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Herausgegeben von
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Introduction
to Old Nubian

Vorwort des Herausgebers

Bei den neueren Ausgrabungen, die im Rahmen des internationalen archäologischen Rettungswerks in Nubien unternommen wurden, sind zahlreiche Schriftdenkmäler in altnubischer Sprache gefunden worden. Insbesondere die noch nicht abgeschlossenen Ausgrabungen von Qasr Ibrim haben zu einer Häufung des altnubischen Textmaterials beigetragen, dessen Edition und Bearbeitung dringend erforderlich ist. Bisher standen für eine Einarbeitung in das Altnubische nur die sehr knappe grammatische Skizze von F. Ll. Griffith (1913) und die nicht immer leicht verständliche Grammatik von E. Zyhlarz (1928) zur Verfügung. Beide Arbeiten sind aber nicht immer zugänglich. Die Korrekturen und ergänzenden Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Problemen und manchen Detailfragen der altnubischen Grammatik von F. Hintze und G. M. Browne sind über verschiedene Zeitschriften und Publikationen verstreut und deswegen nicht einfach zu benutzen. Daher ist es zu begrüßen, daß G. M. Browne mit seiner „Introduction to Old Nubian" nun eine kurze Darstellung der wichtigsten grammatischen Erscheinungen des Altnubischen vorlegt, in der der neueste Forschungsstand berücksichtigt ist. Sie ermöglicht einen bequemen Zugang zu dieser Sprache und eine schnelle Einarbeitung. Die neue Grammatik wird gewiß die inhaltliche Erschließung und historische Auswertung der jetzt so zahlreich gewordenen altnubischen Texte wesentlich erleichtern und fördern. Und sie wird sicher auch das Interesse an der Sprache selbst neu beleben. Eine umfassende, vollständige Grammatik des Altnubischen wird sich natürlich erst dann erarbeiten lassen, wenn mindestens die wichtigsten der neuen Texte publiziert und philologisch bearbeitet sind. Auch die bisher bekannten Texte sollten dazu in berichtigten Versionen vorgelegt werden. G. M. Browne hat zu dieser wichtigen Arbeit schon wesentliche Beiträge geleistet. Zunächst aber wird die Einführung in das Altnubische sicher weitere Diskussionen über die grammatischen Erscheinungen dieser Sprache und vertiefte Interpretationen anregen. Es ist zu hoffen, daß sich recht viele Fachkollegen, auch Afrikanisten, näher mit dem Altnubischen beschäftigen und an dieser Diskussion beteiligen werden. Als Herausgeber der Reihe „Meroitica" möchte ich von der willkommenen Möglichkeit Gebrauch machen, mit diesem Vorwort zugleich die gewünschte Diskussion zu eröffnen, indem ich zu zwei Fragenkomplexen, bei denen meine Auffassung von der hier vertretenen abweicht, Bemerkungen mache.

I. Der erste Fragenkomplex bezieht sich auf die Morphologie und Syntax der Substantive. Unter dem Terminus „case inflection" (§ 3.6) werden Postpositionen zusammengefaßt und behandelt, die angeblich dem Kasussystem indoeuropäischer Sprachen entsprechen („. . . a group of common postpositions corresponding to the case system of some Indo-European languages"). Die Liste dieser „inflexions" umfaßt die Postpositionen

Subjektive   *-l*
Genitive   *-na, -n*
Directive   *-k(a)*
Predicative   *-(a)*

Die Verwendung der Terminus „inflection" (Flexion) und der Bezug auf das indoeuropäische Kasussystem sind etwas bedenklich, da sie eigentlich nur bei echten *flektierenden* Sprachen angebracht sind, also bei einem Sprachtypus, zu dem das (Alt)Nubische gewiß nicht gehört. Wichtiger ist aber die Tatsache, daß hier unter der Bezeichnung „case inflection" recht unterschiedliche Erscheinungen zusammengefaßt werden und daß dabei nicht auf ihre exakte Stellung innerhalb des sprachlichen Systems des Altnubischen hingewiesen wird.

Meines Erachtens handelt es sich bei der von Browne gegebenen Aufstellung aber um Morpheme, die ganz unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Ebenen angehören:

(1) Auf der Satzebene werden die Subjektphrase (SP) und die Prädikatphrase (PP) markiert:

    (1a) SP : -*l*

    (1b) PP : -*a*

(2) Innerhalb der PP wird das (direkte oder indirekte) Objekt (OP) markiert:
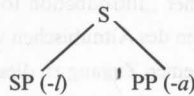
    (2) OP: -*ka*

(3) Auf der Ebene der Nominalkomplexe (NP) werden der Genetiv (NP1) und der Appositiv (NP2) markiert:
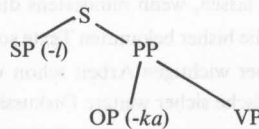
    (3a) NP1 : -*n, -na*

    (3b) NP2 : -*u*

Die nominalen Bestandteile der unter (3) zusammengefaßten Konstruktionen sind keine unmittelbaren Konstituenten des Satzes (ICs), im Unterschied zu den unter (1) und (2) aufgeführten Konstruktionen, die ICs auf der Satzebene sind. Die syntaktische Rolle der unter (1) und (2) aufgeführten Konstruktionen läßt sich mit folgenden Diagrammen darstellen:

(A) Nominalsatz:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
SP\,(\text{-}l) \qquad PP\,(\text{-}a)
\end{array}
$$

(B) Verbalsatz:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
SP\,(\text{-}l) \qquad PP \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
OP\,(\text{-}ka) \quad VP
\end{array}
$$

Zyhlarz hatte diese nominalen Formen recht treffend „Status" genannt. Das Auftreten der Vokale in diesen Konstruktionen ist etwas schwankend, jedoch nicht völlig willkürlich. Prinzipiell kann man feststellen:

Wenn im Status subjektivus ein Vokal steht, so ist es -*i*;

wenn im Status praedicativus ein Vokal steht, so ist es -*a*;

wenn im Status appositivus ein Vokal steht, so ist es -*u*.

Völlig von diesen syntaktisch-morphologischen Erscheinungen zu trennen ist aber das Auftreten von „anaptyktischen" Bindevokalen, die teilweise mit den syntaktischmorphologisch relevanten Vokalen vermischt sind. Dies ist besonders auffällig im § 3.6.5 und in der Anmerkung 7, wo das „annective -*u*" behandelt wird, „. . . which is not comparable to a case ending but is rather an anaptyctic juncture vowel (‚Bindevokal')". Diese „Bindevokale" gehören nämlich nicht mehr der Satzebene an, sondern der *Morphem*ebene, und sie sind syntaktisch ganz irrelevant! Sie treten nur an Morphemgrenzen, nicht aber an Komplexgrenzen auf. Der „normale" Bindevokal ist dabei -*i*-, gelegentlich kann dafür auch -*u*- stehen, manchmal auch ein „Null-vokal". Hier kommen nun neben der syntaktischen und der morphologischen Ebene auch die morpho-phonologische Ebene (u. a. die Wirkung der Vokalharmonie) und die orthographische Ebene ins Spiel. Es würde zu weit führen, dies hier anhand von ausführlichen Belegen zu demonstrieren. Das muß gegebenenfalls einer weiteren Diskussion vorbehalten bleiben.

II. Meine zweite Bemerkung betrifft das Verbalsystem. Sie zielt darauf ab, die bisher üblichen Termini „Infinitiv" und „Partizip" beizubehalten. Die von Browne in § 3.6.9 seiner „Introduction" aufgestellte „Synopsis of the Verb" ist erfreulich klar und übersichtlich aufgebaut. Allerdings halte ich die Einführung von Jespersens Terminus „Verbid" nicht nur für überflüssig, sondern auch für inadäquat. In der Anmerkung 12 bemerkt Browne zu diesem Terminus „Verbid": „. . . it signifies a verbal noun and, as such includes both verbal substantives (i.e. infinitives) and verbal adjectives (i.e. participles). It is therefore a suitable term for the bivalent Nubian form and is to be preferred to ‚infinitive'. . ." M. E. sind aber die hier in Betracht kommenden nubischen Formen keineswegs bivalent; es gibt eine klare formale und syntaktische Unterscheidung zwischen dem Infinitiv und dem Partizip:

Infinitiv *-e*

Partizip *-il* (Präsens)

-ol (Präteritum).

Diese Formen werden in den Texten ganz wie „normale" Infinitive und Partizipien verwendet; sie haben sich in Gestalt und Funktion auch fast unverändert bis ins Neunubische erhalten (im Dongolawi hat sich *-ol* zu *-el* verändert); was liegt also näher, als sie auch im Altnubischen einfach „Infinitiv" bzw. „Partizip" zu nennen?

In der Gewißheit, daß die hier vorgelegte Grammatik zusammen mit der Publikation der vielen neuen Texte das Interesse an den altnubischen Studien neu beleben wird, wünsche ich ihr einen möglichst großen Kreis von Lesern und Nutzern.

Februar 1988   F. Hintze

PREFACE

Until recently, the basic corpus of Old Nubian, the language of the Christian Sudan in the medieval period, consisted of only four texts: the Menas Legend, the Nicene Canons, the Lectionary and the Stauros-Text. These pieces, together with a handful of shorter items, occupy fewer than 20 printed pages. In 1984, I brought out my edition of an Old Nubian translation of a Greek homily; Professor J. M. Plumley and I now have in press a volume of Nubian theological texts from Qasr Ibrim; and I have just now completed a second volume of Ibrim material. In addition, the past few years have also seen the appearance of several less extensive pieces (see the Bibliography in Section 6, p. 59). This new material has almost tripled the size of the corpus, and the ongoing excavations at Qasr Ibrim promise yet more additions in the years to come.

It therefore seems timely to issue this Introduction to Old Nubian, to serve as a summary of the salient features of the language as it is now known and to provide a convenient frame of reference for dealing with data offered by material as yet un-published. In general, I have passed over phenomena of unique occurrence, believ-ing that these can best be handled in commentaries to the individual texts, and instead I have concentrated on presenting an overall survey of Old Nubian grammar. Writing from a practical point of view, I have allowed myself to include syntactic in-formation in the chapter on morphology, and I hope that theoreticians will not de-plore this departure from orthodoxy.

In building upon the foundation established by the pioneering studies of Griffith, Abel, Zyhlarz and Stricker, I have been continually inspired by Professor Fritz Hintze's magisterial Beobachtungen zur altnubischen Grammatik.[1] In addition, I owe Professor Hintze a more personal debt of gratitude: for it was at his instigation that I was invited to teach Old Nubian in the fall semester of 1986 at the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin (DDR). Stimulated by the exciting intellectual environment that he and his colleagues, Professors Erika Endesfelder, Steffen Wenig and Dr. Jochen Hallof, generously provided, I was able in the course of my stay in the DDR to marshal the conceptual forces that inform this grammar.

I should here like to register my thanks to Mrs. Mary Ellen Fryer, Secretary of the Department of the Classics in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. It was due to her patient instruction that I acquired enough competence on a word-processor to prepare the camera-ready version of the present monograph.

9 October 1987

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[1] For a survey of work on Old Nubian grammar, I refer the reader to the first chapter of my Studies in Old Nubian (see p. 57 below).

CONTENTS

1 ORTHOGRAPHY

1.1 Alphabet (the accompanying transliteration shows the approximate phonetic equivalents):

ⲁ	a	ⲗ	l	ⲫ	ph
ⲃ	b	ⲙ	m	ⲭ	ch (as Germ. Bach)
ⲅ	g	ⲛ	n (sic)	ⲯ	ps
ⲇ	d	ⳍ	x	ⲱ	ô
ⲉ	e	ⲟ	o	ⳝ	sh
ⲍ	z	ⲡ	p	Ⳟ	h
ⲏ	ê	ⲣ	r	ⲋ	j (as Engl. judge)
ⲑ	th (as Engl. thin)	ⲥ	s	ⳟ	ṅ (as Engl. singer)
ⲓ	i	ⲧ	t	⳧	ñ (as Engl. onion)
ⲕ	k	ⲩ	u	ⳣ, ⲟⲩ	w (as Engl. wish)

N.B. Ⲍ stands for both Greek ζ (e.g. SC 13.20–21 ⲗⲁⲍⲁⲣⲟⲥⲓ-) and ξ (e.g. M. 1.7 ⲁⲗⲉⲍⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉ-); Ⲍ, Ⲑ, Ⲭ and Ⲯ are found only in loan words. In the Greek alphabet which is the basis of Old Nubian orthography, Ⲍ represents ξ[1]. Since in Old Nubian the bar over a consonant designates /i/ (see **1.3.3**), Ⲍ without the bar was taken by the Nubian scribes as /x/, despite the confusion with Ⲍ for /z/. At times there is differentiation: e.g. in gr. 4.1 and 3 ⲍ = ζ, while in 4.8 ⲍ̄ = ξ.

Note that, for typesetting convenience, I use ⳝ instead of the ⳋ regularly found in the texts.

1.2 Punctuation. The end of a clause, colon or sentence is regularly (though not always) marked by a medial point; in L. the point is replaced by \\. Questions may conclude with / (e.g. SC 18.2-5). For further details see Browne 1986a.

1.3 Supraliteration. The system is most clearly seen in L., on which the following observations are based (see Browne 1981 [VIII] for additional details).

1.3.1 A vowel constituting a syllable by itself is usually marked with a point or short horizontal (each transcribed as a bar); if the vowel is ⲓ, it bears diaeresis: e.g. cf. L. 112.4 ⲟ̄ⲕⲉⲛ with 105.3 ⲟⲕⲧⲁⲕⲟⲗ- and 104.6 ⲥⲓ⳥ⳣⲛⲓⲁ̄- with 103.2 ϊⲱⲧⲧⲁ-. Texts other

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[1] Cf. Garthausen 1913, plates 1–3.

than L. show carelessness: e.g. cf. SC 3.8 ⲀⲈ[Ⲗ̄- with 23.16 ⲀⲈⲖ̄ and 22.13 ⲀⲒ̈ⲔⲀ with 22.10 ⲀⲒⲔⲀ.

1.3.2 A vowel preceded by a consonant + ⲗ, ⲛ, ⲣ or 6 is regularly marked in L., where the alternation of such writings as 107.4-5 ⲔⲞⲤⲘⲞⲤⲀⲞ̄ with 109.2-3 ⲔⲞⲤⲘ[Ⲟ]ⲤⲒⲀⲞ shows that -ⲤⲀⲞ̄ = -ⲤⲒⲀⲞ, with the insertion of a juncture vowel (**2.10**). In other texts, scribes are less careful, but note e.g. 6ⲈⲘⲀⲒ̈- for 6ⲈⲘⲒⲀⲒ- in SC 25.10; at times, word division between lines reflects the pronunciation: e.g. SC 16.23-24 ⲦⲀⲨ/ⲔⲀⲞ = ⲦⲀⲨⲔⲒⲀⲞ.

1.3.3 A consonant to be pronounced as if ⲓ preceded is regularly marked with a point or short horizontal (each transcribed as a bar): e.g. L. 113.5 Ⲥ̄ⲀⲞ (cf. 113.13 ⲈⲒⲤⲀⲞ̄), 112.11 ⲦⲀ̄ⲀⲚ̄ (cf. 100.5 ⲦⲒⲀⲀⲒⲀ-), 109.6 ⲈⲚ̄ⲚⲀ- (cf. 113.5 ⲈⲒⲚⲒⲀ). When the stroke should be placed over 6, the latter's protrusion in the original orthography (**1.1n**) causes the stroke to be placed over the preceding letter: e.g. K. 33.13 ⲬⲢⲒⲤⲦⲞⲤⲒⲞ̄-Ⲧ̄6Ⲟ (i.e. -Ⲧ6Ⲟ). If Ⲉ is the first letter of a word and constitutes a syllable by itself, it is normally marked; in this environment marked Ⲉ either stands for /i/ or is simply /e/, depending on the word's etymology: cf. L. 110.2 Ⲉ̄ⲚⲈⲚ- (i.e. /inen/: cf. Nobiin *in*) and SC 6.15-16 Ⲉ̄ⲀⲎ- (i.e. /eli/: cf. Nobiin *eli*).

1.3.4 At times the stroke is found over the second of three letters and implies the insertion of ⲓ before the second and also before the third: e.g. St. 12.1 Ⲥ̄ⲔⲦ̄Ⲛ (= /iskitin/) and SC 11.4 ⲔⲦ̄ⲀⲀⲰ- (= /kitildô/).

1.4 Abbreviations. Note ⲒⲤ̄ⲤⲒ for Ⲓ̈ⲎⲤⲞⲨⲤⲒ- and ⲬⲤ̄ⲤⲒ for ⲬⲢⲒⲤⲦⲞⲤⲒ- in SC (see p.19 of my edition). In L. gospel-titles are abbreviated in the lesson-heads (e.g. 106.4 Ⲓ̄ⲰⲨ̄); note also 112.5 ⲠⲀⲢ̄ᵀ for ⲠⲀⲢⲦⲀⲔⲞⲚⲀ or ⲠⲀⲢⲦⲀⲔⲒⲤⲚⲀ̄. Other abbreviations occasionally appear in the graffiti and inscriptions.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i (ЄI, $\bar{\epsilon}$ [1.3.3], Н, I)		u (OY)[2]
Half-Open	e (Є)		o (O, Ѡ)
Open		a (ⲁ)	

2.1.1 Long vowels, normally not indicated, are occasionally marked by gemination: e.g. M. 7.1 and 7 ⲤⲞⲞⲅ- (but ⲤⲞⲅ- in 2.5 and 12.14), cognate with Nobiin *nôg*.

2.1.2 Vocalic alternation

ⲁ vs. Є: e.g. SC 5.22 ⲅⲚ]ⲁЄⲦⲦЄ- vs. ⲅⲚⲁⲁⲦⲦЄ- in 6.14 and 22.21.

ⲁ vs. I: e.g. SC 21.3 KⲁⲠ- vs. 21.2 KIⲠ-.

ⲁ vs. O: e.g. SC 21.3 KⲁⲠ- vs. 22.8 KOⲠ-.

Є vs. I: e.g -KЄ- vs. -KI- (see SC 3.17n).

O vs. OY: e.g. KON- vs. KOYN- (passim).

I vs. OY: e.g. SC 9.1 ЄIⲠIⲘЄN- vs. 11.10 ЄIⲠOYⲘЄN- (see SC 2.6n for other examples of this common interchange).

2.1.3 Diphthongs

ai (ⲁI, ⲁЇ, ⲁЄI, ⲁ$\bar{\epsilon}$ [1.3.3])

au (ⲁY, ⲁOY, ⲁYOY)[3]

eu (ЄY, ЄYOY)

oi (OЄI, O$\bar{\epsilon}$)

2.2 Consonants (see the chart on page 4); excluded are consonants found only in loan words (**1.1n**). The phonetic representation is only approximate.

2.2.1 The sonorants have the following distribution:

Ⲙ and Ⲣ are restricted to Anlaut and Inlaut.

Ⲣ and Ⲯ are restricted to Inlaut.

Ⲗ and N are restricted to Inlaut and Auslaut.

2.2.2 Consonantal alternation

Ⲅ vs. K: e.g. SC 10.12 ⲀⲅIⲀ- vs. 7.15 ⲀKⲀ.

Ⲅ vs. Ϭ: e.g. SC 7.16 ⲅⲀ̄ⲗ- vs. 4.23 Ϭ!ⲗⲗI-.

Ⲅ vs. Ⲥ: e.g. St. 24.7 ⲅⲁⲣ- vs. K. 26.10 Ⲥⲁⲣ-.

Ⲁ vs. Ⲧ: e.g. SC 12.22-23 ⲀⲀⲠⲠ- vs. 2.4 ⲦⲁⲠ-.

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[2] At times OY= /ow/: see **2.5.5, 3.9.7b**, and cf. ftn. 3.

[3] At times ⲁ Y = /aw/: see **2.5.5, 3.9.7b**, and cf. ftn. 2.

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd
Explosive	p / П	b / В			t / Т	d / Д			k / К	g / Г	ʔ / 2	
Affricate												
Fricative			ph / Φ		s / С		sh / Ɯ	j / б			h	
Lateral						l / ʎ						
Roll						r / Р						
Nasal		m / M				n / N		ñ / ъ		ñ / ı		
Approximant				w / 4				y / ı,з				

Sonorant ⎰ Lateral, Roll, Nasal ⎱

ⲗ vs. ⲇ: e.g. SC 13.22 ⳟⲁⲗ- vs. 17.17 ⳟⲁⲇ-.

ⲗ vs. ⲛ: e.g. St. 24.11-25.1 C̄ⲧⲁ ⲩⲢⲞⲤⲚ̄ vs. C̄ⲧⲁ ⲩⲢⲞⳝⲚ̄ passim.

ⲗ vs. Ⲣ: e.g. St. 3.3 ⲞⲨⲔⲚ̄ vs. M. 3.9 ⲞⲨⲔⲞⲨⲢ; cf. also below, 2.6.

Ⲣ vs. ⲇ: e.g. ILT 2 i 24 ⲈⲒⲢ- vs. ⲈⲒⲇ- i 18.

2.3 Assimilation of sonorants ⲗ, ⲛ, and Ⲣ. Note that the assimilation is not always graphically indicated.

2.3.1 Regressive assimilation (very common)

ⲗ + Ⲅ → ⲄⲄ	ⲛ + 6 → Ⲯ6
ⲗ + ⲇ → ⲇⲇ	Ⲣ + Ⲅ → ⲄⲄ
ⲗ + Ⲕ → ⲔⲔ	Ⲣ + ⲇ → ⲇⲇ
ⲗ + Ⲙ → ⲘⲘ	Ⲣ + Ⲕ → ⲔⲔ
ⲗ + ⲛ → ⲚⲚ	Ⲣ + ⲗ → ⲗⲗ (or ⲢⲢ: 2.3.2, or ⲢⲒ: 2.5.6b)
ⲗ + Ⲣ → ⲢⲢ (or ⲗⲗ: 2.3.2)	Ⲣ + ⲛ → ⲚⲚ
ⲗ + ⳝ → ⳝⳝ	Ⲣ + ⳝ → ⳝⳝ
ⲗ + ⲧ → ⲧⲧ	Ⲣ + ⲧ → ⲧⲧ
ⲛ + Ⲙ → ⲘⲘ	Ⲣ + 6 → 66
ⲛ + ⳝ → ⳝⳝ	

E.g. SC 2.3 ⲦⲞⲢⲒⲇⲇⲞ (but 5.14 ⲦⲞⲢⲞⲇⲇⲞ), K. 28.4 ⲈⲒⲘⲘⲈⲒⲚⲈⲤⲞ (but ILT 9 ii 5 ⲈⲒⲚ-Ⲙ̄C̄-Cⲇ-Ⲛⲇ-), SC 22.17-18 ⲇⲢⲘC̄ⲔⲒⲇⲈⲔⲔⲇ (but 12.5 ⲇⲢⲘC̄ⲔⲒⲇⲈⲢⲔⲇ).

2.3.2 Progressive assimilation (less widespread than regressive assimilation)

Ⲕ + Ⲣ → ⲔⲔ	ⲛ + Ⲣ → ⲚⲚ
ⲗ + Ⲣ → ⲗⲗ (or ⲢⲢ: 2.3.1)	Ⲣ + ⲗ → ⲢⲢ (or ⲗⲗ: 2.3.1, or ⲢⲒ: 2.5.6b)
ⲛ + ⲗ → ⲚⲚ	C + ⲗ → ⲤⲤ

E.g. SC 24.12-13 ⲔⲈⲦⲁⲗⲗⲈⲚⲚⲁ (but K. 22.12 ⲔⲞⲨⲢⲢⲁⲚⲁⲞ), L.108.1 -ⲘⲒⲚⲚⲈ- (= ⲘⲒⲚ-ⲢⲈ-; no examples of failure to assimilate), M. 8.11-12 ⲝ̄ⲄⲞⲢ⳩̄C̄ⲤⲔⲁ (= ⲝ̄ⲄⲞⲢⲒⲤⲒⲗⲔⲁ: 2.5.6a, 3.9.8).

2.4 Assimilation of other consonants (not common)

Ⲅ + Ⲕ → ⲔⲔ	Ⲙ + Ⲕ → ⲚⲔ
Ⲕ + Ⲅ → ⲄⲄ	Ⲡ + Ⲕ → ⲠⲠ
Ⲕ + Ⲅ → ⲔⲔ	Ⲡ + Ⲙ → ⲘⲘ
Ⲕ + ⲧ → ⲧⲧ	6 + Ⲅ → 66
ⲧ + Ⲕ → ⲧⲧ	6 + Ⲕ → 66

E.g. SC 9.19 ⲇⲔ[ⲇ]ⲁⲧ⳿ⲧⲞⲨ (but 17.4 ⲇⲔⲇⲁⲔⲧⲞⲨ), 8.5 ⲦⲞⲨⲄⲄⲞⲨ- (but 7.18 ⲦⲞⲨⲔⲄⲞⲨ-).

2.5 Elision. It is not always graphically indicated. (See Hintze 1986, 288-293; Browne 1985a, 6-8)

2.5.1 Prevocalic loss of ⲁ between words. It is not attested with the genitive in - Nⲁ, the predicative - ⲁ functioning as a vocative, the postposition - ⲭⲁ, and the indicative endings in - ⲁ. It appears in the following categories:

a) Predicative, both nominal (**3.6.4**) and verbal (**3.9.6**). Nominal: e.g. SC 17.15 Cⲁⲭ-Ēⲛ- (but 17.19-20 ⲦⲟⲦⲁ Ēⲛ-), verbal: e.g. 10.11 Ⲧⲟⲣ6ⲁⲣ-ⲉⲓⲛ- (but 10.6 ⲟⲩⲁ̄-ⲟⲩⲁ̄-ⲣⲁ ⲉⲓⲛ-); cf. **2.5.2a**.

b) Adjunctive (**3.9.19**). E.g. SC 2.6 Kⲉⲛ₋ⲟⲩⲦⲡ̄₋ⲟ̄ⲥ- (but 18.13 ⲡⲉⲉⲓⲁ̲ ⲟ̄ⲥ-); cf. **2.5.2b**.

c) Directive (**3.6.3**). E.g. SC 19.15 ⲁ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲉⲕ̲ Ēⲧ- (but 24.4 ⲁ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲉⲕⲁ̲ Ēⲧ-).

2.5.2 Other cases of loss of ⲁ between words:

a) Predicative - ⲁ frequently vanishes after a vowel: e.g. ILT 5 ii 25 ⲁⲭⲉ₋Mⲱ̄-ⲱⲁⲛ- (but St. 8.5-6 Ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲉⲓⲁ̲ Mⲱ̄ⲱⲁⲛ-; see **3.6.4c**).

b) Perhaps on the analogy of prevocalically elided adjunctives (**2.5.1b**) are formed desinenceless adjunctives which appear before consonants: e.g. SC 19.16-17 Ḳⲉⲛ₋Ⲧⲟⲁⲣⲓⲛ-.

2.5.3 Loss of ⲁ within a word. The vowel may drop out between two sonorants: e.g. SC 5.7 -Mⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲱ (= -Mⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲥⲱ), 18.11-12 ⲤⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲦⲣ̄ⲣⲁ (= ⲤⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲦⲣ̄ⲁⲣⲁ: **3.9.7a**). Assimilation may occur after ⲁ is suppressed: e.g. SC 18.17 Ⲧ̄Ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁⲥⲁ (= Ⲧ̄Ⲙⲁ-ⲣⲁⲛⲁⲥⲁ: **2.3.1**) but ILT 3 i 9 ⲁⲉⲣⲛⲁⲥⲱ.

2.5.4 Other vowels may be elided, but the evidence is insufficient to set up general rules: e.g. K. 23.2-3 Mⲉⲓ6ⲣⲁⲅⲟⲩ(ⲉ) ⲉⲛ-, SC 11.16 ⲕⲓⲡⲓⲁ(ⲉ) Ⲧⲓⲁⲉ, 6.15-16 Ēⲭⲏⲛ (twice), presumably for Ēⲭⲏ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ (see **3.10** - ⲟⲛ); cf. also the final construction with - Ⲥⲁ (**4.7.7c**), which seems to stand for - Ⲥ(ⲱ)-ⲁ: Stricker 1940, 449. See also **2.5.6a**.

2.5.5 ⲟ-ⲁ and ⲁ-ⲁ may be replaced by ⲟⲩⲁ and ⲁⲩⲁ, respectively: cf. INT 5 vii 5-6 -Ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲱⲁ̄ (from -Ⲕⲟ-ⲁⲛⲛⲱⲁ̄: **4.7.7a**), K. 31.7 -Ⲕⲁⲩⲁⲛⲛⲟ (from Ⲕⲁ-ⲁⲛⲛⲟ: **4.7.5a**), M. 7.16 6ⲟⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ- (from 6ⲟⲣⲟⲭ-ⲁⲛ, with deletion of ⲭ: **2.5.6a** and **3.9.6**). Phonologically, ⲟⲩⲁ and ⲁⲩⲁ = /owa/ and /awa/, respectively: cf. INT 5 iv 4-5 ⲤⲱⲣⲦⲱϯⲉⲓ- (i.e. ⲤⲱⲣⲦⲱ-ⲓ: **3.6.5**).

2.5.6 Replacement and loss of ⲭ and ⲣ:

a) When preceded by a vowel, ⲭ and ⲣ may be replaced by ⲉⲓ (also written ⲏ or ⲓ), which is /i/ before a consonant and /y/ before a vowel: e.g. SC 8.20-21 ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̲ⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲦⲦⲟ- (from ⲅⲟⲩⲭ-; contrast 14.21-22 ⲁ̄ⲉ̄ ⲁⲁⲩ-), 25.6 ⲡⲁⲉ̲ⲓⲁ (from ⲡⲁⲣⲁ; contrast L. 113.3 Ⲧⲁⲣⲁ). In the verbal system the sequence - ⲟⲭ-ⲁⲛ becomes - ⲟⲩⲁⲛ: cf. M. 7.16 6ⲟⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ- (cf. **2.5.5** and **3.9.6**). Postvocalic ⲭ and ⲣ may also disappear totally: e.g. SC 14.12 ⲉⲓⲁ̄ⲣⲓ(ⲭ) ⲁⲟⲭⲭ-, 9.13 ⲉⲓⲁ̄ⲣⲓ(ⲭ) in clause-final position, 8.8 Ⲧⲟ(ⲣ)ⲁ̄ⲣⲁⲛ. The vowels preceding ⲭ and ⲣ may also vanish: e.g. SC 3.23 ⲟⲩⲦⲡ̄(ⲓⲭ)

ⲆⲞⲖⲖ-, 7.13 Ⲧ(ⲀⲢ)Ⲁ-, 22.10 ⲆⲦⲤⲚ̄(ⲒⲀ). In the preterite II verbid (**3.9.6**), sometimes the vowel before -Ⲗ drops out, with Ⲗ assimilating to the preceding C (**2.3.2**): cf. e.g. M. 8.11-12 Ⲇ̄ⲦⲞⲢⲦ̄C-KⲀ (< Ⲇ̄ⲦⲞⲢⲒC-Ⲗ-KⲀ < Ⲇ̄ⲦⲞⲢⲒCⲒⲀ-KⲀ); see also **3.9.8**.

b) When Ⲗ is preceded by Ⲣ and followed by a vowel, it may be replaced by Ⲓ (i.e. /y/): e.g. SC 12.18 ⲦⲀⲢⲒⲀ (from ⲦⲀⲢ-ⲖⲀ); if there is no replacement, assimilation occurs and the result is either ⲖⲖ (**2.3.1**) or ⲢⲢ (**2.3.2**).

2.6 As a suffix (**3.6.1** and **3.9.6**), syllable-closing Ⲗ regularly becomes Ⲣ when it opens a syllable; in addition, -ⲞⲖ (preterite I verbid) in this environment is replaced by -ⲀⲢ- (except that -ⲞⲖ-ⲀⲚ → -ⲞⲨⲀⲚ: see **2.5.5**): e.g. SC 16.14 ⲄⲈⲚⲄⲢⲈⲢⲀ- (i.e. ⲄⲈⲚⲄⲢⲈⲖ-Ⲁ: **3.3.2**), 11.2 ⲠⲈCⲀⲢⲀ- i.e. ⲠⲈCⲞⲖ-Ⲁ-); cf. Stricker 1940, 443. In the case of ⲆⲞⲨⲖ-Ⲗ (present verbid of ⲆⲞⲨⲖ-), -Ⲗ is maintained even when syllable opening: e.g. L. 108.2 ⲆⲞⲨⲖ-ⲖⲀⲚⲀ.

2.7 Geminate contiguous consonants occuring in the same syllable are regularly simplified: e.g. K. 33.6 Ⲇ̄ⲯⲚ̄ (i.e. Ⲇ̄ⲯⲚ̄Ⲛ from Ⲇ̄ⲯⲖ̄-Ⲛ); see Stricker 1940, 442. Simplification of geminates may also occur between syllables: e.g. SC 24.8-9 ⲆⲞⲨⲖⲀⲄⲈⲚⲒⲆ̄ (i.e. ⲆⲞⲨⲖⲖⲀⲄⲈⲚⲒⲆ̄, as in 19.19), M. 7.7-8 Ⲅ̄Ⲡ̄ⲦⲒCⲚⲀ vs. 8.5 Ⲅ̄ⲠⲢⲦ̄CCⲚⲀ (< Ⲅ̄ⲠⲢⲦ̄-Ⲗ-Ⲛ-Ⲁ; cf. **2.5.6a**).

2.8 Occasionally simple consonants are unnecessarily doubled: e.g. St. 32.9 Ⲟ̄ⲄⲒⲟⲟⲞⲨ against regular ⲞⲄⲟⲞⲨ in SC 24.20.

2.9 Certain postpositions may have Ⲗ between them and a preceding noun, and at times the Ⲗ is assimilated (**2.3.1**): e.g. SC 10.12 ⲠⲀⲠ-Ⲝ̄-ⲆⲀⲖ, 2.3 ⲦⲞⲢⲒ-Ⲇ-ⲆⲞ, 8.4 Ⲁ-Ⲣ[Ⲉ]ⲄⲄⲈⲆ-ⲦⲀⲨⲞ̄. See **3.10** for a list of such postpositions and cf. Hintze 1975b, §5.3.

2.10 A word ending in two consonants normally inserts an /i/ as a juncture vowel before a suffix beginning with a consonant: e.g. SC 3.7 CⲈⲨⲀⲢⲦ-Ⲓ-KⲀ (but ILT 10 A i 16-17 CⲈ[Ⲩ]ⲀⲢⲦ-Ⲁ). The juncture vowel is also often to be found between two consonants: e.g. SC 7.6 ⲘⲀⲐ̄ⲎⲦⲒC-Ⲓ-ⲦⲞⲨ- (but 10.15-16 ⲀⲄⲄⲈⲖⲞC-ⲦⲞⲨ-); see also **1.3.2**.[4] It may also appear as ⲞⲨ (**2.1.2**, **2.11**). We also find the juncture vowel (usually written ⲞⲨ, less frequently Ⲓ) between two words that syntactically cohere: see **3.6.5**, **3.9.19** ftn. 23).

2.11 Vowel harmony: the juncture vowel (**2.10**) is often ⲞⲨ in the vicinity of ⲞⲨ: cf.

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[4] Note in addition ILT 10 A ii 9 ⲆⲞⲨ-Ⲉ̄-CⲚ̄ (vs. L. 107.3 ⲆⲞⲨ-Ⲛ) and L. 113.9 ⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨⲈⲜ̄- (= ⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ-Ⲓ-Ⲗ; vs. 113.2 ⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ-ⲚⲀ): here the juncture vowel appears between a vowel (unless ⲞⲨ is interpreted as /ow/: **2.1** ftn. 2) and a consonant.

e.g. St. 14.2-3 ⲋⲁⲢⲘ-ⲞⲨ-ⲅⲞⲨⲅⲀ̅ⲗⲉ (but ⲋⲁⲢⲘ-Ⲓ-ⲅⲞⲨⲚ in 14.7-8). Note also that -(ⲗ)Ⲣ- (causative: **3.9.5a**) may also become -ⲞⲨⲢ- in the neighborhood of -ⲞⲨ: e.g. SC 22.3 ⲞⲨⲀⲅ-ⲞⲨⲢ-ⲁⲗⲱ (but K. 29.6-7 ⲞⲨⲀⲅ-Ⲣ̅-ⲘⲒⲚⲀ̅).

2.12 Metathesis: note Ⲁ̅ⲅⲞⲠⲠ- (e.g. M. 4.9) vs. Ⲁ̅ⲠⲞⲅⲅ- (e.g. 4.16) and also Ⲁ̅ⲁⲯ(Ⲕ̅)Ⲕⲉⲗ- for Ⲁ̅ⲣⲣ(Ⲕ̅)Ⲕⲉⲗ- (e.g. St. 1.9; for replacement of Ⲣ with ⲁ see **2.2.2**).

2.13 Accentuation. Old Nubian probably followed the tone system observable in modern Nobiin, but such a system is not reflected in the orthography. Note that words ending in predicative -ⲁ (**3.6.4** and **3.9.6**) seem to have been accented on the final syllable (cf. Stricker 1940, 446).

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Old Nubian morphology does not mark gender; e.g. the 3rd pers. sg. pronoun ΤΑΡ- (3.7.1) is "he/she/it" and the 3rd pers. sg. present indicative ΕΙΝΝΑ (3.9.6.) is "he/she/it is."

3.2 There is no definite article; for the indefinite article the language employs ΟΥΕΛ-, literally "one" (3.7.6a).

3.3 Substantives are either simple or compound. The simple are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic; those of three or more syllables can usually be reduced to their components, but two-syllable substantives are either irreducible or compound and in some cases cannot be accurately classified without further evidence. Note that the /i/ often found between substantive and suffix is usually the juncture vowel (**2.10**) and is omitted in listing the word (but see **3.3.6**).

3.3.1 Simple substantives: e.g. (consult Indices [see Bibliography] for attestations) ΓΑΛ- "body," ΕΙΓ- "fire," ΤΟΥ- "belly," ΑΣΣΕ- "water," ΚΟΡΟΣ- "shepherd," ΜΑΚϢΕ- "table."

3.3.2 Compound substantives have various expansions attached as suffixes; they include the following:

-ΑΤ(Τ)- deverbative substantive formant, either abstract or concrete: e.g. ΤΑΠΠ-ΑΤΤ- "destruction" (from ΤΑΠΠ-/ΔΑΠΠ- "to perish"), ΣΕΥ-ΑΤΤ- "heir" (from ΣΕΥ- "to inherit").

- ΓΡΕΛ- deverbative agent-substantive formant, formed from present verbid (**3.9.6** ftn. 12) of -Γ(Λ)Ρ- (causative: cf. **3.9.5a**): e.g. ΓΕΝ-ΓΡΕΛ- "benefactor" (from ΓΕΝ- "to be good").

-ΔΑΤ(Τ)- deverbative agent-substantive formant: e.g. ΟΥΛΓΕΛ-ΔΑΤ- "listener" (from ΟΥΛΓ(Ρ̄)- "to hear").

-ΔΕΡ- deverbative abstract-substantive formant: e.g. ΤΟΚ-ΔΕΡ- "forgiveness" (from ΤΟΚ- "to forgive").

-Ε- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. ΕΙ-Ε̄- "mankind" (from ΕΙ- "man") and ΤΑΡΟΥ-Ε̄- "blessing" (from ΤΑΡΟΥ- "to bless").

-Ι- deverbative agent-substantive formant: e.g. ΜΕΥΑ-Ι- "beggar" (from ΜΕΥΑ-"to seek").

-ΙΤΤ- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. ᾹΡΟΥ-ΕΤ̄Τ- "irrigation" (from ᾹΡΟΥ- "rain") and Σ̄ΚΕΛ-ΙΤΤ- "request" (from Σ̄ΚΕΛ- "to beg").

-K- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. ЄT-K- "mankind" (from ЄIT- "man") and TOYP-K- "setting" (from TOP- "to enter": see SC 18.10n).

-KⱭNЄ- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. TOT-KⱭNЄ- "sonship" (from TOT- "son") and ΠIC-KⱭNЄ- "joy" (from ΠIC- "to rejoice").

-KT̄- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. TⱭC̄C̄-KT̄- "naming" (from TⱭC̄C̄- "name") and ⱭOⱭKIT- "wish" (from ⱭOⱭⱭ- "to wish").

-NⱭYЄ̄- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative; it may be preceded by -KN̄- (from -KЄ-: 3.9.5a): e.g. OYЄPOYЄ̄-NⱭYЄ̄- "share" (from OYЄPOYЄP- "one another"), COK-KN̄-NⱭYЄ̄- "honor" (from COK- "glory"), TⱲ(K)-KN̄-NⱭYЄ̄- "peace" (from TⱲK- "to cease").

-P- deverbative substantive formant, often preceded by a lexically determined vowel: e.g. ⱭI-ⱭP- "death" (from ⱭI- "to die"), CⱭ-ЄP- "salvation" (from CⱭP- "to save": cf. 2.5.6a).

-PЄⱭ- deverbative agent-substantive formant, literally the present verbid of -(Ɑ)P- (causative: 3.9.5a): e.g. ⱭⱭΠΠ-I-PЄⱭ- "annihilator" (from ⱭⱭΠΠ- "to perish").

-C- deverbative abstract-substantive formant: e.g. ⱭPM-C̄- "judgment" (from ⱭPM- "to observe": cf. SC 23.9n).

-T- substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. COYK-T- "glory" (from CO(Y)K- "glory") and ЄIⱭP-T- "knowledge" (from ЄIⱭP- "to know").

-TЄ- deverbative substantive formant: e.g. ⱭOY-TЄ- "place" (from ⱭOYⱭ- "to be").

-6- probably an allomorph of -T-, found only after 6 and Ⲯ: e.g. COC06-6- "office of sonoj" and ⱭⲮ-6- "life, savior" (from ⱭⲮ- "to live"); note that the unassimilated ⱭⲮ-T- is also found.

3.3.3 Some words display more than one suffix: e.g. ⱭPM-C̄-K-I-ⱭЄP- "judgment."

3.3.4 There are also compounds made up of independent words: e.g. ⱭOYM-ⱭP-T- "power, continence" (from ⱭOYM- and ⱭP-, verbal stems meaning "to hold," joined in adjunction: cf. 3.9.19), CЄYⱭPT-OY-KON-K- "spirituality," literally "quality of having spirit" (-OY- is the juncture vowel /i/: 2.1.2 and 2.10) and ΓⱭP-KЄMCO- "world," literally "four sides."

3.3.5 Loan words include Greek (e.g. ⱭΓΓЄⱭOC-), Coptic (e.g. CⱭΠЄ- "sin"), Egyptian (e.g. OPΠ- "wine") and Arabic (e.g. CⱭXX- "anchorite"). Note that in Greek loans ending in -ιον, the ending is deleted, possibly because of its resemblance to the Nubian -ЄION (an allomorph of -ON: 3.10): e.g. ЄYⱭΓΓЄⱭ- from εὐαγγέλιον.

3.3.6 Proper names frequently end in Ι; that this is not merely a juncture vowel but an integral part of the name is clear from such cases as L. 106.9, where ΙͰCΟΥCΙ occurs in clause-final position.

3.4 Adjectives, like substantives, are either simple (mono- or polysyllabic) or compound; they regularly follow the word that they modify.

3.4.1 Simple adjectives: e.g. ΓΟΡΤ- "old," ΔΕCC- "green," ΜΙΡ- "new," ΔΓΕΝΔ(Ε)- "blessed."

3.4.2 Compound adjectives are formed by attaching as a suffix one of the following elements:

-ΚΔΤΤ-: e.g. ΔΧΕ-ΚΔΤΤ- "truthful" (from ΔΧΕ- "truth").

-ΚΡ̄(Ψ)- (privative suffix): e.g. ΕΙΔΡΤ-Ι-ΚΡ̄Ψ- "without knowledge" (from ΕΙΔΡΤ- "knowledge").

-ΚΟ- (from ΚΟ(Υ)Ν- "to have"): e.g. ΕΙΔΡΤ-Ι-ΚΟ- "knowledgeable."

3.4.3 In order to translate Greek adjectives, Old Nubian may employ—in addition to the adjective formations listed in 3.4.2—various kinds of substitutes: e.g. ΕΙΤ-ΟΝ(Δ), literally "man-loving" (adjunctive: **3.9.19**), translates φιλάνθρωπος in SC 12.7, and ΕΙΕΝ̄, lit. "of mankind," renders ἀνθρώπινος in 14.9 and 19.13.

3.4.4 Comparison is indicated by the postposition -ΧΟΓΟΕΙΔ̄: e.g. K. 30.6-8 ΚC̄CΕΧΔ ΠΕC̄ΔΠΠΔ ΔΚΟCCΔ Μω̄ωΔΝΓΟΥΧΟΓΟΕΙΔ ΔΚΟCCΔCN̄ "for the one who speaks in church is worse than all evils." Note that in K. 26.11 -ΧΟΓΟΕΙΔΝ may represent juncture with a reduced form of -ΟΝ "and" (see 3.10 s.v.). In ILT 10 A ii 8 -ΧΕ6ΟΥΝ means "than." There is no special superlative formation; ΓΕΝΕΝΚΕΧ- in St. 31.1 means "good" (ἀγαθός; cf. 3.9.5a for -ΚΕ-), not "best" (pace Zyhlarz 1928, §307).

3.5 Plural formation. The basic plural morpheme is -ΓΟΥ-, to which may be added other morphemes, and which may also be deleted. With the predicative case (see **3.6.4**), the plural assumes a specific shape, while elsewhere (i.e. in conjunction with the numerous postpositions, including all cases other than the predicative) it remains unchanged. It is therefore convenient to treat this latter, general plural separately from that found with the predicative.

3.5.1 General plural

a) -ΓΟΥ-, the most common marker: e.g. SC 5.22 ΓΝ̄]ΔΕΤΤΕ-ΓΟΥ-ΚΔ "thorns," 15.19 ΟΥΡΟΥ-ΓΟΥ-ΝΔ "of kings."

b) -ΡI-ΓΟY-, less common; often associated with Greek words but found elsewhere as well: e.g. SC 5.8 ΜΟΥΓ-ΡΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΚⲀ "dogs," 10.13-14 ÏΟΥⲆⲀΙΟ̄C-ΡΙ-ΓΟΥ-ⲀΟ6ΟΥΝ "because of the Jews" (but L. ll3.5 ÏΟΥⲆⲀΙΟC-ΓΟΥ-Ν "of the Jews"), 18.14-15 ⲀⲀC-ΡΙ-ΓΟ[Υ]-ΚⲀ "springs."

c) -ΝΙ-ΓΟΥ-, less frequent than b): e.g. SC 16.3 CⲀXX-ΝΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΝⲀ "of anchorites," K. 19.2 ΚⲦ̄CЄ-ΝΙ-ΓΟΥ-Ν̇Ⲁ "of churches." We also find -Ν-ΓΟΥ- and -ΙΝ-ΓΟΥ-: e.g. M. 17.3-4 ЄⲀⲀЄ-Ν-ΓΟΥ-ⲀⲰ "to the times," and ЄΙΝ-Ν̄-ΓΟΥ- (3.7.4).[5]

d) In all the above cases -ΓΟΥ-may be deleted: e.g. SC 6.14 ΓΝ̄ⲀⲀΤΤЄ-ΚⲀ "thorns" (which the plural infix in the controlling verb ⲀΟΥΚΚΙ6Ο̄CΙ6ΚЄΝⲀЄ ΜⲚ̄ΝЄⲀΟ "I do not uproot them" shows is plural: 3.9.5b), 18.4 ΟΥΝ6-ΟΥ-ΡΙ-Ν "of the stars" (cf. ILT 10 A i 10 ΟΥЄΝ̄6-ΡΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΝⲀ "of the stars"), 3.11 ЄⲪЄⲪΤ-Ν̄ "(manifestations of) greediness" (which the plural infix in the controlling verb ΚΟΝ6ΙΝ "of the one who has" shows is plural).

e) There are some plural forms restricted to certain words or word-components; e.g.:

ⲀΡ[Є]ΓΓЄ- in SC 8.4 and 8, pl. of ⲀΡ(Ρ)Є- "wave."

-ⲀⲀЄΙ-ΓΟΥ-, pl. of -ⲀⲀΤΤ- (3.3.2) in SC 4.16-17 ЄΚ̄Κ-ⲀⲀЄΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΚⲀ "prophets."

ЄΙⲀΗΥ-ΓΟΥ-, ЄⲀ̄ⲀΗΟΥ-ΓΟΥ-, ЄΙⲀΙΟΥ- (-ΓΟΥ- deleted), pl. of ЄΙⲀ- "woman" in M. 2.13, INT 9 i 14, 6 ii 5; cf. also SC 10.2 ΗⲀⲨΙ-ΓΟΥ- (with Browne 1986b, ad loc.).

-ΚⲀЄΙ-ΓΟΥ-, pl. of -ΚⲀΤΤ- (3.4.2): e.g. SC 15.12 ΤΙ6-ΚⲀЄΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΝⲀ "of the just."

ΤΟΥⲢ-, pl. of ΤΟΤ- "son, child": e.g. K. 21.1.

6ЄΜ-Ι-ⲀΙ-ΓΟΥ- in WN 20 (and restored in St. 36.6-7), pl. of 6ЄΜ- "year"; -ΓΟΥ- is deleted in SC 25.10 6ЄΜ-ⲀΪ-ΚⲀ (= 6ЄΜ-Ι-ⲀΙ-ΚⲀ: 1.3.2).

3.5.2 Predicative plural

a) -Ⲁ̄-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄-, the predicative of -ΓΟΥ- (3.5.1a), regularly with verbids (3.9.6: cf. e.g. SC 1.6 ΟΝΤⲀΚΡ-Ⲁ-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄-ΚЄ "O you beloved!": cf. 4.6d) and found with other nouns: e.g. M. 2.14 ΤⲰⲈ̄Κ-Ⲁ-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- "miracles." After a vowel, -Ⲁ̄- may be suppressed (2.5.2a): e.g. SC 7.17 ⲀΥⲈ̄-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- "ships" (cf. 8.19 ⲀΥЄΙ-ΓΟΥ-). Note also -Ⲉ̄-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄-, less common than -Ⲁ̄-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- and perhaps simply a spelling variant (2.1.2): e.g. SC 1.8-9 ΚΟΡΟC-Є-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- "shepherds."

b) -ΡЄ-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄-, the predicative of -ΡΙ-ΓΟΥ- (3.5.1b): e.g. SC 5.13 ΜΟΥΓ-ΡЄ-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- "dogs."

c) -ΝЄ-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄-, the predicative of -ΝΙ-ΓΟΥ- (3.5.1c): e.g. SC 5.12 ΚΟΥΤΝ̄-ΝЄ-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- "pigs."

d) -ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- may be deleted: e.g. SC 2.12 ΟΥⲀⲀⲀΚΚЄΡ-Ⲁ- "teachers" (after Ο]Υ⳩[ⲀⲀ]ΚΚЄΡ-Ⲁ-ΓΟΥ-Ⲉ̄- in 1.11-12), 5.9 ΚⲟΥΤΟΥΝ-ΝЄ- "pigs" (after ΚΟΥΤΟΥΝ-ΝΙ-

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[5] N.B. ⲀⲀC-ΡΙ-ΓΟ[Υ-and CⲀXX-ΝΙ-ΓΟΥ- show that Zyhlarz's notion that -ΡΙ-ΓΟΥ- and -ΝΙ-ΓΟΥ- mark animate and inanimate nouns respectively (1928, §81) is wrong.

ⲄⲞⲨ-ⲗⲟ̄ⲇⲱ in 5.6). Cf. **3.5.1d**.

e) Regarding the special plurals listed in **3.5.1e**: note that -Ⲕⲇⲉ̄- (with deletion of the element -ⲄⲞⲨ-ⲉ̄-) appears as the predicative plural in ILT 10 A i 16-17 ⲤⲈ[Ⲩ]ⲇⲢⲦ-ⲇ ⲟ̄ⲇⲗⲗⲓ-Ⲕⲇⲉ̄- "serving spirits" and in K. 23.8-9 Ⲙⲇⲇⲟ̄ⲇ-Ⲕⲇⲉ̄- "lying"; similarly we have ⲤⲈⲨⲗ̄ⲉ̄- as the predicative plural of ⲤⲈⲨⲇⲦⲦ- "heir" in St. 5.10-11. For ⲦⲞⲨⲯ-Ⲉ-(ⲄⲞⲨ-ⲉ̄-) note L. 101.3 and 112.11.

3.6 "Case inflection." Here we list a group of common postpositions corresponding to the case system of some Indo-European languages. Theoretically, they belong with the postpositions presented in **3.10** (though, unlike most of the latter, they do not display the linking element -ⲗ-), but for convenience they may be dealt with separately. For the plural, in general formed by inserting -ⲄⲞⲨ- before the postposition, see **3.5**. At times the cases are deleted, and the syntax of the word in question is clear only from the word order (**4.9**). The cases are added to substantives (both nominal and verbal [i.e. verbid and subjunctive: **4.4**]), adjectives, pronouns and numbers (but see **3.6.1b**).

The inflections are:

Subjective	-ⲗ
Genitive	-Ⲛⲇ, -Ⲛ
Directive	-Ⲕ(ⲇ)
Predicative	-(ⲇ)

3.6.1 Subjective: -ⲗ (cf. Hintze 1975b)

a) It marks the subject of a sentence: e.g. SC 19.20 ⲇⲓⲇⲃⲟⲗⲟⲤ-ⲗ̄- (with the ubiquitous juncture vowel: **2.10**) "the devil," 8.5 ⲱⲞⲈⲓ-ⲄⲞⲨ-ⲗ- "some." In certain phonological environments (**2.5.6** and **2.7**) the ending may disappear: e.g. SC 21.22-23 ⲈⲓⲄⲢⲓ-ⲈⲓⲞⲚ "and the statement" (from ⲈⲓⲄⲢ-ⲓ-ⲗ- + -ⲞⲚ: **3.10** [under -ⲞⲚ]), 3.12 Ⲥⲇⲗ- "the word" (for Ⲥⲇⲗ-ⲗ). The noun in the subjective may be determined (e.g. SC 22.20 ⲥ̄Ⲕⲧ̄-ⲗ "the earth") or undetermined (e.g. **3.13** Ⲉ[ⲓ]Ⲧ-ⲗ̄- "a man") or abstract (e.g. 7.2 Ⲙ]ⲟⲓⲢⲔ-ⲗ̄ "disobedience"). A noun with a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, if it functions as subject, is marked with -ⲗ: e.g. M. 2.12 ⲘⲇⲚ̀ Ⲉⲧ̄Ⲧ-ⲗ̄ "that woman," SC 9.10 ⲈⲚ ⲦⲈⲈⲓⲦ-ⲗ̄ "our hope."

b) Proper names and pronouns functioning as subjects do not have -ⲗ: e.g. SC 22.1 ⲗ̄ⲇⲇⲘⲎ-ⲈⲓⲞⲚ "and Adam," 23.10 ⲦⲇⲢ-ⲞⲚ "and he," 22.12 ⲘⲇⲚ-ⲞⲚ "and that one."

c) For the subjective instead of the predicative see **3.6.4d**.

3.6.2. Genitive: -Ⲛⲇ, -Ⲛ (cf. Hintze 1971, II)

a) In general, the genitive is marked with -Ⲛ if it is closely bound to its noun, with -Ⲛⲇ if the union is less close. Cf. e.g. SC 8.10 ⲇⲨⲈ-Ⲛ̄ ⲤⲇⲨⲯⲞ- "ship-rudder" (πηδάλιον) with 4.18 ⲈⲓⲇⲢⲦ-Ⲛⲇ ⲠⲇⲗⲔⲓⲦⲇⲇ "into the sea of thoughts" (ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος τῶν νοημάτων) and especially 19.13-15 ⲈⲓⲈ-Ⲛ̄ ⲔⲇⲨⲈⲓⲄⲞⲨ-Ⲛⲇ ⲇⲓⲇⲃⲟⲗⲟⲤ-Ⲛ̄

ΜΕΕΡΤΛΟϬΟΥΝ ΕϹΚΙΤΛΚϹK̄KΛ ϹΛΛΕΝΝΟΝ "and when he saw the offspring of mankind conquered by the baseness of the devil" (ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου κακίας ἐπεβουλεύθη . . .). Here ΔΙΛΒΟΛΟϹ-N̄ ΜΕΕΡΤΛΟϬΟΥΝ "by the baseness of the devil" and ΕΙΕ-N̄ ΚΛΥΕΙΓΟΥ- "the offspring of mankind" specify a mere juncture of rectum and regens. The phrase ΚΛΥΕΙΓΟΥΝΛ --- ΕϹΚΙΤΛΚϹK̄KΛ literally "the offspring's having been conquered" expresses a nexus: a relationship between two elements in which one is the logical subject (ΚΛΥΕΙΓΟΥ-ΝΛ) and the other the logical predicate (ΕϹΚΙΤΛΚϹK̄KΛ). Etymologically, -ΝΛ is to be analyzed as genitival -N + predicative -Λ. For the construction see **4.4** and **4.7.1**a. Occasionally, we find -N even when a nexus is involved: e.g. SC 19.17-18 ΔΕϹṬ[Ι]-N ΛΟΥΛΛϹΕϹN̄ ΚΕΛΛⲰ "as transgression existed" against the normal ΔΕϹΤ-ΝΛ ΛΟΥΛΛΛϹΕϹN̄ ΚΕΛΛⲰ in 24.2-3 (see **4.7.2**). For the contrast between ;- N and -ΝΛ cf. also SC 12.22-23 Ε]N-ΝΛ ΛΛΠΠΙΔΕΚΚΛ "our destruction," where Ε]ΝΝΛ is an objective genitive, with 13.21-22 ΕN̄ ϹΛΚΚΛ "your son" (see **3.7.1**a). If the regens is in the predicative (**3.6.4**), the rectum generally has -ΝΛ: e.g. throughout the Stauros hymn in St. 18.12-27.7 and SC 14.15-16.20, such patterns as C̄ΤΛΥΡΟϹX̄ ΧΡΙϹΤΙΛΝΟ[Ϲ]ΡΙΓΟΥ-ΝΛ ΤΕΕΓ[Τ]-Λ-ΛΟ "the cross is the hope of the Christians" (St. 18.12-19.3) predominate, while expressions like C̄-ΤΛΥΡ‹Ο›ϹX̄ ΤΕΥΟΛΓΟΥ-N ΛΛΥ-X̄-ΛⲰ "the cross is the path of those who have gone astray" (19.5-7) are rare. At times, however, there seems to be no discernible distinction between the two genitive markers: cf. e.g. SC 6.11-12 ΜΛⲰΛN-ΝΛ ΚΛΚΚΛΝΝΙΚ- "the rays of the sun" with 6.1 C̄ΚΤ-N̄ ṬΛΡΜΛΛ "into the holes of the earth."

b) As the above examples show, the genitive normally precedes its noun. When it follows, it seems at times to be equivalent to an attributive adjective, which regularly comes after its noun (**3.4**): e.g. SC 15.20-21 ΓΟΥΕΙ-X̄ ΕΛΛΕΝ ΚΕΤΛΛΛΕ-ΝΛ- "the shield of eternity" (ὅπλον αἰώνιον). At times, however, postponement of the genitive appears merely to imitate Greek word order: e.g. INT 2 i 13 ΛΠΠΛ̀ ΤX̄ΛΝΛ "city of God" (ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ).

c) Occasionally, rectum and regens may be immediately juxtaposed without the genitive-marker: e.g. gr. 4.5 ΛΨ6Ι ΚΛΠΛ "the bread of life" (but K. 20.9 ΛΨ6-N̄ ΚΟΕP̄- "the tree of life") and SC 19.1-2 ΛΓΓΕΛΟϹ ΟΥΡ[Λ]ΝΙΓΟΥΚΛ "archangels" (but L. 113.12 ΚΠ̄Τ-N̄ ΟΥΡΛΝΙΓΟΥ- "leaders of the people").

d) For deletion of the regens note ILT 7 ii 27 ΤX̄ΛN̄-ΓΟΥ- "the things of God" (τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ), K. 23.10 ΪΕΡΕŌϹΙΝΚΛ "that of the priest" and INT 7 i 6 ῙC̄ X̄ϹΝΛ-ΛⲰ "in (the servitude) of Jesus Christ."

e) Attachment of genitival -N converts an adverb or postposition into a nominalized attributive: cf. e.g. SC 3.22 Ε]ΙΛΡΤΟΥ ΕX̄ΛΟ-N-Ι-ΛΛ- "in eager understanding" (with -Ι- as in 8.1 ΓΟΥΛ ΟΥΤΟϹΔΕΝ-N-Ι-ΛΛ) and L. 104.8-9 ΛN ΛΙΓΙΡṬΙΟΥ ΤΕΛΓΙ]ΛΛΕ-N (=-NX̄) "my covenant with them" (cf. SC 12.4 -ΛΛΓX̄ΛΕ-N(ΙΛ), with deletion of regens: see above, section d); cf. also St. 10.10-11 ΛΝΝΙΚΛ "that of mine," K.

20.11 CKITEIⲀO-N-I-⟦ⲄOYNI⟧-KⲀ (with scribal deletion) "the earthly" (pl. in ILT 11 ii 10).

3.6.3 Directive: -KⲀ (-K before a vowel: **2.5.1c**)

a) It marks either a direct or an indirect object: e.g. SC 22.14-15 ŌⲄ6-KⲀ EⲔ-KⲀ TICCE "I gave you to the man," L. 106.13-14 ⲄⲀⲆⲀ Mⲱ̅ⲱⲀNNⲀ ⲠⲀYOY-KⲀ TⲀK[-KⲀ] Ṭ[Ⲥ̄]CIN KEⲀⲀⲰ "as you have given him power over all flesh." Cf. **4.9.2.**

b) At times the immediate placing of a noun before its verb suffices to mark it as object: e.g. SC 13.20 ⲠⲤ̄TEYEⲦ KOⲀ̄Ⲅ[E]NIⲀ̄ "in order to make you have faith" and ⲦOK TⲢ̄- "to give glory" regularly translating Ⲇoⳅⲁⳅⲱ (e.g. SC 14.1). See also **4.7.1b.**

c) Note the use of -KⲀ in temporal expressions denoting duration: e.g. K. 32.11-12 MⲤ̄TE EⲢ̄KEICI{ⲄOY}ⲄOYKⲀ "for forty fasts" ; sim. ILT 2 ii 21, 8 i 14, 11 ii 5. Contrast the use of -ⲀO designating simply the time at which something happens: e.g. K. 33.8-10 KYⲢIⲀKEN OYKⲚ̄ ⲀOYTTOYⲀO "on every Sunday" and see **3.10** s.v. -ⲀO.

3.6.4 Predicative: -Ⲁ, which can be elided (see **2.5.1a**)

a) It marks the predicate, both nominal and verbal: e.g. SC 12.10 TⲀ̄ⲀⲀ̄ ⲀMⲤ̄ḲⲀⲀ-Ⲁ "God is a judge" and M. 4.16 Ⲁ̄ⲠOⲄⲄⲀ̄ ⲠECⲀⲢ-Ⲁ "the skipper said" (cf. **3.9.6**). The predicative may be reinforced by -ⲀH, -ⲀO, -MⲀ, MH and -CⲚ̄ (see **3.10**). Here also belong nouns dependent upon EIN- "to be" and its congeners (**3.9.12**): e.g. SC 17.19-20 TOT-Ⲁ ENEN- "if he is the Son." Note also ILT 4 i 10-11 ⲀⲒ̈ⲀO ENNE ⲄⲀⲆEⲀⲢ-Ⲁ-NOY Ⲁ̄Ⲯ6-Ⲁ-ⲀENⲀⲀ "I am the resurrection and the life" (for -NOY and -ⲀENⲀⲀ see **3.10** s.v. -Ⲁ€); the predicative may be found without formal expression of EIN-: e.g. SC 1.1-5 Ⲓ̈ⲰⲀNCH --- ⲀⲢXHEⲠ̄[I]CKOⲂOC-Ⲁ-ⲀENⲀⲀ ON ⲀKⲀ̄ ⲤⲀⲠⲔ̄[KO-Ⲁ-Ⲁ]ENⲀNNⲀ --- [CⲀⲀⲀO "it is a speech of John (sc. who is) archbishop and golden mouthed" (for the sequence -ⲀENⲀⲀ ON ---- -Ⲁ]ENⲀNNⲀ [= -ⲀENⲀⲀ-NⲀ] see **3.10** -Ⲁ€). The predicative of a noun, regularly reinforced by -CⲚ̄, can function as the antecedent of a verbid or subjunctive: e.g. St. 27.8-10 TⲀ̄Ⲁ-Ⲁ-CⲚ̄ ⲄⲀⲆⲀO TⲀⲀⲀⲰ OⲀⲀOⲀⲀO6ⲱⲀ̄ "because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh" (literally "because of [the one, his being] the to-have-hung ... [who is] God": cf. **4.6.a**), INT 5 i 1-2 CⲀⲀ-Ⲁ-CIN ⲠECCIN-Ⲁ-ⲀⲰ "it is a speech which he spoke." For similarity between the predicative and annection see **3.6.5f** and **3.6.6b**. Proper names lack -Ⲁ: e.g. SC 11.3-4 EIⲢO]YMH [ⲠE]TⲢOCI "you are Peter" (cf. **2.5.2a** and **3.3.6**).

b) It marks the vocative: e.g. L. 108.3 ⲠⲀⲠ-Ⲁ ⲤⲤ̄C-Ⲁ "holy Father" and SC 13.16-17 TOT-Ⲁ-Ⲁ̄ OKⲚ̄NⲀNⲀⲄENIⲀ̄ "in order to have them call you ¡Son of God'" (for -Ⲁ̄ see **4.8**). Proper names in the vocative suppress the -Ⲁ: e.g. St. 5.9-10 ⲀN ⲠⲀ̄T-Ⲁ ⲠETⲢŌCI "my chosen Peter" (cf. **2.5.2a**). Note also ⲠⲀⲠO "O Father" (e.g. SC 13.21) from ⲠⲀⲠ-Ⲁ-O and EIⲰ̄ "O woman" (ILT 6 ii 10) from EIⲀ-Ⲁ-Ⲱ (**2.5.6a**).

c) It appears before Mⲱ̄ⲱⲀN- "all" and MⲀⲀⲀE- "all, every":[6] e.g. L. 106.13

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6 Possibly also with CEYⲈ̄- "rest" in M. 7.12-13 KⲀⲠⲠⲀ CEYⲈ̄ⲀⲀ "in the rest of the food" (sim. 8.9-10), if KⲀⲠⲠⲀ stands for KⲀⲠⲠⲀ-Ⲁ (cf. **2.5.2a**).

ⲅⲁⲇⲁ Ⲙⲱ̄ⲱⲁⲚⲚⲁ ⲠⲁⲨⲞⲨⲔⲁ "power over all flesh," K. 23.11-12 ⲉⲚ̄ ⲔⲉⲦ-ⲁ Ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ- "in all this way" (**3.12**b). Cf. **3.7.6**d, e, i.

d) Occasionally, instead of the predicative, we find the subjective: e.g. ILT 10 C ii 3-4 Ⲣⲁⲫ[ⲁ]ⲎⲗⲚ̄ ⲔⲉⲗⲉⲨⲦⲁ̄ ⲁⲚ ⲔⲉⲗⲉⲨⲦⲁ̄ "Raphael's command is my command" (contrast with SC 12.10, cited above in section a), L. 109.6 ⲉⲚ̄Ⲛⲁ ⲤⲁⲗⲦ̄ⲤⲒⲚ ⲉⲚ̄ⲚⲁⲤⲚ̄ \\ ⲁ̄ⲗⲉⲗ "your word is the truth" (the punctuation marker is misplaced, as in 101.5 and 107.1).

e) There are a few instances where the predicative appears as - ⲉ (comparable to -ⲉ̄-ⲅⲞⲨ-ⲉ̄- in the plural: **3.5.2**a): SC 23.8 (sim. 15, 21) ⲞⲨⲔⲢ-ⲉ, ILT 7 i 15 ⲅⲞⲨ-ⲉ-, 8 i 21 ⲤⲤ̄Ⲥ-ⲉ, 9 i 2 ⲤⲠ̄Ⲡ-ⲉ.

3.6.5 Here we should mention annective - ⲞⲨ (also written -Ⲓ: **2.1.2**), which is not comparable to a case ending but is rather an anaptyctic juncture vowel ("Bindevokal") inserted between two words that closely cohere (cf. **1.3.2** and also **2.10**).[7] It is required when the first word ends in two consonants, optional elsewhere (but rare if the first word ends in a vowel and the second begins with one). The categories of words so bound together include (the examples include instances which lack the juncture vowel):

a) Cases of apposition: e.g. SC 7.5 ⲤⲞⲁ-ⲞⲨ Ï̈ⲎⲤⲞⲨ<ⲤⲒ>- "Lord Jesus," K. 21.12 ⲦⲁⲢ-ⲞⲨ ⲤⲞⲁ̄ⲗ̄- "the Lord himself" (literally "he, the Lord": [**3.7.1**]), INT 2 i 27-28 Ⲧⲁⲁ ⲇⲱⲁⲞⲨⲘ-ⲘⲞⲚ "and the high one himself" (Ⲧⲁⲁ- = ⲦⲁⲢ-: **2.2.2**), M. 11.3-4 Ⲧⲁ̄ⲗⲔ̄ ⲞⲨⲚⲚⲞⲗ ⲘⲁⲢⲒⲁⲚ "of Mary who gave birth to God," i.e. "Mary Theotokos." Here too belong cases like M. 1.11-12 ⲉⲒⲢ̄Ⲧ̄Ⲧ-ⲞⲨ ⲤⲞⲨⲔⲦⲁⲱ "in wealth and glory" (lit. "in wealth-glory"); cf. also **3.9.19** ftn. 23.

b) Cases of attribution: e.g. SC 4.11-12 ⲤⲉⲨⲁⲢⲦ-ⲞⲨ Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥ-ⲞⲨ ⲤⲉⲨⲁ̄ ⲇⲉⲚ6ⲒⲔⲔⲁ "the Holy Spirit blowing upon us," M. 4.4-5 Ⲕ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥⲉ ⲘⲁⲢⲉⲱ̄ⲦⲒⲱ̄ ⲤⲞⲚ6ⲁ̄ⲗⲁⲅⲁ̄ "to the church standing in Mareotis," St. 11.3-4 ⲐⲢⲞ̄ⲚⲞⲤ-ⲞⲨ ⲤⲞⲔⲚ̄ⲇⲱ "upon the church of glory," Ben. 2 ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲞⲤ ⲤⲞⲇⲒⲚⲅⲞⲨⲗ "the angels of the Lord." Cf. **3.6.6**a.

c) Binding of postposition to what precedes: e.g. St. 6.2 ⲞⲨⲢ-ⲞⲨ-ⲉⲒⲞ̄ "from you" (= ⲞⲨⲢ-ⲞⲨ-ⲗⲞ: **2.5.6**a) but 8.5 ⲞⲨⲗ-ⲗⲞ (= ⲞⲨⲢ-ⲗⲞ), INT 1 i 19-20 Ⲧⲁ̄ⲠⲞⲨ Ⲧ̄6ⲔⲁⲚⲉⲚ-Ⲓ-ⲗⲁ "in the path of justice" but 2 ii 14 ⲗ̄ ⲁÏ̈Ⲧⲁ6ⲔⲁⲚⲉⲚ-ⲗⲱ "in a voice of exultation."

d) Binding of pronoun to rest of sentence: e.g. M. 8.16-9.1 ⲉⲒⲢ-ⲞⲨ ⲉⲚ̄Ⲕⲁ ⲁⲚⲔⲒⲘⲚ̄ⲚⲁÏ̈ "don't you remember?," ILT 4 ii 4Ⲣ̄ (= ⲉⲒⲢ) ⲉⲚ̄ⲚⲞ ⲇⲞⲨⲁ̄ⲢⲉⲚⲔⲁ<Ⲛ> "if you had been here" (cf. i 2, where the same phrase appears with ⲉⲒⲢ-Ⲓ [= ⲉⲒⲢ-ⲞⲨ]).

e) Binding of a clause terminating in a pronoun to the next clause: e.g. ILT 11 i

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[7] In Browne 1985a (B) I mistakenly dealt with - ⲞⲨ- as if it were a case ending. But it is clearly a phonologically conditioned juncture element: its status is especially clear in such cases as L. 107.1 ⲤⲞⲔ-ⲞⲨ ⲇⲒⲚⲉⲤⲱ "give glory" vs. 106.12 ⲤⲞⲔ Ⲧ̄Ⲣ̄ⲔⲞⲚⲚⲞ[ⲁ̄ "in order that he may give glory" (**3.6.3**b) and SC 3.9-10 ⲤⲉⲨⲁⲢⲦ-ⲞⲨ-ⲔⲞⲚⲔ- "spirituality" (literally "the quality of having spirit": cf. **3.3.2**) vs. St. 7.7 (et passim) ⲤⲞⲔ-ⲔⲞ- "glorious" (lit. "glory-having": **3.4.2**). The "rules" set up in Browne 1985a (B) show when the juncture element is not required; they have nothing to do with a case ending. Cf. also below, ftn. 23.

4-6 ⲀⲔⲈⲚⲀⲀⲚⲔⲈ ⲞⲨⲢ-ⲞⲨ ⲎⲚ ⳦ⲘⲘⲀ̄ⲄⲞⲨⲔⲀ ⲠⲈⲱⳋⲒⲔⲒ⳦ⲀⲢⲞⲨⲀⲱ "blessed are you when you will go and judge all these" (**4.7.3c**), but SC 6.21-23 Ⲁ̄ⲄⲈⲚⲀⲀⲤⲒⲤⲈ Ⲁⲓ̈· ⲠⲀⲢⲢⲀ ⲈⲒⲔⲀⲚⲚⲀ ⲦⲞⲠⲠⲀⲢⲔⲒⲔⲀ· ⲠⲔ̄ⲦⲀⲄⲢ[Ⲁ(?) Ⲉ̄]ⲦⲈⲤⲒⲀⲈ⳦ⲞⲨⲚ "blessed have I become because I received as a share cultivation of such land."[8]

f) At times, annection appears to be similar to the use of the predicative noted above (**3.6.4a**, sub fin.) but its presence indicates a closer bond: cf. e.g. K. 33.6 ⲦⲀ̄Ⲁ-ⲞⲨ Ⲁ̄ⲠⲚ̄ "of the living God" with St. 27.8-10 ⲦⲀⲀ-Ⲁ-ⲤⲚ̄ ⲄⲀⲀⲀⲞ ⲦⲀⲀⲀⲱ ⲞⲀⲀⲞⲀⲀⲞ⳦ⲱⲀ̄ "because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh." Of these two passages, the former corresponds to an attributive ("restrictive") relative clause, the latter to an appositional ("non-restrictive"); but the predicative is also found when attribution is involved: e.g. St. 12.3-7 ⳦ⲘⲘⲀ̄-Ⲁ̄-ⲄⲞⲨ-Ⲉ̄-ⲤⲚ̄ ⲦⲈⲚ Ⲁ̄ⲈⲀ̄ ⲞⲨⲀⲦⲦⲞⲀⲞ ⲤⲦⲀⲨⲢⲞⲨⲤⲀⲀⲄⲀ̄ⲀⲈ ⲠⲒⲤⲦⲈⲨⲞⲀⲄⲞⲨⲀ- "all who have believed in the cross with their whole heart." Cf. **4.6a**.

3.6.6 Phrase-terminal inflection

a) If a phrase consists of two or more words, it is regular for its syntactic relation to the rest of the sentence to be marked at the end of the phrase: e.g. ILT 7 ii 15 ⲤⲞⲀⲞⲨ ⲤⲞⲔⲚ̄-ⲔⲀ "the Lord of Glory," where -ⲔⲀ shows that the phrase functions as object, and SC 4.11-12 ⲤⲈⲨⲀⲢⲦ-ⲞⲨ Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥ-ⲞⲨ ⲤⲈⲨⲀ̄ ⲀⲈⲚ⳦ⲒⲔⲔⲀ "the Holy Spirit blowing upon us," where the first -ⲞⲨ shows the juncture of ⲤⲈⲨⲀⲢⲦ- with Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥ-, the second that of ⲤⲈⲨⲀⲢⲦⲞⲨ Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥ- with ⲤⲈⲨⲀ̄ ⲀⲈⲚ⳦ⲒⲀ- (**3.9.6** and **4.6a**), and the terminal -ⲔⲀ indicates that the entire phrase is the object of the sentence in which it stands.

b) In the case of substantive + adjective, the latter alone shows the relation of the complex to the rest of the sentence (e.g. M. 15.17 ⲤⲈⲨⲀⲢⲦ-ⲞⲨ Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥ-Ⲁ̄-"the Holy Spirit"), unless the predicative is involved; in that case, both substantive and adjective regularly bear -Ⲁ (e.g. L. 108.3 ⲠⲀⲠ-Ⲁ Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥ-Ⲁ "holy father"). [9] If the complex is plural, then the plural marker -ⲄⲞⲨ- is regularly added only to the adjective (e.g. K. 19.3-4 ⲠⲀⲠⲀⲤ-Ⲓ Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄ⲤⲒ-ⲄⲞⲨ-ⲚⲀ "of the holy fathers");[10] plural markers other than -ⲄⲞⲨ- remain on the noun (e.g. St. 1.11-12 Ⲁ̄ⲠⲞⲤ̄ⲦⲞⲀⲞⲤ-ⲢⲒ̈ Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄ⲤⲒ-ⲄⲞⲨ-Ⲕ- "holy apostles" [**3.5.1d**]), L. 101.3 ⲦⲞⲨⳋ-Ⲉ ⳦Ⲁ̈ⲞⲨⲔⲒⳋⳋ-Ⲁ-ⲄⲞⲨ-Ⲉ̄ "guitless(?) children" [**3.5.2e**]).

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[8] Here also belongs L. 105.6-7 ⲀⲚ ⲦⲞⲦⲀⲘⲎ ⲈⲒⲢ-ⲞⲨ ⲀⲒ̈ⲀⲞ Ⲉ̄ⲀⲎ ⲈⲢ̌ ⲞⲨⲚⲚⲀⲢⲀ- "you are my son, I have begotten you today" (see Browne 1986b, as loc.).

[9] Note also the adjectives listed in **3.6.4c**, which require their noun to be in the predicative.

[10] Note, however, that in relative clauses whose plural referent is introduced by -ⲤⲚ̄ (see **3.6.4a**) we find both -Ⲁ̄ⲄⲞⲨⲈ̄ⲤⲚ̄ --- verbid/subjunctive with -ⲄⲞⲨ- (e.g. St. 4.10-13) and -Ⲁ̄ⲄⲞⲨⲈ̄ⲤⲚ̄ --- verbid/subjunctive without -ⲄⲞⲨ-(ILT 10 A i 13-15).

3.7 Pronouns

3.7.1 The personal pronouns are as follows (cf. Vycichl 1961):

	Sg.	Pl.
1	ⲀÏ-	ⲈⲢ- (inclusive of 2nd pers.)
		ⲞⲨ- (exclusive of 2nd pers.)
2	ⲈⲒⲢ-	ⲞⲨⲢ-
3	ⲦⲀⲢ-	ⲦⲈⲢ-

These forms, with or without the juncture vowel -ⲞⲨ-, function as the subject of a clause or in apposition to it: see the examples cited in **3.6.5**a, d and e.

For -ⲔⲈ, a special form for the 2nd pers. pl., see **3.10** s.v.

The inflectional elements (**3.6**), including postpositions, are attached directly to the pronoun. Two cases require comment:

a) In the genitive we find fusion with -Ⲛ and -ⲚⲀ, resulting in:

	Sg.	Pl.
1	ⲀⲚ, ⲀⲚⲚⲀ	ⲈⲚ, ⲈⲚⲚⲀ
		ⲞⲨⲚ, ⲞⲨⲚⲀ
2	ⲈⲚ̄, ⲈⲚ̄ⲚⲀ	ⲞⲨⲚ, ⲞⲨⲚⲚⲀ
3	ⲦⲀⲚ, ⲦⲀⲚⲚⲀ	ⲦⲈⲚ, ⲦⲈⲚⲚⲀ

The forms with -Ⲛ tend to be simply possessives (e.g. SC 7.8 ⲀⲚ ⲤⲀⲖⲄⲞⲨⲔⲀ "my words"); those with -ⲚⲀ may be objective genitives (e.g. SC 22.17-18 ⲦⲈⲚⲚⲀ ⲀⲢⲘⲦ̄ⲔⲒⲆⲈⲔⲔⲀ "judgment against them") or in dependence upon a noun in the predicative (e.g. St. 4.7-8 ⲦⲀ̄ⲖⲀ ⲞⲨⲚⲀ "our God") or the subject of a verbal noun (e.g. M. 12.2-3 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲦⲀⲚⲚⲀ ⲔⲠ̄ⲤⲀ̄ "this which he ate": **4.6**a). But, as with nouns (**3.6.2**a), at times the distinction between -Ⲛ and -ⲚⲀ seems to be blurred: e.g. St. 12.12-13 ⲦⲀⲚ Ⲟ̄ⲢⲰⲤⲈⲚ "of praise of it," K. 25.6-7 ⲞⲨⲚⲚⲀ ⲘⲒⲄ̄Ⲡ̄ⲔⲈⲒⲖⲞ "from your disobedience." See also **3.6.1**a sub fin. At times—chiefly in translations of Old Testament poetic books—we find uncontracted forms: e.g. ⲦⲀⲢⲚ̄ in ILT 2 i 20 (Ps 61:13), perhaps a conscious archaism.

Note the special possessive Ⲁ̄ⲠⲞⲖ- "my father" (St. 29.11 and elsewhere).

b) In the directive the personal pronouns attach -ⲔⲀ, and those ending in -Ⲣ- assimilate (**2.3.1**); the terminal -Ⲁ may elide before a vowel (**2.5.1**c), resulting in simplification of the geminate (**2.7**): thus ⲦⲀⲢ- + -ⲔⲀ → ⲦⲀⲔ-ⲔⲀ → ⲦⲀⲔⲔ- before vowel → ⲦⲀⲔ-:

	Sg.	Pl.
1	ⲀÏⲔⲀ, ⲀÏⲔ-	ⲈⲔⲔⲀ, ⲈⲔ-
		ⲞⲨⲔⲀ, ⲞⲨⲔ-
2	ⲈⲒⲔⲔⲀ, ⲈⲒⲔ-	ⲞⲨⲔⲔⲀ, ⲞⲨⲔ-
3	ⲦⲀⲔⲔⲀ, ⲦⲀⲔ-	ⲦⲈⲔⲔⲀ, ⲦⲈⲔ-

Note, however, that with connecting - ON "and" (**3.10**) we find preservation of both K's: e.g. SC 19.11-12 TⲀKKON, L. 107.6 TEKKON, ILT 10 A ii 21 EK̄KON; similarly with - ŌNO (**3.7.2a**): e.g. SC 19.21 TⲀKKONO.

3.7.2 The reflexive pronoun is expressed as follows:

a) by - ŌNO: e.g. SC 5.15-16 OYK-K-ONO KⲀⲠOⲠI ⲀYPOYTKⲀ TOⲄTⲀNⲀCⲰ "make yourselves worthy of the very pearl ..."

b) by - OYP- literally "head": e.g. L. 105.1-2 OYEⲬENⲀEEION OYP-PⲰ COKKⲀ ⲄOKK ETMENKEPⲀⲬⲰ "and no one takes honor upon himself." Note that OYP- and - ŌNO are combined in INT 4 i 18-19 EYP [IⲬ --- TEN] OYKʼ ŌNO "pasturing themselves" (OYK = OYP-K-: cf. **2.7**).

c) by using merely the personal pronoun: e.g. SC 14.7 TⲀPIŌ6OY[N "because of himself."

3.7.3 The reciprocal pronoun is expressed by OYĒPOYEP-, OYĒPOYEⲬ-"one another" (literally "one-one": **3.7.6a** and **3.8.1**): e.g. SC 11.14 OYEPOYEPⲄⲬ̄ⲬE "to one another."

3.7.4 The demonstrative pronouns are:

EIN- "this"   pl. EINⲚ̄(ⲄOY)- (e.g. L. 101.5, 106.8 [**3.5.1c** and d])

MⲀN- "that"   pl. MININⲄOY- (only in L. 110.8)

They are used as follows:

a) as attributives (directly preceding their noun): e.g. SC 24.4 EⲚ̄ Ⲭ̄ⲠⲀPXEKⲀ "this first-portion," 5.23 MⲀN TⲀYKⲬO "at that time." They remain in the singular before a plural noun: e.g. L. 103.6 EⲚ̄ TEⲄOYⲬⲀ "in these laws." See also **3.6.1a** sub fin.

b) as independent pronouns: e.g. SC 9.11 EⲚ̄-MON "and this," 22.12 MⲀN-ON "and that," L. 106.8 EINⲚ̄-KⲀ "these things," 110.8-9 MININⲄOYNⲀ ⲀïⲆⲀⲬ ⲀO[YⲀⲆE]ⲬKⲀ "that those will be with me" (**4.7.1**).

c) On the use of EIN- to introduce relative clauses see **4.6a**.

3.7.5 The interrogative pronouns are:

a) ⲄⲀ(IE)I- "who?": e.g. ILT 6 ii 11-12 ⲄⲀï-K-ON ⲀOⲬ[ⲬI]Ⲛ̄NⲀ "and whom do you wish?," SC 22.5-6 ⲄⲀI-CⲚ̄ (**3.10**) --- Ⲡ[E]ⲤⲀ TP̄PⲀ "who told you?"

b) MⲚ̄- "what?": e.g. SC 18.24-25 MⲚ̄NE6OYNO[N ⲠECⲀPPE "and why (lit. "because of what") shall I state it?," 1.6-7 MN-Ⲁ (**4.8**) ⲠECⲀPPE "what shall I state?" Cf. also MNⲀⲄONⲀ "where are you?," which appears several times in SC (see **21.8n**).

c) Ⲥ̄-, an interrogative conjoined with various postpositions to create expressions like Ⲥ̄-ⲬO "where?" in L. 113.5, Ⲥ̄-ⲄⲬ̄ "whither?" in M. 4.15, Ⲥ̄-KⲀⲬ "how?"

in SC 21.18, $\overline{C}$-ⲔⲀⲢⲒⲄⲢⲀ "how?" in 1.12 and ⲈⲒⲤ-ⲒⲪⲪ- "what?" in 7.12; $\overline{C}$- may also take verbal suffixes: e.g. SC 1.7-8 ⲦⲒⲔⲀⲚⲈⲄⲞⲨⲈ̄ⲘⲀ ⲤⲈⲚⲀ "is it that you are sheep?" (see also **4.6**a).

For -ⲓ̈ and -ⳠⲀ see **3.9.21**.

3.7.6 The indefinite pronouns are:

a) ⲞⲨⲈⲀ- "one, a" (cf. ⲞⲨⲈⲢ- as number 1: **3.8.1**); it is used absolutely or with a preceding noun either in annection or in a partitive construction: e.g. ILT 7 i 6 ⲞⲨⲈⲀⲀ[ⲞⲚ "and if one ...," M. 1.5-7 ⲈⲦⲦⲞⲨ ⲞⲨⲈⲀⲀⲞ ⲀⲠⲠⲞⲨ ⲞⲨⲈⲀⲀⲀ ⲀⲞⲨⲀ̄ⲢⲀ "a woman lived in a village" (**3.6.5**b), 8.6 ⲞⲨⲔⲢⲒⲄⲞⲨⲀⲱ ⲞⲨⲈⲀⲀⲞ- literally "on one amongst the days," 3.11 ⲀⲞⲨⲦⲢⲀⲠⲒⲄⲞⲨⲀⲀ ⲞⲨⲈⲀ- "one amongst the hens." Note also ⲞⲨⲈⲀ Ⲧ̄Ⲣ̄Ⲁ "anyone" e.g. in K. 19.8: see SC 7.14-15n.

b) ⲀⲞⲨⲢⲦⲀⲀ- "each, every," with genitive: e.g. SC 12.12-13 ⲞⲨⲔⲞⲨⲚ ⲀⲞⲨⲢⲦⲀⲀⲀⲱ "(on) each day." Note also the variants: ⲀⲞⲨⲦⲦ- (K. 33.9), ⲀⲞⲨⲄⲒⲦ- (Nauri 6), ⲀⲞⲨⲄⲦ- (WN 1).

c) ⲔⲈⲀⲀⲱ "all"; it is used absolutely or in apposition: e.g. ILT 7 i 9-10 ⲔⲈⲀⲀⲞⲈⲒⲞⲚ ⳝⲀⲨⲀⲦ[Ⲧ(?)]ⲀⳠⲀⲚⲀⲤⲱ "and let all become joyful," Ben. 2 ⲀⲄⲄⲈⲀⲞⲤ ⳝⲞⲀⲒⲚⲄⲞⲨⲀ ⲔⲈⲀⲀⲱ "all the angels of the Lord," gr. 4.3 ⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ ⲔⲈⲀⲀⲱⲔⲀ "all of you," INT 2 ii 11 ⲔⲈⲀⲀⲱ Ⲥ̄Ⲡ̄ⲠⲈⲄⲞⲨⲔⲈ "all you nations."

d) ⲘⲀⲀⲀⲈ- "all, every," with predicative: e.g. K. 23.11-12 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲔⲈⲦⲀ ⲘⲀⲀⲀⲈ- "in all this way."

e) Ⲙⲱ̄ⳡⲀⲚ- "all," with predicative; the word is often found with -ⲄⲞⲨ-: e.g. M. 16.5 ⲞⲨⲔⲢⲀ Ⲙⲱ̄ⳡⲀⲚⲚⲞ "on all the days," L. 109.13 Ⲡ̄Ⲥ̄ⲦⲈⲨⲈⲒⲢⲀ ⲘⲒⳡⳡⲀⲚⲄⲞⲨⲚ "of all who believe."

f) ⳝ̄Ⲙ̄Ⲙ̄Ⲁ- "all" (usually with -ⲄⲞⲨ-); it is used absolutely or in annection with a preceding noun or verbid: e.g. L. 103.4-5 ⳝⲒⲘⲘⲀ̄ⲄⲞ[Ⲩ]ⲚⲀ ⲀⲨⲦⲀⲔⲈⲢⲀⲚ ⲠⲀⲨⲞⲨⲔⲀ "until all are done" (cf. **4.7.3**b), gr. 2.5 ⲦⲀⲨⲔⲞⲨ ⳝ̄ⲘⲘⲒⲀ "always," INT 2 ii 7-8 Ⲡ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲥ̄Ⲁ ⳝⲒ̣ⲘⲘⲀ̄ⲄⲞⲨⲚⲀ "of all who rejoice" (**4.6**d).

g) ⲞⲨⲀⲦⲦⲞ- "whole," in annection: e.g. SC 7.15-16 ⲐⲀⲀⲀⲤⲞⲨ ⲞⲨⲀⲦⲦⲞⲔⲀ "the whole sea."

h) ⲈⲒⲤ- "other," in annection to a following noun: e.g. SC 11.9 ⲈⲒⲤ ⲤⲞⲨⲘ-ⲠⲞⲨⲦⲦⲀ "another foundation."

i) ⲤⲈⲨⲈ̄- "rest": see above, **3.6.4**c ftn. 6.

j) ⲀⲨⲢⲞⲨⲦ- "alone, self," in annection: e.g. SC 17.4 ⲀⲔⲀⲀⲔⲦⲞⲨ ⲀⲨⲢⲞⲨⲦⲔ- "the construction alone."

k) ⳡⲞⲈⲒ-ⲄⲞⲨ- "some, others," used absolutely: e.g. SC 8.5 ⳡⲞⲈⲒⲄⲞⲨⲀⲀⲞⲚ "and some ..." (as subject of clause).

3.7.7 Relative pronouns are not used in Old Nubian. For expressing relative-clause equivalents see **4.6**.

3.8 Numbers

3.8.1 Cardinals; the following are attested (references in Indices):

1	OYЄP- (cf. OYЄⲗ- as indefinite pronoun: **3.7.6a**)
2	OYO(Y)- (note also ⲆⲆN̄KⲆN-ⲄOY- "both")
3	TOYCKO(Y)-
4	KЄMCO-
5	Ⲇⲓ6-
6	ⲄOⲆ6ⲱ- IN ined.
7	KOⲗOT-
8	IⲆOYЄI
9	———
10	ⲆIMЄⲆ- (**3.8.2**)
20	ⲁPPЄ-, ⲆⲆⲱ-
40	ЄP̄KЄIC-
1,000	ⲆOYⲆЄ-
10,000	TITOY(OY)PI-

Cardinals are adjectives and follow their nouns, which are in annection (cf. **3.6.5b**); the cardinals may also be marked as to plural and may be used absolutely: e.g. ILT 8 i 15-16 ⲗⲄⲄЄⲗOCOY KOⲗOTⲄOYKⲆ "the seven angels," ii 8 ⲠOTOTI KOⲗOT- "the seven trumpets," SC 23.23 T[OYC]ⲔOⲅ[OYⲗ]- and 23.24-24.1 ṬO̧[YC]KOⲅ[OY]ⲗ "the three," 10.1 OⲄ6OY ⲆOYⲆЄ Ⲇⲓ6ⲄOYKⲆ "five thousand men." Note also ILT 10 A i 2 T]OYCKO-N-ⲄOYKⲆ "the three," and St. 24.7-8 ⲄⲆP-KЄMCO-N-NⲆ "of the world" (lit. "of the four sides"); for the plural markers see **3.5.1c** and **d**.

3.8.2 Ordinals; the following are attested:

1st	TOYCKⲆNTЄ- (translates πρῶτος in ILT 5 i 14, 25; 8 ii 11)
2nd	OYЄⲗ- (see SC 2.13n)
3rd	TOYCK̄T̄-
7th	KOⲗOTIT-
12th	ⲆIMЄⲆ(OY) OYЄIT-

Like cardinals, ordinals follow their nouns, which, however, are in the genitive: e.g. St. 12.2 ⲠK̄T̄N̄ TOYCK̄TKⲆ- "the third share," ILT 8 i 11-12 TPⲆⲠⲆT̄N̄ KO-ⲗOTITKⲆ "the seventh seal." The cardinal may be used instead of an ordinal: L. 111.7 KⲆTⲆⲠЄTⲆCMⲆ OYOY-KⲆⲗO "after veil two."

3.8.3 Multiplicatives; the following are attested:

OYЄPⲆN "once" K. 25.1

KOⲗOTⲆN "seven times" K. 25.2; cf. also gr. 4.3 ZⲗOT̄N (i.e. KOⲗOT̄N) ⲠⲆOY "7 times."

3.8.4 Fractions; the only attestation is ILT 8 i 14 ⲦⲀⲢⲀⲦⲚ̄ Ⲥ ⲞⲨⲦⲦⲈⲔ-ⲔⲀ "for half an hour."

3.9 Verbs in Old Nubian are built upon stems which are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic (chiefly disyllabic).

3.9.1 Monosyllabic stems: e.g. (consult Indices for attestations) ⲀK- "to sit," ⲀⲀⲠⲠ- "to perish," ⲔⲒ- "to think."

3.9.2 Polysyllabic stems: e.g. ⲆⲈⲤⲔ- "to be patient," ⲔⲀⲢⲒⲞ- "to break," ⲞⲞⲄⲞⲠ- "to creep."

3.9.3 There are a few reduplicated stems: e.g. ⲔⲀⲤ-ⲔⲀⲤ- "to draw," ⲠⲈⲨ-ⲠⲈⲨ- "to be paralytic," ⲤⲞⲨⲢ-ⲤⲞⲨⲢ- "to disturb."

3.9.4 Verbal loan words seem limited to Greek; they include ⲔⲈⲖⲈⲨ-(Ⲣ̄-) "to order" (for -Ⲣ̄- see **3.9.5**a) and ⲠⲒⲤⲦⲈⲨ(ⲈⲒ)- "to believe."

3.9.5 Verbal suffixes fall into three categories: a) semantic morphemes, b) syntactic morphemes, and c) grammatical morphemes (see Hintze 1975a, §8.2):

a) The semantic morphemes, which modify the primary meaning of the stem in various ways, include the following:

−(Ⲁ)Ⲧ- inchoative: restricted in verb formations to periphrastics (**3.9.12**).

−(Ⲁ)Ⲣ- causative: e.g. SC 16.9 ⲞⲨⲢⲠ-ⲀⲢ- "to cause to fall" (sim. St. 21.4 ⲞⲨⲠ-Ⲣ̄-). The causative element may be weakened and become apparently redundant: e.g. ⲤⲀⲈⲀ-Ⲣ̄- "to pray" in SC 13.19 against ⲤⲀⲈⲀ- "to pray" in M. 15.12; the loss of -(Ⲁ)Ⲣ- may be due to phonological reasons: see **2.5.6a**. See also **2.11** (-ⲞⲨⲢ-).

−Ⲅ(Ⲁ)Ⲣ- causative: restricted in verb formations to periphrastics (**3.9.12**).

−ⲔⲈ-/-ⲔⲒ-/-Ⲕ- consuetudinal: restricted to periphrastics (**3.9.12**). Cf. SC 3.17n.

−Ⲙ- admirative: see **3.9.10**.

−ⲘⲈⲚ-/-ⲘⲒⲚ- negative verb (from Ⲙ- "not" and ⲈⲒⲚ-/ⲈⲚ- "to be"): restricted to periphrastics (**3.9.12**).[11]

−ⲦⲀⲔ- passive: attached to the stem either directly or—in the case of a stem ending in two consonants—with the juncture vowel /i/ (**2.10**): e.g. SC 1.6 ⲞⲚ-ⲦⲀⲔ- "to be loved," 19.14 ⲈⲤⲔ-Ⲓ-ⲦⲀⲔ- "to be conquered."

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[11] The negative prefix Ⲙ- appears elsewhere: e.g. Ⲙ-ⲞⲚ- "to hate" (literally "not to love"), Ⲙ-ⲒⲞⲒⲢⲔ- "disobedience" (see SC 7.2-3n and for the positive 1.13n).

N.B. When the verbid is fully reduced (**3.9.8**), -ⲘⲈⲚ-/-ⲘⲒⲚ- may *appear* to be attached directly to the stem, but comparison of (e.g.) SC 9.16 ⲈⲒⲆⲢⲀ̄-ⲘⲒⲚ- with 8.4 ⲦⲞⲠⲒ-ⲘⲈⲚ- and 3.17 ⲦⲞⲔ-ⲘⲈⲚ- shows the progressive reduction of the verbid; a similar reduction is observable with -Ⲅ(Ⲁ)Ⲣ-: St. 2.1 ⲈⲒⲆⲢⲀ̄-ⲄⲀⲢ-, 3.10 ⲠⲆⲀⲒ̈-ⲄⲢ̄-, 9.8 ⲞⲔ-ⲔⲢ- (= ⲞⲔ-ⲄⲢ-: **2.4**) and with -ⲔⲈ-/-ⲔⲒ-/-Ⲕ-: INT 5 vii 9-10 ⲘⲈⲀⲀⲈⲀ-ⲔⲈⲀ-, SC 11.16-17 ⲞⲨⲚⲔⲞⲨⲚⲔⲈⲀ-.

Of the above morphemes, the following may also be construed with a preceding noun (in the predicative): -(ⲁ)ⲧ-, -(ⲁ)ⲣ-, -ⲅ(ⲁ)ⲣ-, -ⲙⲉⲛ-; e.g. SC 9.19 ⲅⲁⲇ-ⲁⲧ- "to become flesh," 14.16 ⲝⲛⲧⲧ-ⲣ̄- "to effect resurrection" (sim. 10.10 ⲁ[ⲛⲧ̣̄ⲧ-ⲁⲣ-), 10.5 ⲟⲣⲡⲁ-ⲅⲣ̄- "to make wine," ILT 10 A i 16-18 ⲥⲉ[ⲩ]ⲁⲣⲧⲁ ⳓⲁⲗⲗⲓⲕⲁⲉ̄ --- ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲁ "are they not serving spirits ...?"

Note that occasionally -(ⲁ)ⲧ-, -(ⲁ)ⲣ- and -ⲅ(ⲁ)ⲣ- appear to interchange: e.g. M. 2.4 ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲕ-ⲁⲣ-ⲓⲥⲛⲁ "she became afflicted," L. 101.4 -ⲅⲛⲟⲩⲭ̄ "in order to become" (= -ⲅⲓⲣ-ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲭ̄: 2.5.6a; see also Browne 1982a,12), 109.9 ⲧⲧ̄ⲥ-ⲁⲧ-ⲣ̣ⲉ̣ⲥⲱ "I make hallow" (vs. ⲧⲓⲥⲥⲁ-ⲅⲁⲣ-ⲉⲥⲱ in 109.5; see Browne 1988, II §2.a ftn. 2), and cf. also ILT 8 ii 9-10 ⲙⲉⲁⲁⲭ̄-ⲧ-ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ "they made ready" (ἠτοίμασαν) with SC 12.17 ⲙⲉⲁⲁⲭ̄-ⲅⲣ-ⲟⲛⲁ "he made ready" (ἠτοίμασεν).

b) The syntactic morphemes relate the verb to another part of the sentence. Old Nubian displays only -ⳓ-, a morpheme that refers to a plural object (either direct or indirect) and occasionally to a plural subject; it is attached to the verbal stem either directly or by means of the juncture vowel /i/: e.g. SC 4.19 ⲕⲁⲡⲟⲡⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲁⲟⲗ-ⲓ-ⳓ-ⲛⲓⲭ̄ "in order to gather pearls" (plural object; cf. 4.7.7d), 5.17 ⲟⲩⲕ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲣⲁ ⲧⲓ-ⳓ-ⲁⲣⲣⲓ-ⲕⲁ "which I am going to set before you" (plural indirect object; cf. 4.6b), 8.12 ⲁⲓ-ⳓ-ⲟⲭⲅⲟⲩⲛⲁ "of those who are dead" (plural subject). Note that -ⳓ- is at times omitted, especially with causatives: e.g. K. 29.15-30.1 ⲧⲭ̄ⲗⲟⲩ ⳓⲙ̄ⲙⲭ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧ-ⲁⲣ-ⲟⲕⲕⲁ "God who established all"; it may also refer to a plural object not specifically identified in the text: e.g. SC 17.20 ⲁⲩ-ⳓ-ⲉⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲟ[ⳓ]ⲱⲭ̄ⲗⲱ "because he created [sc. everything]." For further discussion see Browne 1988, II.

c) The grammatical morphemes are specifically connected with verbal inflexion and include the various temporal, modal and personal suffixes. They are treated in the following sections.

3.9.6 Synopsis of the verb. The arrangement follows the order presented in Browne 1982b (see also Browne 1988, I), where it is argued that the subjunctive arises from the "verbid"[12] through the addition of personal endings (e.g. ⲁⲟⲗⲗ-ⲓⲗ + -ⲁⲛ [3rd pers. pl.] → ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁⲛ [2.6]), and that the predicative and the indicative arise from fusion of -ⲁ (predicative case: 3.6.4) either with the verbid, resulting in the predicative (ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲗ + -ⲁ → ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁ) or with the subjunctive, resulting in the indicative (ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁⲛ + -ⲁ → ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁⲛⲁ). Note that the predicative usually requires formal expression of the subject, which is overtly marked in the indicative: cf. SC 19.6 ⲧⲁⲗⲗⲟ --- ⲁⲩⲉⲓⳓⲁⲣⲁ "he made" with 19.11 ⲁⲩⲟⲛⲁ "he made."

The form here given, ⲁⲟⲗⲗ- "to wish," shows the juncture vowel ⲓ, which can also appear as ⲉ. It is required only after a stem ending in two consonants; elsewhere

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12 The term "verbid" I borrow from Jespersen 1924, 87; it signifies a verbal noun and, as such, includes both verbal substantives (i.e. infinitives) and verbal adjectives (i.e. participles). It is therefore a suitable term for the bivalent Nubian form and is to be preferred to "infinitive" in Browne 1982b and 1987b.

its use is optional: e.g. SC 8.16 ΠЄC-ЄCI-, but 22.8 IC-CI-; M. 1.3 ⲀⲨ-Cⲁ-, but ILT 10 A ii 9 ⲀOⲨ-ЄCⲚ.

	Verbid	Predicative		Subjunctive	Indicative
Present	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂ⲗ (Є)	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁ (Є)	Sg.1	`Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂ⲣⲓ (Є)	ⲀoⲗⲗⲓⲣЄ
			2/3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂ⲛ	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓⲛⲁ (Є)
			Pl.1/2	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓⲣoⲩ	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓⲣo
			3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂ⲣⲁⲛ (Є)	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁⲛⲁ
Preterite I	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲟ̂ⲗ (ⲁ)	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲁ	Sg.1	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓ	ⲀoⲗⲗⲁⲣЄ
			2/3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲟ̂ⲛ	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲟ̂ⲛⲁ (ⲁ)
			Pl.1/2	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣoⲩ	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣo
			3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲟⲩ̂ⲁⲛ[13]	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁ
Preterite II	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂CIⲁ (Є)	(ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCIⲣⲁ) (ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCⲁ)[14]	Sg.1	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂CI	ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCЄ
			2/3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂CIⲛ (Є)	ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCIⲛⲁ[15]
			Pl.1/2	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂COⲩ (Є)	ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCO
			3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲓ̂Cⲁⲛ (Є)	ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCⲁⲛⲁ
Future[16]	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲁ̂ⲓ̂ⲗ (ⲣ Є)	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣⲁ	Sg.1	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣⲓ	ⲀoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣЄ
			2/3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲛ	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲛⲛⲁ
			Pl.1/2	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣoⲩ	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣo
			3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛ	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛⲁ
Imperative[17] Sg.1	---		Vetitive Sg.2/3(?)		Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲧⲁⲙⲏ
2/3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲉ(Cⲱ)		Pl.2		Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲧⲁⲛⲕⲉ(Cⲱ)
Pl.1	ⲀoⲗⲗⲁⲙCⲱ				
2/3	Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁⲛⲁ(Cⲱ)		Adjunctive		Ⲁoⲗⲗⲁ

There is also a future preterite (I and II); its few occurrences are illustrated in 4.7.3c and 4.7.6. For the special conjugation of the admirative see 3.9.10, and for the various periphrastics see 3.9.11.

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13 See 2.5.6a.

14 The form ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCIⲣⲁ is not demonstrably attested (for its possible occurrence in SC 7.19 see Browne 1987b, 319); its reduction to ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCⲁ is found only in attributive constructions (cf. 4.6).

15 Also written ⲀoⲗⲗⲓCⲚⲁ̄ (1.3.2).

16 Herewith the future with the allomorph -ⲁ- (3.9.7b); the verb is ⲔIⲣ- "to come":

Verbid	Predicative	Subjunctive	Indicative
ⲔIⲁⲁ̂ⲓ̂ⲗ (Є)	ⲔIⲁⲁⲓ̂ⲣⲁ (Є)	Sg.1 ⲔIⲁⲁ̂ⲓ̂ⲣⲓ (Є)	ⲔIⲁⲁⲓ̂ⲣЄ
		2/3 ⲔIⲁⲁ̂ⲓ̂ⲛ	ⲔIⲁⲁⲓ̂ⲛⲁ (Є)
		Pl.1/2 ⲔIⲁⲁ̂ⲓ̂ⲣoⲩ	ⲔIⲁⲁⲓ̂ⲣo
		3 ⲔIⲁⲁ̂ⲓ̂ⲣⲁⲛ (Є)	ⲔIⲁⲁⲓ̂ⲣⲁⲛⲁ

17 For additional formations see 3.9.17.

3.9.7 Notes on tenses:

a) The difference between pret. I and pret. II appears to be aspectual in the indicative, where pret. I tends to be either a descriptive imperfect or a resultative perfect, and pret. II is regularly a punctiliar past: e.g. ILT 4 i 1 Ⲁ̄ΚΟΝⲀ "he was sitting" (ἐκαθέζετο), L. 111.6 ΠΕСΤⲀΚΟΝⲀ "it is called" (λέγεται) and ILT 4 i 9 ΠΕССΝⲀ̄ "he said" (εἶπεν); at times, however, the distinction is blurred: e.g. in SC 12.17-18, where pret. I ΜΕⲀⲀⲀ̄ΓΡΟΝⲀ is followed by pret. II ΜΕⲀⲀⲀ̄ΓⲀΡΙСΝⲀ, both rendering ἡτοίμασεν. In the predicative we find only pret. I (where -РⲀ appears after a stem ending in a single -Р-: e.g. SC 22.6 ΤР̄РⲀ [2.5.3]); it corresponds to a descriptive imperfect, resultative perfect or—as a replacement for pret. II—a punctiliar past: e.g. SC 17.22-23 ⲀΟΥⲀ̄РⲀ "it was" (ἦν), L. 105.7 ⲀΪⲀΟ --- ΟΥΝΝⲀРⲀ "I have begotten" (ἐγὼ ... γεγέννηκα), SC 19.1 ⲀΥΕΙϬⲀРⲀ "he made" (ποιήσας).

The aspectual distinction between the two preterites vanishes with the verbid and the subjunctive: with the former pret. II is required only when the subject of the clause is in the genitive (4.4); otherwise pret. I is used: cf. M. 12.2-3 ΕΝ̄ ΤⲀΝΝⲀ ΚΠ̄СⲀ̄ "this which he ate" (4.6a), M. 11.3-4 ΟΥΝΝΟⲀ ΜⲀΡΙⲀ- "Mary who gave birth" (4.6d). With the subjunctive, pret. I is adverbial (i.e. equivalent to a circumstantial/temporal clause, without an immediately following postposition except for the connecting particle -ΟΝ "and": **3.10** s.v.), while pret. II is adnominal (i.e. attached directly to postpositions or equivalent to a relative clause): e.g. M. 3.9-10 ΟΥΚΟΥΡ ⲀΙΕⲬ ⲀΥΤⲀΚΟΝ-ΝΟΝ "and when many a day had passed" (4.7.3c), M. 10.8-9 ΤΡΙСⲀ̄ΓΙΟΝ ΚΙΕ̄СΝ̄-ΝΟΚΟΝΟΕΙΟΝ "and when the Tris-hagion had come" (4.7.3b) and SC 22.10 ΕΤ̄ΤΟΥ ⲀΙΚⲀ ⲀС̄СΝ̄ "the woman whom you gave to me" (4.6a).

Note that both pret. I and pret. II at times translate a Greek present: see Browne 1987b, 317-319 for details.

b) The future tense has two allomorphs:

- Ⲁ - after a vowel or single sonorant (attested: Ν, Ⲗ, Р; the latter two usually assimilating to Ⲁ); -Р- is a variant spelling in ILT 9 i 20 ΓΕ-Р-РⲀ (cf. **2.2.2**).

- ⲀⲀ-/-ⲀР- after a consonant or doubled sonorant. Note that ⲀΥ, ΟΥ (i.e. /aw/ and /ow/), Γ and Ϥ count as consonants.
E.g. M. 4.15 ϬⲰ-ⲀΝ̄ (subjunctive, 2nd pers. sg.), St. 6.5 -ΜΕΝ-ⲀРΕ̄- (indicative, 1st pers. sg. [1.3.2]), ILT 10 A i 19 Ε̄Τ-ⲀРⲀ̄- (verbid), M. 13.9 ΟΥΝΝ-ⲀРРⲀ- (predicative), M. 11.12 ⲀΥ-ⲀРРΕ (indicative), INT 1 ii 8 ΓΟΥ-ⲀРРⲀ- (predicative), L. 100.2 ϬΟΥΝΤΟΥ-ΓⲀРР[Ⲁ (predicative), ILT 4 i 12 Ⲁ̄РⲀⲀΜ̄ΜⲀ (admirative [3.9.10]).

c) With the negative verb -ΜΕΝ-/-ΜΙΝ- (**3.9.5**a) we frequently find the present when the preterite is expected: e.g. M. 2.1-2 ΚΟΝΜΕΝΝⲀⲖⲰ "she did not have," L. 108.10 ⲀⲀΠΠΙΜΕΝΝⲀⲖⲰ "he did not perish," SC 14.7-8 ΕⲠ̄РΙΤⲀΚΜΕΝΝⲀ[Ⲗ]Ⲱ "he did not suffer." In all the examples now known, the emphasizing postposition -ⲖΟ/-ⲖⲰ (**3.10**) is attached to the verb.

3.9.8 Reduced verbid. In the pret. II the full form of the verbid is clearly visible in SE A i 12 ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲒⲤⲬ-Ⲕⲁ and is but thinly disguised by assimilation in SC 19.14 ⲈⲤⲔⲒⲦⲀⲔⲤⲔ̄-Ⲕⲁ (cf. also M. 8.11-12 ⲬⲄⲞⲢⲤ̄Ⲥ-Ⲕⲁ: see **2.5.6**a); usually it is collapsed: e.g. L. 107.12 ⲈⲒⲦⲢⲈⲤ-Ⲕⲁ, SC 9.20-21 -ⲄⲀⲢⲈⲤⲒ-Ⲕ[ⲈⲚⲔⲰ. Similarly, with the present tense we find e.g. ⲦⲒ6Ⲓ-ⲀⲈ in SC 2.14 and ⲈⲒⲬⲢⲒ in clause-final position in 9.13. Further reductions include ILT 4 i 15 ⲚⲈⲤ-ⲔⲞⲚ ⲈⲚ̄ⲤⲚⲬ̄ (cf. ⲚⲈⲤⲒ-ⲔⲞⲚ ⲈⲚ̄ⲤⲚⲬ̄ in ii 9-10 and ⲦⲈⲤⲢⲈⲀ-ⲔⲞⲚ ⲈⲒⲚⲘⲤ̄ⲤⲁⲚⲀ- in 9 ii 5: **3.9.13**). For the loss of Ⲓ and Ⲗ in these forms cf. **2.5.6**a.

3.9.9 Expanded verbid. There is also a verbid terminating in -Ⲛ instead of -Ⲗ. It interchanges at times with the regular verbid: e.g. ILT 4 i 16 ⲈⲚⲈⲚ-Ⲕⲁ and INT 2 ii 9 ⲈⲚⲈⲖ-Ⲕⲁ, but it is chiefly used to mark a conditional/temporal clause: see **4.7.3**c and **4.7.5**b. In shape it is often identical with the 2nd/3rd pers. sg. of the subjunctive.[18] The expanded verbid can also be discerned in some of the verbal forms which are usually built upon the verbid in -Ⲗ: e.g. SC 1.6 ⲬⲀⲚ̄-ⲚⲈ (from ⲬⲀⲚ̄-ⲠⲈ: **2.3.2**), followed by ⲚⲈⲤⲀⲢⲢⲈ (from ⲚⲈⲤⲀⲢⲒⲖ-Ⲓ-ⲁ: **3.9.6** [see also Browne 1982b, §22]). Note that in a form like ⲬⲀⲚ̄ⲚⲈ from ⲬⲀⲚ̄-ⲠⲈ, the Ⲣ is no longer regarded as derived from the verbid but is now simply part of the ending.[19]

3.9.10 The admirative (**3.9.5**a) is attested only in the present and in the future; it is formed by suffixing -Ⲙ- to the verbid, which is always assimilated (**2.3.1**). The personal endings are those of the indicative:[20]

Present	Sg.	1	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲘ̄ⲘⲈ
		3	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲘ̄ⲘⲀ
	Pl.	1	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲘ̄ⲘⲞ
		3	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲚⲀ
Future	Sg.	1	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲀⲀⲘ̄ⲘⲈ
		3	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲀⲀⲘ̄ⲘⲀ
	Pl.	1	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲀⲀⲘ̄ⲘⲞ
		3	ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲀⲀⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲚⲀ

The formation seems to emphasize the personal involvement of the subject or the significance of the act: e.g. ILT 4 i 6-7 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲈⲦⲦⲀⲖ ⲦⲒⲀⲘ̄ⲘⲀ- "your brother will rise," 12 ⲬⲢⲀⲀⲘ̄ⲘⲀ "he will live" (both passages concern Lazarus), St. 6.12-7.2 ⲀⲞⲖ-

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18 It should be noted that both forms of the verbid may occur together, e.g. in ILT 9 i 10 ⲈⲢⲄ̄Ⲭ ⲔⲢⲈⲚ, where it appears that the first is subordinate to the second, i.e. "when he came [ⲔⲢⲈⲚ] following [ⲈⲢⲄ̄Ⲭ]." Cf. **4.7.3**c.

19 Sim. ILT 9 ii 9 ⲀⲞⲨⲚⲚⲀⲚⲀ (i.e. ⲀⲞⲨⲖ- ["to be"] + -Ⲛ- [expanded verbid] → ⲀⲞⲨⲚ- [**2.3.1**] + -ⲠⲀⲚⲀ → ⲀⲞⲨⲚⲚⲀⲚⲀ [**2.3.2**]).

Here we should note M. 6.5-6 ⲔⲈⲚⲀⲞⲨⲔⲀⲢⲢⲬ̄ⲀⲈ, which reveals the base form of the verbid (from -ⲀⲢⲢⲒⲖ-ⲠⲈ, with Ⲣ as part of the ending, as in ⲬⲀⲚ̄ⲚⲈ discussed above). Sim. M. 14.4 ⲦⲤ̄ⲤⲚⲀ = ⲦⲒ-ⲤⲒⲖ-ⲚⲀ (**2.3.2**).

20 Note that for the second person singular and plural, the predicative copulative is used: see **3.9.16**a.

ⲁⲘ̄ⲘⲞ ⲞⲨⲔⲁ ⲈⲒⲁⲢⲬ̄ⲄⲁⲆⳒⲁⲆⲈⲚⲔⲁ "we wish that you will reveal to us ..." (said by apostles to Jesus).

3.9.11 Periphrastics are formed by attaching ⲈⲒⲚ- "to be" or its equivalent (**3.9.12**) to a preceding verbid, predicative or indicative. The formations may be illustrated as follows:

Verbid periphrastic	ⲆⲞⲗⲗⲓⲗ ⲈⲒⲚ- (**3.9.13**)
Predicative periphrastic	ⲆⲞⲗⲗⲓⲢⲁ ⲈⲒⲚ- (**3.9.14**)
Indicative periphrastic	ⲆⲞⲗⲗⲓⲚⲁ ⲈⲒⲚ- (**3.9.15**)

3.9.12 The syntactic equivalents of ⲈⲒⲚ- used in the periphrastic constructions include:

ⲁⲨ- "to do" (verb[id] p[eriphrastic])

-(ⲁ)Ⲥ- inchoative (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)

-Ⲅ(ⲁ)Ⲣ- causative (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)

ⲁⲆⲗ-/ⲁⲆⲢ- "to be" (verb.p., pred.p.)

ⲆⲞⲨⲗ- "to be" (verb.p., pred.p.)

-ⲔⲈ-/-ⲔⲒ-/-Ⲕ- consuetudinal (denoting customary action; verb.p.)

-ⲔⳲ̄(ⳤ)- "to be without" (verb.p.); cf. **3.4.2**

ⲘⲈⲆⲆ- "to be full" (pred.p.)

-ⲘⲈⲚ-/-ⲘⲒⲚ- "not to be" (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)

ⲞⲔ- "to be" (verb.p.)

ⲠⲒ- "to be" (verb.p., pred.p.)

Notes:

a) Of the periphrastic formations, that of the indicative appears to be clearly emphatic and is perhaps on a semantic level similar to the admirative (**3.9.10**) and the predicative copulative (**3.9.16**a). But the verbid and the predicative periphrastic, when they can be compared to non-periphrastic formations, seem to be merely stylistic variations of the latter; cf. e.g. ILT 4 i 9 Ⲓ̄Ⲏ̄ⲤⲞⲨⲤⲒⲞⲚ ⲠⲈⲤⲤⲚⲁ̄ "and Jesus said" (non-periphrastic) with ii 19-20 ⲠⲈⲤⲒ̣-ⲔⲞⲚ ⲈⲚ̄ⲤⲚⲁ̄ ⲆⲒⲞⲚ ⲈⲚ̄ⲤⲦⲀ̄ "and the sister of the dead man said" (verbid periphrastic [in reduced form]), and cf. also SC 7.2-3 ⲘⳆⳆ61ⲠⲔⲀ̄ ⲆⲒⲀⲠⲔⲀ[ⲗ]Ⲟ ⲤⲈⲔⲚⲀ- "disobedience produces death" (non-periphrastic) with K. 24.5-7 Ⲙ̄6Ⲣ̄ⲔⲀ̄ ⲆⲈⲒⲀⲢⲔⲀ ⲤⲈⲄⲢⲀ Ⲉ̄ⲚⲈⲚⲚⲈ6ⲞⲨⲚ "because disobedience produces death" (predicative periphrastic); see further Browne 1987b, 314. And the difference between the verbid and the predicative periphrastic seems also to be simply stylistic: cf. e.g. ILT 8 ii 6 ⲁⲨⲦⲁⲔ-ⲔⲞⲚ ⲈⲚ̄ⲤⲚⲀ "and there happened ..." (verbid periphrastic) with 9 i 22-ii 1 ⲀⲢⲘⲤ̄ⲦⲁⲔ-Ⲕⲁ-ⲈⲒⲞⲚ ⲈⲚ̄ⲆⲚⲀ̄ "and he will be judged" (predicative periphrastic [-Ⲕⲁ is assimilated from -Ⲣⲁ: **2.3.2**]).

b) At times -(ⲁ)Ⲥ- and -Ⲅ(ⲁ)Ⲣ- appear to interchange: see **3.9.5**a sub fin.

3.9.13 Verbid periphrastic. The clearest examples show the verbid in its base form: e.g. SC 9.16 ⲈⲒⲆ̄ⲢⲒⲗ ⲘⲒⲚⲀ̄ⲄⲞⲨⲗ "who do not understand," 9.5 ⲆⲁⲠⲢⲈⲗ-ⲔⳲ̄ⳤ-ⲒⲔⲁ

"imperishable," 11.20 ΠΕⲗ6Iⲗ ΠIPⲁ̣ "accrues," 18.7-8 ⲆⲆⲗ ⲆⲨⲁ̣ "making it glow." The verbid is frequently reduced (cf. **3.9.8**): cf. St. 2.1 ЄIⲁPⲭ̅-ⲄⲁP-IСⲆⲗO "he caused [them] to know" with 3.10-11 Πⲭ̅ⲭI᷄-ⲄP̅ⲭ̅ ⲆЄN6ICNⲭ̅ "he caused [it] to appear to us," and cf. also ILT 9 ii 5-6 ⲐЄСPЄⲗ-KON ЄINM̅C̅СⲆNⲆⲗO "and they have not rested" with 4 ii 9-10 ΠЄCI-KON ЄN̅C<Ⲇ>Nⲭ̅ "and they said" and i 15 ΠЄC-KON ЄN̅CNⲭ̅ "and she said." N.B. The verbid is usually in the present tense, but it is also found in the future (ILT 2 i 18-19 ЄIⲆ ЄNЄN 6OYPPⲰ OYЄICKⲆ Ⲧ̅66ⲆⲆⲭ̅ "because you will recompense"; sim. 3 ii 9—if correctly restored) and probably in the preterite as well (SC 3.15—if rightly restored—ⲐOЄIOⲗ [Є]N̤ЄNNⲆ "of one who has rubbed on"; cf. also Dong. 1 ii 25-26 ⲄΠ̅P-OЄIⲆⲗ-[= -Oⲗ(?)]-ⲄP̅ⲆPⲆⲗH "you will make [it] renewed"). Since the verbid tends to be in the present tense in this construction, it is the auxiliary that regularly designates the time of the action: in addition to the passages cited above, note the future in St. 12.8 ⲐON6ⲭ̅ ⲆOYⲆN̅NⲆ "he will stand."

3.9.14 Predicative periphrastic. E.g. L. 113.4-5 ΠЄCP̅ⲆⲄOY[Є᷄] ЄINIⲗ "saying," K. 24.6-7 ⲐЄⲄP̅Ⲇ Ᾱ̅NЄNNЄ6OYN "because it produces," M. 1.9-10 OYNNⲆP̅Ⲇ MЄNNⲆⲗⲰ "she did not bear." At times the predicative is assimilated or elided: e.g SC 19.12-13 ⲆOYⲗⲗⲆⲄP O̤NⲆ (from ⲆOYⲗ-PⲆ-) "he caused him to dwell," 10.11 ⲐⲞ̅P6ⲆP-ЄIN̅N̅ "standing." N.B. The tense of the predicative may be either present or preterite (as in M. 1.9-10 and SC 10.11 just cited) or future (as e.g. in St. 16.4-5 Ⲇ̤Y[ⲗ]ЄNⲆP̅ⲭ̅ ЄIN̅N̅ "which will save"[21]). Since the auxiliary also denotes tense, a certain variety of expression obtains: cf. e.g. the passage just cited (future predicative + present subjunctive) with ILT 9 i 22-ii 1 ⲆPM̅ⲐⲆK-KⲆ-ЄION ЄN̅ⲆN̅ⲭ̅ "and he will be judged" (present predicative [-KⲆ = -PⲆ: **2.3.2**] + future indicative).

3.9.15 Indicative periphrastic. E.g. M. 6.8-9 ⲭ̅ⲗЄC̅N̅ OYNNPЄ Ᾱ̅NЄN-NON literally "and truly if I am 'I give birth'" i.e. "and truly if I in fact give birth," ILT 4 ii 15 ЄN̅KЄⲐⲆⲗ ⲆIMÏN̤NⲆ ⲄⲆPI- "to cause that this one too not die," SC 22.8-9 KOΠONⲆ̣ MЄNⲆ "it is not that you ate?" N.B. Both dependent indicative and auxiliary can be adjusted as to tense: with SC 22.8-9 just cited contrast SC 13.7-8 ЄΠ]ⲆⲗI6INNⲆNⲆ-ⲐIC[NⲆ "he caused that they strike" (cf. n. ad loc.).

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21 The verb ⲆYⲗ- "to save" stands (if the text is correctly restored) as a verbid connected with the following -ЄN-, and we have a verbid periphrastic dependent upon a predicative periphrastic. There are other examples of this kind of proliferation: e.g. SC 2.11 MЄP̅ⲭ̅-ⲆⲆP-ⲆⲐ-ⲆPⲆ-C-KЄ "you have become prepared," a concatenation consisting of a verbid periphrastic (MЄP̅ⲭ̅-ⲆⲆP-) attached to -ⲆⲐ-as a predicative periphrastic (-ⲆⲆP(Ⲇ)-ⲆⲐ-) and culminating in the construction described in **3.9.16a**, and also M. 4.7-8 6OⲆPⲆ MЄⲆⲆⲭ̅-ⲐOⲗ "ready to go," i.e. a predicative periphrastic (6OⲆPⲆ MЄⲆⲆ-) dependent on -Ⲑ- as a verbid periphrastic (MЄⲆⲆⲭ̅-ⲐOⲗ). It is by no means clear whether such exuberance is simply the result of an inherited and ossified phraseology or the conscious product of a *Kunstsprache*.

3.9.16 Other periphrastic formations, less common than those listed in **3.9.13-15**, should here be mentioned.

a) The predicative copulative. This formation is limited to the second person singular and plural and appears to supply the admirative (**3.9.10**) with its missing forms. The particles -ⲗH (sg.) and -ⲔⲈ₀(pl.) are attached to the predicative; with -ⲔⲈ, the element -ⲗ- precedes in the present and future tenses, -ⲗⲤ- in the present and preterite. The forms attested are:

	Singular	Plural
Present	---	-Pⲗ-ⲗ-ⲔⲈ, -(P-)ⲗⲤ-ⲔⲈ
Preterite I	-ⲗPⲗ-ⲗH	-ⲗP-ⲗⲤ-ⲔⲈ
Future	-ⲗPⲗ-ⲗH	-ⲗPPⲗ-ⲗ-ⲔⲈ

Some examples: (preterite sg.) SC 21.22 KⲗⲠⲗPⲗⲗḤ[·] ⲠⲗⲆPⲗ ⲠⲗPPⲗⲗH "You ate! You transgressed!" (said by God to Adam after the fall); (future sg.) ILT 4 ii 25 ⲤⲗⲗⲗPⲗ̄ⲗH- "you shall see" (comparable in emphasis to the admirative in i 12 Ⲋ̄ΨⲗⲗⲘ̄Mⲗ "he shall live"); (present pl.) SC 2.10 ⲈⲚ̄NⲗⲗⲔⲈ "you really are"[22]; (preterite pl.) 2.16-17 ⲞΥⲗⲗⲗKKⲈPⲗⲤⲗPⲗⲤⲔⲈ "you have actually become teachers (of the whole world)"; (future pl.) 21.14 ⲔⲞΥⲗⲗⲗⲤⲗPPⲗⲗⲔⲈ- "you will actually become like (God)." Cf. also -ⲔⲈ in vetitive formations (**3.9.18**).

b) Indicative copulative. The postposition -Mⲗ, in which ⲗ may be deleted, is attested as a copula with a preceding noun in the predicative: see **3.10** s.v. It is found attached to the indicative in the following cases: K. 20.5-6 KⲘ̄MⲤ̄ⲤⲞ-M ⲤⲈIMⲤ̄ⲤⲞ-Mⲗ "is it (the case that) we did not eat, is it (the case that) we did not drink ...?," WN 4 ⲈNNⲞ-Mⲗ "we are," SC 6.11, 13-14 Ⲡⲗ̄ⲗⲆ̣ MⲚ̄NⲈ-M --- ⲫⲞΥPⲞΥⲄⲞΥ6Pⲗ MⲚ̄NⲈ-M "I do not experience ..., I do not trace." In each of these instances -M(ⲗ) appears to topicalize the preceding verb.

3.9.17 Imperative. See the forms listed in the synopsis in **3.9.6**. Note that -Cⲱ (also spelled -CⲞ) is rarely omitted. E.g. SC 17.21 ⲞΥⲗⲄPⲈCⲱ "hear," Ben. 18 Tⲗ̣ⲢⲞΥⲈ̄Cⲱ "let it praise," SC 24.9-10 ⲦⲞⲔ ⲦPⲗMCⲱ "let us give glory," L. 101.1 ⲗΥⲈI6ⲗNⲗCⲱ "do," Ben. 4 Tⲗ̣PⲞΥⲗNⲗCⲱ "let them praise" (cf. Browne 1979, II). See also **4.7.7c**.

There are also additional formations for the third person singular and plural:

Singular	Plural
ⲗⲞⲗⲗⲞ⁽ⲁ⁾Nⲗ̣Cⲱ (pret. I)	ⲗⲞⲗⲗⲞΥⲗNⲗ̣Cⲱ (pret. I)
ⲗⲞⲗⲗⲗMH (see below)	ⲗⲞⲗⲗICⲗNⲗMH (pret. II)

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[22] Probably we should list here ILT 5 ii 4-5 ⲈⲚ̄ⲈTⲗⲗⲔⲈ (= ⲈⲚ̄-Ⲉ̄T-Pⲗⲗ-ⲔⲈ?), which appears to be strongly emphatic: "you must take up" (ὀφείλετε ...); as well as K. 21.15-16 MNⲗ ⲞΥⲗⲄPIMⲈNⲗⲔⲈ (= -MⲈN-Pⲗⲗ-ⲔⲈ?) "What? Do you not hear...?" But in both cases we may have -ⲗⲗⲔⲈ attached directly to the stem. For the form -(P-)ⲗⲤ-ⲔⲈ in the table, there are two examples: L. 106.6 ⲔⲞⲗⲤⲔⲈ "you have," and 101.6 ⲠIⲗⲗⲗⲗⲗⲤⲔⲈ "you shine." For the disappearance of -P- in all of these examples and for the loss of -ⲗ- in K. 21.15-16, see **2.5.6a** (note, however, that in L. 101.6 ⲠIⲗⲗⲗⲗⲗⲤⲔⲈ may be articulated not as ⲠIⲗⲗ-ⲗⲗ-ⲗⲤⲔⲈ [with loss of -P-] but as ⲠIⲗⲗ-ⲗⲗ-ⲗ-ⲗⲤⲔⲈ [with -ⲗ- assimilated from -P-]: cf. ⲗⲗ- in ILT ll i 9 and ii 6).

In the forms marked "pret." we apparently have the preterite subjunctive + predicative -ⲁ + -ⲤⲰ or -ⲘⲎ (3.10), resulting in a jussive: e.g. ILT 5 ii 20 ⲈⲒⲀⲢ-ⲦⲀⲔⲞⲚⲀⲤⲰ "let it be known," SC 3.14 ⲀⲚⲔⲀⲚⲀⲤⲰ "let him remember" (ⲁ for Ο: 2.1.2), ILT 7 i 5 ⲈⲒⲀ̅ⲢⲞⲨⲀ̅ⲚⲀⲤⲰ "let them know," St. 31.11-12 ⲦⲀⲢⲞⲨⲤⲀⲚⲀⲘⲎ "let him be blessed" (literally "let him be (the one whom) they blessed": cf. Sunn. 1 ii 4 ⲦⲀⲢⲞⲨ-ⲤⲀⲚⲀⲰ̅ "blessed is ...."). In the case of the remaining form ⲆⲞⲖⲖⲀⲘⲎ, -ⲘⲎ seems to be added to the stem through the intervention of predicative -ⲁ (which may be enlarged by semantic or syntactic morphemes [3.9.5a and b]): e.g. K. 19.14 ⲠⲀⲖⲀⲘⲎ "let him come forth," SC 25.15 ⲀⲨⲦⲀⲔⲀⲘⲎ "let it be done," ILT 5 ii 23 ⲈⲀ̅ⲪⲒⲆⲀⲘⲎ "let him keep (them)."

3.9.18 Vetitive. In addition to negating the imperative by using -ⲘⲈⲚ-/-ⲘⲒⲚ- (3.9.5a), as e.g. in SC 9.18 ⲀⲚⲔⲒⲘⲒⲚⲈⳞⲞ "do not consider," the language also employs a special vetitive formation:

Singular	Plural
ⲆⲞⲖⲖⲀⲦⲀⲘⲎ, ⲆⲞⲖⲖⲀⲦⲀⲘ	ⲆⲞⲖⲖⲀⲦⲀⲚⲔⲈ(ⲤⲰ)

Because of -ⲔⲈ, the formation in -ⲦⲀⲚⲔⲈ(ⲤⲰ) can only be second person plural (see 3.10 under -ⲔⲈ); -ⲦⲀⲘⲎ could be third person singular in K. 22.2 (see the comment in Browne 1980a, 41 n.9) but is securely attested only for the second person singular. The form -ⲦⲀⲘⲎ (which is probably the negative -ⲦⲀ- cited in 3.9.20 + -ⲘⲎ, used in the positive imperative [3.9.17]) is joined to the verb (which may be enlarged by semantic or syntactic morphemes) at times directly, at times through -ⲁ (cf. the formation of ⲆⲞⲖⲖⲀⲘⲎ in 3.9.17): e.g. M. 6.12 ⲁ̅ⲈⲦ̅ⲦⲀⲔⲀⲦⲀⲘⲎ "do not be insulted," WN 12 ⲀⲚⲔⲒⲆⲀⲦⲀⲘⲎ "do not remember (them)," K. 27.14 ⲠⲀⲦⲦⲀⲘⲎ "do not come forth." The reduced form -ⲦⲀⲘ appears in WN 14 ⲀⲚⲔⲦ̅ⲀⲘ "do not remember," and possibly in ostr. (Griffith 1913, 56) a 6]ⲅⲦⲀⲘ. For further discussion of the singular vetitive see Browne 1980a, V, and Smagina 1986a, 395; 1986b, 25.

For the plural -ⲦⲀⲚⲔⲈ(ⲤⲰ), in which -ⲦⲀⲚ- is probably the reduced -ⲦⲀⲘ- cited above, cf. SC 5.4 ⲦⲞⲔⲀⲦⲀⲚⲔ[Ⲉ] "do not cease," ILT 7 i 9 ⲦⲒⲞⲟⲀⲚⲦⲀⲚⲔⲈ "do not hinder," gr. 4.4 ⲤⲞⲖⲀ ⲦⲞⲔⲀⲦⲀⲚⲔⲈⳞⲞ "do not abandon," and see also L. 115.3 as restored in SC 11.9n.

3.9.19 Adjunctive. Several verbal stems can be coordinated by attaching -ⲁ (which may be elided: 2.5.1b and 2.5.2b[23]) to each stem except the last, which alone bears the inflection; the stems need not be immediately contiguous: e.g. SC 7.14-16 ⲈⲒⲦⲀ

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23 An elided or desinenceless adjunctive may display a juncture vowel (3.6.5): e.g. M. 16.13-14 ⲅⲀⲖ-ⲞⲨ ⲞⲨⲀⲅⲢⲈⲚ "when they, seeing, heard," L. 114.14 ⲠⲒⲖ Ⲟ̅Ⲕ-Ⲓ ⲘⲈⲟ-ⲟⲁ "being ..., standing," SC 22.23-24 ⲔⲀⳞ-Ⲓ ⲠⲀⲟ[ⲢⲈⲒⲚⲀ(?)]ⲖⲞ "wiping, taking away." Note that such formations can be ambiguous: the juncture vowel can also look like a reduced infinitive (e.g. SC 9.13-14 ⲈⲒⲦⳞ̅ⳞⲞⲨ Ⲓ̈ⲎⳞⲞⲨⳞⲒ for ⲈⲒⲦⳞ̅ⳞⲒⲖ Ⲓ̈ⲎⳞⲞⲨⳞⲒ: see 4.6d), and ∅ may derive from either the adjunctive or the verbid (for the latter cf. M. 5.9 ⲔⲞⲟⲞⲨⲈⳞⲰ for ⲔⲞⲖ ⲟⲞⲨⲈⳞⲰ, on the analogy of St. 7.9 ⲔⲞⲨⲚⲁ̅ Ⲕⲁ̅ⲆⲚⲁ̅: cf 4.7.3c).

ΟΥΕλ ΤΙλλCΝ ΟΥΕΡⲀλω ⲤⲔ-λ ΘλλλCΟΥ ΟΥλΤΤΟΚλ ⲄⲀλ-λ ⲄⲔⲔⲔⲔλ "... to a man who, sitting on a mountain, considering the whole sea, beholds it," 19.15-17 ⲈⲦ-λ ΚΙⲦ-λ ⲤΤλΥΡΟCΝ ΚΟΕⲢλω ⲔⲈⲚ-ⲤΟλⲢ-ΙΝⲄΟΥΚλ "(he wished,) taking and putting it on, placing and fastening it upon the tree of the cross, to set it." By extension, the adjunctive may follow the verb: e.g. SC 4.4 λΟλλ-λ "wishing," at sentence-end.

Certain verbs are characteristically associated with the adjunctive:

λΕΝ- "to give" (to me/us) and ΤⲢ- "to give" (to you/him/them), the so-called "dative verbs," used to specify an indirect object: e.g. St. 3.10-11 ΟΥΚλ ΠⲤλΪⲄⲢλ λΕΝϬΙCΝⲀ "he revealed to us" (literally "revealing, he gave to us"), M. 7.5-6 Τλ̀Ν ΕΙλⲀ ΟΥΤⲢλ ΤⲢCΝλ "she placed it in his hand."

ΟC- "to take out," often = Gr. ἐκ, Engl. "forth": e.g. SC 3.16 CΕΝλ ⲞⲤΕΝ "if he sends forth" (lit. "if he, sending, takes out": the Greek is ἐκπέμπει), 18.19-20 ΟΥλλ-ⲞⲤΙϬΕCλ "to hurl forth" (Gr.: ἐκβαλεῖν).

Notes:

a) Occasionally, the adjunctive is coordinated with the main verb by ΟΝ "and" (3.11): gr. 2.6-7 ΟΥλⲄΡλ ϬΙλⲀ ΟΝ ΠⲤCΕΥλΝλCω "let them, hearing, considering, rejoice" (cf. Browne 1979, II) and Dong. 1 i 22-23 ΤⲘⲘλ ΕΙλⲀ ΟΝ ΤΕΡⲚ ΚΟΥλλΥⲨ ΠΙΕΙCλΝλ "assembling together, they slept within their cave" (see n. ad loc.).

b) In general, the adjunctive is coordinating, while the verbid (in circumstantial/temporal clauses: 4.7.3c) is subordinating: e.g. M. 12.16-13.2 Μλ Ν ΕⲦΤⲀλΟΝ ΜΙλⲀ ΚῚ ⲱλλΚΚλ ⲄλλλΙCΝλ "and that woman, running [ΜΙλⲀ: present verbid], coming [ΚΙ: desinenceless adjunctive: 2.5.2b], opened the door," i.e. "... came running and opened the door." But at times the adjunctive appears to be subordinating: e.g. SC 10.19-20 ΟΥⲈΡΙⲤλ ΠΕCΤλΚⲚΝλΝλ "they are said to become one" (literally "becoming one, they are spoken of").

3.9.20 Negative in - Τλ. This formant, which appears in the vetitive (**3.9.18**), is also associated with the negative - ΜΕΝ-, which it seems to intensify: e.g. SC 11.8-10 ΟΥ[Ελ]ΕΝλΕ ΕΙC CΟΥΜΠΟΥΤΤλ ΟΥ[C]ΙΚⲢⲔλ ΕΙΡΟΥΜΕΝ-Τλ-λΟ "no one can lay another foundation," ILT 4 i 12-13 ⲀⲢΙΡλ ΜⲨⲱλΝλ(Ⲁ)CΝ λΪⲀΓⲀλΕ ΠⲤΤΕΥλΟΝ λΙΜΕΝΤλλΟ "and everyone living who believes in me shall not die." See Smagina 1986a, 395 and 1986b, 25.

3.9.21 Interrogative sentences may terminate with:

a) -Ϊ: e.g. M. 9.1 λΝΚΙΜⲚΝλϊ "don't you remember?," SC 18.2 ⲤⲀλλΙ "do you see?," K. 26.13-27.1 ΕΙCΚλΡλⲄΡλ --- ΠλλΕΙⲢλ ΠλλλΕΙΝλϊ "how will you transgress?" The particle is not necessary: cf. SC 22.8-9 ΚΟΠΟΝλ ΜΕΝλ "it is not the case that you ate?," and 21.18-19 ⲤΚλλ ⲄΟΥλλ λΙⲤλΡλ ΤΟΡΟΝλ "how is it that you have fallen in disgrace?"

b) -2ⲁ: e.g. M. 8.14-15 ⲈⲒⲤⲭⲞ ⲈⲒⲤⲤⲚⲀ-2ⲁ "where was it?"[24] and INT 5 iii 9-12 ⲈⲒⲤⲔⲀⲢⲀⲄⲢⲀ-2ⲁ --- ⲠⲀⲖⲆⲈⲒⲢⲈ- "how will I go forth ...?"

3.9.22 Position of verbal elements (see **3.9.5** and **3.9.21**).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Stem	± Caus.	± Inch.	± Pass.	± Pl.	± Neg.	± Consuet.	± Admir.	+ Inflect.	± Inter.
	-(ⲁ)Ⲣ-	-(ⲁ)Ⲅ-	-ⲦⲀⲔ-	-6-	-ⲘⲈⲚ-	-ⲔⲈ-	-Ⲙ-	Indic.,	-Ⲓ-
	-Ⲅ(ⲁ)Ⲣ-							Subjunct. -2ⲁ-	
									etc.

3 and 4 apparently exclude one another, as do 7 and 8. Note, however, that 2 and 3 are compatible (SC 3.21-22 ⲈⲒ6-ⲠⲒ-Ⲅ-ⲀⲚⲀⲤ[Ⲱ "pay attention"), as are 2 and 4 (L. 102.6 ⲎⲨ-ⲄⲒⲢ-ⲦⲀⲔ-ⲔⲀ "to be hidden," SC 3.17 ⲈⲔ̄Ⲕ-Ⲧ̄[i.e. -Ⲡ̄]-ⲦⲀⲔ-ⲁ "to be comforted") and 4 and 5 (INT 2 i 12 ⲠⲈⲤ-ⲦⲀⲔ-6-ⲁⲢⲁ "were said"). Further, when a causative (2) and a plural infix (5) both appear, the latter may precede the former: cf. e.g. SC 18.13 ⲠⲈⲈⲒⲁ̄ Ⲟ̄ⲤⲒ6ⲒⲠⲀⲄ̱ⲀⲢⲢⲁ with St. 7.1 ⲈⲒⲁ̄ⲢⲀ̄ⲄⲀⲀ6ⲀⲀⲈⲚ-. Occasionally, the causatives (2) appear to be interchangeable with the inchoative (3): see **3.9.5a** sub fin.

3.10 Postpositions include conjunctions, copulatives, as well as equivalents to the prepositions of Indo-European languages. An alphabetic arrangement of the material is here presented, with sample testimony. Some postpositions often include the prefix -ⲁ- (see **2.9**); this is here listed in parentheses, outside the alphabetic sequence. N.B. The pervasive interchange of Ⲟ and Ⲱ (**2.1**) is not noted in the lemmata.

-ⲁ particle of direct discourse: see **4.8**.

-(ⲁ)ⲁⲨⲁ̄ "within": ILT 2 ii 9 ⲦⲈⲠⲚ̄ ⲁ̄Ⲉⲁ̄-ⲁⲁⲨⲀ̄ "within their heart." The same word appears to function adverbially in L. 111.13-14 ⲘⲀⲚⲚⲀⲚ ⲁⲨⲁ̄ ⲀⲀ[ⲠⲒⲚ(?) "manna being(?) within" (see Browne 1984, 29). The postposition is composed of ⲁⲨ- "interior" + -ⲁⲁ "in."

-(ⲁ)ⲁⲨⲰ̄ "within": Dong. 1 i 22-23 ⲦⲈⲠⲚ̄ ⲔⲞⲨⲁ-ⲁⲨⲰ̄ "within their cave." The word is composed of ⲁⲨ- "interior" + -ⲁⲰ "in."

-ⲁⲠⲠⲀ (-ⲁⲐⲐⲀ) --- -ⲤⲚ̄ "for, since": K. 30.10-13 ⲈⲒⲚⲚ̄ⲄⲞⲨⲁ-ⲁⲠⲠⲀ --- ⲔⲞⲀⲀ ⲦⲢⲀ-ⲤⲚ̄ "for these are like ..." (For -ⲤⲚ̄ see below, s.v.)

-Ⲅⲁ̄(ⲁⲈ), -ⲁⲁ-Ⲅⲁ̄(ⲁⲈ) "(in)to": SC 9.14-15 ⲈⲢ-Ⲅⲁ̄ ⲀⲚⲔⲒⲦⲀⲔⲢⲀ "they are mentioned to us," 23.5-6 ⲠⲈⲤⲤⲚⲀ Ⲙ[Ⲓ]ⲦⲒ-Ⲅⲁ̄ⲀⲈ "he said to the serpent," L. 109.6-7 ⲔⲞⲤⲘⲞ[Ⲥ]-ⲁⲁ̄-ⲄⲒⲁ ⲀⲒ̈Ⲕ ⲈⲒⲦⲢⲈ̄ⲤⲒⲚ ⲔⲈⲀⲀⲰ "as you sent me into the world," SC 7.10-12

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24 Griffith printed ⲈⲒⲤⲤⲚⲀ2ⲁ, which the presence of -2ⲁ in the next example suggests is the correct reading. Originally, however, the scribe wrote ⲈⲒⲤⲤⲚⲀⲄⲀ "and then an 2-like character [was] drawn over the Ⲅ" (Griffith 1913, ad loc.), possibly intended as cancellation; if so, then ⲈⲒⲤⲤⲚⲀ[[Ⲅ]]Ⲁ, i.e. ⲈⲒⲤⲚⲀⲀ (for -ⲁ see 4.8), is preferable, as in my revision.

ЄΙΔΡΤΙΓΟΥΝΔ ΠΔΛΚΤ-ΛΔ-ΓⲜΛЄ-CⲚ CΔΛΚΔ ΠЄCΔ ΟΥΤⲢ ΔΟΛΛΙΡЄCⲚ "for into the sea of thoughts I wish to set forth an argument." For -(λ)ΔⲰ-ΓⲜΛЄ see under -(λ)ΔⲰ.

-(λ)ΔΛΛ "with": SC 10.12-13 ΠΔΠ-ⲜΔΛΛ ⲜΓΙΔЄΙΚΟ ЄΙΝⲚ "sitting with the Father."

-(λ)ΔЄ "and, but": usually balanced by following particles, in particular by -(λ)ΔЄΚЄΛ, which concludes a series of one or more preceding -(λ)ΔЄ's, and to which is attached the inflection relating the complex to the rest of the sentence: SC 6.5 ΠΔ-ΛΔЄ ΚΙCT-ⲜΔЄΚЄΛ-ΚΔ "summer and winter," M. 15.12-15 ΤΔΔ-ΔЄ ΤΔΝ ΟΓ6-ⲜΔЄ· ΤΔΝ CΔΔ-ΔЄ· ΤΔΝ ΜЄΔ6ΟΥΝΙΓΟΥ-ΛΔЄΚЄΚΚΔ ΠⲤΤΔΡΙCΝΔ "he baptized her, her husband, her son and her servant girls." Other balancing combinations include -ΔЄ (---) ΟΝ (cf. St. 17.10 ЄΛΔЄ ΟΝ --- "both now and..."), -ΔЄ --- -ΟΝ (SC 23.9-10), -ΔЄΝΔ᷎ ΟΝ --- -ΔЄΝΔΛ (SC 1.1-5 [3.6.4a]), -ΔЄΝΟΥ (ΟΝ) --- -ΔЄΝΟΥ (St. 28.4-6, ILT 2 i 23), -ΔЄΝΟΥ --- -ΔЄΝΔΛ (L. 101.4-5), -ΝΟΥ --- -ΔЄΝΔΛ (ILT 4 i 10-11 [3.6.4a]). For -ΔЄ introducing the second of two relative clauses see Browne 1988, III §19.e.

· -(λ)ΔⲰ "upon, for, over": SC 7.15 ΟΥЄⲢ-ⲜΔⲰ ⲜΚΔ "sitting upon a mountain," M. 15.12 ΤЄΔ-ΔⲰ CΙΛЄΛΔ "praying for them." Note also -(λ)ΔⲰ-ΓⲜΛЄ "to, upon": ILT 8 i 8 ΔΔC-ⲜΔⲰ-ΓⲜΛЄ "to the fountain."

-(λ)ΔΟΝ "(down) from": K. 20.6-8 2ΔΡΜ-ⲜΔΟΝ ЇЄΡΟΥCΔΛΗΜЄΙΔ 6ΔΝΚΔ ΚΟΥΜ-ΜⲚΝΔΛΟ "he has no share in Jerusalem from heaven."

-ЄΝΔЄ "not": usually reinforces a negative clause, e.g. L. 108.9-10 ΤЄΡΙⲜ ΟΥЄΛ-ЄΝΔ[Є]-Є[Ι]ΟΝ ΔΔΠΠΙΜЄΝΝΔΛⲰ "and on one amongst them perished." The combination -ЄΝΔЄ --- -ЄΝΔЄ is frequent: cf. SC 6.11-13 ΜΔⲱΔΝΝΔ ΚΔΚΚΔΝΝΙΚ-ЄΝΔЄ· ΔCCЄΚ-ЄΝΔЄ "... nor the rays of the sun nor water ..." See also ΜΔΓⲢΚΟΝ(ΝΟ)ЄΝΔЄ 3.11.

-ЄΝΚⲰ "but," characteristically placed at clause-end: cf. SC 3.18-20 ΤΔⲢ ЄΙΚΔ CΟ6ЄΛΓΟΥΛΚЄΤΔΛ· ΜΔΝⲚ ΓΔΤΤⲚΝⳘΚⲚΝΟ· ΜⲜΔΔΚΚЄΝΝΔ-ЄΝΚⲰ "but he also fills those who stand near with the good odor of that."

-ΚΔΛΟ, -ΛΟ-ΚΔΛΟ "after": L. 111.7-8 ΚΔΤΔΠЄΤΔCΜΔ ΟΥΟΥ-ΚΔΛῸ ΠΔΛΔ ΚΙΛ- "that which comes after veil two" (3.8.2), St. 13.14-14.1 ΠΔ6ЄCΙ-ΛΟ-ΚΔΛΟ- "after I have judged" (4.7.3b).

-ΚЄ "you" (plural), in the predicative copulative (3.9.16a), the vetitive (3.9.18), and after a plural predicative functioning as a vocative (3.6.4b): cf. St. 8.4-5 ΔΝ ЄCCΔЄΓΟΥЄ̄-ΚЄ "my brothers!"

-ΚЄΓΔΓΡⲜ "according to": L. 104.10-12 6ΔΥЄΝ [ΚЄ]ΓΔΓΡⲜ-ΔЄ --- CΔCΤⲚ ΚЄΓΔΓΡ[Ⲝ]-ЄΙΟΝ "according to the Gospel ..., but according to the election." Cf. also L. 106.3 [.]ЄΚЄΓΔ̄ⲜΛΔΚΔ "according to."

-ΚЄΛΛⲰ, -ΚЄΛΛΙΚΔ "as": see 4.7.2. (For the meaning "all" see 3.7.6c.)

-ΚЄΤΔΛ, with a preceding local postposition, can mean "from": L. 104.5-6 Κ[Ⳙ]ΜΔ CΙⲰΝΙ-Ⲝ[i.e. -ΛΔ: 2.5.6a]-ΚЄΤΔΛ "he comes from Sion," M. 12.4-5 ΤΔΝΝΔ ΤΔῩΟ-ΚЄΤΔΛ CΟΥΚΚΔ "coming out from under him." But most often it means "also," and with this meaning may have terminal -ΛЄ: M. 4.12-13 ЄⲔ-ΚЄΤΔΛ ΠⲤCЄCⲰ "Hello

to you too!," 14.11-12 ⲈⲦ̄ⲦⲬ̄-ⲔⲈⲦⲀⲖ-ⲖⲈ-ⲈⲒⲞⲚ ⲞⲞⲨⲚⲦⲞⲨⲤⲀ̀ "and the woman too, becoming pregnant ..."

-ⲔⲦ̄ⲔⲬ̄, -ⲖⲞ-ⲔⲦ̄ⲔⲬ̄(-ⲖⲈ)-ⲖⲞ "up to": ILT 9 ii 18 ⲈⲢⲄⲒⲞⲞⲚⲀ ⲤⲀⲢⲘⲒ-ⲔⲦ̄ⲤⲬ̄ "they have followed them up to heaven," SC 24.15-16 ⲞⲈⲖⲄⲞ[Ⲩ]ⲚⲀ ⲈⲖⲖⲈⲚ[Ⲅ]ⲞⲨ-ⲖⲰ-ⲔⲦ̄ⲔⲬ̄-ⲖⲰ "up to the ages of eternity."

- ⲔⲞⲚ "also, and": SC 14.6 ⲈⲚ̄ⲈⲪⲪⲒⲦ[Ⲁ]ⲔⲤⲚ̄-ⲔⲞⲚ "and if he suffered." It also appears with verbids periphrastic: see **3.9.13**.

- ⲔⲞⲚⲞ "after": in adverbs, e.g. M. 12.7 ⲦⲞⲨⲤ-ⲔⲞⲚⲞ "immediately" (lit. "after before"), and as a conjunction, as in M. 10.9 ⲔⲒⲈⲤ̄Ⲛ̄-ⲚⲞ-ⲔⲞⲚⲞ- "after it had come" **(4.7.3b)**.

-ⲖⲀ (occasionally -ⲖⲖⲀ) "(in)to, in, from": SC 4.18-19 ⲠⲀⲖⲔⲒⲦ-ⲖⲀ ⲔⲞⲨⲞⲞⲢⲀ ⲦⲞⲢⲀⲘⲤⲞ "let us leap into the sea," 5.2-3 ⲀⲒⲔⲒⲤ-ⲖⲀ ⲀⲞⲖⲖⲒⲞⲀⲢⲢⲀ̣ⲀⲔⲈ "you are going to gather from (ἐκ) the depth ...," 5.11-12 ⲈⲤⲠ̄Ⲧ̄-ⲖⲀ ⲀⲀⲖⲄⲞⲨⲔⲀ- "those who are in prodigality," 13.5 ⲀⲨⲈⲬ̄-ⲖⲀ Ⲭ̄ⲔⲒⲤⲚⲀ "he sat in a boat," ILT 10 A ii 18-19 ⲈⲒ[Ⲛ]Ⲓ̈ⲘⲈⲚ-ⲀⲈⲚⲄⲞⲨ-ⲖⲖⲀ "in the midst of those that will not be ..." See also under -Ⲅ Ⲗ̄(ⲖⲈ). For its similarity with -ⲖⲞ, see below, ftn. 25.

-ⲖⲈ: see under -Ⲅ Ⲗ̄(ⲖⲈ), -ⲔⲈⲦⲀⲖ, -ⲔⲦ̄ⲔⲬ̄ and -ⲞⲞⲨⲚ.

- ⲖⲎ copulative: see **3.9.16a**.

- ⲖⲞ (occasionally -ⲖⲖⲞ) "(in)to, in, from": L. 113.1-2 ⲂⲎⲐⲀⲖⲈⲘⲎ Ⲓ̈ⲞⲨⲀⲀⲒⲀⲚ̣-ⲚⲞ "in Bethlehem of Judaea," SC 10.20-21 ⲘⲀⲢⲒⲬ̄-ⲈⲒⲞ̄ **(2.5.6a)** ⲞⲨⲚⲚⲞ̣ⲨⲦⲀⲔⲀⲢⲈⲒⲚⲚ̄ "born from Mary," M. 12.14 ⲤⲞⲄ-ⲖⲞ ⲞⲞⲢⲀ "going to the house," L. 100.6-7 ⲤⲀⲖⲞⲨ-ⲭ̄ⲖⲞ ⲠⲒⲔⲔⲈⲚ "when he awoke from sleep," SC 12.12-13 ⲞⲨⲔⲞⲨⲚ ⲀⲞⲨⲢⲦⲀⲖ-ⲖⲰ "on each day" (καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν), 14.2 ⲦⲀⲨⲔ[Ⲁ] Ⲙⲱ̄ⲱⲀⲚ-ⲚⲞ "always." - ⲖⲞ is also a focus-marker or emphasizer: M. 1.5-6 ⲈⲦ̄ⲦⲞⲨ ⲞⲨⲈⲖ-ⲖⲞ "a woman" (emphasizing subject), L. 108.2 ⲔⲞⲤⲘⲞⲤⲖⲬ̄-ⲖⲞ "in the world," SC 11.4 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲔⲦ̄Ⲭ̄ⲀⲰ-ⲖⲞ "upon this rock," INT 1 i 7 ⲘⲈⲀⲞⲞⲨ-ⲖⲞ-ⲀⲰ "upon the servant," SC 14.13 Ⲭ̄ⲈⲤⲔⲦ̄-ⲖⲞ-ⲀⲀⲖ "in patience," 16.20 ⲠⲈⲤⲈⲚ-ⲚⲞ- "if he says," 12.13 ⲞⲤ̄Ⲁ ⲀⲈⲢⲢⲀ ⲘⲚ̄ⲚⲀ-ⲖⲰ "he does not compute," L. 105.2 ⲈⲦⲘⲈⲚⲔⲈⲢⲀ-ⲖⲰ "he does not receive." See also **4.1.1**.[25]

-ⲖⲞⲄⲞ, -ⲖⲞⲔⲞ (occasionally with preceding -Ⲗ) "through, by, in": L. 108.3-4 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲦⲀⲤⲤ-ⲖⲞ̄ⲔⲰ ⲦⲈⲔⲔⲀ ⲈⲒⲀⲪⲒⲞⲈⲤⲰ "keep them in your name," SC 7.18-19 ⲦⲞⲨⲔⲄⲞⲨⲚⲀ ⲈⲒⲞⲒⲢⲔⲀⲚⲈ-ⲖⲞⲔⲞ-ⲈⲒⲞⲚ ⲤⲞⲨⲢⲦⲀⲔⲀ "and disturbed by the violence of the winds," 19.17-18 ⲔⲞⲈⲢ̄-ⲢⲞⲔⲞ ⲀⲈⲤⲦ[Ⲓ]Ⲛ ⲀⲞⲨⲀⲀⲤⲈⲤⲚ̄ ⲔⲈⲖⲖⲰ "as transgression existed through the tree," St. 33.1-3 ⲈⲒⲘ[Ⲓ]Ⲧ-Ⲭ̄ⲖⲞⲔⲞ ⲦⲀⲔⲀⲚ ⲀⲢⲦⲀⲔⲞⲖ "quickly seized by inspiration."

- ⲖⲞⲄⲞⲈⲒⲬ̄ "than": see **3.4.4**.

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25 In terms of meaning -ⲖⲀ and -ⲖⲞ are quite similar, but -ⲖⲀ appears to be more specific and restricted in its use: only -ⲖⲞ is a focus-marker, and -ⲖⲞ is more commonly joined to abstract substantives than is -ⲖⲀ. But at times it is difficult to see any difference between the two postpositions: cf. e.g. ILT 10 A ii 18-19 Ⲁ ⲞⲨⲀ-ⲀⲈⲚⲄⲞⲨⲖⲖⲰ --- ⲈⲒ[Ⲛ]Ⲓ̈ⲘⲈⲚⲀⲈⲚⲄⲞⲨⲖⲖⲀ "amidst those that will be ..., amidst those that will not be ..."; some of the overlap may be due to the phonetic confusion that is at times found between Ⲁ and Ⲟ **(2.1.2)**.

-M(ⲁ) copulative: see **3.9.16**b for its use with a preceding indicative; it is also used with a preceding noun in the predicative case: SC 1.7-8 ΤΙΚⲁΝΕΓΟΥⲈ-Μⲁ "are you sheep?" (see further SC 1.8n).

-ΜⲁⲗΟ "according to, following," with preceding -ⲗΟ: SC 10.18-19 ⲈⲚΝΟ-ΜⲁⲗΟ "according to this" (see SC ad loc.).

-ΜΗ copulative, with a preceding noun or pronoun in the predicative: L. 105.6 ⲁΝ ΤΟΤⲁ-ΜΗ ⲈΙΡ- "you are my son" (cf. **3.6.5**e ftn. 8); it is also used with pronominal subjects (L. 105.8-9 ⲈΙⲁΜΗ --- "you are ..."), imperative formations (**3.9.17**) and the vetitive (**3.9.18**).

-ΜΟΝ "and, also": SC 9.11 ⲈⲚ-ΜΟΝ ⲈⲚΝⲁ --- "and this is ...," 23.13 ⲈⲚ ΟΓⲜⲁⲈ ⲈⲚ ΤΟΥⲭⲁⲈΚⲈⲗⲗΟ-ΜΟΝ "on your chest and also on your belly."

-ΝΟΝ "as, like," with preceding genitive: L. 105.3-4 ⲀΡⲰΝΝⲁ-ΝΟΝ "like Aaron."

-ΟΝ "and, but," -ⲈΙΟΝ after a vowel, -ⲗΟΝ after non-radical ⲗ, -ΝΟΝ after Ν: SC 7.13 CⲁⲗΚ-ΟΝ ⲈΙΜΤΤΡⲈΤⲁⲗⲰ "and demonstrating the argument," 4.17 ⲈΚΚⲈΤⲁⲗⲗⲈ-ⲈΙΟΝ "and now also," 21.7 ΤⲜⲗ-Ⲝ-ⲗΟΝ "and God," L. 107.1 Ⲉⲗ-ΟΝ "and now," SC 17.19-20 ΤΟΤⲁ ⲈΝⲈΝ-ΝΟΝ "and if he is the Son." At times -ΟΝ is found instead of its allomorphs: ILT 4 i 5 ⲒⲎCΟΥCΙ-ΟΝ "and Jesus" (but 21 ⲒⲎCΟΥCΙ-ⲈΙΟΝ; cf. **3.3.6**), 12-13 ⲀΡΙΡⲁ Μⲱ-ⲱⲁΝⲁ(ⲁ)CⲚ· ⲁⲒⲀΓⲜⲗⲈ ΠⲤΤⲈΥⲗ-ΟΝ "and everyone living who believes in me" (note the postponement of -ΟΝ, by no means unusual [cf. e.g. M. 9.13 and K. 21.7]; with ΠⲤΤⲈΥⲗ-ΟΝ cf. SC 17.8 ΠⲈCⲜ-ⲗΟΝ "and speaking"), K. 25.14 ΜⲈΝⲈΝ-ΟΝ "and if not" (but SC 2.8 ΜⲈΝⲈΝ-ΝΟΝ; see **3.11**). A reduced form -Ν appears to occur in SC 6.15-16 (bis) ⲈⲗΗ-Ν "and today," and perhaps in K. 26.11 -ⲗΟΓΟⲈΙⲁΝ (see **3.4.4**). For -ⲁⲈ --- -ΟΝ see under -ⲁⲈ, and for non-enclitic ΟΝ see **3.11**. Occasionally we find apparently pleonastic ΟΝ --- -ΟΝ (e.g. St. 8.10-9.1) and -ΟΝ --- -ΟΝ (36.5-7). There are also instances of -ΟΝ introducing a conditional/temporal apodosis: e.g. M. 3.5, 10.10; K. 21.12; St. 11.7.

-(ⲗ)ΟΡⲰ "before, from, with" (optionally with preceding -ⲗΟ): SC 10.11 ΠΙ-ⲗⲁΤΟCΙ-ΟΡⲰ CΟΡϬⲁΡⲈΙΝⲚ "standing before Pilate," K. 21.13-15 ⲈΤⲁΝΝⲁ ΤⲁΝ ⲀΓΓⲈⲗΟC ⲤⲦⲤ-Ι-ⲗΟΡΟ (for the juncture vowel see **2.10**) "he will receive it from his holy angel," L. 107.2 ⲈΙΡ-Ιⲱ-[**2.5.6**b]-ΟΡⲰ "with you" (παρὰ σεαυτῷ).

-ΠⲁΥ(ΟΥ) "when, until": St. 13.6-11 ΚΙⲈΝ Πⲁ̄ΥΟΥ --- ⲤΟΥⲈⲜ ⲀΟΥⲀⲚΝⲀ·ΚΟC-ΜΟCΚⲁ ΠⲈⲱⲱⲁ ΠⲁϬⲈΡΙ Πⲁ̄ΟΥ "when he comes, he will rest ... until I cease judging the world." It is also found in the directive (**3.6.3**): M. 16.10-11 ΤⲈΝ ⲀΙⲈΝ Πⲁ̄ΥΚⲁ "until their death," L. 103.4-5 ϬΙΜΜⲜΓΟ[Υ]Νⲁ ⲀΥΤⲁΚⲈΡⲁΝ Πⲁ̄ΥΟΥΚⲁ "until all are done" (for the construction see **4.7.3**).

-CΙ causal particle, which may render γάρ: M. 13.8-11 Ⲉ ⲈΤΤⲁ ⲤⲁΚ ΟΥΝΝⲁΡΡⲁ-CΙ ΤⲁΝ ΤⲁⲤⲤΚⲁ ΜΗΝⲁⲜ ΟΚⲈCⲰ "O woman (for you will bear a son), call his name Mena," which probably reflects parenthetical γάρ in the Vorlage (*Τέξῃ γὰρ υἱόν).

-CⲚ emphatic and causal particle, often repeated in the same clause: SC 5.12-13 ⲈCΠΤΤⲁⲗ ⲀⲗⲁΓΟΥΚⲁ-CⲚ ΚΟΥΤⲚⲚⲈΓΟΥⲈΜⲁ ΟΚΙϬⲁΡⲁ-CⲚ "for he called pigs those who are in prodigality," L. 108.2-3 ⲀⲒΟΝ [ⲈΙ]ⲀΓⲜⲗⲈ-CⲚ ΚΙΡⲈ-CⲚ "I am coming to you."

It often translates Greek γάρ, as in the first of the passages here quoted, and it also appears in Nubian equivalents of relative clauses: see **4.6e**. See also under - ⲁ ⲡ ⲡ ⲁ and below, **4.1.1**; for - Cⲛ̄ with predicatives see **3.6.4a**.

- C ⲱ emphatic particle, usually associated with imperatives and vetitives: see **3.9.17** and **3.9.18**. At times it emphasizes indicatives: L. 109.1 Cⲉⲛⲓⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉ-Cⲱ "I do not ask," 9 ⲇ̄Cⲥⲁ̄ⲅⲣ̄ⲉ̄-Cⲱ "I hallow."

- Tⲁ Yⲕⲁⲟ̄ "when" (literally "at the time"), temporal-clause marker: see **4.7.3a** and **b**.

- Tⲁ Yⲟ̄ "under," with preceding genitive, - ⲗⲟ or - ⲗ: L. 112.9 Tⲉⲇⲛ̄ Tⲁ Yⲱ̄ ⲇ ⲇ ⲅⲟ Yⲕ[ⲁ "those who are under the law," St. 13.7-9 C̄Tⲁ YⲣⲟCⲛ̄ Cⲟ Yⲣ-ⲣⲱ Tⲁ Yⲱ̄-ⲗⲟ (emphatic) ⲇⲟ Yⲉ̄ "resting under the cross," SC 8.8 ⲁ[ⲣⲉ]ⲅⲅⲉ ⲗ Tⲁ Yⲟ̄ Tⲟⲇ̄ⲣ ⲁ ⲛ "entering under the waves." In St. 12.7-8 the rectum is suppressed: Tⲁ Yⲱ̄-ⲗⲟ ⲇⲟⲛⲋ̄ "standing under it."

-Tⲋⲟ "with, from," with preceding - ⲗⲟ: K. 31.10-11 ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲟ C-ⲓ-ⲗⲟ-Tⲋⲟ Tⲁ ⲛ ⲋ ⲁ ⲛ- ⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲟ "and with the priest his share is this," St. 7.10-11 ⲉⲓⲣ-ⲓⲱ̄[2.5.6b]-Tⲋ ⲱ ⲟ Yⲗ- ⲅ̄ⲣⲁ "hearing from you."

- Tⲟ Yⲥ(ⲟ Y) temporal adverb "before" (see **3.12c**); with - ⲗⲁ or - ⲗⲟ it governs nouns: L. 107.2-3 ⲇⲟ ⲕⲟ Y ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥⲁ̄ Tⲟ Yⲥⲟ Y ⲉⲓⲣ-ⲓ̄ⲟ̄Tⲋ̄ⲱ̄ ⲇⲟ Yⲛ ⲕⲟ Yⲥⲥⲓⲕⲁ̄ "the glory which I had when I was with you before the world," 110.10-11 ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ-ⲓⲛ ⲟ Yⲕⲟ Yⲣ-Tⲗⲟ̄ Tⲟ Yⲥⲟ Y ⲁ ⲓ̈ ⲕ ⲟ ⲛ[ⲓ[ⲥⲛ̄ⲁ̄ⲥ]ⲓ ⲛ̣ "because you loved me before the foundation of the world."

- ⲋ ⲱ ⲁ̄ "through, by, because of, in," often preceded and followed by - ⲗ ⲟ: St. 30.9-11 Tⲧⲧ̄ⲗ̄ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲗ ⲇ ⲉ ⲕ ⲉ ⲗ-ⲋ ⲱ ⲁ̄ "by the grace and the philanthropy ...," L. 105.2-3 Tⲝ̄ⲗ-ⲗ ⲱ-ⲋ ⲱ ⲁ̄ ⲟⲕ Tⲁ ⲕⲟ ⲭ "called by God," St. 10.2-3 ⲉ ⲛ̄-ⲛⲟ-ⲋ ⲱ ⲁ̄-ⲗⲟ "because of this," INT 2 i 27 Tⲁ ⲁ ⲓⲟ ⲋ ⲱ ⲁ "in it" (ἐν αὐτῇ). It may also be used with a preceding subjunctive (cf. **4.7.4b**): SC 17.12-13 ⲕⲓ Tⲉ ⲥ ⲛ̄-ⲛⲟ-ⲋ ⲱ ⲁ̄-ⲗ ⲱ "because he put on ..." Literally, ⲋ ⲱ ⲁ̄ is the adjunctive of ⲋⲟⲣ- "to go" (**2.5.6a**), just as ⲋ ⲱ ⲟ ⲗ (see the next entry) is the preterite I verbid (see Browne 1982a, 12-13); cf. also L. 113.3, where - ⲗⲟ Tⲁ ⲣⲁ, literally "coming from," renders Greek ἀπό.

- ⲋ ⲱ ⲟ ⲗ "from," with preceding - ⲗⲟ: L. 107.4-5 ⲉ ⲛ̄ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ-ⲗⲟ̄ ⲋⲟⲟ ⲗ ⲁ ⲓ̈ ⲕ ⲁ ⲇ ⲉ ⲛ-ⲋⲓⲥⲓ ⲛ ⲅⲟ Yⲗ "those whom you gave to me from the world" (see preceding entry).

From ⲋⲟ Yⲣ- "cause" arise two common postpositions:

- ⲋⲟ Yⲛ "because of, by, from," with preceding -ⲗ ⲉ or - ⲗⲟ: SC 10.15-16 ⲁ ⲅ- ⲅⲉ ⲗⲟⲥ ⲅⲟ Y-ⲗⲟ-ⲋⲟ Yⲛ. ⲇⲟ Yⲕ Tⲁ ⲕⲛ̄ "worshipped by the angels," 23.11 ⲙⲛ̄-ⲛⲟ-ⲋⲟ Yⲛ "because of what?" (sim. 18.24-25 ⲙⲛ̄-ⲛⲉ-ⲋⲟ Yⲛ-). For its use with a preceding verbid or subjunctive see **4.7.4**. Etymologically, the word comes from ⲋⲟ Yⲣ-ⲛ̄, a form still preserved in ILT 7 ii 3 ⲟ]Yⲛ ⲋⲟ Yⲣⲛ̄ "because of you."

- ⲋⲟ Yⲣ-ⲓ̄ "because of, concerning," with preceding genitive: SC 14.9-10 ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ ⲕ ⲁ Yⲉⲓ ⲅⲟ Yⲛ ⲋⲟ Yⲣ-ⲓ̄- "because of mankind." Sim. -ⲋⲟ Yⲣⲓ ⲕⲁ (e.g. St. 4.5).

3.11 Conjunctions (non-postpositive); consult Indices for full coverage.

ⲘⲀⲅⲠⲔⲞⲚ(ⲚⲞ)ⲈⲚⲆⲈ, ⲘⲀⲅⲢⲈⲚⲚⲞⲚ, ⲘⲀⲅⲢⲈⲚⲈⲚⲆⲈ "but": SC 14.3-4 ⲘⲀⲅⲠⲔⲞⲚⲚⲞⲈⲚ-ⲆⲈ --- ⲠⲈⲤⲢⲈ "but (ἀλλά) I speak ..."

ⲘⲈⲚⲈⲚ(Ⲛ)ⲞⲚ "or": SC 2.7-9 ⲦⲒ[ⲔⲀⲚⲈⲅ]ⲞⲨⲈ̄ⲘⲀ Ⲥ[Ⲉ]Ⲛⲁ· ⲘⲈⲚⲈⲚⲚⲞⲚ ⲔⲞⲢ[ⲞⲤⲈ]ⲅⲞⲨⲈ̄Ⲙ[Ⲁ "is it that you are sheep or shepherds?," ILT 7 i 2-3 ⲘⲈⲚⲈⲚⲚⲞ[Ⲛ ⲞⲨⲢ]ⲞⲨ ⲀⲨⲢⲞⲨⲦⲞⲨ-ⲅⲞⲨⲅⲬ̄ⲀⲈⲈⲒⲞⲚ· ⲆⲞⲨⲬ̄ ⲔⲢⲞ̄Ⲛ[Ⲁ "or has it reached you alone?" Note also WN 13-14 ⲤⲀⲀⲀ· ⲘⲈⲚⲈⲚ ⲦⲈⲈⲒⲬ̄· ⲘⲈⲚⲈⲚ "either in word or in deed."

ⲞⲚ "and": M. 17.1 ⲦⲀⲚⲚⲀⲤⲚ̄ ⲦⲞⲔⲬ̄ ⲞⲚ̄ ⲦⲞⲈⲔⲬ̄ "whose is the glory and the power," St. 3.5-8 ⲦⲞⲚⳓⲒⲚ: ⲞⲚ ⲞⲨ Ⲭ̄ⲠⲞⲤⲦⲞⲀⲞⲤⲅⲞⲨⲀ --- ⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲢⲞⲨ "as he stood, and we apostles assembled ..." For -ⲆⲈ ⲞⲚ and for enclitic -ⲞⲚ see **3.10**.

ⲦⲔ̄Ⲕ̄Ⲛ(ⲚⲞ) "however, moreover": ILT 5 i 16-17 ⲦⲔ̄Ⲕ̄Ⲛ ⲦⲈⲀⲆⲈⲒⲞⲚ· ⲔⲒⲘⲈⲚⲚⲀⲀⲰ "but nevertheless (Gr. οὐ μέντοι) he did not enter the tomb." [26]

3.12 Adverbs and their equivalents.

a) Formations in -ⲀⲚ appear to be true adverbs: e.g. L. 101.10 ⲦⲀⲦⲀⲚ- "in vain," St. 33.2-3 ⲦⲀⲔⲀⲚ "quickly," ILT 4 i 18 ⲆⲈⲔⲔⲀⲚ "secretly."

b) Replacements for adverbs include: pret. I verbids in -ⲀⲀ (**3.9.6** and **4.7.3c**), e.g. K. 22.2 ⲔⲞⲨⲢⲀⲀ "joyfully"; 3rd pers. pl. pres. subjunctives, e.g. K.22.12 ⲔⲞⲨⲢⲢⲀⲚ-ⲀⲞ "joyfully"; postpositional phrases, e.g. ILT 4 i 25 ⲞⲨⲀⲢⲒⲦⲬ̄Ⲟ̄ "quickly" (lit. "in quickness"), M. 12.7 ⲦⲞⲨⳓⲔⲞⲚⲞ "immediately" (lit. "after before"); note also L. 112.1 ⲘⲒⲚⲀⲒ ⲘⲚ̄ⲀⲒⲀⲞ "individually" (κατὰ μέρος), where reiteration seems to effect a distributive sense.[27] Here also should be mentioned phrases without a postposition, e.g. K. 23.11-12 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲔⲈⲦⲀ ⲘⲀⲀⲀⲈ- "in all this way."

c) Temporal adverbs include: SC 5.17 Ⲉ̄ⲀⲎ "today," 8.16 ⲦⲞⲨⲤⲞⲨ "before" (ⲦⲞⲨⲤⲞⲨ ⲠⲈⲤⲈⲤⲒ ⲔⲈⲀⲀⲰ "as I said before"), ILT 4 i 23 Ⲉ̄ⲅⲈⲀ "still" (ἔτι; sim. L. 102.1). Note also gr. 2.5 ⲦⲀⲨⲔⲞⲨ ⳓⲘ̄ⲘⲒⲀ "always" (versus SC 14.2 ⲦⲀⲨⲔ[Ⲁ] Ⲙⲱ̄ϣⲰⲀⲚⲚⲞ "always") as well as ⲈⲀⲀⲈ- "time," e.g. in K. 19.15-16 ⲈⲀⲀⲈ ⲔⲒⲀⲞ (= ⲔⲒⲀ-ⲀⲞ) "in the time that comes" i.e. "hereafter" (reduced to Ⲉ̄ⲈⲈⲔ̄ in SC 9.14); ⲈⲀⲀⲈ functions adverbially in K. 28.3, where it means "forever," and reinforces a future tense in e.g. SC 5.16-17 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲈⲀⲀⲈ Ⲉ̄ⲀⲎ ⲞⲨⲔ ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲢⲀ ⲦⲒⳓⳓⲀⲢⲢⲒⲔⲀ "that which I am going to set before you today" (cf. **4.6.b**).

3.13 Interjections: Ⲉ̄ is usually found with vocatives: e.g. M. 8.13 Ⲉ̄ ⲦⲞⲦⲀ "O son," ILT 10 A ii 12-13 Ⲉ̄ ⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨⲬ̄ ⲞⲚⲚⲞⲢⲒⲞⲤⲒ "O king Honorius" (see **3.6.4b**). In M. 9.6 we find Ⲉ̄ Ⲭ̄ⲀⲈⲀⲰ "in truth!" Note also Ⲭ̄ⲀⲞ "yes," which translates ναί in ILT 9 ii 15, probably related to Ⲭ̄ⲀⲈ- "truth": cf. especially Ⲭ̄ⲀⲈⲀⲰ in the Menas passage just cited and also

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[26] Note the postponement in St. 12.12.-13.3 ⲦⲀⲚ Ⲟ̄ⲢⲰⳓⲈⲚ ϣⲞⲔⲔⲀ ⲠⲀⲈⲒⲬ̄ ⲔⲦⲤⲈⲀⲀ ⲦⳓⳓⲀⲢⲈⲚⲔⲀⲚ· ⲦⲔ̄Ⲕ̄ⲚⲚⲞ "moreover, if, writing a book of its praise, he has given it to the church." Here the Coptic has Ⲛ̄ⲌⲞⲨⲞ ⲆⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲚⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲀⲨⲤⳓⲀⲒ̈ Ⲙ̄ⲠⲬⲰⲰⲘⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲈⲠⲀⲒⲚⲞⲤ Ⲙ̄ⲠⲈⲤⲦⲀⲨⲢⲞⲤ ‹--->, and ⲦⲔ̄Ⲕ̄ⲚⲚⲞ corresponds to Ⲛ̄ⲌⲞⲨⲞ ⲆⲈ; its postponement is no more extreme than that of -ⲈⲚⲔⲰ (see **3.10**); the punctuation before ⲦⲔ̄Ⲕ̄ⲚⲚⲞ appears here to have no clause-dividing function: cf. St. 14.8, 18.11, 29.1.

[27] The text, however, may be corrupt (i.e. ⲘⲒⲚⲀⲒ{ⲘⲚ̄ⲀⲒ}ⲀⲞ), like ⲔⲒⲤⲔⲒⲀⲀⲰ{Ⲕ̄ⲤⲔ̄Ⲭ̄ⲀⲰ} in 103.2.

Ⲁ̅ⲗⲉⲥⲛ̅ throughout the corpus (e.g. M. 3.1). For ⲉⲓⲱ̅ and ⲡⲁⲡⲟ see **3.6.4b**. Here should likewise be mentioned ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁ̅-ⲗⲟ (ϫⲉⲓⲁ̅-ⲗⲟ) "woe!," with -ⲗⲱ: e.g. INT 4 i 10-11 ⲟⲩⲉⲓ-ⲗⲗⲟ ⲧⲉⲁⲗⲟ "woe to them!" Greek ἰδού "behold" is rendered by ⲉⲓⲍⲓ (e.g. INT 4 ii 9) and by ⲉⲓⲥⲥⲛ̅ (e.g. INT 2 i 19).

4 SYNTAX

4.1 The simple sentence in Old Nubian may be classified in terms of its predicate as nominal or verbal or (if the two instances are correctly restored) adverbial. In all cases, the subject is a noun or its equivalent, marked regularly by - ⲁ (**3.6.1**a, b).

4.1.1 The nominal sentence has a noun or equivalent as predicate, marked regularly by - ⲁ (**3.6.4**a, d). The normal order is S(ubject) P(redicate), though PS is also found: e.g. SC 12.10-11 Tⲭ̄ⲗⲭ̄ ⲭⲘⲦ̄ⲕ̇ⲁ̇ⲁⲁ· ⲭⲗⲉⲕⲁⲧⲧⲁ[·] ⲧⲱⲉⲕⲕⲁⲧⲧⲁ· ⲭⲉⲥⲕⲁⲧⲧⲁ "God is a judge, truthful, powerful, patient" (for the congruence see **3.6.6**b), 24.14 Tⲁ̇ⲛⲛⲁ-Cⲛ̄ ⲤⲟⲔⲭ̄ "his is the glory" (here the substantival predicate is suppressed). In the second example, the predicate is reinforced by - Cⲛ̄; similar reinforcement is also common with - ⲗⲟ (e.g. St. 18.12-19.3 ⲥ̄ⲧⲁ̇ⲩⲣⲟⲥ̄ⲭ̄ Ⲭ̇ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟ[ⲥ]ⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲛⲁ Tⲉⲉⲅ[Ⲧ]ⲁ-ⲗⲟ "the cross is the hope of the Christians"), - Ⲙ(ⲁ) (SC 2.14 Ⲡⲉⲥⲁ Ⲧⲓ661ⲁⲉ [= Ⲧⲓ661ⲁ-ⲁⲉ: **2.5.6**a] ⲁⲛⲛⲁ-Ⲙ "to speak is mine" [i.e. my task]) and - ⲘⲎ (L. 105.6 ⲁⲛ ⲧⲟⲧⲁ-ⲘⲎ ⲉⲓⲣ̇- "you are my Son"). If the subject is obvious from the context, it may be suppressed: e.g. SC 1.7-8 Ⲧⲓⲕⲁⲛⲉⲅⲟⲩⲉ̄-Ⲙⲁ "are you sheep?," L. 104.11 ⲟⲩⲕⲕⲁⲉ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̄-ⲗⲱ "they are enemies."

4.1.2 The verbal sentence has as its predicate either the indicative or the predicative. The order is usually SP, though PS is attested. Herewith some examples of the indicative and the predicative, arranged according to the various tenses (**3.9.6** and **3.9.7**):

a) Present

Indicative: SC 7.2-3 Ⲙ]ⲓ6ⲓⲣⲕ̄ⲭ̄ ⲁⲓⲁⲣⲕⲁ[ⲗ]ⲟ Ⲥⲉⲕⲛⲁ- "disobedience produces death."

Predicative: ILT 4 i 19 ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲕⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ Ⲕⲣ̄ ⲉⲕ ⲟ̄ⲕⲣ̄ⲭ̄ "the teacher, coming, calls you" (- ⲗⲱ: **3.10** [emphatic], Ⲕⲣ̄ = Ⲕⲓⲣⲁ, adjunctive: **3.9.19**).

b) Preterite I (see **3.9.7**a)

Indicative: SC 17.23 Cⲁ[ⲗⲗⲟⲛ] Tⲭ̄ⲭ̄ⲓⲭⲭⲗⲟ [ⲁ]ⲟⲩⲟ̄ⲛⲁ "and the Word was to God."

Predicative: SC 17.22-23 6ⲟⲩⲛ̣6ⲟⲩⲣⲧⲗⲟ Ⲥ̣ⲁ̇ⲗⲗⲱ ⲁⲟⲩⲭ̄ⲣⲁ "in the beginning was the Word" (- ⲗⲱ emphatic).

c) Preterite II (see **3.9.7**a)

Indicative: M. 5.4-5 ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲭ̄ⲗⲟⲛ Ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ "and the woman said."

Predicative: replaced by pret. I, e.g. M. 4.16 ⲭ̄Ⲡⲟⲅⲅ̄ⲭ̄ Ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣ̄ⲭ̄ "the skipper said."

d) Future (**3.9.7**b)

Indicative: SC 23.2-3 ⲉⲛ̄ Ⲅ̄̄Ⲡ̄ⲣⲧⲁⲛⲛⲭ̄ⲭ̄ⲗⲟⲛ [ⲟⲅ̄6]ⲓⲅⲭ̄ⲭⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲟⲩⲭ̄ⲭⲁⲛⲁ "and your turning will be toward the man."

Predicative: SC 23.4 Tⲁⲣⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲭ̄ⲗⲟ Ⲥⲟⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁⲣⲣⲁ "and he will become lord over you" (- Ⲕⲁⲛ- = - Ⲕⲁⲛⲛ- [cf. K. 32.8-10]; hence - ⲁⲣⲣⲁ instead of - ⲁⲣⲁ).

e) Inversion of subject and predicate: e.g. L. 104.5-6 K[Ⲙ̄]ⲘⲀ ⲤⲒⲰ̄ⲚⲒⲀ̄ⲔⲈⲦⲀⲖ ⲀⲨ-ⲖⲈⲖ "there comes from Sion the one who saves," ILT 5 ii 10-11 ⲈⲒⲦⲢ̄ⲦⲀⲔⲀⲢⲀ ⲦⲀⲔ ⲈⲒ-ⲦⲢⲞⲖⲖⲞⲅⲰⲈⲒⲀ̄ ⲀⲀⲨⲈⲀ̄ⲈⲚⲀⲈ "nor was there sent one greater than the one who sent him."

f) When the subject is a generic plural, the indicative may be in the singular: e.g. St. 12.3-8 ⲞⲘ̄ⲘⲀ̄Ⲅ̄ⲞⲨⲈⲤⲚ̄ ⲦⲈⲚ ⲀⲈⲀ̄ ⲞⲨⲀⲦⲦⲞⲖⲞ ⲤⲦⲀⲨⲢⲞⲨⲤⲖⲀⲅⲀ̄ⲖⲈ ⲠⲒⲤⲦⲈⲨⲞⲖ-Ⲅ̄ⲞⲨⲖⲖⲞⲚ ⲦⲀⲨⲰ̄ⲖⲞ ⲄⲞⲚⲞ̄ ⲀⲞⲨⲀⲚ̄ⲚⲀ "and all who have believed in the cross with their whole hearts will stand under it" (see Browne 1980a, IV).

4.1.3 If the passages are correctly restored, we have two cases of an adverbial predicate (viz. a postpositional phrase): SC 3.9-10 Ⲉ]Ⲛ̄ ⲦⲢⲒⲦ[ⲖⲞ] ⲤⲈⲨⲀⲢⲦⲞⲨⲔⲞⲚⲔⲚ̄ ⲘⲀⲔ[ⲱ]ⲈⲖ "thus is the table of spirituality" (cf. L. 100.13) and ILT 5 ii 32-33 ⲦⲀ̄ⲖⲀ̄ⲞⲨ [ⲦⲰⲔ]Ⲛ̄-ⲚⲀⲨⲈⲚⲀ̄· ⲞⲨ[Ⲁ]Ⲁ[ⲖⲀ "the God of peace is with you."

4.2 Interrogative sentences: see the examples cited in **3.7.5** and **3.9.21**.

4.3 Complex sentences. Postpositional as well as prepositional conjunctions are employed to form coordinated sentences: see **3.10** s.vv. -ⲀⲠⲠⲀ, -ⲀⲈ, -ⲈⲚⲀⲈ, -ⲈⲚⲔⲰ, -ⲔⲞⲚ, -ⲘⲞⲚ, -ⲞⲚ, -ⲤⲚ̄, and **3.11**.

4.4 Compound sentences. The verb of subordinate clauses in Old Nubian is either the verbid (**3.9.6** ftn. 12) or the subjunctive. Both are verbal nouns; the subjunctive overtly expresses person and number, the verbid does not. For the morphology see **3.9.6-3.9.9**. The subject of the verbid is in the genitive, usually -Ⲛ̄Ⲁ; -Ⲛ̄ is less common: see **3.6.2**a and **3.7.1**a; however, if the subject of the verbid is the same as that of the main clause or can be readily supplied from context, it is omitted: cf. M. 11.3-4 cited in **4.6**d and 12.16-13.2 in **4.7.3**c. With the subjunctive, the subject may be in the genitive or in the subjective, depending on the syntagma: e.g. with -ⲔⲈⲖⲖⲰ the subject is in the genitive (see **4.7.2**b), with -ⲔⲞⲚⲞ it is in the subjective (see **3.10** s.v.).[28]

Regarding the tenses of the verbid and the subjunctive: note that, in general, the present denotes time contemporaneous with that of the main verb, the preterite time anterior, and the future time posterior (see e.g. the examples cited in **4.7.2**b and **4.7.3**c).

In embedding verbid and subjunctive clauses in sentences, Old Nubian employs various converters (mainly postpositions) which we may group as substantival, adjectival and adverbial. The substantival converters allow the verbid or sub-

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28   At times the choice between subjunctive and verbid is determined by whether the subject of the clause is also that of the main sentence (if it is, then the verbid is used; if it is not, then the subjunctive: see e.g. the examples cited in **4.7.3**a and b); but at times the two forms seem to be interchangeable (e.g. the passages in **4.7.2**a and b as well as ILT 5 ii 7-8 cited in **4.7.7**b).

junctive clause to function as a substantive (see **4.5**), the adjectival give it attributive status (**4.6**), and the adverbial permit it to modify the main verb of the sentence (**4.7**).

4.5 Substantival converters. Here there are two subdivisions; in the first the verbid or subjunctive is converted into the subject of a sentence, in the second into its predicate.

4.5.1 Subject conversion is achieved through addition of the subjective - ⲗ (**3.6.1**) to the verbid or subjunctive:

a) Verbid + - ⲗ: e.g. WN 15-16 ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲓⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥⲓⲗ - "and the birth of King George" (literally "the to-have-been-begotten of King George"), as subject of the sentence (- ⲥⲓⲗ = - ⲥⲓⲗ - ⲗ: **2.7**).

b) Subjunctive + - ⲗ: this results in a cleft sentence, e.g. L. 106.4-5 ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ ⲟⲩ[ⲇ]ⲅⲓⲗⲗⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲑⲉⲣ̄ "it is these things that I say to you."[29] Sometimes - ⲗ is omitted, and the subjunctive alone serves as the marker of the subject of the cleft sentence: e.g. ILT 9 i 11-14 ⲥ̄ⲡ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲯ̄ⲯⲁⲛⲅⲟⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲕ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧⲧⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲕ̄ⲛ ⲟⲣⲡ̄ⲁⲟⲕⲟ ⲁⲓ-ⲥⲁⲣⲕⲓⲕⲉⲥⲁⲛ "and it is through the wine of the fornication of her wrath that all the nations have fallen" (lit. "and the fact that all the nations have fallen [is] through the wine ..."); see further Browne 1988, III §§20-23.

4.5.2 Predicate conversion is effected through fusing the predicative marker - ⲁ (**3.6.4**) to the verbid or subjunctive; this results in the predicative and the indicative, respectively (**3.9.6**). With this conversion, the subject is marked with the subjective marker - ⲗ (**3.6.1**).

4.6 Adjectival conversion results in the creation of structures that function as relative clauses (for details see Browne 1988, III). The following arrangements are attested (of which the first is the most common):

a) Order: Ref(erent [i.e. antecedent]) (± ⲉⲓⲛ -) + Verbid/Subj(unctive) + Infl(ection). E.g.

Verbid: L. 113.5-6 ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟⲗ (- ⲗ = - ⲗ - ⲗ: **2.7**) "the king of the Jews who has been born" (as subject of sentence), St. 27.8-10 ⲧ̄ⲗ̄ - ⲗⲁⲥ̄ⲛ ⲅⲁⲇⲁⲟ ⲧⲁⲇⲇⲱ ⲟⲗⲗⲟⲗⲗⲟⲑⲱⲗ̄ "because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh" (see **3.6.4a**, **3.6.5f**), M. 1.1-3 ⲥⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣⲁ --- ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗⲱ "it is a miracle which Mena did" (lit. "it is a miracle, Mena's [being] the to-have-done [it]"; for the

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[29] ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲑⲉⲣ̄ "what I say" is the logical subject, ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ (= ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁ: **2.8**, **3.7.4**) "these things" the logical predicate. In discussing a similar pattern in Amharic, H. J. Polotsky writes: "In the Cleft Sentence the accusative will ... be treated exactly like a prepositional phrase, i.e. as an adverb, requiring a substantival A[usgang: i.e. subject]"—1983, 305; note also the sentence that Polotsky quotes on 306: *läkka əswa-n* (accusative) *norwall-ənna yämmiləkäw* "so it is her that he was sending!"

use of - ⲁ see **3.6.6**b). The referent need not be formally expressed: e.g. K. 22.11-12 ⲁⲨⲞⲨ�ⲞⲨⲔⲁ "the things that you do" (= ⲁⲨⲞⲨ-ⳝ-Iⲁ-Ⲕⲁ: **2.1.2**, **2.5.6**a; the subject of the clause = that of the sentence), 30.6 ⲠⲈⲤⲬ̄- "the one who speaks" (as subject of sentence).[30]

Subjunctive: St. 5.4-6 ⳘⲨⲤⲦⲎⲢⲞⲨ ⲈⲔ̄Ⲕⲁ ⲈⲦⲒⲁⲢⲞⲨⲔⲁ "the mystery of which we ask you" (as object of sentence), L. 111.8-9 ⳟⲁⲨⲈⲒⲢ-ⲁ --- ⲞⲔⲦⲁⲔⲚ-ⲭ̄ "... is a tent that is called ..." (**3.6.6**b).

Note that such relative clauses may be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun ⲈⲒⲚ- "this" (**3.7.4**). The pronoun here indicates that the clause is either individually definite or typically general: e.g. M. 12.2-3 ⲔⲞⲨⳘⲠⲞⲨ ⲈⲚ̄ ⲦⲁⲚ̇Ⲛⲁ ⲔⲠ̄Ⲥⲭ̄ (= ⲔⲠ̄Ⲥⲭ̄-ⲗ, as subject of sentence: **2.7**) "the egg, viz. the one that he ate," L. 107.14-15 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲁⲓⲔⲁ ⲁⲈⲚ6ⲒⲤⲒⲚⳝⲞⲨⲚ 6[ⲞⲨⲢⲒⲭ̄- "concerning those you have given to me." As an extension of the generalizing use of ⲈⲒⲚ-, we find ⲈⲚ̄ (Ⲉ)Ⲧ̄ⲤⲁⲚⲁ, literally "these—who are they?," i.e. "whoever they are" (for (Ⲉ)Ⲧ̄- see **3.7.5**c): e.g. ILT 9 i 16-17 ⲈⲚ̄ ⲈⲦ̄ⲤⲁⲚⲁ ⳟⲁⲢⳘⲒⲦⲚ̄ ⲈⲒⳝⲞⲚⲔⲁ ⲁⲞⲨⲔⲭ̄ⳝⲞⲨⲗ "whoever they are who worship the image of the beast."

b) Order: Ref.̄ + Infl. (± ⲈⲒⲚ-) + Verbid/Subj. + Infl. E.g.

Verbid: M. 8.7-12 ⳘⲁⲚ ⲔⲞⲨⳘⲠⲞⲨⲔⲁ --- ⳟⲁⲗⲈⲚ· ⲎⲚ̇ (i.e. ⲈⲒⲚ) ⲦⲁⲚ̇ ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲢⲁ ⲭ̄ⳝⲞ-Ⲣ̄Ⲧ̄ⲤⲔⲁ (**3.9.8**) "when he saw that egg ..., the one that he had deposited and forgotten."

Subjunctive: SC 5.15-17 ⲞⲨⲔⲔⲞⲚⲞ ⲔⲁⲠⲞⲠⲒ ⲁⲨⲢⲞⲨⲦⲔⲁ ⲦⲞⳟⲦⲁⲚⲁⲤⲱ· ⲈⲚ̄ ⲈⲗⲗⲈ Ⲧ̄-ⲗⲎ ⲞⲨⲔ ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲢⲁ ⲦⲒ66ⲁⲢⲢⲒⲔⲁ "make yourselves worthy (?) of the pearl itself, the one that I am going to set before you today."

c) Order: Ref. + Infl. (± ⲈⲒⲚ-) + Verbid/Subj. E.g.

Verbid: K. 32.12-14 ⲈⲒⲚⲎⲚⳝⲞⲨ ⲗⲁ ⲞⲨⲈ ⲗⲔⲁ Ⲡⲁⳝ⳥ Ⲓ Ⲕⲁ ⲚⲚⲞⲗ- "as for one amongst these who is separated."

Subjunctive: St. 16.4-6 ⲔⲁⲢⲔ ⲁ̇Ⲩ[ⲗ]ⲈⲚⲁⲢⲭ̄ ⲈⲒⲚⲚ̄ ⲔⲞ[Ⲛ]ⲔⲞⲁⲚⲚⲞⲭ̄ "in order that they may have a shield that will save" (ⲔⲁⲢ-Ⲕ: object; ⲁ̇Ⲩ[ⲗ]ⲈⲚⲁⲢⲭ̄ ⲈⲒⲚⲚ̄: **3.9.14**).

d) Order: Verbid/Subj. (± -Ⲛ(ⲁ)) + Ref. + Infl. E.g.

Verbid: M. 11.3-4 Ⲧ̄ⲭ̄ⲗⲔ̄ ⲞⲨⲚⲚⲞⲗ ⳘⲁⲢⲒⲁⲚ "of Mary who gave birth to God" (lit. "of Mary, [hers being] the to-have-begotten God"), SC 9.13-14 ⲈⲒⲦⲧ̄ⲤⲞⲨ Ⲓ̈Ⲏ̄ⲤⲞⲨⲤⲒ ⲬⲢⲒ-ⲦⲞⲤ ⲒⲔⲁ "Jesus Christ whom you sent" (lit. "Jesus Christ, [yours being] the to-have-sent [him]"; ⲈⲒⲦⲧ̄ⲤⲞⲨ = ⲈⲒⲦⲧ̄ⲤⲒⲗ: **2.1.2**, **2.5.6**a; cf. ILT 10 A ii 20), SC 1.6 (et alibi) ⲞⲚ-

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[30] In relative-clause equivalents, the verbid functions as a relative participle. In addition to the examples quoted in the text, note such plurals as St. 12.6-7 ⲠⲒⲤⲦⲈⲨⲞⲭⳝⲞⲨⲭ- "those who have believed." But such usages should not blind the reader to possible interpretation of the verbid as a verbal substantive: e.g. in ILT 7 i 9 ⲠⲈⲤⲞⲔ-ⲔⲞⲚ (i.e. ⲠⲈⲤⲞⲗ-ⲔⲞⲚ "and" [**3.10**]) can mean "and the one who has spoken," i.e. verbid as verbal adjective/relative participle, but comparison with the Greek original, τὸ λαλεῖν, suggests the meaning "and the (f)act of having spoken" (or "the (f)act of speaking": the pret. I may translate a Greek present [Browne 1987b, 319]), i.e. verbid as verbal substantive/infinitive. Cf. also SC 16.19-21, where ⲔⲁⲨⲈⲭ̄ⳝⲞⲨ- "those who are naked" (verbal adjective) is followed by ⳝ[ⲁ]ⲁⲚ̄ ⲔⲁⲨⲈⲔ̄Ⲕⲁ (i.e. ⲔⲁⲨ-ⲉⲭ̄-Ⲕⲁ) "the nakedness of the body" (verbal substantive). Cf. in addition ftn. 31.

ΤⲀΚΡⲀΓΟΥ͞ΕΚΕ "O beloved!" (lit. "you, [yours being] the to-be-loved"; for the predicative cf. **3.5.2**a and **3.6.4**b). Note that in these three examples, the subject of the verbid is clear from the context and is therefore not expressed; in the first the terminal - Ⲛ shows that the clause is in the genitive in relation to the main sentence, in the second - ΚⲀ permits it to function as object, and in the third - ΚⲈ is understood as vocative, with which the preceding verbid agrees (cf. **3.6.6**b).

Subjunctive: SC 21.3-4 ΚⲀⲠⲈⲤΟΥⲚ ΟΥΚΟΥΡΡⲰ "on the day on which you have eaten" (lit. "on the day of your having eaten"), 9.19 ΓⲀⲀⲀⲦⲈⲤⲚ͞ⲚⲀ ⲀΚ[Ⲁ]ⲀⲦ͗ⲦΟΥ "the construction which became flesh." Here the subjunctives are marked as genitives (cf. **3.6.2**a); in the first example - ΡⲰ (= - ⲀⲰ : **2.3.2**) "in" relates the clause to the main sentence, as does the juncture vowel - ΟⲨ in the second (**3.6.5**). Note also gr. 4.1 ⲈΙⲀ ΓⲈⲤⲤΙ (i.e. ⲠⲈⲤⲤΙ) ⲤⲀⲠⲈΓΟΥΚⲀ "the sins of which I have spoken."

e) Equivalents to relative clauses may also be formed by using the pronouns ⲈΙⲚ- and ΤⲀΡ-, joined to the particle - ⲤⲚ͞, without a verbid or subjunctive formally to mark subordination: e.g. SC 24.14-15 ΤⲀⲚⲚⲀ-ⲤⲚ͞ ⲤΟΚ͞Ⲁ· ΤⲰⲈΚ͞Ⲁ "... of whom are the glory and the power," L. 101.5-6 ⲈΙⲚⲚ͞ΓΟΥⲀⲀ-ⲤΙⲚ ⲠΙⲀⲀⲀⲀⲀⲤΚⲈ "... in whom you shine."

4.7 Adverbial conversion yields a number of different types of subordinate clauses, representative examples of which are cited below.

4.7.1 Object clauses

a) Verbid: L. 107.11-12 ⲠΙΙⲤΤⲈΥ[ⲈΙ]ⲤⲀⲚⲀ ⲈⲚ͞ ⲀΪΚ ⲈΙΤΡⲈⲤΚⲀ "they believed that you sent me" (lit. "they believed in your having sent me"; for the verbid cf. **3.9.8**).

b) Subjunctive: St. 6.12-7.2 ⲀΟⲀⲀⲘ͞ΜΟ ΟΥΚⲀ ⲈΙ͞ⲀΡ͞ⲀΓⲀⲀⲘⲀⲀⲈⲚΚⲀ "we wish that you will make us know ..."

Note that - ΚⲀ may be omitted: SC 17.21-22 ΟΥⲀΓΡⲈⲤⲰ ⲈⲀⲈΚⲀ[Ⲱ Ι]ⲰⲀⲚⲤΗ ⲠⲈⲤⲚ͞ "next listen to John saying ..."; sim. M. 2.13.

4.7.1.1 As a special type of object clause is the clause of exclamation:

a) Verbid: INT 2 ii 7-9 ⲈΡ͞Ρ͞Ⲁ ⲠⲤ͞Ⲁ ϬΙΜΜⲀ͞ΓΟΥⲚⲀ ⲀΟΥⲈΡⲚ͞ ⲈΙⲀΙ͞Ο͞ϬⲰⲀ ⲈⲚⲈⲀΚⲀ "how (true it is) that the habitation of all who exult and rejoice is with you" (ὥς ...).

b) Subjunctive: Dong. 1 ii 1-2 ⲈΥⲈⲀⲀ ⲈⲀⲈ(.)ⲤⲀⲚΚⲀ ⲈΙΡⲚ͞ ⲤⲈⲈΙΓΟΥⲀ "how proclaimed (?) are your deeds" (ὥς ...).

4.7.2 Comparative clauses

a) Verbid: L. 108.5-6 ⲈⲚⲚⲀ ΟΥ[ⲈΡ]Ⲉ͞ⲚⲈⲚ ΚⲈⲀⲀⲰ "as we are one" (lit. "like our being one").

b) Subjunctive: L. 109.3-4 ⲀⲚⲚⲀ --- ϬⲰ͞ⲀΡⲀ ΜⲈⲚⲈΡΙ ΚⲈⲀⲀⲰ "as I have come."

4.7.3 Circumstantial/temporal clauses

a) Verbid: SC 9.17 ΟΥⲁⲅⲣⲉⲚ ΤⲁΥΚⲁΟ- "when you hear." (The subject is the same as that of the main sentence.)

b) Subjunctive: L. 104.10 ⲟ̄ⲥⲓ[ⲓ]Γⲁ̣[ⲋ]ⲋⲉⲢⲓ ΤⲁΥΚⲁⲰ̄- "when I take away." (The subject differs from that of the main sentence.)

c) Similarly with the bare verbid or subjunctive. The verbid may end in -ⲁ or it may be the expansion in -Ⲛ (**3.9.9**): ILT ll i 7-8 ΠⲁΠⲓΝⲁ --- -Κⲁ̄ⲁⲉⲥⲁ̄ "when the Father was about to come" (for the verbid cf. **4.7.6**), M. 12.16-13.2 ΜⲁΝ ⲉⲦⲦⲁ̄ΛΟΝ Μⲓⲁ̄ --- ΓⲁⲗⲗⲓⲥΝⲁ "and that woman, running (lit. "[hers being] the to-run")[31] opened ...," L. 114.8 ⲉ̄ⲗⲉΝ-ΝΟΝ "and when you find him" (**3.9.9** ftn. 18; note that the verbid in -ⲉΝ often expresses a temporally or logically prior tense vis-à-vis the main verb). For the subjunctive cf. M. 9.16-10.1 ΚΥⲢⲓⲁ̄ΚⲉΝ ΟΥΚΟΥⲢˋ ⲉⲓΝⲚ̄-ΝΟΝ "and as it was Sunday"; it may be reinforced by -ⲗΟ, as in St. 11.5-6 ΠⲉⳡⳡⲁⲁⲉⲢⲓⲗΟ "when I will judge."

4.7.4 Causal clauses

a) Verbid: St. 27.10-12 ⲉⲥΚⲓⲦⲁΚⲁ ⲁⲉΝ6Οⲗ-ⲗΟ6ΟΥΝ "because he was conquered for us."

b) Subjunctive: K. 20.12-13 ΜΟΝⲉⲥⲓΝ-Νⲉ6ΟΥΝ "because he hated."

4.7.5 Conditional clauses (closed neutral and open neutral)[32]

a) Built upon the subjunctive is the following formation (stem + -ΚΟ- + subjunctive-formant + -ⲗΟ—with ⲗ elided [**2.5.6a**] or assimilated [**2.3.2**]):

Sg.	1	ⲁΟⲗⲗⲓΚΟⲓ̄Ο
	2/3	ⲁΟⲗⲗⲓΚΟΝΝΟ
Pl.	1/2	ⲁΟⲗⲗⲓΚΟΟῩΟ
	3	ⲁΟⲗⲗⲓΚΟⲁΝΝΟ

E.g. M. 4.16-5.4 ⲁ̄ⲗⲉⲥⲚ̄ ⲥΟⲁ̄ ⲁⲓ̈Κⲁ ΜΟΥⲁΟΥΚΟΝΝΟˋ ΦⲓⲗΟ�ⲉΝⲓΤΗΓⲁ̄ⲗⲉⲗⲰ ⸀6ΟΥⲢⲉ "Truly if the Lord guides me, I am going to Philoxenite."[33]

There is also a variant in which -Κⲁ- replaces -ΚΟ-: e.g. K. 32.2-5 ΟΥⲉⲗ --- ΚⲁΠΠⲁΝΝΟ (i.e. ΚⲁΠ-ΚⲁΝΝΟ: **2.4**) ΜⲁΝⲓΝ ⲥⲁΠⲉΚⲁ --- ΠⲁⲥΚⲁⲢⲢⲉ "if one eats ..., that one's sin will I punish," 20.1-2 ΟⲢΠⲁ ⲉΝΚⲁΝ· ⲉⲗⲗⲉ ⲉΝΚⲁΝ "if it is wine, if it is wheat ..." (note absence of -ⲗΟ). For the 3rd pers. pl. we find -ΚⲁΥⲁΝΝΟ in K. 31.7 (which the scribe adjusted to the sing. -ΚⲁΝΝΟ; cf. **2.5.5**).

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[31] When the subject of the verbid is also that of the sentence, it is omitted; such cases may be conveniently translated as participia conjuncta, but we may in fact be dealing with verbal substantives, as is suggested by the lack of congruence in e.g. M. 16.7-10 ⲁΟΥⲁ̄ⲢⲓⲥⲁΝⲁ --- ΚⲁΚⲁ 6Ο6ΟΚⲁ̄ "they continued ... (theirs being) the to-offer" i.e. "they continued ... to offer." Cf. ftn. 30.

[32] I follow the schematization proposed in Funk 1985. A fuller treatment than the sketch here given may be found in Browne 1987a.

[33] Note the frequent appearance of ⲁ̄ⲗⲉⲥⲚ̄ "truly" as a formal marker of the protasis. It is probably hypercorrect to translate the word in this context.

b) The bare subjunctive may correspond to a conditional protasis: e.g. SC 14.6-8 Є̄ΝЄ̄ⲢⲢΙΤ[Ⲁ]ΚⲤ̄Ν̄-ΚΟΝ ⳭΟⲆΟΥ ЄΝΝⲀ̄ ΤⲀⲢΙⲞ̄6ΟΥ[Ν ЄⲢⲢ̄ΙΤⲀΚΜЄΝΝⲀ[Ⲁ]Ⲱ "and if our Lord suffered, he did not suffer because of himself." Similarly, the expanded verbid in - Ν (**3.9.9**), cited above for circumstantial/temporal clauses (**4.7.3c**), appears also in conditional protases: e.g. ILT 7 i 6-7 Ⲁ̄ⲀЄⲤ̄Ν̄ ΟΥЄⲀⲀ[ΟΝ] ΜⲀⲤⲀⲆЄΝ ΜⲀⲤⲀΝⲀⲤⲰ "and truly if one will be ignorant, let him be ignorant," 4 ii 24-25 Ⲁ̄ⲀЄⲤ̄Ν̄ Π̄ⳭΤЄΥЄΝ ΤⲀ̄ⲀΝ̄ ⳭΟΚΚⲀ ⳭⲀⲀⲀⲢⲀ̄ⲀΗ- "truly if you believe, you will see the glory of God."

c) The form -ΚΟЄΙⲞ̄ (= -ΚΟ-ⲀΟ: **2.5.6a**) occurs in ILT 7 i 3-5 ⲀⲀЄⲤ[Ν̄' --- ⲀΝΚⲀ ΚΙΚΟЄΙⲞ̄· ЄΙⲀ̄ⲢΟΥⲀ̄ΝⲀⲤⲰ "truly if one thinks ..., let him know ..."; it is used instead of the personal formation listed in (a) because the subject of the protasis is that of the apodosis (cf. **4.7.7b**).

d) Another form which lacks a personal referent is -ΙΝΙ, which is found in St. 10.11-11.1 ΟΥⲀΓΝ̄ΝⲀⲤⲰ --- ΠЄⳭⲀ Τ̄66ΙΝΙ "listen, if haply I may speak ..."; it is comparable to -ΙΝΙ-Ⲁ̄ in final clauses (**4.7.7d**). The subject of -ΙΝΙ differs from that of the main verb, and it is only context which disambiguates (cf. **4.7.7d** ftn. 35).

4.7.6 Conditional clauses (closed hypothetical). The corpus now provides three examples:

a) ILT 7 ii 15-16 ЄΙⳭⲀΝ-ЄΝ-ⲀΠΠⲀ ⳭΟⲆΟΥ ⳭΟΚΝ̄ΚⲀ Ⲥ̄ΤⲀΥⲢΟⳭⲀ̄ⲀⲰ ΟⲀⲀЄΙⲢΙΜЄΝ-ⲀΙⳭⲀΝⲀ-Ⲥ[Ν̄ "for if they had known, they would not have hanged upon the cross the Lord of Glory."

b) SC 12.23-13.1 Ⲁ[ΟⲀⲀЄⳭ̄Ν̄-ЄΝ-Ⲁ]ΠΠⲀ Τ[Ⲁ]Ν Ⲁ̄Ⳝ̄ΚⲀ [-ΜЄΝ]ⲀⲀⲢⲀ-Ⳝ̄Ν̄ "for if he had wished ..., he would not have [shed] his blood [for us]."

These two examples display the future preterite in the apodosis (cf. **4.7.3c** and **3.9.6** sub fin.); for - ЄΝ- cf. Lepsius 1880, 113-114.

c) ILT 4 i 2-3 ЄΙⲢΙ Є̄ΝΝΟ ⲀΟΥⲀⲢ[Ⲁ] ЄΝΚⲀΝ ⲀΝ ЄⳭⳭⲀ ⲀΙΜЄⲀⲢⲀⲀΟ (sim. ii 4-5 Ⲣ̄ Є̄ΝΝΟ ⲀΟΥⲀ̄ⲢЄΝΚⲀ<Ν> ⲀΝ ЄⳭⳭⲀ ⲀΙΜЄΝⲀⲢⲀ̄ⲀΟ) "if you had been here, my brother would not have died" (lit. "will not have died": cf. **3.9.7c**).

4.7.7 Final clauses

a) Addition of - Ⲁ̄ to the conditional described in **4.7.5a** (-ΚΟ- + subjunctive + -ⲀΟ) results in a form equivalent to a final clause:[34]

Sg.	1	ⲀΟⲀⲀΙΚΟ̈Ⲟ̄Ⲁ̄
	2/3	ⲀΟⲀⲀΙΚΟΝΝΟ̄Ⲁ̄
Pl.	1/2	ⲀΟⲀⲀΙΚΟΟΥⲞ̄Ⲁ̄
	3	ⲀΟⲀⲀΙΚΟⲀΝΝΟ̄Ⲁ̄, -ΚΟΥⲀΝΝΟ̄Ⲁ̄ (**2.5.5**)

E.g. M. 9.7-8 ΤⲀΚ ⲀΙΓⲀ̄ ΤΟΚⲀ̀ⲢⲢЄⲤⲰ ΚⲀΠΚΟ̈Ⲟ̄Ⲁ̄ "cooking it for me, bring it, so that I may eat it."

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34 The - Ⲁ̄ is probably that described in **4.8**; a literal translation of ΚⲀΠΚΟ̈Ⲟ̄Ⲁ̄ in M. 9.7-8 (cited below) will accordingly be "saying: 'If haply I may eat it ...'" (cf. Smagina 1986a, 396).

There is also a variant in -KⲀ-, as in the conditional: K. 24.8-11 TⲀⲀIKⲀ CE-
NⲀMCⲰ --- TOKⲀEPKⲀ ⲀENϬIKⲀNNOⲀ "let us beg God that he may give us forgive-
ness..."

b) The form -KOⲀ(ⲀⲰ), in which the subject is not marked (cf. -KOEIⲞ 4.7.5c),
occurs e.g. in L. 106.6 KONKOⲀⲀⲰ "in order that you may have" (the subject is that of
the following KOⲀCKE "you have" [3.9.16a ftn. 22]) and in ILT 5 ii 7-8 OYKKETⲀⲀ ⲀY-
EIKOⲀ—OYⲰⲀ "in order that you too may do" (here OYKKETⲀⲀ "you too" makes clear
the subject, but the scribe still adds the person-marking variant -OYⲰⲀ).

c) Imperatives (3.9.17) depending upon the verb EIⲀ- "to say" as well as on
the particle -Ⲁ of direct discourse (see 4.8) also function as equivalents to final
clauses: e.g. L. 109.1-2 ⲞCIϬE-Ⲁ-EION CENIMⲚⲚECⲰ \\KOCKⲦKⲀTTⲀⲞ TEKKⲀ EIⲀⲮIϬE-
EIⲀⲀ-ENKⲰ "and I do not ask that you take them ..., but that you keep them from the
evil one" (literally "and I do not ask: 'take them ...,' but saying: 'keep them from the
evil one'"), 112.10 ϬⲀN-ⲞCIϬECⲀ (= -E-CⲰ-Ⲁ: 2.5.4) "(God sent his Son) in order that
he might redeem them" (lit. "saying: 'Redeem ...'"), SC 18.14 MIⲀⲀNⲀCⲀ (= -ⲀNⲀ-CⲰ-
Ⲁ) "in order to run."

d) Non-personal purpose clauses (in which the subject of the clause is also that
of the sentence) may be generated by attaching protatic -INI, which already conveys
the notion of purpose (4.7.5d), to -Ⲁ (see preceding paragraph) or -ⲀN "to say": e.g.
St. 10.4-7 KⲀⲀPⲈ TEN EⲚTIΓⲀEPKⲀ TEKKⲀ ⲠⲀⲒΓPⲀ Ⲧ6ϬINI-Ⲁ "I will come, in order to
reveal to them their offense" (lit. "saying: '[I do this *vel sim.*] if haply I may reveal
...'"), SC 12.19-21 Ṭ[Ⲁ]ⲀⲀ EⲚKⲀ ⲠECIϬENNOEION· EKKⲀ [Ⲡ]ẹⲱⲱⳠϬINI-ⲀMMENNⲀⲀO "and if
God says this, it is not in order to judge us" (lit. "and if God says this, he does not say:
'[I do this *vel sim.*] if haply I may judge ...'"). Along with -INIⲀ we also find the
variants -ENIⲀ, -INOYⲀ, -OYNOYⲀ:[35] e.g. M. 4.6 EITENIⲀ "in order to take," ILT 4 ii 1
OⲮNOYⲀ (= ⲞⲮINOYⲀ: 1.3.2) "in order to weep," L. 113.8 ⲀOYKOYNOYⲀ "in order to
worship."

4.8 -Ⲁ of direct discourse. Direct discourse regularly terminates in -Ⲁ: e.g. SC 21.10-
11 ⲠECⲀPⲀCⲚ --- MNⲀⲦONⲀ-Ⲁ "for he said ...: 'Where are you?'" But -Ⲁ is not obliga-
tory: e.g. SC 21.7-8 ⲠECCNⲀ --- MN]Ⲁ[Ⲧ]ONⲀ. In addition, -Ⲁ is found in contexts where
the Nubian interprets as direct discourse what is not so marked in the Greek original:
e.g. SC 7.11-13 ⲠECⲀ OYTⲢ̄ ⲀOⲀⲀIPECⲚ· EICIⲪⲪOY TⲀⲀⲀ-Ⲁ "for I wish to set forth
what God is" (lit. "... to set forth: 'What is God?'"), translating βούλομαι γὰρ ... δεῖξαι
τί ἐστι θεός.

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35 Originally, the doublet -INIⲀ/-ENIⲀ may have referred to a singular subject and
-INOYⲀ/-OYNOYⲀ to a plural (so Stricker 1940, 449 and Smagina 1986b, 30), but the
distinction is not always maintained in our texts, probably because of the phonetic
similarity of I and OY (2.1.2): see SC 4.19-20n and note also ILT 11 i 12 ⲦⲚNIⲀ "in order
that they might see ..." It therefore seems better, from the synchronic point of view,
to regard the two formations as non-significant variants; similarly, -INI, mentioned
in 4.7.5d, may originally have referred to a singular subject, but synchronically it is
impersonal.

This -ⲁ is formally distinct from the predicative -ⲁ (3.6.4): cf. L. 111.8-9 ⳝⲁⲩ-
ⲉⲓⲣ-ⲁ --- ⳝⲧ̄ⳝ-ⲁ-ⲭ̄-ⲭⲟ ⲟⲕⲧⲁⲕⲛ-ⲭ̄ "... is a tent which is called the Holy ..." (lit.
"which is called: 'Holy'" [i.e. in ⳝⲧ̄ⳝ-ⲁ-ⲭ̄-, the first -ⲁ- is the predicative as vocative
[3.6.4b], the second that of direct discourse; cf. also 4.6a]); see in addition L. 106.2, SC
13.17. It is probably a reduced form of ⲉⲓⲭ̄ "saying" (adjunctive: 3.9.19): cf. ILT 10 A
ii 11-12 ⲁⲛⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲉ --- ⲡⲁ6ⲓⲛⲅⲓⲙⲉⲛⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲟ-ⲉⲓⲭ̄ "I do not think that he will separate
them ..." (lit. "I do not think, saying: 'He will separate them...'") with SC 8.19-20
ⲁⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁ-ⲭ̄ ⲁⲛⲕⲓⲙⲉⲛⲕⲉⲥⲱ "do not think that he is ..."

4.9 Word order. For detailed discussion see Browne 1987b, 310-314, from which I
extract the following summary:

4.9.1 Old Nubian conforms to type 24 of Hawkins' classification (1979, 626; Hintze
1986, 287):

SOV / POST / GEN + N / N + ADJ

I.e. the normal word order is Subject Object Verb, Postpositions appear instead of
prepositions, the genitive usually precedes its noun, the adjective follows (see **3.4,
3.6.2b**, for verb before subject **4.1.2e**). For nominal sentences the regular order is
Subject Predicate (**4.1.1**).

4.9.2 The direct object regularly precedes the indirect (both marked by -ⲕⲁ: **3.6.3**).
E.g. SC 5.7-8 ⲟ̣ⲩ[ⲛ] ⳝⲧ̄ⲥⲓⲕⲉⲛⲁ[ⲉ] ⲙⲟⲩⲅⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲟⲩ[ⲧ̄ⲣ]ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲁⳟ[ⲱ "nor place your holy
things before dogs," L. 106.13-14 ⲅⲁⲗⲁ ⲙⲱ̄ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲧⲁⲕ[ⲕⲁ] ⲧ̣[ⳝ̄]ⲥⲓⲛⲕⲉⲗ-
ⲭⲱ "as you have given him power over all flesh," 107.6 ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲁⲉⲛ6ⲁⲣⲁⲁⲏ
"and you gave them to me."

4.9.3 Temporal and demonstrative adverbs often stand first in a sentence or clause,
while other adverbial phrases tend to appear before the verb and after the direct
object. E.g.: SC 6.8-10 ⲙⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲗⲟ̣ [ⲧⲉ]ⲕⲕⲁ ⲧⲣ̄[ⲡ(?)]ⲧⲓⲕⲉⲗⲁ ⲧⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣[ⲁ]6ⲕⲉⲛⲛ[ⲁ "at
that time he gathers them into the granary," L. 104.3-5 ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲣ[ⲓⲅ]ⲣⲭ̄ⲟ ⲓ̈ⲥⲣⲭ̄ⲏⲭⲓ
ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲧⲟ ⳝⲁⲣⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲁ "thus all Israel is saved," SC 18.10-12 ⲧⲁⲭⲭⲟ ⳝⲕ̄ⲧⲕⲁ ⲭ̄ⲙⲁⲛ-
ⲅⲟⲩⲭⲁⲱ ⲥⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲁ "it is he who established the earth upon the waters," SC
19.11-13 ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲁⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥⲭ[ⲁ]ⲭⲟ ⲁⲟⲩⲭⲭⲁⲅⲣⲟⲛⲁ "he caused him to dwell in
Paradise."

4.9.4 A postpositional complex terminating in -ⲅⲭ̄ⲭⲉ regularly follows the verb
ⲡⲉⲥ- "to say": e.g. ILT 4 i 9-10 ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲭ̄ ⲧⲁⲣⲅⲭ̄ⲭⲉ "and Jesus said to her."

5 SELECTIONS FOR READING

5.1 Lectionary 112.18-113.14 (Matthew 2:1-4), from Browne 1986c

112.18   ΙͩϹΟΥϹΙΕΙΟΝ]   Mt 2:1

113.1   [Ο]ΥΝΝΟΥΤλΚΟΝ ΒΗΘλΕΜΗ ΪΟΥλλΙλΝ̣

        ΝΟ Ⳬ ΗͩΡΩλΗ ΟΥΡΟΥΝλ ΟΥΚΡΪΤΟΥλΩ Ⳬ [ΕΙϹ]

        ϹΝ̄ λΟΓλΡΪΤΟΥλ Μλ ⲱλλΟϹΚλō ΤλΡλ [Ⲛ]

        ΪΕͩΡΟΥϹλλΜΙō ΚΙϹλΝλ ΠΕϹΡ̄λΤΟΥ[Ε̄]   2

5   ΕΙΝΙλ Ⳬ Ϲ̄λΟ ΠΙΝλ ΪΟΥλλΙΟϹΓΟΥΝ ΟΥ

        ΡΟΥΟΥ ΟΥΝΝΟΥΤλΚΟλ Ⳬ Τλ̣Ν ΟΥΕΙⳮ

        ϬΙΚλ Μλ ⲱλλΟϹΚΙλΟ ϬλϹ̄Ν̄ ΚλϹϹϴ

        ϹΙΝ ΤλΚΚλ λΟΥΚΟΥΝΟῩϹ Ⳬ ΗͩΡΩλΗ   3

        ΟΥΡΟΥΕ̄λλΟΝ ΟΥλΓΡΕΝ ΠλΝΝΙϹΝ̄λ Ⳬ

10   [Ϊ]ΕͩΡΟΥϹλλΜΗ ΟΥλΤΤΟλλΟΝ Τλλ

        λλλ Ⳬ λΡΧΗΪΕͩΡΕͦϹλ Μⲱ̄ⲱλΝΓΟΥλ   4

        [λ]Ε ΚͭͭΤͭͭ ΟΥΡλΝΙΓΟΥλλΕΚΕλΤΟΥΚΟΝ Ⳬ

        [ΤΜ̄]ΜΙΤλΡλ [Τ]Ε̣[Κ]Κλ Ε̄ΤΙλϬΙϹΝ̄λ ΕΙϹλō

        [ΧΡΙϹΤΟϹΙ ΟΥΝΝΟΥ]ΤλΚΟΝλ̄λ Ⳬ

(Mt 2:1) And when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, magi from the east came to Jerusalem, (2) saying: "Where is the king of the Jews who has been born? For seeing his star in the east, we came to worship him." (3) And Herod the king, when he heard, became disturbed, and all Jerusalem with him, (4) and assembling all the high priests and the leaders of the people, he asked them: "Where is Christ born?"

(Mt. 2:1) τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλέεμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (2) λέγοντες· ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. (3) ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης ἐταράχθη καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα μετ' αὐτοῦ, (4) καὶ συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτῶν· ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται; (E. Nestle, K. Aland et alii, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26th ed. [Stuttgart 1979], with incorporation of appropriate variants from the apparatus)

Commentary

     112.18 ΙͩϹΟΥϹΙ- (see **3.3.6**) -ΕΙΟΝ (**3.10** - ΟΝ): "and Jesus."

     113.1 [Ο]ΥΝΝ- ("to bear") - ΟΥ- (for juncture vowel: **2.10, 2.1.2**) - Τλ Κ - (**3.9.5**a) - ΟΝ (3rd pers. sg. pret. I subjunctive: **3.9.6, 3.9.7**a, **4.7.3**c): "when he was born."

1-2 ΘΗΘⲖⲈⲘΗ (**3.3.6, 3.6.5b**) ÏΟΥⲒⲒⲒⲖ-Ṇ- (**3.6.2a**) -ΝΟ (**3.10** -ⲖΟ [**2.3.2**]; in this segment of text -ⲖΟ means "in, into, to" [see lines 2, 4, 5, 7, 13] as well as "from" [line 3]): "in Bethlehem of Judaea"; cf. also **3.6.6a**.

2 Ⲏ̄ΡⲰⲖΗ (**3.3.6, 3.6.5a**) ΟΥΡΟΥ- ("king") -ΝⲖ (**3.6.2a** and cf. Hintze 1971, II §2.2, where it is shown that, if the rectum consists of a proper name and an apposition, it bears -ΝⲖ; in addition to this phrase, Hintze cites WN 15 ΓⲈⲰΡΓⲒ ΟΥΡΟΥⲈΙΝⲖ "of king George") ΟΥΚΡÏ- (= ΟΥΚΙΡ- [**1.3.2**] for ΟΥΚΟΥΡ- "day" [**2.1.2**] -Ï- [**2.10**]) -ΓΟΥ- (**3.5.1a**) -ⲖⲰ: "in the days of Herod the king."

2-3 [ⲈΙⳜ]Ⳝ̄: "behold," restored on the basis of INT 2 i 19, where ⲈΙⳜⳜ̄ = ἰδού Ps 86:4; cf. also below, ii 19 of the text in **5.2**.

3 ⲖΟΓⲖΡÏ- (= ⲖΟΓⲖΙΡ- "magus" -Ï-) -ΓΟΥ-Ⲗ (**3.6.1**): "magi."

ΜⲖⲱⲖⲖ-ΟⳜ-Κ- ("east," literally "sun's [ΜⲖⲱⲖⲖ-] going out" [ΟⳜ-Κ-: **3.3.2**]: cf. Zyhlarz 1928, §51 and above, **3.6.2c**) -ⲖΟ̄ (= -ΙⲖΟ: **1.3.2** and line 7 below): "from the east."

ΓⲖΡ- ("to come") -Ⲗ (**3.9.19**): literally "coming," together with -ⲖΟ, it means little more than "from": cf. **3.10** -ⲒⲰⲖ̄.

4 ÏⲈΡΟΥⳜⲖⲖΜΙΟ̄ (= -ΜΙ-ⲖΟ: **2.5.6a**): "to Jerusalem."

ΚΙⳜⲖΝⲖ (3rd pers. pl. pret. II indicative of ΚΙΡ- "to come"; its Ρ is unstable: **2.5.6a**): "they came"; see **3.9.6, 3.9.7a, 4.1.2c**.

4-5 ⲠⲈⳜΡⲖ̄ΓΟΥ[Ⲉ] (predicative pl. of pres. verbid of ⲠⲈⳜ- "to say": **3.5.2a**) ⲈΙΝΙⲖ (pres. verbid of ⲈΙΝ- "to be"): "saying"; for the periphrastic construction see **3.9.14**. A literal translation of the clause is "they came to Jerusalem, (theirs being) the to-be-saying." Cf. **4.4**: "if the subject of the verbid is the same as that of the main clause or can be readily supplied from context, it is omitted." Cf. also **4.7.3c** and ftn. 31. As a plural ⲠⲈⳜΡⲖ̄ΓΟΥ[Ⲉ] ⲈΙΝΙⲖ is comparable to ΟΝΓⲖΚΡⲖΓΟΥⲈ̄ΚⲈ described in **4.6d**.

5 ⳜⲖΟ: "where?" (**3.7.5c**).

ⲠΙΝⲖ: 3rd pers. sg. pres. indicative of ⲠΙ- "to be."

5-6 ÏΟΥⲖⲖΙΟⳜ-ΓΟΥ-Ν (**3.5.1b**) ΟΥΡΟΥ-ΟΥ (**3.6.5b**) ΟΥΝΝ-ΟΥ-ΓⲖΚ-ΟⲖ (pret. I verbid; cf. above on line 1): "the king of the Jews who has been born." The verbid is in the subjective case (-ΟⲖ= -ΟⲖ-Ⲗ: **2.7**); with the preceding ΟΥΡΟΥ-ΟΥ it may be rendered literally as "the king (his being) the to-have-been-born": cf. above on 4-5, and see also **4.6a**.

6-7 ΓⲖΝ (**3.7.1a**) ΟΥⲈΙⲯⲒ- ("star") -Ι-ΚⲖ (**3.6.3a**): "his star."

7 ⳜⲖ- (adjunctive of ⳜⲖⲖ- "to see"; = ⳜⲖⲖⲖ: **2.5.6a**): "seeing."

7-8 -Ⳝ̄Ⳝ̄ --- -ⳜΙΝ (**3.10**): "for."

7 ΚⲖⳜⳜΟ- (1st pers. pl. pret. II indicative of ΚⲖΡ-, a variant of ΚΙΡ- [see on line 4]; for the assimilation see **2.3.1**): "we came."

8 ΓⲖΚ-ΚⲖ (**3.7.1b**): "him."

ⲖΟΥΚ- ("to worship") -ΟΥΝΟΥⲖ̄ (**4.7.7d**): "in order to worship."

9 ΟΥΡΟΥ-ⲈⲖ̄- (= ΟΥΡΟΥ-Ι-Ⲗ: **2.10** ftn. 4) -ⲖΟΝ (**3.10** -ΟΝ): "and the king."

ΟΥⲀⲄⲢ- ("to hear") -ⲈⲚ (4.7.3c): "when he heard."

ⲠⲀⲚⲚⲒⲤⲚⲀ̄ (3rd pers. sg. pret. II of ⲠⲀⲚⲚ- "to be disturbed"): "he became disturbed." For the supraliteral stroke see **1.3.2.**

10 [Ï]Ⲉ̄ⲢΟΥⲤⲀⲀⲘⲎ (see above, on 1-2) ΟΥⲀⲦⲦΟⲀ- (3.7.6g) -ⲀΟⲚ: "and all Jerusalem."

10-11 ⲦⲀⲀ- (= ⲦⲀⲢ-: **2.3.1**) -ⲀⲀⲀ (**3.10**): "with him."

11 ⲀⲢⲬⲎ̈Ⲉ̄ⲢⲈⲞ̄Ⲥ-Ⲁ (3.6.4c) Ⲙⲱ̄ⲱ̄ⲀⲚ-ⲄΟΥ- (3.7.6e): "all the high priests."

11-12 -Ⲁ[Ⲁ]Ⲉ --- -ⲀⲀⲈⲔⲈⲀ-ⲄΟΥ-Ⲕ-ΟⲚ: **3.10** -ⲀⲈ. Note the pleonasm (-_ⲄΟΥⲀ_-[Ⲁ]Ⲉ --- -_ⲄΟΥ_ⲀⲀⲈⲔⲈⲀ_ⲄΟΥ_-), to be contrasted with M. 15.12-15 (cited in **3.10** -ⲀⲈ).

12 Ⲕ̄Π̄Ⲧ- ("people": cf. Arabic قبط) -Ⲛ̄ ΟΥⲢⲀⲚ- ("leader": see SC 19.1-2n) -Ⲓ-ⲄΟΥ-: "the leaders of the people."

13 [Ⲧⲙ̄]Ⲙ- ("to assemble") -Ⲓ-ⲄⲀⲢ- (**3.9.5a**) -Ⲁ (**3.9.19**): "causing to assemble."

[Ⲧ]Ⲉ[Ⲕ]ⲔⲀ: "them" (see above, on line 8).

Ⲉ̄ⲄⲒⲀ- ("to ask") -6- (**3.9.5b**) -ⲒⲤⲚⲀ̄ (cf. ⲠⲀⲚⲚⲒⲤⲚⲀ̄ in 9): "he asked (them)."

13-14 ⲈⲒⲤⲀⲞ̄ (cf. on line 5) [ⲬⲢⲒⲤⲦΟⲤⲒ (cf. on 112.18) ΟΥⲚⲚΟΥ]-ⲦⲀⲔ-ΟⲚⲀ̣- (3rd pers. sg. pret. I indicative: cf. on line 1) -Ⲁ̄ (**4.8**): "Where is Christ born?"

5.2 Revelation 14:6-15, originally published by J. M. Plumley in STB 2 (1980) 34-41 and reprinted—with revisions—as ILT 9 (see also Browne 1988, III §24)

Side i   Ⲛ̄:

ΚΟΥⲚⲚΟ Ⲥ̄ⲔⲦⲀ̄ⲀΟ ⲀΟΥⲀ6ⲢⲀ̄ Ⲙⲱ̄ⲱ̄ⲀⲚ   Rev 14:6
ⲄΟΥⲔΟⲚ 6ⲀΥⲀ̄ Ⲧ̄66ⲈⲤⲀ· Ⲥ̄Π̄ⲠⲈ Ⲙⲱ̄ⲱ̄ⲀⲚ
ⲄΟΥⲔⲀ· 6ⲈⲢⲄΟΥⲀⲀ· ⲦⲀⲘⲈⲄΟΥⲀⲀ· Ⲕ̄Π̄ⲦⲒ
ⲄΟΥⲀⲀ· Ⲁ̄ ⲀⲀΥⲈⲀ̄ⲀΟⲈⲒΟⲚ ⲠⲈⲤⲚ̄· ⲦⲀⲀⲒ   7
5   Ⲕ ⲈΥⲀ̄ⲚⲀ ⲦⲀⲔⲔⲀ ⲔΟⲔ ⲦⲚ̄ⲚⲀⲤⲱ· ⲦⲀⲚ
ⲀⲢⲘⲤ̄ⲔⲀⲈⲚ ⲦⲀⲢⲀⲦⲀ̄ ⲔⲢⲈⲤ̄ⲚⲚΟ6ΟΥⲚ·
ⲀΟΥⲔⲀ ⲦⲚ̄ⲚⲀⲤΟ· 2ⲀⲢⲘⲀ̄ⲀⲈ Ⲥ̄ⲔⲦⲀ̄ⲀⲈ
ⲔⲈⲀⲔⲀ ⲀΥΟΥ6ΟⲀⲔⲀ· ⲐⲀⲀⲀⲤⲔⲀ ΟⲚ Ⲁ̄
ⲘⲀⲚⲚⲀ ⲀⲒⲤⲢⲒⲔⲀ· ⲈⲤ̄ ⲀⲄⲄⲈⲀΟⲤⲚ̄ ΟΥ   8
10   ⲈⲀ̄ⲀΟⲚ ⲈⲢⲄⲀ̄ ⲔⲢⲈⲚ ⲠⲈⲤⲤⲚⲀ̄ ⲠΟⲔⲒⲤⲚⲀ̣̄
ⲀⲒⲤⲀⲢⲒⲤⲚⲀ̄ ⲐⲀⲂΥⲀⲱⲚ ⲀⲀΥⲈⲀ̄Ο· Ⲥ̄Π̄
ⲠⲈ Ⲙⲱ̄ⲱ̄ⲀⲚⲄΟΥⲚⲀⲈⲒΟⲚ ⲦⲀⲚ ⲔⲤ̄
ⲘⲀⲦⲦⲚⲀ̄ ⲠΟⲢⲚⲈⲔⲚ̄ ΟⲢⲠⲀΟⲔΟ ⲀⲒ
Ⲥ̄ⲀⲢⲔⲒⲔⲈⲤⲀⲚ· ⲈⲤ̄ ⲀⲄⲄⲈⲀΟⲤⲚ̄ ⲦΟΥⲤ   9
15   Ⲕ̄Ⲧ̄ⲦⲀ̄ⲀΟⲚ ⲦⲀⲔ ⲈⲢⲄⲀ̄ ⲔⲢⲈⲚ Ⲁ̄ ⲀⲀΥⲈⲀ̄
ⲀΟ ΟΥⲀ̄ ⲠⲈⲤⲤⲚⲀ̄· ⲈⲚ̄ ⲈⲦ̄ⲤⲀⲚⲀ Ⲥ̄ⲀⲢ
ⲘⲒⲦⲚ̄ ⲈⲒⲄΟⲚⲔⲀ ⲀΟΥⲔⲀ̄ⲄΟΥⲀ ⲦⲀⲚ ⲦⲀⲤ̄
ⲤⲚ̄ ⲈⲀ̄ⲔΟⲚ ⲦⲈⲚ ⲔΟⲢ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲦⲚ̄ⲚⲀⲦⲦⲀ̄
Ⲁⲱ ⲈⲦⲦΟⲀⲄΟΥⲀ· ΟⲚ ⲦⲈⲚ ⲈⲒΟ̄ⲚΟⲚ ⲈⲀ̄
20   ⲀΟ· ⲦⲀⲀⲀΟ Ⲥ̄ⲈⲢⲢⲀ ⲦⲀⲀⲚ̄ Ⲥ̄ⲀⲔⲦⲈⲚ   10

K͞CM⳽TTIN ⳽CTIΠEN OPΠOY C⳽M⳽P

P̣⳽Ṗ⳽ [(?)ME⳽⳽͞CICN̅]K⳽· ⳽PM͞CT⳽KK⳽

Side ii   N̅⳽:

EION EN̅⳽N̅⳽ EIΓ͞⳽E TI⳽φ̅͞⳽EKE⳽

⳽O· ⳽ΓΓEⳲOC C͞CCIΓOY⳽O̅PⲰ· ON K⳽T

T͞OPⲰ·TEN ⳽PM͞CK⳽EN ⳽PΠ⳽EⳲ   11

⳽ON EⳲⳲEΝΓOY⳽O K͞CK͞⳽EⳲO KE⳽I⳽

5   ⳽OY̅O̅N⳽· C̣ECPEⳲKON EINM͞CC⳽N⳽

⳽O· OYKOYP⳽E O̅⳽P⳽EKEⳲⳲO· C̣⳽P

MIT̅N̅ EIKONK⳽ ⳽OYKO⳽ΓOY⳽· ON T⳽N

T⳽C͞CN̅ EIE̅⳽KON E̅TO⳽ΓOY⳽· EN̅NO   12

⳽O· ⳽OYNN⳽N⳽ C͞CCIΓOYN⳽ ⳽̅ECKIT͞⳽·

10   T͞⳽N̅ TE⳽KON E⳽PO⳽ΓOYN͞⳽· ON

Ї͞HCOYC͞N̅ Π̅CTEYET̅K⳽· OY⳽ΓPIKON   13

EINICE ͞⳽K⳽ Ⳳ⳽PM⳽͞⳽ ΠEC̅N̅ ⳽Ï͞Γ͞⳽Ⲗ̅E·

Π⳽E̅CO ͞⳽ΓEN⳽EΓOYE̅ⳲO ⳽͞ΓOY⳽ ⳽IP⳽

ΓOYE͞C̅N̅ CO⳽⳽OKⲰ ⳽IEIΓOY⳽ E̅ⳲEK

15   K⳽N ͞⳽⳽O ΠECCN̅͞⳽ CEY⳽PT͞⳽· T⳽N KOP

Π⳽66IΓOY⳽O Π⳽6⳽ C̣EC⳽KKO⳽N̅NO͞⳽

C̣ECEP⳽NNO6OYN· TEN C̣EEIΓOY⳽

⳽ON TEKK⳽ EPΓ6ON⳽ Ⳳ⳽PMIK͞CK͞⳽·

C̣⳽IKON EINICE E͞C̅N̅ C̣I66⳽ C̣OY⳽   14

20   Π͞⳽⳽P⳽MON E̅NON⳽· C̣I66I⳽⳽O ͞⳽KO⳽

⳽ON EIT̅N̅ TOT̅N̅ KO⳽⳽T⳽⳽O E̅NON⳽·

T⳽N OYP͞⳽⳽OEION C⳽Π͞N̅ TP͞⳽T͞⳽⳽O ΠI

͞⳽P⳽· T⳽N EI⳽⳽EION TOΠO Π̅P̅ KIΠPEⳲ

⳽O ⳽⳽PP⳽· E͞C̅ ⳽ΓΓ[EⳲOC͞⳽⳽ON] C̣⳽Y[E͞P]   15

25   [P̣]Ọ KE⳽ T⳽Ṗ[ICN⳽(?)

(i)   50

(Rev 14:6) ... having ... {and} to preach to all who dwell upon the earth <and> to all nations amidst tribes, amidst tongues, amidst peoples, (7) and saying in a great voice: "Fear God; give glory to him, because the time of his judgment has come. Worship the one who made the heaven and the earth, the sea and the springs of water." (8) And another, second, angel, when he came following, said: "Great Babylon has dropped, has fallen, and it is through the wine of the fornication of her wrath that all the nations have fallen." (9) And another, third, angel, when he came following him, shouting in a great voice, said: "Whoever they are who worship the image of the beast and have received the sign of his name on their forehead and on their right hand, (10)—he will drink the intoxicating wine of the cup of the wrath of the anger of God, and he will be judged

(ii) 51

in fire and sulphur before the holy angels and before the lamb. (11) And the smoke
of their judgment has ascended for eternity, and they have not rested in the day and
night, (i.e.) those who have worshipped the image of the beast and also those who
have received the sign of his name. (12) Here are the patience of the holy ones and
that of those who have kept the law of God and the faith of Jesus." (13) I also heard a
voice saying to me from heaven: "Write: blessed are the dying, (variant: those who
die who are) those who die through the Lord from now on, Yes, said the Spirit, in
order that they may cease (variant: because they cease) toiling from his (sic) toils,
and their deeds have followed them up to heaven." (14) I also saw, and lo, there was a
white, shining cloud, and the one who had taken his seat upon the cloud was the
likeness of the son of man, and on his head was a crown of gold, and in his hand was
a sharp sickle. (15) And another angel came from the shrine.

(Rev 14:6) ... ἔχοντα ... εὐαγγελίσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ φυλὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ λαόν, (7) λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγά-
λῃ· φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐ-
τοῦ, καὶ προσκυνήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν
καὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων. (8) καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος δεύτερος ἠκολούθησεν λέγων·
ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη· ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς
πέπτωκαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. (9) καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος τρίτος ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ
λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· εἴ τις προσκυνεῖ τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ καὶ
λαμβάνει χάραγμα ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, (10) καὶ
αὐτὸς πίεται ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῷ
ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ ἐνώπιον ἀγ-
γέλων ἁγίων καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου. (11) καὶ ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐ-
τῶν εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀναβαίνει, καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμέρας καὶ
νυκτὸς οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἴ τις λαμβάνει
τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. (12) ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, τῶν
τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ. (13) καὶ ἤκουσα φω-
νῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λεγούσης μοι· γράψον· μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀπο-
θνήσκοντες ἀπ' ἄρτι, ναί, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται (+ lectio varia
ὅτι ἀναπαύονται) ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ'
αὐτῶν. (14) καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον
ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἐν
τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρέπανον ὀξύ. (15) καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ...
(Nestle-Aland, with variants from apparatus; see also below on ii 17)

Commentary

i   1 KOYN- (= KOYNN̄ 3rd pers. sg. pres. subjunctive of KOYN- ["to have"]: 3.9.6,
2.7) - NO (3.10 - ⲭO [emphatic]): "having"; cf. 4.7.3c.

1-2 C̄KT- ("earth") -X̄ΔO (3.10) ΔOYΔ6PX̄ (predicative of present verbid of ΔOYΔ- ["to be, dwell"; for -Δ- see 2.2.2] with -6- [3.9.5b, here marking plural subject]) MⲰ̄ⲰΔN-ΓOY- (3.7.6e) -K- (3.6.3a): "to all who dwell upon the earth"; for the construction cf. 4.6d. After -K-, -ON "and" (3.10) seems misplaced, and I suspect that we should interchange the beginning of this line with the beginning of the next, reading -ΓOYKΔ in 2 and -ΓOYKON in 3 (cf. the translation).

2 6ΔY- ("to preach") -X̄ T̄66- (= TP̄-6-: 2.3.1, 3.9.19) -ECΔ (4.7.7c): "to preach."

CⲠ̄ⲠⲈ-: "nation"; see 2.5.2a.

3-4 6ⲈP- ("tribe") -ΓOY-ΛΔ (3.10) TΔMⲈ- ("tongue") -ΓOY-ΛΔ KⲠ̄T- ("people": see 5.1.12n) -I-ΓOY-ΛΔ: "amidst tribes, amidst tongues, amidst peoples."

4 X̄ ("voice"; 3.6.5b) ΔΔYⲈX̄- (pres. verbid of ΔΔYⲈI ["to be great"]) -ΛO- (3.10) -ⲈION (3.10 -ON): "and in a great voice" lit. "in a voice that is great": cf. 4.6a.

ⲠⲈCⲚ̄ (3rd pers. sg. pres. subjunctive of ⲠⲈC- ["to say"]): "saying"; cf. 4.7.3c.

4-5 TX̄Λ- ("God") -I-K- (3.6.3a) ⲈY- ("to fear") -X̄NΔ (3.9.17): "fear God."

5 TΔK-KΔ (3.7.1b) ⲄOK ("glory"; 3.6.3b) TⲚ̄NΔ-CⲰ (= TP̄-ΔNΔ-CⲰ: 2.5.3): "give glory to him."

5-6 TΔN (3.7.1a) ΔPMC̄KΔⲈ- ("judgment") -N (3.6.2a) TΔPΔT- ("hour") -X̄ (3.6.1a): "the hour of his judgment."

6 KPⲈ̄CⲚ̄- (3rd pers. sg. pret. II subjunctive of KIP- ["to come"; cf. 1.3.2, 3.9.7a]) -ΛO-6OYN (3.10 6OYP-): "because it has come."

7 ΔOYK- ("to worship") -Δ (3.9.19) TⲚ̄NΔ-CO (see on 5 above): "worship!"

7-8 2ΔPM- ("heaven") -X̄ΔⲈ (3.10 -ΔⲈ) C̄KT-X̄ΔⲈKⲈΛ-KΔ ΔYOY- ("to make") -6- (3.9.5b) -OΛ- (pret. I verbid) -KΔ: "the one who made the heaven and the earth." Cf. 4.6a.

8-9 ΘΔΛΔC- ("sea") -KΔ ON (3.11) X̄MΔN- ("water") -NΔ (3.6.2a) ΔIC-PI- (pl. of ΔΔC- ["spring"]: 3.5.1b and d) -KΔ: "the sea and the springs of water."

9-10 ⲈC̄ (3.7.6h) ΔΓΓⲈΛOC-Ⲛ̄ OYⲈX̄- (3.8.2) -ΛON (3.10 -ON): "and another, second, angel."

10 ⲈPΓ- ("to follow") -X̄ (pres. verbid: 4.7.3c) KP-ⲈN (pres. expanded verbid: 4.7.3c): "when he came following" (3.9.9 ftn. 18).

ⲠⲈCCNX̄ (3rd pers. sg. pret. II indicative: 3.9.6, 3.9.7a, 4.1.2c): "he said."

ⲠOK-: "to fall."

11 ΔIⲄΔP-: "to fall, drop" (cf. Browne 1981, 65 and also SC 21.18-19).

BΔBYΛⲰN ΔΔYⲈX̄O (= ΔΔYⲈX̄-ΛO: 2.7, 3.10 -ΛO [emphatic]): "great Babylon."

11-14 See 4.5.1b.

13 OPⲠ-: 3.3.5.

13-14 ΔIⲄΔP- (2.5.2b) -KI- (from KP̄-: 2.5.2b, 2.5.6a) -KⲈ- (3.9.5a): literally "have been wont to come falling."

14-15 TOYCKT̄-: 3.8.2.

16 OY-: "to shout."

ЄN̄ (3.7.4) ЄC̄-CⲀNⲀ (3.7.5c; = ṫC̄-PⲀNⲀ pres. indicative: 3.9.6): "whoever they are." See **4.6a**.

16-17 �ⲀPMIT-: "beast."

17 ЄIⲄON-:"image" (εἰκών); cf. ii 7.

17-18 TⲀⲄC̄-: "name."

18 ЄⲀ̄-: "sign."

KOⲢ-: "head."

TN̄NⲀTT-: "front part."

18-19 -Ⲁ̄ⲀⲰ: for -Ⲁ̄ⲀⲰ (see above, on 1-2).

19 ЄTT-: usually spelled ЄIT- (cf. ii 8) "to receive."

19-20 ЄIⲞ̄NO- ("right") -N ЄⲀ̄ⲀO (= ЄI- ["hand"] -ⲀⲀO): "on the right hand."

20 TⲀⲀ-ⲀO: i.e. TⲀP-ⲀO (**2.3.1**, **4.1.2f**).

ⲄЄPPⲀ: future predicative of ⲄЄ(I)- "to drink"; see **3.9.7b** and **4.1.2d**.

ⲄⲀKTЄ-: "anger."

21 ⲀCTIⲠЄ-: "cup."

21-22 CⲀMⲀP- ("intoxication") -P- (**3.9.5a**) -ⲀPⲀ (pret. I predicative) [MЄⲀ-Ⲁ̄CICN̄] -KⲀ: "which he [i.e. God] made ready to effect intoxication." For the restoration cf. Browne 1988, III §24 and note M. 4.7-8 6OⲀPⲀ MЄⲀⲀ̄ⲄⲟⲀ "that is ready to go" (see **3.9.14** ftn. 21).

22-ii 1 ⲀPMC̄- ("to judge") -TⲀK- (**3.9.5a**) -KⲀ- (= -PⲀ: **2.3.2**) -ЄION ЄN̄ⲀN̄Ⲁ̄ (3rd pers. sg. fut. indicative: **3.9.7b**): "and he will be judged"; cf. **3.9.14**.

ii   1 ЄIⲄ-: "fire."

TIⲀ̄ⲫ-: "sulphur."

2 ⲄC̄C-: "holy"; cf. **3.6.6b**.

-Ⲟ̄PⲰ: **3.10**.

2-3 KⲀTT-: "lamb."

3 ⲀPⲠⲀЄ-: "smoke."

4 ЄⲀⲀЄ-N-ⲄOY- (**3.5.1c**) -ⲀO KC̄CⲀ̄-ⲀЄ-ⲀO (**3.10** -KC̄KⲀ̄): "up to the times," i.e. "for eternity."

4-5 KЄⲀ- ("to ascend") -IⲀ ⲀOYⲞ̄NⲀ (pret. I of ⲀOYⲀ-: see i 1-2n and **2.5.6a**): "has ascended"; cf. **3.9.13**.

5-6 ⲄЄC-P- ("to rest"; -P- is weak: cf. below, 16-17 and **3.9.5a**) -ЄⲀ-KON (**3.9.13**, **3.10**) ЄIN-MC̄- (= -MN̄-: **2.3.1**) -CⲀNⲀ- (pret. II) -ⲀO (emphatic: **3.10**): "and they have not rested."

6 OYKOYP-: "day."

Ⲟ̄ⲀP-: "night."

6-8: cf. i 16-19.

8-9 ЄN̄ (3.7.4) -ⲀO- ("in") -ⲀO- (emphatic): i.e. "here."

9 ⲀOYN-NⲀNⲀ: = ⲀOYⲀ-N- (expanded verbid: **3.9.9**) -PⲀNⲀ (pres. indicative): "they are." See **3.9.9** ftn. 19.

ⲤⲉⲤⲔⲒⲦ-: "patience."

10 ⲦⲉⲆ-: "law."

ⲉⲆⲢ- ("to keep") - ⲟⲗ-ⲄⲟⲨ-ⲛ-(3.6.2d) - ⲗ̄: "that of those who have kept." Note that the translator followed τῶν τηρούντων (see the apparatus in Nestle-Aland), not οἱ τηροῦντες, the reading of the main text.

11 ⲠⲦⲉⲨⲉⲦ-: "faith" (cf. 3.3.2).

ⲟⲨⲗⲄⲢ-: "to hear," construed as in ii 4-5.

12 -ⲗⲁ: here "from" (3.10).

ⲁⲓ̈- (3.7.1) - Ⲅⲗ̄-ⲗⲉ (3.10): "to me." For the position see 4.9.4.

13 Ⲡⲁ-ⲉ̄-Ⲥⲟ (2nd pers. sg. imperative [3.9.17] of ⲠⲀⲢ- ["to write"; for loss of -Ⲣ- see 2.5.6a]): "write!"

ⲤⲄⲉⲛⲆ(ⲉ)- (3.4.1) - ⲉ-ⲄⲟⲨ-ⲉ̄- (3.5.2a, 3.6.4a)-ⲗⲟ Ⲇⲗ̄-(pres. verbid of ⲆⲒ- ["to die"]) - ⲄⲟⲨ-ⲗ: "blessed are the dying."

13-14 ⲆⲒⲢ-ⲁ-ⲄⲟⲨ-ⲉ̄-Ⲥⲛ̄ --- ⲆⲒⲉⲒ- (= ⲆⲒⲗ-: 2.5.6a) - ⲄⲟⲨ-ⲗ: "those who die who are those who die"; ⲆⲒⲢⲀⲄⲟⲨⲉ̄Ⲥⲛ̄ appears to be a variant reading (as in 17 below): see Browne 1988, III §7, and cf. St. 27.8-10, discussed in 3.6.4a.

14 Ⲥⲟⲗ-ⲗⲟⲔⲱ: ⲤⲟⲆ- ("Lord") -ⲗⲟⲔⲱ (3.10), unusual assimilation.

14-15 ⲉ̄ⲗⲉⲔⲔⲁⲛ: "henceforth"; cf. 3.12a and c.

15 Ⲇⲗⲟ: 3.13.

ⲤⲉⲨⲁⲢⲦ-: "spirit."

15-16 ⲔⲟⲢ- ("to toil") -Ⲡⲁ6- (sim.; cf. 3.3.4) - 6- (3.3.2) -Ⲓ-ⲄⲟⲨ-ⲗⲟ Ⲡⲁ6-ⲁ ⲤⲉⲤ-ⲁⲢ- (ii 5-6n) - Ⲕⲟⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲆ̄ (4.7.7a): "in order that they may cease toiling from the toils." Note that ⲦⲀⲛ "his" in 15 seems to be a mistake for Ⲧⲉⲛ "their" (3.7.1a).

17 ⲤⲉⲤ-ⲉⲢⲁⲛ-ⲛⲟ6ⲟⲨⲛ (4.7.4b): "because they cease," a translation of ὅτι ἀναπαύονται, just as ⲤⲉⲤ-ⲁⲔ-ⲔⲟⲁⲛⲛⲟⲆ̄ "in order that they may cease," renders ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται: see Browne 1985b, 292-293.

ⲤⲉⲉⲒⲗ- (2.5.6a): "deed."

18 ⲉⲢⲄⲒ- (i 10n) - 6- (3.9.5b) - ⲟⲛⲁ (pret. I): this may be modelled on the singular in the Greek (ἀκολουθεῖ), unless it is an extension of the usage described in 4.1.2f.

19 Ⲥⲗ̄- (variant of Ⲥⲁⲗ- ["to see"]) -Ⲓ-Ⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲒⲛ-: as in ii 4-5 and 11-12.

ⲉⲤ̄Ⲥⲛ̄: "behold"; cf. 5.1.2-3n.

19-20 ⲤⲒ66- ("cloud") -ⲁ ⲤⲟⲨⲗ- ("white") Ⲡⲗ̄ⲗⲁⲢⲁ- (predicative of pres. verbid of Ⲡⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲗⲗ(ⲗ)-, a juncture of two verbs meaning "to shine") -Ⲙⲟⲛ(3.10)ⲉ̄ⲛ-ⲟⲛⲁ (pret. I): "and there was a white, shining cloud"; for the structure cf. ILT 10 A i 16-17 cited in 3.5.2e; as for ⲤⲟⲨⲗ-, the final -ⲟⲨ- seen in M. 10.16 (ⲤⲟⲨⲗⲟⲨ-Ⲕⲁ; cf. also ILT 6 i 11) and maintained in modern nulâ is deleted as if it were a juncture vowel (see 2.10).

20 ⲆⲔ-: "to sit."

21 ⲉⲒⲦ-: "man."

ⲦⲟⲦ-: "son."

ΚΟⲀⲀΤ-: "likeness."

22 ΟΥⲢ-: "head."

ⲤⲀΠ-: "gold."

ΤⲢⲀ̄Τ-: "crown."

22-23 ΠΙⲀ̄ⲢⲀ: pret. I predicative of ΠΙ- ("to be"), just as ⲀⲀⲢⲢⲀ in 24 is the pret. I predicative of ⲀⲀⲢ- ("to be"; for the formation see **3.9.7a**: "-ⲢⲀ appears [instead of -ⲀⲢⲀ] after a stem ending in a single -Ⲣ-").

23 ΤΟΠΟΠⲢ̄-: if rightly read (the second Π could be Τ), the word may be related to *tubro* "sickle" in the modern language; if so, it is perhaps a scribal error for ΤΟ-ΠⲢ̄-.

ΚΙΠⲢΕΙ-: "to be sharp," construed as in **4.6a**.

24 ⲤⲀΥ[ΕⲢ̄-: "shrine," restored from L. 111.2-3 and 8.

25 [-Ⲣ]Ο̣: i.e. -ⲀΟ (**2.3.2**).

ΚΕⲀ: "coming"; the form is from ΚΕⲢⲀ̄ (**2.5.6a**), and ΚΕⲢ- is a variant of ΚΙⲢ- (i 6).

ΤⲀⲢ-: "to come"; for the restoration cf. Sunn. 1 ii 9 ΤⲀⲢ[Ι]ΟΝⲀ̄.

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BMNV	Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie, Warsaw
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London)
BzS	Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Vienna
FL	Folia Linguistica, The Hague
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
NC	Nubia Christiana, Warsaw
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy, London
SP	Studia Papyrologica, Rome/Barcelona
STB	Sudan Texts Bulletin, Coleraine
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Cologne

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