “A child... that there is no way of speaking to”; Ε-ΜΝ-⁰ΝΟΜΟC (circumstantial conversion) Rom 5:13 “In the absence of any law”; ΚΑΝ Ε-ΥΝ-⁰ΒΟΜ Ε-⁰ΤΡΕΥ-ΠΛΑΝΑ Ν-ΝΑΚΕCΩΤΠ Mark 13:22 “If it is really possible to (ε-) lead astray my elect, too”; Ν̄ΘΕ

ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝ-ΖΑΖ Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙ-ΖΑΖ Ν-ΧΟΕΙC 1 Cor 8:5 “As indeed there are many gods and many lords”; ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΟΥΠΡΟΦΗΤΙC ΔΕ ΧΕ-ΑΝΝΑ Luke 2:36 “There was a prophetess, Anna”; ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΩΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ Ε-⁰ΤΡΕΥ-†-ΠΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑ-ΖΑΖ Matt 26:9 “For this might have been sold for a large sum”; Ε-ΜΝ-ΩΒΟΜ ΕΝΕΖ Ε-⁰ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν-Ν-ΕΤ⁰-ΝΑ-†-ΠΕΥΟΓΟΙ ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ (focalizing conversion) Heb 10:1 “It can never make perfect those who draw near”; (b) ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΕΙC-ΤΑΜΑΛΥ ΑΓΩ ΝΑCΗΗΥ (textual var. lacks ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ) Matt 12:49 “Behold, here are my mother and my brothers”; Ε-ΠΜΑ Ν-ΤΤΑΙΒΕ ΝΤ-ΑΥ-ΚΑ-ΜΩΥCΗC ΝΖΗΤ-C ΕΙC-ΠΟΥΟΜQ ΕΤ⁰-ΟΥΑΔΒ ΜΝ-ΠΤΑΦΟC ΕΤ⁰-ΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΝΤ-Α[Υ]-ΚΑ-ΠΕΧ̄C ΝΖΗ[Τ-Q] ShIII 94:21-23 “In place of the ark that Moses was laid in, here is (i.e. let us think of) the holy manger and the venerable tomb that Christ was laid in”; ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙC-ΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΡ-Ν ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Ε-⁰CΩΤΜ... Acts 10:33 “Now therefore, here we all are in your presence, to hear...”

PREDICATIVE EXPANSIONS OF THE BASIC PATTERN (PATTERNS 2-5)

479 Pattern 2 (ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ- and ΕΙC-): the basic pattern expanded by a durative predicate

Basic Pattern | Durative Predicate 305

ΟΥΝ-ΟΥΜΕ Ν̄ΤΕ-ΠΕΧ̄C Ι Ν̄ΖΗΤ-⁰ “Christ’s truth is in me” (2 Cor 11:10)
 ΕΙC-ΠΟΥΡΡΟ Ι ΝΗΥ ΝΕ-⁰ “Behold, your king is coming to you” (Matt 21:5)

When formed with ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ-, this is the same as Patterns 3 and 3a of the durative sentence 322, 323. Its main function is to bring a durative predicate into grammatical union (nexus 248) with an entity term (subject), not to express existence or indication. All durative sentences with a non-definite subject are introduced by ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ- and conversely, definite subjects in the durative sentence cannot be introduced by ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ-. But when formed with ΕΙC-, both def. and non-def. subjects occur, and ΕΙC- has an indicating (deictic) function.

Predicative expansion: any of the four durative predicates 305: infinitive, stative, situational preposition, ΝΑ-

Further examples: (a) ΟΥΝ-ΔΕ ΔΕ Ι ΚΩΤ ΕΧΩ-C 1 Cor 3:10 “Another is building upon it”; ΟΥΝ-ΖΕΝΖΟΥΔ ΔΕ Ι ΝΗΥ ΖΟΤΑΝ... Mark 2:20 “The days will come, when...”; ΝΑΝΟΥ-С ΝΑ-Q Ε-ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ-ΟΥΩΜΕ Ν-CΙΚΕ Ι ΜΗΡ Ε-ΠΕQΜΑΚ̄ Luke 17:2 “It would be better for him if a millstone were hung round his neck”; Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝ-⁰ΜΑΑΧΕ ΔΕ Ι Ν̄ΜΟ-Q Ε-⁰CΩΤΜ Mark 7:16 “The person who has 393(a) ears to hear”; ΜΝ-⁰ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC Ι ΝΑ-ΩΩΠΕ Mark 12:18 “No resurrection is going to happen”; (b) ΕΙC-ΠΑΙ Ι ΚΗ Ε-Υ-ΖΕ ΜΝ-ΟΥΤΩΟΥΝ Ν-ΖΑΖ ΖΜ-ΠΙΗΛ Luke 2:34 “Behold, this one is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel”; ΕΙC-ΤΕCΚΗΝΗ Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ι ΜΝ-Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ Rev 21:3 “Behold, the dwelling of God is with humanity”; ΕΙC-ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC Ι ΝΑ-ΩΩ Matt 1:23 “Behold, the virgin shall conceive”;

ΕΙC-⁰ΖΟΥΕ-ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ | ΜΠΕΙΜΑ Luke 11:31 "Something greater than Solomon is here"; ΕΙC-⁰ΣΑΕΙΝ | ΖΜ-ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΖΜ-ΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡ-q ShIV 161:2-3 "There are doctors everywhere in the world"

480 Pattern 3 (ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ- and ΕΙC-): the basic pattern expanded by a circumstantial attributive clause

Basic Pattern | Circumstantial Clause (containing a resumptive morph)

ΜΝ-⁰ΖΜΖΑΛ | Ε-ΝΑΑΑ-q Ε-ΠΕΡΧΟΕΙC "There is no servant who is greater than his master" (John 15:20)

ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΖΝ-ΘΙΕΡΟΥCΑΛΗΜ | Ε-ΠΕΡΑΝ ΠΕ CΥΜΕΩΝ "There was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon" (Luke 2:25)

ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΙC-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ | Ε-ΨΑΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ-q ΧΕ-ΖΑΚΧΑΙΟC "And there was a man named Zacchaeus" (Luke 19:2)

This pattern often is a narrative formula at the beginning of a parable, tale, etc., introducing a new character into the story (equivalent to English *Once upon a time there was a . . . who . . .*; *There once was a . . . who . . .*). It has a two-fold function: to express existence/indication and to bring a predicate, of any kind, into grammatical union (nexus 248) with the existent/indicated entity term. The basic pattern is (always?) formed with a non-definite entity term (ΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟC, ⁰ΖΜΖΑΛ). The attributive circumstantial clause 404, 408 contains a resumptive morph 404, which agrees with the entity term of the basic pattern in number/(gender). For other expressions of existence + predicative expansion, cf. 465, 471.

For non-expression of the resumptive morph, cf. 404, 405, 406, 407, 426, 427, 488, 489.

Further examples: (a) ΟΥΝ-ΖΟΕΙΝΕ Ν-Ν-ΕΤ⁰-ΑΖΕΡΑΤ-ΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ | ΝΑΙ Ε-Ν-CΕ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ-⁰ΤΠΕ ΑΝ Μ-ΠΜΟΥ Matt 16:28 "There are some standing here who will not taste death"; ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟC | ΕΡΕ-ΠΕΡΩΗΡΕ ΩΩΝΕ ΖΝ-ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ John 4:46 "And at Capernaum, there was an official whose son was ill"; ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΟΥΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΝΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗC | ΕQ-ΝΗΧ Ε-ΚΟΥΝ-q Ν-ΤC Π-ΕΤΕΡΕ-ΤC ΜΕ ΜΜΟ-q John 13:23 "There was one of His disciples who was lying against the breast of Jesus, whom Jesus loved"; ΟΥΝ-ΖΕΝΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΔΕ Ε-ΝΑΩΩ-ΟΥ | Ε-ΑQ-ΑΑ-Υ ΝΒΙ-ΤC John 21:25 "But there are many other things that Jesus did"; ΟΥΝ-ΖΕΝCΙΟΥΡ ΓΑΡ | ΝΤ-ΑΥ-ΧΠΟ-ΟΥ (i.e. Ε-ΝΤ-ΑΥ-ΧΠΟ-) ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ-C Ν-ΤΕΥΜΑΔΥ ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ Matt 19:12 "For there are eunuchs who were born from their mothers in this condition"; ΟΥΝ-ΖΟΙΝΕ | Ε-ΨΑΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ ΧΕ-ΝΟΥΤΕ 1 Cor 8:5 "There are some that are called gods"; ΑΥΩ ΜΝ-ΑΑΑΥ | Ε-ΜΝΤ-q-⁰CΜΗ 1 Cor 14:10 "And there is none that has no voice"; ΜΝ-⁰ΖΜΖΑΛ | ΕQ-ΧΟCΕ Ε-ΠΕΡΧΟΕΙC Matt 10:24 "There is no servant who is above his master"; ΜΜΝ-Π-ΕΤ⁰-ΖΟΒC ΓΑΡ | Ε-Ν-CΕ-ΝΑ-ΒΟΛΠ-q ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ Mark 4:21 "For there is no hidden thing that will not be manifested"; (b) ΑC-ΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕQ-ΖΝ-ΟΥΕΙ Ν-ΜΠΟΛΙC ΕΙC-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ | ΕQ-ΜΕΖ Ν-CΩΒΑΖ Luke 5:12 "Now it happened that while He was in one of the cities, lo, a man full of leprosy"

481 Multiple expansions of Pattern 3. Many expanded patterns contain two (or more) circumstantial clauses and/or prepositional phrases after the basic pattern:

ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΖΑΖ | ΕΥ-CΩΒΑΖ | ΖΜ-ΠΙCΡΑΗΛ "Many lepers (ΖΑΖ ΕΥ-CΩΒΑΖ) were in Israel" and "In Israel, there were many (ΖΑΖ) who had leprosy (ΕΥ-CΩΒΑΖ)" (Luke 4:27)

Further examples: ΟΥΝ-ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ | ΜΠΕΙΜΑ | Ε-ΥΝ-ΤΟΥ Ν-ΟΙΚ Ν-ΙΩΤ ΝΤΟΟΤ-q John 6:9 "There is a lad here who has five barley loaves" and "A lad with five barley loaves is here"; ΑΙ-ΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΙC-ΟΥΖΤΟ | ΕQ-ΟΥΩΒΩ | ΕΡΕ-ΟΥΠΙΤΕ ΝΤΟΟΤ-q Μ-Π-ΕΤ⁰-ΑΛΕ ΕΡΟ-q Rev 6:2 "And I saw (a vision); and behold, (there was) a white horse with a bow in the grasp of the one riding it" and "There was a white horse, whose rider had a bow in his grasp"; ΕΙC-ΟΥΡΜΜΑΟ | ΜΠΟΟΥ | ΖΝ-ΟΥΠΟΛΙC | ΕΡΕ-ΝΡΩΜΕ CΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ-ΟΥΝΤ-q-ΖΑΖ Ν-ΧΡΗΜΑ ΜΜΑΥ ShIV 25:23-26 "Here today is (a parable of) a rich person in a certain city, whom people know to possess much money" and "In today's parable, there is a rich person, who is in a certain city and whom people know to possess much money" and "In today's parable, a rich person is in a certain city, and people know him to possess much money"; ΝΕ-ΥΝ-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΝΕΦΑΡΙCΑΙΟC | Ε-ΠΕΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟC | Ε-ΥΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΠΕ John 3:1 "Now there was a man of the Pharisees named Nicodemus who was a Jewish ruler" and "Now there was a man of the Pharisees who was named Nicodemus, a Jewish ruler" and "Now there was a man of the Pharisees, who was named Nicodemus and who was a Jewish ruler"

482 Pattern 3a (presentative, formed without ΟΥΝ- or ΕΙC-)

Non-definite Entity Term | Circumstantial Clause (containing a resumptive morph)

ΖΑΖ ΜΕΝ Ν-ΨΑΧΕ | Ε-ΑΝ-ΧΟΟ-Υ "There are many words that we have spoken" (ShLefort 42:25)

In this subpattern, an entity is presented into the flow of discourse without ΟΥΝ- or ΕΙC-. The identifying mark of Pattern 3a, and signal of 'presentation', is the grammatical union of a non-definite entity term with a following circumstantial clause to form a complete, *main-clause* sentence. (Except for its main-clause status, Pattern 3a looks like a simple attributive clause construction 404.) The existent entity is expressed by indef. article phrases and pronouns, specifier phrases and pronouns. No negation or conversion occurs. Pattern 3a is attested both as a narrative formula in the beginning of a story (cf. 465, 471), and in the course of exposition.

Further examples: ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΚΕCΜΟΤ ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ | Ε-ΑΥ-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ Ε-⁰ΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ Mark 7:4 "And there are all sorts of other traditions which they have received for observance"; ΟΥΜΝΤ-ΧΑΧΕ ΜΝ-ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ | ΕΥ-ΩΟΟΠ ΖΝ-ΤΕΙΒΙΝ-ΚΩ ΕΒ-ΟΛ || ΖΟΕΙΝΕ | Ε-ΑΥ-ΚΩ ΝΑ-Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ν-ΝΕΝΠΕΘΟΟΥ ShAmél I 96:2-5 "There are enmity and peace that co-exist in this forgiveness; there are some who have forgiven us our evil deeds"; ΤΑΙΟΥ ΜΝ-CΝΑΥ | Ε-ΑΥ-ΧΠΟ-ΟΥ ShIII 69:18 "There were fifty-

two (babies) that were born"; ΟΥΗΡ Ν-ΤΥΠΟΣ Μ-ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ Ι Ε-ΛΥ-ΧΟΚ-ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ-ΠΜΑ Μ-ΠΕΚΡΑΝΙΟΝ ΖΜ-ΠΤΡΕΥ-ΩΩΠΕ Ν-ΟΥΜΟΥΧΘ Ν-ΟΥΩΤ ΖΝ-ΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΖΙΤΝ-ΤΕΣΒΩ Ν-Ν-ΕΤ⁰-ΖΙΧΩ-ΟΥ ShRyl 70 (34:31-32) "O how many kinds of evil deed there were that got accomplished on Golgotha, as they became one single act of complicity in evil, by instruction of their superiors!"; ΟΥΖΛΛΟ Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ Ι Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q ΜΜΑΥ Ν-ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗΣ ΕQ-ΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ-ΟΥΤΜΕ ApophPatr 99 (Chaîne 22:9-10) "There once was a venerable hermit who had a servant that lived in a village"; ΝΙΜ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΝ ΕQ-QI-⁰ΡΟΟΥΩ Ι Ε-ΟΥΝ-⁰ΒΟΜ ΜΜΟ-Q Ε-⁰ΟΥΕΖ-ΟΥΜΑΖΕ ΕΧΝ-ΤΕQΩΙΗ Matt 6:27 (textual var.) "And which of you is there who by being anxious can add one cubit to their stature?"

483 Pattern 4 (ΜΝ- or interrogative ΟΥΝ-): the basic pattern expanded by a negative χε- clause with resumptive morph

- (a) *Basic Pattern (ΜΝ- only) | χε- Negative Main Clause (containing a resumptive morph): affirmation*
- (b) *Basic Pattern (ΟΥΝ- only) | χε- Negative Main Clause (containing a resumptive morph): rhetorical question (soliciting negative reply)*
- (a) ΜΝ-ΟΥΑ Ν-ΟΥΩΤ Ι χε-ΜΠQ-ΩΜC "There is not a single one that did not sink", i.e. All sank (ShWess9 87a:30-32)
- (b) ΜΗ ΟΥΝ-ΒΕΩΑΙΡΕ Ι χε-ΜΠΟΥ-ΟΡΧ-ΟΥ "Pray tell, are there any other sheepfolds that have not been fortified?", i.e. All have been fortified (ShAmél II 33:9-10)

Pattern 4 has the same two-fold function as Pattern 3. Logically, subpattern (a) is a double negative: *There is no X such as does not Y = Every X does action Y*. Subpattern (b) is a rhetorical question that expects a reply of 'No (None exists)': *Is there any X such as does not Y? = No (none exists), every X does action Y*. Thus subpatterns (a) and (b) are logical equivalents. The χε- clause contains a resumptive morph 404, which agrees with the entity term of the basic pattern in number/(gender).

For the forms, possible syntactic positions, and conditioned non-expression of the resumptive morph, cf. 404, 405, 406, 407, 426, 427, 488, 489.

Further examples: (a) ΜΝ-ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ ΖΝ-Ν-ΕΤ⁰-ΖΙΟΥΝΑΜ Μ-ΠΡΡΟ Ι χε-Ν-CΕ-ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ShIII 189:11-12 "There is none among those at the right hand of the emperor who do not see"; ΠΗ ΜΕΝ Η ΝΗ ΜΝ-ΒΕΖΩΒ Ι χε-Ν-Q-ΧΗΚ ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ShBM 196 81a:32-33 "As for the house or houses, in all of them there is nothing else that is not perfect"; ΜΜΝ-⁰CΑΖΟΥ Μ-ΠΒΟΛ Ν-ΤΕΓΡΑΦΗ Ι χε-ΜΠQ-ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ ShIV 10:16-17 "There is no curse outside the Scripture that it has not fallen upon them"; (b) Η ΟΥΝ-ΚΕΓΡΑΦΗ Ι χε-ΜΠΕΝ-CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ ShP 130⁵15r b:6-9 "Come now, are there other scriptures that we have not heard about?"; ΜΗ ΟΥΝ-ΒΕΩΑΙΡΕ Ι χε-ΜΠΟΥ-ΟΡΧ-ΟΥ Η ΟΥΝ-⁰ΡCΩ ΖΙ-⁰CΩΒΤ Ι χε-ΜΠΟΥ-ΧΑCΤ-ΟΥ ShAmél II 33:9-10 "Pray tell, are there any other sheepfolds that have not been fortified, or are there any pens or walls that have not been erected?"

ΟΥ ΓΑΡ Ν-ΖΝΑΛΥ ... Ι χε-ΖΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΝΕ ΖΜ-ΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ ShIII 215:7-10 "For what kind of things (are there) ... that are not entirely terrestrial?"

484 Pattern 5 (ΟΥΝ-/ΕΙC- or interrogative ΜΝ-): the basic pattern expanded by a basic clause with resumptive morph

- (a) *Basic Pattern (ΟΥΝ- or ΕΙC- only) | Basic Clause (containing a resumptive morph): affirmation*
- (b) *Basic Pattern (ΜΝ- only) | Basic Clause (containing a resumptive morph): rhetorical question (soliciting affirmative reply)*
- (a) ΟΥΝ-ΖΟΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΖΝ-ΝΕQΕCΟΟΥ Ι CΕ-ΝΑ-ΩΩΠΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΝ-ΖΕΝ-CΜΟΤ Ε-Ν-⁰Q-ΟΥΑΩ-ΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ "There are some of his sheep that will then assume characteristics that he does not like in them" (ShChass 204:30-35)
- ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΕΙC-ΠΑΑΡΙCΤΟΝ Ι ΑΙ-CΒΤΩΤ-Q "Behold! I have made ready my dinner" (Matt 22:4)
- (b) ΜΗ ΜΝ-⁰ΡΩΜΕ ... Ι ΜΕQ-ΚΑΑ-Q Ε-⁰ΕΙ Μ-ΠΕQΜΤ⁰ ΕΒΟΛ "Pray tell, is there not a kind of person who refuses to let him come into their presence?" (ShChass 131:31-40, cited more fully below)

Pattern 5 has the same two-fold function as Pattern 3. Subpattern (b) expects a reply of 'Yes' and is thus a logical equivalent of (a): *Aren't there some who X? = Yes, there are some who X*. The expansion clause contains a resumptive morph 404, which agrees with the entity term of the simply pattern in number/(gender).

For the forms, possible syntactic positions, and conditioned non-expression of the resumptive morph, cf. 404, 405, 406, 407, 426, 427, 488, 489.

Further examples: (a) ΟΥΝ-ΖΑΖ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ Ι ΝΕ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-ΟΥ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΑΤΟΥ- (i.e. Ε-ΜΠΑΤΟΥ-) ΑΡΧΕΙ ShChass 134:37-40 "There are many people for whom it would have been much better if they had never held office"; ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ-ΟΥΩΑΧΕ Ι ΚΑΝ Ν- (i.e. Ε-Ν-) Τ-ΟΥΕΩ-ΧΟΟ-Q ΑΝ Τ-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Q ShChass 68:26-30 "And there is something that I am going to say, even though I do not want to say it"; ΕΙC-ΤΕΚΜΑΛΥ ΜΝ-ΝΕΚCΝΗΥ Ι CΕ-ΚΩΤΕ ΝCΩ-Κ ΖΙΒΟΛ Mark 3:32 "Your mother and your brothers are outside asking for you"; ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΙC-ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ Ν-ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΑ Ι ΑC-ΕΙ Matt 15:22 "And lo! A Canaanite woman came"; ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕQ-ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ ΕΙC-ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC Μ-ΠΧΟΕΙC Ι ΑQ-ΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑ-Q ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΟΥΡΑCΟΥ Matt 1:20 "But as he considered this, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream"; ΑΥΩ ΖΟCΟΝ ΕQ-ΜΟΟΥΕ ΜΝ-ΤΜΑΛΥ ΕΙC-ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ι ΑQ-ΕΙ ShAmél I 54:1 "And while he was walking with (his) mother, a man came"; ΕQ-ΩΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΜΝ-ΠΜΗΝΩΕ ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΕΙC-ΤΕQΜΑΛΥ ΜΝ-ΝΕQCΝΗΥ Ι ΝΕΥ-ΑΖΕΡΑΤ-ΟΥ ΠΕ ΖΙ-ΠCΑ Ν-ΒΟΛ Matt 12:46 "While he was still speaking to the people, behold, his mother and his brother were standing outside"; (b) ΜΗ ΜΝ-⁰ΡΩΜΕ Ι ΕΡΩΑΝ-ΠΕQΖΜΖΑΛ Ρ-⁰ΒΛΛΕ Η ΝΤΕ-ΚΕΖΩΒ ΕQ-Ο Ν-⁰ΒΑΕΙΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟ-Q ΜΕQ-ΚΑΑ-Q Ε-⁰ΕΙ Μ-ΠΕQΜΤ⁰

εβολ ShChass 131:31-40 "Pray tell, is there not a kind of person who, when their manservant goes blind or has some other horrible thing happen to him, refuses to let him come into their presence?"

ΕΙC- INDICATING TIME OR MEASURE

- 485 ΕΙC- prefixed to an entity term of time or measure expresses present completedness: "For three days *now*, *Precisely* this amount, *Already* the second one," etc. E.g. ΕΙC-ϞΟΜΤ̄ Ν-ΖΟΟΥ CΕ-ΒΕΕΤ ΕΡΟ-ΕΙ Matt 15:32 "They have been with me for three days *now*"; ΕΙC-ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΩΙ ΕΤΟΥ-ΝΑ-ΩΙ ΜΜΟ-Ϟ Ν-ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ Ν-ΑΤ-CΩΤΜ ShIII 166:22-23 "The measure that will have been measured out unto people who are heedless is this"; ΕΙC-ΤΜΕΖ-CΝΤΕ Ν-ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΕΤ-CΖΑΙ ΜΜΟ-C ΝΗ-ΤΝ 2 Pet 3:1 "This which I write to you, my beloved, is already the second letter."

Further examples: †-ΜΟΚΜΕΚ ΜΜΟ-Ι ΕΙC-ΖΕΝΡΟΜΠΕ Ε-ΘΤΜ-ΤΡΕ-ΘΡΩΜΕ ΘΝ-ΘΨΑΧΕ Ε-ΘΧΩ ShIV 172:6-7 "For some years *now*, it has been my intention that no one should speak out"; Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Ι ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ Ν-ΟΥΟΥΩ Ε-ΘΕΙ ΨΑΡΩ-ΤΝ ΕΙC-ΖΑΖ Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ Rom 15:23 "Since I have longed for many years to come to you"; ΛΙ-ΜΟΥ Ι ΕΙC-ΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ ΜΠΙ-ΟΥΕΜ-ΘΠΕΤ-ΖΗΜ ApophPatr 69 (Chaine 15:28) "I'm simply dead! For a week *now*, I haven't eaten any hot food"

The Entity Statement as Subject Expansion

Entity Statement Expanding the Subject of a Clause 486

Entity Statement Expanding an Impersonal Predicate (ΑΝΑΓΚΗ etc.) 487

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THE ENTITY STATEMENT EXPANDING THE SUBJECT OF A CLAUSE

When a Coptic entity statement 150 such as

that the righteous shall live by faith (ΧΕ-ΕΡΕ-ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟC ΝΑ-ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΤΠΙCΤΙC)
to keep the whole law (Ε-ΘΡ-ΠΝΟΜΟC ΤΗΡ-ḳ)
for me to be judged (Ε-ΘΤΡΕΥ-ΑΝΑΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΜΟ-Ι)

functions as the subject of a clause, it almost never enters directly into a nexus 248 of subject + predicate. Rather, the entity statement is represented by q, c, πe, or τε (expressing grammatical information as a 'grammatical subject', English *it*) in a nuclear nexus pattern, such as

q-ΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ... "It is evident ..."
 c-ΕΡΟ-ḳ ... "It is obligatory for him ..."
 ΟΥΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟΝ ΠΕ ... "It is a very trivial matter ..."

and the entity statement follows the nexus pattern in apposition, as a 'subject expansion', expressing the lexical content of the grammatical subject.

(Grammatical Subject + Predicate) | Entity Statement
 nuclear nexus subject expansion

Such sentences typically express the speaker's judgement or attitude: *it is evident, obligatory, necessary, sufficient, expedient, a good thing, pleasing, trivial, wonderful, amazing, surprising, of concern, hard, shameful, not God's will, a matter of disgrace, a transgression, it would be better, may it never happen*, etc.

q-ΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ | ΧΕ-ΕΡΕ-ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟC ΝΑ-ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-ΤΠΙCΤΙC "It is evident that the righteous shall live by faith" (Gal 3:11) [q expanded by ΧΕ- ...]

с-ερο-q | ε-⁰ρ-πνομος τηρ-q̄ “It is obligatory for him to keep the whole law” (Gal 5:3) [c expanded by ε-⁰infinitive]

οὐμοειζε αν τε | нте-τειωомт н-сѣнагωη μοу2 2н-2ен2внγε н-се-ωοоп (i.e. ε-н-се-ωοоп) αν η нтоq εγ-ωοоп αγω нта-тм-ειμε ανοκ ουτε π2αλο “It is no wonder if these three congregations are full of deeds that are ‘non-existent’, or rather, which do exist but I and the Senior Monk do not know about them” (ShIII 156:28–157:2) [τε expanded by нте-...]

οὐελαχιστον να-ī πε | ε-⁰τρεγ-ανακρине ἡμο-ī “To me, it is a very trivial matter for me to be judged” (1 Cor 4:3) [πε expanded by ε-⁰τρεγ-...]

οὐμοειζε δε τε | χε-αν-χω н-2енωαχε ε-наωω-ογ “It is wonderful that we have spoken many words” (ShIII 183:28–184:1) [τε expanded by χε-...]

н-q-ο αν н-⁰ροογω να-н | χε-пноуге на-חנוг-н етве-2ωв ним “It is no matter of concern to us that God is going to interrogate us about every thing” (ShIII 34:9–10) [q expanded by χε-...]

ннec-ωωπε мпемто εβολ м-п2оeic | ε-⁰тρεн-ка-тоот-н εβολ ен-†-⁰свω н-ненернγ “May it never happen, by the presence of the Lord, that we cease from teaching one another” (ShIII 164:5–6) [c expanded by ε-⁰тρεн-...]

ас-ἡδοκι δε ἡ-сilac | ε-⁰тρεq-6ω ἡπμα εт⁰-ἡмаγ “But it seemed good to Silas for him to remain there” (Acts 15:34) [c expanded by ε-⁰тρεq-...]

наноу-с ἡ-πρωме εт⁰-ἡмаγ | ε-не-ἡпоу-χο-q “It would be better for that man if he had not been born” (Matt 26:24) [c expanded by ε-не-ἡпоу-...]

οὐψηρε τε | ете-мпоу-χοо-с на-q χε-εic2ннте ак-ернт на-н н-2енеронос “It is a wonder that they did not say to Him, Look, You promised us thrones” (Severian of Gabala, Encomium on Saints Peter and Paul [Foat 93:18–19]) [τε expanded by focalizing conversion 457 ете-мпоу-...]

Rare examples of an entity statement in basic subject position include: (i) *nominal sentence* ε-⁰2μοос (textual var. πε2μοос) δε ἡсаоуnam ἡμο-ī η са2воур ἡмо-ī ἡ-πω-ī αν πε ε-⁰таа-q Mark 10:40 “But to sit at my right hand or at my left is not mine to grant”; (ii) *durative sentence*, ε-⁰γωм δε ε-мпк-еia-тоот-к cωωq ан ἡ-πρωме Matt 15:20 ed. Kasser “But to eat without washing your hands does not defile the person”

The *nuclear nexus pattern* can be a durative sentence, non-durative conjugation, nominal sentence with πε 275, or suffixally conjugated verboid (e.g. q-ογον2 εβολ, ἡнec-ωωπε, οὐμοειζε τε, nanoу-с); cf. also 487. Selection (or fluctuation) of q or c as grammatical subject is a matter of

lexically fixed phrasing associated with each particular predicate; that of πε or τε is motivated according to the gender of the predicate. The grammatical subject (q, c, πε, or τε) refers ahead and heralds the coming entity statement 275. *Negation and conversions* have the usual forms associated with the selected nexus pattern. Selection of the form of *entity statement* (χε-, ε-⁰τρε-, etc.) is a matter of the compatibilities lexically associated with each particular predicate. Cf. also 354(c).

Further examples. *Masc. grammatical subject*: q-μοκ2 ἡ-н-ετε-γнт-ογ-⁰χρημα ἡмаγ | ε-⁰τρεγ-βωк ε2оуη ε-тмнт-ερο ἡ-пноуге Mark 10:23 “It is hard for those who have riches to enter the kingdom of God”; q-ο м-⁰μοize нна2ра-н емате | χε- ShAmél II 537:2–3 “It is very amazing to us that . . .”; παντως δε ε-н-q-овω еро-н ан | χε- ShAmél II 454:9 “And of course without its being forgotten by us that . . .”; q-ο бε н-⁰рооγω на-н η q-2м-пензнт | χε-неq-нп ε-⁰χοо-с πε χε- ShIV 18:4–5 “So it is a matter of concern to us, and it is on our mind, that it would be necessary to say . . .”; ογанакаιον πε | ε-⁰септ-нecннγ 2 Cor 9:5 “To urge the brethren is necessary”; ἡ-поγωω ан πε ἡпемто εβολ ἡ-пaεiωт εт⁰-2н-ἡпнγε | χεкас еqе-2е εβολ ἡбi-ογα ἡ-неikoγi Matt 18:14 “It is not the will of My Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish”; ογωλοq πε ἡ-ογρωме ἡ-τογδαī | ε-⁰χω2 ἡ ε-†-πεqоγoi ε-γρωме ἡ-αλλофγλос Acts 10:28 “It is shameful for a Jewish person to touch or to approach a person of another nation”; ⁰ωλοq πε | ⁰χοо-γ || ⁰ωпте πε | ⁰сωтм еро-ογ ShAmél I 228:7 “To speak of them amounts to disgrace itself, to hear of them amounts to shame itself”; ογ πε πωαγ ἡ-πεγωн2 . . . ε-⁰ciωe πε | οе етере-п2аī ωαχε мн-тес2ime αγω ε-⁰bote πε | οе етере-тес2ime ωαχε мн-п2аī ShOr 159:25–41 “What is their life worth . . . when it is bitter how husband talks with wife, and disgusting how wife talks with husband?”; ογωωт нн-тн πε | χε-ογнтн-тн-⁰2ап мн-нетн-ернγ 1 Cor 6:7 “The fact that you have lawsuits with one another is a deficiency for you”; q-ρωωe δε ε-⁰χοо-с ἡmate | χε-2енπaанη не наī ShWess9 140c:2–5 “But it is sufficient merely to say that these are deceptions”

Fem. grammatical subject: c-μοκ2 | ε-⁰τρε-⁰рἡмао βωк ε2оуη ε-тмнт-ῑро ἡ-ἡпнγε Matt 19:23 “It is hard for a rich person to enter the kingdom of the heavens”; nanoу-с гар на-ī | ε-тра-моу 1 Cor 9:15 “For it would be better for me to die”; н-с-р-⁰ноуре ан | ε-⁰xi-⁰с2ime Matt 19:10 “It is not expedient to marry”; н-с-то гар на-γ ан | ε-⁰ωαχε 1 Cor 14:34 “It is not permitted to them to speak”; ογaνομia гар нн-тн те | χε-ететн-с2аi-соγ ShIII 26:4 “For, it is a transgression for you to even write them”; nanoу-с δε | εωχε-атетн-р-⁰рро 1 Cor 4:8 “And it would be better if you had reigned”; н-ογμοize ан те ουτε н-ογнове ан πε | εγωан-месте-2енρωме н-реq-χιоуе 2раi 2нт-ογ ShAmél I 95:6–7 “It is not surprising nor sinful if they despise people among them who are thieves”; нен2внγε гар нет⁰-тpe-неiωαχε †-⁰2ап еро-наγω nanoу-с | εγ-† ShRyl 69 (34:1–2) “For it is our actions that cause our words to judge us, and it is a good thing that they do!”; nanoу-с на-q ἡ2оγo | εне-γн-ογωне ἡ-сike αωе ε-πεqмак2 Mark 9:42 “It would be much better for him if a millstone were hung round his neck”; ен2оcon ес-нcω-н | ε-⁰тм-р-⁰нове мпртрен-сωω н-техаpic ShIV 24:8–9 “So long as it is up to us not to sin, let us not despise grace”; н-с-р-⁰xpia ан | н-⁰†-⁰2ice на-q нкеcon ShMiss4 233:2 “There is no need to bother him again”

ENTITY STATEMENT EXPANDING AN IMPERSONAL PREDICATE

487 A small list of 'impersonal predicates' (predications not formally analyzable into subject and predicate), namely

- (a) ἀναγκη 'it is necessary', ἀνάγκη
ζω 'it is sufficient, enough'
ζαπс 'it is necessary, . . . must'
ζνε-/ζνα= 'it is pleasing unto . . . ' 379
- (b) γενοιτο, negative μηγενοιτο (var. μεγενοιτο) 'may it come to pass', γένοιτο, μη γένοιτο
εξεστι, negative ουκεξεστι 'it is permitted, possible, proper', εξεστι, οὐκ εξεστι
- (c) ωψε (var. εωψε), negative μεωψε (but also \bar{n} -ωψε αν) 'it is right, fitting, necessary', cf. 488
- (d) ζαμοι 'how good it would be if . . . , if only . . . '

similarly can be expanded by an entity statement

Impersonal Predicate | Entity Statement
predicate subject

ζαпс | ε-^θтре-τωογн εβολ ζ \bar{n} -н-ετ^θ-мооγт "It is necessary for Him to rise from the dead, He must rise from the dead" (John 20:9)

At least some of these morphs can also occur without expansion by an entity statement: ζω ερο-н John 14:8 "It will be enough for us," μεγενοιτο ShIII 47:24 "Never!" In basic form they express present time. ζω also occurs as an intransitive verb. For the overall Coptic tense system, cf. chapter 25.

Further affirmative examples: ζω γαρ | ε-^θтре-нсофос αγω м-πιστος ζн-ουμε ειμε хе-пωнре ωοоп мн-пиωт ShOrig 811 (Orlandi 60:23-24) "For, it is enough for the wise and truly faithful to know that the Son dwells with the Father"; ἀναγκη γαρ | ε-^θтре-нескандалон ει Matt 18:7 "For, it is necessary that temptations come"; ζна-н \bar{n} ζογο ε-^θει εβολ ζ \bar{n} -псωма 2 Cor 5:8 "It is very pleasing to us to come out of the body, We are very willing to come out of the body"; γενοιτο θε | нтн- $\bar{θ}$ н-ογна \bar{n} -пегмтō εβολ ShChass 118:31-33 "So may it come to pass that we find mercy in His presence!"; εξεστι ζ \bar{n} - \bar{n} савбатон | ε-^θр-^θпет-наноу-г х \bar{n} -^θр-^θпесооу Mark 3:4 "Is it lawful on the sabbath to do good or to do harm?"; ζαμοι он | ε- \bar{n} он- \bar{z} енмай- \bar{n} енмтон ан ζ \bar{n} -ζωв нн ShMing 92a: 20-24 "How good it would be if we were not lazy in everything!"; ζαμοι он | ере-пхоис на-таа-с на-н ε-^θтрен-кωте н-теноуоде ε-п-ετ^θ-на-разт-н ShIV 116:23-24 "If only the Lord would grant us to turn our cheek to anyone who strikes us"

Negation. Group (a): (optional \bar{n} -) + impersonal predicate + ан 250, e.g. ζω ан and \bar{n} -ζω ан. Group (b): substitution of an alternant negative morph (see list above). Group (c): mixed negation, cf. 488. Group (d): no negation.

Negative examples: (a) ζω ан ερο-г | хе-αг-р-^θнове ShMiss4 822:14 "For him merely to have sinned was not enough"; мн н-ζω ан ερο-н | ε-^θтре-пноуτε κω на-н εβολ н- \bar{n} еннове ShAmel I 67:14 "Pray tell, is it not enough for us that God forgives us our sins?"; мн ζαпс ан | ε-^θтре-пхс ωеп-най Luke 24:26 "Pray tell, is it not necessary for the Christ to suffer these things?"; (b) μεγενοιτο | ε-^θтре-пай ωопе ShIII 29:16-17 "God forbid that this should happen!"; ουκεξεστι на-н | ε-^θмеγт-ааау John 18:31 "It is not lawful for us to put anyone to death"; (c) cf. 488

Conversions: (i) relative (ετε-), (ii) circumstantial (ε-), (iii) preterit (νε-), (iv) focalizing (ε-)

Examples: (i) н-ετ^θ-о н-^θвоте ε-пран ете-ουκεξεсти | ε-^θаа-γ ShIV 4:12 "Things that are abominations against the profession (of monasticism) and which it is not permitted to do"; (ii) таї те θε ε-ζαпс | ε-^θтреγ-хест-пωнре \bar{n} -прωме John 3:14 "So must the Son of Man be lifted up"; αг-οуом-οу ε-ουκεξεсти на-г | ε-^θοуом-οу Mark 2:26 "He ate them, without its being lawful for him to eat them"; (iii) νε-ζαпс | ε-^θтре-теїграфн хωк εβολ Acts 1:16 "This scripture had to be fulfilled"; (iv) cf. 488

THE SYNTAX OF ωψε, μεωψε, AND C-ΔΟΚΕΙ ΝΑ=

ωψε (var. εωψε), negative μεωψε, 'it is right, fitting, necessary' has two forms of negation.

Affirmative examples: ωψε | ε-^θωογωγ 2 Cor 12:1 "It is right to boast"; κατα-πεννομος ωψε ερο-г | ε-^θмоу John 19:7 "According to our law He must die" (it is fitting for Him to die); ωψε | ε-^θтрен-χοо-с нн-тн ζ \bar{n} -οуπαρрнcia Acts 2:29 "We may say to you confidently . . ."

Negations. (a) In main clauses: (\bar{n} -) + ωψε + ан. (b) In relative and circumstantial conversion: substitution of μεωψε, but relative also \bar{n} -ωψε ан 489.

Examples: (a) \bar{n} -ωψε ан | ε-^θвол-с н-теїмре мpezооу \bar{n} -псавбатон Luke 13:16 "Isn't it fitting to loose her from this bond on the sabbath day?"; ωψε ан насннγ | ε-^θтре-най ωопе \bar{n} τειze Jas 3:10 "My brethren, this ought not to be so"; (b) cf. below, Conversions

Conversions: (i) relative (ετε-); (ii) circumstantial (ε-); (iii) preterit (νε- 'ought to have, should have'); (iv) focalizing (ε-)

Examples: (i) ζωв нн ете-ωψε | ε-^θаа-γ ShIV 43:11 "Every thing that has to be done"; п-εте-μεωψε | ε-^θаа-г Matt 12:2 "What it is not lawful to do"; see also below, and 489; (ii), cf. 489; (iii) най де не-ωψε ерω-тн | ε-^θаа-γ Matt 23:23 "These you ought to have done"; не-ωψε де нтоκ ан εро-к пе | ε-^θна Matt 18:33 "And should not you have had mercy?"; (iv) к-наγ хе-ε-ωψε \bar{n} οунр | ε-^θμεре-фап аγω пна ShChass 89:51-54 "You see how much one must love justice and mercy"; \bar{n} -ε-ωψε γαρ ан ε-нωнре | ε-^θсωογз εζογн \bar{n} - \bar{n} еїоте ааа \bar{n} еїоте \bar{n} - \bar{n} ωнре 2 Cor 12:14 "For children ought not to lay up for their parents, but parents for their children"

Historically, $\omega\omega\epsilon$ relates to the infinitive $\omega\epsilon$ 'proceed' as being evolved from $c-\omega\epsilon$ "It (c) proceeds, It is normal procedure." $\omega\epsilon$ in this meaning also occurs in the relative clause $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\omega\epsilon$ "... that is normal procedure, ... that is suitable" (bare $\epsilon\tau^{\theta}$ - 405), which occurs (optionally) after antecedents $\theta\epsilon$ and $\pi\mu\alpha$, in phrases $\bar{n}\theta\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha-\theta\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha-\theta\epsilon$, $\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon$, $\pi\mu\alpha$, 'as', 'according as', 'contrary to how', 'thus', 'the place where'. For $\omicron\gamma\pi\epsilon\tau-\epsilon\omega\omega\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$, cf. 110; for $\omega\omega\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$, 285(e).

Examples: $\bar{n}\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\omega\epsilon\ |\ \epsilon-\theta\tau\rho\alpha-\chi\omicron\omicron-q$ Eph 6:20 "As I ought to speak" (In the suitable way for me to speak); $\bar{m}\pi\alpha\tau\bar{q}-\varsigma\omicron\gamma\bar{n}-\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\omega\epsilon$ (textual var. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\omega\omega\epsilon$ 489) $|\ \epsilon-\theta\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\bar{n}$ 1 Cor 8:2 "He does not yet know the way one ought to know"; $\epsilon\rho\epsilon-\pi\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau^{\theta}-\omega\epsilon$ (textual var. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\omega\omega\epsilon$ 489) $|\ \epsilon-\theta\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\bar{\tau}\ \bar{n}\gamma\eta\tau-\bar{q}\ \gamma\bar{n}-\theta\iota\epsilon-\rho\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha\lambda\eta\eta$ (focalizing conversion) John 4:20 "The suitable place in which to worship is in Jerusalem, Jerusalem is where one ought to worship"

- 489 In relative conversion, $c-\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \bar{n}\alpha\bar{\varsigma}$ 'it seems good to, it is the decision of' and $\omega\omega\epsilon$ 'it is right, fitting, necessary' often occur without subject expansion; consequently the relative clause contains no resumptive morph referring to its antecedent (cf. 379).

$\omicron\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma-\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \bar{n}\eta-\tau\bar{n}$ (scil. $\epsilon-\theta\lambda\alpha-q$) "What is it that it seems good to you (to do)? What is your decision?" (Mark 14:64)

Further examples: $\bar{n}-\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\omega\omega\epsilon$ (i.e. $\epsilon-\theta\lambda\alpha-\gamma$) Titus 2:1 "The things that it is fitting (to do), Things that are fitting"; $\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma\ \bar{n}-\gamma\omega\bar{\varsigma}\ \epsilon-\mu\epsilon\omega\omega\epsilon$ (i.e. $\epsilon-\theta\lambda\alpha-q$ or $\epsilon-\theta\lambda\alpha-\gamma$) Luke 23:41 "Nothing that it is wrong (to do), Nothing wrong"; $\bar{n}-\omicron\gamma\gamma\omega\bar{\varsigma}\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \lambda\bar{n}\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon-\omega\omega\epsilon\ \bar{n}\eta\lambda\gamma\rho\alpha-\bar{\iota}$ (i.e. $\epsilon-\theta\lambda\alpha-q$) Acts 25:27 "For in my opinion it is not a thing that it is right (to do), It is not an appropriate thing"; $\pi\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\bar{n}-\omega\omega\epsilon\ \lambda\bar{n}$ (textual var. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\omega\omega\epsilon$) Mark 13:14 "The place where it ought not (to be set up)"

The Adverbial Clause Construction: Adverbial Clauses and Infinitive Phrases

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CLAUSE AND PHRASE AS ADVERBIAL MODIFIER IN COPTIC

THE ADVERBIAL CLAUSE AND THE ADVERBIAL INFINITIVE PHRASE

In many sentences adverbs and/or prepositional phrases occur after the sentence pattern as *adverbial modifier* 194, i.e. to descriptively expand (modify) or complete a preceding verb, verbal clause, or imperative ($\bar{\tau}-\mu\epsilon\ \bar{m}\mu\omega-\tau\bar{n}\ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 2 Cor 12:15 "I love you very much"); also to modify non-verbal sentences 195(i) ($\omicron\gamma\ \tau\epsilon\ \bar{\tau}\rho\eta\eta\eta\ \bar{n}-\gamma\epsilon\bar{n}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{n}\eta\lambda\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{n}-\pi\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ ShChass

168:56–169:1 “What does the peace of human beings amount to in the eyes of God?”). Similarly they often occur before sentence patterns, as *premodifier* 195(vii), to lay down a circumstance of time, place, manner, degree, or attitude in which the sentence will be asserted: $\overline{\mu\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma}\ \alpha\text{-}\overline{\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta}\ \chi\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\overline{\gamma\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{\nu\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\mu\alpha\lambda\chi\epsilon}$ Luke 4:21 “Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing”; $\overline{\gamma\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{\tau\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon}\ \overline{\nu\epsilon\gamma}\text{-}\overline{\omega\omicron\omicron\pi}\ \overline{\bar{n}\delta\iota}\text{-}\overline{\pi\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon}$ John 1:1 “In the beginning was the Word”; $\overline{\nu\alpha}\text{-}\overline{n}\ \overline{\delta\epsilon}\ \overline{n}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\tau^0}\text{-}\overline{\nu\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota}\ \overline{\omicron\gamma\beta\omicron\mu}\ \overline{\bar{n}\tau\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon}\ \overline{\pi\epsilon}$ 1 Cor 1:18 “But to us who are being saved it is the power of God.” Chapter 9 (“Adverbial Modifiers”) describes the occurrence of prepositional phrases and adverbs in these two roles.

The present chapter surveys the numerous subordinate clauses 248 that act somewhat analogously to these two roles, i.e. either postmodifying or premodifying a main (or at least a superordinate) clause. These are ‘*adverbial clauses*’.

$\overline{\nu\epsilon\gamma}\text{-}\overline{p}\text{-}\overline{\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon}\ |\ \overline{\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma}\text{-}\overline{\omega\varsigma\bar{\kappa}}\ \overline{\gamma\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\epsilon\rho\pi\epsilon}$ “They were surprised *when he lingered* in the temple” (Luke 1:21)

$\overline{\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\iota}\ \overline{\delta\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda}\ |\ \overline{\bar{m}\pi\bar{q}}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\psi}\text{-}\overline{\beta\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\beta\omicron\mu}\ \overline{\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon}\ \overline{\nu\mu\mu\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\gamma}$ “And *when he came out*, he could not speak to them” (Luke 1:22)

Also surveyed in this chapter are adverbial ‘*infinitive phrases*’ playing these same two roles. Infinitive phrases are prepositional phrases of the infinitive either containing $\tau\rho\epsilon$. . . *Infinitive* 363 (with the actor of the infinitive suffixed after $\tau\rho\epsilon$)

$\overline{\alpha\gamma}\text{-}\overline{p}\text{-}\overline{\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon}\ \overline{\delta\epsilon}\ |\ \overline{\gamma\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\tau\rho\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{n}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\tau^0}\text{-}\overline{\bar{m}\mu\alpha\gamma}\ \overline{\nu\omega\kappa}\ \overline{\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\bar{n}}\ \overline{\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon}$ “They were afraid *while those people were entering the cloud*” (Luke 9:34)

$\overline{\gamma\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\tau\rho\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\iota\varsigma}\ \overline{\delta\epsilon}\ \overline{\kappa\omicron\tau}\text{-}\overline{\bar{q}}\ |\ \overline{\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\pi\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon}\ \overline{\omega\pi}\text{-}\overline{\bar{q}}\ \overline{\epsilon\rho\omicron}\text{-}\overline{\omicron\gamma}$ “Now *while Jesus was returning* the crowd welcomed Him” (Luke 8:40)

or without $\tau\rho\epsilon$ (and thus with no actor expressed, i.e. with \emptyset actor)

$\overline{\alpha\gamma}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\iota}\ |\ \overline{\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\bar{n}\alpha\gamma}\ \overline{\epsilon\rho\omicron}\text{-}\overline{q}$ “They came *to see Him*” (Euodius of Rome, Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection [Chapman 89:18–19])

$\overline{\alpha\gamma\omega}\ \overline{\bar{\epsilon}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\mu\alpha}\ \overline{n}\text{-}\overline{\bar{p}}\text{-}\overline{\bar{\theta}\gamma\varsigma\iota\alpha}\ \overline{\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\varsigma\alpha\tau\alpha\bar{n}\alpha\varsigma}\ . . .\ |\ \overline{\varsigma\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\nu\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\bar{p}}\text{-}\overline{\bar{\theta}\gamma\mu\gamma\alpha\lambda}\ \overline{\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma}$ “And *instead of sacrificing* to Satan . . . , they will serve Christ” (ShInvect 349:8–13)

Although formally these infinitive phrases belong with the other prepositional phrases of chapter 9, their verbal content and the frequent expression of a verbal actor brings them close to the subordinate clauses in meaning. Tense in the subordinated clause or phrase expresses *relative time* 529 compared to the main or superordinate clause.

THE ADVERBIAL CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

- 491 An adverbial clause contains within itself a nexus 248 between a subject and a predicate so as to form a whole (and subordinate) statement: $\overline{\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\epsilon\iota}$ *when you came*, $\overline{\epsilon\kappa\psi\alpha\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\epsilon\iota}$ *if you come*. Infinitive phrases are similar ($\overline{\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\bar{\theta}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\epsilon\iota}$ *for you to come*). Furthermore, almost every adverbial clause (or infinitive phrase) expresses some particular kind of relationship between itself and another clause to which it relates. The relationships include cause *because you have come*, concession *although you have come*, temporality *when you came*, general stipulation *whenever you come*, contrafactual stipulation *if you had come*, etc. A grammatical union of two clauses in such a relationship is an ‘*adverbial clause construction*’: it brings two clauses into relationship in such a way that one nexus (the adverbial clause) is the presupposition or stipulation of the other nexus (other clause).

Adverbial Clause + Other Clause
presupposition or stipulation

Other Clause + Adverbial Clause
presupposition or stipulation

Similar is the grammatical union of an adverbial infinitive phrase and the clause that it modifies. Various kinds of grammatical (and indeed logical) relationship are signalled by the many adverbial clauses and infinitive phrases listed in 493. Negation of this grammatical union is by $\alpha\bar{n}$ 236.

- 492 *Sequential conjunctions and sequential initial attitude markers*. In sequel to a preceding adverbial clause of factual presupposition (*if, since*), time (*when, whenever*), or place (*where, wherever*), the main (or superordinate) clause is optionally introduced by one of the following ‘*sequential conjunctions/initial attitude markers*’:

$\alpha\rho\alpha$ ἄρα ‘*then*’ (inference)

$\epsilon\iota\epsilon\text{-}$ ‘*then, there*’ (inference; rarely sequence or place)

$\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ τότε ‘*then*’ (sequence)

$\epsilon\omega\chi\pi\epsilon$, var. $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ ‘*then*’ (inference); cf. 498

Examples: $\overline{\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\omicron\gamma\alpha}\ \overline{\mu\omicron\gamma}\ \overline{\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron}\text{-}\overline{\omicron\gamma}\ \overline{\tau\eta\rho}\text{-}\overline{\omicron\gamma}\ \overline{\alpha\rho\alpha}\ \overline{\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\pi\tau\eta\rho}\text{-}\overline{\bar{q}}\ \overline{\mu\omicron\gamma}$ 2 Cor 5:14 “Since One has died for all, therefore all have died”; $\overline{\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\alpha\bar{n}\omicron\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{\bar{n}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\iota\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\alpha\bar{n}\omicron\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{\bar{n}\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\bar{n}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma}$ Rom 8:17 “If we are children, then we are heirs”; $\overline{\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\chi\eta\epsilon}\ \bar{n}\ \overline{\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\omega\upsilon}\ \overline{\omicron\gamma\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda}\ \overline{\gamma\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{\bar{n}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon}\ \overline{\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\iota\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{q}\text{-}\overline{\nu\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\nu\omega\lambda}\ \overline{\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda}$ Acts 5:38 “If this plan or this undertaking is of human beings, then it will fail”; $\overline{\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\delta\epsilon}\ \overline{\bar{n}\tau}\text{-}\overline{\alpha\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{p}\text{-}\overline{n}\text{-}\overline{\epsilon\tau\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\bar{m}\epsilon\omega\psi\epsilon}\ \overline{\epsilon\iota\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\varsigma\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\nu\alpha}\text{-}\overline{\tau\beta\alpha\iota\omicron}\text{-}\overline{\bar{n}}$ ShIV 3:24 “But if we have done wrong, we shall be disgraced”; $\overline{\epsilon\bar{n}\psi\alpha\bar{n}}\text{-}\overline{\mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon}\ \overline{\delta\epsilon}\ \overline{\bar{n}\tau\omicron\gamma}\ \overline{\gamma\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{n}}\ \bar{n}\overline{\theta\epsilon}\ \overline{\bar{n}\tau\omicron\gamma}\ \overline{\epsilon\tau\bar{q}}\text{-}\overline{\gamma\bar{m}}\text{-}\overline{\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{n}}\ \overline{\epsilon\iota\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\tau\alpha}\text{-}\overline{n}\ \overline{\bar{n}\mu\alpha\gamma}\ \bar{n}\text{-}\overline{\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\iota\bar{n}\omega\bar{n}\iota\alpha}\ \bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-}\overline{\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{n}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma}$ 1 John 1:7 “But if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship with

one another”; ερωπε ερεωαν-ογα μερε-πκοςμος ειε- \bar{n} -ταρπн \bar{m} -ειωτ
 \bar{n} знт- \bar{q} an 1 John 2:15 “If some one loves the world, love for the Father is not in
 them”; зотан де ерѡан- $\chi\omicron\omicron$ -с $\chi\epsilon$ - \bar{n} ка nim $\lambda\gamma$ - $\gamma\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon$ на- \bar{q}
 ειε- \bar{p} βολ \bar{m} - \bar{p} - $\epsilon\tau$ - $\alpha\eta$ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - \bar{n} ка nim $\gamma\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon$ на- \bar{q} 1 Cor 15:27 “But
 when it says, All things have been subjected to Him, it means with the exception of the
 One who put all things under Him”; зопоу де \bar{k} ω εβολ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ειε- $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ αλο
 δε ερρα $\acute{\iota}$ $\gamma\alpha$ - $\bar{\theta}$ нове Heb 10:18 “Where (there is) forgiveness of these, there is no
 longer any offering for sin”; \bar{n} τερε η - \bar{t} - $\bar{\theta}$ ο $\gamma\omega$ де $\bar{n}\delta\iota$ - \bar{p} εχορ $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\eta$ -ειρε
 \bar{n} -ο γ καρ $\rho\omicron\varsigma$ тоτε $\lambda\gamma$ -ο $\gamma\omega\bar{n}\eta$ εβολ $\bar{n}\delta\iota$ - $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\tau\eta\bar{\theta}$ Matt 13:26 “So when the
 plant came up and bore grain, then the weeds appeared also”; ερѡан- $\bar{p}\epsilon\chi\varsigma$ ο $\gamma\omega\bar{n}\eta$
 εβολ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{n}\omega\bar{n}\eta$ $\bar{p}\epsilon$ тоτε $\gamma\omega\tau$ - $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha$ -ο $\gamma\omega\bar{n}\eta$ εβολ $\bar{n}\bar{m}\alpha$ - \bar{q}
 $\gamma\bar{n}$ -ο $\gamma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Col 3:4 “When Christ who is our life appears, then you also will appear
 with Him in glory”; зотан гар еѡан- \bar{p} - $\bar{\theta}$ ат- $\bar{b}\omicron\bar{m}$ тоте $\omega\alpha\acute{\iota}$ - $\bar{b}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{\theta}$ бom 2 Cor
 12:10 “For when I am weak, then I am strong”; ϵ - $\bar{m}\bar{m}\omicron\bar{n}$ εω $\chi\pi\epsilon$ $\lambda\gamma$ -ο \bar{p} -ο γ $\bar{p}\epsilon$
 $\gamma\omega\varsigma$ - $\bar{\theta}$ зairetikos ShAmél II 341:7–8 “Otherwise, they would have been considered
 heretics”; ерѡан-ογα гар $\chi\pi\omicron$ - ι $\epsilon\tau\bar{w}\epsilon$ - $\bar{p}\eta\eta\gamma$ \bar{n} - $\tau\alpha\psi\chi\eta$ εω $\chi\epsilon$ εω $\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ -ο $\gamma\varsigma\alpha\bar{v}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\iota$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\bar{m}\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ - \bar{q} εω $\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ -ο $\gamma\alpha\theta\epsilon\tau$ \bar{t} - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\bar{m}\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega$ - \bar{q}
 ShGué 160a:4–6 “For if someone reproves me for the profit of my soul, if ever I am
 wise I would **500** love him, and if I am foolish I will hate him”

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- (1) $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ + circumstantial conversion **422**: 'Though, But'
- (2) $\alpha\lambda\tau\iota$ - 0 ΤΡΕ- **363** or $\alpha\lambda\tau\iota$ - 0 infinitive or $\alpha\lambda\tau\iota$ - + conjunctive: 'Instead of . . . -ing'
- (3) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ + circumstantial conversion **422**: 'Also, And indeed, Too, Furthermore'
- (4) $\alpha\chi\bar{\nu}$ - 0 infinitive **105(c)**: 'Without . . . -ing, Without anyone . . . -ing'
- (5) $\alpha\chi\bar{\nu}$ - 0 ΤΡΕ- **363**: 'Without . . . -ing'
- (6) ϵ -, $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\equiv$ circumstantial conversion **421, 497**: the logical relationship between this and the main (or superordinate) clause is undefined (English translations typically supply *when, whenever, if, since, as, because, given that, although, inasmuch as, while*, etc.); cf. also $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, $\alpha\gamma\omega$, $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$, $\epsilon\lambda\gamma\chi\omicron\sigma\omicron\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\phi\omicron\sigma\omicron\alpha\iota$ ($\epsilon\pi\gamma\chi\omicron\sigma\omicron\alpha\iota$), $\epsilon\tau\iota$, $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ -, $\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\theta\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\iota$, $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$, $\bar{\nu}\theta\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\iota$ $\omicron\alpha\iota$, $^0\sigma\omicron\pi$. . . $^0\sigma\omicron\pi$. . . , $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$, $\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$ ϵ - $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ - or $\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ -, $\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha$, $\gamma\omega\varsigma$, $\gamma\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ -, $\gamma\omicron\sigma\omicron\alpha\iota$, $\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$
- (7) ϵ - 0 infinitive **105(c)**: 'In order to, To'; cf. **502, 504**
- (8) ϵ - $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\alpha\iota$: 'Otherwise' (conditional contrary to fact), cf. **424, 498**
- (9) ϵ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ or ϵ - $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ converting clauses: 'If . . . were/had . . . ' (conditional contrary to fact), cf. **498**

- (10) ϵ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ ϵ - \emptyset $\tau\rho\epsilon$ - **363**: 'Instead of . . . -ing'
- (11) ϵ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}$ - \emptyset infinitive **105(c)**: 'Instead of . . . -ing'
- (12) ϵ - $\pi\mu\alpha$ + conjunctive **354(a)**: 'Instead of . . . -ing'
- (13) ϵ - $\pi\tau\rho\epsilon$ - **363**: 'In order for . . . to, That . . . might, To'; cf. **502**
- (14) ϵ - \emptyset $\tau\rho\epsilon$ - **363**: 'In order for . . . to, That . . . might, To'; cf. **502, 504**
- $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\chi\epsilon$ -. See (64) $\chi\epsilon$ - + main clause
- (15) $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ - (+ past negative main clause) **234(b), 496**: 'Unless, Without . . . having'
- (16) $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$ (a) + conjunctive **354(a)** or (b) + circumstantial conversion **422** or (c) + ϵ - \emptyset $\tau\rho\epsilon$ - **363** or (d) + $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta$ - **346** or (e) + $\chi\epsilon$ - + main clause **234(b)** or (f) + $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ + optative: 'Unless, Except for . . . -ing'; cf. **496**
- (17) $\epsilon\eta\zeta\omicron\omicron\varsigma\omicron\eta$ + main clause **234(b)** or circumstantial conversion **422**: 'As long as, While'
- (18) (a) $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ or (b) $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ or (c) $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\rho$ + main clause **234(b)**: 'Since' (causal); cf. **495**
- (19) $\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma\omicron\eta$ (var. $\epsilon\pi\zeta\omicron\omicron\varsigma\omicron\eta$) + main clause **234(b), 495** or circumstantial conversion **422**: 'As long as, Inasmuch as'
- $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -. See (6) circumstantial and (20) $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta$ -
- (20) $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta$ -, var. (short form) $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -, **346, 497**: 'If, When, Since, Whenever'. See also $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$, $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\eta$, $\zeta\omicron\tau\alpha\eta$
- (21) $\epsilon\tau\iota$ + circumstantial **422** conversion: 'While . . . still . . . '
- (22) $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ - \emptyset infinitive: 'In order to, To'
- $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ - $\chi\epsilon$ -. See (64) $\chi\epsilon$ - + main clause
- (23) (a) $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ + main clause **234(b)** or (b) $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta$ - **346** or (c) $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ + circumstantial **422** conversion: 'If (ever)' (general **496**). See also $\kappa\alpha\eta$; for conjunctive after $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$, cf. **353**
- (24) $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ - (var. $\epsilon\omega\chi\pi\epsilon$ -) + clause **234(b), 495**: (a) 'Given that, Supposing that, If (as is or seems to be the case), If indeed, Since' (cause); (b) 'Even though'. See also $\kappa\alpha\eta$, $\zeta\omega\varsigma$; for conjunctive after $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ -, cf. **353**
- (25) $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ - + circumstantial **422** conversion: 'Supposing that . . . '
- (26) η + conjunctive **354(a)**: 'Unless'
- (27) $\kappa\alpha\eta$ or $\kappa\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ - + clause **234(b)(ii), 495**: 'Even if' (factual)
- (28) (a) $\kappa\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta$ - **496** or (b) $\kappa\alpha\eta$ + conjunctive **354(a), 496** or circumstantial **422** conversion or (c) $\kappa\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ + main clause **234(b)**: 'Even if'

- (29) $\kappa\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon\rho$ + circumstantial 422 conversion: 'Although'
- (30) $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha-\theta\epsilon-$ + circumstantial 422 or relative conversion 505: 'Just as', cf. 506
- (31) $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\iota$ + circumstantial 422 conversion: 'Although'
- (32) $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ + circumstantial 422, 497 conversion: 'Especially if/since'
- (33) $\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\alpha-$ ⁰infinitive 105(c): 'After . . . -ing'
- (34) $\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\alpha-$ + (a) conjunctive 354(a) or (b) $\bar{\eta}\tau-\alpha-$ (focalizing past) 457: 'After . . . -ing'
- (35) $\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\alpha-$ ⁰ $\tau\rho\epsilon-$ or $\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\alpha-\epsilon-$ ⁰ $\tau\rho\epsilon-$ 363: 'After . . . -ing'
- (36) (a) $\mu\bar{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$ + conjunctive 354(a) or (b) $\chi\epsilon-\mu\bar{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$ + main clause 234(b) or (c) $\mu\bar{\eta}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ + main clause 234(b) or conjunctive 354(a) or (d) $\chi\epsilon-\mu\bar{\eta}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ + conjunctive: 'Lest, That, So as to prevent that'
- (37) $\bar{\mu}\pi\sigma\omicron\pi$ + relative conversion: 'In case, Whenever it might happen that'
- (38) $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon$ + circumstantial 422 or relative conversion 505: 'Just as'
- (39) $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\omega\gamma\bar{\eta}-$ ⁰infinitive (var. $\bar{\eta}\pi\theta\epsilon\omega\gamma\bar{\eta}-$) 105(c): 'Without . . . ing, Without someone . . . -ing'
- (40) (a) $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\beta\eta\lambda$ + conjunctive 354(a), 496, 'Unless'; (b) $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\beta\eta\lambda \chi\epsilon-$ + main clause 234(b), 498: 'But for the fact that, Apart from the fact that'
- (41) $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$ 344: 'When, After . . . had' (past time)
- (42) $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\bar{\nu} \omicron\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ + circumstantial 422 conversion: 'Moreover, And yet'
- (43) $\pi\mu\alpha$ (= $\bar{\mu}\pi\mu\alpha$) + relative conversion: 'Wherever'
- (44) ⁰ $\sigma\omicron\pi$. . . ⁰ $\sigma\omicron\pi$. . . + circumstantial 422 clauses: 'At one time . . . at another time . . .'
- (45) $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma-$ + circumstantial 422 conversion: 'Except when, Unless'; cf. 496
- (46) $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma-$ ⁰infinitive 105(c): 'Without . . . -ing'
- (47) $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma-$ ⁰ $\tau\rho\epsilon-$ 363: 'Except when, Unless'; cf. 496
- (48) $\omega\alpha-\pi\rho\alpha$ + relative conversion: 'Until'
- (49) $\omega\alpha\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon-$ 349: 'Until'
- (50) $\gamma\alpha\theta\bar{\eta} \epsilon-\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon-$ (often written $\gamma\alpha\theta\bar{\eta} \bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon-$) (circumstantial) 422: 'Before'
- (51) $\gamma\alpha\theta\bar{\eta} \epsilon-$ ⁰ $\tau\rho\epsilon-$ 363: 'Before . . . -ing'
- (52) $\gamma\bar{\mu}-\pi\tau\rho\epsilon-$ 363: 'While . . . -ing'
- (53) $\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha$ + circumstantial 422 conversion: 'At the same time'
- (54) $\gamma\omicron\pi\omicron\gamma$ + main clause 234(b), 496: 'In so far as'

- (55) $\gamma\omega\varsigma$ + circumstantial 422 conversion: 'As, As if, On the grounds that'; cf. 495
- (56) $\gamma\omega\varsigma \epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon-$ + main clause 234(b) or circumstantial 422 conversion: 'As if'; cf. 495
- (57) $\gamma\omicron\sigma\omicron\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ + main clause 234(b) or circumstantial 422 conversion: 'As long as'
- (58) $\gamma\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon \epsilon-$ ⁰infinitive 105(c): 'So as to'; cf. 504
- (59) $\gamma\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon \epsilon-$ ⁰ $\tau\rho\epsilon-$ 363: 'So that, So as to'; cf. 504
- (60) $\gamma\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ + conjunctive 354(a): 'So that'
- (61) $\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon$ + main clause 234(b): 'When'
- (62) $\gamma\iota\tau\bar{\mu}-\pi\tau\rho\epsilon-$ 363: 'Because of . . . -ing'
- (63) (a) $\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ + main clause 234(b) or (b) $\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu} \epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ 346 or (c) $\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ + circumstantial 422 conversion: 'Whenever, As soon as, Such that'
- (64) (a) $\chi\epsilon-$ or (b) $\chi\epsilon-\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\bar{\eta}$ or (c) $\chi\epsilon-$. . . $\gamma\alpha\rho$ or (d) $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\epsilon-$ or (e) $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon-\chi\epsilon-$ + main clause (not optative) 234(b): 'Because'; cf. 495
- $\chi\epsilon-$ + optative. See (65)(66) $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$
- $\chi\epsilon-\mu\bar{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$ and $\chi\epsilon-\mu\bar{\eta}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$. See (36) $\mu\bar{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$
- (65) $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ (var. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma$) or $\chi\epsilon-$ + optative 338(b): 'So that . . . might, In order that . . . might, In order to' 502. See also $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$
- (66) $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ (var. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma$) or $\chi\epsilon-$ + $\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$. . . $\eta\alpha-$ (affirmative focalizing $\eta\alpha-$ future, without focalizing meaning 339): 'So that . . . might, In order that . . . might, In order to'; cf. 502, 504. See also $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$
- (67) $\chi\iota\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}-\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$ (focalizing conversion of durative 457): 'Already . . . when' (time previous)
- (68) $\chi\iota\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha-$ (focalizing conversion of past 457): 'Since' (time elapsed)

Examples: (1) $\epsilon\gamma-\eta\alpha-\tau\alpha\alpha-q \eta\alpha-\gamma$. . . $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \eta\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma \gamma\omega-\omicron\gamma \epsilon\gamma-\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma \epsilon\rho\omicron-\omicron\gamma \epsilon-$ ⁰ $\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}-\tau\rho\epsilon\gamma-\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha \mu\mu\omicron-\omicron\gamma$ ShIV 56:5-7 "They shall give it to them . . . though also personally watching them so they do not deceive them"; $\alpha\varsigma-\tau-\theta\omicron\gamma\bar{\omega} \bar{\eta}-\omicron\gamma \bar{\iota} \bar{\eta}-\omicron\gamma\tau\eta\eta\bar{\nu}\epsilon \alpha\bar{\eta} \bar{\eta} \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma \kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon-\alpha\varsigma-\tau-\theta\omicron\gamma\bar{\omega} \bar{\eta}-\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma \bar{\eta}-\tau\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\gamma\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ ShChass 183:2-9 "What did it blossom? Not a finger or some other organ; rather, it blossomed the fruits of righteousness"; (2) $\alpha\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\iota}-\theta\tau\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}-\rho-\theta\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}-\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}-\rho-\theta\alpha\tau-\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ ShIII 51:10-11 "Instead of your being godly, you were ungodly"; $\alpha\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\iota}-\theta\chi\omicron\omicron-\varsigma \chi\epsilon-\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}-\omicron\gamma\alpha \gamma\kappa\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau \kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha \alpha\epsilon \tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ShLeyd 298a:7-299a:10 "Instead of saying one person is hungry, another is intoxicated"; $\alpha\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\iota}-\theta\tau\rho\epsilon\gamma-\omega\rho\chi \eta \tau\omega\bar{\mu} \epsilon\rho\omicron-\omicron\gamma \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\pi\alpha\bar{\iota} \pi\epsilon \chi\epsilon-\alpha\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\iota}-\bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon-\mu\omicron\kappa\gamma-\omicron\gamma \gamma\bar{\eta}-\tau\eta\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha$ ShVienna K9345r b: 44-49 "Instead of closing and shutting them, that is, troubling oneself through fasting"; (3) $\bar{\eta}\lambda\omega \bar{\eta}-\gamma\epsilon \pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\omega \alpha\bar{\eta} \pi\epsilon \pi\omicron\gamma\omega\omega \bar{\eta}-\bar{\eta}\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu} \lambda\gamma\omega \epsilon-\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\omega \bar{\eta}-\bar{\eta}\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu} \pi\epsilon \pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$ ShChass 79:51-57 "How shall we not conclude that their wish is the wish of the demons as also ($\lambda\gamma\omega \epsilon-$)

the wish of the demons is their wish?"; (4) αχμ̄-⁰περζτ̄-⁰сноq εβολ μερε-⁰κω εβολ ωπτε Heb 9:22 "Without shedding blood there is no forgiving"; (5) κ-να-εω-βωκ εζουν εχω-q αχн-⁰треу-мнνεу ммо-к на-q John the Presbyter, Life of Pesenthius of Qift (BAp 80:28-29) "Can you enter into his presence without your being announced to him?"; (6) ναω н-ζε κ-ογεω-⁰сω εβολ зитоот-⁰е-ант̄-оучиме н-самаритнс John 4:9 "How is it that You want a drink from me, inasmuch as I am a Samaritan woman?"; ететн-пистеу тетна-хит-оу Matt 21:22 "If you believe, you will receive them"; (7) ан-еи ε-⁰ογωψτ̄ на-q Matt 2:2 "We have come to worship Him"; (8) ε-ммон неу-на-ло ан пе еу-таломмо-оу езраі Heb 10:2 "Otherwise, would they not have ceased to be offered?"; (9) cf. 498 below; (10) псωτηр де ζωα-q н-рм̄-раω н-зәрϣ-знт н-хр̄стос ε-ппа ε-⁰преқ-оγωв-еқ зен-оγбωтн нт-ақ-оγωв-еқ зеноумнт-рм-раω Rufus of Shotep, Homilies on Matthew, Frag. M.36 (Sheridan 94:24-26) "But for His part, the gentle, patient, and kind Savior, instead of answering angrily, answered gently"; (11) аγω ē-ппа н-⁰р-⁰θυςia м-псатанаc аγω ογωψτ̄ на-q аγω ρ̄-зоте знт-q се-на-ρ̄-⁰змзаа м-пехс н̄знт-q ShInvect 349:8-14 "Instead of sacrificing to Satan and worshipping him and fearing him, they will serve Christ within that place"; (12) ε-ппа нсе-тнтων-оу ε-н-ент-аγ-χοο-с ... аγ-χι-зρα-γ нтооу зн-зенωαхе н-сωве ShIV 45:15-17 "Instead of making themselves like those who said . . . , they amused themselves with playful remarks"; (13) қ-на-т̄-⁰е нн-тн̄ ε-⁰еи εвол заро-q ε-птретн̄-εω-бм̄-⁰бом ε-⁰qi 1 Cor 10:13 τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν "He will provide you the way of escape, that you may be able to endure it"; (14) неу-кωте н̄са-оымнт̄-м̄нтре эзоун ε-т̄с ε-⁰треу-мооут-q Mark 14:55 "They sought testimony against Jesus to put Him to death"; ωηλ ε-⁰т̄тн̄-третн-вωк эзоун ε-⁰пирасмос Luke 22:40 "Pray that you may not enter into temptation"; (15) αληθως μεί-καλ-κ εβολ εϊε-мpek-тама-ї хе-нтак(i.e. н̄тк̄)-н̄м Martyrdom of SS. Theodore the Anatolian, Leontius the Arab, and Panigerus the Persian (CairoHamuli G¹ f.8r a: 8-12 = Morgan Facs. vol. 39 pl. 35; Dep. 412) "Truly, I will not let you go unless you tell me who you are" [Sahidic dialect?]; ε-μερε-лаау н-рwме еқ-толм̄ зен- (i.e. зн̄-) лаау н̄-нове εω-т̄-πεγογoι эзоун ē-πεθυσιατηριον εϊε-мпoу-εϊме еро-q з̄т̄тн̄-пепп̄а ет̄⁰-оγ̄ав Athanasius, Homily on Luke 11:5-9 (Morgan M577 f.45r a: 17-25; Dep. 172) "No man polluted by any sin can approach the altar without its (*or* his) having been known by the Holy Spirit"; (16) (a) емнт̄ (i.e. еимнт̄) н̄тетн̄-кет-т̄һүт̄ н̄тетн̄-ρ̄-⁰е н̄-ниωhre ωнм н̄нетн̄-вωк эзоун ε-т̄мнт̄-ρ̄ро н̄-мп̄һye Matt 18:3 "Unless you turn and become like children, you shall not enter the kingdom of the heavens"; оу гар пет̄⁰-т̄ оҮВН-н еимнт̄ нтн̄-т̄ оҮВН-н маγaa-н ShIII 107:8-9 "For what is it that fights against us if not we alone who fight against ourselves?"; (b) ммн-ωбом гар λ-лаау ε-⁰р-неīmaīn етк-ε̄ipe н̄ток ммо-оу еимнт̄ ере-п̄ноуге φooп н̄ма-q John 3:2 "No one can do these signs that You do, unless God is with him"; (c) аѡ пе пхи н̄бонс ент-аи-хит̄һүт̄н н̄бонс н̄знт-q . . . еимнт̄ ε-⁰тра-колазе ммω-тн ShIII 144:15-17 "What act of violence did I commit against you . . . except for my punishing you?"; (d) хекас енney-таге-н-ент-аγ-наγ ёро-оу ε-лаау еимнт̄ ерѡαν-п̄һre м̄-прwме т̄woун εвол з̄н̄-н-ет̄⁰-мооут Mark 9:9 "To tell no one what they had seen, until the Son of man should have arisen from the dead"; (e) наω н-зе а-непрофнтс . . . р-зна-γ ε-⁰треу-ωп̄е н-⁰змзаа н-зенкооуе . . . еимнт̄ хе-аγ-наγ ε-п̄хоεις н-πεоoy т̄с ε-ақ-хи н-оыморφн н-змзаа ет̄вннт-н ShIV 36:13-17 "How is it that the prophets . . . were willing to be servants of others . . . except that they saw that Jesus, the Lord of glory, had assumed the form of

a servant on our behalf?"; (f) πρεκ-αίλογε με-εἰ εἵς τε-βε-λααυ εἰμῆτι χε-κα-ε-ζω-α-ε-ζω John 10:10 "The thief does not come for any reason except to steal"; (17) εν-ζο-σόν (textual var. ζο-σόν) †-ζ-μ-π-κο-σ-μο-с αν-γ-πο-υ-ο-ε-ιν μ-π-κο-σ-μο-с John 9:5 "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world"; ω-π-πε-βε-ε-κ-ο-υ-ω-ω-με-μ-μο-κ-ε-π-ε-τ-χ-ι-ζ-α-π-ν-μ-μα-κ-ζ-ν-ο-υ-β-ε-π-η εν-ζο-σόν (textual var. ζο-σόν) εκ-ω-ο-ο-π-ν-μ-μα-κ-ζ-ι-τ-ε-ζ-ι-η Matt 5:25 "Be accommodating to your accuser quickly while you are with him on the way"; (18) (a) ε-πε-ι-αν-ν-τ-ω-τ-ν-ζ-ε-ν-ρε-κ-κ-ω-ζ-ε-ν-ε-π-ε-π-νε-υ-μα-τι-κ-ον-π-ρο-с-π-κ-ω-τ-ν-τ-ε-κ-κ-λ-η-ν-с-ι-ω-ν-ε-χ-ε-κ-α-с-ε-τ-ε-т-ν-ε-ρ-ζ-ο-γ-ο 1 Cor 14:12 "Since you are eager for manifestations of the Spirit for building up the church, strive to excel"; (b) ε-πε-ι-αν-α-κ-ω-π-πε-ε-κ-ν-ζ-ο-τ-ν-ζ-ε-ν-κ-ο-υ-ι-†-на-ка-ε-и-с-та-μ-мо-к-ε-х-н-ζ-α-ζ Matt 25:21 "Since you have been faithful over a little, I will set you over much"; (c) ε-πε-ι-αν-π-ε-ρ-α-ζ-α-ζ-ζ-ι-τ-ο-ο-т-ο-υ-ε-ο-с-ζ-α-ι-н-н-ω-α-х-ε-ε-т-β-е-н-ε-ζ-β-η-у-е-н-т-α-γ-т-ω-т-н-η-т-ζ-ρ-α-ι-н-η-т-н-... Luke 1:1 "Inasmuch as many have undertaken to set down in writing the things that have been agreed among us . . ."; (19) επ-ζο-σόν γ-α-ρ αν-τ-πα-πο-с-το-λο-с-ν-ν-ε-ζ-ε-σ-η-с-ο-с-†-†-ε-ο-ο-υ-н-т-α-δ-ι-а-κ-ο-ν-и-а Rom 11:13 "Inasmuch then as I am the apostle to the Gentiles, I magnify my ministry"; (20) ζ-η-λ-ε-и-а-с-μ-е-н-ε-φ-ω-α-ν-ε-и-ε-и-α-х-ε-κ-ζ-ω-β-н-и-м-ε-во-λ Mark 9:12 "When Elijah comes, he will complete all things"; μ-ν-λ-α-α-υ-на-ω-β-ω-к-ε-ζ-ο-υ-н-ε-п-η-ε-и-π-χ-ω-ρ-е-н-τ-ω-р-и-н-ε-φ-η-н-α-ο-υ-ε-κ-ε-т-μ-μ-ο-υ-р-н-ω-ο-р-и-μ-π-χ-ω-р Mark 3:27 "No one can enter a strong man's house and plunder his goods, unless they first bind the strong man"; ε-υ-ω-α-ν-на-υ-ε-ρ-ο-κ-ω-α-γ-πα-ρ-т-ο-υ-ζ-α-ρ-α-т-к- Mark 3:11 "Whenever they beheld Him they fell down before Him"; (21) н-ο-е-ε-н-т-α-κ-†-х-р-ο-п-н-α-α-α-м-м-н-ε-γ-α-ζ-μ-π-πα-ρ-α-δ-и-с-ο-с-ε-т-и-ε-υ-ζ-н-ο-υ-с-ω-м-а-μ-ψ-υ-χ-и-к-ο-н ShIV 191:11-12 "Just as it caused Adam and Eve in paradise to stumble while they were still in an animate body"; (22) α-υ-ε-и-ε-т-β-е-на-υ-ε-р-ο-κ- Euodius of Rome, Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection (Chapman 89:18-19) "They came to see Him"; (23) (a) ε-ω-ω-π-πε-α-ε-п-ε-к-в-α-л-ο-υ-π-ο-н-η-р-ο-с-п-е-к-с-ω-м-а-т-η-р-κ-на-ω-π-πε-ε-φ-ο-н-κα-κ-ε Matt 6:23 "But if your eye is not sound, your whole body will be full of darkness"; ε-ω-ω-π-πε-ο-υ-ν-ο-υ-μ-ε-λ-ο-с-ω-ω-н-ε-ω-α-р-е-μ-μ-е-λ-ο-с-т-η-р-ο-υ-ω-ω-н-ε-н-μ-ма-κ-ζ 1 Cor 12:26 "If one member suffers, all members suffer along with it"; (b) ε-ω-ω-π-πε-α-ε-ε-ρ-ω-α-ν-п-ε-κ-с-ο-н-р-ν-ο-в-е-в-ω-к-н-г-х-п-и-ο-κ- Matt 18:15 "If your brother sins, go and tell him his fault"; ε-ω-ω-π-πε-ε-υ-ω-α-н-т-м-м-ε-т-а-н-ο-е-и-с-е-на-р-п-ω-μ-μ-ο-ε-н-с-υ-н-α-γ-ω-г-н-н-е-н-е-и-ο-т-е ShIII 129:15-16 "If they do not repent, they shall be estranged from the congregations of our fathers"; (c) ε-ω-ω-π-πε-а-ε-ε-н-с-е-на-ε-г-к-р-а-т-е-у-е-а-н-μ-μ-ο-ο-υ-μ-α-ρ-ο-υ-х-и 1 Cor 7:9 "But if they cannot (are not going to) exercise self-control, they should marry"; (24) (a) ε-ω-х-ε-α-κ-на-ζ-т-е-ε-п-п-ο-υ-т-е-м-α-р-ε-к-на-ζ-и-ε-к-т-е-н-ο-υ-ε-ω-х-ε-к-ο-γ-α-ω-к- Matt 27:43 "If (Since) He has trusted in God, let Him deliver Him if He desires Him"; ε-ω-х-ε-н-т-ο-к-п-е-п-ω-н-р-е-м-п-п-ο-υ-т-е-а-х-и-с-м-п-е-и-ω-н-е-х-е-ε-к-е-р-о-е-и-к Luke 4:3 "If (Since) You are the son of God, command this stone to become bread"; ε-ω-х-ε-п-ο-е-и-к-т-е-р-е-и-п-с-ω-м-а-κ-т-а-х-р-о-и-п-η-т-и-п-р-ω-м-е-п-с-ω-м-α-λ-λ-ο-н (i.e. п-с-ω-м-α-λ-λ-ο-н) п-ο-е-и-к-и-м-е-п-ο-е-и-к-и-п-ω-н-ζ-ε-к-на-т-а-х-р-о-и-ο-υ-н-р-и-п-η-т-и-н-ε-т-о-н-ζ-и-η-т-к- ShChass 119:26-37 "If bread, the food of the body, strengthens a person's heart, how much more so will the true bread, the bread of life, strengthen the heart of those who live on it"; ε-ω-х-ε-к-на-н-ο-х-и-н-ε-во-λ-ε-и-ε-м-а-х-ο-ο-υ-н-ε-ζ-ο-υ-н-ε-т-α-г-г-ε-л-и-н-н-е-ω-α-γ Matt 8:31 "If You cast us out (Since You are going to cast us out), send us away into the herd of swine"; ε-π-α-ρ-ζ-и-с-та-и-м-ω-т-и-ε-т-ε-т-и-ο-υ-α-α-в-а-γ-и-н-ζ-а-т-и-ω-λ-и-ε-и-м-н-ο-в-е-и-ε-ζ-ο-υ-н-ε-р-ω-т-и-и-п-п-е-к-и-т-ο-ε-во-λ-ε-ω-х-п-е-т-ε-т-и-а-м-ο-υ-н-ε-во-λ-ζ-и-т-и-и-с-т-и-с-и-с Col 1:22-23 "In order to present you holy and blameless and irreproachable before Him, on

(c) Undifferentiated causal clause (not distinguishing *a* from *b*) **497**: 'Since or If ever or Whenever . . . , (then) . . . '

(d) Contrary-to-fact clause **498**: 'If . . . had . . . , then . . . would have . . . ' (etc.)

Only types *b* and *d* are unambiguously conditional.

FACTUAL (UNCONDITIONAL) PRESUPPOSITION

495 'Factual presupposition clauses' (not conditional)

ΕΩΧΕ-ΑΤΕΤΝ-ΣΟΥΩΝ-Τ | ΤΕΤΝΑ-ΣΟΥΝ-ΠΑΚΕΪΩΤ "Since you have known Me, you will know My Father also" (John 14:7)

argue from a statement claiming to be fact (*since, if [as seems to be true]*), which is not a stipulation but a presupposition of the given state of affairs. They are headed by the following subordinative conjunctions, expanded by a main clause **234(b)**: (i) ΕΠΕΙ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗΠΕΡ *Since (causal), Inasmuch as*; (ii) ΕΩΧΕ- (var. ΕΩΧΠΕ-) *Since, If (as seems to be the case), If indeed*; (iii) ΚΑΝ, ΚΑΝ ΕΩΧΕ- *Even if*; (iv) ΧΕ-, ΧΕ-ΕΠΕΙΔΗ, ΧΕ- . . . ΓΑΡ, ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ-, ΕΤΒΕ-ΧΕ *Because*. Cf. also undifferentiated causal clause (c). Also comparable are expressions for 'As if' (ζΩC, ζΩC ΕΩΧΕ-) and 'As long as, Inasmuch as' (ΕΦΟCΟΝ), and ΝΤΕΡΕ- **348**.

GENERAL CONDITION

496 'General conditional clauses'

ΕΩΩΠΕ ΟΥΝ-ΟΥΜΕΛΟC ΨΩΝΕ | ΨΑΡΕ-ΜΜΕΛΟC ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ ΨΩΝΕ ΝΗΜΑ-Γ "If one member suffers, all members suffer along with it" (1 Cor 12:26)

ΚΑΝ ΕΪΩΑΝ-ΜΟΥ | Ν-Τ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ-ΘΤΠΕ ΑΝ Ν-ΛΑΑΥ ΜΠΑΤΓ-Ρ-(i.e. Ε-ΜΠΑΤΓ-Ρ-)ΘΝΑΥ "Even if I die, I am not going to taste anything before it is the appointed time" (ShChass 107:29-33)

stipulate hypothetical statements or generalizations, whose main clause generally was or is or would be true, under the asserted stipulation, whether or not it will ever happen: *If you should ever be here . . . , If you come here . . . , Whenever you are or may be here . . . , etc.* The stipulation clause is headed by one of the following:

ΕΩΩΠΕ + { main clause
circumstantial clause 'If ever, If'
ΕΡΩΑΝ- **348**

ΚΑΝ + { conjunctive 'Even if'
ΕΡΩΑΝ-

Cf. also undifferentiated causal (c). Also comparable are expressions for 'In so far as' (ΖΟΠΟΥ) and 'Unless' (ΕΙΕ-, ΕΙΜΗΤΙ, ΝCΑΒΗΛ, ΧΩΡΙC). Further examples, **493**.

UNDIFFERENTIATED CAUSE

497 'Undifferentiated causal clauses' (factual presupposition/general stipulation)

ΕΤΕΤΝ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ | ΤΕΤΝΑ-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ "Since or If or Whenever you have faith, you will receive them" (Matt 21:22)

ΖΗΛΕΙΑC ΜΕΝ ΕΓΩΑΝ-ΕΙ | Γ-ΝΑ-ΧΕΚ-ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ "When or Whenever or If ever or Once Elijah comes, he will complete all things" (Mark 9:12)

do not formally distinguish between factual presupposition (*a*) and general stipulation (*b*); they are ambiguous in meaning and translation. These are formed when the stipulation clause is headed by

the bare circumstantial conversion (not preceded by conjunction), or

bare ΕΡΩΑΝ- **346** (not preceded by conjunction)

Cf. also ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ + circumstantial conversion: 'Especially if/since'.

CONTRARY-TO-FACT (CONTRAFACTUAL) CONDITION

498 'Contrary-to-fact (contrafactual) conditional clauses'

ΠΧΟΕΙC Ε-ΝΕΚ-ΜΠΕΪΜΑ | ΝΕΡΕ-ΠΑCΟΝ ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ "Lord, if You had been here, my brother would not have died" (John 11:21)

express a stipulation ('irrealis') that is contrary to reality, i.e. that is not able, or no longer able, to be fulfilled: *If you had been here . . . , But for the fact that you were here . . .* The adverbial stipulation clause is headed by Ε-(ΝΕ) . . . or ΝCΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ-, which combine freely with four forms of main clause:

Adverbial Stipulation Clauses	Main Clauses
i. Ε-(ΝΕ) . . . If . . . were/had . . .	<div> <div> <div>ΝΕΡΕ- . . . ΝΑ- (ΠΕ)</div> <div>ΝΕ- (ΠΕ)</div> </div> <div> <div>... would ...</div> <div>... would have ...</div> </div> </div>
ii. ΝCΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ- But for/Apart from the fact that . . .	<div> <div>ΕΩΧΠΕ (var. ΕΩΧΕ) Α-</div> <div>ΝΕΕΙCΠΕ Α-</div> <div>ΠΑΡΑ-ΟΥΚΟΥ Α-</div> </div> <div> <div>... would have ...</div> <div>... almost would have ...</div> </div>

Cf. table 28.

TABLE 28

THE FORMATION OF CONTRAFACTUAL CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

A. CONTRARY-TO-FACT STIPULATION CLAUSES	
i. $\epsilon-(\text{NE}) \dots$ expresses a two-fold contrast between present <i>If ... were ...</i> and past <i>If ... had ...</i> as follows.	
present	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \epsilon-\text{NEPE}-, \epsilon-\text{NE}\neq, \epsilon-\text{NE}- \text{ (durative sentence in circumstantial preterit double conversion)} \\ \epsilon-\text{NE}- + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nominal sentence} \\ \text{cleft sentence} \\ \text{existential sentence} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{OYNTE-} \\ \epsilon- + \text{MMON} (= \text{"Otherwise, ..."}) \end{array} \right.$
past	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \epsilon-\text{NE}- + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{affirmative } \text{NT-}\alpha-, \text{NT-}\alpha\neq \\ \text{negative } \text{MPE-}, \text{MP}\neq \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$
Past tense affirmative is formulated with the focalizing past conversion $\text{NT-}\alpha-$ (without focalizing meaning); past tense negative, with the basic past MPE- .	
ii. $\text{NCABH}\lambda \text{XE-}$ "But for <i>or</i> Apart from the fact that ..., If ... were not/had not ..." is compatible with any type of main clause (affirmative or negative).	
B. CONTRARY-TO-FACT MAIN CLAUSES	
present	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NEPE-} \dots \text{NA-} \dots \text{ (PE)} \text{ (durative)} \\ \text{alt.} \\ \text{NE-} \dots + \text{ (PE)} \text{ (other patterns)} \end{array} \right\} \text{ "... would"}$
Invariable PE 438 optionally occurs after $\text{NEPE-} \dots \text{NA-} \dots$ and $\text{NE-} \dots$.	
past	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{EWXPE (EWX}\neq, \text{NEEICEPE)} \alpha-/(\text{MPE-}) \text{ "... would have"} \\ \text{and} \\ \text{PARA-OYKOYI } \alpha-/(\text{MPE-}) \text{ "... almost would have"} \end{array} \right.$

Examples: (i) $\epsilon-(\text{NE}) \dots$ as stipulation: $\text{ONTOS } \epsilon-\text{NEPE-NTBNOCYE } \bar{\text{M}}-\text{MINE NIM } \alpha\gamma\omega \bar{\text{NKEZWN}} \dots \epsilon-\text{NEY-NOI } \bar{\text{M}}-\text{P-ETOY-NA-MOY ETBHNT-q } \epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\text{-OYOM-q } | \text{ NEY-NA-MEZ-PW-OY EP-O-q } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} \epsilon\text{NEZ ShGué 164b:12-15 "Truly, if all kinds of beasts and other living things ... knew what they would die from if they ate it, they would never take a bite of it"; } \epsilon-\text{NETETN-PICTEYE } \Gamma\text{AP } \epsilon-\text{MAYCHC } | \text{ NETETNA-PICTEYE EP-O-I } \text{PE John 5:46 "For if you believed Moses, you would believe Me"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-M-PAI } \bar{\text{P}}-\text{PEOOCY } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} | \text{ NE-N-NA-TAA-q } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} \text{ETOOT-K John 18:30 "If this Man were not an evildoer, we would not be handing Him over to you"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-ANF-OYPONHOC N-PWME } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} \text{PE } | \text{ NEPE-ZOEINE NA-KPMRM } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} \text{PE } \epsilon\text{ZOYN EP-O-I ShIII 118:8-9 "If I were not a wicked man, people would not murmur$

against me"; $\epsilon-\text{NE-NTETN-ZENB}\lambda\lambda\epsilon | \text{ NE-MMN-}^0\text{NOBE EPW-TN } \text{PE John 9:41 "If you were blind, you would have no guilt"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-NTK-OYENTH}^0 \text{NTETZE EK-PHT ZAPIZAP-O-K } | \text{ NE-P-ET}^0\text{-EWWE } \text{PE } \epsilon-\text{ANEXE MMO-K WA-PE-OYOEW } \bar{\text{M}}-\text{PWZC ShChass 42:26-32 "If you were a weed sprouting up on your own, it would be necessary to tolerate you until harvest time"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-PETNIEWT } \text{PE } \text{PNOYTE } | \text{ NETETNA-MEPIT-}^0 \text{PE John 8:42 "If God were your father, you would love Me"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-OYXI } \bar{\text{N}}\text{BONC } \bar{\text{N}} \text{OYZW } \epsilon\text{q-ZOOCY } \text{PENTACY } \text{WPE } \bar{\text{W}} \text{NTOXAI } | \text{ NEI-NA-ANEXE } \text{PE } \bar{\text{M}}\text{W-TN } \epsilon\gamma\text{LOGOC Acts 18:14 "If it were an act of violence or a vicious crime that had occurred, I should reasonably bear with you, O Jews"; } \alpha\lambda\text{HOC } \epsilon-\text{NE-OYMEROC } \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OYWT } \bar{\text{Z}}\text{N-N-ETN-NA } \epsilon\text{PO-OY } \text{THP-OY } \text{PENTAK-TAMIO-q } \bar{\text{Z}}\text{M-PEICOCY } \bar{\text{N}}-\text{ZOOCY } | \text{ NE-NTK-OYMOIZE ShGué 161a:31-33 "Truly, if it were only one single part of the visible world that You had created within those six days, You would be marvelous"; } \bar{\text{A}} \text{ } \epsilon-\text{NE-OYN-}^0\text{BOM } \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OY}\bar{\text{A}} \text{ } \epsilon-\text{CMINE } \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OYBAL } \bar{\text{N}}\text{TE-OYZM}^0\text{ZAL } \bar{\text{N}}\text{TA-q } | \text{ NEQ-NA-TALBO-q } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} \text{PE ShChass 131:53-58 (= ShIII 36:13-15) "Or, if it were possible for someone to restore the eye of one of his slaves, would he not go ahead and heal him?"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-OYN-WBOM } | \text{ EWXPE ATETN-PRK-NETNALOCYE Gal 4:15 "If possible, you would have plucked out your eyes"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-OYNTN-TN-}^0\text{PICTIC MMAY... } | \text{ NETETNA-XOC... Luke 17:6 "If you had faith ... you would say ..."; } \epsilon-\text{MMON } | \text{ EWXPE AY-OP-OY } \text{PE } \text{ZOC-}^0\text{ZAPETIKOC ShAmél II 341:7-8 "Otherwise, they would have been considered heretics"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-NT-AI-EIRE } \Gamma\text{AP } \bar{\text{N}}-\text{OYXI } \bar{\text{N}}\text{BONC } \bar{\text{N}} \text{OYZW } \epsilon\text{q-MPW } \bar{\text{M}}-\text{PMOY } | \text{ NEI-NA-PARAITI } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{M}}-\text{PMOY Acts 25:11 "If then I had committed an act of violence or a capital crime, I would not seek to escape death"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-NT-A-NBOM ENT-AY-WOPE } \bar{\text{N}}\text{ZHT-THYT } \text{WPE } \bar{\text{Z}}\text{N-TYPOC } \bar{\text{M}}\text{N-CIADON } | \text{ EWXPE AY-METANOEI Matt 11:21 "If the mighty works done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago"; } \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon-\text{NE-NT-A-PXOIC PNOYTE KA-OYBOM } \bar{\text{Z}}\text{M-PCATANAC } \epsilon-\text{TRCQ-TAKO } \bar{\text{N}}-\text{N-ET-}^0\text{P-}^0\text{ZW } \epsilon-\text{TANOMIA } \text{PARA-PEYOYW } | \text{ NE-MN-}^0\text{KRIMA } \text{ZIXW-OY ShChass 69:2-11 "And if the Lord God had empowered Satan to destroy those who involuntarily practice injustice, there would be no judgement against them"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-MPI-P-NEZBHYE } \text{ZPAI } \bar{\text{N}}\text{ZHT-OY } \epsilon\text{TE-MPE-KEA } \alpha\bar{\text{A}}-\gamma | \text{ NE-MMT-OY-}^0\text{NOBE MMAY John 15:24 "If I had not done among them the works which no one else did, they would not have sin"; } \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon-\text{NE-MPEQ-EI } \text{WA-N-ET-}^0\text{OYH } \text{ZIXM-PKAZ } | \text{ EWXPE AC-WOPE } \bar{\text{N}}\text{BI-}^0\text{EAN } \bar{\text{M}}-\text{PKOCMOC ShGué 162b:1-2 "And if He had not come to those who dwell on earth, the end of the world would have come"; } \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon-\text{NE-MPEQ-TAMIO-K } | \text{ EWXPE (sic) } \bar{\text{M}}\text{PEQ-WOPE } \text{PW } \bar{\text{N}}\text{BI-PEK-P-PMEEYE Horsiese, Homily 5 (Lefort Œuvres 74:29-30) "And if He had not created you, your memory would not have existed at all"; } \epsilon-\text{NE-ATETN-CWTM } \dots \text{NEEICPE } \alpha-\text{NEPAHGH EI } \epsilon\text{ZOYN } \text{H } \alpha\gamma-\text{MOY } \text{ZPAI ShIF2 p. 169b:12-26 "If you had hearkened ... the lesions would have shrunk or closed up"}$

(ii) $\text{NCABH}\lambda \text{XE-}$ as stipulation: $\text{NCABH}\lambda \text{XE-PEKNOMOC } \text{WOOP } \text{NA-I } \bar{\text{M}}-\text{MELE-TN } | \text{ NEI-NA-TAKO } \text{PE } \bar{\text{Z}}\text{M-PATBBI}^0 \text{Ps 118(119):92 "But for the fact that Thy law is my meditation (If Thy law were not my meditation), I should perish in my lowliness"; } \text{NCABH}\lambda \text{XE-NTOK } \text{PE } \text{PAEIOT } \text{KATA-}^0\text{CAPZ } \dots \text{De Morte Iosephi (Lagarde 17:30-18:17) "But for the fact that you are physically My father"; } \text{NCABH}\lambda \text{XE-NNEI-P-}^0\text{AT-CWTM } \bar{\text{N}}\text{CA-P-ET-}^0\text{TNNOCY } \bar{\text{M}}\text{MO-I } \epsilon-\text{PAI } | \text{ ETETN } \text{WAN-QI } \bar{\text{N}}-\text{TAAPE } \text{ZIXW-I } \bar{\text{N}} \text{NETN-NOX-T } \epsilon-\text{EALLACA } \text{NTI- (read NEI-)} \text{NA-CWTM } \alpha\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{N}}\text{CA-THYT } \text{John the Presbyter, Life of Pesenthius of Qift (BAP 92:11-14) "Apart from the fact that I shall not disobey Him who brought me to this, I would not obey you even if you chopped off my head or threw me into the sea"; } \text{NCABH}\lambda \text{XE-AN-}$

ωσ̄κ | εψ̄χπε αν-κοτ̄-ν̄-πμεζ-сп-с̄наγ Gen 43:10 "For if we had not tarried, we should now have returned twice"; αγω̄ ν̄савна̄ хе-α-π̄χοε̄ις̄ сава̄ωθ̄ ωω̄χπ̄ να-ν̄-ν̄-ο̄υсп̄εрма | εψ̄χε (textual var. εψ̄χπε) αν-ψω̄πε̄ ν̄εε̄ ν̄-со-λομᾱ αγω̄ αν-ε̄ῑνε̄ ν̄-гоμορра̄ Isa 1:9 "And if the Lord of Sabaoth had not left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been made like to Gomorrah"; ν̄савна̄ γαρ̄ хе-ν̄т-ᾱтет̄ν-хе-ν̄ιψ̄αхе̄ ζ̄ν-ο̄υμ̄ντ̄-ᾱт-соо̄υν̄ | νε̄ρε̄-π̄νο̄υτε̄ να-νο̄ῡς̄ ε̄ρω̄-т̄н̄ η̄ ε̄ρε̄-ζ̄εν̄πο̄νη̄ρον̄ να-ψω̄πε̄ ShIII 86:21-23 "Had it not been in ignorance that you said these words, God would be angry at you and evil things would happen"; ν̄савна̄ хе-α-π̄χοε̄ις̄ वो̄η̄εῑ ε̄ρο̄-ῑ | παρα-ο̄γ̄κο̄ῡῑ α-τᾱψ̄χ̄η̄ ο̄γ̄ω̄ζ̄ ζ̄ν̄-ᾱμ̄ν̄τε̄ Ps 93(94):17 Εἰ μὴ ὅτι Κύριος ἐβοήθησέ μοι, παραβραχὺ παρῆκησέ τῷ ᾧδῃ ἡ ψυχὴ μου "If the Lord had not helped me, my soul would have almost sojourned in Hades"

- 499 **νᾱνο̄υ-с** and **ζᾱμο̄ι** as main clauses of the conditional contrary-to-fact. Exclamations of regret, expressed as a contrary-to-fact conditional

νᾱνο̄υ-с̄ м̄-π̄ρω̄με̄ ε̄т̄^θ-м̄ма̄γ | ε-νε̄-м̄по̄υ-х̄πο-γ̄ "It would be better for that man if he had not been born" (Matt 26:24)

are based upon **νᾱνο̄υ-с** 'it would be better' and/or **ζᾱμο̄ι** 'how good it would have been', as follows.

- (a) *Exclamation + ε-νε̄... (contrary-to-fact clause 498)*

νᾱνο̄υ-с̄ ε-νε̄... "It would be better if... were/had..."

ζᾱμο̄ῑ ε-νε̄... "How good it would have been if... were/had..., If only... were/had..."

Examples: **νᾱνο̄υ-с̄** να-γ̄ ν̄ζο̄γ̄ο | ε-νε̄-γ̄ν̄-ο̄ῡω̄νε̄ ν̄-с̄ӣке̄ ᾱψ̄ε̄ ε-πε̄γ̄-μᾱκ̄ζ̄ ν̄с̄е̄-но̄х̄-γ̄ ε-те̄ᾱλᾱᾱс̄са̄ Mark 9:42 "It would be much better for him if a millstone were hung round his neck and he were thrown into the sea"; **ζᾱμο̄ῑ** | ε-νε̄-ᾱν̄τ̄-ο̄ῡμᾱῑ-ζο̄μ̄τ̄ αν̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ μᾱῑ-π̄-ε̄τε̄-π̄ω̄-ῑ αν̄ πε̄ ShChass 77:16-19 "How good it would have been if I were not (If only I were not) greedy for money and for what does not belong to me"; **ζᾱμο̄ῑ** β̄ε̄ | ε-νε̄-м̄н̄-ρ̄ω̄με̄ н̄ко̄т̄к̄ η̄ та̄ζε̄ н̄с̄а̄-н̄-ε̄т̄^θ-н̄ко̄т̄к̄ ζ̄н̄-те̄γ̄ω̄η̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ не̄-ο̄γ̄н̄-ζ̄на̄г̄а̄θ̄о̄н̄ (i.e. ζ̄ε̄на̄г̄а̄θ̄о̄н̄) ε-на̄ψ̄ω̄-ο̄γ̄ να-ψω̄πε̄ н̄-н̄-ε̄т̄^θ-ο̄γ̄н̄ζ̄ ζ̄н̄-то̄ӣκο̄ῡμ̄н̄не̄ ρ̄ω̄сте̄ ε-т̄ре̄-π̄ка̄ζ̄ ρ̄-θ̄ε̄ м̄-π̄πᾱρᾱδῑс̄о̄с̄ ShIV 180:3-6 "If only people were not asleep (How good it would have been if people were not asleep) or intoxicated, except those who sleep at night, and if only many good things would befall those who inhabit the world so that the earth would come to be like paradise"

- (b) **ζᾱμο̄ῑ** + *contrary-to-fact main clause 498*, "How good it would have been if..., If only...". The stipulation clause in pattern (b) has the form of a main clause (**νε̄γ̄-на̄** etc.).

Examples: **ζᾱμο̄ῑ** ο̄н̄ | νε̄γ̄-на̄-δ̄ω̄хе̄ (textual var. ε-νε̄γ̄-на̄-) ε̄βο̄λ̄ ν̄-н̄-ε̄т̄^θ-ψ̄το̄ρ̄т̄ρ̄ Gal 5:12 "I wish (How good it would have been if) those who unsettle you would be mutilated!"; **ζᾱμο̄ῑ** | не̄-а̄но̄н̄-ο̄γ̄а̄ м̄мо̄-ο̄γ̄ ShIV 92:18 "If only (How good it would have been if) we were one of them!"; **ζᾱμο̄ῑ** ο̄н̄ | не̄-ψ̄ᾱτε̄т̄н̄-δ̄ω̄ ν̄те̄ῑζε̄ ShChass 46:4-7 (= ShIII 83:5) "If only you would stop there!"

MIXED CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

- 500 Real and contrary-to-fact clauses can be grammatically united in the same conditional sentence.

Examples: **м̄н̄** ψ̄аре̄-ο̄γ̄ε̄ῑᾱ ν̄-то̄ο̄γ̄ ω̄ψ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ | ν̄с̄а̄β̄е̄λ̄ ε-π̄χ̄ӣν̄χ̄η̄ хе̄-ε̄γ̄-ψ̄ӣνε̄ ν̄с̄а̄-те̄ρ̄ре̄ Job 6:5 "Does the wild ass bray if he were not seeking food for nothing?"; **νε̄ῑ**-со̄ο̄υν̄ γαρ̄ αν̄ πε̄ ν̄-τε̄π̄ῑθ̄ῡμ̄ῑ | ν̄с̄а̄β̄η̄λ̄ хе̄-ᾱ-π̄но̄μο̄с̄ х̄о̄ο̄-с̄ хе̄-н̄не̄к̄-ε̄π̄ῑθ̄ῡμ̄ῑ Rom 7:7 "I did not know (sic) what it is to covet but for the fact that the law had said, You shall not covet"; **ε-νε̄-м̄н̄**-^θβᾱρ̄-βᾱρο̄с̄ ψ̄ο̄ο̄η̄ | ο̄γ̄ πε̄ π̄τᾱε̄ῑδ̄ м̄-π̄ма̄το̄ῑ ᾱγ̄ω̄ πε̄γ̄ω̄γ̄ω̄γ̄ω̄γ̄ ShChass 70:20-24 "If there were no barbarians, what does the honor and pride of the soldier amount to?"; **ε̄ω̄ω̄πε̄** ᾱν̄τ̄-ο̄γ̄с̄а̄βε̄ | **ν̄ε̄ῑ-на̄-με̄ρῑт̄-γ̄** ShGué 160a:5 "If ever I am wise, I would love him"; **ε-νε̄-ο̄γ̄н̄т̄-ο̄γ̄**-^θζ̄η̄т̄ γαρ̄ ε-^θε̄ῑμε̄ | не̄с̄-ρ̄ω̄ψ̄ε̄ ε̄ρο̄-ο̄γ̄ н̄б̄ӣ-та̄πο̄δε̄ῑζ̄ӣс̄ м̄-πᾱπο̄στο̄λο̄с̄ ShWess18 128b:21-26 "If only they were smart enough to understand, in fact the apostle's argument was enough for them"

- 501 SOME APPROXIMATE EQUIVALENTS OF THE CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

(a) Articulated attributive clause 411 instead of stipulation clause; e.g. **π̄-ε̄т̄^θ-на̄-х̄ӣ**-^θο̄γ̄а̄ δε̄ ε-πε̄π̄н̄а̄ ε̄т̄^θ-ο̄γ̄а̄а̄β̄ | **м̄м̄н̄т̄-γ̄**-^θκ̄ω̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ψ̄а̄-ε̄νε̄ζ̄ Mark 3:29 "Whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness" (= If any one blasphemes against the Holy Spirit, they will never have forgiveness)

(b) Main clause (or imperative) instead of stipulation clause; e.g. **πισ̄τε̄ῡε̄ ε-π̄χο̄ε̄ις̄** ῑс̄ πε̄х̄с̄ | ᾱγ̄ω̄ κ̄-на̄-ο̄γ̄ха̄ῑ Acts 16:31 "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and you will be saved" (= If you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, you will be saved); **κ̄-м̄н̄ρ̄ ε-^θс̄ζ̄ӣμε̄** | **м̄π̄ρ̄-ψ̄ӣνε̄** ν̄с̄а̄-^θβ̄ω̄λ̄ 1 Cor 7:27 "Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to be free" (= If you are bound to a wife, do not seek to be free)

(c) Main clause (or imperative) + conjunctive; e.g. **х̄ӣ**-^θт̄πε̄ | **ν̄τε̄т̄н̄-ε̄ῑμε̄ хе̄-π̄χο̄ε̄ις̄** ζ̄ο̄λ̄δ̄ Ps 33(34):7 (33:8 Budge) "Taste and know that the Lord is good" (= If you taste, you will know that the Lord is good); **ν̄-т̄н̄-на̄-ο̄γ̄ε̄м̄-а̄а̄γ̄ αν̄ м̄πεῑμᾱ** | **н̄т̄-т̄м̄-х̄ω̄** на̄-н̄ **ν̄ψ̄ο̄ρ̄π̄ хе̄-ᾱψ̄ τε̄** (i.e. тек̄-)ε̄ργ̄ᾱс̄ӣа̄ ApophPatr 241 (Chaine 73:28-29 = Z 346:21-22) "We will not eat anything here and not have you first tell us what your occupation is" (= Unless you first tell us what your occupation is, we will not eat anything here)

(d) Command + future conjunctive; e.g. **ᾱῑτεῑ** | **та̄ρο̄γ̄-†** н̄н̄-т̄н̄ Matt 7:7 "Ask, and it will be given you" (= If you ask, it will be given you); **μᾱρн̄-про̄с̄ε̄хе̄ ε-νε̄γ̄-ψ̄а̄хе̄** | **та̄ρн̄-ε̄ῑμε̄ ε-π̄-ε̄т̄н̄-ψ̄ӣνε̄** н̄с̄ω̄-γ̄ ShLefort 41:9 "Let us pay attention to His words, and we shall understand what we are looking for" (= If we pay attention, we shall understand).

PURPOSE AND RESULT

PURPOSE

- 502 Expressions of purpose (*to, in order to, that... might, so that... might*) are adverbial clauses and infinitive phrases. They include: **ε-^θ**infinitive,

ε-πtre-, ε-⁰tre-, εtre-⁰infinitive, xε- or xεka(λ)c + optative, xε- or xεka(λ)c + ε=na-. These often expand a verb of incomplete predication; cf. **185**. E.g. αν-ει | ε-⁰ογωψτ να-q Matt 2:2 “We have come to worship Him”; †-ογεψ-ναγ γαρ ερω-τñ | xεkas ετε-† ηη-τñ ñ-ογζμοτ ñ-πñατικον Rom 1:11 “For I long to see you, *that I might impart* to you some spiritual gift.” For further examples, cf. **493**. For the future conjunctive ταρε- with nuances of purpose, cf. **358(a)**; for the ambiguity of purpose *versus* result, cf. **504**.

RESULT

- 503** Expressions of result (*so as to*, *so that*) are adverbial clauses and infinitive phrases. They include: ζωστε ε-⁰infinitive, ζωστε ε-⁰tre-, ζωστε ñτε- (conjunctive), and ταρε-. E.g. αγ-μεζ-πχοει cnaγ | ζωστε ε-⁰treγ-ωmε Luke 5:7 “They filled both the boats, so that they began to sink”; αq-αρχεcαi ñ-⁰ταγε-⁰οϊω ñζαζ αγω ε-⁰cρ-πωαχε | ζωστε ñq-τm-6m-⁰6om ε-⁰βωκ εζογñ ε-τπολιc ñογωñζ Mark 1:45 “But he began to talk freely about it, and to spread the news, so that He could no longer openly enter a town.” For further examples, cf. **493**.

But introducing a main clause, ζωστε is a conjunction expressing extension **234(a)**. It articulates a logical next step or conclusion; sometimes it signals a new train of thought: *And so*, *And as a result*, *So that*, *And consequently*. (Cf. ταϊ τε εε as a conjunction **507**.)

Examples: πcαββατον ñτ-αq-ωωπε εtre-πρωμε αγω ñτ-α-πρωμε ωωπε αν εtre-πcαββατον | ζωστε πωñρε ñ-πρωμε πχοεις πε ñ-πκεcαββατον Mark 2:27-28 “The sabbath was made for humanity, not humanity for the sabbath; *so that* the Son of man is the Lord even of the sabbath”; ñim ñ-ρωμε εβολ ñζñτ-τñγτñ πετ⁰-να-κω ñα-q ñ-ογεcοογ ñ-ογωτ ñτε-παι ζε ζm-πcαββατον ε-γζιεit μη ñ-q-ñα-αμαζε ñmo-q αν ñq-τογñoc-q | ñρωμε δε ωωβε ñογñρ ε-πεcοογ | ζωστε εζεcτi ζm-πcαββατον ε-ρ-ππετ-ñανογ-q Matt 12:11-12 “What person among you, if they have one sheep and it falls into a pit on the sabbath, will not lay hold of it and lift it out? Of how much more value is a human being than a sheep! *So* it is lawful to do good on the sabbath”

THE AMBIGUITY OF PURPOSE AND RESULT

- 504** The dividing line between purpose (*in order to*), intended result (*so as to*), and consequential result (*so that*) is sufficiently fluid that xε- or xεka(λ)c ερε- and ε-⁰(tre-) sometimes express result, while ζωστε ε-⁰(tre-) and ταρε- sometimes express purpose. E.g. τε-χωζ ζωω-q αγω τε-ογωm εβολ ζñ-ακαθαρcια ñim ñ-⁰ααìmonion | xεkas εγε-μεcτω-⁰ εβολ ζìτñ-τc ññ-ñεqαγγελοc ñεε ñ-ñpìρ ετ⁰-ογем-⁰ακαθαρcια εγ-μοcτε ñmo-ογ εβολ ζìτñ-ñ-ετ⁰-ñαγ ερο-ογ ShIII 203:8-12 “But you touch and eat from all the filth of demons, *so that*

(xεkas εγε-) you are hated by Jesus and His angels, like swine that eat filth and are despised by those who watch them”; ñκεcεεπε ñ-ñρωμε ετε-μπογ-μογ ζñ-ñειπληñη ñπογ-μεταñοει on εβολ ζñ-ñεζβñγe ñ-ñεγβìx | ε-⁰τm-treγ-ογωψτ ñ-ñααìmonion ñ-ñογβ ññ-ñζατ Rev 9:20 “The rest of humankind, who were not killed by these plagues, did not repent of the works of their hands *so as to* cease (ε-⁰τm-treγ-) worshiping golden demons and silver ones”; αγ-ñτ-q ωα-πκοοζ ñ-πτοογ εтере-τεγπολεic κñτ ζìxω-q | ζωστε ε-⁰treγ-ñox-q εβολ ñxοqτñ Luke 4:29 “And they led Him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, *in order that* (ζωστε ε-⁰treγ-) they might throw Him down headlong”; τωm δε ερñ-αñomia ñim ññ-xì ñ6onc ñim . . . | ταρε-ñ-ετ⁰-cοογñ ñmo-κ cρqe ε-⁰ρ-ζmζαλ ñα-κ ShChass 48:53-49:7 “So put a stop to all acts of lawlessness and violence . . . *so that* those who know You *might have the leisure* to serve You” (or “and those who know You shall . . .”).

CORRELATED COMPARISON: ‘JUST AS . . . SO TOO . . .’

- 505** Adverbial expressions of comparison *just as*, *as* are built on the prepositional phrases ñεε or κατα-εε (“In the manner”); negation, ñεε αν, κατα-εε αν *not as*. The article phrase εε (τ-ζε) is expanded by either

i. a relative or circumstantial clause: *In the manner that X is true*. E.g. κατα-εε εντ-αq-ζων ετοοτ-⁰ John 14:31 “As He has commanded me” (In the manner that He has commanded me) καθως ενετειλατο μοι; κατα-εε ετ⁰-cñζ Rom 3:4 “As it is written”; ñεε on ερε-παρχιερεγc ρ-⁰ññτρε ñα-ι Acts 22:5 “As the high priest bears me witness”; cf. **506(a)**; or

ii. a construction of general relationship **147** (*of . . .*), whose second term is expanded by a relative or circumstantial clause: *In the manner of A, such that X is true*. E.g. ñεε γαρ ñ-τεcζime ε-γεβολ ζm-πζοογτ τε 1 Cor 11:12 “For as female comes from male” (In the manner of the female, she-being-from the male); cf. **506(b)**; or

iii. only a construction of general relationship or the possessive article: *In the manner of A*. E.g. ñεε ñ-ñετñειοτε Acts 7:51 ως οι πατερες υμων “As your ancestors (did or were) (In the manner of your ancestors)”; ñτεκζε Matt 19:19 “As (you love) yourself” (In your own manner); **506(c)**.

Also comparable are ζωc + circumstantial clause ‘As, As if, On the grounds that’ and ζωc εωxe- + main clause ‘As if’ **493**.

- 506** A ‘sentence of correlated comparison’ (Just as . . . so too) is an adverbial clause construction **491** that consists of two elements—(1) an adverbial clause or phrase of comparison **505** *just as*, *as* premodifying or postmodifying (2) the main clause headed by ταϊ τε εε *so too* (“This is the manner”).

Adverbial Clause of Comparison | ταϊ τε εε . . .

ταϊ τε εε . . . | *Adverbial Clause of Comparison*

Like adverbial clauses of comparison, ταῖ τε ὅτε is expanded in three ways:

- (a) *In the manner that X is true, ὅτε ἐτε- (or ἐ-) ...*
this is the manner that Y is true ταῖ τε ὅτε ἐτε- (or ἐ-) ...

Here ταῖ τε ὅτε is expanded by a relative or circumstantial clause ('that'). E.g. κατα-ὅτε ἐντ-αφ-ζων ἐτοοτ-⁰ | ταῖ τε ὅτε ἐτ-εῖρε ἄμο-ς John 14:31 "I do as He has commanded me" (In the manner that He commanded me, this is the manner that I act in).

Further examples: κατα-ὅτε ἐντ-αν-σώτῃ ταῖ ον τε ὅτε ἐντ-αν-ναυ Ps 47[48]:8 "As we have heard, so have we also seen"; ταῖ τε ὅτε ἐτῶ-νηγ ἄμο-ς ὅτε ἄν-ατῆ-ναυ ἐρο-φ ἐφ-να-βωκ ἐζράϊ ἐ-ττε Acts 1:11 "He will come (νηγ) in the same way as you saw Him go into heaven" (This is the manner in which He is coming, in the manner that you saw Him ascending into heaven) οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὁν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; ὅτε ἐτῶ-σὸππ ἐ-ναγγελοσ ταῖ ον τε ὅτε ἐντ-αφ-κληρονομί-ῃ-οὐραν ἐφ-φωβε ἐρο-ογ Heb 1:4 "Just as He is better than the angels, so He also received a name that is different from them" (In the manner that He is better ... this is the manner that He also received ...); ἀφω κατα-ὅτε ἐντ-α-μωγς χίσε μ-πζοφ ζν-τερημος ταῖ τε ὅτε ἐ-ζαπς (textual var. ζαπς) ἐ-τρεγ-χεστ-πωρε μ-πρωμε John 3:14 "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up"; κατα-ὅτε γαρ ἐντ-α-ῖωνας φωπε μ-μαεῖν μ-πρωμε ἡ-νινεγν ταῖ τε ὅτε ἐτερε-πωρε μ-πρωμε να-ῖρε ἡ-τεῖρενα Luke 11:30 "For just as Jonah became a sign to the people of Nineveh, so will the Son of man do for this generation"

- (b) *In the manner of A, such that X is true, ὅτε ἡ-... ἐτε- (or ἐ-) ...*
this is the manner of B, such that Y is true ταῖ τε ὅτε ἡ-... ἐτε- (or ἐ-) ...

Here ταῖ τε ὅτε is expanded by a construction of general relationship 147 (of ...), whose second term is expanded by a relative or circumstantial clause. E.g. ὅτε γαρ ἡ-τεσζιμε ἐ-γεβοα ζῆ-πζοογτ τε | ταῖ τε ὅτε μ-πζοογτ ἐ-γεβοα ζῆ-τεσζιμε πε 1 Cor 11:12 "For as female comes from male, so male comes from female."

Further examples: ὅτε γαρ ἡ-ἱαννης μῆ-ἱαμβρης ἐντ-αφ-αζερατ-ογ οὕβε-μωγς ταῖ τε ὅτε ἡ-νεῖκοογε ἐγ-τ οὕβε-τμε 2 Tim 3:8 "As Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses, so these others also oppose the truth" (In the manner of Jannes and Jambres, who opposed Moses, this is the manner of these others, who oppose the truth); ὅτε μ-ν-ετ-ογμ-αφ μ-πρζι-ζωμιν ἐρε-νεγζναγ τηρ-ογ τολμ ... ταῖ ον τε ὅτε μ-ζενρωμε μ-ρεφ-μιφ μ-ρεφ-τ-ῶτων ἐρε-νεγ-μεεγε νζητ τηρ-ογ ζαζμ ShIII 177:18-21 "Just as all the vessels of 'those who eat pork and broth' are filthy ... so too all the inner thoughts of aggressive and contentious people are defiled" (In the manner of those who eat pork and broth, such that all their vessels are filthy ... this too is the manner of aggressive, contentious people, such that all their inner thoughts are defiled)

- (c) *In the manner of A, ὅτε ἡ-... this is the manner of B ταῖ τε ὅτε ἡ-...*

Here ταῖ τε ὅτε is expanded only by a construction of general relationship or by the possessive article. E.g. ὅτε ἡ-μ-παραπτωμα | ταῖ τε ὅτε μ-πε-ζμοτ Rom 5:15 οὐχ ὥς τὸ παράπτωμα, οὕτως τὸ χάρισμα "The free gift is not like the trespass" (Not in the manner of the trespass, this is the manner of the free gift); ὅτε ἡ-νετῆειοτε | ταῖ ζωτ-τηγτῇ τε τετῆζε Acts 7:51 "As your ancestors (did or were), so also (do or are) you" (In the manner of your ancestors, this is your manner).

- (d) Elements from these three patterns occur blended into mixed types.

(a + b) κατα-ὅτε γαρ ἐτε-γῆτα-μ-ζαζ μ-μελος ζῆ-ογσωμα ἡ-ογωτ ... ταῖ τε τετῆζε τηρ-ἡ-ε-ανον-ογσωμα ἡ-ογωτ ζῆ-πεχς Rom 12:4-5 "For as in one body we have many members ... so we all are one body in Christ"

(b + a) ὅτε γαρ ἡ-τεβρηβε ἐ-φας-ῖ-ογοῖν ζα-ττε μ-ῖ-ογοῖν ἐχμ-πκαζ ταῖ τε ὅτε ἐτῶ-να-φωπε μ-πωρε μ-πρωμε Luke 17:24 "For as the lightning flashes under the sky and lightens up the earth, so it will be for the Son of man"

(b + c) κατα-ὅτε μ-πωλζ ἐτε-μ-ῖ-να-φ-τ-ῶκαρπος ἡ-ζαρο-φ ἡ-μαγαα-φ εἰμητῇ μῖ-δω ζῆ-τβω μ-ελοοε ταῖ ζωτ-τηγτῇ τε τετῆζε John 15:4 "As the branch cannot bear fruit by itself unless it abides in the vine, so too (neither can) you"

ταῖ τε ὅτε AS A CONJUNCTION

- 507 ταῖ τε ὅτε (+ main clause, relative, or circumstantial) also functions as a conjunction expressing extension 234(a). In this function it articulates a logical next step or conclusion; sometimes it signals a new train of thought: *Likewise, So.* (Cf. ζωστε followed by a main clause 234[a], 503.)

Examples: ταῖ τε ὅτε ἡ-ανου-ῖ-πωτ ἐρατ-φ μ-πνογτε ShIV 175:13 "Likewise, it is good to flee unto God"; ταῖ τε ὅτε ἐτερε-ἡ-φωρπῇ να-ῖ-ζαε ἡ-τε-ἡ-ζαε ῖ-φωρπῇ Matt 20:16 "So the last will be first, and the first last"

ὅτε FORMING EXCLAMATIONS

- 508 ὅτε + attributive clause also forms an exclamation, *O how ...!* E.g. ὅτε ἐτε-νεγ-[i.e. ἡ-νεγ-]εφ-μεφτ-ἡ-ζαπ μ-πνογτε Rom 11:33 "O how unsearchable are the judgements of God!" (O the way that they shall not be able to search out the judgements of God!).

24 *Reported Speech and Cognition: Direct and Indirect Discourse*

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THE NATURE OF REPORTED DISCOURSE IN COPTIC

REPORTED DISCOURSE AND ITS SIGNALS

509 'Reported discourse'

$\gamma\alpha\mu\eta\eta \uparrow-\chi\omega \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\varsigma \eta\alpha-\kappa \bar{\mu}\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma \chi\epsilon-\kappa-\eta\alpha-\omega\psi\pi\epsilon \bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha-\bar{\imath}$
 $\gamma\bar{\mu}-\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ "Truly, I say to you today, *You will be with Me in Paradise*" (Luke 23:43)
 $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha-\gamma \bar{\mu}-\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma \chi\epsilon-\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\kappa-\omicron\gamma\omega\psi \epsilon-\bar{\theta}\epsilon\bar{\imath} \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\bar{\imath} \epsilon-\bar{\theta}\bar{\imath}\lambda\eta\bar{\mu}$ "He said to Paul, *Do you wish to come up to Jerusalem?*" (Acts 25:9)

NATURE OF REPORTED DISCOURSE

$\lambda\gamma-\epsilon\bar{\imath}\mu\epsilon \gamma\alpha\rho \chi\epsilon-\bar{\eta}\tau-\lambda\gamma-\chi\epsilon-\tau\epsilon\bar{\imath}\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\eta\eta\tau-\omicron\gamma$ "For they perceived *that it was about them that He had told this parable*" (Mark 12:12)

$\lambda\chi\bar{\imath}-\varsigma \chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\rho\epsilon-\bar{\eta}\epsilon\bar{\imath}\omega\bar{\eta}\epsilon \bar{\rho}-\bar{\theta}\bar{\omicron}\epsilon\bar{\imath}\kappa$ "Command *these stones to become loaves of bread*" (Matt 4:3)

$\lambda\gamma-\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \epsilon-\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\bar{\nu} \chi\epsilon-\bar{\imath}\varsigma$ "He called His name *Jesus*" (Matt 1:25)

expresses the content of speech or thought as the expansion of a verb of speaking or of cognition 510; or as the content of naming expressed in a construction of name assignment 513(b). It follows the verb (with one exception 518). Reported discourse can be an affirmative statement, command or request, question, exclamation, or less than a complete sentence; it can be as short as one syllable or consist of many sentences. The most common verbs of speaking are $\chi\omega \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\varsigma$ 'say' 514(a) and the past tense verboid $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-$ 'said' 380.

Reported discourse is an entity statement 150. Its initial signal is mostly the morph $\chi\epsilon-$. Other initial signals are: $\chi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon-$ ($\chi\epsilon-\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon-$)/ $\chi\bar{\eta}-$... $\chi\bar{\eta}-$... 'whether (... or ...)' 511; various morphs signalling direct discourse 523; $\pi\mu\alpha/\bar{\theta}\epsilon$ + relative clause 522; and in indirect commands or requests, $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\lambda)\varsigma/\chi\epsilon-$ + optative, $\epsilon-\bar{\theta}$ infinitive, $\epsilon-\bar{\theta}\tau\rho\epsilon-$, and the conjunctive 521. For reported discourse without any such initial signal, cf. 516, 517, 518.

VERBS OF SPEAKING AND OF COGNITION

110 Examples of *verbs of 'speaking'* and of '*cognition*' are: (i) speaking, $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron \chi\epsilon-$ 'tell', $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\nu} \chi\epsilon-$ 'answer', $\chi\omega \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\varsigma \chi\epsilon-$ 'say' 514, 515, $\chi\eta\omicron\gamma \chi\epsilon-$ 'ask', and the verboid $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-\chi\epsilon-$ 380 'said'; (ii) cognition, $\epsilon\bar{\imath}\mu\epsilon \chi\epsilon-$ 'know, perceive', $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \chi\epsilon-$ 'think', $\eta\alpha\gamma \chi\epsilon-$ 'see, perceive', $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \chi\epsilon-$ 'believe', $\bar{\rho}-\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \chi\epsilon-$ 'remember', $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\imath} \chi\epsilon-$ 'hear, learn', $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu} \chi\epsilon-$ 'know' 518, $\bar{\rho}-\bar{\theta}\mu\omicron\iota\gamma\epsilon \chi\epsilon-$ 'be amazed at the fact (that)', $\delta\bar{\nu}-/\delta\bar{\nu}\tau-$ 'find out' 516; and others.

Verbs of speaking and $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-$ are optionally expanded by an expression of the partner in discourse (hearer), either as a prepositional phrase ($\gamma\alpha\mu\eta\eta \uparrow-\chi\omega \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\varsigma \eta\eta-\tau\bar{\eta} \chi\epsilon-$ Mark 8:12 "Truly, I say to *you* ..."; $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha-\gamma \eta\alpha-\gamma \chi\epsilon-\varsigma\epsilon \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\bar{\imath}\varsigma$ Matt 9:28 "They said to *Him*, Yes, Lord"; $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\bar{\imath}-\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \delta\epsilon \omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\eta-\gamma \chi\epsilon-\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma \epsilon\rho\omicron-\bar{\imath}$ Paphnoute Cephalas, *Stories of the Monks of the Desert* [BMis 472:24–26] "When I called out to *him*, Bless me!"); or as the direct object of the verb ($\lambda\gamma-\chi\eta\omicron\gamma-\gamma \chi\epsilon-\alpha\omega \tau\epsilon \tau\omega\rho\pi \bar{\eta}-\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\lambda\eta \epsilon\rho\omicron-\omicron\gamma \tau\eta\rho-\omicron\gamma$ Mark 12:28 "He asked *him*, Which is the first commandment of all?"), depending on selection of verb.

THE SIGNALLING OF QUESTIONS

- 511 In reported discourse and elsewhere, some questions have exactly the same clause structure as an affirmation. Cf. also 33.

πεχα-q na-q xe-ntok pe p̄ro n̄-toγdaā means both "He said to Him, Are you the Jewish King?" and "He said to Him, You are the Jewish King" (John 18:33)

But in many questions, one or more formal signals of interrogation are present:

- i. an optional morph signalling interrogation such as ene-, ara, or mh

πεχα-γ δε na-q xe-mh ntok zw-w-k on nt̄k-oγevol z̄n-neq-maenthc "They said to him, Pray tell, are not you also one of His disciples?" (John 18:25)

Some interrogative markers 238, such as ara and mh so . . . , pray tell . . . , belong only to the perspective of direct discourse; others, e.g. correlative x̄n- . . . x̄n- (vars. xen- and xin-) whether . . . or, are only indirect; while others still, such as interrogative ene- (asking whether or not a proposition is true), occur in both direct and indirect discourse.

- ii. a word or phrase whose meaning is interrogative (such as nim who? aw which? oy what? oγnr how many? tw̄n where? from where? tnaγ when? n̄aw n̄-ze how? etbe-oy or xe-oy why?)

πεχε-πειλατος na-q xe-oy te tme "Pilate said to Him, What is truth?" (John 18:38)

- iii. selection of a verb meaning ask

πειλατος δε on aq-xnoγ-q xe-n̄-̄-na-ψaxe an laay "And Pilate again asked Him, Are You not going to speak at all?" (Mark 15:4)

Further examples: aq-xnoγ-q xe-ek-naγ e-oy Mark 8:23 "He asked him, What do you see?"; etetn̄-xw m̄mo-c xe-an̄-nim Matt 16:15 "Who do you say that I am?"; aq-wine xe-nim pe aγw oy pent-aq-aa-q Acts 21:33 "He inquired who he was and what he had done"; πεχα-γ na-q xe-zpavbe . . . ek-oγn̄z tw̄n John 1:38 "They said to Him, Rabbi . . . , where are you staying?"; πεχα-q na-q xe-n̄aw n̄-ze ere-ψ-naī na-ψωpe John 3:9 "He said to Him, How can this be?"; epwan-oga de xnoγ-t̄n xe-xe-oy tetn̄-bwa m̄mo-q Luke 19:31 "If anyone asks you, Why (xe-oy) are you untying it?/If anyone asks you why you are untying it"; e-n-ce-noī an n̄-n-e-toγ-xw m̄mo-oy oγde xe-eγ-taxpny ex̄n-oy 1 Tim 1:7 "Without understanding either what they are saying or what they make assertions about"; neq-xw de m̄-paī eq-chmane xe-eq-na-moy z̄n-aw m̄-moy John 12:33 "He said this to show which death He was to die by"

REQUEST FOR THE CONTENT OF DISCOURSE OR COGNITION

- 512 A request for the content of discourse or perception is expressed by the interrogative specifier oy 'what?': (a) as the focal point of a cleft sentence 461, oy petk-xw m̄mo-q "What are you saying?"; (b) as the focal point of a focalizing conversion 445, ek-xe-oy "What are you saying?"; (c) introduced by xe- (after a verb of speaking), ek-xw m̄mo-c xe-oy "What are you saying?" Request for a name is expressed by nim 'who?' in a naming construction 130.

Examples: (a) oy pet-na-xoo-q John 12:27 "What shall I say?"; oy petc-dokei 489 na-k cimwn Matt 17:25 "What do you think, Simon?"; (b) p̄wme n̄-t̄-cooȳn an xe-ek-xe-oy Luke 22:60 "Man, I do not know what you are saying"; ek-naγ e-oy Mark 8:23 "What do you see?"; (c) ek-xw m̄mo-c xe-oy etvhn̄t-k John 1:22 "What do you say about yourself?" Naming: ek-oγew-moyte ero-q xe-nim Luke 1:62 "What would you have him called?"; nim pe pekran Luke 8:30 "What is your name?"

CONSTRUCTIONS

REPORTED DISCOURSE AMPLIFYING A DIRECT OBJECT

- (a) The direct object of a verb of cognition 510 is compatible with amplification (second object) in the form of a xe- clause

τοτε an-coyn̄-t̄nhcōc xe-milanti pe p̄cran
direct object

(we then learned the island that Malta is its name)

"We then learned that the island was called Malta" (Acts 28:1)

that contains a resumptive morph, agreeing with the direct object in number/(gender). (Thus in the previous example, c in p̄cran agrees in gender and number with t̄nhcōc.)

Further examples: ā n̄-tetn̄-naγ an e-nzeallhn m̄n-n̄req-ψm̄we-eiawlon m̄n-r̄wme nim n̄-at-noyte xe-ere-peγzht oγōw̄q n̄oγnr ShChass 119:38-46 "Pray, do you not see how much the hearts of the pagans and idolaters and all the atheists are crushed? (Do you not see the pagans . . . that their heart is crushed by how much?); alla paī t̄n-cooȳn m̄mo-q xe-oγevol tw̄n pe John 7:27 "Yet we know where this Man comes from" (As for this Man, we know Him, whence He is); n̄tere-p̄xaxe naγ ero-q m̄minmo-q eq-o n̄-⁹at-bom . . . aγw xe-aγ-xro ero-q Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 5 (Garitte 8:1-3) "When the Enemy saw himself to be powerless . . . and to have been defeated"; m̄p̄-meeγe ero-i zolawc xe-nt̄-ai-xe-paī zaro-i maγaa-t John the Presbyter, Life of Pesenthius of Qift (BAP 111:24-25) "Do not suppose in any way that I have said this on my own authority"

- (b) The direct object in a naming construction 130(b) is likewise compatible with amplification by xe- introducing the assigned name. E.g. oγpolic e-ψaγ-moyte ero-c xe-nazareθ Matt 2:23 "A city called Nazareth"; cf. 514(b).

χω ἡμο-с хе- AND SIMILAR CONSTRUCTIONS.

- 514 In almost every construction reported discourse is an expansion of the verb itself 181, coming after any adverbial modifiers or adverbial clauses modifying the verb.

Verb of Speaking or Cognition | Adverbial Modifiers | Reported Discourse

αὐ-οὐωψβ | να-q | хе-ἡμον "They answered Him, No" (John 21:5)

- (a) However, after the most common verb of speaking χω 'say', reported discourse must be expressed as a formal (dummy) direct object -с/ἡμο-с with amplification (second object) in the form of a хе- clause, which contains the actual content of discourse. The invariable direct object -с/ἡμο-с is cataphoric, i.e. refers ahead to the following хе- clause.

χω ἡμο-с	}	+	хе- clause (expanding -с)
χοο- с			
Verb + Formal		+	Expansion of Formal
Direct Object			Direct Object

Thus

†-χω δε ἡμο-с нη-тн | хе-μοоψε зм-πεπна Gal 5:16 "But I say to you, Walk by the Spirit"

αq-χοο-с н-τεqμααγ | хе-тωοун "He said to his mother, Arise" (ApophPatr 182 [Chaîne 45:10])

(The formal direct object does not express number and gender; it has only grammatical meaning and therefore no distinct translation in English.) In non-durative constructions of χω, only the pronominal state χοο= and the imperative αχι= 366(b) occur.

Further examples: νεγ-χω γαρ ἡμο-с хе-α-πεqзнт пωψс Mark 3:21 "For they were saying, He is beside Himself" (His mind has turned aside); μωснс γαρ αq-χοο-с хе-μα-таie-пекейот нм-текмааγ Mark 7:10 "For Moses said, Honor your father and your mother"; αq-археи нби-тс е-θтаψе-θоеиψ αγω е-θχοο-с хе-μετаноει Matt 4:17 "Jesus began to preach and to say, Repent"; αχι-с δε να-н хе-οу петс-докеи να-к Matt 22:17 "Tell us, then, what you think" 489

For other constructions of χω, cf. 515.

- (b) Other verbs occur in the χω ἡμο-с хе- construction: e.g. оп= 'deem', саz= 'write', сωтм еро= 'hear', etc.; their formal direct objects are -с or -q or vary freely between the two. For бнт-с 'find out, discover', cf. 516.

Examples: αq-оп-с γαρ хе-οуanaγκαιον пе е-θтм-каа-γ е-θψαхе ShAmél II 44:7 "I deemed (оп-с) that it was necessary not to let them speak";

αἰ-оп-q δε хе-οуanaγκαιον пе е-θсепс-несннγ 2 Cor 9:5 "I thought (оп-q) it necessary to urge the brethren"; αn-οуω н-χω (i.e. ен-χω) ἡμο-с нzαz н-соп αγω αn-саz-q хе-еρε-тмааγ н ммааγ н-н-етθ-зм-птме на-сzαi-зωв ним на-н ShIV 108:15-18 "We have already said many times and have written (саz-q) that the Mother Superior or Mother Superiors of those in the village should write about all things to us"; нпр-саz-q хе-прро н-юуааi John 19:21 "Do not write (саz-q), The Jewish King"; нптрe-οуα сωтм еро-q зм-пeуαγγειαιон хе-... нсе-мееуе хе-... ShIV 39:4-8 "Let no one hear (сωтм еро-q) in the Gospel lesson that... and suppose that..."; мн... αn-сωтм н αn-бнт-q еq-снz хе-αγ-кто-οу ShIII 21:17-18 "Have we not heard and have we not found it written (бнт-q еq-снz) that they returned?"

- (c) In expository style, a clause of reported discourse can be heralded and represented by the sing. masc. demonstrative pronoun παἰ meaning 'the following, this'.

Examples: ката-θε етере-тсynaγωγн тнр-с сооун е-пαι хе-α-нен-еиоте μοуот н-неусωма етве-пноуте αγω етвннт-н ShIII 128:22-24 "Just as the entire congregation knows the following, namely that our fathers mortified their bodies for the sake of God and for our sake"; κορβαν ете-пαι пе хе-οу-αωρον пе Mark 7:11 "Corban, which means the following, that it is an offering"

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Other constructions of χω, хе- (χι- before zero article), χοο= 'say, tell, utter, talk about, speak'

(a) 'Say, tell, utter, recount' words: αγ-хе-наἰ е-пмнт-οуе Luke 24:9 "They told this to the eleven"; нег-χω де н-наἰ е-напостолос Luke 24:10 "They told this to the apostles"

(b) χω ἡμο= / χοο= referring back to the number/(gender) of an antecedent or other entity term: 'Say, utter, recount, speak about'. E.g. πψαхе н-тс ент-αq-χοο-q Matt 26:75 "The saying of Jesus, which He had said"; се-на-тωοун γαρ нби-зeнxpictoc н-ноух... еисзन्हте αi-ωрп-χοο-y нн-тн Matt 24:24-25 "For false Christs will arise... Lo, I have told you about them beforehand"; п-е†-χω ἡмо-q нн-тн Mark 13:37 "What I say (That which I say) to you."

(c) Forming a compound verb 180: χι-θογ 'blaspheme', χι-θωκακ 'cry out', χι-θολ 'lie, tell lies'

(d) Infinitive хе-, i.e. хе е-: 'talk about, refer to, mean' an object of thought. E.g. αγ-меуе хе-еq-хе-пенкотк м-павω John 11:13 "They thought that He meant taking rest in sleep"

(e) Infinitive херо=, i.e. хе еро=: 'tell' someone. E.g. тωοун е†-херо-к Mark 2:11 "Arise, I tell you"

(f) Absolute хе or χοο-с: 'say things, speak'. (i) Without direct object or reported discourse expressed, e.g. се-χω γαρ αγω н-се-еipe αn Matt 23:3 "For they preach, but do not practice" (They say things and do not do things); (ii) χοο-с (without following reported discourse), e.g. еисзन्हте αi-χοο-с ннт-н Matt 28:7 "Lo, I have told you" ἰδοὺ εἶπον ὑμῖν.

6N- AND 6NT= FOLLOWED BY REPORTED DISCOURSE

- 516 When the verb 6INE 'find out, discover' functions as a verb of cognition, only the forms 6N- and 6NT= occur. Alternate constructions are selected according as conjugation of 6N-/6NT= is affirmative or negative.

i. *Affirmative conjugation*: 6NT=. The suffixed invariable direct object -c (6NT-c) does not express number or gender (it has no distinct translation in English), but grammatically represents and heralds the discourse clause, which follows as its expansion. The discourse clause has the form of e=, presumably the circumstantial conversion 426. (xe- does not occur.)

ai-6NT-c ey-egkalei na-q etbe-zenzhtma nte-peynomos "I found that he was accused about questions of their law" (Acts 23:29)

ii. The verb ze ero-c 'discover' is constructed in the same way:

noe nt-an-ze ero-c eq-xi-⁰kba mmo-oy tnp-oy ayw eq-katakpine mmo-oy e-pmo "Just as we found that he was taking vengeance upon them all and condemning them to death" (ShAmel II 543:11-12 [= ShWess9 159a:8-14])

iii. *Negative conjugation*: 6N-. The discourse clause has the form of e=, presumably the focalizing conversion 457. (xe- does not occur.)

n-t-6N-ere-xw mmo-c an xe-oy "I do not understand (6N- ... an) what you are saying" (Mark 14:68)

nt-6N-ek-na-p-oy an "You do not figure out what to do (what you will do)" (ShChass 33:14-15)

mtq-6N-eq-na-amazte mmo-oy zn-oy "He did not discover how he would lay hold of them" (ShChass 73:19-22)

A nominal sentence expanding negative 6N- occurs in unconverted form

ayw pallos mpeq-6N-anf-nim "My people has not known who I am" (Isa 1:3)

PARENTHETICAL PEXE-

- 517 The verboid pexe- occurs not only before reported discourse, but also *parenthetically* in the middle or at the end.

nt-an-ei pexa-y wapo-k eboi xe-ntok pe peyapih (i.e. peyape) tnp-oy "We have come to you, they said, because it is you who are the head of all" (ApophPatr 155 [Chaîne 34:29])

In this construction, reported discourse is formally independent of the verboid, and therefore xe- does not occur.

Further examples: mn-⁰rawe wop n-na-sebnc pexe-pxoec Isa 48:22 (quoted in ShChass 169:11-13 = ShIII 75:13) "There is no joy to the ungodly, saith the Lord"; c-na-wape mnnc-na pexe-pnoyte nta-pwzt eboi zn-papna exn-carz nim Acts 2:17 "And afterwards it shall be, God has said, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh"; bowt rap pexa-q Heb 8:5 "For look, it said"

INVERTED DISCOURSE

- 518 As a rhetorically marked figure, reported discourse can precede the verb cooyh 'know' and its synonyms.

naq ae n-ze tenoy q-naq eboi | n-tn-cooyh an "But how he now sees we do not know" (John 9:21)

Further examples: oy petq-na-a-q (i.e. -na-aa-q) na-q | pome nim cooyh ShWess9 108b:23-25 "Everybody knows what he will do to him" (What he will do to him everybody knows); ewxe nany-q h q-zoy | nim nzt-thyt pet-cooyh an ShLeyd 365a:1-5 "Who among you does not know whether he (or it) is good or bad!"; ai-naq on e-kezwon || eite ewxe-eq-crpmomt h ntoq ewxe-aq-p-⁰balla | mpt-ew-6m-⁰bom e-⁰noei ShIII 210:7-9 "I saw yet another animal. Whether it was stupefied or in fact blind I could not make out"; eite ce-onz eite ce-mooyt | n-tn-cooyh an Martyrdom of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (Morgan M633 f.8v 22-23; Dep. 168; cf. TillHML I 22:4-5) "Whether they are alive or dead we do not know"

INDIRECT AND DIRECT DISCOURSE

INDIRECT DISCOURSE AND ITS SIGNALS

- 519 'Indirect discourse' (reporter's perspective) is marked by one or more alterations of the speaker's purported words or thoughts so as to create, as a textual effect, the perspective of a *reporter* or onlooker—the so-called 'indirect' perspective. For example, a speaker's own words *my hour* (Jesus said, My hour [taoyhoy] has come) can also be reported in the altered form of *his hour* (Jesus knew that His hour [teqoyhoy] had come), thus expressing the indirect perspective of a reporter. Selection of direct or indirect perspective depends upon the author's choice in each instance; both kinds of discourse are common. (*The distinction of Coptic direct and indirect discourse does not always coincide with a corresponding distinction in English.*)

Three forms of alteration can occur in Coptic to signal the reporter's indirect perspective:

altered person ("my hour" shifted to *his hour*) 520

altered syntax of command or request ("sit down" shifted to *for them to sit down*) 521

altered form of a question concerning place or manner ("where is he staying?" shifted to *the place where he is staying*) 522

These alterations are independent of one another and therefore can co-occur.

(English speakers will note that *tense in Coptic indirect discourse is no different from the corresponding expression in direct discourse; there is no shift of*

tense. Rather, Coptic indirect discourse expresses relative time 529: e.g. $\mu\pi\epsilon\eta-\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon-\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \gamma\eta-\nu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma \chi\epsilon-\eta-\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$ Life of St. Pachomius [Lefort 87:12] "He did not tell any of the brethren that he was sick," *literally* He did not tell any of the brethren that he is sick. This is strikingly different from English, where shifted tense is often one of the English signals of indirect perspective.)

- 520 *Altered person in indirect discourse.* In indirect discourse, personal morphs that would have occurred in the speaker's own words are shifted wherever possible to express the reporter's perspective (1st person shifted to 2d or 3d; 2d person shifted to 1st or 3d; etc.).

Indirect (reporter's perspective): $\epsilon\eta-\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\delta\iota-\bar{\iota}\varsigma \chi\epsilon-\alpha-\tau\epsilon\phi\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma \epsilon\bar{\iota}$ "When Jesus knew that His hour had come" (John 13:1)

Direct (speaker's perspective): $\alpha-\tau\alpha\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma \epsilon\bar{\iota}$ "My hour has come" (constructed from John 13:1)

From this example of indirect discourse (John 13:1) it is possible also to imagine the speaker's own words in direct discourse as reconstructed above: 1st person $\tau\alpha\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$ "My hour" is shifted to 3d person $\tau\epsilon\phi\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$ "His hour" in order to signal the indirect perspective of an onlooking reporter.

Further examples: $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\kappa-\tau\alpha\mu\omicron-\bar{\iota} \chi\epsilon-\tau\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\gamma\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon \tau\epsilon$ Gen 12:18 "You did not tell me that she was your wife" (direct discourse: $\tau\alpha\varsigma\gamma\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon \tau\epsilon$ "She is my wife"); $\mu\pi\epsilon\eta-\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon-\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \gamma\eta-\nu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma \chi\epsilon-\eta-\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$ Life of St. Pachomius (Lefort 87:12) "He did not tell any of the brethren that he was sick" (direct: $\bar{\eta}-\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$ "I am sick"); $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma-\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon \eta\alpha-\bar{\iota} \epsilon-\theta\tau\alpha-\epsilon\bar{\iota} \psi\alpha\omicron-\kappa \gamma\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\eta}-\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ Matt 14:28 "Bid me come to You on the water" (direct: $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma \psi\alpha\omicron-\bar{\iota} \gamma\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\eta}-\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ "Come to Me on the water"); $\alpha\eta-\epsilon\pi\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\alpha \eta\alpha-\gamma \chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon\gamma-\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\gamma-\bar{\gamma} \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ Matt 12:16 "He ordered them not to make Him known" (direct: $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}-\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\gamma-\bar{\tau} \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ "Do not make Me known")

- 521 *Altered syntax of command or request in indirect discourse.* The imperative and other expressions of command or request belong to the realm of direct discourse. Their indirect form is either a *construction of purpose* 502 ($\epsilon-\theta$ infinitive, $\epsilon-\theta\tau\epsilon\eta\eta-$, $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha(\alpha)\varsigma$ or $\chi\epsilon-$ + optative etc.) or *the conjunctive* ($\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha-$, $\bar{\nu}\tau-$, etc.). Person also occurs shifted, to the extent that this signals the indirect perspective of the reporter.

Indirect (reporter's perspective): $\alpha\eta-\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma-\theta\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon \eta\alpha-\gamma \epsilon-\theta\tau\epsilon\eta\eta-\bar{\nu}\omicron\chi-\omicron\gamma \tau\eta\bar{\rho}-\omicron\gamma$ "He commanded them all to sit down" (Mark 6:39)

Direct (speaker's perspective): $\eta\epsilon\chi-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta} \tau\eta\bar{\rho}-\tau\bar{\eta}$ "Sit down, all of you" (constructed from Mark 6:39)

From this example of indirect discourse (Mark 6:39) it is possible also to imagine the speaker's own words in direct discourse as reconstructed above:

an imperative $\eta\epsilon\chi-$, which is shifted to a purpose construction $\epsilon-\theta\tau\epsilon\eta\eta-$ in order to signal the indirect perspective of an onlooking reporter. Here also the speaker's 2d person $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\bar{\eta} \tau\eta\bar{\rho}-\tau\bar{\eta}$ "All of you" is shifted to 3d person $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta-\dots-\omicron\gamma \tau\eta\bar{\rho}-\omicron\gamma$ "Them all," likewise signalling indirect perspective.

Examples: $\bar{\iota}\omega\gamma\bar{\alpha}\eta\eta\eta\varsigma \bar{\eta}\tau-\alpha\eta-\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\tau\bar{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon \gamma\bar{\eta}-\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\tau\bar{\iota}\varsigma\mu\alpha \bar{\mu}-\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\bar{\iota}\alpha \epsilon\eta-\chi\omega \bar{\mu}\omicron-\varsigma \epsilon-\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma \chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\epsilon-\pi\bar{\iota}\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \epsilon-\pi-\epsilon\tau\theta-\eta\eta\gamma \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega-\eta$ Acts 19:4 "John baptized with the baptism of repentance, telling the people to believe in the One who was to come after him" (constructed direct discourse: $\pi\bar{\iota}\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \epsilon-\pi-\epsilon\tau\theta-\eta\eta\gamma \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega-\bar{\iota}$ "Believe in the One who is to come after me"); $\alpha\eta-\chi\omicron\omicron-\varsigma \bar{\eta}-\eta\epsilon\phi\mu\alpha\theta\eta\eta\varsigma \chi\epsilon-\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon-\gamma\epsilon\eta\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma \pi\bar{\rho}\omicron\varsigma\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota} \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron-\eta \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\pi\bar{\mu}\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ Mark 3:9 "He told His disciples that boats should be ready for him because of the crowd" (direct: $\mu\alpha\bar{\rho}\epsilon-\gamma\epsilon\eta\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma \pi\bar{\rho}\omicron\varsigma\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota} \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron-\bar{\iota} \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon-\pi\bar{\mu}\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ "Have boats waiting for Me because of the crowd"); $\pi\varsigma\alpha\gamma \alpha\chi\bar{\iota}-\varsigma \bar{\mu}-\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\eta \bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}-\pi\epsilon\psi-\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\bar{\rho}\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\bar{\iota}\alpha \epsilon\chi\omega-\eta$ Luke 12:13 "Teacher, bid my brother divide the inheritance between us" (direct: $\pi\epsilon\psi-\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\bar{\rho}\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\bar{\iota}\alpha \epsilon\chi\omega-\tau\bar{\eta}$ "Divide the inheritance between yourselves"); $\alpha\eta-\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma-\theta\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon \epsilon-\theta\bar{\nu}\omega\kappa \epsilon-\pi\bar{\iota}\kappa\bar{\rho}\omicron$ Matt 8:18 "He gave orders to go to the other side" (direct: $\bar{\nu}\omega\kappa \epsilon-\pi\bar{\iota}\kappa\bar{\rho}\omicron$ "Go to the other side")

- 522 *Altered form of a question concerning place or manner in indirect discourse.*

Indirect discourse expressing the answer to a question concerning place or manner is optionally reformulated with $\pi\mu\alpha$ *the place* or $\theta\epsilon$ *the manner*, expanded by a relative clause.

$\eta\epsilon\gamma-\eta\alpha\gamma \epsilon-\pi\mu\alpha \bar{\eta}\tau-\alpha\gamma-\kappa\alpha\alpha-\eta \bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau-\bar{\gamma}$ "They saw where ($\pi\mu\alpha$) He had been laid" $\pi\omicron\upsilon \tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}$ (Mark 15:47)

$\alpha\gamma-\tau\alpha\omicron\gamma\omicron \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron-\omicron\gamma \bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\tau-\alpha\varsigma-\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \bar{\mu}-\pi-\epsilon\tau\theta-\omicron \bar{\eta}-\theta\lambda\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\eta\bar{\iota}\omicron\eta\bar{\iota}\omicron\eta$ "They told them how ($\theta\epsilon$) it had happened to the demoniac" $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon-\tau\omicron$ (Mark 5:16)

Indirect discourse with $\theta\epsilon$ 'how' is often nearly synonymous with $\chi\epsilon-$ 'that . . .'. E.g. $\alpha\eta-\tau\alpha\mu\omicron-\omicron\gamma \epsilon-\theta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\tau-\alpha\eta-\eta\alpha\gamma \epsilon-\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma \gamma\bar{\eta}-\tau\epsilon\gamma\bar{\iota}\eta \alpha\gamma\omega \chi\epsilon-\alpha\eta-\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha-\eta \alpha\gamma\omega \bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\tau-\alpha\eta-\pi\alpha\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\varsigma\bar{\iota}\alpha\gamma\epsilon \bar{\mu}\omicron-\eta \gamma\bar{\eta}-\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ Acts 9:27 "He declared to them how on the road he had seen the Lord and that He had spoken to him and how at Damascus he had preached boldly."

DIRECT DISCOURSE AND ITS SIGNALS

- 523 *'Direct discourse' (speaker's perspective)*

$\alpha-\tau\epsilon\varsigma\gamma\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon \omicron\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\nu} \epsilon\varsigma-\chi\omega \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron-\varsigma \chi\epsilon-\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}-\theta\gamma\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota} \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ "The woman answered, saying, *I have no husband*" (John 4:17)

is discourse in which a reporter (the author of a text or a narrator within the text) purports to reproduce without alteration the exact spoken words or perception of a *speaker*.

REPORTED SPEECH AND COGNITION

In the English translation of Coptic direct discourse, after a verb of *speaking* the morph $\chi\epsilon-$ is not particularly translated; but after a verb of *cognition* $\chi\epsilon-$ is often translatable as 'that' ($\chi\epsilon-\epsilon\eta\epsilon-$ 'whether'). E.g. $\alpha\kappa-\tau\eta\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\gamma \psi\alpha\rho\sigma-\iota \chi\epsilon-\lambda\mu\sigma\gamma \eta\tau-\mu\epsilon\varrho\tau-\eta\alpha\eta\iota$ ShChass 43:32-34 "You sent word to me, Come and inspect my buildings"; $\dagger-\sigma\sigma\sigma\gamma\eta \chi\epsilon-\epsilon\kappa-\dagger \sigma\gamma\beta\eta-\iota \alpha\eta$ ShChass 38:45-47 "I know that it is not myself that you contend against."

Signals of direct discourse include: def. article phrase in direct address function ($\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ "O woman") 45(d), 137; future conjunctive $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-$ 357; Greco-Coptic personal name ending in ϵ or λ ($\tau\iota\mu\sigma\theta\epsilon\epsilon$) 137; imperative 364; initial attitude marker 238 ($\lambda\alpha$ and $\mu\eta$ 'pray tell, so . . .'); interjection 240 ($\gamma\alpha\mu\eta\eta$ 'truly', $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ 'behold', $\sigma\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ 'hello', etc.); jussive $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon-$ 340; rhetorical direct address marker 137 ω 'O . . .'; $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon-$ 'said' 380. These do not occur in pure indirect discourse.

NEUTRAL DISCOURSE (NOT EXPLICITLY INDIRECT OR DIRECT)

- 524 Reported discourse (i) whose form is not such that a change of perspective could entail a formal alteration of person 520, and also (ii) that is not a command or request 521, and also (iii) that does not contain an altered question concerning place or manner 522, and furthermore (iv) does not contain a morph that signals direct or indirect discourse 519, 523, formally cannot express any contrast between direct and indirect perspective. This may be called '*neutral discourse*'.

$\tau\eta-\sigma\sigma\sigma\gamma\eta \chi\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma \eta\eta\gamma$ "We know that Messiah is coming" (John 4:25)

$\lambda\epsilon\iota-\chi\sigma\sigma-\sigma \eta\alpha-\kappa \chi\epsilon-\lambda\iota-\eta\alpha\gamma \epsilon\rho\sigma-\kappa \eta\gamma\sigma\gamma\eta \gamma\alpha-\tau\beta\omega \eta-\kappa\eta\tau\epsilon$ "I said to you, I saw you under the fig tree" (or: "I said to you that I had seen you under the fig tree") (John 1:50)

Part 4

Time Reference

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525

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perspective 527

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MAIN TENSE

525 *Tense and tense system in Coptic.* This chapter surveys the Coptic tense system as signalled in various kinds of clause formation. ‘*Tense*’ is a grammatical category that marks time reference (future, present, past, etc.): I shall build, I am building, I built, etc. Especially in Western Indo-European languages, tense has often been described as a characteristic of verbal action, expressed by features of the verb. But in a language such as Coptic, which is rich in non-verbal expressions of nexus **248** (ⲁⲛⲓⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲙⲉ **263** I am a woman, ⲛⲉⲁⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ **267** they were brethren, ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲩⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁ **318** he is here, ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲡⲛⲟⲩⲩⲧⲉ **376** God is good, ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲩⲓ **380** I said, ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ **383** they have, ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲡⲛⲟⲩⲩⲧⲉ **394** you can), it is more useful to think of tense as a feature of clause and nexus, one which is expressed in association with almost all kinds of nexus morph, both verbal and non-verbal.

'Main tense', which is described in paragraphs 525–28, conveys the perspective of the author/narrator of the text as expressed in the author/narrator's own main-clause statements. But in reported discourse, in relative and circumstantial conversion, and generally in adverbial clauses and adverbial infinitive phrases 490, *relative tense* 529 is expressed.

This chapter gives only a general and simplified description of tense, oriented primarily to nexus patterns (clause patterns). No account is taken here of conjunctions **234(b)** and other markers that can combine with clause pattern to express or resolve temporal reference; nor are differences between affirmative and negative nexus taken account of. A more delicate and complex description would have to be organized by systems of discourse such as narrative and dialogue, and the types and perspectives that they comprise.

Also relevant would be a full classification of the non-tense categories 526 that co-occur with expressions of tense: aspect, mode of action, incidental versus inherent predication, situation versus state, etc.

A 'tense system' is a set of grammatical forms expressing time distinctions that, like other linguistic signs, have meaning through their ability to be contrasted with one another within one particular language. To detect how many time distinctions are contrasted within one particular language, the observer must consider not just the conjugations of the verb, but all of the nexus constructions of the language including all clause patterns, both those which are simple (ⲁⲛⲓ-ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧ I am a worm, ⲁⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ I went) and those which are complex or periphrastic (such as ⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡ-ⲓⲁⲱ-ⲟⲩ he will be over them, ⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲣ he will have). Languages differ from one to another in how many referential ranges of time are distinguished in their tense system. In Coptic, the main tense system consists of five such ranges:

future
present
past
(anterior future) } restricted occurrence, cf. table 29
(anterior past)

Thus

future ⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲱⲧ he will build

present ⲣ-ⲕⲱⲧ he builds

past ⲁⲣ-ⲕⲱⲧ and ⲛⲉⲣ-ⲕⲱⲧ he built

anterior future ⲁⲣ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲱⲧ and ⲛⲉⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲱⲧ he was going to build

anterior past ⲛⲉ-ⲁⲣ-ⲕⲱⲧ he had built

and

future ⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲣ he will be good

present ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲣ he is good

past ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲣ he was good

For a fuller illustration of Coptic tense expressions, cf. 528.

To the five (or three) Coptic referential ranges of time is added a sixth reference point: a tenseless (generic, atemporal, extratemporal, omnitemporal) conjugation of the infinitive called the *aorist* i.e. 'unlimited' conjugation 337: ⲱⲁⲣ-ⲕⲱⲧ he + the action of 'to build' (he builds, he will build, he built, he would build). The aorist expresses nexus between actor and verbal action and does not signal a particular range of time. It typically occurs in generalizations and other expressions where a temporal reference point is irrelevant. (The Coptic aorist, so called, should not be confused with the term 'aorist' in the

grammar of ancient Greek.) Also tenseless, but not occurring as an independent main clause, is the *conjunctive* conjugation of the infinitive 351: ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲱⲧ he + the action of 'to build' (and he builds/will build, and build, so as to build, etc.). Thus there is a maximum of six reference points in the Coptic tense system: five ranges (of which only three are cardinal reference points) and one tenseless or omnitemporal reference point; cf. table 29.

future
present
past
(anterior future)
(anterior past)
tenseless

TABLE 29
ASSOCIATION OF THE SIX REFERENCE POINTS
WITH THE MAJOR PREDICATE TYPES AND THE EXISTENTIAL BASE
(For illustrations, cf. 528)

PREDICATE	TEMPORAL RANGES					TENSELESS REFERENCE POINT
	Future	Present	Past	Anterior		
				Future	Past	
Conjugated infinitive						
Durative	×	×	×	×	none	none
Non-durative ¹	×	×	×	×	×	×
Prepositional phrase						
Situational ²	×	×	×	none	none	none
Relational ³	(×) ⁴	×	×	none	none	none
Stative	×	×	×	none	none	none
Article phrase etc. ⁵						
Interlocutive patterns	none	×	none	none	none	none
Delocutive patterns	(×) ⁶	×	×	none	none	none
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- etc.	×	×	×	none	none	none
ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ-	×	×	×	none	none	none
ⲟⲩⲛ- ⁷	?	×	×	none	none	none

¹Predicate consists of conjugation base + infinitive. ⲱⲁⲣⲉ- is tenseless. ²Predicates in the durative sentence ³Predicates in the nominal sentence, 298 ⁴Rare ⁵Predicates that occur in the nominal sentence patterns ⁶Rare ⁷The clause formed with ⲉⲓⲕ- makes no distinctions of tense 477

526 *Co-occurrence of other categories along with tense.* In actual sentences, the signalling of time distinctions is combined with other grammatical categories that are simultaneously expressed in association with the nexus patterns. Co-occurrence of various non-tense categories is especially typical of the non-durative conjugations (chapter 15). Also the distinction of predicates marked for *durativity*, versus those which are not so marked 308, 328, is very widely associated with nexus morphs and is distinct from the category of tense; e.g.

νεq-κωτ he built, he was building, he used to build, he repeatedly built (past tense + durativity) versus αq-κωτ he built (past tense + not marked). Verbal predicates marked for *incipient* action are distinguished from those which are not so marked; e.g. q-να-ωπε εq-κωτ he will start building/he will be building (future tense + incipient action, rare) versus q-να-κωτ he will build (future tense + not marked, normal). Some of the possible characterizations of actions, events, and states are associated with only one or two particular morphs and are not widely distributed; e.g. mπατq-κωτ he has not yet built, αq-ογω εq-κωτ he has *already* built, εqωαν-πζn-τωογn Luke 13:25 "When *once* he has risen up," etc.

Incidental (non-essential) predication versus *inherent* (essential) predication 179 is distinguished in c-o n-⁰caβn she is wise (at the moment or under a certain condition, present tense + incidental predication) versus ογcaβn τε she is wise (permanently or by nature, present tense + inherent predication).

- 527 *Discourse analysis: interaction of tense and discourse perspective.* 'Discourse', the cohesion of sentences in large-scale units of text, is a complex system in which the formal 'discourse types' that are distinguished within a particular language (for example, narrative, dialogue, wisdom literature, etc.) can express various 'discourse perspectives' of that language, such as event, contemporaneous observation, timeless truth, etc. These categories are not the same thing as tense, though they occur along with it. To a large degree, the analysis of discourse, with all its complexity and hierarchy, falls outside the scope of this grammar. However, it is important to note that some of the Coptic non-tense categories that co-occur along with tense are formally signalled by the large-scale form of discourse type. This can be illustrated by comparing Coptic to an unrelated language, namely English. For example, to an English speaker the Coptic 'present' seems to express two different perspectives that English, given its particular structure, often distinguishes by selection of verb form: English *he builds* (from the perspective of general truth) versus *he is building* (from the perspective of contemporaneous observation). Unlike English, Coptic has one nexus construction (which also signals durativity 308) in which both perspectives are expressed, q-κωτ. Yet despite this simplicity of Coptic form, the distinction between *present tense + durativity + timeless truth* versus *present tense + durativity + contemporaneous observation* is clearly expressed in Coptic by formal factors that are signals of discourse type (such as the presence or absence of conditional sentence structure, narrative syntax, reference to dramatis personae, subject matter and vocabulary, etc.). Indeed, if we were to introduce the analysis of Coptic discourse types at this point, we would be able to discern another ubiquitous network of marks (contrasts among the significant types of discourse) that are co-responsible for signalling the meaning that is expressed wherever a nexus occurs in an actual text. From this analytical perspective, the Coptic present

tense expresses one thing in association with the discourse perspective of timeless truth (gnomic/wisdom literature, theology) and quite another thing in the perspective of quoted words of an eyewitness observer. This is seen, for example, in the difference between

π-ετ⁰-μοοωε ζn-ογcooyτn p-⁰zote ζHT-q m-πnoyte | π-ετ⁰-
6ωoy6 δε n-νεqziiooye να-χι-⁰cωω "He that walks uprightly
fears the Lord; but he that is perverse in his ways shall be dishonored"
(Prov 14:2), present tense + durativity + timeless truth

versus

νεqμαeHTHC δε αγ-ζκο | αγ-αρχει n-⁰τωακ n-⁰ζmς ε-⁰oyωm |
νεφαpicaioς δε nτεpoγ-ναγ πεχα-γ να-q xe-εicζηHTE νεκ-
μαeHTHC ce-ειpe m-π-ετε-μεωωε ε-⁰αα-q ζm-πcaββατον
"His disciples were hungry, and they began to pluck heads of grain to eat.
But when the Pharisees saw it, they said to Him, Look, Your disciples *are*
doing what is not lawful to do on the sabbath" (Matt 12:1-2) present
tense + durativity + contemporaneous observation
πετρος δε πεχα-q να-c xe- . . . εic-νογepHTE n-n-εHT-αγ-
τωmς m-πογζaι ce-ζipm-προ αγω ce-να-qIT-ε "But Peter said
to her, . . . Hark, the feet of those that have buried your husband *are at*
the door, and they are just about to carry you out" (Acts 5:9) present
tense + durativity + contemporaneous observation

The 'timelessness' of the present tense in the first example (Prov 14:2) is signalled by its occurrence in a gnomic (wisdom) text, which itself is so marked by the combination and co-occurrence of various grammatical elements to form a generic system; and not merely by the reference point of present tense as such. Generic distinctions of this larger order interact profoundly with all of the tense distinctions (not just the present) in all the nexus patterns, but are not the same as the category of tense and are marked by forms that cohere on a larger scale than nexus. Tense is always embedded in a complex web of co-occurring categories.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE COPTIC MAIN TENSE SYSTEM

- 528 The Coptic main tense system is illustrated (along with various other categories 526) by the following main-clause nexus constructions.

(a) Future

q-να-κωτ 311 he is going to build

q-να-ωωπε εq-κωτ 427 he will be building, he will build (*or* he will start building, he will get to building); rare

q-na- ω pe eq-kht **427** it is going to be/become built (describing a state)
 ce-na-kot-q **175**, it is going to be built (process)
 q-na-p- ρ -zi χ woy **312** he is going to be over them; rare
 Cf. q-na- ω pe e ρ ai zi χ woy he will be/become situated over them
 q-na- ω pe e-yno β pe **255** he will be/become great
 q-na- ω pe e-nano γ -q **377** he will be/become good
 q-na- ω pe e- γ nta-q **389** he will have/come to have
 q-p η z e- θ kw τ he is about to build; very rare
 eqe-kw τ **338**, he shall build
 tareq-kw τ **357**, . . . and he will build

For future no γ e-, cf. (d) *Anterior future*

(b) *Present*

q-kw τ , q-zi χ woy, q-kht **305** he is building/builds; he is over them; it
 is built (describing a state)
 oyno β pe and other nominal sentences (chapter 13) he is great
 nano γ -q **376** he is good
 o γ nta-q **383** he has
 o γ n- θ c ω ma m-pneumatikon **478** there is a spiritual body
 za π c **487** it is necessary

(c) *Past*

i. non-durative past

aq-kw τ **334** he built/has built; it became built/got built **174**
 aq- ω pe eq-kw τ **427** he built, he started building, he got to building;
 rare
 aq- ω pe eq-kht **427** it was built (describing a state) (or it came to be
 built)
 aq-p- ρ -zi χ woy **312** he was over them
 aq-o γ w eq-kw τ **185(a)** he has already built
 mpatq-kw τ **336** he has not yet built

ii. based on preterit conversion **434**

neq-kw τ , neq-zi χ woy, neq-kht (chapter 14) he was building/built;
 he was over them; it was built (describing a state)
 ne- ω aq-kw τ **337** he used to build
 ne-yno β pe and other nominal sentences (chapter 13) he was great
 ne-nano γ -q **376** he was good
 ne- γ nta-q (chapter 18) he had
 ne- γ n- ρ enwooc z η -texwpa **324** there were shepherds in the field
 ne-za π c **487** it was necessary

(d) *Anterior future*i. based on past **334**

aq-e ρ eq-na-kw τ **427** he was going to build; rare

ii. based on preterit conversion **434**

neq-na-kw τ **311(ii)** he was going to build

iii. based on mpatē- 'not yet' **336**

mpatq-no γ e- θ ω pe it has not yet begun to happen (cf. Mark 13:7)

Future no γ e- '(is) going to' also occurs after ntere- Acts 28:10 'when' (past),
 epwan- 'if/since/when(ever)', and z η -ptre- Ezek 3:27 'while . . . ' (contemporane-
 ous). E.g. eqwan-no γ e- θ c α l π ize Rev 10:7 δ ταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζει "When he is
 going to sound the trumpet."

(e) *Anterior past, preterit conversion of past tense* **435**

ne-aq-kw τ (etc. etc.) he had built (etc., etc.)

(f) *Tenseless*

ω aq-kw τ **337** he builds, he will build, he built

ω aq- ω pe eq-kw τ **337** he starts/will start/started building; rare (cf.
 ShBesa, Frag. 36 [Kuhn 122:10-13])

ω are- occurs in preterit conversion (ne- ω aq-kw τ), expressing past tense + back-
 ground information + repeated occurrence (also natural state/situation, capability, etc.).

. . . nq-kw τ **351**, . . . and (+ 3d sing. masc.) build

Tenseless verbal action, process, etc. is also expressed by the construct participle **122**.

RELATIVE TENSE

529 In relative and circumstantial conversions (whether or not preceded by a con-
 junction), and in adverbial clauses and infinitive phrases **490**, only three
 ranges of time are expressed: converted future, converted present, converted
 past. These express three distinctions of 'relative time'

relatively *anticipated time* and *general potentiality*

relatively *simultaneous time* and *general truth*

relatively *previous time* and *accomplished fact*

that is, time in relation to the main (or superordinate) clause in which the rel-
 ative, circumstantial, or adverbial is included (table 30). This set of distinc-
 tions is expressed as 'relative tense'. Reported discourse (chapter 24), both
 direct and indirect, also expresses relative time in reference to the tense of the
 verb of speaking or cognition; cf. **519**.

But the circumstantial in a sequential clause 428 does not express relative time; rather, it belongs to the same narrative plane as the preceding clause.

TABLE 30
EXPRESSIONS OF RELATIVE TIME IN
RELATIVE AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL CONVERSION
AND IN REPORTED DISCOURSE

TEMPORAL RANGE IN CONVERSION OR REPORTED DISCOURSE	RELATIVE TIME EXPRESSED
Converted future or future in reported discourse	Anticipated time, general potentiality
Converted present or present in reported discourse	Simultaneous time, general truth
Converted past or past in reported discourse	Previous time, accomplished fact

ILLUSTRATION OF THE COPTIC RELATIVE TENSE SYSTEM

530 The Coptic relative tense system is illustrated by the following examples.

(a) Relative time subordinate to future tense

i. anticipated time/general potentiality η - η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η John 16:13 "He will declare to you the things that *are to come*"; η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Mark 4:24 "With *what-ever* measure you measure out (general potentiality), you will be measured"

ii. simultaneous time/general truth η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Mark 11:23 "What *he says* will come to pass for him"

iii. previous time η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η John 3:4 "How will a person be born again, *once having become* old?"

(b) Relative time subordinate to present tense

i. anticipated time/general potentiality η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Matt 5:21 "Whoever *kills* is liable to judgement"

ii. simultaneous time/general truth η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Matt 10:40 "The one who *receives* you (In receiving you one) receives me"

iii. previous time η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Mark 6:2 "What is this wisdom that *has been given* to this person?"

(c) Relative time subordinate to past tense

i. anticipated time/general potentiality η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Heb 11:21 "Jacob, when he *was about to die*, blessed each of the sons of Joseph"

ii. simultaneous time/general truth η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η John 13:1 "When Jesus *knew* that his hour had come . . . he loved them to the end"; η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Luke 2:33 "And his father and his mother marveled at what *was being said* about him"

iii. previous time η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Mark 7:8 "*Having left* the commandment of God, you hold fast to the tradition of human beings"

(d) Relative time (simultaneous and previous) subordinate to anterior future tense: rare

i. simultaneous time/general truth η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Acts 16:27 "He was about to kill himself, *supposing* that the prisoners had escaped"

ii. previous time η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Acts 23:12-13 "Some of the Jews bound themselves by an oath . . . There were more than forty people who *had made* this oath"

(e) Relative time (simultaneous and previous) subordinate to anterior past tense: rare

i. simultaneous time/general truth η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η John 5:13 "For Jesus had withdrawn, as there *was* a crowd in that place"

ii. previous time η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η John 6:17 "It had gotten dark, without Jesus *having come* to them"

(f) Relative time subordinate to a command, a tenseless nexus (η - η - η - η), or a verbal noun (infinitive, η - η - η - η)

i. anticipated time/general potentiality η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Mark 6:11 "When you *are going to leave* (Whenever you *leave*) that place, shake off the dust that is on your feet"

ii. simultaneous time η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η η - η - η - η Athanasius, Life of St. Anthony 5 (Garitte 8:20-22) "But he, *by thinking* on Christ in his heart and the intellectual vision of his soul, used to

extinguish that enemy's glowing coals" (ⲱⲁⲓ- main-clause aorist in a past narrative context)

iii. previous time ... ⲉ-ⲓⲧⲣⲉⲓ-ⲁⲥⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲧ-ⲓ ⲓⲛⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲓ-ⲟ ⲛ-ⲓⲁⲓⲉ ⲛⲧ-ⲁⲓ-ⲧⲁⲙⲟ-ⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲛⲛⲧ-ⲓ ⲓⲧⲧⲙ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Life of St. Pachomius (Lefort 103a: 1-4) "To live an ascetic life there in the deserted village about which he *had been instructed* by God"

Several levels of relative time can be expressed in a single sentence, as one subordinate clause relates to another subordinate clause; e.g. ⲉⲓ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲓⲟⲓ-ⲓⲥ ⲁⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲓⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ ... ⲉ-ⲁⲓ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲓ-ⲓⲛⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ-ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲃⲟⲗ John 13:1 "When Jesus *knew* that His hour *had come*, having loved His own who were in the world, He loved them to the end"

Chrestomathy

With superlineation as found in the modern editions

NARRATIVE AND REPORTED DIALOGUE

MARK 16:1-8, ed. Quecke: (1) ⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲁⲗⲗⲛⲛⲛ¹ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲁ-ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ² ⲙⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲛ³ ⲁⲓ-ⲱⲉⲡ-ⲓⲛⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲉ-ⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉ-ⲧⲁⲓⲥ-ⲓ. (2) ⲁⲓⲱ ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ⁴ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲛ-ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲓ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲙⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲡⲣⲛ ⲱⲁ. (3) ⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲱⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉⲛⲛⲓ ⲁⲉ-ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲓⲱ-ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲧ-ⲣⲱ-ⲓ ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲙⲓⲁⲟⲩ. (4) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ-ⲓⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲓ ⲁⲓ-ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ-ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲉ-ⲁⲓ-ⲓⲧ-ⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ. ⲛⲉ-ⲓⲛⲟⲃ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ. (5) ⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲙⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ-ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ-ⲓⲓⲣⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲓ-ⲓⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ ⲉⲓ-ⲃⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲛ ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲱ. ⲁⲓⲱ ⲁ-ⲉⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ. (6) ⲛⲧⲟⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲓ-ⲱⲁⲁⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ ⲁⲉ-ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲣ-ⲓⲟⲧⲉ. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ-ⲓⲥ⁵ ⲡⲛⲁⲓⲁⲣⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁⲓ-ⲥⲣⲟⲩ⁶ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ. ⲁⲓ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ-ⲓ. ⲛ-ⲓ-ⲓⲧⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ ⲁⲛ. ⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ-ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧ-ⲁⲓ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲧ-ⲓ. (7) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲁⲟⲟ-ⲥ ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲁⲉⲛⲧⲛⲥ ⲙⲛ-ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ⁷ ⲁⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ-ⲓⲱⲣⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲉ-ⲧⲓⲁⲗⲓⲁⲓⲁ.⁸ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ-ⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ-ⲉⲉ ⲛⲧ-ⲁⲓ-ⲁⲟⲟ-ⲥ ⲛⲛⲧⲛ. (8) ⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲧⲙ-ⲡⲉⲙⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ-ⲡⲱⲧ. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ-ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ. ⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲣ-ⲓⲱⲡⲣⲉ. ⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲁⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲁⲉ ⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁⲓ. ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲣ-ⲓⲱⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲓⲁⲣ.

ΑΡΟΡΗΡΑΤΡ 160, ed. Chaîne 36:1-13: ⲛⲉ-ⲓⲛ-ⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲓ ⲓⲛ-ⲛⲣⲓ.⁹ ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ ⲛ-ⲓⲧⲗⲗⲟ. ⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲓ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙ-ⲡⲱⲡⲣⲉ ⲱⲛⲛ ⲁⲉ-ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲓ¹⁰ ⲙⲛ-ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲓ. ⲛⲧⲟⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲁ-ⲓ ⲁⲉ-ⲁⲛⲟⲕ-ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲓ-ⲣ-ⲓⲛⲟⲃⲉ. ⲁⲓⲱ ⲙⲛ-ⲱⲃⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ ⲉ-ⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲕⲁⲡⲁ. ⲡⲓⲧⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲓ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ ⲁⲉ-ⲥⲉ. ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ. ⲡⲓⲧⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲉⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ¹¹ ⲉ-ⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲓⲙⲟⲛⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲙⲉⲉⲓⲣⲱ ⲙ-ⲓⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲧ-ⲓ. ⲡⲉⲁⲁ-ⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲓ-ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲉ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲓⲉⲃⲱⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲛ-ⲱⲁⲁⲉ. ⲁⲓ-ⲉⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲓ-ⲡⲓⲧⲗⲗⲟ. ⲁⲓⲱ ⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲉ-ⲓⲁⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲓⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲓ-ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲁⲁ-ⲓ ⲛⲁ-ⲓ ⲁⲉ-ⲁⲓ-ⲓⲉ ⲉ-ⲓⲛⲟⲃ ⲙ-ⲡⲓⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲓⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓⲓⲉⲃⲱⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ. ⲁⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲉ-ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ

¹Mary Magdalene ²James ³Salome ⁴ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ = ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⁵ⲓⲥ = ⲓⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥ Jesus ⁶ⲥⲣⲟⲩ = ⲥⲧⲁⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⁷Peter ⁸The Galilee ⁹ⲛⲣⲓ = Cellia, monastic settlement in the Egyptian Delta ¹⁰I.e. ⲙⲁⲣⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ¹¹ⲛ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ = ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ

nm̄pn̄ye.²⁹ αq-ζμοос n̄caoȳnam m̄-peq̄eiwt̄ z̄n̄-n-et̄^θ-xose.
q̄-n̄nȳ on̄ z̄m̄-peq̄eooȳ e-^θkr̄ine n̄-n-et̄^θ-on̄z̄ m̄n̄-n-et̄^θ-mooȳt̄.
aȳw̄ m̄n̄-^θz̄aē na-ψωπε z̄n̄-teqm̄nt̄-epo. ten̄-p̄isteγē³⁰ ē-pepn̄a
ē^θ-oȳaav̄ p̄oc̄³¹ aȳw̄ p̄req̄-tan̄zo p̄-ent̄-αq̄-ei ēbol̄ z̄it̄m̄-p̄iwt̄
pai ēt̄n̄-oȳωwt̄ na-q̄ m̄n̄-p̄iwt̄ m̄n̄-p̄w̄hre aȳw̄ en̄-^θēooȳ na-q̄
p̄-ent̄-αq̄-ψax̄e z̄n̄-neq̄p̄roph̄nt̄is z̄n̄-oȳei n̄-oȳwt̄ es̄-oȳaav̄
n̄-kaθoλik̄h̄ aȳw̄ n̄-αποστολ̄ik̄h̄ ek̄k̄l̄h̄sia. ten̄-z̄om̄ologeī³² n̄-oȳ-
baπτ̄isma n̄-oȳwt̄ e-p̄kw̄ ēbol̄ n̄-n̄enn̄ove. aȳw̄ ten̄-p̄ros̄doκα³³
e-tanaσtaσic̄ n̄-n-et̄^θ-mooȳt̄ m̄n̄-p̄wn̄z̄ et̄^θ-na-ψωπε ψa-enez̄.
z̄am̄hn̄.

GNOMIC STATEMENTS

PROV 15:1-9, ed. Worrell: (1) ψare-τοργ̄η tako n̄-n̄kesaveēȳ.
ψare-oȳw̄[α]x̄e ēq̄-m̄-peq̄ma kt̄o ēbol̄ n̄-oȳb̄w̄nt̄. ψare-oȳψax̄e
n̄-req̄-aȳpi toȳnes̄-z̄enop̄rh̄. (2) [π]λ̄as̄ de n̄-n̄cave cooȳn̄
n̄-n-et̄^θ-nāno-oȳ.³⁴ t̄tāpro de n̄-nāent̄ cooȳn̄ n̄-[n̄]ēep̄ooȳ. (3)
n̄baλ̄ m̄-p̄noȳt̄e b̄w̄wt̄ z̄m̄-ma nim̄ ēx̄nn̄³⁵-n̄-ēeooȳ m̄n̄-n̄-
et̄^θ-nānoȳ-oȳ. (4) oȳw̄hn̄ n̄-w̄n̄z̄ pe p̄tal̄bo m̄-plas̄. p̄-et̄^θ-eire
de m̄mo-q̄ na-cei n̄-neq̄karp̄os. (5) ψare-p̄āent̄ km̄w̄-tec̄sw̄
m̄-peq̄eiwt̄. oȳcave de n̄zōyo pe p̄-et̄^θ-zarēz̄ e-nēxp̄io. oȳn̄-
oȳnob̄ n̄-bom̄ z̄n̄-taikaiōc̄yn̄h̄ et̄^θ-ow̄. m̄mokmek̄ de n̄-nācebh̄s̄
na-p̄w̄rk̄ m̄n̄-nēynōyne. (6) oȳn̄-oȳnob̄ n̄-bom̄ z̄n̄-n̄h̄i n̄-nāi-
kaiōs. n̄karp̄os de n̄-nācebh̄s̄ na-tako. (7) nes̄pot̄oȳ n̄-n̄sōfoc̄
m̄hr̄ n̄-oȳaiōc̄h̄s̄ic̄. n̄z̄ht̄ de n̄-nāent̄ op̄x̄ an̄. (8) z̄enbote m̄-
p̄x̄oic̄ ne nēōyc̄ia n̄-m̄parānom̄os. nēōyc̄ia de n̄-n̄-et̄^θ-coȳt̄wn̄
w̄hp̄ n̄nāz̄pa-q̄. (9) z̄enbote m̄-p̄x̄oic̄ ne nēziooȳe m̄-pācebh̄s̄.
q̄-me de n̄-n̄-et̄^θ-p̄ht̄ n̄ca-taikaiōc̄yn̄h̄, etc.

REQUEST, PRAYER, COMMAND

Ps 69(70), ed. Budge: (1) p̄x̄oic̄ p̄noȳt̄e [†]-z̄tn̄-k̄ e-tāvon̄ēia. (2)
māroȳ-xi-^θw̄ipe n̄ce-oȳwal̄c̄ n̄bi-n̄-et̄^θ-w̄ine n̄ca-taψ̄ȳxn̄.
māroȳ-kot̄-oȳ ep̄az̄oȳ n̄ce-xi-^θw̄ipe n̄bi-n̄-et̄^θ-meēye ep̄o-ī
e-z̄enpēeooȳ. (3) māroȳ-kot̄-oȳ n̄teȳnoȳ n̄ce-xi-^θw̄ipe n̄bi-n̄-
et̄^θ-x̄w̄ m̄mo-c̄ na-ī x̄e-ēȳge ēȳge. (4) māroȳ-tēln̄h̄ n̄ce-oȳnoq̄
ēx̄w̄-k̄ n̄bi-oȳon̄ nim̄ et̄^θ-w̄ine n̄cw̄-k̄ n̄ce-x̄oo-c̄ n̄oȳōeiw̄ nim̄

²⁹ē-n̄m̄pn̄ye = e-m̄pn̄ye ³⁰ten̄-p̄isteγē = t̄n̄-p̄isteγē ³¹p̄oc̄ = p̄x̄oic̄
(non-Standard abbreviation) ³²ten̄-z̄om̄ologeī = t̄n̄-z̄om̄ologeī ³³ten̄-p̄ros̄-
doκα = t̄n̄-p̄ros̄doκα ³⁴nāno-oȳ = nānoȳ-oȳ ³⁵I.e. ēx̄n̄-

x̄e-mare-p̄noȳt̄e x̄ice n̄-et̄^θ-mē m̄-pekōȳx̄aī. (5) anok̄ de
an̄t̄-oȳz̄h̄ke. an̄t̄-oȳev̄ihn̄. p̄x̄oic̄ von̄ēi ep̄o-ī. n̄t̄k̄-pāvon̄ēos̄
aȳw̄ tanaψ̄t̄e. p̄x̄oic̄ m̄p̄r̄-w̄sk̄.

LUKE 11:2-4, ed. Quecke: (2) pen̄iwt̄ et̄^θ-z̄n̄-m̄p̄noȳe mare-pekr̄an̄
oȳop̄. mare-tekm̄nt̄-ep̄o ēī. mare-pekōȳw̄ ψωπε. (3) penoīk̄
et̄^θ-n̄hōȳ t̄aa-q̄ na-n̄ m̄mh̄ne. (4) ka-n̄enn̄ove <ebol̄>³⁶ na-n̄.
kaiḡar̄ anon̄ t̄n̄-k̄w̄ ēbol̄ oȳon̄ nim̄³⁷ et̄e-oȳnt̄a-n̄ ep̄o-q̄. aȳw̄
m̄p̄r̄-x̄it̄-n̄ ep̄oyn̄ e-p̄iras̄moc̄.

Exod 20:3-10, ed. Maspero: (3) n̄neȳ-ψωπε na-k̄ n̄bi-z̄enkenoȳt̄e
n̄b̄alla-ī. (4) n̄nek̄-tam̄iō na-k̄ n̄-oȳeiāw̄lon̄ oȳde peīne n̄-laaȳ
n̄-n̄-et̄^θ-z̄n̄-t̄pe z̄it̄pe aȳw̄ n̄-et̄^θ-z̄īx̄m̄-p̄kāz̄ m̄pes̄ht̄ aȳw̄ n̄-et̄^θ-
z̄m̄-p̄mooȳ z̄ap̄es̄ht̄ m̄-p̄kāz̄. (5) n̄nek̄-oȳw̄wt̄ na-ȳ. oȳde n̄nek̄-
w̄m̄we na-ȳ. anok̄ gar̄ pe p̄x̄oic̄ pek̄noȳt̄e oȳnoȳt̄e n̄-req̄-k̄w̄z̄
et̄^θ-t̄w̄w̄be n̄-n̄n̄ove n̄-n̄eiote ep̄z̄aī ēx̄n̄-n̄w̄hre ψaz̄paī e-p̄mez̄-
w̄om̄t̄ m̄n̄-p̄mez̄-q̄tooȳ n̄-x̄wm̄ n̄-n̄-et̄^θ-most̄e m̄mo-ī (6) aȳw̄
et̄^θ-eire n̄-oȳna e-z̄enw̄ō n̄-n̄-et̄^θ-me m̄mo-ī aȳw̄ et̄^θ-zarēz̄
e-naoȳez̄-^θcāz̄ne. (7) n̄nek̄-x̄i m̄-p̄ran̄ m̄-p̄x̄oic̄ pek̄noȳt̄e ep̄z̄aī
ēx̄n̄-oȳpet̄-woȳeit̄. n̄ne-p̄x̄oic̄ gar̄ t̄b̄w̄ō m̄-p̄-et̄^θ-na-x̄i
m̄-peq̄ran̄ ēx̄n̄-oȳpet̄-woȳeit̄. (8) ap̄i-p̄meēye m̄-pezooȳ n̄-n̄cav̄-
baton̄ ē-^θt̄b̄w̄ō m̄mo-q̄. (9) cooȳ n̄-z̄ooȳ eke-^θp̄-^θz̄w̄b̄ n̄t̄-eire n̄-
nek̄z̄bh̄ye t̄hr̄-oȳ. (10) p̄mez̄-cāw̄q̄ de n̄-z̄ooȳ p̄cav̄baton̄ pe
m̄-p̄x̄oic̄ pek̄noȳt̄e. n̄nek̄-eire z̄paī n̄z̄ht̄-q̄ n̄-laaȳ n̄-z̄w̄b̄ n̄tok̄
m̄n̄-pekw̄hre aȳw̄ tek̄w̄eere pek̄z̄m̄z̄al̄ m̄n̄-tekw̄z̄m̄z̄al̄ pek̄mac̄e
m̄n̄-pekw̄aī-nāz̄b̄ m̄n̄-t̄b̄nn̄ nim̄ n̄ta-k̄ m̄n̄-pep̄ros̄ȳl̄ht̄os̄ et̄^θ-oȳn̄z̄
z̄paī n̄z̄ht̄-k̄.

PACHOMIUS, PRAECEPTA 91-97, ed. Lefort Œuvres: (91) n̄ne-^θpw̄me
mooȳe z̄n̄-t̄cooȳz̄c̄ noȳew̄n̄-^θpāz̄tooȳ z̄i-^θtolom̄wn̄ eite e-p̄cw̄-
oȳz̄ eite e-p̄ma n̄-oȳwm̄. (92) n̄ne-^θpw̄me w̄wk̄ e-^θtēz̄c̄-neq̄b̄ix̄
e-roȳze oȳew̄n̄-^θx̄oooȳ-^θcon̄ m̄ma-q̄. n̄ne-^θpw̄me tēz̄c̄-peq̄c̄w̄ma
t̄hr̄-q̄ x̄w̄p̄ic̄-^θw̄w̄ne. oȳt̄e e-^θx̄w̄km̄ n̄ e-^θeiaa-q̄ ēbol̄ kak̄ws̄
para-^θe et̄^θt̄h̄w̄ na-ȳ. (93) n̄ne-^θpw̄me tēz̄c̄-^θpw̄me ēq̄-ψw̄ne. n̄
e-^θx̄ok̄m̄-eq̄ e-m̄pooȳ-toȳ-q̄. (94) n̄ne-laaȳ ψax̄e m̄n̄-neq̄er̄nȳ
z̄m̄-p̄kāke. (95) oȳt̄e n̄net̄n̄-z̄mooc̄ e-^θtom̄ et̄et̄n̄-^θp̄-c̄nāȳ oȳt̄e
oȳtm̄n̄. (95a) [n̄ne-^θp̄]w̄me amāz̄te n̄-t̄b̄ix̄ m̄-peq̄w̄bh̄r̄ oȳt̄e
kēlaaȳ n̄-eiāos̄ n̄ta-q̄. alla ek̄-na-ka-oȳmāze ep̄z̄aī oȳt̄w̄-k̄
n̄m̄ma-q̄ eite ek̄-z̄mooc̄ eite ek̄-āz̄ep̄at̄-k̄ eite ek̄-mooȳe.

³⁶ebol̄ (erroneously omitted in Quecke's manuscript) is attested in other ancient copies of Luke.
³⁷oȳon̄ nim̄ = n̄-oȳon̄ nim̄

(96) $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ \bar{n} - θ сουρε εβολ \bar{n} - $\rho\alpha\tau$ - \bar{q} \bar{n} - θ ρωме ειμнтι \bar{e} - $\pi\bar{r}\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{i}$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\pi\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{z}$ - $\sigma\bar{n}\alpha\gamma$ \bar{n} π - $\bar{e}\tau\bar{o}\gamma$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\theta\gamma\bar{e}\bar{z}$ - θ сαzne $\bar{n}\alpha$ - \bar{q} . (97) $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - θ ρωме $\omega\bar{b}$ - $\tau\epsilon\bar{q}\alpha\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\chi\bar{m}$ - $\pi\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{r}\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{i}$. ουτε $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - θ ρωме $\omega\bar{b}$ - θ ρωме \bar{e} - $\mu\bar{p}\bar{o}\gamma$ - $\tau\bar{o}\omega$ - \bar{q} . ουτε $\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - θ ρωме $\omega\bar{b}$ - θ ρωме $\bar{e}\gamma$ - $\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{s}$, etc.

EXEGESIS

MARK 4:2-8, 13-20, ed. Quecke: (2) $\alpha\bar{q}$ - \bar{t} - θ свω $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\alpha$ - γ $\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}\bar{n}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$ - $\chi\omega$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{c} $\bar{n}\alpha$ - γ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\tau\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{c}\bar{v}\bar{\omega}$ (3) $\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$. $\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{z}\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ εβολ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{i}$ - π - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ \bar{e} - θ тχο.³⁸ (4) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{q}$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ $\bar{o}\gamma\alpha$ $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ $\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{e}$ $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ - $\tau\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\gamma\bar{o}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$.³⁹ (5) $\bar{k}\bar{e}\gamma\alpha$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ $\bar{e}\chi\bar{n}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}$ - \bar{q} . $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\alpha\gamma$ - \bar{t} - θ ογ $\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}$. $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{e}$ - $\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$. (6) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ - $\pi\bar{r}\bar{n}$ $\omega\alpha$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{b}\bar{v}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{e}$ - $\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{e}$ - θ ноуне εβολ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\omega\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}$. (7) $\bar{k}\bar{e}\gamma\alpha$ $\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{e}\chi\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{o}\bar{b}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\gamma$ - \bar{t} - θ карпос. (8) $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{z}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\chi\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma$ - \bar{q} . $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ $\alpha\gamma$ - $\alpha\gamma\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\gamma$ - \bar{t} - θ карпос \bar{e} - $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ \bar{e} - $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ \bar{e} - $\omega\bar{e}$. . . (13) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{p}\bar{e}\chi\alpha$ - \bar{q} $\bar{n}\alpha$ - γ $\chi\bar{e}$ - \bar{n} - $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}\bar{n}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{c}$ $\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}\bar{n}$ $\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{r}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\bar{c}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\omega}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$. (14) π - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ $\bar{e}\bar{q}$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$. (15) $\bar{n}\alpha\bar{i}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ \bar{e} - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}$ - \bar{q} . $\alpha\gamma\omega$ \bar{e} - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\omega\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}$ ⁴⁰ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{q}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$. (16) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\alpha\bar{i}$ $\bar{z}\bar{\omega}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{z}\bar{i}\chi\bar{n}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}$. \bar{e} - $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ \bar{e} - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{i}\bar{t}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{e}$. (17) $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - θ ноуне $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ $\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$. $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ - θ ογοειω⁴¹ $\bar{n}\bar{e}$. $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{\psi}\bar{i}\bar{c}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ $\omega\bar{p}\bar{e}$ \bar{h} $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\Delta}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{\omega}\bar{g}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\omega\alpha\bar{q}$ - $\bar{c}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{i}\bar{z}\bar{e}$.⁴² (18) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ \bar{e} - $\bar{n}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ \bar{e} - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$. (19) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\omega}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{\theta}\bar{y}\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{v}\bar{n}\bar{k}$ $\bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{\omega}\bar{b}\bar{t}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ \bar{n} - \bar{q} - \bar{t} - θ карпос $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ εβολ. (20) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{h}$ $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{e}\chi\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma$ - \bar{q} . $\bar{e}\gamma$ - $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ \bar{e} - $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{e}$ $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\omega\bar{p}\bar{i}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\bar{e}$ - θ карпос εβολ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\omega\bar{e}$.

LEARNED EXPOSITION

1 COR 15:35-50, ed. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect*: (35) $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\alpha$

³⁸тχο = infinitive χο ³⁹αγομ-ογ = αγ-ογομ-ογ ⁴⁰Satan ⁴¹I.e. $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ - θ ογοειω ⁴²Other ancient manuscripts here read $\omega\alpha\gamma$ - $\bar{c}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{i}\bar{z}\bar{e}$

$\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\chi\bar{o}\bar{o}$ - \bar{c} $\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ - \bar{n} - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}$ $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\alpha\omega$ \bar{n} - $\bar{z}\bar{e}$. $\bar{e}\gamma$ - $\bar{n}\bar{h}\gamma$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ \bar{n} - $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$. (36) $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}\bar{n}\bar{t}$. $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{k}$ π - \bar{e} - $\omega\alpha\bar{k}$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} ⁴³ $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{\omega}\bar{n}\bar{z}$ $\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{h}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{o}\gamma$. (37) $\alpha\gamma\omega$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\omega\bar{p}\bar{e}$ π - $\omega\alpha\bar{k}$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} . $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{v}\bar{\alpha}\bar{v}\bar{i}\bar{\lambda}\bar{e}$ $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{c}$ - $\bar{k}\bar{h}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{h}\gamma$ \bar{n} - θ сογο \bar{h} \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{e}\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{e}$ \bar{n} - θ броб. (38) $\omega\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ \bar{t} $\bar{n}\alpha$ - \bar{q} \bar{n} - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}$ - $\bar{\theta}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\alpha\omega$ - \bar{c} $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{o}\gamma\alpha$ $\bar{p}\bar{o}\gamma\alpha$ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{b}$ $\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} . (39) \bar{n} - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{z}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\omega}\bar{t}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{z}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$. $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{e}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{z}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{n}\bar{n}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{z}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{h}\bar{t}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{t}$ (40) $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{p}\bar{e}$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$. $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - \bar{n} - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{p}\bar{e}$. $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{e}$ \bar{n} - \bar{n} - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$. (41) $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{n}$. $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{z}$. $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$ \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{i}\bar{o}\gamma$. $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ - θ сιογ $\bar{g}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}$ $\omega\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{e}$ \bar{e} - θ сιογ $\bar{z}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$. (42) $\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{\theta}\bar{e}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - \bar{n} - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}$. $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}\bar{o}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}\bar{o}$. (43) $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma$. $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{b}\bar{\omega}\bar{v}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}$. (44) $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\chi\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} \bar{n} - θ сωма \bar{m} - $\psi\chi\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ \bar{n} - θ сωма \bar{m} - $\pi\bar{n}\bar{e}\gamma\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{n}$. $\bar{e}\omega\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ - θ сωма \bar{m} - $\psi\chi\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ - θ сω- $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{o}\bar{n}$ \bar{m} - $\pi\bar{n}\bar{e}\gamma\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{n}$, etc.

EPIDEICTIC

SHENOUTE, ARCHIMANDRITE OF THE WHITE MONASTERY (A.D. 346/7-464/5), *I Have Heard about Your Wisdom (excerpt)* (Discourses, book 4); the beginning of a discourse delivered on the occasion of a visit to the White Monastery by the governor Flavianus; ed. Chassinat, ShChass 84:42-86:9: $\alpha\bar{i}$ - $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{k}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{k}$ - $\bar{q}\bar{i}$ - θ ροογ $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}\bar{n}$ $\bar{e}\bar{k}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{z}$ \bar{e} - $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{e}\bar{k}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{e}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{m}\bar{e}$. $\alpha\bar{i}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\omega\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{e}$ - \bar{n} - $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}$ - \bar{t} - θ мтон $\bar{n}\alpha$ - γ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\chi\bar{e}$ - \bar{k} - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\bar{e}\gamma\bar{f}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{o}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha\bar{i}$. $\bar{e}\omega\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{e}$ $\bar{g}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}$ $\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - $\chi\bar{i}$ - θ тп \bar{n} - $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ - $\omega\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{t}\bar{h}$ - \bar{q} \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\omega\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\chi\bar{n}$ - \bar{n} - $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ \bar{m} - $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{c}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{c}\bar{m}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{\chi}\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{c}$ $\bar{p}\bar{e}\chi\bar{c}$ $\bar{i}\bar{c}$ ⁴⁴ $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\bar{c}\bar{m}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{r}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ - \bar{t} - θ εοογ $\bar{n}\alpha$ - γ . \bar{e} - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}$ - $\bar{\chi}\bar{i}$ $\bar{b}\bar{e}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{h}\bar{n}$ εβολ $\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{m}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}$ - \bar{k} \bar{n} - θ ρμμαδ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}$ - \bar{c} $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{v}\bar{h}\gamma\bar{e}$ \bar{e} - $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$. $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ - θ бom $\bar{g}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{k} \bar{e} - θ р- $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{p}\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{v}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}$ $\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\chi\bar{e}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{q} $\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{t}$. $\bar{o}\gamma$ π - $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{e}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{h}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - \bar{o} \bar{n} - θ ноб $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{o}$ \bar{e} - θ тре- $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{e}$ \bar{t} - θ знγ \bar{n} - $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{q}\bar{\psi}\chi\bar{h}\bar{n}$. \bar{h} $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ \bar{n} - $\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{h}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\alpha$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ - \bar{c} . $\bar{e}\omega\chi\bar{e}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}$ - θ ρωме \bar{e} - $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{\theta}$ - \bar{o} \bar{m} - θ мнтре $\chi\bar{e}$ - \bar{e} - $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}$ - \bar{q} - $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{\alpha}$ \bar{n} - $\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{h}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{o}$ \bar{n} - θ ноγв $\bar{z}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{t}$ $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{q}$ - $\bar{n}\alpha$ - $\bar{t}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}$ - γ π

⁴³ωακ-, the reading of Morgan M570 ⁴⁴I.e. $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ $\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{c}$ Christ Jesus

ζα-τεψυχη ν̄τ̄ν-τωρп δε ανон ν̄-н-ετε-νογ-н αν νε η̄ ν̄τ̄ν-
†-пζα† ζα-^θαωρον ν̄-на-ωωπε⁴⁵ н-тбайн⁴⁶ νογнр, etc.

SHENOUTE, *Not Because a Fox Barks* (excerpt) (Discourses, book 4); the conclusion of the discourse, in which Shenoute addresses God; ed. Chassinat, ShChass 48:3-50:14: . . . πλην †-на-ωαχε̄ м̄пек̄м̄т̄о̄ εβολ̄ п̄ноγ̄те ν̄-ν̄б̄ом̄ п̄пан̄то̄к̄рат̄ωρ̄. м̄п̄р̄-б̄ωн̄т̄ ε-там̄н̄т̄-а̄он̄т̄. †-со̄о̄γ̄н̄ х̄ε-н̄-г̄-ō̄в̄ω̄ ан̄ ε-λᾱа̄γ̄. н̄то̄к̄ п̄ент̄-ак̄-ωαχε̄ з̄н̄-не̄к̄пет̄о̄γ̄а̄ав̄ м̄-про̄ф̄η̄т̄ис̄ н̄на̄з̄р̄н̄-п̄ив̄аве̄-р̄ω̄ме̄ ε̄т̄^θ-м̄ма̄γ̄ φ̄ара̄ω̄⁴⁷ х̄ε-κ̄ω̄ εβολ̄ м̄-πᾱλᾱос̄ х̄ε̄ка̄с̄ ε̄γ̄ε-ω̄м̄ω̄ε̄ на̄-ī̄ н̄н̄се̄-р̄-^θω̄ᾱ на̄-ī̄. н̄то̄к̄ он̄ п̄ент̄-ак̄-хо̄о̄-с̄ н̄з̄н̄т̄-о̄γ̄ х̄ε-с̄р̄qē н̄те̄т̄н̄-ε̄ῑме̄ х̄ε-ан̄ок̄ пе̄ п̄но̄γ̄те̄. ω̄н̄-з̄т̄н̄-к̄ бе̄ ζα-п̄ек̄ла̄ос̄ п̄ζᾱр̄ω̄-^θз̄н̄т̄ ε̄те̄-на̄ω̄ε̄-п̄ε̄q̄на̄ н̄г̄-со̄т̄-о̄γ̄ εβολ̄ з̄н̄-т̄б̄ῑx̄ ν̄-н̄-ε̄т̄^θ-θ̄λῑβε̄ м̄мо̄-о̄γ̄ н̄θ̄ε̄ м̄-п̄ек̄ла̄ос̄ π̄ῑн̄λ̄⁴⁸ м̄π̄ιο̄γ̄ο̄εῑω̄ та̄ρο̄γ̄-с̄р̄qē ε̄-^θε̄ῑме̄ х̄ε-м̄н̄-бе̄но̄γ̄те̄ ν̄β̄λλᾱ-к̄. η̄ н̄-г̄-на̄γ̄ ан̄ х̄ε-м̄п̄ε̄-н̄з̄ε̄λλ̄η̄н̄ м̄н̄-н̄з̄ε̄θ̄но̄с̄ м̄н̄-на̄т̄-но̄γ̄те̄ б̄м̄-^θб̄ом̄ ε̄-^θсо̄γ̄ω̄н̄-г̄. х̄ε-м̄по̄γ̄-с̄р̄qē з̄н̄-не̄γ̄м̄н̄т̄-а̄п̄ис̄т̄ос̄ м̄н̄-не̄γ̄м̄н̄т̄-а̄κᾱθ̄αρ̄т̄ос̄ т̄н̄р̄-о̄γ̄. т̄ω̄м̄ бе̄ ε̄р̄н̄-ан̄ο̄μ̄ιᾱ н̄ῑм̄ м̄н̄-χῑ н̄б̄ο̄н̄с̄ н̄ῑм̄ з̄м̄-ма̄ н̄ῑм̄ εβολ̄ ν̄-н̄-ε̄то̄γ̄-χῑ м̄мо̄-о̄γ̄ н̄б̄ο̄н̄с̄ χ̄ῑн̄-х̄ω̄-q̄ м̄-п̄ка̄з̄ ω̄ᾱ-ар̄н̄x̄-с̄ н̄-то̄ῑκο̄γ̄με̄н̄η̄ та̄ре̄-н̄-ε̄т̄^θ-со̄о̄γ̄н̄ м̄мо̄-к̄ с̄р̄qē ε̄-^θр̄-^θз̄м̄з̄ал̄ на̄-к̄. н̄-се̄-на̄-б̄м̄-^θб̄ом̄ га̄р̄ ан̄ ε̄-^θр̄-^θз̄м̄з̄ал̄ на̄-к̄ н̄се̄-р̄-^θз̄м̄з̄ал̄ н̄-н̄ре̄q̄-χῑ н̄б̄ο̄н̄с̄. ε̄-не̄-м̄п̄к̄-с̄ω̄те̄ м̄-п̄ек̄ла̄ос̄ π̄ῑн̄λ̄ м̄π̄ιο̄γ̄ο̄εῑω̄ εβολ̄ з̄н̄-н̄б̄ῑx̄ м̄-π̄ιᾱно̄μ̄ос̄ на̄βο̄γ̄χο̄-δ̄ο̄н̄ο̄с̄ο̄р̄⁴⁹ м̄н̄-н̄ӣκο̄ο̄γ̄ε̄ т̄н̄р̄-о̄γ̄ ε̄т̄^θ-ε̄ῑне̄ м̄мо̄-q̄ н̄т̄-а̄γ̄-θ̄м̄ко̄-о̄γ̄ з̄м̄-п̄т̄ре̄к̄-та̄а̄-γ̄ ε̄з̄ра̄ī̄ ε̄то̄ο̄т̄-о̄γ̄ х̄ε-ак̄-но̄γ̄б̄с̄ ε̄ро̄-о̄γ̄ кан̄ се̄-ω̄ӣне̄ н̄с̄ω̄-к̄ з̄м̄-п̄ма̄ ε̄т̄^θ-м̄ма̄γ̄ а̄λλᾱ не̄γ̄-на̄-ω̄-х̄ω̄ ан̄ пе̄ ν̄-не̄к̄-с̄мо̄γ̄ н̄θ̄ε̄ ε̄то̄γ̄а̄ω̄-с̄.⁵⁰ х̄ε-м̄н̄-^θπᾱρ̄ρ̄η̄с̄ιᾱ ω̄ο̄ο̄п̄ на̄-γ̄ з̄н̄-т̄м̄н̄т̄-з̄м̄з̄ал̄ н̄-не̄з̄β̄н̄γ̄ε̄ ε̄т̄^θ-о̄ω̄ н̄θ̄ε̄ н̄т̄-а̄γ̄-хо̄ο̄-с̄ х̄ε-на̄ω̄ н̄-зе̄ ε̄н̄-на̄-ω̄-х̄ω̄ н̄-т̄ω̄а̄н̄ м̄-п̄н̄ī̄ м̄-п̄х̄ο̄ε̄ῑс̄ з̄н̄н̄-ο̄γ̄ка̄з̄ н̄-ω̄м̄м̄ο̄. н̄те̄ī̄zē он̄ ε̄к̄ω̄ан̄-т̄м̄-с̄ω̄те̄ н̄-н̄-ε̄то̄γ̄-χῑ м̄мо̄-о̄γ̄ н̄б̄ο̄н̄с̄ εβολ̄ з̄н̄-н̄б̄ῑx̄ н̄-н̄ιᾱт̄-на̄ кан̄ се̄-та̄γ̄ō̄ м̄-п̄ек̄ра̄н̄ се̄-ε̄п̄ῑθ̄γ̄μ̄ε̄ῑ δε̄ он̄ ε̄-^θр̄-не̄к̄-ο̄γ̄ω̄ω̄ х̄ε-н̄то̄к̄ пе̄ те̄γ̄зе̄л̄п̄ӣс̄ н̄-се̄-на̄-ω̄-б̄м̄-^θб̄ом̄ ан̄ ε̄-^θ†̄ на̄-к̄ н̄-не̄γ̄ε̄р̄н̄т̄ з̄н̄-зе̄н̄с̄мо̄γ̄ м̄н̄-зе̄н̄ω̄ᾱн̄η̄ м̄н̄-зе̄н̄н̄η̄с̄т̄ιᾱ. х̄ε-м̄м̄н̄-^θм̄н̄т̄-р̄м̄zē ω̄ο̄ο̄п̄ на̄-γ̄ з̄н̄-ο̄γ̄с̄ο̄ο̄γ̄т̄н̄ εβολ̄ з̄н̄-т̄м̄н̄т̄-з̄м̄з̄ал̄ н̄-не̄з̄-β̄н̄γ̄ε̄ н̄-н̄ῑр̄ω̄ме̄ ε̄т̄^θ-ме̄ε̄γ̄ε̄ ε̄-зе̄н̄п̄ο̄н̄η̄ρ̄ο̄н̄ н̄на̄γ̄ н̄ῑм̄ ε̄зо̄γ̄н̄ ε̄ро̄-о̄γ̄. (End)

⁴⁵ν̄-на-ωωπε = ε̄н̄-на̄-ω̄ω̄πε

⁴⁶ν̄-тбайн̄ = ε̄н̄-т̄бай̄н̄

⁴⁷Pharaoh

⁴⁸I.e. π̄ῑс̄ρᾱн̄ Israel

⁴⁹Nebuchadnezzar

⁵⁰ε̄то̄γ̄а̄ω̄-с̄ = ε̄то̄γ̄-ο̄γ̄а̄ω̄-с̄

COPYIST'S COLOPHON

COLOPHON IN CHESTER BEATTY MANUSCRIPT 814 (THOMPSON'S CODEX B), ed. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect*, p. xviii: αρι-ταραπн αρι-памееγ̄ε̄ ο̄γ̄ο̄н̄ н̄ῑм̄ ε̄т̄^θ-на̄-ω̄ω̄ з̄м̄-п̄ε̄ī̄x̄ω̄ω̄ме̄ а̄но̄к̄ п̄ӣре̄q̄-р̄-^θно̄ве̄ н̄те̄-п̄но̄γ̄те̄ н̄-та̄ζ̄а̄н̄ εβολ̄ ε̄-на̄но̄γ̄-с̄. ο̄γ̄χᾱī̄. ζ̄ᾱм̄η̄н̄. κ̄ω̄ на̄-ī̄ εβολ̄.

Glossary to the Chrestomathy

For grammatical morphs, see the *Select Coptic Index*. Abbreviations: adv(er)b, comp(oun)d, conj(unction), fem(inine), infl(ected) modif(ier), init(ial) att(itude) mark(e)r, interj(ection), intr(ansitive), masc(uline), n(ou)n, p(articipium) c(oniunctum) i.e. construct participle, pl(ural), poss(essive), prep(osition), prop(er), refl(exive), tr(ansitive), v(er)b

EGYPTIAN COPTIC

A reference to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* is given in parentheses. Definitions partly follow the wording of the *Dictionary*. Entries are alphabetized in the usual way (187).

ⲁⲁⲥ. See ⲉⲓⲣⲉ

ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉ vb tr ⲙⲙⲟⲥ grasp, embrace, possess, prevail, rule. ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲓ-ⲱ-ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ without hindrance. ⲡ-ⲉⲧ⁰-ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉ the strongest one. (9a)

ⲁⲛⲁⲓ. See ⲛⲁⲓ

ⲁⲡⲁ, ⲁⲡⲁ- monastic title of respect *Apa*. (13a)

ⲁⲡⲉ nn fem (pl ⲁⲡⲛⲓⲉ) head. (13b)

ⲁⲣⲓ-. See ⲉⲓⲣⲉ

ⲁⲣⲛⲁⲥ poss nn 138 limit, end. (16a)

ⲁⲥⲁⲓ vb intr (ⲁⲥⲱⲟⲓ[†]) be(come) light (not heavy). (17b)

ⲁⲑⲛⲧ. See ⲓⲛⲧ

ⲁⲓⲱ conj and. (19b)

ⲁⲓ specifier 72 which? ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ-ⲓⲉ compd advb how? (22a)

ⲁⲓⲁⲓ vb intr (ⲟⲓ[†]) be(come) many, much. (22b)

ⲁⲓⲟ nn masc (pl ⲁⲓⲱⲱⲣ) treasure, treasury. (24b)

ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ (refl) vb tr stand. (537b)

ⲁⲓⲛⲓ. See ⲕⲱⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓ

ⲁⲕⲛ-, ⲁⲕⲛⲧⲥ prep without. (25b)

ⲃⲁⲃⲉ vb tr (ⲃⲁⲃⲉ-, ⲃⲁⲃⲱⲱⲥ, ⲃⲁ-ⲃⲟⲧ[†], ⲃⲁⲃⲱ[†], p.c. ⲃⲁⲃⲉ-) regard as foolish, despise; be(come) insipid, foolish. ⲃⲁⲃⲉ-⁰ⲣⲱⲙⲉ genderless nn boaster. (28b)

ⲃⲱⲕ vb intr 168(c) (ⲃⲛⲕ[†]) go, depart.

ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲓⲟⲓⲛ ⲉ- go into, enter. ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲓ ascend. (29a)

ⲃⲁⲗ nn masc eye. (31b)

ⲃⲁⲃⲓⲗⲉ nn fem kernel, single grain. (37b)

ⲃⲣⲣⲉ genderless nn new, young person/thing. (43a)

ⲃⲟⲧⲉ nn fem abomination. (45b)

ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲟⲥ prep to, for, against, in comparison to. ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ- to. ⲛⲓⲟⲓⲟ ⲉ-, ⲛⲓⲟⲓⲉ- more than. (50a)

ⲉⲃⲓⲛⲛ genderless nn poor, wretched person/thing. (53a)

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲛ-, ⲛⲓⲛⲧⲥ prep from, out of. (684a)

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲧⲓⲛ-, ⲓⲧⲓⲟⲟⲧⲥ prep through, by the agency of. (429b)

ⲉⲕⲓⲃⲉ nn fem breast. (54a)

ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ advb greatly, very. (190a)

ⲉⲛⲕⲁ. See ⲛⲕⲁ

ⲉⲛⲉⲓ. ⲱⲁ-ⲉⲛⲉⲓ compd advb forever, eternal; ⲛ-ⲱⲁ-ⲉⲛⲉⲓ eternal. (57a)

ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲧ combinative advb 206

ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲟⲓ combinative advb 206

ⲉⲣⲟ. See ⲣⲣⲟ

ⲉⲣⲛ-, ⲉⲣⲱⲥ compd prep 209 to, upon. (289b)

ⲉⲣⲛⲧ vb tr ⲙⲙⲟⲥ promise, vow. nn masc (pl. ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ) promise, vow. (58b)

ⲉⲣⲛⲓ nn expressing reciprocity 90. (59a)

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ-, ⲉⲧⲃⲛⲛⲧⲥ prep because of,

concerning, for the sake of. **ΕΤΒΕ-**
ΠΑΙ therefore. (61a)
ΕΤΒΕ-ΧΕ- conj *because*. (61b)
ΕΤΝ-, **ΕΤΟΟΤ=** compd prep **209** *to*.
 (427b)
ΕΘΟΟΥ. See **ΖΟΟΥ†**
ΕΘΟΥ nn masc *glory*. **†-ΘΕΟΥ ΝΑ=**
 compd vb tr glorify. (62a)
ΕΩΧΕ- conj *given that, supposing that,*
if (as is or seems to be the case), if
indeed, since (causal), even though.
 (63a)
ΕΖΟΥΝ combinative advb **206**
ΕΖΡΑΙ combinative advb **206**
ΕΧΝ-, **ΕΧΩ-**, **ΕΧΩ=** (often erro-
 neously **ΑΧΝ-**, **ΑΧΩ=**) compd prep
209 *upon, over, for, on account of,*
against, to, in addition to, after. (757a)
ΗΙ nn masc *house*. **ΡΜΝ-ΗΙ** genderless
 nn housemaster, -mistress (of monas-
 tery). (66a)
ΗΡΠ nn masc *wine*. (66b)
ΕΙ vb intr **168(c)** (**ΝΗΥ†**) *come*. **ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ**
 come outside. **ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-** leave,
 come out of. **ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ-** proceed
 from. **ΕΙ ΕΠΕCHT** come down. **ΕΙ**
ΕΖΡΑΙ come up (of plants). **ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ**
Ε- come to. (70a)
ΕΙΕ- init att markr **492** *then (ergo, igi-
 tur, profecto)*. (75a)
ΕΙΩ vb tr (**ΕΙΑ-**, **ΕΙΑΑ=**, **ΕΙΗ†**) *wash*.
ΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ wash. (75a)
ΕΙΑΛ nn fem *mirror*. (76b)
ΕΙΜΕ vb tr **Ε-** *know, understand*. (77b)
ΕΙΝΕ vb tr (**Ν-**, **ΝΤ=**) *bring*. **ΕΙΝΕ**
ΕΒΟΛ extract. (78b)
ΕΙΝΕ vb tr **ΜΜΟ=** *resemble*. Nn masc
 likeness. (80b)
ΕΙΡΕ vb tr (**Ρ-**, **ΑΑ=**, **Ο†**, imperative
ΑΡΙ-) *do, make*. **Ρ-** forms compound
 verbs **180**. **Ο† Ν-** be. (83a)
ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ, **ΕΙCΖΗΤΕ**, **ΕΙCΖΗΗΠΕ**,
ΕΙCΖΗΗΝΕ, **ΕΙCΝΕ** interj *lo, behold,*
listen. (85b)
ΕΙΑΤ= poss nn **138** *eye*. **QIAT=** refl
ΕΖΡΑΙ look up (i.e. **QI-ΕΙΑΤ=**). (73b)
ΕΙΩΤ nn masc (pl **ΕΙΟΤΕ**) *parent,*
father. (86b)

ΚΩ vb tr (**ΚΑ-**, **ΚΑΑ=**, **ΚΗ†**) *place, put,*
leave, appoint, give (concede to, permit
to have). **ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ** forgive, release;
 nn masc forgiveness. **ΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ**
 leave, allow there to be. **ΚΩ ΝΩ=**
 (refl) abandon. (94b)
ΚΑΚΕ nn masc *darkness*. (101b)
ΚΩΚΑΖΗΥ vb tr (**ΚΕΚ-** . . . **ΑΖΗΥ,**
ΚΑ[Α]Κ= . . . **ΑΖΗΥ, ΚΗΚΑΖΗΥ†**) *strip*
(s.one) naked; be(come) naked. (100b)
ΚΙΜ vb tr **ΜΜΟ=** + part of body (or **Ε-** +
 external object) *make move; move*.
ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε- move into. (108a)
ΚΑΜΕ genderless nn (fem. **ΚΑΜΗ**) *black*
person/thing. (109b)
ΚΩΜΩ vb tr (**ΚΜΩ-**, **ΚΟΜΩ=**) *mock,*
sneer at. (110b)
ΚΩΤΕ vb tr (**ΚΕΤ-**, **ΚΟΤ=**) *turn; refl*
turn (self), return. **ΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ**
 turn back. **ΚΩΤΕ ΝCΑ-** seek. (124a)
ΚΤΟ, i.e. **ΤΚΤΟ** vb tr (**ΚΤΕ-**, **ΚΤΟ=**,
ΚΤΗΥ†) *make to turn or return; turn*.
ΚΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ turn away. **ΚΤΟ ΕΡΑΤ=**
 (refl) return to. (127b)
ΚΑΖ nn masc *earth, soil*. (131a)
ΚΩΖ vb intr (**ΚΗΖ†**) *be(come) envious,*
zealous. **ΡΕQ-ΚΩΖ** genderless nn
 jealous person/thing. (132b)
ΛΟ vb intr *cease, stop, be healed*. **ΛΟ**
ΖΑ- take leave of, have done with,
 cease from. (135a)
ΛΑC nn masc *tongue*. (144b)
ΛΑΑΥ specifier **72** *any at all, any*. (146a)
ΜΑ nn masc *place*. **ΜΑ-Ν-ΟΥΩΜ**
 refectory (of monks). **ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤ†-**
ΜΜΑΥ compd advb *there*. **ΖΜ-ΜΑ**
ΝΙΜ compd advb *everywhere*. **ΖΜ-**
ΠΕΙΜΑ compd advb *here*. (153a)
ΜΕ vb tr (**ΜΕΡΕ-**, **ΜΕΡΙΤ=**, p.c. **ΜΑΙ-**)
love, embrace. **ΜΑΙ-ΘΑΓΘΟΝ** gen-
 derless nn one who loves what is good.
ΜΑΙ-ΘΡΩΜΕ genderless nn one who
 is philanthropic. (156a)
ΜΕ nn fem *truth*. (156b)
ΜΟΥ vb intr (**ΜΟΥΤ†**) *die, be dead*. Nn
 masc death. (159a)
ΜΑΑΒ specifier **66** *thirty*. (161a)
ΜΑΙ-. See **ΜΕ** vb tr

ΜΟΚΜΕΚ vb tr (**ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚ=**) *think,*
ponder; refl consider. Nn masc pon-
 dering, thought. (162a)
ΜΜΗΝΕ compd advb *daily*. (172a)
ΜΜΑΤΕ 158 only. **ΑΝ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ** not
 only . . . but also. (190b)
ΜΜΑΥ advb *there*. (196b)
ΜΝ-, **ΝΜ-**, **ΝΜΜΑ=** prep *with, together*
with, and. (169b)
ΜΟΟΝΕ vb tr (**ΜΕΝΕ-**, **ΜΑΝΟΥΟΥ=**,
 p.c. **ΜΑΝΕ-**) *pasture, feed, tend*. (173a)
ΜΝΤΡΕ nn masc *witness, testimony*.
 (177a)
ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤ†-ΜΜΑΥ compd advb *there*.
 (154b)
ΜΠΕCHT compd advb **223** *below*. (60a)
ΜΠΟΥΑ compd advb *on the first day*.
 (469a)
ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΩ compd advb *long ago*.
 (499b)
ΜΠΩΑ vb tr **ΜΜΟ=** *be worthy of*. (179a)
ΜΟΥΡ vb tr (**ΜΕΡ-**, **ΜΟΡ=**, **ΜΗΡ†**,
 p.c. **ΜΑΡ-**) *bind; be bound*. **ΜΜΟ=**
 . . . **Ν-** bind (object) with (instrument).
 (180a)
ΜΕΡΕ-, **ΜΕΡΙΤ=**. See **ΜΕ** vb tr
ΜΟCΤΕ vb tr (**ΜΕCΤΕ-**, **ΜΕCΤΩ=**, p.c.
ΜΑCΤ-) *hate*. (187a)
ΜΟΕΙΤ nn masc *road, path*. **ΧΙ-ΘΜΟΕΙΤ**
ΖΗΤ= compd vb tr *lead, guide*. (188a)
ΜΗΤΕ nn fem *midst*. **ΝΤΜΗΤΕ Ν-**
 compd prep *in the midst of*. (190b)
ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ. **ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Ν-**
 compd prep *in the presence of*. (193a)
ΜΤΟΝ vb tr (**ΜΟΤΝ†**) *be(come) at rest;*
refl rest (self). Nn masc rest, leisure,
 relief; **†-ΘΜΤΟΝ ΝΑ=** compd vb tr set
 at ease. (193b)
ΜΟΥ nn masc (pl **ΜΟΥΕΙΗ, ΜΟΥ[Ν]-**
ΕΙΟΟΥΕ) *water*. (197b)
ΜΕΕΥΕ vb tr **ΧΕ-** *think*. **ΜΕΕΥΕ Ε-**
 devise (plan etc.). Nn masc thought,
 remembrance; **Ρ-ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν-** re-
 member; **ΑΡΙ-ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ** remember
 me (make-my-remembrance). (199a)
ΜΟΥΤ†. See **ΜΟΥ**
ΜΟΟΥΕ vb intr *go, travel, go about*.
 (203b)
ΜΕΖ-CΝΑΥ nn masc *second, δευτε-
 ρούριος (administrator in monastery*

second to the ΡΜΝ-ΗΙ). (347a)
ΜΑΖΕ nn masc *ell, cubit (unit of measure,*
forearm's length). (210b)
ΜΖΑ(Α)Υ nn masc. *cave, cave tomb*.
 (212b)
Ν-. See **ΕΙΝΕ** vb tr *bring*
Ν-, **ΝΜΟ=** prep of relationship **203** *of,*
out of, from, related to; also marks
 direct object. (215a, 215b)
Ν-, **ΝΑ=**, **ΝΗ=** prep *to, for (dative)*.
 (216a)
ΝΑ vb tr *show mercy ΝΑ= upon*. Nn masc
 mercy, charity; **ΑΤ-ΝΑ** genderless nn
 pitiless person/thing. (216b)
ΝΟΥΒ nn masc *gold*. (221b)
ΝΟΒΕ nn masc *sin*. **ΑΤ-ΝΟΒΕ** gen-
 derless nn sinless, innocent person/thing.
Ρ-ΘΝΟΒΕ compd vb sin; **ΡΕQ-Ρ-**
ΘΝΟΒΕ genderless nn sinner. (222a)
ΝΒΛ-, **ΝΒΛΑ=** compd prep **209**
beyond, except, except for. (35a)
ΝΚΑ nn masc *thing, material object*.
 (223a)
ΝΙΜ specifier **72** *who? which?* (225a)
ΝΑΝΟΥ-, **ΝΑΝΟΥ=** verboid **376** *be*
good; ΝΑΝΟΥ- ΝΖΟΥΟ Ε- be better
 than. **ΠΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q** nn **110** good
 person/thing, goodness; **ΡΕQ-Ρ-**
ΠΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q genderless nn doer
 of good. (227a)
ΝΟΥΝΕ nn fem *root*. (227b)
ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ compd advb *always*. (235a)
ΝΝΑΖΡΝ-, **ΝΝΑΖΡΑ=** prep *in the pres-
 ence of, before, in relation to*. (649b)
ΝΕCΕ-, **ΝΕCΩ=** verboid **376** *be beauti-
 ful; ΝΕCΕ- ΝΖΟΥΕ Ε-* be more
 beautiful than. (228b)
ΝCΑΟΥΝΑΜ Ν-, **ΜΜΟ=** compd prep
212 *at the right of*. (484a)
ΝΟΥΗΡ compd advb *how much? how*
greatly! (488b)
ΝCΑ-, **ΝCΩ=** compd prep **209** *behind,*
after, from, except. (314a)
ΝΟΥΤΕ nn masc *god; ΠΝΟΥΤΕ* God (of
 the Bible). **ΑΤ-ΝΟΥΤΕ** genderless nn
 godless person/thing, atheist. (230b)
ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ compd advb *immediately*.
 (484b)
ΝΘΕ Ν- compd prep **210** *like*. (639a)

ΝΑΥ (imperative ἀναυ) vb tr ε- *see, behold.* (233a)
 ΝΑΥ nn masc *hour, time.* ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ compd advb *always.* (234b)
 ΝΗΥ†. *See* εἶ
 ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ compd advb *always.* (499b)
 ΝΟΥΘΕΩΝ- compd prep 211 *without.* (502a)
 ΝΑΨΕ-, ΝΑΨΩ= verboid 376 *be many, much, plentiful.* (236a)
 ΝΑΨΤΕ nn fem *strength, protector.* (238a)
 ΝΕΖ nn masc *oil.* (240b)
 ΝΑΖΒ nn masc *yoke.* 41-⁰ΝΑΖΒ genderless nn *beast of burden (yoke-bearer).* (243a)
 ΝΖΟΥΟ compd advb *especially, greatly, very, more.* ΝΖΟΥΟ Ε-, ΝΖΟΥΕ- *more than.* (736a)
 ΝΟΥΧΕ vb tr (ΝΕΧ-, ΝΟΧ=, ΝΗΧ†) *throw, cast.* ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟ= refl put behind oneself, ignore. (247a)
 ΝΟΒ genderless nn *great, large person/thing.* ΝΟΒ ΝΖΟΥΟ Ε- *greater than.* (250a)
 ΝΘΟΝC. ΧΙ ΝΘΟΝC *attack, hurt; nn masc violence.* ΡΕQ-ΧΙ ΝΘΟΝC genderless nn *violent person/thing.* (822a)
 ΝΟΥΘC vb tr (ΝΕΘC-, ΝΟΘC†) *make angry, be angry* Ε- *at.* (252b)
 ο†. *See* εἶρε
 ΟΕΙΚ nn masc *bread, loaf.* (254a)
 ΟΝ advb and conj (enclitic) *again, also, still.* (255b)
 ΟΥ†. *See* αἰαί
 ΟΟΖ nn masc *moon.* (257b)
 πε nn fem (pl πηγε) *sky, heaven.* (259a)
 Π(Ω)ΩΝ, ΠΩΩΝΕ vb tr (ΠΕΝ- etc., ΠΟΝ=, ΠΗΝ†) *pour.* Π(Ω)ΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ *pour out.* (263a)
 ΠΩΡΚ vb tr (ΠΕΡΚ-, ΠΟΡΚ=) *pluck out, root out; be(come) plucked out.* (268b)
 ΠΩΡΧ vb tr (ΠΕΡΧ-, ΠΟΡΧ=, ΠΟΡΧ†) *divide, separate* Ε- *from.* (271b)
 ΠΩΤ vb intr 168(c) (ΠΗ†) *flee, run.* ΠΩΤ Ε- *hasten towards.* ΠΩΤ ΝCΑ-

pursue. (274a)
 ΠΕΘΟΥ (ΠΕΤ-ΖΟΥ) nn 110 *evil, evil person/thing.* (731b)
 ΠΗΥΕ. *See* πε
 ΠΑΨΕ nn fem *half, division.* (278a)
 ΠΕΧΕ-, ΠΕΧΑ= verboid 380 *said.* (285a)
 Ρ-. *See* εἶρε
 ΡΗ nn masc *sun.* (287b)
 ΡΙ nn fem *cell, room (hut, cave, etc. of monk).* (287b)
 ΡΩ init att markr *whatsoever, indeed, at all, at last, then.* (290a)
 ΡΩ= poss nn 138 *mouth, entrance.* (288a)
 ΡΩΜΕ nn masc *person, man.* ⁰ΡΩΜΕ anyone. ΡΜΝ-Η† genderless nn *housemaster, -mistress (of monastery).* ΡΜΝ-ΖΗ† genderless nn *intelligent person.* ΒΑΒΕ-⁰ΡΩΜΕ genderless nn *boaster.* ΜΑ†-⁰ΡΩΜΕ genderless nn *one who is philanthropic.* Ρ-⁰ΡΩΜΕ *become human, become man.* (294b)
 ΡΜΜΑΟ nn *rich person or thing.* (296a)
 ΡΜΖΕ genderless nn (fem ΡΜΖΗ, pl. ΡΜΖΕΕΥΕ) *free person.* ΜΝ†-ΡΜΖΕ nn fem *freedom, liberation.* (297a)
 ΡΑΝ nn masc *name.* (297b)
 ΡΡΟ nn masc *emperor, king.* ΜΝ†-ΕΡΟ nn fem *empire, kingdom.* (299a)
 ΡΑΤ= poss nn 138 *foot, leg.* (302b)
 ΡΟΥΨ vb intr *worry, have care for.* Νν masc *worry, care; ΑΤ-ΡΟΥΨ genderless nn carefree person/thing; QI-⁰ΡΟΥΨ ΖΑ- compd vb tr care about.* (306b)
 ΡΑΨΕ vb tr *rejoice* ΡΑΨΕ ΜΜΟ= *rejoice at; deride.* ΡΑΨΕ ΕΧΝ- *rejoice over.* ΡΑΨΕ nn masc *joy; ΖΝ-ΟΥ-ΡΑΨΕ compd advb joyfully.* (308b)
 ΡΟΥΖΕ prop nn masc *evening.* Ε- ΡΟΥΖΕ compd advb *in the evening.* (310b)
 ΡΑΖΤΟΥ nn *a kind of monkish garment.* (312b)
 CΕ specifier 66 *sixty.* (368b)
 CΕ interj *yes.* (316a)

CΕΙ vb intr (CΗΥ†) *be(come) filled, satisfied* Ν- *with.* (316b)
 CΑΒΕ genderless nn (fem CΑΒΗ, pl CΑΒΕΕΥ[Ε]) *wise person/thing.* (319a)
 CΒΩ nn fem (pl. CΒΟΟΥΕ) *lesson, teaching.* †-⁰CΒΩ compd vb tr ΜΜΟ= (thing taught) ΝΑ= (person taught) *teach.* (319b)
 CΟΒΤΕ vb tr (CΒΤΕ-, CΒΤΩΤ=, CΒΤΩΤ†) *prepare, set in order.* (323a)
 CΩΚ vb tr (CΕΚ-, CΟΚ=, CΗΚ† p.c. CΑΚ-) *draw, beguile, gather.* CΩΚ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ *draw back.* (325a)
 CΜΟΥ vb tr (CΜΑΜΑΑ†, CΜΑΑ†) Ε- *praise.* Νν masc *praise.* (335a)
 CΜΟΤ nn masc *form, character, likeness, pattern.* ΟΥCΜΟΤ Ν-ΟΥΩΤ *one only.* ΑΤ-CΜΟΤ genderless nn *person/thing without form.* (340b)
 CΟΝ nn masc (pl. CΗΗΥ) *sibling, brother.* CΩΝΕ *sister.* (342b)
 CΝΑΥ specifier 66 *two.* (346b)
 CΑΑΝΨ vb tr (CΑΑΝΨ-, CΑΝΟΥΨ=) *nourish, rear, tend.* (347b)
 CΕΕΠΕ vb intr *remain over, be remainder.* Νν masc *remainder; ΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ Ν- the other kinds of, the rest of the.* (351a)
 CΟΠCΠ vb tr (CΠCΠ-, CΠCΩΠ=, CΕΠCΩΠ†) *entreat, comfort; praise.* (325b)
 CΠΟΤΟΥ nn masc *lip(s).* (353a)
 CΟΥΡΕ nn fem *thorn, spike, dart.* (354a)
 CΡQE vb intr (CΡΟΥ†) (come to) *be at leisure, still.* (357a)
 CΩΤΕ vb tr (CΕΤ-, CΟΤ=) *redeem, rescue.* (362a)
 CΤΟ† nn masc *aroma.* (362b)
 CΩΤΜ vb tr (CΕΤΜ-, CΟΤΜ=) *listen.* CΩΤΜ Ε- *listen to.* CΩΤΜ ΧΕ- *learn, hear.* (363b)
 CΙΟΥ nn masc *star.* (368a)
 CΟΟΥ specifier *six.* (368b)
 CΟΥΟ nn masc *wheat, cereal.* (369a)
 CΟΟΥΝ vb tr (CΟΥΝ-, CΟΥΩΝ=) *know, be acquainted with.* (369b)
 CΟΟΥΤΝ vb tr (CΟΥΤΝ-, CΟΥΤΩΝ=, CΟΥΤΩΝ†) *make straight; be straight, upright.* Νν masc *uprightness; ΖΝ-ΟΥCΟΟΥΤΝ compd advb uprightly.* (371a)

CΩΟΥΖ vb tr (CΕΥΖ-, CΟΟΥΖ=, CΟΟΥΖ†) *gather, collect.* Νν masc *gathering (place?, of monks).* (372b)
 CΟΟΥΖC nn fem *congregation (of monks).* (373b)
 CΩΨ vb tr (CΕΨ-, CΩΨ=, CΗΨ†) *despise.* Νν masc *shame, scorn.* (375a)
 CΑΨQ specifier 66 *seven.* (378a)
 CΖΙΜΕ nn fem (pl ΖΙΟΜΕ) *woman.* (385a)
 CΑΖΝΕ. ΟΥΕΖ-CΑΖΝΕ compd vb tr ΜΜΟ= *command; nn masc commandment.* (385b)
 CΟΒΝ nn masc *ointment.* (388b)
 † vb tr (†-, ΤΑΑ=, ΤΟ†) *give, sell.* †-forms compound verbs 180. † ΜΜΟ= ... ΕΖΡΑ† ΕΤΟΟ†= *hand (object) over to.* † ΜΜΟ= ... ΖΑ- *sell (object) for (price).* (392a)
 ΤΒΑ nn masc *ten thousand, myriad.* (399a)
 ΤΩΩΒΕ vb tr (ΤΕΒΕ-, ΤΟΟΒ=, ΤΒΒΟ=) *repay, requite.* (398b)
 ΤΒΒΟ vb tr (ΤΒΒΕ-, ΤΒΒΟ=, ΤΒΒΗΥ) *purify, be(come) pure.* Νν masc *purity, purification.* (399b)
 ΤΒΝΗ nn masc (pl ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ) *beast, domestic animal.* (400b)
 ΤΒ† nn masc *fish.* (401b)
 ΤΑΚΟ vb tr (ΤΑΚΕ-, ΤΑΚΟ= ΤΑΚΗΥ[†]) *destroy; perish.* Νν masc *destruction; ΜΝ†-ΑΤ-ΤΑΚΟ nn fem indestructibility.* (405a)
 ΤΚΤΟ. *See* ΚΤΟ
 ΤΕΛΗΛ vb tr *rejoice* ΕΧΝ- *at.* (410a)
 ΤΩΛΜ vb tr (ΤΟΛΜ=, ΤΟΛΜ†) *defile, pollute.* Νν masc *pollution; ΑΤ-ΤΩΛΜ genderless nn stainless, unpolluted.* (410b)
 ΤΑΛΒΟ vb tr (ΤΑΛΒΕ-, ΤΑΛΒΟ=, ΤΑΛΒΗΥ†) *heal; get well.* Νν masc *healing.* (411b)
 ΤΟΜ nn masc *mat (of reeds).* (412b)
 ΤΩΜ vb tr (Τ[Ε]Μ-, ΤΟΜ=, ΤΗΜ†, p.c. ΤΑΜ-) *shut.* ΤΩΜ ΕΡΝ- ... ΕΒΟΛ Ν- *close off (thing) from (person).* (412b)
 ΤΑΜΙΟ vb tr (ΤΑΜΙΕ-, ΤΑΜΙΟ=, ΤΑ-

- ΜΙΗΥ†) *make, create*. Nn masc creature, creation. (413a)
 †ΜΕ (pl ΤΜΕ) *village*. (414a)
 ΤΜΗ nn fem *mat (of reeds)*. (415b)
 ΤΩΜ(Ν)Τ vb tr Ε- *meet, befall*. (416b)
 ΤΩΜC vb tr (Τ[Ε]ΜC-, ΤΟΜC-, ΤΟΜC†) *bury*. (416a)
 ΤΑΝΖO vb tr (ΤΑΝΖΕ-, ΤΑΝΖΟ=) *make or keep alive*. ΡΕQ-ΤΑΝΖO genderless nn giver of life. (421a)
 †ΠΕ nn fem *taste*. ΧΙ-†ΠΕ compd vb tr ΜΜΟ= *taste*. (423a)
 ΤΑΠΡO nn fem *mouth*. (423b)
 ΤΗΡ= infl modif 152 ... *all, entirely, all ... , utter; utterly*. (424a)
 ΤΩΡΠ vb tr (Τ[Ε]ΡΠ-, ΤΟΡΠ=) *seize, rob*. (430b)
 ΤΩΡΖ vb intr (ΤΟΡΖ†) *be(come) keen, alert, sober, upright*. (432b)
 ΤCΑΒO vb tr (ΤCΑΒΕ-, ΤCΑΒΟ=, ΤCΑΒΗΥ[Τ]†) *make wise, teach, show*. ΤCΑΒO Ε- *tell about*. (434b)
 ΤΑΥO vb tr (ΤΑΥΕ-, ΤΑΥΟ=) *utter, put forth*. (441b)
 ΤΩΟΥΝ vb tr (ΤΟΥΝ-, ΤΩΟΥΝ=) *raise, resurrect; arise; refl arise*. Nn masc resurrection. ΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑ- *lift and carry (burden)*. (445a)
 ΤΟΥΝOС vb tr (ΤΟΥΝΕC-, ΤΟΥΝOС=) *wake, raise, arouse*. (446b)
 ΤΩΩ vb tr (ΤΕΩ-, ΤΩΩ=, ΤΗΩ†) *limit, determine, appoint, command*. (449b)
 ΤΑΖO vb tr (ΤΑΖΕ-, ΤΑΖΟ=, ΤΑΖΗΥ†) *reach, befall, touch*. (445a)
 †ΖΕ vb tr (ΤΑΖΕ†) *be(come) drunken*. (456b)
 ΘΜΚO vb tr (ΘΜΚΕ-, ΘΜΚΟ=, ΘΜΚΗΥ†) *ill use, afflict, humiliate*. (459b)
 ΤΩΖC vb tr (ΤΕΖC-, ΤΑΖC=, ΤΑΖC†) *anoint N- with*. (461b)
 ΤΑΧΡO vb tr (ΤΑΧРЕ-, ΤΑΧРО=, ΤΑΧΡΗΥ†) *make/be(come) strong, firm, fast*. (462b)
 ΤΒΑΙO vb tr (ΤΒΑΙΕ-, ΤΒΑΙΟ=, ΤΒΑΙΗΥ†) *disgrace, condemn*. (465b)
 OY specifier 72 *what? what kind of?* (467b)
 OYA specifier 72 *one*. ΠOYA the first day of the week, Sunday. (469a)
 OY. †-OY compd vb tr ΜΜΟ= *put forth, bring up (blossom); †-OY εΖΡΑ† ΜΜΟ= vb tr sprout*. (475a)
 OYAAВ†. See OYON
 OYABW *white (person or thing)*. (476b)
 OYAC vb tr (OYEC-, OYOC=, OYOC†) *bend, humiliate; be(come) humiliated*. (477b)
 OYAM vb tr (OY[Ε]M-, OYOM=, p.c. OYAM-) *eat, bite*. Nn masc eating, food; MA N-OYAM *refectory (of monks)*. (478a)
 OYOEIN nn masc *light*. (480a)
 OYEINE vb intr *pass by*. (483b)
 OYNTЕ-, OYNTA= *verboid 383 (neg MMNTЕ-, MMNTA=) have*. OYNTЕ- ... Ε- *hold against the account of (person), be owed by (person) 392*. (481a)
 OYNOY nn fem *hour*. NTENOCY compd advb *immediately*. (484b)
 OYNOQ vb intr *rejoice*. OYNOQ EXN- *rejoice over*. (485b)
 OYON vb intr (OYAAВ†) *be(come) pure; holy*. PET-OYAAВ nn 110 *holy person/thing, saint*. (487b)
 OYHP specifier 72 *how many? how much? how greatly!* (488b)
 OYOT (fem OYOTE). N-OYOT *single, same 158*. (494a)
 OYTE-, OYT= *prep between, among*. (494b)
 OYET- *verboid 382 is different*. OYET-A OYET-B = A is one thing, B is another. (495b)
 OYOTOYET vb intr *be(come) green*. Nn masc greenness. (493b)
 OYOEIY nn masc *time, occasion*. MΠIOYOEIY compd advb *long ago*. NOYOEIY NIM compd advb *always*. ΠPOC-†OYOEIY genderless nn 124 *temporary person/thing*. (499b)
 OYOW vb tr (OYEW-, OYAW=) *want, desire, love*. Nn masc wish, will. OYAW Ε- *want to*. (500a)
 OYEWN- compd prep 211 (also NOYEWN-) *without, in the absence of*. (502a)
 OYAWT vb tr NA= *worship*. (504a)

- OYAW vb tr (OYET-, OYAZ=, OYH2†) *put; dwell, live, reside*. OYAZ= ... EXN- *add to*. OYAZ= refl NCA- *follow (put self after)*. OYET-CAZNE compd vb *command*; nn masc commandment. (505b)
 OYXAI vb intr (OYOX†) *be whole, safe, sound*. OYXAI (imperative, as epistolary formula) *Greetings, Farewell*. Nn masc salvation. (511b)
 OYB vb tr (EBW-, OBW=, OBW†) *forget, be oblivious to*. OYB Ε- *overlook*. (518b)
 OYNE nn fem *stone*. (524a)
 ONZ vb intr (ONZ†) *be(come) alive, live*. Nn masc life, lifetime. (525a)
 OYX vb tr ([E]PX-, OYX=, OYX†) *make firm, be firm*. (530a)
 OYCK vb intr (OYCK†) *delay, continue, be prolonged*. (530b)
 OY vb tr (EY-, OY=) *read*. OY EBOA *cry out*. (533a)
 OZE. See AZEPAT=
 OBT vb tr (EBT-, OBT=) *choke, throttle*. (540b)
 OY-, EY- *verbal auxiliary 184 be able to, can*. (541a)
 OY nn masc *festival*. P-†OY compd vb *celebrate festivals*. (543a)
 OY vb intr *rise (of sun)*. (542b)
 OY-, OYAP= *prep to, toward, until*. OY-ENEZ *forever, eternal*; N-OY-ENEZ *eternal*. (541b)
 OY specifier *hundred 66*. (546b)
 YO specifier *thousand 66*. (549b)
 OYB vb tr (OYB-, OYB=, OYB†) *shave*. (550b)
 OYBE vb tr (OYB-, OYBT=, OYBE†) *change; be different*. OYBE Ε- *be different from*. (551a)
 OYBHP nn masc (fem OYBEP) *companion, friend*. (553a)
 OYBP-WELEET nn fem *sister-in-law*. (553b)
 OYAH vb intr *pray*. Nn masc prayer. (559a)
 WELEET nn fem *bride; daughter-in-law; marriage*. OYBP-WELEET nn fem *sister-in-law*. ΠA-TEWELEET nn masc 111 *groom*. (560b)
 OYAEZ nn masc *rod, wand*. (561b)
 OYHM genderless nn (fem OYHME) *small person/thing*. (563a)
 OYMA vb intr (OYOME†) *be(come) light, fine, subtle*. (565a)
 OYMMO genderless nn (fem OYMMW) *strange, foreign person/thing*. (565b)
 OYOM(N)T specifier *three 66*. MEZ-OYOMNT nn masc *third person/thing*; MPEQMEZ-OYOMNT N-ZOOY compd advb *three days later*. (566b)
 OYMYE vb tr (OYMYE-, OYMYHT=) MMO= or NA= *serve, worship*. (567a)
 OYN-ZTH= (refl) compd vb tr ZA- *have compassion on*. OYAN-ZTH= (refl) genderless nn *compassionate person*; MNT-OYAN-ZTH= (refl) fem nn *compassion*. (716b)
 OYHN nn masc *tree*. (568b)
 OYINE vb tr (OY[Ε]INT-, OYNT=) *seek, ask*. OYINE NCA- *seek after*. (569a)
 OYONE vb intr *be(come) sick, weak*. Nn masc illness. (570b)
 OYONTE nn fem *thorn, thorn tree*. (573a)
 OYOP vb tr (OY[Ε]Π, OYOP=, OYHP†) *receive, contain, take; (stative) acceptable*. OY-†OYICE compd vb *suffer, undertake suffering*. (574b)
 OYITE vb tr MMO= *shame; be(come) ashamed*. Nn masc shame; XI-†OYITE compd vb *be put to shame*. (576b)
 OYAPE vb intr (OYOP†) *be, exist, dwell, befall, happen, come into being, come to pass*. OYAPE N-, OYOP N- *be*. (577b)
 OYHPRE nn fem *wonder, amazement*. P-†OYHPRE compd vb *be amazed*. (581a)
 OYHPRE nn masc *child, son* (fem OYEPRE *daughter*). OY. OYHM boy, girl. (584a)
 OYOP genderless nn (fem OYOPPE) *first person/thing*. P-†OYOP Ε- compd vb *be before, be earlier than*. (587a)
 OYAWT vb tr (OYET-, OY[A]T=, OY[A]T†, p.c. OYAT-) *cut, slay; lack, be needy*. (590b)
 OYOOYE vb intr (OYOWOY) *become dry, dry up*. (601b)

ʿʊʕeɪt[†] vb stative *empty*. পেট-
 ʿʊʕeɪt nn **110** vanity, emptiness,
 empty person/thing; ɛx̄n-ʊʕpet-
 ʿʊʕeɪt in vain. (602b)
 ʿʊʕʊ vb tr (ʿʊeʕ-, ʿʊʕʊ=, ʿʊʕʊ[†])
 scatter. (605b)
 ʿʊʕpʕaɪ combinative advb **206**
 ʿʊʕe vb intr say. ʿʊʕe m̄n- con-
 verse with. ʿʊʕe m̄n- ... ɛe- say
 to (person) ... (introducing reported
 speech). (612b)
 ʿʊbom (like b̄om) power, ability.
 ʿʊn̄-ʿʊbom m̄mo= ... e- can (abil-
 ity-exists in ... to ...). (816b)
 qɪ vb tr (qɪ-, qɪt=, qɪhɪ[†], p.c. qɪt-)
 take, take away. qɪ m̄mo= ... eʊol
 qɪ- take ... away from. qɪ m̄maɪ take
 away. qɪat= (i.e. qɪ-eɪat=) refl vb
 ɛzpaɪ look up. qɪt-⁰naɪʒb gender-
 less nn yoke-bearing person, beast of
 burden. (620a)
 qɪat=. See eɪat=, qɪ
 ʒa-, ʒapo= prep under, from, for the
 sake of. (632a)
 ʒae genderless nn (fem ʒah, pl ʒaeɛɪ)
 last person/thing. ʒah nn fem end.
 (635a)
 ʒe vb intr **168(c)** (ʒhɪ[†]) fall, commit sin.
 ʒe e- fall into; find. ʒe ɛzpaɪ
 ɛx̄n- fall onto. ʒe ɛx̄n- fall upon.
 ʒe ʒatn- fall beside. (637a)
 ʒe nn fem manner, way. kaɪa-θe conj
 just as. n̄aɪ n-ʒe compd advb how?
 n̄teɪʒe conj similarly, just so. n̄θe
 (+ relative clause) just as; how, that
 (introducing reported speech). n̄θe
 n- compd prep **210** as, just as, like.
 (638b)
 ʒɪ-, ʒɪʊw= prep on, at, in, under (dur-
 ing administration of), and. (643b)
 ʒɪh nn fem (pl ʒɪʊʕe) way, road.
 (646a)
 ʒʊw= infl modif **152** too, for (my) part.
 (651b)
 ʒʊb nn masc (pl ʒʊhɪe) thing, matter,
 topic. p̄-⁰ʒʊb compd vb act, be
 active; peq-p̄-⁰ʒʊb genderless nn
 active person/thing. (653a)

ʒaɪʊec nn fem shadow. (657b)
 ʒhke genderless nn poor person/thing.
 (664a)
 ʒllo genderless nn (fem ʒlloʊ, pl
 ʒlloɪ) old person/thing; elder, senior
 monk. (669b)
 ʒalhɪ nn masc (pl ʒalate) bird.
 (671b)
 ʒm-ma nim compd advb everywhere.
 (154b)
 ʒom(n)ɪ nn masc copper, bronze,
 money. (678a)
 ʒmooc vb intr sit, remain, dwell.
 ʒmooc e- sit at. ʒmooc ɛzpaɪ sit
 down, be seated. (679a)
 ʒmʒal nn masc fem slave, servant.
 m̄nt-ʒmʒal nn fem slavery. p̄-
⁰ʒmʒal compd vb serve. (665a)
 ʒn-, n̄ʒht= prep in, at, on, from. eʊol
 ʒn- from, out of. (683a)
 ʒhne nn masc spice, incense. (688b)
 ʒap nn masc judgement, inquest. (693b)
 ʒapecht n-, m̄mo= compd prep **210**
 underneath.
 ʒpaɪ combinative advb **206**
 ʒpʊw vb intr (ʒpʊw[†], p.c. ʒapw-)
 make, be heavy. ʒapw-⁰ʒht gender-
 less nn long-suffering person. (706a)
 ʒpʊɪre nn masc fem young person.
 (585b)
 ʒapeɪ vb tr e- keep, obey. (707b)
 ʒapɪʒapo= prep apart, on (my, you,
 etc.) own. (634a)
 ʒice vb tr (ʒact[†], p.c. ʒact-) trouble,
 be troubled, weary. Nn masc suffering;
 ʿʊp-⁰ʒice compd vb suffer, under-
 take suffering. (710b)
 ʒat nn masc silver. (713b)
 ʒht nn masc, ʒth= poss nn **138** heart,
 mind. aht (i.e. at-ʒht) genderless
 nn foolish person/thing; m̄nt-aht
 nn fem foolishness. p̄m̄n-ʒht gen-
 derless, nn intelligent person; m̄nt-
 p̄m̄n-ʒht nn fem intelligence.
 ʿʊan-ʒth= (refl) genderless nn com-
 passionate person; m̄nt-ʿʊan-
 ʒth= nn fem compassion. ʒapw-
⁰ʒht genderless nn long-suffering per-
 son. †-ʒth= (refl) compd vb tr e-
 pay heed to, observe. (714a)

ʒot. m̄pʒot eʊol n- compd prep
 opposite. (718b)
 ʒth=. See ʒht
 ʒate-. See ʒatn-
 ʒote nn fem fear; fearful person or
 thing. p̄-⁰ʒote compd vb tr ʒht= be
 afraid of, fear. (720b)
 ʒɪtpe compd advb **223** above.
 ʒatn-, ʒatn̄-, ʒate-, ʒatoot=
 compd prep **209** beside, with. (428b)
 ʒɪtn-, ʒɪtoot= compd prep **209**
 through, by, from. (428b)
 ʒtooye prop nn masc dawn. ʒtooye
 advb at dawn; ʒtooye ɛmate at
 first light. (727b)
 ʒaθh n- (i.e. ʒa-tɪʒh n-) compd
 prep **210** before. (641b)
 ʒhɪ nn masc profit, benefit. †-⁰ʒhɪ
 compd vb tr m̄mo= gain; benefit.
 (729a)
 ʒooy nn masc day. (730a)
 ʒooy[†] vb stative be evil. পেট-⁰ʒooy
 nn masc evil person/thing; evil. (731a)
 ʒoyo nn masc greater part, greatness.
 n̄ʒoyo compd advb especially, great-
 ly, very, more. n̄oyo e-, n̄oye-
 more than. (735a)
 ʒaʒ specifier **72** many, much. (741b)
 ʒɪx̄n-, ʒɪx̄w-, ʒɪx̄w= compd prep
209 upon, over, in, on, at, beside, for,
 through, from upon. (758b)
 ʒʊb̄ vb tr (ʒeḅ̄-, ʒoḅ̄=, ʒoḅ̄[†],
 p.c. ʒaḅ̄-) (cause to) wither. (744b)
 ɛe- conj because, for. (746b)
 ɛɪ vb tr (ɛɪ-, ɛɪt=, ɛhɪ[†]) receive,
 take, seize, lead. ɛɪ n̄b̄onc compd vb
 attack, hurt; nn masc violence; peq-
 ɛɪ n̄b̄onc genderless nn violent per-
 son/thing. ɛɪ-⁰capɜ compd vb
 become incarnate. ɛɪ-⁰†pe compd
 vb taste. (747b)
 ɛʊ vb tr (ɛe-, ɛʊ=, ɛhɪ[†]) sow, plant.
 (752a)
 ɛw vb tr **514** (ɛe-, ɛɪ-, ɛʊ=) say
 (something). ɛw m̄mo-c ɛe-,
 ɛʊ-c ɛe- say (introducing report-
 ed speech). (754a)
 ɛw vb tr m̄mo= sing. (755b)
 ɛw nn masc cup. (759b)

ɛw= poss nn **138** head. (756a)
 ɛeka(a)c conj so that, in order that.
 (764a)
 ɛwkm̄ vb tr (ɛekm̄-, ɛokm̄=,
 ɛokm̄[†]) wash. (763a)
 ɛwm nn masc generation (in line of
 descent). (770b)
 ɛwame nn masc book, volume. (770b)
 ɛɪn- prep since (time, place). (772b)
 ɛpɪo vb tr (ɛpɪe-, ɛpɪo=, ɛpɪht[†])
 blame, upbraid. Nn masc blame.
 (778b)
 ɛpo vb tr (ɛpe-, ɛpo=) beget, bring
 forth. ɛpo na= acquire. Nn masc
 begotten offspring. (778b)
 ɛʊeɪc nn masc fem (pl ɛɪʊʊe) lord,
 lady. (787b)
 ɛɪce vb tr (ɛest-, ɛact=, ɛoce[†],
 p.c. ɛacɪ-) exalt; be(come) high.
 (788b)
 ɛɪt=. See ɛɪ
 ɛwte vb tr (ɛet-, ɛot=) pierce, pen-
 etrate; go through. ɛwte ʒɪtn- go
 through. (791b)
 ɛʊʊ vb tr (ɛeɪ-, ɛʊʊ=) send
 (hither). (793a)
 ɛwʒm̄ vb tr (ɛeʒm̄-, ɛaʒm̄=, ɛaʒm̄[†])
 defile, pollute; be(come) defiled, pol-
 luted. (797b)
 ḅe conj (enclitic) **235** then, therefore,
 any more. (802a)
 ḅw vb intr (ḅeet[†]) continue, persist,
 desist, stop. (803a)
 ḅʊb nn masc weak person or thing.
 m̄nt-ḅʊb nn fem weakness. (805b)
 ḅʊwale vb tr (ḅele-, ḅool=,
 ḅool[†]) swathe, clothe, cover n-
 with. (809a)
 ḅm- (presumably ḅɪne find). See under
 ḅom
 ḅom nn fem power, ability (like
 ʿʊbom). ʿʊn̄-⁰ḅom m̄mo= ... e-
 can (ability-exists in [person] to). ḅm-
⁰ḅom e- compd vb be able to, be
 powerful over; ʿʊ-ḅm-⁰ḅom e-
 same meaning; na-ḅm-⁰ḅom e-
 same; na-ʿʊ-ḅm-⁰ḅom e- same.
 (815b)
 ḅɪne vb tr (ḅn-, ḅm-, ḅnt=) find.

- ὄμ-⁰ῶμ compd vb be able (to). (820a)
 ὄνσ. See ὄνσ.
 ὄρωβ nn masc (pl ὄρωβ) staff. (828a)
 ὄροб nn masc (pl ὄρωб) seed (of plant). (831b)
 ὄρετ. See ὄω
 ὄωτ vb tr εἰ- gaze at. (837a)
 ὄιχ nn fem hand. (839b)

GRECO-COPTIC

- ἀγαθος, -ON genderless nn good person/thing. μαῖ-⁰ἀγαθον genderless nn one who loves what is good.
 μῆτ-ἀγαθον nn fem goodness.
 ἀγάπη nn fem love, act of charity.
 ἀρι-τάραπη (preceding a command) please.
 αἰσθησις nn fem perception, observation.
 αἰών εὼν nn masc eternity, eternal realm.
 ἀκαθαρτος, -ON genderless nn unclean person/thing. μῆτ-ἀκαθαρτος nn fem uncleanness.
 ἀλλα conj but, rather, instead, in any case, so.
 ἀμήν ἡμῶν interj Amen.
 ἀναστασις nn fem resurrection.
 ἀνομία nn fem lawless act.
 ἀνομος, -ON genderless nn lawless person/thing.
 ἀπάτη nn fem deceitfulness.
 ἀπιστος, -ON genderless nn unbelieving person/thing, nonbeliever. μῆτ-ἀπιστος nn fem disbelief.
 ἀποστολικος, -H, -ON genderless nn apostolic person/thing.
 ἀρχη nn fem office, administrative position.
 ἀσεβης genderless nn godless, impious person/thing.
 αὔξανε vb tr ἡμο- increase; multiply.
 βαπτισμα nn masc baptism.
 βοηθεῖ vb tr ε- help (person).
 βοηθεια nn fem aid, help.
 βοηθος, -ON genderless nn helper.
 γαρ conj (enclitic) for, because.
 γενεα nn fem generation (in line of descent).
 γραφη nn fem scripture.
 δε conj (enclitic) and, but, now (often untranslatable in English).
 δέρρις τερσις nn fem curtain (of skin).
 δικονία nn fem mission, job.
 δικαιοσ, -ON genderless nn just person/thing.
 δικαιος nn fem righteousness.
 διωγμος nn masc persecution.
 δοκιμαζε vb tr ἡμο- test.
 δωρον nn masc gift, bribe.
 εβδομάς ἡβδωμας, ἡβδωμας nn fem week.
 ἔθνος ἡθνος nn masc nation.
 εἶδος nn masc material, stuff, thing.
 εἰδωλον nn masc idol.
 εἰκὼν ἡεἰκων nn fem image.
 εἰμητι conj except. εἰμητι ε- except for, except.
 εἰτε conj or. εἰτε ... εἰτε either ... or.
 ἐκκλησία nn fem church.
 ἑλλην ἡελλην nn masc ethnically 'Greek' person in Egypt; pagan.
 ἐλπίς ἡελπις nn fem hope.
 ἐνεργια nn fem power.
 ἐπιθυμει vb tr ε- desire (a person or thing). ἐπιθυμει ε- or ἡ- desire to (perform action).
 ἐπιθυμία nn fem desire.
 εὔγε interj aha! well done!
 εὐφρανε vb tr ἡμο- gladden; be glad. εὐφρανε ἡ- rejoice, exult in.
 εὼν αἰών nn masc eternity, eternal realm, realm.
 η conj or. η ... η either ... or.

- ἐλβε vb tr ἡμο- persecute.
 ἐλψις nn fem tribulation.
 εὐγια nn fem sacrifice, offering.
 καθαρος, -ON genderless nn pure person/thing.
 καθολικος, -H, -ON genderless nn catholic, universal person/thing.
 καὶ γάρ καίραρ conj for also.
 κακως advb in a bad or evil way.
 καν conj even if.
 καρπος nn masc fruit, crop. ταγε-⁰καρπος εβολ compd vb yield (crop).
 κατα-, καταρο- prep according to, like, by. κατα-θε conj just as. καταρο- of its own kind, own.
 κρινε vb tr ἡμο- judge.
 λαος nn masc nation, people.
 λυπεῖν λυπι vb tr ἡμο- hurt, grieve.
 ρεγ-λυπι genderless nn grievous person/thing.
 μαθητης nn masc disciple.
 μετάνοια nn fem repentance.
 μοναχος, -H (BMar 207:20), -ON genderless nn monk, solitary person/thing.
 μονογενης genderless nn only-begotten person/thing.
 ναζαρηνος genderless nn person/thing from Nazareth; one of Nazareth.
 νηστεία ἡηστια nn fem fast.
 νοεῖν νοει, νοι vb tr ἡμο- understand. ρεγ-νοει genderless nn one who/that understands.
 νομος nn masc law.
 οἰκομένη nn fem civilization, civilized world, world.
 ὁμολογεῖν ἡομολογει vb tr ἡμο- confess, affirm belief in.
 ὁμοούσιος ἡομοουσιος, -ON genderless nn consubstantial person/thing.
 ὀργη nn fem anger.
 οὐαε, οὐτε (οὐδέ and οὐτε indistinguishable) conj nor, neither, and ... (not). οὐτε ... οὐτε neither ... nor.
 παντοκρατωρ, παντωκρατωρ nn masc almighty.
 παρα-, παραρο- prep contrary to, in comparison with, beyond, more than.
 παραβολη nn fem parable.
 παρακαλει vb tr ἡμο- appeal to, entreat.
 παρανομος, -ON genderless nn lawless person/thing.
 παρθενος nn masc fem virgin.
 παρρησια nn fem freedom of speech, frankness, boldness.
 πειρασμός ἡπρασμος nn masc temptation.
 πετρα nn fem rocky outcrop, rock.
 πιστευε vb tr ε- believe in.
 πιστις nn fem faith, belief, creed.
 πλην init att markr but, in any case.
 πνευμα, πῆα nn masc spirit.
 πνευματικος, -ON genderless nn spiritual person/thing.
 πονηρος, -ON genderless nn evil person/thing.
 πορνεία ἡπορνια nn fem fornication.
 προς-, προσρο- prep in accordance with, for; than (in comparisons).
 προς-⁰ογοειω genderless nn 124 temporary person/thing.
 προσδοκα vb tr ε- await, expect.
 προσήλυτος ἡπροσλητος nn masc proselyte.
 προφητης nn masc prophet.
 πως advb how?
 σαββατον nn masc. πсаббатон the sabbath. ἡсаббатон the week.
 πογα ἡ-ἡсаббатон the first day of the week. περσοῦ ἡ-ἡсаббатон the sabbath day.
 σαρξ nn fem flesh.
 σκαναλλιζε vb tr ἡμο- cause to stumble; stumble.
 σκηνη nn fem tent, dwelling.
 σοφια nn fem wisdom.
 σοφος, -ON genderless nn wise person/thing.
 σταυροῦ, σῶυ vb tr ἡμο- crucify.
 στολη nn fem robe.
 σωμα nn masc body.

GLOSSARY

ταμεῖον ΤΑΜΙΟΝ nn masc <i>treasure house, storehouse.</i>	ὦδῃ nn fem <i>song.</i>
τάφος nn masc <i>tomb.</i>	ὥστε ῶστέ conj <i>so that.</i>
τελαμών ΤΟΛΟΜΩΝ nn masc <i>leather belt.</i>	ῶμην ἀμήν interj <i>Amen.</i>
τερρῖς δέρρις nn fem <i>curtain (of skin).</i>	ῶδωμάς ἑβδομάς nn fem <i>week.</i>
τραπεζα nn fem <i>table.</i>	ῶδωμάς ἑβδομάς nn fem <i>week.</i>
	ῶθνος ἔθνος nn masc <i>nation.</i>
	ῶλλην Ἑλλήν nn masc <i>ethnically 'Greek' person in Egypt; pagan.</i>
χρημα nn masc <i>wealth.</i>	ῶελπίς ἔλπίς nn fem <i>hope.</i>
χωρίς — prep <i>without, apart from, except in the case of.</i>	ῶικων εἰκόν nn fem <i>image.</i>
	ῶμολογεῖ ὁμολογεῖν vb tr ῶμο — <i>confess, affirm belief in.</i>
ψυχή nn fem <i>soul.</i>	ῶμοούσιος , —ον ὁμοούσιος gen- <i>derless nn consubstantial person/</i>
ψυχικός , —ον genderless nn <i>animate</i> <i>person/thing, one endowed with soul.</i>	<i>thing.</i>
	ῶστέ ὥστε conj <i>so that.</i>

Signals of the Basic Sentence Patterns and Conversions

1. NOMINAL SENTENCE: INTERLOCUTIVE PERSONAL PREFIXES (CHAPTER 13)

ἀν— **ἀν(ᾱ)**—
ᾱν— **ᾱν(ᾱ)**—
ᾱν—

Negation: ... **ἀν** and **ᾱν**— ... **ἀν**

also spelled

ἀνοκ— **ἀνον**—
ᾱνοκ— **ᾱνωτᾱ**—
ᾱνο—

2. NOMINAL SENTENCE: DELOCUTIVE NEXUS PRONOUNS (CHAPTER 13)

(These forms also occur as components of cleft sentences.)

πε **νε** and **πε** (invariable)
τε

Negation: ... **ἀν** and **ᾱν**— ... **ἀν**

Invariable **πε** also occurs in other sentence patterns, 285.

3. SENTENCES OF EXISTENCE AND INDICATION (CHAPTER 21)

affirmative	negative
οὔν —	(ᾱ)μᾱν —
εἰς —	—

4. THE DURATIVE SENTENCE: BASIC PERSONAL PREFIXES (CHAPTER 14, 318)

τ —	τᾱ —
κ —, var. γ —	τετᾱ —
τε —, var. τᾱ —	
γ —	κε —
κ —	

Negation: ... **ἀν** and **ᾱν**— ... **ἀν**

SIGNALS OF SENTENCE PATTERNS AND CONVERSIONS.

Note: τε- + να- = τενα-, τερνα-, τερα-; τετν- + να- = τετννα-, τετνα-. A stative or future να- also signals the durative sentence.

5. NON-DURATIVE CONJUGATION BASES (CHAPTER 15)

affirmative	negative
α-, α=	μηπε-, μη=
...	μηπατε-, μηπατ=
ωρε-, ωρ=	μερε-, με=
ερε-, ε=ε-	ννε-, ννε= or εννε-, εννε=
μαρε-, μαρ=	μπρτρε-, μπρτρε=
ντερε-, ντερ=	τμ-
ερωαν-, ε=ωαν- or ερε-, ε=	
ωαντε-, ωαντ=	
ντε-, ν=	
ταρε-, ταρ=	ε-τμ-τρε ζμ-πτρε...-τμ-
τρε-, τρε=	

6. SUFFIXALLY CONJUGATED VERBOIDS (CHAPTERS 17 AND 18)

affirmative	negative
ναα-, νααα= or ναε-, ναα=	... αν and ν-... αν
νανογ- (or νανε-), νανογ=	
νεσε-, νεσω=	
νεσβωω=	
ναψε-, ναψω=	
ναζλωβ= or ναζλοβ=	
νεβω= or νεβωω=	
ζνε-, ζνα=	
πεχε-, πεχα=	---
---	μεψα=
ογντε-, ογντα=, ογντ=	(μ)μντε-, (μ)μντα=, μντ=

7. IMPERSONAL PREDICATES (487-89)

affirmative	negative
αναγκη	... αν and ν-... αν
ζω	
ζαπс	
ζνε-, ζνα=	

SIGNALS OF SENTENCE PATTERNS AND CONVERSIONS

γενοίτο	μηγενοίτο
εξεστι	ουκεξεστι
ωψε	{ ν-ωψε αν μεωψε
ζαμοί	---

8. MUTABLE (CONJUGATED) CONVERTERS OF THE DURATIVE SENTENCE (CHAPTER 14)

Relative: ετερε-, ετ=, ετ⁰

Circumstantial: ερε-, ε=

Preterit: νερε-, νε=

Focalizing: ερε-, ε=

Negation: ... αν and ν-... αν

9. IMMUTABLE CONVERTERS OR SENTENCE CONVERTERS (CHAPTER 19)

Relative: ετε-, ε-, ετ-, εντ-, ντ-

Circumstantial: ε-

Preterit: νε-

Focalizing: ε-, ντ-, εντ-, ετε-

Negations: formed according to which sentence pattern is converted. The focalizing conversion has two types of negation 452, 453.

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Abbreviations: adv(er)b, adv(er)bial mod(ifier), affirm(ative), aor(ist), art(icle), b(a)s(e), caus(ative), circ(umstantial), comm(on) n(ou)n, condit(ional), conj(unction), conjug(atio)n b(a)s(e), conv(er)t(e)r, determ(inator), determ(inator) pron(oun), dur(ative), ent(ity) term, exist(ential)-indic(ating), fem(inine), foc(alizing), future auxil(iary), gend(ere)d comm(on) n(ou)n, gend(er)l(e)ss comm(on) n(ou)n, gend(er)l(e)ss suff(ix), imper(ative), impers(onal) pred(icate), inf(initive), infl(ected) mod(ifier), init(ial) att(itude) mark(e)r, interj(ection), juss(ive), masc(uline), neg(ator), nexus pron(oun), n(ou)n, nom(inal), opt(ative), p(articipium) c(oniunction), pers(onal) indep(endent), pers(onal) intermed(iate), pers(onal) morph, pers(onal) pref(ix of the) dur(ative sentence), pers(onal) pref(ix of the) nom(inal sentence), pers(onal) sec(ond) suff(ix), pers(onal) suff(ix), pl(ural), poss(essive) art(icle), poss(essed) n(ou)n, prenom(inal), prep(osition), pret(erit), prop(er) n(ou)n, refl(exive), relat(ive), sent(ence), sing(ular), spec(ifier), stative, suff(ix), suff(ixally) conjug(ated) v(er)boid, v(er)b, v(er)b(a)l auxil(iary), v(er)b(a)l preext(ension)

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