

Chris H. Reintges

# COPTIC EGYPTIAN (SAHIDIC DIALECT)

A Learner's Grammar

66

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Jesus said »I am the light, which is upon all of them. I am the  
universe. The universe came forth from me and the universe  
reached to me. Split (a piece of) wood and I am there. Lift a  
stone and you will find me there.« (Gospel of Thomas, Logion  
77)

*To the memory of Martin Honcoop*

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With a production time of almost seven years, this book would have taken too long had it been a script for a Hollywood movie. Fortunately, my field is that of Ancient Egyptian and Coptic languages studies, which, –though equally vibrant and glamorous as the visual arts–, develops at a more relaxed pace. This leaves open the possibility of exploring new paths and approaching old problems from a different angle. The present book approaches Sahidic Coptic, the classical dialect of Coptic Egyptian, from a modern linguistic perspective. Writing a comprehensive grammar of Sahidic Coptic that is of interest to both a broad linguistic and Egyptological readership is a rewarding though difficult task, given our incomplete knowledge of this language where many issues are far from resolved. Although there is still a long way to go, it has been my ambition to provide a well-balanced and coherent description of Sahidic Coptic that does justice to the complex design of the language system.

The humble beginnings of this book date back to Fall 1997, when I started working on a concise grammar of Sahidic Coptic that included up-to-date teaching material. The project with the cryptic name 'Coptogram' was part of an interdepartmental program 'renewal of teaching material' of the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University, The Netherlands. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Faculty of Arts of my university.

My greatest debts are to my colleague Jacques van der Vliet for his collaboration and coaching of this project from the beginning to the end. His profound knowledge of Coptic language and culture and his keen philological eye saved me from many errors. I benefited greatly from his constructive but firm criticism, which always helped me to present a more articulated and transparent analysis of Coptic language facts. Without his support, this book would not exist.

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I had the opportunity to present the main findings of my research at the Fifth Conference on Afroasiatic Languages (Paris, June 2000), the 26<sup>th</sup> GLOW Colloquium (Lund, Sweden), the First International Colloquium on Languages in Contact in Antiquity at the *Instituto de Filología*, CSIC (Madrid), the Colloquium of African Languages and Linguistics (Leiden), and seminars at the *Université 8* (Paris), the Oriental Institute (University of Chicago), the School of African and Oriental Studies (London), the Department of Near Eastern Studies of

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Martin Honcoop, whose untimely death leaves me with great sorrow. It also teaches me that there is no borrowed time and that as long as we live we can always make a difference.

## Introduction

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This book offers a comprehensive grammar of Sahidic Coptic, the main reference dialect of Coptic Egyptian. Coptic Egyptian (not to be confused with Egyptian Arabic) is the vernacular of late-antique and medieval Christian Egypt (from about the third to the eleventh century CE) and represents the final developmental stage of Ancient Egyptian. With its rich literary sources, Coptic is an ancient language of great cultural importance. It also provides an interesting case of the emergence of a language through intensive contact (Egyptian-Greek) in a bilingual speech community. For this reason, the study of the Coptic language is of central interest for scientific disciplines as diverse as Egyptology, Ancient History, comparative religion, and various fields of linguistics (e.g. comparative Afroasiatic linguistics, language typology, historical syntax). This study therefore has a dual purpose: on the one hand, it serves as a teaching grammar for the language learner by providing an introduction to Sahidic Coptic. On the other hand, it contains the synthesis of extensive research on Coptic clause structure, which makes it a suitable reference tool for philologists and linguists alike.

This introduction sets the stage for the following description of Sahidic grammar by supplying some background information on the language, its historical development and its literary documentation. It

also provides an orientation to the overall organisation of the book, its theoretical background, its data sources and its methodology.

## 0.1 The Coptic language

The modern term Coptic derives from Middle Arabic *qubṭī*, itself a corruption of the Greek adjective (*ai*)*gypt(ios)* 'Egyptian'. It designates both the members of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt as well as the indigenous language, which is now extinct. Ancient speakers of Coptic Egyptian called themselves *nə-rəm-n-kême* 'the people (*rəm*) of Egypt' (*kême* lit. the black country) and used the derived abstract noun *tə-mənt-rəm-n-kême* 'what belongs to the people of Egypt' to refer to their language (Crum 1939:110a).

### 0.1.1 Classification

Coptic is the last descendant of the Ancient Egyptian language, which is the oldest attested language of the Afroasiatic phylum. The earliest Ancient Egyptian records date back to the third millennium BCE. According to the main working hypothesis in Afroasiatic linguistics, the family tree divides into six branches: Ancient Egyptian, Semitic (e.g. Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic), Berber, Cushitic (e.g. Somali, Oromo), Chadic (e.g. Hausa) and Omotic (e.g. Maale). Ancient Egyptian is the only autonomous branch of Afroasiatic that is represented by a single language.

In the course of more than four thousand years of uninterrupted language history, Ancient Egyptian went through several stages. In Loprieno's (1995) model of Egyptian diachrony, this development comprises two macrostadia with distinct typological characteristics. On the one hand, there is Earlier Egyptian, which includes Old Egyptian in the third millennium BCE and Middle Egyptian (ca. 2000-1750 BCE). On the other hand, there is Later Egyptian, which consists of Late Egyptian (ca. 1500-800 BCE), Demotic (800 BCE-200 CE) and Coptic (200-1400 CE). In this model, grammatical features shared by Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic are accounted for in terms of language continuity. The major typological differences between Coptic and its Pre-Coptic Egyptian predecessors are, however, not equally well explained as instances of normal generation-to-generation transmission

of a language with only small degrees of structural change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:9-10). In recent work (Reikhtges 2001, 2004b), I propose to trace the 'non-Egyptian' features of Coptic grammar to linguistic change through intensive language contact. From this perspective, Coptic emerged from widespread bilingualism within a speech community, with Greek as the politically and culturally predominant language. Greek superstratum influence manifests itself not only in the relexification of the native word stock, but also in restructuring of Egyptian syntax according to a Greek model. The Hellenization of Egyptian syntax is manifest in the typological shift from a rigid to a free word order language in which discourse structure and sentence form are closely related. Coptic Egyptian can therefore be classified a bilingual language variety with two parent languages, Egyptian and Greek.

### 0.1.2 Language history

Coptic Egyptian is actually a dialect cluster with at least six regional varieties, two of which gained supra-regional importance: Sahidic Coptic (from Arabic '*as-Ṣa'īd* 'Upper Egypt'), and Bohairic Coptic (from Arabic '*al-buhairā*, a province south-west of Alexandria), the vernacular of the Delta and Lower Egypt. The homeland of Sahidic Coptic was probably not located in the Theban area, but rather in the region of antique Shmun/Hermopolis (modern El-Ashmunein), from where it spread southwards (Layton 2000:2 §4).

Sahidic is renowned as the classical dialect of Coptic Egyptian for its early records and its rich literature. It was probably the first Egyptian vernacular into which the Scriptures were translated. A Sahidic version of the Scriptures was completed about 350 CE, but it might have had antecedents dating back to the third century CE (Shisha-Halevy 1991a:195, Orlandi 1998:121). The earliest biblical manuscripts display some spelling variation and the sporadic occurrences of other dialect forms. By the sixth century, its orthography was fully standardized. Sahidic served as the literary *lingua franca* throughout Egypt during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. Sahidic literary manuscripts were collected and copied in the monasteries of the Fayyūm, Sohāg, Esna, and Edfu from the ninth to the eleventh century, when Coptic was on the retreat as a literary language.

Prior to the Arabic conquest of Egypt in 641 CE, Sahidic was the predominant literary dialect of Coptic. Its hegemony was broken by Bohairic from the eighth and ninth century onwards. By the eleventh century Bohairic had replaced Sahidic as the official church language and became the sole representative of Coptic Egyptian, which survived as the liturgical language of the present-day Coptic Orthodox Church.

In the course of the Islamisation and Arabization of Egypt in the early Middle Ages, Coptic was replaced by Arabic in all public sectors. By the eleventh century Coptic no longer existed as a spoken Egyptian vernacular, but continued to be used as an ecclesiastical language. The appearance of Coptic grammars, glossaries and text editions in Arabic in the thirteenth century signal revived cultural awareness and interest in the ancient vernacular (Vycichl 1991), but also reveals the rather fragmented knowledge of the language. As of yet, attempts to revitalize the language have not shown lasting results. A deeper understanding of the classical dialect and other Coptic varieties is a precondition for such endeavours to be successful.

### 0.1.3 Coptic literature

The term Coptic literature covers the entire literary production written in Coptic Egyptian and thus includes original works in Coptic as well as translations from Greek. Where a Greek source is missing, the distinction between original and translated literature becomes a moot point. The originality of some work can generally not be determined on the basis of linguistic criteria alone. The frequency of Greek loan words in a Coptic text is, for instance, not indicative of its original or translated character, as already pointed out by Lefort (1950:66-7). Since the Coptic Bible translations played a crucial role in the development of the literary language, the syntactic or stylistic features of a text do not always provide a clue for its provenance. The homogeneity of the language material suggests that both translated and original literature were written in a highly conventionalised literary variety, that of *Standard Sahidic*.

The predominantly religious character of most Coptic literature can be directly related to the socio-cultural environment from which it emerged and the communicative purpose it was used for. At the roots of the literary production lies the translation of the Greek Bible into

Coptic Egyptian.<sup>1</sup> Its historical context is the Christianisation of Egypt in the third and fourth century CE, although the first Sahidic biblical manuscripts date from the second half of the third century. Spreading from the capital Alexandria to the metropolises of Lower Egypt, the new religion was particularly successful among the upper and middle classes of the urban population. These classes had become alienated from the traditional Egyptian religion of the countryside, but were also opposed to the official culture of the foreign societal top (Orlandi 1998:118-21). Christianity provided the ideological superstructure for a newly defined cultural and ethnic identity. For the translation of its sacred books, the early Christian Church resorted to a standardized form of the urban Egyptian-Greek variety of its target group. Significantly, this language policy was taken over by the competing Gnostic and Manichean circles, which approached the same target group. For both religious movements, translated literature served as a vehicle for the proliferation of new ideologies.

The writings of Pachomius (around 290-346 CE) and his successors represent the first examples of an original production. The main focus is on monasticism: while the rules and catechism are straightforward, many of the other works are replete with Bible quotations and remain very obscure. Pachomian literature had an essentially prescriptive and educational character without much consideration for style or rhetoric. In this respect, it differs radically from the extensive works of Apa Shenoute, the abbot of the White Monastery near Sohāg (ca. 350-466 CE), which spans a broad range of topics including moral instruction, Bible exegesis, polemics against the retreating pagan culture, and theological controversy with Origenist and Gnostic heresy. In integrating Greek literary conventions and styles into theological discourse, Shenoute's oeuvre represents a turning point in the historical development of Coptic literature.

In the wake of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, a permanent schism occurred between the orthodox churches of Constantinople and Egypt, the latter remaining monophysite (i.e. adhering to the dogma that in the person of Jesus there is a single divine nature). The literary production of this period was mainly apologetic and directed towards

1. The Old Coptic magical texts represent a remnant of pagan culture. See Satzinger (1991) for relevant discussion of the orthography and linguistic features of these texts.

an internal and monastic audience.

The reorganisation and solidification of the Coptic Church under Bishop Damian (569-605 CE) was an important stimulus for a revived literary production that continued in the first century after the Arab conquest. Coptic orthodox literature of this time is no longer restricted to the monastic environment and reveals a desire for producing original works in Coptic. According to Orlandi (1986:75), the literary works have a pronounced nationalistic character, aiming "to put Egypt in the foreground, in terms of both its good and its bad achievements".

The compilation of homiletic and hagiographic literature in the eighth and ninth centuries had a propagandistic purpose: to create a feeling of ethnic solidarity among the Christian minority and to strengthen their faith in the tradition of the national church. The decline of Coptic literature in the following two centuries is closely connected to the death of Coptic as a spoken language. In the Egyptian Middle Ages, Christianity was concentrated in the few functional monasteries left where literary works continued to be copied and rearranged according to their specific use within the community.

To conclude, Coptic literature, both original and translated, has a very narrow focus, being largely restricted to the domain of religion and spirituality. Its primary purpose was an ideological one, communicating the set of beliefs, ideals and norms, as well as the horizons of expectations of Coptic orthodoxy. The literary production is therefore embedded in a "discourse of persuasion", intended to maintain authority and power in the hands of the dominant institutions of the Christian Church. At the same time it functioned as the vehicle of cultural and ethnic identity of the Christian minority in Egypt.

## 0.2 About this grammar

### 0.2.1 Aims and scope

This comprehensive grammar provides an up-to-date treatment of the structure of Sahidic Coptic that is accessible to a broad linguistic and Egyptological readership. It is a data-oriented and strictly synchronic study of the language system. In terms of organisation, it follows the classical model of reference grammars with chapters on phonology, morphology, tense-aspect-mood marking, and clause structure.

Designed as an introductory grammar, it comprises a large amount of didactic material, which is inspired on modern language teaching. In presenting new analyses for several areas of Sahidic grammar (the deictic system, verb conjugation, clause structure), this book will also be of interest for the Coptological and linguistic specialist.

### 0.2.2 Theoretical background

The idea of a combined teaching and reference grammar is not new: it goes back at least to Georg Steindorff's *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (A teaching grammar of Coptic), Chicago: 1951. This grammar continues a longstanding research tradition on Coptic linguistics (see Till 1961, 1966; Polotsky 1944, 1987 and 1990; Shisha-Halevy 1986; Layton 2000 for representative studies). In bringing together Coptic philology, descriptive linguistics, and syntactic theory, it adds an innovative element to that research tradition. Many of the analyses advanced in this study are inspired by recent work in Afroasiatic linguistics (see Holes 1995, Benmamoun 2000 for Arabic dialects, Shlonsky 1997 for Modern Hebrew, Newman 2000 and Jaguar 2001 for Hausa, and Stroemer 1995 for Oromo). Throughout the later production stages of this grammar, I regularly consulted Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum's *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, Cambridge 2002 as a model.

To address the interdisciplinary interest of Egyptologists, Coptologists, and linguists, the Coptic language facts are presented in a non-technical fashion. Yet, despite its empirical focus, this grammar owes a lot to current theorizing in the area of comparative syntax. My own background in the generative Principle-and-Parameters framework and the more recent Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1981, 1995) provided the necessary analytical tools and theoretical insights for the syntactic part of this grammar. My ideas about the syntax-discourse interface were focused by recent advances in functional linguistics and pragmatic theory (e.g. Prince 1978, 1981; Givón 1984 and 1990; Dik 1989; Lambrecht 1996). I leave it to the reader to decide whether this admittedly eclectic approach has resulted in a coherent picture of the language system of Sahidic Coptic.

### 0.2.3 Data sources

The grammatical description of Sahidic Coptic is based on extensive corpus-linguistic research on language material which so far has not been studied from a linguistic perspective. Most examples in this grammar have been taken from apocryphal, monastic, homiletic, and hagiographic literature. These literarily and historically important texts constitute a corpus of sufficient size and variation to provide a representative view of the grammatical options of Sahidic Coptic. Due to the primarily narrative character of the texts, it is possible to determine contextual variables with great precision. Since the focus of the present study is on the function of linguistic structures in narrative discourse, Scriptural Sahidic and Shenoute's literary corpus are almost entirely excluded from the present investigation.<sup>2</sup>

### 0.2.4 Research methods

This grammar aims at an optimal integration of language description and crosslinguistic generalization, gained in the formal, functional-cognitive and typological study of language. To achieve this goal, linguistic and philological methods have been applied side by side. The language facts are presented in theory-neutral analytic terms, as is common practice in typological and comparative research. Most of the traditional terminology has been retained, although it is at times misleading or not entirely adequate. Modern linguistic terms are introduced in sufficient detail in each unit. In addition, there is an elaborate grammatical index at the end of the book. The translation of all Coptic examples provides all lexical and grammatical information in parentheses. In a transcribed example like *ar<sup>i</sup> ušar<sup>e</sup> eroi* [ⲁⲪⲓ ⲟⲩⲩⲁⲬⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ] 'Say (*ar<sup>i</sup>*) [ⲁⲪⲓ] a word (*u-šar<sup>e</sup>*) [ⲟⲩⲩⲁⲬⲉ] to me (*ero-i*) [ⲉⲣⲟⲓ]!' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24), all lexical items and grammatical formatives (separated by hyphenation) can be traced back in the Sahidic Coptic and Greek glossaries (see Loprieno 1995 for a similar mode of data presentation).

2. I consider the corpus of the *Pistis Sophia*, whose language shows a close resemblance to the Scriptural idiom as a reliable source of information for standard Sahidic. Despite its complicated manuscript tradition, extensive use has been made of corpus of texts related to the *Vita of Saint Pachômios*.

### 0.2.4 Preview

The book consists of twelve units besides this introduction, which together provide a complete description of Sahidic Coptic grammar. Each unit discusses a separate grammatical topic and is accompanied by a list of key terms and a series of exercises. To provide an orientation to the organisation of the book, I present a summary of the contents of each unit:

UNIT 1 deals with Sahidic orthography and phonology with particular attention for the correspondence between sounds and letters. For dead languages like Coptic Egyptian, it is often difficult to gain relevant information on suprasegmental phonology (syllable structure, consonant clusters, accentuation). This unit reviews the available evidence for Sahidic prosodic structure. Another topic concerns the lexical transfer of borrowings from Greek into Coptic.

The first part of the grammar (units 2-5) explores the nominal domain. UNIT 2 starts with the morphology of simple nouns and pronouns. Coptic has an impoverished noun derivation with the prenominal determiner functioning as the morphological exponent of grammatical number and gender. This contrasts with an elaborate pronominal system in which each person, number and gender distinction correlates with a distinct pronominal form. Moreover, there are three sets of pronouns (free pronouns, bound pronouns, and clitics), which display a high degree of allomorphic variation.

UNIT 3 is about phrasal syntax. Coptic makes productive use of a range of patterns to create complex noun phrases from simple nouns. This unit surveys the most common types of nominal compounds, adjectival modification, possessive noun phrases, noun coordination and prepositional phrases, which have an essentially nominal syntax.

UNIT 4 takes a closer look at the rich deictic and quantificational system of Sahidic Coptic. Most demonstratives assume different forms depending on whether they function as prenominal determiners or pronouns. The description of the deictic system focuses on the discourse functions of the various demonstrative pronouns and articles. The remainder of this unit discusses the syntax and the semantics of question words and quantificational expressions.

UNIT 5 is concerned with nominal sentences, so called because a noun phrase is used as the main predicate. Nominal sentences have a transparent syntax, consisting of two or three (pro)nominal



expressions; yet they denote a variety of predicative relationships (class membership, identification, property assignment, and so forth).

With more than twenty different verbal tenses, aspects, and moods, the verbal-inflectional system represents one of the most complex areas of Sahidic grammar. The descriptive analysis of the tense-aspect-mood system in the second part (units 6-9) thus constitutes the core of the book. UNIT 6 is concerned with the formation of verbal stems from semantically and phonologically underspecified lexical items (so-called roots). Coptic stem formation encodes two dimensions of verbal meaning: one dimension is situation aspect or "Aktionsart", which concerns the contrast between events, activities and processes on the one hand, and mental or physical states and conditions on the other. The other dimension is objective case, which refers to the morphological expression of the relationship between the verb and its direct object. Coptic verb stems are not inflected for tense, aspect, and mood. All this information is encoded in a conjugation base, which occurs independently of the verb as a free functional morpheme.

UNIT 7 starts out with a general introduction to the syntax of such tense-aspect-mood markers. The main focus of this unit is on the absolute tense system with particular attention for the contrastive behaviour of the various present, past, and future tenses. Such time-indicating morphemes come in pairs of triplets, whose members share the same temporal value, but differ from one another with respect to other categories of verbal meaning, such as aspect and mood.

UNIT 8 continues the investigation of the Sahidic conjugation system by exploring relative tenses and moods. Relative tenses, as the name suggests, relate some event with respect to another event rather than the present moment. In this way, they serve similar functions as temporal connectives like *after*, *when* and *until* in English. Within the same formal system, Coptic has not only an Imperative, but also a formally distinct Jussive, Conditional, and Inferential mood. These basic moods express the speaker's attitude or belief concerning the likelihood, desirability, or necessity for some situation to occur.

UNIT 9 examines the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods discussed in the preceding two units. The negative conjugation system shows a variety of patterns by means of which negative polarity is expressed. Such negative markers may negate an entire clause, but may also be more limited in scope,

negating only a single clausal constituent.

The focus of the third part (units 10-12) is on Sahidic clause structure, with particular attention for the relation between information structure and sentence form. This part is theoretically more advanced; it re-examines many clausal patterns of Sahidic Coptic in the light of recent advances in syntactic typology. UNIT 10 is concerned with word order. Coptic Egyptian may be described as a discourse-configurational language in which topic and focus prominence involves a departure from the canonical subject-verb-object (S-V-O) ordering. Not all word order alternations are morphologically fully productive. Coptic has retained verb-initial V-S(-O) order in existential and possessive sentences.

The topic of UNIT 11 is relative clause formation. Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types: postnominal relative clauses that modify a preceding noun phrase and free relative clauses that function as definite noun phrases themselves. Another topic of this section concerns nominal cleft sentences, in which an initial focus constituent is equated with a relative clause.

The concluding chapter of this grammar (UNIT 12) is concerned with finite and non-finite subordinate clauses, which function as dependent constituents within some larger construction. A major division of subordinate clauses concerns the opposition between argument clauses that belong to the core of the matrix verb phrase, and adjunct clauses that belong to its periphery. Of particular relevance are topics like clausal coherence and switch reference (i.e. the contrast between same-subject and different-subject clauses), sequences of tenses, and indirect speech-acts (reported speech, indirect questions and commands).

## Unit 1

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### Sounds and spelling

This Unit addresses two interrelated topics: one concerns the Copto-Greek alphabet, i.e. the notation system in which Coptic texts have been codified, and the other concerns its sound system, or phonology. Section 1.1 discusses the main aspects of Coptic orthography, while section 1.2 presents several types of evidence for the pronunciation of a particular letter or grapheme. There is not always a one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes, since some phonemes may be expressed by more than one grapheme and, vice versa, some graphemes may have more than one phonological interpretation. Section 1.3 is about suprasegmental phonology, i.e. the phonological structure beyond the individual sounds or phonemes, with particular attention for vowel length, syllable structure, and stress placement.

Section 1.4 addresses the question of language contact and linguistic borrowing. The Coptic word stock has a considerable Greek component. The transfer of Greek lexical material was not confined to content words, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, but also involved a considerable amount of function words, such as sentence conjunctions, discourse markers, manner and time adverbials, and even some prepositions. The variant spelling of Copto-Greek loan words not only reflects ongoing sound changes in the source language Koine Greek, but also the absence of certain phonological oppositions in the borrowing language Coptic Egyptian.

## 1.1 The Coptic writing system

Coptic, like many other ancient languages of literature, has been passed down to us through large corpora of texts. These texts were written down in a highly standardised notational system of alphabetic signs representing the different sounds of the Coptic language. The origin of the Coptic writing system lies in occasional Greek transcriptions of native words in Egyptian texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the first three centuries CE, the use of such transcriptions became increasingly common and entire corpora of texts with a predominantly magical character were written down in a Greek-derived alphabet. The Christianisation of the country in the fourth century CE constituted a turning point: the abandonment of the pagan literary tradition and culture manifested itself in the replacement of hieroglyphic writing and Demotic, its cursive variant, by Greek script. The Copto-Greek alphabet will be introduced in section 1.1.1. Besides the alphabetic letters, Coptic writing makes use of a few special signs or diacritics, which will be briefly discussed in section 1.1.2. Section 1.1.3 completes this review of Coptic orthography with a list of the most common abbreviated spellings of so-called *nomina sacra* (lat. "sacred names"), e.g.  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$  for  $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'Lord'.

### 1.1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

In its present form, the Copto-Greek alphabet consists of thirty-two letters, twenty-four of which are taken from Greek and eight from Demotic writing. The Demotic-based letters are  $\omega$ ,  $\varphi$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\xi$ ,  $\psi$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\tau$ . With the exception of the letter  $\tau$ , these signs represent phonemes that were absent in Greek, but which are part of the Coptic-Egyptian sound system. Table 1 below presents the alphabetic signs of the Copto-Greek alphabet, the conventional transcription and the Greek and modern (Bohairic Coptic) name of each letter.

LETTER	CONVENTIONAL TRANSCRIPTION	GREEK AND BOHAIRIC NAME OF THE LETTER
$\alpha$	a	Alpha
$\beta$	b	Beta/Vita
$\gamma$	g	Gamma
$\delta$	d	Delta/Dalda
$\epsilon$	e	Epsilon/Eje
$\zeta$	z	Zeta/Zita
$\eta$	$\bar{e}$	Eta/Ita
$\theta$	th	Theta/Thita
$\iota$ or $\text{I}$	i, y	iota/iuta
$\kappa$	k	Kappa/Kabba
$\lambda$	l	Lamda/Lawla
$\mu$	m	Mü/Mi
$\nu$	n	Nü/Ni
$\xi$	ks, x	Xi/Eksi
$\omicron$	o	Omikron/Ow
$\pi$	p	Pi/Bi
$\rho$	r	Rho/Row
$\sigma$	s	Sigma/Sima
$\tau$	t	Tau
$\upsilon$ or $\text{Y}$	u, w	Ypsilon/He
$\phi$	ph	Phi
$\chi$	kh, ch	Chi/Ki
$\psi$	ps	Psi/Ebsi
$\omega$	$\bar{o}$	Omega/Aw
$\var�$	$\bar{s}$ , sh	Shai
$\var�$	f	Fai
$\var�$	kh (Bohairic only)	Khai
$\var�$	h	Hori
$\var�$	kh (Akhmîmic only)	No name recorded
$\var�$	$\bar{c}$ , t <sup>s</sup>	Djandja
$\var�$	k <sup>j</sup>	Shima/Itshima
$\var�$	ti	Ti

TABLE 1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

There is no uniform transcription system for Coptic letters. The various transcription conventions applied in Coptic reference works not only reflect different research traditions, but also different scholarly views on the phonological interpretation of particular alphabetic signs. A more detailed discussion on grapheme-phoneme correspondences will be postponed to the next section. For now, it suffices to note that the letters of the Copto-Greek alphabet fall into three different classes, depending of whether they represent one or two phonemes:

#### a) Monophonemic letters

The by far largest group of alphabetic signs are monophonemic letters, which are characterized by a one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes:  $\lambda$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\varsigma$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\varpi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\sigma$ .

#### b) Biphonemic letters

The Coptic-Greek alphabet contains a number of biphonemic letters, which represent a sequence of two adjacent phonemes:  $\phi$  ( $\pi + \zeta$ ),  $\theta$  ( $\tau + \zeta$ ),  $\chi$  ( $\kappa + \zeta$ ),  $\xi$  ( $\kappa + \varsigma$ ),  $\psi$  ( $\pi + \varsigma$ ),  $\dagger$  ( $\tau + \iota$ ),  $\alpha$  ( $\tau + \omega$ ).

- The Greek-based letters  $\phi$  and  $\theta$  do not only appear in Greek loan words to reflect the aspirated stops  $\phi /p^h/$  and  $\theta /t^h/$ , but are also regularly employed in native Copto-Egyptian words, whenever a sequence of  $\pi/\tau$  and  $\zeta$  occurs at a morpheme boundary, e.g.  $\epsilon\epsilon$  'the manner' (<  $\tau$ - 'the (sing. fem.)' +  $\zeta\epsilon$  'manner').
- The Demotic-based letter  $\dagger$  constitutes an isolated example of syllabic orthography and expresses an entire syllable /ti/ rather than a sequence of two phonemes, e.g.  $\tau\mu\omega\rho\iota\alpha$  (AP Chaîne no. 210, p. 57:27) vs.  $\dagger\mu\omega\rho\iota\alpha$  'punishment' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:8).
- The Demotic-based letter  $\alpha$  is only marginally attested as a biphonemic grapheme, which renders a sequence of  $\tau$  and  $\omega$ , e.g.  $\alpha\pi\tau\omicron$  'cause to exist' (<  $\tau$ - (causative prefix) +  $\omega\rho\tau\epsilon$  'to exist').

#### c) Digraphs

The Copto-Greek alphabet has two digraphs (i.e. pairs of letters, which represent a single phoneme)  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\omicron\upsilon$ , which may have a vocalic /i u/ or a consonantal interpretation /y w/ (see below, section 1.3.1.2). The digraph  $\zeta\rho$  that represents an aspirated alveolar liquid /r<sup>h</sup>/ in word-initial position seems to be restricted to Greek and Latin loan words, e.g.  $\zeta\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'Roman' (Eud. 42:24) (<  $\zeta\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  /r<sup>h</sup>ɔːmajos/). (see below, section 1.4.2).

#### 1.1.2 Diacritics and interpunction

The orthographical system of Sahidic Coptic is enriched with several non-alphabetical signs or diacritics, which provide an extra clue for the pronunciation of the word in question.

- The most important diacritic is the so-called superlinear stroke (i.e. a line above a consonantal letter, e.g.  $\bar{\nu}$ ), whose main function is to indicate a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/ (see below, section 1.3.1.3).
- The function of the diaeresis (two points above the digraph  $\epsilon\iota$ ) is not entirely clear. There is, however, some evidence that the diaeresis represents a diphthong (i.e. a combination of two vocalic segments) /eɨ/ or a hiatus (i.e. a sequence of two separate vowels) /eɪ/.
- The circumflex (a curved line above the digraph  $\epsilon\iota$ ), on the other hand, seems to indicate a purely vocalic pronunciation /i:/ or /i/.

Since Coptic manuscripts show a high degree of variation in the use of diacritics, the examples quoted in this grammar will be presented without diacritic marks. Editors of Coptic manuscripts make use of Greek interpunction, where the semicolon (;) is used as a question mark and the colon (:) represents a full stop. Other text editions adopt the original interpunction as found in the manuscript.

### 1.1.3 *Nomina sacra*

In Coptic manuscripts, so-called *nomina sacra* (lat. "sacred names"), i.e. certain important biblical names and concepts are not fully spelled out, but appear in an abbreviated form, which is indicated by a horizontal line. A list of some common *nomina sacra* is presented in table 1.2.

NOMEN SACRUM	ABBREVIATED SPELLING	GLOSS
ΙΗΣΟΥΣ	ΙϞ	Jesus
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ	ΧϞ	Christ
ΚΟΙΣ	ΚϞ	Lord
ΣΩΤΗΡ	ϞΠ	Saviour
ΘΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ	ΘΙΛΗΜ (var. ΘΙΕΛΗΜ)	Jerusalem
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ	ΠΝΑ	Spirit
ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ	ϞΡϞ	cross
ΔΑΥΕΙΔ	ΔΑΔ	David

TABLE 1.2 Abbreviated writings of *nomina sacra*

## 1.2 Segmental phonology

This section discusses the main aspects of Coptic segmental phonology. It presents an inventory of the different sounds of the language as well as their distinctive phonological features. For dead languages like Coptic, which has no native speakers to consult, it is generally difficult to detect the sound behind a particular letter. Moreover, there is the problem of identity between the Greek-based letters of the Coptic alphabet and the corresponding sign in Greek. Since the vast majority of Coptic sounds are rendered by Greek letters, one may plausibly assume that there was a great deal of overlap between the phonologies of both languages. Yet, there is not always a simple, one-to-one correspondence between the phonological value associated with a particular letter in Greek and in Coptic.

Finally, there are a number of Greek-based signs that are by and large restricted to lexical and grammatical borrowings. Their marginal status suggests that these are best regarded as loan phonemes, i.e. phonemes

that have been adopted from a foreign stock, but have never been fully integrated into the native phoneme inventory.

### 1.2.1 Consonantal phonemes

The following description of the Coptic phoneme inventory makes use of a minimum of linguistic terminology and symbols, which can be looked up in any introductory textbook to phonology. For the sake of convenience, I will introduce the most important analytic concepts and customary categorizations of speech sounds at the beginning of each section.

#### 1.2.1.1 Features of consonants

Phonemes are not the minimal units of articulated speech, but rather have an internal structure, which is composed of distinctive phonological features. The phonological features of consonants can be described alongside two dimensions. One dimension is the manner of articulation, which concerns the constriction of the airflow, and the other is the place of articulation, which concerns the regions of the vocal apparatus where a particular sound is made. In the manner dimension, there is a basic distinction between voiced sounds, which are produced with vibration of the vocal cords, and voiceless sounds, which lack this vibration. The relative degree of constriction imposed by the lips and the tongue on the airflow in the mouth distinguishes the following classes of consonants:

- Stops like /p/ in *pile*, which are produced by a complete interruption of the airflow.
- Fricatives like /f/ in *file*, where the airflow is constricted to form a turbulence, but is not fully interrupted.
- Affricates like /tʃ/ in German *Zelle* 'cell', which occupy an intermediate position between stops and fricatives: like stops, they are produced by an initial closure, but differently from stops, the initial closure of affricates is released gradually, so that it ends like a fricative.
- Liquids like /r/ and /l/, which, unlike fricatives, are characterized by a non-turbulent airflow.
- Nasals like /n/ in *Nile*, which are produced by a lowering of the velum (the back portion of the roof of the mouth).

In the place dimension, one can distinguish more than eleven different points of articulation. Languages make a selection of which points of articulation they utilize for the expression of different consonantal phonemes. The most important place of articulation features for the description of the Sahidic consonantal phoneme inventory are the following ones:

- Labials like /b/ in *bit*, which are articulated by the lips. Labial consonants can be further subdivided into bilabials and labiodentals. In the former, the constriction of the airflow is made by the two lips; in the latter, it is produced by an approximation of the lower lip and the upper teeth, such as /v/ in *voice*.
- Coronals like /t/ in *tea*, which are produced by the front portion of the tongue. Coronal sounds can be subdivided into dentals, dental-alveolars and alveopalatals: dentals like /θ/ in *thin* and dental-alveolars like /s/ in *sun* constrict the tongue blade at the back of the upper teeth.
- Alveopalatals like /č/ in *chin* and /š/ in *shun*, on the other hand, are produced with a constriction farther back, at the point where the roof of the mouth starts to approach the soft palate.
- Velars like /g/ in *good*, which are produced by the tongue body.
- Laryngeals like /h/ in *house* have the vocal cords as articulators.

### 1.2.1.2 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

An important source for Coptic phonology are variant spellings of one and the same lexical item, which suggest that two sounds had roughly the same pronunciation. The distinctiveness of two sounds, on the other hand, can be established on the basis of minimal phonological pairs, i.e. pairs of words with distinct meanings that differ only by one sound.

This section takes a closer look at the phonological interpretation of consonantal graphemes in Sahidic Coptic. (The full stop indicates a syllable boundary and the colon represents vowel length).

**Β** should be phonologically interpreted as a labio-dental

voiced fricative /v/ rather than a bilabial stop /b/, as in the traditional classroom pronunciation. The beta (vita) **Β** contrasts with the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ represented by the letter fai **Ϡ**, which appears from minimal pairs like **ΒΑΙ** /vaj/ 'thunder' and **ϠΑΙ** /faj/ 'carrying'. In literary Sahidic, the frequent variation between **Β** and **Ϡ** in pre- and postvocalic position (e.g. **ϠΩ** ~ **ΒΩ** 'hair', **ΖΩΒ** ~ **ΖΩϠ** 'thing') indicates that the voiced-voiceless opposition of bilabial fricatives was partially neutralized.

- Ϡ, Ψ** indicate the voiceless dental /s/ and voiceless alveopalatal fricative /š/, e.g. **ϠΑΨϠ** /sa:šəf/ 'seven'.
- Μ, Ν** represent the bilabial and dental nasals /m/ and /n/, respectively, e.g. **ΜΑ** /ma:/ 'place' and **ΝΑ** /na:/ 'to have mercy'.
- Λ, Ρ** express the dental/alveolar liquids /l/ and /r/, which are two distinctive phonemes in Sahidic Coptic, as evident from minimal pairs like **ΛΟ** /lo:/ 'to stop' vs. **ΡΟ** /ro:/ 'mouth'.
- ϸ, ΟΥ** represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, which typically occur prevocally at the beginning of a word (e.g. **ϸΙΩΤ** /yot/ 'father', **ΟΥΟΠ** /wop/ 'to be holy'), or intervocally in a vowel-glide-vowel sequence (e.g. **ΤΟΙϸ** /to:ye/ 'part', **ΖΙΟΥϸ** /hi:we/ 'to beat'). The glides /y/ and /w/ have /i/ and /u/ as vocalic counterparts, which are indicated by the same alphabetic letters (see below, section 1.2.2.2).

Δ, Γ, Ζ represent the voiced dental /d/ and velar /g/ stops and the voiced dental fricative /z/, respectively. They are loan phonemes, which are by and large restricted to Greek borrowings. There is some evidence that the digraph ΝΓ represents a word-final velar nasal, e.g. ΜΟΥΝΓ /muŋ/ for ΜΟΥΝΚ 'to make, form', ΑΝΓ /aŋ/ 'I'. The graphic variation between Ζ and Σ, e.g. ΑΝΖΗΒΕ vs. ΑΝΧΗΒΕ 'school', reflects the absence of a phonemic contrast between the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives /z/ and /s/.

Χ represents an alveo-palatal voiceless affricate /tʃ/.

Its single-segment status is evident from the selection of the definite article: the short forms Π- (singular masculine), Τ- (singular feminine), Ν- (plural) are selected, when the following words starts with one consonant, while the corresponding long forms ΠΕ-, ΤΕ-, ΝΕ- precede words beginning with a cluster of two or more consonants (see section 2.2.1.1 of Unit 2 for a more detailed discussion). Words with an initial χ select the short form of the definite article, showing that it is treated as a single consonant, e.g. Τ-ΧΑΛΗ /t-tʃa.me/ 'the calm'.

Ϝ marks a voiceless palatalised velar stop /kʲ/, as in English *cute* /kʲut/ (e.g. ϜΙΝΕ /kʲi.ne/ 'to find'). It may vary with the velar voiceless stop κ /k/, e.g. ΚΕ vs. ϜΕ 'other'.

Ϟ expresses a voiceless glottal fricative /h/. It disappears from the phonological representation in intervocalic position, e.g. ΝΑΗΤ /na.et/ 'merciful' (< ΝΑ /na:/ 'to have mercy' + ϞΗΤ /het/ 'heart'). The letter hori (Ϟ) is also used to render Greek aspiration.

The phoneme chart in table 1.3 below gives an overview of the approximate pronunciation of the Sahidic consonantal graphemes.

MANNER OF ARTICULATION	PLACE OF ARTICULATION					
	bilabial	labio-dental	dental/alveolar	alveo-palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	π /p/		τ /t/		κ /k/	ʔ /ʔ/
voiced stops			Δ /d/		Γ /g/	
palatalised stops					Ϝ /kʲ/	
voiceless fricatives		ϙ /f/	ϙ /s/	ϙ /ʃ/		Ϟ /h/
voiced fricatives		ϙ /v/	ϙ /z/			
voiceless affricates				χ /tʃ/		
nasals	μ /m/		ν /n/		η /ŋ/	
liquids			λ /l/	ρ /r/		
glides	οϙ /w/			ει /y/		

TABLE 1.3 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is a sound that is produced by a complete but brief contraction of the vocal cords. In English, it appears in words that begin with a vowel, e.g. *Ida* /ʔay.da/. Although the glottal stop /ʔ/ has no separate letter in the Copto-Greek alphabet, it is nevertheless part of the Sahidic consonantal phoneme inventory. The presence of a word-internal glottal stop is rendered by a sequence of two identical vowel graphemes in Sahidic Coptic, e.g. ϙΗΗϙΕ /meʔe.ʃe/ 'crowd' (see below, section 1.3.1.4).

### 1.2.2 Vocalic phonemes

Vowels mainly differ from consonants by a less radical degree of constriction of the airflow imposed by the lips and tongue. The phonological features of vowels are described in terms of the rounding of the lips and the exact position of the tongue. Vowels may be front or back. Front vowels are pronounced with the middle of the tongue raised to the highest part of the palate and back vowels with the back of the tongue raised towards the back of the palate. According to the degree of raising, a further distinction is made

between high, higher-mid, lower-mid and low vowels. (The mid-position serves as some kind of neutral reference point, which roughly corresponds to the location of the tongue body during the articulation of the vowel /e/ in English *bed*). Another distinction is between rounded and unrounded vowels, depending on whether the vowel in question is produced with rounded, protruded lips or not.

### 1.2.2.1 Vowel quality and quantity in Greek and Sahidic Coptic

The Copto-Greek alphabet has seven vocalic graphemes  $\lambda$  ( $\epsilon$ ),  $\eta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $\gamma$ , all of which were adopted from Greek. In addition, there is the superlinear stroke ( $\bar{\eta}$ ), which may indicate a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/. Although the distinction of long and short vowels was phonemic in Classical (Attic) Greek, vowel length was expressed orthographically only in those cases where long and short vowels differed not only in quantity but also in quality:  $\epsilon$  /e/ corresponds to  $\eta$  /e:/, and  $\theta$  /o/ corresponds to  $\omega$  /o:/.

In most Coptic grammars, it is tacitly assumed that the corresponding letters of the Copto-Greek alphabet  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$  and  $\theta$ ,  $\omega$  indicate a contrast in quantity though not in quality. There is, in fact, little evidence for this assumption. To begin with, distinctive vowel length was already being lost in Egyptian Koine (i.e. the variety of Greek spoken in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman period) by the mid-second century BCE. It is therefore hard to see how vowel quantity could have been re-introduced into the Copto-Greek alphabet by the time it replaced Demotic writing, unless it was part of the Egyptian phonological system.

This does not seem to be the case, however, since vowel length in Sahidic Coptic is entirely predictable from prosodic features, such as syllable structure and stress and is not orthographically expressed. The distribution of long and short vowels is roughly as follows. (A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots).

- Stressed closed syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a consonant) contain short vowels, e.g.  $\kappa\omega\tau$  /k'ot/ 'to build'.
- Stressed open syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a vowel) have long vowels instead, e.g. the  $\kappa\omega$  in  $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$  /k'ot:te/ 'to turn'.

- Unstressed open syllables, on the other hand, have short vowels, e.g. the  $\kappa\epsilon$  /ke/ in  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omega\lambda$  /ke.l'ol/ 'pitcher, jar'.

Given that Sahidic vowel length is determined by syllable structure and stress placement, it seems more likely that the pairs of vowel graphemes ( $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ) and ( $\theta$ ,  $\omega$ ) express a difference in vowel height, i.e. quality rather than one in quantity:  $\epsilon$  /e/ vs.  $\eta$  /e:/,  $\theta$  /o/ vs.  $\omega$  /o/.

### 1.2.2.2 Sahidic vocalic phonemes

The following notes elaborate on the phonological status of the various Sahidic vowel graphemes:

- $\lambda$  represents the low unrounded back vowel /a/, much like the *a* in German *Mann* /man/ 'man', e.g.  $\lambda\sigma\pi\epsilon$  /as.pe/ 'language'.
- $\theta$  represents mid-high back rounded vowel /o/; its approximate pronunciation is the *o* in German *Ober* /o:bəx/ 'waiter', e.g.  $\theta\beta\zeta\epsilon$  /ov.he/ 'tooth'.
- $\omega$  represents the mid-low back rounded vowel /ɔ/ and is pronounced like the *o* in English *not* /nɔt/, e.g.  $\omega\eta\zeta$  /ɔ:nh/ 'to live'.
- $\omicron\gamma$  marks a back, high rounded vowel /u/, and resembles the *u* in English *pull* /pul/, e.g.  $\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$  /u:t<sup>s</sup>aj/ 'to become healthy'.
- ( $\epsilon$ ) $\eta$  expresses the high unrounded front vowel /i/, when it has a vocalic interpretation and was pronounced like the *ee* in English *bee* /bi:/. In Sahidic orthography, this vowel is generally rendered as a digraph  $\epsilon\eta$  in word-initial position, while its monographic variant  $\eta$  is more common in word-final position, e.g.  $\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$  /i:ne/ 'to bring' vs.  $\chi\eta$  /t<sup>s</sup>i:/ 'to take'. In word-medial position,  $\epsilon\eta$  alternates with  $\eta$ , e.g.  $\eta\theta\epsilon\eta$  /mɔjt/ 'way' vs.  $\epsilon\zeta\eta\eta\epsilon$  /shi:me/ 'woman'.
- $\eta$  represents the lower-mid unrounded front counterpart /e/ of  $\epsilon$  and comes close in pronunciation to German *ä* in *hält* /helt/ 'holds', e.g.  $\eta(\epsilon)\eta$  /ej/ 'house'.



ε marks the higher-mid unrounded front vowel /e/, much like the *e* in English *very* /veri/, e.g. εΒΟΤ /e.vot/ 'month'. It functions as the default vowel of the Sahidic Coptic vowel system, i.e. a vowel that is used as a placeholder in certain prosodic positions, but lacks any contrastive function of its own. As a default vowel, ε may alternate with schwa /ə/, e.g. τρεϣ- /tref/ vs. τρε̄- /trəf/ 'to cause him to do something'.

The behaviour of the default vowel is particularly clear in verbal stems. The characteristic vowel of the verbal stem is preserved when there is no adjacent direct object, e.g. σωτη /sotəm/ 'to hear'. However, if a nominal object is attached to the verb, the stem vowel is replaced by the default vowel ε, e.g. σετη ναι /setəm.nai/ 'to hear (σετη) these (ναι)'.

Υ As a separate letter (i.e. not as part of the digraph ουγ), it is generally restricted to Greek loan words. This suggests that υ functions as a loan phoneme and probably represented the high front rounded vowel /i/ like German *ü* in *fünf* /fünf/ 'five', e.g. ζυλη /hü.le/ 'firewood, matter'.

In literary Sahidic, however, υ frequently varies with η and ε in both native and loan words, e.g. εγκε (AP, Chaîne no. 211, 60:23) for Egyptian βεκε /βe:ke/ 'wage', σχυμα (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:6) for Greek σχῆμα /sk<sup>h</sup>e:ma/ 'monkish garment'.

The approximate pronunciation of the Sahidic consonantal graphemes is summarized in table 1.4. (Vowel lengthening is indicated by colon):

	FRONT, UNROUNDED	CENTRAL, UNROUNDED	BACK, ROUNDED
HIGH	(ε)ι /i/ /i:/		ουγ /u/ /u:/
HIGHER-MID	ε /e/ /e:/	/ə/	ο /o/ /o:/
LOWER-MID	η /e/ /e:/		ω /ɔ/ /ɔ:/
LOW		α /a/ /a:/	

TABLE 1.4 Sahidic vowel phonemes

### 1.2.2.3 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

The phonemic contrast in vowel quality is positionally restricted, since certain vowels may only appear in the nucleus position of stressed syllables only, cf. table 1.5.

STRESSED SYLLABLES		UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES	
(ε)ι /i/ /i:/	ουγ /u/ /u:/	(ε)ι /i/	
ε /e/ /e:/	ο /o/ /o:/	ε /e/	/ə/
η /e/ /e:/	ω /ɔ/ /ɔ:/		
	α /a/ /a:/		α /a/

TABLE 1.5 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

The distributional behaviour of Sahidic vowel phonemes is regulated by the following constraints:

- (i) The vowels η /e/, ο /o/ and ω /ɔ/ are restricted to stressed syllables.
- (ii) The vowels α /a/ and (ε)ι /i/ are positionally variable; i.e. they may occur in both stressed and unstressed syllables. In the latter context, the unstressed vowel is always short.
- (iii) Schwas /ə/ (reduced vowels) never receive stress. The vowel ε /e/ is stressed only if there is a schwa /ə/ or another ε /e/ in the same phonological domain.

The contrast in vowel height between the front unrounded vowels ε /e/ and η /e/ and the back rounded vowels ουγ /u/, ο /o/ and ω /ɔ/ is utilized in various apophonic patterns (i.e. changes in the vocalism of a word for morphological purposes):

- Gender and number marking, e.g. ρρο 'king' ~ ρρω 'queen', ηε (singular) ~ ηηγε (plural) 'heaven'
- The pronominal paradigm of prepositions, e.g. ερο 'to you (woman)' ~ ερω-τη 'to you (plural)'
- The possessive demonstratives, e.g. ηω-ϣ 'his one' (singular masculine) ~ ηου-ϣ 'his ones' (plural).

### 1.3 Suprasegmental phonology

The focus of this section is on suprasegmental phonology, i.e. aspects of phonological structure that are to some extent independent of the feature content of individual phonological segments. Section 1.3.1 deals with Coptic syllable structure and syllabification. This leads to section 1.3.2, which is about the assignment of stress. Section 1.3.3 looks at some aspects of Coptic allomorphy, i.e. alternations in the phonological shape of morphemes.

#### 1.3.1 Syllable structure and syllabification

Syllables are the minimal units of prosodic organization. As far as their internal structure is concerned, the syllable has traditionally been regarded as containing an obligatory nucleus preceded by an optional consonantal onset and followed by an optional consonantal coda. The nucleus and the coda form an additional subconstituent, known as the rhyme in linguistic literature. In a syllable like *gif* /gɪf/ in English *gifted* /gɪf.tɪd/, for instance, the /g/ constitutes the syllabic onset, the /ɪ/ the nucleus and the /f/ the coda. The constituents of the traditional syllable are depicted in figure 1.1.

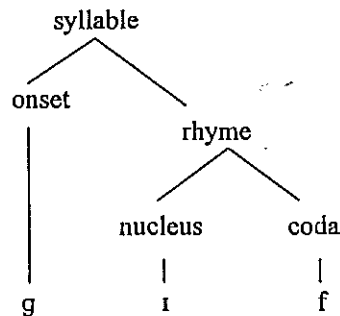


FIGURE 1.1 The internal structure of syllables

##### 1.3.1.1 Syllable types and consonant clusters

Sahidic Coptic is a language with a rich inventory of different types of syllables. It ranges from so-called degenerate syllables, i.e. syllables consisting of a syllabic nucleus only, which may be followed by a consonantal coda, e.g. the vowel *h* /e/ in bisyllabic words like *hpe*

/e:pe/ 'number' or *hpt* /e:p/ 'to be counted to', to relatively complex structures like *swogw* /k'ouʃ/ in *caraswogw* /sa.ra.k'ouʃ/ 'hare', where a closed syllable has a diphthong as its vocalic nucleus. Despite this variety, it is possible to make out four main syllabic patterns, which are exemplified in table 1.6 below. (Capital C stands for consonant and capital V for vowel. A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots):

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	VOWEL LENGTH	STRESS PATTERN	EXAMPLES
closed syllables (CVC)	short vowel (V)	stressed or unstressed	stressed <i>waq</i> /ʃ'af/ in <i>waqte</i> /ʃ'af.te/ 'enemy' vs. unstressed <i>tan</i> /tan/ in <i>tanʒout</i> /tan.h'ut/ 'to rely on'
open syllables with short V's (CV)	short vowel (V)	always unstressed	unstressed <i>xe</i> /t'e/ in <i>waxe</i> /ʃa:t'e/ 'word' or <i>ca</i> /sa/ in <i>cah</i> /sa.v'e:/ 'wise' (fem.)
open syllables with lengthened V's (CV:)	long vowel (V:)	always stressed	stressed <i>ca</i> /s'o:/ in <i>cahm</i> /s'o:.təm/ 'to hear' or <i>eh</i> /v'e:/ in <i>cah</i> /sa.v'e:/ 'wise' (fem.)
degenerate syllables (V, V:, VC)	short or long vowel (V, V:)	stressed or unstressed	stressed <i>oy</i> /u/ in <i>oytaʒ</i> /u:.tah/ 'fruit' and <i>ac</i> /as/ in <i>acpe</i> /'as.pe/ 'language' vs. unstressed <i>a</i> /a/ in <i>anaʒ</i> /a.n'aʃ/ 'oath'

TABLE 1.6 A typology of Sahidic Coptic syllable structures

The onset of the syllable may contain extra phonological material to form a consonant cluster up to three consonants, e.g. the *cop-* /sk'ɪr/ in *copaʒt* /sk'ɪraht/ 'to rest'. It appears that consonant clusters are not allowed in coda position. Instead, clusters of two consonants are broken up by a schwa /ə/, thus *hpt* /e:ɪ.rəp/ and not /e:ɪ.rp/.

### 1.3.1.2 The glide-vowel alternation

Coptic makes a systematic distinction between vowels and consonants. The digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ, however, may have either a vocalic or a consonantal interpretation. The non-distinctiveness between the high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the corresponding glides /y/ and /w/ in Coptic writing is not accidental, but indicates that these phonemes share the same phonological features: the glides /y/ and /w/ are the consonantal variants of the vowels /i/ and /u/. The consonantal or vocalic realization of (ε)ⲓ and οϣ is not random, but predictable from their position within the syllable:

- (i) In the onset position, when the digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ are followed by a vowel grapheme, they have a consonantal interpretation and represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, e.g. εἰωτ /y'ot/ 'father' and οϣοπ /w'op/ 'to be holy'.
- (ii) If, on the other hand, (ε)ⲓ and οϣ are preceded by a word-initial consonant, they function as syllabic nuclei and represent the vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, e.g. ρἰ /r'i/ 'cell' and νοϣε /n'uv/ 'gold'. Sahidic Coptic has degenerate syllables that consist of a syllabic nucleus only. In this context, the digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ are consistently interpreted as vowels, e.g. οϣταϣ /u.tah/ 'fruit'.
- (iii) The digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ may also represent the second part of a diphthong, i.e. a sequence of two vowels in the nucleus position of the syllable, which may but need not share phonological features in common. Sahidic Coptic has a rich inventory of such diphthongs, as we can see in table 1.7 below. (Diphthongs are transcribed with an inverted breve /aj/, /au/).
- (iv) A sequence of three adjacent vowels is a phonologically unstable pattern, which is generally avoided. In Sahidic, a triplet of three different vowels gives rise to a vowel-glide-vowel sequence, where the intermediate vowel surfaces as the corresponding glide, e.g. ϣιοϣε /h'i.we/ 'to beat', ϣοειοϣε /r'oj.we/ 'stalk', τοιε /t'o.ye/ 'part', ταιο /ta.yo:/ 'to honour'.

	VOWEL + (ε)ⲓ /i/	VOWEL + (ο)ϣ /u/
α	αει, αἰ /aj/, e.g. σαειν /sajn/ 'physician'	αϣ /au/, e.g. ναϣ /naʉ/ 'to see'
ε	εει, εἰ /ej/, e.g. πεἰ- /pej/ 'this'	εϣ /eʉ/, e.g. πεϣ- /peʉ/ 'their'
η	ηει, ηἰ /ej/, e.g. ηἰ (var. ηει) /ej/ 'house'	ηϣ /eʉ/, e.g. σνηϣ /sneʉ/ 'brothers'
ο	οει, οἰ /oj/, e.g. οεικ /ojk/ 'bread'	οϣοϣ /oʉʉ/ e.g. σαραβωϣοϣ /sa.ra.kʰoʉʃ/ 'hare'

TABLE 1.7 Sahidic diphthongs

### 1.3.1.3 The superlinear stroke

Languages that employ an alphabetic notation system for the written expression of sounds indicate suprasegmental features (if at all) by means of a limited set of diacritics marks. In Coptic, the most important diacritic is the superlinear stroke ( $\bar{\text{N}}$ ), which provides us with some insight into Coptic syllabification, i.e. the assignment of syllable structure to a string of consonants and vowels. As briefly noted in section 1.1.2 above, the superlinear stroke indicates the presence of a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/ in the nucleus position of a syllable immediately before the coda consonant. The *schwa* sounds like the colourless vocalic segments in English *elephant* /elə.fənt/. As a marker of a reduced syllabic nucleus, the superlinear stroke is never used in combination with vowels, but found with all consonants. In this function, it may vary with the default vowel ε /e/ in word-initial, -medial, and -final position. (In the translation of the Coptic examples, morpheme boundaries are indicated by hyphens).

Examples: (word-initial) πρωμε εναρχων /en.ar.kho:n/ (for  $\bar{\text{N}}$ αρχων /ən.ar.kho:n/ 'the magistrate (lit. the man (πρωμε) being (εN-) magistrate (αρχων)' (BHom 261:15), εμπατοϣκωλϣ̄ /em.pa.tu.ko:ləh/ (for  $\bar{\text{N}}$ επατοϣκωλϣ̄ /əm.p.tu.ko:ləh/) 'before they summon (the congregation) (εμπατ-οϣ-κωλϣ̄)' (praec. Pach. 90), π̄ϣ-ραν /pəʃ.ran/ (for π̄εϣραν /peʃ.ran/) 'his (π̄ϣ-) name (ραν)' (Onnophr. 205:8); (medial) αϣερ μαρτυρος /af.er.martiros/ (for αϣ̄ρ μαρτυρος /af.ər.martiros/) 'he (Ara Mena) became (α-ϣ-ερ) a martyr (μαρτυρος)' (Mena, Mir. 6a:12), νεϣεν

/ne.wen/ (for  $\text{NE}\Upsilon\bar{\text{N}}$  /ne.wən/) '(there) was ( $\text{NE}(\text{O})\Upsilon\bar{\text{E}}\text{N}$ )' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30), (final)  $\text{NA}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{PEN}$  /nah.rən/ (for  $\text{NA}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{PN}$  /nah.rən/) 'in front of' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:14).

The *schwa* can even be reduced to such an extent that it is no longer audible. The acoustic effect of this phonological process is a syllabic consonant, i.e. a consonant that constitutes the most sonorant part of the syllable and hence, fills the nucleus slot. An example of a syllabic consonant in English would be the /n/ in *even* /i:.vən/ or the /l/ in *bottle* /bɒtl/. In Sahidic Coptic, only the sonorants  $\text{M}$ ,  $\text{N}$ ,  $\text{P}$ ,  $\text{L}$ ,  $\text{B}$  /m n r l v/ can function as syllabic consonants; their nucleus functions may but need not be indicated by the superlinear stroke, e.g.  $\text{T}\bar{\text{E}}\text{T}$  /tɛt/ 'fish',  $\text{Q}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}$  /fɛt/ 'worm',  $\text{Z}\bar{\text{F}}\text{X}$  /hɛt/ 'vinegar'.

### 1.3.1.4 Vowel gemination

A rather striking feature of Sahidic orthography is the double writing or gemination of vowel graphemes, which gives rise to a sequence of two identical vowel graphemes like  $\text{AA}$ ,  $\text{EE}$ ,  $\text{HH}$ ,  $\text{OO}$ ,  $\text{WW}$  in words like  $\text{MAAXE}$  'ear',  $\text{MEEYE}$  'to think',  $\text{MHHE}$  'crowd',  $\text{BOONE}$  'evil',  $\text{XOWME}$  'book'. There is reason to assume that vowel gemination does not express a lengthened vowel, which are not rendered orthographically, but rather indicates an intervocalic glottal stop /ʔ/: V<sup>2</sup>V. Vowel gemination represents a stressed lengthened vowel that is interrupted by a glottal stop, a process that has come to be known as vowel breaking. The phonological interpretation of words like  $\text{MHHE}$  or  $\text{XOWME}$  would therefore be /mɛ<sup>2</sup>e.ʃe/ and /t<sup>2</sup>ɔ<sup>2</sup>.me/, respectively. Since only long vowels can be broken, Sahidic vowel breaking is limited to stressed, open syllables.

### 1.3.1.5 Consonant gemination

In Sahidic Coptic, quantity or length in duration is not only a property of vowels, but may apply to consonants as well. Unlike vowel length, however, which is determined by prosodic features, the opposition between plain and geminate consonants is phonologically distinctive, which appears from minimal pairs like  $\text{PO}$  /tɔ/ 'mouth' vs.  $\text{PPO}$  /ɛr.tɔ/ 'king',  $\text{MO}$  /mo/ 'give!' (Imperative singular masculine) vs.  $\text{FMO}$  /əm.mɔ/ 'in' (the pronominal form of the locative preposition  $\text{N/M}$  'in'). Lengthened consonants typically span a syllable break and fill the

coda and onset position of two adjacent syllables. In Sahidic Coptic, geminate consonants are subject to severe positional restrictions: the syllable preceding the geminate must be unstressed and contain a phonologically reduced nucleus, while the syllable following the geminate must be stressed and contain a lengthened vowel. The presence of the schwa /ə/ in the unstressed syllable is orthographically expressed by a superlinear stroke on the first consonant of the geminate, e.g.  $\text{Z}\bar{\text{A}}\text{LW}$  /həl.l'ɔ:/ 'old woman',  $\text{T}\bar{\text{E}}\text{BO}$  /tɛv.v'ɔ:/ 'to purify',  $\text{B}\bar{\text{P}}\text{PE}$  /vɛr.r'e:/ 'to be young'.

### 1.3.2 Word stress

Word stress is a relatively abstract phonological category, which, unlike length, has no uniform phonetic correlate. Stress is manifest in different suprasegmental features, such as increased duration and loudness, heightened pitch, and, sometimes, subtle differences in vowel and consonant quality. Recall that the vowels  $\text{H}$  /ɛ/,  $\text{O}$  /o/, and  $\text{W}$  /ɔ/ occur only in stressed syllables (section 1.2.2.3) and that geminate consonants bridge the gap between a phonologically reduced, unstressed syllable and a stressed open syllable (section 1.3.1.5).

#### 1.3.2.1 Basic properties of the Sahidic stress system

Sahidic Coptic is a language with a binary stress distinction, i.e. syllables are either stressed or unstressed. Moreover, stress assignment is non-recursive, which means that there is at most one main stress per word, independent of its length. The internal structure of the syllable determines where stress falls. More specifically, the part of the phonological material that is relevant for stress marking is the syllabic rhyme (i.e. the vocalic nucleus and the consonantal coda), while the internal complexity of the consonantal onset is not.

Sahidic syllables fall into two classes, depending on the number of segments contained in the rhyme. On the one hand, there are so-called light syllables, whose rhyme contains only a plain vowel, e.g. the  $\text{NE}$  /ne/ in  $\text{TEZNE}$  /tɛh.ne/ 'forehead'. On the other hand, there are heavy syllables, whose rhyme is made up of at least two segments, which may be (i) a short vowel and a consonantal coda, e.g. the  $\text{ON}$  /on/ in  $\text{CON}$  /s'on/ 'brother', or (ii) a lengthened or 'broken' vowel, e.g. the  $\text{W}$  /ɔ:/ in  $\text{CONE}$  /s'ɔ:.ne/ 'sister' or the  $\text{EE}$  /e<sup>2</sup>e/ in  $\text{MEEYE}$  /m'e<sup>2</sup>e.we/ 'to think'.

### 1.3.2.2 Stress rules

Sahidic stress assignment may be characterized as a quantitative-sensitive system, where heavy syllables must be stressed. The following rules govern the distribution of Sahidic word stress virtually without exception:

- (i) When a word has two or more syllables of different prosodic weight, stress always lodges on the heavy syllable, e.g.  $\psi\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon$  /š'af.te/ 'enemy',  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  /n'u:.te/ 'god',  $\lambda\eta\lambda\omega$  /a.n'aš/ 'oath',  $\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$  /a.m'ah.te/ 'to prevail'.
- (ii) When a word has two or more syllables of the same prosodic weight, stress falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g.  $\lambda\iota\lambda\iota$  /aj.ai/ 'to increase',  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\zeta$  /ke.l'en.keh/ 'elbow'.
- (iii) Phonologically reduced syllables can never receive stress assignment, if the preceding or following syllable has a full vowel, e.g.  $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$  /mən.t'e/ 'testimony',  $\mu\alpha\zeta\pi\bar{\eta}$  /n'ah.rən/ 'in front of'.
- (iv) The vowel  $\epsilon$  /e/ is stressed only if there is a schwa /ə/ or another  $\epsilon$  /e/ in the same phonological domain, e.g.  $\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon$  /kən.n'e/ 'to be fat'.
- (v) A number of grammatical elements like prepositions, verbal prefixes or enclitic particles are never stressed, e.g.  $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  /ep.r'ɔ:.me/ 'to-the-man',  $\lambda\text{-}\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$  /af.r'ai.še/ (PERFECT-he-rejoice) 'he rejoiced',  $\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$  /ən.t'of-de/ '(as for) him'.

### 1.3.3 Phonological alternations

In this section, we conclude our review of the prosodic domain with a discussion of the most common phonological processes. Particular attention will be drawn to regular alternations in the phonological form of morphemes at a word- or phrase-internal boundary. Such alternations involve either changes in the phonological features of segments (assimilation) or the disappearance of segments from the phonological representation (deletion). Both sound changes are governed by context-sensitive phonological rules, meaning that sound /x/ becomes sound /y/ (which may be zero) in a particular phonological environment.

N.B. Phonological rules of this kind are expressed as  $x \rightarrow y / \_ z$ , where the input of the rule is stated before and its output after the arrow. The slash / translates as 'in the context of', whereas the accompanying environment dash  $\_$  is read as 'in front' or 'after' a particular sound or sequence of sounds.

#### 1.3.3.1 Labial assimilation

Assimilation is a phonological process in the course of which segments acquire phonological features of surrounding segments to increase their phonetic compatibility and thus facilitate their pronunciation. In Sahidic labial assimilation, the coronal nasal  $n$  /n/ is realised as the bilabial nasal  $m$  /m/ in the context of an adjacent bilabial stop  $\pi$  /p/ or nasal  $\mu$  /m/:

#### LABIAL ASSIMILATION

$n \rightarrow m / \_ p, m$

Labial assimilation is an obligatory phonological process at the juncture between two morphemes and never applies within a single morpheme, e.g.  $\mu\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}$  (not  $\mu\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}$ ) 'with' (the form of the preposition  $\mu\eta$  used with pronouns). Notice, however, that only one coronal nasal may be assimilated within a word, e.g.  $\mu\epsilon\pi\pi\omega\upsilon\gamma$   $\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (<  $\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ) 'the kings ( $\mu\epsilon\text{-}\pi\pi\omega\upsilon\gamma$ ) of ( $\mu\text{-}$ ) (not  $\mu\text{-}$ ) the ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ) Persians' (Eud. 42:18). Particularly common examples of labial assimilation are:

- The linkage marker  $\mu\text{-}$  'of', e.g.  $\mu\eta\alpha$   $\mu\eta\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  'the place ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha$ ) of ( $\mu\text{-}$ ) the stewards ( $\mu\eta\text{-}\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ )' (praec. Pach. 105) vs.  $\mu\eta\alpha$   $\mu\text{-}\pi\pi\iota\mu\epsilon$  'the ( $\mu\text{-}$ ) place ( $\mu\alpha$ ) of ( $\mu\text{-}$ ) (the) weeping ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\pi\iota\mu\epsilon$ )' (Ac. A&P 204:142)
- Prepositions with  $\mu$  as a final consonant:  $\zeta\mu$ , var.  $\zeta\mu$  'in, into', e.g.  $\zeta\mu$   $\tau\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\zeta$  'in ( $\zeta\mu$ ) the congregation ( $\tau\text{-}\tau\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\zeta$ )' (praec. Pach. 91) vs.  $\zeta\mu$   $\pi\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$  'into ( $\zeta\mu$ ) the village ( $\pi\text{-}\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ )' (praec. Pach. 90),  $\lambda\chi\mu$ , var.  $\lambda\chi\mu$  'without', e.g.  $\lambda\chi\mu$   $\tau\omega\psi$  'without ( $\lambda\chi\mu$ ) order ( $\tau\omega\psi$ )' (praec. Pach.127) vs.  $\lambda\chi\mu$   $\mu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\pi\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$  'without ( $\lambda\chi\mu$ ) his superintendent ( $\mu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\mu\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota$ )' (praec. Pach. 106)

- The plural form of the definite article *ν-* 'the', e.g. *ΝΑΜΗΥ* 'the bakers (*Ν-ΑΜΗΥ*)' (praec. Pach. 117) vs. *ΜΗΑ ΝΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΦΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ* 'the dwelling (*Ν-ΩΠΕ*) places (*Μ-ΜΑ*) of (*Ν-*) all (*ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ*) the souls (*ΝΕ-ΦΥΧΟΟΥΕ*)' (Ac. A&P 198:73).

### 1.3.3.2 *τ-deletion*

Clusters of two voiceless dental stops /t/ are often simplified:

#### τ-DELETION

t → ∅ / \_\_\_ t

Note that the reduction of a sequence of two τ's to a single one is not restricted to word-final position, as in *ΕΝΤ* (< *ΕΝΤ + Τ*) 'to bring (*ΕΝΤ-*) me (*-Τ*)' (Test. Is. 234:22), but may also occur word-internally, as in *ΠΕΤΕΙΡΕ* (read *ΠΕΤΕΡΕ*) (< *Π-ΕΤ-Τ-ΕΙΡΕ*) 'what I was doing' (Onmophr. 207:16).

### 1.3.3.3 *Vowel elision*

At a morpheme or word boundary, sequences of two or more vowels may be simplified by deleting one vocalic segment. Unlike labial assimilation and τ-deletion, vowel elision is an optional phonological process. The deleted vowel may but need not be identical with the neighbouring one, e.g. *ΠΕΤΝΑΛ* (< *Π-ΕΤ-Τ-ΝΑ-ΑΛ-Λ*) 'what I shall do' (Ac. A&P 200:100).

## 1.4 Greek loan words

The emergence of Coptic is the result of intensive language contact in a bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) speech community. Greek was not only the language of the literate elite, but also the language of the Holy Scriptures and the new religion and hence a language of great cultural importance. The impact of this prestige language on the native vernacular was pervasive. Although no clear statistics are available at present, it is estimated that approximately forty percent of the Coptic vocabulary consists of Greek loan words. The following discussion on language contact phenomena will begin with a typology of Greek loan words, with particular attention for the grammatical constraints on

lexical borrowing: which categories are borrowed and how is foreign lexical material integrated into the native syntax (section 1.4.1). We also take a closer look at the Coptic spelling of Greek loans, which may diverge considerably from the Greek model (section 1.4.2).

### 1.4.1 A typology of Greek borrowings

The transfer of Greek lexical material into the Coptic vocabulary was not restricted to content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives), which have a clear link to Hellenistic and Christian culture (e.g. *ΦΥΧΗ* 'soul' (< *ψυχή* /psük<sup>h</sup>ei/), *ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ* 'church' (< *ἐκκλησία* /ekkleisia/), *ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ* 'to baptize' (< *βαπτίζεσθαι* /baptizest<sup>h</sup>ai/), *ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ* 'blessed' (< *μακάριος* /makarios/)), but also involved a variety of Greek function words (i.e. grammatical words with no descriptive-lexical content), such as sentence conjunctions (e.g. *ΖΩΣΤΕ* 'such that' (< *ὥστε* /ho:ste/)), discourse markers (e.g. *ΔΕ* (< *δέ* /de/)), manner and time adverbials (e.g. *ΚΑΚΩΣ* (< *κακῶς* /kakōis/) 'badly', *ΤΟΤΕ* (< *τότε* /tote/) 'then, at that time')), and even some prepositions (e.g. *ΚΑΤΑ* 'according to' (< *κατά* /kata/)). Despite the massive influx of Greek items, paradigmatically organized words like determiners, pronouns, numerals, and tense markers are all drawn from the native stock. To fit into Coptic phrase structure, Greek loan words underwent minor morphological changes in the course of borrowing.

#### 1.4.1.1 *Copto-Greek nouns*

Greek nouns are commonly borrowed as a whole without any morphological change and, if any, phonological adjustments only. The gender and noun-class marking suffix of the nominative singular form of the Greek model noun is generally preserved, e.g. *ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ* 'military unit' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20) (< *ἀριθμός* /arit<sup>h</sup>mos/ 'number'), *ΧΩΡΑ* 'land' (Camb. 2:29) (< *χώρα* /k<sup>h</sup>o:ra/), *ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ* 'eulogy' (Mena, Enc. 35:a:2-3) (< *ἐγκώμιον* /enkōmion/), *ΠΟΛΙΣ* 'city' (Hil. 3:20) (< *πόλις* /polis/), *ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ* 'lord, despot' (Hil. 3:20) (< *δεσπότης* /despote:s/). Due to the lack of morphological case marking, Greek nouns are generally borrowed in their nominative singular form, which represents the least marked form of the nominal paradigm.

A number of Greek nouns adopted a more specialized meaning in the course of borrowing, e.g. *ΤΟΠΟΣ* 'shrine' (Hil. 5:5) (< *τόπος* /topos/

'place'), **ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ** 'the Holy Mass' (Hil. 1:17) (< **συναξις** /sinaksis/ 'gathering'), **ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ** 'Eucharist' (Eud. 72:23) (< **προσφορά** /prosp<sup>h</sup>ora/ 'bounty, gift'), **ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ** 'monastic practice, ascetic labour' (Zen. 199:8) (< **πολιτεία** /politeia/ 'citizenship, government').

#### 1.4.1.2 Copto-Greek adjectives

Coptic has no special word class of adjectives. Greek adjectives are therefore treated as fully fledged nouns, e.g. **ΠΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ** **ΑΠΑ** **ΝΑΖΡΟΥ** 'the (π-) blessed (**μακαριος** < **μακάριος** /makarios/) Apa Nahrow' (KHML I 4:7), **ΝΕΙΑΦΥΧΟΝ** **ΧΕ** **ΝΟΥΤΕ** 'these lifeless (**νειαφυχον** < **ἄψυχος** /apsikh<sup>h</sup>os/) (things) called (**χε**) god (**νουτε**)' (KHML I 1:2), **ΠΑΛΑΙΑ** **ΜΗ** **ΤΚΗΝΗ** 'the Old (**τ-παλαια** < **παλαιός** /palaiós/) and (**μη**) the New (Testament) (**τ-κηνη** < **καινός** /kainos/)' (Hil. 1:13), **ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ** **ΘΕ** **ΑΠΑ** **ΜΗΝΑ** **ΟΥΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ** **ΠΕ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΖΗ** **ΠΚΑΖ** **ΝΚΗΜΕ** 'the holy (**π-ζαγιος**) Apa Mena (was) well-born (**ου-ευγενης** < **εὐγενής** /eugeneis/) of Egyptian descent (lit. 'from (**εβολ** **ζη**) the land (**π-καζ**) of Egypt (**ν-κημε**))' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-b:2).

Greek adjectives generally appear with the singular masculine ending -ος /-os/ (-ος), e.g. **ΟΥΡΩΜΕ** **ΝΣΟΦΟΣ** 'a wise (**ν-σοφος** < **σοφός** /soph<sup>h</sup>os/) man (**ου-ρωμε**)' (Teach. Ant. 4), **ΖΩΣ** **ΡΩΜΕ** **ΝΒΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ** 'like (**ζωσ**) a man (**ρωμε**) of this world (**ν-βιωτικος** < **βιωτικός** /bio:tikos/)' (Hil. 13:5); exceptions: (singular feminine -α /-a/ -α) **ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ** **ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ** 'the blessed (**τ-μακαρια** < **μακάριος** /makarios/) Hilaria (**ζλλαρια**)' (Hil. 1:1), (singular neuter -ον /-on/ -ον) **ΤΕΙΕΠΘΥΜΙΑ** **ΜΠΝΙΚΟΝ** (for **πνευματικον**) 'this spiritual (**ν-πνευματικον** < **πνευματικός** /pneumatikos/) desire (**τει-επιθυμια** < **ἐπιθυμία** /epit<sup>h</sup>umia/)' (Hil. 1:20), (genitive plural -ων /-on/ -ων) **ΜΠΗΟΙΤΗΣ** (read **ποιητης**) **ΝΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ** 'the ancient (**ν-αρχαιων** < **ἀρχαῖος** /ark<sup>h</sup>aios/) poets (**μ-ποιητης** < **ποιητής** /poieteis/)' (Hil. 1:18).

The Greek superlative can sometimes be found in epithets preceding or following a proper name, e.g. **ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ** **ΝΡΡΟ** **ΖΗΝΩΝ** 'this most humble (**πει-ελαχιστος** < **ἐλάχιστος** /elakhistos/) king (**ν-ρρο**) Zenô (**ζηνων**)' (Hil. 7:21), **ΠΕΦΜΕΡΙΤ** **ΝΙΩΤ** **ΝΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ** **ΑΠΑ** **ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ** **ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ** 'his beloved (**πεφ-μεριτ**) father

(**ν-ιωτ**), the archbishop (**π-αρχιεπισκοπος**) Apa Timotheus (**τιμοθεος**), most beloved by God (**ν-θεοφιλεστατος** < **θεοφιλέτατος** /<sup>h</sup>teophiletatos/) (Sh. III 13:19-20).

#### 1.4.1.3 Copto-Greek verbs

Copto-Greek verbs generally appear with a morphologically lighter form, with the Greek infinitival endings -ειν /eĩn/ or -εσθαι /est<sup>h</sup>ai/ stripped off, e.g. **ΕΤΕΙ** (for **αιτει**) 'to ask for' (Test. Is. 237:13) (< **αἰτεῖν** /aiteĩn/), **ΑΠΑΝΤΑ** 'to encounter' (Test. Is. 237:8 (< **ἀπαντᾶν** /apantan/), **ΧΑΡΙΖΕ** 'to grant' (Hil. 7:10) (< **χαρίζεσθαι** /k<sup>h</sup>arizest<sup>h</sup>ai/). Due to their impoverished morphology, Copto-Greek verbs have the appearance of the Greek imperative present active, which is why they have been classified as imperatives in most Coptic grammars. From a syntactic point of view, this analysis is not tenable, since imperatival clause verbs construed with an implicit or explicit second person subject pronoun. It seems therefore more likely that Greek verbs are borrowed into Coptic as "bare" (i.e. uninflected) stems. Occasionally, the full form of the Greek infinitival suffix -εσθαι /est<sup>h</sup>ai/ is preserved in the Coptic form of the borrowed verb, e.g. **ΕΞΗΓΙΣΘΑΙ** 'to expose, tell at length' (Onnophr. 205:9) (< **ἐξηγεῖσθαι** /ekseigeĩst<sup>h</sup>ai/).

#### 1.4.1.4 Copto-Greek function words

Greek function words and particles are productively used in Coptic clause-chaining and discourse organisation and are therefore instances of both lexical and grammatical borrowing. Some representative examples of each category are given below:

- Prepositions, which mark relations between entities, e.g. **ΖΩΣ** 'like, as' **ως** < /hɔ:s/), **ΕΙΜΗΤΙ** 'except' (< **εἰ μή τι** /eimeiti/). Two frequently used Greek prepositions **ΚΑΤΑ** 'according to' (< **κατά** /kata/) and **ΠΑΡΑ** 'more than' (< **παρά** /para/) have special forms **ΚΑΤΑΡΟ=** and **ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=** before pronouns, which are formed on the analogy of native prepositions like **ε-**, **ερω=** 'to, towards'.

- Adverbs of time and manner, e.g. **αληθως** (< ἀληθῶς /alei<sup>h</sup>ō:s/) 'actually, really', **ετι** (var. **αιτει** (V. Pach. 87:16)) (< ἔτι /eti/) 'yet, still', **κακως** (< κακῶς /kakō:s/) 'badly', **τοτε** (< τότε /tote/) 'then, at that time'.
- Subordinating conjunctions or complementizers, which introduce a syntactically dependent clause, e.g. **ζωστε** 'such that' (< ὅστε /ho:ste/), **μηπως** 'that not' (< μήπως /me:po:s/).
- Coordinating conjunctions, which connect two noun phrases or clauses, e.g. **η** 'or' (< ἢ /ei/), **ογδε** 'and not' (< οὐδέ /u:de/).
- Rhetorical conjunctions that express discourse relations like contrast **αλλα** 'but' (< ἀλλά /alla/), an explanation of the preceding discourse **γαρ** 'because, for' (< γάρ /gar/), or a change of topic or beginning of a new narrative unit **δε** (< δέ /de/).

#### 1.4.2 The spelling of Greek loan words

Greek loan words are generally spelled correctly. Deviations from the Greek model are for the most part phonetic spellings, reflecting both ongoing sound changes in Egyptian Koine and the absence of certain phonological oppositions in Coptic.

##### a) Variation between γ ~ κ and τ ~ δ

Since Sahidic Coptic lacks a phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless dental and velar stops, γ frequently alternates with κ and δ with τ in the Coptic rendering of Greek words:

- (γ ~ κ) **καρπος** (Onnophr. 219:22) ~ **γαρπος** (V. Pach. 87:1) 'fruit' (< καρπός /karpos/), **εργατης** (V. Pach. 210b:3) ~ **αρκατης** (BHom. 263:7) 'worker' (< ἐργάτης /ergate:s/), **αγανακτηει** (V. Pach. 67:20-21) ~ **ακανακτηει** (V. Pach. 92:9-10) 'to become angry' (< ἀγανακτεῖν /aganaktein/)
- (δ ~ τ) **παρδεικος** (Abbatōn 237:13) ~ **παρτςως** (V. Pach. 86:23) 'garden (of Eden), Paradise' (< παράδεισος /paradeisos/), **τιμωρει** (V. Pach. 159b:29) ~ **διμωρει** (Test. Is. 234:20) 'to

punish' (< τιμωρεῖν /timōreïn/), **δικαζε** (V. Pach. 192:25) ~ **τιτταζε** (V. Pach. 94:22) ~ **δικταζε** (V. Pach. 288:17-18) 'to hesitate' (< διστάζειν /distazeïn/).

##### b) Variation between ο ~ ω and ε ~ η

The general graphical interchange between ο ~ ω and ε ~ η reflects not only the absence of phonologically distinctive vowel length in Coptic, but also the impossibility of having the vowels ο /o/, ω /ɔ/, and η /e/ in unstressed syllables.

- (ο ~ ω) **νομος** (V. Pach. 36:2) ~ **νωμος** (V. Pach. 94:15) 'law' (< νομός /nomos/), **διακωνει** (V. Pach. 91:27) ~ **διακονει** (V. Pach. 73a:22) 'to do service, minister' (διακονεῖν /diakoneïn/), **μωνων** (V. Pach. 89:27) ~ **μονον** (V. Pach. 106b:11) 'only' (< μόνον /monon/), **παντος** (V. Pach. 206b:37) ~ **παντως** (V. Pach. 29b:27) 'certainly, probably' (< πάντως /pantō:s/)
- (ε ~ η) **ζερμενεγε** (V. Pach. 251b:9-10) ~ **ζερμηνεγε** (V. Pach. 292:27) 'to translate' (< ἐρμηνεύειν /herme:neueïn/), **ζυπερετης** (V. Pach. 218b:12-13) ~ **ζυπηρητης** (V. Pach. 14a:8-9) 'servant' (< ὑπηρέτης /hūpe:rete:s/), **ζεθος** (AP Chaîne, no 192, 49:32) 'custom, habit' (< ἔθος /ei<sup>h</sup>os/), **ζελεν** (V. Pach. 253a:3-4) ~ **ζελλην** (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἕλλην /helle:n/).

##### c) Variation between η, ε, ι and υ

The alternation of υ with η, ι and ε in the spelling of Greek loan words is more likely to stem from the absence of a high, front vowel /i/ in Sahidic Coptic rather than from the final merger of /i/ and /i/ in Modern Greek, which took place as late as the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Examples: **διαθκη** (Test.Is. 237:23-24) 'testament' (< διαθήκη /dial<sup>h</sup>e:kei/) (var. **διαθηκη** (Test.Is. 237:14)), **θεςια** (V. Pach. 91:7) 'sacrifice' (< θυσία /t<sup>h</sup>usia/) (var. **εθςια** (V. Pach. 88:12)), **κληρικος** (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:34) ~ **κλγρικος** (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:29) 'cleric' (< κληρικός /kle:rikos/), **πολυμει** (V. Pach. 212a:1) ~ **πολεμει** (V. Pach. 294:10) 'to be at war with, quarrel' (< πολεμεῖν /polemeïn/).



## d) Variation between ε and the superlinear stroke

The sporadic variation between the grapheme ε and the superlinear stroke in Greek borrowings reflects the alternation of the default vowel /e/ with schwa /ə/ in closed unstressed syllables.

Examples: **ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ** (Hil. 1:22) ~ **ΤῚΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ** (Onnophr. 223:9-10) 'the (τ-definite article sing.fem.) church' (< ἐκκλησία /ekkleisia/), **ΖῆΔΟΜΑΣ** (Onnophr. 221:7) ~ **ΘΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ** (τ- + **ΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ**) (V. Pach. 239:5) 'week' (< ἑβδομάς /hebdomas/), **ΖῆΛΛΗΝ** (BHom. 263:7) ~ **ΖΕΛΛΗΝ** (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἑλλητην /hellein/).

## e) Variation between αι ~ ε and ι, η ~ ει

The alternation of ε and αι as well as ι, η and ει in many borrowed words reflects the final merger of the Classical Greek /e/ and /aj/ to /e/ and /i/, /ei/ and /eɣ/ to /i/ in the Egyptian variety of Koine Greek through a combination of systematic monophthongisation (i.e. the reduction of a diphthong to a simple vowel) and the loss of distinctive vowel length:

- (ι, η ~ ει) **ΑΓΕΛΕΙ** (Onnophr. 206:14) ~ **ΑΓΕΛΗ** (Op. Pach. et disc. 25:16) 'herd, multitude' (< ἀγέλη /agele/), **ΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ** (V. Pach. 292:8) ~ **ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ** (V. Pach. 106a:21) (< ἐπιθυμία /epithūmia/)
- (αι ~ ε) **ΔΕΜΟΝ** (AP, Chaîne no. 132, 30:4) 'demon' (< δαίμων /daimon/ (var. ΔΑΙΜΩΝ (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:9)), **ΕΩΝ** 'era' (V. Pach. 86:7) (< αἰών /aion/ (var. ΛΙΩΝ (Eud. 38:23)), **ΑΙΤΕΙ** (V. Pach. 87:16) (< ἔτι /eti/) 'yet, still' (var. **ΕΤΙ** (V. Pach. 1:22)), **ΕΤΕΙ** (Test. Is. 237:13) 'to request, ask for' (< αἰτεῖν /aitēin/ (var. **ΑΙΤΕΙ** (V. Pach. 3:13)), **ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ** 'pure, unmixed' (Test. Is. 228:14) (< ἀκέραιος /akeraios/).

## f) Variation between ε, ι and η

The variation between ε, ι and η in Copto-Greek words provides good evidence for the full merging of the front vowels /e/, /i/ and /eɣ/ to /i/ in early Byzantine Greek (so-called 'iotacism').

Examples: **ΑΙΓΟΣ** 'eagle' (Onnophr. 211:26-27) ~ **ΑΕΤΟΣ** (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:28) (< ἀετός /aetos/), **ΑΣΚΙΤΗΣ** (V. Pach. 86:24) ~ **ΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ** (V. Pach. 73a:23) 'ascetic' (< ἀσκητής /asketeis/), **ΠΗΡΑΖΕ** (Op. Pach. et

discipl. 1:15) ~ **ΠΗΡΑΖΕ** (Op. Pach. et disc. 23:1) ~ **ΠΕΙΡΑΖΕ** (Op. Pach. et discipl. 49:1) 'to try, tempt' (< πειράζειν /peirazein/), **ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ** (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:31) 'to speak against, contradict' (< ἀντιλέγειν /antilegein/).

## g) Greek aspiration

Greek orthography employed a special diacritic (´), the so-called *spiritus asper* (lit. "rough breathing"), to indicate the presence of a word-initial voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/, e.g. ὄρος /horos/ 'boundary, landmark'. Despite the loss of the /h/ in Greek by the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, the *spiritus asper* is retained in the orthography of Copto-Greek words, where it is generally rendered by the Coptic letter hori ρ: **ΖΑΓΙΟΣ** 'holy' (< ἅγιος /hagios/) (in epithets, e.g. **ΠΡΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ** 'the holy Apa Mena' Mena, Mir. 7a:6-7), **ΖΩΛΟΣ** (Test. Is. 233:28) 'wholly, altogether' (< ὅλως /holōs/), (word-internal /h/ in compounds): **ΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ** (V. Pach. 85a:25-26) 'choice, preference' (< προαίρεσις /prohairesis/).

The Greek trilled, alveolar liquid /r/ was aspirated at the beginning of a word /r<sup>h</sup>/ and, like all aspirated consonants in Greek, voiceless. The so-called *spiritus asper* ('rough breathing') is rendered by the digraph ρρ in the Coptic spelling of Greek and Latin borrowings, e.g. **ΖΡΗΤΩΡ** (KHML II 31:14) 'speaker, advocate' (< ῥήτωρ /r<sup>h</sup>etor/), **ΠΕ-ΖΡΕΠΑΡΙΟΣ** (KHML II 29:17) 'the (ΠΕ-) riparius (ΖΡΕΠΑΡΙΟΣ) police official in Egypt' (< ῥιπάριος /r<sup>h</sup>iparios/ (lat. *riparius*), **ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ** 'the (ΝΕ-) Romans (ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ)' (Eud. 42:23-24) (< ῥωμαῖος /r<sup>h</sup>ōmaios/). Occasionally, the letter hori (ρ) is used to render the Greek *spiritus lenis* (lit. "smooth breathing"), e.g. **ΕΘΝΟΣ** (V. Pach. 95:15) ~ **ΖΕΘΝΟΣ** (V. Pach. 43a:16) 'people, (pagan) nation' (< ἔθνος /e<sup>h</sup>nos/), **ΖΙΚΩΝ** (Abbatōn 232:10) 'image' (< εἰκών /eikōn/), **ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ** (Eud. 42:21) 'to hope' (< ἐλπίζειν /elpizein/), **ΖΥΠΟΡΑ** (Test. Is. 232:1) 'fruit' (< ὄπωρα /opōra/), **ΖΙΔΙΩΤΗΣ** (V. Pach. 59b:12) 'layman, unsophisticated person' (< ἰδιώτης /idiōteis/).

**Key Terms:**

<i>Copto-Greek Alphabet</i>	the notation system in which Coptic sounds are rendered.	§1.1.1
<i>Nomina sacra</i> "holy names"	are Biblical names or concepts that appear in abbreviated form, e.g. $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$ 'Jesus'.	§1.1.3
<i>Glide-vowel alternation</i>	The vocalic or consonantal interpretation of the digraphs $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ and $\omicron\gamma$ .	§1.3.1.2
<i>Syllable structure</i>	The most sonorant part of the syllable is constituted by the nucleus, which is preceded by an optional consonantal onset and followed by an optional consonantal coda.	§1.3.1.1
<i>Schwa</i>	a reduced vowel /ə/, e.g. $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}$ /hən/ 'in' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:14).	§1.3.1.3
<i>Syllabic consonant</i>	a consonant functioning as the syllabic nucleus, e.g. $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$ /fɪt/ 'worm'.	§1.3.1.3
<i>Superlinear stroke</i> (e.g. $\bar{\eta}$ )	is the most common diacritic in Sahidic orthography, which indicates a reduced vowel (schwa) or a syllabic consonant. In addition, the superlinear stroke has a purely orthographical interpretation and marks <i>nomina sacra</i> .	§1.3.1.3
<i>Vowel gemination</i>	Two vowel graphemes mark an intermediate glottal stop between two identical vowels V <sup>2</sup> V, e.g. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}$ /me <sup>2</sup> e.ʃe/ 'crowd'.	§1.3.1.4
<i>Word stress</i>	is a prosodic means of contrasting more prominent or heavy syllables with less prominent or light ones within a word.	§1.3.2

<i>Labial assimilation</i>	a phonological process, which causes the coronal nasal $\bar{\eta}$ /n/ to become the bilabial nasal $\bar{\mu}$ /m/ in the context of $\pi$ /p/ or $\bar{\mu}$ /m/.	§1.3.3.1
<i>Lexical borrowing</i>	the adoption of foreign lexical material into the native vocabulary with minor adjustments.	§1.4.1
<i>Spelling of Greek loan words</i>	The differences between the borrowed item and the original Classical Greek source are mainly due to ongoing sound changes in Egyptian Koine.	§1.4.2

**How to use Coptic dictionaries**

Coptic dictionaries are organized in a different manner than the ones we are used to. Lexical entries are ordered with respect to their consonant structure. A word like  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\pi}$  'to remain over, to leave' consists of three consonants  $\bar{\epsilon}$ - $\bar{\chi}$ - $\bar{\pi}$ . Lexical items which have this sequence of consonants in common are ordered with respect to vowels. Thus, when you want to look up some word, first identify its sequence of consonants. You will find the entry  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\pi}$  on page 618a of Crum, A Coptic Dictionary

**Exercises****1.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
  1. The Coptic and the Greek alphabets are identical.
  2. Coptic letters may express more than one sound or phoneme.
  3. The glides ( $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ ) and  $\omicron\gamma$  cannot appear between two vowels.

4. Every Coptic word has to begin with a consonant.  
5. Borrowing from Greek is restricted to content words (verbs, nouns, adjectives).

### 1.2 The Coptic writing system

- A. Read the Coptic translation of the *Lord's Prayer*. Particular attention should be paid to the pronunciation of the superlinear stroke.

<sup>9</sup> ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ̄ ἸΠΗΥΕ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΟΥΟΠ  
<sup>10</sup> ΤΕΚΜἸΤῚΡΟ ΜΑΡΕΣΕΙ ΠΕΚΟΥΨ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΠΕ ἸΘΕ  
ΕΤῚΖΝ̄ ΤΠΕ ΝῚΨΩΠΕ ΟΝ ΖΙΧἸ ΠΚΑΖ  
<sup>11</sup> ΠΕΝΘΕΙΚ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΝῚ† ἸΜΟϞ ΝΑΝ ἸΠΟΟΥ  
<sup>12</sup> ΝῚΚΩ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΕΤΕΡΟΝ ἸΘΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΟΝ ΕΤἸΚΩ  
ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΕΤΕ ΟΥἸΤΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
<sup>13</sup> ΝῚΤἸΧΙΤἸ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΝῚΝΑΖἸΝ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤῚ  
ἸΠΠΟΝΗΡΟC ΧΕ ΤΩΚ ΤΕ ΤῚΟΜ ἸΝ̄ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΨΑ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ · ΖΑΜΗΝ

The Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13)

- B. Transliterate the following Coptic words. Use the transcription symbols given in table 1.1 of the main text.

ειωτ	father	ΝΟΥΤΕ	god	†	to give
ψηρε	son	CON	brother	ειρε	to make
ψεερε	daughter	ϞΤΟΟΥ	four	Ϛω	to remain
χοειc	lord	ΖΒΟΥΡ	left	ζε	to fall

- C. Transliterate those Coptic words below where the superlinear stroke has a phonological interpretation (schwa, syllabic consonant).

Χ̄C	Christ	ἸἸἸΚΟΝ	spiritual	COCΠ̄	to request
Τ̄ΕΤ	fish	ΒῚΡΕ	new	ἸἸἸΑ	spirit
CἸME	to accuse s.o	ΖἸΖἸ	to shout	Χ̄C	Lord

- D. Write down the unabbreviated form of the Coptic *nomen sacrum* in those cases where the superlinear stroke has an orthographical interpretation.

### 1.3 Segmental phonology

- A. Each of the following rows contains a set of phonemes that constitute a natural class of phonological elements, for instance, consonants, except for one element. Eliminate this element in each row and say what kind of natural class we are dealing with.

- (1) λ ε ο π  
(2) β τ λ π  
(3) λγ εγ οει ω  
(4) ζ Δ Γ χ

- B. The following list contains words whose spelling diverges in one or two respects from the standard spelling given in Coptic dictionaries. Fill in the standard spelling given in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*.

DIVERGENT SPELLING	GLOSS	STANDARD SPELLING
BNT (Test. Is. 235:1)	worm	
OYEN (Hil. 5:18)	(there) is	
HEI (praec. Pach.123)	house	

## 1.4 Suprasegmental phonology

- A. Indicate the syllable structure of the following Coptic words through segmentation, e.g. ρωμε 'man' → ρω + με:

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	SYLLABLE STRUCTURE
ειρε	to do	
βρρε	new	
ανχβε	school	
αμαρτε	to rule	
εβην	miserable	

- B. The digraphs ογ and ει may have a vocalic /i u/ or a consonantal /j w/ interpretation. Fill in the vocalic or consonantal form of the glide in the phonological transcription of the Coptic examples.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	TRANSCRIPTION
νουτε	god	/n__te/
ουωμ	to eat	/__om/
μοου	water	/mo__/
ειωτ	father	/__ot/

- C. Underline the stressed (heavy) syllable in the following Coptic words

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ταμο	to inform	ϣορϣρ	to destroy
ρωων	coat	αριε	to reproach

- D. Determine the correctly spelled Coptic item.

- |                                  |                                 |       |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> βαλαμπε | <input type="checkbox"/> βααμπε | goat  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> βηρρε   | <input type="checkbox"/> βρρε   | young |
| <input type="checkbox"/> μεν̄    | <input type="checkbox"/> μν̄    | with  |

- E. Explain why the alternative spelling cannot be accurate!
- F. The following list of examples contains words that consist of two or more lexical and grammatical elements. Write down the assimilated form after the arrow.

N + μα	'the (plural) + place'	→	__ μα
N + μακαριος	'blessed'	→	__ μακαριος
2N + π + μα	in + the (sing. masc.) + place	→	2 __ π-μα
N + N + περσοc	'of + the (plural) + Persians'	→	__ περσοc

## 1.5 The Spelling of Greek loan words

- A. Identify the following Greek or Latin names in Coptic spelling.

ανδρεαc	†μοθεοc	μιχαηλ
βικτωρ	κωcταντινοc	ουαλενδιανοc

- B. Look up the following Greek words in Coptic spelling in a Greek dictionary.

σωμα	(praec. Pach. 92)	απαντα	(Test. Is. 237:8)
ζυδωνη	(AP, Chaîne no. 210, 57:28)	ζομολογει	(Onnophr. 221:3)
ζεθνοc	(V. Pach. 43a:16)	επειβουλη	(Onnophr. 217:17)
ενιγμα	(V. Pach. 148:26-27)	ζεικων	(V. Pach. 162:14)

## Unit 2

### Nouns and pronouns

This and the following three units provide an overview of Coptic noun morphology and noun phrase syntax. The focus of this unit is on the main building blocks of the nominal system, which are common nouns and pronouns. Unit 3 is concerned with the internal structure of complex noun phrases and various types of adverbial modifiers. Unit 4 deals with nominal-functional categories, such as demonstrative pronouns and articles, question words, indefinite pronouns, and reflexives. Unit 5 reviews the most common nominal sentence patterns, in which a noun phrase functions as the main predicate of the clause.

The two types of nominal expressions under consideration here, nouns and pronouns, differ from each other with respect to grammatical behaviour and semantic content. Nouns belong to an open class of lexical items designating individuals, entities, objects and locations. Pronouns, on the other hand, belong to a closed class of elements that refer to participants or non-participants in a given speech situation and operates by way of a basic three-part division, where the speaker is referred to by a first person pronoun ("I"), the hearer by a second person singular pronoun ("you") and other participants referred to by third person singular and plural pronouns ("he, she, it, they"). Third person pronouns typically function as anaphora, i.e. elements that provide subsequent reference to discourse entities that have already been introduced. Section 2.1 of this Unit deals with the morphology of common nouns like  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'man' or  $\epsilon\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$  'woman' and their grammatical exponents, number and gender. This leads to

section 2.2, in which the three-way contrast between a definite, an indefinite and a zero article ( $\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'the man',  $\sigma\gamma\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'a man',  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'man') is discussed. Section 2.3 is concerned with Coptic numerals. Section 2.4 reviews the elaborate pronominal system in which each person, number and gender distinctions correlates with a distinct personal pronoun.

## 2.1 Noun morphology

Most Coptic nouns simply lack morphologically marked number and gender distinctions. Yet, it is generally possible to derive the number and gender specification of Coptic nouns from the pronominal article or a preceding or following pronoun. There are only a handful of nouns where grammatical number and gender is marked morphologically by alternations in the form of the nominal stem.

### 2.1.1 Gender

Coptic nouns are specified for either masculine or feminine gender; there is no separate category for neuter gender. In the vast majority of cases, masculine and feminine nouns are not distinguished on a morphological basis. It is, however, always possible to infer the gender specification of a given noun from the form of the prefixed definite article, which encodes gender and number distinctions. Thus, the definite article forms  $\pi\epsilon\text{-}$  and  $\pi\text{-}$  are selected in the context of singular masculine nouns, e.g.  $\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'the (sing. masc.) man' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10), while the forms  $\tau\epsilon\text{-}$  and  $\tau\text{-}$  are found with feminine nouns, e.g.  $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'the (sing. fem.) woman' (Mena, Mir. 27a:21). Grammatical gender can also be detected from a preceding or following pronoun. Take, for instance, an example like  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'a sick man (lit. a man ( $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) while ( $\epsilon\text{-}$ ) he ( $\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) is sick ( $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ )' (praec. Pach. 93), where the masculine gender of the "bare" noun  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'man' is morphologically expressed on bound third person masculine singular pronoun  $\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'he'.

In a closed class of lexical items, feminine nouns are derived from their masculine counterparts through changes in the vowel pattern (so-called *Ablaut*, see section 1.2.2.3 of Unit 1), sometimes accompanied by a change in syllable structure:  $\text{CON}$  'brother' vs.  $\text{C}\omega\text{NE}$  'sister',

$\psi\eta\text{PE}$  'son' vs.  $\psi\epsilon\text{PE}$  'daughter',  $\rho\omega\omega$  'old man' vs.  $\rho\omega\omega$  'old woman',  $\rho\text{PO}$  'king' vs.  $\rho\text{P}\omega$  'queen'. Sometimes these nouns display a redundant marking of the gender specification, e.g.  $\text{NEMNT}\rho$   $\psi\eta\text{PE}$   $\text{N}\rho\text{O}\rho\text{Y}\text{T}$   $\text{NCA}$   $\psi\epsilon\text{PE}$   $\text{CENTE}$   $\text{NC}\rho\text{IME}$   $\text{MMATE}$  'he had no ( $\text{NE-MNT-}\rho$ ) male ( $\text{N-}\rho\text{O}\rho\text{Y}\text{T}$ ) son ( $\psi\eta\text{PE}$ ) except ( $\text{NCA}$ ) two ( $\text{N-}\rho\text{O}\rho\text{Y}\text{T}$ ) female ( $\text{N-C}\rho\text{IME}$ ) daughters ( $\psi\epsilon\text{PE}$ ) only ( $\text{MMATE}$ )' (Hil. 2:5).

### 2.1.2 Number

Coptic has two categories for number, singular and plural. Plural nouns refer to countable entities, which are more than one in number. As with grammatical gender, the number specification of a given noun can be deduced from the form of the definite or indefinite article, as in  $\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'the (singular masculine) man' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10) vs.  $\text{NE-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'the (plural) people' (Mena, Mir. 5b:21),  $\sigma\gamma\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'a (indefinite singular) woman' (Mena, Mir. 22a:17-18) vs.  $\rho\epsilon\text{N-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  'women (indefinite plural)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:3). The morphological distinction between singular and plural nouns is a remnant of Pre-Coptic plural marking and applies only to a limited number of nouns. The singular noun is, as a rule, morphologically unmarked, while the corresponding plural is formed by three different pluralization patterns:

- (i) Addition of the plural marker  $\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  /-owe/ to the right of the nominal stem, e.g.  $\text{C}\rho\omega$  (singular) 'teaching' vs.  $\text{C}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  (plural) 'teachings',  $\text{PE}$  (singular) 'heaven' vs.  $\text{PE}\mu\epsilon$  (plural) 'heaven'.
- (ii) Internal or "broken" plurals, where plurality is expressed by changes in the vowel pattern and syllable structure of the nominal stem, e.g.  $\rho\omega\text{C}$  (singular) 'garment' vs.  $\rho\omega\omega\text{C}$  (plural) 'garments'.
- (iii) Mixed plurals, which are derived by a combination of the plural marker  $\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  and internal, i.e. "broken" pluralization, e.g.  $\text{CON}$  (singular) 'brother, monk' vs.  $\text{C}\text{NH}\mu\epsilon$  (plural) 'brothers',  $\rho\omega\text{B}$  (singular) 'thing' vs.  $\rho\omega\text{B}\mu\epsilon$  (plural) 'things',  $\rho\omega\text{I}$  (singular) 'ship' vs.  $\rho\omega\text{H}\mu\epsilon$  (plural) 'ships' (with loss of the word-final  $\text{-}\epsilon$ ).

Some additional examples for each pluralization pattern are given in table 2.1:

PLURALIZATION PATTERN	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
PLURAL SUFFIX -οϣε	ΡΗΕΙΗ	ΡΗΕΙΟΟϣε	tear
	ΡΡΟ	ΡΡΩΟϣ	king
	ΤΕΝΗ	ΤΕΝΟΟϣε	cattle
	CΠΡ	CΠΡΟΟϣε	rip
BROKEN PLURALS	CΝΑΖ	CΝΑΥΖ	fetter
	ΕΙΩΤ	ΕΙΟΤΕ	father
	ΑΝΑΨ	ΑΝΑΥΨ	oath
	ΖΤΟ	ΖΤΩΡ	horse
	ΖΑΛΗΤ	ΖΑΛΑΤΕ	bird
	ΖΙΜΕ	ΖΙΟΜΕ	woman
MIXED PLURALS	ΧΟΕΙC	ΧΙCΟΟϣε	lord
	ΧΛΧΕ	ΧΙΧΕϣ(ε)	enemy
	ΑΜΡΕ	ΑΜΡΗΥ	baker

TABLE 2.1 Irregular plurals

Whenever such irregular plural nouns appear with a determiner, grammatical number is encoded twice: once on the definite or indefinite article and once on the nominal stem itself, e.g. Ν-ΕΧΗΥ 'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118), Ν-ΑΜΗΥ 'the shepherds' (praec. Pach. 108), ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC 'the kings (ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ) of the Persians (Ν-Ν-ΠΕΡCOC)' (Eud. 42:18).

It is possible for some frequently occurring Greek nouns like ΦΥΧΗ 'soul' and ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ 'letter' to combine with the remnant Egyptian plural suffix -οϣε, e.g. ΜΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΤΕ ΝΝΕΦΥΧΟΟϣε ΤΗΡΟΥ 'the dwelling (Ν-ΨΩΠΤΕ) places (Μ-ΜΑ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) souls (Ν-ΝΕ-ΦΥΧΟΟϣε)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), Ν-ΕΠ[ΙC]ΤΟΛΟΟϣε 'the letters' (Camb.7:10-11).

## 2.2 The determiner system

The Coptic determiner system makes a three-way distinction between a definite, an indefinite and a zero article. Each determiner says something about the informational status of the noun phrase it modifies: whether it refers to an already known or familiar discourse entity or rather someone or something mentioned for the first time.

Both the definite and the indefinite article are bound morphemes that form a prosodic unit with the following noun. For this reason, they are not susceptible to stress assignment. The complete paradigm of the Sahidic pronominal articles is shown in table 2.2.

	INDEFINITE ARTICLE	DEFINITE ARTICLE	"BARE" NOUNS
SINGULAR MASCULINE	οϣ- /w-/ , /u-/ -ϣ- / -ϣ/	Πε- /pe-/ Π- /pə-/ , /p-/	∅
SINGULAR FEMININE	οϣ- /w-/ , /u-/ -ϣ- / -ϣ/	τε- /te-/ τ- /tə-/ , /t-/	∅
PLURAL	Ζεν- /hen-/ Ζν- /hən-/ /n- /	νε- /ne-/ Ν- /nə-/ , /ən-/ /n- /	∅

TABLE 2.2 Pronominal articles

The definite article has three forms, encoding the features [gender] and [number]. The indefinite article, on the other hand, has only two forms, one for the singular and one for the plural. The singular form οϣ- is derived from the numeral 'one' οϣΑ (masc.), οϣΕΙ (fem.), while the corresponding plural Ζεν- represents a phonologically reduced form of the quantifier ΖΟΙΝΕ 'some'. Next to the definite and indefinite article, there are so-called "bare" nouns that lack a determiner altogether. Yet, they receive a specific semantic interpretation. For this reason, one might think of "bare" nouns as being determined by a zero article (indicated as ∅), i.e. an article that has no phonological realization.

### 2.1.1 Allomorphic variation

As we can see from table 2.2 above, the definite and the indefinite article come in two varieties: full forms and phonologically reduced ones, where the characteristic vowel is reduced or entirely lost. These alternative forms of one and the same morpheme are called allomorphs. The factors underlying the selection of the various allomorphs of the definite and indefinite article will be presented in this section.

### 2.2.1.1 Full vs. reduced forms of the definite article

The definite articles  $\pi\epsilon-$  ( $p\epsilon-$ ),  $\tau\epsilon-$  ( $t\epsilon-$ ),  $\nu\epsilon-$  ( $n\epsilon-$ ), already weak and unstressed, can be further reduced to  $\pi-$ ,  $\tau-$ ,  $\nu-$ , where the latter forms represent different degrees of reduction, namely syllabic  $p\bar{\epsilon}$ -,  $t\bar{\epsilon}$ -,  $n\bar{\epsilon}$ - ( $\bar{\epsilon}$  =  $\bar{\epsilon}n$ -) or mono-consonantal  $p-$ ,  $t-$ ,  $n-$ . The selection of the appropriate allomorph depends on the word-initial segment of the determined noun:

- (i) The mono-consonantal allomorphs  $\pi-$  ( $p-$ ),  $\tau-$  ( $t-$ ),  $\nu-$  ( $n-$ ) appear, as a rule, pre-vocalically: (sing. masc.)  $\pi\text{-}\eta\iota$  'the house' (praec. et inst. Pach. 33:30),  $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\tau$   $\lambda\alpha\omega\upsilon\tau$  'the month ( $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\tau$ ) Hathor' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:8-9),  $\pi\text{-}\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'the angel' (Test. Is. 230:1),  $\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  'the division' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20); (sing. fem.)  $\tau\text{-}\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$  'the church' (Hil. 2:22),  $\tau\text{-}\rho\eta\eta\eta\eta\ \mu\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'the peace ( $\tau\text{-}\rho\eta\eta\eta\eta$ ) of my Lord ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ )' (Test. Is. 230:10),  $\nu\text{-}\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (Test. Is. 233:18), (plural)  $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\alpha\mu\bar{\rho}\eta\gamma$  'the bakers' (praec. Pach. 117),  $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma$  'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118).
- (ii) The syllabic forms  $\bar{\pi}\text{-}/\pi\text{-}$  ( $p\bar{\epsilon}$ -),  $\bar{\tau}\text{-}/\tau\text{-}$  ( $t\bar{\epsilon}$ -),  $\bar{\nu}\text{-}/\nu\text{-}$  ( $n\bar{\epsilon}$ -,  $\bar{\epsilon}n$ -) (with a reduced vocalic nucleus / $\bar{\epsilon}$ /) generally appear pre-consonantly: (sing. masc.)  $\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  'god' (V. Pach. 2:2) (var.  $\bar{\pi}\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  (Test. Is. 228:11),  $\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'the Lord' (V. Pach. 2:4),  $\pi\text{-}\rho\eta$  'the sun' (praec. Pach. 103),  $\pi\text{-}\tau\eta\mu\epsilon$  'the village' (V. Pach. 1:24); (sing. fem.)  $\tau\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron$  'the kingdom' (Hil. 2:3),  $\tau\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\pi\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$  'the mother ( $\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma$ ) of the sailor ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ )' (Ac. A&P 194:4),  $\bar{\tau}\text{-}\pi\alpha\omega\epsilon\ \nu\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$  'half ( $\bar{\tau}\text{-}\pi\alpha\omega\epsilon$ ) the night ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\omega\eta$ )' (Test. Is. 231:30); (plural)  $\bar{\nu}\omicron\iota\chi\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\pi}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  'the hands ( $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\omicron\iota\chi$ ) of God ( $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\bar{\pi}\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ )' (Test. Is. 231:1),  $\nu\text{-}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'the righteous ones' (Test. Is. 234:26),  $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\rho\epsilon\varsigma\varphi\text{-}\epsilon\rho\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$  'the sinners' (Test. Is. 234:27), (assimilated form  $\mu\text{-}$ )  $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$  'heaven' (Test. Is. 233:18).
- (iii) It should be kept in mind that the bi-phonemic graphemes  $\phi$  and  $\theta$  may represent a sequence of two consonants, comprising the reduced singular masculine and feminine forms  $\pi-$  ( $p\bar{\epsilon}$ -) and  $\tau-$  ( $t\bar{\epsilon}$ -) of the definite article and a following noun with a word-initial *hori*  $\zeta$ : (sing. masc.)  $\phi\omega\beta$  'the affair' ( $\pi + \zeta\omega\beta$  'thing, matter') (V. Pach. 1:7) (var.

$\pi\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$  'the affair' (Hil. 3:20)), but  $\pi\text{-}\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'the holy'; (sing. fem.)  $\theta\gamma\lambda\eta$  'the fire wood' (<  $\tau-$  +  $\zeta\gamma\lambda\eta$  'firewood') (Test. Is. 232:27),  $\nu\theta\epsilon$  'in the manner' (<  $\nu$  'in' +  $\tau-$  +  $\zeta\epsilon$  'manner').

- (iv) The full forms of the definite article  $\pi\epsilon-$  ( $p\epsilon-$ ),  $\tau\epsilon-$  ( $t\epsilon-$ ),  $\nu\epsilon-$  ( $n\epsilon-$ ) must be selected in the context of complex onsets, when the determined noun begins with a cluster of two or more consonants: (sing. masc.)  $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\rho\omicron$  'the shore' (Ac. A&P 194:5),  $\pi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$   $\nu\tau\mu\eta\tau\mu\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\rho\varsigma$  'the crown ( $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$ ) of the martyrdom ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\rho\varsigma$ )' (KHML II 30:22); (sing. fem.)  $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omega\ \mu\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'the teaching ( $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega$ ) of this imposter ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\pi\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ )' (Ac. A&P 196:36); (plural)  $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$  'the brothers (i.e. the monks)' (V. Pach. 95:18),  $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\gamma\eta$  'the tools' (V. Pach. 6:9).
- (v) The bi-phonemic letters  $\phi$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\chi$  and  $\psi$  count as consonant clusters of ( $\pi + \zeta$ ), ( $\tau + \zeta$ ), ( $\kappa + \zeta$ ) and ( $\pi + \varsigma$ ), respectively, so that the full forms  $\pi\epsilon\text{-}/\tau\epsilon\text{-}/\nu\epsilon\text{-}$  are selected: (sing. masc.)  $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'the lamp' (Mena, Enc. 43a:24); (sing. fem.)  $\tau\epsilon\chi[\omega\rho]\lambda\ \nu\eta\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$  'the land ( $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omega\rho\lambda$ ) of the Mariôtians ( $\nu\text{-}\eta\eta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$ )' (Mena, Mir. 2a:11-12); (plural)  $\nu\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha\ \nu\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$  'the gifts ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$ ) of healing ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$ )' (Mena, Enc. 36b:13-14),  $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\phi\gamma\chi\eta$  'the souls' (V. Pach. 1:9), similarly  $\zeta\rho-$  (for Greek  $\rho$ ), e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'the riparius' (KHML II 29:17).

The main distributional patterns considered so far are summarized in table 2.3:

DETERMINED NOUN	ALLOMORPH	EXAMPLE
BEFORE VOWEL [ <sub>noun</sub> V]	$\pi-$ / $p-$ /, $\tau-$ / $t-$ /, $\nu-$ / $n-$ /	$\pi\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\tau$ the month
BEFORE SINGLE CONSONANT [ <sub>noun</sub> C]	$\pi-$ / $p\bar{\epsilon}$ -/, $\tau-$ / $t\bar{\epsilon}$ -/, $\nu-$ / $n\bar{\epsilon}$ -/	$\pi\text{-}\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ the sailor
BEFORE CONSONANT CLUSTER [ <sub>noun</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ]	$\pi\epsilon-$ , $\tau\epsilon-$ , $\nu\epsilon-$	$\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$ the crown

TABLE 2.3. The distribution of allomorphic forms the definite article





### 2.2.2.1 Definite noun phrases

In Coptic, as in many other languages, the definite article is used to express the idea that the referent of the determined noun phrase is known or familiar to the addressee and hence accessible for recall. The main functions and contextual uses of the definite article are the following:

#### a) Anaphoric use

The definite article is used when some item introduced earlier is referred to again. Consider the following discourse fragment: (once some people came into the region of Thebes to a (certain) *old monk* (ΟΥΖΛΛΟ) with someone possessed by a demon in their company, so that he (the old monk) may heal him) ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΚΩΡΩ ΕΡΟΦ ΜΜΑΤΕ (...) '*the old monk* (ΠΖΛΛΟ), when they beseeched (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΡΩ) him (ΕΡΟ-Φ) very much (ΜΜΑΤΕ) (...) (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12). In this example, the definite noun phrase ΠΖΛΛΟ 'the old monk' refers to the main protagonist, who has been introduced for the first time in the opening sequence of the narrative. Roughly the same situation obtains in the next example, where the definite noun phrase ΠΡΡΟ 'the king' (i.e. the Byzantine emperor Zeno) refers to a discourse participant that was mentioned several times in the preceding paragraph: ΠΡΡΟ ΔΕ ΝΕΜΝΤΦ ΨΗΡΕ ΝΖΟΥΤ '*the king* (Π-ΡΡΟ) had no (ΝΕ-ΜΝ-Τ-Φ) male (Ν-ΖΟΥΤ) child (ΨΗΡΕ)' (Hil.2:4-5). Not only individuals but also locations may be referred to anaphorically by means of the definite article. In this case, the definite noun phrase refers to the main location of the narrative plot, e.g. ΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ 'let's go (ΜΑΡΟ-Ν) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-) *the city* (Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)' (Ac. A&P 196:29).

#### b) General knowledge

When the definite article is used anaphorically, the referent of the determined noun phrase can usually be found in the preceding discourse. The definite article may, however, also be used with reference to the extra-linguistic context. In the latter case, the determined noun is inherently unique denoting someone or something of which there is only one, for instance, Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ 'God' or Π-ΚΟΣΜΟΣ 'the world'. The familiarity or accessibility of the referent of inherently

unique nouns stems from the general knowledge of the world and a shared cultural background. Particularly common are:

- Cosmological phenomena, e.g. Π-ΟΟΖ 'the moon' (Hil. 1:9), Π-ΡΗ 'the sun' (Hil. 1:8), 'heaven' (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΜ) *earth* (Π-ΚΑΖ) (Abbatôn 231:32),
- Concepts that relate to the religious sphere, e.g. ΠΕ-Χ̄C 'Christ' (Eud. 42:17), Π-ΧΟΕΙC 'the Lord' (Hil. 2:19), ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-Π̄Ν̄Α)' (Hil. 13:15), Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΥΛΟΣ 'the devil' (Onnophr. 207:14), Π-ΧΑΧΕ 'the enemy' (Onnophr. 207:24), Τ-ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ 'the Church' (Hil. 1:22), Τ-ΠΑΛΙΑ 'the Old (Testament)' (Hil. 1:13),
- Toponyms, e.g. Θ̄ΙΧ̄Η (< Τ-ΖΙΕΡΟΣΑΛΗΜ) 'Jerusalem' (Eud. 58:18), Π-ΒΥCΑΝΤΙΟΝ 'Byzantium' (Hil. 4:28), Τ-ΠΑΕΙΑΤ 'Paeiat' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:14), Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC '(the) Paradise' (Abbatôn 237:13), Π-ΝΟΥΝ 'the Abyss' (Ac. A&P 198:73). There are some noteworthy exceptions which are left undetermined, e.g. ΚΗΜΕ 'Egypt' (Hil. 5:20), ΡΑΚΟΤΕ 'Alexandria' (Hil. 3:26), ΨΗΤ 'Sketis' (Hil. 7:8), ΑΜΝΤΕ 'Hell' (Ac. A&P 202:119).
- Time-indicating nouns, e.g. ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΨΗ 'day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) and (ΜΝ) night (ΤΕ-ΨΗ)' (Abbatôn 232:11).

#### c) Generic definites

The definite article may also determine generic noun phrases. Generic noun phrases are those which refer to an entire class of entities or objects, rather than a particular member thereof, e.g. ΛΦΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΝΕΘΥΡΙΟΝ (for ΘΗΡΙΟΝ) ΜΝ ΝΧΑΤΒΕ ΜΝ ΝΤΒΝΟΥΕ ΜΝ ΝΖΑΛΑ[ΑΤΕ](...) 'he (God) created (Λ-Φ-ΤΑΜΙΟ) *the beasts* (ΝΕ-ΘΥΡΙΟΝ) and (ΜΝ) *the reptiles* (Ν-ΧΑΤΒΕ), *the cattle* (Ν-ΤΒΝΟΥΕ) and (ΜΝ) *the birds* (Ν-ΖΑΛΑΤΕ) (...)' (Abbatôn 232:4-5), ΤΝΑΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΠΕΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡΦ ΝΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC 'I will annihilate (Τ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Φ) race (Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of *the Christians* (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (Eud. 36:6-7), CΑΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ 'remove yourself (CΑΖΩ-Κ) from (ΕΒΟΛ Ν-) *the idols* (Ν-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13).

Generic noun phrases are often used to express generalizations about a class as a whole, e.g. **ΕΠΙΔΗ ΖΗΡΕΦΩΤΟΡΤΡ** (for **ΖΗΡΕΦΩΤΟΡΤΡ**) **ΝΕ ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝ** (for **ΖΗ**) **ΤΕΥΦΥΣΙΣ** 'for (ΕΠΙΔΗ) women (ΝΕ-ΖΙΟΜΕ) (are) by (ΖΕΝ) their nature (ΤΕΥ-ΦΥΣΙΣ) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (ΖΗ-ΡΕΦ-ΩΤΟΡΤΡ))' (Hil.11:35-12:1), **ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΖΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ** (for **ΖΕΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ**) **ΝΕ** 'the gods (Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the pagans (Ν-Ν-ΖΕΘΝΟC) (are) demons (ΖΗ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ)' (KHML I 3:12-4:1). Definite singular noun phrases may receive a kind-referring interpretation, too, for instance in comparisons, e.g. **ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΖΡΟΟΥ Ο ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΖΡΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΖΡΟΥΒΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΕ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) its (the river's) noise (ΠΕΦ-ΖΡΟΟΥ) was (ΕΡΕ ... Ο) in the manner of (ΝΘΕ the noise (Η-ΠΕ-ΖΡΟΟΥ) of a thunder-stroke (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΡΟΥΒΑΙ) of (ΝΤΕ) heaven (Τ-ΠΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:23-24).

#### d) Non-specific definites

Definite noun phrases may have a non-specific interpretation, when the speaker has no particular individual in mind, but any arbitrary member of the class described by the noun phrase, e.g. **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΝΑΘΩΠΤ ΝCΑ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΕΦΒΗΚ ΝΕΜΤΩ ΝΦΤΜΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ** 'who (ΝΙΜ) (is) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) who will watch (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΘΩΠΤ ΝCΑ) his son (ΠΕΦ-ΩΗΡΕ) going (Ε-Φ-ΒΗΚ) to drown (Ν-ΕΜΤΩ) and would not help (Ν-Φ-ΤΜ-ΒΟΗΘΕΙ) him (ΕΡΟ-Φ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), **ΕΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΕΤΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΨΤΕΚΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙC (...)** 'to release (Ε-ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) who had been locked up (ΕΤ-ΟΤΠ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ) prisons (Ε-ΝΕ-ΨΤΕΚΟ) in every place (ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ) and (ΑΥΩ) every city (ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙC)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:11-15), **ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΒΕ ΕΜΠΟΥΧΟΟΥΦ ΨΑ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΟΥΕΕΙΗ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΑΜΗΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ** 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall go (ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) an enclosure (for sheep) (Ε-ΡΒΕ) who has not been sent (Ε-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΧΟΟΥ-Φ), including (ΨΑ ΖΡΑΙ) the farmers (Ε-Ν-ΟΥΕΙΗ), with the exception of (ΕΙΜΗΤΙ) the shepherds (Ν-ΑΜΗΥ) alone (ΜΜΑΤΕ)' (praec. Pach. 108), **ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΛ[Γ]ΟΝΙΖΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΕΚΕΟΥΙ 'Ι** (ΑΝΟΚ) myself (ΖΩ) will fight (ΤΑ-ΛΟΝΙΖΕ) a little longer (Ν-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) with (ΜΝ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

#### e) Vocatives

Vocatives are noun phrases or pronouns used in direct address. In Coptic Egyptian, vocatives are always definite noun phrases, e.g. **ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΦΧΕ ΚΗCΟΥΤΗ ΤΑΖΗ (...)** 'Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC), God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ), if (ΕΦΧΕ) you want to direct (Κ-ΝΑ-CΟΥΤΗ) my way (ΤΑ-ΖΗ) (...)' (Hil. 2:19-20). Sometimes the vocative particle (Ⲱ) 'oh' accompanies the definite noun phrase, e.g. **ΚCΜΑΜΑΛΤ ΝΤΟΚ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'you are blessed (Κ-CΜΑΜΑΛΤ), you (ΝΤΟΚ), oh (Ω) man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), **ΝCΕCΩΤΗ ΝCΩ Ω ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΝCΑΒΗ** 'and they will listen (Ν-CΕ-CΩΤΗ) to you (ΝCΩ), oh (Ω) wise (Ν-CΑΒΗ) virgin (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC)' (Eud. 54:15).

#### 2.2.2.2 Indefinite noun phrases

Whereas in the case of definite noun phrases the speaker assumes that the addressee is familiar with what is being referred to, with indefinite noun phrases, no such familiarity on the part of addressee is presupposed. Rather, the speaker indicates that the referent of the noun phrase is not identifiable to the addressee.

#### a) Specific indefinites

Indefinite noun phrases fall into two classes, specific and non-specific indefinites. While specific indefinites refer to someone or something familiar to the speaker, non-specific indefinites refer to any arbitrary member of the kind, exemplar or species designated by the head noun. The specific use of indefinite noun phrases is particularly evident in existential-locative sentences, which introduce a new participant on stage and make him available for recall in the subsequent discourse, e.g. **ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ [ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ] ΠΕ ΕΥ[ΤΡΟΠΙΟC] ΕΥ[ΡΗΜΑΟ ΕΜΑΤ]Ε ΠΕ** '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) furthermore (ΟΝ) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ), whose name (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Eutropius, who (was) a very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) rich man (Ε-Υ-ΡΗΜΑΟ)' (Mena, Mir., 17a:30-17b:4), **[ΝΕΥ]ΝΤΕ ΠΡΡΟ [ΚΩ]CΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΟΥCΩΝΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΧΙΑ ΕCΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙΝ ΠΕCΧΠΟ** 'King (Π-ΠΡΟ) Constantine had (ΝΕ-ΥΝΤΕ) a virgin (Η-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) sister (ΟΥ-CΩΝΕ), whose name (Ε-ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) (was)



### 2.2.2.3 "Bare" nouns

Unlike the definite and indefinite noun phrases considered so far, zero-determined "bare" nouns show a somewhat idiomatic use and appear only in sentence constructions.

#### a) Specific indefinites

Zero-determined "bare" nouns never admit a specific interpretation, where reference is made to a particular entity or object, the main exception being time-indicating nouns like *ztooye* 'dawn' or *royze* 'evening', e.g. *ntere ztooye de wope* (...) 'when (ntere) dawn (ztooye) had risen (wope) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-11), *xin royze wa ztooye* 'from (xin) sunset (royze) to (wa) dawn (ztooye)' (V. Pach. 2:3).

#### b) Non-specific indefinites

The non-specific interpretation of "bare" nouns is particularly evident in negative existential sentences, which express the idea that there is not a single instance or exemplar of particular kind, e.g. *mn con npeima* '(there) is no (mn) brother (con) in (m-) this place (pei-ma)' (Onnophr. 205:19), *mn noyte nca ntok papollwn* '(there) is no (mn) god (noyte) except (nca) you (ntok) Apollōn (p-apollwn)' (KHML II 33:16-17).

Roughly the same negative meaning is conveyed by the prepositions *noyewn* and *axn* 'without' that likewise assert the absence of a particular item or state of affairs and are therefore combined with a "bare" noun, e.g. *noyewn raztoy zi toloomwn* 'without (noyewn) pellis (raztoy) and (zi) telamōn (toloomwn) (two monastic garments)' (praec. Pach. 91), *axn tww* 'without (axn) order (tww)' (praec. Pach. 127), *axn woxne zi cbw* 'without (axn) plan (woxne) and (zi) knowledge (cbw)' (Camb. 8:18).

In affirmative sentences, on the other hand, zero-determined mass nouns indicate an unspecified quantity, e.g. *axxi wkaκ ewol* (...) *etbe mooy* 'they cried out (axxi wkaκ ewol) (...) for (etbe) water (mooy)' (Eud. 46:2-4), *nqtmē oyzhke noeik* (...) 'and he shall nourish (n-q-tme) a poor (man) (oy-zhke) with bread (n-oeik) (...)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

#### c) Generic "bare" nouns

The kind-referring use of "bare" nouns can be observed in comparisons and enumerations, e.g. *axlypei men zwc pome n-biwotikos* 'he (Zeno) grieved (ax-lypei) like (zwc) a man (pome) of this world (n-biwotikos)' (Hil. 13:5), *tenoy de tenozai noyon nim etwopi zn tenmntppo eite strathlathc eite kwmic eite apwn e[ite] d[oyz]* (...) 'now (tenoy) we write (ten-czai) to everybody (n-oyon nim) who lives (et-wopi) in (zn) our kingdom (ten-mnt-ppo), whether (eite) commander (strathlathc) or (eite) comes (kwmic), whether (eite) ruler (apwn) or (eite) dux (doyz) (...)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:28-2b:2).

#### d) "Bare" nouns used as nominal predicates

"Bare" nouns may assume a predicative function as the complements of the locative-identificational preposition *n-* 'as', e.g. *tnataaq nhtn nwhre zn tamntppo* 'I will place him (t-na-taa-q) for you (nh-tn) as a child (n-whre) in (zn) my kingdom (ta-mntppo)' (Test. Is. 236:1), *aqaan nxoeic exn som nim* 'he (the Lord) made us (ax-aa-n) masters (n-xoeic) over every (nim) power (e-som)' (Ac. A&P 198:70), (this man that you see right now) *eqo nxahe mn peitoywq* 'he was (e-q-o) an enemy (n-xahe) with (mn) his neighbour (peitoywq)' (Test. Is. 234:13). The predicative function can also be observed in the context of light-verb constructions, so called because the verb has little or no semantic content, while its nominal complement constitutes the semantically meaningful predicate, e.g. *p zwb* 'to work (lit. to do (p) thing (zwb))', *t cbw* 'to teach (lit. to give (t) teaching (cbw))', *xi eoy* 'to be praised (lit. to receive (xi) praise (eoy))'. A more detailed discussion of this construction type will be offered in Unit 6.

## 2.3 The numeral system

### 2.3.1 Cardinal numbers

As we can see from table 2.4 below, Coptic numbers from 'one' to 'ten' have both a masculine and a feminine form, e.g. *cnay* (masc.) vs. *cnte* (fem.) 'two'. In addition, there is a special form for compound

of two numbers, e.g. ΜΗΤΕΝΟΟΥΣ ‘twelve’ (< ΜΗΤΕ ‘ten’ + ΕΝΑΥ ‘two’). There is no word for ‘zero’.

	MASCULINE FORM	FEMININE FORM	COMPOUND FORM
1	ΟΥΑ	ΟΥΕΙ	-ΟΥΕ(Ι)
2	ΕΝΑΥ	ΕΝΤΕ	-ΕΝΟΟΥΣ(Ε)
3	ΨΟΜΝΤ	ΨΟΜΤΕ	-ΨΟΜΤΕ, ΨΜΝΤ, ΨΜΤ
4	ΨΤΟΟΥ	ΨΤΟΕ	-ΨΤΕ
5	ΨΟΥ	ΨΕ	-ΤΗ
6	ΕΞΟΥ	ΕΞ(Ε)	-ΕΞΕ
7	ΕΨΨ	ΕΨΨΕ	-ΕΨΨ(Ε)
8	ΨΜΟΥΝ	ΨΜΟΥΝΕ	-ΨΜΗΝΕ
9	ΨΙΤ (ΨΙΣ)	ΨΙΤΕ	-ΨΙΣ, -ΨΙΤΕ
10	ΜΗΤ	ΜΗΤΕ	ΜΗΤ- (before 1-9)
20	ΧΟΥΩΤ	ΧΟΥΩΤΕ	ΧΟΥΤ- (before 1-9)

TABLE 2.4 Cardinal numbers 1-10

The cardinal numbers from ‘thirty’ to ‘ten thousand’ have invariant forms: (30) ΜΑΛΒ, (40) ΖΜΕ, (50) ΤΑΙΟΥ, (60) ΣΕ, (70) ΨΨΕ, (80) ΖΜΕΝΕ, (90) ΠΣΤΑΙΟΥ, (100) ΨΕ, (200) ΨΗΤ, (1000) ΨΟ, (10.000) ΤΒΑ.

### 2.3.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers by adding the prefix ΜΕ2- in front of the cardinal number. Ordinal numbers are determined by the singular form of the definite article, e.g. ΤΜΕ2ΕΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ ‘the second (Τ-ΜΕ2-ΕΝΤΕ) trumpet (Ν-ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ)’ (Eud. 60:16-17), ΠΜΕ2ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΡΟ ‘the third (Π-ΜΕ2-ΨΟΜΝΤ) gate (Ν-ΡΟ)’ (Eud. 38:6), ΠΜΕ2ΨΤΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ‘the fourth (Π-ΜΕ2-ΨΤΟΟΥ) day (Ν-ΖΟΥ)’ (Onnophr. 209:34), ΠΜΕ2ΣΑΨΨ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ‘the seventh (Π-ΜΕ2-ΣΑΨΨ) angel (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ)’ (Abbatôn 233:9-10).

Special forms exist for the ‘first’ (sing. masc.) ΨΟΡΠ, (sing. fem.) ΨΟΡΠΕ and the ‘last’ (sing. masc.) ΖΑΕ, (sing. fem.) ΖΑΗ, (plural) ΖΑΕΕΥ. Thus, consider: ΠΨΟΡΠ ΜΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ‘that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) first (Π-ΖΑΕ) mystery (Μ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ)’ (Pist. Soph. 1:11), ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ ‘the first (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) torture (Ν-ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ)’ (Mena,

Enc. 52b:5-7), ΠΖΑΕ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ‘the last (Π-ΖΑΕ) mystery (Μ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ)’ (Pist. Soph. 1:12), ΘΑΗ ΝΤΕΨΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ‘the last (ΘΑΗ < Τ-ΖΑΗ) of his repentance (Ν-ΤΕΨ-ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ)’ (Pist. Soph. 268:17), Ν-ΖΑΕΕΥ ‘the last ones’ (Pist. Soph. 199:13).

### 2.3.3 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions like ΨΟΥ ΝΟΕΙΚ ‘five (loaves of) bread’ (Onnophr. 218:20) are complex noun phrases consisting of two elements: the numeral ΨΟΥ ‘five’ and the enumerated item ΟΕΙΚ ‘bread’. The syntactic relation between both elements is indicated by the linking element Ν-. See figure 2.1 for further illustration.

NUMERAL	ENUMERATED ITEM	
	LINKAGE MARKER	“BARE” NOUN
ΨΟΥ five	Ν-	ΟΕΙΚ bread

FIGURE 2.1 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions belong to the class of partitive constructions, describing the partition of a contextually or situationally given set of items. Both the numeral and the enumerated item are normally left undetermined, e.g. ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΨΟ ΝΕΡΤΟΒ ΝΣΟΥΟ (...) ΜΝ ΣΟΥΨ ΝΨΕ ΝΖΕΣΤΗΣ ΝΝΕ2 ‘three (ΨΟΜΝΤ) thousand (Ν-ΨΟ) artabes (a grain measure) (Ν-ΕΡΤΟΒ) of wheat (Ν-ΣΟΥΟ) (...) and (ΜΝ) six (ΣΟΥΨ) hundred (Ν-ΨΕ) pints (Ν-ΖΕΣΤΗΣ) of oil (Ν-ΝΕ2)’ (Hil. 12:14-16), ΨΜΤΨΕΣΕΤΗ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ‘three hundred sixty five (ΨΜΤ-ΨΕ-ΣΕ-ΤΗ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ)’ (Eud. 54:6). When the numeral is determined, the singular forms of the definite article must be chosen. This shows that cardinal numbers are grammatically singular nouns, e.g. ΑΝΤΨΟΥΝ ΜΠΨΤΟΟΥ ‘the four of us stood up (lit. we stood up (Α-Ν-ΤΨΟΥΝ) as the four (Μ-Π-ΨΤΟΟΥ)’ (Onnophr. 220:23), ΝΣΑ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΝΤΕ ‘except (ΝΣΑ) the two of them (lit. they (ΝΤΟΟΥ) as the two (Ν-Τ-ΕΝΤΕ)’ (Hil. 7:29), ΝΑΠΨΜΕ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ‘the inhabitants of (ΝΑ-) those (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) two (ΕΝΑΥ) villages (Π-ΨΜΕ)’ (KHML II 52:21-22).

The numeral ‘two’ (sing. masc) ΕΝΑΥ, (sing. fem.) ΕΝΤΕ is juxtaposed to the enumerated item, e.g. ΠΕΨΒΑΛ ΕΝΑΥ ‘his two (ΕΝΑΥ) eyes (ΠΕΨ-ΒΑΛ) (Eud. 36:23), ΨΕΕΡΕ ΕΝΤΕ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ ‘two (ΕΝΤΕ)

daughters (ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲥⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 7:28), ⲗⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲗⲉ ⲓⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲓⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲗⲉⲛⲉⲗⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲗⲓⲟⲕⲗⲁⲛⲉⲗⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'it happened. (ⲗ-ⲥ-ⲱⲡⲉ) in (ⲓⲛ) the second year (ⲧ-ⲙⲉⲓ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) of the government (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of Gaius Valentinianus (and) Diocletianus' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:13-19).

## 2.4 The pronominal system

Personal pronouns, as the name suggests, express person deixis and refer to various participants, present or absent, of the speech situation. Reference to grammatical person involves a threefold distinction between first person (reference to the speaker), second person (reference to the addressee) and third person (reference to a some person other than the speaker and the addressee). Grammatical person invariably combines with number. Thus, while first person plural denotes a plurality including the speaker and either the addressee or a third party, second person plural involves a plurality including the addressee and excluding the speaker.

### 2.4.1 Preliminary characterization

The pronominal system of Coptic Egyptian also encodes grammatical gender, though gender marking is restricted to second and third person singular pronouns. There is a general tendency in languages to employ phonologically or morphologically weak forms in the context of non-emphatic pronominal reference. In Sahidic Coptic, this weak-strong distinction is manifest in three series of pronominal elements, viz. (i) unstressed bound pronouns, which are incorporated into their host word (verbs, nouns, prepositions and certain types of functional elements) to form a single prosodic constituent, (ii) independent pronouns, which have word-like status, and (iii) pronominal clitics, which share certain properties with fully-fledged words, but lack the prosodic independence usually associated with words. In particular, pronominal clitics cannot stand alone, but have to be attached to a host word.

### 2.4.2 Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns come in two varieties, prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes precede and suffixes follow their prosodic host and never receive stress. The complete paradigm of bound pronouns is presented in table 2.5 (-∅ stands for a null morpheme, i.e. a morpheme that has no phonological content).

	PREFIX FORM	SUFFIX FORM
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ⲧ-, ⲧⲓ-	-ⲓ, -ⲧ, ∅
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲕ-	-ⲕ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ-, ⲧⲉⲣ-	-ⲧⲉ, -ⲉ, -∅
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ϥ-	-ϥ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲥ-	-ⲥ
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	ⲧⲉⲛ-, ⲧⲛ-	-ⲛ
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	-ⲧⲛ, -ⲧⲏⲧⲉⲛ
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	ⲥⲉ-	-ⲥⲉ, -ⲥⲟⲩ, -(ⲟ)ⲩ

TABLE 2.5 Bound pronouns

#### 2.4.2.1 Allomorphy

One can distinguish two classes of pronominal allomorphs. On the one hand, there are positional allomorphs, where bound pronouns of one and the same person, number and gender distinction take different forms depending on their syntactic position, e.g. the first person plural prefix ⲧⲛ- and suffix -ⲛ. On the other hand, there are phonologically conditioned allomorphs, cf. table 2.6 below.

1 <sup>st</sup> PERS. SING.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms $\tau$ - and $\pi$ -, e.g. $\tau$ -οὐϞω 'I want' (Hil. 3:19), $\pi$ -ἐπιϞομαι 'I desire' (Hil. 4:27), $\tau$ 2M ΠΙΜΑ ΑΝ 'I (am) ( $\tau$ -) not (ΑΝ) in (2M) this place (ΠΙ-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 144:2)	Suffix -ι after a single vowel ( __ V-ι), e.g. $\tau$ Α2Ο-ι 'to reach me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:26)
	Suffix -τ - after a consonant ( __ C-τ), e.g. $\tau$ Ο6-τ 'to deprive me' (Onnophr. 206:32) - after a geminated vowel ( __ VV-τ), e.g. $\tau$ ΚΑΑ-τ 'to leave me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:3)
	Null morpheme -∅ $\tau$ → -∅ / __ τ, e.g. $\tau$ ΕΝΤ (< ΕΝΤ + -τ) 'to bring me' (Test. Is. 234:22)
2 <sup>nd</sup> SING. FEM.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms $\tau$ - and $\tau$ ε-, e.g. $\tau$ -ΝΚΟΤΚ 'you sleep' (Eud. 50:23), $\tau$ ε-ΝΑ-ΠΙ6 'you will obey' (Mena, Mir. 29b:26)	Monosyllabic suffix -τε after a geminated vowel ( __ VV-τε), e.g. $\tau$ ΝΤΟ $\tau$ ΩΩΤε 'you (ΝΤΟ) (woman) yourself ( $\tau$ ΩΩ-τε)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:20-21)
	Vocalic suffix -ε after a consonant ( __ C-ε), e.g. $\tau$ ΝΑ2M-ε 'to save you (woman)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:17), $\tau$ ΧΙΤ-ε 'to take you (woman)' (Eud. 66:8)
	Vowel elision: $\alpha$ , $\eta$ → -∅ / __ ε, e.g. $\tau$ ΝΗΜε (< ΝΗΜΑ- + -ε) 'with you' (Mena, Mir. 29b:10), $\tau$ Νε (< ΝΑ- + -ε) 'for you' (Eud. 56:12)
	Vowel elision of the suffix -ε after $\omicron$ or $\omega$ : $\epsilon$ → -∅ / $\omicron$ , $\omega$ __, e.g. $\tau$ ΝCΩ (< ΝCΩ- + -ε) 'after you' (Eud. 54:15), $\tau$ ερo (< ερo- + -ε) 'to you' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22).

2 <sup>nd</sup> PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Bisyllabic prefix $\tau$ ετν-, e.g. $\tau$ ετν-ΠΙ6 'you obey' (Ac. A&P 196:39)	Monosyllabic suffix -τν - after a vowel ( __ V -τν), e.g. $\tau$ ΝΗ-τν 'for you' (Ac. A&P 206:157), $\tau$ ε-τρε-τν-ΒΑΠΤΙΖε ΜΜΟΝ 'in order that you baptize us (ΜΜΟ-Ν)' (Ac. A&P 212:236-237) - triggers the raising of the internal vowel of some prepositions: $\alpha$ / $\alpha$ / → $\eta$ / $\epsilon$ /, $\omicron$ / $\omega$ / → $\omega$ / $\omega$ /, e.g. $\tau$ ΝΗ-τν 'for you', $\tau$ ερω-τν 'to you'
	Bisyllabic suffix -τντν - after consonants ( __ C -τντν) (no cluster reduction), e.g. $\tau$ Ν2ΗΤ-τντν 'in you' (Zen. 199:26) - after vowels ( __ V-τντν), e.g. $\tau$ Α2ε-τντν 'remove yourselves' (Eud. 46:23)
3 <sup>rd</sup> PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Variable position pronoun $\tau$ ε, which appears either a prefix, as in $\tau$ ε-ΧΩ 'they speak' (Ac. A&P 208:190), $\tau$ ε-ΝΗΜΑ-Ν 'they (are) with us' (Eud. 44:18) or as a suffix, e.g. $\tau$ ΧΟΟΥ- $\tau$ ε 'to send them' (praec. Pach. 129)	Suffix -ογ - surfaces as a vowel after consonant, e.g. $\tau$ ΗΡ-ογ / $\tau$ εr-w/ 'they all' (praec. Pach 103) - surfaces as a glide after the vowels ογ, $\omicron$ and $\omega$ , e.g. $\tau$ ΝΑΝΟΥ-ογ / $\tau$ anu-w/ 'they are good' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:31), e.g. $\tau$ Ω-ογ / $\tau$ ho-w/ 'themselves' (Eud. 46:24), $\tau$ ερo-ογ / $\tau$ er $\omega$ -w/ 'to them' (Eud. 42:20) - diphthong formation after the vowels $\alpha$ , $\epsilon$ , $\eta$ , e.g. $\tau$ ΚΑΑ-γ (< ΚΑΑ + -ογ) 'to leave them' (Eud. 40:9), $\tau$ Νε-γ-ΜΟΟϞε (< Νε- + -ογ) 'they marched' (Eud. 44:27)
	Suffix -Cογ, e.g. $\tau$ ΑΡΙ-Cογ 'make them!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34)

TABLE 2.6 The distribution of pronominal allomorphs



### 2.4.2.2 Syntactic distribution

Bound pronouns are selected in the context of non-emphatic pronominal reference. They exhibit a broad syntactic distribution.

#### a) The complementary distribution between nouns and pronouns

Bound pronouns may appear in all nominal positions of verbal and adverbial clauses. Since nouns and pronouns occupy the same syntactic position, the selection of one automatically excludes the selection of the other: (pronominal subject) **ΑΧΧΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΜ** 'he (the abbot) sent (α-**q**-**χουq**) (a message) to our father (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachôm' (V. Pach.144:24), (pronominal direct object) **ΕΧΟΚΜΕ-q** 'to wash *him* (ε-**χοκμε-q**)' (praec. Pach. 93), (pronominal indirect object) **Αq† ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΑ ΕΤΡΕΥΟΥΩΖ ΝΖΗΤq** 'he (Αρα Ραμβδ) gave (α-**q**-**†**) *them* (ΝΑ-Υ) a place (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΑ) to stay (ε-**τρε-γ-ουωz**)' (Hil. 5:30), (pronominal object of prepositions) **ΝΖΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΝ** 'in you' (Zen. 199:26), (pronominal possessor) **ΡΝΤ-κ** 'your name' (KHML II 31:15), **ΡΑΤ-q** 'his foot' (praec. Pach. 117), **ΡΩ-q** 'his mouth' (Eud. 38:27) (only in a handful of nouns expressing inalienable possession).

#### b) Reflexive use

A reflexive interpretation is obtained when the sentence subject and the pronominal object refer to the same individual, e.g. **ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥCΟΝ ΔΕ ΨΟΟΘΕq** 'if (ε**ρψαν**) a brother (ΟΥ-**σον**) has wounded *himself* (ΨΟΟΘΕ-**q**) (...)' (praec. Pach. 105), **ΤΑΩCΤ ΜΜΟΙ** 'and I strangle (τα-**ωστ**) *myself* (ΜΜΟ-**ι**)' (Ac. A&P 202:103).

#### c) Cross-reference

The univocal (ALL) quantifier **ΤΗΡ-** 'every' and the focus marking emphatic reflexives **ΖΩ-** '-self' and **ΜΑΥΑΛΤ-** 'alone' have an obligatory pronominal complement or co-pronoun, which agrees in person, number and gender with a preceding noun or pronoun, e.g. **ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΚΗΜΕ ΤΗΡq** 'throughout (ε**βολ** **ζιτν**) *all* (ΤΗΡ-**q**) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (Camb. 9:18), **ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩΚ ΨΟΧΝΕ** 'Consider (ΨΟΧΝΕ) (for) you (ΝΤΟΚ) *yourself* (ΖΩ-**κ**)' (Camb. 9:11-12). We will return to quantificational expressions in Unit 4.

### 2.4.3 Independent pronouns

Bound and independent pronouns are used in different syntactic environments. A syntactic context that is compatible with one set of pronouns is generally incompatible with the other. Independent pronouns fall into two classes: freestanding pronouns with word-like status and prosodically dependent pronominal clitics. This subdivision gives rise to pairs like **ΑΝΟΚ** (independent pronoun) vs. **ΑΝΓ** (clitic) 'I'.

#### 2.4.3.1 The "mixed" paradigms of independent pronouns and clitics

Independent pronouns, such as **ΑΝΟΚ** 'I', are free morphemes, which are written as separate words. Since independent pronouns are prosodic and syntactic constituents in their own right, they are always stressed. This contrasts with the corresponding clitics, which are left unstressed and are phonologically dependent on some host word. As a result, the characteristic vowel **ο** /**ɔ**/ (var. **ω** /**ɔ**/) of independent pronouns is either replaced by the default vowel **ε** /**e**/ in the corresponding clitic, as in **ΝΤΕ** /**nte**/ (< **ΝΤΟ** /**nt'ɔ**/) 'you (sing. fem.)', or reduced to schwa, as in **ΝΤΚ** /**ən.tək**/ (< **ΝΤΟΚ** /**ən.tɔk**/) 'you (sing. masc.)', or disappears entirely from the phonological representation, as in **ΑΝΓ** /**an**/ 'I' (< **ΑΝΟΚ** /**a.n'ɔk**/). The morphological paradigms of independent pronouns and pronominal clitics are presented in table 2.7. (A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots).

	INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS	CLITICS
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	<b>ΑΝΟΚ</b> /a.n'ok/	<b>ΑΝΓ</b> /an/
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	<b>ΝΤΟΚ</b> /ən.t'ok/	<b>ΝΤΚ</b> /ən.tək/
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	<b>ΝΤΟ</b> /ən. t'o/	<b>ΝΤΕ</b> /ən.te/
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	<b>ΝΤΟq</b> /ən. t'of/	<b>ΠΕ</b> /pe/
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	<b>ΝΤΟC</b> /ən. t'os/	<b>ΤΕ</b> /te/
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	<b>ΑΝΟΝ-</b> /a.n'on/	<b>ΑΝΝ</b> /a.nən/, <b>ΑΝ</b> /an/
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	<b>ΝΤΩΤΝ-</b> /ən.t'ɔ:tən/	<b>ΝΤΕΤΝ-</b> /ən.te.tən/
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	<b>ΝΤΟΟΥ</b> /ən.t'ou/	<b>ΝΕ</b> /ne/

TABLE 2.7 The mixed paradigm of independent pronouns and clitics

The clitic paradigm has gaps in the third person singular and plural, where there are no clitics corresponding to independent pronouns proper. To fill this gap, resort is taken to demonstrative pronouns: *πε* /pe/ 'this one (sing. masc.)' for 'he', *τε* /te/ 'this one (sing. fem.)' for 'she' and *νε* /ne/ 'these ones (pl.)' for 'they'. Since there is absolutely no phonological connection between the derived form (the demonstrative pronoun) and the derivational base (the corresponding independent pronoun), such forms are called suppletive forms. The pronominal clitics of the first and second person singular and plural and the suppletive third person singular and plural pronouns appear on different sides of their phonological host. The former are proclitics that precede and the latter are enclitics that follow the sentence element they are attached to. Thus, compare *αντ ουρωμε ντεκζε* 'I (αντ) (am) a man (ουρωμε) like you (lit. of your kind (ντεκζε))' (V. Pach. 89:27) vs. *ταχα ουπνα πε* 'perhaps (ταχα) he (πε) (is) a ghost (ουπνα)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:7).

#### 2.4.3.2 Syntactic distribution

Independent pronouns indicate emphatic pronominal reference, the main exception being nominal sentence patterns, where they may be used without contrastive purposes.

##### a) Appositions to bound pronouns

The emphatic use of independent pronouns is particularly clear when they appear as appositions to bound pronouns that cannot be contrastively stressed. Where contrastive emphasis on a bound pronoun is required, the corresponding independent pronoun is used to 'echo' that pronoun, e.g. *μη ειτανη ανοκ εζουε παχοεις* 'am I (ανοκ) then more (εζουε) honoured (ε-ι-ταεινη) than my Lord (ε-πα-χοεις)' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), *κσμανατ ντοκ ω πρωμε ηπνουτε* 'you are blessed (κ-σμανατ), you (ντοκ), oh man (πρωμε) of God (η-π-νουτε)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), *τερζοτε ντο ζητq ηπνουτε* 'you (ντο) fear (τε-ρ-ζοτε ζητ-q) God (η-π-νουτε)' (Eud. 64:23), *εικεροκ ντοκ ω πετουωτ ναφυχον* 'I speak to you (ε-ι-κερο-κ), you (ντοκ), oh lifeless (η-αφυχον) statue (πε-τουωτ)' (KHML I 1:13-14), (with unexpressed second person subject of an imperative clause) *ζμοοκ ντοκ ζν τεκρι* 'sit

(ζμοοκ), you (ντοκ), in (ζν) your cell (τεκ-ρι)!' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

##### b) Right- and left-dislocated pronouns

Independent pronouns appear as left-dislocated topic constituents in the left periphery of the clause, where they precede the verb and its arguments. The grammatical function (subject, object) of the left-dislocated topic is indicated by a co-referential bound pronoun within the associated clause. Left-dislocated independent pronouns commonly refer to discourse participants that have been out of the focus of attention for a while and are brought back into the discourse situation. Such a shift from one discourse participant to another is signaled by the topic-indicating Greek particle *δε*, e.g. *ντοκ δε λσονκς εζραι πεχας χε* '(as for) her (Eudoxia) (ντοκ δε), she jumped up (lit. she leaped herself (λ-σ-ονκ-ς) up (εζραι)) (and) said (πεχας-ς) that (χε) (...)' (Eud. 50:17), *ντοq δε νευνηy ψαροq νοι ζενοyα οyα εβολ ζν ντμε* '(as for) him (Pachôm) (ντοq δε), (there) came (νε-γ-νηy) to him (ψαρο-q) a few people (ζεν-οyα οyα) from (εβολ ζν) the villages (ν-τμε)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

Right-dislocated free-standing pronouns, by contrast, are generally employed as a discourse-repair device in that they disambiguate the pronominal reference, e.g. *λυμοy ζα πειβε ζν τειερημια ντο[οy] μν νεyppωoy μν νεyτενοoyε* 'they were dying (λ-γ-μοy) from (ζα) thirst (π-ειβε) in (ζν) this desert (τει-ερημια), they (the Persian troops) (ντοoy) together with (μν) their kings (νεy-ppωoy) and (μν) their cattle (νεy-τνβοoyε)' (Eud. 46:25-26).

##### c) Nominal sentences

Independent pronouns and clitics appear as pronominal subjects in nominal sentences, i.e. sentences with a noun in predicative function. There are two main types of nominal sentence patterns, namely bipartite and tripartite ones. Bipartite nominal sentences consist only of a subject pronoun and a predicate nominal. In this context, the selection of a pronominal clitic represents the unmarked choice, e.g. *αντ ουπνα* 'I (αντ) (am) a ghost (ουπνα)' (Onnophr. 206:19), *ντε οyςζιμε* 'you (ντε) (are) a woman (οy-ςζιμε)' (Hil. 6:25), *ντετν ζενατψιπε* 'you (ντετν) (are) shameless (ζεν-ατ-ψιπε)' (Eud. 64:11).

In the context of emphatic pronominal reference, a left-dislocated independent pronoun may precede the bipartite nominal sentence, e.g.  $\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa \lambda\alpha\gamma \sigma\upsilon\sigma\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$  '(as for) *me* ( $\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa$ ), *I* ( $\lambda\alpha\gamma$ ) (*am*) a woman ( $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$ )' (Eud. 54:21-22),  $\lambda\alpha\sigma\alpha\gamma \gamma\alpha\rho \lambda\alpha\gamma \zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\omega\mu\epsilon \eta\sigma\alpha\rho\zeta$  'since ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) (as far as) *we* ( $\lambda\alpha\sigma\alpha\gamma$ ) (are concerned) *we* ( $\lambda\alpha\gamma$ ) (are) people ( $\zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) of flesh ( $\eta\sigma\alpha\rho\zeta$ )' (Eud. 70:12).

Next to bipartite, there are tripartite nominal sentences, which consist of a nominal or pronominal subject, a nominal predicate and an agreement clitic ( $\pi\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\eta\epsilon$ ), which expresses the syntactic relation between the subject and the predicate. In tripartite nominal sentences, independent pronouns are, as a rule, used as pronominal subjects, e.g.  $\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa \pi\epsilon \zeta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\alpha \tau\epsilon\kappa\psi\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon$  '*I* ( $\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa$ ) (*am*) Hillaria ( $\zeta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ ) your daughter ( $\tau\epsilon\kappa\psi\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ )' (Hil. 11:28-29),  $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa \pi\epsilon \pi\chi\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \eta\tau\pi\epsilon \mu\eta \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$  '*you* ( $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa$ ) (are) the lord ( $\pi\chi\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) of heaven ( $\eta\tau\pi\epsilon$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) earth ( $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$ )' (Eud. 46:12). A more detailed discussion of nominal sentences will be presented in Unit 5.

### Key Terms:

Irregular plurals	express plurality by means of (i) §2.1.2 suffixation of the plural suffix $-\sigma\sigma\upsilon\epsilon$ , (ii) a change in the vowel pattern and syllable structure of the singular noun ("broken" plurals), or (iii) a combination of both pluralization patterns (mixed plurals).
Determiners	are grammatical prefixes that indicate §2.2 the information status or identifiability of the referent of the determined noun. Coptic makes a three-way contrast between definite, indefinite and zero- determined noun phrases.
Allomorphs	two alternative realizations of one and §2.2.1 the same morpheme.

Generic interpretation	The referent of a generic noun phrase is §2.2.2.1 not a particular entity or object, but rather a class or type of entities and objects.
Specific and non-specific indefinites	Both specific and non-specific §2.2.2.2 indefinites involve reference to an individual or object, which is not identifiable to the addressee. When the indefinite noun phrase refers to a particular entity, it has a specific reading. If, on the other hand, an indefinite noun phrase refers to any arbitrary member of a particular class, it adopts a non-specific interpretation.
Pronouns	express person deixis, i.e. the reference §2.4 to participants, present or absent, of the speech situation. The pronominal system of Sahidic Coptic makes a basic distinction between independent pronouns, pronominal clitics and bound pronouns.
Prefixes vs. suffixes	are bound pronouns that are attached to §2.4.2 the right or left edge of the host word they modify. They have different forms or allomorphs depending on phonological shape of the host.
Left-dislocation	is a syntactic operation in the course of §2.4.3.2 which a nominal expression (noun or pronoun) is displaced into the left periphery of the clause. The grammatical role (subject, object) of the left- dislocated constituent is indicated by a resumptive pronoun in the associated clause.

## Exercises

## 2.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
- Coptic makes a three-way distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter gender.
  - There are no "broken" plurals that end in a consonant.
  - Nouns that begin with a single vowel select the mono-consonantal allomorph π- (p-), τ- (t-), ν- (n-) of the definite article.
  - Bound pronouns and independent pronouns are in complementary distribution with one another.

## 2.2 Noun morphology

- A. Fill in the corresponding masculine or feminine noun in the following table.

MASCULINE NOUN	GLOSS	FEMININE NOUN	GLOSS
CON	brother		sister
		PPΩ	queen
	man	CZIME	woman
ψHPε	son		daughter

- B. The following table contains singular nouns that have an irregular plural. Look up the plural form (second column) in the word list and indicate what pluralization pattern we are dealing with, e.g. sing. CNAZ, pl. CNAγZ 'fetter' ("broken" plural).

SINGULAR FORM	PLURAL FORM	PLURALIZATION PATTERN	GLOSS
ANAΩ			oath
CBΩ			teaching
XAAC			enemy
ΠE			sky
CON			brother

## 2.3 The determiner system

- A. Identify the definite and indefinite noun phrases in the following Coptic examples and determine their number and gender specification.
- HPEBOT TΩBE ZN OYEPHNNH NTE ΠNOYTE 'in (M-) the month Tobe in (ZN) a piece of (NTE) God' (Hil. 1:4-5)
  - EPOTΩN ΠEΠPOTOΠAACMA ZN NBIK MΠNOYTE 'where (is) (E-Q-TΩN) the first creature (ΠPOTOΠAACMA) by (ZN) the hands of (M-) God' (Test. Is. 230:32-231:1)
  - ΠEZPEPAPIOC ΔE MN NEMATOI AYXI M-ΠMAKAPIOC APA ΠTEΛEMH EPMA ETEPE ΠZHΓEMΩN NZHTQ 'the riparius and (MN) the soldiers took (AYXI) the blessed Apa Ptolemaios to (E-) the place where (ETEPE (that) ... NZHT-Q (inside-it)) the governor (was)' (KHML II 31:6-8) (N.B. M- marks the direct object of the transitive verb XI 'to take')
  - ACZE EYXOI EPNAΨOH P EYΠOΛIC XE CAPAΛHA 'she (Hilaria) found (A-C-ZE) a ship ready to sail (E-Q-NA-ΨOH P) to (E-) a city called (XE) Saralea (Caesarea?)' (Hil. 3:17-18) (N.B. the preposition E- 'to, at' marks the direct object of the perception verb ZE 'to find')
- B. Fill in the correct allomorph of the definite article (ΠE-, TE-, NE- vs. Π-, T-, N-) in the blanks. Particular attention should be paid to the gender and number specification of the determined noun.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
— C2IME	the woman	— ψΥΧΟΟΥΕ	the souls
— ΔΜΡΗΥ	the bakers	— ΝΕΕΩ	the sailor
— CΩNE	the sister	— ΙΟΥΔΑΙ	the Jews
— ΝΟΥΤΕ	God	— ΕΙΩΤ	the father

C. Fill in the correct form of the noun phrase in the following Coptic sentences by choosing one of the two options given in brackets.

- (1) ΝΕΥΕΝ (ΡΩΜΕ/ΟΥΡΩΜΕ) ΔΕ ΟΝ 2Ν (ΤΠΟΛΙΣ/ΠΟΛΙΣ) ΡΑΚΟΤΕ 'there was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) furthermore (ΟΝ) a man in (2Ν) the city (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30-17b:1)
- (2) ΜΝ (ΜΟΡΤ/ΟΥΜΟΡΤ) ΗΜΟC 'there was no (ΜΝ) beard on her (ΗΜΟ-С)' (Hil. 6:28)
- (3) ΚΝΗΥ Ε- (ΔΜΝΤΕ/ΤΑΜΝΤΕ) 'you are going (Ε-Κ-ΝΗΥ) to (Ε-) Hell' (Ac. A&P 202:119)

D. Determine the meaning or reference of the italicized noun phrases in the following Coptic examples by selecting one of the two options:

- (1) ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥC2IME ΔΕ ΝCΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC 2Ν ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ (...) '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a Samaritan (Ν-СΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC) woman (ΟΥ-С2IME) in (2Ν) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-13)  
 newly introduced referent     non-specific indefinite
- (2) ΤΕC2IME ΔΕ ΔCΧΟ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΕCΑΕΙΝ 'the (Samaritan) woman (ΤΕ-С2IME) spent (Δ-С-ΧΟ ΕΒΟΛ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of money (Ν-ΧΡΗΜΑ) on the doctors (Ε-ΝΕ-СΑΕΙΝ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:25-28)  
 reintroduced referent     generic definite

- (3) CΑ2ΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΧΟΝ 'withdraw yourself (CΑ2Ω-Κ) from (ΕΒΟΛ Ν) the idols (Ν-ΕΙΔΩΧΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13)  
 non-specific definite     specific definite

## 2.4 The numeral system

A. Fill in the missing ordinal or cardinal numbers in the English translation of the Coptic example:

- (1) CΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ 'day (CΟΥ) \_\_\_ of (Μ-) the month (Π-ΕΒΟΤ) Tôbe' (Hil. 1:4)
- (2) ΜΗΝCΑ CΑΨΩ ΔΕ Ν200Υ 'after (ΜΗΝCΑ) \_\_\_ days (Ν-200Υ)' (Hil. 9:17-18)
- (3) ΔΜΝΤΩΜΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'about (Δ) \_\_\_ years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (of age) (Hil. 3:25)
- (4) ΤΨΟΡΠ ΝCΑΛΠΙΓΖ 'the \_\_\_ (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) trumpet (Ν-СΑΛΠΙΓΖ)' (Eud. 60:9)

## 2.5 The pronominal system

A. Bound pronouns have different forms or allomorphs. Fill in the correct form of the bound pronoun in the blanks, e.g. ΝΔ \_\_\_ 'to him' → ΝΔΩ.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ΡΑΤ ___	my foot	ΡΑΤ ___	your (woman) foot
___ ΝΗΥ	they are coming	ΡΝΤ ___	your (man) name
ΔΔ ___	to make us	___ CΩΤΗ	we listen
ΕΡΟ ___	to me	Ν2ΗΤ ___	in it (masc.)
2ΡΑ ___	your (woman) face	ΕΡΟ ___	to them

B. Complete the English translation and identify the bound pronoun in the following examples, e.g. ΝΔ-Ν 'to \_\_\_' → to us (1<sup>st</sup> pl.).

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ϩⲟⲩⲃ-ⲧ	to kill (ϩⲟⲩⲃ) __	†-ⲟϥⲱⲩ	__ want (ⲟϥⲱⲩ)
ϩⲱ-ⲟϥ	__ selves	ⲧⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲟⲩⲃ	__ are (ⲡ) afraid (-ϩⲟⲩⲃ)
ⲁⲠⲓ-Ⲓⲟϥ	make (ⲁⲠⲓ) __!	ⲛⲙⲙⲉ	with __
ⲧⲁϩⲱ-ⲧⲛ	to place (ⲧⲁϩⲱ) __	ⲉⲣⲟ	to __

C. Which Coptic form corresponds to the one given in the English example? Notice that two options may be possible.

- |                    |                          |          |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 'to make me'       | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲁⲁⲓ      |
| ⲁⲁ- 'to make'      | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲁⲁⲧ      |
|                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲁⲁⲕ      |
| 'I want'           | <input type="checkbox"/> | †ⲟϥⲱⲩ    |
| ⲟϥⲱⲩ 'to want'     | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲓⲟϥⲱⲩ    |
|                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | †ⲓⲟϥⲱⲩ   |
| 'you (plural) all' | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ    |
| ⲧⲏⲣ- 'all'         | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲧⲏⲣⲛ     |
|                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲏϥⲧⲛ |
| 'they stay'        | <input type="checkbox"/> | Ⲓⲉⲙⲏⲛ    |
| ⲙⲏⲛ 'to stay'      | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲉⲒⲉⲙⲏⲛ   |
|                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | Ⲓⲟϥⲙⲏⲛ   |
| 'your (fem.) head' | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲕⲱⲉ      |
| ⲕⲱ 'head'          | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲕⲉ       |
|                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | ⲕⲱ       |

D. Give an explanation why the alternative forms are not accurate.

F. Fill in the correct form of the pronoun in the sentences below.

(1) \_\_ Ⲓⲟⲩⲧⲙ 'we listen (Ⲓⲟⲩⲧⲙ)' (Eud. 60:23)

- ⲁⲛⲟⲛ  
 ⲧⲛ

(2) \_\_ ⲡⲓⲒⲧⲉϥⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲉⲓⲒ 'I believe (ⲡⲓⲒⲧⲉϥⲉ) (it), Lord (ⲡ-ⲕⲟⲉⲓⲒ)' (Eud. 52:3-4)

- ⲁⲛⲓ  
 †

## Unit 3

### Phrase structure

This Unit describes the internal syntactic structure of the most common types of complex noun phrases, prepositional phrases and adverbial modifiers in Sahidic Coptic. Complex noun phrases, as the name suggests, consist of two or more nouns in series. Consider, for instance, an example like **ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲒ ⲛⲒⲁⲃⲏ** 'the prudent virgin' (Eud. 54:15), where the definite noun phrase **ⲧ-ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲒ** 'the virgin' refers to a specific member of the class of young females, while the modifying nominal **Ⲓⲁⲃⲏ** 'prudent' describes a characteristic property of that individual, namely her intelligence. The main function of the linkage marker **ⲛ-** is to connect both nominal expressions. Section 3.1 describes the internal syntactic structure of complex noun phrases, with particular attention for the morphological marking of structural relationships.

The syntax and semantics of prepositional phrases is dealt with in section 3.2. The central element of a prepositional phrase is a preposition, which is a function word that indicates a relation between two entities. The simple preposition **ⲛ-** 'in', for instance, is used to locate some entity at a particular place, e.g. **ⲉⲓⲒ ⲡⲉⲗ̅Ⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ** 'look (ⲉⲓⲒ), Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲗ̅Ⲓ) (is) here (lit. in this place (ⲛ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ))' (AP Chaîne no.146, 32:25). Prepositional phrases share important structural properties with noun phrases. Thus, compound prepositions have an essentially nominal syntax, implying that they are derived by the same phrase structure rules as

complex noun phrases. Finally, section 3.3 takes a closer look at adverbial adjuncts. Coptic adverbs comprise a heterogeneous class of items, ranging from simple deitic adverbials like  $\text{ⲙⲙⲁϣ}$  'there' to internally complex adverbial phrases like  $\text{ϩⲛ ⲟϩⲱⲛⲉⲛⲱⲛⲓ}$  'all of a sudden' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:17-18).

### 3.1 Complex noun phrases

This section presents a structural description of complex noun phrase patterns, in which two parameters of phrase structure play a crucial role. The first parameter is concerned with headedness and the second parameter with the morphological marking of syntactic dependencies. The headedness parameter basically says that every syntactic phrase has a single core element, or head, which determines its syntactic category (noun phrase, verb phrase, clause, and so on). The non-head or dependent constituent may be of a different syntactic category than the head and has a less central role. It can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire construction. The second parameter concerns the presence and location of morphological marking that signals a particular syntactic relation. Syntactic relations can be morphologically marked on either the head of a phrase or on the dependent.

#### 3.1.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking in Coptic

In Coptic, complex noun phrase formation involves some head-marked and some dependent-marked patterns. In an example like  $\text{ⲧⲓⲡⲁⲮⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲀⲘⲁⲃⲏⲏ}$  'the prudent virgin' (Eud. 54:15), the definite noun phrase  $\text{ⲧⲓⲡⲁⲮⲉⲛⲟⲥ}$  'the virgin' constitutes the head, since it marks the entire phrase as nominal, while the dependent noun  $\text{Ⲙⲁⲃⲏⲏ}$  'prudent' supplies additional information about the referent of the head noun, and is syntactically optional. The dependent-marking character of complex noun phrase appears from the location of the linkage marker  $\text{ⲛ-}$  on the modifying noun. An example of the head-marking pattern would be a compound noun like  $\text{Ⲙⲧⲓⲛⲟϩⲱⲛⲉ}$  'fragrance' (Onnophr. 219:25), where the

head noun  $\text{Ⲙⲧⲓⲛⲟϩⲱⲛⲉ}$  'scent' is phonologically reduced, while the dependent noun  $\text{ⲛⲟϩⲱⲛⲉ}$  'sweet' is left intact, cf. figure 3.1.

	HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
HEAD-MARKED PATTERN	$\text{Ⲙⲧ}$ (< $\text{Ⲙⲧⲓⲛⲟϩⲱⲛⲉ}$ ) scent	$\text{ⲛⲟϩⲱⲛⲉ}$ sweet	
DEPENDENT-MARKED PATTERN		LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
	$\text{ⲧⲓⲡⲁⲮⲉⲛⲟⲥ}$ the virgin	$\text{ⲛ-}$	$\text{ⲘⲘⲁⲃⲏⲏ}$ prudent

FIGURE 3.1 Head- and dependent marking in Coptic noun phrases

The head-marking pattern does not seem to be productive in the nominal domain, where it is by and large restricted to lexical compounding, i.e. the creation of new nominal expressions from existing words (section 3.1.2). The dependent-marking pattern, by contrast, is morphologically fully productive and underlies the formation of attributive noun phrases (section 3.1.3) and possessive ones (section 3.1.4). In noun coordination, the connective itself qualifies as the head of the entire construction (section 3.1.6). Since appositional noun phrases are extra-clausal constituents, they fall outside the dichotomy between head-marking and dependent-marking syntax (section 3.1.6).

#### 3.1.2 Nominal compounds

Coptic has a rich system of nominal compounding, which derives new lexical items from the combination of two nouns or a noun and a verb. In having only a single stress, such compounds behave like single words. As a rule, word stress is placed on the second component, which has exactly the same shape as the corresponding independent word, while the first component is left unstressed and consequently phonologically reduced. The unstressed vowel of the head noun is either reduced to schwa /ə/, e.g.  $\text{Ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ}$  /kʰəv.tʰəj/ 'olive leaf' (<  $\text{Ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓ}$  /kʰəʔəve/ 'leaf' +  $\text{Ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ}$  /tʰəj/ 'olive'), or disappears entirely from the phonological representation, the

result being a monophthong (i.e. a single vowel), e.g.  $\sigma\tau\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$  /sti.n'uife/ 'fragrance' (<  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$  /stoi/ +  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$  /n'uife/ 'sweet').

### 3.1.2.1 Analytic compounds

On semantic grounds, one can distinguish two types of nominal compounds, analytic and synthetic ones. Analytic compounds convey a relatively transparent meaning that can compositionally be derived from the meaning of each component, e.g.  $\psi\pi\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$  /ʃɛr.h'owt/ 'boy' (<  $\psi\eta\pi\epsilon$  /ʃɛ:re/ 'child' +  $\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$  /howt/ 'male'),  $\zeta\omicron\gamma\text{-}\mu\iota\sigma\epsilon$  /hu.m'i:se/ 'birthday' (<  $\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$  /how/ 'day' +  $\mu\iota\sigma\epsilon$  /mise/ 'birth'),  $\zeta\pi\omicron\gamma\text{-}\beta\alpha\iota$  /hru.v'ai/ 'thunder' (<  $\zeta\pi\omicron\omicron\gamma$  /hrow/ 'noise' +  $\beta\alpha\iota$  /vaj/ 'sky'),  $\psi\beta\epsilon\pi\text{-}\rho\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$  /ʃvɛr.ɛr.h'ov/ 'co-worker' (<  $\psi\beta\eta\pi$  /ʃvɛr/ 'comrade' +  $\rho\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$  /ɛr.hov/ 'to do (p-) work (ζωβ)').

### 3.1.2.2 Synthetic compounds

Synthetic compounds like  $\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon\pi\omicron$  'kingdom' (<  $\pi\pi\omicron$  'king'), by contrast, have non-compositional and sometimes idiosyncratic meanings. In such compounds, the phonologically reduced head noun functions in much the same way as the lexical formatives *un-*, *-ful*, and *-ness* in English in compounds like *unlawfulness*. A list of the most common types of synthetic compounds is provided in table 3.1. Most Coptic grammars subsume these compounds under the label "nominal prefixes":

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
$\alpha\tau\text{-}$	NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE	$\alpha\theta\eta\tau$ 'foolish' (< $\zeta\eta\tau$ 'heart') (V. Pach. 141:2), $\alpha\tau\text{-}\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'sleepless' (< $\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'to sleep') (Onnophr. 208:4)
$\mu\eta\tau\text{-}$	ABSTRACT NOUNS	$\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$ 'divinity' (< $\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$ 'god') (V. Pach. 6:29), $\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\eta$ 'monastic lifestyle' (< $\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ 'monk') (V. Pach. 141:14), $\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\iota\eta$ (< $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\iota\eta$ 'Greek') (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:25)

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
$\sigma\iota\eta\text{-}$	EVENT AND INSTANTIATION NOUNS	$\sigma\iota\eta\text{-}\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$ 'encounter' (< $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$ 'to meet') (Test. Is. 230:4), $\sigma\iota\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu$ 'food' (< $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu$ 'to eat') (V. Pach. 5:2)
$\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}$	AGENTIVE NOUNS	$\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$ 'murderer' (< $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$ 'to kill') (Abbatôn 232:30), $\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\epsilon$ 'craftsman' (< $\rho\text{-}$ 'to do' + $\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\epsilon$ 'craft, art') (praec. Pach. 111)
$\pi\mu(\eta)\text{-}$	NOUNS OF PROFESSION/OCCUPATION	$\pi\mu\eta\text{-}\eta\eta$ 'superintendent' (< $\eta\eta$ 'house') (praec. Pach. 104), $\pi\mu\eta\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta$ 'dignitary' (< $\rho\alpha\eta$ 'name') (praec. Pach. 111)
$\mu\alpha\eta\text{-}$	LOCATION NOUNS	$\mu\alpha\eta\text{-}\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ (< $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ 'to reside') 'dwelling place', (Ac. A&P 198:73), $\mu\alpha\eta\text{-}\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'couch' (< $\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'to sleep') (Eud. 50:5)

TABLE 3.1 Synthetic compounds

Synthetic compounds that contain of two or more formatives in series are commonly attested, e.g.  $\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\tau\text{-}\zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon$  (<  $\zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon$  'fear') 'fearlessness' (V. Pach. 6:13),  $\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\pi\mu\text{-}\rho\alpha\psi$  (<  $\rho\alpha\psi$  'gentle, mild') 'gentleness' (Eud. 54:27).

- The synthetic formatives  $\pi\mu\eta$  and  $\mu\alpha\eta$  incorporate the linkage marker *n-* into their morphological structure and thus represent a blend between the head-marked and dependent-marked pattern (see above, figure 3.1).
- The formative  $\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}$  may be construed with an entire verb phrase (i.e. the verb and its arguments and adjuncts), the result being a clause-like noun phrase, e.g.  $\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\epsilon\chi\text{-}\psi\eta\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\pi\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  'the ones ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\gamma$ ) who throw ( $\eta\epsilon\chi$ ) small children ( $\psi\eta\pi\epsilon$   $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ ) into the water ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) (lit. the-small-children-into-the-water-throwers)' (Ac. A&P 204:143).



### 3.1.3 Adjectival modification

The previous section has dealt with the head-marking syntax of nominal compounds. This and the following section discuss the dependent-marking pattern of adjectival modification and possessive noun phrases. In the adjectival construction, the modifying noun is connected to the head noun by means of the linkage marker **n-** (or its assimilated form **m-**). While the head noun is compatible with the entire range of Coptic determiners, the **n-**-marked modifier must be left undetermined, as seen in: **COACA** (...) **NCΩMATIKON** 'physical (**n-cōmatikon**) comfort (**COACA**)' (Hil. 5:23), **OYZOITE** **NΩNC** 'a linen (**n-ōnc**) garment (**OY-ZOITE**)' (Eud. 50:11-12), **PEIZALLO** **MMAKAPIOC** 'this blessed (**m-makarioc**) old man (**PEI-ZALLO**)' (Onnophr. 215:15-16). See figure 3.2 for the dependent-marking syntax of adjectival modification.

HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
	LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
<b>OY-KOYI</b> a small	<b>n-</b>	<b>COOYZC</b> convent
<b>T-PAPΘENOC</b> the virgin	<b>n-</b>	<b>CABH</b> prudent

FIGURE 3.2 Adjectival modification

The lemma **ΩHM** 'small' is only used as a dependent noun and appears in postnominal position without the linking element **n-**, e.g. **π-ΩHPΕ ΩHM** 'the little (**ΩHM**) child (**π-ΩHPΕ**)' (Ac. A&P 196:48).

#### 3.1.3.1 The nominal character of Coptic "adjectives"

Coptic has no separate word class of "adjectives" used to describe properties of individuals and objects. Thus, property-denoting expressions like **NOB** 'big' or **CABE** 'intelligent' cannot be distinguished syntactically from referring expressions like **PΩME** 'man', since both types of nominals can be used as the head or the modifier of an adjectival construction. Compare: **HPΩME NCABE** 'the intelligent (**n-cabe**) people (**n-pōme**)'

(Ac. A&P 206:159-160), **ZENΩAXE** **NBPPE** 'new (**n-bppe**) words (**ZEN-ΩAXE**)' (Hil. 1:18-19) vs. **OY-KOYI NC0OYZC** 'a small (**OY-KOYI**) convent (**n-cooyzc**)' (V. Pach.1:13), **ZENNOB** **NΩHN** 'big (**ZEN-NOB**) trees (**n-ōhn**)' (Onnophr. 219:17).

Greek adjectives are usually borrowed in their masculine singular form, e.g. **OYPΩME NCOPOC** 'a wise (**n-copoc**) man (**OY-PΩME**)' (Teach. Ant. 4), **ΠXOEIC** **ΠNOYTE** **MΠICTOC** **NAIKAIOC** **HKPITHC** **MME** 'oh Lord (**ΠXOEIC**), faithful (**m-πictoc**) righteous (**n-dikaioc**) God (**πnoyte**), true (**m-me**) judge (**n-kpithc**)' (V. Pach. 7:19-20), **ZWC** **PΩME** **NBWTIKOC** 'like (**ZWC**) a man (**PΩME**) of this world (**n-bwtikoc**)' (Hil. 13:5).

#### 3.1.3.2 Types of adjectival modification

The main semantic relationships expressed by the attributively used noun phrases are the following:

##### a) Property assignment

Coptic has a closed class of property-denoting expressions where grammatical gender is marked through different vocalic endings (sing. masc. **-e**, sing. fem. **-h**): **KAME** vs. **KAMH** 'black', **CABE** vs. **CABH** 'intelligent', **ZAE** vs. **ZAH** 'final', e.g. **OYKΩZT NCABE** 'an intelligent (**n-cabe**) fire (**OY-KΩZT**)' (Test. Is. 234:26) vs. **TIPAPΘENOC NCABH** 'the wise (**n-cabh**) virgin (**T-PAPΘENOC**)' (Eud. 54:15).

##### b) Constituency

e.g. **TKOOLE** **NOYOEIN** 'the cloud (**T-KOOLE**) of light (**n-oyoein**)' (Eud. 42:26), **PIEP0** **NKΩZT** 'the river (**π-iero**) of fire (**n-kwzt**)' (Test. Is. 234:22), **OYNOB** **MΠHΓH** **M-MOY** 'a big (**OY-NOB**) fountain (**m-πhgh**) of water (**m-moy**)' (Eud. 46:18).

##### c) Class membership or ethnicity

e.g. **NEZIOME** **NXPHTIANOC** 'the Christian (**n-xphtianoc**) women (**ne-zio-me**)' (Mena. Mir. 26b:19-20), **ΠZALLO** **NACKITHC** 'the ascetic (**n-ackithc**) old man (**π-zallo**)' (V. Pach. 87:7), **OYCZIME** **ΔE**

ΝΣΑΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ 'a Samaritan (Ν-ΣΑΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ) woman (ΟΥ-ΣΖΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-11).

### 3.1.4 Possessive noun phrases

In possessive noun phrases, the head noun always indicates the possessed item and the dependent noun the possessor. In Coptic, the syntactic dependency between the possessed and the possessor noun is indicated by two different linkage markers, namely **Ν-** (or its assimilated form **Μ-**) and **ΝΤΕ**. These linkage markers fulfill similar functions as the preposition *of* in English possessives, e.g. **Π-ΡΩΜΕ Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), **ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'a thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 60:24). See figure 3.3 for the dependent-marking syntax of possessive noun phrases.

POSSESSED NOUN (HEAD)	POSSESSOR NOUN (DEPENDENT)	
	LINKER	IN/DEFINITE NOUN PHRASE
Π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	Μ-	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ God
ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ a thing	ΝΤΕ	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ God

FIGURE 3.3 Nominal possession

#### 3.1.4.1 The distribution of the linkage markers **Ν-** and **ΝΤΕ**

As we can see from table 3.2 below, the selection of the linkage markers **Ν-** and **ΝΤΕ** is largely dependent on the determination of the possessed and the possessor noun. This will be explained below. Abbreviations: NP 'noun phrase', DEM. DET. 'demonstratively determined' (e.g. **ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ** 'this man'), POSS. DET. 'possessively determined' (e.g. **ΤΑ-ΣΖΙΜΕ** 'my wife').

LINKAGE MARKER <b>Ν-</b>		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	"BARE" NOUN	ΜΜΑ ΝΡΜΗ 'as places (Μ-ΜΑ) of weeping (Ν-ΡΜΗ)' (Eud. 40:9)
DEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΡΟ 'the letter (Τ-ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ) of the king (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ)' (Hil. 10:31)
DEM. DET. NP	DEM. DET. NP	ΝΕΨΙ ΝΤΕΙΣΟΤ 'these heights (ΝΕΙ-ΨΙ) of such sort (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΣΟΤ)' (Hil. 9:6)
DEFINITE NP	POSS. DET. NP	ΤΠΙΣΤΙC ΝΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ 'the faith (Τ-ΠΙΣΤΙC) of my fathers (Ν-ΝΑ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)' (Hil. 11:12)
LINKAGE MARKER <b>ΝΤΕ</b>		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	DEFINITE NP	ΝΡΑΨΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΠΝ̄Λ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'with (the) joy (Ν-ΡΑΨΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Holy (ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝ̄Λ)' (KHML I 82:4-5)
INDEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ΖΑΖ ΝΡΕΜΑΟ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΟΛΙC 'many (ΖΑΖ) rich men (Ν-ΡΕΜΑΟ) of (ΝΤΕ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (KHML I 72:1)
INDEFINITE NP	DEM. DET. NP	ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ 'a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) servant (ΟΥ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) this little (ΨΗΜ) boy (ΠΕΙ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (KHML I 73:8-9)
POSS. DET. NP	DEFINITE NP	ΤΕΦΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'his stewardship (ΤΕΦ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Οληφhr. 217:23)

TABLE 3.2 The semantic distribution of the markers **Ν-/Μ-** and **ΝΤΕ**

The linkage marker *n-* is selected, when the possessed noun and the possessor noun agree in in/definiteness and consequently display the same type of determiner (including the zero-article of "bare" nouns), e.g. *πῆ μῆνοῦτε* 'the house (*π-ῆ*) of God (*μ-π-νοῦτε*)' (Onnophr. 219:10). If there is a mismatch in definiteness, however, the competing marker *ντε* must be chosen instead. Thus, *ντε*-possessives typically combine an indefinite possessed noun with a definite possessor noun, e.g. *οὐζωβ ντε πνοῦτε* 'a thing (*οὐ-ζωβ*) of (*ντε*) God (*π-νοῦτε*)' (Eud. 60:24). Both linking markers are found in possessive noun phrases where the possessed noun or the possessor noun are determined by the possessive article, e.g. *πραν μπαχοεῖς ἰϛ* 'the name (*π-ραν*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεῖς*) Jesus (*ἰϛ*)' (Eud. 46:16-17) vs. *τεφοικονομία ντε πνοῦτε* 'his stewardship (*τεφ-οικονομία*) of (*ντε*) God (*π-νοῦτε*)' (Onnophr. 217:23).

The linking marker *ντε* has the pronominal allomorph *ντα-*, which appears in a single context only, namely when an indefinite possessed noun is construed with a pronominal possessor, e.g. *κεσο μπαρεενος ντας* 'six (*σο*) virgins (*μ-παρεενος*) of hers (*ντα-ς*) as well (*κε-*)' (Eud. 56:6-7), *οὔτε κελλαυ νειδος νταϛ* 'nor (*οὔτε*) anything else (*κε-λλαυ*) of his (*ντα-ϛ*) property (*ν-ειδος*)' (praec. Pach. 95).

#### 3.1.4.2 Types of nominal possession

In Coptic, a variety of different semantic relations fall under the rubric of possession, ranging from ownership in the narrow sense to the expression of kinship. Very often, possessive noun phrases merely indicate some kind of connection or relation between two entities or objects.

##### a) Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession involves possessed items that are intrinsically related to the possessor, such as body parts, names or family relations, e.g. *πζο μπαγγελος* 'the face (*π-ζο*) of the angel (*μ-π-αγγελος*)' (Test. Is. 229:6), *πσωμα μπμακαριος ἀπα μῆνα* 'the body (*π-σωμα*) of the blessed (*μ-π-μακαριος*) Apa Mena' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:16-18), *πραν μπαχοεῖς ἰϛ* 'the name (*π-ραν*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεῖς*) Jesus' (Eud. 46:16-17), *τμαλυ δε μπνεεϛ* 'the mother (*τ-μαλυ*) of the sailor

(*μ-π-νεεϛ*)' (Ac. A&P 194:4), *τψεερε μπμαιοῦτε νπρο ζηνων* 'the daughter (*τ-ψεερε*) of the God-loving (*μ-π-μαι-νοῦτε*) king (*ν-προ*) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1-2).

##### b) Alienable possession

Alienable possessions express the notion of ownership proper, e.g. *πμανενκοτκ μπενειωτ ἰσαακ* 'the couch (*π-μαν-ενκοτκ*) of our father (*μ-πεν-ειωτ*) Isaac' (Test. Is. 236:24), *πεντυδης (read πεπενδυτης) μπαγλος* 'Paul's (*μ-παγλος*) robe (*π-εντυδης*)' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

##### c) Proximity, closeness or relatedness

e.g. *πνοῦτε ναπα μῆνα* 'the God (*π-νοῦτε*) of Apa Mena (*ν-απα μῆνα*)' (Mena, Mir. 21a:1-2), *πρωμε δε μπμανσοειλε* 'the landlord (*π-ρωμε*) of the inn (*μ-π-μαν-σοειλε*)' (Mena, Mir. 27a: 11-13), *τεχρια μπσωμα* 'the need (*τε-χρια*) of the body (*μ-π-σωμα*)' (V. Pach.4:5).

##### d) Place and time

The possessor noun may indicate location in place and time, e.g. *νερωμε ντπολις ρακοτε* 'the people (*νε-ρωμε*) of the city (*ν-τ-πολις*) Alexandria' (Mena, Martyrd. 5b:21-22), *τεκκλησια νψιητ* 'the church (*τ-εκκλησια*) of Shiêt (*ν-ψιητ*)' (Hil. 12:17), *ψα πεζοου μπζαπ* 'until (*ψα*) the day (*πε-ζοου*) of the judgement (*μ-π-ζαπ*)' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

##### e) Agent relation

When the possessed noun refers to some event or activity, the possessor may be interpreted as the instigator or agent of that event, e.g. *πρωε μπεπῆνᾶ ετογλαβ* 'the joy (*π-ρωε*) of (caused by) the Holy (*ετογλαβ*) Spirit (*μ-π-πνευμα*)' (Eud. 68:12), *πχοζχ ννοβζε* 'the gnashing (*π-χοζχ*) of teeth (*ν-ν-οβζε*)' (Test. Is. 234:29).

## f) Patient relation

The possessor noun may also refer to the undergoer or patient of the event or activity that is described by the possessed noun, e.g. ΠΤΑΛΩΟ ΝΤΨΕΡΕ ΠΠΡΟ 'the healing (π-ταλωο) of the king's (π-πρρο) daughter (π-τ-ψερε)' (Hil. 8:19), ΠΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ 'the death (π-μου) of his (Antonius') parents (π-νεφ-ειοτε)' (V. Ant. 3:22).

## 3.1.5 Noun coordination

Noun coordination involves the concatenation of two or more nouns, which form a new syntactic unit. Coptic has a variety of connective devices to combine the individual members or conjuncts of coordinate noun phrases. Coordinate noun phrases consist minimally of three elements: On the one hand, there are at least two noun phrases that are combined with one another; on the other hand, there is a coordinating conjunction that indicates the link between the conjoined noun phrases. Syntactically speaking, the connective device is the head and the conjoined noun phrase the dependent constituent of the coordinate structure. The first conjunct, on the other hand, is adjoined to the left of the entire complex. The tripartite structure of a coordinated noun phrase like ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ 'heaven (τ-πε) and (μν) earth (π-καζ)' (Eud. 46:12) is schematically represented in figure 3.4.

FIRST CONJUNCT (ADJUNCT)	CONNECTIVE (HEAD)	SECOND CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT)
Τ-ΠΕ heaven	ΜΝ and (lit. 'with')	Π-ΚΑΖ earth

FIGURE 3.4 Noun coordination

The connective may be a preposition like like ΜΝ 'with' or a clausal conjunction like ΑΥΩ 'and'. Greek conjunctions are fully integrated into the Coptic system of nominal and clausal coordination. The distributional behaviour and basic meaning of the main Coptic and Greek-based connectors are the following:

## 1. ΜΝ

The conjunction ΜΝ is actually a comitative preposition, meaning something like '(together) with, in the company of'. It connects various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases, though not "bare" nouns, e.g. ΖΕΝΣΟΠΣ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΡΜΕΙΟΟΥΕ 'entreaties and (μν) tears' (Eud. 34:8), ΠΚΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΨΑΑΡ 'bone (π-κας) and (μν) skin (π-ψααρ)' (Hil. 8:29), ΝΘΕ ΝΔΔΔ ΜΝ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ ΜΝ ΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ ΜΝ ΙΩΣΙΑΣ 'in the manner (νθε) of David (ν-ΔΔγείΔ) and (μν) Solomôn and (μν) Ezekias and (μν) Jôsiâs' (Hil. 9:28-29), ΝΤΟΦ ΜΝ ΚΕΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΡΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'he (ντοφ) and (μν) another philosopher (κε-φιλοσοφος) called (χε) Apa Martêrion' (Hil. 6:17).

## 2. ΖΙ

"Bare" nouns are joined together by means of the locative preposition ΖΙ, originally meaning 'on', e.g. ΣΑΡΞ ΖΙ ΣΝΟΦ 'flesh (σαρξ) and (ζι) blood (σνοφ)' (Onnophr.206:25), ΒΟΤΕ ΖΙ ΑΝΟΜΙΑ 'abomination (βοτε) and (ζι) crime (ανομια)' (Eud. 40:15), ΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΕ ΖΙ ΡΕΦΠΕΖΤΣΝΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ 'a lot (ουμηνψε) of murderers (ν-ρεφζωτε) and (ζι) blood-shedders (ρεφ-πεζτ-σνοφ εβολ)' (Abbatôn 232:30-31).

## 3. Η

The notion of disjunction is expressed by the Greek conjunction Η 'or', which does not impose any selectional restrictions on the noun phrases it connects, e.g. ΜΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΩΤ ΜΜΑΥ Η ΜΑΛΥ 'I do not have (lit. '(there) is not (μν) with me (ντα-ι)') father (ειωτ) or (η) mother (μαλυ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22), ΕΠΣΩΟΥΖ Η ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΜ 'to (ε-) the assembly (π-σωουζ) or (η) to (ε-) the eating ν-ουωμ) room (π-μα)' (praec. Pach. 100).

## 4. ΑΥΩ

The connective ΑΥΩ 'and' is mainly used as a clausal conjunction, but may also connect two noun phrases, e.g. ΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΨΗΡΕ 'my brothers (να-σνηυ) and (also) (αυω) my children (να-ψηρε)' (V. Pach. 88:23-24), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ 'Eternal God (π-πνουτε νναιων αυω πειωτ μπαχοεις ις πεχς)

νοῦτε) and (αὐτῷ) Father (π-εἰωτ) of my Lord (η-πα-χουε) Jesus Christ (πε-χc) (Eud. 46:9).

### 5. οὐδε

The Greek conjunction οὐδε 'and not' expresses the notions of negation and coordination at the same time, e.g. *ζη παιων οὐδε ζη πετνη* '(not) in (ζη) this age (παι-ων) and not (οὐδε) in (ζη) the one to come (π-ετ-νη)' (Eud. 38:22-23). The reduplicant οὐδε ... οὐδε 'neither ... nor' indicates the presence of two alternative invalid or impossible options, e.g. *οὐδε ζω οὐδε τροφη* 'neither (οὐδε) clothes (ζω) nor (οὐδε) food (τροφή)' (Onnophr. 208:14-15), *μπε μοναχος κα τοοτq εβολ εφωλη οὐδε περοου οὐδε τεψη* 'the monk (π-μοναχος) did not (μπε) desist (lit. to take (κα) away (εβολ) his hand (τοοτ-q)) from praying (ε-φωλη) either (οὐδε) day (πε-ροου) or (οὐδε) night (τε-ψη)' (AP Chaîne no. 231, 68:20-21).

#### 3.1.6 Appositions

Appositions are noun phrases that have no fixed position in the syntactic structure. They are simply juxtaposed to the head noun they modify. Prosodically weak function words like the Greek discourse particle δε are placed between the antecedent noun or pronoun and the following apposition, e.g. *ισαακ δε πατριαρχης* 'Isaac, the Patriarch (π-πατριαρχης)' (Test. Is. 228:4). The main contextual uses of appositional phrases are the following:

##### a) Referent identification

Appositions are typically used to facilitate referent identification. In an example like *νεκιντωρε ουπολις ντε थेβαις* 'Nekintôre (i.e. Dendera), a city (ου-πολις) of (ντε) the Thebais (θεβαις)' (KHML II 31:24-25), the appositional noun phrase *ουπολις ντε थेβαις* 'a city of the Thebais' provides an additional clue to locate the place in question. In a similar vein, appositions can be used to disambiguate pronominal reference, e.g. *ντοq δε πενειωτ παζωμο (...)* 'he (ντοq), our father (πεν-ειωτ) Pachôm (...)' (V. Pach. 4:24).

##### b) Epithetic use

Apart from their referent backtracking function, appositions may have a somewhat more conventionalised use as epithets, e.g. *πζαγιος μαρκος περαγγελιστης* 'the holy (π-ζαγιος) Marcos, the Evangelist (πε-εραγγελιστης)' (Hil. 3:32-33), *απα πανω πεπρεσβυτερος* 'Ara Pambô, the presbyter (πε-πρεσβυτερος)' (Hil. 5:13), *πνουτε ππαντωκρατωρ* 'God (π-νουτε). Almighty (π-παντωκρατωρ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

##### c) Naming

In the context of naming, the particle *χε* 'called' must be selected when the head noun is an indefinite expression, while the apposition itself is a proper name, e.g. *ουα χε απα παγλος* 'one (ουα) called (χε) Ara Paul' (AP Chaîne no. 230, 68:8), *εγπολις χε σαραλη* 'to a city (ε-γ-πολις) called (χε) Saralêa (i.e. Caesarea)' (Hil. 3:18), *κεφιλοσοφος χε απα μαρτηριον* 'another philosopher (κε-φιλοσοφος) called (χε) Ara Martêrion' (Hil. 6:17). An exceptional case is *ραν* 'name', which must always be definite, e.g. *πειραν χε ιc* 'this name (χε) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:32).

## 3.2 Simple and complex prepositions

Prepositions are relational elements that locate an entity someplace or with respect to another entity. They never appear in isolation. To express a particular semantic relation, another constituent must accompany a given preposition: this dependent constituent is called the object or complement of that preposition. Coptic prepositions generally have two different context dependent allomorphs, one used with nominal objects, traditionally referred to as the nominal state (nom. st.) and another one used with pronominal objects, called the pronominal state (pron. st.), e.g. (nom. st.) *εκνε* 'to (ε-) Egypt (κνε)' (KHML I 14:1) vs. (pron. st.) *εροq* 'to (ερο=) him (-q)' (KHML I 14:12). See figure 3.5 for further

illustration. (The diacritics '˘' and '˙' are conventionally used in Coptic dictionaries to indicate the nominal and pronominal state form of a given preposition).

	PREPOSITION	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
NOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	ε- to	ΚΗΜΕ Egypt
PRONOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	εΡΟ= to	-Ϛ him

FIGURE 3.5 The phrase structure of Coptic prepositional phrases

The nominal state form is generally much shorter than the corresponding pronominal state. This difference in prosodic weight is also manifested by different stress patterns. In the nominal state, stress shifts to the noun following the preposition: ε-ΚΗΜΕ /e.k'e:me/. By contrast, the corresponding pronominal state must be stressed, since the following suffix pronoun is not susceptible to stress assignment: εΡΟ=Ϛ /e.r'of/.

### 3.2.1 Basic prepositions

Basic prepositions are single indivisible function words, which cover a broad range of meaning distinctions, cf. table 3.3 (empty cells indicate the absence of an allomorph).

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ε-	εΡΟ=	to, towards	ΜΝ-	ΜΜΜΑ=	with, and
Ν-	ΝΑ=	for	Ν-	ΜΜΟ=	in, from
ΖΝ-	ΝΖΗΤ=	in, at, on	ΨΑ-	ΨΑΡΟ=	to, towards
ΖΑ-	ΖΑΡΟ=	under, for	ΖΙ-	ΖΙΩ=	on
ΛΧΝ-	ΛΧΝΤ=	without	ΟΥΒΕ-	ΟΥΒΗ=	against
ΟΥΤΕ-	ΟΥΤΩ=	between		ΖΗΤ=	before
ΚΑΤΑ-	ΚΑΤΑΡΟ=	according to	ΠΑΡΑ-	ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=	more than

TABLE 3.3 The inventory of basic prepositions

N.B. In modern text editions, the nominal state forms of prepositions consisting of a single letter are written together with the following noun, e.g. επεκρο 'to the bank (ε-πε-κρο)' (Ac. A&P 194:3). This contrasts with prepositions that consist of two or more letters, which are written as separate words, e.g. ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ 'with (ΜΝ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16). This orthographical convention is applied throughout this grammar.

#### 3.2.1.1 Allomorphy

The allomorphic opposition between the nominal state and the pronominal state form of basic prepositions exhibits some degree of morpho-phonological irregularity:

- Labial assimilation: the nominal state form of Ν- 'in', ΖΝ 'in, at' and ΛΧΝ- 'without' undergo labial assimilation before the voiceless bilabial stop π /p/ and the voiced labial nasal μ /m/ (see above, section 1.3.3.1 of Unit 1), e.g. ΜΠΜΑ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΡ 'in the place (Μ-Π-ΜΑ) of the oven (Ν-ΤΕ-ΤΡΙΡ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ΖΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ 'in (ΖΜ) every (ΝΙΜ) place (ΜΑ)' (praec. Pach. 129), ΛΧΜ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΣΟΟΥΖΣ 'without (ΛΧΜ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of the congregation (Ν-Τ-ΣΟΟΥΖΣ)' (praec. Pach. 118). By contrast, the comitative preposition ΜΝ 'with' is never assimilated, e.g. ΜΑΛΕΛΕΛΑ ΜΝ ΙΑΡΕΘ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΩΧ 'Malelel and (ΜΝ) Jareth and (ΜΝ) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Enôch' (Test. Is. 231:2-3).
- Defective prepositions: several basic prepositions lack either a nominal or pronominal state allomorph. The defective preposition ΖΗΤ= 'before', for example, occurs in the pronominal state only. The prepositions ΖΙ 'at' and ΖΝ 'in', on the other hand, have suppletive forms in the pronominal state, which actually are compound prepositions: ΖΙΩ= (< ΖΙ 'on' + ΩΩ= 'back' (lit. 'on the back of')) and ΝΖΗΤ= (< Ν 'in' + ΖΗΤ= 'belly', lit. 'in the belly of'), e.g. †ΖΜ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΖΗΤ 'I (am) in (†-ΖΜ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) (is) in me (ΝΖΗΤ < Ν-ΖΗΤ-Τ)' (Abbatôn 231:27-28 [John 14:11]).

- The pronominal state forms **καταρο=** and **παραρο=** of the Greek prepositions **κατα-** 'according to' and **παρα-** 'more than' are analogical formations based on the model of simple prepositions, such as **ε-, ερο=** 'to'.

The complete pronominal paradigm of the particularly common prepositions **ερο=** 'to', **μμο=** 'in', **να=** 'to, for', **νμμα=** 'with' is presented in table 3.4. The pronominal state allomorph may undergo additional phonological changes, which are largely dependent on the consonantal or vocalic nature of the following pronoun.

	<b>ερο=</b>	<b>μμο=</b>	<b>να=</b>	<b>νμμα=</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	<b>ερο=ι</b>	<b>μμο=ι</b>	<b>να=ι</b>	<b>νμμα=ι</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	<b>ερο=κ</b>	<b>μμο=κ</b>	<b>να=κ</b>	<b>νμμα=κ</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	<b>ερο</b>	<b>μμο</b>	<b>νε</b>	<b>νμμε</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	<b>ερο=ς</b>	<b>μμο=ς</b>	<b>να=ς</b>	<b>νμμα=ς</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	<b>ερο=ς</b>	<b>μμο=ς</b>	<b>να=ς</b>	<b>νμμα=ς</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	<b>ερο=ν</b>	<b>μμο=ν</b>	<b>να=ν</b>	<b>νμμα=ν</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	<b>ερω=τν</b>	<b>μμω=τν</b>	<b>νη=τν</b>	<b>νμμη=τν</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	<b>ερο=ου</b>	<b>μμο=ου</b>	<b>να=υ</b>	<b>νμμα=υ</b>

TABLE 3.4 The pronominal paradigm of basic prepositions

### 3.2.1.2 Semantic Functions

Coptic basic prepositions are polysemous expressions, which may adopt more than one meaning and function. Moreover, there is a certain degree of functional overlap between two or more prepositions. The following survey describes the broad semantic spectrum of the most common basic prepositions.

1. nom. st. **ε-**, pron. st. **ερο=**

- a) has a directional meaning and marks the endpoint of a movement, e.g. **αχει ψαροϩ εταβενησε** 'he (Pachôm) went (α-ϩ-ει) to him (ψαρο-ϩ) (Ara Dionysos) to Tabenêse (ε-ταβενησε)' (V. Pach. 138:21), **αγαλε εγχοι** 'they went (α-γ-αλε) on the ship (ε-πι-χοι)' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

- b) conveys the opposite semantic value under a separative reading, in which case it indicates temporal or spatial distance from a certain condition or state, e.g. **†τογοϩ εψωνε** 'I am cured (†-τογοϩ) from sickness (ε-ψωνε)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).
- c) may have a restrictive meaning and express the idea that some condition or state holds only partially, e.g. **ειψωνε επαζηπαρ** 'I am sick (ε-ι-ψωνε) at my liver (ε-πα-ζηπαρ)' (Onnophr. 208:30), **ψαγρ βαλε επεγβαλ νουωτ** 'they became (ψα-γ-ρ) blind (βαλε) at one (ν-ογωτ) of their eyes (ε-πεγ-βαλ)' (KHML II 53:2-3).
- d) Coptic has no specialized morphological marker for the formal expression of a comparative relationship. Rather, the degree quantifier **ρογο** 'more' indicates the higher degree of the quality referred to by the verbal predicate, while the compared entity or object is syntactically encoded as a directional phrase with **ε-**, e.g. **μη ειταιηϩ ανοκ εροεπαχοεις** '(μη) am I (ανοκ) more (ε-ροε(ο)) honoured (ε-ι-ταιηϩ) than my Lord (ε-πα-χοεις)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7).
- e) is commonly used to mark the direct object of a perception verb, such as **ναγ** 'to see' and **ζε** 'to find', e.g. **αιναγ εημα νωπιε ννεψυχοογε τηροϩ** 'I saw (α-ι-ναγ) the dwelling (ν-ωπιε) places (ε-η-μα) of all (τηρ-οϩ) souls (ν-νε-ψυχοογε)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), **αιζε εροϩ εαφοϩ ερμου** 'I found (α-ι-ζε) him (ερο-ϩ) already dead (lit. while he had already become (ε-α-ϩ-οϩω) being dead (ε-ϩ-μοϩ))' (Onnophr. 205:23-24).
- f) Ethical datives are reflexively used prepositions, whose pronominal objects are co-referential with the clausal subject; they highlight the involvement of the subject referent in the situation in the situation described, e.g. **α ογα ννζλλο ναγ εροϩ ζν ογεκτασις (...)** 'one (ογα) of the old men (ν-ν-ζλλο) saw (α ... ναγ) for himself (ερο-ϩ) in (ζν) a trance (οϩ-εκτασις) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.180, 43:11).

- g) The nom. st. form *ε-* is grammaticalized as a prepositional complementizer that introduces non-finite infinitival clauses, e.g. *εισωψω ετουχε τλφγχι* 'I want (*ε-ι-οψω*) to cure (*ε-τουχε*) my soul (*τα-φγχι*)' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:1).
- h) Idiomatic uses: *ερουζε* 'at night', e.g. *νηε ρωμε βωκ ετεζc νεσοιx* (read *νεφοιx*) *ερουζε* (...) 'no one (*ρωμε*) shall go (*νηε ... βωκ*) to anoint (*ε-τεζc*) his hands (*νεφ-οιx*) at night (*ερουζε*)' (praec. Pach. 92), *επζλε* 'finally', e.g. *επζλε δε λγ† ναq ζωωq ηζντηζ* (for *ηζεντηζ*) (...) 'finally (*επζλε*), they gave (*λ-γ-†*) him (*να-q*) wings (*η-ζεντηζ*), too (*ζωω-q*) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), *επτηρq* 'at all', e.g. *ζωστε ετμηραικεθλε επτηρq* (...) 'so that (*ζωστε*) I did not notice (*ε-τη-τρα-ικεθλε*) at all (*ε-π-τηρ-q*) (...) ' (Onnophr. 209:26-27), *επεζογο* 'even more', e.g. *ναι δε λγτογνoсq επεζογο* 'they (*ναι*) (the pagan emperors) revived it (the prosecution) (*λ-γ-τογνoс-q*) even more (*ε-πε-ζογο*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:3-5).
2. nom. st. *η-* (assimilated form *η-*), pron. st. *ηα=*
- a) designates the recipient or beneficiary, i.e. the person towards whom a particular action or activity is directed or some object is handed over, e.g. *ψαρε πνουτε † ουζμοτ ηνετναπιστευε* 'God (*η-νουτε*) will give (*ψαρε ... †*) grace (*ουζμοτ*) to those who will believe (*η-η-ετ-ηα-πιστευε*)' (Test. Is. 228:11), or the person addressed in direct speech, e.g. *πεχαq ναq* (...) 'he (Apa Zênôn) said (*πεχα-q*) to him (*ηα-q*) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 179, 43:4).
- b) Ethical datives assume the number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatives to emphasize to the intended addressee the necessity or urgency of the requested activity, e.g. *θεωρει* (read *θεωρει*) *νακ* 'see (*θεωρει*) for yourself (*ηα-κ*)!' (KHML II 21:26), *τενου σε βιτq* (for *φιτq*) *νακ ζιxωι* 'now (*τενου*) take it (the cloak) (away) from me (*ζι-xω-ι*)' (V. Pach. 92:15).

3. nom. st. *η-* (assimilated form *η-*), pron. st. *ημο=*
- a) There is reason to assume that the polyfunctional preposition *η-*, *ημο=* originally had a locative meaning, from which other semantic functions are derived, e.g. *ηερε πχοεις ηπειηα* 'if the Lord (*η-χοεις*) were (*ηερε*) in this place (*η-πει-ηα*) (...) ' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), *λψωπε ηουζοου* (...) 'it happened (*λ-ψωπε*) one day (*η-ου-ζοου*) (...) ' (V. Pach. 136:23).
- b) As an identificational preposition, the nom. st. form *η-* must be construed with a zero-determined "bare" noun, e.g. *ζοιηε ηζο ηδαμογλ ζενκοογε* *ηζο ημογι* 'some (monsters) (*ζοιηε*) (as) camel-faced (*η-ζο η-δαμογλ*), others (*ζεν-κοογε*) lion-faced (*η-ζο η-μογι*)' (Test. Is. 234:2-3), *αφααγ ηεκκληcια* 'he (Apa Shenoute) turned them (the pagan temples) (*λ-φ-αα-γ*) into churches (*η-εκκληcια*)' (KHML II 50:27), *εκο ηπερπεροс* 'you are (*ε-κ-ο*) vainglorious (*η-περπεροс*)' (V. Pach. 1:18).
- c) marks the direct object of various kinds of transitive verbs, e.g. *εγκωτ ηπcoвт ηтcooyzс* 'when they were building (*ε-γ-κωτ*) the wall (*η-π-coвт*) of the congregation (*η-т-cooyzс*)' (V. Pach. 1:16), *εтетηxи ηπειρωμε ετων* (...) 'where to (*ε-των*) do you bring (*ε-тетη-xи*) this man (*η-πει-ρωμε*)?' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-3).
- d) The pron. st. *ημο=* may designate a contextually specified partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g. *ηεε εтqо ηζμζαλ ηπογλ* *ημοογ* 'in the manner (*η-εε < η-т-ζε*) that he (Pachôm) was (*εт-q-о*) a servant (*η-ζμζαλ*) of every single one (*η-η-ογλ η-ογλ*) of them (the brothers) (*ημο-ογ*)' (V. Pach. 90:19-20).
- e) Idiomatic uses: *ηωορη* 'at first', e.g. *ηωορη μεη λqтcαβοογ ηсζαι* 'at first (*ηωορη*) he (Zeno) taught them (his daughters) (*λ-q-тcαβο-ογ*) to write (*η-сζαι*)' (Hil. 2:6-7), *ηxioγε* 'secretly', e.g. *ηηποс ητε ζοιηε βι* (for *φι*) *ηεφсωμλ ηxioγε* 'that not (*ηηποс*) some (people) (*ζοιηε*) would carry away (*ητε ... φι*) his (Pachôm's) body (*ηεφ-сωμλ*) secretly (*ηxioγε*)' (V. Pach. 94:7), *λψωп[ε] δε οη ηουcoп* (...) 'it also (*οη*) happened (*λ-ψωпe*) once (*ηουcoп*)' (KHML II 17:18).



4. nom. st.  $\zeta\mathbf{N}$ - (assimilated form  $\zeta\mathbf{M}$ -), pron. st.  $\mathbf{N}\zeta\mathbf{HT}$ =
- a) displays some degree of overlap with  $\mathbf{N}$ -, when used as a locative preposition, e.g.  $\lambda\kappa\rho \text{ ογ } \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ νεϊτωϋ}$  'what (ογ) have you been doing (λ-κ-ρ) in (ζN) these districts (νεϊ-τωϋ)?' (KHML II 31:26).
- b) often has an instrumental interpretation and specifies the means through which a particular activity is carried out, e.g.  $\text{†[}\mathbf{N}\lambda\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon \text{ μμo] } \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ τειχηϋ}$  (...) 'I am going to kill (†-να-ζωτς) you (μμo) with (ζN) this sword (τει-χηϋ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-6).
- c) quite frequently indicates the source or point of origin of some state of affairs, e.g.  $\mathbf{N}\tau\alpha\epsilon\rho \text{ ρμμαo } \mathbf{N}\zeta\mathbf{HT}\omega\gamma$  'and become (Nτα-ερ) a rich man (ρμμαo) from them (the coins) (NζHT-ογ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:21-22),  $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda \chi\epsilon \text{ N}\tau\alpha \text{ πτηρ-ϋ } \omega\psi\pi\epsilon \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ πωλαϋε } \mathbf{N}\rho\omega\upsilon$  'because (εβoλ χε) the universe (π-τηρ-ϋ) has come into existence (Nτα ... ωψπε) from (ζM) the word (π-ωλαϋε) of his (God's) mouth (N-ρω-ϋ)' (V. Pach. 7:1-2).
- d) The combination of  $\zeta\mathbf{N}$  and an indefinite noun phrase yields a manner adverb, describing the way in which some action took place, e.g.  $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\omega\psi\omega\psi\beta \text{ ναϋ } \mathbf{N}\delta\mathbf{i} \text{ πεϋϋo\mathbf{N} } \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ ογ\omega\mathbf{N}\tau}$  'his brother (πεϋϋo\mathbf{N}) answered (λ-ϋ-ογ\omega\psi\beta) him (Pachōm) (να-ϋ) in (ζN) an angry manner (ογ-ω\mathbf{N}\tau)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18),  $\lambda\upsilon\chi\mathbf{i} \text{ ψκακ } \Delta\epsilon \text{ εβoλ } \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ ογ\mathbf{N}\delta\mathbf{o} } \mathbf{N}\sigma\mathbf{M}\mathbf{i}$  'he (Diocletian) cried (λ-ϋ-χι ψκακ) out (εβoλ) in (ζN) a loud (ογ-\mathbf{N}\delta\mathbf{o}) voice (N-σ\mathbf{M}\mathbf{i})' (Eud. 36:25).
- e) may refer to a partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\omega \text{ νερ } \zeta\lambda\zeta \text{ (read } \mathbf{N}\epsilon\rho\epsilon \text{ } \zeta\lambda\zeta) \text{ ο\mathbf{N} } \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ νε\sigma\mathbf{N}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{y} } \rho\epsilon\mathbf{i}\mathbf{m}\epsilon$  (for  $\rho\mathbf{i}\mathbf{m}\epsilon$ ) 'and (λγω) many (ζλζ) of (ζN) the brothers (νε-σ\mathbf{N}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{y}) wept (νερε ... ρ\mathbf{i}\mathbf{m}\epsilon), too (ο\mathbf{N})' (V. Pach. 90:17),  $\lambda \text{ } \zeta\omega\mathbf{i}\mathbf{n}\epsilon \text{ } \mathbf{N}\zeta\mathbf{HT}\omega\gamma \text{ } \lambda\lambda\epsilon \text{ } \epsilon\pi\epsilon\mathbf{i}\omega \text{ } \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ ογ\chi}\mathbf{H}\mathbf{P}$  'some (ζo\mathbf{i}\mathbf{n}\epsilon) of them (the brothers) (NζHT-ογ) mounted (λ ... λ\mathbf{\epsilon}) the donkey (ε-π-ε\mathbf{i}\omega) in a jolly mood (ζN ογ-χ\mathbf{H}\mathbf{P})' (V. Pach. 6:6-7).

5. nom. st.  $\zeta\mathbf{A}$ -, pron. st.  $\zeta\mathbf{A}\rho\mathbf{o}$ =
- a) The basic meaning of the locative preposition  $\zeta\mathbf{A}$  is 'under', e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\gamma \zeta\mathbf{A} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\omega\gamma\epsilon\rho\mathbf{i}\tau\epsilon \text{ } \mathbf{N}\mathbf{N}\alpha\mathbf{i}\rho\sigma\tau\omega\lambda\circ\varsigma$  'they placed them (their property) (λ-γ-κ\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{-}\gamma) under (ζ\mathbf{A}) the feet (N-ογ\epsilon\rho\mathbf{i}\tau\epsilon) of the apostles (N-N-α\mathbf{i}\rho\sigma\tau\omega\lambda\circ\varsigma)' (V. Ant. 4:3-4).
- b) commonly expresses the reason or cause for the emergence of some state of affairs, e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\mathbf{M}\omega\gamma \zeta\mathbf{A} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\pi\epsilon\mathbf{i}\beta\epsilon \text{ } \zeta\mathbf{N} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\tau\epsilon\mathbf{i}\epsilon\rho\mathbf{i}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{A}$  'they (the Persians) are on the verge of dying (λ-γ-μ\mathbf{o}\gamma) from (ζ\mathbf{A}) thirst (π-ε\mathbf{i}\beta\epsilon) in (ζN) this desert (τει-ε\rho\mathbf{i}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{A})' (Eud. 46:25).
- c) may designate the beneficiary, i.e. the person for whose sake some activity is carried out, e.g.  $\lambda\upsilon\mathbf{M}\omega\gamma\mathbf{N} \Delta\epsilon \text{ } \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda \text{ } \epsilon\phi\psi\lambda\mathbf{H} \zeta\mathbf{A}\rho\circ\varsigma \text{ } \mathbf{N}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\omega\gamma\chi\mathbf{A}\mathbf{i}$  'he (Ara Sarapion) remained (λ-ϋ-μ\mathbf{o}\gamma\mathbf{N}) praying (ε-ϋ-ψ\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{H}) for her sake (ζ\mathbf{A}\rho\circ-ς) that she might be saved (τ\mathbf{A}\rho\epsilon-ς-ογ\chi\mathbf{A}\mathbf{i})' (AP Chafne no. 240, 73:5),  $\mathbf{N}\tau\circ\kappa \text{ } \epsilon\tau\mathbf{N}\alpha\text{† } \mathbf{L}\omega\gamma\circ\varsigma \text{ } \mathbf{M}\mathbf{i}\rho\mathbf{N}\omega\gamma\tau\epsilon \zeta\mathbf{A} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\tau\alpha\phi\gamma\chi\mathbf{H}$  'it (is) you (N\mathbf{t}\circ\kappa) who will be answerable (ε\mathbf{T}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{A}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{† } \mathbf{L}\omega\gamma\circ\varsigma) to God (M-π-μ\mathbf{o}\gamma\tau\epsilon) for (ζ\mathbf{A}) my soul (τ\mathbf{A}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{φ}\mathbf{γ}\mathbf{χ}\mathbf{H})' (Hil. 5:28).
6. nom. st.  $\psi\mathbf{A}$ -, pron. st.  $\psi\mathbf{A}\rho\mathbf{o}$ =
- a) has a directional meaning and marks the destination or goal of some movement, e.g.  $\mathbf{N}\epsilon\psi\mathbf{A}\rho\epsilon \text{ } \mathbf{N}\pi\epsilon\mathbf{i}\omega\tau \Delta\epsilon \text{ } \mathbf{N}\theta\epsilon\mathbf{n}\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon \text{ } \epsilon\tau\mathbf{M}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{A}\gamma \text{ } \epsilon\mathbf{i} \text{ } \psi\mathbf{A} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\epsilon\mathbf{n}\epsilon\mathbf{i}\omega\tau \text{ } \mathbf{N}\alpha\zeta\omega\mathbf{M} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\zeta\lambda\zeta \text{ } \mathbf{N}\sigma\mathbf{o}\mathbf{P}$  'the father (π-ε\mathbf{i}\omega\tau) of that (ε\mathbf{T}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{A}\gamma) monastery (N-θ\epsilon\mathbf{n}\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon < N-T-ζ\epsilon\mathbf{n}\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon) used to (Nε-ψ\mathbf{A}\rho\epsilon) come (ε\mathbf{i}) to (ψ\mathbf{A}) our father (π\mathbf{E}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{E}\mathbf{i}\omega\tau) Pachōm many (N-ζ\mathbf{A}\zeta) times (N-σ\mathbf{o}\mathbf{P})' (V. Pach. 139:25-26).
- b) yields an adverb of temporal location in combination with time-indicating nouns and demarcates a point in time up to which some activity lasts, e.g.  $\lambda\lambda\lambda\alpha \text{ } \mathbf{M}\mathbf{i}\rho\mathbf{P}\mathbf{Q}\mathbf{i}\tau\mathbf{Q} \text{ } \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda \text{ } \epsilon\tau\mathbf{o}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{C}\mathbf{Q} \text{ } \psi\mathbf{A} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{A}\gamma \text{ } \mathbf{M}\mathbf{i}\rho\omega\gamma\epsilon\mathbf{i}\mathbf{N} \text{ } \mathbf{N}\rho\mathbf{A}\tau\epsilon$  'but (λλ\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}) do not bring him (the dead boy) (M\mathbf{i}\rho\mathbf{P}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{Q}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{Q}) out (εβoλ) to bury him (ε-τ\mathbf{o}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{C}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{Q}) until (ψ\mathbf{A}) the hour (π-ναγ) of (day)light (M-π-ογ\epsilon\mathbf{i}\mathbf{N}) tomorrow (N-ρ\mathbf{A}\tau\epsilon)' (Ac. A&P 196:44-45).

## 7. nom. st. MN-, pron. st. NMMA=

- a) has a comitative interpretation and typically designates the entity with whom some activity is carried out, e.g. ΝΤΝΟΥΩΜ ΗΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ 'and we eat (Ν-ΤΝ-ΟΥΩΜ) *with* (ΗΝ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 215:29), ΛΥΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ 'he (Pachôm) spoke (Λ-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ) *with* him (Theodor) (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ)' (V. Pach. 93:27).
- b) A benefactive or adversative reading may be imposed contextually, e.g. Α ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΨΩΜ ΤΡΕ ΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΕΙΡΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΜΑΙΟΝ 'Our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachôm let (ΤΡΕ) the brother (ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ) make (ΕΙΡΕ) *for* him (ΝΜΜΑΥ) a great (Ν-ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) brotherly love (Μ-ΜΗΤ-ΜΑΙ-ΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 136:26-27), ΜΗ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΟΛΥΜΕΙ ΝΜΜΑΚ 'do perhaps (ΜΗ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ) fight (ΠΟΛΥΜΕΙ) *with* you (ΝΜΜΑ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 44:16-17); similarly † ΜΗ 'to fight with', e.g. ΖΕΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΕΥ† ΝΗΜΑΝ 'demons (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ) who fight (Ε-Υ-†) *with* us (ΝΜΜΑ-Ν)' (KHML II 11:14-15).
- c) conjoins two definite or indefinite noun phrases, e.g. ΟΥΝΟΥΒ ΜΗ ΟΥΖΑΤ ΕΝΑΨΩΥ 'gold (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΒ) *and* (ΜΗ) silver (ΟΥ-ΖΑΤ) in great quantity (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-Υ 'which was much')' (Eud. 64:2), ΤΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) *and* (ΜΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Eud. 46:12) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

## 8. nom. st. ΟΥΤΕ-, pron. st. ΟΥΤΩ=

indicates the relative location of two entities with respect to one another in combination with the comitative preposition MN- 'with', e.g. ΕΚΝΑΚΑ ΟΥΜΑΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΟΥΤΩΚ ΝΜΜΑΥ 'you should place (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ) an elbow (ΟΥ-ΜΑΖΕ) *between* you (ΟΥΤΩ-Κ) and him (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ)' (praec. Pach. 95), ΑΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΤΩΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ 'a minor argument ([ΟΥ]-ΨΑΧΕ) came up (Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) *between* them (ΟΥΤΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΜΗ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:16-17).

## 9. nom. st. ΖΙ-, pron. st. ΖΙΩ=

- a) When used as a locative preposition, ΖΙ-, ΖΙΩ= indicates the position of some individual or object, e.g. Α ΠΑΕΙΩΤ Ρ ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΟΥΥ ΖΙ ΠΕΒΛΟΨ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) spent (Α ... Ρ) three (ΨΟΜΝΤ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥΥ) *in* (ΖΙ) bed (ΠΕ-ΒΛΟΨ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 55:10-11), ΕΡΕ ΟΥΣΤΧΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΖΙΩΩΥ 'while a tunic (ΟΥ-ΣΤΧΑΡΙΟΝ) was placed (ΕΡΕ ... ΤΟ) *upon* him (ΖΙΩΩ-Υ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).
- b) conjoins two zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. ΣΑΡΞ ΖΙ ΣΝΟΥ 'flesh (ΣΑΡΞ) *and* (ΖΙ) blood (ΣΝΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 206:25) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

10. nom. st. ΑΧΝ-, ΕΧΝ- (assimilated forms ΑΧΜ-, ΕΧΝ-),  
pron. st. ΑΧΝΤ=, var. ΕΧΝΤ=

has an inherent negative meaning and asserts the absence of a particular individual or object, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΨΒ ΤΕΥΑΠΕ ΑΧΜ ΠΕΥΡΜΗΝΗ 'no one (ΡΩΜΕ) shall shave (ΝΝΕ ... ΨΒ) his head (ΤΕΥΑΠΕ) *without* (ΑΧΜ) his superintendent (ΠΕΥΡ-ΡΜΗ-ΝΗ)' (praec. Pach. 97), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΧΝΤΥ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), he (ΠΑΙ) *without* whom (ΕΧΝΤ-Υ) nothing (ΛΑΛΥ) happens (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ)' (Zen. 202:3).

## 11. nom. st. ΠΑΡΑ-, pron. st. ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=

is commonly used as a functional equivalent of the directional preposition Ε-, ΕΡΟ= in comparative constructions, e.g. ΥΣΟΤΠ ΝΟΙ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΤΑΙ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of that (girl) (Ν-ΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ) is *better* (Υ-ΣΟΤΠ) *than* (ΠΑΡΑ) the life (Π-ΩΝΖ) of this one (Ν-ΤΑΙ)' (Hil. 8:7-8), ΛΙΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΑΡΑ (ΜΠΑΡΑ) ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ 'I have committed (Α-Ι-ΕΡ) sins (ΝΟΒΕ) more than (ΜΠΑΡΑ) any (ΝΙΜ) man (ΡΩΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 19b:1-3) ΟΥΧΩΨΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ '(is) he stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΨΡΕ) *than* us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110).

12. nom. st. **ΚΑΤΑ-**, pron. st. **ΚΑΤΑΡΟ-**

- a) As a correlative preposition, **ΚΑΤΑ** is widely used to express the idea of suitability or conformity, e.g. **ἴνα εἶρε κατὰ περὶ ψαχε** 'I will act (ἴ-**ΝΑ**-εἶρε) according to (κατὰ) your word (περ-ψαχε)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), idiomatic **ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ** (< **Τ-ΖΕ** 'the manner') 'in the vein of, like', e.g. **ἔωρα δὼντ κατὰ θεῖς ἠνετογάλαβ** 'then he became angry (ε-**ΦΑ**-**Γ**-δὼντ) like (κατὰ θεῖς) the holy ones (ἠ-**ΝΕΤ**-**ΟΥ**αλαβ)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21).
- b) can also have a distributional interpretation, e.g. **ψαρε τειβννε ταγε μντснооус нλооу нβнне κατὰ ρομπε ούλοоу κατὰ εβοτ** 'this date palm-tree (τει-βнνε) brings forth (ψαρε ... ταγε) twelve (μнтснооус) clusters (ἠ-**ΛΟΟУ**) of dates (ἠ-βнне) per (κατὰ) year (ρομπε), one cluster (οὔ-**ΛΟΟУ**) per (κατὰ) month (εβοτ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-12).

3.2.2 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions consist of a basic preposition and another element specifying its basic spatial orientation. The second component of such compound prepositions is either a possessive noun phrase, e.g. **ΖἸ ΤἸΗΤΕ ἠ-** 'in (ΖἸ) the midst (τ-**ΜΗΤΕ**) of (ἠ-)', or an incorporated "bare" noun, e.g. **ἠСА-** 'after' (< ἠ- 'in' + **СА-** 'back', lit. 'in the back of').

3.2.2.1 Compound prepositions with possessive noun phrases

The object of compound prepositions like **ΖἸΗ ἠΠἠεεῖ** 'towards (ΖἸ + **ΟΗ** < **Τ** + **ΖἸ** 'the forepart') the sailor (ἠ-**Πἠεεῖ**)' (Ac. A&P 194:7) is a possessive phrase, cf. figure 3.6.

BASIC PREPOSITION	POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE		
	POSSESSED NOUN	LINKER	POSSESSOR NOUN
<b>ΖἸ</b> on	<b>ΟΗ</b> < <b>Τ</b> + <b>ΖἸ</b> the forepart	<b>ἠ-</b> of	<b>Πἠεεῖ</b> the sailor

FIGURE 3.6 The internal structure of compound prepositions

The possessed noun that specifies the locative meaning of the basic preposition is typically a place-indicating noun like **ἠἠ(ἠ)τε** 'midst', **ἠτο** 'presence' and **κῶτε** 'surrounding', or a body-part expression like **ΖἸ** 'forepart', e.g. **ἠΠἠετο εβολ ἠἠ[ε]ρρ[ῶου]** 'in the presence (ἠ-**Πἠε**-**ἠτο** εβολ) of the kings (ἠ-**ἠε**-**ρρῶου**)' (Eud. 44:8), **ἠἠμε ετἠπκῶτε ἠἠμα ετεῖαἠαχωρει ἠΖἠτῖ** 'the villages (ἠ-**ἠμε**) that (ετ-) (were) in the neighbourhood (ἠ-**Πἠ**-**κῶτε**) of the place (ἠ-**Πἠ**-**μα**) in (ἠΖἠτῖ-**ῖ**) which he (Pachōm) lived as a hermit (ετε-**ῖ**-**αἠαχωρει**)' (V. Pach. 103a:18-20).

To derive the pronominal state form of such compound prepositions, the possessed noun is determined by the possessive article **πεῖ-** (sing. masc.), **τεῖ-** (sing. fem.), **νεῖ-** (plural) 'his', which expresses both definiteness and pronominal possession (see below, section 4.1.2.1 of the next unit), e.g. **ἠΠἠεκἠτο εβολ** 'before you (lit. in your presence (ἠ-**Πἠε**-**κἠτο**))' (Camb. 8:20), **ΖἸατἠη** 'before me (lit. under (ΖἸ) my forepart (τἠ-**ΖἸ**))' (Eud. 34:26), **ΖἸ ἠεῖμἠητε** 'in (ΖἸ) their midst (τεῖ-**ἠηητε**)' (Onnophr. 206:15), **ἠἠμε ετἠπεῖκῶτε** 'the villages (ἠ-**ἠμε**) which (were) (ετ-) in his neighbourhood (ἠ-**Πἠεῖ**-**κῶτε**)' (V. Pach. 3:26).

3.2.2.2 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

The by far most common compound prepositions involve the incorporation of a "bare" noun into a basic preposition, e.g. **ἠСА** **Ζἠηψαχε ἠβρρε** 'after (< ἠ- 'in' + **СА-** 'back') new (ἠ-**βρρε**) words' (Ζἠη-**ψαχε**)' (Hil. 1:18-19). The incorporated noun enters into two structural relations: it functions as the complement of the basic preposition, but at the same time serves as the head noun for the following prepositional object.

COMPOUND PREPOSITION		PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
BASIC PREPOSITION	INCORPORATED NOUN	
<b>ἠ-</b> in	<b>СА-</b> back	<b>Ζἠηψαχε ἠβρρε</b> new words

FIGURE 3.7 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

Table 3.6 lists the nominal and pronominal state allomorphs of the most common compound prepositions.

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ΕΤΝ-	ΕΤΟΟΤ=	to	ΝΤΝ-	ΝΤΟΟΤ=	from
ΖΙΤΝ-	ΖΙΤΟΟΤ=	by	ΖΑΖΤΝ-	ΖΑ(Ζ)ΤΗ=	besides, near
ΕΧΝ-	ΕΧΩ=	upon	ΖΙΧΝ-	ΖΙΧΩ=	upon, on
ΝCΑ-	ΝCΩ=	after	ΜΝΝCΑ-	ΜΝΝCΩ=	after
ΝΑΖΡΝ-	ΝΑΖΡΑ=	before	ΕΖΡΝ-	ΕΖΡΑ=	towards
ΖΑΡΝ-	ΖΑΡΩ=	before	ΖΙΡΝ-	ΖΙΡΩ=	at, upon
ΕΤΟΥΝ-	ΕΤΟΥΩ=	besides	ΕΠΑΖΟΥ-	ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟ=	backwards of
ΕΡΑΤ= Ν-	ΕΡΑΤ=	to	ΖΑΡΑΤ= Ν-	ΖΑΡΑΤ=	beneath
ΖΗΤ= Ν-	ΖΗΤ=	before	ΕΤΒΕ-	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ=	because of
ΝΒΛ-	ΝΒΛΛΑ=	except	ΝΟΥΨΝ-		without

TABLE 3.5 The inventory of compound prepositions

The pronominal paradigm of the compound prepositions ΕΤΟΟΤ= 'to', ΝCΩ= 'after', and ΖΑΡΑΤ= 'beneath' is presented in table 3.6.

	ΕΤΟΟΤ=	ΝCΩ=	ΖΑΡΑΤ=
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Τ	ΝCΩ=Ι	ΖΑΡΑΤ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Κ	ΝCΩ=Κ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Κ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Ε	ΝCΩ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Ε
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Τ	ΝCΩ=Τ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Τ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=C	ΝCΩ=C	ΖΑΡΑΤ=C
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Ν	ΝCΩ=Ν	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Ν
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	ΕΤΝ=ΤΗΥΤΝ	ΝCΩ=ΤΝ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=ΤΗΥΤΝ
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=ΟΥ	ΝCΩ=ΟΥ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=ΟΥ

TABLE 3.6 The pronominal paradigm of compound prepositions

N.B. The incorporated noun in a compound preposition is historically derived from a body-part expression like ΤΕ- 'hand', ΡΑΤ- 'foot' or ΖΑ- 'face'. In the vast majority of cases, the anatomical meaning of the incorporated noun has been lost beyond recognition. This process of semantic bleaching is particularly evident when the compound preposition is construed with another body-part expression, e.g. ΑΦΖΕ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΧΝ ΠΦΖΟ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΗΗΤΕ 'he (Pachōm) fell (Α-Φ-ΖΕ) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ) on (ΕΧΝ < Ε- 'at' + Χ(Ε) 'head') his face (ΠΕΦ-ΖΟ) in (ΖΗ) their (the brothers') midst (ΤΕΥ-ΗΗΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17).

Gaps in the inflectional paradigms of certain compound prepositions are compensated for by two auxiliary constructions:

- When a compound preposition has no nominal state allomorph, a predicational phrase with the locative preposition Ν- 'as' is added to the pronominal state form, e.g. <ΨΑ>ΝΤΟΥΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΦ ΜΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ 'until they came (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΕΙ) towards (Ε-ΡΑΤ-Φ) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) martyr (Μ-Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:22-23). The pronominal state ΕΡΑΤ-Φ contains an anticipatory pronoun that agrees in person, number and gender with the following noun phrase. The the identity between the anticipatory pronoun and the co-referential noun phrase is indicated by the locative preposition Μ-. The defective preposition ΖΗΤ= 'forward, before' lacks an initial basic preposition besides a nominal state form, e.g. ΕCΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΤΗΦ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙΝ ΠΕCΧΠΟ 'and she (Eudoxia) had reverence (Ε-C-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ) for (ΖΤΗ-Φ) God (Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) since (ΧΙΝ) her birth (ΠΕC-ΧΠΟ)' (Eud. 50:4-5).
- When a compound preposition has no pronominal state allomorph, the pronominal state ΜΜΟ= of the locative preposition Ν- is used as a suppletive form and simply juxtaposed with its nominal state allomorph e.g. ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟ= 'backwards of', e.g. ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΨΩΝΕ ΝΑΩ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥCΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΨΩΝΕ 'the one (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) (responsible for) the sick (ΕΤ-ΨΩΝΕ) people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) shall stay (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-Ω) behind them (ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) on account of (ΕΤΒΕ) a brother (ΟΥ-CΟΝ) who will become sick (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΝΕ)' (praec. Pach. 129).

### 3.2.3 Particle modification

The addition of a small word or particle can specify the spatial orientation of various basic and compound prepositions. In an example like  $\lambda$  παλος φοσε εζραι ζη ημοου 'Paulus leaped ( $\lambda$  ... φοσε- $\eta$ ) up ( $\epsilon$ ζραι) from ( $\eta$ ) the water ( $\eta$ -μοου)' (Ac. A&P 198:62-63), the particle εζραι 'up' underlines the upward directionality of the motion event being described. The most common reinforcing particles are the following ones:

#### 1. εβολ 'out'

The particle εβολ indicates the departure from the point of origin of some motion event, e.g.  $\lambda$ φει εβολ ζη τεφρι (...) 'he (Ara Zênôn) came ( $\lambda$ - $\phi$ -ει) out (εβολ) of his cell (ζη τεφ-ρι) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 179, 42:26),  $\lambda$ φει εβολ ζητοοτφ ζη ογνοσ νραφε 'he (the official) went ( $\lambda$ - $\phi$ -ει) away (εβολ) from him (Pachôm) (ζη-τοοτ- $\phi$ ) very joyfully (lit. with (ζη) great (ογνοσ) joy (ν-ραφε))' (V. Pach. 138:7-8).

#### 2. εζογν 'into', ηζογν 'inside'

The particles εζογν 'into' and ηζογν 'inside' describe inward direction and inside location, respectively, e.g.  $\chi$ εκασ ηνε ηαποστολοσ εψ βωκ εζογν ετπολισ 'so that ( $\chi$ εκασ) the apostles ( $\eta$ -αποστολοσ) could not go ( $\eta$ νε ... εψ-βωκ) into the city (εζογν ε-τ-πολισ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152) vs. ητεγνοφ  $\lambda$  ηζαγιουσ ηερκογριοσ κιμ ημοφ ηζογν ητκαιοε 'immediately (ητεγνοφ) the holy ( $\eta$ -ζαγιουσ) Mercurius moved ( $\lambda$  ... κιμ) himself (ημοφ) inside the shroud (ηζογν η-τ-καιοε)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:7-8), ηνε  $\lambda$ αφ νρωμε ογν ηκα ηζογν ητεφρι 'no one ( $\lambda$ αφ) shall eat ( $\eta$ νε ... ογν) anything (ηκα) inside his cell (ηζογν η-τεφ-ρι)' (praec. Pach. 114).

#### 3. εζραι 'up, down'

The particle εζραι is a polysemous expression that has two opposite semantic values: it may reinforce the upward or downward orientation of some movement, with the implication that the final destination has been reached. Thus, compare:  $\lambda$ φντφ εζραι εκωσταντινογπολισ (...) 'he

(the angel) brought him (Constantine) ( $\lambda$ - $\phi$ -ντ- $\phi$ ) up (εζραι) to Constantinople (ε-κωσταντινογπολισ) (...)' (Eud. 42:27-28),  $\lambda$ φλε εζραι εχν ταπε ηπτοοφ 'he climbed ( $\lambda$ - $\phi$ -λε) up (εζραι) on (εχν) the peak (τ-απε) of the mountain ( $\eta$ -π-τοοφ)' (Zen. 205:2) vs.  $\lambda$ φει εζραι επειμα 'he (Christ) went ( $\lambda$ - $\phi$ -ει) down (εζραι) to this place (ε-πει-μα)' (Ac. A&P 202:103-104).

#### 4. επεσнт 'downwards'

To indicate the descending directionality of some motion event, the particle επεσнт is frequently used as an alternative for the polysemous particle εζραι, e.g. ητε[ρε] $\phi$ ει επεσнт εαμντε 'when he (Christ) had gone (ητερε- $\phi$ -ει) down (επεσнт) to Hell (ε-αμντε)' (Ac. A&P 204:142-143),  $\lambda$  δαμογλ (read ποδαμογλ) κλαφ επεσнт εχн πκαζ 'the camel (π-δαμογλ) put him ( $\lambda$  ... κλα- $\phi$ ) down (επεσнт) on (εχн) the earth (π-καζ)' (Mercur, Mir. 265:11-12), ηεογν ογνοσ γαρ ηζημε ηπεснт ηπμα εтημαγ 'for (γαρ) (there) was (ηε-ογн) a great (ογ-ноσ) heat (η-ζημε) down (ηπεснт) in that (εтημαγ) place (η-π-μα)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19).

## 3.3 Adverbial modifiers

Adverbial phrases are sentence modifiers that bear a close semantic relation to the verb and its arguments (subject, object). Adverb modifiers contribute to the semantic interpretation of the clause they modify by providing information about the temporal and spatial setting of some state of affairs or about the circumstances under which it took place. Coptic has no specialized derivational morphology to create adverbial expressions from nouns and adjectives. Rather, adverbial adjuncts are either derived from prepositional phrases or involve adverbially used noun phrases.

### 3.3.1 Genuine Adverbs

Coptic has a rest category of sentence modifiers that are not derived from prepositional phrases:

1. The interrogative pronoun **ΤΩΝ** 'where'

indicates a questioned location, e.g. **ΕΤΕΤΗΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΤΩΝ** 'where (των) do you attend Mass (ε-τετη-συναγε)?' (Onnophr. 221:11).

2. The epistemic adverbs **ΑΡΗΥ** and **ΜΕΨΑΚ** 'perhaps'

signal the non-commitment of the speaker to the truth of the utterance, e.g. **ΑΡΗΥ ΑΦΜΟΥ** 'perhaps (αρηυ) he (Αρα Ptolemaios) died (α-φ-μου)' (KHML II 34:6), **ΜΕΨΑΚ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΝΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΦΩΤΗ ΧΕ (...)** 'perhaps (μεψακ) on hearing (it) (ε-φ-σωτη), someone (ουα) might think (να-μεεε) that (χε) (...)' (Zen. 200:12-13), **ΜΕΨΑΚ ΜΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟϚ** 'maybe (μεψακ) the word (π-ψαχε) (that) I have spoken (εντ-α-ι-χοο-Ϛ) (is) not (αν) the will (π-ουωψ) of the Lord (η-π-χοεις)' (V. Pach. 85a:20-23).

The locative preposition **η-** and the directional preposition **ε-** are extremely widespread adverbial markers. Despite the fact that such adverbs have the morphological structure of prepositional phrases, there is good reason to believe that what we are dealing with is a distinct type of adverb formation. To begin with, the complement of **η-** and **ε-** marked adverbs is not an existing noun in Coptic. Moreover, these adverbs have a specialized meaning and function that differs from that of the corresponding locative or directional phrase:

3. The weak deictic adverb **ΗΜΑΥ** 'there'

The locative adverb **ΗΜΑΥ** 'there' indicates distance from the deictic center, i.e. the place and time of the speech situation, e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΚΕΨΥΧΗ ΗΜΑΥ** 'but (αλλα), look (εις), (there was) another soul (κε-ψυχη) there (ημαυ)' (Ac. A&P 202:111). It also expresses deictic remoteness, e.g. **ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ** 'that place' (lit. the place (π-μα) which ((ετ-) (is) (over) there (ημαυ))' (Onnophr. 206:11) (see section 4.1.1.3 of Unit 4 for a more detailed discussion of its use as a distal demonstrative).

4. The frequency adverb **ΜΗΗΝΕ** 'daily'

The temporal adverb **ΜΗΗΝΕ** 'daily' indicates recurring or habitual actions, e.g. **ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΦΕΩ ΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΜΗΗΝΕ** 'so that (χεκασ) he (Zeno) could continue (ε-φ-σω) to see (ε-φ-ναυ) her (Hilaria) (εφο-ς) daily (μηηνε)' (Hil. 12:9-10).

5. The adverb of temporal location **ΝΣΟΥ-** 'on day'

e.g. **ΑΦΕΡ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΧΗ ΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΙϚ ΠΕΧϚ (...)** **ΝΣΟΥΜΗΝΤΗ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΖΑΩΡ** 'he (Αρα Mena) became (α-φ-ερ) a martyr (μαρτυρος) for (εχη) the name (π-ραν) of our Lord (μ-πεν-χοεις) Jesus Christ (πε-χϚ) (...) on the fifteenth day (νσου-μηνη) of the month (η-π-εβοτ) Hathôr' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:12-19).

6. The degree adverb **ΕΜΑΤΕ** 'much, greatly'

A variety of **η-** and **ε-** marked adverbs have function as degree adverbs or focus particles. The high degree modifier **ΕΜΑΤΕ** 'much, greatly', for instance, describes the enormity or vastness of some action, e.g. **ΝΕΦΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ** 'he (Pachôm) performed ascetic labours (νε-φ-πολιτευε) greatly (εματε)' (V. Pach. 103a:6-7).

7. The restrictive focus particle **ΜΗΜΑΤΕ** 'only, merely'

The focus particle **ΜΗΜΑΤΕ** 'only' has an exclusive meaning and expresses the singularity of events or participants, e.g. **ΜΗ ΕΚΝΑΚΑΛΤ ΝΣΩΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΜΗΜΑΤΕ** 'will you abandon me (lit. put me (ε-κ-να-καλ-τ) behind you (νσω-κ)) because of (ετβε) one thing (ου-ζωβ) only (μηματε)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82), **ΝΤΑ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΒΟΙΛΕ ΕΥΡΩΜΕ ΜΗΜΑΤΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ** 'the word (π-λογος) merely (μηματε) dwelled (ντα ... βοιλε) in a human being (ε-γ-ρωμε) like (νθε η-) in one (ουα) of the ancient (η-αρχαιος) prophets (η-νε-προφητης)' (Zen. 204: 11-12).

8. The scalar focus particle **ΕΝΕΖ** 'ever, never'

The focus particle **ΕΝΕΖ** 'ever, never' evaluates the truth of a sentence with respect to a temporal continuum, e.g. **ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΜΠΑΘΟΣ ΕΝΕΖ** 'the one (ΠΑΙ) who behaves thus (lit. of this kind (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ)) will not (ΜΕΡΕ) ever (ΕΝΕΖ) become (ΕΡ) master (ΧΟΕΙΣ) over any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (Ν-ΠΑΘΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:9).

## 3.3.2 Adverbially used noun phrases

Noun phrases that refer to temporal intervals or points on a scale may be used as frequency adverbs or adverbs of temporal location without further qualifications, e.g. **ΝΕΡΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ † ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ** 'Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗ) gave (ΝΕΡΕ ... †) them (the Persian kings) (ΝΑ-Υ) gifts (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΩΡΟΝ) annually (ΤΕ-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Eud. 42:14), **ΤΑΡΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙΣ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (in) the beginning (ΤΑΡΧΗ) when they enter (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) the life of a hermit (Ε-Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙΣ)' (Onnophr. 211:14-15). Reiterated "bare" noun phrases are associated with a distributive reading, e.g. **ΑΥΤ[ΡΕΥΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ] ΔΕ ΣΗ[ΑΥ] [ΣΗ]ΑΥ** 'they made them fast (Α-Υ-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ) two on two (i.e. two succeeding days) (ΣΗΑΥ ΣΗΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:22).

The deictic expression **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ** (< **ΤΕ-ΟΥΝΟΥ** 'the hour') 'now, then, but now' does not usually have a temporal meaning, but rather serves as an attention marker, which signals the immediate relevance of what will be communicated next. In this function, **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ** is commonly used to add force to directive speech-acts (orders, commands, requests), e.g. **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ** 'now then (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ), let's go (ΜΑΡΟ-Ν)!' (Eud. 68:10), **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΣΩΤΗ ΝΣΩΙ** 'but now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), my son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ), listen (ΣΩΤΗ) to me (ΝΣΩ-Ι)!' (KHML II 33:13-14).

## 3.3.3 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs generally describe the way in which some event or activity is performed. Coptic manner adverbs are prepositional phrases involving the locative-instrumental preposition **ΖΝ** 'with, through, by means of' and an indefinite noun phrase, which designates a mental or

psychological state, e.g. **ΝΤΟϚ ΔΕ ΛϚΧΙΤΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'he (the official) (ΝΤΟϚ) accepted them (Pachôm's bounty) (Α-Ϛ-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) faith (Μ-ΠΙΣΤΙΣ) towards (ΕΖΟΥΝ) God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 138:6-7), **ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕϚΧΩ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΧΑϚΙΖΗΤ** (...) 'when he (Diocletian) said (Ε-Ϛ-ΧΩ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) arrogance (Μ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΧΑϚΙ-ΖΗΤ)' (Eud. 36:17), **ΛϚΟΥΨΨ ΝΑϚ ΝΘΙ ΠΕϚϚΟΝ ΖΝ ΟΥϚΩΝΤ** 'his brother (ΠΕϚ-ϚΟΝ) answered (Α-Ϛ-ΟΥΨΨ) him (Pachôm) (ΝΑ-Ϛ) angrily (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ϚΩΝΤ)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18).

## a) Postverbal placement

Manner adverbs tend to follow the verb and the direct and indirect object as closely as possible. The preferred word order is DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL LOCATION ADVERBS, as seen in: **ΛϚΗΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤϚΟΟΥϚϚ ΖΝ ΟΥΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΑΨΑΖΟΜ** 'he (Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) (Α-Ϛ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) into the convent (ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-Τ-ϚΟΟΥϚϚ) downhearted (lit. in (ΖΝ) a sadness (ΟΥ-ΗΚΑΖ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) and (ΜΗ) (with) a sigh (ΑΨ-ΑΖΟΜ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11), **ΑΥΩ ΛϚΠΨΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕϚϚΙΧ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΡΙΜΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡϚ ΧΙΝ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΨΑ ΖΤΟΥϚΕ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (Pachôm) lifted (Α-Ϛ-ΠΨΨ) his hands (Ν-ΝΕϚ-ϚΙΧ) up (ΕΖΡΑΙ) to God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) weeping (ΖΝ ΟΥΡΙΜΕ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Ϛ) night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ) from (ΧΙΝ) evening (ΡΟΥΖΕ) till (ΨΑ) dawn (ΖΤΟΥϚΕ)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3), **ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΛϚΧΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥϚΕΠΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕϚΙΩΝ** 'right away (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ), he (Constantine) sent (Α-Ϛ-ΧΟΟΥ) quickly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ϚΕΠΗ) (a message) to (ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-ϚΙΩΝ) Zion' (Eud. 70:18).

## b) Conjunction of manner adverbials

Two or more manner adverbs can be joined together by the connective **ΜΗ** (see above, section 3.1.5.2). Since noun phrases can be headed by a single preposition only, the adverbial preposition **ΖΝ** is left out in the second conjunct, e.g. **[ΑΥΩ ΕΤΡΕΥ]ΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΜΗ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΑ[ΤΡΟ]ΟΥΨ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) that they come (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) negligently (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΛΙΑ) and (ΜΗ) (with) an unconcerned (Ν-ΑΤ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) attitude (ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ)' (Camb. 8:8-9), **ΛϚΗΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤϚΟΟΥϚϚ ΖΝ ΟΥΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΑΨΑΖΟΜ** 'he

(Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the convent (Ε-Τ-COΟΥΖC) *downhearted* (lit. in (ΖΝ) a sadness (ΟΥ-ΜΚΑΖ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) and (ΜΝ) (with) a sigh (ΛΨ-ΑΖΟΜ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11).

### 3.3.4 Cognate objects

Cognate objects derive their name from the fact that they contain a copy of the main verb. In Coptic, cognate objects are syntactically encoded as manner adverbs. There are no selectional restrictions with respect to the type of verb they modify, witness the fact that transitive as well as intransitive verbs can co-occur with such cognate objects, e.g. ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΛΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛ (read ΤΠΥΛΗ) ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Λ-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΥ) *very securely* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΛΦΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΦCΩΒΕ ΖΝ ΟΥCΩΒΕ ΕΦΟΥΛΑΒ 'he (the holy Apa Mercurius) came (Λ-Φ-ΕΙ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ) laughing (Ε-Φ-CΩΒΕ) a *holy* (Ε-Φ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) *laugh* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-CΩΒΕ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:6-7), ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (read ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. in a *dying* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

Cognate objects convey a quantificational meaning and indicate the high degree or amount of the activity or state referred to by the main verb, e.g. ΛΦΡΑΨΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΝΟΥΝΟC (for ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC) ΝΡΑΨΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) *rejoiced* (Λ-Φ-ΡΑΨΕ) about it (ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ-Φ) with (ΖΝ) *great* (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *joy* (Ν-ΡΑΨΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:21-22), ΜΝΝCΑ ΟΥΟΘΕΙΨ ΔΕ ΛΦΨΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΩΝΕ 'after (ΜΝΝCΑ) some time (ΟΥ-ΟΥΘΕΙΨ) he (the brother) became very sick (lit. he became sick (Λ-Φ-ΨΩΝΕ) in a *great* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *sickness* (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ))' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:4-5), ΛΨΩ CΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΖΝ <ΖΕΝ>ΚΟΛΛCΙC ΕΥΝΑΨΤ 'and (ΛΨΩ) we will be punished (lit. *they* will punish (CΕ-ΝΑ-ΚΟΛΛΑΖΕ) us (ΜΜΟ-Ν))' in (ΖΝ) *severe* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑΨΤ) *punishments* (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΛΛCΙC)' (Onnophr. 208:2-3).

### 3.3.5 Greek adverbs

The inventory of Coptic sentence modifiers is supplemented with a variety of Greek loan adverbs, many of which are morphologically marked by the ending -ΩC (see above, section 1.4.1.4 of Unit 1). Particularly common examples are:

1. The manner adverbs ΚΑΛΩC 'well, rightly' and ΚΑΚΩC 'badly'

e.g. ΛΦΧΕ (read ΛΦΧΕΚ) ΠΕΦΑΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΚΩC 'he (the brother) accomplished (Λ-Φ-ΧΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) his (life)-time (ΠΕΦΑ-ΖΕ) *badly* (ΚΑΚΩC)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, p.1:3-4), ΚΑΛΩC ΛΦΧΟΟC ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝCΑΖ ΤΗΡΗ ΠΕΧC ΖΗ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'rightly (ΚΑΛΩC) said (Λ-Φ-ΧΟΟ-C) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the scribe for all (ΤΗΡ-Η) of us (ΠΕΝ-CΑΖ) in (ΖΗ) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Gospel (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)' (Abbatôn 229:9-11), ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΨΙ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'the ones who serviced (ΝΕ-ΝΤΑ-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) well (ΚΑΛΩC) (are) the ones who reached (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ) the measure (Π-ΨΙ) of the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

2. The degree adverbs ΖΩΛΩC 'entirely, altogether, at all'

is particularly common in negated sentences, e.g. ΛΨΩ ΜΠΕΡΟΥΨ ΕCΩΤΗ ΕΤΚΑΤΑΛΛΙΑ ΖΩΛΟC 'and (ΛΨΩ) do not wish (ΜΠΕΡ-ΟΥΨ) to listen (Ε-CΩΤΗ) to slander (Ε-Τ-ΚΑΤΑΛΛΙΑ) *at all* (ΖΩΛΟC)' (Test. Is. 233:27-28), ΝΦΤCΟ ΑΝ ΖΩΛΟC ΦΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'he (the pagan commander) *does not restrain* (*himself*) (Ν-Φ-Τ CΟ) at all (ΖΩΛΟC), since (ΓΑΡ) he imprisons (Φ-ΩΠΕ) everybody (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ)' (KMHL II 29:13-14).

3. The temporal adverb ΤΟΤΕ 'then'

introduces a new chain of events and hence marks a major transition in the development of the story-line, e.g. ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΥ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) Andreas said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to them (the Jews) (ΝΑ-Υ)' (Ac. A&P 196:37), ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥΕΝ ΠΗΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΝΑΖΡΟΥ ΕΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) they brought (Α-Υ-ΕΝ) the blessed (Π-ΗΑΚΑΡΙΟC) Apa Nahrow to the theatre (Ε-Π-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 4:6-7)



## 4. The modal adverb ΠΑΝΤΩΣ 'no doubt'

implies uncertainty on the part of the speaker, e.g. ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΠΤΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ 'it (ΠΕ) (is) *no doubt* (ΠΑΝΤΩΣ) the predestination (Π-ΤΩΩ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) that you came (ΝΤ-ΑΚ-ΕΙ)' (Hil. 4:31-32).

## Key Terms:

Head-dependent distinction	The head of the phrase is the element that determines its syntactic category. The non-head or dependent constituent of a phrase is the element with a more peripheral function: it can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire expression.	§3.1.1
Nominal compounds	Coptic has two types of nominal compounds, analytic and synthetic ones. Analytic compounds consist of two components, which have a fully specified lexical meaning. In synthetic compounds, on the other hand, the head noun has a grammaticalized meaning and function.	§3.1.2
Adjectival modification	In Coptic, there is no special word class of "adjectives". To ascribe properties to individuals, the attributive construction is used, where property-denoting expressions may appear as head as well as dependent nouns. Such attributive phrases are marked by the linking marker Ν-.	§3.1.3
Nominal possession	Possessive noun phrases consist of a possessed and a possessor noun, the latter being marked by the connectives Ν- and ΝΤΕ 'of'.	§3.1.4

Noun coordination	Coptic has several markers to express the notion of "and" in the nominal domain, ranging from basic prepositions like ΜΝ and ΖΙ to clausal conjunctions like ΛΥΩ.	§3.1.5
Appositions	are extra-clausal noun phrases, which have the same referent as the proper name or pronoun they modify.	§3.1.6
Prepositional object	the noun or pronoun that complements the preposition to form a prepositional phrase.	§3.2.1
Nominal vs. pronominal state form	Basic and compound prepositions have context-dependent allomorphs that are dependent on the nominal or pronominal character of the prepositional object. These allomorphic forms are called the nominal or pronominal state of that preposition.	§3.2.1
Adverbial modifiers	adverbs are modifying expressions which bear a close semantic link to the verb; they locate the state of affairs that is described in space and time, or provide additional information about the way in which it came about.	§3.3
Cognate objects	constitute a subclass of manner adverbs that contain a copy of the main verb, e.g. ΖΝ CΩΒΕ in CΩΒΕ ΖΝ ΟΥCΩΒΕ 'to laugh in a laugh'.	§3.3.4

- (3)  $\zeta\eta$  οὐεῖρηνι (η-/ντε) πνοῦτε 'in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) a peace (οὐ-εῖρηνι) of God (π-νοῦτε)' (Test. Is. 228:2)
- (4) νεζοοῦ (η-/ντε) πατριάρχης εἰσακ 'the days (νε-ζοοῦ) of the patriarch (π-πατριάρχης) Isaac' (Test. Is. 229:1-2)
- (5) πνοῶνες (η-/ντε) νταμαλῦ 'the mockery (π-νοῶνες) of my mother (τα-μαλῦ)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:19).

C. Translate the following attributive or possessive noun phrases:

- (1) οὔνος νψωνε (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1: 5)
- (2) οὐαποτ νηρη (AP Chaîne no. 16, 3:17)
- (3) πμα νησῶμε (V. Ant. 6:9)
- (4) πεθρονος ντηντερο (Hil. 2:3)
- (5) ψεερε σεντε νσζιμε (Hil. 2:5)

D. Translate the following appositional phrases into English:

- (1) πζαγιος πετρος παρχνεπισκοπος (Hil. 3:28)
- (2) πεσραν χε μαρια (Test. Is. 231:9) (πε-с 'her')
- (3) διοκληδιανος προ νανομος (Mena. Mir. 7b:4-6)

### 3.4 Noun coordination

A. Fill in the proper conjunction, e.g.  $\tau\pi\epsilon$  \_\_\_  $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$  →  $\tau\pi\epsilon$   $\mu\eta$   $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$  'heaven (τ-πε) and (μη) earth (π-καζ)' (Eud. 46:12):

- (1) ζενσιου νρουζε \_\_\_ ζενσιου νζτοογε 'the evening (η-ρουζε) and the morning (η-ζτοογε) stars (ζεν-σιου)' (Hil. 1:10-11)

- (2) πμα νηριμε \_\_\_ πδαζοζ ννοβε 'the place (π-μα) of weeping (η-π-ριμε) and gnashing (π-δαζοζ) of teeth (η-η-οβε)' (Ac. A&P 204:142)

B. Translate the following coordinate noun phrases:

- (1) η σω[νε] [η σζιη]ε η ψη[ρε] (KHML I 73:2)
- (2) η-καисαρ αυω η-αυτωκρατορ (Mercur, Martyrd. 256:12)
- (3) ζη ουσδραζτ μη ογουχαι (AP Chaîne no.5, 2:23)

### 3.5 Simple and compound prepositions

A. Fill in the correct nominal or pronominal state form of the preposition in the following table.

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ετβε πνοῦτε	___=Ϛ	because of, for
___ πνοῦτε	ερο=Ϛ	to, towards
___ πνοῦτε	ηπερμτο εβολ	in the presence of

B. Complete the following sentences by selecting the correct preposition or adverbial modifier.

- (1) (ηννσα/ζη) ψιτε δε νρομπε εσψοοτ (ζεν/η-) νεινοσ νηασκυσις (read νασκυσις) 'after nine (ψιτε) years (η-ρομπε) that she (Hilaria) continued (ε-с-ψοοτ) in these great (νει-νοσ) mortifications (η-ασκυσις)' (Hil. 6:34-35)
- (2) ασ† (ζιωωσ/νηηтс) νουσχημα νспаθариос 'she (Hilaria) put (α-с-†) on her a knight's (η-спаθариос) garment (η-ογ-сχημα)' (Hil. 3:14-15)

- (3) ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΕ ΟΥΡΕΜΝΗΜΕ ΠΕ (ΚΑΤΑ/ΠΑΡΑ) ΠΕΦΓΕΝΟΣ 'the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mena was (ΝΕ-) an Egyptian (ΟΥ-ΡΕΜ-ΚΗΜΕ) by origin (ΠΕΦ-ΓΕΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-7)
- (4) ΛΦΣΛΟΒΛΟ ΕΧΗ ΠΑΣΩΜΑ (ΖΝ/ΜΗ) ΝΦΒΙΧ 'he (the angel) smoothened (Λ-Φ-ΣΛΟΒΛΟ) (ΟΠ) (ΕΧΗ) my body (ΠΑ-ΣΩΜΑ) with his hands (ΝΦ-ΒΙΧ)' (Onnophr. 209:3-4)
- (5) ΑΝΟΚ ΨΟΟΠ (ΝΗΜΑΚ/ΝΑΚ) (ΖΙΤΜ/ΖΜ) ΜΑ ΝΙΜ 'I am (ΨΟΟΠ) with you in every (ΝΙΜ) place (ΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 9b:21-23)
- C. Translate the following prepositional phrases.
- (1) ΖΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ (praec. Pach. 94)
- (2) ΕΡΟ (Mena, Mir. 27a:22)
- (3) ΖΙΤΟΟΤ (KHML I 1:5)
- (4) ΕΧΗ ΟΥΣΠΗΛΛΙΟΝ (Onnophr. 205:16)
- (5) ΖΑΡΑΤΦ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ (Eud. 32:12-14)
- (6) ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΗΜΗΨΕ (Ac. A&P 196:47)

## Unit 4

### Deixis, interrogation, quantification

This Unit deals with a closed class of nominal-functional elements that perform some of the most fundamental functions of language: deixis (locating entities), interrogation (asking questions), and quantification (counting things). As a technical term of grammar, deixis means 'pointing by language'. The label "demonstratives" is used as a cover term for grammatical items like *this* and *that*, which accomplish this task of pointing. Apart from this localising function, demonstratives can also serve anaphoric functions and keep track of previously mentioned discourse entities. Section 4.1 reviews the deictic and anaphoric uses of Coptic demonstratives.

Questions are pragmatically marked speech-acts, which signal a request for information on the part of the speaker about something he believes that the addressee knows. The missing piece of information is indicated by question words like *who* or *what*. Coptic has a fairly extensive class of such question words, which will be discussed in section 4.2. Another topic of this section concerns dedicated interrogative particles that type the clause they modify as a question.

Quantificational sentences like *all birds fly* are interpreted as general statements about a particular kind or species. This interpretation is imposed by the quantifier *all* in the noun phrase *all birds*. Section 4.3 examines the semantic properties and syntactic distribution of quantificational expressions in Coptic. Dependent on the syntactic context in which they occur, such quantifiers assume different interpretations.

#### 4.1 Deixis

Sahidic Coptic has an elaborate system of deictic expressions. These fall into two classes: demonstratives and possessives. Demonstratives, such as the such as the pronominal article πει- 'this' in πει-ρωμε 'this man' express a deictic relation proper and locate individuals or objects in the vicinity of the speaker. Possessive demonstratives, on the other hand, such as the possessive article περ- 'his' in περσον 'his brother', indicate not so much closeness to the speaker, but rather a relationship between two discourse entities referred to by the possessor and the possessed noun.

All demonstratives and possessive are morphologically derived from the deictic root π- (singular masculine), τ- (singular feminine), ν- (plural). They are formally distinguished with respect to a particular vowel pattern and with respect to prosodic status as a bound or free morpheme. While some deictic expressions function exclusively as pronouns, such as the demonstrative pronoun παι 'this one' or the possessive pronoun πω-ι 'mine', others are used as articles on demonstratively or possessively determined noun phrases, such as the above mentioned demonstrative article πει- 'this' or the possessive article περ- 'his'.

##### 4.1.1 Demonstratives

In Sahidic Coptic, there are two types of demonstratives, which are deictically contrastive: proximal demonstratives refer to entities near the speaker and distal demonstratives to entities that are located at a certain distance away from the speaker. Proximal and distal demonstratives can function either as pronouns or as determiners (so-called demonstrative articles). In addition, there are the enclitic deictic pronouns πε (singular

masculine), τε (singular feminine) and νε (plural), which are restricted to nominal sentences, where they fulfil anaphoric and agreement-marking functions (see above, section 2.4.3 of Unit 2). The full inventory of Coptic demonstratives is presented in table 4.1. All demonstrative forms appear in their singular masculine form:

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE	<u>πει-ρωμε</u> , <u>πι-ρωμε</u> this man (here)	<u>πι-ρωμε ετμμαγ</u> that man (over there)
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN	<u>παι</u> this one (here)	<u>πετμμαγ</u> that one (over there) <u>πη</u> that one (over there)
ENCLITIC DEICTIC PRONOUN	<u>πε</u> this one, he	

TABLE 4.1 Demonstratives

Due to its obsolete status, the distal demonstrative pronoun πη is only marginally attested in literary Sahidic, e.g. εις πεχ̄ς μπειμα η πη 'Iool (εις) Christ (πε-χ̄ς) (is) in this place (here) (η-πει-μα) or (η) that one (πη)' (AP Chaîne no.146, 32:25), αγω πη νασωπι μπινογρ ντεγνο 'and (αγω) that one (πη) will (να) break up (the connection) (lit. cut of (σωπι) the rope (η-π-νογρ)' immediately (ντεγνογ)' (AP Elansky: 24a:22-23). It will not be considered in the following description of the morphologically fully productive demonstratives.

##### 4.1.1.1 The demonstrative article πει-, πι-

The demonstrative article takes two shapes, the full form πει- /peḯ-/ 'this' and the short form πι- /pi-/ , the latter being the result of monophthongization, i.e. the phonological reduction of a diphthong to a single vowel: peḯ- → pi-, e.g. πει-μα (KHML I 3:8) vs. πι-μα 'this place (Hil. 5:27). Number and gender distinctions yield the six forms in table 4.2 below:

	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
FULL FORM	πει- /peῖ-/	τει- /teῖ-/	νει- /nei-/
SHORT FORM	πι- /pi-/	† (var. τι-) /ti-/	νι- /ni-/

TABLE 4.2 The demonstrative article πει-/πι-

The allomorphic character of the εἰ /eῖ/ ~ ἰ /i/ interchange is particularly evident in co-ordinated noun phrases, where the full and reduced forms of the demonstrative article occur side by side, e.g. λίσινε ντιπύγη (for πιγη) ἡμοοῦ ἡν τεῖβννε ἡν πεισπύλλιον 'I discovered (λ-ἰ-σινε) *this well* (τι-πύγη) of water (η-μοοῦ) together with (ἡν) *this date tree* (τεῖ-βννε) and (ἡν) *this cavern* (πει-σπύλλιον)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11), ερωοῦπ ζῆν τεῖαναχωρησις ἡν πισῶρεζτ 'while he (Ara Mena) lived (ε-φ-ωοῦπ) in (ζῆν) *this isolation* (τεῖ-αναχωρησις) and (ἡν) *this peace* (πι-σῶρεζτ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:19-21).

#### □ CONTEXTUAL USES

The most important deictic and anaphoric functions of the demonstrative article πει-, πι- are the following:

##### a) Spatial deixis

As a deictic pointer, the proximal demonstrative article is typically used to direct the addressee's attention to some individual or object in the vicinity of the speaker, e.g. †[ναζωτβ ἡμο] ζῆν τεῖσῆε ετζῆν ταδῖχ 'I will kill (†-να-ζωτβ) you (ἡμο) with (ζῆν) *this sword* (τεῖ-σῆε) in (ετ-ζῆν) my hand (τα-δῖχ)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-7), ἀληῶσ ἡπειναῦ εχοῖ ενεζ ἡε ἡπειχοῖ 'verily (ἀληῶσ), never ever (ενεζ) have I seen (ἡπει-ἰ-ναῦ) a ship (ε-χοῖ) like (ἡε ἡ-) *this ship* (in front of me) (πει-χοῖ)' (KHML I 81:4-5).

##### b) Anaphoric use

Apart from this localising function, the demonstrative article is widely used to keep track of previously mentioned discourse referents, e.g. λ περζητ νοῦσ ετβε πεικοῖ ἡφαχε 'his (Pachôm's) heart (περζητ) became acrid (λ ... νοῦσ) because of (ετβε) *this little* (πει-κοῖ) (previously described) *argument* (ἡ-φαχε)' (V. Pach. 1:20), λῶ ἡτοκ κοῶψ εεμτον ζῆν τεῖψμοῦνε ἡρομπε 'and (λῶ) you (ἡτοκ), do you want (κ-οῶψ) to find peace (ε-εμτον) in *these* (mere) *eight* (τεῖ-ψμοῦνε) *years* (ἡ-ρομπε) (mentioned previously in the conversation)' (AP Chafne no. 34, 7:3).

##### c) Discourse deixis

The demonstrative article may refer to previous events and thus establish a link between two propositions: the one in which it occurs and the one it keeps track of, e.g. λῶ ἡτειζε λῶψ εβολ εζραι επνοῦτε ἡτεῦψἡ τηρς 'and (λῶ) in *this manner* (ἡ-τει-ζε) (as previously depicted), he (Pachôm) cried (λ-φ-ωψ) out (εβολ) to (εζραι) God (ε-π-νοῦτε) the entire (τηρ-ς) night (τε-ῦψἡ)' (V. Pach. 2:14-15). Occasionally, it adopts a cataphoric function and anticipates what is to be communicated in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ερε ἡεσμοῦ ἡππατριαρῆς ἡαῶψπε (...) ἡν ἡετσωτῆ ἡνεῖψαχε 'the blessings (ἡε-σμοῦ) may be (ἡα-ῶψπε) (...) with (ἡν) those who listen (ἡ-ετ-σῶτῆ) to *these* (i.e. the following) *words* (ε-ἡει-ψαχε)' (Test. Is. 228:6-7).

##### d) Generic interpretation

The proximal demonstrative article may impose non-specific or generic interpretation on the determined noun in much the same way as the definite article (see above, section 2.2.2.1 of Unit 2 for some discussion on non-specific and generic definites), e.g. ἡε ἡνεῖεσοῦ εψαῦβι (for εψαῦβι) ἡτοοτοῦ ἡπεῦψωσ 'like (ἡε ἡ-) *sheep* (ἡει-εσοῦ) whose shepherd (πεῦ-ψωσ) had been taken away (ψα-ῦ-βι lit. *they take away*) from them (ἡτοοτ-οῦ)' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1), ἡε ἡἡιατοσ '(wings) like (ἡε ἡ-) *eagles* (ἡι-ατοσ)' (Onnophr. 211:26-27). When reference

is made to kinds, the plural form *ni-* may even vary with the indefinite plural article *zen-*, e.g. *nim gar petnaaze ep[at]q emiwe mn neiouzoop h nim petnaftwn mn niarx nim ntoq petnacwp eboa emiwe mn zenmoyi axn woxne zi cw* 'because (*gar*) who (*nim*) (is it) that would stand up (*et-na-aze epatq*) to fight (*e-miwe*) with (*mn*) dogs (*nei-ouzoop*) or (*h*) who (*nim*) would struggle (*et-na-ftwn*) with (*mn*) bears (*ni-arx*), who (*nim*), indeed (*ntoq*), would set out (*et-na-cwp eboa*) to fight (*e-miwe*) with (*mn*) lions (*zen-moyi*) without (*axn*) plan (*woxne*) and (*zi*) counsel (*cw*)' (Camb. 8:15-18).

e) Emotive use

The proximal demonstrative article may be used to express emotional deixis, reflecting the speaker's attitude towards the referent of the determined noun phrase. Contrary to what is stated in most Coptic grammars, both the full form *pei-* and the short form *pi-* may assume a pejorative meaning and function. Compare: *anok peireqrhoe* 'I (*anok*), *this sinner* (*pei-req-r-noe*)' (KHML II 53:15), *peianomos xe diochan* 'that criminal (*pei-anomos*) Diocletian' (Eud. 34:15-16) vs. *anok pirqrhoe* (V. Pach. 2:10) 'this sinner' *pi-anomos* 'that criminal' (Mena, Mir. 30b:18); *neiatnoute nioudai* 'those godless (*nei-at-noute*) Jews (*n-ioudai*)' (Eud. 58:24), *ptopos mpinazwraios xe ic* 'the place (*pi-topos*) of that Nazarene (*m-pi-nazwraios*) Jesus' (Eud. 52:27-28). The demonstrative article may also express the speaker's empathy and affection for the discourse referent in question, e.g. *eyouw ew mptai mpeinos nstratiwthc nte pexc pzagios apa mna* 'wishing (*e-youw*) to proclaim (*e-xw*) the honour (*m-pi-taij*) of *this great* (*m-pei-nos*) soldier (*n-stratiwthc*) of (*nte*) Christ (*pe-xc*), the holy (*pi-zagios*) Apa Mena' (Mena, Enc. 36a:15-20), *xe ountetn* (read *ounthtn*) *mmax mpinos mpresweythc zartm pxoic* 'because (*xe*) you have (*ounthtn*) *this great* (*m-pi-nos*) *intercessor* (*m-presweythc*) before (*zartm*) the Lord (*pi-xoic*)' (KHML II 58:16-18).

#### 4.1.1.2 The demonstrative pronoun *tai*

Demonstrative pronouns are free morphemes, which may appear in all nominal positions of the clause. They are morphologically distinguished from the demonstrative article through the invariant vowel pattern /ai/: *ta* (singular masculine), *ta* (singular feminine), *nai* (plural) 'this one, these ones'.

#### □ CONTEXTUAL USES

Demonstrative pronouns serve two major purposes. As deictic expressions, point out someone or something in the visual field of the speech participants. As anaphoric expressions, they serve as functional equivalents of third person pronouns.

##### a) Spatial deixis

The original spatio-deictic meaning of the demonstrative pronoun *tai* is particularly clear when the speaker notices a strange individual, object or location in his immediate surroundings and has a question about it, e.g. *an topos ne nai* 'what kind (*aw*) of places (*n-topos*) (are) *these* (*nai*) (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140), *ou pe pinos nta tai aaxoic* 'what (*ou*) (is) the sin (*pi-nos*) that *this one* (*tai*) has done (*nt-a ... aax-q*), my lord (*ta-xoic*)?' (Test. Is. 234:11-12).

##### a) Anaphoric use

Proximal demonstrative pronouns as an alternative for personal pronouns when a discourse participant is mentioned for the second time, e.g. (there was a Samaritan woman in the city Alexandria) *ta de neyen ouno nwa[nē] zn tecaπe* '(as for) *her* (*ta*), there was (*ne-yen*) a serious (*ouno*) illness (*n-wone*) in (*zn*) her head (*tec-ape*)' (Mena, Mi 26a:13-16), *nta tai gar aitei nouzwb ntoot para pecmpwa* 'fc (*gar*) *this (person)* (*tai*) (i.e. the disobedient monk) has asked (*nt-a . aitei*) something (*ou-zwb*) from me (*ntoot*) beyond (*para*) his merit (*pec-mpwa*)' (V. Pach. 140:15-16).



## c) Anaphoric use

When used anaphorically, the distal demonstrative **εΤΗΜΑΥ** quite frequently refers to less important protagonists, whose exact identity is not considered relevant for the development of the story-line, e.g. **ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Ρ ΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ** 'this (ΤΑΙ) (was) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) in which *that demon* (Π-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) did (ΝΤ-Α .... Ρ) many (ΖΑΖ) evil (things) (Μ-ΠΕΘΟΟΥ)' (KHML II 53:8-9), **ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΦΑΙΤΙ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΜΠΑΠΟΙ ΕΤΡΕΦΟΥΜΗ** '(there was also another brother in that place who was very sick) (ΑΥΩ) *that one* (ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ) asked (ΝΕ-Φ-ΑΙΤΙ) the brothers (ΝΕCΝΗΥ) who serviced (ΕΤ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) for a small (Μ-ΠΑΠΟΙ lit. chicken) bird (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΗΤ) to eat (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΟΥΜ-Η)' (V. Pach. 143:19-20). It is sometimes used as a free-choice pronoun, designating any arbitrary individual or object that fits a particular description, e.g. **ΒΩΚ ΝΓΤΟΒΚ ΕΥCΟΝ ΕΦΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΝΖΗΤΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ [ΖΝ] ΤΗΝΤΡΕΦΡΖΟΤΕ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΚΝΑΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΩΚ ΝΖΗΤΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'go (ΒΩΚ) and attach yourself (ΝΓ-ΤΟΒ-Κ) to *some brother* (Ε-Υ-CΟΝ) who fears (Ε-Φ-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) through (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) the devoutness (Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΕΦ-Ρ-ΖΟΤΕ) of *that one* (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ) you, too (ΖΩ-Κ), will fear (Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no.4, 2:17-18).

## d) Emotive use

The distal demonstrative **εΤΗΜΑΥ** may express emotional deixis, reflecting emotional distance on the part of the speaker, e.g. **ΜΗΝCΑ ΖΕΝΚΕΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΑΦΝΗΦΕ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ** 'after (ΜΗΝCΑ) a few days (Ν-ΖΟΟΥ) more (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) *that* (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (disobedient) *brother* (Π-CΟΝ) cooled down (Α-Φ-ΝΗΦΕ)' (V. Pach. 140:30), **ΑΙΛΟ ΖΑ ΖΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ** 'I left (Α-Ι-ΛΟ ΖΑ) every (ΝΙΜ) possession (ΝΑΥ) of (ΝΤΕ) *that* (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (wicked) *woman* (ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ)' (Onnophr. 208:9).

## e) Correlative use of ΠΑΙ and ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ

When the proximal demonstrative pronoun **ΠΑΙ** 'this one' and its distal counterpart **ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ** 'that one' occur side by side, the former refers back

to the discourse entity that was mentioned first and the latter to the one that was mentioned subsequently, e.g. **ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ** '(It happened in the second year of the reign of Valentian (and) Diocletian after the overthrowing of Numerian, the one who was king before them). *The former* (ΝΑΙ) (i.e. Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom (Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ) from *the latter* (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. Numerian)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

## 4.1.2 Possessives

Unlike the proximal or distal demonstratives considered so far, possessive forms are generally distance neutral, meaning that they primarily describe a possessive relationship between two entities rather than their relative position to the speaker. There are three sets of possessive forms: the possessive article, the possessive prefix, and the possessive pronoun. The possessive article functions exclusively as a pronominal determiner, while the possessive prefix and the possessive pronoun are free morphemes. The possessive prefix and the possessive pronoun differ from each other with respect to their vowel pattern as well as to the nominal or pronominal character of the possessor.

	NOMINAL POSSESSOR	PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR
POSSESSIVE ARTICLE	εἰς	ΠΕΦ-ΕΙΩΤ his father
POSSESSIVE PREFIX	ἐν ἐν	ΠΑ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ He of God (proper name)
POSSESSIVE PRONOUN	ὁ	ΠΩ-Φ his (one)

TABLE 4.4 Possessive demonstratives

## 4.1.2.1 The possessive article ΠΕΦ-

The possessive article consists of two morphemes. One is the full form of the definite article **ΠΕ-** (singular masculine), **ΤΕ-** (singular feminine) and **ΝΕ-** (plural) and the other is a bound pronoun which designates the



b) As a determiner of time-indicating nouns

e.g. ΜΠΕΦΡΑΣΤΕ ΑΓΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΠΒΗΜΑ ΝΟΙ ΖΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΣ ΖΗ ΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'on the (lit. his) next day (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΣΤΕ) Armenius sat down (Α-Φ-ΖΜΟΟΣ) on the tribune (Ε-Π-ΒΗΜΑ) in (ΖΗ) the theatre (ΠΕ-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), (in combination with a numeral) ΕΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΜΠΑΜΕΖΦΟΜΤ ΝΖΟΟΥ 'on the morning (Ε-ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) of my third (Μ-ΠΑ-ΜΕΖ-ΦΟΜΤ) day (Ν-ΖΟΟΥ)' (Eud. 58:12-13), ΕΝΕ ΠΕΦΦΟΜΝΤ ΠΕ ΕΜΠΕΦΟΥΩΜ 'while (Ε-) it (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ-) his (Ραχόμ's) third (day) (ΠΕΦ-ΦΟΜΝΤ) that he had not eaten (Ε-ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΟΥΩΜ)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).

#### 4.1.2.2 The possessive prefix πα-

The possessive prefixes πα- 'he of' (singular masculine), τα- 'she of' (singular feminine) and να- form a prosodic complex with the following noun phrase. They represent the phonologically reduced counterpart of the demonstrative pronoun παί: παί' → pa-.

#### □ CONTEXTUAL USES

As the terminology suggests, the possessive prefix πα- designates the possessed item and the following noun the possessor, e.g. πα-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ [he-of (πα-) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)] 'Paphnoute (he of God) (a proper name)'.

a) Partitive use

The demonstrative possessive prefix πα- picks out entities from a given discourse domain, whose exact identity are not specified or questioned, e.g. ΝΑΠΨΜΕ ΣΝΑΥ ΕΤΨΜΑΥ 'the inhabitants (of) (να-) those (ΕΤΨΜΑΥ) two (ΣΝΑΥ) villages (Π-ΨΜΕ)' (KHML II 52:21-22), ΠΑΠΕΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ 'something (of) (πα-) the sovereign (ΠΕ-ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:20), ΝΤΩΤΗ ΝΑΛΩ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ 'which (αψ) city (Μ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (are) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ) inhabitants (of) (να-)' (KHML I 80:6). When used as a partitive expression, the possessive prefix is commonly found with reference to descent, ethnicity or social background, e.g. ΑΠΑ ΦΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΤΡΗΠΕ 'Ara Shenute from (πα-) the mountain (Π-ΤΟΟΥ) of Atripe (Ν-ΑΤΡΗΠΕ)'

(KHML II 22:5-6), ΝΑΠΨΗΗ 'those (of) (να-) his (Isaac's) household (ΠΕΦ-ΗΗ)' (Test. Is. 231:25).

b) Sense-of-identity use

In elliptical contexts, the possessive prefix is used as a so-called sense-of-identity pronoun, which is anaphorically related to, but not exact identical with the referent of an antecedent noun phrase, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΦ ΠΟΡΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΦΨΩΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΑΝΕΠΑΡΤΑΛΗΣ 'while (ΕΡΕ) his (the hermit's) hair (ΠΕΦ-ΨΩ) was spread (ΠΟΡΨ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) over (ΕΧΗ) his box (ΠΕΦ-ΨΩΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ Μ-) that of (ΠΑ-) panthers (ΝΕΙ-ΠΑΡΤΑΛΗΣ (Onnophr. 210:2-3).

#### 4.1.2.3 The possessive pronoun πω-

Different vowel patterns exist for the singular and plural forms possessive pronoun πω-φ 'his one' (lit. the one of him). Further note that the ω /ο/ ογ /u/ alternation is not dependent on the vocalic or consonantal nature of the incorporated pronoun.

PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ΠΩΙ	ΤΩΙ	ΝΟΥΙ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ΠΩΚ	ΤΩΚ	ΝΟΥΚ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ΠΩ	ΤΩ	ΝΟΥ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ΠΩΦ	ΤΩΦ	ΝΟΥΦ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ΠΩΣ	ΤΩΣ	ΝΟΥΣ
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	ΠΩΝ	ΤΩΝ	ΝΟΥΝ
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	ΠΩΤΗ	ΤΩΤΗ	ΝΟΥΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	ΠΩΟΥ	ΤΩΟΥ	ΝΟΥΟΥ

TABLE 4.6 The forms of possessive pronoun πω-

## □ CONTEXTUAL USES

The possessive pronoun πω-ϙ 'his one' (lit. the one of him) represents the pronominal counterpart of the possessive prefix πλ-. But unlike the possessive prefix, the possessive pronoun πω- attracts stress and therefore represents the phonologically intact head of the entire construction: πω-ϙ [*he-of* (πϵ-) *of-him* (-ϙ)] 'his one, his'.

## a) Partitive use

The possessive pronoun πω- is commonly used as the predicate of a nominal sentence to indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, e.g. ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ 'they (ΝΕ) (are) *mine* (ΝΟΥΙ)' (V. Pach. 4:23), ΤΕΞΟΥϞΙΑ ΤΩΚ ΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ 'the power (Τ-ΕΞΟΥϞΙΑ) (is) *yours* (ΤΩΚ), (God) Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ)' (Test. Is. 235:19).

## b) Sense-of-identity use

In coordinate structures of the kind *my books and yours* (i.e. *your books*), it commonly functions as a sense-of-identity pronoun, e.g. ΠΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΩΚ 'my salvation (ΠΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) and (ΜΗ) *yours* (ΠΩΚ)' (KHML II 33:1), ΑΜΟΥ ΝΓΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΠΤΩ ΝΝΑΤΩΒΕ ΜΗ ΝΟΥΚ 'come (ΑΜΟΥ) and show me (ΝΓ-ΤΑΜΟ-Ι) the border (Ε-Π-ΤΩ) between my bricks (Ν-ΝΑ-ΤΩΒΕ) and (ΜΗ) *yours* (ΝΟΥΚ)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:29-30); similarly in comparative constructions: ΑΦΕΠΙΘΕΜΕΙ (for ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ) ΝΤΩΒΕ (read ΝΝΤΩΒΕ) ΜΠΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΝΟΥϙ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'he (the magistrate) desired (Α-ϙ-ΕΠΙΘΕΜΕΙ) the bricks (Ν-Ν-ΤΩΒΕ) of the saint (Μ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ) more (ΝΖΟΥΟ) than all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) (of) *his* (Ε-ΝΟΥϙ)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:13-14).

## 4.2 Interrogation

Questions are pragmatically marked speech-acts designed to elicit information. One commonly distinguishes two types of interrogative sentences, namely constituent questions and yes/no questions. Constituent or word questions are also known as *wh*-questions, since most English

questions words begin with a *wh*-sequence. The syntax of Coptic question words and their contextual uses are addressed in section 4.2.1, while section 4.2.2 is concerned with yes/no questions, with particular attention for interrogative particles. Finally, section 4.2.3 briefly discusses so-called rhetorical questions, i.e. interrogative sentences that are not used for the purpose of triggering a response.

4.2.1 Constituent/*wh*-questions

*Wh*-questions are typically used when the speaker and the addressee share some knowledge about some state of affairs, but one piece of information is missing in the speaker's file. The queried element is represented by a question word. The most common Coptic question words are listed below.

QUESTION WORD	GLOSS	QUESTION WORD	GLOSS
ΝΙΜ	who	ΟΥΗ(Η)Ρ	how much, many
ΟΥ	what	ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ	because of what, why
ΑΩ	which, what	ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ	in what manner, how
ΤΩΝ	where	ΑΖΡΟ=	what about, why

TABLE 4.7 The inventory of Coptic question words

Coptic question words show some degree of affinity with special indefinites, witness the fact that predicatively used interrogative pronouns may be determined by the singular or plural forms of the indefinite article, e.g. ΝΤΚ ΟΥΟΥ 'what (kind of man)(are) (ΟΥ-ΟΥ) you (ΝΤΚ)?' (Sh. 38:17), ΖΕΝΑΩ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΝΕ 'they (ΝΕ) (are) what (ΖΕΝ-ΑΩ) kind (of people) (Μ-ΜΙΝΕ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:68).

## 4.2.1.1 The syntactic placement of question words

Coptic *wh*-questions exhibit special morphosyntactic properties that distinguish them from declarative clauses. Some of the items listed in table 4.7 above function exclusively as pronouns, e.g. ΟΥ 'what', and some determiners, e.g. ΑΩ ΝΖΩΒ 'which (ΑΩ) matter (Ν-ΖΩΒ)'. Others function either as pronouns or as determiners, e.g. ΝΙΜ 'who' vs. ΝΙΜ ΝΡΡΟ 'who

not tell me), *where* (των) he had put it (the deposit) (ΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΚΑΑ-Γ) (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:23-24), but may also refer to the point of departure of some movement, e.g. ΕΚΝΗΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΧΟΝ 'where (των) are you coming (from) (ε-κ-νηυ), my brother (πα-σον)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). To specify its spatial orientation, it is frequently combined with the directional preposition ε- 'to' or the particle εβολ 'out', e.g. ΕΡΒΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ 'where (ε-των) are you (woman) going (ερ-βωκ) to?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22), ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'from where (εβολ των) did you come (α-τετν-ει) to this place?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

When the question word των assumes a predicative function, the nominal subject undergoes inversion to the clause-final position, while its base-position is occupied by a co-referential subject pronoun, e.g. ΕΓΤΩΝ ΠΤΑΦΟΣ ΜΠΑΧΟΙΣ 'where (is) (των) the tomb (π-ταφος) of my lord (μ-πα-χοις)?' (Eud. 58:25) (see above, section 10.1.5.2 of Unit 10).

#### 4. αψ 'what (kind)'

is mainly used as the determiner of partitive interrogative phrases, e.g. αψ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ 'what (kind) (αψ) of places (ν-τοπος) (are) these (ναι) (places) (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140). Particularly common is the questioned manner phrase ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ 'how' (lit. in what (ν-αψ) of manner (ν-ζε), e.g. ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ 'how (ν-αψ (ν-ζε) did you come (ντα-κ-ει) to this place (ε-πει-μα)?' (Onnophr. 206:29).

#### 5. ουν(η)ρ 'how much, how many'

functions as a degree modifier in interrogative and exclamative sentences. Thus, compare: ΟΥΝΗΡ ΝΟΥΟΙΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'look (εις), how much (ουνηρ) time (ν-ουοιω) (has passed), since (χι(ν)) you came (ντα-κ-ει) here? (ε-πει-μα)' (Onnophr. 206:33-34) vs. ΤΗΝΤΑΤΝΑ ΖΟΥ ΝΟΥΗΡ '(you have seen) how (ν-ουνηρ) evil (ζουγ) the pitilessness (μντ-ατ-να) is' (KHML II 51:13-14).

#### 6. αζρο= 'what about, how come'

Unlike other interrogative expressions, αζρο= is positionally restricted to the topmost position of the interrogative sentence it modifies. It is

typically used when the condition of participants or non-participants of speech situation is at issue, e.g. ΑΖΡΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΗ ΡΩΜΕ 'what about (αζρο=ι) with (μη) mankind (ρωμε) (i.e. what do I have to do w people)?' (AP Chaîne no.3, 2:13), ΑΖΡΟΚ ΠΑΙΩΤ 'what (is) (it) about (αζρο=κ) (i.e. what is the matter with you), my father (πα-ειωτ (KHML II 29:7-8). The incorporated pronoun of the αζρο= phrase is co-referential with the subject of the associated clause, e.g. ΑΖΡΟΚ ΕΚΡ ΖΩ Ψ ΠΖΜΖΛΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'how come (αζρο=κ) (that) you are afraid (ε-ζοτε), oh (ω) servant (π-ζμζαλ) of God (μ-π-νουτε)?' (Onnophr. 206:23).

#### 4.2.2 Yes-no questions

Yes/no questions are interrogative sentences that seek comments on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition and can appropriately be answered by the equivalents of the words *yes* and *no* in English. There are two varieties of yes/no questions in Coptic: those that are introduced by interrogative particle and those that lack such lexicalised question cues.

##### 4.2.2.1 Unmarked yes/no questions

Unmarked yes/no questions take exactly the same form as the corresponding declarative clauses, e.g. ΑΠΑ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΖΟΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΨΠΝΨΩΠ ΨΑΚΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΩΩΚ 'Abba (απα), if (ερψαν) something frightening (ουζοτε) happens (ψωπε) all of a sudden (ζν ουψπνψωπ) will you be afraid (ψα-κ-ρ ζοτε), too (ζωω-κ)?' (AP Chaîne no.35, 7:5), ΝΑΝΟΥ † ΖΑΖ ΜΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'is it good (νανου) to repent (one's sin many times (lit. to give (†) many (ζαζ) repentances (μετανοια))?' (AP Chaîne no.131, 30:1), ΜΠΡΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΨΗ ΝΑΡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΟ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ 'have you (woman) not heard (μπ-ρ-ωτμ) that (χε) the night (τε-ψη) will become (να-ρ) bright (ουοειν) like (νεε) day (πε-ζου [Psalm 138:12])?' (KHML I 81:6-7). Such unmarked yes/no questions were in all likelihood distinguished from simple declaratives by means of question intonation pattern.

#### 4.2.2.2 Yes/no questions with interrogative particles

Coptic makes productive use of interrogative particles, some of which are drawn from the native stock, for instance **ENE**, while others are borrowings from Greek, for instance **MH**. These lexicalised question cues must be placed in clause-initial position. For this reason, interrogative particles are in complementary distribution with subordinating complementisers. Interrogative particles indicate not only the interrogative force of the clause within their scope, but also serve various rhetorical and pragmatic purposes.

##### 1. **ENE**

is a neutral interrogative particle, which is compatible with a positive or negative response, e.g. **ENE OYAGATHON EFXHK EBOΛ TE THTATZNAAY** '(ENE) (is) the state of not having property (T-MHT-AT-ZNAAY) something (E-Q-XHK EBOΛ) perfectly good (OY-AGATHON)?' (AP Chaîne no.29, 5:28-29).

##### 2. **EIE**

introduces a focused yes-no question, where the speaker is not in doubt about the truth of an entire proposition, but rather a single element thereof, which will consequently attract question focus, e.g. **EIE MPEKΩTM NTAK** (for NTOK) **ETBE PWHPE MPESTRATYΛATHC MPRPO X<E> MPT CA** (for CO) **EPQ** '(EIE) have you not heard (MPE-K-ΩTM) about (ETBE) the son (P-WHPE) of the king's (M-P-PPO) general (M-P-STRATYΛATHC), that (XE) I did not pardon (M-P-I-† CO) him (EPQ-Q)?' (KHML I 73:27-28).

##### 3. **MH**

involves a systematic bias towards a negative response when formulated in the affirmative, e.g. **MH AKOYΩ ETPAKA OYCKANTAYON ENECNHY MNHCΩI** '(MH) did you intend (A-K-OYΩ) to let me leave (E-TPA-KA) an offence (OY-CKANTAYON) for the brothers (E-NE-CNHY) (coming) after me (MNH-Ω-I)?' (V. Pach. 92:11-12), and towards a positive response, when formulated in the negative, e.g. **MH MPENAY EPPOY MPECNAY POYEW**

**MH TOYMAAY** '(MH) haven't you (woman) seen (MPE-NAY) them (EP both (M-PE-CNAY), (namely) your father (POY-EIWT) and (MH) mother (TOY-MAAY)?' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:16-17).

#### 4.2.3 Rhetorical questions

Unlike the information-seeking questions considered so far, so-called rhetorical questions are never uttered with the purpose of being answered, but rather are declarative statements in disguise, e.g. **MH EITAIHY ANOK EPAXOIC** '(MH) am I (ANOK) more (E-ZOY(O)) honoured (E-I-TAIHY) than the Lord (E-PA-XOIC)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7) (implied meaning: I am *not*...), **EIE NTA NIM APOTASSE MPEOY ETPOYET MPKOC NTEIZE NΘE NTAI** '(EIE) *who* (NIM) has renounced (NT-A ... APOTA the vain (ET-POYET) glory (M-P-EOY) of this (inferior) (M-PI-KOCMOC) in such a manner (N-TEI-ZE) like (NΘE) this (N-TAI)?' (Hil. 12:31-32) (implied meaning: *no one but this girl* renounced ...), **OY PE HP OY PE OINOYMH OY PE ΛAY MMOI NTE PEIKOCMOC NNAZPH TEXAPIC MPEXC** 'what (OY) (is) wine (i what (OY) (is) food (OIN-OYMH), what (OY) (is) any (ΛAY) coin (MOTNEC) of (NTE) this world (PEI-KOCMOC) compared to (NNAZPH grace (TE-CHARIC) of Christ (M-PE-XC)?' (KHML II 35:16-18) (implied meaning: *nothing* compares to the grace of Christ).

### 4.3 Quantification

Quantificational sentences like *all birds fly* can be decomposed into layers of meaning: one is the propositional content (i.e. *birds fly*) and the other is the quantification, which is brought about by the prenominal determiner *all*. The quantifier *all* has an exhaustive interpretative meaning that the totality of a domain of discourse entities must be taken into consideration. This section reviews the inventory of quantificational expressions in Sahidic Coptic. Quantifiers fall into different classes depending on what kind of quantificational relation they describe. Universal quantifiers like **NIM** 'every, each' exhaustively specify an entire domain of discourse entities, while cardinal quantifiers like **ZAZ** 'n

most' have a proportional reading and specify smaller or larger parts of some domain of discourse entities. By contrast, indefinite pronouns like  $\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$  'someone, anyone' pick out any arbitrary member of some domain. Non-/identity pronouns  $\kappa\epsilon$  'other' and  $\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$  'same', on the other hand, indicate the sameness or distinctness of a given item from the one already mentioned. Finally, there are so-called emphatic reflexives like  $\zeta\omega\omega=\alpha$  in  $\nu\tau\omicron\alpha\zeta \zeta\omega\omega\alpha$  'he *himself*' that place the referent of the nominal or pronoun constituent they modify into the centre of attention.

TYPE OF QUANTIFIER	INVENTORY		
UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS	$\text{NIM}$ every, each	$\text{THP=}$ entire, all	
CARDINAL QUANTIFIERS	$\zeta\alpha\zeta$ many	$\text{KOYI}$ few	$\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron$ more
INDEFINITE (FREE CHOICE) PRONOUNS	$\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$ Someone	$\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$ Someone	$\omicron\gamma\alpha$ Someone
(NON)IDENTITY PRONOUNS	$\zeta\omicron\text{INE}$ Some	$\text{ME}\psi\epsilon \text{NIM}$ So-and-so	
EMPHATIC REFLEXIVES	$\kappa\epsilon$ other	$\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ same	
	$\zeta\omega\omega=$ self	$\text{MAYAA=}$ alone,	$\text{MMIN MMO=}$ own

TABLE 4.8 The quantifier system of Sahidic Coptic

The semantic distinctions and contextual uses of different quantificational expressions of the same class will be examined in the following sections. Particular attention will be drawn to the different interpretations of Coptic quantifier expressions that are largely dependent on the syntactic context in which they occur.

#### 4.3.1 Universal quantifiers

Coptic has two universal quantifiers that express the notions of exhaustiveness, completeness or totality of a given discourse domain. One is the distributive quantifier  $\text{NIM}$  'every, all' and the other the holistic quantifier  $\text{THP=}$  'entire, complete'. These two universal quantifiers are in complementary distribution with one another.

#### 1. $\text{NIM}$ 'every, all'

quantifies over a domain of discrete, i.e. countable entities or objects can only be combined with kind-referring "bare" noun, e.g.  $\rho\eta\eta\text{PAN}$   $\text{NIM}$  '(as for) *every* ( $\text{NIM}$ ) dignitary ( $\rho\eta\eta\text{-PAN}$ )' (praec. Pach. 115),  $\text{GEN}$   $\text{NIM}$   $\text{NPOME}$  [ $\epsilon$ ] $\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\text{N}$   $\zeta\text{N}$   $\text{TAMNTPO}$  '*every* ( $\text{NIM}$ ) human ( $\text{N-PO}$  race ( $\text{GENOC}$ ) which lives ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\text{N}$ ) in ( $\zeta\text{N}$ ) my kingdom ( $\text{TA-MNT-PP}$  (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-22). The distributive universal quantifier  $\text{NIM}$  generally occurs in series where the antecedent noun designates one of major ontological categories, such as *person, thing, place, time*, e.g.  $\rho\omega$   $\text{NIM}$  'everybody' (Test. Is. 231:20-21),  $\zeta\omega\epsilon$   $\text{NIM}$  'everything' (Eud. 54:1  $\text{MA}$   $\text{NIM}$  'everywhere' (praec. Pach. 129),  $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\psi$   $\text{NIM}$  'everytime' (Pach. 5:7). In combination with indefinite pronouns, it forms a maxime generic expression, such as  $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$   $\text{NIM}$  (Test. Is. 228:8) or  $\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$   $\text{NIM}$  'everyone' (Onnophr. 219:8).

- Universally quantified noun phrases with  $\text{NIM}$  are semantically underspecified with respect to grammatical number, as evident from singular or plural specification of a co-referential pronoun, e.g.  $\rho\alpha$   $\text{NIM}$   $\epsilon\tau\text{NANEX}$   $\epsilon\text{ITN}$   $\text{MPEQNI}$   $\epsilon\text{BOA}$  '*everybody* ( $\rho\omega\text{ME}$   $\text{NIM}$ ) who  $\text{N}$  throw ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-NA-NEX}$ ) garbage ( $\epsilon\text{ITN}$ ) out ( $\epsilon\text{BOA}$ ) of *his* house ( $\text{M-PI}$   $\text{NI}$ )' (Eud. 52:26-27),  $\zeta\omega\epsilon$   $\text{NIM}$   $\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\text{NAI}$  '(concerning) *everyth* ( $\zeta\omega\epsilon$   $\text{NIM}$ ), tell it ( $\chi\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ ) (lit. tell them) to me ( $\text{NA-I}$ )!' (Eud. 54:17).
- In negative sentences, the universal quantifier has an indefinite interpretation 'anyone', e.g.  $\text{MEI}\psi\epsilon\text{INE}$  (for  $\psi\text{INE}$ )  $\text{NCA}$   $\text{PANTON}$   $\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$   $\text{N}\zeta\omega\alpha$  (for  $\zeta\omega\epsilon$ )  $\text{PARA}$   $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$   $\text{NIM}$   $\text{N}\zeta\eta\text{TTHYTN}$  'I did not let ( $\text{ME-I-}\psi\text{INE}$ ) for ( $\text{NCA}$ ) my comfort ( $\text{PA-MTON}$ ) in ( $\zeta\text{N}$ ) anything ( $\lambda$   $\text{N-}\zeta\omega\epsilon$ ) more than ( $\text{PARA}$ ) *anyone* ( $\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{N}$   $\text{NIM}$ ) of you ( $\text{N}\zeta\eta\text{T-THYT}$  (V. Pach. 88:28-29).

#### 2. $\text{THP=}$ 'entire, all'

represents some domain of discourse entities as an entirety. The holistic universal quantifier  $\text{THP=}$  differs from its distributive counterpart  $\text{NIM}$  in two respects. First, it modifies definitely and indefinitely determined noun phrases as well as personal pronouns, but cannot be combined with a ze determined "bare" noun. Second, it contains a pronominal suffix that

the same person, number and gender specification as the antecedent noun or pronoun, e.g. ΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡϞ ‘the *entire* (ΤΗΡ-Ϟ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)’ (Ac. A&P 200:80), ΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡϞ ‘the *entire* (ΤΗΡ-Ϟ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ)’ (Onnophr. 218:30), ΜΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ‘the dwelling places (Μ-ΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ) of *all* (Ν-ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) souls (Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ)’ (Ac. A&P 198:73), ΠΕϞϞΩΜΑ ΤΗΡϞ ‘his *whole* (ΤΗΡ-Ϟ) body (ΠΕϞ-ϞΩΜΑ)’ (praec. Pach. 92), †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΤΗΡΤΗ ΖΜ ΠΕΧ̄Ϟ ‘I beseech (†-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) you (ΜΜΩ-ΤΗ) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΤΗ) in (ΖΜ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄Ϟ)’ (Hil. 7:25).

- The quantificational adverb Ε-Π-ΤΗΡ-Ϟ ‘entirely, at all’ ranges over events and activities, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕ ΑϞΨΤΑΜ ΝΝΕϞΒΑΛ ΕΤΗΣΩΨΤ ΕΡΟϞ ΕΠΤΗΡϞ ‘but (ΑΛΛΑ) because (ΧΕ) he has shut (Α-Ϟ-ΨΤΑΜ) his eyes (Ν-ΝΕϞ-ΒΑΛ) not to see (Ε-ΤΗ-ΩΨΤ) it (the sun) (ΕΡΟ-Ϟ) *at all* (ΕΠΤΗΡϞ)’ (Zen. 200:27-28).

#### 4.3.2 Cardinal quantifiers

Cardinal quantifiers like ΖΑΖ ‘many’ have a proportional interpretation and indicate subparts of some discourse domain.

##### 3. ΖΑΖ ‘many, most’

denotes the larger or largest portion of a contextually given set of entities, e.g. ΖΑΖ ΝΡΕΜΑΟ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΟΛΙϞ ‘*many* (ΖΑΖ) rich people (Ν-ΡΕΜΑΟ) of (ΝΤΕ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙϞ)’ (KHML I 72:1), ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡ ΖΑΖ (read ΝΕΡΕ ΖΑΖ) ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕϞϞΗΥ ΡΕΙΜΕ (for ΡΙΜΕ) ‘and (ΑΥΩ) *many* (ΖΑΖ) of (ΖΝ) the brothers (ΝΕ-ϞΗΥ) wept (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΡΙΜΕ), too (ΟΝ)’ (V. Pach. 90:17). When used as a pronoun, the cardinal quantifier ΖΑΖ is conventionally interpreted as having human reference, e.g. ΝΕΨΑΡΕ ΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ ΕϞϞΩϞΕ ΕΠΕϞΗΤ ΖΜ ΠΡΠΕ ‘because (ΓΑΡ) *many* (people) (ΖΑΖ) used to (ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ) see (ΝΑΥ) him (the demon) (ΕΡΟ-Ϟ) jumping (Ε-Ϟ-ϞΩϞΕ) down (ΕΠΕϞΗΤ) from (ΖΜ) the temple (Π-ΡΠΕ)’ (KHML II 53:6-7).

##### 4. ΚΟΥΙ ‘some, a few’

is a paucal quantifier, which expresses a low degree or proportionality and is always determined by the indefinite article. When modifying mass nouns, the cardinal quantifier ΚΟΥΙ is determined by the singular form ΟΥ-

e.g. ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΜΟΥ ‘*a little* (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) salt (Ν-ΖΜΟΥ)’ (V. Pach. 5:4 ΜΝΝϞΑ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ‘after (ΜΝΝϞΑ) *a short* (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) while (Ι ΟΥΘΕΙΩ)’ (Zen. 201:24), and the plural form ΖΕΝ- when it modifies count noun, e.g. ΖΕΝ[ΚΟΥΙ Ν]ϞΑΜΟΥΑ ‘*a few* (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) came (Ν-ϞΑΜΟΥΑ)’ (Mena, Mir. 8a:31-b:1), ΜΝΝϞΑ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΖΟϞ ‘after (ΜΝΝϞΑ) *a few* (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) days (Ν-ΖΟΟΥ)’ (Mercur, Mir. 263:21).

##### 5. ΖΟΥΟ ‘more’

is a degree quantifier that indicates amounts or quantities being compared e.g. ΟΥΖΟΥΟ ΝΒΕΕΚΕ ‘*a bigger* (ΟΥ-ΖΟΥΟ) reward (Ν-ΒΕΕΚΕ)’ (Onnophr. 207:9), ΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΝΝΕΨΑΛΜΟϞ ‘*the larger part* (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΟ) of (Ν-) the psalms (ΝΕ-ΨΑΛΜΟϞ)’ (Hil. 2:8). As a quantificational adverb, ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ expresses an intensified action or activity, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΝΟϞ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ ‘(as for) them (ΝΑΙ) they revived it (the prosecution) (Α-Υ-ΤΟΥΝΟϞ-Ϟ) (even) *more* (Ε-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΟ)’ (Mena, Maryrd. 1b:3-5).

#### 4.3.3 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns like the numeral ΟΥΑ ‘one’ are commonly used as free choice pronouns that refer to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain, e.g. ΕΥΨΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΑ ΕϞ†ΤΩΝ (...) ‘if they find (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΟΝ) *someone* (no matter who) (ΟΥΑ) quarelling (Ε-Ϟ-†-ΤΩΝ) (...)’ (praec. inst. Pach. 9). The quantificational system of Coptic Egyptian lacks series of negative pronouns like *no one*, *nothing* as well as indefinite pronouns like *anyone*, *anything*. These expressions, which are associated with negative contexts, but may appear in interrogative or conditional sentences, are known as negative polarity items in the linguistic literature. As we will see next, the function of the “missing” negative polarity items is taken over by normal indefinite pronouns, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΑΥ ΟΥΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΡΑΤϞ ΝΡΩΜΕ ‘*no one* (ΑΛΛΑΥ) shall pull (ΝΝΕ ... Ν) a thorn (ΟΥΡΕ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) from anyone’s (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) foot (Ν-ΡΑΤ-Ϟ)’ (praec. Pach. 96).

## 6. ΟΥΟΝ 'someone, a certain, anyone, no one'

The indefinite pronoun ΟΥΟΝ is conventionally interpreted as a specific indefinite with human reference 'someone, a certain' in affirmative sentences, e.g. Α ΟΥΟΝ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ Ρ ΖΜΕ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΑΤΟΥΩΜ ΝΑΤΩΩ 'one (ΟΥΟΝ) amongst (ΖΗ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) spent (Α ... Ρ) forty (ΖΜΕ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥ) without eating (Ν-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩΜ) (and) drinking (Ν-ΑΤ-Ω) (KHML II 35:18-20), and as a negative indefinite 'no one, nobody' in negative sentences, e.g. ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛΑ 'no one (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) has (ever) dared (ΜΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have accomplished (ΠΕ-ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΑΛ-Α) (Ac. A&P 198:70-71). It conveys a strong distributive sense in combination with the universal quantifier ΝΙΜ: ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'everybody', e.g. ΖΑΠΑΩΣ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ 'briefly (ΖΑΠΑΩΣ), everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) that had been imprisoned (ΕΤ-ΖΟΤΠ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of Jesus (Ν-ΙΣ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΣ) (Eud. 40:24-25).

## 7. ΛΑΛΥ 'someone, something, anyone, anything, no one, nothing'

is not specified for animacy distinctions, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΙ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΕΙΔΟΣ ΝΤΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΑΧΜ ΠΕΦΡΗΝΗΕΙ 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall take (ΝΝΕ ... ΧΙ) anything (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΕΙΔΟΣ) (away) from (ΝΤΝ) anybody (ΡΩΜΕ) without (ΑΧΜ) his steward (ΠΕΦ-ΡΗΝ-ΗΕΙ) (praec. Pach. 106), ΟΥΝ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΜ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΣΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΜΟΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ 'and he (the resentful monk) did not eat (Ε-ΜΕ-Φ-ΟΥΕΜ) anything (ΛΑΛΥ) besides (ΝΣΑ) bread (ΟΕΙΚ) and (ΖΙ) salt (ΖΜΟΥ) alone (ΜΜΑΤΕ) (V. Pach. 86:2). Co-reference with a following pronoun shows that ΛΑΛΥ is grammatically specified as singular masculine, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΒΕ ΕΜΠΟΥΧΟΥΦ 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall go (ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) an enclosure (for sheep) (Ε-ΡΒΕ) who has not been sent (lit. they have not sent him (Ε-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΧΟΥΦ)) (praec. Pach. 108), ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΕΡΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΚΕ 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall talk (ΝΝΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) one another (ΝΕΦ-ΕΡΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the dark (Π-ΚΑΚΕ) (praec. Pach. 94). Since ΛΑΛΥ is a maximally generic expression, its exact interpretation is determined by the syntactic context in which it occurs:

- As a free-choice pronoun, ΛΑΛΥ conveys a strong distributive reading ΛΑΛΥ ΝΙΜ 'each one', e.g. ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΑΩΣ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΩΗΝ ΕΝΨΑΦΧΟΥΨ ΨΑΥΑΥΞΑΝΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ 'briefly (ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΑΩΣ) each (ΛΑΛΥ) of all (ΝΙΜ) the trees (Ν-ΩΗΝ) that he (Apa Matthew) planted (ΕΝ-ΨΑ-Φ-ΧΟ-ΟΥΨ) grew (ΨΑ-Υ-ΑΥΞΑΝΕ) very much (ΕΜΑΤΕ)' (KH II 19:6-7).
- In negated sentences, ΛΑΛΥ functions as a negative polarity i expressing the non-occurrence of any representative member of a kind, e.g. ΕΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'without (there) being (Ε-ΜΝ) any (ΛΑΛΥ) in them (i.e. the deserted streets of Hell) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Ac. A 204:132), ΑΥΩ ΜΗΤΑΝ ΝΛΑΛΥ ΝΣΟΛΣΑ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ' (ΑΥΩ) we do not have (ΜΗΤΑ-Ν) any (ΛΑΛΥ) physical (ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ) comfort (Ν-ΣΟΛΣΑ)' (Hil. 5:23).
- In nominal sentences, the indefinite pronoun ΛΑΛΥ may adopt predicative function, witness the presence of the indefinite article ΟΥ-, ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΛΑΛΥ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (Α) (am) a nobody (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65: 31-32), ΟΥΛΑΛΥ ΝΝΑΖΡΗΝ ΤΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'it (ΠΕ) (our endeavour) (is) not (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ) compared to (ΝΝΑΖΡΗΝ) the ascetic life-style (Τ-ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ) that (man) (Apa Zenobius) (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Zen. 201:2).

## 8. ΟΥΑ 'someone, anyone, a certain'

The numeral ΟΥΑ 'one' is a widely used indefinite pronoun, which covers a broad spectrum of semantic distinctions.

- The numeral ΟΥΑ is interpreted as a specific indefinite interpretation much the same way as the indefinite article ΟΥ-. Compare, then: Α Ε ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΣΤΑΜΩΝ 'one (ΟΥΑ) of the brotli (Ν-ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Pastamôn' (AP Chaîne no. 5:15) vs. Α ΟΥΣΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ Π[ΟΙ]ΜΗΝ 'a (certain) brother (ΟΥ-Ο) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Poimên' (AP Chaîne no.63, 14:11).

- As a specific indefinite, the numeral *ογα* selects a referent whose existence and uniqueness is presupposed by the speaker, although its exact identity is either unknown to him or known but not divulged, e.g. *α ογα μετανοι νογοειω λφσβραζτ* 'a certain (monk) (*ογα*) once (*ν-ογοειω*) made repentance (*μετανοι*) (and) found rest (*α-φ-σβραζτ*)' (AP Chaîne no.195, 50:24).
- Since the numeral *ογα* presupposes the individuality of its referent, it is commonly used as a sense-of-identity anaphor: *π-ογα ... πε-κε-ογα* 'the one ... the other (one)'. Sense-of-identity anaphors refer back to an antecedent quantified noun phrase, with which they share descriptive content, although they are not identical with it, e.g. *αφταμι[ο] μπιναξ σναγ α πογα ε[ι] εβολ εφσottπ μπαρα (for παρα) πεκεογα* 'he manufactured (*α-φ-ταμι*) two (*σναγ*) dishes (*μπιναξ*) (and) one (*π-ογα*) came (*α ... ει*) out (*εβολ*) better (*ε-φ-σottπ*) than (*μπαρα*) the other (*πε-κε-ογα*)' (Mena, Mir. 18a:3-7).
- In the context of negation, *ογα* is used as a negative polarity item, e.g. *μπειπειτμα ννογα (for νογα) νζηττηγτν ενεζ (... ) ειμητ ετβε πογλαι ντεφψχη* 'I never (*ενεζ*) reprimanded (*μη-ει-πειτμα*) anyone (*ν-ογα*) of you (*νζητ-τηγτν*) (...) except (*ειμητ*) for (*ετβε*) the salvation (*π-ογλαι*) of his soul (*ν-τεφ-ψχη*)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19).
- In conditional constructions, the numeral *ογα* assumes a non-specific interpretation and refers to a hypothetical individual: whoever fits the description given in the protasis clause qualifies as a potential referent, e.g. *ερωαν ογα ετι (read λιτει) ημοκ νογζωβ (... )* 'if (*ερωαν*) anyone (*ογα*) asks (*λιτει*) you (*ημο-κ*) something (*ν-ογ-ζωβ*) (... )' (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14).
- The reduplicated form *ογα ογα* expresses iconically the plurality of referents: *ζενογα ογα* 'some people', e.g. *ντοφ δε νεγνηγ ψαροφ νσι ζενογα ογα εβολ ζν ντμε ετηπεφκωτε* '(as for) him (*ντοφ δε*), occasionally people (*ζενογα ογα*) came (*νε-γ-νηγ*) to him (*ψαρο-φ*) from (*εβολ ζν*) the villages (*ν-τμε*) in the neighbourhood (*ετ-η-πεφ-κωτε*)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26); *πογα πογα* 'everybody, each', e.g. *νεψαγσωγζ ενεγερηγ ντε πογα πογα*

*ταγε πετφσοογν ημοφ εβολ ζν νεγραφι* 'they (the brothers used to gather (*νε-ψα-γ-σωογζ*) with one another (*ε-νεγ-ερηγ*) an (*αγω*) everybody (*πογα πογα*) told (*ντε ... ταγε*) what he knew (*π-ετ-φ-σοογν*) from (*εβολ ζν*) the Scriptures (*νε-γραφι*)' (V. Pacl 137:4-6), *αφσμογ επογα πογα ημον* 'he (the angel of the Lord blessed (*α-φ-σμογ*) each one (*πογα πογα*) of us (*ημο-ν*)' (Onnoph 222:5).

#### 9. *ζοινε* 'some'

typically refers to a small, but representative set of discourse entities, e.g. *α ζοινε ει νογοειω ζν θηβαϊς ψα ογζλλο* 'once (*ν-ογοειω*) some (people) (*ζοινε*) in (*ζν*) the Thebais (*θηβαϊς*) went (*α ... ει*) to (*ψα*) (certain) old man (*ογ-ζλλο*)' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:10), *αλλ αφτογνος ναν νζενρεφρ ζυμμε (read ζμμε) ζοινε νκα ζενκοογε νρεφταψε οειω* 'but (*αλλα*) he (God) raised (*α-φ-τογνος*) for us (*να-ν*) guides (*ζεν-ρεφ-ρ ζμμε*), some (*ζοινε*) teachers (*ν-καζ*) others (*ζεν-κοογε*) preachers (*ν-ρεφ-ταψε-οειω*)' (Hil. 1:14-15). Unlike its singular counterpart *ογα*, it is never used as a negative polarity item, e.g. *μηπος ντε ζοινε βι (for φι) πεφσωμα νχιογε* 'that no (*μηπος*) some (people) (*ζοινε*) would carry away (*ντε ... φι*) hi (*Παχôm*'s) body (*πεφ-σωμα*) secretly (*ν-χιογε*)' (V. Pach. 94:7).

#### 10. *μεψε νημ* 'so-and-so'

replaces a proper name, when this name is not considered to be relevant for the development of the narrative, e.g. *βωκ ψα μεψε νημ ναρχιμαδριτης* 'go (*βωκ*) to (*ψα*) the Archimadrite (*ν-αρχιμαδριτης*) so and-so (*μεψε νημ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 29:1).

#### 4.3.4 (Non)identity pronouns

##### 11. *κε* 'other'

presupposes the existence of two or more exemplars of the same kind. It functions either as a determiner-like expression or as a pronoun.



## a) Determiner

As a determiner, the invariant form **κε** is sandwiched between the definite or indefinite article and the head noun, e.g. **ΜΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΨΗΝ ΕΥΨΕΨ** **ϸΤ-ΝΟΥΨΕ** **ΕΒΟΛ** 'and (ΜΝ) other trees (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΨΗΝ) that spread (Ε-Υ-ΨΕΨ) forth (ΕΒΟΛ) a sweet odour (ϸΤ-ΝΟΥΨΕ)' (Onnophr. 219:24-25), **ΤΕΚΕΠΑΨΕ** 'the other half (ΤΕ-ΚΕ-ΠΑΨΕ) (of the garment)' (Onnophr. 217:30), **ΟΥΜΝΤϸΑΒΕ ΟΥΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΟΥΡΑΨΕ ΟΥΑΣΚΗϸΙϸ** [ΜΝ] **ΝΚΕΑΡΕΤΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'wisdom (ΟΥ-ΜΝΤ-ϸΑΒΕ), patience (ΟΥ-ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ), joy (ΟΥ-ΡΑΨΕ), an ascetic life-style (ΟΥ-ΑΣΚΗϸΙϸ) and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the other virtues (Ν-ΚΕ-ΑΡΕΤΗ)' (Zen. 201:29-30). Invariant **κε** is often used as an additive focus particle 'also, even, as well', e.g. **ΠΕϸΜΝΤΨΟΜΤΕ ΝϸΙΟΥΡ ΜΝ ΚΕϸΟ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟϸ ΝΤΑϸ** 'her thirteen (ΠΕϸ-ΜΝΤ-ΨΟΜΤΕ) eunuchs (Ν-ϸΙΟΥΡ) and (ΜΝ) also six (ΚΕ-ϸΟ) of her own (ΝΤΑ-ϸ) virgins (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟϸ)' (Eud. 56:6-7), **ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΥΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΨΙΝΕ ΝϸΩΟΥ** 'and not (ΟΥΔΕ) even their (the Persian) gods (ΝΕΥ-ΚΕ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) did he (Constantine) pay a visit (ΜΠ-ΨΙΝΕ)' (Eud. 42:16).

## b) Pronoun

The corresponding pronominal forms are: (singular masculine) **κε**, **σε**, **κετ**, (singular feminine) **κετε**, (plural) **κοογε**, **κεκοογε** '(the) other, others', e.g. **ΑΨ ΝΤΕΡΕΙϸΟΜϸ Μ ΕΠΕΙΚΕΤ (...)** 'when I touched (ΝΤΕΡΕΙ-ϸΟΜϸ) this other thing (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΚΕΤ) (...)' (Onnophr. 206:1-2), **ΤΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΗΝϸΤΕΙΑ ΕϸΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ ΖΗ ΠΕϸΗΕΙ ΑΨ ΤΚΕΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΗ ΜΠΕϸΨΒΗΡ** '(as for) the service (Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ) of fasting (Ν-Τ-ΝΗϸΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-ϸ-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (ΖΗ) his house (ΠΕϸ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΨ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (ΖΗ) his friend's (Μ-ΠΕϸ-ΨΒΗΡ) house (Π-Η)' (praec. Pach. 115), **Α ΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΤΒΤ ΟΨΜ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ** 'the birds (Ν-ΖΑΛΑΤΕ) and (ΜΝ) the fish (Ν-ΤΒΤ) ate (Α ... ΟΨΜ) others (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΟΥΕ)' (Zen. 202:13-14), **ϸΨΤ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΝΙΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ** 'look (ϸΨΤ) and see (ΝΓ-ΝΑΥ) these other ones (Ε-ΝΙ-ΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ) (sinners)' (Test. Is. 234:31).

## 12. ογωτ 'single, same'

is a postnominal modifier, whose primary function is one of restriction or exclusion. In the context of indefinites, the identity pronoun **ογωτ** stresses the uniqueness or singularity of a particular referent, e.g. **ΟΥΨΗΡΕ Νϸ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ** 'it (is) just (Ν-ΟΥΨΤ) one son (ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ) that belongs (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 194:22), **ΝΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΨΙ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΨΤ** 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) one (Ν-ΟΥΨΤ) i (ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΜΝ) one (Ν-ΟΥΨΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ)' (V. Pach. 4:21). When modifying demonstratively determined noun phrases, it serves as an emphatic marker of identity, e.g. **ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕϸ[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΙ ΝΟΥΨΤ ΖΗ ΠΤΟΟΥ** '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) other brothers (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ϸΝΗ (ΖΗ) that same (Ν-ΟΥΨΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) on (ΖΗ) the mountain (Π-ΤΟ (Zen. 201: 31).

## 4.3.5 Emphatic reflexives

Emphatic reflexives like *herself* in *the Queen herself went to the opening of the new museum* are focus particles, which place the referent of a noun phrase they modify into the centre of attention: of all visitors of the newly opened museum *the Queen* is singled out as the most prominent one. Coptic has three types of emphatic reflexives that indicate different semantic focus types, viz. **ζωω=** '-self', **μαγαα=** 'alone', and **μμιν** 'own'. They all contain a co-pronoun that has the same person, number and gender specification as the focalised noun or pronoun.

## 1. ζωω= '-self'

As inclusive focus particle, **ζωω=** presents the involvement of a particular discourse referent in some state of affairs as a remarkable fact, e.g. **ΑϸΡ ΖΩΩϸ ΟΝ ΝϸΙ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΨΑΝΖΤΗϸ** 'the Son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of Me (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΤΗ-ϸ) himself (ΖΩΩ=ϸ) also (ΟΝ) wept (Α-ϸ-ΡΙΜΕ)' (E 34:8-9). With independent pronouns, it conveys a strong sense of continuity, e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΛΓΟΜΙ[Ζ]Ε ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΚΕΚΟΥΙ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ), however (ΖΩ), intend to fight (ΤΑ-ΑΓΟΝΙΖΕ) with (ΜΝ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) for a little longer (Ν-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

2. **ΜΑΓΑΛΑ** = 'alone, by oneself'

serves as a restrictive focus marker, which asserts that no other discourse entity other than the referent of the focus phrase fits the description expressed by the associated predicate, e.g. **ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΓΑΛΑ** 'you (ΝΤΟΚ) *alone* (ΜΑΓΑΛΑ=α) (are) God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 46:14), **ΕΛΚΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΑΓΑΛΑΚ** 'and you killed (ε-α-κ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ) yourself (ΜΜΟ-κ) *by your own doing* (ΜΑΓΑΛΑ=κ)' (Ac. A&P 202:127).

3. **ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** = 'own'

is used for the emphatic assertion of identity in reflexive predicates and possessive noun phrases, e.g. **ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΕΦΘΟΝΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΩ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** 'for (ΓΑΡ) he (Αρα Zenobius) finally (ΛΟΙΠΟΝ) was no longer (ΟΥΚΕΤΙ) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) angry (ΝΕ-Φ-ΘΟΝΤ) *at himself* (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Ω ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ω)' (Zen. 203:29-30), **†ΩΡΚ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΙ ΧΕ** (...) 'I swear (†-ΩΡΚ) *to myself* (ΜΜΟ-Ι ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ι) that (ΧΕ) (...) (ΚΗΜΛ II 107:8-9), **ΝΑΙΑΤΩ ΝΩΟΥΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** **ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** 'rather (ΝΩΟΥΟ) (is) blessed (ΝΑΙΑΤ-Ω) he who will always (Ν-ΟΥΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ) see (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ) *his own* (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ω) *sins* (Ε-ΝΕΦ-ΝΟΒΕ)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΨΑΝΤΕΩΧΠΟ ΝΑΩ ΜΠΕΦΟΕΙΚ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** 'so that he gained (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Ω-ΧΠΟ) *his own* (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ω) *bread* (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΟΕΙΚ)' (AP Chaîne no.31, 6:9-10).

## Key Terms:

Proximal-distal contrast	Proximal and distal demonstratives are deictically contrastive: the former refer to items near the speaker and the latter to items located at some distance away from the speaker.	§4.1.1
Wh-questions	are information-eliciting speech-acts. The queried piece of information is indicated by the question or <i>wh</i> -word.	§4.2.1

Yes-no questions	are questions that address the validity or the truth of some statement.	§4.2.2
Interrogative particles	are lexicalised question cues that signal the interrogative character of the clause they introduce.	§4.2.2
Rhetorical questions	are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the disguise of a question.	§4.2.3
Universal quantifiers	have an exhaustive interpretation and make reference to the entirety of some discourse domain.	§4.3.2
Cardinal quantifiers	designate proportions or subsets of a given domain of discourse entities.	§4.3.3
Free-choice pronouns	are indefinite pronouns that refer to any representative member of a given category.	§4.3.4
Emphatic reflexives	are focus assigning expressions that place some discourse referent into the centre of attention.	§4.3.6

## Exercises

## 4.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
  1. Coptic demonstratives have anaphoric and discourse deictic uses.
  2. The proximal demonstrative article **πι-** may have a generic (i.e. kind-referring) interpretation.
  3. Two demonstratives cannot modify one and the same expression.

4. The question word **αψ** 'which' functions as an interrogative determiner of partitive interrogative phrases.
5. A yes-no questions must always be introduced by a question particle to indicate its interrogative force.
6. The universal quantifiers **νημ** and **τηρ=** appear in free variation.
7. Coptic has no negative polarity items like English *any*.
8. Emphatic reflexives assign focus to the main verbal predicate of the clause.

#### 4.2 Deixis

A. Fill in the correct form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun **παι** in the following Coptic examples:

- (1) \_\_\_ **ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕϞΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ** (...) 'when *this one* (Zeno) came to sit (**ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϟ-ΖΜΟΟΣ**) upon (**ΖΙΧΗ**) the imperial (**Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ**) throne (**ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ**) (...)' (Hil. 2:2-3)
- (2) \_\_\_ **ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ ΝΤΑϞΤΑΑΣ ΝΑϞ** 'this (was) the first (**Τ-ΨΟΡΠΕ**) torture (**Ν-ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ**) that he (the judge) had given (**ΝΤ-Α-ΤΑΑ-Ϟ**) him (**ΝΑ-Ϟ**) (Ara Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8)
- (3) \_\_\_ **ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΕ** '(as for) *this one* (the rich Alexandrian), he (**ΠΕ**) was (**ΝΕ**) a christian (**ΟΥ-ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**)' (Mena, Mir.13a:11-12)
- (4) \_\_\_ **ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕϞΧΟΟΥ** (...) 'when he (Andrew) had spoken (**ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϟ-ΧΟΟΥ-Υ**) *these* (words) (...)' (Ac. A&P 196:41)
- (5) \_\_\_ **ΤΕ ΤΑΣΖΙΜΕ** '*this one* (is) my wife (**ΤΑ-ΣΖΙΜΕ**)' (AP Chaîne no.241, 73:30)

#### DEIXIS, INTERROGATION, QUANTIFICATION

B. Translate the following demonstratively determined noun phrases

- (1) **ΠΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ** (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:24-25)
- (2) **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΙϞ** (Ac. A&P 196:32)
- (3) **ΠΙΜΑ** (Hil. 11:25)
- (4) **ΤΕΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΜΠΝΙΚΩΝ** (Hil. 1:20)
- (5) **ΠΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΑΙ** (Hil. 10:19)
- (6) **ΝΙΦΑΧΕ ΝΣΕΩ ΜΗ ΝΙΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΩΝΖ** (Test. Is. 228:7)
- (7) **ΠΕ[Ι]ΑΠΟΤ ΜΜΟΟΥ** (Ac. A&P 198:56)
- (8) **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙΑΤΤΑΖΟϞ** (Test. Is. 232:23) (< **ΤΑΖΟ** 'to reach, touch')

C. Fill in the correct the form of the possessive article:

- (1) \_\_\_ **ΣΩΝΕ** 'his sister' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1)
- (2) \_\_\_ **ΖΗΠΑΡ** 'my liver' (Onnophr. 208:30)
- (3) \_\_\_ **ΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ** 'her name Maria' (Test.Is. 231:9)
- (4) \_\_\_ **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ** 'his letter' (V. Pach. 3:12)
- (5) \_\_\_ **ΑΠΕ** 'his head' (Ac.A&P 200:97)
- (6) \_\_\_ **ΕΙΩΤ** 'our father' (Zen. 199:9)
- (7) **ΙΑΚΩΒ** \_\_\_ **ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΦΗΡΕ** 'Jacob, your beloved (**ΜΕΡΙΤ**) child (**Ν-ΦΗΡΕ**)' (Test. Is. 229:14)

D. Complete the following sentences by selecting one of the three options.

- (1) ΕΤΡΑΧΙ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε\_\_ 'such that (ε-) I could take (τρα-χι) a woman (σζιμε) inside (εζουν ε-) my living quarters' (Hil. 9:6-7)  
 ΠΕΦΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ  
 ΝΑΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ  
 ΠΑΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ
- (2) ΧΙ Ν\_\_ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ 'take (χι) this little girl to your living quarters (ε-πεκ-μανφωπε)!' (Hil. 9:4)  
 ΤΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΕΕΡΕ  
 ΠΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ  
 ΤΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ
- (3) \_\_ ΔΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΥΓ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΗΝΤΧΑΙΖΗΤ 'when he (Diocletian) said (ε-φ-χω) these (words) with (ζν) great (ου-νοβ) arrogance (μ-μντχαιζητ)' (Eud. 36:17)  
 ΝΕΙ  
 ΝΙ  
 ΝΑΙ
- (4) \_\_ ΝΕ 'they (νε) (are) mine' (V. Pach. 4:23)  
 ΝΩΙ  
 ΝΟΥΙ  
 ΝΑΙ
- (5) ΝΕΦΜΕ ΜΜΟC ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ \_\_ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΥCΥΝΗ 'he (Constantine) loved (νε-φ-με) her (μμο-σ) (Eudoxia) very much (εματε) for (ετβε) her works of (ν-) righteousness (δικαιοσυνη)' (Eud. 56:4-5)  
 ΝΕCΖΒΗΥΕ  
 ΝΕCΖΩΒ  
 ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ

- (6) ΠΕΦCΟΝ ΠΕ ΑΝΑΤΩΛΙΟC ΠΕΠΑΡΧΟC \_\_ 'his brother (πεφ-σον) (was) Anatol, the erarch (π-επαρχοc) of that time' (Mena, Eni 40a:2-6)  
 ΜΠΕΥΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ  
 ΜΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ  
 ΜΠΕΙΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ
- E. Translate the following definite noun phrases. Particular attention should be paid to the meaning differences between the various demonstratives.

- (1) ΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ (Test. Is. 229:20)  
 (2) ΤΕΝΗΝΤΡΡΟ (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:31)  
 (3) ΝΑΤΕΦΥΧΗ (Hil. 1:12)  
 (4) ΤΕΦΨΕΕΡΕ CΕΝΤΕ (Hil. 2:17)

#### 4.3 Interrogation

- A. Complete the following questions by selecting the correct question word.
- (1) ΕΡΒΗΚ (ΕΤΩΝ/ΕΝΙΜ) 'where are you going to (ερ-βωκ)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22)  
 (2) (ΟΥ/ΝΙΜ) ΡΝΤΚ 'what (is) your name (ρντ-κ)?' (KHML II 31:15)
- B. Decide whether the following yes/no questions anticipate a positive or a negative answer:
- (1) ΜΗ ΕΚΝΑΚΑΛΤ ΝCΩΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΜΜΑΤΕ 'will you abandon (ε-κ-να-καλ-τ) me (νcω-κ) because of (ετβε) one thing (ου-ζωβ) only (μματαε)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

- (2) ΜΗ ΜΠΕΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΣΝΑΥ ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΗ ΤΟΥΜΑΛΥ '(ΜΗ) haven't you (woman) seen (ΜΠΕ-ΝΑΥ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) both (Μ-ΠΕ-ΣΝΑΥ), (namely) your father (ΠΟΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) and (ΜΗ) your mother (ΤΟΥ-ΜΑΛΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:16-17).

#### 4.4 Quantification

A. The universal quantifier ΤΗΡ= requires cross-reference with an antecedent noun or pronoun. Fill in the correct form of the co-pronoun in the following sentences.

- (1) ΝΤΗΡ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΤΗΡ\_\_ ΝΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ 'and we spent (ΝΤ-Ν-Ρ) the *entire night* of Sunday (Ν-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ) with (ΜΗ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 221:8-9)
- (2) †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΗΩΤΗ ΤΗΡ\_\_ ΖΗ ΠΕΧ̄C 'I beseech (†ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) you (ΜΗΩ-ΤΗ) *all* in (ΖΗ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄C)' (Hil. 7:25)
- (3) ΝΕΠΟΛΙC ΤΗΡ\_\_ ΕΤΖΑ ΠΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ 'all the cities that (were) under (ΕΤ-ΖΑ) their government (ΠΕΥ-ΑΜΑΖΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:10-11)
- (4) †ΝΑΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡ\_\_ ΜΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC 'I will exterminate (†ΝΑ-ΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ) the *entire race* (Μ-Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of the Christians (Μ-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (Eud. 36:6-7)

B. Fill in the right quantificational expression in the Coptic examples by selecting one of the three options:

- (1) ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΤΕΡΙΜΕ ΝΝΑΥ \_\_ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) are you (woman) weeping (ΤΕ-ΡΙΜΕ) *every* (single) hour (Ν-ΝΑΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225 65:22)
- ΝΙΜ
- ΤΗΡϣ
- ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ

- (2) \_\_ ΕΤΡ ΟΡΩΩΖ 'the *other* (ones) who are (ΕΤ-Ρ) in need (ΟΡΩΩΖ (Onnophr. 207:17)
- ΝΚΟΟΥΕ
- ΝΚΕCΝΗΥ
- ΖΟΙΝΕ
- (3) ΖΕΘΝΟC \_\_ ΕΤΖΙΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'every race (ΖΕΘΝΟC) which is ο (ΕΤ-ΖΙΧΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Test. Is. 229:32)
- ΛΑΛΥ
- ΝΙΜ
- ΕΠΤΗΡϣ
- (4) ΝΕΨΑΡΕ \_\_ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϣ ΕϞϞΩΔΕ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΖΗ ΠΡΠΕ 'becaus (ΓΑΡ) *many* (people) saw (ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΝΑΥ) him (the demon (ΕΡΟ-ϣ) jumping (Ε-ϣ-ϞΩΔΕ) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ) from (ΖΗ) the templ (Π-ΡΠΕ)' (KHML II 53:6-7)
- ΖΟΙΝΕ
- ΖΑΖ
- ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ

C. Translate the following text fragment:

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

α<sup>a</sup> ΟΥΑ ΝΝΖΛΛΟ ΒΩΚ<sup>b</sup> ΨΑ ΚΕΖΛΛΟ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑϣ<sup>c</sup> ΜΠΕϞΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟ<sup>d</sup> ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΡΨΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑϞΤΑΜΙΟϣ<sup>e</sup> ΠΕΧΑϣ ΧΕ ΖΕΡΠΙ ΖΝΟΕΙΚ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΑϞΖΟΡΠΟΥ<sup>g</sup>. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΨΑΧΕ<sup>h</sup> ΕΝΕΠ̄ΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΤΗΡϣ ΜΗ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΤΗΡC. (AP Chaîne no. 214:20-23)

NOTES: a. λ (Perfect) introduces past tense sentences, b. ΒΩΚ 'to go', c. ΠΕΧΑ-ϣ 'he said', d. ΧΕ quotative particle (can best be left untranslated), d. ΤΑΜΙΟ (imperative) 'prepare!', e. Α-ϣ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-ϣ 'he prepared it', f. ΖΕΡΠ (imperative) plus nominal object 'moisten *s.th.*!', g. Α-ϣ-ΖΟΡΠ-ΟΥ 'he moistened them (the loaves)', h. Α-Υ-ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ε-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ 'they kept talking'

## Nominal sentences

This Unit completes our survey of the nominal domain by taking a closer look at the Coptic equivalents of sentences like *John is a physician*, where the indefinite noun phrase *a physician* does not refer to any particular individual, but rather predicates something about the subject *John*, namely his profession as a medical doctor. Such sentences are called nominal sentences, since they contain a noun phrase that is used predicatively.

Coptic nominal sentences are peculiar in two ways. First, they are verbless constructions in the present tense, i.e. they lack a verbal copula corresponding to English *be*. Thus, one class of nominal sentences is formed by juxtaposition of a personal pronoun and an indefinite noun phrase in predicative function, e.g.  $\text{AN}\Gamma \text{ OY}\text{-}\text{PN}\bar{\text{A}}$  'I (AN $\Gamma$ ) (am) a ghost (OY- $\text{PN}\bar{\text{A}}$ )' (Onnophr. 206:19). The syntax and semantics of such bipartite nominal sentences are the topic of section 5.1. Second, there is another type of nominal sentences, which contain an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the nominal predicate, e.g.  $\text{ANOK PE PN}\Psi\text{HP}\epsilon \text{ MN}\text{PN}\text{OY}\text{TE}$  'I (ANOK) (am) the son (PN- $\Psi\text{HP}\epsilon$ ) of God (MN-PN-NOYTE)' (Abbatôn 240:13). As will be shown in section 5.2, the added pronoun  $\text{PE}$  in such tripartite nominal sentences has no anaphoric role (i.e. it does not refer to previously mentioned discourse participants), but rather fulfils a purely grammatical function as an agreement clitic, which links the subject to the nominal predicate.

Nominal sentences have a relatively transparent syntax with only a limited degree of word order variation. Yet, a broad spectrum of

*semantic distinctions* is expressed by means of bi- and tripartite nominal sentence patterns, depending on the meaning of the nominal predicate chosen. This Unit follows a taxonomic approach, where the structural description of commonly occurring nominal sentence patterns is combined with a functional analysis of the various types of predicative relationships.

## 5.1 Bipartite nominal sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences, as suggested by the terminology, are composed of two elements, the subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. **ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25). While a variety of nominal expressions appear in the predicate position, there is a strict selectional restriction on the subject of a bipartite nominal sentence, which must be a personal pronoun.

### 5.1.1 The "mixed" paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Coptic has two morphologically distinct sets of pronominal clitics. One consists of the phonologically reduced and deaccented proclitic forms of the independent first and second person pronouns, to wit **ΑΝΓ** (< **ΑΝΟΚ**) 'I', **ΝΤΚ** 'you (man)' (< **ΝΤΟΚ**), **ΝΤΕ** 'you (woman)' (< **ΝΤΟ**), **ΑΝ(Ν)** 'we' (< **ΑΝΟΝ**), **ΝΤΕΤΝ** 'you (plural)' (< **ΝΤΩΤΝ**). The other set of pronouns consists of the enclitic deictic pronouns **ΠΕ** 'he', **ΤΕ** 'she' **ΝΕ** 'they'. These are used as suppletive pronominal forms in the context of third person reference, since there are no proclitic variants of the freestanding third person pronouns (see above, section 2.4.3.1 of Unit 2. The mixed pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences is illustrated in table 5.1 below.

In the context of emphatic pronominal reference, however, the independent pronouns for first and second person may be used as pronominal subjects instead of their proclitic counterparts. Particularly common are contrastive topics, e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΨΩC ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a shepherd (ΟΥΨΩC) and (ΑΥΩ) *this one* (here)(ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), **ΑΝΟΝ ΖΕΝΡΕCΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΟΥΠΕΤΟΓΑΛΒ ΠΕ** 'we (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) sinners (ΖΕΝΡΕCΡ ΝΟΒΕ), but (as for him) *him* (Jesus Christ) (ΝΤΟC), he (ΠΕ) (is) holy (ΟΥΠΕΤΟΓΑΛΒ)' (Sh. III 142:29-30).

Independent personal pronouns can also be found in the context of question-answer pairs, e.g. **ΝΤΩΤΝ ΝΑΛΩ ΜΠΟΛΙC - ΑΝΟΝ ΝΑΘΙΕΛ̄** 'from which (ΝΑ-ΛΩ) city (Μ-ΠΟΛΙC) (are) you (ΝΤΩΤΝ)? We (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) from Jerusalem (ΝΑ-ΘΙΕΛ̄)' (KHM L I 80:6-8), **ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΡΜΤΩΝ - ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΜΝΕΚΙΝΤΩΡΕ ΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΕ ΘΗΒΑΙC** 'you (ΝΤΟΚ) (are) a man from whence (ΟΥΡΜ-ΤΩΝ)? I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a man of Nekintôre (Dendera) (ΟΥΡΜ-ΝΕΚΙΝΤΩΡΕ), a town (ΟΥΠΟΛΙC) of (ΝΤΕ) the Thêbais (ΘΗΒΑΙC)' (KMHL II 31:22-25).

BIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCES		
	[PREDICATE ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ]	[SUBJECT ΠΕ] He (is) a man
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ΑΝΓ ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ / ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ	I (am) a man / a woman
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ΝΤΚ ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ	You (are) a man
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ΝΤΕ ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ	You (are) a woman
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ	He (is) a man
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ	She (is) a woman
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	ΑΝ(Ν) ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ	We (are) people
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ	You (are) people
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ ΝΕ	They (are) people

TABLE 5.1 The pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Further examples: (1<sup>st</sup> sing.) **ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ** 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27), **ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΓ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** '(as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Eud. 54:11-12), (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.) **ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC** 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ) such that (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) glory (Ν-ΕΟΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1), (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.) **ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25), (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.) **ΟΥΨΩC ΠΕ ΕΦΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ** 'he (ΠΕ) (is) a shepherd (ΟΥΨΩC) who pastures (Ε-Φ-ΜΟΟΝΕ) sheep (Ν-Ν-ΕCΟΟΥ)' (AP, Chaîne no.241, 73:24), (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.) **ΚΑΝ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ** 'be it (ΚΑΝ) (that) she (ΤΕ) (is) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 154:12), (1<sup>st</sup> pl.) **ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑΡΞ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (Ν-CΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12), (2<sup>nd</sup> pl.) **ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are)

shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΥ-ΦΙΤΕ)' (Eud. 64:11), (3<sup>rd</sup> pl.) ΖΕΝΑΦ ΜΗΝΕ ΝΕ 'they (NE) (are) what (ΖΕΝ-ΑΦ) kind (of people) (Η-ΜΗΝΕ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:67).

### 5.1.2 Word order

Bipartite nominal sentences display two fundamentally different word order patterns that can be directly related to the prosodic status of the subject pronoun chosen. First and second person pronouns appear in subject-initial clauses, whereas third person pronouns occur in predicate-first sentences in which the predicate noun is placed in front of the pronominal subject. The factor motivating this word order contrast is the prosodic behaviour of the subject pronoun in question. Thus, proclitic pronouns are phonologically attached to the right of the host word, which is the nominal predicate, and the result is subject-first order. Enclitic pronouns, on the other hand, must follow their phonological host, which gives rise to predicate-first order. Thus, compare: ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27) vs. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he (ΠΕ) (is) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:18-19), ΑΝΓ ΟΥΠΝΑ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΠΝΑ)' (Onnophr. 206:19) vs. ΤΑΧΑ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΠΕ 'perhaps (ΤΑΧΑ) he (ΠΕ) (is) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΠΝΑ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:7)

#### 5.1.2.1 Clitic clustering

Proclitic and enclitic pronouns appear not only on opposite sites of their phonological host, the nominal predicate, but also exhibit different degrees of prosodic boundness. The proclitic first and second person pronouns form a single, indivisible prosodic constituent with the adjacent nominal predicate. It is therefore not possible for enclitic elements to split up the subject-predicate complex. As a result, prosodically weak function words, such as the Greek discourse markers ΔΕ and ΓΑΡ 'since', the additive focus particle ΟΝ 'also, too' or the negative adverb ΑΝ 'not' must appear in clause-third position, to the left of the predicate nominal, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a soldier (ΟΥ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10), ΕΩΧΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΜΑΛΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΣΑΒΗ 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) you (ΝΤΕ) (are) also (ΟΝ) a wise (Ν-ΣΑΒΗ) mother (ΟΥ-ΜΑΛΥ)' (Sh. III 22:21), ΑΝΓ ΟΥΚΑΤΑΡΩΤΗ ΑΝ ΗΡΩΜΕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) not (ΑΝ) a man (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) of your kind (ΟΥ-ΚΑΤΑΡΩ-ΤΗ)' (Sh. III 117:5). The postponement of enclitic function words and particles can also be observed in the context of emphatic pronominal

reference, when an independent pronoun replaces the corresponding proclitic in clause-initial position, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ ΑΝ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) not (ΑΝ) a magician (ΟΥ-ΜΑΓΟΣ)' (KHML I 5:13), ΑΝΟΙ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ 'for (ΓΑΡ) we (ΑΝΟΙ) (are) (just) human (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 155:1-2).

A different situation obtains in predicate-initial nominal sentences where third person pronouns compete with enclitic function words and particles for the clause-second position. As a rule, enclitic third person pronouns are placed in clause-third position, to the left of the enclitic particle, e.g. ΟΥΕΛΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΝΡΩΜΕ 'he (ΠΕ) (is) inferior (ΟΥ-ΕΛΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ) in the eyes of (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) people (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Pach. Catéch. 19:22-23), ΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Ara Ptolemy) (is) a nobleman (ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ)' (KHML II 34:6) ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΑΤΤΩΛΗ 'he (ΠΕ) (Ara Mena) also (ΟΝ) (was) a spotless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΤΩΛΗ) virgin (ΟΥ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 59a:10-12), ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΤΕ 'it (ΤΕ) (the distinction between words and deeds) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a small one (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ)' (Zen. 201:11), ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him (ΝΑ-Φ) (Ara Zenobius) it (ΠΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a fault (ΟΥ-ΑΡΙΚΕ)' (Zen. 203:22).

Figure 5.1 on the next page gives a schematic representation of clitic order in bipartite nominal sentences. (PN stands for 'predicate nominal', PROCL for 'proclitic, ENCL for enclitic, DAT-CL for 'dative clitic', and PCL for 'particle'; brackets indicate prosodic domains).

PRONOUN	WORD ORDER	PARTICLE PLACEMENT
PROCLITIC	SUBJECT-FIRST ORDER	[PROCL PN] PCL
ΑΝΓ, ΝΤΚ, etc	ΑΝΓ ΟΥΠΝΑ 'I (am) a ghost' (Onnophr. 206:19)	ΑΝΓ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ 'I (am) a soldier' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10)
ENCLITIC	PREDICATE-FIRST ORDER	[PN] [DAT-CL] PCL] ENCL]]
ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ	ΤΑΧΑ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΠΕ 'perhaps he (is) a ghost' (AP Chaîne no.243, 75:7)	ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him it (is) not a fault' (Zen. 203:22)

FIGURE 5.1 Word order in bipartite nominal sentences



### 5.1.2.2 Possessor splitting

Enclitic deictic pronouns and function words differ from one another not only with respect to the cluster-internal position, but also with respect to what might be called possessor splitting (i.e. the disruption of the syntactic continuity of possessive noun phrases). Enclitic pronouns may but need not be placed between the possessed noun and the possessor noun, e.g. **ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'he (ΠΕ) (is) a man (ΟΥΡΩΜΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:18-19), **ΠΜΑ ΜΠΕΝΤΟΝ ΠΕ** 'it (ΠΕ) (the Henaton) (is) the place (Π-ΜΑ) of rest (Μ-ΠΕ-ΗΤΟΝ)' (Hil. 5:18). Enclitic function words, on the other hand, are always placed between the possessed and the possessor noun, e.g. **ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΡΗΤ ΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΙΣΑΑΚ ΜΗ ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ** 'since (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Ara Mena) (was) a child (ΟΥΨΗΡΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) the vow (Π-ΕΡΗΤ) like (ΝΘΕ Ν-) Isaak and (ΜΗ) Samuel' (Mena, Enc. 45b:1-5).

### 5.1.2.3 The Preterit auxiliary ΝΕ

Nominal sentences have a limited distribution with respect to tense marking. While present tense reference is morphologically unmarked, the Preterit auxiliary ΝΕ is used to indicate a present-in-the past. The auxiliary ΝΕ always precedes the subject-predicate complex, e.g. **ΝΕ ΤΕΨΗ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) it (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) night (ΤΕ-ΨΗ)' (KHML I 80:28), **ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΕ** '(as for) this one (i.e. the rich Alexandrian) (ΠΑΙ ΔΕ), he (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ) a Christian (ΟΥ-ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:11-12).

### 5.1.2.4 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a topicalized noun or pronoun, which appears in front of the subject-predicate complex. The preclausal topic constituent designates the discourse referent that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent and is therefore called comment clause. Its grammatical features (person, number and gender) are resumed by the pronominal subject, e.g. **ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΟΥΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΚΗΜΕ** '(as for) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) *Ara Mena*, he (ΠΕ) (was) a nobleman (ΟΥ-ΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ) from (ΕΒΟΛ) the land (Π-ΚΑΖ) of Egypt (Ν-ΚΗΜΕ)' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-39b:2), **ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΖΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΝΕ** '(as for) *the gods*

(Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the pagans (Ν-Ν-ΖΕΘΝΟΣ), *they* (ΝΕ) (in fact) (are) demons (ΖΝ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ)' (KHML I 3:12-4:1).

The preclausal topic must be cross-referenced by the subject clitic in the associated bipartite nominal sentence. In the context of contrastive pronominal reference, the topicalization of first and second person pronouns gives rise to what has been called clitic doubling in the linguistic literature, where the co-referential subject pronoun is either a full or a phonologically reduced copy of the freestanding personal pronoun, e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΚΑΖ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΦΟΙΧ** '(as for) *me* (ΑΝΟΚ), *I* (ΑΝΓ) (am) earth (ΟΥ-ΚΑΖ) and (ΑΥΩ) a creature (ΟΥ-ΠΛΑΣΜΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) his (God's) hands (ΝΕΦ-ΟΙΧ)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14), **ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΣΑΡΞ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ), *we* (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (Ν-ΣΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12), **ΝΤΩΤΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΗΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΖΕΝΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΣΕΒΗΣ** '*you* (ΝΤΩΤΗ) and (ΜΗ) your kings (ΝΕΤΗ-ΡΡΩΟΥ), *you* (ΝΤΩΤΗ) (are) godless (Ν-ΑΣΕΒΗΣ) criminals (ΖΕΝ-ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 51a:20-25).

The discourse status of the preclausal noun or pronoun is commonly indicated by topic-indicating particle like ΔΕ, e.g. **ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΕ ΟΥΡΕΜΝΚΗΜΕ ΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΓΕΝΟΣ** '(as for) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) *Ara Mena*, *he* (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ) an Egyptian (ΟΥ-ΡΕΜΝ-ΚΗΜΕ) by (ΚΑΤΑ) origin (ΠΕΦ-ΓΕΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-8), **ΕΥΦΥΜΙΑ ΔΕ ΤΕΦΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΑΘΡΗΝ ΤΕ** '(as for) his wife (ΤΕΦ-ΣΖΙΜΕ) *Euphymia*, *she* (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) barren (ΟΥ-ΑΘΡΗΝ)' (Mena, Enc. 42a:12-14), **ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΖΩ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΗΝΤΟΥ ΝΤΚΖΕ** '*I* (ΑΝΟΚ) *myself* (ΖΩ), *I* (ΑΝΓ) (am) a hermit (ΟΥ-ΡΗΝ-ΤΟΥ) lit. man of the mountain) of your kind (Ν-ΤΚ-ΖΕ)' (Onnophr. 210:13). See figure 5.2 for further illustration.

PRE-CLAUSAL TOPIC	COMMENT CLAUSE	
	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREDICATE NOUN
ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ (As for) me	ΑΝΓ I	ΟΥ-ΚΑΖ (am) earth
ΕΥΦΥΜΙΑ ΔΕ ΤΕΦΣΖΙΜΕ (As for) his wife Euphymia	ΝΕ ΟΥΑΘΡΗΝ PRETERIT barren	ΤΕ she

FIGURE 5.2 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

The syntactic status of bipartite nominal sentences with a topicalised noun phrase is not entirely clear or obvious. Despite the structural similarities with the clitic doubling construction, we may very well be dealing with a different sentence construction, given that the subject position of bipartite nominal sentences is incompatible with full noun phrases. In such bipartite nominal sentences, the topic position seems to have been reanalysed as a normal subject position for noun phrases and their equivalents. Under this analysis, the enclitic deictic pronoun at the end of the subject-predicate complex would function not so much as a cross-reference device, but rather serve a purely grammatical marker of the subject-predicate relationship.

### 5.1.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

The previous section has largely been concerned with word order phenomena in bipartite nominal sentences. The focus of this section is on the different types of semantic relationships expressed by the nominal predicate. A basic distinction concerns the referring or non-referring character of the nominal predicate. Predicational sentences derive their name from the fact that the nominal predicate has no specific discourse referent, but says something about the subject, such as a property, role or indication of class membership. Predicational sentences can be further subdivided in ascriptive and classificational sentences, depending on the property- or class-denoting interpretation of the nominal predicate, e.g. *ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ* 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ)' (Eud. 64:11) vs. *ΝΤΕ ΟΥΡΖΙΜΕ* 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥ-ΡΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25).

Next to predicational sentences, there are identificational sentences, whose predicate nominal is a referring expression. The semantic basis of identificational sentences is the division of reference: both the subject and the nominal predicate pick out the same individual or object from the realm of discourse. Such identity relations are generally encoded as tripartite nominal sentences, which will be discussed in section 5.2.2. There are, however, also a few bipartite nominal sentence patterns, where the nominal predicate has an identificational role, e.g. *ΤΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΗΣΕ ΤΕ* 'she (ΤΕ) (Thekla) (is) the sister (Τ-ΩΝΕ) of Paëse (Μ-ΠΑΗΣΕ)' (KHML I 83:30), *ΠΜΑ ΗΠΕΝΤΟΝ ΠΕ* 'it (the Henaton) (is) the place (Π-ΜΑ) of rest (Η-ΠΕ-ΜΤΟΝ)' (Hil. 5:18), *ΝΤΕΤΝ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ* 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) the children (Η-ΩΗΡΕ) of the holy

(Η-Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) ΑΡΑ (ΑΠΑ) Moses' (KHML II 48:21).

Bipartite nominal sentences with a referring predicate noun are, generally speaking, restricted to pragmatically marked construction types with a specialized meaning and function. In identity questions, for example, the predicatively used interrogative pronoun represents the missing piece of information necessary for the recognition of the subject referent, e.g. *ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΠΑΧ[Ο]ΕΙΣ* 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)?' (Eud. 50:18-19), *ΝΙΜ ΡΝΤΚ* 'what (ΝΙΜ) (is) your name (ΡΝΤ-Κ)?' (KHML II 31:15).

Second, there are presentational sentences of the form *ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ* 'it (ΠΕ) (is) me (ΑΝΟΚ)', which are commonly used as responses to identity questions, e.g. *ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΒΑΑΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΕΟΟΟΥ (...)* *ΝΒΑΑΜΠΕ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ (...)* 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΑΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕΟΟΟΥ)? (...)' (as for) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΑΜΠΕ), it (ΠΕ) (is) me (ΑΝΟΚ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14-15). A final group of bipartite identificational sentences consists of so-called situational sentences, which describe a particular temporal setting or ambience, e.g. *ΕΨΩΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΨΩΜ ΠΕ* 'when it (ΠΕ) (is) summer' (Π-ΨΩΜ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Figure 5.3 presents a taxonomy of the most common types of predicational relationship in bipartite nominal sentences:

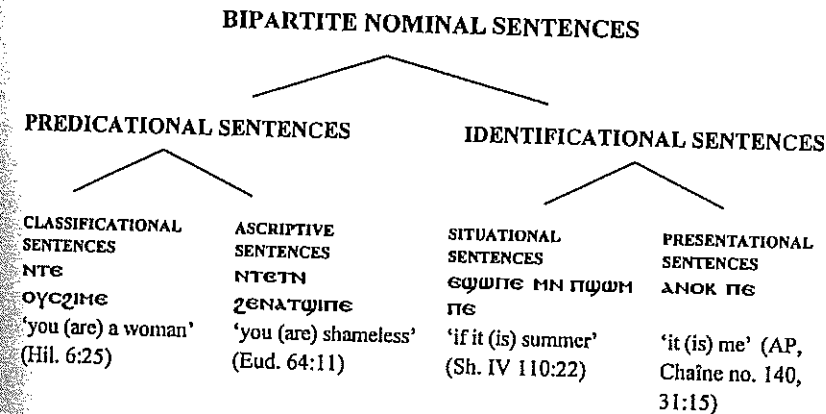


FIGURE 5.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

In the remainder of this section, each type of predicative relationship will be discussed individually, starting with classificational sentences.

### 5.1.3.1 Classificational sentences

Classificational sentences are associated with a partitive reading and specify a semantic relation of class inclusion. The referent of the subject is conceptualized as a representative member or, in the case of plural reference, as a subset of a particular class of entities, species or kind. The kind-referring predicate nominal is syntactically encoded as an indefinite noun phrase, which has the same number specification as the pronominal subject, e.g. **ΑΝΓ ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ** 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a Christian (ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ) openly (ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ)' (Mena, Enc. 49b:28-50a:1), **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΙϞ ΠΕΧϞ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) not (ΑΝ) a magician (ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a servant (ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) Jesus Christ (ΠΕΧϞ)' (KHML I 5:13-14), **ΝΤΚ ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'you (ΝΤΚ) (are) a holy (one) (ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (KHML I 46:22-23), **ΝΤΚ ΟΥΨΗΜΟ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΡΕΝΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ** '(are) you (ΝΤΚ) a stranger (ΟΥΨΗΜΟ) or (ΧΕ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ) a man of this city (ΟΥΡΕΝ-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)?' (Mena, Enc. 50a:5-7), **ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΣΑΡΞ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (Ν-ΣΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12).

#### a) Locative and manner predicate nominals

Locative and manner adverbs can be converted into indefinite noun phrases to function as the nominal predicate of a classificational sentence, e.g. **ΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΖΝΕΒΟΛ ΝΕ ΖΝ ΤΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ** (for ΤΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ) **ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ ΝΤΕ ΚΗΜΕ** '(as for) his parents (ΝΕΦ-ΕΙΟΤΕ), they (ΝΕ) were (ΝΕ) from (ΖΝ-ΕΒΟΛ) the glorious (ΕΤ-ΤΑΙΝΥ) capital (Τ-ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (Mena, Enc. 39b:2-6), **ΠΕΣΜΟΤ ΔΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΩΡΕ ΝΣΑΙΗ** '(as for) the appearance (ΠΕ-ΣΜΟΤ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mena, he (ΠΕ) (was) of this kind (ΟΥΕ-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ): a strong (Ν-ΧΩΡΕ) (and) handsome (Ν-ΣΑΙΗ) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:19-25).

#### b) Possessive nominal predicates

Since possessive demonstratives are associated with a partitive reading, they are commonly used as kind-referring nominal predicates, e.g. **ΠΑΠΜΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ ΠΕ** 'he (Apa Mena) (was) a native of the Mariôtês (ΠΑ-Π-ΜΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 36b:30-37a:2), **ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ** 'they (ΝΕ)

(are) mine (ΝΟΥ-Ι)' (V. Pach. 4:23), **ΠΖΩΒ ΠΑΠΕΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΠΕ** 'the affair (Π-ΖΩΒ) it (ΠΕ) (is) something (concerning) the sovereign (ΠΑ-ΠΕ-ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:20).

### 5.1.3.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal describes a property, state or characteristic feature of the subject referent. Since the indefinite nominal predicate denotes a property that is measurable on a scale, it is commonly modified by degree adverbials, for instance, quantificational adverbs or adverbs of comparison, e.g. **ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ** '(do you think that) he (ΠΕ) (Christ) (is) stronger (ΟΥΧΩΡΕ) than us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), **ΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ** 'for (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Apa Mena) (was) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) pious (ΟΥ-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:31-32), **ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ** 'and (ΚΑΙ) because (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Zeno) (was) pious (ΟΥ-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ) in (ΖΝ) every (ΝΙΜ) respect (ΖΩΒ)' (Hil. 8:19-20), **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΖΝ ΘΗΛΥΚΙΑ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) (still) very young (lit. small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) in (ΖΝ) age (ΘΗΛΥΚΙΑ < Τ-ΖΗΛΥΚΙΑ)' (KMHL II 35:2).

### 5.1.3.3 Situational sentences

Situational sentences set up a temporal frame for the following discourse. They have an expletive pronoun as their subject, which roughly corresponding to impersonal *it* in English. The predicate typically is a time-indicating noun, e.g. **ΝΕ ΤΕΥΨΗ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) it (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ)' (KHML I 80:28), **ΕΝΕ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ** 'while *it* (ΠΕ) was (Ε-ΝΕ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Marcus, the Evangelist (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:32-33), **ΠΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΝΧΠΣΟ Η ΧΠ†** '*it* (ΠΕ) (is) the time (Π-ΝΑΥ) of the sixth (Ν-ΧΠ-ΣΟ) or (Η) the fifth hour (Π-ΧΠ-†)' (Sh. IV 110:22-23), **ΕΨΩΠΕ ΜΗ** (read ΜΕΝ) **ΠΨΩΜ ΠΕ** 'when *it* (ΠΕ) (is) summier' (Π-ΨΩΜ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Setting up a discourse frame may also involve reference to some physical or mental condition, e.g. **ΝΕ ΟΥΨΩΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΝΑΨΤ ΠΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) *it* (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ) a heavy (Ε-Φ-ΝΑΨΤ) illness (ΟΥ-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:28), **ΝΤΕΤΝΘΟΜ ΑΝ ΤΕ** '*it* (ΤΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) (in) your power (ΤΕΤΝ-ΘΟΜ) (i.e. something you can influence) (Ac. A&P 196:40-41).

### 5.1.3.4 Presentational sentences

Presentational sentences of the kind  $\lambda\text{NOK } \text{π}\epsilon$  'it ( $\text{π}\epsilon$ ) (is) me ( $\lambda\text{NOK}$ )' are used as responses to identity questions. The main function of the expletive pronoun  $\text{π}\epsilon$  is to pinpoint the discourse entity whose identity is at stake, e.g.  $\text{NIM } \text{π}\epsilon$   $\text{π}\alpha\iota$  -  $\text{N}\alpha\text{ZPOY } \text{π}\rho\text{M}\eta\text{K}\eta\text{M}\epsilon$   $\text{π}\epsilon$  'who ( $\text{NIM}$ ) (is) that ( $\text{π}\alpha\iota$ )? - It ( $\text{π}\epsilon$ ) (is) Nahrow the Egyptian ( $\text{π}\rho\text{-}\rho\text{M}\eta\text{-}\text{K}\eta\text{M}\epsilon$ )' (KHM L I 7:20-21),  $\text{NIM } [\text{T}] \text{ENOU } \text{PETCOPH } \text{M}\rho\text{M}\eta\text{H}\omega\epsilon$   $[\lambda\text{N}] \text{ON } \text{π}\epsilon$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\text{NTOTN } \text{π}\epsilon$  'now ( $\text{TENOU}$ ) it ( $\text{π}\epsilon$ ) (is) who ( $\text{NIM}$ ) that ( $\text{ET-}$ ) misleads ( $\text{COPH}$ ) the crowd ( $\text{M-}\rho\text{-}\text{M}\eta\text{H}\omega\epsilon$ )? (Is) it ( $\text{π}\epsilon$ ) us ( $\lambda\text{NON}$ ) or ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) (is) it ( $\text{π}\epsilon$ ) you ( $\text{NTOTN}$ )?' (Ac. A&P 212:231),  $\text{PXOEIC } \text{I}\bar{\text{C}}$   $\text{π}\epsilon\bar{\chi}\bar{\text{C}}$   $\text{π}\epsilon$  '(Ara Ptolemy realized that) it ( $\text{π}\epsilon$ ) (was) the Lord ( $\text{π-XOEIC}$ ) Jesus Christ ( $\text{π}\epsilon\bar{\chi}\bar{\text{C}}$ )' (KMHL II 30:24-25).

## 5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

The basic subject-predicate configuration that underlies bipartite nominal sentences can be transformed into a new sentence pattern by inserting the deictic pronouns  $\text{π}\epsilon$ ,  $\text{τ}\epsilon$ ,  $\text{n}\epsilon$  into the structure, e.g.  $\text{N}\alpha\text{ZPOY } \text{π}\epsilon$   $\text{π}\alpha\text{RAN}$  'my name ( $\text{π}\alpha\text{-}\rho\alpha\text{N}$ ) (is) Nahrow' (KHM L I 3:6-7),  $\text{T}\alpha\iota$   $\text{τ}\epsilon$   $\text{T}\alpha\text{CZIME}$  'this ( $\text{T}\alpha\iota$ ) (is) my wife ( $\text{T}\alpha\text{-}\text{CZIME}$ )' (AP Chaïne no. 241, 73:30),  $\text{ZENNOB } \text{GAP } \text{N}\epsilon$   $\text{N}\epsilon\gamma\text{POLYTI}\alpha$  'for ( $\text{GAP}$ ) their ascetic labours ( $\text{N}\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho\text{O}\lambda\gamma\text{TIA}$ ) (are) great ( $\text{ZEN-NOB}$ )' (Hil. 7:9). Such extended nominal sentence patterns are composed of three elements, viz. the subject, the predicate noun, and the added deictic pronoun:

SUBJECT	AGREEMENT CLITIC	PREDICATE NOUN	
$\text{π}\alpha\iota$	$\text{π}\epsilon$	$\text{π}\alpha\text{Z}\alpha\iota$	This (is) my husband.
This	SING. MASC	my husband	
$\text{T}\alpha\iota$	$\text{τ}\epsilon$	$\text{T}\alpha\text{CZIME}$	This (is) my wife.
This	SING. FEM	my wife	
$\text{N}\alpha\iota$	$\text{N}\epsilon$	$\text{N}\alpha\omega\text{HP}\epsilon$	These (are) my children.
These	PLURAL	my children	

TABLE 5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

Bi- and tripartite nominal sentences differ from one another in the number of sentence constituents defining each pattern, which reflects different types of agreement marking. In bipartite nominal sentences,

the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate is marked by pro- and enclisis, respectively. This contrasts with tripartite nominal sentences that employ a specialized formative, the agreement clitic, to link the subject to the nominal predicate. Moreover, bipartite nominal sentences are syntactically more restricted than their tripartite counterparts. While the subject of bipartite nominal sentences must be a pronoun, no such selectional restrictions apply in tripartite nominal sentences, which tolerate all kinds of nominal and pronominal expressions as subjects. The greater syntactic flexibility of tripartite nominal sentences has a semantic correlate in a broader spectrum of meaning distinctions than is customary in bipartite nominal sentence patterns.

### 5.2.1 The syntactic role of the agreement clitic

The obligatory third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences are not associated with anaphoric reference (i.e. they are not linked to a preceding noun phrase), but rather function as purely morphological markers that indicate the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate. In this grammar, the term agreement clitic will be used to describe the structural role of the non-anaphoric pronoun in this nominal sentence pattern. The reason why Coptic uses a desemantized pronoun as an agreement-marking device is to prevent potential structural ambiguity between a phrasal and a sentential interpretation of a sequence of two noun phrases. By separating the subject from the nominal predicate, the intervening singular masculine pronoun  $\text{π}\epsilon$  distinguishes the sentential structure from its phrasal counterpart.

#### 5.2.1.1 Main differences between agreement clitics and copular verbs

Most Coptic grammars use the term "deictic copula" to indicate the syntactic function of the non-anaphoric third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences. The added pronoun has actually very little in common with copular verbs. Coptic has two equivalents to the English copular verb *be*,  $\text{OYN}$  '(there) is' and  $\text{MN}$  '(there) is not', which appear clause-initially in existential sentences, e.g.  $\text{OYN } \rho\omega\text{M}\epsilon$   $\text{M}\rho\text{EIM}\alpha$  'is ( $\text{OYN}$ ) someone ( $\rho\omega\text{M}\epsilon$ ) here ( $\text{M-}\rho\text{EIM}\alpha$ )?' (AP, Chaïne no. 261, 80:5),  $\text{MN } \lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$  '(there) is no ( $\text{MN}$ ) one ( $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ )' (V. Pach. 1:7). The verbal copulas  $\text{OYN}$  and  $\text{MN}$  differ from the agreement clitics of tripartite nominal sentences in the following respect:

- The copular verb functions as the semantic predicate in asserting the existence or non-existence of some discourse entity. This contrasts with the agreement-marking clitic of tripartite nominal sentences, which has no such predicate role and can therefore not be construed as part of the sentence predicate.
- The agreement clitic has no negative counterpart comparable to the negative copular verb *μη*. To assign a negative value to the nominal predicate, the negative adverb *αν* 'not' has to be inserted into the structure, e.g. *ντοκ αν πε πρρο* 'you (*ντοκ*) (are) not (*αν*) the king (*π-ρρο*)' (Ac. A&P 202:108).
- While the verbal copula must be construed with an indefinite subject, the subject of tripartite nominal sentences must be a definite. Thus, compare: *μη νουτε νσα πε-χ̄c̄ ic̄c̄ πνουτε μη-ζαγιος απα μινα* '(there) is no (*μη*) God (*νουτε*) besides (*νσα*) Jesus Christ (*πε-χ̄c̄ ic̄c̄*), the God (*π-νουτε*) of the holy (*μ-π-ζαγιος*) *Αρα Μena*' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21) vs. *ογα πε πνουτε ναπα πτελεμη πε-χ̄c̄ ic̄c̄* 'unique (*ογα*) (is) the God (*π-νουτε*) of *Αρα* (*ν-απα*) Ptolemy, Jesus Christ (*πε-χ̄c̄*)' (KMHΛ II 36:27-37:1).

### 5.2.1.2 Agreement behaviour

As fully grammaticalized markers of the subject-predicate relation, the desemantized third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences generally have the same number and gender (though not person) specification as the clausal subject, e.g. *ανοκ πε πε-χ̄c̄* 'I (*ανοκ*) (am) Christ (*πε-χ̄c̄*)' (AP, Chaîne no.145, 32:16), *πεςραν πε ευδοσια* 'her name (*πες-ραν*) (was) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:4).

The subject-orientation of the agreement clitic is particularly clear in interrogative nominal sentences where the predicatively used question word itself is not specified for grammatical number and gender, e.g. *νιμ πε πεκραν* 'what (*νιμ*) (is) your name (*πεκ-ραν*)?' (KMHΛ I 3:6), *νιμ νε νβαμπε αυω νιμ νε νεσοου* 'who (*νιμ*) (are) the goats (*ν-βαμπε*) and (*αυω*) who (*νιμ*) (are) the sheep (*ν-εσοου*)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14), *αω πε πωι ενταυπωζ εροφ* 'what (*αω*) (is) the height (*π-ωι*) that they have reached (*εντ-α-γ-πωζ*)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:19), *αω τε τεεργαγια [for τεκεργαγια]* 'what (*αω*) (is) your profession (*τεκ-εργαγια*)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:29).

When the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence is a coordinated no phrase, the agreement clitic agrees with the second conjunct, e.g. *τεκεραπικ αυω πεκταχρο πε πνουτε μαγααφ* 'your hope (*τεκεραπικ*) and (*αυω*) your strength (*πεκ-ταχρο*) (is) God (*π-νουτ*) alone (*μαγαα-φ*)' (Sh. III 101:9), *τιντ[ρ]μν[ζ]ητ ν[να]ζραυ ι τ[μ]νταθητ αυω τινταθητ νναζραυ τε τιντ[ρ]μν[ζ]ητ* 'wisdom (*τ-μντ-ρμν-ζητ*) (is) for them (*νναζρα-υ*) foolishness (*τ-μντ-ατ-ζη*) and (*αυω*) foolishness (*τ-μντ-ατ-ζητ*) wisdom (*τ-μντ-ρμν-ζητ*)' (S IV 41:22-23).

### 5.2.1.3 The interaction between the agreement clitic and personal pronouns

The presence of the agreement-marking deictic pronoun does not interfere with the selection of personal pronouns. That is, tripartite nominal sentences tolerate both nouns and pronouns as clausal subject and therefore have a much broader syntactic distribution than their bipartite counterparts, which are only compatible with pronominal subjects. The pronominal subject of tripartite nominal sentences is, as a rule, an independent personal pronoun, e.g. *ανοκ πε περεφρ νοβε* 'you (*ανοκ*) (are) the Redeemer (*π-ρεφ-κω εβολ*)' (Test. Is. 232:31) *ντοφ πε πεγειωτ μιννα πνουτε* 'he (*ντοφ*) (Pachôm) (was) their father (*πεγ-ειωτ*) after (*μιννα*) God (*π-νουτε*)' (V. Pach. 4:11). The selection of proclitic pronouns is only marginally attested as an alternative, e.g. *ανγ πε γαβριηλ* 'I (*ανγ*) (am) Gabriël' (AP Chaîne no.143, 32:6), *ανγ πε θεωδοσιος πρρο* 'I (*ανγ*) (am) King (*π-ρρο*) Theodosios' (AP Chaîne no.141, 31: 28-29).

### 5.2.1.4 Clitic clustering

The agreement clitic comes last in a cluster of enclitic function words and particles, e.g. *νευβηβ δε νε νζητ ννρωμε νατνουτε* 'their (the demons') caverns (*νευ-βηβ*) (are) the hearts (*ν-ζητ*) of godless (*ν-ατ-νουτε*) people (*ν-ν-ρωμε*)' (Sh. IV 177:4-5), *ογατουω γαρ νακ πε πμτον νωα ενεζ* 'for (*γαρ*) never-ending (*ογ-ατ-ουω*) (is) for you (*να-κ*) eternal (*νωα ενεζ*) rest (*π-μτον*)' (AP, Chaîne no. 30, 6:7), *πως γαρ αν πε πσα αλλα πα πενταφπλασσε μμος πε* 'because (*γαρ*) beauty (*π-σα*) (is) not (*αν*) of her (*πω-σ*) (the pretty woman), but (*αλλα*) it (*πε*) is something belonging to (*πα-*) him who has

created (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΠΛΑΨΕ) her (ΜΜΟ-Ο)' (Sh. Or 44 168: 10-14).

### 5.2.2 Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences

Although tripartite nominal sentences display the familiar distinction between predicational and identificational sentences, they tend to make more fine-grained distinctions than their bipartite counterparts. On the one hand, there are classificational sentences, which describe a relation of class inclusion, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΖΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΝ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), your gods (ΝΕΚ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) not (ΑΝ) gods (ΖΗ-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (KHML I 4:2-3). On the other hand, there are ascriptive sentences that indicate property assignment, e.g. ΟΥΝΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΚΛΗΡΟΣ 'your heritage (ΠΕΚ-ΚΛΗΡΟΣ) (is) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΣ)' (KHML II 30:12). Next to classificational and ascriptive sentences, there are characterisational sentences, which provide an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject referent, e.g. ΝΑΨΕΒΗΣ ΝΕ ΝΕΤΣΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ 'the impious ones (Ν-ΑΨΕΒΗΣ) (are) those who reject (Ν-ΕΤ-ΣΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ) the prescriptions (Ν-Ν-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ) of our fathers (Ν-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)' (Sh. III 152:29-153:1).

The same diversity of predication sentence types obtains in identificational sentences. Identity relations are based on what might be called the division of reference: one entity is referred to by two different names. Depending on how this division of reference is syntactically realized, one can distinguish at least three distinctive classes of identificational sentences, viz. (i) identity statements proper, which can be paraphrased as "the referent of the subject is the same or not the same person as the referent of the predicate", e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΖΑΛΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΚΨΕΡΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) Hillaria your daughter (ΤΕΚ-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 11:28-29), ΙΨ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΨ 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧΨ)' (Sh. III 114:5), (ii) assertoric sentences, the subject of which is a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a deictic pointer, e.g. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΨΙΜΕ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑ-ΨΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), and (iii) specificational sentences, whose subject is a semantically incomplete expression or variable like ΡΑΝ 'name' that is assigned an interpretation by the predicate noun, e.g. ΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΨΛΟΣ 'his name (ΠΕΨ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Paul' (KHML I 72:8-9).

Figure 5.4 below presents a taxonomy of the most common types of predicational relations in tripartite nominal sentences:

### BIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCES

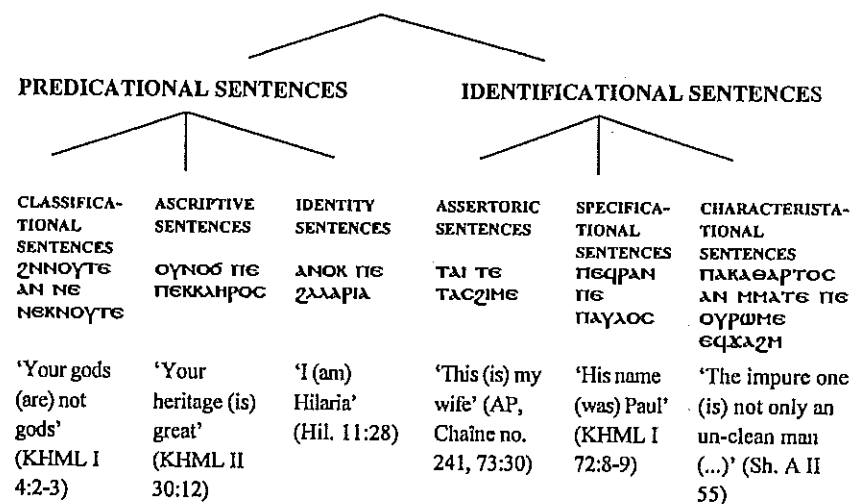


FIGURE 5.4 Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences

The following sections elaborate on the semantic distinctions between the various classes of predicational and identificational sentences, which are often subtle.

#### 5.2.2.1 Classificational sentences

Tripartite classificational sentences describe a semantic relation of class inclusion in much the same way as their bipartite counterparts. Various types of indefinite or partitive expressions qualify as classificational predicates, to wit (i) indefinite noun phrases, which have the same number specification as the nominal subject, e.g. ΑΛΗΘΨ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΜΑΓΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ 'really (ΑΛΗΘΨ), this man (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) (is) a great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΣ) magician (Μ-ΜΑΓΟΣ)' (KHML I 7:22-23), ΕΠΙΔΗ ΖΗΡΕΨΨΟΡΤΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΨΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝ (for ΖΗ) ΤΕΨΨΥΨΙΨ 'for (ΕΠΙΔΗ) women (ΝΕ-ΨΙΟΜΕ) (are) by (ΖΕΝ) their nature (ΤΕΨ-ΨΥΨΙΨ) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (ΖΗ-ΡΕΨ-ΨΟΡΤΡ))' (Hil. 11:35-12:1), (ii) possessive demonstratives, which agree in both number and gender with the subject, e.g. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΑΤΕΨΨΥΨΙΨ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΖΨΨΛΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΨΨΒ 'because (ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ) to fail (ΖΨΨΛΕ) in (ΖΗ) something (ΟΥ-ΨΨΒ) (is) intrinsic to the nature (ΠΑ-ΤΕ-ΨΥΨΙΨ) of human beings ((Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) (BHom.12:19-20), ΤΑΨΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΕΨΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ 'from whence (ΤΑ-ΨΩΝ) (is)

this (woman) (ΤΑΙ) who defends (herself) (ε-σ-απολογιζε) in such a manner (η-τει-ζε)?' (KHML I 83:29), ΠΩΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΘΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΤΑΙΟ 'yours (ΠΩ-κ) (is) the glory (Π-εου) and (ΜΗ) the honour (Π-ταιο)' (KHML I 83:17-18), and (iii) zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. ΠΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) their god (ΠΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (is) human (ΡΩΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 183:6).

### 5.2.2.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences have the same syntax as classificational ones, the main difference being the adjectival interpretation of the indefinite predicate noun, e.g. ΖΕΝΝΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΥΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ 'for (ΓΑΡ) their ascetic labours (ΝΕΥ-ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ) (are) great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΣ)' (Hil. 7:9), ΟΥΑΤΟΥΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΠΜΤΟΝ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ 'for (ΓΑΡ) never-ending (ΟΥ-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩ) (is) for you (ΝΑ-κ) eternal (ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ) rest (Π-ΜΤΟΝ)' (AP Chaîne no.30, 6:7).

It is rather common for the nominal predicate of ascriptive sentences to involve comparison or modification of degree, e.g. ΖΕΝΝΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΕΝ ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΙ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΝΑΘΕΟΣ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the mighty deeds (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) and (ΜΗ) wonders (ΝΕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) that happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) through (ΖΙ-ΤΟΟΤ-Ι) our father (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Apa Matthew (are) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΣ)' (KHML II 18:14-16), ΟΥΨΠΗΡΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΤΕ ΤΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΙΖΑΛΟ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΘΛΙΤΗΣ 'very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) miraculous (ΟΥ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) (was) the miracle (ΤΕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) of this blessed (Μ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) athletic (Ν-ΑΘΛΙΤΗΣ) old man (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΖΑΛΟ)' (Onnophr. 215:14-16), ΕΙΕ ΖΝΑΤΘΟΜ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡΣ 'are) your gods (ΝΕΚ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) so (Η-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) utterly (ΤΗΡ-Σ) powerless (ΖΝ-ΑΤ-ΘΟΜ)?' (KHML I 11:10-11).

Ascriptive sentences may also be construed with "bare" nominal predicates without any obvious semantic differences with their corresponding indefinitely determined counterparts. Compare: ΕΣΙΩΠΕ ΠΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΖΑΙ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΤΕ ΠΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΙ 'when (ε-) bitter (σιω) (is) the manner (θε < τ-ζε) in which (ετ-) the husband (π-ζαι) talks (ερε ... ψαχε) with (μη) the wife (τε-ςζιμε) and (αυω) abominable (βοτε) the manner (θε < τ-ζε) in which (ετ-) the wife (τε-ςζιμε) talks (ερε ... ψαχε) with (μη) the husband (π-ζαι)' (Sh. Or 44, 159:34-41) vs. ΟΥΣΙΩΠΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΒΟΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΝΟΣ ΜΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ 'bitter (ου-σιω) and

(μη) abominable (ου-βοτε) (is) the greatness (τ-μντ-νοσ) of this world (η-πει-κοσμος)' (KHML II 33:9-10).

### 5.2.2.3 Characterisational sentences

The nominal predicate of characterisational sentences provides an exhaustive specification or definition for the subject, instead of classifying it as the holder of some property or representative member of a particular class of entities. The subject is typically a non-specific or generic noun phrase, while the predicate nominal is drawn from the set of quantificational expressions or non-specific definites. In a sense, then, the set of entities referred to by the subject is co-extensive with the set of entities referred to by the nominal predicate: both constituents describe two overlapping or partially intersecting domains of individuals or objects, e.g. ΝΕΤΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΜΠΕΦΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΕΝΤΟΛΗ 'the ones who search (η-ετ-ψινε) for (νσα) God (π-νουτε) (are) every (νιμ) man (ρωμε) who studies (ε-φ-μελητα) His law (μ-πεφ-νομος) and (μη) His prescriptions (νεφ-εντολη)' (Abbaton 227:9-11), ΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΕΦΤ ΚΩΤ ΜΠΕΝΒΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ{Υ} ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΟΥΩΖ ΖΝ ΤΝΜΗΤΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) a woman (ου-ςζιμε) to stay (ε-τρε ... ουωζ) in (ζν) our midst (τν-μητε) (is) not (η ... αν) something (ου-ζωβ) fitting (ε-φ-τ κωτ) our life (μ-πεν-βιος)' (Hil. 6:25-26), ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΨΙ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'the ones who serviced (νε-ντα-υ-διακονει) well (καλωσ) (are) the ones who reached (νε-ντ-α-υ-αζε (ε)ρατου) the measure (π-ψι) of the Scriptures (η-νε-γραφη)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

### 5.2.2.4 Identity statements

The concept of identity is intimately related to the division of reference. Identity relations express this idea by equating two names, both of which refer to one and the same individual. Both the subject and the nominal predicate of identity statements are therefore referential expressions like proper names or personal pronouns, e.g. (those who say) ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧC 'Jesus (is) not (αν) the Messiah (πε-χc)' (Sh. III 114:5), Ω ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΟ ΤΕ ΘΕΚΛΑ ΤΨΕΡΕ ΝΖΗΛΙΑΣ 'oh (ω) woman (τε-ςζιμε) you (ντο) (are) Thekla, the daughter (τ-ψερε) of Elias (η-ζηλιασ)' (KHML I 80:15). The division of reference that defines identity relations may also involve reference to a temporary stage or

role of the discourse entity whose identity is in the center of interest, e.g. *ANOK PE PANSE PENTAYNOXQ ETETPIP* 'I (ANOK) (am) *Paêse*, who had been thrown (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΟΧ-Q) into the oven (Ε-ΤΕ-ΤΡΙP)' (KHML I 79:7-8), *ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟQ ΠΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΕQΖΑΡΑΤΚ* 'and he (ΝΤΟQ) (Constantine) (is) *the king* (Π-ΡΡΟ) under you (Ε-Q-ΖΑ-ΡΑΤ-Κ)' (Eud. 54:12-13).

### 5.2.2.5 Assertoric sentences

Assertoric sentences, unlike identity statements, have as a subject a proximal demonstrative pronoun ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ 'this, these'. This type of identificational sentence has been called assertoric in the linguistic literature, because the demonstrative subject pronoun does not so much name a particular individual or object concerning which an assertion is made, but rather functions as a mere deictic pointer, whose logical role is to draw the addressee's attention to someone or something in his immediate surroundings, e.g. ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΖΩΜΟ ΜΕΝ ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ 'this (ΠΑΙ) (is) Antonius, this (ΠΑΙ) (is) Pachôm and (ΜΗ) Petronius and (ΜΗ) Theodorus, *this* (ΠΑΙ) (is) Apa Shenûte' (KHML II 22:3-5), ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑCΙC ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕ[ΙC] ΙC ΠΕΧC 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) the resurrection (Τ-ΑΝΑΣΤΑCΙC) of our Lord (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Eud. 66:22-23), ΖΕΝΤΟΠΟC ΝΕ Ν[ΑΙ Μ]ΠΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΘΜ ΠΕΥΨΙΝΕ ΝΤΕ[ΡΕ]QΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΓ ΕΑΜΝΤΕ 'these (ΝΑΙ) (are) *places* (ΖΕΝ-ΤΟΠΟC) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) did not visit (ΜΠΕ ... ΘΜ ΠΕΥΨΙΝΕ) when he descended (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΕΙ) into Hell (Ε-ΑΜΝΤΕ)' (Ac. A&P 204:141-142), ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΖΜΟΟC ΖΙΧΕΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΟΝΟC - ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕCΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) these (ΝΑΙ) who sit (ΕΤ-ΖΜΟΟC) on (ΖΙΧΕΝ) their thrones (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΟΝΟC)? - All (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) those (ΝΑΙ) you see (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ), they (ΝΑΙ) (are) the fathers (ΝΕ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) of the world (Μ-Π-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 21:19-22).

Assertoric sentences may represent not only a simple act of naming or pointing, but may also organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. As a discourse anaphor, the demonstrative subject pronoun refers back to the preceding narrative unit, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΕQΕΙΡΕ ΜΗΟC ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥQΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ* 'this (ΤΑΙ) (was) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) that he (Pachôm) acted (Ε-ΝΕ-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) with them (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) (the brothers) at every (ΝΙΜ) time (Ν-ΟΥΕΙΨ)' (V. Pach. 5:6-

7), ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΒΑCΑΝΟC ΝΤΑQΤΑΑC ΝΑQ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (was) the first (Τ-ΨΟΡΠΕ) torment (Ν-ΒΑCΑΝΟC) which he (the judge) gave (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΑΑ-C) him (ΝΑ-Q) (Ara Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8).

Alternatively, the demonstrative subject pronoun of assertoric sentences may also be used cataphorically, making reference to what is to be communicated next, e.g. ΠΕΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΙC 'this (ΠΑΙ) (is) the glory (Π-ΕΟΟΥ) of Jesus' (Eud. 76:25), ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΨΛΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΜΗ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΑΡΑΝΑQ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) my prayer (ΠΑ-ΨΛΗ) by night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ) and (ΜΗ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) (is) this (ΠΑΙ) that I may please (Ε-ΤΡΑ-Ρ ΑΝΑ-Q) the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)' (Mena, Enc. 52a:20-25).

### 5.2.2.6 Specificational sentences

The subject expression of specificational sentences represents a variable, i.e. a term which is compatible with several values that is assigned a particular value by the predicate noun. Such sentences are identifying in the sense that the specification of the variable makes it possible to establish the identity of its referent. Several types of nominals may qualify as such open expressions or variables. Kinship terms, for instance, do not provide enough information to pick out a referent from a set and are therefore linked to a strongly referential expression (a proper name or personal pronoun), e.g. ΠΕQCΟΝ ΠΕ ΑΝΑΤΩΛΙΟC ΠΕΠΑΡΧΟC ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ 'his brother (ΠΕQ-CΟΝ) (was) Anatôlius, the *eparch* (Π-ΕΠΑΡΧΟC) of that (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) time (Μ-ΠΕ-ΥΟΕΙΨ)' (Mena, Enc. 40a:2-6), ΝΤΟQ ΠΕ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΗΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he (ΝΤΟQ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) after (ΜΗΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 4:11).

In specificational sentences that represent a simple act of naming, the possessively determined noun phrase ΠΕQ-ΡΑΝ 'his name' functions as the variable, which is assigned a particular value (the proper name in question) by the nominal predicate, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ - ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ 'what (ΝΙΜ) (is) your name (ΠΕΚ-ΡΑΝ)? (...) Nahrow (is) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ)' (KHML I 3:6-7), ΤΝΟC ΔΕ ΝΨΕΡΕ ΝΕ ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΘΕΟΠΙCΤΗ 'as for) the elder (Τ-ΝΟC) daughter (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ), her name (ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) was (ΝΕ) Hilaria, (as for) the younger (one) (Τ-ΚΟΥΙ), her name (ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) was (ΝΕ) Theopistê' (Hil. 2:8-10).

The assignment of a value to a variable comes close in meaning to



enumerating items on a list, e.g. ΠΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΞΕΙ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΕΠΛΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ ΝΙΧΑΝΑ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 'he (ΠΑΙ) who came (ΕΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΕΙ) before (ΝΨΟΡΠ Ε-) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) (is) the archangel (Π-ΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) Michael' (Eud. 52:8-9), ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΒΟΛΠQ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ (...) ΠΕ ΠΕΤΡΩΝΟΙΟΣ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΝΤΣΜΕΙΝΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) whom God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has revealed (ΝΤ-Α ... ΒΟΛΠ-Q) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) from among you (ΝΖΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΝ) (...) (is) Petronius, the abbot (Π-ΕΙΩΤ) of (Ν-) the monastery (ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ) of Tsmeine' (V. Pach. 93:7-9). The last example can be paraphrased as "the list of persons that God had revealed to me contains a single person: Petronius, the abbot of Tsmeine". Specificational sentences of this sort always have an exhaustive reading; they imply that the list of values satisfying the variable represented by the free relative clause is limited.

### 5.2.2.7 Concluding remarks

The picture that emerges from the previous discussion is that identificational nominal sentences are semantically just as diverse as predicational ones. This is because the division of reference that underlies identity relations manifests itself in different forms. We have seen that the subject and the nominal predicate of identity statements proper are both highly referential expressions, which are linked to the same discourse referent. This contrasts with assertoric sentences, where the demonstrative subject pronoun does not name, but rather points to the discourse entity referred to by the nominal predicate. Specificational sentences, on the other hand, have weakly referring expressions as their subjects that behave semantically like variables, i.e. terms that are compatible with several values. The primary function of the nominal predicate is, then, to specify a value for that variable, thereby providing the relevant information necessary for the identification of the subject referent.

## Key Terms:

Bi- and tripartite nominal sentences

are distinguished with respect to the number of sentence elements. Bipartite nominal sentences are derived by juxtaposing the pronominal subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΤΙΝΑ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΠΙΝΑ)' (Onnophr. 206:19). Tripartite nominal sentences, on the other hand, are characterized by the presence of an additional third person pronoun separating the subject from the nominal predicate, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) the son (Π-ΩΗΡΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Abbatōn 240:13).

§5.1.1,  
§5.2.1

Clitic clusters

are series of two or more prosodically weak elements. The enclitic deictic pronouns ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ always come last in such a sequence of clitics, e.g. ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑQ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him (ΝΑ-Q) it (ΠΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a fault (ΟΥ-ΑΡΙΚΕ)' (Zen. 203:22).

§5.1.2.2,  
§5.2.1.4

Topic-comment sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a preclausal noun or pronoun to yield a topic-comment sentence. The topicalised constituent designates the discourse entity that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent, e.g. ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑΡΞ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (Ν-CΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12).

§5.1.2.3

Predicational sentences	derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal has no specific referent in the realm of discourse, but rather predicates something about the subject referent, for instance, a role, characteristic property or class membership.	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Identificational sentences	express identity relations, where the subject and the nominal predicate are linked to the same discourse referent.	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Classificational sentences	indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, with the referent of the subject being defined as a representative member of a particular class, type of species, e.g. ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25).	§5.1.3.1 §5.2.2.1
Ascriptive sentences	have an adjectival meaning in attributing to the subject a characteristic property, e.g. ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ)' (Eud. 64:11).	§5.1.3.2 §5.2.2.2
Situational sentences	set up a temporal frame for the preceding or following set of sentences, e.g. ΝΕ ΤΕΥΨΗ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) it (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ)' (KHML I 80:28).	§5.1.3.3
Presentational sentences	typically appear in those contexts where the identity of some discourse participant is at stake, e.g. [ΑΝ]ΟΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΠΕ '(who misleads the crowd?) (Is) it (ΠΕ) us (ΑΝΟΝ) or (ΧΕ) (is) it (ΠΕ) you (ΝΤΩΤΝ)?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).	§5.1.3.4
Expletive pronouns	have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3

Agreement clitic	Tripartite nominal sentences are characterised by an additional pronominal element, the agreement clitic, which mark the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate.	§5.2.1
Identity statements	are prototypical exemplars of identifying sentences, with the subject and the nominal predicate naming the same discourse entity, e.g. ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧC 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Sh. III 114:5).	§5.1.3 §5.2.2.4
Characterisational sentences	are a subtype of tripartite predicational sentences, where the nominal predicate provides an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject, e.g. ΝΕΤΩΠΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΜΠΕCΦΝΟΜΟC ΜΝ ΝΕCΦΕΝΤΟΛΗ 'the ones who search (Ν-ΕΤ-ΩΠΙΝΕ) for (ΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) every (ΝΙΜ) man (ΡΩΜΕ) who studies (Ε-Φ-ΜΕΛΗΤΑ) His law (Μ-ΠΕCΦ-ΝΟΜΟC) and (ΜΝ) His prescriptions (ΝΕCΦ-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ)' (Abbatôn 227:9-11).	§5.2.2.3
Assertoric sentences	are characterized by a demonstrative pronoun in subject function. Assertoric sentences are used to pinpoint an individual or object in the vicinity of the speech participants, e.g. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no.241, 73:30).	§5.2.2.5
Specificational sentences	are identificational sentences, where the subject represents a variable, for which the nominal predicate provides a specific value, e.g. ΠΕCΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΥΛΟC 'his name (ΠΕCΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Paulus' (KHML I 72:8-9).	§5.2.2.6

## Exercises

## 5.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
- Coptic nominal sentences lack a verbal copula in the context of present tense reference.
  - The pronominal subject of bipartite nominal sentence may have an anaphoric function, referring to a previous noun phrase, or function as an expletive pronoun, which lacks a referential role.
  - Bipartite nominal sentences cannot express identity statements.
  - The agreement clitic agrees in person, number and gender with the subject of tripartite nominal sentences.
  - The agreement clitic adds emphasis to the pronominal subject.
  - In assertoric sentences, the demonstrative subject pronoun is used as a deictic point rather than a referring expression.
  - Ascriptive sentences are commonly modified by quantificational or comparative adverbs.

## 5.2 Bipartite nominal sentences

- A. Fill in the missing proclitic or enclitic pronoun in the following bipartite nominal sentences.
- αγω \_\_\_ ουπλασμα ντε νεφσιχ 'and (αγω) I (am) a creature (ουπλασμα) of (ντε) his (God's) hands (νεφσιχ)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14)
  - ουμανδαμογα \_\_\_ 'he (Αρα Μena) (was) a camel herd (ουμαν-δαμογα)' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3-4)

- ογκωστ τηρϩ \_\_\_ 'it (the Prince of Hell) (is) all (τηρ-ϩ) fire (ογ-κωστ)' (Test. Is. 235:2)
  - ται δε νε ουρμαιο εματε \_\_\_ '(as for) her (ται), she was (νε) very (εματε) rich (ου-ρμ-αιο)' (KHML I 45:3)
- B. Classify the following bipartite nominal sentences by selecting one of the two options.
- ανον γαρ ανον νρηουπολις ντε κημε χε πμχε 'because (γαρ) (as for) us (ανον), we (ανον) (are) people of a city (ν-ρμ-ου-πολις) of (ντε) Egypt (κημε) called (χε) Pemje (πμχε)' (Omphr. 220:11-12)  
 classificational sentence       characterisational sentence
  - ουχωρε πε καλος ζμ πρσωμα 'it (the calf) (was) wonderfully (καλος) strong (ου-χωρε) in (ζμ) its body (πρ-σωμα)' (BHom. 262:2)  
 classificational sentence       ascriptive sentence
  - καν ουζουτ πε καν ουςζιμε τε '(they who are cursed), be it that (καν) it (πε) (is) a man (ου-ζουτ), be it that (καν) it (τε) (is) a woman (ου-ςζιμε)' (Sh. IV 154:12)  
 classificational sentence       ascriptive sentence
  - αγω ενε περφωμντ πε εμπεφογωμ 'and (αγω) it (πε) was (νε) (already) his (Pachôm's) third (day) (περ-φωμντ) that he had not eaten (ε-μπε-φ-ογωμ)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).  
 situational sentence       characterisational sentence
- 5.3 Tripartite nominal sentences
- A. Fill in the correct form of the agreement clitic in the following tripartite nominal sentences.
- ντοκ \_\_\_ πχοεις ντπε μν πκαζ 'you (ντοκ) (are) the lord (π-χοεις) of heaven (ν-τ-πε) and (μν) earth (π-καζ)' (Eud. 46:12)

- (2) **ΤΑΙ** \_\_ **ΤΨΟΡΠΕ** **ΝΟΥΨΗ** **ΝΤΑΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ** **ΜΗ** **ΝΕΚΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ** 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) the first (ΤΨΟΡΠΕ) the night (Ν-ΟΥΨΗ) that I joined (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ) your saints (ΝΕΚ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ)' (KHML II 30:4-5)
- (3) **ΠΩΚ** \_\_ **ΠΝΟΥΒ** **ΠΩΚ** \_\_ **ΠΖΑΤ** **ΤΩΚ** \_\_ **ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ** **ΜΗ** **ΝΕΤΝΖΗΤΣ** **ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the gold (Π-ΝΟΥΒ), yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the silver (Π-ΖΑΤ), yours (ΤΩ-Κ) (is) the entire (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) world (Τ-ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ) and (ΜΗ) what (is) in it (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΖΗΤ-Σ)' (Sh. III 90:19-20)
- (4) **ΝΙΜ** \_\_ **ΝΒΑΛΜΠΕ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΝΙΜ** \_\_ **ΝΕΣΟΟΥ** 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΛΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕΣΟΟΥ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14)
- (5) **ΕΠΕΙΔΗ** **ΝΤΟQ** \_\_ **ΠΝΟΘ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** **ΤΗΡΟΥ** **ΕQΘ** **ΝΑΠΕ** **ΕΧΩΟΥ** **ΝΘΕ** **ΝΟΥΡΡΟ** 'since (ΕΠΕΙΔΗ) he (ΝΤΟQ) (is) the greatest (Π-ΝΟΘ) of them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) being (Ε-Q-Ο) head (Ν-ΑΠΕ) over them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) like (ΝΘΕ Ν-) a king (ΟΥ-ΡΡΟ)' (Abbatôn 235:14-16)

B. Classify the following tripartite nominal sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) **ΜΕΨΑΚ** **ΟΥΤΑΦΟΣ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΑΙ** **ΝΣΩΜΑ** **ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ** 'perhaps (ΜΕΨΑΚ) this (ΠΑΙ) (is) a tomb (ΟΥ-ΤΑΦΟΣ) belonging to (Ν-) the body (ΣΩΜΑ) of (Μ-) a prophet (ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ)' (Eud. 74:19-20)  
 classificational sentence     assertoric sentence
- (2) **ΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΗΡΠ** **ΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΔΙΝΟΥΩΜ** **ΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΛΑΛΥ** **ΜΜΟΤΝΕΣ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ** **ΝΝΑΖΡΗ** **ΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ** **ΜΠΕΧ̄C** (...) 'what (ΟΥ) (is) wine (ΗΡΠ), what (ΟΥ) (is) food (ΔΙΝ-ΟΥΩΜ), what (ΟΥ) (is) any (ΛΑΛΥ) comfort (Μ-ΜΟΤΝΕΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) this world (ΠΕΙ-ΚΟΣΜΟΣ) before (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) the grace (ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙΣ) of Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-Χ̄C)?' (KHML II 35:16-17) (a rhetorical question!)  
 ascriptive sentence     characterisational sentences

- (3) **ΟΥΤΑΜΙΟ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΩΗΡΕ** **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'the son (Π-ΩΗΡΕ) of Go. (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (is) a (mortal) creature (ΟΥ-ΤΑΜΙΟ)' (Sh. contra O: 310)  
 classificational sentence     ascriptive sentence
- (4) **ΑΝΟΚ** **ΠΕ** **ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ** **ΤΕΚΨΕΕΡΕ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) your daughter (ΤΕΚ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) Hilaria' (Hil. 11:28-29).  
 specificational sentence     identity statement
- C. Translate the following bi- and tripartite nominal sentences.
- (1) **ΝΤΚ** **ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** (KHML I 46:22-23)
- (2) **ΑΝΟΝ** **ΓΑΡ** **ΑΝΟΝ** **ΖΕΝΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ** (KHML I 81:10-11)
- (3) **ΠΑΙ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΝΕΖ** **ΝΤΨΕΛΛΕΕΤ** (read **ΨΕΛΕΕΤ**) **ΜΠΑΨΗΡΕ** (KHML I 81:17)
- D. Translate the following dialogue fragment. (Q stands for question and A for answer):

THE INTERROGATION OF SAINT APA NAHROW

Q: **ΝΤΚ** **ΟΥΕΕΒΟΛ** [read **ΟΥ-ΕΒΟΛ**] **ΤΩΝ**

A: **ΑΝΓ** **ΟΥΡΜΚΗΜΕ**

Q: **ΖΗ** **ΑΨ** **ΝΠΟΛΙC<sup>a</sup>** **Η** **ΖΗ** **ΑΨ** **ΝΪΜΕ**

A: **ΑΝΓ** **ΟΥΡΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΤ<sup>b</sup>** **ΖΗ** **ΠΤΩΨ** **ΠΙΟΜ<sup>c</sup>**

Q: **ΝΙΜ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΕΚΡΑΝ**

A: **ΝΑΖΡΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΑΡΑΝ**

Q: **ΝΙΜ** **ΑQΕΝΤΚ<sup>d</sup>** **ΕΠΕΙΜΑ**

A: **ΙC̄** **ΑQΕΝΤ<sup>e</sup>** **ΕΠΕΙΜΑ** (KHML II 3:2)

NOTES: a. **ΠΟΛΙC** 'city, town' b. **ΠΟΥΟΕΙΤ** (toponym), c. **ΠΙΟΜ** (toponym) 'Fayyûm', d. **Α-Q-ΕΝΤ-Κ** 'he has brought you', e. **Α-Q-ΕΝΤ** 'he has brought me'

## Verbal morphology

Verbs and nouns are the basic building blocks for sentences. Nouns are referring expressions that name individuals, objects or locations, while verbs are typically used as predicates that designate relations between entities: events they participated in or states that were obtained. The present Unit is the first of four units on the Coptic verbal-inflectional system. Its focus is on verbal morphology and the syntactic encoding of nominal arguments that refer to the event's participants. Unit 7 deals with the morpho-syntax of verbal tense and aspect and the contrastive behaviour of the various present, past and future tenses. This leads to Unit 8, which is about relative tenses and moods. Unit 9 completes the survey of the inflectional domain by examining the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods.

The Coptic verbal system is organized around relatively abstract lexical representations (roots) and fully specified surface forms (stems), which are associated with a particular morpho-semantic pattern. Take, for instance, the pair  $\kappa\omega\tau$  'to build' and  $\kappa\eta\tau$  'to be (in a) built (state)', both of which are derived from the biliteral root  $\sqrt{k-t}$ , meaning something like "constructing, shaping". Section 6.1 provides an introduction to Coptic root-and-pattern morphology.

Derivationally related stems like  $\kappa\omega\tau$  and  $\kappa\eta\tau$  contain two layers of meaning that interact in complex ways. On the one hand, there is the basic lexical value of the underlying verbal root. On the other hand, there is the inherent dynamic or static meaning of the stem pattern with which the underlying root is associated. Thus, while the verb stem  $\kappa\omega\tau$  'to build' designates the structure-building event itself, the

corresponding form  $\kappa\eta\tau$  'to be built' refers to the resultant state of that event. Section 6.2 examines the eventive-stative contrast for different lexical classes of transitive and intransitive verbs.

In Coptic, stem patterns not only express core distinctions in the aspectual domain, viz. the contrast between events and states, but also encode information that is relevant for syntax. As will be shown in section 6.3, the so-called absolute and construct state patterns represent different strategies for the grammatical expression of the direct object relation. In the absolute state, the direct object relation is registered by a special preposition, e.g.  $\kappa\omega\tau$   $\eta\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$  'to build ( $\kappa\omega\tau$ ) a place ( $\eta\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ )', while no such device is used in the construct state, which is characterised by the strict adjacency between the verb and its direct object, e.g.  $\kappa\epsilon\tau$   $\omega\gamma\mu\alpha$  'to build ( $\kappa\epsilon\tau$ ) a place ( $\omega\gamma\mu\alpha$ )'.

Section 6.4 deals with the formation of complex predicates. Such complex predicates can be decomposed into a verb and another verbal or nominal element, which together function as a single verbal predicate, e.g.  $\rho$   $\rho\rho\omega$  'to become ( $\rho$ ) king ( $\rho\rho\omega$ )' or  $\rho$   $\zeta\omega\beta$  'to work' (lit. to make ( $\rho$ ) thing ( $\zeta\omega\beta$ )). Another topic of this section is analytical causative construction, which contains two verbs, namely the causative verb  $\tau\rho\epsilon$ - and the subordinated lexical verb, e.g.  $\tau\rho\epsilon$ - $\gamma$ - $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$  'to let them ( $\tau\rho\epsilon$ - $\gamma$ -) bring ( $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ )'.

## 6.1 Root and pattern morphology

Coptic has a verbal system in which morphology, syntax and semantics are intertwined. The key to understanding how this system works lies in the compositional nature of Coptic verb forms. Coptic verbs, unlike their counterparts in languages like English, are internally complex words that can be decomposed into three more basic units, each functioning as a distinct morpheme:

- (i) The root morpheme, which consists of a string of consonants and represents the basic lexical unit (section 6.1.1)
- (ii) The vowel melody, which has a syntactic as well as a semantic role (sections 6.1.2)

- (iii) The stem template, which results from the organization of the root consonants and inflectional vowels into a pattern of syllable structure (section 6.1.3).

Each unit, i.e. the consonantal root, the vowel melody, and the stem template can vary independently. Take, for instance, the pair  $\kappa\omega\tau$  / $\kappa\omega\tau$ / 'to build' and  $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$  / $\kappa\omega.te$ / 'to turn', which are both derived from homophonous (though semantically unrelated) biliteral roots / $k$ - $t$ /, but differ morphologically with respect to their vowel pattern (/o/ vs. /o e/) and stem template (monosyllabic CVC vs. bisyllabic CV.CV). The multi-morphemic character of Coptic verbal stems is schematically represented in figure 6.1, where each segmentally discontinuous morpheme is provided with a separate level of representation or tier. Association lines link a consonantal or vocalic segment to a particular slot on the verbal template:

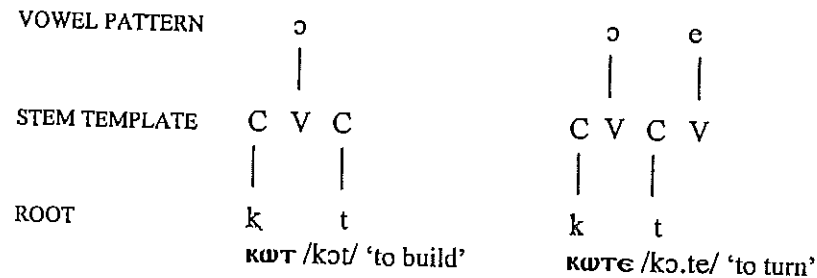


FIGURE 6.1 The three morphological components of verb stems

This rather abstract sketch of Coptic verb stem formation will be filled out in the following sections, starting with the consonantal root.

### 6.1.1 The consonantal root

At the basis of the Coptic verbal system lies the consonantal root, which is neither a prosodic unit nor a continuous phonological string, but rather consists of a sequence of consonants shared by lexically related stems. Consider the verbs and nouns in table 6.1 below, which all involve the biliteral root / $m$ - $s$ / 'procreating'.

VERB	GLOSS	NOUN	GLOSS
<b>MICE</b>	to give birth	<b>MHCE</b>	usury
<b>MOCE</b>	to be newly delivered	<b>MECIW</b>	midwife, nurse
<b>(T)MECIO</b>	to bring to birth	<b>MACE</b>	calf, young bull
		<b>MAC</b>	young (child, animal)

TABLE 6.1 Derived forms of the biliteral root /m-s/ "procreating"

The verbs and nouns listed above are connected in form and meaning. All items contain the consonant sequence /m-s/ and indicate lexical concepts which are related to a particular semantic field, that of procreation and birth. Thus, while the consonantal root is associated with a broad lexical value, the corresponding nouns or verbs have a concrete meaning and refer to entities or designate relations between entities. It is clear, then, that the consonantal root represents a relatively abstract lexical entry that contains only those phonological features that discriminate separate lexical items and adopts different meanings in nominal and verbal templates.

### 6.1.2 Stem patterns

Coptic verb formation exhibits a one-to-many correspondence between underlying representations (roots) and surface forms (stems). The biliteral root /m-s/, for instance, appears in four different stem patterns (traditionally called "states"), viz. the absolute state MICE, the nominal and pronominal states MEC- and MECT=, respectively, and the stative MOCE<sup>†</sup>. Most Coptic dictionaries employ special diacritics to indicate the stem pattern of a given verb form, which are provided in table 6.2.

STEM PATTERN	VERB FORM	DIACRITIC
absolute state (ABS. ST.)	<b>MICE</b>	no diacritic
nominal state (NOM. ST.)	<b>MEC-</b>	with hyphen
pronominal state (PRON. ST.)	<b>MECT=</b>	with equation mark
stative (STAT.) ("qualitative")	<b>MOCE<sup>†</sup></b>	with raised dagger

TABLE 6.2 Coptic stem pattern and their diacritics

N.B. The terminology used in this grammar diverges from the traditional one in two respects. First, the nominal and pronominal state together will be referred to as the construct state in this grammar, since both stem patterns require adjacency between the verb and its direct object. Second, in line with current linguistic terminology, the traditional label "qualitative" is replaced by the term "stative", which describes the static-resultative meaning of this stem pattern in a more accurate way.

The different surface forms or stems of a given verbal lexeme are derivationally related through the consonant structure of the root, but formally distinguished through vowel change (*abs. st. MICE* /mi.se/ vs. *stat. MOCE* /mɔ.se/) and syllabification (bisyllabic *abs. st. MICE* /mi.se/ vs. monosyllabic *nom. st. MEC-* /mes/). Such vowel alternations, which correlate with different verbal meanings, are known in the linguistic literature under the term "apophony". In Coptic, apophony is a morphologically fully productive process that encodes various verbal categories.

The basic stem patterns of transitive verbs can be classified along two dimensions, a syntactic and a semantic one. The semantic dimension involves situation aspect, which concerns the internal temporal structure or inherent dynamism of the situation described by the verbal predicate. The absolute state **MICE** and the nominal and pronominal states **MEC-** and **MECT=** 'to deliver' are associated with an eventive reading and describe dynamic situations that change over time. The stative **MOCE<sup>†</sup>** 'to be bred', on the other hand, has a non-dynamic reading and indicates temporary conditions or states that last for some time, without involving any change.

The syntactic dimension of Coptic stem patterns concerns the structural dependency between the verb and the direct object. In the construct state, both constituents are necessarily adjacent, e.g. e.g. **MEC** **πϣρϩϩϩϩ** 'to deliver (**MEC-**) the male child (**ϣρϩϩϩϩ**)' (Apos. 12:13), while the direct object relation is registered by the preposition **n-** in the corresponding absolute state. To illustrate the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of verb derivation, an example of each stem pattern is given in table 6.3 below.

STEM PATTERN	SEMANTIC DIMENSION	SYNTACTIC DIMENSION	
ABS. ST. MICE	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS	Α ΤΣΑΜΑΥΛΕ ΜΙΣΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ ΜΣΖΙΜΕ 'the she-camel (Τ-ΣΑΜΑΥΛΕ) delivered (Α ... ΜΙΣΕ) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΡΕ Ν-ΣΖΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:33-34)
NOM. ST. ΜΕΣ-	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	ADJACENCY OF THE VERB AND THE DIRECT OBJECT NOUN	ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΣΜΕΣ ΠΩΡΖΟΟΥΤ 'she (ΤΑΙ) who had borne (ΝΤ-Α-Σ-ΜΕΣ) the male child (ΨΡ-ΖΟΟΥΤ)' (Apos. 12:13)
PRON. ST. ΜΕΣΤ=	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	CLITICIZATION OF THE DIRECT OBJECT PRONOUN	ΠΩ[ΟΡΠ] ΕΤΕΣΝΑΜ[ΕΣΤϚ] 'the first (child) (Π-ΨΟΡΠ) that she is going to deliver (ΕΤΕ-Σ-ΝΑ-ΜΕΣΤ-Ϛ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:25-26)
STAT. ΜΟΣΕ†	STATE [- CHANGE OF STATE]	INTRANSITIVE (OBJECTLESS)	ΕΡΕ ΝΣΑΧ ΜΟΣΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'while the sparrows (Ν-ΣΑΧ) are bred (ΕΡΕ ... ΜΟΣΕ) inside them (the cedars) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Psalm 103:17)

TABLE 6.3 Semantic and syntactic aspects of Coptic stem patterns

A more detailed discussion of the eventive-stative alternation will be offered in section 6.2. In section 6.3, the construct state and the absolute state pattern will be identified with two different types of objective case, namely accusative and oblique case.

### 6.1.3 Root and stem extensions

This section is about lexeme-formational processes that generate derived verbs by adding different types of affixes to the consonantal root. Such root extensions fall into two classes, viz. reduplicative suffixes that contain one or two consonants of the root morpheme and

lexical prefixes that are phonologically unrelated to the root. Another topic of this section are prosodically driven adjustment procedures, which affect the size and the composition of the stem template.

#### a) Reduplicative verb extensions

The Coptic lexicon comprises a considerable number of reduplicated and geminated verbs, which are morphologically derived by the full or partial copying of the consonantal root, e.g.  $\Psi\text{O}\Psi\text{O}\Psi$  /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/ 'to destroy, overturn' (</ʃ-r/),  $\Sigma\text{MOM}$  /hmom/ 'to be hot' (</h-m/). In the vast majority of cases, the original intensive or repetitive meaning of such reduplicated verb forms in Pre-Coptic Egyptian has been lost beyond recognition in Coptic Egyptian. For this reason, simplex verbs and their reduplicants are by and large synonymous. Thus, compare:  $\text{OY}\Psi\text{T}$  /wɔt/ 'to be fresh, green' vs.  $\text{OY}\Psi\text{TOY}\Psi\text{T}$  /wɔt.wɔt/ 'to be green, pallid' (</wt/),  $\Sigma\text{OX}$  /hɔt<sup>s</sup>/ 'to be in straits' vs.  $\Sigma\text{OX}\Sigma\text{X}$  /hɔt<sup>s</sup>.hɔt<sup>s</sup>/ 'to be distressed, restricted' (</h-t<sup>s</sup>/),  $\text{KEZ}$  /keh/ 'to make level, smoothe' vs.  $\text{KAZKZ}$  /kah.kəh/ 'to hew out, smoothe' (</k-h/).

Full morpheme reduplication interacts in interesting ways with syllable structure and stress placement. The stem template of such reduplicated verbs is composed of two identical syllable positions  $C_1V_1C_2.C_1V_1C_2$ . Yet, the characteristic stem vowel is only retained in the stressed syllable, while the nucleus position of the unstressed syllable contains a reduced vowel or schwa /ə/: *abs. st.*  $\Psi\text{O}\Psi\text{O}\Psi$  /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/, *nom. st.*  $\Psi\text{R}\Psi\text{R}$  /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/, *pron. st.*  $\Psi\text{R}\Psi\text{R}\Psi$  /ʃɔr.ʃɔr.ɪ/, *stat.*  $\Psi\text{R}\Psi\text{R}\Psi^\dagger$  /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/.

Gemination involves the copying of the final root consonant. Very often, geminated verbs are degeminated in the stative. Thus, consider: *abs. st.*  $\Sigma\text{MOM}$  /hmom/ 'to be hot' vs. *stat.*  $\Sigma\text{HM}^\dagger$  /hem/, *abs. st.*  $\text{ONON}$  /k<sup>y</sup>non/ 'to be soft, weak' vs. *stat.*  $\text{ONH}^\dagger$  /k<sup>y</sup>en/, *abs. st.*  $\text{KMOM}$  /kmom/ 'to be black' vs. *stat.*  $\text{KHM}^\dagger$  /kem/, *abs. st.*  $\text{TPPE}$  /tɛr.rɛ/ 'to be afraid' vs. *stat.*  $\text{TPPE}\Psi^\dagger$  /tɛrɔw/.

#### b) Lexical causatives

Coptic has lexical and analytic causatives for the expression of causative events, which describe a cause and its effect. The subject of a causative verb designates the CAUSER, i.e. the entity that brings about some event or activity without necessarily participating in it, while the direct object is semantically interpreted as the CAUSEE, i.e. the entity



that performs the event in question, e.g. **ΝΗΤΜΕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΝΟΕΙΚ** 'and he shall nourish (Ν-η-τμε) a poor one (ΟΥ-ζηκε) with bread (Ν-οεικ)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

Analytic causatives are biclausal structures with two verbal predicates, one designating the causing event and the other the caused even (see below, section 6.4.3). Lexical causatives, by contrast, function as single verbs that appear in mono-clausal structures. They are formed with the causative prefixes τ- and ς-, which can be combined with transitive and intransitive verbs. Such lexically derived causatives have one argument more than the base verb from which they are derived, e.g. **ΤΜΜΟ** 'to feed, nourish' (< τ + **ΟΥΩΜ** 'to eat'), **ΤΑΖΟ** 'to make stand, set up' (< **ΩΖΕ** 'to stand'), **ΤΣΑΒΟ** 'to make wise, teach' (< **ΣΑΒΕ** 'to be wise'), **ΤΣΑ(Ε)ΙΟ** 'to make beautiful' (< **ΣΑΕΙΕ** 'to be beautiful'), **ΤΟΥΧΑΙ** 'to save' (< **ΟΥΧΑΙ** 'to be safe, sound'), **ΧΠΟ** 'to beget, bring forth' (< τ + **ΩΠΠΕ** 'to become'), **ΣΜΙΝΕ** 'to establish, set right' (< **ΜΟΥΝ** 'to stay, remain'), **ΣΑΛΝΩ** 'to make live' (**ΩΝΖ** 'to live'), **ΣΜΙΝΕ** 'to establish, set right' (< **ΜΟΥΝ** 'to stay, remain').

It is possible to derive lexical causatives from reduplicated verbal roots, implying that reduplication precedes affixation in the course of verbal derivation, e.g. **ΣΡΟΦΡΕΦ** /s-rof.ref/ 'to let fall, dissipate' (< s- + /r.f.r/), **ΣΤΡΤΡ** /s-tər.tər/ 'to tremble' (< s- + /tr.tr/).

### c) Epenthesized "weak" verbs

Bi- and trilateral verbs come in two varieties, a strong and a weak one. The weak variety is characterized by a stem-final vowel *e* /e/ after the last root consonant, e.g. **ΜΙΣΕ** /mi.se/ 'to deliver' (< /m-s/), **ΣΟΒΤΕ** /sob.te/ 'to make ready' (< /s-b-t/). No such prosodic material is added to the template of strong verbs, whose stem-final segment is the second or third root consonant, e.g. **ΚΩΤ** /kət/ 'to build' (< /k-t/), **ΣΩΤΜ** /sɔ.təm/ 'to hear' (< /s-t-m/).

What we are dealing with is a lexically governed form of vowel epenthesis. Epenthesis is a prosodically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra segmental material to an input form to meet certain wellformedness requirements regarding the size and composition of words. In Sahidic vowel epenthesis, a biconsonantal root like /m-s/ "procreating" would normally surface as a monosyllabic stem /mis/, with no further measures being taken. However, by adding the default vowel *e* /e/ to the second root consonant, an extra syllable position is

created, the result being a bisyllabic verb stem **ΜΙΣΕ** /mi.se/, which represents a prosodically optimal form. It should be kept in mind, however, that vowel epenthesis and prosodic optimisation is quite restricted in Sahidic Coptic and applies only to a subdomain of the verbal lexicon. In other words, vowel epenthesis accommodates only those verbal items that are lexically specified as being "weak".

### d) Verbs with underlying glottal stop

Several "strong" and "weak" verbs contain a geminated vowel after the first root consonant. As we have seen in section 1.3.1.4 of Unit 1, Sahidic vowel gemination is an orthographical expression of a 'broken' vowel, i.e. a stressed lengthened vowel that is interrupted by a glottal stop /ʔ/. Since vowel breaking reflects the presence of a glottal stop /ʔ/ in the underlying representation, we are dealing with another class of "weak" verbs that have a glottal stop as the second root consonant, e.g. **ΦΩΩΤ** /ʃɔʔɔt/ 'to cut, slay' (< /ʃ-ʔ-t/), **ΠΩΩΝΕ** /pɔʔɔ.ne/ 'to change, turn' (< /p-ʔ-n/), **ΜΕΕΥΕ** /meʔe.we/ 'to think' (< /m-ʔ-w/), **ΧΟΟ=** /tʰɔʔo-/ 'to say' (< /tʰ-ʔ-ʔ/).

### e) The so-called second infinitive

A restricted number of verbs may assume a special form, traditionally referred to as the second infinitive (abbreviated 2<sup>nd</sup> inf.), since it alternates with the absolute state. Second infinitives have an inchoative meaning, describing the emergence of some state or condition, e.g. *abs. st.* **ΜΟΥΚΖ** 'to afflict, oppress, sadden s.o.' vs. 2<sup>nd</sup> *inf.* **ΜΚΑΖ** 'to become sad, grieved', *abs. st.* **ΜΟΥΤΝ** 'to set at rest' vs. 2<sup>nd</sup> *inf.* **ΗΤΟΝ** 'to relax, be at ease', *abs. st.* **ΠΕΙΡΕ** vs. 2<sup>nd</sup> *inf.* **ΠΡΡΕ** 'to come forth (of light), shine upon'.

### f) Remnant participles ("participium conjunctum")

Coptic has no productive participle formation. There are but a handful of remnant participles, which are distinguished morphologically from the base verb by an /a i/ or /a/ vowel pattern. Remnant participles are restricted to nominal compounds (see above, section 3.1.2 of Unit 3). Particularly common participles are **ΜΑΙ** /maj/ 'loving' (< **ΜΕ** 'to love'), e.g. **ΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΡΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ** 'the God-loving (Π-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1), **ΦΑΙ** /faj/ (< **ΦΙ** 'to carry'), e.g. **ΝΕΚ-ΦΑΙ-ΩΙΝΕ**

'your messengers (lit. message-carriers)' (Camb. 5:17), *χασι* 'raising' (< *χιση* 'to raise'), e.g. *2N OYNOB MMNTXACI2HT* 'with (2N) great (OY-NOB) arrogance (M-MMNT-XACI-2HT lit. high-hearted)' (Eud. 36:17), *MAN* /man/ 'pasturing' (< *MOONE* 'to pasture'), e.g. *OY-MAN-BAMOYA* 'a camel herd' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3). Passive participles were almost entirely lost as inflectional categories of the verb, the main survivor being the stative-adjectival participle *μεριτ* (sg:masc), *μερατε* (pl.) 'beloved' (< *με* 'to love'), e.g. *IAKWB PEKMEPIT NWHPE* 'Jacob, your beloved (*PEK-MEPIT*) son (*N-WHPE*)' (Test. Is. 229:14).

### g) Copto-Greek verbs

Greek loan verbs appear in a morphologically lighter form than their Greek models. The template of Copto-Greek verbs usually ends in an open syllable CV or CVV syllable, with the infinitival endings *-ειν* /ein/ or *-εσθαι* /est<sup>h</sup>ai/ being stripped off or phonologically reduced (see above, section 1.4.1.3 of Unit 1), e.g. *πολεμει* (V. Pach. 294:10) 'to be at war with, quarrel' (< *πολεμειν* /polemein/), *απαντα* 'to encounter, meet' (Test. Is. 237:8) (< *απανταν* /apantan/), *χαριζε* 'to grant' (Hil. 7:10) (< *χαριζεσθαι* /k<sup>h</sup>arizest<sup>h</sup>ai/). The restriction of Greek loan verbs to the absolute state stem pattern generally shows that they are only partially integrated into the Coptic verbal system.

#### 6.1.4 Morphological classes of simple and derived verbs

Table 6.5 provides an overview of the apophonic patterns of major morphological classes of verbs. The various morphological classes of verbs are defined by the stem template of the absolute state form.

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
1 lit. vbs. [C1 V1], [V1 C1]	χι	χι-	χιτ=	χιη†	take
	ωπι	επι-	οπι=	ηπι†	count
strong 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2], [s C2 V1]	κωτ	κετ-	κοτ=	κητ†	build
	σ2αι	σε2-	σα2τ=	σ2η†	write
weak 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1. C2 e]	μισε	μεσ- μεστ-	μαστ=	μοσε†	deliver
	ρικε	ρεκτ-	ρεκτ=	ποκε† πακε†	bend, turn

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOS.
	πωσε		ποσ= ποσ†	πογε†	break
strong 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1.C2 e C3]	2ωτβ	2ετβ-	2οτβ=	2οτβ†	kill
	ρω2τ	ρε2τ-	ρα2τ=	ρα2τ†	strike
	μωκ2	μεκ2-	μοκ2=	μοκ2†	afflict
	2λοσ			2λοσ†	be sweet
weak 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2 C3 e]	να2τε	νη2ετ-		νη2ογ†	thrust
	μοστε	μεστε-	μεστω=		hate
	σοβτε	σεβτε-	σεβτω†	σεβτω†	prepare
glottal stop vbs. [C1 V1 <sup>7</sup> V1. C2 ] [C1 V1 <sup>7</sup> V1. C2 e]	χω	χε-	χοο=		say
	πωωνε	πεενε-	ποονε=	ποονε†	turn
	ψωωτ	ψ(ε)τ-	ψαατ=	ψαατ†	slay
redupl. vbs. [C1 V1 C2. C1 C2 ] [C1 C2 V1 C2]	ωρωρ	ωρωρ-	ωρωρ=	ωρωρ†	destroy
	2μομ			2ημ†	be hot
lexical causatives [τ-prefix + stem] [σ-prefix + stem]	τα2ο	τα2ε-	τα2ο=	τα2η†	set up
	τμμο	τμ(μ)ε-	τ(μ)μο=	τμμη†	nourish
	σμνε	σμν-	σμντ=	σμντ†	found
irregular vbs.	†	†-	ταα=	τω†	give
	ειρε	(ε)ρ-	αα=	ο†	make
	εινε	(ε)ν-	(ε)ντ=		bring
	με	μερε-	μεριτ=		love
Greek vbs.	χαριζε				grant
	απαντα				meet

TABLE 6.5 Morphological classes of verbs

### 6.2 The eventive-stative alternation

In Coptic, the semantic contrast between relatively dynamic situations (events, activities, processes) and relatively static situations (states, results, conditions) is expressed by different stem allomorphs of one and the same verbal root. The semantic interpretation of a verbal stem is therefore compositionally derived from the basic lexical value of the underlying root and the event- or state-related viewpoint associated with a particular stem pattern.

### 6.2.1 Situation aspect

This section provides some background information on the grammatical expression of situation aspect. The term situation aspect (traditionally labelled as *Aktionsart* "mode of action") refers to a typology of verbal predicates.

A verbal predicate may designate a relatively dynamic situation, which involves some kind of change, or, alternatively, a relatively static situation, where some condition is said to last for some time, without any change being involved. Predicates of the former type are referred to as "eventive predicates" or simply "events" and predicates of the latter type as "stative predicates" or "states". The occurrence of an event generally involves some condition when it begins, is terminated and replaced by another condition. This contrasts with stative predications, which lack such an internal temporal structure and simply consist of a stretch in time. Thus, events have an internal temporal structure, whereas states do not.

A salient feature of the Coptic verbal system is the morpho-syntactic encoding of eventive and stative predicates by means of distinct verb stem patterns. That is to say that a given root receives an eventive interpretation when it surfaces in the absolute or construct state pattern, but it assumes a stative or resultative interpretation when it occurs in the corresponding stative.

Consider, for instance, *externally caused change of state verbs* such as *COBTE* 'to prepare, make ready', which describe a change of state that is caused by some external source rather than by an internal development. The absolute state form *COBTE* makes direct reference to some purposeful action or activity that leads to the desired change of state, e.g. *BOK 2N OYBEPH NCOBTE NAC NCTOOU NCTPATHAATHC MN CTTOOU NTBA MMATOI (...)* 'go (*BOK*) quickly (*2N OYBEPH*) and make ready (*N-COBTE*) for her (*NA-C*) four (*N-CTTOOU*) generals (*N-CTPATHAATHC*) and (*MN*) forty thousand (*CTTOOU N-TBA*) soldiers (*M-MATOI*) (...)' (Eud. 62:4-5). The stative variant *CBTWT* 'to be ready, prepared', on the other hand, denotes the resultant state of that event, e.g. *ANON NEK2M2AA TNCBTWT EBOK NMMAC* 'we (*ANON*), your servants (*NEK-2M2AA*), are ready (*TN-CBTWT*) to go (*E-BOK*) with her (*NMMA-C*)' (Eud. 62:1).

### 6.2.2 Situation aspect in lexical classes of verbs

This section examines the systematic alternations in meaning between the event-oriented absolute and construct state on the one hand, and the result-oriented stative on the other. By selecting one or the other stem pattern, a given situation is presented from different angles as emerging, but not yet accomplished or as having reached a particular result.

#### a) Verbs of creation

Transitive *verbs of creation* like *KOT* 'to build' and *C2AI* 'to write' describe complex events consisting of a process and a result. The process component is encoded by the absolute or construct state, which both describe an activity or process through which something comes to exist, e.g. *AIKOT NAI NOYMA NPOITE MAAAT* 'I built (*A-I-KOT*) for me (*NA-I*) a place (*N-OY-MA*) to live (*N-POITE*) (all) by myself (*M-AAAT*)' (Onnophr. 207: 11-12), *ISAAK DE PPATPAPXHC EC2AI NTECFDIAΘHKH* 'the Patriarch (*Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ*) Isaac writes (*E-C-2AI*) his will (*N-TECF-DIAΘHKH*)' (Test. Is. 228:4). The result component of creational verbs is indicated by the corresponding statives *KHT* 'to be built' and *CH2* 'to be written', which describe the existence of the newly created entity at some place, e.g. *ZENMA EYKHT* 'places (*ZEN-MA*) which are (in a) built (state) (*E-Y-KHT*)' (Pist. Soph. 132:11-12), *QCCH2 GAP 2N HCAIAC* 'because (*GAP*) it is written (*Q-CH2*) in (*2N*) (the book) Jesaias' (Onnophr. 211:25).

#### b) Agentive verbs of spatial configuration

When combined with the absolute and construct state pattern, *agentive verbs of spatial configuration* like *KW* 'to place, set down', *OYΩ2* 'to put, set' or *NOYXE* 'to throw, cast' have a dynamic "assume position" sense and describe a change in location of some entity or object through a volitional act of the subject referent, e.g. *MEΦE NIM NTAKKA NECKEYH MPWME 2N AW MMA* '(you) so-and-so (*MEΦE NIM*), in (*2N*) which (*AW*) place (*M-MA*) did you put (*NT-A-K-KA*) the property (*NE-CKEYH*) of that man (*M-Π-PWME*)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), *A NEPWME DE MPTA ETMMA AYOC2 PCWMA MPTAKAPIOC APA MHA [ETEC]HT 2M P6AMOYΛ* 'the people (*NE-PWME*) of that (*ETMMA*) place (*M-Π-MA*) let (*A-Y-OYEC2*) the body (*Π-CWMA*) of the blessed (*M-Π-MAKAPIOC*) Apa Mena down (*ETECHT*) from (*2M*) the

camel (π-δαμοαλ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), ΝΤΑΝΟΥΧΩ ΕΘΑΛΑCCA 'and I throw it (the corpse) (ΝΤΑ-ΝΟΥΧ-Ω) into the sea (Ε-ΘΑΛΑCCA)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:6-7). Stativised agentive verbs of spatial configuration have non-agentive simple position sense, describing the present location of the subject, e.g. CΕΚΗ ΖΗ ΠΑΝΙ ΖΑ ΤΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΜΠΑCΛΟC 'they (the properties) lie (CΕ-ΚΗ) in (ΖΗ) my house (ΠΑ-ΝΙ) under (ΖΑ) the foot (Τ-ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ) of my bed (Μ-ΠΑ-CΛΟC)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:28-29), ΜΗΝCΑ ΦΟΜΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕCΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'after (ΜΗΝCΑ) she (Hilaria) remained (Ε-C-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ) for three (ΦΟΜΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (...)' (Hil. 6:20-21), ΝΕΦΗΝΧ ΠΕ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΕΦΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ 'he (Pachôm) continued (Ε-Φ-ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ) to lie down (ΝΕ-Φ-ΝΗΧ) on (ΖΙΧΜ) the ground (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (V. Pach. 87:25).

### c) Verbs of inherently directed motion

Motion verbs come in two varieties. On the one hand, there are verbs like ΜΟΟΥΕ 'to walk' and ΝΗΗΒΕ 'to swim', which specify a manner of motion but not a direction of motion. On the other hand, there are verbs like ΒΩΚ 'to go' and ΠΩΖ 'to reach', which specify a direction but not a manner of motion. More precisely, ΠΩΖ has a progressive meaning and describes motion towards a particular goal, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΟΥΠΩΖ ΔΕ ΕΠΒΗΜΑ (...) 'when they had reached (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΠΩΖ) the tribunal (Ε-Π-ΒΗΜΑ) (...)' (KHML I 83:22), while its antonym ΟΥΕ describes motion away from some point of origin, e.g. ΑΥΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤ† ΟΥΒΗΙ 'they who fought me (Ν-ΕΤ-† ΟΥΒΗ-Ι) have withdrawn (Α-Υ-ΟΥΕ) from (ΕΒΟΛ) me (ΜΜΟ-Ι)' (Pist. Soph. 154:19).

Verbs of inherently directed motion differ systematically from verbs of manner of motion in being compatible with both the absolute state and the stative stem pattern. However, stativised motion verbs lose their inherent dynamic meaning and function as positional verbs, e.g. ΠCΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΩ †ΠΗΖ ΕΧΟΟΩ ΕΡΩΤΗ (...) 'since (ΓΑΡ) the full (ΤΗΡ-Ω) knowledge (Π-CΟΥΝ), I have come (to the point) (†-ΠΗΖ) to tell it (Ε-ΧΟΟ-Ω) to you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) (...)' (Pist. Soph. 220:14-15), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΟΥΗΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΝΖΜΕ ΜΜΙΛΙΟΝ 'we (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ) are forty (ΖΜΕ) miles (Μ-ΜΙΛΙΟΝ) away (ΤΝ-ΟΥΗΥ) from Egypt (Ν-ΚΗΜΕ)' (Hil. 5:20-21). In present tense sentences, the selection of the stative is mandatory, e.g. ΕΡΒΗΚ ΕΤΩΝ 'where (Ε-ΤΩΝ) are you (woman) going to (Ε-Ρ-ΒΗΚ)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22).

### d) Internally caused verbs of change of state

Internally caused verbs of change of state like ΖΚΟ 'to hunger', ΕΙΒΕ 'to thirst' and ΟΥΧΑΙ 'to be safe' assume an inchoative meaning in the absolute state and describe the emergence of some mental or physical condition, e.g. ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕCΩ 'if they (the hermits) become hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ), (or) if they become thirsty (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)? (Onnophr. 211:12-14), ΕΡΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΜΗ ΠΕΦCΝΟΩ 'the generation (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) to come (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) will be saved (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) through (ΖΗ) his body (ΠΕΦ-CΩΜΑ) and (ΜΗ) his blood (ΠΕΦ-CΝΟΩ)' (Test. Is. 231:16-17).

While the absolute state of internally caused verbs of change of state carries the implication that the relevant property changes over time, the corresponding statives ΖΚΑΕΙΤ 'to be hungry', ΟΒΕ 'to be thirsty' and ΟΥΟΧ 'to be cured' describe the present state of the subject without anticipating a clearly defined endpoint, e.g. ΤΕΖΚΑΕΙΤ ΤΕΟΒΕ ΜΠΟΕΙΚ ΜΗ ΠΜΟΟΥ 'you (woman) hunger (ΤΕ-ΖΚΑΕΙΤ) (and) thirst (ΤΕ-ΟΒΕ) for bread (Μ-Π-ΟΕΙΚ) and (ΜΗ) water' (Π-ΜΟΟΥ)' (Sh. III 204:4), †ΟΥΟΧ ΕΨΩΝΕ 'I am cured (†-ΟΥΟΧ) of affliction (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

### e) Verbs of occurrence and existence

Verbs of occurrence like ΨΩΠΕ 'to happen, to become' and existence like ΩΝΖ 'to live' have an inherently locative meaning, with the term locative including spatial as well as temporal reference. In the absolute state, verbs of occurrence and existence describe the presence of the subject at some place as being temporally bound by a starting or an endpoint, which may be contextually implied, e.g. ΝΓΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΙΑΝΟΜΟC 'and stay (Ν-Γ-ΨΩΠΕ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) in the presence (Μ-Π-ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ) of this criminal (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟC)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4), ΑCΩΝΖ ΖΗ ΚΕΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC ΕΝΡΟΜΠΕ (for ΝΡΟΜΠΕ) 'she (Hilaria) lived (Α-C-ΩΝΖ) for (ΖΗ) another twelve (ΚΕ-ΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC) years (ΕΝ-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Hil. 12:18). Stativised verbs of existence and occurrence, on the other hand, such as ΨΟΠ 'to exist, to be' and ΟΝΖ 'to be alive' have no such temporal boundary, e.g. ΕΙC

ΖΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ (...) 'since (ΓΑΡ), behold (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΤΕ), I am (ΤΨΟΟΠ) with you (woman) (ΝΗΜΕ) (...)' (Eud. 52:13), ΦΟΝΖ ΝΘΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ 'as God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ) lives (Φ-ΟΝΖ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

Consider, finally, the verb of disappearance ΜΟΥ 'to die', which makes explicit reference to the process of dying in the absolute state, e.g. ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (read ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. in (ΖΝ) a dying (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1). The resultant "dead" state is designated by the stative counterpart ΜΟΟΥΤ 'to be deceased', e.g. ΕΣΨΑΝΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΕ ΚΟΝΖ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΙΤΕ ΕΚΜΟΟΥΤ 'but if she dies (Ε-ΣΨΑΝ-ΜΟΥ) be it (that) (ΕΙΤΕ) you (ΝΤΟΚ) are alive (Κ-ΟΝΖ) (or) be it (that) (ΕΙΤΕ) you are deceased (Ε-Κ-ΜΟΟΥΤ)' (KRU no. 67:90, 213:9-10).

### 6.2.3 The present tense restriction of statives

Stative verb forms have a limited syntactic distribution and can only appear in present tense contexts, including the preterit as a present-in-the-past, e.g. ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΨΤ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) is, (as far as) I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am concerned), my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (so) bold (ΝΑΨΤ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7), ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΨΗΝ ΡΗΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΠΥΓΗ 'and (ΑΥΩ) big (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) trees (Ν-ΨΗΝ) were growing (ΝΕ ... ΡΗΤ) near (ΖΙΧΝ) the well (Τ-ΠΥΓΗ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). To make sense of these limitations, we have to briefly consider the semantics of the present tense. Present tense sentences describe events that are in progress while the sentence is being uttered or present a situation as holding for all times. Under either interpretation, present tense reference does not include the endpoint of the event under consideration. The exclusion of such an endpoint is, however, a defining property of the stative that describes situations that do not change over time. Since only present tenses are associated with an unbound event reading, they are the only verbal tenses suitable for stative predicates.

A question remains with respect to the obligatory stativization of verbs of inherently directed motion in the present tense. Locating a motion event at the present moment comes down to pinpointing the current location of the subject. This locative meaning is expressed by the stative rather than the absolute state stem pattern, e.g. ΕΙΒΗΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑΨΛΗΛ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ) to the

shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mēna to pray (ΝΤΑ-ΨΛΗΛ)' (Mena, M 27b:23-25). Sometimes, stativized verbs of inherently directed motion come close in meaning to the present perfect, describing the accomplishment of the motion event before the present moment, e.g. ΕΚΝΗΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΟΝ 'where (ΤΩΝ) have you come (Ε-Κ-ΝΗΥ) (from), my brother (ΠΑ-ΟΝ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). We come back to the internal temporal structure of present tense sentences in section 6.3.2.

## 6.3 Direct object syntax and case marking

This section deals with the syntactic dimension of the Coptic verbal system and examines some basic predicate-argument configurations. In section 6.3.1, the two major transitive verbal patterns, the construct state and the absolute state, will be identified with two different case-marking strategies for the direct object argument, namely accusative and oblique (prepositional) case, respectively. Section 6.3.2 shows that the selection of either case-marking pattern correlates with a particular aspectual viewpoint concerning the termination of the event that is described. Section 6.3.3 deals with the functional equivalents of the English passive construction (e.g. *John was killed in an accident*). Section 6.3.4 completes this survey on verbal constellations by taking a closer look at the syntax of intransitive verbs.

### 6.3.1 The absolute state/construct state alternation

When the dependency between phrasal constituents is signalled morphologically, the marking may occur either on the head or on the dependent element of that phrase. In the Coptic verbal system, the construct state represents the head-marking and the absolute state the dependent-marking pattern for the morphological expression of the direct object relation: *nom. st.* ΟΥΜ ΝΚΑ 'to eat (ΟΥΜ) something (ΝΚΑ)' (praec. Pach. 114) vs. *abs. st.* ΟΥΩΜ ΗΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΟΕΙΚ '(when they had finished) eating (ΟΥΩΜ) their small (Η-ΠΕΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) (portions) of bread (Ν-ΟΕΙΚ)' (V. Pach. 137:4). In the absolute state pattern, the dependent constituent, the direct object, is syntactically encoded as a prepositional phrase. Since the original locative or directional meaning of the preposition that is used has been lost beyond recognition, it functions as a fully grammaticalised case marking device.

STEM PATTERN	EXPRESSION TYPE	VERBAL HEAD	DIRECT OBJECT
CONSTRUCT STATE	HEAD-MARKING	ΟΥΜ eat	ΝΚΑ something
ABSOLUTE STATE	DEPENDENT-MARKING	ΟΥΩΜ eat	Μ-ΠΕΥΚΟΥ Ν-ΘΕΙΚ their small (portions) of bread

FIGURE 6.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking morphology

Coptic uses these relation-marking strategies to distinguish the nominal that bears the direct object role from other verbal arguments and adjuncts. In signalling grammatical relations, the head marking construct state and the dependent-marking absolute state instantiate two different types of objective case, namely accusative and oblique case. Accusative case involves the adjacency between the case-assigning verb and the direct object, while oblique case involves the introduction of a semantically vacuous case-assigning preposition.

### 6.3.1.1 Morpho-phonological behaviour

The morpho-phonological alternations in the shape of verb in the absolute and in the construct state can be directly related to the head-marking and dependent-marking expression type of the direct object relation they are associated with.

In the nominal state, the stem vowel is replaced by the vowel *e* /e/, e.g. ΟΥΕΜ /wem/ ΑΒ (for ΑΓ) 'to eat (ΟΥΕΜ) meat (ΑΓ)' (AP Chaîne no.14, 3:12) or reduced to *schwa* /ə/, e.g. ΟΥΜ /wəm/ ΝΚΑ 'to eat (ΟΥΜ) something (ΝΚΑ)' (praec. Pach. 114), indicating that the verbal stem bears no stress, while the phonologically intact direct object nominal does attract stress: ΟΥΕΜ ΑΒ /wem.'av/ and ΟΥΜ ΝΚΑ /wəm.ən.k'a/. Thus, the nominal state - direct object complex counts as a single domain for stress assignment.

Pronominal state verbs, on the other hand, must bear stress, since the bound pronouns are not susceptible to stress assignment. The cliticisation of the object pronoun may trigger a change in the vowel height of the stem vowel and the resyllabification of the resulting complex, e.g. ΕΟΥΜΑ /e.w'o.məf/ '(a vessel) to eat from (Ε-ΟΥΜ-Α)' (Onnophr. 211:8).

Absolute state marked verbs lack special relation-marking morphology, since the syntactic dependency of the direct object argument is registered by a special case preposition. Yet, in transitive

verb constructions vowel epenthesis applies to the absolute, but not the construct state forms of "weak" biliteral verbs, e.g. ΜΙΣΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ ΝΕΖΙΜΕ 'to deliver (ΜΙΣΕ) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Mena, Mir 10b:33-34) vs. ΜΕΣ ΠΩΡΖΟΥΤ 'to deliver (ΜΕΣ-) the male child (ΨΡ-ΖΟΥΤ)' (Apoc. 12:13). Vowel epenthesis is not resorted to in the construct state, since the verb and the adjacent direct object form a prosodic constituent that is large enough. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the prepositional object does not supply the verb with extra prosodic weight. To conform to the bisyllabic minimality requirement on the size of the "weak" verbs, an epenthetic vowel *e*- must be added after the final root consonant.

### 6.3.1.2 Word order

The different morphophonological behaviour of the construct state and the absolute state has a syntactic correlate in different rules for the placement of prosodically weak function words and particles.

#### a) Enclitic discourse markers

It is never possible for prosodically weak function words and particles to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the verb and the adjacent direct noun or pronoun in the construct state, e.g. ΝΕΑΥΡ ΟΥΧΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΝΕΥΟΥΩΜ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΩ 'for (ΓΑΡ) they behaved (lit. they had taken (ΝΕ-Α-Υ-Ρ) the appearance (ΟΥ-ΧΟΤ)) as if (ΧΕ) they were eating (ΝΕ-Υ-ΟΥΩΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) drinking (ΝΕ-Υ-Ω)' (KHML I 80:21-22). Such enclitics may, however, intervene between the verb and the prepositional object in the absolute state, e.g. ΕΥΩΑΝΚΡΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΗΜΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤΖΜΠΗ (...) 'if the (other) residents (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΜ-Π-Η) judge (Ε-Υ-ΩΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ) him (ΗΜΟ-Ι) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17).

#### b) Clause-internal negation ΑΝ

Roughly the same distributional pattern obtains in negated sentences, in which the negation adverb ΑΝ 'not' comes after the direct object in the construct state, e.g. ΟΥΔΕ ΝΑΡ ΖΩΒ ΑΝ 'and (ΟΥΔΕ) he does not work (lit. he does not (ΑΝ) do (Ν-Α-Ρ) work (ΖΩΒ))' (AP Chaîne no.153, 33:25-26), ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΤΝΑΨΕΠ ΖΙΣΕ ΑΝ ΟΥΕΩ (read ΝΟΥΕΩΝ) ΝΟΥΣ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) can I not (ΑΝ) accept (Τ-ΝΑ-ΨΕΠ) suffering (ΖΙΣΕ) without (ΝΟΥΕΩΝ) being angry (ΝΟΥΣ)?' (V. Pach. 2:14). In

the corresponding absolute state, the negation marker **AN** is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. **NNELXW** (for **NELXW**) **AN NNAI ZNNOYMNTXACI** (for **ZN OYMNNTXACI ZHT**) **OYAE ZNNOYMNTWOPYO** (for **ZN OYMNNTWOPYO**) 'I do not (**AN**) say (**N-E-I-XW**) these (words) (**N-NAI**) in (**ZN**) an arrogant (**OY-MNT-XACI-ZHT**) and (**OYAE**) in (**ZN**) an self-satisfied manner (**OY-MNT-WOPYO**)' (V. Pach. 89:2-3)

### c) Verb-particle combinations

A related set of placement rules applies to the absolute state and construct state form of verb-particle combinations like **XWK EBOA** 'to complete' and **EINE EBOA** 'to bring out, remove'. In the absolute state, the particle is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. **WANTEXWK EBOA N2WB NIM ENTAI2WN MMOY ETOTE** 'until you (woman) finish (**WANTE-XWK EBOA**) everything (**N-2WB NIM**) that I ordered (**ENT-A-I-2WN**) to you (**ETOTE**)' (Eud. 52:13-14), but follows the verb-direct object complex in the construct state, e.g. **NNELAAV N COYPE EBOA NPATQ NPOME** 'no one (**AAV**) shall remove (**NNE ... EINE EBOA**) a thorn (**COYPE**) from anybody's (**N-POME**) foot (**N-PAT-Q**)' (praec. Pach. 96).

N.B. Verb-particle combinations often convey idiomatic meanings, which are listed in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* under the relevant verbal entry.

The systematic structural differences between the construct state and the absolute state with respect to the placement of prosodically weak function words and particles provide *prima facie* evidence for two types of locality conditions. In the construct state, the verbal stem and the nominal or pronominal object must be adjacent to one another. This is why enclitic elements must always follow the entire verb-direct object complex. No such adjacency requirement seems to be involved in its absolute state counterpart, where enclitic elements may intervene between the verb and the prepositional object, cf. figure 6.3.

CONSTRUCT STATE	DIRECT OBJECT	FUNCTION WORD/PARTICLE
<b>WET-</b> receive	<b>ZICE</b> suffering	<b>AN</b> not
<b>N-</b> bring	<b>COYPE</b> thorn	<b>EBOA</b> out

ABSOLUTE STATE	FUNCTION WORD/PARTICLE	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
<b>COOYN</b> know	<b>AN</b> not	<b>N-POME</b> man
<b>XWK</b> finish	<b>EBOA</b> up	<b>N-2WB NIM</b> everything

FIGURE 6.3 Particle placement

The morphological and syntactic differences between the absolute state and the construct state considered so far are indicative for two distinct strategies of objective case assignment (i.e. the case associated with the direct object argument of a transitive verb). In the construct state, accusative case is assigned purely on the basis of the structural configuration in which the direct object argument appears, namely in the complement position of the verb. For this reason, the assignment of structural accusative case requires adjacency between the case assigning verb and the case-marked direct object argument. The absolute state, on the other hand, represents an oblique case configuration, where the selected locative or directional preposition makes no contribution to the semantic interpretation of the prepositional object, but rather makes it visible as an argument of the preceding verb.

### 6.3.1.3 Direct object selection

Most transitive verbs are compatible with both the accusative case pattern of the construct state and the oblique case pattern of the absolute state. Yet, there are several transitive verb constructions which appear either in one or the other objective case-marking pattern:

#### a) Verbs of perception

A particularly clear case for lexically governed selectional restrictions are *verbs of perception* that select prepositional objects with **E-**, **EPO-**. The prepositional object has no directional meaning and simply designates the perceived individual, object, or location. The perception verb itself uniformly appears in the absolute state, e.g. **KNAV EPOI EIWONE** 'you find (**K-NAV**) me (**EPO-I**) sick (**E-I-WONE**)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), **AINAV EMMA N2WTE NNEFYXOYGE THPOY** 'I say (**A-I-NAV**) the dwelling (**N-WOTE**) places (**E-M-NA**) of all (**THP-OY**) souls

(*ni-ne-ψυχοουε*) (Ac. A&P 198:73), *ni* *pe* *prōme* *efnabōwt* *nca* *peq-ψhrē* *efbnk* *nenṭw* (...) 'who (*ni*) (is) the man (*pe-prōme*) who will watch (*ε-φ-να-δωψτ*) his son (*nca* *peq-ψhrē*) going (*ε-φ-βhk*) to drown (*n-εṃṭw*) (...)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), *ai* *swṭm* *eyminḥwe* *eyw* *ewol* *eyrime* *zen* (for *zn*) *ketopos* 'I heard (*α-ι-σῶṭm*) a crowd (*ε-γ-μnhwe*) crying out (*ε-γ-ωψ* *ewol*) (and) weeping (*ε-γ-ρime*) in (*zen*) another place (*ke-topos*)' (Ac. A&P 204:139).

#### b) Light verb constructions

Coptic makes productive use of so-called light verb constructions like *p* *zote* 'to fear' (lit. to make (*p-*) fear (*zote*)). Light verbs generally occur in the construct state with a "bare" noun complement, e.g. *nesp* *zote* *gar* *pe* *ebwk* *enemonasthriōn* *mpēycantion* 'since (*gar*) she (Hilaria) was (*ne-c-p*) afraid (*zote*) to go (*ε-βwk*) to the monasteries (*ε-ne-monasthriōn*) of Byzantium (*m-pe-ycantion*)' (Hil. 2:12-13), *aqṭ* *pi* *erwōy* 'he (Constantine) kissed (lit. give (*ṭ*) kiss (*pi*)) them (the Persians) (lit. on their mouth (*ε-ρw-oy*))' (Eud. 48:15). If, on the other hand, the nominal complement is an indefinite noun phrase, the absolute state becomes available as a marked alternative, e.g. *plhn* *oyez* *cazne* *nai* *taēire* *noycōwe* *mpēknto* *ewol* *zn* *tmhte* *mpēimḥwe* *thrq* 'rather (*plhn*), bid (*oywz* *cazne* (lit. to place (*oyez*) an order (*cazne*)) me (*nai*) to make (*ta-ēire*) a mockery (*n-oy-cōwe*) before you (*m-pek-nto*) in (*zn*) the midst (*t-mnhṭe*) of this entire (*thrq*) crowd (*m-peimḥwe*)' (Ac. Isidor. 131:2-3). We return to light verb constructions in section 6.4 below.

#### c) Negative contexts

In the context of negation, there is a clear statistical preference for combining indefinite pronouns with construct state marked verbs, e.g. *nne* *laay* *xi* *laay* *neidos* *ntn* *rōme* *axm* *peqrmnhēi* 'no one (*laay*) shall take (*nne* ... *xi*) any (*laay*) property (*n-eidos*) (away) from (*ntn*) anybody (*rōme*) without (*axm*) his steward (*peq-rmnhēi*)' (praec. Pach. 106), *oyte* *on* *nne* *rōme* *wb* *rōme* *eyzmoos* 'and (*oyte*) also (*on*) shall nobody (*rōme*) shave (*nne* ... *wb*) anybody (*rōme*) sitting (*ε-γ-zmoos*)' (praec. Pach. 97). The encoding of indefinite pronouns as prepositional objects and the concomitant

selection of the absolute state is only marginally attested, e.g. *nṭcooyṇ* *an* *nṭrōme* *zn* *teipolic* 'I do not (*an*) know (*n-ṭ-cooyṇ*) anybody (*n-rōme*) in (*zn*) this city (*tei-polis*)' (Hil. 4:23).

#### d) Wh-in-situ objects

When the *wh*-interrogative phrase *oy* 'what' remains *in-situ* in the direct object position, the selection of the construct state seems to be mandatory, e.g. *ayw* *neψakoym* *oy* 'and (*ayw*) what (*oy*) did you usually eat (*ne-ψa-k-oym*)?' (Onnophr. 206:34-207:1), *akp* *oy* *zn* *neitōw* 'what (*oy*) have you been doing (*α-κ-ρ*) in (*zn*) these districts (*nei-tōw*)?' (KHML II 31:26).

#### e) Object-drop constructions

The object of transitive verbs may sometimes be left unexpressed, the result being an object-drop construction. Despite its lack of phonetic content, the omitted object pronoun (indicated as ' \_ ' in the Coptic examples) is semantically interpreted as a free-choice pronoun. Due to the absence of an overt pronoun, the verb of such object-drop constructions always occurs in the absolute state, e.g. *penxōeis* *gar* *naṭ* \_ *kata* *pekzht* 'Our Lord (*pen-xōeis*) will (*na*) give (*ṭ*) (no matter what) according to (*kata*) your desire (*pek-zht*)' (V. Pach. 136:11-12), *ṭnaēire* \_ *kata* *pekḥaxē* 'I shall do (*ṭ-na-ēire*) (anything) according to (*kata*) your word (*pek-ḥaxē*)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), or as a discourse anaphor, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. *ṭpisteyē* \_ *pxōeis* 'I believe (it) (*ṭ-pisteyē*), (oh) Lord (*p-xōeis*)' (Eud. 52:3-4), *ntereqswṭm* \_ *de* *noi* *pnōs* *nppo* *kōstantinos* (...) 'after the great (*p-nōs*) king (*n-ppo*) Constantine had heard (*ntere-q-swṭm*) (it) (...)' (Eud. 44:25).

The distribution of the absolute state and the construct state among different transitive verb constructions is summarized in table 6.6 below



VERBAL CLASS OR PATTERN	ABSOLUTE STATE	CONSTRUCT STATE
PERCEPTION VERBS	yes	no
LIGHT VERBS	marked option	yes
NEGATIVE CONTEXTS	marked option	yes
WH-IN-SITU OBJECTS	no	yes
OBJECT-DROP	yes	no

TABLE 6.6 Direct object selection

Not only do different types of objects fit into different verbal patterns, they also impose different aspectual interpretations on the clause in which they occur, as we will see next.

### 6.3.2 The aspectual underpinning of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule

In present tense sentences, transitive verbs generally appear in the absolute state, while the corresponding construct state seems to be systematically absent. This selectional restriction is known as the Stern-Jernstedt Rule in Coptic language studies.

#### THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE

Present tense sentences are incompatible with the construct state pattern.

The unavailability of the construct state in present tense contexts is illustrated in table 6.7. The right-hand column contains examples of the construct state in non-present tense sentences. The left-hand column shows the corresponding absolute state construction that must be selected in present tense contexts.

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
FUTURE TENSE ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΑΧΝΕ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΜΗ ΠΑCΕΒΗC 'the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙΩ) will (ΝΑ) examine (ΧΝΕ) the righteous (Π-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) and (ΜΗ) the criminal (Π-ΑCΕΒΗC)' (Psalm 10:5)	PRESENT TENSE ΝΕCΒΟΥΖΕ ΧΝΟ ΝΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ 'his (God's) eyelids (ΝΕC-ΒΟΥΖΕ) examine (ΧΝΟ) the sons (Ν-ΝΩΗΡΕ) of men (Ν-ΝΡΩΜΕ)' (Psalm 10:4)

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
PERFECT TENSE ΑΙΧΙ ΤΕCΦΥΧΗ 'I took (Α-Ι-ΧΙ) <u>his</u> (Elias)' <u>soul</u> (ΤΕCΦ-ΥΧΗ)' (Pist. Soph. 12:18)	PRESENT TENSE †ΧΙ ΝΟΥΗΡ ΝΕΥΚΗ (for ΒΕΚΕ) ΝΖΙCΕ ΕΠΕCΜΑ 'I receive (†-ΧΙ) <u>many</u> (Ν-ΟΥΗΡ) wages (Ν-ΕΥΚΗ) of grievance (Ν-ΖΙCΕ) in return (Ε-ΠΕC-ΜΑ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:10-11)
PERFECT TENSE ΑCΚΑ ΠΕCΤΟΠΟC ΝCΩC 'she (the Pistis Sophia) left (Α-C-ΚΑ) <u>her</u> position (ΠΕC-ΤΟΠΟC) behind (ΝCΩ-C)' (Pist. Soph. 75:10)	PRETERIT (PRESENT-IN-THE-PAST) ΑΥΩ ΝΕCΚΩ ΝΡΩC ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΗΜ 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (the senior monk) kept (ΝΕ-C-ΚΩ) <u>his</u> mouth (Ν-ΡΩ-C) (shut) all (ΝΗΜ) the time (Ν-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:30)

TABLE 6.7 The Stern-Jernstedt Rule

In its present form, the Stern-Jernstedt Rule describes a distributional restriction on transitive verb constructions in present tense contexts. Given that the construct state instantiates an accusative case and the absolute state as an oblique case pattern, this rule can be reformulated in terms of case compatibility:

#### THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE (revised version)

Present tense sentences are incompatible with accusative case marking on referential direct objects.

In the construct state, the accusative case-marked object designates the entity that is totally affected by the verbal action and undergoes some change of state. It thus provides a potential endpoint for the event or activity denoted by the main verb. The delimitative or bound event reading is, however, incompatible with the imperfective meaning of the present tense, which excludes reference to the event's termination. In the oblique case-marking pattern of the absolute state, the degree of affectedness of its referent is left unspecified. Since the prepositional object does not provide a temporal bound for the event, the absolute

state can be associated with an unbound event reading and is therefore compatible with the aspectual semantics of present tense sentences.

There are apparent counterexamples to the Stern-Jernstedt Rule, where the nominal state form of a transitive verb is found in a present tense sentence:

#### a) Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions are tolerated in present tense sentences, since the nominal complement acts as the semantic predicate, designating the event or state under consideration, e.g. **ΕΚΦΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΑΡΟΝ** 'and take (ε-κ-φι) care (ΡΟΟΥΨ) of us (ΖΑΡΟ-Ν)' (Hil. 9:30-31), **ΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΩΟΜ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΤΑΦΑΛΥ ΜΝ ΠΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ** 'and they remember (lit. *they make* (ε-γ-ρ) the thought (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ)) the miracles (Ν-Ν-ΩΟΜ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ), which he had done (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΑΛ-Υ) for (ΜΝ) King (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine' (Eud. 44:3-4).

#### b) Event-related direct object questions

In direct object questions like **ΕΡΕ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ Ρ ΟΥ 'what (ΟΥ) is ((ΕΡΕ ... Ρ) the city (Alexandria) (Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (like)?'** (AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6-7), the interrogative pronoun **ΟΥ** 'what' has an event-related reading. This generally shows that the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule apply only to transitive verb constructions with *referential* (i.e. entity-denoting) direct objects, since only such referential objects measure out some event in time.

### 6.3.3 Functional equivalents of the passive

Coptic is a language without a morphological passive. Yet, there are several sentence constructions displaying the semantic characteristics of passive voice, in particular, the patienthood of the subject and the implicitness of the agent argument. The most important functional equivalents of the English passive construction are the following:

#### a) Impersonal active sentences

Impersonal active sentences have as their subject a third person plural pronoun that has no concrete referent in the previous discourse, but rather indicates an indeterminate [+human] agent, e.g. **ΣΕΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ** 'she will be called (lit. *they will call*

(ΣΕ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) her (ΕΡΟ-Σ) "woman" (ΤΕ-ΣΖΙΜΕ)' (Abbatōn 236:12-13), **ΜΕΥΟΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΦΩ ΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΠΡΗ ΤΗΡΦ** 'since (ΓΑΡ) nobody would be blamed (lit. *they would not blame* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΟΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ) anybody (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ)), because (ΧΕ) he was not able (ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΕΩ) to observe (ΘΕΩΡΕΙ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Φ) sun (Μ-Π-ΡΗ)' (Zen. 200:26-27).

The identity of the implicit agent is often recoverable from the previous context or from world knowledge, e.g. **ΜΠΩΡ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΤΟΥΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑ ΠΧΩ ΤΟΥΚ ΕΥΣΟΛΑ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ** 'no (ΜΠΩΡ), my son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ)! For (ΓΑΡ) you have not been destined (lit. *they have not destined* you (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΤΟΥ-Κ) for this service (Ε-Τ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) has destined you (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΥ-Κ) as a comfort (Ε-Υ-ΣΟΛΑ) for the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) brothers (Ν-Ν-ΣΝΗΥ) who live (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1), **ΚΑΝ ΠΟΥ ΚΑΝ ΡΑΣΤΕ ΤΗΝΑΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΖΝ<ΖΕΝ>ΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΤ** 'either (ΚΑΝ) today (ΠΟΥ) or (ΚΑΝ) tomorrow (ΡΑΣΤΕ) we may die (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) and (ΑΥΩ) we will be punished (lit. *they will punish* (ΣΕ-ΝΑ-ΚΟΛΑΖΕ) us (ΜΜΟ-Ν)) by (ΖΝ) hard (Ε-Υ-ΝΑΨΤ) torments (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ)' (Onnophr. 208:1-3).

The impersonal active construction can be expanded by an overt agent expression, which takes the form of an instrumental adjunct phrase. In this construction, the third person plural pronoun serves as a purely grammatical filler of the subject position without independent reference, e.g. **ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑΥΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΝΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ** (read **ΝΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ**) **ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΡΠΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΘΟΥΡΙΟΝ** (for **ΝΘΗΡΙΟΝ**) 'or (ΚΑΝ) whether (ΕΨΧΕ) she (Hilaria) had been enslaved (lit. *they had enslaved* (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ) her (ΜΜΟ-Σ)) by (ΖΙΤΝ) the barbarians (Ν-ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ) or (ΚΑΝ) whether (ΕΨΧΕ) she had been carried away (lit. *they had carried her away* (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΤΑΡΠ-Σ)) by (ΖΙΤΝ) wild animals (ΝΘ-ΘΥΡΙΟΝ)' (Hil. 7:31-32), **ΨΑΥΤ ΤΟΟΤΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΝΣΝΗΥ** '(if we are weak), we are helped (lit. *they give* (ΨΑ-Υ-Τ) our hands (ΤΟΟΤ-Ν)) by (ΖΙΤΝ) our brothers (ΝΕΝ-ΣΝΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 211:7), **ΕΥΝΑΧΠΟΦ ΖΗ ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΣΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΕΣΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ** 'he (Jesus) will be born (lit. *they will bear* him (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-Φ)) by (ΖΗ) a holy (Ε-Σ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) virgin (ΟΥ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ) who is called (lit. *they call* (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) her (ΕΡΟ-Σ) by name (Ε-ΠΕΣ-ΡΑΝ) *Maria*' (Test. Is. 231:8-9).

b) *Passively interpreted statives*

Transitive-based statives in Coptic come close in meaning to adjectival passives in English (e.g. *the pillow remained stuffed*). The subject of such statives is semantically interpreted as the holder of some state or condition, while there is no implication of an agent, e.g. **ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΣΕΖΟΒΣ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΟΥ** 'not (ΑΝ) because (ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ) they (i.e. the ascetic achievements of Αρα Zenobius) *are hidden* (ΣΕ-ΖΟΒΣ) (away) from you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) until (ΖΑΘΗ) today (ΜΠΟΥ)' (Zen. 199:9-10), **ΑΥΩ ΟΣΜΑΜΑΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΤΩΘΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) the good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ο) plant (Π-ΤΩΘΕ) *is blessed* (Ο-ΣΜΑΜΑΤ)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), **ΣΕΣΖΟΥΡΕΤ ΑΥΩ ΣΕΣΖΟΥΡΕΤ ΑΝ** '*they are cursed* (ΣΕ-ΣΖΟΥΡΕΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) *they are not* (ΑΝ) *cursed* (ΣΕ-ΣΖΟΥΡΕΤ)' (Sh. III 154:3).

c) The "passive" light verb **χι**

The light verb **χι** 'to receive, get' may be used as a passive auxiliary, since the subject designates the affectee or beneficiary of the activity referred to by the nominal complement, e.g. **ΕΦΕΧΕΙ** (for **ΕΦΕΧΙ**) **ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΥΚΑΝΟΝ** (for **ΝΕΥΚΑΝΩΝ**) 'he (the disobedient monk) *shall be reprimanded* (lit. he shall receive (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΧΕΙ) reprimand (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) in accordance with (ΚΑΤΑ) their rules (ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΝΟΝ)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 17), **ΑΥΩ ΑΦΧΙ ΕΘΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΑΝ ΗΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of our Lord (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΣ) *was glorified* (lit. **χι** (receive) **ΕΘΟΥ** (glory))' (Eud. 40:27-28). Comparable to the impersonal active construction, **χι**-passives may be construed with an instrumental agent phrase, e.g. **ΑΙΧΙ ΣΒΩ ΝΚΩΤ** (read **ΝΝΚΩΤ**) **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ** (for **ΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ**) 'I *was taught* (lit. I received (Α-Π-ΧΙ) teaching (ΣΒΩ)) the precepts (Ν-Ν-ΚΩΤ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) by (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ-ΟΥ) great (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) perfect ones (Ν-ΤΕΛΙΟΣ)' (Onnophr. 210:27-29).

6.3.4 *Classes of intransitive verbs*

Intransitive verbs seem to constitute a homogenous class of verbal predicates with a single argument. The uneven distribution of intransitive verbs among the four basic stem patterns provides *prima*

*facie* evidence for a subdivision into three classes of intransitives: so-called unergative, unaccusative, and variable behaviour verbs.

a) *Unergative verbs*

In the unergative class of intransitive verbs, the sole argument is semantically interpreted as the agent of the verbal action. Typical unergative verbs are *verbs of sound emission* (e.g. **ΚΡΗΡΗ** 'to murmur', **ΠΙΜΕ** 'to cry', **ΚΑΚΚΣ** 'to whisper'), *verbs of bodily activity or expression*, (e.g. **ΡΑΩΕ** 'to rejoice', (Ε)ΝΚΟΤΚ 'to sleep'), and *verbs of manner of motion* (e.g. **ΝΗΗΒΕ** 'to swim', **ΜΟΩΕ** 'to walk', **ΘΟΘ(Ε)Σ** 'to dance'). Unergative verbs are restricted to the absolute state.

b) *Unaccusative verbs*

The single argument of unaccusative verbs has a non-agentive interpretation. Moreover, the unaccusative subject displays some morpho-syntactic properties of the direct object, in that it appears in the complement position of a construct state marked verb. Thus, the copular verbs **ΟΥΝ** '(there) is' and **ΜΗ** '(there) is not' that introduce existential-locative sentences with indefinite subjects, e.g. **ΟΥΝ <ΟΥ>ΣΟΝ ΗΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ** (for **ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ**) **ΜΠΑΖΟΥ** '(to see whether) (there) *is* (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (ΟΥ-ΣΟΝ) monk (Η-ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ) further on (ΜΠΑΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12).

Adjectival verbs with the lexical formative **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-** mindicate permanent properties, such as size, amount or quality: **ΝΑΑ-**, **ΝΑΑ=** 'to be great', **ΝΑΝΟΥ-**, **ΝΑΝΟΥ=** 'to be good, fair', **ΝΑΩΕ-**, **ΝΑΩΩ=** 'to be numerous', **ΝΕΣΕ-**, **ΝΕΣΩ=** 'to be beautiful'. Like statives, adjectival verbs can only appear in present tense sentences, e.g. **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΩΛΧΕ** **ΝΤΑΚΧΟΟ** 'the word (Π-ΩΛΧΕ) that you have spoken (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Ο) *is good* (ΝΑΝΟΥ)' (Hil. 4:35). (A more detailed analysis of head-initial sentences with existential and adjectival verbs will be offered in section 10.2 of Unit 10).

c) *Variable behaviour verbs*

Coptic has an extensive class of variable behaviour verbs, so called because they are compatible with either the absolute state or the stative. In the absolute state, they behave semantically as unergative verbs with agentive subjects. In the corresponding stative, variable

behaviour verbs behave more like unaccusatives, because the subject receives a non-agentive interpretation as the holder of some state or condition. Typical variable behaviour verbs are *verbs of smell emission* (e.g. ΚΝΟ(Ο)C, ΚΟΝC<sup>†</sup> 'to stink, to rot'), *verbs of light emission* (e.g. ΠΕΙΡΕ, ΠΡΕΙΩΟΥ<sup>†</sup>, ΠΟΡΕ<sup>†</sup> 'to shine'), *verbs of inherently directed motion* (e.g. ΒΩΚ, ΒΗΚ<sup>†</sup> 'to go', ΠΩΖ, ΠΗΖ<sup>†</sup> 'to reach'), *internally caused verbs of change of state* (e.g. ΟΥΒΑΩ, ΟΥΟΒΩ<sup>†</sup> 'to become white', ΕΙΒΕ, ΟΒΕ<sup>†</sup> 'to get thirsty'), and *verbs of existence, occurrence and (dis)appearance* (e.g. ΩΝΖ, ΟΝΖ<sup>†</sup> 'to live', ΨΩΠΕ, ΨΟΟΠ<sup>†</sup> 'to happen, occur', ΜΟΥ, ΜΟΟΥΤ<sup>†</sup> 'to die'). Table 6.7 presents an overview of the distributional behaviour of different classes of intransitive verbs:

LEXICAL CLASS	ABS. ST.	CONST. ST.	STAT.
<b>UNERGATIVE VERBS</b>			
<i>Verbs of manner of motion,</i> e.g. ΣΟC(Ε)C 'to dance'	+	-	-
<i>Verbs of sound emission,</i> e.g. ΚΡΗΡΜ 'to murmur'	+	-	-
<b>UNACCUSATIVE VERBS</b>			
<i>Adjectival verbs,</i> e.g. ΝΕCΕ-, ΝΕCΩ= 'to be beautiful'	-	+	-
<i>Copular verbs,</i> e.g. ΟΥΝ- '(there) is', ΜΗ '(there) is not'	-	+	-
<b>VARIABLE BEHAVIOUR VERBS</b>			
<i>Verbs of inherently directed motion,</i> e.g. ΒΩΚ, ΒΗΚ <sup>†</sup> 'to go'	+	-	+
<i>Verbs of existence and appearance,</i> e.g. ΨΩΠΕ, ΨΟΟΠ <sup>†</sup> 'to happen, occur'	+	-	+
<i>Verbs of change of state,</i> e.g. ΕΙΒΕ, ΟΒΕ <sup>†</sup> 'to get thirsty'	+	-	+

TABLE 6.7 Classes of intransitive verbs

## 6.4 Complex predicates

Complex predicates are composed of more than one lexical or grammatical element (either morphemes or words) that function as a single predicative expression. This section takes a closer look at verb-noun and verb-verb compounds. Coptic has two types of verb-noun compounds, light verbs like Ρ ΖΩΒ 'to work' and noun-incorporation constructions like Ρ ΡΡΟ 'to become king', which differ from each other both syntactically and semantically. Another topic of this section are analytical causatives, which have a clause-like structure, e.g. e.g. ΑΚΤΡΕ ΝΒΛΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ '(since you have come to this city) you made (Α-Κ-ΤΡΕ) the blind (Ν-ΒΛΛΕ) see (ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ)' (KHML I 5:3-4) (section 6.3.3).

### 6.4.1 Light verb constructions

Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its nominal complement represents the semantic predicate. Coptic has several of such light verbs: Ρ 'to do', † 'to give', ϣι 'to carry', χι 'to take' (with a passive interpretation), and ΟΝ 'to find'. They combine with an event or state describing nominal that is generally left undetermined, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΡ ΨΗΡΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ), was (Α-Ι-Ρ) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) surprised (lit. *make* (Ρ) *wonder* (ΨΗΡΕ))' (Onnophr. 218:4), ΨΑΚΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΩΩΚ 'will you be (ΨΑ-Κ-Ρ) afraid (lit. *make* (Ρ) *fear* (ΖΟΤΕ)), too (ΖΩΩ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 35, 7:7:5). This is, however, by no means a rule, since a number of light verb are construed with a definitely or possessively determined noun phrases, e.g. ΜΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΚΟCΜΟC ΨΟΟΠ 'they (the hermits) *do not* (ΜΕ-Υ-Ρ) even (ΡΩ) remember (lit. *make* (Ρ) *the thought* (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ)) that (ΧΕ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ ... ΨΟΟΠ) a world (ΚΟCΜΟC)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΔΕ ΑΥ† ΠΕ[ϣ]ΟΥΟΙ 'Andrew went forth (Α-ϣ-†) (lit. *give* (†)) *his course* (ΠΕϣ-ΟΥΟΙ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153), (with a quantificational expression) ΝΑΝΟΥ † ΖΑΖ ΜΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'is it good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. *give* (†) much (ΖΑΖ) *repentance* (ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ))?' (AP Chaîne no. 131, 30:1).

Since the verb and the event/state noun function as a single predicative expression semantically, the burden of determining the number of arguments in the clause and their case-marking properties is

not borne by the verb alone, but is shared by the noun. In the vast majority of cases, the direct object argument of the event/state nominal is syntactically encoded as a nominal or pronominal possessor, e.g. † χρια ννεκψαηλ 'I am (†-p) in need (lit. make (p) need (χρια)) of your prayers (n-νεκ-ψαηλ)' (Hil. 11:14-15), εφι προουψ ηπασωμα 'to take (ε-φι) care (π-ροουψ) of my body (n-πα-σωμα)' (Onnophr. 216:6), χεκας εφναερ πενμεεγε νφς[ο]πς εχων 'so that (χεκας) he (Apa Mena) remembers (ε-φ-να-ερ) us (lit. to make (p) our remembrance (πεν-μεεγε)) and prays (n-φ-σοπς) for us (εχω-ν)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:11-14) (with reflexively used pronouns) αρηγ ερε πχοεις να ομ πεφωινε ζη πεζουγ ηπσαββατων 'maybe (αρηγ) the Lord (π-χοεις) would (ερε ... να) visit him (lit. pay (ομ-) his visit (πεφ-ωινε)) on (ζη) the day (πε-εζουγ) of Sabbath (n-π- σαββατων)' (V. Pach. 88:13-14).

Light verb constructions with the ditransitive verb † 'to give' are syntactically realised as double object constructions, e.g. αλλα νεψαι† σβω ναφ ντοφ ζηνουμντζαρψζητ (for ζη ουμντζαρψζητ) 'on the contrary (αλλα), I used to (νε-ψα-ι-†) teach (lit. give (†) teaching (σβω)) him (να-φ) with (ζη) indulgence (ου-μντζαρψ-ζητ)' (V. Pach. 89:25-26), παειωτ αι† ζιζε ντεκμντπετογααβ 'my father (πα-ειωτ), I have (α-ι-†) troubled (lit. give (†) trouble (ζιζε) to) your holiness (n-τεκ-μντ-πετογααβ)' (Hil. 5:33).

6.4.2 Noun incorporation

Coptic has yet another type of verb-noun compounding with the light verb p, in the nominal complement is a referring expression, e.g. μερε παι ντειμινε ερ χοεις ελλαγ ηπαθος ενεζ 'he (παι) of such nature (n-τει-μινε) will not (μερε) master (lit. make (ερ) master (χοεις)) any (ε-λλαγ) passion (η-παθος) ever (ενεζ)' (AP Chaïne no.12, 3:9) αφεωλ εβολ αφρ καζ 'he (the corpse) dissolved (α-φ-βωλ εβολ) (and) turned into (α-φ-ρ) dust (καζ)' (Onnophr. 206:2).

Noun incorporation structures of this kind have an inchoative meaning, describing the endpoint of some transformational process that changes the physical condition or social status of the subject. The light verb p- is semantically interpreted as an existential verb 'to become', e.g. αφρ βλεε επεφβαλ σναγ 'he (Diocletian) became (α-φ-ρ) blind (βλεε) on both (σναγ) his eyes (ε-πεφ-βαλ)' (Eud. 36:22-23), αφερ μαρτυρος εχμ πραν ηπενχοεις ις πεχς 'he

(Apa Mena) became (α-φ-ρ) a martyr (μαρτυρος) for (εχμ) the name (π-ραν) of our Lord (η-πεν-χοεις) Jesus (ις) Christ (πε-χς)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a: 12-14).

The incorporation of a time-indicating nominal gives rise to a more complex construction type, where the verb-noun sequence functions as an aspectual auxiliary of duration, while the following adjunct clause describes the event or activity that is temporally measured out, e.g. αφρ ταιου νρομπε εφρ ζαλ ηπεγμεεγε μμιν ημοου 'they (Apa Theodor and Apa Lucianus) spent (α-φ-ρ) fifty (ταιου) years (n-ρομπε) misleading (ε-φ-ρ ζαλ) their own (μμιν ημο-ου) thought (η-πεγ-μεεγε)' (AP Chaïne no. 36, 7:9), εφερ ψομντ ηζουγ εφμετανοι μμινε κατα πεγτωψ 'he (the disobedient monk) shall spend (ε-φ-ε-ρ) three (ψομντ) days (η-ζουγ) repenting (ε-φ-μετανοι) daily (μμινε) in accordance with (κατα) their rule (πεγ-τωψ)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 12).

6.4.3 Analytical τρε-causatives

Analytical τρε-causatives are typical exemplars of complex predicates involving two verbal heads, one of which describes the causing event (τρε-) and the other the caused event.

6.4.3.1 The morpho-phonological behaviour of τρε-causatives

The conjugational base τρε- is a lexical causative of the light verb ειρε: τ- + ειρε → τρε 'to make, let' (lit. cause to do). With the exception of the first person singular form τρα-, the pronominal paradigm of analytical causatives is entirely regular, cf. table 6.8.

ΤΡΕ-CAUSATIVES		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	ΤΡΑ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΣΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΤΡΕ-ΤΝ-ΣΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	ΤΡΕ-ΣΩΤΗ	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΣΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	ΤΡΕ-Σ-ΣΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ΤΡΕ- ΠΡΩΜΕ ΣΩΤΗ	

TABLE 6.8 Analytical τρε-causatives

From a morpho-phonological point of view, the base  $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - is clearly an affix, since it never occurs in isolation as a separate word and does not attract stress. Akin to various verbal tenses and aspects, it can be phonologically reduced:  $\tau\pi\epsilon\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$  /trɛf.s'ɔ.təm/ →  $\tau\rho\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$  /trɔf.s'ɔ.təm/, e.g.  $\epsilon\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\chi\omega$   $\epsilon\rho\iota$   $\mu\pi\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\lambda$  'to tell ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\rho\text{-}\rho\text{-}\chi\omega$ ) me ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$ ) his name ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\rho\text{-}\rho\alpha\lambda$ )' (Onnophr. 210:17). Yet, despite its affixal behaviour,  $\tau\pi\epsilon$  exhibits some of the characteristic properties of verbs. Firstly, it is inflected in the construct state pattern and occupies the same syntactic position as regular verbs. Secondly, in contrast to morphological causatives, the base form  $\tau\pi\epsilon$  and the lexical verb do not form a verb-verb complex, but remain two separate sentence elements, which occupy different syntactic positions. Thirdly, in much the same way as "normal" transitive verbs,  $\tau\pi\epsilon$  is associated with a particular syntactic frame or argument structure: its subject argument designates the CAUSER, i.e. the entity which brings about or initiates some event and its direct object argument specifies the caused event.

#### 6.4.3.2 The biclausal structure of analytical $\tau\pi\epsilon$ -causatives

Analytical causatives are biclausal structures, where the causative predicate  $\tau\pi\epsilon$  functions as the main verb and the associated lexical verb as the embedded verb. They differ, however, from other types of clausal embedding in that the main verb and the embedded verb have one argument in common, the CAUSEE, which designates the entity that is forced, persuaded or permitted by the CAUSER to be engaged in a certain event or activity. The shared CAUSEE argument simultaneously fulfils two grammatical functions: it is the direct object of the causative verb  $\tau\pi\epsilon$  and the subject of the embedded clause.

Figure 6.4 below gives a schematic representation of the syntax of analytic causatives with the example of  $\lambda\kappa\tau\pi\epsilon$   $\nu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$   $\nu\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  'you made ( $\lambda\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon$ ) the blind ( $\nu\text{-}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ ) see ( $\nu\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ )' (KHML I 5:3-4). (Arrows indicate syntactic functions like subject, direct object; S<sub>1</sub> stands for main clause and S<sub>2</sub> for embedded clause; brackets indicate clause boundaries).

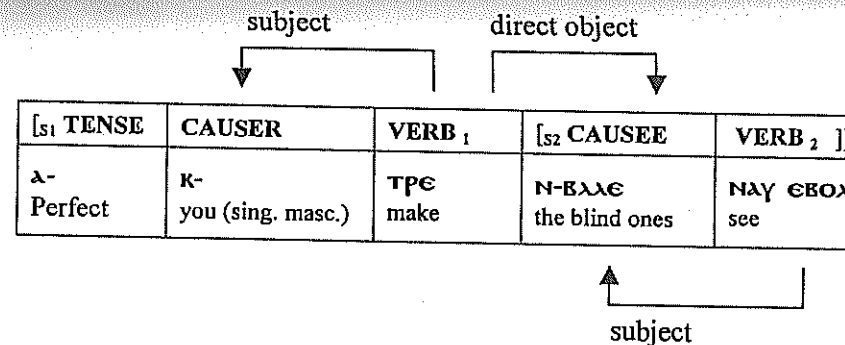


FIGURE 6.4 The biclausal structure of analytical causatives

#### 6.4.3.3 Syntactic distribution

Analytical  $\tau\pi\epsilon$ -causatives display a broad syntactic distribution and appear in various finite (tensed) and non-finite (infinitival) verb constructions. A more detailed analysis of infinitival clauses will be offered in Unit 12.

##### a) Finite clauses

The causative meaning of the form  $\tau\pi\epsilon$  is fully present in finite clauses, whose subjects are semantically interpreted as the CAUSERS of the event referred to by the embedded verb, e.g.  $\lambda$   $\mu\epsilon\kappa\eta\iota\omega\tau$   $\mu\alpha\tau\omega\mu$   $\tau\pi\epsilon$   $\nu\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta\gamma$   $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$   $\eta\eta\mu\alpha\phi$   $\nu\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$   $\eta\eta\eta\tau\mu\alpha\iota\sigma\omicron\kappa$  'our father ( $\mu\epsilon\kappa\eta\iota\omega\tau$ ) Pachôm let ( $\lambda$  ...  $\tau\pi\epsilon$ ) the brothers ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\eta\eta\gamma$ ) practise ( $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ ) great ( $\nu\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\eta\omicron\sigma$ ) compassion ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota\text{-}\sigma\omicron\kappa$ ) with him (the foreign monk)' (V. Pach. 136:26-27),  $\psi\alpha\phi\tau\pi\epsilon$   $\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma$   $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota$   $\nu\alpha\gamma$   $\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$  'he (God) makes ( $\psi\alpha\text{-}\rho\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon$ ) the angels ( $\nu\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma$ ) serve ( $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota$ ) them (the hermits) their food ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$ )' (Onnophr. 211:22-23).

Analytic causatives can also be used in the impersonal active construction, e.g.  $\lambda\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$   $\nu\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$   $\nu\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  'she (Eudoxia) let their (the Jews) principal ( $\nu\text{-}\eta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\omicron\sigma$ ) priests ( $\nu\text{-}\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ) be brought ( $\lambda\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$ ) to her ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ )' (Eud. 64:7-8),  $\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\sigma\omicron\kappa$   $\eta\eta\rho\tau$   $\eta\rho\upsilon\tau\eta$  (...) 'I do not let them make you drink ( $\mu\pi\text{-}\epsilon\iota\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\tau\sigma\omicron\text{-}\kappa$ ) wine ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\rho\tau$ ) at night ( $\eta\text{-}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$ ) (...)' (KHML II 35:14).

b) *Infinitival purpose clauses*

In adjunct purpose clauses governed by the directional preposition ε- 'to', non-finite analytical causatives indicate the purpose or goal of the main clause event, e.g. αΥΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ΝΤΕ ΤΟΟΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΝΤΩ 'the generals (ΝΕ-ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) the army (Τ-ΟΟΜ) went (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) [*to fetch him* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΝΤ-Ω) (Constantine)]' (Eud. 38:5-6), ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΤΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΡΑΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ (...) 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) went (Α-Ι-ΒΩΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) into the desert (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥΕ) [*to fast* (Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:95-96).

c) *Infinitival complements of volitional verbs*

Volitional verbs like οΥΩΨ 'to want' can take infinitival clauses as their direct objects. Analytical causatives must be selected whenever the subject of the embedded clause differs from the subject of the matrix clause, e.g. ΤΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΚΕΙ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΕΨΗΤ 'I want (Τ-ΟΥΨ) [*you to come* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΕΙ) with me (ΝΜΜΑ-Ι) to Shiêt (Ε-ΨΗΤ)]' (Hil. 4:26), ΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΙΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΚΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΙ 'My father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (Ε-Ι-ΟΥΨ) [*you to baptize* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) me (ΜΜΟ-Ι)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:35-31b:2).

d) *Nominalised causatives*

Analytical causatives may take the form of definite noun phrases. In combination with locative prepositions, such nominalised causative constructions are used as temporal clauses, e.g. ΖΜ ΠΤΡΑΒΩΚ ΕΜΑΥ (...) 'when (ΖΜ) I went (Π-ΤΡΑ-ΒΩΚ) there (ΕΜΑΥ) (...)' (KHML I 142:17), ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕΦΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΙ (...) 'when (ΖΜ) he had welcomed (Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΑΣΠΑΖΕ) me (ΜΜΟ-Ι) (...)' (KHML I 143:5).

**Key Terms:**

Root	represents an abstract lexical item, which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
Stem pattern	The surface form of the root is called the stem. Coptic verb stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morpho-syntactic and semantic properties. The basic stem patterns are the so-called absolute state, the construct state (i.e. the nominal and the pronominal states together) and the stative.	§6.1.3
Reduplication	is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4
Epenthesis	is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4
Aspect	is a category of verbal semantics, which refers to the internal temporal structure or dynamism of the situation reported on in a sentence.	§6.2.1
Eventive and stative sentences	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
Accusative vs. oblique case	In Coptic, there are two distinct cases-marking patterns for the direct object. In the construct state, the direct object receives accusative case from the adjacent verb. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the direct object is assigned case by a desemanticised locative or a directional preposition.	§6.3.1

*The Stern-Jernstedt Rule*

describes a selectional restriction of present tense sentences, which cannot be combined with construct state verbs with referential direct objects. Since the construct state verb and an accusative case-marked direct object are associated with a bound event reading, it is incompatible with the aspectual semantics of present tense sentences.

§6.3.2

Functional equivalents of the passive

Although Coptic lacks a morphological passive, there are several sentence patterns that come close in meaning to the English passive construction, viz. (i) the impersonal active construction, (ii) transitive-based statives, and (iii) the "passive" light-verb  $\chi\iota$ - 'to get, receive'.

§6.3.3

Light verb constructions

derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate.

§6.4.1

Analytical causatives

are complex predicates consisting of two verbs: the causative verb  $\tau\rho\epsilon$  'to make' and the embedded verb form described the caused event. Both predicates share one argument, which functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb.

§6.4.3

**Exercises**

**6.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:

1. Coptic verb stems can be decomposed into three morphemes: the root, the vowel melody and the stem template.
2. Vowel epenthesis is restricted to biconsonantal roots.
3. In Coptic, the contrast between stative and eventive predication is marked by different stem patterns
4. The third person plural impersonal active construction fulfils similar functions as the English passive construction.
5. Analytical causatives are monoclausal structures.

**6.2 Root and pattern morphology**

Complete the following table by inserting the correct stem allomorph into the blank cells.

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
	$\text{NANOY-}$			to be good, fair
$\text{K}\omega$				to place, put
		$\text{XOO=}$		to say
		$\text{AA=}$		to do, make
$\text{OY}\epsilon\text{INE}$				to pass
			$\text{TW}^\dagger$	to give
	$(\epsilon)\text{N-}$			to bring
$\text{TAME}$				to inform
	$\text{OM-}$			to find
$\text{OWNT}$				to become angry
		$\text{NAPW=}$		to be numerous
			$\text{AP}\epsilon^\dagger$	to hang
$\text{EIME}$				to know



### 6.3 The Eventive-Stative alternation

A. Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options (diacritics are omitted).

(1) ε-ϣ-\_\_\_ ΜΗΟϢ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΣΜΟΤ 'he (the demon) *changed* himself (ΜΗΟ-ϣ) into many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) (different) forms (Ν-ΣΜΟΤ)' (KHML II 53:7)

ΨΙΒΕ  ΨΟ(Ο)ΒΕ (< ΨΙΒΕ 'to change')

(2) ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΑ \_\_\_ ΝΑΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ 'Our Lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) will (ΝΑ) *give* to you (ΝΑ-Κ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) your desire (ΠΕΚ-ΖΗΤ)' (Pach.136:11-12)

†  ΤΟ (< † 'to give')

(3) ΕΥΖΚΑΕΙΤ Ε-Υ-\_\_\_ 'when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΖΚΑΕΙΤ) (and) *thirsty*' (Pist. Soph. 182:3)

ΕΙΒΕ  ΟΒΕ (< ΕΙΒΕ 'to become thirsty')

(4) Ε-Ι-\_\_\_ ΨΑ ΠΕΝΤΑϢΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ 'I *am on my way* to (ΨΑ) the one who has sent me (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ϣ-ΤΗΝΟΟΥ-Τ)' (Test. Is. 230:11)

ΒΩΚ  ΒΗΚ (< ΒΩΚ 'to go')

(5) ΤΑΨΩΠΕ Ε-Ι-\_\_\_ ΖΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΑΖΡΗ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ 'and I become (ΤΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) subject (lit. bound) (Ε-Ι-\_\_\_) to (ΖΙ) judgement (ΖΑΠ) before (ΝΑΖΡΗ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ)' (Pach. 92:14-15)

ΜΟΥΡ  ΜΗΡ (< ΜΟΥΡ 'to bind, oblige')

B. Explain the meaning difference between the absolute state form ΨΩΠΕ and the corresponding stative ΨΟΟΠ in the following sentence pair.

(1) ΝΓΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΗΠΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΠΕΙΑΝΟΜΟΣ 'may you *be* (Ν-Γ-ΨΩΠΕ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) in the presence of (Η-Π-ΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Η-) this criminal (ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4).

(2) ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ †ΨΟΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ), behold (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ), I *am* (†ΨΟΟΠ) with you (ΝΗΜΕ)' (Eud. 52:13)

### 6.4 Direct object syntax and case marking

A. Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options.

(1) Α ΠΔ[ΙΑΒ]ΟΛΟΣ \_\_\_ ΠΕϢΖ[ΗΤ] 'the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) *filled* his heart (ΠΕϢ-ΖΗΤ)' (Mena, Mir. 13b:27-29)

ΜΕΖ  ΜΗΖ (< ΜΟΥΖ 'to fill')

(2) ΑΠΖ Ν \_\_\_ -Ϣ 'I managed (Α-Ι-ΠΖ) to (Ν-) *do* it' (Ac. A&P 198:71)

Ρ  ΛΑ (< ΕΙΡΕ 'to do')

(3) ΝΑΝΟΥ \_\_\_ ΑΒ [for ΑϢ] ΕΣΕ ΗΡΠ 'it is good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) to *eat* meat (ΑΒ) and drink (Ε-ΣΕ) wine (ΗΡΠ)' (AP, Chafne no.14, 3:12)

ΟΥΕΝ  ΟΥΩΜ (< ΟΥΩΜ 'to eat')

(4) ΝΨΩΡΠ ΜΕΝ Α-Ϣ-\_\_\_ -ΟΥ ΝΣΖΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΞΙΩΜΑ ΝΤΗΝΤΗΝΟΒ 'in the first place (Ν-ΨΩΡΠ), he (Zeno) *taught* them (his daughters) to write (Ν-ΣΖΑΙ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) their high (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΝΟΒ) rank (Π-ΑΞΙΩΜΑ)' (Hil.2:6-7)

ΤΣΑΒΕ  ΤΣΑΒΟ (< ΤΣΑΒΟ 'to teach')

(5) Α-Ι-\_\_\_ ΝΤΙΠΥΓΗ (for ΝΤΙΠΗΓΗ) ΜΗΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΕΙΒΗΝΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΙΣΠΥΛΛΙΟΝ (for ΣΠΗΛΛΙΟΝ) 'I *found* this well (Ν-ΤΙ-ΠΥΓΗ) of water (Μ-ΜΟΟΥ), this date-tree (ΤΕΙ-ΒΗΝΕ) and (ΜΗ) this cavern (ΠΕΙ-ΣΠΥΛΛΙΟΝ)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11)

ΟΙΝΕ  ΟΝ (< ΟΙΝΕ 'to find')

(6) ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϣ-\_\_\_ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 'when (ΝΤΕΡΕ-) the angel (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) had *said* these (ΝΑΙ) (words) ...' (Test.Is. 230:12)

ΧΩ  ΧΕ (< ΧΩ 'to say')

B. Complete the following Coptic sentences by selecting one of the two options for the syntactic encoding of the direct object relation given in brackets. Keep in mind that the construct state stem pattern is incompatible with present tense sentences (the Stern-Jernstedt Rule).

- (1)  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \mu\alpha\varsigma\ (\eta\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\pi\iota/\sigma\upsilon\pi\iota)\ \zeta\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\varsigma\ \mu\eta\pi\eta\varsigma\ \eta\ \eta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  'he (Ara Pambo) gave ( $\alpha\text{-}\tau\text{-}\eta$ ) her (Hilaria) ( $\eta\alpha\text{-}\sigma$ ) a cell next to him ( $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\text{-}\tau$ ), south ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\rho\eta\varsigma$ ) of the church ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ )' (Hil 6:15)
- (2)  $\alpha\ \tau\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\eta\pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\tau\ \eta\alpha\gamma\ (\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\omega\eta\eta\epsilon/\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\omega\eta\eta\epsilon)\ \epsilon\tau\iota\eta\gamma$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron$  'the mother ( $\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ ) of ( $\eta\text{-}$ ) the sailor ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\epsilon\epsilon\tau$ ) saw ( $\eta\alpha\gamma$ ) her son coming ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ ) from ( $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\text{-}$ ) the river bank ( $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\tau\omicron$ )' (Ac. A&P 194:4-7)
- (3)  $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \lambda\upsilon\epsilon\eta\ \ (\eta\text{-}\pi\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma/\pi\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma)\ \alpha\pi\alpha\ \eta\alpha\zeta\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\gamma$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\delta\tau\omicron\eta$  'then ( $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ) they brought ( $\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\eta$ ) the holy Ara Nahrow to the theatre ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\theta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\delta\tau\omicron\eta$ )' (KHML I 4:6-7)
- (4)  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\ \eta\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ (\kappa/\mu\mu\omicron\kappa)\ \mu\eta\ (\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta\eta\epsilon/\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta\eta\epsilon)$  'Jesus will ( $\eta\alpha$ ) heal ( $\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ) you and ( $\mu\eta$ ) your son' (Ac. A&P 196:29-30)
- (5)  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \varsigma\epsilon\psi\iota\eta\epsilon\ (\eta\sigma\alpha\ \zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon/\zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon)\ \eta\beta\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon$  'but ( $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ) they (the worldly philosophers) are looking ( $\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$ ) for new ( $\eta\text{-}\beta\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon$ ) words' (Hil. 1:18-19)
- (6)  $\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\upsilon\iota\tau\ (\text{for}\ \epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\tau\iota\tau)\ (\text{-}\kappa/\mu\mu\omicron\kappa)\ \epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\tau$  'I will carry ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\upsilon\iota\tau$ ) you to jubilation ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) delight ( $\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\tau$ )' (Test. Is. 229:22-23)

C. Translate the following Coptic sentences, which have a passive meaning.

- (1)  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\zeta\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \zeta\omega\omega\tau\ \mu\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\alpha\ \mu\eta\eta\alpha\ [\epsilon]\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma[\omega\eta]$   $\eta\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau[\alpha\tau\gamma]\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\iota\tau\eta\ \tau\epsilon[\chi\alpha]\rho\iota\varsigma\ \eta\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$  (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:22-29)
- (2)  $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\ \gamma\alpha\tau\ \zeta\eta\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$  (Onnophr. 211:25)
- (3)  $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\upsilon\iota\ (\text{for}\ \epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\tau\iota)\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\theta\epsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha\ (\text{for}\ \eta\theta\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha)\ \zeta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\iota$   $\zeta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\pi\omega\lambda$  (Pach. 91:6-7) (N.B. the auxiliary verb  $\eta\alpha$  "GO" indicates future time reference)

- (4)  $\tau\eta\varsigma\beta\tau\omega\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omega\kappa\ \eta\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  (Eud. 62:1)
- (5)  $[\alpha\gamma]\kappa\omega\tau\ \epsilon\tau\omicron[\tau]\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\tau\upsilon\tau\iota\omicron\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\tau\alpha\eta\gamma$  (Mena, Martyrd. 10a:30-32)

6.5 Complex predicate formation

A. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a light verb or a noun incorporation construction:

- (1)  $\alpha\tau\tau\ \tau\eta\tau\ \alpha\tau\mu\omicron\gamma$  (Eud. 38:27-28)
- (2)  $\alpha\tau\tau\ \zeta[\alpha\lambda]\ [\eta]\mu\omicron\tau$  (Mena, Mir. 11a:14-15)
- (3)  $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\tau\chi\iota\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \eta\sigma\iota\ \pi\tau\alpha\eta\ \eta\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\ \pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\tau}$  (Eud. 40:27-28) (N.B. The focus marker  $\eta\sigma\iota$  marks a postverbal nominal subject in the inversion construction; it can best be left untranslated)

B. Consider the following two examples of analytical causative constructions. Determine which noun or pronoun represents the shared causee argument of the causative verb  $\tau\tau\epsilon$  and the embedded verb.

- (1)  $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \eta\zeta\omicron\epsilon\iota\mu\ \eta\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\ \alpha\tau\tau\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\omega\tau\ \epsilon\zeta\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\chi\eta\ \pi\chi\omicron\iota$  'and ( $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ) he (the devil) let the waves ( $\eta\text{-}\zeta\omicron\epsilon\iota\mu$ ) of the sea ( $\eta\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ ) become heavy ( $\alpha\text{-}\tau\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\eta\eta\omega\tau$ ) against ( $\epsilon\zeta\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\chi\eta$ ) the ship ( $\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\iota$ )' (BMisc. 160:18-19)
- (2)  $\alpha\tau\tau\tau\epsilon\ \varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \eta\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\eta\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\omega\kappa\epsilon\ \eta\mu\omicron\tau$  'he (the pagan king) let ( $\alpha\text{-}\tau\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon$ ) six ( $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) torturers ( $\eta\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\eta\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) whip ( $\zeta\omega\omega\kappa\epsilon$ ) him (Ara Nahrow) ( $\eta\mu\omicron\text{-}\tau$ )' (KHML I 5:25-26)

## Absolute tenses

The previous unit was largely concerned with the aspectual underpinning of Coptic verb derivation. The various formal classes of verbs or stem patterns were shown to express basic aspectual oppositions, such as the contrast between events and states. We now turn to the grammatical expression of another basic category of verbal semantics, which is tense. Tense is a deictic category, which grammaticalises the location of a situation on the time axis. The concern here is with absolute tenses, which are tense categories that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. The linear ordering of events with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses, the present, the past and the future, which locate the time of the event at, prior to or after this temporal reference point.

In Coptic, present, past and future time reference is accomplished via morphemes in the inflectional system. Such time-indicating morphemes often come in pairs, whose members share the same temporal value, but differ from one another with respect to other categories of verbal meaning, such as aspect and mood. Thus, both the Perfect marker  $\lambda$  and the Preterit auxiliary  $\text{NE}$  refer to past events. But while the Perfect indicates the past location of accomplished events, the temporal auxiliary  $\text{NE}$  is specifically used to describe past states. Compare:  $\lambda$   $\text{NEPOMÉ DE MPMA ETIMAY AYOYÉZ PÇOMA MPMAKAPIOC APA MHNA [EPESHT] ZM PÇAMOYL}$  'the people ( $\text{NE-POMÉ}$ ) of that ( $\text{ETIMAY}$ ) place ( $\text{M-PI-MA}$ ) let ( $\lambda$ -Y-OYÉZ) the body ( $\text{PI-COMA}$ ) of the blessed ( $\text{M-PI-MAKAPIOC}$ ) Ara Mena down ( $\text{EPESHT}$ ) from ( $\text{ZM}$ ) the camel ( $\text{PI-ÇAMOYL}$ )' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20) vs.  $\text{NEQNHX PE ZIXH PKAZ EQMHN EBOL}$  'he (Pachôm)

continued (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to lie down (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲏⲗ) on (ⲓⲗⲏⲛ) the ground (ⲡⲓ-ⲕⲁⲓ) (V. Pach. 87:25). The following description of Coptic absolute tenses addresses questions concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of various tense inflections as well as their semantic contribution to the clause in which they occur. It consists of three parts. Section 7.1 starts out with a general introduction to the syntax of tense-aspect-mood markers. The focus of section 7.2 is on the paradigmatic split of the absolute tense system in two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. Section 7.3 reviews the temporal, aspectual and modal meaning components of present, past and future tenses.

## 7.1 The morpho-syntax of <sup>TAM</sup>tense-aspect-mood marking

Coptic has a large variety of conjugation patterns (i.e. patterns in which verbal stems can appear) for the grammatical expression of tense (i.e. the location of events in time), aspect (i.e. the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (i.e. the commitment of the speaker towards the truth of the reported events). Each conjugation pattern is characterised by a distinctive tense, aspect or mood marker (from now on TAM marker). This section outlines the main syntactic characteristics of the Coptic conjugation system. Section 7.1.1 deals with the proclitic behaviour of Coptic TAM markers, which form a prosodic unit with the following sentence constituent (the subject or the verbal predicate). Section 7.1.2 reviews the internal composition of various conjugation patterns, with particular attention for the relative order of the TAM marker with respect to the subject and the main verb.

### 7.1.1 The proclitic behaviour of TAM markers

Coptic TAM markers are inflection words, which are morphologically independent of the verb. They appear in two syntactic positions, one preceding the subject and another following the subject and preceding the main verb. Both groups differ morphologically from one another in that preverbal TAM markers have invariant forms, while pre-subject TAM markers may have different forms or allomorphs, depending on whether a nominal or pronominal subject follows. The Habitual Present, for instance, has a long form ⲱⲗⲉ and a short form ⲱⲗ, which are selected

in the context of nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. ⲱⲗⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲏⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲃⲏⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲓⲧⲉ 'this date-palm (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲏⲛⲉ) yields (ⲱⲗⲉ ... ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲏⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲁⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲏⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲓⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13) vs. ⲁⲓⲱ ⲱⲗⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲗⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲓⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'and (ⲁⲓⲱ) he (Ara Pambô) would go (ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to her (Hilaria) (ⲱⲗⲣⲟ-ⲥ) twice (ⲛ-ⲥⲉⲓⲧ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) a day (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲉ)' (Hil. 6:16).

Even TAM markers that lack the allomorphic opposition between long and short forms show a consistent syntactic behaviour in that they do not allow prosodically weak function words to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the clause-initial TAM marker and the adjacent subject. For this reason, enclitic particles and function words like ⲁⲉ and ⲟⲛ 'also, too' appear in clause-third position, following both the TAM expression and the subject nominal, e.g. ⲁ ⲧⲉⲓⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲱⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲕⲣⲉⲥ 'his sister (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) gathered (ⲁ ... ⲱⲗ) his bones (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲕⲣⲉⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd., 4a:1-2), ⲁ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲱⲗⲣⲟⲓ 'somebody else (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) brought (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) his son (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲱⲛⲣⲉ) to him (Pachôm) (ⲱⲗⲣⲟ-ⲓ)' (V. Pach. 141:21). A somewhat different situation obtains with pronominal subjects, which form a prosodic unit with the verbal stem. Enclitic function words are therefore placed in postverbal position, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧ 'they made (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) a silver (ⲛ-ⲓⲁⲧ) coffin (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:27-28).

### 7.1.2 Templates for TAM markers

TAM formatives are subject to strict word order rules that align them to a particular syntactic position. The fixed linear order of certain positional classes of TAM markers gives rise to three basic word order patterns or templates that may be expanded to the left to derive compound tense forms.

#### 7.1.2.1 Head-initial order (the so-called prefix conjugation)

The dominant word order is head-initial, meaning that the TAM marker is placed in front of the subject and the verbal predicate. Typical exemplars of the head-initial pattern are the Perfect ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard' and the Jussive conjugation ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'may he hear'. The head-initial template in figure 7.1 below is referred to as the prefix conjugation in

Coptic grammars, because of the proclitic behaviour of the pre-subject TAM formative.

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
Α PERFECT	Π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	The man heard
	-Ϛ- he		He heard
ΜΑΡΕ JUSSIVE	Π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	May the man hear
	-Ϛ- he		May he hear

FIGURE 7.1 The head-initial template (the so-called prefix conjugation)

### 7.1.2.2 The null morpheme of the present tense

In Coptic, as in many other languages, present tense reference has no morphological correlate. Yet, despite the absence of overt tense marking, present tense sentences are associated with a specific time value and indicate the coincidence of the time of some event or state with the present moment, that is, the time at which the sentence is uttered. This means that present tense reference is grammaticalised as a null morpheme, i.e. a tense marker that lacks phonetic content (indicated by ∅). In a sense, then, the First Present Ϛ-CΩΤΗ 'he hears, he is hearing' instantiates a "hidden" head-initial pattern, as shown in figure 7.2.

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
∅ PRESENT TENSE	Π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	The man is hearing
	Ϛ- he		He is hearing

FIGURE 7.2 The null morpheme of the First Present

### 7.1.2.3 The clause-internal placement of the motional auxiliary ΝΑ

The First Future Ϛ-ΝΑ-CΩΤΗ 'he is going to hear' is characterized by a fully grammaticalised form of the motional auxiliary (AUX) verb ΝΑ 'to go'. As shown in figure 7.3 below, the TAM marker ΝΑ is sandwiched between the nominal or pronominal subject and the main verb:

SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
Π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	ΝΑ "GO" AUX	CΩΤΗ hear	The man is going to hear
Ϛ- he			He is going to hear

FIGURE 7.3 The clause-internal template of the First Future

The auxiliary verb ΝΑ and the lexical verb form a verbal complex that cannot be broken up by an enclitic particle, e.g. ΤΕΝΑΖΕ Γ. Ε<Υ>ΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΑΦΥΛΗ 'you will find (ΤΕ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) someone (Ε-Υ-ΡΩΜΕ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) my clan (ΤΑ-ΦΥΛΗ)' (Eud. 54:7), but may be expanded by another auxiliary verb, for instance, the modal auxiliary (Ε)Ψ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. ΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΝΖΕ ΡΩ ΕΦΝΑΨΝΟΥΖΗ ΝΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΑΟΙΧ 'in what (Ν-ΑΨ) manner (Ν-ΗΕ), then (ΡΩ), will he be able to save (Ε-Ϛ-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΝΟΥΖΗ) them (the Christians) (Ν-ΝΑΙ) : (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) my hands (ΝΑ-ΟΙΧ)?' (Eud. 36:16).

### 7.1.2.4 Compound tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are morphologically marked by single TAM expression, which appears either in front of the subject or front of the main verb. Both the preverbal as well as the pre-subject position are filled with grammatical formatives in so-called compound tenses, such as the Conditional conjugation Ε-Ϛ-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ 'if he hears and the Third Future Ε-Ϛ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he shall hear'. The Ε- prefix actually a relativising morpheme, which recurs in certain Second Tenses (see below, section 7.2). The base morpheme of the Conditional is the modal auxiliary ΨΑΝ, whose meaning is difficult to render into English. The Third Future is a locative construction built around the directional preposition Ε- 'to, towards': Ε-Ϛ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he (is) towards hearing'. The templates for the Conditional and the Third Future with pronominal subjects are presented in figure 7.4 below. (REL stands for 'relativising marker' and PREP for 'preposition').

	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	ϵ-	-q- he	-ϣAN- MODAL AUX	CΩTH hear	If/when he hears
	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREP	VERB	GLOSS
THIRD FUTURE	ϵ-	-q- he	-ϵ- TO	CΩTH hear	He shall hear

FIGURE 7.4 The Conditional and the Third Future with subject pronouns

In the context of nominal subjects, both conjugation patterns have a different word order pattern. In the Conditional, the modal auxiliary ϣAN is incorporated into the long form ϵPE of the initial relative marker: ϵPE NP<sub>subject</sub> ϣAN VERB → ϵP-ϣAN NP<sub>subject</sub> VERB. No such incorporational process takes place in the Third Future, where the directional preposition ϵ- 'to' disappears entirely from the surface structure of the clause: ϵ- → ∅ / \_\_\_\_ NP<sub>subject</sub>. See figure 7.5 for further illustration.

	REL + TAM	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	ϵP-ϣAN	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH hear	If the man hears
	REL	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	GLOSS
THIRD FUTURE	ϵPE	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH hear	The man shall hear

FIGURE 7.5 The Conditional and Third Future with nominal subjects

The three absolute tenses (i.e. the First Present, the First Perfect and the First Future) share the ability of being used as embedded forms under the Preterit auxiliary NE. The internal structure of the resulting Preterit Present NE-q-CΩTH 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past (Pluperfect) NE-λ-q-CΩTH 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future NE-q-NA-CΩTH 'he was going to hear' is shown in figure 7.6 below (PRET AUX stands for 'Preterit auxiliary verb').

	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PRESENT	NEP ϵ	∅ PRESENT	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH	The man heard
	NE-		-q- he		He heard
	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PAST (PLUPERFECT)	NE-	λ PERFECT	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH	The man had heard
			-q- he		He had heard
	PRET AUX	SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT FUTURE	NEP ϵ	π-PΩME the man	NA "GO" AUX	CΩTH	The man was, going to hear
	NE-				-q- he

FIGURE 7.6 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary NE is to establish a new temporal reference point besides the present moment, from which temporal interpretations can be made. A more detailed analysis of Preterit tenses will be offered in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.4.

### 7.1.3 TAM-markers as auxiliary verbs

A question remains with respect to the categorial status of Coptic tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers: are they free functional morphemes or rather auxiliary verbs? The clause-initial or medial position of TAM markers, their morphological independence from the verb, as well as their agreement behaviour (variant forms for nominal and pronominal subjects, for instance, ϣAPE and ϣA- in the Habitual Present) provide prima facie evidence for their syntactic status as auxiliary verbs.

Additional support for an auxiliary verb analysis of Coptic TAM expressions comes from their compatibility with more than one syntactic position. In the following example, there are two instances of the Habitual Present, one in front of the left-dislocated topic constituent and the other in front of the resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. λγΩ ϣAPE ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΗΟΟΥ ϣΑϞΑΙϞΩΑΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕϞΦΥϞΙϞ 'and (λγΩ) each one (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) of them (ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ) perceives (ϣAPE ... ϣA-q-ΑΙϞΩΑΝΕ)

according to (κατα) his nature (τεσ-φγσις)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17). It generally appears, then, that Coptic TAM markers behave syntactically like auxiliary verbs. Yet, due to their semantic erosion, these markers have a fully grammaticalised meaning and function and are used to indicate various aspectual, temporal and modal categories. In this respect, they behave like inflectional elements distinct from the lexical category "verb".

## 7.2 First and Second Tenses

With more than twenty different verb conjugations, the tense-aspect-mood system constitutes one of the most complex areas of Coptic grammar. At the foundation of this richness of morpho-semantic distinctions is a subdivision of the absolute tenses into two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. The morphological derivation of Second Tenses will be dealt with in section 7.2.1. Section 7.2.2 surveys the main sentence constructions in which Second Tenses are grammatically allowed or required.

### 7.2.1 A paradigmatic split in the absolute tense system

Coptic has four absolute tenses that describe present, past and future situations: the Present, the Habitual, Perfect, and the Future. These absolute tenses come in pairs of so-called First and Second Tenses.

	FIRST TENSES	SECOND TENSES	GLOSS
PRESENT	q-cwTM	ε-q-cwTM	He hears, he is hearing
FUTURE	q-na-cwTM	ε-q-na-cwTM	He is going to hear
PERFECT	λ-q-cwTM	NT-λ-q-cwTM	He heard, has heard
HABITUAL	ψλ-q-cwTM	ε-ψλ-q-cwTM	He usually hears

TABLE 7.1 First and Second Tenses in Sahidic Coptic

There is a clear morphological relationship between the two sets of tenses in table 7.1: Second Tenses are derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding a relative marker in front of the verbal cluster. This system of concatenative operations is organized around a marked value, represented

by the Second Perfect marker NT-, and a default value, instantiated by the relative marker ε-, which is spelled out in all other contexts.

### 7.2.2 Syntactic distribution

First and Second Tenses have exactly the same temporal interpretation, but differ systematically from each other with respect to their syntactic distribution. Second Tenses replace pragmatically unmarked First Tenses in a range of interrogative and declarative focus sentences.

#### a) Yes/no questions

Coptic yes/no questions come in two varieties, viz. with or without a dedicated question particle (see above, section 4.2.2 of Unit 4). In the latter group, Second Tense morphology provides a cue for the interrogative interpretation of the clause within its scope, e.g. εΤΕΤΝΗΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ 'do you think (ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΗΕΕΥΕ) that (ΧΕ) he (ΠΕ) (is) stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΡΕ) than us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΓΚΑΛΤ ΖΝ ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΣΙC 'will you go (ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and leave me (Ν-Γ-ΚΑΛ-Τ) in (ΖΝ) these punishments (ΝΕΙ-ΚΟΛΑΣΙC)?' (Ac. A&P 202:118). Second Tenses can, however, not be analyzed as lexicalised question cues for two reasons. Firstly, Second Tenses appear in clause types other than interrogative sentences, for instance, in relative clauses and declarative focus constructions. Secondly, it is possible to have Second Tenses and dedicated question particles like ΜΗ within the same interrogative sentence, e.g. ΜΗ ΕΙΤΑΙΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'am I more (εΖΟΥ(ε)) honourable (ε-Ι-ΤΑΙΗΥ) than (ε-) my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), ΜΗ ΕΚΝΑΚΑΛΤ ΝCΩΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΜΗΑΤΕ 'will you abandon (ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΚΑΛ-Τ) me (ΝCΩ-Κ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) one thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) only (ΜΗΑΤΕ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

#### b) Wh-in-situ questions

Coptic has several interrogative patterns for constituent or *wh*-questions. In so-called *wh*-in-situ questions, the questioned constituent is placed in exactly the same syntactic position as in its declarative counterpart. As we can see from the following set of data, Coptic *wh*-in-situ questions demonstrate a straightforward correlation between the clause-internal position of the question word and the presence of this special kind of

inflectional morphology. In other words, *wh*-in-situ does not come for free, but requires the presence of Second Tense marking to be grammatical. Furthermore, there are no asymmetries between questioned arguments and adjuncts in *wh*-in-situ questions.

Examples: (*wh*-in-situ subject questions) ΝΤΑ ΝΙΜ ΧΠΟ ΝΑϚ ΝΤΕΙΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ (...) 'who (ΝΙΜ) *has achieved* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΠΟ) for himself (ΝΑ-Ϛ) such endurance (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ) (...)?' (Hil. 12:29), ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΡΡΟ 'what (ΟΥ) *has happened* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to you (ΜΜΟ-Κ), our lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) (and) king (Π-ΡΡΟ)?' (Eud. 36:24), (*wh*-in-situ object questions) ΕΙΝΑΡ ΟΥ ΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ Χ̄C 'what (ΟΥ) *shall I* therefore (ΘΕ) *do* (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-Ρ) for the goodness (Ν-Τ-ΜΙΝΤ-ΑΓΑΘΟΣ) of my Lord (Μ-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄C)' (Eud. 64:12), ΕΙΝΑΧΕ ΟΥ ΝΑΚ 'what (ΟΥ) *shall I* say (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΧΕ) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25), ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΙΜ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), with (ΜΝ) whom (ΝΙΜ) *are you talking* (Ε-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ)?' (Test. Is. 230:19), (*wh*-in-situ adverb questions) ΕΝΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΘΕΙΩ 'through (ΖΝ) what (ΟΥ) *shall we be saved* (Ε-Ν-ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) in this time (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 271, 83:21), Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΕΨΑΚΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΤΩΝ ΜΠC̄ΔΒΒΑΤ.Ν ΜΝ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 'oh (Ω) my holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), where (ΤΩΝ) *do you usually celebrate* (the Eucharist) (Ε-ΨΑ-Κ-ΣΥΝΑΓΕ) on Saturday (Μ-Π-C̄ΔΒΒΑΤ.Ν) and (ΜΝ) Sunday (Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ)?' (Onnophr. 214:19-20), ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ 'how (lit. in which (Ν-ΑΨ) manner (Ν-ΖΕ)) *did you come* (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (Onnophr. 206:29), (embedded *wh*-in-situ questions) ΑΥΩ ΝΤ̄C̄ΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟC 'and (ΑΥΩ) I do not know (Ν-Τ̄-C̄ΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ) [what (ΟΥ) *has happened* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to her (ΜΜΟ-C)]?' (Hil. 7:30-31), ΜΠΕϚΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΝΤΑϚΚΑΑϚ ΤΩΝ 'he (the deceased) did not say (ΜΠΕ-Ϛ-ΧΟΟ-C) [where (ΤΩΝ) *he had put it* (the deposit) (ΝΤ-Α-Ϛ-ΚΑΑ-Ϛ)]?' (AP Chaîne no.235, 65:18).

That the in-situ-ness of the question word is, indeed, the relevant factor motivating Second Tense selection is evident from the diametrically opposite interrogative pattern of *wh*-fronting, in which the question word is moved to the left periphery of the clause. In such *wh*-fronting structures, the tense marker appears in its neutral form, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΑϚΕΝΤΚ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'who (ΝΙΜ) *has brought you* (Α-Ϛ-ΕΝΤ-Κ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (KHML I 3:7-8), ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'from whence (ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ) *did you come* (Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΕΙ) here (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

## c) Replacive focus

Second Tenses are not restricted to interrogative sentences, but may also appear in a range of declarative focus contexts. Question-answer pairs have been widely used as diagnostic tools for focushood: the focus identified with the sentence element that answers the question. The focus in the answer replaces, so to speak, the interrogative pronoun of the preceding question and is therefore called replacive focus. In Coptic replacive focus is manifested by the presence of Second Tenses in both the *wh*-in-situ question and the corresponding answer, e.g. ΕΚΨΩΝΕ ΕC (...) Π̄C̄ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ ΕΠΑΖΗΠΑΡ 'from what (Ε-ΟΥ) *do you suffer* (Ε-Κ-ΨΩΝΕ)? – Lord (Π-Χ̄C), *I am suffering* (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ) from my living (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΗΠΑΡ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30), ΕΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩΝ (.. ΕΝΧΙ ΜΜΟϚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ 'wheret (Ε-ΤΩΝ) *do you bring* (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΙ) this man (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)? – *We bring* (Ε-Ν-ΧΙ) him (ΜΜΟ-C) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6).

## d) Contrastive focus constructions

Contrastive focus represents a different semantic focus type, where the speaker rejects a previous utterance and offers an alternative option as its appropriate rectification. The "NOT X ΑΛΛΑ (but) Y construction provides the prototypical syntactic frame for contrastive focus in Coptic. Contrastive focus falls on the rectifying affirmative clause, as witnessed by the presence of Second Tenses, e.g. ΜΠΩΡ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΤΩΚ ΓΑΙ ΕΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑ Π̄C̄ ΤΩΚ ΕΥCΟΛCΑ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΧΑΙΕ 'no (ΜΠΩΡ), my son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ)! For (ΓΑΡ) *you have not been destined* (lit. *they have not destined you* (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΤΩΚ) for this service (Ε-Τ̄-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) the Lord (Π-Χ̄C) *has appointed you* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΩΚ) as a comfort (Ε-Υ-CΟΛCΑ) for the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) who live (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΜ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

## e) Presentational focus

Second Tenses may also signal presentational (new information) focus, which corresponds to information that is not shared by the speaker and the addressee. Presentational focus introduces new referents into the discourse, e.g. ΟΥΖΑΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗC ΕϚCΟΡΗ ΖΝ ΤΕΡΗΜΟC ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑϚ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤϚ ΧΕ (...) 'a (certain) old (ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΛΟ) hermit



(*Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ*) got lost (*ε-φ-σορη*) in (*2N*) the desert (*τ-ερημος*) and (*αγω*) said (*πεχα-φ*) to himself (*2PAI Ν2HT-φ*) that (*χε*) (...)’ (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29). In quantificational statements, the Second Present is widely used to mark quantified noun phrases as presentational foci, e.g. *ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΕΡΕ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΕΠΕΚΤΟΠΟΣ [ω ΠΜ]ΗΝΑ [ΠΜΑΡ]ΤΥΡΟΣ 2N [ΟΥΜΕ] ΜΠΕΧ̄Σ* ‘truly (*αληθως*), all (*νιμ*) good (things) (*αγαθον*) happen (*ερε ... ψοοπ*) to those who will come (*ν-ν-ετ-να-ει*) to your shrine (*ε-πεκ-τοπος*), oh (*ω*) *Μενα*, the true (*2N ουμε*) martyr (*π-μαρτυρος*) of Christ (*π-πε-χ̄ς*)’ (Mena, Mir.16b:1219), *ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΦΤΩΒΣ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΜΕ ΜΜΟΦ 2M ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ* ‘the Lord (*π-χοεις*) also (*ον*) urges (*ε-φ-τωβς*) everybody (*ουον νιμ*) who loves (*ετ-με*) him (*μμο-φ*) through (*2M*) the Gospel (*π-εγαγγελιον*)’ (V. Pach. 3:6-7).

#### f) The narrative use of Second Tenses

Second Tenses are occasionally used out-of-the-blue, without any indication of replacive, contrastive or new information focus. On closer inspection, it appears, however, that such examples are associated with anticipatory focus, which signals a new development in the story line. The narrative use of Second Tenses is particularly common in portions of a text that introduce a *leitmotiv* for what is to be communicated next, e.g. (why do (woman) you weep all the time?) *ΝΤΑ ΠΑΖΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΛΦΧΙ ΝΟΥΒΟΙΛΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΦΧΟΟΣ ΕΦΝΑΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΚΑΛΦ ΤΩΝ* ‘my husband (*πα-2ai*) has passed away (*ντ-α ... μου*), having taken (*ε-α-φ-χι*) a deposit (*ν-ου-βοιλε*) from (*ντε*) someone (*ουα*) and (*αγω*) he did not say (*μπε-φ-χοο-ς*) when he was going to die (*ε-φ-να-μου*) where (*των*) he had placed it (*ντ-α-φ-καλ-φ*)’ (AP Chaîne no.235, 65:22-24). In the following example, the reason adverbial *ετβε νανοβε* ‘because of my sins’ designates the topic that is elaborated on in the subsequent narrative episode dealing with the amoral past of the first-person singular narrator: *ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ 2Ω ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΗΝΤΟΥ ΝΤΚ2Ε* (for *ντεκ2ε*) *ΕΙΨΟΟΠ 2M ΠΕΛΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ* ‘I (*ανοκ*) myself (*2ω*) (am) a hermit (*ου-ρην-τοου*) like you (*ν-τκ-2ε*). *I live* (*ε-ι-ψοοπ*) in (*2M*) this desert (*πει-χαιε*) because of (*ετβε*) my sins (*να-νοβε*)’ (Onnophr. 210:13-14).

### 7.3 Temporal, aspectual and modal uses of absolute tenses

As a technical term of grammar, “absolute tense” is used to refer to tenses that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. Present tense means that the time of the event coincides with the present moment, i.e. the time at which a sentence is being uttered. Past tense means that the time of the event occurs prior to the present moment and future tense means that the time of the event is located after the present moment. A blueprint of the absolute tense system is presented in section 7.3.1. Sections 7.3.2 to 7.3.6 explore the semantic and pragmatic distinctions between the individual present, past and future tenses. These verbal tenses will be shown to be portmanteau morphemes that convey various modal and aspectual meanings besides their basic temporal value.

#### 7.3.1 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Although the ternary distinction between present, past and future tense lies at the centre of the absolute tense system, it does not exhaust the entire repertoire of tense categories. Coptic makes more fine-grained semantic distinctions in the temporal domain than those captured by a simple tripartite system. With respect to future time reference, two future tenses are employed side by side. On the one hand, there are the First and Second Future *φ-να-σωτη* and *ε-φ-να-σωτη* ‘he is going to hear’, which indicate progression from the present to the future; on the other hand, there is the Third Future *ε-φ-ε-σωτη* ‘he shall hear’, with no such link with the present moment. Both future tense patterns differ from one another not only with respect to their temporal but also with respect to their modal features, assigning different degrees of likelihood, desirability or necessity to a forthcoming situation (see below, section 7.3.3).

Absolute time reference is not always determined with respect to the present moment, but may also be established with respect to another reference point, which provides a secondary deictic centre on which temporal interpretations can be based. In Coptic, this secondary deictic centre is located prior to the present moment and grammaticalised by means of the Preterit auxiliary *νε* (for its syntax, see above, section 7.1.2.5).

Figure 7.7 presents a blueprint of the Coptic absolute tense system. The dotted line indicates the shift of the deictic centre that is the result of the demarcation of a second temporal reference point. (TRP stands for 'temporal reference point').

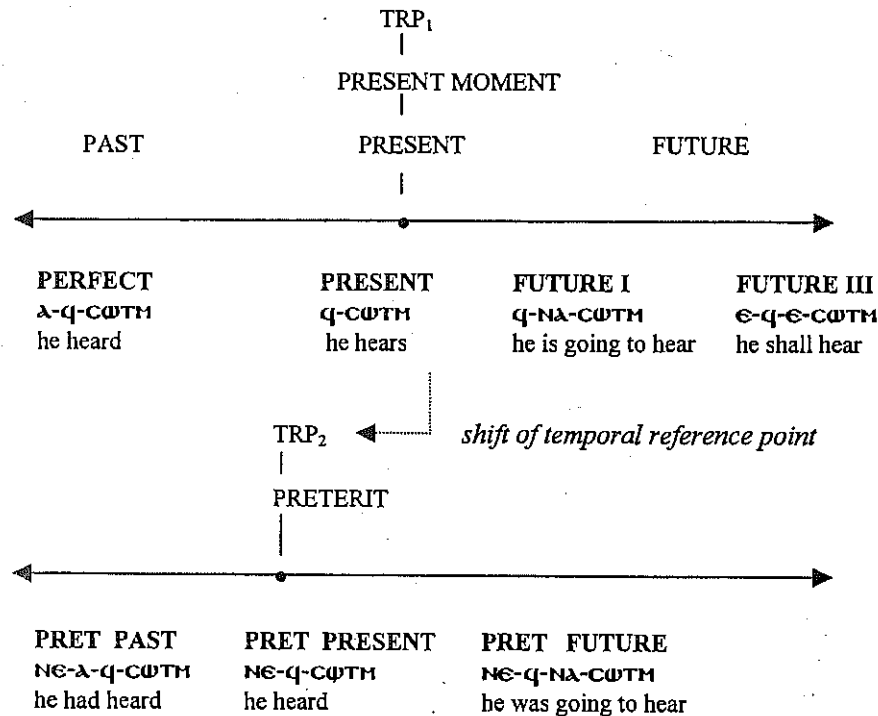


FIGURE 7.7 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Absolute tenses interact in complex ways with verbal aspect, which concerns the point of view or perspective from which a given situation is described: it may indicate the temporal boundaries of events or the frequency of their occurrence.

### 7.3.2 Present Tense

The present tense indicates the coincidence of the time of the event with the present moment, but at the same time the ongoing state of that event. In Coptic, present tense reference is accomplished via a null morpheme, cf. table 7.2. The prefix forms of bound pronouns are selected in the First

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Present, while the corresponding suffix pronouns appear in the Second Present, where the subject pronoun is attached to the relative marker

	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ⲧ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-ⲓ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲕ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-ⲕ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ(ⲡ)-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲓ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-ⲓ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	Ⲙ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-Ⲙ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ⲧⲛ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-ⲛ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	Ⲙⲉ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉ-ⲓ-Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ
Before noun	ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ Ⲙⲟⲩⲙ

TABLE 7.2 The First and Second Present

#### 7.3.2.1 Copula Support

Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences in context of indefinite subjects including "bare" nouns. This rule triggers the insertion of the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' in the affirmative ⲙⲛ '(there) is no' in the negative, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ '(there) is (ⲟⲩⲛⲉ) a nobleman (lit. a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲟⲩ) 1 (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲉ)) in (ⲓⲙ) the palace (ⲡⲓ-ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ) being sick (ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ)' (10:27-28), ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲙⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲁⲕ 'are (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) thoughts (ⲙⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ) troubling (ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲙⲉⲓ) you (ⲛⲙⲁ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne 181, 44:16-17), ⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲁⲗⲁⲓ Ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ (...) 'and (ⲁⲓⲟⲩ) (there) not (ⲙⲛ) anyone (ⲁⲗⲁⲓ) (who) knows (Ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲛ) the place (ⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ) (. (V. Pach. 96:5-6). Copula support does not apply to Second Tense constructions, e.g. ⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟ ⲓⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓ 'as if (ⲓⲟⲩⲉ) variegated tunic (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ) were placed (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲟ) on 1 (ⲓⲟⲩⲟⲩ-ⲓ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

#### 7.3.2.2 Semantic restrictions

Stative verb forms are restricted to present tense contexts. As argued in section 6.2.4 of the preceding unit, this temporal restriction has an aspectual source: the Stative is used specifically to describe states

conditions, which lack a clearly defined endpoint. The exclusion of an endpoint, however, is part of the grammatical meaning of present tenses, e.g.  $\varphi\omicron\eta\zeta \ \eta\delta\iota \ \pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\iota\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$  '(as) God ( $\pi\text{-}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) Almighty ( $\pi\text{-}\pi\iota\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ ) lives ( $\varphi\text{-}\omicron\eta\zeta$ )' (Onnophr. 215:27).

The Stern-Jernstedt Rule has an aspectual underpinning as well, given that the construct state instantiates an accusative case pattern, where accusative case is associated with a bound event reading. Bound events are, however, semantically incompatible with the temporal meaning of the present tense, which describes situations that have not yet reached their culmination point. The oblique case-marking pattern of the absolute state is available as an alternative, e.g.  $\dagger\chi\iota \ \eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\rho \ \eta\upsilon\gamma\kappa\eta$  (for  $\beta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ )  $\eta\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha$  'I receive ( $\dagger\text{-}\chi\iota$ ) many ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\rho$ ) payments ( $\eta\text{-}\beta\gamma\kappa\eta$ ) of grievance ( $\eta\text{-}\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ ) in return ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\mu\alpha$ )' (AP Chaine no. 210, 57:10-11),  $\dagger\rho\eta\eta\eta \ \mu\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \eta\tau\alpha\varrho\tau\lambda\alpha\varsigma \ \eta\lambda\iota \ \dagger\dagger \ \eta\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\eta\tau\eta$  'the peace ( $\dagger\rho\eta\eta\eta < \tau\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta$ ) of my Lord ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) that he has given ( $\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\varrho\text{-}\tau\lambda\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ ) to me ( $\eta\lambda\iota$ ) I give ( $\dagger\text{-}\dagger$ ) to you ( $\eta\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$ )' (Test. Is. 230:10-11).

### 7.3.2.3 Types of present tense sentences

The present tense has been defined as a tense category that locates a situation at the present moment, at which the sentence is being uttered. However, situations that coincide with the present time are relatively rare. As we will see next, there are two sentence types that fall under this rubric, which are perception sentences and performative sentences. A much more common use of present tense sentences is to describe situations that occupy a much longer period of time, but nonetheless include the present moment within them.

#### a) Perception sentences

When formulated in the present tense, sentences containing perception verbs, such as  $\eta\lambda\gamma$  'to see' and  $\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$  'to hear', describe instantaneous events without internal dynamism, e.g.  $\dagger[\eta\lambda\gamma] \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \pi\alpha[\chi\omicron] \ \epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \epsilon\upsilon[\eta\omicron\sigma]$   $\eta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma \ \eta\tau\epsilon \ \pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \zeta\eta \ \mu\epsilon\kappa\zeta\omicron$  'for ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) I see ( $\dagger\text{-}\eta\lambda\gamma$ ), my Lord ( $\mu\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) a great ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\omicron\sigma$ ) grace ( $\eta\text{-}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ ) of ( $\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) God ( $\pi\text{-}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) your face ( $\mu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\zeta\omicron$ )' (Mena, Mir. 15b:6-9),  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \zeta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon \ \lambda\omicron\eta\eta\eta \ \eta\epsilon\kappa\zeta\eta\mu\zeta\alpha\lambda \ \tau\eta\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$  'look ( $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \zeta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ ), we ( $\lambda\omicron\eta\eta\eta$ ), your servants ( $\eta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\zeta\eta\mu\zeta\alpha\lambda$ ), are listening ( $\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ )!' (Eud. 60:23). Reports on mental achievements are similar to perception events, e.g.  $\dagger\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \ \mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'I believe (it) ( $\dagger\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ), (oh) Lord ( $\mu\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ )' (Eud. 52:3-4).

#### b) Performative sentences

Performative sentences are used to express performative speech where the action described by a sentence is performed by its utterance. Performative speech-acts are situated in ritualistic contexts, e.g.  $\zeta\rho\alpha \ \zeta\eta \ \mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\eta \ \dagger\pi\omega\zeta\tau \ \eta\mu\epsilon[\iota] \ \lambda\iota\pi\omicron\tau \ \eta\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon \ \epsilon\tau\zeta\omicron\lambda\omicron \ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$  'in your name ( $\mu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta$ ) I (hereby) pour ( $\dagger\text{-}\pi\omega\zeta\tau$ ) this cup ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\alpha$ ) of sweet ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\zeta\omicron\lambda\omicron$ ) water ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ ) into the see ( $\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ )' (Ac. 198:55-56). Issuing commands and making confessions may qualify performative speech-acts as well, e.g.  $\dagger\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\zeta \ \varsigma\alpha\zeta\eta\eta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon\gamma \ \eta\mu\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \eta\tau\pi\epsilon \ \eta\eta \ \mu\epsilon\varphi\bar{\chi}\varsigma \ \eta\eta \ \mu\epsilon\pi\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\upsilon$  'I (hereby) (lit. place ( $\dagger\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\zeta$ ) an order ( $\varsigma\alpha\zeta\eta\eta\epsilon$ )) them to worship ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omega\mu$ ) the God ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\pi\text{-}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) of heaven ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\mu\epsilon$ ), together with ( $\eta\eta$ ) his C ( $\mu\epsilon\varphi\text{-}\bar{\chi}\varsigma$ ) and ( $\eta\eta$ ) the Holy ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ ) Spirit ( $\mu\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha$ )' (Eud. 40:  $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa \ \zeta\omega \ \mu\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \dagger\zeta\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota \ \eta\mu\pi\alpha\eta\upsilon\epsilon \ \eta\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron$  ( $\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ) 'I ( $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$ ) myself ( $\zeta\omega$ ) admit ( $\dagger\text{-}\zeta\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ) my sin ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\text{-}\eta$ ) in your presence ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ )' (Mena, Mir. 15b:9-13).

#### c) Epistemic sentences

Epistemic sentences ascribe to the subject referent certain beliefs, opinions, experiences, and expertise. Since epistemic sentences are semantically stative in describing psychological or mental states, they are always interpreted as holding for a longer time interval, including the present moment, e.g.  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon \ \omicron\upsilon\chi\omega\omega\rho\epsilon \ \mu\epsilon \ \mu\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\eta$  'you think ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) he ( $\mu\epsilon$ ) (is) stronger ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\chi\omega\omega$ ) than us ( $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\text{-}\eta$ )?' (Ac. A&P 202:110),  $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\rho \ \mu\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \ \rho\omega \ \chi\epsilon \ \kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \psi\omicron\omicron\tau\iota$  'they (the hermits) usually do not even ( $\rho\omega$ ) remember (lit. make ( $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\rho$ ) thought ( $\mu\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ )) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) a world ( $\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ) exists ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\eta \dots \psi\omicron\omicron\tau\iota$ )' (Onnophr. 215:3-4),  $\kappa\alpha\iota \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\varsigma\omicron \ \eta\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta \ \tau\eta\rho\varsigma$  'because ( $\kappa\alpha\iota \ \gamma\alpha\rho$ ) you know ( $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\eta$ ) entire ( $\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\varsigma$ ) mode of life ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\lambda\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$ )' (V. Pach. 88:25-26),  $\eta\eta \ \lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon \ \varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\eta \ \epsilon\pi\mu\alpha \ \epsilon\eta\kappa\eta\eta\zeta\eta\tau\iota\varphi$  (for  $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\kappa\eta\eta\zeta\eta\tau\iota\varphi$ )  $\psi\alpha \ \zeta\rho\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\pi\eta\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  'and ( $\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ ) (there) is not ( $\eta\eta$ ) anyone ( $\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ ) (who) know ( $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\eta$ ) the place ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha$ ) where he (Pachôm) was ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon$ )  $\varrho\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$  until ( $\psi\alpha \ \zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ ) the present ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\text{-}\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) day ( $\eta\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ )' (V. Pach. 96:5-7).

ΜΜΟQ ΠΕ 'he (Pachōm's brother) was not (ΑΝ) far away (ΝΕ-Q-ΟΥΗΥ) from him (Pachōn) (ΜΜΟ-Q)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

### 9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb ΑΝ

The negation adverb ΑΝ 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

#### a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb ΑΝ to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΤΝΑΨΕΠ ΖΙCΕ ΑΝ ΟΥΕΨ (read: ΝΟΥΕΨΝ) ΝΟΥCΘ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) can I not (ΑΝ) suffer (lit. receive (Τ-ΝΑ-ΨΕΠ) suffering (ΖΙCΕ)) without (ΟΥΕΨ) getting angry (ΝΟΥCΘ)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), ΝΤΝΝΑΚΑΛΚ ΑΝ ΕCΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΝΠΟΛΙC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΙC 'we will not (ΑΝ) allow you (Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΚΑΛ-Κ) to come (Ε-ΕΙ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) our city (Ε-ΤΕΝ-ΠΟΛΙC) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) this (disgraceful) name (ΠΕΙ-ΡΑΝ) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, ΑΝ occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ΝΤCΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC 'I do not (ΑΝ) know (Ν-Τ-CΟΥΝ) anybody (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΝ) this city (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (Hil. 4:23), ΝΤΕΨΙΝΕ ΑΝ ΝCΑ ΠΑΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ' (why) do you (woman) not (ΑΝ) look (Ν-ΤΕ-ΨΙΝΕ) for (ΝCΑ) my tomb (ΠΑ-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ)?' (Eud. 58:5).

#### b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb ΑΝ comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. ΝΤΝΑΤ ΖΩΒ ΕQΖΟCΕ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ 'I will not (ΑΝ) burden (lit. give (Ν-Τ-ΝΑ-Τ)) you (ΝΑ-Κ) (with) a difficult (Ε-Q-ΖΟCΕ) job (ΖΩΒ)' (KHML II 33:14-15), ΜΜΟΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC ΝΑΑΝΕΧΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΝ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΨΑΒΟΛ 'if not (ΜΜΟΝ), the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the Christians (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC) will not (ΑΝ) tolerate (ΝΑ-ΑΝΕΧΕ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ) in this manner (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) forever (ΨΑ-ΒΟΛ)' (Eud. 38:13-14), ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I could not (ΑΝ) see (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑΥ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), ΝΕQΝΑΤΝΝΑΥ (read ΝΕQΝΑΤΝΝΟΟΥ)

ΨΑΡΟΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'he (Apa Poimên) would not (ΑΝ) have sent (a message) (ΝΕ-Q-ΝΑ-ΤΝΝΑΥ) to me (ΨΑΡΟ-Ι)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

#### c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial ΑΝ is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. ΝΕQCΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ 'he did not (ΑΝ) know (ΝΕ-Q-CΟΥΝ) that (ΧΕ) she (ΤΕ) (was) a woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ΝΝΕΨΑΥΤΑΖΕ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΖΜ ΠΨΑΧΕ Η ΖΜ ΠΡΑΝ (...) 'since (ΓΑΡ) they did not (ΑΝ) reach (Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-ΤΑΖΕ) the heavenly (Ν-Μ-ΠΗΥΕ) kingdom (Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΕΡΟ) by virtue of (ΖΜ) talk (lit. the word (Π-ΨΑΧΕ)) or (Η) a (good) reputation (Π-ΡΑΝ)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

## 9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal *m-* or *n-*. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous *n- ... ΑΝ* pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb *tm* 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωtm he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωtm he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT α-q-cωtm he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT μηε-q-cωtm he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT ντ-α-q-cωtm he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ετε-μηε-q-cωtm he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωtm he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωtm he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE α-q-ογω ε-q-cωtm he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE μηατε-q-cωtm he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ε-q-ε-cωtm he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE νηε-q-cωtm he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE cωtm listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE μηπ-cωtm do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

### 9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultaneously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual με-q-cωtm 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ψα-q-cωtm 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ογρωμε νσοφος μεqνεx [ψαχε] νιμ εβολ ζιναι αλλα ψαqt ζτηq ε[νετcω]tm εροoy 'a wise (ν-σοφος) man (ογ-ρωμε) does not throw (με-q-νεx) away (εβολ) every (νιμ) word.

(ψαχε) like that (ζιναι) but (αλλα) focuses (ψα-q-†) his attention (ζτη-q) towards those who listen (ε-ν-ετ-cωtm) to them (ερο-oy)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

#### 9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional paradigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	με-ι-cωtm	ε-με-ι-cωtm	νε-με-ι-cωtm
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	με-κ-cωtm	ε-με-κ-cωtm	νε-με-κ-cωtm
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	μερε-cωtm	ε-μερε-cωtm	νε-μερε-cωtm
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	με-q-cωtm	ε-με-q-cωtm	νε-με-q-cωtm
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	με-ς-cωtm	ε-με-ς-cωtm	νε-με-ς-cωtm
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	με-ν-cωtm	ε-με-ν-cωtm	νε-με-ν-cωtm
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	με-τετν- cωtm	ε-με-τετν- cωtm	νε-με-τετν- cωtm
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	με-γ-cωtm	ε-με-γ-cωtm	νε-με-γ-cωtm
before noun	μερε πρωμε cωtm	ε-μερε πρωμε cωtm	νε-μερε πρωμε cωtm

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

#### 9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ερωαν ογα ναγ εροq μεqζναq επ ογω ογδε εχιτq εζοyn ετεqρι 'whenever someone (ογα) saw (ερωαν ... ναγ) him (the brother) (ερο-q) he did not want (με-q-ζνα-q) to reply (lit. to make (ε-π) reply (ογω)) and (ογδε) to take him (ε-χιτ-q) into (εζοyn) his cell (ε-τεq-ρι)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:21-22), ντοq δε ζωωq νεμεqτωωβε ναγ λαγ αλλα νεψαqζρωω νζητ εζραι εχωoy ζν

ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΗΝΤΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ 'he (Pachôm (ΝΤΟΦ), however (ΖΩΩ-Φ), *did not take revenge* (ΝΕ-ΜΕ-Φ-ΤΩΩΒΕ) against them (the brothers) (ΝΑ-Υ) in any way (ΛΑΛΥ), but (instead) he was patient (ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Φ-ΖΡΩΨ) with them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΣ) indulgence (Μ-ΜΗΤ-ΖΑΡΩ-ΖΗΤ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

#### a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ΕΣΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΙΨΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ †ΟΥΟΧ ΕΨΩΝΕ ΜΕΙΧΙΤΦ 'when (Ε-Σ-ΨΩΠΕ) I observe (Ε-Ι-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) I am cured (†-ΟΥΟΧ) from illness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ), *I will not accept it* (the donkey) (ΜΕ-Ι-ΧΙΤ-Φ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΛΟ ΕΦΘΟΡΘ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΑ ΠΕΦΖΛΕ ΝΝΙΦΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) *does not cease* (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΛΟ) waylaying (Ε-Φ-ΘΟΡΘ) man (Ε-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) until (ΨΑ) his last (ΠΕΦ-ΖΛΕ) breath (Ν-ΝΙΦΕ)' (KHML II 48:7-9), ΜΕΓΑΝΙΧΕ (for ΜΕΓΑΝΕΧΕ) ΡΨΑΧΕ (read ΕΨΑΧΕ) ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡΦ 'they (the monks) *usually do not bear* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΑΝΙΧΕ) to speak (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) with them (women) (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΦ)' (Hil. 10:18).

#### b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ΜΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΜ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤΣΒΩ ΜΕΦΖΑΡΖ ΕΥΨΑΧΕ Μ[ΜΥΣ]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the imprudent (Ν-ΑΤ-ΣΒΩ) person (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ): *he does not keep* (ΜΕ-Φ-ΖΑΡΕΖ) a secret (lit. a secret (Μ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) word (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΜΠΑΘΟΣ ΕΝΕΖ 'he (ΠΑΙ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ) *will not manage* to ever (ΕΝΕΖ) master (ΜΕΡΕ ... (ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙΣ) any (Ε-ΛΑΛΥ) passion (ΠΑΘΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9), ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥΠΕΖΤ ΣΟΒΝ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΣΑΠΕ ΕΣΖΜ ΠΕΣΝΟΦ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) *they do not pour* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΠΕΖΤ) ointment (ΣΟΒΝ) on (ΕΧΝ) her (the girl's) head (ΤΕΣ-ΑΠΕ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (Ε-Σ-ΖΗ) the blood (ΠΕ-ΣΝΟΦ))' (Sh. Zoega 589:20-21).

#### c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual Ε-ΜΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ΝΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ ΕΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΟΟΣ ΕΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) as one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) heart (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΜΗ) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) all (ΝΙΜ) things (ΝΚΑ) were (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΨΟΟΠ) in common (ΖΙ-ΟΥ-ΣΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) and *no one* (ΛΑΛΥ) *said* (Ε-ΜΕΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-Σ) about what belonged (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) »they (ΝΕ) (are) mine (ΝΟΥΙ)!«' (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ ΝΣΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΜΕΦΧΩΖ ΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑΦΡΩΚΖ ΝΝΡΕΦΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) an intelligent (Ν-ΣΑΒΕ) blaze (ΟΥ-ΚΩΖΤ) (is) that one (Π-ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. the burning river) *in not touching* (Ε-ΜΕ-Φ-ΧΩΖ) the righteous ones (Ε-Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) burning (ΨΑ-Φ-ΡΩΚΖ) the sinners (Ν-Ν-ΡΕΦ-ΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

#### 9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect Α-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he heard', e.g. ΑΦΑΛΝ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΧΝ ΣΟΜ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛΦ 'he (Christ) made us (Α-Φ-ΑΛ-Ν) masters (Ν-ΧΟΕΙΣ) over (ΕΧΝ) all (ΝΙΜ) powers (ΣΟΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) (yet) *no one* (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) *has dared* (ΜΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have done (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΛ-Φ)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

##### 9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect Ε-ΜΠ(Ε)-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to

the reduction of the relative marker  $\epsilon$ -, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as  $\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$ , which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	$\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	$\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	$\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	$\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	$\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	$\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	$\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	$\text{ἤπι}\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$
Before noun	$\text{ἤπι}\epsilon\text{ }\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\text{ }\sigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤπι}(\epsilon)\text{ }\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\text{ }\sigma\omega\tau\eta$

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

#### 9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g.  $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{ }\omicron\upsilon\text{ }\delta\epsilon\text{ }\tau\epsilon\text{ν}\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\text{ }\epsilon\chi\eta\text{ }\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\text{ }\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\text{ }\nu\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon\text{ }\zeta\iota\text{ }\zeta\alpha\tau\text{ }(\dots)\text{ }\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\psi\iota\eta\epsilon\text{ }\nu\varsigma\alpha\text{ }\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\text{ }\nu\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\text{ν}\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$  'why ( $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{ }\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ ) do you (woman) sleep ( $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ) on ( $\epsilon\chi\eta$ ) a couch (lit. a sleeping ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ) place ( $\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha$ )) of gold ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon$ ) and ( $\zeta\iota$ ) silver ( $\zeta\alpha\tau$ ) and *did not look* ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$ ) for ( $\nu\varsigma\alpha$ ) the place ( $\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ) of my resurrection ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\alpha\text{ν}\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ )?' (Eud. 50:23-25).

##### a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterexpectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g.  $\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\omega\zeta\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\eta\text{ }\epsilon\chi\eta\text{ }\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\text{ }\nu\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{ }\tau\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{ }\nu\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\text{ν}\tau\iota\text{ν}\omicron\varsigma\text{ }\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron$  'they (the Persians) *did not again* (lit. they did not place ( $\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\zeta$ ) their hands ( $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ )) raise up ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\eta$ ) against ( $\epsilon\chi\eta$ ) the country ( $\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$ ) in all ( $\tau\eta\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) the days ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) of King ( $\pi\text{-}\pi\tau\omicron$ ) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19),  $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\text{ }\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon\text{ }\nu\chi\tau\omicron\pi\text{ }\nu\eta\tau\eta\text{ }\epsilon\zeta\tau\alpha\iota\text{ }\mu\pi\iota\mu\tau\omicron\text{ }\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\text{ }\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\text{ }\mu\eta\text{ }\nu\tau\omega\mu\epsilon$  'I *did not place* ( $\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ ) any ( $\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ ) obstacle ( $\nu\text{-}\chi\tau\omicron\pi$ ) for you ( $\nu\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$ ) in front ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\tau\omicron\text{ }\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ) of God ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) nor ( $\mu\eta$ ) mankind ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\omega\mu\epsilon$ )' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).

##### b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$  'but', e.g.  $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\mu\alpha\text{ }\nu\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha$  (for  $\nu\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha$ )  $\nu\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta\text{ }\epsilon\text{ν}\epsilon\zeta$  (...)  $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\text{ }\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\text{ }\pi\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\text{ }\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\phi\upsilon\chi\eta$  'I never ( $\epsilon\text{ν}\epsilon\zeta$ ) *reprimanded* ( $\mu\pi\text{-}\epsilon\iota\text{-}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\mu\alpha$ ) anyone ( $\nu\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha$ ) of you ( $\nu\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$ ) (...) except ( $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau$ ) for ( $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ ) the salvation ( $\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ ) of his soul ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\phi\text{-}\upsilon\chi\eta$ )' (V. Pach. 89:17-19),  $\mu\pi\omega\tau\text{ }\pi\alpha\psi\eta\tau\epsilon\text{ }\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\psi\kappa\text{ }\gamma\alpha\tau\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\text{ν}\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\text{ }\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\text{ }\nu\tau\alpha\text{ }\pi\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}\text{ }\tau\omicron\psi\kappa\text{ }\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha\text{ }\nu\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\upsilon\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\upsilon\text{ }\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\text{ }\zeta\mu\text{ }\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$  'No ( $\mu\pi\omega\tau$ ), my son ( $\pi\alpha\text{-}\psi\eta\tau\epsilon$ )! For ( $\gamma\alpha\tau$ ) you *have not been destined* (lit. they have not destined you ( $\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\tau\omicron\psi\text{-}\kappa$ ) for this career ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\text{ν}\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$ ), but ( $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ) the Lord ( $\pi\text{-}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$ ) has appointed you ( $\nu\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{ } \dots\text{ }\tau\omicron\psi\text{-}\kappa$ ) as a comfort ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha$ ) for the holy ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ ) brothers ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\upsilon$ ) who live ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ ) in ( $\zeta\mu$ ) the desert ( $\pi\text{-}\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ )' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

##### a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g.  $\text{ναψ ηζε λογουοτεν εβολ νοι πχοεις μητηρϑ εηπνειμε}$  'how (N-αψ η-ζε) did the Lord (π-χοεις) of the universe (η-π-τηρ-ϑ) pass by us (α-ϑ-ογοτεν-η) without us noticing (ε-μη-η-ειμε)?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6),  $\text{αηκοτκ αψωνε νουζοου μηεφοωη ουδε μηεϑω}$  'one day (η-ου-ζοου) he (the sick child) lay down (α-ϑ-ηκοτκ) sick (α-ϑ-ψωνε) (and) did not eat (μηε-ϑ-οωη) nor drink (μηε-ϑ-ω)' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

#### 9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a)  $\text{ετ(ε)-μη(ε)-ϑ-ωτη}$  'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The  $\text{ετ(ε)-μη(ε)-ϑ-ωτη}$  pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g.  $\text{ταναϑ χε ετηπεϑει επεσητ ετβηητκ εωωπε ημον ειε ετβηητ}$  'and I see (τα-ναϑ) whether (χε) he (the eagle) did not come (ετ-μηε-ϑ-ει) down (επεσητ) because of you (ετβηητ-κ), if (εωωπε) not (ημον), then (ειε) because of me (ετβηητ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1),  $\text{ουκοϑη ετηπεϑει επεσητ ετβηητκ ετβε χε πσον ψοσμ εροκ}$  'thus (ουκοϑη), he (the eagle) did not come (ετ-μηε-ϑ-ει) down (επεσητ) because of you (ετβηητ-κ), because (ετβε χε) the brother (π-σον) is angry (ψοσμ) with you (ερο-κ)' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6),  $\text{ετεηπεχωζη ζη αψ ημα}$  'in (ζη) what (αψ) place (η-μα) have you (woman) not been defiled (ετε-μηε-χωζη)?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b)  $\text{ητ-α-ϑ-ωτη αν}$  'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The  $\text{ητ-α-ϑ-ωτη αν}$  pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g.  $\text{ητα παι ψωπε αν ετβηητ ανοκ γαρ ανη ουλααϑ αλλα ετβε τεχηρα ηη ηειορφανος α ηνουτε ειρε ηπειρω}$  'this (παι) did not (αν) happen (ητ-α ... ψωπε) for my sake (ετβηητ), since (γαρ) (as for) me (ανοκ), I (ανη) (am) a nobody (ου-λααϑ), but (αλλα) for the sake of (ετβε) the widow (τε-χηρα) and (ηη) these orphans (ηειορφανος) had God

(η-νουτε) done (α ... ειρε) this thing (η-πει-ρω)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33),  $\text{ηταιητϑ ηακ αν ετβε ουλααϑ αλλα ετβε παοϑαι}$  'I have not (αν) brought it (the wheat) (ητ-α-η-ητ-ϑ) because of (ετβε) anything (ου-λααϑ) but (αλλα) my salvation (πα-οϑαι)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

#### 9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect  $\text{ηπατ(ε)-ϑ-ωτη}$  'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g.  $\text{ηπατεκρ αξιος ηψαχε ημμαϑ}$  'you have not yet become (ηπατε-κ-ρ) worthy (αξιος) to talk (η-ψαχε) to him (Jesus Christ) (ημμα-ϑ)' (KHML II 30:21-22).

##### 9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the  $\text{ηπατ(ε)-ϑ-ωτη}$  'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ηπατ-ωτη	ε-ηπατ-ωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ηπατ(ε)-κ-ωτη	ε-ηπατ(ε)-κ-ωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ηπατε-ωτη	ε-ηπατε-ωτη
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ηπατ(ε)-ϑ-ωτη	ε-ηπατ(ε)-ϑ-ωτη
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ηπατ(ε)-ς-ωτη	ε-ηπατ(ε)-ς-ωτη
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ηπατ(ε)-η-ωτη	ε-ηπατ(ε)-η-ωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ηπατ(ε)-τη-ωτη	ε-ηπατ(ε)-τη-ωτη
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ηπατ-οϑ-ωτη	ε-ηπατ-οϑ-ωτη
Before noun	ηπατε πρωμε ωτη	ε-ηπατε πρωμε ωτη

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective



### 9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. *ΜΠΑΪΨΩ ΕΝΕΨΙ ΝΤΕΙΒΟΤ ΕΤΡΑΧΙ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ* 'I have not yet reached (*ΜΠΑΪΨΩ*) such (*Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΒΟΤ*) heights (*Ε-ΝΕΙ-ΨΙ*) to take (*Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΧΙ*) a woman (*ΣΖΙΜΕ*) into (*ΕΖΟΥΝ*) my residence (*Ε-ΠΑ-ΜΑ-Ν-ΨΩΠΕ*)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

#### a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. *ΑΨΩ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΝΤΕ ΜΠΑΪΟΥΩΝ ΜΜΟΣ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ* 'and (*ΑΨΩ*) look (*ΕΙΣ ΖΗΝΤΕ*), I have not yet opened (*ΜΠΑΪΟΥΩΝ*) it (the sack with gold), my lord (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ*)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), *ΕΝΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΨΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΖΗ ΚΗΜΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΩΨ* 'since (*ΓΑΡ*) (there) were not yet (*Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΨΩΠΕ*) many (*ΕΤ-ΩΨ*) monasteries (*Μ-ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ*) in (*ΖΗ*) Egypt (*ΚΗΜΕ*)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *ΝΤΟΨ ΔΕ ΠΡΟ ΝΕΜΠΑΤΨΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ* 'but he (*ΝΤΟΨ*), the king (*Π-ΡΡΟ*), had not yet received (*ΝΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-Ψ-ΧΙ*) baptism (*ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ*)' (Eud. 42:1), *ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΕΨΩΡΖ ΜΠΗΤΟΝ ΕΤΝΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΡΟΨ* 'because (*ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ*) you have not yet perceived (*ΜΠΑΤΕ-Κ-ΕΨΩΡΖ*) the peace (*Μ-Π-ΗΤΟΝ*) that we are hoping (*ΕΤ-Ν-ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ*) for (*ΕΡΟ-Ψ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

#### b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the *ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)-Ψ-ΩΠΕ* no longer holds, e.g. *ΕΙΟΥΨΩ ΕΝΑΨ ΕΤΑΨΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΪΜΟΥ* 'I want

(*Ε-Ι-ΟΥΨΩ*) to see (*Ε-ΝΑΨ*) my sister (*Ε-ΤΑ-ΩΝΕ*) before I die (*ΜΠΑΪ-ΜΟΥ*)' (KHML I 75:20-21), *ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΨΚΩΤΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΨΜΕ ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΚΩΛΖ* 'and (*ΟΥΤΕ*) they (the brothers) shall not go (*ΝΝΕ-Ψ-ΚΩΤΕ*) in (*ΕΖΟΥΝ*) (and) out (*ΕΒΟΛ*) from (*ΖΗ*) the village (*Π-ΨΜΕ*) before they ring (the bell) (*Ε-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΛΖ*)' (praec. Pach. 90), *ΤΕΚΖΗΖΑΛ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ ΤΕΤΟΥΨΩ ΕΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ ΨΠΑΤΕ ΠΠΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΧΩΛΗ* 'your servant (*ΤΕΚ-ΖΗΖΑΛ*) Eudoxia wants (*ΕΤ-ΟΥΨΩ*) to come (*Ε-ΕΙ*) inside (*ΕΖΟΥΝ*) to your welcome (*Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ*) before the palace (*Π-ΠΑΛΛΙΟΝ*) gets busy (*ΨΠΑΤΕ ... ΧΩΛΗ*)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

### 9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future *ΝΝΕ-Ψ-ΩΠΕ* 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future *Ε-Ψ-Ε-ΩΠΕ* 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. *ΑΨΩ ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΡΟΨ ΝΝΕΚΟΥΨΜΨ ΕΚΕΟΥΨΜ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΝΟΥΨΟΥ ΝΑΚ* 'and (*ΑΨΩ*) (the food) that you might desire (*Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ*) for (*ΕΡΟ-Ψ*), you shall not eat (*ΝΝΕ-Κ-ΟΥΨΜ-Ψ*), you should (rather) eat (*Ε-ΚΕ-ΟΥΨΜ*) what God has sent (*Ν-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΗΝΝΟΥΨ-ΟΥ*) you (*ΝΑ-Κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

#### 9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future *ΝΝΕ-Ψ-ΩΠΕ* 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, *ΝΝΑ-* represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant *ΝΝΕ-Ι-* represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	NNA-CΩTM (rarely NNE-I-CΩTM)	NNE-N-CΩTM
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	NNE-K-CΩTM	NNE-TN-CΩTM
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	NNE-CΩTM	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	NNE-Q-CΩTM	NNE-Y-CΩTM
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	NNE-C-CΩTM	
Before noun	NNE ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTM	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

#### 9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. *ΝΝΕΚΡΙΚΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΝΑΜΑΤΕ ΜΦΩΒ ΝΤΑΚΖΙ ΤΟΟΤΚ ΕΡΟQ* 'you will not go astray (NNE-K-PIKE) or (ΟΥΔΕ) fall (NNE-K-ZE), but (ΑΛΛΑ) you will succeed (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΜΑΤΕ) in the work (ΜΦΩΒ < Μ-Π-ΖΩΒ) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΖΙ) your hand (ΤΟΟΤ-Κ) on (ΕΡΟ-Q))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

##### a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. *ΝΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΟΥΜ ΝΚΑ ΝΤΕQPI* 'no man (ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ) shall eat (NNE ... ΟΥΩΜ) anything (ΝΚΑ) in his ccll (Ν-ΤΕQ-PI)' (praec. Pach. 114), *ΝΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΕQΕΡΗΥ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ* 'no one (ΛΑΑΥ) shall talk (NNE ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) one another (ΝΕQ-ΕΡΗΥ) in (ΖΜ) the dark (Π-ΚΑΚΕ)' (praec. Pach. 94), *ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ ΝΤΧΗΒΕ* (for ΝΤΧΗQΕ) *ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ ΟΝ ΖΜ ΠΛΑC* 'you shall not kill (NNE-K-ZΩΤΒ) neither with the sword (Ν-Τ-ΧΗΒΕ) nor (ΟΝ) with (ΖΜ) the tongue (Π-ΛΑC)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), *ΝΝΕΚΕΤ ΤΕΙΚΥΠΗ ΖΜ ΠΛΟΥΟΙΩ*

(...) 'this vault (ΤΕΙ-ΚΥΠΗ) should not be rebuilt (lit. they should not build (NNE-Y-ΚΕΤ)) in (ΖΜ) my time (ΠΑ-ΟΥΟΙΩ) (...) ' (AP Chafine no. 17, 3:27).

##### b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. *ΝΝΕΙΧΙΟΥΕ ΝΝΕΙΡ ΜΗΤΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΧ ΝΝΕΙΧΙ ΣΟΛ* 'I shall not steal (NNE-I-ΧΙΟΥΕ), I shall not make (NNE-I-Ρ) false (Ν-ΝΟΥΧ) witness (ΜΗΤΡΕ), I shall not tell (NNE-I-ΧΙ) lies (ΣΟΛ)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), *ΑΝΟΝ ΣΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΝΝΕΝΟΥΩΖ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ ΕΡ ΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΠΠΕ* 'and we (ΑΝΟΝ ΣΕ), in our turn (ΖΩΩ-Ν), we will not again (lit. set (NNE-N-ΟΥΩΖ) hand (ΕΤΟΟΤ-Ν) to) make (Ε-Ρ) war (ΠΟΛΕΜΟC) with the God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of heaven (Ν-Τ-ΠΕ)' (Eud. 48:13).

##### c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. *ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ* (read ΤΠΥΛΗ) *ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑC ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΨΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC* 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΥ) very strongly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ) so that (ΧΕΚΑC) the apostles (Ν-ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC) could not go (NNE ... ΕΨ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), *ΑΝΙ ΤΕΦΥΧΗ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΧΕΚΑC ΝΝΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΘΝ ΛΟΙΒΕ ΕΧΩ* (read ΕΧΩΙ) 'bring (ΑΝΙ) the soul (ΤΕ-ΦΥΧΗ) of Judas up here (ΕΖΡΑΙ) so that (ΧΕΚΑC) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) won't find (NNE ... ΘΝ) a pretext (ΛΟΙΒΕ) against me (ΕΧΩ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), *ΝCΕΝΟΧΟ[Υ] [Ε]ΧΗ ΠΕQΤΑΦΟC ΝCΕΖΟΒCQ ΧΕΚΑC ΝΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ Ρ ΠΕQΜΕΕΥΕ* 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (Ν-CΕ-ΝΟΧ-Ο[Υ]) on (ΕΧΗ) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠΕQ-ΤΑΦΟC) and cover it (Ν-CΕ-ΖΟΒC-Q) so that (ΧΕΚΑC) no man (ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) might remember it (lit. make (NNE ... Ρ) its remembrance (ΠΕQ-ΜΕΕΥΕ))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

### 9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperative clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary **μηρ-** 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. **μηρκοτκ ερνοβε** 'do not return (**μηρ-κοτ-κ**) to sin (lit. to do (**ε-ρ**) sin (**νοβε**))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), **μηρρ ζοτε τπαρθενος ετογααβ** 'don't be (**μηρ-ρ**) afraid (**ζοτε**), holy (**ετ-ογααβ**) virgin (**τ-παρθενος**)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), **μηρκαατ νσωκ** 'don't abandon me (lit. leave me (**μηρ-καατ**) behind you (**νσω-κ**))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), **μηερτρε λααγ ειμε κε ντε ουςζιμε** 'don't let (**μηερ-τρε**) anybody (**λααγ**) know (**ειμε**) that (**κε**) you (**ντε**) (are) a woman (**ου-ςζιμε**)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative **μηρ-** has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like '(oh) no, don't', e.g. **εκναδωψτ νσωι ειναβωκ επτακο μηωρ παχοεις** 'will you watch me going to perdition? Oh no (**μηωρ**), my Lord (**πα-χοεις**)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

### 9.4.6 The negative auxiliary **τι**

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary **τι** 'to do not'. The auxiliary **τι** is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. **αλλα κε ακψταμ ννεφβαλ ετμδωψτ εροϋ επτηρϋ** 'but (**αλλα**) because (**κε**) he closed (**ακ-ψταμ**) his eyes (**ν-νεφ-βαλ**) not to see (**ε-τι-δωψτ**) it (the sun) (**ερο-ϋ**) at all (**επτηρϋ**)' (Zen. 200:27-28), **α ταδουμ ει εροι ζωστε ετμητραλιδουανε επτηρϋ κε τζκοειτ η τωβε** 'my strength (**τα-δουμ**) came (back) (**α ... ει**) to me (**εροι**) so that (**ζωστε**) I did not notice (**ε-τι-τρα-λιδουανε**) at all (**επτηρϋ**) that (**κε**) I was hungry (**τ-ζκοειτ**) or (**η**) thirsty (**τ-οβε**)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of **τι** are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. **παζο μημοναχος πε τηχπε λααγ νζγλη ναϋ** 'the treasure (**π-αζο**) of the monk (**μ-π-μοναχος**) (is) not to acquire (**τη-χπε**) any (**λααγ**) property (**ν-ζγλη**) for himself (**να-ϋ**)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), **[ζωστε] ντ[ετ]μ [λααγ] ε[ψου]δουμ ε[ναζ]μ[ε]ϋ εβολ [ζν να]δix** 'so that (**ζωστε**) nobody (**λααγ**) will be able (**ντε-τι ... εψ-δουμ**) to save himself (**ε-ναζμε-ϋ**) from (**εβολ ζν**) my hands (**να-δix**)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

#### 9.4.1.1 Two different clausal positions

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary **τι** occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker **ψαν** and before the epistemic modal verb (**ε**)**ψ-** 'can, to be able to', e.g. **ενψαντηζαρεζ δε πτοπος ναψωϋ** 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (**ε-ν-ψαν-τι-ζαρεζ**), the place (**π-τοπος**) will be deserted (**να-ψωϋ**)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker **ψαν** and the negative auxiliary **τι** to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker **ερε** and preceding the subject nominal: **ερε NP<sub>subject</sub> ψαν-τι → ερ-ψαν-τι NP<sub>subject</sub>**, e.g. **ερψαντιμ πρωμε αποτασε νενκα νιμ ετζμ πκοσμος νφναψωψπε αν μημοναχος** 'if a man (**π-ρωμε**) does not give up (**ερ-ψαν-τι ... αποτασε**) everything (**ν-ενκα νιμ**) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (**ετ-ζμ**)) the world (**π-κοσμος**), he will not (**αν**) be able to become (**ν-ϋ-να-ψ-ωψπε**) a monk (**μ-μοναχος**)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

#### 9.4.1.2 Negative conjugation patterns with **τι**

The negative auxiliary verb **τι** has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal **ντερε-ϋ-τι-σωτι**

e.g. **επζαε δε ντερεϋτμεψουδουμ νοι πεδρακων εταγο επεσχιτ νναντωνιος** (for **ναντωνιος**) **αϋδωντ εροϋ μμιν μμοϋ (...)** 'finally

(ε-π-2αε), when the dragon (πε-δρακων) *had not been able* (ντερε-φ-τη-εψ-δμδσθ) to cast (ε-ταγο) down (επεσχη) Antony (μν-αντωνιος) he became angry (α-φ-δωντ) about himself (ερο-φ μμιν μνο-φ)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψαντε-φ-τη-σωτη

e.g. λγω λγριογε νσωογ ψαντογτηκα λααγ επαρογ ετρεφογχαλ 'and (λγω) they smote (λ-γ-ριογε) them (νσω-ογ) *until they did not leave* (ψαντ-ογ-τη-κα) anyone (λααγ) behind (επαρογ) to survive (ε-τρε-φ-ογχαλ)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ε-φ-ψαν-τη-σωτη and the Negative Relative Present ε-φ-τη-σωτη 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ενψαντηζαρεζ δε πτοπος ναψωφ 'if we do *not* keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ε-ν-ψαν-τη-ζαρεζ), the place (π-τοπος) will be deserted (να-ψωφ)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. εψωπε ετετνηδεπη ειρε ηπαι ζη ογμογ τετνημογ (read τετνη-να-μογ) 'if you do *not* hasten (ε-τετνη-τη-δεπη) to do (ε-ειρε) this (η-παι), you will surely die (lit. in (ζη) a dying (ογ-μογ) you will die (τετνη-να-μογ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive η-φ-τη-σωτη

e.g. ντετη πζηκε ζωωφ κωτε ζμ πεφηη η ζη νετζιτογωφ ψαντφζε εογνοδ νταιο 'and would the poor (man) (π-ζηκε), in his turn (ζωω-φ), *not* seek (ντε-τη ... κωτε), in (ζμ) his (own) house (πεφ-ηη) or (η) in (ζη) (that) of his neighbours (η-ετ-ζιτογω-φ) until he finds (ψαντ-φ-ζε) a great (ε-ογ-νοδ) gift (η-ταιο)' (Eud. 72:13-14), νιμ πε πρωμε εφναδωφτ νσα πεφωηρε εφβηκ νεμτω νφτηβονθει εροφ 'who (νιμ) (is) the man (π-ρωμε) who will watch (ε-φ-να-δωφτ) his son (πεφ-ωηρε) drowning (lit. go (ε-φ-βηκ) to the depths (η-εμτω) and would *not* help (η-φ-τη-βονθει) him (ερο-φ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary τη is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. λ πενειωτ παζωμ ζωη ετοοτη ετηρ παι 'our father (πεν-ειωτ) Pachôm ordered us (ετοοτ-η) *not* to do (ε-τη-ρ) this (παι)' (V. Pach. 139:31), μωνων (for μονον) ζαρεζ εροκ ετηρ νοβε επνουτε νταφταμιοκ 'but (μωνων) be careful (ζαρεζ) *not* to sin (lit. commit (ε-τη-ρ) sin (νοβε)) against the God (ε-π-νουτε) who has created you (ντ-α-φ-ταμιο-κ)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer η- and the negation adverb λη 'not'.	§9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The μπατ(ε)-φ-σωτη pattern carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out.	§9.4.3

## Exercises

## 9.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle **Ν-**.
  - The negation adverb **ΑΝ** 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
  - Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
  - The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying **ΑΛΛΑ** ('BUT')-clause.
  - The Negative Third Future **ΝΝΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ** 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
  - ΤΗ-**negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

## 9.2 Double negation

- A. The placement of the negation adverb **ΑΝ** 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker **ΑΝ** in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.

- (1) **ΝϚΕΝΑΕΨ \_\_ ΟΜΟΟΜ \_\_ ΕΒΕΛ ΝΕΙϚΜΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ** 'they will not (**ΑΝ**) be able (**Ν-ϚΕ-ΝΑ-ΕΨ-ΟΜΟΟΜ**) to nullify (**Ε-ΒΕΛ**) these blessings (**ΝΕΙ-ϚΜΟΥ**) upon (**ΕΧΝ**) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

- (2) **ΝΤΝΑΖΕΠ \_\_ ΑΛΛΥ ΕΡΩΤΗ \_\_** 'I will not (**ΑΝ**) hide (**Ν-Τ-ΝΑ-ΖΕΠ**) anything (**ΑΛΛΥ**) from you (**ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ**)' (Abbatōn 231:19)
- (3) **ΑΛΛΑ ΝϚΖΑΡΕΖ \_\_ ΕΠΤΕΒΟ \_\_ ΝΤΗΝΤΗΜΟΝΑΧΗ** 'but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) she (the possessed girl) does not (**ΑΝ**) watch (**Ν-Ϛ-ΖΑΡΕΖ**) the purity (**Ε-Π-ΤΒΒΟ**) of the monastic life-style (**Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΜΟΝΑΧΗ**)' (V. Pach.141:13-14)
- (4) **ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΝΑΛΟ \_\_ ΕΙΜΟΨΕ \_\_ ΝΜΗΤΗ ΨΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤϚΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ** (for **ΕΤϚΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ**) **ΗΠΕΙΑΩΝ** 'I (**ΑΝΟΚ**) will not (**ΑΝ**) cease (**Ν-Τ-ΝΑ-ΛΟ**) walking (**Ε-Ι-ΜΟΨΕ**) with you (**ΝΜΗ-ΤΗ**) until (**ΨΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ**) the completion (**Ε-Τ-ϚΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ**) of this era (**Η-ΠΕΙ-ΑΙΩΝ**)' (Abbatōn 230:13-15)

- B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.

- (1) **ΝϚΝΑΕΨ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΖΑ ΝΒΑϚΑΝΟϚ** (KHML II 34:6-7)
- (2) **ΝΤϚΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΗΜΟϚ** (Hil. 7:30-31)
- (3) **ΝΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΨΙΝΕ ΝϚΩΙ** (Test. Is. 230:15)
- (4) **ΤΝΝΑϚΩΤΗ ΝϚΩΚ ΑΝ** (V. Pach. 5:17)

## 9.3 Negative tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
<b>ΝΝΑϚΩΤΗ</b>		
<b>ΗΠΕϚΩΤΗ</b>		
<b>ΝΕΜΠΑΤΟΥϚΩΤΗ</b>		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
ΜΠΕΡΘΕΝ ΟΕΙΚ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
ΝΝΕΚΟΥΟΜΓ	(AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
ΝΕΜΕΡΤΩΩΒΕ ΝΑΥ	(V. Pach. 5:18)
ΝΓΤΜΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΓ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
ΝΠΡΡ ΖΟΤΕ	(Eud. 50:21)
ΕΤΜΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- (1) ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΤΟΜ ΕΤΕ[ΤΝ]Ρ ΣΝΑΥ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) \_\_\_ on a mat (ε-τομ) with the two of you (ε-τετν-ρ σναυ)' (praec. Pach. 95)
- (2) ΝΝΕΤΝΧΙ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΣΑ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΙΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΙϞ '\_\_\_ (it) (the garbage) to any (ε-λλαυ) place (ν-τοπος) (else) than (νσα) to the place (π-τοπος) of that Nazarene (μ-πι-ναζωραιος) Jesus (ιϞ)' (Eud. 52:27-28)
- (3) ΕΦΩΡΕΙ ΝΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ (for ΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ) ΕΒΟΟΥΝΕ (read ΝΒΟΟΥΝΕ) ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΤΗΡΓ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΜ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΜΟΥ ΜΑΤΕ 'he was wearing (ε-φωρει) a garment (νν-ου-ψτην) of sackcloth (ν-βουουνε) all (τηρ-γ) his time (μ-πεφ-ουοειψ) \_\_\_ anything (λλαυ) but (νσα) bread (οεικ) and (ζι) salt (ζμου) alone (ματε)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

- (4) ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΡΤΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑΦ ΜΝ ΤΕΡΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΖΩΒ '(as for) the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (α-φ-χαριζε) them (μμο-ου) to the people (ν-ν-ρωμε) of his village (μ-περ-τμε) so that (χεκασ) \_\_\_ him (να-φ) and (μν) his sister (τερωνε) in (ζν) any respect (λλαυ ν-ζωβ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE *ΑΠΟΡΗΤΗΓΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΑΥΣΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΨΑ ΑΠΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ (read ΑΠΑ ΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ) ΝΟΙ<sup>α</sup> ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΑΛΟ. ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΟΥΝΤΑΦ<sup>β</sup> ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΦΧΨ.<sup>γ</sup> ΠΕΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ<sup>δ</sup> ΤΑΡΙΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΚΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΩΝΗ.<sup>ε</sup> ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΪΣΡΟΒΤ (for ΝΪΣΡΟΦΤ) ΑΝ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΝΑΦ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΦ<sup>φ</sup> ΠΡΑΝ ΕΒΟΟΥ<sup>ε</sup> ΧΕ ΝΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΤΑΡΙΚΑ ΟΥΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΚΩΙΧ. ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΪΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΑΥΧΝΟΥΦ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ<sup>η</sup> ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΣΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΣΠΣΩΠΚ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΜΠΕΚΟΥΨ ΕΛΑΣ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΪΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΝΪΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΥΠΕΙ<sup>ι</sup> ΖΩΣ<sup>ι</sup> ΝΪΣΡΟΒΤ ΑΝ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΣΩΤΜ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΕΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΥΨ ΠΗ<sup>κ</sup> ΝΑΣΩΛΠ ΜΠΝΟΥΖ<sup>ι</sup> ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΛΑΛΑ ΑΙΤΟΥΝΕΣ ΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΩΚΗ<sup>μ</sup> ΜΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΛΥΠΕΙ (for ΟΥΛΥΠΗ) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. ΝΟΙ subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ 'he had' c. Ε-Φ-ΧΨ 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. ΑΒΩ 'drag-net' e. ΜΩΝΗ 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝΤ-Φ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. ΕΒΟΟΥ (< ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ 'apart, in private' i. ΑΥΠΕΙ 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ΖΩΣ 'since' k. ΠΗ 'that one' (see above, section

4.1.1 of Unit 4) I.  $\sigma\omega\lambda\tau\ \mu\eta\pi\iota\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$  'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off ( $\sigma\omega\lambda\tau$ ) the rope ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$ ))' m.  $\omega\kappa\mu$  'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

(1)  $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$  (for  $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$ )  $\omicron\mu$   $\eta\eta\epsilon$   $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\psi\epsilon$   $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$  'and ( $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ ) also ( $\omicron\mu$ ) *no one* ( $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) *shall shave* ( $\eta\eta\epsilon$  ...  $\psi\epsilon$ ) anyone ( $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) sitting ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$ )' (praec. Pach. 97).

narrow scope reading       wide scope reading of negation

(2)  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\rho$   $\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\rho\omega$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\omicron\gamma\eta$   $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$   $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$  'they (the hermits) usually do not even ( $\rho\omega$ ) remember (lit. make ( $\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho$ ) thought ( $\pi\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ )) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) a world ( $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$ ) exists ( $\omicron\gamma\eta$  ...  $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ )' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)

narrow scope reading       wide scope reading of negation

## Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V-S and V-S-O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

## 10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO<sub>SU</sub> 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S-V-O)	<p>ΜΝΗΝΣΑ †ΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΥ Α ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ †            ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ            ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ 'after (ΜΝΗΝΣΑ) five (†ΟΥ)            days (ΝΖΟΥΥ) <u>the deacon</u> (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ)            went (lit. gave (Α-Ϟ-†) his way            (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) priest            (Ε-ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Αρα Ραμβδ' (Hil.            5:31-32)</p>
LEFT-DISLOCATION (TOPIC <sub>SU</sub> -PRO <sub>SU</sub> -V-O)	<p>ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ ΑϞ† ΠΕ[Ϟ]ΟΥΟΙ '(as for)  <u>Andrew</u>, <u>he</u> went forth (lit. gave (Α-Ϟ-†) his            way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)' (Ac. A&amp;P 206:152-153)</p>
SUBJECT INVERSION (V-PRO <sub>SU</sub> -O-S)	<p>ΕΤΕΙ ΕΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΑϞ† ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ            ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΛΛΟ (...) 'when            (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟΣ), <u>a</u>  <u>venerable</u> (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) <u>priest</u>            (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) came (lit. gave            (Α-Ϟ-†) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι)            (...) (Abbatôn 228:13-14)</p>

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic,

representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

### 10.1.1 S-V-O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S-V-O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

#### a) Precedence relations

S-V-O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. Α ΟΥϞΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'a brother (ΟΥ-ϞΟΝ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Αρα Σαραπιον (...) (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
Α PERFECT	ΟΥ-ϞΟΝ a brother	ΧΝΕ ask	ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ Αρα Σαραπιον

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S-V-O surface order



b) *Markedness*

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S-V-O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker **ΝΟΙ**. Compare, then: (S-V-O) **Α ΝΖΛΛΟ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ (...)** ‘the senior (monks) (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) said (Α ... ΧΟΟ-С) that (ΧΕ) (...)’ (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC<sub>SU</sub>-PRO<sub>SU</sub>-V-O) **ΝΤΟϞ ΟΝ ΑϞΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ (...)** ‘(as for) him (Apa Isaac) (ΝΤΟϞ), he also (ΟΝ) said (Α-Ϟ-ΧΟΟ-С) that (ΧΕ) (...)’ (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V-PRO<sub>SU</sub>-O-S) **ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑ ΧΕ (...)** ‘Our fathers (ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) said (Α-Υ-ΧΟΟ-С) about (ΕΤΒΕ) someone (ΟΥΑ) that (ΧΕ) (...)’ (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) *Pragmatically neutral contexts*

S-V-O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. **Α ΤΕϞΩΝΕ ΔΕ ΩΛ ΝΝΕϞΚΕΕС ‘his** (Apa Mcna’s) sister (ΤΕϞ-ΩΝΕ) gathered (Α ... ΩΛ) his bones (Ν-ΝΕϞ-ΚΕΕС) (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1-2), **ΠΧΟΕΙС ΝΑ ΒΕΙ** (for Ϟ) **ΜΝΟΥΝΟБ** (for ΝΟΥΝΟБ) **ΝΕΥСΙΑ ΖΗ ΠΕΚΗΙ ΖΗ ΠΕΖΟΥϞ ΜΠΩΛ ‘the Lord** (Π-ΧΟΕΙС) will require (ΝΑ-ΒΕΙ) a big (ΝΝ-ΟΥ-ΝΟБ) sacrifice (Ν-ΕΥСΙΑ) from (ΖΗ) your house (ΠΕΚ-ΗΙ) on (ΖΗ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥϞ) of the feast (Μ-Π-ΩΛ)’ (V. Pach. 88:12-13), **ΖΗ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ Α ΠΕϞΛΑС ΗΕΖ ΡΩϞ ΑϞϞΑΝΤ ΑϞΜΟΥ ‘suddenly** (ΖΗ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ), his (Diocletian’s) tongue (ΠΕϞ-ΛΑС) filled (Α ... ΗΕΖ) his mouth (ΡΩ-Ϟ), he was eaten by (lit. he became (Α-Ϟ-Ρ)) worms (ϞΑΝΤ) (and) died (Α-Ϟ-ΜΟΥ)’ (Eud. 38:27).

S-V-O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or

truisms, e.g. **ΩΑΡΕ ΤΕΙΒΝΝΕ ΤΑϞΕ ΜΗΤСНОΟΥС ΝΛΟΥϞ ΝΒΝΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ‘this date-palm** (ΤΕΙ-ΒΝΝΕ) yields (ΩΑΡΕ ... ΤΑϞΕ) twelve (ΜΗΤ-СНОΟΥС) bunches (Ν-ΛΟΥϞ) of dates (Ν-ΒΝΝΕ) per (ΚΑΤΑ) year (ΡΟΜΠΕ)’ (Onnophr. 208:11-13), **ΝΕΡΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ † ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΔΑΡΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΟΥϞ ΝΝΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ‘Diocletian** (ΔΙΟΚΛΗ) gave (ΝΕΡΕ ... †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΑΡΟΝ) annually (ΤΕ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the glorification (Π-ΕΟΥϞ) of their gods (Ν-ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ)’ (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S-V-O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. **ΕΡΩΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΕΤΙ** (read ΑΙΤΕΙ) **ΜΜΟΚ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ (...)** ‘if anyone (ΟΥΑ) asks (ΕΡΩΑΝ ... ΕΤΙ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ) something (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) (...)’ (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14), **Α ΟΥΟΝ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ Ρ ΖΗΕ ΝΖΟΥϞ ΝΑΤΟΥΩΗ ΝΑΤΩ ‘one** (ΟΥΟΝ) of (ΖΗ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ) spent (Α ....Ρ) forty (ΖΗΕ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥϞ) without eating (Ν-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩΗ) (and) drinking (Ν-ΑΤ-Ω)’ (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 *Constituent order in the postverbal domain*

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist “scrambling”, i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 *The canonical V > DO > IO > ADV order*

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. **СОϞΝ ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥϞ ΜΗ ΠΠΕΘΟΥϞ ‘to know** (СОϞΝ) what is good (Π-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ϟ) and (ΜΗ) what is bad (ΠΠΕΘΟΥϞ < Π-Π-ΕΤ-ΖΟΥϞ)’ (Abbatōn 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. **ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕΤΝСООϞΝ ΝΤΑΑΝΑСТΡΟΦΗ ΤΗΡС ‘since** (ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ) you know (ΤΕΤΝ-СООϞΝ) my entire (ΤΗΡ-С) mode of life (Ν-ΤΑ-ΑΝΑСТΡΟΦΗ)’ (V. Pach. 88:25-26), **ΤΕΤΝСООϞΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΜΕΙΩΕΙΝΕ** (for ΜΕΙΩΙΝΕ) **ΝСΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ‘since** (ΓΑΡ) you know (ΤΕΤΝ-СООϞΝ) [that (ΧΕ) I did not

look (ΜΕ-Γ-ΨΕΙΝΕ) for (ΝΑ) my own peace (ΠΑ-ΜΤΟΝ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like † 'to give' and χαριζε 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the transferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ψαρε πιουτε † ουζμοτ ννετναπιστευε 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) will grant (ψαρε ... †) a favour (ΟΥΖΜΟΤ) to those who will believe (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:11), φναχαριζε μηταλδο νταψερε ζιτν νετνψαλα νασνηγ 'he (the Lord) will grant (φ-ΝΑ-ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) healing (Μ-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ) to my daughter (Ν-ΤΑ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) through (ζιτν) your prayers (ΝΕΤΝ-ΨΑΛΑ), my brothers (ΝΑ-ΣΝΗγ)' (Hil. 8:12-13), μαρεφ† ννουφ ναν 'he should give (ΜΑΡΕ-Φ-†) us (ΝΑ-Ν) what is his (ΝΝΟΥ-Φ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. αγω λφπρωψ εβολ ννεφδix εζραι επιουτε ζν ουριμε ντεγψη τηρc χιν ρουζε ψα ζτοουε 'and (αγω) he (Pachôm) lifted (Α-Φ-ΠΡΩΨ) his hands (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΔΙΧ) up (εζραι) to God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) weeping (ζν ουριμε) the entire (ΤΗΡ-С) night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ) from (χιν) evening (ΡΟΥΖΕ) till (ψα) dawn (ζτοουε)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

### 10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP<sub>DO</sub>) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scrambled" order of dative shift constructions is V<sub>AS</sub> > DAT-CL > PP<sub>DO</sub> order, e.g. λφ† νας νουρι ζιτογωφ μηρc ντεκκλχια 'he (Αρα Pambô) gave (Α-Φ-†) her (Hilaria) (ΝΑ-С) a cell (Ν-ΟΥ-ΡΙ) next to him (ζιτογω-φ), south (Μ-Π-ΡΗС) of the church (Ν-Τ-ΕΚΚΛΗСΙΑ)' (Hil 6:15), επιζαε δε αγ† ναφ ζωωφ νζενтнζ (for νζενтнζ) 'finally (Ε-Π-ΖΑΕ), they gave (Α-Υ-†) him (ΝΑ-Φ) wings (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΤНΖ), too (ζωω-φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), νγψαλα εχωc ψαντε πχοεις χαριζε νας μηταλδο

'and you shall pray (Ν-Γ-ΨΑΛΑ) on her behalf (εχω-с) until the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙС) will grant (ψαντε ... χαριζε) her (ΝΑ-С) healing (Μ-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. λφκατεχε ννεσνηγ ζατηφ ψομηт νεβοτ εтβε τεφψερε 'he (the king) kept (Α-Φ-ΚΑΤΕΧΕ) the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-СΝΗγ) with him (ζατη-φ) (for) three (ψομηт) months (Ν-ΕΒΟТ) because of (εтβε) his daughter (τεφ-ψερε)' (Hil. 12:8-9), λ κεουα δε ον εινε μηεφψηρε ψαροφ 'somebody else (κε-ουα) brought (Α ... εινε) his son (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΨΗΡΕ) to him (ψαρο-φ)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

### 10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

#### 10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. ανδρεас δε λφ† πε[φ]ογοι '[TOPIC Andrew (ΑΝΔΡΕΑС ΔΕ), [COMMENT he went forth (lit. he gave (Α-Φ-†) his way (πεφ-ογοι)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclassical topic and the intraclassical resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ (As for) <i>Andrew</i>	α- PERFECT	-q- <i>he</i>	† give	ΠΕq-ΟΥΟΙ his way



FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker Δε is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

a) Embedded left-dislocation

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. ΑΓΩ ΝΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝCΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝCΕqΙ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΖΟΥq ΠΑΙ ‘and (ΑΓΩ) (concerning) *the churches* (Ν-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ) they shall rebuild *them* (Ν-CΕ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) and celebrate (Ν-CΕ-qΙ) in *them* (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) on (ΖΜ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙ-ΖΟΥq)’ (Eud. 40:9-10), ΑΓΩ ΠΩΜΠΩΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΩΜΠΩΙΝΕ) ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΑqΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΝCΟΥΖC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΖΜ ΠΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ‘and (ΑΓΩ) *that* (ΕΤ-ΜΗΑΥ) *affliction* (Π-ΘΜ-Π-ΨΕΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-q-ΨΩΠΕ) in (ΖΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-CΟΥΖC) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) through (ΖΜ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕΖ-CΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)’ (V. Pach. 91:10-12), ΑΛΛΑ ΠΚΕΑΡΙΟC ΜΠΑΤΕqΧΕΚ ΟΥΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑqΜΟΥ ‘but (ΑΛΛΑ) *also Arios* (Π-ΚΕ-ΑΡΙΟC) died (Α-q-ΜΟΥ) before finishing (ΜΠΑΤΕ-q-ΧΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) one year (ΟΥ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (as a bishop)’ (KHML II 50:6-7), ΧΕΚΑC ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ) ΜΗΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΙΝΟC ΝΖΙΝΗC ‘so *that* (ΧΕΚΑC), (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned) you would awake (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΕΖCΕ) *us* (ΜΗΟ-Ν) from (ΖΜ) the deep (Π-ΝΟC) sleep (Ν-ΖΙΝΗC)’ (Zen. 199:17-18).

b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΗ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ‘*the Jews* (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) blocked (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΗ) solidly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)’ (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΜΝΝCΩC ΕΙC ΖΝΒΛΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΨΕΤ ΜΗΤΝΑ ‘after that (ΜΝΝCΩ-C) *blind people* (ΖΝ-ΒΛΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking for (Ε-Υ-ΨΕΤ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML I 6:11), ΤΨΕΡΕ ΔΕ ΨΗΜ ΝΕCΖΕΝ (for ΝΕCΖΝ) ΑΗΝΤΨΜΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ‘*the little* (ΨΗΜ) *girl* (Τ-ΨΕΡΕ) was (ΝΕ-C-ΖΕΝ) about eighteen (Α-ΜΗΤ-ΨΜΗΝΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (old)’ (Hil. 3:24-25), ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΑqΟΥ[Ο]ΝΖq ΕΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ‘*the angel* (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of *the Lord* (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-q-ΟΥΟΝΖ-q) to the archbishop (Ε-Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC)’ (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕqΤΩC ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ ΕΤΗΕ ΜΗΟq ΖΜ ΠΕΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ‘*the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) also (ΟΝ) encourages (Ε-q-ΤΩC) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ) who loves (ΕΤ-ΜΕ) him (ΜΗΟ-q) through (ΖΜ) the Gospel (Π-ΕΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)’ (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ΠΕΝΤΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟq ΑΙΑΑq ‘*what I had thought* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of (ΕΡΟ-q) I have done (*it*) (Α-Ι-ΑΑ-q)’ (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΝΖΑΚ ΨΑΥ† ΚΛΟΜ ΕΧΩq ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ ‘*the prudent* (Ν-ΖΑΚ) *monk* (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) is given (lit. they give (ΨΑ-Υ-†)) a crown (ΚΛΟΜ) on *him* (ΕΧΩ-q) on (ΖΜ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)’ (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΩ[ΝΕ] ΖΝ ΤΕCΑΠΕ ‘(as for) *this* (woman) (ΤΑΙ), (there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a severe (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) illness (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ) in (ΖΜ) *her* head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ)’ (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

c) Unbounded dependencies

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΔΕ ΑqΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΨΩ ΑqΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤC ΜΠΝΟΜΙCΜΑ ΑqΟΥΨΜ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥq ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ‘*the deacon* (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) [s1 fulfilled (Α-q-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria’s) wish (Μ-ΠΕC-ΟΥΨΩ)], [s2 took (Α-q-ΧΙ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (Μ-Π-ΝΟΜΙCΜΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-C)], [s3 (and) they ate (Α-Υ-ΟΥΨΜ)

together (MN NEY-EPHY) on that (ETMAY) day (M-Π-200Y) (Hil. 5:1-4), ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΦΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΦΜΟΨΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΦ2Μ2ΑΛ ΨΑΝΤΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠ2ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(as for) *Eutropius*, [s<sub>1</sub> he was very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) happy (Α-Φ-ΡΑΨΕ)] [s<sub>2</sub> (and) travelled (Α-Φ-ΜΟΨΕ) with (MN) his servant (ΠΕΦ-2Μ2ΑΛ)] [s<sub>3</sub> until *he* reached (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (M-Π-2ΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΝΝΑΚΑΤΗΥΤΝ ΑΝ ΕΟΥΩΗ (read ΕΟΥΩΗ) ΜΜΟΣ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as far as) *this city* (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (is concerned), [s<sub>1</sub> we will not (ΑΝ) allow you (Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ-ΤΗΥΤΝ)] [s<sub>2</sub> to open (Ε-ΟΥΩΗ) *it* (ΜΜΟ-Σ) ]]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

#### d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΥ '[Topic<sub>1</sub> (as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (rules) (ΝΑΙ)], [Topic<sub>2</sub> *he who will neglect* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) punishment (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΥΑΑΝ '[Topic<sub>1</sub> (as for) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ)] [Topic<sub>2</sub> *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *our sins* (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΟΠΤ-Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

#### 10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

#### a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ΟΥΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΦCΟΡΗ ΖΝ ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ (...) 'a (certain) *old* (ΟΥ-ΖΛΛΟ) *hermit* (Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) got lost (Ε-Φ-CΟΡΗ) in (ΖΝ) the desert (Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) that (ΧΕ) (...) (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝCΟΦΟΣ ΜΕΦΝΕΧ [ΨΑΧΕ] ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑΦΤ ΖΤΗΦ Ε[ΝΕΤCΩ]ΤΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'a *wise* (Ν-CΟΦΟΣ) *man* (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) does not throw (ΜΕ-Φ-ΝΕΧ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) every (ΝΙΜ) word (ΨΑΧΕ) like that (ΖΙΝΑΙ) but (ΑΛΛΑ) focuses (ΨΑ-Φ-Τ) his attention (ΖΤΗ-Φ) towards those who listen (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), CΟΝ CΝΑΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'two (CΝΑΥ) *brothers* (CΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ) went (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) to a monastery (Ε-Υ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΤΟΠΟΣ ΨΑΥΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΤΑΛΔΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *every* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ) who will go (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to his (Αρα Mena's) shrine (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΤΟΠΟΣ) will obtain (ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΑΤΕ) recovery (Μ-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative εις 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC [ΑΦΟ]ΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ 'behold (ΕΙC), *an angel* (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) *the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΝΖ) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΗ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΥΟΥΨ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (ΕΙC), *a knight* (ΟΥ-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Φ-ΕΙ) together with (MN) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨΩ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

#### b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extraclassical topic does not correspond to any placeholding expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ΤΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΝΗCΤΕΙΑ ΕΦΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ ΖΗ ΠΕΦΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΗ ΜΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ '(as for) *the instruction* (Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ) of fast (Ν-Τ-ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (ΖΗ) his house (ΠΕΦ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (ΖΗ) his colleagues' (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΩΒΗΡ) house (Π-Η)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition *εἰς* 'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic, e.g. *εἰς* π[μα] νοῦ[ω]μ Δε *ννε* ρωμε ψαχε εγοῶωμ *21* ροῦζε 'as for (*εἰς*) the kneading (N-ΟΥΩΩΜ) place (Π-ΜΑ), no one (ΡΩΜΕ) shall speak (*ννε* ... ψαχε) when they are kneading (ε-Υ-ΟΥΩΩΜ) at (*21*) night (ΡΟΥΖΕ)' (praec. Pach. 116), *εἰς* νεχη Δε *ννε* λαυ ννεεϛ κα *χοι* εβολ *21* τεμρω *αχμ* πρωμε ντσοοϋζς (...) 'as for (*εἰς*) the ships (N-ΕΧΗΥ), no (ΛΑΥ) sailor (N-ΝΕΕϛ) shall set loose (*ννε* ... κα εβολ) a ship (*χοι*) at (*21*) the landing stage (ΤΕ-ΜΡΩ) without the man (i.e. the prior) (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of the congregation (N-Τ-ΣΟΟϋΖς)' (praec. Pach. 118).

### c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. *α* νερωμε Δε *μπμα* ετμμαϋ *αγοϋεζ* πσωμα *μπμακαριος* *απα* *μμνα* [επες]ητ *2μ* *πδαμοϋα* 'the people (Nε-ΡΩΜΕ) of that (ετμμαϋ) place (M-Π-ΜΑ) *let* (*α* ... *α-γ-οϋεζ*) the body (Π-ΣΩΜΑ) of the blessed (M-Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) *Απα* *Μενα* down (επεςητ) from (*2μ*) the camel (Π-ΔΑΜΟΥΑ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), *αϋω* ψαρε ποϋα ποϋα *μμοοϋ* ψαϕαιςθανε κατα τεϕϕϋςις 'and (*αϋω*) each one (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) of them (MMO-ΟΥ) *perceives* (ψαρε ... ψα-ϕ-αιςθανε) according to (κατα) his nature (τεϕ-ϕϋςις)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), *αϋω* νερε ποϋοειν νεϕο *μμινε* *μινε* πε 'and (*αϋω*) the light (Π-ΟΥΟΕΙΝ) *was* (νερε ... νε-ϕ-ο) of diverse sorts (M-ΜΙΝΕ ΜΙΝΕ)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

#### 10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

### a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. *αϋω* *ειθεωρει* *μμοοϋ* *μν* *νεϋκαρπος* *εις* *ϕτοοϋ* *νωηρε* *ωμ* *αγει* *μποϋε* 'and (*αϋω*) while I was looking (ε-Ι-ΘΕΩΡΕΙ) at them (the trees) (MMO-ΟΥ) and (MΝ) their fruits (Nεϋ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ), look (εις), four (ϕΤΟΟϋ) young (ωΜΗ) fellows (N-ΩΗΡΕ) came (α-γ-ει) from a distance (M-Π-ΟΥΕ)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), *αϑωπε* Δε *μπεζοοϋ* *ντκυριακη* *α* *πρω* *βωκ* *ετςυναςις* *μν* *τρρω* *μν* *τεϕωερε* *ςεντε* *τμακαρια* Δε *2λλαρια* *αϑι* *ννεσβαλ* *εζραι* *ετπε* *εσχω* *μμοσ* *χε* (...) 'it happened (α-σ-ωπε Δε) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (M-ΠΕ-ΖΟΟϋ) of Sunday (N-Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ)) (that) the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) went (α ... βωκ) to the Eucharist (ε-Τ-ΣΥΝΑΞΙς) together with (MΝ) the queen (Τ-ΡΡΩ) and (MΝ) his two (ςΕΝΤΕ) daughters (ΤΕϕ-ΩΕΕΡΕ). The blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ) Hilaria (2ΛΛΑΡΙΑ) looked (lit. carried (α-σ-ϕι) her eyes (N-ΝΕΣ-ΒΑΛ)) up (εζραι) to heaven (ε-Τ-ΠΕ) and said (ε-σ-χω μμοσ) that (χε)(...)' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. *α* *2οινε* *ει* *νοϋοειϋ* *2ν* *θηβαις* *ψα* *οϋ2λλο* *εϋνταϋ* *μμϋ* *νοϋα* *εϕο* *νδαιμωνιον* *χεκας* *εϕεταλδοϕ* *π2λλο* Δε *ντεροϋκωρω* *εροϕ* *μματα* *πεχαϕ* *μπδαιμων* *χε* (...) 'some people (2ΟΙΝΕ) came (α ... ει) once (N-ΟΥΟΕΙϋ) from (2Ν) the Thebais (ΘΗΒΑΙς) to (ψα) an old monk (ΟΥ-2ΛΛΟ) and they had (ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Υ) someone (N-ΟΥΑ) (with them) who was possessed (ε-ϕ-ο) by a demon (N-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ) in order that (χεκα-ς) he would heal him (ε-ϕ-ε-ταλδο-ϕ). The old monk (Π-2ΛΛΟ), when they beseeched (NΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΡΩ) him (ερο-ϕ) very much (μματα) said (πεχα-ϕ) to the demon (M-Π-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12).

### b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΗΘΟΣ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΛΟΓΩΣΑ  
 ΗΝΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΗΝΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ 'but when this one (ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ) (Zênô)  
 had occupied (lit. had sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΖΗΘΟΣ) on (ΖΙΧΗ)) the  
 throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΕΡΟ), he  
 annulled (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΣΑ) the sinful (Μ-ΜΗΤ-ΑΣΕΒΗΣ) ordinances  
 (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΝΗΥ ΨΑΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ  
 ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΤΗΜΕ ΕΤΜΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ '(as for) him (Pachôm)  
 (ΝΤΟΦ), occasionally people (ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ) came (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΗΥ) to him  
 (ΨΑΡΟ-Φ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the villages (Ν-ΤΗΜΕ) in the neighbourhood  
 (ΕΤ-Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΚΩΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes.  
 The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two  
 active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g.  
 ΠΧΑΧΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΖΕΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΧΑΖΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ  
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΨΑΦΒΟΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΨΛΗ 'the enemy (Π-ΧΑΧΕ)  
 (i.e. the devil) insinuated (Ε-Φ-ΝΟΥΧΕ) filthy (Ε-Υ-ΧΑΖΗ) thoughts  
 (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ). Anthony, on his part (ΖΩΩ-Φ),  
 (managed to) repel them (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΟΡ-ΟΥ) through (ΖΙΤΗ) prayers  
 (ΝΕ-ΨΛΗ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ΖΗ [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΦ ΔΕ [ΕΙΣ] ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ  
 ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΦ [ΕΧ]Ω[Φ] ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟ[Ρ]ΟΜΑ 'when (ΖΗ) he dozed off  
 (Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΦ) look (ΕΙΣ), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna stood  
 (Α-Φ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Φ) before him (ΕΧΩ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)  
 (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the former  
 (ΝΑΙ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom  
 (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ) from the latter (Numerian) (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Mena,  
 Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to  
 avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument  
 position, e.g. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ † [ΝΑ]Φ ΝΝΕΦ[ΒΑ]ΜΟΥΑ  
 [ΝΕΟ]ΥΝΤΑΦ [ΜΗΜΑΥ] ΝΟΥΒΑΜΑΥΕ [ΝΑΒ]ΡΗΝ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to  
 whom (ΝΑ-Φ) Apa Mēna had given (ΝΤ-Α ... †) his camels  
 (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΒΑΜΟΥΑ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a barren (Ν-ΑΒΡΗΝ) she-camel  
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΒΑΜΑΥΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΙΣΤΕΥΕ

ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ  
 ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he who will come (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) to believe  
 (Ε-Φ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΜΗ)  
 his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ), he will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) heir  
 (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ) to God's (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ)  
 (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-  
 taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g.  
 ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΑΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ  
 ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΦΟΥΨ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΚΑΛΤ ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ (...)  
 ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΨΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΒΩ  
 ΖΑΘΗΝ (...) ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΣΟΥΨΦ (for ΑΣΟΥΨΦ)  
 ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΠΙΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ  
 ΔΕ ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΕΕΡΕ 'the blessed  
 (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) Hilaria (ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ) spoke (Α-Σ-ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the  
 priest (ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Apa Pambô, saying (Ε-Σ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-Σ) »My  
 Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (†-ΟΥΨΦ) you to make me (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΑΛ-Τ) a  
 monk (Μ-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (...). The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ) said  
 (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to her (ΝΑ-Σ) »My son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is  
 no (ΜΗ) possibility (ΨΒΟΜ) for you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)) to stay (Ε-Ω) with us  
 (ΖΑΘΗ-Ν) (...). The blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) virgin (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)  
 answered (Α-Σ-ΟΥΨΦΦ) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Σ) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I  
 have come (ΝΤ-Α-Τ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΙ-ΜΑ) with (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) my  
 heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (...). The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ) was impressed  
 (Α-Φ-Ρ ΨΠΗΡΕ) by the speech (Ν-Τ-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ) of the little (Ν-Τ-ΚΟΥΙ)  
 girl (Ν-ΨΕΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for  
 instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the  
 main storyline, e.g. ΑΦΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΒΟΜ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ Ζ[ΡΑΙ]  
 ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ †[ΟΥΨΦ] ΖΩ ΕΒΩΚ [ΕΠ]ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ [ΜΗ]ΝΑ ΝΤ[Α]ΨΛΗ  
 (...) ΑΡΗΥ ΦΝΑΕΡ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΦΙ ΜΜΑΛΒ ΝΨΕ  
 ΝΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΜΟΨΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ (...) 'he (the rich  
 Alexandrian) heard (Α-Φ-ΩΤΗ) of the wonders (Ε-ΝΕ-ΒΟΜ) of Apa  
Mēna (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) »I, too (ΖΩ), want

(*τ-ογωψ*) to go (*ε-εωκ*) to the shrine (*ε-π-τοπος*) of Apa Mēna and pray (*ντα-ψλη*) (...). Maybe (*αρηγ*) he will remember me (lit. will make (*q-na-ep*) my remembrance (*πα-μεεγε*))«. *He* (*ντοq*) stood up (*α-q-τωοyn*), took (*α-q-qi*) three thousand (*μ-μαλβ n-ψε*) *solidi* (*ν-νομισμα*) and went (*α-q-ει*) out (*εβολ*), travelling (*α-q-μοοψε*) (all) by himself (*μαγαα-q*)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), *ANON ΔΕ ΖΩΩΝ* [*μαρενσπο*] *γδαζε ερ αναq μπινουτε ζιτν ζηπραζιc* (for *ζενπραζιc*) *ενανοουγ* 'let *us* (*ANON ΔΕ*), in our turn (*ζωω-ν*), be zealous (*μαρε-ν-σπογδαζε*) to please (*ε-ρ ανα-q*) God (*μ-π-νουτε*) through (*ζιτν*) good (*ε-νανοου-ογ*) deeds (*ζη-πραζιc*)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

#### 10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. *παειωτ ετβε ου ανοκ παζητ ναωτ* 'My father (*πα-ειωτ*), *why* (*ετβε ου*) is, (as far as) *I* (*ανοκ*) (am concerned), my heart (*πα-ζητ*) (so) bold (*ναωτ*)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. *ANON ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΓΑΑΝ* 'as for *us* (*ANON ΔΕ*)] *because of* (*ετβε*) *our sins* (*ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ*), let us lock up ourselves (*μαρ-ν-οπτ-ν εζουyn*) alone (*μαγαα-ν*)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

##### 10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: *νογοειω νιμ νεφογωψ αν εχι εσογ εβολ ζιτν ηρωμε* 'at *no* (*αν*) *time* (*νιμ n-ογοειω*) did he (Pachôm) want (*νε-q-ογωψ*) to be praised (lit. to get (*ε-χι*) praise (*εσογ*)) by (*ζιτν*) people (*η-ρωμε*)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. *ετβε ου τεριμε νναγ νιμ* 'why (*ετβε ου*) do you (woman) weep (*τε-ριμε*) *all* (*νιμ*) *the time* (*η-ναγ*)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225,

65:22), *ζαζ δε νσοπ ψακκιν εγορη* '(on) *many* (*ζαζ*) *occasions* (*ν-σοπ*) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (*ψα-q-κιν*) towards anger (*ε-γ-ορη*)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. *ζωστε ντε ζαζ ντε νετζη πτμε τμψομδομ ετωμντ εροq ηζαζ νσοπ* 'such that (*ζωστε*) *many* (*ζαζ*) who were in (*ν-ετ-ζη*) the village (*π-τμε*) could not (*ντε ... τμ-ψ-ομ-δομ*) meet (*ε-τωμντ*) him (*ερο-q*) *on many* (*ν-ζαζ*) *occasions* (*ν-σοπ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

#### 10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

##### a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. *ουζουγ δε εβολ ζη ουζουγ α τδαμαγε νισε νογψερε νσζιμε* '*one day* (*ου-ζουγ δε εβολ ζη ου-ζουγ*), the she-camel (*τ-δαμαγε*) delivered (*α ... νισε*) a daughter (*ν-ογ-ψερε ν-σζιμε*)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), *ζη ουψνε δε εc* (for *ειc*) *πζαγιoc* *μερκογριoc* *αφει εζουyn* '*all of a sudden* (*ζη ου-ψνε*), *the holy* (*π-ζαγιoc*) *Mercurius* came (*α-q-ει*) in (*εζουyn*)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

##### b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. *μπεφραστε αqζμοoc επβημα νοι ζαρμενιoc ζη πεθεαδρον* '*on the* (lit. *his*) *next day* (*μ-πεφ-ραστε*) Armenius sat down (*α-q-ζμοoc*) on the tribune (*ε-π-βημα*) in (*ζη*) the theatre (*πε-θεαδρον*)' (KHML I 76:8-9), *ζτοουε δε ζαθη μπουοειν α τεσζιμε νσαμαριθc* [*νε*][*ce*] *νηεζ*[*ιο*]*με ετνμμαc πεχαc ναγ χε* (...) '(at) *dawn* (*ζτοουε*) *before* (*ζαθη*) (*sun*)*light* (*η-π-ογοειν*), the Samaritan (*η-σαμαριθc*) woman (*τε-σζιμε*) woke up (*α ... νεζce*) the women (*η-νε-ζιομε*) in her company (*ετ-νμμα-c*) (and) said (*πεχα-с*) to them (*να-γ*) that (*χε*) (...) (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

c) *Topicalised adverbs*

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as “as for”, they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. *σοι μεν ψαγοωωζ εχμ πεβω ευψανοντι σοι δε ψαγοωωζ εχμ ποεικ* ‘*some time* (σοι μεν) they (flies) will sit (ψα-γ-οωωζ) on (εχμ) honey (π-εβω), if they can find it (ε-γ-ψαν-οντι-ς), *some other time* (σοι δε) they will sit (ψα-γ-οωωζ) on (εχμ) bread (π-οεικ)’ (Sh. III 48:6-8), *αγω εις σε νρομπε τφοοπ ζν τιερνια* ‘and (αγω), look (εις), *for sixty* (σε) *years* (ν-ρομπε) I have been living (τ-φοοπ) in (ζν) this desert (τι-ερνια)’ (Onnophr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like *μηνωωζ* ‘after that’ and *ετβε παι* ‘because of that’ have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. *μηνωωζ αφοωωζ ναφ [εβολ] νοι πζαγιος απα μηνα [ζν ουζορομα]* ‘*after this* (μηνωωζ-ς) the holy (π-ζαγιος) Apa Mēna revealed (himself) (α-φ-οωωζ εβολ) to him (να-φ) in (ζν) a vision (ουζορομα)’ (Mena, Mir. 32a:11-14), *ετβε παι εκεωωπε ζν νταρταρος ψα πεζοου μπζαπ* ‘*because of* (ετβε) *this* (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-ωωπε) in (ζν) the Tartaros (ν-ταρταρος) until (ψα) the day (πε-ζοου) of the Judgement (ν-π-ζαπ)’ (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O–S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle *νοι*. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like *ντερεφχε ναι δε νοι παγγελοσ (...)* ‘when *the angel* (π-αγγελοσ) had said (ντερε-χε) these (ναι) (words) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ΝΤΕΡΕ- TEMPORAL	-φ- <i>he</i>	χε say	ναι these	νοι FOCUS MARKER	π-αγγελοσ <i>the angel</i>

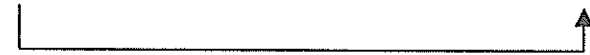


FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) *αφωκ νοι ουσον ψα απα χιχωι ειπτοου ναπα αντωνιος* ‘*a brother* (ου-σον) came (α-φ-ωκ) to (ψα) Apa Čičdi in the monastery (ε-π-τοου) of Apa Antony’ (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), *αγει εψιητ νοι ζνμοναχοσ* (for *ζενμοναχοσ*) *εβολ ζν κημε* ‘(there) came (α-γ-ει) to Shīēt (ε-ψιητ) *monks* (ζν-μοναχοσ) from (εβολ ζν) Egypt (κημε)’ (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) *μηνωωζ ζενκερογι νζοου αφνηφε νοι πσον ετμμαγ* ‘after (μηνωωζ) a few days (ν-ζοου) more (ζεν-κε-ρογι) *that* (ετμμαγ) (disobedient) *brother* (π-σον) cooled down (α-φ-νηφε)’ (V. Pach. 140:30), *εψανειμε γαρ νοι νενταγναγ εροφ τηρου σεναπιστεγε εροφ* (Eud. 52:21-22) ‘because (γαρ) if all (τηρ-οφ) *those* (people) *who saw* (νε-ντ-α-γ-ναγ) him (Jesus Christ) (ερο-φ) come to know (ε-γ-ψαν-ειμε) (about it), they will believe (σε-να-πιστεγε) in him (ερο-φ)’ (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) *νπεφραστε αφζμοοσ επβημα νοι ζαρμενιοσ ζμ πεθεαδρον* ‘on the (lit. his) next day (ν-πεφ-ραστε) *Armenius* (ζαρμενιοσ) sat down (α-φ-ζμοοσ) on the tribune (ε-π-βημα) in (ζμ) the theatre (πε-θεαδρον)’ (KHML 1 76:8-9), (demonstratives) *ντεγνοφ αφζροκ νοι παι εβολ ζμ πεφωωντ* ‘suddenly (ντεγνοφ) *this one* (the ill-tempered brother) (παι) calmed down (α-φ-ζροκ) from (εβολ ζμ) his rage (πεφ-ωωντ)’ (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) *αγω νσει ειζραι εχωου νοι νεσμοφ τηρου ετχηζ* ‘and (αγω) *all* (τηρ-οφ) *the blessings* (νε-σμοφ) written down (ετ-χηζ) (in the Scriptures) will come (ν-σε-ει) upon them (εχω-οφ)’ (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) *ενεμπτογωωπε γαρ ζν κημε νοι μοναστηριον ετωω* ‘as (γαρ) (there) were not yet (ε-νε-μπ-ατ-οφ-ωωπε)



*many* (ετ-ου) *monasteries* (η-μοναστηριον) in (2N) Egypt (κημε)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *αγω νεφιμεζ ημσαζ νοι πεισορ ετμηαυ* 'and (αγω) *that* (ετ-μηαυ) *canal* (π-εισορ) was full (νε-φ-μεζ) of crocodiles (η-μσαζ)' (V. Ant. 21:8).

#### 10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle νοι

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker νοι to the right of the locative question word των 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. εφτων πταφος ηπαχοεις 'where (των) (is) *the tomb* (π-ταφος) of my lord (η-πα-χοεις)?' (Eud. 58:25), εφτων πρωμε ετταλη επιχοι ημ[η]ακ 'where (is) (των) *the man* (π-ρωμε) who was on board (ετ-ταλη) of the ship (ε-π-χοι) with you (ημ[η]ακ)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle νοι, e.g. μη ειταιη ανοκ εζογε παχοεις 'am I (ανοκ) then more (εζογ(ε)) honoured (ε-ι-ταειη) than my Lord (ε-πα-χοεις)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), τερζοτε ντο ζητq ηπνουτε 'you (woman) (ντο) fear (τε-ρ-ζοτε ζητ-q) God (η-π-νουτε)' (Eud. 64:23), qχw γαρ ημοc ντοq παχοεις χε (...) 'for (γαρ) *he* (ντοq), *the Lord* (π-χοεις), says (q-χw) that (χε) (...)' (Sh. III 60:4-5).

#### 10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. ναι τηρου εφειρε ημοου ετβηητην νοι πετεουνδον ημοq 2N 2ωβ ημ 'as for *all* (τηρ-ου) *these* (things) (ναι), *he who has* (π-ετ-ε-ουν) *power* (δον) over (2N) *everything* (2ωβ ημ) is doing (ε-φ-ειρε) them (ημοου) because of us (ετβηητ-η)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), παι δε αqχw νουψαχε ηαζραq νοι βασιμοc πετσοοπ 2N νετογααβ 'as for *the latter* (παι δε), *Basimos* (βασιμοc), who is (π-ετ-σοοπ) amongst (2N) *the saints* (η-ετ-ογααβ) said (α-φ-χw) a word (η-ου-ψαχε) to him (ηαζρα-φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), 2τοογε δε ηπμαζσαφq (for ηπμεζσαφq) ασογεζσαζνε νοι

τηρω εδωπε ηαc ηνιογδαι ετσοοπ 2N θιληη ηη ciωη 'on the *morning* (2τοογε) of *the seventh* (day) (η-π-μαζ-σαφq), *the queen* (τ-ρω) ordered (lit.placed (α-σ-ογεζ) an order (σαζνε)) to arrest (ε-δωπε) for her (ηα-σ) the Jews (η-η-ιογδαι) who were living (ετ-σοοπ) in (2N) Jerusalem (θιληη) and (ηη) Zion (ciωη)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

#### 10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

##### a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V-O-S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. ντερεφχε ναι δε νοι παγγελοc (...) 'when *the angel* (π-αγγελοc) had said (ντερε-χε) these (ναι) (words) (...)' (Test. Is. 230:12), σενατcαβο εροq νοι νεβολ 2N ταφυη (...) '*the people* (η-εβολ) of (2N) *my tribe* (τα-φυη) will inform you (woman) (σε-να-τcαβο) about it (ερο-φ) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), εψανκρινε δε ημοq νοι νετζμηη (...) 'if *the residents* (η-ετ-ζμη-ηη) judge (ε-ψαν-κρινε) him (ημο-φ) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), αγω αqωτε εροq νοι ηζαρμα ημπερσοc ετρευμογουτ ημοq 'and (αγω) *the chariots* (η-ζαρμα) of the Persians (η-η-περσοc) surrounded (α-γ-ωτε) him (Constantine) (ερο-φ) to kill (ε-τρε-υ-μογουτ) him (ημο-φ)' (Eud. 42:25). V-O-S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. αγω αqχι εσογ νοι πραν ηπενχοεις ιc πεχc 'and (αγω) *the name* (π-ραν) of our Lord (η-πεν-χοεις) Jesus (ιc) Christ (πε-χc) received (α-φ-χι) glory (εσογ)' (Eud. 40:27-28), ντερεφ[ρ] 2ηαφ δε νοι πνουτε (...) 'when it pleased (ντερε-φ-ρ 2ηα-φ) *God* (π-νουτε)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

## b) Verbs of saying and reporting

Subject inversion is also possible with *verbs of saying and reporting* that introduce reported speech, e.g.  $\lambda\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha \ \chi\epsilon$  (...) '*Our fathers* ( $\nu\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ) *said* ( $\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ ) about ( $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ ) someone ( $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3),  $\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi\ \text{for} \ \lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\upsilon\ \ \nu\alpha\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\ \nu\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon$  (...) '*the deacon* ( $\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\ \nu\omicron\varsigma$ ) *answered* ( $\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi$ ) her ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) (...)' (Hil. 4:28-29),  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\phi \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\tau\lambda\omicron \ \mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\ \rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon$  (...) '*the blessed* ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\ \rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) *old man* ( $\pi\text{-}\tau\lambda\omicron$ ) *said* ( $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}\phi$ ) to me ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) (...)' (Onnophr. 213:27-28).

## c) Motion verbs

When combined with verbs of inherently directed motion, subject-inverted clauses assume a presentative meaning and function, signalling the appearance of a referent in the realm of discourse, e.g.  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \nu\eta \ \nu\pi\tau\iota\gamma\eta \ \nu\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'open ( $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \nu\eta$ ) the gate ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\pi\iota\gamma\eta$ ) (that) *Matthew* ( $\mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) can come ( $\nu\text{-}\phi\epsilon\iota$ ) in ( $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\iota$ )' (KHML II 21:6-7),  $\lambda\upsilon\beta\omega\kappa \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\ \sigma\tau\ \rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma \ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \tau\omicron\omicron\mu \ \epsilon\tau\ \rho\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\tau\iota\phi$  '*the generals* ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\tau\ \rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ ) of ( $\nu\tau\epsilon$ ) *the army* ( $\tau\text{-}\omicron\omicron\mu$ ) *went* ( $\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$ ) immediately ( $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon$ ) to fetch him (Constantine) ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\ \rho\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\phi$ )' (Eud. 38:5-6),  $\phi\eta\eta\gamma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \pi\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\phi\ \varsigma\ \nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omicron\iota \ \mu\pi\ \varsigma\ \bar{\alpha}\ \beta\beta\alpha\tau.\ \nu \ \mu\eta \ \tau\kappa\upsilon\ \rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$  '*an angel* ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) of ( $\nu\tau\epsilon$ ) *God* ( $\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) *comes* ( $\phi\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ ) and administers (the Eucharist) ( $\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ) to me ( $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\iota$ ) on Saturday ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\varsigma\ \bar{\alpha}\ \beta\beta\alpha\tau.\ \nu$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) Sunday ( $\tau\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\ \rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$ )' (Onnophr. 214:22-23).

## d) Statives

Subject-inverted Stative sentences are not so much presentational constructions, but rather emphatic assertions: they emphasise the truth or correctness of the statement being made, e.g.  $\phi\omicron\ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\ \pi\alpha\ \nu\tau\omega\ \kappa\ \rho\alpha\tau\omega\ \rho$  '(as) *God* ( $\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) *Almighty* ( $\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\ \nu\tau\omega\ \kappa\ \rho\alpha\tau\omega\ \rho$ ) *lives* ( $\phi\text{-}\omicron\ \nu\omicron\iota$ )' (Onnophr. 215:27),  $\lambda\gamma\omega \ \phi\ \varsigma\ \mu\alpha\ \mu\alpha\ \lambda\ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\ \tau\omega\ \delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\ \nu\alpha\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\phi$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) *the good* ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\nu\alpha\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\phi$ ) *plant* ( $\pi\text{-}\tau\omega\ \delta\epsilon$ ) *is blessed* ( $\phi\text{-}\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\ \mu\alpha\ \lambda\$ )' (V. Pach. 136:5-6),  $\phi\ \varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\ \kappa\alpha\ \tau \ \epsilon\ \nu\omicron\lambda \ \tau\ \nu \ \nu\epsilon\ \kappa\ \tau\ \beta\eta\gamma\epsilon$  '*cursed* ( $\phi\text{-}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi$ ) be *the earth* ( $\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\ \tau$ ) because of ( $\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\lambda \ \tau\ \nu$ ) your deeds ( $\nu\epsilon\ \kappa\ \tau\ \beta\eta\gamma\epsilon$ )' (Abbatôn 238:29).

## 10.1.5.5 Semantic types of focus

Subject inversion represents an ex-situ focusing strategy in which the subject is placed in a postverbal focus position where it can be assigned nuclear (sentence) stress.

## a) Presentational focus

In the unmarked case inverted subjects correspond to presentational (new information) focus, which introduces new referents into the discourse. In placing the focused subject at the end of the clause, it is one of the last sentence elements to be mentioned and hence available for later recall in the subsequent discourse. There is a strong tendency for presentational foci to be hearer-new, which results in the frequent occurrence of specific indefinite noun phrases in subject-inverted clauses, e.g.  $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon \ \lambda\phi\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omega\ \mu\epsilon \ \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \nu \ \epsilon\ \rho\epsilon \ \kappa\epsilon\ \varsigma\ \nu\alpha\gamma$   $\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\phi\epsilon \ \mu\mu\alpha\phi$  (...) 'suddenly ( $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon$ ), *a luminous* ( $\nu\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \nu$ ) *man* ( $\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\ \mu\epsilon$ ) came ( $\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\iota$ ) with two others ( $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\gamma$ ) walking ( $\epsilon\ \rho\epsilon$  ...  $\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\phi\epsilon$ ) besides him ( $\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\phi$ )' (Mena, Mir. 21b:10-14),  $\lambda\upsilon\beta\omega\kappa \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \nu \ \omega\ \rho\alpha \ \alpha\ \pi\alpha\ \chi\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  (read  $\alpha\ \pi\alpha \ \lambda\chi\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ )  $\nu\omicron\iota \ \omega\ \mu\eta\ \nu\tau \ \nu\tau\lambda\omicron$  'once ( $\nu\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \nu$ ) *three* ( $\omega\ \mu\eta\ \nu\tau$ ) *senior* (*monks*) ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\lambda\omicron$ ) approached ( $\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\ \omega\kappa$ ) Apa Archillas' (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-21).

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g.  $\mu\eta\ \nu\varsigma\ \alpha \ \pi\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \delta\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\ \chi\ \varsigma \ \lambda\phi\epsilon\iota \ \omega\ \rho\omicron\phi \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda \ \pi\alpha\ \rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\eta\ \mu\theta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \ \epsilon\lambda\phi\tau\ \varsigma\ \alpha\ \nu\omicron\phi$  (...) 'after ( $\mu\eta\ \nu\varsigma\ \alpha$ ) the glorification ( $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) of Christ ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\ \varsigma$ ), *Michael* ( $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$ ), *the Archangel* ( $\pi\text{-}\alpha\ \rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) of heaven ( $\nu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\theta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ), came ( $\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) to him (Constantine) ( $\omega\ \rho\omicron\phi\text{-}\phi$ ) and instructed him ( $\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\tau\ \varsigma\ \alpha\ \nu\omicron\phi\text{-}\phi$ ) (...) (Eud. 42:1-2),  $\epsilon\gamma\ \omega\ \nu\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\ \rho\omega\ \mu\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \mu\ \rho\omega \ \nu\tau\alpha\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\ \phi \ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\ \varsigma\ \alpha$  'when *the people* ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\ \mu\epsilon$ ) of the harbour ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\mu\ \rho\omega$ ) go to sleep ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omega\ \nu\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ), I will take it (the corpse) ( $\tau\text{-}\nu\alpha\text{-}\phi\ \tau\text{-}\phi$ ) and throw it ( $\nu\tau\alpha\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\text{-}\phi$ ) into the sea ( $\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\ \varsigma\ \alpha$ )' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7),  $\lambda\varsigma\ \omega\ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \tau\omega\ \nu \ \epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi \ \mu\pi\ \pi\alpha\ \tau\ \rho\iota\alpha\ \rho\chi\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\iota\ \varsigma\ \alpha\ \lambda\kappa \ \epsilon\tau\ \rho\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\ \nu\omicron\lambda \ \tau\ \nu \ \varsigma\ \omega\ \mu\alpha$  'it happened ( $\lambda\text{-}\varsigma\ \omega\ \nu\tau\epsilon$ ) when *the days* ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi$ ) of the patriarch ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\ \tau\ \rho\iota\alpha\ \rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ ) Isaac had come near

(*ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΖΩΝ*) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (*Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΕΙ*) out of (*ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ*) the body (*ΣΩΜΑ*))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), *ΑΦΟΥΩΨ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΘΒΙΕ ΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ* 'God (*Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ*) wanted (*Α-Φ-ΟΥΨ*) to make his mind (*ΠΕΦ-ΜΕΕΥΕ*) humble (*Ε-ΘΒΙΕ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), *ΑΦΩ ΕΦΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΖΩΨ* 'Our father (Pachôm) (*ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ*) kept (*Α-Φ-Ω*) asking (*Ε-Φ-ΑΙΤΕΙ*) God (*Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ*) about (*ΕΤΒΕ*) this matter (*ΠΕΙ-ΖΩΨ*)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

## b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. *ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟΣ ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΗ ΠΕΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΧΗ ΠΙΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΦΜΗΝΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΜΗΑΤΟΙ* 'the *Persian* (*Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡΣΟΣ*) *kings* (*ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ*) arose (*Α-Υ-ΤΩΟΥΝ*), gathered (*Α-Υ-ΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ*) together with (*ΜΗ*) all (*ΤΗΡ-Φ*) their multitude (*ΠΕΥ-ΜΗΝΨΕ*) (and) went (*Α-Υ-ΕΙ*) to (*ΕΧΗ*) the river (*Π-ΙΕΡΟ*) Tigris (*ΤΙΓΡΙΣ*). (King) *Constantine* (*ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ*) arose (*Α-Φ-ΤΩΟΥΝ*) (and) gathered (*Α-Φ-ΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ*) all (*ΤΗΡ-Φ*) his troops (*Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΜΗΝΨΕ*) of soldiers (*Μ-ΜΑΤΟΙ*) (...)' (Eud. 42:18-20), *ΑΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΟΙ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΔΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ* 'it happened (*Α-Σ-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ*) when God (*Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ*) had overthrown (*ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΠΩΩΝΕ*) the unlawful (*Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ*) king (*Π-ΡΡΟ*) *Diocletian* (*Ν-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟΣ*) (that) the lawful (*Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ*) king (*Π-ΡΡΟ*) *Constantine* (*ΚΩΣΤΑΝΔΙΝΟΣ*) became (*Α-Φ-Ρ*) king (*ΡΡΟ*) in his place (*Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΜΑ*)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), *ΦΣΟΤΠ ΝΟΙ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΤΑΙ* 'the death (*Π-ΜΟΥ*) of that (daughter) (*Ν-ΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ*) is better (*Φ-ΣΟΤΠ*) than (*ΠΑΡΑ*) the life (*Π-ΟΝΖ*) of this one (*Ν-ΤΑΙ*)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

## c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. *ΤΜΕΖΟΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΛΠΙΞ ΨΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΟΙ ΝΚΟΜΕΣ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΗ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΑΥΛΗ ΜΠΡΡΟ* '(on the blast of) the second (*Τ-ΜΕΖ-ΟΝΤΕ*) trumpet (*Ν-ΣΑΛΠΙΞ*), the courtiers (*Ν-ΚΟΜΕΣ*) and (*ΜΗ*) tribunes (*ΝΕ-ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ*) and (*ΜΗ*) chief officials (*Ν-ΑΡΧΩΝ*) of the royal (*Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ*) court (*Ν-Τ-ΑΥΛΗ*) would gather (*ΨΑ-Υ-ΣΩΟΥΖ*)' (Eud. 60:16-18), *ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΤΗ ΝΟΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΧΠΙΟ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΝΟΘΝΕΘ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΣΝΟΦ ΝΙΜ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (...)* 'so that (*ΧΕΚΑΣ*) all (*ΝΙΜ*) judgement (*ΖΑΠ*) and (*ΖΙ*) all (*ΝΙΜ*) blame (*ΧΠΙΟ*) and (*ΖΙ*) all (*ΝΙΜ*) reproach (*ΝΟΘΝΕΘ*) and (*ΖΙ*) all (*ΝΙΜ*) grief (*ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ*) and (*ΖΙ*) all (*ΝΙΜ*) righteous (*Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ*) blood (*ΣΝΟΦ*) (...) will come (*Ε-Υ-Ε-ΕΙ*) down (*ΕΖΡΑΙ*) upon you (*ΕΧΩ-ΤΗ*)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), *ΕΛΦΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΠΤΑΚΟ ΒΕΠΗ ΕΕΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΕΤΡΕΥΤΗΜΕΦ ΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΛΙΦΙΣ ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ (...)* 'and an unlawful (*Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ*) king (*ΟΥ-ΡΡΟ*) whom perdition (*Π-ΤΑΚΟ*) would soon (*Ε ... ΒΕΠΗ*) overcome (*Ε-ΕΙ ΕΧΩ-Φ*) gave (*Ε-Α-Φ-ΟΥΕΖ*) order (*ΣΑΖΝΕ*) to make the prophet (*Μ-ΠΕ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ*) eat (lit. that they feed him (*Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΤΗΜΕ-Φ*)) the bread (*ΟΕΙΚ*) of affliction (*Ν-ΕΛΙΦΙΣ*) (...)' (Sh. III 106:16-19).

## 10.2 Residual V-S(-O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V-S-O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V-S-O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V-S-O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. <b>ΝΑΝΟΥ-</b> 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V-S	<b>ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ</b> 'your eagerness ( <b>ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΡΟΤ</b> ) is excellent ( <b>ΝΑΝΟΥ</b> )' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS <b>ΟΥΝ, ΜΗ</b> '(there)is, (there) is no'	V-S	<b>ΟΥΕΝ ΖΗΚΕΖΗΥΕ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΛΦΑΛΥ ΜΟΙ ΙϞ</b> '(there) are ( <b>ΟΥΕΝ</b> ) numerous ( <b>Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ</b> ) other works ( <b>ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΖΗΥΕ</b> ) that Jesus ( <b>ΙϞ</b> ) did ( <b>Ε-Λ-Φ-ΑΛ-Υ</b> )' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS <b>ΟΥΝΤΕ-/ΟΥΝΤΑ=</b> <b>ΜΗΝΤΕ-/ΜΗΝΤΑ=</b> 'to have/not have'	V-S-O	<b>ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ</b> 'although you (woman) have ( <b>Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ</b> ) your husband ( <b>ΠΟΥ-ΖΑΙ</b> )' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V-S(-O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. **ΝΑΨΕ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΤΑΥΝΤΟΥ ΝΑΣ** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) the gold (**Π-ΝΟΥΒ**) and (**ΜΗ**) silver (**ΠΖΑΤ**) that was brought (**ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ**) to her (**ΝΑ-Σ**) was much (**ΝΑΨΕ**)' (Eud. 64:2-3), **ΜΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΩΝΕ ΞΨΩΝΕ** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) (there) is no (**ΜΗ**) difference (**ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ**) of one sickness (**Ν-ΨΩΝΕ**) over the (other) sickness (**Ε-ΨΩΝΕ**)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

### 10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like **ΟΥΒΑΩ, ΟΥΟΒΩ**<sup>†</sup> 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
<b>ΝΑΑ-</b>	<b>ΝΑΑ=</b>	to be great
	<b>ΝΑ(Ε)ΙΑΤ=</b>	to be blessed
<b>ΝΑΝΟΥ-</b> (var. <b>ΝΑΝΕ-</b> )	<b>ΝΑΝΟΥ=</b>	to be good
<b>ΝΑΨΕ-</b>	<b>ΝΑΨΩ=</b>	to be numerous
<b>ΝΕΣΕ-</b>	<b>ΝΕΣΩ=</b>	to be beautiful
	<b>ΝΕΣΒΩ=</b>	to be intelligent
	<b>ΝΕΩ(Ω)=</b>	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord **Ν-** ... **ΑΝ** (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker **Ν-**), e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ** (for **ΜΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**) 'but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) I am not (**ΑΝ**) excellent (**ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ι**) as (**ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ**) a Christian (**Μ-ΠΕ-ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. **ΚΑΛΩΣ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΨΑΞΕ ΝΤΑΚΧΟΟΦ** 'how very (**ΚΑΛΩΣ**) fair is (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**) the word (**Π-ΨΑΞΕ**) that you have spoken (**ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Φ**)' (Hil. 4:35), **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'the matter (**Π-ΖΩΒ**) (i.e. buying books) is excellent (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**), but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) poverty (**Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ**) is better (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**) than all (**ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ**) of these (**ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-ΟΥ**)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), **ΝΤΟ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΣΕ ΖΡΑ[С]** 'you (**ΝΤΟ**) (are) a woman (**ΟΥ-ΣΖΙΜΕ**) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (**ΖΡΑ-С**) is beautiful (**Ε-ΝΕΣΕ**))' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom **ΝΑΙΑΤ-** 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb **ΝΑΑ-** 'to be great' and the body-part expression **ΕΙΑΤ-Φ** 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. **ΝΑΙΑΤΦ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** 'more (**ΝΖΟΥΟ**) blessed (**ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Φ**) is he who will always (**Ν-ΟΥΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ**) see (**Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ**) his own (**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Φ**) sins (**Ε-ΝΕΦ-ΝΟΒΕ**)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΕΙΕ ΝΑΕΙΑΤΝ ΖΩΩΝ** 'then (**ΕΙΕ**) (how) blessed

are we (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Ν) ourselves (ΖΩΩ-Ν)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΡΓΟΣ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) the lazy ones (Ν-ΑΡΓΟΣ) are numerous (ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ), too (ΟΝ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ΧΕ ΕΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΦΚΑΡΠΟΣ 'since (ΧΕ) its fruit (ΝΕΦ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) are fine-looking (Ε-ΝΕΣΩ-ΟΥ)' (Abbatôn 237:10-11).

### 10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ΟΥΝ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ΜΝ '(there) is no', e.g. ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ 'is (there) (ΟΥΝ) anybody (ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ΜΝ ΣΟΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) brother (ΣΟΝ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

#### 10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΣΟΝ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a brother (ΟΥ-ΣΟΝ) in (ΖΗ) a monastery (ΟΥ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΣ[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ (...) '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) other brothers (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΣΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) in (ΖΙ) the desert (Π-ΤΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝΣΑ) you (ΝΤΟΚ), Apollôn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΒΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ Η ΖΜΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΨΙΚΖ {ΠΨΙΚΖ}<sub>sic</sub> ΝΑΡ ΟΥΗΡ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) thirty (ΜΑΛΒΕ) or (Η) forty (ΖΜΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) (heaped) on (ΖΙΧΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ), how large (ΟΥΗΡ) must the pit (Π-ΨΙΚΖ) be (ΕΡΕ ...

ΝΑ-Ρ)?' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ '(there) was (ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΟΝ) who did (Ε-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΖΗ ΚΗΜΕ ΕΟΥΝΤΑΦ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΕΦΧΘΣ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΑ) in (ΖΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) who had (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a paralysed (Ε-Φ-ΧΘΣ) son (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ΕΝΕΜΗΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΝΣΑ ΠΚΑΣ ΜΗ ΠΨΑΑΡ 'without (there) being (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΗΝ) anything (ΑΛΑΥ) on her (ΝΖΗΤ-Σ) except (ΝΣΑ) bone (Π-ΚΑΣ) and (ΜΗ) skin (Π-ΨΑΑΡ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΗ ΗΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΛΤΕΙΑ) ΑΥΩ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΣΕΧΙ ΖΜΟΤ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΑΡΧΕΟΣ (for ΝΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ) 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ), how (Ν-ΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ) are (there) (ΟΥΝ) some (people) (ΖΟΙΝΕ) who toil (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΗ) ascetic labours (Μ-ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ), and (ΑΥΩ) at present (ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ) do not (ΑΝ) obtain (Ν-ΣΕ-ΧΙ) grace (ΖΜΟΤ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) the ancient ones (Ν-Ν-ΑΡΧΕΟΣ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

#### 10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ Π̄Ν̄Α '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) a resurrection (ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) angels (ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a spirit (Π̄Ν̄Α)' (Acts 23:8), ΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ '(there) isn't (ΜΝ) anyone (ΑΛΑΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

#### 10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

##### a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ΜΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΩΝΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ΜΝ ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΕΡΣΟC '(there) is no (ΜΝ) king (ΡΡΟ) as powerful (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) as (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡΣΟC) empire (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΠΕΧ̄C ΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄C), the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

#### b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ΟΥΝ CΟΝ ΜΗΜΟΝΟΧΟC (ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟC) ΜΠΑΖΟΥ '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (CΟΝ) monk (Η-ΜΟΝΟΧΟC) further on (ΜΠΑΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΛΗ ΖΥΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΡΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) courtyard (Ν-ΑΥΛΗ) at (ΖΥΡΗ) the entrance (Π-ΡΟ) of the cell (Ν-Τ-ΡΙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC (for ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC) ΜΜΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '(there) was no (ΝΕ-ΜΝ ... ΑΝ) interpreter (ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC) there (ΜΜΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΜΜΑΙ '(there) is (ΜΝ) nobody (ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΜΜΑ-Ι)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΜΗΝΤΑΤΘΟΜ ΖΑΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) impossibility (ΛΑΑΥ Μ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΘΟΜ) with (ΖΑΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

#### c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚΟC '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the shrine (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Apa Mēna whose name (was) (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ ΠΕ) Marcus' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙΟC ΕΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΘΙΛΗΜ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) one (ΟΥΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΑΒ) who was called (lit. whom (ΕΡΟ-Q) they called (Ε-ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ)) Philagrios, who lived (Ε-Q-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΜ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΝΜΜΑQ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΦΗΝΤΚΟΥΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) also (ΟΝ) a (certain) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) who was possessed by a demon (lit. a demon (ΟΥ-ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ) was with him (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΜΜΑ-Q)) from (ΝΧΙΝ) his childhood (ΤΕΦ-ΗΝΤ-ΚΟΥΙ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

#### 10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativised existential verb ϋοοπ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΜΕ ΜΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ '(for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a big (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) heat (Ν-ΖΗΜΕ) down (ΜΠΕCΗΤ) in that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Μ-Π-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ΝΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟ[C] ΓΑΡ ΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΜΝ ΖΗΝΟC (for ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ ϋοοπ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΜΗΤΡΡΟ '(for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕΡΕ ... ϋοοπ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) peace (Ν-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) and (ΜΝ) a lot (ΖΗ-ΝΟC) of good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) in (ΖΗ) their kingdom

(*τευ-μντ-ppo*)' (Mena, Enc. 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. *ἀνοκ δε τῆπεϊμα χιν περοου ετμμᾶ* '(as for) me (*ἀνοκ*), *ἰ* (*am*) in this place (*τ-η-πει-μα*) from (*χιν*) that (*ετμμᾶ*) day (*πε-ροου*) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

### 10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences are formed with the possessive predicates *οὔντα-* and *μντα-*, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. *οὔν* or *μν*, and a locative-committative preposition *ντα-* 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. *νεοὔντε πρρο σαλιπζ σντε ννοὔβ νχαζχζ* 'the King (*π-ρρο*) had (*νε-οὔντε*) two (*σντε*) trumpets (*σαλιπζ*) of refined (*ν-χαζχζ*) gold (*ν-νοὔβ*)' (Eud. 60:13), *μνται εἰωτ μμᾶ η μμᾶ* 'I don't have (*μντα-ι*) father (*εἰωτ*) or (*η*) mother (*μμᾶ*)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial *μμᾶ* 'there', e.g. *οὔνται μμᾶ νοὔψαχε εχοοφ εροου* 'I have (*οὔντα-ι*) a word (*ν-οὔ-ψαχε*) to say (*ε-χοο-φ*) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), *νεοὔνταφ μμᾶ νοὔμνηψε νχρημα* 'he (the rich man) had (*νε-οὔντα-φ*) a lot (*ν-οὔ-μνηψε*) of money (*ν-χρημα*)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), *εμνταφ εζοὔσια μμᾶ εερ πβολ μψων ετμμᾶ* 'without having (*ε-μντα-φ*) the strength (*εζοὔσια*) to come out (*ε-ερ π-βολ*) of that (*ετ-μμᾶ*) tree(*μ-π-ψων*)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

#### 10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: *οὔντα-φ* /wəntaf/ → *οὔντ-φ* /wəntəf/ 'he has', *μντα-φ* /məntaf/ → *μντ-φ* /məntəf/ 'he does not have'.

	ΟΥΝΤΑ- 'HAVE'	ΜΝΤΑ- 'NOT HAVE'
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι (ΟΥΝΤ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Ι (ΜΝΤ)
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Κ (ΟΥΝΤ-Κ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Κ (ΜΝΤ-Κ)
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΕ	ΜΝΤΕ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ (ΟΥΝΤ-Φ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Φ (ΜΝΤ-Φ)
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Σ (ΟΥΝΤ-Σ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Σ (ΜΝΤ-Σ)
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ν (ΟΥΝΤ-Ν)	ΜΝΤΑ-Ν (ΜΝΤ-Ν)
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ΟΥΝΤΗ-ΤΗ	ΜΝΤΗ-ΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Υ (ΟΥΝΤ-ΟΥ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Υ (ΜΝΤ-ΟΥ)
Before noun	ΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ	ΜΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

#### 10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)
NE- PRETERIT	ΟΥΝΤΕ 'HAVE'	π-ρρο the king	σαλιπζ σντε trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates *οὔντα-* and *μντα-* appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. *εοὔντε ποὔζαι* '(although) you (woman) have (*ε-οὔντε*) your husband (*ποὔ-ζαι*)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9), *εμντφ κερουψ μμᾶ επτηρφ νσα πεψλη μν τδιακρις μνετφψ μμοὔ* 'while he (Apa Zenobius) had no (*ε-μντ-φ*) other concern (*κε-ροὔψ*) at all (*επτηρφ*) than (*νσα*) prayer (*πε-ψλη*) and the critical evaluation (*τ-διακρις*) of what he was reading (*ν-ετ-φ-ψ*)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. *αὔψ μνταν νλααὔ νκολσα μμᾶ*

ἡσώματικον 'and (ἀγῶ) we don't have (ἡντα-η) any (η-λααγ) physical (η-σώματικον) comfort (η-σολα) (Hil. 5:23), οὐνται ἡμαγ ἡσώμητ ἡσώμηε ἡνανογού 'I have (οὐντα-η) three (η-σώμητ) beautiful (ε-ἡνανογ-ού) books (η-σώμηε)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), εῶχε οὐντητην ἡμαγ ἡνογούτε εῶονη 'if (εῶχε) you have (οὐντη-την) a living (ε-ῶονη) God (η-ογ-νογύτε) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

### 10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas οὐν and ἡν, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [νεγ]ντε ἡρο [κω]σταντινος οὐσῶνε ἡμαγ ἡπαρῆενος ἡπεσαν πε εῶδοξια 'King (η-ρο) Constantine had (ἡε-γντε) a virgin (η-παρῆενος) sister (ογ-σῶνε) whose name (was) (ε-πεσαν πε) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), ἡεμητη ῶηρε ἡσογύτ ἡσα ῶεερε ἡετη ἡεηε ἡματε 'he had no (ἡε-μητη-η) son (ῶηρε ἡ-σογύτ) besides (ἡσα) two (ἡ-σογύτ) daughters (ῶεερε ἡ-εηε) only (ἡματε)' (Hil. 2:5), εῶνταῶε ῶη ἡετρα ἡα ἡαῶ 'he has it (i.e. place) (ε-οὐντα-η-ε) among (ῶη) those who make (ἡ-ετ-κα) a place (ἡα) for him (ἡα-η)' (Sh. III 85:14), ογ πετεοὐνταῶε εῶοῶ 'what (claim) (ογ) (is it) that you have (ετε-οὐντα-κ-η) against him (εῶο-η)?' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

### 10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

#### a) Dative possession

Instead of normal οὐντα- and ἡντα- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative ῶοπη 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. ἡπιδη οὐν οὐνοῶ ἡμκαῶηηητ ῶοπη ἡαῶ ετβε τεῶῶεερε 'since (ἡπιδη) he had (lit. was (οὐν ... ῶοπη) to him (ἡα-η)) a lot (ογ-νοῶ) of grief (η-μκαῶη-ηητ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεῶ-ῶεερε)' (Hil. 7:12-13), εἡν ῶηρε δε ῶοπη ἡαῶ 'while she had no (lit. (there)

was no (ε-ἡν ... ῶοπη) for her (ἡα-ε) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

#### b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction οὐν (ἡν) – (ῶ)ῶομη – ἡμο-η – ε-σῶτη 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (ῶ)ῶομη 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ἡν ῶομη ῶαρ ἡμοῶ εἡοῶε 'since (ῶαρ) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (ῶομη) in him ((ἡμο-η)) to walk (ε-ἡοῶε)' (Eud. 66:9), ἀγῶ ἡν ῶῶομη ἡμοι εῶοηηε εῶοῶ 'and (ἀγῶ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (ῶῶομη ῶομη) in me (ἡμο-η)) to reveal it (ε-οὐηηε-εῶοῶ)' (Hil. 3:21).

### Key Terms:

Basic word order	is the fully productive constituent order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S–V–O can be identified as the basic word order.	§10.1.1
Scrambling	is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3



## Information-packaging constructions

represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence. §10.1.3

## Subject inversion

involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order. §10.1.5

## Presentational (new information) focus

corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse. §10.1.5.5

## Indefiniteness restriction

Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression. §10.2.3.1

## Exercises

## 10.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
  1. Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
  2. The direct object must precede the indirect object.
  3. Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

4. The focus marker  $\text{NOI}$  is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
5. Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
6. Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

## 10.2 Subject order and information structure

- A. Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.
  - (1)  $\text{TWEPE DE WHH NECZEN}$  (for  $\text{NECZN}$ )  $\text{AHNTWHHNE NROMTE}$  'as for *the little* ( $\text{WHH}$ ) *girl* ( $\text{T-WEPE}$ ) *she* was ( $\text{NE-C-ZEN}$ ) about eighteen ( $\text{A-}$ )  $\text{HNT-WHHNE}$  years ( $\text{N-ROMTE}$ ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)
  - (2)  $\text{PAEWT ETBE OY ANOK PAZHT NAWT}$  'my father ( $\text{PA-EWT}$ ), why ( $\text{ETBE OY}$ ) is, (as far as)  $\text{I}$  ( $\text{ANOK}$ ) (am concerned), *my* heart ( $\text{PA-ZHT}$ ) (so) bold ( $\text{NAWT}$ )?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) -
  - (3)  $\text{AYW NWAHE MPMOYTE ETEWACOTHOY NTOOTQ NEWACXOY ZWQ PE ENEQMONACHOC}$  'and ( $\text{AYW}$ ) *the words* ( $\text{N-WAHE}$ ) of God ( $\text{M-PM-OYTE}$ ) which he (the abbot) heard ( $\text{ETE-WA-Q-COTM-OY}$ ) from him ( $\text{N-TOOT-Q}$ ) (Pachôm), he in turn ( $\text{ZWQ-Q}$ ) told *them* ( $\text{NE-WA-Q-XOY}$ ) to his monks ( $\text{E-NEQ-MONACHOC}$ )' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)
  - (4)  $\text{PE[T]ERE PAHOI [NA] XPOQ KATA ROMTE WAIACQ NWHMTE NTO}$  '*what* my boat ( $\text{PA-XOI}$ ) *will* ( $\text{P-ET-ERE ... NA}$ ) *bring in* ( $\text{XPO-Q}$ ) *each* ( $\text{KATA}$ ) *year* ( $\text{ROMTE}$ ), I will split ( $\text{WA-T-AA-Q}$ ) into three ( $\text{N-WHMTTE}$ ) parts ( $\text{N-TO}$ )' (KHML II 17:4-5)
  - (5)  $\text{NAI DE EQXW HMOY NERE ΘEΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΖΗΘΟΣ ΗΠΟΥΕ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΕΡ}$  (for  $\text{ERE}$ )  $\text{PKZO HPECHT}$  'when he (Pachôm) was saying ( $\text{E-Q-XW}$ ) *these* (words) ( $\text{NAI}$ ), Theodore was sitting ( $\text{NERE ... ΖΗΘΟΣ}$ ) at a little ( $\text{N-OY-KOYI}$ ) distance ( $\text{M-PT-OYE}$ ), his face ( $\text{PK-ZO}$ ) (turned down) to the ground ( $\text{ERE ... M-PT-ECHT}$ )' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.

(1) 2M [ΠΤΡ]εφωβω δε [εις] π2ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤQ [εx]ω[q] 2N ΟΥ2Ο[ΡΟ]ΜΑ 'when (2M) he dozed off (Π-ΤΡε-φ-ωβω), look (εις), the holy (Π-2ΑΓΙΟΣ) Απα Μένα stood (Α-φ-αζε Ρατ-φ) before him (εxω-φ) in (2N) a vision (ΟΥ-2ΟΡΟΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)
□ indefinite topic □ contrastive topic

(2) ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟQ ΠΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ Ν2ΕΝΝΟQ Ν2ΟΠ ΝΡΡΟ 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (ΝΤΟQ), king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine, made (Νε-φ-ειρε) for them (the Persians) (εΡο-ου) great (Ν-2ΕΝ-ΝΟQ) royal (Ν-ΡΡΟ) feasts (Ν-2ΟΠ)' (Eud. 48:27)
□ resumed topic □ "hanging" discourse topic

(3) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΧΗΥ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΝΕΕQ ΚΑ ΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2Ι ΤΕΜΡΩ ΑΧΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤCΟΟΥ2C (...) 'as for (εΤΒε) the ships (Ν-εxηΥ), no (ΛΑΑΥ) sailor (Ν-ΝΕΕQ) shall set loose (ΝΝε ... ΚΑ ΕΒΟΛ) a ship (ΧΟΙ) at (2Ι) the landing stage (Τε-ΜΡω) without the man (i.e. the prior) (Π-ΡΩΜε) of the congregation (Ν-Τ-CΟΟΥ2C)' (praec. Pach. 118).
□ resumed topic □ "hanging" discourse topic

(4) ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΝ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΥΟΨΩ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (εις), a knight (ΟΥ-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC) from (ΝΤε) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤε) came (Α-φ-ει) together with (ΜΝ) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC), wishing (ε-Υ-ΟΥΨΩ) to meet (ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (εΡο-κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9)
□ resumed topic □ new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

(1) ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦ2ΜΟΟC ΕΧΗ ΤΗΝΤΡΕΟ ΝΝΕ2ΡΩΜΑΙΟC Α ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑQ (Eud. 40:1-2)

- (2) ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΝΟΙ ΙC ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΧΕ (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)
(3) ΟΥΝ ΚΕ2ΜΕCΝΟΟΥCΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΦΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΧC (Test. Is. 231:7-8)
(4) [Ν]ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2Ν ΤΠΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΠΑΡΧΙCΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΝΤCΟΜ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ (Eud. 34:27-36:1)
(5) ΦΥCΙ ΝΑCΝΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΠΙΝΑΥ ΕΠ2Ο ΝΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΜΑΥΑΑQ (AP Chaîne no.19, 4:7-8)
(6) ΦCΜΑΜΑΑΓ ΝΟΙ ΠΧΟΕ[ΙC] [ΠΝΟ]ΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΡΟ [ΚΩC]ΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC [Π]ΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑ2 ΜΝ ΘΑΛΛΑCΑ (Eud. 48:9-10)
(7) 2Ν ΤΕΥΨΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΦΟΥΨΜ2 ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ 2ΡΑΦΑΕΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC (KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL
ΝΤΕΡΟΥΜΟΟΝ[ε] [Δε] ΜΠΧΟΙ Ε[Π]ΚΡΟ ΑΦΤ[Ω]ΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΑΝΔΡΕ[ΑC] ΜΝ ΠΑ[Υ][ΛΟC] ΜΝ [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ[ΝΙΟC] ΠΝΕΕQ ΑΥ[†] [Πε][Υ]ΟΥΟΙ ΕΤΠΥΛΗ^ ΝΤ[ΠΟ]ΛΙC^ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑ (read ΕΥΝΑΕΙ) Ε2ΟΥΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (for ΤΠΥΛΗ) 2Ν ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC^ ΕΨΒΩΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC. ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΔΕ ΑΦ† ΠΕ[Q]ΟΥΟΙ ΑΦΜΟΥΤΕ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΛΟΥΨΗ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΝCΘΜ ΠΨΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΜΟΥ^ ΧΕ ΑΝΡ ΜΗΤΡΕ ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΗΥ ΝΤΝΤΟΥΝCQ ΝΑΚ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. πΥΛΗ 'gate' b. ΠΟΛΙC 'city' c. ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC 'apostle' d. ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΜΟΥ 'the deceased (lit. the one who died)', a free relative clause

ἀγορεύει σαζνε δε ντεγνοῦ νόι νερρωοῦ νμπερσοσ  
 νκανοπος<sup>a</sup> παρχιστρατηγος<sup>b</sup> ντσο[ν] ννερρωοῦ νμπερσοσ  
 ετρεῦ[σωοῦ]ζ ννεφζαρμα<sup>c</sup> μν νεφζι[π]πεγς<sup>d</sup> μν πμνηφε  
 νρηνηρατο[γ]<sup>e</sup> [ετ]ρεγμο[ο]φε εβολ εζραι [ε]τεζρωμανια  
 νσεχισοογρ νπιερο τιγρις νσεζμοος εχν ντωψ  
 ννεζρωμαιος. ναι δε αχιοορ αυει εβολ εχμ πκαζ  
 ννεζρωμαιος. ντερεφσωτη δε νόι πνοσ νπρο κωστανινος  
 αφσωοζ εζοῦν ννεφματοι τηροῦ αφχι νπε μμοοῦ.  
 νεγειρε γαρ νφε χοῦωτ ντβα (1.200.000). ναι τηροῦ  
 εγεμαζτε (read εγαμαζτε) νσηφε αυω νεγμοοφε πε (...)  
 αυει εζραι ετερημος<sup>f</sup>. αυω μπζοτ<sup>g</sup> εβολ ννεγερηῦ νφωμντ  
 νεβοτ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. κανοπος (proper name) b. αρχιστρατηγος 'commander-in-chief' c. ζαρμα 'chariot' d. ζιππεγς 'cavalry man' e. ν-ρηνη-ρατ=οῦ 'the footmen, infantry' f. ερημος 'desert' g. ζοτ 'opposite'

10.3 Residual V-S(-O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ενεοῦν οὔνοῦζε δε ζμ πχαιη ετμηαῦ '(there) was (ενε-οῦν) a sycamore (οὔ-νοῦζε) in (ζμ) that (ετ-μηαῦ) desert (π-χαιη)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)

- comparative extension       locative extension

(2) οὔν σζιμε δε εφаре πεсζαι ζγποπτεγε ερος χε οὔνοεικ τε '(there) is (οὔν) (a kind of) woman (σζιμε) whom (ερο-с) her husband (πεс-ζαι) suspects (ε-φаре ... ζγποπτεγε) of (χε) (being) adulterous (οὔ-νοεικ)' (Sh. Or. 44, 159b:42-46)

- locative extension       relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

- (1) νεοῦν οὔζαλο νρεφωπζιζε ζν φνιτ εφμοκζ μεν μμοφ ζμ πεφсωμα νφο δε αν νακριβηс ζν νεφμεεγε (AP Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)
- (2) μν νοῦτε νса ντοκ παπολλων (KMHL II 33:16-17)
- (3) μν βομ γαρ μμοφ εμοοφε (Eud. 66:9)
- (4) πογα μεν οῦν μορτ μμοφ (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

νεῦν соη сναῦ ζν νρι<sup>a</sup>. νεοῦν οὔα δε νζητοῦ νζαλο αυω αφπαρακαλει<sup>b</sup> μπωηρε φημ χε μαρενοῦωζ μн νενερηῦ. ντοφ δε πεχαφ χε ανοκ οὔρεφноβε αυω μн φβομ μμοι εοῦωζ νμμακ αпа. πζαλο δε αφπαρακαλει μμοφ χε се<sup>c</sup> οῦν φβομ μμοκ. πζαλο δε νε οὔκαθαρος<sup>d</sup> πε νφοῦωφ αν εсωτη χε οῦν μοναχοс ερε μεεγε ρω μπορνια<sup>e</sup> (for πορνια) νζηтφ. πεχαφ νόι πсон χε каан νοῦζεβδωμαс<sup>f</sup> (for νοῦζεβδωмас) αυω он νтнψαχε. αφει νόι πζαλο αυω εφοῦωφ εδοκιμαζε<sup>g</sup> μμοφ νόι πсон πεχαφ ναφ χε λιζε εῦнос μπирасμοс<sup>h</sup> (for μπειрасмос) ζн τειζεβδωμαс παειωт. λιβωк γαρ εῦδiаконiа<sup>i</sup> ψа πтme λιζε μн οὔсζιme. πεχαφ νόι πζαλο χε οῦн μεταноiа<sup>j</sup> φooπ; πεχαφ νόι πсон χε се. πεχαφ νόι πζαλο χε ανοκ тнатωοῦн νμμακ ζа тпаше μπноβε. πεχαφ νόι πсон χε тннашоmбom εοῦωζ μн νενερηῦ αυω αυω μн νεγερηῦ φανтоῦμοῦ. (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. νρι 'Kellia' b. παρακαλει 'to summon, appeal' c. се 'yes' d. καθαρος 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. πορνια 'fornication' f. ζεβδωμαс 'week' g. δοκιμαζε 'to test' h. πирасмос 'temptation' i. διακονια 'service' j. μεταноια 'repentance'

## Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. **ΝΕΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΤ† ΚΒΟ ΝΝΦΥΧΗ** 'the remedies (ΝΕ-ΠΑΖΡΕ) [*which* (ΕΤ \_\_) *give* (†) *solace* (ΚΒΟ) *to the souls* (Ν-Ν-ΦΥΧΗ)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. **ΛΙΟΥΩΜ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΣΕΕΠΕ ΜΠΟΕΙΚ** 'I ate (Λ-Ι-ΟΥΩΜ) [*what was left* (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΣΕΕΠΕ) *of the bread* (Μ-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. **ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΕΤΧΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΡΝΤΚ** '(it is) the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) [*who* (ΕΤ \_\_) *is asking* (ΧΝΟΥ) *you* (ΜΜΟ-Κ) [*what* (ΝΙΜ) *your name* (ΡΝΤ-Κ) (is)]]' (ΚΜΗΛ II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

### 11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who*, *whom*, *which*, *what*, e.g.  $\text{ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟСТΕ ΜΜΟϚ}$  'a thing (ΟΥΖΩΒ) [that (ΕΡΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) hates (ΜΟСТΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127),  $\text{ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕϚΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤϚ}$  'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [that (ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ) his father (ΠΕϚ-ΕΙΩΤ) was sleeping (ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) in (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMP<sub>REL</sub> for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMP <sub>REL</sub>	EMBEDDED CLAUSE ]
ΟΥΖΩΒ <sub>i</sub> a thing <sub>i</sub>	[ΕΡΕ that	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟСТΕ ΜΜΟ-Ϛ <sub>i</sub> ] God hates (it <sub>i</sub> )
Π-ΜΑ <sub>i</sub> the place <sub>i</sub>	[ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ that	ΠΕϚ-ΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ <sub>i</sub> ] his father was sleeping in-(it <sub>i</sub> )

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g.  $\text{ΠΑΧ̄ΡϚ ΑΝΟΚ Ε-†ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟϚ}$  'my Christ (ΠΑ-Χ̄ΡϚ) [in whom (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ) I (ΑΝΟΚ) believe (Ε-†ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g.  $\text{ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΟΥΝΤΑϚ ΖΑΖ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ}$  'for (ΓΑΡ) every (ΝΙΜ) man (ΡΩΜΕ) [who has (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ϛ) many (ΖΑΖ) gods (Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Eud. 36:11),

$\text{ΜΠΗΝΑϚ ΔΕ ΝΨΑϚΒΩϚΟΥ ΖΙ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΜΜΗΝΕ}$  'at the hour (Μ-Π-ΝΑϚ) [that he (Αρα Μena) loosened them (the camels) (Ν-ΨΑ-Ϛ-ΒΩϚ-ΟΥ) daily (ΜΜΗΝΕ) at (ΖΙ) night (ΡΟΥΖΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

#### 11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g.  $\text{ΟΥΜΑ ΕϚΟ ΝΨΑΡΒΑ}$  'a place (ΟΥ-ΜΑ) [that was (Ε-Ϛ-Ο) in (a state of) scorching heat (Ν-ΨΑΡΒΑ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g.  $\text{ΑϚΙΧΕ ΝΤΕϚΑΠΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΙ ΕΡΕ ΡΩϚ ΟΥΩΝ}$  'he (the devil) raised (Α-Ϛ-ΧΙΧΕ) his head (Ν-ΤΕϚ-ΑΠΕ) above (ΕΖΡΑΙ) me (ΕΧΩ-Ι), [while his mouth (ΡΩ-Ϛ) was (wide) open (ΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΩΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g.  $\text{ΕΚΝΑϚΩΨΤ ΝϚΩΙ ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΑΚΟ}$  'will you watch (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ϚΩΨΤ) me (ΝϚΩ-Ι) [rushing (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to perdition (Ε-Π-ΤΑΚΟ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g.  $\text{ΕΚΨΩΝΕ ΕΟΥ - ΠΧ̄Ϛ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ ΕΠΑΖΗΠΑΡ}$  'from what (Ε-ΟΥ) do you suffer (Ε-Κ-ΨΩΝΕ)? - Lord (Π-Χ̄Ϛ), I am suffering (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ) from my liver (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΗΠΑΡ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative environments (e.g.  $\text{ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΟΝΤϚ ΝΖΗΤϚ}$  'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [where (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ) you have found it (the boat) (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΟΝΤ-Ϛ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g.  $\text{ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙϚ ΠΡΡΟ}$  'what (ΟΥ) has happened (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to you (ΜΜΟ-Κ), our lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙϚ) (and) king (Π-ΡΡΟ)?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

### 11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

#### 11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers ερε and ε- introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, comparc: ογζωβ ερε πνουτε μοστε μοοq ‘a thing (ογ-ζωβ) [*that* (ερε) *God* (π-νουτε) *hates* (μοστε)]’ (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. μα νιμ εγναχοοyce εροq ‘every (νιμ) place (μα) [*that they* (the brothers) *will be sent* (lit. *that they* will send them (ε-γ-να-χοογ-σε)) *to* (ερο-q)]’ (praec. Pach. 129).

#### 11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet ετ, ετερε, and ετ(ε)-. The allomorphs ετερε and ετ(ε)- are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme ετ- and the relative markers ερε and ε- that also introduce virtual relative clauses: ετ-ερε, ετ-ε.

#### a) The “bare” relative complementiser ετ

The “bare” complementiser ετ is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or “gap” (indicated as ‘\_\_\_’ in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. παγγελος ετδιακονει επεκειωτ αβραζαμ ‘the angel (π-αγγελος) [*who* (ετ \_\_\_) *serves* (διακονει) *your father* (ε-πεκ-ειωτ) *Abraham*]’ (Test. Is 229:18-19).

b) The internally complex relative complementisers ετερε-, ετε- and ετε-, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. πωαχε ετερε πρμη ναχοοq ‘the word (π-ωαχε) [*that* (ετ-ερε) *the superintendent* (π-ρμη-νι) *will say* (να-χοο-σ)]’ (praec. Pach. 122) vs. πμα ετκωνε εροq ‘the place (π-μα) [*where* (ερο-q) *you* are sick (ετ-κ-ωνε)]’ (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρωμε <sub>i</sub> [RC ετ___ <sub>i</sub> σωτμ ]	
	The man <sub>i</sub> [RC who ___ <sub>i</sub> is listening ]	
NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρωμε <sub>i</sub> [RC ετ(ε)-q-σωτμ νσω-q ]	
	The man <sub>i</sub> [RC that he is listening to (him) <sub>i</sub> ]	
SINGULAR		PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	ε-†-σωτμ	ετ-ν-σωτμ
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	ετ(ε)-κ-σωτμ	ετε-τν-σωτμ
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	ετε-σωτμ	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	ετ(ε)-q-σωτμ	ετ-ογ-σωτμ
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	ετ(ε)-σ-σωτμ	
Before noun	ετερε π-ρωμε σωτμ	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: (ετ plus subject gap) τεχαρις μηνουτε ετκωτε εροq ‘the grace (τε-χαρις) of God (μ-π-νουτε) [*which* (ετ \_\_\_) *surrounded* (κωτε) *him* (ερο-q)]’ (KMHL II 35:12-13), ρωμε νιμ ετνανεχ ειτν μηεκην εβολ ‘everybody (ρωμε νιμ) [*who* (ετ \_\_\_) *will throw* (να-νεχ) *garbage* (ειτν) *out* (εβολ) *of his house* (μ-πεκ-νι)]’ (Eud. 52:26-27), (ετερε plus subject NP) πνι ετερε πειωηρε ψνμ μοογτ νζητq ‘the house (π-νι) [*where* (νζητ-q) *this little* (ψνμ) *boy* (πει-ωηρε) *died* (ετερε ... μοογτ)]’ (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), (ετ(ε)- plus subject

pronoun) **ΘΕ** **ΕΓΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ** **ΕΠΑΖΩΒ** **ΝΟΙΧ** 'the manner (**ΘΕ** < **τ-ζε**) [*in which*] **Ι** **Ή** **ΔΙΛΙΓΕΝΤ** (**ε-τ-σπουδαζε** < **ετ-τ-σπουδαζε**) **ΑΤ** **ΜΟΥ** **ΜΑΝΟΥ** (**Ν-ΟΙΧ**) **ΛΑΒΟΥΡ** (**ε-πα-ζωβ**)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), **ΠΝΑΥ** **ΕΤΕΚΝΑ** **ΑΖΕΡΑΤΚ** **ΕΡΟQ** 'the hour (**π-ναυ**) [*when you will stand up* (**ετε-κ-να-αζε** **ΡΑΤ-Κ**)]' (Test. Is. 232:19), **ΖΩΒ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΕΤΕΦΕΙΡΕ** **ΜΗΟΟΥ** 'everything (**ζωβ** **ΝΙΜ**) [*that he did* (**ετε-φ-ειρε**)]' (KHML II 19:8-9), **ΝΘΟΜ** **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **ΕΤΦΕΙΡΕ** **ΜΗΟΟΥ** **ΜΗ** **ΠΡΡΟ** **ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ** 'the mighty deeds (**Ν-ΘΟΜ**) of God (**Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ**) [*that he did* (**ετ-φ-ειρε**) **to** (**ΜΗ**) **ΚΙΝΓ** (**Π-ΡΡΟ**) **ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ**]' (Eud. 50:1), **ΖΩΒ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΕΤΣΩΙΝΕ** **ΝΤΟΣ** **ΝΩΟΥ** 'everything (**ζωβ** **ΝΙΜ**) [*which she* (**ΝΤΟΣ**) **is looking** (**ετ-σ-ωινε**) **for** (**ΝΩ-ΟΥ**)]' (Eud. 64:19).

11.1.2.3 Complementiser-TAM agreement

A different set of complementiser allomorphs is selected when the relative complementiser precedes a tense-aspect-mood marker rather than the embedded subject position of the relative clause.

TAM	COMPREL	TAM	COMPREL
PRETERIT ΝΕ-	Ε-	NEGATIVE SCOPE DEFINER	Ε-
PERFECT Α-	(Ε)ΝΤ-	NEGATIVE PERFECT	ΕΤ(Ε)-
HABITUAL ΨΑ-	Ε-, (Ε)Ν-, ΕΤΕ-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL	ΕΤ(Ε)-
VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES	ΕΤ(Ε)-	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	ΕΤΕ-
		ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)-	

TABLE 11.2 Complementiser-tense/aspect/mood agreement

Examples: (relativised Preterit) **ΚΑΤΑ** **ΘΕ** **ΕΝΕΦΟ** **ΜΜΟΣ** 'in (**ΚΑΤΑ**) the manner (**ΘΕ** < **τ-ζε**) [*that it* (the sun) **is** (**ε-νε-φ-ο**)]' (Zen. 200:27), (relativised Habitual) **ΝΘΕ** **ΕΨΑΥΛΑΣ** **ΜΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ** **ΕΤΟΥΛΑΣ** 'in the manner (**ΝΘΕ** < **η-τ-ζε**) [*that they used to do it* (**ε-ψα-γ-αλ-σ**) **to** the holy (**ετ-ουλασ**) martyrs (**Ν-Η-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ**)]' (V. Pach. 94:8-9), **ΛΑΑΥ** **ΝΨΗΝ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΞΗΦΑΧΧΟΥ** 'every (single) (**ΝΙΜ**) one (**ΛΑΑΥ**) of the trees (**Ν-ΨΗΝ**) [*that he* (Ara Matthew) **planted** (**εη-ψα-φ-χο-ου**)]' (KHML II 19:6-7), **ΜΠΝΑΥ** **ΔΕ**

**ΝΨΑΦΒΩΨΟΥ** **ΖΙ** **ΡΟΥΖΕ** **ΜΗΜΕ** 'at the hour (**η-π-ναυ**) [*that he* (Ara Mena) **loosened** **them** (the camels) (**η-ψα-φ-βωψ-ου**) daily (**ΜΗΜΕ**) at (**ΖΙ**) night (**ΡΟΥΖΕ**)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12), **ΟΥΜΗΜΩΕ** **ΔΕ** **ΟΝ** **ΖΗ** **ΝΕΤΕ** **ΨΑΡΕ** **ΠΕΥΖΗΤ** **ΠΩΨ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** 'also (**ΟΝ**) a lot (**ΟΥ-ΜΗΜΩΕ**) of [*those* [*whose minds* (lit. hearts) (**ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ**) **had left** (**η-ετε-ψαρε** ... **ΠΩΨ**) **them** (**ερο-ου**)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause), (relativised Perfect) **ΖΩΒ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΕΝΤΑΚΖΩΝ** **ΜΗΟΟΥ** **ΕΤΟΟΤ** 'everything (**ζωβ** **ΝΙΜ**) [*which you ordered* (**εητ-α-κ-ζων**) **me** (**ετοοτ**) (to do)]' (Eud. 34:14), **ΠΜΑ** **ΝΤΑΚΩΝΤQ** **ΝΖΗΤQ** 'the place (**π-μα**) [*where* (**ηζητ-φ**) **you have found it** (the boat) (**ητ-α-κ-δντ-φ**)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), (relativised Negative Perfect), **ΠΕΙΚΕΟΥΑ** **ΕΤΖΗ** **ΤΕΤΝΗΜΤΕ** **ΕΤΗΠΕΙΜΨΑ** **ΝΦΨΑΧΕ** **ΝΗΜΑΙ** 'this other person (**πει-κε-ουα**) [*who* (**ετ** **—**) **in** (**ζη**) **your midst** (**τετν-μητε**) [*that I am not worthy* (**ετ-ηπε-ι-ηψα**) (that) **he** **talks** (**η-φ-ψαχε**) **to** **me** (**ημη-ι**)]' (KHML II 30:18-19), (relativised Unexpected Negative Perfective) **ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ** **ΝΖΑΛΟ** **ΕΤΟΥΛΑΣ** **ΠΑΙ** **ΕΤΕΜΠΑΤΦΩΣΚ** **ΣΙΝΤΑΦΩΚ** **ΕΡΑΤQ** **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'our senior (**η-ζαλο**) holy (**ετ-ουλασ**) father (**πεν-ειωτ**), **he** (**παι**) [*who had not long ago* (**ετε-ηπατ-φ-ωσκ**) **gone** (**χι(η)-ητ-α-φ-βωκ**) towards (**ε-ρατ-φ**) **God** (**η-π-νουτε**)]' (Sh. III 142:5-7), (relativised Negative Habitual) **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **ΠΑΙ** **ΕΤΕΜΕΡΕ** **ΛΑΑΥ** **ΨΩΠΕ** **ΕΧΗΤQ** 'God (**π-νουτε**), [**he** (**παι**) [*without whom* (**εχητ-φ**) **nothing** (**λααυ**) **happens** (**ετε-μερε** ... **ψωπε**)]]' (Zen. 202:3) (a free relative clause), **ΝΕΤΕΜΕΥΣΕΙ** **ΝΤΩΡΠ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΝΦΙ** **ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΥ** **ΑΝ** **ΝΕ** '[*those* [*who do not get enough* (**η-ετε-με-γ-σει**) of robbing (**η-τωρπ**) and stealing (**η-φι**) [*what does not belong to them* (lit. what is not (**αν**) theirs (**η-η-ετε-νου-ου**)]]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24) (a free relative clause), (relativised negative concord) **Η-ΕΤΕ-Η-ΣΕ-ΨΟΟΠ** **ΑΝ** '[*what was non-existent*]' (V. Pach. 7:14) (a free relative clause), (fronted adjectival verb) **ΝΕΙΜΙΝΕ** **ΝΡΩΜΕ** **ΕΤΕ** **ΝΑΨΕ** **ΝΕΤΑΨΑΖΟΜ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** 'these kinds (**νει-μινε**) of people (**η-ρωμε**) [*against whom* (**ερο-ου**) **the ones who complain** (**η-ετ-αψ-αζομ**) **are numerous** (**ετε** ... **ναψε**)]' (Sh. IV 99:19).

11.1.3 The grammatical role of the relative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause plays a role in two different clauses. On the one hand, it has a particular grammatical role (subject, direct or indirect object, adjunct) in the matrix clause, but it also has a particular grammatical role in the attributive relative clause. Coptic relative constructions have within their structure an anaphoric element that recovers the pivot's internal role. The placeholder may take the form of a resumptive pronoun, as in **ΠΜΑ** **ΕΝΕΦΝΖΗΤQ** '*the place*;

(π-μα) [where he was (lit. that he was in it ((ε-νε-φ-νητ-φ)'] (KHML II 20:9), but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in ΤΕΥΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ 'their faith<sub>i</sub> (ΤΕΥ-ΠΙΣΤΙΣ) [that (ετ \_i) perfect (χηκ εβολ)]' (Test. Is. 233:19).

11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) οΥΜΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΨΑΡΒΑ 'a place<sub>i</sub> (οΥ-μα) [that was (lit. while it<sub>i</sub> was (ε-φ-ο) in (a state of) scorching heat (ν-ψαρβα)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΖΙΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'every (ΝΙΜ) man<sub>i</sub> (ΡΩΜΕ) [who (lives) on (lit. while he<sub>i</sub> lives on (ε-φ-ζιχη)) earth (π-καζ)]' (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) ΛΑΛΥ [N]ΨΗΝ ΝΙ[M] ΕΑΦΧΟΥ 'every (single) (ΝΙΜ) one (λαλυ) of the trees<sub>i</sub> (N-ψην) [that he (Apa Matthew) planted (them<sub>i</sub>) (ε-α-φ-χο-ου)]' (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) ΕΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ ΤΜΕ 'to a bird<sub>i</sub> (ε-γ-ζαλητ) [which is called (lit. while they say (ε-ψα-γ-μουτε) about it<sub>i</sub> (ερο-φ) »truth« (τ-με)]' (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) ΖΕΝΝΟΣ ΜΗΝΨΕ ΝΕΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΥΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΨΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΖΕΝΝΟΣ ΜΗΝΨΕ ΜΩΝΑΧΟΣ (for ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) ΕΥΖΑ ΕΟΟΥ ΗΜΑΤΕ 'great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΣ) multitudes (M-ΜΗΝΨΕ) of thrones<sub>i</sub> (N-ΘΕΡΟΝΟΣ) [on which great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΣ) multitudes (M-ΜΗΝΨΕ) of highly (ΗΜΑΤΕ) venerable (lit. who were under (ε-γ-ζα) glory (εοου)) monks (M-ΜΩΝΑΧΟΣ) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ε-γ-ζμοος)) on (them<sub>i</sub>) (εχω-ου)]' (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ΟΥΣΩΝΕ (...) ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΕΣΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ 'a virgin (M-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ) sister<sub>i</sub> (ου-σωνε) [whose name (lit while her<sub>i</sub> name (ε-πεс-ραν) (was) (πε)) Eudoxia (εγδοξια)]' (Eud. 50:3-4).

11.1.3.2 The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΑΝ ΗΠΕΦΛΑΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΗΠΝΑΥ ΗΠΩΝΤ 'the monk<sub>i</sub> (π-μοναχος) [who (ετ \_i) does not (αν) restrain (αμαζτε) his<sub>i</sub> tongue (η-πεφ-λας), especially (μαλιστα) in the hour (η-π-ναυ) of anger (η-π-δωντ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:8-9), ΕΠΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ ΗΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ 'at the idle (lit. which is idle (ετ \_i ψουεит) praise<sub>i</sub> (ε-π-εοου) of this world (η-πει-κοσμος)' (KHML II 28:4-5), ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΧΗΖ 'according to (κατα) the manner<sub>i</sub> (θε < τ-ζε) [that (ετ \_i) is written (χηζ)]' (V. Pach. 4:20), ΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΝΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΜ) human (N-ΡΩΜΕ) race<sub>i</sub> (ΓΕΝΟΣ) [that (ετ \_i) lives (ψοοπ) in (ζN) my kingdom (τα-μντ-ρρο)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ΤΡΗΝΗ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΑΦΤΑΛC ΝΑΙ 'the peace<sub>i</sub> (τρηνη < τ-ειρηνη) of my lord<sub>i</sub> (M-πα-χοεic) [which he<sub>i</sub> has given (it<sub>i</sub>) (NT-α-φ-ταλ-с) to me (να-ι)]' (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ΝΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕΚΧΨ ΜΜΟΟΥ 'your words<sub>i</sub> (νεκ-ψαχε) [that you spoke (ετε-κ-χω) (them<sub>i</sub>) (MMO-ou)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΤΕΝΟΥ 'this man<sub>i</sub> (πει-ρωμε) [that you are looking (ετε-κ-ναυ) at (him<sub>i</sub>) (ερο-φ) right now (τενου)]' (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΕΤΕΝΗΤΦ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ 'the man<sub>i</sub> (π-ρωμε) [that you were talking (ετ-κ-ψαχε) to me (NMMMA-ι) about (him<sub>i</sub>) (ετβηнт-φ), (namely) Apa Pachôm]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΝΑΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤΦ 'the place<sub>i</sub> (π-μα) [where the camel (π-βαμουλ) will rest (ετερε ... να-ενκοτк) (in it<sub>i</sub>) (NZHIT-φ)]]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΠΨΨC ΕΡΟΟΥ 'also (ON) a lot (ου-μηνψε) of (ζN) those<sub>i</sub> [whose



*minds*; (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ) *had left* (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΠΩΨ) *them*; (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause).

### 11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker *ν-*, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subject tense-aspect-mood marker) ΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΕΝ (for ΜΝ) ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΙ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ '*the mighty deeds*; (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *and* (ΜΕΝ) *miracles*; (ΝΕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) [*that (they)<sub>i</sub> happened* (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) *through* (ΖΙ-ΤΟΟΤ-Ι) *our father* (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Αρα Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16), ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΣΟΥΩΝΓ ΜΝ ΝΕΚΜΑΓΙΑ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *all*; (those) (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [*that (they)<sub>i</sub> have not yet known you* (ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΣΟΥΩΝ-Γ) *and* (ΜΝ) *your magical tricks* (ΝΕΚ-ΜΑΓΙΑ)]' (Sh. III 77:26), ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΦΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*who*; (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that (he)<sub>i</sub> will not* (ΑΝ) *believe* (ΕΤ-Ν-Φ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) *in the mighty deeds* (Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (KHML II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) ΜΑΡΕΝΤΑΥΕ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ '*let us bring forth* (ΜΑΡΕ-Ν-ΤΑΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ) *fruit*; (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) [*that (it)<sub>i</sub> is good* (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)]' (KHML II 19:15).

### 11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics *πε*, *τε*, *νε* 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns *παι*, *ται*, *ναι* 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ 'the blessed (Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) Αρα Zenobius, [*that is* (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ), *our father* (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ)]' (Zen. 199:9), ΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΜΠΣΩΤΗ '*those who believe* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ), [*which (is)* (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) *the utmost degree* (Π-ΧΩΚ) *of obedience* (Μ-Π-ΣΩΤΗ)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

### 11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

#### a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ΖΗ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΑΠΩΖ ΨΑΡΩΤΗ '*at* (ΖΗ) *the moment* (ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [(when) this order (ΠΕΙ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ) will reach (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΠΩΖ) you (ΨΑΡΩ-ΤΗ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ΜΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΤΑΨΩΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΖΑΡΟΙ ΜΠΜΕΖΣΕΠΣΝΑΥ '*for* (ΓΑΡ) *in the hour* (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) [that my throne (Μ-ΠΑ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) was turned down (lit. they turned down (ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΩΝΕ)) under me (ΖΑΡΟ-Ι) for a second time (Μ-Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΕΠ-ΣΝΑΥ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΨΧΠΟΚ ΝΖΗΤΙ '*the day*; (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) [*when*; (ΝΖΗΤ-Ι) you were born (lit. they gave birth to you (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΧΠΟ-Κ)]' (KHML II 30:13).

#### b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun *θε* (< τ-ζε) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΣ ΝΧΙΝ Π[Ω]ΝΖ '*in* (ΚΑΤΑ) *the manner*; (ΘΕ < τ-ζε) [that he (Αρα Μena) had told (*it*) (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) her (ΝΑ-Σ) while (he was) still (ΝΧΙΝ) alive (Π-ΩΝΖ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), ΘΕ ΕΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ '*the manner*; (ΘΕ < τ-ζε) [that he (Pachôm) behaved (lit. made (Ε-ΝΕ-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) (*it*) (ΜΜΟ-Σ)) towards them (the brothers) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) all (ΝΙΜ) the time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ)]' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g. ΘΕ ΕΤΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΑΖΩΒ ΝΟΙΧ ΕΤ-†-ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ at my manual (Ν-ΟΙΧ) labour (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΩΒ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ Ρ ΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ '*this* (ΤΑΙ) (was) *the manner* (ΘΕ < τ-ζε) [(in which) that (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) demon (Π-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ) carried out (ΝΤ-Α ... Ρ) many (ΖΑΖ) evil (things) (Μ-ΠΕΘΟΟΥ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

### 11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

#### 11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g.  $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta$   $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$   $\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\eta\lambda\psi\omega\omicron\gamma$   $\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$  'other trees ( $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta$ ) [RC1 while ( $\theta\eta\epsilon\gamma\iota$ ) were loaded ( $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$ ) with fruit ( $\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) [RC2 while ( $\theta\eta\epsilon\gamma\iota$ ) were plenty ( $\epsilon\eta\lambda\psi\omega\omicron\gamma$ )]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT <sub>1</sub>	[RC1	ANTECEDENT <sub>2</sub>	[RC2	]]
$\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta$ <i>other trees</i>	[RC1 $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$ while ( $\theta\eta\epsilon\gamma\iota$ ) were loaded	$\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ with <i>fruit</i>	[RC2 $\epsilon\eta\lambda\psi\omega\omicron\gamma$ ]]	]]

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g.  $\eta\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\eta$   $\omicron\gamma\psi\eta\epsilon$   $\psi\eta\mu$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon$   $\beta\eta\varsigma\alpha\mu\omega\eta$   $\epsilon\pi\psi\eta\epsilon$   $\pi\epsilon$   $\eta\omicron\gamma\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\gamma\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  (for  $\eta\omicron\gamma\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ )  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon$   $\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  '(there) was ( $\eta\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\eta$ ) a young ( $\psi\eta\mu$ ) lad ( $\omicron\gamma\psi\eta\epsilon$ ) [RC1 whose name (lit. while  $\eta\eta\varsigma$ ; name (was) ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  ...  $\pi\epsilon$ ))  $\beta\eta\varsigma\alpha\mu\omega\eta$  ( $\beta\eta\varsigma\alpha\mu\omega\eta$ ), [RC2 who (was) (lit. while  $\eta\epsilon$ ; ( $\pi\epsilon$ ) (was)) the son ( $\epsilon\pi\psi\eta\epsilon$ ) of a general ( $\eta\omicron\gamma\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\gamma\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ ), [RC3 whose name (was) (lit. while  $\eta\eta\varsigma$ ; name (was) ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  ...  $\pi\epsilon$ ))  $\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ ]]]' (KHML I 43:5-6),  $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\delta$   $\mu\eta\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\theta\omicron\eta\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\zeta\tau\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\chi\omega\omicron\gamma$   $\eta\omicron\iota$   $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\delta$   $\mu\eta\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$   $\eta\mu\omega\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (for  $\eta\mu\omicron\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha$   $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\eta\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$  'great ( $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\delta$ ) multitudes ( $\eta\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ ) of thrones ( $\eta\theta\omicron\eta\omicron\varsigma$ ), [RC1 on which ( $\epsilon\chi\omega\omicron\gamma$ ) were seated ( $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ ) great ( $\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\delta$ ) multitudes ( $\eta\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ ) of monks ( $\eta\mu\omega\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) [RC2 that were highly ( $\eta\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ) venerable (lit. while  $\theta\eta\epsilon\gamma\iota$ ; were under ( $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha$ ) glory ( $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ )]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

### 11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g.  $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$   $\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$   $\zeta\eta$   $\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$  'the holy brothers ( $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ ) (lit. [RC1 who ( $\epsilon\tau$  \_\_) are holy ( $\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ )] [RC2 who ( $\epsilon\tau$  \_\_) live ( $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ ) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) the desert ( $\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ )]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC1	[RC2	]]
$\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ <i>the brothers</i>	[RC1 $\epsilon\tau$ __ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ who are holy	[RC2 $\epsilon\tau$ __; $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\zeta\eta$ $\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ ]]	]]

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\sigma$   $\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$   $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$   $\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$  'this man; ( $\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) [RC1 who ( $\epsilon\tau$  \_\_) is holy ( $\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ ) [RC2 that ( $\eta\epsilon$ ) possessed ( $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\sigma$ ) such a multitude ( $\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ ) of virtues ( $\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ ]]]' (BHom. 2:1-2),  $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$   $\epsilon\tau\zeta\eta$   $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\psi\alpha$   $\eta\sigma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$   $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\iota$  'this other person; ( $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$ ) [RC1 who ( $\epsilon\tau$  \_\_) (is) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) your midst ( $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) [RC2 that I am not worthy ( $\epsilon\tau\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\psi\alpha$ ) (that)  $\eta\epsilon$ ; talks ( $\eta\sigma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) to me ( $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\iota$ )]]' (KHML II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g.  $\eta\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\beta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$   $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$  'your teachings; ( $\eta\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\beta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ) [RC1 that ( $\theta\eta\epsilon\gamma\iota$ ) are beneficent ( $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ ) [RC2 that you have taught me ( $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$ ) ( $\theta\eta\eta\iota$ ) ( $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ )]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

#### 11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-ordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g.  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\eta\eta\mu$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\epsilon\tau$   $\pi\psi\eta\psi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$   $\eta\sigma\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma$  'everybody

(*ῥωμε ἡμῖν*) [who (*ἐστ* ...) will perform (*να-ερ*) that (*ἐτιμῶν*) worship (*π-ῥωμῶε*) and believe (*ν-φ-πιστεύε*) in him (Jesus Christ) (*ε-ρο-φ*)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), *πισυτε νταφωπε μν νγενεα νταφωπε εαυοεινε ετβε τευμντακαρειος* (for *τευμντακαρειος*) *μν τευμντιστος εζουν επνουτε* 'God (*π-νουτε*) [who has been (*ντ-α-φ-ωπε*) with (*μν*) the generations (*ν-γενεα*) [that existed (*ντ-α-γ-ωπε*) and passed by (*ε-α-γ-ουεινε*) because of (*ετβε*) their guilelessness (*τευ-μντ-ακαρειος*) and (*μν*) their faith (*τευ-μντ-πιστος*) in God (*ε-π-νουτε*)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), *τμνταγαθος μπαχοεις πεχc παι ντατετνσ-ρου μμοφ εατετνκααφ ζν ουταφος* 'the goodness (*τ-μντ-αγαθος*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεις*) Christ (*πε-χc*), [he (*παι*) [whom you crucified (*ντ-α-τετν-σ-ρου*) and put (*ε-α-τετν-καα-φ*) into (*ζν*) a tomb (*ου-ταφος*)]]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

### 11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

#### 11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: *νεγεν ουρωμε δε ον ζν τπολις ρακοτε ερε ουδαμονιον νμμαφ νξιν τεφμντκογι* '(there) was (*νε-γεν*) also (*ον*) a (certain) *man*<sub>i</sub> (*ου-ρωμε*) in (*ζν*) the city (*τ-πολις*) Alexandria (*ρακοτε*) [*who* was possessed by a demon (*ου-δαμονιον*) (lit. while (there) (was) with *him*<sub>i</sub> (*ερε ... νμμα-φ*)) since (*νξιν*) his childhood (*τεφ-μντ-κογι*)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. *πρωμε δε ντα απα μμνα † [να]φ ννεφ[δα]μογλ* 'the *man*<sub>i</sub> (*π-ρωμε*) [*whom*<sub>i</sub> (*να-φ*) *Apa Mena* had given (*ντ-α ... †*) his camels (*ν-νεφ-δαμογλ*)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), *ογμα εφο νφαρβα* 'a place<sub>i</sub> (*ου-μα*) [*that was* (lit. while *it*<sub>i</sub> was (*ε-φ-ο*)) in (a state of) *scorching heat* (*ν-φαρβα*)]]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

vs. *πμα ντα παγλος νοσχ επμοου* 'the *place*<sub>i</sub> (*π-μα*) [(*where*) Paul (*παγλος*) threw himself (*ντ-α ... νοσχ-φ*) into the water (*ε-π-μοου*)]]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

#### 11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

##### a) Specific indefinite antecedents

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. *α ουον ζν νετογλαβ ρ ζμε νζουφ νατογωμ νατσω ετε πρωμε πε μπιουτε μωγςης παρχηπροφητης* 'one<sub>i</sub> (*ουον*) amongst (*ζν*) the holy ones (*ν-ετογλαβ*) spent (*α ... ρ*) forty (*ζμε*) days (*ν-ζουφ*) without eating (*ν-ατ-ουωμ*) (and) drinking (*ν-ατ-ω*)', [*to wit* (*ετε ... πε*) the (*π-ρωμε*) of God (*μ-π-νουτε*) Moses (*μωγςης*), the archprophet (*π-αρχηπροφητης*)]' (KHML II 35:18-21), *ερε πρωμε ννρωμε ετρωμε ναδω επαζου μμοου ετβε ουσον ετναφωνε* 'the man (*π-ρωμε*) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (*ετ* ...) are sick (*φωνε*)) people (*ν-ν-ρωμε*) shall stay (*ερε ... να-δω*) behind them (the fellow monks) (*επαζου μμο-ου*) for (*ετβε*) a brother<sub>i</sub> (*ου-σον*) [*who* (*ετ* ...) will fall sick (*να-φωνε*)]]' (praec. Pach.).

##### b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. *νοε νεεσοου εφαγβι* (for *εφαγβι*) *ντοοτου μπεγωφς* 'like (*νοε*) sheep<sub>i</sub> (*νεε-εσοου*) [*from which*<sub>i</sub> (*ντοοτ-ου*) their<sub>i</sub> shepherd (*μ-πεγ-ωφς*) is taken away (lit. *they* take away (*ε-φα-γ-βι*)]]' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g. ΖΗΚΕΩΗΝ ΕΥΟΠΤ ΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΕΜΑΤΕ 'other trees (ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΩΗΝ) [while (they<sub>i</sub>) were loaded (Ε-Υ-ΟΠΤ) with fruit<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) [while (they<sub>i</sub>) were plenty (Ε-ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15) vs. ΜΑΡΕΝΤΑΥΕ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ 'let us bring forth (ΜΑΡΕ-Ν-ΤΑΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ) good fruit (lit. fruit<sub>i</sub> (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) [which<sub>i</sub> is good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥΦ-Φ)])' (KHML II 19:15).

#### c) Quantified antecedents

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with quantified relative antecedents and provide information that makes it possible to narrow down the set of potential referents of quantified antecedents. When the pivot is an indefinite pronoun, such as ΟΥΑ 'one' or ΚΕ 'other', the selection of either relativisation pattern depends on its definite or indefinite determination, e.g. ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΕΦΑΥΕΙ ΕΘΜ ΠΕΝΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'with the exception (ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ) of some<sub>i</sub> (people) (ΖΕΝ-ΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ) [who<sub>i</sub> come (Ε-ΦΑ-Υ-ΕΙ) to visit (Ε-ΘΜ) us (ΠΕΝ-ΩΙΝΕ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the love (Τ-ΑΓΑΠΗ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Hil. 5:21-22) vs. ΠΕΙΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΕΤΝΜΗΤΕ (...) 'this other person<sub>i</sub> (ΠΕΙ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΑ) [who (ΕΤ \_) (is) in (ΖΝ) your midst (ΤΕΤΝ-ΜΗΤΕ) [that I am not worthy (ΕΤ-ΜΠΕ-Ι-ΜΠΦΑ) (that) he<sub>i</sub> talks (Ν-Φ-ΦΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΜΜΑ-Ι)]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΒΑΛ ΝΟΥΩΤ 'others<sub>i</sub> (i.e. monsters) (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΟΥΕ) [which<sub>i</sub> had (Ε-Υ-Ο) one single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) eye (Ν-ΟΥ-ΒΑΛ)]' (Test. Is. 234:4) vs. ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΡ ΘΡΩΩΖ 'the others<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΚΟΟΥΕ) [who<sub>i</sub> (ΕΤ \_) are in (lit. make (Ρ)) need (ΘΡΩΩΖ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17).

The definiteness opposition is not applicable to the distributive universal quantifier ΝΙΜ 'all, each', which must be construed with "bare" nouns (see above, section 4.3.1 of Unit 4). It looks as if the selection of a non-virtual relative clause imposes a more specific or topical interpretation on the universally quantified antecedent than its non-virtual counterpart. Thus, consider: ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΛΟΣ (for ΖΑΠΛΩΣ) ΛΑΛΥ [Ν]ΦΗΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΛΦΧΟΥ 'briefly (ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΛΟΣ), every (ΝΙΜ) single (ΛΑΛΥ) tree<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΦΗΝ) [that he had planted (them<sub>i</sub>)(Ε-Λ-Φ-ΧΟ-ΟΥ)]' (KHML II 18:23-24) vs. ΖΑΠΛΩΣ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙC ΠΕΧC 'briefly (ΖΑΠΛΩΣ) everyone<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [who<sub>i</sub> (ΕΤ \_) was imprisoned (ΖΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of Jesus (Ν-ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC)]' (Eud. 40:24-25); (new discourse topic) ΝΑΙΑΤΦ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΝΑ ΖΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΝΕΙΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ

'blessed are (ΝΑ-ΙΑΤ-Φ) everybody<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ) [who<sub>i</sub> will perform (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) an act of mercy (Ν-ΟΥ-ΝΑ) in (ΖΜ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of these patriarchs (Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ)]' (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning) ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΜΗΤΝΑ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΠΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ 'everyone<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [who<sub>i</sub> (ΕΤ \_) will perform (ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) an act of mercy (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) on the day (Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of their (the patriarchs') remembrance (Μ-ΠΕΥ-Ρ Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ)]' (Test. Is. 237:24).

#### d) The set interpretation of definite antecedents

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g. ΠΑΧΡC ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΦ 'my Christ<sub>i</sub> (ΠΑ-ΧΡC) [in whom<sub>i</sub> (ΕΡΟ-Φ) I (ΑΝΟΚ) believe (Ε-Τ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16), ΠΜΟΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΝΑΖΡΟΥ ΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΦ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) [that (ΕΡΕ) my Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) Apa Nahrow is going to die (ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) (in it<sub>i</sub>) (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)]' (KHML I 7:27), ΝΝΕΠΑΛΞ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΦCΝΟΦ ΧΗΖ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'the (pavement) stones<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΑΛΞ) [on which<sub>i</sub> (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) his blood (ΠΕΦ-CΝΟΦ) has been smeared out (ΕΡΕ ... ΧΗΖ)]' (KHML I 6:28).

#### 11.1.5.3 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

##### a) Restrictive relatives

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g. ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟCΤΕ ΜΜΟΦ 'a thing<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [that God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) hates (ΕΡΕ ... ΜΟCΤΕ) (it<sub>i</sub>) (ΜΜΟ-Φ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΕCΟΥ ΕΦCΟΡΗ 'like (ΝΘΕ) a sheep<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΟΥ-ΕCΟΥ)

[*which*<sub>i</sub> has gone astray (ε-γ-σφμ)]' (Test. Is. 232:34), οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῶν δαιμονίων εὐτὶς ἡμῶν ἀγγέλων ἀναγγελλοῦσθαι ἐξῶν 'for (γὰρ) what (οὐ) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing (π-ζωβ)) of *the demons*; (N-ΖΕΝ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ) [*who*<sub>i</sub>; fight (lit. give (ε-γ-†)) with us (ΝΜΜΑ-Ν)] compared to (ΝΝΑΖΡΝ) *the angels*; *who*<sub>i</sub>; fight (ε-γ-μιφ) for us (εξω-Ν)]?' (KHML II 11:14-16). In extended existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) a (certain) *man*<sub>i</sub>; (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the memorial chapel (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Αρα Μενά [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*<sub>i</sub>; name (was) (ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ ... ΠΕ)) Mark (ΜΑΡΚΟΣ)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕ ΠΡΟ ΕΦΖΑΡΑΤΚ 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (Constantine) (ΝΤΟΦ) (is) *the king*<sub>i</sub>; (Π-ΠΡΟ) [*who*<sub>i</sub>; is under you (ε-γ-ΖΑ-ΡΑΤ-Κ)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΝΑΔΩΨΤ ΝΣΑ ΠΕΦΨΗΡΕ ΕΦΒΗΚ ΝΕΜΤΩ ΝΦΤΜΒΟΗΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (is) *the man*<sub>i</sub>; (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [*who*<sub>i</sub>; will watch (ε-γ-ΝΑ-ΔΩΨΤ) his son (ΝΣΑ ΠΕΦΨΗΡΕ) drowning (lit. going (ε-γ-ΒΗΚ) to the depths (of the sea) (Ν-ΕΜΤΩ))] and (*he*<sub>i</sub>) would not help (Ν-Φ-ΤΗ-ΒΟΗΕΙ) him (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΝΕΨΑΧΕ ΝΨΑΡΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΣ 'and (ΑΥΩ) *the words*<sub>i</sub>; (ΝΕ-ΨΑΧΕ) [*that* the holy (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) Αρα Ραμβὸς used to say (*them*<sub>i</sub>) (Ν-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-Υ) to her (Hilaria) (ΝΑ-Σ)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), ΝΤΩΨ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥ 'the *rules*<sub>i</sub>; (Ν-ΤΩΨ) [*that* God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has made (*them*<sub>i</sub>) (ΝΤ-Α ... ΑΑ-Υ)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

#### b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: ΖΕΝΣΙΟΥ ΝΡΟΥΖΕ ΜΗ ΖΕΝΣΙΟΥ ΝΖΤΟΥΕ ΕΥΤ ΜΑΕΙΝ ΕΝΕΥΝΟΟΥΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ 'the evening (Ν-ΡΟΥΖΕ) and (ΜΗ) morning (Ν-ΖΤΟΥΕ) *stars*<sub>i</sub>; (ΖΕΝ-ΣΙΟΥ) [*which*<sub>i</sub> indicate (lit. give (ε-γ-†) sign (ΜΑΕΙΝ)) the hours

(ε-ΝΕ-ΥΝΟΟΥΕ) of the night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), ΖΕΝΖΙΡ ΖΗ ΑΜΝΤΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΕΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'the *streets*<sub>i</sub>; (ΖΕΝ-ΖΙΡ) in (ΖΗ) Hell (ΑΜΝΤΕ) [*which*<sub>i</sub> are (ε-Υ-Ο) (in a) deserted (Ν-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) (state) [*without* (ε-ΜΗ) anyone (ΑΛΑΥ) on *them*<sub>i</sub>; (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]]' (Ac. A&P 204:132) vs. ΕΑΜ[Ν]ΤΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΙΜΕ ΜΗ ΠΒΑΖΟΖ ΝΝΟΒΖΕ 'to *Hell*<sub>i</sub>; (ε-ΑΜΝΤΕ), *which*<sub>i</sub>; is (εΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) the place (Π-ΜΑ) of weeping (Μ-Π-ΡΙΜΕ) and (ΜΗ) gnashing (Π-ΒΑΖΟΖ) of teeth (Ν-Ν-ΟΒΖΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:142), ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑ† ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΚ 'the *day*<sub>i</sub>; (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of *the judgement* (Μ-Π-ΖΑΠ) [(when) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) will judge (lit. will give (εΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-†) law (ΖΑΠ)) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΜΝΑΥ ΕΡΩΜΕ 'everyone<sub>i</sub>; (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [<sub>RC1</sub> *who*<sub>i</sub>; (is) in (ε-γ-ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) [<sub>RC2</sub> *who*<sub>i</sub>; (εΤ \_\_) leads an ascetic life (ΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ) for (εΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) in order not to see (ε-ΤΗ-ΝΑΥ) anybody (ε-ΡΩΜΕ)]]' (Omnophr. 214:24-25).

#### 11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers Ν- 'for' and ε- 'to', e.g. ΟΥΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ ΝΑΔΑΜ 'a baptism (ΟΥ-ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ) [*to save* (Ν-ΟΥΧΑΙ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Φ) race (Μ-Π-ΓΕΝΟΣ) of Adam (Ν-ΑΔΑΜ)]' (Eud. 34:13), ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΧΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ 'a word (ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) [*to be spoken* (ε-ΧΟΟ-Φ) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), ΕΥΣΚΕΥΟΣ ΕΟΥΜΦ 'for a vessel (ε-Υ-ΣΚΕΥΟΣ) [*to eat from* (ε-ΟΥΜ-Φ)]' (Omnophr. 211:8).

#### 11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. ΠΡΡΟ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑΦ ΝΜΜΑΦ (...) 'when the King (Π-ΠΡΡΟ) saw (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΝΑΥ) [*what* God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had done (ε-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α ... ΑΑ-Φ)

for him (NOUN-Q)]' (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as  $\emptyset_{\text{NOUN}}$ ). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
πε- that	$\emptyset_{\text{NOUN}}$	[RC NT-Α Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΛΑ-Ϟi (...)] what God had done (it <sub>i</sub> )

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

### 11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

#### a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article Π-, Τ-, Ν- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (the instructions) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΩϞ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ (for ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ) † ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑϞ 'this one (ΠΑΙ), however (ΖΩΩ-Ϟ), [whom the Christians give (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... †) praise (ΕΟΟΥ) to (ΝΑ-Ϟ)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΗΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϞ 'this one (ΠΑΙ) [in whom (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϟ) the spirit (ΠΕ-Π̄Ν̄Α)

of the devil (Η-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) has branched out (lit. has taken (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ))] (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΑΤ 'the land of the Mariôtês), the one they call (Τ-ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) »Pajat« (Τ-ΠΑΕΙΑΤ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΗΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗϞ 'she (ΤΑΙ) [who is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟΕΙΣ) her (ΕΡΟ-Ϟ)] by (ΖΙΤΟΥΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (Ν-Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) [who is (ΕΤ \_ ) in (ΖΝ) heaven (Η-ΠΗϞΕ))] (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΕΤΤΗϞ ΗΜΑΤΕ 'except (ΕΙΜΗΤΙ) only (ΗΜΑΤΕ) those who have been ordered (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΤΗϞ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ΝΕΤΣΟΟΥΖ ΕΡΟϞ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) those who gathered (Ν-ΕΤ-ΣΟΟΥΖ) with him (ΕΡΟ-Ϟ)' (Test. Is. 228:5), ΝΑΙ ΝΨΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΗΜΟΟΥ ΨΑΡΟϞ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΒΙ (for Ϟi) ΛΩΓΟΣ (for ΛΟΓΟΣ) 'those (ΝΑΙ) [who are brought (lit. they have brought (Ν-ΨΑ-Υ-ΕΙΝΕ) them (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ)) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-Ϟ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) of justification (lit. taking (Ν-ΒΙ) account (ΛΩΓΟΣ)]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

#### b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙϞΙΣ ΤΑΖΟΟΥ Η ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will [those who live (Ν-ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)] find (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ), when they get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙϞΙΣ) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)), or (Η) when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); if they suffer from thirst (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-ϞΩ)?' (Omnophr. 211:11-14).

#### c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extracausal positions of vocative and appositional phrases.

Examples: (subject FRC) Α ΝΕΤΜΟΩΦΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΣΟΚΟΥ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ [*those who went* (N-ET-MOOWE) *with him* (NMMA-Q)] withdrew themselves (Α ... ΣΟΚ-ΟΥ) on each side (ΝΣΑ-ΟΥ-ΣΑ) (Test. Is. 234:6-7), ΧΙΝ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Α ΝΕΤΜΠΑΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΧΑΙ 'since (ΧΙΝ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) [*all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *which is inside me* (lit. which is in my inner (N-ΖΟΥΝ) side (N-ET-M-PA-CA))] has become healthy (Α ... ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΤΑΥΕ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΥΝ ΗΜΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'and each one (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) told (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΑΥΕ) [*what he knew* (Π-ΕΤ-Ψ-ΟΟΥΝ ΗΜΟΦ) *from* (ΖΗ) *the Scriptures* (ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), ΛΙΟΥΩΗ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΨΣΕΠΕ ΗΠΟΕΙΚ 'I ate (Α-Ι-ΟΥΩΗ) [*what was left* (Η-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΣΕΠΕ) *of the bread* (Η-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) ΨΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΟΥΖΜΟΤ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΠΣΤΕΥΕ 'God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) shows (lit. give (ΨΑΡΕ ... †)) favour (ΟΥ-ΖΜΟΤ) [*to those who will believe* (N-ET-NA-ΠΣΤΕΥΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΛΗΜΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΙΑΑΦ 'after that (ΜΗΝΣΩ-Σ) I reflected (Α-Ι-ΜΕΥΕ) by myself (lit. in (ΖΗ) my heart (ΠΑΖΗΤ)) [*about what I had done* (Ε-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΑΑ-Ψ)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ 'the regiment (ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ) [*of those whom* (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) *they call* (N-N-ET-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) »Luduriakon« (ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΕΥΖΗΥ ΗΝ ΟΥΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ (for ΟΥΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) ΝΝΕΤΝΑΨ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΗΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΗ ΟΥ† ΖΤΗΨ 'in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) they shall read (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΨΩ) from it (the book) (ΝΖΗΤ-Ψ) for the benefit (Ε-Υ-ΖΗΥ) and (ΜΝ) satisfaction (ΟΥ-ΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) [*of those who will read* (N-N-ET-ΝΑ-ΨΩ) *from it* (ΝΖΗΤ-Ψ)] and (ΜΝ) [*of him who will listen* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΤΗ) *to it* (ΕΡΟ-Ψ) *with* (ΖΗ) *attention* (lit. giving (ΟΥ-†) one's attention (ΖΤΗ-Ψ))] (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) ΕΙΒΗΚ ΨΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ) [*to* (ΨΑ) *the one who has sent me* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΤΗΝΟΟΥ-Τ)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) ΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΤΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΨ ΜΠΕΨΡΑΝ 'praise (ΣΜΟΥ) God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [*you who fear* (N-ET-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΨ) *his name* (Η-ΠΕΨ-ΡΑΝ)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΙϞ ΠΕΧϞ ΠΕΝΤΑΙΑΠΟΤΑΨΣΕ ΗΠΗ ΗΠΛΕΙΨΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΨ 'My Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Jesus (ΙϞ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧϞ), [*he because of whom* (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Ψ) *I renounced* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΑΠΟΤΑΨΣΕ) *my father's* (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΨΤ) *house* (Η-Π-Η)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ (for ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΤΙΑΓΕ) ΕΥΕΔΙΨΡΕΙ (for ΕΥΕΤΙΨΡΕΙ) ΗΜΟΦ [*he who will protest* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΔΙΨΡΕΙ) him (ΗΜΟ-Ψ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

ΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΕΘΠ ΟΥΝΚΑ ΜΒΛΧΕ (...) ΕΨΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΗ ΠΕΨΟΟΥ ΝΣΟΠ [*he who will break* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΟΥΕΘΠ) *a piece* (ΟΥ-ΝΚΑ) *of pottery* (Η-ΒΛΧΕ) (...)] shall be (Ε-Ψ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) reprimanded (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ) at (ΖΗ) the (lit. his) sixth (ΠΕΨ-ΟΟΥ) occurrence (N-ΣΟΠ)' (praec. Pach. 125).

#### d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) ΠΕΤ† ΣΒΩ ΓΑΡ ΖΗ ΤΤΑΠΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *he; who;* (Π-ΕΤ \_ ) teaches (lit. give (†) teaching (ΣΒΩ)) with (ΖΗ) the mouth (Τ-ΤΑΠΡΟ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ΕΚΕΟΥΩΗ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΟΟΥΨΟΥ ΝΑΚ 'you should eat (Ε-Κ-Ε-ΟΥΩΗ) [*what* God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *has sent* (it) (N-N-ΕΝΤ-Α ... ΤΗΝΟΟΥ-ΨΟΥ) *to you* (ΝΑ-Κ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), ΠΕΤΚΝΑΑΙΤΕΙ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'what; you will ask (Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΙΤΕΙ) (it) (ΗΜΟ-Ψ) from (ΝΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:25), ΝΕΝΤΑΡΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥΨ 'what; you have seen (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΝΑΥ) (it) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ΠΕΤΕΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΖΗΠ ΕΡΟΨ 'he; (Π-ΕΤΕ) before whom; (ΕΡΟ-Ψ) nothing (ΛΑΛΥ) is hidden (ΜΝ ... ΖΗΠ)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), ΕΤΗΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΖΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΨΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'towards perfection (Ε-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΤΕΛΙΟΣ) in (ΖΗ) [*what; he had started* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΑΡΧΕΙ) (in it) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΨΡ ΡΡΟ ΖΑΤΕΥΖΗ 'Numerian (ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ) *he; (ΠΑΙ)* [*who; had been* (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-Ρ) *king* (ΡΡΟ) before them (ΖΑ-ΤΕΥ-ΖΗ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), ΝΕΤΕΜΕΥΨΕΙ ΝΤΩΡΠ ΑΨ ΝΨΙ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΝΕ 'those; who; do not get enough (N-ΕΤΕ-ΜΕ-Υ-ΨΕΙ) of robbing (N-ΤΩΡΠ) and stealing (N-ΨΙ) [*what does not belong to them* (lit. what is not (ΑΝ) theirs (N-N-ΕΤΕ-ΝΟΥ-ΟΥ))] (Sh. IV 99:23-24).

#### 11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

## a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g.  $\text{ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΙΡΕ ΜΠΟΥQΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ QΙΧΜ ΠΚΑQ}$  'blessed is [he who will do (M-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) the will (M-Π-ΟΥQΩ) of God (M-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) on (QΙΧΜ) earth (Π-ΚΑQ)]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9),  $\text{ΕΡΕ ΝΕCΜΟΥ ΜΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC ΝΑQΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΜΝΝCΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΩΤΗ ΕΝΕΙQΑΧΕ}$  'may the blessings (ΝΕ-CΜΟΥ) of the patriarch (M-Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC) be (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-QΩΠΕ) with (ΜΝ) [those who come (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙ) after us (ΜΝΝCΩ-Ν)] and (ΜΝ) [those who listen (Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) to these words (Ε-ΝΕΙ-QΑΧΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7),  $\text{ΑΙΝΑQ ΕΠΕΚQΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑQΝΑQ ΕΠQΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ}$  'I looked (Α-Ι-ΝΑQ) at your face (Ε-ΠΕΚ-QΟ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-QΕ) [someone who had seen (M-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΝΑQ) the face (Ε-Π-QΟ) of God (M-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9),  $\text{ΠΕ[Τ]ΕΡΕ ΠΑΧΟΙ [ΝΑ] ΧΠΟQ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ QΑΙΛΑQ ΝQΩΜΤΕ ΝΤΟ}$  '[what my boat (ΠΛ-ΧΟΙ) will bring in (Π-ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-Q) each (ΚΑΤΑ) year (ΡΟΜΠΕ)], I will split (lit. make) (QΑ-Ι-ΛΑ-Q) into three (Ν-QΩΜΤΕ) parts (Ν-ΤΟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5).

## b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g.  $\text{ΝΕΝΤΑQΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑQΑQΕΡΑΤΟΥ QΜ ΠQΙ ΜΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ}$  '[the ones who served (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) well (ΚΑΛΩC)] (are) [those who stand (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑQΕ ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) within (QΜ) the confines (Π-QΙ) of the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31),  $\text{ΕQΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΝΕΝΤΑQΠΩΝΕ ΕΠΚΕΑΙΩΝ QΜ ΠΕQΡΑQΕ ΜΝ ΠΕQCΟΛΑ ΕQΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΙ}$  'in (QΜ) their joy (ΠΕQ-ΡΑQΕ) and (ΜΝ) compassion (ΠΕQ-CΟΛΑ) towards me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), they (the four lads) were (Ε-Υ-Ο) like (ΝΘΕ) [those who had passed (Ν-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΝΕ) to the other world (Ε-Π-ΚΕ-ΑΙΩΝ)]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3),  $\text{ΝΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΙΝΗΦΕ ΝΘΕ ΜΝΕΤQΑ ΠΗΡΠ}$  'suddenly (ΝΤΕΝΟΥ), I woke up (Α-Ι-ΝΗΦΕ) like (ΝΘΕ) [those who are under (the influence of) (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-QΑ) wine (Π-ΗΡΠ)]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

## c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g.  $\text{ΠΕΝΤΑQΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΝQΗΤΤΗΥΤΗ ΜΠΕΙΟΥQΩ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕQΕΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ QΩ ΝQΗΤΗ ΜΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΤΝΟΥQΩ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΩ ΝΟΥQΑΧΕ (...)}'$  '(as for) [him who has effected (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) in you (ΝQΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) this good (Ν-ΑΓΑΘΟΝ) desire (M-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥQΩ)], he may also (QΩ) produce (Ε-Q-Ε-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) in us (ΝQΗΤ-Η) the fulfillment (M-Π-ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) of your wish (M-ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥQΩ) to let us say (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΧΩ) a few words (Ν-ΟΥ-QΑΧΕ) (...)' (Zen. 199:25-27),  $\text{ΑΝΑQ ΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝQΗΤQ}$  'look (ΑΝΑQ) at [him (Ε-ΠΑΙ) in whom (ΝQΗΤ-Q) the spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) of the devil (M-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) has branched out (lit. has taken (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ)))]' (KHML II 33:25-26),  $\text{ΠΕΝΤΑQΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ QΝ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΧΩΡΗC (...)} ΕΚΕΝΕQCE ΝΟΥΜΟΥ QΜ ΠΕΙΧΑΙΕ$  'oh (you) [who brought (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Q-ΕΙΝΕ) water (M-Π-ΜΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (QΝ) the rock (Τ-ΠΕΤΡΑ) of Khôreb (Ν-ΧΩΡΕC)], will you (please) raise (Ε-Κ-Ε-ΝΕQCE) water (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) in (QΝ) this desert (ΠΕΙ-ΧΑΙΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g.  $\text{ΑQΩ ΕQΤΑQΟ ΜΝΕQQΑΧΕ ΝCΒΩ ΕΙΑΚΩB ΠΕQΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΟΥQQ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ}$  'and (ΑQΩ) he (Isaac) told (Ε-Q-ΤΑQΟ) his words (Ν-ΝΕ-Q-QΑΧΕ) of instruction (Ν-CΒΩ) to Jacob (Ε-ΙΑΚΩB), his son (ΠΕQ-ΩΗΡΕ), and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [those who gathered (Ν-ΕΤ-CΟΥQQ) with him (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5),  $\text{ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑQ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕCΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC}$  'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [those (ΝΑΙ) [you are looking (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑQ) at (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)], they (ΝΑΙ) (are) the fathers (ΝΕ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) of the world (M-Π-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 21:21-22).

## d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g.  $\text{ΙΟΥΔΑC ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΠΕΤΜΟQΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC}$  'the Apostle (Π-ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC) Judas, [who (Π-ΕΤ \_)] went



(π-ετ-ηοωφε) with (μν) our Lord (πεν-χοεις)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), ΠΑΣΩΤ (read ΠΑΣΩΤΤΙ) ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ ΠΕΝΤΑΡ ΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΝΜΠΗ[Υ]Ε 'my chosen one (πλ-σώττι) *Ptolemy*; (ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ), [who; has done (πε-ντ-α-φ-ρ) the will (π-οΰωψ) of my Father (μ-πα-ειωτ) in (ετ \_\_ ΖΝ) heaven (ν-η-πηγε)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΡΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΑΒΕΛ ΜΝ ΝΩΖΕ 'God; (π-νούτε), [who; has been (πε-ντ-α-φ ωπιε) with (μν) our father (πεν-ειωτ) Adam, with (μν) Abel (μν) Noah (νωζε)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΨΕΠ ΖΙΣΕ ΖΝ ΝΕΖΙΣΕ ΝΤΑΦΨΟΠΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ 'the living (ετ \_\_ ΟΝΖ) God; (π-νούτε), [who; (παι) has taught me (ντ-α-φ-ταμο-ι) to bear (ε-ψεπ) grievances (ζισε) through (ΖΝ) the grievances (νε-ζισε) [that he bore (ντ-α-φ-ψοπ-οϋ) for us (ζαρο-ν) all (τηρ-ν)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), ΕΓΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ (...) 'they will become (ε-γ-ε-ψωπε) the children (ν-ψηρε) of *David*; (ν-δαυειδ), [who; (παι) says (ετ \_\_ χω) that (χε) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΓΕ 'oh holy (ετ \_\_ ΟΥΛΑΒ) *virgin*; (τ-παρθενος), [who; (ται) is watched (lit. they watch (ετ-οϋ-ροεις) *her*; (ερο-σ)) by (ζιτοοτ-οϋ) the angels (ν-η-αγγελοσ) of my Father (η-πα-ειωτ) in (ετ \_\_ ΖΝ) heaven (ν-η-πηγε)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΖΟΟΡ (read ΟΥΟΥΖΟΟΡ) ΠΑΙ ΕΥΨΑΝΝΟΧΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΦΒΩΚ ΕΥΨΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΨΑΦΕΙ 'I (ανγ) (am) *a dog*; (οϋ-οϋζοορ), [who; (παι) goes away (ψα-φ-βωκ) [if they throw *him*; (ε-γ-ψαν-νοχ-φ) out (εβολ)] (and) (*he*;) comes (ψα-φ-βωκ) [if they call ((ε-γ-ψαν-νοϋτε) *him*; (ερο-φ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

#### e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ 'as for all (τηρ-οϋ) these (rules), [*he who* will neglect (π-ετ-να-αμελει) them (ερο-οϋ)] will be reprimanded

(lit. *he*; will receive (ε-φ-να-χι) reprimand (επιτιμια)) on account of them (ζαρο-οϋ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(as for) [*him*; *who* (π-ετ \_\_ ) will come (να-ψωπε) [to believe (ε-φ-πιστευε) the words (ε-ν-ψαχε) of God (η-π-νούτε) and (μν) his saints (νεφ-πετοϋλαβ)]]], *he*; will become (φ-να-ψωπε) heir (ν-κληρονομος) to the kingdom (ν-τ-μντ-ρρο) of God (η-π-νούτε)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), ΝΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΨ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΦΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ (read ΕΥΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΔΟΜ ΜΝ ΤΔΟΜ ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ̄Α ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ '(as for) [*them*; *who* (ν-ετ \_\_ ) will study (να-μελετα) it (the testament) (μμο-σ) with (ΖΜ) their whole (τηρ-φ) heart (πεϋ-ζητ), in (ΖΝ) faith (οϋ-πιστις), [believing (ε-γ-πιστευε) in all (τηρ-οϋ) [what I have said (ε-νε-ντ-α-ι-χοο-γ)]]], my power (τα-δομ), the power (τ-δομ) of my beloved (η-πα-μεριτ) Son (ν-ψηρε), and (μν) the Holy (ετ-οϋλαβ) Spirit (πε-πν̄α) will remain (να-ψωπε) with *them*; (νμμα-γ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

#### f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ '(there) was nothing (νε-μν) [*good* (π-ετ-νανοϋ-φ)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner π-, e.g. ΜΠΕΥΡΟΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΕΝΠΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ 'their care (πεϋ-ροουΨ) (is) not (αν) [*idle things* (ζεν-π-ετ-ψουειτ)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), ΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΕΙΗΥ Κ[Α]ΤΑ ΣΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ '[*our holy* (πεν-π-ετ-οϋλαβ)] father (ν-ειωτ) [who (ετ \_\_ ) is honoured ταειηϋ) in (κατα) every (νιμ) manner (σμοτ)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

### 11.3 Nominal cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are very common in the syntactic patterns of Sahidic Coptic and occur in the declarative as well as the interrogative mood, e.g. ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΕΤΧΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΡΝΤΚ '(it is) *the governor* (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) [*who* (ΕΤ \_\_) is asking (ΧΝΟΥ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ) [what (ΝΙΜ) your name (ΡΝΤ-Κ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15), ΝΙΜ [Τ]ΕΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΣΩΡΗ ΜΠΜΗΩΕ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) (is it) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) [*that* (ΕΤ \_\_) is misleading (ΣΩΡΗ) the crowd (Μ-Π-ΜΗΩΕ)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231). Cleft sentences are complex sentences structures that express a single proposition by means of a biclausal syntax. In Coptic, cleft constructions represent a special type of tripartite nominal sentences in which a noun phrase (or its equivalent) is equated with a restrictive relative clause (section 11.3.1). Such nominal clefts encode different semantic types of focus, ranging from presentational (new information) focus to explicit contrast (section 11.3.2).

#### 11.3.1 The equative format of cleft sentences

Coptic cleft constructions have a form that is identical to that of tripartite nominal sentences. Both cleft constructions and tripartite nominal sentences include an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the predicate, which forces a sentential interpretation of the structure (see above, section 5.2.1 of Unit 5 for the syntax of the agreement clitic). Thus compare: (declarative) ΝΤΟϚ ΠΕ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΗΝΣΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*he* (ΝΤΟϚ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) after (ΜΗΝΣΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 4:11) vs. ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟϚ ΜΑΥΑΛϚ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑϚ '*and* (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him* (ΝΤΟϚ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ϛ) [*who* was living as a hermit (Ε-Ϛ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑϚ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), (interrogative) ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΒΑΛΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΕΣΟΟΥ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΛΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) *who* (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕΣΟΟΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:14) vs. ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΝΤΑϚΤΩΩΔΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that* planted (ΝΤ-Α-Ϛ-ΤΩΩΔΕ) them (the trees) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) in this place (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]?' (Onnophr. 219:20-21). A schematic representation of the equative format of nominal clefts and tripartite nominal sentences is given in figure 11.5 (AGR-CL stands for agreement clitic')

	SUBJECT	AGR-CL	PREDICATE NOUN
TRIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCE	ΝΤΟϚ he	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ their father
	CLEFTED NP	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE
CLEFT SENTENCE	ΝΤΟϚ ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ϛ he alone	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	[RC Ε-Ϛ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ] who lived as a hermit

FIGURE 11.5 The equative format of cleft sentences

Nominal clefts involve minimally two clauses: the matrix clause is a tripartite nominal sentence that includes a restrictive relative clause. Taken together, the matrix clauses and the embedded relative clause express a single proposition. The following sections review the main syntactic characteristics of nominal clefts, namely (i) the distribution of tense and negation, (ii) the morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic, (iii) the anaphoric relation between the clefted noun phrase and the embedded relative clause, and (iv) the interaction between clefting and topicalisation.

##### 11.3.1.1 The distribution of tense and negation

The distribution of tense and negation provides further evidence for the equative format of Coptic cleft constructions. The clefted noun phrase can only appear with the preterit auxiliary ΝΕ-, suggesting that cleft sentences are subject to the same tense restrictions as the corresponding tripartite nominal sentences, e.g. ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟϚ ΜΑΥΑΛϚ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑϚ '*and* (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him* (ΝΤΟϚ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ϛ) [*who* was living as a hermit (Ε-Ϛ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑϚ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΑΤΟΥΣΝΤ ΤΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ '*before* (ΖΑΘΗ) heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ) were created (lit. *they* had not yet created (ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΣΝΤ)), *what* (ΟΥ) was (ΝΕ) (there) [*that* (ΕΤ \_\_) existed (ΨΟΟΠ)]?' (Contra Orig. 60:40-41).

In nominal clefts, negation may take wide or narrow scope (see above, section 9.2 of Unit 9). When negation occurs within the embedded relative clause, it takes wide scope over the backgrounded proposition, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΗϚΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΒΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that* will not (ΑΝ) believe (ΕΤ-Ν-Ϛ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) in the mighty deeds (Ε-ΝΕ-ΒΟΜ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]?' (KMHL II

37:12-13). If, on the other hand, negation occurs in the matrix clause, it takes narrow scope over the clefted constituent, leaving the backgrounded proposition outside its scope, e.g. ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΠΕΤΧΙ ΚΒΑ ΝΖΗΤΕ ΖΝΟΥΘΩΝΤ '(it is) *not* (Μ- ... ΑΝ) *man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) takes (ΧΙ) vengeance (ΚΒΑ) through it (the sword) (ΝΖΗΤ-Ε) wrathfully (ΖΝ ΟΥΘΩΝΤ)]' (Sh. IV 12:12), (with omission of the negative prefix Ν-) Η ΕΝΕ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΑΝ ΝΖΩΝ ΤΕΤΝΖΗΤΟΥ (...) 'or (Η) if (ΕΝΕ) (it) (were) *not* (ΑΝ) a living (Ν-ΖΩΝ) *soul* (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) (resided) within them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) (...)]' (Sh. III 220:7-8).

### 11.3.1.2 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

The agreement clitic of nominal cleft sentences differs both morphologically and syntactically from the corresponding pronominal element in tripartite nominal sentences, suggesting that it has been further grammaticalised as a focus marker.

#### a) Proclisis and phonological reduction

In tripartite nominal sentences the agreement clitic occurs in clause-second position with other prosodically weak functions words and particles, e.g. ΟΥΑΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΠΜΤΟΝ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ 'since (ΓΑΡ) you have (lit. for you (ΝΑ-Κ) (is)) continuous (ΟΥ-ΑΤ-ΟΥ) rest (Π-ΜΤΟΝ) until eternity (ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ)' (AP Chaîne no. 30, 6:7). The corresponding agreement clitic of nominal clefts, however, has determiner-like properties, forming an indivisible prosodic unit with the following relative clause, e.g. ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΑΛΨ 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) a beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥΨ-Ψ) thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [that he did (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΑΑ-Ψ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

The proclitic behaviour of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts is particularly clear in the context of vowel elision. This happens when it is attached to relative complementisers with a word-initial ε:

πε-	→ π-	/	___	COMP <sub>REL</sub>	ετ-,	ετε-,	ετερε-,	ε-
e	→ ∅	/	___	e				

FIGURE 11.6 The phonological reduction of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts

When vowel elision applies, the resulting complex PROCLITIC – RELATIVE COMPLEMENTISER – EMBEDDED CLAUSE looks superficially like a free-standing relative clause, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΖΕ ΕΡ[ΑΤ]Ψ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΖΟΡ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΤΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΙΑΡΞ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΟΨ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΜΟΥΙ ΑΧΝ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΖΙ ΨΒΩ 'because (ΓΑΡ) who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) would stand up (ΝΑ-ΑΖΕ ΕΡΑΤΨ) [to fight (Ε-ΜΙΨΕ) with (ΜΝ) dogs (ΝΕΙ-ΟΥΖΟΡ)]] or (Η) who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) would struggle (ΝΑ-ΨΤΩΝ) with (ΜΝ) bears (ΝΙ-ΑΡΞ)], who (ΝΙΜ), indeed (ΝΤΟΨ), (is it) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) would set out (ΝΑ-ΨΡ ΕΒΟΛ) [to fight (Ε-ΜΙΨΕ) with (ΜΝ) lions (ΖΕΝ-ΜΟΥΙ) without (ΑΧΝ) plan (ΨΟΧΝΕ) and (ΖΙ) counsel (ΨΒΩ)]]' (Camb. 8:15-18).

#### b) Agreement behaviour

The agreement clitic of nominal clefts generally agrees in number and gender with the clefted noun or pronoun: (sing. masc.) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΨΤΑΜΙΟΨ ΝΑΨ 'because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) (it was) (ΠΕ) *the king* (Π-ΡΡΟ) [who made it (the bed-chamber) (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Ψ) for her (ΝΑ-Ψ)]' (Eud. 50:8-9), ΑΨΩ ΝΤΟΨ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΕΨΨΙ ΜΠΕΨΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ 'and (ΑΨΩ) (it was) (Π(Ε)) *him* (ΝΤΟΨ), too (ΟΝ), [who was taking (Ε-ΝΕ-Ψ-ΨΙ) care (Μ-ΠΕΨ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) of (ΖΝ) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)' (Zen. 202:11-12), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΥΔΟΨΙΑ ΤΕΤΟΥΨΨ ΕΨΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΑΨΠΑΣΜΟΨ '(it is) (Τ(Ε)) *your maid-servant* (ΤΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) *Eudoxia* (ΕΥΔΟΨΙΑ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) wishes (ΟΥΨΨ) [to enter (Ε-ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ) to greet you (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΑΨΠΑΣΜΟΨ)]]' (Eud. 56:1-2), (plural) ΧΕ [Ν]ΤΟΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΤΑΨΤΝΝΟ[Ο]Ψ ΝΨΩΨ ΨΑΝΤΕΨΕΙ '(it was) (ΝΕ) *them* (the elders) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) [who sent (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΤΝΝΟΟΥ) for him (Αρα Matthew) (ΝΨΩ-Ψ) [to come (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Ψ-ΕΙ)]]' (KHML II 21:8-9).

As a focus-marking device, the agreement clitic may assume a default value 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine ΠΕ, e.g. ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΨΑΑΝ ΠΕΨΨΟΠ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ '(it is) (Π(Ε)) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ) alone (ΜΑΨΑΑ-Ν) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) reside (ΨΟΠ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]' (Onnophr. 221:2-3).

The agreement clitic can be omitted in cleft constructions with independent pronouns, which are inherent focus expressions, e.g. ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΨ ΛΟΓΟΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΨΨΧΗ '(it is) *you* (ΝΤΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) will account (lit. give (ΝΑ-Ψ) account (ΛΟΓΟΨ)) to God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) for (ΖΑ) my soul (ΤΑ-ΨΨΧΗ)]' (Hil. 5:28).

The morpho-syntactic behaviour of the agreement clitic is summarised in table 11.2 below, where [± AGR] indicates presence or

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ [+AGR]	[RC NT- ... ]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	Π-, Τ-, Ν- [+AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ... ]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Π- [-AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ... ]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	∅	[RC ΕΤ- ... ]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

### 11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or "variable" (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) Η ΝΙΜ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΚ ΨΑΡΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ (...) 'or (η) *which* (ΝΙΜ) *monk*<sub>i</sub> (Μ-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (was it) [*who*<sub>i</sub> came (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΒΩΚ) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-Φ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the salvation (Π-ΟΥΧΑΙ) of *his*<sub>i</sub> soul (Ν-ΤΕΦ-ΨΥΧΗ) (...)]?' (KHML II 11: 9-11), ΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΜΟ ΤΑΨΕΡΕ 'what<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* (*it*<sub>i</sub>) happened (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΨΩΠΕ) to you (ΝΜΟ)], my daughter (ΤΑ-ΨΕΡΕ)?' (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΝΜΟΦ ΝΤΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΡΕΣΑΛΣ 'what<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* you order (ΕΤ-Κ-ΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ) your maid servant (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) [to do (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Σ-ΑΛ-Σ)]]' (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ ΝΤΟΚ 'who<sub>i</sub> (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that* you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ) to (*him*<sub>i</sub>)(ΝΜΜΑ-Φ)]?' (V. Pacl. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) ΠΚΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΦ '(it is), again (ΟΝ), *the earth*<sub>i</sub> (Π-ΚΑΖ) [*that* they (i.e. the birds and fish) return (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ) to (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]' (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

### 11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟ[Σ] ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ Ε[ΒΟΛ] ΖΝ ΤΕΦΜΝΤ[Ε]ΡΟ ΤΗΡΣ (...) '(it is) *I*<sub>i</sub> (ΑΝΟΚ), Constantine (ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ), King (Π-ΡΡΟ) of the Romans (Ν-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ) [*who*<sub>i</sub> (ΕΤ \_ ) divulges (ΣΖΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ) (a decree) in (ΖΝ) *his*<sub>i</sub> entire (ΤΗΡ-Σ) kingdom (ΤΕΦ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ) (...)]' (Eud. 40:3-4) vs. ΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΝΡΕΦΧΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕΦΣΖΑΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ (read ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ) ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΨΗΤ '(it is) the victorious (Ν-ΡΕΦ-ΧΡΟ) Augustus (Π-ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) *Zênôn*<sub>i</sub> (ΖΗΝΩΝ) [*who*<sub>i</sub> is writing (Ε-Φ-ΣΖΑΙ) to (ΕΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) our holy (ΕΤ \_ ΟΥΛΛΕ) and pious (Ν-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ) fathers (Ν-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) [that (ΕΤ \_ ) reside (ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) Shiêt (ΨΗΤ)]]' (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΜΑΥΛΑΦ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him*<sub>i</sub>; (ΝΤΟΦ) alone (ΜΑΥΛΑ-Φ) [*who*<sub>i</sub> was living as a hermit (Ε-Φ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΜ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΑΛΑΦ 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) *a* beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ) *thing*<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [*that* he did (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΑΛΑ-Φ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26)

### 11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. ΕΧΝ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ

οὐ πετεφραλααῖ νοὶ πιαβολοῦ *'besides (εἰς) these (things) (ναί), what<sub>i</sub> (οὐ) (is it) [that the devil (π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟῦ) will (manage) to do (ἴ) (εἶτε-φ-να-λα-φ)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), μηνσα πζαπ δε τψωτε μπινοῦν τετναψωπε νακ νμα νμοον[ε] *'after (μηνσα) the (day of) judgement (π-ζαπ), (it is) the pit<sub>i</sub> (τ-ψωτε) of the Abyss (μ-π-νοῦν) [which<sub>i</sub> (εἶτ) ] will become (να-ψωπε) your (να-κ) dwelling (μ-μοονε) place (μ-μα)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).**

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. πενταφ† ραν ελααῖ νιμ λψω ετσοοῦν νζωβ νιμ ντοφ ετσοοῦν νενραν *'[he who has given (πε-ντ-α-φ-†) a name (ραν) to everybody (ελααῖ νιμ) and (λψω) knows (ετ-σοοῦν) everything (ν-ζωβ νιμ)]<sub>i</sub>, (it is) him<sub>i</sub> (ντοφ) [who<sub>i</sub> (εἶτ) ] knows (σοοῦν) our name (νεν-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), νενταῦμοῦ μν πεῶϛ ντοοῦ νετναωνζ ον μν πεῶϛ *'(as for) [those who died (νε-ντ-α-γ-μοῦ) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῶϛ)]<sub>i</sub>, (it is) them<sub>i</sub> (ντοοῦ) [who<sub>i</sub> (εἶτ) ] will also (ον) live (να-ωνζ) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῶϛ)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).**

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. οὐ ντωτν πετετνογεψ τρενααῖ [ν]ναζρν ναι *'(as for) you<sub>i</sub> (ντωτν), what<sub>i</sub> (οὐ) (is it) [that you<sub>i</sub> want (εἶτε-τν-ογεψ) us [to do (ἴ) (τρε-ν-λα-φ) about (νναζρν) these (things) (ναί)]?' (Camb. 11:9-10), νιμ [τ]ενοῦ πετσωρμ μπινηψε *'who<sub>i</sub> (νιμ) (is it) now (τενοῦ) [that who<sub>i</sub> (εἶτ) ] is misleading (σωρμ) the crowd (μ-π-μνηψε)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).**

### 11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

#### 11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in οὐπῖνα εφογαβ ντε πνοῦτε πετψαχε νζητῖ *'(it is) a pure (ε-φ-ογαβ) spirit (οὐ-πῖνα) of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε) [which (εἶτ) ] speaks (ψαχε) through him (νζητ-φ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), οὐζωβ ντε πνοῦτε πετψαχε νμητην ετβηητῖ *'(it is) a divine (lit. of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε)) matter (οὐ-ζωβ) [that I am speaking (ε-†-ψαχε) to you (νμηη-την) about (ετβηητ-φ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).**

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like εματε 'only', ενεζ 'ever' or οὐωτ 'single', e.g. παην εψχε ζενκοῦι εματε νετνναχοοῦ ζν νεφκατωρῶμα (for νεφκατορῶμα) *'yet (παην) even though (εψχε) (it is) only (εματε) a few (things) (ζεν-κοῦι) [that we are going to say (ε(τ)-τη-να-χοο-γ) of (ζν) his achievements (νεφ-κατωρῶμα)]' (Zen. 201:13), νιμ νρωμε ενεζ πε νταφει ερατῖ μπενειωτ εφμοκζ νζητ εμεφβωκ εφραψε *'which (νιμ) man (ν-ρωμε) ever (ενεζ) (is it) [that had gone (ντ-α-φ-ει) to (ερατ-φ) our father (Matthew) (μ-πεν-ειωτ) [disheartened (ε-φ-μοκζ ν-ζητ)] and did not go away (ε-με-φ-βωκ) [rejoicing (ε-φ-ραψε)]!' (KHML II 11:8-9), οὐψηρε νοῦωτ πετψοοπ ναι *'(it is) (just) a single (ν-οῦωτ) son (οὐ-ψηρε) [that (εἶτ) ] I have (lit. exists (ψοοπ) with me (να-ι)]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).***

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. πεελαχιστοῦ νρρο ζηνων πε ντα πνοῦτε † ναφ μπταιο ντηντρρο παρα πεφενψα εφςζαι ερατοῦ ννεσνῖη ννεϋσεβης (for νεϋσεβης) νψοῦμεριτοῦ (...) *'(it is) this most humble (πει-ελαχιστοῦ) king (ν-ρρο) Zēnōn (ζηνων), [whom (να-φ) God (π-νοῦτε) has given (ντ-α ... †) the honour (μ-π-ταιο) of kingship (ν-τ-μητ-ρρο) beyond (παρα) his worthiness (πεφ-εμψα)], [who is writing (ε-φ-ςζαι) to (ε-ρατ-οῦ) the pious (νν-εϋσεβης) and beloved (ν-ψοῦ-μεριτ-οῦ) brothers (ν-νε-σνῖη)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).*

### 11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΩ (for ΠΕΤΟ) ΗΜΕΤΡΗ ΝΤΑΣΗΝΗΔΙΣ (for ΝΤΑΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ) 'for (ΓΑΡ) (it is) the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙΣ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) is (Ω) witness (Η-ΜΕΤΡΗ) to my conscience (Ν-ΤΑ-ΣΗΝΗΔΙΣ)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), [ΑΡΗ]Υ ΠΖΑΓ[ΙΟΣ Α]Π[Α ΜΗΝΑ] ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΝΤ Ε[ΡΟΙ] ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΡΗΤ ΝΤΑΙ[ΕΡΗ]Τ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΑΦ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) (it is) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna (ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ) [who has become wrathful (ΝΤ-Α-ΦΩΝΤ) with me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the promise (Π-ΕΡΗΤ) [that I made (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΡΗΤ) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 11b:25-29).

### 11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΝΟΣΦ ΝΑΝ ΗΡΡΟ ΕΠΜΑ ΗΠΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΤΩΠΠΕ ΔΙΟΚ[Λ]ΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΗΠΧΙΝΘΟΝΣ '(it is) Augustus (ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) Constantine, the righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) [that the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙΣ) our God (ΠΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has raised (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΥΝΟΣ-Φ) for us (ΝΑ-Ν) as a king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) instead (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the shameless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΩΠΠΕ) criminal (Η-Π-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ) Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ), the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) of injustice (Η-Π-ΧΙ Ν-ΘΟΝΣ)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΗΜΟΣ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΩΦ ΕΚΩΝΣ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΝΤΟΣ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΩΦ ΕΚΩΝΣ ΗΜΑΥ '(it is) not (Η- ... ΑΝ) man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) turns (ΚΤΟ) it (the sword) (ΗΜΟ-Σ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) he wants (ΕΤ-Φ-ΟΥΩΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΣ)]]; rather (ΝΤΟΦ) (it is) it (the sword) (ΝΤΟΣ) [which (ΕΤ \_\_) turns (ΚΤΟ) the man (Η-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where it wants (ΕΤ-Σ-ΟΥΩΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΣ)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle ΜΑΥΑΑ- 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. ΝΤΩΤΗ ΜΑΥΑΑΤΤΗΥΤΗ ΠΕΤΠΛΑΝΗ ΗΜΩΤΗ '(it is) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ) yourselves (ΜΑΥΑΑΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) mislead (ΠΛΑΝΗ) yourselves (ΗΜΩ-ΤΗ)]]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

### 11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

#### a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. ΠΚΩΖΤ ΠΕΤΝΑΡΩΚΖ ΝΘΥΛΗ '(it is) the fire (Π-ΚΩΖΤ) [which (ΕΤ \_\_) will burn (ΝΑ-ΡΩΚΖ) the matter (Ν-ΘΥΛΗ < Ν-Τ-ΖΥΛΗ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

#### b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive

discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΝΟΧΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΪ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ 'if you throw me (ε-κ-ψαν-νοχ-τ) out (εβολ), (then) (it is) you (ντοκ) [who (ετ \_\_)] will account (lit. give (να-τ) account (λογος)) to God (μ-π-νουτε) for (ζα) my soul (τα-ψυχη)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ΜΠΡΤΡΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'do not start (μπρ-τρε ... ψωπε) a war (πολεμος)! (It is) me (ανοκ) [who (ετ \_\_)] is going to bring them (the apostles) (να-ντ-ου) in (εζουν)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΜΒΟΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΖΜ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΘΛΙΦΙΣ ΝΙΜ 'but (αλλα) be strong (ταχρο) and brave (ντε-θμ-βομ), for (γαρ) (it is) me (ανοκ) [who (ετ \_\_)] saves (νουζμ) you (μμω-τν) from (εβολ ζν) every (νιμ) trial (θλιφισ)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

## Key Terms:

- Virtual and non-virtual relatives §11.1.1  
 Virtual relative clauses may appear in non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.
- Complementiser alternations §11.1.2  
 Various subordinating complementisers introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* ερε- and *pron.st.* ε-, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker.
- Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns §11.1.3  
 instantiate two different types of placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΝΤΡΡΟ 'every (νιμ) human (ν-ρωμε) race; (γενος) [that (ετ \_\_)] lives (ψοοπ) in (ζν) my kingdom (τα-μντ-ρρο)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤϚ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ 'the mighty deeds; (νε-βομ) and (μεν) miracles; (νε-ψπηρε) [that (they<sub>i</sub>) happened (ντ-α-γ-ψωπε) through (ζι-τοοτ-Ϛ) our father (μ-πεν-ειωτ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

Nested and stacked relative clauses

Coptic relative constructions may §11.1.4 involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g.  $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\eta\lambda\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$  'other trees ( $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta$ ) [RC1 while (*they*<sub>1</sub>) were loaded ( $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$ ) with fruit ( $\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\sigma$ ) [RC2 while (*they*<sub>2</sub>) were plenty ( $\epsilon\eta\lambda\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma$ )]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g.  $\eta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\eta\eta\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\beta\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\sigma\pi\zeta\eta\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$  'the holy brothers; ( $\eta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\eta\eta\gamma$ ) (lit. [RC1 *who* ( $\epsilon\tau$    )] are holy ( $\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\beta$ )) [RC2 *who* ( $\epsilon\tau$    )] live ( $\psi\omicron\sigma\pi$ ) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) the desert ( $\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ )]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

Definiteness opposition

The determination of the antecedent §11.1.5.1 noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g.  $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon\eta\lambda\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma$  'much (lit. which is abundant ( $\epsilon\eta\lambda\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma$ )) water ( $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ )' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g.  $\eta[\epsilon\sigma\iota]\sigma\iota\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\lambda[\lambda\beta]$  'his holy (lit. which are holy ( $\epsilon\tau$      $\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\beta$ )) hands ( $\eta\epsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\chi$ )' (KHML II 18:18).

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into §11.1.5.3 restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g.  $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\psi\epsilon$  'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter ( $\epsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\psi\epsilon$ )) death ( $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma$ )' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g.  $\zeta\epsilon\eta\zeta\iota\pi\zeta\eta\lambda\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\mu\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\eta\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$  'the deserted (lit. which are ( $\epsilon\gamma\omicron$ ) (in a) deserted ( $\eta\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\omicron\sigma$ ) (state)) streets in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) Hell ( $\lambda\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) without ( $\epsilon\mu\eta$ ) anyone ( $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ ) on them ( $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ )' (Ac. A&P 204:132).

Free relatives

are relative clauses that occur without an §11.2.1 overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g.  $\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\mu\eta\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$  'I ate ( $\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ ) [what was left ( $\eta\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ ) of the bread ( $\eta\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$ )]' (Onnophr. 218:5).

Hypothetical relative clauses

have a clause-like interpretation §11.2.2 corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpreted as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\eta\delta\iota\lambda\iota\gamma\epsilon$  (for  $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\iota\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ )  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\omega\pi\epsilon\iota$  (for  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\omega\pi\epsilon\iota$ )  $\eta\mu\omicron\sigma$  '(as for) [him who will protest ( $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\eta\delta\iota\lambda\iota\gamma\epsilon$ )], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish ( $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\omega\pi\epsilon\iota$ ) him ( $\eta\mu\omicron\sigma$ ))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).



*Nominal clefts* Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function. In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause. §11.3.1

Exhaustive listing The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. οὐψῆρε νοῦωτ πετψοοπ ναι '(it is) (just) a single (N-οὔωτ) son (οὐ-ψῆρε) [that I have (lit. that (ετ \_\_ ) is (ψοοπ) with me (ΝΑ-Ι)]' (Ac. A&P 194:22). §11.3.2

## Exercises

### 11.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- The complementiser  $\epsilon$ - occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
  - Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
  - The complementiser  $\epsilon\tau$ - is restricted to subject relatives.
  - Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
  - Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

- Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
- The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
- The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

### 11.2 Attributive relative clauses

- A. Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.
- ΠΜΑ ΟΝ (ΕΤΕΡΕ/ΕΤΕ) ΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟϚ 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [where you are going ( \_\_ Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:10)
  - ΟΥΨΩΤ ΝΝΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ (ΕΤ/ΕΡΕ) ΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΝ ΤΑΡΔΥΜΙC 'worship (ΟΥΨΩΤ) our revered ( \_\_ ΤΑΕΙΗΥ)) gods (N-ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ), Apollôn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) and (ΜΝ) Artemis (Τ-ΑΡΔΥΜΙC)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)
  - ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗΣ (ΕΤΕ/Ε) ΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΜΕ 'a servant (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗΣ) [who lived ( \_\_ Ϛ-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) a village (ΟΥ-ΤΜΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no.99, 22:9-10)
  - ΠΟΛΙC ΝΙΜ (ΕΝΤ/ΕΤΕ) ΨΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'every (ΝΙΜ) city (ΠΟΛΙC) [that they enter ( \_\_ ΨΑ-Υ-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)
  - ΑϚΧΝΟΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΘΕ (Ε/ΝΤ) ΑCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΕϚΗΙ 'he asked her (Α-Ϛ-ΧΝΟΥ-C) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the way (ΘΕ) [in which she had gone ( \_\_ Α-C-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΗ) his house (ΠΕϚ-ΗΙ)]' (Hil. 12:10)

## B. Translate the following text fragment.

## SAINT PACHÔMIUS' JOURNEY TO THE OTHER WORLD

ἀγὼ ἀσψώπε ἠπειοῦσψ νοῦωτ ντεροῦνκοτκ<sup>a</sup> ἀγὼ ντεροῦχι  
 ἠπενείωτ παζωμ ἐπκαίεων (read ἐπκελιων)<sup>b</sup> κατὰ θε  
 ντανωρπχοοc<sup>c</sup>. ἀφναγ ἐπζρψειρέ (for ἐπζρψειρε)<sup>d</sup> νβαλλζητ<sup>e</sup>  
 νταφρ πεφτοοῦ νεβοτ ἐφασκει<sup>f</sup> ἐφζν οὔνοο νραψε μνν  
 (for μν) οὔτελῆλ. ντερεφναγ δε νόι παι ἐπνειωτ (for  
 ἐπενείωτ) παζωμ ἐφμοοψε μν παγγελοο ἐφτcαβο μμοφ  
 ἐπcα ἠπκαίεων (read ἠπκελιων) ντοφ δε ἀφπωτ ἐβολ ζητq<sup>g</sup>  
 ἀφcωκ μμοφ ἐφxω μμοο xε ἀμοῦ νφναγ ἐταοῦcια<sup>h</sup> ντα  
 πxοεic τααc ναι ἐτβε νεκcβοοῦε ἐτνανοῦοῦ ντακτcαβοi  
 ἐροi ἐτραμοοψε νζητοῦ ω παείωτ ἐτοῦααβ ἀγὼ νεφτcαβο  
 μμοφ ἐνεφδομ ἐζηπῆῶτκων (read ἐζηνπῆῶτκων) νε ἀγὼ  
 νεῦγαρποο (for νεῦκαρποο)<sup>i</sup> ἐῦψοοπ ζη οὔμνταττακο ἀγὼ  
 ἀφτcαβοο (for ἀφτcαβοφ) ἐνεφμανψώπε τηροῦ ἀγὼ πκωτ  
 ἐτοῦκητ ἐζητq μν πεῦcα (...) μνncωc ντεροῦρ πβολ<sup>j</sup>  
 ἠππαρῶτcωc<sup>k</sup> (ἠππαρδειcοο) ντε τρυφῆ<sup>l</sup> νοῦκοῦi ἀφναγ  
 ἐπζλλο νασκίτηc<sup>m</sup> ἐφζν οὔμα ἐφο νψαρβα ἀγὼ ἐφταxρηῦ  
 ἐζοῦν ἐψῆν ἐφοτπ νγαρποο (for νκαρποο) νεε νοῦοῦζορ  
 ἐβονζ (for ἐφονζ) ἐβολ ζη πφγαρποο (for πεφκαρποο)  
 ἐμνταφ ἐζοῦcια<sup>n</sup> μμαῦ ἐερ πβολ ἠπψῆν ἐτῆμαῦ. ντοφ δε  
 ντερεφναγ ἐροοῦ ἀφκα xωφ ἐπεcητ ἐφψειπε (for ἐφψιπε)  
 ψαντοῦπαραγε<sup>o</sup> μμοφ ἀγὼ ντεροῦναγ ἐροφ ἀφῶψωτ ἐζοῦν  
 ἐζραφ ζην (for ζη) οὔνοο νῆκαζ νζητ ἀγὼ πεxε πcον  
 νβαλλζητ ἠπενείωτ παζωμ xε ἀκναγ ἐπζλλο νασκίτηc  
 ντακζice ἐκτ cβω ναφ ἠπεφcωτμ ncωκ ἐτρεφμοοψε ζην  
 (for ζη) οὔθββεio. τενοῦ θε ἀναγ ἐπαι ντεiμiνε μν  
 τεπiτῆμα<sup>p</sup> νταφτααc ναφ νόι πxοεic ἐπμα ντεφμῆτατcωτῆ  
 ἐθooῦ. (V. Pach. 86:6-87:10)

NOTES: a. read ντερεφνκοτκ b. λιων 'world' c. ντ-α-ν-ωρπ-χοο-с d.  
 ζρψειρε 'young man' e. βαλλζητ 'innocent' f. αскеи 'to practise' g. πωτ ἐβολ  
 ζηт= 'to run towards s.o.' h. οῦcια 'state, condition' i. γαρποο 'fruit' j. p  
 π-βολ 'to walk out, leave' k. παρῶτcωc 'Paradise' l. τρυφῆ 'delight, joy'  
 m. αcκίτηc 'hermit, monk' n. ἐζοῦcια 'power, strength' o. παραγε 'to pass  
 by' p. ἐπιτῆμα 'penalty, punishment'.

- C. Specify for each relative clause in the text fragment whether it has a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning and function.

## 11.3 Free relative clauses

- A. Consider the following examples of free relative clauses. Identify the placeholding gap or resumptive pronoun that indicates the internal grammatical role of the covert relative antecedent.

- (1) ἀβδεμεροῦχοο πετζιxν νκολλαcic 'Abdemeruchos (ἀβδεμεροῦχοο) [who supervises (π-ετ-ζιxн) the punishments (ν-κολλαcic) (of Hell)]' (Test. Is. 235:1-2).
- (2) νοῦμεριανοο παι νταφρ ppo ζα τεῦζη 'Numerianus, [who (παι) had been (ντ-α-φ-p) king (ppo) before them]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24)
- (3) ἀip θε ννετζινηε ἐτβε θοτε νταιναγ ἐροο 'I had become (α-ι-p) like (θε < τ-ζε) [those who sleep (ν-ν-ετ-ζινηε)] because of (ετβε) the overwhelming (vision) (θοτε < τ-ζοτε)) [that I had seen (ντ-α-ι-ναγ)]' (Onnophr. 221:26-27)
- (4) πβιοο ντμακαρια ζαλλαρια τψεερε ἠπῆαινοῦτε νppo ζηνηων πενταφζιcτωριζε μμοφ νόι ππετοῦααβ ἀπα πανβω 'the life (π-βιοο) of the blessed (ν-τ-μακαρια) Hilaria, the daughter (τ-ψεερε) of the god-loving (ἠ-π-ῆαι-νοῦτε) king (ν-ppo) Zênôn, [which the holy (π-π-ετ-οῦααβ) Apa Pambô has written down (πε-ντ-α-φ-ζιcτωριζε)]' (Hil. 1:1-2)
- (5) ἀπα ιωζανῆc πενταγεζωριζε μμοφ ζιτῆ μαρκιανοο 'Apa John [who had been exiled (lit. they had exiled (ντ-α-γ-εζωριζε) him (μμο-φ) by (ζιτῆ) Markianos]' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:21-22)
- (6) τοικονομια ται ντα πx̄c τοψc ἐροκ 'this destiny (τ-οικονομια), [which (ται) the Lord (π-x̄c) has destined (ντ-α ... τοψ-c) for you (ερο-κ)]' (Onnophr. 212:27-28)

(2) *εστε [ε] πετετησινε η[ε]σωυ] [ε]βολ ζητοοτη [εστε] [ηαι] νε κκατορ[εω] [ηαι] ηηπολυτια ηημακαριος απα ζηνοβιος* 'concerning (εστε) [what you are seeking (η-εστε-τη-σινε) for (ησω-ου) from us (ζη-τοοτ-η)], [to wit (εστε ηαι νε) the achievements (η-κατορεωμα) of the monastic practise (η-τ-πολυτια) of the blessed (η-π-μακαριος) Apa Zēnobios]' (Zen. 199:7-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

- (1) *εκεογωμ δε [ηηεντα ηηουτε ηηνοογού ηαικ]* (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
- (2) [*ηηηπιστευε [εστε ηαι ηε ηαωκ ηησωτη]*] (Test. Is. 228:7-8) (πιστευε 'to believe')
- (3) *ηηου δε ηαωκ ηηαπιστικ τε ται ηη ουμε ηε ηηουτε ηαστηηυτη εβολ αν ηη [ηηετηηαιτε] (for ηηετηηαιτε) ηηου]* (Hil. 8:10-12)

#### 11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

A. Classify the following cleft sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) *εβολ ηε ηηρο ηε ηηαηηαμιου ηαις* 'because (εβολ ηε) (it was) the king (η-ηρο) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (ηη-α-η-ηαμιο-η) for her (Eudoxia) (ηαι-ς)]' (Eud. 50:8-9)
  - thematic prominence
  - contrastive focus
- (2) *ηηηαημου ηη ηεχ̄ε ηηοου ηηηαωηηη οη ηη ηεχ̄ε* '(as for) those who died (ηε-ηη-α-η-μου) with (ηη) Christ (ηε-χ̄ε), (it is) they (ηηοου) [who (ετ \_\_) will also (οη) live (ηαι-ωηηη) with (ηη) Christ (ηε-χ̄ε)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).
  - informative-presupposition cleft
  - restrictive focus

(3) *εηηηηηοκ ηηεσοοηη ηηητω ηηηη ηηαβιος ηη ηηουτε* 'since (εηηη) (it is) you (alone) (ηηοκ) and (ηη) God (ηη-ηουτε) [who (ετ \_\_) knows (σοοηη) the entire (ηηη-η) course (η-η-τωω) of my life (η-ηαι-βιος)]' (Hil. 12:22)
 

- presentational focus
- restrictive focus

(4) *ηηωηη ηηηηαηωκη ηεγαιη* '(it is) the fire (ηη-κωηη) [which will burn (ετ \_\_ ηαι-ηωκη) the matter (η-εγαιη < η-η-ηγαιη)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)
 

- informative-presupposition cleft
- restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE *ΑΠΟΡΗΤΗΓΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")  
*αηα εεωδωρος παηηερμης<sup>a</sup> αηκω ηαι<sup>b</sup> ηηωμηη ηαωημε εηαηογού αηβωκ ψα αηα ηακαριος αηχοος ηαι ηε ουηηαι ηηαη ηηωμηη ηαωημε εηαηογού αηω †† ηηη<sup>c</sup> ηηηηογ αηω οη ψαρε ηεσηηη ηηηογ ηεη† ηηη αηης δε εροι ηε ογ ηηεηψηε εροι ελαη. αηογωψβ ηοι ηηλλο ηε ηαηογ ηηωβ ηεη αηλα ηαηογ ηηηηηηηε ηαηαηοογ ηηηογ. ηηηερεησωτη δε εηαι αηβωκ αηηαηη εβολ αηηη ηεγ†ηη<sup>d</sup> αηηαα ηηηεηααη. (AP Elanskaya 13a:12-34)*

NOTES: a. ηηερμης 'Phermês (toponym) b. κω ηαι- 'to keep for oneself' c. † ηηη 'to give profit' d. †ηη 'price'

Present tense sentences may indicate a regular activity or characteristic behaviour of the subject referent. The habitual interpretation may be reinforced by frequency and interval adverbials like  $\mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$  'daily' and  $\mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omega\omega\gamma \mu\eta \tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$  'day and night', e.g.  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \omega\gamma \tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \epsilon\chi\eta \omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\mu\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\iota\eta\omicron\kappa$  'why (lit. for ( $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ ) what (reason) ( $\omega\gamma$ )) do (woman) you sleep ( $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ) on ( $\epsilon\chi\eta$ ) an ivory ( $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\iota\eta\omicron\kappa$ ) couch ( $\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\mu\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ )?' (Eud. 58:3-4),  $\alpha\mu\omicron\eta \gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon\iota\varsigma \zeta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon \tau\eta\eta\alpha\gamma \epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma \mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$  'for ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ), look ( $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \zeta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ ), we look ( $\tau\eta\eta\alpha\gamma$ ) after each other ( $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ ) daily ( $\mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$ )' (Onnophr. 211:3-4),  $\tau\eta\zeta\alpha\rho\epsilon\zeta \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omega\omega\gamma \mu\eta \tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$  'we watch ( $\tau\eta\zeta\alpha\rho\epsilon\zeta$ ) her ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ) day ( $\mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omega\omega\gamma$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) night ( $\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$ )' (Hil.8:6-7).

### e) Generic present tense sentences

The present tense may have a generic use to describe situations that hold true at all times, e.g.  $\pi\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\rho \gamma\alpha\rho \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$  (for  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ )  $\eta\alpha\eta \zeta\mu \pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\eta$  'for ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) the Saviour ( $\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$ ) summons ( $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$ ) us ( $\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta$ ) through ( $\zeta\mu$ ) the Gospel ( $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\eta$ )' (V. Pach. 89:14-15),  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon \pi\iota\omega\upsilon\tau\epsilon \dagger \mu\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha \pi\omicron\gamma\alpha \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \pi\iota\zeta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\eta\alpha\psi\omicron\pi\iota\phi$  'God ( $\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) gives ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon \dots \dagger$ ) to every single person ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha \pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$ ) according to ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ ) the grief ( $\pi\text{-}\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ ) which he will receive ( $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\psi\omicron\pi\text{-}\iota\phi$ )' (Onnophr. 212:7-8).

### 7.3.3 Future tenses

With respect to future time reference, Coptic employs two different tense forms: the First Future  $\phi\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$  'he is going to hear' and the Third Future  $\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$  'he will come'. The First and the Second Future are formed by combining the present tense form of the motional verb  $\eta\alpha$  'to go' with a lexical verb. The Third Future, on the other hand, is an underlying locative construction, whose future time reference stems from the goal-directed meaning of the prepositional predicate  $\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$  '(be) towards hearing' (see above, sections 7.1.2.3 and 7.1.2.4 for the syntax of the First and the Third Future, respectively).

The complete paradigm of future tenses is presented in table 7.3 below. In literary Sahidic, the second person singular allomorphs  $\tau\epsilon\text{-}$  and  $\tau\epsilon\rho\text{-}$  are morphologically fully productive, e.g.  $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\zeta\epsilon$  'you (woman) will find' (Eud. 54:7) vs.  $\tau\epsilon\rho\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$  'you (woman) will go' (Mena, Mir.

29b:11). Occasionally, the final  $\eta$  of the first and second plural pronouns  $\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}$  and  $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}$  is deleted in the context of the future auxiliary  $\eta\alpha$  to avoid a cluster of two nasals:  $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-} /te.t\eta\eta/ + \eta\alpha /na/ \rightarrow \tau\epsilon\tau /tet.na/$ , e.g.  $\tau\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma$  'you will die' (Eud. 58:28).

	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	$\dagger\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	$\kappa\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	$\tau\epsilon(\rho)\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\rho\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	$\phi\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	$\varsigma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	$\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	$\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	$\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
Before noun	$\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\rho\epsilon \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\rho\epsilon \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$

TABLE 7.3 Future tenses

#### 7.3.3.1 Syntactic relations between future and present tenses

A structural relation between the First Future  $\phi\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$  'he is going to hear' and the First Present  $\phi\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$  'he hears, is hearing' is suggested by the obligatory presence of the verbal copulas  $\omega\gamma\eta$  '(there) is' and  $\omega\gamma\eta$  '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g.  $\epsilon\omega\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\eta\eta \eta\alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\omega\omega\gamma$  'a misery ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\mu\eta\eta\text{-}\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$ ) will come upon them ( $\omega\gamma\eta \dots \eta\alpha\text{-}\tau\alpha\zeta\omega\omega\gamma$ )' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1),  $\mu\mu\eta \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta \eta\alpha\psi\omega\tau\epsilon \eta\alpha\kappa \omega \delta\iota\omicron\kappa\eta \zeta\mu \pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega\eta \omega\gamma\delta\epsilon \zeta\mu \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$  '(there) will be ( $\mu\mu\eta \dots \eta\alpha\text{-}\psi\omega\tau\epsilon$ ) no repentance ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota\alpha$ ) for you ( $\eta\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ ), oh Diokletian ( $\delta\iota\omicron\kappa\eta$ ), (neither) in ( $\zeta\mu$ ) this era ( $\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\lambda\omega\eta$ ) nor ( $\omega\gamma\delta\epsilon$ ) ( $\zeta\mu$ ) the one to come ( $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ )' (Eud. 38:22-23),  $\lambda\gamma\omega \mu\eta \lambda\iota \eta\alpha\eta\tau\eta\gamma\eta\mu\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma \eta\alpha\epsilon\psi \delta\eta\delta\omicron\mu \epsilon\rho\omicron\phi$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) no ( $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ ) adversary ( $\eta\alpha\text{-}\lambda\eta\tau\eta\gamma\eta\mu\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$ ) will be able to gain power ( $\mu\eta \dots \eta\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\psi\text{-}\delta\eta\text{-}\delta\epsilon$ ) against him (the hermit) ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\phi$ )' (Onnophr. 221:20-21).

The First Present and the First Future differ morphologically from each other with respect to their compatibility with formal classes of verb. As pointed out in section 7.3.2.2 above, Stative verb forms are excluded from contexts other than the First and Second Present and

Preterit, e.g.  $\text{τογοχ εωμε}$  'I am cured ( $\text{†-ογοχ}$ ) from sickness ( $\text{ε-ωμε}$ )' (V. Pach. 90:11-12). Moreover, the Stern-Jernstedt Rule does not apply to Future Tenses, e.g.  $\text{ειναχικ επογοειν (...)} \text{νατογω}$  'I am going to take you ( $\text{ε-ι-χικ-κ}$ ) to the endless ( $\text{η-ατ-ογω}$ ) light ( $\text{ε-π-ογοειν}$ )' (Test. Is. 229:23-24).

In the Third Future  $\text{ε-ϕ-ε-ωτη}$  'he will come', the directional preposition  $\text{ε-}$  is deleted in the context of a nominal subject (see above, section 7.1.2.4). The resulting construction  $\text{ερε πρωμε ωτη}$  'the man will hear' takes exactly the same form as the Second Present. Despite this isomorphy, it is possible to distinguish both tenses on syntactic grounds, the Second Present but not the Third Future is compatible with Stative verb forms, e.g.  $\text{ζωε ερε ογστχαριον το ζωωϕ}$  'as if ( $\text{ζωε}$ ) a variegated tunic ( $\text{ογ-στχαριον}$ ) were placed ( $\text{ερε ... το}$ ) on him ( $\text{ζωω-ϕ}$ )' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25). Since the Third Future is not subject to the aspectual restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt rule, the presence of a construct state form is therefore a reliable diagnostic for the Third Future interpretation of the sentence in question, e.g.  $\text{χεκασ ερε πνουτε τσαβοι ετεεργασια (ετεεργεσια)}$  'I fasted a whole week) in order that ( $\text{χεκασ}$ ) God ( $\text{π-νουτε}$ ) would teach me ( $\text{ερε ... τσαβο-ι}$ ) about the well-doing ( $\text{ε-τ-εεργασια}$ )' (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:29-30).

### 7.3.3.2 The correlation between future tense and modality

Future tense and mood represent two different categories of verbal semantics in the sense that future tenses describe forthcoming situations that occur after the present moment and moods describe situations that the speaker believes to be true, likely, or desirable. Yet, futurity is never a purely temporal concept, but always involves an element of speculation and prediction: in anticipating events that are not yet actualised, future tense always makes intrinsic reference to possible worlds. It is therefore hardly surprising to find future tenses in modal contexts. Some of these modal uses relate to deontic modality, which deals with obligation and desire, and others to epistemic modality, which deals with degrees of possibility. Although all three Coptic future tenses have partially overlapping temporal and modal uses, the First and Second Future tenses are better candidates as markers for future time reference than the Third Future. Thus, while the First and the Second Future have a primarily tense-deictic function, indicating progression from the present to the

future, the Third Future involves a modal judgement on part of the speaker concerning the necessity or desirability of some future action.

### 7.3.3.3 Temporal and modal uses of the First and Second Future

The First and Second Future cover a broad spectrum of tense distinctions reaching from near to remote future time reference. Although various degrees of temporal distance are expressed, they always assert relevance of a forthcoming situation for the present. Therefore, both future tenses may be thought of a present-in-the future.

#### a) Near Future

As grammaticalised expressions of near future reference, the First and Second Future locate a forthcoming situation in the vicinity of the present moment. Adverbs of temporal location of the kind  $\text{τενογ}$  'now' or  $\text{η-πει-ναγ}$  'in this hour' are frequently used to stress the connection with the present moment, e.g.  $\text{τενογ σε ραψε ντοκ χε ειναχικ ζη ουεμκαζ}$  (for  $\text{ουμκαζ}$ )  $\text{εγογνοϕ}$  'now ( $\text{τενογ}$ ) rejoice ( $\text{ραψε}$ ), you, ( $\text{ντοκ}$ ) since ( $\text{χε}$ ) I will take you ( $\text{ε-ι-να-χικ-κ}$ ) from ( $\text{ζη}$ ) grief ( $\text{ογ-εμκαζ}$ ) to joy ( $\text{ε-γ-ογνοϕ}$ )' (Test. Is. 229:20-21). The near future reading may also be contextually implied, for instance, by a preceding imperative, e.g.  $\text{αχι ογψαχε εροι (...)} \text{ειναχε ογ νακ}$  'say ( $\text{αχι}$ ) a word ( $\text{ογ-ψαχε}$ ) to me ( $\text{ερο-ι}$ ) (...)! What ( $\text{ογ}$ ) shall I say ( $\text{ε-ι-να-χε}$ ) to you ( $\text{να-κ}$ )?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24-25). Near Future reference may include the day following the present moment, e.g.  $\text{ερψαν πογοειν ε[ι] εβολ αμη επαμαρτυριον αγω πταλσο να ψωπε νε}$  'when daylight ( $\text{π-ογοειν}$ ) appears ( $\text{ερψαν ... ει εβολ}$ ), come (you woman) ( $\text{αμη}$ ) to my shrine ( $\text{ε-πα-μαρτυριον}$ ) and ( $\text{αγω}$ ) healing ( $\text{π-ταλσο}$ ) will be granted (lit. happen ( $\text{να-ψωπε}$ )) to you ( $\text{νε}$ )' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23),  $\text{ραστε ζη πογωψ ηπνουτε τενναβωκ (...)} \text{μημον αλλα τενναβωκ ηπειναγ}$  'tomorrow ( $\text{ραστε}$ ), with ( $\text{ζη}$ ) God's will ( $\text{π-ογωψ}$ ), we will go ( $\text{τεν-να-βωκ}$ )(...). No ( $\text{μημον}$ ), we will go ( $\text{τεν-να-βωκ}$ ) right now (lit. in this hour ( $\text{η-πει-ναγ}$ ))!' (Mena, Mir. 77a:16-24).

#### b) Distant Future

The First Future may have distant future interpretation and refer to larger time intervals that include the present moment, e.g.  $\text{εις ζηητε τενναμογ μη νενωηρε ζη τερημια ζα πιβε}$  'look ( $\text{εις ζηητε}$ ), we

and (1M) our children (ΝΕΗ-ΦΙΡΕ) are going to die (ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) from (2A) thirst (Π-ΙΒΕ) in (2M) this desert (†-ΕΡΗΜΙΑ) (Mena, Mir. 33a:33-33b:1), ΤΕΚΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΝΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΣΑΨΦ ΝΕΒΟΤ 'your martyrdom (ΤΕΚ-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ) will last (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) seven (Ν-ΣΑΨΦ) months (Ν-ΕΒΟΤ)' (KHML I 76:2-3).

### c) Remote Future

The First and Second Future may locate the anticipated event a long time after the present moment. Even when indicating a remote future, both future tenses maintain a connection with the present moment, asserting the current relevance of the anticipated situation, e.g. ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΒΕΙ (for ΝΑΦΙ) ΝΝΟΥΝΟΘ (for ΝΟΥΝΟΘ) ΝΘΥΣΙΑ 2M ΠΕΚΗΙ 2M ΠΕ200Υ ΜΠΨΑ 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) will require (ΝΑ-ΒΕΙ) a big (ΝΗ-ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) sacrifice (Ν-ΘΥΣΙΑ) from (2M) your house (ΠΕΚ-ΗΙ) on (2M) the day (ΠΕ-200Υ) of the festival (Μ-Π-ΨΑ)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), ΜΗΝΣΑ ΝΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΚΕ2ΜΕΣΝΟΟΥΣΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝΕ 'after (ΜΗΝΣΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) another forty-two (ΚΕ-2ΜΕ-ΣΝΟΟΥΣΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) will come (ΟΥΝ ... ΝΑ-ΟΥΕΙΝΕ)' (Test. Is. 231:7-8), ΕΡΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2M ΠΕΦΩΜΑ ΜΗ ΠΕΦΣΝΟΦ 'future (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) will be saved (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) through (ΕΒΟΛ 2M) his (Jesus') body (ΠΕΦ-ΩΜΑ) and (ΜΗ) his blood (ΠΕΦ-ΩΜΑ)' (Test. Is. 231:16-17), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΝΑΨΩΠΕ 2M ΠΔΑ2Θ2 ΝΝΟΒ2Ε ΨΑ ΠΕ200Υ ΜΠ2ΑΠ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) you will be (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) in (2M) (the place of) the gnashing (Π-ΔΑ2Θ2) of teeth (Ν-ΝΟΒ2Ε) until (ΨΑ) the day (ΠΕ-200Υ) of the Judgement (Μ-Π-2ΑΠ)' (Eud. 38:23-24).

### d) Commissives

Commissives are speech-acts in which one commits oneself to do things, that is, promises and threats. Since commissives present some future action in terms of the speaker's guarantee, they are always formulated in the first person, e.g. †ΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΨΑΧΕ '(from now on), I shall act (†-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) your word (ΠΕΚ-ΨΑΧΕ)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), ΑΝΟΚ ΗΜΑΤΕ ΝΗΜΑΚ ΤΗΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΗΠΜΕ2ΣΝΑΥ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) and you (ΝΗΜΑ-Κ) alone (ΗΜΑΤΕ) shall celebrate (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) the second one (Pascha) (Μ-Π-ΜΕ2-ΣΝΑΥ)' (Eud. 70:2-3), †ΝΑΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡΦ ΝΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC 'I will eliminate (†-ΝΑ-ΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ

the entire (ΤΗΡ-Φ) race (Μ-Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of Christians (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC) (Eud. 36:6-7).

### e) Directives

Directives are used to make other people to do things. Directive speech-acts are always related to the future, since only the future can be changed as a result of one's actions, e.g. ΤΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΝΗCΤΕΙΑ ΕΦΝΑΡ ΤΟΥ 2M ΠΕΦΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ 2M ΠΗΙ ΜΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ '(as for) the instructor (Τ-ΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ) of fast (Ν-Τ-ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (2M) his house (ΠΕΦ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (2M) his colleagues' (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΩΒΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115), ΑΡΗΥ [ΤΕ]ΝΑΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) you (woman) will be able to rise (ΤΕ-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΤΩΟΥΝ) and go (Ν-ΤΕ-ΒΩΚ) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of Apa Mena' (Mena, Mir. 26b:5-9).

### f) Conditionals

Conditional sentences (e.g. *if they come we will sleep upstairs*) provide the typical syntactic frame for the description of an anticipated, imagined or hypothesized situation. In this context, the First and the Second Future assume an epistemic-modal interpretation, indicating that the anticipated situation has a real possibility of being fulfilled at some point in the future, e.g. ΕΡΨΑΝΒΩΚ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΘΙΛΗΜ (... ) CΕΝΑΤCΑΒΟ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΦΥΛΗ (...) 'when you (woman) go (ΕΡ-ΨΑΝ-ΒΩΚ) to (Ε-ΘΙΛΗΜ) Jerusalem (...), the people from (Ν-ΕΒΟΛ) my tribe (ΤΑ-ΦΥΛΗ) will inform you (CΕ-ΝΑ-ΤCΑΒΟ) about it (ΕΡΟ-Φ) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:23-26), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΧΕ ΠΟΥΨ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕ ΧΙΤΝ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΡΟC ΦΝΑΧΙΤΝ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) if (ΕΨΧΕ) it (ΠΕ) (is) the will (Π-ΟΥΨ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC) to take us (ΧΙΤ-Ν) inside (Ε2ΟΥΝ) it (ΕΡΟ-C) (the city), he will take us inside (Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙΤ-Ν)' (Ac. A&P 196:39-40).

#### 7.3.3.4 Temporal and modal uses of the Third Future

The Third Future seldom refers simply to future time, but rather combines future time reference with some modal judgement of the speaker about the necessity or desirability of some future action. As a deontic modal, the Third Future is particularly common in directive speech-acts, where the speaker puts an obligation on the addressee or others.

### a) Remote Future

Only rarely does the Third Future appear to have simple future time reference. When it does, it locates an event in the remote future without any specific connection to the present moment, e.g. *εφεσωπε νακ νογωνη φανεη μν ουπροφητα ναττακο* 'everlasting (φα ενεη) life (ου-ωνη) shall come (ε-φ-ε-σωπε) on you (να-κ) and an indestructible (ν-ατ-τακο) (gift of) prophecy (ου-προφητα)' (Omphr. 222:6-7), *πανουτε δε εφεχωκ εβολ ντετηχρια τηρς κατα τεφμητρημαο (...)* 'My God (πα-νουτε) will fulfil (ε-φ-ε-χωκ εβολ) all (τηρ-ς) your needs (ν-τετη-χρια) in accordance with (κατα) his richness (τεφ-μητ-ρη-μαο)(...)' (Phil 4:19).

### b) Directives

In the vast majority of cases, the Third Future is used as a deontic modal to express the speaker's beliefs about obligations that various individuals have, e.g. *αλλα εφεωρωρ νηρηγε μν νευμα ν[τα]λε μασε [ε]ραι* 'but (αλλα) they shall destroy (ε-γ-ε-ωρωρ) the temples (ν-ν-ρηγε) and (μν) their places (νεγ-μα) of bull (μασε) sacrifices (ν-ταλε εραι)' (Eud. 40:8-9), *εκεοωμ δε ννετα πνουτε τνηοουσογ νακ* 'you should (rather) eat (ε-κ-ε-οωμ) what God (π-νουτε) has sent (ν-νε-ντ-α ... τνηοου-σογ) to you (να-κ)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16). Occasionally, the Third Future has a "weak" deontic reading and indicates a polite request, e.g. *πενταφεινε ηπμοου εβολ ην πετρα νχωρηβ (...)* *εκενεησε νογμοου ημ πεχαιε* 'oh (you) who brought (π-εντα-φ-εινε) water (η-π-μοου) out (εβολ) of (ην) the rock (τ-πετρα) of Khôrêb (ν-χωρηβ), will you (please) arise (ε-κ-ε-νεησε) water (ν-ου-μοου) in (ην) this desert (πει-χαιε)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

### c) Conditionals

In Conditional sentences, the Third Future does not usually express the possibility of some future action, but rather an instruction to act in a certain way under particular circumstances, e.g. *ερωαν ουσον δε φοοβεφ νεφτηνκοτκ (...)* *ερε πεφμηνηνι βωκ επμα ννοικονομοσ νφχιτογ ναφ φαντφλο* 'if a brother (ου-σον) hurts himself (ερωαν ... φοοβε-φ) and cannot sleep (νεφ-τη-νκοτκ) (...), his superintendent (πεφ-μη-νη) should go (ερε ... βωκ) to the place

(ε-π-μα) of the stewards (ν-ν-οικονομοσ) and take it (the oil, a garment) (ν-φ-χιτ-ουγ) for him (να-φ) until he gets better (φαντ-φ-λο)' (praec. Pach. 105), *αγω ον νεσνηγ εφωαναμελει εκενεησε ημοου ημ πνωμοσ* (read πνομοσ) *επνουτε* (read ηπνουτε) 'and (αγω) also (ον) (as far as) the brothers (νε-σνηγ) (are concerned): if they become negligent (ε-γ-φωαν-αμελει) you shall arise (ε-κ-ε-νεησε) them (ημο-ουγ) in (ημ) the law (π-νωμοσ) of God (η-π-νουτε)' (V. Pach. 94:14-16).

### d) Purpose clauses

The Third Future is frequently selected for subordinate clauses of purpose. Purpose clauses are semantically modal in expressing an attitude by the subject that explains what goals he or she pursued in carrying out the main clause event, e.g. *αφατεχε ννεσνηγ ητηφ φομητ νεβοτ ετβε τεφωερε χεκασ εφεσω εφναγ εροσ ημνηε* 'he (the king) kept (α-φ-κατεχε) the brothers (ν-νε-σνηγ) with him (ητη-φ) (for) three (φομητ) months (ν-εβοτ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεφ-ωερε) in order that (χεκασ) he could keep (ε-φ-ε-σω) seeing (ε-φ-ναγ) her (ερο-ς) daily (ημνηε)' (Hil. 12:8-10), *ντοου δε ντερουσωτη αυταχρο ετβε πωαχε χε εγεζαρεη εροου ηβολ ηα πιχιηραφ ννβαλ* 'when they (the brothers) (ντοου) heard (it) (ντερ-ου-σωτη), they felt encouraged (α-γ-ταχρο) because of (ετβε) the word (π-ωαχε) that (χε) they would guard (ε-γ-ε-ζαρεη) themselves (ερο-ουγ) against (ηβολ ηα) the curiosity (πι-χι-ηρα-φ) of the eyes (ν-ν-βαλ)' (AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:8-10).

### 7.3.4 Perfect tenses

Coptic has two different strategies for the grammatical expression of past tense reference. One strategy is the use of the First Perfect *α-φ-σωτη* and the corresponding Second Perfect *ντ-α-φ-σωτη* 'he has heard, heard'. The other strategy is represented by the combination of absolute tenses with the temporal auxiliary *νε*, which underlies the formation of Preterit tenses. Since both the Perfect and the Preterit signal the past location of a situation, the relation between both tenses is not that they are mutually exclusive and contrastive, but rather that the latter contains an extra element of meaning not present in the former. The Preterit auxiliary *νε* is a purely tense-deictic element, while the Perfect marker *α* is a portmanteau morpheme that indicates both past tense reference and

perfective and anterior (Perfect) aspect. Unlike the First Present, First Future and Preterit Present, the First Perfect is not susceptible to copula support in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g.  $\alpha$  ΟΥCON ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'a brother (ΟΥ-CON) asked (α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24). The entirely regular paradigm of the First and Second Perfect is presented in table 7.4.

	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	Α-Ι-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Ι-CΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	Α-Κ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Κ-CΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	Α-ΡΕ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-ΡΕ-CΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	Α-Γ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Γ-CΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	Α-C-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-C-CΩΤΗ
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	Α-Ν-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Ν-CΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	Α-ΤΕΤΝ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-CΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	Α-Υ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Υ-CΩΤΗ
Before noun	Α ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ

TABLE 7.4 The First and Second Perfect

The Perfect presents an event from a retrospective point of view as having reached its termination at some time prior to the present moment. The aspectual component of the Perfect makes it incompatible with the more durative Stative and nominal predicates that lack a clearly defined endpoint as part of their internal temporal structure.

#### a) Simple past

The Perfect is consistently used in series of temporally ordered events, which constitute the temporal skeleton of the main plot, e.g. ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΩΨ ΑΧΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤC ΜΠΝΟΜΙCΜΑ ΑΓΟΥΩΜ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ 'the deacon (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ) fulfilled (Α-Γ-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria's) wish (Μ-ΠΕC-ΟΥΨ), took (Α-Γ-ΧΙ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (Μ-Π-ΝΟΜΙCΜΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-C) (and) they ate (Α-Υ-ΟΥΩΜ) together (ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ) on that (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) day (Μ-Π-ΖΟΥΥ)' (Hil. 5:1-4), ΖΝ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ Α ΠΕΦΛΑC ΜΕΖ ΡΩΓ ΑΡΡΑΝΤ ΑΡΜΟΥ 'suddenly (ΖΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ), his (Diocletian's) tongue (ΠΕΦ-ΛΑC) filled (α ...

ΜΕΖ) his mouth (ΡΩ-Γ), he was eaten (lit. *he became* (Α-Γ-Ρ)) by worms: (ΓΝΤ) (and) died (Α-Γ-ΜΟΥ)' (Eud. 38:27).

#### b) Perfective aspect

The Perfect grammaticalises not only past tense reference, but also indicates perfective aspect, which conceptualises an event as a single point in time with no internal divisions, e.g. ΑCΩΝΖ ΖΝ ΚΕΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC ΕΝΡΟΜΠΕ (ΝΡΟΜΠΕ) 'she (Hilaria) lived (Α-C-ΩΝΖ) another twelve (ΚΕ-ΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC) years (ΕΝ-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Hil. 12:18), Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC (for ΠΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC) ΧΩΡΗΓΕΙ ΝΑΝ ΝΖΕΝΡΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΝ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) the Creator (Π-ΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC) provided (ΧΩΡΗΓΕΙ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) with light-bringers (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΡΕΦ-Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ)' (Hil. 1:6-7).

#### c) Anterior aspect

The Perfect may also indicate Perfect or anterior aspect, which signals the enduring relevance of a past situation, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC ΑΚΤΡΕ ΝΒΑΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 'and (ΑΥΩ) since you came (ΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) this city (Ε-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙC), you caused (Α-Κ-ΤΡΕ) the blind (Ν-ΒΑΛΕ) to see (ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ)' (KHML I 5:2-4), ΑΡΡ ΝΑΥ ΝΝΟΥCΥΝΑΞΙC 'it is (lit. has made (Α-Γ-Ρ)) the hour (ΝΑΥ) of your (woman) services (Ν-ΝΟΥC-ΥΝΑΞΙC)' (Eud. 60:5-6). Anterior aspect implies resultativity: the resultant state of a past event is still observable at the present moment, e.g. ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΚΟΥΧΑΙ 'look (ΕΙC), you have become healthy (Α-Κ-ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Onnophr. 209:6), ΠΑΕΙΩΤ Α† ΖΙCΕ ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤΟΥΑΛΒ 'My father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I have troubled (lit. I have given (Α-†) trouble (ΖΙCΕ) to) your holiness (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΜΝΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ)' (Hil. 5:3) (used idiomatically for "excuse me").

### 7.3.5 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary ΝΕ is to establish a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations are made. Events can then be interpreted as coinciding with, preceding or following this newly established deictic centre, which furnishes three Preterit tenses, viz. the Preterit Present ΝΕ-Γ-CΩΤΗ 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past ΝΕ-Α-Γ-CΟΤΗ 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future ΝΕ-Γ-ΝΑ-CΟΤΗ 'he was going to hear', cf. table 7.5 below.



	PRETERIT PRESENT	PRETERIT FUTURE	PRETERIT PAST
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	NE-I-CΩTM	NE-I-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-I-CΩTM
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	NE-K-CΩTM	NE-K-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-K-CΩTM
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	NE-PE-CΩTM	NE-PE-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-PE-CΩTM
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	NE-Q-CΩTM	NE-Q-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-Q-CΩTM
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	NE-C-CΩTM	NE-C-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-C-CΩTM
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	NE-N-CΩTM	NE-N-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-N-CΩTM
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	NE-TETN- CΩTM	NE-TETN-NA- CΩTM	NE-A-TETN- CΩTM
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	NE-Y-CΩTM	NE-Y-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-Y-CΩTM
Before noun	NEPE ΠΡΩME CΩTM	NEPE ΠΡΩME NA-CΩTM	NE-A ΠΡΩME CΩTM

TABLE 7.5 Preterit tenses

7.3.5.1 Optional appearance of the agreement clitic πε

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, Preterit clauses may contain the invariable agreement clitic πε and thus assume the form of nominal sentences, e.g. NEQΩWNE ΔE ZΩWQ ΠE NOI APA ΠANOYTE ΠEKΩNΩMOC (for ΠOKONOMOC) 'the steward (Π-EIKΩNΩMOC) Apa Panoute, too (ZΩW-Q), was sick (NE-Q-ΩWNE)' (V. Pach. 91:2-3), NECP ZOTE ΓAP ΠE EBOK ENEMONACTHPION MΠBYCANTION 'for (ΓAP) she (Hilaria) was afraid (NE-C-P ZOTE) to go (E-BOK) to the monasteries (E-NE-MONACTHPION) of the Byzantine region (M-Π-BYCANTION)' (Hil. 2:12-13).

7.3.5.2 The Preterit Present

The Preterit Present NE-Q-CΩTM 'he heard, was hearing' indicates the coincidence of a situation with the secondary deictic centre, which is located in the past. It is subject to the same semantic restrictions as the corresponding First Present Q-CΩTM 'he hears, is hearing. Thus, copula support applies to indefinite subjects, e.g. AYΩ NEYN ZEHHOC NΩHN PHT ZIXN TPYΓH (for ΠHΓH) 'and (AYΩ) (there) were big (ZEN-HOC) trees (N-ΩHN) growing (NE-YN)... PHT near (ZIXN) the well (T-TPYΓH)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). The Preterit Present underlies the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule, e.g. AYΩ NEYEP (read NEQEPE) NTΠAPE NTEYWH EQWΛH 'and (AYΩ) he (Isaac) spent

(NE-Q-EIPE) half (N-T-ΠAΩE) the night (N-TE-YWH) praying (E-Y-ΩΛH)' (Test. Is. 231:30).

On the semantic side, the Preterit Present is widely used to express imperfective aspect and habituality.

a) Imperfective aspect

The Preterit Present is associated with the imperfective point of view that presents an event as being extended in time, e.g. KAI ΓAP NEQAZEPATQ NMMAQ NOYOEIΩ NIM 'for (KAI ΓAP) he (the archangel Raphael) accompanied (lit. he stood (NE-Q-AZE) on his foot (E-PAT-Q)) him (NMMA-Q) (Ara Philotheos) all (NIM) the time (N-OYOEIΩ)' (KHML I 1:6-8), NAI ΔE EQXW MMOY NEPE ΘEΩΔWPOC ZMOOC MΠOYE NOYKOYI (...) EQPEIME (for EQPIME) AYΩ NEP (for NEPE) ZAZ ON ZN NECNHY PEIME 'when he (Pachōm) said (E-Q-XW) these (words) (NAI), Theodore was sitting (NEPE ... ZMOOC) at a short (N-OY-KOYI) distance (M-Π-OYE) (...) weeping (E-Q-PEIME) and (AYΩ) many (ZAZ) of (ZN) the brothers (NE-CNHY) were also (ON) weeping (NEP ... PEIME)' (V. Pach. 90:15-17). The imperfective semantics of the Preterit Present may have a habitual connotation, presenting a continuous past activity as a characteristic property of the subject, e.g. NEPE ΔIOKΛH † NAY NZENΔWPON TEPOMPE ETBE ΠEOOY NNEYNOYTE 'Diocletian (ΔIOKΛH) gave (NEPE ... †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (N-ZEN-ΔWPON) annually (TE-POMPE) for (ETBE) the glorification (Π-EOOY) of their gods (N-NEY-NOYTE)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

b) Backgrounded aspect

The aspectual opposition between the Perfect and the Preterit Present is utilised to express the foreground-background distinction in the temporal organisation of narratives. The Perfect appears in foregrounded portions of the narrative, which describe the main course of events. This contrasts with the Preterit Present, which describes backgrounded events that provide an explanation for the main event frame, e.g. AYWTOPTP AYΠAZTOY AYOWΩYT NAC NECZMOOC ΓAP ΠE EXH ΠECEPONOC NEΛEΦANTINON 'they (the servants) were startled (A-Y-WTOPTP), they bent down (A-Y-ΠAZT-OY), (and) did obedience (A-Y-OYΩYT) to her (NA-C) (Eudoxia), since (ΓAP) she (Eudoxia) was sitting (NE-C-ZMOOC)

on (εχι) her ivory (N-ελεφαντινον) throne (πεσ-θρονος)' (Eud. 54:23), αχτωουν δε νοι κωνσταντινος αχτωουζ εζουιν μπεφμνησε τηρ κματοι ενταφζε εροου ζν ταντιοχεια κματε εβολ κε νεφζελπιζε επιχοεις πεφνουτε '(King) Constantine rose (α-φ-τωουιν) (and) gathered (α-φ-σωουζ) all (τηρ-φ) his troops (κ-πεφ-μνησε) of soldiers (κ-ματοι), (yet) only (κματε) (those) he found (εντ-α-φ-ζε) in (ζν) Antiochia (τ-αντιοχεια) because (εβολ κε) he trusted (νε-φ-ζελπιζε) in the Lord (ε-π-χοεις), his God (πεφ-νουτε)' (Eud. 42:19-21).

### 7.3.5.3 The Preterit Future

The Preterit Future νε-φ-να-σωτκ 'he was going to hear' serves as a future-in-the-past, which describes past events that were in progress but not yet accomplished, e.g. αγω ντοου νεφнар ουκοι νοοπε νρωμε 'and (αγω) they (ντοου) were about to become (νε-φ-να-ρ) a small (ου-κοι) group (κ-νοοπε) of people (κ-ρωμε)' (V. Pach.3:28). The Preterit Future is used specifically to describe the result of a counterfactual condition, whose actualisation is considered extremely unlikely or impossible, e.g. ενε [ντ]ακ[χ]οοσ κε ιϛ βο[η]ει εροι νεκναουχαι 'if (ενε) you had said (ντ-α-κ-χοο-σ) »Jesus, help (βοηει) me (ερο-ι)!«, you would have been saved (νε-κ-να-ουχαι)' (Ac. A&P 202:125-126), νερε πχοεις κπειμα νειναβωκ ταπαρακαλει κμοφ 'if the Lord (π-χοεις) were (νερε) in this place (κ-πει-μα), I would go (νε-ι-να-βωκ) and appeal (τα-παρακαλει) to him (κμο-φ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).

### 7.3.5.4 The Preterit Past (Pluperfect)

The Pluperfect or Preterit Past νε-α-φ-σωτκ 'he had heard' denotes a past-in-the-past and locates the accomplishment of some event prior to the secondary temporal reference point grammaticalised by νε, e.g. αλλα ζραι ζν τφμντχωρε ετταχρηφ νεαφβωκ εβολ νεμαφ επωσζ 'but (αλλα) with (ζν) his (Pachôm's) resolute (ετ-ταχρηφ) strength (τφ-μντ-χωρε), he had gone (νε-α-φ-βωκ) out (εβολ) with them (νεμα-φ) (the brothers) for mowing (ε-π-ωσζ)' (V. Pach. 87:14-15), νεαφρ ουσμοτ γαρ κε νεφουωμ αγω νεφω 'for (γαρ) they behaved (lit. they had taken (νε-α-φ-ρ) the appearance (ου-σμοτ)) as if (κε) they were eating (νε-φ-ουωμ) and (αγω) drinking (νε-φ-ω)' (KHML I 80:21-22). In narrative discourse, the Pluperfect has a stage-setting

function and describes events that precede the main course of events, e.g. κνκωσ δε ον α τεχρια φωπε ετρεφβωκ κφδκ πωινε κνεκνη ετζκ πιον νεαφει εβολ ζκ κπειορ αγω νεφμεζ κκκαζ νοι κπειορ ετκμαφ ντοφ δε αφωκλα αφκιοορ κκ νετκκμαφ 'after that (κνκω-σ) it became necessary (lit. the need (τε-χρια) occurred (α ... φωπε)) (that) he (Antony) went (ε-τρε-φ-βωκ) to pay (κ-φ-δκ) a visit (π-ωινε) to the brothers (κ-νε-κνη) that were in (ετ-ζκ) the Fayyûm (π-ιον). He had come (νε-α-φ-ει) upon (εβολ ζκ) the canal (π-ειορ) and (αγω) that (ετ-κμαφ) canal (π-ειορ) was full (νε-φ-μεζ) of crocodiles (κ-κκαζ). He (ντοφ) prayed (α-φ-ωκλα) (and) crossed over (α-φ-κιοορ) with (κκ) those that were with him (κ-ετ-κκμα-φ)' (V. Ant. 21:6-9).

### 7.3.6 Habitual tenses

Coptic employs the aspectual marker φαρε, φα- to indicate multiple, iterative, frequentative, distributive, habitual or extensive action. This verbal aspect is called the Habitual in most Coptic grammars. The conjugation base φαρε, φα- carries no temporal features by itself. Its past or present interpretation stems from the tense marker (which is a null morpheme in the present tense).

	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	HABITUAL PAST
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	φα-ι-σωτκ	ε-φα-ι-σωτκ	νε-φα-ι-σωτκ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	φα-κ-σωτκ	ε-φα-κ-σωτκ	νε-φα-κ-σωτκ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	φα-ρε-σωτκ	εφα-ρε-σωτκ	νε-φα-ρε-σωτκ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	φα-φ-σωτκ	ε-φα-φ-σωτκ	νε-φα-φ-σωτκ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	φα-σ-σωτκ	ε-φα-σ-σωτκ	νε-φα-σ-σωτκ
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	φα-ν-σωτκ	ε-φα-ν-σωτκ	νε-φα-ν-σωτκ
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	φα-τετκ- σωτκ	ε-φα-τετκ- σωτκ	νε-φα-τετκ- σωτκ
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	φα-φ-σωτκ	ε-φα-φ-σωτκ	νε-φα-φ-σωτκ
Before noun	φαρε πρωμε σωτκ	εφαρε πρωμε σωτκ	νε-φαρε πρωμε σωτκ

TABLE 7.6 Habitual tenses

### 7.3.6.1 Selectional restrictions

The Habitual underlies the same temporal restriction as the Stative and combines only with present tenses. This does not seem to be an accidental property of this aspectual pattern, but rather indicates that the Habitual is semantically stative. In presenting a pattern of events rather than a specific situation, the Habitual denotes a state or condition that holds consistently over an extended period of time. It is therefore semantically incompatible with the Perfect and the Future tenses that are associated with a single event reading.

The Habitual Present and the Habitual Past differ, however, from the corresponding First Present and Preterit Present in being exempt from the the Stern-Jernstedt Rule: both conjugation patterns are fully compatible with the construct state, e.g.  $\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\iota\beta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \mu\eta\tau\sigma\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \nu\lambda\sigma\sigma\gamma\ \nu\beta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \rho\omicron\mu\pi\tau\epsilon$  'this date-palm ( $\tau\epsilon\iota\beta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ ) yields ( $\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ) twelve ( $\mu\eta\tau\sigma\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ) bunches ( $\nu\lambda\sigma\sigma\gamma$ ) of dates ( $\nu\beta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ ) per ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ ) year ( $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\tau\epsilon$ )' (Onnophr. 208:11-13),  $\pi\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\phi\eta\sigma\chi\epsilon\ \eta\zeta\epsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\zeta\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta\ \alpha\eta\tau\omega\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \zeta\omega\omega\zeta\ \psi\alpha\zeta\beta\omicron\sigma\omicron\rho\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\iota\tau\eta\ \eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\eta\lambda\alpha$  'the enemy ( $\pi\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) (i.e. the devil) insinuated ( $\epsilon\phi\eta\sigma\chi\epsilon$ ) filthy ( $\epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\zeta\eta$ ) thoughts ( $\eta\zeta\epsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ ) on him ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta$ ). Anthony, however ( $\zeta\omega\omega\zeta$ ), repelled them ( $\psi\alpha\zeta\beta\omicron\sigma\omicron\rho\omicron\gamma$ ) through ( $\zeta\iota\tau\eta$ ) prayers ( $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\eta\lambda\alpha$ )' (V. Ant. 8:13-15),  $\square\lambda\gamma\omega\ \eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\zeta\zeta\omicron\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\chi\ \eta\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\ \eta\theta\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\eta$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) he (the possessed boy) gnashed ( $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\zeta\zeta\omicron\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\chi$ ) his teeth ( $\eta\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ ) like ( $\eta\theta\epsilon < \eta\tau\zeta\epsilon$ ) a wild ( $\eta\alpha\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\eta$ ) boar ( $\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon$ )' (Mena, Mir. 23b:24-27).

### 7.3.6.2 Pluractionality and habituality

The Coptic Habitual represents a pluractional pattern, which indicates the plurality of events and participants. The successive occurrence of several instances of an event as a characteristic feature of a whole period of time, which gives rise to a habitual or gnomic interpretation.

#### a) Pluractional aspect

The multiple occurrence of an event may be stated explicitly by frequency adverbials or quantified subjects and objects, e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \psi\alpha\zeta\beta\omega\kappa\ \psi\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\sigma\epsilon\pi\sigma\eta\lambda\gamma\ \mu\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) he (Ara Pambô) would go ( $\psi\alpha\zeta\beta\omega\kappa$ ) to her (Hilaria) ( $\psi\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ) twice ( $\eta\sigma\epsilon\pi\sigma\eta\lambda\gamma$ ) a day ( $\mu\eta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ )' (Hil. 6:16),  $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\eta\omega\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\sigma\omicron\pi\ \psi\alpha\zeta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \eta\mu\omicron\iota$

$\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\omicron$  'because ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) a lot ( $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$ ) of times ( $\eta\sigma\omicron\pi$ ) he would kiss ( $\psi\alpha\zeta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ ) me ( $\eta\mu\omicron\iota$ ) on my mouth ( $\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\omicron$ )' (I 10:11-12),  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\eta\mu\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\zeta\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \psi\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\tau\alpha\lambda$  'for ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) every ( $\eta\eta\mu$ ) man ( $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) who will go ( $\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\omega\kappa$ ) to his (A Mena's) shrine ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\zeta\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ) will obtain ( $\psi\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ )  $\tau\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$  ( $\eta\pi\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\beta\omicron$ )' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

#### b) Habituality

The Habitual Present  $\psi\alpha\zeta\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$  'he usually hears' is commonly used ascribe a recurrent event pattern to the clausal subject as a characteristic property, e.g.  $\tau\eta\epsilon\zeta\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\sigma\alpha\lambda\pi\iota\zeta\ \psi\alpha\gamma\sigma\omega\omicron\gamma\zeta\ \eta\delta\iota\ \eta\kappa\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\eta\beta\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\eta\ \eta\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta\ \eta\tau\alpha\gamma\eta\ \mu\eta\pi\pi\omicron$  'and (on the blast of) second ( $\tau\eta\epsilon\zeta\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) trumpet ( $\eta\sigma\alpha\lambda\pi\iota\zeta$ ), the courtiers ( $\eta\kappa\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ ) & ( $\mu\eta$ ) tribunes ( $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\eta\beta\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) chief officials ( $\eta\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta$ ) of royal ( $\eta\pi\pi\pi\omicron$ ) court ( $\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\eta$ ) would gather ( $\psi\alpha\gamma\sigma\omega\omicron\gamma\zeta$ )' (E 60:16-18). In the absence of information to the contrary, the Habit Past  $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\zeta\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$  'he used to hear' induces a contrastive interpretation that the event pattern that is described no longer holds, e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \eta\psi\alpha\ \mu\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\zeta\sigma\tau\eta\mu\omicron\gamma\ \eta\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\ \eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\zeta\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\omega\omega\zeta\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) the words ( $\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) of God ( $\eta\pi\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau$ ) that he (the abbot) heard ( $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\zeta\sigma\tau\eta\mu\omicron\gamma$ ) from him ( $\eta\tau\omicron\sigma\tau$ ) (Pachôm), he himself ( $\zeta\omega\omega\zeta$ ) would tell them ( $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\zeta\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) to monks ( $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ )' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

#### c) Gnomic use

The Habitual Present often assumes a gnomic interpretation in general statements of facts or truisms, e.g.  $\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \eta\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\zeta\eta\eta\epsilon\chi$  [ $\psi\alpha\lambda\ \eta\eta\mu\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\eta\eta\alpha\iota\ \lambda\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \psi\alpha\zeta\uparrow\ \zeta\eta\eta\alpha\ \epsilon[\eta\epsilon\tau\sigma\omega]\tau\eta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ] 'a w ( $\eta\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ) man ( $\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) does not throw ( $\eta\epsilon\zeta\eta\eta\epsilon\chi$ ) away ( $\epsilon\beta\omicron$ ) every ( $\eta\eta\mu$ ) word ( $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) like that ( $\zeta\eta\eta\alpha\iota$ ) but ( $\lambda\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ) focuses ( $\psi\alpha\zeta\text{-}$ ) his attention ( $\zeta\eta\eta\alpha$ ) towards those who listen ( $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\eta$ ) to th ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ )' (Teach. Ant. 6-7),  $\pi\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\zeta\alpha\kappa\ \psi\alpha\gamma\uparrow\ \kappa\lambda\omicron\mu\ \epsilon\chi\omega\zeta$   $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \omicron\eta\ \mu\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\ \psi\alpha\gamma\uparrow\ \kappa\lambda\omicron\mu\ \epsilon\chi\omega\zeta\ \mu\eta\mu\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  'i prudent ( $\eta\zeta\alpha\kappa$ ) monk ( $\pi\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ) is given (lit. they give ( $\psi\alpha\gamma\text{-}\uparrow$ ) crown ( $\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$ ) on his head ( $\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta$ ) on ( $\zeta\eta$ ) earth ( $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$ ) and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) a ( $\omicron\eta$ ) given ( $\psi\alpha\gamma\text{-}\uparrow$ ) a crown ( $\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$ ) on his head ( $\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta$ ) in heav ( $\eta\pi\eta\eta\epsilon$ ) in the presence ( $\eta\pi\eta\eta\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ) of God ( $\eta\pi\eta\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ )' (.

*Chaine no. 11, 3:6-7),* *СОП МЕН ФΛΟΥΩΖ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΒΙΩ ΕΥΨΑΝΟΝΤΑ*  
*СОП ΔΕ ФΛΟΥΩΖ ΕΧΗ ΠΟΕΙΚ* 'some time (СОП МЕН) they (flies) will sit  
 (ΦΛ-Υ-ΟΥΩΖ) on (ΕΧΗ) honey (Π-ΕΒΙΩ), if they can find it  
 (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΟΝΤ-Α), some other time (СОП ΔΕ) they will sit (ΦΛ-Υ-ΟΥΩΖ) on  
 (ΕΧΗ) bread (Π-ΟΕΙΚ)' (Sh. III 48:6-8).

#### d) Conditional use

As a grammatical marker of pluractionality, the Habitual conjugation is commonly used in the apodosis clause of conditional clauses that quantify over types of situations, e.g. *ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΑΝΩΨΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΦΩΝΤ ΝΟΥСОП ΕΨΑΦΩΝΤ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ* 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) if it happened (Ε-С-ΨΑΝ-ΨΩΠΕ) on some occasion (Ν-ΟΥ-СОП) that he (Pachôm) would become angry (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΝΤ), (then) he became angry (Ε-ΨΑ-Φ-ΩΝΤ) in (ΚΑΤΑ) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) of the holy ones (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21), *ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΨ ΝΙМ ΕΥΨΑΝΟΥΩ ΕΥΟΥΩМ НΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΨΑΥСΩΟΥΖ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ* 'because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) every (ΝΙМ) time (Ν-ΟΥΕΨ) when they finished (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΟΥΩ) eating (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΩМ) their small portion (М-ΠΕΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) of bread (Ν-ΟΕΙΚ), they used to gather (ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-СΩΟΥΖ) with one another (Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (V. Pach. 137:3-4).

#### e) Intentional use

The Habitual Present may have an intentional or commissive use and indicate the readiness, willingness or capability of the subject to perform a particular action, e.g. *ΨΑΙΚΑ ΠΑΧΟΙ ΝΑΙ* 'I will keep (ΨΑ-Ι-ΚΑ) my boat (ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ) for myself (ΝΑ-Ι)' (KMHL II 17:3), *ΠΕ[Τ]ΕΡΕ ΠΑΧΟΙ [ΝΑ] ΧΠΟС ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟМΠΕ ΨΑΙΛΛΑС ΝΨΟМТЕ ΝТО* 'what my boat (ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ) will bring in (Π-ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-С) each (ΚΑΤΑ) year (ΡΟМΠΕ), I will split up (ΨΑ-Ι-ΛΛ-С) into three (Ν-ΨΟМТЕ) parts (Ν-ТО)' (KHML II 17:4-5), *ΗΝΝСА ΠΑМОУ ΨΑΙΤΑΛΑС ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠТОΠΟС ΝΑΠΑ МΗНА* 'after (ΗΝΝСА) my death (ΠΑ-МОУ), I will give it (the dish) (ΨΑ-Ι-ΤΑА-С) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ТОΠОС) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 17b:16-20), *ΨΑΙΩΡΚ ΝΑΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙС ΧΕ ΜΝ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΡΩМЕ НΠΕΙМΑ ΝММАΙ* 'I (am willing to) swear (ΨΑ-Ι-ΩΡΚ) to you (ΝΑ-К), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙС), that (ΧΕ) (there) is (МН) nobody (ΑΛΛΥ Ν-ΡΩМЕ) here (М-ΠΕΙ-МА) with me (ΝММА-Ι)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31).

### Key Terms:

Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers	are grammatical markers, which express various categories of verbal semantics, such as tense (the location of events in time), aspect (the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (the commitment of the speaker to the truth of the reported event).	§7.1
Compound tenses	are verbal tenses with two or more grammatical markers. The Conditional <i>ε-φ-ψαν-σωτη</i> 'if/when he hears', for instance, consists of the relative marker <i>ε-</i> and the conjugation base <i>ψαν</i> .	§7.1.2.4
First and Second Tenses	Absolute tenses come in pairs of basic First and derived Second Tenses, the latter containing the relative marker <i>ε-</i> and <i>ντ-</i> besides the main TAM expression. Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology that is found in the context of interrogative and declarative focus constructions.	§§7.2.1-7.2.2
<i>Wh</i> -in-situ questions	are constituent questions in which an interrogative pronoun occurs in the same syntactic position as its non-interrogative counterpart in the corresponding declarative clause. Coptic <i>wh</i> -in-situ questions exhibit a straightforward correlation between Second Tense selection and the clause-internal position of the question word.	§7.2.2.2
Replacive and contrastive focus	are semantic focus types that occur in declarative as opposed to interrogative context. Question-answer pairs provide a typical context for replacive focus, which is assigned to the sentence element that answers the preceding question. Negative-affirmative pairs provide a typical context for contrastive focus, where the focus in the affirmative clause expresses an alternative value for what has been rejected in the negative clause.	§7.2.2.2

*Absolute tenses*

are verbal tenses that establish temporal reference with respect to the present moment, i.e. the time at which a sentence is being uttered. The linear order of the time of the event with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses: the present, the past and the future. While the present locates an event at the present moment, the past locates it prior and the future subsequent to the temporal reference point. §7.3.1

Copula support In Coptic, present tense sentences with indefinite subjects require the introduction of the verbal copulas **ΟΥΝ** '(there) is' or **ΜΗ** '(there) is no' to be grammatical. §7.3.2.2

Epistemic and deontic modality Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others. §7.3.3.3

Aspectual distinctions present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described. §7.3.4

Preterit tenses are compound tenses, consisting of an absolute tense and the Preterit auxiliary **ΝΕ**. The auxiliary **ΝΕ** establishes a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations can be made. §7.3.5

Pluractional aspect refers to the plurality of events and participants. In Coptic, pluractional aspect is morphologically marked by the Habitual conjugation, which indicates iterative, frequentative, habitual or extensive action. §7.3.6

**Exercises**

**7.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:
  1. Coptic tense-aspect-mood markers (TAM) are proclitic elements that are prosodically dependent on the following sentence constituent.
  2. There are two syntactic positions for TAM markers, one preceding the subject and another one preceding the main verb.
  3. In word or *wh*-questions, the clause-internal or clause-external position of the question word is correlated with the presence or absence of Second Tenses.
  4. When Stative verb forms are combined with indefinite subjects, the copular verbs **ΟΥΝ** '(there) is' or **ΜΗ** '(there) is not' must be introduced into the structure.
  5. The Third Future **ε-γ-ε-ϭΩΤΗ** 'he will hear' indicates not only future time reference, but also deontic modality.
  6. The Perfect **α-γ-ϭΩΤΗ** 'he has heard, he heard' and the Preterit Present **νε-γ-ϭΩΤΗ** 'he was hearing' have the same temporal and aspectual interpretation.
  7. In narrative discourse, the Perfect **α-γ-ϭΩΤΗ** is commonly used to provide an informative background for the main storyline.
  8. Pluractional/habitual aspect (**ψα-γ-ϭΩΤΗ**) is restricted to the present tense system.

## 7.2 The morpho-syntax of tense-aspect-mood marking

- A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g.  $\lambda\text{-}\rho\text{-}\omega\text{ϑ}\text{τ}\text{η}$ : 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. masc. *First Perfect* 'he has heard, he heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
$\rho\text{η}\alpha\varsigma\omega\text{τ}\text{η}$		
$\alpha\rho\epsilon\omega\text{τ}\text{η}$		
$\dagger\omega\text{τ}\text{η}$		
$\sigma\epsilon\sigma\omega\text{τ}\text{η}$		
$\text{η}\epsilon\text{ι}\alpha\varsigma\omega\text{τ}\text{η}$		
$\text{η}\tau\alpha\kappa\omega\text{τ}\text{η}$		
$\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \rho\rho\omega\text{μ}\epsilon\ \omega\text{τ}\text{η}$		

- B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g.  $\lambda\text{-}\rho\text{-}\epsilon\text{ι}\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{ι}\mu\alpha$ : 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine *First Perfect* 'he came to this place'

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
$\lambda\text{ι}\eta\lambda\gamma\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\zeta\omicron$	(Test.Is. 229:8)	
$\tau\epsilon\text{ν}\epsilon\sigma\zeta\alpha\text{ι}$	(Mena, Martyrd.2a:29)	
$\epsilon\text{ι}\epsilon\text{†}\ \psi[\text{i}]\text{π}\epsilon$	(Mena, Mir. 25:21-22)	
$\epsilon\text{ι}\tau\alpha\text{ι}\eta\gamma$	(V. Pach. 2:7)	
$\text{η}\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\gamma$	(V. Pach. 3:25)	
$\text{η}\tau\alpha\ \omicron\gamma\ \psi\omega\text{π}\epsilon$	(Eud. 36:24)	
$\psi\alpha\gamma\text{†}\ \kappa\lambda\omicron\text{η}$	(AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6)	
$\epsilon\text{ι}\eta\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma$	(AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25)	
$\lambda\chi\eta\text{ν}\omicron\gamma\gamma$	(AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6)	

- C. Translate the verb forms in the following Coptic examples.

- (1)  $\lambda\text{ι}\kappa\omega\text{τ}\ \text{η}\alpha\text{ι}\ \text{η}\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\ \text{η}\psi\omega\text{π}\epsilon\ \text{η}\alpha\gamma\lambda\alpha\text{τ}$  '\_\_\_ for me ( $\text{η}\alpha\text{-}\text{ι}$ ) a living ( $\text{η}\psi\omega\text{π}\epsilon$ ) place ( $\text{η}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha$ ) by myself ( $\text{η}\alpha\gamma\lambda\alpha\text{τ}$ )' (Onnophr. 207: 1-12)
- (2)  $\tau\epsilon\text{η}\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\langle\gamma\rangle\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\eta\ \tau\alpha\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$  '\_\_\_ someone ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) from ( $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\eta$ ) my clan ( $\tau\alpha\text{-}\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$ )' (Eud. 54:7)
- (3)  $\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \text{π}\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \dagger\ \omicron\gamma\zeta\eta\omicron\tau\ \text{η}\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\text{ι}\pi\text{ι}\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  'God ( $\text{π}\text{-}\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ ) \_\_\_ a mercy ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\zeta\eta\omicron\tau$ ) to those that will believe ( $\text{η}\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\pi\text{ι}\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ )' (Test. Is. 228:11)
- (4)  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \text{η}\epsilon\psi\alpha\text{ι}\mu\omicron\sigma\omega\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\ \text{η}\alpha\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\ \omicron\gamma\psi\pi\zeta\eta\omicron\tau\ \text{η}\eta\ \omicron\gamma\theta\epsilon\beta\beta$  'but ( $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ) \_\_\_ on ( $\zeta\eta$ ) my feet ( $\text{η}\alpha\text{-}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) gratefulness ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\psi\pi\text{-}\zeta\eta\omicron\tau$ ) and ( $\text{η}\eta$ ) humility ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\theta\epsilon\beta\beta\text{ι}\omicron$ )' (V. Pach. 90:6-7)
- (5)  $\text{π}\epsilon\text{ν}\chi\omicron\epsilon\text{ι}\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \text{η}\alpha\text{†}\ \text{η}\alpha\kappa\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \text{π}\epsilon\kappa\zeta\eta\tau$  'since ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) our Lo: ( $\text{π}\epsilon\text{ν}\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\text{ι}\varsigma$ ) \_\_\_ you ( $\text{η}\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ ) according to ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ ) your hearing ( $\text{π}\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\zeta\eta\tau$ )' (V. Pach.136:11-12)
- (6)  $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon\ \Delta\epsilon\ \omicron\text{η}\ \text{η}\sigma\omicron\text{π}\ \psi\alpha\kappa\eta\omicron\chi\gamma\ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  'a lot of times \_\_\_ into the sea' (Mena, Mir. 23b:28-30)
- (7)  $\text{π}\alpha\epsilon\text{ι}\omega\tau\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta\ \epsilon\text{ι}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\psi\ \omicron\gamma\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\ \text{η}\mu\omicron\text{η}\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  'My ho: ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ ) father ( $\text{π}\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\text{ι}\omega\tau$ ), \_\_\_ a monk's ( $\text{η}\text{-}\mu\omicron\text{η}\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ) habit ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ )' (Hil. 6:10-11)
- (8)  $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \text{η}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \text{η}\alpha\rho\omega\psi\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$  'in order that ( $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ ) that every one ( $\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \rho\omicron\gamma\alpha$ ) of them (the brother: ( $\text{η}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) \_\_\_ for himself ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\gamma$ )' (V. Pach. 4:2-3)
- (9)  $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa\ \Delta\epsilon\ \lambda\text{ι}\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\text{ι}\text{π}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon\ (\dots)$  '(as for) me ( $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$ ), \_\_\_ to the desert ( $\epsilon\text{-}\text{π}\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ ) (...)' (Ac. A&P 200:95)

7.3 First and Second Tenses

- A. Recall that the four absolute tenses (the Present, the Future, the Perfect and the Habitual) come in pairs of “basic” First and “derived” Second Tenses. Fill in the corresponding First and Second Tense in the empty cells and translate them into English, e.g.  $\lambda\alpha\beta\omega\kappa \rightarrow \nu\tau\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$  ‘he came’.

FIRST TENSE	SECOND TENSE	TRANSLATION
	$\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\eta\gamma$	
$\sigma\epsilon\zeta\omicron\beta\sigma$		
	$\epsilon\psi\alpha\sigma\delta\omega\mu\tau$	
$\lambda\gamma\tau\omega\zeta\mu$		
	$\nu\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$	
$\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$		

- B. Second Tenses are selected in a variety of interrogative and declarative focus contexts. Consider the following Coptic examples and identify the relevant syntactic context motivating Second Tense selection by choosing one of the two alternatives.

- (1)  $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon\sigma \ \nu\alpha\psi \ \nu\zeta\epsilon \ (\dots)$  ‘how (lit. in which (N- $\lambda\psi$ ) manner (N- $\zeta\epsilon$ )) could she (possibly) recognize ( $\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\nu\alpha\text{-}\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon\sigma$ ) her (...)?’ (Hil. 8:26-27)  
 *wh*-fronting question     *wh*-in-situ question
- (2)  $\text{[ ]} \ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron\iota\alpha \ \nu\alpha \ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \ \nu\alpha\kappa \ \omega \ \delta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta \ \zeta\mu \ \pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\omega\mu\iota \ \omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon \ \zeta\mu \ \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma \ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \ \zeta\mu \ \pi\delta\alpha\zeta\delta\zeta \ \mu\iota\upsilon\beta\zeta\epsilon \ \psi\alpha \ \pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \mu\pi\zeta\alpha\pi$  ‘(there) will ( $\nu\alpha$ ) be ( $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ ) no ( $\mu\mu\mu$ ) repentance ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron\iota\alpha$ ) for you ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\kappa$ ), oh ( $\omega$ ) Diocletian ( $\delta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta$ ), (neither) in ( $\zeta\mu$ ) this world ( $\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\lambda\iota\omega\mu\iota$ ) nor ( $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$ ) in ( $\zeta\mu$ ) the one to come ( $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ ), but ( $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ) you will be ( $\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\nu\alpha\text{-}\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ ) in ( $\zeta\mu$ ) (the place of) the gnashing ( $\pi\text{-}\delta\alpha\zeta\delta\zeta$ ) of teeth ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon\beta\zeta\epsilon$ ) until ( $\psi\alpha$ ) the day ( $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) of the Judgement ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\zeta\alpha\pi$ )’ (Eud. 38:22-24).  
 replacive focus     contrastive focus

- (3)  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\chi\iota \ \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\mu\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\omega\mu \ (\dots) \ \epsilon\mu\chi\iota \ \mu\mu\omicron\sigma \ \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\sigma \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \mu\eta\mu\alpha$  ‘whereto ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\mu$ ) do you bring ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\chi\iota$ ) this m ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\tau\omega\mu\epsilon$ )? – We bring ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\text{-}\chi\iota$ ) him ( $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\sigma$ ) to the shri ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\sigma$ ) of Apa Mēna’ (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6)  
 contrastive focus     replacive focus
- (4)  $\alpha\pi\alpha \ \nu\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma \ \mu\eta\mu\kappa\omega\mu \ \epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\tau \ \omicron\gamma \ \zeta\omega\omicron\gamma$  ‘what ( $\omicron\gamma$ ) shall th who come ( $\mu\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ ) after us ( $\mu\eta\mu\kappa\omega\text{-}\mu$ ) do ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\rho$ ) l themselves ( $\zeta\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ )?’ (AP Chaîne no. 207, 53:29)  
 yes-no question     *wh*-in-situ question
- (5)  $\zeta\omicron\iota\iota\epsilon \ \psi\alpha\sigma\alpha\lambda\gamma \ \nu\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon \ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\epsilon \ \zeta\epsilon\mu\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \ \epsilon\psi\alpha\sigma\tau\tau \ \mu\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron \ \delta\omega\omicron\gamma\delta$  ‘(as for) some (people) ( $\zeta\omicron\iota\iota\epsilon$ ) he (the demon) made them ( $\psi\alpha\text{-}\tau\text{-}\alpha\lambda\text{-}\gamma$ ) lame ( $\mu\text{-}\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ ) in their legs ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon$  οϋϵϣϣϣϣ), (as for) others ( $\zeta\epsilon\mu\text{-}\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ) he twisted ( $\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{-}\tau\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon$  .  $\delta\omega\omicron\gamma\delta$ ) their face ( $\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\zeta\omicron$ )’ (KHML II 53:3-5)  
 anticipatory focus     contrastive focus
- C. Translate the following the text fragment and identify all verb tenses you know.

FROM THE VITA OF APA ONNOPHRIOS

$\lambda\iota\chi\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \chi\epsilon \ \nu\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \ \nu\alpha\psi \ \nu\zeta\epsilon \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \epsilon\iota\sigma^a \ \omicron\gamma\eta\eta\tau \ \mu\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi \ \chi\iota\mu\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota \ (\chi\iota\mu^b \ \nu\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota) \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \mu\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu \ \omicron\gamma \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon \ \omicron\gamma \ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\eta\kappa \ \lambda\zeta\eta\gamma^c \ \epsilon\mu\mu^d \ \zeta\beta\sigma\omega \ \tau\omega \ (\text{for to}) \ \zeta\iota\omega\omega\kappa. \ (\text{Onnophr. 206:32-207:2})$

Notes: a.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma$  (interjection) ‘look’ b.  $\chi\iota\mu$  (+ Second Perfect) ‘since’ c.  $\kappa\omega \ \lambda\zeta\eta\gamma$  ‘to undress’ d.  $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\mu$  a Relative Present, which translates as circumstantial clause ‘while’.

#### 7.4 Temporal, aspectual and modal uses of absolute tenses

A. Recall that several absolute tenses require the presence of the copular verbs **ΟΥΝ** '(there) is' and **ΜΗ** '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects. Complete the following Coptic examples by selecting one of the two alternatives given in brackets (∅ indicates the absence of a copular verb).

- (1) (ΟΥΝ/∅) ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΖΙΣΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟϞ Ω ΠΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΙΣΑΑΚ 'great grievances will befall (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) him (Jesus Christ), oh (Ω) Isaak, the beloved (Π-ΜΕΡΙΤ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 230:5-6)
- (2) ΜΗΝΝΣΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ (ΝΕΥΕΝ/ΝΕ-∅) ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΡΗΜΑΟ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΦΙΛΟΞΑΝΙΤΗ (...) 'after (ΜΗΝΝΣΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) (the other miracles) (there) was (ΨΟΟΠ) also (ΟΝ) a rich (Ν-ΡΗ-ΜΑΟ) woman (ΟΥ-ΣΖΙΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) Philoxanitê (...)' (Mena, Mir. 22a:16-20)
- (3) ΑΥΩ (ΝΕΥΝ/ΝΕΡΕ ∅) ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΩΗΝ ΡΗΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΙΠΥΓΗ (for ΤΙΠΗΓΗ) 'and (ΑΥΩ) (there) were big (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) trees (Ν-ΩΗΝ) growing (ΡΗΤ) near (ΖΙΧΝ) the well (ΤΙ-ΠΥΓΗ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18)
- (4) Α (ΟΥΝ/∅) [Ο]ΥΣΟΝ ΝΑΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ [read ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ] ΕΠΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΡΑ ΠΑ<Π>ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΗΓΙΣΘΑΙ ΕΖΕΝΣΗΥ ΜΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ 'a hermit (Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) brother (ΟΥ-ΣΟΝ) whose name (Ε-ΠΡ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Apa Parnoute was writing (Α \_\_\_ ΕΖΗΓΙΣΘΑΙ) to God-loving (Μ-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) brothers (Ε-ΖΕΝ-ΣΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:8-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples

- (1) ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΟΥΗΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΝΖΜΕ ΜΜΙΛΙΟΝ (Hil. 5:20-21)
- (2) ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ (V. Pach. 4:22-23)
- (3) ΞΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΗΣΑΥ (Test. Is. 229:30)

(4) ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΒΡΡΕ (Hil. 1:19)

C. Decide which temporal or modal meaning is involved in the following future tense sentences by choosing one of the two alternatives.

- (1) ΖΗ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (for ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. 'in (ΖΗ) a dying (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ)) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ)' (Eud. 58:28-60:1)  
 near future       directive
- (2)  ΕΡΕ ΠΕΖΜΟΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ 'may the grace (ΠΕ-ΖΜΟΤ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) come upon (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) everybody (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) and (ΜΗ) those who believe (Ν-ΕΤ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).  
 volitive use       commissive use
- (3) ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΨΩΝΕ ΝΑΩΩ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΣΟΝ ΕΤΨΩΝΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) (responsible) for the people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) who are sick (ΕΤ-ΨΩΝΕ) will stay (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΩΩ) behind (ΕΠΑΖΟΥ) them (the brothers) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) for (the sake of, (ΕΤΒΕ) a sick (ΕΤ-ΨΩΝΕ) brother (ΟΥ-ΣΟΝ)' (praec. Pach. 129)  
 directive use       commissive use

D. Analyse all Preterit tenses in the following Coptic examples, e.g. ΝΕϞΣΩΤΜ: 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular 'he was hearing, he heard'

- (1) ΑΥΩ ΠΩΜΨΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΩΜΨΙΝΕ) ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΛΨΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΝΣΟΟΥΖΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕΣΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ 'and (ΑΥΩ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) affliction (Π-ΩΜ Π-ΨΕΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-ΨΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-ΣΟΟΥΖΣ) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-ΣΗΥ) through (ΖΗ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕΖ-ΣΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12)



(2) *αγω ντοου νεγναρ ουκογι νδοπε νρωμε* 'and (*αγω*) they (*ντοου*) were about to become (*νε-γ-να-ρ*) a small (*ου-κογι*) group (*ν-δοπε*) of people (*ν-ρωμε*)' (V. Pach.3:28)

(3) *αγω νψαχε μπνουτε ετεψαφσοτμου ντοοτq νεψαφχοου ζωωq πε ενεφμοναχος* 'and (*αγω*) the words (*ν-ψαχε*) of God (*μ-π-νουτε*) which he (the abbot) heard (*ετε-ψα-φ-σοτμ-ου*) from him (*ν-τοοτ-q*) (Pachōm), he himself (*ζωω-q*) would them (*νε-ψα-φ-χοο-γ*) to his monks (*ε-νεφ-μοναχος*)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

F. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT APA NAHROW IN THE AMPHITHEATRE

ΤΟΤΕ ΑΓΕΝ ΠΝΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΝΑΖΡΟΥ ΕΠΕΘΕΑΔΡΟΝ (for επεθεατρον)<sup>a</sup> ακελεγε<sup>b</sup> εκα ουμογι εβολ εροq κε εφεογωμ μπεφσωμα<sup>c</sup>. ακπρω ννεφβιx εβολ εφxω μμοc κε<sup>d</sup> φcηz ζμ πxωμε ννεφαλλμοc κε ουφγχη εσογωnz<sup>e</sup> νακ εβολ μπρτααc<sup>f</sup> ννεθρηιον<sup>g</sup> (Psalm 73:19). ντεγνοy α πμογι παzτq επεcητ λφογωψτ ννεφοyερητε λφογων νρωq λφψαχε ζν ουcμη νρωμε εφxω μμοc κε εйнаxωz<sup>h</sup> εροκ ναψ νζε ετβε θοτε<sup>i</sup> μμιxαηλ ετκωτε<sup>j</sup> εροκ; ντεγνοy α μιxαηλ ταλοq εxη νεφτnz νοyοειν λφχιτq εζοyη εππολιc<sup>k</sup> α πμογι ουγωψτ ναq λφψωτ επεφμα. (KHML I 4:6-19)

Notes: a. θεατρον 'theatre' b. κελεγε 'to order' c. cωμα 'body' d. εφxω μμοc κε 'saying that' (introduces direct speech) e. ουφγχη εσογωnz εβολ 'soul (ου-φγχη) which appears (ε-σ-ουγωnz εβολ) to you (να-κ)' (a relative clause) f. μπρ- 'do not' (negative imperative) g. θρηιον 'wild animal, beast' h. xωz 'to touch' i θοτε < τ-ζοτε j. ετ-κωτε 'who surrounds' (a relative clause) k. πολιc 'city, town'

## Unit 8

### Relative tenses and moods

Coptic is a language with a basic tripartite tense system with distinct conjugation patterns for present, past and future tenses. More fine-grained temporal distinctions are made in the domain of past and future time reference. In the past, the presence of a secondary deictic centre furnishes a triplet of Preterit tenses, to wit the Preterit Present, the Preterit Past (Pluperfect), and the Preterit Future. Moreover, there are two distinctive future tenses that ascribe different degrees of likelihood or necessity to a forthcoming situation.

Besides absolute tenses, Sahidic Coptic has an extensive set of relative tenses and moods. Relative tenses derive their name from the fact that they locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. In this way, they serve similar functions as temporal connectives like *after*, *when* and *until* in English. Section 8.1 examines how these subordinate tense forms establish the relative order of events. The focus of section 8.2 is on the Coptic modal system. Mood is a grammatical category through which the speakers of a language communicate their attitude or beliefs concerning the likelihood, desirability, or necessity for some situation to occur. Within the same formal system, Coptic has not only an Imperative, but also a formally distinct Jussive, Conditional, and Inferential mood.

### 8.1 Relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses express three types of temporal ordering relations, viz. simultaneity, precedence, and subsequence. Relative tenses that indicate simultaneity locate some event at the same time as some other event or state. Relative tenses that indicate precedence or anteriority locate an event prior to another event, and relative tenses that express subsequence locate some event after some other event.

#### 8.1.1 The inventory of Coptic relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses are anaphoric tense categories, since they receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually given reference point, which is the time of the event with respect to which a particular temporal order is established. The inventory of Coptic relative tenses is presented in table 8.1 below. The anaphoric behaviour of relative tenses has a structural correlate in their restriction to adverbial clauses (ADV-CL), which may precede or follow the main clause (M-CL) they modify.

The principle determining the relative order of main and adverbial clauses is iconicity, meaning that the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events. Thus, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal conjugation will normally appear preceding the main clause they modify, since they describe events occurring prior to the main event. Vice versa, adverbial clauses containing a Terminative follow the main clause that they modify, since they describe events that succeed the main event in time.

In providing information about the temporal order of events, relative tenses are often associated with a particular aspectual interpretation and refer to the preparatory phase of an event or its termination. For this reason, these tenses are semantically incompatible with Stative verb forms, which designate non-dynamic situations without internal temporal structure.

RELATIVE TENSE	TEMPORAL RELATION	ADV-CL > M-CL	M-CL > ADV-CL
TEMPORAL NTPE- <i>q</i> -CWTM after/when he had heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
TERMINATIVE WANT( <i>e</i> )- <i>q</i> -CWTM until he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	marked option	yes
CONJUNCTIVE N- <i>q</i> -CWTM and he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes
RELATIVE PRESENT E- <i>q</i> -CWTM while he hears/heard	SIMULTANEITY	yes	yes
CONDITIONAL E- <i>q</i> -WAN-CWTM if/when he hears/heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
INFERENTIAL TAPe- <i>q</i> -CWTM and/so he shall hear	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes

TABLE 8.1 The relative tense system

#### 8.1.2 The Temporal

Adverbial clauses corresponding to 'AFTER'-clauses in English are formed with the Temporal conjugation NTPE-*q*-CWTM 'after/when he had heard'. The Temporal operates in tandem with a following Perfect to indicate past anteriority and locates some event prior to the main clause event.

##### 8.1.2.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Temporal conjugation is shown in table 8.2 below. The base morpheme NTPE /ən.te.re/ may be phonologically reduced to NTEP /ən.te.r/.

TEMPORAL		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Ι-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Ν-ΣΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Κ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-ΤΗ-ΣΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-ΣΩΤΗ	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΣΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Σ-ΣΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΣΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.2 The Temporal conjugation

### 8.1.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses and the temporal organisation of the narrative

The Temporal conjugation designates anterior events, which have been accomplished some time before the main event starts. In introducing a series of temporally ordered events that push forward the storyline, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal belong to the foregrounded portions of the narrative.

#### a) Change of temporal location

The Temporal is used to signal a change in time or progression in the development of the storyline. The discontinuity of temporal location and succession of events is often highlighted by the Greek discourse marker ΔΕ, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΤ ΟΥΩ ΕΥΡ ΖΩΒ 'when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ), they finished (Α-Υ-Τ ΟΥΩ) working (Ε-Υ-Ρ ΖΩΒ)' (V. Pach.6:5), ΝΤΕΡΕΓΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΓΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΓΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'after the great (Π-ΝΟΒ) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had heard (it) (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ), he gathered (Α-Γ-ΣΩΟΥΖ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) his soldiers (Ν-ΝΕΓ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)' (Eud. 44:25-26), ΝΤΕΡΟΥΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΗ ΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΗΠΕΓΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΛΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΖΕΘΟΣ 'when they (the brothers) proceeded (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΧΗ) the Eucharist (ΤΕ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ), the eagle (Π-ΛΕΤΟΣ) did not come (ΜΠΕ-Γ-ΕΙ) down (ΕΠΕΣΗΤ) as (ΚΑΤΑ) usual (Π-ΖΕΘΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne, no. 192, 49:31-32).

#### b) Discourse cohesion

Temporal subclauses provide a bridge between two narrative units: they commonly recapitulate the most important information of the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΓΧΟΥ ΑΓΚΟΤΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΓΗΑΒΩΚ 'when he (Andrew) had said (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΧΟΥ-Υ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ), he turned away (Α-Γ-ΚΟΤ-Α ΕΒΟΛ) to (ΧΕ) leave (Γ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ)' (Ac. A&P 196:41), ΝΤΕΡΕΓΩΤΗ [ΕΝΑΙ] ΑΓΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ (...) 'when he (the landlord) had heard (ΝΤΕΡ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ) this, he rejoiced (Α-Γ-ΡΑΨΕ) exceedingly (ΕΜΑΤΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9).

#### c) Extending the paragraph marker ΑΣΩΠΤΕ 'it happened (that)'

When extending the existential sentence Α-Σ-ΩΠΤΕ 'it happened (that)', the Temporal clause has a scene-setting function and marks the beginning of a new discourse paragraph, e.g. ΑΣΩΠΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΙΒΩΚ ΕΠΝΟΥΝ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΜΜΑΝΨΩΠΤΕ ΝΝΕΨΥΧΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'it happened (Α-Σ-ΩΠΤΕ) when I had come (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ι-ΒΩΚ) to the abyss (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΝ), (that) I saw (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) the residence (Ε-Μ-ΜΑΝ-ΨΩΠΤΕ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the souls (Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΥΧΟΥΕ)' (Ac. A&P 198:72-73), ΑΥΩ ΑΣΩΠΤΕ ΗΠΕΙΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΟΥΩΤ (...) ΝΤΕΡΟΥΧΙ ΗΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΗ ΕΠΚΑΙΩΝ (for ΕΠΚΑΙΩΝ) (...) ΑΓΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΡΨΕΙΡΕ (for ΕΠΖΡΨΕΙΡΕ) ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ 'and (ΑΥΩ) it happened (Α-Σ-ΩΠΤΕ) in that same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) period (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) when they had brought (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΧΙ) our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachôm to another world (Ε-Π-ΚΑΙ-ΕΩΝ) (...), (that) he saw (Α-Γ-ΝΑΥ) the innocent (Ν-ΒΑΛΖΗΤ) child (Ε-Π-ΖΡ-ΨΕΙΡΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:6-9).

### 8.1.3 Terminative aspect

Coptic has a special verbal aspect to indicate that some event lasted until some other event took place. Due to its delimiting meaning and function, the ΨΑΝΤ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ 'until he hears' pattern will be referred to as Terminative aspect in this grammar.

#### 8.1.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Terminative is presented in table 8.3. In the first person singular, there are two allomorphs, ΨΑΝΤ- /santi-/ and

ΨΑΝΤΑ- /santa-/, the latter representing the less common variant, e.g. ΤΗΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΤ̄ ΣΟΜ ΝΑΙ ΨΑΝΤΑΧΙ ΗΠΕΚΛΟΜ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ 'I will know (†-ΝΑ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) you will give (Κ-ΝΑ-†) me (ΝΑ-Ι) strength (ΣΟΜ) until I receive (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΧΙ) the imperishable (Ν-ΑΤ-ΤΑΚΟ) crown (Η-ΠΕ-ΚΛΟΜ)' (KHML II 30:5-6).

TERMINATIVE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	ΨΑΝ†-CΩΤΗ, ΨΑΝΤΑ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Ν-CΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Κ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤΕ-ΤΝ-CΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	ΨΑΝΤΕ-CΩΤΗ	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Γ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-CΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-C-CΩΤΗ	
before noun	ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.3 Terminative aspect

### 8.1.3.2 The delimitative meaning of 'UNTIL'-clauses

The Terminative is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English 'UNTIL'-clauses. It designates the initial stage of some event beyond which the event described by the preceding main clause no longer continues.

#### a) Delimitative

The Terminative describes a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential to go on beyond that point. As an aspect, it has no inherent tense value: the event it describes is temporally interpreted as taking place after the main event has been accomplished, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΘΩ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΙΨΛΗΑ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) stayed (Α-Ι-Ω) at (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ) praying (Ε-Ι-ΨΛΗΑ) until the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) advanced (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ)' (Onnophr. 206:10-12), ΤΕΝΟΥ Σ[Ε] [ΠΕ]ΨΑΧΕ [†]ΝΑΚΤ[Ο] ΕΥ[Σ]ΑΖΟΥ ΨΑΝ[ΤΑ]ΕΙΡΕ] ΝΟΥΚΒΑ ΜΗ ΚΗΜΕ 'so (ΣΕ) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) I will turn (†-ΝΑ-ΚΤΟ-Γ) this word (ΠΕΙ-ΨΑΧΕ) into a

curse (Ε-Υ-ΣΑΖΟΥ) until I do (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) vengeance (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΒΑ) with (ΜΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (Camb. 2:18-20), †ΨΟΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΗΜ ΕΝΤΑΙΖΩΝ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΕ 'I am (†-ΨΟΟΠ) with you (ΝΗΜΕ) until you complete (ΨΑΝΤΕ-ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) everything (Ν-ΖΩΒ ΝΗΜ) that I ordered (ΕΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΖΩΝ) you (ΕΤΟΟΤ-Ε) (to do)' (Eud. 52:13-14), ΝΓΨΛΗΑ ΕΧΩΣ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΣ ΗΠΤΑΛΔΟ 'and you should pray (Ν-Γ-ΨΛΗΑ) for her (ΕΧΩ-Σ) until the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) grants (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) her (ΝΑ-Σ) healing (Η-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ)' (Hil. 9:4-5), ΑΓΤΡΕ CΟΟΥ ΝΚΕCΤΩΝΑΡΙΟC ΖΩΩΚΕ ΜΗΟΓ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΕΓCΝΟΓ ΖΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'he (the king) let (Α-Γ-ΤΡΕ) six (CΟΟΥ) torturers (Ν-ΚΕCΤΩΝΑΡΙΟC) beat (ΖΩΩΚΕ) him (Αρα Nahrôw) (ΜΗΟ-Γ) until his blood (ΠΕΓ-CΝΟΓ) dropped (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΖΕ) down on (ΕΧΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (KHML I 5:25)

#### b) Purposive

The Terminative may assume a purposive interpretation, when the delimiting event designates the attained goal of some prior action, e.g. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΜΟΨΕ ΝΗΜΑΓ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΝΤΓ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'they (the brothers) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) walked (Α-Υ-ΜΟΨΕ) with him (Παχôm) (ΝΗΜΑ-Γ) so that they brought him (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΤ-Γ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the monastery (ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Ε-Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:20-21), ΑΥΛΛΕ ΕΠΧΟΙ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΩΖ ΕΡΟΓ 'they went (Α-Υ-ΛΛΕ) onto the ship (Ε-Π-ΧΟΙ) (and) went away (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) until they reached (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΠΩΖ) it (ΕΡΟ-Γ)' (Ac. A&P 196:51-52), ΑΓΝΤΟΥ ΕΓΜΟΨΕ ΖΑΤΕΥΖΗ ΨΑΝΤΟΥCΩ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ 'walking (Ε-Γ-ΜΟΨΕ) in front of them (the Persians) (ΖΑ-ΤΕΥ-ΖΗ) he (Constantine) brought them (ΑΓ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) so that they could drink (water) (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-CΩ) with (ΜΗ) their cattle (ΝΕΥ-ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ)' (Eud. 48:16).

### 8.1.4 The Conjunctive

The Conjunctive Ν-Γ-CΩΤΗ 'and he hears' occupies a special position in the Coptic conjugation system, since it has no inherent temporal, aspectual or modal features of its own, but receives its semantic interpretation from a preceding verbal tense. As the most underspecified member of the Coptic conjugation system, the Conjunctive may indicate a broad

spectrum of structural relations between clauses, crossing the traditional distinction between coordination and subordination.

#### 8.1.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Conjunctive conjugation exhibits a considerable degree of allomorphy in various person, gender, and number distinctions. This paradigmatic irregularity results from the interaction of two parameters of allomorphic variation, one of which concerns the distribution of the alternants **ΝΤΕ-** /ənte-/ and **Ν-** /nə/, and the other the variable position of the *schwa* /ə/, as indicated by the different placement of the superlinear stroke (for its prosodic interpretation, see section 1.3.1.3 of Unit 1). Moreover, there are two allomorphs for the first person singular, **ΝΤΑ-** /ənta/ and **ΤΑ-** /ta-/, the latter involving the deletion of the morpheme-initial syllabic nasal **Ν-** /ən/.

CONJUNCTIVE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	( <b>Ν</b> ) <b>ΤΑ-ΣΩΤΗ</b>	<b>ΝΤ(Ε)-Ν-ΣΩΤΗ</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	<b>Ν-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ</b>	<b>ΝΤΕ-ΤΝ-ΣΩΤΗ</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	<b>ΝΤΕ-ΣΩΤΗ</b>	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	<b>Ν-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ</b>	<b>Ν-ΣΕ-ΣΩΤΗ</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	<b>Ν-Σ-ΣΩΤΗ</b>	
Before noun	<b>ΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΣΩΤΗ</b>	

TABLE 8.4 The Conjunctive conjugation

Examples: (1<sup>st</sup> sing.) **ΝΤΑ-ΠΩΤ** **ΕΒΟΛ** 'and I pour out (εβολ)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:11-12), **ΤΑ-ΣΩΤ** **ΜΜΟΙ** 'and I strangle myself (μμο-ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:103), (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.) **Ν-Γ-ΓΙ** 'and you carry' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:28), **Ν-Γ-ΩΠΤΕ** 'and you will be' (Camb. 8:2), (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.) **ΝΤΕ-ΒΩΚ** 'and you (woman) go' (Eud. 52:5), (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.) **Ν-Γ-ΩΧΛ** 'and he will spoil' (Test. Is. 231:16), **Ν-Γ-Ρ** **ΖΟΤΕ** 'and he will fear' (Camb. 8:12), **Ν-Γ-ΤΣΑΒΟ-ΟΥ** 'and he will teach them' (Test. Is. 231:12), (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.) **Ν-Σ-ΡΙΜΕ** 'and she wept' (Hil. 9:14) (1<sup>st</sup> pl.) **Ν-ΤΝ-ΟΥΩΗ** 'and we eat' (Onnophr. 215:29), **ΝΤΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ** **ΤΗΡΗ** **ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ** 'and

may we all (**ΤΗΡ-Ν**) be saved (**ΝΤΕ-Ν-ΟΥΧΑΙ**) together (**ΖΙ-ΟΥ-ΣΟΠ**)' (Zen. 199:4) (2<sup>nd</sup> pl.) **ΝΤΕ-ΤΝ-ΕΙ** 'and you shall come' (Camb. 10:5), (3<sup>rd</sup> pl.) **Ν-ΣΕ-ΠΩΤ** 'and they run' (AP Chaîne no. 50, 11:11), (before noun) **ΝΤΕ** **ΓΤΟΟΥ** **ΝΧΟΕΙ** **ΜΟΟΝΕ** 'and four (γτοου) ships (ν-χοει) should land (ντε ... μοονε)' (Eud. 62:11).

#### 8.1.4.2 Clause chaining

In a clause chain consisting of two or more consecutive verbs Conjunctive morphology may appear on medial or final verbs, but not on the initial verb that introduces the chain, e.g. **ΜΗΝΣΩΣ** **ΟΝ** **ΓΝΑΛΛΕ** **ΕΧΝ** **ΟΥΨΕ** **ΝΣΡΩΣ** **ΝΓΜΟΥ** **ΖΑ** **ΠΤΗΡΓ** **ΝΓΤΩΟΥΝ** **ΜΠΕΓΜΕΖΩΜΗΤ** **ΝΖΟΥ** **ΝΓΨΩΛ** **ΝΑΜΝΤΕ** **ΝΓΓΕΙ** (for **ΝΓΓΙ**) **ΝΤΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ** **ΤΗΡΣ** **ΝΤΟΟΥ** **ΜΠΧΑΧΕ** 'after that (μηνσω-σ) he (Jesus Christ) will ascend (γ-να-λλε), on (εχν) a cross (lit. a wood (ου-ψε) of cross (ν-σρως) and will die (ν-γ-μου) for (ζα) the whole (world) (π-τηρ-γ) and rise (ν-γ-τωουν) on the third (lit. his third) (μ-πεγ-μεζ-ωμητ) day (ν-ζου) and destroy (ν-γ-ψωλ) Hell (ν-αμντε) and take (ν-γ-γει) all (τηρ-σ) humanity (ν-τ-μντ-ρωμε) away from the hands (ντοου-γ) of the enemy (μ-π-χαχε)' (Test. Is. 231:14-16). See figure 8.1 for further illustration:

CHAIN-INITIAL VERB [ABSOLUTE TENSE]	CHAIN-MEDIAL VERB(S) [+ CONJUNCTIVE]	CHAIN-FINAL VERB [+ CONJUNCTIVE]
<b>Γ-ΝΑ-ΛΛΕ</b> he will ascend	<b>Ν-Γ-ΜΟΥ ... Ν-Γ-ΨΩΛ</b> and die ... and destroy	<b>Ν-Γ-ΓΕΙ</b> and take away

FIGURE 8.1 Clause-chaining with Conjunctive verb forms

As a clause-chaining device, the Conjunctive covers some kind of middle ground between coordination and subordination. Coordination involves the combination of two or more clauses, neither of which is syntactically dependent on the other. Subordination, on the other hand, occurs when two clauses are combined such that one clause is embedded in or syntactically dependent on the other.

## a) Topic continuity

The Conjunctive typically connects subject-identical clauses, which indicate topic continuity, i.e. the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions or activities, e.g. ερε πε̄χ̄ς σο̄υ ερο̄ ν̄α† σο̄μ νε̄ 'may Christ (πε̄-χ̄ς) bless (ερε ... σο̄υ) you (ερο̄) (woman) and give (ν-α-†) you (νε̄) power (σο̄μ)' (Eud. 56:12-13), σε̄ναμερε̄ π̄βιος̄ ν̄ταναχωρησις̄ ε̄τουλαβ̄ νε̄ε̄αποτασε̄ μπ̄κοσμος̄ (...) 'they (the hermits) will love (σε̄-να-μερε̄) the life (π-βιος̄) of holy (ε̄τ-ουλαβ̄) seclusion (ν-τ-αναχωρησις̄) and renounce (ν-σε̄-αποτασε̄) the world (μ-π-κοσμος̄) (...)' (Test. Is. 233:13-14). The Conjunctive resumes the number and gender specification of the expressed second person subject of a preceding imperative, e.g. ρεῑ (for ρῑ) ν̄νεκβαλ̄ ε̄ρ̄αῑ ν̄γ̄ναῡ εν̄κολλασις̄ 'lift (ρεῑ ε̄ρ̄αῑ) your eyes (ν-νεκ-βαλ̄) and look (ν-γ-ναῡ) at the punishments (ε-ν-κολλασις̄)' (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (see below, section 8.2.1.2).

Occasionally, a topical noun phrase recurs for a second time in the Conjunctive clause, e.g. χε̄ ερε̄ ζεν̄φυχη̄ να†̄ ζ̄ηγ̄ ᾱω̄ ντε̄ ζεν̄φυχη̄ β̄ωκ̄ ε̄ρατ̄ᾱ μπ̄νουτε̄ ζ̄ν̄ τ̄β̄βο̄ ν̄ιμ̄ 'so that (χε̄) the souls (ζεν̄φυχη̄) will benefit (lit. gain (†) profit (ζ̄ηγ̄)) and (ᾱω̄) the souls (ζεν̄φυχη̄) will come (ντε̄ ... β̄ωκ̄) to (ε̄ρατ̄-ᾱ) God (μ-π-νουτε̄) in (ζ̄ν̄) every (ν̄ιμ̄) purity (τ̄β̄βο̄)' (Sh. III 40:28-29).

## b) Switch reference

Despite its ample attestation in series of subject-identical clauses, the Conjunctive can also be used to connect different-subject clauses, which involve switch reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. In sequences of different-subject clauses, switch reference often involves a change in grammatical functions. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. εν̄χῑ μ̄μο̄ᾱ επ̄τοπος̄ νᾱπᾱ μ̄ηνᾱ αρ̄ηγ̄ ν̄ᾱᾱ χᾱριζε̄ νᾱᾱ μ̄ιτ̄αλ̄σο̄ 'we bring (ε-ν-χῑ) him (the possessed boy) (μ̄μο̄-ᾱ) to the shrine (ε-π-τοπος̄) of Apa Mēna (ν-ᾱπᾱ μ̄ηνᾱ) and perhaps (αρ̄ηγ̄) he will grant (ν-ᾱ-χᾱριζε̄) him (νᾱ-ᾱ) healing (μ-π-ταλ̄σο̄)' (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8), μ̄ν̄ν̄σᾱ π̄χωκ̄ ν̄ν̄αῑ τη̄ροϋ̄ ρ̄νᾱσ̄ω̄π̄ῑ μ̄η̄ν̄τ̄σ̄νο̄οϋ̄ς̄ ν̄ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄ ν̄ᾱοϋ̄ω̄ν̄ζ̄

νᾱῡ ε̄β̄ολ̄ ν̄νε̄ᾱμ̄υσ̄τη̄ρῑον̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄σ̄ᾱβο̄οϋ̄ επ̄τ̄ῡπο̄ς̄ μ̄πε̄ρ̄σ̄ω̄μᾱ μ̄ν̄ πε̄ρ̄σ̄νο̄ᾱ ν̄ᾱλλ̄η̄εῑνον̄ ζ̄ῑτ̄ν̄ οϋ̄ο̄εῑκ̄ μ̄ν̄ οϋ̄η̄ρ̄ῑπ̄ῑ ν̄τε̄ πο̄εῑκ̄ ψ̄ω̄πε̄ ν̄σ̄ω̄μᾱ ν̄νο̄ῡτε̄ ν̄τε̄ π̄η̄ρ̄ῑπ̄ῑ ψ̄ω̄πε̄ ν̄σ̄νο̄ᾱ ν̄νο̄ῡτε̄ 'after (μ̄ν̄ν̄σᾱ) the completion (π-χωκ̄) of all (τη̄ρ-οϋ̄) these (years) (ν̄αῑ) he (Jesus) will choose (α-να-σ̄ω̄π̄ῑ) twelve (μ-μ̄ν̄τ̄-σ̄νο̄οϋ̄ς̄) people (ν-ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄) and reveal (ν-ᾱ-οϋ̄ω̄ν̄ζ̄ ε̄β̄ολ̄) his divine secrets (ν-νε̄ᾱμ̄υσ̄τη̄ρῑον̄) to them (νᾱ-γ̄) and teach them (ν-ᾱ-τ̄σ̄ᾱβο̄-οϋ̄) the nature (ε-π-τ̄ῡπο̄ς̄) of his real (ν-ᾱλλ̄η̄εῑνον̄) body (μ-πε̄ρ̄-σ̄ω̄μᾱ) and (μ̄ν̄) blood (πε̄ρ̄-σ̄νο̄ᾱ) through (ζ̄ῑτ̄ν̄) bread (οϋ̄-ο̄εῑκ̄) and (μ̄ν̄) wine (οϋ̄-η̄ρ̄ῑπ̄ῑ) and the bread (π-ο̄εῑκ̄) will become (ν̄τε̄ ... ψ̄ω̄πε̄) a divine (ν-νο̄ῡτε̄) body (ν-σ̄ω̄μᾱ) and the wine (π-η̄ρ̄ῑπ̄ῑ) will become (ν̄τε̄ ... ψ̄ω̄πε̄) divine (ν-νο̄ῡτε̄) blood (ν-σ̄νο̄ᾱ)' (Test. Is. 231:10-14).

Switch reference is particularly common with non-emphatic personal pronouns, e.g. τ̄ε̄νοϋ̄ δε̄ τ̄ω̄οϋ̄ν̄ μᾱρο̄ν̄ ν̄τᾱχῑτε̄ ε̄χ̄μ̄ πε̄ρ̄τᾱφο̄ς̄ 'now (τ̄ε̄νοϋ̄) then (δε̄), rise (τ̄ω̄οϋ̄ν̄), let's go (μᾱρο̄-ν̄) and let me take you (woman) (ν̄τᾱ-χῑτ̄-ε̄) to (ε̄χ̄μ̄) his (Jesus Christ's) tomb (πε̄ρ̄-τᾱφο̄ς̄)' (Eud. 68:10-11), λᾱτ̄ ν̄νο̄σ̄ ζ̄ν̄ τε̄κ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νο̄ῡτε̄ ν̄γ̄†̄ θε̄ ν̄αῑ τᾱᾱπο̄λο̄γῑζε̄ μ̄πεῑᾱνο̄μο̄ς̄ ν̄ζ̄η̄γ̄ε̄μ̄ω̄ν̄ 'make me (ᾱᾱ-τ̄) strong (ν-νο̄σ̄) through (ζ̄ν̄) your divinity (τε̄κ̄-μ̄ν̄τ̄-νο̄ῡτε̄) and give (ν-γ-†̄) me (νᾱ-ῑ) the means (θε̄ < τ̄-ζε̄) to defend (myself) (τᾱ-ᾱπο̄λο̄γῑζε̄) against this criminal (μ-πεῑ-ᾱνο̄μο̄ς̄) governor (ν-ζ̄η̄γ̄ε̄μ̄ω̄ν̄)!' (KHML II 35:2-4).

When the switch-referenced subject is a common noun or proper name, it frequently undergoes subject-verb inversion: the inverted subject noun occurs in postverbal position and is morphologically marked by the focus particle ν̄ο̄ῑ, while the preverbal subject position is occupied by a co-referential pronoun, e.g. ε̄ϋ̄ε̄τᾱμο̄ν̄ ζ̄ν̄ οϋ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄η̄ε̄ επ̄ε̄ν̄τᾱγ̄νᾱῡ ε̄ρο̄ᾱ χ̄ε̄κᾱς̄ ε̄ϋ̄ε̄ψ̄ω̄πε̄ εϋ̄σ̄μᾱμᾱᾱτ̄ ζ̄ν̄ νεϋ̄ζ̄β̄η̄γ̄ε̄ τη̄ροϋ̄ ᾱω̄ ν̄σ̄ε̄εῑ ε̄ρ̄αῑ ε̄χω̄οϋ̄ ν̄ο̄ῑ νε̄σ̄μοϋ̄ τη̄ροϋ̄ ε̄τ̄χ̄ζ̄ 'they shall inform us (ε-γ-ε-τᾱμο̄-ν̄) truthfully (lit. in (ζ̄ν̄) a truthful manner (οϋ̄-μ̄ν̄τ̄-η̄ε̄)) about what they have seen (ε-πε̄-ν̄τ̄-ᾱ-γ̄-νᾱῡ) so that (χ̄ε̄κᾱς̄) they become (ε-γ-ε-ψ̄ω̄πε̄) blessed (ε-γ-σ̄μᾱμᾱᾱτ̄) through (ζ̄ν̄) all (τη̄ρ-οϋ̄) their works (νεϋ̄-ζ̄β̄η̄γ̄ε̄) and all (τη̄ρ-οϋ̄) the blessings (νε̄-σ̄μοϋ̄) written down (ε̄τ̄-χ̄ζ̄) (in the Scriptures) will come (ν-σε̄-εῑ) upon them

(εχω-ογ)' (Sh. III 158:28-31). A more detailed analysis of subject-inverted clauses will be offered in Unit 10.

### c) Subordinate clauses

In chains of same-subject and different-subject clauses, the Conjunctive serves primarily to coordinate and connects clauses of equal status, but it is equally suitable for various types of subordinate clauses.

- Subject clauses appear postverbally after the existential verb ψωπε 'to happen', while the preverbal subject position is occupied by the expletive third person singular feminine pronoun -c 'it', e.g. εσψανψωπε δε νσεινε ναφ νζεντβτ η ζενκεδινουωμ (...) 'when it happened (ε-σ-ψαν-ψωπε) (that) they brought (ν-σε-εινε) him (Pachôm) (να-φ) fish (ν-ζεν-τβτ) or (η) other food (ζεν-κε-διν-ουωμ) (...)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3), λγω εσψανψωπε ανοκ ταερ ρωμε ταμουγ τατωογν εβολ ζη νετμοογτ ημεζωμντ νζοογ τηατρε ογον νιμ ερ πμεεγε μπετνραν νσειπκαλει μμωτν ναγ νειωτ 'and (λγω) when it happens (ε-σ-ψαν-ψωπε) (that) I (ανοκ) become (τα-ερ) human (ρωμε) and die (τα-μουγ) and rise (τα-τωογν) from (ζη) the dead (ν-ετ-μοογτ) on the third (η-π-μεζ-ωμντ) day (ν-ζοογ), I will cause (τ-να-τρε) everybody (ογον νιμ) to remember (lit. make (ερ-) remembrance (π-μεεγε) of) your name (η-πετν-ραν) and call upon (ν-σε-επικαλει) you (ημω-τν) for them (να-γ) as a father (ν-ειωτ)' (Test. Is. 237:1-4), ννεσψωπε μοι ταογψτ ννεκνογτε νεοτε 'it will not happen (ννε-σ-ψωπε) to me (μο-ι) (that) I worship (τα-ογψτ) your abominable (ν-βοτε) gods (ν-νεκ-νογτε)' (KHML I 5:21-22).
- Conjunctive clauses are often used as propositional complements of verbs of cognition, such as ειμε 'to know', e.g. χεκαε ευσειμε νσειλγωνιζε ετρεψωπε νεγυα μπνογτε (...) 'so that (χεκαε) they shall know (ε-γ-ε-ειμε) (that) they (the holy fathers) fought (ν-σε-λγωνιζε) to become (ε-τρε-γ-ψωπε) a sacrifice (ν-εγυα) for God (η-π-νογτε)' (V. Pach. 253a:25-28).

- Conjunctive-inflected verb forms may also introduce adverbial purpose clauses that specify the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g. ειβηκ επτοπος ναπα μηνα νταψαηα 'I am on my way (ε-ι-βηκ) to the shrine (ε-π-τοπος) of Ara Mēna to pray (ντ-α-ψαηα)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25), ηπιζε επεσσμα ζωλωε (for ζωλωε) τατωμς μμοφ 'I have actually (ζωλωε) not found (η-πι-ζε) her body (ε-πεσ-σμα) to bury (τα-τωμς) it (μμο-φ)' (Hil. 8:1), πζαγιος πετροε παρχηεπισκοποε παρακαλει ηπεχ̄ε νφδιηκει ηπαβιοε κατα πεφουψω 'holy (π-ζαγιος) Peter, archbishop (π-αρχηεπισκοποε), ask (παρακαλει) Christ (η-πε-χ̄ε) to guide (ν-φ-διηκει) my life (η-πα-βιοε) according to (κατα) his will (πεφ-ουψω)!' (Hil. 3:29-30).
- Finite Conjunctive clauses alternate with non-finite infinitival clauses in control constructions, which express indirect directive or commissive speech-acts, e.g. τογεζ σαζνε ετρεψωψε ηπνογτε ηππε μη πεφχ̄ε ῑε μη πεπ̄να ετογλαε νσειτμογωζ δε ετοοτογ εταγε πραν ννειδωλον εβολ ζη τεγταπρο 'I (hereby) give (τ-ογεζ) order (σαζνε) (that) they should follow (ε-τρε-γ-ψωψε) the God (η-π-νογτε) of heaven (ν-τ-πε) and (ηη) his Christ (πεφ-χ̄ε) Jesus and (μη) the Holy (ετ-ογλαε) Spirit (πε-π̄να) and (that) they never again (ν-σε-τη-ογωζ ετοοτ-ογ) pronounce (ε-ταγε) the name (π-ραν) of the idols (ν-νε-ιδωλον) with (ζη) their mouths (τεγ-ταπρο)' (Eud. 40:6-8), ανοκ γαρ ειογψω νταπωτ νταπωζτ εβολ ηπασνοφ εχμ πραν ηπαχοειε ῑε πεχ̄ε 'since (γαρ) I (ανοκ) want (ε-ι-ογψω) to go (ντα-πωτ) and shed (ντα-πωζτ) my blood (η-πα-σνοφ) for (εχμ) the name (π-ραν) of my Lord (η-πα-χοειε) Jesus (ῑε) Christ (πε-χ̄ε)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:10-15).

### d) Clausal connectives

A range of clause connectors may specify the syntactic relation between the Conjunctive clause and the preceding main clause.

- Conjunctive clauses may be combined with various rhetorical conjunctions that indicate a particular discourse relation, such as contradiction (ἀλλὰ 'but') or topic switch (Δε), e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΗΝΗΤΖΗΤ ΕΤΗΤΡΕΤΕΤΗΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ (for ΕΤΗΤΡΕΤΕΤΗΖΟΜΙΛΕΙ) ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΕΤΗΧΙ ΖΗΤΗΝ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ (...) 'for (ΕΤΒΕ) this (reason) (ΠΑΙ) I appeal (†-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to your sound judgement (Ν-ΤΕΤΗ-ΗΤ-ΖΗΤ) not to concern (yourselves) (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΕ-ΤΕΤΗ-ΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ) with them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) to pay heed to (ΝΤΕ-ΤΗ-ΧΙ ΖΗΗ-ΤΗ) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) (...)' (Sh. III 31:2-5), ΕΥΨΑΝΤΗΡ ΑΝΑΨ ΗΠΡΑΝ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΕΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΚΕΑΝΑΨ ΝΣΕΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΜΟΦ (...) 'if they do not swear (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-Ρ) an oath (ΑΝΑΨ) in (ΖΗ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), yet swear (Ν-ΣΕ-ΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ) a different (kind of) oath (Ν-ΚΕ-ΑΝΑΨ) and violate (Ν-ΣΕ-ΠΑΡΑΒΑ) it (ΗΜΟ-Φ) (...)' (Sh. III 19:4-6).
- Particularly common is the combination of Conjunctive verb forms with coordinating conjunctions like αὐω 'and' and ἢ 'or', e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΕΨΟΡΨΡ ΝΝΡΠΗΥΕ ΗΝ ΝΕΥΜΑ Ν[ΤΑ]ΛΕ ΜΑΣΕ <Ε2>ΡΑΙ (...) ΝΣΕΚΑΛΥ ΜΜΑ ΝΡΜΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝΣΕΦΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΖΟΥ ΠΑΙ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) they shall destroy (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΨΟΡΨΡ) the temples (Ν-Ν-ΡΠΗΥΕ) and (ΗΝ) their places (ΝΕΥ-ΜΑ) of bull (ΜΑΣΕ) sacrifices (Ν-ΤΑΛΕ) (...) and they shall make them (Ν-ΣΕ-ΚΑΛ-Υ) places (Η-ΜΑ) of tears (Ν-ΡΜΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) they shall (re-)build (Ν-ΣΕ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) the churches (Ν-ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ) and celebrate (Ν-ΣΕ-ΦΙ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) in them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) on (ΖΗ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙ-ΖΟΥ)' (Eud. 40:8-10), ΨΩΠΕ [Ν]ΗΜΑΙ ΑΥΩ [Ν]ΓΩΤΗ Ε[Ρ]ΟΙ ΜΠΟΥ [Π]ΩΤ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ 'be (ΨΩΠΕ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) and (ΑΥΩ) hear (Ν-Γ-ΩΤΗ) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) today (ΜΠΟΥ), oh Father (Π-ΩΤ) of my Lord (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Jesus (ΙΣ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΣ)!' (Eud. 46:11-12), ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΛΙΦΙΣ ΤΑΖΟΥ Η ΝΤΕ ΟΥΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΟΥ (...) 'if an affliction (ΟΥ-ΘΑΛΙΦΙΣ) comes upon them (the hermits) (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ) or (Η) a danger (ΟΥ-ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ) rises up (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΩΟΥΝ) against them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) (...)' (Onnophr. 211:31-32).

- Conjunctive direct object clauses are often introduced by the finite subordinating complementisers ζωστε and ζωσ '(such) that' and their negative counterparts μηπως and μηποτε 'that not', e.g. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΩΝΑΖ ΖΗ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΖΗ ΟΥΣΟΡΑΖΤ ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΤΗΨΘΜΟΘ ΕΤΩΗΝΤ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΣΟΠ 'he (ΠΑΙ) lived (Α-Φ-ΩΝΑΖ) in (ΖΗ) silence (ΟΥ-ΣΟΡΑΖΤ) for (ΖΗ) a long (ΟΥ-ΝΟΒ) time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) such that (ΖΩΣΤΕ) many (ΖΑΖ) who were in (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ) the village (Π-ΤΗΜΕ) could not (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΗ-Ψ-ΘΜ-ΘΟΜ) meet (Ε-ΤΩΗΝΤ) him (ΕΡΟ-Φ) on many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) occasions (Ν-ΣΟΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210:54:25-27), ΑΦΩΝΕ ΖΩΣ ΝΦΡ ΘΕ ΝΚΕΡΩΜΕ 'he (the senior monk) changed (Α-Φ-ΩΝΕ) such that (ΖΩΣ) he became (Ν-Φ-Ρ) like (ΘΕ <Τ-ΖΕ) another man (Ν-ΚΕ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:2-3), ΕΝΧΩ ΘΕ ΗΠΑΙ ΜΗΠΩΣ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ (...) 'we actually (ΘΕ) say (Ε-Ν-ΧΩ) this (Η-ΠΑΙ) so that (ΜΗΠΩΣ) someone (ΟΥΑ) will not say (ΝΤΕ ... ΧΟΟ-Σ) that (ΧΕ) (...)' (V. Pach. 291:6), ΒΛΧΤΗΥΤΗ ΖΗ ΤΕΣΒΩ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΟΥΘΣ (...) 'wrap yourselves up (ΒΛΧ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) in (ΖΗ) the teaching (ΤΕ-ΣΒΩ) so that (ΜΗΠΟΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) does not become angry (ΝΤΕ ... ΝΟΥΘΣ) (...)' (V. Pach. 329a: 14-17 [Ps. 2:12]).

#### e) Clause-initial Conjunctives

The impossibility of a chain-initial Conjunctive can be directly related to the serializing character of this conjugation pattern. Yet, there are a few counterexamples to this positional restriction, where a Conjunctive occurs clause-initial position, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΑ[Γ]ΟΝΙΖΕ (for ΤΑΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ) ΜΗ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΚΕΡΟΥΙ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) myself (ΖΩ) will fight (ΤΑ-ΑΓΟΝΙΖΕ) with (ΜΗ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) a little more (Ν-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16). It looks as if this example involves verb ellipsis, where a matrix control verb like ούωψ 'to want' has been deleted from the surface structure of the clause, although its semantic content is recoverable from the strong intentional reading of the Conjunctive verb form ΤΑ-ΑΓΟΝΙΖΕ 'I will fight'.



### 8.1.4.3 Event composition

The different degrees of structural integration between main clauses and Conjunctive clauses roughly correlate with different degrees of semantic integration between the main event and the consecutive events referred to by the chain-medial or chain-final Conjunctive verb forms.

#### a) Complex events

Conjunctive clause chains can describe a complex event consisting of two or more subevents, e.g.  $\psi\alpha\sigma\pi\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\chi\mu\ \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \nu\sigma\rho\iota\mu\epsilon\ \psi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \zeta\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\ \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \ \zeta\eta\ \nu\epsilon\sigma\rho\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$  'she used to throw herself ( $\psi\alpha\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\pi\alpha\zeta\tau\text{-}\sigma$ ) on ( $\epsilon\chi\mu$ ) the ground ( $\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$ ) and weep ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\rho\iota\mu\epsilon$ ) until she drenched ( $\psi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ ) the ground ( $\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$ ) with ( $\zeta\eta$ ) her tears ( $\nu\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\rho\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ )' (Hil. 9:13-14),  $\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \ \chi\epsilon$  (read  $\Delta\epsilon$ )  $\mu\eta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\kappa\iota\eta\gamma\ \ \chi\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\tau\ \ \lambda\alpha\tau\ \ \epsilon\chi\omega\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\ \mu\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\sigma\ \ \lambda\alpha\psi\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\ \ \zeta\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$  'when he (Pachôm) had tested ( $\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\delta\text{-}\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ ) them (the novices) ( $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) and seen ( $\nu\text{-}\delta\text{-}\nu\alpha\gamma$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) their character ( $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\mu\omicron\tau$ ) was good ( $\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ), he put ( $\lambda\text{-}\delta\text{-}\tau$ ) the monkish ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\sigma$ ) habit ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ ) on them ( $\epsilon\chi\omega\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) (and) received them ( $\lambda\text{-}\delta\text{-}\psi\omicron\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\delta$ ) with ( $\zeta\eta$ ) joy ( $\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ )' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19),  $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \psi\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\ \ \nu\omicron\lambda\ \mu\pi\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma\ \ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \psi\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \ \pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \ \nu\alpha\gamma\ \ \nu\sigma\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\mu\ \ \nu\sigma\epsilon\tau\ \ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \nu\epsilon\psi\lambda\eta\ \ \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau\ \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\ \ \lambda\pi\alpha\ \ \mu\alpha\theta\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) immediately ( $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon$ ) they vomitted ( $\psi\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\kappa\alpha\ \ \nu\omicron\lambda$ ) the evil ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma$ ) and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) they recovered (lit. recovery ( $\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ ) happened ( $\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ ) for them ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\gamma$ )) and were relieved ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\mu\tau\omicron\mu$ ) (from sickness) immediately ( $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon$ ) and praised (lit. give ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\tau$ ) praise ( $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ )) God ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) as well as ( $\mu\eta$ ) the prayers ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\psi\lambda\eta$ ) of our holy ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ ) father ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ ) Ara Matthew' (KHML II 10:16-20).

#### b) Polarity switch

A series of Conjunctive clauses may present a situation from different points of view, for instance, by switching from positive to negative polarity, e.g.  $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\ \ \epsilon\omega\kappa\ \ \nu\sigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota$  (for  $\nu\sigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota$ )  $\nu\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\lambda\alpha\zeta\ \ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \ \pi\epsilon\delta\sigma\eta\ \ \chi\eta\zeta\ \ \epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\sigma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\ \ \mu\eta\pi\omega\sigma\ \ \nu\sigma\epsilon\lambda\gamma\ \ \epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$

$\nu\sigma\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  'let the soldiers ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$ ) go ( $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \epsilon\omega\kappa$ ) and remove ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\delta\epsilon\iota$ ) the (pavement) stones ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\pi\lambda\lambda\alpha\zeta$ ) on which his (Ara Nahrôw's) blood ( $\pi\epsilon\delta\text{-}\sigma\eta$ ) has been smeared out ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \chi\eta\zeta$ ) and throw them ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\nu\omicron\chi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) into the sea ( $\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ) so that ( $\mu\eta\pi\omega\sigma$ ) they do not see ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\nu\alpha\gamma$ ) them ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) and have faith ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ) in his god ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\delta\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ )' (KHML I 6:27-30).

#### c) Discourse paragraph

The Conjunctive may be consistently used throughout an entire discourse paragraph, describing a succession of events that are grouped together under a single contextual parameter, e.g.  $\epsilon\omega\kappa\ \ \zeta\eta\ \ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\pi\eta\ \ \nu\gamma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \ \nu\alpha\sigma\ \ \nu\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\tau\beta\alpha\ \ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\zeta\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \nu\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau\ \ \nu\tau\rho\rho\omega\ \ \tau\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \omicron\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\ \ \epsilon\lambda\psi\omega\delta\ \ \epsilon\omicron\lambda\ \ \zeta\eta\ \ \pi\eta\iota\ \ \mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \ (\dots)\ \ \nu\gamma\tau\alpha\lambda\ \ \nu\alpha\sigma\ \ \epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\sigma\chi\omicron\ \ \epsilon\omicron\lambda\ \ \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \ \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \ \iota\bar{\varsigma}\ \ \pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}\ \ (\dots)\ \ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \ \nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \ \mu\omicron\omicron\eta\epsilon\ \ \zeta\alpha\theta\eta\ \ \nu\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \ \nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \ \zeta\eta\ \ \theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\ \ \psi\alpha\upsilon\tau\sigma\chi\omega\kappa\ \ \epsilon\omicron\lambda\ \ \nu\zeta\omega\beta\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\ \ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \ \chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\alpha\sigma\ \ \mu\pi\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \ \nu\sigma\alpha\psi\ \ \nu\zeta\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\eta\ \ \epsilon\theta\iota\lambda\eta\eta\ \ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \ \nu\gamma\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\eta\ \ \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau\ \ \nu\eta\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \ \nu\eta\varsigma\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \ \nu\eta\tau\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \ \mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \ (\dots)\ \ \mu\eta\eta\sigma\alpha\ \ \nu\alpha\iota\ \ \Delta\epsilon\ \ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\ \ \nu\gamma\rho\ \ \pi\alpha\iota\ \ \zeta\eta\ \ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta\ \ \nu\psi\omicron\rho\iota\ \ \epsilon\eta\alpha\iota\ \ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\ \ \nu\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\kappa\omicron\eta\tau\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \nu\epsilon\delta\iota\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\ \ \epsilon\omicron\lambda\ \ \zeta\eta\ \ \tau\zeta\eta\ \ \mu\pi\rho\rho\ \ \nu\psi\omicron\rho\iota\ \ \nu\gamma\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\eta\ \ \mu\eta\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \nu\eta\mu\epsilon\ \ \chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \ \mu\eta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\ \ (\dots)$  'go ( $\epsilon\omega\kappa$ ) quickly ( $\zeta\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\pi\eta$ ) and make ready ( $\nu\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) for her ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\sigma$ ) four ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\tau\beta\alpha$ ) soldiers ( $\nu\text{-}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) forty thousand ( $\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\text{-}\tau\beta\alpha$ ) soldiers ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) four ( $\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\zeta\alpha\rho\mu\alpha$ ) chariots ( $\nu\text{-}\zeta\alpha\rho\mu\alpha$ ) for the generals ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) three ( $\psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau$ ) (chariots) for the virgin ( $\tau\text{-}\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ) queen ( $\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\rho\rho\omega$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) a large amount of ( $\epsilon\text{-}\nu\alpha\psi\omega\text{-}\delta$ ) gold ( $\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\beta$ ) from ( $\zeta\eta$ ) the house ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\iota$ ) of your lord ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) (...) and give it ( $\nu\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma$ ) to her ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\sigma$ ) to spend ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\chi\omicron\ \ \epsilon\omicron\lambda$ ) on the place ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ) of our Lord ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) Jesus ( $\iota\bar{\varsigma}$ ) Christ ( $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ ) (...) and four ( $\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota$ ) ships ( $\nu\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota$ ) shall lie in port ( $\nu\tau\epsilon\ \dots\ \mu\omicron\omicron\eta\epsilon$ ) before ( $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ ) four ( $\nu\text{-}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \ \nu\tau\beta\alpha$ ) and four (ships) ( $\nu\tau\epsilon\ \dots\ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ ) on ( $\zeta\eta$ ) sea ( $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ) until she accomplishes ( $\psi\alpha\upsilon\tau\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\chi\omega\kappa\ \ \epsilon\omicron\lambda$ ) everything ( $\nu\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta\ \ \mu\eta\ \ \mu\eta$ ) that the Lord ( $\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ )

told (ΕΝΤ-Α ... ΧΟ-ΟΥ) her (ΝΑ-С) within (Μ-Π-ΖΟΥΝ) seven (Ν-СΑΨΩ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥΟΥ), and they shall land (Ν-СΕ-ΜΟΟΝΕ) at Jerusalem (Ε-ΘΙΛΗΗ) and you shall notify (Ν-Γ-СΗΜΑΝΕ) our father (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) the bishop (Ν-ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ) that he assembles (Ν-Φ-СΥΝΑΓΕ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-С) city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙС) today (ΜΠΟΥΟΥ) (...); in addition to (ΜΗΝСΑ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (orders) (ΝΑΙ) you shall do (Ν-Γ-Ρ) this (ΠΑΙ) swiftly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-СΠΟΥΔΗ), before (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (Ε-ΝΑΙ) you shall send (ΝΓΧΟΥΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) first (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) a commander-of-fifty (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΡΧΟΣ) and (ΜΗ) his fifty (ΠΕΦ-ΤΑΙΟΥ) soldiers (Μ-ΜΑΤΟΙ) on (ΖΝ) the king's (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) road (Τ-ΖΗ) and he shall notify (Ν-Φ-СΗΜΑΝΕ) the cities (Ν-Η-ΠΟΛΙС) and (ΜΗ) villages (Ν-†ΜΕ) that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) they will not be troubled (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΤΑΡΑССΕ)' (Eud. 62:4-18).

#### d) Aspectual verbs

Verbs of *inherently directed motion* like εἰ 'to come' and βῶκ 'to go' and *assume position* verbs like τῶουγν 'to stand up' may be used as auxiliary verbs, indicating the entrance into some event or state. When construed with such aspectual verbs of initiation, Conjunctive clauses have a single event interpretation, e.g. ἀμοу нгнλγ εταουγία 'come (ἀμοу) and look (Ν-Γ-ΝΑΥ) at my state of being (Ε-ΤΑ-ΟΥΓΙΑ)!' (V. Pach. 86:13-14), ογδε нπειει εινλβωκ εγнλ εнез н ουсоουγз таχοос зψс εγнтай τεзоуγία 'and (ογδε) I never (ΕΝΕΖ) intended (lit. I never went (ΜΠΕ-Ι-ΕΙ) to go (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to a place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) or (η) a congregation (ΟΥ-СΟΥΟΥ) and speak (ΤΑ-ΧΟΟ-С) as if (ΖΨС) I had (Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Ι) authority (Τ-ΕΖΟΥΓΙΑ)' (V. Pach. 90:3-5), неинλβωк тапаракаλει нмоу '(if the Lord were in this place), I would go (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and appeal (ΓΑ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to him (ΜΜΟ-Φ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), εινλτῶουγн таψот нмои 'I will stand up (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΤῶΟΥΓН) and strangle (ΤΑ-ΨΟТ) myself (ΜΜΟ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:102-103).

#### 8.1.4.4 Tense construal

The Coptic Conjunctive is an extremely flexible serialisation pattern, which links two or more finite verb forms and describes events of various complexities. Apart from signalling sequentiality and consecutivity, it

makes no further contribution to temporal, aspectual or modal interpretation of the clausal chain in which it appears. The Conjunctive is assigned a particular tense or mood by being anaphorically related to preceding verbal tense. Not only absolute but also relative tenses can serve as antecedents for the semantically underspecified Conjunctive conjugation. In this case, both the relative tense and the Conjunctive describe a complex event that occurs before or after the main clause event.

Examples: (absolute tense as an antecedent) πεικεουα ετзн тетнмнте εтнпеймпва нφψαхе нммаи 'this other person (ΠΕΙ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΑ) who is in (ΕΤ-ΖН) your midst (ΤΕТН-МНТЕ) that I am not worthy (ΕΤ-ΜΠΕ-Ι-МΠΨΑ) (that) he talks (Ν-Φ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΝММА-Ι)' (KMHL II 30:18-19), λγω λркелεγε нсеентφ εхн пвнма 'and (λγω) he (the governor) ordered (λ-Φ-ΚΕΛΕΥΕ) (that) they brought him (Αρα Nahrōw) (Ν-СΕ-ΕΝΤ-Φ) to (ΕХН) the tribune (Π-ΒΗΜΑ)' (KMHL I 5:18-19), †наφитφ нтанουχφ εθалласса 'I will take it (the corpse) (†-ΝΑ-ΦΙТ-Φ) and throw it (ΝΤΑ-ΝΟΥΧ-Φ) into the sea (Ε-ΘΑΛΛΑССА)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:5-7); (relative tense as an antecedent) нтереφβωк δε нφр монахос λφψωπε зн оуамелиа λγω λφхе πεφазе εβολ каκωс 'when he had gone (away) (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) and become (Ν-Φ-Ρ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ), he became (λ-Φ-ΨΩΠΕ) negligent (lit. in (ΖН) a negligence (ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΛΙΑ)) and (λγω) spent (λ-Φ-ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) his time (ΠΕΦ-ΛΖΕ) badly (ΚΑΚΩС)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:3-4), нннсωс λγφαλλει затеφзн ψантоуχитφ ептооу нсетомсφ нсоуμнתי нпейεвоτ нουγт паψонс 'after this (ΜΗΝΝСΩ-С) they sang psalms (λ-Υ-ΦΑΛΛΕΙ) in front of him (Pachōm) (ΖΑ-ΤΕΦ-ΖΗ) until they took him (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΧΙТ-Φ) to the mountain (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥ) and buried him (Ν-СΕ-ΤΟΜС-Φ) on the fifteenth day (Ν-СΟΥ-МНТН) of that same (Ν-ΟΥΩТ) month (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΕΒΟТ) Pashōns (ΠΑΨΩΝС)' (V. Pach. 95:25-27).

#### 8.1.4.5 Apodosis clauses

The Conjunctive may appear in the apodosis clause (the 'THEN'-clause) of a conditional construction, which relate two hypothetical events in terms of cause and effect, e.g. λγω εнψанει εβολ ептооу εтзивоλ нтнсйнаге нн несннү зн пс̄л̄вват.н нн тγυριαкн '(λγω) whenever we came (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) to the outer (ΕΤ-ΖΙΒΟΛ) mountain (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥ), we celebrated the Eucharist (Ν-ΤН-СΥΝΑΓΕ) with (ΜΗ) the

brothers (NE-CNHY) on (2M) Saturday (π-CΛΒΒΑΤ.Ν) and (MN) Sunday (T-KYPIAKH)' (BMisc. 441:32-442:1).

### 8.1.5 Absolute-relative tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are anaphoric tense categories, which receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually specified reference point. In this respect, they are semantically contrastive with the absolute tenses, which are deictic tense categories where time reference is determined with respect to the present moment. Absolute-relative tenses combine these two kinds of temporal reference. As combined deictic-anaphoric tense categories, absolute-relative have a reference point that is located at, before, or after the present moment and in addition locate a situation at, before, or after that reference point.

#### 8.1.5.1 Forms

Coptic has three absolute-relative tenses, which are morphologically derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding the relative marker ε- in front of the verbal cluster, cf. table 8.5:

	RELATIVE PRESENT	RELATIVE FUTURE	RELATIVE PERFECT
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ε-Ι-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Ι-ϞΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ε-Κ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Κ-ϞΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ερε-ϞΩΤΗ	ερε-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-ρε-ϞΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ε-ϙ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-ϙ-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-ϙ-ϞΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ε-Ϙ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Ϙ-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Ϙ-ϞΩΤΗ
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ε-Ν-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Ν-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Ν-ϞΩΤΗ
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ϞΩΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ε-Υ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Υ-ϞΩΤΗ
Before noun	ερε Πρωμε ϞΩΤΗ	ερε Πρωμε ΝΑ-ϞΩΤΗ	ε-Α Πρωμε ϞΩΤΗ

TABLE 8.5 Absolute-relative tenses

#### 8.1.5.2 Syntactic differences with Second Tenses

Absolute-relative tenses share with Second Tenses the relative marking of the main tense/aspect inflection. But while the verbal paradigms of the Relative Present and the Relative Future are formally identical to those of the Second Present and Second Future, the Relative Perfect ε-Α-ϙ-ϞΩΤΗ 'when/while he heard' and the Second Perfect ΝΤ-Α-ϙ-ϞΩΤΗ 'he heard' are morphologically distinguished with respect to the relative markers ε- and ΝΤ-, respectively.

##### a) Syntactic dependency

Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology, which flags main clauses with a marked information structure, such as question-answer pairs (see below, section 7.2.2 of Unit 7), e.g. εκψωνε εουγ - π̄χ̄ ειωωνε επαζηπαρ 'from what (ε-ουγ) do you suffer (ε-κ-ψωνε)? - Lord (π-χ̄), I am suffering (ε-ι-ψωνε) from my liver (ε-πα-ζηπαρ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). Absolute-relative tenses, on the other hand, are syntactically dependent tenses that introduce various types of complement and adjunct clauses, e.g. χε ανζε ερος ρω εονζ 'because (χε) we found (Α-Ν-ζε) her (Hilaria) (ερο-Ϙ) at last (ρω) being alive (ε-Ϙ-ονζ)' (Hil. 12:6-7), αγω λιτει (for ετι) εφοζς αγζε επεχτ εχεν (for εχμ) παζο (for πεαζο) ζν τεγμντε 'and (αγω) when (λιτει) he (Pachôm) was harvesting (ε-ϙ-οζς), he fell (Α-ϙ-ζε) down (επεχτ) on (εχεν) his face (πα-ζο) in (ζν) their (the brothers') midst (τεγμντε)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17).

##### b) Copula support

Absolute-relative tenses differ syntactically from the corresponding Second Tenses with respect to their external distribution and the applicability of copula support. Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences with indefinite subjects, which thus take the form of existential sentences. Copula support applies in full force in the Relative Present, e.g. αγζε εροϙ εγν ογνοσ νζμον ζμ παϞωμα εβολ ζμ πωωνε 'they found (Α-Υ-ζε) him (Pachôm) (ερο-ϙ) while (there) was (ε-ΥΝ) a big (ογ-νοσ) fever (Ν-ζμον) in (ζμ) his body

(ΠΙ-ΣΩΜΑ) because of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the illness (Π-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:19-20), ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΡΗΚ ΑΖΗΥ ΕΜΝ ΖΒΩ ΤΩ ΖΙΩΚ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) are you naked (lit. stripped off (Ε-Κ-ΚΗΚ) naked (ΑΖΗΥ)) without (there) being (Ε-ΜΝ ... ΤΩ) clothes (ΖΒΩ) on you (ΖΙΩ-Κ)?' (Onnophr. 207:1-2). The corresponding Second Tense sentence is, however, exempt from copula support, e.g. ΖΩC ΕΡΕ ΟΥCΤΑΧΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΖΙΩΚ 'as if (ΖΩC) a (varigated) tunic (ΟΥ-CΤΑΧΑΡΙΟΝ) were placed (ΕΡΕ ... ΤΟ) on him (ΖΙΩ-Κ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

### 8.1.5.3 Syntactic distribution

Absolute-relative tenses have a flexible syntax and appear before or after the main clause with respect to which their temporal interpretation is determined. They indicate various types of clausal dependencies (concomitance, sequentiality, secondary predication).

#### a) Clauses of circumstance and concomitance

The Relative Present is widely used 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE' adjunct clauses that indicate the co-temporality of two situations, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΕΙΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΙC ΤΤΟΥ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΑΥΕΙ ΗΠΟΥΕ 'and (ΑΥΩ) while I was looking (Ε-Ι-ΘΕΩΡΕΙ) at them (the trees) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) and (ΜΝ) their fruits (ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ), look (ΕΙC), four (ΤΤΟΥ) young (ΨΗΜ) fellows (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) from a distance (Μ-Π-ΟΥΕ)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), ΕΥΜΟΥΤ ΔΕ ΝΤΚΑΘΗΚΙ ΝΝΕΥΨΩΨ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΜΟΥΨ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΡΜΗΝΕΙ ΧΟΟC 'when they reflect upon (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΨΤ) the instruction (Ν-Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΙ) they shall not stretch out (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΨΩΨ) and not (ΟΥΤΕ) turn (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) to the water (Ε-Π-ΜΟΥ) until the house-keeper (Π-ΡΜΗ-ΝΕΙ) says so (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C)' (praec. Pach. 123).

Adverbial time clauses of concomitance often have non-temporal meanings, providing background information about the setting, the conditions or the circumstances under which the main event/situation took place, e.g. ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'you (ΝΤΚ) (are) who (ΝΙΜ) such (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) that this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) glory (Ν-ΕΟΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1).

A range of temporal connectives can further specify the co-temporality between the main clause and the dependent clause situation. Particularly common are the subordinators (Ε)Ν ΖΟCΟΝ 'as long as; during, when' and ΕΤΙ 'while, still', e.g. ΕΝ ΖΟCΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΝΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'while (ΕΝ ΖΟCΟΝ) we were talking (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΝ) each other (ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ), the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) of that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) district (Ν-ΤΕ-ΧΩΡΑ) came (Α-Κ-ΕΙ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ)' (KHML I 143:12-14), ΕΤΕΙ (for ΕΤΙ) ΕΝΖΜΟΟC ΑΥΤ ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΝΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC 'while (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟC), an old (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) priest (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) came forth (lit. gave (Α-Κ-Τ) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), whose name (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) John (ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC)' (Abbatōn 228:13-15). A more detailed discussion of WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses will be offered in section 12.2.2.1 of Unit 12.

#### b) Predicative adjuncts

Sentence constructions with predicative adjuncts express two types of predicative relationships, one between the subject and the main verb (the "primary" predicate) and another between the subject, direct and indirect object and an additional predicate expression, the predicative adjunct (or "secondary" predicate). Predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the subject referent are called subject depictives and predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the direct or indirect object are called object depictives. Predicative adjuncts are optional sentence constituents: they can be omitted without any unsystematic change of meaning, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΕΙΧΑΖΗ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I am afraid (Τ-ΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ) of entering (Ε-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) (of the holy Apa Mena) being impure (Ε-Ι-ΧΑΖΗ)' (Mena, Mir. 29b:14-17), ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΝΑΝΤΑ ΕΦΗΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΤΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΟΡ 'and (ΑΥΩ) we (ΑΝΟΝ) will bring him (Constantine) (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Κ) bound (Ε-Κ-ΜΗΡ) to your chariot (Ε-ΠΕΤΝ-ΖΑΡΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ a dog) (Ν-ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΡ)' (Eud. 44:11-12), ΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ 'you find (lit. you see (ΚΝΑΥ)) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) sick (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20).

## c) Resultative complements

The Relative Present is widely used to form the resultative complement clauses of aspectual verbs of continuation or completion, such as  $\delta\omega$  'to remain',  $\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  'to stay, continue',  $\lambda\omicron$  'to stop',  $\omicron\gamma\omega$  'to have already done', which assert the accomplished or ongoing state of some event, e.g.  $\chi\epsilon$   $\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$   $\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta\kappa$   $\lambda\eta\eta\gamma$  'so that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) I would not stay ( $\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ ) *naked* (lit. stripped off ( $\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta\kappa$ ) *naked* ( $\lambda\eta\eta\gamma$ ))' (Onnophr. 217:31),  $\lambda\gamma\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$   $\epsilon\varphi\psi\lambda\eta$   $\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (...) 'he (Ara Sarapîôn) remained ( $\lambda\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$ ) *praying* ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\psi\lambda\eta$ ) for her sake ( $\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ ) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5),  $\lambda\iota\lambda\omicron$   $\epsilon\iota\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\eta\pi\alpha\rho$  'I stopped ( $\lambda\text{-}\iota\lambda\omicron$ ) *being sick* ( $\epsilon\text{-}\iota\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$ ) at my liver ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\lambda\text{-}\eta\eta\pi\alpha\rho$ )' (Onnophr. 209:10),  $\lambda\varphi\omicron\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\varphi\mu\omicron\gamma$  'he is already ( $\lambda\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega$ ) *dead* ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma$ )' (Ac. A&P 196:24).

## d) Sequential-consecutive clauses

Relative-absolute tenses may have a sequential-consecutive function and connect two or more clauses in a series. In elaborating on the description of some situation, such sequentially used absolute-relative tenses extend the narration in the same time-line as the preceding clause, e.g.  $\pi\rho\alpha\eta$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\eta\theta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma$   $\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\eta\omicron$   $\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\tau$   $\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\tau$   $\mu\eta$   $\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$   $\gamma\iota\omicron\gamma\omicron\pi$   $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$   $\dagger\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$   $\gamma\eta$   $\tau\eta\eta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\eta\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$   $\gamma\eta$   $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\chi\iota\alpha$  (for  $\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma\chi\iota\alpha$ )  $\mu\eta$   $\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$   $\epsilon\eta\tau$   $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  'the name ( $\pi\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta$ ) of that ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma$ ) monastery ( $\eta\theta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  <  $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) (was) Erête and we lived ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omicron$ ) together ( $\gamma\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omicron\pi$ ) with ( $\mu\eta$ ) one another ( $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ ) in harmony ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\gamma\eta\tau$   $\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ ) and peace ( $\dagger\eta\eta\eta\eta$  <  $\tau\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta$ ) was ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$  ...  $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ ) in ( $\gamma\eta$ ) our midst ( $\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) and we were ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ ) at ( $\gamma\eta$ ) ease ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\varsigma\chi\iota\alpha$ ) with ( $\mu\eta$ ) one another ( $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ ) and praised ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\dagger$   $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) God ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ )' (Onnophr. 210:23-26).

Absolute-relative tenses may assume a purposive reading and describe the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g.  $\varphi\eta\eta\gamma$   $\eta\delta\iota$   $\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\mu\omicron\iota$   $\eta\pi\varsigma\alpha\lambda\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\eta$   $\mu\eta$   $\tau\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$  'an angel ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) of ( $\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) God ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) comes ( $\varphi\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ ) and serves (the Eucharist) ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\varsigma\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ) to me ( $\eta\mu\omicron\text{-}\iota$ ) on Saturday ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\varsigma\alpha\lambda\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\eta$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) Sunday ( $\tau\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$ )' (Onnophr. 214:22-23),

$\eta\eta\eta\eta\varsigma\alpha$   $\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\eta\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}$   $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\iota$   $\psi\alpha\rho\omicron\varphi$   $\eta\delta\iota$   $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$   $\pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$   $\epsilon\lambda\varphi\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\varphi$  'after ( $\eta\eta\eta\eta\varsigma\alpha$ ) the glorification ( $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) of Christ ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$ ), Michael, the archangel ( $\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) of heaven ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ), came ( $\lambda\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) to him (Constantine) ( $\psi\alpha\rho\omicron\text{-}\varphi$ ) and instructed him ( $\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\text{-}\varphi$ )' (Eud. 42:1-2).

## 8.1.5.4 Tense distinctions

Absolute-relative tenses combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation. They express three different ranges of temporal reference.

## a) Relative Present

The Relative Present  $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$  'when/while he hears/heard' depicts events or states that lasted during the time at which another event took place, e.g.  $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$   $\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\eta$   $\epsilon\varphi\beta\eta\kappa$   $\epsilon\pi\beta\eta\mu\alpha$  'they met ( $\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$ ) the governor ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\eta$ ) on his way ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\beta\eta\kappa$ ) to the tribunal ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\beta\eta\mu\alpha$ )' (Ac. A&P 208:171-172),  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\varsigma\epsilon$   $\eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$   $\dagger\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$   $\gamma\eta$   $\tau\iota\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\iota\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\omega\psi\epsilon$   $\gamma\eta$   $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\eta\theta\epsilon$   $\eta\eta\epsilon\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$  'and ( $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ), behold ( $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), (for) sixty ( $\varsigma\epsilon$ ) years ( $\eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ ) I have been living ( $\dagger\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ ) in ( $\gamma\eta$ ) this desert ( $\tau\iota\text{-}\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\iota\alpha$ ), wandering around ( $\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\mu\omicron\omega\psi\epsilon$ ) in ( $\gamma\eta$ ) the mountains ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) in the manner ( $\eta\theta\epsilon$  <  $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\gamma\epsilon$ ) of wild beasts ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ )' (Onnophr. 210:18-20),  $\eta\lambda\iota$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\varphi\chi\omega$   $\eta\mu\omicron\omega\gamma$   $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omega\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\rho$  (for  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ )  $\pi\varphi\gamma\omicron$   $\eta\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$  'when he (Pachôm) was saying ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\chi\omega$ ) these (words) ( $\eta\lambda\iota$ ), Theodore was sitting ( $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon$  ...  $\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ ) at a little ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ ) distance ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ ), his face ( $\pi\varphi\text{-}\gamma\omicron$ ) (turned down) to the ground ( $\epsilon\rho$  ...  $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$ )' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

## b) Relative Future

The Relative Future  $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$  'when/while he is/was going to hear' describes an event that was about to happen when another event took place, e.g.  $\alpha\varsigma\gamma\epsilon$   $\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\iota$   $\epsilon\varphi\eta\eta\alpha\psi\theta\eta\rho$   $\epsilon\gamma\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha$  'she (Hilaria) found ( $\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\gamma\epsilon$ ) a ship ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\omicron\iota$ ) ready to sail ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\psi\theta\eta\rho$ ) to a city ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ) called ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) Saralêa' (Hil. 3:17-18),  $\tau\alpha\rho\chi\eta$   $\gamma\alpha\rho$   $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa$

ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΣΙC (for ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙC) ΨΑΥΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΚΟ ΜΗ ΠΕΙΒΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (in) the beginning (Τ-ΑΡΧΗ) when they are about to enter (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) the solitary life (Ε-Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC), they rejoice (ΨΑ-Υ-ΡΑΨΕ) much (ΕΜΑΤΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ) and (ΜΗ) the thirst (Π-ΕΙΒΕ)' (Onnophr. 211:14-15), ΕΚΝΑΘΩΨΤ ΝCΩΙ ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΑΚΟ 'will you watch (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΘΩΨΤ) me (ΝCΩ-Ι) going down (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to destruction (Ε-Π-ΤΑΚΟ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91).

### c) Relative Perfect

The Relative Perfect Ε-Α-Ϟ-CΩΤΗ 'when/while he has/had heard' indicates an anterior event that had been accomplished some time before another event started, e.g. ΑΥΖΕ ΕΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΕΛΦΟΥΨ ΕϞΜΟΥ 'they found (Α-Υ-ΖΕ) the little (ΨΗΜ) boy (Ε-Π-ΨΗΡΕ) having already (Ε-Α-Ϟ-ΟΥΨ) died (Ε-Ϟ-ΜΟΥ)' (Ac. A&P 196:48), ΛΙΘΩΨΤ ΛΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΑΓΕΛΕΙ (for ΕΥΑΓΕΛΗ) ΝΨΟΥΨ ΕΛCΕΙ ΗΠΟΥΕ 'I looked up (Α-Ι-ΘΩΨΤ) (and) saw (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) a herd (Ε-Υ-ΑΓΕΛΕΙ) of antilopes (Ν-ΨΟΥΨ) having approached (Ε-Α-C-ΕΙ) from a distance (Η-Π-ΟΥΕ)' (Onnophr. 206:13-14), ΑΥΖΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΕΛϞΡ ΒΛΛΕ ΕΠΕϞΒΑΛ CΝΑΥ 'they found (Α-Υ-ΖΕ) him (Diocletian) (ΕΡΟ-Ϟ) having become (Ε-Α-Ϟ-Ρ) blind (ΒΛΛΕ) in both (CΝΑΥ) his eyes (Ε-ΠΕϞ-ΒΑΛ)' (Eud. 36:22-23).

## 8.2 Moods

Mood is a grammatical category used to describe the speaker's attitudes or beliefs towards non-observable facts. A major division in the modal domain concerns the distinction between epistemic and deontic modality, where the former deals with matters of knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said and the latter with obligation and desire. Epistemic and deontic modality are therefore related to the informative and the pragmatic functions of language, respectively. The inventory of Coptic basic moods is presented in table 8.6 below.

DEONTIC MODALITY	EPISTEMIC MODALITY
IMPERATIVE CΩΤΗ listen!	CONDITIONAL Ε-Ϟ-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ if/when he hears/heard
JUSSIVE ΜΑΡΕ-Ϟ-CΩΤΗ may he hear	INFERENCE ΤΑΡΕ-Ϟ-CΩΤΗ and/so that he shall hear

TABLE 8.6 Basic moods

In expressing a proposal for action, the imperative and the Jussive relate to deontic modality. The Conditional and the Inferential, on the other hand, are epistemic modal patterns that express hypothetical situations and emphatic assertions and deductions, respectively.

N.B. Besides the involvement of the speaker in the event under consideration, deontic and epistemic modal pattern have little in common semantically. Thus, it is never possible to interpret a deontic modal pattern like the Jussive epistemically in terms of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what is being said. Neither can an epistemic modal like the Conditional be used deontically to elicit some action from the person they are directed to. In this respect, Coptic moods differ systematically from the modalised future tenses, which have epistemic as well as deontic uses (see above, section 7.3.3 of Unit 7).

### 8.2.1 The imperative

The imperative represents the quintessential form of deontic modality that encodes events imposed by the speaker. In Coptic, as in many other languages, the imperative is an impoverished conjugation pattern. It is morphologically impoverished in the sense that most imperatives lack special formal marking and syntactically impoverished in the sense that imperatival mood can only have second person reference.

#### 8.2.1.1 Forms

Imperatives can be formed morphologically either by unmarked infinitival verbs or by irregular imperatives with a distinct imperatival marker.

## a) Infinitival imperatives

Most verbs have infinitival imperatives, where an uninflected absolute or construct state stem is used as the main predicate of the imperatival clause, e.g. ΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'farewell (ΟΥΧΑΙ), my holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) fathers (ΝΑ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)!' (Hil.8:13-14), ΣΑΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ 'turn yourself (ΣΑΖΩ-Κ) away from (ΕΒΟΛ) the idols (Ν-Ν-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13), ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΦΟΧΝΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΚ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΑΑΑ 'you (ΝΤΟΚ), on your part (ΖΩΩ-Κ), take council (ΦΟΧΝΕ), think (ΜΕΕΥΕ), ponder (ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚ-Κ), consider (well) (ΕΙΜΕ) what (ΟΥ) you will do (Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΑ-Α)!' (Camb. 9:12-15), ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ 'tell (ΧΟΟ-Υ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)!' (Eud. 54:17).

## b) Irregular imperatives

Coptic has a number of so-called irregular imperatives, which are characterised morphologically by a special imperatival prefix λ- or by a suppletive verb stem that is phonologically unrelated to the basic form of the verb. Some irregular imperatives are also inflected for gender and number.

SING. MASC.	SING. FEM.	PLURAL	BASE VERB	GLOSS
ΛΟ=Κ	ΛΟ	ΛΩ=ΤΝ	ΛΟ	stop!
ΑΜΟΥ	ΑΜΗ	ΑΜΗΕΙ=ΤΝ	ΕΙ	come!
ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-	ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-	ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-,	ΕΙΝΕ	bring!
ΑΡΙΡΕ, ΑΡΙ-	ΑΡΙΡΕ, ΑΡΙ-	ΑΡΙΡΕ, ΑΡΙ-	ΕΙΡΕ	make!
ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=	ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=	ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=	ΧΩ	say!
ΑΟΥΩΝ	ΑΟΥΩΝ	ΑΟΥΩΝ	ΟΥΩΝ	open!
ΑΝΑΥ	ΑΝΑΥ	ΑΝΑΥ	ΝΑΥ	seel!
ΜΟ, ΜΩ	ΜΟ	ΜΜΗΕΙΤΝ	ΧΙ	take!
ΜΑ-	ΜΑ-	ΜΑ-	†	give!

TABLE 8.7 Irregular imperatives

Examples: ΑΜΟΥ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΦΑΡΟΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'come (ΑΜΟΥ) down (ΕΠΕΣΗΤ) to me (ΦΑΡΟ-Ι), holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ)!' (Onnophr. 210:12), ΑΜΗ ΝΤΕΝΑΥ ΕΝΑΔΙΧ ΜΗ ΠΑΣΠΗ 'come (woman) (ΑΜΗ) and look (ΝΤΕ-ΝΑΥ) at my hands (Ε-ΝΑ-ΔΙΧ) and (ΜΗ) my side (ΠΑ-ΣΠΗ)!' (Eud. 52:3), ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΛΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΠΥΛΗ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ 'come (ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ) outside (ΕΒΟΛ) (and) open (ΛΟΥΩΝ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) the gate (Ν-Τ-ΠΥΛΗ) of the city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)!' (Ac. A&P 206:166-167), ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ 'remember (lit. make (ΑΡΙ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ)), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)!' (Ac. A&P 200:83), ΑΝΙΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΥΤΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΜΑ 'bring (ΑΝΙΝΕ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) the four (Μ-ΠΕ-ΥΤΟΟΥ) gospels (Ν-Ν-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ) here (Ε-ΠΙ-ΜΑ)!' (Hil. 11:25), ΑΝΙ ΟΥΓΝΩΜΗ ΝΑΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ω ΝΣΑΖ ΜΠΗ ΜΠΗΛ 'give (ΑΝΙ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) advice (ΟΥ-ΓΝΩΜΗ), oh (Ω) educated people (Ν-ΣΑΖ) of the house (Μ-Π-Η) of Israel!' (Eud. 52:23), ΑΧΙ ΝΑΥ 'tell it (ΑΧΙ-Ε) to them (ΝΑ-Υ)!' (Hil. 11:25), ΤΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΛΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ 'our mistress (ΤΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ), open (ΛΟΥΩΝ) to us (ΝΑ-Ν)!' (Eud. 54:20), ΜΩ ΝΓΣΟΥΕΝ ΤΟΙΧ ΝΣΖΑΙ ΜΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΜΗ ΤΕΥΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ 'take (it) (the letter) and you will recognise (Ν-Γ-ΣΟΥΕΝ) your father's (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΕΙΩΤ) handwriting (lit. the hand (Τ-ΟΙΧ) of writing (Ν-ΣΖΑΙ)) and (ΜΗ) his seal (ΤΕΥΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ)!' (Victor, Martyrd. 29:25-26), ΑΥΩ ΜΑ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ 'and (ΑΥΩ) give (ΜΑ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) the baptism (Μ-Π-ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ)!' (Pist. Soph. 111:6).

## c) Prefixation of μα-

Lexical τ-causatives have two imperatival forms that appear in free variation. On the one hand, there are "bare" infinitival imperatives, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΜΘΟΜ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) be strong (ΤΑΧΡΟ) and vigorous (ΝΤΕ-ΘΜ-ΘΟΜ)!' (Eud. 50:22). On the other hand, there are irregular imperatives formed with the suppletive imperatival verb μα- 'give!', e.g. ΜΑΤΣΑΒΟΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΝΟΥΧΑ ΕΠΜΟΟΥ 'inform me (ΜΑ-ΤΣΑΒΟΙ) about the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ), where (ΝΤ-Α) Paul threw himself (ΝΟΥΧ-Α) into the water (Ε-Π-ΜΟΟΥ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:50-51), ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ 'make (ΜΑ-ΤΑΜΙΟ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) a drag net (Ν-ΟΥ-ΑΒΩ)!' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-35).

### 8.2.1.2 The imperative and second person reference

In Coptic, as in many other languages, imperatival mood can only have second person reference. By using the imperative, the speaker proposes that the addressee take action, while the Jussive mood must be selected when he or she issues a command from another speech participant. Since the subject of imperatival clauses refers to the addressee, the use of second person pronouns becomes redundant and only a few irregular imperatives show second person inflection on the verbal stem. The number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatival clauses may, however, be co-referenced by various types of pronouns:

- So-called ethical datives, which reinforce the necessity or urgency of the proposed action, e.g.  $\theta\epsilon\omega\psi\epsilon\iota$  (read  $\theta\epsilon\omega\psi\epsilon\iota$ )  $\text{NAK}$  'see ( $\theta\epsilon\omega\psi\epsilon\iota$ ) for yourself ( $\text{NA-K}$ )!' (KHML II 21:26),  $\text{TENOU}$   $\theta\epsilon$   $\text{BITQ}$  (for  $\text{QITQ}$ )  $\text{NAK}$   $\text{ZIXWI}$  'now ( $\text{TENOU}$ ) take it (the cloak) ( $\text{BIT-Q}$ ) (away) from me ( $\text{ZIXW-I}$ )!' (V. Pach. 92:15),  $\text{BOK}$   $\text{NAK}$   $\text{EPZENATON}$  '(if you want to become a monk) go ( $\text{BOK}$ ) for yourself ( $\text{NA-K}$ ) to the Henaton ( $\text{E-PI-ZENATON}$ )!' (Hil. 5:17)
- The second person subject pronoun of a following Conjunctive, e.g.  $\psi\omega\psi\epsilon$  [ $\text{N}$ ]  $\text{MHAI}$   $\lambda\gamma\omega$  [ $\text{N}$ ]  $\text{GCWTM}$   $\epsilon\text{POI}$   $\text{HPOOY}$  'be ( $\psi\omega\psi\epsilon$ ) with me ( $\text{MHAI-I}$ ) and listen ( $\text{N-GCWTM}$ ) to me ( $\text{EPO-I}$ ) today ( $\text{HPOOY}$ )!' (Eud. 46:11)
- Appositionally used independent pronouns, which are added to the imperatival verb for emphatic purposes, e.g.  $\text{ZMOOC}$   $\text{NTOK}$   $\text{ZN}$   $\text{TEKP}$  'sit ( $\text{ZMOOC}$ ), you ( $\text{NTOK}$ ), in ( $\text{ZN}$ ) your cell ( $\text{TEK-PI}$ )!' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

### 8.2.2 The Jussive

Coptic has a Jussive mood, which is formally distinct from the corresponding imperative. Both deontic modals are in complementary distribution with respect to grammatical person. While the imperative has only second person forms, the Jussive instantiates specific first and third person forms for orders, requests, entreaties, and the like, e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\omega$   $\text{XI}$   $\text{MOEIT}$   $\text{ZHT}$   $\text{ZM}$   $\text{PEKOYOEIN}$   $\lambda\gamma\omega$   $\text{MARIEME}$   $\omega$   $\text{POYOEIN}$   $\text{XE}$   $\text{NTOK}$   $\text{PE}$   $\text{PAREQNOYZM}$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) guide me (lit. take ( $\text{XI}$ ) road ( $\text{MOEIT}$ ) before me

( $\text{ZHT}$ ) in ( $\text{ZM}$ ) your light ( $\text{PEK-OYOEIN}$ ) and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) let me know ( $\text{MARI-EME}$ ), oh ( $\omega$ ) light ( $\text{POYOEIN}$ ), that ( $\text{XE}$ ) you ( $\text{NTOK}$ ) (are) my saviour ( $\text{PAR-EQ-NOYZM}$ )!' (Pist. Soph. 79:18).

### 8.2.2.1 Forms

The defective pronominal paradigm of the Jussive mood is presented in table 8.8. The empty paradigmatic cells in the second person singular and plural are filled by the corresponding imperatives.

	JUSSIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	$\text{MAP(E)-I-CWTM}$	$\text{MAP(E)-N-CWTM}$ , $\text{MAPO-N}$
2 <sup>nd</sup>		
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	$\text{MAPE-Q-CWTM}$	$\text{MAP-OY-CWTM}$
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	$\text{MAPE-C-CWTM}$	
Before noun	$\text{MAPE PRWME CWTM}$	

TABLE 8.8 Jussive mood

### 8.2.2.2 The metaphorical extension of deontic modality

From a syntactic point of view, the imperative and the Jussive may be treated as a single verbal pattern, since the forms are in complementary distribution. Yet, both deontic modals differ from one another both semantically and pragmatically: semantically in the sense that the Jussive always implies the presence of a remote causer; pragmatically in the sense that it is used as a politeness form in those contexts where the imperative would be socially inappropriate.

#### a) Remote causer

The conjugation base  $\text{MAP(E)-}$  represents the imperatival counterpart of the causative verb  $\text{TPE-}$  'cause to do' (for its syntax, see section 6.4.3 of Unit 6). The Jussive therefore implies the presence of an implicit CAUSER, denoting the entity that is capable of initiating the proposed action, e.g.



ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΥ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ), may your grace (ΠΕΚ-ΝΑ) come upon them (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)!' (Abbatôn 242:31). Third person plural Jussives may have a passive interpretation, where the causer is left unspecified, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΜΟΥΡ ΜΠΧΟΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΟΝΤΩ ΝΖΗΤΩ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) let the ship (Μ-Π-ΧΟΙ) be moored (lit. let them moore (ΜΑΡ-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΡ)) at the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) where you have found it (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΟΝΤ-Ω)!' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΥΚΑΑΤ ΚΑΖΗΥ ΝΤΑΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ (for ΝΤΑΛΕΒΙΤΩΝ) ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΚΟΟΤ ΝΗΜΑΣ 'don't let me (ΜΠΕΡ-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΚΑΑ-Τ) be bared (ΚΑΖΗΥ) of my habit (Ν-ΤΑ-ΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) let them bury me (ΜΑΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΟΟΤ) with it (ΝΗΜΑ-Σ)!' (Hil. 12:23-24).

#### b) Third person imperatives

The Jussive replaces the imperative in manipulative speech acts (orders, instructions) with third person reference, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΝΦΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΜΑΡΕΨΤ ΝΝΟΥΨ ΝΑΝ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) he will not (ΑΝ) rise (Ν-Ψ-ΝΑ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), he shall give (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-Τ) to us (ΝΑ-Ν) what is his (ΝΝΟΥ-Ψ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212), ΜΑΡΕΨΒΩΚ ΝΨΣΟΤΗΕΣ ΝΤΟΟΨ (read ΝΤΟΟΨΟΥ) ΝΝΕΤΝΟΙ 'he should go (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-ΒΩΚ) and hear it (the testament) (Ν-Ψ-ΣΟΤΗΕ-Σ) from those (ΝΤΟΟΨ-ΟΥ) who know (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΟΙ) (to read)!' (Test. Is. 236:4).

#### c) Politeness form

The Jussive is used as a politeness form in manipulative speech-acts when the addressee outranks the speaker on a social or ontological hierarchy, e.g. ΛΙΟ ΠΑΓΙΩΤ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ 'please (ΛΙΟ), my good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ψ) father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), let your grace (ΠΕΚ-ΝΑ) come upon us (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΤΑΖΟ-Ν) all (ΤΗΡ-Ν)!' (Onnophr. 216:24-25), ΕΙΣ ΤΕΙΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΜΑΡΕΣΩΝΖ ΜΠΕΚΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ 'behold (ΕΙΣ), this other (girl) (ΤΕΙ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΕΙ), let her stay alive (ΜΑΡΕ-Σ-ΩΝΖ) in your presence (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ)!' (Hil. 8:5), ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΨΧΕ ΚΝΑΣΟΥΤΝ ΤΑΖΗ ΖΗ ΠΖΩΒ ΕΨΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΙΕ ΜΑΡΙΣΩΤΗ ΕΖΕΝΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΨΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΜΠΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ '(oh) Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ), God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ), if (ΕΨΧΕ) you want to direct

(Κ-ΝΑ-ΣΟΥΤΝ) my way (ΤΑ-ΖΗ) in (ΖΗ) the matter (Π-ΖΩΒ) that I want to pursue (ΕΨΝΑΒΩΚ < ΕΤ-Ψ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ)), then (ΕΙΕ) let me hear (ΜΑΡ-Ι-ΣΩΤΗ) Scripture readings (Ε-ΖΕΝ-ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ) that are suited (Ε-Υ-ΠΡΕΠΕΙ) to my goal (Μ-ΠΑ-ΣΚΟΠΟΣ)!' (Hil. 2:20-21).

#### d) Optative

The Jussive can have an optative reading, expressing the speaker's hopes about some state of affairs that has not yet been realised, e.g. ΑΚΣΕΤΗ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΨΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΜΑΚ 'you have heard (Α-Κ-ΣΕΤΗ) a word (ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ). (So) may it stay (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ) with you (ΝΗΜΑ-Κ)!' (Test. Is. 228:9-10), ΜΑΡΕ ΤΑΘΥΣΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΩΠΗ ΜΠΕΚΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ 'may my sacrifice (ΤΑ-ΘΥΣΙΑ) be (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) accepted (Ε-Σ-ΩΠΗ) in your presence (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ)!' (Test. Is. 232:32-33).

#### e) Exhortative

First person plural Jussives are conventionally associated with an exhortative meaning and function, expressing desires for actions involving the speaker and some other speech participant, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΜΑΡΝΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΨ ΑΓΑΠΗ ΖΙ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'let us now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), my beloved (ΝΑ-ΜΕΡΑΤΕ), be zealous (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) to give (Ε-Ψ) love (ΑΓΑΠΗ) and (ΖΙ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ)!' (Abbatôn 247:34-248:2). The freestanding form ΜΑΡΟΝ 'let's go' is used as a parenthetical expression that reinforces the proposition for action that is described, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ ΝΤΑΧΙΤΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΨΤΑΦΟΣ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ), let's go (ΜΑΡΟΝ) and I will take you (woman) (ΝΤΑ-ΧΙΤ-Ε) to (ΕΧΗ) his (Christ's) tomb (ΠΕΨ-ΤΑΦΟΣ)!' (Eud. 68:10-11).

#### 8.2.3 Conditional mood

The Conditional Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΣΩΤΗ 'if/when he hears' introduces the subordinate adjunct clause (the protasis) of an open conditional sentences, which describes hypothetical situations that have the potential of becoming reality.

## 8.2.3.1 Forms

The Conditional conjugation  $\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$  'if/when he hears' is a compound verbal tense, consisting of an initial relative marker  $\epsilon\text{-}$  and the modal auxiliary  $\psi\alpha\lambda$ , which has a fully grammaticalised meaning and function. It undergoes subject-verb inversion in the context of full noun phrases:  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$  NP<sub>subject</sub>  $\psi\alpha\lambda$   $\rightarrow$   $\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\lambda$  NP<sub>subject</sub> (see above, section 7.1.2.4 of Unit 7).

CONDITIONAL		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	$\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	$\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	$\epsilon\text{-}\rho\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	$\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	$\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	
Before noun	$(\epsilon)\rho\psi\alpha\lambda$ $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	

TABLE 8.9 Conditional mood

## 8.2.3.2 Modal and aspectual uses of the Conditional

The Conditional conjugation has a broad spectrum of semantic connotations. Depending on the tense-aspect selected in the apodosis clause, it assumes a more modal or more temporal interpretation ('whenever, every time he hears').

## a) Real conditions

As an epistemic modal, the Conditional anticipates a situation about which the speaker has some positive belief that it will occur at some point in the future. The apodosis clause of such realis conditionals frequently contains a future tense, asserting that if one event takes place some other will naturally follow, e.g.  $\epsilon\psi\omega\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$   $\gamma\alpha\rho$   $\nu\omicron\iota$   $\nu\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\eta\lambda\gamma$   $\epsilon\rho\varphi$   $\tau\eta\rho\upsilon$   $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho\varphi$  (Eud. 52:21-22) 'because ( $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) if all ( $\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) those (people) who saw ( $\nu\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\eta\lambda\gamma$ ) him (Jesus Christ) ( $\epsilon\rho\text{-}\varphi$ ) come to

know ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ ) (about it), they will believe ( $\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ) in him ( $\epsilon\rho\text{-}\varphi$ )' (Eud. 52:21-22),  $\epsilon\psi\omega\lambda\epsilon\iota$   $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\eta\tau\eta$   $\epsilon\eta\rho\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\eta\lambda\chi\iota$   $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$  'if they come ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) and find us ( $\nu\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\eta\tau\text{-}\eta$ ) awake ( $\epsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\rho\eta\varsigma$ ), we will be glorified (lit. receive ( $\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\chi\iota$ ) glory ( $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17),  $\lambda\gamma\omega$   $\uparrow\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\varphi\psi\omega\lambda\epsilon\iota$   $\psi\alpha\rho\eta$   $\tau\eta\eta\lambda\delta\epsilon\eta$   $\gamma\eta\gamma$   $\tau\eta\rho\eta$   $\gamma\iota\tau\eta$   $\nu\epsilon\varphi\psi\lambda\eta$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) I believe ( $\uparrow\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) when he comes ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) to us ( $\psi\alpha\rho\text{-}\eta$ ), we all ( $\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\eta$ ) will benefit (lit. gain ( $\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\delta\epsilon\eta$ ) profit ( $\gamma\eta\gamma$ )) from ( $\gamma\iota\tau\eta$ ) his prayers ( $\nu\epsilon\varphi\text{-}\psi\lambda\eta$ )' (Hil. 10:30-31).

## b) Quantification over event types

The Conditional may express quantification over types of situations rather than possible scenarios in some imaginary world. The quantificational meaning is reinforced by the selection of habitual aspect in the consequent clause, e.g.  $\epsilon\varsigma\psi\omega\lambda\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\eta$   $\epsilon\psi\lambda\eta$   $\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\varsigma\psi\lambda\eta$   $\nu\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  'whenever she (Hilaria) rose ( $\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\eta$ ) to pray ( $\epsilon\text{-}\psi\lambda\eta$ ), she used to pray ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\lambda\eta$ ) with her (her younger sister) ( $\nu\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ )' (Hil. 9:12),  $\lambda\lambda\lambda$   $\rho\psi\alpha\lambda$   $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\eta$   $\uparrow\mu\kappa\alpha\lambda$   $\nu\alpha\varphi$   $\gamma\eta\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\varphi$  (for  $\gamma\eta$   $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\epsilon$ )  $\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\varphi\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\varphi$  'but ( $\lambda\lambda\lambda$ ) whenever a brother ( $\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\eta$ ) hurt ( $\rho\psi\alpha\lambda$  ...  $\uparrow$   $\mu\kappa\alpha\lambda$ ) him (the ill-tempered monk) ( $\eta\lambda\text{-}\varphi$ ) in anything ( $\gamma\eta\eta\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\gamma\omega\varphi$ ), he used to hate him ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\text{-}\varphi$ )' (V. Pach. 86:2-3).

## c) With other deontic modals

Realis conditionals may restrict the deontic force of a manipulative speech act by specifying a condition or circumstance under which an order must be obeyed, e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\omega$   $\omicron\eta$   $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$   $\epsilon\gamma\psi\omega\lambda\alpha\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\gamma\varsigma\epsilon$   $\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$   $\gamma\eta$   $\pi\eta\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (read  $\pi\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\epsilon\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  (read  $\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) 'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) also ( $\omicron\eta$ ) (as far as) the brothers ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ ) (are concerned): if they become negligent ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\alpha\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ) you shall raise ( $\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\nu\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\epsilon$ ) them ( $\eta\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) up in ( $\gamma\eta$ ) the law ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ) of God ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ )' (V. Pach. 94:14-16).

### 8.2.4 Inferential mood

The Inferential **ТАΡΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ** 'and/so that he shall hear' instantiates a relatively unique case of evidential modality in the Sahidic Coptic conjugation system. Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or function words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.

#### 8.2.4.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Inferential **ТАΡΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ** is represented in table 8.10. Contrary to what is stated in many Coptic reference works, there is no evidence for a paradigm gap in the first person singular. Yet, it seems to be the case that first person singular Inferentials (**ТАΡ-Ι-ϚΩΤΗ**) can only be used under specific contextual conditions.

	INFERENCE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>ТАΡ-Ι-ϚΩΤΗ</b>	<b>ТАΡ-Ν-ϚΩΤΗ</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	<b>ТАΡΕ-Κ-ϚΩΤΗ</b>	<b>ТАΡΕ-ΤΝ-ϚΩΤΗ</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	<b>ТАΡΕ-ϚΩΤΗ</b>	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	<b>ТАΡΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ</b>	<b>ТАΡ-ΟΥ-ϚΩΤΗ</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	<b>ТАΡΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ</b>	
Before noun	<b>ТАΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ϚΩΤΗ</b>	

TABLE 8.10 Inferential mood

#### 8.2.4.2 Inferential evidentiality and first person reference

In a system based on a primary division of the source of knowledge into the speaker and other speech participants, inferred evidence is intrinsically related to the speaker. When the speaker was a knowing participant in some event, either as a voluntary agent or conscious experiencer, the knowledge of that event is normally direct and evidential markers are therefore often omitted. First person singular inferentials do, however,

occur in those contexts where the speaker distances himself from his own actions and takes the stance of an outside observer, e.g. **ΑΥΩ ϚΙ ΠΡΟΟΥΩ ΤΑΡΙΕΙ ΝϚΩΚ ϚΗ ΟΥΡΑϚΕ ΕΜΕΝ ΩϚΚ** 'and (**ΑΥΩ**) take (**ϚΙ**) care (**Π-ΠΡΟΟΥΩ**) and I shall fetch (**ТАΡ-Ι-ΕΙ**) you (**ΝϚΩ-Κ**) with (**ϚΗ**) joy (**ΟΥ-ΡΑϚΕ**) without (**Ε-ΜΕΝ**) delay (**ΩϚΚ**)' (Test. Is. 230:9-10), **ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΤΑΡΙΚΑ ΟΥΛΛΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ϚΗ ΝΕΚΩΙΧ** 'make (**ΜΑ-ΤΑΜΙΟ**) a drag net (**Ν-ΟΥ-ΑΒΩ**) for me (**ΝΑ-Ι**) so that I keep (**ТАΡ-Ι-ΚΑ**) something (**ΟΥ-ΛΛΑΥ**) for myself (**ΝΑ-Ι**) from (**ϚΗ**) your hands (**ΝΕΚ-ΩΙΧ**)' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-24a:1), **ΧΕΚΑϚ ΕΛΙΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΕΙΚΕΤ ΤΑΡΙΡ ΨΗΜΟ ΕΜΝΤΑΤϚΟΟΥΝ ΝΙΜ** 'such that (**ΧΕΚΑϚ**) I, having learnt (**Ε-ΑΙ-ΕΙΜΕ**) about this other (thing) (**Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΚΕΤ**), become (**ТАΡΙ-Ρ**) free (lit. alien (**ΨΗΜΟ**)) from all (**ΝΙΜ**) ignorance (**Ε-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-ϚΟΟΥΝ**)' (AP Chaîne no. 211, 60:5).

#### 8.2.4.3 The validitional function of the Inferential

The Inferential can be characterised as introspective evidential, which encodes not only inference based on (non-)observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent. Consequently, the speaker takes responsibility for the truth of his assertion.

##### a) Assertive-promissive

The Inferential is commonly used in prescriptive contexts, where the speaker assures the addressee about the emergence of some state of affairs once his instructions are followed. In this usage, it indicates the high degree of certainty the speaker has for his assertion without actually specifying the source of knowledge or evidence type. In other words, the validity of the inference is solely based on the speaker's authority, e.g. **ΑΥΩ ΝϚΟΥΟ ΝϚΟΥΟ ϚΩΤΗ ΝϚΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΡΕϚΝΑϚΜΕΚ** 'and (**ΑΥΩ**) most of all (**ΝϚΟΥΟ ΝϚΟΥΟ**) listen (**ϚΩΤΗ**) to (**ΝϚΑ**) God (**Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ**) and (be assured) *he will save you* (**ТАΡΕ-Ϛ-ΝΑϚΜΕ-Κ**)' (Catéch. Pach. 5:7-8), **ΑΛΛΑ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΚΘΕΒΗΥ ΤΑΡΕΚΩ ϚΗ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΛϚ ΝΑΚ** 'but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) remain (**ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ**) humble (**Ε-Κ-ΘΕΒΗΥ**) and (be assured) *you shall remain* (**ТАΡΕ-Κ-Ω**) in (**ϚΗ**) the glory (**Π-ΕΟΟΥ**) that God (**Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ**) has given (**ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΑΛ-Ϛ**) to you (**ΝΑ-Κ**)' (Catéch. Pach.

7:13-14), *ψωπε νουσην νρεφτ καρπος ταρε πεσμοϋ μπχοεις ψωπε ριχωκ* 'become (ψωπε) a tree (ν-οϋ-σην) which brings forth (ν-ρεφ-τ) fruit (καρπος) and (trust me) the Lord's (ν-π-χοεις) blessing (πε-σμοϋ) will come down (ταρε ... ψωπε) on you (ριχω-κ)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

b) Reported indirect speech

The Inferential may introduce indirect speech, where the speaker himself makes a report of a report and is therefore the source of knowledge, e.g. *ρην οϋσην α πχοεις χοος ναν ταρνοϋσην εβολ ρην ψην νιμ ετρη πιπαρδεισος ειμητει πσην νσοϋν πιπετνανοϋϋ νν πιπεθοοϋ* 'concerning (ρην) eating (οϋσην), the Lord (π-χοεις) told (α ... χοο-σ) us (να-ν) that we can eat (ταρ-ν-οϋσην) from (ρην) every (νιμ) tree (ψην) in (ετ-ρη) Paradise (π-παρδεισος) except for (ειμητει) the tree (π-ψην) of knowing (ν-σοϋν) what is good (π-πετ-νανοϋ-ϋ) and (νν) what is bad (πιπεθοοϋ < π-π-ετ-ροοϋ)' (Abbatōn 237:12-14), *ετβε παι τναλιτει μπνοϋτε πετρησν οϋον νιμ ταρεφοϋσην ναι μπψαχε λϋω νϋχορηγει* (for νϋχορηγει) ναι ννετναχοοϋ 'for (ετβε) this (reason) (παι) I will ask (τ-να-λιτει) God (ν-π-νοϋτε), who is above (π-ετ-ρησν) everyone (οϋον νιμ) that he opens (ταρε-ϋ-οϋσην) for me (να-ι) the speech (ν-π-ψαχε) and (λϋω) provides (ν-ϋ-χορηγει) me (να-ι) with what I shall say (ν-ν-ε-τ-να-χοο-ϋ) (...)' (KHML II 49:3-5).

c) Purposive

As an introspective evidential, the Inferential often assumes a purposive reading, revealing the speaker's motivation for issuing a command or reflecting his view on the intended result of somebody else's action, e.g. *σαρετηϋτην ερραι περενος τηρϋ ννερρωμαιος ταρε νετνσνηϋ ρωοϋ ον ετε μπερσος νε ει νσεσω* 'withdraw yourselves (σαρε-τηϋτην ερραι), oh entire (τηρ-ϋ) nation (π-ρενος) of the Romans (ν-νε-ρρωμαιος) that your brothers (νετν-σνηϋ), the Persians (ετε μπερσος νε), may also (ρω-οϋ) come (ταρε ... ει) and drink (ν-σε-σω)' (Eud. 46:23-25), *ννεϋκετ τεικϋτη ρην πλοϋοειϋ ταρε τοικοϋμενη τηρσ ειμε ξε λϋκϋτη ρε ρην ψηητ ετβε οϋαποτ νηρη*

'they should not rebuild (ννε-ϋ-κετ) this vault (τει-κϋτη) in (ρη) my time (πα-οϋοειϋ) that the entire (τηρ-σ) world (τ-οικοϋμενη) will come to know (ταρε ... ειμε) that a vault ([ο]ϋ-κϋτη) fell down (α ... ρε) in (ρη) Shiêt because (ετβε) of one cup (οϋ-αποτ) of wine (ν-ηρη)' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27-28), *αρηοϋν δε εβολ εϋψηλη ραρσ ταρεσοϋχαι λϋω α πνοϋτε σωτη εροϋ* 'he (Ara Sarapîōn) remained (α-ϋ-μοϋν) praying (ε-ϋ-ψηλη) for her sake (ραρσ) that she might recover (ταρε-σ-οϋχαι) and (λϋω) God (π-νοϋτε) hearkened (α-ϋ-σωτη) him (ερο-ϋ)' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5-6).

d) Inference through reasoning

The Inferential can be used to express the speaker's expectation with regard to the outcome of some event. The inferred evidence may involve mental constructs, i.e. reasoning about behaviour, based on logic, intuition, traditional wisdom or previous experience, e.g. *ερψαν οϋπιρασμος* (for οϋπειρασμος) *τωοϋν ερραι ριχν οϋρωμε ψαρε νεθλιφικ λψαι ναϋ νσαα νιμ ταρεϋκοϋι νρητ νϋκρηρη* 'if a temptation (οϋ-πιρασμος) comes (ερψαν ... τωοϋν) against (ερραι ριχν) someone (οϋ-ρωμε), the hardships (νε-θλιφικ) become more intense (ψαρε ... λψαι) for him (να-ϋ) on every (νιμ) side (ν-σαα) such that he becomes discouraged (lit. faint-hearted (ταρε-ϋ-κοϋι νρητ)) and vexed (ν-ϋ-κρηρη)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:18-20).

**Key Terms:**

Relative tenses	are anaphoric tense categories that locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. Coptic relative tenses express three different ordering relations, viz. co-occurrence, precedence and subsequence.	§8.1.1
Iconicity	is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1
Terminative aspect	is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English "until"-clauses. The Terminative depicts a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential of going on beyond that point.	§8.1.3
Topic continuity	Subject identical clauses express the sameness of the same topic throughout a series of clauses, often designating the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions.	§8.1.4.2
Switch reference	designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
Absolute-relative tenses	are mixed deictic-anaphoric tense categories that combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation.	§8.1.4
Epistemic and deontic modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2

Realis conditionals	indicate real conditions involving a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the probability of the state of affairs that is described. In Coptic, such realis conditionals are expressed by the Conditional mood $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\text{AN}\text{-}\omega\text{TM}$ 'if/when he hears'.	§8.2.3
Inferential evidentiality	encodes not only inference based on (non-) observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent.	§8.2.4

**Exercises****8.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
  1. The Temporal conjugation  $\text{NTEPE}\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\text{TM}$  'when he had heard' has a single event reading.
  2. Terminative aspect  $\omega\text{ANTE}\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\text{TM}$  'when he had heard' occurs in main and embedded clauses.
  3. The Conjunctive  $\text{N}\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\text{TM}$  'and he hears/heard' takes over the temporal, aspectual or modal value of the preceding verb form.
  4. The Conjunctive is the only relative tense that can be combined with the Stative stem pattern.
  5. The Relative Future  $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\text{NA}\text{-}\omega\text{TM}$  'while he will hear' cannot occur as a resultative complement of aspectual verbs of completion like  $\lambda\text{O}$  'to stop'.
  6. Imperative mood is restricted to second person reference.

7. *ερωαν*-conditionals may describe a pattern of events, when the apodosis clause contains habitual aspect.
8. The Inferential *ταρε-γ-ωτη* 'and/so that he hears' has a defective pronominal paradigm.

## 8.2 Relative Tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g. *ντερε-γ-ωτη*: Temporal 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. masc. 'when/after he had heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS
<i>νγωτη</i>		<i>ψαντεγωτη</i>	
<i>ντερεωτη</i>		<i>νσεωτη</i>	
<i>εασωτη</i>		<i>ψανταωτη</i>	

- B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g. *ντερε-γ-ει* *επειμα*: Temporal 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. masc. 'when he had come to this place'.

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS
<i>αγω ντερεγωτη ετβηητγ</i>	(V. Pach. 138:16)
<i>ψαντρ περοου σναγ</i>	(Ac. A&P 196:34)
<i>νγτσαβοου</i>	(Test. Is. 231:12)
<i>νγβωκ ερουν επρε</i>	(KHML I 1:15)
<i>νσεκοτου</i>	(Eud. 40:9-10)
<i>ψαντουψινε νσωκ</i>	(Test. Is 230:26)
<i>εαρεπ ζωε ερογ</i>	(V. Pach. 1:7)

- C. Identify the relative tenses in the following examples and translate them.
- ουν κεζμε σνοουσε νγενεα ναουεине ψαντερει νσι πεχ̄*  
'forty-two other (*κεζμε σνοουσε*) generations (*ν-γενεα*) will come (*ουν ... να-ουεине*) \_\_\_\_' (Test. Is. 231: 7-8) (*νσι* marks the inverted nominal subject)
  - μννσα ψοντε δε νρομπε εσοηηζ ζη πμα ετμμαγ λ πχοεις βελπ παι εβολ εαπα πανβω κε ουςζιμε τε* 'after (*μννσα*) three (*ψοντε*) years (*ν-ρομπε*) \_\_\_\_ in (*ζη*) that (*ετ-μμαγ*) place (*π-μα*), the Lord (*π-χοεις*) revealed (*βελπ εβολ*) this (matter) (*παι*) to Ara (*ε-απα*) Pambō, (namely) that (*κε*) she (*Ηιλια*) (*τε*) (was) a woman (*ου-ςζιμε*)' (Hil. 6: 20-22)
  - πταλιπωρος ντακρ ου τενογ ψαντκπαζτ<κ> νγοψωτ ηπδιαβολος* '(oh you) miserable person (*π-ταλιπωρος*), what (*ου*) did you do (*ντακ-ρ*) now (*τενογ*) \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_ the Devil (*η-π-διαβολος*)!' (Ac. A&P 202:121-122)
  - ντερεσβωκ ερουν ερακοτε αστ πεσογοι ζη θορμη ηπεςπ̄α* '\_\_\_\_ into (*ερουν*) Alexandria (*ε-ρακοτε*), she (*Ηιλια*) went forth (lit. gave (*λ-σ-τ*) her way (*πες-ογοι*)) (driven) by (*ζη*) the impulse (*τ-ζορμη*) of her spirit (*η-πες-π̄α*)' (Hil. 3:26-27)
  - σενηγ εβολ ζη χωρα ηημ ψαντουει νσεοψωτ επμα νταναστασις ηπψηρε ηπνουτε* 'they come (*σε-νηγ*) from (*ζη*) every (*ηημ*) country (*χωρα*) \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_ at the place (*ε-π-μα*) of the resurrection (*ν-τ-αναστασις*) of the Son (*η-π-ψηρε*) of God (*η-π-νουτε*)' (Eud. 54:9-10)

(6) ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΩΜΟΟΣ ΕΧΝ ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ  
 Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΦΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ '\_\_\_\_\_ on (ΕΧΝ) (the throne) of the  
 kingdom (ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ) of the Romans (Ν-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ), God  
 (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) was (Α ... ΦΩΠΕ) with him (ΝΜΜΑ-Φ)' (Eud. 40:1-2)

D. Complete the translation of the following Coptic examples by  
 translating the Conjunctive clauses.

- (1) ΕΙΒΗΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑΦΛΗΛ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ)  
 to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mena (Ν-ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ) \_\_\_\_\_'  
 (Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25)
- (2) ΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΓΩΒ ΖΗ ΠΕΚΜΑ ΜΑΥΑΛΑΚ 'rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ) and  
 go (ΑΜΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) \_\_\_\_\_' (Onnophr. 207:6)
- (3) ΕΝΧΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΡΗΥ ΝΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΦ  
 ΜΠΤΑΛΔΟ 'we bring (Ε-Ν-ΧΙ) him (the possessed boy) (ΜΜΟ-Φ) to  
 the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mena (Ν-ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ); perhaps  
 (ΑΡΗΥ) \_\_\_\_\_' (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8)
- (4) ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΙΟΥΩΦ ΕΤΡΕΚΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΤΑΠΩΤ ΕΤΗΠΕ  
 ΝΝΕΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ 'My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (Ε-Ι-ΟΥΩΦ) you to  
 baptize (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) me (ΜΜΟ-Ι) \_\_\_\_\_' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-  
 b:4)
- (5) †ΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΤΑΡ ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ (Pach. 147:9) 'I will go (†-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ 'man of wordly profession')
- (6) ΦΕΙ (for ΦΙ) ΝΝΕΚΒΑΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΝΚΟΛΑΣΙC 'open (ΦΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ)  
 your eyes (Ν-ΝΕΚ-ΒΑΛ) \_\_\_\_\_' (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (ΚΟΛΑΣΙC  
 'punishment')

E. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Relative  
 Present.

- (1) Α ΤΜΑΛΥ ΔΕ ΜΠΝΕΕΦ ΝΑΥ ΕΠΕCΩΗΡΕ ΕΦΝ[Η]Υ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΕΚΡΟ  
 (Ac.A&P 194:4-5)
- (2) ΝΤΕΡΕΦΟΥΩ ΔΕ ΕΦCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΙ Α ΤΑΒΟΜ ΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ (Onnophr.  
 209:25-26)
- (3) ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟΘ ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ  
 (Mena, Mir. 30b:8-12)
- (4) ΑΦΜΟΩΦΕ ΜΑΥΑΛΑΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΠΟΥ Ε[ΜΗ] ΛΑΥ ΜΟΩΦΕ  
 ΝΜΜΑΦ (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:5)

F. Translate the following text fragment.

#### SAINT PACHÔMIUS FUNERAL

ΜΗΝCΩC ΑΥΖΗΜΝΕΥΕ (read ΖΥΜΝΕΙΕ) ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ ΖΗΝΟΥΝΟΘ (for ΖΗ  
 ΟΥΝΟΘ) ΝΟΥΡΟΤ ΦΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤΦ ΕΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΕΜΤΟΝ ΖΩCΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΑ  
 ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ Ρ ΖΗΜΗΗΦΕ (for ΖΕΝΜΗΗΦΕ) ΝΖΟΥ  
 ΕΦΩΦΕ C†ΝΟΥΒΡΕ (for C†ΝΟΥΦΡΕ) ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΑΥΠΩΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΥΡΕΙΜΕ (for ΕΥΡΙΜΕ) ΑΥΑCΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΦΤΑΠΡΟ  
 ΜΗ ΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΦ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡ ΠΩΩΧΠ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ  
 ΜΗ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΤΗΡC ΕΥΩΦ ΜΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΕΘΗCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ (read  
 ΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ). ΝΤΕΡΟΥΡ ΤCΥΝΑΖΙC ΔΕ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΩΦΡΠ ΑΥΚΩΝC  
 (read ΑΥΚΩC) ΜΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ (...).  
 ΜΗΝCΩC ΑΥΦΑΛΛΕΙ ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ ΦΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤΦ ΕΠΤΟΥ ΝCΕΤΟΜCΦ  
 ΝCΟΥΜΗΝΤΗ ΜΠΕΙΕΒΟΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΑΦΟΝC ΕΛ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΚΤΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΖΗ{ΝΟΥ}ΝΟΥΝΟΘ ΝΝΟΥΩΦΦ (for ΝΟΥΩΦΦ) ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ  
 ΘΒΒΕΙΟ (for ΘΒΒΙΟ). (V. Pach. 95:9-27)

NOTES: a. ΖΗΜΝΕΥΕ 'to sing hymns' b. ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ 'the  
 place where he (Pachôm) went to rest (i.e. was buried)' (a relative clause) c.

ζωσλε 'such that' d. ψωψ εβολ 'to spread out' e. ασπαζε 'to salute, to kiss'  
 f. σωμα 'body' g. ετογλαβ 'holy' h. εγσιαστηριον 'altar' i. συναζις 'service'  
 j. φαλλει 'to sing psalms' k. ογωψα νζητ 'affliction'.

### 8.3 Moods

A. Fill in the right form of the imperative by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) (ΑΝΙ/ΕΙΝΕ) ΠΕΨΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΨΑΡΟΙ ΤΑΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑϞ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕϞΟΥΨΨ 'bring (sing. masc.) this little (ΚΟΥΙ) boy (ΠΕΙ-ΨΗΡΕ) to me (ΨΑΡΟ-Ι) so that I talk (ΤΑ-ΨΑΧΕ) with him (ΝΗΜΑ-Ϟ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) his wish (ΠΕϞ-ΟΥΨΨ)!' (KHML II 32:20-21)
- (2) (ΑΡΙ-/Ρ-) ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΘΕ Ω ΠΑΣΟΝ ΜΗΕΡΙΤ 'remember (sing. masc.) me (lit. make my remembrance (ΠΑ-ΜΕΕΥΕ)), oh (Ω) my beloved (Μ-ΜΕΡΙΤ) brother (ΠΑ-ΣΟΝ)!' (Onnophr. 209:16)
- (3) (ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ/ΑΜΟΥ) ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΧ̄Ϟ ΝΗΜΑϞ 'come (sing. masc.) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ), (may) the Lord (Π-Χ̄Ϟ) (be) with you (ΝΗΜΑ-Ϟ)!' (Onnophr. 213:4)
- (4) (ΑΜΗ/ΕΙ) ΝΤΕΝΑΥ ΕΝΑΘΙΧ ΜΗ ΠΑΣΠΙΡ 'come (sing. fem.) and look (ΝΤΕ-ΝΑΥ) at my hands (Ε-ΝΑ-ΘΙΧ) and my side!' (Eud. 52:3)
- (5) (ΝΤ-/ΑΝΙ-) ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ 'bring (sing. masc.) the soul (ΤΕ-ΨΥΧΗ) of Judas (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΣ)!' (Ac. A&P 202:113-114)
- (6) (ΒΩΚ/ΒΗΚ) ΝΗΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΖΕΘΝΟϞ [Ν]ΤΕΤΝΠΑΛΑΝΑ ΝΜΟΟΥ 'go (pl.) away (ΕΒΟΛ) under (ΖΝ) the nations (Ν-ΖΕΘΝΟϞ) and lead them (ΝΗΜΟ-ΟΥ) astray (ΝΤΕΤΝ-ΠΑΛΑΝΑ)!' (Ac. A&P 206:157-158)
- (7) ΤΕΝΧΟΕΙϞ (ΑΟΥΨΝ/ΟΥΨΝ) ΝΑΝ 'our mistress (ΤΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙϞ), open (sing. fem.) to us (ΝΑ-Ν)!' (Eud. 54:20)

B. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Jussive.

- (1) ΜΑΡΕϞΤΜΕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΝΟΕΙΚ (Test. Is. 235:26)
- (2) ΜΑΡΕϞ† ΝΝΟΥϞ ΝΑΝ (Ac. A&P 210:211-212)
- (3) ΑΚΣΕΤΗ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΜΑΡΕϞΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΜΑϞ (Test. Is. 228:9-10)
- (4) ΜΑΡΟΥϞΖΑΙ ΝΤΕϞΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΝΣΕΚΑΛϞ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ (Test. Is. 235:21)
- (5) ΜΑΡΕϞΑΖΕ ΡΑΤϞ ΝϞΧΕ ΨΟΜΗΤ ΝΣΟΠ ΝΨΑΗΛ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΑΡΑΝ (Onophr. 216:26-28)

C. Translate the following conditional sentences.

- (1) ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϞ ϞΝΑΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΠΤΑΛΘΟ ΝΤΑΨΕΕΡΕ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΤΝΨΑΗΨΑ ΝΑΣΝΗϞ (Hil. 8:12-13)
- (2) ΕΨΑΝΘΨΩΨΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑϞ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕϞϞΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΣΠΑΖΤϞ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΣΡΙΜΕ (Hil. 9:13-14)
- (3) ΕΨΑΝΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΘΙ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΜΡΩ †ΝΑϞΙΤϞ ΝΤΑΝΟΥΧϞ ΕΘΑΛΑϞϞΑ (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7)

D. Determine the contextual function of the Inferential by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) ΜΑΡΝΦΟΡΕΙ ΝΤΜΟΚΖϞ ΤΑΡΝΡ ΒΡΡΕ ΖΗ ΠΤΒΒΟ ΜΑΡΝΡ ΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΤΑΡΝΡ ΨΒΗΡ ΕΙΗϞΟΥϞ ΠΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ 'let us bear (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΦΟΡΕΙ) affliction (Ν-Τ-ΜΟΚΖϞ) and (believe me) we will become (ΤΑΡ-Ν-Ρ) new (ΒΡΡΕ) in (ΖΗ) purity (Π-ΤΒΒΟ), let us become (ΜΑΡ-Ν-Ρ) man-lovers (ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) and (trust me) we will become (ΤΑΡ-Ν-Ρ) friends (ΨΒΗΡ) with Jesus who loves mankind (Π-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Catéch. Pach. 20:17-19)

assertive-promissive

reported speech



- (2) ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΨΡΠ ΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ ΤΑΡΕΚΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΠΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ 'for (ΓΑΡ), look (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ), he already (Λ-Ο-ΨΡΠ) told (ΧΩ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) the punishment (Ν-Τ-ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ) so that you can escape (ΤΑΡΕ-Κ-Ρ ΒΟΛ) from the danger (Ε-Π-ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ)' (BHom. 21:17-18)  
 inference through reasoning       purposive
- (3) ΟΥΑΖΜΕΦ ΝΚΕΨΟ ΝΚΟΥΜΠΟΟ (for ΚΟΜΒΟΟ) ΤΑΡΕ ΠΕΙΑΝΖΟΟΙΟΟ ΖΡΟΚ ΜΜΟΦ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΜΝΤΖΑΖ ΝΨΑΧΕ 'let him (Αρα Ptolemaios) again receive (ΟΥΑΖΜΕ-Φ) another stroke (Ν-ΚΕ-ΨΟ) with the girth (Ν-ΚΟΥΜΠΟΟ) that this impious (person) (ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΖΟΟΙΟΟ) cease (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΖΡΟΚ) from (ΖΝ) his multitude (ΤΕΦ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΑΖ) of words (Ν-ΨΑΧΕ)' (KMHL II 32:1-2)  
 assertive-promissive       purposive
- (4) ΝΤΝΦΙ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ ΤΑΡΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΟ ΜΟΨΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΝ ΤΕΘΥΟΙΑ ΝΣΕΚΑΑΝ ΝΤΝΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΑΦΟΟ ΜΠΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ 'and we will offer (ΝΤ-Ν-ΦΙ) the Eucharist (Ν-ΤΕ-ΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ) so that the angels (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΟ) will come (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΜΟΨΕ) down (ΕΖΡΑΙ) with (ΜΝ) the sacrifice (ΤΕ-ΘΥΟΙΑ) and allow us (Ν-ΣΕ-ΚΑΑ-Ν) to go (ΝΤ-Ν-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the tomb (Ε-Π-ΤΑΦΟΟ) of our salvation (Ν-ΠΕΝ-ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Eud. 72:23-25)  
 assertive-promissive       inference through reasoning

## Unit 9

## Modes of negation

This Unit examines the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods discussed so far. The negative is a grammatical category used to deny the actuality of some situation or portions thereof. For the most part, negative statements are not utilised to add any new information, but rather to express denial and contradiction of a previous statement, rejecting its content either entirely or partially and convey this evaluation to the addressee. A negated clause is obtained by modifying an affirmative clause in some way. Coptic has an extensive set of negative conjugation patterns, which are formed with such diverse morphological devices as negative affixes and adverbs, auxiliary verbs, as well as specialised negative tense-aspect markers.

An overview of the negative verbal system is presented in section 9.1. The addition of a negative marker to the verb may make the entire clause negative, but it is also possible to use the same negation pattern to explicitly negate a single clausal constituent, leaving the rest of the clause outside of the scope of negation. Section 9.2 settles some general issues concerning the operation of negative scope, i.e. the different meanings associated with negative sentences. Section 9.3 deals with the double negation Ν ... ΑΝ, in which negative polarity corresponds to two distinct markers, viz. the negative prefix Ν- and the clause-internal negation adverb ΑΝ 'not'. Section 9.4 deals with negative tenses, where negative

polarity and a particular temporal, aspectual, or modal category are expressed by a single, indivisible morph. Another topic of this section concerns negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb  $\tau\mu$  'to do not'.

### 9.1 Basic strategies for negation

Negation interacts in complex ways with mood. Negative assertions can occur in any of the traditional sentence moods (declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives) and may be uttered with complete certainty or with some doubt. For this reason, the negative is generally not treated as a particular type of mood, but as an inflectional category in its own right. Coptic makes productive use of three morphologically distinct negation strategies, viz. (i) the double negation  $\mathfrak{n} \dots \mathfrak{an}$ , which involves two negative elements that together constitute a single instance of negation, e.g.  $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{t}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{an}$   $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\text{-}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}$  'I do *not* ( $\mathfrak{an}$ ) know ( $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{t}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{n}$ ) anybody ( $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}$ ) in ( $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{n}$ ) this city ( $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\text{-}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}$ )' (Hil. 4:23), (ii) specialised negative tenses, which are portmanteau realisations of negative polarity and a particular tense, aspect or mood. The Negative Perfect  $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}$ , for instance, denies the occurrence of some event in the past, e.g.  $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{a}$   $\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{y}$   $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{p}$   $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}$   $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}$   $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}$   $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{n}$   $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}$  'I *did not* place ( $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{i}\text{-}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{a}$ ) any ( $\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{y}$ ) obstacle ( $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{p}$ ) for you ( $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{h}\text{-}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{n}$ ) in front ( $\mathfrak{m}\text{-}\mathfrak{p}\text{-}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}$   $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}$ ) of God ( $\mathfrak{m}\text{-}\mathfrak{p}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}$ ) and ( $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{n}$ ) mankind ( $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}$ )' (V. Pach. 89:7-8), and (iii) the negative auxiliary verb  $\tau\mu$  'to do not', e.g.  $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{k}$  '*not to commit* ( $\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\text{-}\mathfrak{r}$ ) a sin ( $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}$ ) against the God ( $\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{p}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}$ ) who has created you ( $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\text{-}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{o}\text{-}\mathfrak{k}$ )' (V. Pach. 89: 28)

The distribution of the three basic negation strategies among different verbal tenses, aspects, and moods is shown in table 9.1 below. Each negative conjugation pattern is presented with the corresponding affirmative.

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
DOUBLE NEGATION $\mathfrak{n} \dots \mathfrak{an}$	FIRST PRESENT $\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he is hearing	NEGATIVE FIRST PRESENT $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ $\mathfrak{an}$ he is not hearing
	RELATIVE PRESENT $\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he is hearing	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PRESENT $\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ $\mathfrak{an}$ while he is not hearing
	SECOND PRESENT $\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ while he is hearing	NEGATIVE SECOND PRESENT $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ $\mathfrak{an}$ he is not hearing
	FIRST FUTURE $\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE FIRST FUTURE $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ $\mathfrak{an}$ he is not going to hear
	SECOND FUTURE $\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE SECOND FUTURE $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ $\mathfrak{an}$ he is not going to hear
	PRETERIT PRESENT $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he was hearing	NEGATIVE PRETERIT PRESENT $\mathfrak{n}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ $\mathfrak{an}$ he was not hearing
	SECOND PERFECT $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\text{-}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\text{-}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ $\mathfrak{an}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
NEGATIVE TENSES	FIRST PERFECT $\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
	SECOND PERFECT $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\text{-}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
	HABITUAL PRESENT $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{a}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}\text{-}\mathfrak{q}\text{-}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}$ he usually does not hear

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE Α-Ϛ-ΟΥΩ Ε-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ('NOT-YET') ΗΠΑΤΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ he had not yet heard, before he heard
	THIRD FUTURE Ε-Ϛ-Ε-ϚΩΤΗ he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE ΝΝΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ he shall not hear
	IMPERATIVE ϚΩΤΗ hear!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE ΗΠΡ-ϚΩΤΗ do not hear!
NEGATIVE AUXILIARY ΤΗ	CONJUNCTIVE Ν-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ and he hears	NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIVE Ν-Ϛ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ and he does not hear
	CONDITIONAL Ε-Ϛ-ΨΑΝ-ϚΩΤΗ if/when he hears	CONDITIONAL Ε-Ϛ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ, Ε-Ϛ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ if/when he does not hear
	TEMPORAL ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ after/when he had heard	NEGATIVE TEMPORAL ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ after/when he had not heard

TABLE 9.1 The negative verbal system

The negative verbal patterns listed in table 9.1 above differ systematically with respect to the morphological marking of the negative. Although negation would appear to be a simple non-decomposable concept, the primary negation strategy in Coptic is the double negative Ν- ... ΑΝ. Negative tenses, on the other hand, represent the diametrically opposite pattern, since the negative marker and the tense-aspect-mood markers have been merged to form a portmanteau morpheme. No such form-meaning mismatches apply to negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb ΤΗ 'to do not'.

## 9.2 Negative scope

The primary function of negated sentences is to deny something that has been put forward tentatively or confidently. The scope of the negation is the part of the meaning that is negated. The negative marker may have scope over every constituent in a clause. As a result, the entire content of that clause is rejected. The negative may also be more limited in scope, rebutting only part of the information that is presented. The operation of negative scope can be illustrated by way of the double negative Ν ... ΑΝ, but notice that the contrast between wide scope and narrow scope negation can also be observed in negative tenses.

### 9.2.1 Locality conditions on negative scope

The scope of negation is reflected by syntactic structure in an obvious and elementary way. In a complex sentence construction, the subordinate clause is outside the scope of matrix clause negation (clausal embedding is indicated by brackets); e.g. ΝΕϚϚΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΟΥϚΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ 'he did *not* (ΑΝ) know (ΝΕ-Ϛ-ϚΟΥΝ) [that (ΧΕ) she (ΤΕ) (was) a woman (ΟΥ-ϚΖΙΜΕ)]' (Hil. 6:14-15), ΝϚΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕϚΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟϚ ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΗΠΟΡΝΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤϚ 'he did *not* (ΑΝ) want (Ν-Ϛ-ΟΥΨ) [to hear (Ε-ϚΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟϚ) who has (lit. in whom are (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ)) also (ΡΩ) erotic (Η-ΠΟΡΝΙΑ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6), ΑΡΗΥ ΗΠϚΟΝ ΤΗΤ ΝΖΗΤ ΑΝ ΕΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΝ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) the brother (Π-ϚΟΝ) does *not* (ΑΝ) agree (lit. be persuaded (Ν- ... ΤΗΤ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) [to talk (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) to us (ΝΗΜΑ-Ν)]' (AP Chaîne no. 238, 70:21).

Due to the clause-bound character of negative scope, negative marking must be added to the embedded clause to express its negative polarity, e.g. †ΠΙϚΤΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ[ΟΒΨϚ] ΑΝ ΕΡΟΝ 'I believe (†-ΠΙϚΤΕΥΕ) [that (ΧΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) will *not* (ΑΝ) forget (ΝΑ-ΟΒΨ-Ϛ) about us (ΕΡΟ-Ν)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14). In this example, the negative is located within the clause functioning as the complement to the matrix verb ΠΙϚΤΕΥΕ 'to believe'. It is generally the case that a negative in one clause does not have scope over another clause that it is coordinated with, e.g. ΨΑΡΕ ΠΑΙ Ρ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΝΟΒΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝϚΡ ΖΩΒ ΑΝ 'how many (ΟΥΗΡ) sins

(*Ν-ΝΟΒΕ*) does this one (*ΠΑΙ*) commit (*ΨΑΡΕ ... Ρ*) and (*ΟΥΔΕ*) he does *not* (*ΑΝ*) (even) work (*Ν-Γ-Ρ ΖΩΒ*)!' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:25-26).

### 9.2.2 Wide scope

When negation has wide scope over an entire clause, its function is to deny that some condition or state holds true without specifying the grounds, e.g. *ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ Ρ ΧΡΙΑ ΑΝ* 'the brothers (*ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ*) do *not* (*ΑΝ*) need (lit. *make* (*Ν- ... Ρ*) need (*ΧΡΙΑ*)) (it) (i.e. the money)' (AP Elanskaya 16b:6-7), *ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕΓCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΗΝΤΟΥΕΙΕΙΝΙΝ* 'the senior monk (*Π-ΖΑΛΟ*) did *not* (*ΑΝ*) know (*ΝΕ-Γ-CΟΟΥΝ*) Greek (*Μ-ΜΗΤ-ΟΥΕΙΕΙΝΙΝ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:23-24), *ΖΩC ΝΤCΡΟΒΤ ΑΝ* 'since (*ΖΩC*) I am *not* (*ΑΝ*) at leisure (*Ν-Τ-CΡΟΒΤ*)' (AP Elanskaya 24a:16).

Negative descriptions of events are generally interpreted relative to a rich context, providing some background information why a particular course of action was not taken. Against such an explanatory background, negative statements become salient and informative, e.g. *ΑΡΗΥ ΑΓΜΟΥ ΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΦΝΑΕΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΖΑ ΝΒΑCΑΝΟC* 'perhaps (*ΑΡΗΥ*) he (Ara Ptolemaios) died (*Α-Γ-ΜΟΥ*): since (*ΓΑΡ*) he (*ΠΕ*) (is) noble (*ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ*), he would *not* (*ΑΝ*) be able to bear (*Ν-Γ-ΝΑ-ΕΨ-ΤΩΟΥΝ*) the tortures (*Ν-ΒΑCΑΝΟC*)' (KHM L II 34:6-7), [*ΝΖΟC*] *Ν ΑΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΠΕΚΝΟΒΕ [ΑΝΟ]Κ [ΖΩ] ΝΤΝΑΖΟΠΤ ΕΡΟΚ [ΑΝ]* 'since (*ΝΖΟCΟΝ*) you have confessed (*Α-Κ-ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ*) your sin (*Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΝΟΒΕ*), I (*ΑΝΟΚ*), on my part (*ΖΩ*), will *not* (*ΑΝ*) hide myself (*Ν-Τ-ΝΑ-ΖΟΠ-Τ*) from you (*ΕΡΟ-Κ*)' (Mena, Mir. 16a:3-7), *ΝΓΤCΟ ΑΝ ΖΩΛΟC* (for *ΖΟΛΩC*) *ΦΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ* 'he (the pagan commander) does *not* (*ΑΝ*) spare (*Ν-Γ-Τ CΟ*) (anybody) at all (*ΖΩΛΟC*), as (*ΓΑΡ*) he locks up (*Φ-ΩΠΕ*) everybody (*Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ*) in prison' (KMH L II 29:13-14), *ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΑCΩΤΗ ΝCΩΦ ΕΝΕCCOΥΩΝ ΑΝ ΜΠΗΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΝΕCΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΦΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΜΜΑC ΝΟΥΜΕΤΜΑΙΡΩΝΕ* 'she (the woman pilgrim) (*ΝΤΟC*) listened (*ΑC-CΩΤΗ*) to him (the landlord) (*ΝCΩ-Φ*), *not* (*ΑΝ*) knowing (*Ε-ΝΕ-C-CΟΥΩΝ*) his intentions (lit. the thought (*Μ-Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ*) of his heart (*Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΖΗΤ*)), since (*ΓΑΡ*) she thought

(*ΝΕ-C-ΜΕΕΥΕ*) that (*ΧΕ*) he was doing (*Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ*) her (*ΝΜΜΑ-C*) a favour (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΕΤ-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ*)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:7-14).

In contradictions, negation signifies a person's mental act of denying, rejecting or rebutting a statement that is actually made or envisioned as being made by someone, e.g. *ΚCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΑΚΡ ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΡ ΚΕΟΥΗΗΡ* 'you know (*Κ-CΟΟΥΝ*) how many (*ΟΥΗΗΡ*) years (*Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ*) you lived (lit. made (*Α-Κ-Ρ*)) so far (*ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ*), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) you do *not* (*ΑΝ*) know (*Ν-Γ-CΟΟΥΝ*) how many other (years) (*ΚΕ-ΟΥΗΗΡ*) you will live (*Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ*)' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), *ΝΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ* (read *ΝΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ*) *ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ* (read *ΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ*) *ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ* 'you shall *not* (*ΑΝ*) die (*Ν-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ*), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) you will become (*ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ*) like (*ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ*) gods (*Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ*)' (Abbatôn 237:17-18), *ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΝΤΝΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΜΜΑΚ* 'and (*ΟΥΔΕ*) we (*ΑΝΟΝ*), too (*ΖΩΩ-Ν*), will *not* (*ΑΝ*) run away (*Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ*), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) (rather) die (*ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ*) together with you (*ΝΜΜΑ-Κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:9-10).

### 9.2.3 Narrow scope

The negative is not always semantically sentential, but may have narrow scope relative to a single constituent. In this case, negation applies to the asserted or focused portion of the sentence, leaving the presupposed or backgrounded portions outside of its scope. As a result, only specific aspects of the event in question are denied, thus tacitly allowing that some event of that kind did actually take place or will do so in the future, e.g. *ΚΥΡΗΝ* (read *ΚΥΡΙΕ*) *CΤΡΑΤΗΛΛΑΤΗC ΝΕΝΒΗΚ ΑΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ* 'Lord (*ΚΥΡΗΝ*) knight (*CΤΡΑΤΗΛΛΑΤΗC*), we are *not* (*ΑΝ*) on our way (*Ν-Ε-Ν-ΒΗΚ*) to that (*ΕΤΜΜΑΥ*) place (*Ε-Π-ΜΑ*) (i.e. Alexandria)' (Hil. 3:22) (meaning: *we are about to leave, but not to Alexandria*).

The focus of negation corresponds to the contrastively stressed focus brought into play by the Greek conjunction *ΑΛΛΑ* 'but', *ΝΝΕΨΑΥΤΑΖΕ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΖΗ ΠΨΑΧΕ Η ΖΗ ΠΡΑΝ (...)* *ΑΛΛΑ ΖΗ ΟΥCΘΟΜ ΜΠΙCΤΙC* 'since (*ΓΑΡ*) they did *not* (*ΑΝ*) reach (*Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-ΤΑΖΕ*) the heavenly (*Ν-Μ-ΠΗΥΕ*) kingdom (*Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΕΡΟ*) by virtue of (*ΖΗ*) talk (lit. the word (*Π-ΨΑΧΕ*)) or (*Η*) a (good) reputation (*Π-ΡΑΝ*) (...), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*)

(rather) by virtue of (2N) strong (ΟΥ-ΘΟΜ) faith (Μ-ΠΙΣΤΙC)' (*Pères apost.* 35:9-12), ΝΝΕΦΜΟΚΖ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΙCΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΛΑC ΝΑC ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΤΑΤΖΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤC 'he (Pachôm) was not (ΑΝ) *grieved* (Ν-ΝΕ-Φ-ΜΟΚΖ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the suffering (Π-ΖΙCΕ) that they (the brothers) caused (ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΛΑ-C) him (ΝΑ-C), but (ΑΛΛΑ) (rather) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the impudence (Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΑΤ-ΖΟΤΕ) in which they persisted (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ)' (V. Pach. 6:12-14).

### 9.3 The double negation N- ... ΑΝ

The syntactically discontinuous negation N- ... ΑΝ involves the clause-initial particle N- and the clause-internal negation adverb ΑΝ 'not', both of which turn a positive clause into a negative one. Both negative markers display some degree of variation in linear order, which can be related to both the scope of negation and to syntactic constraints on enclitic function words and particles.

#### 9.3.1 The negative scope definer N-

The clause-initial particle N- (assimilated form Μ-) functions as a negative scope definer that assists in the accurate identification of negated sentences, e.g. ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΝΤΕΝΝΑΡΩΚΖ ΑΝ ΖΕΝ (for ΖΝ) ΤΕΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΗΠ̄Ν̄ΙΚΟ̄Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΤ̄ ΚΒΟ ΝΝΦΥΧΗ 'how (lit. in what (kind) (Ν-ΑΨ) of manner (Ν-ΖΕ)) *could we not* (ΑΝ) *be inflamed* (Ν-ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΡΩΚΖ) with (ΖΕΝ) this spiritual (Μ-Π̄Ν̄ΙΚΟ̄Ν) desire (ΤΕΙ-ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ) for the remedies (Ε-ΝΕ-ΠΑΖΡΕ) that give (ΕΤ-†) solace (ΚΒΟ) to the souls (Ν-Ν-ΦΥΧΗ)?' (Hil. 1:20-21), ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΦΛΟ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΨΑ ΘΑΗ 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) *does not* (ΑΝ) *want* (Μ- ... ΟΥΨ) it (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΛΟ) this place (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) until (ΨΑ) the end (ΘΑΗ < Τ-ΖΑΗ)' (Eud. 76:18).

In clauses containing a Preterit or Second Tense form, the negative scope definer N- is attached to the Preterit auxiliary ΝΕ(ΡΕ)- and the relative marker Ε(ΡΕ)-, e.g. ΝΝΕΦΜΟΚΖ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΙCΕ (...) 'he (Pachôm) was not (ΑΝ) *sad* (Ν-ΝΕ-Φ-ΜΟΚΖ) because (ΕΤΒΕ) of the

suffering (Π-ΖΙCΕ) (...) (V. Pach. 6:12-13), ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΦΙΤC ΝΖΗΤ ΖΝ ΟΥΘΟΡΟC ΝΚΡΟC ΝΕΥΝΑΦΙΤC ΝΑΚ ΑΝ 'the light (Π-ΟΥΘΕΙΝ) that will be taken (lit. that they will take away (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΑ-ΦΙΤ-C)) from me (ΝΖΗΤ) in (ΖΝ) a guileful (Ν-ΚΡΟC) ambush (ΟΥ-ΘΟΡΟC), *it will not* (ΑΝ) *be brought* (Ν-Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-C) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)' (Pist. Soph. 100:1-2).

The reverse order obtains in the context of relative embedding, where the negative prefix N- always follows the subordinating relative marker that introduces the relativised clause, e.g. ΠΠΑΝΤΥΚΙΜΕΝΟC (read ΠΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟC) ΕΤ̄ ΝΗΜΑΥ ΕΤΡΕΦΠΥΡΑΖΕ (for ΕΤΡΕΦΠΕΙΡΑΖΕ) ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΝΦΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΨΩ ΖΝ ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC (for ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC) 'the Adversary (Π-ΑΝΤΥΚΙΜΕΝΟC), who is fighting (ΕΤ-†) with them (the hermits) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) to lead them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) into temptation (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΠΥΡΑΖΕ) with them (i.e. the grievances) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), not (ΑΝ) *wishing* (Ε-Ν-Φ-ΟΥΨ) for them to stay (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΨΩ) in (ΖΝ) the solitude (Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC)' (Onnophr. 211:16-18).

	NEGATIVE PARTICLE	RELATIVE MARKER	SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB	NEGATION ADVERB
NEGATIVE SECOND TENSE	N- NEG	Ε-	-Υ- <i>they</i>	ΝΑ-ΝΤ-C will-bring-it	ΑΝ NOT
	RELATIVE MARKER	NEGATIVE PARTICLE	SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB	NEGATION ADVERB
NEGATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE	Ε- while	N- NEG	-C- he	ΟΥΨ want	ΑΝ NOT

FIGURE 9.1 Variable positions of the negative scope definer N-

The negative scope definer N- may be elided. When this happens, the negation adverb ΑΝ 'not' becomes the sole carrier of negative polarity, e.g. ΦCΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ ΑΝ ΝΗΚΕΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΤΖΙΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΨΑΥΕΙ ΨΑΡΟC ΕΘΗ ΠΨΙΝΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ 'he (the abbot) *did not* (ΑΝ) *permit* (C-ΦΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ) the other monks (Ν-Ν-ΚΕ-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) from outside (ΕΤ-ΖΙΒΟΛ), who came (ΕΤΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-ΕΙ) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-C) to visit (Ε-ΘΗ Π-ΨΙΝΕ) the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ)' (V. Pach. 138:16-18), ΝΤΟΚ ΚΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ 'would you (ΝΤΟΚ) not (ΑΝ) *run away* (Κ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 186, 46:6), ΝΕΦΟΥΗΥ ΑΝ

ημοϩ πε 'he (Pachôm's brother) was not (αν) far away (νε-ϩ-οϩηϩ) from him (Pachôm) (ημο-ϩ)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

### 9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb αν

The negation adverb αν 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

#### a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb αν to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. ετβε οϩ †ναϩεπ ϩιϩε αν οϩεϩ (read: νοϩεϩ) νοϩϩ 'why (ετβε οϩ) can I not (αν) suffer (lit. receive (†-να-ϩεπ) suffering (ϩιϩε)) without (οϩεϩ) getting angry (νοϩϩ)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), ντννακαακ αν εει εϩοϩν ετενπολιϩ ετβε πειραν χε ιϩ 'we will not (αν) allow you (ν-τν-να-καα-κ) to come (ε-ει) into (εϩοϩν) our city (ε-τεν-πολιϩ) because of (ετβε) this (disgraceful) name (πει-ραν) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, αν occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ν†ϩοοϩν αν νρωμε ϩν τειπολιϩ 'I do not (αν) know (ν-†-ϩοοϩν) anybody (ν-ρωμε) in (ϩν) this city (τει-πολιϩ)' (Hil. 4:23), ντεϩινε αν νκα παμαρτυριον ' (why) do you (woman) not (αν) look (ν-τε-ϩινε) for (νκα) my tomb (πα-μαρτυριον)?' (Eud. 58:5).

#### b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb αν comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. ν†να† ϩϩε εϩϩοϩε νακ αν 'I will not (αν) burden (lit. give (ν-†-να-†)) you (να-κ) (with) a difficult (ε-ϩ-ϩοϩε) job (ϩϩε)' (KHML II 33:14-15), ημον πνοϩτε ννεϩριϩτιανοϩ ναννεχε ημοκ αν ντειϩε ϩαβολ 'if not (ημον), the God (π-νοϩτε) of the Christians (ν-νε-ϩριϩτιανοϩ) will not (αν) tolerate (να-αννεχε) you (ημο-κ) in this manner (ν-τει-ϩε) forever (ϩα-βολ)' (Eud. 38:13-14), αλλα νειναϩ εροοϩ αν πε 'but (αλλα) I could not (αν) see (νε-ι-ναϩ) them (ερο-οϩ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), νεϩνατνναϩ (read νεϩνατννοοϩ)

ϩαροι αν πε 'he (Ara Poimên) would not (αν) have sent (a message) (νε-ϩ-να-τνναϩ) to me (ϩαρο-ι)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

#### c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial αν is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. νεϩϩοοϩν δε αν χε οϩϩιμε τε 'he did not (αν) know (νε-ϩ-ϩοοϩν) that (χε) she (τε) (was) a woman (οϩ-ϩιμε)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ννεϩαϩταϩε τνντερο γαρ αν νμηϩε ϩν πϩαχε η ϩν πραν (...) 'since (γαρ) they did not (αν) reach (ν-νε-ϩα-ϩταϩε) the heavenly (ν-η-μηϩε) kingdom (τ-μητ-ερο) by virtue of (ϩν) talk (lit. the word (π-ϩαχε)) or (η) a (good) reputation (π-ραν)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

## 9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal η- or ν-. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous ν- ... αν pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb τν 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-σωτη he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-σωτη he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT α-q-σωτη he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT ηπε-q-σωτη he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT ητ-α-q-σωτη he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ετε-ηπε-q-σωτη he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-σωτη he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-σωτη he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE α-q-ουω ε-q-σωτη he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ηπατε-q-σωτη he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ε-q-ε-σωτη he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE νηε-q-σωτη he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE σωτη listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE ηπρ-σωτη do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

### 9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultaneously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual με-q-σωτη 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ψα-q-σωτη 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ουρωμε νσοφος μεqνεx [ψαξε] νημ εβολ zιναι αλλα ψαq† zτηq ε[νετσω]τη εροογ 'a wise (ν-σοφος) man (ου-ρωμε) does not throw (με-q-νεx) away (εβολ) every (νημ) word

(ψαξε) like that (zιναι) but (αλλα) focuses (ψα-q-†) his attention (zτη-q) towards those who listen (ε-ν-ετ-σωτη) to them (ερο-ογ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

#### 9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional paradigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	με-ι-σωτη	ε-με-ι-σωτη	νε-με-ι-σωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	με-κ-σωτη	ε-με-κ-σωτη	νε-με-κ-σωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	μερε-σωτη	ε-μερε-σωτη	νε-μερε-σωτη
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	με-q-σωτη	ε-με-q-σωτη	νε-με-q-σωτη
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	με-σ-σωτη	ε-με-σ-σωτη	νε-με-σ-σωτη
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	με-ν-σωτη	ε-με-ν-σωτη	νε-με-ν-σωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	με-τετη- σωτη	ε-με-τετη- σωτη	νε-με-τετη- σωτη
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	με-γ-σωτη	ε-με-γ-σωτη	νε-με-γ-σωτη
before noun	μερε πρωμε σωτη	ε-μερε πρωμε σωτη	νε-μερε πρωμε σωτη

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

#### 9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ερωαν ογα ναγ εροq μεqzναq επ ουω ουδε εχιτq εzοyn ετεqρι 'whenever someone (ογα) saw (ερωαν ... ναγ) him (the brother) (ερο-q) he did not want (με-q-zνα-q) to reply (lit. to make (ε-ρ) reply (ουω)) and (ουδε) to take him (ε-χιτ-q) into (εzοyn) his cell (ε-τεq-ρι)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:21-22), ντοq δε zωωq νεμεqτωβε ναγ λαγ αλλα νεψαqzρω ηzητ εzραι εxωογ zη

ΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ 'he (Pachôm (ΝΤΟΘ), however (ΖΩΘ-Θ), *did not take revenge* (ΝΕ-ΜΕ-Θ-ΤΩΘΕ) against them (the brothers) (ΝΑ-Υ) in any way (ΛΑΛΥ), but (instead) he was patient (ΝΕ-ΦΑ-Θ-ΖΡΟΦ) with them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) indulgence (Μ-ΜΗΤ-ΖΑΡΩ-ΖΗΤ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

#### a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ΕΣΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΙΩΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΤΟΥΟΧ ΕΨΩΝΕ ΜΕΛΙΤΙ 'when (Ε-Σ-ΩΠΕ) I observe (Ε-Ι-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) I am cured (Τ-ΟΥΟΧ) from illness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ), *I will not accept it* (the donkey) (ΜΕ-Ι-ΧΙΤ-Θ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΛΟ ΕΦΘΟΡΘ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΑ ΠΕΦΖΑΕ ΝΝΙΦΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΘ) *does not cease* (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΛΟ) waylaying (Ε-Θ-ΘΟΡΘ) man (Ε-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) until (ΨΑ) his last (ΠΕΦ-ΖΑΕ) breath (Ν-ΝΙΦΕ)' (ΚΗΜΛ II 48:7-9), ΜΕΓΑΝΙΧΕ (for ΜΕΓΑΝΕΧΕ) ΡΨΑΧΕ (read ΕΨΑΧΕ) ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡΘ 'they (the monks) *usually do not bear* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΑΝΙΧΕ) to speak (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) with them (women) (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΘ)' (Hil. 10:18).

#### b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ΜΕ-Θ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤΣΩ ΜΕΦΖΑΡΖ ΕΥΨΑΧΕ Μ[ΜΥΣ]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the imprudent (Ν-ΑΤ-ΣΩ) person (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ): *he does not keep* (ΜΕ-Θ-ΖΑΡΕΖ) a secret (lit. a secret (Μ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) word (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙΘ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΜΠΑΘΟΘ ΕΝΕΖ 'he (ΠΑΙ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ) *will not manage* to ever (ΕΝΕΖ) master (ΜΕΡΕ ... (ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙΘ) any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (ΠΑΘΟΘ)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9), ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥΠΕΖΤ ΣΟΘΝ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΣΑΠΕ ΕΣΖΗ ΠΕΣΝΟΘ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) they *do not pour* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΠΕΖΤ) ointment (ΣΟΘΝ) on (ΕΧΝ) her (the girl's) head (ΤΕΣ-ΑΠΕ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (Ε-Σ-ΖΗ) the blood (ΠΕ-ΣΝΟΘ))' (Sh. Zoega 589:20-21).

#### c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual Ε-ΜΕ-Θ-ΣΩΤΗ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ΝΕΥΘ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ ΕΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΟΟΘ ΕΝΕΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Θ) as one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) heart (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΜΗ) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) all (ΝΙΜ) things (ΝΚΑ) were (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΨΟΟΠ) in common (ΖΙ-ΟΥ-ΣΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) and *no one* (ΛΑΛΥ) *said* (Ε-ΜΕΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-Σ) about what belonged (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) »they (ΝΕ) (are) mine (ΝΟΥΙ)!«' (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ ΝΣΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΜΕΦΧΩΖ ΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΘ ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑΦΡΩΚΖ ΝΝΡΕΦΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) an intelligent (Ν-ΣΑΒΕ) blaze (ΟΥ-ΚΩΖΤ) (is) that one (Π-ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. the burning river) *in not touching* (Ε-ΜΕ-Θ-ΧΩΖ) the righteous ones (Ε-Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΘ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) burning (ΨΑ-Θ-ΡΩΚΖ) the sinners (Ν-Ν-ΡΕΦ-ΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

### 9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ΗΠΕ-Θ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect Α-Θ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he heard', e.g. ΑΦΑΑΝ ΝΧΟΕΙΘ ΕΧΝ ΣΟΜ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΗΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΑΘ 'he (Christ) made us (Α-Θ-ΑΑ-Ν) masters (Ν-ΧΟΕΙΘ) over (ΕΧΝ) all (ΝΙΜ) powers (ΣΟΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) (yet) *no one* (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) *has dared* (ΗΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have done (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΑ-Θ)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

#### 9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ΗΠΕ-Θ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect Ε-ΜΠ(Ε)-Θ-ΣΩΤΗ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to



the reduction of the relative marker  $\epsilon$ -, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as  $\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$ , which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	$\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	$\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	$\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	$\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	$\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	$\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	$\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	$\text{Ἦπ}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
Before noun	$\text{Ἦπε}\ \rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\ \sigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπ}(\epsilon)\ \rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\ \sigma\omega\tau\mu$

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

#### 9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g.  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\ \epsilon\chi\eta\ \omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\ \eta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\ \eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\ \zeta\eta\ \zeta\alpha\tau\ (\dots)\ \epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\psi\omega\eta\epsilon\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\ \pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$  'why ( $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma$ ) do you (woman) sleep ( $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ) on ( $\epsilon\chi\eta$ ) a couch (lit. a sleeping ( $\eta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ) place ( $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha$ )) of gold ( $\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta$ ) and ( $\zeta\eta$ ) silver ( $\zeta\alpha\tau$ ) and did not look ( $\epsilon\text{-}\text{Ἦπε}\text{-}\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$ ) for ( $\eta\varsigma\alpha$ ) the place ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ) of my resurrection ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\lambda\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ )?' (Eud. 50:23-25).

##### a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterepectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g.  $\text{Ἦσαν}\ \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \eta\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \tau\eta\omicron\gamma\ \eta\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau\iota\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\eta\omicron\pi\omicron$  'they (the Persians) did not again (lit. they did not place ( $\text{Ἦπ}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta$ ) their hands ( $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ )) raise up ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$ ) against ( $\epsilon\chi\eta$ ) the country ( $\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$ ) in all ( $\tau\eta\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma$ ) the days ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ) of King ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\eta\omicron$ ) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19),  $\text{Ἦπει}\kappa\alpha\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\ \eta\chi\omicron\pi\ \eta\eta\tau\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\iota\ \text{Ἦπ}\eta\mu\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \text{Ἦπ}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \text{Ἦ}\eta\ \eta\eta\omega\mu\epsilon$  'I did not place ( $\text{Ἦπε}\text{-}\iota\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ ) any ( $\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$ ) obstacle ( $\eta\text{-}\chi\omicron\pi$ ) for you ( $\eta\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$ ) in front ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ) of God ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) nor ( $\text{Ἦ}\eta$ ) mankind ( $\eta\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ )' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).

##### b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by  $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$  'but', e.g.  $\text{Ἦπει}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\mu\alpha\ \eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\ (\text{for}\ \eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha)\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta\ (\dots)\ \epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\ \eta\tau\epsilon\varrho\phi\gamma\chi\eta$  'I never ( $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta$ ) reprimanded ( $\text{Ἦπ}\text{-}\epsilon\iota\text{-}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\mu\alpha$ ) anyone ( $\eta\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$ ) of you ( $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$ ) (...) except ( $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau$ ) for ( $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ ) the salvation ( $\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ ) of his soul ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\phi\gamma\chi\eta$ )' (V. Pach. 89:17-19),  $\text{Ἦπ}\omega\eta\ \pi\alpha\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\ \text{Ἦπ}\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\phi\kappa\ \gamma\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\ \eta\tau\alpha\ \pi\lambda\bar{\alpha}\tau\ \tau\omicron\psi\kappa\ \epsilon\gamma\sigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\ \eta\eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta\ \epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \zeta\eta\ \pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$  'No ( $\text{Ἦπ}\omega\eta$ ), my son ( $\pi\alpha\text{-}\psi\eta\eta\epsilon$ )! For ( $\gamma\alpha\eta$ ) you have not been destined (lit. they have not destined you ( $\text{Ἦπ}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\tau\omicron\psi\text{-}\kappa$ ) for this career ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$ ), but ( $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$ ) the Lord ( $\pi\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\tau$ ) has appointed you ( $\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\ \dots\ \tau\omicron\psi\text{-}\kappa$ ) as a comfort ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\sigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma$ ) for the holy ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ ) brothers ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ ) who live ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ ) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) the desert ( $\pi\text{-}\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ )' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

##### a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g.  $\text{ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΛΦΟΥΟΤΒΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΤΗΡΦ ΕΜΠΝΕΙΜΕ}$  'how (N- $\lambda\psi$  N- $\eta\epsilon$ ) did the Lord (Π- $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) of the universe (M-Π- $\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\varphi$ ) pass by us (λ- $\varphi$ - $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\nu$ ) *without us noticing* (ε- $\mu\pi\text{-}\nu\text{-}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ )?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6),  $\text{ΑΦΝΚΟΤΚ ΑΦΩΝΕ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΜ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΦΩ}$  'one day (N- $\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ ) he (the sick child) lay down (λ- $\varphi$ - $\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ) sick (λ- $\varphi$ - $\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) (and) *did not eat* (MΠε- $\varphi$ - $\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu$ ) *nor drink* (MΠε- $\varphi$ - $\omega$ )' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

#### 9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a)  $\text{ΕΤ(Ε)-ΜΠ(Ε)-\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu}$  'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The  $\text{ΕΤ(Ε)-ΜΠ(Ε)-\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu}$  pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g.  $\text{ΤΑΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΙΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤ}$  'and I see (T- $\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ ) whether (Xε) he (the eagle) *did not come* (εT- $\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) down (εΠεCΗT) because of you (εTβΗΗT- $\kappa$ ), if (εΨΩΠε) not (MΜΟΝ), then (εΙε) because of me (εTβΗΗT)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1),  $\text{ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΠCΟΝ ΨΟCΗ ΕΡΟΚ}$  'thus (οΥΚΟΥΝ), he (the eagle) *did not come* (εT- $\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) down (εΠεCΗT) because of you (εTβΗΗT- $\kappa$ ), because (εTβε Χε) the brother (Π- $\varsigma\omicron\mu$ ) is angry (ΨΟCΗ) with you (εΡΟ- $\kappa$ )' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6),  $\text{ΕΤΕΜΠΕΧΩΖΗ ΖΝ ΛΨ ΜΜΑ}$  'in (ΖΝ) what (ΛΨ) place (M- $\mu\alpha$ ) *have you* (woman) *not been defiled* (εTε- $\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omega\zeta\eta$ )?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b)  $\text{ΝΤ-Α-\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu \text{ ΑΝ}}$  'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The  $\text{ΝΤ-Α-\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu \text{ ΑΝ}}$  pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g.  $\text{ΝΤΑ ΠΑΙ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΗΗΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΛΛΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΧΗΡΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΡΦΑΝΟC Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΙΖΩΒ}$  'this (ΠΑΙ) *did not* (ΑΝ) *happen* (ΝΤ-Α ...  $\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$ ) for my sake (εTβΗΗT), since (ΓΑΡ) (as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a nobody (οΥ- $\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) for the sake of (εTβε) the widow (Tε- $\chi\eta\rho\alpha$ ) and (MΝ) these orphans (ΝΕΙ-οΡΦΑΝΟC) had God

(Π- $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) done (λ ... εΙΡε) this thing (M-ΠΕΙ- $\zeta\omega\beta$ )' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33),  $\text{ΝΤΑΙΝΤΦ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΛΛΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΟΥΧΑΙ}$  'I *have not* (ΑΝ) *brought it* (the wheat) (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΝΤ- $\varphi$ ) because of (εTβε) anything (οΥ- $\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ ) but (ΑΛΛΑ) my salvation (ΠΑ-οΥΧΑΙ)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

#### 9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect  $\text{ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)-\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu}$  'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g.  $\text{ΜΠΑΤΕΚΡ ΑΞΙΟC ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ}$  'you *have not yet become* (MΠΑTe- $\kappa\text{-}\rho$ ) worthy (ΑΞΙΟC) to talk (N- $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) to him (Jesus Christ) (NΜΜΑ- $\varphi$ )' (KHML II 30:21-22).

##### 9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the  $\text{ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)-\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu}$  'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ΜΠΑΤ- $\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤ- $\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ΜΠΑΤε- $\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤε- $\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\nu\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\nu\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)- $\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ΜΠΑΤ-οΥ- $\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤ-οΥ- $\omega\tau\mu$
Before noun	ΜΠΑΤε ΠΡΩΜε $\omega\tau\mu$	ε-ΜΠΑΤε ΠΡΩΜε $\omega\tau\mu$

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

### 9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. *ΜΠΑΤΠΩΖ ΕΝΕΙΨΙ ΝΤΕΙΔΟΤ ΕΤΡΑΧΙ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΜΑΝΩΨΠΕ* 'I have not yet reached (*ΜΠΑΤ-ΠΩΖ*) such (*Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΔΟΤ*) heights (*Ε-ΝΕΙ-ΨΙ*) to take (*Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΧΙ*) a woman (*ΣΖΙΜΕ*) into (*ΕΖΟΥΝ*) my residence (*Ε-ΠΑ-ΜΑ-Ν-ΨΩΠΕ*)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

#### a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΝΤΕ ΜΠΑΤΟΥΩΝ ΗΝΟΣ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ* 'and (*ΑΥΩ*) look (*ΕΙΣ ΖΗΝΤΕ*), I have not yet opened (*ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥΩΝ*) it (the sack with gold), my lord (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ*)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), *ΕΝΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΨΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΖΗ ΚΗΜΕ ΝΒΙ ΜΗΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΩΨ* 'since (*ΓΑΡ*) (there) were not yet (*Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΨΠΕ*) many (*ΕΤ-ΩΨ*) monasteries (*Μ-ΜΗΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ*) in (*ΖΗ*) Egypt (*ΚΗΜΕ*)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΕΜΠΑΤΑΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ* 'but he (*ΝΤΟΦ*), the king (*Π-ΡΡΟ*), had not yet received (*ΝΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-Α-ΧΙ*) baptism (*ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ*)' (Eud. 42:1), *ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΕΙΩΡΖ ΜΗΜΤΟΝ ΕΤΗΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΡΟΦ* 'because (*ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ*) you have not yet perceived (*ΜΠΑΤΕ-Κ-ΕΙΩΡΖ*) the peace (*Μ-Π-ΗΤΟΝ*) that we are hoping (*ΕΤ-Ν-ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ*) for (*ΕΡΟ-Φ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

#### b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the *ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ* no longer holds, e.g. *ΕΙΟΥΨΩ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΤΑΣΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΤΜΟΥ* 'I want

(*Ε-Ι-ΟΥΨΩ*) to see (*Ε-ΝΑΥ*) my sister (*Ε-ΤΑ-ΣΩΝΕ*) before I die (*ΜΠΑΤ-ΜΟΥ*)' (KHML I 75:20-21), *ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΕΝΠΑΤΟΥΚΩΛΖ* 'and (*ΟΥΤΕ*) they (the brothers) shall not go (*ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ*) in (*ΕΖΟΥΝ*) (and) out (*ΕΒΟΛ*) from (*ΖΗ*) the village (*Π-ΤΗΜΕ*) before they ring (the bell) (*Ε-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΛΖ*)' (praec. Pach. 90), *ΤΕΚΖΗΖΑΛ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ ΤΕΤΟΥΨΩ ΕΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ ΗΠΑΤΕ ΠΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ ΧΩΛΗ* 'your servant (*ΤΕΚ-ΖΗΖΑΛ*) Eudoxia wants (*ΕΤ-ΟΥΨΩ*) to come (*Ε-ΕΙ*) inside (*ΕΖΟΥΝ*) to your welcome (*Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ*) before the palace (*Π-ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ*) gets busy (*ΗΠΑΤΕ ... ΧΩΛΗ*)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

### 9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future *ΝΝΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ* 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future *Ε-Φ-Ε-ΣΩΤΗ* 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΝΕΚΟΥΩΜΦ ΕΚΕΟΥΩΜ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΝΟΥΣΟΥ ΝΑΚ* 'and (*ΑΥΩ*) (the food) that you might desire (*Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ*) for (*ΕΡΟ-Φ*), you shall not eat (*ΝΝΕ-Κ-ΟΥΟΜ-Φ*), you should (rather) eat (*Ε-ΚΕ-ΟΥΩΜ*) what God has sent (*Ν-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΗΝΝΟΥΣ-ΟΥ*) you (*ΝΑ-Κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

#### 9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future *ΝΝΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ* 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, *ΝΝΑ-* represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant *ΝΝΕ-Ι-* represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

## NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	NNA-CΩTM (rarely NNE-I-CΩTM)	NNE-N-CΩTM
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	NNE-K-CΩTM	NNE-TN-CΩTM
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	NNE-CΩTM	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	NNE-Q-CΩTM	NNE-Υ-CΩTM
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	NNE-C-CΩTM	
Before noun	NNE ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTM	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

## 9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. NNEKPIKE OYΔE NNEKZE AΛA EKNAATE MΦWB NTAKZI TOOTK EPOT 'you will not go astray (NNE-K-PIKE) or (OYΔE) fall (NNE-K-ZE), but (AΛA) you will succeed (E-K-NA-MATE) in the work (MΦWB < M-Π-ZWB) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (NT-A-K-ZI) your hand (TOOT-K) on (EPOT-Q))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

## a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. NNE AΛAY NPΩME OYH NKA NTEQPI 'no man (AΛAY NPΩME) shall eat (NNE ... OYHM) anything (NKA) in his cell (N-TEQ-PI)' (praec. Pach. 114), NNE AΛAY ΨAXE MN NEΦEPHY ZM ΠKAKE 'no one (AΛAY) shall talk (NNE ... ΨAXE) with (MN) one another (NEQ-EPHY) in (ZM) the dark (Π-KAKE)' (praec. Pach. 94), NNEKZOTB NTCHBE (for NTCHQE) NNEKZOTB ON ZM ΠAAC 'you shall not kill (NNE-K-ZOTB) neither with the sword (N-T-CHBE) nor (ON) with (ZM) the tongue (Π-AAC)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), NNEKET TEIKYTH ZM ΠAOYOEIΩ

(...) 'this vault (TEI-KYTH) should not be rebuilt (lit. they should not build (NNE-Υ-KET)) in (ZM) my time (ΠA-OYOEIΩ (...))' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27).

## b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. NNEIXIOYE NNEIP MHTPE NNOYX NNEIXI SOL 'I shall not steal (NNE-I-XIOYE), I shall not make (NNE-I-P) false (N-NOYX) witness (MHTPE), I shall not tell (NNE-I-XI) lies (SOL)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), ANON OE ZΩWN NNEHOYΩZ ETOOTN EP ΠOΛEMOC MΠNOYTE NTΠE 'and we (ANON OE), in our turn (ZΩW-N), we will not again (lit. set (NNE-N-OYΩZ) hand (ETOOT-N) to) make (E-P) war (ΠOΛEMOC) with the God (M-Π-NOYTE) of heaven (N-T-ΠE)' (Eud. 48:13).

## c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. NIOYΔAI AYTAΦPE TPYAY (read TPYAH) ZH OYTAΦPO XEAC NNE NAIΠOCTOΛOC EPBOK EZOYH ETΠOΛIC 'the Jews (N-IOYΔAI) strengthened (A-Y-TAΦPE) the gate (T-TPYAY) very strongly (ZH OY-TAΦPO) so that (XEAC) the apostles (N-AΠOCTOΛOC) could not go (NNE ... EP-BOK) into (EZOYH) the city (E-T-ΠOΛIC)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ANI TEΦYXH NIOYΔAC EZPAI XEAC NNE ΠΔIABOΛOC ON ΛOIBE EXΩ (read EXΩI) 'bring (ANI) the soul (TE-ΦYXH) of Judas up here (EZPAI) so that (XEAC) the devil (Π-ΔIABOΛOC) won't find (NNE ... ON) a pretext (ΛOIBE) against me (EXΩ-I)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), NCEHOXO[Y] [E]XH ΠEQTAΦOC NCEZOBCQ XEAC NNE AΛAY NPΩME P ΠEQMEEYE 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (N-CE-NOX-O[Y]) on (EXH) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠEQ-TAΦOC) and cover it (N-CE-ZOBC-Q) so that (XEAC) no man (AΛAY N-PΩME) might remember it (lit. make (NNE ... P) its remembrance (ΠEQ-MEEYE))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

### 9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperative clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary **μηρ-** 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. **μηρκοτκ ερνοβε** 'do not return (**μηρ-κοτ-κ**) to sin (lit. to do (**ε-ρ**) sin (**νοβε**))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), **μηρρ ζοτε τπαρθενος ετουλαβ** 'don't be (**μηρ-ρ**) afraid (**ζοτε**), holy (**ετ-ουλαβ**) virgin (**τ-παρθενος**)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), **μηρκαατ νσωκ** 'don't abandon me (lit. leave me (**μηρ-καατ**) behind you (**νσω-κ**))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), **μηερτρε λααυ ειμε κε ντε ουσιμε** 'don't let (**μηερ-τρε**) anybody (**λααυ**) know (**ειμε**) that (**κε**) you (**ντε**) (are) a woman (**ου-σιμε**)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative **μηρ-** has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like 'oh no, don't', e.g. **εκναδωφτ νσωι ειναβωκ επτακο μηωρ παχοεις** 'will you watch me going to perdition? Oh no (**μηωρ**), my Lord (**πα-χοεις**)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

### 9.4.6 The negative auxiliary **τη**

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary **τη** 'to do not'. The auxiliary **τη** is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. **αλλα κε αρωταν ννεφβαλ ετηδωφτ εροφ επτηρηφ** 'but (**αλλα**) because (**κε**) he closed (**αφ-ωταν**) his eyes (**ν-νεφ-βαλ**) not to see (**ε-τη-δωφτ**) it (the sun) (**ερο-φ**) at all (**επτηρηφ**)' (Zen. 200:27-28), **α ταδον ει εροι ζωστε ετητραλιθαλε επτηρηφ κε τζκοειτ η τβε** 'my strength (**τα-δον**) came (back) (**α ... ει**) to me (**εροι**) so that (**ζωστε**) I did not notice (**ε-τη-τρα-λιθαλε**) at all (**επτηρηφ**) that (**κε**) I was hungry (**τ-ζκοειτ**) or (**η**) thirsty (**τ-βε**)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of **τη** are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. **παρο μημοναχος πε τησπε λααυ νζυλη ναφ** 'the treasure (**π-αρο**) of the monk (**μ-π-μοναχος**) (is) not to acquire (**τη-σπε**) any (**λααυ**) property (**ν-ζυλη**) for himself (**να-φ**)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), [**ζωστε**] **ντ[ετ]η [λααυ] ε[ψομ]δον ε[ναζ]μ[ε]φ εβολ [ζν να]δix** 'so that (**ζωστε**) nobody (**λααυ**) will be able (**ντε-τη ... εψ-δμον**) to save himself (**ε-ναζμε-φ**) from (**εβολ ζν**) my hands (**να-δix**)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

#### 9.4.1.1 Two different clausal positions

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary **τη** occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker **ωαν** and before the epistemic modal verb (**ε**)**ω-** 'can, to be able to', e.g. **ενωαντηζαρεζ δε πτοπος ναωφφ** 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (**ε-ν-ωαν-τη-ζαρεζ**), the place (**π-τοπος**) will be deserted (**να-ωφφ**)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker **ωαν** and the negative auxiliary **τη** to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker **ερε** and preceding the subject nominal: **ερε NP<sub>subject</sub> ωαν-τη → ερ-ωαν-τη NP<sub>subject</sub>**, e.g. **ερωαντη πρωμε αποτασσε νενκα νημ ετζη πκοσμοσ νφναωωπε αν ημοναχος** 'if a man (**π-ρωμε**) does not give up (**ερ-ωαν-τη ... αποτασσε**) everything (**ν-ενκα νημ**) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (**ετ-ζη**)) the world (**π-κοσμοσ**), he will not (**αν**) be able to become (**ν-φ-να-ω-ωωπε**) a monk (**μ-μοναχος**)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

#### 9.4.1.2 Negative conjugation patterns with **τη**

The negative auxiliary verb **τη** has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal **ντερε-φ-τη-σωτη**

e.g. **επζαε δε ντερεφτηεψομδον νδι πεδρακων εταγο επεσχη νναντωνιος** (for **ναντωνιος**) **αφδωντ εροφ ημιν ημοφ (...)** 'finally

(ε-π-ζαε), when the dragon (πε-δρακων) *had not been able* (ντερε-γ-τη-εφ-δμοδ) to cast (ε-ταγο) down (επεснт) Antony (νн-αντωνιος) he became angry (α-γ-δωνт) about himself (ερο-q мμιν нμο-q)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψαντε-γ-τη-σωτη

e.g. αγω αγριοε нсωογ ψαντογтмка λλαγ επαζογ ετρεφογχαι 'and (αγω) they smote (α-γ-γριοε) them (нсω-ογ) *until they did not leave* (ψανт-ογ-τη-ка) anyone (λλαγ) behind (επαζογ) to survive (ε-тρε-γ-ογχαι)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ε-γ-ψαν-τη-σωτη and the Negative Relative Present ε-γ-τη-σωτη 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ενψανтμζαρεζ δε πτοπος ναψωq 'if we do *not* keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ε-н-ψан-тμ-ζαρεζ), the place (π-тоπος) will be deserted (на-ψωq)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. εωψε ететнтмδєпн εирє нпαι ζн оγмоу тетнамоу (read тетн-на-моу) 'if you do *not* hasten (ε-тетн-тμ-δєпн) to do (ε-εирє) this (н-пαι), you will surely die (lit. in (ζн) a dying (ογ-моу) you will die (тетн-на-моу))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive н-γ-τη-σωτη

e.g. нтетн пзнке ζωωq κωτε ζн пєqнн н ζн нєтзитоγωq ψανтqze εογноδ нтаιο 'and would the poor (man) (π-ζηκε), in his turn (ζωω-γ), *not seek* (нτε-тμ ... κωτε), in (ζн) his (own) house (πεq-нн) or (н) in (ζн) (that) of his neighbours (н-εт-зитоγω-γ) until he finds (ψант-γ-ze) a great (ε-ογ-ноδ) gift (н-таιο)' (Eud. 72:13-14), ннм пє пρωнє εqнаδωψт нса пєqψнрє εqвнк нєнтω нqтмвонθєи εροq 'who (ннм) (is) the man (п-ρωмє) who will watch (ε-γ-на-δωψт) his son (пєq-ψнрє) drowning (lit. go (ε-γ-внк) to the depths (н-єнтω)) and would *not* help (н-γ-тμ-вонθєи) him (ερο-γ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary тμ is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. α πενειωт παζωм ζων ετοотн εтнр пαι 'our father (пен-ειωт) Pachôm ordered us (ετοот-н) *not to do* (ε-тμ-р) this (пαι)' (V. Pach. 139:31), мωνων (for монон) ζαρεζ εροκ εтнр нове εпноуге нтаqтaмioк 'but (μωνων) be careful (ζαρεζ) *not to sin* (lit. commit (ε-тμ-р) sin (нове)) against the God (ε-п-ноуге) who has created you (нт-α-γ-таmio-к)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer н- and the negation adverb ан 'not'.	§9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The мпат(ε)-γ-σωτη pattern carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out.	§9.4.3

## Exercises

## 9.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle *n-*.
  - The negation adverb *an* 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
  - Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
  - The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying *alla* ('BUT')-clause.
  - The Negative Third Future *nne-q-cwtm* 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
  - tm*-negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

## 9.2 Double negation

- A. The placement of the negation adverb *an* 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker *an* in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.

- (1) *ncenalew* \_\_ *smom* \_\_ *ebel neichoy exn iakwb* 'they will not (*an*) be able (*n-ce-na-ew-smom*) to nullify (*e-bel*) these blessings (*nei-choy*) upon (*exn*) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

- (2) *nfnazeti* \_\_ *laly erwtm* \_\_ 'I will not (*an*) hide (*n-f-na-zeti*) anything (*laly*) from you (*erw-tm*)' (Abbaton 231:19)
- (3) *alla nczarew* \_\_ *epitewo* \_\_ *ntmntmonaxh* 'but (*alla*) she (the possessed girl) does not (*an*) watch (*n-c-zarew*) the purity (*e-pi-tewo*) of the monastic life-style (*n-t-mnt-monaxh*)' (V. Pach. 141:13-14)
- (4) *anok de nfnalo* \_\_ *eimose* \_\_ *nmmhtn wa erpai etcunteia* (for *etcunteia*) *mpeiaion* 'I (*anok*) will not (*an*) cease (*n-f-na-lo*) walking (*e-i-mose*) with you (*nmmh-tm*) until (*wa erpai*) the completion (*e-t-cunteia*) of this era (*m-pai-aiwn*)' (Abbaton 230:13-15)

- B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.

- (1) *nqnaew twoy n an za nbacanoc* (KHML II 34:6-7)
- (3) *nfcsoyn an xe nta oy wape mmoc* (Hil. 7:30-31)
- (4) *nfnanay an epogoein pantoywine ncwi* (Test. Is. 230:15)
- (5) *tnnacwtm ncwk an* (V. Pach. 5:17)

## 9.3 Negative tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
<i>nnacwtm</i>		
<i>mpescwtm</i>		
<i>nempatoycwtm</i>		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
ΜΠΕΡΘΕΝ ΟΕΙΚ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
ΝΝΕΚΟΥΟΜΗ	(AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
ΝΕΜΕΡΤΩΦΒΕ ΝΑΥ	(V. Pach. 5:18)
ΝΚΤΜΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
ΜΠΡΡ ΖΟΤΕ	(Eud. 50:21)
ΕΤΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- (1) ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΤΟΜ ΕΤΕ[ΤΝ]Ρ ΣΝΑΥ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) \_\_\_ on a mat (ε-τομ) with the two of you (ε-τετν-ρ σναυ)' (praec. Pach. 95)
- (2) ΝΝΕΤΝΧΙ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΣΑ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΙΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΙϚ '\_\_\_ (it) (the garbage) to-any (ε-λλαυ) place (ν-τοπος) (else) than (νσα) to the place (π-τοπος) of that Nazarene (μ-πι-ναζωραιος) Jesus (ιϚ)' (Eud. 52:27-28)
- (3) ΕΦΦΩΡΕΙ ΝΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ (for ΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ) ΕΒΟΟΥΝΕ (read ΝΒΟΟΥΝΕ) ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΤΗΡΦ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΜΟΥ ΜΑΤΕ 'he was wearing (ε-φ-φωρει) a garment (νν-ου-ψτην) of sackcloth (ν-βουουνε) all (τηρ-φ) his time (μ-πεφ-ουοειω) \_\_\_ anything (λλαυ) but (νσα) bread (οεικ) and (ζι) salt (ζμουγ) alone (ματε)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

- (4) ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΡΤΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑΦ ΜΗ ΤΕΡΦΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΖΩΒ 'as for) the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (α-φ-χαριζε) them (μμοου) to the people (ν-ν-ρωμε) of his village (μ-περ-τμε) so that (χεκας) \_\_\_ him (να-φ) and (μη) his sister (τερφωνε) in (ζν) any respect (λλαυ ν-ζωβ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΑΥΣΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΨΑ ΑΠΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ (read ΑΠΑ ΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ) ΝΟΙ<sup>a</sup> ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΛΛΟ. ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΟΥΝΤΑΦ<sup>b</sup> ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΦΦΩ.<sup>c</sup> ΠΕΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ<sup>d</sup> ΤΑΡΙΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΚΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΩΝΗ.<sup>e</sup> ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ (for ΝΤΣΡΟΦΤ) ΑΝ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΝΑΦ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΦ<sup>f</sup> ΠΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΟΥ<sup>g</sup> ΧΕ ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΤΑΡΙΚΑ ΟΥΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΚΟΙΧ. ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΑΥΧΝΟΥΦ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ<sup>h</sup> ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΣΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΣΠΣΩΠΚ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΚΟΥΨΩ ΕΛΑΣ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΥΠΕΙ<sup>i</sup> ΖΩΣ<sup>j</sup> ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ ΑΝ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΣΩΤΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΨΩ ΕΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΗ<sup>k</sup> ΝΑΣΩΛΠ ΜΠΝΟΥΖ<sup>l</sup> ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΙΤΟΥΝΕΣ ΤΕΦΦΥΧΗ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΩΚΗ<sup>m</sup> ΜΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΛΥΠΕΙ (for ΟΥΛΥΠΗ) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. ΝΟΙ subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ΟΥΝΤΑ-φ 'he had' c. ε-φ-φω 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. ΑΒΩ 'drag-net' e. ΜΩΝΗ 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. π-ετε-ουντ-φ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. ΕΘΟΟΥ (< ετ-ζουου) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ 'apart, in private' i. ΑΥΠΕΙ 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ΖΩΣ 'since' k. ΠΗ 'that one' (see above, section



4.1.1 of Unit 4) I.  $\sigma\omega\lambda\tau$   $\mu\pi\eta\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$  'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off ( $\sigma\omega\lambda\tau$ ) the rope ( $\mu\pi\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$ ))' m.  $\omega\kappa\eta$  'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

(1)  $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$  (for  $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$ )  $\omicron\eta$   $n\eta\epsilon$   $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$   $\psi\beta$   $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$  'and ( $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ ) also ( $\omicron\eta$ ) *no one* ( $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ ) *shall shave* ( $n\eta\epsilon$  ...  $\psi\beta$ ) anyone ( $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ ) sitting ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$ )' (praec. Pach. 97).

narrow scope reading       wide scope reading of negation

(2)  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\rho$   $\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\rho\omega$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\omicron\gamma\eta$   $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$   $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$  '*they* (the hermits) *usually do not even* ( $\rho\omega$ ) *remember* (lit. make ( $\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho$ ) thought ( $\pi\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ )) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) a world ( $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$ ) exists ( $\omicron\gamma\eta$  ...  $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ )' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)

narrow scope reading       wide scope reading of negation

## Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V-S and V-S-O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

## 10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO<sub>SU</sub> 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S-V-O)	<p>ΜΗΝΝΣΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΥ Α ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ Τ            ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ            ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ 'after (ΜΗΝΝΣΑ) five (ΤΟΥ)            days (ΝΖΟΥΥ) <u>the deacon</u> (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ)            went (lit. gave (Α-Γ-Τ) his way            (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΕ) priest            (Ε-ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Αρα Ραμβό' (Hil.            5:31-32)</p>
LEFT-DISLOCATION (TOPIC <sub>SU</sub> -PRO <sub>SU</sub> -V-O)	<p>ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΤ ΠΕ[q]ΟΥΟΙ '(as for)  <u>Andrew, he</u> went forth (lit. gave (Α-Γ-Τ) his            way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)' (Ac. A&amp;P 206:152-153)</p>
SUBJECT INVERSION (V-PRO <sub>SU</sub> -O-S)	<p>ΕΤΕΙ ΕΝΖΗΜΟΣ ΑΓΤ ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ            ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΑΛΟ (...) 'when            (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΗΜΟΣ), <u>a</u>  <u>venerable</u> (Ν-ΖΑΛΟ) <u>priest</u>            (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) came (lit. gave            (Α-Γ-Τ) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι)            (...) (Abbatôn 228:13-14)</p>

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic,

representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

### 10.1.1 S-V-O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S-V-O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

#### a) Precedence relations

S-V-O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. Α ΟΥCON ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'a brother (ΟΥ-CON) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Αρα Σαραπίον (...) (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
Α PERFECT	ΟΥ-CON a brother	ΧΝΕ ask	ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ Ara Sarapion

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S-V-O surface order

b) Markedness

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S-V-O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker *νοι*. Compare, then: (S-V-O) *α ΝΖΛΛΟ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ* (...) 'the senior (monks) (N-ΖΛΛΟ) said (α ... ΧΟΟ-С) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC<sub>SU</sub>-PRO<sub>SU</sub>-V-O) *ΝΤΟϞ ΟΝ ΛϞΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ* (...) '(as for him (Apa Isaac) (ΝΤΟϞ), he also (ΟΝ) said (α-Ϟ-ΧΟΟ-С) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V-PRO<sub>SU</sub>-O-S) *ΛϞΧΟΟΣ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑ ΧΕ* (...) 'Our fathers (ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) said (α-Υ-ΧΟΟ-С) about (ΕΤΒΕ) someone (ΟΥΑ) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) Pragmatically neutral contexts

S-V-O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. *α ΤΕϞΩΝΕ ΔΕ ΩΛ ΝΝΕϞΚΕΕС* 'his (Apa Mena's) *sister* (ΤΕϞ-ΩΝΕ) gathered (α ... ΩΛ) his bones (N-ΝΕϞ-ΚΕΕС)' (Mena, Martyrd: 4a:1-2); *ΠΧΟΕΙС ΝΑ ΒΕΙ* (for Ϟ) *ΝΝΟΥΝΟБ* (for ΝΟΥΝΟБ) *ΝΘΥСΙΑ ΖΗ ΠΕΚΗ ΖΗ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΩΛ* 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙС) will require (ΝΑ-ΒΕΙ) a big (ΝΝ-ΟΥ-ΝΟБ) sacrifice (N-ΘΥСΙΑ) from (ΖΗ) your house (ΠΕΚ-Η) on (ΖΗ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the feast (N-Π-ΩΛ)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), *ΖΗ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ Α ΠΕϞΛΑС ΜΕΖ ΡΩϞ ΛϞϞϞΝΤ ΛϞΜΟΥ* 'suddenly (ΖΗ ΤΕΝΟΥ), *his* (Diocletian's) *tongue* (ΠΕϞ-ΛΑС) filled (α ... ΜΕΖ) his mouth (ΡΩ-Ϟ), he was eaten by (lit. he became (α-Ϟ-Ρ)) worms (ϞΝΤ) (and) died (α-Ϟ-ΜΟΥ)' (Eud. 38:27).

S-V-O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or

truisms, e.g. *ϞΑΡΕ ΤΕΙΒΝΝΕ ΤΑΥΕ ΜΗΤСНОΟΥС ΝΛΟΟΥ ΝΒНΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ* 'this *date-palm* (ΤΕΙ-ΒΝΝΕ) yields (ϞΑΡΕ ... ΤΑΥΕ) twelve (ΜΗΤ-СНОΟΥС) bunches (N-ΛΟΟΥ) of dates (N-ΒНΝΕ) per (ΚΑΤΑ) year (ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Omnophr. 208:11-13), *ΝΕΡΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ † ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ* 'Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗ) gave (ΝΕΡΕ ... †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (N-ΖΕΝ-ΔΟΡΟΝ) annually (ΤΕ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the glorification (Π-ΕΟΟΥ) of their gods (N-ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S-V-O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. *ΕΡΩΛΗ ΟΥΑ ΕΤΙ* (read ΛΙΤΕΙ) *ΜΗΟΚ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ* (...) 'if *anyone* (ΟΥΑ) asks (ΕΡΩΛΗ ... ΕΤΙ) you (ΜΗΟ-Κ) something (N-ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14), *Α ΟΥΟΝ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ Ρ ΖΜΕ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΑΤΟΥΩΗ ΝΑΤΩ* 'one (ΟΥΟΝ) of (ΖΗ) *the holy ones* (N-ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ) spent (α ....Ρ) forty (ΖΜΕ) days (N-ΖΟΥ) without eating (N-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩΗ) (and) drinking (N-ΑΤ-Ω) (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 Constituent order in the postverbal domain

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist "scrambling", i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 The canonical V > DO > IO > ADV order

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. *СОУН ΠΠΕТНАНΟΥϞ ΜΗ ΠΠΕΘΟΥ* 'to know (СОУН) *what is good* (Π-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ϟ) and (ΜΗ) what is bad (ΠΠΕΘΟΥ < Π-Π-ΕΤ-ΖΟΥ)' (Abbatōn 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. *ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕΤΝСООУΝ ΝΤΑΑΝΑСТΡΟΦΗ ΤΗРС* 'since (ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ) you know (ΤΕΤΝ-СООУΝ) *my* entire (ΤΗР-С) *mode of life* (N-ΤΑ-ΑΝΑСТΡΟΦΗ)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), *ΤΕΤΝСООУΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΜΕΙΩΕΙΝΕ* (for ΜΕΙΩИΝΕ) *ΝСА ПΑМТОН* 'since (ΓΑΡ) you know (ΤΕΤΝ-СООУΝ) *that* (χε) I did not

look (ΜΕ-Ι-ΨΕΙΝΕ) for (ΝΑ) my own peace (ΠΑ-ΜΤΟΝ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like † 'to give' and χαριζε 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the transferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ψαρε πνουτε † ουζμοτ ννετναπιστευε 'God (π-νουτε) will grant (ψαρε ... †) a favour (ουζ-μοτ) to those who will believe (ν-ν-ετ-να-πιστευε)' (Test. Is. 228:11), φναχαριζε μηταλλο νταψερε ζιτη νετνψαηλ νασνηγ 'he (the Lord) will grant (φ-να-χαριζε) healing (μ-π-ταλλο) to my daughter (ν-τα-ψερε) through (ζιτη) your prayers (νετν-ψαηλ), my brothers (να-σνηγ)' (Hil. 8:12-13), μαρεφ† ννουφ ναν 'he should give (μαρε-φ-†) us (να-ν) what is his (ννου-φ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. αψ αψωρω εβολ ννεφδix εζραι επνουτε ζν ουριμε ντευψη τηρσ χιν ρουζε ψα ζτοουε 'and (αψ) he (Pachôm) lifted (α-φ-πωρω) his hands (ν-νεφ-δix) up (εζραι) to God (ε-π-νουτε) weeping (ζν ουριμε) the entire (τηρ-σ) night (ν-τε-γψη) from (χιν) evening (ρουζε) till (ψα) dawn (ζτοουε)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

### 10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP<sub>DO</sub>) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scrambled" order of dative shift constructions is V<sub>AS</sub> > DAT-CL > PP<sub>DO</sub> order, e.g. αφ† νασ νουρι ζιτουωφ μηρhc ντεκκλhcια 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (α-φ-†) her (Hilaria) (να-σ) a cell (ν-ου-ρι) next to him (ζιτουω-φ), south (μ-π-ρhc) of the church (ν-τ-εκκλhcια)' (Hil 6:15), επζαε δε αψ† ναφ ζωωφ νζντνζ (for νζεντνζ) 'finally (ε-π-ζαε), they gave (α-φ-†) him (να-φ) wings (ν-ζεν-τνζ), too (ζωω-φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), νγψαηλ εχωσ ψαντε πχοεις χαριζε νασ μηταλλο

'and you shall pray (ν-γ-ψαηλ) on her behalf (εχω-σ) until the Lord (π-χοεις) will grant (ψαντε ... χαριζε) her (να-σ) healing (μ-π-ταλλο)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. ακατεχε ννεσνηγ ζατηφ ωμνητ νεβοτ ετβε τεφψερε 'he (the king) kept (α-φ-κατεχε) the brothers (ν-νε-σνηγ) with him (ζατη-φ) (for) three (ωμνητ) months (ν-εβοτ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεφ-ψερε)' (Hil. 12:8-9), α κεογα δε ον εινε μηεφψηρε ψαροφ 'somebody else (κε-ογα) brought (α ... εινε) his son (μ-πεφ-ψηρε) to him (ψαρο-φ)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

### 10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

#### 10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. ανδρεασ δε αφ† πε[φ]ογοι '[TOPIC Andrew (ανδρεασ δε), [COMMENT he went forth (lit. he gave (α-φ-†) his way (πεφ-ογοι)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclassical topic and the intraclassical resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ἈΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ (As for) <i>Andrew</i>	α- PERFECT	-Ϛ- <i>he</i>	† give	ΠΕϚ-ΟΥΟΙ his way

FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker ΔΕ is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

#### a) Embedded left-dislocation

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. ἈΥΤΩ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝΣΕϚΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΖΟΥϚ ΠΑΙ ‘*and* (ἈΥΤΩ) (concerning) *the churches* (Ν-ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ) they shall rebuild *them* (Ν-ΣΕ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) and celebrate (Ν-ΣΕ-ϚΙ) in *them* (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) on (ΖΜ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙ-ΖΟΥϚ)’ (Eud. 40:9-10), ἈΥΤΩ ΠΟΜΠΩΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΟΜΠΩΕΙΝΕ) ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΛϚΩΠΠΕ ΖΝ ΝΣΟΥϚΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΖΜ ΠΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ‘*and* (ἈΥΤΩ) *that* (ΕΤ-ΜΜΑΥ) *affliction* (Π-ΘΜ-Π-ΩΕΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-Ϛ-ΩΠΠΕ) in (ΖΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-ΣΟΥϚΣ) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ) through (ΖΜ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕΖ-ΣΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ)’ (V. Pach. 91:10-12), ἈΛΛΑ ΠΚΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΜΠΑΤΕϚΧΕΚ ΟΥΡΟΜΠΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑϚΜΟΥ ‘*but* (ἈΛΛΑ) *also Arios* (Π-ΚΕ-ΑΡΙΟΣ) died (Α-Ϛ-ΜΟΥ) before finishing (ΜΠΑΤΕ-Ϛ-ΧΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) one year (ΟΥ-ΡΟΜΠΠΕ) (as a bishop)’ (KHML II 50:6-7), ΧΕΚΑΣ ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖΣΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖΣΕ) ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΝΟϚ ΝΖΙΝΗΒ ‘*so that* (ΧΕΚΑΣ), (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned) you would awake (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΕΖΣΕ) *us* (ΜΜΟ-Ν) from (ΖΜ) the deep (Π-ΝΟϚ) sleep (Ν-ΖΙΝΗΒ)’ (Zen. 199:17-18).

#### b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΠΠΛΗ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ‘*the Jews* (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) blocked (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΛΗ) solidly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)’ (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΖΝΒΛΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΦΕΤ ΜΗΤΝΑ ‘after that (ΜΗΝΣΩ-Σ) *blind people* (ΖΝ-ΒΛΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking for (Ε-Υ-ΦΕΤ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML I 6:11), ΤΩΣΕΡΕ ΔΕ ΦΗΜ ΝΕΣΖΕΝ (for ΝΕΣΖΕΝ) ΑΜΝΤΦΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΠΕ ‘*the little* (ΦΗΜ) *girl* (Τ-ΦΕΡΕ) was (ΝΕ-Σ-ΖΕΝ) about eighteen (Α-ΜΝΤ-ΦΗΝΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΠΕ) (old)’ (Hil. 3:24-25), ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑϚΟΥ[Ο]ΝΖϚ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟϚ ‘*the angel* (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟϚ) of *the Lord* (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) revealed himself (Α-Ϛ-ΟΥΟΝΖ-Ϛ) to the archbishop (Ε-Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟϚ)’ (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕϚΤΩΣ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ ΕΤΜΕ ΗΜΟϚ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ‘*the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) also (ΟΝ) encourages (Ε-Ϛ-ΤΩΣ) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ) who loves (ΕΤ-ΜΕ) him (ΗΜΟ-Ϛ) through (ΖΜ) the Gospel (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)’ (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ΠΕΝΤΑΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟϚ ΑΙΑΑϚ ‘*what I had thought* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ) I have done (*it*) (Α-Ι-ΑΑ-Ϛ)’ (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟϚ ΝΖΑΚ ΦΑΥ† ΚΛΟΜ ΕΧΩϚ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ ‘*the prudent* (Ν-ΖΑΚ) *monk* (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟϚ) is given (lit. they give (ΦΑ-Υ-†)) a crown (ΚΛΟΜ) on *him* (ΕΧΩ-Ϛ) on (ΖΜ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)’ (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΝΟϚ ΝΦΩ[ΝΕ] ΖΝ ΤΕΣΑΠΕ ‘(as for) *this* (woman) (ΤΑΙ), (there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a severe (ΟΥ-ΝΟϚ) illness (Ν-ΦΩΝΕ) in (ΖΝ) *her* head (ΤΕΣ-ΑΠΕ)’ (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

#### c) Unbounded dependencies

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟϚ ΔΕ ΑϚΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΣΟΥϚΩ ΑϚΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΣ ΜΠΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΑΥΟΥϚΜ ΗΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥϚ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ‘*the deacon* (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟϚ) [s<sub>1</sub> fulfilled (Α-Ϛ-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria’s) wish (Μ-ΠΕΣ-ΟΥϚΩ)], ‘[s<sub>2</sub> took (Α-Ϛ-ΧΙ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (Μ-Π-ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-Σ)], ‘[s<sub>3</sub> (and) they ate (Α-Υ-ΟΥϚΜ)

together (MN NEY-EPHY) on that (ETMMAY) day (M-Π-200Y)' (Hil. 5:1-4), ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΡΑΦΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΓΜΟΩΦΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΦ2Μ2ΑΛ ΦΑΝΤΕΦΒΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠ2ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(as for) *Eutropius*, [S1 he was very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) happy (Α-Φ-ΡΑΦΕ)] [S2 (and) travelled (Α-Φ-ΜΟΩΦΕ) with (MN) his servant (ΠΕΦ-2Μ2ΑΛ)] [S3 until *he* reached (ΦΑΝΤΕ-Φ-ΒΦΚ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (M-Π-2ΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΝΝΑΚΑΤΗΥΤΝ ΑΝ ΕΟΨΩΝ (read ΕΟΨΩΝ) ΜΜΟΣ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as far as) *this city* (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (is concerned), [S1 we will not (ΑΝ) allow you (Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ-ΤΗΥΤΝ)] [S2 to open (Ε-ΟΥΩΝ) *it* (ΜΜΟ-С) ]]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

#### d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΥ '[Topic1 (as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (rules) (ΝΑΙ)], [Topic2 *he who will neglect* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) punishment (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΥΑΑΝ '[Topic1 (as for) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ)] [Topic2 *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *our sins* (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΟΠΤ-Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

#### 10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

#### a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ΟΥ2ΑΛΟ ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΦCOPM 2N ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΖΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤΦ ΧΕ (...) '*a* (certain) *old* (ΟΥ-2ΑΛΟ) *hermit* (Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) got lost (Ε-Φ-COPM) in (2N) the desert (Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤ-Φ) that (ΧΕ) (...)'

(AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝCOPΦΟΣ ΜΕΦΝΕΧ [ΦΑΧΕ] ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑΦΤ ΖΤΗΦ Ε[ΝΕΤCΩ]ΤΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ '*a wise* (Ν-COPΦΟΣ) *man* (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) does not throw (ΜΕ-Φ-ΝΕΧ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) every (ΝΙΜ) word (ΦΑΧΕ) like that (ΖΙΝΑΙ) but (ΑΛΛΑ) focuses (ΦΑ-Φ-Τ) his attention (ΖΤΗ-Φ) towards those who listen (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), CΟΝ CΝΑΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '*two* (CΝΑΥ) *brothers* (CΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ) went (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) to a monastery (Ε-Υ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΤΟΠΟΣ ΦΑΥΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΤΑΛΒΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *every* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ) who will go (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to his (Αρα Μena's) shrine (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΤΟΠΟΣ) will obtain (ΦΑ-Υ-ΜΑΤΕ) recovery (Μ-Π-ΤΑΛΒΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative ΕΙC 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC [ΑΦΟΥΩΝ2 ΝΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ '*behold* (ΕΙC), *an* *angel* (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) *the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΝ2) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΝ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΥΟΥΨΩ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ '*look* (ΕΙC), *a knight* (ΟΥ-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Φ-ΕΙ) together with (MN) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨΩ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

#### b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extraclassical topic does not correspond to any placeholding expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ΤΚΛΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΝΗCΤΕΙΑ ΕΦΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΗ ΜΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ '(as for) *the instruction* (Τ-ΚΛΗΚΕΙ) of fast (Ν-Τ-ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (ΖΜ) his house (ΠΕΦ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (ΖΜ) his colleagues' (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΩΒΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition *εἰς* 'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic, e.g. *εἰς τὴν [μα]νοῦ[ω]ν Δε νῆε ρωμῆ ψαχε εὐοῦωμν ζι ροῦζε* 'as for (*εἰς*) the kneading (*ν-οῦωμν*) place (*π-μα*), no one (*ρωμῆ*) shall speak (*νῆε ... ψαχε*) when they are kneading (*ε-γ-οῦωμν*) at (*ζι*) night (*ροῦζε*)' (praec. Pach. 116), *εἰς νῆχη Δε νῆε λαγ νῆεεφ κα χοι εβολ ζι τεμρω λχμ πρωμῆ ντσοογζς (...)* 'as for (*εἰς*) the ships (*ν-εχη*), no (*λαγ*) sailor (*ν-νῆεφ*) shall set loose (*νῆε ... κα εβολ*) a ship (*χοι*) at (*ζι*) the landing stage (*τε-μρω*) without the man (i.e. the prior) (*π-ρωμῆ*) of the congregation (*ν-τ-σοογζς*)' (praec. Pach. 118).

### c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. *α νερωμῆ Δε μημα ετμημαγ αγογεζ πσωμα μημακαριος απα μηνα [επεσ]ητ ζμ πδαμογα* 'the people (*νε-ρωμῆ*) of that (*ετμημαγ*) place (*μ-π-μα*) let (*α ... α-γ-ογεζ*) the body (*π-σωμα*) of the blessed (*μ-π-μακαριος*) *Απα Μena* down (*επεσ*ητ) from (*ζμ*) the camel (*π-δαμογα*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), *αγω ψαρε πογα πογα νμοογ ψαφαισθανε κατα τεφφγςις* 'and (*αγω*) each one (*π-ογα π-ογα*) of them (*νμοογ*) perceives (*ψαρε ... ψα-φ-αισθανε*) according to (*κατα*) his nature (*τεφ-φγςις*)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), *αγω νερε πογοειν νεφο νμινε μινε πε* 'and (*αγω*) the light (*π-ογοειν*) was (*νερε ... νε-φ-ο*) of diverse sorts (*μ-μινε μινε*)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

#### 10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

### a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. *αγω ειθεωρει νμοογ μν νεγκαρπος εις φτοογ νωηρε φημ αγει μοογε* 'and (*αγω*) while I was looking (*ε-ι-θεωρει*) at them (the trees) (*νμοογ*) and (*μν*) their fruits (*νεγ-καρπος*), look (*εις*), four (*φτοογ*) young (*φημ*) fellows (*ν-ωηρε*) came (*α-γ-ει*) from a distance (*μ-π-ογε*)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), *αφωπε Δε μηεζοογ ντκυριακη α πρρο βωκ ετςυναξις μν τρρω μν τεφθεερε σεντε τμακαρια Δε ζλλαρια αςφι ννεσβαλ εζραι ετπε εςχω νμοσ χε (...)* 'it happened (*α-σ-φωπε Δε*) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (*μ-πε-ζοογ*) of Sunday (*ν-τ-κυριακη*)) (that) the king (*π-ρρο*) went (*α ... βωκ*) to the Eucharist (*ε-τ-ςυναξις*) together with (*μν*) the queen (*τ-ρρω*) and (*μν*) his two (*σεντε*) daughters (*τεφ-θεερε*). The blessed (*τ-μακαρια*) Hilaria (*ζλλαρια*) looked (lit. carried (*α-σ-φι*) her eyes (*ν-νεσ-βαλ*)) up (*εζραι*) to heaven (*ε-τ-πε*) and said (*ε-σ-χω νμοσ*) that (*χε*)(...)' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. *α ζοινε ει νογοειω ζν θηβαις φα ογζλλο εγνταγ μμαγ νογα εφο νδαμωνιον χεκας εφεταλδοφ πζλλο Δε ντερογκρωφ εροφ νματε πεχαφ νπδαμων χε (...)* 'some people (*ζοινε*) came (*α ... ει*) once (*ν-ογοειω*) from (*ζν*) the Thebais (*θηβαις*) to (*φα*) an old monk (*ογ-ζλλο*) and they had (*ε-γντα-γ*) someone (*ν-ογα*) (with them) who was possessed (*ε-φ-ο*) by a demon (*ν-δαμωνιον*) in order that (*χεκα-ς*) he would heal him (*ε-φ-ε-ταλδο-φ*). The old monk (*π-ζλλο*), when they beseeched (*ντερ-ογ-κρωφ*) him (*ερο-φ*) very much (*νματε*) said (*πεχα-φ*) to the demon (*μ-π-δαμων*) that (*χε*)(...)' (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12).

### b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΗΜΟΣ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΛΟΓΩΣΦ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΗΜΗΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ 'but when this one (ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ) (Zênô) had occupied (lit. had sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΖΗΜΟΣ) on (ΖΙΧΗ)) the throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΕΡΟ), he annulled (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΣΦ) the sinful (Η-ΜΗΤ-ΑΣΕΒΗΣ) ordinances (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΝΗΦ ΦΑΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΤΜΕ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ 'as for him (Pachôm) (ΝΤΟΦ), occasionally people (ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ) came (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΗΦ) to him (ΦΑΡΟ-Φ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the villages (Ν-ΤΜΕ) in the neighbourhood (ΕΤ-Η-ΠΕΦ-ΚΩΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

### c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes. The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g. ΠΧΑΧΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΖΕΝΗΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΧΑΖΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΦΦ ΦΑΦΒΟΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΦΛΗ 'the enemy (Π-ΧΑΧΕ) (i.e. the devil) insinuated (Ε-Φ-ΝΟΥΧΕ) filthy (Ε-Υ-ΧΑΖΗ) thoughts (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ). Anthony, on his part (ΖΩΦ-Φ), (managed to) repel them (ΦΑ-Φ-ΒΟΡ-ΟΥ) through (ΖΙΤΗ) prayers (ΝΕ-ΦΛΗ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ΖΗ [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΦΩΦ ΔΕ [ΕΙΦ] ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΦ [ΕΧ]Ω[Φ] ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟ[ΡΟ]ΜΑ 'when (ΖΗ) he dozed off (Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΦΩΦ) look (ΕΙΦ), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mëna stood (Α-Φ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Φ) before him (ΕΧΩ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΗΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the former (ΝΑΙ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ) from the latter (Numerian) (Η-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

### d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument position, e.g. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ † [ΝΑ]Φ ΝΝΕΦ[ΟΑ]ΜΟΥΑ [ΝΕΟ]ΥΝΤΑΦ [ΗΜΑΥ] ΝΟΥΘΑΜΑΥΕ [ΝΑΦ]ΡΗΝ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to whom (ΝΑ-Φ) Apa Mëna had given (ΝΤ-Α ... †) his camels (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΘΑΜΟΥΑ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a batten (Ν-ΑΦΡΗΝ) she-camel (Ν-ΟΥ-ΘΑΜΑΥΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), ΠΕΤΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ

ΕΝΦΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΗΝ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΦΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he who will come (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) to believe (Ε-Φ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΦΑΧΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΗΝ) his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ), he will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) heir (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ) to God's (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

### e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g. ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ ΑΦΦΑΧΕ ΗΝ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΦΟΥΦΦ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΚΑΛΤ ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΗΝ ΦΘΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΩΦ ΖΑΘΗΝ (...) ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΦΟΥΦΦΦ (for ΑΦΟΥΦΦΦ) ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ ΑΦΡ ΦΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΦΕΕΡΕ 'the blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) Hilaria (ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ) spoke (Α-Φ-ΦΑΧΕ) with (ΗΝ) the priest (ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Apa Pambô, saying (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-Φ) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (†-ΟΥΦΦ) you to make me (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΑΑ-Τ) a monk (Η-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (...). The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to her (ΝΑ-Φ) »My son (ΠΑ-ΦΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is no (ΗΝ) possibility (ΦΘΟΜ) for you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)) to stay (Ε-ΩΦ) with us (ΖΑΘΗΝ) (...). The blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) virgin (Η-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ) answered (Α-Φ-ΟΥΦΦΦ) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I have come (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) with (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (...). The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ) was impressed (Α-Φ-Ρ ΦΠΗΡΕ) by the speech (Ν-Τ-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ) of the little (Ν-Τ-ΚΟΥΙ) girl (Ν-ΦΕΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

### f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the main storyline, e.g. ΑΦΦΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ Ζ[ΡΑΙ] ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ †[ΟΥΦΦ] ΖΩ ΕΒΩΚ [ΕΠ]ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ [ΜΗ]ΝΑ ΝΤ[Α]ΦΛΗΑ (...) ΑΡΗΦ ΦΝΑΕΡ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΦΙ ΜΜΑΛΒ ΝΦΕ ΝΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΜΟΟΥΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ (...) 'he (the rich Alexandrian) heard (Α-Φ-ΦΩΤΗ) of the wonders (Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) of Apa Mëna (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) »I, too (ΖΩ), want



(†-ΟΥΩΦ) to go (ε-ΒΩΚ) to the shrine (ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mēna and pray (ΝΤΑ-ΨΛΗΛ) (...). Maybe (ΑΡΗΥ) he will remember me (lit. will make (Ϛ-ΝΑ-ΕΡ) my remembrance (ΠΑ-ΜΕΕΥΕ))«. *Ηε* (ΝΤΟϚ) stood up (Α-Ϛ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), took (Α-Ϛ-ϚΙ) three thousand (Μ-ΜΑΛΒ Ν-ΨΕ) *solidi* (Ν-ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ) and went (Α-Ϛ-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ), travelling (Α-Ϛ-ΜΟΟΥΕ) (all) by himself (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ϛ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ϚΩΝ [ΜΑΡΕΝΣΠΟ]ΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΡ ΑΝΑϚ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ϚΙΤΝ ϚΗΠΡΑϚΙϚ (for ϚΕΝΠΡΑϚΙϚ) ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ 'let us (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ), in our turn (ϚΩΦ-Ν), be zealous (ΜΑΡΕ-Ν-ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) to please (Ε-Ρ ΑΝΑ-Ϛ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) through (ϚΙΤΝ) good (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-ΟΥ) deeds (ϚΗΠΡΑϚΙϚ)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

#### 10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑϚΗΤ ΝΑΨΤ 'My father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), *why* (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) is, (as far as) I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am concerned), my heart (ΠΑ-ϚΗΤ) (so) bold (ΝΑΨΤ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΗ ΕϚΟΥΝ ΜΑΥΑΛΝ 'as for us (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ)] *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *our sins* (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ), let us lock up ourselves (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΟΠΤ-Ν ΕϚΟΥΝ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

##### 10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ ΝΕϚΟΥΩΨ ΑΝ ΕΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ϚΙΤΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ 'at no (ΑΝ) time (ΝΙΜ Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΨ) did he (Pachôm) want (ΝΕ-Ϛ-ΟΥΩΨ) to be praised (lit. to get (Ε-ΧΙ) praise (ΕΟΟΥ)) by (ϚΙΤΝ) people (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΤΕΡΙΜΕ ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) do you (woman) weep (ΤΕ-ΡΙΜΕ) all (ΝΙΜ) the time (Ν-ΝΑΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225,

65:22), ϚΑϚ ΔΕ ΝΣΟΠ ΨΑϚΚΙΜ ΕΥΟΡΓΗ '(on) *many* (ϚΑϚ) *occasions* (Ν-ΣΟΠ) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (ΨΑ-Ϛ-ΚΙΜ) towards anger (Ε-Υ-ΟΡΓΗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. ϚΩϚΤΕ ΝΤΕ ϚΑϚ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤϚΗ ΠΤΜΕ ΤΜΨΟΜΘΟΜ ΕΤΩΜΝΤ ΕΡΟϚ ΝϚΑϚ ΝΣΟΠ 'such that (ϚΩϚΤΕ) many (ϚΑϚ) who were in (Ν-ΕΤ-ϚΗ) the village (Π-ΤΜΕ) could not (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΗ-Ψ-ΘΗ-ΘΟΗ) meet (Ε-ΤΩΜΝΤ) him (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ) on many (Ν-ϚΑϚ) occasions (Ν-ΣΟΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

##### 10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

###### a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. ΟΥϚΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ϚΗ ΟΥϚΟΥ Α ΤΩΜΑΥΛΕ ΜΙϚΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΕΡΕ ΝϚϚΙΜΕ 'one day (ΟΥ-ϚΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ϚΗ ΟΥ-ϚΟΥ), the she-camel (Τ-ΩΜΑΥΛΕ) delivered (Α ... ΜΙϚΕ) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΕΡΕ Ν-ϚϚΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), ϚΗ ΟΥϚΩΝΕ ΔΕ ΕϚ (for ΕΙϚ) ΠϚΑΓΙΟϚ ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟϚ ΑϚΕΙ ΕϚΟΥΝ 'all of a sudden (ϚΗ ΟΥ-ϚΩΝΕ), the holy (Π-ϚΑΓΙΟϚ) Mercurius came (Α-Ϛ-ΕΙ) in (ΕϚΟΥΝ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

###### b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. ΜΠΕϚΡΑϚΤΕ ΑϚϚΜΟΟϚ ΕΠΒΗΜΑ ΝΘΙ ϚΑΡΜΕΝΙΟϚ ϚΗ ΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'on the (lit. *his*) next day (Μ-ΠΕϚ-ΡΑϚΤΕ) Armenius sat down (Α-Ϛ-ϚΜΟΟϚ) on the tribune (Ε-Π-ΒΗΜΑ) in (ϚΗ) the theatre (ΠΕ-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), ϚΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ϚΑΗ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Α ΤΕϚϚΙΜΕ ΝΣΑΜΑΡΙΤΗϚ [ΝΕ]Ϛ[ϚΕ] ΝΝΕϚ[ΙΟ]ΜΕ ΕΤΗΜΜΑϚ ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ (...) '(at) dawn (ϚΤΟΟΥΕ) *before* (ϚΑΗ) (sun)light (Μ-Π-ΟΥΟΕΙΝ), the Samaritan (Ν-ΣΑΜΑΡΙΤΗϚ) woman (ΤΕ-ϚϚΙΜΕ) woke up (Α ... ΝΕϚϚΕ) the women (Ν-ΝΕ-ϚΙΟΜΕ) in her company (ΕΤ-ΝΗΜΑ-Ϛ) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ϛ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) that (ΧΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

c) Topicalised adverbs

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as “as for”, they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. *κοι μεν ψαγογωζ εχμ πεβω ευφανοντq κοι δε ψαγογωζ εχμ ποεικ* ‘some time (κοι μεν) they (flies) will sit (ψα-γ-ογωζ) on (εχμ) honey (π-εβω), if they can find it (ε-γ-φαν-οντ-q), some other time (κοι δε) they will sit (ψα-γ-ογωζ) on (εχμ) bread (π-οεικ)’ (Sh. III 48:6-8), *αγω εις σε ηρομπε τφοοπ ζη τερημια* ‘and (αγω), look (εις), for sixty (σε) years (η-ρομπε) I have been living (τ-φοοπ) in (ζη) this desert (τι-ερημια)’ (Onnphr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like *μηννωσ* ‘after that’ and *ετβε παι* ‘because of that’ have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. *μηννωσ αρωωνηζ ναq [εβολ] νοι πζαγιος απα μηνα [ζη ουζορομα]* ‘after this (μηννωσ-с) the holy (π-ζαγιος) Apa Mēna revealed (himself) (α-q-ογωνηζ εβολ) to him (να-q) in (ζη) a vision (ουζορομα)’ (Mena, Mir. 32a:11-14), *ετβε παι εκεψωπε ζη νταρταρος ψα πεζοογ μηζαπ* ‘because of (ετβε) this (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-ψωπε) in (ζη) the Tartaros (η-ταρταρος) until (ψα) the day (πε-ζοογ) of the Judgement (η-π-ζαπ)’ (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O–S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle *νοι*. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like *ντερεqχε ναι δε νοι παγγελος (...)* ‘when the angel (π-αγγελος) had said (ντερε-χε) these (ναι) (words) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ντερε- TEMPORAL	-q- <i>he</i>	χε say	ναι these	νοι FOCUS MARKER	π-αγγελος <i>the angel</i>

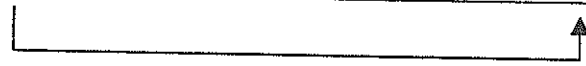


FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) *αqβωκ νοι ουσον ψα απα χιχωι επτοογ ναπα αντωνιος* ‘a brother (ου-σον) came (α-q-βωκ) to (ψα) Apa Čičōi in the monastery (ε-π-τοογ) of Apa Antony’ (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), *αγει εψιητ νοι ζημοναχος* (for ζηνμοναχος) *εβολ ζη κημε* ‘(there) came (α-γ-ει) to Shiēt (ε-ψιητ) monks (ζη-μοναχος) from (εβολ ζη) Egypt (κημε)’ (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) *μηννα ζενκεκογι ηζοογ αqηηφε νοι πσον ετμημαγ* ‘after (μηννα) a few days (η-ζοογ) more (ζεν-κε-κογι) that (ετμημαγ) (disobedient) brother (π-σον) cooled down (α-q-ηηφε)’ (V. Pach. 140:30), *εψανειμε γαρ νοι νενταγναγ εροq τηρογ σεναπιστευε εροq* (Eud. 52:21-22) ‘because (γαρ) if all (τηρ-ογ) those (people) who saw (ηε-ητ-α-γ-ναγ) him (Jesus Christ) (ερο-q) come to know (ε-γ-ψαν-ειμε) (about it), they will believe (σε-να-πιστευε) in him (ερο-q)’ (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) *ηπεqραστε αqζμοος επβημα νοι ζαρμενιος ζη πεθεαδρον* ‘on the (lit. his) next day (η-πεq-ραστε) Armenius (ζαρμενιος) sat down (α-q-ζμοος) on the tribune (ε-π-βημα) in (ζη) the theatre (πε-θεαδρον)’ (KHML I 76:8-9), (demonstratives) *ητεγνογ αqζροκ νοι παι εβολ ζη πεqωντ* ‘suddenly (ητεγνογ) this one (the ill-tempered brother) (παι) calmed down (α-q-ζροκ) from (εβολ ζη) his rage (πεq-ωντ)’ (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) *αγω ησει εζραι εχωογ νοι ηεχογ τηρογ ετχηζ* ‘and (αγω) all (τηρ-ογ) the blessings (ηε-χογ) written down (ετ-χηζ) (in the Scriptures) will come (η-σε-ει) upon them (εχω-ογ)’ (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) *ενηπατογψωπε γαρ ζη κημε νοι ημοναστηριον ετωψ* ‘as (γαρ) (there) were not yet (ε-ηε-ηπατ-ογ-ψωπε)

*many* (ΕΤ-Ω) *monasteries* (Μ-ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) in (ΖΝ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *αὐτὸς* *νεφάρης* *ἡμεῶν* *πῶς* *περιούρητος* *ἔστιν* *αὐτὸς* (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) *canal* (Π-ΕΙΟΡ) was full (ΝΕ-Φ-ΜΕΖ) of crocodiles (Ν-ΜΕΛΖ) (V. Ant. 21:8).

#### 10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle *νοί*

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker *νοί* to the right of the locative question word *των* 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. *εἰπὼν* *πταφός* *ἡμᾶς* 'where (των) (is) *the tomb* (Π-ΤΑΦΟΣ) of my lord (Μ-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)?' (Eud. 58:25), *εἰπὼν* *πρὸς* *ἐπιπέδῳ* *ἐπιπέδῳ* *ἡμᾶς* 'where (is) (των) *the man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) who was on board (ΕΤ-ΤΑΛΗΥ) of the ship (Ε-Π-ΧΟΙ) with you (ΝΗΜΑΚ)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle *νοί*, e.g. *μή* *εἰπαίη* *ἀνοκ* *εἰσοῦ* *παχόεις* 'am I (ἀνοκ) then more (εἰσοῦ(ε)) honoured (ε-Ι-ΤΑΕΙΗΥ) than my Lord (ε-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), *τέρζοτε* *ντο* *ζητῶ* *ἡμῶν* 'you (woman) (ντο) fear (τε-Ρ-ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤ-Φ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 64:23), *ὡς* *γὰρ* *ἡμεῖς* *ντο* *παχόεις* *χέ* (...) 'for (γὰρ) *he* (ἡτοφ), *the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ), says (φ-χ) that (χέ) (...)' (Sh. III 60:4-5).

#### 10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. *ναί* *τηροῦ* *εἰρεῖ* *ἡμῶν* *εἰρηνητῶν* *νοί* *πετεοῦν* *ἡμῶν* *ζῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'as for *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (things) (ΝΑΙ), *he who has* (Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝ) *power* (ἡμῶν) over (ΖΝ) *everything* (ζῶν ἡμῶν) is doing (ε-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) them (ἡμῶν) because of us (εἰρηνητῶν)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), *παί* *δε* *ἀφῶ* *νοῦσα* *ἡμῶν* *νοί* *βασίμος* *πετῶν* *ζῶν* *νετοῦ* *ἡμῶν* 'as for *the latter* (παί δε), *Basimos* (ΒΑΣΙΜΟΣ), who is (Π-ΕΤ-ΦΟΟΠ) amongst (ΖΝ) *the saints* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) said (α-Φ-Χ) a word (Ν-ΟΥ-ΦΑΧΕ) to him (ἡμῶν-Φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), *ζῶν* *δε* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'when it pleased (ἡμῶν-Φ-Ρ Ζῶν-Φ) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

*πρὸς* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'on the *morning* (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) of *the seventh* (day) (Μ-Π-ΜΑΖ-ΣΑΦΦ), *the queen* (Τ-ΡΡΩ) ordered (lit. placed (α-Φ-ΟΥΕΖ) an order (ΣΑΖΝΕ)) to arrest (ε-ΩΦΠΕ) for her (ΝΑ-Σ) the Jews (Ν-Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) who were living (ΕΤ-ΦΟΟΠ) in (ΖΝ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΗ) and (ΜΝ) Zion (ΣΙΩΝ)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

#### 10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

##### a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V-O-S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'when *the angel* (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) had said (ἡμῶν-ΧΕ) these (ΝΑΙ) (words) (...)' (Test. Is. 230:12), *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'the people (Ν-ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΝ) my tribe (ΤΑ-ΦΥΛΗ) will inform you (woman) (ΣΕ-ΝΑ-ΤΣΑΒΟ) about it (ε-Φ-Φ) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'if *the residents* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ-Π-Η) judge (ε-Υ-ΦΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ) him (ΜΜΟ-Φ) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'and (αὐτὸς) *the chariots* (Ν-ΖΑΡΜΑ) of the Persians (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡΣΟΣ) surrounded (α-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) him (Constantine) (ε-Φ-Φ) to kill (ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ) him (ΜΜΟ-Φ)' (Eud. 42:25). V-O-S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'and (αὐτὸς) *the name* (Π-ΡΑΝ) of our Lord (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Jesus (ἰῶ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΣ) received (α-Φ-ΧΙ) glory (ε-Φ-Φ)' (Eud. 40:27-28), *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* *ἡμῶν* 'when it pleased (ἡμῶν-Φ-Ρ Ζῶν-Φ) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

## b) Verbs of saying and reporting

Subject inversion is also possible with *verbs of saying and reporting* that introduce reported speech, e.g.  $\lambda\chi\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \eta\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$  'Our fathers ( $\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ) said ( $\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ ) about ( $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ ) someone ( $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3),  $\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi \ (\text{for } \lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\omicron) \ \eta\alpha\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$  'the deacon ( $\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ) answered ( $\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi$ ) her ( $\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) (...)' (Hil. 4:28-29),  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\phi \ \eta\alpha\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\tau\lambda\omicron \ \mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$  'the blessed ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) old man ( $\pi\text{-}\tau\lambda\omicron$ ) said ( $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}\phi$ ) to me ( $\eta\alpha\text{-}\iota$ ) that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) (...)' (Onnophr. 213:27-28).

## c) Motion verbs

When combined with verbs of inherently directed motion, subject-inverted clauses assume a presentative meaning and function, signalling the appearance of a referent in the realm of discourse, e.g.  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta \ \eta\tau\tau\upsilon\lambda\eta \ \eta\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \omicron$ 'open ( $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta$ ) the gate ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\pi\upsilon\lambda\eta$ ) (that) Matthew ( $\mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) can come ( $\eta\text{-}\phi\epsilon\iota$ ) in ( $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta$ )' (KHML II 21:6-7),  $\lambda\gamma\beta\omega\kappa \ \delta\epsilon \ \eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \eta\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma \ \eta\tau\epsilon \ \tau\omicron\omicron\mu \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\tau\phi$  'the generals ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ ) of ( $\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) the army ( $\tau\text{-}\omicron\omicron\mu$ ) went ( $\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$ ) immediately ( $\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ ) to fetch him (Constantine) ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\phi$ )' (Eud. 38:5-6),  $\phi\eta\eta\gamma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\tau\epsilon \ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\phi\varsigma\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omicron\iota \ \mu\pi\iota\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\eta \ \mu\eta \ \tau\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$  'an angel ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) of ( $\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) God ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ ) comes ( $\phi\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$ ) and administers (the Eucharist) ( $\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\varsigma\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ) to me ( $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\iota$ ) on Saturday ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\eta$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) Sunday ( $\tau\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$ )' (Onnophr. 214:22-23).

## d) Statives

Subject-inverted Stative sentences are not so much presentational constructions, but rather emphatic assertions: they emphasise the truth or correctness of the statement being made, e.g.  $\phi\omicron\eta\eta\eta \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\pi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau$  '(as) God ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$ ) Almighty ( $\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau$ ) lives ( $\phi\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$ )' (Onnophr. 215:27),  $\lambda\gamma\omega \ \phi\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\tau\omega\delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\phi$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) the good ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\phi$ ) plant ( $\pi\text{-}\tau\omega\delta\epsilon$ ) is blessed ( $\phi\text{-}\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau$ )' (V. Pach. 136:5-6),  $\phi\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\kappa\alpha\eta \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \eta\eta \ \eta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\eta\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon$  'cursed ( $\phi\text{-}\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau$ ) be the earth ( $\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\eta$ ) because of ( $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \eta\eta$ ) your deeds ( $\eta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\eta\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ )' (Abbatôn 238:29).

## 10.1.5.5 Semantic types of focus

Subject inversion represents an ex-situ focusing strategy in which the subject is placed in a postverbal focus position where it can be assigned nuclear (sentence) stress.

## a) Presentational focus

In the unmarked case inverted subjects correspond to presentational (new information) focus, which introduces new referents into the discourse. In placing the focused subject at the end of the clause, it is one of the last sentence elements to be mentioned and hence available for later recall in the subsequent discourse. There is a strong tendency for presentational foci to be hearer-new, which results in the frequent occurrence of specific indefinite noun phrases in subject-inverted clauses, e.g.  $\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon \ \lambda\phi\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon \ \eta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \kappa\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma \ \mu\omicron\omicron\omega\phi\epsilon \ \eta\mu\mu\alpha\phi \ (\dots)$  'suddenly ( $\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$ ), a luminous ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ ) man ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ ) came ( $\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\iota$ ) with two others ( $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ ) walking ( $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \dots \ \mu\omicron\omicron\omega\phi\epsilon$ ) besides him ( $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\phi$ )' (Mena, Mir. 21b:10-14),  $\lambda\gamma\varsigma\omega\kappa \ \delta\epsilon \ \eta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega \ \psi\alpha \ \lambda\pi\alpha\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  (read  $\lambda\pi\alpha \ \lambda\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ )  $\nu\omicron\iota \ \psi\omicron\mu\eta\eta\tau \ \eta\tau\lambda\lambda\omicron$  'once ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ ) three ( $\psi\omicron\mu\eta\eta\tau$ ) senior (monks) ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\tau\lambda\lambda\omicron$ ) approached ( $\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\kappa$ ) Ara Archillas' (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-21).

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g.  $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\alpha \ \pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\chi} \ \lambda\phi\epsilon\iota \ \psi\alpha\rho\phi \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda \ \pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\mu\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \ \epsilon\lambda\phi\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi \ (\dots)$  'after ( $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\alpha$ ) the glorification ( $\pi\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ ) of Christ ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\bar{\chi}$ ), Michael ( $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$ ), the Archangel ( $\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) of heaven ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\text{-}\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ), came ( $\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) to him (Constantine) ( $\psi\alpha\rho\phi\text{-}\phi$ ) and instructed him ( $\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi$ ) (...)' (Eud. 42:1-2),  $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \eta\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \eta\tau\epsilon\eta\tau\omega \ \text{†}\eta\eta\phi\iota\tau\phi \ \eta\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\chi\phi \ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$  'when the people ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) of the harbour ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\omega$ ) go to sleep ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ), I will take it (the corpse) ( $\text{†}\eta\eta\phi\iota\tau\phi$ ) and throw it ( $\eta\tau\lambda\text{-}\eta\eta\chi\text{-}\phi$ ) into the sea ( $\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ )' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7),  $\lambda\varsigma\omega\psi\pi\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \eta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\omega\eta \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon \ \eta\pi\pi\alpha\tau\tau\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\kappa \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \eta\eta \ \varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$  'it happened ( $\lambda\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$ ) when the days ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ ) of the patriarch ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\tau\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ ) Isaac had come near

(ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΖΩΝ) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΕΙ) out of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) the body (CΩΜΑ))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), ΛΦΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΘΒΒΙΕ ΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) wanted (Α-Φ-ΟΥΨ) to make his mind (ΠΕΦ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) humble (Ε-ΘΒΒΙΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), ΛΦΩ ΕΦΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΖΩΒ 'Our father (Pachôm) (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) kept (Α-Φ-Ω) asking (Ε-Φ-ΑΙΤΕΙ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) this matter (ΠΕΙ-ΖΩΒ)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

## b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΗ ΠΕΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙC ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΦΜΗΗΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΜΜΑΤΟΙ 'the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡCOC) kings (ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ) arose (Α-Υ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), gathered (Α-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) together with (ΜΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) their multitude (ΠΕΥ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) (and) went (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) to (ΕΧΗ) the river (Π-ΙΕΡΟ) Tigris (ΤΙΓΡΙC). (King) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC) arose (Α-Φ-ΤΩΟΥΝ) (and) gathered (Α-Φ-CΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) his troops (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of soldiers (Μ-ΜΑΤΟΙ) (...)' (Eud. 42:18-20), ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC 'it happened (Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had overthrown (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΠΩΩΝΕ) the unlawful (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Diocletian (Ν-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC) (that) the lawful (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC) became (Α-Φ-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) in his place (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), ΦCΟΤΠ ΝΟΙ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΤΑΙ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of that (daughter) (Ν-ΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ) is better (Φ-CΟΤΠ) than (ΠΑΡΑ) the life (Π-ΟΝΖ) of this one (Ν-ΤΑΙ)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

## c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. ΤΜΕΖCΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΝCΑΛΠΙΞ ΨΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΝΟΙ ΝΚΟΜΕC ΜΗ ΝΕΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC ΜΗ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΑΥΛΗ ΜΠΡΡΟ ' (on the blast of) the second (Τ-ΜΕΖ-CΝΤΕ) trumpet (Ν-CΑΛΠΙΞ), the courtiers (Ν-ΚΟΜΕC) and (ΜΗ) tribunes (ΝΕ-ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC) and (ΜΗ) chief officials (Ν-ΑΡΧΩΝ) of the royal (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) court (Ν-Τ-ΑΥΛΗ) would gather (ΨΑ-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ)' (Eud. 60:16-18), ΧΕΚΑC ΕΥΕΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΤΝ ΝΟΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΧΠΙΟ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΝΟΘΝΕΘ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ CΝΟΦ ΝΙΜ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC (...) 'so that (ΧΕΚΑC) all (ΝΙΜ) judgement (ΖΑΠ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) blame (ΧΠΙΟ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) reproach (ΝΟΘΝΕΘ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) grief (ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) blood (CΝΟΦ) (...) will come (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΕΙ) down (ΕΖΡΑΙ) upon you (ΕΧΩ-ΤΝ)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), ΕΑΦΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΕΠΤΑΚΟ ΔΕΠΗ ΕΕΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΕΤΡΕΥΤΜΜΕΦ ΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΛΙΦΙC ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC (...) 'and an unlawful (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (ΟΥ-ΡΡΟ) whom perdition (Π-ΤΑΚΟ) would soon (Ε ... ΔΕΠΗ) overcome (Ε-ΕΙ ΕΧΩ-Φ) gave (Ε-Α-Φ-ΟΥΕΖ) order (CΑΖΝΕ) to make the prophet (Μ-ΠΕ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC) eat (lit. that they feed him (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΤΜΜΕ-Φ)) the bread (ΟΕΙΚ) of affliction (Ν-ΘΛΙΦΙC) (...)' (Sh. III 106:16-19).

## 10.2 Residual V-S(-O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V-S-O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V-S-O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V-S-O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. <b>ΝΑΝΟΥ-</b> 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V-S	<b>ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ</b> 'your eagerness ( <b>ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΡΟΤ</b> ) is excellent ( <b>ΝΑΝΟΥ</b> )' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS <b>ΟΥΝ, ΜΗ</b> '(there)is, (there) is no'	V-S	<b>ΟΥΕΝ ΖΗΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΕΛΦΑΛΥ ΝΟΙ ΙϞ</b> '(there) are ( <b>ΟΥΕΝ</b> ) numerous ( <b>Ε-ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ</b> ) other works ( <b>ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ</b> ) that Jesus ( <b>ΙϞ</b> ) did ( <b>Ε-Α-Φ-ΑΛ-Υ</b> )' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS <b>ΟΥΝΤΕ-/ΟΥΝΤΑ=</b> <b>ΜΝΤΕ-/ΜΝΤΑ=</b> 'to have/not have'	V-S-O	<b>ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ</b> 'although you (woman) have ( <b>Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ</b> ) your husband ( <b>ΠΟΥ-ΖΑΙ</b> )' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V-S(-O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. **ΝΑΦΕ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΤΑΥΝΤΟΥ ΝΑΣ** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) the gold (**Π-ΝΟΥΒ**) and (**ΜΗ**) silver (**ΠΖΑΤ**) that was brought (**ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ**) to her (**ΝΑ-Σ**) was much (**ΝΑΦΕ**)' (Eud. 64:2-3), **ΜΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΦΩΝΕ ΕΦΩΝΕ** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) (there) is no (**ΜΗ**) difference (**ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ**) of one sickness (**Ν-ΦΩΝΕ**) over the (other) sickness (**Ε-ΦΩΝΕ**)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

### 10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like **ΟΥΒΑΩ**, **ΟΥΟΒΩ**<sup>†</sup> 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
<b>ΝΑΑ-</b>	<b>ΝΑΑ=</b>	to be great
	<b>ΝΑ(Ε)ΙΑΤ=</b>	to be blessed
<b>ΝΑΝΟΥ-</b> (var. <b>ΝΑΝΕ-</b> )	<b>ΝΑΝΟΥ=</b>	to be good
<b>ΝΑΦΕ-</b>	<b>ΝΑΦΩ=</b>	to be numerous
<b>ΝΕΣΕ-</b>	<b>ΝΕΣΩ=</b>	to be beautiful
	<b>ΝΕΣΒΩΩ=</b>	to be intelligent
	<b>ΝΕΩ(Ω)=</b>	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord **Ν-** ... **ΑΝ** (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker **Ν-**), e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ** (for **ΜΠΕΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**) 'but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) I am not (**ΑΝ**) excellent (**ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ι**) as (**ΝΘΕ** < **Ν-Τ-ΖΕ**) a Christian (**Μ-ΠΕ-ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. **ΚΑΛΩΣ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΩΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΧΟΟΦ** 'how very (**ΚΑΛΩΣ**) fair is (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**) the word (**Π-ΩΧΕ**) that you have spoken (**ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Φ**)' (Hil. 4:35), **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'the matter (**Π-ΖΩΒ**) (i.e. buying books) is excellent (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**), but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) poverty (**Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΖΗΚΕ**) is better (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**) than all (**ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ**) of these (**ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-ΟΥ**)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), **ΝΤΟ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΣΕ ΖΡΑ[Ϟ]** 'you (**ΝΤΟ**) (are) a woman (**ΟΥ-ΣΖΙΜΕ**) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (**ΖΡΑ-Ϟ**) is beautiful (**Ε-ΝΕΣΕ**)' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom **ΝΑΙΑΤ-** 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb **ΝΑΑ-** 'to be great' and the body-part expression **ΕΙΑΤ-Ϟ** 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. **ΝΑΙΑΤϞ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟϞ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** 'more (**ΝΖΟΥΟ**) blessed (**ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Ϟ**) is he who will always (**Ν-ΟΥΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ**) see (**Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ**) his own (**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ϟ**) sins (**Ε-ΝΕϞ-ΝΟΒΕ**)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΕΙΕ ΝΑΓΙΑΤΝ ΖΩΩΝ** 'then (**ΕΙΕ**) (how) blessed

are we (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Ν) ourselves (ΖΩΘ-Ν)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΡΓΟΣ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) the lazy ones (Ν-ΑΡΓΟΣ) are numerous (ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ), too (ΟΝ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ΧΕ ΕΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΦΚΑΡΠΟΣ 'since (ΧΕ) its fruit (ΝΕΦ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) are fine-looking (Ε-ΝΕΣΩ-ΟΥ)' (Abbatōn 237:10-11).

10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ΟΥΝ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ΜΝ '(there) is no', e.g. ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ 'is (there) (ΟΥΝ) anybody (ΡΩΜΕ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ΜΝ ΣΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) brother (ΣΟΝ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΣΟΝ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a brother (ΟΥ-ΣΟΝ) in (ΖΗ) a monastery (ΟΥ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΣ[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ (...)' '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) other brothers (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΣΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΤΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝΣΑ) you (ΝΤΟΚ), Apollōn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΒΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ Η ΖΗΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΨΙΚΖ {ΠΨΙΚΖ}sic ΝΑΡ ΟΥΗΡ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) thirty (ΜΑΛΒΕ) or (Η) forty (ΖΗΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) (heaped) on (ΖΙΧΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ), how large (ΟΥΗΡ) must the pit (Π-ΨΙΚΖ) be (ΕΡΕ ...

ΝΑ-Ρ)?' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΗΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΓ '(there) was (ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΟΝ) who did (Ε-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) good (things) (Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Γ)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΖΗ ΚΗΜΕ ΕΟΥΝΤΑΦ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΕΦΧΘ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΑ) in (ΖΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) who had (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a paralysed (Ε-Φ-ΧΘ) son (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ΕΝΕΜΗ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΝΣΑ ΠΚΑΣ ΜΗ ΠΨΑΑΡ 'without (there) being (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΗ) anything (ΑΛΛΥ) on her (ΝΖΗΤ-Σ) except (ΝΣΑ) bone (Π-ΚΑΣ) and (ΜΗ) skin (Π-ΨΑΑΡ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΚΖ ΗΜΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΗΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΛΤΕΙΑ) ΑΥΩ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΣΕΧΙ ΖΗΟΤ ΔΝ ΝΘΕ ΗΝΑΡΧΕΟΣ (for ΗΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ) 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ), how (Ν-ΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ) are (there) (ΟΥΝ) some (people) (ΖΟΙΝΕ) who toil (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΚΖ ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΗ) ascetic labours (Η-ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ), and (ΑΥΩ) at present (ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ) do not (ΔΝ) obtain (Ν-ΣΕ-ΧΙ) grace (ΖΗΟΤ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) the ancient ones (Ν-Η-ΑΡΧΕΟΣ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΣΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΠἸΝἸ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) a resurrection (ΑΝΑΚΤΑΣΙΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) angels (ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a spirit (ΠἸΝἸ)' (Acts 23:8), ΜΝ ΑΛΛΥ '(there) isn't (ΜΝ) anyone (ΑΛΛΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ΜΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΩΝΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ΜΝ ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΘΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC '(there) is no (ΜΝ) king (ΡΡΟ) as powerful (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) as (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCOC) empire (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΠΕΧC ΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΗΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

#### b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ΟΥΝ CΟΝ ΗΜΟΝΟΧOC (ΗΜΟΝΑΧOC) ΗΠΑΖΟΥ '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (CΟΝ) monk (Η-ΜΟΝΟΧOC) further on (ΗΠΑΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΛΗ ΖΥΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΡΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥ) courtyard (Ν-ΑΥΛΗ) at (ΖΥΡΗ) the entrance (Π-ΡΟ) of the cell (Ν-Τ-ΡΙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC (for ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC) ΗΜΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '(there) was no (ΝΕ-ΜΝ ... ΑΝ) interpreter (ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC) there (ΗΜΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ '(there) is (ΜΝ) nobody (ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΗΜΝΤΑΤCΟΜ ΖΑΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) impossibility (ΛΑΑΥ Η-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-CΟΜ) with (ΖΑΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

#### c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΗΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚOC '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the shrine (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna whose name (was) (Ε-ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ) Marcus' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙOC ΕΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΘΙΛΗΜ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) one (ΟΥΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΑΒ) who was called (lit. whom (ΕΡΟ-Q) they called (Ε-ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ)) Philagrios, who lived (Ε-Q-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΜ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕQΗΝΤΚΟΥΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) also (ΟΝ) a (certain) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) who was possessed by a demon (lit. a demon (ΟΥ-ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ) was with him (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΗΜΑ-Q)) from (ΝΧΙΝ) his childhood (ΤΕQ-ΗΝΤ-ΚΟΥΙ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

#### 10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativised existential verb ϋοοπ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΜΕ ΗΠΕCΗΤ ΗΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a big (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) heat (Ν-ΖΗΜΕ) down (ΗΠΕCΗΤ) in that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Η-Π-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ΝΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟ[C] ΓΑΡ ΝΕΙΡΗΗ ΜΝ ΖΗΝΟC (for ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) ΗΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ ϋοοπ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΜΝΤΡΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕΡΕ ... ϋοοπ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) peace (Ν-ΕΙΡΗΗ) and (ΜΝ) a lot (ΖΗ-ΝΟC) of good (things) (Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) in (ΖΗ) their kingdom



(ΤΕΥ-ΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)? (Mena, Enc. 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΤΗΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ** 'as for me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (am) in this place (Τ-Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) from (ΧΙΝ) that (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences are formed with the possessive predicates **ΟΥΝΤΑ-** and **ΗΝΤΑ-**, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. **ΟΥΝ** or **ΗΝ**, and a locative-committative preposition **ΝΤΑ-** 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. **ΝΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΣΑΛΠΙΞ ΣΝΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΝΧΑΖΧΖ** 'the King (Π-ΡΡΟ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΕ) two (ΣΝΤΕ) trumpets (ΣΑΛΠΙΞ) of refined (Ν-ΧΑΖΧΖ) gold (Ν-ΝΟΥΒ)' (Eud. 60:13), **ΗΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΩΤ ΗΜΑΥ Η ΜΑΛΥ** 'I don't have (ΗΝΤΑ-Ι) father (ΕΙΩΤ) or (Η) mother (ΜΑΛΥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial **ΗΜΑΥ** 'there', e.g. **ΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΧΟΟQ ΕΡΟΟΥ** 'I have (ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι) a word (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) to say (Ε-ΧΟΟ-Q) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), **ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑQ ΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ** 'he (the rich man) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q) a lot (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of money (Ν-ΧΡΗΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), **ΕΗΝΤΑQ ΕΧΟΥΣΙΑ ΗΜΑΥ ΕΕΡ ΠΒΟΛ ΜΠΩΗΝ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ** 'without having (Ε-ΗΝΤΑ-Q) the strength (ΕΧΟΥΣΙΑ) to come out (Ε-ΕΡ Π-ΒΟΛ) of that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) tree(Η-Π-ΩΗΝ)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: **ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q** /wəntaf/ → **ΟΥΝΤ-Q** /wəntəf/ 'he has', **ΗΝΤΑ-Q** /məntaf/ → **ΗΝΤ-Q** /məntəf/ 'he does not have'.

	ΟΥΝΤΑ- 'HAVE'	ΗΝΤΑ- 'NOT HAVE'
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι (ΟΥΝΤ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Ι (ΗΝΤ)
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Κ (ΟΥΝΤ-Κ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Κ (ΗΝΤ-Κ)
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΕ	ΗΝΤΕ
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q (ΟΥΝΤ-Q)	ΗΝΤΑ-Q (ΗΝΤ-Q)
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-C (ΟΥΝΤ-C)	ΗΝΤΑ-C (ΗΝΤ-C)
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ν (ΟΥΝΤ-Ν)	ΗΝΤΑ-Ν (ΗΝΤ-Ν)
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ΟΥΝΤΗ-ΤΗ	ΗΝΤΗ-ΤΗ
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Υ (ΟΥΝΤ-ΟΥ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Υ (ΗΝΤ-ΟΥ)
Before noun	ΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ	ΗΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)
NE-PRETERIT	ΟΥΝΤΕ 'HAVE'	Π-ΡΡΟ the king	ΣΑΛΠΙΞ ΣΝΤΕ trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates **ΟΥΝΤΑ-** and **ΗΝΤΑ-** appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. **ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ** '(although) you (woman) have (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ) your husband (ΠΟΥ-ΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9), **ΕΗΝΤQ ΚΕΡΟΥΨ ΗΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡQ ΝΣΑ ΠΕΨΛΗ ΗΝ ΤΔΙΑΚΡΙCΙC ΝΝΕΤQΨ ΗΜΟΥ** 'while he (Ara Zenobius) had no (Ε-ΗΝΤ-Q) other concern (ΚΕ-ΡΟΥΨ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ) than (ΝΣΑ) prayer (ΠΕ-ΨΛΗ) and the critical evaluation (Τ-ΔΙΑΚΡΙCΙC) of what he was reading (Ν-ΕΤ-Q-ΨΨ)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. **ΑΨ ΗΝΤΑΝ ΝΛΑΛΥ ΝΣΟΛΣΑ ΗΜΑΥ**

ΝΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ 'and (ἀγῶ) we don't have (ἡντα-ν) any (ν-λααγ) physical (ν-σωματικον) comfort (ν-κολαα)' (Hil. 5:23), οὔνται ἡμαγ ἡφονμτ νχωμε εἰνανογού 'I have (οὔνται-ι) three (ν-φονμτ) beautiful (ε-ἡνανογ-ου) books (ν-χωμε)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), εῶχε οὔντητν ἡμαγ νογνοῦτε εῶνζ 'if (εῶχε) you have (οὔντη-τν) a living (ε-φ-ονζ) God (ν-οὔ-νοῦτε) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

### 10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas οὔν and ἡν, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [νεγ]ντε πρρο [κω]σταντινος οὔσωνε ἡμαγ ἡπαρθενος επεσραν πε εῦδοξια 'King (π-πρρο) Constantine had (νε-γντε) a virgin (ἡ-παρθενος) sister (οὔ-σωνε) whose name (was) (ε-πεσ-ραν πε) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), νεμντφ φηρε ἡζοοῦτ νσα φεερε σεντε νσζιμε ἡματε 'he had no (νε-μντ-φ) son (φηρε ἡ-ζοοῦτ) besides (νσα) two (ἡ-ζοοῦτ) daughters (φεερε ἡ-σζιμε) only (ἡματε)' (Hil. 2:5), εῶνταφς ζν νετκα ἡα ἡαφ 'he has it (i.e. place) (ε-οὔντα-φ-ς) among (ζν) those who make (ἡ-ετ-κα) a place (ἡα) for him (ἡα-φ)' (Sh. III 85:14), οὔ πετεοῦντακφ εῶφ 'what (claim) (οὔ) (is it) that you have (ετε-οὔντα-κ-φ) against him (εῶφ-φ)?' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

### 10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

#### a) Dative possession

Instead of normal οὔντα- and ἡντα- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative φοοπ 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. εἰπιδη οὔν οὔνοδ ἡμκαζνζητ φοοπ ἡαφ ετβε τεφφεερε 'since (εἰπιδη) he had (lit. was (οὔν ... φοοπ) to him (ἡα-φ)) a lot (οὔ-νοδ) of grief (ἡ-μκαζ-ν-ζητ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεφ-φεερε)' (Hil. 7:12-13), εἰμν φηρε δε φοοπ ἡαφ 'while she had no (lit. (there)

was no (ε-ἡν ... φοοπ) for her (ἡα-ς) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

#### b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction οὔν (ἡν) – (φ)σομ – ἡμο-φ – ε-σῶτἡ 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (φ)σομ 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ἡν σομ γαρ ἡμοφ εμοσφε 'since (γαρ) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (σομ) in him ((ἡμο-φ)) to walk (ε-μοσφε)' (Eud. 66:9), ἀγῶ ἡν φσομ ἡμοι εῶγονζς εῶλα 'and (ἀγῶ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (φσομ σομ) in me (ἡμο-ι)) to reveal it (ε-οὔγονζ-ς εῶλα)' (Hil. 3:21).

### Key Terms:

- |                  |  |         |
|------------------|--|---------|
| Basic word order | is the fully productive constituent order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S–V–O can be identified as the basic word order. | §10.1.1 |
| Scrambling       | is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.  | §10.1.2 |
| Topic            | The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.                       | §10.1.3 |

Information-packaging constructions	represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence.	§10.1.3
Subject inversion	involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.	§10.1.5
Presentational (new information) focus	corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse.	§10.1.5.5
Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1

## Exercises

### 10.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
  - The direct object must precede the indirect object.
  - Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

- The focus marker  $\text{N}\Omega\text{I}$  is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
- Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
- Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

### 10.2 Subject order and information structure

- A. Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.
- $\text{T}\Psi\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}\ \text{A}\text{E}\ \Psi\text{H}\text{H}\ \text{N}\text{E}\text{C}\text{Z}\text{E}\text{N}$  (for  $\text{N}\text{E}\text{C}\text{Z}\text{N}$ )  $\text{A}\text{H}\text{N}\text{T}\Psi\text{M}\text{H}\text{N}\text{E}\ \text{N}\text{P}\text{O}\text{M}\text{P}\text{E}$  '(as for) *the little* ( $\Psi\text{H}\text{H}$ ) *girl* ( $\text{T}\Psi\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}$ ) *she* was ( $\text{N}\text{E}\text{-C}\text{-Z}\text{E}\text{N}$ ) about eighteen ( $\text{A}$ -)  $\text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{-}\Psi\text{M}\text{H}\text{N}\text{E}$  years ( $\text{N}\text{-P}\text{O}\text{M}\text{P}\text{E}$ ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)
  - $\text{P}\text{A}\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{T}\ \text{E}\text{T}\text{B}\text{E}\ \text{O}\Psi\ \text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{K}\ \text{P}\text{A}\text{Z}\text{H}\text{T}\ \text{N}\text{A}\Psi\text{T}$  'my father ( $\text{P}\text{A}\text{-E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{T}$ ), why ( $\text{E}\text{T}\text{B}\text{E}\ \text{O}\Psi$ ) is, (as far as)  $\text{I}$  ( $\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{K}$ ) (am concerned), *my* heart ( $\text{P}\text{A}\text{-Z}\text{H}\text{T}$ ) (so) bold ( $\text{N}\text{A}\Psi\text{T}$ )?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7)
  - $\text{A}\Psi\text{O}\ \text{N}\Psi\text{A}\text{X}\text{E}\ \text{M}\text{H}\text{P}\text{N}\text{O}\Psi\text{T}\text{E}\ \text{E}\text{T}\text{E}\Psi\text{A}\text{Q}\text{C}\text{O}\text{T}\text{M}\text{O}\Psi\ \text{N}\text{T}\text{O}\text{O}\text{T}\text{Q}\ \text{N}\text{E}\Psi\text{A}\text{Q}\text{X}\text{O}\text{O}\Psi\ \text{Z}\Psi\text{O}\text{Q}\ \text{P}\text{E}\ \text{E}\text{N}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{M}\text{O}\text{N}\text{A}\text{X}\text{O}\text{C}$  'and ( $\text{A}\Psi\text{O}$ ) *the words* ( $\text{N}\Psi\text{A}\text{X}\text{E}$ ) of God ( $\text{M}\text{-H}\text{-P}\text{-N}\text{O}\Psi\text{T}\text{E}$ ) which he (the abbot) heard ( $\text{E}\text{T}\text{E}\text{-}\Psi\text{A}\text{-Q}\text{-C}\text{O}\text{T}\text{M}\text{-O}\Psi$ ) from him ( $\text{N}\text{-T}\text{O}\text{O}\text{T}\text{-Q}$ ) (Pachôm), he in turn ( $\text{Z}\Psi\text{O}\text{-Q}$ ) told *them* ( $\text{N}\text{E}\text{-}\Psi\text{A}\text{-Q}\text{-X}\text{O}\text{O}\text{-}\Psi$ ) to his monks ( $\text{E}\text{-N}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{-M}\text{O}\text{N}\text{A}\text{X}\text{O}\text{C}$ )' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)
  - $\text{P}\text{E}[\text{T}]\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}\ \text{P}\text{A}\text{X}\text{O}\text{I}\ [\text{N}\text{A}]\ \text{X}\text{P}\text{O}\text{Q}\ \text{K}\text{A}\text{T}\text{A}\ \text{P}\text{O}\text{M}\text{P}\text{E}\ \Psi\text{A}\text{I}\text{A}\text{A}\text{Q}\ \text{N}\Psi\text{O}\text{M}\text{T}\text{E}\ \text{N}\text{T}\text{O}$  '*what* my boat ( $\text{P}\text{A}\text{-X}\text{O}\text{I}$ ) *will* ( $\text{P}\text{-E}\text{T}\text{-E}\text{P}\text{E}\ \dots\ \text{N}\text{A}$ ) *bring in* ( $\text{X}\text{P}\text{O}\text{-Q}$ ) *each* ( $\text{K}\text{A}\text{T}\text{A}$ ) *year* ( $\text{P}\text{O}\text{M}\text{P}\text{E}$ ), I will split ( $\Psi\text{A}\text{-I}\text{-A}\text{A}\text{-Q}$ ) into three ( $\text{N}\text{-}\Psi\text{O}\text{M}\text{T}\text{E}$ ) parts ( $\text{N}\text{-T}\text{O}$ )' (KHML II 17:4-5)
  - $\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}\ \text{A}\text{E}\ \text{E}\text{Q}\text{X}\text{O}\ \text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{O}\Psi\ \text{N}\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}\ \Theta\text{E}\Psi\text{A}\Delta\text{W}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}\ \text{Z}\text{H}\text{O}\text{O}\text{C}\ \text{M}\text{P}\text{O}\Psi\text{E}\ \text{N}\text{O}\Psi\text{K}\text{O}\Psi\text{I}\ \text{E}\text{P}$  (for  $\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}$ )  $\text{P}\text{A}\text{Q}\text{O}\ \text{M}\text{P}\text{E}\text{C}\text{H}\text{T}$  'when he (Pachôm) was saying ( $\text{E}\text{-Q}\text{-X}\text{O}$ ) *these* (words) ( $\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}$ ), Theodore was sitting ( $\text{N}\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}\ \dots\ \text{Z}\text{H}\text{O}\text{O}\text{C}$ ) at a little ( $\text{N}\text{-O}\Psi\text{-K}\text{O}\Psi\text{I}$ ) distance ( $\text{M}\text{-P}\text{-O}\Psi\text{E}$ ), his face ( $\text{P}\text{A}\text{-Q}\text{-O}$ ) (turned down) to the ground ( $\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}\ \dots\ \text{M}\text{-P}\text{-E}\text{C}\text{H}\text{T}$ )' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ΖΗ [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΨ ΔΕ [ΕΙΣ] ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΩ  
[ΕΧ]Ω[Q] ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟ[ΡΟ]ΜΑ 'when (ΖΗ) he dozed off  
(Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΨ), look (ΕΙΣ), *the holy* (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) *Απα Μένα* stood  
(Α-Φ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Φ) before him (ΕΧΩ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) a vision  
(ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)  
 indefinite topic  contrastive topic

(2) ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΟΣ  
ΝΖΟΠ ΝΡΟ 'and (ΑΥΩ) *he* (ΝΤΟΦ), king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine,  
made (ΝΕ-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) for them (the Persians) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) great  
(Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΣ) royal (Ν-ΡΡΟ) feasts (Ν-ΖΟΠ)' (Eud. 48:27)  
 resumed topic  "hanging" discourse topic

(3) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΧΗ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΝΕΕΦ ΚΑ ΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΕΡΩ  
ΑΧΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΣΟΥΖΣ (...) 'as for (ΕΤΒΕ) *the ships* (Ν-ΕΧΗ),  
no (ΛΑΛΥ) sailor (Ν-ΝΕΕΦ) shall set loose (ΝΝΕ ... ΚΑ ΕΒΟΛ) a ship  
(ΧΟΙ) at (ΖΙ) the landing stage (ΤΕ-ΜΡΩ) without the man (i.e. the  
prior) (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of the congregation (Ν-Τ-ΣΟΥΖΣ)' (praec. Pach.  
118).  
 resumed topic  "hanging" discourse topic

(4) ΕΙΣ ΟΥΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΗ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ  
ΕΥΟΥΨ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (ΕΙΣ), *a knight* (ΟΥ-ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ)  
from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Φ-ΕΙ) together with  
(ΜΗ) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨ) to meet  
(Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9)  
 resumed topic  new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

(1) ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΧΗ ΤΗΝΤΡΕΟ  
ΝΝΕΖΡΩΝΑΙΟΣ Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΗΝΑΦ (Eud. 40:1-2)

(2) ΑΦΟΥΨΒ ΝΟΙ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΧΕ (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)

(3) ΟΥΝ ΚΕΖΜΕΣΝΟΥΣΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΦΕΙ ΝΟΙ  
ΠΕΧΣ (Test. Is. 231:7-8)

(4) [Ν]ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΠΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΙΧΑΝΑ  
ΠΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΝΤΣΟΜ ΝΗΠΗΥΕ (Eud. 34:27-36:1)

(5) ΦΥΣΙ ΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΠΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟ ΝΑΛΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΣΑ  
ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΜΑΓΑΛΦ (AP Chaîne no.19, 4:7-8)

(6) ΦΣΜΑΜΑΛΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΧΟΕ[ΙΣ] [ΠΝΟ]ΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΟ [ΚΩΣ]ΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ  
[Π]ΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΤΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΘΑΛΛΑΣΑ (Eud. 48:9-10)

(7) ΖΗ ΤΕΥΨΗ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΑΦΟΥΨΝΖ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΖΡΑΦΑΕΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
(KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL

ΝΤΕΡΟΥΜΟΟΝ[Ε] [ΔΕ] ΜΠΧΟΙ Ε[Π]ΚΡΟ ΑΦΤ[Ω]ΟΥΝ ΝΟΙ  
ΑΝΔΡΕ[ΑΣ] ΜΗ ΠΑ[Υ][ΛΟΣ] ΜΗ [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ[ΝΙΟΣ] ΠΝΕΕΦ ΑΥ[Τ]  
[ΠΕ][Υ]ΟΥΟΙ ΕΤΠΥΛΗ<sup>a</sup> ΝΤ[ΠΟ]ΛΙΣ<sup>b</sup> ΑΥΒΩΚ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑ (read ΕΥΝΑΕΙ)  
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛ (for ΤΠΥΛΗ) ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ  
ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΜΝΕ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ<sup>c</sup> ΕΨΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ  
ΔΕ ΑΦΤ ΠΕ[Φ]ΟΥΟΙ ΑΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ  
ΑΟΥΨΝ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΝΟΗ ΠΨΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΜΟΥ<sup>d</sup> ΧΕ ΑΝΡ ΜΗΤΡΕ  
ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΗΥ ΝΤΝΤΟΥΝΣΦ ΝΑΚ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. ΠΥΛΗ 'gate' b. ΠΟΛΙΣ 'city' c. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ 'apostle' d. ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΜΟΥ 'the deceased (lit. the one who died)', a free relative clause

## WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE PERSIAN ARMY

ΑΓΟΥΕΣ ΣΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟC  
 ΝΚΑΝΟΠΟC<sup>α</sup> ΠΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC<sup>β</sup> ΝΤΣΟ[Μ] ΝΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟC  
 ΕΤΡΕΥ[CΩΟΥ]Z ΝΝΕCΖΑΡΜΑ<sup>γ</sup> ΜΗ ΝΕCΖΙ[Π]ΠΕΥC<sup>δ</sup> ΜΗ ΠΜΗΗΨΕ  
 ΝΡΜΗΡΑΤΟ[Υ]<sup>ε</sup> [ΕΤ]ΡΕΥΜΟ[Ο]ΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ [Ε]ΤΕΖΡΩΜΑΝΙΑ  
 ΝCΕΧΙΟΟΥΡ ΝΠΙΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙC ΝCΕΖΜΟΟC ΕΧΗ ΝΤΩΨ  
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙΟΟΡ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ  
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC. ΝΤΕΡΕCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟC ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΙΝΟC  
 ΑCΩΟΥZ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕCΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑCΧΙ ΗΠΕ ΜΜΟΥ.  
 ΝΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΕ ΧΟΥΨΤ ΝΤΒΑ (1.200.000). ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ (read ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ) ΝCΗCΕ ΑΥΨ ΝΕΥΜΟΨΕ ΠΕ (...)  
 ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟC<sup>ς</sup>. ΑΥCΨ ΜΠΖΟΤ<sup>g</sup> ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΨΟΜΝΤ  
 ΝΕΒΟΤ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. ΚΑΝΟΠΟC (proper name) b. ΑΡΧΙCΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC 'commander-in-chief'  
 c. ΖΑΡΜΑ 'chariot' d. ΖΗΠΠΕΥC 'cavalry man' e. Ν-ΡΜΗ-ΡΑΤ=ΟΥ 'the  
 footmen, infantry' f. ΕΡΗΜΟC 'desert' g. ΖΟΤ 'opposite'

## 10.3 Residual V-S(-O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ΕΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΧΛΗΗ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ '(there) was (ΕΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a sycamore (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΖΕ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) desert (Π-ΧΛΗΗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)

comparative extension       locative extension

(2) ΟΥΝ CΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΨΑΡΕ ΠΕCΖΑΙ ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΕΙΚ ΤΕ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) (a kind of) woman (CΖΙΜΕ) whom (ΕΡΟ-C) her husband (ΠΕC-ΖΑΙ) suspects (Ε-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ) of (ΧΕ) (being) adulterous (ΟΥ-ΝΟΕΙΚ)' (Sh. Or. 44, 159b:42-46)

locative extension       relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

- (1) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΛΛΟ ΝΡΕCΨΠΖΙCΕ ΖΗ ΨΗΤ ΕCΜΟΚΖ ΜΕΝ ΜΜΟC ΖΗ ΠΕCΩΜΑ ΝΨΟ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΑΚΡΙΕΗC ΖΗ ΝΕCΗΕΕΥΕ (AP Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)
- (2) ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (KMHL II 33:16-17)
- (3) ΜΗ ΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟC ΕΜΟΨΕ (Eud. 66:9)
- (4) ΠΟΥΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΡΤ ΜΜΟC (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

FROM THE *APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΝΕΥΝ CΟΝ CΝΑΥ ΖΗ ΝΡΙ<sup>α</sup>. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΖΛΛΟ ΑΥΨ  
 ΑCΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ<sup>β</sup> ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΝΟΥΨΖ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ.  
 ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑC ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΕCΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΨ ΜΗ ΨΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ  
 ΕΟΥΨΖ ΝΗΜΑΚ ΑΠΑ. ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΑCΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ CΕ<sup>γ</sup> ΟΥΝ  
 ΨΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ. ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΚΑΘΑΡΟC<sup>δ</sup> ΠΕ ΝΨΟΥΨΨ ΑΝ  
 ΕCΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΨ ΜΠΟΡΝΙΑ<sup>ε</sup> (for  
 ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤC. ΠΕΧΑC ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΧΕ ΚΑΑΝ ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC<sup>ς</sup> (for  
 ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC) ΑΥΨ ΟΝ ΝΤΝΨΑΧΕ. ΑCΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΑΥΨ  
 ΕCΟΥΨΨ ΕΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ<sup>ς</sup> ΜΜΟC ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΠΕΧΑC ΝΑC ΧΕ ΑΙΖΕ  
 ΕΥΝΟC ΜΠΙΡΑCΜΟC<sup>η</sup> (for ΜΠΕΙΡΑCΜΟC) ΖΗ ΤΕΙΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC  
 ΠΑΕΙΨΤ. ΑΙΒΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ<sup>ι</sup> ΨΑ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΑΙΖΕ ΜΗ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ.  
 ΠΕΧΑC ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ<sup>ι</sup> ΨΟΟΠ; ΠΕΧΑC ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ  
 ΧΕ CΕ. ΠΕΧΑC ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΨΝΑΤΨΟΥΝ ΝΗΜΑΚ ΖΑ  
 ΤΠΑΨΕ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ. ΠΕΧΑC ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΑΨΘΜCΘΜ ΕΟΥΨΖ  
 ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΨ ΑΥCΨ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΜΟΥ. (AP Chaîne  
 no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. ΝΡΙ 'Kellia' b. ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ 'to summon, appeal' c. CΕ 'yes' d.  
 ΚΑΘΑΡΟC 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. ΠΟΡΝΙΑ 'fornication' f. ΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC  
 'week' g. ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ 'to test' h. ΠΙΡΑCΜΟC 'temptation' i. ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ 'service'  
 j. ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'repentance'

## Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. **ΝΕΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΤ† ΚΒΟ ΝΝΦΥΧΗ** 'the remedies (ΝΕ-ΠΑΖΡΕ) [*which* (ΕΤ \_\_) *give* (†) *solace* (ΚΒΟ) *to the souls* (Ν-Ν-ΦΥΧΗ)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. **ΛΙΟΥΩΜ ΜΠΕΝΤΑϞΣΕΕΠΕ ΜΠΟΕΙΚ** 'I ate (Λ-Ι-ΟΥΩΜ) [*what was left* (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ϟ-ΣΕΕΠΕ) *of the bread* (Μ-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Omnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. **ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΕΤΧΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΧΕ ΝΙΗ ΡΝΤΚ** '(it is) the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) [*who* (ΕΤ \_\_) *is asking* (ΧΝΟΥ) *you* (ΜΜΟ-Κ) [*what* (ΝΙΗ) *your name* (ΡΝΤ-Κ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

## 11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who*, *whom*, *which*, *what*, e.g.  $\text{ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟΤΕ ΜΜΟϚ}$  'a thing (ΟΥΖΩΒ) [that (ΕΡΕ) God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) hates (ΜΟΤΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127),  $\text{ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕϚΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤϚ}$  'the place (ΠΜΑ) [that (ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ) his father (ΠΕϚ-ΕΙΩΤ) was sleeping (ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) in (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMP<sub>REL</sub> for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMP <sub>REL</sub>	EMBEDDED CLAUSE ]
ΟΥΖΩΒ <sub>i</sub> a thing <sub>i</sub>	[ΕΡΕ that	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟΤΕ ΜΜΟ-Ϛ <sub>i</sub> ] God hates (it <sub>i</sub> )
Π-ΜΑ <sub>i</sub> the place <sub>i</sub>	[ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ that	ΠΕϚ-ΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ <sub>i</sub> ] his father was sleeping in-(it <sub>i</sub> )

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g.  $\text{ΠΑΧΡ̄Ϛ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟϚ}$  'my Christ (ΠΑ-ΧΡ̄Ϛ) [in whom (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ) I (ΑΝΟΚ) believe (Ε-Τ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g.  $\text{ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΗ ΕΟΥΝΤΑϚ ΖΑΖ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ}$  'for (ΓΑΡ) every (ΝΙΗ) man (ΡΩΜΕ) [who has (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ϛ) many (ΖΑΖ) gods (Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Eud. 36:11),

$\text{ΜΠΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΝΨΑϚΒΩϚΟΥ ΖΙ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΜΜΗΝΕ}$  'at the hour (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) [that he (Αρα Μena) loosened them (the camels) (Ν-ΨΑ-Ϛ-ΒΩϚ-ΟΥ) daily (ΜΜΗΝΕ) at (ΖΙ) night (ΡΟΥΖΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

### 11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g.  $\text{ΟΥΜΑ ΕϚΟ ΝΨΑΡΒΑ}$  'a place (ΟΥ-ΜΑ) [that was (Ε-Ϛ-Ο) in (a state of) scorching heat (Ν-ΨΑΡΒΑ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g.  $\text{ΑϚΧΙϚΕ ΝΤΕϚΑΠΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΙ ΕΡΕ ΡΩϚ ΟΥΩΝ}$  'he (the devil) raised (Α-Ϛ-ΧΙϚΕ) his head (Ν-ΤΕϚ-ΑΠΕ) above (ΕΖΡΑΙ) me (ΕΧΩ-Ι), [while his mouth (ΡΩ-Ϛ) was (wide) open (ΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΩΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g.  $\text{ΕΚΝΑΒΩΨΤ ΝϚΩΙ ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΑΚΟ}$  'will you watch (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΨΤ) me (ΝϚΩ-Ι) [rushing (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to perdition (Ε-Π-ΤΑΚΟ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g.  $\text{ΕΚΨΩΝΕ ΕΟΥ - ΠΧ̄Ϛ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ ΕΠΑΖΗΠΑΡ}$  'from what (Ε-ΟΥ) do you suffer (Ε-Κ-ΨΩΝΕ)? - Lord (Π-Χ̄Ϛ), I am suffering (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ) from my liver (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΗΠΑΡ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative environments (e.g.  $\text{ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΟΝΤϚ ΝΖΗΤϚ}$  'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [where (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ) you have found it (the boat) (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΟΝΤ-Ϛ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g.  $\text{ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙϚ ΠΡΡΟ}$  'what (ΟΥ) has happened (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to you (ΜΜΟ-Κ), our lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙϚ) (and) king (Π-ΡΡΟ)]?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

### 11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

#### 11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers ερε and ε- introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, compare: ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟΤΕ ΜΗΟΦ ‘a thing (ΟΥΖΩΒ) [that (ΕΡΕ) God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) hates (ΜΟΤΕ)]’ (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΝΑΧΟΟΥΣΕ ΕΡΟΦ ‘every (ΝΙΜ) place (ΜΑ) [that they (the brothers) will be sent (lit. that they will send them (ε-γ-να-χοου-σε))] to (ερο-φ)]’ (praec. Pach. 129).

#### 11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet ετ, ετερε, and ετ(ε)-. The allomorphs ετερε and ετ(ε)- are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme ετ- and the relative markers ερε and ε- that also introduce virtual relative clauses: ετ-ερε, ετ-ε.

#### a) The “bare” relative complementiser ετ

The “bare” complementiser ετ is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or “gap” (indicated as ‘\_’ in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ‘the angel (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) [who (ετ \_) serves (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) your father (ε-πεκ-ειωτ) Abraham]’ (Test. Is 229:18-19).

#### b) The internally complex relative complementisers ετερε-, ετε-

The morphologically derived relative complementisers ετερε- and ετε-, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. ΠΩΛΧΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΡΗΝΗ ΝΑΧΟΟΦ ‘the word (Π-ΩΛΧΕ) [that (ετ-ερε) the superintendent (Π-ΡΗΝ-Η)] will say (ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Φ)]’ (praec. Pach. 122) vs. ΠΜΑ ΕΤΚΩΦΝΕ ΕΡΟΦ ‘the place (Π-ΜΑ) [where (ερο-φ) you are sick (ετ-κ-ωφνε)]’ (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρωμε <sub>i</sub> [RC ετ__ <sub>i</sub> σωτη ]	
	The man <sub>i</sub> [RC who __ <sub>i</sub> is listening ]	
NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρωμε <sub>i</sub> [RC ετ(ε)-φ-σωτη νεω-φ ]	
	The man <sub>i</sub> [RC that he is listening to (him) <sub>i</sub> ]	
SINGULAR		PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	ε-†-σωτη	ετ-ν-σωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	ετ(ε)-κ-σωτη	ετε-την-σωτη
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	ετε-σωτη	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	ετ(ε)-φ-σωτη	ετ-ου-σωτη
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	ετ(ε)-ς-σωτη	
Before noun	ετερε π-ρωμε σωτη	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: (ετ plus subject gap) ΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ‘the grace (τε-χαρις) of God (μ-π-νουτε) [which (ετ \_) surrounded (κωτε) him (ερο-φ)]’ (KMHL II 35:12-13), ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΝΕΧ ΕΙΤΝ ΜΠΕΦΗ ΕΒΟΛ ‘everybody (ρωμε νιμ) [who (ετ \_) will throw (να-νεχ) garbage (ειτη) out (εβολ) of his house (μ-πεφ-η)]’ (Eud. 52:26-27), (ετερε plus subject NP) ΠΗ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΦΗΡΕ ΦΗΜ ΜΟΟΥΤ ΝΖΗΤΦ ‘the house (π-η) [where (νζητ-φ) this little (φημ) boy (πει-φηρε) died (ετερε ... μοουτ)]’ (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), (ετ(ε)- plus subject



pronoun) **ΘΕ** **ΕΙΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ** **ΕΠΙΖΩΒ** **ΝΟΙΧ** 'the manner (**ΘΕ** < **τ-2ε**) [*in which*] *I was diligent* (**ε-τ-σπουδαζε** < **ετ-τ-σπουδαζε**) *at my manual* (**ν-οιχ**) *labour* (**ε-πα-ζωβ**)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), **ΠΝΑΥ** **ΕΤΕΚΝΑ** **ΑΖΕΡΑΤΚ** **ΕΡΟΪ** 'the hour (**π-ναυ**) [*when you will stand up* (**ετε-κ-να-αζε** **πατ-κ**)]' (Test. Is. 232:19), **ΖΩΒ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΕΤΕΦΕΙΡΕ** **ΜΜΟΟΥ** 'everything (**ζωβ** **νιμ**) [*that he did* (**ετε-φ-ειρε**)]' (KHML II 19:8-9), **ΝΘΟΜ** **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **ΕΤΦΕΙΡΕ** **ΜΗΟΟΥ** **ΜΗ** **ΠΡΡΟ** **ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ** 'the mighty deeds (**ν-θομ**) of God (**ν-π-νουτε**) [*that he did* (**ετ-φ-ειρε**) *to* (**μη**) *King* (**π-ρρο**) *Constantine*]' (Eud. 50:1), **ΖΩΒ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΕΤΩΨΙΝΕ** **ΝΤΟΣ** **ΝΩΟΥ** 'everything (**ζωβ** **νιμ**) [*which she* (**ντος**) *is looking* (**ετ-ω-ψινε**) *for* (**νω-ου**)]' (Eud. 64:19).

**11.1.2.3 Complementiser-TAM agreement**

A different set of complementiser allomorphs is selected when the relative complementiser precedes a tense-aspect-mood marker rather than the embedded subject position of the relative clause.

TAM	COMPREL	TAM	COMPREL
PRETERIT ΝΕ-	ε-	NEGATIVE SCOPE DEFINER N-	ε-
PERFECT Α-	(ε)ΝΤ-	NEGATIVE PERFECT ΜΠΕ-	ΕΤ(ε)-
HABITUAL ΨΑ-	ε-, (ε)Ν-, ΕΤΕ-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ΜΕ-	ΕΤ(ε)-
VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES	ΕΤ(ε)-	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ΜΠΑΤ(ε)-	ΕΤΕ-

TABLE 11.2 Complementiser-tense/aspect/mood agreement

Examples: (relativised Preterit) **ΚΑΤΑ** **ΘΕ** **ΕΝΕΦΟ** **ΜΜΟΣ** 'in (**κατα**) the manner (**ΘΕ** < **τ-2ε**) [*that it* (the sun) *is* (**ε-νε-φ-ο**)]' (Zen. 200:27), (relativised Habitual) **ΝΘΕ** **ΕΨΑΥΑΑΣ** **ΝΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ** **ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ** 'in the manner (**νε** < **ν-τ-2ε**) [*that they used to do it* (**ε-ψα-γ-αα-σ**) *to the holy* (**ετ-ουλαβ**) martyrs (**ν-η-μαρτυρος**)]' (V. Pach. 94:8-9), **ΑΛΛΥ** **ΝΦΗΝ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΞΝΦΑΧΧΟΥ** 'every (single) (**νιμ**) one (**αλλυ**) of the trees (**ν-φην**) [*that he* (Ara Matthew) *planted* (**εσ-φα-χ-χο-ου**)]' (KHML II 19:6-7), **ΜΠΝΑΥ** **ΔΕ**

**ΝΦΑΧΒΩΦΟΥ** **ΖΙ** **ΡΟΥΖΕ** **ΜΜΗΝΕ** 'at the hour (**ν-π-ναυ**) [*that he* (Ara Mena) *loosened them* (the camels) (**ν-φα-χ-βωφ-ου**) daily (**μμηνε**) at (**ζι**) night (**ρουζε**)' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12)], **ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ** **ΔΕ** **ΟΝ** **ΖΝ** **ΝΕΤΕ** **ΨΑΡΕ** **ΠΕΥΖΗΤ** **ΠΩΨ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** 'also (**ον**) a lot (**ου-μηνωε**) of [*those* [*whose minds* (lit. hearts) (**πευ-ζητ**) *had left* (**ν-ετε-ψαρε** ... **πωψ**) *them* (**ερο-ου**)]]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause), (relativised Perfect) **ΖΩΒ** **ΝΙΜ** **ΕΝΤΑΡΖΩΝ** **ΜΜΟΟΥ** **ΕΤΟΟΤ** 'everything (**ζωβ** **νιμ**) [*which you ordered* (**εντ-α-κ-ρζων**) *me* (**ετοοτ**) (to do)]' (Eud. 34:14), **ΠΜΑ** **ΝΤΑΚΟΝΤΑ** **ΝΖΗΤΑ** 'the place (**π-μα**) [*where* (**νζητ-α**) *you have found it* (the boat) (**ντ-α-κ-οντ-α**)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), (relativised Negative Perfect), **ΠΕΙΚΕΟΥΑ** **ΕΤΖΝ** **ΤΕΤΝΗΗΤΕ** **ΕΤΜΠΕΙΜΨΑ** **ΝΦΑΧΕ** **ΝΗΜΑΙ** 'this other person (**πει-κε-ουα**) [who (is) (**ετ** **—**) in (**ζν**) your midst (**τετν-ηητε**) [*that I am not worthy* (**ετ-μπε-ι-μψα**) (that) he talks (**ν-φ-φαχε**) to me (**νημα-ι**)]' (KHML II 30:18-19), (relativised Unexpected Negative Perfective) **ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ** **ΝΖΑΛΟ** **ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ** **ΠΑΙ** **ΕΤΕΜΠΑΤΦΩΚ** **ΧΙΝΤΑΦΒΩΚ** **ΕΡΑΤΑ** **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'our senior (**ν-ζαλο**) holy (**ετ-ουλαβ**) father (**πεν-ειωτ**), he (**παι**) [*who had not long ago* (**ετε-μπατ-φ-ωκ**) gone (**χι(ν)-ντ-α-φ-βωκ**) towards (**ε-ρατ-α**) God (**ν-π-νουτε**)]' (Sh. III 142:5-7), (relativised Negative Habitual) **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **ΠΑΙ** **ΕΤΕΜΕΡΕ** **ΑΛΛΥ** **ΨΩΠΕ** **ΕΧΝΤΑ** 'God (**π-νουτε**), [he (**παι**) [without whom (**εχнт-α**) nothing (**αλλυ**) *happens* (**ετε-μερε** ... **ψωπε**)]]' (Zen. 202:3) (a free relative clause), **ΝΕΤΕΜΕΥΣΕΙ** **ΝΤΩΡΠ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΝΦΙ** **ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΥ** **ΑΝ** **ΝΕ** '[those [*who do not get enough* (**ν-ετε-με-γ-σει**) of robbing (**ν-τωρп**) and stealing (**ν-φι**) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (**αν**) theirs (**ν-ν-ετε-νου-ου**)]]]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24) (a free relative clause), (relativised negative concord) **Ν-ΕΤΕ-Ν-ΣΕ-ΨΟΟΠ** **ΑΝ** '[*what was non-existent*]' (V. Pach. 7:14) (a free relative clause), (fronted adjectival verb) **ΝΕΙΜΙΝΕ** **ΝΡΩΜΕ** **ΕΤΕ** **ΝΑΨΕ** **ΝΕΤΑΨΑΖΟΜ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** 'these kinds (**νει-μινε**) of people (**ν-ρωμε**) [against whom (**ερο-ου**) the ones who complain (**ν-ετ-αψ-αζομ**) *are numerous* (**ετε** ... **ναψε**)]' (Sh. IV 99:19).

**11.1.3 The grammatical role of the relative antecedent**

The antecedent of the relative clause plays a role in two different clauses. On the one hand, it has a particular grammatical role (subject, direct or indirect object, adjunct) in the matrix clause, but it also has a particular grammatical role in the attributive relative clause. Coptic relative constructions have within their structure an anaphoric element that recovers the pivot's internal role. The placeholder may take the form of a resumptive pronoun, as in **ΠΜΑ** **ΕΝΕΦΝΖΗΤΑ** '*the place*;

(π-μα) [where he was (lit. that he was *in it* ((ε-νε-φ-νητ-φ))] (KHML II 20:9), but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in ΤΕΥΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ 'their faith<sub>i</sub> (ΤΕΥ-ΠΙΣΤΙΣ) [that (ετ \_\_i) perfect (ΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ)]' (Test. Is. 233:19).

### 11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) ΟΥΜΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΨΑΡΒΑ 'a place<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ-ΜΑ) [that was (lit. while *it*<sub>i</sub> was (ε-φ-ο)) in (a state of) scorching heat (Ν-ΨΑΡΒΑ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΖΙΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'every (ΝΙΜ) man<sub>i</sub> (ΡΩΜΕ) [who (lives) on (lit. while *he*<sub>i</sub> lives on (ε-φ-ζιχμ)) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)]' (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) ΛΑΛΥ [Ν]ΨΗΝ ΝΙ[Μ] ΕΑΦΧΟΟΥ 'every (single) (ΝΙΜ) one (ΛΑΛΥ) of the trees<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΨΗΝ) [that he (Ara Matthew) planted (them<sub>i</sub>) (ε-α-φ-χο-ου)]' (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) ΕΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ ΤΗΕ 'to a bird<sub>i</sub> (ε-γ-ζαλητ) [which is called (lit. while *they* say (ε-ψα-γ-μουτε) about *it*<sub>i</sub> (ερο-φ) »truth« (τ-με)]' (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΕΡΟΝΟΘ ΕΥΖΗΟΘ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΨΟΥ ΝΘΙ ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΜΗΗΨΕ ΜΗΩΝΑΧΟΘ (for ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟΘ) ΕΥΖΑ ΕΘΟΥ ΗΜΑΤΕ 'great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) multitudes (Η-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of thrones<sub>i</sub> (Ν-ΘΡΟΝΟΘ) [on which great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) multitudes (Η-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of highly (ΗΜΑΤΕ) venerable (lit. who were under (ε-γ-ζα) glory (ΕΘΟΥ)) monks (Η-ΜΩΝΑΧΟΘ) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ε-γ-ζηοοθ)) on (them<sub>i</sub>) (εχω-ου)]' (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ΟΥΣΩΝΕ (...) ΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΘ ΕΠΕΣΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ 'a virgin (Η-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΘ) sister<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ-ΣΩΝΕ) [whose name (lit. while *her*<sub>i</sub> name (ε-πεσ-ραν) (was) (πε) Eudoxia (ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ)]' (Eud. 50:3-4).

### 11.1.3.2 The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

#### 11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

##### a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΘ ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΑΝ ΗΠΕΦΑΘ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΗΠΝΑΥ ΗΠΩΝΤ 'the monks<sub>i</sub> (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΘ) [who (ετ \_\_i) does not (ΑΝ) restrain (ΑΜΑΖΤΕ) his<sub>i</sub> tongue (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΛΑΘ), especially (ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ) in the hour (Η-Π-ΝΑΥ) of anger (Η-Π-ΩΝΤ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:8-9), ΕΠΕΘΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ ΗΠΕΙΚΟΘΜΟΘ 'at the idle (lit. which is idle (ετ \_\_i) ψΟΥΕΙΤ) praise<sub>i</sub> (ε-π-εοου) of this world (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΚΟΘΜΟΘ)' (KHML II 28:4-5), ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΧΗΖ 'according to (ΚΑΤΑ) the manner<sub>i</sub> (θε < τ-ζε) [that (ετ \_\_i) is written (ΧΗΖ)]' (V. Pach. 4:20), ΓΕΝΟΘ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΑΜΗΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΜ) human (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) race<sub>i</sub> (ΓΕΝΟΘ) [that (ετ \_\_i) lives (ψοοπ) in (ΖΗ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΗΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

##### b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ΤΡΗΝΗ ΗΠΑΧΟΕΙΘ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΘ ΝΑΙ 'the peace<sub>i</sub> (ΤΡΗΝΗ < Τ-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) of my lord<sub>i</sub> (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΘ) [which he<sub>i</sub> has given (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΑΑ-Θ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι)]' (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ΝΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕΚΧΩ ΗΜΟΟΥ 'your words<sub>i</sub> (ΝΕΚ-ΨΑΧΕ) [that you spoke (ετε-κ-χω) (them<sub>i</sub>) (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΤΕΝΟΥ 'this man<sub>i</sub> (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you are looking (ετε-κ-ναυ) at (him<sub>i</sub>) (ερο-φ) right now (ΤΕΝΟΥ)]' (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ ΑΤΑ ΠΑΖΩΗ 'the man<sub>i</sub> (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you were talking (ετ-κ-ψαχε) to me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) about (him<sub>i</sub>) (ετβηητ-φ), (namely) Ara Pachôm]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ΠΗΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΩΜΟΥΛ ΝΑΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤΦ 'the place<sub>i</sub> (Π-ΜΑ) [where the camel (Π-ΩΜΟΥΛ) will rest (ετερε ... ΝΑ-ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) (in *it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ΟΥΜΗΨΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΠΨΘ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'also (ΟΝ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΨΕ) of (ΖΗ) those<sub>i</sub> [whose

*minds*; (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ) *had left* (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΠΩΨ) *them*; (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause).

### 11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker *ν-*, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subject tense-aspect-mood marker) ΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΕΝ (for ΜΗ) ΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΩ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ '*the mighty deeds*; (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *and* (ΜΕΝ) *miracles*; (ΝΕ-ΨΗΡΕ) [*that (they)<sub>i</sub> happened* (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) *through* (ΖΙ-ΤΟΟΤ-Ω) *our father* (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Αρα Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16), ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΠΙΛΑΤΟΥΣΟΥΩΝΓ ΜΗ ΝΕΚΜΑΓΙΑ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *all*<sub>i</sub>; (those) (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [*that (they)<sub>i</sub> have not yet known you* (ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΣΟΥΩΝ-Γ) *and* (ΜΗ) *your magical tricks* (ΝΕΚ-ΜΑΓΙΑ)]' (Sh. III 77:26), ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΩΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*who*<sub>i</sub>; (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that (he)<sub>i</sub> will not* (ΑΝ) *believe* (ΕΤ-Ν-Ω-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) *in the mighty deeds* (Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (KMHL II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) ΜΑΡΕΝΤΑΥΕ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΩ '*let us bring forth* (ΜΑΡΕ-Ν-ΤΑΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ) *fruit*; (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) [*that (it)<sub>i</sub> is good* (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ω)]' (KHML II 19:15).

### 11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics *πε*, *τε*, *νε* 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns *παι*, *ται*, *ναι* 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. ΠΗΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ 'the blessed (Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) Αρα Zenobius, [*that is* (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ), *our father* (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ)]' (Zen. 199:9), ΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΜΠΩΤΗ 'those who believe (Ν-ΕΤ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ), [*which (is)* (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) *the utmost degree* (Π-ΧΩΚ) *of obedience* (Μ-Π-ΩΤΗ)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

### 11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

#### a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ΖΗ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΑΠΩΖ ΨΑΡΩΤΗ '*at* (ΖΗ) *the moment* (ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [(when) this order (ΠΕΙ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ) will reach (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΠΩΖ) you (ΨΑΡΩ-ΤΗ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ΜΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΖΑΡΟΙ ΜΠΜΕΖΣΕΠΝΑΥ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *in the hour* (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) [that my throne (Μ-ΠΑ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) was turned down (lit. they turned down (ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΩΝΕ)) under me (ΖΑΡΟ-Ι) for a second time (Μ-Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΕΠ-ΝΑΥ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΚ ΝΖΗΤΩ '*the day*; (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) [*when*; (ΝΖΗΤ-Ω) you were born (lit. they gave birth to you (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΧΠΟ-Κ))] (KHML II 30:13).

#### b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun *θε* (< *τ-ζε*) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΣ ΝΧΙΝ Π[Ω]ΝΖ '*in* (ΚΑΤΑ) *the manner*; (θε < *τ-ζε*) [that he (Αρα Μena) had told (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΝΤ-Α-Ω-ΧΟΟ-Σ) her (ΝΑ-Σ) while (he was) still (ΝΧΙΝ) alive (Π-ΩΝΖ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), ΘΕ ΕΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΗΜΟΣ ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ '*the manner*; (θε < *τ-ζε*) [that he (Pachôm) behaved (lit. made (Ε-ΝΕ-Ω-ΕΙΡΕ) (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΗΜΟ-Σ)) towards them (the brothers) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) all (ΝΙΜ) the time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ)]' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g. ΘΕ ΕΨΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΑΖΩΒ ΝΟΙΧ '*the manner* (θε < *τ-ζε*) [(in which) I was diligent (Ε-Ψ-ΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ < ΕΤ-Ψ-ΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) at my manual (Ν-ΟΙΧ) labour (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΩΒ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΛΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Ρ ΖΑΖ ΗΠΕΘΟΥ '*this* (ΤΑΙ) (was) *the manner* (θε < *τ-ζε*) [(in which) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) demon (Π-ΔΛΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ) carried out (ΝΤ-Α ... Ρ) many (ΖΑΖ) evil (things) (Μ-ΠΕΘΟΥ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g.  $\text{ZNK}\epsilon\omega\text{HN}$   $\epsilon\gamma\text{OPT}$   $\text{NKAP}\text{POC}$   $\epsilon\text{NA}\omega\text{OY}$   $\epsilon\text{MATE}$  'other trees ( $\text{ZN-K}\epsilon\text{-}\omega\text{HN}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_1$  while ( $\text{they}_i$ ) were loaded ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\text{OPT}$ ) with fruit ( $\text{N-KAP}\text{POC}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_2$  while ( $\text{they}_j$ ) were plenty ( $\epsilon\text{-NA}\omega\text{-OY}$ )]]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT <sub>1</sub>	[RC <sub>1</sub> ]]	ANTECEDENT <sub>2</sub>	[RC <sub>2</sub> ]]
$\text{ZN-K}\epsilon\text{-}\omega\text{HN}_i$ <i>other trees<sub>i</sub></i>	[RC <sub>1</sub> $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\text{OPT}$ while ( $\text{they}_i$ ) were loaded	$\text{N-KAP}\text{POC}_j$ <i>with fruit<sub>j</sub></i>	[RC <sub>2</sub> $\epsilon\text{-NA}\omega\text{-OY}$ ]] while ( $\text{they}_j$ ) were plenty

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g.  $\text{NEYN}$   $\text{OY}\omega\text{HP}\epsilon$   $\omega\text{HM}$   $\Delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\text{PE}\epsilon\text{PAN}$   $\text{PE}$   $\text{BHCAM}\omega\text{N}$   $\epsilon\text{P}\omega\text{HP}\epsilon$   $\text{PE}$   $\text{NOYCTPATYAA}\text{THC}$  (for  $\text{NOYCTPATYAA}\text{THC}$ )  $\epsilon\text{PE}\epsilon\text{PAN}$   $\text{PE}$   $\text{BACIAT}\text{HC}$  '(there) was ( $\text{NE-YN}$ ) a young ( $\omega\text{HM}$ ) lad ( $\text{OY}\text{-}\omega\text{HP}\epsilon$ ) [ $\text{RC}_1$  whose name (lit. while  $\text{his}_i$  name (was) ( $\epsilon\text{-PE}\epsilon\text{-PAN}$  ...  $\text{PE}$ ))  $\text{B}\epsilon\text{sam}\delta\text{n}$  ( $\text{BHCAM}\omega\text{N}$ ), [ $\text{RC}_2$  who (was) (lit. while  $\text{he}_i$  ( $\text{PE}$ ) (was)) the son ( $\epsilon\text{-T}\text{-}\omega\text{HP}\epsilon$ ) of a general ( $\text{N-OYCTPATYAA}\text{THC}$ ), [ $\text{RC}_3$  whose name (was) (lit. while  $\text{his}_j$  name (was) ( $\epsilon\text{-PE}\epsilon\text{-PAN}$  ...  $\text{PE}$ ))  $\text{Basilit}\epsilon\text{s}$  ( $\text{BACIAT}\text{HC}$ )]]' (KHML I 43:5-6),  $\text{ZENNO}\delta$   $\text{MMHH}\omega\text{E}$   $\text{N}\epsilon\text{PONOC}$   $\epsilon\gamma\text{ZMOOC}$   $\epsilon\text{ZPAI}$   $\epsilon\text{X}\omega\text{Y}$   $\text{N}\delta\text{I}$   $\text{ZENNO}\delta$   $\text{MMHH}\omega\text{E}$   $\text{M}\omega\text{NAXOC}$  (for  $\text{MMONAXOC}$ )  $\epsilon\gamma\text{ZA}$   $\epsilon\text{OOY}$   $\text{MMATE}$  'great ( $\text{ZEN-NO}\delta$ ) multitudes ( $\text{M-MMHH}\omega\text{E}$ ) of thrones ( $\text{N-O}\epsilon\text{PONOC}$ ), [ $\text{RC}_1$  on which ( $\epsilon\text{X}\omega\text{-OY}$ ) were seated ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\text{ZMOOC}$ ) great ( $\text{ZEN-NO}\delta$ ) multitudes ( $\text{M-MMHH}\omega\text{E}$ ) of monks ( $\text{M-M}\omega\text{NAXOC}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_2$  that were highly ( $\text{MMATE}$ ) venerable (lit. while  $\text{they}_j$  were under ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\text{ZA}$ ) glory ( $\epsilon\text{OOY}$ )]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g.  $\text{NECNHY}$   $\epsilon\text{TOYAAAB}$   $\epsilon\text{T}\omega\text{OPT}$   $\text{ZM}$   $\text{PXAI}\epsilon$  'the holy brothers ( $\text{NE-CNHY}$ ) (lit. [ $\text{RC}_1$  who ( $\epsilon\text{T}$   $\text{---}$ ) are holy ( $\text{OYAAAB}$ )] [ $\text{RC}_2$  who ( $\epsilon\text{T}$   $\text{---}$ ) live ( $\omega\text{OPT}$ ) in ( $\text{ZM}$ ) the desert ( $\text{PXAI}\epsilon$ )]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC <sub>1</sub> ]]	[RC <sub>2</sub> ]]
$\text{NE-CNHY}_i$ <i>the brothers<sub>i</sub></i>	[RC <sub>1</sub> $\epsilon\text{T}$ $\text{---}$ $\text{OYAAAB}$ <u>who</u> are holy	[RC <sub>2</sub> $\epsilon\text{T}$ $\text{---}$ $\omega\text{OPT}$ $\text{ZM}$ $\text{PXAI}\epsilon$ ]] <u>who</u> live in the desert

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g.  $\text{PEIP}\omega\text{ME}$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\text{TOYAAAB}$   $\epsilon\text{TEYNTAQ}$   $\text{MMAY}$   $\text{MPEIMNH}\omega\text{E}$   $\text{NAPETH}$  'this man ( $\text{PEIP}\omega\text{ME}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_1$  who ( $\epsilon\text{T}$   $\text{---}$ ) is holy ( $\text{OYAAAB}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_2$  that ( $\text{he}_i$ ) possessed ( $\epsilon\text{TE-YN}\text{TA-Q}$ ) such a multitude ( $\text{M-PEI-MNH}\omega\text{E}$ ) of virtues ( $\text{N-APETH}$ )]]' (BHom. 2:1-2),  $\text{PEIKEOYA}$   $\epsilon\text{TZN}$   $\text{TETNMHTE}$   $\epsilon\text{TMPEIMPWA}$   $\text{N}\epsilon\text{PAXE}$   $\text{NMMAI}$  'this other person ( $\text{PEI-K}\epsilon\text{-OYA}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_1$  who ( $\epsilon\text{T}$   $\text{---}$ ) (is) in ( $\text{ZN}$ ) your midst ( $\text{TETN-MHTE}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_2$  that I am not worthy ( $\epsilon\text{T-MPE-I-MPWA}$ ) (that) he ( $\text{N-Q-PAXE}$ ) to me ( $\text{NMMAI}$ )]]' (KHML II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g.  $\text{NEKCB}\omega\text{OYE}$   $\epsilon\text{TNA}\text{NOY}\text{OY}$   $\text{NTAKTCABOI}$   $\epsilon\text{POOY}$  'your teachings ( $\text{NEK-CB}\omega\text{OYE}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_1$  that ( $\text{they}_i$ ) are beneficent ( $\epsilon\text{T-NA}\text{NOY-OY}$ ) [ $\text{RC}_2$  that you have taught me ( $\text{NT-A-K-TCABOI}$ ) ( $\text{them}_i$ ) ( $\epsilon\text{PO-OY}$ )]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-ordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g.  $\text{P}\omega\text{ME}$   $\text{NIM}$   $\epsilon\text{TNAEP}$   $\text{P}\omega\text{M}\omega\text{E}$   $\epsilon\text{TMMAY}$   $\text{N}\epsilon\text{PCTEY}\epsilon$   $\epsilon\text{POQ}$  'everybody

(*ρῶμε μὴ*) [who (*εἶ*    ) will perform (*να-εἶ*) that (*εἰς* *ἡμας*) worship (*π-ψῶε*) and believe (*ν-φ-πιστεύε*) in him (Jesus Christ) (*εἶρο-φ*)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), *πνοῦτε νταφῶπε μὴ γενεα νταφῶπε ελθοῦνε εἵβε τεμντακαίρεος* (for *τεμντακαίρεος*) *μὴ τεμντιστος εἶσιν ἐπνοῦτε* 'God (*π-νοῦτε*) [who has been (*ντ-α-φ-ῶπε*) with (*μὴ*) the generations (*ν-γενεα*) [that existed (*ντ-α-γ-ῶπε*) and passed by (*ε-α-γ-οῦνε*) because of (*εἵβε*) their guilelessness (*τεμντ-ακαίρεος*) and (*μὴ*) their faith (*τεμντ-πιστος*) in God (*ε-π-νοῦτε*)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), *τῆνταγαθός μπαχοεὶς πεῶ παὶ ντατετνσροῦ μμοφ εατετνκααφ ῶν οὔταφος* 'the goodness (*τ-μντ-αγαθός*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεὶς*) Christ (*πε-ῶ*), [he (*παὶ*) [whom you crucified (*ντ-α-τετν-σροῦ*) and put (*ε-α-τετν-καα-φ*) into (*ῶν*) a tomb (*οὔ-ταφος*)]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

### 11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

#### 11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: *νεγεν οὔρωμε δε ον ῶν ῶν πολίς ρακοτε ερε οὔδαίμονιον νμμάφ νκιν τεφῆντκοῦ* '(there) was (*νε-γεν*) also (*ον*) a (certain) *man*<sub>i</sub> (*οὔ-ρωμε*) in (*ῶν*) the city (*τ-πολίς*) Alexandria (*ρακοτε*) [*who* was possessed by a demon (*οὔ-δαίμονιον*) (lit. while (there) (was) with *him*<sub>i</sub> (*ερε ... νμμά-φ*)) since (*νκιν*) his childhood (*τεφ-μντ-κοῦ*)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. *πρωμε δε ντα ἀπα μῆνα † [να]φ ννεφ[δα]μογλ 'the man*<sub>i</sub> (*π-ρωμε*) [*whom*<sub>i</sub> (*να-φ*) *Apa Mena had given* (*ντ-α ... †*) his camels (*ν-νεφ-δαμογλ*)]' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), *οὔμα εφο νφαρβα 'a place*<sub>i</sub> (*οὔ-μα*) [*that was* (lit. while *it*<sub>i</sub> was (*ε-φ-ο*)) in (a state of) *scorching heat* (*ν-φαρβα*)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

vs. *πῆμα ντα παγλός νοχφ ἐπμοῦ* 'the place<sub>i</sub> (*π-μα*) [(where) Paul (*παγλός*) threw himself' (*ντ-α ... νοχ-φ*) into the water (*ε-π-μοῦ*)]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

#### 11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

##### a) Specific indefinite antecedents

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. *α οὔον ῶν νετογλαβ ρ ῶμε νσοῦ νατοῦωμ νατσω ετε πρωμε πε μπνοῦτε μῶγςς παρχηπροφῆτης* '*one*<sub>i</sub> (*οὔον*) amongst (*ῶν*) the holy ones (*ν-ετογλαβ*) spent (*α ... ρ*) forty (*ῶμε*) days (*ν-σοῦ*) without eating (*ν-ατ-οῦωμ*) (and) drinking (*ν-ατ-σω*)', [*to wit* (*ετε ... πε*) the (*π-ρωμε*) of God (*μ-π-νοῦτε*) Moses (*μῶγςς*), the archprophet (*π-αρχηπροφῆτης*)]' (KHML II 35:18-21), *ερε πρωμε νηρωμε ετῶνε ναῶω επαῶου μμοῦ εἵβε οὔσον ετναῶωνε* 'the man (*π-ρωμε*) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (*εἶ*    ) are sick (*ῶνε*)) people (*ν-ν-ρωμε*) shall stay (*ερε ... να-ῶω*) behind them (the fellow monks) (*επαῶου μμο-οῦ*) for (*εἵβε*) a brother<sub>i</sub> (*οὔ-σον*) [*who* (*εἶ*    ) will fall sick (*να-ῶνε*)]' (praec. Pach.).

##### b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. *νῶε νειεσοῦ εφαγβι* (for *εφαγβι*) *ντοοτοῦ μπεγῶς* 'like (*νῶε*) sheep<sub>i</sub> (*νει-εσοῦ*) [from which<sub>i</sub> (*ντοοτ-οῦ*) their<sub>i</sub> shepherd (*μ-πεγ-ῶς*) is taken away (lit. they take away (*ε-φα-γ-βι*)]' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g.  $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\omega\eta\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau\ \eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$  'other trees ( $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\omega\eta\eta$ ) [while ( $\text{they}_i$ ) were loaded ( $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$ ) with fruit, ( $\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) [while ( $\text{they}_i$ ) were plenty ( $\epsilon\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ )]]' (KHML II 21:14-15) vs.  $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\ \mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  good fruit (lit. fruit, ( $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) [which, is good ( $\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ )]]' (KHML II 19:15).

c) Quantified antecedents

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with quantified relative antecedents and provide information that makes it possible to narrow down the set of potential referents of quantified antecedents. When the pivot is an indefinite pronoun, such as  $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$  'one' or  $\kappa\epsilon$  'other', the selection of either relativisation pattern depends on its definite or indefinite determination, e.g.  $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\ \zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\psi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\delta\mu\ \pi\epsilon\eta\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\eta\ \mu\eta\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  'with the exception ( $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$ ) of some, (people) ( $\zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\alpha$ ) [who, come ( $\epsilon\psi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ ) to visit ( $\epsilon\delta\mu$ ) us ( $\pi\epsilon\eta\omega\iota\eta\epsilon$ ) for ( $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ ) the love ( $\tau\text{-}\alpha\gamma\alpha\eta$ ) of God ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ )]' (Hil. 5:21-22) vs.  $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\eta\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ (\dots)$  'this other person, ( $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ ) [who ( $\epsilon\tau\ \_i$ ) (is) in ( $\zeta\eta\eta$ ) your midst ( $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) [that I am not worthy ( $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\mu\pi\omega\lambda$ ) (that) he, talks ( $\eta\epsilon$ , to me ( $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\eta$ )]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19),  $\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\omicron\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$  'others, (i.e. monsters) ( $\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ) [which, had ( $\epsilon\gamma\omicron$ ) one single ( $\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$ ) eye ( $\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ )]' (Test. Is. 234:4) vs.  $\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\rho\ \delta\rho\omega\omega\zeta$  'the others, ( $\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ) [who, ( $\epsilon\tau\ \_$ ) are in (lit. make (p)) need ( $\delta\rho\omega\omega\zeta$ )]' (Onnophr. 207:17).

The definiteness opposition is not applicable to the distributive universal quantifier  $\eta\iota\mu$  'all, each', which must be construed with "bare" nouns (see above, section 4.3.1 of Unit 4). It looks as if the selection of a non-virtual relative clause imposes a more specific or topical interpretation on the universally quantified antecedent than its non-virtual counterpart. Thus, consider:  $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\ \zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (for  $\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma$ )  $\lambda\lambda\lambda\upsilon$  [ $\eta$ ]  $\omega\eta\eta\ \eta\iota\mu\ \epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$  'briefly ( $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\ \zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ), every ( $\eta\iota\mu$ ) single ( $\lambda\lambda\lambda\upsilon$ ) tree, ( $\omega\eta\eta$ ) [that he had planted (them, ( $\epsilon\lambda\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}\chi\omicron\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ )]' (KHML II 18:23-24) vs.  $\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\iota\mu\ \epsilon\tau\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\ \pi\rho\alpha\eta\ \eta\iota\varsigma$  'briefly ( $\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma$ ) everyone, ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\iota\mu$ ) [who, ( $\epsilon\tau\ \_$ ) was imprisoned ( $\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta$ ) for ( $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ ) the name ( $\pi\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta$ ) of Jesus ( $\eta\text{-}\iota\varsigma$ ) Christ ( $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omicron\text{-}\tau\tau$ )]' (Eud. 40:24-25); (new discourse topic)  $\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\tau\ \eta\ \rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \eta\iota\mu\ \epsilon\phi\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda\alpha\ \zeta\eta\ \pi\rho\alpha\eta\ \eta\eta\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$

'blessed are ( $\eta\lambda\text{-}\iota\alpha\tau\text{-}\eta$ ) everybody, ( $\eta\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \eta\iota\mu$ ) [who, will perform ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ ) an act of mercy ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda$ ) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) the name ( $\pi\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta$ ) of these patriarchs ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ )]' (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning)  $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\iota\mu\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\mu\eta\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\ \mu\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \mu\eta\pi\epsilon\upsilon\rho\ \pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  'everyone, ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\iota\mu$ ) [who, ( $\epsilon\tau\ \_$ ) will perform ( $\eta\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ ) an act of mercy ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\eta\lambda$ ) on the day ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) of their (the patriarchs') remembrance ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\rho\ \pi\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ )]' (Test. Is. 237:24).

d) The set interpretation of definite antecedents

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g.  $\pi\alpha\chi\bar{\rho}\varsigma\ \lambda\eta\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\eta$  'my Christ, ( $\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\bar{\rho}\varsigma$ ) [in whom, ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\eta$ ) I ( $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$ ) believe ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ )]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16),  $\pi\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \alpha\pi\alpha\ \eta\alpha\zeta\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\ \eta$  'the death ( $\pi\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ) [that ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ ) my Father ( $\pi\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ ) Apa Nahrow is going to die ( $\eta\lambda\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ) (in it, ( $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\eta$ )]' (KHML I 7:27),  $\eta\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\lambda\alpha\zeta\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\eta\varsigma\eta\omicron\eta\ \chi\eta\zeta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  'the (pavement) stones, ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\lambda\lambda\alpha\zeta$ ) [on which, ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) his blood ( $\pi\epsilon\eta\varsigma\eta\omicron\eta$ ) has been smeared out ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \chi\eta\zeta$ )]' (KHML I 6:28).

11.1.5.3 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

a) Restrictive relatives

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g.  $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\zeta\omega\beta\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \mu\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon\ \eta\mu\omicron\eta$  'a thing, ( $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$ ) [that God ( $\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) hates ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \mu\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ ) (it, ( $\eta\mu\omicron\eta$ )]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127),  $\eta\theta\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\eta\varsigma\omicron\rho\eta$  'like ( $\eta\theta\epsilon$ ) a sheep, ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ )

[*which<sub>i</sub> has gone astray* (ε-φ-σφρμ)]' (Test. Is. 232:34), ογ γαρ πε πρως νζενδαιμων ευτ νμμαν νναζρν ζεναγτελος ευμωε εχων 'for (γαρ) what (ογ) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing (π-ρως)) of *the demons*; (ν-ζεν-δαιμων) [*who<sub>i</sub> fight* (lit. give (ε-γ-τ)) with us (νμμα-ν)] compared to (νναζρν) *the angels*; *who<sub>i</sub> fight* (ε-γ-μωε) for us (εχω-ν)]?' (KHML II 11:14-16). In extended existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. νεγν ογρωμε δε ζμ πμαρτυριον μηζαγιος απα μηνα επεφραν πε μαρκος '(there) was (νε-γν) a (certain) *man<sub>i</sub>*; (ογ-ρωμε) in (ζμ) the memorial chapel (π-μαρτυριον) of the holy (μ-π-ζαγιος) Apa Mena [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his<sub>i</sub>*; name (was) (ε-πεφ-ραν ... πε)) Mark (μαρκος)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. αυω ντοφ πε πρρο εφζαρατκ 'and (αυω) he (Constantine) (ντοφ) (is) *the king<sub>i</sub>*; (π-ρρο) [*who<sub>i</sub> is under you* (ε-φ-ζα-ρατ-κ)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), νιμ πε πρωμε εφναδωφτ νσα πεφωρε εφβηκ νεμτω νφτμβονθει εροφ 'who (νιμ) (is) *the man<sub>i</sub>*; (π-ρωμε) [*who<sub>i</sub> will watch* (ε-φ-να-δωφτ) his son (νσα πεφ-ωρε) drowning (lit. going (ε-φ-βηκ) to the depths (of the sea) (ν-εμτω))] and (*he<sub>i</sub>*) would not help (ν-φ-τμ-βονθει) him (ερο-φ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. αυω νεφαχε νφαρε ππετογααβ απα παμβω χοοφ νας 'and (αυω) *the words<sub>i</sub>*; (νε-φαχε) [*that* the holy (π-πετογααβ) Apa Pambô used to say (*them<sub>i</sub>*); (ν-φαρε ... χοο-φ) to her (Hilaria) (να-σ)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), ντωφ ντα πνουτε λαφ 'the rules<sub>i</sub>; (ν-τωφ) [*that* God (π-νουτε) has made (*them<sub>i</sub>*) (ντ-α ... λα-φ)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

## b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: ζενσιοφ νρΟΥζε μν ζενσιοφ νζτοογε ευτ μαειν ενεγνοογε ντεγφν 'the evening (ν-ρΟΥζε) and (μν) morning (ν-ζτοογε) *stars<sub>i</sub>*; (ζεν-σιοφ) [*which<sub>i</sub> indicate* (lit. give (ε-γ-τ) sign (μαειν)) the hours

(ε-νε-γνοογε) of the night (ν-τε-γφν)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), ζενζιρ ζν αμντε εγο νερημος εμν λαφ νζητοφ 'the streets<sub>i</sub>; (ζεν-ζιρ) in (ζν) Hell (αμντε) [*which<sub>i</sub> are* (ε-γ-ο) (in a) deserted (ν-ερημος) (state) [*without* (ε-μν) anyone (λαφ) on *them<sub>i</sub>*; (νζητ-οφ)]]' (Ac. A&P 204:132) vs. εαμ[ν]τε ετε παι πε πμα μπριμε μν ποαζοζ ννοβζε 'to *Hell<sub>i</sub>*; (ε-αμντε), *which<sub>i</sub> is* (ετε παι πε) the place (π-μα) of weeping (μ-π-ριμε) and (μν) gnashing (π-αζοζ) of teeth (ν-ν-οβζε)]' (Ac. A&P 204:142), πεζοοφ μηζαπ ετερε πχοεισ νατ ζαπ εροκ 'the day<sub>i</sub>; (πε-ζοοφ) of the judgement (μ-π-ζαπ) [(when) the Lord (π-χοεισ) will judge (lit. will give (ετερε ... να-τ) law (ζαπ) you (ερο-κ)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. ογον νιμ εφζμ πχαιε ετπολυτεγε ετβε πνουτε αυω ετμναφ ερωμε 'everyone<sub>i</sub>; (ογον νιμ) [<sub>RC1</sub> *who<sub>i</sub>* (is) in (ε-φ-ζμ) the desert (π-χαιε) [<sub>RC2</sub> *who<sub>i</sub>*; (ετ \_\_) leads an ascetic life (πολυτεγε) for (ετβε) God (π-νουτε) and (αυω) in order not to see (ε-τμ-ναφ) anybody (ε-ρωμε)]]' (Onnophr. 214:24-25).

### 11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers ν- 'for' and ε- 'to', e.g. ουβαπτισμα νουχαι μηγενος τηρφ ναδαμ 'a baptism (ου-βαπτισμα) [*to save* (ν-ουχαι) the entire (τηρ-φ) race (μ-π-γενος) of Adam (ν-αδαμ)]' (Eud. 34:13), οφφαχε εχοοφ εροοφ 'a word (οφ-φαχε) [*to be spoken* (ε-χοο-φ) to them (ερο-οφ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), εφσκεφος εοφονφ 'for a vessel (ε-φ-σκεφος) [*to eat from* (ε-οφον-φ)]' (Onnophr. 211:8).

### 11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. πρρο δε ντερεφναφ επεντα πνουτε λαφ νμμαφ (...) 'when the King (π-ρρο) saw (ντερε-φ-ναφ) [*what* God (π-νουτε) had done (ε-πε-ντ-α ... λα-φ)

for him (NMMA-Q)]' (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as  $\emptyset_{\text{NOUN}}$ ). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
πε- that	$\emptyset_{\text{NOUN}_i}$	[RC NT-Α Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΛΑ-Ϟ <sub>i</sub> (...)] what God had done (It <sub>i</sub> )

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

### 11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

#### a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article π-, τ-, η- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns παι, ται, ναι. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΥΓ 'he who will neglect (π-ετ-να-αμελει) them (the instructions) (ερο-ουγ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΩϞ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ (for ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ) † ΕΟΥΓ ΝΑϞ 'this one (παι), however (ζωω-Ϟ), [whom the Christians give (ετερε ... †) praise (εουγ) to (να-Ϟ)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΜΠΑΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϞ 'this one (παι) [in whom (νζητ-Ϟ) the spirit (πε-π̄να)

of the devil (M-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) has branched out (lit. has taken (NT-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ))] (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΞΙΑΤ 'the land of the Mariôtês, the one they call (τ-ετ-ου-μουτε) »Pajat« (τ-παξιατ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΑΞΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'she (ται) [who is watched (lit. they watch (ετ-ου-ροεις) her (ερο-Ϟ) by (ζιτοοτ-ου) the angels (N-Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of my Father (M-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) [who is (ετ \_ ) in (ΖΝ) heaven (M-ΠΗΥΕ)]]' (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΕΤΤΗΨ ΜΗΑΤΕ 'except (ΕΙΜΗΤΙ) only (ΜΗΑΤΕ) those who have been ordered (ε-Ν-ετ-τηψ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ΝΕΤΣΟΟΥΖ ΕΡΟϞ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) those who gathered (N-ετ-σοουζ) with him (ερο-Ϟ)' (Test. Is. 228:5), ΝΑΙ ΝΨΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΥΨ ΨΑΡΟϞ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΒΙ (for Ϟ) ΛΩΓΟΣ (for ΛΟΓΟΣ) 'those (ναι) [who are brought (lit. they have brought (N-ΨΑ-Υ-ΕΙΝΕ) them (MΜΟ-ΟΥ) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-Ϟ) to this place (ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) of justification (lit. taking (N-ΒΙ) account (ΛΩΓΟΣ)]]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

#### b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΦΙΣ ΤΑΖΟΥ Η ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΥΨ ΤΩΝ ΕΣΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will [those who live (N-ετψοοπ) in (ΖΜ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ετβε) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)] find (ερε ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (ε-ρωμε), when they get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΦΙΣ) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)), or (Η) when they are hungry (ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); if they suffer from thirst (ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (ε-ΜΟΥΨ) to drink (ε-εω)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

#### c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extraclassical positions of vocative and appositional phrases.



Examples: (subject FRC) α ΝΕΤΗΘΩΘΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΣΟΚΟΥ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ '[*those* who went (Ν-ΕΤ-ΗΘΩΘΕ) with him (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)] withdrew themselves (α ... ΣΟΚ-ΟΥ) on each side (ΝΣΑ-ΟΥ-ΣΑ)' (Test. Is. 234:6-7), ΧΙΝ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Α ΝΕΤΗΠΑΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΧΑΙ 'since (ΧΙΝ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) [all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *which* is inside me (lit. which is in my inner (Ν-ΖΟΥΝ) side (Ν-ΕΤ-Η-ΠΑ-ΣΑ))] has become healthy (α ... ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΤΑΥΕ ΠΕΤΦΟΟΥΝ ΗΜΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'and each one (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) told (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΑΥΕ) [*what* he knew (Π-ΕΤ-Φ-ΟΟΥΝ ΗΜΟΦ) from (ΖΗ) the Scriptures (ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), ΛΙΟΥΩΜ ΗΠΕΝΤΑΦΣΕΠΕ ΗΠΟΕΙΚ 'I ate (Α-Ι-ΟΥΩΜ) [*what* was left (Η-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΣΕΠΕ) of the bread (Η-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) ΦΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΟΥΖΜΟΤ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ 'God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) shows (lit. give (ΦΑΡΕ ... †)) favour (ΟΥ-ΖΜΟΤ) [to *those* who will believe (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), ΗΝΝΩΣ ΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΙΔΑΦ 'after that (ΗΝΝΩ-Σ) I reflected (Α-Ι-ΜΕΕΥΕ) by myself (lit. in (ΖΗ) my heart (ΠΑΖΗΤ)) [*about what* I had done (Ε-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΔΑ-Φ)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) ΠΑΡΙΕΜΟΣ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ 'the regiment (ΠΑΡΙΕΜΟΣ) [of *those* whom (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) they call (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) »Luduriakon« (ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΩΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΕΥΖΗΥ ΗΝ ΟΥΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ (for ΟΥΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) ΝΝΕΤΝΑΩΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΗΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΗ ΟΥ† ΖΗΤΦ 'in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) they shall read (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΩΦ) from it (the book) (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) for the benefit (Ε-Υ-ΖΗΥ) and (ΗΝ) satisfaction (ΟΥ-ΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) [of *those* who will read (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΦ) from it (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)] and (ΗΝ) [of *him* who will listen (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΤΗ) to it (ΕΡΟ-Φ) with (ΖΗ) attention (lit. giving (ΟΥ-†)) one's attention (ΖΗΤ-Φ)]' (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) ΕΙΒΗΚ ΦΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ) [to (ΦΑ) *the one* who has sent me (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΗΝΟΟΥ-Τ)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) ΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΤΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ ΗΠΕΦΡΑΝ 'praise (ΣΜΟΥ) God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [*you* who fear (Ν-ΕΤ-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ) his name (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΕΝΤΑΙΑΠΟΤΑCCE ΗΠΗ ΗΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ 'My Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), [*he* because of whom (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Φ) I renounced (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΑΠΟΤΑCCE) my father's (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) house (Η-Π-Η)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ (for ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ) ΕΥΕΔΙΜΩΡΕΙ (for ΕΥΕΤΙΜΩΡΕΙ) ΗΜΟΦ '[*he* who will protest (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΔΙΜΩΡΕΙ) him (ΗΜΟ-Φ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

ΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΕΟΠ ΟΥΝΚΑ ΜΕΛΧΕ (...) ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΗ ΠΕΦΟΟΥ ΝΟΠ '[*he* who will break (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΟΥΕΟΠ) a piece (ΟΥ-ΝΚΑ) of pottery (Η-ΜΕΛΧΕ) (...)] shall be (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) reprimanded (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ) at (ΖΗ) the (lit. his) sixth (ΠΕΦ-ΟΟΥ) occurrence (Ν-ΟΠ]' (praec. Pach. 125).

#### d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) ΠΕΤ† ΣΒΩ ΓΑΡ ΖΗ ΤΤΑΠΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *he*; *who*; (Π-ΕΤ \_ ) teaches (lit. give (†) teaching (ΣΒΩ)) with (ΖΗ) the mouth (Τ-ΤΑΠΡΟ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ΕΚΕΟΥΩΜ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΟΟΥCΟΥ ΝΑΚ 'you should eat (Ε-Κ-Ε-ΟΥΩΜ) [*what* God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has sent (†) (Ν-Ν-ΕΝΤ-Α ... ΤΗΝΟΟΥ-CΟΥ) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), ΠΕΤΚΝΑΙΤΕΙ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*what*; you will ask (Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΙΤΕΙ) (†) (ΗΜΟ-Φ) from (ΝΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:25), ΝΕΝΤΑΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ '*what*; you have seen (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΝΑΥ) (†) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ΠΕΤΕΜΝ ΛΑΥ ΖΗΤ ΕΡΟΦ '*he*; (Π-ΕΤΕ) before *whom*; (ΕΡΟ-Φ) nothing (ΛΑΥ) is hidden (ΗΝ ... ΖΗΤ)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), ΕΤΗΝΤΕΛΙΟC ΖΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΦΡΧΕΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'towards perfection (Ε-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΤΕΛΙΟC) in (ΖΗ) [*what*; he had started (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΑΡΧΕΙ) (in †) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΝΟC ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΖΑΤΕΥΖΗ 'Numerian (ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΝΟC) *he*; (ΠΑΙ) [*who*; had been (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) before them (ΖΑ-ΤΕΥ-ΖΗ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), ΝΕΤΕΜΕΥCΕΙ ΝΤΩΡΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΦΙ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΕ '*those*; *who*; do not get enough (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΜΕ-Υ-CΕΙ) of robbing (Ν-ΤΩΡΤ) and stealing (Ν-ΦΙ) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (ΑΝ) theirs (Ν-Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΝΟΥ-ΟΥ)]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24).

#### 11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

## a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g.  $\mu\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\ \mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \gamma\iota\chi\mu\ \mu\kappa\alpha\zeta$  'blessed is [he who will do ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ ) the will ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \psi$ ) of God ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\mu\text{-}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ ) on ( $\gamma\iota\chi\mu$ ) earth ( $\mu\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$ )]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9),  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\gamma\ \mu\pi\pi\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\psi\omega\mu\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \eta\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta\eta\kappa\omega\eta\ \mu\eta\ \eta\epsilon\tau\omega\tau\eta\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$  'may the blessings ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\mu\omicron\gamma$ ) of the patriarch ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ ) be ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$  ...  $\eta\lambda\psi\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) with ( $\mu\eta$ ) [those who come ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) after us ( $\mu\eta\eta\kappa\omega\eta\text{-}\eta$ )] and ( $\mu\eta$ ) [those who listen ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$ ) to these words ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ )]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7),  $\lambda\iota\eta\lambda\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\zeta\omicron\ \eta\theta\epsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\lambda\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\zeta\omicron\ \mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  'I looked ( $\lambda\text{-}\iota\text{-}\eta\lambda\upsilon$ ) at your face ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\zeta\omicron$ ) like ( $\eta\theta\epsilon$  <  $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\zeta\epsilon$ ) [someone who had seen ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\eta\lambda\upsilon$ ) the face ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\text{-}\zeta\omicron$ ) of God ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\mu\text{-}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ )]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9),  $\mu\epsilon\text{[}\tau\text{]}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\chi\omicron\iota\ \text{[}\eta\lambda\text{]}\ \chi\pi\omicron\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon\ \psi\alpha\iota\lambda\alpha\epsilon\ \eta\psi\omega\mu\tau\epsilon\ \eta\tau\omicron$  '[what my boat ( $\mu\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\iota$ ) will bring in ( $\mu\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\epsilon\pi\epsilon$  ...  $\eta\lambda\text{-}\chi\pi\omicron\text{-}\epsilon$ ) each ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ ) year ( $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ )], I will split (lit. make) ( $\psi\alpha\text{-}\iota\text{-}\lambda\alpha\text{-}\epsilon$ ) into three ( $\eta\text{-}\psi\omega\mu\tau\epsilon$ ) parts ( $\eta\text{-}\tau\omicron$ )' (KHML II 17:4-5).

## b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g.  $\eta\epsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\zeta\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\mu\ \mu\psi\iota\ \eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\pi\alpha\phi\eta$  '[the ones who served ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta\iota$ ) well ( $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ )] (are) [those who stand ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\lambda\zeta\epsilon$ ) within ( $\gamma\mu$ ) the confines ( $\mu\text{-}\psi\iota$ ) of the Scriptures ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\pi\alpha\phi\eta$ )]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31),  $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\ \eta\theta\epsilon\ \eta\eta\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\omega\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\kappa\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\eta\ \gamma\mu\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\pi\alpha\psi\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota$  'in ( $\gamma\mu$ ) their joy ( $\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\pi\alpha\psi\epsilon$ ) and ( $\mu\eta$ ) compassion ( $\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ) towards me ( $\epsilon\pi\omicron\text{-}\iota$ ), they (the four lads) were ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omicron$ ) like ( $\eta\theta\epsilon$ ) [those who had passed ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\mu\omega\eta\epsilon$ ) to the other world ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\iota\omega\eta$ )]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3),  $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\iota\eta\eta\phi\epsilon\ \eta\theta\epsilon\ \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\zeta\alpha\ \mu\pi\eta\pi$  'suddenly ( $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon$ ), I woke up ( $\lambda\text{-}\iota\text{-}\eta\eta\phi\epsilon$ ) like ( $\eta\theta\epsilon$ ) [those who are under ( $\mu\text{-}\eta\eta\phi\epsilon$ ) of ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\zeta\alpha$ ) wine ( $\mu\text{-}\eta\eta\pi$ )]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

## c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g.  $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\upsilon\tau\eta\ \eta\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \eta\lambda\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\ \epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\omega\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\eta\ \eta\mu\pi\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\omega\psi\ \epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omega\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$  (...) '(as for) [him who has effected ( $\mu\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ) in you ( $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\upsilon\tau\eta$ ) this good ( $\eta\text{-}\lambda\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta$ ) desire ( $\eta\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \psi$ )], he may also ( $\gamma\omega$ ) produce ( $\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ) in us ( $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\eta$ ) the fulfillment ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\chi\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ) of your wish ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \psi$ ) to let us say ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\chi\omega$ ) a few words ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) (...) (Zen. 199:25-27),  $\lambda\eta\lambda\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\iota\ \eta\tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\alpha\ \mu\pi\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon$  'look ( $\lambda\eta\lambda\upsilon$ ) at [him ( $\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\iota$ ) in whom ( $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon$ ) the spirit ( $\mu\epsilon\text{-}\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ ) of the devil ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) has branched out (lit. has taken ( $\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda$  ...  $\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ) roots ( $\eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon$ )]]' (KHML II 33:25-26),  $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon\ \mu\pi\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\eta\ \tau\pi\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\ \eta\chi\omega\pi\eta\upsilon\ \dots\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\ \gamma\mu\ \mu\epsilon\iota\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$  'oh (you) [who brought ( $\mu\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ ) water ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) out ( $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ) of ( $\gamma\eta$ ) the rock ( $\tau\text{-}\mu\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha$ ) of Khôreb ( $\eta\text{-}\chi\omega\pi\epsilon\upsilon$ )], will you (please) raise ( $\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ ) water ( $\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma$ ) in ( $\gamma\eta$ ) this desert ( $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ )' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g.  $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\ \eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\psi\omega\ \epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\psi\eta\pi\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \eta\epsilon\tau\sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\epsilon\ \tau\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon$  'and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) he (Isaac) told ( $\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron$ ) his words ( $\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) of instruction ( $\eta\text{-}\epsilon\psi\omega$ ) to Jacob ( $\epsilon\text{-}\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon\epsilon$ ), his son ( $\mu\pi\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}\psi\eta\pi\epsilon$ ), and ( $\mu\eta$ ) all ( $\tau\eta\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) [those who gathered ( $\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ) with him ( $\epsilon\pi\omicron\text{-}\epsilon$ )]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5),  $\eta\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\lambda\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \eta\mu\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  'all ( $\tau\eta\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ ) [those ( $\eta\alpha\iota$ ) you are looking ( $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\eta\lambda\upsilon$ ) at ( $\epsilon\pi\omicron\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ )], they ( $\eta\alpha\iota$ ) (are) the fathers ( $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ) of the world ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ )' (KHML II 21:21-22).

## d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g.  $\iota\upsilon\delta\alpha\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\mu\omicron\psi\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \mu\pi\epsilon\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'the Apostle ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) Judas, [who; ( $\mu\text{-}\epsilon\tau$  \_\_\_)] went

(π-ετ-μοοψε) with (MN) our Lord (πεν-χοεις)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), πασωτ (read πασωτπ) πτελεμη πενταφρ πογωψ ηπαιωτ ετ2η νηπη[γ]ε 'my chosen one (πα-σωτπ) Ptolemy; (πτελεμη), [who; has done (πε-ντ-α-φ-ρ) the will (π-ογωψ) of my Father (μ-πα-ειωτ) in (ετ \_\_ 2η) heaven (ν-μ-πηγε)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), πνουτε πενταφωπε μη πενειωτ αδαμ μη αβελ μη νω2ε 'God; (π-νουτε), [who; has been (πε-ντ-α-φ ωψε) with (MN) our father (πεν-ειωτ) Adam, with (MN) Abel (MN) Noah (νω2ε)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), πνουτε ετον2 παι νταφταμοι εψεπ 2ισε 2η νε2ισε νταφωποου 2αρων τηρη 'the living (ετ \_\_ ον2) God; (π-νουτε), [who; (παι) has taught me (ντ-α-φ-ταμο-ι) to bear (ε-ψεπ) grievances (2ισε) through (2η) the grievances (νε-2ισε) [that he bore (ντ-α-φ-ωπ-ογ) for us (2αρ-ο-ν) all (τηρ-ν)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), εγεωψε νωηρε νδαγειδ παι ετχω ημοσ χε (...) 'they will become (ε-γ-ε-ωψε) the children (ν-ωηρε) of David; (ν-δαγειδ), [who; (παι) says (ετ \_\_ χω) that (χε) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), ππαρθενος ετογλαβ ται ετογροεις ερος εβολ 2ιτοοτου νναγγελοσ ηπαιωτ ετ2η μηπηγε 'oh holy (ετ \_\_ ογλαβ) virgin; (τ-παρθενος), [who; (ται) is watched (lit. they watch (ετ-ογ-ροεις) her; (ερο-σ)) by (2ιτοοτ-ογ) the angels (ν-ν-αγγελος) of my Father (μ-πα-ειωτ) in (ετ \_\_ 2η) heaven (ν-μ-πηγε)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. ανγ ογ2οορ (read ογογ2οορ) παι εγψαννοσχ εβολ ψαφβωκ εγψαννουτε εροφ ψαφει 'I (ανγ) (am) a dog; (ογ-ογ2οορ), [who; (παι) goes away (ψα-φ-βωκ) [if they throw him; (ε-γ-ψαν-νοσχ-φ) out (εβολ)] (and) (he; comes (ψα-φ-βωκ) [if they call ((ε-γ-ψαν-νουτε) him; (ερο-φ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. ναι τηρου πετνααμελει εροογ εφναχι επιτιμια 2αροογ '(as for) all (τηρ-ογ) these (rules), [he who will neglect (π-ετ-να-αμελει) them (ερο-ογ)] will be reprimanded

(lit. he; will receive (ε-φ-να-χι) reprimand (επιτιμια)) on account of them (2αρ-ογ)' (praec. Pach.103), πετναωψε εφπιστευε ενψαχε ηπνουτε μη νεφπετογλαβ φναωψε νκληρονομοσ ντηντρπο ηπνουτε '(as for) [him; who (π-ετ \_\_ ) will come (να-ωψε) [to believe (ε-φ-πιστευε) the words (ε-ν-ψαχε) of God (μ-π-νουτε) and (MN) his saints (νεφ-πετογλαβ)]]], he; will become (φ-να-ωψε) heir (ν-κληρονομοσ) to the kingdom (ν-τ-μντ-ρπο) of God (μ-π-νουτε)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), νετναμελετα ημοσ 2η πεγ2ητ τηρφ 2η ογπιστικ εφπιστευε (read εγπιστευε) ενενταιχοου τηρου ταβομ μη τβομ ηπαμεριτ νωηρε μη πεπ̄να ετογλαβ ναωψε νημαγ '(as for) [them; who (ν-ετ \_\_ ) will study (να-μελετα) it (the testament) (ημο-σ) with (2η) their whole (τηρ-φ) heart (πεγ-2ητ), in (2η) faith (ογ-πιστικ), [believing (ε-γ-πιστευε) in all (τηρ-ογ) [what I have said (ε-νε-ντ-α-ι-χοο-γ)]]], my power (τα-βομ), the power (τ-βομ) of my beloved (μ-πα-μεριτ) Son (ν-ωηρε), and (MN) the Holy (ετ-ογλαβ) Spirit (πε-π̄να) will remain (να-ωψε) with them; (νημα-γ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. νεμν πετνανουφ ν2ητογ '(there) was nothing (νε-μν) [good (π-ετ-νανουφ-φ)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner π-, e.g. μηεγροοψ αν πε 2ενπετωογειτ 'their care (πεγ-ροοψ) (is) not (αν) [idle things (2εν-π-ετ-ωογειτ)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), πενπετογλαβ νειωτ ετταειη κ[α]τα σμοτ νημ απα 2ηνοβιοσ '[our holy (πεν-π-ετ-ογλαβ)] father (ν-ειωτ) [who (ετ \_\_ ) is honoured ταειη] in (κατα) every (νημ) manner (σμοτ)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

### 11.3 Nominal cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are very common in the syntactic patterns of Sahidic Coptic and occur in the declarative as well as the interrogative mood, e.g. ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΕΤΧΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΡΝΤΚ '(it is) *the governor* (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) [*who* (ΕΤ \_\_) is asking (ΧΝΟΥ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ) [what (ΝΙΜ) your name (ΡΝΤ-Κ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15), ΝΙΜ [Τ]ΕΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΣΩΡΗ ΜΠΗΗΦΕ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) (is it) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) [*that* (ΕΤ \_\_) is misleading (ΣΩΡΗ) the crowd (Μ-Π-ΜΗΗΦΕ)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231). Cleft sentences are complex sentences structures that express a single proposition by means of a biclausal syntax. In Coptic, cleft constructions represent a special type of tripartite nominal sentences in which a noun phrase (or its equivalent) is equated with a restrictive relative clause (section 11.3.1). Such nominal clefts encode different semantic types of focus, ranging from presentational (new information) focus to explicit contrast (section 11.3.2).

#### 11.3.1 The equative format of cleft sentences

Coptic cleft constructions have a form that is identical to that of tripartite nominal sentences. Both cleft constructions and tripartite nominal sentences include an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the predicate, which forces a sentential interpretation of the structure (see above, section 5.2.1 of Unit 5 for the syntax of the agreement clitic). Thus compare: (declarative) ΝΤΟQ ΠΕ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΗΝΣΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*he* (ΝΤΟQ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) after (ΜΗΝΣΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 4:11) vs. ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟQ ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him* (ΝΤΟQ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q) [who was living as a hermit (Ε-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), (interrogative) ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΒΑΛΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΕΣΟΟΥ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΛΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) *who* (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕΣΟΟΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:14) vs. ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΝΤΑQΤΩΩΣΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [that planted (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΩΩΣΕ) them (the trees) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) in this place (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]?' (Onnophr. 219:20-21). A schematic representation of the equative format of nominal clefts and tripartite nominal sentences is given in figure 11.5 (AGR-CL stands for agreement clitic')

	SUBJECT	AGR-CL	PREDICATE NOUN
TRIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCE	ΝΤΟQ he	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ their father
	CLEFTED NP	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE
CLEFT SENTENCE	ΝΤΟQ ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q he alone	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	[RC Ε-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ] who lived as a hermit

FIGURE 11.5 The equative format of cleft sentences

Nominal clefts involve minimally two clauses: the matrix clause is a tripartite nominal sentence that includes a restrictive relative clause. Taken together, the matrix clauses and the embedded relative clause express a single proposition. The following sections review the main syntactic characteristics of nominal clefts, namely (i) the distribution of tense and negation, (ii) the morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic, (iii) the anaphoric relation between the clefted noun phrase and the embedded relative clause, and (iv) the interaction between clefting and topicalisation.

#### 11.3.1.1 The distribution of tense and negation

The distribution of tense and negation provides further evidence for the equative format of Coptic cleft constructions. The clefted noun phrase can only appear with the preterit auxiliary ΝΕ-, suggesting that cleft sentences are subject to the same tense restrictions as the corresponding tripartite nominal sentences, e.g. ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟQ ΜΑΥΑΑQ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him* (ΝΤΟQ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q) [who was living as a hermit (Ε-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΑΤΟΥCΝΤ ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑ2 ΝΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ 'before (ΖΑΘΗ) heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΝ) earth (Π-ΚΑ2) were created (lit. they had not yet created (ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-CΝΤ)), *what* (ΟΥ) was (ΝΕ) (there) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) existed (ΨΟΟΠ)]?' (Contra Orig. 60:40-41).

In nominal clefts, negation may take wide or narrow scope (see above, section 9.2 of Unit 9). When negation occurs within the embedded relative clause, it takes wide scope over the backgrounded proposition, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΗQΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΒΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that will not* (ΑΝ) believe (ΕΤ-Ν-Q-ΝΑ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) in the mighty deeds (Ε-ΝΕ-ΒΟΜ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]?' (KMHL II

37:12-13). If, on the other hand, negation occurs in the matrix clause, it takes narrow scope over the clefted constituent, leaving the backgrounded proposition outside its scope, e.g. ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΠΕΤΧΙ ΚΒΑ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΖΝΟΥΘΩΝΤ '(it is) *not* (Μ- ... ΑΝ) *man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) takes (ΧΙ) vengeance (ΚΒΑ) through it (the sword) (ΝΖΗΤ-Σ) wrathfully (ΖΝ ΟΥΘΩΝΤ)]' (Sh. IV 12:12), (with omission of the negative prefix Ν-) Η ΕΝΕ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΑΝ ΝΖΩΟΝ ΤΕΤΝΖΗΤΟΥ (...) 'or (Η) if (ΕΝΕ) (it) (were) *not* (ΑΝ) a living (Ν-ΖΩΟΝ) *soul* (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) (resided) within them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) (...)]' (Sh. III 220:7-8).

### 11.3.1.2 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

The agreement clitic of nominal cleft sentences differs both morphologically and syntactically from the corresponding pronominal element in tripartite nominal sentences, suggesting that it has been further grammaticalised as a focus marker.

#### a) Proclisis and phonological reduction

In tripartite nominal sentences the agreement clitic occurs in clause-second position with other prosodically weak functions words and particles, e.g. ΟΥΑΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΠΜΤΟΝ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ 'since (ΓΑΡ) you have (lit. for you (ΝΑ-Κ) (is)) continuous (ΟΥ-ΑΤ-ΟΥ) rest (Π-ΜΤΟΝ) until eternity (ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ)' (AP Chaîne no. 30, 6:7). The corresponding agreement clitic of nominal clefts, however, has determiner-like properties, forming an indivisible prosodic unit with the following relative clause, e.g. ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΑΑΨ 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) a beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ψ) thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [that he did (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΑΑ-Ψ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

The proclitic behaviour of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts is particularly clear in the context of vowel elision. This happens when it is attached to relative complementisers with a word-initial ε:

πε-	→ π-	/	COMPREL	ετ-, ετε-, ετερε-, ε-
e	→ ∅	/	e	

FIGURE 11.6 The phonological reduction of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts

When vowel elision applies, the resulting complex PROCLITIC – RELATIVE COMPLEMENTISER – EMBEDDED CLAUSE looks superficially like a free-standing relative clause, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΖΕ ΕΡ[ΑΤ]Ϛ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΙΟΥΖΟΟΡ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΪΤΩΝ ΜΗ ΝΙΑΡΞ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΟΨ ΠΕΤΝΑΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΗ ΖΕΝΜΟΥΙ ΑΧΝ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΖΙ ΣΒΩ 'because (ΓΑΡ) who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) would stand up (ΝΑ-ΑΖΕ ΕΡΑΤϚ) [to fight (Ε-ΜΙΨΕ) with (ΜΗ) dogs (ΝΕΙ-ΟΥΖΟΟΡ)]] or (Η) who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) would struggle (ΝΑ-ΪΤΩΝ) with (ΜΗ) bears (ΝΙ-ΑΡΞ)], who (ΝΙΜ), indeed (ΝΤΟΨ), (is it) [that (ΕΤ \_\_) would set out (ΝΑ-Ψ ΕΒΟΛ) [to fight (Ε-ΜΙΨΕ) with (ΜΗ) lions (ΖΕΝ-ΜΟΥΙ) without (ΑΧΝ) plan (ΨΟΧΝΕ) and (ΖΙ) counsel (ΣΒΩ)]]' (Camb. 8:15-18).

#### b) Agreement behaviour

The agreement clitic of nominal clefts generally agrees in number and gender with the clefted noun or pronoun: (sing. masc.) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΨΤΑΜΙΟΨ ΝΑΣ 'because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) (it was) (ΠΕ) *the king* (Π-ΡΡΟ) [who made it (the bed-chamber) (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Ψ) for her (ΝΑ-Σ)]' (Eud. 50:8-9), ΑΨΩ ΝΤΟΨ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΕΨΨΙ ΜΠΕΨΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ 'and (ΑΨΩ) (it was) (Π(Ε)) *him* (ΝΤΟΨ), too (ΟΝ), [who was taking (Ε-ΝΕ-Ψ-ΨΙ) care (Μ-ΠΕΨ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) of (ΖΝ) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)' (Zen. 202:11-12), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ ΤΕΤΟΥΨ ΕΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΑΨΑΨΜΟΨ '(it is) (Τ(Ε)) *your maid-servant* (ΤΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) *Eudoxia* (ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) wishes (ΟΥΨΩ) [to enter (Ε-ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ) to greet you (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΑΨΑΨΜΟΨ)]]' (Eud. 56:1-2), (plural) ΧΕ [Ν]ΤΟΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΤΑΨΤΝΝΟ[Ο]Υ ΝΣΩΨ ΨΑΝΤΕΨΕΙ '(it was) (ΝΕ) *them* (the elders) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) [who sent (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΤΝΝΟΟΥ) for him (Αρα Matthew) (ΝΣΩ-Ψ) [to come (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Ψ-ΕΙ)]]' (KHML II 21:8-9).

As a focus-marking device, the agreement clitic may assume a default value 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine πε, e.g. ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΓΑΑΝ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ '(it is) (Π(Ε)) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ) alone (ΜΑΓΑΑ-Ν) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) reside (ΨΟΟΠ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]' (Onnophr. 221:2-3).

The agreement clitic can be omitted in cleft constructions with independent pronouns, which are inherent focus expressions, e.g. ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΪ ΛΟΓΟΨ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ '(it is) *you* (ΝΤΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ \_\_) will account (lit. give (ΝΑ-Ϊ) account (ΛΟΓΟΨ)) to God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) for (ΖΑ) my soul (ΤΑ-ΨΥΧΗ)]' (Hil. 5:28).

The morpho-syntactic behaviour of the agreement clitic is summarised in table 11.2 below, where [± AGR] indicates presence or

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ [+AGR]	[RC NT- ... ]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	Π-, Τ-, Ν- [+AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ... ]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Π- [-AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ... ]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	∅	[RC ΕΤ- ... ]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

### 11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or “variable” (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) Η ΝΙΜ ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΚ ΦΑΡΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΦΦΥΧΗ (...) ‘or (H) *which* (NIM) *monk* (H-MONAXOC) (was it) [*who*<sub>i</sub> came (NT-Α-Φ-ΒΩΚ) to him (ΦΑΡΟ-Φ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the salvation (Π-ΟΥΧΑΙ) of *his*<sub>i</sub> soul (N-ΤΕΦ-ΦΥΧΗ) (...)]?’ (KHML II 11: 9-11), ΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΗΜΟ ΤΑΦΕΡΕ ‘*what*<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* (*it*<sub>i</sub>) happened (NT-Α-Φ-ΩΠΕ) to you (ΗΜΟ)], my daughter (ΤΑ-ΦΕΡΕ)?’ (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΤΕΚΖΗΖΑΛ ΕΤΡΕΣΑΛ ‘*what*<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* you order (ΕΤ-Κ-ΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ) your maid servant (N-ΤΕΚ-ΖΗΖΑΛ) [to do (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Σ-ΑΛ-Ο)]]?’ (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΚΩΛΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ ΝΤΟΚ ‘*who*<sub>i</sub> (ΝΙΜ) (is it)[*that* you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΩΛΧΕ) to (*him*<sub>i</sub>)(ΝΜΜΑ-Φ)]?’ (V. Pach. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) ΠΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΦ ‘(it is), again (ΟΝ), *the earth* (Π-ΚΑΖ) [*that* they (i.e. the birds and fish) return (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ) to (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]’ (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

### 11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟ[Σ] ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ Ε[ΒΟΛ] ΖΝ ΤΕΦΜΝΤ[Ε]ΡΟ ΤΗΡΣ (...) ‘(it is) *It* (ΑΝΟΚ), Constantine (ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ), King (Π-ΡΡΟ) of the Romans (N-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ) [*who*<sub>i</sub> (ΕΤ \_ ) *divulges* (ΣΖΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ) (a decree) in (ΖΝ) *his*<sub>i</sub> entire (ΤΗΡ-Σ) kingdom (ΤΕΦ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ) (...)]’ (Eud. 40:3-4) vs. ΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΝΡΕΦΧΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕΦΣΖΑΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ (read ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ) ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΦΗΤ ‘(it is) the victorious (N-ΡΕΦ-ΧΡΟ) Augustus (Π-ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) *Zênôn*<sub>i</sub> (ΖΗΝΩΝ) [*who*<sub>i</sub> is writing (Ε-Φ-ΣΖΑΙ) to (ΕΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) our holy (ΕΤ \_ ΟΥΛΛΒ) and pious (N-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ) fathers (N-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) [that (ΕΤ \_ ) reside (ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) Shiêt (ΦΗΤ)]]’ (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΜΑΥΑΛΦ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ‘and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him*<sub>i</sub> (ΝΤΟΦ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Φ) [*who*<sub>i</sub> was living as a hermit (Ε-Φ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΜ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]’ (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΑΛΦ ‘since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) *a* beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ) *thing*<sub>i</sub> (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [*that* he did (*it*<sub>i</sub>) (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΑΛ-Φ)]’ (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26)

### 11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. ΕΧΝ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ

ΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΦΝΑΛΛΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΔΙΒΟΛΟΣ 'besides (ΕΧΝ) *these* (ΝΑΙ), *what<sub>i</sub>* (ΟΥ) (is it) [that the devil (Π-ΔΙΒΟΛΟΣ) will (manage) to do (*it<sub>i</sub>*) (ΕΤΕ-Φ-ΝΑ-ΑΛ-Φ)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), ΜΗΝΣΑ ΠΖΑΠ ΔΕ ΤΩΠΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΝ ΤΕΤΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΑΚ ΗΜΑ ΗΜΟΟΝ[Ε] 'after (ΜΗΝΣΑ) *the* (day of) *judgement* (Π-ΖΑΠ), (it is) *the pit<sub>i</sub>* (Τ-ΦΩΤΕ) of the Abyss (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΝ) [*which<sub>i</sub>* (ΕΤ \_) will become (ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) your (ΝΑ-Κ) dwelling (Μ-ΜΟΟΝΕ) place (Μ-ΜΑ)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. ΠΕΝΤΑΦ† ΡΑΝ ΕΛΛΑΦ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΟΦ ΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΕΝΡΑΝ '[*he who has given* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-†) a name (ΡΑΝ) to everybody (ΕΛΛΑΦ ΝΙΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) knows (ΕΤ-ΣΟΟΥΝ) everything (Ν-ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)]<sub>i</sub>, (it is) *him<sub>i</sub>* (ΝΤΟΦ) [*who<sub>i</sub>* (ΕΤ \_) knows (ΣΟΟΥΝ) our name (ΝΕΝ-ΡΑΝ)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), ΝΕΝΤΑΥΜΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΧ̄ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΝΑΩΝΖ ΟΝ ΜΗ ΠΕΧ̄ 'as for) [*those who died* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΜΟΥ) with (ΜΗ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄)]<sub>i</sub>, (it is) *them<sub>i</sub>* (ΝΤΟΟΥ) [*who<sub>i</sub>* (ΕΤ \_) will also (ΟΝ) live (ΝΑ-ΩΝΖ) with (ΜΗ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. ΟΥ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΠΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΕΦ ΤΡΕΝΑΛΦ [Ν]ΝΑΖΡΝ ΝΑΙ 'as for) *you<sub>i</sub>* (ΝΤΩΤΝ), *what<sub>i</sub>* (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that you<sub>i</sub>* want (ΕΤΕ-ΤΝ-ΟΥΕΦ) us [to do (*it<sub>i</sub>*) (ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΑΛ-Φ) about (ΝΝΑΖΡΝ) these (things) (ΝΑΙ)]]? (Camb. 11:9-10), ΝΙΜ [Τ]ΕΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΣΩΡΗ ΜΠΜΗΦΕ 'who<sub>i</sub> (ΝΙΜ) (is it) *now* (ΤΕΝΟΥ) [that *who<sub>i</sub>* (ΕΤ \_) is misleading (ΣΩΡΗ) the crowd (Μ-Π-ΜΗΦΕ)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).

### 11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

#### 11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in ΟΥΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΦΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΦΑΧΕ ΝΖΗΤΦ '(it is) *a* pure (Ε-Φ-ΟΥΑΒ) *spirit* (ΟΥ-Π̄Ν̄Α) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [which (ΕΤ \_) speaks (ΦΑΧΕ) through him (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), ΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΦΑΧΕ ΝΜΗΗΤΝ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ '(it is) *a* divine (lit. of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)) *matter* (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [that I am speaking (Ε-†-ΦΑΧΕ) to you (ΝΜΗΗ-ΤΝ) about (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Φ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like ΕΜΑΤΕ 'only', ΕΝΕΖ 'ever' or ΟΥΩΤ 'single', e.g. ΠΛΗΝ ΕΦΧΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΕΦΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ (for ΝΕΦΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ) 'yet (ΠΛΗΝ) even though (ΕΦΧΕ) (it is) *only* (ΕΜΑΤΕ) *a few* (things) (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) [that we are going to say (Ε(Τ)-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Υ) of (ΖΝ) his achievements (ΝΕΦ-ΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ)]' (Zen. 201:13), ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΕΖ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΦ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΦΜΟΚΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΜΕΦΒΟΚ ΕΦΡΑΦΕ '*which* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) *ever* (ΕΝΕΖ) (is it) [that had gone (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΕΙ) to (ΕΡΑΤ-Φ) our father (Matthew) (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) [disheartened (Ε-Φ-ΜΟΚ̄Ζ Ν-ΖΗΤ) and did not go away (Ε-ΜΕ-Φ-ΒΟΚ) [rejoicing (Ε-Φ-ΡΑΦΕ)]]' (KHML II 11:8-9), ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΦΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ '(it is) (just) a *single* (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) *son* (ΟΥ-ΩΗΡΕ) [that (ΕΤ \_) I have (lit. exists (ΦΟΟΠ) with me (ΝΑ-Ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΡΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΝΑΦ ΜΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΤΗΜΤΡΡΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΕΦΕΜΠΦΑ ΕΦΣΖΑΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ (for ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ) ΝΦΟΥΜΕΡΙΤΟΥ (...)' '(it is) *this most humble* (ΠΕΙ-ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ) *king* (Ν-ΡΡΟ) *Zênôn* (ΖΗΝΩΝ), [whom (ΝΑ-Φ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has given (ΝΤ-Α ... †) the honour (Μ-Π-ΤΑΙΟ) of kingship (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ) beyond (ΠΑΡΑ) his worthiness (ΠΕΦ-ΕΜΠΦΑ)], [*who is writing* (Ε-Φ-ΣΖΑΙ) to (Ε-ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) the pious (ΝΝ-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ) and beloved (Ν-ΦΟΥ-ΜΕΡΙΤ-ΟΥ) brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).

### 11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΩ (for ΠΕΤΟ) ΜΜΕΤΡΗ ΝΤΑΣΗΝΗΔΙΣ (for ΝΤΑΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ) 'for (ΓΑΡ) (it is) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) [who (ΕΤ \_) is (Ω) witness (Μ-ΜΕΤΡΗ) to my conscience (Ν-ΤΑ-ΣΗΝΗΔΙΣ)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), [ΑΡΗ]Υ ΠΖΑΓ[ΙΟΣ Α]Π[Α ΜΗΝΑ] ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΝΤ Ε[ΡΟΙ] ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΡΗΤ ΝΤΑΙ[ΕΡΗ]Τ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΑΦ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) (it is) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna (ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ) [who has become wrathful (ΝΤ-Α-ΦΩΝΤ) with me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the promise (Π-ΕΡΗΤ) [that I made (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΡΗΤ) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 11b:25-29).

### 11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΝΟΣΦ ΝΑΝ ΝΡΡΟ ΕΠΜΑ ΜΠΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΤΩΠΕ ΔΙΟΚ[Λ]ΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΜΠΧΙΝΘΟΝΣ '(it is) Augustus (ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) Constantine, the righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) [that the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) our God (ΠΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has raised (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΥΝΟΣ-Φ) for us (ΝΑ-Ν) as a king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) instead (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the shameless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ) criminal (Μ-Π-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ) Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ), the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) of injustice (Μ-Π-ΧΙ Ν-ΘΟΝΣ)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΩΦ ΕΚΩΝΣ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΝΤΟΣ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΩΦ ΕΚΩΝΣ ΜΜΑΥ '(it is) not (Μ ... ΑΝ) man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) [who (ΕΤ \_) turns (ΚΤΟ) it (the sword) (ΜΜΟ-Σ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) he wants (ΕΤ-Φ-ΟΥΩΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΣ)]]]; rather (ΝΤΟΦ) (it is) it (the sword) (ΝΤΟΣ) [which (ΕΤ \_) turns (ΚΤΟ) the man (Μ-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where it wants (ΕΤ-Σ-ΟΥΩΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΣ)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle ΜΑΥΑΑ- 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. ΝΤΩΤΗ ΜΑΥΑΑΤΗΥΤΗ ΠΕΤΠΑΛΗ ΜΜΩΤΗ '(it is) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ) yourselves (ΜΑΥΑΑΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) [who (ΕΤ \_) mislead (ΠΛΑΛΗ) yourselves (ΜΜΩ-ΤΗ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

### 11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

#### a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. ΠΚΩΖΤ ΠΕΤΝΑΡΩΚΖ ΝΘΥΛΗ '(it is) the fire (Π-ΚΩΖΤ) [which (ΕΤ \_) will burn (ΝΑ-ΡΩΚΖ) the matter (Ν-ΘΥΛΗ < Ν-Τ-ΖΥΛΗ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

#### b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive



discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΝΟΧΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΪ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ 'if you throw me (ε-κ-ψαν-νοχ-τ) out (εβολ), (then) (it is) you (ντοκ) [who (ετ \_\_)] will account (lit. give (να-τ) account (λογος)) to God (μ-π-νουτε) for (ζα) my soul (τα-φυχη)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ΜΠΡΤΡΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'do not start (μπρ-τρε ... ψωπε) a war (πολεμος)! (It is) me (ανοκ) [who (ετ \_\_)] is going to bring them (the apostles) (να-ντ-ου) in (εζουν)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΜΘΟΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΖΗ ΗΜΩΤΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΘΑΙΦΙΣ ΝΙΜ 'but (αλλα) be strong (ταχρο) and brave (ντε-θμ-θομ), for (γαρ) (it is) me (ανοκ) [who (ετ \_\_)] saves (νουζη) you (ημω-την) from (εβολ ζη) every (νιμ) trial (θαιφισ)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

Key Terms:

Virtual and non-virtual relatives §11.1.1  
 Virtual relative clauses may appear in non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.

Complementiser alternations §11.1.2  
 Various subordinating complementisers introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* ερε- and *pron.st.* ε-, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker.

Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns §11.1.3  
 instantiate two different types of placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΑΜΗΤΡΡΟ 'every (νιμ) human (ν-ρωμε) race; (γενος) [that (ετ \_\_)] lives (ψοοπ) in (ζη) my kingdom (τα-μητ-ρρο)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΓ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ 'the mighty deeds; (νε-θομ) and (μεν) miracles; (νε-ψηπε) [that (they<sub>i</sub>) happened (ντ-α-γ-ψωπε) through (ζι-τοοτ-γ) our father (μ-πεν-ειωτ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

Nested and stacked relative clauses §11.1.4

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g.  $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon$  'other trees ( $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta$ ) [<sub>RC1</sub> while (*they*<sub>i</sub>) were loaded ( $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$ ) with fruit ( $\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) [<sub>RC2</sub> while (*they*<sub>j</sub>) were plenty ( $\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi\omega\omicron\gamma$ )]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g.  $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\tau\psi\omega\omicron\pi\zeta\eta\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$  'the holy brothers; ( $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ ) (lit. [<sub>RC1</sub> who ( $\epsilon\tau$    ) are holy ( $\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta$ ) [<sub>RC2</sub> who ( $\epsilon\tau$    ) live ( $\psi\omega\omicron\pi$ ) in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) the desert ( $\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ )]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

Definiteness opposition §11.1.5.1

The determination of the antecedent noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g.  $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma$  'much (lit. which is abundant ( $\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma$ )) water ( $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ )' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g.  $\eta[\epsilon\alpha]\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha[\lambda\beta]$  'his holy (lit. which are holy ( $\epsilon\tau$      $\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta$ )) hands ( $\eta\epsilon\alpha\omicron\iota\chi$ )' (KHML II 18:18).

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses §11.1.5.3

Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g.  $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\epsilon$  'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter ( $\epsilon\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\epsilon$ )) death ( $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma$ )' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g.  $\zeta\eta\zeta\eta\pi\zeta\eta\lambda\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\eta\eta\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma\eta\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$  'the deserted (lit. which are ( $\epsilon\gamma\omicron$ ) (in a) deserted ( $\eta\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ) (state)) streets in ( $\zeta\eta$ ) Hell ( $\lambda\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ ) without ( $\epsilon\eta\eta$ ) anyone ( $\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$ ) on them ( $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ )' (Ac. A&P 204:132).

Free relatives §11.2.1

are relative clauses that occur without an overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g.  $\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\mu\eta\eta\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$  'I ate ( $\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ ) [what was left ( $\eta\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ ) of the bread ( $\eta\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$ )]' (Onnophr. 218:5).

Hypothetical relative clauses §11.2.2

have a clause-like interpretation corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpreted as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\alpha\eta\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\omega\pi\epsilon\iota$  (for  $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\alpha\eta\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ )  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\omega\pi\epsilon\iota$  (for  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\omega\pi\epsilon\iota$ )  $\eta\mu\omicron\alpha$  '(as for) [him who will protest ( $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\alpha\eta\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ )], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish ( $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\omega\pi\epsilon\iota$ ) him ( $\eta\mu\omicron\alpha$ ))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).

**Nominal clefts** Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function. In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause. §11.3.1

**Exhaustive listing** The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. οὐφηρε νοῦωτ πετφωοπ ναι '(it is) (just) a single (N-οὐωτ) son (οὐ-φηρε) [that I have (lit. that (ετ \_\_ ) is (φωοπ) with me (να-ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22). §11.3.2

**Exercises**

**11.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
  1. The complementiser *ε-* occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
  2. Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
  3. The complementiser *ετ-* is restricted to subject relatives.
  4. Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
  5. Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

6. Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
7. The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
8. The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

**11.2 Attributive relative clauses**

- A. Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.
  - (1) ΠΜΑ ΟΝ (ΕΤΕΡΕ/ΕΤΕ) ΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟϚ 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [where you are going ( \_\_ Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:10)
  - (2) ΟΥΦΩΤ ΝΗΝΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ (ΕΤ/ΕΡΕ) ΤΑΕΙΝΥ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΑΡΔΥΝΙC 'worship (ΟΥΦΩΤ) our revered ( \_\_ ΤΑΕΙΝΥ)) gods (N-ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ), Apollôn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) and (ΜΗ) Artemis (Τ-ΑΡΔΥΝΙC)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)
  - (3) ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗC (ΕΤΕ/Ε) ΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΜΕ 'a servant (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗC) [who lived ( \_\_ Φ-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) a village (ΟΥ-ΤΜΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no.99, 22:9-10)
  - (4) ΠΟΛΙC ΝΙΜ (ΕΝΤ/ΕΤΕ) ΦΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'every (ΝΙΜ) city (ΠΟΛΙC) [that they enter ( \_\_ ΦΑ-Υ-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)
  - (5) ΑΦΧΝΟΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΘΕ (Ε/ΝΤ) ΑCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕϚΗ 'he asked her (Α-Φ-ΧΝΟΥ-C) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the way (ΘΕ) [in which she had gone ( \_\_ Α-C-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΜ) his house (ΠΕϚ-Η)]' (Hil. 12:10)

B. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHŌMIUS' JOURNEY TO THE OTHER WORLD

ΑΥΩ ΑΣΨΩΠΕ ΗΠΕΙΟΥΩΨ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΝΚΟΤΚ<sup>α</sup> ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΧΙ  
 ΗΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΗ ΕΠΚΑΙΩΝ (read ΕΠΚΕΑΙΩΝ)<sup>β</sup> ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ  
 ΝΤΑΝΨΡΠΧΟΟ<sup>γ</sup>. ΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΡΨΕΙΡΕ<sup>δ</sup> (for ΕΠΖΡΨΙΡΕ)<sup>δ</sup> ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ<sup>ε</sup>  
 ΝΤΑΦΡ ΠΕΦΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΤ ΕΦΑΣΚΕΙ<sup>ε</sup> ΕΦΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΟ ΗΡΑΨΕ ΜΗΝ  
 (for ΜΗ) ΟΥΤΕΛΗΛ. ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΙ ΕΠΝΕΙΩΤ (for  
 ΕΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ) ΠΑΖΩΗ ΕΦΜΟΩΨΕ ΜΗ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΟ ΕΦΤΣΑΒΟ ΗΜΟΦ  
 ΕΠΣΑ ΗΠΚΑΙΩΝ (read ΗΠΚΕΑΙΩΝ) ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΦ<sup>ε</sup>  
 ΑΦΩΚ ΗΜΟΦ ΕΦΧΩ ΗΜΟΟ ΧΕ ΑΜΟΥ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΤΑΟΥΣΙΑ<sup>η</sup> ΝΤΑ  
 ΠΧΟΕΙΟ ΤΑΑΟ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΚΣΒΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΤΑΚΤΣΑΒΟΙ  
 ΕΡΟΙ ΕΤΡΑΜΟΩΨΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΤΣΑΒΟ  
 ΗΜΟΦ ΕΝΕΦΟΜ ΕΖΗΠΝΑΪΚΩΝ (read ΕΖΕΠΝΑΪΚΩΝ) ΝΕ ΑΥΩ  
 ΝΕΥΓΑΡΠΟΟ (for ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΟ)<sup>ι</sup> ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΦΤΣΑΒΟΒ (for ΑΦΤΣΑΒΟΦ) ΕΝΕΦΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΚΩΤ  
 ΕΤΟΥΚΗΤ ΕΖΗΤΦ ΜΗ ΠΕΥΣΑ (...) ΗΜΝΟΩΟ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΡ ΠΒΟΛ<sup>ι</sup>  
 ΗΠΠΑΡΑΪΩΟ<sup>κ</sup> (ΗΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΟΟ) ΝΤΕ ΤΡΥΦΗ<sup>ι</sup> ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΑΦΝΑΥ  
 ΕΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΟΚΗΤΟ<sup>μ</sup> ΕΦΖΝ ΟΥΜΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΨΑΡΒΑ ΑΥΩ ΕΦΤΑΧΡΗΥ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΨΗΝ ΕΦΟΤΠ ΝΓΑΡΠΟΟ (for ΝΚΑΡΠΟΟ) ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΟΡ  
 ΕΒΟΝΖ (for ΕΦΟΝΖ) ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΦΓΑΡΠΟΟ (for ΠΕΦΚΑΡΠΟΟ)  
 ΕΜΝΤΑΦ ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ<sup>ν</sup> ΜΜΑΥ ΕΕΡ ΠΒΟΛ ΗΠΨΗΝ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ. ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ  
 ΝΤΕΡΦΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΦΚΑ ΧΩΦ ΕΠΕΟΗΤ ΕΦΨΕΙΠΕ (for ΕΦΨΗΠΕ)  
 ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΑΡΑΓΕ<sup>ο</sup> ΗΜΟΦ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΑΦΩΨΩΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΖΡΑΦ ΖΗΝ (for ΖΗ) ΟΥΝΟΟ ΝΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΟΟΝ  
 ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ ΗΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΗ ΧΕ ΑΚΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΟΚΗΤΟ  
 ΝΤΑΚΖΙΟΕ ΕΚΪ ΟΒΩ ΝΑΦ ΗΠΕΦΟΩΤΗ ΝΟΩΚ ΕΤΡΕΦΜΟΩΨΕ ΖΗΝ  
 (for ΖΗ) ΟΥΘΒΒΕΙΟ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΕ ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΜΗ  
 ΤΕΠΪΤΜΙΑ<sup>ρ</sup> ΝΤΑΦΤΑΑΟ ΝΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΧΟΕΙΟ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΕΦΜΝΤΑΤΟΩΤΗ  
 ΕΘΟΟΥ. (V. Pach. 86:6-87:10)

NOTES: a. read ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΚΟΤΚ b. ΑΩΝ 'world' c. ΝΤ-Α-Ν-ΨΡΠ-ΧΟΟ-Ο d.  
 ΖΨΕΙΡΕ 'young man' e. ΒΑΛΖΗΤ 'innocent' f. ΑΟΚΕΙ 'to practise' g. ΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΗΤ= 'to run towards s.o.' h. ΟΥΟΙΑ 'state, condition' i. ΓΑΡΠΟΟ 'fruit' j. Ρ  
 Π-ΒΟΛ 'to walk out, leave' k. ΠΑΡΑΪΩΟ 'Paradise' l. ΤΡΥΦΗ 'delight, joy'  
 m. ΑΟΚΗΤΟ 'hermit, monk' n. ΕΖΟΥΟΙΑ 'power, strength' o. ΠΑΡΑΓΕ 'to pass  
 by' p. ΕΠΪΤΜΙΑ 'penalty, punishment'.

C. Specify for each relative clause in the text fragment whether it has a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning and function.

11.3 Free relative clauses

A. Consider the following examples of free relative clauses. Identify the placeholder gap or resumptive pronoun that indicates the internal grammatical role of the covert relative antecedent.

- (1) ΑΒΔΕΜΕΡΟΥΧΟΟ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΗ ΝΚΟΛΑΟΙΟ 'Abdemeruchos (ΑΒΔΕΜΕΡΟΥΧΟΟ) [who supervises (Π-ΕΤ-ΖΙΧΗ) the punishments (Ν-ΚΟΛΑΟΙΟ) (of Hell)]' (Test. Is. 235:1-2).
- (2) ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΝΟΟ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΖΑ ΤΕΥΖΗ 'Numerianus, [who (ΠΑΙ) had been (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) before them]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24)
- (3) ΑΙΡ ΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΖΙΝΗΒ ΕΤΒΕ ΘΟΤΕ ΝΤΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟ 'I had become (Α-Ι-Ρ) like (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [those who sleep (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΙΝΗΒ)] because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the overwhelming (vision) (ΘΟΤΕ < Τ-ΖΟΤΕ)) [that I had seen (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ)]' (Onnophr. 221:26-27)
- (4) ΠΒΙΟΟ ΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΨΕΕΡΕ ΗΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΡΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΖΙΟΤΨΡΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΝΒΩ 'the life (Π-ΒΙΟΟ) of the blessed (Ν-Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ) Hilaria, the daughter (Τ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) of the god-loving (Η-Π-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Zênôn, [which the holy (Π-Π-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΑΒ) Apa Pambô has written down (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΖΙΟΤΨΡΙΖΕ)]' (Hil. 1:1-2)
- (5) ΑΠΑ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΟ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΕΖΨΡΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΖΙΤΗ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΟ 'Apa John [who had been exiled (lit. they had exiled (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΕΖΟΡΙΖΕ) him (ΗΜΟ-Φ) by (ΖΙΤΗ) Markianos]' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:21-22)
- (6) ΪΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΧ̄Ο ΤΟΨΟ ΕΡΟΚ 'this destiny (Ϊ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ), [which (ΤΑΙ) the Lord (Π-Χ̄Ο) has destined (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΨ-Ο) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (Onnophr. 212:27-28)

(7) *ετε[ε] νετετηψινη η[σωου] [ε]βολ ζητοωτη [ετε] [ηαι] νε κκατορ[ωω][μα] ηηπολυτια ηημακαριος απα ζηνοβιος* 'concerning (ετβε) [what you are seeking (η-ετε-τη-ψινη) for (νεω-ου) from us (ζη-τοωτ-η)], [to wit (ετε ηαι νε) the achievements (η-κατορωωμα) of the monastic practise (η-τ-πολυτια) of the blessed (η-η-μακαριος) Apa Zēnobios]' (Zen. 199:7-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

(1) *εκεουωμ δε [ηηεντα ηηουτε τηηουσοου ηαικ] (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)*

(2) *[ηηεπιστευε [ετε ηαι ηε ηχωκ ηησωτη]] (Test. Is. 228:7-8) (πιστευε 'to believe')*

(3) *τενου δε ηχωκ ηηαιπιστις τε ται ζη ουμε ηε ηηουτε ηασετηητην εβολ αν ζη [ηετεηηαιτε] (for ηετεηηηαιτε) ηηου] (Hil. 8:10-12)*

#### 11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

A. Classify the following cleft sentences by selecting one of the two options.

(1) *εβολ ηε ηηρο ηε ηηαιταμιου ηαις 'because (εβολ ηε) (it was) the king (η-ηηρο) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (ηη-αι-ου-ταμιο-ου) for her (Eudoxia) (ηαι-ς)]' (Eud. 50:8-9)*  
 thematic prominence       contrastive focus

(2) *ηηεηαμου ηη ηε $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$  ηηοοη ηεηηαωηη ου ηη ηε $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$  '(as for) those who died (ηη-ηη-αι-ου-μοου) with (ηη) Christ (ηε- $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$ ), (it is) *they* (ηηοοη) [who (ετ \_\_) will also (ουη) live (ηαι-ωηη) with (ηη) Christ (ηε- $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$ )]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).*  
 informative-presupposition cleft       restrictive focus

(3) *επιδη ηηοκ ηεησοουη ηητωω ηηηη ηηαβιος ηη ηηουτε 'since (επιδη) (it is) you (alone) (ηηοκ) and (ηη) God (η-ηουτε) [who (ετ \_\_) knows (σοουη) the entire (ηηη-ου) course (η-η-τωω) of my life (η-ηαι-βιος)]' (Hil. 12:22)*  
 presentational focus       restrictive focus

(4) *ηηωηη ηεηηαρωκη ηεηηηη '(it is) the fire (ηη-ωηη) [which will burn (ετ \_\_ ηαι-ρωκη) the matter (ηη-εηηη < ηη-η-ηηηη)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)*  
 informative-presupposition cleft       restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE *ΑΠΟΡΗΘΗΓΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")  
*ΑΠΑ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΖΕΡΜΗΣ<sup>α</sup> ΑΦΩ ΗΑΦ<sup>β</sup> ΗΩΜΗΤ ΗΧΩΜΗ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΦΩΚ ΦΑ ΑΠΑ ΗΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΗΑΦ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΗΜΑΥ ΗΩΜΗΤ ΗΧΩΜΗ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΦΩ †† ΖΗΓ<sup>γ</sup> ΗΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΦ ΩΝ ΦΑΡΕ ΗΕΚΗΗ ΧΗΤΟΥ ΗΕ† ΖΗΓ ΑΧΗ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΨΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΛΑΦ. ΑΦΟΥΨΕ ΗΒΗ ΗΖΑΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΗΑΝΟΥ ΗΖΩΒ ΗΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΗΑΝΟΥ ΗΗΗΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΗΗΡΟΥ. ΗΤΕΡΕΦΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΠΑΙ ΑΦΩΚ ΑΦΤΑΛΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΧΗ ΤΕΥΗΗ<sup>δ</sup> ΑΦΤΑΛΣ ΗΗΕΤΦΑΛΤ. (AP Elanskaya 13a:12-34)*

NOTES: a. ηηεηρμης 'Phermēs (toponym) b. κω ηαι- 'to keep for oneself  
c. † ΖΗΓ 'to give profit' d. ηηη 'price'

### Subordinate clauses

The concluding chapter of this grammar is concerned with finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause typically functions as a dependent constituent within some larger construction. In view of the fact that every clause is to some degree dependent on the previous context, one might think of the traditional distinction between main and subordinate clauses in terms of relative degrees of clausal integration rather than as a binary opposition.

Looking at various types of complement and adjunct clauses, we will consider issues such as the following:

- (i) *Morphological marking.* Coptic requires subordination to be explicitly marked in the structure of the dependent clause either by means of a special subordinating complementiser or by means of a subordinate verbal tense.
- (ii) *The argument-adjunct contrast.* Subordinate clauses may assume different grammatical functions within the matrix clause they form a construction with. A major division of subordinate clauses concerns the opposition between argument clauses, which belong to the core of the matrix verb phrase and which are therefore obligatory

sentence constituents, and adjunct clauses, which belong to the periphery of the matrix clause and which are therefore optional sentence elements.

- (iii) *Clausal coherence and switch reference*, which concern the anaphoric link between main and subordinate clauses. Depending on whether the embedded subject is identical to or distinct from that of the matrix clause, subordinate clauses may take different forms or assume different semantic interpretations. For instance, same subject clauses usually imply a higher degree of influence on or control of the subject referent over the situation expressed in the subordinate clause.
- (iv) *Sequences of tenses*. The combination of tenses in complex sentence constructions generally reflects the range of temporal or logical relations that obtain between the main and the subordinate clause situation.
- (v) *Finiteness*. Non-finite subordinate clauses are distinguished from finites largely but not wholly by the absence of inflectional tense. The tenseless character of infinitival clauses goes hand in hand with the acquisition of nominal properties.

Further semantic and syntactic distinctions will be drawn within particular kinds of subordinate clauses. Section 12.1 deals with clausal arguments and section 12.2 with clausal adjuncts. Non-finite subordinate clauses are the topic of section 12.3. Throughout this Unit subordinate clauses are given in brackets.

## 12.1 Argument clauses

This section reviews complex sentences in subordinate clauses that function as the subject or the internal complement of the matrix verb phrase. Although such argument clauses belong to the nucleus of the main clause, they differ from nominal arguments in various respects. Firstly,

while all verbs can have a noun phrase as a subject and all transitive verbs nominal objects, there are only a few lexical classes of verbs that also permit clausal subjects and objects. Secondly, nominal arguments bear a wide range of semantic roles, such as AGENT, CAUSER, PATIENT, THEME, and the like. Clausal arguments, by contrast, denote propositions that cannot be associated with such participant roles. The relation between the matrix verb phrase and clausal subjects and complements is more indirect, involving reports or attitudes and beliefs of the subject referents about the situation implied or expressed in the subordinate clause. Thirdly, one distinctive property of pro/nominal objects is that they generally come immediately after the verb. Complement clauses, on the other hand, are not constrained to follow the verb in this way. Although subject clauses can appear in the canonical subject position, they are more commonly extraposed to the clause-final position of heavy constituents, with a semantically vacuous expletive pronoun appearing in the position of the extraposed argument clause. Therefore, despite their subject and object function, argument clauses are not "noun clauses" and must be analysed independently of noun phrases.

### 12.1.1 Subject clauses

A sample of transitive and intransitive verbs that may take clauses as subjects is given below. These verbs typically appear in impersonal sentences in which the canonical subject position is occupied by a non-referential expletive pronoun, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the end of the matrix clause.

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
ΝΑΝΟΥ(-C)	it is good	ΨΨΕ ΕΡΟ-	it is appropriate for
ΖΩ	it is sufficient	ΖΑΠC ΕΡΟ-	it necessary for, must
Ϙ-ΡΩΨΕ	it is sufficient	C-Ρ ΑΝΑ-	it pleases
C-Ρ ΧΡΙΑ	it is necessary	Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ	it happened

TABLE 12.1 Impersonal verbs

### 12.1.1.1 Survey of constructions

Impersonal verbs show some degree of variation concerning the pre- or postverbal placement of the clausal subject as well as the presence of indirect object noun or pronoun.

#### a) The clausal subject construction

Although the preverbal subject position can be occupied by clausal rather than nominal arguments, examples of the clausal subject construction are not particularly common, e.g. **ΝΑΝΟΥ † ΖΑΖ ΗΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ** 'is (it) good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) [to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. give (†) much (ΖΑΖ) repentance (ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ)]]?' (AP Chaîne no. 131, 30:1), **ΖΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΣΟΦΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΗΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΦΟΟΠ ΗΝ ΠΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΤΑΜΙΟ ΤΗΡQ (...)** 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it) suffices (ΖΩ) [for the wise (Ν-ΣΟΦΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) truly (ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ) pious (people) (Η-ΠΙΣΤΟΣ) to know (ΕΙΜΕ) [that (ΧΕ) the Son (Π-ΩΗΡΕ) existed (ΦΟΟΠ) with (ΗΝ) the Father (Π-ΩΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΕΥΜΑ) before (ΖΑΘΗ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Q) creation (Η-Π-ΤΑΜΙΟ) (...)]]' (Contra Orig. 811).

#### b) The impersonal subject construction

It is more common for clausal subjects to appear in an extraposed subject position at the end of the matrix clause, which is the preferred position for heavy constituents. Extraposing the clausal subject always involves the insertion of a semantically empty expletive pronoun 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine or feminine -q or -c 'it' in the preverbal subject slot, which cannot be left vacated. As an extraposed constituent, the subject clause is an element that is related to, but not co-referential with the "dummy" subject pronoun, e.g. **ΝΑΝΟΥC ΝΤΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΑΗ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΛΑΛΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ** 'it is better (ΝΑΝΟΥ-С) [that I go (ΝΤΑ-ΒΩΚ) home (Ε-ΠΑ-Η) while I have something (lit. while (there) is something (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ) in my hand (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΤΟΟΤ)]' (Mena, Mir. 78a:8-11), **QΡΩΦΕ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΟC ΕΜΑΤΕ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΠΛΑΝΗ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ** 'it is sufficient (Q-ΡΩΦΕ) [to simply (ΕΜΑΤΕ) assert (Ε-ΧΟΟ-С) [that (ΧΕ) these (the Origenist doctrines) (ΝΑΙ) (are) errors (ΖΕΝ-ΠΛΑΝΗ) ]]' (Contra Orig. 407).

Extraposed subject clauses can also be found in impersonal light-verb constructions, e.g. **СР ΧΡΙΑ ΕΜΙΦΕ ΕΡ[ΟQ] [Η]ΜΑ ΝΙΜ** 'it is necessary (С-Ρ ΧΡΙΑ) [to fight (Ε-ΜΙΦΕ) with him (the devil) (ΕΡΟ-Q) everywhere (lit. in every (ΝΙΜ) place (Η-ΜΑ))]' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:23), **ΑΥΩ ΗΠΕCΕΡ ΑΝΑQ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕQСΩΜΑ CΩ ΖΝ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) it did not please (ΗΠΕ-С-ΕΡ ΑΝΑ-Q) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [(that) his (Αρα Μena's) body (ΠΕQ-СΩΜΑ) should remain (Ε-ΤΡΕ ... CΩ) in (ΖΝ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:32-4b:3).

#### c) ΦΩΕ 'it is appropriate'

Although ΦΩΕ looks like a "bare" verbal stem, it actually represents an impersonal sentence by itself, whose sentential character is disguised by the assimilation of the expletive subject 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular feminine c- 'it' to the following verb: c-ΦΩΕ → Φ-ΦΩΕ 'it is appropriate' (lit. 'it goes').

The impersonal verb ΦΩΕ usually takes an indirect object whose referent is the agent of the event or activity described in the extraposed subject clause, e.g. **ΦΩΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΖΟΚΝ ΜΑΥΑΛΝ ΖΑΘΗ ΗΠΙΡΑCΜΟC** (for **ΗΠΙΡΑCΜΟC**) 'it is appropriate (ΦΩΕ) for us (ΕΡΟ-Ν) [to arm (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΖΟΚ-Ν) ourselves (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ν) against (ΖΑΘΗ < ΖΑ-Τ-ΖΗ) temptations (Η-ΠΙΡΑCΜΟC)]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:16), **ΦΩΕ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΕΩΠ ΕΡΟQ. ΜΑΥΑΛQ ΗΠΝΟΒΕ ΗΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥQ** 'it is appropriate (ΦΩΕ) for each one (Ε-Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) [to attribute (Ε-ΩΠ) to himself (ΕΡΟ-Q (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Q) the sin (Η-Π-ΝΟΒΕ) of his neighbour (Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΖΙΤΟΥQ-Q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 209, 54:12-13).

The standard form of negation for ΦΩΕ in literary Sahidic is (Ν-) ... ΑΝ, e.g. **ΝΦΩΕ ΑΝ ΕΛΑC ΝΤΕΙΖΕ** 'it is not (ΑΝ) appropriate (Ν-ΦΩΕ) [to act (Ε-ΛΑ-С) in such a way (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ)]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:4-5), **ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΦΩΕ ΑΝ ΕΡΟQ ΕΜΙΦΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΡΕQΦΩΠΕ ΕQΘΒΒΗΥ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΕQ† CΩ ΕQΑΝΕΧΕ ΝΝΕΘΟΟΥ** 'it is not (ΑΝ) fitting (ΦΩΕ) for a servant (ΟΥ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) [to quarrel (Ε-ΗΦΕ)], [but (rather) (ΑΛΛΑ) to remain (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΦΩΠΕ) humble (Ε-Q-ΘΒΒΗΥ) towards (ΝΝΑΖΡΝ) everyone (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) as a teacher (Ν-ΡΕQ-† CΩ) who (patiently) bears (Ε-Q-ΑΝΕΧΕ) evil deeds (ΝΝΕΘΟΟΥ < Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ)]' (V. Pach. 5:23-25).



d) The paragraph marker  $\lambda$ - $\sigma$ - $\psi$ ωπε δε 'it happened'

The impersonal existential clause  $\lambda$ - $\sigma$ - $\psi$ ωπε δε 'it happened' has a fully grammaticalised function as a discourse-structuring device that marks the beginning of a new discourse unit, e.g.  $\lambda$ σψωπε δε 2N νε200Y ηπω2C  $\lambda$ γβωκ MN νεγερηY 210YCOΠ εω2C εγχι βεεκε 'it happened ( $\lambda$ - $\sigma$ - $\psi$ ωπε δε) in (2N) the days (NE-200Y) of the harvest (M-Π-ω2C) (that) they went out ( $\lambda$ -Y-βωκ) together (21-0Y-COΠ) with (MN) one another (NEY-EPHY) to harvest (ε-ω2C) as day-labourer (lit. taking (ε-Υ-χι) wage (βεεκε))' (V. Pach. 6:1-2),  $\lambda$ σψωπε δε ηπεραστε  $\lambda$  πκομис (for πκομис) 2MOOC EPBHMA  $\lambda$ q2ICE εφκολλακεYe MMOY NψOPΠ 'it happened ( $\lambda$ - $\sigma$ - $\psi$ ωπε δε) on the next (lit. his) day (M-ΠE-PACTE) (that) the high official (the *comēs*) (Π-ΚΟΜΙC) sat down ( $\lambda$  ... 2MOOC) on the tribune (ε-Π-ΒΗΜΑ) (and) made an effort ( $\lambda$ -q-2ICE) to flatter (ε-q-κολλακεYe) him (Αρα Mēna) (MMO-q) first (N-ψOPΠ)' (Mena, Enc. 57a:24-30).

### 12.1.1.2 The mandative meaning of impersonal verbs

In expressing volition, obligation and desirability, impersonal verbs belong to a larger group of deontic-modal constructions that have come to be known as mandative constructions in the linguistic literature. Mandative constructions typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have a manipulative or directive meaning like English *mandatory* and *command* (to cite two items on which the term "mandative" is based).

Coptic impersonal verbs demonstrate various degrees of modal strength, with mandative 2AΠC 'it is necessary for, must' being more forceful than NANOY-C 'it is good, better' and ψωπε 'it is appropriate'. Thus, while 2AΠC comes close in meaning to imperatival clauses in expressing requests, instructions, and directions, NANOY-C and ψωπε have a more argumentative character, endorsing the addressee or some other party to behave in a particular way. Compare, then: 2AΠC ON EPOK EPTEKCMN OYCOOY2C 2N TKAZ ψMIM 'you must also (ON) (lit. *it is necessary* (2AΠ-C) for you (EP-O-K) to) [establish (ε-TP-E-K-CMN) a congregation (OY-COOY2C) in (2N) the district (T-KAZ) Akhmîm (ψMIM)]' (V. Pach. 145:19-20), NANOY qI ΓAP 2A OYETΠW N2OY0 ECI 2A ΠΩONT

NOYPMH 'for (ΓAP) it is better (NANOY) [to bear (qI) a burden (2A OY-ETΠW) than (N2OY0) to bear (qI) the wrath (2A Π-ΩONT) of a man (N-OY-PWHM)]' (Mena, Mir. 81b:3-7), ETBE ΠAI ψωPE EPON [N E]MEEYE NTEI2E 2WC ENNA† ΛOΓOC MΠNOYTE MMHNE 'for (ETBE) this (reason) (ΠAI) *it is appropriate* (ψωPE) for us (EP-O-N) [to think (ε-MEEYE) in this way (N-TEI-2E) as if (2WC) we are going to give (ε-N-NA-T) account (ΛOΓOC) to God (M-Π-NOYTE) daily (MMHNE)]' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 2:4-5).

Subject clauses generally convey backgrounded propositions, whose content is contextually inferable or pragmatically presupposed, e.g. NANOY OYEM AB AYW ECE HPΠ NΓTMOYWM ΔE NNCAPZ NNEKCNHY 2ITN TKATAΛAΛIA 'it is good (NANOY) [to eat (OYEM) meat (AB) and (AYW) to drink (ε-CE) wine (HPΠ)], but it is not to eat (N-Γ-TM-OYWM) the flesh (N-N-CAPZ) of your brothers (N-NEK-CNHY) through (2ITN) slander (T-KATAΛAΛIA)' (AP Chaîne no. 14, 3:12-13), NANOYC EΛEΓXE MMOY 2N NETOYWN2 EBOL 'it is better (NANOY-C) [to refute (EΛEΓXE) them (the Origenists) (MMO-OY) with (2N) what is evident (N-ET-OYWN2 EBOL)]' (Contra Orig. 408), AP ΠMEEYE XE 2AΠC EPON ΠE EPTEHAPIANTA EPNOYTE 'remember (lit. make (AP) remembrance (Π-MEEYE)) [that (XE) *it is certain* (2AΠ-C) [that we (EP-O-N) encounter (ε-TP-E-N-APANTA) God (ε-Π-NOYTE)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:12), 2AΠC ΠE EPTE ΠENTAYCOPMEC EI 'it is inevitable (2AΠ-C) [(that) he who has lost it (the purse) (ΠE-NT-A-Q-COPME-C) will come by (ε-TP-E ... EI)]' (AP Chaîne no. 31, 6:12-13).

### 12.1.2 Complement clauses

Coptic has various classes of transitive verbs that take subordinate clauses as internal complements. The focus of this section is on the complement structure of mental verbs, while reportative verbs are dealt with in the next section. Mental verbs can be subdivided into two classes: *verbs of cognition* and *verbs of perception and discovery*. Cognition verbs ascribe to the subject referent certain beliefs, opinions, experiences and expertise, while verbs of perception and discovery describe situations, as they emerge in the visual field of the referent of the matrix clause subject. The most common mental verbs of cognition and perception/discovery are listed in table 12.2 below.

VERBS OF COGNITION			
ΕΙΜΕ	to come to know, become aware of	ΚΟΟΥΝ	to know
ΜΕΕΥΕ	to think, consider	ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ	to believe, be confident
VERBS OF PERCEPTION/DISCOVERY			
ΝΑΥ	to see	ΩΨΥΤ	to see, look
ΑΙΘΑΝΕ	to perceive, hear	ΩΤΗ	to hear
ΘΙΝΕ	to find	ΖΕ Ε-	to find

TABLE 12.2 Mental verbs

### 12.1.2.1 Mental verbs of cognition

The clausal complements of mental verbs of cognition are characterised by the following properties.

#### a) Switch reference

Canonical verbs of cognition select different-subject finite clauses as an internal complement. Complement clauses are overtly marked as such by the multi-functional subordinating complementiser *xe* 'that'. They immediately follow the verb phrase and the indirect object, e.g. *†πιστεύε xe πνούτε να[οβψϚ] αν ερον* 'I believe (*†πιστεύε*) [that (*xe*) *God* (*π-νούτε*) will not (*αν*) forget (*να-οβψ-Ϛ*) about us (*ερο-ν*)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14), *†ναείμε xe κνα† σομ ναι ψανταχι μεκλωμ ναττακο* 'I will experience (*†να-είμε*) [that (*xe*) *you* will give (*κ-να-†*) me (*να-ι*) strength (*σομ*) [until I receive (*ψαντα-χι*) the imperishable (*ν-ατ-τακο*) crown (*μ-πε-κλωμ*)]]' (KHML II 30:5-6), *xe ννεϚμееϚ ερος xe οϚνοεικ τε* 'so that (*xe*) *he* would not think (*ννε-Ϛ-μееϚ*) about her (*ερο-Ϛ*) [that (*xe*) *she* (*τε*) (is) adulterous (*οϚ-νοεικ*)]' (Sh. Or 44, 159b:56-160a:1).

Same-subject complement clauses are possible, though uncommon, e.g. *εψωπε δε ειψανειμε xe †οϚοχ εψωνε μειχιτϚ* 'however (*δε*) when (*εψωπε*) I notice (*ε-ι-ψαν-ειμε*) [that (*xe*) I am cured (*†οϚοχ*)

from illness (*ε-ψωνε*)], I will not accept it (the donkey) (*με-ι-χιτ-Ϛ*)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

#### b) Scope of negation

Both the main and the embedded clause can be negated. The scope of negation never exceeds a clause boundary (see above, section 9.2.1 of Unit 9). Thus, compare: *νεϚκοουν δε αν xe οϚϚιμε τε* 'he *did not* (*αν*) know (*νε-Ϛ-κοουν*) [that (*xe*) she (*τε*) (was) a woman (*οϚ-Ϛιμε*)]' (Hil. 6:14-15) vs. *τετνκοουν γαρ xe μειψεινε* (read *μειψινε*) *νσα παντων* (...) 'since (*γαρ*) you know (*τετν-κοουν*) [that (*xe*) I *do not* look (*με-ι-ψεινε*) for (*νσα*) my own ease (*πα-ητων*) (...)]' (V. Pach. 88:28) vs. *η νγκοουν αν xe μερε λααϚ νκρηστιανος* (for *κρηστιανος*) *Ϛει* (for *Ϛι*) *μπεϚο εϚραι Ϛα πϚο ηπετο ννος εροϚ* 'or (*η*) do you *not* (*αν*) know (*η-ν-κοουν*) [that (*xe*) *no* (*λααϚ*) Christian (*η-κρηστιανος*) raises (*μερε ... Ϛει εϚραι*) his face (*η-πεϚ-Ϛο*) under (*Ϛα*) the face (*π-Ϛο*) of who is (*π-ετ-ο*) greater (*η-ννος*) than him (*ερο-Ϛ*)]' (KHML II 32:25-27).

#### c) Factive vs. non-factive cognition verbs

When formulated in the affirmative, factive cognition verbs presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. *μεϚπ μμееϚ ρω xe οϚν κοσμος ψοοπ* 'they (the hermits) do not even (*ρω*) remember (lit. make (*μεϚ-ρ*) thought (*π-μееϚ*)) [that (*xe*) a (lower) world (*κοσμος*) exists (*οϚν ... ψοοπ*)]' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), *κκοουν παχοεις xe πειγενος xe κρηστιανος* (for *κρηστιανος*) *σεϚϚομине* (for *σεϚϚομινε*) *ενβασανος* 'you know (*κ-κοουν*), my Lord (*πα-χοεις*), [that (*xe*) this race (*πει-γενος*) called (*xe*) Christians (*κρηστιανος*) bear (patiently) (*σε-ϚϚομине*) the tortures (*ε-ν-βασανος*)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).

Non-factive cognition verbs, by contrast, do not presuppose the truth of the embedded proposition, although they leave it open as a possibility, e.g. *αϚω †πιστεύε xe εϚψανει ψαρον τνναθεν ϚηϚ τηρν Ϛιτν νεϚψαηλ* 'and (*αϚω*) I believe (*†πιστεύε*) [that (*xe*) [if he comes (*ε-Ϛ-ψαν-ει*) to us (*ψαρο-ν*)] [we will all (*τηρ-ν*) benefit (lit. gain (*τν-να-θεν*) profit (*ϚηϚ*)] from (*Ϛιτν*) his prayers (*νεϚ-ψαηλ*)]' (Hil.

10:30-31), ΝΕΣΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΦΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΗΜΑΣ ΝΟΥΜΕΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) she *thought* (ΝΕ-С-ΜΕΕΥΕ) [that (ΧΕ) he was going to do (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) her (ΝΗΜΑ-С) a favour (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΕΤ-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:11-14).

#### d) Subordinate interrogatives

Subordinate interrogatives may appear as clausal complements of factive cognitive verbs. Although formulated as questions, such interrogative complement clauses have an answer-orientation: they state a positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked.

Examples: ΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΛΦΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΝΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ 'since (ΓΑΡ) we *found out* (Α-Ν-ΕΙΜΕ) [*why* (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) he (Constantine) was saved (Α-Φ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) on (ΖΗ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) that we surrounded (ΝΤ-Α-Ν-ΚΩΤΕ) him (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]' (Eud. 44:14-15), ΚΣΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΑΚΡ ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓΣΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΡ ΚΕΟΥΗΗΡ 'you *know* (Κ-ΣΟΥΝ) [*how many* (ΟΥΗΗΡ) *years* (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) you lived (lit. made (Α-Κ-Ρ)) so far (ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ)], but (ΑΛΛΑ) you *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-Γ-ΣΟΥΝ) [*how many other* (years) (ΚΕ-ΟΥΗΗΡ) you will live (Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ)]' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), ΑΥΩ ΝΤΣΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΗΜΟΣ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑΣΜΟΥ ΖΗ ΘΑΛΑССΑ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑΥΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΣ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΙΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ 'and (ΑΥΩ) I *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-Τ-ΣΟΥΝ) [*what* (ΟΥ) happened (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to her (ΗΜΟ-С)] and (ΚΑΝ) [*whether* (ΕΨΧΕ) she died (ΝΤ-Α-С-ΜΟΥ) on (ΖΗ) the sea (ΘΑΛΑССΑ)] or (ΚΑΝ) [*whether* (ΕΨΧΕ) she was taken prisoner (lit. *they* took her (ΗΜΟ-С) prisoner (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ)) by (ΖΙΤΗ) the Barbarians (ΝΙ-ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ)]' (Hil. 7:30-32), ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΣΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΕΦΝΑΝΤΦ ΤΩΝ 'he (Αρα John) *did not* (ΑΝ) (Ν-Τ-ΣΟΥΝ) *know* (ΝΕ-Φ-ΣΟΥΝ) [*where* (ΤΩΝ) he could bring it (the money) (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Φ)]' (AP Elanskaya 13b:34-35), ΟΥΔΕ ΝΤΕΝΣΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΠΑΝΙΜ ΠΕ 'and (ΟΥΔΕ) we *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-ΤΕΝ-ΣΟΥΝ) [*whose* (ΠΑ-ΝΙΜ) it (the gold) (ΠΕ) (is)]' (Mena, Mir. 85a:25-27).

#### 12.1.2.2 Mental verbs of perception and discovery

Mental verbs of perception and discovery are always factive, since presenting an event as beheld by the subject referent implies that this

event actually occurred. The complement clauses of perception/discovery verbs are characterised by the following properties.

#### a) Switch reference

With mental verbs of perception and discovery, different-subject complement clauses seem to be the norm, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΧΕ Α ΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΚΙΜ (...) 'and (ΑΥΩ) also (ΟΝ) when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΝΑΥ) [that (ΧΕ) *his heart* (ΠΕΦ-ΖΗΤ) was moved (Α ... ΚΙΜ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 2:25), ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΝΕСΝΗΥ (...) 'when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΝΑΥ) [that (ΧΕ) *the brothers* (ΝΕ-С-ΝΗΥ) gathered (Α-Υ-СΩΟΥΖ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ)] (...)' (V. Pach. 4:1), ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΑΦΑΙСΘΑΝΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΖΑΓΙΟС ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΑΣ ΕΠΕСHT ΕΠΒΙΡ 'the (aforementioned) *man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) realised (Α-Φ-ΑΙСΘΑΝΕ) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) (it was) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟС) *Apa Mēna* who had deposited it (the gold) (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΑА-С) into the basket (ΕΠΕСHT Ε-Π-ΒΙΡ)]' (Mena, Mir. 86b:21-27), ΑΛΛΑ ΝΨΑΙСΩΤΗ (for ΝΕΨΑΙСΩΤΗ) ΧΕ СΕΜΟСТЕ ΗΠΕΙΓΕΝΟС ΧΕ СΖΙМЕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *I* *heard* (Ν(Ε)-ΨΑ-Ι-СΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) *they* (the monks) hate (СЕ-ΜΟСТЕ) this race (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΓΕΝΟС) called (ΧΕ) woman (СΖΙМЕ)]' (Hil. 10:16-17), ΝΦΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕСΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟС ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΗΠΟΡΝΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤΦ 'he *did not* (ΑΝ) *want* (Ν-Φ-ΟΥΨ) [to *hear* (Ε-СΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) *a monk* (ΜΟΝΑΧΟС) who has (lit. in whom are (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)) also (ΡΩ) pornographic (Η-ΠΟΡΝΙΑ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6).

#### b) Scope of negation

As with cognition verbs, perception sentences allow negation to occur in the main and the dependent clause, e.g. ΕΙΕ ΗΠΕΚΩΤΗ ΝΤΑΚ (for ΝΤΟΚ) ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΗΠΕСТΡΑΥΛΛΑΤΗС ΗΠΡΡΟ Χ(Ε) ΗΠΗ† СΑ (for СΑ) ΕΡΟΦ of the king's (Η-Π-ΡΡΟ) general (Η-ΠΕ-СТΡΑΥΛΛΑΤΗС) [that (Χ(Ε)) I *did not spare* him (lit. I did not give (ΗΠ-Ι-†) pardon (СΑ)) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]?' (KHML I 73:27-28) vs. ΑΤΕΤΝΝΑΥ Χ(Ε) ΗΠΕ ΙС ΕΨΝΑΖΗΜΕΦ ΖΗ ΝΑΟΙΧ 'you have *seen* (Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑΥ) [that (Χ(Ε)) Jesus (ΙС) *could not save* him

(Apa Nahrow) (ΜΠΕ ... ΕΨ-ΝΑΖΜΕ-Ϟ) from (ΖΝ) my hands (ΝΑ-ΟΙΧ)' (KHML I 5:28).

### c) Subordinate exclamative

Subordinate exclamatives, like main clause exclamatives, are marked by the quantificational interrogative pronoun ΟΥΗΡ 'how much, how many', e.g. ΑΓΕΤΕΝΝΑΨ Ω Ν[Α]CΝΗΥ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΤΑΤΝΑ ΖΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΗΡ 'oh (ω) my brother (ΝΑ-CΝΗΥ), you have seen (Α-ΤΕΤΕΝ-ΝΑΥ) [(that) (ΧΕ) how (Ν-ΟΥΗΡ) bad (ΖΟΟΥ) pitilessness (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΑΓ-ΝΑ) is]' (KHML II 51:13-14).

### d) Depictive predication

"THAT (ΧΕ)"-complement clauses can be used as a marked alternative for object depictives that describe the current state or condition of the direct object referent (see below, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8), e.g. ΜΝΝCΑ ΦΙΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΤΨΕΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΧΕ ΜΝ ΜΟΡΤ ΜΜΟC 'after (ΜΝΝCΑ) nine (ΦΙΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ), they (the brothers) saw (Α-Υ-ΝΑΥ) about the little (ΨΗΜ) girl (Ε-Τ-ΨΕΡΕ) [that (ΧΕ) she had no beard (lit. (there) was no (ΜΝ) beard (ΜΟΡΤ) on her (ΜΜΟ-C))]' (Hil. 6:27-28), ΩΨΤ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΝΑΤΑΔCΕ ΧΕ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ 'look (ΩΨΤ) and you will see (Ν-Γ-ΝΑΥ) from my foot-soles (Ε-ΝΑ-ΤΑΔCΕ) [that (ΧΕ) I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a human being (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ)]' (Onnophr. 206:23-24), ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ [ΧΕ] ΝΤΟ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕCΕ ΖΡΑ[C] 'oh woman (ΤΕ-CΖΙΜΕ), I see (Τ-ΝΑΥ) about you (ΕΡΟ) [that (ΧΕ) you (ΝΤΟ) (are) a handsome (lit. whose face (ΖΡΑ-C) is beautiful (Ε-ΝΕCΕ)) woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27a:21-23), ΝΤΑΖΕ ΕΠΟΥΨ ΝΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΥ ΖΑ ΠΕΖΚΟ 'and I would find (ΝΤΑ-ΖΕ) the news (Ε-Π-ΟΥΨ) about my children (Ν-ΝΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) [that (ΧΕ) they are not going to die (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥ) of (ΖΑ) hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ)]' (Mena, Mir. 78b:16-19).

### 12.1.3 Reported speech

The term reported speech is used here in the broad sense to cover the reporting of spoken and written discourse. There are two main types of reported speech that represent an utterance from different points of view. Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of a given utterance, thereby expressing the internal viewpoint of the original

speaker, e.g. ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑC ΧΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΨΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΩΨ ΖΑΘΗΝ 'the holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ϟ) to her (ΝΑ-C) [(that) (ΧΕ) »My son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is no (ΜΝ) possibility (ΨΟΜ) for you (ΜΜΟ-Κ) to stay (Ε-ΩΨ) with us (ΖΑΘΗ-Ν)«]' (Hil. 5:15-16). Indirect reported speech, on the other hand, only gives the content of the original, thus taking the external viewpoint of the reporter (the author of a text or the narrator within the text), e.g. ΑϞΧΟΟC ΝΟΙ ΠΑΕΙΨΤ ΕΤΡΕΥΤ ΝΑΥ ΕΟΥΨΜ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕϞΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ 'my Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΨΤ) had said (Α-Ϟ-ΧΟΟ-C) [that they should give (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-Τ) them (ΝΑ-Υ) to eat (Ε-ΟΥΨΜ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) his order (ΠΕϞ-ΟΥΕΖ-CΑΖΝΕ)]' (Abbatôn 236:27-28).

#### 12.1.3.1 Main differences between direct and indirect reported speech

The distinction between reporting the wording (or form) and reporting the content (or meaning) of an utterance is to be found in the different use of deictic expressions and tense as well as the altered syntax of clause types.

#### a) Deixis

In direct reported speech, deictic expressions are invariably interpreted relative to the original utterance. The most straightforward case involves personal pronouns. In the direct type, reference to the speaker and the addressee is indicated by first and second pronouns, e.g. ΠΕΧΑC ΝΟΙ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ (read ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ) ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΓ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ 'the virgin (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) Eudoxia said (ΠΕΧΑ-C) [(that) (ΧΕ) »(As for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ)«]' (Eud. 54:11-12), ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ (...) ΑΛΗΘΨ ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΝΝΟC 'the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) said (ΠΕΧΕ) to him (Apa Ptolemy) (ΝΑ-Ϟ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » (...) Verily (ΑΛΗΘΨ), you (ΝΤΟΚ) (are) a noble (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) of noble descent (Ν-ΨΝ-ΝΟC)!«]' (KHML II 33:6-9).

By contrast, third person pronouns are used to designate the original speaker and addressee or both in the indirect type, e.g. ΜΠΕϞΤΑΜΕ ΑΛΛΑΥ ΖΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΧΕ ϞΨΩΝΕ 'he (Pachôm) did not tell (ΜΠΕ-Ϟ-ΤΑΜΕ) any (ΑΛΛΑΥ) of (ΖΝ) the brothers (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) [that (ΧΕ) he was ill (Ϟ-ΨΩΝΕ)]' (V. Pach. 87:12), ΑΙΧΟΟC ΖΨΩΤ ΧΕ ΟΥΓΕΝΟC ΝΑΤΨΗΠΕ ΤΕ 'I, too

(ΖΩΩΤ), said (Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-С) [that (ΧΕ) *she* (ΤΕ) (is) of shameless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΦΙΠΕ) race (ΟΥ-ΓΕΝΟΣ)]' (KHML I 84:1-2), ΝΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΝΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΥ ΕΝΕΥΡΠΕ '*they* (the pagan priests) said (ΝΕ-Υ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-С) [that (ΧΕ) *their* gods (ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had come (ΝΤ-Α ... ΕΙ) to *them* (ΨΑΡΟ-ΟΥ) to *their* temples (Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΡΠΕ)]' (KHML II 49:16-17).

## b) Tense

The tense of indirect reported speech is often interpreted with respect to the original utterance rather than the reporting frame. Indirect reports may therefore have a present tense form when the original has a present, even when the reporting frame has past tense reference, e.g. ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΑΛΟ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΘΜΕ ΧΕ ΦΡ ΖΩΒ ΦΧΟ ΜΠΕΦΖΙΣΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡΦ ΕΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΦΚΩ ΝΑΦ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΕΦΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΝΑΥ 'the elder (Ν-ΖΑΛΟ) said (Α-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) a gardener (ΟΥ-ΘΜΕ) [that (ΧΕ) he worked (Φ-Ρ ΖΩΒ) (and) spent (Φ-ΧΟ ΕΒΟΛ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Φ) product of his labour (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΖΙΣΕ) to charity (Ε-Τ-ΑΓΑΠΗ), [keeping (Ε-Φ-ΚΩ) for himself (ΝΑ-Φ) only (ΜΜΑΤΕ) what he needed (lit. what he was in need (Ν-Ν-ΕΤΕ-Φ-Ρ) of (ΝΑ-Υ)]]]' (AP Elanskaya 17a:14-20), ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΝΤΦ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΦΟΥΨ ΕΣΑΣ ΝΕСΝΗΥ '*they said* (Α-Υ-ΧΟΟ-С) about him (ΕΤΒΗΝΤ-Φ), (namely) Αρα Μακαριος, [that (ΧΕ) he wanted (Ε-Φ-ΟΥΨ) to comfort (Ε-ΣΑΣ) the brothers (ΝΕ-СΝΗΥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:7), ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΝΕСΝΗΥ ΧΕ ΨΑΦΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΝΒΙΡ ΝΦΤ ΜΑΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ '*they said* (Α-Υ-ΧΟΟ-С) about (ΕΤΒΕ) one (ΟΥΑ) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-СΝΗΥ) [that (ΧΕ) he made (ΨΑ-Φ-ΤΑΜΙΟ) baskets (Ν-Ν-ΒΙΡ) and gave (Ν-Φ-Τ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) handles (ΜΑΑΧΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 162, 36:19-20).

If, on the other hand, the tense of the indirect report is interpreted relative to the reporting frame, a Conjunctive or infinitival verb form is selected instead, e.g. ΤΑΣΩΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΡΧΟΟΣ ΝΝΕСΕΙΟΤΕ ΝСΕΕΙ ΝΗΜΑΣ '(oh) my sister (ΤΑ-СΩΝΕ), why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) did you not tell (ΜΠΕΡ-ΧΟΟ-С) her parents (Ν-ΝΕС-ΕΙΟΤΕ) [that they should come (Ν-СΕ-ΕΙ) with her (ΝΗΜΑ-С)]?' (KHML I 82:6-7), ΑСΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΕССОН ΜΗ ΜΠΕСΖΑΙ ΕΤΡΕΥΚΑΑΣ ΝСΒΩΚ ΕΠΠΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ '*she begged*

(Α-С-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) her brother (Μ-ΠΕС-СОН) and (ΜΗ) her husband (Μ-ΠΕС-ΖΑΙ) [that they should allow her (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΚΑΛ-С) [to go (Ν-С-ΒΩΚ) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Αρα Victōr]]' (KHML I 46:11-13), ΑΦΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΕΤΡΕΦΠΑΠΕ ΤΩΒΕ ΕΠΠΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΧΟΚΦ ΕΒΟΛ 'he (the archbishop) told (Α-Φ-ΨΑΧΕ) him (the brick-maker) (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ) [to make (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΠΑΠΕ) bricks (ΤΩΒΕ) for the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Αρα Μένα [until it was finished (lit. they finished it (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΧΟΚ-Φ ΕΒΟΛ)]]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).

## c) Clause types

All major clause types have a corresponding subordinate form used to express the report of a statement, question, or command. Such embedded declarative, interrogative or mandative clauses have a syntax different from the corresponding main clause.

### □ REPORTED DECLARATIVES

Thus, reported assertions and denials, such as ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ '(it is) this one (ΠΑΙ) about whom (ΕΡΟ-Φ) I say (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) [that (ΧΕ) he (ΠΕ) (is) the true (Μ-ΜΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19a:2-4) and ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝСΕΩ ΕΥΤ ΟΥΟΙ ΖΝ ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'I said (Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-С) [that (ΧΕ) they (the foreign monks) should not (ΜΗΠΟΤΕ) continue (Ν-СΕ-Ω) [to look around (Ε-Υ-Τ ΟΥΟΙ) in (ΖΝ) the monastery (ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)]]' (V. Pach. 138:32) are in complementary distribution with (i) modal adverbs like ΑΛΗΘΩС 'verily, truly' and ΑΡΗΥ 'perhaps', (ii) interjections like ΕΙС ΖΗΝΤΕ 'look', (iii) the positive and negative polarity markers СЕ 'yes' and ΜΜΟΝ 'no' and their emphatic counterparts ΑΖΕ 'yes (indeed)' and ΜΠΩΡ '(oh) no!', and (iv) nouns in vocative function. All these expressions can only occur in direct reported speech.

Examples: ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΛΗΘΩС ΟΥΝΟС ΜΗΑГОС ΠΕ ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ 'he said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Verily (ΑΛΗΘΩС), this man (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) (is) a great (ΟΥ-ΝΟС) wizard (Μ-ΜΑГОС)!«] (KHML I 7:22-23), ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΕΙС ΖΗΝΤΕ

ακοῦσαι 'he said (πεχα-Ϛ) to me (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »look (εις ζηητε), you have become well (again) (α-κ-ουχαι)«]’ (Onnophr. 209:5-6), πεχαϚ ναι χε λζε λιζιζε τωνοϚ ω παψηρε 'he said (πεχα-Ϛ) to me (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »Yes (λζε), I suffered (α-ι-ζιζε) a lot (τωνοϚ), oh (ω) my son (πα-ψηρε)!«]’ (Onnophr. 208:21-22), λφοϡωψϚ (for λφοϡωψε) νας νδι πδιακονος χε κυρι σπαθαριε εις ουμνηψε νογοειϡ †επιϡυμει εβωκ επμα ετμμαϡ ταϡληλ 'the deacon (π-διακονος) answered (α-Ϛ-ουϡωψϚ) her (Hilaria) (να-Ϛ) [(that) (χε) »Sir (κυρι) knight (σπαθαριε), a lot (ου-μνηψε) of times (ν-ουγοειϡ) I wished (†-επιϡυμει) [to go (ε-βωκ) to that (ετμμαϡ) place (ε-π-μα) [to pray (τα-ϡληλ)«]]’ (Hil. 4:28-30).

#### □ REPORTED INTERROGATIVES

Main clause interrogatives are always construed as direct questions, i.e. as inquiries, e.g. τοτε πεχε πρρο νοϡβαιϡινε (for νοϡβαιϡινε) χε νιμ πε παι 'then (τοτε) the king (π-ρρο) said (πεχε) to a messenger (ν-ου-βαι-ϡινε) [(that) (χε) »Who (νιμ) (is) this (man) (παι)?«]’ (KHML I 7:19-20). Subordinate interrogatives, on the other hand, may have an answer orientation, stating the positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked, e.g. ταμοι δε χε ντακβωκ ετων η εκϡοοπ των ηπεινοσ νογοειϡ 'tell me (ταμο-ι) [where (ε-των) you have gone (ντ-α-κ-βωκ) to and (η) where (των) you have been living (ε-κ-ϡοοπ) during this long (η-πει-νοσ) (period of) time (ν-ουγοειϡ)]’ (Mena, Enc. 51b:5-9), ηπεϚχοοσ χε νταϚκααϚ των 'he (the deceased) did not tell (ηπε-Ϛ-χοο-Ϛ) [where (των) he had put it (the deposit) (ντ-α-Ϛ-καα-Ϛ)]’ (AP Chaîne no. 235, 65:18).

#### □ REPORTED DIRECTIVES

Imperative and Jussive mood are features of direct reported speech, e.g. πεχε τπαρθενος μαρια νζραφανα χε μοονε ηπχοι εζοϡν επειμα (...) 'the Virgin (τ-παρθενος) Mary said (πεχε) to Raphaël (ν-ζραφανα) [(that) (χε) »Land (μοονε) the boat (η-π-χοι) here (ε-πει-μα) (...)!«]’ (KHML I 81:25-26), πεχε τεσμααϡ ναϚ χε μαρενκααϚ ζαζηηη (...) 'her mother (τεσ-μααϡ) said (πεχε) to him (να-Ϛ) [(that) (χε) »Let's place her (μαρε-ν-κααϚ) in front of us

(ζαζηηη-η) (...)!«]’ (Hil. 12:3). The corresponding subordinate forms in indirect reported speech are the declarative content clauses of mandative verbs like οϡεζ σαζνε 'to order', κελεϡε 'to command', or κωρϡ 'to entreat'. Reported directives are introduced by a Conjunctive or infinitival verb e.g. λϡω λϚκελεϡε νσεεντϚ εχη πβημα 'and (λϡω) he (the king) ordered (α-Ϛ-κελεϡε) [(that) they brought him (Απα Nahrōw) (ν-σε-εντ-Ϛ) to (εχη) the tribune (π-βημα)]’ (KHML I 5:18-19), ηννσωσ λϚκελεϡε νδι πρρο ετροϡεινε εβολ εροϚ νοϡαρξ 'after that (ηννσω-Ϛ) the king (π-ρρο) ordered (α-Ϛ-κελεϡε) [that they bring (ε-τρ-ου-εινε) out (εβολ) to him (Απα Nahrow) (ερο-Ϛ) a bear (ν-ου-αρξ)]’ (KHML I 4:20-21), although the Inferential is available as an alternative, e.g. νϚκωρϡ εροϚ ταρεϚ† ναϚ ηπζολοκοττινοϚ ταρεϚτααϚ ηπσον 'and he (Απα John) entreated (ν-Ϛ-κωρϡ) him (Απα Jacob) (ερο-Ϛ) [to give (ταρε-Ϛ-†) him (να-Ϛ) the holokottinos (a golden coin) (η-π-ζολοκοττινοϚ) [so that he could give it (back) (ταρε-Ϛ-ταα-Ϛ) to the brother (η-π-σον)]]’ (AP Elanskaya 14a:2-6).

#### 12.1.3.2 The reportative verb πεχε-/πεχα-

The inflectional paradigm of the reportative verb πεχε-, πεχα- 'said' is presented in table 12.3 below.

	πεχε-/πεχα-	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 <sup>st</sup>	πεχα-ι	πεχα-η
2 <sup>nd</sup> masc.	πεχα-κ	πεχη-τη
2 <sup>nd</sup> fem.	πεχε	
3 <sup>rd</sup> masc.	πεχα-Ϛ	πεχα-ϣ
3 <sup>rd</sup> fem.	πεχα-Ϛ	
Before noun	πεχε π-ρωνε	

TABLE 12.3 The reportative verb πεχε-/πεχα-

The reportative verb πεχε-, πεχα- 'said' is commonly used to introduce reporting clauses that are located in the past. It belongs to the

morphologically unproductive class of frozen verb formations that have residual V-S-O order (see above, section 10.2 of Unit 10), e.g. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΚΝΑΠΩΤ ΔΝ 'they (the brothers) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Υ) to him (Αρα Moses) (ΝΑ-Φ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Would you (ΝΤΟΚ) not (ΔΝ) run away (Κ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ)?«] (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:5-6).

### 12.1.3.3 Verbs of saying and reporting

A sample of the larger number of verbs that can be used to report direct speech is given in table 12.4. (ABS. ST. stands for 'absolute state', NOM. ST. for 'nominal state', and PRON. ST. for 'pronominal state').

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-С		ΧΟΟ-С	to say
ΨΑΧΕ			to speak, say
ΜΟΥΤΕ			to speak, call
	ΤΑΜΕ-	ΤΑΜΟ-	to inform, tell someone
	ΧΝΕ-	ΧΝΟΥ-	to ask someone
ΟΥΨΩΒ			to answer, reply
	ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ		to cry out, shout
ΨΡΚ			to swear (an oath)
ΚΕΛΕΥΕ			to command, order
ΑΙΤΕΙ			to ask for, demand
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ			to summon, beseech

TABLE 12.4 Verbs of saying and reporting

The reported clause is structurally marked as subordinate to the matrix reportative verb by means of the 'THAT'-complementiser *χε*. This feature of Coptic direct speech is not translatable. Reportative verbs may select a direct or indirect object besides the direct quote clause that designates the original addressee.

Examples: ΝΓΧΟΟС ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΤΗΜΕ ΠΕΚΨΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΟΕΙΚ (...) 'and you should say (Ν-Γ-ΧΟΟ-С) to him (ΝΑ-Φ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Feed (ΤΗΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ) your son (ΠΕΚ-ΨΗΡΕ) with (ΖΗ) this (piece of) bread (ΠΕΙ-ΟΕΙΚ) (...)!«] (V. Pach. 141:26), ΜΗΝСА ΚΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟΡΟΜΑ ΧΕ ΖΑΠС ΟΝ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΡΕΚСМΗΝ ΟΥСООУΖС ΖΗ ΤΚΑΖ ΨΜΙΝ 'after (ΜΗΝСА) some more time (ΚΕ-ΟΥΟΕΙΨ), he (Pachôm) was told (lit. they told (Α-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ) him (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »you must also (ΟΝ) (lit. *it is necessary* (ΖΑΠ-С) for you (ΕΡΟ-К) to [establish (Ε-ΤΡΕ-К-СМН) a congregation (ΟΥ-СООУΖС) in (ΖΗ) the district (Т-ΚΑΖ) Akhmîm (ΨΜΙΝ)«]] (V. Pach. 145:18-20),] (V. Pach. 145:18-20), ΛΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟС ΧΕ ΜΕΨΕ ΝΙМ ΝΤΑΚКА ΝΕСΚΕΥΗ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΗ ΑΨ ΜΜΑ 'the old man (Π-ΖΛΛΟ) addressed (Α-Φ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) the deceased (Ε-Π-ΕΤ-ΜΟΟΥΤ) [saying (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-С) [(that) (ΧΕ) »So-an-so (ΜΕΨΕ ΝΙМ), in (ΖΗ) which (ΑΨ) place (ΜΜΑ) did you put (ΝΤ-Α-К-КА) the property (ΝΕ-СΚΕΥΗ) of the (previously mentioned) man (М-Π-ΡΩΜΕ)?«]] (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), ΑΥΤΑΜΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΝСЕ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΑΥΛΟС ΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΚ ΕΩМ ΠΕΚΨΗΝΕ (...) 'they (his servants) told (Α-Υ-ΤΑΜΕ) the holy (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ) Αρα Παέσε [(that) (ΧΕ) » When Paul comes (ΕΡΨΑΝ ... ΕΙ) to you (ΨΑΡΟ-К) to pay (Ε-ΩМ) you a visit (ΠΕΚ-ΨΗΝΕ) (...) «] (KHML I 74:13-14), Α ΟΥСОН ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ СΑΡΑΠION ΧΕ ΑΧΙ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΙ 'a brother (ΟΥ-СОН) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Αρα Sarapion [(that) (ΧΕ) » Say (ΑΧΙ) a word (ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι)!«] (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24), ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΝΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΚΑΛΩС 'our father (Pachôm) (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) answered (Α-Φ-ΟΥΨΩΒ) him (Αρα Jônas) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Well (ΚΑΛΩС) (said)!«] (V. Pach. 145:9), ΠΔΕΜΩΝ (for ΠΔΑΙΜΩΝ) ΔΕ ΑΦΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΙΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΗΗТК 'the demon (Π-ΔΕΜΩΝ) cried (Α-Φ-ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Do you think (Ε-К-ΜΕΕΥΕ) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) I came (Ε-Ι-ΝΗΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) because of you (ΕΤΒΗΗТ-К)?«]] (AP Chaîne no. 222, 62:27-28), ΨΑΙΨΡΚ ΝΑΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙС ΧΕ ΜΗ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ 'I swear (ΨΑ-Ι-ΨΡΚ) to you (ΝΑ-К), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙС), [(that) (ΧΕ) »(there) is (ΜΗ) nobody (ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (М-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)«] (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31), ΤΟΤΕ ΑΦΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΡΟ ΧΕ ΦΕΙ (for ΦΙ) ΜΠΕΙΤΑΛΑΙΠΟРОС (for ΜΠΕΙΤΑΛΑΙΨΡΟС) Т[А]ΑΦ ΝΝΕΘΗΡΙОН ΝСΕΟΥΟМΦ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) the king (Π-ΠΡΟ) ordered (Α-Φ-ΚΕΛΕΥΕ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Take (ΦΕΙ) this miserable (person) (М-ΠΕΙ-ΤΑΛΑΙΠΟРОС), give him (ΤΑΑ-Φ) to the beasts (Ν-ΝΕ-ΘΗΡΙОН) [that they

eat him (Ν-ΣΕ-ΟΥΘΗ-Φ)!«]]’ (KHM L I 4:4-5), ἀφάρτη εχην μηατ μηφειωτ εφπαρακαλει ημοφ εφχω ημοσ ντειρε χ[ε] πα[ε]ιωτ σωφτ εφραι εχη η[α]ζιζε ηη πασκυλωμοσ ‘he (Jesus Christ) threw himself (α-φ-παρτη-φ) at (εχη) the feet (μη-πατ) of his Father (μη-πεφ-ειωτ) and beseeched (ε-φ-παρακαλει) *him* (ημο-φ) [speaking (ε-φ-χω ημο-σ χε) in the following manner (η-τει-ζε) [(that) (χε) »My Father (πα-ειωτ), look (σωφτ) at (εχη) my grief (πα-ζιζε) and (ηη) my vexation (πα-σκυλωμοσ)!«]]’ (Eud. 34:10-11).

a) The object-expletive construction

Unlike other reportative verbs, the reported clause cannot appear in the complement position of the reportative verb χω ‘to say’, but rather appears in an extraposed object position at the end of the reporting matrix clause. The canonical object position is occupied by an impersonal 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular feminine pronoun ημοσ, -σ ‘it’, which serves as a placeholder for the extraposed reported clause, e.g. ητοφ ηλογοσ πετχω ημοσ ηαι † ηηετηηηκα εβολ (...) ‘(it is) he (ητοφ) the *Logos* (i.e. Christ) (η-λογοσ) that (ετ) *says* (η) (χω ημο-σ) to me (ηαι) [(that) (χε) »Sell († εβολ) your possessions (η-ηετηηηκα)(...)!«]]’ (AP Elanskaya 13a:8-9 [Matt. 19:21]), ἀφχοοσ ηοι απα εγαγριοσ χε λυσον κω ηαφ ηογεγαγγελιον ηηατε ‘Ara Evagrios *said* (η) (α-φ-χοο-σ) [(that) (χε) »A brother ([ο]γ-σση) had kept (α ... κω) only (ηηατε) one gospel (η-ογ-εγαγγελιον) for himself (ηαι-φ)!«]]’ (AP Elanskaya 13a:1-4).

b) The reportative extension ε-φ-χω ημο-σ

Many reportative verbs do not introduce the reported clause directly, but resort to the reportative extension ε-φ-χω ημο-σ ‘saying’. This has a primarily validation function, asserting the authenticity of the reported speech, e.g. ἀφψαχε ηημαγ εφχω ημοσ χε εις ζηητε ανοκ ειναβωκ ερατφ ηηχοεις ‘he (Pachôm) *talked* (α-φ-ψαχε) to them (the brothers) (ηημα-γ) [*saying* (η) (ε-φ-χω ημο-σ) [(that) (χε) »Look (εις ζηητε) I (ανοκ) will go (ε-η-ηαι-βωκ) to (ερατ-φ) the Lord (η-η-χοεις)!«]]’ (V. Pach. 92:23-24), α απα βανε δε χνε απα αβραζαη ηογζοογ εφχω ημοσ χε ογρωηε ηταφρ θε ηαδαη ζη

ηπαραδικοσ (for ηπαραδεικοσ) φρ χρια (for χρια) ηκεσοη ετρεγχι ψοχηε ηαφ ‘Ara Bane *asked* (α ... χνε) Ara Abraham one day (η-ογ-ζοογ) [*saying* (η) (ε-φ-χω ημο-σ) [(that) (χε) »Would a man (ογ-ρωηε) who had become like (ηη-α-φ-ρ θε) Adam (η-αδαη) in (ζη) Paradise (η-παραδικοσ) still (η-κε-σοη) need (φ-ρ χρια) [to be counselled (lit. that *they* counsel (ε-τρε-γ-χι ψοχηε) him (ηαι-φ)?«]]’ (AP Chaîne no. 246, 76:26-28).

c) Parenthetical πεχα-

The reportative verb πεχα- ‘said’ may appear as a parenthetical clause following the first word or phrase of the reported speech. Parenthetical πεχα- provides a context where the χε-complementiser does not seem to be permitted, e.g. ηηαιηει πεχαγ ψαροκ εβολ χε ητοκ πε ηεγαιη ηηρογ ‘[»We have come (ηη-α-η-ει)!«, *they said* (πεχα-γ), [»to you (ψαρο-κ), [because (εβολ χε) you (ητοκ) (are) the leader of them (ηεγ-αιηη) all (ηηρ-ογ)!«]]’ (AP Chaîne no. 155, 34:29), ἀρηγ πεχασ ητε πεφηα ταζοι ηφχαριζε ηαι ηηηαλοσ ‘[»Perhaps (αρηγ)!«, *she said* (πεχασ), [»will his grace (πεφ-ηαι) come upon me (ητε ... ταζο-η) and will he grant (η-φ-χαριζε) me (ηαι) healing (η-η-ηαλοσ)!«]]’ (KHM L I 46:13-14), ογρωηε πε πεχαφ εογνηαφ ηηαγ ηογψηρε λγω ψεερε σητε ‘[» (there was) a man (ογ-ρωηε), *he said* (πεχα-γ), [»who had (ε-ογνηα-φ) one son (η-ογ-ψηρε) and (αγω) two (σητε) daughters (ψεερε)!«]]’ (Sh. Or 44, 161a:16-20).

d) Ellipsis of the reportative verb

The reportative verb can be omitted altogether when the surrounding context makes it sufficiently clear that the embedded clause is to be interpreted as reported speech, e.g. ανοκ δε ληριμε χε ηηηαι ηεταηοια ηηαγ ‘I (ανοκ) wept (α-η-ριμε) »I do not have (ηηηαι) forgiveness (ηεταηοια)!«’ (Ac. A&P 200:99-100), λγσηη δε ψωπε ψα ηηακαριοσ απα ηηηα ετι εφταηη εποιηογηηα χε ηηεpp ζοτε ηαηεpητ ηηηα ‘a voice ([ο]γ-σηη) came (α ... ψωπε) to (ψα) the blessed (η-ηακαριοσ) Ara Mêna while he was still (ετι) on board (ε-φ-ταηη) of the ship (ε-η-οιηογηηα) (saying) »Do not be (ηηεpp-ρ) afraid (ζοτε), my



beloved (πα-μεριτ) Μένα (μηνα)!«]’ (Mena, Enc. 56a:17-23), *ΖΟΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΕΜΝΕΠΑΞΙΑΤ* (for *ΟΥΡΕΜΝΕΠΑΞΙΑΤ*) *ΠΕ ΖΗΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΠΑΠΗΑΡΙΟΥΤΗΣ ΠΕ* ‘some (people) (*ΖΟΙΝΕ*) (say) [that (*ΧΕ*) he (Αρα Μένα) (*ΠΕ*) (was) a man of the Ραξιατ (*ΟΥ-ΡΕΜ-ΝΕ-ΠΑΞΙΑΤ*)], others (*ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΟΥΕ*) [that (*ΧΕ*) he (*ΠΕ*) (was) one from the Mariôtês (*ΠΑ-Π-ΜΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ*)]’ (Mena, Enc. 36b:27-37a:2).

## 12.2 Adjunct clauses

This section provides an overview of various classes of clausal adjuncts. It elaborates on already familiar aspects of the Coptic relative tense system, providing a contrastive analysis of subordinate verbal tenses with a range of semantically related constructions. As with common phrasal adjuncts, clausal adjuncts are optional sentence constituents that can be omitted without affecting the interpretability of the rest of the clause.

Clausal adjuncts are syntactically less well integrated into the structure of the main clause than clausal complements. Moreover, they convey relatively constant kinds of meaning. We adopt here a traditional taxonomy of semantic types of adverbial clauses, which is cast in terms of rhetorical notions such as conditionality, temporality, causality and purpose.

### 12.2.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis). What is common to all constructions fitting the IF P THEN Q schema is that they convey a consequence implicature, asserting that the situation described in the apodosis follows in one way or the other from the situation described in the protasis clause.

One important semantic distinction within the wide array of conditional constructions is that between open and remote conditionals. This subdivision is based on a contrast between “realis” and “irrealis” modality. Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to the question whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but

attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. *ΖΟΤΑΝ ΟΕ ΕΥΨΑΝΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΚΗΑΝΑΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΥΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ Λ ΚΕΜΝΤΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ* ‘[when (*ΖΟΤΑΝ*) they (the Egyptians) *gather* (*Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ*)], their lord (*ΠΕΥ-ΧΟΕΙΣ*) will see (*Υ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ*) that (*ΧΕ*) another leadership (*ΚΕ-ΜΝΤ-ΧΟΕΙΣ*) has power (*Λ ... ΑΜΑΖΤΕ*) over them (*ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ*)’ (Camb. 8:10-12).

Remote conditionals, on the other hand, express the idea that the satisfaction of the condition expressed in the hypothetical clause is relatively unlikely or even impossible in the actual world, e.g. *ΕΝΕΤΕΤΝΕΜΠΕΙΜΑ* (for *ΤΕΤΝΗΠΕΙΜΑ*) *ΗΜΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΕΖ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΩΨ ΤΕΝΝΑΓΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΝΤΡΟΦΗ ΗΠΖΟΥΥ ΠΕΖΟΥΥ* ‘[if you only (*ΗΜΑΤΕ*) had been here (*Ε-ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΕΜ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ*)], you could have drawn (*ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΕΖ*) water (*ΜΟΟΥ*) for those who wish for (it) (*Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΩΨ*), (and) we would have found (*ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΣΙΝΕ*) our food (*Ν-ΤΕΝ-ΤΡΟΦΗ*) from day (*Η-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΥ*) to day (*ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΥ*)’ (Mena, Mir. 81b:21-29). The open conditional represents the prototypical conditional construction: we will examine it first, and then turn to the remote version.

#### 12.2.1.1 Open conditionals

There are six basic categories of open conditional constructions, each associated with distinct syntactic and semantic properties: (i) *ε-υ-ψαν*-conditionals, (ii) *εωωπε-εωχε*-conditionals, (iii) concessive conditionals (*καν* ‘even if’), (iv) ‘WHEN’- and ‘WHILE’-clauses, (v) coordinated and juxtaposed structures with conditional interpretations and (vi) hypothetical free relatives.

##### 12.2.1.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

###### a) Word order

Word order in conditional sentences is largely determined by the principle of iconicity: since the protasis is logically prior to the apodosis, the conditional adjunct clause is generally placed in the front position of preposed adverbs, e.g. *ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΣΟΝ ΔΕ ΨΟΟΒΕΩ ΝΕΨΤΗΝΚΟΤΚ (...)* *ΕΡΕ ΠΕΨΡΜΗΗ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΨΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΑΨ ΨΑΝΤΨΑΟ*

'[when a brother (ΟΥ-CON) hurts himself (ΕΡ-ΨΑΝ ... ΨΟΟΘΕ-Ϛ) and cannot sleep (ΝΕϚ-ΤΗ-ΝΚΟΤΚ) (...)], his superintendent (ΠΕϚ-ΡΜΝ-ΗΙ) should go (ΕΡΕ ... ΒΩΚ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the stewards (Ν-Ν-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ) and take it (Ν-Ϛ-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ) (the oil, a garment) for him (ΝΑ-Ϛ) until he gets better (ΨΑΝΤ-Ϛ-ΛΟ)' (praec. Pach. 105).

Conditional constructions with the reverse order also occur. The postponement of the conditional adjunct to the end of the consequence clause conveys a strong sense of contrastive focus, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΦΙΣ ΤΑΖΟΟΥ Η ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΣΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will they who are (Ν-ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΜ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) find (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ), [when they get into trouble (lit. if trouble (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΦΙΣ) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)], or (Η) [when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ)], where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); [when they suffer from thirst (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ)], where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-ΣΩ)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

#### b) Syntactic dependency

Conditional adjunct clauses are less well integrated into the matrix clause than temporal adjunct clauses. For this reason, the protasis and the apodosis of a conditional construction may be distributed over two successive clauses, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑϚ ΧΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΠΕ ΕΜΝ [ψ]ΒΟΜ ΜΜΟϚ Ε† ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕϚΤΜΜΕ ΟΥΣΟΝ ΝΖΗΚΕ ΖΜ ΠΑΡΑΝ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ι) to him (ΝΑ-Ϛ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »if (ΕΨΩΠΕ) he (ΠΕ) (is) poor (ΟΥ-ΖΗΚΕ) and cannot afford (lit. without (there) being (Ε-ΜΝ) power (ΨΒΟΜ) in him (ΜΜΟ-Ϛ)) to give (Ε-†) a sacrifice (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) in your name (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΡΑΝ)«] He said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ϛ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι) [(that) (ΧΕ) »he should nourish (ΜΑΡΕ-Ϛ-ΤΜΜΕ) a poor (Ν-ΖΗΚΕ) brother (ΟΥ-CON) in (ΖΜ) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ)!«] (Onnophr. 216:14-16).

#### c) Clause types

All major clause types apply to open conditionals: declarative, interrogative, exclamative, imperative. The clause type category is expressed in the apodosis clause, while the protasis is invariably formulated as a declarative clause.

Examples: (declarative) ΕΣΨΑΝΘΨΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑΣ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΣΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΣΠΑΖΤΣ ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΣΡΙΜΕ '[when she (Hilaria) looked (Ε-Σ-ΨΑΝ-ΘΨΤ) at her (sister's) face (Ε-ΖΡΑ-Σ)], her inner (Ν-ΖΟΥΝ) part (ΠΕΣ-ΣΑ) melted away (ΨΑΡΕ ... ΒΩΛ) (and) she threw herself (ΨΑ-Σ-ΠΑΖΤ-Σ) on (ΕΧΜ) the ground (Π-ΚΑΖ) and wept (Ν-Σ-ΡΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 9:13-14), (interrogative) ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΚΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ '[if (ΕΨΧΕ) you (ΝΤΚ) (are) a soldier (ΟΥ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)], how (ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ) do you know (Κ-ΣΟΟΥΝ) the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)?' (Mena, Enc. 55b:7-10), (imperative) ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΘΜ ΠΑΨΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΑΨΙΝΕ) ΜΠΡΚΑ ΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΤΟΜΣϚ ΝΖΗΤϚ '[if the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) visits me (ΕΡΨΑΝ ... ΘΜ ΠΑ-ΨΕΙΝΕ)], do not let my body (ΠΑ-ΣΩΜΑ) rest (ΜΠΡ-ΚΑ) in (ΖΜ) the place (Π-ΜΑ) where (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ) it will be buried (lit. they will bury it (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΑ-ΤΟΜΣ-Ϛ))!' (V. Pach. 93:27-28), (exclamative) ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΗ ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΤΜΒΩΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ Η ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΤΗΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΣΝΟϚ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ 'woe (ΟΥΟΙ) to you (ΝΗ-ΤΗ) [if you do not go (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-ΒΩΚ) to church (Ε-Τ-ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ)] or (Η) [if you do not take (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΨΑΝ-ΧΙ) from (ΕΒΟΛ) the body (Π-ΣΩΜΑ) and (ΜΝ) the blood (ΠΕ-ΣΝΟϚ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ)]' (Sh. III 45:10-11).

#### □ INTERROGATIVE APODOSIS

Open conditions with an interrogative apodosis are commonly interpreted as biased questions: the protasis clause provides information that suggests a negative answer to the question expressed in the apodosis clause, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΜΠΨΘΜΒΟΜ ΕΤΨΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΘΝΕΘ ΝΤΑΜΑΛΥ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΕΙΝΑΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΨΙΠΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΕΧ̄C ΜΝ ΝΕϚΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ '[if (ΕΨΧΕ) I was not able (ΜΠ-Τ-Ψ-ΘΜ-ΒΟΜ) to bear (Ε-ΤΨΟΥΝ) my mother's (Ν-ΤΑ-ΜΑΛΥ) reproach (ΖΑ Π-ΝΟΘΝΕΘ)], how (Ν-ΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ) will I be able to bear (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΤΨΟΥΝ) the shame (ΖΑ Π-ΨΙΠΕ) on the day (Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the judgement (Ν-ΤΕ-ΚΡΙΣΙΣ) before (ΖΙΘΗ) Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-Χ̄C) and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) his angels

(ΝΕΦ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ)?' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:19-21) (implied meaning: since I did not live up to my mother's expectation, there is no way that I could pass the Lord's judgement), ΕΨΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΒΕΚΗ (for ΠΑΒΕΚΕ) ΕΙΝΑΕΡ ΟΥ ΝΤΑΙ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) this (ΠΑΙ) (is) my wage (ΠΑ-ΒΕΚΗ), *what* (ΟΥ) shall I do (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΕΡ) with this (brick) (Ν-ΤΑΙ)?' (Mena, Mir. 79b:15-18) (implied meaning: I cannot do anything with this brick; it's not a reward at all).

#### □ IMPERATIVIAL APODOSIS

In specifying a circumstance under which some course of action has to be taken, open conditionals formed with an imperativial apodosis are generally more restrictive than simple main clause imperatives. They commonly express non-wilful directives (advice, recommendations, warnings), e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΣΕΡΑΝΑΚ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΤΟΣ (read ΜΠΕΚΡΑΤΟΣ) ΕΨΩΠ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΠΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΤΕΝΟΟΥ (read ΤΗΝΟΟΥ) ΝΤΕΚΩΡΕ ΕΨΗΤ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΣΚΥΤΗΣ (for ΝΝΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ) ΕΤΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) it pleases (C-ΕΡ ΑΝΑ-Κ) your majesty (Μ-ΠΕ<Κ>-ΚΡΑΤΟΣ) to accept (Ε-ΨΩΠ) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) our advice (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΨΑΧΕ), *send* (ΤΕΝΟΟΥ) your daughter (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΩΗΡΕ) to Shiêt (Ε-ΨΗΤ) to (Ε-ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) the hermits (Ν-Ν-ΑΣΚΥΤΗΣ) who (reside) in (ΕΤ-ΖΜ) that (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)!' (Hil. 7:7-9), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΚΟΥΨΥ ΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΤΑΛΔΟ ΑΡΙΣΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΒΟΛ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΨΑΝΤΚΡ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΣΝΑΥ 'but [if (ΕΨΩΠΕ) you want (Κ-ΟΥΨΥ) to do (Ε-ΕΙΡΕ) a few (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) healings (Ν-ΤΑΛΔΟ), *do them* (ΑΡΙ-ΣΟΥ) outside (Μ-Π-ΒΟΛ) the city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) at a distance (lit. until you make (ΨΑΝΤ-Κ-Ρ)) of two (CΝΑΥ) days (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34).

#### d) Iteration of conditional adjuncts

Open conditional constructions may be recursive, allowing more than one protasis clause. The iteration of conditional adjuncts is comparatively rare, especially if they are placed adjacent to one another, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΚΑ ΡΩΨ ΑΝ ΕΨΩΑΝΘΜΘΜ ΕΤΩΒΕ ΜΠΕΤΟ ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΕΦCΖΙΜΕ ΠΟCΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΕΦΝΑΨ CΟ ΝΘΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΠΛΑCCE ΝΗΘΟΥ ΙC 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) will not (ΑΝ) shut (ΝΑ-ΚΑ) his mouth (ΡΩ-Ψ), [if he is able (Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΘΜ-ΘΜ) to repay (Ε-ΤΩΒΕ) him who committed

(Μ-Π-ΕΤ-Ο) adultery (Ν-ΝΟΕΙΚ) to his wife (Ε-ΤΕΨ-CΖΙΜΕ)], how much (ΠΟCΩ) more (ΜΑΛΛΟΝ) will he who created (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΠΛΑCCE) them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ), Jesus (ΙC), give (Ε-Ψ-ΝΑ-Τ) pardon (CΟ)?' (Sh. Or 44, 163a:13-22).

#### 12.2.1.1.2 Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-conditionals

Open conditionals formed with the Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ pattern may assume a range of different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to realis modality, while others involve quantification over event types.

##### a) Consequence and inference

The Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-conditional construction generally conveys a consequence implicature: the apodosis situation is presented as the expected or intended outcome of the protasis situation. This relation is very often one of cause and effect, e.g. CΕΝΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΩ ΕΨΩΑΝΕΙ ΝCΕΘΝΤΝ ΕΝΡΗC ΤΗΝΑΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ 'since (ΓΑΡ) they (the temptations) will come (CΕ-ΝΗΥ) and (ΑΥΩ) [when they come (Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙ) and find us (Ν-CΕ-ΘΝΤ-Ν) awake (Ε-Ν-ΡΗC)], we will be glorified (lit. receive (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) glory (ΕΟΟΥ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17), ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΤΡΕ Π[ΑΙ] ΨΩΠΕ ΨΑΨ ΜΠΠΙΝΑΞ '[if the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Αρα Μêνα makes (ΕΡΨΑΝ .... ΤΡΕ) this (ΠΑΙ) happen (ΨΩΠΕ)], I give (ΨΑ-Ι-Τ) the dish (Μ-Π-ΠΙΝΑΞ)' (Mena, Mir. 20a:18-22).

A second common type of consequence is inference, where the truth of the apodosis is seen as following from that of the protasis clause, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΚΡΙΝΕ ΑΚΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΠΝΟΜΟC ΖΩΨΚ '[when you judge (Ε-Κ-ΨΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ)], you, too (ΖΩΨ-Κ), have transgressed (Α-Κ-ΠΑΡΑΒΑ) the law (Μ-Π-ΝΟΜΟC)' (AP Elanskaya 22a:7-9), ΕΨΩΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΘΙ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΨ ΤΗΡΟΥ CΕΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΨ '[because (ΓΑΡ) if all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) who saw (Ν-ΕΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΝΑΥ) him (Jesus) (ΕΡΟ-Ψ) come to know (Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) (about it)], they will believe (CΕ-ΝΑ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) in him (ΕΡΟ-Ψ)' (Eud. 52:21-22).

## b) Realis modality

Open ερωαν-conditionals indicate a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the actualisation of the protasis situation at some point in the nearby future, e.g. *αγω τπιστευε γε ερωανει ψαρον ττναδεν ζηγ τηρν ζιτν νερωφλη* 'and (αγω) I believe (τ-πιστευε) [that (γε) [if he comes (ε-ωαν-ει) to us (ψαρο-ν)] we all (τηρ-ν) will benefit (lit. gain (τν-να-δεν) profit (ζηγ)) from (ζιτν) his prayers (νεω-φλη)]]' (Hil. 10:30-31), *ερωανχι μπεκλον ντμντμαρτυρος φναογωνζ ερωκ] νρωαχε [νμ]μακ νναγ νιμ* '[when you receive (ε-κ-ωαν-χι) the crown (μ-πε-κλον) of the martyrdom (ν-τ-μντ-μαρτυρος)], he (Jesus) will reveal (himself) (ω-να-ογωνζ) to you (ερω-κ) and talk (ν-ω-αχε) to you (νιμ-κ) every (νιμ) hour (ναγ)' (KHML II 30:22-23), *ερωανβωκ εζραι εθιλημ (...)* *σενατσαβο ερωφ νοι νεβολ ταφυλη (...)* '[when you (woman) go (ερω-ωαν-βωκ) to (ε-θιλημ) Jerusalem] (...), the people from (ν-εβολ) my tribe (τα-φυλη) will inform you (σε-να-τσαβο) about it (ερω-ω) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:23-26).

The conditional adjunct may establish a time frame for the course of action described in the consequence clause, e.g. *ερωαν πογοειν ε[ι] εβολ λμη επαναρτυριον αγω πταλο ναωπη νε* '[when daylight (π-ογοειν) appears (ερωαν ... ει εβολ)], go (woman) (λμη) to my shrine (ε-πα-μαρτυριον) and (αγω) healing (π-ταλο) will be granted (lit. will happen (να-ωπη)) to you (νε)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23), *ερωανενκοτκ νοι νερωμε ντεμρω τναωιτω ντανοωχω εθαλασσα* '[when the people (νε-ρωμε) of the harbour (ν-τε-μρω) go to sleep (ε-ω-ωαν-ενκοτκ)], I will take it (the corpse) (τ-να-ωιτ-ω) and throw it (ντα-νοωχ-ω) into the sea (ε-θαλασσα)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7).

## c) Multiple situations

The protasis and the apodosis situation of open ερωαν-conditionals are located in the same time-sphere, temporal reference being established by the tense of the matrix clause. The selection of habitual aspect in the apodosis clause imposes quantificational interpretation on the entire conditional sentences, which then describes the interdependency between two event patterns, e.g. *αλλα ρωαν ογcon τμκαζ ναγ ζννοωζωω* (for ζν οωζωε

*νεωαωμεστωω* '[but (αλλα) whenever a brother (ογ-con) hurt (ρωαν ... τ μκαζ) him (the ill-tempered monk) (να-ω) in anything (ζνν-ογ-ζωω)], he used to hate him (νε-ω-ω-μεστω-ω)' (V. Pach. 86:2-3), *εβολ γε νογοειω νιμ ερωανοωω ερωωμ μπεωκογι νοεικ νεωαωωωζ ενεερωγ (...)* 'because (εβολ γε) every (νιμ) time (ν-ογειω) [when they finished (ε-ω-ωαν-οωω) eating (ε-ω-οωωμ) their small portion (μ-πεω-κογι) of bread (ν-οεικ)], they used to gather (νε-ω-ω-ωωωζ) with one another (ε-νεω-ερωγ) (...)' (V. Pach. 137:3-4), *ερωανωπη δε νσεεινε ναφ νζεντβτ η ζενκεδινωωωω ωαωχιτωγ νωταμιοωγ ναγ* '[whenver it happened (ε-ω-ωαν-ωπη) [(that) they brought (νσεεινε) him (Pachōm) (να-ω) fish (ν-ζεν-τβτ) or (η) other food (ζεν-κε-διν-οωωωμ)], he took it (ω-ω-χιτ-ογ) and prepared it (ν-ω-ταμιο-ογ) for them (the brothers) (να-γ)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3).

## 12.2.1.1.3 εωπη-/εωχε-conditionals

As a syntactic alternative for the ερωαν-ωωωω pattern, the hypothetical clause of an open conditional can also be marked as such by the conditional conjunctions εωχε or εωπη 'if, when'. The apodosis clause is sometimes introduced by correlative ειε 'then', e.g. *πχοεισ πνουτε ππαντοκρατωρ εωχε κνασουτν ταζηη ζμ πζωε ετναβωκ ερωφ ειε μαριωωωμ εζεναναγνωσις εωπρεπει μπασκοπος* '(oh) Lord (π-χοεισ), God (π-νουτε) Almighty (π-παντοκρατωρ), [if (εωχε) you want to direct (κ-να-σουτν) my way (τα-ζηη) in (ζμ) the matter (π-ζωε) that I want to pursue (ε-τ-να-βωκ), then (ειε) let me hear (μαρ-ι-ωωωμ) Scripture readings (ε-ζεν-αναγνωσις) that are suited (ε-ω-πρεπει) to my goal (μ-πα-σκοπος)! (Hil. 2:20-21).

## a) Syntactic distribution

Open ερωαν- and εωπη-/εωχε-conditionals complement each other in various ways. Thus, while ερωαν-conditionals are restricted to verbal clauses, a range of verbal and non-verbal sentence patterns are initiated by the conditional subordinators εωχε or εωπη. Thus, consider: *εωχε νωνατωογν αν μαρεωτ ννοωγ ναν* '[if (εωχε) he will not (αν) rise (ν-ω-να-τωογν)], he shall give (μαρε-ω-τ) what is his (ν-νοω-ω) to us

(ΝΑ-Ν)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212), εῷχε οὐντήτην ἡμαγ νοῦνοῦτε εἶσονζ οὐων ἡήτην μαγααττήτην '[if (εῷχε) you have (οὐντή-την) a living (ε-ο-ονζ) God (Ν-οῦ-νοῦτε)], open (οὐων) (it) (i.e. the gate) for you (ἡήτην) all by yourselves (μαγαατ-τήτην)!' (Ac. A&P 208:192-193), εῷωπε οὐζηκε πε ἡπερδεν οεικ 'if (εῷωπε) he (πε) (is) poor (οῦ-ζηκε) and has not found (ἡπερ-δεν) (any) bread (οεικ)' (Test. Is. 235:28-29), εῷωπε εκζμ πχαιε ἡωε ζν ζενωληλ ἡν ζεννηστᾶ ἡν οὔεμκο '[when (εῷωπε) you (are) in (ε-κ-ζμ) the desert (π-χαιε)], fight (ἡωε) with (ζν) prayers (ζενωληλ), fastings (ζεν-νηστᾶ) and (ἡν) affliction (οῦ-εμκο)' (Pach. Catéch. 8:6-7).

### b) Protasis and apodosis tenses

The time sphere has some limited bearing on the interpretation of conditionals with εῷωπε or εῷχε, although many combinations of protasis and apodosis tenses are possible. Very often, the conditional adjunct clause relates to the nearby future. The present tense is a less preferred protasis tense, since at the moment of speaking it is normally not known whether the anticipated situation will be satisfied or not, e.g. εῷχε σεναμακαριζε ἡπετεῦντq οὔσπερμα ζεν (for ζν) ciων λω ζενρμηη ζν θιαῖῡ ἡππε ειε ναειτν ζωων χε οὔανταν (for οὔνταν) ἡμαγ ἡνοῦσπερμα (for νοῦσπερμα) ζν θιαῖῡ ἡππε '[if (εῷχε) he who has (ἡ-π-ετε-ῦντ-q) an offspring (οῦ-σπερμα) in (ζεν) Zion (ciων) and (λω) kinsmen (ζεν-ρμη-η) in (ζν) heavenly (ἡ-τ-πε) Jerusalem (θιαῖῡ) will be blessed (lit. they will bless (σε-να-μακαριζε))], then (ειε) we are blessed (να-ειτ-ν), too (ζωων), since (χε) we have (οὔαντα-ν) an offspring (ἡν-οῦ-σπερμα) in (ζν) in (ζν) heavenly (ἡ-τ-πε) Jerusalem (θιαῖῡ)' (Hil. 13:6-9), ἡ εῷχε ἡγναοῦωω ἡν ετρε τετετωκ ρωωε εροκ ναω ἡζε εκναρωωε ἡτοκ ετετετωκ τε 'or (ἡ) [if (εῷχε) you do not (ἡν) wish (ἡ-γ-να-οῦωω) that she who belongs to you (τ-ετε-τω-κ) suffices (ε-τρε ... ρωωε) you (εροκ)], how (ἡ-ωω ἡ-ζε) could you (ἡτοκ) (possibly) be sufficient (ε-κ-να-ρωωε) for her who belongs to you (ε-τ-ετε-τω-κ τε)?' (Sh. Or 44, 156a:17-24).

The use of the Perfect in the protasis clauses generally indicates that some condition had or had not been satisfied when the apodosis situation

occurred, e.g. εῷχε ἡταῦπωωνε επκελιων ζιτμ ποῦροτ ἡταῦναγ εροq ἡεῦρ ἡμεεγε ρω χε οὔν κοσμοσ ῶοοπ '[when (εῷχε) they (the hermits) have been transferred (ἡτ-α-ῦ-πωωνε) to the other world (ε-π-κε-λιων)], through (ζιτμ) the joy (π-οῦροτ) that they saw (ἡτ-α-ῦ-ναγ) (there), they do not even (ρω) remember (lit. make (ἡεῦρ) thought (π-μεεγε)) that (χε) a (lower) world (κοσμοσ) exists (οὔν ... ῶοοπ)' (Onnophr. 215:2-4), εῷωπε ἡπεκμτον μαγαακ οὔδε ον εκῶοοπ ἡν κροογε ἡγναμτον ἡν '[if (εῷχε) you have not found peace (ἡπε-κ-μτον) alone (μαγαα-κ) and (οὔδε) also (ον) whilst living (ε-κ-ῶοοπ) with (ἡν) others (ἡ-κροογε)], you will not (ἡν) find peace (ἡ-γ-να-μτον)' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 6:27-28).

It is possible for ε-ο-ωαν- and εῷωπε-/εῷχε-conditionals to be combined, e.g. εῷωπε ετετηωανπαρκαλει ἡπχοειc ῶναχαριζε ἡπταλο ἡταῦεερε ζιτν ἡετνωληλ ἡαcῡῡῡ '[if (εῷωπε) you ask (ε-τετη-ωαν-παρκαλει) the Lord (ἡ-π-χοειc)], he will grant (ο-να-χαριζε) healing (ἡ-π-ταλο) to my daughter (ἡ-τα-ῶεερε) through (ζιτν) your prayers (ἡετνωληλ), my brothers (ἡα-ῡῡῡ)' (Hil. 8:12-13), εῷωπε δε ειῷανειμε χε ῡοῡοχ εῷωῡε ἡειχιτq 'however (δε) when (εῷωπε) I notice (ε-ι-ωαν-ειμε) [that (χε) I am cured (ῡ-οῡοχ) from illness (ε-ῶωῡε)], I will not accept it (the donkey) (ἡε-ι-χιτ-q)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

### c) Consequence and inference

As with ε-ο-ωαν-conditionals, it is possible for εῷωπε- and εῷχε-conditionals to describe a cause-effect relation between two eventualities, but they are equally well-suited for the expression of inferences and deductions, e.g. εῷχε ετετητμδεπη εειρε ἡπαι ζν οῡμοῡ τετῡαμοῡ (read τετῡῡαμοῡ) '[if (εῷχε) you do not hasten (ε-τετη-τμ-δεπη) to do (ε-ειρε) this (ἡ-παι)], you will surely die (lit. in (ζν) a dying (οῡ-μοῡ) you shall die (τετη-να-μοῡ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1), λω εῷχε κο ἡνοεικ εοῡντκ cζιμε λω εῷχε τεπορνεγε εοῡντε ποῡζαι οῡτωc τετῡωβεε ἡν εῡεθῡριον 'and (λω) [if (εῷχε) you (man) are (κ-ο) adulterous (ἡ-νοεικ), although you have (ε-οῡντ-κ) a wife (cζιμε)], and (λω) [if (εῷχε) you (woman) are

fornicating (τε-πορνευε), although you have (ε-οντε) your husband (που-2αι)], you are actually (οντως) no (αν) different (τετη-ωβε) from beasts (ε-νε-θηριον)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:4-12).

#### 12.2.1.1.4 Concessive conditionals

The essence of concessive ('EVEN THOUGH') conditionals is a semantic opposition between the hypothetical clause, which may or may not be true, and the consequent clause, which is claimed to be so. Whereas in a regular conditional the consequence depends on the truth of the hypothetical clause, in a concessive, the reality of the event or situation in the antecedent clause is irrelevant. The truth of the subordinate clause might lead one to expect that the superordinate clause would be false (contrary-to-expectation implicature).

Coptic concessive conditionals are initiated with the concessive subordinators ΚΑΝ or ΠΛΗΝ 'even though' plus a conditional adjunct clause. Both ε-ϕ-ψΑΝ- and εΨΩΠΕ-/εΨΧΕ-conditionals are permitted. Very often, the consequence clause of concessive conditionals is marked as contrastively focused by means of the adversative conjunction ΑΛΛΑ 'but, nevertheless', as in: ΚΑΝ ΕΚΨΑΝΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Α ΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΤΒΤ ΟΥΩΜ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΗΝΝΣΑ ΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΤ ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΗΠΚΩΖΤ ΝΦΟΧΝΟΥ ΠΚΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΡΟϕ '[even though (ΚΑΝ) you may say (ε-κ-ψΑΝ-ΧΟΟ-С) that (ΧΕ) the birds (Ν-ΖΑΛΑΤΕ) and (ΗΝ) the fish (Ν-ΤΒΤ) ate (Α ... ΟΥΩΜ) others (ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) after (ΜΗΝΝΣΑ) they had come (ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΗ) the latter (Ν-ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ), they returned (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ) to the earth (ε-Π-ΚΑΖ). [Even though (ΚΑΝ) they might give (ε-Υ-ψΑΝ-†) some (ΖΟΕΙΝΕ) (of them) to the fire (Μ-Π-ΚΩΖΤ) and it perishes them (Ν-ϕ-ΟΧΝ-ΟΥ)], (it is) again (ΟΝ) the earth (Π-ΚΑΖ) towards which (ΕΡΟ-ϕ) they returned (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ)' (Zen. 202:13-16), ΑΥΩ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΖΕΝΑΨΗ ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΦΟΥΨ ΕϕΣΨΟΥΖ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΝΕΤϕΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΣΟΟΥΖΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΕΤΗΗΥ 'and (ΑΥΩ) [even (ΚΑΝ) though (εΨΧΕ) those he (Αρα Zenobius) had already (ΜΕ-ΝΤ-Α-ϕ-ΟΥΨ) gathered (ε-ϕ-СΨΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) (are) many (ΖΕΝ-ΑΨΗ)], they (ΝΕ) (were) nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) only (ΕΜΑΤΕ) a few (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) compared to (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) those that he was zealous (Ν-ΕΤ-ϕ-СΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) to

gather (ε-СΟΟΥΖ-ΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ) in (ΖΗ) the time (Π-ΚΑΙΡΟΣ) to come (εΤ-ΝΗΥ)' (Zen. 205:13-16), ΠΛΗΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΗΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΝΕϕΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ (for ΝΕϕΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ) ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΙ ΡΩΨΕ Ε† ΑΦΟΡΗ[Η] ΝΝΣΟΦΟΣ ΕΡΖΟΥΟ СΟΦΟΣ '[even (ΠΛΗΝ) though (εΨΧΕ) (it is) just (ΕΜΑΤΕ) a few things (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) that we are going to say (Ν-εΤ-Ν-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Υ) about (ΖΗ) his (Αρα Zenobius') achievements (ΝΕϕ-ΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) suffice (ΡΩΨΕ) to provide (ε-†) a starting point (ΑΦΟΡΗ) for the wise men (Ν-Ν-СΟΦΟΣ) to become wiser (ε-Ρ-ΖΟΥΟ СΟΦΟΣ)' (Zen. 201:13-14), ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΕΝ ΣΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΑΜΙΟ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΙ ΤΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΗΚ ΕΤΠΟΛΙС ΨΑΝΤΑΕΙ ΝΤΑ† ΝΑΚ ΗΠΕΚΒΕΚΗ (read ΗΠΕΚΒΕΚΕ) '[even (ΚΑΝ) though (εΨΧΕ) you are able (lit. (there) is (ΟΥΕΝ) power (ΣΟΜ) in you (ΗΜΟ-Κ)) to manufacture (it) (the brick (ε-ΤΑΜΙΟ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) take (ΧΙ) this (ΤΑΙ) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) [when you go (ε-Κ-ΒΗΚ) to the city (ε-Κ-ΒΗΚ) [until I come (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΕΙ) and give (ΝΤΑ-†) you (ΝΑ-Κ) your wage (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΒΕΚΗ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 79b:6-13).

#### 12.2.1.1.5 Other markers of conditionality

Marked alternatives to the conditional markers εΨΧΕ and εΨΩΠΕ 'if, when' include the Greek subordinating complementisers ΕΝΖΟСΟΝ 'as long as' and ΕΙΜΗΤΙ 'unless, except that', e.g. ΕΝΖΟСΟΝ ΕСΝСΩΝ ΕΤΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΗΠΡΤΡΕΝСΩΨ ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙС '[as long as (ΕΝΖΟСΟΝ) it is up to us (ε-С-ΝСΩ-Ν) not to sin (lit. make (ε-ΤΗ-Ρ) sin (ΝΟΒΕ))], let us not loathe (ΗΠΡ-ΤΡΕ-Ν-СΩΨ) grace (Ν-ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙС)!' (Sh. IV 24:8-9), Ν†ΝΑ† ΖΩΒ ΕϕΖΟСΕ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝϕϕΕΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΙΒΑΝΟС ΝΓΤΑΛΟϕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΗ ΤΨΗΥΕ ΝΓΧΟΟС ΗΜΑΤΕ (...) 'I will not (ΑΝ) burden (lit. give (Ν-†-ΝΑ-†)) you (ΝΑ-Κ) (with) a difficult (ε-ϕ-ΖΟСЕ) job (ΖΩΒ), [except that (ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ) (that) you carry (ΝϕϕΕΙ) some (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) frankincense (Ν-ΑΙΒΑΝΟС), place it (Ν-Γ-ΤΑΛΟ-ϕ) on (ΕΧΗ) the altar (Τ-ΨΗΥΕ) and just (ΗΜΑΤΕ) say (Ν-Γ-ΧΟΟ-С) (...)]' (KHML II 33:14-16).

#### 12.2.1.1.6 Circumstantial clauses as implicit conditionals

Circumstantial 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often interpreted as implicitly conditional constructions, e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΝΑΧΠΕ ΨΗΡΕ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ Ψ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟ ΤΕСΖΙΜΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΜΠΓΑΜΟС

ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) would you, oh (Ω) man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) you (ΝΤΟ) woman (ΤΕ-ΣΖΙΜΕ), beget (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΧΠΕ) children (ΨΗΡΕ) in secret (Ν-ΧΙΟΥΕ) [if God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) gives (ΕΡΕ ... †) marriage (Μ-Π-ΓΑΜΟΣ) to everyone (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ)]?' (Sh. Or 44, 153b:41-48).

Negative conditions are formed with the Relative Present Ε-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ 'when/while he hears/heard' and the ΤΗ 'to do not' (see above, section 9.4.6.3), e.g. ΕΙΤΗΨΕΕΙ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΦΝΑΟΥΑΖΦ ΝΣΩΙ ΑΝ '[if I do not wander to and fro (Ε-Ι-ΤΗ-ΨΕΕΙ) with him (the obnoxious monk) in (ΖΝ) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)], he will not (ΑΝ) follow (Ν-Φ-ΝΑ-ΟΥΑΖ-Φ) me (ΝΣΩ-Ι)' (V. Pach. 147:26-27), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ (...) '(as for) the latter (ΠΑΙ ΔΕ), [if I did not manufacture it (the net) (Ε-Ι-ΤΗ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Σ) for him (ΝΑ-Φ)], he would say (Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) that (ΧΕ) (...) ' (AP Elanskaya 24a:17-18), ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΝΓΝΑΣΕΝ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΉΠΕΡΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΑΦ 'verily (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΜΕ), you will not (ΑΝ) leave (Ν-Γ-ΝΑ-ΣΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ) this place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ), [if you have not admitted (ΉΠΕ-Κ-ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ) what you have done (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΑ-Φ)]' (KHML II 52:8-9).

**12.2.1.1.7** Conditionally interpreted coordinated and juxtaposed structures  
Many coordinated and juxtaposed sentence constructions do not have the form or literal meaning of open conditionals, but serve indirectly to convey conditional meaning. Such conditionally interpreted coordinated or juxtaposed structures often contain an imperatival clause as a first conjunct, e.g. ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΤΒΒΟ ΤΑΡΕΚΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'preserve (ΖΑΡΕΖ) purity (Ε-Π-ΤΒΒΟ) and you will go (ΤΑΡΕ-Κ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Catéch. Pach. 81:8), ΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΨΗΝ ΝΡΕΦ† ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΤΑΡΕ ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΧΩΚ 'become (ΨΩΠΕ) a tree (Ν-ΨΗΝ) which brings forth (Ν-ΡΕΦ-†) fruit (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) and the Lord's (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) blessing (ΠΕ-ΣΜΟΥ) will come down (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) upon you (ΖΙΧΩ-Κ)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

#### 12.2.1.1.8 Hypothetical free relatives

Topicalised free relatives with non-specific reference are often used as a semantic paraphrase of a protasis clause of an open conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause being interpreted as the

apodosis (see above, section 11.2.2 of Unit 11), e.g. ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΕΥΡ ΠΗΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΙ ΙΤΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΝΑΝΤΦ ΖΗ ΤΨΟΡΠ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΜΠΨΟ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'he who will give (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-†) a sacrifice (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) in (ΖΗ) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ) in remembrance (Ε-Υ-Ρ Π-ΗΕΕΥΕ) of me (ΝΑ-Ι), Jesus (ΙΤΕ) himself (ΖΩΩ-Φ) will receive him (ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) the first (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) hour (Ν-ΟΥΝΟΥ) of (the banquet of) the thousand (Μ-Π-ΨΟ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:12-14).

#### 12.2.1.2 Remote conditionals

The remote conditional construction puts forward a hypothetical condition about which the speaker knows that the satisfaction of that condition in the actual world is relatively unlikely or even impossible. The apodosis clause describes what would have been the consequence if the protasis condition had been satisfied, e.g. ΝΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΤΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΗΜΟΦ '(if) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) were (ΝΕΡΕ) in this place (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ), I would go (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and appeal (ΤΑ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to him (ΗΜΟ-Φ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), ΕΝΕΜΠΟΥΨΡΠΡ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΣΝΑΠΕΙΘΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΣΝΑΡΑΨΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΤΟ ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΕΣΨΕΕΡΕ '[if they had not first committed (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-Ρ-ΨΡΠ-Ρ) adultery (ΝΟΕΙΚ) to her (ΕΡΟ-Σ)], she would not (ΑΝ) have cajoled (ΝΕ-Σ-ΝΑ-ΠΕΙΘΕ) or (ΟΥΔΕ) rejoiced (ΝΕ-Σ-ΝΑ-ΡΑΨΕ) about him who is (Π-ΕΤ-Ο) adulterous (Ν-ΝΟΕΙΚ) to her daughter (Ε-ΤΕΣ-ΨΕΕΡΕ)' (Sh. III 76:6-7).

#### 12.2.1.2.1 Tense and mood restrictions

As with open conditionals, various combinations of protasis and apodosis tenses are possible in remote conditionals, although some arrangements are much more frequent than others. The protasis clause usually contains a preterit tense, which expresses modal remoteness, not past time, e.g. ΕΝΕΦΟΥΨΩ Ε† ΝΑΝ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΒΕΚΗ (for ΜΠΕΝΒΕΚΕ) ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΕ ΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΤΕΙΤΩΒΕ ΖΕΝ (for ΖΗ) ΤΕΠΟΛΙΣ '[if he (Αρα Μένα) were not (ΑΝ) willing (Ε-ΝΕ-Φ-ΟΥΨΩ) [to give (Ε-†) us (ΝΑΝ) our wage (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΒΕΚΗ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) our neediness (ΤΕΝ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ)]], what (ΟΥ) would be (ΝΕ) the use (ΤΕ-ΧΡΙΑ) of this brick (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΤΩΒΕ) in (ΖΕΝ) this city (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)]?' (Mena, Mir. 80b:20-28), ΕΝΕΥΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΥΜΗΝΤΑΨΑΥ ΝΕΟΥΨΠΕ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '[if

(they (the parents) were (Ε-ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) ignorant (Ν-ΑΤ-ΣΟΟΥΝ) of their (the children's) worthlessness (Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΨΑΥ)], it (ΠΕ) would not (ΑΝ) be (ΝΕ) a shame (ΟΥ-ΨΗΠΕ) for them (ΝΑ-Υ)' (Sh. III 75:19-20).

The combination of a Preterit Present protasis with a Preterite Future is commonly used to indicate the co-temporality between a hypothetical situation and its anticipated outcome, e.g. ΕΝΕΤΕΤΝΕΜΠΕΙΜΑ (for ΤΕΤΝΗΜΠΕΙΜΑ) ΜΗΛΤΕ ΝΕΤΕΤΝΗΜΕΖ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΩΨ ΤΕΝΝΑΓΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΝΤΡΟΦΗ ΜΠΖΟΥ ΠΕΖΟΥ 'if you only (ΜΗΛΤΕ) had been here (Ε-ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΕΜ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)], you could have drawn (ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΕΖ) water (ΜΟΟΥ) for those who wish for (it) (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΨΩ), (and) we would have found (ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΣΙΝΕ) our food (Ν-ΤΕΝ-ΤΡΟΦΗ) from day (Η-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) to day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ)' (Mena, Mir. 81b:21-29).

#### 12.2.1.2.2 Irrealis modality

Open and remote conditionals have much in common semantically. Both conditional constructions express the interdependency between two states of affairs; they implicate that the apodosis situation is a consequence of the protasis situation. The remote conditional differs from the open conditional in that it entertains the situation described in the protasis clauses as being fulfilled in a hypothetical world that is different from the actual world, e.g. ΕΝΕΨΑΡΕ ΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΗΝΣΑ ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΖΝ ΤΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΖΨΑΥ ΖΙ ΣΤΩΤ 'if the souls (ΝΕ-ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ) of men (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) were able to escape (Ε-ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΕΨ-ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ) from (ΖΝ) fear (ΘΟΤΕ < Τ-ΖΟΤΕ) after (ΜΗΝΣΑ) the resurrection (Τ-ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ) in (ΖΝ) the presence (Τ-ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)], the world (Π-ΚΟΣΜΟΣ) would die (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) from terror (Ν-ΝΕΖ-ΨΑΥ) and (ΖΙ) trembling (ΣΤΩΤ)' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 1:24-2:1).

#### a) Reasoning about possible worlds

In remote conditionals, the speaker envisages a world differing from the actual one by stipulating a condition as being true in that world and imagining its consequences. Very often, reasoning about the properties of possible worlds is a way of drawing inferences about the actual world, e.g.

ΑΡΑ ΕΝΕΚΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΜΠΟΥ ΝΕΚΝΑΕΨΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ '[so (ΑΡΑ) if you were in Alexandria (Ε-ΝΕ-Κ-ΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) today (ΜΠΟΥ)], would you possibly dare (ΝΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΕΨ-ΤΟΛΜΑ) to speak (Ε-ΧΕ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) in (ΖΝ) public (ΟΥ-ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ)?' (Zen. 202:30-31), ΕΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΨΩΝΕ ΟΝ ΝΧΙΝ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΡΕ ΤΕΙΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΗΜΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ '[if you had not also (ΟΝ) become sick (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ-Κ-ΨΩΝΕ) in (ΝΧΙΝ) the first place (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ)], this state of poverty (ΤΕΙ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ) would not (ΑΝ) have befallen (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) us (ΜΜΟ-Ν)' (Mena, Mir. 80a:5-11), ΕΝΕΑΚΕΙΕΡΖ ΝΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΨΡΧ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΜΟΥΖ ΝΒΝΤ (for ΝΚΝΤ) ΕΡΟΚ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΩΖ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΕΚ[ΜΟΤΕ] ΝΕΚΝΑΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ [ΝΖΗ]ΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΓΚΙ ΖΑΡ[ΟΟΥ] ΝΓΤΗΖΛΟΠΛ[Π] '[if you had observed (Ε-ΝΕ-Α-Κ-ΕΙΕΡΖ) these (things) (ΝΑΙ) thoroughly (ΖΝ-ΟΥ-ΨΡΧ) and (ΑΥΩ) your living-quarter (ΠΕΚ-ΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ) would have been filled (ΝΤΕ ... ΜΟΥΖ) with worms (Ν-ΒΝΤ) until they reached (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΠΩΖ) your neck (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΜΟΤΕ)], you would have remained (ΝΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-Ω) in them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), bearing (Ν-Γ-ΚΙ) under them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ) and not be weary (Ν-Γ-ΤΗ-ΖΛΟΠΛΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:26-28).

#### b) Counterfactuality

When the protasis clause of a remote conditional contains negation, it generally implies that the corresponding affirmative clause holds true in the actual world. The correlative meaning may be overtly marked by the subordinator ΕΨΧΕ 'then', which normally introduces conditional adjuncts, e.g. ΕΝΕΡΗΠΨΑ ΑΝ ΜΜΟΨ ΝΕΥΝΑΠΑΖΤΨ ΑΝ ΕΧΩ '[if you (woman) were not (ΑΝ) worthy (Ε-ΝΕ-Ρ-ΜΠΨΑ) of it (the oil) (ΗΜΜΟ-Ψ)], they would not (ΑΝ) have sprinkled it (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΑ-ΠΑΖΤ-Ψ) on you (ΕΧΩ)' (KHML I 81:16-17), ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΕΝΕΜΠΕ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΖΨΒΕΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΜ (for ΕΧΗ) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΝΕΙΨΠΗΡΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΨ ΕΨΧΕ ΑΥΜΟΟΥΤΨ ΠΕ ΖΙΤΕΝ (for ΖΙΤΗ) ΘΟΡΜΗ ΜΠΜΗΝΨΕ ΕΤΨΟΥΟ ΕΧΩΨ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΧΩΖ ΜΗΛΤΕ ΕΝΕΚΖΟΕΙΤΕ (...) 'verily (ΑΛΗΘΩΣ), [if the archbishop (Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ) had not protected (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ ... ΖΨΒΕΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΜ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) by whose virtue (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-Ψ) these wonders (ΝΕΙ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) had occurred (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ)], then (ΕΨΧΕ) he



would have been killed (lit. *they* would have killed him (λ-Υ-ΜΟΟΥΤ-Ϛ)) by (ϚΙΤΕΝ) the assault (ΘΟΡΜΗ < Τ-ΖΟΡΜΗ) of the crowd (Η-Π-ΜΗΝΨΕ) that rushed down (ΕΤ-ΨΟΥΟ) on him (ΕΧΩ-Ϛ) just (ΗΜΑΤΕ) to touch (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΧΩϚ) his clothes (Ε-ΝΕϚ-ΖΟΕΙΤΕ (...))' (Mena, Mir. 90a:11-25), ΕΝΕΜΠΕΚΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΣΑϚ ΧΕ ΩΨ ΝΑΚ ΨΑ ΠΟΥϚ ΕΨΧΕ ΛΙΒΩΚ ΝΧΙΝ ΣΑϚ ΝΤΑΖΕ ΕΠΟΥΨ ΝΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΥ ΖΑ ΠΕΖΚΟ '[for (ΓΑΡ) if (ΕΝΕ) you had not said (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Ϛ) to your servant (Η-ΜΠΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) yesterday (Ν-ΣΑϚ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Stay (ΩΨ) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) until (ΨΑ) today (ΠΟΥϚ)!«]], then (ΕΨΧΕ) I would have left (Α-Ι-ΒΩΚ) already (ΝΧΙΝ) yesterday (ΣΑϚ) and heard (ΝΤΑ-ΖΕ) the news (Ε-Π-ΟΥΨ) about my children (Ν-ΝΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) that (ΧΕ) they are not going to die (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥ) of (ΖΑ) hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 78b:10-19).

### c) Exclamative ΖΑΜΟΙ

The exclamative particle ΖΑΜΟΙ 'would that' is occasionally added to the conditional adjunct to express regret on the part of the speaker about the fact that the actualisation of the situation at hand has been foreclosed for good, e.g. ΖΑΜΟΙ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΒΙΝΕ ΜΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΠΑΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΑΪ ΕΡΟϚ ΝΟΥΚΑΙΣΕ ΑΥΨ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΕΜΤΟΝ '[would that (ΖΑΜΟΙ) if I had found (Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΒΙΝΕ) the body (Η-Π-ΣΩΜΑ) of my little (Η-ΠΑ-ΚΟΥΙ) servant (Ν-ΖΜΖΑΛ)], I would have given (Α-Ι-Ϊ) him (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ) a shroud (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΑΙΣΕ) and (ΑΥΨ) my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) would come to rest (ΝΑ-ΕΜΤΟΝ)' (Mena, Mir. 20a:11-16).

### d) Counterfactuals with ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ

The protasis clause of remote conditionals can also be introduced by the negative conditional conjunction ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ 'except that, had not', e.g. ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ Α ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΚΩΛΥ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΕΙΝΑΝΟΧΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ '[had my son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) not (ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ) stopped (Α ... ΚΩΛΥ) me (ΗΜΟ-Ι)], I would have thrown it (the brick) (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΝΟΧ-Ϛ) away (ΕΒΟΛ)' (Mena, Mir. 83b:17-21), ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΧΕ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΨΣ ΕΡΩΤΗ Η ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ '[for (ΓΑΡ) had you not (ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ) spoken (ΝΤ-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΕ) these words (ΝΙ-ΨΑΧΕ) in (ΖΗ) ignorance (ΟΥ-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΣΟΟΥΝ)], God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)

would be angry (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΝΟΥΨΣ) with you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) and (Η) evil things (ΖΕΝ-ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ) would happen (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ)' (Sh. III 86:21-23).

### 12.2.2 Temporal subclauses

In Coptic, subordinate temporal clauses are generally expressed by means of relative tenses, so called because they locate the main clause situation in time in relation to the dependent clause situation. In providing a contextually given reference point, 'WHEN'-, 'AFTER', and 'SINCE'-clauses play an important role in the temporal organisation of the narrative.

#### 12.2.2.1 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses

The Relative Present Ε-Ϛ-ΩΤΗ 'while he hears' has a broad syntactic distribution, initiating such diverse sentence constructions as temporal subclauses, predicative adjuncts (subject and objective depictives), resultative complements, and sequential-consecutive clauses (see above, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8 for a more detailed review of the main construction types). What is common to all subordinate clauses containing a Relative Present is that two eventualities are located in the same time frame. Yet, we seem to be dealing with a heterogeneous class of subordinate clauses. The focus of this section is on the structural and interpretative differences between temporal subclauses and predicative adjuncts.

#### 12.2.2.1.1 'WHEN'-clauses vs. predicative adjuncts

##### a) The adjunct-complement contrast

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are temporal location adjuncts, which can be omitted without significant change in meaning to the rest of the clause. Thus, the presence or absence of a temporal subclause does not affect the presentational meaning and function of the following subject-inverted sentences: ΕΤΕΙ (for ΕΤΙ) ΕΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΑϚΪ ΠΕϚΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΑΛΟ ΕΠΕϚΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ '[when we were still (ΕΤΕΙ) sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟΣ)], an old (Ν-ΖΑΛΟ) priest (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) came forth (lit. gave (Α-Ϛ-Ϊ) his way (ΠΕϚ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), whose

name (ε-περ-ραν) (was) John (ιωζαννης)' (Abbatôn 228:13-15) vs. αδελφικ νοι ουσον ψα απα σιχωι επιτοου ναπα αντωνιος 'a brother (ου-σον) went (α-ρ-βωκ) to (ψα) Apa Ćiĉōi to the monastery (ε-π-τοου) of Apa Antonius' (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10).

The adjunct-complement contrast cuts across depictive and resultative predicates. As clausal complements of aspectual verbs, resultative phrases are part of a complex predicate and hence not omissible e.g. *χε ννειδω εικηκ αζηγ* 'so that (*χε*) I would not stay (*ννε-ι-δω*) naked (lit. stripped off (*ε-ι-κηκ*) naked (*αζηγ*))' (Onnophr. 217:31). There are grounds for saying that subject and object depictives are clausal adjuncts, even if their occurrence is licensed by certain types of verbs: object depictives, for instance, are generally construed with verbs of perception and discovery, e.g. *λιωτη ευμνησε ευωψ εβολ ευριμε ζν ζενκετοπος αλλα νειναγ εροου αν πε* 'I heard (*α-ι-ωτη*) a multitude (*ε-γ-μνησε*) [*crying* (*ε-γ-ωψ*) out (*εβολ*) (and) weeping (*ε-γ-ριμε*) in (*ζν*) other places (*ζεν-κε-τοπος*)], but (*αλλα*) I could not (*αν*) see (*νε-ι-ναγ*) them (*ερο-ου*)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), *χε ανζε ερος ρω εσονζ* 'because (*χε*) we found (*α-ν-ζε*) her (Hilaria) (*ερο-ε*) at all (*ρω*) [*being alive* (*ε-ε-ονζ*)]' (Hil. 12:6-7).

#### b) Anaphoric dependencies

Depictives and resultatives share one argument with the main verbal predicate, which is cross-referenced by means of a resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. *ουτε ννετημοος ετομ ετε[τη]ρ σναγ* 'and (*ουτε*) you shall not sit (*ννε-τη-μοος*) on a mat (*ε-τομ*) [*with the two of you* (*ε-τε-τη-ρ σναγ*)]' (praec. Pach. 95), *κναγ εροι ειψωνε* 'you find (lit. you see (*κναγ*)) me (*ερο-ι*) [*sick* (*ε-ι-ψωνε*)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), *αγω νεψαρσεκ ψομητ νζημε τερομπε ερνηστεγε* 'and (*αγω*) he (Issac) used to spend (*νε-ψα-ρ-σεκ*) three (times) (*ψομητ*) (of) forty (days) (*ν-ζημε*) a year (*τε-ρομπε*) [*fasting* (*ε-ρ-νηστεγε*)]' (Test. Is. 231:32-232:1).

No such anaphoric dependencies constrain 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, whose subject may be identical to or different from that of the main clause, as seen in: *ερρωτη δε ελαι αρρωνη εματε* 'when he (the

governor) heard (*ε-ρ-ρωτη*) these (words) (*ε-λαι*), he got very (*εματε*) angry (*α-ρ-ρωνη*)' (KHML I 76:17-18) vs. *λαι δε ερρω ημοου νοι πζαλο ημαιουτε πενειωτ ισακ αγωουζ ερορ νοι ναπερηι τηρου αγριμε* '[when the God-loving (*η-μαιο-υτε*) old man (*π-ζαλο*), our father (*πε-ειωτ*) Isaac, said (*ε-ρ-ρω*) these (words) (*λαι*)], all (*τηρ-ου*) members of his house-hold (*λα-περ-ηι*) gathered (*α-γ-ωουζ*) around him (*ερο-ρ*) (and) wept (*α-γ-ριμε*)' (Test. Is. 231:24-25).

#### c) Scope

As with temporal location adverbs, 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses take wide scope over the entire clause that they modify, e.g. *αγω αιτει (for ετι) εφορς αρζε επεσχη εχεν* (for *εχη*) *πρζο (for περζο) ζν τεγμητε* 'and (*αγω*) [*while* (*αιτει*) *he* (Pachôm) *was still* (*αιτει*) *harvesting* (*ε-ρ-ορς*)], he fell (*α-ρ-ζε*) down (*επεσχη*) on (*εχεν*) his face (*πρ-ζο*) in (*ζν*) their (the brothers') midst (*τεγ-μητε*)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17). Depictive and resultative predicates, on the other hand, are more limited in scope, modifying the main verb and one of its arguments, e.g. *χεκας ερεδω ερμαγ ερος ημνηε* 'in order that (*χεκας*) *he could keep* (*ε-ρ-ε-δω*) [*seeing* (*ε-ρ-μαγ*) her (*ερο-ε*) daily (*ημνηε*)]' (Hil. 12:9-10), *αγζε ερορ ερζμοος ζι πμεζωμητ ηρο ηππαλιον* 'they found (*α-γ-ζε*) *him* (Constantine) (*ερο-ρ*) [*sitting* (*ε-ρ-ζμοος*) at (*ζι*) the third (*π-μεζ-ωμητ*) gate (*η-ρο*) of the palace (*η-π-παλιον*)]' (Eud. 38:6).

#### d) Syntactic position

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses can occur in two syntactic positions: at the end of the matrix clause in the position of heavy constituents, e.g. *ερνηγ δε εβολ ζη πτοου αρμαγ ερορ νοι παιβολος ηεε νογχωρε εαρκοτρ επερηι ζη πτρερρο ζη ππολυμος* (for *ππολεμος*) '[when he (Ara Moses) came (*ε-ρ-νηγ*) down (*εβολ*) from (*ζη*) the mountain (*π-τοου*)], the devil (*π-διαβολος*) saw (*α-ρ-μαγ*) him (*ερο-ρ*) as (*ηεε < η-τ-ζε*) a hero (lit. strong one (*η-ου-χωρε*)) who returned (*ε-α-ρ-κοτ-ρ*) to his home (*ε-περ-ηι*) after (*ζη*) having won (*π-τρε-ρ-ρο*) in (*ζη*) the war (*π-πολυμος*)' (KHML II 50:14-16), or in

the left-dislocated topic position of preposed adverbials, e.g.  $\text{ΝΝΕΚ[ΕΡ] ΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΙΒΗΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑΣΕΠ[ΣΩ]ΠΙ}$  'you should not act ( $\text{ΝΝΕ-Κ-ΕΡ}$ ) evil ( $\text{ΠΕΘΟΟΥ} < \text{Π-ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ}$ ) towards me ( $\text{ΝΑ-Ι}$ ) [*whilst I am on my way* ( $\text{Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ}$ ) to the shrine ( $\text{Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ}$ ) of Apa Mēna to beseech him ( $\text{ΝΤΑ-ΣΕΠΣΩΠ-Π}$ )]' (Mena, Mir. 29a:29-29b:1).

Depictive and resultative predicates have a more restricted syntax and must follow the main verb as closely as possible, e.g.  $\text{Α ΠΟΥΛ Ε[Ι] ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΣΟΤΤΙ ΜΠΑΡΑ ΠΕΚΕΟΥΑ}$  'one (dish) ( $\text{Π-ΟΥΛ}$ ) came ( $\text{Α ... ΕΙ}$ ) out ( $\text{ΕΒΟΛ}$ ) [*better* ( $\text{Ε-Φ-ΣΟΤΤΙ}$ ) than ( $\text{ΜΠΑΡΑ}$ ) the other one ( $\text{ΠΕ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΑ}$ )]' (Mena, Mir. 18a:5-7),  $\text{ΛΥΡ ΤΑΙΟΥ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΥΡ ΖΑΛ ΜΠΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΟΟΥ}$  'they spent ( $\text{Α-Υ-Ρ}$ ) fifty ( $\text{ΤΑΙΟΥ}$ ) years ( $\text{Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ}$ ) [*deceiving* ( $\text{Ε-Υ-Ρ ΖΑΛ}$ ) their own ( $\text{ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ}$ ) memory ( $\text{Μ-ΠΕΥ-ΜΕΕΥΕ}$ )]' (AP Chaîne no. 36, 7:9),  $\text{ΑΛΛΑ ΛΟΥΩ ΕΥΧΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΠΕΠΡΑΓΩΡΙΟΝ}$  'but ( $\text{ΑΛΛΑ}$ ) they had already ( $\text{Α-Υ-ΟΥΩ}$ ) [*brought* ( $\text{Ε-Υ-ΧΙ}$ ) him ( $\text{ΜΜΟ-Φ}$ ) to the palace ( $\text{Ε-ΠΕ-ΠΡΑΓΩΡΙΟΝ}$ )]' (Ac. A&P 200:101-202:102).

12.2.2.1.2 Temporal and non-temporal interpretations of 'WHEN'-clauses  
'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are among the most common adjunct clauses of temporal location used to express the co-extensiveness or (partial) temporal overlap between two states of affairs.

a) Temporal duration and aspect

The temporal relation between the main and the dependent clause situation depends on the verbal tense-aspect of the main clause. When the main clause event is aspectually marked as unbounded or continuous through the selection of a present tense, it is temporally interpreted as co-extensive with the dependent clause event; i.e. both eventualities last through the same period of time, e.g.  $\text{[Α]ΛΛ[Α] ΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΟΥ[ΛΗ]ΕΛΙΑ ΕΙΟΥΩΜ ΕΙΩ ΕΙΝΚΟΤΚ}$  'but ( $\text{ΑΛΛΑ}$ ) I am ( $\text{ΨΟΟΠ}$ ) in ( $\text{ΖΝ}$ ) (a state of) negligence ( $\text{ΟΥ-ΛΗΕΛΙΑ}$ ) [*whilst eating* ( $\text{Ε-Ι-ΟΥΩΜ}$ ), *drinking* ( $\text{Ε-Ι-Ω}$ ), (and) *sleeping* ( $\text{Ε-Ι-ΝΚΟΤΚ}$ )]' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:27-28),  $\text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΠΑΖΩΜ ΝΕΦΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΕΡΕ ΘΕΩΔΟΡΟΣ ΔΙΑΚΩΝΕΙ ΝΑΦ}$  'our father ( $\text{ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ}$ ) Pachôm, too ( $\text{ΖΩΩ-Φ}$ ), remained sick (lit. remained

( $\text{ΝΕ-Φ-ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ}$ ) in ( $\text{ΖΗ}$ ) the sickness ( $\text{Π-ΩΩΝΕ}$ )), [*while Theodore took care* ( $\text{ΕΡΕ ... ΔΙΑΚΩΝΕΙ}$ ) of him ( $\text{ΝΑ-Φ}$ )]' (V. Pach. 91:24-25).

If, on the other hand, the main clause event is aspectually marked as bounded through the selection of a Perfect tense, the main clause and the dependent clause situation are presented as overlapping in time, but not as co-extensive. The 'WHEN'-clause very often describes an eventuality that was still in progress or continuing when the main clause event took place, e.g.  $\text{ΑΣΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΥΚΩΤ ΜΠΣΟΒΤ ΝΤΣΟΟΥΖΣ ΑΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΤΩΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ}$  'it happened ( $\text{ΑΣΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ}$ ) (that) [*when they were building* ( $\text{Ε-Υ-ΚΩΤ}$ ) the wall ( $\text{Μ-Π-ΣΟΒΤ}$ ) of the convent ( $\text{Ν-Τ-ΣΟΟΥΖΣ}$ )], a minor ([ $\text{Ο}$ ]Υ-ΚΟΥΙ) argument ( $\text{Ν-ΨΑΧΕ}$ ) came up ( $\text{ΨΩΠΕ}$ ) between them (Pachôm and his brother) ( $\text{ΟΥΤΩ-ΟΥ}$ ) with ( $\text{ΜΗ}$ ) each other ( $\text{ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ}$ )]' (V. Pach. 1:16-17),  $\text{ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΕΦΕΡ ΖΩΒ ΝΟΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ Α ΤΕΦΣΖΙΜΕ ΤΗΝΟΟΥ ΨΑΡΟΦ ΖΗ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ}$  '[*while Mark, the workman* ( $\text{Π-ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ}$ ), was still ( $\text{ΕΤΙ}$ ) working ( $\text{Ε-Φ-ΕΡ ΖΩΒ}$ )], his wife ( $\text{ΤΕΦ-ΣΖΙΜΕ}$ ) sent ( $\text{Α ... ΤΗΝΟΟΥ}$ ) (a message) to him ( $\text{ΨΑΡΟ-Φ}$ ) from ( $\text{ΖΗ}$ ) Alexandria ( $\text{ΡΑΚΟΤΕ}$ )]' (Mena, Mir. 76a:13-19).

b) Correlative interpretation

'WHEN'-clauses may assume a correlative reading, describing paired events and situations, e.g.  $\text{ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΙΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΗ ΠΑΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΚΩΤΕ ΣΑΣΑ ΝΙΜ}$  'why ( $\text{ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ}$ ) does my mind ( $\text{ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ}$ ) go around ( $\text{ΚΩΤΕ}$ ) all ( $\text{ΝΙΜ}$ ) sides ( $\text{ΣΑΣΑ}$ ), [*whenever I am sitting* ( $\text{Ε-Ι-ΖΜΟΟΣ}$ ) in ( $\text{ΖΗ}$ ) my living-quarters ( $\text{ΠΑ-ΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ}$ )]?' (AP Chaîne no. 5, 2:19-20),  $\text{ΝΤΕΡΕΦΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΘΥΣΙΑ ΕΤΣΜΑΜΑΛ ΑΥΤΡΕ ΖΕΝΣΝΗΥ ΦΑΛΛΕΙ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΠΖΑΛΗΛΟΥΕΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΕΡΕ ΜΗΝΨΕ}$  (read  $\text{ΜΜΗΝΨΕ}$ )  $\text{ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΩΨΒ ΝΣΩΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ}$  'when he (Apa Theophilos) had offered ( $\text{ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΦΙ}$ ) the blessed ( $\text{ΕΤ-ΣΜΑΜΑΛ}$ ) sacrifice ( $\text{Ν-ΤΕ-ΘΥΣΙΑ}$ ), they let some brothers ( $\text{ΖΕΝ-ΣΝΗΥ}$ ) sing psalms ( $\text{Α-Υ-ΤΡΕ ... ΦΑΛΛΕΙ}$ ), [*saying* ( $\text{Ε-Υ-ΧΩ}$ ) the Alléluia ( $\text{Μ-Π-ΖΑΛΗΛΟΥΕΙ}$ ) over ( $\text{ΕΧΝ}$ ) the Eucharist ( $\text{ΤΕ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ}$ )], [*while the whole* ( $\text{ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ}$ ) crowd ( $\text{Μ-ΜΗΝΨΕ}$ ) responded ( $\text{ΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΩΨΒ}$ ) after them ( $\text{ΝΣΩ-ΟΥ}$ ) »Alléluia ( $\text{ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ}$ )«] (Eud. 72:28-74:2).

Such correlated 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often accompanied by an implicature of causation, e.g.  $\text{ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΦΩ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΜΝΤΧΑΚΙΖΗΤ ΑΦ[†] ΤΟΤΩ ΜΠΜΕΖΣΕΠΣΝΑΥ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΩΖΟ}$  '[when he (Diocletian) said (ε-φ-ω) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΣ) arrogance (Μ-ΜΝΤ-ΧΑΚΙ-ΖΗΤ)], he (the archangel Michael) hit him (lit. give (Α-φ-†) his hand (ΤΟΤΩ) on (ΕΧΜ) his face (ΠΕΩ-ΖΟ) for the second time (Μ-Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΕΠ-ΣΝΑΥ)' (Eud. 36:17),  $\text{ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡ (for ΝΕΡΕ) ΖΑΖ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΡΕΙΜΕ (for ΡΙΜΕ) ΕΥΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΜΝΤΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΑΧΝ ΩΧΝ}$  'and (ΑΥΩ) many (ΖΑΖ) of (ΖΝ) the brothers (ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ) were also (ΟΝ) weeping (ΝΕΡ ... ΡΕΙΜΕ), [when they realised (Ε-Υ-ΣΟΟΥΝ) the ceaseless (lit. without (ΑΧΝ) ceasing (ΩΧΝ)) servitude (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) that he (Pachōm) practised (Ε-Τ-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) with (ΜΝ) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ)]' (V. Pach. 90:17-18).

c) Metaphorical extension of the main-dependent clause simultaneity

'WHEN'-clauses may also have interpretations that do not involve temporal duration. In this case the temporal concept of simultaneity may be metaphorically extended to describe the conditions or the circumstances under which the main clause situation took place, e.g.  $\text{ΑΝΔΡ[ΕΑΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΑΦ][ΒΩΚ] [Ε]ΡΝ ΤΠΥΛΗ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΡΕ ΜΗΝΩΕ ΟΥΗΖ ΝΣΩΦ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΥΩ ΕΜΝ ΗΠΕ ΕΡΟΥ}$  'Andreas, too (ΖΩΩ-Φ), went (Α-Φ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΡΝ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΗ) of the city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ), [while lots of people (Μ-ΜΗΝΩΕ) had assembled (ΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΗΖ) behind him (ΝΣΩ-Φ) together with (ΜΝ) Jews (ΖΕΝ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ), (too) many (Ε-Υ-ΩΦ) to count (lit. (there) is no (Ε-ΜΝ) number (ΗΠΕ) for them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ))]' (Ac. A&P 194:18-19),  $\text{†ΣΒΤΩΤ ΕΧΟΥ ΕΦΩΤΗ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΧΕΙΠΣΚΟΠΟΣ (for ΠΑΡΧΕΙΠΣΚΟΠΟΣ)}$  'I am prepared (†-ΣΒΤΩΤ) to say them (the words) (Ε-ΧΟΥ-Υ) [with the archbishop (Π-ΑΡΧΕΙΠΣΚΟΠΟΣ) listening (Ε-Φ-ΩΤΗ)]' (Zen. 202:32),  $\text{ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ}$  'who (ΝΙΜ) of such kind (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ), [that this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟΣ) glory (Ν-ΕΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1),  $\text{ΑΦΜΟΥΕ ΜΑΓΑΛ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΤΟΥ Ε[ΜΝ] ΛΑΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΟΥΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΨΑΝΤΕΦΩΖ [Ε]ΥΜΑ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ ΤΛΙΒΗ ΝΝΕΠΑΙΕΑΤ}$  'he (the camel) went (Α-Φ-ΜΟΥΕ) on his own (ΜΑΓΑΛ-Φ) into

(ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ) the mountain (Π-ΤΟΥ), [without anyone (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) accompanying (Ε-ΜΝ ... ΜΟΥΕ) it (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)], until it (finally) reached (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Φ-ΠΩΖ) a place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) called (lit. which they say (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) about (ΕΡΟ-Φ)) »Libya (Τ-ΛΙΒΗ) of the Paieateans (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΑΙΕΑΤ)«] (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:9).

12.2.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses

Adjunct clauses indicating anterior events are expressed by means of the Temporal conjugation  $\text{ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΩΤΗ}$  'after/when he had heard' (see above, section 8.1.2 of Unit 8). The focus of this section is on the dual function of 'AFTER'-clauses as temporal location expressions and as boundary markers in narrative discourse.

12.2.2.2.1 'AFTER'-clauses used as temporal location adverbs

Temporal  $\text{ΝΤΕΡΕ}$ -clauses are typically used to initiate a sequence of completed past-time events that push forward the storyline. The event chain is located in time in one of the following ways:

a) In relation to context-dependent time specification

$\text{ΝΤΕΡΕ}$ -clauses may select time-indicating nominals as subjects to signal a change of temporal location. Particularly common are cyclic expressions like  $\text{ΖΤΟΥΕ}$  'dawn' and  $\text{ΡΟΥΖΕ}$  'night' or clock-times like  $\text{ΨΩΡΠ}$  'morning', whose exact temporal interpretation is determined deictically through the matrix clause tense, but interval nouns like  $\text{ΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ}$  'a long (ΟΥ-ΝΟΣ) time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ)' are equally possible. There are only a few verbs that permit temporal expressions as subjects, viz. (i) the verb of existence and occurrence  $\text{ΨΩΠΕ}$  'to happen' and (ii) verbs of inherently directed motion like  $\text{ΟΥΕΙΝΕ}$  'to pass by' and  $\text{ΖΩΝ}$  'to come near'.

Examples:  $\text{ΝΤΕΡΕ ΖΤΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΕ Α [Ι]ΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΕΦΝΑ† ΖΡΕ ΝΝΕΦΔΑΜΟΥΛ}$  '[when it was (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) dawn (ΖΤΟΥΕ)], Julius stood up (Α ... ΤΩΟΥΝ) to (ΧΕ) feed (lit. give (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-†) food (ΖΡΕ) to) his camels (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΔΑΜΟΥΛ)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-14),  $\text{ΝΤΕΡΕ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΥ† ΟΥΩ ΕΥΡ ΖΩΒ}$  '[when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ)], they stopped (Α-Υ-† ΟΥΩ) working (Ε-Υ-Ρ ΖΩΒ)' (V. Pach. 6:5),  $\text{ΨΩΡΠ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΨΩΠΕ Α}$

ΠΡΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΧΟΟΥ ΝСА ΑΠΑ ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ 'when it had become (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ΨΩΠΕ) *morning* (ΨΩΠΗ)], the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) sent (Α ... ΧΟΟΥ) for (ΝСа) Αρα Ptolemy (ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ)' (KHML II 35:9-10), ΑΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΙΣΑΑΚ ΕΤΡΕΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΣΩΜΑ Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΟΟΥ ΦΑΡΟϚ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΗ 'it happened (Α-Ϛ-ΨΩΠΕ) [when the *days* (ΝΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the patriarch (Η-Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ) Isaac had come near (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΖΩΝ) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ϛ-ΕΙ) out of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the body (ΣΩΜΑ)], God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) sent (Α ... ΤΗΝΟΟΥ) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-Ϛ) the angel (Η-Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of his father (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΕΙΩΤ) Abraham' (Test. Is. 229:1-3), ΝΤΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΦΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΕΙΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙC ΗΝ ΠΙCΟΡΕΖΤ ΑΥΤΩΖΗ ΔΕ ΖΩΩϚ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ [Ε]ΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΓ[ΩΝ] ΝΤΗΝΤΗ[ΑΡΤΥ]ΡΟC ΖΙΤΗ ΤΕ[ΧΑ]ΡΙC ΗΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC 'after a long (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *time* (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) had passed (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΕΙΝΕ) during which he lived (Ε-Ϛ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) this seclusion (ΤΕΙ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙC) and (ΗΝ) peace (ΠΙ-CΟΡΕΖΤ)], the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Αρα Μéna, too (ΖΩΩ-Ϛ), was summoned (lit. they summoned (Α-Υ-ΤΩΖΗ)) to the combat (Ε-Π-ΑΓΩΜ) of the martyrdom (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC) through (ΖΙΤΗ) the grace (ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙC) of our Lord (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕΧC)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:17-29).

#### b) In relation to other events

As the exponent of past anteriority (Pluperfect), the Temporal designates bounded (or telic) events that had been accomplished some time before the main clause event started.

Examples: ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΑΠΡΟ ΔΕ ΧΙ ΠΟΥΩ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΗΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑϚΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΑϚΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑϚΦΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑϚ '[when the gatekeeper (Π-ΠΑ-Π-ΡΟ) had brought (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΧΙ) the news (Π-ΟΥΩ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) to our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) (Pachôm)], he was surprised (Α-Ϛ-Ρ ΨΠΗΡΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) he stood up (Α-Ϛ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), went (Α-Ϛ-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ), (and) talked (Α-Ϛ-ΨΑΧΕ) to him (the visitor) (ΝΗΜΑ-Ϛ)' (V. Pach. 137:26-28), ΝΤΕΡΕϚCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΙ ΑϚΒΩΚ ΑϚΤΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑϚΧΙ ΤΕΥΤΗΗ ΑϚΤΑΑC ΝΝΕΤΨΑΑΤ '[when he (the brother) had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-CΩΤΗ) these (words) (Ε-ΝΑΙ)], he went forth (Α-Ϛ-ΒΩΚ), sold them (the books) (Α-Ϛ-ΤΑΑ-Υ ΕΒΟΛ), took (Α-Ϛ-ΧΙ) the price (ΤΕΥ-ΤΗΗ) (and) gave it (Α-Ϛ-ΤΑΑ-Ϛ) to the poor (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΨΑΑΤ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:30-34), ΕΠΖΑΕ ΝΤΕΡΕϚΤΗCΨΩΜΟCΗ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΕΤΑϚΟ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΝΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC

(for ΝΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC) ΑϚΨΩΝΤ ΕΡΟϚ ΗΜΙΝ ΗΜΟϚ ΑϚΖΡΟΧΡΧ ΝΝΕϚΟΒΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩϚ '[finally (Ε-Π-ΖΑΕ), when the dragon (ΠΕ-ΔΡΑΚΩΝ) had not been able (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ΤΗ-ΕΨ-ΟΗCΟΜ) to cast (Ε-ΤΑϚΟ) Antonius (ΝΝ-ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ), he became furious (Α-Ϛ-ΨΩΝΤ) about him (ΕΡΟ-Ϛ) himself (ΗΜΙΝ ΗΜΟ-Ϛ) (and) gnashed (Α-Ϛ-ΖΡΟΧΡΧ) his teeth (Ν-ΝΕϚ-ΟΒΖΕ) against him (ΕΧΩ-Ϛ)' (V. Ant. 9:6-8), ΝΤΕΡΕϚΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΧΕ (read ΔΕ) ΗΜΟΟΥ ΝϚΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΥCΗΟΤ ΑϚ† ΕΧΩΟΥ ΗΠΕCΧΗΜΑ ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΑϚΨΟΠΟΥ ΕΡΟϚ ΖΗ ΟΥΡΑΨΕ '[when he (Pachôm) had tested (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ) them (the novices) (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ) and had seen (Ν-Ϛ-ΝΑΥ) that (ΧΕ) their character (ΠΕΥ-CΗΟΤ) was good (ΝΑΝΟΥ)], he put (Α-Ϛ-†) the monkish (Η-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) habit (Η-ΠΕ-CΧΗΜΑ) on them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) (and) received them (Α-Ϛ-ΨΟΠ-ΟΥ ΕΡΟ-Ϛ) with (ΖΗ) joy (ΟΥ-ΡΑΨΕ)' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19), ΝΤΕΡΕϚΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΝϚΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΑϚΨΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΑϚΧΕ ΠΕϚΑΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΚΩC '[when he had gone (away) (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ΒΩΚ) and become (Ν-Ϛ-Ρ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟC)], he became (Α-Ϛ-ΨΩΠΕ) negligent (lit. in (ΖΗ) a negligence (ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΛΙΑ)) and (ΑΥΩ) spent (Α-Ϛ-ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) his time (ΠΕϚ-ΑΖΕ) badly (ΚΑΚΩC)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:3-4).

#### c) Iterated Temporal clauses

It is not uncommon to combine two or more Temporal clauses in a series to describe multifaceted changes of temporal setting before the main course of events started, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΕϚϚ ΖΑ ΝΕΥΖΙCΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΗΝ ΝΕΥΧΗΡ ΝΟΥΡΟΜΠΕ ΑΝ Η CΝΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ ϚΤΟ Η † (read †Ε) ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕϚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΚΟΤΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΤΗΡϚ ΖΗ ΤΕϚΖΑΡΨΖΗΤ ΗΝ ΤΕϚΑΝΟΧΗ ΕΤΦΕΙΡΕ ΗΜΟC ΝΗΜΑΥ ΤΟΤΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ ΑϚΒΩΚ ΕΥΜΑ ΜΑΓΑΑϚ ΑϚΑΖΕ ΡΑΤϚ ΑϚΨΑΗΑ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡC ΕϚΜΟΚΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ (...) '[when a long (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *time* (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) had passed (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΕΙΝΕ) [while he (Pachôm) suffered (patiently) (Ε-Ϛ-Ϛ) from (ΖΑ) their (the brothers') trouble-making (ΝΕΥ-ΖΙCΕ) in this manner (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) as well as (ΗΝ) their carelessness (ΝΕΥ-ΧΗΡ)], not (ΑΝ) a year (Ν-ΟΥ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) or (Η) two (CΝΤΕ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) *four* (ϚΤΟ) or (Η) *five* (†)] and (ΑΥΩ) [when he noticed (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ΝΑΥ) about them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) they had not turned themselves (ΗΠ-ΟΥ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) towards God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡϚ)

through (2N) his long-suffering (ΤΕQ-2ΑΡΩ-2ΗΤ) and (ΜΝ) his holding back (ΤΕQ-ΑΝΟΧΗ) that he practised (ΕΤ-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) with them (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ)], [then (ΤΟΤΕ) when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) one day (Ν-ΟΥ-200Υ)], he went (Α-Q-ΒΩΚ) somewhere (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) all by himself (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q), stood on his feet (Α-Q-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Q), (and) prayed (Α-Q-ΨΑΗΑ) all (ΤΗΡ-С) night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ) (long), being grieved (Ε-Q-ΜΟΚ2 Ν-2ΗΤ) because of them (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-ΟΥ) (...)’ (V. Pach. 6:14-22).

#### 12.2.2.2.2 ‘AFTER’-clauses used as boundary markers

##### a) Discourse-linked Temporal clauses

The content of ΝΤΕΡΕ-clauses is either presupposed or contextually inferrable. Very often, the link with the preceding discourse is explicitly marked by anaphoric expressions. Such discourse-linked temporal subclauses have both a recapitulative and a cohesive function, bridging the gap between two narrative units, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕQΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΙΤΕΛΟC ΑQΤΩΟΥΝ 2ΙΧΗ ΠΕQΒΛΟC ΕΡΕ ΙCΑΑΚ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ 2ΙΧΩQ ΑQΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΧΙCΕ (...) [‘when the angel (Π-ΑΙΤΕΛΟC) had said (ΝΤΕΡΕ-ΧΕ) these (ΝΑΙ) (words)], he raised (Α-Q-ΤΩΟΥΝ) from (2ΙΧΗ) his bed (ΠΕQ-ΒΛΟC), while Isaac was lying (ΕΡΕ ... ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) on it (2ΙΧΩQ), (and) went away (Α-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) to the higher (Μ-Π-ΧΙCΕ) worlds (Ε-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12-13), ΑQΤΡΕC2ΡΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ 2Μ ΠΧΙΜΩΝ (for ΠΧΕΙΜΩΝ) ΜΠΔΩΜΟC (for ΤΟΜΟC) ΝΤΑΥ2ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤ2ΑΤΕQ2Η ΕΤΕ ΛΕΩΝ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΛΙΑΝΟC ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕQ2ΜΟΟC 2ΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΑQΟΥΩCQ ΝΝΕΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΗΝΤΑCΕΒΗC ‘he (Zēnō) caused her (the church) to find rest (Α-Q-ΤΡΕ-С-2ΡΟΚ) from (2Μ) the tempest (Π-ΧΙΜΩΝ) of the document (Μ-Π-ΔΩΜΟC) that his predecessors (Ν-ΕΤ-2Α-ΤΕQ-2Η) signed (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-2ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ) to (ΕΡΟ-Q), namely (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ) Leōn and (ΜΝ) Aurellianus. [When the former (ΠΑΙ) had occupied (lit. sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-2ΜΟΟC) on (2ΙΧΗ)) the throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟC) of the kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΕΡΟ)], he annulled (Α-Q-ΟΥΩCQ) the impious (Ν-ΜΗΤ-ΑCΕΒΗC) ordinances (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ)’ (Hil. 1:24-2:3).

##### b) Inverted subjects

Changes in the temporal setting of the narrative often co-occur with a new set of participants. As a result, ΝΤΕΡΕ-clauses are typically found in switch reference contexts. Very often, the different subject is encoded as presentational focus through subject-verb inversion, denoting referents that appear on stage for the first time or are reintroduced into the discourse after a short period of absence. Focalised inverted subjects can appear in either the subordinate Temporal clause or the following main clause.

Examples: ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΑΨΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΜΗΗΨΕ ΕΤΗΗΥ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΠ2ΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΥΘΛΙΒΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΗΗΨΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΒΕ ΜΠΟΥ2Ε ΕΜΟΟΥ ΕCΩ ‘it happened (Α-С-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when the crowds (Μ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) that were going (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of the holy (Μ-Π-2ΑΓΙΟC) Αρα Μēνα had become numerous (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΑΨΑΙ), (that) the (same) crowds (Μ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) were very distressed (Α-Υ-ΘΛΙΒΕ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) thirst (Π-ΙΒΕ) (and) could not find (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-2Ε) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)’ (Mena, Mir. 33a:9-16), ΝΤΕΡΕQCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟC ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΑQCΩΟΥ2 Ε2ΟΥΝ ΝΝΕQΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑQΧΙ ΗΠΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ‘when the great (Π-ΝΟC) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-СΩΤΗ) (about it), he gathered (Α-Q-СΩΟΥ2 Ε2ΟΥΝ) (and) tallied (Α-Q-ΧΙ) the number (ΗΠΕ) of them (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ)’ (Eud. 44:25-26), ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΑQΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΠΕQΗΑ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ‘it happened (Α-С-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had overthrown (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΠΩΩΝΕ) the criminal (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Diocletian (Ν-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC) (that) the righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC) became (Α-Q-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) in his place (Ε-ΠΕQ-ΜΑ)’ (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9).

#### 12.2.2.3 ‘SINCE’-clauses

Temporal ‘SINCE’ and ‘EVER SINCE’ clauses are formed with the temporal preposition ΧΙΝ ‘since, from (starting point)’ plus a complement clause containing a Second Tense. The form ΧΙΝΤΑQCΩΤΗ ‘since he heard’ is derived from the cliticisation of the subordinator ΧΙΝ to the relative marker ΝΤ- of the embedded Second Perfect: ΧΙΝ + ΝΤ-Α- → ΧΙΝΤΑ-, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΧΙΝΤΑΚ† ΜΠΕΙCΧΥΜΑ (for ΜΠΕΙCΧΗΜΑ) 2ΙΩΩΚ ‘look (ΕΙC), how many (ΟΥΗΡ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (have passed), since you

put (ΝΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-†) this (monk's) garment (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΣΧΥΜΑ) on you (ΖΙΩΩ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 6:30).

a) Past anteriority and unbounded duration

'SINCE' ΧΙΝ-clauses provide a starting point for the main event/situation, with the endpoint obligatorily left implicit. The main situation is understood as being realised *after* the time expressed or implied in the subordinate clause, but it is at the same time interpreted as continuing until up to the present moment with a possible extension into the future. In this way, ΧΙΝ-clauses have a dual function as temporal location adjuncts and as aspectual shifters that stretch out an eventuality over the time axis, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΚΤΡΕ ΝΕΛΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 'and (ΑΥΩ) [since you came (ΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) this city (Ε-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)], you caused (Α-Κ-ΤΡΕ) the blind (Ν-ΒΛΛΕ) to see (ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ)' (KHML I 5:2-4), ΝΑΜΕ ΕΙΣ ΨΦΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΧΙΝΤΑΙΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΗΠΙΘΝ ΟΥΜΤΟΝ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ 'verily (ΝΑΜΕ) in the seventy (ΨΦΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) [since I have become (ΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-Ρ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ)], I have not found (ΜΠ-Ι-ΘΝ) a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) day (Ν-ΖΟΥ) of rest (ΟΥ-ΜΤΟΝ)' (AP Chaîne no. 34,7:1-2).

b) Factivity

The temporal preposition ΧΙΝ has a factive interpretation, meaning that the content of the subordinate clause they initiate is generally taken for granted or is contextually presupposed, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'and (ΑΥΩ) how much (ΟΥΗΗΡ) time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) (has passed), [since you have come (ΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]?' (Onnophr. 206:33-34), Α[ΦΜΕΤΑ]ΝΟΙ ΖΗ Π[ΕΦΖΗΤ ΧΙ]ΝΤΑ ΠΕΙΘΗ [ΠΨΗ]Ε ΨΩΠΕ Ν[ΑΦ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ ΠΝΟΥ[ΤΕ] 'he repented (Α-Φ-ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ) in (ΖΗ) his heart (ΠΕΦ-ΖΗΤ) [since this visit (ΠΕΙ-ΘΗ Π-ΨΗ) befell (ΝΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) him (ΝΑ-Φ) from (ΖΙΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:13-14), ΑΣΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΗΝΣΑ ΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΘΙΛΗΗ ΖΤΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΗΠΜΑΖΣΑΨΦ (for ΗΠΜΕΖΣΑΨΦ) ΑΣΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΝΘΙ ΤΡΡΩ ΕΩΠΕ ΝΑΣ ΝΗΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΘΙΛΗΗ ΜΗ ΣΙΩΝ 'it happened (Α-Σ-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) after

(ΜΗΝΣΑ) six (ΟΟΥ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥ) [since she had come (ΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Σ-ΕΙ) to Jerusalem (Ε-ΘΙΛΗΗ)] (that), (on) the morning (ΖΤΟΥΕ) of the seventh (day) (Η-Π-ΜΑΖ-ΣΑΨΦ), the queen (Τ-ΡΡΩ) ordered (Α-Σ-ΟΥΕΖ-ΣΑΖΝΕ) to arrest (Ε-ΩΠΕ) for her (ΝΑ-Σ) the Jews (Ν-ΝΙ-ΟΥΔΑΙ) who were living (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΗ) and (ΜΗ) Zion (ΣΙΩΝ)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

c) Present tense ΧΙΝ-clauses

ΧΙΝ-clauses are largely restricted to the occurrence with the Second Perfect, but can occasionally be used with a present tense to express the idea that some event took place "earlier than expected", e.g. ΑΙΣΩΤΗ ΧΙΝ ΕΙΖΗ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΣΟΕΙΤ ΝΤΕΦΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ (for ΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝΕΙ) ΗΜΟΙ '[already (ΧΙΝ) when I was in Alexandria (Ε-Ι-ΖΗ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)], I heard (Α-Ι-ΣΩΤΗ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the fame (Π-ΣΟΕΙΤ) of his (Pachôm's) faith (Ν-ΤΕΦ-ΠΙΣΤΙΣ), (even) before I was consecrated (as a bishop) (lit. they consecrated (ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ) me (ΗΜΟΙ)]' (V. Pach. 136:3-4), Α ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΓΑΡ ΧΙ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΜΗΤΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΧΙΝ ΕΙΖΗ ΜΗΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) gained (Α ... ΧΙ) for me (ΝΑ-Ι) the office of a tribune (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ) [when I was (as young as) ten (ΜΗΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) old (ΝΧΙΝ Ε-Ι-ΖΗ)]' (KHML II 32:28-9), ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΙΝ ΕΦΖΗ ΠΕΦΣΩΜΑ 'the angels (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) will serve (ΝΑ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) him (the hermit) (ΕΡΟΦ), [even when he is still alive (lit. in the body (ΧΙΝ Ε-Φ-ΖΗ Π-ΣΩΜΑ))]' (Onnophr. 212:10-11).

d) Temporal location adverbs expanded by a relative clause

To express 'AS SOON AS' in the past, Coptic uses the temporal location adverb Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ 'immediately (lit. in the hour)' plus a restrictive relative clause in the Perfect, e.g. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΕΕΦ ΜΟΟΝΕ ΑΦΩΨΤ ΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΗΗΨΕ ΟΟΥΖ ΕΡΟΦ 'as soon as (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [the sailor (Π-ΝΕΕΦ) had moored (the boat) (ΝΤ-Α ... ΜΟΟΝΕ)], he looked around (Α-Φ-ΩΨΤ) (and) saw (Α-Φ-ΝΑΥ) Andrew (Ε-ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ) with the crowd (Π-ΜΗΗΨΕ) surrounding (ΕΡΕ ... ΟΟΥΖ) him

(ερο-q)' (Ac. A&P 194:1-2), ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥΣΑΖΩΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤ[Ι]ΝΟΣ ΛΑΚΙΜ ΕΤΕΦΟΙΧ ΕΝΕ[Ρ]ΨΩΟΥ ΝΜΠΕΡΣΟC 'as soon as (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [*the servants (Ν-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of King (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had withdrawn themselves (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΣΑΖΩ-ΟΥ)*], he gestured (Α-Γ-ΚΙΜ) with his hand (Ε-ΤΕΦ-ΟΙΧ) to the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡΣΟC) kings (Ε-ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ)' (Eud. 46:27-28).

A related construction is formed with the adverbially used temporal noun Τ-ΑΡΧΗ 'in the beginning', which provides a starting point for the matrix clause situation, e.g. ΑΡΑ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΛΚΖΙΣΕ ΤΩΝΟΥ '(in) the beginning (Τ-ΑΡΧΗ) [*when you had come (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)*], did you suffer (Α-Κ-ΖΙΣΕ) a lot (ΤΩΝΟΥ)?' (Onnophr. 208:20-21).

### 12.2.3 Cause, reason and purpose clauses

Adjunct clauses that belong to the category of cause, reason and purpose describe the external or internal motivation for why a particular event took place in a particular way. In providing an explanation for the main course of action, cause and reason clauses are therefore commonly found in the backgrounded portions of the narrative.

#### 12.2.3.1 Cause and reason clauses

Cause and reason clauses provide felicitous answers to questions initiated by the interrogative adverb ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ 'for what (reason), why'. In such question-answer sequences, the presupposed part of interrogative clause is generally not reproduced in the following response, e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ †ΖΜΟΟC ΖΜ ΠΑΜΑΝΩΠΕ †ΖΑΠΛΩΠ (...) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΕΙΩΡΖ ΜΠΙΜΤΟΝ ΕΤΝΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΚΟΛΛΑCΙC ΕΤΝΑΩΠΕ »*Why* (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) *do I sit* (†ΖΜΟΟC) in (ΖΜ) my living quarter (ΠΑ-ΜΑΝΩΠΕ) (and) be weary (†ΖΑΠΛΩΠ)?« (...) »*Because* (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) *you have not yet observed* (ΜΠΑΤΕ-Κ-ΕΙΩΡΖ) the relief (Μ-Π-ΜΤΟΝ) that we are hoping (ΕΓ-Ν-ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ) for (ΕΡΟ-Q) nor (ΟΥΔΕ) the punishment (Τ-ΚΟΛΛΑCΙC) that is about to happen (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΠΙΕ)«' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:24-26).

#### 12.2.3.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) The subordinators ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ and ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ 'because, since'

Adjunct clauses of the cause/reason category take the form of prepositional phrases with a finite declarative clause as a complement. The complement clauses is marked by the standard subordinator ΧΕ 'that', while the initial prepositions ΕΒΟΛ and ΕΤΒΕ bring about the more specific cause or reason interpretation, e.g. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΚΩΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠQΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΤΩΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ 'he (Pachôm's brother) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Q) to him (Pachôm) (ΝΑ-Q) (that) (ΧΕ) »Who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) that you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΩΧΕ) to (ΝΗΜΑ-Q)?«, [*because* (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) *he did not see* (ΜΠ-Q-ΝΑΥ) *the one who was talking* (Π-ΕΤ-ΩΧΕ) *to him* (ΝΗΜΑQ)]' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ ΖΩ ΑΙΤΡΕΥΝΟΧΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC (for ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC) ΝΤΕ ΤΡΥΦΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΑΚΑΛΤ ΝΨΗΜΟ ΕΠΑΜΑΝΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΠΕ 'look (ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ), I myself (ΖΩ) caused you to be thrown out (lit. I caused *them* to throw you out (Α-Ι-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΝΟΧ-Κ ΕΒΟΛ)) of (ΖΗ) the Paradise (Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC) of (ΝΤΕ) Delight (ΤΡΥΦΗ), [*because* (ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ) *you made me* (Α-Κ-ΑΛ-Τ) *a stranger* (Ν-ΨΗΜΟ) *to my residence* (Ε-ΠΑ-ΜΑΝΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) heaven (Τ-ΠΕ)]' (Abbatôn 240:25-27).

Very often, the initial prepositions ΕΒΟΛ and ΕΤΒΕ are omitted. As a result, the cause or reason interpretation of the subordinate clause is left to be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ΧΙΤ ΕΥΜΑ ΕΦΕCΥΧΑΖΕ (for ΕΦΗCΥΧΑΖΕ) ΧΕ ΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ 'bring me (ΧΙΤ) to a quiet (Ε-Q-ΕCΥΧΑΖΕ) place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ), [*because* (ΧΕ) *you see* (Κ-ΝΑΥ) *me* (ΕΡΟ-Ι) *ill* (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:17-20), ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ Ω ΑΔΑΜ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΨΠ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΑΝΤΕQCΩΤΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΝQΚΤΟΚ ΕΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC ΝΚΕCΟΠ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΧΕ ΛQΨΠ ΤΩΡΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΚΟ ΝΟΜΕ ΜΠΑΤQ† ΠΝΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'for your sake (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Κ), oh (Ω) Adam, will the Son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) bear (ΝΑ-ΨΠ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (hardships) (ΝΑΙ) to redeem (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Q-ΩΤΕ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ) and he will bring you back (Ν-Q-ΚΤΟ-Κ) again (Ν-ΚΕ-CΟΠ) to the Paradise (Ε-Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) where you came (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) from (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) in the beginning (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ), [*because* (ΧΕ) *he bailed* (lit. grasp



(λ-φ-ψπ) hand (τωφρε)) you (μμο-κ) out, when you were (ε-κ-ο) clay (ν-ομε), before he gave (ηπατ-φ-†) you (ερο-κ) a spirit (πνλ)]' (Abbatōn 240:7-12).

b) Switch reference

The subject of the lower cause/reason clause is generally different from that of the matrix clause, but same subject sequences are certainly not excluded, as shown by the contrast between *μπε ιϛ εψναζμεφ εβολ ζν νασιχ εβολ χε μν νουτε νσα παπολλον* (for παπολων) *μν ταρδυμς* (for ταρτεμς) 'Jesus (ιϛ) could not save him (Ara Nahrow) (*μπε ... εψ-ναζμε-φ*) from (ζν) my hands (να-σιχ), [*because* (εβολ χε) (there) is no (μν) god (νουτε) besides (νσα) Apollōn (π-απολλον) and (μν) Artemis (τ-αρδυμς)]' (KHML I 7:11-13) and *πεφσον δε ντερεφστωμ εροφ εφωλαχε εβολ χε νεφουνηγ αν ημοφ πε* 'when *his brother* (πεφ-σον) heard (ντερε-φ-στωμ) him (Pachōm) (ερο-φ) talking (ε-φ-φλαχε), [*because* (εβολ χε) *he* was not (αν) far away (νε-φ-ουνηγ) from him (ημο-φ)]' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

c) Preposed cause/reason adjuncts

Cause and reason clauses typically appear at the end of the main clause in the position of heavy constituents. Akin to other adverbial categories, they may be preposed to an extracausal topic position. Preposed cause/reason adjuncts often have a recapitulative function, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. *εβολ χε ακειρε ηπαι κςζογορτ ντοκ ουτε νεθυριον* (for νεθρηριον) *τηροφ ηπκαζ* '[*since* (εβολ χε) you have done (λ-κ-ειρε) this (μ-παι)], you (ντοκ) are cursed (κ-ςζογορτ) among (ουτε) all (τηρ-ογ) the animals (νε-θυριον) of the earth (μ-π-καζ]' (Abbatōn 238:17-18), but they may also express emphasis and/or contrast, e.g. *εβολ γαρ αν χε σεζοβς ερωτη ζαην ηποουγ ατετνεπιθυμει εειμε επεφωρχ ντ[οο]την* '[*not* (αν) *because* (εβολ γαρ χε) they (the achievements of Ara Zenobius) were concealed (σε-ζοβς) from you (ερω-την) before (ζαην) today (ηποουγ)], have you longed (λ-τετην-επιθυμει) to know (ε-ειμε) their exact nature (ε-πεφ-ωρχ) from us (ντοοτ-ν)' (Zen. 199:9-10).

12.2.3.1.2 Temporal relations

Cause and reason clauses show some degree of flexibility with respect to temporal order of events. The subordinate situation is usually earlier or simultaneous with the main clause situation, although it is also possible for it to be later. Thus, consider: *νεσνκοτκ δε ηζογν ηπεσκοιτων εττοσς ηνουβ ζι ζατ ζν νεφεχη μν νεφμελ[ατε] (...)* *εβολ χε πρρο πε νταφταμιοφ νας* 'she (Eudoxia) slept (νε-ς-νκοτκ) in (ηζογν) her bed-chamber (μ-πες-κοιτων), which was inlaid (ετ-τοσς) with gold (η-νουβ) and (ζι) silver (ζατ) on (ζν) its walls (νεφ-εχη) and (μν) its ceilings (νεφ-μελατε), [*because* (εβολ χε) (it was) the king (π-ρρο) who had made it (ντ-λ-φ-ταμιο-φ) for her (να-ς)]' (Eud. 50:6-9), *αγω λ παλοσ ετογηζ ζεν* (for ζν) *ρακοτε μν νετογηζ ζεμ* (for ζμ) *πμαρωτης ραφε χε λ πνουτε σμ πωμνε ηπεφλαος* 'and (αγω) the people (π-λαος) who lived (ετ-ογηζ) in (ζεν) Alexandria (ρακοτε) and (μν) those who lived (ν-ετ-ογηζ) in (ζεμ) the Mariôtês (π-μαρωτης) rejoiced, [*because* (χε) God (π-νουτε) paid (λ ... σμ) a visit (π-ωμνε) to his people (μ-πεφ-λαος)]' (Mena, Mir. 89a:25-89b:5), *νεφρειμε* (for νεφριμε) *δε τηροφ πε χε ογν ογμντεβειην* (for ογμντεβειην) *ναταζοογ ερωαν πχοεις σμ πφωμνε* (for πεφωμνε) 'they (the brothers) were all (τηρ-ογ) weeping (νε-φ-ρειμε), [*because* (χε) misery (ογ-μντ-εβειην) would come upon them (ογν ... να-ταζο-ογ), [when the Lord (π-χοεις) would come (ερωαν ... σμ) to visit him (Pachōm) (πφ-ωμνε))] (i.e. when he would die)]]' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1).

12.2.3.1.3 Contrastive focus

Despite their backgrounded character, cause and reason clauses may be associated with contrastive focus, witness the fact that they can also appear in the asserted (i.e. focused) part of a negated matrix clause, e.g. *ντειζε ζωων ηνεγνακρине ημον αν χε ηπεναιπενουγ* (for ηπενεπαινουγ) *ηππετογλαβ κατα πχισε ντεφαναστροφη αλλα χε αναμελει εγογχαλ ντεισοτ ετητρενογονζφ εβολ επτηρφ* 'similarly (ντειζε) we, too (ζωω-ν), will not be judged (lit. they will not (αν) judge (ην-ε-γ-να-κρине) us (ημο-ν)), [*because* (χε) we have not

praised (ΜΠΕ-Ν-ΑΙΠΕΝΟΥ) *the saint* (Μ-Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) the height (Π-ΧΙΣΕ) of his way of life (Ν-ΤΕΦ-ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ), [*but* (ΑΛΛΑ) *because* (ΧΕ) *we have been negligent* (Α-Ν-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) towards such (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΘΟΤ) salvation (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) in not revealing it (the salvation) (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΟΥΟΝΖ-Φ ΕΒΟΛ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΦ)]' (Zen. 200:30-32), ΝΤΑΙΝΤΦ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΛΑΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'I have not (ΑΝ) brought it (the wheat) (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΝΤ-Φ) *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *anything* (ΟΥ-ΛΑΑΥ) *but* (ΑΛΛΑ) *my salvation* (ΠΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) also (ΟΝ) [*because* (ΧΕ) *you* (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) *men* (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (V. Pach. 138:2-3).

#### 12.2.3.1.4 Semantic differences between cause and reason

Although there are no morpho-syntactic grounds to distinguish cause and reason adjunct clauses, they have slightly different interpretations. Adjunct clauses that belong to the 'CAUSE' category generally describe an external factor for the main course of action, e.g. ΝΕΛΣΒΩΚ [Ε]ΡΗΣ ΖΗ ΟΥΝΟΘ ΝΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΜΠΕ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΦΒΩΚ ΝΘΙ ΠΕΣΚΕΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΦΩ ΖΑΖΤΗΦ 'she had departed (ΝΕ-Α-Σ-ΒΩΚ) southwards (Ε-ΡΗΣ) in (ΖΗ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) sadness (Ν-ΜΚΑΖ Ν-ΖΗΤ), [*not only* (ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ) *because* (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) *Theodore did not meet* (ΜΠΕ ... ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) *her* (ΕΡΟ-Σ)], *but* (ΑΛΛΑ) (also because) her other small (ΠΕΣ-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) son (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ) Paphnoute left (Α-Φ-ΒΩΚ) to stay (Α-Φ-ΘΩ) with him (ΖΑΖΤΗ-Φ)' (V. Pach. 137:7-9), ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΠΣΟΝ ΨΟΣΜ ΕΡΟΚ 'therefore (ΟΥΚΟΥΝ), it (the eagle) did not come (ΕΤ-ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΕΙ) down (ΕΠΕΣΗΤ) because of you (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Κ), [*since* (ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ) *the brother* (Π-ΣΟΝ) *is angry* (ΨΟΣΜ) *with you* (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΕΚΣΩΜΑ ΕΦΟΥΛΑΒ ΧΕ ΠΡΠΕ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΦ 'keep (ΖΑΡΕΖ) your body (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΣΩΜΑ) pure (Ε-Φ-ΟΥΛΑΒ), [*because* (ΧΕ) (it is) *the temple* (Π-ΡΠΕ) of *God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *that lies* (ΕΤ-ΟΥΗΖ) *in it* (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)]' (Test. Is. 232:11-12).

By contrast, adjunct clauses belonging to the 'REASON' category describe the internal causes or motives why the subject referent is thinking or acting in a particular way, e.g. ΝΤΑΙΕΙΝΕ (read ΝΤΑΙΕΙΝΕ) ΝΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΣΩΜΑ ΧΕ †ΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΚΗΗΥ ΕΑΜΝΤΕ 'I did, indeed (ΡΩ),

bring (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙΝΕ) my soul (Ν-ΤΑ-ΨΥΧΗ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΗ) the body (i.e. I committed suicide) [*because* (ΧΕ) *I knew* (†-ΣΟΟΥΝ) [that (ΧΕ) you were going (Κ-ΚΗΥ) to Hell (Ε-ΑΜΝΤΕ)]]' (Ac. A&P 202:118-119), ΝΤΕΡΕΦΣΩΤΗ [ΕΝΑΙ] ΑΦΡΑΦΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΧΕ Ν[ΕΡΕ] ΤΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ (for ΤΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ) [Ε]Ρ Χ[ΟΕΙΣ] ΕΠΕΦΖΗΤ 'when he had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ) this (Ε-ΝΑΙ), he rejoiced (Α-Φ-ΡΑΦΕ) exceedingly (ΕΜΑΤΕ) [*because* (ΧΕ) *lust* (Τ-ΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ) *governed* (lit. became (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΕΡ) master (ΧΟΕΙΣ) over)) *his heart* (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΖΗΤ)]' (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9), ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΕΦΘΟΝΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΧΕ ΑΦΘΜΘΟΜ ΝΣΩ[ΒΕ] ΝΣΑ ΝΕΦΘΟΡΘΣ 'for (ΓΑΡ) hereafter (ΛΟΙΠΟΝ) he (Αρα Zenobius) was no longer (ΟΥΚΕΤΙ) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) angry (ΝΕ-Φ-ΘΟΝΤ) about himself (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Φ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Φ), [*because* (ΧΕ) *he could* (Α-Φ-ΘΜ-ΘΟΜ) *laugh* (Ν-ΣΩΒΕ) *about* (ΝΣΑ) *his* (the devil's) *snares* (ΝΕΦ-ΘΟΡΘΣ)]' (Zen. 203:29-31).

#### 12.2.3.2 Purpose clauses

There is a close semantic affinity between cause/reason and purpose clauses, since both types of subordinate clauses present a *raison d'être* for a particular course of action. Moreover, purpose often implicates cause, since many situations emerge through the wilful action of some agent. Yet, while purpose clauses always involve agentivity and intent, cause and reason clauses do not.

##### 12.2.3.2.1 Syntactic characteristics

- a) The purposive subordinator *χεκακ* 'so that, in order that' Purpose clauses are initiated by the subordinating complementiser *χεκακ* 'so that, in order that' plus a full clause containing an affirmative or negative future tense, e.g. ΜΠΕΡΖΕΠ ΑΛΑΥ ΕΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΑΡΕΦΣΖΑΙΣΟΥ ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΗΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΗΗΥ ΜΗΝΣΩΤΗ ΧΕΚΑΚ ΕΡΕ ΜΗΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ ΖΩΒ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'do not hide (ΜΠΕΡ-ΖΕΠ) anything (ΑΛΑΥ) from Jacob (Ε-ΙΑΚΩΒ) that he writes them (the teachings) down (ΤΑΡΕ-Φ-ΣΖΑΙ-ΣΟΥ) as an ordinance (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ) for the generations (Ν-Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) to come (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) after you (ΜΗΝΣΩ-ΤΗ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑΚ) *the God-*

loving (people) (Μ-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) will practise (ΕΡΕ ... ΕΡ ΖΩΒ) them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]' (Test. Is. 230:8-9), ΝΣΕΝΟΧΟ[Υ] [Ε]ΧΗ ΠΕΦΤΑΦΟΣ ΝΣΕΖΟΒΣΦ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΛΛΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΡΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (Ν-ΣΕ-ΝΟΧ-Ο[Υ]) on (ΕΧΗ) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠΕΦ-ΤΑΦΟΣ) and cover it (Ν-ΣΕ-ΖΟΒΣ-Φ) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) no man (ΛΛΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) will remember it (lit. make (ΝΝΕ ... Ρ) its remembrance (ΠΕΦ-ΜΕΕΥΕ))] ' (Eud. 58:21-22).

Very often, the purposive conjunction ΧΕΚΑΣ is replaced by the ordinary "THAT"-complementiser ΧΕ, e.g. ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΑΠΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΦΦΙΤΦ (for ΜΠΕΦΦΙΤΦ) ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΕΦΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΧΕ ΕΦΕΤΑΑΦ ΜΠΕΦΧΟΕΙΣ 'Ara Jacob was surprised (ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ) [because (ΧΕ) he (Ara John) had not taken it (the golden coin) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) from (ΖΗ) the ground (Π-ΚΑΖ) despite (the fact that) (ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ) he owed (Ε-Φ-ΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ) it (ΜΜΟ-Φ) [so that (ΧΕ) he could return it (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΤΑΑ-Φ) to its owner (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)]' (AP Elanskaya 14b:25-31).

#### b) Switch reference

The central cases of purpose involve intention and design, usually on the part of the agent of the matrix clause. As a result, purpose clauses are for the most part same-subject clauses, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΙΕΝΤΚ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΙΕΤ Ψ[Ι]ΠΕ ΝΑΚ ΖΗ ΤΗΤΕ ΝΝΕΙΜΗΦΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΗΝΗ ΕΠΑΤΟΠΟΣ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I have brought you (ΝΤΑ-Ι-ΕΝΤ-Κ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) [to (ΧΕΚΑΣ) bring (Ε-Ι-Ε-Τ) shame (ΨΠΕ) upon you (ΝΑ-Κ) in (ΖΗ) the midst (Τ-ΜΗΤΕ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the people (Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΜΗΦΕ) who have come (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) to my shrine (Ε-ΠΑ-ΤΟΠΟΣ)]' (Mena, Mir. 25b:19-25), ΑΣΒΩΚ ΧΕ ΕΣΝΑΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ 'she went (Α-Σ-ΒΩΚ) - [to (ΧΕ) welcome (Ε-Σ-ΝΑ-ΑΣΠΑΖΕ) him (ΜΜΟ-Φ)]' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

Different-subject purpose clauses are certainly not excluded; they are particularly common in contexts that involve a switch from positive to negative polarity, e.g. ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (for ΤΠΥΛΗ) ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΥ) very strongly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) the apostles (Ν-ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ) could not

go (ΝΝΕ ... ΕΨ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΦΤΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑΦ ΜΗ ΤΕΦΣΩΝΕ ΖΗ ΛΛΑΥ ΝΖΩΒ 'as for the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (Α-Φ-ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) to the people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) of his village (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΤΜΕ) [so that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) they would not burden (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ) him (ΝΑ-Φ) and (ΜΗ) his sister (ΤΕΦ-ΣΩΝΕ) in (ΖΗ) any respect (ΛΛΑΥ Ν-ΖΩΒ)]' (V. Ant. 4:18-20).

#### 12.2.3.2 Future orientation

Purpose clauses are generally future-oriented: the time expressed or implied in the subordinate purpose clause is characteristically later than the time of the superordinate clause. In affirmative purpose clauses, the deontic Third Future Ε-Φ-Ε-ΣΩΤΗ 'he shall hear' is widely used, e.g. ΟΥΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΨΗΝ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΘΝ ΠΕΦΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΖΑΡΕΖ ΜΠΖΗΤ 'it (ΠΕ) (is) evident (ΟΥ-ΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ) that (ΧΕ) we (will) make (ΕΝ-ΕΙΡΕ) every (ΝΙΜ) effort to a tree (Ε-Υ-ΨΗΝ) [so that (ΧΕ) we will find (Ε-Ν-Ε-ΘΝ) its fruit (ΠΕΦ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ), which is (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) the observance (Π-ΖΑΡΕΖ) of the heart (Μ-Π-ΖΗΤ)]' (AP Elanskaya 23a:11-16), ΑΦΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΖΑΤΗΦ ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΕΒΟΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΦΨΕΕΡΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΦΕΘΩ ΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΜΜΗΝΕ 'he (the king) kept (Α-Φ-ΚΑΤΕΧΕ) the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ) with him (ΖΑΤΗ-Φ) (for) three (ΨΟΜΝΤ) months (Ν-ΕΒΟΤ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) his daughter (ΤΕΦ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) he could keep (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΘΩ) seeing (Ε-Φ-ΝΑΥ) her (ΕΡΟ-Σ) daily (ΜΜΗΝΕ)]' (Hil. 12:8-10), ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΑΦΤΩΨ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΕΙΚΑΝΟΝ (for ΜΠΕΙΚΑΝΩΝ) ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΡΩΨΕ ΕΡΟΦ 'when he (Pachôm) saw (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΝΑΥ) that (ΧΕ) the brothers (ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ) would gather (Α-Υ-ΣΩΟΥΖ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ), he established (Α-Φ-ΤΩΨ) for them (ΝΑ-Υ) this rule (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΚΑΝΟΝ) in such a manner (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ) [that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) every one (ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ) of them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) (the brothers) would be self-sufficient (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΡΩΨΕ ΕΡΟΦ)]' (V. Pach. 4:1-3).

Examples with the non-modalised Second Future Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΣΩΤΗ 'he is going to hear' can, however, also be found, e.g. ΑΥΣΜΗ ΠΕΙΧΩΜΕ ΖΗ ΝΕΥΖΙΣΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΚΑΑΦ ΖΗ ΠΕΥΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΩ

ΝΖΗΤΩ ΕΥΖΗΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ (for ΟΥΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) ΝΝΕΤΝΑΩΩ  
 ΝΖΗΤΩ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΩΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΩ ΖΝ ΟΥ† ΖΤΗΩ ‘they composed (Α-Υ-ΣΜΝ)  
 this book (ΠΕΙ-ΧΩΩΜΕ) through (ΖΝ) their own (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) labour  
 (ΝΕΥ-ΖΙΩΕ) (and) placed it (Α-Υ-ΚΑΑ-Ω) in (ΖΜ) their monastery  
 (ΠΕΥ-ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑΩ) *they shall read* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΩΩ)  
*from it* (the book) (ΝΖΗΤ-Ω) for the benefit (Ε-Υ-ΖΗΥ) and (ΜΝ) satisfaction  
 (ΟΥΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) of those who will read (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΩ) from it  
 (ΝΖΗΤ-Ω) and (ΜΝ) of him who will listen (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΩΤΗ) to it (ΕΡΟ-Ω)  
 with (ΖΝ) attention (lit. giving (ΟΥ-†) one’s attention (ΖΤΗ-Ω))]’ (Onnophr.  
 224:3-5)

Negated purpose clauses are indicated by the Negative Third Future  
 ΝΝΕ-Ω-ΩΩΤΗ ‘he shall not hear’. In general, they describe the avoidance of  
 an undesirable outcome or consequence, e.g. ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΚ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΑΑΩ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΩΩΠΕ ΖΝΟΥΡ ΖΑΛ ‘you  
 (ΝΤΟΚ), on your part (ΖΩΩ-Κ), take council (ΨΟΧΝΕ), think (ΜΕΕΥΕ), ponder  
 (ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚ-Κ), find out (ΕΙΜΕ) what (ΟΥ) (it is) that you are going to do  
 (ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΑ-Ω) [*in order that* (ΧΕ) *you will not be jocked* (ΝΝΕ-Κ-ΩΩΠΕ  
 ΖΝ-ΟΥ-Ρ ΖΑΛ)]’ (Camb. 9:12-15), ΑΩΩΩΤΗ ΜΠΡΟ ΑΩΩΩ ΝΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙΩ  
 ΝΩΑΤΕ ΕΩΡΟΕΙΩ ΕΠΡΟ ΜΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΩΩΩ ΧΕ ΝΝΕ ΑΑΩΩ ΕΩΩ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΩ  
 ΨΑΝΤΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΩΧΟΩ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΝ ΑΔΑΜ ‘he (God) closed  
 (Α-Ω-ΩΩΤΗ) the door (Μ-Π-ΡΟ) (and) placed (Α-Ω-ΚΩ) a power  
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΔΥΝΑΜΙΩ) of fire (Ν-ΩΑΤΕ) watching (Ε-Ω-ΡΟΕΙΩ) the door (Ε-Π-ΡΟ)  
 of paradise (Μ-Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΩΩΩ) [*in order that* (ΧΕ) *no one* (ΑΑΩΩ) *would*  
*enter* (ΝΝΕ ... ΕΩΩ ΕΖΟΥΝ) it (the paradise) (ΕΡΟ-Ω) until all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) what  
 he had said (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ω-ΧΟΩ-Υ) was fulfilled (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ) on  
 (ΕΧΝ) Adam]’ (Abbatōn 240:18-21).

### 12.2.3.2.3 Implied result reading

Subordinate future tense clauses are sometimes ambiguous between a  
 purpose and a result reading. On the one hand, they describe why a  
 particular course of action was taken by the main clause subject, but at the  
 same time they state the intended result or outcome of that pursuit, e.g.  
 ΑΩΩ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΝΑΝΤΩ ΕΩΜΗΡ ΕΠΕΤΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΟΡ ΨΑΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΤΝΟΩ ΜΠΟΛΙΩ ΝΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΧΕΚΑΩ ΕΡΕ ΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡΩ ΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΜΝ  
 ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΕΡΩΩ ‘and (ΑΩΩ) we (ΑΝΟΝ) will

bring him (Constantine) (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Ω) into (ΩΑ-ΖΟΥΝ) the capital (lit.  
 great (Ε-Τ-ΝΟΩ)) city (Μ-ΠΟΛΙΩ) of the empire (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ) bound  
 (Ε-Ω-ΜΗΡ) to your chariot (Ε-ΠΕΤΝ-ΖΑΡΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) a dog  
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΡ) [*so that* (ΧΕΚΑΩ) *the entire* (ΤΗΡ-Ω) *world* (Π-ΚΑΖ) *will*  
*come to know* (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΕΙΜΕ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) king (ΡΡΟ) as  
 powerful (Ν-ΧΟΕΙΩ) as (ΝΘΕ) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡΩΩ)  
 empire (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)]]’ (Eud. 44:11-14), ΑΛΛΑ ΖΜ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 Ε[Τ][Ο]ΝΖ ΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ  
 Ο[Υ]ΩΑΙ ΧΕΚΑΩ ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖΩΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖΩΕ)  
 ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΝΟΩ ΝΖΙΝΗΩ ‘but (ΑΛΛΑ) through (ΖΜ) the Spirit  
 (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) of the living (ΕΤ-ΟΝΩ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) you wish  
 (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΟΥΩΩ) their memory (ΠΕΥ-Ρ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ) to be lasting (Ε-ΤΡΕ ...  
 ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ) by means of (ΖΙΤΝ) a script (ΟΥ-ΩΑΙ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑΩ),  
 (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned), *you might wake* (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-  
 ΝΑ-ΝΕΖΩΕ) *us* (ΜΜΟ-Ν) (up) *from* (ΖΜ) *the deep* (Π-ΝΟΩ) *sleep* (Ν-ΖΙΝΗΩ)]’  
 (Zen. 199:16-18).

## 12.3 Infinitival clauses

The various classes of complement and adjunct clauses considered so far  
 share many of the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of main  
 clauses, the most important difference being their syntactically  
 subordinate status. We finally turn to non-finite subordinate clauses, which  
 differ from finites with respect to the absence of inflectional tense and the  
 omissibility of the subject. Subordinate infinitival clauses are therefore  
 generally less explicit than their finite counterparts; components of  
 meaning that are directly encoded in finite clauses are left to be derived  
 from the context in which infinitivals occur.

### 12.3.1 Differences between infinitival and finite subordinate clauses

Subordinate infinitival clauses are distinguished from finite subordinate  
 clause by the following properties:

## a) Prepositional subordinators

Most infinitivals, apart from the clausal complements of aspectual or modal verbs, are initiated by a distinct set of subordinators, all of which are morphologically identical to spatial prepositions. The most common verb phrase subordinator is the directional preposition ε- 'to': this is then the standard expression for infinitival subordination.

## b) Absence of inflectional tense

Infinitivals have no inflectional tense that allows reference to a specific situation. Instead, the matrix verb contributes significantly to the temporal interpretation of the infinitival clause, e.g. εΙΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΟΥΧΕ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ 'I want (ε-Ι-ΟΥΩΨ) [to save (ε-ΤΟΥΧΕ) my soul (τα-ΨΥΧΗ)]' (AP Chafne no.1, 1:1), ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛΩ 'and (ΑΥΩ) no one (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) has dared (ΜΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) [to do (ε-Ρ) what you have done (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΛ-Ω)]' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

## c) Infinitives with and without subjects

Whereas the subject is an obligatory sentence constituent of finite clauses, there are no infinitival constructions in which the presence of an overt subject is grammatically required. However, the interpretation of infinitival clauses requires there to be an "understood" subject: the infinitival verb phrase represents a semantic predicate that must be in construction with an argument that it is predicate of. We thus assume that infinitival clauses have an implicit subject (indicated as '\_\_\_'), whose identity is generally recoverable from the matrix subject, e.g. εΙΟΥΩΨ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΤΑΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΤΜΟΥ 'I want (ε-Ι-ΟΥΩΨ) [to see (ε-ΝΑΥ) my sister (ε-ΤΑ-ΩΝΕ) before I die (ΜΠΑΤ-ΜΟΥ)]' (KHML I 75:20-21).

Where there is a subject, it always occurs as the non-canonical subject of an analytic causative, which intervenes between the causative verb ΤΡΕ and the subordinate infinitival clause, e.g. ΕΝΦΟΥΩΨ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΥΩ ΨΝ ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΟΙΟ (for ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΟΙΟ) 'and he (the devil) does not want [*them* (the hermits) to stay (ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-Ω) in (ΨΝ) the solitude (Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΟΙΟ)]' (Onnophr. 211:18).

## d) Negation

There is a clear contrast between negating the verb of a subordinate finite clause and that of an infinitival clause (also with respect to scope). Infinitival verbs must be negated by the auxiliary ΤΜ 'not to do', which can only take narrow predicate scope over the verb phrase and verb-phrase internal complements and adjuncts (see above, section 9.4.6 of Unit 9), e.g. ΜΩΝΩΝ (for ΜΟΝΟΝ) ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΜΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΙΟΚ 'but (ΜΩΝΩΝ) be careful (ΖΑΡΕΖ) [not to sin (lit. to commit (ε-ΤΜ-Ρ) sin (ΝΟΒΕ)) against the God (ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) who has created you (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Κ)]' (V. Pach. 89:27-28), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΧΕ ΤΕΤΝΠΙΘΕ ΕΤΜΤΡΕΝΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΙΟΙΟ ΝΤΝΝΗΥ ΑΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ (...) 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) if (ΕΨΧΕ) you insist (ΤΕΤΝ-ΠΙΘΕ) upon [not letting us go (ε-ΤΜ-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΕΙ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (ε-Τ-ΠΟΙΟΙΟ)], we do not (ΑΝ) go (Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΗΥ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38-39).

## 12.3.2 The controlled interpretation of the missing subject

The reference of the missing subject of infinitival clauses is recoverable from one of the main clause arguments. The relation between the "understood" infinitival subject and its controller is a special case of anaphora. As with overt pronouns, the covert subject receives an interpretation via co-reference with an antecedent outside of its clausal domain. The interpretation of the implicit subject may be controlled by the matrix subject or object, but may also be left to be pragmatically inferred.

## 12.3.2.1 Subject control

This section surveys the most common infinitival constructions in which subject control is required or permitted.

## a) Volitional constructions without overt subjects

Verbs of volition, intent or desire provide prototypical exemplars of control structures in which the missing noun phrase of the infinitival complement is co-referential with the matrix subject, e.g. εΙΟΥΩΨ ΕΧ[ε] ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΡΧΩΝ 'I want (ε-Ι-ΟΥΩΨ) [to tell you something (lit. a word (ΟΥΨΑΧΕ))], magistrate (Π-ΑΡΧΩΝ)]' (KHML II 28:21-29:1), ΚΥΡΙ

СПΑΘΑΡΙΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΤΑΨΛΗΛ 'Lord (κυρι) knight (σπαθαριε), look (εις), a lot (ου-μηνωε) of times (ν-ουθειω) I wished (†-επιθυμει) [ ] to go (ε-βωκ) to that (ετμμαυ) place (ε-π-μα) to pray (τα-ψληλ)]' (Hil. 4:29-30), ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΡ ΖΝΑΙ ΜΠΩΤ ΝΤΟΟΤΓ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ 'but I (ΑΝΟΚ) wished (Α-Ι-Ρ ΖΝΑ-Ι) [ ] to escape (μ-πωτ) from (ΝΤΟΟΤ-Γ) sin (μ-π-ΝΟΒΕ)]' (Onnophr. 208:7), ΛΙΕΡΗΤ ΕΧΩ ΕΡΩΤΗΝ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΘΟΜ ΜΝ ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΒ ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ 'I promised (Α-Ι-ΕΡΗΤ) [ ] to tell (ε-χω) you (ερω-την) a few (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) of (ΖΝ) the mighty deeds (Ν-ΘΟΜ) and (ΜΝ) wonders (ΝΕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) of the great (Μ-Π-ΝΟΒ) archangel (Ν-ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) Gabriël' (BMisc. 313:8-10), ΑΓΩ ΑΓΧΜΗΤΣ ΕΣΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΦΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΑΨΟΥΡ 'and (ΑΓΩ) he (the physican) decided (Α-Γ-ΣΜΗΤ-Σ) [ ] to cut (ε-σωλπ) off (εβολ) his (the gardener's) leg (Ν-ΤΕΦ-ΟΥΡΗΤΕ) with (ΖΝ) a saw (ΟΥ-ΒΑΨΟΥΡ)]' (AP Elanskaya 17b:10-13).

The controlling subject of volitional verbs may be interpreted as the semantic patient of the event described by the infinitival verb, the result being a passive interpretation, e.g. ΝΟΥΕΨ (for ΕΝΟΥΕΨ) ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'we then (ΤΕΝΟΥ) wished (ε-Ν-ΟΥΕΨ) [ ] to be educated (παιδευε) in (ΖΝ) the wisdom (τ-σοφια) of God (μ-π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Onnophr. 220:19-20).

#### b) Aspectual verbs

Subject control is mandatory in the infinitival complements of aspectual verbs. The reason for this is that the aspectual verb and its infinitival complement form a complex predicate with a single subject, e.g. ΕΣΨΑΝΤΨΟΥΝ ΕΨΛΗΛ ΝΕΨΑΨΛΗΛ ΝΜΜΑΣ 'whenever she (Hilaria) rose (ε-σ-ψαν-τψουν) [ ] to pray (ε-ψληλ)], she used to pray (νε-ψα-σ-ψληλ) with her (her younger sister) (ΝΜΜΑ-Σ)' (Hil. 9:12), ΑΓΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΓ 'they stood (lit. they stood (Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ) (ον) their feet (ρατ-ου)) [ ] to fight (ε-μιψε) with (ΜΝ) each other (νευ-ερηγ)]' (Eud. 42:23), ΜΠΟΥΟΥΨ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΥΝ ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΝΕΖΟΥΨ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ 'they did not again (lit. they did not place (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΟΥΨ) their hands (ετοοτ-ου)) [ ] rise up (ε-τψουν) against (εχμ) the country (π-καζ) in all (τηρ-ου) the days (Ν-ΝΕ-ΖΟΥΨ)

of King (π-ρρο) Constantine]' (Eud. 48:18-19), ΝΤΟΓ ΔΕ ΑΓΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ (...) 'he (Αρα Onnophrius) (ΝΤΟΓ) began (Α-Γ-ΑΡΧΕΙ) [ ] to talk (Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΜΜΑ-Ι) saying (ε-Γ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-Σ) that (χε) (...)]' (Onnophr. 207:2-3).

#### c) Epistemic modal constructions

Subject control also applies to the infinitival complements of epistemic modal verbs like ΕΨ 'to be able to, can' and ΘΜΘΜ 'to be able to', which indicates dynamic possibility or ability, e.g. ΜΕΓΘΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΦΕΨ ΘΕΨΡΕΙ ΜΠΗ ΤΗΡΓ 'they won't blame (lit. find (ΜΕ-Υ-ΘΝ) blame (ΑΡΙΚΕ)) anybody (ε-λλαυ), because (χε) he was not able (ΜΠΕ-Γ-ΕΨ) [ ] to fully (τηρ-Γ) observe (θεψρει) the sun (π-ρη)]' (Zen. 200:26-27), ΑΓΩ ΜΠΟΥΘΜΘΜ ΕΚΙΜ ΕΡΟΓ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ ΤΕΦΖΕΛΠC 'and (ΑΓΩ) because of (εβολ ΖΙΤΗ) his (Job's) hope (τεφ-ζεल्प) they (the grievances) could not (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΘΜ-ΘΜ) [ ] shake (ε-κιμ) him (ερο-Γ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19b:28-31), ΖΨΣΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΤΜΨΘΜΘΜ ΕΤΨΜΗΤ ΕΡΟΓ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΣΟΠ 'such that (ΖΨΣΤΕ) many (ΖΑΖ) of (ΝΤΕ) those who were in (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΜ) the village (π-τμε) could not (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΜ-Ψ-ΘΜ-ΘΜ) [ ] meet (ε-τψμητ) him (the hermit) (ερο-Γ) on many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) occasions (Ν-ΣΟΠ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

#### d) Infinitival complements of adjectives

A limited number of adjectival verbs and nouns (including statives) select infinitival clauses as a direct complement. Subject control is, again, mandatory, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΟΓ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ ΕΤΜΠΨΑ ΝΚΑΛΥ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΜΟΙ ΑΓΩ ΕΓΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΑΡΟΥΨ ΑΓΩ ΕΚΨΨ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ), on the contrary (ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΟΓ), it (is) (ΝΕ) mine (i.e. my sins) mine (ΝΟΥ-Ι) that I deserve (ε-†-ΜΠΨΑ) [ ] to place (Ν-ΚΑΛ-Υ) in front of (ΖΙΘΗ) me (ΜΜΟ-Ι)] and (ΑΓΩ) [ ] to take (ε-ΓΙ) care (ΡΟΟΥΨ) of (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)] and (ΑΓΩ) [ ] to beseech (ε-κψψ) God (ε-π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) because of (ετβηητ-ου), (saying) »Forgive (κω εβολ) me (ΝΑ-Ι)!« ]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:6-12), ΜΠΑΤΕΚΡ ΑΖΙΟC ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΓ 'you have not yet become (ΜΠΑΤΕ-Κ-Ρ) worthy (ΑΖΙΟC) [ ] to talk (Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) to him (ΝΜΜΑ-Γ)]' (KHML Π 30:21-22), ΑΝΟΚ †ΣΒΤΨΤ Ε†

ΜΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΕΝΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙC ΠΧC 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) *am prepared* (†-CΒΤΩΤ) [ ] *to surrender* (ε-†) *my body* (Μ-ΠΑ-CΩΜΑ) *to the tortures* (Ε-Ν-ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ) *for* (ΕΤΒΕ) *the name* (Π-ΡΑΝ) *of Jesus* (Ν-ΙC) *Christ* (Π-ΧC)' (ΚΗΜΛ I 78:30-79:1).

e) Infinitival purpose clauses

Infinitival purpose clauses are widely used as the GOAL arguments of verbs of inherently directed motion. Such purposive infinitivals involve temporal projection into the future and a modal feature of potentiality: they describe situations that have not been actualised by the time that the main clause event took place, e.g. ΤΕCΜΑΛΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΑCΒΩΚ ΠΕ ΕΡ ΖΩΒ 'her mother (ΤΕC-ΜΑΛΥ) had gone (ΝΕ-Α-C-ΒΩΚ) [ ] *to work* (ε-Ρ ΖΩΒ)]' (ΑΡ Elanskaya 16a:6-8), ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΜΗΝCΑ CΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΦΕΙ (for ε-ΦΙ) ΜΠΑΤΡΟΦΕΥC ΝΤΟΟΤ 'did you come (ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΕΙ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι) after (ΜΗΝCΑ) sixty (CΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) [ ] *to take* (ε-ΦΕΙ) *my bread-winner* (Μ-ΠΑ-ΤΡΟΦΕΥC) (away) *from me* (ΝΤΟΟΤ)]?' (ΑΡ Elanskaya 17a:2-5), ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΡΙΜΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΟΥΨΤ ΝΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ 'I have come (ΝΤΑ-Ι-ΕΙ) [ ] *to weep* (ε-ΡΙΜΕ) about (ΖΙΧΝ) *my sins* (ΝΑ-ΝΟΒΕ)] and (ΑΥΩ) [ ] *to worship* (ε-ΟΥΨΤ) *Jesus* (Ν-ΙC) *Christ* (ΠΕ-ΧC), *the Son* (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) *of the living* (ΕΤ-ΟΝΖ) *God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (ΑΡ Elanskaya 18b:4-8), ΑΥΕΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝCΙ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΝΖΛΛΗΝ Ε† ΝΖΝΑΓΑΠΗ (for ΝΖΕΝΑΓΑΠΗ) ΖΝ ΟΥCΤΡΑΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ (read ΟΥCΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ) 'once (Ν-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ) *certain* (ΖΟΙΝΕ) *pagans* (Ν-Ν-ΖΛΛΗΝ) *came* (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) [ ] *to give* (ε-†) *alms* (Ν-ΖΝ-ΑΓΑΠΗ) *in* (ΖΝ) *Ostrakiné* (ΟCΤΡΑΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ)]' (ΑΡ Elanskaya 15b:22-25).

f) Nested infinitivals

Two or more infinitival clauses can be embedded within one another, the result being a stacked or nested infinitival construction. Subject control seems to be obligatory in the highest infinitival clause, while the more deeply embedded infinitival permits control by a non-subject constituent, e.g. ΜΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΕCΩ ΕΤCΑΒΟ ΕCΖΑΙ 'he (Antony) did not want (ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΟΥΨ) [ ] *to continue* (ε-CΩ) [ ] *to be taught* (ε-ΤCΑΒΟ) [ ] *to write* (ε-CΖΑΙ)]]' (V. Ant. 3:7-8), ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΙ ΡΩΨΕ Ε† ΑΦΟΡΜ[Η]

ΝΗCΟΦΟC ΕΡ ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *these* (ΝΑΙ) (words) suffice (ΡΩΨΕ) [ ] *to give* (ε-†) *a starting point* (ΑΦΟΡΜΗ) *for the wise men* (Ν-Ν-CΟΦΟC) [ ] *to become wiser* (ε-Ρ-ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC)]]' (Zen. 201:14).

12.3.2.2 Object control

The missing subject of infinitivals is consistently interpreted as being co-referential with the matrix subject, but infinitival constructions with object control can also be found.

a) Manipulative verbs

Manipulative verbs appear in subject-different clauses where the different subject of the embedded clause corresponds to the direct object of the main clause. The same anaphoric relation can be found in the infinitival complements of verbs of permission, instruction, and exerting force, whose implicit subject is controlled by the matrix object, e.g. CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΡΚΑ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΕΡ ΖΑΛ ΜΜΟΚ 'be zealous (CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) (and) *do not allow* (ΜΠΡ-ΚΑ) *the world* (ΠΚΟCΜΟC) [ ] *to deceive* (ε-Ρ ΖΑΛ) *you* (ΜΜΟ-Κ)]' (Onnophr. 219:11-12), ΜΠΟΥΚΑΛΝ ΕΒΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'they did not allow us (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΚΑΛ-Ν) [ ] *to go* (ε-ΕΙ) *inside* (ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:168), ΝΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΑΡΤCΑΒΟΟΥ ΝCΖΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΖΙΩΜΑ ΝΤΜΗΤΝΟC 'he (King Zênô) first (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) *taught them* (his daughters) (Α-Φ-ΤCΑΒΟ-ΟΥ) [ ] *to write* (Ν-CΖΑΙ)] in accordance with (ΚΑΤΑ) the norm (Π-ΑΖΙΩΜΑ) of high rank (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΝΟC)' (Hil. 2:6-7), ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ (for ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ) ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΡ ΘΥCΙΑ 'and they forced (ε-Α-Υ-ΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ) *them* (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) [ ] *to make* (ε-Ρ) *a sacrifice* (ΘΥCΙΑ)]' (ΑΡ Elanskaya 19a:6-7).

The elided direct object of manipulative verbs may act as the controller of the infinitival subject when its reference is retrievable from the preceding context or can be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ΤΗCΩΤΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΝ ΚΕΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΕΦ† CΒΩ ΕΤΜΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) in (ΖΝ) (yet) another epistle (ΚΕ-ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ) we hear (ΤΗ-CΩΤΗ) him (Paul) (ΕΡΟ-Φ) *teach* (ε-Φ-† CΒΩ) (us) [ ] *not to remember* (lit. give (ε-ΤΜ-Ρ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ) to) the ancient ones (Ν-Ν-ΑΡΧΑΙΟC) and (ΜΝ) also their works (ΝΕΥ-ΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ)]' (Zen. 200:14-

16), ἀφελεγε εεινε ναφ ναπα πανσε μν νετογααβ τηρου εγσονζ ενεγδix μν νεγογερητε 'he ordered [ ] to bring (ε-εινε) to him (να-φ) Apa Paêse and (μν) all (τηρ-ου) the saints (ν-ετογααβ), (with) their hands (ε-νεγ-δix) and (μν) legs (νεγ-ογερητε) tied up (ε-γ-σονζ)' (KHML 176:9-11).

b) Infinitival clauses embedded into a noun phrase

Infinitival clauses may function as noun modifiers within the structure of a complex noun phrase. The missing subject is anaphorically related to the possessor noun phrase of that nominal group, e.g. ἀλλ εψχε πογωψ μπχοεις πε χιτη εζουν ερος φναχιτη 'but (ἀλλ) if (εψχε) it (πε) (is) the will (π-ογωψ) of the Lord (μ-π-χοεις) [ ] to take us (χιτ-ν) inside (εζουν) it (ερο-с) (the city), he will take us inside (φ-να-χιτ-ν)' (Ac. A&P 196:39-40), τνοδ δε νψερε μπρο νεγν ουνοδ προοψ ζιχωс εер παρθενос 'as for the older (τ-ноδ) daughter (ν-ψεερε) of the king (μ-π-προ), (there) was (νε-γν) upon her (ζιχω-с) a great (ου-ноδ) concern (ν-προοψ) [ ] to stay (ε-εр) a virgin (παρθενос)]' (Hil. 2:10-11).

### 12.3.2.3 Control in impersonal sentence constructions

The expletive subject of an impersonal sentence can never function as the controller of the missing noun phrase of the extraposed infinitival subject clause. Instead, the closest referential noun phrase is selected as an antecedent, typically the indirect object, e.g. πμα δε ετερε πεπ̄να μπχοεις νζηтφ серон еπιστεγε ζιουсоп χε сероλυтеге (for сероλυтеге) ммаγ νοι νεφχαρισμα етψоβε 'the place (π-μα) where the Spirit (πε-π̄να) of the Lord (μ-π-χοεις) is in (ετερε ... νζηт-φ), it is to us (с-ερο-н) [ ] to believe (ε-πιστεγε) at the same time (ζι-ου-соп) [that (χε) there (μμαγ) his diverse (εт-ψоβε) gifts (νεφ-χαρισμα) prevail (се-πολυтеге)]]' (Zen. 201:16-18).

If there is no antecedent at all, the infinitival subject receives a non-controlled interpretation as referring to a plural [+human] antecedent whose identity is left unspecified, e.g. ἀλλα νανοус εтβωк ζоλωс εβολ νζηтου 'but (ἀλλ) it is better (νανοу-с) [ ] not to go (ε-тн-βωк) into them (the misconceptions of the Origenists) (νζηт-ου) at

all (ζоλωс)]' (Contra Orig. 407), νψψε αν εαас нтειζε 'it is not (αν) appropriate (ν-ψψε) [ ] to act (ε-αα-с) in such a way (н-тει-ζε)]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:4-5).

### 12.3.3 Complex infinitivals formed with analytic τρε-causatives

Coptic also makes productive use of non-finite clauses of another type that differ from plain subjectless infinitivals in both the morphology of the verb and the presence of an overt subject constituent. Such complex infinitivals are called causative infinitives in most Coptic grammars, since they contain an analytic τρε-causative construction. As shown in section 6.4.3 of Unit 6, analytic causatives are periphrastic biclausal structures formed with the causative verb τρε followed by an infinitival complement clause. The subject of the lower infinitival clause is the direct object of the higher causative verb and appears in the accusative form. More research is needed to arrive at a fuller understanding of the choice between plain ("subjectless") and complex ("causative") infinitivals, which appear in free variation in a range of subordinate clauses. Here we restrict us to those sentence constructions where the causative infinitive is either required or strongly preferred.

a) The "accusative plus infinitive" construction

The causative infinitive is typically used in ditransitive sentences that contain three arguments: the subject, the direct object, and the infinitival complement clause. In the "accusative plus infinitive" construction, the matrix direct object is the antecedent of the pronominal subject of the following causative infinitive. In this construction, the syntactic structure matches the causative semantics of this construction quite straightforwardly: the matrix subject represents the CAUSER and the matrix object the CAUSEE argument of the subordinate infinitival clause that describes the situation aimed for, e.g. λγω λφпακαλει ννεсннγ τηρου εтρεψαηλ εχωс 'and (λγω) he (Αρα Pambô) asked (λ-φ-пακαλει) all (τηρου) the brothers (ν-νε-сннγ) [to pray (ε-тρε-γ-ψαηλ) for her (Hilaria) (εχω-с)]' (Hil. 8:17-18), λγω λφκωρψ επεπρεсвүтерос εтρεφсоροу ννεсннγ 'and (λγω) he (the



nobleman) requested (α-φ-κωρω) the presbyter (ε-πε-πρεσβυτερος) [to distribute it (the money) (ε-τρε-φ-σορ-ου) among the brothers (ν-νε-σνηγ)]' (AP Elanskaya 16b:2-4), αΥΤΒΖ ΟΥΖΛΛΟ ΕΤΡΕΦΧΙ ΝΖΝΧΡΗΜΑ (for ΝΖΕΝΧΡΗΜΑ) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΦΧΡΙΑ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ 'a (certain) old man (ου-ζλλο) was asked (lit. they asked (α-γ-τβζ)) [to take (ε-τρε-φ-χι) some money (ν-ζν-χρημα) for (ετβε) his own (μμιν μμο-φ) needs (νεφ-χρια)]' (AP Elanskaya 15b:3-6), αγω λιπαρακαλει μμοφ ετρεφχω (for ετρεφχω) εροι μπεφραν 'and (αγω) I asked (α-ι-παρακαλει) him (Αρα Onnophrius) (μμο-φ) [to tell (ε-τρ-φ-χω) me (ερο-ι) his name (ν-πεφ-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 210:16-17).

#### b) Volitional constructions with overt subjects

Infinitival clauses with and without overt subjects differ systematically from one another in volitional constructions. While plain infinitives are selected when the matrix subject acts as a controller for the missing noun phrase, the syntactically more complex causative version must appear in their place in different-subject infinitival clauses. Thus, compare: αλλα εφωπε κογωφ εειρε νζενκογι νταλλο αρικοφ νακ μπβολ ντπολις φαντρ πεζοοφ σναγ 'but (αλλα) if (εφωπε) you want (κ-ογωφ) [to do (ε-ειρε) a few (ν-ζεν-κογι) healings (ν-ταλλο), do them (αρι-σογ) outside (ν-π-βολ) the city (ν-τ-πολις) at a distance (lit. until you make (φαντ-κ-ρ)) of two (σναγ) days (πε-ζοογ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34) vs. παειωτ ειογωφ ετρεκβαπτιζε μμοι 'My Father (πα-ειωτ), I want (ε-ι-ογωφ) [you to baptize (ε-τρε-κ-βαπτιζε) me (μμο-ι)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-31b:2), μπχοεις ογωφ αν ετρεφλο μπειμα ψα εαν 'the Lord (π-χοεις) does not (αν) want (ν-... ογωφ) [it (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (ε-τρε-φ-λο) this place (ν-πει-μα) until (ψα) the end (εαν < τ-ζαν)]' (Eud. 76:18).

#### c) Infinitival adjunct clauses of temporal location

Causative infinitives are widely used in adjunct clauses of temporal location. The normal subordinator ε- is replaced by the locative-temporal preposition μννσα 'after' to form the infinitival version of 'AFTER'-clauses, e.g. μννσα τρε ουςγγχωρησις δε φωπε πεχε πρρο ναπα

εσοφιλος χε (...) [after (μννσα) consent (ου-ςγγχωρησις) was given (τρε ... φωπε)], the king (π-ρρο) said (πεχε) to Apa Theophilos that (χε) (...) (Eud. 74:17), αςφωπε δε μννσα τρεφναγ επζορομα (...) ΤΟΤΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΜΝ ΠΕΦΣΟΝ ΑΓΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΟΥΦΩΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΥΟΗΖ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΕΤΡΕΥΣΜΗΤΦ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΣΟΟΥΖΣ 'it happened (α-ςφωπε) [after (μννσα) he (Pachôm) had seen (τρε-φ-ναγ) the vision (ε-π-ζορομα)], then (τοτε) he (Pachôm) and (μν) his brother (πεφ-σον) began (α-γ-αρχει) [to expand (ν-ογωφ) the place (ν-π-μα) where (νζητ-φ) they were living (ετε-γ-ογηζ) [to set it up (ε-τρε-γ-σμητ-φ) as a small (ν-ογ-κογι) convent (ν-σοογζς)]' (V. Pach. 1:8-13).

Infinitival 'WHEN'-clauses are initiated by the locative preposition ζμ 'in'; the infinitival complement takes the form of a definite noun phrase, e.g. ζμ [πτρ]εφωβφ δε [εις] πζαγιος απα [ν]η[να] αφαζε ρατφ [εχ]ω[φ] ζν ουζο[ρο]μα [when (ζμ) he (the camel-herd) dozed off (π-τρε-φ-ωβφ)], look (εις) the holy (π-ζαγιος) Apa Mena stood (α-φ-αζε ρατ-φ) before him (εχω-φ) in (ζν) a dream (ου-ζορομα)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-6), αγω ζμ πτρατμηδν ζωβ μν λααγ †νασδραζτ αγω ππαθος ναλο νζητ 'and (αγω) [when (ζμ) I do not have (π-τρα-τμη-δν) anything (ζωβ) (to do) with (μν) anyone (λααγ)], I will find peace (†-να-σδραζτ) and (αγω) the passion (π-παθος) will leave (να-λο) me (νζητ)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:17-18), νθε νογχωφρε εαφκοτφ επεφνι ζμ πτρεφχρο ζμ ππολυμος (for ππολεμος) 'like (νθε ν-) a hero (ογ-χωφρε) who returned (ε-α-φ-κοτ-φ) to his house (ε-πεφ-νι) [after (ζμ) having been victorious (π-τρε-φ-χρο) in (ζμ) the war (π-πολυμος)]' (KHML II 50:15-16).

#### d) Infinitival purpose clauses

Like propositional complements of volitional verbs, complex infinitivals are consistently used in different-subject purpose clauses, e.g. ναπσωμα μεν αφχωρηγει ναν μπρη ετρεφρ ουοειν ερον μπεζοοφ '(as for) those (scil. the eyes) of the body (να-π-σωμα), he (God) provided (α-φ-χωρηγει) us (να-ν) with the sun [to shine (lit. to make (ε-τρε-φ-ρ) light (ογειν)) for us (ερο-ν) by day (ν-πε-ζοογ)]' (Hil. 1:7-8),

ΝΤΑΦΣΕΖ ΠΑΙ ΝΛΑΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΥΝΟΘ 'he (Paul) had written (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΣΕΖ) this (ΠΑΙ) to every (ΝΙΜ) nation (Ν-ΛΑΟΣ) [*that they remember* (lit. make (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-Ρ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of)] their great (leaders) (Ν-ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΘ)]' (Zen. 200:13-14), ΧΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΚΗΜΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΨΦΕ ΣΝΟΟΥΣ ΖΝ [Τ]ΕΥΗΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΝΣΕΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ 'send (ΧΟΟΥ) to Egypt (Ε-ΚΗΜΕ) after (ΝΣΑ) *the holy men* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) who are (lit. make (Ε-Υ-ΕΙΡΕ)) seventy-two (Ν-ΨΦΕ ΣΝΟΟΥΣ) in (ΖΝ) number (ΤΕΥ-ΗΠΕ) [*that they come* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) and baptize (Ν-ΣΕ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)]' (Eud. 42:2-4).

The causative infinitive seems to be strongly preferred when the main clause subject has undergone inversion for focalisation purposes, e.g. ΑΨ ΑΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΘΙ ΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΜΠΕΡΣΟC ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΦ 'and (ΑΨ) *the chariots* (Ν-ΖΑΡΜΑ) of the Persians (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡΣΟC) surrounded (Α-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) him (Constantine) (ΕΡΟ-Φ) [*to kill* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ) him (ΜΜΟ-Φ)]' (Eud. 42:25), ΑΥΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΘΙ ΝΕCΤΡΑΤΗΛΛΗC ΝΤΕ ΤΘΟΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΝΤΦ 'the *generals* (ΝΕ-CΤΡΑΤΗΛΛΗC) of (ΝΤΕ) the army (Τ-ΘΟΜ) came (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) [*to get him* (Constantine) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΝΤ-Φ)]' (Eud. 38:5-6), ΝΕΤΖΜ ΠΓΑΜΟC [ΑΥ]ΧΙ CΒΩ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΕΤΡΕΦΝ ΠΕΦCΚΕΟC (for ΠΕΦCΚΕΟΥC) ΖΝ ΟΥΤΒΒΟ ΜΝ ΟΥΤΜΗ 'as for those who are married (lit. who are in (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΜ) marriage (Π-ΓΑΜΟC)), *they* were taught (lit. they received (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) instruction (CΒΩ)) *each one* (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) [*to bear* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-Ν) his vessel (ΠΕΦ-CΚΕΟC) in (ΖΝ) purity (ΟΥ-ΤΒΒΟ) and (ΜΝ) honour (ΟΥ-ΤΜΗ)]' (Zen. 203: 34-35).

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, complex infinitivals are available as a marked option in same-subject purpose clauses with first person singular reference, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΤΟΟΥΕ CΤΡΑΝΗCΤΕΥΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) went (Α-Ι-ΒΩΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) into the desert (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥΕ) [*to fast* (Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:95-96), [Α]ΥΨ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΤΡΑΧΙΤΦ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ 'and (ΑΨ) I had already gone (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙ) [*to take it* (the golden coin) (Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΧΙΤ-Φ) from you (ΝΤΟΟΤ-Κ) as an act of charity (Ν-ΑΓΑΠΗ)]' (AP Elanskaya 14b:19-21).

### e) Infinitival result clauses

Complex infinitivals may be used to express a resulting or subsequent situation. The resultative interpretation of complex infinitivals is often made explicit by means of the consecutive conjunction ΖΩCΤΕ 'such that', e.g. ΝΓΦΙ ΜΠΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΝCΑΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΙ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΜΤΡΑΘΩΝΤ ΕΠΤΗΡΦ ΖΜ ΠΑΖΗΤ 'and take (Ν-Γ-ΦΙ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) this fleshy (Ν-CΑΡΞ) thought (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) from me (ΜΜΟ-Ι) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) I won't become angry (Ε-ΤΜ-ΤΡΑ-ΘΩΝΤ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΦ) in (ΖΜ) my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ)]' (V. Pach. 2:4-6), Α ΤΑΘΟΜ ΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΜΤΡΑΛΙCΘΑΝΕ ΕΠΤΗΡΦ ΧΕ ΤΖΚΟΕΙΤ Η ΤΘΒΕ 'my strength (ΤΑ-ΘΟΜ) came back (Α ... ΕΙ) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) I did not notice (Ε-ΤΜ-ΤΡΑ-ΛΙCΘΑΝΕ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΦ) [whether (ΧΕ) I was hungry (Τ-ΖΚΟΕΙΤ) or (Η) thirsty (Τ-ΘΒΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 209:26-27), ΝΕΨΑΡΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΝΤΤΟΝ (for ΝΤ ΤΩΝ) ΕΙ ΕΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΥ[Μ]ΚΑΖ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ 'some minor (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) quarrels (ΕΝ-ΤΤΟΝ) came (ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΕΙ) into their midst (Ε-ΤΕΥ-ΜΗΤΕ). [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) they got upset (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΚΑΖ) with (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) times (Ν-CΟΠ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) this (ΠΑΙ)]' (Zen. 201:37-39).

## Key Terms:

- Impersonal sentences contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g.  $\varphi\rho\omega\psi\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon \ \zeta\epsilon\eta\pi\lambda\alpha\eta\eta \ \nu\epsilon \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \zeta\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \nu\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$  'it is sufficient ( $\varphi\text{-}\rho\omega\psi\epsilon$ ) [to just ( $\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ) state ( $\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ ) [that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) » these ( $\nu\alpha\iota$ ) (are) errors ( $\zeta\epsilon\eta\pi\lambda\alpha\eta\eta$ ) and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) contrary ( $\zeta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) to the truth ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\mu\epsilon$ )]]' (Contra Orig. 408). §12.1.1.1
- Mandative constructions typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like  $\zeta\alpha\pi\text{-}\varsigma$  'it is necessary, must' and  $\nu\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\text{-}\varsigma$  'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations. §12.1.1.2
- Factive verbs When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like  $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$  'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g.  $\kappa\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\eta \ \pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$  (for  $\chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$  (for  $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ )  $\epsilon\eta\upsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$  'you know ( $\kappa\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$ ), my lord ( $\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), [that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) this race ( $\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$ ) called ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) Christians ( $\chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ ) bears ( $\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$ ) the tortures ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\upsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ )]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28). §12.1.2.1

- Direct vs. indirect reported speech Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\varrho \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \chi\epsilon \ \lambda\zeta\epsilon \ \lambda\iota\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon \ \tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$  'he said ( $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}\varrho$ ) to me ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$ ) [(that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) » Yes ( $\lambda\zeta\epsilon$ ), I suffered ( $\lambda\text{-}\iota\text{-}\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ ) a lot ( $\tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$ )]!«] (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs.  $\lambda\varrho\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \nu\eta\mu\alpha\varrho \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\varrho\psi\alpha\pi\epsilon \ \tau\omega\beta\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\pi\alpha \ \mu\eta\eta\alpha \ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\kappa\varrho \ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$  'he (the archbishop) told ( $\lambda\text{-}\varrho\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) him (the brick-maker) ( $\nu\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}\varrho$ ) [to make ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\varrho\psi\alpha\pi\epsilon$ ) bricks ( $\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$ ) for the shrine ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ) of the holy ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) Apa Mēna [until they finished it ( $\psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}\chi\omicron\kappa\text{-}\varrho \ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ )]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2). §12.1.3
- Open vs. remote conditionals Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g.  $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota \ \nu\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\eta\tau\eta\eta \ \epsilon\eta\eta\eta\varsigma \ \tau\eta\eta\lambda\alpha\chi\iota \ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$  '[when they come ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) and find us ( $\nu\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\eta\tau\text{-}\eta$ ) awake ( $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\varsigma$ )], we will be glorified (lit. receive ( $\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\chi\iota$ ) glory ( $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ )]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g.  $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \mu\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \ \nu\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\upsilon\omega\kappa \ \tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \ \mu\eta\omicron\varrho$  '(if) the Lord ( $\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) were ( $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) in this place ( $\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mu\alpha$ ), I would go ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\upsilon\omega\kappa$ ) and appeal ( $\tau\alpha\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ) to him ( $\mu\eta\omicron\text{-}\varrho$ )' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101). §12.2.1

Control is a special case of anaphoric relation §12.3.2 between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.

### Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

#### APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

##### THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

πεχαι<sup>a</sup> χε εινατωογν ταωδτ μοι. αιρ φορη εροφ<sup>b</sup> εαμντε<sup>c</sup>.  
 λφει ερραι επειμα λφφι ννειφυχοογε τηρογ λφωφ<sup>d</sup> ναμντε  
 ψατν ταφυχη μαγαα. α νεννογτ<sup>e</sup> ναμντε ριμε εζογν  
 επιαβολοσ ευχω μμοσ χε εκρ ο[γ] εκψογψογ μμοκ εκχω  
 μμοσ χε ανοκ πε πρρο αγω μν κβογα νβλαι. τενογ δε  
 ανειμε δε ντοκ αν πε πρρο εβολ χε α πετο νχοεισ εροκ ει  
 λφφιτογ ντοοτκ τηρογ. τοτε πεχε παιαβολοσ μπεντο εβολ  
 ννεφενεργια (for ννεφενεργια)<sup>f</sup> τηρογ χε ω ναδομ τηρογ  
 ετετνμεεγε χε ογχωωρε πε παρον; μμον αλλα επειδη<sup>g</sup> λφει  
 επειμα αλλα εις κεφυχη μμαγ μπεφωδμοδ εφιτς. τοτε ιϛ  
 λφμογτε εμικαηα πενταφντφ νμμαφ επεσντ ναμντε πεχαφ  
 ναφ χε ανι τεφυχη νιογδασ ερραι χεκασ ννε παιαβολοσ ον  
 λοιδε εχω (read εχωι). λφει νοι μικαηα λφντ ερραι. μννσα ν[αι  
 α μιχα][ηλ] ωψ εβολ χε χι ψιπε νακ πχαχ[ε] νόωβ<sup>h</sup>. [μ][ννσα]  
 ναι πεχε πχοεισ [μ]μικαηα χε [κτο] ντεφυχη ενταρταροσ  
 ναμντε. λφριμε νοι ιογδασ χε εκναβωκ νγκλατ ζν νεικολασις;<sup>i</sup>  
 νταεινε (read νταεινε) νταφυχη ρω εβολ ζν σωμα χε τσοογν  
 χε κνηγ εαμντε νγκι ννειφυχοογε τηρογ χε εκεφι τωι ζω.  
 λφογψωβ νοι ιϛ πεχαφ νιογδασ χε πταλαιπωροσ<sup>k</sup> ντακρ ογ  
 τενογ ψαντκπαζτ νγογψωτ μπιαβολοσ; πεχε ιογδασ ναφ χε

πχοει[ς] νταφει εχωι ηπεσμοτ νογδρακων<sup>l</sup> ερε ρω[φ] ογων  
 εφογψω εομκτ αιρ ζοτ[ε] [αιογω]ψ[τ] ναφ. πεχε [ιϛ] ναφ χε ω  
 πταλαιπωροσ [μ]πναγ ντ[αφ]ει [ω]αροκ ενε [ντ]ακ[χ]οοσ χε ιϛ  
 βο[η]ει<sup>m</sup> εροι νεκναογχαι αλλα ακρ πκεβωκ<sup>n</sup> ακειρε νογζωβ  
 ερε πνογτε μοστε ημοφ εακμογογτ μμοκ μαγαακ. ετβε παι  
 εκεψωπε ζν νταρταροσ ψα πεζοογ ηπζαπ ετερε πχοεισ ναφ  
 ζαπ εροκ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. αμντε 'the West, Hell' d. ωφφ 'to lay waste, destroy' e. μνογτ 'porter' f. ενεργια 'force' g. επειδη 'indeed, really' h. σωβ 'weak' i. ταρταροσ 'the Tartarus' j. κολασις 'torture, punishment' k. ταιλαιπωροσ 'miserable' l. δρακων 'dragon' m. βοηει 'to help' n. ακρ πκεβωκ 'you took a different route'

#### HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

##### FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHŌMIUS

νεγν ογςζιμε δε ερε πεσνοφ ζαροσ νογνοδ νογοειω αγω  
 ντερεσσωτμ χε ερε απα διοησιοσ ναβωκ ψα πρωμε  
 ηπνογτε απα παζωμ ατωογν αςβωκ ψαροφ ασαζιογ<sup>a</sup> ημοφ  
 εσχω χε τσοογν χε πεκωβηρ πε πρωμε ηπνογτε απα παζωμ.  
 τογωψ ετρεκχιτ νμμακ ταναγ εροφ. τπιστευε γαρ χε  
 ειψανναγ εροφ ηματε πχοεισ ναφ ναι ηπταλδο. ντοφ δε  
 λφπιθε (for λφπειθε)<sup>b</sup> ζν πζωβ εβολ χε φσοογν ντμαστιζ<sup>c</sup>  
 ετζιχωσ. ντεγνογ αγταλοσ ευχοι αγει εζητ ψα πενειωτ. απα  
 διογσιοσ δε λφβωκ εζογν ψαροφ αγω ηννσα τρεφογω  
 εφψαχε νμμαφ ετβε νεσνηγ ενταφπορχογ εβολ ηννσωσ  
 αφαζιογ ημοφ εφχω ημοσ χε τογωψ ετρεκτωογν ντνβωκ  
 εβολ επμα ηπρο ετβε πειζωβ ναναγκαιον<sup>d</sup>. ντοφ δε λφτωογν  
 λφογαζφ νσωφ αγει εβολ αγω αγζμοοσ αγψαχε μν νεγερηγ.  
 τεσζιμε δε ασει ζιπαζογ ημοφ ζραι ζν τεσνοδ ηπιστις.  
 ντερεσχωζ ηματε ενεφζοιτε ντενογ ασταλδο. πρωμε δε  
 ηπνογτε απα παζωμ νεαφμκαζ νζητ ζμ πζωβ ψα ζραι επμογ  
 εβολ χε νογοειω ημ νεφογωψ αν εχι εοογ εβολ ζιτν  
 ηρωμε. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

## Key Terms:

- Impersonal sentences contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g.  $\varphi\rho\omega\psi\epsilon \ \Delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon \ \zeta\epsilon\eta\pi\lambda\alpha\alpha\eta\eta \ \nu\epsilon \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \zeta\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \nu\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$  'it is sufficient ( $\varphi\text{-}\rho\omega\psi\epsilon$ ) [to just ( $\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ) state ( $\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ -c) [that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) » these ( $\nu\alpha\iota$ ) (are) errors ( $\zeta\epsilon\eta\pi\lambda\alpha\alpha\eta\eta$ ) and ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) contrary ( $\zeta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) to the truth ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\mu\epsilon$ )]]' (Contra Orig. 408). §12.1.1.1
- Mandative constructions typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like  $\zeta\alpha\pi\text{-}c$  'it is necessary, must' and  $\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\text{-}c$  'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations. §12.1.1.2
- Factive verbs When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like  $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta$  'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g.  $\kappa\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta \ \pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \chi\rho\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (for  $\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon$  (for  $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ )  $\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'you know ( $\kappa\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta$ ), my lord ( $\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), [that ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) this race ( $\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) called ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) Christians ( $\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) bears ( $\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ ) the tortures ( $\epsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ )]]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28). §12.1.2.1

- Direct vs. indirect reported speech Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}q$   $\nu\alpha\iota \ \chi\epsilon \ \lambda\zeta\epsilon \ \lambda\iota\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon \ \tau\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon$  'he said ( $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}q$ ) to me ( $\nu\alpha\text{-}i$ ) [(that) ( $\chi\epsilon$ ) » Yes ( $\lambda\zeta\epsilon$ ), I suffered ( $\lambda\text{-}i\text{-}\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ ) a lot ( $\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ )]!«]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs.  $\lambda\varphi\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \nu\eta\mu\alpha\varphi \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\varphi\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \tau\omega\beta\epsilon \ \epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\eta\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\pi\alpha \ \mu\eta\eta\alpha \ \psi\alpha\lambda\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\kappa\text{-}q \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  'he (the archbishop) told ( $\lambda\text{-}q\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ) him (the brick-maker) ( $\nu\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}q$ ) [to make ( $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varphi\text{-}q\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ) bricks ( $\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$ ) for the shrine ( $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ) of the holy ( $\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) Apa Mēna [until they finished it ( $\psi\alpha\lambda\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\chi\omicron\kappa\text{-}q \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ )]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2). §12.1.3
- Open vs. remote conditionals Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g.  $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \ \nu\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\eta \ \epsilon\pi\eta\eta\varsigma \ \tau\eta\eta\lambda\alpha\chi\iota \ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  '[when they come ( $\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\iota$ ) and find us ( $\nu\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$ ) awake ( $\epsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\rho\eta\varsigma$ )], we will be glorified (lit. receive ( $\tau\eta\text{-}\nu\alpha\text{-}\chi\iota$ ) glory ( $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ )]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g.  $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \ \nu\epsilon\iota\eta\lambda\epsilon\omega\kappa \ \tau\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \ \mu\mu\omicron\varphi$  '(if) the Lord ( $\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) were ( $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ) in this place ( $\mu\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mu\alpha$ ), I would go ( $\nu\epsilon\text{-}i\text{-}\nu\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$ ) and appeal ( $\tau\alpha\text{-}\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ) to him ( $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}q$ )' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101). §12.2.1

Control is a special case of anaphoric relation §12.3.2 between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.

### Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

#### APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

##### THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

πεχαι<sup>a</sup> χε εινατωογν ταωδτ μοι. λιρ ωοριπ εροϋ<sup>b</sup> εαμντε<sup>c</sup>.  
 λϋει εζραι επειμα λϋϋι ννειψυχοοϋε τηροϋ λϋωωϋ<sup>d</sup> ναμντε  
 ψατη ταψυχη μαγαα. α νειμνοϋτ<sup>e</sup> ναμντε ριμε εζοϋν  
 επιδιαβολοϋ εϋχω μμοϋ χε εκρ ο[γ] εκψοϋψοϋ μμοκ εκχω  
 μμοϋ χε ανοκ πε πρρο αϋω μν κεοϋα νβαλα. τενοϋ δε  
 ανειμε δε ντοκ αν πε πρρο εβολ χε α πετο νχοειϋ εροκ ει  
 λϋϋιτοϋ ντοοτκ τηροϋ. τοτε πεχε πδιαβολοϋ μπειντο εβολ  
 ννεϋενεργια (for ννεϋενεργεια)<sup>f</sup> τηροϋ χε ω ναβομ τηροϋ  
 ετετνμεεϋε χε οϋχωωρε πε παραον; μμον αλλα επειδη<sup>g</sup> λϋει  
 επειμα αλλα ειϋ κεψυχη μμααϋ μπεϋεωδμδομ εϋιτϋ. τοτε ιϋ  
 λϋμνοϋτε ειμιαηα πενταϋντϋ νμμαϋ επεϋχτ ναμντε πεχαϋ  
 ναϋ χε ανι τεψυχη νιοϋδαϋ εζραι χεκαϋ ννε πδιαβολοϋ ον  
 λοιβε εχω (read εχωι). λϋει νοι μιχαηα λϋντ εζραι. μννϋα ν[αι  
 α μιχα][ηα] ωψ εβολ χε χι ωπιτε νακ πχαχ[ε] νδωβ<sup>h</sup>. [μ][ννϋα]  
 ναι πεχε πχοειϋ [μ]μιχαηα χε [κτο] ντεψυχη ενταρταροϋ  
 ναμντε. λϋριμε νοι ιοϋδαϋ χε εκναβωκ νγκαατ ζν νεικολαϋϋ;<sup>i</sup>  
 νταεινε (read νταεινε) νταψυχη ρω εβολ ζν ϋμα χε ϋϋοοϋν  
 χε κνηϋ εαμντε νγϋ ννειψυχοοϋε τηροϋ χε εκεϋι τωι ζω.  
 λϋοϋωωβ νοι ιϋ πεχαϋ νιοϋδαϋ χε πταλιπωροϋ<sup>k</sup> ντακρ οϋ  
 τενοϋ ψαντικπαζτ νγοϋωωτ μπδιαβολοϋ; πεχε ιοϋδαϋ ναϋ χε

πχοει[ϋ] νταϋει εχωι μπεϋμοτ νοϋδρακων<sup>l</sup> ερε ρω[ϋ] οϋων  
 εϋοϋωω εομκτ λιρ ζοτ[ε] [λιοϋω]ω[τ] ναϋ. πεχε [ιϋ] ναϋ χε ω  
 πταλιπωροϋ [μ]πναϋ ντ[αϋ]ει [ω]αροκ ενε [ντ]ακ[χ]οοϋ χε ιϋ  
 βο[η]ει<sup>m</sup> εροι νεκναοϋχαι αλλα ακρ πκεβωκ<sup>n</sup> ακειρε νοϋζωβ  
 ερε πνοϋτε μοϋτε μμοϋ εακμοϋοϋτ μμοκ μαγαακ. ετβε παι  
 εκεωωπε ζν νταρταροϋ ψα πεζοοϋ μπζαπ ετερε πχοειϋ ναϋ  
 ζαπ εροκ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. αμντε 'the West, Hell' d. ωωϋ 'to lay waste, destroy' e. μνοϋτ 'porter' f. ενεργια 'force' g. επειδη 'indeed, really' h. οωβ 'weak' i. ταρταροϋ 'the Tartarus' j. κολαϋϋ 'torture, punishment' k. ταλιπωροϋ 'miserable' l. δρακων 'dragon' m. βοηει 'to help' n. ακρ πκεβωκ 'you took a different route'

#### HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

##### FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHÔMIUS

νεϋν οϋϋριμε δε ερε πεϋνοϋ ζαροϋ νοϋνοϋ νοϋοειω αϋω  
 ντερεϋϋωτμ χε ερε απα διονηϋιοϋ ναβωκ ψα πρωμε  
 μπνοϋτε απα παζωμ αϋτωοϋν αϋβωκ ψαροϋ αϋαζιοϋ<sup>a</sup> μμοϋ  
 εϋχω χε ϋϋοοϋν χε πεκωβηρ πε πρωμε μπνοϋτε απα παζωμ.  
 ϋοϋωω ετρεκχιτ νμμακ ταηαϋ εροϋ. ϋπιστεϋε γαρ χε  
 ειψανναϋ εροϋ μματε πχοειϋ ναϋ ναι μπταλδο. ντοϋ δε  
 λϋπειθε (for λϋπειθε)<sup>b</sup> ζμ πζωβ εβολ χε ϋϋοοϋν ντμαϋτιϋ<sup>c</sup>  
 ετζιχωϋ. ντεϋνοϋ αϋταλοϋ εϋχοι αϋει εζητ ψα πενειωτ. απα  
 διονϋϋιοϋ δε λϋβωκ εζοϋν ψαροϋ αϋω μννϋα τρεϋοϋω  
 εϋψαχε νμμαϋ ετβε νεϋνϋ ενταϋπορϋοϋ εβολ μννϋωϋ  
 αϋαζιοϋ μμοϋ εϋχω μμοϋ χε ϋοϋωω ετρεκτωοϋν ντνβωκ  
 εβολ επμα μπρο ετβε πειζωβ ναναγκαιον<sup>d</sup>. ντοϋ δε λϋτωοϋν  
 αϋοϋαζϋ νϋωϋ αϋει εβολ αϋω αϋζμοοϋ αϋψαχε μν νεϋερηϋ.  
 τεϋριμε δε αϋει ζιπαζοϋ μμοϋ ζραι ζν τεϋνοϋ μπισϋϋ.  
 ντερεϋϋωζ μματε ενεϋζοιτε ντενοϋ αϋταλδο. πρωμε δε  
 μπνοϋτε απα παζωμ νεαϋμκαζ νζητ ζμ πζωβ ψα ζραι επμοϋ  
 εβολ χε νοϋοειω νιμ νεϋοϋωω αν εχι εοοϋ εβολ ζιτη  
 νρωμε. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

NOTES: a. λαιου 'to ask' b. πιε 'to agree on' c. μαστιξ 'whip, metaph. scourge, plague' d. αναγκαιον 'urgent'

## MONASTIC LITERATURE

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

Α ΟΥΣΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΨΤ ΝΚΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ †ΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕΧΠΙΟ ΖΗ ΠΕΨΖΗΤ ΦΝΑΧΠΟ ΝΑΨ ΝΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΣΟΝ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΠΙΟ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΧΠΙΕ ΤΕΨΦΥΧΗ ΖΗ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΖΑΠΣ ΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΧΟΟΣ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΖΡΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΗ ΡΩΜΕ; ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΑΙ ΣΝΗΥ ΝΑΨ ΝΟΙ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7-14).

ΑΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΙ ΕΨΗΤ ΜΗ ΖΗΧΡΗΜΑ (for ΖΕΝΧΡΗΜΑ)<sup>a</sup> ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΕΖΕΝΗ<sup>b</sup> ΑΨ ΑΨΚΩΡΨ ΕΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟ<sup>c</sup> ΕΤΡΕΨΣΟΡΟΥ ΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟ<sup>c</sup> ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ Ρ ΧΡΙΑ<sup>d</sup> ΑΝ. ΑΨ ΝΤΕΡΕΨΧΙΤΩ ΝΧΝΑΖ<sup>e</sup> ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΑΨΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΤΒΑΙΡΕ<sup>f</sup> ΕΡΕ ΜΝΟΥΒ ΖΙΩΨΣ ΖΙΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΑΨ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟ<sup>c</sup> ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΕΨΧΙ. ΑΨ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΗΤΩ<sup>g</sup> ΕΡΟΥ. ΖΗΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΨΨΤ ΡΩ ΕΧΨΟΥ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟ<sup>c</sup> ΜΠΕΝΤΑΨΝΤΟΥ ΧΕ Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΕΚΑΓΑΠΗ<sup>h</sup>. ΒΩΚ ΝΓΤΑΨ ΜΝΖΗΚΕ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΨ† ΖΗΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΨΒΩΚ. (AP Elanskaya 16a:33-16b:27)

NOTES: a. χρημα 'money' b. τε-ζεινη 'abroad' c. πρεσβυτερος 'priest' d. ρ χρια 'to be in need (of)' e. χι νχναζ 'to force somebody' f. βαιρε 'basket' h. ζητ= 'to approach' g. αγαπη 'alm'.

ΑΨ ΑΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ ΨΗΡΕ ΣΝΑΨ ΕΖΝΣΟΝ (for ΕΖΕΝΣΟΝ) ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ<sup>a</sup> ΕΨΩΡ<sup>b</sup> ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΨΖΕΘΟ<sup>c</sup> (for ΠΕΨΗΘΟ<sup>c</sup>). ΑΨΣΕΡ (for ΑΨΣΩΡ)<sup>d</sup> ΝΨΝΕ<sup>e</sup> ΝΑΖΜΕ ΜΜΙΛΙΟΝ<sup>f</sup> ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΨΝΤΟΥ ΜΠΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΨΝΕ ΝΕ ΕΥΕΨΟΠΟΥ<sup>g</sup> ΝΣΕΖΟΤΒΟΥ ΖΗ ΝΚΟΝΤΟ<sup>h</sup>. ΑΨΨΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ ΜΗ ΠΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗ<sup>i</sup> ΣΝΑΨ. ΑΨΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΥΡΜΝΒΩ (ΕΥΡΜΝΨΩ)<sup>j</sup> ΠΕ ΕΨΖΑ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΨΕΙΜΕ ΑΨ ΑΨΨΗΡΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ. ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΠΝΑ<sup>k</sup> ΑΧΙΣ ΕΡΟΝ. ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΡΕΨΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΡΙΜΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ ΑΨ ΕΟΥΨΤ ΝΙΨ ΠΕΧ<sup>l</sup> ΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΣΑ ΠΡΗ ΜΗ ΠΚΩΖΤ ΜΗ ΠΜΟΥ – ΕΝΕΨΨΜΨΕ<sup>k</sup> ΓΑΡ ΝΑΨ – ΑΛΛΑ † ΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΝΓΘΨΧΙΑΖΕ<sup>l</sup> ΝΑΨ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΠΛΑΝΑ.<sup>m</sup> ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΖΗΝΣΩΝΤ (for ΖΕΝΣΩΝΤ)<sup>n</sup> ΝΕ ΑΛΛΑ † ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΩΤΗ Ε-ΤΡΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΚΕΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΣΟΥΨΝΩ. ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΣΩΝΤ ΝΝΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΨΣΩΒΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΨΔΑΙΟΥ<sup>o</sup> ΑΨ ΑΨ<sup>p</sup> ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ; ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΖΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΕΑΨ<sup>q</sup> ΜΠΝΟΒΕ ΑΨΨΩΤΒ ΜΠΝΟΥ. ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΨΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ. ΑΨΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ<sup>p</sup> ΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΚΕΣΝΑΨ ΕΑΨΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ (for ΕΑΨΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ)<sup>q</sup> ΜΜΟΥ ΕΡ ΘΨΧΙΑ. ΠΣΟΝ ΔΕ ΣΝΑΨ ΑΨΨΕΙ (for ΑΨΨΙ) ΝΤΕΨΑΠΕ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΑΨΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΖΗΖΟΥΟΥ (for ΝΖΕΝΖΟΥΟΥ) ΕΝΑΨΨΟΥ. ΕΠΖΑΕ ΔΕ ΑΨΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΑΨΔΟΞΕΥΕ (for ΑΨΤΟΞΕΥΕ)<sup>r</sup> ΕΡΟΥ. Α ΟΥΑ ΝΗΧ (for ΝΕΧ) ΣΟΤΕ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΨ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΨΖΗ ΤΕΨΜΗΤΕ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ<sup>s</sup> ΑΤΕΤΝΨΕΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ ΕΠΨΖ<sup>t</sup> ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΣΝΟΥ ΝΑΤΝΟΒΕ ΠΕΙΝΑΨ ΠΑΙ ΝΡΑΨΤΕ ΤΕΤΝΜΑΨ ΝΑΡ ΑΨΨΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΜΠΕΣΝΑΨ ΑΨ ΠΕΤΝΣΝΟΥ ΝΑΠΨΖΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΝΣΟΤΕ ΜΜΗ ΜΜΩΤΗ. ΑΨΣΩΨ<sup>u</sup> ΔΕ ΜΠΕΨΨΑΧΕ ΑΨΕΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΨΩΡ<sup>v</sup> ΜΠΕΨΡΑΨΤΕ ΑΨ Α ΟΥΑ ΝΜΙΕΟΥ<sup>v</sup> Ρ ΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΨΨΗ ΑΨΨΤ ΔΕ ΝΣΩΨ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΨΟΠΩ ΑΨΝΗΧ (for ΑΨΝΕΧ) ΣΟΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΨΡΕΖ<sup>w</sup> ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΠΕΨΖΗΤ ΜΜΗ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΨΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ. (AP Elanskaya 18a:19-19b:8)

NOTES: a. con κατά σαρξ 'blood brother' b. ωρ 'to hunt' c. ζεθος 'custom, habit' d. σωρ 'to spread out' e. ψνε 'net' f. ναζμε μμιλιον '(at a

distance) of about forty (Ν-Α-ΖΜΕ) miles (Η-ΜΙΛΙΟΝ)' g. ΩΠΕ 'to seize, catch' h. ΚΟΝΤΟΣ 'pike, pole' i. ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ 'disciple' j. ΡΗΝ-ΒΩ 'hairy man' k. ΨΗΨΕ 'to serve, worship' l. ΘΥΣΙΑΖΕ 'to sacrifice' m. ΠΛΑΝΑ 'to deceive, mislead' n. ΣΩΝΤ 'creation' o. (Τ)ΒΑ(Ε)ΙΟ 'to condemn' p. ΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ 'to torture' q. ΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ 'to force s.o.' r. ΔΟΞΕΥΕ 'to shoot with the bow' s. ΕΠΙΔΗ 'since' t. ΠΩΖΤ ΕΒΟΛ 'to pour out' u. ΣΨΨ 'to despise' v. (Ε)ΙΟΥΑ 'hind, deer' w. ΡΩΖΤ 'to strike, hit'

### HISTORIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

#### FROM THE CAMBYSES NOVEL

ΝΦΑΙΨΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΕΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΥΣΟ[Υ ΝΒΙ ΝΑΒΟΥΧ]ΟΔΟΝΟΣΟΡ<sup>α</sup> ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ  
 ΕΡΑ[Τ]Φ ΑΥ[ΤΑΜΟΦ (?)]<sup>β</sup> [Ε][Ζ]ΨΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΤΑΨΨΠΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΨ ΑΥ†  
 ΝΑΦ ΝΝΕΠ[ΙC]ΤΟΛΟΟΥΕ.<sup>γ</sup> ΝΤΕΡΕΦΨΨΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΨΨΟΡΤΡ. ΑΨΧΟΟΥ ΔΕ  
 ΑΨΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΕΨΡΕΨΧΙ ΨΟΧΝΕ<sup>δ</sup> ΑΨΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΗΑΨ ΕΨΧΨ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ  
 ΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΝΑΑΑ[Φ] ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝCΩΤΗ ΕΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΨΑΖΕ ΝΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΙ  
 ΝΒΙ ΝΕΤΨΟ[ΟΠ] ΖΝ ΜΜΑ ΝΨΑ ΜΠΡΗ<sup>ε</sup> ΕΨΧΨ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ  
 ΝΤΝΝΑΖΨΠΟΤΑCCE<sup>ς</sup> ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΒΟΜ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΧΕ CΨΟΟΠ  
 ΝΜΜΑΝ. ΤΕΤΝΟΥΨΨ Β[Ε] ΕΤΡΕΝΤΑΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΨΟΡΠ  
 ΝΤΝΠΑΤΑCCE<sup>β</sup> ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΠΡΟ ΝCΗΨΕ ΑΨΨ ΚΗΜΕ ΤΗΡΨ  
 CΕΝΑCΩΤΗ ΝCΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ (...). ΝΕΨΨΟΟ[Π] [ΔΕ ΝΗ]ΜΑΨ ΝΒΙ CΑΨΨ  
 ΝΡΕΨΧΙ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΕΡΕ [ΟΥΑ] [ΜΜ]ΟΟΥ [Ε]ΡΕ ΠΕΨΨΑΧΕ ΘΜΒΟΜ.  
 ΠΕΧΑ[Φ] [ΜΠΕΜΤΟ] [Μ]ΠΡΡΟ ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΨΝΖ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ. CΩΤΗ [ΔΕ]  
 [ΕΠΨΟΧ]ΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΤΑΑΚ Ε[ΖΡΑΙ ΕΡΟ]ΟΥ ΜΠΡ[†]  
 ΜΠΕΚΖΟ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ (...). ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤ[ΟΦ] [ΠΕ] [ΦΨΒ] ΕΤΚΝΑΑΑΨ.  
 ΧΟΟΥ ΝΖΕΝ[ΦΑΙ ΨΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ] ΚΗΜΕ Τ[Η]ΡΨ ΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΦ[ΑΡΑΨ]<sup>η</sup>  
 ΑΨΨ Μ]ΠΡΑΝ ΝΖΑΠΕ<sup>ι</sup> ΠΕΨΝΟΥΤ[Ε] [ΖΝ] ΖΕΝΨΑΧ[Ε] ΕΝΕCΨΟΥ  
 ΖΨCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ[ΥCΨΟΥΖ Ε]ΖΟΥΝ ΕΨΨΑ<sup>ι</sup> ΜΝ ΟΥΖΟΘΠ ΝΡΡΟ [ΑΨΨ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥ]ΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ<sup>κ</sup> ΜΝ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΑ[ΤΡΟ]ΟΥΨ ΕΜΝ ΠΟ[Λ]ΕΜΟΣ  
 ΝΖΗΤΨ. ΖΟΤΑΝ<sup>λ</sup> ΒΕ ΕΨΨΑΝCΨΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΦΝΑΝΑΨ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΨΧΟΕΙC  
 ΧΕ Α ΚΕΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC ΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΨΟΥ ΝΨΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΨ† ΜΠΚΑΖ  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΕΚΟΙΧ. ΕΨΨΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΚΝΑΨΠ ΖΙCΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΨΡ  
 ΨΟΡΠ ΧΟΟΨ ΝΑΚ.<sup>μ</sup> ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΖΕ Ρ[ΑΤ]Ψ ΕΜΨΨΕ ΜΝ  
 ΝΕΙΟΥΖΟΟΡ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΤΨΝ ΗΝ ΝΙΑΡΞ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΟΨ ΠΕΤΝΑCΨΡ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΨΨΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΜΟΥΙ ΑΧΝ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΖΙ CΨΨ ΖΙ ΜΝΤΡΜΗΖΗΤ

ΧΕΚΑC ΕΦΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΨΟΥ; ΕΙC ΠΑΨΟΧΝΕ ΛΙΧΟΟΨ ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΠΑΧΟΕΙC [Π]Ρ[ΡΟ] ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ ΜΑΡΕΨΡ ΑΝΑΚ. ΚCΟΟΥΝ [ΔΕ ΖΨΨΚ]  
 ΝΡΡΜΗΚΗΜΕ (for ΝΝΡΜΗΚΗΜΕ) ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΡΕΨ[ΜΨΨΕ ΝΕ] ΑΨΨ  
 ΝΕΨΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝΡΕΨΝΕΧ [Ψ]ΝΕ ΝΕ Ζ[Ν] [ΟΥCΦΕΝ]ΔΟΝΗ<sup>η</sup> ΑΨΨ ΕΨΧΠΟ  
 ΝΝΕΨΨΗΡΕ [ΕΥΤCΑΒΟ] ΜΜΟΥ ΕΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ (...). (Camb. 7:7-8:25)

NOTES: a. ΝΑΒΟΥΧΟΔΟΝΟΣΟΡ 'Nebukadnezar' b. The reconstruction of this passage is uncertain c. ΕΠ[ΙC]ΤΟΛΟΟΥΕ *pl* 'letters' d. ΡΕΨ-ΧΙ ΨΟΧΝΕ 'counselor' e. ΜΜΑ ΝΨΑ ΜΠΡΗ 'the places (Μ-ΜΑ) of sun (Μ-Π-ΡΗ) rise (Ν-ΨΑ)' (*metaph.* for the East) f. ΖΨΠΟΤΑCCE 'to be obedient' g. ΠΑΤΑCCE 'to beat, strike' h. ΦΑΡΑΨ 'Pharaoh' i. ΖΑΠΕ '(the god) Apis' j. ΨΑ 'feast' k. ΑΜΕΛΙΑ 'inattention' l. ΖΟΤΑΝ 'when' m. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΨΡΨΟΡΠ ΧΟΟΨ ΝΑΚ 'in (ΚΑΤΑ) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) that I have already (ΕΝΤ-Α-Ι-Ρ-ΨΟΡΠ) told (ΧΟΟ-Ψ) you (ΝΑ-Κ)' n. CΦΕΝΔΟΝΗ 'sling'



# The inflectional paradigms of Sahidic tense-aspect-mood markers

PRESENT TENSES					
	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE PRESENT	PRETERIT PRESENT	
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	†-	ⲉ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-	
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-	
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ(ⲡ)-	ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲉ-	
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ϥ-	ⲉ-ϥ-	ⲉ-ϥ-	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-	
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ϥ-	ⲉ-ϥ-	ⲉ-ϥ-	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-	
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲛ-	
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ϥⲉ-	ⲉ-ϥ-	ⲉ-ϥ-	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-	
FUTURE TENSES					
	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE	PRETERIT FUTURE	NEGATIVE FUTURE
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	†-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲁ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲧⲉⲡ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉⲡⲉ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉⲡⲉ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲛ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲧⲛ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ϥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-
PERFECT TENSES					
	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT	RELATIVE PERFECT	PRETERIT PERFECT	NEGATIVE PERFECT
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲡⲉ-ⲓ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲡⲉ-ⲕ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲁ-ⲡⲉ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲡⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲡⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲡⲉ-	ⲛⲡⲉ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲡⲉ-ϥ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲡⲉ-ϥ-
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲡⲉ-ⲛ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲡⲉ-ⲧⲛ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-	ⲛⲡ-ⲟϥ-

HABITUAL TENSES					
	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE HABITUAL	HABITUAL PAST	NEGATIVE HABITUAL
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ϣλ-ⲓ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲓ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲓ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ⲓ-	ⲙϵ-ⲓ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ϣλ-ⲕ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲕ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲕ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ⲕ-	ⲙϵ-ⲕ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ϣλⲣϵ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲣϵ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲣϵ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ⲣϵ-	ⲙϵ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ϣλ-ϙ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ϙ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ϙ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ϙ-	ⲙϵ-ϙ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ϣλ-ϙ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ϙ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ϙ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ϙ-	ⲙϵ-ϙ-
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ϣλ-ⲛ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲛ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲛ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ⲛ-	ⲙϵ-ⲛ-
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ϣλ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲙϵ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ϣλ-ϥ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ϥ-	ϵ-ϣλ-ϥ-	ⲛϵ-ϣλ-ϥ-	ⲙϵ-ϥ-
RELATIVE TENSES					
	TEMPORAL	TERMINATIVE	CONJUNCTIVE	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣϵ-ⲓ-	ϣλⲛⲧ-, ϣλⲛⲧλ	(ⲛ)ⲧλ-	ⲙⲡλⲧ-ϙⲱⲧⲛ	
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣϵ-ⲕ-	ϣλⲛⲧϵ-ⲕ-	ⲛ-ⲓ-	ⲙⲡλⲧϵ-ⲕ-	
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣϵ-	ϣλⲛⲧϵ-	ⲛⲧϵ-	ⲙⲡλⲧϵ-	
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣϵ-ϙ-	ϣλⲛⲧϵ-ϙ-	ⲛ-ϙ-	ⲙⲡλⲧϵ-ϙ-	
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣϵ-ϙ-	ϣλⲛⲧϵ-ϙ-	ⲛ-ϙ-	ⲙⲡλⲧϵ-ϙ-	
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣϵ-ⲛ-	ϣλⲛⲧϵ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲧϵ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲡλⲧϵ-ⲛ-	
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣϵ-ⲧⲛ-	ϣλⲛⲧϵ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲧϵ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲡλⲧϵ-ⲧⲛ-	
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟϥ-	ϣλⲛⲧ-ⲟϥ-	ⲛ-ϙϵ-	ⲙⲡλⲧ-ⲟϥ-	
MOODS					
	JUSSIVE	CONDITIONAL	INFERENTIAL		
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	ⲙλⲣ(ϵ)-	ϵ-ⲓ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣ-ⲓ-		
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. masc.	<i>imperative</i>	ϵ-ⲕ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣϵ-ⲕ-		
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. fem.		ϵ-ⲣ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣϵ-		
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. masc.	ⲙλⲣϵ-ϙ-	ϵ-ϙ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣϵ-ϙ-		
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. fem.	ⲙλⲣϵ-ϙ-	ϵ-ϙ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣϵ-ϙ-		
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	ⲙλⲣ(ϵ)-ⲛ-	ϵ-ⲛ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣ-ⲛ-		
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	<i>imperative</i>	ϵ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣϵ-ⲧⲛ-		
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	ⲙλⲣ-ⲟϥ-	ϵ-ϥ-ϣλⲛ-	ⲧλⲣ-ⲟϥ		

# Sahidic Coptic words

Sahidic Coptic words are listed according to their root consonants. Lexical items that share the same sequence of root consonants are ordered with respect to vowels. Tense-aspect-mood markers are cited together with their 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular feminine form. The relevant paragraphs of the grammar are given in brackets. Lexical items with a word initial † (< τ + i) and ϵ (< τ + 2) are listed under the letter τ. Abbreviations: Arabic numbers indicate grammatical person (1, 2 or 3), *act* 'active', *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *aux* 'auxiliary verb', *cl* 'clitic pronoun', *comp* 'complementiser', *conj* 'conjunction', *det* 'determiner', *f* 'feminine', *imp* 'imperative', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *num* 'numeral', *pass* 'passive', *pcl* 'particle', *px* 'pronominal prefix', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *pron* 'personal pronoun', *ptcp* 'participle', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *sg* 'singular', *sfx* 'pronominal suffix', *supp.* 'suppletive', *TAM* 'tense-aspect-mood marker', *vb* 'verb'. Stem patterns: *nominal state* (verb-), *pronominal state* (verb=), *stative* (verb†)

- λ
- λ- *pcl* approximately
- λ *TAM* PERFECT (§7.3.4)
- 2:sg:f λⲣϵ
- λλ= *vb* see εⲓⲣϵ 'to do'
- λλλ *vb* to grow, increase

- λⲃⲱ *nf* drag net
- λⲃⲟⲟϥ *pl*
- λλϵ *vb* to climb, to mount,
- λλⲏⲏ† to go on board
- λλⲟ= *imp* stop! See λⲟ
- λⲙϵ *nm* shepherd
- λⲙⲏⲏ(ϵ) *pl*
- λⲙⲟϥ Come! See εⲓ
- suppl. *imp:sg:m*
- λⲙⲏ
- imp:sg:f*
- λⲙⲏⲏⲓⲧⲛ
- imp:pl*
- λⲙⲏⲧϵ *nm* Netherworld, Hell
- λⲙⲣϵ *nm* baker
- λⲙⲣⲏⲏ *pl*
- λⲙλⲁⲧⲧϵ *vb* to rule, prevail, grasp, detain
- λⲛ *adv* not (in double negative N ... λⲛ) See §9.3
- λⲛλ= to be pleasing,
- ⲣ λⲛλ= *vb* please
- λⲛ(ϵ)ⲓⲛⲏ *imp* Bring! See εⲓⲛⲏ
- λⲛⲟⲕ I (§2.4.3)
- free pron 1:sg*
- λⲛⲓ
- cl 1:sg*
- λⲛⲟⲛ we (§2.4.3)
- free pron 1:pl*
- λⲛⲛ, λⲛ
- cl 1:pl*
- λⲛϙⲏⲃϵ *nf* school
- λⲛϙⲏⲃϵ
- λⲛλⲱ *nm* oath
- λⲛλⲱϣ *pl*
- λⲛλⲱ *imp* Look! See ⲛλⲱ

ΑΠΑ <i>nm</i>	Apa
ΑΠΕ <i>nf</i>	head
ΑΠΗ <i>nm</i>	chief, leader
ΑΠΗΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΠΟΤ <i>nm</i>	cup
ΑΠΗΤ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΡΙΚΕ <i>nm</i>	blame, fault
ΟΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ <i>vb</i>	to find fault, blame, reproach
ΑΡΗΥ <i>adv</i>	perhaps, maybe
ΑΡΩΝ <i>nm</i>	lentils
ΑΡΙ <i>imp</i>	Do! See ΕΙΡΕ
ΑΣΠΕ <i>nf</i>	language, speech
ΑΥΩ <i>conj</i>	and
ΛΟΥΩΝ <i>imp</i>	Open! See ΟΥΩΝ
ΑΨ <i>adj</i>	which?, what kind of?
ΑΨΑΙ <i>vb</i>	to become many, multiply
ΟΨ†	
ΑΨΗ <i>nf</i>	multitude, many
ΑΨ, ΑΒ <i>nm</i>	flesh, meat
ΑΖΕ <i>nm</i>	length, limit of life
ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ= <i>vb</i>	to stand
ΑΖΟ <i>nm</i>	treasure
ΑΖΩΡ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΖΟΜ <i>nm</i>	sigh, groan
ΑΨ ΑΖΟΜ <i>vb</i>	to sigh
ΑΖΡΟ= <i>adv</i>	why?, how come?
ΑΧΙ= <i>imp</i>	Speak! See ΧΩ
ΑΧΝ- <i>prep</i>	without
ΑΧΝΤ=	

ΑΒΡΗΝ <i>nf</i>	barren (female)
Β	
ΒΗΒ <i>nm</i>	cave, hole
ΒΩΚ <i>vb</i>	to go, depart
ΒΗΚ†	
ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ	to enter
ΒΕ(Ε)ΚΕ <i>nm</i>	wage, reward
ΒΥΚΕ	
ΒΕΚΗΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΒΑΛ <i>nm</i>	eye
ΒΩΛ <i>vb</i>	to loosen, untie
ΒΕΛ-, ΒΟΛ=, ΒΗΛ†,	
ΒΑΛ <i>ptcp:act</i>	
ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ	to melt, dissolve
ΒΑΛΖΗΤ <i>adj</i>	innocent, naive
ΒΑΛΕ <i>nm</i>	blind (person)
ΒΑΛΗ <i>nf</i>	
ΒΑΛΕΕΥ(Ε) <i>pl</i>	
ΒΑΧΕ <i>nm</i>	pottery
ΒΑΛΜΠΕ <i>nm</i>	ram, goat
ΒΩΩΝ(Ε) <i>adj</i>	evil, bad
ΒΟΟΝΕ <i>nf</i>	evil, misfortune
ΒΗΝΕ <i>nf</i>	date, date palm-tree
ΒΙΡ, ΒΑΙΡΕ <i>nm</i>	basket
ΒΩΡΠΕ <i>vb</i>	to push, drive, fend off, repel
ΒΕΡΡΕ-, ΒΟΡΡ=, ΒΟΡΡ†	
ΒΡΡΕ <i>adj</i>	new, young
ΒΩΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to pollute, hate, abominate
ΒΕΤ-, ΒΗΤ†	
ΒΟΤΕ <i>nf</i>	abomination

ΒΩΨ <i>vb</i>	to loosen
ΒΕΨ-, ΒΟΨ=, ΒΗΨ†	
ΒΑΨΟΥΡ <i>nf</i>	saw
ΒΟΥΖΕ <i>nm</i>	eyelid
Ε	
-Ε <i>sf</i> 2:sg:f	you (woman) (§2.4.2)
Ε-, 2:sg:f ΕΡΕ-	RELATIVE MARKER (§§7.2, 11.1)
Ε-, ΕΡΟ- <i>prep</i>	to, against, compared to
2:sg:f ΕΡΟ, 2:pl ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ	
ΕΒΙΩ <i>nm</i>	honey
ΕΒΟΛ <i>pcl</i>	out, forth
ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ <i>comp</i>	since, because
ΕΒΙΗΝ <i>nm/nf</i>	poor, wretched person
ΕΒΟΤ <i>nm</i>	month
(Ε)ΚΙΒΕ <i>nf</i>	breast
ΕΛΟΟΛΕ <i>nm</i>	grape
ΕΜΝΤ <i>nm</i>	the west
ΕΝΕ <i>Q-pcl</i>	introduces yes-no questions
ΕΝΕΖ <i>adv</i>	(for)ever, never
ΕΡΗΤ <i>vb</i>	to vow, promise
ΕΡΩΤΕ <i>nm</i>	milk
ΕΡΗΥ <i>pron</i>	each other
ΕΣΗΤ <i>nm</i>	ground
ΕΠΕΣΗΤ <i>pcl</i>	down, under

ΕΣΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	sheep
ΕΤ-, ΕΤΕ-, ΕΤΕΡΕ-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.1)
ΕΤΒΕ <i>prep</i>	for, about, as
ΕΤΒΗΗΤ=	for, because of
ΕΤΗΜΑΥ <i>det</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE (§4.1.1) that, those
ΕΤΗ- <i>prep</i>	to (the hand) of, to
ΕΤΟΟΤ=	
ΕΤΟΥΝ- <i>prep</i>	beside, with
ΕΤΟΥΩ=	
ΕΤΠΩ <i>nf</i>	burden
ΕΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	honour, glory
† ΕΟΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to glorify
ΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to be glorified
ΕΨΩΠΕ <i>conj</i>	if, when
ΕΨΧΕ <i>conj</i>	if, when
ΕΖΕ <i>interj</i>	yes
ΕΖΟΥΝ <i>pcl</i>	inside
ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-	into
ΕΖΡΑΙ <i>pcl</i>	above, up
ΕΖΡΑΙ <i>pcl</i>	below, down
ΕΖΟΥΕ	more than
Ε- <i>adv</i>	See ΖΟΥΟ
ΕΧΝ- <i>prep</i>	upon, over
ΕΧΩ=	against
Η	
Η(Ε)Ι <i>nm</i>	house
ΡΜΝ-Η(Ε)Ι <i>nm</i>	superintendent
ΗΠΕ <i>nf</i>	number
ΗΡΠ <i>nm</i>	wine

(ε)Ι	
-1 <i>sfx 1:sg</i>	I (§2.4.2)
ΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to come, go
ΝΗΟΥ† (supp. <i>stat</i> )	
ΑΜΟΥ (supp. <i>imp</i> )	
ΕΙ ΕΡΑΤ=	to come to
ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ	to come forth
ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ	to enter
ΕΙΕ <i>Q-pcl</i>	introduces non-biased yes-no questions
ΕΙΩ <i>nm</i>	donkey
ΕΙΒΕ <i>vb</i>	to get thirsty
ΟΒΕ†	
ΕΙΕΒΤ <i>nm</i>	the east
ΕΙΟΥΛ <i>nm/f</i>	hind
(ε)ΙΟΗ <i>nm</i>	sea, Fayyûm
ΕΙΜΕ <i>vb</i>	to know
ΕΙΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to bring, bear
(ε)Ν-, (ε)ΝΤ=	
ΑΝ(ε)ΙΝΕ <i>imp</i>	
ΕΙΝΕ <i>N-vb</i>	to resemble, be like
ΕΙΟΠΕ <i>nf</i>	craft, art
ΡΕϞ-Ρ-ΕΙΟΠΕ <i>nm</i>	craftsman
ΕΙΟΟΡ <i>nm</i>	canal
ΧΙΟΟΡ <i>vb</i>	to ferry over
(< ΧΙ-ΕΙΟΟΡ)	
ΕΙΡΕ <i>vb</i>	to make, do, act
(ε)Ρ-, ΛΑ=	
Ο†, Ω†	to be
ΑΡΙ-, ΑΡΙ= <i>imp</i>	
ΕΙΩΡΖ <i>vb</i>	to perceive, see
ΕΙΕΡΖ-,	

(ε)ΙΡΟΖ=	
ΕΙC <i>interj</i>	Behold, Look!
(ε)ΙΩΤ <i>nm</i>	father
ΕΙΟΤΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΕΙΤΝ <i>nm</i>	rubbish, trash
ΕΙΨΕ <i>vb</i>	to hang, suspend
ΑΨΤ-, ΕΨΤ-, ΑΨΤ=, ΑΨΕ†	
ΕΙΩΖΕ <i>nm</i>	field
ΕΙΑΖΟΥ <i>pl</i>	
Κ	
Κ-, -Κ (-Γ)	you (man) (§2.4.2)
<i>pfx, sfx 2:sg:m</i>	
ΚΕ <i>det, pron</i>	(an)other, different
ΣΕ, ΚΕΤ <i>sg:m</i> ,	(also used as focus <i>pcl</i> ) also, too (§4.3.4)
ΚΕΤΕ <i>sg:f</i> ,	
ΚΟΟΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΚΩ <i>vb</i>	to place, set down
ΚΑ-, ΚΑΑ=, ΚΗ†	to lie
ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ	to release, dismiss
ΚΒΑ <i>nm</i>	vengeance
ΚΒΟ <i>vb</i>	to become cool
ΚΗΒ†	be cool
ΚΟΥΙ <i>adj</i>	small, little
ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ <i>adv</i>	a little
ΚΑΙCΕ <i>nf</i>	shroud
ΚΩΚ ΑΖΗΥ <i>vb</i>	to strip, make naked
ΚΑΚΕ <i>nm</i>	darkness
ΚΕΛΩΛ <i>nm</i>	pitcher, jar

ΚΛΟΟΛΕ <i>nf</i>	cloud
ΚΛΟΗ <i>nm</i>	crown, diadem
ΚΕΛΕΝΚΕΖ <i>nm</i>	elbow
ΚΩΛΖ <i>vb</i>	to strike, knock
ΚΑΖ-, ΚΟΛΖ=, ΚΟΛΖ†	
ΚΙΗ <i>vb</i>	to move, be moved
ΚΕΜΤ-, ΚΕΜΤ=	
ΚΜΟΗ <i>vb</i>	to become black
ΚΗΗ†	be black
ΚΑΜΕ, -Η <i>adj</i>	black
ΚΗΗΕ <i>nm</i>	Egypt
ΚΝΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to be fat
ΚΩ(Ω)ΝC <i>vb</i>	to slay, wound
ΚΕΝC-, ΚΟ(Ο)ΝC=	
ΚΟΝC†	
ΚΝΟ(Ο)C <i>vb</i>	to stink, rot
ΚΟΝC†	
ΚΩΠ <i>vb</i>	to hide
ΚΗΠ†	
ΚΗΠΕ <i>nf</i>	vault, cellar
ΚΡΟ <i>nm</i>	shore, bank
ΚΡΜΡΗ <i>vb</i>	to murmur, be vexed
ΚΩΡΨ <i>vb</i>	to request, persuade, entreat
ΚΕΡΨ-, ΚΟΡΨ=	
ΚΡΟϞ <i>nm</i>	guile, ambush
ΚΑC <i>nm</i>	bone
ΚΑΑC, ΚΕΕC <i>pl</i>	
ΚΑCΚC <i>vb</i>	to whisper

ΚΩΤ <i>vb</i>	to build, form
ΚΕΤ-, ΚΟΤ=, ΚΗΤ†	
ΚΤΟ <i>vb</i>	to turn, surround, go around
ΚΤΕ-, ΚΤΟ=, ΚΤΗΥ†	
ΚΩΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to turn, go around
ΚΕΤ-, ΚΟΤ=, ΚΗΤ†	
ΚΑΖ <i>nm</i>	earth, soil
ΚΩΖ <i>vb</i>	to envy
ΚΗΖ†	be zealous
ΚΑΖΚΖ <i>vb</i>	to hew out, smoothen
ΚΕΖΚΕΖ-, ΚΕΖΚΩΖ=, ΚΕΖΚΩΖ†	
ΚΩΖΤ <i>nm</i>	fire
Λ	
ΛΟ <i>vb</i>	to cease, stop
ΛΟ= <i>imp</i>	
ΛΑC <i>nm</i>	tongue, language
ΛΑΑΥ <i>pron</i>	some/anyone, some/anything (§4.3.3)
ΛΙΒΕ <i>vb</i>	to rage
ΛΟΒΕ†	be mad
ΛΟΙΒΕ <i>nf</i>	cause, excuse
Η	
ΗΑ <i>nm</i>	place
ΗΑ <i>imp:sg supp</i>	Give! See †
ΗΑΟ <i>adj</i>	rich
Ρ(ε)Η(Η)ΛΟ	

<b>ME TAM</b> 2:sg:f <b>MEPE-</b>	NEGATIVE HABITUAL (\$9.4.2)	<b>MMIN pcl</b> ( <b>MMO=</b> )	own (§4.3.5)	<b>(E)MΠΩA vb</b>	to be worthy	<b>(E)MTON vb</b>	to be at ease,
<b>ME vb</b>	to love	<b>MMON interj</b>	No!	<b>MPW nf</b>	harbour	<b>MOTN†</b>	rest, relax
<b>MEPE-, MERIT=,</b> <b>MAI ptcp:act</b>	loving	<b>MMATE adv</b>	very much	<b>MOYP vb</b>	to bind, tie, gird	<b>MOYTN vb</b>	to set at, rest
<b>MERIT ptcp:pass</b> <b>MERATE pl</b>	beloved	<b>MMAY adv</b>	there	<b>M(E)P-,</b> <b>MAR=, MOP=,</b> <b>MHP†</b>		<b>METN-, MOTN=</b>	
<b>ME nf</b>	truth, justice	<b>(M)M(E)N vb</b>	(there) is not	<b>MARE TAM</b>	JUSSIVE (§8.2.2)	<b>MOTNEC nf</b>	contentment, ease
<b>MO imp:sg supp</b> <b>MHIETN</b> suppl. imp:pl	Take! See xi	<b>MN-, prep</b> <b>NMMA=</b>	with, and	<b>MEPE n</b>	midday	<b>MAAY nf</b>	mother
<b>MIO= interj</b>	be hale, thanks	<b>MOYN vb</b> <b>MHN†</b>	to remain, continue	<b>MORT nf</b>	beard	<b>MOOY nm</b>	water
<b>MAGIN nm</b>	sign, mark	<b>MANE, MAN-</b>	herdsman	<b>MAC nm</b>	young	<b>MAΓAA= adv</b>	alone, single (\$4.3.5)
<b>MOGIT nm</b>	road, path	<b>MINE nf</b> <b>NTEIMINE adv</b>	manner, kind in this way, thus	<b>MACE nm</b>	young bull, calf	<b>MEEY vb</b>	to think
<b>MOY vb</b> <b>MOOYT†</b>	to die	<b>MOONE vb</b> <b>MENE-,</b> <b>MANOY=</b> <b>MANOOUT†</b>	to pasture, land	<b>MICE vb</b> <b>MEC(T)-,</b> <b>MACT=, MECT=,</b> <b>MOCET†</b>	to bear, deliver	<b>P MEEY vb</b>	to remember
<b>MAAB, -E num</b>	thirty	<b>MOYNK, vb</b> <b>MOYNG</b> <b>MENK-, MONK=,</b> <b>MONG†</b>	to form, make	<b>MECIO nf</b>	midwife, nurse	<b>MOYI nm</b>	lion
<b>MOKHEK vb</b>	to think, pounder	<b>MNNCA - prep</b> <b>MNNCAW=</b>	after	<b>MOCTE vb</b>	to hate	<b>MOYOUT vb</b>	to kill
<b>MOKZ nm</b>	neck	<b>MNOYT nm</b>	door-keeper	<b>MECTE-,</b> <b>MECTW=</b>		<b>MEYT-,</b> <b>MOOYT=</b>	
<b>MOYKZ vb</b> <b>MEKZ-, MOKZ=</b>	to afflict, oppress	<b>MNTPE, nm</b> <b>METPH</b> <b>MNTPEEY pl</b>	witness, testimony	<b>MCAZ nm</b> <b>MCOOZ pl</b>	crocodile	<b>MHHWE nm</b>	crowd, troop
<b>MKAZ, MOKZ†</b> <b>MKAZ NZHT</b>	to be painful, be grieved	<b>MΠE TAM</b>	NEGATIVE PERFECT (§9.4.1)	<b>MTO nm</b>	presence	<b>MWE vb</b>	to fight, quarrel
<b>MOKZC nf</b>	pain, grief	<b>MΠWP interj</b>	No, certainly not!	<b>EBOL prep</b>	before	<b>MOOWE vb</b>	to walk, go
<b>MEWT nf</b> <b>MEΛATE pl</b>	ceiling	<b>MΠATE TAM</b>	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE (\$9.4.3)	<b>(E)MTW nf</b>	depth of sea	<b>MEΨAK adv</b>	perhaps, maybe
<b>MOYAZ nm</b>	wax			<b>MHT, -E num</b>	ten	<b>MOYZ vb</b>	to fill
<b>MMO= prep</b>	See N-			<b>MATE vb</b>	to reach, obtain	<b>MEZ-, MEZ-,</b> <b>MAZ=, MOZ=,</b> <b>MHZ†, MEZ†</b>	
<b>MHINE adv</b>	daily			<b>MITE nf</b>	middle, midst	<b>MAZE nm</b>	ell, cubit
				<b>MOTE nm</b>	neck	<b>(E)MZIT nm</b>	north
				<b>MOYTE vb</b>	to speak, call	<b>MAAXE nm</b>	ear, handle
				<b>MATOI nm</b>	soldier	<b>N</b>	
						<b>N- prep</b>	LINKAGE MARKER (\$§3.1.3, 3.1.4)
						<b>N- TAM</b>	NEGATIVE PREFIX (in double negative N ... AN) See §9.3

<b>N-</b> TAM	CONJUNCTIVE (§8.1.4)
1:sg (N)TA-, 2:sg:f NTΓ-, 2:sg:f NTE-, 3:pl NCE-	
<b>N-</b>	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)
-N sfx 1:pl	we, us (§2.4.2)
<b>N(ε)-</b> det:pl	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2.1)
<b>N-</b> prep	in, as (also used as direct object marker)
NMO=	
<b>N-</b> , NA= prep	for, to
2:sg:f NE, 2:pl NH-TN	
<b>N-</b> prep	in, inside
NQHT=	
1:sg NQHT, 2:sg:f NQHTε, 2:pl NQHTTHYTM	
<b>NA-</b> aux	FUTURE MARKER (§7.3.3)
<b>NA-</b> pron:pl	POSSESSIVE PREFIX they of (§4.1.2.2)
<b>NAΛ-</b> , NAΛ= vb	to be great
<b>NA(α)</b> , NAε vb	to have pity
<b>NA(ε)IAT-</b> vb	blessed is
<b>NAI</b> pron 3:pl	DEMONSTRATIVE these (§4.1.1.2)
<b>NE-</b> det:pl	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg NA- 2:sg:f NOY-	my your (woman)
<b>NE-</b> TAM	PRETERIT (§7.3.5)

2:sg:f NEPE-	
<b>NE</b> cl 3:pl	they (§2.4.3)
<b>NOY-</b> pron:3:pl	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f NOY	yours (woman)
<b>NH(H)BE</b> vb	to swim, float
<b>NOYB</b> nm	gold
<b>NOBE</b> nm	sin
<b>NEΛ-</b> prep	beyond, except
<b>NEΛΛA=</b>	besides
<b>N(ε)I-</b> det:pl	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE these (§4.1.1.1)
<b>NOEIK</b> nm	adulterer
<b>NKA</b> nm	thing, property
(ε)NKOTK vb	to sleep
<b>NIM</b> pron	who?, which of?
<b>MEWE</b> NIM	so-and-so (§4.2.1.2)
<b>NIM</b> adj	every, all (§4.3.1)
<b>NAME</b> adv	verily, truly
<b>NNE-</b> TAM	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE (§9.4.4)
<b>NANOY-</b> vb	to be good, fair
<b>NANOY=</b>	
<b>NOYN</b> nm	abyss (of Hell)
<b>NOYNE</b> nf	root, radish
<b>NCA-</b> prep	behind, except
<b>NCW=</b> 2:pl NCATHYTM	
<b>NECE-</b> vb	to be beautiful
<b>NECW=</b>	

<b>NECBΩ=</b> vb	to be intelligent	<b>NAΥ</b> nm	hour, time
(ε)NT-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)	<b>NAWE-</b> vb	to be many, much
<b>NTE-</b> prep	LINKAGE	<b>NAΩ=</b>	
<b>NTA=</b>	MARKER (§3.1.4)	<b>NOYεWN-</b> prep	without
<b>NTO</b>	you (woman)	(ε)NΩOT vb	to be hard, strong, difficult
<i>free pron 2:sg:f</i>	(§2.4.3)	<b>NAΩT†</b>	
<b>NTE</b>		<b>NEEQ</b> nm	sailor, ferryman
<i>cl 2:sg:f</i>		<b>NIQE</b> vb	to blow, breathe
<b>NAHT</b> adj	merciful	<b>NEQT=</b>	
<b>NOYTE</b> nm	god	<b>NOYQE</b> adj	sweet
<b>ΠNOYTE</b>	God	<b>NEZ</b> nm	oil
<b>NTOK</b>	you (man)	<b>NOYZ</b> nm	rope, cord
<i>free pron 2:sg:m</i>	(§2.4.3)	<b>NOYZ(ε)</b> vb	to shake, cast off, set apart
<b>NTK</b>		<b>NEZ-, NAZ=,</b> <b>NHQ†</b>	
<i>free pron 2:sg:m</i>		<b>NOYZE</b> nf	sycamore
<i>cl 2:sg:m</i>		<b>NOYZH</b> vb	to save, preserve
<b>NTN-</b> prep	in, by hand of, by, with, from	<b>NEZH-, NAZH-,</b> <b>NAZH(ε)=,</b> <b>NAZH†</b>	
<b>NTOOT=</b>		<b>NAZPN-</b> prep	in front of, before
<b>NTEP(ε)-</b> TAM	TEMPORAL (§8.1.2)	<b>NAZPA=</b>	
<b>NTOC</b>	she (§2.4.3)	<b>NEZCE</b> vb	to awake, arise
<i>free pron 3:sg:f</i>		<b>NAZTE</b> vb	to trust, believe
<b>NTWTN</b>	you (plural)	<b>NZET-, NZOYT†</b>	
<i>free pron 2:pl</i>	(§2.4.3)	<b>NEZ-ΩAQ</b> nm	terror
<b>NTETN</b>		<b>NOYX</b> adj	lying, false
<i>cl 2:pl</i>		<b>NOYXE</b> vb	to throw, cast
<b>NTOOY</b>	they	<b>NEX-, NOX=,</b> <b>NHX†</b>	
<i>free pron 3:pl</i>	(§2.4.3)	<b>NOO</b> adj	big, large, great
<b>NTEYNOY</b> adv	immediately see OYNOY		
<b>NTOQ</b>	he		
<i>free pron 3:sg:m</i>	(§2.4.3)		
<b>NAΥ</b> vb	to see, look		
<b>ANAY</b> imp			

<b>ΝΟΙ</b> <i>focus pcl</i>	marks the inverted subject noun (§10.1.5)
<b>ΝΕΩ(ω)=</b> <i>vb</i>	to be ugly
<b>ΝΟΘΝΕΘ</b> <i>vb</i>	to reproach, mock
<b>ΝΕΘΝΕΘ-</b> , <b>ΝΕΘΝΟΥΣ=</b>	
<b>ΝΟΥΣ</b> <i>vb</i>	to make angry
<b>ΝΟΘ†</b>	be angry
<b>ο</b>	
<b>ο†</b> <i>vb</i>	to be See <b>ειρε</b>
<b>ΟΒΖΕ</b> <i>nf</i>	tooth
<b>ΟΕΙΚ</b> <i>nm</i>	bread, loaf
<b>ΟΜΕ</b> <i>nm</i>	clay, mud
<b>ΟΝ</b> <i>pcl</i>	also, too
<b>ΟΟΖ</b> <i>nm</i>	moon
<b>π</b>	
<b>π(ε)-</b> <i>det:sg:m</i>	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2)
<b>πα-</b> <i>pron: sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE PREFIX he of (§4.1.2.2)
<b>παι</b> <i>pron 3: sg:m</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE this (§4.1.1.2)
<b>πε-</b> <i>det sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg <b>πα-</b>	my
2:sg:f <b>πογ-</b>	your (woman)
<b>πε</b> <i>cl 3:sg:m</i>	he (§2.4.3)
<b>πε</b> <i>nf</i>	heaven, sky
<b>πιγ</b> <i>pl</i>	

<b>π(ε)ι-</b> <i>det: sg:m</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE this (§4.1.1.1)
<b>π(ε)ι</b> <i>nf</i>	kiss
<b>πω-</b> <i>pron:3:sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f <b>πιω-</b>	yours (woman)
<b>πω(ω)νε</b> <i>vb</i>	to change, turn
<b>πεενε-</b> , <b>ποονε=</b> , <b>παανε=</b> , <b>ποονε†</b>	
<b>παπτοι</b> <i>nm</i>	bird, chicken
<b>πωπιε</b> <i>vb</i>	to knead (clay), make bricks
<b>παπε-</b> , <b>παπω=</b> ,	
<b>πρω</b> <i>nf</i>	winter
<b>π(ε)ιρε</b> <i>vb</i>	to come forth (of light), shine
<b>πορε†</b> , <b>πρειωγ†</b>	
<b>πρω</b> <i>vb</i>	to spread
<b>π(ε)ρω-</b> , <b>πορω=</b> , <b>πορω†</b>	
<b>πρω</b> <b>εβολ</b>	to spread out
<b>πρω</b> <i>vb</i>	to divide, separate
<b>π(ε)ρϫ-</b> , <b>πορϫ=</b> , <b>πορϫ†</b>	
<b>πις(ε)</b> <i>vb</i>	to cook, melt
<b>π(ε)ς(τ)-</b> , <b>πεστ=</b> , <b>ποσε†</b>	
<b>πατ</b> <i>nf</i>	knee

<b>πωτ,</b> <b>πητ†</b>	to run, flee, go
<b>παψε</b> <i>nf</i>	division, half
<b>πωψ(ε)</b> <i>vb</i>	to divide, separate
<b>πεψ-</b> , <b>ποψ=</b> , <b>πηψ†</b>	
<b>πωψ</b> <i>vb</i>	to amaze, turn
<b>πωσ,</b> <b>πεσ-</b> , <b>ποψ=</b> , <b>πασ=</b> , <b>ποψ†</b> , <b>ποσ†</b>	aside, leave
<b>πωζ</b> <i>vb</i>	to reach
<b>π(ε)ζ-</b> , <b>πηζ†</b>	
<b>παζρε</b> <i>nm</i>	drug, medicine
<b>πωζτ</b> <i>vb</i>	to bend
<b>πεζτ-</b> , <b>παζτ=</b> , <b>παζτ†</b>	
<b>πωζτ</b> <i>vb</i>	to pour, flow
<b>πεζτ-</b> , <b>παζτ=</b> , <b>παζτ†</b>	
<b>πωζτ</b> <b>εβολ</b>	to pour out
<b>παζου</b> <i>nm</i>	hind parts, back
<b>ηπαζου</b> <i>prep</i>	behind
<b>πεχε-</b> <i>vb</i>	said
<b>πεχα=</b>	
<b>πωδε,</b> <b>ποδ=</b> , <b>πογ=</b> , <b>πογε†</b>	to break
<b>ρ</b>	
<b>ρη</b> <i>nm</i>	sun
<b>ρι</b> <i>nf</i>	cell, room

<b>ρο</b> <i>nm</i>	mouth, door, gate
<b>ρω=</b>	
<b>ρω</b> <i>pcl</i>	even, indeed
<b>(ε)ρβε</b> <i>nf</i>	enclosure
<b>ριρ</b> <i>nm</i>	pig, boar
<b>ροει</b> <i>vb</i>	to watch,
<b>ρhc†</b>	be awake
<b>ριε</b> <i>vb</i>	to bend, turn
<b>ρεκτ-</b> , <b>ρακτ=</b> , <b>ρεκτ=</b> , <b>ρακε†</b> , <b>ροκε†</b>	
<b>ρωκ</b> <i>vb</i>	to burn
<b>ρεκ-</b> , <b>ροκ=</b> , <b>ροκ=</b> , <b>ροκ†</b>	
<b>ρ(ε)ιμε</b> <i>vb</i>	to weep, cry
<b>ρμει</b> <i>nf</i>	tear
<b>ρμειου</b> <i>pl</i>	
<b>ρωμε</b> <i>nm</i>	man, human
<b>ρομπε</b> <i>nf</i>	year
<b>ρμπου</b> <i>pl</i>	
<b>ραν</b> <i>nm</i>	name
<b>ρντ=</b>	
<b>ρμν-ραν</b> <i>nm</i>	dignitary
<b>ρπε</b> <i>nm</i>	temple
<b>ρπιγ</b> <i>pl</i>	
<b>ρρο</b> <i>nm</i>	king
<b>ρρω</b> <i>nf</i>	queen
<b>(ε)ρρω</b> <i>pl</i>	
<b>ρhc</b> <i>nm</i>	south
<b>ραστε</b> <i>nm</i>	tomorrow, the next day
<b>ρατ=</b> <i>nm</i>	foot

ΡΩΤ <i>vb</i>	to grow
ΡΕΤ-, ΡΗΤ†	
ΡΟΟΥΨ <i>vb</i>	to care for, be concerned about
ϸΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ	to take care
ΡΑΨΕ <i>vb</i>	to rejoice
ΡΩΨΕ <i>vb</i>	to suffice, content
ΡΕΨΤ-, ΡΑΨΤ- ΡΑΨ(Τ)=	
ΡΨΩΝ <i>nm</i>	coat
ΡΟΥΖΕ <i>nm</i>	evening
ΡΩΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to wash
ΡΑΖΕ†	be clean
ΡΩΖΤ <i>vb</i>	to strike, cast
ΡΕΖΤ-, ΡΑΖΤ=, ΡΑΖΤ=, ΡΑΖΤ†	
ΡΑΖΤΟΥ <i>nm</i>	monastic garment
ϸ	
ϸ-, -ϸ	she (§2.4.2)
<i>px, sfx 3:sg:f</i>	
ϸΑ <i>nm</i>	side, part
(N)ϸΑϸΑ <i>NIM</i>	on every side
NϸΑ <i>prep</i>	after
ϸΑ <i>nm</i>	beauty
ϸΕ-, -ϸΕ	they (§2.4.2)
<i>px, sfx 3:pl</i>	
ϸΕ <i>interj</i>	yes
ϸΕ <i>num</i>	sixty
ϸ(Ε)Ι <i>vb</i>	to be filled, enjoy
ϸΗΥ†	

ϸΟ <i>nm</i>	refrain, pardon
† ϸΟ	
-ϸΟΥ <i>sfx 3:pl</i>	they (§2.4.1)
ϸΩ <i>vb</i>	to drink
ϸΕ-, ϸΑ-, ϸΟΟ=	
ϸΒΩ <i>nf</i>	doctrine,
ϸΒΟΟΥΕ <i>pl</i>	teaching
† ϸΒΩ <i>vb</i>	to teach
ϸΙ ϸΒΩ <i>vb</i>	to be taught
ϸΑΒΕ <i>adj sg:m</i>	wise, prudent
ϸΑΒΗ <i>sg:f</i>	
ϸΑΒΕΕΥ(Ε) <i>pl</i>	
ϸΩΒΕ <i>vb</i>	to laugh, mock
ϸΟΒ(Ε)Τ <i>nm</i>	wall, fence
ϸΟΒΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to make ready,
ϸΒΤΕ-, ϸΒΤΩΤ=, ϸΒΤΩΤ†	prepare, set in order
ϸΑΕΙΕ <i>adj</i>	beautiful,
ϸΑ(Ε)ΗΗ	handsome
ϸΑΕΙΝ <i>nm</i>	doctor, physician
ϸΟΕΙΤ <i>nm</i>	fame, report
ϸΩΚ <i>vb</i>	to draw, gather,
ϸ(Ε)Κ-, ϸΑΚ-, ϸΟΚ=, ϸΑΚ=, ϸΟΚ†	move swiftly
ϸΩΛΠ <i>vb</i>	to break, burst
ϸ(Ε)ΛΠ-, ϸΟΛΠ=, ϸΟΛΠ†	
ϸΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ	to cut off
ϸΟΛϸΑ <i>vb</i>	to comfort,
ϸΑϸΑ-, ϸΑϸΩΛ=, ϸΑϸΩΛ†, ϸΑϸΟΛ†	encourage

ϸΗΗ <i>nf</i>	voice	ϸΠΗ <i>nm</i>	rib
ϸΗΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to bless	ϸΠΡΟΟΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ϸΗΑΗΑΑ(N)Τ†		ϸΟΠϸΠ <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray
ϸΗΜΕ <i>vb</i>	to appeal	ϸΠϸΠ-, ϸΠϸΩΠ=, ϸΕΠϸΩΠ†	
ϸΗΙΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to set right,	ϸΩΡ <i>vb</i>	to scatter,
ϸΗΝ-, ϸΗΝΤ=, ϸΗΟΝΤ†	construct, establish	ϸΕΡ-, ϸΟΡ=, ϸΗΡ†	spread
ϸΗΟΤ <i>nm</i>	form, character, pattern, likeness	ϸΟΥΡΕ <i>nm</i>	thorn, spike
ϸΟΝ <i>nm</i>	brother, fellow monk	ϸΩΡΗ <i>vb</i>	to mislead, lead astray
ϸΩΝΕ <i>nf</i>	sister	ϸΕΡΗ-, ϸΟΡΗ=, ϸΟΡΗ†	
ϸΗΗΥ <i>pl</i>		ϸΡϸΕ <i>vb</i>	to be at lease
ϸΙΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to pass by, leave	ϸΡΟϸΤ†, ϸΡΟΒΤ†	
ϸ(Ε)Ν-, ϸΝΤ=		ϸΡΟϸΡΕϸ <i>vb</i>	to let fall,
ϸΩΝΤ <i>vb</i>	to create, found	ϸΡΕϸΡΩϸ=	dissipate
ϸ(Ε)ΝΤ-, ϸΟΝΤ=, ϸΟΝΤ†		ϸΑΡΑΒΩΟΥΨ <i>nm</i>	hare
ϸΝΤΕ <i>nf</i>	foundation	ϸΑΤΕ <i>nf</i>	fire
ϸΝΑΥ <i>num sg:m</i>	two	ϸΙΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to throw, sow
ϸ(Ε)ΝΤΕ <i>sg:f</i>		ϸΕΤ-, ϸΙΤ-, ϸΑΤ=, ϸΕΤ=, ϸΗΤ†	
ϸΑ(Α)ΝΨ <i>vb</i>	to make live,	ϸΟΤΕ <i>nm</i>	arrow, dart
ϸΑΑΝΨ-, ϸΑΝΟΥΨ=	nourish	ϸΟΟΤΕ <i>pl</i>	
ϸΝΟϸ <i>nm</i>	blood	ϸΤΟΙ <i>nm</i>	smell, scent
ϸΩΝΖ <i>vb</i>	to bind,	ϸ†-ΝΟΥϸΕ	fragrance,
ϸΟΝΖ=	be bound	ϸΩΤΗ <i>vb</i>	to hear, listen
ϸΟΝΖ†		ϸΕΤΗ-, ϸΟΤΜΕ=	
ϸΝΑΖ <i>nm</i>	bondage, fetter	ϸΩΤΠ <i>vb</i>	to choose
ϸΝΑΥΖ <i>pl</i>		ϸΕΠΠ-, ϸΟΠΠ=, ϸΟΠΠ†	
ϸΟΠ <i>nm</i>	occasion, time	ϸΟΠΠ†	be better
ϸ(Ε)Π- ΝΟΥϸΟΠ <i>adv</i>	once	ϸΤΡΤΡ <i>vb</i>	to tremble
ϸΕΕΠΕ <i>vb</i>	to remain, be left		



ΡΩΤ <i>vb</i>	to grow
ΡΕΤ-, ΡΗΤ†	
ΡΟΟΥΨ <i>vb</i>	to care for, be concerned about
ϞΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ	to take care
ΡΑΨΕ <i>vb</i>	to rejoice
ΡΩΨΕ <i>vb</i>	to suffice, content
ΡΕΨΤ-, ΡΑΨΤ- ΡΑΨ(Τ)=	
ΡΨΩΝ <i>nm</i>	coat
ΡΟΥΖΕ <i>nm</i>	evening
ΡΩΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to wash
ΡΑΖΕ†	be clean
ΡΩΖΤ <i>vb</i>	to strike, cast
ΡΕΖΤ-, ΡΑΖΤ=, ΡΑΖΤ=, ΡΑΖΤ†	
ΡΑΖΤΟΥ <i>nm</i>	monastic garment
<b>Ϟ</b>	
Ϟ-, -Ϟ	she (§2.4.2)
<i>px, sfx 3:sg:f</i>	
ϞΑ <i>nm</i>	side, part
(Ν)ϞΑϞΑ ΝΗΗ	on every side
ΝϞΑ <i>prep</i>	after
ϞΑ <i>nm</i>	beauty
ϞΕ-, -ϞΕ	they (§2.4.2)
<i>px, sfx 3:pl</i>	
ϞΕ <i>interj</i>	yes
ϞΕ <i>num</i>	sixty
Ϟ(Ε)Ι <i>vb</i>	to be filled, enjoy
ϞΗ†	

ϞΟ <i>nm</i>	refrain, pardon
† ϞΟ	
-ϞΟΥ <i>sfx 3:pl</i>	they (§2.4.1)
ϞΩ <i>vb</i>	to drink
ϞΕ-, ϞΑ-, ϞΟΟ=	
ϞΒΩ <i>nf</i>	doctrine, teaching
ϞΒΟΟΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
† ϞΒΩ <i>vb</i>	to teach
ϞΙ ϞΒΩ <i>vb</i>	to be taught
ϞΑΒΕ <i>adj sg:m</i>	wise, prudent
ϞΑΒΗ <i>sg:f</i>	
ϞΑΒΕΕΥ(Ε) <i>pl</i>	
ϞΩΒΕ <i>vb</i>	to laugh, mock
ϞΟΒ(Ε)Τ <i>nm</i>	wall, fence
ϞΟΒΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to make ready, prepare, set in order
ϞΒΤΕ-, ϞΒΤΩΤ=, ϞΒΤΩΤ†	
ϞΑΕΙΕ <i>adj</i>	beautiful, handsome
ϞΑ(Ε)ΗΗ	
ϞΑΓΙΝ <i>nm</i>	doctor, physician
ϞΟΕΙΤ <i>nm</i>	fame, report
ϞΩΚ <i>vb</i>	to draw, gather, move swiftly
Ϟ(Ε)Κ-, ϞΑΚ-, ϞΟΚ=, ϞΑΚ=, ϞΟΚ†	
ϞΩΛΠ <i>vb</i>	to break, burst
Ϟ(Ε)ΛΠ-, ϞΟΛΠ=, ϞΟΛΠ†	
ϞΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ	to cut off
ϞΟΛϞΑ <i>vb</i>	to comfort, encourage
ϞΑϞΑ-, ϞΑϞΩΛ=, ϞΑϞΩΛ†, ϞΑϞΟΛΤ†	

ϞΗΗ <i>nf</i>	voice
ϞΗΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to bless
ϞΗΑΗΑΛ(Ν)Τ†	
ϞΗΗΕ <i>vb</i>	to appeal
ϞΗΗΙΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to set right, construct, establish
ϞΗΝ-, ϞΗΝΤ=, ϞΗΝΟΤ†	
ϞΗΟΤ <i>nm</i>	form, character, pattern, likeness
ϞΟΝ <i>nm</i>	brother, fellow monk
ϞΩΝΕ <i>nf</i>	sister
ϞΗΗΥ <i>pl</i>	
ϞΙΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to pass by, leave
Ϟ(Ε)Ν-, ϞΝΤ=	
ϞΩΝΤ <i>vb</i>	to create, found
Ϟ(Ε)ΝΤ-, ϞΟΝΤ=, ϞΟΝΤ†	
ϞΝΤΕ <i>nf</i>	foundation
ϞΝΑΥ <i>num sg:m</i>	two
Ϟ(Ε)ΝΤΕ <i>sg:f</i>	
ϞΑ(Α)ΝΩΥ <i>vb</i>	to make live, nourish
ϞΑΑΝΩ-, ϞΑΝΟΥΨ=	
ϞΝΟϞ <i>nm</i>	blood
ϞΩΝΖ <i>vb</i>	to bind, be bound
ϞΟΝΖ=, ϞΟΝΖ†	
ϞΝΑΖ <i>nm</i>	bondage, fetter
ϞΝΑΥΖ <i>pl</i>	
ϞΟΠ <i>nm</i>	occasion, time
Ϟ(Ε)Π- ΝΟΥϞΟΠ <i>adv</i>	once
ϞΕΕΠΕ <i>vb</i>	to remain, be left

ϞΠΡ <i>nm</i>	rib
ϞΠΡΟΟΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ϞΟΠϞΠ <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray
ϞΠϞΠ-, ϞΠϞΠ=, ϞΕΠϞΠ†	
ϞΩΡ <i>vb</i>	to scatter, spread
ϞΕΡ-, ϞΟΡ=, ϞΗΡ†	
ϞΟΥΡΕ <i>nm</i>	thorn, spike
ϞΩΡΗ <i>vb</i>	to mislead, lead astray
ϞΕΡΗ-, ϞΟΡΗ=, ϞΟΡΗ†	
ϞΡϞΕ <i>vb</i>	to be at lease
ϞΡΟϞΤ†, ϞΡΟΒΤ†	
ϞΡΟϞΡΕϞ <i>vb</i>	to let fall, dissipate
ϞΡΕϞΡΩϞ=	
ϞΑΡΑΒΩΟΥΨ <i>nm</i>	hare
ϞΑΤΕ <i>nf</i>	fire
ϞΙΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to throw, sow
ϞΕΤ-, ϞΙΤ-, ϞΑΤ=, ϞΕΤ=, ϞΗΤ†	
ϞΟΤΕ <i>nm</i>	arrow, dart
ϞΟΟΤΕ <i>pl</i>	
ϞΤΟΙ <i>nm</i>	smell, scent
ϞΤ-ΝΟΥϞΕ	fragrance,
ϞΩΤΗ <i>vb</i>	to hear, listen
ϞΕΤΗ-, ϞΟΤΗ=	
ϞΩΤΠ <i>vb</i>	to choose
ϞΕΤΠ-, ϞΟΤΠ=, ϞΟΤΠ†	
ϞΟΤΠ†	be better
ϞΤΡΤΡ <i>vb</i>	to tremble

CTWT <i>vb</i>	to tremble
CHY <i>nm</i>	time, season
COY-	day of month
CIOY <i>nm</i>	star
COOY <i>num sg:m</i>	six
CO <i>sg:f</i>	
COYO <i>nm</i>	corn, wheat
COOYN <i>vb</i>	to know
COY(Ε)N-, COYΩN=	
CIOYP <i>nm</i>	eunuch
COOYTN <i>vb</i>	to straighten,
COYTN-, COYTΩN=, COYTΩN†	stretch
CWOY2 <i>vb</i>	to gather,
CEY2-, COOY2=, COOY2†	collect
COOY2C <i>nf</i>	congregation
COOZE <i>nf</i>	egg
CWE <i>vb</i>	to be like gall,
CAWE†	bitter
CAWQ <i>num sg:m</i>	seven
CAWQE <i>sg:mf</i>	
CWQ <i>vb</i>	to despise,
CEWQ-, COWQ=, COWQ†	condemn
CAQ <i>nm</i>	yesterday
CHQE <i>nf</i>	sword, knife
CWQ <i>vb</i>	to pollute,
CEEQ-, COOQ=, COOQ†	defile

CA2 <i>nm</i>	writer, teacher
COOZE <i>vb</i>	to set up
CAZE-, CAZΩ=	
C2AI <i>vb</i>	to write
CEZ-, CAZT=, C2AIT=, CHZ†	
C2IME <i>nf</i>	woman
ZIOME <i>pl</i>	
CAZNE <i>nm</i>	order
OYEZCAZNE	to command
CAZOY(Ε)	to curse
CZOY(Ε)P-, CZOYΩP=, CZOYOPT†	
CΩC <i>vb</i>	to paralyse
CEC-, COC=, CHC†	be lame
COBN <i>nm</i>	ointment
COPAZT <i>vb</i>	to rest, pause
T	
-T <i>sfx 1:sg</i>	me (§2.4.1)
T(Ε)- <i>det:sg:f</i>	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.1.1)
TA- <i>pron: sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE PREFIX she of (§4.1.2.2)
TAI	DEMONSTRATIVE this (§4.1.1.2)
pron 3: <i>sg:f</i>	
TE- <i>det sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg TA-	my
2:sg:f TOY-	your (woman)
TE <i>cl 3:sg:f</i>	she (§2.4.3)

-TE <i>sfx 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.2)	TA(Ε)IO <i>vb</i>	to honour, pay respect
TEI-, †-	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE this (4.1.1.1)	TAIEE-, TAEIO=, TA(Ε)HY†	
TE(P)- <i>pfx 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.2)	TO(I)(Ε) <i>nf</i>	part, share
†- <i>pfx 1:sg</i>	I (§2.4.2)	TAIBE <i>nf</i>	chest, coffin
†, TI <i>vb</i>	to give	TAKO <i>vb</i>	to destroy, perish
†-, TAA=, TO†, TΩ†		TAKE-, TAKO=, TAKHY(T)†	
MA <i>supp. imp:sg</i>		TALO <i>vb</i>	to lift, set on
† EBOA	to sell	TAAE-, TALO=, TAAHY†	
TΩ-	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)	TΩAM <i>vb</i>	to defile, besmirch
2:sg:f TΩ-	yours (woman)	TOAM=, TOAM†	
TBA <i>num</i>	ten thousand	TALBO <i>vb</i>	to heal
THHE <i>nm</i>	finger	TALBE-, TALBO=, TALBKHY†	
TΩBE <i>nf</i>	brick	T(Ε)M- <i>aux</i>	do not (used to negate infinitivals and relative tenses) (§9.4.6)
TΩ(Ω)BE <i>vb</i>	to repay, requite	TOM <i>nm</i>	mat
TEBE-, TOOB=		TAMO <i>vb</i>	to tell, inform
TBEO <i>vb</i>	to make pure, purify	TAME-, TAMO=	
TEBE-, TBEO=, TEBH†		†ME <i>nm</i>	village, small town
TBNH <i>nm</i>	cattle	TIME	
TBNOOYE <i>pl</i>		TAMIO <i>vb</i>	to make, create
TΩEC <i>vb</i>	to incite, stimulate	TAMIE-, TAMIO=, TAMHY†	
T(Ε)EC-, TOEC=	motivate, urge, admonish	TMMO <i>vb</i>	to feed, nourish
TBT <i>nm</i>	fish	TM(H)E-, TM(H)O=, TMHH†	
TΩE2 <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray,		
TE2-, TOE2=	console		

ΤΩΜC,	to bury
Τ(Ε)ΜC-,	
ΤΟΜ(Ε)C=,	
ΤΟΜC†	
ΤΩΜΝΤ <i>vb</i>	to meet, befall
ΤΟΜΝΤ†	
Τ(Ε)Ν-	we (§2.4.2)
<i>px 1:pl</i>	
-ΤΝ	you (plural)
<i>sfx 2:pl</i>	(§2.4.2)
ΤΩΝ <i>adv</i>	where?
†ΤΩΝ <i>vb</i>	to dispute, quarrel
ΤΝΝΟΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to send, summon
ΤΝ(Ν)ΕΥ-,	
ΤΝ(Ν)ΟΟΥ(Τ)=	
ΤΗΖ <i>nm</i>	wing
ΤΑΝΖΟΥΤ <i>vb</i>	to trust, believe
ΤΑΝΖΕΤ-,	
ΤΑΝΖΟΥΤ=,	
ΤΑΝΖΗΥΤ†	
ΤΑΠΡΟ <i>nf</i>	mouth
ΤΡΕ- <i>aux</i>	CAUSATIVE INFINITIVE (§6.4.3)
ΤΗΡ= <i>adj</i>	all, whole, every
ΕΠΤΗΡϣ <i>adv</i>	entirely, at all
ΤΑΡΕ <i>TAM</i>	INFERENTIAL
<i>l:sg</i> ΤΑΡΙ	(§8.2.4)
ΤΩΡΕ <i>nf</i>	hand, handle
ΤΟΟΤ=	
ψ(Ε)Π ΤΩΡΕ <i>vb</i>	to undertake, stand bail
†(Ν)ΤΟΟΤ= <i>vb</i>	to give hand, help

ΤΩΡΙΤ <i>vb</i>	to seize, rob
Τ(Ε)ΡΙΤ-, ΤΟΡΙΤ=	
ΤΡΙΡ <i>nf</i>	oven
ΤΡΡΕ <i>vb</i>	to be afraid
ΤΡΕΙΩΟΥ†	
ΤCΟ <i>vb</i>	to give to drink
ΤCΕ-, ΤCΟ=,	
ΤCΗΥ†	
ΤCΑΒΟ <i>vb</i>	to teach, instruct
ΤCΑΒΕ-, ΤCΑΒΟ=,	
ΤCΑΒΗΥ(Τ)†	
ΤCΑ(Ε)ΙΟ <i>vb</i>	to decorate, make beautiful
ΤCΑΙΕ-,	
ΤCΑΙΟ=,	
ΤCΑΙΗΥ†	
(Τ)CΤΟ <i>vb</i>	to return, bring back
(Τ)CΤΕ-,	
ΤCΤΟ=,	
(Τ)CΤΗΥ†	
ΤΩΤ <i>vb</i>	to agree to, persuade
ΤΕΤ-, ΤΟΤ=,	
ΤΗΤ†	
ΤΕΤΝ- <i>px 2:pl</i>	you (plural) (§2.4.1)
ΤΑ(Ο)ΥΟ <i>vb</i>	to send, put forth, produce,
ΤΑ(Ο)ΥΕ-,	
ΤΑ(Ο)ΥΟ=	
†ΟΥ, †Ε <i>num</i>	five
ΤΑ(Ε)ΙΟΥ <i>num</i>	fifty
ΤΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	mountain, monastery
ΡΜΝΤΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	monk, hermit
ΤΟΟΥΕ <i>nm</i>	shoe

ΤΩΟΥΝ <i>vb</i>	to rise, carry	ΤΟΥΧΟ <i>vb</i>	to save
ΤΟΥΝ-, ΤΩΟΥΝ=		ΤΟΥΧΕ-, ΤΟΥΧΟ=,	
ΤΟΥΝΟC <i>vb</i>	to wake, raise, set up	ΤΟΥΧΗΥ†	
ΤΟΥΝΟ(Υ)C-,		ΤΑΧΡΟ <i>vb</i>	to make
ΤΟΥΝΟC=		ΤΑΧΡΕ-, ΤΑΧΡΟ=,	strong, firm,
ΤΟΥΩΤ <i>nm</i>	idol, statue, pillar	ΤΑΧΡΗΥ†,	be strong
		ΤΑΧΡΑΕΙΤ†	
-ΤΗΥΤ(Ε)Ν	you (plural)	ΤΩΩCΕ <i>vb</i>	to fix, join, plant
<i>sfx 2:pl</i>	(allomorph of -ΤΝ) (§2.4.1)	ΤΕC-, ΤΕΚ-,	
ΤΩΨ <i>vb</i>	to limit, fix, determine	ΤΟΟΚ-, ΤΟC=,	
ΤΕΨ-, ΤΩΨ=,		ΤΟ(Ο)Κ=,	
ΤΗΨ†		ΤΗC†, ΤΗΚ†	
ΤΩΨ, ΤΩΨ <i>nm</i>	district	ΤΩCΕ <i>nm</i>	plant
ΤΑΨΟ <i>vb</i>	to increase	(Τ)CΑ(Ε)ΙΟ <i>vb</i>	to disgrace, condemn
ΤΑΨΕ-, ΤΑΨΟ=		(Τ)CΑ(Ε)ΙΕ-	
ΘΒΒΙΟ <i>vb</i>	to humiliate	(Τ)CΑ(Ε)ΙΟ=,	
ΘΒΒΙΕ-, ΘΒΒΙΟ=,		(Τ)CΑ(Ε)ΙΗΥ†	
ΘΒΒΙΗΥ†	be humble	ΤΩCС <i>vb</i>	to bleach, dye
ΘΗΚΟ <i>vb</i>	to afflict	ΤΩCС=, ΤΑCС=,	
ΘΗΚΕ-, ΘΗΚΟ=,		ΤΟCС†	
ΘΗΚΗΥ†		ΤΑCСΕ <i>nf</i>	foot-sole
ΤΑΖΟ <i>vb</i>	make to stand, reach, befall	ΟΥ	
ΤΑΖΕ-, ΤΑΖΟ=,		ΟΥ- <i>det:sg</i>	INDEFINITE ARTICLE
ΤΑΖΗΥ†			a (certain) (§2.2.2.2)
ΤΩΖΜ <i>vb</i>	to summon	-(Ο)Υ <i>sfx 3:pl</i>	they (§2.4.2)
ΤΕΖΜ-, ΤΑΖΜ=,		ΟΥ <i>pron</i>	what?
ΤΑΖΜ†		ΟΥΑ <i>pron</i>	one
ΤΕΖΝΕ <i>nf</i>	forehead	<i>sg:f</i> ΟΥΕΙ	
ΤΩΖC <i>vb</i>	to anoint, pour, smear upon	ΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ	one by one
Τ(Ε)ΖC-,		ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ	each one
ΤΑΖC=, ΤΟΖC=,		ΠΟΥΑ ...	the one ...
ΤΑΖC†		ΠΚΕΟΥΑ	the other
		ΟΥΑ <i>nm</i>	blasphemy

χι ογα <i>vb</i>	to speak blasphemy	ογνοϋ <i>nf</i>	hour
ογε <i>vb</i>	to depart,	ογνοογε <i>pl</i>	
ογηϋ†	be distant	ογναη <i>nf</i>	right hand
ογω <i>vb</i>	to cease, stay	ογντε- <i>vb</i>	to have
αφογω εδροϋ	he is already dead	ογντα=	
ογω <i>nm</i>	news, report	ογωνω <i>nm</i>	wolf
(ε)ρ ογω <i>vb</i>	to reply	ογνοϋ <i>vb</i>	to rejoice
ογβε- <i>prep</i>	opposite,	ογωνη εβολ <i>vb</i>	to reveal,
ογβη=	against	ογενη-, ογονη=,	appear, show
† ογβε- <i>vb</i>	to fight	ογονη†	
ογνιη <i>nm</i>	priest See ογοη	ογοη <i>vb</i>	to be pure,
ογβαω <i>vb</i>	to become white,	ογααβ†	holy
ογοβω†	be white	πετογααβ	the holy
ογο(ε)ι <i>interj</i>	woe!	ογη(η)ρ <i>adj</i>	how great?, how many?, how much?
ογο(ε)ι <i>nm</i>	rush, course	ογροτ <i>vb</i>	to be glad
† ηπογο(ε)ι <i>vb</i>	to advance, go forward	ροογτ†	
ογο(ε)τε <i>nm</i>	peasant,	ογεριτε <i>nf</i>	foot
ογε(ε)ηη <i>pl</i>	cultivator	ογctη <i>vb</i>	to broaden,
ογοειη <i>nm</i>	light	ογεctων†	be broad
ογεειενηη <i>adj</i>	Greek	ογωτ <i>adj</i>	single, alone
ογοειω <i>nm</i>	time, occasion	ογωτ <i>vb</i>	to be green,
ογωη <i>vb</i>	to eat, bite	ογετ-, ογετ=	fresh
ογ(ε)η-, ογωη=		ογωτογετ <i>vb</i>	to be green
ογ(ε)η <i>vb</i>	(there) is	ογετογωτ†	pallid
ογον <i>pron</i>	some/anyone	ογο(ο)τε <i>nm</i>	greens, herbs
ογωη <i>vb</i>	to open	ογτε- <i>prep</i>	between,
ογηη†		ογτω=	among
α(ο)γωη <i>imp</i>		ογωτε <i>vb</i>	to change, pass
ογγιη <i>vb</i>	to pass by	ογετε-,	through, remove
		ογοτε=,	
		ογοτ(ε)β†	

ογταη <i>nm</i>	fruit	ψ	
ογωω <i>vb</i>	to want, wish	ψιϋ, -τε <i>nm</i>	nine
ογεω-, ογαω=		ω	
ογωη <i>nf</i>	night	ωβω <i>vb</i>	to forget, sleep
ητεγωη <i>adv</i>	by night	εβω-, οβω=,	
ογωωβ <i>vb</i>	to answer,	οβω†	
ογωωϋ	respond	ωκη <i>vb</i>	to be dark,
ογεωβ-, ογαωβ=		εκη-, οκ(ε)η†	
ογωωη <i>vb</i>	to knead, bruise	ωλ <i>vb</i>	to hold, contain,
ογεωη-, ογοωη=,		ολ-, ωλ-,	gather
ογοωη†		ολ=, ηλ†	
ογωωϋ <i>vb</i>	to broaden	ωμη <i>vb</i>	to swallow
ογεωϋ-,		εμη-,	
ογοωϋ=,		ομηκ=	
ογοωϋ†	be at ease	ωμηϋ <i>vb</i>	to sink, dip
ογωωτ <i>vb</i>	to worship, greet	εμηϋ-, ομηϋ=	
ογωωϋ <i>vb</i>	to crush, perish	ωμηϋ <i>vb</i>	to sink, dip
ογεωϋ-, ογοωϋ=,		εμηϋ-, ομηϋ=	
ογωωϋ†		ωμηϋ <i>nm</i>	stone
ογωη <i>vb</i>	to put, set, lie	ωμηϋ <i>vb</i>	to leap (reflexive)
ογεη-, ογαη=,		ομηϋ=, ομηϋ=	
ογηη†		ωμηϋ, ωμηϋ <i>vb</i>	to live
ογωη ετοοτ=	to repeat, do again	ομηϋ†	be alive
ογωηη <i>vb</i>	to repeat, answer	ωπη <i>vb</i>	to count, esteem
ογεηη-, ογαηη=,		επη-, οπη=,	
ογοηη†		ηπη†	
ογχοη <i>nm</i>	dog	ωρη <i>vb</i>	to swear oath
ογχοοη <i>pl</i>		ωρη-, ορη=	
ογχαη <i>vb</i>	to be whole, safe	ωρηϋ <i>vb</i>	to be firm,
ογοχ†		(ε)ρηϋ-, ορηϋ=,	secure
ογωοη <i>vb</i>	to break	ορη(ε)χ†	
ογωοη		ωρηϋ <i>vb</i>	to delay,
ογεοη-,		ορηϋ†	be prolonged
ογοοη=,		ωρηϋ <i>vb</i>	to reap See ωρηϋ
ογοοη†, ογοοη†			

ωΠΠ <i>vb</i>	to shut, enclose,
εΠΠ-, οΠΠ-, οΠΠ†, οΠΠ†	imprison
ωΤΠ <i>vb</i>	to load
οΙΠΠ-, οΠΠΠ-, οΠΠ†	
ωψ <i>vb</i>	to cry, announce,
εψ-, οψ=	read
ωζε, οζε <i>vb</i>	to stand, stay
λζε-, λζε†	
λζε (ε)ΡΑΤ=	to stand (on foot)
ωζc, ωcζ <i>vb</i>	to reap, mow
εζc-, ωcζ-, οζc=, οcζ=	
ωχN <i>vb</i>	to cease, perish,
ωχN-, οχN=	destroy
ωστ <i>vb</i>	to choke, strangle
εστ-, οστ=	
ψ	
(ε)ψ- <i>aux</i>	to be able to, can
ψλ- <i>prep</i>	to, towards
ψλρο=	
ψλ <i>TAM</i>	HABITUAL ASPECT
2:sg:f ψλρε-	(§7.3.6)
ψλ <i>nm</i>	festival
ψε <i>nm</i>	wood
ψε <i>num</i>	hundred
ψε <i>interj</i>	(in swearing) by
ψι <i>vb</i>	to measure, weigh
ψι-, ψιτ=	
ψιη†	
ψο <i>num</i>	thousand

ψωβ <i>vb</i>	to shave, clip
ψβ-, ψεcτ- ψοβ=, ψοc=, ψηβ†	
ψιβε <i>vb</i>	to change
ψβ-, ψ(ε)βτ-, ψ(ε)βτ=, ψεcτ=, ψο(ο)βε†, ψο(ο)cε†,	
ψβηρ, ψβρ <i>nm</i>	friend
ψβεερ <i>pl</i>	
ψεει <i>vb</i>	to come and go, wander
ψικε <i>vb</i>	to dig
ψεκτ-, ψακτ=, ψοκε†	
ψκακ <i>nm</i>	cry, shout
χι ψκακ εβολ	to cry out
ψικζ <i>nm</i>	depth, pit
ψωλ <i>vb</i>	to spoil,
ψ(ε)λ-, ψολ=	destroy
ψαλ- <i>ptcp:act</i>	
ψληλ <i>vb</i>	to pray
ψελεετ <i>nf</i>	bride
ψημ <i>adj</i>	small, little
ψωη <i>nm</i>	summer
ψημο <i>nm</i>	stranger
ψμοϥN <i>num sg:m</i>	eight
ψμοϥNE <i>sg:f</i>	
ψομ(Ν)Τ <i>num sg:m</i>	three
ψομτε <i>sg:f</i>	
ψμψε <i>vb</i>	to serve,
ψμψε-, ψμψητ=	worship
ψνε, ψηη <i>nm</i>	net
ψηηϥ(ε) <i>pl</i>	

ψαν <i>TAM</i>	CONDITIONAL (§8.2.3)	ψαρελ <i>nm</i>	scorching heat
ψηη <i>nm</i>	tree	ψορπ <i>num sg:m</i>	first
ψ(ε)ηνε <i>vb</i>	to seek, ask	ψορπε <i>sg:f</i>	
ψεν(τ)-, ψητ=		ηψορπ <i>adv</i>	at first
ση ηψηνε	to visit	ψωρπ <i>vb</i>	to be early
ψωνε <i>vb</i>	to become sick	ψ(ε)ρ(ε)π -,	do first
ψο(ο)ηε†	be sick, ill	ψορπ=	
ψοοηε <i>vb</i>	to be merciful	ψορψρ <i>vb</i>	to upset, destroy,
ψ(ε)η-,		ψρψρ-, ψρψωρ=, ψρψωρ†, ψρψορ†	
ψαν- <i>ptcp:act</i>		ψωc <i>nm</i>	shepherd
ψηc <i>nm</i>	linen	ψοοc, ψωωc <i>pl</i>	
ψαντ(ε) <i>TAM</i>	TERMINATIVE (§8.1.3)	ψωc(ε)η <i>vb</i>	to annoy, fatigue
1:sg ψαν†-,		ψοcη†	be disheartened
ψαντα-		ψιτε <i>vb</i>	to demand,
2:sg:f ψαντε-		ψετ-, ψιτ-,	extort
ψιπε <i>vb</i>	to embarrass	ψιτ=, ψλ(λ)τ=,	
ψωπ <i>vb</i>	to receive, take	ψητ <i>num</i>	two hundred
ψ(ε)π-, ψοιπ=, ψηπ†	contain, suffer	ψω(ω)τ <i>vb</i>	to cut, slay, be
ψωπ <i>nm</i>	moment, instant	ψ(ε)τ-,	cut short, needy
ζηουψπ(ε)	all of a sudden	ψλ(λ)τ=, ψαατ†	
ηψωπ <i>adv</i>		ψωτε <i>nf</i>	well, cistern, pit
ψωπε <i>vb</i>	to become, happen, befall	(ε)ψτεκο <i>nm</i>	prison
ψοοπ†	to be, live (at)	ψτεκωου <i>pl</i>	
ψηηρε <i>nf</i>	wonder, amazement	ψωτη <i>vb</i>	to shut
ψααρ <i>nm</i>	skin	ψ(ε)τη-,	
ψαаре <i>pl</i>		ψοτη†	be shut
ψηρε, ψρ- <i>nm</i>	son, child	ψτηη <i>nf</i>	garment, tunic
ψεερε <i>nf</i>	daughter	ψτορτρ <i>vb</i>	to disturb,
ψηρε ψηη	small child, lad	ψτρτρ-,	trouble,
ψ(ε)ηρε <i>adj</i>	small	ψτρτωρ=, ψτρτωρ†	
ζ(ε)ρ-ψηρε <i>nm</i>	young servant	ψαϥ <i>nm</i>	use, value

ψοογ(ε) <i>nm</i>	incense, perfume
ψοογε <i>vb</i>	to dry out,
ψογωγ†	be dry
ψογο <i>vb</i>	to flow, pour
ψογω=, ψογο=,	
ψογει†	to be empty, idle
ψυε <i>vb</i>	to befitting
ψω <i>nf</i>	antelope
ψωψ <i>vb</i>	to spread, scatter
ψεψ-, ψοψ=,	
ψηψ†	
ψογψογ <i>vb</i>	to boast
ψωϙ <i>vb</i>	to waste, destroy
ψεϙ-, ψοϙ=,	
ψηϙ†	be deserted
ψϙε <i>num</i>	seventy
ψαϙτε <i>nm</i>	impious person
ψαχε <i>vb</i>	to speak, talk
ψοχνε <i>vb</i>	to take counsel
ψωχπ <i>vb</i>	to remain,
ψεχπ-, ψοχπ=,	
ψοχπ†	be left over
ψωωδε <i>vb</i>	to hurt, wound
ψε(ε)δε-, ψο(ο)δ=,	
ψο(ο)δε†	
ϙ	
ϙ-, -ϙ	he (§2.4.1)
<i>prfx, sfx 3:sg:m</i>	
ϙ(ε)ι <i>vb</i>	to bear, carry
ϙ(ε)ι-, ϙιτ=,	
ϙιη†,	
<i>ptcp:act ϙαι</i>	
ϙαι-ψινε <i>nm</i>	messenger

ϙω, βω <i>nm</i>	hair
ϙ(ε)ντ, εντ <i>nm</i>	worm
ϙωτε <i>vb</i>	to wipe,
ϙετ-, ϙοτ=	obliterate
ϙωτε εβολ	exterminate
ϙτοογ <i>num sg:m</i>	four
ϙτοε <i>sg:f</i>	
ϙωδε <i>vb</i>	to leap, move
ϙεδ-, ϙοδ=,	hastily
βηδ†	
ζ	
ζα- <i>prep</i>	under, in, at
ζαρο=	
ζαε <i>num sg:m</i>	final, last
ζαη <i>sg:f</i>	
ζαεεγ <i>pl</i>	
επζαε <i>adv</i>	at last
ζε <i>nf</i>	manner
νηε <i>adv</i>	in the manner,
(< n-τ-ζε)	like
ζε <i>vb</i>	to fall, find
ζηγ†	
ζη <i>nf</i>	forepart
ζαθη <i>prep</i>	in front of
ζατεϙζη	
ζι- <i>prep</i>	on, at, in
ζιω=	
ζιναι <i>adv</i>	thus
ζιθη <i>prep</i>	to, at front
ζο <i>nm</i>	face
ζρα=	
ζω <i>vb</i>	to suffice
ζω(ω)= <i>pron</i>	-self, also, too,

ζωβ <i>nm</i>	thing, matter
ζβηγε <i>pl</i>	
ρ ζωβ <i>vb</i>	to work
ζβογρ <i>nf</i>	left hand
ζα(ε)ιβεϙ <i>nf</i>	shadow
ζωβ(ε)ϙ <i>vb</i>	to cover, protect
ζ(ε)βεϙ-,	
ζοβεϙ=,	
ζοβεϙ†	
ζβο(ο)ϙ <i>nmf</i>	garment
ζβωϙϙ <i>pl</i>	
ζβϙω <i>nf</i>	garment
ζβϙοογε <i>pl</i>	
ζιη <i>nf</i>	road, path
ζιοογε <i>pl</i>	
ζαι <i>nm</i>	husband
ζοειη <i>nm</i>	wave
ζηηε <i>pl</i>	
ζοιηε <i>pron</i>	some
ζο(ε)ιτε <i>nmf</i>	linen garment
ζκο <i>vb</i>	to hunger,
ζκαειτ†,	be hungry
ζκοειτ†	
ζη(η)κε <i>adj</i>	poor
ζακ <i>adj</i>	sober, prudent
ζω(ω)κ <i>vb</i>	to gird, brace
ζεκ-,	
ζο(ο)κ=,	
ζηκ†	
ζω(ω)κ(ε) <i>vb</i>	to scrape, shave
ζεκ-, ζοοκ=,	
ζοοκε†	
ζαλ <i>n</i>	betrayal
ρ ζαλ	to deceive

ζαλο, <i>nm</i>	old man, senior monk
ζαλω <i>nf</i>	old woman
ζωωλε <i>vb</i>	to slip, fall down
ζολε†	
ζλοπα(ε)π <i>vb</i>	to make weary,
ζαπλαωπ=,	plague, distress
ζαεπλαωπ†	
ζλοϙτ(ε)ν <i>nm</i>	mist
ζαλητ <i>nm</i>	bird
ζαλα(α)τε <i>pl</i>	
ζλοδ <i>vb</i>	to be sweet
ζολεδ†	
ζηε <i>num</i>	forty
ζαμοι <i>interj</i>	would that
ζηογ <i>nm</i>	salt
ζηομ,	to become hot
ζηη†	be hot
ζηηε <i>nf</i>	heat, fever
ζηηε <i>vb</i>	to steer, guide
ζηηεηε <i>num</i>	eighty
ζοηηητ <i>nm</i>	copper, bronze
ζηοοϙ <i>vb</i>	to sit, dwell
ζηοτ <i>nm</i>	grace, gift
ζηζαλ <i>nmf</i>	servant, slave
ζηζη <i>vb</i>	to roar, neigh
ζηκ <i>nm</i>	vinegar
ζη- <i>prep</i>	in, at, on, with
νηητ=	
ζεν- <i>det:pl</i>	INDEFINITE ARTICLE (§2.2.2.2)

2ΝΕ- *n* will, desire  
 2ΝΑ=  
 Ρ 2ΝΑ= *vb* to be willing, desire  
 2ΩΝ *vb* to approach, come  
 2Ν-, 2ΟΝ=,  
 2ΗΝ†  
 2ΩΝ *vb* to bid, command  
 2ΟΝ=  
 2ΙΝΗΣ *vb* to sleep, doze  
 2ΝΤ= *vb* to move forward  
 2ΕΝΕΕΤΕ *nf* monastery  
 2ΝΑ(Α)Υ *nm* vessel, pot  
 2ΑΠ *nm* judgement, inquest  
 2ΑΠ-*c* it is necessary, must  
 2Ο(Ο)Π *nm* (marriage) feast  
 2ΩΠ *vb* to hide  
 2ΕΠ-, 2ΟΠ=  
 2ΗΠ†  
 2ΙΡ *nm* road, street  
 2ΡΟΚ *vb* to cease, be still  
 2ΟΡΚ†  
 2ΑΡΝ- *prep* beneath, before  
 2ΑΡΟ=  
 2ΙΡΝ- *prep* at, upon  
 2ΙΡΩ=  
 2ΩΡΠ *vb* to drench  
 2(Ε)ΡΠ-, 2ΟΡΠ=,  
 2ΟΡΠ†  
 2ΡΟΟΥ *nm* voice, noise  
 2ΡΟΥ-ΒΑΙ *nm* thunder  
 2ΡΩΨ *vb* to be heavy, slow  
 2(Ε)ΡΨ-, 2ΟΡΨ†  
 2ΑΡΨ *ptcp : act*

2ΑΡΨ ΝΖΗΤ patient  
 2ΑΡΕΖ *vb* to keep, guard  
 2ΙCE *vb* to trouble, toil  
 2ΑCΤ-, 2ΑCΤ=,  
 2ΟCΕ†  
 2ΙCE *nm* labour, weariness,  
 trouble, grief  
 † 2ΙCE *vb* to give trouble  
 ΨΠ 2ΙCE *vb* to take trouble,  
 suffer  
 2ΑΤ *nm* silver, coin, money  
 2ΗΤ *nm* heart, mind,  
 2ΤΗ=  
 † 2ΤΗ= *vb* to observe  
 2ΤΟ *nm* horse  
 (Ε)2ΤΩΩΡ *pl*  
 2ΟΤ *nm* opposite  
 2ΩΤ *n* sail  
 Ρ 2ΩΤ *vb* to sail  
 2ΟΤΕ *nm* fear  
 Ρ 2ΟΤΕ *vb* to be afraid  
 2ΩΤΒ,  
 2ΕΤΒ-, 2ΟΤΒ=,  
 2ΟΤΒ†  
 2ΙΤΝ- *prep* by, through  
 2ΙΤΟΟΤ=  
 2ΤΟΟΥC *nm* dawn, morning  
 2ΗΥ *nm* profit  
 2ΟΟΥ *nm* day  
 (Ε)ΜΠΟΥC  
 2ΟΟΥ *vb* to be bad, evil  
 2ΙΟΥC *vb* to strike, cast,  
 2Ι-, 2ΙΤ= smite

2ΟΥΟ *nm* greater part  
 (Ε)Ρ 2ΟΥΟ *vb* to be more, exceed  
 ΕΠΕ2ΟΥΟ *adv* greatly, very, more  
 Ν2ΟΥΟ *adv* most of all  
 2ΟΥΥΤ *nm* male, husband  
 2ΟΥ *nm* serpent  
 2ΟΥ *nf*  
 2Α2 *adj* many, most  
 2ΩΧ *vb* to be in straits  
 2ΕΧ-, 2ΗΧ†  
 2ΙΧΝ- *prep* on, upon  
 2ΙΧΩ=  
 2ΟΧ2(Ε)Χ *vb* to compel,  
 2(Ε)Χ(2)Χ-,  
 2ΕΧ2ΩΧ=,  
 2ΕΧ2ΩΧ† be distressed  
 Χ  
 ΧΕ *comp* that  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ because  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ because  
 ΧΕ *pcl* called  
 ΧΙ *vb* to take, get  
 ΧΙ-, ΧΙΤ=,  
 ΧΗΥ†,  
 ΧΑΙ- *ptcp: act*  
 ΜΟ suppl. *imp: sg*  
 ΜΗΗΙΤΗ *imp: pl*  
 ΧΟ, ΧΩ *vb* to sow, plant  
 ΧΕ-, ΧΟ-,  
 ΧΟ=, ΧΗΥ†  
 ΧΟ, ΧΩ *vb* to put, send forth  
 ΧΕ-, ΧΙ-, ΧΟ= spend  
 ΧΟ(Ε) *nf* wall  
 ΕΧΗ *pl*

ΧΩ *vb* to say, speak  
 ΧΕ-, ΧΟΟ=,  
 ΑΧΙ- *imp*  
 ΧΩ= *nm* head  
 ΧΑ(Ε)ΙC *nm* desert  
 ΧΟ(Ε)Ι *nm* ship  
 ΕΧΗΥ *pl*  
 ΧΟΕΙC (ΧC) lord, master  
 ΧΙCΟΟΥC *pl*  
 ΧΟΕΙΤ *nm* olive tree, olive  
 ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ *vb* to complete,  
 ΧΕΚ-, ΧΑΚ-,  
 ΧΟΚ=, ΧΗΚ† accomplish  
 ΧΩΚΗ *vb* to wash, clean  
 ΧΕΚΗ-, ΧΟΚΗ=,  
 ΧΟΚΗ†  
 ΧΕΚΑ(Α)C *comp* in order that  
 ΧΩΛΗ *vb* to make merry  
 ΧΟΛΗ† to get busy  
 ΧΩΩΜΕ *nm* papyrus roll,  
 book  
 Χ(Ε)Ν *conj* or  
 ΧΙ(Ν)- *prep* from, since  
 ΧΝΟΥ *vb* to ask, question  
 ΧΝΕ-, ΧΝΟΥ=  
 Χ(Ε)Π- hour  
 ΧΠΟ *vb* to beget, bring  
 ΧΠΕ-, ΧΠΟ=, forth, acquire  
 ΧΠΑCΙΤ†  
 ΧΠΙΟ *vb* to blame  
 ΧΠΙΕ-, ΧΠΙΟ=,  
 ΧΠΗΤ†

κρο <i>vb</i>	to be strong	χαιε <i>nmf</i>	enemy
κραιτ†		χιεεγ(ε) <i>pl</i>	
κωρε <i>adj</i>	strong	σ	
κηρ <i>vb</i>	to be wanton	σε <i>pcl</i>	then, therefore, but, again
κερο <i>vb</i>	to burn, blaze	σε <i>det</i>	other See κε
κε(ε)ρε-, κερο=, κερω=		σω <i>vb</i>	to continue, stay, remain, persist
κιοορ <i>vb</i>	to ferry over See ειοορ	σεετ†, σηητ†	
κροπ <i>nm</i>	obstacle	σως <i>adj</i>	weak
κικε <i>vb</i>	to exalt,	σωβε <i>nf</i>	leaf
κεστ-, κικτ=, κωκε†	be high	σβ-	
κασι <i>ptcp:act</i>		σβοι <i>nm</i>	arm
κασι-ζητ	arrogant	σολ <i>nm</i>	lie
κατρε <i>nm</i>	reptile	χι σολ <i>vb</i>	to tell lies
κωογ <i>vb</i>	to send	σο(ε)με <i>vb</i>	to visit, deposit
κεγ-, κωογ-, κωογ=		βαε-, βαλω=, βαηγ†, βαωογ†	
κιογε <i>vb</i>	to steal	βαε <i>nm</i>	lame, crippled
κκιογε <i>adj</i>	secretly	βαεεγ <i>pl</i>	person
κωγωτ <i>num sg:m</i>	twenty	σωλπ <i>vb</i>	to uncover, reveal
κωγωτε <i>sg:f</i>		σ(ε)λπ-, σολπ=, σολπ†	
κωζ <i>vb</i>	to touch	σωλκ <i>vb</i>	to entangle, wrap
κεζ-, κηζ†		σ(ε)λκ-,	entwine
κωζ <i>vb</i>	to smear, anoint	σολκ=, σολκ=, σολκ†, κολκ†	
κεζ-, κλζ=, κηζ†		σλοσ <i>nm</i>	bed
κωζη <i>vb</i>	to defile, pollute	σομ <i>nf</i>	power, strength, mighty deed
κεζη-, κλζη=, κηζη†		ση σομ <i>vb</i>	to be able
κλζκζ <i>vb</i>	to strike, beat, gnash	σωμ <i>nm</i>	garden, vineyard
κεζκωζ=		σοομ <i>pl</i>	
κλκ <i>nm</i>	sparrow		

σμε <i>nm</i>	gardener, vinedresser	σωογσ <i>vb</i>	to be twisted,
σμηγ, σμεεγ <i>pl</i>		σωογσ†	crooked
σανογλ <i>nm</i>	camel	σωωτ <i>vb</i>	to look, see
σανογγλε <i>nf</i>	she-camel	σωωτ†	
σαναγλε <i>pl</i>		σικ <i>nf</i>	hand
σινε <i>vb</i>	to find		
σιν-, ση-, σ(ε)ντ=			
σνον <i>vb</i>	to become smooth, be soft, weak		
σηη†, σον†			
σονκ <i>nm</i>	violence		
χι σονκ <i>vb</i>	to use violence		
σωντ,	to rage		
σοντ†	be angry		
σινουηλ <i>nm</i>	ship		
σεπη <i>vb</i>	to hasten		
σοπε <i>n</i>	small quantity		
σωπ(ε) <i>vb</i>	to seize, take		
σ(ε)π-, σωπ-, σοπ-, σοπ=, σλπ=, σηπ†			
σρηπε <i>nf</i>	diadem		
σρωζ <i>vb</i>	to be in need		
σωρσ <i>vb</i>	to waylay, hunt		
σωρσ†			
σωρσ <i>nf</i>	ambush, snare		
σοςσ(ε)σ <i>vb</i>	to dance		
σωτ <i>nf</i>	size, age, form		
ντεισωτ <i>adv</i>	of this sort, such		
σωογνε <i>nf</i>	hair-cloth, sack		



## Morphology of Greek loan words

Greek loan verbs are given in their 1<sup>st</sup> person singular Present Indicative Active or Middle citation form. Copto-Greek nouns generally take the same grammatical gender specification as the Greek model; neuter gender of the Greek model noun is usually rendered by masculine gender in the corresponding Coptic target noun. Abbreviations: *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *conj* 'conjunction', *f* 'feminine', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *nt* 'neuter', *pcl* 'particle', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *vb* 'verb'.

α.

ΑΓΑΘΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγαθός, -ή, -όν	good	ΛΙΘΩΝ <i>nm</i> λίθων	combat, contest
ΑΓΑΠΗ <i>nf</i> ἀγάπη	love, act of charity	ΛΕΤΟΣ, ΛΙΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> λετός	eagle
ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀγαπητός, -ή, -όν	beloved	ΛΕΙΤΗC <i>nm</i> ἀθλητής	athlete
ΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀγανακτεί	to become angry	ΛΙΘΑΝΕ <i>vb</i> αἰσθάνομαι	to perceive, realise
ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγγελικός, -ή, -όν	angelic	ΛΙΤ(Ε)Ι, ΕΤΕΙ <i>vb</i> αἰτέω	to ask for
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἄγγελος	angel	ΕΝΙΓΜΑ <i>nm</i> αἰνίγμα <i>nt</i>	'dark' saying, riddle
ΑΓΕΛΗ, ΑΓΕΛΕΙ <i>nf</i> ἀγέλη	herd	ΛΙΤΗΜΑ <i>nm</i> αἴτημα <i>nt</i>	request, demand
ΑΓΡΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγριός, -α, -ον	wild, savage	ΛΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> αἰχμαλωτεύω	to enslave, take as a prisoner
ΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀγωνίζομαι	to fight	ΛΙΩΝ, ΕΩΝ <i>nm</i> αἰών	millennium, world era
		ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκάθαρτος, -ον	unclean person, leper
		ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκέραιος, -ον	unharmmed, unravaged
		ΑΚΡΙΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκριβής, -ές	exact, accurate
		ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀληθινός, -ή, -όν	true, truthful
		ΑΛΗΘΩC <i>adv</i> ἀληθῶc	actually, really, verily
		ΑΛΛΑ <i>conj</i> ἀλλά	but, rather
		ΑΜΕΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀμελέω	to neglect, be careless
		ΑΜΕΛΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἀμέλεια	negligence, carelessness
		ΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀναγκάζω	to force

<b>ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ</b> <i>adj</i> ἀναγκαῖος, -α, -ον	necessary, urgent	<b>ΛΞΙΟΥ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀξιόω	to esteem, ask, request	<b>ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀρχιεπίσκοπος	archbishop	<b>ΛΦΟΡΜΗ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀφορμή	starting point
<b>ΑΝΑΓΚΗ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀνάγκη	necessity	<b>ΛΞΙΩΜΑ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀξίωμα <i>nm</i>	rank, position, principle	<b>ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀρχιερεύς	highpriest	<b>ΑΦΥΧΟΝ</b> <i>adj</i> ἄψυχος, -ον	lifeless
<b>ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀνάγνωσις	Scripture reading	<b>ΑΠΑΝΤΑ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀπαντάω	to meet, encounter	<b>ΑΡΧΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀρχιπροφήτης	archprophet	<b>Β</b>	
<b>ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀνάστασις	resurrection	<b>ΑΠΕΙΘΕ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀπειθέω	to defy, disobey	<b>ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀρχιμανδρίτης	Archimandrite	<b>ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ</b> <i>vb</i> βαπτίζω	to baptize
<b>ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀναστροφὴ	behaviour, mode of life	<b>ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀπολογία	speech	<b>ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀρχιστράτηγος	commander-in- chief	<b>ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ</b> <i>nm</i> βάπτισμα <i>nm</i>	baptism
<b>ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀναχωρέω	to depart, live as a hermit	<b>ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀπολογίζομαι	to reckon, justify	<b>ΑΡΧΩΝ</b> <i>nm</i> ἄρχων	ruler, governor	<b>ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> βάρβαρος	barbarian
<b>ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀναχωρητής	hermit	<b>ΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀποτάσσω	to renounce, part	<b>ΑΣΕΒΗΣ</b> <i>adj</i> ἀσεβής, -ές	impious, godless	<b>ΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ</b> <i>vb</i> βασανίζω	to torture
<b>ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΣΙΣ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀναχωρισίς	solitude, seclusion	<b>ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀπόστολος	apostle	<b>ΑΣΚΕΙ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀσκέω	to practise, go into training	<b>ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> βάσανος	torture
<b>ΑΝΕΧΕ, ΑΝΙΧΕ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀνέχω	to hold up, bear	<b>ΑΡΑ</b> <i>conj</i> ἄρα	thus (also used as a Q-pcl)	<b>ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀσκῆσις	exercise, ascetic life- style	<b>ΒΗΜΑ</b> <i>nm</i> βῆμα <i>nm</i>	tribunal, raised seat
<b>ΑΝΟΜΙΑ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀνομία	crime, sin	<b>ΑΡΓΟΣ</b> <i>adj</i> ἀργός, -ή, -όν	lazy, idle	<b>ΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀσκητής	hermit, monk	<b>ΒΙΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> βίος	life
<b>ΑΝΟΜΟΣ</b> <i>adj</i> ἄνομος, -ον	lawless, criminal	<b>ΑΡΕΤΗ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀρετή	virtue	<b>ΑΣΚΙΤΗΣ, ΑΣΚΥΤΗΣ</b> ἀσκητής		<b>ΒΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ</b> <i>adj</i> βιωτικός, -ή, -όν	of this world
<b>ΑΝΩΣΙΟΣ</b> <i>adj</i> ἀνόσιος, -ον	unholy, profane impious	<b>ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀριθμός	number, military unit	<b>ΑΣΠΑΖΕ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀσπάζομαι	to kiss, greet	<b>ΒΟΗΘΕΙ</b> <i>vb</i> βοηθέω	to help, rescue
<b>ΑΝΟΧΗ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀνοχή	holding back, stopping	<b>ΑΡΞ</b> <i>nm</i> ἄρξ	—bear	<b>ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀσπασμός	greeting	<b>ΒΟΗΘΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> βοηθός	saviour
<b>ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ</b> <i>vb</i> ἀντιλέγω	to contradict, protest	<b>ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ</b> <i>adj</i> ἀρχαῖος ἀρχεος ἀρχαῖος, -α, -ον	old, ancient	<b>ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> (lat. <i>augustus</i> )	Augustus	<b>Γ</b>	
<b>ΑΝΤΥΚΙΜΕΝΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀντίκειμενος	opponent, adversary	<b>ΑΡΧΗ</b> <i>nf</i> ἀρχή	beginning	<b>ΑΥΛΗ</b> <i>nf</i> αὐλή	court, courtyard	<b>ΓΑΜΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> γάμος	wedding, marriage
<b>ΑΞΙΟΣ</b> <i>adj</i> ἄξιος, -α, -ον	worthy	<b>ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> ἀρχάγγελος	archangel	<b>ΑΥΞΑΝΕ</b> <i>vb</i> αὐξάνω	to increase, grow	<b>ΓΑΡ</b> <i>pcl</i> γάρ	since, for
				<b>ΑΥΤΩΚΡΑΤΟΡ</b> <i>nm</i> αὐτοκράτωρ	Emperor	<b>ΓΕΝΟΣ</b> <i>nm</i> γένεα <i>npl</i> γένος <i>nm</i>	race, origin, generation

ΓΝΩΜΗ <i>nf</i> γνώμη	opinion, advice	ΔΗΚΕΙ <i>vb</i> δήκω	to pervade, guide
ΓΡΑΦΗ <i>nf</i> γραφή	Scripture	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ δίκαιος, -α, -ον	righteous
Δ		ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ <i>nf</i> δικαιοσύνη	righteousness
ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ δαιμόνιον <i>nm</i>	evil spirit, demon	ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ, ΤΙΣΤΑΖΕ διστάζω	to hesitate
ΔΑΙΜΩΝ, ΔΕΜΩΝ <i>nm</i> δαίμων	evil spirit, deimon	ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> δοκιμάζω	to test, assay
ΔΕ <i>pcl</i> δέ	topic-indicating <i>pcl</i>	ΔΟΥΞ <i>nm</i> δούξ (lat. <i>dux</i> )	commander
ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> δεσπότης	lord	ΔΡΑΚΩΝ <i>nm</i> δράκων	dragon
ΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ <i>nm</i> δημιουργός	creator, producer	ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ <i>nf</i> δύναμις	power
ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ διάβολος	devil	ΔΩΡΟΝ <i>nm</i> δώρον <i>nm</i>	gift
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ <i>nf</i> διαθήκη	testament	Ε	
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ <i>nf</i> διακονεία	service	ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> ἐγκώμιον <i>nm</i>	praise, eulogy
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ <i>vb</i> ΔΙΑΚΩΝΕΙ διακονέω	to service, to minister	ΕΞΗΓΕΘΑΙ <i>vb</i> εξηγέομαι	to tell at length
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> διακονητής	servant	(Ζ)ΕΘΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἔθνος	pagan
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> διάκονος	deacon	ΕΙΔΟΣ <i>nm</i> εἶδος <i>nm</i>	property, thing
ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> διάκρισις	examination, evaluation	ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ <i>nm</i> εἰδωλον <i>nm</i>	idol
ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ <i>nf</i> διαφορά	distinction, difference	ΕΙΜΗΤ(Ε)Ι <i>prep</i> εἰμητ̄ εἰμήτι	unless
		(Ε)ΙΡΗΝΗ <i>nf</i> εἰρήνη	peace

ΕΙΤΕ ... ΕΙΤΕ <i>conj</i> εἴτε ... εἴτε	either ... or	ΕΠ(Ε)ΙΔΗ <i>conj</i> ἐπειδή	for, since
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐκκλησία	church	ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐπιθυμέω	to wish, desire
ΕΚΣΤΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἔκστασις	vision	ΕΠ(Ε)ΙΘΥΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐπιθυμία	desire
ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἐλάχιστος, -η, -ον	humble	ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐπικαλέω	to call upon, summon
ΕΛΕΓΧΕ <i>vb</i> ἐλέγζω	to reveal, expose	ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἐπίσκοπος	bishop
ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἐλεφάντινος, -η, -ον	ivory	ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐπιστολόωϋε <i>pl</i> ἐπιστολή	letter
ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐνεργέω	to effect	ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐπ(ε)τήνια ἐπιτιμία	reprimand, punishment
ΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐνέργεια	cosmic force	ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐργασία	profession
ΕΝΤΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐντολή	authorisation, order	ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρκατής ἐργάτης	worker
ΕΝΩΧΛΕΩ <i>vb</i> ἐνοχλέω	to trouble, burden	ΕΡΗΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐρημία	desert
ΕΞΗΓΕΘΑΙ <i>vb</i> ἐξηγέομαι	to expose, to explain	ΕΡΗΜΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἐρημός, -ον	deserted, lonely
ΕΞΩΡΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἐξορίζω	to banish, get rid of	ΕΤΙ, ΑΙΤΕΙ <i>pcl</i> ἔτι	yet, still
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐξουσία	power, strength	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> εὐαγγέλιον <i>nm</i>	Gospel
ΛΙΠΕΝΟΥ <i>vb</i> ἐπαινέω	to praise, applaud	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> εὐαγγελιστής	Evangelist
ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἐπαρχος	governor	ΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ <i>adj</i> εὐγενής, -ές	noble
ΕΠΕΙΒΟΥΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐπιβουλή	plot, snare		

ΕΥΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> εὐεργεσία	good deed, kindness
ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> εὐσεβής, -ές	pious
Ζ	
ΖΩΟΝ <i>nm</i> ζῷον <i>nm</i>	living being, animal
Η	
Η <i>conj</i> ἢ	or
ΕΥΧΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἡσυχάζω	to be quiet
ΕΥΧΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἡσυχία	silence, stillness
Θ	
ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ <i>nf</i> θάλασσα	sea
ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ <i>nm</i> θέατρον <i>nm</i>	theatre
ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> θεραπεύω	to heal
ΘΕΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i> θεωρέω	to see, observe
ΘΗΡΙΟΝ, ΘΥΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> θηρίον <i>nm</i>	beast, wild animal
ΘΛΙΒΕ <i>vb</i> θλίβω	to afflict, distress
ΘΛΙΨΙΣ <i>nf</i> θλίψις	trouble, obstacle
ΘΡΟΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> θρόνος	throne

ΘΥΓΙΑ <i>nf</i> ΘΕΣΙΑ θυσία	sacrifice
ΘΥΓΙΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> θυσιάζω	to sacrifice
ΘΥΓΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> θυσιαστήριον <i>nm</i>	altar
Ι	
(Ε)ΙΟΥΔΑΙ <i>nm</i> ἰουδαῖος	Jews
Ιῶ (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ) Ἰσοῦς	Jesus
Κ	
ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> καθαρός, -ά, -όν	pure, clean
ΚΑΘΗΚ(Ε)Ι <i>nf</i> καθηγέομαι	instruction
ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ <i>nf</i> καθολικός	Catholic (Church)
ΚΑΙΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> καιρός	time, period
ΚΑΙΤΟΙ <i>pcl</i> καί τοι	and indeed, and yet
ΚΗΝΗ <i>nf</i> καινός	The New Testament
ΚΑΚΩΣ <i>adv</i> κακῶς	badly
ΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> κάλεω	to call, invite
ΚΑΛΩΣ <i>adv</i> κάλως	well, rightly
ΚΑΝ <i>conj</i> κάν	even if

ΚΑΝΟΝ <i>nm</i> κανών	rule	ΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> κόλασις	punishment
ΚΑΡΠΟΣ, ΓΑΡΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> καρπός	fruit	ΚΟΝΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> κοντός	pike, pole
ΚΑΤΑ <i>prep</i> ΚΑΤΑΡΟ= κάτα	according to	ΚΟΣΜΕΙ <i>vb</i> κοσμέω	to rule, to equip
ΚΑΤΑΛΛΙΑ <i>nf</i> καταλαλία	slander	ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> κοσμικός, -ή, -όν	worldly
ΚΑΤΕΧΕ <i>vb</i> κατέχω	to withhold, keep	ΚΟΣΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> κόσμος	world
ΚΑΤΩΡΘΩΜΑ <i>nm</i> κάτορθωμα <i>nm</i>	achievement, success	ΚΟΥΜΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> κόμβος	girth
ΚΕΛΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> κελεύω	to command, order	ΚΡΑΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> κράτος <i>nm</i>	power, might
ΚΕΣΤΩΝΑΡΙΟΣ <i>nm</i> κεστωνάριος (lat. <i>quaestonarius</i> )	torturer, executioner	ΚΡΙΝΕ <i>vb</i> κρίνω	to judge
ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> κινδύνος	danger, hazard	ΚΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> κρίσις	decision, judgement
ΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ <i>nm</i> κληρικός	cleric	ΚΡΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> κριτής	judge
ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> κληρονόμος	heir	ΚΥΠΗ <i>nf</i> κύπη	basement, vault
ΚΛΗΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> κληῖρος	heritage	ΚΥΡΙ <i>nm</i> κύριος	Lord
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ <i>vb</i> κοινωνέω	to live together	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ <i>nf</i> κυριακή	Sunday
ΚΟΙΤΩΝ <i>nm</i> κοιτών	bed-chamber	ΚΩΛΥ <i>vb</i> κωλύω	to withhold, hinder
ΚΟΛΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> κολάζω	to punish	ΚΩΜΙΚ, ΚΟΜΙΚ <i>nm</i> κόμητις (lat. <i>comes</i> )	governor
ΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> κολακεύω	to flatter		

λ	
ΛΑΟΣ <i>nm</i>	people
λαός	
ΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ <i>nm</i>	garment
λεβίτων	
ΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ <i>nm</i>	remains, corpse
λείψανον <i>nm</i>	
ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	frankincense
λίβανος	
ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΛΩΓΟΣ <i>nm</i>	account, apology
λόγος	
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ <i>adv</i>	furthermore, also
λοιπόν	
ΛΥΠΕΙ, ΛΗΠΕ <i>vb</i>	to be sad, grieved
λυπέω	
μ	
ΜΑΓΙΑ <i>nf</i>	magic
μαγεία	
ΜΑΓΟΣ <i>nm</i>	wizard, enchanter
μάγος	
ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	disciple
μαθητής	
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to bless, congratulate
μακαρίζω	
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ, -Α <i>adj</i>	blessed
μακάριος ος, -α, -ον	
ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ <i>adv</i>	most of all, especially
μάλιστα	
ΜΑΛΛΟΝ <i>adv</i>	more, rather
μᾶλλον	
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ <i>nf</i>	testimony, martyrdom
ματυρία	

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	shrine of a martyr
μαρτύριον <i>nm</i>	
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	martyr
μάρτυρος	
ΜΑΣΤΙΞ <i>nf</i>	whip
μάστιξ	
ΜΕΛΕΤΑ, ΜΕΛΗΤΑ <i>vb</i>	to attend to, study
μελετάω	
ΜΕΛΟΣ <i>nm</i>	body part, limb
μέλος	
ΜΕΝ <i>prcl</i>	indeed
μέν	
ΜΕΤΑΝΟ(Ε)Ι <i>vb</i>	to repent
μετανοέω	
ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ <i>nf</i>	repentance, remorse
μετάνοια	
ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ <i>nf</i>	capital city
μητροπόλις	
ΜΗ <i>Q-prcl</i>	involves a bias towards a negative response in affirmative interrogatives, and vice versa.
μή	
ΜΗΠΩΣ <i>conj</i>	that not
μήπως	
ΜΙΛΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	mile
μίλιον <i>nm</i>	
ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	monastery
μονή	
ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	
ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ <i>nm</i>	monk
μωναχος, μονοχος	
ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ, ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ	
μοναχός	

ΜΟΝΟΝ, ΜΩΝΩΝ <i>adv</i>	only
μόνον	
ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	mystery, divine secret
μυστήριον <i>nm</i>	
Ν	
ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Nazarene
ναζωραῖος	
ΝΗΣΤΕΙΑ <i>nf</i>	fast
νηστία	
ΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to fast
νηστεύω	
ΝΗΦΕ <i>vb</i>	to be self-controlled, sober
νήφω	
ΝΟΙ <i>vb</i>	to perceive, think, know
νοέω	
ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ <i>nm</i>	<i>solidus</i> (a golden coin)
νόμισμα <i>nm</i>	
ΝΟΜΟΣ, ΝΩΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	law
νομός	
Ξ	
ΞΕΝΟΣ, -Η	foreign
ξένος, -α, -ον	
ΞΕΣΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	pint
ξέστης	
(lat. <i>sextarius</i> )	
Ο	
ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ <i>nf</i>	world
οικουμένη	
ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ <i>nf</i>	service
οικονομία	

ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	steward
ΕΙΚΩΝΩΜΟΣ	
οικονόμος	
ΟΝΤΩΣ <i>adv</i>	really, verily
όντως	
ΟΠΤΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	appearance, vision
όπτασία	
ΟΡΓΗ <i>nf</i>	anger, wrath, impulse
όργή	
ΟΡΦΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	orphan
όρφανός	
ΟΥΔΕ, ΟΥΤΕ <i>conj</i>	and not
οὔδέ	
ΟΥΚΕΤΙ <i>adv</i>	no more, no longer
οὔκέτι	
ΟΥΚΟΥΝ <i>adv</i>	certainly not
οὔκουν	
ΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	state of being, essence
οὐσία	
Π	
ΠΑΘΟΣ <i>nm</i>	emotion, grief, passion,
πάθος	
ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to educate
παιδεύω	
ΠΑΛΑΙΑ <i>nf</i>	The Old Testament
παλαιός	
ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	palace
παλάτιον <i>nm</i>	
(lat. <i>palatium</i> )	
ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ <i>nm</i>	Almighty
παντοκράτωρ	
ΠΑΝΤΩΣ <i>adv</i>	entirely, altogether
πάντως	

( <b>Η</b> )ΠΑΡΑ <i>prep</i>	against,	Π( <b>Ε</b> )ΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	temptation,
ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=	compared	πειρασμός	trial
παρά	with	ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΤΑΡΧΟΣ <i>nm</i>	leader of a
ΠΑΡΑΒΑ <i>vb</i>	to transgress,	πεντηκόνταρχος	company of
παραβαίνω	overstep	ΠΕΡΠΕΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vainglorious,
ΠΑΡΑΓΕ <i>vb</i>	to pass by	πέρπερος	braggart
παράγω		ΠΕΡΣΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Persian
ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΛΕ <i>vb</i>	to give order,	πέρσης	
παραέλλω	summon	ΠΕΤΡΑ <i>nf</i>	rock
ΠΑΡΑΔ(Ε)ΙΣΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Paradise,	πέτρα	
ΠΑΡΑΪΣΩΣ	Eden	ΠΗΓΗ, ΠΥΓΗ <i>nf</i>	fountain, well
παράδεισος		πηγή	
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to summon,	ΠΙΝΑΞ <i>nm</i>	plate, dish
παρακαλέω	beseech	πίναξ	
ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ <i>adj</i>	lawless,	ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to believe,
παράνομος, -ον	criminal	πιστεύω	have faith
ΠΑΡΤΑΛΗΣ <i>nf</i>	panther	ΠΙΣΤΙΣ <i>nf</i>	faith
πάρδαλις		πίστις	
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ <i>nf</i>	virgin	ΠΙΣΤΟΣ <i>adj</i>	faithful,
παρθένος		πιστός, -ά, -όν	trustworthy
ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	presence,	ΠΛΑΝΑ <i>vb</i>	to mislead
παρουσία	stay	πλανή	lead astray
ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	free speech	πλανή	
παρησία		ΠΛΑΝΗ <i>nf</i>	deceit,
ΠΑΤΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i>	to beat, strike	πλάνη	imposture
πατάσσω		ΠΛΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vagabond,
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ <i>nm</i>	Patriarch	πλάνος	imposter
πατριάρχης		ΠΛΑΞ <i>nm</i>	flat stone
Π(Ε)ΙΘΕ <i>vb</i>	to persuade,	πλάξ <i>nf</i>	
πείθω	agree with	ΠΛΑΣΜΑ <i>nm</i>	form, figure,
Π(Ε)ΙΡΑΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to put to test,	πλάσμα <i>nm</i>	
ΠΗΡΑΖΕ, ΠΥΡΑΖΕ	to seduce	ΠΛΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i>	to form,
πειράζω		πλάσσω	create

ΠΛΗΓΗ, ΠΑΓΓΗ <i>nf</i>	wound	ΠΟΡΝΙΑ <i>nf</i>	fornication
πληγή		πορνεία	
ΠΛΗΝ <i>conj</i>	except, save	ΠΟΣΩ <i>adv</i>	how much?
πλήν		πόσῳ	
ΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ <i>nf</i>	certainty,	ΠΟΤΕ <i>adv</i>	when?,
πληροφορία	fullness of	πότε	at what time?
	assurance	ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	palace of the
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ (ΠΝᾶ) <i>nm</i>	spirit, ghost	πραιτώριον <i>nm</i>	governor
πνεῦμα <i>nm</i>		(lat. <i>praetorium</i> )	
ΠΝΙΚΩΝ <i>adj</i>	spiritual	ΠΡΑΞΙΣ <i>nf</i>	deed, act
(ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ, -ΟΝ)		πράξις	
πνευματικός, -ά, -όν		ΠΡΕΠΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to suit, be
ΠΝΟΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	poet	πρέπω	fitting
(for ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ)		ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	priest
ποιητής		πρεσβύτερος	
ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to fight,	ΠΡΟΖΗΡΕΣΙΣ <i>nf</i>	purpose, plan
ΠΟΛΥΜΕΙ	quarrel	προζήρεσις	
πολεμέω		ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕ(Ι) <i>vb</i>	to advance
ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	war, quarrel	προκόπτω	
ΠΟΛΥΜΟΣ		ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ <i>nm</i>	ordinance,
πόλεμος		πρόσταγμα <i>nm</i>	command
ΠΟΛΙΣ <i>nf</i>	city, town	ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ <i>nf</i>	donation,
πόλις		προσφορά	Eucharist
ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ <i>nf</i>	ascetic labour	ΠΡΟΣΩΠΩΝ <i>nm</i>	person, mask
ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ		πρόσωπον <i>nm</i>	
πολιτεία		ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	prophet
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to perform	προφήτης	
ΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ	ascetic	ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ <i>nf</i>	gift of
πολιτεύω	labours	προφητεία	prophecy
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	patrician	ΠΥΛΗ, ΠΥΛΥ <i>nf</i>	door, gate
πολιτευτής		πύλη	
ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i>	worthless,	ΠΩΣ <i>adv</i>	how?
πονηρός, -ά, -όν	evil, wicked	πώς	
ΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to prostitute,		
πορνεύω	fornicate		

## (2)P

ΖΡΕΠΑΡΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	officer
ῥιπάριος (lat. <i>riparius</i> )	
ΖΗΤΩΡ <i>nm</i>	public speaker, advocate
ῥήτωρ	
(2)ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Roman
ῥωμαῖος	
<b>С</b>	
ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩΝ <i>nm</i>	Saturday
σάββατον <i>nnt</i>	
ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ <i>nf</i>	trumpet
σάλπιγξ	
ΣΑΡΞ <i>nm</i>	flesh
σάρξ	
ΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ <i>nm</i>	Satan
σατανᾶς	
ΣΗΜΑΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to indicate, declare, notify
σημαίνω	
ΣΚΑΝΤΑΛΩΝ <i>nm</i>	trap, offence, scandal
σκάνδαλον <i>nm</i>	
ΣΚΕΥΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vessel, tool
σκευή <i>npl</i>	equipment, property
σκευός <i>nm</i>	
ΣΚΟΠΟΣ <i>nm</i>	aim, end, goal
σκοπός	
ΣΚΥΛΗΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	annoyance, vexation
σκυλμός	
ΣΟΦΙΑ <i>nf</i>	wisdom
σοφία	
ΣΟΦΟΣ <i>nm</i>	wise (man)
σοφός	

ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	knight
σπαθάριος	
ΣΠΕΡΜΑ <i>nm</i>	sperm, seed
σπέρμα <i>nm</i>	
ΣΠΥΛΑΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	cavern
σπήλαιον <i>nm</i>	
ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to be zealous, diligent
σπουδάζω	
ΣΠΟΥΔΗ <i>nf</i>	haste, speed
σπουδή	
ΣΡΟΪΣ <i>nm</i>	cross
(CΤΑΥΡΟΣ) σταυρός	
CΡΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to crucify
σταυρόω	
CΤΕΡΕΥΜΑ <i>nm</i>	firmament
στερέωμα <i>nm</i>	
CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	commander, general
CΤΡΑΤΥΛΑΤΗΣ στρατηλάτης	
CΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	soldier
στρατιώτης	
CΤΥΧΑΡΙΟΝ <i>nf</i>	variegated tunic
στιχάριον <i>nnt</i>	
CΥΝΑΓΕ <i>vb</i>	to attend Mass, receive the Eucharist
συνάγω	
CΥΝΑΞΙΣ <i>nf</i>	Mass
συναξις	
CΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to meet, gather
συγχωρέω	
CΥΓΧΩΡΗΣΙΣ <i>nf</i>	agreement, consent
συγχώρησις	

СΗΝΗΔΙΟС <i>nf</i>	conscience
συνείδησις	
СΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ <i>nf</i>	completion, end
συντέλεια	
СΦΡΑΓΙС <i>nf</i>	seal, signet
σφραγίς	
СΧΗΜΑ <i>nm</i>	monkish garment
сχῆμα	
СΦΕΝΔΟΝΗ <i>nf</i>	sling
σφενδόνη	
СΩΜΑ <i>nm</i>	body
σῶμα <i>nm</i>	
СΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ <i>adj</i>	physical
σωματικός, -ή, -όν	
СΩΤΗΡ <i>nm</i>	Saviour
σωτήρ	
<b>T</b>	
ΤΑΛΛΙΠΩΡΟС <i>adj</i>	miserable
ταλαιπωρός ταλαίπωρος, -ον	
ΤΑΡΑССЕ <i>vb</i>	to trouble, upset
ταράσσω	
ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟС <i>nm</i>	Tartaros
Τάρταρος	
ΤΑΦΟС <i>nm</i>	tomb
τάφος	
ΤΑΧΑ <i>adv</i>	perhaps, maybe
τάχα	
ΤΕΛΙΟС, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i>	perfect
τέλειος, -α, -ον	
ΤΗНΗ <i>nf</i>	price, wage
τιμή	
ΤΙΜΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to avenge, punish
ΔΙΜΩΡΕΙ τιμωρέω	
ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ, <i>nf</i>	revenge, punishment
τιμωρία	
ΤΟΛΜΑ <i>vb</i>	to dare, undertake
τολμάω	
ΔΩΜΟС <i>nm</i>	roll of papyrus, tome, volume
τόμος	
ΔΟΞΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to shoot with the bow
τοξεύω	
ΤΟΠΟС <i>nm</i>	(holy) place, shrine
τόπος	
ΤΟΤΕ <i>adv</i>	then, next, at one time
τότε	
ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟС <i>nm</i>	tribune
τριβούνος (lat. <i>tribunus</i> )	
ΤΡΟΦΕΥС <i>nm</i>	bread-winner
τροφεύς	
ΤΡΟΦΗ <i>nf</i>	nourishment, meal, food
τροφή	
ΤΡΥΦΗ <i>nf</i>	delicacy, luxury, delight
τρυφή	
ΤΥΠΟС <i>nm</i>	pattern, image, model
τύπος	
<b>Φ</b>	
ΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ <i>adj</i>	visible, evident
φανερός, -ά, -όν	
ΦΑΝΟС <i>nm</i>	light, bright, torch, lamp
φανός	
ΦΙΛΟСΟΦΟС <i>nm</i>	philosopher
φιλόσοφος	

φορε(ι), φωρει <i>vb</i> φορέω	to bear, wear	χωρα <i>nf</i> χώρα	region, county, land
φυλη <i>nf</i> φυλή	tribe, clan	χωρις <i>prep</i> χωρίς	without
φυσις <i>nf</i> φύσις	origin, nature	φ	
φυσι <i>adv</i> (έν φύσει)	verily, truly	φαλλει <i>vb</i> ψάλλω	to sing psalms
χ		φαλλος <i>nm</i> ψαλμός	psalm
χαρις <i>nf</i> χάρις	grace, favour	ψυχη <i>nf</i> ψυχοογε <i>pl</i> ψυχή	soul
χαριζε <i>vb</i> χαρίζομαι	to grant, donate	ω	
χιμων <i>nm</i> χειμών	winter, tempest	ω <i>interj</i> ὦ	oh
χιροδονει <i>vb</i> χειροτονέω	to elect, appoint	ζ	
χιρα <i>nf</i> χήρα	widow	ζαγιος, -α <i>adj</i> ἅγιος, -α, ον	holy
χρεωσται <i>vb</i> χρεστέω	to be in debt, owe	ζαμην <i>interj</i> ἀμήν	Amen
χρια <i>nf</i> χρεία	need, want	ζαπαξ <i>adv</i> ἄπαξ	briefly, in short
χρ(ε)ιστιανος <i>nm</i> χριστιανος χριστιανός	Christian	ζαπαως, ζαπαος <i>adv</i> ἀπλῶς	briefly
χρημα <i>nm</i> χρῆμα <i>nm</i>	property, capital, thing,	ζαρμα <i>nm</i> ἄρμα <i>nm</i>	chariot
χ̄c (χριστος) <i>nm</i> χριστός	Christ	ζεβδομας <i>nf</i> ἐβδομάς	week
χωρηγει, χορηγει <i>vb</i> χορηγέω	to lead choir, provide	ζεθος <i>nm</i> ἔθος	custom, habit
		ζελλην <i>nm</i> ζελλην, ζαλλην ἕλλην	Greek, pagan

ζεπιζε <i>vb</i> ἐλπίζω	to look for, hope	ζομολογει <i>vb</i> ὁμολογέω	to admit, agree
ζεπις <i>nf</i> ἐλπίς	expectation, hope	ζορομα ὄραμα	vision, dream
ζερμηνεγε <i>vb</i> ζερμενεγε ἐρμηνεύω	to translate, explain, interpret	ζυπορα <i>nf</i> ὄπωρα	fruit
ζερμενεγτης <i>nm</i> ἐρμηνευτής	interpreter	ζορμη <i>nf</i> ὄρμη	onrush, assault
ζεγεμων <i>nm</i> ἡγεμών	general, governor	(εν) ζοσον <i>conj</i> έν ὅσον	as long as, while
ζεδони <i>nf</i> ἡδονή	pleasure	ζοταν <i>conj</i> ὅταν	as soon as, when
ζεθος <i>nm</i> ἦθος	custom, habit	ζελη <i>nf</i> ῦλη	forest, matter
ζε(ε)ικων <i>nf</i> εἰκών	image	ζεμνεγε <i>vb</i> ὑμνεῖω	to sing hymns
ζελικια, ζελικια <i>nf</i> ἡλικία	age, youth	ζεπερετης <i>nm</i> ὑπηρέτης	servant, attendant
ζεπαρ <i>nm</i> ἦπαρ <i>nm</i>	liver	ζεπιογραφε <i>vb</i> ὑπογράφω	to sign
ζεδιωτης <i>nm</i> ζεδιωτης ιδιώτης	unsophisticated person, layman	ζεπιомине <i>vb</i> ὑπομένω	to endure, be patient
ζεππεγс <i>nm</i> ἵππευς	cavalry man	ζεπιомонη <i>nf</i> ὑπομονή	endurance, patience
ζεστοριзе <i>vb</i> ἱστορέω	to record	ζεπιоптеге <i>vb</i> ὑποπτεύω	to suspect, guess
ζεолокотинос <i>nm</i> ὀλοκόττινος	holokottinos (golden coin)	ζεπιотассе <i>vb</i> ὑποτάσσω	to subdue, make subject
ζεоωс, зеоωс <i>adv</i> ὄλας	wholly, entirely	зωс <i>prep</i> ὡς	like, as, that, as if
земели <i>vb</i> ὀμιλέω	to address, deal with	зωсте, <i>conj</i> зωсѧе ὡсѧе	so that, in order that



# Glossary of linguistic terms

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- Adjectives** In Coptic, there is no special word class of "adjectives". To ascribe properties to individuals, the attributive construction is used, where property-denoting expressions may appear as head or dependent nouns. §3.1.3
- Adverbs** Adverbs are modifying expressions which bear a close semantic link to the verb; they locate the state of affairs that is described in space and time, or provide additional information about the way in which it came about. §3.3
- Allomorphs** Allomorphs are two alternative realizations of one and the same morpheme. §2.2.1
- Appositions** Appositions are extra-clausal noun phrases, which have the same referent as the proper name or pronoun they modify. §3.1.6

<b>Aspect</b>	Aspectual distinctions present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described.	§6.2.1, §7.3.4
<b>Case</b>	Case is the morpho-syntactic encoding of the syntactic dependency between the verbal predicate and its arguments.	§6.3.1.3
<b>Causatives</b>	Analytical causatives are complex predicates consisting of two verbs, which share one argument. The shared argument functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb.	§6.4.3
<b>Cleft sentence</b>	Cleft sentences are focusing constructions, which are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, viz. an initial focus and a relative clause construction that contains the backgrounded proposition.	§11.3
<b>Conditional sentences</b>	Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis).	§12.2.1

<b>Cognate objects</b>	Cognate objects constitute a subclass of manner adverbs that contain a copy of the main verb, e.g. <i>to laugh a mirthless laugh</i> .	§3.3.4
<b>Control</b>	The notion of "control" describes a special case of anaphoric relation between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and a noun phrase it is co-referenced with. In Coptic, control by the matrix subject is clearly the predominant pattern, but cases of object control also occur.	§12.3.2
<b>Dependent</b>	The non-head or dependent constituent of a phrase is the element with a more peripheral function: it can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire expression.	§3.1.1
<b>Determiners</b>	Determiners are grammatical prefixes that indicate the information status or identifiability of the referent of the determined noun. Coptic makes a three-way contrast between definite, indefinite and zero-determined noun phrases.	§2.2
<b>Expletive pronouns</b>	Expletive pronouns have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3
<b>Epenthesis</b>	Epenthesis is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4

<b>Eventive-Statative alternation</b>	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
<b>Evidentials</b>	Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or functional words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.	§8.2.4
<b>Factive verbs</b>	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like <i>know</i> presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause.	§12.1.2.1
<b>Focus</b>	The focus of a sentence is the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse.	§10.1
<b>Free-choice pronouns</b>	Free choice pronouns like <i>any</i> are indefinite pronouns that refer to any representative member of a given category.	§4.3.4
<b>Free relative clause</b>	A relative clause that occurs without a pivot in all nominal positions of the clause.	§11.2
<b>Generic interpretation</b>	The referent of a generically interpreted noun phrase is not a particular entity or object, but rather a class or type of entity or object.	§2.2.2.1
<b>Head</b>	The head of the phrase is the element that determines its syntactic category.	§3.1.1
<b>Iconic ordering</b>	Iconicity is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1

<b>Indefiniteness restriction</b>	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1
<b>In-situ</b>	A term that refers to the clause-internal position of a question word or focus constituent	§7.2
<b>Left-dislocation</b>	Left-dislocation is a syntactic operation in the course of which a nominal expression (noun or pronoun) is moved to the left periphery of the clause. The grammatical role (subject, object) of the left-dislocated constituent is indicated by a resumptive pronoun in the associated clause.	§2.4.3.2
<b>Light verbs</b>	Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate.	§6.4.1
<b>Mandative constructions</b>	Mandative constructions (from English <i>command</i> ) typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives.	§12.1.1.2
<b>Modality</b>	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2
<b>Negative scope</b>	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or be more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.2-3

<b>Open vs. remote conditionals</b>	Open or realis conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability. Remote or hypothetical conditionals, on the other hand, present a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible.	§12.2.1
<b>Possession</b>	Possessive noun phrases consist of a possessed and a possessor noun, the latter being marked by a linkage morpheme. A variety of different semantic relations fall under the rubric of possession, ranging from ownership in the narrow sense to the expression of kinship.	§3.1.4
<b>Prefix</b>	Prefixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the right of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
<b>Pronouns</b>	Personal pronouns express person deixis, i.e. the reference to participants, present or absent, of the speech situation.	§2.4
<b>Proximal vs. distal deixis</b>	Proximal and distal demonstratives are deictically contrastive: the former refer to items close to the speaker and the latter to items located at some distance away from the speaker.	§4.1.1
<b>Reduplication</b>	Reduplication is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4

<b>Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses</b>	Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification, or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse.	§11.1.5.3
<b>Reported speech</b>	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content.	§12.1.3
<b>Resumptive pronouns</b>	Resumptive pronouns are pronominal placeholders inside a clause that occur in the syntactic position from which a nominal constituent has been extracted, e.g. the pivot of a relative clause.	§11.1.3
<b>Rhetorical questions</b>	Rhetorical questions are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the disguise of a question.	§4.2.3
<b>Roots</b>	Roots represent an abstract lexical item which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
<b>Scrambling</b>	Scrambling is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
<b>Second Tenses</b>	Coptic uses special inflectional morphology, traditionally referred to as "second tense", in relative clauses, questions and focus constructions.	§7.2

<b>Subject-verb inversion</b>	Inversion involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.	§10.1.5
<b>Suffix</b>	Suffixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the left of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
<b>Specific and non-specific indefinites</b>	Both specific and non-specific indefinites involve reference to an individual or object, which is not identifiable to the addressee. When the indefinite noun phrase refers to a particular entity, it has a specific reading. If, on the other hand, an indefinite noun phrase refers to any arbitrary member of a particular class, it adopts a non-specific interpretation.	§2.2.2.2
<b>Stem pattern</b>	The surface form of the root is called the stem. In Coptic, verbal stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morphosyntactic and semantic properties.	§6.1.3
<b>Switch reference</b>	Switch reference designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
<b>Tense</b>	Tense is a deictic category which describes the location of events in time. Absolute tenses relate an event with respect to a fixed temporal reference point (the present moment), while relative tenses relate an event with respect to another event.	§7.1, §8.1

<b>Topic</b>	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3
<b>Universal quantifiers</b>	Universal quantifiers like <i>all</i> in <i>all birds fly</i> are associated with an exhaustive interpretation and make reference to the entirety of some discourse domain.	§4.3.2
<b>Unergative vs. unaccusative intransitives</b>	Intransitive verbs fall into two classes, namely unergative verbs with agentive subjects (e.g. <i>NIHBE</i> 'to swim') and unaccusative verbs with non-agentive subjects (e.g. <i>NECE-</i> , <i>NECΩ</i> = 'to be beautiful').	§6.3.4
<b>Wh-questions</b>	<i>Wh-</i> or constituent questions are questions that address the validity or the truth of some statement.	§4.2.2
<b>Yes-no questions</b>	A question in which the truth of a proposition is at issue. Yes-no questions require "yes" or "no" as an answer and lack question words.	§4.2.2

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