Chris H. Reintges

COPTIC EGYPTIAN (SAHIDIC DIALECT)

A Learner's Grammar



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

To the memory of Martin Honcoop

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Acknowledgements

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

0.1 The Coptic language

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

0.1.1 Classification

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

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

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

0.1.2 Language history

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

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

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

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

0.1.3 Coptic literature

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

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

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

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

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

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

an internal and monastic audience.

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

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

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

0.2 About this grammar

0.2.1 Aims and scope

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

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

0.2.2 Theoretical background

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

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

0.2.3 Data sources

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

0.2.4 Research methods

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

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

0.2.4 Preview

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Unit 1

Sounds and spelling

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

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

1.1 The Coptic writing system

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

1.1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

In its present form, the Copto-Greek alphabet consists of thirty-two letters, twenty-four of which are taken from Greek and eight from Demotic writing. The Demotic-based letters are ϣ, ϥ, ϩ, ϧ, ϫ, ϧ, ϭ, ϯ. With the exception of the letter ϯ, these signs represent phonemes that were absent in Greek, but which are part of the Coptic-Egyptian sound system. Table 1 below presents the alphabetic signs of the Copto-Greek alphabet, the conventional transcription and the Greek and modern (Bohairic Coptic) name of each letter.

LETTER	CONVENTIONAL TRANSCRIPTION	GREEK AND BOHAIRIC NAME OF THE LETTER
ⲁ	a	Alpha
ⲃ	b	Beta/Vita
ⲅ	g	Gamma
ⲇ	d	Delta/Dalda
ⲉ	e	Epsilon/Eje
ⲍ	z	Zeta/Zita
ⲏ	ē	Eta/Ita
ⲑ	th	Theta/Thita
ⲉⲓ or ⲓ	i, y	iota/iuta
ⲕ	k	Kappa/Kabba
ⲗ	l	Lamda/Lawla
ⲙ	m	Mü/Mi
ⲛ	n	Nü/Ni
ⲝ	ks, x	Xi/Eksi
ⲟ	o	Omikron/Ow
ⲡ	p	Pi/Bi
ⲣ	r	Rho/Row
ⲥ	s	Sigma/Sima
ⲧ	t	Tau
ⲟⲩ or ⲩ	u, w	Ypsilon/He
ⲫ	ph	Phi
ⲭ	kh, ch	Chi/Ki
ⲯ	ps	Psi/Ebsi
ⲱ	ō	Omega/Aw
ϣ	š, sh	Shai
ϥ	f	Fai
ϧ	kh (Bohairic only)	Khai
ϩ	h	Hori
ϩ	kh (Akhmîmic only)	No name recorded
ϫ	č, $t^{š}$	Djandja
ϭ	k^{j}	Shima/Itshima
ϯ	ti	Ti

TABLE 1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

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

a) Monophonemic letters

The by far largest group of alphabetic signs are monophonemic letters, which are characterized by a one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes: ⲁ, ⲃ, ⲅ, ⲇ, ⲉ, ⲍ, ⲏ, ⲓ, ⲕ, ⲗ, ⲙ, ⲛ, ⲟ, ⲡ, ⲣ, ⲥ, ⲧ, ⲩ, ⲱ, ⲯ, ⲭ, ϥ, ϩ, ϭ.

b) Biphonemic letters

The Coptic-Greek alphabet contains a number of biphonemic letters, which represent a sequence of two adjacent phonemes: ⲫ (ⲡ + ϩ), ⲑ (ⲧ + ϩ), ⲭ (ⲕ + ϩ), ⲝ (ⲕ + ⲥ), ⲯ (ⲡ + ⲥ), ⳉ (ⲧ + ⲓ), ⲍ (ⲧ + ⲯ).

- The Greek-based letters ⲫ and ⲑ do not only appear in Greek loan words to reflect the aspirated stops ⲫ /p^h/ and ⲑ /t^h/, but are also regularly employed in native Copto-Egyptian words, whenever a sequence of ⲡ/ⲧ and ϩ occurs at a morpheme boundary, e.g. ⲑⲉ 'the manner' (< ⲧ- 'the (sing. fem.)' + ϩⲉ 'manner').
- The Demotic-based letter ⳉ constitutes an isolated example of syllabic orthography and expresses an entire syllable /ti/ rather than a sequence of two phonemes, e.g. ⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲓⲁ (AP Chaîne no. 210, p. 57:27) vs. ⳉⲙⲱⲣⲓⲁ 'punishment' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:8).
- The Demotic-based letter ⲭ is only marginally attested as a biphonemic grapheme, which renders a sequence of ⲧ and ⲯ, e.g. ⲭⲡⲟ 'cause to exist' (< ⲧ- (causative prefix) + ⲯⲱⲡⲉ 'to exist').

c) Digraphs

The Copto-Greek alphabet has two digraphs (i.e. pairs of letters, which represent a single phoneme) ⲉⲓ and ⲟⲩ, which may have a vocalic /i u/ or a consonantal interpretation /y w/ (see below, section 1.3.1.2). The digraph ϩⲣ that represents an aspirated alveolar liquid /r^h/ in word-initial position seems to be restricted to Greek and Latin loan words, e.g. ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'Roman' (Eud. 42:24) (< *ῥωμαῖος* /r^hɔ:maɟos/) (see below, section 1.4.2).

1.1.2 Diacritics and interpunction

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

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

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

1.1.3 *Nomina sacra*

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

NOMEN SACRUM	ABBREVIATED SPELLING	GLOSS
ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ	ⲓ̅ⲥ̅	Jesus
ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ	ⲭ̅ⲥ̅	Christ
ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ	ⲕ̅ⲥ̅	Lord
ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ	ⲥ̅ⲏ̅ⲣ̅	Saviour
ⲑⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ	ⲑⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ (var. ⲑⲓ̅ⲉ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅)	Jerusalem
ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ	ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅	Spirit
ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ	ⲥ̅ⲣ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅	cross
ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇ	ⲇ̅ⲁ̅ⲇ̅	David

TABLE 1.2 Abbreviated writings of *nomina sacra*

1.2 Segmental phonology

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

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

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

1.2.1 Consonantal phonemes

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

1.2.1.1 Features of consonants

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

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

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

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

1.2.1.2 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

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

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

ⲃ should be phonologically interpreted as a labio-dental voiced fricative /v/ rather than a bilabial stop /b/, as in the traditional classroom pronunciation. The beta (vita) **ⲃ** contrasts with the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ represented by the letter fai **ⲫ**, which appears from minimal pairs like **ⲃⲁⲓ** /vaj̯/ 'thunder' and **ⲫⲁⲓ** /faj̯/ 'carrying'. In literary Sahidic, the frequent variation between **ⲃ** and **ⲫ** in pre- and postvocalic position (e.g. **ⲫⲱ** ~ **ⲃⲱ** 'hair', **ϩⲱⲃ** ~ **ϩⲱⲫ** 'thing') indicates that the voiced-voiceless opposition of bilabial fricatives was partially neutralized.

ⲥ, ⲯ indicate the voiceless dental /s/ and voiceless alveopalatal fricative /š/, e.g. **ⲥⲁⲯⲫ** /saː.šəf/ 'seven'.

ⲙ, ⲛ represent the bilabial and dental nasals /m/ and /n/, respectively, e.g. **ⲙⲁ** /maː/ 'place' and **ⲛⲁ** /naː/ 'to have mercy'.

ⲗ, ⲣ express the dental/alveolar liquids /l/ and /r/, which are two distinctive phonemes in Sahidic Coptic, as evident from minimal pairs like **ⲗⲟ** /loː/ 'to stop' vs. **ⲣⲟ** /roː/ 'mouth'.

ⲉⲓ, ⲟⲩ represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, which typically occur prevocalically at the beginning of a word (e.g. **ⲉⲓⲱⲧ** /yɔt/ 'father', **ⲟⲩⲟⲡ** /wop/ 'to be holy'), or intervocalically in a vowel-glide-vowel sequence (e.g. **ⲧⲟⲓⲉ** /toː.ye/ 'part', **ϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ** /hiː.we/ 'to beat'). The glides /y/ and /w/ have /i/ and /u/ as vocalic counterparts, which are indicated by the same alphabetic letters (see below, section 1.2.2.2).

ⲇ, ⲅ, ⲍ represent the voiced dental /d/ and velar /g/ stops and the voiced dental fricative /z/, respectively. They are loan phonemes, which are by and large restricted to Greek borrowings. There is some evidence that the digraph ⲛⲅ represents a word-final velar nasal, e.g. ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲅ /muŋ/ for ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ 'to make, form', ⲁⲛⲅ /aŋ/ 'I'. The graphic variation between ⲍ and ⲥ, e.g. ⲁⲛⲍⲏⲃⲉ vs. ⲁⲛⲥⲏⲃⲉ 'school', reflects the absence of a phonemic contrast between the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives /z/ and /s/.

ⲝ represents an alveo-palatal voiceless affricate /t^{š}/.

Its single-segment status is evident from the selection of the definite article: the short forms ⲡⲓ- (singular masculine), ⲧⲓ- (singular feminine), ⲛⲓ- (plural) are selected, when the following words starts with one consonant, while the corresponding long forms ⲡⲉ-, ⲧⲉ-, ⲛⲉ- precede words beginning with a cluster of two or more consonants (see section 2.2.1.1 of Unit 2 for a more detailed discussion). Words with an initial ⲝ select the short form of the definite article, showing that it is treated as a single consonant, e.g. ⲧⲓ-ⲝⲁⲙⲏ /t-t^{š}a.mɛ:/ 'the calm'.

ϭ marks a voiceless palatalised velar stop /k^{ʸ}/, as in English *cute* /k^{ʸ}u:t/ (e.g. ϭⲓⲛⲉ /k^{ʸ}i:.ne/ 'to find'). It may vary with the velar voiceless stop ⲕ /k/, e.g. ⲕⲉ vs. ϭⲉ 'other'.

ϩ expresses a voiceless glottal fricative /h/. It disappears from the phonological representation in intervocalic position, e.g. ⲛⲁϩⲧ /na.ɛt/ 'merciful' (< ⲛⲁ /na:/ 'to have mercy' + ϩⲏⲧ /hɛt/ 'heart'). The letter hori (ϩ) is also used to render Greek aspiration.

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

MANNER OF ARTICULATION	PLACE OF ARTICULATION					
	bilabial	labio-dental	dental/ alveolar	alveo-palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	ⲡ /p/		ⲧ /t/		ⲕ /k/	/ʔ/
voiced stops			ⲇ /d/		ⲅ /g/	
palatalised stops					ϭ /k^{ʲ}/	
voiceless fricatives		ⲫ /f/	ⲥ /s/	ⲯ /š/		ϩ /h/
voiced fricatives		ⲃ /v/	ⲍ /z/			
voiceless affricates				ⲝ /t^{š}/		
nasals	ⲙ /m/		ⲛ /n/		ⲛⲅ /ŋ/	
liquids			ⲗ /l/ ⲣ /r/			
glides	ⲟⲩ /w/			ⲓ /y/		

TABLE 1.3 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

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

1.2.2 Vocalic phonemes

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

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

1.2.2.1 Vowel quality and quantity in Greek and Sahidic Coptic

The Copto-Greek alphabet has seven vocalic graphemes ⲁ (ⲉ)ⲓ ⲉ ⲏ ⲟ ⲱ ⲟⲩ, all of which were adopted from Greek. In addition, there is the superlinear stroke (ⲛ̄), which may indicate a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/. Although the distinction of long and short vowels was phonemic in Classical (Attic) Greek, vowel length was expressed orthographically only in those cases where long and short vowels differed not only in quantity but also in quality: ε /e/ corresponds to η /ɛː/, and ο /o/ corresponds to ω /ɔː/.

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

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

- Stressed closed syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a consonant) contain short vowels, e.g. ⲕⲱⲧ /kˈɔt/ 'to build'.
- Stressed open syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a vowel) have long vowels instead, e.g. the ⲕⲱ in ⲕⲱⲧⲉ /kˈɔː.te/ 'to turn'.

- Unstressed open syllables, on the other hand, have short vowels, e.g. the ⲕⲉ /ke/ in ⲕⲉⲗⲱⲗ /ke.lˈɔl/ 'pitcher, jar'.

Given that Sahidic vowel length is determined by syllable structure and stress placement, it seems more likely that the pairs of vowel graphemes (ⲉ, ⲏ) and (ⲟ, ⲱ) express a difference in vowel height, i.e. quality rather than one in quantity: ⲉ /e/ vs. ⲏ /ɛ/, ⲱ /ɔ/ vs. ⲟ /o/.

1.2.2.2 Sahidic vocalic phonemes

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

ⲁ represents the low unrounded back vowel /ɑ/, much like the *a* in German *Mann* /man/ 'man', e.g. ⲁⲥⲡⲉ /ɑs.pe/ 'language'.

ⲟ represents mid-high back rounded vowel /o/; its approximate pronunciation is the *o* in German *Ober* /oːbər/ 'waiter', e.g. ⲟⲃϩⲉ /ov.he/ 'tooth'.

ⲱ represents the mid-low back rounded vowel /ɔ/ and is pronounced like the *o* in English *not* /nɔt/, e.g. ⲱⲛϩ /ɔː.nh/ 'to live'.

ⲟⲩ marks a back, high rounded vowel /u/, and resembles the *u* in English *pull* /pul/, e.g. ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ /uː.tˢa̯i̯/ 'to become healthy'.

(ⲉ)ⲓ expresses the high unrounded front vowel /i/, when it has a vocalic interpretation and was pronounced like the *ee* in English *bee* /biː/. In Sahidic orthography, this vowel is generally rendered as a digraph ⲉⲓ in word-initial position, while its monographic variant ⲓ is more common in word-final position, e.g. ⲉⲓⲛⲉ /iː.ne/ 'to bring' vs. ϫⲓ /tˢiː/ 'to take'. In word-medial position, ⲉⲓ alternates with ⲓ, e.g. ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ /mɔi̯t/ 'way' vs. ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ /shiː.me/ 'woman'.

ⲏ represents the lower-mid unrounded front counterpart /ɛ/ of ⲉ and comes close in pronunciation to German *ä* in *hält* /hɛlt/ 'holds', e.g. ⲏ(ⲉ)ⲓ /ɛi̯/ 'house'.

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

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

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

In literary Sahidic, however, ϒ frequently varies with ⲏ and ϵ in both native and loan words, e.g. ⲃϒϭϵ (AP, Chaîne no. 211, 60:23) for Egyptian ⲃⲉⲕⲉ /βeː.ke/ 'wage', ϫϒⲙⲁ (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:6) for Greek σχῆμα /skʰeː.ma/ 'monkish garment'.

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

	FRONT, UNROUNDED	CENTRAL, UNROUNDED	BACK, ROUNDED
HIGH	(ϵ)ⲓ /i/ /iː/		ⲟϒ /u/ /uː/
HIGHER-MID	ϵ /e/ /eː/	/ə/	ⲟ /o/ /oː/
LOWER-MID	ⲏ /ɛ/ /ɛː/		ⲱ /ɔ/ /ɔː/
LOW		ⲁ /a/ /aː/	

TABLE 1.4 Sahidic vowel phonemes

1.2.2.3 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

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

STRESSED SYLLABLES		UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES	
(ϵ)ⲓ /i/ /iː/	ⲟϒ /u/ /uː/	(ϵ)ⲓ /i/	
ϵ /e/ /eː/	ⲟ /o/ /oː/	ϵ /e/	/ə/
ⲏ /ɛ/ /ɛː/	ⲱ /ɔ/ /ɔː/		
ⲁ /a/ /aː/		ⲁ /a/	

TABLE 1.5 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

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

(i) The vowels ⲏ /ɛ/, ⲟ /o/ and ⲱ /ɔ/ are restricted to stressed syllables.

(ii) The vowels ⲁ /a/ and (ϵ)ⲓ /i/ are positionally variable; i.e. they may occur in both stressed and unstressed syllables. In the latter context, the unstressed vowel is always short.

(iii) *Schwas* /ə/ (reduced vowels) never receive stress. The vowel ϵ /e/ is stressed only if there is a schwa /ə/ or another ϵ /e/ in the same phonological domain.

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

- Gender and number marking, e.g. ⲣⲣⲟ 'king' ~ ⲣⲣⲱ 'queen', ⲡϵ (singular) ~ ⲛⲏϒϵ (plural) 'heaven'
- The pronominal paradigm of prepositions, e.g. ϵⲣⲟ 'to you (woman)' ~ ϵⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ 'to you (plural)'
- The possessive demonstratives, e.g. ⲡⲱ-ϥ 'his one' (singular masculine) ~ ⲛⲟϒ-ϥ 'his ones' (plural).

1.3 Suprasegmental phonology

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

1.3.1 Syllable structure and syllabification

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

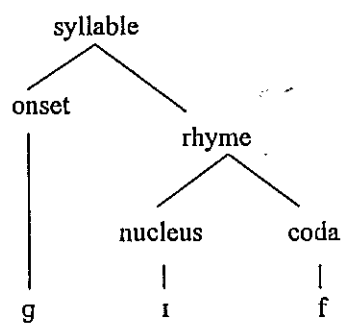

FIGURE 1.1 The internal structure of syllables

1.3.1.1 Syllable types and consonant clusters

Sahidic Coptic is a language with a rich inventory of different types of syllables. It ranges from so-called degenerate syllables, i.e. syllables consisting of a syllabic nucleus only, which may be followed by a consonantal coda, e.g. the vowel ⲏ /ɛ/ in bisyllabic words like ⲏⲡⲉ /ɛː.pe/ 'number' or ⲏⲡ /ɛːp/ 'to be counted to', to relatively complex structures like ϭⲱⲟⲩⲯ /kʲɔu̯š/ in ⲥⲁⲣⲁϭⲱⲟⲩⲯ /sa.ra.kʲ'ɔu̯š/ 'hare', where a closed syllable has a diphthong as its vocalic nucleus. Despite this variety, it is possible to make out four main syllabic patterns, which are exemplified in table 1.6 below. (Capital C stands for consonant and capital V for vowel. A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots):

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	VOWEL LENGTH	STRESS PATTERN	EXAMPLES
closed syllables (CVC)	short vowel (V)	stressed or unstressed	stressed ⲯⲁϥ /š'ɑf/ in ⲯⲁϥⲧⲉ /š'ɑf.te/ 'enemy' vs. unstressed ⲧⲁⲛ /tɑn/ in ⲧⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ /tan.h'ut/ 'to rely on'
open syllables with short V's (CV)	short vowel (V)	always unstressed	unstressed ⲭⲉ /tˢe/ in ⲯⲁⲭⲉ /š'ɑː.tˢe / 'word' or ⲥⲁ /sɑ/ in ⲥⲁⲃⲏ /sɑ.v'ɛː/ 'wise' (fem.)
open syllables with lengthened V's (CVː)	long vowel (Vː)	always stressed	stressed ⲥⲱ /s'ɔː/ in ⲥⲱⲧⲙ /s'ɔː.təm/ 'to hear' or ⲃⲏ /v'ɛː/ in ⲥⲁⲃⲏ /sɑ.v'ɛː/ 'wise' (fem.)
degenerate syllables (V, Vː, VC)	short or long vowel (V, Vː)	stressed or unstressed	stressed ⲟⲩ /u/ in ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ /'uː.tah/ 'fruit' and ⲁⲥ /as/ in ⲁⲥⲡⲉ /'ɑs.pe/ 'language' vs. unstressed ⲁ /a/ in ⲁⲛⲁⲯ /ɑ.n'ɑš/ 'oath'

TABLE 1.6 A typology of Sahidic Coptic syllable structures

The onset of the syllable may contain extra phonological material to form a consonant cluster up to three consonants, e.g. the ⲥⲣ- /skʲr/ in ⲥⲣⲁϩⲧ /skʲr'ɑht/ 'to rest'. It appears that consonant clusters are not allowed in coda position. Instead, clusters of two consonants are broken up by a schwa /ə/, thus ⲏⲣⲡ /ɛː.rəp/ and not /ɛː.rp/.

1.3.1.2 The glide-vowel alternation

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

(i) In the onset position, when the digraphs (ϵ)ι and ογ are followed by a vowel grapheme, they have a consonantal interpretation and represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, e.g. ϵιωτ /y'ɔt/ 'father' and ογοπ /w'op/ 'to be holy'.

(ii) If, on the other hand, (ϵ)ι and ογ are preceded by a word-initial consonant, they function as syllabic nuclei and represent the vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, e.g. ρι /r'i:/ 'cell' and ⲛογϐ /n'uv/ 'gold'. Sahidic Coptic has degenerate syllables that consist of a syllabic nucleus only. In this context, the digraphs (ϵ)ι and ογ are consistently interpreted as vowels, e.g. ογⲧⲁϩ /'u:.tah/ 'fruit'.

(iii) The digraphs (ϵ)ι and ογ may also represent the second part of a diphthong, i.e. a sequence of two vowels in the nucleus position of the syllable, which may but need not share phonological features in common. Sahidic Coptic has a rich inventory of such diphthongs, as we can see in table 1.7 below. (Diphthongs are transcribed with an inverted breve /a͡i/, /a͡u/).

(iv) A sequence of three adjacent vowels is a phonologically unstable pattern, which is generally avoided. In Sahidic, a triplet of three different vowels gives rise to a vowel-glide-vowel sequence, where the intermediate vowel surfaces as the corresponding glide, e.g. ϩιογϵ /h'i:.we/ 'to beat', ροϵιογϵ /r'oi̯.we/ 'stalk', ⲧοιϵ /t'o.ye/ 'part', ⲧⲁιο /ta.y'o:/ 'to honour'.

	VOWEL + (ϵ)ι /i̯/	VOWEL + (o)γ /u̯/
ⲁ	ⲁϵι, ⲁι /ai̯/, e.g. ⲥⲁϵⲓⲛ /sai̯n/ 'physician'	ⲁγ /au̯/, e.g. ⲛⲁγ /nau̯/ 'to see'
ϵ	ϵϵι, ϵι /ei̯/, e.g. ⲡϵι- /pei̯/ 'this'	ϵγ /eu̯/, e.g. ⲡϵγ- /peu̯/ 'their'
ⲏ	ⲏϵι, ⲏι/ɛi̯/, e.g. ⲏι (var. ⲏϵι) /ɛi̯/ 'house'	ⲏγ /ɛu̯/, e.g. ⲥⲛⲏγ /snɛu̯/ 'brothers'
o	oϵι, oι /oi̯/, e.g. oϵⲓⲕ /oi̯k/ 'bread'	ⲱoγ /ɔu̯/ e.g. ⲥⲁⲣⲁϭⲱoγⲯ /sa.ra.kʲɔu̯š/ 'hare'

TABLE 1.7 Sahidic diphthongs

1.3.1.3 The superlinear stroke

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

Examples: (word-initial) ⲡⲣⲱⲙϵ ϵⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ /en.ar.khɔ:n/ (for ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ /ən.ar.kho:n/ 'the magistrate (lit. the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙϵ) being (ϵⲛ-) magistrate (ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ)' (BHom 261:15), ϵⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲗϩ̄ /em.pa.tu.kɔ:.ləh/ (for ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲗϩ̄ /əm.p.tu.kɔ:.ləh/) 'before they summon (the congregation) (ϵⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲗϩ)' (praec. Pach. 90), ⲡⲉ̄ⲭ-ⲣⲁⲛ /pəf.ran/ (for ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲁⲛ /pef.ran/) 'his (ⲡⲉ̄ⲭ-) name (ⲣⲁⲛ)' (Onnophr. 205:8); (medial) ⲁⲭϵⲣ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ /af.er.martiros/ (for ⲁⲭⲣ̄ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ /af.ər.martiros/) 'he (Apa Mena) became (ⲁ-ⲭ-ϵⲣ) a martyr (ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Mir. 6a:12), ⲛϵⲩϵⲛ

/ne.wen/ (for ⲛⲉⲩⲛ̄ /ne.wən/) '(there) was (ⲛⲉ-(ⲟ)ⲩⲉⲛ)' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30), (final) ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ /nah.ren/ (for ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ /nah.rən/) 'in front of' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:14).

The *schwa* can even be reduced to such an extent that it is no longer audible. The acoustic effect of this phonological process is a syllabic consonant, i.e. a consonant that constitutes the most sonorant part of the syllable and hence, fills the nucleus slot. An example of a syllabic consonant in English would be the /n/ in *even* /iː.vn̩/ or the /l/ in bottle /bɒtl̩/. In Sahidic Coptic, only the sonorants ⲙ, ⲛ, ⲣ, ⲗ, ⲃ /m n r l v/ can function as syllabic consonants; their nucleus functions may but need not be indicated by the superlinear stroke, e.g. ⲧⲃ̄ⲧ /tṿt/ 'fish', ⲫⲛ̄ⲧ /fn̩t/ 'worm', ϩⲙ̄ⲭ /hm̩tˢ/ 'vinegar'.

1.3.1.4 Vowel gemination

A rather striking feature of Sahidic orthography is the double writing or gemination of vowel graphemes, which gives rise to a sequence of two identical vowel graphemes like ⲁⲁ, ⲉⲉ, ⲏⲏ, ⲟⲟ, ⲱⲱ in words like ⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ 'ear', ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ 'to think', ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ 'crowd', ⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ 'evil', ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ 'book'. There is reason to assume that vowel gemination does not express a lengthened vowel, which are not rendered orthographically, but rather indicates an intervocalic glottal stop /ʔ/: V^{ʔ}V. Vowel gemination represents a stressed lengthened vowel that is interrupted by a glottal stop, a process that has come to be known as vowel breaking. The phonological interpretation of words like ⲙⲓⲏⲫⲉ or ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ would therefore be /mɛ^{ʔ}ɛ.še/ and /tˢɔ^{ʔ}ɔ.me/, respectively. Since only long vowels can be broken, Sahidic vowel breaking is limited to stressed, open syllables.

1.3.1.5 Consonant gemination

In Sahidic Coptic, quantity or length in duration is not only a property of vowels, but may apply to consonants as well. Unlike vowel length, however, which is determined by prosodic features, the opposition between plain and geminate consonants is phonologically distinctive, which appears from minimal pairs like ⲣⲟ /rˈoː/ 'mouth' vs. ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ /ər.rˈoː/ 'king', ⲙⲟ /moː/ 'give!' (Imperative singular masculine) vs. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ= /əm.mˈoː/ 'in' (the pronominal form of the locative preposition ⲛ/ⲙ 'in'). Lengthened consonants typically span a syllable break and fill the coda and onset position of two adjacent syllables. In Sahidic Coptic, geminate consonants are subject to severe positional restrictions: the syllable preceding the geminate must be unstressed and contain a phonologically reduced nucleus, while the syllable following the geminate must be stressed and contain a lengthened vowel. The presence of the schwa /ə/ in the unstressed syllable is orthographically expressed by a superlinear stroke on the first consonant of the geminate, e.g. ϩⲗ̄ⲗⲱ /həl.lˈoː/ 'old woman', ⲧⲃ̄ⲃⲟ /təv.vˈoː/ 'to purify', ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ /vər.rˈeː/ 'to be young'.

1.3.2 Word stress

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

1.3.2.1 Basic properties of the Sahidic stress system

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

Sahidic syllables fall into two classes, depending on the number of segments contained in the rhyme. On the one hand, there are so-called light syllables, whose rhyme contains only a plain vowel, e.g. the ⲛⲉ /ne/ in ⲧⲉϩⲛⲉ /tˈeh.ne/ 'forehead'. On the other hand, there are heavy syllables, whose rhyme is made up of at least two segments, which may be (i) a short vowel and a consonantal coda, e.g. the ⲟⲛ /on/ in ⲥⲟⲛ /sˈon/ 'brother', or (ii) a lengthened or 'broken' vowel, e.g. the ⲱ /ɔː/ in ⲥⲱⲛⲉ /sˈ ɔː.ne/ 'sister' or the ⲉⲉ /e^{ʔ}e/ in ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ /mˈe^{ʔ}e.we/ 'to think'.

1.3.2.2 Stress rules

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

(i) When a word has two or more syllables of different prosodic weight, stress always lodges on the heavy syllable, e.g. ⲯⲁϥⲧⲉ /š'af.te/ 'enemy', ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ /n'u:.te/ 'god', ⲁⲛⲁⲯ /a.n'aš/ 'oath', ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ /a.m'ah.te/ 'to prevail'.

(ii) When a word has two or more syllables of the same prosodic weight, stress falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g. ⲁⲓⲁⲓ /'aį.aį/ 'to increase', ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲛⲕⲉϩ /ke.l'en.keh/ 'elbow'.

(iii) Phonologically reduced syllables can never receive stress assignment, if the preceding or following syllable has a full vowel, e.g. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ /mən.tr'e/ 'testimony', ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ /n'ah.rən/) 'in front of'.

(iv) The vowel ⲉ /e/ is stressed only if there is a schwa /ə/ or another ⲉ /e/ in the same phonological domain, e.g. ⲕⲛ̄ⲛⲉ /kən.n'e/ 'to be fat'.

(v) A number of grammatical elements like prepositions, verbal prefixes or enclitic particles are never stressed, e.g. ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ /ep.r'o:.me/ 'to-the-man', ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣⲁⲯⲉ /af.r'a:.še/ (PERFECT-*he*-rejoice) 'he rejoiced', ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲁⲉ /ən.t'of-de/ '(as for) him'.

1.3.3 Phonological alternations

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

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

1.3.3.1 Labial assimilation

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

LABIAL ASSIMILATION
n → m / ___ p, m

Labial assimilation is an obligatory phonological process at the juncture between two morphemes and never applies within a single morpheme, e.g. ⲛⲙⲙⲁ- (not ⲙⲙⲙⲁ-) 'with' (the form of the preposition ⲙⲛ used with pronouns). Notice, however, that only one coronal nasal may be assimilated within a word, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ (< ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) 'the kings (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ) of (ⲛ-) (not ⲙ-) the (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) Persians' (Eud. 42:18). Particularly common examples of labial assimilation are:

- The linkage marker ⲛ- 'of', e.g. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) *of* (ⲛ-) the stewards (ⲛ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 105) vs. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲙ-ⲡⲣⲓⲙⲉ 'the (ⲡ-) place (ⲙⲁ) *of* (ⲙ-) (the) weeping (ⲡ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 204:142)
- Prepositions with ⲛ as a final consonant: ϩⲛ, var. ϩⲙ 'in, into', e.g. ϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ '*in* (ϩⲛ) the congregation (ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 91) vs. ϩⲙ ⲡϯⲙⲉ 'into (ϩⲙ) the village (ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ)' (praec. Pach. 90), ⲁⲭⲛ, var. ⲁⲭⲙ 'without', e.g. ⲁⲭⲛ ⲧⲱⲯ '*without* (ⲁⲭⲛ) order (ⲧⲱⲯ)' (praec. Pach.127) vs. ⲁⲭⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲙⲛⲏⲉⲓ '*without* (ⲁⲭⲙ) his superintendent (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏⲉⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 106)

- The plural form of the definite article ⲛ- 'the', e.g. ⲛⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩ 'the bakers (ⲛ-ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩ)' (praec. Pach. 117) vs. ⲙⲛⲁ ⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ '*the* dwelling (ⲛ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) *places* (ⲙ-ⲛⲁ) of (ⲛ-) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the souls (ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 198:73).

1.3.3.2 ⲧ-deletion

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

T-DELETION

t → ∅ /___ t

Note that the reduction of a sequence to two ⲧ's to a single one is not restricted to word-final position, as in ⲉⲛⲧ (< ⲉⲛⲧ + ⲧ) 'to bring (ⲉⲛⲧ-) me (-ⲧ)' (Test. Is. 234:22), but may also occur word-internally, as in ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ (read ⲡⲉ†ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) (< ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-†-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) 'what I was doing' (Onnophr. 207:16).

1.3.3.3 Vowel elision

At a morpheme or word boundary, sequences of two or more vowels may be simplified by deleting one vocalic segment. Unlike labial assimilation and ⲧ-deletion, vowel elision is an optional phonological process. The deleted vowel may but need not be identical with the neighbouring one, e.g. ⲡⲉ†ⲛⲁⲁϥ (< ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-†-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ) 'what I shall do' (Ac. A&P 200:100).

1.4 Greek loan words

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

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

1.4.1 A typology of Greek borrowings

The transfer of Greek lexical material into the Coptic vocabulary was not restricted to content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives), which have a clear link to Hellenistic and Christian culture (e.g. ⲫⲩⲭⲏ 'soul' (< ψυχή /psük^{h}ɛ:/), ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'church' (< ἐκκλησία /ekkle:sia/), ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ 'to baptize' (< βαπτίζεσθαι /baptizest^{h}ai/), ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 'blessed' (< μακαρίος /makarios/)), but also involved a variety of Greek function words (i.e. grammatical words with no descriptive-lexical content), such as sentence conjunctions (e.g. ⲍⲱⲥⲧⲉ 'such that' (< ὥστε /hɔ:ste/)), discourse markers (e.g. ⲇⲉ (< δέ /de/)), manner and time adverbials (e.g. ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ (< κακῶς /kakɔ:s/) 'badly', ⲧⲟⲧⲉ (< τότε /tote/) 'then, at that time')), and even some prepositions (e.g. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ 'according to' (< κατά /kata/)). Despite the massive influx of Greek items, paradigmatically organized words like determiners, pronouns, numerals, and tense markers are all drawn from the native stock. To fit into Coptic phrase structure, Greek loan words underwent minor morphological changes in the course of borrowing.

1.4.1.1 Copto-Greek nouns

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

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

'place'), ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲝⲓⲥ 'the Holy Mass' (Hil. 1:17) (< σύναξις /sinaksis/ 'gathering'), ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ 'Eucharist' (Eud. 72:23) (< προσφορά /prosp^{h}ora/ 'bounty, gift'), ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ 'monastic practice, ascetic labour' (Zen. 199:8) (< πολιτεία /politeia/ 'citizenship, government').

1.4.1.2 Copto-Greek adjectives

Coptic has no special word class of adjectives. Greek adjectives are therefore treated as fully fledged nouns, e.g. ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'the (ⲡ-) blessed (ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ < μακάριος /makarios/) Apa Nahrow' (KHML I 4:7), ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲫⲩⲭⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'these lifeless (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲁⲫⲩⲭⲟⲛ < ἄψυχος /apsik^{h}os/) (things) called (ⲭⲉ) god (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (KHML I 1:2), ⲧⲡⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲏⲛⲏ 'the Old (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ < παλαιός /palaios/) and (ⲙⲛ) the New (Testament) (ⲧ-ⲕⲏⲛⲏ < καινός /kainos/)' (Hil. 1:13), ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ 'the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena (was) well-born (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ < εὐγενής /eugene:s/) of Egyptian descent (lit. 'from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ) the land (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) of Egypt (ⲛ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ))' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-b:2).

Greek adjectives generally appear with the singular masculine ending -ος /-os/ (-ⲟⲥ), e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ 'a wise (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ < σοφός /sop^{h}os/) man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Teach. Ant. 4), ϩⲱⲥ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ 'like (ϩⲱⲥ) a man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of this world (ⲛ-ⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ < βιωτικός /bio:tikos/)' (Hil. 13:5); exceptions: (singular feminine -α /-a/ -ⲁ) ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ 'the blessed (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ < μακάριος /makarios/) Hilaria (ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ)' (Hil. 1:1), (singular neuter -ον /-on/ -ⲟⲛ) ⲧⲉⲓⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲕⲟⲛ̄ (for ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ) 'this spiritual (ⲛ-ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ < πνευματικός /pneumatikos/) desire (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ < ἐπιθυμία /epit^{h}ümia/)' (Hil. 1:20), (genitive plural -ων /-ɔ:n/ -ⲱⲛ) ⲙⲡⲏⲟⲓⲧⲏⲥ (read ⲡⲟⲓⲏⲧⲏⲥ) ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲱⲛ 'the ancient (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲱⲛ < ἀρχαῖος /ark^{h}aios/) poets (ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲓⲏⲧⲏⲥ < ποιητής /poje:te:s/)' (Hil. 1:18).

The Greek superlative can sometimes be found in epithets preceding or following a proper name, e.g. ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲏⲛⲱⲛ 'this *most humble* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ < ἐλάχιστος /elak^{h}istos/) king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Zenô (ϩⲏⲛⲱⲛ)' (Hil. 7:21), ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲑⲉⲟⲫⲓⲗⲉⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ 'his beloved (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ) father (ⲛ-ⲓⲱⲧ), the archbishop (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ) Apa Timotheus (ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ), *most beloved by God* (ⲛ-ⲑⲉⲟⲫⲓⲗⲉⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ < θεοφιλέστατος /t^{h}eophiletatos/)' (Sh. III 13:19-20).

1.4.1.3 Copto-Greek verbs

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

1.4.1.4 Copto-Greek function words

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

- Prepositions, which mark relations between entities, e.g. ϩⲱⲥ 'like, as' 'ως < /hɔ:s/), ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ 'except' (< εἰ μή τι /eime:ti/). Two frequently used Greek prepositions ⲕⲁⲧⲁ 'according to' (< κατά /kata/) and ⲡⲁⲣⲁ 'more than' (< παρά /para/) have special forms ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲟ= and ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ= before pronouns, which are formed on the analogy of native prepositions like ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲟ= 'to, towards'.

- Adverbs of time and manner, e.g. ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ (< ἀληθῶς /aleːtʰɔːs/) 'actually, really', ⲉⲧⲓ (var. ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 87:16)) (< ἔτι /eti/) 'yet, still', ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ (< κακῶς /kakɔːs/) 'badly', ⲧⲟⲧⲉ (< τότε /tote/) 'then, at that time'.
- Subordinating conjunctions or complementizers, which introduce a syntactically dependent clause, e.g. ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ 'such that' (< ὥστε /hɔːste/), ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ 'that not' (< μήπως /meːpɔːs/).
- Coordinating conjunctions, which connect two noun phrases or clauses, e.g. ⲏ 'or' (< ἤ /eː/), ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 'and not' (< οὐδέ /uːde/).
- Rhetorical conjunctions that express discourse relations like contrast ⲁⲗⲗⲁ 'but' (< ἀλλά /alla/), an explanation of the preceding discourse ⲅⲁⲣ 'because, for' (< γάρ /gar/), or a change of topic or beginning of a new narrative unit ⲇⲉ (< δέ /de/).

1.4.2 The spelling of Greek loan words

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

a) Variation between γ ~ ϰ and τ ~ δ

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

- (γ ~ ϰ) ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (Onnophr. 219:22) ~ ⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (V. Pach. 87:1) 'fruit' (< καρπός /karpos/), ⲉⲣⲅⲁⲧⲏⲥ (V. Pach. 210b:3) ~ ⲁⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲥ (BHom. 263:7) 'worker' (< ἐργάτης /ergateːs/), ⲁⲅⲁⲛⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 67:20-21) ~ ⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 92:9-10) 'to become angry' (< ἀγαναχτεῖν /aganaktein/)
- (δ ~ τ) ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ (Abbatôn 237:13) ~ ⲡⲁⲣⲁϯⲥⲱⲥ (V. Pach. 86:23) 'garden (of Eden), Paradise' (< παράδεισος /paradeisos/), ⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 159b:29) ~ ⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ (Test. Is. 234:20) 'to punish' (< τιμωρεῖν /timɔːrein/), ⲇⲓⲥⲇⲁϩⲉ (V. Pach. 192:25) ~ ⲧⲓⲥⲧⲁϩⲉ (V. Pach. 94:22) ~ ⲇⲓⲥⲧⲁϩⲉ (V. Pach. 288:17-18) 'to hesitate' (< διστάζειν /distazein/).

b) Variation between ο ~ ω and ε ~ η

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

- (ο ~ ω) ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ (V. Pach. 36:2) ~ ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲥ (V. Pach. 94:15) 'law' (< νομός /nomos/), ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 91:27) ~ ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 73a:22) 'to do service, minister' (διακονεῖν /diakonein/), ⲙⲱⲛⲱⲛ (V. Pach. 89:27) ~ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ (V. Pach. 106b:11) 'only' (< μόνον /monon/), ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲥ (V. Pach. 206b:37) ~ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ (V. Pach. 29b:27) 'certainly, probably' (< πάντως /pantɔːs/)
- (ε ~ η) ϩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲉ (V. Pach. 251b:9-10) ~ ϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ (V. Pach. 292:27) 'to translate' (< ἑρμηνεύειν /hermeːneuein/), ϩⲩⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ (V. Pach. 218b:12-13) ~ ϩⲩⲡⲏⲣⲏⲧⲏⲥ (V. Pach. 14a:8-9) 'servant' (< ὑπηρέτης /hüpeːreteːs/), ϩⲉⲑⲟⲥ (AP Chaîne, no 192, 49:32) 'custom, habit' (< ἔθος /eːtʰos/), ϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ (V. Pach. 253a:3-4) ~ ϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἕλλην /helleːn/).

c) Variation between η, ε, ι and υ

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

Examples: ⲇⲓⲁⲑⲩⲕⲏ (Test.Is. 237:23-24) 'testament' (< διαθήκη /diatʰeːkeː/) (var. ⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ (Test.Is. 237:14)), ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ (V. Pach. 91:7) 'sacrifice' (< θυσία /tʰüsia/) (var. ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ (V. Pach. 88:12)), ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲓⲕⲟⲥ (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:34) ~ ⲕⲗⲩⲣⲓⲕⲟⲥ (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:29) 'cleric' (< κληρικός /kleːrikos/), ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 212a:1) ~ ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 294:10) 'to be at war with, quarrel' (< πολεμεῖν /polemein/).

d) Variation between ϵ and the superlinear stroke

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

Examples: ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ (Hil. 1:22) ~ ⲧ̄ⲕ̄ⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ (Onnophr. 223:9-10) 'the (ⲧ- definite article sing.fem.) church' (< ἐκκλησία /ekkleːsia/), ϩ̄ⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ (Onnophr. 221:7) ~ ⲟⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ (ⲧ- + ϩⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ) (V. Pach. 239:5) 'week' (< ἑβδομάς /hebdomaːs/), ϩ̄ⲗⲏⲛ (BHom. 263:7) ~ ϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἕλλην /helleːn/).

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

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

- (ι,η ~ ει) ⲁⲅⲉⲗⲉⲓ (Onnophr. 206:14) ~ ⲁⲅⲉⲗⲏ (Op. Pach. et disc. 25:16) 'herd, multitude' (< ἀγέλη /ageleː/), ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ (V. Pach. 25:16) ~ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ (V. Pach. 292:8) ~ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ (V. Pach. 106a:21) (< ἐπιθυμία /epitʰümia/)
- (αι ~ ε) ⲇⲉⲙⲟⲛ (AP, Chaîne no. 132, 30:4) 'demon' (< δαῖμων /da̯i̯moːn/) (var. ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:9)), ⲉⲱⲛ 'era' (V. Pach. 86:7) (< αἰών /aioːn/) (var. ⲁⲓⲱⲛ (Eud. 38:23)), ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 87:16) (< ἔτι /eti/) 'yet, still' (var. ⲉⲧⲓ (V. Pach. 1:22)), ⲉⲧⲉⲓ (Test. Is. 237:13) 'to request, ask for' (< αιτεῖν /a̯i̯teːn/) (var. ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ (V. Pach. 3:13)), ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲣⲉⲟⲥ 'pure, unmixed' (Test. Is. 228:14) (< ἀκέραιος /akera̯i̯os/).

f) Variation between ε, ι and η

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

Examples: ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ 'eagle' (Onnophr. 211:26-27) ~ ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:28) (< ἀετός /aetos/), ⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ (V. Pach. 86:24) ~ ⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ (V. Pach. 73a:23) 'ascetic' (< ἀσκητής /askeːteːs/), ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ (Op. Pach. et discipl. 1:15) ~ ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ (op. Pach. et disc. 23:1) ~ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ (Op. Pach. et discipl. 49:1) 'to try, tempt' (< πειράζειν /peirazein/), ⲁⲛⲇⲓⲁⲓⲣⲉ (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:31) 'to speak against, contradict'(< ἀντιλέγειν /antilege̯i̯n/).

g) Greek aspiration

Greek orthography employed a special diacritic (ʽ), the so-called spiritus asper (lit. "rough breathing"), to indicate the presence of a word-initial voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/, e.g. ὅρος /horos/ 'boundary, landmark'. Despite the loss of the /h/ in Greek by the 4th century AD, the spiritus asper is retained in the orthography of Copto-Greek words, where it is generally rendered by the Coptic letter hori ϩ: ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ 'holy' (< ἅγιος /hagios/) (in epithets, e.g. ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ 'the holy Apa Mena' Mena, Mir. 7a:6-7), ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ (Test. Is. 233:28) 'wholly, altogether' (< ὅλως /holɔːs/), (word-internal /h/ in compounds): ⲡⲣⲟϩⲁⲓⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ (V. Pach. 85a:25-26) 'choice, preference' (< προαίρεσις /proha̯i̯resis/).

The Greek trilled, alveolar liquid /r/ was aspirated at the beginning of a word /rʰ/ and, like all aspirated consonants in Greek, voiceless. The so-called *spiritus asper* ('rough breathing') is rendered by the digraph ϩⲣ in the Coptic spelling of Greek and Latin borrowings, e.g. ϩⲣⲏⲧⲱⲣ (KHML II 31:14) 'speaker, advocate' (< ῥήτωρ /rʰetɔːr/), ⲡⲉ-ϩⲣⲉⲡⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ (KHML II 29:17) 'the (ⲡⲉ-) riparius (ϩⲣⲉⲡⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) police official in Egypt)' (< *ῥιπάριος* /rʰiparios/ (lat. *riparius*), ⲛⲉ-ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'the (ⲛⲉ-) Romans (ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ)' (Eud. 42:23-24) (< *ῥωμαῖος* /rʰɔːma̯i̯os/). Occasionally, the letter *hori* (ϩ) is used to render the Greek *spiritus lenis* (lit. "smooth breathing"), e.g. ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ (V. Pach. 95:15) ~ ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ (V. Pach. 43a:16) 'people, (pagan) nation' (< ἔθνος /etʰnos/), ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ (Abbatôn 232:10) 'image' (< εἰκών /e̯i̯kɔːn/), ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ (Eud. 42:21) 'to hope' (< ἐλπίζειν /elpizeːn/), ϩⲩⲡⲟⲣⲁ (Test. Is.232:1) 'fruit' (< ὀπώρα /opɔːra/), ϩⲓⲇⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ (V. Pach. 59b:12) 'layman, unsophisticated person' (< ἰδιώτης /idiɔːteːs/).

Key Terms:

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

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

How to use Coptic dictionaries

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

Exercises

1.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.

1. The Coptic and the Greek alphabets are identical.
2. Coptic letters may express more than one sound or phoneme.
3. The glides (ⲉ)ⲓ and ⲟⲩ cannot appear between two vowels

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

1.2 The Coptic writing system

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

[9] ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ

[10] ⲧⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲫⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲥⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ

[11] ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲓ̄ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ

[12] ⲛⲓ̄ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ

[13] ⲛⲓ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲓ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉⲥ · ⲁⲙⲏⲛ

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

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

ⲉⲓⲱⲧ	father	ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	god	ϯ	to give
ϣⲏⲣⲉ	son	ⲥⲟⲛ	brother	ⲉⲓⲣⲉ	to make
ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ	daughter	ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ	four	ⲟⲩⲱ	to remain
ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ	lord	ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ	left	ⲥⲉ	to fall

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

ⲭ̄ⲥ̄	Christ	ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲕⲟⲛ	spiritual	ⲥⲟⲡⲥ̄ⲡ̄	to request
ⲧ̄ⲃ̄ⲧ	fish	ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ	new	ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ	spirit
ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ	to accuse s.o	ⲥⲙ̄ⲥⲙ̄	to shout	ⲭ̄ⲥ̄	Lord

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

1.3 Segmental phonology

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

(1) ⲁ ⲉ ⲟ ⲡ

(2) ⲃ ⲧ ⲗ ⲙ

(3) ⲁⲩ ⲉⲩ ⲟⲉⲓ ⲱ

(4) ⲍ ⲇ ⲅ ⲭ

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

DIVERGENT SPELLING		GLOSS	STANDARD SPELLING
ⲃⲛⲧ	(Test. Is. 235:1)	worm	
ⲟⲩⲉⲛ	(Hil. 5:18)	(there) is	
ⲏⲉⲓ	(praec. Pach.123)	house	

1.4 Suprasegmental phonology

A. Indicate the syllable structure of the following Coptic words through segmentation, e.g. ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'man' → ⲣⲱ + ⲙⲉ:

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	SYLLABLE STRUCTURE
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ	to do	
ⲃⲣⲣⲉ	new	
ⲁⲛⲥⲏⲃⲉ	school	
ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ	to rule	
ⲉⲃⲓⲏⲛ	miserable	

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

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	TRANSCRIPTION
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	god	/n__te/
ⲟⲩⲱⲙ	to eat	/__ɔm/
ⲙⲟⲟⲩ	water	/mo__/
ⲉⲓⲱⲧ	father	/__ɔt /

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

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ⲧⲁⲙⲟ	to inform	ⲯⲟⲣⲯⲣ	to destroy
ⲣⲫⲱⲛ	coat	ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ	to reproach

D. Determine the correctly spelled Coptic item.

☐ ⲃⲁⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ	☐ ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ	goat
☐ ⲃⲏⲣⲣⲉ	☐ ⲃⲣⲣⲉ	young
☐ ⲙⲉⲛ̄	☐ ⲙⲛ̄	with

E. Explain why the alternative spelling cannot be accurate!

F. The following list of examples contains words that consist of two or more lexical and grammatical elements. Write down the assimilated form after the arrow.

ⲛ + ⲙⲁ	'the (plural) + place'	→	__ ⲙⲁ
ⲛ + ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ	'blessed'	→	__ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ϩⲛ + ⲡ + ⲙⲁ	in + the (sing. masc.) + place	→	ϩ __ ⲡ-ⲙⲁ
ⲛ + ⲛ + ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ	'of + the (plural) + Persians'	→	__ ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ

1.5 The Spelling of Greek loan words

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

ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲑⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ
ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ

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

ⲥⲱⲙⲁ	(praec. Pach. 92)	ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ	(Test. Is. 237:8)
ϩⲩⲇⲟⲛⲏ	(AP, Chaîne no. 210, 57:28)	ϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ	(Onnophr. 221:3)
ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ	(V. Pach. 43a:16)	ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲃⲟⲩⲗⲏ	(Onnophr. 217:17)
ⲉⲛⲓⲅⲙⲁ	(V. Pach. 148:26-27)	ϩⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ	(V. Pach. 162:14)

Unit 2

Nouns and pronouns

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

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

section 2.2, in which the three-way contrast between a definite, an indefinite and a zero article (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'the man', ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'a man', ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'man') is discussed. Section 2.3 is concerned with Coptic numerals. Section 2.4 reviews the elaborate pronominal system in which each person, number and gender distinctions correlates with a distinct personal pronoun.

2.1 Noun morphology

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

2.1.1 Gender

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

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

ⲱⲏⲣⲉ 'son' vs. ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ 'daughter', ϩⲗⲗⲟ 'old man' vs. ϩⲗⲗⲱ 'old woman', ⲣⲣⲟ 'king' vs. ⲣⲣⲱ 'queen'. Sometimes these nouns display a redundant marking of the gender specification, e.g. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲧⲥ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'he had no (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥ) *male* (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) *son* (ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) except (ⲛⲥⲁ) two (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) *female* (ⲛ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) *daughters* (ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (Hil. 2:5).

2.1.2 Number

Coptic has two categories for number, singular and plural. Plural nouns refer to countable entities, which are more than one in number. As with grammatical gender, the number specification of a given noun can be deduced from the form of the definite or indefinite article, as in ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*the* (singular masculine) man' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10) vs. ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*the* (plural) people' (Mena, Mir. 5b:21), ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '*a* (indefinite singular) woman' (Mena, Mir. 22a:17-18) vs. ϩⲉⲛ-ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ 'women (indefinite plural)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:3). The morphological distinction between singular and plural nouns is a remnant of Pre-Coptic plural marking and applies only to a limited number of nouns. The singular noun is, as a rule, morphologically unmarked, while the corresponding plural is formed by three different pluralization patterns:

(i) Addition of the plural marker -ⲟⲟⲩⲉ /-owe/ to the right of the nominal stem, e.g. ⲥⲃⲱ (singular) 'teaching' vs. ⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ (plural) 'teachings', ⲡⲉ (singular) 'heaven' vs. ⲡⲏⲩⲉ (plural) 'heaven'.

(ii) Internal or "broken" plurals, where plurality is expressed by changes in the vowel pattern and syllable structure of the nominal stem, e.g. ϩⲃⲟⲥ (singular) 'garment' vs. ϩⲃⲱⲱⲥ (plural) 'garments'.

(iii) Mixed plurals, which are derived by a combination of the plural marker -ⲟⲟⲩⲉ and internal, i.e. "broken" pluralization, e.g. ⲥⲟⲛ (singular) 'brother, monk' vs. ⲥⲛⲏⲩ (plural) 'brothers', ϩⲱⲃ (singular) 'thing' vs. ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ (plural) 'things', ϫⲟⲓ (singular) 'ship' vs. ⲉϫⲏⲩ (plural) 'ships' (with loss of the word-final -ⲉ).

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

PLURALIZATION PATTERN	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
PLURAL SUFFIX -ⲟⲩⲉ	ⲣⲙⲉⲓϩ	ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉ	tear
	ⲣⲣⲟ	ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ	king
	ⲧⲃⲛϩ	ⲧⲃⲛⲟⲩⲉ	cattle
	ⲥⲡⲓⲣ	ⲥⲡⲓⲣⲟⲩⲉ	rip
BROKEN PLURALS	ⲥⲛⲁϩ	ⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ	fetter
	ⲉⲓⲱⲧ	ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ	father
	ⲁⲛⲁⲱ	ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲱ	oath
	ϩⲧⲟ	ϩⲧⲱⲱⲣ	horse
	ϩⲗⲗⲏⲧ	ϩⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ	bird
	ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ	ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ	woman
MIXED PLURALS	ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ	ϫⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ	lord
	ϫⲁⲗⲉ	ϫⲓϫⲉⲉⲩ(ⲉ)	enemy
	ⲁⲙⲣⲉ	ⲁⲙⲣⲏⲩ	baker

TABLE 2.1 Irregular plurals

Whenever such irregular plural nouns appear with a determiner, grammatical number is encoded twice: once on the definite or indefinite article and once on the nominal stem itself, e.g. ⲛ-ⲉϫⲏⲩ 'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118), ⲛ-ⲁⲙⲏⲩ 'the shepherds' (praec. Pach. 108), ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ 'the kings (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ) of the Persians (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ)' (Eud. 42:18).

It is possible for some frequently occuring Greek nouns like ⲫⲩⲭⲏ 'soul' and ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ 'letter' to combine with the remnant Egyptian plural suffix -ⲟⲟⲩⲉ, e.g. ⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'the dwelling (ⲛ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) places (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) of all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) souls (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), ⲛ-ⲉⲡ[ⲓⲥ]ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'the letters' (Camb.7:10-11).

2.2 The determiner system

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

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

	INDEFINITE ARTICLE	DEFINITE ARTICLE	"BARE" NOUNS
SINGULAR MASCULINE	ⲟⲩ- /w-/, /u-/ -ⲩ- / -ⲩ̲/	ⲡⲉ- /pe-/ ⲡ- /pə-/, /p-/	Ø
SINGULAR FEMININE	ⲟⲩ- /w-/, /u-/ -ⲩ- / -ⲩ̲/	ⲧⲉ- /te-/ ⲧ- /tə-/, /t-/	Ø
PLURAL	ϩⲉⲛ- /hen-/ ϩⲛ- /hən-/	ⲛⲉ- /ne-/ ⲛ- /nə-/, /ən-/, /n̩-/	Ø

TABLE 2.2 Prenominal articles

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

2.1.1 Allomorphic variation

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

2.2.1.1 Full vs. reduced forms of the definite article

The definite articles ⲡⲉ- (pe-), ⲧⲉ- (te-), ⲛⲉ- (ne-), already weak and unstressed, can be further reduced to ⲡ-, ⲧ-, ⲛ-, where the latter forms represent different degrees of reduction, namely syllabic pə-, tə-, nə- (ən-) or mono-consonantal p-, t-, n-. The selection of the appropriate allomorph depends on the word-initial segment of the determined noun:

(i) The mono-consonantal allomorphs ⲡ- (p-), ⲧ- (t-), ⲛ- (n-) appear, as a rule, pre-vocalically: (sing. masc.) ⲡ-ϩⲓ 'the house' (praec. et inst. Pach. 33:30), ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ϩⲁⲑⲱⲣ 'the month (ⲡ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) Hathor' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:8-9), ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 'the angel' (Test. Is. 230:1), ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ 'the division' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20); (sing. fem.) ⲧ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'the church' (Hil. 2:22), ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'the peace (ⲧ-ⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Test. Is. 230:10), ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ (Test. Is. 233:18), (plural) ⲛ̄-ⲁⲙⲣⲏⲩ 'the bakers' (praec. Pach. 117), ⲛ̄-ⲉⲭⲏⲩ 'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118).

(ii) The syllabic forms ⲡⲛ̄-/ⲡ- (pə-), ⲧⲛ̄/ⲧ- (tə-), ⲛⲛ̄/ⲛ- (nə-, ən-) (with a reduced vocalic nucleus /ə/) generally appear pre-consonantally: (sing. masc.) ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'god' (V. Pach. 2:2) (var. ⲡⲛ̄-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (Test. Is. 228:11), ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'the Lord' (V. Pach. 2:4), ⲡ-ⲣϩ 'the sun' (praec. Pach. 103), ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ 'the village' (V. Pach. 1:24); (sing. fem.) ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ 'the kingdom' (Hil. 2:3), ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲉⲉⲩ 'the mother (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ) of the sailor (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲉⲉⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 194:4), ⲧⲡⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ 'half (ⲧ̄-ⲡⲁϣⲉ) the night (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩϣⲏ)' (Test. Is. 231:30); (plural) ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲭ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'the hands (ⲛ̄-ⲥⲓⲭ) of God (ⲙ̄-ⲡ̄-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Test. Is. 231:1), ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'the righteous ones' (Test. Is. 234:26), ⲛ̄-ⲣⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'the sinners' (Test. Is. 234:27), (assimilated form ⲙ-) ⲙ̄-ⲡⲏⲩⲉ 'heaven' (Test. Is. 233:18).

(iii) It should be kept in mind that the bi-phonemic graphemes ϕ and ϑ may represent a sequence of two consonants, comprising the reduced singular masculine and feminine forms ⲡ- (pə-) and ⲧ- (tə-) of the definite article and a following noun with a word-initial *hori* ϩ: (sing. masc.) ⲫⲱⲃ 'the affair' (ⲡ + ϩⲱⲃ 'thing, matter')' (V. Pach.1:7) (var. ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ 'the affair' (Hil. 3:20)), but ⲡ-ϩⲁⲗⲓⲟⲥ 'the holy'; (sing. fem.) ⲑⲩⲁⲏ 'the fire wood' (< ⲧ- + ϩⲩⲁⲏ 'firewood')' (Test. Is. 232:27), ⲛⲑⲉ 'in the manner' (< ⲛ 'in' + ⲧ- + ϩⲉ 'manner').

(iv) The full forms of the definite article ⲡⲉ- (pe-), ⲧⲉ- (te-), ⲛⲉ- (ne-) must be selected in the context of complex onsets, when the determined noun begins with a cluster of two or more consonants: (sing. masc.) ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲣⲟ 'the shore' (Ac. A&P 194:5), ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ 'the crown (ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) of the martyrdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 30:22); (sing. fem.) ⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲡⲗⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'the teaching (ⲧⲉ-ⲥⲃⲱ) of this imposter (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (Ac. A&P 196:36); (plural) ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ 'the brothers (i.e. the monks)' (V. Pach. 95:18), ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲏ 'the tools' (V. Pach. 6:9).

(v) The bi-phonemic letters ϕ, ϑ, χ and ψ count as consonant clusters of (ⲡ + ϩ), (ⲧ + ϩ), (ⲕ + ϩ) and (ⲡ + ⲥ), respectively, so that the full forms ⲡⲉ-/ⲧⲉ-/ⲛⲉ- are selected: (sing. masc.) ⲡⲉ-ⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'the lamp' (Mena, Enc. 43a:24); (sing. fem.) ⲧⲉⲭ[ⲱⲣ]ⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ 'the land (ⲧⲉ-ⲭⲱⲣⲁ) of the Mariôteans (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ)' (Mena, Mir. 2a:11-12); (plural) ⲛⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟ 'the gifts (ⲛⲉ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁ) of healing (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ)' (Mena, Enc. 36b:13-14), ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ 'the souls' (V. Pach. 1:9), similarly ϩⲣ- (for Greek ϱ), e.g. ⲡⲉ-ϩⲣⲉⲡⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 'the riparius' (KHML II 29:17).

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

DETERMINED NOUN	ALLOMORPH	EXAMPLE
BEFORE VOWEL [noun V]	ⲡ- /p-/, ⲧ- /t-/, ⲛ- /n-/	ⲡ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ the month
BEFORE SINGLE CONSONANT [noun C]	ⲡ- /pə-/, ⲧ- /tə-/, ⲛ- /nə-/	ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲉⲉⲩ the sailor
BEFORE CONSONANT CLUSTER [noun C_1C_2]	ⲡⲉ-, ⲧⲉ-, ⲛⲉ-	ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲗⲟⲙ the crown

TABLE 2.3. The distribution of allomorphic forms the definite article

Finally, note that a word-initial glide ⲟⲩ exhibits a somewhat ambivalent behaviour with respect to article selection, depending on whether it surfaces as a vowel or a consonant. When followed by a consonant, a word-initial ⲟⲩ has a vocalic interpretation and forms a diphthong with the full form of the definite article: ⲡⲉ + ⲟⲩ → ⲡⲉⲩ /peu/, e.g. ⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩϣⲏ < ⲟⲩϣⲏ 'night')' (V. Pach. 2:26), ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ 'now (lit. in (ⲛ-) the hour (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲟⲩ < ⲧⲉ- + ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ 'hour')' (Mena, Mir. 24a:25). If, on the other hand, a word-initial ⲟⲩ surfaces as a consonant, namely when it is followed by a vowel, the phonologically reduced allomorphs ⲡ- (pə-), ⲧ- (tə-), ⲛ- (nə-) is chosen, e.g. ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ 'the light' (Onnophr. 221:34), ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'the will (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱⲱ) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (V. Pach. 85a:20-21), ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲙ 'the peasants' (praec. Pach. 108).

2.2.1.2 "Strong" pronunciation of the definite article

In the material discussed so far, the allomorphy between the full and phonologically reduced forms of the definite article was conditioned entirely by phonological factors. Yet, the full forms ⲡⲉ-, ⲧⲉ-, and ⲛⲉ- are sometimes selected without the relevant triggering context. In such cases, the strongly pronounced full form of the definite article seems to place slightly more emphasis on the determined noun than the corresponding short form, e.g. ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ '*the* Mariôteans' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:12), ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ '*the* people (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the city (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5b:21-22), ⲛⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲛϣⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ '*the eyes* (ⲛⲉ-ⲃⲁⲗ) of our soul (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲛ-ϣⲩⲭⲏ) and (ⲙⲛ) our body (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ)' (Hil. 1:7). Time-indicating nouns generally appear with the full forms of the definite article, e.g. ⲉⲛⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ 'while (ⲉ-) it (ⲡⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ) *the* day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Marcus' (Hil. 3:32).

The strongly pronounced definite article is particularly common in those contexts where the determined noun is accompanied by a relative clause, which provides additional information about the referent of the antecedent noun phrase that it modifies, e.g. ⲛⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ[ⲉⲓ] ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ '*the* angels (ⲛⲉ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) who had come (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) with him (Apa Mena) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)' (Mena, Mir. 16b:26-27), ⲛⲉϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲑⲃⲃⲓⲟ ⲛⲧⲁϥϩⲁⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ '*the* humble (ⲛ-ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲟ) words (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ) that he (Zeno) wrote (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲁⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩ) in the letter (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ)' (Hil. 7:20-21).

2.2.1.3 Full and reduced forms of the indefinite article

The allomorphic opposition between full and reduced forms also occurs with the singular and plural forms of the indefinite article:

(i) The singular form ⲟⲩ- forms a diphthong with a preceding vowel: ⲉ, ⲁ + ⲟⲩ → ⲉⲩ, ⲁⲩ, e.g. ⲉ-ⲩ-ϫⲟⲉⲓ 'on (ⲉ-) *a ship* ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ϫⲟⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 118), ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ 'while (ⲉ-) he (ⲡⲉ) (was) *a priest* ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ)' (V. Pach. 138:14), (following the Perfect marker ⲁ-) ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϣⲁϫⲉ ϣⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ '*a* minor ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) argument (ⲛ-ϣⲁϫⲉ) came up (ⲁ ... ϣⲡⲉ) between them (ⲟⲩⲧⲱ-ⲟⲩ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ)' (V. Pach. 1:16-17).

(ii) The full form ϩⲉⲛ- /hen-/ and its phonologically reduced allomorph ϩⲛ /hən-/ seem to occur in free variation in literary Sahidic, e.g. ϩⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ψⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ 'excitable people' (Hil. 11:35), ϩⲛⲕⲉⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ (for ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) '*another* twelve (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲩⲥ) years (ⲉⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Hil. 12:18), ϩⲛ̄-ⲛⲟⲥ̀ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ '*great* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲥ̀) charities (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ)' (Mena, Enc. 42a:25), ϩⲛ-ⲁϣⲏ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ '*multitudes* (ϩⲛ-ⲁϣⲏ) of angels (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ)' (V. Pach. 95:6-7).

2.2.2 Semantic aspects of definite and indefinite-marking

Nouns are linguistic expressions that denote persons, things or abstract concepts. The entity referred to by a given noun is called its 'referent'. The main semantic contribution of definite- and indefinite-marking is to indicate the familiarity or accessibility of that referent. For instance, when talking about *the new principal*, the speaker tacitly assumes that the addressee is familiar with the identity of this individual, which is not the case when talking about *a new principal*. Thus, the definite article *the* provides a clue for the ease with which the referent of the noun phrase in question can be identified or accessed. The following three subsections take a closer look at the meaning and function of definite- and indefinite-marking in Sahidic Coptic, with particular attention for the relation between the accessibility of the referent of a given noun phrase and the selected definite or indefinite article.

2.2.2.1 Definite noun phrases

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

a) Anaphoric use

The definite article is used when some item introduced earlier is referred to again. Consider the following discourse fragment: (once some people came into the region of Thebes to *a* (certain) *old monk* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) with someone possessed by a demon in their company, so that he (the old monk) may heal him) ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲕⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ (...) '*the old monk* (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ), when they beseeched (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲣⲡ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) very much (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) (....) (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12). In this example, the definite noun phrase ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ 'the old monk' refers to the main protagonist, who has been introduced for the first time in the opening sequence of the narrative. Roughly the same situation obtains in the next example, where the definite noun phrase ⲡⲣⲣⲟ 'the king' (i.e. the Byzantine emperor Zeno) refers to a discourse participant that was mentioned several times in the preceding paragraph: ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲧϥ ⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ '*the* king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) had no (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛ-ⲧ-ϥ) male (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) child (ⲯⲏⲣⲉ)' (Hil.2:4-5). Not only individuals but also locations may be referred to anaphorically by means of the definite article. In this case, the definite noun phrase refers to the main location of the narrative plot, e.g. ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'let's go (ⲙⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ) inside (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ-) *the city* (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Ac. A&P 196:29).

b) General knowledge

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

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

- Cosmological phenomena, e.g. ⲡ-ⲟⲟϩ 'the moon' (Hil. 1:9), ⲡ-ⲣⲏ 'the sun' (Hil. 1:8), '*heaven* (ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) *earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Abbatôn 231:32),
- Concepts that relate to the religious sphere, e.g ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'Christ' (Eud. 42:17), ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'the Lord' (Hil. 2:19), ⲡⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'the Holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Spirit (ⲡⲉ-ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ)' (Hil. 13:15), ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ 'the devil' (Onnophr. 207:14), ⲡ-ϫⲁϫⲉ 'the enemy' (Onnophr. 207:24), ⲧ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'the Church' (Hil. 1:22), ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ 'the Old (Testament)' (Hil. 1:13),
- Toponyms, e.g. ⲑⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ (< ⲧ-ϩⲓⲉⲣⲟⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ) 'Jerusalem' (Eud. 58:18), ⲡ-ⲃⲩⲥⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲛ 'Byzantium' (Hil. 4:28), ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ 'Paeiat' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:14), ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ '(the) Paradise' (Abbatôn 237:13), ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛ 'the Abyss' (Ac. A&P 198:73). There are some noteworthy exceptions which are left undetermined, e.g. ⲕⲏⲙⲉ 'Egypt' (Hil. 5:20), ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ 'Alexandria' (Hil. 3:26), ⲯⲓⲏⲧ 'Sketis' (Hil. 7:8), ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ 'Hell' (Ac. A&P 202:119).
- Time-indicating nouns, e.g. ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ 'day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ)' (Abbatôn 232:11).

c) Generic definites

The definite article may also determine generic noun phrases. Generic noun phrases are those which refer to an entire class of entities or objects, rather than a particular member thereof, e.g. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲑⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ (for ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) ⲙⲛ ⲛϫⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲁ[ⲁⲧⲉ](...) 'he (God) created (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) *the beasts* (ⲛⲉ-ⲑⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) *the reptiles* (ⲛ-ϫⲁⲧⲃⲉ), *the cattle* (ⲛ-ⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) *the birds* (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ) (...)' (Abbatôn 232:4-5), †ⲛⲁϥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏϥ ⲛⲛⲉϫⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'I will annihilate (†-ⲛⲁ-ϥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) race (ⲡ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) of *the Christians* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϫⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (Eud. 36:6-7), ⲥⲁϩⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ 'remove yourself (ⲥⲁϩⲱ-ⲕ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ-) *the idols* (ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13).

Generic noun phrases are often used to express generalizations about a class as a whole, e.g. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ϩⲛⲣⲉϥⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ (for ϩⲉⲛⲣⲉϥⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ) ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ ϩⲉⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲧⲉⲩϕⲩⲥⲓⲥ 'for (ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ) *women* (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ) (are) by (ϩⲉⲛ) their nature (ⲧⲉⲩ-ϕⲩⲥⲓⲥ) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (ϩⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ))' (Hil.11:35-12:1), ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛϩⲉⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ (for ϩⲉⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ) ⲛⲉ '*the gods* (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the pagans (ⲛ-ⲛ-ϩⲉⲟⲛⲟⲥ) (are) demons (ϩⲛ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ)' (KHML I 3:12-4:1). Definite singular noun phrases may receive a kind-referring interpretation, too, for instance in comparisons, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲟ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲣⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ 'and ⲉⲣⲉ (ⲁⲩⲱ) its (the river's) noise (ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ) was (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲟ) in the manner of (ⲛⲟⲉ *the noise* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ) of a thunder-stroke (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲣⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) heaven (ⲧ-ⲡⲉ)' (Test. Is. 234:23-24).

d) Non-specific definites

Definite noun phrases may have a non-specific interpretation, when the speaker has no particular individual in mind, but any arbitrary member of the class described by the noun phrase, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲁϭⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲉϥⲃⲏⲕ ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲱ ⲛϥⲧⲙⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is) *the man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who will watch (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲥⲁ) his son (ⲡⲉϥ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) going (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to drown (ⲛ-ⲉⲙⲧⲱ) and would not help (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲧⲙ-ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), ⲉⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲡ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ (...) 'to release (ⲉ-ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *the holy ones* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) who had been locked up (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲧⲡ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) *prisons* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ) in every place (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) every city (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:11-15), ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲃⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩϫⲟⲟⲩϥ ϣⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲏ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲏⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'no one (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) shall go (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲃⲱⲕ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) an enclosure (for sheep) (ⲉ-ⲣⲃⲉ) who has not been sent (ⲉ-ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ϫⲟⲟⲩ-ϥ), including (ϣⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ) *the farmers* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲏ), with the exception of (ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ) *the shepherds* (ⲛ-ⲁⲙⲏⲩ) alone (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (praec. Pach. 108), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲧⲁⲁ[ⲅ]ⲟⲛⲓϩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲓ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) myself (ϩⲱ) will fight (ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲅⲟⲛⲓϩⲉ) a little longer (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) with (ⲙⲛ) *the Jews* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

e) Vocatives

Vocatives are noun phrases or pronouns used in direct address. In Coptic Egyptian, vocatives are always definite noun phrases, e.g. ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲉⲱϫⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲧⲁϩⲓⲏ (...) '*Lord* (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *Almighty* (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ), if (ⲉⲱϫⲉ) you want to direct (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ) my way (ⲧⲁ-ϩⲓⲏ) (...)' (Hil. 2:19-20). Sometimes the vocative particle ⲱ 'oh' accompanies the definite noun phrase, e.g. ⲕⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'you are blessed (ⲕ-ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ), you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), oh (ⲱ) *man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱ ⲱ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏ 'and they will listen (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to you (ⲛⲥⲱ), oh (ⲱ) wise (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲃⲏ) *virgin* (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ)' (Eud. 54:15).

2.2.2.2 Indefinite noun phrases

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

a) Specific indefinites

Indefinite noun phrases fall into two classes, specific and non-specific indefinites. While specific indefinites refer to someone or something familiar to the speaker, non-specific indefinites refer to any arbitrary member of the kind, exemplar or species designated by the head noun. The specific use of indefinite noun phrases is particularly evident in existential-locative sentences, which introduce a new participant on stage and make him available for recall in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ [ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩ[ⲧⲣⲟⲡⲓⲟⲥ] ⲉⲩ[ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲉⲙⲁⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ '(there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) furthermore (ⲟⲛ) *a man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (of) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ), whose name (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) Eutropius, who (was) a very (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) rich man (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ)' (Mena, Mir., 17a:30-17b:4), [ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ [ⲕⲱ]ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲉⲥϫⲡⲟ 'King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine had (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲉ) *a virgin* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) *sister* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ), whose name (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was)

Eudoxia, who had feared (ϵ-c-ϩ ϩοτϵ ϩητ-ϥ) God (ⲛ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) since (ϫⲓⲛ) her birth (ⲡϵⲥ-ϫⲡⲟ)' (Eud. 50:3-5). In these examples, the indefinite subject is further specified by a relative clause, which provides some background information about the newly introduced participant, such as his or her name, social status or other characteristic properties.

Specific indefinites may, however, have vague reference, where the identity of the protagonist is left unspecified. In this case, the speaker has some particular entity in mind, although its exact identity is either not known to him or not considered to be important for the development of the narrative, e.g. ⲁ ϩⲟⲓⲛϵ ϵⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟϵⲓⲱ ϩⲛ ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲓⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ (...) 'once some people came into the region of Thebes to *a* (certain) *old monk* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.140, 31:10), ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲛϵ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ (...) '*some brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) asked (ⲁ ... ϫⲛϵ) Apa Sarapion (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

b) Non-specific indefinites

When indefinite singular noun phrases receive a non-specific interpretation, they refer to any representative member of the class of entities or objects designated by the head noun, e.g. ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲱⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧϵ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ (...) 'since (ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ) every Saturday (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ) *an angel* (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) of (ⲛⲧϵ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) comes (ⲱⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) (...)' (Onnophr. 221:12-13), ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲇϵ ⲱⲟⲟⲇϵϥ (...) 'if (ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ) *a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) has wounded himself (ⲱⲟⲟⲇϵ-ϥ) (...)' (praec. Pach. 105), ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ 'let us create (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) *a man* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) our likeness (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) our image (ⲧⲉⲛ-ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ)' (Abbatôn 232:9-10). In these examples, the non-specific indefinite is derived from a count noun, i.e. a noun that describes discrete and hence countable entities. The uniqueness of the referent of that noun phrase can be strengthened or focalized by adding to it the restrictive quantifier ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'single, just one', e.g. ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲓ 'it (is) one son (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) only (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) who belongs (ⲉⲧ-ⲱⲟⲟⲡ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 194:22), ⲉⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲩⲏ (for ⲡⲁⲏⲏ) ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'while (there) was not (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ) a single (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) wound (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲁⲏⲏ) on (ϩⲙ) his body (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ)' (KHML I 6:5).

Non-specific mass nouns differ in meaning from count nouns in that they indicate an unspecified quantity rather than an individual or object, e.g. ⲛⲣ† ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ 'may you give (ⲛⲣ-†) us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) *some water* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) today (ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 46:13), ⲙⲁⲣϵϥⲧⲙϵ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲕϵ ⲛⲟⲩⲟϵⲓⲕ 'let him nourish (ⲙⲁⲣϵ-ϥ-ⲧⲙϵ) a poor (man) (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲏⲕϵ) with *some bread* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲟϵⲓⲕ)' (Test. Is. 235:26).

Non-specific plural indefinites may have a partitive interpretation and refer to a subset of a concrete group of individuals, whose exact number is not further specified, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ϵⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲃⲗⲗϵ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ϵⲩⲱϵⲧ ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ), look (ϵⲓⲥ), *several blind* (people) (ϩⲛ-ⲃⲗⲗϵ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) asking (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲱϵⲧ) (for) charity (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲁ)' (KHML I 6:11), ϵ[ⲥϩⲟⲟⲥ] ⲇϵ [ϩⲣ]ⲁⲓ [ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ] ϩⲛϩⲓⲟⲙϵ ⲛϫⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (...) 'one day (ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) when she was sitting (ϵ-ⲥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) with (ⲙⲛ) *some* Christian (ⲛ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) *women* (ϩⲛ-ϩⲓⲟⲙϵ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:1-4).

c) Generic indefinites

Indefinite plurals admit a generic reading, in which case they refer to a particular class or kind of entities and objects, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁϥⲕⲟⲥⲙⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲙⲁ (for ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ) ⲛϩⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲧⲟⲟⲩϵ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) he (God) adorned (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲉⲓ) the firmament (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲙⲁ) with (ⲛ-) *the evening* (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) *stars* (ϩⲛ-ⲥⲓⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) *the morning* (ⲛ-ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩϵ) *stars* (ϩⲛ-ⲥⲓⲟⲩ)' (Hil. 1:10-11), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲁϫⲛ ⲱⲟϫⲛⲉ ϩⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ (...) 'finally (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) is (it) that will set out (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to fight (ϵ-ⲙⲓⲱⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) *lions* (ϩⲛ-ⲙⲟⲩⲓ) without (ⲁϫⲛ) plan (ⲱⲟϫⲛⲉ) and (ϩⲓ) knowledge (ⲥⲃⲱ) (...)' (Camb. 8:16-18).

d) Indefinite noun phrases used as nominal predicates

In nominal sentences (i.e. sentences without a verb), singular and plural indefinites have no referent at all, but rather fulfill a predicative function. In this function, the indefinite noun phrase indicates a semantic relation of class inclusion, which asserts that the subject referent belongs to a particular group of people, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲥ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) *a shepherd* (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) *an Egyptian* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (KHML I 3:3).

2.2.2.3 "Bare" nouns

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

a) Specific indefinites

Zero-determined "bare" nouns never admit a specific interpretation, where reference is made to a particular entity or object, the main exception being time-indicating nouns like ϩτοογε 'dawn' or ρογϩε 'evening', e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲡⲉ (...) 'when (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ) *dawn* (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) had risen (ⲥⲱⲡⲉ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-11), ϫⲓⲛ ρογϩⲉ ϣⲁ ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'from (ϫⲓⲛ) *sunset* (ρογϩⲉ) to (ϣⲁ) *dawn* (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (V. Pach. 2:3).

b) Non-specific indefinites

The non-specific interpretation of "bare" nouns is particularly evident in negative existential sentences, which express the idea that there is not a single instance or exemplar of particular kind, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '(there) is no (ⲙⲛ) *brother* (ⲥⲟⲛ) in (ⲙ-) this place (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (Onnophr. 205:19), ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ '(there) is no (ⲙⲛ) *god* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) except (ⲛⲥⲁ) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) Apollôn (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ)' (KHML II 33:16-17).

Roughly the same negative meaning is conveyed by the prepositions ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲫⲛ and ⲁϫⲛ 'without' that likewise assert the absence of a particular item or state of affairs and are therefore combined with a "bare" noun, e.g. ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲫⲛ ⲣⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ 'without (ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲫⲛ) *pellis* (ⲣⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ) and (ϩⲓ) *telamôn* (ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ) (two monastic garments)' (praec. Pach. 91), ⲁϫⲛ ⲧⲱϣ 'without (ⲁϫⲛ) *order* (ⲧⲱϣ)' (praec. Pach.127), ⲁϫⲛ ϣⲟϫⲛⲉ ϩⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ 'without (ⲁϫⲛ) *plan* (ϣⲟϫⲛⲉ) and (ϩⲓ) *knowledge* (ⲥⲃⲱ)' (Camb. 8:18).

In affirmative sentences, on the other hand, zero-determined mass nouns indicate an unspecified quantity, e.g. ⲁⲩϫⲓ ϣⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ (...) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'they cried out (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲓ ϣⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) (...) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *water* (ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 46:2-4), ⲛⲭⲧⲙⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲙⲕⲉ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ (...) 'and he shall nourish (ⲛ-ⲭ-ⲧⲙⲉ) a poor (man) (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙⲕⲉ) with *bread* (ⲛ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) (...)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

c) Generic "bare" nouns

The kind-referring use of "bare" nouns can be observed in comparisons and enumerations, e.g. ⲁⲭⲩⲡⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲥ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ-ⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ 'he (Zeno) grieved (ⲁ-ⲭ-ⲩⲡⲉⲓ) like (ϩⲱⲥ) a man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of this world (ⲛ-ⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 13:5), ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲕⲱⲙⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉ[ⲓⲧⲉ] ⲇ[ⲟⲩϫ] (...) 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) we write (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ) to everybody (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) who lives (ⲉⲧ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) our kingdom (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ), whether (ⲉⲓⲧⲉ) *commander* (ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) or (ⲉⲓⲧⲉ) *cômes* (ⲕⲱⲙⲓⲥ), whether (ⲉⲓⲧⲉ) *ruler* (ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ) or (ⲉⲓⲧⲉ) *dûx* (ⲇⲟⲩϫ) (...)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:28-2b:2).

d) "Bare" nouns used as nominal predicates

"Bare" nouns may assume a predicative function as the complements of the locative-identificational preposition ⲛ- 'as', e.g. ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ 'I will place him (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ϥ) for you (ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ) as *a child* (ⲛ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) my kingdom (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ)' (Test. Is. 236:1), ⲁϥⲁⲁⲛ ⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉϫⲛ ⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ 'he (the Lord) made us (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ⲛ) *masters* (ⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) over every (ⲛⲓⲙ) power (ⲉ-ⲥⲟⲙ)' (Ac. A&P 198:70), (this man that you see right now) ⲉϥⲟ ⲛϫⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲑⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ 'he was (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) *an enemy* (ⲛ-ϫⲁϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) his neighbour (ⲡⲉⲑⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ)' (Test. Is. 234:13). The predicative function can also be observed in the context of light-verb constructions, so called because the verb has little or no semantic content, while its nominal complement constitutes the semantically meaningful predicate, e.g. ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ 'to work (lit. to do (ⲣ) thing (ϩⲱⲃ))', ⲧ ⲥⲃⲱ 'to teach (lit. to give (ⲧ) *teaching* (ⲥⲃⲱ))', ϫⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ 'to be praised (lit. to receive (ϫⲓ) *praise* (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ))'. A more detailed discussion of this construction type will be offered in Unit 6.

2.3 The numeral system

2.3.1 Cardinal numbers

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

of two numbers, e.g. ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ 'twelve' (< ⲙⲏⲧⲉ 'ten' + ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'two'). There is no word for 'zero'.

	MASCULINE FORM	FEMININE FORM	COMPOUND FORM
1	ⲟⲩⲁ	ⲟⲩⲉⲓ	-ⲟⲩⲉ(ⲓ)
2	ⲥⲛⲁⲩ	ⲥⲛⲧⲉ	-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ(ⲉ)
3	ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ	ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ	-ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ, ϣⲙⲛⲧ, ϣⲙⲧ
4	ⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩ	ⲫⲧⲟⲉ	-ⲁⲫⲧⲉ
5	ϯⲟⲩ	ϯⲉ	-ⲧⲏ
6	ⲥⲟⲟⲩ	ⲥⲟ(ⲉ)	-ⲁⲥⲉ
7	ⲥⲁϣⲫ	ⲥⲁϣⲫⲉ	-ⲥⲁϣⲫ(ⲉ)
8	ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ	ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ	-ϣⲙⲏⲛⲉ
9	ϥⲓⲧ (ϥⲓⲥ)	ϥⲓⲧⲉ	-ϥⲓⲥ, -ϥⲓⲧⲉ
10	ⲙⲏⲧ	ⲙⲏⲧⲉ	ⲙⲛⲧ- (before 1-9)
20	ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧ	ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ	ϫⲟⲩⲧ- (before 1-9)

TABLE 2.4 Cardinal numbers 1-10

The cardinal numbers from 'thirty' to 'ten thousand' have invariant forms: (30) ⲙⲁⲁⲃ, (40) ϩⲙⲉ, (50) ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ, (60) ⲥⲉ, (70) ⲫⲫⲉ, (80) ϩⲙⲉⲛⲉ, (90) ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ, (100) ϣⲉ, (200) ϣⲏⲧ, (1000) ϣⲟ, (10.000) ⲧⲃⲁ.

2.3.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers by adding the prefix ⲙⲉϩ- in front of the cardinal number. Ordinal numbers are determined by the singular form of the definite article, e.g. ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ '*the second* (ⲧ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) trumpet (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ)' (Eud. 60:16-17), ⲡⲙⲉϩϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲣⲟ '*the third* (ⲡ-ⲙⲉϩ-ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) gate (ⲛ-ⲣⲟ)' (Eud. 38:6), ⲡⲙⲉϩⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ '*the fourth* (ⲡ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩ) day (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Onnophr. 209:34), ⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲁϣⲫ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ '*the seventh* (ⲡ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲁϣⲫ) angel (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ)' (Abbatôn 233:9-10).

Special forms exist for the 'first' (sing. masc.) ϣⲟⲣⲡ, (sing. fem.) ϣⲟⲣⲡⲉ) and the 'last' (sing. masc.) ϩⲁⲉ, (sing. fem.) ϩⲁⲏ, (plural) ϩⲁⲉⲉⲩ). Thus, consider: ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *first* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲉ) mystery (ⲙ-ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ)' (Pist. Soph. 1:11), ⲧϣⲟⲣⲡⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ '*the first* (ⲧ-ϣⲟⲣⲡ) torture (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲑⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-7), ⲡϩⲁⲉ ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ '*the last* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲉ) mystery (ⲙ-ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ)' (Pist. Soph. 1:12), ⲑⲁⲏ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ '*the last* (ⲑⲁⲏ < ⲧ-ϩⲁⲏ) of his repentance (ⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ)' (Pist. Soph. 268:17), ⲛ-ϩⲁⲉⲉⲩ 'the last ones' (Pist. Soph. 199:13).

2.3.3 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions like ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'five (loaves of) bread' (Onnophr. 218:20) are complex noun phrases consisting of two elements: the numeral ϯⲟⲩ 'five' and the enumerated item ⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'bread'. The syntactic relation between both elements is indicated by the linking element ⲛ-. See figure 2.1 for further illustration.

NUMERAL	ENUMERATED ITEM	
	LINKAGE MARKER	"BARE" NOUN
ϯⲟⲩ five	ⲛ-	ⲟⲉⲓⲕ bread

FIGURE 2.1 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions belong to the class of partitive constructions, describing the partition of a contextually or situationally given set of items. Both the numeral and the enumerated item are normally left undetermined, e.g. ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϣⲟ ⲛⲉⲡⲧⲟⲃ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟ (...) ⲙⲛ ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲉ ⲛⲝⲉⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲛⲉϩ 'three (ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) *thousand* (ⲛ-ϣⲟ) *artabes* (a grain measure) (ⲛ-ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲃ) of wheat (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲩⲟ) (...) and (ⲙⲛ) *six* (ⲥⲟⲟⲩ) *hundred* (ⲛ-ϣⲉ) pints (ⲛ-ⲝⲉⲥⲧⲏⲥ) of oil (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϩ)' (Hil. 12:14-16), ϣⲙⲧϣⲉⲥⲉⲑⲏ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ 'three *hundred sixty five* (ϣⲙⲧ-ϣⲉ-ⲥⲉ-ⲧⲏ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Eud. 54:6). When the numeral is determined, the singular forms of the definite article must be chosen. This shows that cardinal numbers are grammatically singular nouns, e.g. ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩ 'the four of us stood up (lit. we stood up (ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) as *the four* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩ)' (Onnophr. 220:23), ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲧⲉ 'except (ⲛⲥⲁ) *the two* of them (lit. they (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) as *the two* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲛⲧⲉ)' (Hil. 7:29), ⲛⲁⲓϯⲙⲉ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'the inhabitants of (ⲛⲁ-) those (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *two* (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) *villages* (ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ)' (KHML II 52:21-22).

The numeral 'two' (sing. masc) ⲥⲛⲁⲩ, (sing. fem.) ⲥⲛⲧⲉ is juxtaposed to the enumerated item, e.g. ⲡⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'his *two* (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) eyes (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲃⲁⲗ) (Eud. 36:23), ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '*two* (ⲥⲛⲧⲉ)

daughters (ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 7:28), ⲁⲥϣⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲉϩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϣⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the second year (ⲧ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) of the government (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of Gaius Valentianus (and) Diocletianus' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:13-19).

2.4 The pronominal system

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

2.4.1 Preliminary characterization

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

2.4.2 Bound pronouns

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

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

TABLE 2.5 Bound pronouns

2.4.2.1 Allomorphy

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

1st PERS. SING.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms ϯ- and ⲧⲓ-, e.g. ϯ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ 'I want' (Hil. 3:19), ⲧⲓ-ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ 'I desire' (Hil. 4:27), ϯϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲛ 'I (am) (ϯ-) not (ⲁⲛ) in (ϩⲙ) this place (ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (V. Pach. 144:2)	Suffix -ⲓ after a single vowel (__V-ⲓ), e.g. ⲧⲁϩⲟ-ⲓ 'to reach me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:26)
	Suffix -ⲧ - after a consonant (__ C-ⲧ), e.g. ϥⲟⲥ-ⲧ 'to deprive me' (Onnophr. 206:32) - after a geminated vowel (__ VV-ⲧ), e.g. ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲧ 'to leave me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:3)
	Null morpheme -Ø ⲧ → -Ø/ _ ⲧ, e.g. ⲉⲛⲧ (< ⲉⲛⲧ + -ⲧ) 'to bring me' (Test. Is. 234:22)

2nd SING. FEM.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms ⲧⲉ- and ⲧⲉⲣ-, e.g. ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲧⲕ 'you sleep' (Eud. 50:23), ⲧⲉⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲟⲉ 'you will obey' (Mena, Mir. 29b:26)	Monosyllabic suffix -ⲧⲉ after a geminated vowel (__ VV-ⲧⲉ), e.g. ⲛⲧⲟ ϩⲱⲱⲧⲉ 'you (ⲛⲧⲟ) (woman) yourself (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲧⲉ)' (Sh. *Or* 44, 155a:20-21)
	Vocalic suffix -ⲉ after a consonant (__ C -ⲉ), e.g. ⲛⲁϩⲙ-ⲉ 'to save you (woman)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:17), ϫⲓⲧ-ⲉ 'to take you (woman)' (Eud. 66:8)
	Vowel elision: ⲁ, ⲏ → -Ø / __ ⲉ, e.g. ⲛⲙⲙⲉ (< ⲛⲙⲙⲁ- + -ⲉ) 'with you' (Mena, Mir. 29b:10), ⲛⲉ (< ⲛⲁ- + -ⲉ) 'for you' (Eud. 56:12)
	Vowel elision of the suffix -ⲉ after ⲟ or ⲱ: ⲉ → -Ø/ ⲟ, ⲱ __, e.g. ⲛⲥⲱ (< ⲛⲥⲱ- + -ⲉ) 'after you' (Eud. 54:15), ⲉⲣⲟ (< ⲉⲣⲟ- + -ⲉ) 'to you' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22).

2nd PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Bisyllabic prefix ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-, e.g. ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲡⲓⲟⲉ 'you obey' (Ac. A&P 196:39)	Monosyllabic suffix -ⲧⲛ - after a vowel (__ V -ⲧⲛ), e.g. ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ 'for you' (Ac. A&P 206:157), ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ 'in order that you baptize us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ)' (Ac. A&P 212:236-237) - triggers the raising of the internal vowel of some prepositions: ⲁ /a/ → ⲏ /ɛ/, ⲟ /ɔ/ → ⲱ /o/, e.g. ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ 'for you', ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ 'to you'
	Bisyllabic suffix -ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ - after consonants (__ C -ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) (no cluster reduction), e.g. ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ 'in you' (Zen. 199:26) - after vowels (__ V-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ), e.g. ⲥⲁϩⲉ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ 'remove yourselves' (Eud. 46:23)

3rd PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Variable position pronoun ⲥⲉ, which appears either a prefix, as in ⲥⲉ-ϫⲱ 'they speak' (Ac. A&P 208:190), ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲛ 'they (are) with us' (Eud. 44:18) or as a suffix, e.g. ϫⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥⲉ 'to send them' (praec. Pach. 129)	Suffix -ⲟⲩ - surfaces as a vowel after consonant, e.g. ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ /tɛr-u/ 'they all' (praec. Pach 103) - surfaces as a glide after the vowels ⲟⲩ, ⲟ and ⲱ, e.g. ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ /nanu-w/ 'they are good (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:31), e.g. ϩⲱ-ⲟⲩ /ho-w/ 'themselves' (Eud. 46:24), ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ /erɔ-w/ 'to them' (Eud. 42:20) - diphthong formation after the vowels ⲁ, ⲉ, ⲏ, e.g. ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲩ (< ⲕⲁⲁ + -ⲟⲩ) 'to leave them' (Eud. 40:9), ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ (< ⲛⲉ- + -ⲟⲩ) 'they marched' (Eud. 44:27)
	Suffix -ⲥⲟⲩ, e.g. ⲁⲣⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩ 'make them!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34)

TABLE 2.6 The distribution of pronominal allomorphs

2.4.2.2 Syntactic distribution

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

a) The complementary distribution between nouns and pronouns

Bound pronouns may appear in all nominal positions of verbal and adverbial clauses. Since nouns and pronouns occupy the same syntactic position, the selection of one automatically excludes the selection of the other: (pronominal subject) ⲁⷭⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ '*he* (the abbot) sent (ⲁ-ⷭ-ⲭⲟⲟⲩ) (a message) to our father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Pachôm' (V. Pach.144:24), (pronominal direct object) ⲉ-ⲭⲟⲕⲙⲉ-ⷭ 'to wash *him* (ⲉ-ⲭⲟⲕⲙⲉ-ⷭ)' (praec. Pach. 93), (pronominal indirect object) ⲁⷭⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⷭ 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (ⲁ-ⷭ-ⲧ) *them* (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) a place (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) to stay (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ)' (Hil. 5:30), (pronominal object of prepositions) ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ 'in you' (Zen. 199:26), (pronominal possessor) ⲣⲛⲧ-ⲕ '*your* name' (KHML II 31:15), ⲣⲁⲧ-ⷭ '*his* foot' (praec. Pach. 117), ⲣⲱ-ⷭ '*his* mouth' (Eud. 38:27) (only in a handful of nouns expressing inalienable possession).

b) Reflexive use

A reflexive interpretation is obtained when the sentence subject and the pronominal object refer to the same individual, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲥⲉⷭ 'if (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ) a brother (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) has wounded *himself* (ϣⲟⲟⲥⲉ-ⷭ) (...) (praec. Pach. 105), ⲧⲁⲱⲥⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ 'and I strangle (ⲧⲁ-ⲱⲥⲧ) *myself* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 202:103).

c) Cross-reference

The univeral (ALL) quantifier ⲧⲏⲣ- 'every' and the focus marking emphatic reflexives ϩⲱⲙ- '-self' and ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ- 'alone' have an obligatory pronominal complement or co-pronoun, which agrees in person, number and gender with a preceding noun or pronoun, e.g. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⷭ 'throughout (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ) *all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⷭ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (Camb. 9:18), ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ϣⲟⲭⲛⲉ 'Consider (ϣⲟⲭⲛⲉ) (for) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) *yourself* (ϩⲱⲙ-ⲕ)' (Camb. 9:11-12). We will return to quantificational expressions in Unit 4.

2.4.3 Independent pronouns

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

2.4.3.1 The "mixed" paradigms of independent pronouns and clitics

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

	INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS	CLITICS
1st sing.	ⲁⲛⲟⲕ /a.n'ok/	ⲁⲛⷭ /aŋ/
2nd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲟⲕ /ən.t'ok/	ⲛⲧⲕ /ən.tək/
2nd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲟ /ən. t'o/	ⲛⲧⲉ /ən.te/
3rd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲟϥ /ən. t'of/	ⲡⲉ /pe/
3rd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲟⲥ /ən. t'os/	ⲧⲉ /te/
1st pl.	ⲁⲛⲟⲛ- /a.n'on/	ⲁⲛⲛ /a.nən/, ⲁⲛ /an/
2nd pl.	ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ- /ən.t'ɔ:.tən/	ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ- /ən.te.tən/
3rd pl.	ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ /ən.t'oụ/	ⲛⲉ /ne/

TABLE 2.7 The mixed paradigm of independent pronouns and clitics

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

2.4.3.2 Syntactic distribution

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

a) Appositions to bound pronouns

The emphatic use of independent pronouns is particularly clear when they appear as appositions to bound pronouns that cannot be contrastively stressed. Where contrastive emphasis on a bound pronoun is required, the corresponding independent pronoun is used to 'echo' that pronoun, e.g. ⲙⲏ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'am *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) then more (ⲉⲥⲟⲩ(ⲉ)) honoured (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲩ) than my Lord (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), ⲕⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'you are blessed (ⲕ-ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ), *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), oh man (ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), ⲧⲉⲣⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ ⲥⲏⲧⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲟ) fear (ⲧⲉ-ⲣ-ⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲏⲧ-ⲥ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 64:23), ⲉⲓⲭⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲫⲩⲭⲟⲛ 'I speak to you (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲭⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ), *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), oh lifeless (ⲛ-ⲁⲫⲩⲭⲟⲛ) statue (ⲡⲉ-ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ)' (KHML I 1:13-14), (with unexpressed second person subject of an imperative clause) ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓ 'sit

(ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲥ), you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), in (ⲥⲛ) your cell (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲣⲓ)!' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

b) Right- and left-dislocated pronouns

Independent pronouns appear as left-dislocated topic constituents in the left periphery of the clause, where they precede the verb and its arguments. The grammatical function (subject, object) of the left-dislocated topic is indicated by a co-referential bound pronoun within the associated clause. Left-dislocated independent pronouns commonly refer to discourse participants that have been out of the focus of attention for a while and are brought back into the discourse situation. Such a shift from one discourse participant to another is signaled by the topic-indicating Greek particle ⲇⲉ, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲛⲕⲥ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ '(as for) *her* (Eudoxia) (ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ), she jumped up (*lit.* she leaped herself (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲟⲛⲕ-ⲥ) up (ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ)) (and) said (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲥ) that (ⲭⲉ) (...)' (Eud. 50:17), ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲙⲉ '(as for) *him* (Pachôm) (ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ), (there) came (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to him (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ⲩ) a few people (ⲥⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛ) the villages (ⲛ-ⲧⲙⲉ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

Right-dislocated free-standing pronouns, by contrast, are generally employed as a discourse-repair device in that they disambiguate the pronominal reference, e.g. ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲟ[ⲟⲩ] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'they were dying (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) from (ⲥⲁ) thirst (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲃⲉ) in (ⲥⲛ) this desert (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ), *they* (the Persian troops) (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) together with (ⲙⲛ) their kings (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) their cattle (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲧⲛⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Eud. 46:25-26).

c) Nominal sentences

Independent pronouns and clitics appear as pronominal subjects in nominal sentences, i.e. sentences with a noun in predicative function. There are two main types of nominal sentence patterns, namely bipartite and tripartite ones. Bipartite nominal sentences consist only of a subject pronoun and a predicate nominal. In this context, the selection of a pronominal clitic represents the unmarked choice, e.g. ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a ghost (ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁ)' (Onnophr. 206:19), ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲉ) (are) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6:25), ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲯⲓⲡⲉ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ) (are) shameless (ⲥⲉⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲯⲓⲡⲉ)' (Eud. 64:11).

In the context of emphatic pronominal reference, a left-dislocated independent pronoun may precede the bipartite nominal sentence, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '(as for) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *I* (ⲁⲛⲓ) (am) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 54:21-22), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) as for we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) (are concerned) *we* (ⲁⲛ) (are) people (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of flesh (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲣⲝ)' (Eud. 70:12).

Next to bipartite, there are tripartite nominal sentences, which consist of a nominal or pronominal subject, a nominal predicate and an agreement clitic (ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ), which expresses the syntactic relation between the subject and the predicate. In tripartite nominal sentences, independent pronouns are, as a rule, used as pronominal subjects, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) Hillaria (ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ) your daughter (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 11:28-29), ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) the lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) of heaven (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Eud. 46:12). A more detailed discussion of nominal sentences will be presented in Unit 5.

Key Terms:

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

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

Exercises

2.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.

1. Coptic makes a three-way distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter gender.
2. There are no "broken" plurals that end in a consonant.
3. Nouns that begin with a single vowel select the mono-consonantal allomorph ⲡ- (p-), ⲧ- (t-), ⲛ- (n-) of the definite article.
4. Bound pronouns and independent pronouns are in complementary distribution with one another.

2.2 Noun morphology

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

MASCULINE NOUN	GLOSS	FEMININE NOUN	GLOSSS
ϣⲛⲏ	brother		sister
		ⲣⲣⲱ	queen
	man	ϲϩⲓⲙⲉ	woman
ϣⲓⲣⲉ	son		daughter

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

SINGULAR FORM	PLURAL FORM	PLURALIZATION PATTERN	GLOSS
ⲁⲛⲁⲱ			oath
ⲥⲃⲱ			teaching
ϫⲁϫⲉ			enemy
ⲡⲉ			sky
ϣⲟⲛ			brother

2.3 The determiner system

A. Identify the definite and indefinite noun phrases in the following Coptic examples and determine their number and gender specification.

(1) ⲙⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'in (ⲙ-) *the month Tobe* in (ϩⲛ) a peace of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God' (Hil. 1:4-5)

(2) ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ϩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓϫ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'where (is) (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲱⲛ) the first creature (ⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ) by (ϩⲛ) the hands of (ⲙ-) God' (Test. Is. 230:32-231:1)

(3) ⲡⲉϩⲣⲉⲡⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲙ-ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉⲙⲏ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϩⲏⲧⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟ 'the *riparius* and (ⲙⲛ) the soldiers took (ⲁⲩϫⲓ) the blessed Apa Ptolemaios to (ⲉ-) *the place* where (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ (that) ... ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟ (inside-it)) the governor (was)' (KHML II 31:6-8) (N.B. ⲙ- marks the direct object of the transitive verb ϫⲓ 'to take')

(4) ⲁⲥϩⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲟⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲗⲏⲁ 'she (Hilaria) found (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϩⲉ) a ship ready to sail (ⲉ-ⲟ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲟⲏⲣ) to (ⲉ-) *a city* called (ϫⲉ) Saralea (Caesarea?)' (Hil. 3:17-18) (N.B. the preposition ⲉ- 'to, at' marks the direct object of the perception verb ϩⲉ 'to find')

B. Fill in the correct allomorph of the definite article (ⲡⲉ-, ⲧⲉ-, ⲛⲉ- vs. ⲡ-, ⲧ-, ⲛ-) in the blanks. Particular attention should be paid to the gender and number specification of the determined noun.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
— ϩⲓⲙⲉ	the woman	— ⲯⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ	the souls
— ⲁⲙⲫⲏⲩ	the bakers	— ⲛⲉⲉϥ	the sailor
— ⲥⲱⲛⲉ	the sister	— ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ	the Jews
— ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	God	— ⲉⲓⲱⲧ	the father

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

(1) ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ/ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ) ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ (ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ/ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ 'there was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) furthermore (ⲟⲛ) *a man* in (ϩⲛ) *the city* (of) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30-17b:1)

(2) ⲙⲛ (ⲙⲟⲣⲧ/ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲧ) ⲙⲙⲟⲥ 'there was no (ⲙⲛ) *beard* on her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)' (Hil. 6:28)

(3) ⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲉ- (ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ/ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ) 'you are going (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to (ⲉ-) *Hell*' (Ac. A&P 202:119)

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

(1) ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ (...) '(there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) *a* Samaritan (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ) *woman* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (of) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-13)
☐ newly introduced referent ☐ non-specific indefinite

(2) ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥⲭⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ '*the* (Samaritan) *woman* (ⲧⲉ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) spent (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲭⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ) of money (ⲛ-ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ) on the doctors (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:25-28)
☐ reintroduced referent ☐ generic definite

(3) ⲥⲁϩⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ 'withdraw yourself (ⲥⲁϩⲱ-ⲕ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ) *the idols* (ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13)
☐ non-specific definite ☐ specific definite

2.4 The numeral system

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

(1) ⲥⲟⲩ ϫⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ 'day (ⲥⲟⲩ) __ of (ⲙ-) the month (ⲡ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) Tôbe' (Hil. 1:4)

(2) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲥⲁⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) __ days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Hil. 9:17-18)

(3) ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ 'about (ⲁ) __ years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (of age) (Hil. 3:25)

(4) ⲧⲯⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ 'the __ (ⲧ-ⲯⲟⲣⲡ) trompet (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ)' (Eud. 60:9)

2.5 The pronominal system

A. Bound pronouns have different forms or allomorphs. Fill in the correct form of the bound pronoun in the blanks, e.g. ⲛⲁ __ 'to him' → ⲛⲁⲩ.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ⲣⲁⲧ __	my foot	ⲣⲁⲧ __	your (woman) foot
__ ⲛⲏⲩ	they are coming	ⲣⲛⲧ __	your (man) name
ⲁⲁ __	to make us	__ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	we listen
ⲉⲣⲟ __	to me	ⲛϩⲏⲧ __	in it (masc.)
ϩⲣⲁ __	your (woman) face	ⲉⲣⲟ __	to them

B. Complete the English translation and identify the bound pronoun in the following examples, e.g. ⲛⲁ-ⲛ 'to__' → to us (1st pl.).

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ϩοτϧ-ⲧ	to kill (ϩοτϧ) __	ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫ	__ want (ⲟⲩⲱⲫ)
ϩⲱ-ⲟⲩ	__ selves	ⲧⲉ-ⲣ-ϩοτⲉ	__ are (ⲣ) afraid (-ϩοτⲉ)
ⲁⲣⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩ	make (ⲁⲣⲓ) __ !	ⲛⲙⲙⲉ	with __
ⲧⲁϩⲱ-ⲧⲛ	to place (ⲧⲁϩⲱ) __	ⲉⲣⲟ	to __

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

'to make me'
ⲁⲁ- 'to make'

- ❑ ⲁⲁⲓ
- ❑ ⲁⲁⲧ
- ❑ ⲁⲁⲕ

'I want'
ⲟⲩⲱⲫ 'to want'

- ❑ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲫ
- ❑ ⲓⲟⲩⲱⲫ
- ❑ ⲧⲓⲟⲩⲱⲫ

'you (plural) all'
ⲧⲏⲣ- 'all'

- ❑ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ
- ❑ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ
- ❑ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ

'they stay'
ⲙⲏⲛ 'to stay'

- ❑ ⲥⲉⲙⲏⲛ
- ❑ ⲉⲥⲉⲙⲏⲛ
- ❑ ⲥⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛ

'your (fem.) head'
ϫⲱ 'head'

- ❑ ϫⲱⲉ
- ❑ ϫⲉ
- ❑ ϫⲱ

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

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

(1) __ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ '*we* listen (ⲥⲱⲧⲙ)' (Eud. 60:23)

- ❑ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
- ❑ ⲧⲛ

(2) __ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ '*I* believe (ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) (it), Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Eud. 52:3-4)

- ❑ ⲁⲛⲅ
- ❑ ⲧ

Unit 3

Phrase structure

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

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

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

3.1 Complex noun phrases

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

3.1.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking in Coptic

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

head noun ⲥⲧⲟⲓ 'scent' is phonologically reduced, while the dependent noun ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ 'sweet' is left intact, cf. figure 3.1.

	HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
HEAD-MARKED PATTERN	ⲥϯ (< ⲥⲧⲟⲓ) scent	ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ sweet	
DEPENDENT-MARKED PATTERN		LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
	ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ the virgin	ⲛ-	ⲥⲁϧⲏ prudent

FIGURE 3.1 Head- and dependent marking in Coptic noun phrases

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

3.1.2 Nominal compounds

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

result being a monophthong (i.e. a single vowel), e.g. ⲥϯ-ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ /sti.n'u:fe/ 'fragrance' (< ⲥⲧⲟⲓ /stoi̯/ + ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ /n'u:fe/ 'sweet').

3.1.2.1 Analytic compounds

On semantic grounds, one can distinguish two types of nominal compounds, analytic and synthetic ones. Analytic compounds convey a relatively transparent meaning that can compositionally be derived from the meaning of each component, e.g. ϣⲣ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ /šər.h'owt/ 'boy' (< ϣⲏⲣⲉ /šɛ:re/ 'child' + ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ /howt/ 'male'), ϩⲟⲩ-ⲙⲓⲥⲉ /hu.m'i:se/ 'birthday' (< ϩⲟⲟⲩ /how/ 'day' + ⲙⲓⲥⲉ /mise/ 'birth'), ϩⲣⲟⲩ-ⲃⲁⲓ /hru.v'ai̯/ 'thunder' (< ϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ /hrow/ 'noise' + ⲃⲁⲓ /vai̯/ 'sky'), ϣⲃⲣ-ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ /švər.ər.h'ov/ 'co-worker' (< ϣⲃⲏⲣ /švɛr/ 'comrade' + ⲣ-ϩⲱⲃ /ər.hov/ 'to do (ⲣ-) work (ϩⲱⲃ)').

3.1.2.2 Synthetic compounds

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

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
ⲁⲧ-	NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE	ⲁⲑⲏⲧ 'foolish' (< ϩⲏⲧ 'heart') (V. Pach. 141:2), ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ 'sleepless' (< ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ 'to sleep') (Onnophr. 208:4)
ⲙⲛⲧ-	ABSTRACT NOUNS	ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'divinity' (< ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'god') (V. Pach. 6:29), ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲏ 'monastic lifestyle' (< ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ 'monk') (V. Pach. 141:14), ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ (< ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ 'Greek') (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:25)

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
ⲟⲓⲛ-	EVENT AND INSTANTIATION NOUNS	ⲟⲓⲛ-ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲧⲁ 'encounter' (< ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲧⲁ 'to meet') (Test. Is. 230:4), ⲟⲓⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'food' (< ⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'to eat') (V. Pach. 5:2)
ⲣⲉϥ-	AGENTIVE NOUNS	ⲣⲉϥ-ϩⲱⲧⲃ 'murderer' (< ϩⲱⲧⲃ 'to kill') (Abbatôn 232:30), ⲣⲉϥ-ⲣ-ⲉⲓⲟⲙⲉ 'craftsman' (< ⲣ- 'to do' + ⲉⲓⲟⲙⲉ 'craft, art') (praec. Pach. 111)
ⲣⲙ(ⲛ)-	NOUNS OF PROFESSION/ OCCUPATION	ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲛⲓ 'superintendent' (< ⲛⲓ 'house') (praec. Pach. 104), ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲣⲁⲛ 'dignitary' (< ⲣⲁⲛ 'name') (praec. Pach. 111)
ⲙⲁⲛ-	LOCATION NOUNS	ⲙⲁⲛ-ϣⲱⲙⲉ (< ϣⲱⲙⲉ 'to reside') 'dwelling place', (Ac. A&P 198:73), ⲙⲁⲛ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ 'couch' (< ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ 'to sleep') (Eud. 50:5)

TABLE 3.1 Synthetic compounds

Synthetic compounds that contain of two or more formatives in series are commonly attested, e.g. ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ϩⲟⲧⲉ (< ϩⲟⲧⲉ 'fear') 'fearlessness' (V. Pach. 6:13), ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲙ-ⲣⲁϣ (< ⲣⲁϣ 'gentle, mild') 'gentleness' (Eud. 54:27).

- The synthetic formatives ⲣⲙⲛ and ⲙⲁⲛ incorporate the linkage marker ⲛ- into their morphological structure and thus represent a blend between the head-marked and dependent-marked pattern (see above, figure 3.1).
- The formative ⲣⲉϥ- may be construed with an entire verb phrase (i.e. the verb and its arguments and adjuncts), the result being a clause-like noun phrase, e.g. ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲛⲉϫ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'the ones (ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ) who throw (ⲛⲉϫ) small children (ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) into the water (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) (lit. the-small-children-into-the-water-throwers)' (Ac. A&P 204:143).

3.1.3 Adjectival modification

The previous section has dealt with the head-marking syntax of nominal compounds. This and the following section discuss the dependent-marking pattern of adjectival modification and possessive noun phrases. In the adjectival construction, the modifying noun is connected to the head noun by means of the linkage marker ⲛ- (or its assimilated form ⲙ-). While the head noun is compatible with the entire range of Coptic determiners, the ⲛ-marked modifier must be left undetermined, as seen in: ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ (...) ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ '*physical* (ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ) comfort (ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ)' (Hil. 5:23), ⲟⲩϩⲟⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛϣⲛⲥ 'a *linen* (ⲛ-ϣⲛⲥ) garment (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲉⲓⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 50:11-12), ⲡⲉⲓϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 'this *blessed* (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) old man (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ)' (Onnophr. 215:15-16). See figure 3.2 for the dependent-marking syntax of adjectival modification.

HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
	LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ a small	ⲛ-	ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ convent
ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ the virgin	ⲛ-	ⲥⲁⲃⲏ prudent

FIGURE 3.2 Adjectival modification

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

3.1.3.1 The nominal character of Coptic "adjectives"

Coptic has no separate word class of "adjectives" used to describe properties of individuals and objects. Thus, property-denoting expressions like ⲛⲟⲩ 'big' or ⲥⲁⲃⲉ 'intelligent' cannot be distinguished syntactically from referring expressions like ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'man', since both types of nominals can be used as the head or the modifier of an adjectival construction. Compare: ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ 'the *intelligent* (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲃⲉ) people (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160), ϩⲉⲛϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ '*new* (ⲛ-ⲃⲣⲣⲉ) words (ϩⲉⲛ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ)' (Hil. 1:18-19) vs. ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ 'a *small* (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) convent (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)' (V. Pach.1:13), ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲏⲛ '*big* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ) trees (ⲛ-ϣⲏⲛ)' (Onnophr. 219:17).

Greek adjectives are usually borrowed in their masculine singular form, e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ 'a *wise* (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Teach. Ant. 4), ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲙⲉ 'oh Lord (ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ), *faithful* (ⲙ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *righteous* (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) God (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), *true* (ⲙ-ⲙⲉ) judge (ⲛ-ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ)' (V. Pach. 7:19-20), ϩⲱⲥ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ 'like (ϩⲱⲥ) a man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *of this world* (ⲛ-ⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 13:5).

3.1.3.2 Types of adjectival modification

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

a) Property assignment

Coptic has a closed class of property-denoting expressions where grammatical gender is marked through different vocalic endings (sing. masc. -ⲉ, sing. fem. -ⲏ): ⲕⲁⲙⲉ vs. ⲕⲁⲙⲏ 'black', ⲥⲁⲃⲉ vs. ⲥⲁⲃⲏ 'intelligent', ϩⲁⲉ vs. ϩⲁⲏ 'final', e.g. ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ 'an *intelligent* (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲃⲉ) fire (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ)' (Test. Is. 234:26) vs. ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏ 'the *wise* (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲃⲏ) virgin (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ)' (Eud. 54:15).

b) Constituency

e.g. ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ 'the cloud (ⲧ-ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ) *of light* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ)' (Eud. 42:26), ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲕⲱϩⲧ 'the river (ⲡ-ⲓⲉⲣⲟ) *of fire* (ⲛ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ)' (Test. Is. 234:22), ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'a big (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) fountain (ⲙ-ⲡⲏⲅⲏ) *of water* (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 46:18).

c) Class membership or ethnicity

e.g. ⲛⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'the *Christian* (ⲛ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) women (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:19-20), ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ 'the *ascetic* (ⲛ-ⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ) old man (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ)' (V. Pach. 87:7), ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ

ⲛⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲓⲥ 'a *Samaritan* (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲓⲥ) woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-11).

3.1.4 Possessive noun phrases

In possessive noun phrases, the head noun always indicates the possessed item and the dependent noun the possessor. In Coptic, the syntactic dependency between the possessed and the possessor noun is indicated by two different linkage markers, namely ⲛ- (or its assimilated form ⲙ-) and ⲛⲧⲉ. These linkage markers fulfill similar functions as the preposition *of* in English possessives, e.g. ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'the man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'a thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 60:24). See figure 3.3 for the dependent-marking syntax of possessive noun phrases.

POSSESSED NOUN (HEAD)	POSSESSOR NOUN (DEPENDENT)	
	LINKER	IN/DEFINITE NOUN PHRASE
ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲙ-	ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ God
ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ a thing	ⲛⲧⲉ	ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ God

FIGURE 3.3 Nominal possession

3.1.4.1 The distribution of the linkage markers ⲛ- *and* ⲛⲧⲉ

As we can see from table 3.2 below, the selection of the linkage markers ⲛ- and ⲛⲧⲉ is laregly dependent on the determination of the possessed and the possessor noun. This will be explained below. Abbreviations: NP 'noun phrase', DEM. DET. 'demonstratively determined' (e.g. ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*this* man'), POSS. DET. 'possessively determined' (e.g. ⲧⲁ-ϥⲓⲙⲉ '*my* wife').

LINKAGE MARKER ⲛ-		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	"BARE" NOUN	ⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲣⲙⲏ 'as places (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) of weeping (ⲛ-ⲣⲙⲏ)' (Eud. 40:9)
DEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 'the letter (ⲧ-ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ) of the king (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ)' (Hil. 10:31)
DEM. DET. NP	DEM. DET. NP	ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲥⲟⲧ 'these heights (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲱⲓ) of such sort (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲥⲟⲧ)' (Hil. 9:6)
DEFINITE NP	POSS. DET. NP	ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ 'the faith (ⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ) of my fathers (ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ)' (Hil. 11:12)
LINKAGE MARKER ⲛⲧⲉ		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	DEFINITE NP	ⲛⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'with (the) joy (ⲛ-ⲣⲁⲱⲉ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the Holy (ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Spirit (ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ)' (KHML I 82:4-5)
INDEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲣⲉⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'many (ϩⲁϩ) rich men (ⲛ-ⲣⲉⲙⲁⲟ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (KHML I 72:1)
INDEFINITE NP	DEM. DET. NP	ⲟⲩϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲱⲏⲙ 'a single (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) servant (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) this little (ⲱⲏⲙ) boy (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ)' (KHML I 73:8-9)
POSS. DET. NP	DEFINITE NP	ⲧⲉϥⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'his stewardship (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 217:23)

TABLE 3.2 The semantic distribution of the markers ⲛ-/ⲙ- and ⲛⲧⲉ

The linkage marker ⲛ- is selected, when the possessed noun and the possessor noun agree in in/definiteness and consequently display the same type of determiner (including the zero-article of "bare" nouns), e.g. ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'the house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 219:10). If there is a mismatch in definiteness, however, the competing marker ⲛⲧⲉ must be chosen instead. Thus, ⲛⲧⲉ-possessives typically combine an indefinite possessed noun with a definite possessor noun, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'a thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 60:24). Both linking markers are found in possessive noun phrases where the possessed noun or the possessor noun are determined by the possessive article, e.g. ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ 'the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅)' (Eud. 46:16-17) vs. ⲧⲉϥⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'his stewardship (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 217:23).

The linking marker ⲛⲧⲉ has the pronominal allomorph ⲛⲧⲁ-, which appears in a single context only, namely when an indefinite possessed noun is construed with a pronominal possessor, e.g. ⲕⲉⲥⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ 'six (ⲥⲟ) virgins (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) of hers (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥ) as well (ⲕⲉ-)' (Eud. 56:6-7), ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁϥ 'nor (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) anything else (ⲕⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) of his (ⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) property (ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 95).

3.1.4.2 Types of nominal possession

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

a) Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession involves possessed items that are intrinsically related to the possessor, such as body parts, names or family relations, e.g. ⲡϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 'the face (ⲡ-ϩⲟ) of the angel (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ)' (Test. Is. 229:6), ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ 'the body (ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) of the blessed (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:16-18), ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ 'the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus' (Eud. 46:16-17), ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲉϥ 'the mother (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ) of the sailor (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲉⲉϥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:4)), ⲧϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲏⲛⲱⲛ 'the daughter (ⲧ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ) of the God-loving (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1-2).

b) Alienable possession

Alienable possessions express the notion of ownership proper, e.g. ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ 'the couch (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲛ-ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) of our father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Isaac' (Test. Is. 236:24), ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲩⲇⲏⲥ (read ⲡⲉⲡⲉⲛⲇⲩⲧⲏⲥ) ⲙⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ 'Paul's (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ) robe (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧⲩⲇⲏⲥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

c) Proximity, closeness or relatedness

e.g. ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ 'the God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of Apa Mena (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 21a:1-2), ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲛⲇⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ 'the landlord (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the inn (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲛ-ⲇⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 27a: 11-13), ⲧⲉϫⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'the need (ⲧⲉ-ϫⲣⲓⲁ) of the body (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ)' (V. Pach.4:5).

d) Place and time

The possessor noun may indicate location in place and time, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ 'the people (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the city (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) Alexandria' (Mena, Martyrd. 5b:21-22), ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛϣⲓⲏⲧ 'the church (ⲧ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ) of Shiêt (ⲛ-ϣⲓⲏⲧ)' (Hil. 12:17), ϣⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ 'until (ϣⲁ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the judgement (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲡ)' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

e) Agent relation

When the possessed noun refers to some event or activity, the possessor may be interpreted as the instigator or agent of that event, e.g. ⲡⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'the joy (ⲡ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ) of (caused by) the Holy (ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Spirit (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ)' (Eud. 68:12), ⲡϫⲟϩϫ ⲛⲛⲟⲃϩⲉ 'the gnashing (ⲡ-ϫⲟϩϫ) of teeth (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲟⲃϩⲉ)' (Test. Is. 234:29).

f) Patient relation

The possessor noun may also refer to the undergoer or patient of the event or activity that is described by the possessed noun, e.g. ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲧⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 'the healing (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ) of the king's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) daughter (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 8:19), ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ 'the death (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲩ) of his (Antonius') parents (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ)' (V. Ant. 3:22).

3.1.5 Noun coordination

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

FIRST CONJUNCT (ADJUNCT)	CONNECTIVE (HEAD)	SECOND CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT)
ⲧ-ⲡⲉ heaven	ⲙⲛ and (lit. 'with')	ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ earth

FIGURE 3.4 Noun coordination

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

1. ⲙⲛ

The conjunction ⲙⲛ is actually a comitative preposition, meaning something like '(together) with, in the company of'. It connects various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases, though not "bare" nouns, e.g. ϩⲉⲛⲥⲟⲡⲥ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'entreaties *and* (ⲙⲛ) tears' (Eud. 34:8), ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲯⲁⲁⲣ 'bone (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲥ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) skin (ⲡ-ⲯⲁⲁⲣ)' (Hil. 8:29), ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲁ̅ⲁ̅ⲁ̅ ⲙⲛ ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲍⲉⲕⲓⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲓⲁⲥ 'in the manner (ⲛⲑⲉ) of David (ⲛ-ⲇ̅ⲁ̅ⲩⲉⲓⲇ̅) *and* (ⲙⲛ) Solomôn *and* (ⲙⲛ) Ezekias *and* (ⲙⲛ) Jôsias' (Hil. 9:28-29), ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲛ ⲕⲉⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'he (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) and (ⲙⲛ) another philosopher (ⲕⲉ-ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) called (ⲭⲉ) Apa Martêrion' (Hil. 6:17).

2. ϩⲓ

"Bare" nouns are joined together by means of the locative preposition ϩⲓ, originally meaning 'on', e.g. ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ϩⲓ ⲥⲛⲟϥ 'flesh (ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) *and* (ϩⲓ) blood (ⲥⲛⲟϥ)' (Onnophr.206:25), ⲃⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ 'abomination (ⲃⲟⲧⲉ) *and* (ϩⲓ) crime (ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ)' (Eud. 40:15), ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ ⲛⲣⲉϥϩⲱⲧⲃ ϩⲓ ⲣⲉϥⲡⲉϩⲧⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'a lot (ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ) of murderers (ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥϩⲱⲧⲃ) *and* (ϩⲓ) blood-shedders (ⲣⲉϥ-ⲡⲉϩⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (Abbatôn 232:30-31).

3. ⲏ

The notion of disjunction is expressed by the Greek conjunction ⲏ 'or', which does not impose any selectional restrictions on the noun phrases it connects, e.g. ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲏ ⲙⲁⲁⲩ 'I do not have (lit. '(there) is not (ⲙⲛ) with me (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ)') father (ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *or* (ⲏ) mother (ⲙⲁⲁⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22), ⲉⲡⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲏ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'to (ⲉ-) the assembly (ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) *or* (ⲏ) to (ⲉ-) the eating ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) room (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)' (praec. Pach. 100).

4. ⲁⲩⲱ

The connective ⲁⲩⲱ 'and' is mainly used as a clausal conjunction, but may also connect two noun phrases, e.g. ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲯⲏⲣⲉ 'my brothers (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) *and* (also) (ⲁⲩⲱ) my children (ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ)' (V. Pach. 88:23-24), ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'Eternal God (ⲡ-

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) Father (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Eud. 46:9).

5. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ

The Greek conjunction ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 'and not' expresses the notions of negation and coordination at the same time, e.g. ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ '(not) in (ϩⲙ) this age (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ) *and not* (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) the one to come (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ)' (Eud. 38:22-23). The reduplicant ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 'neither ... nor' indicates the presence of two alternative invalid or impossible options, e.g. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ '*neither* (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) clothes (ϩⲃⲥⲱ) *nor* (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) food (ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ)' (Onnophr. 208:14-15), ⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲱⲗⲏⲁ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲏ 'the monk (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) did not (ⲙⲡⲉ) desist (lit. to take (ⲕⲁ) away (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) his hand (ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ϥ)) from praying (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲱⲗⲏⲁ) *either* (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) *or* (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲱⲏ)' (AP Chaîne no. 231, 68:20-21).

3.1.6 Appositions

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

a) Referent identification

Appositions are typically used to facilitate referent identification. In an example like ⲛⲉⲕⲓⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲉⲓⲥ 'Nekintôre (i.e. Dendera), *a city* (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *the Thebais* (ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲉⲓⲥ)' (KHML II 31:24-25), the appositional noun phrase ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲉⲓⲥ 'a city of the Thebais' provides an additional clue to locate the place in question. In a similar vein, appositions can be used to disambiguate pronominal reference, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙⲟ (...) 'he (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), *our father* (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *Pachôm* (...)' (V. Pach. 4:24).

b) Epithetic use

Apart from their referent backtracking function, appositions may have a somewhat more conventionalised use as epithets, e.g. ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ 'the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Marcos, *the Evangelist* (ⲡ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ)' (Hil. 3:32-33), ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ 'Apa Pambô, *the presbyter* (ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 5:13), ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *Almighty* (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

c) Naming

In the context of naming, the particle ⲭⲉ 'called' must be selected when the head noun is an indefinite expression, while the apposition itself is a proper name, e.g. ⲟⲩⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ 'one (ⲟⲩⲁ) *called* (ⲭⲉ) Apa Paul' (AP Chaîne no. 230, 68:8), ⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲗⲏⲁ 'to a city (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) *called* (ⲭⲉ) Saralêa (i.e. Caesarea)' (Hil. 3:18), ⲕⲉⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'another philosopher (ⲕⲉ-ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) *called* (ⲭⲉ) Apa Martêrion' (Hil. 6:17). An exceptional case is ⲣⲁⲛ 'name', which must always be definite, e.g. ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ 'this name (ⲭⲉ) *Jesus*' (Ac. A&P 196:32).

3.2 Simple and complex prepositions

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

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

	PREPOSITION	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
NOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	ϵ- to	ⲕⲏⲙϵ Egypt
PRONOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	ϵⲣⲟ= to	-ϥ him

FIGURE 3.5 The phrase structure of Coptic prepositional phrases

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

3.2.1 Basic prepositions

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

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ϵ-	ϵⲣⲟ=	to, towards	ⲙⲛ-	ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=	with, and
ⲛ-	ⲛⲁ=	for	ⲛ-	ⲙⲙⲟ=	in, from
ϩⲛ-	ⲛϩⲏⲧ=	in, at, on	ⲫⲁ-	ⲫⲁⲣⲟ=	to, towards
ϩⲁ-	ϩⲁⲣⲟ=	under, for	ϩⲓ-	ϩⲓⲱⲟ=	on
ⲁⲭⲛ-	ⲁⲭⲛⲧ=	without	ⲟⲩⲃϵ-	ⲟⲩⲃⲏ=	against
ⲟⲩⲧϵ-	ⲟⲩⲧⲱ=	between		ϩⲏⲧ=	before
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ-	ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲟ=	according to	ⲡⲁⲣⲁ-	ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ=	more than

TABLE 3.3 The inventory or basic prepositions

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

3.2.1.1 Allomorphy

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

- Labial assimilation: the nominal state form of ⲛ- 'in', ϩⲛ 'in, at' and ⲁⲭⲛ- 'without' undergo labial assimilation before the voiceless bilabial stop ⲡ /p/ and the voiced labial nasal ⲙ /m/ (see above, section 1.3.3.1 of Unit 1), e.g. ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧϵⲧⲣⲓⲣ '*in* the place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) of the oven (ⲛ-ⲧϵ-ⲧⲣⲓⲣ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ϩⲙ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ '*in* (ϩⲙ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) place (ⲙⲁ)' (praec. Pach. 129), ⲁⲭⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ '*without* (ⲁⲭⲙ) the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙϵ) of the congregation (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 118). By contrast, the comitative preposition ⲙⲛ 'with' is never assimilated, e.g. ⲙⲁⲗϵⲗϵⲏⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲓⲁⲣⲉⲑ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ 'Maleleêl and (ⲙⲛ) Jareth *and* (ⲙⲛ) our father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Enôch' (Test. Is. 231:2-3).
- Defective prepositions: several basic prepositions lack either a nominal or pronominal state allomorph. The defective preposition ϩⲏⲧ= 'before', for example, occurs in the pronominal state only. The prepositions ϩⲓ 'at' and ϩⲛ 'in', on the other hand, have suppletive forms in the pronominal state, which actually are compound prepositions: ϩⲓⲱⲟ= (< ϩⲓ 'on' + ⲱⲟ= 'back' (lit. 'on the back of')) and ⲛϩⲏⲧ= (< ⲛ 'in' + ϩⲏⲧ= 'belly', lit. 'in the belly of'), e.g. †ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛϩⲏⲧ 'I (am) *in* (†-ϩⲙ) my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) (is) *in me* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ < ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ-ⲧ)' (Abbatôn 231:27-28 [John 14:11]).

- The pronominal state forms ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲟ= and ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ= of the Greek prepositions ⲕⲁⲧⲁ- 'according to' and ⲡⲁⲣⲁ- 'more than' are analogical formations based on the model of simple prepositions, such as ϩ-, ϩⲣⲟ= 'to'.

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

	ϩⲣⲟ=	ⲙⲙⲟ=	ⲛⲁ=	ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=
1st sing.	ϩⲣⲟ=ⲓ	ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲓ	ⲛⲁ=ⲓ	ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=ⲓ
2nd sing. masc.	ϩⲣⲟ=ⲕ	ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲕ	ⲛⲁ=ⲕ	ⲙⲙⲙⲁ=ⲕ
2nd sing. fem.	ϩⲣⲟ	ⲙⲙⲟ	ⲛϩ	ⲛⲙⲙϩ
3rd sing. masc.	ϩⲣⲟ=ϥ	ⲙⲙⲟ=ϥ	ⲛⲁ=ϥ	ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=ϥ
3rd sing. fem.	ϩⲣⲟ=ⲥ	ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲥ	ⲛⲁ=ⲥ	ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=ⲥ
1st pl.	ϩⲣⲟ=ⲛ	ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲛ	ⲛⲁ=ⲛ	ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=ⲛ
2nd pl.	ϩⲣⲱ=ⲧⲛ	ⲙⲙⲱ=ⲧⲛ	ⲛⲏ=ⲧⲛ	ⲛⲙⲙⲏ=ⲧⲛ
3rd pl.	ϩⲣⲟ=ⲟⲩ	ⲙⲙⲟ=ⲟⲩ	ⲛⲁ=ⲩ	ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=ⲩ

TABLE 3.4 The pronominal paradigm of basic prepositions

3.2.1.2 Semantic Functions

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

1. nom. st. ϩ-, pron. st. ϩⲣⲟ=

a) has a directional meaning and marks the endpoint of a movement, e.g. ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ ϩⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲏⲥϩ 'he (Pachôm) went (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) to him (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ) (Apa Dionysos) *to* Tabenêse (ϩ-ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲏⲥϩ)' (V. Pach. 138:21), ⲁⲩⲗⲁϩ ⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ 'they went (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲗⲁϩ) *on* the ship (ϩ-ⲡⲓ-ϫⲟⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

b) conveys the opposite semantic value under a separative reading, in which case it indicates temporal or spatial distance from a certain condition or state, e.g. ⲧⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲉⲯⲱⲛϩ 'I am cured (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲟϫ) *from* sickness (ϩ-ⲯⲱⲛϩ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

c) may have a restrictive meaning and express the idea that some condition or state holds only partially, e.g. ϩⲓⲯⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ 'I am sick (ϩ-ⲓ-ⲯⲱⲛϩ) *at my liver* (ϩ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ)' (Onnophr. 208:30), ⲯⲁⲩⲣ ⲃⲗⲗϩ ⲉⲡϩⲩⲃⲗⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'they became (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲣ) blind (ⲃⲗⲗϩ) *at* one (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) of their eyes (ϩ-ⲡϩⲩ-ⲃⲗⲗ)' (KHML II 53:2-3).

d) Coptic has no specialized morphological marker for the formal expression of a comparative relationship. Rather, the degree quantifier ϩⲟⲩⲟ 'more' indicates the higher degree of the quality referred to by the verbal predicate, while the compared entity or object is syntactically encoded as as directional phrase with ϩ-, e.g. ⲙⲏ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲟⲩⲉⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ '(ⲙⲏ) am I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) more (ϩ-ϩⲟⲩ(ⲟ)) honoured (ϩ-ⲓ-ⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ) *than* my Lord (ϩ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7).

e) is commonly used to mark the direct object of a perception verb, such as ⲛⲁⲩ 'to see' and ϩⲉ 'to find', e.g. ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲯⲩϫⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'I saw (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *the dwelling* (ⲛ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *places* (ϩ-ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) of all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) souls (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲩϫⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), ⲁⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ 'I found (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϩⲉ) *him* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) already dead (lit. while he had already become (ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱ) being dead (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ))' (Onnophr. 205:23-24).

f) Ethical datives are reflexively used prepositions, whose pronominal objects are co-referential with the clausal subject; they highlight the involvement of the subject referent in the situation talked about, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ (...) 'one (ⲟⲩⲁ) of the old men (ⲛ-ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) saw (ⲁ ... ⲛⲁⲩ) *for* himself (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a trance (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.180, 43:11).

g) The nom. st. form ϵ- is grammaticalized as a prepositional complementizer that introduces non-finite infinitival clauses, e.g. ϵιογωϣ ϵτογχϵ ταψγχη 'I want (ϵ-ι-ογωϣ) *to* cure (ϵ-τογχϵ) my soul (πα-ψγχη)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:1).

h) Idiomatic uses: ϵρογϩϵ 'at night', e.g. ννϵ ρωμϵ ϧωκ ϵτϵϩϲ νϵϲϭιϫ (read νϵqϭιϫ) ϵρογϩϵ (...) 'no one (ρωμϵ) shall go (ννϵ ... ϧωκ) to annoint (ϵ-τϵϩϲ) his hands (νϵq-ϭιϫ) *at night* (ϵρογϩϵ)' (praec. Pach. 92), ϵπϩαϵ 'finally', e.g. ϵπϩαϵ Δϵ αγϯ ναq ϩωωq ν̀ϩντν̀ϩ (for ν̀ϩϵντν̀ϩ) (...) '*finally* (ϵπϩαϵ), they gave (α-γ-ϯ) him (να-q) wings (ν-ϩϵν-τν̀ϩ), too (ϩωω-q) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), ϵιττηρq 'at all', e.g. ϩωϲτϵ ϵτμτραλιϲϧανϵ ϵιττηρq (...) 'so that (ϩωϲτϵ) I did not notice (ϵ-τμ-τρα-λιϲϧανϵ) *at all* (ϵ-ιτ-τηρ-q) (...)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27), ϵπϵϩογο 'even more', e.g. ναι Δϵ αγτογνοϭq ϵπϵϩογο 'they (ναι) (the pagan emperors) revived it (the prosecution) (α-γ-τογνοϭ-q) *even more* (ϵ-πϵ-ϩογο)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:3-5).

2. nom. st. ν- (assimilated form μ-), pron. st. να=

a) designates the recipient or beneficiary, i.e. the person towards whom a particular action or activity is directed or some object is handed over, e.g. ψαρϵ πνογτϵ ϯ ογϩμοτ ννϵτναπιϲτϵγϵ 'God (π-νογτϵ) will give (ψαρϵ ... ϯ) grace (ογ-ϩμοτ) *to* those who will believe (ν-ν-ϵτ-να-πιϲτϵγϵ)' (Test. Is. 228:11), or the person addressed in direct speech, e.g. πϵχαq ναq (...) 'he (Apa Zênôn) said (πϵχα-q) *to him* (να-q) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 179, 43:4).

b) Ethical datives assume the number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatives to emphasize to the intended addressee the necessity or urgency of the requested activity, e.g. ϵϵωρϵι (read ϵϵωρϵι) ναϰ 'see (ϵϵωρϵι) *for yourself* (να-ϰ)!' (KHML II 21:26), τϵνογ ϭϵ ϧιτq (for qιτq) ναϰ ϩιϫωι 'now (τϵνογ) take it (the cloak) (away) from me (ϩι-ϫω-ι)' (V. Pach. 92:15).

3. nom. st. ν- (assimilated form μ-), pron. st. μμο=

a) There is reason to assume that the polyfunctional preposition ν-, μμο= originally had a locative meaning, from which other semantic functions are derived, e.g. νϵρϵ πϫοϵιϲ μπϵιμα 'if the Lord (π-ϫοϵιϲ) were (νϵρϵ) *in* this place (μ-πϵι-μα) (...)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), αϲψωπϵ νογϩοογ (...) 'it happpened (α-ϲ-ψωπϵ) *one day* (ν-ογ-ϩοογ) (...)' (V. Pach. 136:23).

b) As an identificational preposition, the nom. st. form ν- must be construed with a zero-determined "bare" noun, e.g. ϩοινϵ ν̀ϩο ν̀ϭαμογλ ϩϵνϰοογϵ ν̀ϩο μμογι 'some (monsters) (ϩοινϵ) (as) *camel-faced* (ν-ϩο ν-ϭαμογλ), others (ϩϵν-ϰοογϵ) *lion-faced* (ν-ϩο μ-μογι)' (Test. Is. 234:2-3), αqλλγ νϵϰϰληϲια 'he (Apa Shenoute) turned them (the pagan temples) (α-q-λλ-γ) *into* churches (ν-ϵϰϰληϲια)' (KHML II 50:27), ϵϰο μπϵρπϵρος 'you are (ϵ-ϰ-ο) *vainglorious* (μ-πϵρπϵρος)' (V. Pach. 1:18).

c) marks the direct object of various kinds of transitive verbs, e.g. ϵγϰωτ μπϲοβτ ντϲοογϩϲ 'when they were building (ϵ-γ-ϰωτ) *the wall* (μ-π-ϲοβτ) of the congregation (ν-τ-ϲοογϩϲ)' (V. Pach. 1:16), ϵτϵτνχι μπϵιρωμϵ ϵτων (...) 'where to (ϵ-των) do you bring (ϵ-τϵτν-χι) *this man* (μ-πϵι-ρωμϵ)?' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-3).

d) The pron. st. μμο= may designate a contextually specified partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g. νθϵ ϵτqο ν̀ϩμϩαλ μπογα πογα μμοογ 'in the manner (ν-θϵ < ν-τ-ϩϵ) that he (Pachôm) was (ϵτ-q-ο) a servant (ν-ϩμϩαλ) of every single one (μ-π-ογα π-ογα) *of them* (the brothers) (μμο-ογ)' (V. Pach. 90:19-20).

e) Idiomatic uses: νψορπ 'at first', e.g. νψορπ μϵν αqτϲαβοογ ν̀ϩϫαι '*at first* (νψορπ) he (Zeno) taught them (his daughters) (α-q-τϲαβο-ογ) to write (ν-ϩϫαι)' (Hil. 2:6-7), νχιογϵ 'secretly', e.g. μηπος ντϵ ϩοινϵ βι (for qι) πϵqϲωμα νχιογϵ 'that not (μηπος) some (people) (ϩοινϵ) would carry away (ντϵ ... qι) his (Pachôm's) body (πϵq-ϲωμα) *secretly* (νχιογϵ)' (V. Pach. 94:7), αϲψωπ[ϵ] Δϵ ον νογϲοπ (...) 'it also (ον) happened (α-ϲ-ψωπϵ) *once* (νογϲοπ)' (KHML II 17:18).

4. nom. st. ϩN- (assimilated form ϩM-), pron.st. NϩHT=

a) displays some degree of overlap with N-, when used as a locative preposition, e.g. ⲁⲕⲣ ⲟⲩ ϩN ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲟⲱ 'what (ⲟⲩ) have you been doing (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣ) *in* (ϩN) these districts (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲧⲟⲱ)?' (KHML II 31:26).

b) often has an instrumental interpretation and specifies the means through which a particular activity is carried out, e.g. †[ⲛⲁϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲙⲙⲟ] ϩN ⲧⲉⲓⲥⲏϥⲉ (...) 'I am going to kill (†-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲱⲧⲃ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ) *with* (ϩN) this sword (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲥⲏϥⲉ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-6).

c) quite frequently indicates the source or point of origin of some state of affairs, e.g. ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲣ ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'and become (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲉⲣ) a rich man (ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ) *from them* (the coins) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:21-22), ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲣⲱϥ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) the universe (ⲡ-ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) has come into existence (ⲛⲧⲁ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *from* (ϩⲙ) the word (ⲡ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) of his (God's) mouth (ⲛ-ⲣⲱ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 7:1-2).

d) The combination of ϩN and an indefinite noun phrase phrase yields a manner adverb, describing the way in which some action took place, e.g. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ϩN ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ 'his brother (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲛ) answered (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ) him (Pachôm) (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *in* (ϩN) *an angry manner* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18), ⲁϥϫⲓ ϣⲕⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩN ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲏ 'he (Diocletian) cried (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓ ϣⲕⲁⲕ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *in* (ϩN) *a loud* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *voice* (ⲛ-ⲥⲏⲏ)' (Eud. 36:25).

e) may refer to a partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣ ϩⲁϩ (read ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲁϩ) ⲟⲛ ϩN ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ (for ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) many (ϩⲁϩ) *of* (ϩN) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) wept (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲣⲓⲙⲉ), too (ⲟⲛ)' (V. Pach. 90:17), ⲁ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲱ ϩN ⲟⲩⲭⲏⲣ 'some (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) *of them* (the brothers) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) mounted (ⲁ ... ⲁⲗⲉ) the donkey (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲱ) in a jolly mood (ϩN ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲏⲣ)' (V. Pach. 6:6-7).

5. nom.st. ϩⲁ-, pron. st. ϩⲁⲣⲟ=

a) The basic meaning of the locative preposition ϩⲁ is 'under', e.g. ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗⲩ ϩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 'they placed them (their property) (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲩ) *under* (ϩⲁ) the feet (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ) of the apostles (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ)' (V. Ant. 4:3-4).

b) commonly expresses the reason or cause for the emergence of some state of affairs, e.g. ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ ϩN ⲧⲉⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ 'they (the Persians) are on the verge of dying (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) *from* (ϩⲁ) thirst (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲃⲉ) in (ϩN) this desert (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ)' (Eud. 46:25).

c) may designate the beneficiary, i.e. the person for whose sake some activity is carried out, e.g. ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲯⲁⲗⲁ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲥⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ 'he (Apa Sarapiôn) remained (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩⲛ) praying (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲯⲁⲗⲁ) *for her sake* (ϩⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) that she might be saved (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ)' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5), ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ† ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ 'it (is) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) who will be answerable (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-† ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ) to God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *for* (ϩⲁ) my soul (ⲧⲁ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ)' (Hil. 5:28).

6. nom. st. ϣⲁ-, pron. st. ϣⲁⲣⲟ=

a) has a directional meaning and marks the destination or goal of some movement, e.g. ⲛⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ 'the father (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) of that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) monastery (ⲛ-ⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ) used to (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁⲣⲉ) come (ⲉⲓ) *to* (ϣⲁ) our father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Pachôm many (ⲛ-ϩⲁϩ) times (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡ)' (V. Pach. 139:25-26).

b) yields an adverb of temporal location in combination with time-indicating nouns and demarcates a point in time up to which some activity lasts, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲫⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲟⲙⲥϥ ϣⲁ ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) do not bring him (the dead boy) (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲫⲓⲧ-ϥ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to bury him (ⲉ-ⲧⲟⲙⲥ-ϥ) *until* (ϣⲁ) the hour (ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) of (day)light (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) tomorrow (ⲛ-ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 196:44-45).

7. *nom. st.* ⲙⲛ-, pron. st. ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=

a) has a comitative interpretation and typically designates the entity with whom some activity is carried out, e.g. ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ 'and we eat (ⲛ-ⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) *with* (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ)' (Onnophr. 215:29), ⲁⲫⲯⲁⲝⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ 'he (Pachôm) spoke (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲯⲁⲝⲉ) *with him* (Theodor) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲫ)' (V. Pach. 93:27).

b) A benefactive or adversative reading may be imposed contextually, e.g. ⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ 'Our father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Pachôm let (ⲧⲣⲉ) the brother (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) make (ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *for him* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ) a great (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) brotherly love (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲥⲟⲛ)'(V. Pach. 136:26-27), ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ 'do perhaps (ⲙⲏ) thoughts (ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) fight (ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ) *with you* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 44:16-17); similarly ϯ ⲙⲛ 'to fight with', e.g. ϩⲉⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲩϯ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲛ 'demons (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ) who fight (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϯ) *with us* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲛ)' (KHML II 11:14-15).

c) conjoins two definite or indefinite noun phrases, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲧ ⲉⲛⲁⲫⲱⲫ 'gold (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) silver (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲁⲧ) in great quantity (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲫⲱ-ⲫ 'which was much')' (Eud. 64:2), ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ 'heaven (ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Eud. 46:12) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

8. nom. st. ⲟⲩⲧⲉ-, pron. st. ⲟⲩⲧⲱ=

indicates the relative location of two entities with respect to one another in combination with the comitative preposition ⲙⲛ- 'with', e.g. ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ 'you should place (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁ) an elbow (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁϩⲉ) *between you* (ⲟⲩⲧⲱ-ⲕ) and him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲫ)' (praec. Pach. 95), ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲯⲁⲝⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ 'a minor argument ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ⲯⲁⲝⲉ) came up (ⲁ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *between them* (ⲟⲩⲧⲱ-ⲟⲩ) with (ⲙⲛ) each other (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ)' (V. Pach. 1:16-17).

9. nom. st. ϩⲓ-, pron st ϩⲓⲱⲱ=

a) When used as a locative preposition, ϩⲓ-, ϩⲓⲱⲱ= indicates the position of some individual or object, e.g. ⲁ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲣ ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲗⲟⲥ 'my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) spent (ⲁ ... ⲣ) three (ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) *in* (ϩⲓ) *bed* (ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲗⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 55:10-11), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟ ϩⲓⲱⲱⲫ 'while a tunic (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ) was placed (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲟ) *upon him* (ϩⲓⲱⲱ-ⲫ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

b) conjoins two zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ϩⲓ ⲥⲛⲟⲫ 'flesh (ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) *and* (ϩⲓ) blood (ⲥⲛⲟⲫ)' (Onnophr. 206:25) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

10. nom. st. ⲁϫⲛ-, ⲉϫⲛ- (assimilated forms ⲁϫⲙ-, ⲉϫⲛ-), pron. st. ⲁϫⲛⲧ=, var. ⲉϫⲛⲧ=

has an inherent negative meaning and asserts the absence of a particular individual or object, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲯⲃ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲙⲛⲏ 'no one (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) shall shave (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲯⲃ) his head (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲁⲡⲉ) *without* (ⲁϫⲙ) his superintendent (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 97), ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲛⲧϥ 'God (ⲡ- ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), he (ⲡⲁⲓ) *without whom* (ⲉϫⲛⲧ-ϥ) nothing (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) happens (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ)' (Zen. 202:3).

11. nom. st. ⲡⲁⲣⲁ-, pron. st. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ=

is commonly used as a functional equivalent of the directional preposition ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲟ= in comparative constructions, e.g. ϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ 'the death (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲩ) of that (girl) (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) is *better* (ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲡ) *than* (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) the life (ⲡ-ⲱⲛϩ) of this one (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲓ)' (Hil. 8:7-8), ⲁⲓⲉⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ (for ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ 'I have committed (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲣ) sins (ⲛⲟⲃⲉ) more than (ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ) *any* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 19b:1-3) ⲟⲩϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟⲛ '(is) he stronger (ⲟⲩ-ϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ) *than us* (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110).

12. nom. st. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ-, pron. st. ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲟ=

a) As a correlative preposition, ⲕⲁⲧⲁ is widely used to express the idea of *suitability* or conformity, e.g. ⲧⲛⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲁⲝⲉ 'I will act (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲓⲣⲉ) *according to* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) your *word* (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲭⲁⲝⲉ)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), idiomatic ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ (< ⲧ-ϩⲉ 'the manner') 'in the vein of, like', e.g. ⲉⲭⲁϥϭⲱⲛⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'then he became angry (ⲉ-ⲭⲁ-ϥ-ϭⲱⲛⲧ) *like* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ) the holy ones (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21).

b) can also have a distributional interpretation, e.g. ⲭⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲧ 'this date palm-tree (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) brings forth (ⲭⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) clusters (ⲛ-ⲗⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ), one cluster (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲟⲟⲩ) *per* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) month (ⲉⲃⲟⲧ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-12).

3.2.2 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions consist of a basic preposition and another element specifying its basic spatial orientation. The second component of such compound prepositions is either a possessive noun phrase, e.g. ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ- 'in (ϩⲛ) the midst (ⲧ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) of (ⲛ-)', or an incorporated "bare" noun, e.g. ⲛⲥⲁ- 'after' (< ⲛ- 'in' + ⲥⲁ- 'back', lit. 'in the back of').

3.2.2.1 Compound prepositions with possessive noun phrases

The object of compound prepositions like ϩⲓⲱⲏ ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲉϥ '*towards* (ϩⲓ- + ⲱⲏ < ⲧ + ϩⲏ 'the forepart') the sailor (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲉⲉϥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:7) is a possessive phrase, cf. figure 3.6.

BASIC PREPOSITION	POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE		
	POSSESSED NOUN	LINKER	POSSESSOR NOUN
ϩⲓ on	ⲱⲏ < ⲧ + ϩⲏ the forepart	ⲙ- of	ⲡ-ⲛⲉⲉϥ the sailor

FIGURE 3.6 The internal structure of compound prepositions

The possessed noun that specifies the locative meaning of the basic preposition is typically a place-indicating noun like ⲙⲏ(ⲏ)ⲧⲉ 'midst', ⲙⲧⲟ 'presence' and ⲕⲱⲧⲉ 'surrounding', or a body-part expression like ϩⲏ 'forepart', e.g. ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛ[ⲉ]ⲣⲣ[ⲱⲟⲩ] 'in *the presence* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of the kings (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 44:8), ⲛϯⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the villages (ⲛ-ϯⲙⲉ) that (ⲉⲧ-) (were) *in the neighbourhood* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) of the place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) in (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) which he (Pachôm) lived as a hermit (ⲉⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ)' (V. Pach. 103a:18-20).

To derive the pronominal state form of such compound prepositions, the possessed noun is determined by the possessive article ⲡⲉϥ- (sing. masc.), ⲧⲉϥ- (sing. fem.), ⲛⲉϥ- (plural) 'his', which expresses both definiteness and pronominal possession (see below, section 4.1.2.1 of the next unit), e.g. ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'before you (lit. in your presence (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙⲧⲟ))' (Camb. 8:20), ϩⲁⲧⲁϩⲏ 'before me (lit. under (ϩⲁ) my forepart (ⲧⲁ-ϩⲏ))' (Eud. 34:26), ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲏⲧⲉ 'in (ϩⲛ) *their midst* (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 206:15), ⲛϯⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ 'the villages (ⲛ-ϯⲙⲉ) which (were) (ⲉⲧ-) *in his neighbourhood* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 3:26).

3.2.2.2 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

The by far most common compound prepositions involve the incorporation of a "bare" noun into a basic preposition, e.g. ⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲭⲁⲝⲉ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ '*after* (< ⲛ- 'in' + ⲥⲁ- 'back') new (ⲛ-ⲃⲣⲣⲉ) words' (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲭⲁⲝⲉ)' (Hil. 1:18-19). The incorporated noun enters into two structural relations: it functions as the complement of the basic preposition, but at the same time serves as the head noun for the following prepositional object.

COMPOUND PREPOSITION		PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
BASIC PREPOSITION	INCORPORATED NOUN	
ⲛ- in	ⲥⲁ- back	ϩⲉⲛⲭⲁⲝⲉ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ new words

FIGURE 3.7 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

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

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ϵTN-	ϵTOOT=	to	NTN-	NTOOT=	from
ϩITN-	ϩITOOT=	by	ϩAϩTN-	ϩA(ϩ)TH=	besides, near
ϵXN-	ϵXω=	upon	ϩIXN-	ϩIXω=	upon, on
NCA-	NCω=	after	MNNCA-	MNNCω=	after
NAϩPN-	NAϩPA=	before	ϵϩPN-	ϵϩPA=	towards
ϩAPN-	ϩAPω=	before	ϩIPN-	ϩIPω=	at, upon
ϵTOYN-	ϵTOYω=	besides	ϵПAϩOY-	ϵПAϩOY MMO=	backwards of
ϵPAT= N-	ϵPAT=	to	ϩAPAT= N-	ϩAPAT=	beneath
ϩHT= N-	ϩHT=	before	ϵTBϵ-	ϵTBHHT=	because of
NBA-	NBAAA=	except	NOYϵψN-		without

TABLE 3.5 The inventory of compound prepositions

The pronominal paradigm of the compound prepositions ϵTOOT= 'to', NCω= 'after', and ϩAPAT= 'beneath' is presented in table 3.6.

	ϵTOOT=	NCω=	ϩAPAT=
1st sing.	ϵTOO=T	NCω=I	ϩAPAT
2nd sing. masc.	ϵTOOT=K	NCω=K	ϩAPAT=K
2nd sing. fem.	ϵTOOT=ϵ	NCω	ϩAPAT=ϵ
3rd sing. masc.	ϵTOOT=Q	NCω=Q	ϩAPAT=Q
3rd sing. fem.	ϵTOOT=C	NCω=C	ϩAPAT=C
1st pl.	ϵTOOT=N	NCω=N	ϩAPAT=N
2nd pl.	ϵTN=THYTN	NCω=TN	ϩAPAT=THYTN
3rd pl.	ϵTOOT=OY	NCω=OY	ϩAPAT=OY

TABLE 3.6 The pronominal paradigm of compound prepositions

N.B. The incorporated noun in a compound preposition is historically derived from a body-part expression like Tϵ- 'hand', PAT- 'foot' or ϩA- 'face'. In the vast majority of cases, the anatomical meaning of the incorporated noun has been lost beyond recognition. This process of semantic bleeching is particularly evident when the compound preposition is construed with another body-part expression, e.g. AQϩϵ ϵПϵCHT ϵXN ПQϩO ϩN TϵYMHTϵ 'he (Pachôm) fell (A-Q-ϩϵ) *down* (ϵПϵCHT) *on* (ϵXN < ϵ- 'at' + X(ϵ) 'head') his face (ПϵQ-ϩO) in (ϩN) their (the brothers') midst (TϵY-MHTϵ)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17).

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

- When a compound preposition has no nominal state allomorph, a predicational phrase with the locative preposition N- 'as' is added to the pronominal state form, e.g. <ψA>NTOYϵI ϵPATQ MПMAPTYPOC ϵTOYAAB 'until they came (ψANT-OY-ϵI) towards (ϵ-PAT-Q) the holy (ϵT-OYAAB) martyr (M-П-MAPTYPOC)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:22-23). The pronominal state ϵPAT-Q contains an anticipatory pronoun that agrees in person, number and gender with the following noun phrase. The the identity between the anticipatory pronoun and the co-referential noun phrase is indicated by the locative preposition M-. The defective preposition ϩHT= 'forward, before' lacks an initial basic preposition besides a nominal state form, e.g. ϵCP ϩOTϵ ϩTHQ MПNOYTϵ XIN ПϵCXПO 'and she (Eudoxia) had reverence (ϵ-C-P ϩOTϵ) *for* (ϩTH-Q) *God* (M-ПNOYTϵ) since (XIN) her birth (ПϵC-XПO)' (Eud. 50:4-5).
- When a compound preposition has no pronominal state allomorph, the pronominal state MMO= of the locative preposition N- is used as a suppletive form and simply juxtaposed with its nominal state allomorph e.g. ϵПAϩOY MMO= 'backwards of', e.g. ϵPϵ ПPωMϵ NNPωMϵ ϵTψωNϵ NAϭω ϵПAϩOY MMOOY ϵTBϵ OYCON ϵTNAψωNϵ 'the one (П-PωMϵ) (responsible for) the sick (ϵT-ψωNϵ) people (N-N-PωMϵ) shall stay (ϵPϵ ... NA-ϭω) *behind them* (ϵПAϩOY MMO-OY) on account of (ϵTBϵ) a brother (OY-CON) who will become sick (ϵT-NA-ψωNϵ)' (praec. Pach. 129).

3.2.3 Particle modification

The addition of a small word or particle can specify the spatial orientation of various basic and compound prepositions. In an example like ⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲟⲥⲭ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'Paulus leaped (ⲁ ... ⲭⲟⲥ-ⲭ) up (ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ) from (ⲥⲙ) the water (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 198:62-63), the particle ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ 'up' underlines the upward directionality of the motion event being described. The most common reinforcing particles are the following ones:

1. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'out'

The particle ⲉⲃⲟⲗ indicates the departure from the point of origin of some motion event, e.g. ⲁⲭⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲭⲣⲓ (...) 'he (Apa Zênôn) came (ⲁ-ⲭ-ⲉⲓ) *out* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *of his cell* (ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲭ-ⲣⲓ) (....)' (AP Chaîne no. 179, 42:26), ⲁⲭⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲭ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲁⲯⲉ 'he (the official) went (ⲁ-ⲭ-ⲉⲓ) *away* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *from him* (Pachôm) (ⲥⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲭ) very joyfully (lit. with (ⲥⲛ) great (ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ) joy (ⲛ-ⲣⲁⲯⲉ))' (V. Pach. 138:7-8).

2. ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ 'into', ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ 'inside'

The particles ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ 'into' and ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ 'inside' describe inward direction and inside location, respectively, e.g. ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲯ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) the apostles (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ) could not go (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲉⲯ-ⲃⲱⲕ) *into the city* (ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152) vs. ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲣⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉ 'immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) the holy (ⲡ-ⲥⲁⲅⲓⲟⲩⲥ) Mercurius moved (ⲁ ... ⲕⲓⲙ) himself (ⲙⲙⲟⲩ) *inside the shroud* (ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉ)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:7-8), ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲙ ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲣⲓ 'no one (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) shall eat (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲙ) anything (ⲛⲕⲁ) *inside his cell* (ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲣⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 114).

3. ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ 'up, down'

The particle ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ is a polysemous expression that has two opposite semantic values: it may reinforce the upward or downward orientation of some movement, with the implication that the final destination has been reached. Thus, compare: ⲁⲛⲧⲩ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ (...) 'he (the angel) brought him (Constantine) (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲧ-ⲩ) *up* (ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ) *to Constantinople* (ⲉ-ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (...)' (Eud. 42:27-28), ⲁⲫⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϧⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ 'he climbed (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲗⲗⲉ) *up* (ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ) *on* (ⲉϧⲛ) *the peak* (ⲧ-ⲁⲡⲉ) of the mountain (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ)' (Zen. 205:2) vs. ⲁⲭⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ 'he (Christ) went (ⲁ-ⲭ-ⲉⲓ) *down* (ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ) *to this place* (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (Ac. A&P 202:103-104).

4. ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ 'downwards'

To indicate the descending directionality of some motion event, the particle ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ is frequently used as an alternative for the polysemous particle ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲣⲉ]ⲭⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲉ 'when he (Christ) had gone (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲭ-ⲉⲓ) *down* (ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ) *to Hell* (ⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 204:142-143), ⲁ ϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ (read ⲡϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ) ⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ 'the camel (ⲡ-ϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ) put him (ⲁ ... ⲕⲁⲁ-ϥ) *down* (ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ) *on* (ⲉϧⲙ) *the earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Mercur, Mir. 265:11-12), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϩⲙⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) heat (ⲛ-ϩⲙⲙⲉ) *down* (ⲙⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ) *in that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *place* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19).

3.3 Adverbial modifiers

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

3.3.1 Genuine Adverbs

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

1. The interrogative pronoun ⲧⲱⲛ 'where'

indicates a questioned location, e.g. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ ⲧⲱⲛ '*where* (ⲧⲱⲛ) do you attend Mass (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ)?' (Onnophr. 221:11).

2. The epistemic adverbs ⲁⲣⲏⲩ and ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ 'perhaps'

signal the non-commitment of the speaker to the truth of the utterance, e.g. ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲫⲙⲟⲩ '*perhaps* (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) he (Apa Ptolemaios) died (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (KHML II 34:6), ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲭⲉ (...) '*perhaps* (ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ) on hearing (it) (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ), someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) might think (ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) that (ⲭⲉ) (...)' (Zen. 200:12-13), ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲟϥ '*maybe* (ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ) the word (ⲡ-ϣⲁⲗⲉ) (that) I have spoken (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ϥ) (is) not (ⲁⲛ) the will (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (V. Pach. 85a:20-23).

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

3. The weak deictic adverb ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'there'

The locative adverb ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'there' indicates distance form the deictic center, i.e. the place and time of the speech situation, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲕⲉⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), (there was) another soul (ⲕⲉ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ) *there* (ⲙⲙⲁⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 202:111). It also expresses deictic remoteness, e.g. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '*that* place' (lit. the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) which ((ⲉⲧ-) (is) (over) there (ⲙⲙⲁⲩ))' (Onnophr. 206:11) (see section 4.1.1.3 of Unit 4 for a more detailed discussion of its use as a distal demonstrative).

4. The frequency adverb ⲙⲛⲏⲛⲉ 'daily'

The temporal adverb ⲙⲛⲏⲛⲉ 'daily' indicates recurring or habitual actions, e.g. ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲱ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'so that (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) he (Zeno) could continue (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱ) to see (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) her (Hilaria) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) *daily* (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ)' (Hil. 12:9-10).

5. The adverb of temporal location ⲛⲥⲟⲩ- 'on day'

e.g. ⲁⲫⲉⲣ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ (...) ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ϩⲁⲑⲱⲣ 'he (Apa Mena) became (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲣ) a martyr (ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ) for (ⲉϧⲙ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of our Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅) (...) *on the fifteenth day* (ⲛⲥⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧⲏ) of the month (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) Hathôr' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:12-19).

6. The degree adverb ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'much, greatly'

A variety of ⲛ- and ⲉ-marked adverbs have function as degree adverbs or focus particles. The high degree modifier ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'much, greatly', for instance, describes the enormity or vastness of some action, e.g. ⲛⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'he (Pachôm) performed ascetic labours (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ) *greatly* (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 103a:6-7).

7. The restrictive focus particle ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'only, merely'

The focus particle ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'only' has an exclusive meaning and expresses the singularity of events or participants, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'will you abandon me (lit. put me (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲧ) behind you (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲕ)) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) one thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) *only* (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82), ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲇⲟⲓⲗⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'the word (ⲡ-ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ) *merely* (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) dwelled (ⲛⲧⲁ ... ⲇⲟⲓⲗⲉ) in a human being (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ-) in one (ⲟⲩⲁ) of the ancient (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ) prophets (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ)' (Zen. 204: 11-12).

8. The scalar focus particle ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'ever, never'

The focus particle ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'ever, never' evaluates the truth of a sentence with respect to a temporal continuum, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣ ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'the one (ⲡⲁⲓ) who behaves thus (lit. of this kind (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ)) will not (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ) *ever* (ⲉⲛⲉϩ) become (ⲉⲣ) master (ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) over any (ⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) passion (ⲛ-ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:9).

3.3.2 Adverbially used noun phrases

Noun phrases that refer to temporal intervals or points on a scale may be used as frequency adverbs or adverbs of temporal location without further qualifications, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ † ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ 'Diocletian (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ) gave (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... †) them (the Persian kings) (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) gifts (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ) *annually* (ⲧⲉ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Eud. 42:14), ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (in) *the beginning* (ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ) when they enter (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) the life of a hermit (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ)' (Onnophr. 211:14-15). Reiterated "bare" noun phrases are associated with a distributive reading, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧ[ⲣⲉⲩⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ] ⲇⲉ ⲥⲛ[ⲁⲩ] [ⲥⲛ]ⲁⲩ 'they made them fast (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) *two on two* (i.e. two succeeding days) (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:22).

The deictic expression ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ (< ⲧⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ 'the hour') 'now, then, but now' does not usually have a temporal meaning, but rather serves as an attention marker, which signals the immediate relevance of what will be communicated next. In this function, ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ is commonly used to add force to directive speech-acts (orders, commands, requests), e.g. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ '*now then* (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ), rise (ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ), let's go (ⲙⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ)!' (Eud. 68:10), ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ '*but now* (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ), my son (ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ), listen (ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to me (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲓ)!' (KHML II 33:13-14).

3.3.3 Manner adverbs

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

psychological state, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲁⲉ ⲁϥϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'he (the official) (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) accepted them (Pachôm's bounty) (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ) *in* (ϩⲛ) *great* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *faith* (ⲙ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ) towards (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 138:6-7), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲛⲧϫⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ (....) 'when he (Diocletian) said (ⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲱ) these (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ) *with* (ϩⲛ) *great* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *arrogance* (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϫⲁⲥⲓ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (Eud. 36:17), ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲛⲧ 'his brother (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲛ) answered (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ) him (Pachôm) (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *angrily* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲱⲛⲧ)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18).

a) Postverbal placement

Manner adverbs tend to follow the verb and the direct and indirect object as closely as possible. The preferred word order is DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL LOCATION ADVERBS, as seen in: ⲁϥⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲁϣⲁϩⲟⲙ 'he (Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ) into the convent (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ) downhearted (lit. in (ϩⲛ) a sadness (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲕⲁϩ) of heart (ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ)) and (ⲙⲛ) (with) a sigh (ⲁϣ-ⲁϩⲟⲙ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲡⲱⲣϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲓⲝ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ϫⲓⲛ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ϣⲁ ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Pachôm) lifted (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲡⲱⲣϥ) his hands (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲥⲓⲝ) up (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) to God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *weeping* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) night (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩϣⲏ) from (ϫⲓⲛ) evening (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) till (ϣⲁ) dawn (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3), ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲡⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲥⲓⲱⲛ 'right away (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ), he (Constantine) sent (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲟⲟⲩ) *quickly* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲉⲡⲏ) (a message) to (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ-ⲥⲓⲱⲛ) Zion' (Eud. 70:18).

b) Conjunction of manner adverbials

Two or more manner adverbs can be joined together by the connective ⲙⲛ (see above, section 3.1.5.2). Since noun phrases can be headed by a single preposition only, the adverbial preposition ϩⲛ is left out in the second conjunct, e.g. [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩ]ⲉⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁ[ⲧⲣⲟ]ⲟⲩⲱ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) that they come (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) *negligently* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲏⲉⲗⲓⲁ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) (with) *an unconcerned* (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ) attitude (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (Camb. 8:8-9), ⲁϥⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲁϣⲁϩⲟⲙ 'he

(Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) into (ϩϩογν) the convent (ϵ-τ-ϲοογϩϲ) *downhearted* (lit. in (ϩν) a sadness (ογ-ηκαϩ) of heart (ν-ϩητ)) *and* (ην) (*with*) *a sigh* (αψ-αϩομ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11).

3.3.4 Cognate objects

Cognate objects derive their name from the fact that they contain a copy of the main verb. In Coptic, cognate objects are syntactically encoded as manner adverbs. There are no selectional restrictions with respect to the type of verb they modify, witness the fact that transitive as well as intransitive verbs can co-occur with such cognate objects, e.g. ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲩⲗ (read ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ 'the Jews (ⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) strengthened (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ) the gate (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗ) *very securely* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲃⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'he (the holy Apa Mercurius) came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) laughing (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲃⲉ) *a holy* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) *laugh* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲃⲉ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:6-7), ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ (read ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) 'you will surely die (lit. *in a dying* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) you shall die (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

Cognate objects convey a quantificational meaning and indicate the high degree or amount of the activity or state referred to by the main verb, e.g. ⲁϥⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ (for ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ) ⲛⲣⲁϣⲉ 'the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *rejoiced* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ) about it (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱ-ϥ) with (ϩⲛ) *great* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *joy* (ⲛ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ)' (V. Pach. 86:21-22), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϣⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲱⲛⲉ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) some time (ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ) he (the brother) became very sick (lit. he became sick (ⲁ-ϥ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ) *in a great* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *sickness* (ⲛ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ))' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:4-5), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲛ <ϩⲉⲛ>ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϣⲧ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) we will be punished (lit. *they* will punish (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲉ) us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ)') *in* (ϩⲛ) *severe* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁϣⲧ) *punishments* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ)' (Onnophr. 208:2-3).

3.3.5 Greek adverbs

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

1. The manner adverbs ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ 'well, rightly' and ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ 'badly'

e.g. ⲁϥⲭⲉ (read ⲁϥⲭⲉⲕ) ⲡⲉϥϩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ 'he (the brother) accomplished (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲉⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) his (life)-time (ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲉ) *badly* (ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, p.1:3-4), ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ '*rightly* (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ) said (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$), the scribe for all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲛ) of us (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲥⲁϩ) in (ϩⲙ) the holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Gospel (ⲡ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ)' (Abbatôn 229:9-11), ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϩⲉ (ⲉ)ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡϣⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 'the ones who serviced (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) well (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ) (are) the ones who reached (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ϩⲉ (ⲉ)ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ) the measure (ⲡ-ϣⲓ) of the Scriptures (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

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

is particularly common in negated sentences, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲁ ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) do not wish (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to listen (ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to slander (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲁ) *at all* (ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ)' (Test. Is. 233:27-28), ⲛϥⲧⲥⲟ ⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ ϥⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ 'he (the pagan commander) *does not restrain* (*himself*) (ⲛ-ϥ-† ⲥⲟ) at all (ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ), since (ⲅⲁⲣ) he imprisons (ϥ-ⲃⲱⲡⲉ) everybody (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ)' (KMHL II 29:13-14).

3. The temporal adverb ⲧⲟⲧⲉ 'then'

introduces a new chain of events and hence marks a major transition in the development of the story-line, e.g. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲩ '*then* (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ) Andreas said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to them (the Jews) (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 196:37), ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲉⲗⲇⲣⲟⲛ '*then* (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ) they brought (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲛ) the blessed (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Nahrow to the theatre (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲑⲉⲗⲇⲣⲟⲛ)' (KHML I 4:6-7)

4. *The modal adverb* ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ 'no doubt'

implies uncertainty on the part of the speaker, e.g. ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ⲡⲧⲱϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ 'it (ⲡⲉ) (is) *no doubt* (ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ) the predestination (ⲡ-ⲧⲱϥ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) that you came (ⲛⲧ-ⲁⲕ-ⲉⲓ)' (Hil. 4:31-32).

Key Terms:

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

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

(3) ϩN ογειρηνη (ⲙ-/ⲛⲧⲉ) ⲡⲛογⲧⲉ ' in (ϩN) a peace (ογ-ειρηνη) of God (ⲡ-ⲛογⲧⲉ)' (Test. Is. 228:2)

(4) ⲛⲉϩⲟογ (ⲙ-/ⲛⲧⲉ) ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ 'the days (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲟογ) of the patriarch (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ) Isaac' (Test. Is. 229:1-2)

(5) ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ (ⲛ-/ⲛⲧⲉ) ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲁⲁⲩ 'the mockery (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ) of my mother (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:19).

C. Translate the following attributive or possessive noun phrases:

(1) ⲟγⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲯⲱⲛⲉ (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1: 5)

(2) ⲟγⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛⲏⲣⲡ (AP Chaîne no. 16, 3:17)

(3) ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ (V. Ant. 6:9)

(4) ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ (Hil. 2:3)

(5) ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ (Hil. 2:5)

D. Translate the following appositional phrases into English:

(1) ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ (Hil. 3:28)

(2) ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ (Test. Is. 231:9) (ⲡⲉ-ⲥ 'her')

(3) ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ (Mena. Mir. 7b:4-6)

3.4 Noun coordination

A. Fill in the proper conjunction, e.g. ⲧⲡⲉ ___ ⲡⲕⲁϩ → ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ 'heaven (ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Eud. 46:12):

(1) ϩⲉⲛⲥⲓⲟγ ⲛⲣⲟγϩⲉ ___ ϩⲉⲛⲥⲓⲟγ ⲛϩⲧⲟⲟγⲉ 'the evening (ⲛ-ⲣⲟγϩⲉ) *and* the morning (ⲛ-ϩⲧⲟⲟγⲉ) stars (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲥⲓⲟγ)' (Hil. 1:10-11)

(2) ⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲓⲙⲉ ___ ⲡⲥⲁϩϩ ⲛⲛⲟⲃϩⲉ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) of weeping (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) *and* gnashing (ⲡ-ⲥⲁϩϩ) of teeth (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲟⲃϩⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 204:142)

B. Translate the following coordinate noun phrases:

(1) ⲏ ⲥⲱ[ⲛⲉ] [ⲏ ⲥϩⲓⲙ]ⲉ ⲏ ⲯⲏ[ⲣⲉ] (KHML I 73:2)

(2) ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲣ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ-ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲣ (Mercur, Martyrd. 256:12)

(3) ϩN ογⲥⲟⲣⲁϩⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲟγⲟγϫⲁⲓ (AP Chaîne no.5, 2:23)

3.5 Simple and compound prepositions

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

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟγⲧⲉ	___=ⲩ	because of, for
___ ⲡⲛⲟγⲧⲉ	ⲉⲣⲟ=ⲩ	to, towards
___ ⲡⲛⲟγⲧⲉ	ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	in the presence of

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

(1) (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ/ϩⲙ) ⲯⲓⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲯⲟⲟⲡ (ϩⲉⲛ/ⲙ-) ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲕⲩⲥⲓⲥ (read ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲩⲥⲓⲥ) '*after* nine (ⲯⲓⲧⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) that she (Hilaria) continued (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) *in* these great (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟⲥ) mortifications (ⲛ-ⲁⲥⲕⲩⲥⲓⲥ)' (Hil. 6:34-35)

(2) ⲁⲥϯ (ϩⲓⲱⲱⲥ/ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ) ⲛⲟγⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 'she (Hilaria) put (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϯ) *on* her a knight's (ⲛ-ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) garment (ⲛ-ⲟγ-ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ)' (Hil. 3:14-15)

(3) ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ/ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) ⲡⲉϥⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ 'the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena was (ⲛⲉ-) an Egyptian (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲉⲙ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ) *by* origin (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-7)

(4) ⲁϥⲥⲗⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ (ϩⲛ/ⲙⲛ) ⲛϥⲥⲓϫ 'he (the angel) smoothened (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲗⲟⲟⲩⲥ) (on) (ⲉϧⲙ) my body (ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) *with* his hands (ⲛϥ-ⲥⲓϫ)' (Onnophr. 209:3-4)

(5) ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲯⲟⲟⲡ (ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ/ⲛⲁⲕ) (ϩⲓⲧⲙ/ϩⲙ) ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ 'I am (ϯⲯⲟⲟⲡ) *with you in* every (ⲛⲓⲙ) place (ⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 9b:21-23)

C. Translate the following prepositional phrases.

(1) ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ (praec. Pach. 94)

(2) ⲉⲣⲟ (Mena, Mir. 27a:22)

(3) ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ (KHML I 1:5)

(4) ⲉϧⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲏⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ (Onnophr. 205:16)

(5) ϩⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (Eud. 32:12-14)

(6) ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ (Ac. A&P 196:47)

Unit 4

Deixis, interrogation, quantification

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

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

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

4.1 Deixis

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

All demonstratives and possessive are morphologically derived from the deictic root ⲡ- (singular masculine), ⲧ- (singular feminine), ⲛ- (plural). They are formally distinguished with respect to a particular vowel pattern and with respect to prosodic status as a bound or free morpheme. While some deictic expressions function exclusively as pronouns, such as the demonstrative pronoun ⲡⲁⲓ ' this one' or the possessive pronoun ⲡⲱ-ⲓ 'mine', others are used as articles on demonstratively or possessively determined noun phrases, such as the above mentioned demonstrative article ⲡⲉⲓ- 'this' or the possessive article ⲡⲉϥ- 'his'.

4.1.1 Demonstratives

In Sahidic Coptic, there are two types of demonstratives, which are deictically contrastive: proximal demonstratives refer to entities near the speaker and distal demonstratives to entities that are located at a certain distance away from the speaker. Proximal and distal demonstratives can function either as pronouns or as determiners (so-called demonstrative articles). In addition, there are the enclitic deictic pronouns ⲡⲉ (singular masculine), ⲧⲉ (singular feminine) and ⲛⲉ (plural), which are restricted t nominal sentences, where they fulfil anaphoric and agreement-markin functions (see above, section 2.4.3 of Unit 2). The full inventory of Copti demonstratives is presented in table 4.1. All demonstrative forms appear i their singular masculine form:

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE	ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, ⲡⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ this man (here)	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ that man (over there)
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN	ⲡⲁⲓ this one (here)	ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ that one (over there) ⲡⲏ that one (over there)
ENCLITIC DEICTIC PRONOUN	ⲡⲉ this one, he	

TABLE 4.1 Demonstratives

Due to its obsolete status, the distal demonstrative pronoun ⲡⲏ is onl marginally attested in literary Sahidic, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲏ ⲡⲏ 'lool (ⲉⲓⲥ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭⲥ) (is) in this place (here) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) or (ⲏ) *that on* (ⲡⲏ)' (AP Chaîne no.146, 32:25), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲏ ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *that one* (ⲡⲏ) will (ⲛⲁ) break up (the connection) (lit. cut of (ⲥⲱⲗⲡ) the rope (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩϩ)'immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ)' (AP Elanskay 24a:22-23). It will not be considered in the following description of th morphologically fully productive demonstratives.

4.1.1.1 The demonstrative article ⲡⲉⲓ-, ⲡⲓ-

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

	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
FULL FORM	ⲡⲉⲓ- /pe̱i̱-/	ⲧⲉⲓ- /te̱i̱-/	ⲛⲉⲓ- /ne̱i̱-/
SHORT FORM	ⲡⲓ- /pi̱-/	ⲧ- (var. ⲧⲓ-) /ti-/	ⲛⲓ- /ni-/

TABLE 4.2 The demonstrative article ⲡⲉⲓ-/ⲡⲓ-

The allomorphic character of the ⲉⲓ /e̱i̱/ ~ ⲓ /i/ interchange is particularly evident in co-ordinated noun phrases, where the full and reduced forms of the demonstrative article occur side by side, e.g. ⲁⲓϭⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲓⲡⲩⲅⲏ (for ⲡⲓⲅⲏ) ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲡⲩⲗⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ 'I discovered (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϭⲓⲛⲉ) *this well* (ⲧⲓ-ⲡⲩⲅⲏ) of water (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) together with (ⲙⲛ) *this date tree* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) *this cavern* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲥⲡⲩⲗⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11), ⲉⲫⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲣⲉϩⲧ 'while he (Apa Mena) lived (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) *this isolation* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) *this peace* (ⲡⲓ-ⲥⲟⲣⲉϩⲧ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:19-21).

CONTEXTUAL USES

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

a) Spatial deixis

As a deictic pointer, the proximal demonstrative article is typically used to direct the addressee's attention to some individual or object in the vicinity of the speaker, e.g. ⲧ[ⲛⲁϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲙⲙⲟ] ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲥⲏϥⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲁϭⲓⲝ 'I will kill (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲱⲧⲃ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ) with (ϩⲛ) *this sword* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲥⲏϥⲉ) in (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲛ) my hand (ⲧⲁ-ϭⲓⲝ)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-7), ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲝⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲝⲟⲓ 'verily (ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ), never ever (ⲉⲛⲉϩ) have I seen (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) a ship (ⲉ-ⲝⲟⲓ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ-) *this ship* (in front of me) (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲝⲟⲓ)' (KHML I 81:4-5).

b) Anaphoric use

Apart from this localising function, the demonstrative article is widely used to keep track of previously mentioned discourse referents, e.g. ⲁ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲯⲁⲭⲉ 'his (Pachôm's) heart (ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ) became acrid (ⲁ .... ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *this little* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) (previously described) *argument* (ⲛ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ)' (V. Pach. 1:20), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲉⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲯⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), do you want (ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) to find peace (ⲉ-ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ) in *these* (mere) *eight* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲯⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ) *years* (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (mentioned previously in the conversation)' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 7:3).

c) Discourse deixis

The demonstrative article may refer to previous events and thus establish a link between two propositions: the one in which it occurs and the one it keeps track of, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲁⲫⲱⲯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) in *this manner* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) (as previously depicted), he (Pachôm) cried (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲱⲯ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ)' (V. Pach. 2:14-15). Occasionally, it adopts a cataphoric function and anticipates what is to be communicated in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ (...) ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲯⲁⲭⲉ 'the blessings (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲟⲩ) may be (ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) (...) with (ⲙⲛ) those who listen (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to *these* (i.e. the following) *words* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ)' (Test. Is. 228:6-7).

d) Generic interpretation

The proximal demonstrative article may impose non-specific or generic interpretation on the determined noun in much the same way as the definite article (see above, section 2.2.2.1 of Unit 2 for some discussion on non-specific and generic definites), e.g. ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲁⲩⲃⲓ (for ⲉⲫⲁⲩⲫⲓ) ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲯⲱⲥ 'like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ-) *sheep* (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ) whose shepherd (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲯⲱⲥ) had been taken away (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲫⲓ lit. *they* take away) from them (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ)' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1), ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ '(wings) like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ-) *eagles* (ⲛⲓ-ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ)' (Onnophr. 211:26-27). When reference

is made to kinds, the plural form ⲛⲓ- may even vary with the indefinite plural article ϩⲉⲛ-, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣ[ⲁⲧ]ⲟ ⲉⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ ⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ†ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲍ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲟⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲁϫⲛ ⲱⲟϫⲛⲉ ϩⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) that would stand up (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟ) to fight (ⲉ-ⲙⲓⲱⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) *dogs* (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ) or (ⲏ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) would struggle (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-†ⲧⲱⲛ) with (ⲙⲛ) *bears* (ⲛⲓ-ⲁⲣⲍ), who (ⲛⲓⲙ), indeed (ⲛⲧⲟⲟ), would set out (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to fight (ⲉ-ⲙⲓⲱⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) *lions* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲙⲟⲩⲓ) without (ⲁϫⲛ) plan (ⲱⲟϫⲛⲉ) and (ϩⲓ) counsel (ⲥⲃⲱ)' (Camb. 8:15-18).

e) Emotive use

The proximal demonstrative article may be used to express emotional deixis, reflecting the speaker's attitude towards the referent of the determined noun phrase. Contrary to what is stated in most Coptic grammars, both the full form ⲡⲉⲓ- and the short form ⲡⲓ- may assume a pejorative meaning and function. Compare: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉϥⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *this sinner* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲣ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ) (KHML II 53:15), ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ '*that* criminal (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) Diocletian' (Eud. 34:15-16) vs. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ (V. Pach. 2:10) 'this sinner' ⲡⲓ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ 'that criminal' (Mena, Mir. 30b:18); ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ '*those godless* (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) Jews (ⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ)' (Eud. 58:24), ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of *that Nazarene* (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ) Jesus' (Eud. 52:27-28). The demonstrative article may also express the speaker's empathy and affection for the discourse referent in question, e.g. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉϫⲱ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ 'wishing (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) to proclaim (ⲉ-ϫⲱ) the honour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲓⲟ) of *this great* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *soldier* (ⲛ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅), the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena' (Mena, Enc. 36a:15-20), ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ (read ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲁϩⲧⲙ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'because (ϫⲉ) you have (ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) *this great* (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *intercessor* (ⲙ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ) before (ϩⲁϩⲧⲙ) the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (KHML II 58:16-18).

4.1.1.2 The demonstrative pronoun ⲡⲁⲓ

Demonstrative pronouns are free morphemes, which may appear in al nominal positions of the clause. They are morphologically distinguishe from the demonstrative article through the invariant vowel pattern /ai/: ⲡⲁ (singular masculine), ⲧⲁⲓ (singular feminine), ⲛⲁⲓ (plural) 'this one, thes ones'.

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

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

a) Spatial deixis

The original spatio-deictic meaning of the demonstrative pronoun ⲡⲁⲓ i particularly clear when the speaker notices a strange individual, object c location in his immediate surroundings and has a question about it, e.g. ⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ 'what kind (ⲁϣ) of places (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) (are) *these* (ⲛⲁⲓ (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140), ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲁ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'what (ⲟⲩ) (is) the sin (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ) that *this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ) has don (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲁⲁ-ϥ), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (Test. Is. 234:11-12).

a) Anaphoric use

Proximal demonstrative pronouns as an alternative for personal pronoun when a discourse participant is mentioned for the second time, e.g. (ther was a Samaritan woman in the city Alexandria) ⲧⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟ ⲛϣϣ[ⲛⲉ] ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲡⲉ '(as for) *her* (ⲧⲁⲓ), there was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) a seriou (ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ) illness (ⲛ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) her head (ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲁⲡⲉ)' (Mena, Mi 26a:13-16), ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲡϣⲁ 'fc (ⲅⲁⲣ) *this* (*person*) (ⲡⲁⲓ) (i.e. the disobedient monk) has asked (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ . ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) something (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) from me (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ) beyond (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) his merit (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲙⲡϣⲁ)' (V. Pach. 140:15-16).

b) *Discourse deixis*

Demonstrative pronouns may assume a recapitulative function, refering back to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. ⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ '*this* (i.e. the fall from the throne) (ⲡⲁⲓ) happened (ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) to me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)' (Eud. 36:7-8), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲯⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ 'because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *this* (ⲡⲁⲓ) (i.e. your worship of the devil) you (Judas) shall stay (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the Tartaros (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ) until (ⲯⲁ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the judgment (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲡ)' (Ac. A&P 202:127-128), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ 'when he (Diocletian) said (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲭⲱ) *these* (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ) with (ϩⲛ) great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) arrogance (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲭⲁⲥⲓ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (Eud. 36:17). Demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used cataphorically, anticipating upcoming information, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲃⲃⲓⲟ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲥϩⲁⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ '*these* (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) the humble (ⲛ-ⲟⲃⲃⲓⲟ) words (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) that he wrote (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩ) in the letter (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ)' (Hil. 7:20-21).

c) Appositional use

In the context of emphatic deictic reference, demonstrative pronouns appear as appositions to demonstratively determined noun phrases. They fulfil similar functions as appositionally used independent pronouns (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2), e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲯⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *this very* (ⲡⲁⲓ) *thought* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) troubled (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲯⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Hil.10:18-19), ⲛⲥⲉϥⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ 'and they should offer (ⲛⲥⲉ-ϥⲓ) the Eucharist (ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ) in them (i.e. the churches) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) on (ϩⲙ) *this very* (ⲡⲁⲓ) *day* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 40:10), ⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲁϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ (read ⲡⲉ) '*this thing* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲁⲓ) (i.e. to take a girl into a monk's cell) is only for (ⲡⲁ-) people (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) free from passions (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 9:7-8).

4.1.1.3 The distal demonstrative ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ

The distal demonstrative ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'that, those' is, syntactically speaking, a relative clause, consisting of the relative complementiser ⲉⲧ- and the locative adverb ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'there': ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'that man' (lit. 'the man

(ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) that (ⲉⲧ-) (is) over there (ⲙⲙⲁⲩ)'). It functions both as a postnominal modifier and as a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, consider: ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'that brother' (V. Pach. 140:30) vs. ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'the latter' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:26-27).

	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
ARTICLE	ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ that man	ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ that woman	ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ those people
PRONOUN	ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ that one	ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ that one	ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ those

TABLE 4.3 The distal demonstrative ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

The distal demonstrative ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'that, those' works in the opposite direction of the proximal demonstrative article ⲡⲉⲓ- and its pronominal counterpart ⲡⲁⲓ. It indicates remote deixis, i.e. distance away from the speaker. When used anaphorically, ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ refers to less prominent (i.e. non-topical) discourse entities.

b) Spatial deixis

As a spatial-deitic expression, ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ draws the addressee's attention to entities or objects that are located far away from the speaker, e.g. ϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ 'the death (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲩ) of *that* (*daughter*) (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) (far away from me) is better (ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲡ) than (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) the life (ⲡⲟⲛϩ) of this (*daughter*) (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲓ) (here with me)' (Hil. 8:7-8). It may also indicate distance in time, e.g. ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲕⲱϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) got jealous (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲱϩ) in *that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *time* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ)' (Onnophr. 207:14).

c) *Anaphoric use*

When used anaphorically, the distal demonstrative ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ quite frequently refers to less important protagonists, whose exact identity is not considered relevant for the development of the story-line, e.g. ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲣ ⲭⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ 'this (ⲧⲁⲓ) (was) the manner (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) in which *that demon* (ⲡ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) did (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ .... ⲣ) many (ⲭⲁϩ) evil (things) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ)' (KHML II 53:8-9), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲓⲧⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲗⲏⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲙϥ '(there was also another brother in that place who was very sick) (ⲁⲩⲱ) *that one* (ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) asked (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲓⲧⲓ) the brothers (ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ) who serviced (ⲉⲧ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) for a small (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲓ lit. chicken) bird (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϫⲗⲏⲏⲧ) to eat (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲙ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 143:19-20). It is sometimes used as a free-choice pronoun, designating any arbitrary individual or object that fits a particular description, e.g. ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲧⲟϭⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲣ ⲭⲟⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [ϩⲛ] ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉϥⲣⲭⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲕⲛⲁⲣ ⲭⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'go (ⲃⲱⲕ) and attach yourself (ⲛⲧ-ⲧⲟϭ-ⲕ) to *some brother* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) who fears (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲣ ⲭⲟⲧⲉ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) through (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the devoutness (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲣ-ⲭⲟⲧⲉ) of *that one* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) you, too (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲕ), will fear (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ ⲭⲟⲧⲉ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)'(AP Chaîne no.4, 2:17-18).

d) Emotive use

The distal demonstrative ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ may express emotional deixis, reflecting emotional distance on the part of the speaker, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲛⲏⲫⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'after (ⲙⲙⲛⲥⲁ) a few days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) more (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) (disobedient) *brother* (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ) cooled down (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲏⲫⲉ)' (V. Pach. 140:30), ⲁⲓⲗⲟ ϩⲁ ϩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲥϫⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'I left (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲗⲟ ϩⲁ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) possession (ⲛⲁⲩ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) *that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) (wicked) *woman* (ⲧⲉⲥϫⲓⲙⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:9).

e) Correlative use of ⲡⲁⲓ and ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ

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

to the discourse entity that was mentioned first and the latter to the one that was mentioned subsequently, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '(It happened in the second year of the reign of Valentian (and) Diocletian after the overthrowing of Numerian, the one who was king before them). *The former* (ⲛⲁⲓ) (i.e. Valentian and Diocletian) took (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲭⲓ) the kingdom (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) from *the latter* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) (i.e. Numerian)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

4.1.2 Possessives

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

	NOMINAL POSSESSOR	PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR
POSSESSIVE ARTICLE		ⲡⲉϥ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ his father
POSSESSIVE PREFIX	ⲡⲁ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ He of God (proper name)	
POSSESSIVE PRONOUN		ⲡⲱ-ϥ his (one)

TABLE 4.4 Possessive demonstratives

4.1.2.1 The possessive article ⲡⲉϥ-

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

b) As a determiner of time-indicating nouns

e.g. ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ '*on the* (lit. *his*) *next day* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ) Armenius sat down (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on the tribune (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲙ) the theatre (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), (in combination with a numeral) ⲉϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲉϩϣⲟⲙⲧ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ 'on the morning (ⲉ-ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) of *my third* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲛⲉϩ-ϣⲟⲙⲧ) *day* (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 58:12-13), ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲉϥϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'while (ⲉ-) it (ⲡⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ-) *his* (Pachôm's) *third* (day) (ⲡⲉϥ-ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) that he had not eaten (ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).

4.1.2.2 The possessive prefix ⲡⲁ-

The possessive prefixes ⲡⲁ- 'he of' (singular masculine), ⲧⲁ- 'she of' (singular feminine) and ⲛⲁ- form a prosodic complex with the following noun phrase. They represent the phonologically reduced counterpart of the demonstrative pronoun ⲡⲁⲓ: paj' → pa-.

☐ CONTEXTUAL USES

As the terminology suggests, the possessive prefix ⲡⲁ- designates the possessed item and the following noun the possessor, e.g. ⲡⲁ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [*he-of* (ⲡⲁ-) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)] '*Paphnoute* (he of God) (a proper name)'.

a) Partitive use

The demonstrative possessive prefix ⲡⲁ- picks out entities from a given discourse domain, whose exact identity are not specified or questioned, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓϯⲙⲉ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '*the inhabitants* (of) (ⲛⲁ-) those (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) two (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) villages (ⲛ-ϯⲙⲉ)' (KHML II 52:21-22), ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲇⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲏⲥ '*something* (of) (ⲡⲁ-) the sovereign (ⲡⲉ-ⲇⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲏⲥ)' (Hil. 3:20), ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲁϣ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'which (ⲁϣ) city (ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (are) you (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ) *inhabitants* (of) (ⲛⲁ-)' (KHML I 80:6). When used as a partitive expression, the possessive prefix is commonly found with reference to descent, ethnicity or social background, e.g. ⲁⲡⲁ ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲣⲏⲡⲉ 'Apa Shenute *from* (ⲡⲁ-) the mountain (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ) of Atripe (ⲛ-ⲁⲧⲣⲏⲡⲉ)'

(KHML II 22:5-6), ⲛⲁⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ '*those* (of) (ⲛⲁ-) his (Isaac's) household (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲏⲓ)' (Test. Is. 231:25).

b) Sense-of-identity use

In elliptical contexts, the possessive prefix is used as a so-called sense-of-identity pronoun, which is anaphorically related to, but not exactly identical with the referent of an antecedent noun phrase, e.g. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥϥ ⲡⲟⲣϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲉⲓⲡⲁⲣⲧⲁⲗⲏⲥ 'while (ⲉⲣⲉ) his (the hermit's) hair (ⲡⲉϥ-ϥϣ) was spread (ⲡⲟⲣϣ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) over (ⲉϧⲙ) his body (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙ-) *that of* (ⲡⲁ-) panthers (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲡⲁⲣⲧⲁⲗⲏⲥ) (Onnophr. 210:2-3).

4.1.2.3 The possessive pronoun ⲡⲱ-

Different vowel patterns exist for the singular and plural forms possessive pronoun ⲡⲱ-ϥ 'his one' (lit. the one of him). Further note that the ⲱ /ɔ/ ~ ⲟⲩ /u/ alternation is not dependent on the vocalic or consonantal nature of the incorporated pronoun.

PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
1st sing.	ⲡⲱⲓ	ⲧⲱⲓ	ⲛⲟⲩⲓ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲡⲱⲕ	ⲧⲱⲕ	ⲛⲟⲩⲕ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲡⲱ	ⲧⲱ	ⲛⲟⲩ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲡⲱϥ	ⲧⲱϥ	ⲛⲟⲩϥ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲡⲱⲥ	ⲧⲱⲥ	ⲛⲟⲩⲥ
1st pl.	ⲡⲱⲛ	ⲧⲱⲛ	ⲛⲟⲩⲛ
2nd pl.	ⲡⲱⲧⲛ	ⲧⲱⲧⲛ	ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲛ
3rd pl.	ⲡⲱⲟⲩ	ⲧⲱⲟⲩ	ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ

TABLE 4.6 The forms of possessive pronoun ⲡⲱ-

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

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

a) Partitive use

The possessive pronoun ⲡⲱ- is commonly used as the predicate of a nominal sentence to indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, e.g. ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉ 'they (ⲛⲉ) (are) *mine* (ⲛⲟⲩⲓ)' (V. Pach. 4:23), ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ 'the power (ⲧ-ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ) (is) *yours* (ⲧⲱⲕ), (God) Almighty (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ)' (Test. Is. 235:19).

b) Sense-of-identity use

In coordinate structures of the kind *my books and yours* (i.e. *your books*), it commonly functions as a sense-of-identity pronoun, e.g. ⲡⲁⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲕ 'my salvation (ⲡⲁ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) and (ⲙⲛ) *yours* (ⲡⲱⲕ)' (KHML II 33:1), ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲕ 'come (ⲁⲙⲟⲩ) and show me (ⲛⲧ-ⲧⲁⲙⲟ-ⲓ) the border (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟϥ) between my bricks (ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲃⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) *yours* (ⲛⲟⲩⲕ)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:29-30); similarly in comparative constructions: ⲁϥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲙⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ) ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ (read ⲛⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ) ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'he (the magistrate) desired (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲙⲉⲓ) the bricks (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) of the saint (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) more (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ) than all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) (of) *his* (ⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩϥ)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:13-14).

4.2 Interrogation

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

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

4.2.1 Constituent/*wh*-questions

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

QUESTION WORD	GLOSS	QUESTION WORD	GLOSS
ⲛⲓⲙ	who	ⲟⲩⲏ(ⲏ)ⲣ	how much, many
ⲟⲩ	what	ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ	because of what, why
ⲁϥ	which, what	ⲛⲁϥ ⲛϩⲉ	in what manner, how
ⲧⲱⲛ	where	ⲁϩⲣⲟ=	what about, why

TABLE 4.7 The inventory of Coptic question words

Coptic question words show some degree of affinity with speci indefinites, witness the fact that predicatively used interrogative pronou may be determined by the singular or plural forms of the indefinite artic e.g. ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ '*what* (kind of man)(are) (ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ) you (ⲛⲧⲕ)?' (Sh. 38:17), ϩⲉⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ 'they (ⲛⲉ) (are) *what* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲁϥ) kind (people) (ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:68).

4.2.1.1 The syntactic placement of question words

Coptic *wh*-questions exhibit special morphosyntactic properties tl distinguish them from declarative clauses. Some of the items listed in tal 4.7 above function exclusively as pronouns, e.g. ⲟⲩ 'what', and some determiners, e.g. ⲁϥ ⲛϩⲱⲃ 'which (ⲁϥ) matter (ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ)'. Others functi either as pronouns or as determiners, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ 'who' vs. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 'whi

not tell me), *where* (ϯⲱⲛ) he had put it (the deposit) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲫ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:23-24), but may also also refer to the point of departure of some movement, e.g. ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ ϯⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ '*where* (ϯⲱⲛ) are you coming (from) (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲏⲩ), my brother (ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲟⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). To specify its spatial orientation, it is frequently combined with the directional preposition ⲉ- 'to' or the particle ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'out', e.g. ⲉⲣⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ 'where (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲛ) are you (woman) going (ⲉⲣ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22), ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϯⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ 'from where (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϯⲱⲛ) did you come (ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲉⲓ) to this place?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

When the question word ϯⲱⲛ assumes a predicative function, the nominal subject undergoes inversion to the clause-final position, while its base-position is occupied by a co-referential subject pronoun, e.g. ⲉⲫϯⲱⲛ ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'where (is) (ϯⲱⲛ) the tomb (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ) of my lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (Eud. 58:25) (see above, section 10.1.5.2 of Unit 10).

4. ⲁϣ 'what (kind)'

is mainly used as the determiner of partitive interrogative phrases, e.g. ⲁϣ ⲛⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ '*what* (kind) (ⲁϣ) *of places* (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) (are) these (ⲛⲁⲓ) (places) (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140). Particularly common is the questioned manner phrase ⲛⲁϣ ⲛϩⲉ 'how' (lit. in what (ⲛ-ⲁϣ) of manner (ⲛ-ϩⲉ), e.g. ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲁϣ ⲛϩⲉ '*how* (ⲛ-ⲁϣ (ⲛ-ϩⲉ) did you come (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)?' (Onnophr. 206:29).

5. ⲟⲩⲏ(ⲏ)ⲣ 'how much, how many'

functions as a degree modifier in interrogative and exclamative sentences. Thus, compare: ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *how much* (ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ) *time* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ) (has passed), since (ϫⲓ(ⲛ)) you came (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) here? (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (Onnophr. 206:33-34) vs. ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲛⲁ ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣ '(you have seen) *how* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲏⲣ) evil (ϩⲟⲟⲩ) the pitilessness (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲁ) is' (KHML II 51:13-14).

6. ⲁϩⲣⲟ= 'what about, how come'

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

typically used when the condition of participants or non-participants of speech situation is at issue, e.g. ⲁϩⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*what about* (ⲁϩⲣⲟ=ⲓ) with (ⲙⲛ) mankind (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (i.e. what do I have to do w people)?' (AP Chaîne no.3, 2:13), ⲁϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ '*what* (is) (it) *about* (ⲁϩⲣⲟ=ⲕ) (i.e. what is the matter with you), my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ (KHML II 29:7-8). The incorporated pronoun of the ⲁϩⲣⲟ= phrase is referential with the subject of the associated clause, e.g. ⲁϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲣ ϩⲟ ⲱ ⲡϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*how come* (ⲁϩⲣⲟ=ⲕ) (that) *you* are afraid (ⲉ-ϩⲟⲧⲉ), oh (ⲱ) servant (ⲡ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)?' (Onnop 206:23).

4.2.2 Yes-no questions

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

4.2.2.1 Unmarked yes/no questions

Unmarked yes/no questions take exactly the same form as corresponding declarative clauses, e.g. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲯⲡⲛⲯⲱⲡ ⲯⲁⲕⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲕ 'Abba (ⲁⲡⲁ), if (ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ) somethi frightening (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲧⲉ) happens (ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) all of a sudden (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲯⲡⲛⲯⲱ *will you be afraid* (ⲯⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ), too (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne no.35,.7: 5), ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ † ϩⲁϩ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ '*is it good* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) to repent (one's sin many times (lit. to give (†) many (ϩⲁϩ) repentances (ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ))?' (Chaîne no.131, 30:1), ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲧⲙ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ '*have you* (woman) *not heard* (ⲙⲡ-ⲣ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) that (ϫⲉ) the nig (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ) will become (ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) bright (ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ) day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟ [Psalm138:12]?' (KHML I 81:6-7). Such unmarked yes/no questions we in all likelihood distinguished from simple declaratives by means of question intonation pattern.

4.2.2.2 Yes/no questions with interrogative particles

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

1. ⲉⲛⲉ

is a neutral interrogative particle, which is compatible with a positive or negative response, e.g. ⲉⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉⲫⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧϩⲛⲁⲁⲩ '(ⲉⲛⲉ) (is) the state of not having property (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ϩⲛⲁⲁⲩ) something (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) perfectly good (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ)?' (AP Chaîne no.29, 5:28-29).

2. ⲉⲓⲉ

introduces a focused yes-no question, where the speaker is not in doubt about the truth of an entire proposition, but rather a single element thereof, which will consequently attract question focus, e.g. ⲉⲓⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ (for ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲭ<ⲉ> ⲙⲡⲓ† ⲥⲁ (for ⲥⲟ) ⲉⲣⲟⲫ '(ⲉⲓⲉ) have you not heard (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the son (ⲡ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of the king's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) general (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ), that (ⲭⲉ) I did not pardon (ⲙⲡ-ⲓ-† ⲥⲟ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ)?' (KHML I 73:27-28).

3. ⲙⲏ

involves a systematic bias towards a negative response when formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ⲙⲏ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲱⲫ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲓ '(ⲙⲏ) did you intend (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫ) to let me leave (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲕⲁ) an offence (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲕⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲱⲛ) for the brothers (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) (coming) after me (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲓ)?' (V. Pach. 92:11-12), and towards a positive response, when formulated in the negative, e.g. ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ

ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ '(ⲙⲏ) haven't you (woman) seen (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲛⲁⲩ) them (ⲉⲣⲟ both (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ), (namely) your father (ⲡⲟⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) and (ⲙⲛ) mother (ⲧⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:16-17).

4.2.3 Rhetorical questions

Unlike the information-seeking questions considered so far, so-c rhetorical questions are never uttered with the purpose of being answ but rather are declarative statements in disguise, e.g. ⲙⲏ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲓϩⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ '(ⲙⲏ) *am I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) more (ⲉ-ϩⲟⲩ(ⲟ)) *honoured* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲧⲁⲓϩⲩ) tha Lord (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7) (implied meaning: I am s *not...*), ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ '(ⲉⲓⲉ) *who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) has renounced (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁ the vain (ⲉⲧ-ⲫⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ) glory (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of this (inferior) ⲁ (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) in such a manner (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ) this (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲓ)?' (Hil. 12:31-32) (implied meaning: *noone but this girl* renounced ...), ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲏⲣⲡ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{χc}}$ 'what (ⲟⲩ) (is) wine (ⲓ what (ⲟⲩ) (is) food (ⲥⲓⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ), what (ⲟⲩ) (is) any (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) co (ⲙⲟⲧⲛⲉⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) this world (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) compared to (ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲏ grace (ⲧⲉ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ) of Christ (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{χc}}$)?' (KHML II 35:16-18) (im meaning: *nothing* compares to the grace of Christ).

4.3 Quantification

Quantificational sentences like *all birds fly* can be decomposed into layers of meaning: one is the propositional content (i.e. *birds fly*) an other is the quantification, which is brought about by the prenor determiner *all*. The quantifier *all* has an exhaustive interpreta meaning that the totality of a domain of discourse entities must be t into consideration. This section reviews the inventory of quantificat expressions in Sahidic Coptic. Quantifiers fall into different cla depending on what kind of quantificational relation they desc Universal quantifiers like ⲛⲓⲙ 'every, each' exhaustively specify an e domain of discourse entities, while cardinal quantifiers like ϩⲁϩ 'n

most' have a proportional reading and specify smaller or larger parts of some domain of discourse entities. By contrast, indefinite pronouns like ⲁⲁⲩ 'someone, anyone' pick out any arbitrary member of some domain. Non-/identity pronouns ⲕⲉ 'other' and ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'same', on the other hand, indicate the sameness or distinctness of a given item from the one already mentioned. Finally, there are so-called emphatic reflexives like ϩⲱⲱ=ⲥ in ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲱⲥ 'he *himself* that place the referent of the nominal or pronoun constituent they modify into the centre of attention.

TYPE OF QUANTIFIER	INVENTORY		
UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS	ⲛⲓⲙ every, each	ⲧⲏⲣ= entire, all	
CARDINAL QUANTIFIERS	ϩⲁϩ many	ⲕⲟⲩⲓ few	ϩⲟⲩⲟ more
INDEFINITE (FREE CHOICE) PRONOUNS	ⲟⲩⲟⲛ Someone	ⲁⲁⲩ Someone	ⲟⲩⲁ Someone
	ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ Some	ⲙⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ So-and-so	
(NON)IDENTITY PRONOUNS	ⲕⲉ other	ⲟⲩⲱⲧ same	
EMPHATIC REFLEXIVES	ϩⲱⲱ= self	ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ= alone,	ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ= own

TABLE 4.8 The quantifier system of Sahidic Coptic

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

4.3.1 Universal quantifiers

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

1. ⲛⲓⲙ 'every, all'

quantifies over a domain of discrete, i.e. countable entities or objects can only be combined with kind-referring "bare" noun, e.g. ⲣⲙⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ '(as for) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) dignitary (ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲣⲁⲛ)' (praec. Pach. 115), ⲅⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ '*every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) human (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙ race (ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) which lives (ⲉⲧ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) my kingdom (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣ (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-22). The distributive universal quantifier ⲧ generally occurs in series where the antecedent noun designates one of major ontological categories, such as *person*, *thing*, *place*, *time*, e.g. ⲣⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ 'everybody' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ 'everything' (Eud. 54:1 ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ 'everywhere' (praec. Pach. 129), ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ 'everytime' Pach. 5:7). In combination with indeinite pronouns, it forms a maxima generic expression, such as ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ (Test. Is. 228:8) or ⲁⲁⲩ ⲧ 'everyone' (Onnophr. 219:8).

- Universally quantified noun phrases with ⲛⲓⲙ are semantica underspecified with respect to grammatical number, as evident from singular or plural specification of a co-referential pronoun, e.g. ⲣⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉϫ ⲉⲓⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*everybody* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ) who throw (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲉϫ) garbage (ⲉⲓⲧⲛ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of *his* house (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ ⲏⲓ)' (Eud. 52:26-27), ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ '(concerning) *everyth* (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ), tell *it* (ϫⲟ-ⲟⲩ) (lit. tell them) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ)!' (Eud. 54:17).
- In negative sentences, the universal quantifier has an indefi interpretation 'anyone', e.g. ⲙⲉⲓⲯⲉⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲯⲓⲛⲉ) ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲥ (for ϩⲱⲃ) ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ 'I did not l (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲯⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) my comfort (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) in (ϩⲛ) anything (ⲁ ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ) more than (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) *anyone* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) of you (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧ (V. Pach. 88:28-29).

2. ⲧⲏⲣ= 'entire, all'

represents some domain of discourse entities as an entirety. The holis universal quantifier ⲧⲏⲣ= differs from its distributive counterpart ⲛⲓⲙ two respects. First, it modifies definitely and indefinitely determined no phrases as well as personal pronouns, but cannot be combined with a ze determined "bare" noun. Second, it contains a pronominal suffix that l

the same person, number and gender specification as the antecedent noun or pronoun, e.g. ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ 'the *entire* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Ac. A&P 200:80), ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'the *entire* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲱⲛ)' (Onnophr. 218:30), ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'the dwelling places (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ) of *all* (ⲛ-ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) souls (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'his *whole* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) body (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ)' (praec. Pach. 92), ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'I beseech (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) you (ⲙⲙⲱ-ⲧⲛ) *all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲧⲛ) in (ϩⲙ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Hil. 7:25).

- The quantificational adverb ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ 'entirely, at all' ranges over events and activities, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲁϥϣⲧⲁⲙ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲙⲥⲱϣⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) because (ⲭⲉ) he has shut (ⲁ-ϥ-ϣⲧⲁⲙ) his eyes (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲃⲁⲗ) not to see (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲥⲱϣⲧ) it (the sun) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *at all* (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ)' (Zen. 200:27-28).

4.3.2 Cardinal quantifiers

Cardinal quantifiers like ϩⲁϩ 'many' have a proportional interpretation and indicate subparts of some discourse domain.

3. ϩⲁϩ 'many, most'

denotes the larger or largest portion of a contextually given set of entities, e.g. ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲣⲉⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '*many* (ϩⲁϩ) rich people (ⲛ-ⲣⲉⲙⲁⲟ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (KHML I 72:1), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣ ϩⲁϩ (read ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲁϩ) ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ (for ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *many* (ϩⲁϩ) of (ϩⲛ) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) wept (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲣⲓⲙⲉ), too (ⲟⲛ)' (V. Pach. 90:17). When used as a pronoun, the cardinal quantifier ϩⲁϩ is conventionally interpreted as having human reference, e.g. ⲛⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ϩⲁϩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϥⲱⲟⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲣⲡⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) *many* (people) (ϩⲁϩ) used to (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁⲣⲉ) see (ⲛⲁⲩ) him (the demon) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) jumping (ⲉ-ϥ-ϥⲱⲟⲉ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) from (ϩⲙ) the temple (ⲡ-ⲣⲡⲉ)' (KHML II 53:6-7).

4. ⲕⲟⲩⲓ 'some, a few'

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

e.g. ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϩⲙⲟⲩ '*a little* (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) salt (ⲛ-ϩⲙⲟⲩ)' (V. Pach. 5:5 ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) *a short* (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) while (ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ)' (Zen. 201:24), and the plural form ϩⲉⲛ- when it modifies count noun, e.g. ϩⲉⲛ[ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ]ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ '*a few* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) came (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ)' (Mena, Mir. 8a:31-b:1), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛϩⲟⲟ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) *a few* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:2 21).

5. ϩⲟⲩⲟ 'more'

is a degree quantifier that indicates amounts or quantities being compare e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲃⲉⲉⲕⲉ 'a *bigger* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲩⲟ) reward (ⲛ-ⲃⲉⲉⲕⲉ)' (Onnopl 207:9), ⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ '*the larger part* (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲩⲟ) of (ⲛ-) tl psalms (ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 2:8). As a quantificational adverb, ⲉⲡⲉϩⲟⲩ expresses an intensified action or activity, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲟ '(as for) them (ⲛⲁⲓ) they revived it (the prosecutio (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ-ϥ) (even) *more* (ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲩⲟ)' (Mena, Maryrd. 1b:3-5).

4.3.3 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns like the numeral ⲟⲩⲁ 'one' are commonly used as fie choice pronouns that refer to any arbitrary member of some discour domain, e.g. ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉϥ†ⲧⲱⲛ (...) 'if they find (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲟⲛ *someone* (no matter who) (ⲟⲩⲁ) quarelling (ⲉ-ϥ-†-ⲧⲱⲛ) (...)' (praec. inst. Pach. 9). The quantificational system of Coptic Egyptian lacks series of negative pronouns like *no one*, *nothing* as well as indefini pronouns like *anyone*, *anything*. These expressions, which are associate with negative contexts, but may appear in interrogative or condition sentences, are known as negative polarity items in the linguistic literatur As we will see next, the function of the "missing" negative polarit items is taken over by normal indefinite pronouns, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛϣⲙⲉ '*no one* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) shall pull (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲛ) a thor (ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) from anyone's (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) foot (ⲛ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ)' (prae Pach. 96).

6. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ 'someone, a certain, anyone, no one'

The indefinite pronoun ⲟⲩⲟⲛ is conventionally interpreted as a specific indefinite with human reference 'someone, a certain' in affirmative sentences, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲣ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲱ '*one* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) amongst (ϩⲛ) the holy ones (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) spent (ⲁ ....ⲣ) forty (ϩⲙⲉ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) without eating (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) (and) drinking (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲱ)' (KHML II 35:18-20), and as a negative indefinite 'no one, nobody' in negative sentences, e.g. ⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲁϥ '*no one* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) of us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ) has (ever) dared (ⲙⲡⲉ ... ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ) to do (ⲉ-ⲣ) what you have accomplished (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71). It conveys a strong distributive sense in combination with the universal quantifier ⲛⲓⲙ: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ 'everybody', e.g. ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϩⲟⲧⲡ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'briefly (ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ), *everybody* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) that had been imprisoned (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲧⲡ) for the sake of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of Jesus (ⲛ-ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Eud. 40:24-25).

7. ⲛⲁⲁϥ 'someone, something, anyone, anything, no one, nothing'

is not specified for animacy distinctions, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲁϥ ϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲙⲛⲏⲉⲓ '*no one* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ) shall take (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ϫⲓ) *anything* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ) (away) from (ⲛⲧⲛ) anybody (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) without (ⲁϫⲙ) his steward (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏⲉⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 106), ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲙⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ ϩⲓ ϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'and he (the resentful monk) did not eat (ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲉⲙ) *anything* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) bread (ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) and (ϩⲓ) salt (ϩⲙⲟⲩ) alone (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 86:2). Co-reference with a following pronoun shows that ⲛⲁⲁϥ is grammatically specified as singular masculine, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲃⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩϫⲟⲟⲩϥ '*no one* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ) shall go (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲃⲱⲕ) inside (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) an enclosure (for sheep) (ⲉ-ⲣⲃⲉ) who has not been sent (lit. they have not sent *him* (ⲉ-ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ϫⲟⲟⲩ-ϥ))' (praec. Pach. 108), ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ '*no one* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ) shall talk (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲯⲁϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) *one another* (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) in (ϩⲙ) the dark (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲕⲉ)' (praec. Pach. 94). Since ⲛⲁⲁϥ is a maximally generic expression, its exact interpretation is determined by the syntactic context in which it occurs:

- As a free-choice pronoun, ⲛⲁⲁϥ conveys a strong distributive reac ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲙ 'each one', e.g. ϩⲁⲡⲁϫ ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲯⲏⲛ ⲉⲛⲯⲁϥϫⲟⲟϥ ⲯⲁⲩⲁⲩϫⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'briefly (ϩⲁⲡⲁϫ ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ) *each* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ) of all (ⲛⲓⲙ) the trees (ⲛ-ⲯⲏⲛ) that he (Apa Matthew) pla (ⲉⲛ-ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲟ-ⲟϥ) grew (ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲩϫⲁⲛⲉ) very much (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (KH II 19:6-7).
- In negated sentences, ⲛⲁⲁϥ functions as a negative polarity i expressing the non-occurrence of any representative member of a g kind, e.g. ⲉⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟϥ 'without (there) being (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ) *any* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ) in them (i.e. the deserted streets of Hell) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟϥ)' (Ac. A 204:132), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ ⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ ' (ⲁⲩⲱ) we do not have (ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ) *any* (ⲛⲁⲁϥ) physical ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ) comfort (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ)' (Hil. 5:23).
- In nominal sentences, the indefinite pronoun ⲛⲁⲁϥ may ado predicative function, witness the presence of the indefinite article ⲟⲩ-, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲁϥ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), I (ⲁ (am) *a nobody* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲁⲁϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65: 31-32), ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁϥ 'it (ⲡⲉ) (our endeavour) (is) *noth* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲁⲁϥ) compared to (ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ) the ascetic life-style (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ that (man) (Apa Zenobius) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁϥ)' (Zen. 201:2).

8. ⲟⲩⲁ 'someone, anyone, a certain'

The numeral ⲟⲩⲁ 'one' is a widely used indefinite pronoun, which co a broad spectrum of semantic disinctions.

- The numeral ⲟⲩⲁ is interpreted as a specific indefinite interpretatio much the same way as the indefinite article ⲟⲩ-. Compare, then: ⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲥⲧⲁⲙⲱⲛ '*one* (ⲟⲩⲁ) of the brot (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) asked (ⲁ ... ϫⲛⲉ) Apa Pastamôn' (AP Chaîne no. 5:15) vs. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡ[ⲟⲓ]ⲙⲏⲛ '*a* (certain) *brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥ asked (ⲁ ... ϫⲛⲉ) Apa Poimên'(AP Chaîne no.63, 14:11).

- As a *specific indefinite*, the numeral ⲟⲩⲁ selects a referent whose existence and uniqueness is presupposed by the speaker, although its exact identity is either unknown to him or known but not divulged, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲣⲁϩⲧ '*a certain* (monk) (ⲟⲩⲁ) once (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) made repentance (ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ) (and) found rest (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲣⲁϩⲧ)' (AP Chaîne no.195, 50:24).
- Since the numeral ⲟⲩⲁ presupposes the individuality of its referent, it is commonly used as a sense-of-identity anaphor: ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ... ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ 'the one ... the other (one)'. Sense-of-identity anaphors refer back to an antecedent quantified noun phrase, with which they share descriptive content, although they are not identical with it, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓ[ⲟ] ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁϫ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲉ[ⲓ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ (for ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ 'he manufactured (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) two (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) dishes (ⲡⲓⲛⲁϫ) (and) one (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) came (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) better (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲧⲡ) than (ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ) the other (ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 18a:3-7).
- In the context of negation, ⲟⲩⲁ is used as a negative polarity item, e.g. ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲡⲉⲓ†ⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲁ) ⲛϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϩ (...) ⲉⲓⲙⲏ† ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲫⲩⲭⲏ 'I never (ⲉⲛⲉϩ) reprimanded (ⲙⲡ-ⲉⲓ-ⲉⲡⲉⲓ†ⲙⲁ) *anyone* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ) of you (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) (...) except (ⲉⲓⲙⲏ†) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the salvation (ⲡ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) of his soul (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19).
- In conditional constructions, the numeral ⲟⲩⲁ assumes a non-specific interpretation and refers to a hypothetical individual: whoever fits the description given in the protasis clause qualifies as a potential referent, e.g. ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ (read ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ (...) 'if (ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ) *anyone* (ⲟⲩⲁ) asks (ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) something (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14).
- The reduplicated form ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ expresses iconically the plurality of referents: ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ 'some people', e.g. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛ†ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ '(as for) him (Pachôm) (ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ), *occassionally people* (ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ) came (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to him (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the villages (ⲛ-†ⲙⲉ) in the neighbourhood (ⲉⲧ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26); ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ 'everybody, each', e.g. ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 'they (the brothers used to gather (ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) with one another (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) an (ⲁⲩⲱ) *everybody* (ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ) told (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) what he knew (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the Scriptures (ⲛⲉ-ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ)' (V. Pach 137:4-6), ⲁϥⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ 'he (the angel of the Lord blessed (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) *each one* (ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ) of us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ)' (Onnoph 222:5).

9. ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ 'some'

typically refers to a small, but representative set of discourse entities, e.g ⲁ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ϩⲛ ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲓⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ 'once (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ) *some* (people) (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the Thebais (ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲓⲥ) went (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓ) to (ⲱⲁ) (certain) old man (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ)' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:10), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲣⲉϥⲣ ϩⲩⲙⲙⲉ (read ϩⲙⲙⲉ) ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲟⲉⲓⲱ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) he (God) raised (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ for us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) *guides* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲣ ϩⲙⲙⲉ), *some* (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) teachers (ⲛ-ⲥⲁ-ϩ others (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ) preachers (ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲧⲁⲱⲉ-ⲟⲉⲓⲱ)' (Hil. 1:14-15) Unlike its singular counterpart ⲟⲩⲁ, it is never used as a negative polarity item, e.g. ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲃⲓ (for ϥⲓ) ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ 'that no (ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲥ) *some* (people) (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) would carry away (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ϥⲓ) his (Pachôm's) body (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) secretly (ⲛ-ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ)' (V. Pach. 94:7).

10. ⲙⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ 'so-and-so'

replaces a proper name, when this name is not considered to be relevant for the development of the narrative, e.g. ⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ ⲙⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲁⲇⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 'go (ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ⲱⲁ) the Archimadrite (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲁⲇⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ) *so and-so* (ⲙⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 29:1).

4.3.4 (Non)identity pronouns

11. ⲕⲉ 'other'

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

a) *Determiner*

As a determiner, the invariant form ⲕⲉ is sandwiched between the definite or indefinite article and the head noun, e.g. ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲫⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲫⲉⲫ ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲭⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'and (ⲙⲛ) *other* trees (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲫⲏⲛ) that spread (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲫⲉⲫ) forth (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) a sweet odour (ⲥϯ-ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ)' (Onnophr. 219:24-25), ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲡⲁϥⲉ 'the *other* half (ⲧⲉ-ⲕⲉ-ⲡⲁϥⲉ) (of the garment)' (Onnophr. 217:30), ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲁϥⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲕⲏⲥⲓⲥ [ⲙⲛ] ⲛⲕⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'wisdom (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲁⲃⲉ), patience (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ), joy (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲁϥⲉ), an ascetic life-style (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲥⲕⲏⲥⲓⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *the other virtues* (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ)' (Zen. 201:29-30). Invariant ⲕⲉ is often used as an additive focus particle 'also, even, as well', e.g. ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲛⲧⲫⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲛ ⲕⲉⲥⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ 'her thirteen (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲫⲟⲙⲧⲉ) eunuchs (ⲛ-ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ) and (ⲙⲛ) *also* six (ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲟ) of her own (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥ) virgins (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ)' (Eud. 56:6-7), ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲫⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ 'and not (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) *even* their (the Persian) gods (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) did he (Constantine) pay a visit (ⲙⲡ-ϥ-ⲫⲓⲛⲉ)' (Eud. 42:16).

b) Pronoun

The corresponding pronominal forms are: (singular masculine) ⲕⲉ, ⲇⲉ, ⲕⲉⲧ, (singular femine) ⲕⲉⲧⲉ, (plural) ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ, ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ '(the) other, others', e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲇⲟⲙⲟⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲧ (...) 'when I touched (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ-ⲇⲟⲙⲟⲙ) this other thing (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉⲧ) (...)' (Onnophr. 206:1-2), ⲧⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲣ ⲧⲟⲩⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲕⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲫⲃⲏⲣ '(as for) the service (ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ) of fasting (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ): he shall make (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) the first one (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) his house (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲏⲉⲓ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the other* (ⲧ-ⲕⲉⲧⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) his friend's (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲫⲃⲏⲣ) house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 115), ⲁ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲧⲃⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'the birds (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) the fish (ⲛ-ⲧⲃⲧ) ate (ⲁ ... ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) *others* (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Zen. 202:13-14), ⲥⲱⲡⲧ ⲛⲅⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲕⲉⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'look (ⲥⲱⲡⲧ) and see (ⲛⲅ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *these other ones* (ⲉ-ⲛⲓ-ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ) (sinners)' (Test. Is. 234:31).

12. ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'single, same'

is a postnominal modifier, whose primary function is one of restrictio exclusion. In the context of indefinites, the identity pronoun ⲟⲩⲱⲧ str the uniqueness or singularity of a particular referent, e.g. ⲟⲩⲫⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲫⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲓ 'it (is) *just* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) one son (ⲟⲩ-ⲫⲏⲣⲉ) that bel (ⲉⲧ-ⲫⲟⲟⲡ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 194:22), ⲛⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲟⲩⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'they (the brothers) were (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) *one* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) *i* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ) and (ⲙⲛ) *one* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) *soul* (ⲟⲩ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ)' (V. Pach. 4:21 When modifiying demonstratively determined noun phrases, it serv an emphatic marker of identity, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲥ[ⲛⲏⲩ] ⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ '(there) were (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) other brothers (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏ (ϩⲙ) *that same* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) *place* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) on (ϩⲓ) the mountain (ⲡ-ⲧⲟ (Zen. 201: 31).

4.3.5 Emphatic reflexives

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

1. ϩⲱⲱ= '-self'

As inclusive focus particle, ϩⲱⲱ= presents the involvement of a partic discourse referent in some state of affairs as a remarkable fact, e.g. ⲁϥⲣ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧϣⲁⲛϩⲧⲏϥ 'the Son (ⲡ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) of M (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϣⲁⲛ-ϩⲧⲏ-ϥ) *himself* (ϩⲱⲱ=ϥ) also (ⲟⲛ) wept (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ)' (I 34:8-9). With independent pronouns, it conveys a strong sense of conti e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲧⲁⲁⲅⲟⲛⲓ[ⲍ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *howe* (ϩⲱ), intend to fight (ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲅⲟⲛⲓⲍⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the Jews (ⲛⲉ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) f little longer (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

2. ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ= 'alone, by oneself'

serves as a restrictive focus marker, which asserts that no other discourse entity other than the referent of the focus phrase fits the description expressed by the associated predicate, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ 'you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) *alone* (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ=ϥ) (are) God (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 46:14), ⲉⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲕ 'and you killed (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ) yourself (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) *by your own doing* (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ=ⲕ)' (Ac. A&P 202:127).

3. ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ= 'own'

is used for the emphatic assertion of identity in reflexive predicates and possesssive noun phrases, e.g. ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲧⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲟⲛⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) he (Apa Zenobius) finally (ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ) was no longer (ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲧⲓ) very (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) angry (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲛⲧ) *at himself* (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ϥ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Zen. 203:29-30), ϯⲱⲣⲕ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲭⲉ (...) 'I swear (ϯ-ⲱⲣⲕ) *to myself* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) that (ⲭⲉ) (...)' (KHML II 107:8-9), ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ 'rather (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ) (is) blessed (ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧ-ϥ) he who will always (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ) see (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *his own* (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) *sins* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉϥϫⲡⲟ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'so that he gained (ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲡⲟ) *his own* (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) *bread* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (AP Chaîne no.31, 6:9-10).

Key Terms:

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

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

Exercises

4.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand al of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.

1. Coptic demonstratives have anaphoric and discourse deictic uses.
2. The proximal demonstrative article ⲡⲓ- may have a generic (i.e. kind-referring) interpretation.
3. Two demonstratives cannot modify one and the same expression.

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

4.2 Deixis

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

(1) __ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ (...) 'when *this one* (Zeno) came to sit (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) upon (ϩⲓϫⲙ) the imperial (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ) throne (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) (...)' (Hil. 2:2-3)

(2) __ ⲧⲉ ⲧϣⲟⲣⲡⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ '*this* (was) the first (ⲧ-ϣⲟⲣⲡⲉ) torture (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ) that he (the judge) had given (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) (Apa Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8)

(3) __ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ '(as for) *this one* (the rich Alexandrian), he (ⲡⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ) a christian (ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Mir.13a:11-12)

(4) __ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲟⲩ (...) 'when he (Andrew) had spoken (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) *these* (words) (...)' (Ac. A&P 196:41)

(5) __ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '*this one* (is) my wife (ⲧⲁ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no.241, 73:30)

B. Translate the following demonstratively determined noun phrases

(1) ⲡⲉⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:24-25)

(2) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ (Ac. A&P 196:32)

(3) ⲡⲓⲙⲁ (Hil. 11:25)

(4) ⲧⲉⲓⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲕ̅ⲟ̅ⲛ̅ (Hil. 1:20)

(5) ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ (Hil. 10:19)

(6) ⲛⲓϣⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲥⲃⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲛϩ (Test. Is. 228:7)

(7) ⲡⲉ[ⲓ]ⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ (Ac. A&P 198:56)

(8) ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲧⲁϩⲟϥ (Test. Is. 232:23) (< ⲧⲁϩⲟ 'to reach, touch')

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

(1) __ ⲥⲱⲛⲉ '*his* sister' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1)

(2) __ ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ '*my* liver' (Onnophr. 208:30)

(3) __ ⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ '*her* name Maria' (Test.Is. 231:9)

(4) __ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ '*his* letter' (V. Pach. 3:12)

(5) __ ⲁⲡⲉ '*his* head' (Ac.A&P 200:97)

(6) __ ⲉⲓⲱⲧ '*our* father' (Zen. 199:9)

(7) ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ __ ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ 'Jacob, *your* beloved (ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ) chil (ⲛ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ)' (Test. Is. 229:14)

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

(1) ⲉⲧⲣⲁϫⲓ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ__ 'such that (ⲉ-) I could take (ⲧⲣⲁ-ϫⲓ) a woman (ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) inside (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ-) *my living quarters*' (Hil. 9:6-7)
- ☐ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ
- ☐ ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ
- ☐ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ

(2) ϫⲓ ⲛ__ ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ 'take (ϫⲓ) *this little girl* to your living quarters (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ)!' (Hil. 9:4)
- ☐ ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ
- ☐ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ
- ☐ ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ

(3) __ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧϫⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ 'when he (Diocletian) said (ⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲱ) *these* (words) with (ϩⲛ) great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) arrogance (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧϫⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ)' (Eud. 36:17)
- ☐ ⲛⲉⲓ
- ☐ ⲛⲓ
- ☐ ⲛⲁⲓ

(4) __ ⲛⲉ 'they (ⲛⲉ) (are) *mine*' (V. Pach. 4:23)
- ☐ ⲛⲱⲓ
- ☐ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ
- ☐ ⲛⲁⲓ

(5) ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ __ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ 'he (Constantine) loved (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲉ) her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) (Eudoxia) very much (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *her works* of (ⲛ-) righteousness (ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ)' (Eud. 56:4-5)
- ☐ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ
- ☐ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲱⲃ
- ☐ ⲛⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ

(6) ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲱⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ __ 'his brother (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲛ (was) Anatol, the eparch (ⲡ-ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ) *of that time*' (Mena, En 40a:2-6)
- ☐ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ
- ☐ ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ
- ☐ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ

E. Translate the following definite noun phrases. Particular attentio should be paid to the meaning differences between the variou demonstratives.

(1) ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ (Test. Is. 229:20)

(2) ⲧⲉⲛⲏⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:31)

(3) ⲛⲁⲧⲉϥⲩⲭⲏ (Hil. 1:12)

(4) ⲧⲉϥϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ (Hil. 2:17)

4.3 Interrogation

A. Complete the following questions by selecting the correct questior word.

(1) ⲉⲣⲃⲏⲕ (ⲉⲧⲱⲛ/ⲉⲛⲓⲙ) '*where* are you going to (ⲉⲣ-ⲃⲱⲕ)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22)

(2) (ⲟⲩ/ⲛⲓⲙ) ⲣⲛⲧⲕ '*what* (is) your name (ⲣⲛⲧ-ⲕ)?' (KHML II 31:15)

B. Decide whether the following yes/no questions anticipate a positive or a negative answer:

(1) ⲙⲏ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ '*will you abandon* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲧ) me (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲕ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) one thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

(2) ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ '(ⲙⲏ) haven't you (woman) seen (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲛⲁⲩ) them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) both (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ), (namely) your father (ⲡⲟⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) and (ⲙⲛ) your mother (ⲧⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:16-17).

4.4 Quantification

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

(1) ⲛⲧⲛⲣ ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲏ ⲧⲏⲣ__ ⲛⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ 'and we spent (ⲛⲧ-ⲛ-ⲣ) the *entire night* of Sunday (ⲛ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ)' (Onnophr. 221:8-9)

(2) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲧⲏⲣ___ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ 'I beseech (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) you (ⲙⲙⲱ-ⲧⲛ) *all* in (ϩⲙ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄)' (Hil. 7:25)

(3) ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ___ ⲉⲧϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ '*all* the cities that (were) under (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲁ) their government (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:10-11)

(4) ⲧⲛⲁⲫⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ__ ⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'I will exterminate (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲫⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) the *entire* race (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲓⲉⲛⲟⲥ) of the Christians (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲭⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (Eud. 36:6-7)

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

(1) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲩ __ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) are you (woman) weeping (ⲧⲉ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) *every* (single) hour (ⲛ-ⲛⲁⲩ)?'(AP Chaîne no. 225 65:22)
- ☐ ⲛⲓⲙ
- ☐ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ
- ☐ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ

(2) __ ⲉⲧⲣ ⲟⲣⲱⲱϩ 'the *other* (ones) who are (ⲉⲧ-ⲣ) in need (ⲟⲣⲱⲱϩ (Onnophr. 207:17)
- ☐ ⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ
- ☐ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ
- ☐ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ

(3) ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ __ ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ '*every* race (ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ) which is o (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓϫⲙ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Test. Is. 229:32)
- ☐ ⲁⲁⲩ
- ☐ ⲛⲓⲙ
- ☐ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ

(4) ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲣⲉ __ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϥⲱⲟⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲣⲡⲉ 'becaus (ⲅⲁⲣ) *many* (people) saw (ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁⲩ) him (the demon (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) jumping (ⲉ-ϥ-ϥⲱⲟⲉ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) from (ϩⲙ) the templ (ⲡ-ⲣⲡⲉ)' (KHML II 53:6-7)
- ☐ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ
- ☐ ϩⲁϩ
- ☐ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ

C. Translate the following text fragment:

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

ⲁ[a] ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲃⲱⲕ[b] ⲫⲁ ⲕⲉϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ[c] ⲙⲡⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ[d] ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲫⲓⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟϥ[e] ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϩⲉⲣⲡ ϩⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥϩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ[g]. ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲫⲁϫⲉ[h] ⲉⲛⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ. (AP Chaîne no. 21 4:20-23)

NOTES: a. ⲁ (Perfect) introduces past tense sentences, b. ⲃⲱⲕ 'to go', c. ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ 'he said', d ϫⲉ quotative particle (can best be left untranslated), d. ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ (imperative) 'prepare!', e. ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ϥ 'he prepared it', f. ϩⲉⲣⲡ (imperative) plus nominal object 'moisten *s.th.*!', g. ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲟⲣⲡ-ⲟⲩ 'he moistened them (the loaves)', h. ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲫⲁϫⲉ 'they kept talking'

Nominal sentences

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

Coptic nominal sentences are peculiar in two ways. First, they are verbless constructions in the present tense, i.e. they lack a verbal copula corresponding to English *be*. Thus, one class of nominal sentences is formed by juxtaposition of a personal pronoun and an indefinite noun phrase in predicative function, e.g. ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 'I (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a ghost (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄)' (Onnophr. 206:19). The syntax and semantics of such bipartite nominal sentences are the topic of section 5.1. Second, there is another type of nominal sentences, which contain an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) the son (ⲡ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Abbatôn 240:13). As will be shown in section 5.2, the added pronoun ⲡⲉ in such tripartite nominal sentences has no anaphoric role (i.e. it does not refer to previously mentioned discourse participants), but rather fulfils a purely grammatical function as an agreement clitic, which links the subject to the nominal predicate.

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

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

5.1 Bipartite nominal sentences

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

5.1.1 The "mixed"paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Coptic has two morphologically distinct sets of pronominal clitics. One consists of the phonologically reduced and deaccented proclitic forms of the independent first and second person pronouns, to wit ⲁⲛⲅ (< ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) 'I', ⲛⲧⲕ 'you (man)' (< ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), ⲛⲧⲉ 'you (woman)' (< ⲛⲧⲟ), ⲁⲛ(ⲛ) 'we' (< ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ 'you (plural)' (< ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ). The other set of pronouns consists of the enclitic deictic pronouns ⲡⲉ 'he', ⲧⲉ 'she' ⲛⲉ 'they'. These are used as suppletive pronominal forms in the context of third person reference, since there are no proclitic variants of the freestanding third person pronouns (see above, section 2.4.3.1 of Unit 2. The mixed pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences is illustrated in table 5.1 below.

In the context of emphatic pronominal reference, however, the independent pronouns for first and second person may be used as pronominal subjects instead of their proclitic counterparts. Particularly common are contrastive topics, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) a shepherd (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *this one* (here)(ⲧⲁⲓ) (is) my wife (ⲧⲁ-ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲛⲣⲉϥⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ '*we* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) (are) sinners (ϩⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ), but (as for him) *him* (Jesus Christ) (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), he (ⲡⲉ) (is) holy (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)' (Sh. III 142:29-30).

Independent personal pronouns can also be found in the context o question-answer pairs, e.g. ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲁϣ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ - ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲑⲓⲉ̀ⲙ 'from which (ⲛⲁ-ⲁϣ) city (ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (are) *you* (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ)? *We* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ (are) from Jerusalem (ⲛⲁ-ⲑⲓⲉ̀ⲙ)' (KHML I 80:6-8), ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲧⲱⲛ · ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲛⲉⲕⲓⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲉⲓⲥ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) a man from whence (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲙ-ⲧⲱⲛ)? *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) a man of Nekintôre (Dendera) (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲙ-ⲛⲉⲕⲓⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ), a town (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the Thêbais (ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲉⲓⲥ)' (KMHL II 31:22-25).

BIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCES [PREDICATE ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ] [SUBJECT ⲡⲉ] He (is) a man		
1st sing.	ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ /ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ	I (am) a man /a woman
2nd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ	You (are) a man
2nd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ	You (are) a woman
3rd sing. masc.	ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ	He (is) a man
3rd sing. fem.	ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ	She (is) a woman
1st pl.	ⲁⲛ(ⲛ) ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ	We (are) people
2nd pl.	ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ	You (are) people
3rd pl.	ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ	They (are) people

TABLE 5.1 The pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Further examples: (1st sing.) ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕϩⲉ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ '(as for) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 54:11-12), (2nd sing. masc.) ⲛⲧⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) *you* (ⲛⲧⲕ) such that (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) this great (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩ) glory (ⲛ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) surrounds (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1), (2nd sing. fem.) ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲉ) (are) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6:25), (3rd sing. masc.) ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ 'he (ⲡⲉ) (is) a shepherd (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲥ) who pastures (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ) sheep (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ)' (AP, Chaîne no.241, 73:24), (3rd sing. fem.) ⲕⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ 'be it (ⲕⲁⲛ) (that) she (ⲧⲉ) (is) a woman (ⲟⲩ -ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ)' (Sh. IV 154:12), (1st pl.) ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) us (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), *we* (ⲁⲛ) (are) fleshy (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) men (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 70:12), (2nd pl.) ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲓⲡⲉ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ) (are)

shameless (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 64:11), (3rd pl.) ϩⲉⲛⲁⲱ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ '*they* (ⲛⲉ) (are) what (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲁⲱ) kind (of people) (ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:67).

5.1.2 Word order

Bipartite nominal sentences display two fundamentally different word order patterns that can be directly related to the prosodic status of the subject pronoun chosen. First and second person pronouns appear in subject-initial clauses, whereas third person pronouns occur in predicate-first sentences in which the predicate noun is placed in front of the pronominal subject. The factor motivating this word order contrast is the prosodic behaviour of the subject pronoun in question. Thus, proclitic pronouns are phonologically attached to the right of the host word, which is the nominal predicate, and the result is subject-first order. Enclitic pronouns, on the other hand, must follow their phonological host, which gives rise to predicate-first order. Thus, compare: ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕϩⲉ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27) vs. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he* (ⲡⲉ) (is) a man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:18-19), ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a ghost (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄)' (Onnophr. 206:19) vs. ⲧⲁϫⲁ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡⲉ 'perhaps (ⲧⲁϫⲁ) *he* (ⲡⲉ) (is) a ghost (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:7)

5.1.2.1 Clitic clustering

Proclitic and enclitic pronouns appear not only on opposite sites of their phonological host, the nominal predicate, but also exhibit different degrees of prosodic boundness. The proclitic first and second person pronouns form a single, indivisible prosodic constituent with the adjacent nominal predicate. It is therefore not possible for enclitic elements to split up the subject-predicate complex. As a result, prosodically weak function words, such as the Greek discourse markers ⲇⲉ and ⲅⲁⲣ 'since', the additive focus particle ⲟⲛ 'also, too' or the negative adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' must appear in clause-third position, to the left of the predicate nominal, e.g. ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a soldier (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ)' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10), ⲉⲱϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏ 'if (ⲉⲱϫⲉ) *you* (ⲛⲧⲉ) (are) also (ⲟⲛ) a wise (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲃⲏ) mother (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ)' (Sh. III 22:21), ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) not (ⲁⲛ) a man (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of your kind (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ)' (Sh. III 117:5). The postponement of enclitic function words and particles can also be observed in the context of emphatic pronominal

reference, when an independent pronoun replaces the corresponding proclitic in clause-initial position, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ (am) not (ⲁⲛ) a magician (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ)' (KHML I 5:13), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *we* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) (are) (just) human (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (Sh. IV 155:1-2).

A different situation obtains in predicate-initial nominal sentences where third person pronouns compete with enclitic function words and particles for the clause-second position. As a rule, enclitic third person pronouns are placed in clause-third position, to the left of the enclitic particle, e.g. ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*he* (ⲡⲉ) (is) inferior (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲛ) in the eyes of (ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ) people (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (Pach. Catéch. 19:22-23), ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *he* (ⲡⲉ) (Apa Ptolemy) (is) a nobleman (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ)' (KHML II 34:6) ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲱⲗⲙ '*he* (ⲡⲉ) (Apa Mena) also (ⲟⲛ) (was) a spotless (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲧⲱⲗⲙ) virgin (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Enc. 59a:10-12), ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ '*it* (ⲧⲉ) (the distinction between words and deeds) (is) not (ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) a small one (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ)' (Zen. 201:11), ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 'for him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) (Apa Zenobius) *it* (ⲡⲉ) (is) not (ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) a fault (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ)' (Zen. 203:22).

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

PRONOUN	WORD ORDER	PARTICLE PLACEMENT
PROCLITIC	SUBJECT-FIRST ORDER	[PROCL PN] PCL
ⲁⲛⲅ, ⲛⲧⲕ, etc	ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 'I (am) a ghost' (Onnophr. 206:19)	ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ 'I (am) a soldier' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10)
ENCLITIC	PREDICATE-FIRST ORDER	[PN] DAT-CL] PCL] ENCL]]
ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ	ⲧⲁϫⲁ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡⲉ 'perhaps he (is) a ghost' (AP Chaîne no.243, 75:7)	ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 'for him it (is) not a fault' (Zen. 203:22)

FIGURE 5.1 Word order in bipartite nominal sentences

5.1.2.2 Possessor splitting

Enclitic deictic pronouns and function words differ from one another not only with respect to the cluster-internal position, but also with respect to what might be called possessor splitting (i.e. the disruption of the syntactic continuity of possessive noun phrases). Enclitic pronouns may but need not be placed between the possessed noun and the possessor noun, e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he* (ⲡⲉ) (is) a man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:18-19), ⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ '*it* (ⲡⲉ) (the Henaton) (is) the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) of rest (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ)' (Hil. 5:18). Enclitic function words, on the other hand, are always placed between the possessed and the possesssor noun, e.g. ⲟⲩⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲣⲏⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) *he* (ⲡⲉ) (Apa Mena) (was) a child (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the vow (ⲡ-ⲉⲣⲏⲧ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ-) Isaak and (ⲙⲛ) Samuel' (Mena, Enc. 45b:1-5).

5.1.2.3 The Preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ

Nominal sentences have a limited distribution with respect to tense marking. While present tense reference is morphologically unmarked, the Preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ is used to indicate a present-in-the past. The auxiliary ⲛⲉ always precedes the subject-predicate complex, e.g. ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) it (ⲧⲉ) *was* (ⲛⲉ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ)' (KHML I 80:28), ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ '(as for) this one (i.e. the rich Alexandrian) (ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ), he (ⲡⲉ) *was* (ⲛⲉ) a Christian (ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:11-12).

5.1.2.4 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a topicalized noun or pronoun, which appears in front of the subject-predicate complex. The preclausal topic constituent designates the discourse referent that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent and is therefore called comment clause. Its grammatical features (person, number and gender) are resumed by the pronominal subject, e.g. ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ '(as for) the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna*, *he* (ⲡⲉ) (was) a nobleman (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) the land (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) of Egypt (ⲛ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-39b:2), ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ '(as for) *the gods*

(ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the pagans (ⲛ-ⲛ-ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ), *they* (ⲛⲉ) (in fact) (are demons (ϩⲛ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ)' (KHML I 3:12-4:1).

The preclausal topic must be cross-referenced by the subject clitic in the associated bipartite nominal sentence. In the context of contrastive pronominal reference, the topicalization of first and second person pronouns gives rise to what has been called clitic doubling in the linguistic literature, where the co-referential subject pronoun is either a full or a phonologically reduced copy of the freestanding personal pronoun, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲓⲝ '(as for) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *I* (ⲁⲛⲓ) (am) earth (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁϩ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) a creature (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) his (God's) hands (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲥⲓⲝ)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), *we* (ⲁⲛ) (are) fleshy (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) men (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 70:12), ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ '*you* (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) your kings (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ), *you* (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ) are) godless (ⲛ-ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) criminals (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Enc. 51a:20-25).

The discourse status of the preclausal noun or pronoun is commonly indicated by topic-indicating particle like ⲇⲉ, e.g. ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ '(as for) the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna*, *he* (ⲡⲉ) *was* (ⲛⲉ) an Egyptian (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲉⲙⲛ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ) by (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) origin (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-8), ⲉⲩⲫⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲉϥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲣⲏⲛ ⲧⲉ '(as for) his wife (ⲧⲉϥ-ϩⲓⲙⲉ) *Euphymia*, *she* (ⲧⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ) barren (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲃⲣⲏⲛ)' (Mena, Enc. 42a:12-14), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲕϩⲉ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *myself* (ϩⲱ), *I* (ⲁⲛⲓ) (am) a hermit (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲏⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ lit. man of the mountain) of your kind (ⲛ-ⲧⲕ-ϩⲉ)' (Onnophr. 210:13). See figure 5.2 for further illustration.

PRE-CLAUSAL TOPIC	COMMENT CLAUSE	
	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREDICATE NOUN
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ (As for) me	ⲁⲛⲓ I	ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁϩ (am) earth
	PREDICATE NOUN	SUBJECT PRONOUN
ⲉⲩⲫⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲉϥϩⲓⲙⲉ (As for) his wife Euphymia	ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲣⲏⲛ PRETERIT barren	ⲧⲉ she

FIGURE 5.2 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

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

5.1.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

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

Next to predicational sentences, there are identificational sentences, whose predicate nominal is a referring expression. The semantic basis of identificational sentences is the division of reference: both the subject and the nominal predicate pick out the same individual or object from the realm of discourse. Such identity relations are generally encoded as tripartite nominal sentences, which will be discussed in section 5.2.2. There are, however, also a few bipartite nominal sentence patterns, where the nominal predicate has an identificational role, e.g. ⲧⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲉ 'she (ⲧⲉ) (Thekla) (is) *the sister* (ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) *of Paêse* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲏⲥⲉ)' (KHML I 83:30), ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ 'it (the Henaton) (is) *the place* (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) *of rest* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧⲟⲛ)' (Hil. 5:18), ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ 'you (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ) (are) *the children* (ⲛ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of the holy

(ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Apa (ⲁⲡⲁ) Moses' (KHML II 48:21).

Bipartite nominal sentences with a referring predicate noun are, generally speaking, restricted to pragmatically marked construction types with a specialized meaning and function. In identity questions, for example, the predicatively used interrogative pronoun represents the missing piece of information necessary for the recognition of the subject referent, e.g. ⲛⲧⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁϫ[ⲟ]ⲉⲓⲥ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) you (ⲛⲧⲕ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (Eud. 50:18-19), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲛⲧⲕ '*what* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is) your name (ⲡⲛⲧ-ⲕ)?' (KHML II 31:15).

Second, there are presentational sentences of the form ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ 'it (ⲡⲉ) (is) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ)', which are commonly used as responses to identity questions, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ (...) ⲛⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ (...) 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the goats (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the sheep (ⲛ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ)? (...) (as for) the goats (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ), it (ⲡⲉ) (is) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14-15). A final group of bipartite identificational sentences consists of so-called situational sentences, which describe a particular temporal setting or ambience, e.g. ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ (read ⲙⲉⲛ) ⲡϣⲱⲙ ⲡⲉ 'when it (ⲡⲉ) (is) summer' (ⲡ-ϣⲱⲙ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Figure 5.3 presents a taxonomy of the most common types of predicational relationship in bipartite nominal sentences:

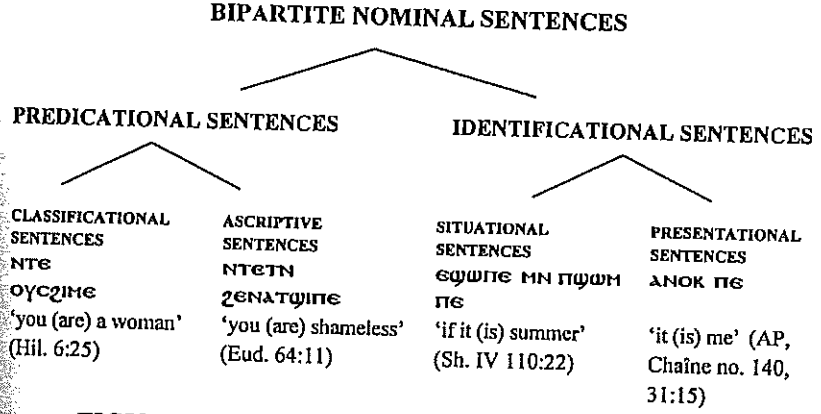

FIGURE 5.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

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

5.1.3.1 Classificational sentences

Classificational sentences are associated with a partitive reading and specify a semantic relation of class inclusion. The referent of the subject is conceptualized as a representative member or, in the case of plural reference, as a subset of a particular class of entities, species or kind. The kind-referring predicate nominal is syntactically encoded as an indefinite noun phrase, which has the same number specification as the pronominal subject, e.g. ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'I (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) *a Christian* (ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) openly (ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ)' (Mena, Enc. 49b:28-50a:1), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲍⲙⲍⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) not (ⲁⲛ) *a magician* (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) *a servant* (ⲟⲩ-ⲍⲙⲍⲁⲗ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (KHML I 5:13-14), ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'you (ⲛⲧⲕ) (are) *a holy* (one) (ⲟⲩ-ⲍⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (KHML I 46:22-23), ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲯⲙⲙⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '(are) you (ⲛⲧⲕ) *a stranger* (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲙⲙⲟ) or (ⲭⲉ) (are) you (ⲛⲧⲕ) *a man of this city* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲉⲙ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)?' (Mena, Enc. 50a:5-7), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) us (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), we (ⲁⲛ) (are) *fleshy* (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) *men* (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 70:12).

a) Locative and manner predicate nominals

Locative and manner adverbs can be converted into indefinite noun phrases to function as the nominal predicate of a classificational sentence, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲍⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ (for ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ '(as for) his parents (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ), they (ⲛⲉ) were (ⲛⲉ) *from* (ⲍⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *the* glorious (ⲉⲧ-ⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ) *capital* (ⲧ-ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Enc. 39b:2-6), ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲍⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲏ '(as for) the appearance (ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲙⲟⲧ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲍⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena, he (ⲡⲉ) (was) of this kind (ⲟⲩⲉ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ): a strong (ⲛ-ⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ) (and) handsome (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲓⲏ) man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:19-25).

b) Possessive nominal predicates

Since possessive demonstratives are associated with a partitive reading, they are commonly used as kind-referring nominal predicates, e.g. ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ 'he (Apa Mena) (was) *a native of the Mariôtês* (ⲡⲁ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ)' (Mena, Enc. 36b:30-37a:2), ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉ 'they (ⲛⲉ) (are) *mine* (ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲓ)' (V. Pach. 4:23), ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲇⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ 'the affair (ⲡ-ⲍⲱⲃ) it (ⲡⲉ) (is) *something* (concerning) *the sovereign* (ⲡⲁ-ⲡⲉ-ⲇⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲏⲥ)' (Hil. 3:20).

5.1.3.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal describes a property, state or characteristic feature of the subject referent. Since the indefinite nominal predicate denotes a property that is measurable on a scale, it is commonly modified by degree adverbials, for instance, quantificational adverbs or adverbs of comparison, e.g. ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲟⲛ '(do you think that) he (ⲡⲉ) (Christ) (is) *stronger* (ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ) than us (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲟ-ⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) he (ⲡⲉ) (Apa Mena) (was) *very* (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *pious* (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:31-32), ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ 'and (ⲕⲁⲓ) because (ⲅⲁⲣ) he (ⲡⲉ) (Zeno) (was) *pious* (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) in (ⲍⲛ) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *respect* (ⲍⲱⲃ)' (Hil. 8:19-20), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲍⲛ ⲑⲏⲗⲩⲕⲓⲁ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) (still) *very young* (lit. small (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) in (ⲍⲛ) age (ⲑⲏⲗⲩⲕⲓⲁ < ⲧ-ⲍⲏⲗⲩⲕⲓⲁ)' (KMHL II 35:2).

5.1.3.3 Situational sentences

Situational sentences set up a temporal frame for the following discourse. They have an expletive pronoun as their subject, which roughly corresponding to impersonal *it* in English. The predicate typically is a time-indicating noun, e.g. ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) it (ⲧⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ) *night* (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ)' (KHML I 80:28), ⲉⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲍⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ 'while *it* (ⲡⲉ) was (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ) *the day* (ⲡⲉ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲍⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Marcus, the Evangelist (ⲡ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ)' (Hil. 3:32-33), ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲭⲡⲥⲟ ⲏ ⲭⲡ† '*it* (ⲡⲉ) (is) *the time* (ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *of the sixth* (ⲛ-ⲭⲡ-ⲥⲟ) or (ⲏ) *the fifth hour* (ⲡ-ⲭⲡ-†)' (Sh. IV 110:22-23), ⲉⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ (read ⲙⲉⲛ) ⲡⲯⲱⲙ ⲡⲉ 'when *it* (ⲡⲉ) (is) *summer*' (ⲡ-ⲯⲱⲙ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Setting up a discourse frame may also involve reference to some physical or mental condition, e.g. ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲯⲱⲛⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲯⲧ ⲡⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) *it* (ⲡⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ) *a heavy* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲛⲁⲯⲧ) *illness* (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 87:28), ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲟⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ '*it* (ⲧⲉ) (is) not (ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) (in) *your power* (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲟⲟⲙ) (i.e. something you can influence) (Ac. A&P 196:40-41).

5.1.3.4 Presentational sentences

Presentational sentences of the kind ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ '*it* (ⲡⲉ) (is) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ)' are used as responses to identity questions. The main function of the expletive pronoun ⲡⲉ is to pinpoint the discourse entity whose identity is at stake, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ - ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is) that (ⲡⲁⲓ)? - It (ⲡⲉ) (is) Nahrow the Egyptian (ⲡ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (KHML I 7:20-21), ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ [ⲁⲛ]ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲡⲉ 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) it (ⲡⲉ) (is) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) that (ⲉⲧ-) misleads (ⲥⲱⲣⲙ) the crowd (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ)? (Is) it (ⲡⲉ) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) or (ⲭⲉ) (is) it (ⲡⲉ) *you* (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 212:231), ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ '(Apa Ptolemy realized that) it (ⲡⲉ) (was) *the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (KMHL II 30:24-25).

5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

The basic subject-predicate configuration that underlies bipartite nominal sentences can be transformed into a new sentence pattern by inserting the deictic pronouns ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ into the structure, e.g. ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ 'my name (ⲡⲁ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (is) Nahrow' (KHML I 3:6-7), ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϥⲓⲙⲉ 'this (ⲧⲁⲓ) (is) my wife (ⲧⲁ-ϥⲓⲙⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) their ascetic labours (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ) (are) great (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ)' (Hil. 7:9). Such extended nominal sentence patterns are composed of three elements, viz. the subject, the predicate noun, and the added deictic pronoun:

SUBJECT	AGREEMENT CLITIC	PREDICATE NOUN	
ⲡⲁⲓ	ⲡⲉ	ⲡⲁϩⲁⲓ	This (is) my husband.
This	SING. MASC	my husband	
ⲧⲁⲓ	ⲧⲉ	ⲧⲁϥⲓⲙⲉ	This (is) my wife.
This	SING. FEM	my wife	
ⲛⲁⲓ	ⲛⲉ	ⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ	These (are) my children.
These	PLURAL	my children	

TABLE 5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

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

5.2.1 The syntactic role of the agreement clitic

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

5.2.1.1 Main differences between agreement clitics and copular verbs

Most Coptic grammars use the term "deictic copula" to indicate the syntactic function of the non-anaphoric third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences. The added pronoun has actually very little in common with copular verbs. Coptic has two equivalents to the English copular verb *be*, ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' and ⲙⲛ '(there) is not', which are appear clause-initially in existential sentences, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '*is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) someone (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) one (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ)' (V. Pach. 1:7). The verbal copulas ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ differ from the agreement clitics of tripartite nominal sentences in the following respect:

- The copular verb functions as the semantic predicate in asserting the existence or non-existence of some discourse entity. This contrasts with the agreement-marking clitic of tripartite nominal sentences, which has no such predicate role and can therefore not be construed as part of the sentence predicate.
- The agreement clitic has no negative counterpart comparable to the negative copular verb ⲙⲛ. To assign a negative value to the nominal predicate, the negative adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' has to be inserted into the structure, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ 'you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) not (ⲁⲛ) the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ)' (Ac. A&P 202:108).
- While the verbal copula must be construed with an indefinite subject, the subject of tripartite nominal sentences must be a definite. Thus, compare: ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉ$\overline{ⲭⲥ}$ $\overline{ⲓⲥ}$ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲓⲛⲁ '(there) is no (ⲙⲛ) *God* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{ⲭⲥ}$ $\overline{ⲓⲥ}$), the God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21) vs. ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉⲙⲏ ⲡⲉ$\overline{ⲭⲥ}$ $\overline{ⲓⲥ}$ 'unique (ⲟⲩⲁ) (is) *the God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of Apa (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲁ) Ptolemy, Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{ⲭⲥ}$)' (KMHL II 36:27-37:1).

5.2.1.2 Agreement behaviour

As fully grammaticalized markers of the subject-predicate relation, the desemanticized third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences generally have the same number and gender (though not person) specification as the clausal subject, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ$\overline{ⲭⲥ}$ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{ⲭⲥ}$)' (AP, Chaîne no.145, 32:16), ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ '*her name* (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:4).

The subject-orientation of the agreement clitic is particularly clear in interrogative nominal sentences where the predicatively used question word itself is not specified for grammatical number and gender, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ 'what (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is) your name (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲣⲁⲛ)?' (KHML I 3:6), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the goats (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the sheep (ⲛ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14), ⲁϣ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'what (ⲁϣ) (is) the height (ⲡ-ϣⲓ) that they have reached (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲡⲱϩ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:19), ⲁϣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ [for ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ] 'what (ⲁϣ) (is) your profession (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲉⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:29).

When the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence is a coordinated no phrase, the agreement clitic agrees with the second conjunct, e ⲧⲉⲕϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ '*your hope* (ⲧⲉ ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ) *and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) *your strength* (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ) (is) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧ alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ)' (Sh. III 101:9), ⲧⲙⲛⲧ[ⲣ]ⲙⲛ[ϩ]ⲏⲧ ⲛ[ⲛⲁ]ϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ ⲧ[ⲙ]ⲛⲧⲁⲑⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲁⲑⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲛϩⲏⲧ '*wisdc* (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ) (is) for them (ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲁ-ⲩ) foolishness (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ϩ and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *foolishness* (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ϩⲏⲧ) wisdom (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (S IV 41:22-23).

5.2.1.3 The interaction between the agreement clitic and personal pronouns

The presence of the agreement-marking deictic pronoun does nc interfere with the selection of personal pronouns. That is, tripartit nominal sentences tolerate both nouns and pronouns as clausal subject and therefore have a much broader syntactic distribution than thei bipartite counterparts, which are only compatible with pronomina subjects. The pronominal subject of tripartite nominal sentences is, as rule, an independent personal pronoun, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) the sinner (ⲡ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲉⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ) *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) the Redeemer (ⲡ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (Test. Is. 232:31) ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) (Pachôm) (was) thei father (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 4:11). The selection of proclitic pronouns is only marginally attested as an alternative, e.g. ⲁⲛⲅ ⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) Gabriêl' (AP Chaîne no.143, 32:6), ⲁⲛⲅ ⲡⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Theodosius' (AP Chaîne no.141, 31: 28-29).

5.2.1.4 Clitic clustering

The agreement clitic comes last in a cluster of enclitic function words and particles, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲏⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'their (the demons') caverns (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲃⲏⲃ) (are) the hearts (ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ) of godless (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) people (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Sh. IV 177:4-5), ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲛϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) never-ending (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱ) (is) for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) eternal (ⲛϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ) rest (ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 30, 6:7), ⲡⲱⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲫⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) beauty (ⲡ-ⲥⲁ) (is) not (ⲁⲛ) of her (ⲡⲱ-ⲥ) (the pretty woman), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) it (ⲡⲉ) is something belonging to (ⲡⲁ-) him who has

created (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲡⲁⲗⲥⲥⲉ) her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)' (Sh. *Or* 44 168: 10-14).

5.2.2 *Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences*

Although tripartite nominal sentences display the familiar distinction between predicational and identificational sentences, they tend to make more fine-grained distinctions than their bipartite counterparts. On the one hand, there are classificational sentences, which describe a relation of class inclusion, e.g. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ), your gods (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (are) not (ⲁⲛ) *gods* (ϩⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (KHML I 4:2-3). On the other hand, there are ascriptive sentences that indicate property assignment, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ 'your heritage (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ) (is) *great* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ)' (KHML II 30:12). Next to classificational and ascriptive sentences, there are characterisational sentences, which provide an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject referent, e.g. ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ 'the impious ones (ⲛ-ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) (are) those who reject (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) the prescriptions (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ) of our fathers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ)' (Sh. III 152:29-153:1).

The same diversity of predication sentence types obtains in identificational sentences. Identity relations are based on what might be called the division of reference: one entity is referred to by two different names. Depending on how this division of reference is syntactically realized, one can distinguish at least three distinctive classes of identificational sentences, viz. (i) identity statements proper, which can be paraphrased as "the referent of the subject is the same or not the same person as the referent of the predicate", e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) Hillaria your daughter (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 11:28-29), ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ '*Jesus* (is) not (ⲁⲛ) *the Messiah* (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Sh. III 114:5), (ii) assertoric sentences, the subject of which is a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a deictic pointer, e.g. ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϩϣⲓⲙⲉ '*this* (ⲧⲁⲓ) (is) *my wife* (ⲧⲁ-ϩϣⲓⲙⲉ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), and (iii) specificational sentences, whose subject is a semantically incomplete expression or variable like ⲣⲁⲛ 'name' that is assigned an interpretation by the predicate noun, e.g. ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ '*his name* (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) *Paul*' (KHML I 72:8-9).

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

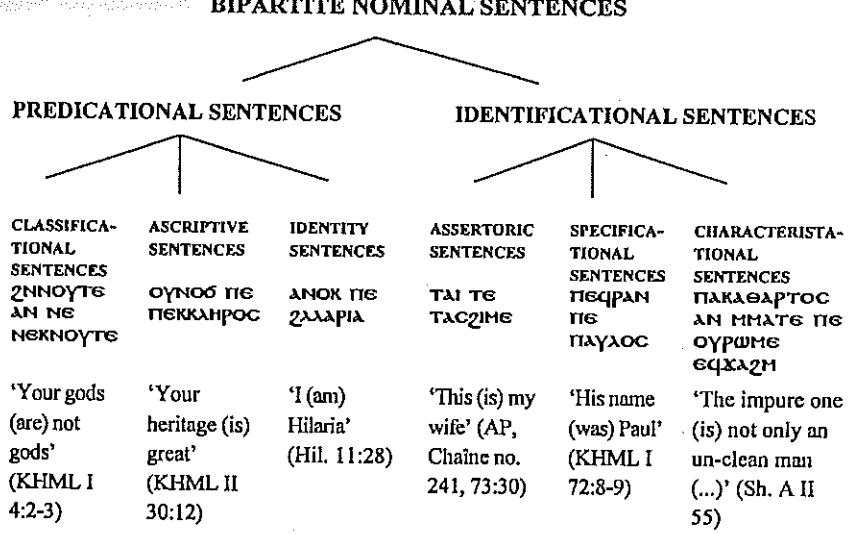

FIGURE 5.4 Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences

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

5.2.2.1 *Classificational sentences*

Tripartite classificational sentences describe a semantic relation of class inclusion in much the same way as their bipartite counterparts. Various types of indefinite or partitive expressions qualify as classificational predicates, to wit (i) indefinite noun phrases, which have the same number specification as the nominal subject, e.g. ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'really (ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ), this man (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (is) a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) magician (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ)' (KHML I 7:22-23), ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ϩⲛⲣⲉϥⲯⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ ϩⲉⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲧⲉⲩⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ 'for (ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ) women (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ) (are) by (ϩⲉⲛ) their nature (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (ϩⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲯⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ))' (Hil. 11:35-12:1), (ii) possessive demonstratives, which agree in both number and gender with the subject, e.g. ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲗⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ 'because (ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ) to fail (ϩⲱⲱⲗⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) something (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) (is) intrinsic to the nature (ⲡⲁ-ⲧⲉ-ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ) of human beings ((ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (BHom.12:19-20), ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲥⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ 'from whence (ⲧⲁ-ⲧⲱⲛ) (is)

this (woman) (ⲧⲁⲓ) *who defends (herself)* (ϵ-ⲥ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲍϵ) *in such a manner* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩϵ)?' (KHML I 83:29), ⲡⲱⲕ ⲡϵ ⲡⲉⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ 'yours (ⲡⲱ-ⲕ) (is) the glory (ⲡ-ϵⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) the honour (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲓⲟ)' (KHML I 83:17-18), and (iii) zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. ⲡϵⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡϵ ⲣⲱⲙϵ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) their god (ⲡϵⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) (is) human (ⲣⲱⲙϵ)' (Sh. IV 183:6).

5.2.2.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences have the same syntax as classificational ones, the main difference being the adjectival interpretation of the indefinite predicate noun, e.g. ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) their ascetic labours (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ) (are) great (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ)' (Hil. 7:9), ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) never-ending (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱ) (is) for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) eternal (ⲛⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ) rest (ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no.30, 6:7).

It is rather common for the nominal predicate of ascriptive sentences to involve comparison or modification of degree, e.g. ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉϭⲟⲙ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) the mighty deeds (ⲛⲉ-ϭⲟⲙ) and (ⲙⲛ) wonders (ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ) that happened (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲱⲡⲉ) through (ϩⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟ) our father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Apa Matthew (are) *very* (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *great* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ)' (KHML II 18:14-16), ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲑⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ '*very* (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *miraculous* (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ) (was) the miracle (ⲧⲉ-ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ) of this blessed (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) athletic (ⲛ-ⲁⲑⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ) old man (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ)' (Onnophr. 215:14-16), ⲉⲓⲉ ϩⲛⲁⲧⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ '(are) your gods (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *so* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) *utterly* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) *powerless* (ϩⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲟⲙ)?' (KHML I 1:10-11).

Ascriptive sentences may also be construed with "bare" nominal predicates without any obvious semantic differences with their corresponding indefinitely determined counterparts. Compare: ⲉⲥⲓⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡϩⲁⲓ 'when (ϵ-) *bitter* (ⲥⲓⲱⲉ) (is) the manner (ⲟⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) in which (ⲉⲧ-) the husband (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲓ) talks (ⲉⲣⲉ … ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the wife (ⲧⲉ-ϩⲓⲙⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *abominable* (ⲃⲟⲧⲉ) the manner (ⲟⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) in which (ⲉⲧ-) the wife (ⲧⲉ-ϩⲓⲙⲉ) talks (ⲉⲣⲉ … ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the husband (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲓ)' (Sh. *Or* 44, 159:34-41) vs. ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ '*bitter* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲓⲱⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) *abominable* (ⲟⲩ-ⲃⲟⲧⲉ) (is) the greatness (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲟϭ) of this world (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 33:9-10).

5.2.2.3 Characterisational sentences

The nominal predicate of characterisational sentences provides an exhaustive specification or definition for the subject, instead of classifying it as the holder of some property or representative member of a particular class of entities. The subject is typically a non-specific or generic noun phrase, while the predicate nominal is drawn from the set of quantificational expressions or non-specific definites. In a sense, then, the set of entities referred to by the subject is co-extensive with the set of entities referred to by the nominal predicate: both constituents describe two overlapping or partially intersecting domains of individuals or objects, e.g. ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲫⲙⲉⲗⲏⲧⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ 'the ones who search (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲱⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (are) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who studies (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲧⲁ) His law (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) His prescriptions (ⲛⲉⲫ-ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ)' (Abbatôn 227:9-11), ⲛⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲫ† ⲕⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ{ⲩ} ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲛⲙⲏⲧⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) to stay (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ … ⲟⲩⲱϩ) in (ϩⲛ) our midst (ⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) (is) not (ⲛ … ⲁⲛ) *something* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) fitting (ⲉ-ⲫ-† ⲕⲱⲧ) our life (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲃⲓⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 6:25-26), ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁϩⲉ (ⲉ)ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲱⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 'the ones who serviced (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) well (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ) (are) the ones who reached (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁϩⲉ (ⲉ)ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ) the measure (ⲡ-ⲱⲓ) of the Scriptures (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

5.2.2.4 Identity statements

The concept of identity is intimately related to the divison of reference. Identity relations express this idea by equating two names, both of which refer to one and the same individual. Both the subject and the nominal predicate of identity statements are therefore referential expressions like proper names or personal pronouns, e.g. (those who say) ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'Jesus (is) not (ⲁⲛ) the Messiah (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Sh. III 114:5), ⲱ ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉⲕⲗⲁ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲗⲓⲁⲥ 'oh (ⲱ) woman (ⲧⲉ-ϩⲓⲙⲉ) you (ⲛⲧⲟ) (are) Thekla, the daughter (ⲧ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ) of Elias (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲓⲁⲥ)' (KHML I 80:15). The division of reference that defines identity relations may also involve reference to a temporary stage or

role of the discourse entity whose identity is in the center of interest, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲟⲭⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲣⲓⲣ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) *Paêse*, who had been thrown (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲟⲭ-ⲥ) into the oven (ⲉ-ⲧⲉ-ⲧⲣⲓⲣ)' (KHML I 79:7-8), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲁⲧⲕ 'and he (ⲛⲧⲟⲩ) (Constantine) (is) *the king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) under you (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲁ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲕ)' (Eud. 54:12-13).

5.2.2.5 Assertoric sentences

Assertoric sentences, unlike identity statements, have as a subject a proximal demonstrative pronoun ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲧⲁⲓ, ⲛⲁⲓ 'this, these'. This type of identificational sentence has been called assertoric in the linguistic literature, because the demonstrative subject pronoun does not so much name a particular individual or object concerning which an assertion is made, but rather functions as a mere deictic pointer, whose logical role is to draw the addressee's attention to someone or something in his immediate surroundings, e.g. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙⲟ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲯⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*this* (ⲡⲁⲓ) (is) Antonius, this (ⲡⲁⲓ) (is) Pachôm and (ⲙⲛ) Petronius and (ⲙⲛ) Thedorus, *this* (ⲡⲁⲓ) (is) Apa Shenûte' (KHML II 22:3-5), ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉ[ⲓⲥ] ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ '*this* (ⲧⲁⲓ) (is) the resurrection (ⲧ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ) of our Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Eud. 66:22-23), ϩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛ[ⲁⲓ ⲙ]ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲣⲉ]ϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ '*these* (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) *places* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) did not visit (ⲙⲡⲉ ... ⲟⲙ ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲯⲓⲛⲉ) when he descended (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) into Hell (ⲉ-ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 204:141-142), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ - ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) these (ⲛⲁⲓ) who sit (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on (ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ) their thrones (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ)? - All (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) those (ⲛⲁⲓ) you see (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ), they (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) the fathers (ⲛⲉ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) of the world (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 21:19-22).

Assertoric sentences may represent not only a simple act of naming or pointing, but may also organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. As a discourse anaphor, the demonstrative subject pronoun refers back to the preceding narrative unit, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ '*this* (ⲧⲁⲓ) (was) the manner (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) that he (Pachôm) acted (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) with them (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ) (the brothers) at every (ⲛⲓⲙ) time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ)' (V. Pach. 5:6-7), ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲟⲣⲡⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ '*this* (ⲧⲁⲓ) (was) the first (ⲧ-ⲱⲟⲣⲡⲉ) torment (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ) which he (the judge) gave (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) (Apa Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8).

Alternatively, the demonstrative subject pronoun of assertoric sentences may also be used cataphorically, making reference to what is to be communicated next, e.g. ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅ 'this (ⲡⲁⲓ) (is) the glory (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of Jesus' (Eud. 76:25), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲁⲯⲁϩⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲣⲁⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) my prayer (ⲡⲁ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ) by night (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ) and (ⲙⲛ) day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) (is) this (ⲡⲁⲓ) that I may please (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲣ ⲁⲛⲁ-ϥ) the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Mena, Enc. 52a:20-25).

5.2.2.6 Specificational sentences

The subject expression of specificational sentences represents a variable, i.e. a term which is compatible with several values that is assigned a particular value by the predicate noun. Such sentences are identifying in the sense that the specification of the variable makes it possible to establish the identity of its referent. Several types of nominals may qualify as such open expressions or variables. Kinship terms, for instance, do not provide enough information to pick out a referent from a set and are therefore linked to a strongly referential expression (a proper name or personal pronoun), e.g. ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲱⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'his brother (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲛ) (was) Anatôlius, the *eparch* (ⲡ-ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ) of that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) time (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ)' (Mena, Enc. 40a:2-6), ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 4:11).

In specificational sentences that represent a simple act of naming, the possessively determined noun phrase ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ 'his name' functions as the variable, which is assigned a particular value (the proper name in question) by the nominal predicate, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ - ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ 'what (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is) your name (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲣⲁⲛ)? (...) Nahrow (is) my name (ⲡⲁ-ⲣⲁⲛ)' (KHML I 3:6-7), ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲅⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲑⲉⲟⲡⲓⲥⲧⲏ '(as for) the elder (ⲧ-ⲛⲟⲩ) daughter (ⲛ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ), her name (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) was (ⲛⲉ) Hilaria, (as for) the younger (one) (ⲧ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ), her name (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) was (ⲛⲉ) Theopistê' (Hil. 2:8-10).

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

enumerating items on a list, e.g. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 'he (ⲡⲁⲓ) who came (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) before (ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉ-) my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) (is) the archangel (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) Michael' (Eud. 52:8-9), ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲗⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ (...) ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲱⲛⲟⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ 'the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) whom God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) has revealed (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲥⲟⲗⲡ-ϥ) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) from among you (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) (...) (is) Petronius, the abbot (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) of (ⲛ-) the monastery (ⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ) of Tsmeine' (V. Pach. 93:7-9). The last example can be paraphrased as "the list of persons that God had revealed to me contains a single person: Petronius, the abbot of Tsmeine". Specificational sentences of this sort always have an exhaustive reading; they imply that the list of values satisfying the variable represented by the free relative clause is limited.

5.2.2.7 Concluding remarks

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

Key Terms:

Bi- and tripartite nominal sentences	are distinguished with respect to the number of sentence elements. Bipartite nominal sentences are derived by juxtaposing the pronominal subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲁ 'I (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a ghost (ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲛ̄ⲁ)' (Onnophr. 206:19). Tripartite nominal sentences, on the other hand, are characterized by the presence of an additional third person pronoun separating the subject from the nominal predicate, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) the son (ⲡ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Abbatôn 240:13).	§5.1.1, §5.2.1
Clitic clusters	are series of two or more prosodically weak elements. The enclitic deictic pronouns ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ always come last in such a sequence of clitics, e.g. ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 'for him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) it (ⲡⲉ) (is) not (ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) a fault (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ)' (Zen. 203:22).	§5.1.2.2, §5.2.1.4
Topic-comment sentences	Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a preclausal noun or pronoun to yield a topic-comment sentence. The topicalised constituent designates the discourse entity that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) us (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), we (ⲁⲛ) (are) fleshy (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) men (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 70:12).	§5.1.2.3

Predicational sentences	*derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal has no specific referent in the realm of discourse, but rather predicates something about the subject referent, for instance, a role, characteristic property or class membership.*	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Identificational sentences	express identity relations, where the subject and the nominal predicate are linked to the same discourse referent.	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Classificational sentences	indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, with the referent of the subject being defined as a representative member of a particular class, type of species, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ 'you (ⲛⲧⲉ) (are) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6:25).	§5.1.3.1 §5.2.2.1
Ascriptive sentences	have an adjectival meaning in attributing to the subject a characteristic property, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲡⲡⲉ 'you (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ) (are) shameless (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲡⲡⲉ)' (Eud. 64:11).	§5.1.3.2 §5.2.2.2
Situational sentences	set up a temporal frame for the preceding or following set of sentences, e.g. ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲱϩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) it (ⲧⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲱϩ)' (KHML I 80:28).	§5.1.3.3
Presentational sentences	typically appear in those contexts where the identity of some discourse participant is at stake, e.g. [ⲁⲛ]ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲡⲉ '(who misleads the crowd?) (Is) it (ⲡⲉ) us (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) or (ⲭⲉ) (is) it (ⲡⲉ) you (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).	§5.1.3.4
Expletive pronouns	have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3

Agreement clitic	Tripartite nominal sentences are characterised by an additional pronominal element, the agreement clitic, which mark the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate.	§5.2.1
Identity statements	are prototypical exemplars of identifying sentences, with the subject and the nominal predicate naming the same discourse entity, e.g. ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'Jesus (is) not (ⲁⲛ) the Messiah (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Sh. III 114:5).	§5.1.3 §5.2.2.4
Characterisational sentences	are a subtype of tripartite predicational sentences, where the nominal predicate provides an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject, e.g. ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲗⲏⲧⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ 'the ones who search (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲱⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (are) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who studies (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲧⲁ) His law (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) His prescriptions (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ)' (Abbatôn 227:9-11).	§5.2.2.3
Assertoric sentences	are characterized by a demonstrative pronoun in subject function. Assertoric sentences are used to pinpoint an individual or object in the vicinity of the speech participants, e.g. ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ 'this (ⲧⲁⲓ) (is) my wife (ⲧⲁ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (AP, Chaîne no.241, 73:30).	§5.2.2.5
Specificational sentences	are identificational sentences, where the subject represents a variable, for which the nominal predicate provides a specific value, e.g. ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ 'his name (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) Paulus' (KHML I 72:8-9).	§5.2.2.6

Exercises

5.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.

1. Coptic nominal sentences lack a verbal copula in the context of present tense reference.
2. The pronominal subject of bipartite nominal sentence may have an anaphoric function, referring to a previous noun phrase, or function as an expletive pronoun, which lacks a referential role.
3. Bipartite nominal sentences cannot express identity statements.
4. The agreement clitic agrees in person, number and gender with the subject of tripartite nominal sentences.
5. The agreement clitic adds emphasis to the pronominal subject.
6. In assertoric sentences, the demonstrative subject pronoun is used as a deictic point rather than a referring expression.
7. Ascriptive sentences are commonly modified by quantificational or comparative adverbs.

5.2 Bipartite nominal sentences

A. Fill in the missing proclitic or enclitic pronoun in the following bipartite nominal sentences.

(1) ⲁⲩⲱ __ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲓⲭ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *I* (am) a creature (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) his (God's) hands (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲥⲓⲭ)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14)

(2) ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲇⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ __ '*he* (Apa Mena) (was) a camel herd (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲛ-ⲇⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ)' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3-4)

(3) ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ __ 'it (the Prince of Hell) (is) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲩ) fire (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ)' (Test. Is. 235:2)

(4) ⲧⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ __ '(as for) her (ⲧⲁⲓ), *she* was (ⲛⲉ) very (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) rich (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲙ-ⲙⲁⲟ)' (KHML I 45:3)

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

(1) ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲣⲙⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲙⲭⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), *we* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) (are) people of a city (ⲛ-ⲣⲙ-ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ) called (ⲭⲉ) Pemje (ⲡⲙⲭⲉ)' (Onnophr. 220:11-12)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ characterisational sentence

(2) ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'it (the calf) (was) wonderfully (ⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥ) strong (ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲱⲣⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) its body (ⲡⲧ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ)' (BHom. 262:2)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence

(3) ⲕⲁⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ '(they who are cursed), be it that (ⲕⲁⲛ) it (ⲡⲉ) (is) a man (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ), be it that (ⲕⲁⲛ) it (ⲧⲉ) (is) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Sh. IV 154:12)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence

(4) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) it (ⲡⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ) (already) his (Pachôm's) third (day) (ⲡⲉⲧ-ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ) that he had not eaten (ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).
☐ situational sentence ☐ characterisational sentence

5.3 Tripartite nominal sentences

A. Fill in the correct form of the agreement clitic in the following tripartite nominal sentences.

(1) ⲛⲧⲟⲕ __ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ 'you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) the lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) of heaven (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Eud. 46:12)

(2) ⲧⲁⲓ __ ⲧⲯⲟⲣⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'this (ⲧⲁⲓ) (is) the first (ⲧ-ⲯⲟⲣⲡⲉ) the night (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲯⲏ) that I joined (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ) your saints (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)' (KHML II 30:4-5)

(3) ⲡⲱⲕ __ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲡⲱⲕ __ ⲡϩⲁⲧ ⲧⲱⲕ __ ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'yours (ⲡⲱ-ⲕ) (is) the gold (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ), yours (ⲡⲱ-ⲕ) (is) the silver (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲧ), yours (ⲧⲱ-ⲕ) (is) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) world (ⲧ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ) and (ⲙⲛ) what (is) in it (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲥ)' (Sh. III 90:19-20)

(4) ⲛⲓⲙ __ ⲛⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ __ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the goats (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the sheep (ⲛ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14)

(5) ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲟϥ __ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ 'since (ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ) he (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) (is) the greatest (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩ) of them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) being (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) head (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲉ) over them (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ-) a king (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲣⲟ)' (Abbatôn 235:14-16)

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

(1) ⲙⲉⲯⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ 'perhaps (ⲙⲉⲯⲁⲕ) this (ⲡⲁⲓ) (is) a tomb (ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ) belonging to (ⲛ-) the body (ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) of (ⲙ-) a prophet (ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ)' (Eud. 74:19-20)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ assertoric sentence

(2) ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲏⲣⲡ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{χc}}$ (...) 'what (ⲟⲩ) (is) wine (ⲏⲣⲡ), what (ⲟⲩ) (is) food (ⲥⲓⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ), what (ⲟⲩ) (is) any (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) comfort (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲧⲛⲉⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) this world (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) before (ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ) the grace (ⲧⲉ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ) of Christ (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{χc}}$)?' (KMHL II 35:16-17) (a rhetorical question!)
☐ ascriptive sentence ☐ characterisational sentences

(3) ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'the son (ⲡ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (is) a (mortal) creature (ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ)' (Sh. contra Or 310)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence

(4) ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am) your daughter (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ) Hilaria' (Hil. 11:28-29).
☐ specificational sentence ☐ identity statement

C. Translate the following bi- and tripartite nominal sentences.

(1) ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (KHML I 46:22-23)

(2) ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ (KHML I 81:10-11)

(3) ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲱⲉⲗⲗⲉⲉⲧ (read ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ) ⲙⲡⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ (KHML I 81:17)

D. Translate the following dialogue fragment. (Q stands for question and A for answer):

THE INTERROGATION OF SAINT APA NAHROU

Q: ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲃⲟⲗ [read ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲧⲱⲛ

A: ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ

Q: ϩⲛ ⲁⲱ ⲛⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ[a] ⲏ ϩⲛ ⲁⲱ ⲛ†ⲙⲉ

A: ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ[b] ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲟⲱ ⲡⲓⲟⲙ[c]

Q: ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ

A: ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ

Q: ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁϥⲉⲛⲧⲕ[d] ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ

A: $\overline{\text{ⲓc}}$ ⲁϥⲉⲛⲧ[e] ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ (KHML II 3:2)

NOTES: a. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'city, town' b. ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ (toponym), c. ⲡⲓⲟⲙ (toponym) 'Fayyûm', d. ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲕ 'he has brought you', e. ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲛⲧ 'he has brought me'

Unit 6

Verbal morphology

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

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

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

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

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

Section 6.4 deals with the formation of complex predicates. Such complex predicates can be decomposed into a verb and another verbal or nominal element, which together function as a single verbal predicate, e.g. ⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ 'to become (ⲣ) king (ⲣⲣⲟ)' or ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ 'to work' (lit. to make (ⲣ) thing (ϩⲱⲃ)). Another topic of this section is analytical causative construction, which contains two verbs, namely the causative verb ⲧⲣⲉ- and the subordinated lexical verb, e.g. ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ 'to let them (ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-) bring (ⲉⲓⲛⲉ)'.

6.1 Root and pattern morphology

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

(i) The root morpheme, which consists of a string of consonants and represents the basic lexical unit (section 6.1.1)

(ii) The vowel melody, which has a syntactic as well as a semantic role (sections 6.1.2)

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

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

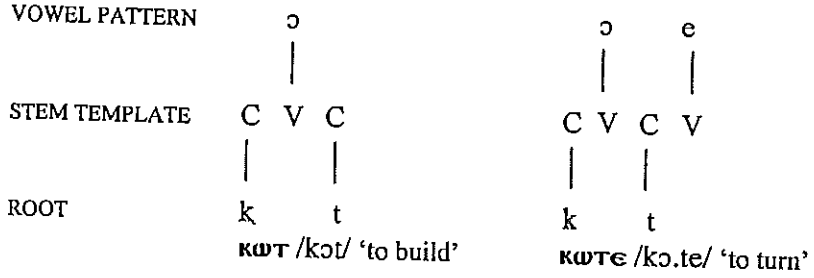

FIGURE 6.1 The three morphological components of verb stems

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

6.1.1 The consonantal root

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

VERB	GLOSS	NOUN	GLOSS
ⲙⲓⲥⲉ	to give birth	ⲙⲏⲥⲉ	usury
ⲙⲟⲥⲉ	to be newly delivered	ⲙⲉⲥⲓⲱ	midwife, nurse
(ⲧ)ⲙⲉⲥⲓⲟ	to bring to birth	ⲙⲁⲥⲉ	calf, young bull
		ⲙⲁⲥ	young (child, animal)

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

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

6.1.2 Stem patterns

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

STEM PATTERN	VERB FORM	DIACRITIC
absolute state (ABS. ST.)	ⲙⲓⲥⲉ	no diacritic
nominal state (NOM. ST.)	ⲙⲉⲥ-	with hyphen
pronominal state (PRON. ST.)	ⲙⲉⲥⲧ=	with equation mark
stative (STAT.) ("qualitative")	ⲙⲟⲥⲉ†	with raised dagger

TABLE 6.2 Coptic stem pattern and their diacritics

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

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

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

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

STEM PATTERN	*SEMANTIC DIMENSION*	*SYNTACTIC DIMENSION*	
ABS. ST. ⲛⲓⲥⲉ	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS	ⲁ ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲥϫⲓⲙⲉ 'the she-camel (ⲧ-ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ) *delivered* (ⲁ ... ⲛⲓⲥⲉ) a daughter (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲥϫⲓⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:33-34)
NOM. ST. ⲙⲉⲥ-	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	ADJACENCY OF THE VERB AND THE DIRECT OBJECT NOUN	ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥ ⲡⲱⲣϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'she (ⲧⲁⲓ) who *had borne* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲙⲉⲥ) the male child (ⲱⲣ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ)' (Apoc. 12:13)
PRON. ST. ⲙⲉⲥⲧ=	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	CLITICIZATION OF THE DIRECT OBJECT PRONOUN	ⲡⲱ[ⲟⲣⲡ] ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲛⲁⲙ[ⲉⲥⲧⲟ] 'the first (child) (ⲡ-ⲱⲟⲣⲡ) that *she is going to deliver* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲉⲥⲧ-ⲟ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:25-26)
STAT. ⲙⲟⲥⲉ†	STATE [- CHANGE OF STATE]	INTRANSITIVE (OBJECTLESS)	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛϫⲁϫ ⲙⲟⲥⲉ ⲛϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'while the sparrows (ⲛ-ϫⲁϫ) *are bred* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲥⲉ) inside them (the cedars) (ⲛϩⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ)' (Psalm 103:17)

TABLE 6.3 Semantic and syntactic aspects of Coptic stem patterns

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

6.1.3 Root and stem extensions

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

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

a) Reduplicative verb extensions

The Coptic lexicon comprises a considerable number of reduplicated and geminated verbs, which are morphologically derived by the full or partial copying of the consonantal root, e.g. ⲱⲟⲣⲱⲣ /ʃɔr.ʃər/ 'to destroy, overturn' (< /ʃ-r/), ϩⲙⲟⲙ /hmom/ 'to be hot' (< /h-m/). In the vast majority of cases, the original intensive or repetitive meaning of such reduplicated verb forms in Pre-Coptic Egyptian has been lost beyond recognition in Coptic Egyptian. For this reason, simplex verbs and their reduplicants are by and large synonymous. Thus, compare: ⲟⲩⲱⲧ /wɔt/ 'to be fresh, green' vs. ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩⲉⲧ /wɔt.wət/ 'to be green, pallid' (< /wt/), ϩⲱⲥ /hɔtˢ/ 'to be in straits' vs. ϩⲱⲥϩⲥ /hɔtˢ.hətˢ/ 'to be distressed, restricted' (< /h-tˢ/), ⲕⲉϩ- /keh/ 'to make level, smoothe' vs. ⲕⲁϩⲕϩ /kah.kəh/ 'to hew out, smoothe' (< /k-h/).

Full morpheme reduplication interacts in interesting ways with syllable structure and stress placement. The stem template of such reduplicated verbs is composed of two identical syllable positions $C_1V_1C_2.C_1V_1C_2$. Yet, the characteristic stem vowel is only retained in the stressed syllable, while the nucleus position of the unstressed syllable contains a reduced vowel or schwa /ə/: *abs. st.* ⲱⲟⲣⲱⲣ /ʃɔr.ʃər/, *nom. st.* ⲱⲣⲱⲣ- /ʃər.ʃər/, *pron. st.* ⲱⲣⲱⲱⲣ= /ʃər.ʃɔ.rə/, *stat.* ⲱⲣⲱⲱⲣ† /ʃər.ʃɔr/.

Gemination involves the copying of the final root consonant. Very often, geminated verbs are degeminated in the stative. Thus, consider: *abs. st.* ϩⲙⲟⲙ /hmom/ 'to be hot' vs. *stat.* ϩⲏⲙ† /hɛm/, *abs. st.* ϭⲛⲟⲛ /kʸnon/ 'to be soft, weak' vs. *stat.* ϭⲏⲛ† /kʸɛn/, *abs. st.* ⲕⲙⲟⲙ /kmɔm/ 'to be black' vs. *stat.* ⲕⲏⲙ† /kɛm/, *abs. st.* ⲧⲣⲣⲉ /tər.re/ 'to be afraid' vs. *stat.* ⲧⲣⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩ† /treyɔw/.

b) Lexical causatives

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

that performs the event in question, e.g. ⲛⲟⲧⲙⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'and *he shall nourish* (ⲛ-ⲟ-ⲧⲙⲉ) a poor one (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲏⲕⲉ) with bread (ⲛ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

Analytic causatives are biclausal structures with two verbal predicates, one designating the causing event and the other the caused even (see below, section 6.4.3). Lexical causatives, by contrast, function as single verbs that appear in mono-clausal structures. They are formed with the causative prefixes ⲧ- and ⲥ-, which can be combined with transitive and intransitive verbs. Such lexically derived causatives have one argument more than the base verb from which they are derived, e.g. ⲧⲙⲙⲟ 'to feed, nourish' (< ⲧ + ⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'to eat'), ⲧⲁϩⲟ 'to make stand, set up' (< ⲱϩⲉ 'to stand'), ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ 'to make wise, teach' (< ⲥⲁⲃⲉ 'to be wise'), ⲧⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ 'to make beautiful' (< ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲉ 'to be beautiful'), ⲧⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ 'to save' (< ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ 'to be safe, sound'), ϫⲡⲟ 'to beget, bring forth' (< ⲧ + ⲱⲡⲉ 'to become'), ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ 'to establish, set right' (< ⲙⲟⲩⲛ 'to stay, remain'), ⲥⲁⲁⲛⲱ 'to make live' (ⲱⲛϩ 'to live'), ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ 'to establish, set right' (< ⲙⲟⲩⲛ 'to stay, remain').

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

c) Epenthesized "weak" verbs

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

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

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

d) Verbs with underlying glottal stop

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

e) The so-called second infinitive

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

f) Remnant participles ("participium conjunctum")

Coptic has no productive participle formation. There are but a handful of remnant participles, which are distinguished morphologically from the base verb by an /a i/ or /a/ vowel pattern. Remnant participles are restricted to nominal compounds (see above, section 3.1.2 of Unit 3). Particularly common participles are ⲙⲁⲓ /maj̯/ 'loving' (< ⲙⲉ 'to love'), e.g. ⲡⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲏⲛⲱⲛ 'the God-loving (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1), ⲭⲁⲓ /faj̯/ (< ⲭⲓ 'to carry'), e.g. ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲭⲁⲓ-ⲱⲓⲛⲉ

'your messengers (lit. message-carriers)' (Camb. 5:17), ϫⲁⲥⲓ 'raising' (< ϫⲓⲥⲉ 'to raise'), e.g. ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧϫⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ 'with (ϩⲛ) great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) arrogance (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϫⲁⲥⲓ-ϩⲏⲧ lit. high-hearted)' (Eud. 36:17), ⲙⲁⲛ /man/ 'pasturing' (< ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ 'to pasture'), e.g. ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲛ-ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ 'a camel herd' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3). Passive participles were almost entirely lost as inflectional categories of the verb, the main survivor being the stative-adjectival participle ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ (sg:masc), ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ (pl.) 'beloved' (< ⲙⲉ 'to love'), e.g. ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 'Jacob, your beloved (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ) son (ⲛ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ)' (Test. Is. 229:14).

g) Copto-Greek verbs

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

6.1.4 Morphological classes of simple and derived verbs

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

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
1 lit. vbs. [C1 V1], [V1 C1]	ϫⲓ	ϫⲓ-	ϫⲓⲧ=	ϫⲏⲩ†	take
	ⲱⲡ	ⲉⲡ-	ⲟⲡ=	ⲏⲡ†	count
strong 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2], [s C2 V1]	ⲕⲱⲧ	ⲕⲉⲧ-	ⲕⲟⲧ=	ⲕⲏⲧ†	build
	ⲥϩⲁⲓ	ⲥⲉϩ-	ⲥⲁϩⲧ= ⲥϩⲁⲓⲧ=	ⲥⲏϩ†	write
weak 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1. C2 e]	ⲙⲓⲥⲉ	ⲙⲉⲥ- ⲙⲉⲥⲧ-	ⲙⲁⲥⲧ= ⲙⲉⲥⲧ=	ⲙⲟⲥⲉ†	deliver
	ⲣⲓⲕⲉ	ⲣⲉⲕⲧ-	ⲣⲉⲕⲧ=	ⲣⲟⲕⲉ† ⲣⲁⲕⲉ†	bend, turn

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLO
	ⲡⲱⲟⲉ		ⲡⲟⲟ= ⲡⲟⲣ=	ⲡⲟⲣⲉ†	break
strong 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1.C2 ə C3]	ϩⲱⲧⲃ	ϩⲉⲧⲃ-	ϩⲟⲧⲃ=	ϩⲟⲧⲃ†	kill
	ⲣⲱϩⲧ	ⲣⲉϩⲧ-	ⲣⲁϩⲧ=	ⲣⲁϩⲧ†	strike
	ⲙⲟⲩⲕϩ	ⲙⲉⲕϩ-	ⲙⲟⲕϩ=	ⲙⲟⲕϩ†	afflict
	ϩⲗⲟⲟ			ϩⲗⲟⲟ†	be sweet
weak 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2 C3 e]	ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ	ⲛϩⲉⲧ-		ⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ†	thrust
	ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ	ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉ-	ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱ=		hate
	ⲥⲃⲧⲉ	ⲥⲃⲧⲉ-	ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ=	ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ†	prepare
glottal stop vbs. [C1 V1ʔ V1. C2] [C1 V1ʔ V1. C2 e]	ϫⲱ	ϫⲉ-	ϫⲟⲟ=		say
	ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ	ⲡⲉⲉⲛⲉ-	ⲡⲟⲟⲛⲉ=	ⲡⲟⲟⲛⲉ†	turn
	ⲯⲱⲱⲧ	ⲯ(ⲉ)ⲧ-	ⲯⲁⲁⲧ=	ⲯⲁⲁⲧ†	slay
redupl. vbs. [C1 V1 C2. C1 C2] [C1 C2 V1 C2]	ⲯⲟⲣⲯⲣ	ⲯⲣⲯⲣ-	ⲯⲣⲯⲱⲣ=	ⲯⲣⲯⲱⲣ†	destroy
	ϩⲙⲟⲙ			ϩⲙⲙ†	be hot
lexical causatives [ⲧ-prefix + stem] [ⲥ-prefix + stem]	ⲧⲁϩⲟ	ⲧⲁϩⲉ-	ⲧⲁϩⲟ=	ⲧⲁϩⲏⲩ†	set up
	ⲧⲙⲙⲟ	ⲧⲙ(ⲙ)ⲉ-	ⲧ(ⲙ)ⲙⲟ=	ⲧⲙⲙⲏⲩ†	nourish
	ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ	ⲥⲙⲛ-	ⲥⲙⲛⲧ=	ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ†	found
irregular vbs.	†	†-	ⲧⲁⲁ=	ⲧⲱ†	give
	ⲉⲓⲣⲉ	(ⲉ)ⲣ-	ⲁⲁ=	ⲟ†	make
	ⲉⲓⲛⲉ	(ⲉ)ⲛ-	(ⲉ)ⲛⲧ=		bring
	ⲙⲉ	ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-	ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ=		love
Greek vbs.	ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ				grant
	ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ				meet

TABLE 6.5 Morphological classes of verbs

6.2 The eventive-stative alternation

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

6.2.1 Situation aspect

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

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

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

Consider, for instance, *externally caused change of state verbs* such as **ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ** 'to prepare, make ready', which describe a change of state that is caused by some external source rather than by an internal development. The absolute state form **ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ** makes direct reference to some purposeful action or activity that leads to the desired change of state, e.g. **ⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲫⲡⲏ ⲛⲅⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲃⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ** (…) 'go (**ⲃⲱⲕ**) quickly (**ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲫⲡⲏ**) *and make ready* (**ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ**) for her (**ⲛⲁ-ⲥ**) four (**ⲛ-ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ**) generals (**ⲛ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ**) and (**ⲙⲛ**) forty thousand (**ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ-ⲧⲃⲁ**) soldiers (**ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ**) (…)' (Eud. 62:4-5). The stative variant **ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ** 'to be ready, prepared', on the other hand, denotes the resultant state of that event, e.g. **ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲗⲗ ⲧⲛⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ** 'we (**ⲁⲛⲟⲛ**), your servants (**ⲛⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲗⲗ**), *are ready* (**ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ**) to go (**ⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ**) with her (**ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ**)' (Eud. 62:1).

6.2.2 Situation aspect in lexical classes of verbs

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

a) Verbs of creation

Transitive *verbs of creation* like **ⲕⲱⲧ** 'to build' and **ⲥϩⲁⲓ** 'to write' describe complex events consisting of a process and a result. The process component is encoded by the absolute or construct state, which both describe an activity or process through which something comes to exist, e.g. **ⲁⲓⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ** 'I *built* (**ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲕⲱⲧ**) for me (**ⲛⲁ-ⲓ**) a place (**ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ**) to live (**ⲛ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ**) (all) by myself (**ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ**)' (Onnophr. 207: 11-12), **ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉϥⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ** 'the Patriarch (**ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ**) Isaac *writes* (**ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ**) his will (**ⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ**)' (Test. Is. 228:4). The result component of creational verbs is indicated by the corresponding statives **ⲕⲏⲧ** 'to be built' and **ⲥϩϥ** 'to be written', which describe the existence of the newly created entity at some place, e.g. **ϩⲉⲛⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲧ** 'places (**ϩⲉⲛ-ⲙⲁ**) which *are* (in a) *built* (state) (**ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲏⲧ**)' (Pist. Soph. 132:11-12), **ϥⲥϩϥ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲏⲥⲁⲓⲁⲥ** 'because (**ⲅⲁⲣ**) *it is written* (**ϥ-ⲥϩϥ**) in (**ϩⲛ**) (the book) Jesaias' (Onnophr. 211:25).

b) Agentive verbs of spatial configuration

When combined with the absolute and construct state pattern, *agentive verbs of spatial configuration* like **ⲕⲱ** 'to place, set down', **ⲟⲩⲱϩ** 'to put, set' or **ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ** 'to throw, cast' have a dynamic "assume position" sense and describe a change in location of some entity or object through a volitional act of the subject referent, e.g. **ⲙⲉϣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲩⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲁϣ ⲙⲙⲁ** '(you) so-and-so (**ⲙⲉϣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ**), in (**ϩⲛ**) which (**ⲁϣ**) place (**ⲙ-ⲙⲁ**) *did you put* (**ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲕⲁ**) the property (**ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲏ**) of that man (**ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ**)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), **ⲁ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ [ⲉⲡⲉⲥ]ⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ** 'the people (**ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ**) of that (**ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ**) place (**ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ**) *let* (**ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ**) the body (**ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ**) of the blessed (**ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ**) Apa Mena down (**ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ**) from (**ϩⲙ**) the

camel (п-ϭамоγλ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟγⲭϥ ⲉⲑⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ '*and I throw it* (the corpse) (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛⲟγⲭ-ϥ) into the sea (ⲉ-ⲑⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:6-7). Stativised *agentive verbs of spatial configuration* have non-agentive simple position sense, describing the present location of the subject, e.g. ⲥⲉⲕⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲓ ϩⲁ ⲧⲟγⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲗⲟⲟ 'they (the properties) *lie* (ⲥⲉ-ⲕⲏ) in (ϩⲙ) my house (ⲡⲁ-ⲏⲓ) under (ϩⲁ) the foot (ⲧ-ⲟγⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ) of my bed (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲑⲗⲟⲟ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:28-29), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲯⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲟγⲛϩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁγ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) she (Hilaria) *remained* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲟγⲛϩ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁγ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) for three (ⲯⲟⲙⲧⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (...)' (Hil. 6:20-21), ⲛⲉϥⲛⲏϫ ⲡⲉ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'he (Pachôm) continued (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to lie down (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲏϫ) on (ϩⲓϫⲙ) the ground (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (V. Pach. 87:25).

c) Verbs of inherently directed motion

Motion verbs come in two varieties. On the one hand, there are verbs like ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'to walk' and ⲛⲏⲏⲃⲉ 'to swim', which specify a manner of motion but not a direction of motion. On the other hand, there are verbs like ⲃⲱⲕ 'to go' and ⲡⲱϩ 'to reach', which specify a direction but not a manner of motion. More precisely, ⲡⲱϩ has a progressive meaning and describes motion towards a particular goal, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟγⲡⲱϩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ (...) '*when they had reached* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟγ-ⲡⲱϩ) the tribunal (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ) (...)' (KHML I 83:22), while its antonym ⲟγⲉ describes motion away from some point of origin, e.g. ⲁγⲟγⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲟ̀ⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲧ ⲟγⲃⲏⲓ 'they who fought me (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲧ ⲟγⲃⲏ-ⲓ) *have withdrawn* (ⲁ-γ-ⲟγⲉ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)' (Pist. Soph. 154:19).

Verbs of inherently directed motion differ systematically from *verbs of manner of motion* in being compatible with both the absolute state and the stative stem pattern. However, stativised motion verbs lose their inherent dynamic meaning and function as positional verbs, e.g. ⲡⲥⲟⲟγⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲕ ⲧⲡⲏϩ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ (...) 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) the full (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲕ) knowledge (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲟγⲛ), *I have come* (to the point) (ⲧ-ⲡⲏϩ) to tell it (ⲉ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲕ) to you (ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ) (...)' (Pist. Soph. 220:14-15), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲛⲟγⲏγ ⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ 'we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ) *are* forty (ϩⲙⲉ) miles (ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ) *away* (ⲧⲛ-ⲟγⲏγ) from Egypt (ⲛ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 5:20-21). In present tense sentences, the selection of the stative is mandatory, e.g. ⲉⲣⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ 'where (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲛ) *are you* (woman) *going to* (ⲉ-ⲣ-ⲃⲏⲕ)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22).

d) Internally caused verbs of change of state

Internally caused verbs of change of state like ϩⲕⲟ 'to hunger', ⲉⲓⲃ 'to thirst' and ⲟγϫⲁⲓ 'to be safe' assume an inchoative meaning in the absolute state and describe the emergence of some mental or physical condition, e.g. ⲉγⲯⲁⲛϩⲕⲟ ⲉγⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲉγⲯⲁⲛⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲉγⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲙⲟⲟγ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲥⲱ 'if they (the hermits) *become hungry* (ⲉ-γ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ϩⲕⲟ), where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will they find (ⲉ-γ-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉ) food (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ), (or) if they *become thirsty* (ⲉ-γ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲃⲉ), where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will they find (ⲉ-γ-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉ) water (ⲉ-ⲙⲟⲟγ) to drink (ⲉ-ⲥⲱ)? (Onnophr. 211:12-14), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲏγ ⲛⲁⲟγϫⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ 'the generation (ⲛ-ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ) to come (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏγ) will *be saved* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲟγϫⲁⲓ) through (ϩⲙ) his body (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) and (ⲙⲛ) his blood (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥⲛⲟϥ)' (Test. Is. 231:16-17).

While the absolute state of *internally caused verbs of change of state* carries the implication that the relevant property changes over time, the corresponding statives ϩⲕⲁⲉⲓⲧ 'to be hungry', ⲟⲃⲉ 'to be thirsty' and ⲟγⲟϫ 'to be cured' describe the present state of the subject without anticipating a clearly defined endpoint, e.g. ⲧⲉϩⲕⲁⲉⲓⲧ ⲧⲉⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲟⲟγ 'you (woman) *hunger* (ⲧⲉ-ϩⲕⲁⲉⲓⲧ) (and) *thirst* (ⲧⲉ-ⲟⲃⲉ) for bread (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) and (ⲙⲛ) water' (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟγ)' (Sh. III 204:4), ⲧⲟγⲟϫ ⲉⲯⲱⲛⲉ '*I am cured* (ⲧ-ⲟγⲟϫ) of affliction (ⲉ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

e) Verbs of occurrence and existence

Verbs of occurrence like ⲯⲱⲡⲉ 'to happen, to become' and *existence* like ⲱⲛϩ 'to live' have an inherently locative meaning, with the term *locative* including spatial as well as temporal reference. In the absolute state, *verbs of occurrence and existence* describe the presence of the subject at some place as being temporally bound by a starting or an endpoint, which may be contextually implied, e.g. ⲛⲅⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ 'and *stay* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) in the presence (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of this criminal (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4), ⲁⲥⲱⲛϩ ϩⲛ ⲕⲉⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟγⲥ ⲉⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ (for ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) 'she (Hilaria) *lived* (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲱⲛϩ) for (ϩⲛ) another twelve (ⲕⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟγⲥ) years (ⲉⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Hil. 12:18). Stativised *verbs of existence and occurrence*, on the other hand, such as ⲯⲟⲟⲡ 'to exist, to be' and ⲟⲛϩ 'to be alive' have no such temporal boundary, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ

ϩⲛⲛⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲫⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲙⲙⲉ (...) 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ), behold (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲛⲧⲉ), *I am* (ⲧ-ⲫⲟⲟⲡ) with you (woman) (ⲛⲙⲙⲉ) (...)' (Eud. 52:13), ϥⲟⲛϩ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ 'as God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) Almighty (ⲡⲧ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ) lives (ϥ-ⲟⲛϩ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

Consider, finally, the *verb of disappearance* ⲙⲟⲩ 'to die', which makes explicit reference to the process of dying in the absolute state, e.g. ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ (read ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) 'you will surely die (lit. in (ϩⲛ) a dying (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) *you shall die* (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1). The resultant "dead" state is designated by the stative counterpart ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'to be deceased', e.g. ⲉⲥⲫⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲕⲟⲛϩ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲉⲕⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'but if she dies (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲫⲁⲛ-ⲙⲟⲩ) be it (that) (ⲉⲓⲧⲉ) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) *are alive* (ⲕ-ⲟⲛϩ) (or) be it (that) (ⲉⲓⲧⲉ) *you are deceased* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ)' (KRU no. 67:90, 213:9-10).

6.2.3 The present tense restriction of statives

Stative verb forms have a limited syntactic distribution and can only appear in present tense contexts, including the preterit as a present-in-the past, e.g. ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲱⲧ 'my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) *is*, (as far as) I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am concerned), my heart (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ) (so) *bold* (ⲛⲁⲱⲧ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲣⲏⲧ ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲧⲙⲩⲅⲏ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) big (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ) trees (ⲛ-ⲱⲏⲛ) *were growing* (ⲛⲉ ... ⲣⲏⲧ) near (ϩⲓϫⲛ) the well (ⲧ-ⲙⲩⲅⲏ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). To make sense of these limitations, we have to briefly consider the semantics of the present tense. Present tense sentences describe events that are in progress while the sentence is being uttered or present a situation as holding for all times. Under either interpretation, present tense reference does not include the endpoint of the event under consideration. The exclusion of such an endpoint is, however, a defining property of the stative that describes situations that do not change over time. Since only present tenses are associated with an unbound event reading, they are the only verbal tenses suitable for stative predicates.

A question remains with respect to the obligatory stativization of *verbs of inherently directed motion* in the present tense. Locating a motion event at the present moment comes down to pinpointing the current location of the subject. This locative meaning is expressed by the stative rather than the absolute state stem pattern, e.g. ⲉⲓⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲗⲏⲗ '*I am on my way* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to the

shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mêna to pray (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲫⲗⲏⲗ)' (Mena, M 27b:23-25). Sometimes, stativized *verbs of inherently directed motic* come close in meaning to the present perfect, describing th accomplishment of the motion event before the present moment, e. ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ 'where (ⲧⲱⲛ) *have you come* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲏⲩ) (from), m brother (ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲟⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). We come back to the interna temporal structure of present tense sentences in section 6.3.2.

6.3 Direct object syntax and case marking

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

6.3.1 The absolute state/construct state alternation

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

STEM PATTERN	EXPRESSION TYPE	VERBAL HEAD	DIRECT OBJECT
CONSTRUCT STATE	HEAD-MARKING	ⲟⲩⲙ eat	ⲛⲕⲁ something
ABSOLUTE STATE	DEPENDENT-MARKING	ⲟⲩⲱⲙ eat	ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲩ ⲛ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ their small (portions) of bread

FIGURE 6.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking morphology

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

6.3.1.1 Morpho-phonological behaviour

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

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

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

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

verb constructions vowel epenthesis applies to the absolute, but not th construct state forms of "weak" biliteral verbs, e.g. ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲉⲉⲣ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ 'to *deliver* (ⲙⲓⲥⲉ) a daughter (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Mena, Mi 10b:33-34) vs. ⲙⲉⲥ ⲡⲯⲣϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'to *deliver* (ⲙⲉⲥ-) the male chil (ⲯⲣ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ)' (Apoc. 12:13). Vowel epenthesis is not resorted to in th construct state, since the verb and the adjacent direct object form a prosodic constituent that is large enough. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the prepositional object does not supply the verb with extra prosodic weight. To conform to the bisyllabic minimality requirement on the size of the "weak" verbs, an epenthetic vowel ⲉ- must be added after the final root consonant.

6.3.1.2 Word order

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

a) Enclitic discourse markers

It is never possible for prosodically weak function words and particles to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the verb and the adjacent direct noun or pronoun in the construct state, e.g. ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲣ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) they behaved (lit. *they had taken* (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲣ) *the appearance* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲛⲟⲧ)) as if (ⲭⲉ) they were eating (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) drinking (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱ)' (KHML I 80:21-22). Such enclitics may, however, intervene between the verb and the prepositional object in the absolute state, e.g. ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲛⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲧϩⲙⲡⲏⲓ (...) 'if the (other) residents (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ-ⲡ-ⲏⲓ) *judge* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ) *him* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲩ) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17).

b) Clause-internal negation ⲁⲛ

Roughly the same distributional pattern obtains in negated sentences, in which the negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' comes after the direct object in the construct state, e.g. ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲛⲩⲣ ϩⲱⲃ ⲁⲛ 'and (ⲟⲩⲁⲉ) he does not work (lit. he *does not* (ⲁⲛ) *do* (ⲛ-ⲩ-ⲣ) *work* (ϩⲱⲃ))' (AP Chaîne no.153, 33:25-26), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲛⲁⲯⲉⲡ ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲱ (read ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲱⲛ) ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲥ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) *can I not* (ⲁⲛ) *accept* (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲉⲡ) *suffering* (ϩⲓⲥⲉ) without (ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲱⲛ) being angry (ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲥ)?' (V. Pach. 2:14). In

the corresponding absolute state, the negation marker ⲁⲛ is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲗⲱ (for ⲛⲉⲓⲗⲱ) ⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲁⲓ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓ (for ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ) ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲯⲟⲩⲯⲟ (for ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲯⲟⲩⲯⲟ) 'I do *not* (ⲁⲛ) *say* (ⲛ-ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲭⲱ) *these* (words) (ⲛ-ⲛⲁⲓ) in (ϩⲛ) an arrogant (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲭⲁⲥⲓ-ϩⲏⲧ) and (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) an self-satisfied manner (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲯⲟⲩⲯⲟ)' (V. Pach. 89:2-3)

c) Verb-particle combinations

A related set of placement rules applies to the absolute state and construct state form of verb-particle combinations like ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'to complete' and ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'to bring out, remove'. In the absolute state, the particle is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓϩⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ 'until you (woman) *finish* (ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *everything* (ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) that I ordered (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ϩⲱⲛ) to you (ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 52:13-14), but follows the verb-direct object complex in the construct state, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'no one (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) shall *remove* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *a thorn* (ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ) from anybody's (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) foot (ⲛ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ)' (praec. Pach. 96).

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

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

CONSTRUCT STATE	DIRECT OBJECT	FUNCTION WORD/ PARTICLE
ⲯⲉⲡ- receive ⲛ- bring	ϩⲓⲥⲉ suffering ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ thorn	ⲁⲛ not ⲉⲃⲟⲗ out

ABSOLUTE STATE	FUNCTION WORD/ PARTICLE	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ know ⲭⲱⲕ finish	ⲁⲛ not ⲉⲃⲟⲗ up	ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ man ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ everything

FIGURE 6.3 Particle placement

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

6.3.1.3 Direct object selection

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

a) Verbs of perception

A particularly clear case for lexically governed selectional restrictions are *verbs of perception* that select prepositional objects with ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲟ=. The prepositional object has no directional meaning and simply designates the perceived individual, object, or location. The perception verb itself uniformedly appears in the absolute state, e.g. ⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲓⲯⲱⲛⲉ '*you find* (ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *me* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) sick (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲩⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ '*I say* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) the dwelling (ⲛ-ⲩⲱⲧⲛⲉ) *places* (ⲉ-ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) of all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) souls

(ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲥ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲫϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲫⲃⲏⲕ ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲱ (...) 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is) the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who *will watch* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱϣⲧ) *his son* (ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲫ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) going (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to drown (ⲛ-ⲉⲙⲧⲱ) (...)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ϩⲉⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ '*I heard* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) *a crowd* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ) crying out (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) (and) weeping (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲉⲛ) another place (ⲕⲉ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139).

b) Light verb constructions

Coptic makes productive use of so-called light verb constructions like ⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ 'to fear' (lit. to make (ⲣ-) fear (ϩⲟⲧⲉ)). Light verbs generally occur in the construct state with a "bare" noun complement, e.g. ⲛⲉⲥⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲃⲩⲥⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲛ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) she (Hilaria) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲣ) *afraid* (ϩⲟⲧⲉ) to go (ⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to the monasteries (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) of Byzantium (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲃⲩⲥⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲛ)' (Hil. 2:12-13), ⲁⲧϯ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'he (Constantine) kissed (lit. *give* (ϯ) *kiss* (ⲡⲓ)) them (the Persians) (lit. on their mouth (ⲉ-ⲣⲱ-ⲟⲩ))' (Eud. 48:15). If, on the other hand, the nominal complement is an indefinite noun phrase, the absolute state becomes available as a marked alternative, e.g. ⲡⲁⲏⲛ ⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'rather (ⲡⲁⲏⲛ), bid (ⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ (lit. to place (ⲟⲩⲉϩ) an order (ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ)) me (ⲛⲁⲓ) *to make* (ⲧⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *a mockery* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲃⲉ) before you (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙⲧⲟ) in (ϩⲛ) the midst (ⲧ-ⲙⲏⲏⲧⲉ) of this entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) crowd (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ)' (Ac. Isidor. 131:2-3). We return to light verb constructions in section 6.4 below.

c) Negative contexts

In the context of negation, there is a clear statistical preference for combining indefinite pronouns with construct state marked verbs, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲝⲓ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲙⲛⲏⲉⲓ 'no one (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *shall take* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲝⲓ) *any* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) property (ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ) (away) from (ⲛⲧⲛ) anybody (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) without (ⲁϫⲙ) his steward (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏⲉⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 106), ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϣⲃ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) also (ⲟⲛ) *shall* nobody (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *shave* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ϣⲃ) *anybody* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) sitting (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 97). The encoding of indefinite pronouns as prepositional objects and the concomitant

selection of the absolute state is only marginally attested, e.g. ⲛϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '*I do not* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) *anybody* (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) this city (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Hil. 4:23).

d) *Wh*-in-situ objects

When the *wh*-interrogative phrase ⲟⲩ 'what' remains *in-situ* in the direct object position, the selection of the construct state seems to be mandatory, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *what* (ⲟⲩ) *did you usually eat* (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲛ)?' (Onnophr. 206:34-207:1), ⲁⲕⲣ ⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲟϣ '*what* (ⲟⲩ) *have you been doing* (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣ) in (ϩⲛ) these districts (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲧⲟϣ)?' (KHML II 31:26).

e) Object-drop constructions

The object of transitive verbs may sometimes be left unexpressed, the result being an object-drop construction. Despite its lack of phonetic content, the omitted object pronoun (indicated as '__' in the Coptic examples) is semantically interpreted as a free-choice pronoun. Due to the absence of an overt pronoun, the verb of such object-drop constructions always occurs in the absolute state, e.g. ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁϯ __ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ 'Our Lord (ⲡⲉⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) will (ⲛⲁ) give (ϯ) (no matter what) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) your desire (ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (V. Pach. 136:11-12), ϯⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ __ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲁϫⲉ 'I shall do (ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) (anything) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) your word (ⲡⲉⲕ-ϣⲁϫⲉ)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), or as a discourse anaphor, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. ϯⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ __ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'I believe (it) (ϯ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ), (oh) Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Eud. 52:3-4), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ __ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ (...) 'after the great (ⲡ-ⲛⲟϭ) king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine had heard (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) (it) (...)' (Eud. 44:25).

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

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

TABLE 6.6 Direct object selection

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

6.3.2 The aspectual underpinning of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule

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

THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE
Present tense sentences are incompatible with the construct state pattern.

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

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
FUTURE TENSE ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ 'the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *will* (ⲛⲁ) *examine* (ⲭⲛⲉ) *the righteous* (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) the criminal (ⲡ-ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ)' (Psalm 10:5)	PRESENT TENSE ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲟⲩϩⲉ ϩⲛⲟ ⲛⲛⲱⲩⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'his (God's) eyelids (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲃⲟⲩϩⲉ) *examine* (ϩⲛⲟ) *the sons* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲩⲣⲉ) of men (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Psalm 10:4)

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
PERFECT TENSE ⲁⲓϫⲓ ⲧⲉⲩⲫⲩϫⲏ '*I took* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϫⲓ) *his* (Elias') *soul* (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲫⲩϫⲏ)' (Pist. Soph. 12:18)	PRESENT TENSE †ϫⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛⲃⲩⲕⲏ (for ⲃⲉⲕⲉ) ⲛϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁ '*I receive* (†-ϫⲓ) *many* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲏⲣ) wages (ⲛ-ⲃⲩⲕⲏ) of grievance (ⲛ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) in return (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲛⲁ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:10-11)
PERFECT TENSE ⲁⲥⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲱⲥ 'she (the Pistis Sophia) *left* (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲕⲁ) *her position* (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) behind (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ)' (Pist. Soph. 75:10)	PRETERIT (PRESENT-IN-THE-PAST) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϥⲕⲱ ⲛϥⲱϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (the senior monk) *kept* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲕⲱ) *his mouth* (ⲛ-ϥⲱ-ϥ) (shut) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) the time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:30)

TABLE 6.7 The Stern-Jernstedt Rule

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

THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE (revised version)
Present tense sentences are incompatible with accusative case marking on referential direct objects.

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

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

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

a) Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions are tolerated in present tense sentences, since the nominal complement acts as the semantic predicate, designating the event or state under consideration, e.g. ⲉⲕⲫⲓ ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲛ 'and *take* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲫⲓ) *care* (ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ) of us (ϩⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ)' (Hil. 9:30-31), ⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ 'and they remember (lit. *they make* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ) *the thought* (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) the miracles (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲟⲟⲙ) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ), which he had done (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ⲩ) for (ⲙⲛ) King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine' (Eud. 44:3-4).

b) Event-related direct object questions

In direct object questions like ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣ ⲟⲩ '*what* (ⲟⲩ) *is* ((ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲣ) the city (Alexandria) (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (like)?' (AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6-7), the interrogative pronoun ⲟⲩ 'what' has an event-related reading. This generally shows that the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule apply only to transitive verb constructions with *referential* (i.e. entity-denoting) direct objects, since only such referential objects measure out some event in time.

6.3.3 Functional equivalents of the passive

Coptic is a language without a morphological passive. Yet, there are several sentence constructions displaying the semantic characteristics of passive voice, in particular, the patienthood of the subject and the implicitness of the agent argument. The most important functional equivalents of the English passive construction are the following:

a) Impersonal active sentences

Impersonal active sentences have as their subject a third person plural pronoun that has no concrete referent in the previous discourse, but rather indicates an indeterminate [+human] agent, e.g. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '*she will be called* (lit. *they* will call (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) her (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ)) "woman" (ⲧⲉ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Abbatôn 236:12-13), ⲙⲉⲩⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲉⲱ ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) nobody *would be blamed* (lit. *they* would not blame (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ) anybody (ⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ)), because (ⲭⲉ) he was not able (ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲱ) to observe (ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) sun (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲏ)' (Zen. 200:26-27).

The identity of the implicit agent is often recoverable from the previous context or from world knowledge, e.g. ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲟϣⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲟϣⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓⲉ 'no (ⲙⲡⲱⲣ), my son (ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ)! For (ⲅⲁⲣ) *you have not been destined* (lit. *they* have not destined you (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲟϣ-ⲕ) for this service (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) has destined you (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲟϣ-ⲕ) as a comfort (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁ) for the holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) brothers (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) who live (ⲉⲧ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1), ⲕⲁⲛ ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲛ<ϩⲉⲛ>ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϣⲧ 'either (ⲕⲁⲛ) today (ⲡⲟⲟⲩ) or (ⲕⲁⲛ) tomorrow (ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ) we may die (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *we will be punished* (lit. *they* will punish (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲉ) us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ)) by (ϩⲛ) hard (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁϣⲧ) torments (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ)' (Onnophr. 208:1-3).

The impersonal active construction can be expanded by an overt agent expression, which takes the form of an instrumental adjunct phrase. In this construction, the third person plural pronoun serves as a purely grammatical filler of the subject position without independent reference, e.g. ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲯⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ (read ⲛⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ) ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲡⲡⲥ ⲯⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲑⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ (for ⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) 'or (ⲕⲁⲛ) whether (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) she (Hilaria) *had been enslaved* (lit. *they* had enslaved (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ) her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)) by (ⲯⲓⲧⲛ) the barbarians (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ) or (ⲕⲁⲛ) whether (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) she had been carried away (lit. *they* had carried her away (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲡⲡ-ⲥ)) by (ⲯⲓⲧⲛ) wild animals (ⲛⲉ-ⲑⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ)' (Hil. 7:31-32), ϣⲁⲩⲧ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ ⲯⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲩ '(if we are weak), *we are helped* (lit. *they* give (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧ) our hands (ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲛ)) by (ⲯⲓⲧⲛ) our brothers (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)' (Onnophr. 211:7), ⲉⲩⲛⲁϫⲡⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ '*he* (Jesus) *will be born* (lit. *they* will bear him (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲡⲟ-ϥ)) by (ϩⲛ) a holy (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) virgin (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) who is called (lit. *they* call (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) her (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) by name (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) *Maria*' (Test. Is. 231:8-9).

b) Passively interpreted statives

Transitive-based statives in Coptic come close in meaning to adjectival passives in English (e.g. *the pillow remained stuffed*). The subject of such statives is semantically interpreted as the holder of some state or condition, while there is no implication of an agent, e.g. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉϩⲟⲃⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ 'not (ⲁⲛ) because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ) they (i.e. the ascetic achievements of Apa Zenobius) *are hidden* (ⲥⲉ-ϩⲟⲃⲥ) (away) from you (ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ) until (ϩⲁⲑⲏ) today (ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ)' (Zen. 199:9-10), ⲁⲩⲱ ϥⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the good (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) plant (ⲡ-ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) *is blessed* (ϥ-ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), ⲥⲉⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲛ '*they are cursed* (ⲥⲉ-ϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲉⲧ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *they are* not (ⲁⲛ) *cursed* (ⲥⲉ-ϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲉⲧ)' (Sh. III 154:3).

c) The "passive" light verb ⲭⲓ

The light verb ⲭⲓ 'to receive, get' may be used as a passive auxiliary, since the subject designates the affectee or beneficiary of the activity referred to by the nominal complement, e.g. ⲉϥⲉⲭⲉⲓ (for ⲉϥⲉⲭⲓ) ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲛⲟⲛ (for ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ) 'he (the disobedient monk) *shall be reprimanded* (lit. he shall receive (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲭⲉⲓ) reprimand (ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ)) in accordance with (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) their rules (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲛ)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 17), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of our Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅) *was glorified* (lit. ⲭⲓ (receive) ⲉⲟⲟⲩ (glory))' (Eud. 40:27-28). Comparable to the impersonal active construction, ⲭⲓ-passives may be construed with an instrumental agent phrase, e.g. ⲁⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲕⲱⲧ (read ⲛⲛⲕⲱⲧ) ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ) 'I *was taught* (lit. I received (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲭⲓ) teaching (ⲥⲃⲱ)) the precepts (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲕⲱⲧ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) by (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) great (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) perfect ones (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ)' (Onnophr. 210:27-29).

6.3.4 Classes of intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs seem to constitute a homogenous class of verbal predicates with a single argument. The uneven distribution of intransitive verbs among the four basic stem patterns provides *prima facie* evidence for a subdivision into three classes of intransitives: so-called unergative, unaccusative, and variable behaviour verbs.

a) Unergative verbs

In the unergative class of intransitive verbs, the sole argument is semantically interpreted as the agent of the verbal action. Typical unergative verbs are *verbs of sound emission* (e.g. ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ 'to murmur', ⲣⲓⲙⲉ 'to cry', ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲥ 'to whisper'), *verbs of bodily activity or expression*, (e.g. ⲣⲁⲯⲉ 'to rejoice', (ⲉ)ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ 'to sleep'), and *verbs of manner of motion* (e.g. ⲛⲏⲏⲃⲉ 'to swim', ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'to walk', ϭⲟⲥϭ(ⲉ)ⲥ 'to dance'). Unergative verbs are restricted to the absolute state.

b) Unaccusative verbs

The single argument of unaccusative verbs has a non-agentive interpretation. Moreover, the unaccusative subject displays some morpho-syntactic properties of the direct object, in that it appears in the complement position of a construct state marked verb. Thus, the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' and ⲙⲛ '(there) is not' that introduce existential-locative sentences with indefinite subjects, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ <ⲟⲩ>ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) ⲙⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ '(to see whether) (there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) a fellow (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) monk (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ) further on (ⲙⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ)' (Onnophr. 205:12).

Adjectival verbs with the lexical formative ⲛⲁ-/ⲛⲉ- mindicate permanent properties, such as size, amount or quality: ⲛⲁⲁ-, ⲛⲁⲁ= 'to be great', ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-, ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ= 'to be good, fair', ⲛⲁⲯⲉ-, ⲛⲁⲯⲱ= 'to be numerous', ⲛⲉⲥⲉ-, ⲛⲉⲥⲱ= 'to be beautiful'. Like statives, adjectival verbs can only appear in present tense sentences, e.g. ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟϥ 'the word (ⲡ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) that you have spoken (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ϥ) *is good* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ)' (Hil. 4:35). (A more detailed analysis of head-initial sentences with existential and adjectival verbs will be offered in section 10.2 of Unit 10).

c) Variable behaviour verbs

Coptic has an extensive class of variable behaviour verbs, so called because they are compatible with either the absolute state or the stative. In the absolute state, they behave semantically as unergative verbs with agentive subjects. In the corresponding stative, variable

behaviour verbs behave more like unaccusatives, because the subject receives a non-agentive interpretation as the holder of some state or condition. Typical variable behaviour verbs are *verbs of smell emission* (e.g. ⲕⲛⲟ(ⲟ)ⲥ, ⲕⲟⲛⲥ† 'to stink, to rot'), *verbs of light emission* (e.g. ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉ, ⲡⲣⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩ†, ⲡⲟⲣⲉ† 'to shine'), *verbs of inherently directed motion* (e.g. ⲃⲱⲕ, ⲃⲏⲕ† 'to go', ⲡⲱϩ, ⲡⲏϩ† 'to reach'), *internally caused verbs of change of state* (e.g. ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ, ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ† 'to become white', ⲉⲓⲃⲉ, ⲟⲃⲉ† 'to get thirsty'), and *verbs of existence, occurrence and (dis)appearance* (e.g. ⲱⲛϩ, ⲟⲛϩ† 'to live', ϣⲱⲡⲉ, ϣⲟⲟⲡ† 'to happen, occur', ⲙⲟⲩ, ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ† 'to die'). Table 6.7 presents an overview of the distributional behaviour of different classes of intransitive verbs:

LEXICAL CLASS	ABS. ST.	CONST. ST.	STAT.
UNERGATIVE VERBS			
Verbs of manner of motion, e.g. ϭⲟⲥϭ(ⲉ)ⲥ 'to dance'	+	–	–
Verbs of sound emission, e.g. ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ 'to murmur'	+	–	–
UNACCUSATIVE VERBS			
Adjectival verbs, e.g. ⲛⲉⲥⲉ-, ⲛⲉⲥⲱ= 'to be beautiful'	–	+	–
Copular verbs, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ- '(there) is', ⲙⲛ '(there) is not'	–	+	–
VARIABLE BEHAVIOUR VERBS			
Verbs of inherently directed motion, e.g. ⲃⲱⲕ, ⲃⲏⲕ† 'to go'	+	–	+
Verbs of existence and appearance, e.g. ϣⲱⲡⲉ, ϣⲟⲟⲡ† 'to happen, occur'	+	–	+
Verbs of change of state, e.g. ⲉⲓⲃⲉ, ⲟⲃⲉ† 'to get thirsty'	+	–	+

TABLE 6.7 Classes of intransitive verbs

6.4 Complex predicates

Complex predicates are composed of more than one lexical or grammatical element (either morphemes or words) that function as a single predicative expression. This section takes a closer look at verb-noun and verb-verb compounds. Coptic has two types of verb-noun compounds, light verbs like ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ 'to work' and noun-incorporation constructions like ⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ 'to become king', which differ from each other both syntactically and semantically. Another topic of this section are analytical causatives, which have a clause-like structure, e.g. e.g. ⲁⲕⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '(since you have come to this city) you *made* (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲧⲣⲉ) the blind (ⲛ-ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) *see* (ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (KHML I 5:3-4) (section 6.3.3).

6.4.1 Light verb constructions

Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fullypecified lexical structure, while its nominal complement represents the semantic predicate. Coptic has several of such light verbs: ⲣ 'to do', ⲧ 'to give', ϥⲓ 'to carry', ϫⲓ 'to take' (with a passive interpretation), and ⲟⲛ 'to find'. They combine with an event or state describing nominal that is generally left undetermined, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲣ ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *was* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲣ) very (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) surprised (lit. *make* (ⲣ) *wonder* (ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ))' (Onnophr. 218:4), ϣⲁⲕⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲕ '*will you be* (ϣⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣ) afraid (lit. *make* (ⲣ) *fear* (ϩⲟⲧⲉ)), too (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 35, 7:7:5). This is, however, by no means a rule, since a number of light verb are construed with a definitely or possessively determined noun phrases, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϣⲟⲟⲡ 'they (the hermits) *do not* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ) even (ⲣⲱ) remember (lit. *make* (ⲣ) *the thought* (ⲡ-ⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) that (ϫⲉ) (there) is (ⲟⲩⲛ … ϣⲟⲟⲡ) a world (ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥ† ⲡⲉ[ϥ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ 'Andrew went forth (ⲁ-ϥ-†) (lit. *give* (†)) *his course* (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153), (with a quantificational expression) ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ † ϩⲁϩ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ 'is it good (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. *give* (†) much (ϩⲁϩ) *repentance* (ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ))?' (AP Chaîne no. 131, 30:1).

Since the verb and the event/state noun function as a single predicative expression semantically, the burden of determining the number of arguments in the clause and their case-marking properties is

not borne by the verb alone, but is shared by the noun. In the vast majority of cases, the direct object argument of the event/state nominal is syntactically encoded as a nominal or pronominal possessor, e.g. ⲧⲣ ϫⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲯⲁϩⲁ '*I am* (ⲧ-ⲣ) in need (lit. *make* (ⲣ) *need* (ϫⲣⲓⲁ)) of your prayers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ)' (Hil. 11:14-15), ⲉⲫⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'to *take* (ⲉ-ⲫⲓ) *care* (ⲡ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ) of my body (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ)' (Onnophr. 216:6), ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲫⲥ[ⲟ]ⲡⲥ ⲉϫⲱⲛ 'so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) he (Apa Mena) remembers (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲣ) us (lit. to *make* (ⲣ) *our remembrance* (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) and prays (ⲛ-ⲫ-ⲥⲟⲡⲥ) for us (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲛ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:11-14) (with reflexively used pronouns) ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲟⲙ ⲡⲉⲫⲯⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲱⲛ 'maybe (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) would (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ) visit him (lit. *pay* (ⲟⲙ-) *his visit* (ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲯⲓⲛⲉ)) on (ϩⲙ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of Sabbath (ⲙ-ⲡ- ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲱⲛ)' (V. Pach. 88:13-14).

Light verb constructions with the ditransitive verb ⲧ 'to give' are syntactically realised as double object constructions, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲓⲧ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧϩⲁⲣⲯϩⲙⲧ (for ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧϩⲁⲣⲯϩⲙⲧ) 'on the contrary (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ), I used to (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ⲓ-ⲧ) teach (lit. *give* (ⲧ) *teaching* (ⲥⲃⲱ)) him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) with (ϩⲛ) indulgence (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϩⲁⲣⲯ-ϩⲙⲧ)' (V. Pach. 89:25-26), ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲓⲧ ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), *I have* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲧ) troubled (lit. *give* (ⲧ) *trouble* (ϩⲓⲥⲉ) to) your holiness (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)' (Hil. 5:33).

6.4.2 Noun incorporation

Coptic has yet another type of verb-noun compounding with the light verb ⲣ, in the nominal complement is a referring expression, e.g. ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣ ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'he (ⲡⲁⲓ) of such nature (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ) will not (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ) master (lit. *make* (ⲉⲣ) *master* (ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)) any (ⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) passion (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ) ever (ⲉⲛⲉϩ)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9) ⲁⲫⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲫⲣ ⲕⲁϩ 'he (the corpse) dissolved (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) (and) *turned into* (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲣ) *dust* (ⲕⲁϩ)' (Onnophr. 206:2).

Noun incorporation structures of this kind have an inchoative meaning, describing the endpoint of some transformational process that changes the physical condition or social status of the subject. The light verb ⲣ- is semantically interpretated as an existential verb 'to become', e.g. ⲁⲫⲣ ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲫⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'he (Diocletian) *became* (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲣ) *blind* (ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) on both (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) his eyes (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲃⲁⲗ)' (Eud. 36:22-23), ⲁⲫⲉⲣ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲭⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ '*he* (Apa Mena) *became* (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲣ) *a martyr* (ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ) for (ⲉⲭⲙ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of our Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a: 12-14).

The incorporation of a time-indicating nominal gives rise to a more complex construction type, where the verb-noun sequence functions as an aspectual auxiliary of duration, while the following adjunct clause describes the event or activity that is temporally measured out, e.g. ⲁⲩⲣ ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ ϩⲗⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'they (Apa Theodor and Apa Lucianus) *spent* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲣ) *fifty* (ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) misleading (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ ϩⲗⲗ) their own (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) thought (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 36, 7:9), ⲉⲫⲉⲣ ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲱⲯ 'he (the disobedient monk) *shall spend* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉ-ⲣ) *three* (ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ) *days* (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) repenting (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉⲓ) daily (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ) in accordance with (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) their rule (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲧⲱⲯ)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 12).

6.4.3 Analytical ⲧⲣⲉ-causatives

Analytical ⲧⲣⲉ-causatives are typical exemplars of complex predicates involving two verbal heads, one of which describes the causing event (ⲧⲣⲉ-) and the other the caused event.

6.4.3.1 The morpho-phonological behaviour of ⲧⲣⲉ*-causatives*

The conjugational base ⲧⲣⲉ- is a lexical causative of the light verb ⲉⲓⲣⲉ: ⲧ- + ⲉⲓⲣⲉ → ⲧⲣⲉ 'to make, let' (lit. cause to do). With the exception of the first person singular form ⲧⲣⲁ-, the pronominal paradigm of analytical causatives is entirely regular, cf. table 6.8.

ⲧⲣⲉ-CAUSATIVES		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲧⲣⲉ- ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 6.8 Analytical ⲧⲣⲉ-causatives

From a morpho-phonological point of view, the base ⲧⲣⲉ- *is clearly an affix, since it never occurs in isolation as a separate word and does not attract stress. Akin to various verbal tenses and aspects, it can be phonologically reduced:* ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ /tref.s'o.təm/ → ⲧⲣ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ /trəf.s'o.təm/, e.g. ⲉⲧⲣⲫ̄ⲭⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ 'to *tell* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣ-ⲫ-ⲭⲱ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) his name (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲣⲁⲛ)' (Onnophr. 210:17). Yet, despite its affixal behaviour, ⲧⲣⲉ exhibits some of the characteristic properties of verbs. Firstly, it is inflected in the construct state pattern and occupies the same syntactic position as regular verbs. Secondly, in contrast to morphological causatives, the base form ⲧⲣⲉ and the lexical verb do not form a verb-verb complex, but remain two separate sentence elements, which occupy different syntactic positions. Thirdly, in much the same way as "normal" transitive verbs, ⲧⲣⲉ is associated with a particular syntactic frame or argument structure: its subject argument designates the CAUSER, i.e. the entity which brings about or initiates some event and its direct object argument specifies the caused event.

6.4.3.2 The biclausal structure of analytical ⲧⲣⲉ*-causatives*

Analytical causatives are biclausal structures, where the causative predicate ⲧⲣⲉ functions as the main verb and the associated lexical verb as the embedded verb. They differ, however, from other types of clausal embedding in that the main verb and the embedded verb have one argument in common, the CAUSEE, which designates the entity that is forced, persuaded or permitted by the CAUSER to be engaged in a certain event or activity. The shared CAUSEE argument simultaneously fulfils two grammatical functions: it is the direct object of the causative verb ⲧⲣⲉ and the subject of the embedded clause.

Figure 6.4 below gives a schematic representation of the syntax of analytic causatives with the example of ⲁⲕⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'you *made* (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲧⲣⲉ) the blind (ⲛ-ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) *see* (ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (KHML I 5:3-4). (Arrows indicate syntactic functions like subject, direct object; S_1 stands for main clause and S_2 for embedded clause; brackets indicate clause boundaries).

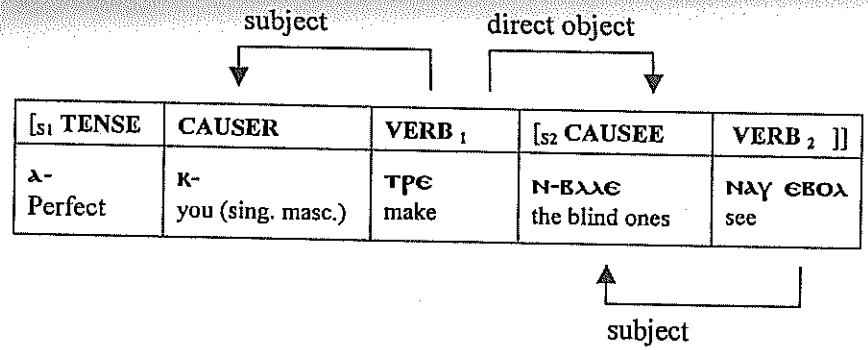

FIGURE 6.4 The biclausal structure of analytical causatives

6.4.3.3 Syntactic distribution

Analytical ⲧⲣⲉ-causatives display a broad syntactic distribution and appear in various finite (tensed) and non-finite (infinitival) veb constructions. A more detailed analysis of infinitival clauses will be offered in Unit 12.

a) Finite clauses

The causative meaning of the form ⲧⲣⲉ is fully present in finite clauses, whose subjects are semantically interpreted as the CAUSERS of the event referred to by the embedded verb, e.g. ⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ 'our father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Pachôm *let* (ⲁ … ⲧⲣⲉ) *the brothers* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) *practise* (ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) great (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) compassion (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲥⲟⲛ) with him (the foreign monk)' (V. Pach. 136:26-27), ⲯⲁϥⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ 'he (God) *makes* (ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲣⲉ) *the angels* (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *serve* (ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲉⲓ) them (the hermits) their food (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ)' (Onnophr. 211:22-23).

Analytic causatives can also be used in the impersonal active construction, e.g. ⲁⲥⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ 'she (Eudoxia) *let* their (the Jews) *principal* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) priests (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ) *be brought* (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)' (Eud. 64:7-8), ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲥⲟⲕ ⲛⲏⲡⲓ ⲛⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ (…) '*I do not let them make you drink* (ⲙⲡ-ⲉⲓ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲧⲥⲟ-ⲕ) wine (ⲛ-ⲏⲣⲡ) at night (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) (…)' (KHML II 35:14).

b) Infinitival purpose clauses

In adjunct purpose clauses governed by the directional preposition ϵ- 'to', non-finite analytical causatives indicate the purpose or goal of the main clause event, e.g. ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲧϥ 'the generals (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the army (ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲙ) went (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) [*to fetch him* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲧ-ϥ) (Constantine)]' (Eud. 38:5-6), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ (…) 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) went (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) into the desert (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) [*to fast* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:95-96).

c) Infinitival complements of volitional verbs

Volitional verbs like ⲟⲩⲱϣ 'to want' can take infinitival clauses as their direct objects. Analytical causatives must be selected whenever the subject of the embedded clause differs from the subject of the matrix clause, e.g. ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲉϣⲓⲛⲧ 'I *want* (ϯ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) [*you to come* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) to Shiêt (ⲉ-ϣⲓⲛⲧ)]' (Hil. 4:26), ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ 'My father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), I *want* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) [*you to baptize* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:35-31b:2).

d) Nominalised causatives

Analytical causatives may take the form of definite noun phrases. In combination with locative prepositions, such nominalised causative constructions are used as temporal clauses, e.g. ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲣⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ (…) 'when (ϩⲙ) *I went* (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) there (ⲉⲙⲁⲩ) (…)' (KHML I 142:17), ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲣⲉϥⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ (…) 'when (ϩⲙ) *he had welcomed* (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) (…)' (KHML I 143:5).

Key Terms:

Root	represents an abstract lexical item, which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
Stem pattern	The surface form of the root is called the stem. Coptic verb stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morpho-syntactic and semantic properties. The basic stem patterns are the so-called absolute state, the construct state (i.e. the nominal and the pronominal states together) and the stative.	§6.1.3
Reduplication	is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4
Epenthesis	is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4
Aspect	is a category of verbal semantics, which refers to the internal temporal structure or dynamism of the situation reported on in a sentence.	§6.2.1
Eventive and stative sentences	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
Accusative vs. oblique case	In Coptic, there are two distinct cases-marking patterns for the direct object. In the construct state, the direct object receives accusative case from the adjacent verb. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the direct object is assigned case by a desemanticised locative or a directional prepostion.	§6.3.1

The Stern-Jernstedt Rule	*describes a selectional restriction of present tense sentences, which cannot be combined with construct state verbs with referential direct objects. Since the construct state verb and an accusative case-marked direct object are associated with a bound event reading, it is incompatible with the aspectual semantics of present tense sentences.*	§6.3.2
Functional equivalents of the passive	Although Coptic lacks a morphological passive, there are several sentence patterns that come close in meaning to the English passive construction, viz. (i) the impersonal active construction, (ii) transive-based statives, and (iii) the "passive" light-verb ϫι- 'to get, receive'.	§6.3.3
Light verb constructions	derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate.	§6.4.1
Analytical causatives	are complex predicates consisting of two verbs: the causative verb ⲧⲣⲉ 'to make' and the embedded verb form described the caused event. Both predicates share one argument, which functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb.	§6.4.3

Exercises

6.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:

1. Coptic verb stems can be decomposed into three morphemes: the root, the vowel melody and the stem template.
2. Vowel epenthesis is restricted to biconsonantal roots.
3. In Coptic, the contrast between stative and eventive predication is marked by different stem patterns
4. The third person plural impersonal active construction fulfils similar functions as the English passive construction.
5. Analytical causatives are monoclausal structures.

6.2 Root and pattern morphology

Complete the following table by inserting the correct stem allomorph into the blank cells.

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-			to be good, fair
ⲕⲱ				to place, put
		ϫⲟⲟ=		to say
		ⲁⲁ=		to do, make
ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ				to pass
			ⲧⲱ†	to give
	(ⲉ)ⲛ-			to bring
ⲧⲁⲙⲉ				to inform
	ⲟⲙ-			to find
ⲥⲱⲛⲧ				to become angry
		ⲛⲁⲯⲱ=		to be numerous
			ⲁⲯⲉ†	to hang
ⲉⲓⲙⲉ				to know

A. *Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options (diacritics are omitted).*

(1) ϵ-ϥ-___ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲙⲟⲧ 'he (the demon) *changed* himself (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) into many (ⲛ-ϩⲁϩ) (different) forms (ⲛ-ⲥⲙⲟⲧ)' (KHML II 53:7)
□ⲱⲓⲃϵ □ⲱⲟ(ⲟ)ⲃϵ (< ⲱⲓⲃϵ 'to change')

(2) ⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁ ___ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ 'Our Lord (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) will (ⲛⲁ) *give* to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) your desire (ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (Pach.136:11-12)
□ⲧ □ⲧⲟ (< ⲧ 'to give')

(3) ⲉⲩϩⲕⲁⲉⲓⲧ ⲉ-ⲩ-___ 'when they are hungry (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲕⲁⲉⲓⲧ) (and) *thirsty*' (Pist. Soph. 182:3)
□ⲉⲓⲃϵ □ⲟⲃϵ (< ⲉⲓⲃϵ 'to become thirsty')

(4) ϵ-ⲓ-___ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'I *am on my way* to (ϣⲁ) the one who has sent me (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲧ)' (Test. Is. 230:11)
□ⲃⲱⲕ □ⲃⲏⲕ (< ⲃⲱⲕ 'to go')

(5) ⲧⲁϣⲱⲡϵ ϵ-ⲓ-___ ϩⲓ ϩⲁⲡ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲙ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'and I become (ⲧⲁ-ϣⲱⲡϵ) subject (lit. bound) (ϵ-ⲓ-___) to (ϩⲓ) judgement (ϩⲁⲡ) before (ⲛⲁϩⲣⲙ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Pach. 92:14-15)
□ⲙⲟⲩⲣ □ⲙⲛⲣ (< ⲙⲟⲩⲣ 'to bind, oblige')

B. Explain the meaning difference between the absolute state form ϣⲱⲡϵ and the corresponding stative ϣⲟⲟⲡ in the following sentence pair.

(1) ⲛⲧϣⲱⲡϵ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ 'may you *be* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ϣⲱⲡϵ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) in the presence of (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ-) this criminal (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4).

(2) ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ †ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲙⲙⲉ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ), behold (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲓⲛⲧⲉ), *I am* (†-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) with you (ⲛⲙⲙⲉ)' (Eud. 52:13)

6.4 Direct object syntax and case marking

A. Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ⲁ ⲡⲇ[ⲓⲁⲃ]ⲟⲗⲟⲥ ___ ⲡⲉϥϩ[ⲏⲧ] 'the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *filled* his heart (ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (Mena, Mir. 13b:27-29)
□ⲙⲉϩ □ⲙⲏϩ (< ⲙⲟⲩϩ 'to fill')

(2) ⲁⲓⲡϩ ⲛ___-ⲥ 'I managed (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲡϩ) to (ⲛ-) *do* it' (Ac. A&P 198:71)
□ⲣ □ⲁⲁ (< ⲉⲓⲣⲉ 'to do')

(3) ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ___ ⲁⲃ [for ⲁϥ] ⲉⲥⲉ ⲏⲣⲡ 'it is good (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) *to eat* meat (ⲁⲃ) and drink (ϵ-ⲥⲉ) wine (ⲏⲣⲡ)' (AP, Chaîne no.14, 3:12)
□ⲟⲩⲉⲙ □ⲟⲩⲱⲙ (< ⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'to eat')

(4) ⲛϣⲱⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁ-ϥ-___-ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲝⲓⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲟ́ 'in the first place (ⲛ-ϣⲱⲣⲡ), he (Zeno) *taught* them (his daughters) to write (ⲛ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) their high (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲟⲟ́) rank (ⲡ-ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲙⲁ)' (Hil.2:6-7)
□ⲧⲥⲁⲃϵ □ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ (< ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ 'to teach')

(5) ⲁ-ⲓ-___ ⲛⲧⲓⲡⲩⲅⲏ (for ⲛⲧⲓⲡⲏⲅⲏ) ⲙⲏⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲡⲩⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ (for ⲥⲡⲏⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ) 'I *found* this well (ⲛ-ⲧⲓ-ⲡⲩⲅⲏ) of water (ⲙ-ⲏⲟⲩ), this date-tree (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) this cavern (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲥⲡⲩⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11)
□ⲥ́ⲓⲛⲉ □ⲥ́ⲛ (< ⲥ́ⲓⲛⲉ 'to find')

(6) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-___ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥ́ⲓ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 'when (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-) the angel (ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) had *said* these (ⲛⲁⲓ) (words) ...' (Test.Is. 230:12)
□ⲭⲱ □ⲭⲉ (< ⲭⲱ 'to say')

B. Complete the following Coptic sentences by selecting one of the two options for the syntactic encoding of the direct object relation given in brackets. Keep in mind that the construct state stem pattern is incompatible with present tense sentences (the Stern-Jernstedt Rule).

(1) ⲁϥⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲣⲓ/ⲟⲩⲣⲓ) ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'he (Apa Pambo) gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧ) her (Hilaria) (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) *a cell* next to him (ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱ-ϥ), south (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲏⲥ) of the church (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ)' (Hil 6:15)

(2) ⲁ ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲛⲁⲩ (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥϣⲏⲣⲉ/ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥϣⲏⲣⲉ) ⲉϥ[ⲛ]ⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟ 'the mother (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ) of (ⲙ-) the sailor (ⲡ-ⲛⲉⲉϥ) saw (ⲛⲁⲩ) *her son* coming (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲏⲩ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ-) the river bank (ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲣⲟ)' (Ac. A&P 194:4-7)

(3) ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲛ (ⲙ-ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ/ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) ⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ 'then (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ) they brought (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲛ) *the holy* Apa Nahrow to the theatre (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ)' (KHML I 4:6-7)

(4) ⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ (ⲕ/ⲙⲙⲟⲕ) ⲙⲛ (ⲛ-ⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ/ⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ) 'Jesus will (ⲛⲁ) heal (ⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ) *you* and (ⲙⲛ) *your son*' (Ac. A&P 196:29-30)

(5) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲉϣⲓⲛⲉ (ⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛϣⲁϫⲉ/ϩⲉⲛϣⲁϫⲉ) ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) they (the worldly philosophers) are looking (ⲥⲉ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) *for new* (ⲛ-ⲃⲣⲣⲉ) *words*' (Hil. 1:18-19)

(6) ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲓⲧ (for ⲉⲓⲛⲁϥⲓⲧ) (-ⲕ/ⲙⲙⲟⲕ) ⲉⲡⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ 'I will carry (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲓⲧ) *you* to jubilation (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) delight (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ)' (Test. Is. 229:22-23)

C. Translate the following Coptic sentences, which have a passive meaning.

(1) ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ [ⲉ]ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲅ[ⲱⲛ] ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧ[ⲁⲣⲧⲩ]ⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉ[ϫⲁ]ⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ̄ (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:22-29)

(2) ⲭⲥϩϩ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲏⲥⲁⲓⲁⲥ (Onnophr. 211:25)

(3) ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲓ (for ⲉⲓⲛⲁϥⲓ) ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲑⲉⲥⲓⲁ (for ⲛⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ) ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲁ (Pach. 91:6-7) (N.B. the auxiliary verb ⲛⲁ "GO" indicates future time reference)

(4) ⲧⲛⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲏⲙⲁⲥ (Eud. 62:1)

(5) [ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲣⲟ[ϥ] ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ (Mena, Martyrd. 10a:30-32)

6.5 Complex predicate formation

A. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a light verb or a noun incorporation construction:

(1) ⲁϥⲣ ϥⲛⲧ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ (Eud. 38:27-28)

(2) ⲁϥⲣ ϩ[ⲁⲗ] [ⲙ]ⲙⲟϥ (Mena, Mir. 11a:14-15)

(3) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ (Eud. 40:27-28) (N.B. The focus marker ⲛⲟⲓ marks a postverbal nominal subject in the inversion construction; it can best be left untranslated)

B. Consider the following two examples of analytical causative constructions. Determine which noun or pronoun represents the shared causee argument of the caustaive verb ⲧⲣⲉ and the embedded verb.

(1) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϩⲟⲉⲓⲙ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲱⲟⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡϫⲟⲓ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (the devil) let the waves (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲉⲓⲙ) of the sea (ⲛ-ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ) become heavy (ⲁ-ⲧ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲱⲟⲧ) against (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲙ) the ship (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲓ)' (BMisc. 160:18-19)

(2) ⲁⲧⲧⲣⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲱⲕⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'he (the pagan king) let (ⲁ-ⲧ-ⲧⲣⲉ) six (ⲥⲟⲟⲩ) torturers (ⲛ-ⲕⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) whip (ϩⲱⲱⲕⲉ) him (Apa Nahrow) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (KHML I 5:25-26)

Absolute tenses

The previous unit was largely concerned with the aspectual underpinning of Coptic verb derivation. The various formal classes of verbs or stem patterns were shown to express basic aspectual oppositions, such as the contrast between events and states. We now turn to the grammatical expression of another basic category of verbal semantics, which is tense. Tense is a deictic category, which grammaticalises the location of a situation on the time axis. The concern here is with absolute tenses, which are tense categories that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. The linear ordering of events with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses, the present, the past and the future, which locate the time of the event at, prior to or after this temporal reference point.

In Coptic, present, past and future time reference is accomplished via morphemes in the inflectional system. Such time-indicating morphemes often come in pairs, whose members share the same temporal value, but differ from one another with respect to other categories of verbal meaning, such as aspect and mood. Thus, both the Perfect marker ⲁ and the Preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ refer to past events. But while the Perfect indicates the past location of accomplished events, the temporal auxiliary ⲛⲉ is specifically used to describe past states. Compare: ⲁ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ [ⲉⲡⲉⲥ]ⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ 'the people (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) *let* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ) the body (ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) of the blessed (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) from (ϩⲙ) the camel (ⲡ-ϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20) vs. ⲛⲉϥⲛⲏϫ ⲡⲉ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡϫⲁϩ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'he (Pachôm)

continued (ϵ-q-ⲙⲁⲛ ϵⲃⲟⲗ) *to lie down* (ⲛϵ-q-ⲛⲏⲭ) on (ϩⲓⲭⲙ) the ground (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (*V. Pach. 87:25*). The following description of Coptic absolute tenses addresses questions concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of various tense inflections as well as their semantic contribution to the clause in which they occur. It consists of three parts. Section 7.1 starts out with a general introduction to the syntax of tense-aspect-mood markers. The focus of section 7.2 is on the paradigmatic split of the absolute tense system in two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. Section 7.3 reviews the temporal, aspectual and modal meaning components of present, past and future tenses.

7.1 The morpho-syntax of tense-aspect-mood marking

Coptic has a large variety of conjugation patterns (i.e. patterns in which verbal stems can appear) for the grammatical expression of tense (i.e. the location of events in time), aspect (i.e. the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (i.e. the commitment of the speaker towards the truth of the reported events). Each conjugation pattern is characterised by a distinctive tense, aspect or mood marker (from now on TAM marker). This section outlines the main syntactic characteristics of the Coptic conjugation system. Section 7.1.1 deals with the proclitic behaviour of Coptic TAM markers, which form a prosodic unit with the following sentence constituent (the subject or the verbal predicate). Section 7.1.2 reviews the internal composition of various conjugation patterns, with particular attention for the relative order of the TAM marker with respect to the subject and the main verb.

7.1.1 The proclitic behaviour of TAM markers

Coptic TAM markers are inflection words, which are morphologically independent of the verb. They appear in two syntactic positions, one preceding the subject and another following the subject and preceding the main verb. Both groups differ morphologically from one another in that preverbal TAM markers have invariant forms, while pre-subject TAM markers may have different forms or allomorphs, depending on whether a nominal or pronominal subject follows. The Habitual Present, for instance, has a long form ϣⲁⲣϵ and a short form ϣⲁ-, which are selected

in the context of nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. ϣⲁⲣϵ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛϵ ⲧⲁⲩϵ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲛⲛϵ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡϵ 'this date-palm (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛϵ) *yields* (ϣⲁⲣϵ ... ⲧⲁⲩϵ) twelve (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲁⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲛⲛϵ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲡϵ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13) vs. ⲁⲩⲱ ϣⲁⲫⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲛϵ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *he* (Apa Pambô) *would go* (ϣⲁ-q-ⲃⲱⲕ) to her (Hilaria) (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) twice (ⲛ-ⲥⲉⲡ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) a day (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛϵ)' (Hil. 6:16).

Even TAM markers that lack the allomorphic opposition between long and short forms show a consistent syntactic behaviour in that they do not allow prosodically weak function words to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the clause-initial TAM marker and the adjacent subject. For this reason, enclitic particles and function words like ⲁϵ and ⲟⲛ 'also, too' appear in clause-third position, following both the TAM expression and the subject nominal, e.g. ⲁ ⲧϵϥⲥⲱⲛϵ ⲁϵ ⲱⲗ ⲛⲛϵϥⲕϵϵⲥ 'his sister (ⲧϵϥ-ⲥⲱⲛϵ) *gathered* (ⲁ ... ⲱⲗ) his bones (ⲛ-ⲛϵϥ-ⲕϵϵⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd., 4a:1-2), ⲁ ⲕϵⲟⲩⲁ ⲁϵ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲛϵ ⲙⲡϵϥⲫⲏⲣϵ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ 'somebody else (ⲕϵ-ⲟⲩⲁ) *brought* (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲛϵ) his son (ⲙ-ⲡϵϥ-ϣⲏⲣϵ) to him (Pachôm) (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 141:21). A somewhat different situation obtains with pronominal subjects, which form a prosodic unit with the verbal stem. Enclitic function words are therefore placed in postverbal position, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲁϵ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲃϵ ⲛϩⲁⲧ '*they made* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) a silver (ⲛ-ϩⲁⲧ) coffin (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲓⲃϵ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:27-28).

7.1.2 Templates for TAM markers

TAM formatives are subject to strict word order rules that align them to a particular syntactic position. The fixed linear order of certain positional classes of TAM markers gives rise to three basic word order patterns or templates that may be expanded to the left to derive compound tense forms.

7.1.2.1 Head-initial order (the so-called prefix conjugation)

The dominant word order is head-initial, meaning that the TAM marker is placed in front of the subject and the verbal predicate. Typical exemplars of the head-initial pattern are the Perfect ⲁ-q-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard' and the Jussive conjugation ⲙⲁⲣϵ-q-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'may he hear'. The head-initial template in figure 7.1 below is referred to as the prefix conjugation in

Coptic grammars, because of the proclitic behaviour of the pre-subject TAM formative.

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
ⲁ PERFECT	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	The man heard
	-ⲥ- he		He heard
ⲙⲁⲣⲉ JUSSIVE	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	May the man hear
	-ⲥ- he		May he hear

FIGURE 7.1 The head-initial template (the so-called prefix conjugation)

7.1.2.2 The null morpheme of the present tense

In Coptic, as in many other languages, present tense reference has no morphological correlate. Yet, despite the absence of overt tense marking, present tense sentences are associated with a specific time value and indicate the coincidence of the time of some event or state with the present moment, that is, the time at which the sentence is uttered. This means that present tense reference is grammaticalised as a null morpheme, i.e. a tense marker that lacks phonetic content (indicated by ∅). In a sense, then, the First Present ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he hears, he is hearing' instantiates a "hidden" head-initial pattern, as shown in figure 7.2.

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
∅ PRESENT TENSE	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	The man is hearing
	ⲥ- he		He is hearing

FIGURE 7.2 The null morpheme of the First Present

7.1.2.3 The clause-internal placement of the motional auxiliary ⲛⲁ

The First Future ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he is going to hear' is characterized by a fully grammaticalised form of the motional auxiliary (AUX) verb ⲛⲁ 'to go'. As shown in figure 7.3 below, the TAM marker ⲛⲁ is sandwiched between the nominal or pronominal subject and the main verb:

SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲛⲁ "GO" AUX	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	The man is going to hear
ⲥ- he			He is going to hear

FIGURE 7.3 The clause-internal template of the First Future

The auxiliary verb ⲛⲁ and the lexical verb form a verbal complex th cannot be broken up by an enclitic particle, e.g. ⲧⲉⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲡ ⲉ<ⲩ>ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁϥⲩⲁⲏ '*you will find* (ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉ) someo (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) my clan (ⲧⲁ-ϥⲩⲁⲏ)' (Eud. 54:7), but may expanded by another auxiliary verb, for instance, the modal auxilia (ⲉ)ϣ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. ⲛⲁϣ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲥⲛⲁϣⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ ⲛⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲍⲓⲝ 'in what (ⲛ-ⲁϣ) manner (ⲛ-ⲏⲉ), then (ⲣⲱ), w *he be able to save* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ϣ-ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ) them (the Christians) (ⲛ-ⲛⲁⲓ) (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) my hands (ⲛⲁ-ⲍⲓⲝ)?' (Eud. 36:16).

7.1.2.4 Compound tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are morphologically marked by single TAM expression, which appears either in front of the subject or front of the main verb. Both the preverbal as well as the pre-subje position are filled with grammatical formatives in so-called compou tenses, such as the Conditional conjugation ⲉ-ⲥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'if he hea and the Third Future ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall hear'. The ⲉ- prefix actually a relativising morpheme, which recurs in certain Second Tens (see below, section 7.2). The base morpheme of the Conditional is t modal auxiliary ϣⲁⲛ, whose meaning is difficult to render into Englis The Third Future is a locative construction built around the direction preposition ⲉ- 'to, towards': ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he (is) towards hearing'. Th templates for the Conditional and the Third Future with pronomin subjects are presented in figure 7.4 below. (REL stands for 'relati marker' and PREP for 'preposition').

	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	ⲉ-	-ϥ- he	-ϣⲁⲛ- MODAL AUX	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	If/when he hears
	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREP	VERB	GLOSS
THIRD FUTURE	ⲉ-	-ϥ- he	-ⲉ- TO	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	He shall hear

FIGURE 7.4 The Conditional and the Third Future with subject pronouns

In the context of nominal subjects, both conjugation patterns have a different word order pattern. In the Conditional, the modal auxiliary ϣⲁⲛ is incorporated into the long form ⲉⲣⲉ of the initial relative marker: ⲉⲣⲉ $NP_{subject}$ ϣⲁⲛ VERB → ⲉⲣ-ϣⲁⲛ $NP_{subject}$ VERB. No such incorporational process takes place in the Third Future, where the directional preposition ⲉ- 'to' disappears entirely from the surface structure of the clause: ⲉ- → ∅ / ____ $NP_{subject}$. See figure 7.5 for further illustration.

	REL + TAM	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	ⲉⲣ-ϣⲁⲛ	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	If the man hears
	REL	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	
THIRD FUTURE	ⲉⲣⲉ	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ hear	The man shall hear

FIGURE 7.5 The Conditional and Third Future with nominal subjects

The three absolute tenses (i.e the First Present, the First Perfect and the First Future) share the ability of being used as embedded forms under the Preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ. The internal structure of the resulting Preterit Present ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past (Pluperfect) ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ 'he was going to hear' is shown in figure 7.6 below (PRET AUX stands for 'Preterit auxiliary verb').

	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PRESENT	ⲛⲉⲣ ⲉ	∅ PRESENT	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	The man heard
	ⲛⲉ-		-ϥ- he		He heard
	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PAST (PLUPERFECT)	ⲛⲉ-	ⲁ PERFECT	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	The man had heard
			-ϥ- he		He had heard
	PRET AUX	SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT FUTURE	ⲛⲉⲣ ⲉ	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ the man	ⲛⲁ "GO" AUX	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	The man was, going to hear
	ⲛⲉ-	-ϥ- he			He was going to hear

FIGURE 7.6 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary ⲛⲉ is to establish a new temporal reference point besides the present moment, from which temporal interpretations can be made. A more detailed analysis of Preterit tenses will be offered in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.4.

7.1.3 TAM-markers as auxiliary verbs

A question remains with respect to the categorial status of Coptic tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers: are they free functional morphemes or rather auxiliary verbs? The clause-initial or medial position of TAM markers, their morphological independence from the verb, as well as their agreement behaviour (variant forms for nominal and pronominal subjects, for instance, ϣⲁⲣⲉ and ϣⲁ- in the Habitual Present) provide prima facie evidence for their syntactic status as auxiliary verbs.

Additional support for an auxiliary verb analysis of Coptic TAM expressions comes from their compatibility with more than one syntactic position. In the following example, there are two instances of the Habitual Present, one in front of the left-dislocated topic constituent and the other in front of the resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲁϥⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) each one (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) of them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *perceives* (ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ)

according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *his nature* (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17). It *generally appears*, then, that Coptic TAM markers behave syntactically *like* auxiliary verbs. Yet, due to their semantic erosion, these markers have a fully grammaticalised meaning and function and are used to indicate various aspectual, temporal and modal categories. In this respect, they behave like inflectional elements distinct from the lexical category "verb".

7.2 First and Second Tenses

With more than twenty different verb conjugations, the tense-aspect-mood system constitutes one of the most complex areas of Coptic grammar. At the foundation of this richness of morpho-semantic distinctions is a subdivision of the absolute tenses into two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. The morphological derivation of Second Tenses will be dealt with in section 7.2.1. Section 7.2.2 surveys the main sentence constructions in which Second Tenses are grammatically allowed or required.

7.2.1 A paradigmatic split in the absolute tense system

Coptic has four absolute tenses that describe present, past and future situations: the Present, the Habitual, Perfect, and the Future. These absolute tenses come in pairs of so-called First and Second Tenses.

	FIRST TENSES	SECOND TENSES	GLOSS
PRESENT	ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	He hears, he is hearing
FUTURE	ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	He is going to hear
PERFECT	ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	He heard, has heard
HABITUAL	ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	He usually hears

TABLE 7.1 First and Second Tenses in Sahidic Coptic

There is a clear morphological relationship between the two sets of tenses in table 7.1: Second Tenses are derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding a relative marker in front of the verbal cluster. This system of concatenative operations is organized around a marked value, represented

by the Second Perfect marker ⲛⲧ-, and a default value, instantiated by the relative marker ⲉ-, which is spelled out in all other contexts.

7.2.2 Syntactic distribution

First and Second Tenses have exactly the same temporal interpretation, but differ systematically from each other with respect to their syntactic distribution. Second Tenses replace pragmatically unmarked First Tenses in a range of interrogative and declarative focus sentences.

a) Yes/no questions

Coptic yes/no questions come in two varieties, viz. with or without a dedicated question particle (see above, section 4.2.2 of Unit 4). In the latter group, Second Tense morphology provides a cue for the interrogative interpretation of the clause within its scope, e.g. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟⲛ '*do you think* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) that (ⲭⲉ) he (ⲡⲉ) (is) stronger (ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ) than us (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ '*will you go* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) and leave me (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲧ) in (ϩⲛ) these punishments (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ)?' (Ac. A&P 202:118). Second Tenses can, however, not be analyzed as lexicalised question cues for two reasons. Firstly, Second Tenses appear in clause types other than interrogative sentences, for instance, in relative clauses and declarative focus constructions. Secondly, it is possible to have Second Tenses and dedicated question particles like ⲙⲏ within the same interrogative sentence, e.g. ⲙⲏ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲓϩⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ '*am I* more (ⲉϩⲟⲩ(ⲉ)) *honourable* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲧⲁⲓϩⲩ) than (ⲉ-) my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), ⲙⲏ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ '*will you abandon* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲧ) me (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲕ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) one thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

b) *Wh*-in-situ questions

Coptic has several interrogative patterns for constituent or *wh*-questions. In so-called *wh*-in-situ questions, the questioned constituent is placed in exactly the same syntactic position as in its declarative counterpart. As we can see from the following set of data, Coptic *wh*-in-situ questions demonstrate a straightforward correlation between the clause-internal position of the question word and the presence of this special kind of

inflectional morphology. In other words, *wh*-in-situ does not come for free, but requires the presence of Second Tense marking to be grammatical. Furthermore, there are no asymmetries between questioned arguments and adjuncts in *wh*-in-situ questions.

Examples: (*wh*-in-situ subject questions) ⲛⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ϧⲡⲟ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ (…) '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *has achieved* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ϧⲡⲟ) for himself (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) such endurance (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ) (…)?' (Hil. 12:29), ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ '*what* (ⲟⲩ) *has happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ϣⲱⲡⲉ) to you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ), our lord (ⲡⲉⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) (and) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ)?' (Eud. 36:24), (*wh*-in-situ object questions) ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲏⲛⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲥ '*what* (ⲟⲩ) *shall I* therefore (ⲇⲉ) *do* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) for the goodness (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭⲥ)' (Eud. 64:12), ⲉⲓⲛⲁϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ '*what* (ⲟⲩ) *shall I say* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲉ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25), ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲕϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ 'my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), with (ⲙⲛ) *whom* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *are you talking* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁϫⲉ)?' (Test. Is. 230:19), (*wh*-in-situ adverb questions) ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ 'through (ϩⲛ) *what* (ⲟⲩ) *shall we be saved* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) in this time (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 271, 83:21), ϣ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉϣⲁⲕⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲥ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ 'oh (ϣ) my holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), *where* (ⲧⲱⲛ) *do you usually celebrate* (the Eucharist) (ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ) on Saturday (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) Sunday (ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ)?' (Onnophr. 214:19-20), ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲁϣ ⲛϩⲉ '*how* (lit. in which (ⲛ-ⲁϣ) manner (ⲛ-ϩⲉ)) *did you come* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)? (Onnophr. 206:29), (embedded *wh*-in-situ questions) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) I do not know (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ) [*what* (ⲟⲩ) *has happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ϣⲱⲡⲉ) to her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)]' (Hil. 7:30-31), ⲙⲡⲉϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥϧⲁⲁϥ ⲧⲱⲛ 'he (the deceased) did not say (ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) [*where* (ⲧⲱⲛ) *he had put it* (the deposit) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ϥ)]' (AP Chaîne no.235, 65:18).

That the in-situness of the question word is, indeed, the relevant factor motivating Second Tense selection is evident from the diametrically opposite interrogative pattern of *wh*-fronting, in which the question word is moved to the left periphery of the clause. In such *wh*-fronting structures, the tense marker appears in its neutral form, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁϥⲉⲛⲧⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *has brought you* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲕ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)?' (KHML I 3:7-8), ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ 'from *whence* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ) *did you come* (ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲉⲓ) here (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

c) Replacive focus

Second Tenses are not restricted to interrogative sentences, but may al appear in a range of declarative focus contexts. Question-answer pa have been widely used as diagnostic tools for focushood: the focus identified with the sentence element that answers the question. The foc in the answer replaces, so to speak, the interrogative pronoun of t preceding question and is therefore called replacive focus. In Copti replacive focus is manifested by the presence of Second Tenses in bo the *wh*-in-situ question and the corresponding answer, e.g. ⲉⲕϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲥ (…) ⲡⲭⲥ̄ ⲉⲓϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ 'from *what* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩ) *do you suff* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)? – Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲥ̄), *I am suffering* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ) from *my liv* (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30), ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛϫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ (.. ⲉⲛϫⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ '*whereto* (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲛ) *do you bri* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ϫⲓ) this man (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)? – *We bring* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ϫⲓ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ- *to the shrine* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mêna' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6).

d) Contrastive focus constructions

Contrastive focus represents a different semantic focus type, whe the speaker rejects a previous utterance and offers an alternative option a its appropriate rectification. The "ⲛⲟⲧ *x* ⲗⲗⲁ (but) *y* construction provides the prototypical syntactic frame for contrastive focus in Coptic Contrastive focus falls on the rectifying affirmative clause, as witnesse by the presence of Second Tenses, e.g. ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲟϣⲕ ⲅⲁ ⲉϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭⲥ̄ ⲧⲟϣⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡϧⲁⲓⲉ 'no (ⲙⲡⲱⲣ), my son (ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ)! For (ⲅⲁⲣ) *you hav not been destined* (lit. *they* have not destined you (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲟϣ-ⲕ) *for thi service* (ⲉ-ϯ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ), but (ⲗⲗⲁ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲥ̄) *has appointed yo* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ⲧⲟϣ-ⲕ) *as a comfort* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ) for the holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) who live (ⲉⲧ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ϧⲁⲓⲉ) (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

e) Presentational focus

Second Tenses may also signal presentational (new information) focus, which corresponds to information that is not shared by the speaker and the addressee. Presentational focus introduces new referents into the discourse, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲁϫⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲣⲙ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϧⲁϥ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ϫⲉ (…) '*a* (certain) *old* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *hermit*

(ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ) *got lost* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲣⲙ) in (ϩⲛ) the desert (ⲧ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ⲩ) to himself (ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲩ) that (ϫⲉ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29). In quantificational statements, the Second Present is widely used to mark quantified noun phrases as presentational foci, e.g. ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ [ⲱ ⲡⲙ]ⲏⲛⲁ [ⲡⲙⲁⲣ]ⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲛ [ⲟⲩⲙⲉ] ⲙⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'truly (ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ), *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *good* (things) (ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ) *happen* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) to those who will come (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓ) to your shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ), oh (ⲱ) Mêna, the true (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ) martyr (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ) of Christ (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Mena, Mir.16b:1219), ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ 'the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) also (ⲟⲛ) *urges* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲧⲱⲃⲥ) *everybody* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) who loves (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲉ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲩ) through (ϩⲙ) the Gospel (ⲡ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ)' (V. Pach. 3:6-7).

f) The narrative use of Second Tenses

Second Tenses are occasionally used out-of-the-blue, without any indication of replacive, contrastive or new information focus. On closer inspection, it appears, however, that such examples are associated with anticipatory focus, which signals a new development in the story line. The narrative use of Second Tenses is particularly common in portions of a text that introduce a *leitmotiv* for what is to be communicated next, e.g. (why do (woman) you weep all the time?) ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲟⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲧⲱⲛ 'my husband (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲁⲓ) *has passed away* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲙⲟⲩ), having taken (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲭⲓ) a deposit (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲃⲟⲓⲗⲉ) from (ⲛⲧⲉ) someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he did not say (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲩ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) when he was going to die (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) where (ⲧⲱⲛ) he had placed it (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no.235, 65:22-24). In the following example, the reason adverbial ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'because of my sins' designates the topic that is elaborated on in the subsequent narrative episode dealing with the amoral past of the first-person singular narrator: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱ ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲕϩⲉ (for ⲛⲧⲉⲕϩⲉ) ⲉⲓⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓϫⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) myself (ϩⲱ) (am) a hermit (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ) like you (ⲛ-ⲧⲕ-ϩⲉ). *I live* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) this desert (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) my sins (ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)' (Onnophr. 210:13-14).

7.3 Temporal, aspectual and modal uses of absolute tenses

As a technical term of grammar, "absolute tense" is used to refer to tenses that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. Present tense means that the time of the event coincides with the present moment, i.e. the time at which a sentence is being uttered. Past tense means that the time of the event occurs prior to the present moment and future tense means that the time of the event is located after the present moment. A blueprint of the absolute tense system is presented in section 7.3.1. Sections 7.3.2 to 7.3.6 explore the semantic and pragmatic distinctions between the individual present, past and future tenses. These verbal tenses will be shown to be portmanteau morphemes that convey various modal and aspectual meanings connotations besides their basic temporal value.

7.3.1 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Although the ternary distinction between present, past and future tense lies at the centre of the absolute tense system, it does not exhaust the entire repertoire of tense categories. Coptic makes more fine-grained semantic distinctions in the temporal domain than those captured by a simple tripartite system. With respect to future time reference, two future tenses are employed side by side. On the one hand, there are the First and Second Future ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ and ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he is going to hear', which indicate progression from the present to the future; on the other hand, there is the Third Future ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall hear', with no such link with the present moment. Both future tense patterns differ from one another not only with respect to their temporal but also with respect to their modal features, assigning different degrees of likelihood, desirability or necessity to a forthcoming situation (see below, section 7.3.3).

Absolute time reference is not always determined with respect to the present moment, but may also be established with respect to another reference point, which provides a secondary deictic centre on which temporal interpretations can be based. In Coptic, this secondary deitic centre is located prior to the present moment and grammaticalised by means of the Preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ (for its syntax, see above, section 7.1.2.5).

Figure 7.7 presents a blueprint of the Coptic absolute tense system. The dotted line indicates the shift of the deictic centre that is the result of the demarcation of a second temporal reference point. (TRP stands for 'temporal reference point').

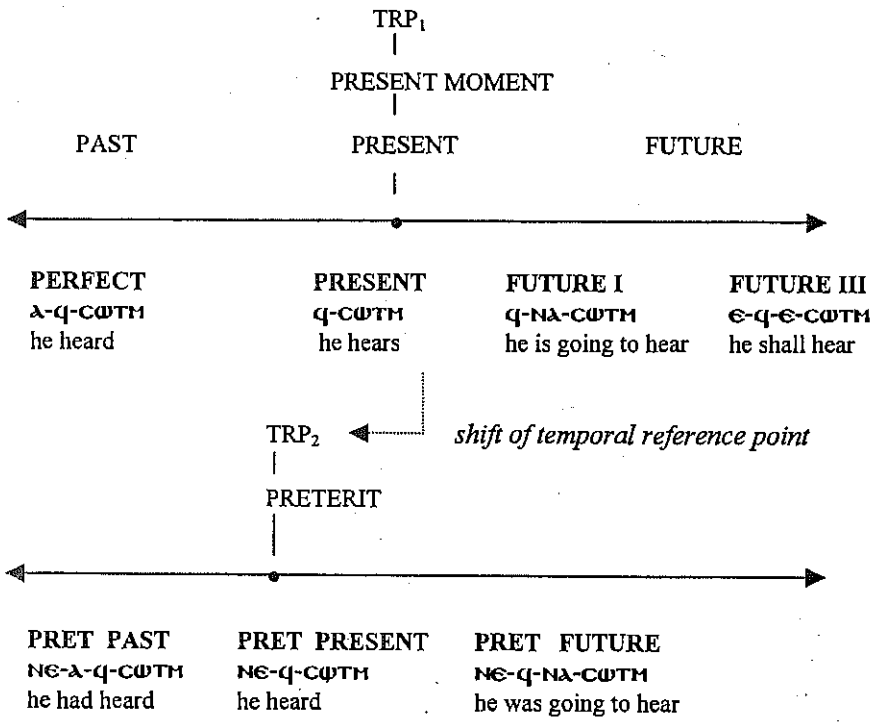

FIGURE 7.7 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Absolute tenses interact in complex ways with verbal aspect, which concerns the point of view or perspective from which a given situation is described: it may indicate the temporal boundaries of events or the frequency of their occurrence.

7.3.2 Present Tense

The present tense indicates the coincidence of the time of the event with the present moment, but at the same time the ongoing state of that event. In Coptic, present tense reference is accomplished via a null morpheme, cf. table 7.2. The prefix forms of bound pronouns are selected in the First

Present, while the corresponding suffix pronouns appear in the Se Present, where the subject pronoun is attached to the relative marker

	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT
1st sing.	ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ(ⲣ)-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲥⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 7.2 The First and Second Present

7.3.2.1 Copula Support

Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences in context of indefinite subjects including "bare" nouns. This rule trig the insertion of the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' in the affirmative ⲙⲛ '(there) is no' in the negative, e.g. ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ '(there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲉⲛ) *a nobleman* (lit. a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)) in (ϩⲙ) the palace (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ) *being sick* (ⲫⲱⲛⲉ)' (10:27-28), ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ '*are* (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) *thoughts* (ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) *troubling* (ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ) you (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne 181, 44:16-17), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ (...) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there *not* (ⲙⲛ) *anyone* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) (who) knows (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) ((V. Pach. 96:5-6). Copula support does not apply to Second Te constructions, e.g. ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟ ϩⲓⲱⲱϥ 'as if (ϩⲱⲥ *variegated tunic* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ) *were placed* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲟ) on ⲓ (ϩⲓⲱⲱ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

7.3.2.2 Semantic restrictions

Stative verb forms are restricted to present tense contexts. As argue section 6.2.4 of the preceding unit, this temporal restriction has aspectual source: the Stative is used specifically to describe states

conditions, which lack a clearly defined endpoint. The exclusion of an endpoint, however, is part of the grammatical meaning of present tenses, e.g. ϥⲟⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ '(as) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) Almighty (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ) *lives* (ϥ-ⲟⲛϩ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

The Stern-Jernstedt Rule has an aspectual underpinning as well, given that the construct state instantiates an accusative case pattern, where accusative case is associated with a bound event reading. Bound events are, however, semantically incompatible with the temporal meaning of the present tense, which describes situations that have not yet reached their culmination point. The oblique case-marking pattern of the absolute state is available as an alternative, e.g. ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛⲃⲩⲕⲏ (for ⲃⲉⲕⲉ) ⲛϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁ '*I receive* (ⲧ-ⲁⲓ) many (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲏⲣ) payments (ⲛ-ⲃⲩⲕⲏ) of grievance (ⲛ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) in return (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲙⲁ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:10-11), ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ 'the peace (ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲏ < ⲧ-ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) that he has given (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) *I give* (ⲧ-ⲧ) to you (ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ)' (Test. Is. 230:10-11).

7.3.2.3 Types of present tense sentences

The present tense has been defined as a tense category that locates a situation at the present moment, at which the sentence is being uttered. However, situations that coincide with the present time are relatively rare. As we will see next, there are two sentence types that fall under this rubric, which are perception sentences and performative sentences. A much more common use of present tense sentences is to describe situations that occupy a much longer period of time, but nonetheless include the present moment within them.

a) Perception sentences

When formulated in the present tense, sentences containing perception verbs, such as ⲛⲁⲩ 'to see' and ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'to hear', describe instantaneous events without internal dynamism, e.g. ⲧ[ⲛⲁ]ⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲁ[ϫⲟ]ⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲩ[ⲛⲟⲩ] ⲛϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *I see* (ⲧ-ⲛⲁⲩ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) grace (ⲛ-ϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) your face (ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲟ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:6-9), ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲧⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ), we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), your servants (ⲛⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ), *are listening* (ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ)!' (Eud. 60:23). Reports on mental achievements are similar to perception events, e.g. ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ '*I believe* (it) (ⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ), (oh) Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Eud. 52:3-4).

b) Performative sentences

Performative sentences are used to express performative speech where the action described by a sentence is performed by its utte Performative speech-acts are situated in ritualistic contexts, e.g. ϩⲣⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲧⲡⲱϩⲧ ⲙⲡⲉ[ⲓ]ⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲟⲗⲟ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ 'in your name (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲣⲁⲛ) *I* (hereby) *pour* (ⲧ-ⲡⲱϩⲧ) this cup (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁ of sweet (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲗⲟ) water (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) into the see (ⲉ-ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ)' (Ac. 198:55-56). Issuing commands and making confessions may quali performative speech-acts as well, e.g. ⲧⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲭⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ '*I* (hereby) ((lit. place (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ) an order (ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ)) them to worship (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲓ the God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of heaven (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ), together with (ⲙⲛ) his C (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲭⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) the Holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Spirit (ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲛⲁ)' (Eud. 40: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲧϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲉⲙⲧⲟ (ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) myself (ϩⲱ) *admit* (ⲧ-ϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ) my sin (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲛ in your presence (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:9-13).

c) Epistemic sentences

Epistemic sentences ascribe to the subject referent certain be opinions, experiences, and expertise. Since epistemic sentences semantically stative in describing psychological or mental states, the always interpreted as holding for a longer time interval, including present moment, e.g. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟⲛ *you think* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) that (ϫⲉ) he (ⲡⲉ) (is) stronger (ⲟⲩ-ϫⲱ than us (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), ⲙⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ϫⲉ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ 'they (the hermits) usually do not even (ⲣⲱ) remer (lit. make (ⲙⲉⲩ-ⲣ) thought (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) that (ϫⲉ) a world (ⲕⲟⲥ exists (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ⲱⲟⲟⲡ)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'because (ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ) *you know* (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) mode of life (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲛϩⲧϥ (for ⲉⲛⲉϥⲛϩⲧϥ) ⲱⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *is not* (ⲙⲛ) anyone (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) (who) kn (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) where he (Pachôm) was (ⲉ-ⲛ(ⲉ)-ϥ-ⲛϩⲏ until (ⲱⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ) the present (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲟⲟⲩ) day (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (V. Pach. 96:5-7

ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲡⲉ '*he* (Pachôm's brother) *was* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *far away* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲏⲩ) from him (Pachôm) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb ⲁⲛ

The negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb ⲁⲛ to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ϯⲛⲁϣⲉⲡ ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲉϣ (read: ⲛⲟⲩⲉϣⲛ) ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) *can I* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *suffer* (lit. receive (ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ϣⲉⲡ) <u>*suffering*</u> (ϩⲓⲥⲉ)) without (ⲟⲩⲉϣ) getting angry (ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ '*we will* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *allow* <u>*you*</u> (ⲛ-ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲕ) to come (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) our city (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this (disgraceful) name (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲁⲛ) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, ⲁⲛ occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ⲛϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '*I do* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) <u>*anybody*</u> (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) this city (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Hil. 4:23), ⲛⲧⲉϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ' (why) do *you* (woman) <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *look* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) <u>*for*</u> (ⲛⲥⲁ) <u>*my tomb*</u> (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ)?' (Eud. 58:5).

b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb ⲁⲛ comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. ⲛϯⲛⲁϯ ϩⲱⲃ ⲉϥϩⲟⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ '*I will* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) burden (lit. give (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ϯ)) <u>*you*</u> (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) (with) a difficult (ⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲟⲥⲉ) job (ϩⲱⲃ)' (KHML II 33:14-15), ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ϣⲁⲃⲟⲗ 'if not (ⲙⲙⲟⲛ), the God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the Christians (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) *will* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *tolerate* (ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ) <u>*you*</u> (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) in this manner (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) forever (ϣⲁ-ⲃⲟⲗ)' (Eud. 38:13-14), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *I could* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *see* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) <u>*them*</u> (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ (read ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ)

ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ '*he* (Apa Poimên) *would* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *have sent* (a message) (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ) to me (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲓ)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial ⲁⲛ is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. ⲛⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ '*he did* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) that (ⲭⲉ) she (ⲧⲉ) (was) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ⲛⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ (...) 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) *they did* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *reach* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϩⲉ) the heavenly (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲩⲉ) kingdom (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ) by virtue of (ϩⲙ) talk (lit. the word (ⲡ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ)) or (ⲏ) a (good) reputation (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal ⲙ- or ⲛ-. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous ⲛ- ... ⲁⲛ pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb ⲧⲙ 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE ⲥⲱⲧⲙ listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultanously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲩⲛⲉⲝ [ⲯⲁⲝⲉ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲯⲁⲩⲧ ⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲉ[ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'a wise (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *does not* throw (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲉⲝ) away (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) word

(ⲯⲁⲝⲉ) like that (ⲍⲓⲛⲁⲓ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) focuses (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ϯ) his attention (ⲍⲧⲏ-ⲩ) towards those who listen (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional pardigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1st sing.	ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
before noun	ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲩⲍⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲝⲓⲧⲩ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲣⲓ 'whenever someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) saw (ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ... ⲛⲁⲩ) him (the brother) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ) *he did not want* (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲍⲛⲁ-ⲩ) to reply (lit. to make (ⲉ-ⲣ) reply (ⲟⲩⲱ)) and (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) to take him (ⲉ-ⲝⲓⲧ-ⲩ) into (ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ) his cell (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲣⲓ)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:21-22), ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲩⲍⲣⲟⲱ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲝⲱⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲣⲱⲭⲏⲧ 'he (Pachôm (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), however (ⲭⲱⲱ-ⲕ), *did <u>not</u> take revenge* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ) against them (the brothers) (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) in any way (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ), but (instead) he was patient (ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲁ-ⲕ-ⲭⲣⲟⲱ) with them (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ) with (ⲭⲛ) great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲥ) indulgence (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲭⲁⲣⲱ-ⲭⲏⲧ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ⲉⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ϯⲟⲩⲟⲭ ⲉⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲓⲭⲓⲧⲕ 'when (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲱⲡⲉ) I observe (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) that (ⲭⲉ) I am cured (ϯ-ⲟⲩⲟⲭ) from illness (ⲉ-ⲱⲛⲉ), *I <u>will</u> <u>not</u> accept it* (the donkey) (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲭⲓⲧ-ⲕ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲗⲟ ⲉⲕⲥⲟⲣⲥ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲁⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲕⲉ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) <u>does</u> <u>not</u> *cease* (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲗⲟ) waylaying (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲣⲥ) man (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) until (ⲱⲁ) his last (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲭⲁⲉ) breath (ⲛ-ⲛⲓⲕⲉ)' (KHML II 48:7-9), ⲙⲉⲩⲁⲛⲓⲭⲉ (for ⲙⲉⲩⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ) ⲣⲱⲁⲭⲉ (read ⲉⲱⲁⲭⲉ) ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲕ '*they* (the monks*) usually <u>do</u> <u>not</u> bear* (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲛⲓⲭⲉ) to speak (ⲉ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) with them (women) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲕ)' (Hil. 10:18).

b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲙⲉⲕⲭⲁⲣⲭ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ[ⲙⲩⲥ]ⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'the imprudent (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲃⲱ) person (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ): *he <u>does</u> <u>not</u> keep* (ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲭⲁⲣⲉⲭ) a secret (lit. a secret (ⲙ-ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) word (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲭ 'he (ⲡⲁⲓ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ) <u>will</u> <u>not</u> *manage* to ever (ⲉⲛⲉⲭ) master (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... (ⲉⲣ ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) any (ⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) passion (ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9), ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲩⲡⲉⲭⲧ ⲥⲟⲟⲛ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲭⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *they <u>do</u> <u>not</u> pour* (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲡⲉⲭⲧ) ointment (ⲥⲟⲟⲛ) on (ⲉⲭⲛ) her (the girl's) head (ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲁⲡⲉ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲭⲙ) the blood (ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲛⲟⲩ))' (Sh. *Zoega* 589:20-21).

c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉ 'they (the brothers) were (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) as one (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) heart (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲏⲧ) and (ⲙⲛ) one (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) soul (ⲟⲩ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) things (ⲛⲕⲁ) were (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲱⲟⲟⲡ) in common (ⲭⲓ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲡ) to them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) and *no one* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) <u>*said*</u> (ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) about what belonged (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲱⲟⲟⲡ) to them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) »they (ⲛⲉ) (are) mine (ⲛⲟⲩⲓ)!« ' (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲱⲭⲧ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲉⲭⲱⲭ ⲉⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲭⲣⲱⲕⲭ ⲛⲛⲣⲉⲭⲉⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) an intelligent (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲃⲉ) blaze (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲭⲧ) (is) that one (ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ) (i.e. the burning river) *in <u>not</u> touching* (ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲭⲱⲭ) the righteous ones (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) burning (ⲱⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣⲱⲕⲭ) the sinners (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲉⲕ-ⲉⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard', e.g. ⲁⲫⲁⲁⲛ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲁⲕ 'he (Christ) made us (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ⲛ) masters (ⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) over (ⲉⲭⲛ) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) powers (ⲥⲟⲙ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (yet) *no one* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) of us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ) *has dared* (ⲙⲡⲉ ... ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ) to do (ⲉ-ⲣ) what you have done (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ⲕ)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect ⲉ-ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to

the reduction of the relative marker ϵ-, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as ⲙ̄ⲡ(ϵ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ, which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1st sing.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲙⲡϵ ⲡⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ) ⲡⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g. ϵⲧⲃϵ ⲟⲩ ⲇϵ ⲧϵⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ϵⲭⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲥⲓ ⲍⲁⲧ (…) ϵⲙⲡϵⲫⲓⲛϵ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'why (ϵⲧⲃϵ ⲟⲩ) do you (woman) sleep (ⲧϵ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) on (ϵⲭⲛ) a couch (lit. a sleeping (ⲛ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) place (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ)) of gold (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ) and (ⲥⲓ) silver (ⲍⲁⲧ) *and did not look* (ϵ-ⲙⲡϵ-ⲫⲓⲛϵ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) the place (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of my resurrection (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ)?' (Eud. 50:23-25).

a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterexpectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g. ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ϵⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϵⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϵⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲛϵⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ '*they* (the Persians) *did not again* (lit. they did not place (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲍ) their hands (ϵⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ)) raise up (ϵ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) against (ϵⲭⲙ) the country (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲍ) in all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the days (ⲛ-ⲛϵ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ) of King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19), ⲙⲡϵⲓⲕⲁ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲭⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ϵⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲧⲟ ϵⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙϵ '*I did not place* (ⲙⲡϵ-ⲓ-ⲕⲁ) any (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) obstacle (ⲛ-ⲭⲣⲟⲛ) for you (ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ) in front (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟ ϵⲃⲟⲗ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) nor (ⲙⲛ) mankind (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙϵ)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).

b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by ⲁⲗⲗⲁ 'but', e.g. ⲙⲡϵⲓϵⲡϵⲓⲧⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲁ) ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ϵⲛϵⲍ (…) ϵⲓⲙⲏⲧ ϵⲧⲃϵ ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲧϵⲫⲫⲩⲭⲏ '*I* never (ϵⲛϵⲍ) *reprimanded* (ⲙⲡ-ϵⲓ-ⲉⲡϵⲓⲧⲙⲁ) anyone (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ) of you (ⲛⲍⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) (…) except (ϵⲓⲙⲏⲧ) for (ϵⲧⲃϵ) the salvation (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ) of his soul (ⲛ-ⲧϵⲫ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19), ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲱⲏⲣϵ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲟⲱⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ϵⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲟⲱⲕ ϵⲩⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ ⲛⲛϵⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϵⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϵⲧⲫⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓϵ 'No (ⲙⲡⲱⲣ), my son (ⲡⲁ-ⲱⲏⲣϵ)! For (ⲅⲁⲣ) *you have not been destined* (lit. *they* have not destined you (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲟⲱ-ⲕ) for this career (ϵ-ⲧ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄) has appointed you (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ⲧⲟⲱ-ⲕ) as a comfort (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ) for the holy (ϵⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) brothers (ⲛ-ⲛϵ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) who live (ϵⲧ-ⲫⲟⲟⲡ) in (ⲍⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ⲭⲁⲓϵ)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g. ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲟⲧⲃⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲉⲙⲡⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ 'how (ⲛ-ⲁⲱ ⲛ-ⲍⲉ) did the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) of the universe (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) pass by us (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲃ-ⲛ) *without us noticing* (ⲉ-ⲙⲡ-ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ)?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6), ⲁⲫⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲁⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲥⲱ 'one day (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ) he (the sick child) lay down (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) sick (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲱⲛⲉ) (and) *did not eat* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) *nor drink* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱ)' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a) ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g. ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧⲕ ⲉⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧ 'and I see (ⲧⲁ-ⲛⲁⲩ) whether (ⲭⲉ) *he* (the eagle) *did not come* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) because of you (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧ-ⲕ), if (ⲉⲫⲱⲡⲉ) not (ⲙⲙⲟⲛ), then (ⲉⲓⲉ) because of me (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1), ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲫⲟⲥⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'thus (ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ), *he* (the eagle) *did not come* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) because of you (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧ-ⲕ), because (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ) the brother (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ) is angry (ⲫⲟⲥⲙ) with you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉⲭⲱⲍⲏ ⲍⲛ ⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁ 'in (ⲍⲛ) what (ⲁⲩ) place (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) *have you* (woman) *not been defiled* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲭⲱⲍⲙ)?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b) ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g. ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲍⲱⲃ 'this (ⲡⲁⲓ) *did not* (ⲁⲛ) *happen* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) for my sake (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲙⲧ), since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), I (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a nobody (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) for the sake of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the widow (ⲧⲉ-ⲭⲏⲣⲁ) and (ⲙⲛ) these orphans (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ) had God

(ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) done (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) this thing (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲍⲱⲃ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33), ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲧⲫ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ '*I have not* (ⲁⲛ) *brought it* (the wheat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲧ-ⲫ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) anything (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) my salvation (ⲡⲁ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g. ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲣ ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲫⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ '*you have not yet become* (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲣ) worthy (ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ) to talk (ⲛ-ⲫⲁⲭⲉ) to him (Jesus Christ) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲫ)' (KHML II 30:21-22).

9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1st sing.	ⲙⲡⲁ†-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁ†-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. ⲙⲡⲁϯⲡⲱϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲟⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲁϫⲓ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲛⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ '*I have not yet reached* (ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲡⲱϩ) such (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲟⲟⲧ) heights (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲱⲓ) to take (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ϫⲓ) a woman (ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) my residence (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁ-ⲛ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲁϯⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ), *I have not yet opened* (ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛ) it (the sack with gold), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲱ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *were not yet* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) many (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲱ) monasteries (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) in (ϩⲛ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥⲭⲓ ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ 'but he (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ), *had not yet received* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ϥ-ⲭⲓ) baptism (ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ)' (Eud. 42:1), ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ ⲙⲡⲏⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) *you have not yet perceived* (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ) the peace (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) that we are hoping (ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ) for (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ no longer holds, e.g. ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁϯⲙⲟⲩ 'I want

(ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to see (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲩ) my sister (ⲉ-ⲧⲁ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) *before I die* (ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (KHML I 75:20-21), ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲗϩ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) they (the brothers) shall not go (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) (and) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) from (ϩⲙ) the village (ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ) *before they ring* (the bell) (ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲗϩ)' (praec. Pach. 90), ⲧⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ ϫⲱⲗⲙ 'your servant (ⲧⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) Eudoxia wants (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to come (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ) inside (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) to your welcome (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ) *before* the palace (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ) *gets busy* (ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ... ϫⲱⲗⲙ)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙϥ ⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (the food) that you might desire (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ) for (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ), you *shall not eat* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲟⲙ-ϥ), *you should* (rather) *eat* (ⲉ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) what God has sent (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩ) you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, ⲛⲛⲁ- represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ- represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲛⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ (rarely ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ)	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲛⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕϩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲫⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲁⲕϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ '*you will not go astray* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲣⲓⲕⲉ) or (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) *fall* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ϩⲉ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) you will succeed (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲁⲧⲉ) in the work (ⲙⲫⲱⲃ < ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ϩⲓ) your hand (ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲕ) on (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲙ ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲣⲓ '*no* man (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *shall eat* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) anything (ⲛⲕⲁ) in his ccll (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲫ-ⲣⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 114), ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲫⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ '*no* one (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *shall talk* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲫⲁϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲫ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) in (ϩⲙ) the dark (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲕⲉ)' (praec. Pach. 94), ⲛⲛⲉⲕϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲛⲧⲥⲏⲃⲉ (for ⲛⲧⲥⲏⲫⲉ) ⲛⲛⲉⲕϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲟⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲗⲁⲥ '*you shall not kill* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ϩⲱⲧⲃ) neither with the sword (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲏⲃⲉ) nor (ⲟⲛ) with (ϩⲙ) the tongue (ⲡ-ⲗⲁⲥ)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲧ ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲩⲡⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ

(...) 'this vault (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲕⲩⲡⲏ) *should not be rebuilt* (lit. *they* should not build (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲉⲧ)) in (ϩⲙ) my time (ⲡⲁ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27).

b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲓϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲣ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲭⲓ ⲇⲟⲗ '*I shall not steal* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ), *I shall not make* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲣ) *false* (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩϫ) *witness* (ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ), *I shall not tell* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲭⲓ) *lies* (ⲇⲟⲗ)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ 'and we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ), in our turn (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲛ), *we will not again* (lit. set (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) hand (ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲛ) to) make (ⲉ-ⲣ) war (ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ) with the God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of heaven (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ)' (Eud. 48:13).

c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲩⲗ (read ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'the Jews (ⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) strengthened (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ) the gate (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗ) very strongly (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ) so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) the apostles (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *could not go* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲉⲫ-ⲃⲱⲕ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) the city (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ⲁⲛⲓ ⲧⲉⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲗⲟⲓⲥⲉ ⲉϫⲱ (read ⲉϫⲱⲓ) 'bring (ⲁⲛⲓ) the soul (ⲧⲉ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ) of Judas up here (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *won't find* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲟⲛ) a pretext (ⲗⲟⲓⲥⲉ) against me (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲟϫⲟ[ⲩ] [ⲉ]ϫⲏ ⲡⲉⲫⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲟⲃⲥⲫ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣ ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲟϫ-ⲟ[ⲩ]) on (ⲉϫⲏ) his (Jesus') tomb (ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ) and cover it (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ϩⲟⲃⲥ-ⲫ) so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *no* man (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *might remember it* (lit. make (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲣ) its remembrance (ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperatival clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary ⲙⲡⲣ- 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. ⲙⲡⲣⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ '*do not return* (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ⲕ) to sin (lit. to do (ⲉ-ⲣ) sin (ⲛⲟⲃⲉ))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), ⲙⲡⲣⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ '*don't be* (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲣ) *afraid* (ϩⲟⲧⲉ), holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) virgin (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), ⲙⲡⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ '*don't abandon me* (lit. leave me (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲕⲁⲁⲧ) behind you (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲕ))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲧⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '*don't let* (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-ⲧⲣⲉ) anybody (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *know* (ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) that (ⲭⲉ) you (ⲛⲧⲉ) (are) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative ⲙⲡⲣ- has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like '(oh) no, don't', e.g. ⲉⲕⲛⲁϭⲱⲯⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'will you watch me going to perdition? *Oh no* (ⲙⲡⲱⲣ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

9.4.6 The negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ 'to do not'. The auxiliary ⲧⲙ is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲁϥⲯⲧⲁⲙ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲱⲯⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) because (ⲭⲉ) he closed (ⲁϥ-ⲯⲧⲁⲙ) his eyes (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲃⲁⲗ) *not to see* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲟⲱⲯⲧ) it (the sun) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ)' (Zen. 200:27-28), ⲁ ⲧⲁⲃⲟⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲣⲁⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲭⲉ ϯϩⲕⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲏ ϯⲟⲃⲉ 'my strength (ⲧⲁ-ⲃⲟⲙ) came (back) (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓ) to me (ⲉⲣⲟⲓ) so that (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *I did not notice* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ) that (ⲭⲉ) I was hungry (ϯ-ϩⲕⲟⲉⲓⲧ) or (ⲏ) thirsty (ϯ-ⲟⲃⲉ)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of ⲧⲙ are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. ⲡⲁϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲭⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲩⲁⲏ ⲛⲁϥ 'the treasure (ⲡ-ⲁϩⲟ) of the monk (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) (is) *not to acquire* (ⲧⲙ-ⲭⲡⲉ) *any* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *property* (ⲛ-ϩⲩⲁⲏ) for himself (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), [ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] ⲛⲧ[ⲉⲧ]ⲙ [ⲗⲁⲁⲩ] ⲉ[ⲯⲟⲙ]ⲥⲟⲙ ⲉ[ⲛⲁϩ]ⲙ[ⲉ]ϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [ϩⲛ ⲛⲁ]ⲥⲓⲝ 'so that (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *nobody* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *will be able* (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲙ ... ⲉⲯ-ⲟⲙⲟⲥⲙ) to save himself (ⲉ-ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ-ϥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) my hands (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲓⲝ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

9.4.1.1 *Two different clausal positions*

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker ⲯⲁⲛ and before the epistemic modal verb (ⲉ)ⲯ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. ⲉⲛⲯⲁⲛⲧⲙϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲯϥ '*if we do not keep* (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ-ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ), the place (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) will be deserted (ⲛⲁ-ⲯϥ)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker ⲯⲁⲛ and the negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker ⲉⲣⲉ and preceding the subject nominal: ⲉⲣⲉ $NP_{subject}$ ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ → ⲉⲣ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ $NP_{subject}$, e.g. ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛⲧⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ '*if* a man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *does not give up* (ⲉⲣ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ ... ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ) everything (ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ)) the world (ⲡ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ), he will not (ⲁⲛ) be able to become (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯ-ⲱⲡⲉ) a monk (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

9.4.1.2 *Negative conjugation patterns with* ⲧⲙ

The negative auxiliary verb ⲧⲙ has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲙ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

e.g. ⲉⲡϩⲁⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲧⲙⲉⲯⲟⲙⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ) ⲁϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ (...) 'finally

(ϵ-π-ϩλϵ), *when* the dragon (πϵ-ΔρακωΝ) *had not been able* (Ντϵρϵ-ϥ-τΜ-ϵψ-σΜσοΜ) to cast (ϵ-τλγο) down (ϵπϵϹΗτ) Antony (ΝΝ-λΝτωΝιοϹ) he became angry (λ-ϥ-σωΝτ) about himself (ϵρο-ϥ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜο-ϥ)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψλΝτϵ-ϥ-τΜ-ϹωτΜ

e.g. λγω λγϩιογϵ ΝϹωογ ψλΝτογτΜΚλ λλλγ ϵπλϩογ ϵτρϵϥογχλι 'and (λγω) they smote (λ-γ-ϩιογϵ) them (ΝϹω-ογ) *until they did not leave* (ψλΝτ-ογ-τΜ-Κλ) anyone (λλλγ) behind (ϵπλϩογ) to survive (ϵ-τρϵ-ϥ-ογχλι)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ϵ-ϥ-ψλΝ-τΜ-ϹωτΜ and the Negative Relative Present ϵ-ϥ-τΜ-ϹωτΜ 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ϵΝψλΝτΜϩλρϵϩ λϵ πτοπος Νλψωϥ *'if we do not keep* (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ϵ-Ν-ψλΝ-τΜ-ϩλρϵϩ), the place (π-τοπος) will be deserted (Νλ-ψωϥ)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. ϵψωπϵ ϵτϵτΝτΜσϵπΗ ϵϵιρϵ ΜπλΙ ϩΝ ογΜογ τϵτΝλΜογ (read τϵτΝ-Νλ-Μογ) '*if you do not hasten* (ϵ-τϵτΝ-τΜ-σϵπΗ) to do (ϵ-ϵιρϵ) this (Μ-πλΙ), you will surely die (lit. in (ϩΝ) a dying (ογ-Μογ) you will die (τϵτΝ-Νλ-Μογ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive Ν-ϥ-τΜ-ϹωτΜ

e.g. ΝτϵτΜ πϩΗΚϵ ϩωωϥ Κωτϵ ϩΜ πϵϥΗΙ Η ϩΝ ΝϵτϩΙτογωϥ ψλΝτϥϵ ϵογΝοϭ ΝτλΙο '*and would* the poor (man) (π-ϩΗΚϵ), in his turn (ϩωω-ϥ), *not seek* (Ντϵ-τΜ ... Κωτϵ), in (ϩΜ) his own house (πϵϥ-ΗΙ) or (Η) in (ϩΝ) (that) of his neighbours (Ν-ϵτ-ϩΙτογω-ϥ) until he finds (ψλΝτ-ϥ-ϩϵ) a great (ϵ-ογ-Νοϭ) gift (Ν-τλΙο)' (Eud. 72:13-14), ΝΙΜ πϵ πρωΜϵ ϵϥΝλϭωψτ ΝϹλ πϵϥψΗρϵ ϵϥΒΗΚ ΝϵΜτω ΝϥτΜΒοΗθϵΙ ϵροϥ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (is) the man (π-ρωΜϵ) who will watch (ϵ-ϥ-Νλ-ϭωψτ) his son (πϵϥ-ψΗρϵ) drowning (lit. go (ϵ-ϥ-ΒΗΚ) to the depths (Ν-ϵΜτω)) *and would not help* (Ν-ϥ-τΜ-ΒοΗθϵΙ) him (ϵρο-ϥ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary τΜ is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. λ πϵΝϵΙωτ ΠλϩωΜ ϩωΝ ϵτοοτΝ ϵτΜρ ΠλΙ 'our father (πϵΝ-ϵΙωτ) Pachôm ordered us (ϵτοοτ-Ν) *not to do* (ϵ-τΜ-ρ) this (ΠλΙ)' (V. Pach. 139:31), ΜωΝωΝ (for ΜοΝοΝ) ϩλρϵϩ ϵροΚ ϵτΜρ ΝοΒϵ ϵπΝογτϵ ΝτλϥτλΜΙοΚ 'but (ΜωΝωΝ) be careful (ϩλρϵϩ) *not to sin* (lit. commit (ϵ-τΜ-ρ) sin (ΝοΒϵ)) against the God (ϵ-π-Νογτϵ) who has created you (Ντ-λ-ϥ-τλΜΙο-Κ)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer Ν- and the negation adverb λΝ 'not'.	§9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The Μπλτϵϥϥϥ

Exercises

9.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle ⲛ-.
2. The negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
3. Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
4. The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ('BUT')-clause.
5. The Negative Third Future ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
6. ⲧⲙ-negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

9.2 Double negation

A. The placement of the negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker ⲁⲛ in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.

(1) ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲱ ___ ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ___ ⲉⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ '*they will not* (ⲁⲛ) *be able* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲱ-ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ) to nullify (ⲉ-ⲃⲉⲗ) these blessings (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) upon (ⲉⲭⲛ) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

(2) ⲛ†ⲛⲁϩⲉⲡ ___ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ ___ '*I will not* (ⲁⲛ) *hide* (ⲛ-†-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉⲡ) anything (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) from you (ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ)' (Abbatôn 231:19)

(3) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲥϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ___ ⲉⲡⲧⲉⲃⲃⲟ ___ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲏ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *she* (the possessed girl) *does not* (ⲁⲛ) *watch* (ⲛ-ⲥ-ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) the purity (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲉⲃⲃⲟ) of the monastic life-style (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲏ)' (V. Pach.141:13-14)

(4) ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛ†ⲛⲁⲗⲟ ___ ⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ___ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲧⲛ ⲯⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ (for ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲁ) ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *will not* (ⲁⲛ) *cease* (ⲛ-†-ⲛⲁ-ⲗⲟ) walking (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) with you (ⲛⲙⲙⲏ-ⲧⲛ) until (ⲯⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) the completion (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ) of this era (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ)' (Abbatôn 230:13-15)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.

(1) ⲛϥⲛⲁⲉⲱ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϩⲁ ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ (KHML II 34:6-7)

(3) ⲛ†ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ (Hil. 7:30-31)

(4) ⲛ†ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ (Test. Is. 230:15)

(5) ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ (V. Pach. 5:17)

9.3 Negative tenses

A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲩ	(AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲫⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ	(V. Pach. 5:18)
ⲛⲩⲧⲙⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
ⲙⲡⲣⲣ ⲥⲟⲧⲉ	(Eud. 50:21)
ⲉⲧⲙⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

(1) ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲧⲛ]ⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) ___ on a mat (ⲉ-ⲧⲟⲙ) with the two of you (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ)' (praec. Pach. 95)

(2) ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲭⲓ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ '___ (it) (the garbage) to any (ⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) place (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) (else) than (ⲛⲥⲁ) to the place (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of that Nazarene (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅)' (Eud. 52:27-28)

(3) ⲉⲫⲫⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲯⲧⲏⲛ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲧⲏⲛ) ⲉⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ (read ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ) ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲉⲙⲉⲫⲟⲩⲉⲙ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'he was wearing (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲫⲱⲣⲉⲓ) a garment (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲧⲏⲛ) of sackcloth (ⲛ-ⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) his time (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) ___ anything (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) but (ⲛⲥⲁ) bread (ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) and (ⲥⲓ) salt (ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) alone (ⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

(4) ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲧⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲱⲭⲗⲉⲓ (for ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲟⲭⲗⲉⲓ) ⲛⲁⲫ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ '(as for) the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) to the people (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of his village (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲧⲙⲉ) so that (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) ___ him (ⲛⲁ-ⲫ) and (ⲙⲛ) his sister (ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲱⲛⲉ) in (ⲥⲛ) any respect (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲃ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

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

ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲫⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ (read ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ) ⲛⲟⲓ[a] ⲫⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲍⲗⲗⲟ. ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲫ[b] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲥⲏⲫ.[c] ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ[d] ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲱⲛⲏ.[e] ⲛⲧⲟⲫ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ (for ⲛⲧⲥⲣⲟⲫⲧ) ⲁⲛ. ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲫ[f] ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ[g] ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲓⲕ. ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲃ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ. ⲁⲩⲭⲛⲟⲩⲫ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁ[h] ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲥⲡⲥⲱⲡⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲫ ⲉⲗⲁⲥ. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ. ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓ[j] ⲥⲱⲥ[j] ⲛⲧⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ ⲁⲛ. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲙⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲫⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲏ[k] ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲍ[l] ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲥ ⲧⲉⲫⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲱⲕⲙ[m] ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓ (for ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲡⲏ) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. ⲛⲟⲓ subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲫ 'he had' c. ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲏⲫ 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. ⲁⲃⲱ 'drag-net' e. ⲙⲱⲛⲏ 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲫ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ (< ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁ 'apart, in private' i. ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓ 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ⲥⲱⲥ 'since' k. ⲡⲏ 'that one' (see above, section

4.1.1 of Unit 4) l. ⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩϩ 'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off (ⲥⲱⲗⲡ) the rope (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩϩ))' m. ⲱⲕⲙ 'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

(1) ⲟⲩⲧⲉ (for ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) ⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲯⲃ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) also (ⲟⲛ) *no one* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *shall shave* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲯⲃ) anyone (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) sitting (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 97).

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

(2) ⲙⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ '*they* (the hermits) *usually do not* even (ⲣⲱ) *remember* (lit. make (ⲙⲉⲩ-ⲣ) thought (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) that (ϫⲉ) a world (ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) exists (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ⲯⲟⲟⲡ)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S–V–O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V–S and V–S–O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO_{SU} 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S–V–O)	ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϯⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϯ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) five (ϯⲟⲩ) days (ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ) the deacon (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) went (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ϯ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)) to the holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) priest (ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) Apa Pambô' (Hil. 5:31-32)
LEFT-DISLOCATION ($TOPIC_{SU}$ –PRO_{SU} –V–O)	ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϯ ⲡⲉ[ϥ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ '(as for) Andrew, he went forth (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ϯ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153)
SUBJECT INVERSION (V– PRO_{SU}–O–S)	ⲉⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲛϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲁϥϯ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ (...) 'when (ⲉⲧⲉⲓ) we were sitting (ⲉ-ⲛ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ), a venerable (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) priest (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) came (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ϯ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) (...)' (Abbatôn 228:13-14)

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic, representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

10.1.1 S–V–O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S–V–O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

a) Precedence relations

S–V–O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲭⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ (...) '*a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) asked (ⲁ ... ⲭⲛⲉ) *Apa Sarapion* (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ⲁ PERFECT	ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ a brother	ⲭⲛⲉ ask	ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ Apa Sarapion

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S–V–O surface order

b) Markedness

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S–V–O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker ⲛⲟ́. Compare, then: (S–V–O) ⲁ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ (…) 'the senior (monks) (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) said (ⲁ … ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) that (ϫⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC$_{SU}$ –PRO$_{SU}$ –V–O) ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲟⲛ ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ (…) '(as for) him (Apa Isaac) (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), he also (ⲟⲛ) said (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) that (ϫⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V– PRO$_{SU}$–O–S) ⲁⲩϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟ́ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ϫⲉ (…) 'Our fathers (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) said (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) that (ϫⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) Pragmatically neutral contexts

S–V–O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. ⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲱⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲕⲉⲉⲥ '*his* (Apa Mena's) *sister* (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) gathered (ⲁ … ⲱⲗ) his bones (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲕⲉⲉⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1-2), ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲃⲉⲓ (for ϥⲓ) ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ) ⲛⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϣⲁ '*the Lord* (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) will require (ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲉⲓ) a big (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) sacrifice (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ) from (ϩⲙ) your house (ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲓ) on (ϩⲙ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the feast (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϣⲁ)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲉϩ ⲣⲱϥ ⲁϥⲣϥⲛⲧ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ 'suddenly (ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), *his* (Diocletian's) *tongue* (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲗⲁⲥ) filled (ⲁ … ⲛⲉϩ) his mouth (ⲣⲱ-ϥ), he was eaten by (lit. he became (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ)) worms (ϥⲛⲧ) (and) died (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 38:27).

S–V–O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or truisms, e.g. ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ '*this date-palm* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) yields (ⲯⲁⲣⲉ … ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲗⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ † ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*Diocletian* (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ) gave (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ … †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲇⲟⲣⲟⲛ) annually (ⲧⲉ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the glorification (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of their gods (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S–V–O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ (read ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ (…) 'if *anyone* (ⲟⲩⲁ) asks (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ … ⲉⲧⲓ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) something (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14), ⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲣ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲱ '*one* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) *of* (ϩⲛ) *the holy ones* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) spent (ⲁ ….ⲣ) forty (ϩⲙⲉ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) without eating (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) (and) drinking (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲱ)' (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 Constituent order in the postverbal domain

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist "scrambling", i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 The canonical V > DO > IO > ADV order

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ 'to *know* (ⲥⲟⲩⲛ) *what is good* (ⲡ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) and (ⲙⲛ) what is bad (ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ < ⲡ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Abbatôn 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'since (ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ) you *know* (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) *my* entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) *mode of life* (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲓⲯⲉⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲙⲉⲓⲯⲓⲛⲉ) ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲧⲟⲛ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) you know (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [*that* (ϫⲉ) I did not

look (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲯⲉⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) my own peace (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like ⲧ 'to give' and ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the tranferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧ ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) will *grant* (ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧ) *a favour* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ) *to those who will believe* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)' (Test. Is. 228:11), ϥⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲯⲁϩⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ 'he (the Lord) will *grant* (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) *healing* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ) *to my daughter* (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) your prayers (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ), my brothers (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)' (Hil. 8:12-13), ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲁⲛ 'he should give (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲧ) *us* (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) *what is his* (ⲛⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲡⲱⲣϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲟⲓⲝ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ϫⲓⲛ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ϣⲁ ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Pachôm) lifted (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲡⲱⲣϣ) his hands (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲟⲓⲝ) up (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) *to God* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *weeping* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ) *the entire* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) *night* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ) *from* (ϫⲓⲛ) *evening* (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) *till* (ϣⲁ) *dawn* (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP_{DO}) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scambled" order of dative shift constructions is V_{AS} > DAT-CL > PP_{DO} order, e.g. ⲁϥⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'he (Apa Pambô) *gave* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧ) *her* (Hilaria) (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) *a cell* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲓ) next to him (ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱ-ϥ), south (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲏⲥ) of the church (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ)' (Hil 6:15), ⲉⲡϩⲁⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲁϥ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲛϩⲛⲧⲛϩ (for ⲛϩⲉⲛⲧⲛϩ) 'finally (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲉ), they *gave* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧ) *him* (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *wings* (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲧⲛϩ), too (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), ⲛⲅⲯⲁϩⲁ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ

'and you shall pray (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ) on her behalf (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲥ) until the Lorc (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *will grant* (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) *her* (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) *healing* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. ⲁϥⲕⲁⲧⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲁⲧⲏϥ ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ 'he (the king) kept (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲭⲉ) *the brothers* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) *with him* (ϩⲁⲧⲏ-ϥ) (for) *three* (ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) *months* (ⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) *because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *his daughter* (ⲧⲉϥ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 12:8-9), ⲁ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ 'somebody else (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) *brought* (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) *his son* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) *to him* (Pachôm) (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧ ⲡⲉ[ϥ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ '[TOPIC *Andrew* (ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ), [COMMENT *he* went forth (lit. he gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ))]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclausal topic and the intraclausal resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ (As for) *Andrew*	ⲁ- PERFECT	-ⲥ- *he*	ⲧ give	ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ his way



FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker ⲇⲉ is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

a) Embedded left-dislocation

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲫⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ '*and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) (concerning) *the churches* (ⲛ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ) they shall rebuild *them* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) and celebrate (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲫⲓ) *in them* (ⲛⲍⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the Eucharist (ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ) on (ⲍⲙ) this very (ⲡⲁⲓ) day (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 40:9-10), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲟⲙⲡⲫⲉⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲡⲟⲙⲡⲫⲓⲛⲉ) ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲁⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲍⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲍⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ '*and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) *that* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *affliction* (ⲡ-ⲟⲙ-ⲡ-ⲫⲉⲓⲛⲉ) had occurred (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) in (ⲍⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the convents (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲍⲥ) of the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) through (ⲍⲙ) the order (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉⲍ-ⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲫⲭⲉⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲫⲟⲩ '*but* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *also Arios* (ⲡ-ⲕⲉ-ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) died (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲙⲟⲩ) before finishing (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲫ-ⲭⲉⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) one year (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (as a bishop)' (KHML II 50:6-7), ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ (for ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ) ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ '*so that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ), (as far as) *we* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) (are concerned) you would awake (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ) *us* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ) from (ⲍⲙ) the deep (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩ) sleep (ⲛ-ⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ)' (Zen. 199:17-18).

b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ '*the Jews* (ⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) blocked (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ) the gate (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗⲏ) solidly (ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲍⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲯⲉⲧ ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) *blind people* (ⲍⲛ-ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) asking for (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲉⲧ) charity (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲁ) (KHML I 6:11), ⲧⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲛⲉⲥⲍⲉⲛ (for ⲛⲉⲥⲍⲛ) ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ '*the little* (ⲯⲏⲙ) *girl* (ⲧ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲍⲉⲛ) about eighteen (ⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25), ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲫⲟⲩ[ⲟ]ⲛⲍⲫ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ '*the angel* (ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of the Lord* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) revealed himself (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲍ-ⲫ) to the archbishop (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲫⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲫ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ '*the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) also (ⲟⲛ) encourages (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲧⲱⲃⲥ) everybody (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) who loves (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲉ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲫ) through (ⲍⲙ) the Gospel (ⲡ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ)' (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ ⲁⲓⲁⲁⲫ '*what I had thought* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) *of* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ) I have done (*it*) (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ⲫ)' (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲍⲁⲕ ⲯⲁⲩⲧ ⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲉⲭⲱⲫ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ '*the prudent* (ⲛ-ⲍⲁⲕ) *monk* (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) is given (lit. they give (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧ)) a crown (ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) *on him* (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲫ) on (ⲍⲙ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲍ)' (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ⲧⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲯⲱ[ⲛⲉ] ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲡⲉ '(as for) *this* (woman) (ⲧⲁⲓ), (there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) a severe (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) illness (ⲛ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ) in (ⲍⲛ) *her* head (ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲁⲡⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

c) Unbounded dependencies

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲁⲫⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '*the deacon* (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) [$_{S1}$ fulfilled (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) her (Hilaria's) wish (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ)], '[$_{S2}$ took (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲭⲓ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ) from her (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲥ)], '[$_{S3}$ (and) they ate (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ)

together (ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) *on that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲛⲁⲩ) *day* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ)' (Hil. 5:1-4), ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲫⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲙⲍⲁⲗ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲍⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ '(as for) *Eutropius*, [S1 he was very (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) happy (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣⲁⲱⲉ)] [S2 (and) travelled (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) his servant (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲍⲙⲍⲁⲗ)] [S3 until *he* reached (ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲃⲱⲕ) the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲍⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲁⲕⲁⲑⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ (read ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ) ⲙⲙⲟⲥ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as far as) *this city* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (is concerned), [S1 we will not (ⲁⲛ) allow you (ⲛ-ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁ-ⲑⲏⲩⲧⲛ) [S2 to open (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛ) *it* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲑⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ '[Topic1 (as for) *all* (ⲑⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *these* (rules) (ⲛⲁⲓ)], [Topic2 *he who will neglect* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲭⲓ) punishment (ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ)) on account of them (ⲍⲁⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (praec. Pach.103), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲟⲡⲧⲛ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲛ '[Topic1 (as for) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ)] [Topic2 *because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *our sins* (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲛ-ⲟⲡⲧ-ⲛ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ⲟⲩⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ

ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲣⲙ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲭⲉ (...) '*a* (certain) *old* (ⲟⲩ-ⲍⲗⲗⲟ) *hermit* (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ) got lost (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲣⲙ) in (ⲍⲛ) the desert (ⲧ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) said (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲩ) to himself (ⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ-ⲩ) that (ⲭⲉ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲩⲛⲉⲭ [ⲯⲁⲭⲉ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲯⲁⲩ† ⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲉ[ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*a wise* (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) *man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) does not throw (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲉⲭ) away (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) word (ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) like that (ⲍⲓⲛⲁⲓ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) focuses (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-†) his attention (ⲍⲧⲏ-ⲩ) towards those who listen (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), ⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲩⲍⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ '*two* (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) *brothers* (ⲥⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) went (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to a monastery (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲍⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲯⲁⲩⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who will go (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to his (Apa Mena's) shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) will obtain (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲁⲧⲉ) recovery (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative ⲉⲓⲥ 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ [ⲁⲫⲟ]ⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*behold* (ⲉⲓⲥ), *an angel* (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) revealed himself (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲉⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ '*look* (ⲉⲓⲥ), *a knight* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) from (ⲛⲧⲉ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) together with (ⲙⲛ) a deacon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ), wishing (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) to meet (ⲉ-ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extraclausal topic does not correspond to any placeholding expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ⲧⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲣ ⲧⲟⲩⲓ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲕⲉⲧⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲯⲃⲏⲣ '(as for) *the instruction* (ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ) of fast (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ): he shall make (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) the first one (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲓ) in (ⲍⲙ) his house (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲏⲉⲓ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the other (ⲧ-ⲕⲉⲧⲉ) in (ⲍⲙ) his collegues' (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲯⲃⲏⲣ) house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition ⲉⲧⲃⲉ *'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic,* e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ[ⲙⲁ] ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲱⲯ]ⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲯⲙ ϩⲓ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ '*as for* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *the kneading* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲙ) *place* (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ), no one (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) shall speak (ⲛⲛⲉ … ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) when they are kneading (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲙ) at (ϩⲓ) night (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ)' (praec. Pach. 116), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲉⲕ ⲕⲁ ϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲧⲉⲙⲡⲱ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ (…) '*as for* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *the ships* (ⲛ-ⲉϫⲏⲩ), no (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) sailor (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲉⲕ) shall set loose (ⲛⲛⲉ … ⲕⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) a ship (ϫⲟⲓ) at (ϩⲓ) the landing stage (ⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲱ) without the man (i.e. the prior) (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the congregation (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 118).

c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. ⲁ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲛⲛⲁ [ⲉⲡⲉⲥ]ⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ '*the people* (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) *let* (ⲁ … ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ) the body (ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) of the blessed (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) from (ϩⲙ) the camel (ⲡ-ⲟⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲯⲁϥⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *each one* (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) of them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *perceives* (ⲯⲁⲣⲉ … ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) his nature (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲟ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the light* (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) *was* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ … ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) of diverse sorts (ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲓⲛⲉ)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) while *I* was looking (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ) at them (the trees) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) their fruits (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *four* (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) *young fellows* (ⲛ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) from a distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), ⲁⲥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲁ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲛⲁⲝⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲣⲣⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲥϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ (...) 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of Sunday (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ)) (that) *the king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) went (ⲁ … ⲃⲱⲕ) to the Eucharist (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲝⲓⲥ) together with (ⲙⲛ) *the queen* (ⲧ-ⲣⲣⲱ) and (ⲙⲛ) *his two* (ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ) *daughters* (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ). *The blessed* (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ) *Hilaria* (ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ) looked (lit. carried (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϥⲓ) her eyes (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲥ-ⲃⲁⲗ)) up (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) to heaven (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and said (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ) that (ϫⲉ)(...)' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. ⲁ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ϩⲛ ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲓⲥ ⲯⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲩⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲉⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟϥ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲕⲱⲣⲱ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ϫⲉ (...) '*some people* (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) came (ⲁ … ⲉⲓ) once (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) from (ϩⲛ) the Thebais (ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲓⲥ) to (ⲯⲁ) an old monk (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) and they had (ⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ) *someone* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ) (with them) who was possessed (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) by a demon (ⲛ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ) in order that (ϫⲉⲕⲁ-ⲥ) he would heal him (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ-ϥ). *The old monk* (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ), when they beseeched (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲣⲱ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) very much (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to the demon (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ) that (ϫⲉ) (...)' (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12).

b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϩⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϥϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ 'but when *this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ) (Zênô) had occupied (lit. had sat down (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲟⲟⲥ) on (ϩⲓϫⲙ)) the throne (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ), *he* annulled (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϥϥ) the sinful (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) ordinances (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛ†ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ '(as for) *him* (Pachôm) (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), occasionally people (ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ) came (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to him (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the villages (ⲛ-†ⲙⲉ) in the neighbourhood (ⲉⲧ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes. The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g. ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲁϩⲙ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲯⲁϥⲃⲟⲟⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲯⲗⲏⲗ 'the enemy (ⲡ-ϫⲁϫⲉ) (i.e. the devil) insinuated (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ) filthy (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϫⲁϩⲙ) thoughts (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) to him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ). *Anthony*, on his part (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ), (managed to) repel them (ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲟⲟⲣ-ⲟⲩ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) prayers (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲗⲏⲗ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ϩⲙ [ⲡⲧⲣ]ⲉϥⲱⲃⲱ ⲇⲉ [ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡϩⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧϥ [ⲉϫ]ⲱ[ϥ] ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟ[ⲣⲟ]ⲙⲁ 'when (ϩⲙ) *he* dozed off (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲱⲃⲱ) look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *the holy* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna* stood (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ) before him (ⲉϫⲱ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a vision (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ '*the former* (ⲛⲁⲓ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲓ) the kingdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *from the latter* (Numerian) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲏⲩ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument position, e.g. ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ † [ⲛⲁ]ϥ ⲛⲛⲉϥ[ⲥⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲗ [ⲛⲉⲟ]ⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ [ⲙⲙⲁⲩ] ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ [ⲛⲁⲥ]ⲣⲏⲛ '*the man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *to whom* (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *Apa Mêna had given* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... †) *his camels* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ) had (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) a barren (ⲛ-ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲛ) she-camel (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ

ⲉⲛⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϥⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he who will come* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *to believe* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) *the words* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *his saints* (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ), *he* will become (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) heir (ⲛ-ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) to God's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) kingdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g. ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲥⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ †ⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ (...) ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲯⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲟⲱ ϩⲁⲑⲏⲛ (...) ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱϥϥ (for ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱϥⲃ) ⲡⲉϩⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣϥ (...) ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲣ ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ '*the blessed* (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ) *Hilaria* (ⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ) spoke (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the priest (ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) Apa Pambô, saying (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) »My Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), I want (†-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) you to make me (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ⲧ) a monk (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) (...)«. *The holy one* (ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) »My son (ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ), you cannot (lit. (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) possibility (ϣⲟⲙ) for you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ)) to stay (ⲉ-ⲥⲱ) with us (ϩⲁⲑⲏ-ⲛ) (...)«. *The blessed* (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ) *virgin* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) answered (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱϥϥ) (and) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ⲥ) »My Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), I have come (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲓ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ) with (ϩⲙ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) my heart (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ) (...)«. *The holy one* (ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ) was impressed (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ) by the speech (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ) of the little (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) girl (ⲛ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the main storyline, e.g. ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϩ[ⲣⲁⲓ] ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ϫⲉ †[ⲟⲩⲱϥ] ϩⲱ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ [ⲉⲡ]ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ [ⲙⲏ]ⲛⲁ ⲛⲧ[ⲁ]ⲯⲁⲛⲁ (...) ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲫⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲫⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲱⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲟⲱⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ (...) 'he (the rich Alexandrian) heard (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) of the wonders (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲟⲙ) of Apa Mêna (and) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to himself (ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) »I, too (ϩⲱ), want

(ϯ-ογωψ) to go (ϵ-ϐωκ) to the shrine (ϵ-π-τοποϲ) of Apa Mêna and pray (ντα-ψαηα) (...). Maybe (αρηγ) he will remember me (lit. will make (ϥ-να-ϵρ) my remembrance (πα-ϻϵϵγϵ))«. *He* (ντοϥ) stood up (α-ϥ-τωογν), took (α-ϥ-ϥι) three thousand (ϩ-ϻαα ϐ-ψϵ) *solidi* (ν-νομιϲμα) and went (α-ϥ-ϵι) out (ϵϐολ), travelling (α-ϥ-ϻοοψϵ) (all) by himself (ϻαγαα-ϥ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), ανον δϵ ϩωϣν [ϻαρϵνϲπο]γδαζϵ ϵρ ανα ϥ ϻπνογτϵ ϩιτν ϩνπραξιϲ (for ϩϵνπραξιϲ) ϵναν ογογ 'let *us* (ανον δϵ), in our turn (ϩωω-ν), be zealous (ϻαρϵ-ν-ϲπογδαζϵ) to please (ϵ-ρ ανα-ϥ) God (ϩ-π-νογτϵ) through (ϩιτν) good (ϵ-ναν ογ-ογ) deeds (ϩν-πραξιϲ)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. πα ϵιωτ ϵτϐϵ ογ ανοκ πα ϩητ ναψτ 'My father (πα-ϵιωτ), *why* (ϵτϐϵ ογ) is, (as far as) *I* (ανοκ) am concerned), my heart (πα-ϩητ) (so) bold (ναψτ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. ανον δϵ ϵτϐϵ ν ϵννοϐϵ ϻαρνοπτν ϵϩογν ϻαγααν '(as for) *us* (ανον δϵ)] *because of* (ϵτϐϵ) *our sins* (ν ϵν-νοϐϵ), let us lock up ourselves (ϻαρ-ν-οπτ-ν ϵϩογν) alone (ϻαγαα-ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: νογοϵιψ νιμ νϵϥογωψ αν ϵχι ϵοογ ϵϐολ ϩιτν νρωμϵ '*at no* (αν) *time* (νιμ ν-ογοϵιψ) did he (Pachôm) want (νϵ-ϥ-ογωψ) to get (ϵ-χι) praise (ϵοογ)) by (ϩιτν) people (ν-ρωμϵ)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. ϵτϐϵ ογ τϵριμϵ νναγ νιμ 'why (ϵτϐϵ ογ) do you (woman) weep (τϵ-ριμϵ) *all* (νιμ) *the time* (ν-ναγ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:22), ϩαϩ δϵ νϲοπ ψαϥκιμ ϵγοργη '(on) *many* (ϩαϩ) *occasions* (ν-ϲοπ) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (ψα-ϥ-κιμ) towards anger (ϵ-γ-οργη)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. ϩωϲτϵ ντϵ ϩαϩ ντϵ νϵτϩμ π†μϵ τμψόμόομ ϵτωμντ ϵροϥ ν̀ϩαϩ νϲοπ 'such that (ϩωϲτϵ) many (ϩαϩ) who were in (ν-ϵτ-ϩμ) the village (π-†μϵ) could not (ντϵ ... τμ-ψ-όμ-όομ) meet (ϵ-τωμντ) him (ϵρο-ϥ) *on many* (ν-ϩαϩ) *occasions* (ν-ϲοπ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. ογϩοογ δϵ ϵϐολ ϩν ογϩοογ α τϭαμαγλϵ μιϲϵ νογψϵϵρϵ νϲϩιμϵ '*one day* (ογ-ϩοογ δϵ ϵϐολ ϩν ογ-ϩοογ), the she-camel (τ-ϭαμαγλϵ) delivered (α ... μιϲϵ) a daughter (ν-ογ-ψϵϵρϵ ν-ϲϩιμϵ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), ϩν ογϲψνϵ δϵ ϵϲ (for ϵιϲ) πϩαγιοϲ ϻϵρκογριοϲ αϥϵι ϵϩογν '*all of a sudden* (ϩν ογ-ϲψνϵ), *the holy* (π-ϩαγιοϲ) *Mercurius* came (α-ϥ-ϵι) in (ϵϩογν)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. μπϵϥραϲτϵ αϥϩοοϲ ϵπϐημα νδι ϩαρμϵνιοϲ ϩμ πϵϑϵλδρον '*on the* (lit. *his*) *next day* (μ-πϵϥ-ραϲτϵ) Armenius sat down (α-ϥ-ϩοοϲ) on the tribune (ϵ-π-ϐημα) in (ϩμ) the theatre (πϵ-ϑϵλδρον)' (KHML I 76:8-9), ϩτοογϵ δϵ ϩαϑη μπογοϵιν α τϵϲϩιμϵ ναμαριτηϲ [νϵ]ϩ[ϲϵ] ννϵϩ[ιο]μϵ ϵτνμμαϲ πϵχαϲ ναγ χϵ (...) '(at) *dawn* (ϩτοογϵ) *before* (ϩαϑη) (*sun*)*light* (μ-π-ογοϵιν), the Samaritan (ν-ϲαμαριτηϲ) woman (τϵ-ϲϩιμϵ) woke up (α ... νϵϩϲϵ) the women (ν-νϵ-ϩιομϵ) in her company (ϵτ-νμμα-ϲ) (and) said (πϵχα-ϲ) to them (να-γ) that (χϵ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

c) Topicalised adverbs

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as "as for", they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. ϫⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲉⲃⲓⲱ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲛⲧⲥ ϫⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ '*some time* (ϫⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ) they (flies) will sit (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) on (ⲉϧⲙ) honey (ⲡ-ⲉⲃⲓⲱ), if they can find it (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲥ), *some other time* (ϫⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ) they will sit (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) on (ⲉϧⲙ) bread (ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (Sh. III 48:6-8), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϯϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *for sixty* (ⲥⲉ) *years* (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) I have been living (ϯ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) this desert (ⲧⲓ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ)' (Onnophr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ 'after that' and ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ 'because of that' have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲁϥ [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ [ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ] '*after this* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna revealed (himself) (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a vision (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 32a:11-14), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲕⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ '*because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *this* (ⲡⲁⲓ) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the Tartaros (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ) until (ϣⲁ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the Judgement (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲡ)' (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O –S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle ⲛⲟⲓ. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ (...) 'when *the angel* (ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) had said (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϫⲉ) these (ⲛⲁⲓ) (words) (...)' (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ- TEMPORAL	-ϥ- *he*	ϫⲉ say	ⲛⲁⲓ these	ⲛⲟⲓ FOCUS MARKER	ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ *the angel*

FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϣⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ϫⲓϫⲱⲓ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ '*a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ϣⲁ) Apa Čičôi in the monastery (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ) of Apa Antony' (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϣⲓⲛⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲛⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ (for ϩⲉⲛⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ '(there) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) to Shiêt (ⲉ-ϣⲓⲛⲧ) *monks* (ϩⲛ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲛⲏⲫⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'after (ⲙⲙⲛⲥⲁ) a few days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) more (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) (disobedient) *brother* (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ) cooled down (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲏⲫⲉ)' (V. Pach. 140:30), ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ (Eud. 52:21-22) 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) if all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *those* (people) *who saw* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁⲩ) him (Jesus Christ) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) come to know (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) (about it), they will believe (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ 'on the (lit. his) next day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ) *Armenius* (ϩⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ) sat down (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on the tribune (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲙ) the theatre (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ)' (KHML 1 76:8-9), (demonstratives) ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁϥϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ 'suddenly (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) *this one* (the ill-tempered brother) (ⲡⲁⲓ) calmed down (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲣⲟⲕ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ) his rage (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ)' (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥϩϥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *the blessings* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) written down (ⲉⲧ-ⲥϩϥ) (in the Scriptures) will come (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲓ) upon them (ⲉϧⲱ-ⲟⲩ)' (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟϣ 'as (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) were not yet (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ)

many (ϵτ-οψ) *monasteries* (n-monactnpion) in (2n) Egypt (kime)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), αγω νεqμεϩ νμcαϩ νδι πειοορ ετμμαγ 'and (αγω) *that* (ϵτ-μμαγ) *canal* (π-ειοορ) was full (νε-q-μεϩ) of crodiles (ν-μcαϩ)' (V. Ant. 21:8).

10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle νδι

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker νδι to the right of the locative question word τωn 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. ϵqτωn πταφος μπλχοϵις 'where (τωn) (is) *the tomb* (π-ταφος) *of my lord* (μ-πα-χοϵις)?' (Eud. 58:25), ϵqτωn πρωμε ϵττλλην ϵπχοι νμ[μ]ακ 'where (is) (τωn) *the man* (π-ρωμε) *who was on board* (ϵτ-ταλην) *of the ship* (ϵ-π-χοι) *with you* (νμμακ)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle νδι, e.g. μη ϵιταιην ανοκ ϵϩογϵ παχοϵις 'am *I* (ανοκ) then more (ϵϩογ(ϵ)) honoured (ϵ-ι-ταϵιην) than my Lord (ϵ-πα-χοϵις)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), τερϩοτϵ ντο ϩητq μπνογτϵ '*you* (woman) (ντο) fear (τϵ-ρ-ϩοτϵ ϩητ-q) God (n-π-νογτϵ)' (Eud. 64:23), qχω γαρ μμος ντοq πχοϵις χϵ (...) 'for (γαρ) *he* (ντοq), *the Lord* (π-χοϵις), says (q-χω) that (χϵ) (...)' (Sh. III 60:4-5).

10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. ναι τηρογ ϵqϵιρϵ μμοογ ϵτβηητν νδι πετϵογνδομ μμοq ϩν ϩωβ νιμ '(as for) *all* (τηρ-ογ) *these* (things) (ναι), *he who has* (π-ϵτϵ-ογν) *power* (δομ) *over* (ϩν) *everything* (ϩωβ νιμ) is doing (ϵ-q-ϵιρϵ) them (μμοογ) because of us (ϵτβημτ-ν)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), παι δϵ αqχω νογψαχϵ ναϩραq νδι βαcιμος πετψοοπ ϩν νϵτογααβ '(as for) *the latter* (παι δϵ), *Basimos* (βαcιμος), *who is* (π-ϵτ-ψοοπ) *amongst* (ϩν) *the saints* (ν-ϵτ-ογααβ) said (λ-q-χω) a word (ν-ογ-ψαχϵ) to him (ναϩρα-q)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), ϩτοογϵ δϵ μπμαϩcαψq (for μπμϵϩcαψq) αcογϵϩcαϩνϵ νδι

τρρω ϵδωπϵ νλc ννιογδαι ϵτψοοπ ϩν θϊ̄ϩ̄η̄ μν cιων '(on the) *morning* (ϩτοογϵ) *of the seventh* (day) (μ-π-μαϩ-cαψq), *the queen* (τ-ρρω) ordered (lit.placed (λ-c-ογϵϩ) an order (cαϩνϵ)) to arrest (ϵ-δωπϵ) for her (νλ-c) the Jews (ν-ν-ιογδαι) who were living (ϵτ-ψοοπ) in (ϩν) Jerusalem (θϊ̄ϩ̄η̄) and (μν) Zion (cιων)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V–O–S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. ντερϵqχϵ ναι δϵ νδι παγγϵλος (...) 'when *the angel* (π-αγγϵλος) had *said* (ντερϵ-χϵ) these (ναι) (words) (...)' (Test. Is. 230:12), cϵνατcαβο ϵροq νδι νϵβολ ϩν ταφυλη (...) '*the people* (ν-ϵβολ) *of* (ϩν) *my tribe* (τα-φυλη) will *inform* you (woman) (cϵ-να-τcαβο) about it (ϵρο-q) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), ϵψανκριν̄ϵ δϵ μμοq νδι νϵτϩμπηι (...) 'if *the residents* (ν-ϵτ-ϩμ-π-ηι) judge (ϵ-γ-ψαν-κριν̄ϵ) him (μμο-q) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), αγω αγκωτϵ ϵροq νδι ϩαρμα νμπϵρcος ϵτρϵγμογογτ μμοq 'and (αγω) *the chariots* (ν-ϩαρμα) *of the Persians* (ν-μ-πϵρcος) *surrounded* (λ-γ-κωτϵ) him (Constantine) (ϵρο-q) to kill (ϵ-τρϵ-γ-μογογτ) him (μμο-q)' (Eud. 42:25). V–O–S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. αγω αqχι ϵογ νδι πραν μπϵνχοϵις ϊ̄c̄ πϵχ̄c̄ 'and (αγω) *the name* (π-ραν) *of our Lord* (μ-πϵν-χοϵις) *Jesus* (ϊ̄c̄) *Christ* (πϵ-χ̄c̄) *received* (λ-q-χι) *glory* (ϵογ)' (Eud. 40:27-28), ντερϵq[ρ] ϩναq δϵ νδι πνογτϵ (...) 'when it *pleased* (ντερϵ-q-ρ ϩνα-q) *God* (π-νογτϵ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

b) Verbs of saying and reporting

Subject inversion is also possible with *verbs of saying and reporting* that introduce reported speech, e.g. ⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲭⲉ (…) '*Our fathers* (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) *said* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) that (ⲭⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3), ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲫⲫ (for ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲫⲃ) ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ (…) '*the deacon* (ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) *answered* (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫⲫ) her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) that (ⲭⲉ) (…)' (Hil. 4:28-29), ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ (…) '*the blessed* (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) *old man* (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲫ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) that (ⲭⲉ) (…)' (Onnophr. 213:27-28).

c) Motion verbs

When combined with verbs of inherently directed motion, subject-inverted clauses assume a presentative meaning and function, signalling the appearance of a referent in the realm of discourse, e.g. ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲩⲁⲏ ⲛⲫⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'open (ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ) the gate (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲁⲏ) (that) *Matthew* (ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ) can *come* (ⲛ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)' (KHML II 21:6-7), ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲧⲫ '*the generals* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *the army* (ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲙ) *went* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) to fetch him (Constantine) (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲧ-ⲫ)' (Eud. 38:5-6), ⲫⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲥ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ '*an angel* (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *comes* (ⲫ-ⲛⲏⲩ) and administers (the Eucharist) (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ) to me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) on Saturday (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) Sunday (ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ)' (Onnophr. 214:22-23).

d) Statives

Subject-inverted Stative sentences are not so much presentational constructions, but rather emphatic assertions: they emphasise the truth or correctness of the statement being made, e.g. ⲫⲟⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ '(as) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *Almighty* (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ) *lives* (ⲫ-ⲟⲛϩ)' (Onnophr. 215:27), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲫⲥⲙⲁⲗⲁⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲧⲱⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲫ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the good* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲫ) *plant* (ⲡ-ⲧⲱⲟⲉ) *is blessed* (ⲫ-ⲥⲙⲁⲗⲁⲧ)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), ⲫⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲣⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ '*cursed* (ⲫ-ⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲣⲧ) be *the earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) because of (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) your deeds (ⲛⲉⲕ-ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ)' (Abbatôn 238:29).

10.1.5.5 Semantic types of focus

Subject inversion represents an ex-situ focusing strategy in which th subject is placed in a postverbal focus position where it can b assigned nuclear (sentence) stress.

a) Presentational focus

In the unmarked case inverted subjects correspond to presentationa (new information) focus, which introduces new referents into th discourse. In placing the focused subject at the end of the clause, it i one of the last sentence elements to be mentioned and hence availabl for later recall in the subsequent discourse. There is a strong tendenc for presentational foci to be hearer-new, which results in the frequen occurrence of specific indefinite noun phrases in subject-inverte clauses, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲕⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ (…) 'suddenly (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ), *a luminous* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) *man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲓ) with two others (ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) walking (ⲉⲣⲉ … ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) besides him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲫ)' (Mena, Mir. 21b:10-14), ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲫⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ (read ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ) ⲛⲟⲓ ⲫⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ 'once (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *three* (ⲫⲟⲙⲛⲧ) *senior* (*monks*) (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) approached (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲕ) Apa Archillas' (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-21).

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲫⲁⲣⲟⲫ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲫ (…) 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) the glorification (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of Christ (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄), *Michael* (ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ), *the Archangel* (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of heaven* (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲉ), came (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) to him (Constantine) (ⲫⲁⲣⲟ-ⲫ) and instructed him (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ⲫ) (…)' (Eud. 42:1-2), ⲉⲩⲫⲁⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲙⲣⲱ ⲧⲛⲁⲫⲓⲧⲫ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲭⲫ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ 'when *the people* (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *of the harbour* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲙⲣⲱ) go to sleep (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲫⲁⲛ-ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ), I will take it (the corpse) (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲫⲓⲧ-ⲫ) and throw it (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛⲟⲩⲭ-ⲫ) into the sea (ⲉ-ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7), ⲁⲥⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩϩⲱⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) when *the days* (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) *of the patriarch* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ) *Isaac* had come near

(ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲛ) *that he was going to die* (*lit. for him to go* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) *out of* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the body (ⲥⲱⲙⲁ))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲃⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ '*God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) wanted (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) to make his mind (ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) humble (ⲉ-ⲃⲃⲓⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), ⲁⲫⲥⲱ ⲉⲫⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ '*Our father* (Pachôm) (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) kept (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱ) asking (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this matter (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϩⲱⲃ)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲙ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲓⲅⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲫⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲫⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲙⲛⲁⲧⲟⲓ '*the Persian* (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) *kings* (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ) arose (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ), gathered (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) together with (ⲙⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) their multitude (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ) (and) went (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) to (ⲉⲭⲙ) the river (ⲡ-ⲓⲉⲣⲟ) Tigris (ⲧⲓⲅⲣⲓⲥ). (King) *Constantine* (ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ) arose (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) (and) gathered (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) his troops (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ) of soldiers (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ) (...)' (Eud. 42:18-20), ⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲫⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) when God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) had overthrown (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ) *the unlawful* (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) *king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Diocletian* (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) (that) the lawful (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Constantine* (ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ) became (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲣ) king (ⲣⲣⲟ) in his place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), ⲫⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ '*the death* (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲩ) *of that* (daughter) (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) is better (ⲫ-ⲥⲟⲧⲡ) than (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) *the life* (ⲡ-ⲟⲛϩ) *of this one* (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲓ)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲝ ⲫⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ '(on the blast of) the second (ⲧ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) trumpet (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲝ), *the courtiers* (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *tribunes* (ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *chief officials* (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ) *of the royal* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *court* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲁⲩⲁⲏ) would gather (ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ)' (Eud. 60:16-18), ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲁⲡ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ϫⲡⲓⲟ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ (...) 'so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *judgement* (ϩⲁⲡ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *blame* (ϫⲡⲓⲟ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *reproach* (ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *grief* (ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *righteous* (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) *blood* (ⲥⲛⲟϥ) (...) will come (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) upon you (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲧⲛ)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), ⲉⲁϥⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲇⲉⲡⲏ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲙⲙⲉϥ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲛⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ (...) 'and *an unlawful* (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) *king* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *whom perdition* (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ) *would soon* (ⲉ ... ⲇⲉⲡⲏ) overcome (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱ-ϥ) gave (ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ) order (ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ) to make the prophet (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ) eat (lit. that they feed him (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲧⲙⲙⲉ-ϥ)) the bread (ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) of affliction (ⲛ-ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) (...)' (Sh. III 106:16-19).

10.2 Residual V–S(–O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V–S–O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V–S–O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V–S–O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V–S	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ 'your eagerness (ⲡⲉⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ) *is excellent* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ)' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS ⲟⲩⲛ, ⲙⲛ '(there)is, (there) is no'	V–S	ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ϩⲛⲕⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲓⲥ '(there) *are* (ⲟⲩⲉⲛ) numerous (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲯⲱ-ⲟⲩ) other works (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ) that Jesus (ⲓⲥ) did (ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ⲩ)' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ-/ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ= ⲙⲛⲧⲉ-/ⲙⲛⲧⲁ= 'to have/not have'	V–S–O	ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ 'although you (woman) *have* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ) your husband (ⲡⲟⲩ-ϩⲁⲓ)' (Sh. *Or* 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V–S(–O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. ⲛⲁⲯⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲛ ⲡϩⲁⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) the gold (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ) and (ⲙⲛ) silver (ⲡϩⲁⲧ) that was brought (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) *was much* (ⲛⲁⲯⲉ)' (Eud. 64:2-3), ⲙⲛ ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲯⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲯⲱⲛⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) difference (ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ) of one sickness (ⲛ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ) over the (other) sickness (ⲉ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix ⲛⲁ-/ⲛⲉ-. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ, ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ† 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
ⲛⲁⲁ-	ⲛⲁⲁ=	to be great
	ⲛⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲁⲧ=	to be blessed
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- (var. ⲛⲁⲛⲉ-)	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ=	tobe good
ⲛⲁϣⲉ-	ⲛⲁϣⲱ=	to be numerous
ⲛⲉⲥⲉ-	ⲛⲉⲥⲱ=	to be beautiful
	ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲱⲱ=	to be intelligent
	ⲛⲉϭⲱ(ⲱ)=	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of ⲛⲁ-/ⲛⲉ-adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord ⲛ- ... ⲁⲛ (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker ⲛ-), e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) I am not (ⲁⲛ) *excellent* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲓ) as (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) a Christian (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲩ 'how very (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ) *fair is* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) the word (ⲡ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) that you have spoken (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ)' (Hil. 4:35), ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϩⲙⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'the matter (ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ) (i.e. buying books) *is excellent* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) poverty (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϩⲙⲕⲉ) *is better* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) than all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) of these (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), ⲛⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲉ ϩⲣⲁ[ⲥ] 'you (ⲛⲧⲟ) (are) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (ϩⲣⲁ-ⲥ) *is beautiful* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲥⲉ))' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧ- 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb ⲛⲁⲁ- 'to be great' and the body-part expression ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲧ-ⲩ 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲓⲙ 'more (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ) *blessed* (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲁⲧ-ⲩ) *is* he who will always (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲓⲙ) see (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁⲩ) his own (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲩ) sins (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ 'then (ⲉⲓⲉ) (how) *blessed*

are we (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲁⲧ-ⲛ) *ourselves* (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲛ)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲯⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲅⲟⲥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *the lazy ones* (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲅⲟⲥ) *are numerous* (ⲛⲁⲯⲱ-ⲟⲩ), too (ⲟⲛ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ 'since (ⲭⲉ) its fruit (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) are fine-looking (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲥⲱ-ⲟⲩ)' (Abbatôn 237:10-11).

10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ⲙⲛ '(there) is no', e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '*is* (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) *anybody* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ⲙⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *brother* (ⲥⲟⲛ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) in (ϩⲛ) a monastery (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲥ[ⲛⲏⲩ] ⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ (...) '(there) *were* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) *other brothers* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) in (ϩⲙ) the same (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) place (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲓ) the desert (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *god* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), Apollôn (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ⲉⲯⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲏ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ϩⲓⲭⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲯⲓⲕϩ {ⲡⲯⲓⲕϩ}$_{sic}$ ⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ 'if (ⲉⲯⲭⲉ) (there) *are* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *thirty* (ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ) or (ⲏ) *forty* (ϩⲙⲉ) *generations* (ⲛ-ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ) (heaped) on (ϩⲓⲭⲛ) each other (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ), how large (ⲟⲩⲏⲣ) must the pit (ⲡ-ⲯⲓⲕϩ) be (ⲉⲣⲉ ...

ⲛⲁ-ⲣ)?' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ '(there) *was* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *someone* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) who did (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) many (ⲛ-ϩⲁϩ) good (things) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲏⲥ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *someone* (ⲟⲩⲁ) in (ϩⲛ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ) who had (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ) a paralysed (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲏⲥ) son (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲯⲁⲣ 'without (there) *being* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛ) *anything* (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) on her (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲥ) exeept (ⲛⲥⲁ) bone (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) skin (ⲡ-ⲯⲁⲣ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ⲛⲁⲯ ⲛϩⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲕϩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ (for ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲧⲉⲓⲁ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲩⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲓ ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ) 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), how (ⲛ-ⲁⲯ ⲛ-ϩⲉ) *are* (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) *some* (*people*) (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) who toil (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲕϩ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) in (ϩⲛ) ascetic labours (ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ), and (ⲁⲩⲱ) at present (ⲛⲩⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) do not (ⲁⲛ) obtain (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲭⲓ) grace (ϩⲙⲟⲧ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) the ancient ones (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ '(there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *a resurrection* (ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *are* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *angels* (ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *a spirit* (ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅)' (Acts 23:8), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ '(there) *isn't* (ⲙⲛ) *anyone* (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *difference* (ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ) of one sickness (ⲛ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ) *over the* (other) *sickness* (ⲉ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *king* (ⲣⲣⲟ) as powerful (ⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *as* (ⲛⲟⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) (the king) *of the Persian* (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) *empire* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *god* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) *Jesus* (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) *Christ* (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅), the God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ (ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) ⲙⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ '(to see whether) (there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *a fellow* (ⲥⲟⲛ) *monk* (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ) *further on* (ⲙⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲏ ϩⲓⲣⲙ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲣⲓ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *a small* (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *courtyard* (ⲛ-ⲁⲩⲁⲏ) *at* (ϩⲓⲣⲙ) *the entrance* (ⲡ-ⲣⲟ) of the cell (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲣⲓ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ⲛⲉⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ (for ϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ) ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ '(there) *was no* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) *interpreter* (ϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ) *there* (ⲙⲙⲁⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ '(there) *is* (ⲙⲛ) *nobody* (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *here* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲟⲟⲙ ϩⲁⲧⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *impossibility* (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲟⲙ) *with* (ϩⲁⲧⲙ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) *a man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) the shrine (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna *whose name* (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ) *Marcus*' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲅⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲩϩϩ ϩⲛ ⲑⲓⲗⲏⲙ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *one* (ⲟⲩⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the holy ones (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) *who was called* (lit. whom (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) they called (ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ)) *Philagrios*, who lived (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩϩϩ) in (ϩⲛ) Jerusalem (ⲑⲓⲗⲏⲙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲭⲓⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) also (ⲟⲛ) *a* (certain) *man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) *who was possessed by a demon* (lit. a demon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ) was with him (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)) from (ⲛⲭⲓⲛ) his childhood (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativivised existential verb ϣⲟⲟⲡ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϩⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *a big* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) *heat* (ⲛ-ϩⲙⲏ) down (ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ) in that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟ[ϭ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ ϩⲛⲛⲟϭ (for ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *was* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ) *great* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) *peace* (ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) and (ⲙⲛ) a lot (ϩⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) of good (things) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) their kingdom

(ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲛⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)' (*Mena, Enc.* 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ϯⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '(as for) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *I* (*am*) *in this place* (ϯ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) from (ϫⲓⲛ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences sentences are formed with the possessive predicates ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- and ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. ⲟⲩⲛ or ⲙⲛ, and a locative-commitative preposition ⲛⲧⲁ- 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲭⲁϩⲭϩ 'the King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *had* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ) two (ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) trumpets (ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ) of refined (ⲛ-ⲭⲁϩⲭϩ) gold (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ)' (Eud. 60:13), ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲏ ⲙⲁⲁⲩ '*I don't have* (ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) father (ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) or (ⲏ) mother (ⲙⲁⲁⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'there', e.g. ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲉϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*I have* (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) a word (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) to say (ⲉ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ '*he* (the rich man) *had* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ) a lot (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ) of money (ⲛ-ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉϨⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲉⲣ ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲯⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'without *having* (ⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ) the strength (ⲉϨⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ) to come out (ⲉ-ⲉⲣ ⲡ-ⲃⲟⲗ) of that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) tree(ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲯⲏⲛ)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ /wəntaf/ → ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲩ /wəntəf/ 'he has', ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ /məntaf/ → ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲩ / məntəf / 'he does not have'.

	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- 'HAVE'	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ- 'NOT HAVE'
1st sing.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ (ⲟⲩⲛϯ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ (ⲙⲛϯ)
2nd sing. masc.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲕ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲕ)
2nd sing. fem.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ	ⲙⲛⲧⲉ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲩ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲩ)
3rd sing. fem.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲥ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥ)
1st plural	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲛ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛ)
2nd plural	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏ-ⲧⲛ	ⲙⲛⲧⲏ-ⲧⲛ
3rd plural	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ)
Before noun	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)
ⲛⲉ- PRETERIT	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ 'HAVE'	ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ the king	ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- and ⲙⲛⲧⲁ- appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ '(although) *you* (woman) *have* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ) *your husband* (ⲡⲟⲩ-ϩⲁⲓ)' (Sh. *Or* 44, 155a:8-9), ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲩ ⲕⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲯⲁϩⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲩⲱⲯ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'while *he* (Apa Zenobius) *had no* (ⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲩ) *other concern* (ⲕⲉ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ) than (ⲛⲥⲁ) prayer (ⲡⲉ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ) and the critical evaluation (ⲧ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ) of what he was reading (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲩ-ⲱⲯ)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *we don't have* (ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ) *any* (ⲛ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *physical* (ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ) *comfort* (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲗ)' (Hil. 5:23), ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲛⲁⲩ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ '*I have* (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) *three* (ⲛ-ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) beautiful (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ) *books* (ⲛ-ⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏⲧⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲛϩ 'if (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you have* (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏ-ⲧⲛ) *a living* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲛϩ) *God* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ [ⲕⲱ]ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲇⲟϫⲓⲁ '*King* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Constantine had* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲉ) a virgin (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) sister (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) whose name (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲧϥ ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲥⲁ ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ '*he had no* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϥ) son (ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) two (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) daughters (ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (Hil. 2:5), ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥⲥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁϥ '*he has it* (i.e. place) (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ-ⲥ) among (ϩⲛ) those who make (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲕⲁ) a place (ⲙⲁ) for him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)' (Sh. III 85:14), ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲕϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'what (claim) (ⲟⲩ) (is it) *that you have* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ-ϥ) against him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)?' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

a) Dative possession

Instead of normal ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- and ⲙⲛⲧⲁ- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative ϣⲟⲟⲡ 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲕⲁϩⲛϩⲏⲧ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ 'since (ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ) *he had* (lit. was (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) of grief (ⲛ-ⲙⲕⲁϩ-ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) his daughter (ⲧⲉϥ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 7:12-13), ⲉⲙⲛ ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲥ 'while *she had no* (lit. (there) was no (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ) for her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction ⲟⲩⲛ (ⲙⲛ) – (ϣ)ⲃⲟⲙ – ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ – ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (ϣ)ⲃⲟⲙ 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲃⲟⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) power (ⲃⲟⲙ) in him ((ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)) to walk (ⲉ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Eud. 66:9), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ϣⲃⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) power (ϣⲃⲟⲙ ⲃⲟⲙ) in me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)) to reveal it (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ-ⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (Hil. 3:21).

Key Terms:

Basic word order	is the fully productive constituent order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S–V–O can be identified as the basic word order.	§10.1.1
Scrambling	is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3

Information-packaging constructions	*represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence.*	§10.1.3
Subject inversion	involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V–O–S order.	§10.1.5
Presentational (new information) focus	corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse.	§10.1.5.5
Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1

Exercises

10.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
2. The direct object must precede the indirect object.
3. Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

4. The focus marker ⲛⲟⲓ is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
5. Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
6. Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

10.2 Subject order and information structure

A. Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.

(1) ⲧⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲉⲛ (for ⲛⲉⲥϩⲛ) ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ '(as for) *the little* (ⲯⲏⲙ) *girl* (ⲧ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ) *she* was (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ϩⲉⲛ) about eighteen (ⲁ-) ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)

(2) ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲯⲧ 'my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) is, (as far as) *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am concerned), *my* heart (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ) (so) bold (ⲛⲁⲯⲧ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7)

(3) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲯⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲩϫⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the words* (ⲛ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) which he (the abbot) heard (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ-ⲟⲩ) from him (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲩ) (Pachôm), he in turn (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲩ) told *them* (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) to his monks (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)

(4) ⲡⲉ[ⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲓ [ⲛⲁ] ϫⲡⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲯⲁⲓⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲯⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ '*what* my boat (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲓ) *will* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ) *bring in* (ϫⲡⲟ-ⲩ) *each* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *year* (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ), I will split (ⲯⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ⲩ) into three (ⲛ-ⲯⲟⲙⲧⲉ) parts (ⲛ-ⲧⲟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5)

(5) ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣ (for ⲉⲣⲉ) ⲡⲩϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ 'when he (Pachôm) was saying (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϫⲱ) *these* (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ), Theodore was sitting (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) at a little (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ), his face (ⲡⲩ-ϩⲟ) (turned down) to the ground (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲥϩⲧ)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. *Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.*

(1) ϩⲙ [ⲡⲧⲣ]ⲉϥⲱⲃⲱ ⲇⲉ [ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧϥ [ⲉϫ]ⲱ[ϥ] ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟ[ⲣⲟ]ⲙⲁ 'when (ϩⲙ) he dozed off (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲱⲃⲱ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *the holy* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna* stood (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ) before him (ⲉϫⲱ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a vision (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)

☐ indefinite topic ☐ contrastive topic

(2) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲡ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *he* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine, made (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) for them (the Persians) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) great (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ) royal (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) feasts (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲡ)' (Eud. 48:27)

☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

(3) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲕⲁ ϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲧⲉⲙⲣⲱ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ (…) '*as for* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *the ships* (ⲛ-ⲉϫⲏⲩ), no (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) sailor (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲉϥ) shall set loose (ⲛⲛⲉ … ⲕⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) a ship (ϫⲟⲓ) at (ϩⲓ) the landing stage (ⲧⲉ-ⲙⲣⲱ) without the man (i.e. the prior) (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the congregation (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 118).

☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

(4) ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *a knight* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) from (ⲛⲧⲉ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) together with (ⲙⲛ) a deacon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ), wishing (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to meet (ⲉ-ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)' (Hil. 5:8-9)

☐ resumed topic ☐ new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

(1) ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ (Eud. 40:1-2)

(2) ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲯⲃ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ϫⲉ (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)

(3) ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉϩⲙⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅ (Test. Is. 231:7-8)

(4) [ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲙ ⲛⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ (Eud. 34:27-36:1)

(5) ⲫⲩⲥⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲟ ⲛⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ (AP Chaîne no.19, 4:7-8)

(6) ϥⲥⲙⲁⲗⲁⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϫⲟⲉ[ⲓⲥ] [ⲡⲛⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ [ⲕⲱⲥ]ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ [ⲡ]ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲛ ⲑⲗⲗⲁⲥⲁ (Eud. 48:9-10)

(7) ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲣⲁⲫⲁⲉⲗ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ (KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL

ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲛ[ⲉ] [ⲇⲉ] ⲙⲡϫⲟⲓ ⲉ[ⲡ]ⲕⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲧ[ⲱⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉ[ⲁⲥ] ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁ[ⲩ][ⲗⲟⲥ] ⲙⲛ [ⲁ]ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ[ⲛⲓⲟⲥ] ⲡⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲁⲩ[ϯ] [ⲡⲉ][ⲩ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲡⲩⲁⲏ[a] ⲛⲧ[ⲡⲟ]ⲗⲓⲥ[b] ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ (read ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓ) ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲩⲁⲩ (for ⲧⲡⲩⲁⲏ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ[c] ⲉⲯⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ. ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧ ⲡⲉ[ⲩ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲙ ⲡⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ[d] ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲣ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲧⲛⲛϩⲩ ⲛⲧⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲥϥ ⲛⲁⲕ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. ⲡⲩⲁⲏ 'gate' b. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'city' c. ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 'apostle' d. ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ 'the deceased (lit. the one who died)', a free relative clause

WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE PERSIAN ARMY

ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲍ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲛⲟⲡⲟⲥ[a] ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ[b] ⲛⲧⲟ[ⲙ] ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲟⲩ]ϩ ⲛⲛⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ[c] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥϩⲓ[ⲡ]ⲡⲉⲩⲥ[d] ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲣⲁⲧⲟ[ⲩ][e] [ⲉⲧ]ⲣⲉⲩⲙⲟ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲓⲟⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲓⲅⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲛ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲟⲣ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ. ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϣⲉ ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲃⲁ (1.200.000). ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ (read ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) ⲛⲥⲏⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ⲡⲉ (...) ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ[f]. ⲁⲩⲟⲱ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲧ[g] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲡⲟⲥ (proper name) b. ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ 'commander-in-chief' c. ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ 'chariot' d. ϩⲓⲡⲡⲉⲩⲥ 'cavalry man' e. ⲛ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲣⲁⲧ=ⲟⲩ 'the footmen, infantry' f. ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ 'desert' g. ϩⲟⲧ 'opposite'

10.3 Residual V–S(–O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '(there) *was* (ⲉⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) a sycamore (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) desert (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓϩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)

☐ comparative extension ☐ locative extension

(2) ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ ϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲧⲉ '(there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) (a kind of) woman (ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) whom (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) her husband (ⲡⲉⲥ-ϩⲁⲓ) suspects (ⲉ-ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲧⲉⲩⲉ) of (ϫⲉ) (being) adulterous (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (Sh. *Or.* 44, 159b:42-46)

☐ locative extension ☐ relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

(1) ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲱⲡϩⲓⲥⲉ ϩⲛ ϣⲓⲛⲧ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛϥⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲃⲏⲥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ (AP Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)

(2) ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ (KMHL II 33:16-17)

(3) ⲙⲛ ⲇⲟⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ (Eud. 66:9)

(4) ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲣⲧ ⲙⲙⲟϥ (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

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

ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲣⲓ[a]. ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ[b] ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲙ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲫⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲡⲁ. ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉ[c] ⲟⲩⲛ ⲫⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ. ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ[d] ⲡⲉ ⲛϥⲟⲩⲱⲫ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ[d] (for ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲓⲁ) ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ[f] (for ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲱⲁϫⲉ. ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ[g] ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ[h] (for ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ) ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓϩⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ. ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ[i] ⲫⲁ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ[j] ⲫⲟⲟⲡ; ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ϩⲁ ⲧⲡⲁⲫⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲫⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲟⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ. (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. ⲛⲣⲓ 'Kellia' b.ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ 'to summon, appeal' c. ⲥⲉ 'yes' d. ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ 'fornication' f. ϩⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ 'week' g. ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ 'to test' h. ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'temptation' i. ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ 'service' j. ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ 'repentance'

Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. ⲛⲉⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧ ⲕⲃⲟ ⲛⲛⲫⲩⲭⲏ 'the remedies (ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ) [*which* (ⲉⲧ __) *give* (ⲧ) *solace* (ⲕⲃⲟ) *to the souls* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲫⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'I ate (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [*what was left* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) *of the bread* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲛⲧⲕ '(it is) the governor (ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *is asking* (ⲭⲛⲟⲩ) *you* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) [*what* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *your name* (ⲡⲛⲧ-ⲕ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who*, *whom*, *which*, *what*, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ 'a thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [*that* (ⲉⲣⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *hates* (ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ) his father (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *was sleeping* (ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) *in* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMP_{REL} for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMP_{REL}	EMBEDDED CLAUSE]
ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ$_i$	[ⲉⲣⲉ	ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ$_i$]
a thing$_i$	that	God hates (it$_i$)
ⲡ-ⲙⲁ$_i$	[ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ	ⲡⲉϥ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ$_i$]
the place$_i$	that	his father was sleeping in-(it$_i$)

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g. ⲡⲁ$\overline{\text{ⲭ}}\overline{\text{ⲣ}}$ⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉ†ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'my Christ (ⲡⲁ-$\overline{\text{ⲭ}}\overline{\text{ⲣ}}$ⲥ) [*in whom* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *believe* (ⲉ-†-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g. ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*who has* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) *many* (ϩⲁϩ) *gods* (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Eud. 36:11),

ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲱⲁϥⲃⲟⲱϣⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'at the hour (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened them* (the camels) (ⲛ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲟϣ-ⲟⲩ) *daily* (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ) *at* (ϩⲓ) *night* (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g. ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ 'a place (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) [*that was* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (ⲛ-ϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g. ⲁϥϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ 'he (the devil) raised (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓⲥⲉ) his head (ⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲁⲡⲉ) above (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) me (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲓ), [*while his mouth* (ⲣⲱ-ϥ) *was* (wide) *open* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲱⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g. ⲉⲕⲛⲁϭⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ 'will you watch (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲱϣⲧ) me (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲓ) [*rushing* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to perdition (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g. ⲉⲕϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲟⲩ - ⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲭ}}\overline{\text{ⲥ}}$ ⲉⲓϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ 'from what (ⲉ-ⲟⲩ) *do you suffer* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)? - Lord (ⲡ-$\overline{\text{ⲭ}}\overline{\text{ⲥ}}$), *I am suffering* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ) from my liver (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similiarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative enviroments (e.g. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*where* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) *you have found it* (the boat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ϥ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g. ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ 'what (ⲟⲩ) *has happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ) to you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ), our lord (ⲡⲉⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) (and) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ)?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers ϵρϵ and ϵ- introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, compare: ογϩωʙ ϵρϵ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ⲙⲟⲥⲧϵ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'a thing (ογ-ϩωʙ) [*that* (ϵρϵ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) *hates* (ⲙⲟⲥⲧϵ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ϵⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲩⲥϵ ϵⲣⲟϥ 'every (ⲛⲓⲙ) place (ⲙⲁ) [*that they* (the brothers) *will be sent* (lit. that they will send them (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥϵ)) *to* (ϵⲣⲟ-ϥ)]' (praec. Pach. 129).

11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet ϵⲧ, ϵⲧϵⲣϵ, and ϵⲧ(ϵ)-. The allomorphs ϵⲧϵⲣϵ and ϵⲧ(ϵ)- are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme ϵⲧ- and the relative markers ϵρϵ and ϵ- that also introduce virtual relative clauses: ϵⲧ-ϵρϵ, ϵⲧ-ϵ.

a) The "bare" relative complementiser ϵⲧ

The "bare" complementiser ϵⲧ is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or "gap" (indicated as '__' in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϵⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ϵⲡϵⲕϵⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ 'the angel (ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) [*who* (ϵⲧ __) *serves* (ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) *your father* (ϵ-ⲡϵⲕ-ϵⲓⲱⲧ) *Abraham*]' (Test. Is 229:18-19).

b) The internally complex relative complementisers ϵⲧϵⲣϵ-, ϵⲧϵ-

The morphologically derived relative complementiscrs ϵⲧϵⲣϵ- and ϵⲧϵ-, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. ⲡϣⲁϫϵ ϵⲧϵⲣϵ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲛⲓ ⲛⲁϫⲟⲟϥ 'the word (ⲡ-ϣⲁϫϵ) [*that* (ϵⲧ-ϵⲣϵ) *the superintendent* (ⲡ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲛⲓ) *will say* (ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ)]' (praec. Pach. 122) vs. ⲡⲙⲁ ϵⲧⲕϣⲱⲛϵ ϵⲣⲟϥ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*where* (ϵⲣⲟ-ϥ) *you are sick* (ϵⲧ-ⲕ-ϣⲱⲛϵ)]' (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

	SUBJECT RELATIVES	
	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙϵ$_i$ [RC ϵⲧ__$_i$ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ]	
	The man$_i$ [RC who __$_i$ is listening]	
	NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES	
	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙϵ$_i$ [RC ϵⲧ(ϵ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱ-ϥ]	
	The man$_i$ [RC that he is listening to (him)$_i$]	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ϵ-†-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵⲧ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ϵⲧ(ϵ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵⲧϵ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ϵⲧϵ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ϵⲧ(ϵ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ϵⲧ(ϵ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ϵⲧϵⲣϵ ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: (ϵⲧ plus subject gap) ⲧϵⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ϵⲧⲕⲱⲧϵ ϵⲣⲟϥ 'the grace (ⲧϵ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) [*which* (ϵⲧ __) *surrounded* (ⲕⲱⲧϵ) *him* (ϵⲣⲟ-ϥ)]' (KMHL II 35:12-13), ⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲛⲓⲙ ϵⲧⲛⲁⲛϵⲭ ϵⲓⲧⲛ ⲙⲡϵϥⲏⲓ ϵⲃⲟⲗ 'everybody (ⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*who* (ϵⲧ __) *will throw* (ⲛⲁ-ⲛϵⲭ) *garbage* (ϵⲓⲧⲛ) *out* (ϵⲃⲟⲗ) *of his house* (ⲙ-ⲡϵϥ-ⲏⲓ)]' (Eud. 52:26-27), (ϵⲧϵⲣϵ plus subject NP) ⲡⲏⲓ ϵⲧϵⲣϵ ⲡϵⲓϣⲏⲣϵ ϣⲏⲙ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ) [*where* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) *this little* (ϣⲏⲙ) *boy* (ⲡϵⲓ-ϣⲏⲣϵ) *died* (ϵⲧϵⲣϵ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), (ϵⲧ(ϵ)- plus subject

pronoun) ⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲟⲓⲕ 'the manner (ⲟⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [(*in which*) *I was diligent* (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ < ⲉⲧ-ⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ) *at my manual* (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕ) *labour* (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲱⲃ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'the hour (ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [*when you will stand up* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲕ)]' (Test. Is. 232:19), ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*that he did* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ)]' (KHML II 19:8-9), ⲛⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ 'the mighty deeds (ⲛ-ⲟⲟⲙ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [*that he did* (ⲉⲧ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *to* (ⲙⲛ) *King* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Constantine*]' (Eud. 50:1), ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ 'everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*which she* (ⲛⲧⲟⲥ) *is looking* (ⲉⲧ-ⲥ-ⲱⲓⲛⲉ) *for* (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]' (Eud. 64:19).

11.1.2.3 Complementiser-TAM agreement

A different set of complementiser allomorphs is selected when the relative complementiser precedes a tense-aspect-mood marker rather than the embedded subject position of the relative clause.

TAM	COMP$_{REL}$	TAM	COMP$_{REL}$
PRETERIT ⲛⲉ-	ⲉ-	NEGATIVE SCOPE DEFINER ⲛ-	ⲉ-
PERFECT ⲁ-	(ⲉ)ⲛⲧ-	NEGATIVE PERFECT ⲙⲡⲉ-	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-
HABITUAL ⲱⲁ-	ⲉ-, (ⲉ)ⲛ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ⲙⲉ-	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-
VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-	ⲉⲧⲉ-

TABLE 11.2 Complementiser-tense/aspect/mood agreement

Examples: (relativised Preterit) ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ 'in (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) the manner (ⲟⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [*that it* (the sun) *is* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ)]' (Zen. 200:27), (relativised Habitual) ⲛⲟⲉ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'in the manner ⲛⲟⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [*that they used to do it* (ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲁ-ⲥ) to the holy ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) martyrs (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ)]' (V. Pach. 94:8-9), ⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϣⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛϣⲁⲥϧⲟⲟⲩ 'every (single) (ⲛⲓⲙ) one (ⲁⲁⲩ) of the trees (ⲛ-ϣⲏⲛ) [*that he* Apa Matthew) *planted* (ⲉⲛ-ϣⲁ-ⲥ-ϧⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]' (KHML II 19:6-7), ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛϣⲁⲥϧⲟϣⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ 'at the hour (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened them* (the camels) (ⲛ-ϣⲁ-ⲥ-ϧⲟϣ-ⲟⲩ) daily (ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ) at (ϩⲓ) night (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12)], ⲟⲩⲙⲙⲓⲛϣⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲡϣⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'also (ⲟⲛ) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲙⲓⲛϣⲉ) of [*those* [*whose minds* (lit. hearts) (ⲡⲉⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ) *had left* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲡϣⲱⲥ) *them* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause), (relativised Perfect) ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕϩⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ 'everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*which you ordered* (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ϩⲱⲛ) me (ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ) (to do)]' (Eud. 34:14), ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*where* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) *you have found it* (the boat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ϥ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), (relativised Negative Perfect), ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲡⲱⲁ ⲛϥⲱⲁϧⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ 'this other person (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) [who (is) (ⲉⲧ __) in (ϩⲛ) your midst (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) [*that I am not worthy* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲡⲱⲁ) (that) he talks (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲱⲁϧⲉ) to me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), (relativised Unexpected Negative Perfective) ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥⲱⲥⲕ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'our senior (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), he (ⲡⲁⲓ) [*who had not long ago* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ϥ-ⲱⲥⲕ) gone (ϫⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) towards (ⲉ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Sh. III 142:5-7), (relativised Negative Habitual) ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲛⲧϥ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), [he (ⲡⲁⲓ) [without whom (ⲉϫⲛⲧ-ϥ) nothing (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *happens* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ)]]' (Zen. 202:3) (a free relative clause), ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲩⲥⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲫⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ '[those [*who do not get enough* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲉⲓ) of robbing (ⲛ-ⲧⲱⲣⲡ) and stealing (ⲛ-ⲫⲓ) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (ⲁⲛ) theirs (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ))]]]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24) (a free relative clause), (relativised negative concord) ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ '[*what was non-existent*]' (V. Pach. 7:14) (a free relative clause), (fronted adjectival verb) ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁϣⲁϩⲟⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'these kinds (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ) of people (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [against whom (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) the ones who complain (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲁϣ-ⲁϩⲟⲙ) *are numerous* (ⲉⲧⲉ ... ⲛⲁϣⲉ)]' (Sh. IV 99:19).

11.1.3 The grammatical role of the relative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause plays a role in two different clauses. On the one hand, it has a particular grammatical role (subject, direct or indirect object, adjunct) in the matrix clause, but it also has a particular grammatical role in the attributive relative clause. Coptic relative constructions have within their structure an anaphoric element that recovers the pivot's internal role. The placeholder may take the form of a resumptive pronoun, as in ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲛϩⲏⲧϥ '*the place*$_i$

(ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ) *[where he was (lit. that he was in it$_i$ ((ϵ-ⲛϵ-ⲧ-ⲛ2ⲏⲧ-ⲧ)]' (KHML II 20:9)*, but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in ⲧϵⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ϵⲧⲭⲏⲕ ϵⲃⲟⲗ '*their faith$_i$* (ⲧϵⲩ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ) [that (ϵⲧ __$_i$) perfect (ⲭⲏⲕ ϵⲃⲟⲗ)]' (Test. Is. 233:19).

11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ϵⲫⲟ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲃⲁ '*a place$_i$* (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) [*that was* (lit. while *it$_i$* was (ϵ-ⲫ-ⲟ)) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲣⲃⲁ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ϵⲫ2ⲓⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁ2 '*every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man$_i$* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*who* (lives) *on* (lit. while *he$_i$* lives on (ϵ-ⲫ-2ⲓⲭⲙ)) *earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁ2)]' (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) ⲗⲗⲁⲩ [ⲛ]ⲱϩⲛ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ] ϵⲁⲫⲭⲟⲟⲩ 'every (single) (ⲛⲓⲙ) one (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) *of the trees$_i$* (ⲛ-ⲱϩⲛ) [*that he* (Apa Matthew) *planted* (*them$_i$*) (ϵ-ⲗ-ⲫ-ⲭⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) ϵⲩ2ⲗⲗⲏⲧ ϵⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧϵ ϵⲣⲟⲫ ⲭϵ ⲧⲙϵ 'to *a bird$_i$* (ϵ-ⲩ-2ⲗⲗⲏⲧ) [*which is called* (lit. while *they* say (ϵ-ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧϵ) *about it$_i$* (ϵⲣⲟ-ⲫ) »*truth*« (ⲧ-ⲙϵ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) 2ϵⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲱϵ ⲛϵⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϵⲩ2ⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϵ2ⲣⲁⲓ ϵⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ 2ϵⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲱϵ ⲙⲙⲱⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) ϵⲩ2ⲁ ϵⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧϵ 'great (2ϵⲛ-ⲛⲟⲥ) multitudes (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲱϵ) *of thrones$_i$* (ⲛ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) [*on which great* (2ϵⲛ-ⲛⲟⲥ) *multitudes* (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲱϵ) *of highly* (ⲙⲙⲁⲧϵ) *venerable* (lit. who were under (ϵ-ⲩ-2ⲁ) glory (ϵⲟⲟⲩ)) monks (ⲙ-ⲙⲱⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ϵ-ⲩ-2ⲙⲟⲟⲥ)) *on* (*them$_i$*) (ϵⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]' (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛϵ (...) ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑϵⲛⲟⲥ ϵⲡϵⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡϵ ϵⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ 'a virgin (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑϵⲛⲟⲥ) *sister$_i$* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲛϵ) [*whose name* (lit *while her$_i$* name (ϵ-ⲡϵⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) (ⲡϵ)) Eudoxia (ϵⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ)]' (Eud. 50:3-4).

11.1.3.2 The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ϵⲧⲁⲙⲁ2ⲧϵ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡϵⲫⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲱⲛⲧ '*the monk$_i$* (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) [*who* (ϵⲧ __$_i$) does not (ⲁⲛ) restrain (ⲁⲙⲁ2ⲧϵ) *his$_i$* tongue (ⲙ-ⲡϵⲫ-ⲗⲁⲥ), especially (ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ) in the hour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) of anger (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲱⲛⲧ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:8-9), ϵⲡϵⲟⲟⲩ ϵⲧⲫⲟⲩϵⲓⲧ ⲙⲡϵⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'at the idle (lit. *which is idle* (ϵⲧ __$_i$ ⲫⲟⲩϵⲓⲧ) *praise$_i$* (ϵ-ⲡ-ϵⲟⲟⲩ) of this world (ⲙ-ⲡϵⲓ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 28:4-5), ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟϵ ϵⲧⲥⲏ2 'according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *the manner$_i$* (ⲟϵ < ⲧ-2ϵ) [*that* (ϵⲧ __$_i$) *is written* (ⲥⲏ2)]' (V. Pach. 4:20), ⲅϵⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ϵ]ⲧⲫⲟⲟⲡ 2ⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ '*every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) human (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *race$_i$* (ⲅϵⲛⲟⲥ) [*that* (ϵⲧ __$_i$) lives (ⲫⲟⲟⲡ) in (2ⲛ) my kingdom (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲭⲟϵⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ '*the peace$_i$* (ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ < ⲧ-ϵⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) *of my lord$_j$* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲭⲟϵⲓⲥ) [*which he$_j$ has given* (*it$_i$*) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) *to me* (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ)]' (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ⲛϵⲕⲫⲁⲭϵ ϵⲧϵⲕⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ '*your words$_i$* (ⲛϵⲕ-ⲫⲁⲭϵ) [*that you spoke* (ϵⲧϵ-ⲕ-ⲭⲱ) (*them$_i$*) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ⲡϵⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϵⲧϵⲕⲛⲁⲩ ϵⲣⲟⲕ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ '*this man$_i$* (ⲡϵⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*that you are looking* (ϵⲧϵ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *at* (*him$_i$*) (ϵⲣⲟ-ⲕ) *right now* (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ)]' (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϵⲧⲕⲫⲁⲭϵ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ϵⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲕ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁ2ⲱⲙ '*the man$_i$* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*that you were* talking (ϵⲧ-ⲕ-ⲫⲁⲭϵ) *to me* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) *about* (*him$_i$*) (ϵⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲕ), (namely) Apa Pachôm]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ⲡⲙⲁ ϵⲧⲉⲣϵ ⲡⲟⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ ⲛⲁϵⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛ2ⲏⲧⲕ '*the place$_i$* (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*where the camel* (ⲡ-ⲟⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ) *will rest* (ϵⲧⲉⲣϵ ... ⲛⲁ-ϵⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) (*in it$_i$*) (ⲛ2ⲏⲧ-ⲕ))]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲱϵ ⲇϵ ⲟⲛ 2ⲛ ⲛϵⲧϵ ⲫⲁⲣϵ ⲡϵⲩ2ⲏⲧ ⲡⲱⲫⲥ ϵⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'also (ⲟⲛ) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲱϵ) of (2ⲛ) *those$_i$* [*whose*

minds$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ) *had left* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲯⲁⲣⲉ … ⲡⲱⲯⲥ) *them*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]' (*KHML II 10:6*) (a free relative clause).

11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker ⲛ-, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subjeet tense-aspect-mood marker) ⲛⲉϭⲟⲙ ⲙⲉⲛ (for ⲙⲛ) ⲛⲉⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ '*the mighty deeds*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ϭⲟⲙ) *and* (ⲙⲉⲛ) *miracles*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ) [*that* (*they*$_i$) *happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *through* (ϩⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟ) *our father* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16), ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲅ ⲛⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *all*$_i$ (those) (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*that* (*they*$_i$) *have not yet known you* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ-ⲅ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *your magical tricks* (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ)]' (Sh. III 77:26), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϭⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*who*$_i$ (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [*that* (*he*$_i$) *will not* (ⲁⲛ) *believe* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) *in the mighty deeds* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϭⲟⲙ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (KMHL II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ 'let us bring forth (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *fruit*$_i$ (ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [*that* (*it*$_i$) *is good* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ)]' (KHML II 19:15).

11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲧⲁⲓ, ⲛⲁⲓ 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲛⲟⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ 'the blessed (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Zenobius, [*that is* (ⲉⲧⲉ … ⲡⲉ), our father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ)]' (Zen. 199:9), ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'those who believe (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ), [*which* (*is*) (ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ) the utmost degree (ⲡ-ⲭⲱⲕ) of obedience (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲡⲱϩ ⲯⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ '*at* (ϩⲛ) *the moment* (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲟⲩ) [(when) this order (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ) will reach (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ … ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲱϩ) you (ⲯⲁⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲉⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *in the hour* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [that my throne (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) was turned down (lit. *they* turned down (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ)) under me (ϩⲁⲣⲟ-ⲓ) for a second time (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲉⲡ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲟⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ '*the day*$_i$ (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) [*when*$_i$ (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲥ) you were born (lit. *they* gave birth to you (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲡⲟ-ⲕ))]' (KHML II 30:13).

b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun ⲑⲉ (< ⲧ-ϩⲉ) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲛϩ '*in* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *the manner*$_i$ (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [that he (Apa Mena) had told (*it*$_i$) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) while (he was) still (ⲛϫⲓⲛ) alive (ⲡ-ⲱⲛϩ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), ⲑⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ '*the manner*$_i$ (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [that he (Pachôm) behaved (lit. made (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) (*it*$_i$) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)) towards them (the brothers) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) the time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ)' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g ⲑⲉ ⲉ†ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲟⲓϫ '*the manner* (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [(in which) I was diligent (ⲉ-†-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ < ⲉⲧ-†-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ) at my manual (ⲛ-ⲟⲓϫ) labour (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲱⲃ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲣ ϩⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ 'this (ⲧⲁⲓ) (was) *the manner* (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [(in which) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) demon (ⲡ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ) carried out (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ⲣ) many (ϩⲁϩ) evil (things) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g. ϩⲛⲓⲕⲉⲯⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲧ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'other trees (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲯⲏⲛ) [RC1 *while* (*they*$_i$) *were loaded* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲛⲧ) *with fruit* (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [RC2 *while* (*they*$_j$) *were plenty* (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲯⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT$_1$	[RC1	ANTECEDENT$_2$	[RC2]]
ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲯⲏⲛ$_i$ *other trees*$_i$	[RC1 ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲛⲧ while (*they*$_i$) were loaded	ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ$_j$ with *fruit*$_j$	[RC2 ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲯⲱ-ⲟⲩ]] while (*they*$_j$) were plenty

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲃⲏⲥⲁⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ '(there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) *a young* (ⲯⲏⲙ) *lad*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) [RC1 *whose name* (lit. while *his*$_i$ name (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ... ⲡⲉ)) Bêsamôn (ⲃⲏⲥⲁⲙⲱⲛ), [RC2 *who* (was) (lit. while *he*$_i$ (ⲡⲉ) (was)) *the son* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) *of a general*$_j$ (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ), [RC3 *whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*$_j$ name (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ... ⲡⲉ)) Basilitês (ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ)]]]' (KHML I 43:5-6), ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲯⲉ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲯⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) ⲉⲩϩⲁ ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'great (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) multitudes (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲯⲉ) of *thrones*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ), [RC1 *on which*$_i$ (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ) *were seated* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) great (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) multitudes (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲯⲉ) of *monks*$_j$ (ⲙ-ⲙⲱⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) [RC2 *that were* highly (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *venerable* (lit. while *they*$_j$ were under (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲁ) glory (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ))]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g. ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓⲉ '*the* holy *brothers*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) (lit. [RC1 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) are holy (ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)) [RC2 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) *live* (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ⲭⲁⲓⲉ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC1	[RC2]]
ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ$_i$ the brothers$_i$	[RC1 ⲉⲧ__ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ who are holy	[RC2 ⲉⲧ__$_i$ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡ-ⲭⲁⲓⲉ]] who live in the desert

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g. ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ '*this man*$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [RC1 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) *is holy* (ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) [RC2 that (*he*$_i$) possessed (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) such a multitude (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ) of virtues (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ)]]' (BHom. 2:1-2), ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲡⲱⲁ ⲛⲧⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ '*this other person*$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) [RC1 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) (is) *in* (ϩⲛ) your midst (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) [RC2 *that I am not worthy* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲡⲱⲁ) (that) *he*$_i$ talks (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) to me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g. ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*your teachings*$_i$ (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ) [RC1 *that* (*they*$_i$) *are beneficient* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ) [RC2 *that you have taught me* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ⲓ) (*them*$_i$) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-coordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g. ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲡⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'everybody

(ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) will perform (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲣ) that *(ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) worship (ⲡ-ⲫⲙⲱⲉ) and believe* (ⲛ-ⲩ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in him (Jesus Christ) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲓⲣⲉⲟⲥ (for ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ) ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [who has been (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the generations (ⲛ-ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ) [that existed (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) *and passed by* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) their guilelessness (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲣⲉⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) their faith (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) in God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ 'the goodness (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$), [he (ⲡⲁⲓ) [whom you crucified (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥϩⲟⲩ) *and put* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲩ) into (ϩⲛ) a tomb (ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ)]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ '(there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) also (ⲟⲛ) *a* (certain) *man*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) [*who* was possessed by a demon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ) (lit. while (there) (was) with *him*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)) since (ⲛϫⲓⲛ) his childhood (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ † [ⲛⲁ]ϥ ⲛⲛⲉϥ[ⲥⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲁ '*the man*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*whom*$_i$ (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) Apa Mena *had given* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... †) his camels (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ '*a place*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) [*that was* (lit. while *it*$_i$ was (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ)) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (ⲛ-ϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

vs. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϫϥ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ '*the place*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [(*where*) Paul (ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ) *threw himself* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲛⲟϫ-ϥ) into the water (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

a) Specific indefinite antecedents

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲣ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ '*one*$_i$ (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) amongst (ϩⲛ) the holy ones (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) spent (ⲁ ....ⲣ) forty (ϩⲙⲉ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) without eating (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) (and) drinking (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲱ)', [*to wit* (ⲉⲧⲉ ... ⲡⲉ) the (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) Moses (ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ), the archprophet (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ)]' (KHML II 35:18-21), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲱ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱⲛⲉ 'the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (ⲉⲧ __) are sick (ϣⲱⲛⲉ)) people (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) shall stay (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱ) behind them (the fellow monks) (ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *a brother*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) will fall sick (ⲛⲁ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)]' (praec. Pach.).

b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲃⲓ (for ⲉϣⲁⲩⲫⲓ) ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩϣⲱⲥ 'like (ⲛⲑⲉ) *sheep*$_i$ (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ) [*from which*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) *their*$_i$ shepherd (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ϣⲱⲥ) is taken away (lit. *they* take away (ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲓ)]' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g. ϩNKЄϢHN ЄϒOΠΤ NKAΡΠOC ЄNAϢΩOϒ ЄMATЄ 'other trees (ϩN-KЄ-ϢHN) [while (they$_i$) were loaded (Є-ϒ-OΠΤ) with *fruit*$_i$ (N-KAΡΠOC) [*while* (*they*$_i$) *were plenty* (Є-NAϢΩ-Oϒ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15) vs. MAΡЄNTAϒЄ KAΡΠOC ЄBOλ ЄTNANOϒϥ 'let us bring forth (MAΡЄ-N-TAϒЄ ЄBOλ) good fruit (lit. *fruit*$_i$ (KAΡΠOC) [*which*$_i$ *is good* (ЄT-NANOϒ-ϥ))]' (KHML II 19:15).

c) Quantified antecedents

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with quantified relative antecedents and provide information that makes it possible to narrow down the set of potential referents of quantified antecedents. When the pivot is an indefinite pronoun, such as OϒA 'one' or KЄ 'other', the selection of either relativisation pattern depends on its definite or indefinite determination, e.g. ЄIMHTЄI ϩЄNOϒA OϒA ЄϢAϒЄI ЄϬM ΠЄNϢINЄ ЄTBЄ TAϩAΠH MΠNOϒTЄ 'with the exception (ЄIMHTЄI) of *some*$_i$ (people) (ϩЄN-OϒA OϒA) [*who*$_i$ *come* (Є-ϢA-ϒ-ЄI) to visit (Є-ϬM) us (ΠЄN-ϢINЄ) for (ЄTBЄ) the love (T-AϩAΠH) of God (M-Π-NOϒTЄ)]' (Hil. 5:21-22) vs. ΠЄIKЄOϒA ЄTϩN TЄTNMHTЄ (...) '*this other person*$_i$ (ΠЄI-KЄ-OϒA) [*who* (ЄT __$_i$) (is) *in* (ϩN) your midst (TЄTN-MHTЄ) [that I am not worthy (ЄT-MΠЄ-I-MΠϢA) (that) *he*$_i$ talks (N-ϥ-ϢAXЄ) to me (NMMA-I)]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), ϩЄNKOOϒЄ ЄϒO NOϒBAλ NOϒΩT '*others*$_i$ (i.e. monsters) (ϩЄN-KOOϒЄ) [*which*$_i$ *had* (Є-ϒ-O) one single (N-OϒΩT) eye (N-OY-BAλ)]' (Test. Is. 234:4) vs. NKOOϒЄ ЄTP ϬPΩΩϩ '*the others*$_i$ (N-KOOϒЄ) [*who*$_i$ (ЄT __) are in (lit. make (P)) need (ϬPΩΩϩ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17).

The definiteness opposition is not applicable to the distributive universal quantifier NIM 'all, each', which must be construed with "bare" nouns (see above, section 4.3.1 of Unit 4). It looks as if the selection of a non-virtual relative clause imposes a more specific or topical interpretation on the universally quantified antecedent than its non-virtual counterpart. Thus, consider: ϩAΠAϫ ϩAΠλOC (for ϩAΠAΩC) λλAϒ [N]ϢHN NIM ЄAϥXOOϒ 'briefly (ϩAΠAϫ ϩAΠλOC), every (NIM) *single* (λλAϒ) *tree*$_i$ (N-ϢHN) [*that he had planted* (*them*$_i$)(Є-λ-ϥ-XO-Oϒ)' (KHML II 18:23-24) vs. ϩAΠAΩC OϒON NIM ЄTϩOTΠ ЄϩOϒN ЄTBЄ ΠϮAN NIC̄ ΠЄXC̄ 'briefly (ϩAΠAΩC) *everyone*$_i$ (OϒON NIM) [*who*$_i$ (ЄT __) was imprisoned (ϩOTΠ ЄϩOϒN) for (ЄTBЄ) the name (Π-ϱAN) of Jesus (N-IC̄) Christ (ΠЄ-XC̄)]' (Eud. 40:24-25); (new discourse topic) NAIATϥ NPΩMЄ NIM ЄϥNAЄIPЄ NOϒNA ϩM ΠϱAN NNЄIΠATPIAPXHC

'blessed are (NA-IAT-ϥ) *everybody*$_i$ (N-ϱΩMЄ NIM) [*who*$_i$ *will perform* (Є-ϥ-NA-ЄIPЄ) an act of mercy (N-Oϒ-NA) in (ϩM) the name (Π-ϱAN) of these patriarchs (N-NЄI-ΠATPIAPXHC)]' (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning) OϒON NIM ЄTNAЄIPЄ NOϒMNTNA MΠЄϩOOϒ MΠЄϒP ΠMЄЄϒЄ '*everyone*$_i$ (OϒON NIM) [*who*$_i$ (ЄT __) will perform (NA-ЄIPЄ) an act of mercy (N-Oϒ-MNT-NA) on the day (M-ΠЄ-ϩOOϒ) of their (the patriarchs') remembrance (M-ΠЄϒ-P Π-MЄЄϒЄ)]' (Test. Is. 237:24).

d) The set interpretation of definite antecedents

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g. ΠAX̄P̄C ANOK Є†ΠICTЄϒЄ ЄPOϥ '*my Christ*$_i$ (ΠA-X̄P̄C) [*in whom*$_i$ (ЄPO-ϥ) *I* (ANOK) *believe* (Є-†-ΠICTЄϒЄ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16), ΠMOϒ ЄPЄ ΠAЄIΩT AΠA NAϩPOOϒ NAMOϒ NϩTϥ '*the death* (Π-MOϒ) [*that* (ЄPЄ) my Father (ΠA-ЄIΩT) Apa Nahrow is going to die (NA-MOϒ) (*in it*$_i$) (NϩT-ϥ)]' (KHML I 7:27), NNЄΠλAϫ ЄPЄ ΠЄϥCNOϥ XHϩ ЄPOOϒ '*the* (pavement) *stones*$_i$ (N-NЄ-ΠλAϫ) [*on which*$_i$ (ЄPO-Oϒ) his blood (ΠЄϥ-CNOϥ) *has been smeared out* (ЄPЄ ... XHϩ)]' (KHML I 6:28).

11.1.5.3 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

a) Restrictive relatives

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g. OϒϩWB ЄPЄ ΠNOϒTЄ MOCTЄ MMOϥ '*a thing*$_i$ (Oϒ-ϩWB) [*that* God (Π-NOϒTЄ) *hates* (ЄPЄ ... MOCTЄ) (*it*$_i$) (MMO-ϥ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), NΘЄ NOϒЄCOOϒ ЄϥCOPM 'like (NΘЄ) *a sheep*$_i$ (N-Oϒ-ЄCOOϒ)

[which$_i$ *has gone astray* (ϵ-q-copm)]' (Test. Is. 232:34), oy гар пє пгωв nгєндаімωн єγт nммаn ннагрn гєнаггєлос єγмιψє єхωн 'for (гар) what (oy) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing (п-гωв)) of *the demons*$_i$ (n-гєn-ΔаιмωN) [*who*$_i$ *fight* (lit. give (ϵ-γ-†)) with us (nммa-n)] compared to (ннагрn) *the* angels$_i$ *who*$_i$ *fight* (ϵ-γ-мιψє) for us (єхω-n)]?' (KHML II 11:14-16). In extended existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. nєγn oγpωмє Δє гм пмартγрion мпгагιос апа ммна єпєqран пє мαркос '(there) was (nє-γn) *a* (certain) *man*$_i$ (oγ-рωмє) in (гм) the memorial chapel (п-мартγрion) of the holy (м-п-гагιос) Apa Mena [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*$_j$ name (was) (ϵ-пєq-ран ... пє)) Mark (мαркос)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. аγω nтоq пє ппро єqгарατк 'and (аγω) he (Constantine) (nтоq) (is) *the king*$_i$ (п-ррo) [*who*$_i$ *is under you* (ϵ-q-гα-рατ-к)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), ним пє прωмє єqnаδωψт nса пєqψнрє єqвнк nєнтω nqтмвонθει єроq 'who (ним) (is) *the man*$_i$ (п-рωмє) [*who*$_i$ *will watch* (ϵ-q-na-δωψт) his son (nса пєq-ψнрє) drowning (lit. going (ϵ-q-внк) to the depths (of the sea) (n-ϵнтω))] and (*he*$_i$) would not help (n-q-тм-вонθει) him (ϵро-q)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. аγω nєψахє nψарє ппєтоγаав апа памвω хоoγ nас 'and (аγω) *the words*$_i$ (nє-ψахє) [*that* the holy (п-пєтоγаав) Apa Pambô *used to say* (*them*$_i$) (n-ψарє ... хоо-γ) to her (Hilaria) (na-c)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), нтωψ нта пноγтє ааγ '*the rules*$_i$ (n-тωψ) [*that* God (п-ноγтє) *has made* (*them*$_i$) (nт-а ... аа-γ)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: гєнcioγ npoγгє нn гєнcioγ nгтооγє єγт наєιn єнєγnooγє нтєγψн 'the evening (n-poγгє) and (нn) morning (n-гтооγє) *stars*$_i$ (гєn-cioγ) [*which*$_i$ *indicate* (lit. give (ϵ-γ-†) sign (наєιn)) the hours

(ϵ-nє-γnooγє) of the night (n-тє-γψн)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), гєnгιр гn аннтє єγо nєрнмос єнn ллаγ nгнтоγ '*the streets*$_i$ (гєn-гιр) in (гn) Hell (аннтє) [*which*$_i$ *are* (ϵ-γ-o) (in a) deserted (n-єрнмос) (state) [*without* (ϵ-нn) anyone (ллаγ) *on them*$_i$ (nгнт-оγ)]]' (Ac. A&P 204:132) vs. єам[n]тє єтє паι пє ппа мпрімє нn пδагδг ннοвгє 'to *Hell*$_i$ (ϵ-аннтє), *which*$_i$ *is* (єтє паι пє) the place (п-ма) of weeping (м-п-рімє) and (нn) gnashing (п-δагδг) of teeth (n-n-овгє)]' (Ac.A&P 204:142), пєгооγ мпгап єтєрє пхоєіс nат гап єрок '*the day*$_i$ (пє-гооγ) *of the judgement* (м-п-гап) [(when) the Lord (п-хоєіс) will judge (lit. will give (єтєрє ... na-†) law (гап)) you (єро-к)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. оγon ним єqгм пхаιє єтпολγтєγє єтвє ппоγтє аγω єтмnаγ єрωмє '*everyone*$_i$ (оγon ним) [RC1 *who*$_i$ (is) *in* (ϵ-q-гм) the desert (п-хаιє) [RC2 *who*$_i$ (єт __) *leads an ascetic life* (пολγтєγє) for (єтвє) God (п-ноγтє) and (аγω) in order not to see (ϵ-тм-наγ) anybody (ϵ-рωмє)]]' (Onnophr. 214:24-25).

11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers n- 'for' and ϵ- 'to', e.g. оγваптιсма ноγхаι мпгєnос тнрq nаδам 'a baptism (оγ-ваптιсма) [*to save* (n-оγхаι) the entire (тнр-q) race (м-п-гєnос) of Adam (n-аδам)]' (Eud. 34:13), оγψахє єхооq єрооγ 'a word (оγ-ψахє) [*to be spoken* (ϵ-хоо-q) to them (єро-оγ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), єγскєγос єоγоnq 'for a vessel (ϵ-γ-скєγос) [*to eat from* (ϵ-оγоn-q)]' (Onnophr. 211:8).

11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. ппро Δє нтєрєqnаγ єпєнта ппоγтє ааq ммаq (...) 'when the King (п-ррo) saw (нтєрє-q-наγ) [*what God* (п-ноγтє) *had done* (ϵ-пє-нт-а ... аа-q)

for him (ⲛⲏⲓⲙⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as $\emptyset_{\text{NOUN}}$). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
ⲡⲉ- that	$\underline{\emptyset_{\text{NOUN}i}}$	[RC ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲁ-ⲥ$_i$ (...)] what God had done (it$_i$)

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article ⲡ-, ⲧ-, ⲛ- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲧⲁⲓ, ⲛⲁⲓ. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*he who will neglect* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) them (the instructions) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (praec. Pach.103), ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) ⲧ ⲉⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ '*this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ), however (ⲍⲱⲱ-ⲥ), [*whom the Christians give* (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧ) praise (ⲉⲟⲩ) *to* (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ '*this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ) [*in whom* (ⲛⲍⲏⲧ-ⲥ) *the spirit* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄) *of the devil* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *has branched out* (lit. has taken (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲭⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) roots (ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ '(the land of the Mariôtês), *the one they call* (ⲧ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) »Pajat« (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ '*she* (ⲧⲁⲓ) [*who is watched* (lit. *they* watch (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ) her (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ)) by (ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the angels (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) of my Father (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) [who is (ⲉⲧ __) in (ⲍⲛ) heaven (ⲙ-ⲡⲏⲩⲉ)]]' (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲧⲏⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'except (ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *those who have been ordered* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲧⲏⲱ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲍ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *those who gathered* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲍ) with him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)' (Test. Is. 228:5), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲃⲓ (for ⲩⲓ) ⲗⲱⲅⲟⲥ (for ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ) '*those* (ⲛⲁⲓ) [*who are brought* (lit. *they* have brought (ⲛ-ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ)) to him (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ⲩ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) of justification (lit. taking (ⲛ-ⲃⲓ) account (ⲗⲱⲅⲟⲥ)]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲏ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲍⲕⲟ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲥⲱ 'where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will [*those who live* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ) *in* (ⲍⲙ) *the desert* (ⲡ-ⲭⲁⲓⲉ) *for the sake of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)] find (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲍⲉ) somebody (ⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ), when *they* get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (ⲟⲩ-ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) comes upon them (ⲣⲱⲁⲛ ... ⲧⲁⲍⲟ-ⲟⲩ)), or (ⲏ) when *they* are hungry (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲍⲕⲟ), where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will they find (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲍⲉ) food (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ); if *they* suffer from thirst (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲃⲉ), where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will they find (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲍⲉ) water (ⲉ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) to drink (ⲉ-ⲥⲱ)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extraclausal positions of vocative and appositional phrases.

Examples: (subject FRC) ⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲕⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁ '[*those who went* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) *with him* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)] withdrew themselves (ⲁ … ⲥⲟⲕ-ⲟⲩ) on each side (ⲛⲥⲁ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁ)' (Test. Is. 234:6-7), ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲡⲁⲥⲁ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ 'since (ϫⲓⲛ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) [*all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *which is inside me* (lit. which is in my inner (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲩⲛ) side (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲁ))] has become healthy (ⲁ … ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 'and each one (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) told (ⲛⲧⲉ … ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) [*what he knew* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ) *from* (ϩⲛ) *the Scriptures* (ⲛⲉ-ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'I ate (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [*what was left* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) *of the bread* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ † ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'God (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) shows (lit. give (ⲯⲁⲣⲉ … †)) favour (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ) [*to those who will believe* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) I reflected (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) by myself (lit. in (ϩⲙ) my heart (ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ)) [*about what I had done* (ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲗⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲱ̄ 'the regiment (ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ) [*of those whom* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *they call* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) »Luduriakon« (ⲗⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲱ̄)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱϣ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲩϩⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲩⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ (for ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲏⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ) ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱϣ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϯ ϩⲧⲏϥ 'in order that (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) they shall read (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱϣ) from it (the book) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) for the benefit (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲏⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) satisfaction (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ) [*of those who will read* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱϣ) *from it* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)] and (ⲙⲛ) [*of him who will listen* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) *to it* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *with* (ϩⲛ) *attention* (lit. giving (ⲟⲩ-†) one's attention (ϩⲧⲏ-ϥ))]' (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) ⲉⲓⲃⲏⲕ ϣⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'I am on my way (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲃⲏⲕ) [*to* (ϣⲁ) *the one who has sent me* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲧ)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ 'praise (ⲥⲛⲟⲩ) God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), [*you who fear* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲧϥ) *his name* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ 'My Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅), [*he because of whom* (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ϥ) *I renounced* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ) *my father's* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *house* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲏⲓ)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲉ) ⲉⲩⲉⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟϥ '[*he who will protest* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲛⲕⲁ ⲙⲃⲁϫⲉ (…) ⲉϥⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ '[*he who will break* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲡ) *a piece* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲕⲁ) *of pottery* (ⲙ-ⲃⲁϫⲉ) (…)] shall be (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲓ) reprimanded (ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ)) at (ϩⲙ) the (lit. his) sixth (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ)) occurrence (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡ)' (praec. Pach. 125).

d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) ⲡⲉⲧϯ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *he*$_i$ *who*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ __) teaches (lit. give (ϯ) teaching (ⲥⲃⲱ)) with (ϩⲛ) the mouth (ⲧ-ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ 'you should eat (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [*what* God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *has sent* (*it*$_i$) (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*what*$_i$ *you will ask* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) (*it*$_i$) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) from (ⲛⲧⲙ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 216:25), ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*what*$_i$ *you have seen* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) (*it*$_i$) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ϩⲛⲏ ⲉⲣⲟϥ '*he*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲉ) *before whom*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) nothing (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) *is hidden* (ⲙⲛ … ϩⲛⲏ)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), ⲉⲧⲙⲛⲧⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'towards perfection (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ) in (ϩⲛ) [*what*$_i$ *he had started* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ) (*in it*$_i$) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲁⲧⲉⲩϩ 'Numerian (ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) *he*$_i$ (ⲡⲁⲓ) [*who*$_i$ *had been* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ) *king* (ⲣⲣⲟ) before them (ϩⲁ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ϩ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲩⲥⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲫⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ '*those*$_i$ *who*$_i$ *do not get enough* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲉⲓ) of robbing (ⲛ-ⲧⲱⲣⲡ) and stealing (ⲛ-ⲫⲓ) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (ⲁⲛ) theirs (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ))]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24).

11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲓⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ 'blessed is [*he who will do* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *the will* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *on* (ϩⲓϫⲙ) *earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲛⲉⲓϣⲁⲭⲉ 'may the blessings (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) of the patriarch (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ) be (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) [*those who come* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓ) *after us* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲛ)] and (ⲙⲛ) [*those who listen* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) *to these words* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ)]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7), ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'I looked (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) at your face (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲟ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [*someone who had seen* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *the face* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲟ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9), ⲡⲉ[ⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲓ [ⲛⲁ] ϫⲡⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲓⲗⲁϥ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ '[*what my boat* (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲓ) *will bring in* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ϫⲡⲟ-ϥ) *each* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *year* (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)], I will split (lit. make) (ϣⲁ-ⲓ-ⲗⲁ-ϥ) into three (ⲛ-ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ) parts (ⲛ-ⲧⲟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5).

b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g. ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡϣⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ '[*the ones who served* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) *well* (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ)] (are) [*those who stand* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ) *within* (ϩⲙ) *the confines* (ⲡ-ϣⲓ) *of the Scriptures* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ)]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31), ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ 'in (ϩⲙ) their joy (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) compassion (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ) towards me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ), they (the four lads) were (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ) [*those who had passed* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲡⲱⲛⲉ) *to the other world* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲕⲉ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ)]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3), ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲛⲏⲫⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧϩⲁ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ 'suddenly (ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), I woke up (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲏⲫⲉ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ) [*those who are under* (the influence of) (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲁ) *wine* (ⲡ-ⲏⲣⲡ)]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲉⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ ϩⲱ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲁⲭⲉ (...) '(as for) [*him who has effected* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ) *in you* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) *this good* (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ) *desire* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ)], he may also (ϩⲱ) produce (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ) in us (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲛ) the fulfillment (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of your wish (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to let us say (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲭⲱ) a few words (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ) (...)' (Zen. 199:25-27), ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'look (ⲁⲛⲁⲩ) at [*him* (ⲉ-ⲡⲁⲓ) [*in whom* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) *the spirit* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲛ̄ⲁ̄) *of the devil* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *has branched out* (lit. has taken (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) roots (ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ))]]' (KHML II 33:25-26), ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲏⲃ (...) ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓϫⲁⲓⲉ 'oh (you) [*who brought* (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) *water* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) *out* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *of* (ϩⲛ) *the rock* (ⲧ-ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ) *of Khôreb* (ⲛ-ϫⲱⲣⲉⲃ)], will you (please) raise (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) water (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) in (ϩⲛ) this desert (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϥϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Isaac) told (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲩⲟ) his words (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ) of instruction (ⲛ-ⲥⲃⲱ) to Jacob (ⲉ-ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ), his son (ⲡⲉϥ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ), and (ⲙⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) [*those who gathered* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ) *with him* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) [*those* (ⲛⲁⲓ) [*you are looking* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) at (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)], they (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) the fathers (ⲛⲉ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) of the world (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 21:21-22).

d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'the Apostle (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *Judas*$_i$, [*who*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ __) *went*

(п-єт-ноофє) *with* (мн) *our Lord* (пєн-хоєіс)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), пасшт (read пасштп) птєлємн пєнтаqр поγшщ мпаєіωт єтzн ммпи[γ]є 'my chosen one (па-сштп) *Ptolemy*$_i$ (птєлємн), [*who*$_i$ *has done* (пє-нт-а-q-р) *the will* (п-оγшщ) *of my Father* (м-па-єіωт) *in* (єт __ zн) *heaven* (н-м-пнγє)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), пноγтє пєнтаqщшпє мн пєнєіωт аδам мн авєл мн нωzє '*God*$_i$ (п-ноγтє), [*who*$_i$ *has been* (пє-нт-а-q щшпє) *with* (мн) *our father* (пєн-єіωт) *Adam*, *with* (мн) *Abel* (мн) *Noah* (нωzє)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), пноγтє єтонz паι нтаqтамοι єщєп zісє zн нєzісє нтаqщοпоγ zаροн тнрн '*the* living (єт __ онz) *God*$_i$ (п-ноγтє), [*who*$_i$ (паι) *has taught me* (нт-а-q-тамо-і) *to bear* (є-щєп) *grievances* (zісє) *through* (zн) *the grievances* (нє-zісє) [*that he bore* (нт-а-q-щоп-оγ) *for us* (zаρо-н) *all* (тнр-н)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), єγєщшпє нщнре нδаγєіδ паι єтхω ммос хє (...) 'they will become (є-γ-є-щшпє) the children (н-щнре) of *David*$_i$ (н-δаγєіδ), [*who*$_i$ (паι) *says* (єт __ хω) that (хє) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), тпарθєнос єтоγааβ таι єтоγроєіс єрос єβол zітоотоγ ннаггєλос мпаєіωт єтzн мпнγє 'oh holy (єт __ оγааβ) *virgin*$_i$ (т-парθєнос), [*who*$_i$ (таι) *is watched* (lit. *they* watch (єт-оγ-роєіс) *her*$_i$ (єро-с)) *by* (zітоот-оγ) *the angels* (н-н-аггєλос) *of my Father* (н-па-єіωт) *in* (єт __ zн) *heaven* (н-м-пнγє)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. анг оγzоор (read оγоγzоор) паι єγщаннохq єβол щаqβωк єγщанмоγтє єроq щаqєі 'I (анг) (am) *a dog*$_i$ (оγ-оγzоор), [*who*$_i$ (паι) *goes away* (ща-q-βωк) [*if they throw him*$_i$ (є-γ-щан-нох-q) *out* (єβол)] (and) (*he*$_i$) *comes* (ща-q-βωк) [*if they call* ((є-γ-щан-ноγтє) *him*$_i$ (єро-q)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. наι тнроγ пєтнаамєλєі єроογ єqнаχі єпітимια zаροογ '(as for) all (тнр-оγ) these (rules), [*he who will neglect* (п-єт-на-амєλєі) them (єро-оγ)] will be reprimanded (lit. *he*$_i$ will receive (є-q-на-хі) reprimand (єпітимια)) on account of them (zаро-оγ)' (praec. Pach.103), пєтнащшпє єqпістєγє єнщахє мпноγтє мн нєqпєтоγааβ qнащшпє нклнронομος нтмнтрро мпноγтє '(as for) [*him*$_i$ *who* (п-єт__) *will come* (на-щшпє) [*to believe* (є-q-пістєγє) *the words* (є-н-щахє) *of God* (м-п-ноγтє) *and* (мн) *his saints* (нєq-пєтоγааβ)]], *he*$_i$ will become (q-на-щшпє) heir (н-клнронομос) to the kingdom (н-т-мнт-ррο) of God (м-п-ноγтє)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), нєтнамєλєта ммос zм пєγzнт тнрq zн оγпістис єqпістєγє (read єγпістєγє) єнєнтаιхοογ тнроγ таδом мн тδом мпамєріт нщнре мн пєпn̄ā єтоγааβ нащшпє ммнаγ '(as for) [*them*$_i$ *who* (н-єт__) *will study* (на-мєλєта) *it* (the testament) (ммо-с) *with* (zм) *their whole* (тнр-q) *heart* (пєγ-zнт), *in* (zн) *faith* (оγ-пістис), [*believing* (є-γ-пістєγє) *in all* (тнр-оγ) [what I have said (є-нє-нт-а-і-хοο-γ)]]], my power (та-δом), the power (т-δом) of my beloved (м-па-мєріт) Son (н-щнре), and (мн) the Holy (єт-оγааβ) Spirit (пє-пn̄ā) will remain (на-щшпє) with *them*$_i$ (ммна-γ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. нєнн пєтнаноγq нzнтоγ '(there) was nothing (нє-мн) [*good* (п-єт-наноγ-q)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner п-, e.g. мпєγроογщ ан пє zєнпєтщоγєіт 'their care (пєγ-роογщ) (is) not (ан) [*idle things* (zєн-п-єт-щоγєіт)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), пєнпєтоγааβ нєіωт єттаєінγ к[а]та снот нім апа zнноβіос '[*our holy* (пєн-п-єт-оγааβ)] father (н-єіωт) [who (єт __) is honoured таєінγ) in (ката) every (нім) manner (снот)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

11.3 Nominal cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are very common in the syntactic patterns of Sahidic Coptic and occur in the declarative as well as the interrogative mood, e.g. ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲛⲧⲕ '(it is) *the governor* (ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) is asking (ⲭⲛⲟⲩ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) [what (ⲛⲓⲙ) your name (ⲡⲛⲧ-ⲕ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15), ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ __) is misleading (ⲥⲱⲣⲙ) the crowd (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231). Cleft sentences are complex sentences structures that express a single proposition by means of a biclausal syntax. In Coptic, cleft constructions represent a special type of tripartite nominal sentences in which a noun phrase (or its equivalent) is equated with a restrictive relative clause (section 11.3.1). Such nominal clefts encode different semantic types of focus, ranging from presentational (new information) focus to explicit contrast (section 11.3.2).

11.3.1 The equative format of cleft sentences

Coptic cleft constructions have a form that is identical to that of tripartite nominal sentences. Both cleft constructions and tripartite nominal sentences include an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the predicate, which forces a sentential interpretation of the structure (see above, section 5.2.1 of Unit 5 for the syntax of the agreement clitic). Thus compare: (declarative) ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he* (ⲛⲧⲟⲩ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 4:11) vs. ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'and (it) was (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ) *him* (ⲛⲧⲟⲩ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲩ) [who was living as a hermit (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), (interrogative) ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the goats (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the sheep (ⲛ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:14) vs. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [that planted (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲱⲱⲥⲉ) them (the trees) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)]?' (Onnophr. 219:20-21). A schematic representation of the equative format of nominal clefts and tripartite nominal sentences is given in figure 11.5 (AGR-CL stands for agreement clitic')

	SUBJECT	AGR-CL	PREDICATE NOUN
TRIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCE	ⲛⲧⲟⲩ he	ⲡⲉ SING. MASC.	ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ their father
	CLEFTED NP	**AGR-CL**	**RELATIVE CLAUSE**
CLEFT SENTENCE	ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲩ he alone	ⲡⲉ SING. MASC.	[RC ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ] who lived as a hermit

FIGURE 11.5 The equative format of cleft sentences

Nominal clefts involve minimally two clauses: the matrix clause is a tripartite nominal sentence that includes a restrictive relative clause. Taken together, the matrix clauses and the embedded relative clause express a single proposition. The following sections review the main syntactic characteristics of nominal clefts, namely (i) the distribution of tense and negation, (ii) the morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic, (iii) the anaphoric relation between the clefted noun phrase and the embedded relative clause, and (iv) the interaction between clefting and topicalisation.

11.3.1.1 The distribution of tense and negation

The distribution of tense and negation provides further evidence for the equative format of Coptic cleft constructions. The clefted noun phrase can only appear with the preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ-, suggesting that cleft sentences are subject to the same tense restrictions as the corresponding tripartite nominal sentences, e.g. ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'and (it) *was* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ) *him* (ⲛⲧⲟⲩ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲩ) [who was living as a hermit (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲛⲧ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ 'before (ϩⲁⲑⲏ) heaven (ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) were created (lit. *they* had not yet created (ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲛⲧ)), *what* (ⲟⲩ) *was* (ⲛⲉ) (there) [that (ⲉⲧ __) existed (ⲱⲟⲟⲡ)]?' (Contra Orig. 60:40-41).

In nominal clefts, negation may take wide or narrow scope (see above, section 9.2 of Unit 9). When negation occurs within the embedded relative clause, it takes wide scope over the background proposition, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛϥⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲇⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [*that will not* (ⲁⲛ) *believe* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in the mighty deeds (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲇⲟⲙ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]?' (KMHL II

37:12-13). If, on the other hand, negation occurs in the matrix clause, it takes narrow scope over the clefted constituent, leaving the backgrounded proposition outside its scope, e.g. ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲕⲃⲁ ⲛ̀ⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲥⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲛⲧ '(it is) *not* (ⲙ- … ⲁⲛ) *man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) takes (ⲭⲓ) vengeance (ⲕⲃⲁ) through it (the sword) (ⲛ̀ⲍⲏⲧ-ⲥ) wrathfully (ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲛⲧ)]' (Sh. IV 12:12), (with omission of the negative prefix ⲛ-) ⲏ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̀ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ (…) 'or (ⲏ) if (ⲉⲛⲉ) (it) (were) *not* (ⲁⲛ) a living (ⲛ-ⲍⲱⲟⲛ) *soul* (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ) [that (ⲉⲧ __) (resided) within them (ⲛ̀ⲍⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) (…)]' (Sh. III 220:7-8).

11.3.1.2 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

The agreement clitic of nominal cleft sentences differs both morphologically and syntactically from the corresponding pronominal element in tripartite nominal sentences, suggesting that it has been further grammaticalised as a focus marker.

a) Proclisis and phonological reduction

In tripartite nominal sentences the agreement clitic occurs in clause-second position with other prosodically weak functions words and particles, e.g. ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲍ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) you have (lit. for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) (is)) continuous (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱ) rest (ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) until eternity (ⲛⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲍ)' (AP Chaîne no. 30, 6:7). The corresponding agreement clitic of nominal clefts, however, has determiner-like properties, forming an indivisible prosodic unit with the following relative clause, e.g. ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) a beautiful (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲩ) thing (ⲟⲩ-ⲍⲱⲃ) [that he did (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲁ-ⲩ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

The proclitic behaviour of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts is particularly clear in the context of vowel elision. This happens when it is attached to relative complementisers with a word-initial ⲉ:

ⲡⲉ-	→	ⲡ-	/___	COMP$_{REL}$	ⲉⲧ-,	ⲉⲧⲉ-,	ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-,	ⲉ-
e	→	Ø	/___	e				

FIGURE 11.6 The phonological reduction of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts

When vowel elision applies, the resulting complex PROCLITIC – RELATIVE COMPLEMENTISER – EMBEDDED CLAUSE looks superficially like a free-standing relative clause, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲣ[ⲁⲧ]ⲩ ⲉⲙⲓⲯⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲣ ⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϯⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲓⲯⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲍⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲍⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [that (ⲉⲧ __) would stand up (ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲩ) [to fight (ⲉ-ⲙⲓⲯⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) dogs (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲣ)]] or (ⲏ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [that (ⲉⲧ __) would struggle (ⲛⲁ-ϯⲧⲱⲛ) with (ⲙⲛ) bears (ⲛⲓ-ⲁⲣⲝ)], who (ⲛⲓⲙ), indeed (ⲛⲧⲟⲩ), (is it) [that (ⲉⲧ __) would set out (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) [to fight (ⲉ-ⲙⲓⲯⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) lions (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲙⲟⲩⲓ) without (ⲁⲭⲛ) plan (ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ) and (ⲍⲓ) counsel (ⲥⲃⲱ)]]' (Camb. 8:15-18).

b) Agreement behaviour

The agreement clitic of nominal clefts generally agrees in number and gender with the clefted noun or pronoun: (sing. masc.) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ) (it was) (ⲡⲉ) *the king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) [who made it (the bed-chamber) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ⲩ) for her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 50:8-9), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲩⲩⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ ⲍⲛ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (it was) (ⲡ(ⲉ)) *him* (ⲛⲧⲟⲩ), too (ⲟⲛ), [who was taking (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲩⲓ) care (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ) of (ⲍⲛ) everything (ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ)' (Zen. 202:11-12), (sing. fem.) ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲙⲍⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ '(it is) (ⲧ(ⲉ)) *your maid-servant* (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲍⲙⲍⲁⲗ) *Eudoxia* (ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) wishes (ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) [to enter (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ) to greet you (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ)]]' (Eud. 56:1-2), (plural) ⲭⲉ [ⲛ]ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲟ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲫⲉⲓ '(it was) (ⲛⲉ) *them* (the elders) (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) [who sent (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ) for him (Apa Matthew) (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲩ) [to come (ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ)]]' (KHML II 21:8-9).

As a focus-marking device, the agreement clitic may assume a default value 3rd person singular masculine ⲡⲉ, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '(it is) (ⲡ(ⲉ)) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲛ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) reside (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (Onnophr. 221:2-3).

The agreement clitic can be omitted in cleft constructions with independent pronouns, which are inherent focus expressions, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϯ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲍⲁ ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ '(it is) *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) will account (lit. give (ⲛⲁ-ϯ) account (ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ)) to God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) for (ⲍⲁ) my soul (ⲧⲁ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ)' (Hil. 5:28).

The morpho-syntactic behaviour of the agreement clitic is summarised in table 11.2 below, where [± AGR] indicates presence or

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ [+AGR]	[RC ⲛⲧ- ...]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	ⲡ-, ⲧ-, ⲛ- [+AGR]	[RC ⲉⲧ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elison of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	ⲡ- [–AGR]	[RC ⲉⲧ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elison of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Ø	[RC ⲉⲧ- ...]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or "variable" (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) ϩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲃⲱⲕ ⲯⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ (...) 'or (ϩ) *which* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *monk*$_i$ (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) (was it) [*who*$_i$ *came* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to him (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ⲩ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the salvation (ⲡ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) of *his*$_i$ soul (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ) (...)]?' (KHML II 11: 9-11), ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ ⲧⲁϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ '*what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (is it) [*that* (*it*$_i$) *happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) to you (ⲙⲙⲟ)], my daughter (ⲧⲁ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ)?' (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲥⲁⲁⲥ '*what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (is it) [*that you order* (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ) your maid servant (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) [to do (*it*$_i$) (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲁⲁ-ⲥ)]]?' (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ '*who*$_i$ (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it)[*that you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) *are* talking (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) *to* (*him*$_i$)(ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)]?' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲕⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ '(it is), again (ⲟⲛ), *the earth*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) [*that they* (i.e. the birds and fish) *return* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲧⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *to* (*it*$_i$) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)]' (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟ[ⲥ] ⲡⲉⲧⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ] ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧ[ⲉ]ⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ (...) '(it is) *I*$_i$ (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), Constantine (ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ), King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of the Romans (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ) [*who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ ___) *divulges* (ⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) (a decree) in (ϩⲛ) *his*$_i$ entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) kingdom (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ) (...)' (Eud. 40:3-4) vs. ⲡⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲉϥϫⲣⲟ ϩⲏⲛⲱⲛ ⲉϥⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ (read ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϩϩ ϩⲛ ⲯⲓⲏⲧ '(it is) the victorious (ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ϫⲣⲟ) Augustus (ⲡ-ⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *Zênôn*$_i$ (ϩⲏⲛⲱⲛ) [*who*$_i$ *is writing* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ) to (ⲉⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ) our holy (ⲉⲧ ___ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) and pious (ⲛ-ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) fathers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) [that (ⲉⲧ ___) reside (ⲟⲩϩϩ) in (ϩⲛ) Shiêt (ⲯⲓⲏⲧ)]]' (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲁϫⲱⲣⲉⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'and (it) *was* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ) *him*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ) [*who*$_i$ *was living as a hermit* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲛⲁϫⲱⲣⲉⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲁⲁϥ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) *a* beautiful (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) *thing*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [*that he did* (*it*$_i$) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26)

11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. ⲉϫⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ

ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲗⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ '*besides* (ⲉϫⲛ) *these* (things) (ⲛⲁⲓ), *what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (*is it*) [that the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) will (manage) to do (*it*$_i$) (ⲉⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡϩⲁⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲱⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲛ[ⲉ] '*after* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) *the* (day of) *judgement* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲡ), (it is) *the pit*$_i$ (ⲧ-ⲱⲱⲧⲉ) of the Abyss (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛ) [*which*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ ⸗) will become (ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) your (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) dwelling (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ) place (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ† ⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲣⲁⲛ '[*he who has given* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-†) a name (ⲣⲁⲛ) to everybody (ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) knows (ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) everything (ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ)]$_i$, (it is) *him*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) [*who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ ⸗) knows (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) our name (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲣⲁⲛ)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲛϩ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ '(as for) [*those who died* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)]$_i$, (it is) *them*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) [*who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ ⸗) will also (ⲟⲛ) live (ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲛϩ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁⲁϥ [ⲛ]ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ '(as for) *you*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ), *what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (is it) [*that you*$_i$ want (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲱ) us [to do (*it*$_i$) (ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ) about (ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ) these (things) (ⲛⲁⲓ)]]?' (Camb. 11:9-10), ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ '*who*$_i$ (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) *now* (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) [that *who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ ⸗) is misleading (ⲥⲱⲣⲙ) the crowd (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).

11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ '(it is) *a* pure (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) *spirit* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [which (ⲉⲧ ⸗) speaks (ⲱⲁϫⲉ) through him (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϯⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ '(it is) *a* divine (lit. of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)) *matter* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [that I am speaking (ⲉ-†-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) to you (ⲛⲙⲙⲏ-ⲧⲛ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ϥ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'only', ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'ever' or ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'single', e.g. ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲉⲱϫⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲕⲁⲧⲱⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ (for ⲛⲉϥⲕⲁⲧⲟⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ) 'yet (ⲡⲗⲏⲛ) even though (ⲉⲱϫⲉ) (it is) *only* (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *a few* (things) (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) [that we are going to say (ⲉ(ⲧ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) of (ϩⲛ) his achievements (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲕⲁⲧⲱⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ)]' (Zen. 201:13), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉϥⲛⲟⲕϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲙⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϥⲣⲁⲱⲉ '*which* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man* (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *ever* (ⲉⲛⲉϩ) (is it) [that had gone (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) to (ⲉⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ) our father (Matthew) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) [disheartened (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ̄ϩ̄ ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ)] and did not go away (ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) [rejoicing (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲣⲁⲱⲉ)]]!' (KHML II 11:8-9), ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲓ '(it is) (just) a *single* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) *son* (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) [that (ⲉⲧ ⸗) I have (lit. exists (ⲱⲟⲟⲡ) with me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ))]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲛⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ † ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲧⲏⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲙⲡⲱⲁ ⲉϥⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ (for ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) ⲛⲱⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ (...) '(it is) *this most humble* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *king* (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Zênôn* (ϩⲛⲱⲛ), [whom (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) has given (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … †) the honour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲓⲟ) of kingship (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) beyond (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) his worthiness (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲉⲙⲡⲱⲁ)], [*who is writing* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ) to (ⲉ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the pious (ⲛⲛ-ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) and beloved (ⲛ-ⲱⲟⲩ-ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ) brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).

11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲱ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲟ) ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲏⲛϩⲁⲓⲥ (for ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲩⲛⲉⲓⲇⲏⲥⲓⲥ) 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) *the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) is (ⲱ) witness (ⲙ-ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲏ) to my conscience (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲥⲏⲛϩⲁⲓⲥ)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), [ⲁⲣⲏ]ⲩ ⲡϩⲁⲅ[ⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ]ⲡ[ⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ] ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲟⲩⲛⲧ ⲉ[ⲣⲟⲓ] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲣϩⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ[ⲉⲣϩ]ⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ 'perhaps (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) (it is) *the holy* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna* (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ) [who has become wrathful (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧ) with me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the promise (ⲡ-ⲉⲣϩⲧ) [that I made (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲣϩⲧ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 11b:25-29).

11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. ⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲯⲓⲡⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲕ[ⲗ]ⲏⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲭⲓⲛⲟⲟⲛⲥ '(it is) *Augustus* (ⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *Constantine*, the righteous (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) [that the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) our God (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) has raised (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ-ⲩ) for us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) as a king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) instead (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) of the shameless (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲯⲓⲡⲉ) criminal (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) *Diocletian* (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ), the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of injustice (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲓ ⲛ-ⲟⲟⲛⲥ)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲧⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲕⲱⲛⲥ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲫ ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲫ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲕⲱⲛⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ '(it is) not (ⲙ- ... ⲁⲛ) *man* (ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) turns (ⲕⲧⲟ) it (the sword) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) to the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [where (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲫ) he wants (ⲉⲧ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫ) [to wound (ⲉ-ⲕⲱⲛⲥ)]]]; rather (ⲛⲧⲟⲫ) (it is) *it* (the sword) (ⲛⲧⲟⲥ) [which (ⲉⲧ __) turns (ⲕⲧⲟ) the man (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) to the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [where it wants (ⲉⲧ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫ) [to wound (ⲉ-ⲕⲱⲛⲥ)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle ⲙⲁⲩⲁ- 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ '(it is) *you* (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ) yourselves (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) mislead (ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ) yourselves (ⲙⲙⲱ-ⲧⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. ⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛⲑⲩⲗⲏ '(it is) the fire (ⲡ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ) [*which* (ⲉⲧ __) *will burn* (ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲱⲕϩ) *the matter* (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲗⲏ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲩⲗⲏ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive

discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ⲉⲕⲯⲁⲛⲛⲟⲭⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϯ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲍⲁ ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ 'if you throw me (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲛⲟⲭ-ⲧ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ), (then) (it is) *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *will account* (lit. give (ⲛⲁ-ϯ) account (ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ)) to God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) for (ⲍⲁ) my soul (ⲧⲁ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ 'do not start (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲧⲣⲉ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) a war (ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ)! (It is) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *is going to bring them* (the apostles) (ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ) in (ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲃⲏⲃⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) be strong (ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ) and brave (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲃⲙ-ⲃⲟⲙ), for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *saves* (ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙ) *you* (ⲙⲙⲱ-ⲧⲛ) *from* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *trial* (ⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

Key Terms:

Virtual and non-virtual relatives	Virtual relative clauses may appear in non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.	§11.1.1
Complementiser alternations	Various subordinating complementisers introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* ⲉⲣⲉ- and *pron.st.* ⲉ-, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker.	§11.1.2
Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns	instantiate two different types of placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉ]ⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ '*every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) human (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *race*$_i$ (ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) lives (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ⲍⲛ) my kingdom (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ⲛⲉⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲫ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ '*the mighty deeds*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲃⲟⲙ) *and* (ⲙⲉⲛ) *miracles*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ) [*that* (*they*$_i$) *happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *through* (ⲍⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲫ) *our father* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

§11.1.3

Nested and stacked relative clauses	*Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative* embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g. ϩⲛⲕⲉϣⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲡⲧ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'other trees (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ϣⲏⲛ) [$_{RC1}$ *while* (*they*$_i$) *were loaded* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲡⲧ) *with fruit* (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [$_{RC2}$ *while* (*they*$_j$) *were plenty* (ⲉ-ⲛⲁϣⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g. ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓⲉ '*the* holy *brothers*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) (lit. [$_{RC1}$ *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) are holy (ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)) [$_{RC2}$ *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) *live* (ϣⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).	§11.1.4
Definiteness opposition	The determination of the antecedent noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g. ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱϥ 'much (lit. which is abundant (ⲉ-ⲛⲁϣⲱ-ϥ)) water (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g. ⲛ[ⲉϥ]ϭⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲁⲃ] 'his holy (lit. which are holy (ⲉⲧ __ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)) hands (ⲛⲉϥ-ϭⲓϫ)' (KHML II 18:18).	§11.1.5.1

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses	Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g. ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲥⲁϣⲉ 'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲁϣⲉ)) death (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g. ϩⲉⲛϩⲓⲣ ϩⲛ ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'the deserted (lit. which are (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) (in a) deserted (ⲛ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ) (state)) streets in (ϩⲛ) Hell (ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ) without (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ) anyone (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) on them (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 204:132).	§11.1.5.3
Free relatives	are relative clauses that occur without an overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g. ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'I ate (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [what was left (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) of the bread (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5).	§11.2.1
Hypothetical relative clauses	have a clause-like interpretation corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpretated as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g. ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲉ) ⲉⲩⲉⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟϥ '(as for) [him who will protest (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ)], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).	§11.2.2

Nominal clefts	*Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function.* In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause.	§11.3.1
Exhaustive listing	The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲓ '(it is) (just) a single (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) son (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲙⲣⲉ) [that I have (lit. that (ⲉⲧ __) is (ⲱⲟⲡ) with me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ))]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).	§11.3.2

Exercises

11.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1. The complementiser ⲉ- occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
2. Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
3. The complementiser ⲉⲧ- is restricted to subject relatives.
4. Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
5. Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

6. Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
7. The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
8. The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

11.2 Attributive relative clauses

A. Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ⲡⲙⲁ ⲟⲛ (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ/ⲉⲧⲉ) ⲕⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [where you are going (__ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:10)

(2) ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (ⲉⲧ/ⲉⲣⲉ) ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲇⲩⲙⲓⲥ 'worship (ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ) our revered (__ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲩ)) gods (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), Apollôn (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) Artemis (ⲧ-ⲁⲣⲇⲩⲙⲓⲥ)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)

(3) ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ (ⲉⲧⲉ/ⲉ) ⲭⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϯⲙⲉ 'a servant (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ) [who lived (__ⲭ-ⲟⲩⲏϩ) in (ϩⲛ) a village (ⲟⲩ-ϯⲙⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no.99, 22:9-10)

(4) ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ (ⲉⲛⲧ/ⲉⲧⲉ) ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'every (ⲛⲓⲙ) city (ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) [that they enter (__ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)

(5) ⲁⲭⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲑⲉ (ⲉ/ⲛⲧ) ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ 'he asked her (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the way (ⲑⲉ) [in which she had gone (__ ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of (ϩⲙ) his house (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲏⲓ)]' (Hil. 12:10)

B. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHÔMIUS' JOURNEY TO THE OTHER WORLD

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ[a] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲉⲡⲕⲁⲓⲉⲱⲛ (read ⲉⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ)[b] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲛϣⲣⲡϫⲟⲟⲥ[c]. ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲣϣⲉⲓⲣⲉ (for ⲉⲡϩⲣϣⲓⲣⲉ)[d] ⲛⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ[e] ⲛⲧⲁϥⲣ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉϥⲁⲥⲕⲉⲓ[f] ⲉϥϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲙⲛⲛ (for ⲙⲛ) ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲗⲏⲗ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ (for ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ) ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲥⲁ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲓⲉⲱⲛ (read ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ) ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲏⲧϥ[g] ⲁϥⲥⲱⲕ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲅⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ[h] ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲉϥϭⲟⲙ ⲉϩⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ϯⲕⲱⲛ (read ⲉϩⲉⲛⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ϯⲕⲱⲛ) ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ)[i] ⲉⲩϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲃ (for ⲁϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟϥ) ⲉⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲕⲏⲧ ⲉϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁ (...) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲃⲟⲗ[j] ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁϯⲥⲱⲥ[k] (ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ) ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲩⲫⲏ[l] ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ[m] ⲉϥϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϣⲏⲛ ⲉϥⲟⲧⲡ ⲛⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲛϩ (for ⲉϥⲟⲛϩ) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡϥⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲉϥⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ[n] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲉⲣ ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡϣⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲕⲁ ϫⲱϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉϥϣⲉⲓⲡⲉ (for ⲉϥϣⲓⲡⲉ) ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ[o] ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁϥϭⲱϣⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ ϩⲛⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲕϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲕϯ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ϩⲛⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲟⲩⲑⲃⲃⲉⲓⲟ. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲓϯⲙⲓⲁ[p] ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ. (V. Pach. 86:6-87:10)

NOTES: a. read ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ b. ⲁⲓⲱⲛ 'world' c. ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲛ-ϣⲣⲡ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ d. ϩⲣϣⲓⲣⲉ 'young man' e. ⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ 'innocent' f. ⲁⲥⲕⲉⲓ 'to practise' g. ⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲏⲧ= 'to run towards s.o.' h. ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 'state, condition' i. ⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ 'fruit' j. ⲣ ⲡ-ⲃⲟⲗ 'to walk out, leave' k. ⲡⲁⲣⲁϯⲥⲱⲥ 'Paradise' l. ⲧⲣⲩⲫⲏ 'delight, joy' m. ⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ 'hermit, monk' n. ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 'power, strength' o. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ 'to pass by' p. ⲉⲡⲓϯⲙⲓⲁ 'penalty, punishment'.

C. Specify for each relative clause in the text fragment whether it has a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning and function.

11.3 Free relative clauses

A. Consider the following examples of free relative clauses. Identify the placeholding gap or resumptive pronoun that indicates the internal grammatical role of the covert relative antecedent.

(1) ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'Abdemeruchos (ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ) [who supervises (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓϫⲛ) the punishments (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ) (of Hell)]' (Test. Is. 235:1-2).

(2) ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲁ ⲧⲉⲩϩⲏ 'Numerianus, [who (ⲡⲁⲓ) had been (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ) king (ⲣⲣⲟ) before them]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24)

(3) ⲁⲓⲣ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲑⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ 'I had become (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲣ) like (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [those who sleep (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ)] because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the overwhelming (vision) (ⲑⲟⲧⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲟⲧⲉ)) [that I had seen (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ)]' (Onnophr. 221:26-27)

(4) ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲏⲛⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϩⲓⲥⲧⲱⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲃⲱ 'the life (ⲡ-ⲃⲓⲟⲥ) of the blessed (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ) Hilaria, the daughter (ⲧ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ) of the god-loving (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Zênôn, [which the holy (ⲡ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Apa Pambô has written down (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲓⲥⲧⲱⲣⲓⲍⲉ)]' (Hil. 1:1-2)

(5) ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲝⲱⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'Apa John [who had been exiled (lit. they had exiled (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲝⲟⲣⲓⲍⲉ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) by (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) Markianos]' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:21-22)

(6) ϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲟϣⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'this destiny (ϯ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ), [which (ⲧⲁⲓ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄) has destined (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲟϣ-ⲥ) for you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 212:27-28)

(2) ⲉⲧⲃ[ⲉ] ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ[ⲥⲱⲟⲩ] [ⲉ]ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ [ⲉⲧⲉ] [ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲟⲣ[ⲑⲱ][ⲙⲁ] ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲍⲏⲛⲟⲃⲓⲟⲥ 'concerning (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) [what you are seeking (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲟⲩ) from us (ϩⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲛ)], [to wit (ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ) the achievements (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ) of the monastic practise (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ) of the blessed (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Zênobios]' (Zen. 199:7-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

(1) ⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ [ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ] (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)

(2) [ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ [ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙ]] (Test. Is. 228:7-8) (ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'to believe')

(3) ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ϩⲙ [ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟϥ] (Hil. 8:10-12)

11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

A. Classify the following cleft sentences by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲥ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) (it was) the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ϥ) for her (Eudoxia) (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 50:8-9)
☐ thematic prominence ☐ contrastive focus

(2) ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲛϩ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ '(as for) those who died (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅), (it is) *they* (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) will also (ⲟⲛ) live (ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲛϩ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

(3) ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲧⲱϣ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲡⲁⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'since (ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ) (it is) you (alone) (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) and (ⲙⲛ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) knows (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) course (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲱϣ) of my life (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲃⲓⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 12:22)
☐ presentational focus ☐ restrictive focus

(4) ⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛⲑⲩⲗⲏ '(it is) the fire (ⲡ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ) [which will burn (ⲉⲧ __ ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲱⲕϩ) the matter (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲗⲏ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲩⲗⲏ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

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

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ[a] ⲁϥⲕⲱ ⲛⲁϥ[b] ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ϯϯ ϩⲏⲩ[c] ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉϯ ϩⲏⲩ ⲁϫⲓⲥ ϭⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉϣϣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲁⲁϥ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲧⲉⲩϯⲙⲏ[d] ⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧϣⲁⲁⲧ. (AP Elanskaya 13a:12-34)

NOTES: a. ⲡϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ 'Phermês (toponym) b. ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁ- 'to keep for oneself' c. ϯ ϩⲏⲩ 'to give profit' d. ϯⲙⲏ 'price'

Present tense sentences may indicate a regular activity or characteristic behaviour of the subject referent. The habitual interpretation may be reinforced by frequency and interval adverbials like ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'daily' and ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲙ 'day and night', e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉϧⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲛ 'why (lit. for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) what (reason) (ⲟⲩ)) *do* (woman) *you sleep* (ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) on (ⲉϧⲛ) an ivory (ⲛ-ⲉⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲛ) couch (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ-ⲛ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ)?' (Eud. 58:3-4), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲛⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ), *we look* (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁⲩ) after each other (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) daily (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ)' (Onnophr. 211:3-4), ⲧⲛϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲙ '*we watch* (ⲧⲛ-ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) her (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) night (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲱⲙ)' (Hil.8:6-7).

e) Generic present tense sentences

The present tense may have a generic use to describe situations that hold true at all times, e.g. ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲉⲓⲗⲉ (for ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲗⲉ) ⲛⲁⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) the Saviour (ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ) *summons* (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲉⲓⲗⲉ) us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) through (ϩⲙ) the Gospel (ⲡ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ)' (V. Pach. 89:14-15), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲯⲟⲡϥ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *gives* (ⲉⲣⲉ … ⲧ) to every single person (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) the grief (ⲡ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) which he will receive (ⲉⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲟⲡ-ϥ)' (Onnophr. 212:7-8).

7.3.3 Future tenses

With respect to future time reference, Coptic employs two different tense forms: the First Future ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he is going to hear' and the Third Future ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he will come'. The First and the Second Future are formed by combining the present tense form of the motional verb ⲛⲁ 'to go' with a lexical verb. The Third Future, on the other hand, is an underlying locative construction, whose future time reference stems from the goal-directed meaning of the prepositional predicate ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ '(be) towards hearing' (see above, sections 7.1.2.3 and 7.1.2.4 for the syntax of the First and the Third Future, respectively).

The complete paradigm of future tenses is presented in table 7.3 below. In literary Sahidic, the second person singular allomorphs ⲧⲉ- and ⲧⲉⲣ- are morphologically fully productive, e.g. ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉ 'you (woman) will find' (Eud. 54:7) vs. ⲧⲉⲣ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ 'you (woman) will go' (Mena, Mir. 29b:11). Occasionally, the final ⲛ of the first and second plural pron ⲧⲉⲛ- and ⲧⲉⲧⲛ- is deleted in the context of the future auxiliary ⲛⲁ to avoid a cluster of two nasals: ⲧⲉⲧⲛ- /te.tən/ + ⲛⲁ /na/ → ⲧⲉⲧ /tet.na/, e.g. ⲧⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ 'you will die' (Eud. 58:28).

	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE
1st sing.	ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ(ⲣ)-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲣ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱ
3rd plural	ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 7.3 Future tenses

7.3.3.1 Syntactic relations between future and present tenses

A structural relation between the First Future ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he is goin hear' and the First Present ϥ-ⲥⲧⲱⲙ 'he hears, is hearing' is suggested the obligatory presence of the verbal copulas ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' and '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g. ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲉⲃⲉⲓϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲁϩⲟⲟⲩ '*a misery* (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲃⲉⲓϩⲛ) *will come u them* (ⲟⲩⲛ … ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲁϩⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1), ⲙⲙⲛ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲗⲓⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ '(there) be (ⲙⲙⲛ .. ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) no *repentance* (ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ) for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ), oh Diokletian (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ), (neither) in (ϩⲙ) this era (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲗⲓⲱⲛ) nor (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) (ϩⲙ) the one to come (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ)' (Eud. 38:22-23), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲧⲣⲏⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲯ ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *no* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *adversa* (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲧⲣⲏⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ) *will be able to gain power* (ⲙⲛ … ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲯ-ⲟⲙ-ⲟⲟ against him (the hermit) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (Onnophr. 221:20-21).

The First Present and the First Future differ morphologically from another with respect to their compatibility with formal classes of verb. As pointed out in section 7.3.2.2 above, Stative verb forms excluded from contexts other than the First and Second Present and

Preterit, e.g. ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲱⲱⲛⲉ *'I am cured* (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ) from sickness (ⲉ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ)' (*V. Pach. 90:11-12*). Moreover, the Stern-Jernstedt Rule does *not apply to Future Tenses, e.g.* ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓⲧⲕ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ (...) ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ *'I am going to take you* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲓⲧ-ⲕ) to the endless (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱ) light (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ)' (Test. Is. 229:23-24).

In the Third Future ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he will come', the directional preposition ⲉ- is deleted in the context of a nominal subject (see above, section 7.1.2.4). The resulting construction ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'the man will hear' takes exactly the same form as the Second Present. Despite this isomorphy, it is possible to distinguish both tenses on syntactic grounds, the Second Present but not the Third Future is compatible with Stative verb forms, e.g. ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϯⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟ ϩⲓⲱⲱϥ 'as if (ϩⲱⲥ) a variegated tunic (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϯⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ) *were placed* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲟ) on him (ϩⲓⲱⲱ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25). Since the Third Future is not subject to the aspectual restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt rule, the presence of a construct state form is therefore a reliable diagnostic for the Third Future interpretation of the sentence in question, e.g. ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲉⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ (ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲉⲣⲅⲉⲥⲓⲁ) '(I fasted a whole week) in order that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *would teach me* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ⲓ) about the well-doing (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ)' (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:29-30).

7.3.3.2 The correlation between future tense and modality

Future tense and mood represent two different categories of verbal semantics in the sense that future tenses describe forthcoming situations that occur after the present moment and moods describe situations that the speaker believes to be true, likely, or desirable. Yet, futurity is never a purely temporal concept, but always involves an element of speculation and prediction: in anticipating events that are not yet actualised, future tense always makes intrinsic reference to possible worlds. It is therefore hardly surprising to find future tenses in modal contexts. Some of these modal uses relate to deontic modality, which deals with obligation and desire, and others to epistemic modality, which deals with degrees of possibility. Although all three Coptic future tenses have partially overlapping temporal and modal uses, the First and Second Future tenses are better candidates as markers for future time reference than the Third Future. Thus, while the First and the Second Future have a primarily tense-deictic function, indicating progression from the present to the future, the Third Future involves a modal judgement on part of the speaker concerning the necessity or desirability of some future action.

7.3.3.3 Temporal and modal uses of the First and Second Future

The First and Second Future cover a broad spectrum of tense distinctions reaching from near to remote future time reference. Although various degrees of temporal distance are expressed, they always assert relevance of a forthcoming situation for the present. Therefore, both future tenses may be thought of a present-in-the future.

a) Near Future

As grammaticalised expressions of near future reference, the First and Second Future locate a forthcoming situation in the vicinity of the present moment. Adverbs of temporal location of the kind ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ 'now' or ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ 'in this hour' are frequently used to stress the connection with the present moment, e.g. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲣⲁⲯⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓⲧⲕ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲙⲕⲁϩ (for ⲟⲩⲙⲕⲁϩ) ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) rejoice (ⲣⲁⲯⲉ), you, (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) since (ϫⲉ) *I will take you* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲓⲧ-ⲕ) from (ϩⲛ) grief (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲙⲕⲁϩ) to joy (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ)' (Test. Is. 229:20-21). The near future reading may also be contextually implied, for instance, by a preceding imperative, e.g. ⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ (...) ⲉⲓⲛⲁϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ 'say (ⲁϫⲓ) a word (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) (...)! What (ⲟⲩ) *shall I say* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲉ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24-25). Near Future reference may include the day following the present moment, e.g. ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉ[ⲓ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲙⲏ ⲉⲡⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ ⲛⲁ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ 'when daylight (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) appears (ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ... ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ), come (you woman) (ⲁⲙⲏ) to my shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) healing (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ) *will be granted* (lit. happen (ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ)) to you (ⲛⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23), ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ (...) ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ 'tomorrow (ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ), with (ϩⲙ) God's will (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ), *we will go* (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ)(...). No (ⲙⲙⲟⲛ), *we will go* (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) right now (lit. in this hour (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ))!' (Mena, Mir. 77a:16-24).

b) Distant Future

The First Future may have distant future interpretation and refer to larger time intervals that include the present moment, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲯⲏⲣⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲃⲉ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ), we

and (ⲁⲛ) our children (ⲛⲉⲛ-ϣⲓⲣⲉ) are going to die (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) from (ⲉⲁ) *thirst* (ⲡ-ⲓⲃⲉ) *in* (ϩⲙ) *this desert* (ⲧ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 33a:33-33b:1), ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲁ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲥⲁϣϥ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ 'your martyrdom (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ) *will last* (ⲛⲁ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) seven (ⲛ-ⲥⲁϣϥ) months (ⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ)' (KHML I 76:2-3).

c) Remote Future

The First and Second Future may locate the anticipated event a long time after the present moment. Even when indicating a remote future, both future tenses maintain a connection with the present moment, asserting the current relevance of the anticipated situation, e.g. ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲓ (for ⲛⲁϥⲓ) ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ) ⲛⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϣⲁ 'the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *will require* (ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲉⲓ) a big (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) sacrifice (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ) from (ϩⲙ) your house (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲏⲓ) on (ϩⲙ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the festival (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϣⲁ)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉϩⲙⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ 'after (ⲙⲙⲛⲥⲁ) these (ⲛⲁⲓ) another forty-two (ⲕⲉ-ϩⲙⲉ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ) generations (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ) *will come* (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ)' (Test. Is. 231:7-8), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ 'future (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ) generations (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ) *will be saved* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ) through (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ) his (Jesus') body (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) and (ⲙⲛ) his blood (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ)' (Test. Is. 231:16-17), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲕⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲃⲁϩϩ ⲛⲛⲟⲃϩⲉ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *you will be* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) (the place of) the gnashing (ⲡ-ⲃⲁϩϩ) of teeth (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲃϩⲉ) until (ϣⲁ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the Judgement (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲡ)' (Eud. 38:23-24).

d) Commissives

Commissives are speech-acts in which one commits oneself to do things, that is, promises and threats. Since commissives present some future action in terms of the speaker's guarantee, they are always formulated in the first person, e.g. ⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲁϫⲉ '(from now on), *I shall act* (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) your word (ⲡⲉⲕ-ϣⲁϫⲉ)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲁϥ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) and you (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲕ) alone (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *shall celebrate* (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) the second one (Pascha) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲛⲁϥ)' (Eud. 70:2-3), ⲧⲛⲁϥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ '*I will eliminate* (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ϥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)

the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) race (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) of Christians (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲭⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) (Eud. 36:6-7).

e) Directives

Directives are used to make other people to do things. Directive speech-acts are always related to the future, since only the future can be changed as a result of one's actions, e.g. ⲧⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲣ ⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲕⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥϣⲃⲏⲣ '(as for) *the instruction* (ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ) of fast (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ): *he shall make* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) the first one (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) his house (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲏⲉⲓ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the other (ⲧ-ⲕⲉⲧⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) his collegues' (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ϣⲃⲏⲣ) house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 115), ⲁⲣⲏⲩ [ⲧⲉ]ⲛⲁϣⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ 'perhaps (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) *you* (woman) *will be able to rise* (ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ϣ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) and go (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mena' (Mena, Mir. 26b:5-9).

f) Conditionals

Conditional sentences (e.g. *if they come we will sleep upstairs*) provide the typical syntactic frame for the description of an anticipated, imagined or hypothesized situation. In this context, the First and the Second Future assume an epistemic-modal interpretation, indicating that the anticipated situation has a real possibility of being fulfilled at some point in the future, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ (...) ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲁϥⲩⲏ (...) 'when you (woman) go (ⲉⲣ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ⲉ-ⲑⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅) Jerusalem (...), the people from (ⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) my tribe (ⲧⲁ-ϥⲩⲏ) *will inform you* (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ) about it (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) (the tomb)'(Eud. 58:23-26), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϣϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲓⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϥⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲛ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) if (ⲉϣϫⲉ) it (ⲡⲉ) (is) the will (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) to take us (ⲭⲓⲧ-ⲛ) inside (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) it (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) (the city), *he will take us inside* (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲭⲓⲧ-ⲛ)' (Ac. A&P 196:39-40).

7.3.3.4 Temporal and modal uses of the Third Future

The Third Future seldom refers simply to future time, but rather combines future time reference with some modal judgement of the speaker about the necessity or desirability of some future action. As a deontic modal, the Third Future is particularly common in directive speech-acts, where the speaker puts an obligation on the addressee or others.

a) *Remote Future*

Only rarely does the Third Future appear to have simple future time reference. When it does, it locates an event in the remote future without any specific connection to the present moment, e.g. ϵϥϵϣⲱⲡϵ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ϣⲁⲉⲛϵϩ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ⳨ⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ 'everlasting (ϣⲁ ⲉⲛϵϩ) life (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲛϩ) *shall come* (ϵ-ϥ-ϵ-ϣⲱⲡϵ) on you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) and an indestructible (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ) (gift of) prophecy (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ⳨ⲁ)' (Onnophr. 222:6-7), ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ⲇϵ ϵϥⲉⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ (...) 'My God (ⲡⲁ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) *will fulfil* (ϵ-ϥ-ϵ-ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) your needs (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲭⲣⲓⲁ) in accordance with (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) his richness (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲙ-ⲙⲁⲟ)(...)' (Phil 4:19).

b) Directives

In the vast majority of cases, the Third Future is used as a deontic modal to express the speaker's beliefs about obligations that various individuals have, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲟⲣϣⲣ ⲛⲛⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ[ⲧⲁ]ⲗⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲉ [ⲉϩ]ⲣⲁⲓ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *they shall destroy* (ϵ-ⲩ-ϵ-ϣⲟⲣϣⲣ) the temples (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) their places (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲙⲁ) of bull (ⲙⲁⲥⲉ) sacrifices (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ)' (Eud. 40:8-9), ⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ '*you should* (rather) *eat* (ϵ-ⲕ-ϵ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) what God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) has sent (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16). Occasionally, the Third Future has a "weak" deontic reading and indicates a polite request, e.g. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛⲭⲱⲣⲏⲃ (...) ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲭⲁⲓⲉ 'oh (you) who brought (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) water (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of (ϩⲛ) the rock (ⲧ-ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ) of Khôrêb (ⲛ-ⲭⲱⲣⲏⲃ), *will you* (please) *arise* (ϵ-ⲕ-ϵ-ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) water (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) in (ϩⲛ) this desert (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲭⲁⲓⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

c) Conditionals

In Conditional sentences, the Third Future does not usually express the possibility of some future action, but rather an instruction to act in a certain way under particular circumstances, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲃⲉϥ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲙⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ (...) ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲙⲛⲛⲏⲓ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛϥⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϣⲁⲛⲧϥⲗⲟ 'if a brother (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) hurts himself (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ... ϣⲟⲟⲃⲉ-ϥ) and cannot sleep (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲧⲙ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) (...), his superintendent (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏⲓ) *should go* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲃⲱⲕ) to the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) of the stewards (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) and take it (the oil, a garment) (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲭⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ) for him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) until he gets better (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ϥ-ⲗⲟ)' (praec. Pach. 105), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲛⲱⲙⲟⲥ (read ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (read ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) also (ⲟⲛ) (as far as) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) (are concerned): if they become negligent (ϵ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) *you shall arise* (ϵ-ⲕ-ϵ-ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) in (ϩⲙ) the law (ⲡ-ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲥ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 94:14-16).

d) Purpose clauses

The Third Future is frequently selected for subordinate clauses of purpose. Purpose clauses are semantically modal in expressing an attitude by the subject that explains what goals he or she pursued in carrying out the main clause event, e.g. ⲁϥⲕⲁⲧⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲁⲧϥ ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲉⲃⲱ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'he (the king) kept (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲭⲉ) the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) with him (ϩⲁⲧⲏ-ϥ) (for) three (ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) months (ⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) his daughter (ⲧⲉϥ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ) in order that (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *he could keep* (ϵ-ϥ-ϵ-ⳇⲱ) seeing (ϵ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) her (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) daily (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ)' (Hil. 12:8-10), ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡϣⲁϩⲉ ϩⲉ ⲉⲩⲉϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓϫⲓϩⲣⲁϥ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲗ 'when they (the brothers) (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) heard (it) (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ), they felt encouraged (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϩⲣⲟ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the word (ⲡ-ϣⲁϩⲉ) that (ϩⲉ) *they would guard* (ϵ-ⲩ-ϵ-ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) themselves (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) against (ϩⲁⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ) the curiosity (ⲡⲓ-ϫⲓ-ϩⲣⲁ-ϥ) of the eyes (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:8-10).

7.3.4 Perfect tenses

Coptic has two different strategies for the grammatical expression of past tense reference. One strategy is the use of the First Perfect ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ and the corresponding Second Perfect ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has heard, heard'. The other strategy is represented by the combination of absolute tenses with the temporal auxiliary ⲛⲉ, which underlies the formation of Preterit tenses. Since both the Perfect and the Preterit signal the past location of a situation, the relation between both tenses is not that they are mutually exclusive and contrastive, but rather that the latter contains an extra element of meaning not present in the former. The Preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ is a purely tense-deictic element, while the Perfect marker ⲁ is a portmanteau morpheme that indicates both past tense reference and

perfective and anterior (Perfect) aspect. Unlike the First Present, First Future and Preterit Present, the First Perfect is not susceptible to copula support in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ (…) '*a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) *asked* (ⲁ … ϫⲛⲉ) Apa Sarapion (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24). The entirely regular paradigm of the First and Second Perfect is presented in table 7.4.

	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT
1st sing.	ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 7.4 The First and Second Perfect

The Perfect presents an event from a retrospective point of view as having reached its termination at some time prior to the present moment. The aspectual component of the Perfect makes it incompatible with the more durative Stative and nominal predicates that lack a clearly defined endpoint as part of their internal temporal structure.

a) Simple past

The Perfect is consistently used in series of temporally ordered events, which constitute the temporal skeleton of the main plot, e.g. ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ 'the deacon (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) *fulfilled* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) her (Hilaria's) wish (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ), took (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲓ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ) from her (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲥ) (and) *they ate* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) together (ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ) on that (ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ) day (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Hil. 5:1-4), ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲥ ⲙⲉϩ ⲣⲱϥ ⲁϥⲣϥⲛⲧ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ 'suddenly (ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), his (Diocletian's) tongue (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲗⲁⲥ) *filled* (ⲁ … ⲙⲉϩ) his mouth (ⲣⲱ-ϥ), he was eaten (lit. *he became* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ)) by worms (ϥⲛⲧ) (and) *died* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 38:27).

b) Perfective aspect

The Perfect grammaticalises not only past tense reference, but also indicates perfective aspect, which conceptualises an event as a single point in time with no internal divisions, e.g. ⲁⲥⲱⲛϩ ϩⲛ ⲕⲉⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ (ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) 'she (Hilaria) lived (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲱⲛϩ) another twelve (ⲕⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) years (ⲉⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Hil. 12:18), ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲇⲩⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲇⲏⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ) ⲭⲱⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) the Creator (ⲡ-ⲇⲩⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ) provided (ⲭⲱⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ) us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) with light-bringers (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ)' (Hil.1:6-7).

c) Anterior aspect

The Perfect may also indicate Perfect or anterior aspect, which signals the enduring relevance of a past situation, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲕⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) since you came (ϫⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) this city (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ), *you caused* (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲧⲣⲉ) the blind (ⲛ-ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) *to see* (ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (KHML I 5:2-4), ⲁϥⲣ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁϫⲓⲥ 'it is (lit. has made (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ)) the hour (ⲛⲁⲩ) of your (woman) services (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁϫⲓⲥ)' (Eud. 60:5-6). Anterior aspect implies resultativity: the resultant state of a past event is still observable at the present moment, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *you have become healthy* (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ)' (Onnophr. 209:6), ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲓ† ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'My father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), *I have troubled* (lit. I have given (ⲁ-ⲓ-†) trouble (ϩⲓⲥⲉ) to) your holiness (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)' (Hil. 5:3) (used idiomatically for "excuse me").

7.3.5 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary ⲛⲉ is to establish a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations are made. Events can then be interpreted as coinciding with, preceding or following this newly established deictic centre, which furnishes three Preterit tenses, viz. the Preterit Present ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ 'he was going to hear', cf. table 7.5 below.

	PRETERIT PRESENT	PRETERIT FUTURE	PRETERIT PAST
1st sing.	ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 7.5 Preterit tenses

7.3.5.1 Optional appearance of the agreement clitic ⲡⲉ

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, Preterit clauses may contain the invariable agreement clitic ⲡⲉ and thus assume the form of nominal sentences, e.g. ⲛⲉϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛⲱⲙⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) 'the steward (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛⲱⲙⲟⲥ) Apa Panoute, too (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ), *was sick* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 91:2-3), ⲛⲉⲥⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲃⲩⲍⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲛ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) she (Hilaria) *was afraid* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ) to go (ⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to the monasteries (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) of the Byzantine region (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲃⲩⲍⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲛ)' (Hil. 2:12-13).

7.3.5.2 The Preterit Present

The Preterit Present ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard, was hearing' indicates the co-incidence of a situation with the secondary deictic centre, which is located in the past. It is subject to the same semantic restrictions as the corresponding First Present ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he hears, is hearing. Thus, copula support applies to indefinite subjects, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲛϣⲏⲛ ⲣⲓⲧⲣ ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲧⲡⲩⲅⲏ (for ⲡⲏⲅⲏ) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *were* <u>*big*</u> (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) <u>*trees*</u> (ⲛ-ϣⲏⲛ) *growing* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ)... ⲣⲏⲧ) near (ϩⲓϫⲛ) the well (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲅⲏ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). The Preterit Present underlies the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ (read ⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ) ⲛⲧⲡⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲱⲏ ⲉϥⲱⲗϩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Isaac) *spent*

(ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) <u>*half*</u> (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲁϣⲉ) <u>*the*</u> <u>*night*</u> (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲱⲏ) praying (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲗϩ)' (Test. Is. 231:30).

On the semantic side, the Preterit Present is widely used to express imperfective aspect and habituality.

a) Imperfective aspect

The Preterit Present is associated with the imperfective point of view that presents an event as being extended in time, e.g. ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉϥϩⲁⲍⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲓⲙ 'for (ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ) *he* (the archangel Raphael) *accompanied* (lit. he stood (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲁϩⲉ) on his foot (ⲉ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ)) him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ) (Apa Philotheos) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) the time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ)' (KHML I 1:6-8), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ (...) ⲉϥⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ (for ⲉϥⲣⲓⲙⲉ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣ (for ⲛⲉⲣⲉ) ϩⲁϩ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ 'when he (Pachôm) said (ⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲱ) these (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ), Theodore was sitting (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) at a short (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ) (...) weeping (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) many (ϩⲁϩ) of (ϩⲛ) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) *were* also (ⲟⲛ) *weeping* (ⲛⲉⲣ ... ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ)' (V. Pach. 90:15-17). The imperfective semantics of the Preterit Present may have a habitual connotation, presenting a continuous past activity as a characteristic property of the subject, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ † ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'Diocletian (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ) *gave* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ) annually (ⲧⲉ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the glorification (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of their gods (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

b) Backgrounded aspect

The aspectual opposition between the Perfect and the Preterit Present is utilised to express the foreground-background distinction in the temporal organisation of narratives. The Perfect appears in foregrounded portions of the narrative, which describe the main course of events. This contrasts with the Preterit Present, which describes backgrounded events that provide an explanation for the main event frame, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ ⲁⲩⲡⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲛ '*they* (the servants) *were startled* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ), *they bent down* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲡⲁϩⲧ-ⲟⲩ), (and) did obedience (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) (Eudoxia), since (ⲅⲁⲣ) *she* (Eudoxia) *was sitting* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ)

on (ⲉϧⲙ) her ivory (ⲛ-ⲉⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲛ) throne *(ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲟⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ)*' (Eud. *54:23)*, ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϥϩⲉⲗⲡⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '(King) Constantine *rose* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) (and) *gathered* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) his troops (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ) of soldiers (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ), (yet) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) (those) he found (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) Antiochia (ⲧ-ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲉⲓⲁ) because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) *he trusted* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓϩⲉ) in the Lord (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), his God (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 42:19-21).

7.3.5.3 The Preterit Future

The Preterit Future ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he was going to hear' serves as a future-in-the-past, which describes past events that were in progress but not yet accomplished, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϭⲟⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) they (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) *were about to become* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) a small (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) group (ⲛ-ϭⲟⲡⲉ) of people (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (V. Pach.3:28). The Preterit Future is used specifically to describe the result of a counterfactual condition, whose actualisation is considered extremely unlikely or impossible, e.g. ⲉⲛⲉ [ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲕ[ⲭ]ⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲃⲟ[ⲏⲑ]ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ 'if (ⲉⲛⲉ) you had said (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) »Jesus, help (ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ) me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ)!«, *you would have been saved* (ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 202:125-126), ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'if the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) were (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ) in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ), *I would go* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) and appeal (ⲧⲁ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) to him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).

7.3.5.4 The Preterit Past (Pluperfect)

The Pluperfect or Preterit Past ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he had heard' denotes a past-in-the-past and locates the accomplishment of some event prior to the secondary temporal reference point grammaticalised by ⲛⲉ, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲧϥⲛⲧϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲥϩ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) with (ϩⲛ) his (Pachôm's) resolute (ⲉⲧ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲩ) strength (ⲧϥ-ⲛⲛⲧ-ϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ), *he had gone* (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) with them (ⲛⲉⲙⲁ-ⲩ) (the brothers) for mowing (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲱⲥϩ)' (V. Pach. 87:14-15), ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲣ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *they behaved* (lit. they had taken (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲣ) the appearance (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲙⲟⲧ)) as if (ϫⲉ) they were eating (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) drinking (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱ)' (KHML I 80:21-22). In narrative discourse, the Pluperfect has a stage-setting

function and describes events that precede the main course of events, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲁ ⲧⲉϫⲣⲓⲁ ⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲛϥⲟⲙ ⲡⲫⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲛⲙⲥⲁϩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲫⲁⲗⲁ ⲁϥϫⲓⲟⲟⲣ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) it became necessary (lit. the need (ⲧⲉ-ϫⲣⲓⲁ) *occured* (ⲁ … ⲫⲱⲡⲉ)) (that) he (Antony) went (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to pay (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲟⲙ) a visit (ⲡ-ⲫⲓⲛⲉ) to the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) that were in (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ) the Fayyûm (ⲡ-ⲓⲟⲙ). *He had come* (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) upon (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ) the canal (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) canal (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ) *was full* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲉϩ) of crocodiles (ⲛ-ⲙⲥⲁϩ). He (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) *prayed* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲫⲁⲗⲁ) (and) *crossed over* (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓⲟⲟⲣ) with (ⲙⲛ) those that were with him (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)' (V. Ant. 21:6-9).

7.3.6 Habitual tenses

Coptic employs the aspectual marker ⲫⲁⲣⲉ, ⲫⲁ- to indicate multiple, iterative, frequentative, distributive, habitual or extensive action. This verbal aspect is called the Habitual in most Coptic grammars. The conjugation base ⲫⲁⲣⲉ, ⲫⲁ- carries no temporal features by itself. Its past or present interpretation stems from the tense marker (which is a null morpheme in the present tense).

	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	HABITUAL PAST
1st sing.	ⲫⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲫⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲫⲁ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲫⲁ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲫⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲫⲁ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲫⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲫⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲫⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 7.6 Habitual tenses

7.3.6.1 Selectional restrictions

The Habitual underlies the same temporal restriction as the Stative and combines only with present tenses. This does not seem to be an accidental property of this aspectual pattern, but rather indicates that the Habitual is semantically stative. In presenting a pattern of events rather than a specific situation, the Habitual denotes a state or condition that holds consistently over an extended period of time. It is therefore semantically incompatible with the Perfect and the Future tenses that are associated with a single event reading.

The Habitual Present and the Habitual Past differ, however, from the corresponding First Present and Preterit Present in being exempt from the the Stern-Jernstedt Rule: both conjugation patterns are fully compatible with the construct state, e.g. ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ 'this date-palm (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) *yields* (ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲗⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), ⲡϧⲁϧⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϧⲉ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩϧⲁϩⲙ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱϣϥ ϣⲁϥⲃⲟⲟⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉϣⲩⲁϩⲁ 'the enemy (ⲡ-ϧⲁϧⲉ) (i.e. the devil) insinuated (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲟⲩϧⲉ) filthy (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϧⲁϩⲙ) thoughts (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) on him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ). Anthony, however (ϩⲱϣ-ϥ), *repelled them* (ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲟⲟⲣ-ⲟⲩ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) prayers (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁⲛⲁ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), □ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϣⲁϥϩⲣⲟϧⲣⲉϧ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲟⲃϩⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓⲣ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (the possessed boy) gnashed (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲣⲟϧⲣⲉϧ) his teeth (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲟⲃϩⲉ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) a wild (ⲛ-ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ) boar (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲓⲣ)' (Mena, Mir. 23b:24-27).

7.3.6.2 Pluractionality and habituality

The Coptic Habitual represents a pluractional pattern, which indicates the plurality of events and participants. The successive occurrence of several instances of an event as a characteristic feature of a whole period of time, which gives rise to a habitual or gnomic interpretation.

a) Pluractional aspect

The multiple occurrence of an event may be stated explicitly by frequency adverbials or quantified subjects and objects, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ϣⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *he* (Apa Pambô) *would go* (ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to her (Hilaria) (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) twice (ⲛ-ⲥⲉⲡ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) a day (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲉ)' (Hil. 6:16), ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ϣⲁϥⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ) of times (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲛ) *he wo* *kiss* (ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲉ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) on my mouth (ⲉ-ⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ)' (I 10:11-12), ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲩⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who will go (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to his (A Mena's) shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) *will obtain* (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲁⲧⲉ) recov (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

b) Habituality

The Habitual Present ϣⲁϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he usually hears' is commonly used ascribe a recurrent event pattern to the clausal subject as a characteri property, e.g. ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲝ ϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 'and (on the blast of) second (ⲧ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) trumpet (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲝ), the courtiers (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ) a (ⲙⲛ) tribunes (ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) chief officials (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ) of royal (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) court (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲁⲩⲁⲏ) *would gather* (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ)' (E 60:16-18). In the absence of information to the contrary, the Habit Past ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he used to hear' induces a contrastive interpretat that the event pattern that is described no longer holds, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϣⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁϥⲥⲟⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲉϣⲁϥⲭⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲱϣϥ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the words (ⲛ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩ that he (the abbot) heard (ⲉⲧⲉ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ-ⲟⲩ) from him (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ (Pachôm), he himself (ϩⲱϣ-ϥ) *would tell them* (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ) to monks (ⲉ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

c) Gnomic use

The Habitual Present often assumes a gnomic interpretation in gene statements of facts or truisms, e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲉϥⲛⲉⲭ [ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϣⲁϥ† ϩⲧⲏϥ ⲉ[ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'a w (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) does not throw (ⲙⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲉⲭ) away (ⲉⲃ every (ⲛⲓⲙ) word (ϣⲁⲭⲉ) like that (ϩⲓⲛⲁⲓ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *focuses* (ϣⲁ-ϥ *his attention* (ϩⲧⲏ-ϥ) towards those who listen (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to th (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲁⲕ ϣⲁⲩ† ⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲉϧⲱϥ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ ϣⲁⲩ† ⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲉϧⲱϥ ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'i prudent (ⲛ-ϩⲁⲕ) monk (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) *is given* (lit. they give (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-†) crown (ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) on his head (ⲉ-ϧⲱ-ϥ) on (ϩⲙ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) a (ⲟⲛ) *given* (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-†) a crown (ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) on his head (ⲉ-ϧⲱ-ϥ) in heav (ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲩⲉ) in the presence (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (

Chaîne no. 11, 3:6-7), ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲉⲃⲓⲱ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲛⲧⲟ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'some time (ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ) *they* (flies) *will sit* (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) on (ⲉϧⲙ) honey (ⲡ-ⲉⲃⲓⲱ), if they can find it (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲟ), some other time (ⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ) *they will sit* (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) on (ⲉϧⲙ) bread (ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (Sh. III 48:6-8).

d) Conditional use

As a grammatical marker of pluractionality, the Habitual conjugation is commonly used in the apodosis clause of conditional clauses that quantify over types of situations, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲥϣⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) if it happened (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) on some occasion (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) that he (Pachôm) would become angry (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ), (then) *he became angry* (ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ) in (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) the manner (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) of the holy ones (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21), ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲉ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓϣ) when they finished (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱ) eating (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) their small portion (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) of bread (ⲛ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ), *they used to gather* (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) with one another (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ)' (V. Pach. 137:3-4).

e) Intentional use

The Habitual Present may have an intentional or commissive use and indicate the readiness, willingness or capability of the subject to perform a particular action, e.g. ϣⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ '*I will keep* (ϣⲁ-ⲓ-ⲕⲁ) my boat (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲓ) for myself (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ)' (KMHL II 17:3), ⲡⲉ[ⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲓ [ⲛⲁ] ϧⲛⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ 'what my boat (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲓ) will bring in (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ … ⲛⲁ-ϧⲛⲟ-ϥ) each (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ), *I will split up* (ϣⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ) into three (ⲛ-ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ) parts (ⲛ-ⲧⲟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲓⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲙⲛⲁ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) my death (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ), *I will give it* (the dish) (ϣⲁ-ⲓ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ϥ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mêna' (Mena, Mir. 17b:16-20), ϣⲁⲓⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ 'I (am willing to) *swear* (ϣⲁ-ⲓ-ⲱⲣⲕ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), that (ϫⲉ) (there) is (ⲙⲛ) nobody (ⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31).

Key Terms:

Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers	are grammatical markers, which express various categories of verbal semantics, such as tense (the location of events in time), aspect (the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (the commitment of the speaker to the truth of the reported event).	§7.1
Compound tenses	are verbal tenses with two or more grammatical markers. The Conditional ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'if/when he hears', for instance, consists of the relative marker ⲉ- and the conjugation base ϣⲁⲛ.	§7.1.2.4
First and Second Tenses	Absolute tenses come in pairs of basic First and derived Second Tenses, the latter containing the relative marker ⲉ- and ⲛⲧ- besides the main TAM expression. Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology that is found in the context of interrogative and declarative focus constructions.	§§7.2.1-7.2.2
Wh-in-situ questions	are constituent questions in which an interrogative pronoun occurs in the same syntactic position as its non-interrogative counterpart in the corresponding declarative clause. Coptic *wh*-in-situ questions exhibit a straightforward correlation between Second Tense selection and the clause-internal position of the question word.	§7.2.2.2
Replacive and contrastive focus	are semantic focus types that occur in declarative as opposed to interrogative context. Question-answer pairs provide a typical context for replacive focus, which is assigned to the sentence element that answers the preceding question. Negative-affirmative pairs provide a typical context for contrastive focus, where the focus in the affirmative clause expresses an alternative value for what has been rejected in the negative clause.	§7.2.2.2

Absolute tenses	are verbal tenses that establish temporal reference with respect to the present moment, *i.e.* the time at which a sentence is being uttered. The linear order of the time of the event with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses: the present, the past and the future. While the present locates an event at the present moment, the past locates it prior and the future subsequent to the temporal reference point.	§7.3.1
Copula support	In Coptic, present tense sentences with indefinite subjects require the introduction of the verbal copulas ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' or ⲙⲛ '(there) is no' to be grammatical.	§7.3.2.2
Epistemic and deontic modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§7.3.3.3
Aspectual distinctions	present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described.	§7.3.4
Preterit tenses	are compound tenses, consisting of an absolute tense and the Preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ. The auxiliary ⲛⲉ establishes a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations can be made.	§7.3.5
Pluractional aspect	refers to the plurality of events and participants. In Coptic, pluractional aspect is morphologically marked by the Habitual conjugation, which indicates iterative, frequentative, habitual or extensive action.	§7.3.6

Exercises

7.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:

1. Coptic tense-aspect-mood markers (TAM) are proclitic elements that are prosodically dependent on the following sentence constituent.
2. There are two syntactic positions for TAM markers, one preceding the subject and another one preceding the main verb.
3. In word or *wh*-questions, the clause-internal or clause-external position of the question word is correlated with the presence or absence of Second Tenses.
4. When Stative verb forms are combined with indefinite subjects, the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' or ⲙⲛ '(there) is not' must be introduced into the structure.
5. The Third Future ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he will hear' indicates not only future time reference, but also deontic modality.
6. The Perfect ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has heard, he heard' and the Preterit Present ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he was hearing' have the same temporal and aspectual interpretation.
7. In narrative discourse, the Perfect ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ is commonly used to provide an informative background for the main storyline.
8. Pluractional/habitual aspect (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) is restricted to the present tense system.

7.2 *The morpho-syntax of tense-aspect-mood marking*

A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g. ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ: 3rd pers. sing. masc. ***First Perfect*** 'he has heard, he heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
ⲫⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲁⲣⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ϯⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ		

B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g. ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ: 3rd person singular masculine ***First Perfect*** 'he came to this place'

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ	(Test.Is. 229:8)	
ⲧⲉⲛⲥϩⲁⲓ	(Mena, Martyrd.2a:29)	
ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲯ[ⲓ]ⲡⲉ	(Mena, Mir. 25:21-22)	
ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ	(V. Pach. 2:7)	
ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ	(V. Pach. 3:25)	
ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ	(Eud. 36:24)	
ⲯⲁⲩϯ ⲕⲗⲟⲙ	(AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6)	
ⲉⲓⲛⲁϫⲉ ⲟⲩ	(AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25)	
ⲁⲩϫⲛⲟⲩⲫ	(AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6)	

C. Translate the verb forms in the following Coptic examples.

(1) ⲁⲓⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ '___ for me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) a living (ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) place (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) by myself (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ)' (Onnophr. 207: 1 12)

(2) ⲧⲉⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉ<ⲩ>ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲗⲏ '___ someo (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) my clan (ⲧⲁ-ⲫⲩⲗⲏ)' (Eud. 54:7)

(3) ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϯ ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧ ___ a mercy (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ) to those that will belie (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)' (Test. Is. 228:11)

(4) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲯⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲃⲃ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) ___ on (ϩⲛ) my feet (ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) gratefulne (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲡ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ) and (ⲙⲛ) humility (ⲟⲩ-ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲟ)' (V. Pach. 90:6-7)

(5) ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) our Lo (ⲡⲉⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) ____ you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) your hea (ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲏⲧ)' (V. Pach.136:11-12)

(6) ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ ⲯⲁϥⲛⲟϫϥ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ 'a lot of times ___ into the sea' (Mena, Mir. 23b:28-30)

(7) ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲟⲩⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ 'My ho (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), ____ a monk's (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) hab (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ)' (Hil. 6:10-11)

(8) ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲯⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'in order th (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) that every one (ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ) of them (the brother (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) ____ for himself (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 4:2-3)

(9) ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ (…) '(as for) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), ____ t the desert (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) (…)' (Ac. A&P 200:95)

A. Recall that the four absolute tenses (the Present, the Future, the Perfect and the Habitual) come in pairs of "basic" First and "derived" Second Tenses. Fill in the corresponding First and Second Tense in the empty cells and translate them into English, e.g. ⲁⲫⲃⲱⲕ → ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲃⲱⲕ 'he came'.

FIRST TENSE	SECOND TENSE	TRANSLATION
	ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲓϩⲩ	
ⲥⲉϩⲟⲃⲥ		
	ⲉⲫⲁⲣⲥⲱⲛⲧ	
ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙ		
	ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ	
ⲧⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ		

B. Second Tenses are selected in a variety of interrogative and declarative focus contexts. Consider the following Coptic examples and identify the relevant syntactic context motivating Second Tense selection by choosing one of the two alternatives.

(1) ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛϩⲉ (…) 'how (lit. in which (ⲛ-ⲁⲱ) manner (ⲛ-ϩⲉ)) could she (possibly) recognize (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ-ⲉⲥ) her (…)?' (Hil. 8:26-27)
☐ *wh*-fronting question ☐ *wh*-in-situ question

(2) ☐ⲙⲙⲛ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲛⲁ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟϩ ⲛⲛⲟⲃϩⲉ ⲫⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ '(there) will (ⲛⲁ) be (ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) no (ⲙⲙⲛ) repentance (ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ) for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ), oh (ⲱ) Diocletian (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ), (neither) in (ϩⲙ) this world (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ) nor (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) the one to come (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) you will be (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) (the place of) the gnashing (ⲡ-ⲟⲩϩⲟϩ) of teeth (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲃϩⲉ) until (ⲫⲁ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the Judgement (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲡ)' (Eud. 38:22-24).
☐ replacive focus ☐ contrastive focus

(3) ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ (…) ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲛⲁ 'whereto (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲛ) *do you bring* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲁⲓ) this m (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)? – *We bring* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲁⲓ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) to the shri (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mêna' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6)
☐ contrastive focus ☐ replacive focus

(4) ⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲩ 'what (ⲟⲩ) shall th who come (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ) after us (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲛ) do (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) t themselves (ϩⲱ-ⲟⲩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 207, 53:29)
☐ yes-no question ☐ *wh*-in-situ question

(5) ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲫⲁϥⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲇⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲫⲁϥⲧⲣ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲟ ⲇⲱⲟⲩⲇ '(as for) some (people) (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) he (the demo made them (ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ⲩ) lame (ⲛ-ⲇⲗⲗⲉ) in their legs (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ), (as for) others (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ) he twisted (ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲣⲉ . ⲇⲱⲟⲩⲇ) their face (ⲛⲉⲩ-ϩⲟ)' (KHML II 53:3-5)
☐ anticipatory focus ☐ contrastive focus

C. Translate the following the text fragment and identify all verb tenses you know.

FROM THE VITA OF APA ONNOPHRIOS

ⲁⲓϫⲛⲟⲩϥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛϩⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ[a] ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ (ϫⲓⲛ[b] ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ) ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲕⲟⲩⲙ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲕⲏⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ[c] ⲉⲏⲛ[d] ϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲧⲱ (for ⲧⲟ) ϩⲓⲱⲱⲕ. (Onnophr. 206:32-207:2)

Notes: a. ⲉⲓⲥ (interjection) 'look' b. ϫⲓⲛ (+ Second Perfect) 'since' c. ⲕⲱ ⲁϩⲏⲩ 'to undress' d. ⲉ-ⲏⲛ a Relative Present, which translates as circumstantial clause 'while'.

A. Recall that several absolute tenses require the presence of the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' and ⲙⲛ '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects. Complete the following Coptic examples by selecting one of the two alternatives given in brackets (∅ indicates the absence of a copular verb).

(1) (ⲟⲩⲛ/∅) ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲛϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲱ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ 'great grievances will befall (ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) him (Jesus Christ), oh (ⲱ) Isaak, the beloved (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Test. Is. 230:5-6)

(2) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ (ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ/ⲛⲉ-∅) ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲝⲁⲛⲓⲧⲏ (…) 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) these (ⲛⲁⲓ) (the other miracles) (there) was (___ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) also (ⲟⲛ) a rich (ⲛ-ⲣⲙ-ⲙⲁⲟ) woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) Philoxanitê (…)' (Mena, Mir. 22a:16-20)

(3) ⲁⲩⲱ (ⲛⲉⲩⲛ/ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ∅) ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲯⲏⲛ ⲣⲏⲧ ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲧⲓⲡⲩⲅⲏ (for ⲧⲓⲡⲏⲅⲏ) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *were* big (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) trees (ⲛ-ⲩⲏⲛ) *growing* (___ ⲣⲏⲧ) near (ϩⲓϫⲛ) the well (ⲧⲓ-ⲡⲩⲅⲏ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18)

(4) ⲁ (ⲟⲩⲛ/∅) [ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ [read ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲉⲡϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁ<ⲡ>ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϫⲏⲅⲓⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲉϩⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'a hermit (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ) brother (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) whose name (ⲉ-ⲡϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) Apa Papnoute was writing (ⲁ ___ ⲉϫⲏⲅⲓⲥⲑⲁⲓ) to God-loving (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) brothers (ⲉ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)' (Onnophr. 205:8-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples

(1) ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ (Hil. 5:20-21)

(2) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ (V. Pach. 4:22-23)

(3) ϯⲉⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲏⲥⲁⲩ (Test. Is. 229:30)

(4) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲉⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲉ (Hil. 1:19)

C. Decide which temporal or modal meaning is involved in th following future tense sentences by choosing one of the tw alternatives.

(1) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ (for ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) 'you will surely di (lit. 'in (ϩⲛ) a dying (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ)) you shall die (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ)) (Eud. 58:28-60:1)
☐ near future ☐ directive

(2) ☐ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'may the grace (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ come upon (ⲉⲣⲉ … ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) everybody (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) and (ⲙⲛ those who believe (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).
☐ volitive use ☐ commissive use

(3) ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲯⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⳟⲱ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲯⲱⲛⲉ 'the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (responsible) for the people (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who are sick (ⲉⲧ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ) will stay (ⲉⲣⲉ … ⲛⲁ-ⳟⲱ behind (ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ) them (the brothers) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) for (the sake of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) a sick (ⲉⲧ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ) brother (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ)' (praec. Pach. 129)
☐ directive use ☐ commissive use

D. Analyse all Preterit tenses in the following Coptic examples, e.g. ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ: 3rd person masculine singular 'he was hearing, he heard'

(1) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⳟⲙⲡⲯⲉⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲡⳟⲙⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ) ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) affliction (ⲡ-ⳟⲙ ⲡ-ⲯⲉⲓⲛⲉ) had occurred (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the convents (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ) of the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) through (ϩⲙ) the order (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ-ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12)

(2) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) they (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) were about to become (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) a small (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) group (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡⲉ) of people (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (V. Pach.3:28)

(3) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲯⲁϥⲥⲟⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲉⲯⲁϥⲭⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the words (ⲛ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) which he (the abbot) heard (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ-ⲟⲩ) from him (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ϥ) (Pachôm), he himself (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ) would them (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ) to his monks (ⲉ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

F. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT APA NAHROW IN THE AMPHITHEATRE

ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ (for ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲉⲁⲧⲣⲟⲛ)[a] ⲁϥⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ[b] ⲉⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ[c]. ⲁϥⲡⲱⲣⲯ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲓⲝ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ[d] ϥⲥⲏϩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ[e] ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲧⲁⲁⲥ[f] ⲛⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ[g] (Psalm 73:19). ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲁϩⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲣϩⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲣⲱϥ ⲁϥⲱⲁⲭⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲙϩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲭⲱϩ[h] ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲑⲟⲧⲉ[i] ⲙⲙⲓϩⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ[j] ⲉⲣⲟⲕ; ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲙⲓϩⲁⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲗⲟϥ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲁϥⲭⲓⲧϥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ[k] ⲁ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁϥⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ. (KHML I 4:6-19)

Notes: a. ⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ 'theatre' b. ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ 'to order' c. ⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'body' d. ⲉϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ 'saying that' (introduces direct speech) e. ⲟⲩⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'soul (ⲟⲩ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ) which appears (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)' (a relative clause) f. ⲙ̀ⲡⲣ- 'do not' (negative imperative) g. ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'wild animal, beast' h. ⲭⲱϩ 'to touch' i ⲑⲟⲧⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲟⲧⲉ j. ⲉⲧ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ 'who surrounds' (a relative clause) k. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'city, town'

Unit 8

Relative tenses and moods

Coptic is a language with a basic tripartite tense system with distinct conjugation patterns for present, past and future tenses. More fine-grained temporal distinctions are made in the domain of past and future time reference. In the past, the presence of a secondary deictic centre furnishes a triplet of Preterit tenses, to wit the Preterit Present, the Preterit Past (Pluperfect), and the Preterit Future. Moreover, there are two distinctive future tenses that ascribe different degrees of likelihood or necessity to a forthcoming situation.

Besides absolute tenses, Sahidic Coptic has an extensive set of relative tenses and moods. Relative tenses derive their name from the fact that they locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. In this way, they serve similar functions as temporal connectives like *after*, *when* and *until* in English. Section 8.1 examines how these subordinate tense forms establish the relative order of events. The focus of section 8.2 is on the Coptic modal system. Mood is a grammatical category through which the speakers of a language communicate their attitude or beliefs concerning the likelihood, desirability, or necessity for some situation to occur. Within the same formal system, Coptic has not only an Imperative, but also a formally distinct Jussive, Conditional, and Inferential mood.

8.1 Relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses express three types of temporal ordering relations, viz. simultaneity, precedence, and subsequence. Relative tenses that indicate simultaneity locate some event at the same time as some other event or state. Relative tenses that indicate precedence or anteriority locate an event prior to another event, and relative tenses that express subsequence locate some event after some other event.

8.1.1 The inventory of Coptic relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses are anaphoric tense categories, since they receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually given reference point, which is the time of the event with respect to which a particular temporal order is established. The inventory of Coptic relative tenses is presented in table 8.1 below. The anaphoric behaviour of relative tenses has a structural correlate in their restriction to adverbial clauses (ADV-CL), which may precede or follow the main clause (M-CL) they modify.

The principle determining the relative order of main and adverbial clauses is iconicity, meaning that the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events. Thus, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal conjugation will normally appear preceding the main clause they modify, since they describe events occurring prior to the main event. Vice versa, adverbial clauses containing a Terminative follow the main clause that they modify, since they describe events that succeed the main event in time.

In providing information about the temporal order of events, relative tenses are often associated with a particular aspectual interpretation and refer to the preparatory phase of an event or its termination. For this reason, these tenses are semantically incompatible with Stative verb forms, which designate non-dynamic situations without internal temporal structure.

RELATIVE TENSE	TEMPORAL RELATION	ADV-CL > M-CL	M-CL > ADV-CL
TEMPORAL ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ after/when he had heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
TERMINATIVE ϣⲁⲛⲧ(ⲉ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ until he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	marked option	yes
CONJUNCTIVE ⲛ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ and he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes
RELATIVE PRESENT ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ while he hears/heard	SIMULTANEITY	yes	yes
CONDITIONAL ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ if/when he hears/heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
INFERENTIAL ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ and/so he shall hear	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes

TABLE 8.1 The relative tense system

8.1.2 The Temporal

Adverbial clauses corresponding to 'AFTER'-clauses in English are formed with the Temporal conjugation ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'after/when he had heard'. The Temporal operates in tandem with a following Perfect to indicate past anteriority and locates some event prior to the main clause event.

8.1.2.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Temporal conjugation is shown in table 8.2 below. The base morpheme ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ /ən.te.re/ may be phonologically reduced to ⲛⲧⲉⲣ /ən.te.r/.

	TEMPORAL	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ) ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 8.2 The Temporal conjugation

8.1.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses and the temporal organisation of the narrative
The Temporal conjugation designates anterior events, which have been accomplished some time before the main event starts. In introducing a series of temporally ordered events that push forward the storyline, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal belong to the foregrounded portions of the narrative.

a) Change of temporal location

The Temporal is used to signal a change in time or progression in the development of the storyline. The discontinuity of temporal location and succession of events is often highlighted by the Greek discourse marker ⲇⲉ, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲣ ϩⲱⲃ '*when* night (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) *had fallen* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲱⲡⲉ), they finished (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧ ⲟⲩⲱ) working (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ)' (V. Pach.6:5), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ '*after* the great (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩ) king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine *had heard* (it) (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ), he gathered (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) his soldiers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ)' (Eud. 44:25-26), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡϩⲉⲃⲟⲥ '*when they* (the brothers) *proceeded* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ⲉϧⲛ) the Eucharist (ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ), the eagle (ⲡ-ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ) did not come (ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) as (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) usual (ⲡ-ϩⲉⲃⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne, no. 192, 49:31-32).

b) Discourse cohesion

Temporal subclauses provide a bridge between two narrative units: they commonly recapitulate the most important information of the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϥⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ '*when he* (Andrew) *had said* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) these (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ), he turned away (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to (ϫⲉ) leave (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ)' (Ac. A&P 196:41), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲉⲛⲁⲓ] ⲁϥⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ (...) '*when he* (the landlord) *had heard* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) this, he rejoiced (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ) exceedingly (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9).

c) Extending the paragraph marker ⲁⲥϣⲡⲉ 'it happened (that)'

When extending the existential sentence ⲁ-ⲥ-ϣⲡⲉ 'it happened (that)', the Temporal clause has a scene-setting function and marks the beginning of a new discourse paragraph, e.g. ⲁⲥϣⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲛϣⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ '*it happened* (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϣⲡⲉ) *when I had come* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to the abyss (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛ), (that) I saw (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) the residence (ⲉ-ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲛ-ϣⲡⲉ) of all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the souls (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϥⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Ac. A&P 198:72-73), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲥϣⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ (...) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲉⲡⲕⲁⲓⲉⲱⲛ (for ⲉⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ) (...) ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲣϣⲉⲓⲣⲉ (for ⲉⲡϩⲣϣⲓⲣⲉ) ⲛⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *it happened* (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϣⲡⲉ) in that same (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) period (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ) *when they had brought* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ϫⲓ) our father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Pachôm to another world (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲓ-ⲉⲱⲛ) (...), (that) he saw (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) the innocent (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ) child (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲣ-ϣⲉⲓⲣⲉ)' (V. Pach. 86:6-9).

8.1.3 Terminative aspect
Coptic has a special verbal aspect to indicate that some event lasted until some other event took place. Due to its delimiting meaning and function, the ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'until he hears' pattern will be referred to as Terminative aspect in this grammar.

8.1.3.1 Forms
The inflectional paradigm of the Terminative is presented in table 8.3. In the first person singular, there are two allomorphs, ϣⲁⲛⲧ- /šanti-/ and

ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁ- /šanta-/, the latter representing the less common variant, e.g. ϯⲛⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲛⲁϯ ⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁⲭⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ 'I will know (ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) that (ⲭⲉ) you will give (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ϯ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) strength (ⲥⲟⲙ) *until I receive* (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁ-ⲭⲓ) the imperishable (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ) crown (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲗⲟⲙ)' (KHML II 30:5-6).

	TERMINATIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ϣⲁⲛϯ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ, ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϣⲁⲛⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ϣⲁⲛⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ϣⲁⲛⲧ(ⲉ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ϣⲁⲛⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
before noun	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϣⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 8.3 Terminative aspect

8.1.3.2 The delimitative meaning of 'UNTIL'-clauses

The Terminative is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English 'UNTIL'-clauses. It designates the initial stage of some event beyond which the event described by the preceding main clause no longer continues.

a) Delimitative

The Terminative describes a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential to go on beyond that point. As an aspect, it has no inherent tense value: the event it describes is temporally interpreted as taking place after the main event has been accomplished, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓϭⲱ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲓϣⲁⲛⲁ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲟⲕⲟⲡⲧⲉⲓ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) stayed (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϭⲱ) at (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) praying (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲁⲛⲁ) *until* the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) *advanced* (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲡⲣⲟⲕⲟⲡⲧⲉⲓ)' (Onnophr. 206:10-12), ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭ[ⲉ] [ⲡⲉ]ⲓϣⲁⲭⲉ [ϯ]ⲛⲁⲕⲧ[ⲟϥ] ⲉⲩ[ⲥ]ⲁϩⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲛ[ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ] ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲃⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲕⲙⲙⲉ 'so (ϭⲉ) now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) I will turn (ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲧⲟ-ϥ) this word (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ) into a

curse (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲁϩⲟⲩ) *until I do* (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) vengeance (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲃⲁ) with (ⲙⲛ) Egypt (ⲕⲙⲙⲉ)' (Camb. 2:18-20), ϯϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲙⲙⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓϩⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ 'I am (ϯ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) with you (ⲛⲙⲙⲉ) *until you complete* (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) everything (ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) that I ordered (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ϩⲱⲛ) you (ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲉ) (to do)' (Eud. 52:13-14), ⲛⲅϣⲁⲛⲁ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ 'and you should pray (ⲛ-ⲅ-ϣⲁⲛⲁ) for her (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲥ) *until* the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *grants* (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ... ϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) healing (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ)' (Hil. 9:4-5), ⲁϥⲧⲣⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲱⲕⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ ϩⲉ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ 'he (the king) let (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲣⲉ) six (ⲥⲟⲟⲩ) torturers (ⲛ-ⲕⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) beat (ϩⲱⲱⲕⲉ) him (Apa Nahrôw) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) *until* his blood (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲛⲟϥ) *dropped* (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ... ϩⲉ) down on (ⲉϫⲙ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (KHML I 5:25)

b) Purposive

The Terminative may assume a purposive interpretation, when the delimiting event designates the attained goal of some prior action, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲧϥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ 'they (the brothers) (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) walked (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩϣⲉ) with him (Pachôm) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ) *so that they brought him* (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲧ-ϥ) inside (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) the monastery (ⲉⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ < ⲉ-ⲧ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 87:20-21), ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲡϫⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'they went (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲗⲉ) onto the ship (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲓ) (and) went away (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) *until they reached* (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲱϩ) it (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 196:51-52), ⲁϥⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲟⲩϣⲉ ϩⲁⲧⲉⲩϩⲏ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'walking (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩϣⲉ) in front of them (the Persians) (ϩⲁ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ϩⲏ) he (Constantine) brought them (ⲁϥ-ⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ) *so that they could drink* (water) (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱ) with (ⲙⲛ) their cattle (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Eud. 48:16).

8.1.4 The Conjunctive

The Conjunctive ⲛ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'and he hears' occupies a special position in the Coptic conjugation system, since it has no inherent temporal, aspectual or modal features of its own, but receives its semantic interpretation from a preceding verbal tense. As the most underspecified member of the Coptic conjugation system, the Conjunctive may indicate a broad

spectrum of structural relations between clauses, crossing the traditional distinction between coordination and subordination.

8.1.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Conjunctive conjugation exhibits a considerable degree of allomorphy in various person, gender, and number distinctions. This paradigmatic irregularity results from the interaction of two parameters of allomorphic variation, one of which concerns the distribution of the alternants ⲛⲧⲉ- /ənte-/ and ⲛ- /nə/, and the other the variable position of the *schwa* /ə/, as indicated by the different placement of the superlinear stroke (for its prosodic interpretation, see section 1.3.1.3 of Unit 1). Moreover, there are two allomorphs for the first person singular, ⲛⲧⲁ- /ənta/ and ⲧⲁ- /ta-/, the latter involving the deletion of the morpheme-inital syllabic nasal ⲛ- /ən/.

	CONJUNCTIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	(ⲛ)ⲧⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲛ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲛ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 8.4 The Conjunctive conjugation

Examples: (1st sing.) ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲡⲱϩⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'and I pour out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:11-12), ⲧⲁ-ⲱⲥⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ 'and I strangle myself (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 202:103), (2nd sing. masc.) ⲛ-ⲧ̄-ϥⲓ 'and you carry' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:28), ⲛ̄-ⲣ-ϣⲟⲡⲉ 'and you will be' (Camb. 8:2), (2nd sing. fem.) ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ 'and you (woman) go' (Eud. 52:5), (3rd sing. masc.) ⲛ-ϥ̄-ϣⲱⲗ 'and he will spoil' (Test. Is. 231:16), ⲛ̄-ϥ-ⲣ̄ ϩⲟⲧⲉ 'and he will fear' (Camb. 8:12), ⲛ̄-ϥ̄-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ⲟⲩ 'and he will teach them' (Test. Is. 231:12), (3rd sing. fem.) ⲛ-ⲥ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ 'and she wept' (Hil. 9:14) (1st pl.) ⲛ̄-ⲧⲛ̄-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ 'and we eat' (Onnophr. 215:29), ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ 'and

may we all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲛ) be saved (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ) together (ϩⲓ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ)' (Zen. 199:4) (2nd pl.) ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ̄-ⲉⲓ 'and you shall come' (Camb. 10:5), (3rd pl.) ⲛ̄-ⲥⲉ-ⲡⲱⲧ 'and they run' (AP Chaîne no. 50, 11:11), (before noun) ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓ ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ 'and four (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) ships (ⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓ) should land (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ)' (Eud. 62:11).

8.1.4.2 Clause chaining

In a clause chain consisting of two or more consecutive verbs Conjunctive morphology may appear on medial or final verbs, but not on the initial verb that introduces the chain, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲟⲛ ϥⲛⲁⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲟⲩⲯⲉ ⲛⲥ̄ⲣⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛϥⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲙⲉϩⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϥⲯⲱⲗ ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛϥⲫⲉⲓ (for ⲛϥⲫⲓ) ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) he (Jesus Christ) will ascend (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲗⲗⲉ) on (ⲉⲭⲛ) a cross (lit. a wood (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲉ) of cross (ⲛ-ⲥ̄ⲣⲟ̄ⲥ̄) *and will die* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ) for (ϩⲁ) the whole (world) (ⲡ-ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) *and rise* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) on the third (lit. his third) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ) day (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) *and destroy* (ⲛ-ϥ-ϣⲱⲗ) Hell (ⲛ-ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ) *and take* (ⲛ-ϥ-ϥⲉⲓ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) humanity (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) away from the hands (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ϥ) of the enemy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲁⲭⲉ)' (Test. Is. 231:14-16). See figure 8.1 for further illustration:

CHAIN-INITIAL VERB [ABSOLUTE TENSE]	CHAIN-MEDIAL VERB(S) [+ CONJUNCTIVE]	CHAIN-FINAL VERB [+ CONJUNCTIVE]
ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲗⲗⲉ he will ascend	ⲛ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ ... ⲛ-ϥ-ϣⲱⲗ and die ... and destroy	ⲛ-ϥ-ϥⲉⲓ and take away

FIGURE 8.1 Clause-chaining with Conjunctive verb forms

As a clause-chaining device, the Conjunctive covers some kind of middle ground between coordination and subordination. Coordination involves the combination of two or more clauses, neither of which is syntactically dependent on the other. Subordination, on the other hand, occurs when two clauses are combined such that one clause is embedded in or syntactically dependent on the other.

a) *Topic continuity*

The Conjunctive typically connects subject-identical clauses, which indicate topic continuity, i.e. the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions or activities, e.g. ϵρϵ πϵχ̄c̄ cмоγ ϵρο nq† ϭом nϵ 'may *Christ* (πϵ-χ̄c̄) bless (ϵρϵ ... cмоγ) you (ϵρο) (woman) *and give* (n-q-†) you (nϵ) power (ϭом)' (Eud. 56:12-13), cϵnaмϵρϵ πвιοc ntanaxωρhcic ϵтоγaaв nceaποтaccϵ мπкосмос (...) '*they* (the hermits) will love (cϵ-na-мϵρϵ) the life (π-вιос) of holy (ϵт-оγaaв) seclusion (n-т-anaxωρhcic) *and renounce* (n-cϵ-aποтaccϵ) the world (м-π-космос) (...)' (Test. Is. 233:13-14). The Conjunctive resumes the number and gender specification of the expressed second person subject of a preceding imperative, e.g. qϵι (for qι) nnϵквaλ ϵ2paι nгnaγ ϵnкολacic '*lift* (qϵι ϵ2paι) your eyes (n-nϵк-вaλ) *and look* (n-г-naγ) at the punishments (ϵ-n-кολacic)' (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (see below, section 8.2.1.2).

Occasionally, a topical noun phrase recurs for a second time in the Conjunctive clause, e.g. xϵ ϵρϵ 2ϵnψyxh na† 2hy aγω ntϵ 2ϵnψyxh вωк ϵратq мπnoγтϵ 2n твво nim 'so that (xϵ) *the souls* (2ϵn-ψyxh) will benefit (lit. gain (†) profit (2hy)) *and* (aγω) *the souls* (2ϵn-ψyxh) *will come* (ntϵ ... вωк) to (ϵрат-q) God (м-π-noγтϵ) in (2n) every (nim) purity (твво)' (Sh. III 40:28-29).

b) Switch reference

Despite its ample attestation in series of subject-identical clauses, the Conjunctive can also be used to connect different-subject clauses, which involve switch reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. In sequences of different-subject clauses, switch reference often involves a change in grammatical functions. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. ϵnxι ммоq ϵπтопос naπa мнна aphy nqxapιzϵ naq мπтaλбо 'we bring (ϵ-n-xι) him (the possessed boy) (ммо-q) to the shrine (ϵ-π-топос) of *Apa Mêna* (n-aπa мнна) and perhaps (aphy) *he will grant* (n-q-xapιzϵ) him (na-q) healing (м-π-таλбо)' (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8), мннca πxωк ннаι тнроγ qnacωтπ ммнтcnooγc npωмϵ nqoγωn2 naγ ϵвол ннϵqмγcтнpιon nqтcaвooγ ϵπтγпос мπϵqcωмa мn πϵqcnoq naλнθinon 2ιтn oγoϵιк мn oγнрπ нтϵ поϵιк ψωπϵ ncωмa ннoγтϵ нтϵ пнрπ ψωπϵ ncnoq ннoγтϵ 'after (мннca) the completion (π-xωк) of all (тнр-оγ) these (years) (наι) *he* (Jesus) will choose (q-na-cωтπ) twelve (м-мнт-cnooγc) people (n-рωмϵ) *and reveal* (n-q-oγωn2 ϵвол) his divine secrets (n-nϵq-мγcтнpιon) to them (na-γ) *and teach them* (n-q-тcaво-оγ) the nature (ϵ-π-тγпос) of his real (n-aλнθinon) body (м-πϵq-cωмa) and (мn) blood (πϵq-cnoq) through (2ιтn) *bread* (оγ-оϵιк) and (мn) *wine* (оγ-нрπ) *and the bread* (π-оϵιк) *will become* (нтϵ ... ψωπϵ) a divine (n-noγтϵ) body (n-cωмa) *and the wine* (π-нрπ) *will become* (нтϵ ... ψωπϵ) divine (n-noγтϵ) blood (n-cnoq)' (Test. Is. 231:10-14).

Switch reference is particularly common with non-emphatic personal pronouns, e.g. тϵnoγ ϭϵ тωoγn мapon ntaxιтϵ ϵxм πϵqтaφoc 'now (тϵnoγ) then (ϭϵ), rise (тωoγn), *let's go* (мapo-n) *and let me take you* (woman) (nта-xιт-ϵ) to (ϵxм) his (Jesus Christ's) tomb (πϵq-тaφoc)' (Eud. 68:10-11), aaт ннoϭ 2n тϵкмнтnoγтϵ nг† ϭϵ наι таaπολογιzϵ мπϵιanomoc n2hгϵмωn '*make* me (aa-т) strong (n-noϭ) through (2n) your divinity (тϵк-мнт-noγтϵ) *and give* (n-г-†) me (na-ι) the means (ϭϵ < т-2ϵ) *to defend* (myself) (та-апολογιzϵ) against this criminal (м-πϵι-anomoc) governor (n-2hгϵмωn)!' (KHML II 35:2-4).

When the switch-referenced subject is a common noun or proper name, it frequently undergoes subject-verb inversion: the inverted subject noun occurs in postverbal position and is morphologically marked by the focus particle nϭι, while the preverbal subject position is occupied by a co-referential pronoun, e.g. ϵγϵтamon 2n oγмнтмϵ ϵπϵntaγnaγ ϵроq xϵкac ϵγϵψωπϵ ϵγcмamaaт 2n nϵγ2вhγϵ тнроγ aγω ncϵϵι ϵ2paι ϵxωoγ nϭι nϵcnoγ тнроγ ϵтcн2 'they shall inform us (ϵ-γ-ϵ-тamo-n) truthfully (lit. in (2n) a truthful manner (oγ-мнт-мϵ)) about what they have seen (ϵ-πϵ-nт-a-γ-naγ) so that (xϵкaac) they become (ϵ-γ-ϵ-ψωπϵ) blessed (ϵ-γ-cмamaaт) through (2n) all (тнр-оγ) their works (nϵγ-2вhγϵ) *and* all (тнр-оγ) *the blessings* (nϵ-cnoγ) written down (ϵт-сн2) (in the Scriptures) *will come* (n-cϵ-ϵι) upon them

(ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ)' (Sh. III 158:28-31). A more detailed analysis of subject-inverted clauses will be offered in Unit 10.

c) Subordinate clauses

In chains of same-subject and different-subject clauses, the Conjunctive serves primarily to coordinate and connects clauses of equal status, but it is equally suitable for various types of subordinate clauses.

- Subject clauses appear postverbally after the existential verb ⲯⲱⲡⲉ 'to happen', while the preverbal subject position is occupied by the expletive third person singular feminine pronoun -ⲥ 'it', e.g. ⲉⲥⲯⲁⲛⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲍⲉⲛⲧⲃⲧ ⲏ ⲍⲉⲛⲕⲉⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ (...) 'when it happened (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) (that) *they brought* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) him (Pachôm) (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) fish (ⲛ-ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲧⲃⲧ) or (ⲏ) other food (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲓⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) (...)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲯⲁⲛⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲧⲁⲉⲣ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲙⲉⲍⲯⲟⲏⲛⲧ ⲛ̀ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *when it happens* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) (that) I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *become* (ⲧⲁ-ⲉⲣ) *human* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *and die* (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) *and rise* (ⲧⲁ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) from (ⲍⲙ) the dead (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ) on the third (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲍ-ⲯⲟⲏⲛⲧ) day (ⲛ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ), I will cause (ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲣⲉ) everybody (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) to remember (lit. make (ⲉⲣ-) remembrance (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) of)) your name (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲛ-ⲣⲁⲛ) and call upon (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) you (ⲙⲙⲱ-ⲧⲛ) for them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) as a father (ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ)' (Test. Is. 237:1-4), ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲃⲟⲧⲉ 'it will not happen (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) to me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) (that) *I worship* (ⲧⲁ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ) your abominable (ⲛ-ⲃⲟⲧⲉ) gods (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (KHML I 5:21-22).
- Conjunctive clauses are often used as propositional complements of verbs of cognition, such as ⲉⲓⲙⲉ 'to know', e.g. ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲁⲅⲱⲛⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (...) 'so that (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) they shall know (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) (that) *they* (the holy fathers) *fought* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲁⲅⲱⲛⲓⲍⲉ) to become (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) a sacrifice (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ) for God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 253a:25-28).

- Conjunctive-inflected verb forms may also introduce adverbial purpose clauses that specify the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g. ⲉⲓⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲁϥϧⲏⲁ 'I am on my way (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mêna *to pray* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥϧⲏⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25), ⲙⲡⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲍⲱⲗⲱⲥ (for ⲍⲟⲗⲱⲥ) ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲙⲥ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'I have actually (ⲍⲱⲗⲱⲥ) not found (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲍⲉ) her body (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) *to bury* (ⲧⲁ-ⲧⲱⲙⲥ) it (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Hil. 8:1), ⲡⲍⲁⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ ⲛϥⲇⲓⲛⲕⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ 'holy (ⲡ-ⲍⲁⲡⲓⲟⲥ) Peter, archbishop (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ), ask (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) Christ (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$) *to guide* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲇⲓⲛⲕⲉⲓ) my life (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲃⲓⲟⲥ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) his will (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ)!' (Hil. 3:29-30).
- Finite Conjunctive clauses alternate with non-finite infinitival clauses in control constructions, which express indirect directive or commissive speech-acts, e.g. ϯⲟⲩⲉⲍ ⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϣⲱⲫⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ ⲓ$\overline{\text{ⲥ}}$ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲛⲁ}}$ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ 'I (hereby) give (ϯ-ⲟⲩⲉⲍ) order (ⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ) (that) they should follow (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲫⲉ) the God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of heaven (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) his Christ (ⲡⲉϥ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$) Jesus and (ⲙⲛ) the Holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Spirit (ⲡⲉ-ⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲛⲁ}}$) *and* (that) *they never again* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) pronounce (ⲉ-ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of the idols (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ) with (ⲍⲛ) their mouths (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ)' (Eud. 40:6-8), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲱϩⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ$\overline{\text{ⲥ}}$ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) want (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) *to go* (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲡⲱⲧ) *and shed* (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲡⲱϩⲧ) my blood (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲛⲟϥ) for (ⲉϧⲙ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ$\overline{\text{ⲥ}}$) Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:10-15).

d) Clausal connectives

A range of clause connectors may specifiy the syntactic relation between the Conjunctive clause and the preceding main clause.

- Conjunctive clauses may be combined with various rhetorical conjunctions that indicate a particular discourse relation, such as contradiction (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ 'but') or topic switch (ⲇⲉ), e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲏⲛⲧⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲙⲓⲗⲉⲓ) ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲭⲓ ⲥⲣⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ (...) 'for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this (reason) (ⲡⲁⲓ) I appeal (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) to your sound judgement (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲏⲧ) not to concern (yourselves) (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲟⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) with them (ⲛⲥⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ), *but* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *to pay heed to* (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲭⲓ ⲥⲣⲏ-ⲧⲛ) the holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) words (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) (...)' (Sh. III 31:2-5), ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲧⲙⲣ ⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ ⲙⲛⲟⲩ (...) 'if they do not swear (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ-ⲣ) an oath (ⲁⲛⲁⲱ) in (ⲥⲙ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), *yet* *swear* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ) a different (kind of) oath (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲁⲛⲁⲱ) *and violate* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ) it (ⲙⲛⲟ-ⲩ) (...)' (Sh. III 19:4-6).

- Particularly common is the combination of Conjunctive verb forms with coordinating conjunctions like ⲁⲩⲱ 'and' and ⲏ 'or', e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲉⲱⲟⲣⲱⲣ ⲛⲛⲣⲧⲙⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ[ⲧⲁ]ⲗⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲉ <ⲉⲩ>ⲣⲁⲓ (...) ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲣⲙⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲫⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) they shall destroy (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲱⲟⲣⲱⲣ) the temples (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲧⲙⲩⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) their places (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲙⲁ) of bull (ⲙⲁⲥⲉ) sacrifices (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲗⲉ) (...) *and they shall make them* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲩ) places (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) of tears (ⲛ-ⲣⲙⲏ) *and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) *they shall (re-)build* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the churches (ⲛ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ) *and celebrate* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲫⲓ) the Eucharist (ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ) in them (ⲛⲥⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) on (ⲥⲙ) this very (ⲡⲁⲓ) day (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 40:8-10), ⲱⲡⲉ [ⲛ]ⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ [ⲛ]ⲅⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉ[ⲣ]ⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ [ⲡ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'be (ⲱⲡⲉ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) *and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) *hear* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) today (ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ), oh Father (ⲡ-ⲓⲱⲧ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)!' (Eud. 46:11-12), ⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ (...) 'if an affliction (ⲟⲩ-ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) comes upon them (the hermits) (ⲣⲱⲁⲛ ... ⲧⲁⲥⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *or* (ⲏ) a danger (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ) *rises up* (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) against them (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ) (...)' (Onnophr. 211:31-32).

- Conjunctive direct object clauses are often introduced by the finite subordinating complementisers ⲥⲱⲥⲧⲉ and ⲥⲱⲥ '(such) that' and their negative counterparts ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ and ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ 'that not', e.g. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲛⲁϩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲣⲁϩⲧ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲧⲙⲯⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲙⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ 'he (ⲡⲁⲓ) lived (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲱⲛⲁϩ) in (ϩⲛ) silence (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲣⲁϩⲧ) for (ϩⲛ) a long (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *such* *that* (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) many (ϩⲁϩ) who were in (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ) the village (ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ) *could not* (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲧⲙ-ⲯ-ⲟⲙ-ⲟⲟⲙ) meet (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲙⲛⲧ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) on many (ⲛ-ϩⲁϩ) occasions (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210:54:25-27), ⲁϥⲡⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲱⲥ ⲛϥⲣ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'he (the senior monk) changed (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲡⲱⲛⲉ) *such* *that* (ϩⲱⲥ) *he* *became* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲣ) like (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) another man (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Onnophr. 216:2-3), ⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ (...) 'we actually (ⲇⲉ) say (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲭⲱ) this (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲓ) *so* *that* (ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ) someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) *will not say* (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) that (ϫⲉ) (...)' (V. Pach. 291:6), ⲥⲗϫⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟ (...) 'wrap yourselves up (ⲥⲗϫ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) in (ϩⲛ) the teaching (ⲧⲉ-ⲥⲃⲱ) *so* *that* (ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ) the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *does not become angry* (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟ) (...)' (V. Pach. 329a: 14-17 [Ps. 2:12]).

e) Clause-initial Conjunctives

The impossibility of a chain-initial Conjunctive can be directly related to the serializing character of this conjugation pattern. Yet, there are a few counterexamples to this positional restriction, where a Conjunctive occurs clause-initial position, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲧⲁⲁ[ⲅ]ⲟⲛⲓϫⲉ (for ⲧⲁⲁⲅⲱⲛⲓϫⲉ) ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) myself (ϩⲱ) *will fight* (ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲅⲟⲛⲓϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the Jews (ⲛⲉ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) a little more (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16). It looks as if this example involves verb ellipsis, where a matrix control verb like ⲟⲩⲱϣ 'to want' has been deleted from the surface structure of the clause, although its semantic content is recoverable from the strong intentional reading of the Conjunctive verb form ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲅⲟⲛⲓϫⲉ 'I will fight'.

8.1.4.3 Event composition

The different degrees of structural integration between main clauses and Conjunctive clauses roughly correlate with different degrees of semantic integration between the main event and the consecutive events referred to by the chain-medial or chain-final Conjunctive verb forms.

a) Complex events

Conjunctive clause chains can describe a complex event consisting of two or more subevents, e.g. ϣⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲧⲥ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥϩⲉⲣⲡ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'she used to throw herself (ϣⲁ-ⲥ-ⲡⲁϩⲧ-ⲥ) on (ⲉϧⲙ) the ground (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) *and weep* (ⲛ-ⲥ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) until she drenched (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲥ-ϩⲉⲣⲡ) the ground (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) with (ϩⲛ) her tears (ⲛⲉⲥ-ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (Hil. 9:13-14), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲭⲉ (read ⲇⲉ) ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲁϥ† ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϧⲏⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲁϥϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁϣⲉ 'when he (Pachôm) had tested (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ) them (the novices) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *and seen* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) that (ⲭⲉ) their character (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲥⲙⲟⲧ) was good (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ), he put (ⲁ-ϥ-†) the monkish (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) habit (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲥϧⲏⲙⲁ) on them (ⲉϧⲱ-ⲟⲩ) (and) received them (ⲁ-ϥ-ϣⲟⲡ-ⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) with (ϩⲛ) joy (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ)' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲉ† ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϣⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) they vomitted (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲁ ⲃⲟⲗ) the evil (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) they recovered (lit. recovery (ⲡ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) happened (ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ) for them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ)) *and were relieved* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) (from sickness) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) *and praised* (lit. give (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-†) praise (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ)) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) as well as (ⲙⲛ) the prayers (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲗⲏ) of our holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Apa Matthew' (KHML II 10:16-20).

b) Polarity switch

A series of Conjunctive clauses may present a situation from different points of view, for instance, by switching from positive to negative polarity, e.g. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲥⲉϥⲉⲓ (for ⲛⲥⲉϥⲓ) ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲗⲁⲍ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ ϧⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ

ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'let the soldiers (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ) go (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲃⲱⲕ) *and remove* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ϥⲉⲓ) the (pavement) stones (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲗⲁⲍ) on which his (Apa Nahrôw's) blood (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲛⲟϥ) has been smeared out (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ϧⲛϩ) *and throw them* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲟⲭ-ⲟⲩ) into the sea (ⲉ-ⲑⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ) so that (ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ) *they do not see* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁⲩ) them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *and have faith* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in his god (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (KHML I 6:27-30).

c) Discourse paragraph

The Conjunctive may be consistently used throughout an entire discourse paragraph, describing a succession of events that are grouped together under a single contextual parameter, e.g. ⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲡⲏ ⲛⲅⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲃⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲙⲛ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲣⲣⲱ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕϧⲟⲉⲓⲥ (...) ⲛⲅⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲥϧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϧⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ (...) ⲛⲧⲉ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϧⲟⲉⲓ ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲛϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲑⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲥϧⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡϧⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲥⲁϣϥ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲑⲓⲏⲏⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲅⲥⲏⲙⲁⲛⲉ [ⲙ]ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ [ⲛⲉ]ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛϥⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ [ⲛ]ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ (...) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲅⲣ ⲡⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲅⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲉⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧϩⲓⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛϥⲥⲏⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛ†ⲙⲉ ϧⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲥⲉ (...) 'go (ⲃⲱⲕ) quickly (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲡⲏ) *and make ready* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ) for her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) four (ⲛ-ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) generals (ⲛ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) forty thousand (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ-ⲧⲃⲁ) soldiers (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ) and (ⲙⲛ) four (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) chariots (ⲛ-ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ) for the generals (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) three (ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) (chariots) for the virgin (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) queen (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲣⲣⲱ) and (ⲙⲛ) a large amount of (ⲉ-ⲛⲁϣⲱ-ϥ) gold (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ) from (ϩⲙ) the house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ) of your lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ϧⲟⲉⲓⲥ) (...) *and give it* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) to spend (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ϧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) on the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of our Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ϧⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓⲥ̄) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄) (...) *and* four (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) ships (ⲛ-ϧⲟⲉⲓ) *shall lie in port* (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ) before (ϩⲁⲑⲏ) four (ⲛ-ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) and four (ships) (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) *shall lie* (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ) on (ϩⲛ) sea (ⲑⲗⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ) until she accomplishes (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲥ-ϧⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) everything (ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) that the Lord (ⲡ-ϧⲟⲉⲓⲥ)

told (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ϫⲟ-ⲟⲩ) her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) within (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲟⲩⲛ) seven (ⲛ-ⲥⲁϣⲫ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ), *and they shall land* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ) at Jerusalem (ⲉ-ϯⲗⲏⲙ) *and you shall notify* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲥⲏⲙⲁⲛⲉ) our father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) the bishop (ⲛ-ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ) *that he assembles* (ⲛ-ⲫ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) city (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) today (ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ) (...)'; in addition to (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) these (orders) (ⲛⲁⲓ) *you shall do* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲣ) this (ⲡⲁⲓ) swiftly (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ), before (ⲛ-ⲱⲟⲣⲡ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) these (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲓ) *you shall send* (ⲛⲅⲭⲟⲟⲩ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) first (ⲛ-ⲱⲟⲣⲡ) a commander-of-fifty (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) his fifty (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ) soldiers (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ) on (ϩⲛ) the king's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) road (ⲧ-ϩⲓⲏ) *and he shall notify* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲥⲏⲙⲁⲛⲉ) the cities (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) villages (ⲛ-ϯⲙⲉ) that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) they will not be troubled (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲥⲉ)' (Eud. 62:4-18).

d) Aspectual verbs

Verbs of *inherently directed motion* like ⲉⲓ 'to come' and ⲃⲱⲕ 'to go' and *assume position* verbs like ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ 'to stand up' may be used as auxiliary verbs, indicating the entrance into some event or state. When construed with such aspectual verbs of initiation, Conjunctive clauses have a single event interpretation, e.g. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲅⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ '*come* (ⲁⲙⲟⲩ) *and look* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲛⲁⲩ) at my state of being (ⲉ-ⲧⲁ-ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ)!' (V. Pach. 86:13-14), ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ ⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 'and (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) I never (ⲉⲛⲉϩ) intended (lit. I never went (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲉⲓ)) *to go* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to a place (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲁ) or (ⲏ) a congregation (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ) *and speak* (ⲧⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) as if (ϩⲱⲥ) I had (ⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) authority (ⲧ-ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ)' (V. Pach. 90:3-5), ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ '(if the Lord were in this place), I would *go* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) *and appeal* (ⲧⲁ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) to him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲁⲱⲥⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ 'I will *stand up* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) *and strangle* (ⲧⲁ-ⲱⲥⲧ) myself (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 202:102-103).

8.1.4.4 Tense construal

The Coptic Conjunctive is an extremely flexible serialisation pattern, which links two or more finite verb forms and describes events of various complexities. Apart from signalling sequentiality and consecutivity, it

makes no further contribution to temporal, aspectual or modal interpretation of the clausal chain in which it appears. The Conjunctive is assigned a particular tense or mood by being anaphorically related to preceding verbal tense. Not only absolute but also relative tenses can serve as antecedents for the semantically underspecified Conjunctive conjugation. In this case, both the relative tense and the Conjunctive describe a complex event that occurs before or after the main clause event.

Examples: (absolute tense as an antecedent) ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛⲫⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ 'this other person (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) who is in (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲛ) your midst (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) that *I am not worthy* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲡϣⲁ) (that) *he talks* (ⲛ-ϥ-ϣⲁϫⲉ) to me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)' (KMHL II 30:18-19), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲛⲧϥ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (the governor) *ordered* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ) (that) *they brought him* (Apa Nahrôw) (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ϥ) to (ⲉϫⲙ) the tribune (ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ)' (KHML I 5:18-19), ϯⲛⲁϥⲓⲧϥ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩϫϥ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ '*I will take it* (the corpse) (ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ϥⲓⲧ-ϥ) *and throw it* (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛⲟⲩϫ-ϥ) into the sea (ⲉ-ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:5-7); (relative tense as an antecedent) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛϥⲣ ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲁϥϣⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥϫⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ '*when he had gone* (away) (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) *and become* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲣ) a monk (ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ), he became (ⲁ-ϥ-ϣⲡⲉ) negligent (lit. in (ϩⲛ) a negligence (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲁ)) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) spent (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) his time (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲁϩⲉ) badly (ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:3-4), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ϩⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲏ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩϫⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲟⲙⲥϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϣⲱⲛⲥ 'after this (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) they sang psalms (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ) in front of him (Pachôm) (ϩⲁ-ⲧⲉϥ-ϩⲏ) *until they took him* (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ϫⲓⲧ-ϥ) to the mountain (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ) *and buried him* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲧⲟⲙⲥ-ϥ) on the fifteenth day (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧⲏ) of that same (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) month (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) Pashôns (ⲡⲁϣⲱⲛⲥ)' (V. Pach. 95:25-27).

8.1.4.5 Apodosis clauses

The Conjunctive may appear in the apodosis clause (the 'THEN'-clause) of a conditional construction, which relate two hypothetical events in terms of cause and effect, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲛϣⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲛⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲥⲁ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ '(ⲁⲩⲱ) *whenever we came* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to the outer (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓⲃⲟⲗ) mountain (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ), *we celebrated* the Eucharist (ⲛ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the

brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) on (ϩⲙ) Saturday (ⲡ-ⲥⲁ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ) and (ⲏⲛ) Sunday (ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ)' (BMisc. 441:32-442:1).

8.1.5 Absolute-relative tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are anaphoric tense categories, which receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually specified reference point. In this respect, they are semantically contrastive with the absolute tenses, which are deictic tense categories where time reference is determined with respect to the present moment. Absolute-relative tenses combine these two kinds of temporal reference. As combined deictic-anaphoric tense categories, absolute-relative have a reference point that is located at, before, or after the present moment and in addition locate a situation at, before, or after that reference point.

8.1.5.1 Forms

Coptic has three absolute-relative tenses, which are morphologically derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding the relative marker ϵ- in front of the verbal cluster, cf. table 8.5:

	RELATIVE PRESENT	RELATIVE FUTURE	RELATIVE PERFECT
1st sing.	ϵ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ϵ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ϵ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲫ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ϵ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ϵ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ϵ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ϵ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 8.5 Absolute-relative tenses

8.1.5.2 Syntactic differences with Second Tenses

Absolute-relative tenses share with Second Tenses the relative marking of the main tense/aspect inflection. But while the verbal paradigms of the Relative Present and the Relative Future are formally identical to those of the Second Present and Second Future, the Relative Perfect ϵ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'when/while he heard' and the Second Perfect ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard' are morphologically distinguished with respect to the relative markers ϵ- and ⲛⲧ-, respectively.

a) Syntactic dependency

Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology, which flags main clauses with a marked information structure, such as question-answer pairs (see below, section 7.2.2 of Unit 7), e.g. ⲉⲕⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲟⲩ - ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲓⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ 'from what (ϵ-ⲟⲩ) *do you suffer* (ϵ-ⲕ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ)? - Lord (ⲡ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄), *I am suffering* (ϵ-ⲓ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ) from my liver (ϵ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). Absolute-relative tenses, on the other hand, are syntactically dependent tenses that introduce various types of complement and adjunct clauses, e.g. ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲥⲟⲛϩ 'because (ⲭⲉ) *we found* (ⲁ-ⲛ-ϩⲉ) her (Hilaria) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) at last (ⲣⲱ) *being alive* (ϵ-ⲥ-ⲟⲛϩ)' (Hil. 12:6-7), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲧⲓ) ⲉⲩⲟϩⲥ ⲁϥϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ (for ⲉⲭⲙ) ⲡϥϩⲟ (for ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ) ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *when* (ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) *he* (Pachôm) *was harvesting* (ϵ-ϥ-ⲟϩⲥ)], *he* fell (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲉ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) on (ⲉⲭⲉⲛ) his face (ⲡϥ-ϩⲟ) in (ϩⲛ) their (the brothers') midst (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17).

b) Copula support

Absolute-relative tenses differ syntactically from the corresponding Second Tenses with respect to their external distribution and the applicability of copula support. Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences with indefinite subjects, which thus take the form of existential sentences. Copula support applies in full force in the Relative Present, e.g. ⲁⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲙⲟⲙ ϩⲙ ⲡϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ 'they found (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϩⲉ) him (Pachôm) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *while* (there) *was* (ϵ-ⲩⲛ) *a big* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *fever* (ⲛ-ϩⲙⲟⲙ) in (ϩⲙ) his body

(ⲡⲫ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) because of (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ) the illness (ⲡ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 87:19-20), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲕⲛⲕ ⲁϩⲛⲩ ⲉⲙⲛ ϩⲏⲥⲱ ⲧⲱ ϩⲓⲱⲱⲕ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) are you naked (lit. stripped off (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲕⲛⲕ) naked (ⲁϩⲛⲩ)) *without* (there) *being* (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ ... ⲧⲱ) *clothes* (ϩⲏⲥⲱ) on you (ϩⲓⲱⲱ-ⲕ)?' (Onnophr. 207:1-2). The corresponding Second Tense sentence is, however, exempt from copula support, e.g. ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟ ϩⲓⲱⲱϥ 'as if (ϩⲱⲥ) *a* (varigated) *tunic* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ) *were placed* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲟ) on him (ϩⲓⲱⲱ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

8.1.5.3 Syntactic distribution

Absolute-relative tenses have a flexible syntax and appear before or after the main clause with respect to which their temporal interpretation is determined. They indicate various types of clausal dependencies (concomitance, sequentiality, secondary predication).

a) Clauses of circumstance and concomitance

The Relative Present is widely used 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE' adjunct clauses that indicate the co-temporality of two situations, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *while I was looking* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ) at them (the trees) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) their fruits (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), four (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) young (ⲯⲏⲙ) fellows (ⲛ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) from a distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲯⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲯⲱⲯ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲛⲉⲓ ϫⲟⲟⲥ '*when they reflect upon* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲯⲧ) the instruction (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲓ) they shall not stretch out (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲯ) and not (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) turn (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) to the water (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) until the housekeeper (ⲡ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏⲉⲓ) says so (ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ ... ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 123).

Adverbial time clauses of concomitance often have non-temporal meanings, providing background information about the setting, the conditions or the circumstances under which the main event/situation took place, e.g. ⲛⲧⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'you (ⲛⲧⲕ) (are) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) such (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) that this great (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩ) glory (ⲛ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) *surrounds* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1).

A range of temporal connectives can further specify the co-temporality between the main clause and the dependent clause situation. Particularly common are the subordinators (ⲉ)ⲛ ϩⲟⲥⲟⲛ 'as long as, during, when' and ⲉⲧⲓ 'while, still', e.g. ⲉⲛ ϩⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '*while* (ⲉⲛ ϩⲟⲥⲟⲛ) *we were talking* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) each other (ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ), the governor (ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) of that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) district (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ϫⲱⲣⲁ) came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)' (KHML I 143:12-14), ⲉⲧⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲧⲓ) ⲉⲛϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲧ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ '*while* (ⲉⲧⲉⲓ) *we were sitting* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ), an old (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) priest (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) came forth (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ), whose name (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) John (ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ)' (Abbatôn 228:13-15). A more detailed discussion of WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses will be offered in section 12.2.2.1 of Unit 12.

b) Predicative adjuncts

Sentence constructions with predicative adjuncts express two types of predicative relationships, one between the subject and the main verb (the "primary" predicate) and another between the subject, direct and indirect object and an additional predicate expression, the predicative adjunct (or "secondary" predicate). Predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the subject referent are called subject depictives and predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the direct or indirect object are called object depictives. Predicative adjuncts are optional sentence constituents: they can be omitted without any unsystematic change of meaning, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϯⲉⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲓϫⲁϩⲙ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) I am afraid (ϯ-ⲉⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ) of entering (ⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) (of the holy Apa Mena) *being impure* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϫⲁϩⲙ)' (Mena, Mir. 29b:14-17), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲛⲧϥ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲣ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) will bring him (Constantine) (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲧ-ϥ) *bound* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲏⲣ) to your chariot (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲧⲛ-ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ a dog) (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ)' (Eud. 44:11-12), ⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲓⲯⲱⲛⲉ 'you find (lit. you see (ⲕⲛⲁⲩ)) me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) *sick* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20).

c) *Resultative complements*

The Relative Present is widely used to form the resultative complement clauses of aspectual verbs of continuation or completion, such as ϭω 'to remain', ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'to stay, continue', ⲗⲟ 'to stop', ⲟⲩⲱ 'to have already done', which assert the accomplished or ongoing state of some event, e.g. ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓϭⲱ ⲉⲓⲕⲏⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ 'so that (ⲭⲉ) I would not stay (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ϭⲱ) *naked* (lit. stripped off (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲕⲏⲕ) naked (ⲁϩⲏⲩ))' (Onnophr. 217:31), ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲫⲯⲁⲏⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ (...) 'he (Apa Sarapiôn) remained (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲙⲟⲩⲛ) *praying* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲯⲁⲏⲗ) for her sake (ϩⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5), ⲁⲓⲗⲟ ⲉⲓⲯⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ 'I stopped (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲗⲟ) *being sick* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲯⲱⲛⲉ) at my liver (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ)' (Onnophr. 209:10), ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ 'he is already (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱ) *dead* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 196:24).

d) Sequential-consecutive clauses

Relative-absolute tenses may have a sequential-consecutive function and connect two or more clauses in a series. In elaborating on the description of some situation, such sequentially used absolute-relative tenses extend the narration in the same time-line as the preceding clause, e.g. ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲟ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲛⲙⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲩⲭⲓⲁ (for ⲟⲩⲏⲥⲩⲭⲓⲁ) ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲛⲧ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ) monastery (ⲛⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ) (was) Erête *and we lived* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲟ) *together* (ϩⲓ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) *in harmony* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) *and* peace (ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲏ < ⲧ-ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) *was* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) our midst (ⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲏⲧⲉ) *and* we *were* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) at (ϩⲛ) ease (ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲥⲩⲭⲓⲁ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) *and praised* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲧ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 210:23-26).

Absolute-relative tenses may assume a purposive reading and describe the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g. ϥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲥⲁ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ 'an angel (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) comes (ϥ-ⲛⲏⲩ) *and serves* (the Eucharist) (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ) to me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) on Saturday (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲁ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) Sunday (ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ)' (Onnophr. 214:22-23),

ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲁϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟϥ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) the glorification (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of Christ (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄), Michael, the archangel (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) of heaven (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲉ), came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) to him (Constantine) (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ) *and instructed him* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ϥ)' (Eud. 42:1-2).

8.1.5.4 Tense distinctions

Absolute-relative tenses combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation. They express three different ranges of temporal reference.

a) Relative Present

The Relative Present ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'when/while he hears/heard' depicts events or states that lasted during the time at which another event took place, e.g. ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲫⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ 'they met (ⲁ-ⲅ-ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ) the governor (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) *on his way* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to the tribunal (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ)' (Ac. A&P 208:171-172), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ), behold (ⲉⲓⲥ), (for) sixty (ⲥⲉ) years (ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) I have been living (ⲧ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) this desert (ⲧⲓ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ), *wandering around* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the mountains (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ) in the manner (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) of wild beasts (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ)' (Onnophr. 210:18-20), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣ (for ⲉⲣⲉ) ⲡϥⲥⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ '*when he* (Pachôm) *was saying* (ⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲱ) these (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ), Theodore was sitting (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) at a little (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ), his face (ⲡϥ-ϩⲟ) (turned down) to the ground (ⲉⲣ ... ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲥϩⲧ)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

b) Relative Future

The Relative Future ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'when/while he is/was going to hear' describes an event that was about to happen when another event took place, e.g. ⲁⲥϩⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲯⲟⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲗⲏⲁ 'she (Hilaria) found (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϩⲉ) a ship (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϫⲟⲓ) *ready to sail* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲟⲏⲣ) to a city (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) called (ϫⲉ) Saralêa' (Hil. 3:17-18), ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ

ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ (for ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ) ⲯⲁⲩⲣⲁⲯⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲕⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (in) the beginning (ⲧ-ⲁⲣⲭⲏ) *when they are about to enter* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) the solitary life (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ), they rejoice (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲣⲁⲯⲉ) much (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the hunger (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲕⲟ) and (ⲙⲛ) the thirst (ⲡ-ⲉⲓⲃⲉ)' (Onnophr. 211:14-15), ⲉⲕⲛⲁϭⲱⲯⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ 'will you watch (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲱⲯⲧ) me (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲓ) *going down* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to destruction (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91).

c) Relative Perfect

The Relative Perfect ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'when/while he has/had heard' indicates an anterior event that had been accomplished some time before another event started, e.g. ⲁⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲉⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ 'they found (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϩⲉ) the little (ⲯⲏⲙ) boy (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) *having already* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱ) *died* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 196:48), ⲁⲓϭⲱⲯⲧ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲉⲗⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲏ) ⲛⲯⲟⲯ ⲉⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ 'I looked up (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϭⲱⲯⲧ) (and) saw (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) a herd (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲅⲉⲗⲉⲓ) of antilopes (ⲛ-ⲯⲟⲯ) *having approached* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲉⲓ) from a distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ)' (Onnophr. 206:13-14), ⲁⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ ⲉⲁⲫⲣ ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲫⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'they found (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϩⲉ) him (Diocletian) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ) *having become* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲣ) *blind* (ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) in both (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) his eyes (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲃⲁⲗ)' (Eud. 36:22-23).

8.2 Moods

Mood is a grammatical category used to describe the speaker's attitudes or beliefs towards non-observable facts. A major division in the modal domain concerns the distinction between epistemic and deontic modality, where the former deals with matters of knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said and the latter with obligation and desire. Epistemic and deontic modality are therefore related to the informative and the pragmatic functions of language, respectively. The inventory of Coptic basic moods is presented in table 8.6 below.

DEONTIC MODALITY	EPISTEMIC MODALITY
IMPERATIVE	CONDITIONAL
ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	**ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ**
listen!	if/when he hears/heard
JUSSIVE	INFERENTIAL
ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	**ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ**
may he hear	and/so that he shall hear

TABLE 8.6 Basic moods

In expressing a proposal for action, the imperative and the Jussive relate to deontic modality. The Conditional and the Inferential, on the other hand, are epistemic modal patterns that express hypothetical situations and emphatic assertions and deductions, respectively.

N.B. Besides the involvement of the speaker in the event under consideration, deontic and epistemic modal pattern have little in common semantically. Thus, it is never possible to interpret a deontic modal pattern like the Jussive epistemically in terms of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what is being said. Neither can an epistemic modal like the Conditional be used deontically to elicit some action from the person they are directed to. In this respect, Coptic moods differ systematically from the modalised future tenses, which have epistemic as well as deontic uses (see above, section 7.3.3 of Unit 7).

8.2.1 The imperative

The imperative represents the quintessential form of deontic modality that encodes events imposed by the speaker. In Coptic, as in many other languages, the imperative is an impoverished conjugation pattern. It is morphologically impoverished in the sense that most imperatives lack special formal marking and syntactically impoverished in the sense that imperatival mood can only have second person reference.

8.2.1.1 Forms

Imperatives can be formed morphologically either by unmarked infinitival verbs or by irregular imperatives with a distinct imperatival marker.

a) Infinitival imperatives

Most verbs have infinitival imperatives, where an uninflected absolute or construct state stem is used as the main predicate of the imperatival clause, e.g. ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ '*farewell* (ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ), my holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) fathers (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ)!' (Hil.8:13-14), ⲥⲁϩⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ '*turn yourself* (ⲥⲁϩⲱ-ⲕ) away from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) the idols (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13), ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲕⲕ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲛⲁⲁⲁϥ 'you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), on your part (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲕ), *take council* (ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ), *think* (ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ), *ponder* (ⲙⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲕ-ⲕ), *consider* (well) (ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) what (ⲟⲩ) you will do (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)!' (Camb. 9:12-15), ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ '*tell* (ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ)!' (Eud. 54:17).

b) Irregular imperatives

Coptic has a number of so-called irregular imperatives, which are characterised morphologically by a special imperatival prefix ⲁ- or by a suppletive verb stem that is phonologically unrelated to the basic form of the verb. Some irregular imperatives are also inflected for gender and number.

SING. MASC.	SING. FEM.	PLURAL	BASE VERB	GLOSS
ⲁⲗⲟ=ⲕ	ⲁⲗⲟ	ⲁⲗⲱ=ⲧⲛ	ⲁⲟ	stop!
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ	ⲁⲙⲏ	ⲁⲙⲏⲉⲓ=ⲧⲛ	ⲉⲓ	come!
ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉ, ⲁⲛⲓ-	ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉ, ⲁⲛⲓ-	ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉ, ⲁⲛⲓ-,	ⲉⲓⲛⲉ	bring!
ⲁⲣⲓⲣⲉ, ⲁⲣⲓ-	ⲁⲣⲓⲣⲉ, ⲁⲣⲓ-	ⲁⲣⲓⲣⲉ, ⲁⲣⲓ-	ⲉⲓⲣⲉ	make!
ⲁⲭⲓ-, ⲁⲭⲓ=	ⲁⲭⲓ-, ⲁⲭⲓ=	ⲁⲭⲓ-, ⲁⲭⲓ=	ϫⲱ	say!
ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ	ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ	ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ	ⲟⲩⲱⲛ	open!
ⲁⲛⲁⲩ	ⲁⲛⲁⲩ	ⲁⲛⲁⲩ	ⲛⲁⲩ	see!
ⲙⲟ, ⲙⲱ	ⲙⲟ	ⲙⲙⲏⲉⲓⲧⲛ	ϫⲓ	take!
ⲙⲁ-	ⲙⲁ-	ⲙⲁ-	†	give!

TABLE 8.7 Irregular imperatives

Examples: ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ ϥⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ '*come* (ⲁⲙⲟⲩ) down (ⲉⲡⲉϭⲏⲧ) to me (ϥⲁⲣⲟ-ⲓ), holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)!' (Onnophr. 210:12), ⲁⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁϭⲓϫ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲓⲣ '*come* (woman) (ⲁⲙⲏ) and look (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛⲁⲩ) at my hands (ⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲓϫ) and (ⲙⲛ) my side (ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲡⲓⲣ)!' (Eud. 52:3), ⲁⲙ[ⲏ]ⲉⲓⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '*come* (ⲁⲙⲏⲉⲓⲧⲛ) outside (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) (and) *open* (ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ) us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) the gate (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗⲏ) of the city (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)!' (Ac. A&P 206:166-167), ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ '*remember* (lit. make (ⲁⲣⲓ) remembrance (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)!' (Ac. A&P 200:83), ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ '*bring* (ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) the four (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) gospels (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ) here (ⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ)!' (Hil. 11:25), ⲁⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲱ ⲛⲥⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲛⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲏⲗ '*give* (ⲁⲛⲓ) us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) advice (ⲟⲩ-ⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ), oh (ⲱ) educated people (ⲛ-ⲥⲁϩ) of the house (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲓ) of Israel!' (Eud. 52:23), ⲁⲭⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ '*tell it* (ⲁⲭⲓ-ⲥ) to them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ)!' (Hil. 11:25), ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ 'our mistress (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ), open (ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ) to us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ)!' (Eud. 54:20), ⲛⲱ ⲛⲅⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲓⲝ ⲛⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ '*take* (it) (the letter) and you will recognise (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ) your father's (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) handwriting (lit. the hand (ⲧ-ⲟⲓⲝ) of writing (ⲛ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ)) and (ⲙⲛ) his seal (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ)!' (Victor, Martyrd. 29:25-26), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *give* (ⲙⲁ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) the baptism (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ)!' (Pist. Soph. 111:6).

c) Prefixation of ⲙⲁ-

Lexical ⲧ-causatives have two imperatival forms that appear in free variation. On the one hand, there are "bare" infinitival imperatives, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲃⲙⲟⲟⲙ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *be strong* (ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ) and vigorous (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲃⲙ-ⲟⲟⲙ)!' (Eud. 50:22). On the other hand, there are irregular imperatives formed with the suppletive imperatival verb ⲙⲁ- 'give!', e.g. ⲙⲁⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩϫϥ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ '*inform me* (ⲙⲁ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ) about the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ), where (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ) Paul threw himself (ⲛⲟⲩϫ-ϥ) into the water (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:50-51), ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ '*make* (ⲙⲁ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) a drag net (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲃⲱ)!' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-35).

8.2.1.2 The imperative and second person reference

In Coptic, as in many other languages, imperatival mood can only have second person reference. By using the imperative, the speaker proposes that the addressee take action, while the Jussive mood must be selected when he or she issues a command from another speech participant. Since the subject of imperatival clauses refers to the addressee, the use of second person pronouns becomes redundant and only a few irregular imperatives show second person inflection on the verbal stem. The number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatival clauses may, however, be co-referenced by various types of pronouns:

- So-called ethical datives, which reinforce the necessity or urgency of the proposed action, e.g. ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉ (read ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ) ⲛⲁⲕ '*see* (ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ) *for yourself* (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)!' (KHML II 21:26), ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲃⲓⲧⲟ (for ⲫⲓⲧⲟ) ⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲓⲭⲱⲓ 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) *take it* (the cloak) (ⲃⲓⲧ-ⲟ) (away) from me (ϩⲓⲭⲱ-ⲓ)!' (V. Pach. 92:15), ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲡϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲟⲛ '(if you want to become a monk) *go* (ⲃⲱⲕ) *for yourself* (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) to the Henaton (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲟⲛ)!' (Hil. 5:17)
- The second person subject pronoun of a following Conjunctive, e.g. ⲫⲱⲡⲉ [ⲛ]ⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ [ⲛ]ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ '*be* (ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) with me (ⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) *and listen* (ⲛ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) today (ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ)!' (Eud. 46:11)
- Appositionally used independent pronouns, which are added to the imperatival verb for emphatic purposes, e.g. ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓ '*sit* (ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ), *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), in (ϩⲛ) your cell (ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲣⲓ)!' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

8.2.2 The Jussive

Coptic has a Jussive mood, which is formally distinct from the corresponding imperative. Both deontic modals are in complementary distribution with respect to grammatical person. While the imperative has only second person forms, the Jussive instantiates specific first and third person forms for orders, requests, entreaties, and the like, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ ϩⲓⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *guide me* (lit. take (ⲭⲓ) road (ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ) before me

(ϩⲙⲧ)) in (ϩⲙ) your light (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *let me know* (ⲙⲁⲣⲓ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ), oh (ⲱ) light (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), that (ⲭⲉ) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) my saviour (ⲡⲁ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ)!' (Pist. Soph. 79:18).

8.2.2.1 Forms

The defective pronominal paradigm of the Jussive mood is presented in table 8.8. The empty paradigmatic cells in the second person singular and plural are filled by the corresponding imperatives.

	JUSSIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ, ⲙⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ
2nd		
3rd masc.	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 8.8 Jussive mood

8.2.2.2 The metaphorical extension of deontic modality

From a syntactic point of view, the imperative and the Jussive may be treated as a single verbal pattern, since the forms are in complementary distribution. Yet, both deontic modals differ from one another both semantically and pragmatically: semantically in the sense that the Jussive always implies the presence of a remote causer; pragmatically in the sense that it is used as a politeness form in those contexts where the imperative would be socially inappropriate.

a) Remote causer

The conjugation base ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)- represents the imperatival counterpart of the causative verb ⲧⲣⲉ- 'cause to do' (for its syntax, see section 6.4.3 of Unit 6). The Jussive therefore implies the presence of an implicit CAUSER, denoting the entity that is capable of initiating the proposed action, e.g.

ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲧⲁϩⲟⲟⲩ 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), *may* your grace (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲛⲁ) *come upon them* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲁϩⲟ-ⲟⲩ)!' (Abbatôn 242:31). Third person plural Jussives may have a passive interpretation, where the causer is left unspecified, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧⲟ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *let* the ship (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲓ) *be moored* (lit. let *them* moore (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲣ)) at the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) where you have found it (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲟ)!' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲧⲣⲉⲩⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲕⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲉⲃⲓⲧⲟⲛ (for ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲉⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲕⲟⲟⲥⲧ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ '*don't let me* (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲧ) *be bared* (ⲕⲁϩⲏⲩ) of my habit (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲗⲓⲃⲓⲧⲟⲛ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) let them bury me (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲟⲥ-ⲧ) with it (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ)!' (Hil. 12:23-24).

b) Third person imperatives

The Jussive replaces the imperative in manipulative speech acts (orders, instructions) with third person reference, e.g. ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲛϥⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲁⲛ 'if (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) he will not (ⲁⲛ) rise (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ), *he shall give* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲧ) to us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) what is his (ⲛⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212), ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲛϥⲥⲟⲧⲙⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ (read ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ) ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲟⲓ '*he should go* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) and hear it (the testament) (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙⲉ-ⲥ) from those (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) who know (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲟⲓ) (to read)!' (Test. Is. 236:4).

c) Politeness form

The Jussive is used as a politeness form in manipulative speech-acts when the addressee outranks the speaker on a social or ontological hierarchy, e.g. ⲁⲓⲟ ⲡⲁⲅⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲧⲁϩⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ 'please (ⲁⲓⲟ), my good (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), *let* your grace (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲛⲁ) *come* upon us (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲁϩⲟ-ⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲛ)!' (Onnophr. 216:24-25), ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲱⲛϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'behold (ⲉⲓⲥ), this other (girl) (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓ), *let her stay alive* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲱⲛϩ) in your presence (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)!' (Hil. 8:5), ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲧⲁϩⲓⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉϩⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ '(oh) Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), Almighty (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ), *if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you want to direct*

(ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ) *my way* (ⲧⲁ-ϩⲓⲏ) in (ϩⲙ) the matter (ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ) that I want to pursue (ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ < ⲉⲧ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ)), then (ⲉⲓⲉ) *let me hear* (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) Scripture readings (ⲉ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ) that are suited (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ) to my goal (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ)!' (Hil. 2:20-21).

d) Optative

The Jussive can have an optative reading, expressing the speaker's hopes about some state of affairs that has not yet been realised, e.g. ⲁⲕⲥⲉⲧⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ 'you have heard (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲉⲧⲙ) a word (ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ). (So) *may it stay* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) with you (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲕ)!' (Test. Is. 228:9-10), ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲙⲡ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*may* my sacrifice (ⲧⲁ-ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ) *be* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲱⲡⲉ) *accepted* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲱⲙⲡ) in your presence (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)!' (Test. Is. 232:32-33).

e) Exhortative

First person plural Jussives are conventionally associatcd with an exhortative meaning and function, expressing desires for actions involving the speaker and some other speech participant, e.g. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ ⲉϯ ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϩⲓ ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ '*let us* now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ), my beloved (ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ), *be zealous* (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲛ-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ) to give (ⲉ-ϯ) love (ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ) and (ϩⲓ) charity (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲁ)!' (Abbatôn 247:34-248:2), The freestanding form ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ 'let's go' is used as a parenthetical expression that reinforces the proposition for action that is described, e.g. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁϫⲓⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ), rise (ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ), *let's go* (ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ) and I will take you (woman) (ⲛⲧⲁ-ϫⲓⲧ-ⲉ) to (ⲉϩⲙ) his (Christ's) tomb (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ)!' (Eud. 68:10-11).

8.2.3 Conditional mood

The Conditional ⲉ-ϥ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'if/when he hears' introduces the subordinate adjunct clause (the protasis) of an open conditional sentences, which describes hypothetical situations that have the potential of becoming reality.

8.2.3.1 Forms

The Conditional conjugation ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'if/when he hears' is a compound verbal tense, consisting of an initial relative marker ⲉ- and the modal auxiliary ϣⲁⲛ, which has a fully grammaticalised meaning and function. It undergoes subject-verb inversion in the context of full noun phrases: ⲉⲣⲉ $NP_{subject}$ ϣⲁⲛ → ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ $NP_{subject}$ (see above, section 7.1.2.4 of Unit 7).

	CONDITIONAL	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲛ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲉ-ⲣ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲉ-ⲥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	(ⲉ)ⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 8.9 Conditional mood

8.2.3.2 Modal and aspectual uses of the Conditional

The Conditional conjugation has a broad spectrum of semantic connotations. Depending on the tense-aspect selected in the apodosis clause, it assumes a more modal or more temporal interpretation ('whenever, every time he hears').

a) Real conditions

As an epistemic modal, the Conditional anticipates a situation about which the speaker has some positive belief that it will occur at some point in the future. The apodosis clause of such realis conditionals frequently contains a future tense, asserting that if one event takes place some other will naturally follow, e.g. ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϭⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ (Eud. 52:21-22) 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) *if* all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) those (people) who saw (ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁⲩ) him (Jesus Christ) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *come to know* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) (about it), they will believe (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (Eud. 52:21-22), ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉϭⲛⲧⲛ ⲉⲛⲣⲏⲥ ⲧⲛⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ '*if they come* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) and find us (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ϭⲛⲧ-ⲛ) awake (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲣⲏⲥ), we will be glorified (lit. receive (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲓ) glory (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17), ⲁⲩⲱ ϯⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲛⲁϭⲉⲛ ϩⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉϥϣⲗⲏⲗ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) I believe (ϯ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) that (ϫⲉ) *when he comes* (ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) to us (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ), we all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲛ) will benefit (lit. gain (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲉⲛ) profit (ϩⲏⲩ)) from (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) his prayers (ⲛⲉϥ-ϣⲗⲏⲗ)' (Hil. 10:30-31).

b) Quantification over event types

The Conditional may express quantification over types of situations rather than possible scenarios in some imaginary world. The quantificational meaning is reinforced by the selection of habitual aspect in the consequent clause, e.g. ⲉⲥϣⲁⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲥϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ '*whenever she* (Hilaria) *rose* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) to pray (ⲉ-ϣⲗⲏⲗ), she used to pray (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲥ-ϣⲗⲏⲗ) with her (her younger sister) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ)' (Hil. 9:12), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϯⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲁϥ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩϩⲱϥ (for ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ) ⲛⲉϣⲁϥⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱϥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *whenever* a brother (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) *hurt* (ⲣϣⲁⲛ ... ϯ ⲙⲕⲁϩ) him (the ill-tempered monk) (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) in anything (ϩⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱϥ), he used to hate him (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 86:2-3).

c) With other deontic modals

Realis conditionals may restrict the deontic force of a manipulative speech act by specifying a condition or circumstance under which an order must be obeyed, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲛⲱⲙⲟⲥ (read ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (read ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) also (ⲟⲛ) (as far as) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) (are concerned): *if they become negligent* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) you shall raise (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) up in (ϩⲙ) the law (ⲡ-ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲥ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 94:14-16).

8.2.4 Inferential mood

The Inferential ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'and/so that he shall hear' instantiates a relatively unique case of evidential modality in the Sahidic Coptic conjugation system. Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or functions words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.

8.2.4.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Inferential ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ is represented is table 8.10. Contrary to what is stated in many Coptic reference works, there is no evidence for a paradigm gap in the first person singular. Yet, it seems to be the case that first person singular Inferentials (ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) can only be used under specific contextual conditions.

	INFERENTIAL	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 8.10 Inferential mood

8.2.4.2 Inferential evidentiality and first person reference

In a system based on a primary division of the source of knowledge into the speaker and other speech participants, inferred evidence is intrinsically related to the speaker. When the speaker was a knowing participant in some event, either as a voluntary agent or conscious experiencer, the knowledge of that event is normally direct and evidential markers are therefore often omitted. First person singular inferentials do, however,

occur in those contexts where the speaker distances himself from his own actions and takes the stance of an outside observer, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ϥⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲱⲥⲕ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) take (ϥⲓ) care (ⲡ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ) *and I shall fetch* (ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓ-ⲉⲓ) you (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲕ) with (ϩⲛ) joy (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲁϣⲉ) without (ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲛ) delay (ⲱⲥⲕ)' (Test. Is. 230:9-10), ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲓⲭ 'make (ⲙⲁ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) a drag net (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲃⲱ) for me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) *so that I keep* (ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓ-ⲕⲁ) something (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) for myself (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) from (ϩⲛ) your hands (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲟⲓⲭ)' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-24a:1), ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲁⲓⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲣ ⲯⲙⲙⲟ ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ 'such that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *I*, having learnt (ⲉ-ⲁⲓ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) about this other (thing) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉⲧ), *become* (ⲧⲁⲣⲓ-ⲣ) *free* (lit. alien (ⲯⲙⲙⲟ)) from all (ⲛⲓⲙ) ignorance (ⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 211, 60:5).

8.2.4.3 The validitional function of the Inferential

The Inferential can be characterised as introspective evidential, which encodes not only inference based on (non-)observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent. Consequently, the speaker takes responsibility for the truth of his assertion.

a) Assertive-promissive

The Inferential is commonly used in prescriptive contexts, where the speaker assures the addressee about the emergence of some state of affairs once his instructions are followed. In this usage, it indicates the high degree of certainty the speaker has for his assertion without actually specifying the source of knowledge or evidence type. In other words, the validity of the inference is solely based on the speaker's authority, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲕ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) most of all (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ) listen (ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to (ⲛⲥⲁ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *and* (be assured) *he will save you* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ-ⲕ)' (Catéch. Pach. 5:7-8), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲕⲑⲃⲃⲓⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲕⲥⲱ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲕ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) remain (ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) humble (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲏⲩ) *and* (be assured) *you shall remain* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱ) in (ϩⲙ) the glory (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) that God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) has given (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲁⲁ-ϥ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)' (Catéch. Pach.

7:13-14), ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲏⲛ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲓϫⲱⲕ 'become (ϣⲱⲡⲉ) a tree (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϣⲏⲛ) which brings forth (ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲧ) fruit (ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) *and* (trust me) the Lord's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) blessing (ⲡⲉ-ϫⲙⲟⲩ) *will come down* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ) on you (ϩⲓϫⲱ-ⲕ)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

b) Reported indirect speech

The Inferential may introduce indirect speech, where the speaker himself makes a report of a report and is therefore the source of knowledge, e.g. ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ϣⲏⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ⲡϣⲏⲙ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ 'concerning (ϩⲛ) eating (ⲟⲩⲱⲙ), the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) told (ⲁ ... ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) *that we can eat* (ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) from (ϩⲛ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) tree (ϣⲏⲙ) in (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ) Paradise (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ) except for (ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ) the tree (ⲡ-ϣⲏⲙ) of knowing (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲩⲛ) what is good (ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) and (ⲙⲛ) what is bad (ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ < ⲡ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Abbatôn 237:12-14), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲧⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡϣⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϥⲭⲟⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ (for ⲛϥⲭⲱⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ) ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲩ 'for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this (reason) (ⲡⲁⲓ) I will ask (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), who is above (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓⲛ) everyone (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) *that he opens* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛ) for me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) the speech (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϣⲁϫⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) provides (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲭⲟⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) with what I shall say (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) (...)' (KHML II 49:3-5).

c) Purposive

As an introspective evidential, the Inferential often assumes a purposive reading, revealing the speaker's motivation for issuing a command or reflecting his view on the intended result of somebody else's action, e.g. ⲥⲁϩⲉⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲡϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱ 'withdraw yourselves (ⲥⲁϩⲉ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ), oh entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) nation (ⲡ-ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ) of the Romans (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ) *that* your brothers (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ), the Persians (ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ), *may* also (ϩⲱ-ⲟⲩ) *come* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲓ) and drink (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲥⲱ)' (Eud. 46:23-25), ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲧ ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲩⲡⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲩⲡⲏ ϩⲉ ϩⲛ ϣⲓⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛⲏⲣⲡ

'they should not rebuild (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲉⲧ) this vault (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲕⲩⲡⲏ) in (ϩⲙ) my time (ⲡⲁ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ) *that* the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) world (ⲧ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ) *will come to know* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) that a vault ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ⲕⲩⲡⲏ) fell down (ⲁ ... ϩⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) Shiêt because (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) of one cup (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲡⲟⲧ) of wine (ⲛ-ⲏⲣⲡ)' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27-28), ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲁ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲥⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'he (Apa Sarapiôn) remained (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩⲛ) praying (ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛⲁ) for her sake (ϩⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) *that she might recover* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) hearkened (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5-6).

d) Inference through reasoning

The Inferential can be used to express the speaker's expectation with regard to the outcome of some event. The inferred evidence may involve mental constructs, i.e. reasoning about behaviour, based on logic, intuition, traditional wisdom or previous experience, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ (for ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ) ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ ⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛϥⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ 'if a temptation (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ) comes (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ... ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) against (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲓϫⲛ) someone (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ), the hardships (ⲛⲉ-ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) become more intense (ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲁϣⲁⲓ) for him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) on every (ⲛⲓⲙ) side (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲥⲁ) *such that he becomes disencouraged* (lit. faint-hearted (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ)) and vexed (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:18-20).

Key Terms:

Relative tenses	are anaphoric tense categories that locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. Coptic relative tenses express three different ordering relations, viz. co-occurrence, precedence and subsequence.	§8.1.1
Iconicity	is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1
Terminative aspect	is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English "until"-clauses. The Terminative depicts a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential of going on beyond that point.	§8.1.3
Topic continuity	Subject identical clauses express the sameness of the same topic throughout a series of clauses, often designating the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions.	§8.1.4.2
Switch reference	designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
Absolute-relative tenses	are mixed deictic-anaphoric tense categories that combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation.	§8.1.4
Epistemic and deontic modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2

Realis conditionals	indicate real conditions involving a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the probability of the state of affairs that is described. In Coptic, such realis conditionals are expressed by the Conditional mood ϵ-ϥ-ψaN-cωTM 'if/when he hears'.	§8.2.3
Inferential evidentiality	encodes not only inference based on (non-) observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent.	§8.2.4

Exercises

8.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1. The Temporal conjugation NTϵPϵ-ϥ-cωTM 'when he had heard' has a single event reading.
2. Terminative aspect ψaNTϵ-ϥ-cωTM 'when he had heard' occurs in main and embedded clauses.
3. The Conjunctive N-ϥ-cωTM 'and he hears/heard' takes over the temporal, aspectual or modal value of the preceding verb form.
4. The Conjunctive is the only relative tense that can be combined with the Stative stem pattern.
5. The Relative Future ϵ-ϥ-NA-cωTM 'while he will hear' cannot occur as a resultative complement of aspectual verbs of completion like λO 'to stop'.
6. Imperative mood is restricted to second person reference.

7. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ-conditionals may describe a pattern of events, when the apodosis clause contains habitual aspect.

8. The Inferential ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'and/so that he hears' has a defective pronominal paradigm.

8.2 Relative Tenses

A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ: Temporal 3rd pers. sing. masc. 'when/after he had heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS
ⲛϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ		ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ		ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
ⲉⲁⲥⲥⲱⲧⲙ		ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ: Temporal 3rd pers.. sing. masc. 'when he had come to this place'.

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS
ⲁϥⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ	(V. Pach. 138:16)
ϣⲁⲛⲧⲕⲣ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟϥ ⲥⲛⲁϥ	(Ac. A&P 196:34)
ⲛϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲟϥ	(Test. Is. 231:12)
ⲛⲅⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲣⲡⲉ	(KHML I 1:15)
ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲟⲧⲟϥ	(Eud. 40:9-10)
ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ	(Test. Is 230:26)
ⲉⲁϥϩⲉⲡ ϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲟϥ	(V. Pach. 1:7)

C. Identify the relative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

(1) ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉϩⲙⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'forty-two other (ⲕⲉϩⲙⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ) generations (ⲛ-ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ) will come (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ) _____' (Test. Is. 231: 7-8) (ⲛⲑⲓ marks the inverted nominal subject)

(2) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲉⲗⲡ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) three (ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) _____ in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ), the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) revealed (ⲟⲉⲗⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) this (matter) (ⲡⲁⲓ) to Apa (ⲉ-ⲁⲡⲁ) Pambô, (namely) that (ⲭⲉ) she (Hilaria) (ⲧⲉ) (was) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6: 20-22)

(3) ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲕⲡⲁϩⲧ<ⲕ> ⲛⲅⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ '(oh you) miserable person (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ), what (ⲟⲩ) did you do (ⲛⲧⲁⲕ-ⲣ) now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) _____ and _____ the Devil (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ)!' (Ac. A&P 202:121-122)

(4) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲥ† ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ϩⲛ ⲑⲟⲣⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ '_____ into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) Alexandria (ⲉ-ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ), she (Hilaria) went forth (lit. gave (ⲁ-ⲥ-†) her way (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)) (driven) by (ϩⲛ) the impulse (ⲧ-ϩⲟⲣⲙⲏ) of her spirit (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅)' (Hil. 3:26-27)

(5) ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'they come (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲏⲩ) from (ϩⲛ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) country (ⲭⲱⲣⲁ) _____ and _____ at the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) of the resurrection (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ) of the Son (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 54:9-10)

(6) ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϧⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ '_____ on (ⲉϧⲛ) (the throne) of the kingdom (ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ) of the Romans (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ), God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) was (ⲁ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) with him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)' (Eud. 40:1-2)

D. Complete the translation of the following Coptic examples by translating the Conjunctive clauses.

(1) ⲉⲓⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲯⲗⲏⲗ 'I am on my way (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mena (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ) _____' (Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25)

(2) ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϭⲱ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲕ 'rise (ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) and go (ⲁⲙⲟⲩ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) _____' (Onnophr. 207:6)

(3) ⲉⲛⲭⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲛϥⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ 'we bring (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲭⲓ) him (the possessed boy) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mena (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ); perhaps (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) _____' (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8)

(4) ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'My Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), I want (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) you to baptize (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) _____' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-b:4)

(5) ⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲣ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓⲕⲟⲛ (Pach. 147:9) 'I will go (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) _____ (ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓⲕⲟⲛ 'man of wordly profession')

(6) ϥⲉⲓ (for ϥⲓ) ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲅⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'open (ϥⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) your eyes (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲃⲁⲗ) _____' (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'punishment')

E. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Relative Present.

(1) ⲁ ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲉϥⲛ[ⲏ]ⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟ (Ac.A&P 194:4-5)

(2) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲁ ⲧⲁⲃⲟⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ (Onnophr. 209:25-26)

(3) ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ (Mena, Mir. 30b:8-12)

(4) ⲁϥⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ[ⲙⲛ] ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:5)

F. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHÔMIUS FUNERAL

ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩϩⲙⲛⲉⲩⲉ (read ϩⲩⲙⲛⲉⲓⲉ) ϩⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲏ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ (for ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ) ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲭⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲣ ϩⲙⲙⲏⲛⲯⲉ (for ϩⲉⲛⲙⲏⲛⲯⲉ) ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲯⲉⲱ ⲥⲧⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲉ (for ⲥⲧⲛⲟⲩϥⲣⲉ) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ (for ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ) ⲁⲩⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲣ ⲡⲱⲱⲭⲡ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ϩⲓⲱⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲑⲏⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ (read ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ). ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣ ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲁⲍⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲯⲱⲣⲡ ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲛⲥ (read ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲱⲥ) ⲙⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ (...). ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲫⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ϩⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲏ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲭⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲟⲙⲥϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲯⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲕⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲛ{ⲛⲟⲩ}ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲱⲯϥ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲱ̈ⲯϥ) ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲃⲃⲉⲓⲟ (for ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲟ). (V. Pach. 95:9-27)

NOTES: a. ϩⲙⲙⲛⲉⲩⲉ 'to sing hymns' b. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the place where he (Pachôm) went to rest (i.e. was buried)' (a relative clause) c.

ϩωcΔε 'such that' d. ϣωϣ ϵϐολ 'to spread out' e. ΔcπΔzε 'to salute, to kiss' f. cωμΔ 'body' g. ϵτογΔΔϐ 'holy' h. ογcιΔcτηριον 'altar' i. cγηΔξις 'service' j. ψΔλλει 'to sing psalms' k. ογωϣϥ ϰϩτ 'affliction'.

8.3 Moods

A. Fill in the right form of the imperative by selecting one of the two options.

(1) (ΔνΙ/ϵινε) πειψηρε κογι ϣΔροι τΔψΔxε νμμΔϥ κΔτΔ πεϥογωϣ '*bring* (sing. masc.) this little (κογι) boy (πει-ψηρε) to me (ϣΔρο-ι) so that I talk (τΔ-ϣΔxε) with him (νμμΔ-ϥ) according to (κΔτΔ) his wish (πεϥ-ογωϣ)!' (KHML II 32:20-21)

(2) (Δρι-/ρ-) πΔμεεγε δε ω πΔcον μμεριτ '*remember* (sing. masc.) me (lit. make my remembrance (πΔ-μεεγε)), oh (ω) my beloved (μ-μεριτ) brother (πΔ-cον)!' (Onnophr. 209:16)

(3) (ΔμμειτN/ΔμογN) ϵϩογν πϫc νμμΔκ '*come* (sing. masc.) inside (ϵϩογν), (may) the Lord (π-ϫc) (be) with you (νμμΔ-κ)!' (Onnophr. 213:4)

(4) (ΔμΗ/ϵι) ντϵναγ ϵνΔδιx ΗΝ πΔcπιρ '*come* (sing. fem.) and look (ντϵ-νΔγ) at my hands (ϵ-νΔ-διx) and my side!' (Eud. 52:3)

(5) (ντ-/ΔνΙ-) τϵφγχη νιογΔΔc ϵϩρΔι 'bring (sing. masc.) the soul (τϵ-φγχη) of Judas (ν-ιογΔΔc)!' (Ac. A&P 202:113-114)

(6) (ϐωκ/ϐηκ) ννητν ϵϐολ ϩν ν̀ϩϵθνοc [ν]τϵτνπλΔνΔ ννοογ '*go* (pl.) away (ϵϐολ) under (ϩν) the nations (ν-ϩϵθνοc) and lead them (ννο-ογ) astray (ντϵτν-πλΔνΔ)!' (Ac. A&P 206:157-158)

(7) τϵνxοϵιc (ΔογωN/ογωN) νΔν 'our mistress (τϵν-xοϵιc), *open* (sing. fem.) to us (νΔ-ν)!' (Eud. 54:20)

B. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Jussive.

(1) ΜΑΡΕϥΤΜΕ ΟΥϩΗΚΕ ΝΟΕΙΚ (Test. Is. 235:26)

(2) ΜΑΡΕϥ† ΝΝΟΥϥ ΝΑΝ (Ac. A&P 210:211-212)

(3) ΑΚϹΕΤΜ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΜΑΡΕϥΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΜΜΑΚ (Test. Is. 228:9-10)

(4) ΜΑΡΟΥϹϩΑΙ ΝΤΕϥΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΝϹΕΚΑΑϹ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ (Test. Is. 235:21)

(5) ΜΑΡΕϥΑϩΕ ΡΑΤϥ ΝϥΧΕ ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝϹΟΠ ΝΨΛΗΛ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ϩΜ ΠΑΡΑΝ (Onophr. 216:26-28)

C. Translate the following conditional sentences.

(1) ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϹ ϥΝΑΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΠΤΑΛΟ ΝΤΑΨΕΕΡΕ ϩΙΤΝ ΝΕΤΝΨΛΗΨΛ ΝΑϹΝΗΥ (Hil. 8:12-13)

(2) ΕϹΨΑΝΟΩΨΤ ϵϩΟΥΝ ϵϩΡΑϹ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕϹϹΑ ΝϩΟΥΝ ϐΩΛ ϵϐΟΛ ΨΑϹΠΑϩΤϹ ϵΧΗ ΠΚΑϩ ΝϹΡΙΜΕ (Hil. 9:13-14)

(3) ΕΥΨΑΝΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΜΡΩ †ΝΑϥΙΤϥ ΝΤΑΝΟΥΧϥ ΕΘΑΛΑϹϹΑ (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7)

D. Determine the contextual function of the Inferential by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ΜΑΡΝΦΟΡΕΙ ΝΤΜΟΚϩϹ ΤΑΡΝΡ ΒΡΡΕ ϩΜ ΠΤΕΒΒΟ ΜΑΡΝΡ ΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΤΑΡΝΡ ΨΒΗΡ ΕΙΗϹΟΥϹ ΠΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ 'let us bear (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΦΟΡΕΙ) affliction (Ν-Τ-ΜΟΚϩϹ) *and* (believe me) *we will become* (ΤΑΡ-Ν-Ρ) new (ΒΡΡΕ) in (ϩΜ) purity (Π-ΤΕΒΒΟ), let us become (ΜΑΡ-Ν-Ρ) man-lovers (ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) *and* (trust mé) *we will become* (ΤΑΡ-Ν-Ρ) friends (ΨΒΗΡ) with Jesus who loves mankind (Π-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Catéch. Pach. 20:17-19)

☐ assertive-promissive ☐ reported speech

(2) ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁϥⲱⲣⲡ ϫⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲕⲣ ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ), he already (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲱⲣⲡ) told (ϫⲱ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ) the punishment (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲓⲁ) so that you can escape (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲣ ⲃⲟⲗ) from the danger (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ)' (BHom. 21:17-18)

☐ inference through reasoning ☐ purposive

(3) ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⲛⲕⲉⲱⲥ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲕⲟⲙⲃⲟⲥ) ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲛϩⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧϩⲁϩ ⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ 'let him (Apa Ptolemaios) again receive (ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉ-ϥ) another stroke (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲱⲥ) with the girth (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲥ) that this impious (person) (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲛϩⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ) cease (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ... ϩⲣⲟⲕ) from (ϩⲛ) his multitude (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϩⲁϩ) of words (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ)' (KMHL II 32:1-2)

☐ assertive-promissive ☐ purposive

(4) ⲛⲧⲛϥⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲟⲟⲱⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ 'and we will offer (ⲛⲧ-ⲛ-ϥⲓ) the Eucharist (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ) *so that* the angels (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *will come* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲱⲉ) down (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) with (ⲙⲛ) the sacrifice (ⲧⲉ-ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ) and allow us (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲛ) to go (ⲛⲧ-ⲛ-ⲃⲱⲕ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) the tomb (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ) of our salvation (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ)' (Eud. 72:23-25)

☐ assertive-promissive ☐ inference through reasoning

Unit 9

Modes of negation

This Unit examines the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods discussed so far. The negative is a grammatical category used to deny the actuality of some situation or portions thereof. For the most part, negative statements are not utilised to add any new information, but rather to express denial and contradiction of a previous statement, rejecting its content either entirely or partially and convey this evaluation to the addressee. A negated clause is obtained by modifying an affirmative clause in some way. Coptic has an extensive set of negative conjugation patterns, which are formed with such diverse morphological devices as negative affixes and adverbs, auxiliary verbs, as well as specialised negative tense-aspect markers.

An overview of the negative verbal system is presented in section 9.1. The addition of a negative marker to the verb may make the entire clause negative, but it is also possible to use the same negation pattern to explicitly negate a single clausal constituent, leaving the rest of the clause outside of the scope of negation. Section 9.2 settles some general issues concerning the operation of negative scope, i.e. the different meanings associated with negative sentences. Section 9.3 deals with the double negation ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ, in which negative polarity corresponds to two distinct markers, viz. the negative prefix ⲛ- and the clause-internal negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not'. Section 9.4 deals with negative tenses, where negative

polarity and a particular temporal, aspectual, or modal category are expressed by a single, indivisible morph. Another topic of this section concerns negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb ⲧⲙ *'to do not'.*

9.1 Basic strategies for negation

Negation interacts in complex ways with mood. Negative assertions can occur in any of the traditional sentence moods (declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives) and may be uttered with complete certainty or with some doubt. For this reason, the negative is generally not treated as a particular type of mood, but as an inflectional category in its own right. Coptic makes productive use of three morphologically distinct negation strategies, viz. (i) the double negation ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ, which involves two negative elements that together constitute a single instance of negation, e.g. ⲛ̀ϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '*I do <u>not</u>* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) anybody (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) this city (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Hil. 4:23), (ii) specialised negative tenses, which are portmanteau realisations of negative polarity and a particular tense, aspect or mood. The Negative Perfect ⲙⲡⲉ-, for instance, denies the occurrence of some event in the past, e.g. ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲣⲟⲡ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲏⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*I <u>did</u> <u>not</u> place* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲕⲁ) any (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) obstacle (ⲛ-ϩⲣⲟⲡ) for you (ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ) in front (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲏⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) mankind (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8), and (iii) the negative auxiliary verb ⲧⲙ 'to do not', e.g. ⲉⲧⲙⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲕ '*<u>not</u> to commit* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲣ) a sin (ⲛⲟⲃⲉ) against the God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) who has created you (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ⲕ)' (V. Pach. 89: 28)

The distribution of the three basic negation strategies among different verbal tenses, aspects, and moods is shown in table 9.1 below. Each negative conjugation pattern is presented with the corresponding affirmative.

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
DOUBLE NEGATION ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ	FIRST PRESENT ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he is hearing	NEGATIVE FIRST PRESENT ⲛ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ he is not hearing
	RELATIVE PRESENT ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he is hearing	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PRESENT ⲉ-ⲛ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ while he is not hearing
	SECOND PRESENT ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ while he is hearing	NEGATIVE SECOND PRESENT ⲛ-ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ he is not hearing
	FIRST FUTURE ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE FIRST FUTURE ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ he is not going to hear
	SECOND FUTURE ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE SECOND FUTURE ⲛ-ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ he is not going to hear
	PRETERIT PRESENT ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he was hearing	NEGATIVE PRETERIT PRESENT ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ he was not hearing
	SECOND PERFECT ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ he has not heard, he did not hear
NEGATIVE TENSES	FIRST PERFECT ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has not heard, he did not hear
	SECOND PERFECT ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has not heard, he did not hear
	HABITUAL PRESENT ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ⲙⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually does not hear

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE **ⲁ-ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ('NOT-YET') **ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** he had not yet heard, before he heard
	THIRD FUTURE **ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE **ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** he shall not hear
	IMPERATIVE **ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** hear!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE **ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** do not hear!
NEGATIVE AUXILIARY **ⲧⲙ**	CONJUNCTIVE **ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** and he hears	NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIVE **ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲧⲙ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** and he does not hear
	CONDITIONAL **ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** if/when he hears	CONDITIONAL **ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ,** **ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲧⲙ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** if/when he does not hear
	TEMPORAL **ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** after/when he had heard	NEGATIVE TEMPORAL **ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧ-ⲧⲙ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** after/when he had not heard

TABLE 9.1 The negative verbal system

The negative verbal patterns listed in table 9.1 above differ systematically with respect to the morphological marking of the negative. Although negation would appear to be a simple non-decomposable concept, the primary negation strategy in Coptic is the double negative **ⲛ-** ... **ⲁⲛ**. Negative tenses, on the other hand, represent the diametrically opposite pattern, since the negative marker and the tense-aspect-mood markers have been merged to form a portmanteau morpheme. No such form-meaning mismatches apply to negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb **ⲧⲙ** 'to do not'.

9.2 Negative scope

The primary function of negated sentences is to deny something that has been put forward tentatively or confidently. The scope of the negation is the part of the meaning that is negated. The negative marker may have scope over every constituent in a clause. As a result, the entire content of that clause is rejected. The negative may also be more limited in scope, rebutting only part of the information that is presented. The operation of negative scope can be illustrated by way of the double negative **ⲛ** ... **ⲁⲛ**, but notice that the contrast between wide scope and narrow scope negation can also be observed in negative tenses.

9.2.1 Locality conditions on negative scope

The scope of negation is reflected by syntactic structure in an obvious and elementary way. In a complex sentence construction, the subordinate clause is outside the scope of matrix clause negation (clausal embedding is indicated by brackets); e.g. **ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ** '*he did not* (**ⲁⲛ**) *know* (**ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ**) [that (**ⲭⲉ**) she (**ⲧⲉ**) (was) a woman (**ⲟⲩ-ϩⲓⲙⲉ**)]' (Hil. 6:14-15), **ⲛϥⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ** (for **ⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲓⲁ**) **ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ** 'he *did not* (**ⲁⲛ**) *want* (**ⲛ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ**) [to hear (**ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ**) [that (**ⲭⲉ**) (there) is (**ⲟⲩⲛ**) a monk (**ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ**) who has (lit. in whom are (**ⲉⲣⲉ** ... **ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ**)) also (**ⲣⲱ**) erotic (**ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ**) thoughts (**ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ**)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6), **ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲧ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲛ** 'perhaps (**ⲁⲣⲏⲩ**) the brother (**ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ**) *does not* (**ⲁⲛ**) *agree* (lit. be persuaded (**ⲛ-** ... **ⲧⲏⲧ**) of heart (**ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ**)) [to talk (**ⲉ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ**) to us (**ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲛ**)]' (AP Chaîne no. 238, 70:21).

Due to the clause-bound character of negative scope, negative marking must be added to the embedded clause to express its negative polarity, e.g. **ϯⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁ[ⲟⲃϣϥ] ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ** 'I believe (**ϯ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ**) [that (**ⲭⲉ**) God (**ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ**) *will not* (**ⲁⲛ**) *forget* (**ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲃϣ-ϥ**) about us (**ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲛ**)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14). In this example, the negative is located within the clause functioning as the complement to the matrix verb **ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ** 'to believe'. It is generally the case that a negative in one clause does not have scope over another clause that it is coordinated with, e.g. **ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲣ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛϥⲣ ϩⲱⲃ ⲁⲛ** 'how many (**ⲟⲩⲏⲣ**) sins

(ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ) *does this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ) *commit* (ⲫⲁⲣⲉ … ⲣ) and (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) *he does not* (ⲁⲛ) (even) *work* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ)!' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:25-26).

9.2.2 Wide scope

When negation has wide scope over an entire clause, its function is to deny that some condition or state holds true without specifying the grounds, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲣ ϫⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ 'the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) *do not* (ⲁⲛ) *need* (lit. *make* (ⲛ- … ⲣ) need (ϫⲣⲓⲁ)) (it) (i.e. the money)' (AP Elanskaya 16b:6-7), ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ 'the senior monk (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *did not* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) Greek (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:23-24), ϩⲱⲥ ⲛ†ⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ ⲁⲛ 'since (ϩⲱⲥ) *I am not* (ⲁⲛ) *at leisure* (ⲛ-†-ⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ)' (AP Elanskaya 24a:16).

Negative descriptions of events are generally interpreted relative to a rich context, providing some background information why a particular course of action was not taken. Against such an explanatory background, negative statements become salient and informative, e.g. ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉⲯⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϩⲁ ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'perhaps (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) he (Apa Ptolemaios) died (ⲁ-ⲧ-ⲙⲟⲩ): since (ⲅⲁⲣ) he (ⲡⲉ) (is) noble (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ), *he would not* (ⲁⲛ) *be able to bear* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲯ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) the tortures (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 34:6-7), [ⲛϩⲟⲥⲟ]ⲛ ⲁⲕϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲃⲉ [ⲁⲛⲟ]ⲕ [ϩⲱ] ⲛ†ⲛⲁϩⲟⲡⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ [ⲁⲛ] 'since (ⲛϩⲟⲥⲟⲛ) you have confessed (ⲁ-ⲕ-ϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ) your sin (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ), I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), on my part (ϩⲱ), *will not* (ⲁⲛ) *hide myself* (ⲛ-†-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲟⲡ-ⲧ) from you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)' (Mena, Mir. 16a:3-7), ⲛⲧ†ⲥⲟ ⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ (for ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ) ⲫⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ 'he (the pagan commander) *does not* (ⲁⲛ) *spare* (ⲛ-ⲧ-† ⲥⲟ) (anybody) at all (ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ), as (ⲅⲁⲣ) he locks up (ⲧ-ⲃⲱⲡⲉ) everybody (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) in prison' (KMHL II 29:13-14), ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'she (the woman pilgrim) (ⲛⲧⲟⲥ) listened (ⲁⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to him (the landlord) (ⲛⲥⲱ-ϥ), *not* (ⲁⲛ) *knowing* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ) his intentions (lit. the thought (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) of his heart (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲏⲧ)), since (ⲅⲁⲣ) she thought

(ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) that (ϫⲉ) he was doing (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) her (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ) a favour (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲉⲧ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:7-14).

In contradictions, negation signifies a person's mental act of denying, rejecting or rebutting a statement that is actually made or envisioned as being made by someone, e.g. ⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲣ ⲟⲩⲛⲏⲣ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲫⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲣ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏⲣ 'you know (ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) how many (ⲟⲩⲛⲏⲣ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) you lived (lit. made (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣ)) so far (ⲫⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) you *do not* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) how many other (years) (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲏⲣ) you will live (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ)' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ (read ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ) ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲫⲱⲡⲉ (read ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ) ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ *'you shall not* (ⲁⲛ) *die* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) you will become (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) gods (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Abbatôn 237:17-18), ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲁⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ 'and (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ), too (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲛ), *will not* (ⲁⲛ) *run away* (ⲛ-ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲱⲧ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) (rather) die (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) together with you (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:9-10).

9.2.3 Narrow scope

The negative is not always semantically sentential, but may have narrow scope relative to a single constituent. In this case, negation applies to the asserted or focused portion of the sentence, leaving the presupposed or backgrounded portions outside of its scope. As a result, only specific aspects of the event in question are denied, thus tacitly allowing that some event of that kind did actually take place or will do so in the future, e.g. ⲕⲩⲣⲉⲏ (read ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲉ) ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲃⲏⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'Lord (ⲕⲩⲣⲉⲏ) knight (ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ), *we are not* (ⲁⲛ) *on our way* (ⲛ-ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) (i.e. Alexandria)' (Hil. 3:22) (meaning: *we are about to leave, but not to Alexandria*).

The focus of negation corresponds to the contrastively stressed focus brought into play by the Greek conjunction ⲁⲗⲗⲁ 'but', ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲫⲁϫⲉ ⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ (…) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) *they did not* (ⲁⲛ) *reach* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϩⲉ) the heavenly (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲩⲉ) kingdom (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ) by virtue of (ϩⲙ) talk (lit. the word (ⲡ-ⲫⲁϫⲉ)) or (ⲏ) a (good) reputation (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (...), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ)

(rather) by virtue of (ϩN) strong (OY-ϭOM) faith (M-ΠICTIC)' (*Pères apost.* 35:9-12), NNEQMOKϩ ΔE AN NϩHT ETBE ΠϩICE ENTAYAAQ NAQ ΑΛΛΑ ETBE TMNTATϩOTE ETOYMHN EBOA NϩHTC 'he (Pachôm) *was* <u>*not*</u> (AN) *grieved* (N-NE-Q-MOKϩ) because of (ETBE) the suffering (Π-ϩICE) that they (the brothers) caused (ENT-A-Y-AA-Q) him (NA-Q), but (ΑΛΛΑ) (rather) because of (ETBE) the impudence (T-MNT-AT-ϩOTE) in which they persisted (ET-OY-MHN EBOA)' (V. Pach. 6:12-14).

9.3 The double negation N- ... AN

The syntactically discontinuous negation N- ... AN involves the clause-initial particle N- and the clause-internal negation adverb AN 'not', both of which turn a positive clause into a negative one. Both negative markers display some degree of variation in linear order, which can be related to both the scope of negation and to syntactic constraints on enclitic function words and particles.

9.3.1 The negative scope definer N-

The clause-initial particle N- (assimilated form M-) functions as a negative scope definer that assists in the accurate identification of negated sentences, e.g. NAΨ NϩE NTENNAPωKϩ AN ϩEN (for ϩN) TEIEΠIΘYMIA MΠ̄NIKŌN̄ EϩOYN ENEΠAϩPE ET† KBO NNΨYXH 'how (lit. in what (kind) (N-AΨ) of manner (N-ϩE)) *could we* <u>*not*</u> (AN) *be inflamed* (N-TEN-NA-PωKϩ) with (ϩEN) this spiritual (M-Π̄NIKŌN̄) desire (TEI-EΠIΘYMIA) for the remedies (E-NE-ΠAϩPE) that give (ET-†) solace (KBO) to the souls (N-N-ΦYXH)?' (Hil. 1:20-21), MΠXOEIC OYωΨ AN ETPEQAO MΠEIMA ΨA ΘAH 'the Lord (Π-XOEIC) *does* <u>*not*</u> (AN) *want* (M- ... OYωΨ) it (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (E-TPE-Q-AO) this place (M-ΠEI-MA) until (ΨA) the end (ΘAH < T-ϩAH)' (Eud. 76:18).

In clauses containing a Preterit or Second Tense form, the negative scope definer N- is attached to the Preterit auxiliary NE(PE)- and the relative marker E(PE)-, e.g. NNEQMOKϩ ΔE AN NϩHT ETBE ΠϩICE (...) '*he* (Pachôm) *was* <u>*not*</u> (AN) *sad* (N-NE-Q-MOKϩ) because (ETBE) of the suffering (Π-ϩICE) (...)' (V. Pach. 6:12-13), ΠOYOEIN ETOYNAQITQ NϩHT ϩN OYϭOPϭC NKPOQ NEYNAQITQ NAK AN 'the light (Π-OYOEIN) that will be taken (lit. that *they* will take away (ET-OY-NA-QIT-Q)) from me (NϩHT) in (ϩN) a guileful (N-KPOQ) ambush (OY-ϭOPϭC), *it will* <u>*not*</u> (AN) *be brought* (N-E-Y-NA-NT-Q) to you (NA-K)' (Pist. Soph. 100:1-2).

The reverse order obtains in the context of relative embedding, where the negative prefix N- always follows the subordinating relative marker that introduces the relativised clause, e.g. ΠΠANTYKIMENOC (read ΠANTIKEIMENOC) ET† NMMAY ETPEQΠYPAZE (for ETPEQΠEIPAZE) MMOOY NϩHTOY ENQOYωΨ AN ETPEYϭω ϩN TANAXωPICIC (for TANAXωPICIC) 'the Adversary (Π-ANTYKIMENOC), who is fighting (ET-†) with them (the hermits) (NMMA-Y) to lead them (MMO-OY) into temptation (E-TPE-Q-ΠYPAZE) with them (i.e. the grievances) (NϩHT-OY), <u>*not*</u> (AN) *wishing* (E-N-Q-OYωΨ) for them to stay (E-TPE-Y-ϭω) in (ϩN) the solitude (T-ANAXωPICIC)' (Onnophr. 211:16-18).

	NEGATIVE PARTICLE	RELATIVE MARKER	SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB	NEGATION ADVERB
NEGATIVE SECOND TENSE	N- NEG	E-	-Y- *they*	NA-NT-Q will-bring-it	AN NOT
	RELATIVE MARKER	**NEGATIVE PARTICLE**	**SUBJECT PRONOUN**	**VERB**	**NEGATION ADVERB**
NEGATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE	E- while	N- NEG	-Q- he	OYωΨ want	AN NOT

FIGURE 9.1 Variable positions of the negative scope definer N-

The negative scope definer N- may be elided. When this happens, the negation adverb AN 'not' becomes the sole carrier of negative polarity, e.g. QCYTXωPEI AN NNKEMONAXOC ETϩIBOA ETEΨAYEI ΨAPOQ EϭM ΠΨINE NNECNHY '*he* (the abbot) *did* <u>*not*</u> (AN) *permit* (Q-CYTXωPEI) the other monks (N-N-KE-MONAXOC) from outside (ET-ϩIBOA), who came (ETE-ΨA-Y-EI) to him (ΨAPO-Q) to visit (E-ϭM Π-ΨINE) the brothers (N-NE-CNHY)' (V. Pach.138:16-18), NTOK KNAΠωT AN '*would you* (NTOK) <u>*not*</u> (AN) *run away* (K-NA-ΠωT)?' (AP, Chaîne no.186, 46:6), NEQOYHY AN

ⲏⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ '*he* (Pachôm's brother) *was* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *far away* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲏⲩ) from him (Pachôm) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲩ)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb ⲁⲛ

The negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb ⲁⲛ to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ϯⲛⲁϣⲉⲡ ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲉϣ (read: ⲛⲟⲩⲉϣⲛ) ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) *can I* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *suffer* (lit. receive (ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ϣⲉⲡ) <u>*suffering*</u> (ϩⲓⲥⲉ)) without (ⲟⲩⲉϣ) getting angry (ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲓⲥ̄ '*we will* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *allow* <u>*you*</u> (ⲛ-ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲕ) to come (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) our city (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this (disgraceful) name (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲁⲛ) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, ⲁⲛ occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ⲛϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '*I do* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) <u>*anybody*</u> (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) this city (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Hil. 4:23), ⲛⲧⲉϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ' (why) do *you* (woman) <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *look* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) <u>*for*</u> (ⲛⲥⲁ) <u>*my tomb*</u> (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ)?' (Eud. 58:5).

b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb ⲁⲛ comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. ⲛϯⲛⲁϯ ϩⲱⲃ ⲉϥϩⲟⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ '*I will* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) burden (lit. give (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ϯ)) <u>*you*</u> (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) (with) a difficult (ⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲟⲥⲉ) job (ϩⲱⲃ)' (KHML II 33:14-15), ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ϣⲁⲃⲟⲗ 'if not (ⲙⲙⲟⲛ), the God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the Christians (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) *will* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *tolerate* (ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ) <u>*you*</u> (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) in this manner (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) forever (ϣⲁ-ⲃⲟⲗ)' (Eud. 38:13-14), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *I could* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *see* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) <u>*them*</u> (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ (read ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ)

ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ '*he* (Apa Poimên) *would* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *have sent* (a message) (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ) to me (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲓ)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial ⲁⲛ is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. ⲛⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ '*he did* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) that (ⲭⲉ) she (ⲧⲉ) (was) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ⲛⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ (...) 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) *they did* <u>*not*</u> (ⲁⲛ) *reach* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϩⲉ) the heavenly (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲩⲉ) kingdom (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ) by virtue of (ϩⲙ) talk (lit. the word (ⲡ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ)) or (ⲏ) a (good) reputation (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal ⲙ- or ⲛ-. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous ⲛ- ... ⲁⲛ pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb ⲧⲙ 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE ⲥⲱⲧⲙ listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultanously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲩⲛⲉⲭ [ϣⲁⲭⲉ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϣⲁⲩⲧ ϩⲧⲏⲩ ⲉ[ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'a wise (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *does not throw* (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲉⲭ) away (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) word

(ϣⲁⲭⲉ) like that (ϩⲓⲛⲁⲓ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) focuses (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧ) his attention (ϩⲧⲏ-ⲩ) towards those who listen (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional pardigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1st sing.	ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
before noun	ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲩϩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲭⲓⲧⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲣⲓ 'whenever someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) saw (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ... ⲛⲁⲩ) him (the brother) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ) *he did not want* (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲛⲁ-ⲩ) to reply (lit. to make (ⲉ-ⲣ) reply (ⲟⲩⲱ)) and (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) to take him (ⲉ-ⲭⲓⲧ-ⲩ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) his cell (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲣⲓ)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:21-22), ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩϩⲣⲟϣ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲛ

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ 'he (Pachôm (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ), however (ⲥⲱⲟⲩ), *did not take revenge* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) against them (the brothers) (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) in any way (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ), but (instead) he was patient (ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲁ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲣⲟⲱ) with them (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ) with (ⲥⲛ) great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) indulgence (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲁⲣⲱ-ⲥⲏⲧ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ⲉⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲭ ⲉⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲓⲭⲓⲧⲟ 'when (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲱⲡⲉ) I observe (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) that (ⲭⲉ) I am cured (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲟⲭ) from illness (ⲉ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ), *I will not accept it* (the donkey) (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲭⲓⲧ-ⲟ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲗⲟ ⲉⲟⲥⲟⲣⲥ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲉⲟⲥⲁⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲟⲉ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *does not cease* (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲗⲟ) waylaying (ⲉ-ⲟ-ⲥⲟⲣⲥ) man (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) until (ⲱⲁ) his last (ⲡⲉⲟ-ⲥⲁⲉ) breath (ⲛ-ⲛⲓⲟⲉ)' (KHML II 48:7-9), ⲙⲉⲩⲁⲛⲓⲭⲉ (for ⲙⲉⲩⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ) ⲣⲱⲁⲭⲉ (read ⲉⲱⲁⲭⲉ) ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ '*they* (the monks) *usually do not bear* (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲛⲓⲭⲉ) to speak (ⲉ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) with them (women) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ)' (Hil. 10:18).

b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ⲙⲉ-ⲟ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲙⲉⲟⲥⲁⲣⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ[ⲙⲩⲥ]ⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'the imprudent (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲃⲱ) person (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ): *he does not keep* (ⲙⲉ-ⲟ-ⲥⲁⲣⲉⲥ) a secret (lit. a secret (ⲙ-ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) word (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲥ 'he (ⲡⲁⲓ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ) *will not manage* to ever (ⲉⲛⲉⲥ) master (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... (ⲉⲣ ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) any (ⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) passion (ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9), ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲩⲡⲉⲥⲧ ⲥⲟⲟⲛ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲥϩⲏ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *they do not pour* (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲡⲉⲥⲧ) ointment (ⲥⲟⲟⲛ) on (ⲉⲭⲛ) her (the girl's) head (ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲁⲡⲉ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϩⲏ) the blood (ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲛⲟⲩ))' (Sh. *Zoega* 589:20-21).

c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲟ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉ 'they (the brothers) were (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) as one (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) heart (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ) and (ⲙⲛ) one (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) soul (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) things (ⲛⲕⲁ) were (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ) in common (ϩⲓ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲡ) to them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) and *no one* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *said* (ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) about what belonged (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) to them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) »they (ⲛⲉ) (are) mine (ⲛⲟⲩⲓ)!«' (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲉⲭⲱϩ ⲉⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϣⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛⲛⲣⲉⲭⲉⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) an intelligent (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲃⲉ) blaze (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ) (is) that one (ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ) (i.e. the burning river) *in not touching* (ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲟ-ⲭⲱϩ) the righteous ones (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) burning (ϣⲁ-ⲟ-ⲣⲱⲕϩ) the sinners (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲉⲟ-ⲉⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲟ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect ⲁ-ⲟ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard', e.g. ⲁⲫⲁⲁⲛ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲇⲟⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ 'he (Christ) made us (ⲁ-ⲟ-ⲁⲁ-ⲛ) masters (ⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) over (ⲉⲭⲛ) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) powers (ⲇⲟⲙ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (yet) *no one* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) of us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ) *has dared* (ⲙⲡⲉ ... ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ) to do (ⲉ-ⲣ) what you have done (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ⲟ)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲟ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect ⲉ-ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)-ⲟ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to

the reduction of the relative marker ϵ-, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as ⲙ̄ⲡ(ϵ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ, which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1st sing.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲙⲡϵ ⲡⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ϵ-ⲙⲡ(ϵ) ⲡⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g. ϵⲧⲃϵ ⲟⲩ̀ ⲇϵ ⲧϵⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ϵϧⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ ϩⲓ ϩⲁⲧ (…) ϵⲙⲡϵⲫⲓⲛϵ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'why (ϵⲧⲃϵ ⲟⲩ) do you (woman) sleep (ⲧϵ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) on (ϵϧⲛ) a couch (lit. a sleeping (ⲛ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) place (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ)) of gold (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ) and (ϩⲓ) silver (ϩⲁⲧ) *and did not look* (ϵ-ⲙⲡϵ-ⲫⲓⲛϵ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) the place (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of my resurrection (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ)?' (Eud. 50:23-25).

a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterexpectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g. ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ϵⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϵⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϵϧⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲛϵϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ '*they* (the Persians) *did not again* (lit. they did not place (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) their hands (ϵⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ)) raise up (ϵ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) against (ϵϧⲙ) the country (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) in all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the days (ⲛ-ⲛϵ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19), ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϧⲣⲟⲡ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ϵϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟ ϵⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙϵ '*I did not place* (ⲙⲡϵ-ⲓ-ⲕⲁ) any (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) obstacle (ⲛ-ϧⲣⲟⲡ) for you (ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ) in front (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟ ϵⲃⲟⲗ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ) nor (ⲙⲛ) mankind (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙϵ)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).

b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by ⲗⲗⲁ 'but', e.g. ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲁ) ⲛϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ϵⲛⲉϩ (…) ϵⲓⲙⲏⲧ ϵⲧⲃϵ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲧϵϥⲫⲩⲭⲏ '*I* never (ϵⲛⲉϩ) *reprimanded* (ⲙⲡ-ⲉⲓ-ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲙⲁ) anyone (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ) of you (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) (…) except (ϵⲓⲙⲏⲧ) for (ϵⲧⲃϵ) the salvation (ⲡ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) of his soul (ⲛ-ⲧϵϥ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19), ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲫⲏⲣϵ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲟϥⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ϵⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡ̄ϫ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲟϥⲕ ϵⲩⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ ⲛⲛϵⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϵⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϵⲧⲫⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓϵ 'No (ⲙⲡⲱⲣ), my son (ⲡⲁ-ⲫⲏⲣϵ)! For (ⲅⲁⲣ) *you have not been destined* (lit. *they* have not destined you (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲟϥ-ⲕ) for this career (ϵ-ⲧ-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ), but (ⲗⲗⲁ) the Lord (ⲡ-ϫ̄ⲥ̄) has appointed you (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ⲧⲟϥ-ⲕ) as a comfort (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ) for the holy (ϵⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) brothers (ⲛ-ⲛϵ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) who live (ϵⲧ-ⲫⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓϵ)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g. ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲟⲧⲃⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲉⲙⲡⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ 'how (ⲛ-ⲁⲱ ⲛ-ⲍⲉ) did the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) of the universe (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) pass by us (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲃ-ⲛ) *without us noticing* (ⲉ-ⲙⲡ-ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ)?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6), ⲁⲫⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲁⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲥⲱ 'one day (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ) he (the sick child) lay down (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) sick (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲱⲛⲉ) (and) *did not eat* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) *nor drink* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱ)' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a) ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g. ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲕ ⲉⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ 'and I see (ⲧⲁ-ⲛⲁⲩ) whether (ⲭⲉ) *he* (the eagle) *did not come* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) because of you (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲕ), if (ⲉⲱⲟⲡⲉ) not (ⲙⲙⲟⲛ), then (ⲉⲓⲉ) because of me (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1), ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲱⲟⲥⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'thus (ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ), *he* (the eagle) *did not come* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) because of you (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲕ), because (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ) the brother (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ) is angry (ⲱⲟⲥⲙ) with you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉⲭⲱⲍⲙ ⲍⲛ ⲁⲫ ⲙⲙⲁ 'in (ⲍⲛ) what (ⲁⲫ) place (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) *have you* (woman) *not been defiled* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲭⲱⲍⲙ)?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b) ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲛ pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g. ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲍⲱⲃ 'this (ⲡⲁⲓ) *did not* (ⲁⲛ) *happen* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲱⲡⲉ) for my sake (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ), since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as for) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), I (ⲁⲛⲅ) (am) a nobody (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) for the sake of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the widow (ⲧⲉ-ⲭⲏⲣⲁ) and (ⲙⲛ) these orphans (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ) had God

(ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) done (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) this thing (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲍⲱⲃ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33), ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲧⲫ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ '*I have not* (ⲁⲛ) *brought it* (the wheat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲧ-ⲫ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) anything (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) my salvation (ⲡⲁ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g. ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲣ ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ '*you have not yet become* (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲣ) worthy (ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ) to talk (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) to him (Jesus Christ) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲫ)' (KHML II 30:21-22).

9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1st sing.	ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
1st plural	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd plural	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd plural	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. ⲙⲡⲁϯⲡⲱϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲥⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲁϫⲓ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ '*I have not yet reached* (ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲡⲱϩ) such (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲥⲟⲧ) heights (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲱⲓ) to take (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ϫⲓ) a woman (ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) my residence (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁ-ⲛ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲁϯⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲛⲧⲉ), *I have not yet opened* (ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛ) it (the sack with gold), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *were not yet* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) many (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ) monasteries (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) in (ϩⲛ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥⲭⲓ ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ 'but he (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ), *had not yet received* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ϥ-ⲭⲓ) baptism (ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ)' (Eud. 42:1), ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) *you have not yet perceived* (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ) the peace (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) that we are hoping (ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ) for (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ no longer holds, e.g. ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁϯⲙⲟⲩ 'I want

(ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) to see (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲩ) my sister (ⲉ-ⲧⲁ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) *before I die* (ⲙⲡⲁϯ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (KHML I 75:20-21), ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲗϩ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) they (the brothers) shall not go (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) (and) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) from (ϩⲙ) the village (ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ) *before they ring* (the bell) (ⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲗϩ)' (praec. Pach. 90), ⲧⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ ϫⲱⲗⲙ 'your servant (ⲧⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) Eudoxia wants (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) to come (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ) inside (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) to your welcome (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ) *before* the palace (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ) *gets busy* (ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ... ϫⲱⲗⲙ)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙϥ ⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (the food) that you might desire (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ) for (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ), you *shall not eat* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲟⲙ-ϥ), *you should* (rather) *eat* (ⲉ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) what God has sent (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩ) you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, ⲛⲛⲁ- represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ- represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲛⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ (rarely ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ)	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲛⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕϩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲫⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲁⲕϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ '*you will not go astray* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲣⲓⲕⲉ) or (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) *fall* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ϩⲉ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) you will succeed (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲁⲧⲉ) in the work (ⲙⲫⲱⲃ < ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ϩⲓ) your hand (ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲕ) on (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲙ ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲣⲓ '*no* man (ⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *shall eat* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) anything (ⲛⲕⲁ) in his cell (ⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲣⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 114), ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲩ ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ '*no* one (ⲗⲁⲩ) *shall talk* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ϣⲁϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲉⲣϩⲩ) in (ϩⲙ) the dark (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲕⲉ)' (praec. Pach. 94), ⲛⲛⲉⲕϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲃⲉ (for ⲛⲧⲥⲛϥⲉ) ⲛⲛⲉⲕϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲟⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲗⲁⲥ '*you shall not kill* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ϩⲱⲧⲃ) neither with the sword (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲛⲃⲉ) nor (ⲟⲛ) with (ϩⲙ) the tongue (ⲡ-ⲗⲁⲥ)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲧ ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲩⲡⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ

(...) 'this vault (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲕⲩⲡⲏ) *should not be rebuilt* (lit. *they* should not build (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲉⲧ)) in (ϩⲙ) my time (ⲡⲁ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27).

b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲓϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲣ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲭⲓ ⲇⲟⲗ '*I shall not steal* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ), *I shall not make* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲣ) *false* (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩϫ) *witness* (ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ), *I shall not tell* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲭⲓ) *lies* (ⲇⲟⲗ)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ 'and we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ), in our turn (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲛ), *we will not again* (lit. set (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) hand (ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲛ) to) make (ⲉ-ⲣ) war (ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ) with the God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of heaven (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ)' (Eud. 48:13).

c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲩⲗ (read ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϣⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'the Jews (ⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) strengthened (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ) the gate (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗ) very strongly (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ) so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) the apostles (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *could not go* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲉϣ-ⲃⲱⲕ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) the city (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ⲁⲛⲓ ⲧⲉϥⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲗⲟⲓⲥⲉ ⲉϫⲱ (read ⲉϫⲱⲓ) 'bring (ⲁⲛⲓ) the soul (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲭⲏ) of Judas up here (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *won't find* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲟⲛ) a pretext (ⲗⲟⲓⲥⲉ) against me (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲟϫⲟ[ⲩ] [ⲉ]ϫⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲟⲃⲥϥ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲟϫ-ⲟ[ⲩ]) on (ⲉϫⲙ) his (Jesus') tomb (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ) and cover it (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ϩⲟⲃⲥ-ϥ) so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *no* man (ⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *might remember it* (lit. make (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲣ) its remembrance (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperatival clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary ⲙⲡⲣ- 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. ⲙⲡⲣⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ '*do not return* (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ⲕ) to sin (lit. to do (ⲉ-ⲣ) sin (ⲛⲟⲃⲉ))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), ⲙⲡⲣⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ '*don't be* (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲣ) *afraid* (ϩⲟⲧⲉ), holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) virgin (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), ⲙⲡⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ '*don't abandon me* (lit. leave me (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲕⲁⲁⲧ) behind you (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲕ))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲧⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '*don't let* (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-ⲧⲣⲉ) anybody (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *know* (ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) that (ⲭⲉ) you (ⲛⲧⲉ) (are) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative ⲙⲡⲣ- has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like '(oh) no, don't', e.g. ⲉⲕⲛⲁϭⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'will you watch me going to perdition? *Oh no* (ⲙⲡⲱⲣ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

9.4.6 The negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ 'to do not'. The auxiliary ⲧⲙ is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲫⲧⲁϩ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲙϭⲱϣⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) because (ⲭⲉ) he closed (ⲁϥ-ϣⲧⲁϩ) his eyes (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲃⲁⲗ) *not to see* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ϭⲱϣⲧ) it (the sun) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ)' (Zen. 200:27-28), ⲁ ⲧⲁϭⲟⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲁⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲭⲉ ϯϩⲕⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲏ ϯⲟⲃⲉ 'my strength (ⲧⲁ-ϭⲟⲙ) came (back) (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓ) to me (ⲉⲣⲟⲓ) so that (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *I did not notice* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ) that (ⲭⲉ) I was hungry (ϯ-ϩⲕⲟⲉⲓⲧ) or (ⲏ) thirsty (ϯ-ⲟⲃⲉ)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of ⲧⲙ are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. ⲡⲁϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲭⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲩⲁⲏ ⲛⲁϥ 'the treasure (ⲡ-ⲁϩⲟ) of the monk (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) (is) *not to acquire* (ⲧⲙ-ⲭⲡⲉ) *any* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *property* (ⲛ-ϩⲩⲁⲏ) for himself (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), [ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] ⲛⲧ[ⲉⲧ]ⲙ [ⲗⲁⲁⲩ] ⲉ[ⲫⲟⲙ]ⲥⲟⲙ ⲉ[ⲛⲁϩ]ⲙ[ⲉ]ϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [ϩⲛ ⲛⲁ]ⲥⲓⲭ 'so that (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *nobody* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *will be able* (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲙ ... ⲉⲫ-ⲟⲙⲟⲙ) to save himself (ⲉ-ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ-ϥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) my hands (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲓⲭ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

9.4.1.1 Two different clausal positions

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker ⲫⲁⲛ and before the epistemic modal verb (ⲉ)ⲫ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. ⲉⲛⲫⲁⲛⲧⲙϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲫⲱϥ '*if we do not keep* (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲫⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ-ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ), the place (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) will be deserted (ⲛⲁ-ⲫⲱϥ)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker ⲫⲁⲛ and the negative auxiliary ⲧⲙ to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker ⲉⲣⲉ and preceding the subject nominal: ⲉⲣⲉ $NP_{subject}$ ⲫⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ → ⲉⲣ-ⲫⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ $NP_{subject}$, e.g. ⲉⲣⲫⲁⲛⲧⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲫⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ '*if* a man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *does not give up* (ⲉⲣ-ⲫⲁⲛ-ⲧⲙ ... ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ) everything (ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ)) the world (ⲡ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ), he will not (ⲁⲛ) be able to become (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲫ-ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) a monk (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

9.4.1.2 Negative conjugation patterns with ⲧⲙ

The negative auxiliary verb ⲧⲙ has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧ-ⲧⲙ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ

e.g. ⲉⲡϩⲁⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲧⲧⲙⲉⲫⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ) ⲁⲧⲟⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲧ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲧ (...) 'finally

(ϵ-π-ϩaϵ), *when* the dragon (πϵ-ΔpaKωN) *had not been able* (NTϵpϵ-q-TM-ϵω-ϭMϭOM) to cast (ϵ-TaγO) down (ϵπϵCHT) Antony (NN-ANTωNIOC) he became angry (a-q-ϭωNT) about himself (ϵpO-q MMIN MMO-q)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψANTϵ-q-TM-CωTM

e.g. aγω aγϩIOγϵ NCωOγ ψANTOγTMKa λaaγ ϵπaϩOγ ϵTρϵqOγXaI 'and (aγω) they smote (a-γ-ϩIOγϵ) them (NCω-Oγ) *until they did not leave* (ψANT-Oγ-TM-Ka) anyone (λaaγ) behind (ϵπaϩOγ) to survive (ϵ-Tρϵ-q-OγXaI)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ϵ-q-ψAN-TM-CωTM and the Negative Relative Present ϵ-q-TM-CωTM 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ϵNψANTMϩAPϵϩ Δϵ πTOπOC NAψωq '*if we do not keep* (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ϵ-N-ψAN-TM-ϩAPϵϩ), the place (π-TOπOC) will be deserted (NA-ψωq)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. ϵψωπϵ ϵTϵTNTMϭϵπH ϵϵIPϵ HπaI ϩN OγNOγ TϵTNAMOγ (read TϵTN-NA-MOγ) '*if you do not hasten* (ϵ-TϵTN-TM-ϭϵπH) to do (ϵ-ϵIPϵ) this (H-πaI), you will surely die (lit. in (ϩN) a dying (Oγ-MOγ) you will die (TϵTN-NA-MOγ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive N-q-TM-CωTM

e.g. NTϵTM πϩIKϵ ϩωωq KωTϵ ϩM πϵqHI H ϩN NϵTϩITOγωq ψANTqϩϵ ϵOγNOϭ NTaIO '*and would* the poor (man) (π-ϩIKϵ), in his turn (ϩωω-q), *not seek* (NTϵ-TM ... KωTϵ), in (ϩM) his (own) house (πϵq-HI) or (H) in (ϩN) (that) of his neighbours (N-ϵT-ϩITOγω-q) until he finds (ψANT-q-ϩϵ) a great (ϵ-Oγ-NOϭ) gift (N-TaIO)' (Eud. 72:13-14), NIM πϵ πρωMϵ ϵqNaϭωψT NCa πϵqψHPϵ ϵqBHK NϵMTω NqTMBOHθϵI ϵpOq 'who (NIM) (is) the man (π-ρωMϵ) who will watch (ϵ-q-Na-ϭωψT) his son (πϵq-ψHPϵ) drowning (lit. go (ϵ-q-BHK) to the depths (N-ϵMTω)) *and would not help* (N-q-TM-BOHθϵI) him (ϵpO-q)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary TM is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. a πϵNϵIωT πaϩωM ϩωN ϵTOOTN ϵTMP πaI 'our father (πϵN-ϵIωT) Pachôm ordered us (ϵTOOT-N) *not to do* (ϵ-TM-P) this (πaI)' (V. Pach. 139:31), MωNωN (for MONON) ϩAPϵϩ ϵpOK ϵTMP NOBϵ ϵπNOγTϵ NTaqTaMIOK 'but (MωNωN) be careful (ϩAPϵϩ) *not to sin* (lit. commit (ϵ-TM-P) sin (NOBϵ)) against the God (ϵ-π-NOγTϵ) who has created you (NT-a-q-TAMIO-K)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer N- and the negation adverb AN 'not'.	§9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The MπAT(ϵ)-q-CωTM pattern carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out.	§9.4.3

Exercises

9.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle ⲛ-.
2. The negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
3. Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
4. The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ('BUT')-clause.
5. The Negative Third Future ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
6. ⲧⲙ-negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

9.2 Double negation

A. The placement of the negation adverb ⲁⲛ 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker ⲁⲛ in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.

(1) ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲱ ___ ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ___ ⲉⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ '*they will not* (ⲁⲛ) *be able* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲱ-ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ) to nullify (ⲉ-ⲃⲉⲗ) these blessings (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) upon (ⲉⲭⲛ) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

(2) ⲛ†ⲛⲁϩⲉⲡ ___ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ ___ '*I will not* (ⲁⲛ) *hide* (ⲛ-†-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉⲡ) anything (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) from you (ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ)' (Abbatôn 231:19)

(3) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲥϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ___ ⲉⲡⲧⲃⲃⲟ ___ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲏ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *she* (the possessed girl) *does not* (ⲁⲛ) *watch* (ⲛ-ⲥ-ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) the purity (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲃⲃⲟ) of the monastic life-style (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲏ)' (V. Pach.141:13-14)

(4) ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛ†ⲛⲁⲗⲟ ___ ⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ___ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲧⲛ ⲯⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ (for ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲁ) ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *will not* (ⲁⲛ) *cease* (ⲛ-†-ⲛⲁ-ⲗⲟ) walking (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) with you (ⲛⲙⲙⲏ-ⲧⲛ) until (ⲯⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) the completion (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ) of this era (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ)' (Abbatôn 230:13-15)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.

(1) ⲛⲥⲛⲁⲉⲱ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϩⲁ ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ (KHML II 34:6-7)

(3) ⲛ†ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ (Hil. 7:30-31)

(4) ⲛ†ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ (Test. Is. 230:15)

(5) ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ (V. Pach. 5:17)

9.3 Negative tenses

A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ		
ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲟⲙⲩ	(AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ	(V. Pach. 5:18)
ⲛⲩⲧⲙⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
ⲙⲡⲣⲣ ⲥⲟⲧⲉ	(Eud. 50:21)
ⲉⲧⲙⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

(1) ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲧⲛ]ⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) ___ on a mat (ⲉ-ⲧⲟⲙ) with the two of you (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ)' (praec. Pach. 95)

(2) ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲓⲥ '___ (it) (the garbage) to any (ⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) place (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) (else) than (ⲛⲥⲁ) to the place (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of that Nazarene (ⲙ-ⲡⲓ-ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ) Jesus (ⲓⲥ)' (Eud. 52:27-28)

(3) ⲉⲫⲫⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲏⲛ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲏⲛ) ⲉⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ (read ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ) ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲉⲛⲉⲫⲟⲩⲉⲙ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'he was wearing (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲫⲱⲣⲉⲓ) a garment (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲧⲏⲛ) of sackcloth (ⲛ-ⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) his time (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) ___ anything (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) but (ⲛⲥⲁ) bread (ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) and (ⲥⲓ) salt (ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) alone (ⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

(4) ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲧⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲱⲭⲗⲉⲓ (for ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲟⲭⲗⲉⲓ) ⲛⲁⲫ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ '(as for) the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) to the people (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of his village (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲧⲙⲉ) so that (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) ___ him (ⲛⲁ-ⲫ) and (ⲙⲛ) his sister (ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲱⲛⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) any respect (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

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

ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ (read ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ) ⲛⲟⲓ[a] ⲱⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ. ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲫ[b] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲥⲏⲱ.[c] ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ[d] ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲱⲛⲏ.[e] ⲛⲧⲟⲫ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ (for ⲛⲧⲥⲣⲟⲫⲧ) ⲁⲛ. ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲫ[f] ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲟⲩ[g] ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲓⲕ. ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ. ⲁⲩⲭⲛⲟⲩⲫ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁ[h] ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛϩⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲥⲡⲥⲱⲡⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲁⲁⲥ. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ. ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓ[i] ϩⲱⲥ[j] ⲛⲧⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ ⲁⲛ. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲙⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲫⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲏ[k] ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩϩ[l] ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲥ ⲧⲉⲫⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲱⲕⲙ[m] ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲩⲡⲉⲓ (for ⲟⲩⲗⲩⲡⲏ) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. ⲛⲟⲓ subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲫ 'he had' c. ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲏⲱ 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. ⲁⲃⲱ 'drag-net' e. ⲙⲱⲛⲏ 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲫ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. ⲉⲃⲟⲟⲩ (< ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁ 'apart, in private' i. ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓ 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ϩⲱⲥ 'since' k. ⲡⲏ 'that one' (see above, section

4.1.1 of Unit 4) l. ⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩϩ 'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off (ⲥⲱⲗⲡ) the rope (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩϩ))' m. ⲱⲕⲙ 'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

(1) ⲟⲩⲧⲉ (for ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) ⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲃ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ 'and (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) also (ⲟⲛ) *no one* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *shall shave* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲱⲃ) anyone (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) sitting (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 97).
☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

(2) ⲛⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ '*they* (the hermits) *usually do not* even (ⲣⲱ) *remember* (lit. make (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲣ) thought (ⲡ-ⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) that (ϫⲉ) a world (ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) exists (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ⲱⲟⲟⲡ)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)
☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S–V–O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V–S and V–S–O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO_{SU} 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S–V–O)	ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϯⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϯ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) five (ϯⲟⲩ) days (ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ) the deacon (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) went (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ϯ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)) to the holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) priest (ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) Apa Pambô' (Hil. 5:31-32)
LEFT-DISLOCATION ($TOPIC_{SU}$–PRO_{SU}–V–O)	ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϯ ⲡⲉ[ϥ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ '(as for) Andrew, he went forth (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ϯ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153)
SUBJECT INVERSION (V–PRO_{SU}–O–S)	ⲉⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲛϩⲟⲟⲥ ⲁϥϯ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ (...) 'when (ⲉⲧⲉⲓ) we were sitting (ⲉ-ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲥ), a venerable (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) priest (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) came (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ϯ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) (...)' (Abbatôn 228:13-14)

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic,

representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

10.1.1 S–V–O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S–V–O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

a) Precedence relations

S–V–O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲭⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ (...) '*a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) asked (ⲁ ... ⲭⲛⲉ) *Apa Sarapion* (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ⲁ PERFECT	ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ a brother	ⲭⲛⲉ ask	ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ Apa Sarapion

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S–V–O surface order

b) Markedness

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S–V–O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker ⲛⲟⲓ. Compare, then: (S–V–O) ⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲗⲗⲟ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲉ (…) 'the senior (monks) (ⲛ-ⲥⲗⲗⲟ) said (ⲁ … ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) that (ⲉ̀ⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC$_{SU}$ –PRO$_{SU}$ –V–O) ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲉ (…) '(as for) him (Apa Isaac) (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), he also (ⲟⲛ) said (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) that (ⲉ̀ⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V– PRO$_{SU}$–O–S) ⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉ̀ⲉ (…) 'Our fathers (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) said (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) that (ⲉ̀ⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) Pragmatically neutral contexts

S–V–O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. ⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲱⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲕⲉⲉⲥ '*his* (Apa Mena's) *sister* (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) gathered (ⲁ … ⲱⲗ) his bones (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲕⲉⲉⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd: 4a:1-2); ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲃⲉⲓ (for ϥⲓ) ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ) ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲯⲁ '*the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) will require (ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲉⲓ) a big (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) sacrifice (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ) from (ϩⲙ) your house (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲏⲓ) on (ϩⲙ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the feast (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲯⲁ)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲥ ⲙⲉϩ ⲣⲱϥ ⲁϥⲣϥⲛⲧ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ 'suddenly (ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), *his* (Diocletian's) *tongue* (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲗⲁⲥ) filled (ⲁ … ⲙⲉϩ) his mouth (ⲣⲱ-ϥ), he was eaten by (lit. he became (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ)) worms (ϥⲛⲧ) (and) died (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 38:27).

S–V–O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or truisms, e.g. ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ '*this date-palm* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) yields (ⲯⲁⲣⲉ … ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲗⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ † ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲉⲛⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*Diocletian* (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏ) gave (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ … †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲇⲟⲣⲟⲛ) annually (ⲧⲉ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the glorification (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of their gods (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S–V–O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ (read ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ (…) 'if *anyone* (ⲟⲩⲁ) asks (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ … ⲉⲧⲓ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) something (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14), ⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲣ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲱ '*one* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) *of* (ϩⲛ) *the holy ones* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) spent (ⲁ ….ⲣ) forty (ϩⲙⲉ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) without eating (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) (and) drinking (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲱ)' (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 Constituent order in the postverbal domain

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist "scrambling", i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 The canonical V > DO > IO > ADV order

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲫⲟⲟⲩ 'to *know* (ⲥⲟⲩⲛ) *what is good* (ⲡ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) and (ⲙⲛ) what is bad (ⲡⲡⲉⲫⲟⲟⲩ < ⲡ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Abbatôn 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'since (ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ) you *know* (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) *my* entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) *mode of life* (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲓⲯⲉⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲙⲉⲓⲯⲓⲛⲉ) ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲛ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) you know (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [*that* (ⲭⲉ) I did not

look (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲯⲉⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) my own peace (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like ⲧ 'to give' and ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the tranferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧ ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) will *grant* (ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧ) *a favour* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ) *to those who will believe* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)' (Test. Is. 228:11), ϥⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲯⲁϩⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ 'he (the Lord) will *grant* (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) *healing* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ) *to my daughter* (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) your prayers (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ), my brothers (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)' (Hil. 8:12-13), ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲁⲛ 'he should give (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲧ) *us* (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) *what is his* (ⲛⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲡⲱⲣϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲓⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ϫⲓⲛ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲯⲁ ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Pachôm) lifted (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲡⲱⲣϥ) his hands (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲥⲓⲛ) up (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) *to God* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *weeping* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ) *the entire* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) *night* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ) *from* (ϫⲓⲛ) *evening* (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) *till* (ⲯⲁ) *dawn* (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP_{DO}) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scambled" order of dative shift constructions is V_{AS} > DAT-CL > PP_{DO} order, e.g. ⲁϥⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'he (Apa Pambô) *gave* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧ) *her* (Hilaria) (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) *a cell* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲓ) next to him (ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱ-ϥ), south (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲏⲥ) of the church (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ)' (Hil 6:15), ⲉⲡϩⲁⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲁϥ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲛϩⲛⲧⲛϩ (for ⲛϩⲉⲛⲧⲛϩ) 'finally (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲉ), they *gave* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧ) *him* (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *wings* (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲧⲛϩ), too (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), ⲛⲅⲯⲁϩⲁ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ

'and you shall pray (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ) on her behalf (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲥ) until the Lorc (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *will grant* (ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) *her* (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) *healing* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. ⲁϥⲕⲁⲧⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲁⲧϥ ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ 'he (the king) kept (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲁⲧⲉϫⲉ) *the brothers* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) *with him* (ϩⲁⲧ-ϥ) (for) *three* (ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ) *months* (ⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) *because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *his daughter* (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 12:8-9), ⲁ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ 'somebody else (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) *brought* (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) *his son* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) *to him* (Pachôm) (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧ ⲡⲉ[ϥ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ '[TOPIC *Andrew* (ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ), [COMMENT *he* went forth (lit. he gave (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧ) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ))]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclausal topic and the intraclausal resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ (As for) *Andrew*	ⲁ- PERFECT	-ⲥ- *he*	ⲧ give	ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ his way

FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker ⲇⲉ is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

a) Embedded left-dislocation

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲫⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ '*and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) (concerning) *the churches* (ⲛ-ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ) they shall rebuild *them* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) and celebrate (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲫⲓ) *in them* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the Eucharist (ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ) on (ϩⲙ) this very (ⲡⲁⲓ) day (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 40:9-10), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲟⲙⲡⲱⲉⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲡⲟⲙⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ) ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ '*and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) *that* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *affliction* (ⲡ-ⲟⲙ-ⲡ-ⲱⲉⲓⲛⲉ) had occurred (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the convents (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ) of the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) through (ϩⲙ) the order (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ-ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉϥϫⲉⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ '*but* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *also Arios* (ⲡ-ⲕⲉ-ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) died (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ) before finishing (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲉⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) one year (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (as a bishop)' (KHML II 50:6-7), ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ (for ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ '*so that* (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ), (as far as) *we* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) (are concerned) you would awake (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) *us* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ) from (ϩⲙ) the deep (ⲡ-ⲛⲟϭ) sleep (ⲛ-ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ)' (Zen. 199:17-18).

b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲧⲧⲩⲗⲏ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ '*the Jews* (ⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) blocked (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ) the gate (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗⲏ) solidly (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲯⲉⲧ ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) *blind people* (ϩⲛ-ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) asking for (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲉⲧ) charity (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲁ) (KHML I 6:11), ⲧⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲉⲛ (for ⲛⲉⲥϩⲛ) ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ '*the little* (ⲯⲏⲙ) *girl* (ⲧ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ϩⲉⲛ) about eighteen (ⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25), ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁϥⲟⲩ[ⲟ]ⲛϩϥ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ '*the angel* (ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of the Lord* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) revealed himself (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ-ϥ) to the archbishop (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ '*the Lord* (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) also (ⲟⲛ) encourages (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲱⲃⲥ) everybody (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) who loves (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲉ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) through (ϩⲙ) the Gospel (ⲡ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ)' (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ '*what I had thought* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) *of* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) I have done (*it*) (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)' (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲁⲕ ⲯⲁⲩ† ⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲉϫⲱϥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ '*the prudent* (ⲛ-ϩⲁⲕ) *monk* (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) is given (lit. they give (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-†)) a crown (ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) *on him* (ⲉϫⲱ-ϥ) on (ϩⲙ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ⲧⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲱⲱ[ⲛⲉ] ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲡⲉ '(as for) *this* (woman) (ⲧⲁⲓ), (there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) a severe (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) illness (ⲛ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) *her* head (ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲁⲡⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

c) Unbounded dependencies

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '*the deacon* (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) [s_1 fulfilled (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) her (Hilaria's) wish (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ)], '[s_2 took (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲓ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ) from her (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲥ)], '[s_3 (and) they ate (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ)

together (ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) *on that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *day* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ)' (Hil. 5:1-4), ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲫⲙⲟⲟⲫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲍⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ '(as for) *Eutropius*, [S1 he was very (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) happy (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣⲁⲫⲉ)] [S2 (and) travelled (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲟⲫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) his servant (ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ)] [S3 until *he* reached (ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧϩⲩⲧⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ (read ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ) ⲙⲙⲟⲥ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) (as far as) *this city* (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) (is concerned), [S1 we will not (ⲁⲛ) allow you (ⲛ-ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁ-ⲧϩⲩⲧⲛ) [S2 to open (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛ) *it* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧϩⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ '[Topic1 (as for) *all* (ⲧϩⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *these* (rules) (ⲛⲁⲓ)], [Topic2 *he who will neglect* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲓ) punishment (ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ)) on account of them (ϩⲁⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (praec. Pach.103), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲟⲡⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲛ '[Topic1 (as for) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ)] [Topic2 *because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *our sins* (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲛ-ⲟⲡⲧ-ⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ

ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲣⲙ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ϫⲉ (…) '*a* (certain) *old* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *hermit* (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ) got lost (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲣⲙ) in (ϩⲛ) the desert (ⲧ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to himself (ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) that (ϫⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲉϥⲛⲉϫ [ⲫⲁϫⲉ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲫⲁϥ† ϩⲧⲏϥ ⲉ[ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*a wise* (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) *man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) does not throw (ⲙⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲉϫ) away (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) word (ⲫⲁϫⲉ) like that (ϩⲓⲛⲁⲓ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) focuses (ⲫⲁ-ϥ-†) his attention (ϩⲧⲏ-ϥ) towards those who listen (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), ⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲩϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ '*two* (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) *brothers* (ⲥⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) went (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to a monastery (ⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who will go (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to his (Apa Mena's) shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) will obtain (ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲁⲧⲉ) recovery (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative ⲉⲓⲥ 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ [ⲁⲫⲟ]ⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*behold* (ⲉⲓⲥ), *an angel* (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) revealed himself (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲫ ⲉⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ '*look* (ⲉⲓⲥ), *a knight* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) from (ⲛⲧⲉ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) together with (ⲙⲛ) a deacon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ), wishing (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫ) to meet (ⲉ-ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extraclausal topic does not correspond to any placeholding expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ⲧⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲣ ⲧⲟⲩⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲕⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲛⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲫⲃⲏⲣ '(as for) *the instruction* (ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲉⲓ) of fast (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ): he shall make (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ) the first one (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) his house (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲏⲉⲓ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the other (ⲧ-ⲕⲉⲧⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) his collegues' (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲫⲃⲏⲣ) house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition ⲉⲧⲃⲉ *'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic, e.g.* ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ[ⲙⲁ] ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲱⲫ]ⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲫⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲫⲙ ϩⲓ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ *'as for* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *the kneading* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫⲙ) *place* (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ), no one (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) shall speak (ⲛⲛⲉ … ⲫⲁϫⲉ) when they are kneading (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫⲙ) at (ϩⲓ) night (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ)' (praec. Pach. 116), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲉⲕ ⲕⲁ ϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲧⲉⲙⲡⲱ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ (…) *'as for* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *the ships* (ⲛ-ⲉϫⲏⲩ), no (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) sailor (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲉⲕ) shall set loose (ⲛⲛⲉ … ⲕⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) a ship (ϫⲟⲓ) at (ϩⲓ) the landing stage (ⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲱ) without the man (i.e. the prior) (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the congregation (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 118).

c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. ⲁ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ [ⲉⲡⲉⲥ]ⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ *'the people* (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) *let* (ⲁ … ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ) the body (ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) of the blessed (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) from (ϩⲙ) the camel (ⲡ-ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲫⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲫⲁϥⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉϥϥⲩⲥⲓⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *each one* (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) of them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *perceives* (ⲫⲁⲣⲉ … ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) his nature (ⲧⲉϥ-ϕⲩⲥⲓⲥ)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲟ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the light* (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) *was* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ … ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) of diverse sorts (ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲓⲛⲉ)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲙ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) while *I* was looking (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ) at them (the trees) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) their fruits (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *four* (ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ) *young* (ⲫⲏⲙ) *fellows* (ⲛ-ⲫⲏⲣⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) from a distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲁ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲛⲁⲝⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲣⲣⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ (...) 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲱⲧⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of Sunday (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ)) (that) *the king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) went (ⲁ … ⲃⲱⲕ) to the Eucharist (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲝⲓⲥ) together with (ⲙⲛ) *the queen* (ⲧ-ⲣⲣⲱ) and (ⲙⲛ) *his two* (ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ) *daughters* (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ). *The blessed* (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ) *Hilaria* (ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ) looked (lit. carried (ⲁ-ⲥ-ϥⲓ) her eyes (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲥ-ⲃⲁⲗ)) up (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) to heaven (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and said (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ) that (ϫⲉ)(...)' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. ⲁ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ϩⲛ ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲓⲥ ⲫⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲩⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲫⲟ ⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲫⲉⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟϥ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲕⲱⲣⲫ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ϫⲉ (...) '*some people* (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) came (ⲁ … ⲉⲓ) once (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) from (ϩⲛ) the Thebais (ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲓⲥ) to (ⲫⲁ) an old monk (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) and they had (ⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ) *someone* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ) (with them) who was possessed (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) by a demon (ⲛ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ) in order that (ϫⲉⲕⲁ-ⲥ) he would heal him (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ-ϥ). *The old monk* (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ), when they beseeched (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲣⲫ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) very much (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to the demon (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ) that (ϫⲉ) (...)' (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12).

b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ 'but when *this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ) (Zênô) had occupied (lit. had sat down (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on (ϩⲓϫⲙ)) the throne (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ), *he* annulled (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) the sinful (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) ordinances (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛ†ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ '(as for) *him* (Pachôm) (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), occasionally people (ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ) came (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to him (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the villages (ⲛ-†ⲙⲉ) in the neighbourhood (ⲉⲧ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes. The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g. ⲡϫⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲁϩⲙ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲯⲁϥⲃⲟⲟⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲛⲓ '*the enemy* (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲗⲉ) (i.e. the devil) insinuated (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ) filthy (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲁϩⲙ) thoughts (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) to him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ). *Anthony*, on his part (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ), (managed to) repel them (ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲟⲟⲣ-ⲟⲩ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) prayers (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲁⲛⲓ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ϩⲙ [ⲡⲧⲣ]ⲉϥⲙⲃⲱ ⲇⲉ [ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡϩⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁϥ [ⲉϫ]ⲱ[ϥ] ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟ[ⲣⲟ]ⲙⲁ 'when (ϩⲙ) *he* dozed off (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲃⲱ) look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *the holy* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna* stood (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ) before him (ⲉϫⲱ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a vision (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ '*the former* (ⲛⲁⲓ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲓ) the kingdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *from the latter* (Numerian) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲏⲩ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument position, e.g. ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ † [ⲛⲁ]ϥ ⲛⲛⲉϥ[ⲥⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲗ [ⲛⲉⲟ]ⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ [ⲙⲙⲁⲩ] ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ [ⲛⲁⲥ]ⲣⲏⲛ '*the man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *to whom* (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *Apa Mêna had given* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... †) *his camels* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ) had (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) a barren (ⲛ-ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲛ) she-camel (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ

ⲉⲛⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϥⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he who will come* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *to believe* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) *the words* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *his saints* (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ), *he* will become (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) heir (ⲛ-ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) to God's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) kingdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g. ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲥϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ †ⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ (...) ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ϣⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲱ ϩⲁⲏⲛ (...) ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱϥ (for ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱϣ) ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣϥ (...) ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲣ ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ '*the blessed* (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ) *Hilaria* (ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ) spoke (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the priest (ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) Apa Pambô, saying (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) »My Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), I want (†-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) you to make me (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ⲧ) a monk (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) (...)«. *The holy one* (ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) »My son (ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ), you cannot (lit. (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) possibility (ϣⲟⲙ) for you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ)) to stay (ⲉ-ϭⲱ) with us (ϩⲁⲏⲛ-ⲛ) (...)«. *The blessed* (ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ) *virgin* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) answered (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣϥ) (and) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ⲥ) »My Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), I have come (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲓ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ) with (ϩⲙ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) my heart (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ) (...)«. *The holy one* (ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ) was impressed (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ) by the speech (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ) of the little (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) girl (ⲛ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the main storyline, e.g. ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϩ[ⲣⲁⲓ] ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ϫⲉ †[ⲟⲩⲱϥ] ϩⲱ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ [ⲉⲡ]ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ [ⲙⲏ]ⲛⲁ ⲛⲧ[ⲁ]ⲯⲁⲏⲁ (...) ⲁⲣⲏϒ ϥⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲫⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲯⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲁⲫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ (...) 'he (the rich Alexandrian) heard (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) of the wonders (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲃⲟⲙ) of Apa Mêna (and) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to himself (ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) »I, too (ϩⲱ), want

(ϯ-ογωψ) to go (ϵ-ϐωκ) to the shrine (ϵ-π-τοπος) of Apa Mêna and pray (ντα-ψαηα) (...). Maybe (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) he will remember me (lit. will make (ϥ-na-ϵⲣ) my remembrance (πα-ⲙⲉⲉⲩϵ))«. *He* (ντοϥ) stood up (ⲁ-ϥ-τωογⲛ), took (ⲁ-ϥ-ϥⲓ) three thousand (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲁϐ ⲛ-ψϵ) *solidi* (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ) and went (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉϐⲟⲗ), travelling (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲟψϵ) (all) by himself (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲛ [ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲥⲡⲟ]ⲩⲇⲁϩϵ ⲉⲣ ⲁⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ϩⲛⲡⲣⲁϫⲓⲥ (for ϩⲉⲛⲡⲣⲁϫⲓⲥ) ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ 'let *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ), in our turn (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲛ), be zealous (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩϵ) to please (ϵ-ⲣ ⲁⲛⲁ-ϥ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) good (ϵ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ) deeds (ϩⲛ-ⲡⲣⲁϫⲓⲥ)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲱⲧ 'My father (πα-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), *why* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) is, (as far as) *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am concerned), my heart (πα-ϩⲏⲧ) (so) bold (ⲛⲁⲱⲧ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲟⲡⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲛ '(as for) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ)] *because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *our sins* (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ), let us lock up ourselves (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲛ-ⲟⲡⲧ-ⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲭⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ '*at no* (ⲁⲛ) *time* (ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ) did he (Pachôm) want (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) to be praised (lit. to get (ϵ-ⲭⲓ) praise (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ)) by (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) people (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) do you (woman) weep (ⲧⲉ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *the time* (ⲛ-ⲛⲁⲩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:22), ϩⲁϩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲫⲁϥⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲟⲣⲅⲏ '(on) *many* (ϩⲁϩ) *occasions* (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲩ) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (ⲫⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲓⲙ) towards anger (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲟⲣⲅⲏ)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲧⲙⲯⲟⲙⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲙⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ 'such that (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) many (ϩⲁϩ) who were in (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ) the village (ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ) could not (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲧⲙ-ⲯ-ⲟⲙ-ⲟⲟⲙ) meet (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲙⲛⲧ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *on many* (ⲛ-ϩⲁϩ) *occasions* (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲧⲟⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ '*one day* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ), the she-camel (ⲧ-ⲟⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ) delivered (ⲁ ... ⲙⲓⲥⲉ) a daughter (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲥ (for ⲉⲓⲥ) ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲣⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ '*all of a sudden* (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ), *the holy* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Mercurius* came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ '*on the* (lit. *his*) *next day* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ) Armenius sat down (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on the tribune (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲙ) the theatre (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲁ ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲓⲥ [ⲛⲉ]ϩ[ⲥⲉ] ⲛⲛⲉϩ[ⲓⲟ]ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ (...) '(at) *dawn* (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) *before* (ϩⲁⲑⲏ) (*sun*)*light* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), the Samaritan (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲓⲥ) woman (ⲧⲉ-ϩⲓⲙⲉ) woke up (ⲁ ... ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) the women (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ) in her company (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ) (and) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ⲥ) to them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) that (ϫⲉ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

c) Topicalised adverbs

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as "as for", they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲉⲃⲓⲱ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲛⲧⲟ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉϧⲙ ⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ '*some time* (ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ) they (flies) will sit (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) on (ⲉϧⲙ) honey (ⲡ-ⲉⲃⲓⲱ), if they can find it (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲟ), *some other time* (ⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ) they will sit (ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϩ) on (ⲉϧⲙ) bread (ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (Sh. III 48:6-8), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϯϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *for sixty* (ⲥⲉ) *years* (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) I have been living (ϯ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) this desert (ⲧⲓ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ)' (Onnophr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ 'after that' and ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ 'because of that' have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲁϥ [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ [ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ] '*after this* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna revealed (himself) (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a vision (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 32a:11-14), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲕⲉϣⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ '*because of this* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) (ⲡⲁⲓ) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ϣⲡⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the Tartaros (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ) until (ϣⲁ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the Judgement (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲡ)' (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O –S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle ⲛⲟⲓ. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ (…) 'when *the angel* (ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) had said (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϫⲉ) these (ⲛⲁⲓ) (words) (…)' (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ- TEMPORAL	-ϥ- *he*	ϫⲉ say	ⲛⲁⲓ these	ⲛⲟⲓ FOCUS MARKER	ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ *the angel*

FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϣⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ϫⲓϫⲱⲓ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ '*a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ϣⲁ) Apa Čičôi in the monastery (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ) of Apa Antony' (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϣⲓⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲛⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ (for ϩⲉⲛⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ '(there) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) to Shiêt (ⲉ-ϣⲓⲏⲧ) *monks* (ϩⲛ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲛⲏϥⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) a few days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) more (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) (disobedient) *brother* (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ) cooled down (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲏϥⲉ)' (V. Pach. 140:30), ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ (Eud. 52:21-22) 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) if all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *those* (people) *who saw* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁⲩ) him (Jesus Christ) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) come to know (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) (about it), they will believe (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ 'on the (lit. his) next day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ) *Armenius* (ϩⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ) sat down (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on the tribune (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲙ) the theatre (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲉⲁⲇⲣⲟⲛ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), (demonstratives) ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁϥϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ 'suddenly (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) *this one* (the ill-tempered brother) (ⲡⲁⲓ) calmed down (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲣⲟⲕ) from (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ) his rage (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ)' (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲏϩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *the blessings* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲟⲩ) written down (ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲏϩ) (in the Scriptures) will come (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲓ) upon them (ⲉϧⲱ-ⲟⲩ)' (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩϣⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟϣ 'as (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) were not yet (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ϣⲡⲉ)

many (ϵτ-οω) *monasteries* (м-мοναcτηριον) in (ϩν) Egypt (кнмϵ)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), ауω νϵqмϵϩ νмcаϩ νδι πϵιοορ ϵтммау 'and (ауω) *that* (ϵт-ммау) *canal* (п-ϵιοορ) was full (νϵ-q-мϵϩ) of crocodiles (ν-мcаϩ)' (V. Ant. 21:8).

10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle νδι

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker νδι to the right of the locative question word тων 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. ϵqтων пταφος мпахοϵις 'where (тων) (is) *the tomb* (п-таφос) *of my lord* (м-па-хοϵις)?' (Eud. 58:25), ϵqтων пρωмϵ ϵттаλнγ ϵпхοι нм[м]ак 'where (is) (тων) *the man* (п-рωмϵ) *who was on board* (ϵт-таλнγ) *of the ship* (ϵ-п-хοι) *with you* (ммак)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle νδι, e.g. мн ϵιταιнγ анок ϵϩογϵ пахοϵις 'am *I* (анок) then more (ϵϩογ(ϵ)) honoured (ϵ-ι-таϵιнγ) than my Lord (ϵ-па-хοϵις)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), тϵрϩοтϵ нто ϩнтq мпνογтϵ '*you* (woman) (нто) fear (тϵ-р-ϩοтϵ ϩнт-q) God (м-п-νογтϵ)' (Eud. 64:23), qхω гар ммοс нтοq пхοϵις хϵ (...) 'for (гар) *he* (нтοq), *the Lord* (п-хοϵις), says (q-хω) that (хϵ) (...)' (Sh. III 60:4-5).

10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. наι тнроγ ϵqϵιρϵ ммοογ ϵтβнητν νδι пϵтϵογνδοм ммοq ϩν ϩωв νιм '(as for) *all* (тнр-оγ) *these* (things) (наι), *he who has* (п-ϵтϵ-оγν) *power* (δοм) *over* (ϩν) *everything* (ϩωв νιм) is doing (ϵ-q-ϵιρϵ) them (ммοογ) because of us (ϵтβнητ-н)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), паι δϵ аqхω νογψахϵ наϩраq νδι васιмοс пϵтψοοп ϩν νϵтογаав '(as for) *the latter* (паι δϵ), *Basimos* (васιмοс), *who is* (п-ϵт-ψοοп) *amongst* (ϩν) *the saints* (ν-ϵт-оγаав) said (а-q-хω) a word (ν-оγ-ψахϵ) to him (наϩра-q)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), ϩтοογϵ δϵ мпмаϩсаψq (for мпмϵϩсаψq) асογϵϩсаϩνϵ νδι

тρρω ϵбωпϵ нас ннιογδаι ϵтψοοп ϩν θϵ̄ϩ̄н̄ мн сιωн '(on the) *morning* (ϩтοογϵ) *of the seventh* (day) (м-п-маϩ-саψq), *the queen* (т-ρρω) ordered (lit.placed (а-с-оγϵϩ) an order (саϩνϵ)) to arrest (ϵ-бωпϵ) for her (на-с) the Jews (ν-н-ιογδаι) who were living (ϵт-ψοοп) in (ϩν) Jerusalem (θϵ̄ϩ̄н̄) and (мн) Zion (сιωн)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V–O–S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. нтϵрϵqхϵ наι δϵ νδι паггϵλοс (...) 'when *the angel* (п-аггϵλοс) had *said* (нтϵрϵ-хϵ) these (наι) (words) (...)' (Test. Is. 230:12), сϵнатсаво ϵроq νδι νϵβολ ϩν таφγах (...) '*the people* (ν-ϵβολ) *of* (ϩν) *my tribe* (та-φγах) will *inform* you (woman) (сϵ-на-тсаво) about it (ϵро-q) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), ϵγψанкрινϵ δϵ ммοq νδι νϵтϩмпнι (...) 'if *the residents* (ν-ϵт-ϩм-п-нι) judge (ϵ-γ-ψан-крινϵ) him (ммо-q) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), ауω аγкωтϵ ϵроq νδι ν̀ϩарма ннпϵрсοс ϵтρϵγмογογт ммοq 'and (ауω) *the chariots* (ν-ϩарма) *of the Persians* (ν-м-пϵрсοс) *surrounded* (а-γ-кωтϵ) him (Constantine) (ϵро-q) to kill (ϵ-тρϵ-γ-моγογт) him (ммо-q)' (Eud. 42:25). V–O–S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. ауω аqхι ϵοογ νδι пран мпϵνхοϵις ῑс̄ пϵх̄с̄ 'and (ауω) *the name* (п-ран) *of our Lord* (м-пϵν-хοϵις) *Jesus* (ῑс̄) *Christ* (пϵ-х̄с̄) *received* (а-q-хι) *glory* (ϵοογ)' (Eud. 40:27-28), нтϵрϵq[р] ϩнаq δϵ νδι пνογтϵ (...) 'when it *pleased* (нтϵрϵ-q-р ϩна-q) *God* (п-νογтϵ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

b) Verbs of saying and reporting

Subject inversion is also possible with *verbs of saying and reporting* that introduce reported speech, e.g. ⲁⲅⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲭⲉ (…) '*Our fathers* (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) *said* (ⲁ-ⲅ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) someone (ⲟⲩⲁ) that (ⲭⲉ) (…)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3), ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲫⲩ (for ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲫⲃ) ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ (…) '*the deacon* (ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) *answered* (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱⲫⲩ) her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) that (ⲭⲉ) (…)' (Hil. 4:28-29), ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ (…) '*the blessed* (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) *old man* (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲩ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) that (ⲭⲉ) (…)' (Onnophr. 213:27-28).

c) Motion verbs

When combined with verbs of inherently directed motion, subject-inverted clauses assume a presentative meaning and function, signalling the appearance of a referent in the realm of discourse, e.g. ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'open (ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ) the gate (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗⲏ) (that) *Matthew* (ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ) can *come* (ⲛ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)' (KHML II 21:6-7), ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲧⲩ '*the generals* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *the army* (ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲙ) *went* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) to fetch him (Constantine) (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲧ-ⲩ)' (Eud. 38:5-6), ⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲥ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ '*an angel* (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *comes* (ⲩ-ⲛⲏⲩ) and administers (the Eucharist) (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ) to me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) on Saturday (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥ̄ⲃⲃⲁⲧ.ⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) Sunday (ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ)' (Onnophr. 214:22-23).

d) Statives

Subject-inverted Stative sentences are not so much presentational constructions, but rather emphatic assertions: they emphasise the truth or correctness of the statement being made, e.g. ⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ '(as) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *Almighty* (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ) *lives* (ⲩ-ⲟⲛϩ)' (Onnophr. 215:27), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲩⲥⲙⲁϩⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲧⲱⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the good* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲩ) *plant* (ⲡ-ⲧⲱⲟⲉ) *is blessed* (ⲩ-ⲥⲙⲁϩⲁⲁⲧ)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), ⲩⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲣⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ '*cursed* (ⲩ-ⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲣⲧ) be *the earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) because of (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) your deeds (ⲛⲉⲕ-ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ)' (Abbatôn 238:29).

10.1.5.5 Semantic types of focus

Subject inversion represents an ex-situ focusing strategy in which th subject is placed in a postverbal focus position where it can b assigned nuclear (sentence) stress.

a) Presentational focus

In the unmarked case inverted subjects correspond to presentationa (new information) focus, which introduces new referents into th discourse. In placing the focused subject at the end of the clause, it i one of the last sentence elements to be mentioned and hence availabl for later recall in the subsequent discourse. There is a strong tendenc for presentational foci to be hearer-new, which results in the frequen occurrence of specific indefinite noun phrases in subject-inverte clauses, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲕⲉⲥⲛⲁ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ (…) 'suddenly (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ), *a luminous* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) *man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲓ) with two others (ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) walking (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) besides him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)' (Mena, Mir. 21b:10-14), ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲫⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ (read ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ) ⲛⲟⲓ ⲫⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ 'once (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *three* (ⲫⲟⲙⲛⲧ) *senior* (*monks*) (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) approached (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲕ) Apa Archillas' (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-21).

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲫⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩ (…) 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) the glorification (ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of Christ (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄), *Michael* (ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ), *the Archangel* (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *of heaven* (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲉ), came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) to him (Constantine) (ⲫⲁⲣⲟ-ⲩ) and instructed him (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ⲩ) (…)' (Eud. 42:1-2), ⲉⲩⲫⲁⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲣⲱ ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲓⲧⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩϫⲩ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ 'when *the people* (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *of the harbour* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲙⲣⲱ) go to sleep (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲫⲁⲛ-ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ), I will take it (the corpse) (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲩⲓⲧ-ⲩ) and throw it (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛⲟⲩϫ-ⲩ) into the sea (ⲉ-ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7), ⲁⲥⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩϩⲱⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) when *the days* (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) *of the patriarch* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ) *Isaac* had come near

(ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲛ) *that he was going to die* (*lit. for him to go* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) out of (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the body (ⲥⲱⲙⲁ))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ '*God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) wanted (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) to make his mind (ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) humble (ⲉ-ⲑⲃⲏⲓⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), ⲁⲫⲟⲱ ⲉⲫⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ '*Our father* (Pachôm) (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) kept (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱ) asking (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this matter (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϩⲱⲃ)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲙ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲓⲅⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲫⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲫⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ '*the Persian* (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) *kings* (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ) arose (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ), gathered (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) together with (ⲙⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) their multitude (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ) (and) went (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) to (ⲉⲭⲙ) the river (ⲡ-ⲓⲉⲣⲟ) Tigris (ⲧⲓⲅⲣⲓⲥ). (King) *Constantine* (ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ) arose (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) (and) gathered (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲫ) his troops (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ) of soldiers (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ) (...)' (Eud. 42:18-20), ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲫⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) when God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) had overthrown (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ) *the unlawful* (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) *king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Diocletian* (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) (that) the lawful (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Constantine* (ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ) became (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲣ) king (ⲣⲣⲟ) in his place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), ⲫⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ '*the death* (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲩ) *of that* (daughter) (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) is better (ⲫ-ⲥⲟⲧⲡ) than (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) *the life* (ⲡ-ⲟⲛϩ) *of this one* (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲓ)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲝ ⲯⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ '(on the blast of) the second (ⲧ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) trumpet (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲝ), *the courtiers* (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *tribunes* (ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *chief officials* (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ) *of the royal* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *court* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲁⲩⲁⲏ) would gather (ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ)' (Eud. 60:16-18), ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲁⲡ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ϫⲧⲓⲟ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲟ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ (...) 'so that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *judgement* (ϩⲁⲡ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *blame* (ϫⲧⲓⲟ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *reproach* (ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲟ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *grief* (ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ) *and* (ϩⲓ) *all* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *righteous* (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) *blood* (ⲥⲛⲟϥ) (...) will come (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) upon you (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲧⲛ)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), ⲉⲁϥⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲇⲉⲡⲏ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲙⲙⲉϥ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲛⲟⲗⲓϕⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟϕⲏⲧⲏⲥ (...) 'and *an unlawful* (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) *king* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *whom perdition* (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ) *would soon* (ⲉ ... ⲇⲉⲡⲏ) overcome (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲱ-ϥ) gave (ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ) order (ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ) to make the prophet (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟϕⲏⲧⲏⲥ) eat (lit. that they feed him (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲧⲙⲛⲉ-ϥ)) the bread (ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) of affliction (ⲛ-ⲑⲗⲓϕⲓⲥ) (...)' (Sh. III 106:16-19).

10.2 Residual V–S(–O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V–S–O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V–S–O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V–S–O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V–S	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ 'your eagerness (ⲡⲉⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ) *is excellent* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ)' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS ⲟⲩⲛ, ⲙⲛ '(there)is, (there) is no'	V–S	ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ϩⲛⲕⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ '(there) *are* (ⲟⲩⲉⲛ) numerous (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲯⲱ-ⲟⲩ) other works (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ) that Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) did (ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ⲩ)' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ-/ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ= ⲙⲛⲧⲉ-/ⲙⲛⲧⲁ= 'to have/not have'	V–S–O	ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ 'although you (woman) *have* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ) your husband (ⲡⲟⲩ-ϩⲁⲓ)' (Sh. *Or* 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V–S(–O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. ⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲛ ⲡϩⲁⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) the gold (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ) and (ⲙⲛ) silver (ⲡϩⲁⲧ) that was brought (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) *was much* (ⲛⲁϣⲉ)' (Eud. 64:2-3), ⲙⲛ ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) difference (ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ) of one sickness (ⲛ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ) over the (other) sickness (ⲉ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix ⲛⲁ-/ⲛⲉ-. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ, ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ† 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
ⲛⲁⲁ-	ⲛⲁⲁ=	to be great
	ⲛⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲁⲧ=	to be blessed
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- (var. ⲛⲁⲛⲉ-)	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ=	tobe good
ⲛⲁϣⲉ-	ⲛⲁϣⲱ=	to be numerous
ⲛⲉⲥⲉ-	ⲛⲉⲥⲱ=	to be beautiful
	ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲱϣ=	to be intelligent
	ⲛⲉⲥⲱ(ϣ)=	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of ⲛⲁ-/ⲛⲉ-adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord ⲛ- ... ⲁⲛ (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker ⲛ-), e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) I am not (ⲁⲛ) *excellent* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲓ) as (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) a Christian (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲩ 'how very (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ) *fair is* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) the word (ⲡ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) that you have spoken (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ)' (Hil. 4:35), ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲛⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'the matter (ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ) (i.e. buying books) *is excellent* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) poverty (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϩⲏⲕⲉ) *is better* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) than all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) of these (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), ⲛⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲉ ϩⲣⲁ[ⲥ] 'you (ⲛⲧⲟ) (are) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (ϩⲣⲁ-ⲥ) *is beautiful* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲥⲉ))' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧ- 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb ⲛⲁⲁ- 'to be great' and the body-part expression ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲧ-ⲩ 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲓⲙ 'more (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ) *blessed* (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲁⲧ-ⲩ) *is* he who will always (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲓⲙ) see (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁⲩ) his own (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲩ) sins (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ 'then (ⲉⲓⲉ) (how) *blessed*

are we (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲁⲧ-ⲛ) ourselves (ϩⲱⲟ-ⲛ)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲅⲟⲥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *the lazy ones* (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲅⲟⲥ) *are numerous* (ⲛⲁⲱⲟ-ⲟⲩ), too (ⲟⲛ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ 'since (ⲭⲉ) its fruit (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) are fine-looking (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲥⲱ-ⲟⲩ)' (Abbatôn 237:10-11).

10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ⲙⲛ '(there) is no', e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '*is* (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) *anybody* (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ⲙⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *brother* (ⲥⲟⲛ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) in (ϩⲛ) a monastery (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲥ[ⲛⲏⲩ] ⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ (...) '(there) *were* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) *other brothers* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) in (ϩⲙ) the same (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) place (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲓ) the desert (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *god* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), Apollôn (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ⲉⲫⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲏ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ϩⲓⲭⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲫⲓⲕϩ {ⲡⲫⲓⲕϩ}$_{sic}$ ⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ 'if (ⲉⲫⲭⲉ) (there) *are* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *thirty* (ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ) or (ⲏ) *forty* (ϩⲙⲉ) *generations* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ) (heaped) on (ϩⲓⲭⲛ) each other (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ), how large (ⲟⲩⲏⲣ) must the pit (ⲡ-ⲫⲓⲕϩ) be (ⲉⲣⲉ ...

ⲛⲁ-ⲣ)?' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ '(there) *was* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *someone* (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) who did (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) many (ⲛ-ϩⲁϩ) good (things) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ϩⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲓϭ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *someone* (ⲟⲩⲁ) in (ϩⲛ) Egypt (ⲕⲏⲙⲉ) who had (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) a paralysed (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲓϭ) son (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲫⲁⲣ 'without (there) *being* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛ) *anything* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) on her (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲥ) except (ⲛⲥⲁ) bone (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) skin (ⲡ-ⲫⲁⲣ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛϩⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲕϩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁ (for ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲧⲉⲓⲁ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲩⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲓ ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ) 'now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), how (ⲛ-ⲁⲱ ⲛ-ϩⲉ) *are* (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) *some* (*people*) (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) who toil (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲕϩ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) in (ϩⲛ) ascetic labours (ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁ), and (ⲁⲩⲱ) at present (ⲛⲩⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) do not (ⲁⲛ) obtain (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲭⲓ) grace (ϩⲙⲟⲧ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) the ancient ones (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ '(there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *a resurrection* (ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *are* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *angels* (ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *a spirit* (ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄)' (Acts 23:8), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ '(there) *isn't* (ⲙⲛ) *anyone* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *difference* (ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ) of one sickness (ⲛ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ) *over the* (other) *sickness* (ⲉ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *king* (ⲣⲣⲟ) as powerful (ⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *as* (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) (the king) *of the Persian* (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) *empire* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ⲓⲥ}}$ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *god* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) *Jesus* ($\overline{\text{ⲓⲥ}}$) *Christ* (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$), the God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ (ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) ⲙⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ '(to see whether) (there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) *a fellow* (ⲥⲟⲛ) *monk* (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ) *further on* (ⲙⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲏ ϩⲓⲣⲙ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲣⲓ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *a small* (ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *courtyard* (ⲛ-ⲁⲩⲁⲏ) *at* (ϩⲓⲣⲙ) *the entrance* (ⲡ-ⲣⲟ) of the cell (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲣⲓ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ⲛⲉⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ (for ϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ) ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ '(there) *was no* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) *interpreter* (ϩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ) *there* (ⲙⲙⲁⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ '(there) *is* (ⲙⲛ) *nobody* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *here* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲟⲙ ϩⲁⲧⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '(there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *impossibility* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲟⲙ) *with* (ϩⲁⲧⲙ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) *a man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) the shrine (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna *whose name* (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ) *Marcus*' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲅⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲩϩϩ ϩⲛ ⲑⲓⲗⲏⲙ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *one* (ⲟⲩⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the holy ones (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) *who was called* (lit. whom (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) they called (ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ)) *Philagrios*, who lived (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩϩϩ) in (ϩⲛ) Jerusalem (ⲑⲓⲗⲏⲙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ '(there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) also (ⲟⲛ) *a* (certain) *man* (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) *who was possessed by a demon* (lit. a demon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ) was with him (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)) from (ⲛϫⲓⲛ) his childhood (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativivised existential verb ϣⲟⲟⲡ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϩⲙⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *was* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) *a big* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) *heat* (ⲛ-ϩⲙⲙⲉ) down (ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ) in that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟ[ϭ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ ϩⲛⲛⲟϭ (for ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (there) *was* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ) *great* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) *peace* (ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) and (ⲙⲛ) a lot (ϩⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) of good (things) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) their kingdom

(ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)' (Mena, Enc. 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ϯⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲭⲓⲛ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '(as for) me (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *I* (*am*) *in this place* (ϯ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) from (ⲭⲓⲛ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences sentences are formed with the possessive predicates ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- and ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. ⲟⲩⲛ or ⲙⲛ, and a locative-commitative preposition ⲛⲧⲁ- 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲭⲁϩⲭϩ 'the King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *had* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ) two (ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) trumpets (ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ) of refined (ⲛ-ⲭⲁϩⲭϩ) gold (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ)' (Eud. 60:13), ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲏ ⲙⲁⲁⲩ '*I don't have* (ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) father (ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) or (ⲏ) mother (ⲙⲁⲁⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'there', e.g. ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*I have* (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) a word (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) to say (ⲉ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ '*he* (the rich man) *had* (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ) a lot (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ) of money (ⲛ-ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲉⲣ ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲯⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'without *having* (ⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ) the strength (ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ) to come out (ⲉ-ⲉⲣ ⲡ-ⲃⲟⲗ) of that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) tree(ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲯⲏⲛ)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ /wəntaf/ → ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲩ /wəntəf/ 'he has', ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ /məntaf/ → ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲩ / məntəf / 'he does not have'.

	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- 'HAVE'	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ- 'NOT HAVE'
1st sing.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ (ⲟⲩⲛϯ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ (ⲙⲛϯ)
2nd sing. masc.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲕ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲕ)
2nd sing. fem.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ	ⲙⲛⲧⲉ
3rd sing. masc.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲩ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲩ)
3rd sing. fem.	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲥ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥ)
1st plural	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲛ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛ)
2nd plural	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏ-ⲧⲛ	ⲙⲛⲧⲏ-ⲧⲛ
3rd plural	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ)	ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲩ (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ)
Before noun	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)
ⲛⲉ- PRETERIT	ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ 'HAVE'	ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ the king	ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- and ⲙⲛⲧⲁ- appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ '(although) *you* (woman) *have* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ) *your husband* (ⲡⲟⲩ-ϩⲁⲓ)' (Sh. *Or* 44, 155a:8-9), ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲩ ⲕⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲯⲁϩⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲩⲱⲯ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'while *he* (Apa Zenobius) *had no* (ⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲩ) *other concern* (ⲕⲉ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ) than (ⲛⲥⲁ) prayer (ⲡⲉ-ⲯⲁϩⲁ) and the critical evaluation (ⲧ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ) of what he was reading (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲩ-ⲱⲯ)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *we don't have* (ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ) *any* (ⲛ-ⲁⲁⲩ) *physical* (ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ) *comfort* (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁ)' (Hil. 5:23), ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲭⲱⲟⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ '*I have* (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) *three* (ⲛ-ϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ) beautiful (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ) *books* (ⲛ-ⲭⲱⲟⲙⲉ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏⲧⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲛϩ 'if (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you have* (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏ-ⲧⲛ) *a living* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲛϩ) *God* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas ⲟⲩⲛ and ⲙⲛ, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ [ⲕⲱ]ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ '*King* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Constantine had* (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲉ) a virgin (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) sister (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) whose name (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲧϥ ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲥⲁ ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ '*he had no* (ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϥ) son (ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) besides (ⲛⲥⲁ) two (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) daughters (ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ)' (Hil. 2:5), ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥⲥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁϥ '*he has it* (i.e. place) (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ-ⲥ) among (ϩⲛ) those who make (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲕⲁ) a place (ⲙⲁ) for him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)' (Sh. III 85:14), ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲕϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'what (claim) (ⲟⲩ) (is it) *that you have* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ-ϥ) against him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)?' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

a) Dative possession

Instead of normal ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ- and ⲙⲛⲧⲁ- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative ϣⲟⲟⲡ 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲕⲁϩⲛϩⲏⲧ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ 'since (ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ) *he had* (lit. was (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) of grief (ⲛ-ⲙⲕⲁϩ-ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) his daughter (ⲧⲉϥ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Hil. 7:12-13), ⲉⲙⲛ ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲥ 'while *she had no* (lit. (there) was no (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ) for her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction ⲟⲩⲛ (ⲙⲛ) – (ϣ)ⲥⲟⲙ – ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ – ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (ϣ)ⲥⲟⲙ 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ⲙⲛ ⲥⲟⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) power (ⲥⲟⲙ) in him ((ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)) to walk (ⲉ-ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ)' (Eud. 66:9), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ϣⲥⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) power (ϣⲥⲟⲙ ⲥⲟⲙ) in me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)) to reveal it (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ-ⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (Hil. 3:21).

Key Terms:

Basic word order	is the fully productive constituent order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S–V–O can be identified as the basic word order.	§10.1.1
Scrambling	is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3

Information-packaging constructions	represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence.	§10.1.3
Subject inversion	involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V–O–S order.	§10.1.5
Presentational (new information) focus	corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse.	§10.1.5.5
Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1

Exercises

10.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
2. The direct object must precede the indirect object.
3. Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

4. The focus marker ⲛⲟⲓ is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
5. Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
6. Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

10.2 Subject order and information structure

A. Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.

(1) ⲧⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲯⲏⲙ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲉⲛ (for ⲛⲉⲥϩⲛ) ⲁⲛⲛⲧⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ '(as for) *the little* (ⲯⲏⲙ) *girl* (ⲧ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ) *she* was (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ϩⲉⲛ) about eighteen (ⲁ-) ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲯⲙⲏⲛⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)

(2) ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲯⲧ 'my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) is, (as far as) *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (am concerned), *my* heart (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ) (so) bold (ⲛⲁⲯⲧ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7)

(3) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲯⲁⲝⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲯⲁⲕⲥⲟⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲕϩⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the words* (ⲛ-ⲯⲁⲝⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) which he (the abbot) heard (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ-ⲟⲩ) from him (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲕ) (Pachôm), he in turn (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲕ) told *them* (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ⲕ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) to his monks (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)

(4) ⲡⲉ[ⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲓ [ⲛⲁ] ϫⲡⲟⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲯⲁⲓⲁⲁⲕ ⲛⲯⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ '*what* my boat (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲓ) *will* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ) *bring in* (ϫⲡⲟ-ⲕ) *each* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *year* (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ), I will split (ⲯⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ⲕ) into three (ⲛ-ⲯⲟⲙⲧⲉ) parts (ⲛ-ⲧⲟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5)

(5) ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲕϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣ (for ⲉⲣⲉ) ⲡⲕϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ 'when he (Pachôm) was saying (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϫⲱ) *these* (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ), Theodore was sitting (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) at a little (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) distance (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲉ), his face (ⲡⲕ-ϩⲟ) (turned down) to the ground (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲥϩⲧ)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. *Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.*

(1) ϩⲙ [ⲡⲧⲣ]ⲉϥⲱⲃⲱ ⲇⲉ [ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧϥ [ⲉⲭ]ⲱ[ϥ] ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟ[ⲣⲟ]ⲙⲁ 'when (ϩⲙ) he dozed off (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲱⲃⲱ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *the holy* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna* stood (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ) before him (ⲉⲭⲱ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a vision (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)
☐ indefinite topic ☐ contrastive topic

(2) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲡ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *he* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine, made (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) for them (the Persians) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) great (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ) royal (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) feasts (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲡ)' (Eud. 48:27)
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

(3) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲕⲁ ϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲧⲉⲙⲡⲱ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ (…) '*as for* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *the ships* (ⲛ-ⲉϫⲏⲩ), no (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) sailor (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲉϥ) shall set loose (ⲛⲛⲉ … ⲕⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) a ship (ϫⲟⲓ) at (ϩⲓ) the landing stage (ⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲱ) without the man (i.e. the prior) (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the congregation (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)' (praec. Pach. 118).
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

(4) ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ), *a knight* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) from (ⲛⲧⲉ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) came (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) together with (ⲙⲛ) a deacon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ), wishing (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to meet (ⲉ-ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)' (Hil. 5:8-9)
☐ resumed topic ☐ new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

(1) ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ (Eud. 40:1-2)

(2) ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲓⲏ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ϫⲉ (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)

(3) ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉϩⲙⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ (Test. Is. 231:7-8)

(4) [ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ (Eud. 34:27-36:1)

(5) ⲫⲩⲥⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲟ ⲛⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ (AP Chaîne no.19, 4:7-8)

(6) ϥⲥⲙⲁⲗⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϫⲟⲉ[ⲓⲥ] [ⲡⲛⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ [ⲕⲱⲥ]ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ [ⲡ]ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲛ ⲑⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥⲁ (Eud. 48:9-10)

(7) ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲣⲁⲫⲁⲉⲗ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ (KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL

ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲛ[ⲉ] [ⲇⲉ] ⲙⲡϫⲟⲓ ⲉ[ⲡ]ⲕⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲧ[ⲱⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉ[ⲁⲥ] ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁ[ⲩ][ⲗⲟⲥ] ⲙⲛ [ⲁ]ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ[ⲛⲓⲟⲥ] ⲡⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲁⲩ[ϯ] [ⲡⲉ][ⲩ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲡⲩⲁⲏ[a] ⲛⲧ[ⲡⲟ]ⲗⲓⲥ[b] ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ (read ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓ) ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲩⲁⲩ (for ⲧⲡⲩⲁⲏ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ[c] ⲉⲱⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ. ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧ ⲡⲉ[ϥ]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲏ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ[d] ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲣ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲧⲛⲛϩⲩ ⲛⲧⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲥϥ ⲛⲁⲕ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. ⲡⲩⲁⲏ 'gate' b. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'city' c. ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 'apostle' d. ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ 'the deceased (lit. the one who died)', a free relative clause

WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE PERSIAN ARMY

ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲍ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϭⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲛⲟⲡⲟⲥ[a] ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ[b] ⲛⲧⲟ[ⲙ] ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲟⲩ]ϩ ⲛⲛⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ[c] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥϩⲓ[ⲡ]ⲡⲉⲩⲥ[d] ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲣⲁⲧⲟ[ⲩ][e] [ⲉⲧ]ⲣⲉⲩⲙⲟ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲓⲟⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲓⲅⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲛ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲟⲣ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲏⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ. ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϣⲉ ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲃⲁ (1.200.000). ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ (read ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) ⲛⲥⲏϥⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ⲡⲉ (...) ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ[f]. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲧ[g] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲡⲟⲥ (proper name) b. ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ 'commander-in-chief' c. ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ 'chariot' d. ϩⲓⲡⲡⲉⲩⲥ 'cavalry man' e. ⲛ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲣⲁⲧ=ⲟⲩ 'the footmen, infantry' f. ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ 'desert' g. ϩⲟⲧ 'opposite'

10.3 Residual V–S(–O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ '(there) *was* (ⲉⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛ) a sycamore (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) desert (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲏ)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)
☐ comparative extension ☐ locative extension

(2) ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ ϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲧⲉ '(there) *is* (ⲟⲩⲛ) (a kind of) woman (ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) whom (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) her husband (ⲡⲉⲥ-ϩⲁⲓ) suspects (ⲉ-ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲧⲉⲩⲉ) of (ϫⲉ) (being) adulterous (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (Sh. *Or.* 44, 159b:42-46)
☐ locative extension ☐ relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

(1) ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲫⲡϩⲓⲥⲉ ϩⲛ ϣⲓⲛⲧ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛϥⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲃⲏⲥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ (AP Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)

(2) ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ (KMHL II 33:16-17)

(3) ⲙⲛ ⲇⲟⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ (Eud. 66:9)

(4) ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲣⲧ ⲙⲙⲟϥ (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

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

ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲣⲓ[a]. ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ[b] ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲙ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲫⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲡⲁ. ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉ[c] ⲟⲩⲛ ⲫⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ. ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ[d] ⲡⲉ ⲛϥⲟⲩⲱⲫ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ[d] (for ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲓⲁ) ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ[f] (for ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲛϣⲁϫⲉ. ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ[g] ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ[h] (for ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ) ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓϩⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ. ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ[i] ϣⲁ ⲡⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ[j] ϣⲟⲟⲡ; ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ϩⲁ ⲧⲡⲁϣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲁϣⲟⲙⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ. (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. ⲛⲣⲓ 'Kellia' b. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ 'to summon, appeal' c. ⲥⲉ 'yes' d. ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ 'fornication' f. ϩⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ 'week' g. ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ 'to test' h. ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'temptation' i. ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ 'service' j. ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ 'repentance'

Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. ⲛⲉⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧ ⲕⲃⲟ ⲛⲛⲫⲩⲭⲏ 'the remedies (ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ) [*which* (ⲉⲧ __) *give* (ⲧ) *solace* (ⲕⲃⲟ) *to the souls* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲏⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲏⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'I ate (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [*what was left* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) *of the bread* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲛⲧⲕ '(it is) the governor (ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *is asking* (ⲭⲛⲟⲩ) *you* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) [*what* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *your name* (ⲡⲛⲧ-ⲕ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who, whom, which, what*, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'a thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [*that* (ⲉⲣⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *hates* (ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ) his father (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *was sleeping* (ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) *in* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMP_{REL} for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMP_{REL}	EMBEDDED CLAUSE]
ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ$_i$ a thing$_i$	[ⲉⲣⲉ that	ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ$_i$] God hates (it$_i$)
ⲡ-ⲙⲁ$_i$ the place$_i$	[ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ that	ⲡⲉϥ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ$_i$] his father was sleeping in-(it$_i$)

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g. ⲡⲁⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϯⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'my Christ (ⲡⲁ-ⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ) [*in whom* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *believe* (ⲉ-ϯ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g. ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*who has* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) *many* (ϩⲁϩ) *gods* (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Eud. 36:11),

ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛϣⲁϥⲃⲟϣⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'at the hour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened them* (the camels) (ⲛ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲟϣ-ⲟⲩ) *daily* (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ) *at* (ϩⲓ) *night* (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g. ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ 'a place (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) [*that was* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (ⲛ-ϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g. ⲁϥϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ 'he (the devil) raised (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓⲥⲉ) his head (ⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲁⲡⲉ) above (ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) me (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲓ), [*while his mouth* (ⲣⲱ-ϥ) *was* (wide) *open* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲱⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g. ⲉⲕⲛⲁϭⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ 'will you watch (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲱϣⲧ) me (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲓ) [*rushing* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to perdition (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g. ⲉⲕϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲟⲩ - ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲓϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ 'from what (ⲉ-ⲟⲩ) *do you suffer* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)? - Lord (ⲡ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄), *I am suffering* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ) from my liver (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similiarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative enviroments (e.g. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*where* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) *you have found it* (the boat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ϥ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g. ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ 'what (ⲟⲩ) *has happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ) to you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ), our lord (ⲡⲉⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) (and) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ)?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers ⲉⲣⲉ and ⲉ- introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, compare: ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ 'a thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [*that* (ⲉⲣⲉ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *hates* (ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ 'every (ⲛⲓⲙ) place (ⲙⲁ) [*that they* (the brothers) *will be sent* (lit. that they will send them (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥⲉ)) *to* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)]' (praec. Pach. 129).

11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet ⲉⲧ, ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ, and ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-. The allomorphs ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ and ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)- are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme ⲉⲧ- and the relative markers ⲉⲣⲉ and ⲉ- that also introduce virtual relative clauses: ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ, ⲉⲧ-ⲉ.

a) The "bare" relative complementiser ⲉⲧ

The "bare" complementiser ⲉⲧ is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or "gap" (indicated as '__' in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ 'the angel (ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *serves* (ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) *your father* (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *Abraham*]' (Test. Is 229:18-19).

b) The internally complex relative complementisers ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-

The morphologically derived relative complementisers ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ- and ⲉⲧⲉ-, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. ⲡⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲏ ⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲩ 'the word (ⲡ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ) *the superintendent* (ⲡ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏ) *will say* (ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ)]' (praec. Pach. 122) vs. ⲧⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*where* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ) *you are sick* (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ)]' (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

	SUBJECT RELATIVES	
	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ$_i$ [$_{RC}$ ⲉⲧ__$_i$ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ]	
	The man$_i$ [$_{RC}$ who __$_i$ is listening]	
	NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES	
	ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ$_i$ [$_{RC}$ ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲩ]	
	The man$_i$ [$_{RC}$ that he is listening to (him)$_i$]	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲉ-†-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd masc.	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd fem.	ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3rd masc.	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3rd fem.	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: (ⲉⲧ plus subject gap) ⲧⲉϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ 'the grace (ⲧⲉ-ϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [*which* (ⲉⲧ __) *surrounded* (ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) *him* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)]' (KMHL II 35:12-13), ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉϫ ⲉⲓⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'everybody (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *will throw* (ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲉϫ) *garbage* (ⲉⲓⲧⲛ) *out* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *of his house* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲏⲓ)]' (Eud. 52:26-27), (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ plus subject NP) ⲡⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'the house (ⲡ-ⲏⲓ) [*where* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) *this little* (ϣⲏⲙ) *boy* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) *died* (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), (ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)- plus subject

pronoun) ⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲟⲓⲕ 'the manner (ⲟⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [(*in which*) *I was diligent* (ⲉ-ϯ-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ < ⲉⲧ-ϯ-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ) *at my manual* (ⲛ-ⲟⲓⲕ) *labour* (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲱⲃ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'the hour (ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [*when you will stand up* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲕ)]' (Test. Is. 232:19), ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*that he did* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ)]' (KHML II 19:8-9), ⲛⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ 'the mighty deeds (ⲛ-ⲟⲟⲙ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [*that he did* (ⲉⲧ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *to* (ⲙⲛ) *King* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Constantine*]' (Eud. 50:1), ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ 'everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*which she* (ⲛⲧⲟⲥ) *is looking* (ⲉⲧ-ⲥ-ⲱⲓⲛⲉ) *for* (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]' (Eud. 64:19).

11.1.2.3 Complementiser-TAM agreement

A different set of complementiser allomorphs is selected when the relative complementiser precedes a tense-aspect-mood marker rather than the embedded subject position of the relative clause.

TAM	$COMP_{REL}$	TAM	$COMP_{REL}$
PRETERIT ⲛⲉ-	ⲉ-	NEGATIVE SCOPE DEFINER ⲛ-	ⲉ-
PERFECT ⲁ-	(ⲉ)ⲛⲧ-	NEGATIVE PERFECT ⲙⲡⲉ-	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-
HABITUAL ⲱⲁ-	ⲉ-, (ⲉ)ⲛ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ⲙⲉ-	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-
VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES	ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)-	ⲉⲧⲉ-

TABLE 11.2 Complementiser-tense/aspect/mood agreement

Examples: (relativised Preterit) ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ 'in (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) the manner (ⲟⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [*that it* (the sun) *is* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟ)]' (Zen. 200:27), (relativised Habitual) ⲛⲟⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ 'in the manner (ⲛⲟⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [*that they used to do it* (ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲁ-ⲥ) to the holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) martyrs (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ)]' (V. Pach. 94:8-9), ⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϣⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛϣⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲩ 'every (single) (ⲛⲓⲙ) one (ⲁⲁⲩ) of the trees (ⲛ-ϣⲏⲛ) [*that he* Apa Matthew) *planted* (ⲉⲛ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]' (KHML II 19:6-7), ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ

ⲛϣⲁϥⲃⲟϣⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'at the hour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened them* (the camels) (ⲛ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲟϣ-ⲟⲩ) daily (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ) at (ϩⲓ) night (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12)], ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲡϣⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'also (ⲟⲛ) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ) of [*those* [*whose minds* (lit. hearts) (ⲛⲉⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ) *had left* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲡϣⲱⲥ) *them* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause), (relativised Perfect) ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕϩⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ 'everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*which you ordered* (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ϩⲱⲛ) me (ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ) (to do)]' (Eud. 34:14), ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧⲟ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [*where* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟ) *you have found it* (the boat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲟ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), (relativised Negative Perfect), ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲡⲱⲁ ⲛⲑⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ 'this other person (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) [who (is) (ⲉⲧ __) in (ϩⲛ) your midst (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) [*that I am not worthy* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲡⲱⲁ) (that) he talks (ⲛ-ⲑ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) to me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), (relativised Unexpected Negative Perfective) ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲱⲥⲕ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'our senior (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), he (ⲡⲁⲓ) [*who had not long ago* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟ-ⲱⲥⲕ) gone (ϫⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲟ-ⲃⲱⲕ) towards (ⲉ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Sh. III 142:5-7), (relativised Negative Habitual) ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲛⲧⲟ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), [he (ⲡⲁⲓ) [without whom (ⲉϫⲛⲧ-ⲟ) nothing (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *happens* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ)]]' (Zen. 202:3) (a free relative clause), ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲩⲥⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ '[those [*who do not get enough* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲉⲓ) of robbing (ⲛ-ⲧⲱⲣⲡ) and stealing (ⲛ-ⲟⲓ) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (ⲁⲛ) theirs (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ))]]]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24) (a free relative clause), (relativised negative concord) ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ '[*what was non-existent*]' (V. Pach. 7:14) (a free relative clause), (fronted adjectival verb) ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁϣⲁϩⲟⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'these kinds (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ) of people (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [against whom (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) the ones who complain (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲁϣ-ⲁϩⲟⲙ) *are numerous* (ⲉⲧⲉ ... ⲛⲁⲫⲉ)]' (Sh. IV 99:19).

11.1.3 The grammatical role of the relative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause plays a role in two different clauses. On the one hand, it has a particular grammatical role (subject, direct or indirect object, adjunct) in the matrix clause, but it also has a particular grammatical role in the attributive relative clause. Coptic relative constructions have within their structure an anaphoric element that recovers the pivot's internal role. The placeholder may take the form of a resumptive pronoun, as in ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲛϩⲏⲧⲟ '*the place*

(ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) *[where he was (lit. that he was in it*$_i$ ((ϵ-ⲛϵ-ⲧ-ⲛⲍⲏⲧ-ⲧ)]' (KHML II 20:9), but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*their faith*$_i$ (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ) [that (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) perfect (ⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)]' (Test. Is. 233:19).

11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲯⲁⲣⲃⲁ '*a place*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) [*that was* (lit. while *it*$_i$ was (ϵ-ⲧ-ⲟ)) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (ⲛ-ⲯⲁⲣⲃⲁ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ '*every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man*$_i$ (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*who* (lives) *on* (lit. while *he*$_i$ lives on (ϵ-ⲧ-ⲍⲓⲭⲙ)) *earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲍ)]' (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) ϩϩⲁⲩ [ⲛ]ⲯⲏⲛ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ] ⲉⲁⲧⲭⲟⲟⲩ 'every (single) (ⲛⲓⲙ) one (ϩϩⲁⲩ) *of the trees*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲯⲏⲛ) [*that he* (Apa Matthew) *planted* (*them*$_i$) (ϵ-ⲁ-ⲧ-ⲭⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) ⲉⲩⲍⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲯⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ 'to *a bird*$_i$ (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲍⲁϩⲏⲧ) [*which is called* (lit. while *they* say (ϵ-ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *about it*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲧ) »*truth*« (ⲧ-ⲙⲉ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) ⲍⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲙⲯⲉ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲍⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲙⲯⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'great (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ) multitudes (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲙⲯⲉ) *of thrones*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) [*on which great* (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *multitudes* (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲙⲯⲉ) *of highly* (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *venerable* (lit. who were under (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲍⲁ) glory (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ)) monks (ⲙ-ⲙⲱⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ϵ-ⲩ-ⲍⲙⲟⲟⲥ)) *on* (*them*$_i$) (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]' (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲉ (...) ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ 'a virgin (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) *sister*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) [*whose name* (lit *while her*$_i$ name (ϵ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ) (was) (ⲡⲉ)) Eudoxia (ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ)]' (Eud. 50:3-4).

11.1.3.2 The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲁⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ '*the monk*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) does not (ⲁⲛ) restrain (ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) *his*$_i$ tongue (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲗⲁⲥ), especially (ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ) in the hour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) of anger (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:8-9), ⲉⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'at the idle (lit. *which is idle* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$ ⲯⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ) *praise*$_i$ (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of this world (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 28:4-5), ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲍ 'according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *the manner*$_i$ (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ⲍⲉ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) *is written* (ⲥⲏⲍ)]' (V. Pach. 4:20), ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ '*every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) human (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *race*$_i$ (ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) lives (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) my kingdom (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲡⲧⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ '*the peace*$_i$ (ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ < ⲧ-ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ) *of my lord*$_j$ (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) [*which he*$_j$ *has given* (*it*$_i$) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) *to me* (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ)]' (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ⲛⲉⲕⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ '*your words*$_i$ (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) [*that you spoke* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ϫⲱ) (*them*$_i$) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ '*this man*$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*that you are looking* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *at* (*him*$_i$) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ) *right now* (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ)]' (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ '*the man*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*that you were* talking (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) *to me* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) *about* (*him*$_i$) (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲩ), (namely) Apa Pachôm]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ '*the place*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲛⲁ) [*where the camel* (ⲡ-ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲁ) *will rest* (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) (*in it*$_i$) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲩ))]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲡⲱⲯⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'also (ⲟⲛ) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ) of (ϩⲛ) *those*$_i$ [*whose*

minds$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲩ-ϩⲏⲧ) *had left* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲫⲁⲣⲉ … ⲡⲱⲱⲥ) *them*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause).

11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker ⲛ-, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subject tense-aspect-mood marker) ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲙ ⲙⲉⲛ (for ⲙⲛ) ⲛⲉⲫⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ ⲏⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ '*the mighty deeds*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲃⲟⲙ) *and* (ⲙⲉⲛ) *miracles*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲡⲏⲣⲉ) [*that* (*they*$_i$) *happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲫⲱⲡⲉ) *through* (ϩⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟ) *our father* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16), ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲅ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *all*$_i$ (those) (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*that* (*they*$_i$) *have not yet known you* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ-ⲅ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *your magical tricks* (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ)]' (Sh. III 77:26), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*who*$_i$ (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [*that* (*he*$_i$) *will not* (ⲁⲛ) *believe* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) *in the mighty deeds* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲃⲟⲙ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (KMHL II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ 'let us bring forth (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *fruit*$_i$ (ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [*that* (*it*$_i$) *is good* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲧ)]' (KHML II 19:15).

11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲧⲁⲓ, ⲛⲁⲓ 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲍⲏⲛⲟⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ 'the blessed (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Zenobius, [*that is* (ⲉⲧⲉ … ⲡⲉ), our father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ)]' (Zen. 199:9), ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'those who believe (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ), [*which (is)* (ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ) the utmost degree (ⲡ-ϫⲱⲕ) of obedience (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲡⲱϩ ⲫⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ '*at* (ϩⲛ) *the moment* (ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲟⲩ) [(when) this order (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ) will reach (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ … ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲱϩ) you (ⲫⲁⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲉⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *in the hour* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [that my throne (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) was turned down (lit. *they* turned down (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ)) under me (ϩⲁⲣⲟ-ⲓ) for a second time (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲉⲡ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲟⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟ '*the day*$_i$ (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) [*when*$_i$ (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟ) you were born (lit. *they* gave birth to you (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲡⲟ-ⲕ))]' (KHML II 30:13).

b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun ⲑⲉ (< ⲧ-ϩⲉ) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲟϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲛϩ '*in* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *the manner*$_i$ (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [that he (Apa Mena) had told (*it*$_i$) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲟ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) while (he was) still (ⲛϫⲓⲛ) alive (ⲡ-ⲱⲛϩ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), ⲑⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ '*the manner*$_i$ (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [that he (Pachôm) behaved (lit. made (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲟ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) (*it*$_i$) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)) towards them (the brothers) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) the time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ)' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g ⲑⲉ ⲉ†ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲟⲓϫ '*the manner* (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [(in which) I was diligent (ⲉ-†-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ < ⲉⲧ-†-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ) at my manual (ⲛ-ⲟⲓϫ) labour (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲱⲃ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ ⲣ ϩⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ 'this (ⲧⲁⲓ) (was) *the manner* (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [(in which) that (ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ) demon (ⲡ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ) carried out (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ⲣ) many (ϩⲁϩ) evil (things) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g. ϩⲛⲕⲉⲫⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲡⲧ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲫⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'other trees (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲫⲏⲛ) [RC1 *while* (*they*$_i$) *were loaded* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲡⲧ) *with fruit* (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [RC2 *while* (*they*$_j$) *were plenty* (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲫⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT$_1$	[RC1	ANTECEDENT$_2$	[RC2]]
ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲫⲏⲛ$_i$ *other trees*$_i$	[RC1 ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲡⲧ while (*they*$_i$) were loaded	ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ$_j$ with *fruit*$_j$	[RC2 ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲫⲱ-ⲟⲩ]] while (*they*$_j$) were plenty

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g. ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲫⲏⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲃⲏⲥⲁⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲫⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ '(there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) *a young* (ⲫⲏⲙ) *lad*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲫⲏⲣⲉ) [RC1 *whose name* (lit. while *his*$_i$ name (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ... ⲡⲉ)) Bêsamôn (ⲃⲏⲥⲁⲙⲱⲛ), [RC2 *who* (was) (lit. while *he*$_i$ (ⲡⲉ) (was)) *the son* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲫⲏⲣⲉ) *of a general*$_j$ (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ), [RC3 *whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*$_j$ name (was) (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ... ⲡⲉ)) Basilitês (ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ)]]]' (KHML I 43:5-6), ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) ⲉⲩϩⲁ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'great (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) multitudes (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ) of *thrones*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ), [RC1 *on which*$_i$ (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ) *were seated* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) great (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) multitudes (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ) of *monks*$_j$ (ⲙ-ⲙⲱⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) [RC2 *that were* highly (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *venerable* (lit. while *they*$_j$ were under (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲁ) glory (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ))]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g. ⲛⲉϩⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓⲉ '*the* holy *brothers*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲛⲏⲩ) (lit. [RC1 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) are holy (ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)) [RC2 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) *live* (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC1	[RC2]]
ⲛⲉ-ϩⲛⲏⲩ$_i$ the brothers$_i$	[RC1 ⲉⲧ__ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ who are holy	[RC2 ⲉⲧ__$_i$ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ]] who live in the desert

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g. ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ '*this man*$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [RC1 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) *is holy* (ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) [RC2 that (*he*$_i$) possessed (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ) such a multitude (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ) of virtues (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ)]]' (BHom. 2:1-2), ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲡⲱⲁ ⲛϥⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ '*this other person*$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) [RC1 *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) (is) *in* (ϩⲛ) your midst (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) [RC2 *that I am not worthy* (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲡⲱⲁ) (that) *he*$_i$ talks (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) to me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g. ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*your teachings*$_i$ (ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ) [RC1 *that* (*they*$_i$) *are beneficient* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ) [RC2 *that you have taught me* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ⲓ) (*them*$_i$) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-coordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g. ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲡⲯⲙⲯⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'everybody

(ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ) *[who* (ⲉⲧ __) will perform (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲣ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) worship (ⲡ-ⲯⲙⲱⲉ) *and believe* (ⲛ-ⲫ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in him (Jesus Christ) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲓⲣⲉⲟⲥ (for ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ) ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [who has been (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲱⲡⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) the generations (ⲛ-ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ) [that existed (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲱⲡⲉ) *and passed by* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) their guilelessness (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲣⲉⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) their faith (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) in God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥ̀ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ 'the goodness (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ) of my Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$), [he (ⲡⲁⲓ) [whom you crucified (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥ̀ⲣⲟⲩ) *and put* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲫ) into (ϩⲛ) a tomb (ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ)]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ '(there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲉⲛ) also (ⲟⲛ) *a* (certain) *man*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) [*who* was possessed by a demon (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ) (lit. while (there) (was) with *him*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)) since (ⲛϫⲓⲛ) his childhood (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ † [ⲛⲁ]ⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲗ '*the man*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [*whom*$_i$ (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) Apa Mena *had given* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... †) his camels (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲃⲁ '*a place*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁ) [*that was* (lit. while *it*$_i$ was (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ)) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲣⲃⲁ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

vs. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϫⲩ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ '*the place*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [(*where*) Paul (ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ) *threw himself* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲛⲟϫ-ⲩ) into the water (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

a) Specific indefinite antecedents

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲣ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ '*one*$_i$ (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) amongst (ϩⲛ) the holy ones (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) spent (ⲁ ....ⲣ) forty (ϩⲙⲉ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) without eating (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) (and) drinking (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲱ)', [*to wit* (ⲉⲧⲉ ... ⲡⲉ) the (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) Moses (ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ), the archprophet (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ)]' (KHML II 35:18-21), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲱ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲫⲱⲛⲉ 'the man (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (ⲉⲧ __) are sick (ⲫⲱⲛⲉ)) people (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) shall stay (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱ) behind them (the fellow monks) (ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *a brother*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) will fall sick (ⲛⲁ-ⲫⲱⲛⲉ)]' (praec. Pach.).

b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲁⲩⲃⲓ (for ⲉⲫⲁⲩⲫⲓ) ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲫⲱⲥ 'like (ⲛⲑⲉ) *sheep*$_i$ (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ) [*from which*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) *their*$_i$ shepherd (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲫⲱⲥ) is taken away (lit. *they* take away (ⲉ-ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲓ)]' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g. ϩⲛⲕⲉⲫⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲧ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲫⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'other trees (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲫⲏⲛ) [while (<u>they</u>$_i$) were loaded (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲛⲧ) with *<u>fruit</u>*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [*while (<u>they</u>*$_i$*) were plenty* (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲫⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15) vs. ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ 'let us bring forth (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) good fruit (lit. *<u>fruit</u>*$_i$ (ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [*<u>which</u>*$_i$ *is good* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ))]' (KHML II 19:15).

c) Quantified antecedents

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with quantified relative antecedents and provide information that makes it possible to narrow down the set of potential referents of quantified antecedents. When the pivot is an indefinite pronoun, such as ⲟⲩⲁ 'one' or ⲕⲉ 'other', the selection of either relativisation pattern depends on its definite or indefinite determination, e.g. ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉϥⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲏ ⲡⲉⲛϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'with the exception (ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ) of *<u>some</u>*$_i$ (people) (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ) [*<u>who</u>*$_i$ *come* (ⲉ-ϥⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) to visit (ⲉ-ⲟⲙ) us (ⲡⲉⲛ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the love (ⲧ-ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Hil. 5:21-22) vs. ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲧⲉ (...) '*<u>this other person</u>*$_i$ (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) [*<u>who</u>* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) (is) *in* (ϩⲛ) your midst (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) [that I am not worthy (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲡϣⲁ) (that) *<u>he</u>*$_i$ talks (ⲛ-ϥ-ϣⲁϫⲉ) to me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ '*<u>others</u>*$_i$ (i.e. monsters) (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ) [*<u>which</u>*$_i$ *had* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) one single (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) eye (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲃⲁⲗ)]' (Test. Is. 234:4) vs. ⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣ ⲃⲣⲱϣϩ '*<u>the others</u>*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ) [*<u>who</u>*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) are in (lit. make (ⲣ)) need (ⲃⲣⲱϣϩ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17).

The definiteness opposition is not applicable to the distributive universal quantifier ⲛⲓⲙ 'all, each', which must be construed with "bare" nouns (see above, section 4.3.1 of Unit 4). It looks as if the selection of a non-virtual relative clause imposes a more specific or topical interpretation on the universally quantified antecedent than its non-virtual counterpart. Thus, consider: ϩⲁⲡⲁϫ ϩⲁⲡⲗⲟⲥ (for ϩⲁⲡⲱⲥ) ⲗⲁⲁⲩ [ⲛ]ϣⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲩ 'briefly (ϩⲁⲡⲁϫ ϩⲁⲡⲗⲟⲥ), <u>every</u> (ⲛⲓⲙ) *<u>single</u>* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *<u>tree</u>*$_i$ (ⲛ-ϣⲏⲛ) [*that he had planted* (*<u>them</u>*$_i$)(ⲉ-ⲗ-ϥ-ϫⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (KHML II 18:23-24) vs. ϩⲁⲡⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϩⲟⲧⲡ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅ 'briefly (ϩⲁⲡⲱⲥ) *<u>everyone</u>*$_i$ (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*<u>who</u>*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) was imprisoned (ϩⲟⲧⲡ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of Jesus (ⲛ-ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ϫ̅ⲥ̅)]' (Eud. 40:24-25); (new discourse topic) ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ

'blessed are (ⲛⲁ-ⲓⲁⲧ-ϥ) *<u>everybody</u>*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*<u>who</u>*$_i$ *will perform* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) an act of mercy (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲁ) in (ϩⲙ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of these patriarchs (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ)]' (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning) ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ '*<u>everyone</u>*$_i$ (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) [*<u>who</u>*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) will perform (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) an act of mercy (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲁ) on the day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of their (the patriarchs') remembrance (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲣ ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)]' (Test. Is. 237:24).

d) The set interpretation of definite antecedents

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g. ⲡⲁⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'my *<u>Christ</u>*$_i$ (ⲡⲁ-ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ) [*in <u>whom</u>*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *believe* (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16), ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ '*<u>the death</u>* (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲩ) [*that* (ⲉⲣⲉ) my Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Apa Nahrow is going to die (ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ) (*in <u>it</u>*$_i$) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)]' (KHML I 7:27), ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲗⲁϫ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ ϧϩϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*<u>the</u>* (pavement) *<u>stones</u>*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲗⲁϫ) [*on <u>which</u>*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) his blood (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲛⲟϥ) *has been smeared out* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ϧϩϩ)]' (KHML I 6:28).

11.1.5.3 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

a) Restrictive relatives

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ '*<u>a thing</u>*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [*that* God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *hates* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ) (*<u>it</u>*$_i$) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲣⲙ 'like (ⲛⲑⲉ) *<u>a</u> <u>sheep</u>*$_i$ (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ)

[*which*$_i$ *has gone astray* (ϵ-q-coρм)]' (Test. Is. 232:34), оγ гар пє пζωв nζϵNΔaiмωN ϵγ† NMMAN NNaζPN ζϵNaγгϵλoc ϵγмiψϵ ϵxωN 'for (гар) what (оγ) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing (п-ζωв)) of *the demons*$_i$ (N-ζϵN-ΔaiмωN) [*who*$_i$ *fight* (lit. give (ϵ-γ-†)) with us (NMMA-N)] compared to (NNaζPN) *the* angels$_i$ *who*$_i$ *fight* (ϵ-γ-Hiψϵ) for us (ϵxω-N)]?' (KHML II 11:14-16). In extended existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. NϵγN оγρωMϵ Δϵ ζM пMaργρiON Hпζaгiос aпa MHNa ϵпϵqpaN пє Maρкос '(there) was (Nϵ-γN) *a* (certain) *man*$_i$ (оγ-рωMϵ) in (ζM) the memorial chapel (п-Maργρion) of the holy (M-п-ζaгioc) Apa Mena [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*$_j$ name (was) (ϵ-пϵq-раN ... пє)) Mark (Maркoc)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. aγω NTOq пє пρро ϵqζapaтк 'and (aγω) he (Constantine) (NTOq) (is) *the king*$_i$ (п-ррo) [*who*$_i$ *is under you* (ϵ-q-ζa-рат-к)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), NiM пє пρωMϵ ϵqNaбωψт NCa пϵqψHpϵ ϵqBHк NϵMTω NqTMBoHθϵi ϵpoq 'who (NiM) (is) *the man*$_i$ (п-рωMϵ) [*who*$_i$ *will watch* (ϵ-q-Na-бωψт) his son (NCa пϵq-ψHpϵ) drowning (lit. going (ϵ-q-BHк) to the depths (of the sea) (N-ϵMTω))] and (*he*$_i$) would not help (N-q-TM-BoHθϵi) him (ϵpo-q)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. aγω Nϵψaxϵ Nψapϵ пMϵTоγaaB aпa пaMBω xooγ Nac 'and (aγω) *the words*$_i$ (Nϵ-ψaxϵ) [*that* the holy (п-пϵTоγaaB) Apa Pambô *used to say* (*them*$_i$) (N-ψapϵ ... xoo-γ) to her (Hilaria) (Na-c)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), NTωψ NTa пNoγTϵ aaγ '*the rules*$_i$ (N-Tωψ) [*that* God (п-NoγTϵ) *has made* (*them*$_i$) (NT-a ... aa-γ)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: ζϵNcioγ NpoγZϵ MN ζϵNcioγ NZTooγϵ ϵγ† Maϵin ϵNϵγNooγϵ NTϵγψH 'the evening (N-poγZϵ) and (MN) morning (N-ZTooγϵ) *stars*$_i$ (ζϵN-cioγ) [*which*$_i$ *indicate* (lit. give (ϵ-γ-†) sign (Maϵin)) the hours

(ϵ-Nϵ-γNooγϵ) of the night (N-Tϵ-γψH)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), ζϵNZiP ζN aMNTϵ ϵγO NϵpHMoc ϵMN λaaγ NZHToγ '*the streets*$_i$ (ζϵN-ZiP) in (ζN) Hell (aMNTϵ) [*which*$_i$ *are* (ϵ-γ-o) (in a) deserted (N-ϵpHMoc) (state) [*without* (ϵ-MN) anyone (λaaγ) *on them*$_i$ (NZHT-oγ)]]' (Ac. A&P 204:132) vs. ϵaM[N]Tϵ ϵTϵ пai пϵ пMa MпpiMϵ MN пбaζбZ NNOBZϵ 'to *Hell*$_i$ (ϵ-aMNTϵ), *which*$_i$ *is* (ϵTϵ пai пϵ) the place (п-Ma) of weeping (M-п-piMϵ) and (MN) gnashing (п-бaζбZ) of teeth (N-N-oBZϵ)]' (Ac.A&P 204:142), пϵZooγ MпZaп ϵTϵpϵ пXoϵic Na† ζaп ϵpoK '*the day*$_i$ (пϵ-Zooγ) *of the judgement* (M-п-ζaп) [(when) the Lord (п-Xoϵic) will judge (lit. will give (ϵTϵpϵ ... Na-†) law (ζaп)) you (ϵpo-K)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. оγON NiM ϵqZM пXaiϵ ϵTпoλγTϵγϵ ϵTBϵ пNoγTϵ aγω ϵTMNaγ ϵpωMϵ '*everyone*$_i$ (оγON NiM) [RC1 *who*$_i$ (is) *in* (ϵ-q-ζM) the desert (п-Xaiϵ) [RC2 *who*$_i$ (ϵT __) *leads an ascetic life* (пoλγTϵγϵ) for (ϵTBϵ) God (п-NoγTϵ) and (aγω) in order not to see (ϵ-TM-Naγ) anybody (ϵ-pωMϵ)]]' (Onnophr. 214:24-25).

11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers N- 'for' and ϵ- 'to', e.g. оγBaпTiCMa NoγXai MпгϵNoc THpq NaΔaM 'a baptism (оγ-BaпTiCMa) [*to save* (N-oγXai) the entire (THp-q) race (M-п-гϵNoc) of Adam (N-aΔaM)]' (Eud. 34:13), оγψaxϵ ϵxooq ϵpooγ 'a word (оγ-ψaxϵ) [*to be spoken* (ϵ-xoo-q) to them (ϵpo-oγ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), ϵγCKϵγoc ϵoγoMq 'for a vessel (ϵ-γ-CKϵγoc) [*to eat from* (ϵ-oγoM-q)]' (Onnophr. 211:8).

11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. пρро Δϵ NTϵpϵqNaγ ϵпϵNTa пNoγTϵ aaq NMMaq (...) 'when the King (п-ррo) saw (NTϵpϵ-q-Naγ) [*what God* (п-NoγTϵ) *had done* (ϵ-пϵ-NT-a ... aa-q)

for him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as $\emptyset_{NOUN}$). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
ⲡⲉ- that	$\underline{\emptyset_{NOUN_i}}$	[RC ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲁ-ⲥ$_i$ (...)] what God had done (it$_i$)

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article ⲡ-, ⲧ-, ⲛ- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲧⲁⲓ, ⲛⲁⲓ. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*he who will neglect* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) them (the instructions) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (praec. Pach.103), ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) † ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ '*this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ), however (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲥ), [*whom the Christians give* (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... †) praise (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) *to* (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ '*this one* (ⲡⲁⲓ) [*in whom* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲥ) *the spirit* (ⲡⲉ-ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅)

of the devil (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *has branched out* (lit. has taken (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲭⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) roots (ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ '(the land of the Mariôtês), *the one they call* (ⲧ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) »Pajat« (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ '*she* (ⲧⲁⲓ) [*who is watched* (lit. *they* watch (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ) her (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ)) by (ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the angels (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲁⲓⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) of my Father (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) [who is (ⲉⲧ __) in (ϩⲛ) heaven (ⲙ-ⲡⲏⲩⲉ)]]' (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲧⲏⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'except (ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *those who have been ordered* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲧⲏⲱ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *those who gathered* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ) with him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)' (Test. Is. 228:5), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲯⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲃⲓ (for ϥⲓ) ⲗⲱⲅⲟⲥ (for ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ) '*those* (ⲛⲁⲓ) [*who are brought* (lit. *they* have brought (ⲛ-ⲯⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ)) to him (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) of justification (lit. taking (ⲛ-ⲃⲓ) account (ⲗⲱⲅⲟⲥ)]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲣⲯⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ ⲧⲁϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲏ ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲛϩⲕⲟ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲛⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲥⲱ 'where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will [*those who live* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ) *in* (ϩⲙ) *the desert* (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ) *for the sake of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)] find (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉ) somebody (ⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ), when *they* get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (ⲟⲩ-ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) comes upon them (ⲣⲯⲁⲛ ... ⲧⲁϩⲟ-ⲟⲩ)), or (ⲏ) when *they* are hungry (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ϩⲕⲟ), where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will they find (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉ) food (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ); if *they* suffer from thirst (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲃⲉ), where (ⲧⲱⲛ) will they find (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ϩⲉ) water (ⲉ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) to drink (ⲉ-ⲥⲱ)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extraclausal positions of vocative and appositional phrases.

Examples: (subject FRC) ⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲕⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁ '[*those who went* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ) *with him* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)] withdrew themselves (ⲁ … ⲥⲟⲕ-ⲟⲩ) on each side (ⲛⲥⲁ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲁ)' (Test. Is. 234:6-7), ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲡⲁⲥⲁ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ 'since (ϫⲓⲛ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) [*all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *which is inside me* (lit. which is in my inner (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲩⲛ) side (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲁ))] has become healthy (ⲁ … ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 'and each one (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) told (ⲛⲧⲉ … ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) [*what he knew* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ) *from* (ϩⲛ) *the Scriptures* (ⲛⲉ-ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'I ate (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [*what was left* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) *of the bread* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) ⲫⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ † ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'God (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) shows (lit. give (ⲫⲁⲣⲉ … †)) favour (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ) [*to those who will believe* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) I reflected (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) by myself (lit. in (ϩⲙ) my heart (ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ)) [*about what I had done* (ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲗⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲱ̄ 'the regiment (ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ) [*of those whom* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *they call* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) »Luduriakon« (ⲗⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲱ̄)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱϣ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲩϩⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲩⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ (for ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲛⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ) ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱϣ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ† ϩⲧⲏϥ 'in order that (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) they shall read (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱϣ) from it (the book) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) for the benefit (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲏⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) satisfaction (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ) [*of those who will read* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱϣ) *from it* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)] and (ⲙⲛ) [*of him who will listen* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) *to it* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *with* (ϩⲛ) *attention* (lit. giving (ⲟⲩ-†) one's attention (ϩⲧⲏ-ϥ))]' (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) ⲉⲓⲃⲏⲕ ϣⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'I am on my way (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲃⲏⲕ) [*to* (ϣⲁ) *the one who has sent me* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲧ)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ 'praise (ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), [*you who fear* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲧϥ) *his name* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ 'My Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅), [*he because of whom* (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ϥ) *I renounced* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ) *my father's* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *house* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲏⲓ)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲉ) ⲉⲩⲉⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟϥ '[*he who will protest* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲛⲕⲁ ⲙⲃⲁⲭⲉ (…) ⲉϥⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲙ '[*he who will break* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲡ) *a piece* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲕⲁ) *of pottery* (ⲙ-ⲃⲁⲭⲉ) (…)] shall be (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲓ) reprimanded (ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ)) at (ϩⲙ) the (lit. his) sixth (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ)) occurrence (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲙ)' (praec. Pach. 125).

d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) ⲡⲉⲧ† ⲥⲃⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *he*$_i$ *who*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ __) teaches (lit. give (†) teaching (ⲥⲃⲱ)) with (ϩⲛ) the mouth (ⲧ-ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ 'you should eat (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [*what* God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *has sent* (*it*$_i$) (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ … ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲩ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*what*$_i$ *you will ask* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) (*it*$_i$) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) from (ⲛⲧⲙ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 216:25), ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ '*what*$_i$ *you have seen* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) (*it*$_i$) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲛ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ϩⲙⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ '*he*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲉ) *before whom*$_i$ (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) nothing (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) *is hidden* (ⲙⲛ … ϩⲙⲡ)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), ⲉⲧⲙⲛⲧⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'towards perfection (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ) in (ϩⲛ) [*what*$_i$ *he had started* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ) (*in it*$_i$) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲁⲧⲉⲩϩⲏ 'Numerian (ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) *he*$_i$ (ⲡⲁⲓ) [*who*$_i$ *had been* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ) *king* (ⲣⲣⲟ) before them (ϩⲁ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ϩⲏ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲩⲥⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ '*those*$_i$ *who*$_i$ *do not get enough* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲉⲓ) of robbing (ⲛ-ⲧⲱⲣⲡ) and stealing (ⲛ-ϥⲓ) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (ⲁⲛ) theirs (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ))]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24).

11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ 'blessed is [*he who will do* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *the will* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *on* (ϩⲓϫⲙ) *earth* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9), ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲛⲉⲓϣⲁⲭⲉ 'may the blessings (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) of the patriarch (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ) be (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) [*those who come* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓ) *after us* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲛ)] and (ⲙⲛ) [*those who listen* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) *to these words* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ)]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7), ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'I looked (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ) at your face (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲟ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [*someone who had seen* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *the face* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲟ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9), ⲡⲉ[ⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲓ [ⲛⲁ] ϫⲡⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ ⲛϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ '[*what my boat* (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲓ) *will bring in* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ϫⲡⲟ-ϥ) *each* (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *year* (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)], I will split (lit. make) (ϣⲁ-ⲓ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ) into three (ⲛ-ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ) parts (ⲛ-ⲧⲟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5).

b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g. ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲍⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡϣⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ '[*the ones who served* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) *well* (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ)] are) [*those who stand* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲍⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ) *within* (ϩⲙ) *the confines* (ⲡ-ϣⲓ) *of the Scriptures* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ)]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31), ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ 'in (ϩⲙ) their joy (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲣⲁⲫⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) compassion (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ) towards me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ), they (the four lads) were (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ) [*those who had passed* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲡⲱⲛⲉ) *to the other world* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲕⲉ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ)]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3), ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲛⲏⲫⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧϩⲁ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ 'suddenly (ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ), I woke up (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲏⲫⲉ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ) [*those who are under* (the influence of) (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲁ) *wine* (ⲡ-ⲏⲣⲡ)]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲉⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ ϩⲱ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲁⲭⲉ (...) '(as for) [*him who has effected* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ) *in you* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) *this good* (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ) *desire* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ)], he may also (ϩⲱ) produce (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ) in us (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲛ) the fulfillment (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of your wish (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to let us say (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ϫⲱ) a few words (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ) (...)' (Zen. 199:25-27), ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'look (ⲁⲛⲁⲩ) at [*him* (ⲉ-ⲡⲁⲓ) [*in whom* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) *the spirit* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄) *of the devil* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *has branched out* (lit. has taken (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) roots (ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ))]]' (KHML II 33:25-26), ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲏⲃ (...) ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓϫⲁⲓⲉ 'oh (you) [*who brought* (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲧⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) *water* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) *out* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *of* (ϩⲛ) *the* rock (ⲧ-ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ) *of Khôreb* (ⲛ-ϫⲱⲣⲉⲃ)], will you (please) raise (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) water (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) in (ϩⲛ) this desert (ⲡⲉⲓ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϥϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Isaac) told (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲩⲟ) his words (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ) of instruction (ⲛ-ⲥⲃⲱ) to Jacob (ⲉ-ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ), his son (ⲡⲉϥ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ), and (ⲙⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) [*those who gathered* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ) *with him* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) [*those* (ⲛⲁⲓ) [*you are looking* (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) at (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)], they (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) the fathers (ⲛⲉ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) of the world (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ)' (KHML II 21:21-22).

d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'the Apostle (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *Judas*$_i$, [*who*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ __) *went*

(п-єт-ноофє) *with* (мн) *our Lord* (пєн-хоєіс)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), пасωт (read пасωтп) птєλємн пєнтаqр поγωф мпаєіωт єт2н ммпн[γ]є 'my chosen one (па-сωтп) <u>*Ptolemy*</u>$_i$ (птєλємн), [<u>*who*</u>$_i$ *has done* (пє-нт-а-q-р) *the will* (п-оγωф) *of my Father* (м-па-єіωт) *in* (єт __ 2н) *heaven* (н-м-пнγє)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), пноγтє пєнтаqшωпе мн пєнєіωт аδам мн авєλ мн нωхє '<u>*God*</u>$_i$ (п-ноγтє), [<u>*who*</u>$_i$ *has been* (пє-нт-а-q шωпє) *with* (мн) *our father* (пєн-єіωт) *Adam*, *with* (мн) *Abel* (мн) *Noah* (нωхє)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), пноγтє єтон2 паι нтаqтамοι єшєп 2ιсє 2н нє2ιсє нтаqшοпоγ 2аροн тнрн '*the* living (єт __ он2) <u>*God*</u>$_i$ (п-ноγтє), [<u>*who*</u>$_i$ (паι) *has taught me* (нт-а-q-тамо-ι) *to bear* (є-шєп) *grievances* (2ιсє) *through* (2н) *the grievances* (нє-2ιсє) [*that he bore* (нт-а-q-шοп-оγ) *for us* (2аро-н) *all* (тнр-н)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), єγєшωпе нωнρє нδаγєιδ паι єтхω ммос хє (...) 'they will become (є-γ-є-шωпє) the children (н-шнρє) of <u>*David*</u>$_i$ (н-δаγєιδ), [<u>*who*</u>$_i$ (паι) *says* (єт __ хω) that (хє) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), ттарθєнос єтоγаав таι єтоγроєіс єрос єβол 2ιтοοтоγ ннаггєλос мпаєіωт єт2н мпнγє 'oh holy (єт __ оγаав) <u>*virgin*</u>$_i$ (т-парθєнос), [<u>*who*</u>$_i$ (таι) *is watched* (lit. *they* watch (єт-оγ-роєіс) <u>*her*</u>$_i$ (єро-с)) *by* (2ιтοοт-оγ) *the angels* (н-н-аггєλос) *of my Father* (м-па-єіωт) *in* (єт __ 2н) *heaven* (н-м-пнγє)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. анг оγ2оор (read оγоγ2оор) паι єγшаннοхq єβол шаqβωк єγшаннογтє єроq шаqєι 'I (анг) (am) *a dog*$_i$ (оγ-оγ2оор), [<u>*who*</u>$_i$ (паι) *goes away* (ша-q-βωк) [*if they throw* <u>*him*</u>$_i$ (є-γ-шан-нох-q) *out* (єβол)] (and) (<u>*he*</u>$_i$) *comes* (ша-q-βωк) [*if they call* ((є-γ-шан-ноγтє) <u>*him*</u>$_i$ (єро-q)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. наι тнроγ пєтнаанєλєι єроογ єqнахι єпιтιмια 2ароογ '(as for) all (тнр-оγ) these (rules), [*he* <u>*who*</u> *will neglect* (п-єт-на-анєλєι) them (єро-оγ)] will be reprimanded

(lit. <u>*he*</u>$_i$ will receive (є-q-на-хι) reprimand (єпιтιмια)) on account of them (2аро-оγ)' (praec. Pach.103), пєтнашωпе єqпιстєγє єнψахє мппоγтє мн нєqпєтоγаав qнашωпе нклнронοмос нтмнтррο мппоγтє '(as for) [<u>*him*</u>$_i$ <u>*who*</u> (п-єт__) *will come* (на-шωпє) [*to believe* (є-q-пιстєγє) *the words* (є-н-шахє) *of God* (м-п-ноγтє) *and* (мн) *his saints* (нєq-пєтоγаав)]], <u>*he*</u>$_i$ will become (q-на-шωпє) heir (н-клнронοмос) to the kingdom (н-т-мнт-ррο) of God (м-п-ноγтє)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), нєтнамєλєта ммос 2м пєγ2нт тнрq 2н оγпιстιс єqпιстєγє (read єγпιстєγє) єнєнταιхοογ тнроγ таδом мн тδом мпамєριт нωнρє мн пєпν̄а̄ єтоγаав нашωпє ммау '(as for) [<u>*them*</u>$_i$ <u>*who*</u> (н-єт__) *will study* (на-мєλєта) *it* (the testament) (ммо-с) *with* (2м) *their whole* (тнр-q) *heart* (пєγ-2нт), *in* (2н) *faith* (оγ-пιстιс), [*believing* (є-γ-пιстєγє) *in all* (тнр-оγ) [what I have said (є-нє-нт-а-ι-хοο-γ)]]], my power (та-δом), the power (т-δом) of my beloved (м-па-мєριт) Son (н-шнρє), and (мн) the Holy (єт-оγаав) Spirit (пє-пν̄а̄) will remain (на-шωпє) with <u>*them*</u>$_i$ (ммма-γ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. нємн пєтнаноγq нzнтоγ '(there) was nothing (нє-мн) [*good* (п-єт-наноγ-q)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner п-, e.g. мпєγроογш ан пє 2єнпєтшоγєιт 'their care (пєγ-роογш) (is) not (ан) [*idle things* (2єн-п-єт-шоγєιт)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), пєнпєтоγаав нєιωт єттаєιнγ к[а]та смот ним апа zнноβιос '[*our holy* (пєн-п-єт-оγаав)] father (н-єιωт) [who (єт __) is honoured таєιнγ) in (ката) every (ним) manner (смот)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

11.3 Nominal cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are very common in the syntactic patterns of Sahidic Coptic and occur in the declarative as well as the interrogative mood, e.g. ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲛⲧⲕ '(it is) *the governor* (ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) is asking (ⲭⲛⲟⲩ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) [what (ⲛⲓⲙ) your name (ⲡⲛⲧ-ⲕ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15), ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ __) is misleading (ⲥⲱⲣⲙ) the crowd (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231). Cleft sentences are complex sentences structures that express a single proposition by means of a biclausal syntax. In Coptic, cleft constructions represent a special type of tripartite nominal sentences in which a noun phrase (or its equivalent) is equated with a restrictive relative clause (section 11.3.1). Such nominal clefts encode different semantic types of focus, ranging from presentational (new information) focus to explicit contrast (section 11.3.2).

11.3.1 The equative format of cleft sentences

Coptic cleft constructions have a form that is identical to that of tripartite nominal sentences. Both cleft constructions and tripartite nominal sentences include an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the predicate, which forces a sentential interpretation of the structure (see above, section 5.2.1 of Unit 5 for the syntax of the agreement clitic). Thus compare: (declarative) ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*he* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (V. Pach. 4:11) vs. ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'and (it) was (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ) *him* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ) [who was living as a hermit (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), (interrogative) ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the goats (ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (are) the sheep (ⲛ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:14) vs. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲱϭⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '*who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [that planted (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲱⲱϭⲉ) them (the trees) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)]?' (Onnophr. 219:20-21). A schematic representation of the equative format of nominal clefts and tripartite nominal sentences is given in figure 11.5 (AGR-CL stands for agreement clitic')

	SUBJECT	AGR-CL	PREDICATE NOUN
TRIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCE	ⲛⲧⲟϥ he	ⲡⲉ SING. MASC.	ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ their father
	CLEFTED NP	**AGR-CL**	**RELATIVE CLAUSE**
CLEFT SENTENCE	ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ he alone	ⲡⲉ SING. MASC.	[RC ⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ] who lived as a hermit

FIGURE 11.5 The equative format of cleft sentences

Nominal clefts involve minimally two clauses: the matrix clause is a tripartite nominal sentence that includes a restrictive relative clause. Taken together, the matrix clauses and the embedded relative clause express a single proposition. The following sections review the main syntactic characteristics of nominal clefts, namely (i) the distribution of tense and negation, (ii) the morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic, (iii) the anaphoric relation between the clefted noun phrase and the embedded relative clause, and (iv) the interaction between clefting and topicalisation.

11.3.1.1 The distribution of tense and negation

The distribution of tense and negation provides further evidence for the equative format of Coptic cleft constructions. The clefted noun phrase can only appear with the preterit auxiliary ⲛⲉ-, suggesting that cleft sentences are subject to the same tense restrictions as the corresponding tripartite nominal sentences, e.g. ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'and (it) *was* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ) *him* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ) [who was living as a hermit (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲛⲧ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ 'before (ϩⲁⲑⲏ) heaven (ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) were created (lit. *they* had not yet created (ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲛⲧ)), *what* (ⲟⲩ) *was* (ⲛⲉ) (there) [that (ⲉⲧ __) existed (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ)]?' (Contra Orig. 60:40-41).

In nominal clefts, negation may take wide or narrow scope (see above, section 9.2 of Unit 9). When negation occurs within the embedded relative clause, it takes wide scope over the backgrounded proposition, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛϥⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲇⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [*that will not* (ⲁⲛ) *believe* (ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in the mighty deeds (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲇⲟⲙ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]?' (KMHL II

37:12-13). If, on the other hand, negation occurs in the matrix clause, it takes narrow scope over the clefted constituent, leaving the backgrounded proposition outside its scope, e.g. ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲕⲃⲁ ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲧⲥ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ '(it is) *not* (ⲙ- … ⲁⲛ) *man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) takes (ⲭⲓ) vengeance (ⲕⲃⲁ) through it (the sword) (ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲧ-ⲥ) wrathfully (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ)]' (Sh. IV 12:12), (with omission of the negative prefix ⲛ-) ⲏ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ (…) 'or (ⲏ) if (ⲉⲛⲉ) (it) (were) *not* (ⲁⲛ) a living (ⲛ-ⲍⲱⲟⲛ) *soul* (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ) [that (ⲉⲧ __) (resided) within them (ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) (…)]' (Sh. III 220:7-8).

11.3.1.2 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

The agreement clitic of nominal cleft sentences differs both morphologically and syntactically from the corresponding pronominal element in tripartite nominal sentences, suggesting that it has been further grammaticalised as a focus marker.

a) Proclisis and phonological reduction

In tripartite nominal sentences the agreement clitic occurs in clause-second position with other prosodically weak functions words and particles, e.g. ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲯⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) you have (lit. for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) (is)) continuous (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱ) rest (ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) until eternity (ⲛ̀ⲯⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 30, 6:7). The corresponding agreement clitic of nominal clefts, however, has determiner-like properties, forming an indivisible prosodic unit with the following relative clause, e.g. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲁⲁϥ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) a beautiful (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) thing (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [that he did (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

The proclitic behaviour of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts is particularly clear in the context of vowel elision. This happens when it is attached to relative complementisers with a word-initial ⲉ:

ⲡⲉ-	→	ⲡ-	/___	COMP$_{REL}$ ⲉⲧ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-, ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲉ-
e	→	Ø	/___	e

FIGURE 11.6 The phonological reduction of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts

When vowel elision applies, the resulting complex PROCLITIC – RELATIVE COMPLEMENTISER – EMBEDDED CLAUSE looks superficially like a free-standing relative clause, e.g. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣ[ⲁⲧ]ϥ ⲉⲙⲓϣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ ⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϯⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣϫ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲓϣⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲁϫⲛ ϣⲟϫⲛⲉ ϩⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [that (ⲉⲧ __) would stand up (ⲛⲁ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ) [to fight (ⲉ-ⲙⲓϣⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) dogs (ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ)]] or (ⲏ) who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) [that (ⲉⲧ __) would struggle (ⲛⲁ-ϯⲧⲱⲛ) with (ⲙⲛ) bears (ⲛⲓ-ⲁⲣϫ)], who (ⲛⲓⲙ), indeed (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), (is it) [that (ⲉⲧ __) would set out (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) [to fight (ⲉ-ⲙⲓϣⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) lions (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲙⲟⲩⲓ) without (ⲁϫⲛ) plan (ϣⲟϫⲛⲉ) and (ϩⲓ) counsel (ⲥⲃⲱ)]]' (Camb. 8:15-18).

b) Agreement behaviour

The agreement clitic of nominal clefts generally agrees in number and gender with the clefted noun or pronoun: (sing. masc.) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲥ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) (it was) (ⲡⲉ) *the king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) [who made it (the bed-chamber) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ϥ) for her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 50:8-9), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲉϥϥⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ ϩⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (it was) (ⲡ(ⲉ)) *him* (ⲛⲧⲟϥ), too (ⲟⲛ), [who was taking (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ϥⲓ) care (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ) of (ϩⲛ) everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ)' (Zen. 202:11-12), (sing. fem.) ⲧⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ '(it is) (ⲧ(ⲉ)) *your maid-servant* (ⲧⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) *Eudoxia* (ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲁ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) wishes (ⲟⲩⲱϥ) [to enter (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) to greet you (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ)]]' (Eud. 56:1-2), (plural) ϫⲉ [ⲛ]ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲟ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲓ '(it was) (ⲛⲉ) *them* (the elders) (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) [who sent (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ) for him (Apa Matthew) (ⲛⲥⲱ-ϥ) [to come (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ)]]' (KHML II 21:8-9).

As a focus-marking device, the agreement clitic may assume a default value 3rd person singular masculine ⲡⲉ, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ '(it is) (ⲡ(ⲉ)) *us* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲛ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) reside (ϣⲟⲟⲡ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)' (Onnophr. 221:2-3).

The agreement clitic can be omitted in cleft constructions with independent pronouns, which are inherent focus expressions, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϯ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ '(it is) *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) will account (lit. give (ⲛⲁ-ϯ) account (ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ)) to God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) for (ϩⲁ) my soul (ⲧⲁ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ)' (Hil. 5:28).

The morpho-syntactic behaviour of the agreement clitic is summarised in table 11.2 below, where [± AGR] indicates presence or

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ [+AGR]	[RC ⲛⲧ- ...]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	ⲡ-, ⲧ-, ⲛ- [+AGR]	[RC ⲉⲧ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elison of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	ⲡ- [–AGR]	[RC ⲉⲧ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elison of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Ø	[RC ⲉⲧ- ...]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or "variable" (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) ϩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲃⲱⲕ ⲫⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲯⲩⲭⲏ (...) 'or (ϩ) *which* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *monk*$_i$ (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) (was it) [*who*$_i$ *came* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to him (ⲫⲁⲣⲟ-ⲩ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the salvation (ⲡ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) of *his*$_i$ soul (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ) (...)]?' (KHML II 11: 9-11), ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ ⲧⲁϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ '*what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (is it) [*that* (*it*$_i$) *happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) to you (ⲙⲙⲟ)], my daughter (ⲧⲁ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ)?' (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲥⲁⲁⲥ '*what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (is it) [*that you order* (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ) your maid servant (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) [to do (*it*$_i$) (ⲉ-ⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲁⲁ-ⲥ)]]?' (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ '*who*$_i$ (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it)[*that you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) *are* talking (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) *to* (*him*$_i$)(ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)]?' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲕⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ '(it is), again (ⲟⲛ), *the earth*$_i$ (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) [*that they* (i.e. the birds and fish) *return* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲧⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *to* (*it*$_i$) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)]' (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟ[ⲥ] ⲡⲉⲧⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ] ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧ[ⲉ]ⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ (...) '(it is) *I*$_i$ (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), Constantine (ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ), King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of the Romans (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ) [*who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) *divulges* (ⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) (a decree) in (ϩⲛ) *his*$_i$ entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) kingdom (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ) (...)' (Eud. 40:3-4) vs. ⲡⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲭⲣⲟ ϩⲙⲛⲱⲛ ⲉϥⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ (read ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲛ ⲫⲓⲏⲧ '(it is) the victorious (ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲭⲣⲟ) Augustus (ⲡ-ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *Zênôn*$_i$ (ϩⲙⲛⲱⲛ) [*who*$_i$ *is writing* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ) to (ⲉⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ) our holy (ⲉⲧ __ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) and pious (ⲛ-ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) fathers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) [that (ⲉⲧ __) reside (ⲟⲩⲏϩ) in (ϩⲛ) Shiêt (ⲫⲓⲏⲧ)]]' (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'and (it) *was* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ) *him*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) alone (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ) [*who*$_i$ *was living as a hermit* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲁⲁϥ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) *a* beautiful (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) *thing*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲃ) [*that he did* (*it*$_i$) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26)

11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. ⲉϫⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ

ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲭⲛⲁⲁⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ '*besides* (ⲉⲭⲛ) *these* (things) (ⲛⲁⲓ), *what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (is it) [that the devil (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ) will (manage) to do (*it*$_i$) (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲁ-ⲕ)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲍⲁⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲱⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲛ[ⲉ] '*after* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) *the* (day of) *judgement* (ⲡ-ⲍⲁⲡ), (it is) *the pit*$_i$ (ⲧ-ⲱⲱⲧⲉ) of the Abyss (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛ) [*which*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) will become (ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) your (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) dwelling (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ) place (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕ† ⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲣⲁⲛ '[*he who has given* (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-†) a name (ⲣⲁⲛ) to everybody (ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) knows (ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) everything (ⲛ-ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ)]$_i$, (it is) *him*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) [*who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) knows (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) our name (ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲣⲁⲛ)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲛⲍ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ '(as for) [*those who died* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭⲥ)]$_i$, (it is) *them*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) [*who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) will also (ⲟⲛ) live (ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲛⲍ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭⲥ)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁⲁⲕ [ⲛ]ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ '(as for) *you*$_i$ (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ), *what*$_i$ (ⲟⲩ) (is it) [*that you*$_i$ want (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲱ) us [to do (*it*$_i$) (ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲁⲁ-ⲕ) about (ⲛⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ) these (things) (ⲛⲁⲓ)]]?' (Camb. 11:9-10), ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲛⲫⲉ '*who*$_i$ (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) *now* (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) [that *who*$_i$ (ⲉⲧ __) is misleading (ⲥⲱⲣⲙ) the crowd (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲛⲫⲉ)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).

11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲫⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ '(it is) *a* pure (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) *spirit* (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [which (ⲉⲧ __) speaks (ⲫⲁⲭⲉ) through him (ⲛⲍⲏⲧ-ⲥ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲫⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲥ '(it is) *a* divine (lit. of (ⲛⲧⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)) *matter* (ⲟⲩ-ⲍⲱⲃ) [that I am speaking (ⲉ-†-ⲫⲁⲭⲉ) to you (ⲛⲙⲙⲏ-ⲧⲛ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'only', ⲉⲛⲉⲍ 'ever' or ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'single', e.g. ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲉⲫⲭⲉ ⲍⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲧⲱⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ (for ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲧⲟⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ) 'yet (ⲡⲗⲏⲛ) even though (ⲉⲫⲭⲉ) (it is) *only* (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *a few* (things) (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) [that we are going to say (ⲉ(ⲧ)-ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) of (ⲍⲛ) his achievements (ⲛⲉⲥ-ⲕⲁⲧⲱⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ)]' (Zen. 201:13), ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲍ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲫⲛⲟⲕⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲙⲉⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲫⲉ '*which* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *man* (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *ever* (ⲉⲛⲉⲍ) (is it) [that had gone (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲉⲓ) to (ⲉⲣⲁⲧ-ⲥ) our father (Matthew) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) [disheartened (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲙⲟⲕ̄ⲍ̄ ⲛ-ⲍⲏⲧ)] and did not go away (ⲉ-ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) [rejoicing (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲣⲁⲫⲉ)]]!' (KHML II 11:8-9), ⲟⲩⲫⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲫⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲓ '(it is) (just) a *single* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) *son* (ⲟⲩ-ⲫⲏⲣⲉ) [that (ⲉⲧ __) I have (lit. exists (ⲫⲟⲟⲡ) with me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ))]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲗⲁϫⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲏⲛⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ † ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲫⲉⲙⲡⲱⲁ ⲉⲫⲥⲍⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ (for ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) ⲛⲱⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ (...) '(it is) *this most humble* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲉⲗⲁϫⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *king* (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *Zênôn* (ⲍⲏⲛⲱⲛ), [whom (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) has given (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ … †) the honour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲓⲟ) of kingship (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) beyond (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ) his worthiness (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲉⲙⲡⲱⲁ)], [*who is writing* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲍⲁⲓ) to (ⲉ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the pious (ⲛⲛ-ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) and beloved (ⲛ-ⲱⲟⲩ-ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ) brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).

11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲱ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲟ) ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲛⲛⲏⲇⲓⲥ (for ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲩⲛⲉⲓⲇⲏⲥⲓⲥ) 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) *the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) [who (ⲉⲧ ___) is (ⲱ) witness (ⲙ-ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲏ) to my conscience (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲥⲛⲛⲏⲇⲓⲥ)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), [ⲁⲣⲏ]ⲩ ⲡϩⲁⲅ[ⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ]ⲡ[ⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ] ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲃⲱⲛⲧ ⲉ[ⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ[ⲉⲣⲏ]ⲧ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲁϥ 'perhaps (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ) (it is) *the holy* (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna* (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ) [who has become wrathful (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲛⲧ) with me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the promise (ⲡ-ⲉⲣⲏⲧ) [that I made (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲣⲏⲧ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 11b:25-29).

11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the background proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. ⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲕ[ⲗ]ⲏⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲭⲓⲛⲟⲛⲟⲛⲥ '(it is) *Augustus* (ⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *Constantine*, the righteous (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) [that the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) our God (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) has raised (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ-ϥ) for us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) as a king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) instead (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) of the shameless (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲯⲓⲡⲉ) criminal (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) *Diocletian* (ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ), the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of injustice (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲓ ⲛ-ⲃⲟⲛⲥ)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲧⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲕⲱⲛⲥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲕⲱⲛⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ '(it is) not (ⲙ- ... ⲁⲛ) *man* (ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ) [who (ⲉⲧ ___) turns (ⲕⲧⲟ) it (the sword) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) to the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [where (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) he wants (ⲉⲧ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) [to wound (ⲉ-ⲕⲱⲛⲥ)]]]; rather (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) (it is) *it* (the sword) (ⲛⲧⲟⲥ) [which (ⲉⲧ ___) turns (ⲕⲧⲟ) the man (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) to the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [where it wants (ⲉⲧ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) [to wound (ⲉ-ⲕⲱⲛⲥ)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ- 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ '(it is) *you* (ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ) yourselves (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ) [who (ⲉⲧ ___) mislead (ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ) yourselves (ⲙⲙⲱ-ⲧⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. ⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛⲑⲩⲗⲏ '(it is) the fire (ⲡ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ) [*which* (ⲉⲧ ___) *will burn* (ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲱⲕϩ) *the matter* (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲗⲏ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲩⲗⲏ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive

discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ⲉⲕⲯⲁⲛⲛⲟⲭⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϯ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧⲁϥⲩⲭⲏ 'if you throw me (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲛⲟⲭ-ⲧ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ), (then) (it is) *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *will account* (lit. give (ⲛⲁ-ϯ) account (ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ)) to God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) for (ϩⲁ) my soul (ⲧⲁ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ 'do not start (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲧⲣⲉ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) a war (ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ)! (It is) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *is going to bring them* (the apostles) (ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ) in (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲁϧⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲙⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) be strong (ⲧⲁϧⲣⲟ) and brave (ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲟⲙ-ⲟⲟⲙ), for (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it is) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) *saves* (ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ) *you* (ⲙⲙⲱ-ⲧⲛ) *from* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) *every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) *trial* (ⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives	Virtual relative clauses may appear in non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.	§11.1.1
Complementiser alternations	Various subordinating complementisers introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* ⲉⲣⲉ- and *pron.st.* ⲉ-, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker.	§11.1.2
Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns	instantiate two different types of placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ '*every* (ⲛⲓⲙ) human (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *race*$_i$ (ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) lives (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) my kingdom (ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ⲛⲉⲫⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ '*the mighty deeds*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲟⲟⲙ) *and* (ⲙⲉⲛ) *miracles*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲫⲡⲏⲣⲉ) [*that* (*they*$_i$) *happened* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *through* (ϩⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟ) *our father* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

Nested and stacked relative clauses	Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g. ϩⲛⲕⲉϣⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲡⲧ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'other trees (ϩⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ϣⲏⲛ) [$_{RC1}$ *while* (*they*$_i$) *were loaded* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲡⲧ) *with fruit* (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) [$_{RC2}$ *while* (*they*$_j$) *were plenty* (ⲉ-ⲛⲁϣⲱ-ⲟⲩ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g. ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓⲉ '*the* holy *brothers*$_i$ (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) (lit. [$_{RC1}$ *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) are holy (ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)) [$_{RC2}$ *who* (ⲉⲧ __$_i$) *live* (ϣⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲙ) the desert (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).	§11.1.4
Definiteness opposition	The determination of the antecedent noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g. ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱϥ 'much (lit. which is abundant (ⲉ-ⲛⲁϣⲱ-ϥ)) water (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g. ⲛ[ⲉϥ]ϭⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲁⲃ] 'his holy (lit. which are holy (ⲉⲧ __ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)) hands (ⲛⲉϥ-ϭⲓϫ)' (KHML II 18:18).	§11.1.5.1

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses	Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g. ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲥⲁϣⲉ 'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲁϣⲉ)) death (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ)' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g. ϩⲉⲛϩⲓⲣ ϩⲛ ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'the deserted (lit. which are (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟ) (in a) deserted (ⲛ-ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ) (state)) streets in (ϩⲛ) Hell (ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ) without (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ) anyone (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) on them (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ)' (Ac. A&P 204:132).	§11.1.5.3
Free relatives	are relative clauses that occur without an overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g. ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'I ate (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [what was left (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) of the bread (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5).	§11.2.1
Hypothetical relative clauses	have a clause-like interpretation corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpretated as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g. ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲉ) ⲉⲩⲉⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟϥ '(as for) [him who will protest (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲓⲅⲉ)], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-ⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).	§11.2.2

Nominal clefts	*Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function. In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause.*	§11.3.1
Exhaustive listing	The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. ⲟⲩⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲓ '(it is) (just) a single (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) son (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) [that I have (lit. that (ⲉⲧ __) is (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) with me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ))]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).	§11.3.2

Exercises

11.1 Comprehension and transfer

A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1. The complementiser ⲉ- occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
2. Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
3. The complementiser ⲉⲧ- is restricted to subject relatives.
4. Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
5. Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

6. Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
7. The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
8. The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

11.2 Attributive relative clauses

A. Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ⲡⲙⲁ ⲟⲛ (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ/ⲉⲧⲉ) ⲕⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [where you are going (__ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:10)

(2) ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (ⲉⲧ/ⲉⲣⲉ) ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲇⲩⲙⲓⲥ 'worship (ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ) our revered (__ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲩ)) gods (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), Apollôn (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) Artemis (ⲧ-ⲁⲣⲇⲩⲙⲓⲥ)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)

(3) ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ (ⲉⲧⲉ/ⲉ) ⲩⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲙⲉ 'a servant (ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ) [who lived (__ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲏϩ) in (ϩⲛ) a village (ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲙⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no.99, 22:9-10)

(4) ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ (ⲉⲛⲧ/ⲉⲧⲉ) ⲫⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'every (ⲛⲓⲙ) city (ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) [that they enter (__ⲫⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)

(5) ⲁⲩϫⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲑⲉ (ⲉ/ⲛⲧ) ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ 'he asked her (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the way (ⲑⲉ) [in which she had gone (__ ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of (ϩⲙ) his house (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲏⲓ)]' (Hil. 12:10)

B. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHÔMIUS' JOURNEY TO THE OTHER WORLD

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲥⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ[a] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲉⲡⲕⲁⲓⲉⲱⲛ (read ⲉⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ)[b] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲱⲣⲡⲭⲟⲟⲥ[c]. ⲁⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲣⲱⲓⲣⲉ́ (for ⲉⲡϩⲣⲱⲓⲣⲉ)[d] ⲛⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ[e] ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲣ ⲡⲉⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲫⲁⲥⲕⲉⲓ[f] ⲉⲫϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲙⲛⲛ (for ⲙⲛ) ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲗⲏ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ (for ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ) ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲥⲁ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲓⲉⲱⲛ (read ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ) ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲫ[g] ⲁⲫⲥⲱⲕ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ[h] ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲫⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲫⲥⲟⲙ ⲉϩⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲛ (read ⲉϩⲉⲛⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲛ) ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ)[i] ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲫⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲃ (for ⲁⲫⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲩ) ⲉⲛⲉⲫⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲕⲏⲧ ⲉϩⲛⲧⲫ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁ (...) ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲃⲟⲗ[j] ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲥⲱⲥ[k] (ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ) ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲩⲫⲏ[l] ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ[m] ⲉⲫϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲫⲟ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲃⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲫⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲫⲟⲧⲡ ⲛⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲛϩ (for ⲉⲫⲟⲛϩ) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ[n] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲉⲣ ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ. ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲕⲁ ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲫⲱⲉⲓⲡⲉ (for ⲉⲫⲱⲓⲡⲉ) ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ[o] ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲟⲱⲱⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲕ ϩⲛⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲕϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲕ† ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲫⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲃⲉⲓⲟ. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲧⲏⲙⲓⲁ[p] ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ. (V. Pach. 86:6-87:10)

NOTES: a. read ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲫⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ b. ⲁⲓⲱⲛ 'world' c. ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲱⲣⲡ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ d. ϩⲣⲱⲓⲣⲉ 'young man' e. ⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ 'innocent' f. ⲁⲥⲕⲉⲓ 'to practise' g. ⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲧ= 'to run towards s.o.' h. ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 'state, condition' i. ⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ 'fruit' j. ⲣ ⲡ-ⲃⲟⲗ 'to walk out, leave' k. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲥⲱⲥ 'Paradise' l. ⲧⲣⲩⲫⲏ 'delight, joy' m. ⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ 'hermit, monk' n. ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 'power, strength'o. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ 'to pass by' p. ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲙⲓⲁ 'penalty, punishment'.

C. Specify for each relative clause in the text fragment whether it has a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning and function.

11.3 Free relative clauses

A. Consider the following examples of free relative clauses. Identify the placeholding gap or resumptive pronoun that indicates the internal grammatical role of the covert relative antecedent.

(1) ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'Abdemeruchos (ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ) [who supervises (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓϫⲛ) the punishments (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ) (of Hell)]' (Test. Is. 235:1-2).

(2) ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲁ ⲧⲉⲩϩⲏ 'Numerianus, [who (ⲡⲁⲓ) had been (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲣ) king (ⲣⲣⲟ) before them]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24)

(3) ⲁⲓⲣ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲑⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ 'I had become (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲣ) like (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) [those who sleep (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ)] because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the overwhelming (vision) (ⲑⲟⲧⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲟⲧⲉ)) [that I had seen (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲩ)]' (Onnophr. 221:26-27)

(4) ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ϩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲛⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϩⲓⲥⲧⲱⲣⲓϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲃⲱ 'the life (ⲡ-ⲃⲓⲟⲥ) of the blessed (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ) Hilaria, the daughter (ⲧ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ) of the god-loving (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) king (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Zênôn, [which the holy (ⲡ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Apa Pambô has written down (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ϩⲓⲥⲧⲱⲣⲓϩⲉ)]' (Hil. 1:1-2)

(5) ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉϫⲱⲣⲓϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲫ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'Apa John [who had been exiled (lit. they had exiled (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉϫⲟⲣⲓϩⲉ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲫ) by (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) Markianos]' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:21-22)

(6) †ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲟϥⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'this destiny (†-ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ), [which (ⲧⲁⲓ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭ̄ⲥ̄) has destined (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲧⲟϥ-ⲥ) for you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 212:27-28)

(7) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ[ⲉ] ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ[ⲥⲱⲟⲩ] [ⲉ]ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ [ⲉⲧⲉ] [ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲟⲣ[ⲑⲱ][ⲙⲁ] ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲛⲟⲃⲓⲟⲥ 'concerning (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) [what you are seeking (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲟⲩ) from us (ϩⲓ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲛ)], [to wit (ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ) the achievements (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ) of the monastic practise (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ) of the blessed (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Zênobios]' (Zen. 199:7-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

(1) ⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ [ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ] (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)

(2) [ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ [ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙ]] (Test. Is. 228:7-8) (ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ 'to believe')

(3) ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉⲑⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ϩⲙ [ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ (for ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟϥ] (Hil. 8:10-12)

11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

A. Classify the following cleft-sentences by selecting one of the two options.

(1) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲥ 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) (it was) the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ϥ) for her (Eudoxia) (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 50:8-9)
☐ thematic prominence ☐ contrastive focus

(2) ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲛϩ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$ '(as for) those who died (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$), (it is) *they* (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) [who (ⲉⲧ ___) will also (ⲟⲛ) live (ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲛϩ) with (ⲙⲛ) Christ (ⲡⲉ-$\overline{\text{ⲭⲥ}}$)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

(3) ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲧⲱϥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲡⲁⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'since (ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ) (it is) you (alone) (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) and (ⲙⲛ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [who (ⲉⲧ ___) knows (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) course (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲱϥ) of my life (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲃⲓⲟⲥ)' (Hil. 12:22)
☐ presentational focus ☐ restrictive focus

(4) ⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛⲑⲩⲗⲏ '(it is) the fire (ⲡ-ⲕⲱϩⲧ) [which will burn (ⲉⲧ ___ ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲱⲕϩ) the matter (ⲛ-ⲑⲩⲗⲏ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲩⲗⲏ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

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

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ[a] ⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲁϥ[b] ⲛⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ☥☥ ϩⲛⲩ[c] ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉ☥ ϩⲛⲩ ⲁϫⲓⲥ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉϣϣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲗⲁϥ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲟ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϩⲙⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲩ☥ⲙⲏ[d] ⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧϣⲁⲁⲧ. (AP Elanskaya 13a:12-34)

NOTES: a. ⲡϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ 'Phermês (toponym) b. ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁ- 'to keep for oneself' c. ☥ ϩⲛⲩ 'to give profit' d. ☥ⲙⲏ 'price'

Unit 12

Subordinate clauses

The concluding chapter of this grammar is concerned with finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause typically functions as a dependent constituent within some larger construction. In view of the fact that every clause is to some degree dependent on the previous context, one might think of the traditional distinction between main and subordinate clauses in terms of relative degrees of clausal integration rather than as a binary opposition.

Looking at various types of complement and adjunct clauses, we will consider issues such as the following:

(i) *Morphological marking.* Coptic requires subordination to be explicitly marked in the structure of the dependent clause either by means of a special subordinating complementiser or by means of a subordinate verbal tense.

(ii) *The argument-adjunct contrast.* Subordinate clauses may assume different grammatical functions within the matrix clause they form a construction with. A major division of subordinate clauses concerns the opposition between argument clauses, which belong to the core of the matrix verb phrase and which are therefore obligatory

sentence constituents, and adjunct clauses, which belong to the periphery of the matrix clause and which are therefore optional sentence elements.

(iii) *Clausal coherence and switch reference*, which concern the anaphoric link between main and subordinate clauses. Depending on whether the embedded subject is identical to or distinct from that of the matrix clause, subordinate clauses may take different forms or assume different semantic interpretations. For instance, same subject clauses usually imply a higher degree of influence on or control of the subject referent over the situation expressed in the subordinate clause.

(iv) *Sequences of tenses*. The combination of tenses in complex sentence constructions generally reflects the range of temporal or logical relations that obtain between the main and the subordinate clause situation.

(v) *Finiteness*. Non-finite subordinate clauses are distinguished from finites largely but not wholly by the absence of inflectional tense. The tenseless character of infinitival clauses goes hand in hand with the acquisition of nominal properties.

Further semantic and syntactic distinctions will be drawn within particular kinds of subordinate clauses. Section 12.1 deals with clausal arguments and section 12.2 with clausal adjuncts. Non-finite subordinate clauses are the topic of section 12.3. Throughout this Unit subordinate clauses are given in brackets.

12.1 Argument clauses

This section reviews complex sentences in subordinate clauses that function as the subject or the internal complement of the matrix verb phrase. Although such argument clauses belong to the nucleus of the main clause, they differ from nominal arguments in various respects. Firstly,

while all verbs can have a noun phrase as a subject and all transitive verbs nominal objects, there are only a few lexical classes of verbs that also permit clausal subjects and objects. Secondly, nominal arguments bear a wide range of semantic roles, such as AGENT, CAUSER, PATIENT, THEME, and the like. Clausal arguments, by contrast, denote propositions that cannot be associated with such participant roles. The relation between the matrix verb phrase and clausal subjects and complements is more indirect, involving reports or attitudes and beliefs of the subject referents about the situation implied or expressed in the subordinate clause. Thirdly, one distinctive property of pro/nominal objects is that they generally come immediately after the verb. Complement clauses, on the other hand, are not constrained to follow the verb in this way. Although subject clauses can appear in the canonical subject position, they are more commonly extraposed to the clause-final position of heavy constituents, with a semantically vacuous expletive pronoun appearing in the position of the extraposed argument clause. Therefore, despite their subject and object function, argument clauses are not "noun clauses" and must be analysed independently of noun phrases.

12.1.1 Subject clauses

A sample of transitive and intransitive verbs that may take clauses as subjects is given below. These verbs typically appear in impersonal sentences in which the canonical subject position is occupied by a non-referential expletive pronoun, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the end of the matrix clause.

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ(-ⲥ)	it is good	ⲯⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲟ-	it is appropriate for
ϩⲱ	it is sufficient	ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲉⲣⲟ-	it necessary for, must
ⲫ-ⲣⲱⲯⲉ	it is sufficient	ⲥ-ⲣ ⲁⲛⲁ-	it pleases
ⲥ-ⲣ ⲭⲣⲓⲁ	it is necessary	ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ	it happened

TABLE 12.1 Impersonal verbs

12.1.1.1 Survey of constructions

Impersonal verbs show some degree of variation concerning the pre- or postverbal placement of the clausal subject as well as the presence of indirect object noun or pronoun.

a) The clausal subject construction

Although the preverbal subject position can be occupied by clausal rather than nominal arguments, examples of the clausal subject construction are not particularly common, e.g. ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ϯ ϩⲁϩ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ '*is* (it) *good* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) [to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. give (ϯ) much (ϩⲁϩ) repentance (ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ))]?' (AP Chaîne no. 131, 30:1), ϩⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ (...) 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) (it) *suffices* (ϩⲱ) [for the wise (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) truly (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ) pious (people) (ⲙ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) to know (ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) the Son (ⲡ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) existed (ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) with (ⲙⲛ) the Father (ⲡ-ⲓⲱⲧ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the Holy (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) Spirit (ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ) before (ϩⲁⲑⲏ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟ) creation (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) (...)]]' (Contra Orig. 811).

b) The impersonal subject construction

It is more common for clausal subjects to appear in an extraposed subject position at the end of the matrix clause, which is the preferred position for heavy constituents. Extraposing the clausal subject always involves the insertion of a semantically empty expletive pronoun 3rd person singular masculine or feminine -ⲟ or -ⲥ 'it' in the preverbal subject slot, which cannot be left vacated. As an extraposed constituent, the subject clause is an element that is related to, but not co-referential with the "dummy" subject pronoun, e.g. ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ '*it is better* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ) [that I go (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) home (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ϩⲓ) while I have something (lit. while (there) is something (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) in my hand (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ)' (Mena, Mir. 78a:8-11), ⲣⲣⲱⲯⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ '*it is sufficient* (ⲣ-ⲣⲱⲯⲉ) [to simply (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) assert (ⲉ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) [that (ⲭⲉ) these (the Origenist doctrines) (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) errors (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ)]]' (Contra Orig. 407).

Extraposed subject clauses can also be found in impersonal light-verb constructions, e.g. ⲥⲣ ⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲙⲓⲯⲉ ⲉⲣ[ⲟⲩ] [ⲙ]ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ '*it is necessary* (ⲥ-ⲣ ⲭⲣⲓⲁ) [to fight (ⲉ-ⲙⲓⲯⲉ) with him (the devil) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ) everywhere (lit. in every (ⲛⲓⲙ) place (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ))]' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:23), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲉⲣ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲱ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *it did not please* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲥ-ⲉⲣ ⲁⲛⲁ-ⲩ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) [(that) his (Apa Mena's) body (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) should remain (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ ... ⲥⲱ) in (ϩⲛ) the city (ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:32-4b:3).

c) ⲯⲱⲉ 'it is appropriate'

Although ⲯⲱⲉ looks like a "bare" verbal stem, it actually represents an impersonal sentence by itself, whose sentential character is disguised by the assimilation of the expletive subject 3rd person singular feminine ⲥ- 'it' to the following verb: ⲥ-ⲯⲉ → ⲯ-ⲯⲉ 'it is appropriate' (lit. 'it goes').

The impersonal verb ⲯⲱⲉ usually takes an indirect object whose referent is the agent of the event or activity described in the extraposed subject clause, e.g. ⲯⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛϩⲟⲕⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲛ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ) '*it is appropriate* (ⲯⲱⲉ) for us (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲛ) [to arm (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ϩⲟⲕ-ⲛ) ourselves (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲛ) against (ϩⲁⲑⲏ < ϩⲁ-ⲧ-ϩⲏ) temptations (ⲙ-ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:16), ⲯⲱⲉ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ. ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱⲩ '*it is appropriate* (ⲯⲱⲉ) for each one (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) [to attribute (ⲉ-ⲱⲡ) to himself (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲩ) the sin (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ) of his neighbour (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱ-ⲩ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 209, 54:12-13).

The standard form of negation for ⲯⲱⲉ in literary Sahidic is (ⲛ-) ... ⲁⲛ, e.g. ⲛⲯⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ '*it is not* (ⲁⲛ) *appropriate* (ⲛ-ⲯⲱⲉ) [to act (ⲉ-ⲁⲁ-ⲥ) in such a way (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ)]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:4-5), ⲟⲩϩⲙϩⲁⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲯⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲓⲯⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲑⲃⲃⲓⲏⲩ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲉⲩϯ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ '*it is not* (ⲁⲛ) *fitting* (ⲯⲱⲉ) for a servant (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲁ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) [to quarrel (ⲉ-ⲙⲓⲯⲉ)], [but (rather) (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) to remain (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) humble (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲏⲩ) towards (ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ) everyone (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) as a teacher (ⲛ-ⲣⲉⲩ-ϯ ⲥⲃⲱ) who (patiently) bears (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ) evil deeds (ⲛⲛⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ < ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)]' (V. Pach. 5:23-25).

d) The paragraph marker ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ 'it happened'

The impersonal existential clause ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ 'it happened' has a fully grammaticalised function as a discourse-structuring device that marks the beginning of a new discourse unit, e.g. ⲁⲥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲱϩⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲱϩⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲃⲉⲉⲕⲉ '*it* happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) the days (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of the harvest (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲱϩⲥ) (that) they went out (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) together (ϩⲓ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) to harvest (ⲉ-ⲱϩⲥ) as day-labourer (lit. taking (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲓ) wage (ⲃⲉⲉⲕⲉ))' (V. Pach. 6:1-2), ⲁⲥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲙⲓⲥ (for ⲡⲕⲟⲙⲏⲥ) ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁϥϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉϥⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲯⲟⲣⲡ '*it* happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) on the next (lit. his) day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ) (that) the high official (the *comês*) (ⲡ-ⲕⲟⲙⲓⲥ) sat down (ⲁ ... ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on the tribune (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ) (and) made an effort (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) to flatter (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲩⲉ) him (Apa Mêna) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) first (ⲛ-ⲯⲟⲣⲡ)' (Mena, Enc. 57a:24-30).

12.1.1.2 The mandative meaning of impersonal verbs

In expressing volition, obligation and desirability, impersonal verbs belong to a larger group of deontic-modal constructions that have come to be known as mandative constructions in the linguistic literature. Mandative constructions typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have a manipulative or directive meaning like English *mandatory* and *command* (to cite two items on which the term "mandative" is based).

Coptic impersonal verbs demonstrate various degrees of modal strength, with mandative ϩⲁⲡⲥ 'it is necessary for, must' being more forceful than ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ 'it is good, better' and ⲯⲱⲉ 'it is appropriate'. Thus, while ϩⲁⲡⲥ comes close in meaning to imperatival clauses in expressing requests, instructions, and directions, ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ and ⲯⲱⲉ have a more argumentative character, endorsing the addressee or some other party to behave in a particular way. Compare, then: ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲕⲁϩ ⲯⲙⲓⲛ 'you must also (ⲟⲛ) (lit. *it is neccesary* (ϩⲁⲡ-ⲥ) for you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ) to) [establish (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲛⲏ) a congregation (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ) in (ϩⲛ) the district (ⲧ-ⲕⲁϩ) Akhmîm (ⲯⲙⲓⲛ)]' (V. Pach. 145:19-20), ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ϥⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉϥⲓ ϩⲁ ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ

ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *it is better* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) [to bear (ϥⲓ) a burden (ϩⲁ ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲧⲡⲱ) than (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ) to bear (ϥⲓ) the wrath (ϩⲁ ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ) of a man (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)]' (Mena, Mir. 81b:3-7), ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲯⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲟ[ⲛ ⲉ]ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲛⲛⲁϯ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this (reason) (ⲡⲁⲓ) *it is appropriate* (ⲯⲱⲉ) for us (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲛ) [to think (ⲉ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) in this way (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) as if (ϩⲱⲥ) we are going to give (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϯ) account (ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ) to God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) daily (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 2:4-5).

Subject clauses generally convey backgrounded propositions, whose content is contextually inferable or pragmatically presupposed, e.g. ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲙ ⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲉ ⲏⲡⲓ ⲛⲧⲧⲙⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲁ '*it is good* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ) [to eat (ⲟⲩⲉⲙ) meat (ⲁⲃ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) to drink (ⲉ-ⲥⲉ) wine (ⲏⲡⲓ)], but it is not to eat (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲧⲙ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) the flesh (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) of your brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) slander (ⲧ-ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲁ)' (AP Chaîne no. 14, 3:12-13), ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲗⲉⲅⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ '*it is better* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ) [to refute (ⲉⲗⲉⲅⲭⲉ) them (the Origenists) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) with (ϩⲛ) what is evident (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)]' (Contra Orig. 408), ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'remember (lit. make (ⲁⲣⲓ) remembrance (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) [that (ⲭⲉ) *it certain* (ϩⲁⲡ-ⲥ) [that we (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲛ) encounter (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ) God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:12), ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲟⲣⲙⲉⲥ ⲉⲓ '*it is inevitable* (ϩⲁⲡ-ⲥ) [(that) he who has lost it (the purse) (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲣⲙⲉ-ⲥ) will come by (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲓ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 31, 6:12-13).

12.1.2 Complement clauses

Coptic has various classes of transitive verbs that take subordinate clauses as internal complements. The focus of this section is on the complement structure of mental verbs, while reportative verbs are dealt with in the next section. Mental verbs can be subdivided into two classes: *verbs of cognition* and *verbs of perception and discovery*. Cognition verbs ascribe to the subject referent certain beliefs, opinions, experiences and expertise, while verbs of perception and discovery describe situations, as they emerge in the visual field of the referent of the matrix clause subject. The most common mental verbs of cognition and perception/discovery are listed in table 12.2 below.

VERBS OF COGNITION			
ⲉⲓⲙⲉ	to come to know, become aware of	ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ	to know
ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ	to think, consider	ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ	to believe, be confident
VERBS OF PERCEPTION/DISCOVERY			
ⲛⲁⲩ	to see	ϭⲱⲱⲧ	to see, look
ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ	to perceive, hear	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	to hear
ϭⲓⲛⲉ	to find	ϩⲉ ⲉ-	to find

TABLE 12.2 Mental verbs

12.1.2.1 Mental verbs of cognition

The clausal complements of mental verbs of cognition are characterised by the following properties.

a) Switch reference

Canonical verbs of cognition select different-subject finite clauses as an internal complement. Complement clauses are overtly marked as such by the multi-functional subordinating complementiser ⲭⲉ 'that'. They immediately follow the verb phrase and the indirect object, e.g. ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁ[ⲟⲃⲱϥ] ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ '*I believe* (ⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) will not (ⲁⲛ) forget (ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲃⲱϥ-ⲕ) about us (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲛ)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14), ⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲧ ϭⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁϫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ '*I* will *experience* (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) you will give (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) strength (ϭⲟⲙ) [until *I* receive (ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁ-ϫⲓ) the imperishable (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲧⲁⲕⲟ) crown (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲗⲟⲙ)]]' (KHML II 30:5-6), ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲧⲉ 'so that (ⲭⲉ) *he* would not *think* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) about her (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *she* (ⲧⲉ) (is) adulterous (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Sh. *Or* 44, 159b:56-160a:1).

Same-subject complement clauses are possible, though uncommon, e.g. ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓϣⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲓⲭⲓⲧⲕ 'however (ⲇⲉ) when (ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ) *I* notice (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *I* am cured (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲟϫ) from illness (ⲉ-ϣⲱⲛⲉ)], *I* will not accept it (the donkey) (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ϫⲓⲧ-ⲕ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

b) Scope of negation

Both the main and the embedded clause can be negated. The scope of negation never exceeds a clause boundary (see above, section 9.2.1 of Unit 9). Thus, compare: ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ 'he *did not* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [that (ⲭⲉ) she (ⲧⲉ) (was) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)]' (Hil. 6:14-15) vs. ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲓϣⲉⲓⲛⲉ (read ⲙⲉⲓϣⲓⲛⲉ) ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲏⲧⲟⲛ (...) 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) you *know* (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *I do not look* (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲉⲓⲛⲉ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) my own ease (ⲡⲁ-ⲏⲧⲟⲛ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 88:28) vs. ⲏ ⲛⲅⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) ϥⲉⲓ (for ϥⲓ) ⲙⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲁ ⲡϩⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'or (ⲏ) *do you not* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *no* (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) Christian (ⲛ-ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) *raises* (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ... ϥⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ) his face (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲟ) under (ϩⲁ) the face (ⲡ-ϩⲟ) of who is (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟ) greater (ⲛ-ⲛⲟϭ) than him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)]' (KHML II 32:25-27).

c) Factive vs. non-factive cognition verbs

When formulated in the affirmative, factive cognition verbs presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. ⲙⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϣⲟⲟⲡ 'they (the hermits) do not even (ⲣⲱ) *remember* (lit. make (ⲙⲉⲩ-ⲣ) thought (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) [that (ⲭⲉ) a (lower) world (ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) exists (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ϣⲟⲟⲡ)]' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), ⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) ⲥⲉϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲥⲉϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲉⲛⲉ) ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'you *know* (ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), [that (ⲭⲉ) this race (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) called (ⲭⲉ) Christians (ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) bear (patiently) (ⲥⲉ-ϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ) the tortures (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).

Non-factive cognition verbs, by contrast, do not presuppose the truth of the embedded proposition, although they leave it open as a possibility, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲛⲁϭⲉⲛ ϩⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉϥϣⲁⲗⲁ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) I *believe* (ⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) [if he comes (ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) to us (ⲣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ)] [we will all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲛ) benefit (lit. gain (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲉⲛ) profit (ϩⲏⲩ)) from (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) his prayers (ⲛⲉϥ-ϣⲗⲏⲗ)]]' (Hil.

10:30-31), ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) she *thought* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) he was going to do (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) her (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ) a favour (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲉⲧ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:11-14).

d) Subordinate interrogatives

Subordinate interrogatives may appear as clausal complements of factive cognitive verbs. Although formulated as questions, such interrogative complement clauses have an answer-orientation: they state a positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked.

Examples: ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) we *found out* (ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) [*why* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) he (Constantine) was saved (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ) on (ϩⲙ) the day (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) that we surrounded (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)]' (Eud. 44:14-15)], ⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲣ ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϣⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲣ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ 'you *know* (ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [*how many* (ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ) *years* (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) you lived (lit. made (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲣ)) so far (ϣⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ)], but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) you *do not* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [*how many other* (years) (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ) you will live (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣ)' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ†ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) I do not (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-†-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [*what* (ⲟⲩ) happened (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ϣⲱⲡⲉ) to her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ)] and (ⲕⲁⲛ) [*whether* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) she died (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲙⲟⲩ) on (ϩⲛ) the sea (ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ)] or (ⲕⲁⲛ) [*whether* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) she was taken prisoner (lit. *they* took her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) prisoner (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ)) by (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) the Barbarians (ⲛⲓ-ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ)]' (Hil. 7:30-32)], ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲛⲧϥ ⲧⲱⲛ 'he (Apa John) *did not* (ⲁⲛ) (ⲛ-†-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) *know* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [*where* (ⲧⲱⲛ) he could bring it (the money) (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲧ-ϥ)]' (AP Elanskaya 13b:34-35), ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ 'and (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) we *do not* (ⲁⲛ) *know* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [*whose* (ⲡⲁ-ⲛⲓⲙ) it (the gold) (ⲡⲉ) (is)]' (Mena, Mir. 85a:25-27).

12.1.2.2 Mental verbs of perception and discovery

Mental verbs of perception and discovery are always factive, since presenting an event as beheld by the subject referent implies that this

event actually occurred. The complement clauses of perception/discovery verbs are characterised by the following properties.

a) Switch reference

With mental verbs of perception and discovery, different-subject complement clauses seem to be the norm, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲕⲓⲙ (...) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) also (ⲟⲛ) when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *his heart* (ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲏⲧ) was moved (ⲁ ... ⲕⲓⲙ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 2:25), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ (...) 'when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *the brothers* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) gathered (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) to him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)] (...)' (V. Pach. 4:1), ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲉⲡⲃⲓⲣ '*the* (aforementioned) *man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) realised (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) [that (ⲭⲉ) (it was) the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) *Apa Mêna* who had deposited it (the gold) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) into the basket (ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲃⲓⲣ)]' (Mena, Mir. 86b:21-27), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲱⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ (for ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ) ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *I heard* (ⲛ(ⲉ)-ϣⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *they* (the monks) hate (ⲥⲉ-ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ) this race (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ) called (ⲭⲉ) woman (ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)]' (Hil. 10:16-17), ⲛⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ (for ⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲓⲁ) ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ '*he* did not (ⲁⲛ) want (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) [to *hear* (ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) [that (ⲭⲉ) (there) is (ⲟⲩⲛ) *a monk* (ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) who has (lit. in whom are (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)) also (ⲣⲱ) pornographic (ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ) thoughts (ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6).

b) Scope of negation

As with cognition verbs, perception sentences allow negation to occur in the main and the dependent clause, e.g. ⲉⲓⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ (for ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ϫ(ⲉ) ⲙⲡⲓ† ⲥⲁ (for ⲥⲟ) ⲉⲣⲟϥ '*have* you (ⲛⲧⲁⲕ) *not heard* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the son (ⲡ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) of the king's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) general (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) [that (ϫ(ⲉ)) I *did not spare* him (lit. I did not give (ⲙⲡ-ⲓ-†) pardon (ⲥⲁ)) to him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ))]?' (KHML I 73:27-28) vs. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ϫ(ⲉ) ⲙⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲉϣⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲁϭⲓⲭ 'you have *seen* (ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [that (ϫ(ⲉ)) Jesus (ⲓⲥ) *could not save* him

(Apa Nahrow) (ⲙⲡⲉ ... ⲉⲱ-ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ-ⲩ) from (ϩⲛ) my hands (ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲓϫ)]' (KHML I 5:28).

c) Subordinate exclamative

Subordinate exclamatives, like main clause exclamatives, are marked by the quantificational interrogative pronoun ⲟⲩⲏⲣ 'how much, how many', e.g. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲱ ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲛⲧⲁⲧⲛⲁ ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣ 'oh (ⲱ) my brother (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ), you have seen (ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁⲩ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) *how* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲏⲣ) *bad* (ϩⲟⲟⲩ) pitilessness (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲁ) is]' (KHML II 51:13-14).

d) Depictive predication

"THAT (ϫⲉ)"-complement clauses can be used as a marked alternative for object depictives that describe the current state or condition of the direct object referent (see below, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8), e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϥⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲱⲏⲙ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲟⲣⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) nine (ϥⲓⲧⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ), they (the brothers) *saw* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *about the little* (ⲱⲏⲙ) *girl* (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ) [that (ϫⲉ) *she* had no beard (lit. (there) was no (ⲙⲛ) beard (ⲙⲟⲣⲧ) on her (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ))]' (Hil. 6:27-28), ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁⲟⲥⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲧ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'look (ⲥⲱⲱⲧ) and you will *see* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *from my foot-soles* (ⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲁⲟⲥⲉ) [that (ϫⲉ) *I* (ⲁⲛⲧ) (am) a human being (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)]' (Onnophr. 206:23-24), ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟ [ϫⲉ] ⲛⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲉ ϩⲣⲁ[ⲥ] '(oh) woman (ⲧⲉ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ), I *see* (ⲧ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *about you* (ⲉⲣⲟ) [that (ϫⲉ) *you* (ⲛⲧⲟ) (are) a handsome (lit. whose face (ϩⲣⲁ-ⲥ) is beautiful (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲥⲉ)) woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27a:21-23), ⲛⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲕⲟ 'and I would *find* (ⲛⲧⲁ-ϩⲉ) the news (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱ) *about my children* (ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) [that (ϫⲉ) *they* are not going to die (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) of (ϩⲁ) hunger (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲕⲟ)]' (Mena, Mir. 78b:16-19).

12.1.3 Reported speech

The term reported speech is used here in the broad sense to cover the reporting of spoken and written discourse. There are two main types of reported speech that represent an utterance from different points of view. Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of a given utterance, thereby expressing the internal viewpoint of the original

speaker, e.g. ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲱⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲟⲱ ϩⲁⲑⲏⲛ 'the holy one (ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ) *said* (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »My son (ⲡⲁ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ), you cannot (lit. (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) possibility (ⲱⲟⲙ) for you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) to) stay (ⲉ-ⲟⲱ) with us (ϩⲁⲑⲏ-ⲛ)«]' (Hil. 5:15-16). Indirect reported speech, on the other hand, only gives the content of the original, thus taking the external viewpoint of the reporter (the author of a text or the narrator within the text), e.g. ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 'my Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) had *said* (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) [that they should give (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲧ) them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) to eat (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) his order (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ-ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ)]' (Abbatôn 236:27-28).

12.1.3.1 Main differences between direct and indirect reported speech

The distinction between reporting the wording (or form) and reporting the content (or meaning) of an utterance is to be found in the different use of deictic expressions and tense as well as the altered syntax of clause types.

a) Deixis

In direct reported speech, deictic expressions are invariably interpreted relative to the original utterance. The most straightforward case involves personal pronouns. In the direct type, reference to the speaker and the addressee is indicated by first and second pronouns, e.g. ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲝⲓⲥⲓⲁ (read ⲉⲩⲇⲟϫⲓⲁ) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲛⲧ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ 'the virgin (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) *Eudoxia* said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ⲥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »(As for) *me* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ), *I* (ⲁⲛⲧ) (am) a woman (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)]«' (Eud. 54:11-12), ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ (...) ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲛⲛⲟⲩ '*the governor* (ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲉ) to him (Apa Ptolemy) (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) » (...) Verily (ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ), *you* (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) a noble (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) of noble descent (ⲛ-ⲱⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ)!«]' (KHML II 33:6-9).

By contrast, third person pronouns are used to designate the original speaker and addressee or both in the indirect type, e.g. ⲙⲡⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲉ ϥⲱⲱⲛⲉ '*he* (Pachôm) did not tell (ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲉ) any (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) of (ϩⲛ) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) [that (ϫⲉ) *he* was ill (ϥ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ)]' (V. Pach. 87:12), ⲁⲓϫⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲧⲉ '*I*, too

(ϩωωτ), said (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϫοο-ⲥ) [that (ϫⲉ) *she* (ⲧⲉ) (is) of shameless (ⲛ-ⲁⲧ-ⲯⲓⲡⲉ) race (ⲟⲩ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ)]' (KHML I 84:1-2), ⲛⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲯⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲣⲡⲉ '*they* (the pagan priests) said (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) [that (ϫⲉ) *their* gods (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) had come (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲉⲓ) to *them* (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) to *their* temples (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲣⲡⲉ)]' (KHML II 49:16-17).

b) Tense

The tense of indirect reported speech is often interpreted with respect to the original utterance rather than the reporting frame. Indirect reports may therefore have a present tense form when the original has a present, even when the reporting frame has past tense reference, e.g. ⲁⲩⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲫⲣ ϩⲱⲃ ϥϫⲟ ⲙⲡⲉϥϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉϥⲕⲱ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉϥⲣ ϫⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ 'the elder (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *said* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) a gardener (ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲙⲉ) [that (ϫⲉ) he *worked* (ϥ-ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ) (and) spent (ϥ-ϫⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) the entire (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) product of his labour (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) to charity (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ), [keeping (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲕⲱ) for himself (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) what he needed (lit. what he was in need (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲣ) of (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ))]]'(AP Elanskaya 17a:14-20), ⲁⲩϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲉⲥⲗⲥⲗ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ 'they *said* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫοο-ⲥ) about him (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ϥ), (namely) Apa Makarios, [that (ϫⲉ) he *wanted* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) to comfort (ⲉ-ⲥⲗⲥⲗ) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:7), ⲁⲩϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲉ ⲯⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲛⲃⲓⲣ ⲛϥ† ⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'they *said* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫοο-ⲥ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) one (ⲟⲩⲁ) of the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) [that (ϫⲉ) he *made* (ⲯⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) baskets (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲃⲓⲣ) and gave (ⲛ-ϥ-†) them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) handles (ⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 162, 36:19-20).

If, on the other hand, the tense of the indirect report is interpreted relative to the reporting frame, a Conjunctive or infinitival verb form is selected instead, e.g. ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲣϫοοⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ '(oh) my sister (ⲧⲁ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ), why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) *did* you *not tell* (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-ϫοο-ⲥ) her parents (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲥ-ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ) [*that they should come* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲓ) with her (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ)]?' (KHML I 82:6-7), ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ 'she *begged*

(ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) her brother (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲟⲛ) and (ⲙⲛ) her husband (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ϩⲁⲓ) [*that they should allow her* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲥ) [*to go* (ⲛ-ⲥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Victôr]]' (KHML I 46:11-13), ⲁϥⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲡⲁⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲕϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'he (the archbishop) *told* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) him (the brick-maker) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ) [*to make* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲡⲁⲡⲉ) bricks (ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) for the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna [until it was finished (lit. *they* finished it (ⲯⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ϫⲟⲕ-ϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ))]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).

c) Clause types

All major clause types have a corresponding subordinate form used to express the report of a statement, question, or command. Such embedded declarative, interrogative or mandative clauses have a syntax different from the corresponding main clause.

□ REPORTED DECLARATIVES

Thus, reported assertions and denials, such as ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉ†ⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ '(it is) this one (ⲡⲁⲓ) about whom (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) I *say* (ⲉ-†-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) [that (ϫⲉ) he (ⲡⲉ) (is) the true (ⲙ-ⲙⲉ) God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19a:2-4) and ⲁⲓϫοοⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲱ ⲉⲩ† ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ϩⲛ ⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ 'I *said* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϫοο-ⲥ) [that (ϫⲉ) they (the foreign monks) should not (ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ) continue (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲃⲱ) [to look around (ⲉ-ⲩ-† ⲟⲩⲟⲓ) in (ϩⲛ) the monastery (ⲑⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ)]]' (V. Pach. 138:32) are in complementary distribution with (i) modal adverbs like ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ 'verily, truly' and ⲁⲣⲏⲩ 'perhaps', (ii) interjections like ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ 'look', (iii) the positive and negative polarity markers ⲥⲉ 'yes' and ⲙⲙⲟⲛ 'no' and their emphatic counterparts ⲁϩⲉ 'yes (indeed)' and ⲙⲡⲱⲣ '(oh) no!', and (iv) nouns in vocative function. All these expressions can only occur in direct reported speech.

Examples: ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'he *said* (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) » *Verily* (ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ), this man (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (is) a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) wizard (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ)!«]' (KHML I 7:22-23), ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ

ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ 'he *said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲟ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) »*look* (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲓⲛⲧⲉ), you have become well (again) (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ)«]' (Onnophr. 209:5-6), ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ 'he *said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ϥ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) »*Yes* (ⲁϩⲉ), I suffered (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) a lot (ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ), oh (ⲱ) my son (ⲡⲁ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ)!«]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22), ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣϥ (for ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ) ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲩⲣⲓ ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲁϣⲗⲏⲗ 'the deacon (ⲡ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ) *answered* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣϥ) her (Hilaria) (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) »Sir (ⲕⲩⲣⲓ) knight (ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲉ), a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ) of times (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) I wished (ⲧ-ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ) [to go (ⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) [to pray (ⲧⲁ-ϣⲗⲏⲗ)«]]' (Hil. 4:28-30).

□ REPORTED INTERROGATIVES

Main clause interrogatives are always construed as direct questions, i.e. as inquiries, e.g. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓϣⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲁⲓϣⲓⲛⲉ) ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ 'then (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ) the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲉ) to a messenger (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲃⲁⲓ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) »*Who* (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is) this (man) (ⲡⲁⲓ)?«]' (KHML 1 7:19-20). Subordinate interrogatives, on the other hand, may have an answer orientation, stating the positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked, e.g. ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ⲏ ⲉⲕϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ '*tell me* (ⲧⲁⲙⲟ-ⲓ) [*where* (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲛ) you have gone (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to and (ⲏ) *where* (ⲧⲱⲛ) you have been living (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲟⲟⲡ) during this long (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟⲥ) (period of) time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ)]' (Mena, Enc. 51b:5-9), ⲙⲡⲉϥⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲧⲱⲛ 'he (the deceased) did not *tell* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) [*where* (ⲧⲱⲛ) he had put it (the deposit) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ϥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 65:18).

□ REPORTED DIRECTIVES

Imperative and Jussive mood are features of direct reported speech, e.g. ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲛϩⲣⲁⲫⲁⲏⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ (...) 'the Virgin (ⲧ-ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) Mary *said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲉ) to Raphaël (ⲛ-ϩⲣⲁⲫⲁⲏⲗ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) »*Land* (ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ) the boat (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲓ) here (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) (...)!«]' (KHML I 81:25-26), ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲕⲁⲁⲥ ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲛ (...) 'her mother (ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ) *said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲉ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) »*Let's place her* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲁⲥ) in front of us

(ϩⲁϩⲧⲏ-ⲛ) (...)!]«' (Hil. 12:3). The corresponding subordinate forms in indirect reported speech are the declarative content clauses of mandative verbs like ⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 'to order', ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ 'to command', or ⲕⲱⲣϣ 'to entreat'. Reported directives are introduced by a Conjunctive or infinitival verb e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲛⲧϥ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (the king) *ordered* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ) [(that) *they brought him* (Apa Nahrôw) (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ϥ) to (ⲉϫⲙ) the tribune (ⲡ-ⲃⲏⲙⲁ)]' (KHML I 5:18-19), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲝ 'after that (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲥ) the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *ordered* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ) [*that they bring* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to him (Apa Nahrow) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) a bear (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲣⲝ)]' (KHML I 4:20-21), although the Inferential is available as a alternative, e.g. ⲛϥⲕⲱⲣϣ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲧ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲛ 'and he (Apa John) *entreated* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲕⲱⲣϣ) him (Apa Jacob) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) [*to give* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲧ) him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) the *holokottinos* (a golden coin) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ) [so that he could give it (back) (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ϥ) to the brother (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ)]]' (AP Elanskaya 14a:2-6).

12.1.3.2 The reportative verb ⲡⲉⲭⲉ-/ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-

The inflectional paradigm of the reportative verb ⲡⲉⲭⲉ-, ⲡⲉⲭⲁ- 'said' is presented in table 12.3 below.

	ⲡⲉⲭⲉ-/ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲓ	ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲛ
2nd masc.	ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲕ	ⲡⲉⲭⲏ-ⲧⲛ
2nd fem.	ⲡⲉⲭⲉ	
3rd masc.	ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ϥ	ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲩ
3rd fem.	ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲥ	
Before noun	ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ	

TABLE 12.3 The reportative verb ⲡⲉⲭⲉ-/ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-

The reportative verb ⲡⲉⲭⲉ-, ⲡⲉⲭⲁ- 'said' is commonly used to introduce reporting clauses that are located in the past. It belongs to the

morphologically unproductive class of frozen verb formations that have residual V–S–O order (see above, section 10.2 of Unit 10), e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲕⲛⲁⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ 'they (the brothers) (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ⲩ) to him (Apa Moses) (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) » Would you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) not (ⲁⲛ) run away (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲱⲧ)?«]' (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:5-6).

12.1.3.3 Verbs of saying and reporting

A sample of the larger number of verbs that can be used to report direct speech is given in table 12.4. (ABS. ST. stands for 'absolute state', NOM. ST. for 'nominal state', and PRON. ST. for 'pronominal state').

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ		ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ	to say
ⲯⲁϫⲉ			to speak, say
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ			to speak, call
	ⲧⲁⲙⲉ-	ⲧⲁⲙⲟ-	to inform, tell someone
	ϫⲛⲉ-	ϫⲛⲟⲩ-	to ask someone
ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲃ			to answer, reply
	ϫⲓ ⲯⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ		to cry out, shout
ⲱⲣⲕ			to swear (an oath)
ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ			to command, order
ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ			to ask for, demand
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ			to summon, beseech

TABLE 12.4 Verbs of saying and reporting

The reported clause is structurally marked as subordinate to the matrix reportative verb by means of the 'THAT'-complementiser ϫⲉ. This feature of Coptic direct speech is not translatable. Reportative verbs may select a direct or indirect object besides the direct quote clause that designates the original addressee.

Examples: ⲛⲧϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲙⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲉⲓⲕ (...) 'and you should *say* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) *to him* (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »Feed (ⲧⲙⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) your son (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) with (ϩⲙ) this (piece of) bread (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ) (...)!«]' (V. Pach. 141:26), ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲥⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲕⲁϩ ⲯⲙⲓⲛ 'after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) some more time (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ), *he* (Pachôm) *was told* (lit. *they* told (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)) in (ϩⲛ) a vision (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »you must also (ⲟⲛ) (lit. *it is neccesary* (ϩⲁⲡ-ⲥ) for you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ) to) [establish (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲙⲛ) a congregation (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ) in (ϩⲛ) the district (ⲧ-ⲕⲁϩ) Akhmîm (ⲯⲙⲓⲛ)«]]' (V. Pach. 145:18-20),]' (V. Pach. 145:18-20), ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲯⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲩⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁ 'the old man (ⲡ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *addressed* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *the deceased* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ) [*saying* (ⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »So-an-so (ⲙⲉⲯⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ), in (ϩⲛ) which (ⲁⲩ) place (ⲙⲙⲁ) did you put (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲕⲁ) the property (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲏ) of the (previously mentioned) man (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)?«]]' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲏⲥⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲯⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲟⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲯⲓⲛⲉ (...) 'they (his servants) *told* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲉ) the holy (ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) *Apa Paêse* [(that) (ϫⲉ) » When Paul comes (ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ... ⲉⲓ) to you (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ⲕ) to pay (ⲉ-ⲟⲙ) you a visit (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲯⲓⲛⲉ) (...) «]' (KHML I 74:13-14), ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ 'a brother (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) *asked* (ⲁ ... ϫⲛⲉ) *Apa Sarapion* [(that) (ϫⲉ) » Say (ⲁϫⲓ) a word (ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ)!«]' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24), ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲯⲃ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲕⲗⲗⲱⲥ 'our father (Pachôm) (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) *answered* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲃ) *him* (Apa Jônas) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »Well (ⲕⲗⲗⲱⲥ) (said)!«]' (V. Pach. 145:9), ⲡⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ (for ⲡⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ) ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲯⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲕ 'the demon (ⲡ-ⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ) *cried* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲓ ⲯⲕⲁⲕ) *out* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »Do you think (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) [that (ϫⲉ) I came (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲏⲩ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) because of you (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲕ)?«]]' (AP Chaîne no. 222, 62:27-28), ⲯⲁⲓⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ 'I *swear* (ⲯⲁ-ⲓ-ⲱⲣⲕ) to you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ), my Lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), [(that) (ϫⲉ) »(there) is (ⲙⲛ) nobody (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) here (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) with me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ)«]' (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31), ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲉ ⲫⲉⲓ (for ⲫⲓ) ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲟⲣⲟⲥ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ) ⲧ[ⲁ]ⲁϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲩⲟⲙϥ 'then (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ) the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *ordered* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) » Take (ⲫⲉⲓ) this miserable (person) (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲟⲣⲟⲥ), give him (ⲧⲁⲁ-ϥ) to the beasts (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) [that they

eat him (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲟⲩⲟⲙ-ⲟ)!«]]' (KHML I 4:4-5), ⲁⲫⲡⲁϩⲧⲟ ⲉϫⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲫⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟ ⲉⲫϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ϫ[ⲉ] ⲡⲁ[ⲉ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲙ ⲡ[ⲁ]ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲕⲩⲁⲙⲟⲥ 'he (Jesus Christ) threw himself (ⲁ-ⲟ-ⲡⲁϩⲧ-ⲟ) at (ⲉϫⲛ) the feet (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲧ) of his Father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) and *beseeched* (ⲉ-ⲟ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) *him* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟ) [speaking (ⲉ-ⲟ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ ϫⲉ) in the following manner (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »My Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), look (ⲥⲱⲱⲧ) at (ⲉϫⲙ) my grief (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) my vexation (ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲕⲩⲁⲙⲟⲥ)!«]' (Eud. 34:10-11).

a) The object-expletive construction

Unlike other reportative verbs, the reported clause cannot appear in the complement position of the reportative verb ϫⲱ 'to say', but rather appears in an extraposed object position at the end of the reporting matrix clause. The canonical object position is occupied by an impersonal 3rd person singular feminine pronoun ⲙⲙⲟⲥ, -ⲥ 'it', which serves as a placeholder for the extraposed reported clause, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲟ ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ † ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲛⲕⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ (…) '(it is) he (ⲛⲧⲟⲟ) the *Logos* (i.e. Christ) (ⲡ-ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ) that (ⲉⲧ) *says* (*it*) (ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »Sell († ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) your possessions (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲕⲁ)(…)!«]' (AP Elanskaya 13a:8-9 [Matt. 19:21]), ⲁⲫϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ 'Apa Evagrios *said* (*it*) (ⲁ-ⲟ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »A brother ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) had kept (ⲁ ... ⲕⲱ) only (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) one gospel (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ) for himself (ⲛⲁ-ⲟ)«]' (AP Elanskaya 13a:1-4).

b) The reportative extension ⲉ-ⲟ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ

Many reportative verbs do not introduce the reported clause directly, but resort to the reportative extension ⲉ-ⲟ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ 'saying'. This has a primarily validational function, asserting the authenticity of the reported speech, e.g. ⲁⲫⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲫϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'he (Pachôm) *talked* (ⲁ-ⲟ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) to them (the brothers) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ) [*saying* (*it*) (ⲉ-ⲟ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »Look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲏⲧⲉ) I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) will go (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ⲉⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟ) the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ)«]]' (V. Pach. 92:23-24), ⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲁⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ϫⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲫϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ ϩⲙ

ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ) ⲣ ⲭⲣⲓⲁ (for ⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ) ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ 'Apa Bane *asked* (ⲁ ... ⲭⲛⲉ) Apa Abraham one day (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) [*saying* (*it*) (ⲉ-ⲟ-ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) »Would a man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who had become like (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲟ-ⲣ ⲑⲉ) Adam (ⲛ-ⲁⲇⲁⲙ) in (ϩⲙ) Paradise (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ) still (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲟⲛ) need (ⲟ-ⲣ ⲭⲣⲓⲁ) [to be counselled (lit. that *they* counsel (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲓ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ) him (ⲛⲁ-ⲟ)?«]]' (AP Chaîne no. 246, 76:26-28).

c) Parenthetical ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-

The reportative verb ⲡⲉⲭⲁ- 'said' may appear as a parenthetical clause following the first word or phrase of the reported speech. Parenthetical ⲡⲉⲭⲁ- provides a context where the ϫⲉ-complementiser does not seem to be permitted, e.g. ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲡⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ '[»We have come (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲉⲓ)«], *they said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲩ), [»to you (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ⲕ), [because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (are) the leader of them (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲁⲡⲏ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ)«]]' (AP Chaîne no. 155, 34:29), ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲛⲁ ⲧⲁϩⲟⲓ ⲛⲫⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ '[»Perhaps (ⲁⲣⲏⲩ)«], *she said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ), [»will his grace (ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲛⲁ) come upon me (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲧⲁϩⲟ-ⲓ) and will he grant (ⲛ-ⲟ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) healing (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ)«]' (KHML I 46:13-14), ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲫ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ '[» (there was) a man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)], *he said* (ⲡⲉⲭⲁ-ⲩ), [»who had (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ-ⲫ) one son (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) two (ⲥⲛⲧⲉ) daughters (ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ)«]' (Sh. *Or* 44, 161a:16-20).

d) Ellipsis of the reportative verb

The reportative verb can be omitted altogether when the surrounding context makes it sufficiently clear that the embedded clause is to be interpreted as reported speech, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'I (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) wept (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) »I do not have (ⲙⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ) forgiveness (ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ)«' (Ac. A&P 200:99-100), ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲫⲧⲁⲗⲏⲩ ⲉⲡⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ 'a voice ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ⲥⲙⲏ) came (ⲁ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) to (ⲯⲁ) the blessed (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna while he was still (ⲉⲧⲓ) on board (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲩ) of the ship (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗ) (saying) »Do not be (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-ⲣ) afraid (ϩⲟⲧⲉ), my

beloved (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ) Mêna (ⲙⲏⲛⲁ)!«]' (Mena, Enc. 56a:17-23), ⲥⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲛⲉⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ (for ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲉⲛⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ) ⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ 'some (people) (ⲥⲟⲓⲛⲉ) (say) [that (ⲭⲉ) he (Apa Mena) (ⲡⲉ) (was) a man of the Paeiat (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲉⲙ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧ)], others (ⲥⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) he (ⲡⲉ) (was) one from the Mariôtês (ⲡⲁ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ)]' (Mena, Enc. 36b:27-37a:2).

12.2 Adjunct clauses

This section provides an overview of various classes of clausal adjuncts. It elaborates on already familiar aspects of the Coptic relative tense system, providing a contrastive analysis of subordinate verbal tenses with a range of semantically related constructions. As with common phrasal adjuncts, clausal adjuncts are optional sentence constituents that can be omitted without affecting the interpretability of the rest of the clause.

Clausal adjuncts are syntactically less well integrated into the structure of the main clause than clausal complements. Moreover, they convey relatively constant kinds of meaning. We adopt here a traditional taxonomy of semantic types of adverbial clauses, which is cast in terms of rhetorical notions such as conditionality, temporality, causality and purpose.

12.2.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis). What is common to all constructions fitting the IF P THEN Q schema is that they convey a consequence implicature, asserting that the situation described in the apodosis follows in one way or the other from the situation described in the protasis clause.

One important semantic distinction within the wide array of conditional constructions is that between open and remote conditionals. This subdivision is based on a contrast between "realis" and "irrealis" modality. Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to the question whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but

attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. ⲥⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲟⲉ ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲫⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲕⲉⲙⲛⲧⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ '[*when* (ⲥⲟⲧⲁⲛ) *they* (the Egyptians) *gather* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ)], their lord (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) will see (ⲫ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁⲩ) that (ⲭⲉ) another leadership (ⲕⲉ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) has power (ⲁ ... ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) over them (ⲉⲭⲱ-ⲟⲩ)' (Camb. 8:10-12).

Remote conditionals, on the other hand, express the idea that the satisfaction of the condition expressed in the hypothetical clause is relatively unlikely or even impossible in the actual world, e.g. ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ (for ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ) ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲙⲉⲍ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲓⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ '[*if you only* (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *had been here* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲉⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)], you could have drawn (ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲉⲍ) water (ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) for those who wish for (it) (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲱ), (and) we would have found (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲓⲛⲉ) our food (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ) from day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ) to day (ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ)' (Mena, Mir. 81b:21-29). The open conditional represents the prototypical conditional construction: we will examine it first, and then turn to the remote version.

12.2.1.1 Open conditionals

There are six basic categories of open conditional constructions, each associated with distinct syntactic and semantic properties: (i) ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲯⲁⲛ-conditionals, (ii) ⲉⲯⲱⲡⲉ-/ⲉⲯⲭⲉ-conditionals, (iii) concessive conditionals (ⲕⲁⲛ 'even if'), (iv) 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, (v) coordinated and juxtaposed structures with conditional interpretations and (vi) hypothetical free relatives.

12.2.1.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) Word order

Word order in conditional sentences is largely determined by the principle of iconicity: since the protasis is logically prior to the apodosis, the conditional adjunct clause is generally placed in the front position of preposed adverbs, e.g. ⲉⲣⲯⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲯⲟⲟⲥⲉⲫ ⲛⲉⲫⲧⲏⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ (...) ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲣⲙⲛⲏⲓ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲏⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲫⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲫⲁⲟ

'[*when a brother* (ογ-con) *hurts himself* (ερ-ψαν ... ψοοδε-ϥ) and cannot sleep (νεϥ-τμ-νκοτκ) (...)], his superintendent (πεϥ-ρμν-ηι) *should go* (ερε ... βωκ) to the place (ε-π-ηα) of the stewards (ν-ν-οικονομος) and take it (ν-ϥ-χιτ-ογ) (the oil, a garment) for him (να-ϥ) until he gets better (ψαντ-ϥ-λο)' (praec. Pach. 105).

Conditional constructions with the reverse order also occur. The postponement of the conditional adjunct to the end of the consequence clause conveys a strong sense of contrastive focus, e.g. ερε νετψοοπ ϩμ πχαιε ετβε πνογτε ναϩε ερωμε των ρψαν ογθλιφις ταϩοογ η εγψανϩκο εγναϩε ετροφη των εγψανειβε εγναϩε εμοογ των εcω 'where (των) will they who are (ν-ετψοοπ) in (ϩμ) the desert (π-χαιε) for the sake of (ετβε) God (π-νογτε) find (ερε ... να-ϩε) somebody (ε-ρωμε), [*when they get into trouble* (lit. if trouble (ογ-θλιφις) comes upon them (ρψαν ... ταϩο-ογ)], or (η) [*when they* are *hungry* (ε-γ-ψαν-ϩκο)], where (των) will they find (ε-γ-να-ϩε) food (ε-τροφη); [*when they suffer from thirst* (ε-γ-ψαν-ειβε)], where (των) will they find (ε-γ-να-ϩε) water (ε-μοογ) to drink (ε-cω)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

b) Syntactic dependency

Conditional adjunct clauses are less well integrated into the matrix clause than temporal adjunct clauses. For this reason, the protasis and the apodosis of a conditional construction may be distributed over two successive clauses, e.g. ανοκ δε πεχαι ναϥ χε εψωπε ογϩηκε πε εμν [ψ]δομ μμοϥ ετ νογπροσφορα μπεκραν πεχαϥ ναι χε μαρεϥτμμε ογcον ν̀ϩηκε ϩμ παραν 'I (ανοκ) said (πεχα-ι) to him (να-ϥ) [(that) (χε) »*if* (εψωπε) *he* (πε) (is) *poor* (ογ-ϩηκε) and cannot afford (lit. without (there) being (ε-μν) power (ψδομ) in him (μμο-ϥ)) to give (ε-ϯ) a sacrifice (ν-ογ-προσφορα) in your name (μ-πεκ-ραν)«] He said (πεχα-ϥ) to me (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »*he should nourish* (μαρε-ϥ-τμμε) a poor (ν-ϩηκε) brother (ογ-con) in (ϩμ) my name (πα-ραν)!«]' (Onnophr. 216:14-16).

c) Clause types

All major clauses types apply to open conditionals: declarative, interrogative, exclamative, imperative. The clause type category is expressed in the apodosis clause, while the protasis is invariably formulated as a declarative clause.

Examples: (declarative) εcψανδωψτ ὲϩογν εϩραc ψαρε πεcca ν̀ϩογν βωλ εβολ ψαcπαϩτc εχμ πκαϩ ncριμε '[when she (Hilaria) looked (ε-c-ψαν-δωψτ) at her (sister's) face (ε-ϩρα-c)], *her inner* (ν-ϩογν) *part* (πεc-ca) *melted away* (ψαρε ... βωλ) (and) she threw herself (ψα-c-παϩτ-c) on (εχμ) the ground (π-καϩ) and wept (ν-c-ριμε)' (Hil. 9:13-14), (interrogative) εψχε ντκ ογματοι ναψ ν̀ϩε κcοογν ννεγραφη '[if (εψχε) you (ντκ) (are) a soldier (ογ-ματοι)], *how* (ναψ ν̀ϩε) *do you know* (κ-cοογν) the Scriptures (ν-νε-γραφη)?' (Mena, Enc. 55b:7-10), (imperative) ερψαν πχοειc δμ παψειν̀ε (for παψιν̀ε) μπρκα πασωμα ϩμ πηα ετογναταμcϥ ν̀ϩητϥ '[if the Lord (π-χοειc) visits me (ερψαν ... δμ πα-ψειν̀ε)], *do not let my body* (πα-cωμα) *rest* (μπρ-κα) in (ϩμ) the place (π-ηα) where (ν̀ϩητ-ϥ) it will be buried (lit. *they* will bury it (ετ-ογ-να-τομc-ϥ))!' (V. Pach. 93:27-28), (exclamative) ογοι νητν ετετνψαντμβωκ ετεκκληcια η ετετνψαντηχι εβολ πcωμα μν πεcνοϥ μπχοειc '*woe* (ογοι) *to you* (νη-τν) [if you do not go (ε-τετν-ψαν-τμ-βωκ) to church (ε-τ-εκκληcια)] or (η) [if you do not take (ε-τετν-ψαν-χι) from (εβολ) the body (π-cωμα) and (μν) the blood (πε-cνοϥ) of the Lord (μ-π-χοειc)]' (Sh. III 45:10-11).

□ INTERROGATIVE APODOSIS

Open conditions with an interrogative apodosis are commonly interpreted as biased questions: the protasis clause provides information that suggests a negative answer to the question expressed in the apodosis clause, e.g. εψχε μπιψδμδομ ετωογν ϩλ̀ πνοδνεδ νταμαλγ ναψ ν̀ϩε ειναψτωογν ϩλ̀ πψιπε μπεϩοογ ντεκριcις ϩιθη μπεχc μν νεϥαγγελος τηρογ '[if (εψχε) I was not able (μπ-ι-ψ-δμ-δομ) to bear (ε-τωογν) my mother's (ν-τα-μαλγ) reproach (ϩλ̀ π-νοδνεδ)], <u>how</u> (ν-λψ ν-ϩε) *will I be able to bear* (ε-ι-να-ψ-τωογν) the shame (ϩλ̀ π-ψιπε) on the day (μ-πε-ϩοογ) of the judgement (ν-τε-κριcις) before (ϩιθη) Christ (μ-πε-χc) and (μν) all (τηρ-ογ) his angels

(ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ)?' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:19-21) (implied meaning: since I did not live up to my mother's expectation, there is no way that I could pass the Lord's judgement), ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲃⲉⲕⲏ (for ⲡⲁⲃⲉⲕⲉ) ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ 'if (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) this (ⲡⲁⲓ) is) my wage (ⲡⲁ-ⲃⲉⲕⲏ), *what* (ⲟⲩ) *shall I do* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲣ) *with this* (brick) (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲓ)?' (Mena, Mir. 79b:15-18) (implied meaning: I cannot do anything with this brick; it's not a reward at all).

□ IMPERATIVAL APODOSIS

In specifying a circumstance under which some course of action has to be taken, open conditionals formed with an imperatival apodosis are generally more restrictive than simple main clause imperatives. They commonly express non-wilful directives (advice, recommendations, warnings), e.g. ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ (read ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ) ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲟⲩ (read ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ) ⲛⲧⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲉϣⲓⲏⲧ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲕⲩⲧⲏⲥ (for ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ) ⲉⲧⲥⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'if (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) it pleases (ⲥ-ⲉⲣ ⲁⲛⲁ-ⲕ) your majesty (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ<ⲕ>-ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ) to accept (ⲉ-ϣⲱⲡ) for you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ) our advice (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ), *send* (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲟⲩ) your daughter (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲕ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ) to Shiêt (ⲉ-ϣⲓⲏⲧ) to (ⲉ-ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ) the hermits (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲁⲥⲕⲩⲧⲏⲥ) who (reside) in (ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲙ) that (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ)!' (Hil. 7:7-9), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲕⲣ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'but [if (ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ) you want (ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) to do (ⲉ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) a few (ⲛ-ⲥⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) healings (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ), *do them* (ⲁⲣⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩ) outside (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲃⲟⲗ) the city (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) at a distance (lit. until you make (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲕ-ⲣ)) of two (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) days (ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34).

d) Iteration of conditional adjuncts

Open conditional constructions may be recursive, allowing more than one protasis clause. The iteration of conditional adjuncts is comparatively rare, especially if they are placed adjacent to one another, e.g. ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲡϣⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲁ ⲣⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲕϣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ ⲡⲟⲥⲱ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲛⲁ† ⲥⲟ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ̄ '[*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *the man* (ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *will not* (ⲁⲛ) *shut* (ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁ) his mouth (ⲣⲱ-ⲕ)], [*if he is able* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲟⲙ-ⲟⲟⲙ) *to repay* (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) him who committed

(ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟ) adultery (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ) to his wife (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲥⲓⲙⲉ)], how much (ⲡⲟⲥⲱ) more (ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ) will he who created (ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ), Jesus (ⲓⲏ̄), give (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-†) pardon (ⲥⲟ)?' (Sh. *Or* 44, 163a:13-22).

12.2.1.1.2 ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-conditionals

Open conditionals formed with the ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ pattern may assume a range of different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to realis modality, while others involve quantification over event types.

a) Consequence and inference

The ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-conditional construction generally conveys a consequence implicature: the apodosis situation is presented as the expected or intended outcome of the protasis situation. This relation is very often one of cause and effect, e.g. ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲛⲧⲛ ⲉⲛⲣⲏⲥ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) they (the temptations) will come (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲏⲩ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [*when they come* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) *and find us* (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲛ) *awake* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲣⲏⲥ)], we will be glorified (lit. receive (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲭⲓ) glory (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17), ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲧⲣⲉ ⲡ[ⲁⲓ] ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲓ† ⲙⲡⲡⲓⲛⲁⲝ '[*if the God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna *makes* (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ .... ⲧⲣⲉ) *this* (ⲡⲁⲓ) *happen* (ϣⲱⲡⲉ)], I give (ϣⲁ-ⲓ-†) the dish (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲝ)' (Mena, Mir. 20a:18-22).

A second common type of consequence is inference, where the truth of the apodosis is seen as following from that of the protasis clause, e.g. ⲉⲕϣⲁⲛⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲕⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲱⲕ '[*when you judge* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ)], you, too (ⲭⲱ-ⲕ), have transgressed (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ) the law (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ)' (AP Elanskaya 22a:7-9), ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲑⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ '[because (ⲅⲁⲣ) *if all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *who saw* (ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *him* (Jesus) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ) *come to know* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) (about it)], they will believe (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) in him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ)' (Eud. 52:21-22).

b) Realis modality

Open ϵρϣαν-conditionals indicate a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the actualisation of the protasis situation at some point in the nearby future, e.g. ⲁγω †ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉγⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲛⲁϭⲉⲛ ϩⲏγ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉϥϣⲁϩⲁ 'and (ⲁγω) I *believe* (†-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉγⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) [*if he comes* (ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) *to us* (ϣⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ)] we all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲛ) will benefit (lit. gain (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϭⲉⲛ) profit (ϩⲏγ)) from (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) his prayers (ⲛⲉϥ-ϣⲁϩⲁ)]]' (Hil. 10:30-31), ⲉⲕϣⲁⲛϫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ϥⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲟ[ⲕ] ⲛϥϣⲁϫⲉ [ⲛⲙ]ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ '[*when you receive* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-ϫⲓ) *the crown* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) *of the martyrdom* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ)], he (Jesus) will reveal (himself) (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ) to you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ) and talk (ⲛ-ϥ-ϣⲁϫⲉ) to you (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲕ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) hour (ⲛⲁⲩ)' (KHML II 30:22-23), ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ (...) ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲁϥⲩⲁⲏ (...) '[*when you* (woman) *go* (ⲉⲣ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲃⲱⲕ) *to* (ⲉ-ⲑⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅) *Jerusalem*] (...), the people from (ⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) my tribe (ⲧⲁ-ϥⲩⲁⲏ) will inform you (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ) about it (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:23-26).

The conditional adjunct may establish a time frame for the course of action described in the consequence clause, e.g. ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉ[ⲓ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲙⲏ ⲉⲡⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁγⲱ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ '[*when daylight* (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) *appears* (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ... ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)], go (woman) (ⲁⲙⲏ) to my shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ) and (ⲁγⲱ) healing (ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ) will be granted (lit. will happen (ⲛⲁ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ)) to you (ⲛⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23), ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲙⲣⲱ †ⲛⲁϥⲓⲧϥ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩϫϥ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ '[*when the people* (ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of the harbour (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲙⲣⲱ) *go to sleep* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ)], I will take it (the corpse) (†-ⲛⲁ-ϥⲓⲧ-ϥ) and throw it (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛⲟⲩϫ-ϥ) into the sea (ⲉ-ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7).

c) Multiple situations

The protasis and the apodosis situation of open ϵ-ϥ-ϣαν-conditionals are located in the same time-sphere, temporal reference being established by the tense of the matrix clause. The selection of habitual aspect in the apodosis clause imposes quantificational interpretation on the entire conditional sentences, which then describes the interdependency between two event patterns, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ †ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲁϥ ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩϩⲱϥ (for ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ)

ⲛⲉϣⲁϥⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱϥ '[but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *whenever a brother* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) *hurt* (ⲣϣⲁⲛ ... † ⲙⲕⲁϩ) *him* (the ill-tempered monk) (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) in anything (ϩⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱϥ)], he used to hate him (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 86:2-3), ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ (...) 'because (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ) [*when they finished* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱ) *eating* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) their small portion (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) of bread (ⲛ-ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)], they used to gather (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) with one another (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) (...)' (V. Pach. 137:3-4), ⲉⲥϣⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲧⲃⲧ ⲏ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲇⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ϣⲁϥϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ '[*whenever it happened* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ϣⲁⲛ-ϣⲱⲡⲉ) [(that) they brought (ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ) him (Pachôm) (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) fish (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲧⲃⲧ) or (ⲏ) other food (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲇⲓⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ)]], he took it (ϣⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓⲧ-ⲟⲩ) and prepared it (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ⲟⲩ) for them (the brothers) (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3).

12.2.1.1.3 ϵϣⲱⲡⲉ-/ϵϣϫⲉ-conditionals

As a syntactic alternative for the ϵ-ϥ-ϣαν-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ pattern, the hypothetical clause of an open conditional can also be marked as such by the conditional conjunctions ϵϣϫⲉ or ϵϣⲱⲡⲉ 'if, when'. The apodosis clause is sometimes introduced by correlative ⲉⲓⲉ 'then', e.g. ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲉϣϫⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲧⲁϩⲓⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲉ†ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉϩⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ '(oh) Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) Almighty (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ), [*if* (ⲉϣϫⲉ) *you want to direct* (ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ) *my way* (ⲧⲁ-ϩⲓⲏ) in (ϩⲙ) the matter (ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ) that I want to pursue (ⲉ-†-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ), then (ⲉⲓⲉ) let me hear (ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) Scripture readings (ⲉ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ) that are suited (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ) to my goal (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ)!' (Hil. 2:20-21).

a) Syntactic distribution

Open ϵ-ϥ-ϣαν- and ϵϣⲱⲡⲉ-/ϵϣϫⲉ-conditionals complement each other in various ways. Thus, while ϵⲣϣαν-conditionals are restricted to verbal clauses, a range of verbal and non-verbal sentence patterns are initiated by the conditional subordinators ϵϣϫⲉ or ϵϣⲱⲡⲉ. Thus, consider: ϵϣϫⲉ ⲛϥⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ† ⲛⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲁⲛ'[*if* (ϵϣϫⲉ) *he will not* (ⲁⲛ) *rise* (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ)], he shall give (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-†) what is his (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ϥ) to us

(ⲛⲁ-ⲛ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212), ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏⲧⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ '[*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you have* (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏ-ⲧⲛ) *a living* (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲟⲛϩ) *God* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)], open (ⲟⲩⲱⲛ) (it) (i.e. the gate) for you (ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ) all by yourselves (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ)!' (Ac. A&P 208:192-193), ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧϭⲟⲉⲛ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ '*if* (ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ) *he* (ⲡⲉ) (is) *poor* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲏⲕⲉ) and has not found (ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ-ⲧ-ϭⲟⲉⲛ) (any) bread (ⲟⲉⲓⲕ)' (Test. Is. 235:28-29), ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲕϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓⲉ ⲙⲓϣⲉ ϩⲛ ϩⲉⲛϣⲗϩⲗ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲏⲥⲧⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲕⲟ '[*when* (ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ) *you* (are) *in* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ϩⲙ) *the desert* (ⲡ-ϫⲁⲓⲉ)], fight (ⲙⲓϣⲉ) with (ϩⲛ) prayers (ϩⲉⲛϣⲗϩⲗ), fastings (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲁ) and (ⲙⲛ) affliction (ⲟⲩ-ⲑⲙⲕⲟ)' (Pach. Catéch. 8:6-7).

b) Protasis and apodosis tenses

The time sphere has some limited bearing on the interpretation of conditionals with ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ or ⲉϣⲭⲉ, although many combinations of protasis and apodosis tenses are possible. Very often, the conditional adjunct clause relates to the nearby future. The present tense is a less preferred protasis tense, since at the moment of speaking it is normally not known whether the anticipated situation will be satisfied or not, e.g. ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ϩⲉⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲥⲓⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲙⲛⲏⲓ ϩⲛ ⲑⲓⲗⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲧⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ (for ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲛ) ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ (for ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ) ϩⲛ ⲑⲓⲗⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ '[*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) he who has (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲧ-ⲧ) an offspring (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲉⲛ) Zion (ⲥⲓⲱⲛ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) kinsmen (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲙⲓ) in (ϩⲛ) heavenly (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) Jerusalem (ⲑⲓⲗⲏ̄ⲙ̄) *will be blessed* (lit. *they* will bless (ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ))], then (ⲉⲓⲉ) *we are blessed* (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲧ-ⲛ), too (ϩⲱⲱⲛ), since (ⲭⲉ) we have (ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧⲁ-ⲛ) an offspring (ⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ) in (ϩⲛ) in (ϩⲛ) heavenly (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲉ) Jerusalem (ⲑⲓⲗⲏ̄ⲙ̄)' (Hil. 13:6-9), ⲏ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲧⲱⲕ ⲣⲱϣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲁϣ ⲛϩⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲣⲱϣⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲧⲱⲕ ⲧⲉ 'or (ⲏ) [*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you do not* (ⲁⲛ) *wish* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) that she who belongs to you (ⲧ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲱ-ⲕ) suffices (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ ... ⲣⲱϣⲉ) you (ⲉⲣⲟⲕ)], how (ⲛ-ⲁϣ ⲛ-ϩⲉ) *could* you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) (possibly) *be sufficient* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲱϣⲉ) for her who belongs to you (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲱ-ⲕ ⲧⲉ)?' (Sh. *Or* 44, 156a:17-24).

The use of the Perfect in the protasis clauses generally indicates that some condition had or had not been satisfied when the apodosis situation

occurred, e.g. ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲕⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ '[*when* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *they* (the hermits) *have been transferred* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ) *to the other world* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲕⲉ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ)], through (ϩⲓⲧⲙ) the joy (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ) that they saw (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁⲩ) (there), *they do not* even (ⲣⲱ) *remember* (lit. make (ⲙⲉⲩ-ⲣ) thought (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)) that (ⲭⲉ) a (lower) world (ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) exists (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ⲱⲟⲟⲡ)' (Onnophr. 215:2-4), ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲅⲛⲁⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ '[*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you have not found peace* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲕ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) *alone* (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲕ) *and* (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) *also* (ⲟⲛ) *whilst living* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲱⲟⲟⲡ) *with* (ⲙⲛ) *others* (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ)], *you will not* (ⲁⲛ) *find peace* (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 6:27-28).

It is possible for ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲁⲛ- and ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ-/ⲉϣⲭⲉ-conditionals to be combined, e.g. ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛϣⲁⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲩⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲧⲁϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛϣⲗϩⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ '[*if* (ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ) *you ask* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲩⲁⲛ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) *the Lord* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)], he will grant (ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) healing (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ) to my daughter (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) your prayers (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ-ⲱⲗϩⲁ), my brothers (ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)' (Hil. 8:12-13), ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓϣⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲭ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲓⲭⲓⲧⲩ 'however (ⲇⲉ) *when* (ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ) *I notice* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲩⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) *I* am cured (ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲟⲭ) from illness (ⲉ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ)], *I* will not accept it (the donkey) (ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-ⲭⲓⲧ-ⲩ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

c) Consequence and inference

As with ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲁⲛ-conditionals, it is possible for ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ- and ⲉϣⲭⲉ-conditionals to describe a cause-effect relation between two eventualities, but they are equally well-suited for the expression of inferences and deductions, e.g. ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲧⲙⲟⲉⲡⲏ ⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ (read ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ) '[*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you do not hasten* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲧⲙ-ⲇⲉⲡⲏ) *to do* (ⲉ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *this* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲓ)], *you will surely die* (lit. in (ϩⲛ) a dying (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩ) you shall die (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲙⲟⲩ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲕⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲕ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϣⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ ⲟⲛⲧⲱⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲛϣⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you* (man) *are* (ⲕ-ⲟ) *adulterous* (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ), although you have (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲕ) a wife (ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ)], and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [*if* (ⲉϣⲭⲉ) *you* (woman) *are*

fornicating (ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲉ), although you have (ⲉ-ⲟⲛⲧⲉ) your husband (ⲡⲟⲩ-ϩⲁⲓ)], *you are* actually (ⲟⲛⲧⲱⲥ) *no* (ⲁⲛ) *different* (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲯⲟⲃⲉ) from beasts (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ)' (Sh. *Or* 44, 155a:4-12).

12.2.1.1.4 Concessive conditionals

The essence of concessive ('EVEN THOUGH') conditionals is a semantic opposition between the hypothetical clause, which may or may not be true, and the consequent clause, which is claimed to be so. Whereas in a regular conditional the consequence depends on the truth of the hypothetical clause, in a concessive, the reality of the event or situation in the antecedent clause is irrelevant. The truth of the subordinate clause might lead one to expect that the superordinate clause would be false (contrary-to-expectation implicature).

Coptic concessive conditionals are initiated with the concessive subordinators ⲕⲁⲛ or ⲡⲁⲏⲛ 'even though' plus a conditional adjunct clause. Both ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲯⲁⲛ- and ⲉⲯⲱⲡⲉ-/ⲉⲯϫⲉ-conditionals are permitted. Very often, the consequence clause of concessive conditionals is marked as contrastively focused by means of the adversative conjunction ⲁⲗⲗⲁ 'but, nevertheless', as in: ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲕⲯⲁⲛϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲍⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲧⲃⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲍⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲕⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲛϯ ⲍⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲱⲍⲧ ⲛⲫⲟϫⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲕⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ '[*even* *though* (ⲕⲁⲛ) *you may say* (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) that (ϫⲉ) the birds (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) the fish (ⲛ-ⲧⲃⲧ) ate (ⲁ ... ⲟⲩⲱⲙ) others (ⲛⲍⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ)], *nevertheless* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) they had come (ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of (ⲍⲛ) the latter (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲙⲁⲩ), they returned (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲧⲟ-ⲟⲩ) to the earth (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲍ). [*Even* *though* (ⲕⲁⲛ) *they might give* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ϯ) *some* (ⲍⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ) (of them) *to the fire* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲕⲱⲍⲧ) and it perishes them (ⲛ-ⲫ-ⲟϫⲛ-ⲟⲩ)], (it is) again (ⲟⲛ) the earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲍ) towards which (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ) they returned (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲧⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Zen. 202:13-16), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲯϫⲉ ⲍⲉⲛⲁⲯⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲫⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲍⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲫⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [*even* (ⲕⲁⲛ) *though* (ⲉⲯϫⲉ) *those he* (Apa Zenobius) *had already* (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲟⲩⲱ) *gathered* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ) (are) *many* (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲁⲯⲏ)], they (ⲛⲉ) (were) *nevertheless* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) only (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) a few (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) compared to (ⲛⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ) those that he was zealous (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲫ-ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ) to

gather (ⲉ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲍ-ⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ) in (ⲍⲙ) the time (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ) to come (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ)' (Zen. 205:13-16), ⲡⲁⲏⲛ ⲉⲯϫⲉ ⲍⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲁⲧⲱⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ (for ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲁⲧⲟⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ) ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲣⲱⲯⲉ ⲉϯ ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙ[ⲏ] ⲛⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ '[*even* (ⲡⲁⲏⲛ) *though* (ⲉⲯϫⲉ) (it is) just (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *a few things* (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *that we are going to say* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) about (ⲍⲛ) his (Apa Zenobius') achievements (ⲛⲉⲫ-ⲕⲁⲧⲱⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ)], *nevertheless* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) these (ⲛⲁⲓ) suffice (ⲣⲱⲯⲉ) to provide (ⲉ-ϯ) a starting point (ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙⲏ) for the wise men (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) to become wiser (ⲉ-ⲣ-ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ)' (Zen. 201:13-14), ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲯϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲇⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲓ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲧⲓⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲃⲉⲕⲏ (read ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲃⲉⲕⲉ) '[*even* (ⲕⲁⲛ) *though* (ⲉⲯϫⲉ) *you are able* (lit. (there) is (ⲟⲩⲉⲛ) power (ⲇⲟⲙ) in you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ)) *to manufacture* (it) (the brick) (ⲉ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ)], *nevertheless* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) take (ϫⲓ) this (brick) (ⲧⲁⲓ) for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) [when you go (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to the city (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲃⲏⲕ) [until I come (ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲁ-ⲉⲓ) and give (ⲛⲧⲁ-ϯ) you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) your wage (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲃⲉⲕⲏ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 79b:6-13).

12.2.1.1.5 Other markers of conditionality

Marked alternatives to the conditional markers ⲉⲯϫⲉ and ⲉⲯⲱⲡⲉ 'if, when' include the Greek subordinating complementisers ⲉⲛⲍⲟⲥⲟⲛ 'as long as' and ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ 'unless, except that', e.g. ⲉⲛⲍⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲥⲛⲥⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉⲛⲥⲱⲱ ⲛⲧⲉϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ '[*as* *long* *as* (ⲉⲛⲍⲟⲥⲟⲛ) *it is up to us* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲛ) *not to sin* (lit. make (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲣ) sin (ⲛⲟⲃⲉ))], let us not loathe (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲱ) grace (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ)!' (Sh. IV 24:8-9), ⲛⲧⲛⲁϯ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲫⲍⲟⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲫⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟⲫ ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲛ ⲧⲱⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲧϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ (...) 'I will not (ⲁⲛ) burden (lit. give (ⲛ-ϯ-ⲛⲁ-ϯ)) you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) (with) a difficult (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲍⲟⲥⲉ) job (ⲍⲱⲃ), [*except* *that* (ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ) (that) *you carry* (ⲛⲧⲫⲉⲓ) *some* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *frankincense* (ⲛ-ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ), place it (ⲛ-ⲣ-ⲧⲁⲗⲟ-ⲫ) on (ⲉϫⲛ) the altar (ⲧ-ⲱⲏⲩⲉ) and just (ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ) say (ⲛ-ⲣ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) (....)]' (KHML II 33:14-16).

12.2.1.1.6 Circumstantial clauses as implicit conditionals

Circumstantial 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often interpreted as implicitly conditional constructions, e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲛⲁϫⲡⲉ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟ ⲧⲉⲥⲍⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϯ ⲙⲡⲅⲁⲙⲟⲥ

ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) would you, oh (ⲱ) man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) you (ⲛⲧⲟ) woman (ⲧⲉ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ), beget (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲡⲉ) children (ⲱⲛⲣⲉ) in secret (ⲛ-ϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ) [*if God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *gives* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧ) *marriage* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲥ) *to everyone* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ)]?' (Sh. *Or* 44, 153b:41-48).

Negative conditions are formed with the Relative Present ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'when/while he hears/heard' and the ⲧⲙ 'to do not' (see above, section 9.4.6.3), e.g. ⲉⲓⲧⲛⲱⲉⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁϩⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ '[*if I do not wander to and fro* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲧⲛ-ⲱⲉⲉⲓ) *with him* (the obnoxious monk) *in* (ϩⲛ) *everything* (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ)], he will not (ⲁⲛ) follow (ⲛ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲟⲩⲁϩ-ⲩ) me (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲓ)' (V. Pach. 147:26-27), ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲙⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ (...) '(as for) the latter (ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ), [*if I did not manufacture it* (the net) (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲧⲙ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ⲥ) *for him* (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ)], he would say (ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) that (ϫⲉ) (...)' (AP Elanskaya 24a:17-18), ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲛⲅⲛⲁⲥⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ 'verily (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲉ), you will not (ⲁⲛ) leave (ⲛ-ⲅ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) this place (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ), [*if you have not admitted* (ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ-ⲕ-ϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ) what you have done (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ⲩ)]' (KHML II 52:8-9).

12.2.1.1.7 Conditionally interpreted coordinated and juxtaposed structures
Many coordinated and juxtaposed sentence constructions do not have the form or literal meaning of open conditionals, but serve indirectly to convey conditional meaning. Such conditionally interpreted coordinated or juxtaposed structures often contain an imperatival clause as a first conjunct, e.g. ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲧⲃⲃⲟ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*preserve* (ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) purity (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲃⲃⲟ) *and you will go* (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲃⲱⲕ) into (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) the city (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (*Catéch.* Pach. 81:8), ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲓϫⲱⲕ '*become* (ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) *a tree* (ⲛ-ⲱⲏⲛ) which brings forth (ⲛ-ⲣⲉϥ-ⲧ) fruit (ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ) *and* the Lord's (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) blessing (ⲡⲉ-ⲥⲙⲟⲩ) *will come* down (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) upon you (ϩⲓϫⲱ-ⲕ)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

12.2.1.1.8 Hypothetical free relatives
Topicalised free relatives with non-specific reference are often used as a semantic paraphrase of a protasis clause of an open conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause being interpreted as the

apodosis (see above, section 11.2.2 of Unit 11), e.g. ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ† ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲛⲁⲛⲧϥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲟ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ '*he who will give* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-†) a sacrifice (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ) in (ϩⲙ) my name (ⲡⲁ-ⲣⲁⲛ) in remembrance (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) of me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ), Jesus (ⲓ̄ⲥ̄) himself (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ) will receive him (ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲧ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) the first (ⲧ-ⲱⲟⲣⲡ) hour (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ) of (the banquet of) the thousand (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲱⲟ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Onnophr. 216:12-14).

12.2.1.2 Remote conditionals
The remote conditional construction puts forward a hypothetical condition about which the speaker knows that the satisfaction of that condition in the actual world is relatively unlikely or even impossible. The apodosis clause describes what would have been the consequence if the protasis condition had been satisfied, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ '(if) the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *were* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ) in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ), *I would go* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) and appeal (ⲧⲁ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) to him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩⲣⲱⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲁⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲁⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ '[*if they had not first committed* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣ-ⲱⲣⲡ-ⲣ) *adultery* (ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ) *to her* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ)], she would not (ⲁⲛ) have cajoled (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ) or (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) rejoiced (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲁⲱⲉ) about him who is (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟ) adulterous (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ) to her daughter (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ)' (Sh. III 76:6-7).

12.2.1.2.1 Tense and mood restrictions
As with open conditionals, various combinations of protasis and apodosis tenses are possible in remote conditionals, although some arrangements are much more frequent than others. The protasis clause usually contains a preterit tense, which expresses modal remoteness, not past time, e.g. ⲉⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉ† ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲃⲉⲕⲏ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲃⲉⲕⲉ) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲛⲧϩⲙⲕⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲧⲱⲃⲉ ϩⲉⲛ (for ϩⲛ) ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '[*if he* (Apa Mêna) *were not* (ⲁⲛ) *willing* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϥ) [to give (ⲉ-†) us (ⲛⲁⲛ) our wage (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲃⲉⲕⲏ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) our neediness (ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϩⲙⲕⲉ)]], what (ⲟⲩ) would be (ⲛⲉ) the use (ⲧⲉ-ⲭⲣⲓⲁ) of this brick (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) in (ϩⲉⲛ) this city (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)?' (Mena, Mir. 80b:20-28), ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲱⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ '[*if*

(*they* (the parents) *were* (ϵ-ne-γ-o) *ignorant* (n-at-cooγn) of their (the children's) worthlessness (ϵ-neγ-mnt-at-ψaγ)], it (πϵ) would not (an) be (ne) a shame (oγ-ψiπϵ) for them (na-γ)' (Sh. III 75:19-20).

The combination of a Preterit Present protasis with a Preterite Future is commonly used to indicate the co-temporality between a hypothetical situation and its anticipated outcome, e.g. ϵnϵtϵtnϵmπϵima (for tϵtnmπϵima) mmatϵ nϵtϵtnnamϵϩ mooγ nnϵtoγωψ tϵnnaγinϵ ntϵntρofh mπϩooγ πϵϩooγ '[*if you only* (mmatϵ) *had been here* (ϵ-ne-tϵtn-ϵm-πϵi-ma)], you could have drawn (ne-tϵtn-na-mϵϩ) water (mooγ) for those who wish for (it) (n-n-ϵt-oγωψ), (and) we would have found (tϵn-na-σinϵ) our food (n-tϵn-tρofh) from day (n-πe-ϩooγ) to day (πe-ϩooγ)' (Mena, Mir. 81b:21-29).

12.2.1.2.2 Irrealis modality

Open and remote conditionals have much in common semantically. Both conditional constructions express the interdependency between two states of affairs; they implicate that the apodosis situation is a consequence of the protasis situation. The remote conditional differs from the open conditional in that it entertains the situation described in the protasis clauses as being fulfilled in a hypothetical world that is different from the actual world, e.g. ϵnϵψapϵ nϵfγxooγϵ nnρωmϵ ϵψϵi ϵboλ πϵ ϩn θotϵ mnnca tanactacic ϩn ttapoγcia mπnoγtϵ nϵρϵ πκocmoc πϵ namoγ nnϵϩψaq ϩi ctωt '[*if the souls* (nϵ-ψγxooγϵ) *of men* (n-n-ρωmϵ) *were able to escape* (ϵ-nϵ-ψapϵ ... ϵψ-ϵi ϵboλ) from (ϩn) fear (θotϵ < t-ϩotϵ) after (mnnca) the resurrection (t-anactacic) in (ϩn) the presence (t-παρουσια) of God (n-π-noγtϵ)], the world (π-κocmoc) would die (nϵρϵ ... na-moγ) from terror (n-nϵϩ-ψλq) and (ϩi) trembling (ctωt)' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 1:24-2:1).

a) Reasoning about possible worlds

In remote conditionals, the speaker envisages a world differing from the actual one by stipulating a condition as being true in that world and imagining its consequences. Very often, reasoning about the properties of possible worlds is a way of drawing inferences about the actual world, e.g.

apa ϵnϵkϩn paκotϵ mπooγ nϵknaϵψtoλma ϵxϵ nai ϩn oγπapρhcia '[*so* (apa) *if you were in Alexandria* (ϵ-nϵ-k-ϩn paκotϵ) *today* (mπooγ)], would you possibly dare (nϵ-k-na-ϵψ-toλma) to speak (ϵ-xϵ) these (words) (nai) in (ϩn) public (oγ-παρρησια)?' (Zen. 202:30-31), ϵnϵ mπϵkψωnϵ on nxin nψορπ nϵρϵ tϵimntϩhkϵ naψωπϵ mmon an πϵ '[*if you had not also* (on) *become sick* (ϵ-nϵ-mπϵ-k-ψωnϵ) *in* (nxin) *the first place* (n-ψορπ)], this state of poverty (tϵi-mnt-ϩhκϵ) would not (an) have befallen (na-ψωπϵ) us (mmo-n)' (Mena, Mir. 80a:5-11), ϵnϵakϵiϵρϩ nai ϩn oγωρx aγω ntϵ πϵkmanψωπϵ moγϩ nϵnt (for nqnt) ϵρok ψantoγπωϩ ϵϩρai ϵπϵκ[motϵ] nϵknaσω ϵϩρai [nϩh]toγ πϵ nτqi ϩap[ooγ] nτtmϩλoπλ[π] '[*if you had observed* (ϵ-nϵ-a-k-ϵiϵρϩ) *these* (things) (nai) *thoroughly* (ϩn-oγ-ωρx) and (aγω) your living-quarter (πϵk-manψωπϵ) would have been filled (ntϵ ... moγϩ) with worms (n-ϵnt) until they reached (ψant-oγ-πωϩ) your neck (ϵ-πϵk-motϵ)], you would have remained (nϵ-k-na-σω) in them (nϩht-oγ), bearing (n-τ-qi) under them (ϩapo-oγ) and not be weary (n-τ-th-ϩλoπλπ)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:26-28).

b) Counterfactuality

When the protasis clause of a remote conditional contains negation, it generally implies that the corresponding affirmative clause holds true in the actual world The correlative meaning may be overtly marked by the subordinator ϵψxϵ 'then', which normally introduces conditional adjuncts, e.g. ϵnϵρmπωa an mmoq nϵγnaπaϩtq an ϵxω '[*if you* (woman) *were not* (an) *worthy* (ϵ-nϵ-ρ-mπωa) *of it* (the oil) (mmo-q)], they would not (an) have sprinkled it (nϵ-γ-na-πaϩt-q) on you (ϵxω)' (KHML I 81:16-17), aληωc ϵnϵmπϵ παρχιϵπισκοπος ϩωβϵc ϵboλ ϵxϵm (for ϵxm) πρωmϵ nta nϵiψπηρϵ ψωπϵ ϵboλ ϩitootq ϵψxϵ aγmooγtq πϵ ϩitϵn (for ϩitn) θορmh mπmhhψϵ ϵtψoγo ϵxωq xϵ ϵγϵxωϩ mmatϵ ϵnϵqϩoϵitϵ (...) 'verily (aληωc), [*if the archbishop* (π-αρχιϵπισκοπος) *had not protected* (ϵ-nϵ-mπϵ ... ϩωβϵc ϵboλ ϵxϵm) the man (π-ρωmϵ) by whose virtue (ϵboλ ϩitoot-q) these wonders (nϵi-ψπηρϵ) had occurred (nt-a ... ψωπϵ)], *then* (ϵψxϵ) he

would have been killed (lit. *they* would have killed him (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ-ⲫ)) by (ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ) the assault (ⲑⲟⲣⲙⲏ < ⲧ-ϩⲟⲣⲙⲏ) of the crowd (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲏⲯⲉ) that rushed down (ⲉⲧ-ⲯⲟⲩⲟ) on him (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲫ) just (ⲙⲏⲁⲧⲉ) to touch (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ϫⲱϩ) his clothes (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲫ-ϩⲟⲉⲓⲧⲉ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 90a:11-25), ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉⲕϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲫ ϫⲉ ⲟⲱ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲯϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲥⲁⲫ ⲛⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲛⲁⲯⲏⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲕⲟ '[for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *if* (ⲉⲛⲉ) *you had not said* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲕ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲥ) to your servant (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) yesterday (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲫ) [(that) (ϫⲉ) » Stay (ⲟⲱ) for you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) until (ⲯⲁ) today (ⲡⲟⲟⲩ)!«]], *then* (ⲉⲯϫⲉ) I would have left (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ) already (ⲛϫⲓⲛ) yesterday (ⲥⲁⲫ) and heard (ⲛⲧⲁ-ϩⲉ) the news (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱ) about my children (ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) that (ϫⲉ) they are not going to die (ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲩ) of (ϩⲁ) hunger (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲕⲟ)' (Mena, Mir. 78b:10-19).

c) Exclamative ϩⲁⲙⲟⲓ

The exclamative particle ϩⲁⲙⲟⲓ 'would that' is occasionally added to the conditional adjunct to express regret on the part of the speaker about the fact that the actualisation of the situation at hand has been foreclosed for good, e.g. ϩⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲁⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲁⲓ† ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ '[*would that* (ϩⲁⲙⲟⲓ) *if I had found* (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲓⲛⲉ) *the body* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) *of my little* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *servant* (ⲛ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ)], I would have given (ⲁ-ⲓ-†) him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ) a shroud (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) my heart (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ) would come to rest (ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ)' (Mena, Mir. 20a:11-16).

d) Counterfactuals with ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲁ ϫⲉ

The protasis clause of remote conditionals can also be introduced by the negative conditional conjunction ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲁ ϫⲉ 'except that, had not', e.g. ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲁ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲛⲟϫⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉ '[*had my son* (ⲡⲁ-ⲯⲏⲣⲉ) *not* (ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲁ ϫⲉ) *stopped* (ⲁ ... ⲕⲱⲗⲩ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)], I would have thrown it (the brick) (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲟϫ-ⲥ) away (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (Mena, Mir. 83b:17-21), ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲯⲁϫⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲯⲱⲡⲉ '[for (ⲅⲁⲣ) *had you not* (ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲁ ϫⲉ) *spoken* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ϫⲉ) *these words* (ⲛⲓ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) *in* (ϩⲛ) *ignorance* (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ)], God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)

would be angry (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲥ) with you (ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ) and (ⲏ) evil things (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ) would happen (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ)' (Sh. III 86:21-23).

12.2.2 Temporal subclauses

In Coptic, subordinate temporal clauses are generally expressed by means of relative tenses, so called because they locate the main clause situation in time in relation to the dependent clause situation. In providing a contextually given reference point, 'WHEN'-, 'AFTER', and 'SINCE'-clauses play an important role in the temporal organisation of the narrative.

12.2.2.1 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses

The Relative Present ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'while he hears' has a broad syntactic distribution, initiating such diverse sentence constructions as temporal subclauses, predicative adjuncts (subject and objective depictives), resultative complements, and sequential-consecutive clauses (see above, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8 for a more detailed review of the main construction types). What is common to all subordinate clauses containing a Relative Present is that two eventualities are located in the same time frame. Yet, we seem to be dealing with a heterogeneous class of subordinate clauses. The focus of this section is on the structural and interpretative differences between temporal subclauses and predicative adjuncts.

12.2.2.1.1 'WHEN'-clauses vs. predicative adjuncts

a) The adjunct-complement contrast

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are temporal location adjuncts, which can be omitted without significant change in meaning to the rest of the clause. Thus, the presence or absence of a temporal subclause does not affect the presentational meaning and function of the following subject-inverted sentences: ⲉⲧⲉⲓ (for ⲉⲧⲓ) ⲉⲛϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲁϥ† ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲗⲟ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ '[*when we were still* (ⲉⲧⲉⲓ) *sitting* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ)], an old (ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) priest (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) came forth (lit. gave (ⲁ-ϥ-†) his way (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲟⲓ)) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ), whose

name (ϵ-πϵq-ρaN) (was) John (ιωϩannhc)' (Abbatôn 228:13-15) vs. aqβωk nσι oγcon ψa apa xixωι ϵπτooγ napa antωnioc 'a brother (oγ-con) went (a-q-βωk) to (ψa) Apa Čičôi to the monastery (ϵ-π-tooγ) of Apa Antonius' (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10).

The adjunct-complement contrast cuts across depictive and resultative predicates. As clausal complements of aspectual verbs, resultative phrases are part of a complex predicate and hence not omissible e.g. xϵ nnϵiσω ϵikhk aϩhγ 'so that (xϵ) *I would not stay* (nnϵ-i-σω) *naked* (lit. stripped off (ϵ-i-khk) naked (aϩhγ))' (Onnophr. 217:31). There are grounds for saying that subject and object depictives are clausal adjuncts, even if their occurrence is licensed by certain types of verbs: object depictives, for instance, are generally construed with verbs of perception and discovery, e.g. aicωtm ϵγmhhψϵ ϵγωψ ϵβoλ ϵγpimϵ ϩn ϩϵnkϵtoπoc aλλa nϵinaγ ϵpooγ an πϵ '*I heard* (a-i-cωtm) *a multitude* (ϵ-γ-mhhψϵ) [*crying* (ϵ-γ-ωψ) out (ϵβoλ) (and) *weeping* (ϵ-γ-pimϵ) in (ϩn) other places (ϩϵn-kϵ-toπoc)], but (aλλa) I could not (an) see (nϵ-i-naγ) them (ϵpo-oγ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), xϵ anϩϵ ϵpoc pω ϵconϩ 'because (xϵ) *we found* (a-n-ϩϵ) *her* (Hilaria) (ϵpo-c) at all (pω) [*being alive* (ϵ-c-onϩ)]' (Hil. 12:6-7).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

Depictives and resultatives share one argument with the main verbal predicate, which is cross-referenced by means of a resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. oγtϵ nnϵtnϩmooc ϵtoн ϵtϵ[tn]p cnaγ 'and (oγtϵ) *you* shall not sit (nnϵ-tn-ϩmooc) on a mat (ϵ-toм) [*with the two of you* (ϵ-tϵtn-p cnaγ)]' (praec. Pach. 95), knaγ ϵpoi ϵiψωnϵ 'you find (lit. you see (knaγ)) *me* (ϵpo-i) [*sick* (ϵ-i-ψωnϵ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), aγω nϵψaqcϵk ψomnt nϩmϵ tϵpomπϵ ϵqnhctϵγϵ 'and (aγω) *he* (Issac) used to spend (nϵ-ψa-q-cϵk) three (times) (ψomnt) (of) forty (days) (n-ϩmϵ) a year (tϵ-pomπϵ) [*fasting* (ϵ-q-nhctϵγϵ)]' (Test. Is. 231:32-232:1).

No such anaphoric dependencies constrain 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, whose subject may be identical to or different from that of the main clause, as seen in: ϵqcωtm aϵ ϵnai aqσωnt ϵmatϵ '*when he* (the governor) *heard* (ϵ-q-cωtm) *these* (words) (ϵ-nai), *he* got very (ϵmatϵ) angry (a-q-σωnt)' (KHML I 76:17-18) vs. nai aϵ ϵqxω mmooγ nσι πϩλλo mmainoγtϵ πϵnϵiωt icaak aγcωoγϩ ϵpoq nσι naπϵqhi thpoγ aγpimϵ '[*when* the God-loving (m-mai-noγtϵ) *old man* (π-ϩλλo), our father (πϵn-ϵiωt) Isaac, *said* (ϵ-q-xω) *these* (words) (nai)], all (thp-oγ) *members of his house-hold* (na-πϵq-hi) gathered (a-γ-cωoγϩ) around him (ϵpo-q) (and) wept (a-γ-pimϵ)' (Test. Is. 231:24-25).

c) Scope

As with temporal location adverbs, 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses take wide scope over the entire clause that they modify, e.g. aγω ait ϵi (for ϵti) ϵqoϩc aqϩϵ ϵπϵcht ϵxϵn (for ϵxm) πqϩo (for πϵqϩo) ϩn tϵγmhtϵ 'and (aγω) [*while* (ait ϵi) *he* (Pachôm) *was still* (ait ϵi) *harvesting* (ϵ-q-oϩc)], he fell (a-q-ϩϵ) down (ϵπϵcht) on (ϵxϵn) his face (πq-ϩo) in (ϩn) their (the brothers') midst (tϵγ-mhtϵ)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17). Depictive and resultative predicates, on the other hand, are more limited in scope, modifying the main verb and one of its arguments, e.g. xϵkac ϵqϵσω ϵqnaγ ϵpoc mmhnϵ 'in order that (xϵkac) *he could keep* (ϵ-q-ϵ-σω) [*seeing* (ϵ-q-naγ) her (ϵpo-c) daily (mmhnϵ)]' (Hil. 12:9-10), aγϩϵ ϵpoq ϵqϩmooc ϩi πmϵϩψomnt npo mππalation 'they *found* (a-γ-ϩϵ) *him* (Constantine) (ϵpo-q) [*sitting* (ϵ-q-ϩmooc) at (ϩi) the third (π-mϵϩ-ψomnt) gate (n-po) of the palace (m-π-palation)]' (Eud. 38:6).

d) Syntactic position

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses can occur in two syntactic positions: at the end of the matrix clause in the position of heavy constituents, e.g. ϵqnhγ aϵ ϵβoλ ϩm πtooγ aqnaγ ϵpoq nσι πdiaβoloc nϑϵ noγxωρϵ ϵaqkotq ϵπϵqhi ϩm πtρϵqxpo ϩm ππoλγmoc (for ππoλϵmoc) '[*when he* (Apa Moses) *came* (ϵ-q-nhγ) *down* (ϵβoλ) from (ϩm) the mountain (π-tooγ)], the devil (π-diaβolos) saw (a-q-naγ) him (ϵpo-q) as (nϑϵ < n-t-ϩϵ) a hero (lit. strong one (n-oγ-xωρϵ)) who returned (ϵ-a-q-kot-q) to his home (ϵ-πϵq-hi) after (ϩm) having won (π-tρϵ-q-xpo) in (ϩm) the war (π-poλγmoc)' (KHML II 50:14-16), or in

the left-dislocated topic position of preposed adverbials, e.g. ⲛⲛⲉⲕ[ⲉⲣ] ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲡ[ⲥⲱ]ⲡⲕ 'you should not act (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉⲣ) evil (ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ < ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) towards me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) [*whilst I am on my way* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲃⲏⲕ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of Apa Mêna to beseech him (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲥⲉⲡⲥⲱⲡ-ⲟ)]' (Mena, Mir. 29a:29-29b:1).

Depictive and resultative predicates have a more restricted syntax and must follow the main verb as closely as possible, e.g. ⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲉ[ⲓ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ 'one (dish) (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) came (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) [*better* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲧⲡ) *than* (ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ) *the other one* (ⲡⲉ-ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ)]' (Mena, Mir. 18a:5-7), ⲁⲩⲣ ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ ϩⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'they spent (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲣ) fifty (ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) [*deceiving* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ ϩⲁⲗ) *their own* (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) *memory* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 36, 7:9), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲡⲣⲁⲓⲧⲱⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) they had already (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱ) [*brought* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲓ) *him* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) to the palace (ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲁⲓⲧⲱⲣⲓⲟⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:101-202:102).

12.2.2.1.2 Temporal and non-temporal interpretations of 'WHEN'-clauses

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are among the most common adjunct clauses of temporal location used to express the co-extensiveness or (partial) temporal overlap between two states of affairs.

a) Temporal duration and aspect

The temporal relation between the main and the dependent clause situation depends on the verbal tense-aspect of the main clause. When the main clause event is aspectually marked as unbounded or continuous through the selection of a present tense, it is temporally interpreted as co-extensive with the dependent clause event; i.e. both eventualities last through the same period of time, e.g. [ⲁ]ⲗⲗ[ⲁ] ϯⲱⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲙ]ⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲓⲥⲱ ⲉⲓⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) I am (ϯ-ⲱⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) (a state of) negligence (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲁ) [*whilst eating* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱⲙ), *drinking* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱ), (and) *sleeping* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:27-28), ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲁϥ 'our father (ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Pachôm, too (ϩⲱⲱ-ϥ), remained sick (lit. remained

(ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) in (ϩⲙ) the sickness (ⲡ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ)), [*while Theodore took care* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲉⲓ) *of him* (ⲛⲁ-ϥ)]' (V. Pach. 91:24-25).

If, on the other hand, the main clause event is aspectually marked as bounded through the selection of a Perfect tense, the main clause and the dependent clause situation are presented as overlapping in time, but not as co-extensive. The 'WHEN'-clause very often describes an eventuality that was still in progress or continuing when the main clause event took place, e.g. ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ 'it happened (ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) (that) [*when they were building* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲕⲱⲧ) *the wall* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲃⲧ) *of the convent* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)], a minor ([ⲟ]ⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) argument (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) came up (ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) between them (Pachôm and his brother) (ⲟⲩⲧⲱ-ⲟⲩ) with (ⲙⲛ) each other (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ)]' (V. Pach. 1:16-17), ⲉⲧⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲣ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲟ̀ⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲣⲅⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ '[*while Mark, the workman* (ⲡ-ⲉⲣⲅⲁⲧⲏⲥ), *was still* (ⲉⲧⲓ) *working* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲣ ϩⲱⲃ)], his wife (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) sent (ⲁ ... ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ) (a message) to him (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ϥ) from (ϩⲛ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ)' (Mena, Mir. 76a:13-19).

b) Correlative interpretation

'WHEN'-clauses may assume a correlative reading, describing paired events and situations, e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲓϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ 'why (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) does my mind (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ) go around (ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) all (ⲛⲓⲙ) sides (ⲥⲁⲥⲁ), [*whenever I am sitting* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) in (ϩⲙ) my living-quarters (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ)]?' (AP Chaîne no. 5, 2:19-20), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲛⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲫⲗⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲱⲉ (read ⲙⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ) ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ 'when he (Apa Theophilos) had offered (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϥⲓ) the blessed (ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲙⲁⲁⲧ) sacrifice (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ), they let some brothers (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) sing psalms (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲣⲉ ... ⲫⲗⲗⲉⲓ), [*saying* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲱ) the Allêluia (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲉⲓ) over (ⲉⲭⲛ) the Eucharist (ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ)], [*while the whole* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *crowd* (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ) *responded* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ) *after them* (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲟⲩ) »Allêluia (ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ)«]' (Eud. 72:28-74:2).

Such correlated 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often accompanied by an implicature of causation, e.g. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲫⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩ[ϯ] ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲉⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲭⲙ ⲡⲉⲩϩⲟ '[*when he* (Diocletian) *said* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲱ) *these* (words) (ⲛⲁⲓ) *with* (ϩⲛ) *great* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) *arrogance* (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲭⲁⲥⲓ-ϩⲏⲧ)], he (the archangel Michael) hit him (lit. give (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϯ) his hand (ⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲩ)) on (ⲉⲭⲙ) his face (ⲡⲉⲩ-ϩⲟ) for the second time (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲉϩ-ⲥⲉⲡ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ)' (Eud. 36:17), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣ (for ⲛⲉⲣⲉ) ϩⲁϩ ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ (for ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧϩⲙϩⲗⲗ ⲉⲧⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁϫⲛ ⲱϫⲛ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) many (ϩⲁϩ) of (ϩⲛ) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) were also (ⲟⲛ) weeping (ⲛⲉⲣ ... ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ), [*when they realised* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) *the ceaseless* (lit. without (ⲁϫⲛ) ceasing (ⲱϫⲛ)) *servitude* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ϩⲙϩⲗⲗ) that he (Pachôm) practised (ⲉⲧ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) with (ⲙⲛ) everybody (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ)]' (V. Pach. 90:17-18).

c) Metaphorical extension of the main-dependent clause simultaneity

'WHEN'-clauses may also have interpretations that do not involve temporal duration. In this case the temporal concept of simultaneity may be metaphorically extended to describe the conditions or the circumstances under which the main clause situation took place, e.g. ⲁⲛⲇⲣ[ⲉⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲫ ⲁⲫ][ⲃⲱⲕ] [ⲉ]ⲣⲛ ⲧⲡⲩⲏ ⲛⲧⲧⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ ⲟⲩϩϩ ⲛⲥⲱⲫ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲱ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'Andreas, too (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲫ), went (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to (ⲉⲣⲛ) the gate (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲏ) of the city (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ), [*while lots of people* (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ) *had assembled* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲟⲩϩϩ) behind him (ⲛⲥⲱ-ⲫ) together with (ⲙⲛ) Jews (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ), (too) many (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲱ) to count (lit. (there) is no (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ) number (ⲛⲓⲉ) for them (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ))]' (Ac. A&P 194:18-19), ϯⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ) 'I am prepared (ϯ-ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ) to say them (the words) (ⲉ-ϫⲟⲟ-ⲩ) [*with the archbishop* (ⲡ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ) *listening* (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ)]' (Zen. 202:32), ⲛⲧⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'who (ⲛⲓⲙ) of such kind (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) (are) you (ⲛⲧⲕ), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), [*that this great* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟϭ) *glory* (ⲛ-ⲉⲟⲟⲩ) *surrounds* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) *you* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)]?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1), ⲁⲫⲙⲟⲟⲫⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲫ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ[ⲙⲛ] ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲟⲟⲫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲫ ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉⲫⲡⲱϩ [ⲉ]ⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ ϫⲉ ⲧⲗⲓⲃⲏ ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲁⲓⲉⲁⲧ 'he (the camel) went (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲙⲟⲟⲫⲉ) on his own (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ⲫ) into

(ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲙ) the mountain (ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ), [*without anyone* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *accompanying* (ⲉ-ⲙⲛ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲫⲉ) *it* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲫ)], until it (finally) reached (ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲫ-ⲡⲱϩ) a place (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲁ) called (lit. which *they* say (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ) about (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲫ)) »Libya (ⲧ-ⲗⲓⲃⲏ) of the Paieateans (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲁⲓⲉⲁⲧ)«]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:9).

12.2.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses

Adjunct clauses indicating anterior events are expressed by means of the Temporal conjugation ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'after/when he had heard' (see above, section 8.1.2 of Unit 8). The focus of this section is on the dual function of 'AFTER'-clauses as temporal location expressions and as boundary markers in narrative discourse.

12.2.2.2.1 'AFTER'-clauses used as temporal location adverbs

Temporal ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-clauses are typically used to initiate a sequence of completed past-time events that push forward the storyline. The event chain is located in time in one of the following ways:

a) In relation to context-dependent time specification

ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-clauses may select time-indicating nominals as subjects to signal a change of temporal location. Particularly common are cyclic expressions like ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ 'dawn' and ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ 'night' or clock-times like ⲫⲱⲣⲡ 'morning', whose exact temporal interpretation is determined deictically through the matrix clause tense, but interval nouns like ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ 'a long (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ)' are equally possible. There are only a few verbs that permit temporal expressions as subjects, viz. (i) the *verb of existence and occurrence* ⲫⲱⲛⲉ 'to happen' and (ii) *verbs of inherently directed motion* like ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ 'to pass by' and ϩⲱⲛ 'to come near'.

Examples: ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ [ⲓ]ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲫⲛⲁϯ ϩⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ '[*when it was* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲫⲱⲛⲉ) *dawn* (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ)], Julius stood up (ⲁ ... ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) to (ϫⲉ) feed (lit. give (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲛⲁ-ϯ) food (ϩⲣⲉ) to) his camels (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲫ-ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-14), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲩϯ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲣ ϩⲱⲃ '[*when night* (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) *had fallen* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲫⲱⲛⲉ)], they stopped (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϯ ⲟⲩⲱ) working (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ)' (V. Pach. 6:5), ⲫⲱⲣⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲫⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ

ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉⲙⲏ 'when it had become (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *morning* (ⲯⲱⲣⲡ)], the governor (ⲡ-ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ) sent (ⲁ ... ϫⲟⲟⲩ) for (ⲛⲥⲁ) Apa Ptolemy (ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉⲙⲏ)' (KHML II 35:9-10), ⲁⲥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩϩⲱⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲟⲫ ⲙⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) [*when the days* (ⲛⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) *of the patriarch* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ) *Isaac had come near* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲱⲛ) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲫ-ⲉⲓ) out of (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ) the body (ⲥⲱⲙⲁ))], God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) sent (ⲁ ... ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ) to him (ⲯⲁⲣⲟ-ⲫ) the angel (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) of his father (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲫ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) Abraham' (Test. Is. 229:1-3), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲫⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲟ̀ⲣⲉϩⲧ ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲫ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ [ⲉ]ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲅ[ⲱⲛ] ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲙ[ⲁⲣⲧⲩ]ⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉ[ϫⲁ]ⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ '[*after a long* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *time* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *had passed* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ) during which he lived (ⲉ-ⲫ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) this seclusion (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) peace (ⲡⲓ-ⲥⲟ̀ⲣⲉϩⲧ)], the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna, too (ϩⲱⲱ-ⲫ), was summoned (lit. *they* summoned (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲱϩⲙ)) to the combat (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲁⲅⲱⲛ) of the martyrdom (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ) through (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) the grace (ⲧⲉ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ) of our Lord (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) Jesus (ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:17-29).

b) In relation to other events

As the exponent of past anteriority (Pluperfect), the Temporal designates bounded (or telic) events that had been accomplished some time before the main clause event started.

Examples: ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ ϫⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁϥⲣ ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ '[*when the gatekeeper* (ⲡ-ⲡⲁ-ⲡ-ⲣⲟ) *had brought* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ϫⲓ) *the news* (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱ) *inside* (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) *to our father* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) (Pachôm)], he was surprised (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he stood up (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ), went (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ), (and) talked (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲁϫⲉ) to him (the visitor) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 137:26-28), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲧⲉⲩ̀ⲙⲏ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲯⲁⲁⲧ '[*when he* (the brother) *had heard* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) *these* (words) (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲓ)], he went forth (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ), sold them (the books) (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ), took (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓ) the price (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲧⲙⲏ) (and) gave it (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ⲥ) to the poor (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲯⲁⲁⲧ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:30-34), ⲉⲡϩⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲧⲛⲉⲯⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ

(for ⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ) ⲁϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲁϥϩⲣⲟϫⲣϫ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲟⲃϩⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ '[finally (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲉ), *when the dragon* (ⲡⲉ-ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ) *had not been able* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲧⲙ-ⲉⲯ-ⲟⲙⲥⲟⲙ) *to cast* (ⲉ-ⲧⲁⲩⲟ) *Antonius* (ⲛⲛ-ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ) *down* (ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ), he became furious (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲧ) about him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) himself (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) (and) gnashed (ⲁ-ϥ-ϩⲣⲟϫⲣϫ) his teeth (ⲛ-ⲛⲉϥ-ⲟⲃϩⲉ) against him (ⲉϫⲱ-ϥ)' (V. Ant. 9:6-8), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ϫⲉ (read ⲇⲉ) ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϥⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲛⲟⲧ ⲁϥ† ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲥϫⲏⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲯⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲯⲉ '[*when he* (Pachôm) *had tested* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ) *them* (the novices) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) and had seen (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) that (ϫⲉ) their character (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲥⲛⲟⲧ) was good (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ)], he put (ⲁ-ϥ-†) the monkish (ⲙ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ) habit (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ⲥϫⲏⲙⲁ) on them (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲟⲩ) (and) received them (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲟⲡ-ⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) with (ϩⲛ) joy (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲁⲯⲉ)' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲑⲣ ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥϫⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ '[*when he had gone* (away) (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) and become (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲣ) a monk (ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ)], he became (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) negligent (lit. in (ϩⲛ) a negligence (ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲛⲉⲗⲓⲁ)) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) spent (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) his time (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲁϩⲉ) badly (ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, I:3-4).

c) Iterated Temporal clauses

It is not uncommon to combine two or more Temporal clauses in a series to describe multifaceted changes of temporal setting before the main course of events started, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲫⲫⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩϫⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲏ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϥⲧⲟ ⲏ † (read †ⲉ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲯϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲛⲟϫⲏ ⲉⲧϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲁϥⲯⲗⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲟⲩ (...) '[*when a long* (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *time* (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *had passed* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ) [while he (Pachôm) suffered (patiently) (ⲉ-ϥ-ϥⲓ) from (ϩⲁ) their (the brothers') trouble-making (ⲛⲉⲩ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) in this manner (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ) as well as (ⲙⲛ) their carelessness (ⲛⲉⲩ-ϫⲏⲣ)]], not (ⲁⲛ) a year (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) or (ⲏ) two (ⲥⲛⲧⲉ), but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *four* (ϥⲧⲟ) or (ⲏ) *five* (†)] and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [*when he noticed* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *about them* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ) [that (ϫⲉ) they had not turned themselves (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ) towards God (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ)

through (ϩN) his long-suffering (ⲧⲉϥ-ϩⲁⲣⲱ-ϩⲏⲧ) and (ⲙⲛ) his holding back (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲁⲛⲟⲭⲏ) that he practised (ⲉⲧ-ϥ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) with them (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲩ)]], [then (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ) *when* <u>*night*</u> (ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ) *had fallen* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) <u>*one day*</u> (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)], he went (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) somewhere (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲁ) all by himself (ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ-ϥ), stood on his feet (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ), (and) prayed (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲁⲗⲁ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ) night (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲯⲏ) (long), being grieved (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ) because of them (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) (...)' (V. Pach. 6:14-22).

12.2.2.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses used as boundary markers

a) Discourse-linked Temporal clauses

The content of ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-clauses is either presupposed or contextually inferrable. Very often, the link with the preceding discourse is explicitly marked by anaphoric expressions. Such discourse-linked temporal subclauses have both a recapitulative and a cohesive function, bridging the gap between two narrative units, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⲁϥⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ (...) '[*when the angel* (ⲡ-ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ) *had said* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϫⲉ) <u>*these*</u> (ⲛⲁⲓ) (words)], he raised (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) from (ϩⲓϫⲙ) his bed (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲗⲟⲥ), while Isaac was lying (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) on it (ϩⲓϫⲱϥ), (and) went away (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ) to the higher (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϫⲓⲥⲉ) worlds (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲁⲓⲱⲛ) (...)' (Test. Is. 230:12-13), ⲁϥⲧⲣⲉⲥϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲓⲙⲱⲛ (for ⲡϫⲉⲓⲙⲱⲛ) ⲙⲡⲇⲱⲙⲟⲥ (for ⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ) ⲛⲧⲁⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲉⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲁⲩⲣⲏⲗⲗⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓϫⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ 'he (Zênô) caused her (the church) to find rest (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ϩⲣⲟⲕ) from (ϩⲙ) the tempest (ⲡ-ϫⲓⲙⲱⲛ) of the document (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲇⲱⲙⲟⲥ) that his predecessors (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲁ-ⲧⲉϥ-ϩⲏ) signed (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ϩⲩⲡⲟⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ) to (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ), namely (ⲉⲧⲉ ... ⲡⲉ) Leôn and (ⲙⲛ) Aurellianus. [*When* <u>*the former*</u> (ⲡⲁⲓ) *had occupied* (lit. sat down (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) on (ϩⲓϫⲙ)) *the throne* (ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ) *of the kingdom* (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ)], he annulled (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ) the impious (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ) ordinances (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ)' (Hil. 1:24-2:3).

b) Inverted subjects

Changes in the temporal setting of the narrative often co-occur with a new set of participants. As a result, ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-clauses are typically found in switch reference contexts. Very often, the different subject is encoded as presentational focus through subject-verb inversion, denoting referents that appear on stage for the first time or are reintroduced into the discourse after a short period of absence. Focalised inverted subjects can appear in either the subordinate Temporal clause or the following main clause.

Examples: ⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲁⲱⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲛⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁⲩⲟⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲛⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲱ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) *when* <u>*the*</u> <u>*crowds*</u> (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲏⲩⲉ) that were going (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna *had become numerous* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲁⲱⲁⲓ), (that) the (same) <u>*crowds*</u> (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲏⲩⲉ) were very distressed (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲑⲗⲓⲃⲉ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) thirst (ⲡ-ⲓⲃⲉ) (and) could not find (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ϩⲉ) water (ⲉ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ) to drink (ⲉ-ⲥⲱ)' (Mena, Mir. 33a:9-16), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ '*when* <u>*the*</u> <u>*great*</u> (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩ) <u>*king*</u> (ⲛ-ⲣⲣⲟ) <u>*Constantine*</u> *had heard* (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) (about it), he gathered (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) (and) tallied (ⲁ-ϥ-ϫⲓ) the number (ⲙⲡⲉ) of them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 44:25-26), ⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲣ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) when God (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) had overthrown (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ) the criminal (ⲛ-ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Diocletian (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) (that) <u>*the*</u> <u>*righteous*</u> (ⲛ-ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ) <u>*king*</u> (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) <u>*Constantine*</u> (ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ) became (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣ) king (ⲣⲣⲟ) in his place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9).

12.2.2.3 'SINCE'-clauses

Temporal 'SINCE' and 'EVER SINCE' clauses are formed with the temporal preposition ϫⲓⲛ 'since, from (starting point)' plus a complement clause containing a Second Tense.The form ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'since he heard' is derived from the cliticisation of the subordinator ϫⲓⲛ to the relative marker ⲛⲧ- of the embedded Second Perfect: ϫⲓⲛ + ⲛⲧ-ⲁ- → ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁ-, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲛϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲥϫⲩⲙⲁ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲥϫⲏⲙⲁ) ϩⲓⲱⲱⲕ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ), how many (ⲟⲩⲏⲣ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) (have passed), *since you*

put (ⲛⲁⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ϯ) this (monk's) garment (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ) on you (ⲭⲱⲱ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 6:30).

a) Past anteriority and unbounded duration

'SINCE' ϫⲓⲛ-clauses provide a starting point for the main event/situation, with the endpoint obligatorily left implicit. The main situation is understood as being realised *after* the time expressed or implied in the subordinate clause, but it is at the same time interpreted as continuing until up to the present moment with a possible extension into the future. In this way, ϫⲓⲛ-clauses have a dual function as temporal location adjuncts and as aspectual shifters that stretch out an eventuality over the time axis, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲕⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [*since you came* (ⲭⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) *into* (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) *this city* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)], you caused (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲧⲣⲉ) the blind (ⲛ-ⲃⲗⲗⲉ) to see (ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)' (KHML I 5:2-4), ⲛⲁⲙⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲯⲫⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲓⲣ ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲟⲛ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'verily (ⲛⲁⲙⲉ) in the seventy (ⲯⲫⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) [*since I have become* (ⲭⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲣ) *a monk* (ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ)], I have not found (ⲙⲡ-ⲓ-ⲟⲛ) a single (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) day (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) of rest (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 34,7:1-2).

b) Factivity

The temporal preposition ϫⲓⲛ has a factive interpretation, meaning that the content of the subordinate clause they initiate is generally taken for granted or is contextually presupposed, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) how much (ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲣ) time (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ) (has passed), [*since you have come* (ⲭⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)]?' (Onnophr. 206:33-34), ⲁ[ⲫⲙⲉⲧⲁ]ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡ[ⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲭⲓ]ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲙ [ⲡⲯⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ[ⲁϥ ⲉⲃ]ⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ] 'he repented (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ) in (ϩⲙ) his heart (ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲏⲧ) [*since this visit* (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲟⲙ ⲡ-ⲯⲓⲛⲉ) *befell* (ⲛⲭⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲯⲱⲡⲉ) *him* (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *from* (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:13-14), ⲁⲥⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲑⲏⲓⲏⲏ ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲱϥ (for ⲙⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲁⲱϥ) ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲧⲣⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲑⲏⲓⲏⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲥⲓⲱⲛ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ) after

(ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) six (ⲥⲟⲟⲩ) days (ⲛ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ) [*since she had come* (ⲭⲓ(ⲛ)-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲉⲓ) *to Jerusalem* (ⲉ-ⲑⲏⲓⲏⲏ)] (that), (on) the morning (ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) of the seventh (day) (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁϩ-ⲥⲁⲱϥ), the queen (ⲧ-ⲣⲣⲱ) ordered (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲟⲩⲉϩ-ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ) to arrest (ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲡⲉ) for her (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ) the Jews (ⲛ-ⲛⲓ-ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) who were living (ⲉⲧ-ⲯⲟⲟⲡ) in (ϩⲛ) Jerusalem (ⲑⲏⲓⲏⲏ) and (ⲙⲛ) Zion (ⲥⲓⲱⲛ)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

c) Present tense ϫⲓⲛ-clauses

ϫⲓⲛ-clauses are largely restricted to the occurrence with the Second Perfect, but can occasionally be used with a present tense to express the idea that some event took place "earlier than expected", e.g. ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ϫⲓⲛ ⲉⲓϩⲛ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲭⲓⲣⲟⲇⲟⲛⲉⲓ (for ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲉⲓ) ⲙⲙⲟⲓ '[*already* (ϫⲓⲛ) *when I was in Alexandria* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ϩⲛ ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ)], I heard (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) about (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the fame (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ) of his (Pachôm's) faith (ⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ), (even) before I was consecrated (as a bishop) (lit. *they* consecrated (ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲓⲣⲟⲇⲟⲛⲉⲓ) me (ⲙⲙⲟⲓ))' (V. Pach. 136:3-4), ⲁ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲉⲓϩⲛ ⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ 'because (ⲅⲁⲣ) my father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ) gained (ⲁ ... ϫⲓ) for me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) the office of a tribune (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ) [*when I was* (as young as) *ten* (ⲙⲛⲧⲉ) *years* (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) *old* (ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲉ-ⲓ-ϩⲛ)]' (KHML II 32:28-9), ⲛⲁⲓⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲓⲛ ⲉϥϩⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ 'the angels (ⲛ-ⲁⲓⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) will serve (ⲛⲁ-ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ) him (the hermit) (ⲉⲣⲟϥ), [*even when he is still alive* (lit. in the body (ϫⲓⲛ ⲉ-ϥ-ϩⲙ ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ))]' (Onnophr. 212:10-11).

d) Temporal location adverbs expanded by a relative clause

To express 'AS SOON AS' in the past, Coptic uses the temporal location adverb ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲟⲩ 'immediately (lit. in the hour)' plus a restrictive relative clause in the Perfect, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ '*as soon as* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲟⲩ) [*the sailor* (ⲡ-ⲛⲉⲉϥ) *had moored* (the boat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ ... ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ)], he looked around (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲱⲧ) (and) saw (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) Andrew (ⲉ-ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ) with the crowd (ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ) surrounding (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ) him

(ερο-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:1-2), ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧ[ⲓ]ⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲟⲓϫ ⲉⲛⲉ[ⲣ]ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ '*as soon as* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩⲛⲟⲩ) [*the servants* (ⲛ-ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ) of King (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine *had withdrawn themselves* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲁϩⲱ-ⲟⲩ)], he gestured (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲓⲙ) with his hand (ⲉ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲟⲓϫ) to the Persian (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) kings (ⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ)' (Eud. 46:27-28).

A related construction is formed with the adverbially used temporal noun ⲧ-ⲁⲣⲭⲏ 'in the beginning', which provides a starting point for the matrix clause situation, e.g. ⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲕϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ '(in) *the beginning* (ⲧ-ⲁⲣⲭⲏ) [*when you had come* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ)], did you suffer (ⲁ-ⲕ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) a lot (ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ)?' (Onnophr. 208:20-21).

12.2.3 Cause, reason and purpose clauses

Adjunct clauses that belong to the category of cause, reason and purpose describe the external or internal motivation for why a particular event took place in a particular way. In providing an explanation for the main course of action, cause and reason clauses are therefore commonly found in the backgrounded portions of the narrative.

12.2.3.1 Cause and reason clauses

Cause and reason clauses provide felicitous answers to questions initiated by the interrogative adverb ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ 'for what (reason), why'. In such question-answer sequences, the presupposed part of interrogative clause is generally not reproduced in the following response, e.g. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ϯϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲛⲱⲙⲉ ϯϩⲗⲡⲱⲡ (...) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲧⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲙⲉ '»*Why* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ) *do I sit* (ϯ-ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ) in (ϩⲙ) my living quarter (ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲙⲉ) (and) be weary (ϯ-ϩⲗⲡⲱⲡ)?« (...) »*Because* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) *you have not yet observed* (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ) the relief (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲧⲟⲛ) that we are hoping (ⲉⲧ-ⲛ-ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ) for (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) nor (ⲟⲩⲇⲉ) the punishment (ⲧ-ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ) that is about to happen (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲙⲉ)«' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:24-26).

12.2.3.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) The subordinators ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ and ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϫⲉ 'because, since'

Adjunct clauses of the cause/reason category take the form of prepositional phrases with a finite declarative clause as a complement. The complement clauses is marked by the standard subordinator ϫⲉ 'that', while the initial prepositions ⲉⲃⲟⲗ and ⲉⲧⲃⲉ bring about the more specific cause or reason interpretation, e.g. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ 'he (Pachôm's brother) said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to him (Pachôm) (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) (that) (ϫⲉ) »Who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) that you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) are talking (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) to (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)?«, [*because* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) *he did not see* (ⲙⲡ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *the one who was talking* (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲱⲁϫⲉ) *to him* (ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ)]' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲱ ⲁⲓⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ) ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲩⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲉⲡⲁⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲉ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲛⲧⲉ), I myself (ϩⲱ) caused you to be thrown out (lit. I caused *them* to throw you out (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)) of (ϩⲙ) the Paradise (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) Delight (ⲧⲣⲩⲫⲏ), [*because* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϫⲉ) *you made me* (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲁⲁ-ⲧ) *a stranger* (ⲛ-ⲱⲙⲙⲟ) to my residence (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲙⲉ) in (ϩⲛ) heaven (ⲧ-ⲡⲉ)]' (Abbatôn 240:25-27).

Very often, the initial prepositions ⲉⲃⲟⲗ and ⲉⲧⲃⲉ are omitted. As a result, the cause or reason interpretation of the subordinate clause is left to be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ϫⲓⲧ ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲩϫⲁϩⲉ (for ⲉⲫⲏⲥⲩϫⲁϩⲉ) ϫⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲓⲱⲱⲛⲉ 'bring me (ϫⲓⲧ) to a quiet (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲥⲩϫⲁϩⲉ) place (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲁ), [*because* (ϫⲉ) *you see* (ⲕ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *me* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) *ill* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲱⲱⲛⲉ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:17-20), ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲕ ⲱ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲫⲡ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛϥⲕⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲱⲡ ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲟⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲧϥϯ ⲡⲛ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'for your sake (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲕ), oh (ⲱ) Adam, will the Son (ⲡ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) bear (ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲡ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) these (hardships) (ⲛⲁⲓ) to redeem (ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲉ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) and he will bring you back (ⲛ-ϥ-ⲕⲧⲟ-ⲕ) again (ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-ⲥⲟⲡ) to the Paradise (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ) to the place (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) where you came (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) from (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) in the beginning (ⲛ-ⲱⲟⲣⲡ), [*because* (ϫⲉ) *he bailed* (lit. grasp

(ⲁ-ⲩ-ϣⲡ) hand (ⲧⲱⲣⲉ)) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) out, when you were (ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲟ) clay (ⲛ-ⲟⲙⲉ), before he gave (ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲩ-ⲧ) you (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ) a spirit (ⲡⲛⲁ̄)]' (Abbatôn 240:7-12).

b) Switch reference

The subject of the lower cause/reason clause is generally different from that of the matrix clause, but same subject sequences are certainly not excluded, as shown by the contrast between ⲙⲡⲉ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉϣⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲁϭⲓⲝ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ (for ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ) ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲇⲩⲙⲓⲥ (for ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ) '*Jesus* (ⲓ̄ⲥ̄) could not save him (Apa Nahrow) (ⲙⲡⲉ ... ⲉϣ-ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ-ϥ) from (ϩⲛ) my hands (ⲛⲁ-ϭⲓⲝ), [*because* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ) (there) *is no* (ⲙⲛ) *god* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *besides* (ⲛⲥⲁ) *Apollôn* (ⲡ-ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *Artemis* (ⲧ-ⲁⲣⲇⲩⲙⲓⲥ)]' (KHML I 7:11-13) and ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲡⲉ 'when *his brother* (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲛ) heard (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) him (Pachôm) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) talking (ⲉ-ϥ-ϣⲁⲭⲉ), [*because* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ) *he was not* (ⲁⲛ) *far away* (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲏⲩ) *from him* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)]' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

c) Preposed cause/reason adjuncts

Cause and reason clauses typically appear at the end of the main clause in the position of heavy constituents. Akin to other adverbial categories, they may be preposed to an extraclausal topic position. Preposed cause/reason adjuncts often have a recapitulative function, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲕⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲣⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲑⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ (for ⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲕⲁϩ '[*since* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ) *you have done* (ⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) *this* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁⲓ)], you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ) are cursed (ⲕ-ⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲣⲧ) among (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the animals (ⲛⲉ-ⲑⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ) of the earth (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ)' (Abbatôn 238:17-18), but they may also express emphasis and/or contrast, e.g. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉϩⲟⲃⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲱⲣⲝ ⲛⲧ[ⲟⲟ]ⲧⲛ '[*not* (ⲁⲛ) *because* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲉ) *they* (the achievements of Apa Zenobius) *were concealed* (ⲥⲉ-ϩⲟⲃⲥ) *from you* (ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ) *before* (ϩⲁⲑⲏ) *today* (ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ)], have you longed (ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ) to know (ⲉ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) their exact nature (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲱⲣⲝ) from us (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲛ)' (Zen. 199:9-10).

12.2.3.1.2 Temporal relations

Cause and reason clauses show some degree of flexibility with respect to temporal order of events. The subordinate situation is usually earlier or simultaneous with the main clause situation, although it is also possible for it to be later. Thus, consider: ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ ϩⲓ ϩⲁⲧ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲗ[ⲁⲧⲉ] (...) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲥ 'she (Eudoxia) slept (ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ) in (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ) her bed-chamber (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ), which was inlaid (ⲉⲧ-ⲧⲟⲟⲥ) with gold (ⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ) and (ϩⲓ) silver (ϩⲁⲧ) on (ϩⲛ) its walls (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲉⲭⲏ) and (ⲙⲛ) its ceilings (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲙⲉⲗⲁⲧⲉ), [*because* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ) (it was) *the king* (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) *who had made it* (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ϥ) *for her* (ⲛⲁ-ⲥ)]' (Eud. 50:6-9), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ ϩⲉⲛ (for ϩⲙ) ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ ϩⲉⲙ (for ϩⲙ) ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ ⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲙ ⲡϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the people (ⲡ-ⲗⲁⲟⲥ) who lived (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩϩⲟ) in (ϩⲉⲛ) Alexandria (ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) and (ⲙⲛ) those who lived (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩϩⲟ) in (ϩⲉⲙ) the Mariôtês (ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ) rejoiced, [*because* (ⲭⲉ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *paid* (ⲁ ... ⲟⲙ) *a visit* (ⲡ-ϣⲓⲛⲉ) *to his people* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲗⲁⲟⲥ)]' (Mena, Mir. 89a:25-89b:5), ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ (for ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ) ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲉⲃⲉⲓⲏⲛ (for ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲉⲃⲓⲏⲛ) ⲛⲁⲧⲁϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲙ ⲡϥϣⲉⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲡⲉϥϣⲓⲛⲉ) 'they (the brothers) were all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) weeping (ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣⲉⲓⲙⲉ), [*because* (ⲭⲉ) *misery* (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲏⲛ) *would come upon them* (ⲟⲩⲛ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲧⲁϩⲟ-ⲟⲩ), [when the Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) would come (ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ... ⲟⲙ) to visit him (Pachôm) (ⲡϥ-ϣⲉⲓⲛⲉ)) (i.e. when he would die)]]' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1).

12.2.3.1.3 Contrastive focus

Despite their backgrounded character, cause and reason clauses may be associated with contrastive focus, witness the fact that they can also appear in the asserted (i.e. focused) part of a negated matrix clause, e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ϩⲱⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲁⲓⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲉⲡⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩ) ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲥⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 'similarly (ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ) we, too (ϩⲱⲛ-ⲛ), will not be judged (lit. *they* will not (ⲁⲛ) judge (ⲛⲛ-ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ) us (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ)), [*because* (ⲭⲉ) *we have not*

praised (ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲛ-ⲁⲓⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩ) *the saint* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) according to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) the height (ⲡ-ϫⲓⲥⲉ) of his way of life (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ)], [*but* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *because* (ϫⲉ) *we have been negligent* (ⲁ-ⲛ-ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ) towards such (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲥⲟⲧ) salvation (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) in not revealing it (the salvation) (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ-ⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ)]' (Zen. 200:30-32), ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲧⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'I have not (ⲁⲛ) brought it (the wheat) (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲛⲧ-ⲩ) *because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) *anything* (ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) *but* (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *my salvation* (ⲡⲁ-ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) also (ⲟⲛ) [*because* (ϫⲉ) *you* (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ) (are) *men* (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *of* (ⲛⲧⲉ) *God* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (V. Pach. 138:2-3).

12.2.3.1.4 Semantic differences between cause and reason

Although there are no morpho-syntactic grounds to distinguish cause and reason adjunct clauses, they have slighty different interpretations. Adjunct clauses that belong to the 'CAUSE' category generally describe an external factor for the main course of action, e.g. ⲛⲉⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ [ⲉ]ⲣⲏⲥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲑⲉⲟⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲫⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲱ ϩⲁϩⲧⲏϥ 'she had departed (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) southwards (ⲉ-ⲣⲏⲥ) in (ϩⲛ) great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) sadness (ⲛ-ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛ-ϩⲏⲧ), [*not only* (ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ) *because* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ) *Theodore did not meet* (ⲙⲡⲉ ... ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ) *her* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ)], but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) (also because) her other small (ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) son (ⲛ-ⲫⲏⲣⲉ) Paphnoute left (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to stay (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲱ) with him (ϩⲁϩⲧⲏ-ϥ)' (V. Pach. 137:7-9), ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲫⲟⲥⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ 'therefore (ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ), it (the eagle) did not come (ⲉⲧ-ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲓ) down (ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ) because of you (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲕ), [*since* (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϫⲉ) *the brother* (ⲡ-ⲥⲟⲛ) *is angry* (ⲫⲟⲥⲙ) *with you* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲕ)]' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ 'keep (ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) your body (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) pure (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ), [*because* (ϫⲉ) (it is) *the temple* (ⲡ-ⲣⲡⲉ) *of God* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *that lies* (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩϩⲓ) *in it* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ)]' (Test. Is. 232:11-12).

By contrast, adjunct clauses belonging to the 'REASON' category describe the internal causes or motives why the subject referent is thinking or acting in a particular way, e.g. ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓⲛⲉ (read ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓⲛⲉ) ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ 'I did, indeed (ⲣⲱ), bring (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) my soul (ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲫⲩⲭⲏ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of (ϩⲛ) the body (i.e. I committed suicide) [*because* (ϫⲉ) *I knew* (ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) [that (ϫⲉ) you were going (ⲕ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to Hell (ⲉ-ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ)]]' (Ac. A&P 202:118-119), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲉⲛⲁⲓ] ⲁϥⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ[ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ (for ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ) [ⲉ]ⲣ ϫ[ⲟⲉⲓⲥ] ⲉⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ 'when he had heard (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) this (ⲉ-ⲛⲁⲓ), he rejoiced (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲣⲁⲱⲉ) exceedingly (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) [*because* (ϫⲉ) *lust* (ⲧ-ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ) *governed* (lit. became (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲣ) master (ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) over)) *his heart* (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ϩⲏⲧ)]' (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9), ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲧⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲟⲛⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲙⲟⲙ ⲛⲥⲱ[ⲃⲉ] ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲟⲣⲟⲥ 'for (ⲅⲁⲣ) hereafter (ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ) he (Apa Zenobius) was no longer (ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲧⲓ) very (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) angry (ⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲟⲛⲧ) about himself (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ϥ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ), [*because* (ϫⲉ) *he could* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲙ-ⲥⲟⲙ) *laugh* (ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲃⲉ) *about* (ⲛⲥⲁ) *his* (the devil's) *snares* (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲣⲟⲥ)]' (Zen. 203:29-31).

12.2.3.2 Purpose clauses

There is a close semantic affinity between cause/reason and purpose clauses, since both types of subordinate clauses present a *raison d'être* for a particular course of action. Moreover, purpose often implicates cause, since many situations emerge through the wilful action of some agent. Yet, while purpose clauses always involve agentivity and intent, cause and reason clauses do not.

12.2.3.2.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) The purposive subordinator ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ 'so that, in order that'

Purpose clauses are initiated by the subordinating complementiser ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ 'so that, in order that' plus a full clause containing an affirmative or negative future tense, e.g. ⲙⲡⲉⲣϩⲉⲡ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲥϩⲁⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲧⲛ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'do not hide (ⲙⲡⲉⲣ-ϩⲉⲡ) anything (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ) from Jacob (ⲉ-ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ) that he writes them (the teachings) down (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩ) as an ordinance (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ) for the generations (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ) to come (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ) after you (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ-ⲧⲛ) [*in order that* (ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *the God-*

loving (people) (ⲙ-ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *will practise* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲣ ϩⲱⲃ) *them* (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ)]' (Test. Is. 230:8-9), ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲟⲭⲟ[ⲩ] [ⲉ]ⲭⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲟⲃⲥⲕ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲟⲭ-ⲟ[ⲩ]) on (ⲉⲭⲙ) his (Jesus') tomb (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ) and cover it (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ϩⲟⲃⲥ-ⲕ) [*in order that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *no man* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) *will remember it* (lit. make (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲣ) its remembrance (ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ))]' (Eud. 58:21-22).

Very often, the purposive conjunction ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ is replaced by the ordinary "THAT"-complementiser ⲭⲉ, e.g. ⲁϥⲣ ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲃⲓⲧϥ (for ⲙⲡⲉϥϥⲓⲧϥ) ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓ ⲅⲉ ⲉϥⲭⲣⲉⲱⲥⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'Apa Jacob was surprised (ⲁϥⲣ ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ) [because (ⲭⲉ) he (Apa John) had not taken it (the golden coin) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) from (ϩⲙ) the ground (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) despite (the fact that) (ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓ ⲅⲉ) he owed (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲭⲣⲉⲱⲥⲧⲉⲓ) it (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) [*so that* (ⲭⲉ) *he could return it* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲧⲁⲁ-ϥ) *to its owner* (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)]' (AP Elanskaya 14b:25-31).

b) Switch reference

The central cases of purpose involve intention and design, usually on the part of the agent of the matrix clause. As a result, purpose clauses are for the most part same-subject clauses, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲛⲧⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲯ[ⲓ]ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *I* have brought you (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲕ) to this place (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) [*to* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *bring* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲉ-ϯ) *shame* (ⲯⲓⲡⲉ) *upon you* (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ) *in* (ϩⲛ) *the midst* (ⲧ-ⲙⲓⲧⲉ) *of all* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) *the people* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ) who have come (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲏⲩ) to my shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲁ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ)]' (Mena, Mir. 25b:19-25), ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ '*she* went (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) [*to* (ⲭⲉ) *welcome* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲉ) *him* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)]' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

Different-subject purpose clauses are certainly not excluded; they are particularly common in contexts that involve a switch from positive to negative polarity, e.g. ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ (for ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩⲣⲟ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲯⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ '*the Jews* (ⲛ-ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ) strengthened (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁϩⲣⲉ) the gate (ⲧ-ⲡⲩⲗ) very strongly (ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁϩⲣⲟ) [*in order that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *the apostles* (ⲛ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ) *could not go* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲉⲯ-ⲃⲱⲕ) *into* (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) *the city* (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲧⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲱⲭⲗⲉⲓ (for ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲟⲭⲗⲉⲓ) ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ '(as for) the latter (i.e. the fields), *he* (Antonius) donated (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ) them (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) to the people (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) of his village (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲧⲙⲉ) [*so that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *they would not burden* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲛⲱⲭⲗⲉⲓ) *him* (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *his sister* (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲛⲉ) *in* (ϩⲛ) *any respect* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ-ϩⲱⲃ)]' (V. Ant. 4:18-20).

12.2.3.2.2 Future orientation

Purpose clauses are generally future-oriented: the time expressed or implied in the subordinate purpose clause is characteristically later than the time of the superordinate clause. In affirmative purpose clauses, the deontic Third Future ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall hear' is widely used, e.g. ⲟⲩⲫⲁⲛⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲯⲏⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲙⲡϩⲏⲧ 'it (ⲡⲉ) (is) evident (ⲟⲩ-ⲫⲁⲛⲉⲣⲟⲛ) that (ⲭⲉ) we (will) make (ⲉⲛ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) effort to a tree (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲏⲛ) [*so that* (ⲭⲉ) *we will find* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉ-ⲟⲛ) *its fruit* (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ), which is (ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ) the observance (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) of the heart (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲏⲧ)]' (AP Elanskaya 23a:11-16), ⲁϥⲕⲁⲧⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲁⲧⲏϥ ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲱ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'he (the king) kept (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲭⲉ) the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) with him (ϩⲁⲧⲏ-ϥ) (for) three (ⲯⲟⲙⲛⲧ) months (ⲛ-ⲉⲃⲟⲧ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) his daughter (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲯⲉⲉⲣⲉ) [*in order that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *he could keep* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱ) *seeing* (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *her* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) *daily* (ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ)]' (Hil. 12:8-10), ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲯ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲛⲟⲛ (for ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ) ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲯⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'when he (Pachôm) saw (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) that (ⲭⲉ) the brothers (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) would gather (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) to him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ), he established (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲱⲯ) for them (ⲛⲁ-ⲩ) this rule (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲛ) in such a manner (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ) [*that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *every one* (ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ) *of them* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) (the brothers) *would be self-sufficient* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲱⲯⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ)' (V. Pach. 4:1-3).

Examples with the non-modalised Second Future ⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he is going to hear' can, however, also be found, e.g. ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲓϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁϥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱⲯ

ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲩϩⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲩⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ (for ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲏⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ) ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲯ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲧⲏϥ 'they composed (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲙⲛ) this book (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ) through (ϩⲛ) their own (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) labour (ⲛⲉⲩ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) (and) placed it (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ϥ) in (ϩⲙ) their monastery (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) [*in order that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *they shall read* (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲯ) *from it* (the book) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) for the benefit (ⲉ-ⲩ-ϩⲏⲩ) and (ⲙⲛ) satisfaction (ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ) of those who will read (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲱⲯ) from it (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) and (ⲙⲛ) of him who will listen (ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to it (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) with (ϩⲛ) attention (lit. giving (ⲟⲩ-ϯ) one's attention (ϩⲧⲏ-ϥ))]' (Onnophr. 224:3-5)

Negated purpose clauses are indicated by the Negative Third Future ⲛⲛⲉ-ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he shall not hear'. In general, they describe the avoidance of an undesirable outcome or consequence, e.g. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲕⲕ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲯⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲣ ϩⲁⲗ 'you (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ), on your part (ϩⲱ-ⲕ), take council (ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ), think (ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ), ponder (ⲙⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲕ-ⲕ), find out (ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) what (ⲟⲩ) (it is) that you are going to do (ⲉⲧ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-ⲁⲁ-ϥ) [*in order that* (ⲭⲉ) *you will not be jocked* (ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲣ ϩⲁⲗ)]' (Camb. 9:12-15), ⲁϥⲯⲱⲧⲙ ⲙⲡⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲕⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ 'he (God) closed (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲱⲧⲙ) the door (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲟ) (and) placed (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲱ) a power (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ) of fire (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲧⲉ) watching (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ) the door (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲣⲟ) of paradise (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ) [*in order that* (ⲭⲉ) *no one* (ⲗⲗⲁⲩ) *would enter* (ⲛⲛⲉ ... ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) it (the paradise) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) until all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) what he had said (ⲛⲉ-ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ) was fulfilled (ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) on (ⲉⲭⲛ) Adam]' (Abbatôn 240:18-21).

12.2.3.2.3 Implied result reading

Subordinate future tense clauses are sometimes ambiguous between a purpose and a result reading. On the one hand, they describe why a particular course of action was taken by the main clause subject, but at the same time they state the intended result or outcome of that pursuit, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲛⲧϥ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲣ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ ⲯⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) we (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) will bring him (Constantine) (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲧ-ϥ) into (ⲯⲁ-ϩⲟⲩⲛ) the capital (lit. great (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲛⲟⲩ)) city (ⲙ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) of the empire (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ) bound (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲙⲏⲣ) to your chariot (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲧⲛ-ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ) like (ⲛⲑⲉ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ϩⲉ) a dog (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ) [*so that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ) *the entire* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) *world* (ⲡ-ⲕⲁϩ) *will come to know* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ) [that (ⲭⲉ) (there) is no (ⲙⲛ) king (ⲣⲣⲟ) as powerful (ⲛ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) as (ⲛⲑⲉ) (the king) of the Persian (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) empire (ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲉⲣⲟ)]]' (Eud. 44:11-14), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ[ⲧ][ⲟ]ⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ (for ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) through (ϩⲙ) the Spirit (ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄) of the living (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲛϩ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) you wish (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲯ) their memory (ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) to be lasting (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ ... ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) by means of (ϩⲓⲧⲛ) a script (ⲟⲩ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ) [*in order that* (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ), (as far as) *we* (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ) (are concerned), *you might wake* (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧ<ⲛ>-ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ) *us* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲛ) (up) *from* (ϩⲙ) *the deep* (ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩ) *sleep* (ⲛ-ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ)]' (Zen. 199:16-18).

12.3 Infinitival clauses

The various classes of complement and adjunct clauses considered so far share many of the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of main clauses, the most important difference being their syntactically subordinate status. We finally turn to non-finite subordinate clauses, which differ from finites with respect to the absence of inflectional tense and the omissibility of the subject. Subordinate infinitival clauses are therefore generally less explicit than their finite counterparts: components of meaning that are directly encoded in finite clauses are left to be derived from the context in which infinitivals occur.

12.3.1 Differences between infinitival and finite subordinate clauses

Subordinate infinitival clauses are distinguished from finite subordinate clause by the following properties:

a) Prepositional subordinators

Most infinitivals, apart from the clausal complements of aspectual or modal verbs, are initiated by a distinct set of subordinators, all of which are morphologically identical to spatial prepositions. The most common verb phrase subordinator is the directional preposition ϵ- 'to': this is then the standard expression for infinitival subordination.

b) Absence of inflectional tense

Infinitivals have no inflectional tense that allows reference to a specific situation. Instead, the matrix verb contributes significantly to the temporal interpretation of the infinitival clause, e.g. ϵιογωψ ϵτογχϵ ταφγχη 'I want (ϵ-ι-ογωψ) [*to save* (ϵ-τογχϵ) *my soul* (τα-φγχη)]' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:1), αγω μπϵ ογον μμον τολμα ϵρ πϵντακαακ 'and (αγω) no one (ογον) of us (μμο-ν) has dared (μπϵ ... τολμα) [*to do* (ϵ-ρ) what you have done (π-ϵντ-α-κ-αα-ϥ)]' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

c) Infinitives with and without subjects

Whereas the subject is an obligatory sentence constituent of finite clauses, there are no infinitival constructions in which the presence of an overt subject is grammatically required. However, the interpretation of infinitival clauses requires there to be an "understood" subject: the infinitival verb phrase represents a semantic predicate that must be in construction with an argument that it is predicate of. We thus assume that infinitival clauses have an implicit subject (indicated as '__'), whose identity is generally recoverable from the matrix subject, e.g. ϵιογωψ ϵναγ ϵτασωνϵ μπⲧμογ '*I* want (ϵ-ι-ογωψ) [__*to see* (ϵ-ναγ) *my sister* (ϵ-τα-σωνϵ) before I die (μπⲧ-μογ)]' (KHML I 75:20-21).

Where there is a subject, it always occurs as the non-canonical subject of an analytic causative, which intervenes between the causative verb τρϵ and the subordinate infinitival clause, e.g. ϵνϥογωψ αν ϵτρϵγσω ϩν τανὰχωριϲιϲ (for τανὰχωρηϲιϲ) 'and he (the devil) does not want [*them* (the hermits) *to stay* (ϵ-τρϵ-γ-σω) in (ϩν) the solitude (τ-ανὰχωριϲιϲ)' (Onnophr. 211:18).

d) Negation

There is a clear contrast between negating the verb of a subordinate finite clause and that of an infinitival clause (also with respect to scope). Infinitival verbs must be negated by the auxiliary τμ 'not to do', which can only take narrow predicate scope over the verb phrase and verb-phrase internal complements and adjuncts (see above, section 9.4.6 of Unit 9), e.g. μωνωn (for μονον) ϩαρϵϩ ϵροκ ϵτμρ νοβϵ ϵπνογτϵ νταϥταμιοκ 'but (μωνωn) be careful (ϩαρϵϩ) [__ *not to sin* (lit. to commit (ϵ-τμ-ρ) sin (νοβϵ)) against the God (ϵ-π-νογτϵ) who has created you (ντ-α-ϥ-ταμιο-κ)]' (V. Pach. 89:27-28), αλλα ϵψχϵ τϵτνπιθϵ ϵτμτρϵνϵι ϵϩογν ϵτπολιϲ ντννηγ αν ϵϩογν (...) 'but (αλλα) if (ϵψχϵ) you insist (τϵτν-πιθϵ) upon [*not letting us go* (ϵ-τμ-τρϵ-ν-ϵι) *inside* (ϵϩογν) *the city* (ϵ-τ-πολιϲ)], we do not (αν) go (ν-τν-νηγ) inside (ϵϩογν)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38-39).

12.3.2 The controlled interpretation of the missing subject

The reference of the missing subject of infinitival clauses is recoverable from one of the main clause arguments. The relation between the "understood" infinitival subject and its controller is a special case of anaphora. As with overt pronouns, the covert subject receives an interpretation via co-reference with an antecedent outside of its clausal domain. The interpretation of the implicit subject may be controlled by the matrix subject or object, but may also be left to be pragmatically inferred.

12.3.2.1 Subject control

This section surveys the most common infinitival constructions in which subject control is required or permitted.

a) Volitional constructions without overt subjects

Verbs of volition, intent or desire provide prototypical exemplars of control structures in which the missing noun phrase of the infinitival complement is co-referential with the matrix subject, e.g. ϵιογωψ ϵx[ϵ] ογψαχϵ ϵροκ παρχων '*I want* (ϵ-ι-ογωψ) [__ *to tell you something* (lit. a word (ογ-ψαχϵ))], magistrate (π-αρχων)' (KHML II 28:21-29:1), κγρι

ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲁⲯⲗⲏ 'Lord (ⲕⲩⲣⲓ) knight (ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲉ), look (ⲉⲓⲥ), a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲛⲱⲉ) of times (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *I* *wished* (ϯ-ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ) [__ *to go* (ⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ) *to that* (ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) *place* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) to pray (ⲧⲁ-ⲯⲗⲏ)]' (Hil. 4:29-30), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲣ ⲍⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'but *I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *wished* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲣ ⲍⲛⲁ-ⲓ) [__ *to escape* (ⲙ-ⲡⲱⲧ) from (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲥ) sin (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)]' (Onnophr. 208:7), ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲏⲧ ⲉⲭⲱ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲍⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲟⲟⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ '*I* *promised* (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲣⲏⲧ) [__ *to tell* (ⲉ-ⲭⲱ) *you* (ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ) *a few* (ⲛ-ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) *of* (ⲍⲛ) *the mighyt deeds* (ⲛ-ⲟⲟⲙ) *and* (ⲙⲛ) *wonders* (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲡⲏⲣⲉ) of the great (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩ) archangel (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) Gabriêl' (BMisc. 313:8-10), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲫⲥⲙⲛⲧⲥ ⲉⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲯⲟⲩⲣ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *he* (the physican) *decided* (ⲁ-ⲫ-ⲥⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥ) [__ *to cut* (ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲗⲡ) *off* (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *his* (the gardener's) *leg* (ⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ-ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ) with (ⲍⲛ) a saw (ⲟⲩ-ⲃⲁⲯⲟⲩⲣ)]' (AP Elanskaya 17b:10-13).

The controlling subject of volitional verbs may be interpreted as the semantic patient of the event described by the infinitival verb, the result being a passive interpretation, e.g. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲯ (for ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲯ) ⲡⲁⲓⲇⲉⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ '*we* then (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) *wished* (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲯ) [__ *to be educated* (ⲡⲁⲓⲇⲉⲩⲉ) in (ⲍⲛ) the wisdom (ⲧ-ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (Onnophr. 220:19-20).

b) Aspectual verbs

Subject control is mandatory in the infinitival complements of aspectual verbs. The reason for this is that the aspectual verb and its infinitival complement form a complex predicate with a single subject, e.g. ⲉⲥⲯⲁⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲯⲗⲏ ⲛⲉⲯⲁⲥⲯⲗⲏ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ 'whenever *she* (Hilaria) *rose* (ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) [__ *to pray* (ⲉ-ⲯⲗⲏ)], she used to pray (ⲛⲉ-ⲯⲁ-ⲥ-ⲯⲗⲏ) with her (her younger sister) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲥ)' (Hil. 9:12), ⲁⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲓⲫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ '*they stood* (lit. they stood (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲍⲉ) (on) their feet (ⲣⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ)) [__ *to fight* (ⲉ-ⲙⲓⲫⲉ) *with* (ⲙⲛ) *each other* (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ)]' (Eud. 42:23), ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲛⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ '*they did not again* (lit. they did not place (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲍ) their hands (ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲟⲩ)) [__ rise up (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ) against (ⲉⲭⲙ) the country (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲍ) in all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the days (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲍⲟⲟⲩ)

of King (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) Constantine]' (Eud. 48:18-19), ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ (...) '*he* (Apa Onnophrius) (ⲛⲧⲟϥ) *began* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ) [__ to talk (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) to me (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ) saying (ⲉ-ϥ-ⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲥ) that (ⲭⲉ) (...)]' (Onnophr. 207:2-3).

c) Epistemic modal constructions

Subject control also applies to the infinitival complements of epistemic modal verbs like ⲉⲱ 'to be able to, can' and ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ 'to be able to', which indicates dynamic possibility or ability, e.g. ⲙⲉⲩⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲱ ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'they won't blame (lit. find (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲛ) blame (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ)') anybody (ⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁⲩ), because (ⲭⲉ) *he* *was not able* (ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲉⲱ) [__ *to fully* (ⲧⲏⲣ-ϥ) *observe* (ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ) the sun (ⲡ-ⲣⲏ)]' (Zen. 200:26-27), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) because of (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ) his (Job's) hope (ⲧⲉϥ-ⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ) *they* (the grievances) *could not* (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲙ-ⲟⲟⲙ) [__ *shake* (ⲉ-ⲕⲓⲙ) *him* (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19b:28-31), ⲍⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲍⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲙ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲧⲙⲯⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲙⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲍⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ 'such that (ⲍⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *many* (ⲍⲁϩ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) those who were in (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲍⲙ) the village (ⲡ-ϯⲙⲉ) *could not* (ⲛⲧⲉ ... ⲧⲙ-ⲯ-ⲟⲙ-ⲟⲟⲙ) [__ *meet* (ⲉ-ⲧⲱⲙⲛⲧ) *him* (the hermit) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) on many (ⲛ-ⲍⲁϩ) occasions (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

d) Infinitival complements of adjectives

A limited number of adjectival verbs and nouns (including statives) select infinitival clauses as a direct complement. Subject control is, again, mandatory, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲉϯⲙⲡⲯⲁ ⲛⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲍⲓⲱⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲫⲓ ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲕⲱⲣⲯ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ), on the contrary (ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲧⲟϥ), it (is) (ⲛⲉ) mine (i.e. my sins) mine (ⲛⲟⲩ-ⲓ) *that* *I* *deserve* (ⲉ-ϯ-ⲙⲡⲯⲁ) [__ *to place* (ⲛ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲩ) *in front of* (ⲍⲓⲱⲏ) *me* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)] and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [__ *to take* (ⲉ-ⲫⲓ) *care* (ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲯ) *of* (ⲍⲁⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)] and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [__ *to beseech* (ⲉ-ⲕⲱⲣⲯ) *God* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) *because of* (ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ), (saying) »Forgive (ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ)!«]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:6-12), ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲣ ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ '*you* have not yet become (ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-ⲣ) *worthy* (ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ) [__ *to talk* (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) to him (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ)]' (KHML II 30:21-22), ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉϯ

ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ '*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) *am prepared* (ϯ-ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ) [__ *to surrender* (ⲉ-ϯ) *my body* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ) to the tortures (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the name (ⲡ-ⲣⲁⲛ) of Jesus (ⲛ-ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅)' (KHML I 78:30-79:1).

e) Infinitival purpose clauses

Infinitival purpose clauses are widely used as the GOAL arguments of verbs of inherently directed motion. Such purposive infinitivals involve temporal projection into the future and a modal feature of potentiality: they describe situations that have not been actualised by the time that the main clause event took place, e.g. ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲣ ϩⲱⲃ '*her mother* (ⲧⲉⲥ-ⲙⲁⲁⲩ) *had gone* (ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲃⲱⲕ) [__ *to work* (ⲉ-ⲣ ϩⲱⲃ)]' (AP Elanskaya 16a:6-8), ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲥⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲓ (for ⲉ-ϥⲓ) ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲣⲟⲫⲉⲩⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ '*did you come* (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲓ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) after (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) sixty (ⲥⲉ) years (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) [__ *to take* (ⲉ-ϥⲉⲓ) *my bread-winner* (ⲙ-ⲡⲁ-ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲉⲩⲥ) (away) *from me* (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ)]?' (AP Elanskaya 17a:2-5), ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ ϩⲓⲭⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ '*I have come* (ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲓ) [__ *to weep* (ⲉ-ⲣⲓⲙⲉ) about (ϩⲓⲭⲛ) my sins (ⲛⲁ-ⲛⲟⲃⲉ)] and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [__ *to worship* (ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ) Jesus (ⲛ-ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲭ̅ⲥ̅), the Son (ⲡ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of the living (ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲛϩ) God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)]' (AP Elanskaya 18b:4-8), ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛϩⲗⲗⲏⲛ ⲉϯ ⲛϩⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ (for ⲛϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲣⲁⲕⲓⲛⲏ (read ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲕⲓⲛⲏ) 'once (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ) *certain* (ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ) *pagans* (ⲛ-ⲛ-ϩⲗⲗⲏⲛ) *came* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) [__ *to give* (ⲉ-ϯ) alms (ⲛ-ϩⲛ-ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ) in (ϩⲛ) Ostrakinê (ⲟⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲣⲁⲕⲓⲛⲏ)]' (AP Elanskaya 15b:22-25).

f) Nested infinitivals

Two or more infinitival clauses can be embedded within one another, the result being a stacked or nested infinitival construction. Subject control seems to be obligatory in the highest infinitival clause, while the more deeply embedded infinitival permits control by a non-subject constituent, e.g. ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ '*he* (Antony) did not want (ⲙⲡⲉ-ϥ-ⲟⲩⲱⲱ) [__ *to continue* (ⲉ-ⲃⲱ) [__ *to be taught* (ⲉ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ) [__ *to write* (ⲉ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ)]]]' (V. Ant. 3:7-8), ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲣⲱⲫⲉ ⲉϯ ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙ[ⲏ

ⲛⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲉⲣ ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *these* (ⲛⲁⲓ) (words) suffice (ⲣⲱⲫⲉ) [__ *to give* (ⲉ-ϯ) a starting point (ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙⲏ) for the wise men (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) [__ *to become wiser* (ⲉ-ⲣ-ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ)]]' (Zen. 201:14).

12.3.2.2 Object control

The missing subject of infinitivals is consistently interpreted as being co-referential with the matrix subject, but infinitival constructions with object control can also be found.

a) Manipulative verbs

Manipulative verbs appear in subject-different clauses where the different subject of the embedded clause corresponds to the direct object of the main clause. The same anaphoric relation can be found in the infinitival complements of verbs of permission, instruction, and exerting force, whose implicit subject is controlled by the matrix object, e.g. ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲕⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣ ϩⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ 'be zealous (ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁϩⲉ) (and) *do not allow* (ⲙⲡⲣ-ⲕⲁ) *the world* (ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) [__ *to deceive* (ⲉ-ⲣ ϩⲁⲗ) *you* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 219:11-12), ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ '*they did not allow us* (ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁⲁ-ⲛ) [__ *to go* (ⲉ-ⲉⲓ) *inside* (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:168), ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁϫⲓⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲃ 'he (King Zênô) first (ⲛ-ⲱⲟⲣⲡ) *taught them* (his daughters) (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ-ⲟⲩ) [__ *to write* (ⲛ-ⲥϩⲁⲓ)] in accordance with (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) the norm (ⲡ-ⲁϫⲓⲱⲙⲁ) of high rank (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲛⲟⲃ)' (Hil. 2:6-7), ⲉⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲁϫⲉ (for ⲉⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁϫⲉ) ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣ ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ '*and they forced* (ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲁϫⲉ) *them* (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲟⲩ) [__ *to make* (ⲉ-ⲣ) *a sacrifice* (ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19a:6-7).

The elided direct object of manipulative verbs may act as the controller of the infinitival subject when its reference is retrievable from the preceding context or can be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ⲧⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛ ⲕⲉⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉϥϯ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲙⲣ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ 'since (ⲅⲁⲣ) in (ϩⲛ) (yet) another epistle (ⲕⲉ-ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ) we hear (ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) him (Paul) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) *teach* (ⲉ-ϥ-ϯ ⲥⲃⲱ) (*us*) [__ *not to remember* (lit. give (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲣ) remembrance (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) to) the ancient ones (ⲛ-ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲛ) also their works (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲕⲉ-ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ)]' (Zen. 200:14-

16), ⲁϥⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲟⲓϫ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ '*he ordered* [__ *to bring* (ⲉ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) to him (ⲛⲁ-ϥ) Apa Paêse and (ⲙⲛ) all (ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲟⲩ) the saints (ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ), (with) their hands (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲟⲓϫ) and (ⲙⲛ) legs (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ) tied up (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛϩ)' (KHML 1 76:9-11).

b) Infinitival clauses embedded into a noun phrase

Infinitival clauses may function as noun modifiers within the structure of a complex noun phrase. The missing subject is anaphorically related to the possessor noun phrase of that nominal group, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϣϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ ϫⲓⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲛⲁϫⲓⲧⲛ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) if (ⲉϣϫⲉ) it (ⲡⲉ) (is) the will (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) *of the Lord* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) [__ *to take us* (ϫⲓⲧ-ⲛ) *inside* (ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ) it (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲥ) (the city), he will take us inside (ϥ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲓⲧ-ⲛ)' (Ac. A&P 196:39-40), ⲧⲛⲟϭ ⲇⲉ ⲛϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ ϩⲓϫⲱⲥ ⲉⲉⲣ ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ '(as for) the older (ⲧ-ⲛⲟϭ) daughter (ⲛ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ) of the king (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ), (there) was (ⲛⲉ-ⲩⲛ) *upon her* (ϩⲓϫⲱ-ⲥ) a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟϭ) concern (ⲛ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ) [__ *to stay* (ⲉ-ⲉⲣ) *a virgin* (ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ)]' (Hil. 2:10-11).

12.3.2.3 Control in impersonal sentence constructions

The expletive subject of an impersonal sentence can never function as the controller of the missing noun phrase of the extraposed infinitival subject clause. Instead, the closest referential noun phrase is selected as an antecedent, typically the indirect object, e.g. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲥⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ (for ⲥⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ) ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲃⲉ 'the place (ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) where the Spirit (ⲡⲉ-ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄) of the Lord (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) is in (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ), *it is to us* (ⲥ-ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲛ) [__ *to believe* (ⲉ-ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ) at the same time (ϩⲓ-ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲟⲛ) [that (ϫⲉ) there (ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) his diverse (ⲉⲧ-ⲱⲟⲃⲉ) gifts (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁ) prevail (ⲥⲉ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]]' (Zen. 201:16-18).

If there is no antecedent at all, the infinitival subject receives a non-controlled interpretation as referring to a plural [+human] antecedent whose identity is left unspecified, e.g. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) *it is better* (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ) [__ *not to go* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲃⲱⲕ) into them (the misconceptions of the Origenists) (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ) at

all (ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ)]' (Contra Orig. 407), ⲛⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ '*it is not* (ⲁⲛ) *appropriate* (ⲛ-ⲱⲱⲉ) [__ *to act* (ⲉ-ⲁⲁ-ⲥ) in such a way (ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ϩⲉ)]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:4-5).

12.3.3 Complex infinitivals formed with analytic ⲧⲣⲉ-causatives

Coptic also makes productive use of non-finite clauses of another type that differ from plain subjectless infinitivals in both the morphology of the verb and the presence of an overt subject constituent. Such complex infinitivals are called causative infinitives in most Coptic grammars, since they contain an analytic ⲧⲣⲉ-causative construction. As shown in section 6.4.3 of Unit 6, analytic causatives are periphrastic biclausal structures formed with the causative verb ⲧⲣⲉ followed by an infinitival complement clause. The subject of the lower infinitival clause is the direct object of the higher causative verb and appears in the accusative form. More research is needed to arrive at a fuller understanding of the choice between plain ("subjectless") and complex ("causative") infinitivals, which appear in free variation in a range of subordinate clauses. Here we restrict us to those sentence constructions where the causative infinitive is either required or strongly preferred.

a) The "accusative plus infinitive" construction

The causative infinitive is typically used in ditransitive sentences that contain three arguments: the subject, the direct object, and the infinitival complement clause. In the "accusative plus infinitive" construction, the matrix direct object is the antecedent of the pronominal subject of the following causative infinitive. In this construction, the syntactic structure matches the causative semantics of this construction quite straightforwardly: the matrix subject represents the CAUSER and the matrix object the CAUSEE argument of the subordinate infinitival clause that describes the situation aimed for, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲯⲗⲏⲗ ⲉϫⲱⲥ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Apa Pambô) *asked* (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) *all* (ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ) *the brothers* (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ) [*to pray* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲗⲏⲗ) *for her* (Hilaria) (ⲉϫⲱ-ⲥ)]' (Hil. 8:17-18), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲕⲱⲣⲯ ⲉⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (the

nobleman) *requested* (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲱⲣⲫ) *the presbyter* (ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) [*to distribute it* (the money) (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲣ-ⲟⲩ) among the brothers (ⲛ-ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲛⲏⲩ)]' (AP Elanskaya 16b:2-4), ⲁⲩⲧⲃⲏ ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲭⲓ ⲛϩⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ (for ⲛϩⲉⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ) ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'a (certain) *old man* (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲗⲗⲟ) *was asked* (lit. *they* asked (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲃϩ)) [*to take* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲓ) some money (ⲛ-ϩⲛ-ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ) for (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) his own (ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) needs (ⲛⲉϥ-ⲭⲣⲓⲁ)]' (AP Elanskaya 15b:3-6), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲣϥⲭⲱ (for ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲭⲱ) ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) I *asked* (ⲁ ⲓ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) *him* (Apa Onnophrius) (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ) [*to tell* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣ-ϥ-ⲭⲱ) me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) his name (ⲙ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲣⲁⲛ)]' (Onnophr. 210:16-17).

b) Volitional constructions with overt subjects

Infinitival clauses with and without overt subjects differ systematically from one another in volitional constructions. While plain infinitives are selected when the matrix subject acts as a controller for the missing noun phrase, the syntactically more complex causative version must appear in their place in different-subject infinitival clauses. Thus, compare: ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϣⲙⲡⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲕⲣ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) if (ⲉϣⲙⲡⲉ) you want (ⲕ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) [__ *to do* (ⲉ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) a few (ⲛ-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) healings (ⲛ-ⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ), do them (ⲁⲣⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩ) outside (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲃⲟⲗ) the city (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ) at a distance (lit. until you make (ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲕ-ⲣ)) of two (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) days (ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34) vs. ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ 'My Father (ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲓⲱⲧ), *I want* (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ) [*you* to baptize (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-31b:2), ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲗⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ϣⲁ ⲑⲁϩ '*the Lord* (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *does not* (ⲁⲛ) *want* (ⲙ- ... ⲟⲩⲱϣ) [*it* (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲗⲟ) this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ) until (ϣⲁ) the end (ⲑⲁϩ < ⲧ-ϩⲁϩ)]' (Eud. 76:18).

c) Infinitival adjunct clauses of temporal location

Causative infinitives are widely used in adjunct clauses of temporal location. The normal subordinator ⲉ- is replaced by the locative-temporal preposition ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ 'after' to form the infinitival version of 'AFTER'-clauses, e.g. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲅⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲉ ϣⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ

ⲑⲉⲟⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ (...) '[*after* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) *consent* (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲩⲅⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ) *was given* (ⲧⲣⲉ ... ϣⲙⲡⲉ)], the king (ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) said (ⲡⲉϫⲉ) to Apa Theophilos that (ϫⲉ) (...)' (Eud. 74:17), ⲁⲥϣⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ (...) ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲱϣⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩϩϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲥⲙⲛⲧϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥϣⲙⲡⲉ) [*after* (ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ) *he* (Pachôm) *had seen* (ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲛⲁⲩ) *the vision* (ⲉ-ⲡ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)], then (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ) he (Pachôm) and (ⲙⲛ) his brother (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲟⲛ) began (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ) [__ to expand (ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱϣⲥ) the place (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ) where (ⲛϩⲏⲧ-ϥ) they were living (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩϩϩ) [to set it up (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲙⲛⲧ-ϥ) as a small (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) convent (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ)]' (V. Pach. 1:8-13).

Infinitival 'WHEN'-clauses are initiated by the locative preposition ϩⲙ 'in'; the infinitival complement takes the form of a definite noun phrase, e.g. ϩⲙ [ⲡⲧⲣ]ⲉϥⲱⲃϣ ⲁⲉ [ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡϩⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ [ⲙ]ⲏ[ⲛⲁ] ⲁϥⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧϥ [ⲉϫ]ⲱ[ϥ] ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟ[ⲣⲟ]ⲙⲁ '[*when* (ϩⲙ) *he* (the camel-herd) *dozed off* (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲱⲃϣ)], look (ⲉⲓⲥ) the holy (ⲡ-ϩⲁⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mena stood (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ-ϥ) before him (ⲉϫⲱ-ϥ) in (ϩⲛ) a dream (ⲟⲩ-ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-6), ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲣⲁⲧⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲧⲛⲁⲥⲟⲣⲁϩⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲗⲟ ⲛϩⲏⲧ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) [*when* (ϩⲙ) *I do not have* (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲧⲙ-ⲟⲛ) *anything* (ϩⲱⲃ) (to do) *with* (ⲙⲛ) *anyone* (ⲗⲁⲁⲩ)], I will find peace (ⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥⲟⲣⲁϩⲧ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the passion (ⲡ-ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ) will leave (ⲛⲁ-ⲗⲟ) me (ⲛϩⲏⲧ)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:17-18), ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲣⲉϥϫⲣⲟ ϩⲙ ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ) 'like (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ-) a hero (ⲟⲩ-ϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ) who returned (ⲉ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲕⲟⲧ-ϥ) to his house (ⲉ-ⲡⲉϥ-ⲏⲓ) [*after* (ϩⲙ) *having been victorious* (ⲡ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ϫⲣⲟ) in (ϩⲙ) the war (ⲡ-ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲟⲥ)]' (KHML II 50:15-16).

d) Infinitival purpose clauses

Like propositional complements of volitional verbs, complex infinitivals are consistently used in different-subject purpose clauses, e.g. ⲛⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁϥⲭⲱⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ '(as for) those (scil. the eyes) of the body (ⲛⲁ-ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ), *he* (God) provided (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲭⲱⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ) us (ⲛⲁ-ⲛ) with *the sun* [*to shine* (lit. to make (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲣ) light (ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ)) for us (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲛ) by day (ⲙ-ⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ)]' (Hil. 1:7-8),

ⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲉϩ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ‘*he* (Paul) had written (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ϥ-ⲥⲉϩ) this (ⲡⲁⲓ) to every (ⲛⲓⲙ) nation (ⲛ-ⲗⲁⲟⲥ) [*that they remember* (lit. make (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲣ) remembrance (ⲡ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) of)) their great (leaders) (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ)]’ (Zen. 200:13-14), ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲱϥⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ϩⲛ [ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ‘send (ϫⲟⲟⲩ) to Egypt (ⲉ-ⲕⲏⲙⲉ) after (ⲛⲥⲁ) *the holy men* (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) who are (lit. make (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ)) seventy-two (ⲛ-ⲱϥⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) in (ϩⲛ) number (ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲏⲡⲉ) [*that they come* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲓ) and baptize (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ)]’ (Eud. 42:2-4).

The causative infinitive seems to be strongly preferred when the main clause subject has undergone inversion for focalisation purposes, e.g. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ‘and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *the chariots* (ⲛ-ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ) of the Persians (ⲛ-ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ) surrounded (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲕⲱⲧⲉ) him (Constantine) (ⲉⲣⲟ-ϥ) [*to kill* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ) him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)]’ (Eud. 42:25), ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧϥ ‘*the generals* (ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ) of (ⲛⲧⲉ) the army (ⲧ-ⲟⲙ) came (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ) immediately (ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ) [*to get him* (Constantine) (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉⲛⲧ-ϥ)]’ (Eud. 38:5-6), ⲛⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲟⲥ [ⲁⲩ]ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ (for ⲡⲉϥⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ) ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲃⲃⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϯⲙⲏ ‘(as for) those who are married (lit. who are in (ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ϩⲙ) marriage (ⲡ-ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲥ)), *they* were taught (lit. they received (ⲁ-ⲩ-ϫⲓ) instruction (ⲥⲃⲱ)) *each one* (ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡ-ⲟⲩⲁ) [to bear (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲛ) his vessel (ⲡⲉϥ-ⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ) in (ϩⲛ) purity (ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲃⲃⲟ) and (ⲙⲛ) honour (ⲟⲩ-ϯⲙⲏ)]’ (Zen. 203: 34-35).

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, complex infinitivals are available as a marked option in same-subject purpose clauses with first person singular reference, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ‘*I* (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) went (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ) out (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) into the desert (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) [*to fast* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ)]’ (Ac. A&P 200:95-96), [ⲁ]ⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲁϫⲓⲧϥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ‘and (ⲁⲩⲱ) *I* had already gone (ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲉⲓ) [*to take it* (the golden coin) (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ϫⲓⲧ-ϥ) from you (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ-ⲕ) as an act of charity (ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ)]’ (AP Elanskaya 14b:19-21).

e) Infinitival result clauses

Complex infinitivals may be used to express a resulting or subsequent situation. The resultative interpretation of complex infinitivals is often made explicit by means of the consecutive conjunction ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ‘such that’, e.g. ⲛⲧϥⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲁϭⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ‘and take (ⲛ-ⲅ-ϥⲓ) away (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) this fleshy (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲣⲝ) thought (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) from me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) [*such that* (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *I won't become angry* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ϭⲱⲛⲧ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ) in (ϩⲙ) my heart (ⲡⲁ-ϩⲏⲧ)’ (V. Pach. 2:4-6), ⲁ ⲧⲁϭⲟⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲁⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲭⲉ †ϩⲕⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲏ †ⲟⲃⲉ ‘my strength (ⲧⲁ-ϭⲟⲙ) came back (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓ) to me (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ) [*such that* (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *I did not notice* (ⲉ-ⲧⲙ-ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ) at all (ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ) [whether (ⲭⲉ) I was hungry (†-ϩⲕⲟⲉⲓⲧ) or (ⲏ) thirsty (†-ⲟⲃⲉ)]]’ (Onnophr. 209:26-27), ⲛⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲛ†ⲧⲟⲛ (for ⲛ† ⲧⲱⲛ) ⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩ[ⲙ]ⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ‘some minor (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲩⲓ) quarrels (ⲉⲛ-†ⲧⲟⲛ) came (ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲓ) into their midst (ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲙⲏⲧⲉ) [*such that* (ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ) *they got upset* (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲙⲕⲁϩ) with (ⲙⲛ) one another (ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ) many (ⲛ-ϩⲁϩ) times (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡ) because of (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) this (ⲡⲁⲓ)]’ (Zen. 201:37-39).

Key Terms:

Impersonal sentences	contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g. ϥⲣⲱⲯⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲉⲛⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ 'it is sufficient (ϥ-ⲣⲱⲯⲉ) [to just (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) state (ⲉ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) [that (ⲭⲉ) » these (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) errors (ϩⲉⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛⲏ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) contrary (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲭⲁⲭⲉ) to the truth (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲙⲉ)«]]' (Contra Orig. 408).	§12.1.1.1
Mandative constructions	typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like ϩⲁⲡ-ⲥ 'it is necessary, must' and ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ-ⲥ 'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations.	§12.1.1.2
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ 'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. ⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) ⲥⲉϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲥⲉϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲉⲛⲉ) ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'you know (ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ), [that (ⲭⲉ) this race (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) called (ⲭⲉ) Christians (ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) bears (ⲥⲉ-ϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ) the tortures (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).	§12.1.2.1

Direct vs. indirect reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ 'he said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) » Yes (ⲁϩⲉ), I suffered (ⲁ-ⲓ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ) a lot (ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ)!«]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs. ⲁϥⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲡⲁⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟϥⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'he (the archbishop) told (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲯⲁⲭⲉ) him (the brick-maker) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ) [to make (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲡⲁⲡⲉ) bricks (ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) for the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna [until they finished it (ⲯⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲟⲕ-ϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).	§12.1.3
Open vs. remote conditionals	Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲛⲧⲛ ⲉⲛⲣⲏⲥ ⲧⲛⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ '[when they come (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲯⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) and find us (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲛ) awake (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲣⲏⲥ)], we will be glorified (lit. receive (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲓ) glory (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ '(if) the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *were* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ) in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ), *I would go* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) and appeal (ⲧⲁ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) to him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).	§12.2.1

Control	is a special case of anaphoric relation between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.	§12.3.2

Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

ⲡⲉϫⲁⲓ[a] ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲁⲱⲟⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ. ⲁⲓⲣ ⲯⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ[b] ⲉⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ[c]. ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲫⲩϫⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲯⲱϥ[d] ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲯⲁⲧⲛ ⲧⲁⲫⲩϫⲏ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲥ. ⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ[e] ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲣ ⲟ[ⲩ] ⲉⲕⲯⲟⲩⲯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲕϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲁⲓ. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲓ ⲁϥϥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ (for ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓⲁ)[f] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲇⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲟⲛ; ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ[g] ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲕⲉⲫⲩϫⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲉϥⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ ⲉϥⲓⲧⲥ. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲓϩⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲛⲧϥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲓⲧ ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲧⲉⲫⲩϫⲏ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲗⲟⲓⲥⲉ ⲉϩⲱ (read ⲉϩⲱⲓ). ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲙⲓϩⲁⲏⲗ ⲁϥⲛⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛ[ⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲙⲓϩⲁ][ⲏⲗ] ⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϫⲓ ⲯⲓⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡϩⲁϫ[ⲉ] ⲛⲥⲱⲃ[h]. [ⲙ][ⲛⲛⲥⲁ] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲉⲓⲥ [ⲙ]ⲙⲓϩⲁⲏⲗ ϫⲉ [ⲕⲧⲟ] ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲩϫⲏ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ[i] ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ. ⲁϥⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲅⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ;[j] ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲛⲉ (read ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓⲛⲉ) ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲩϫⲏ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲅⲭⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲫⲩϫⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲭⲓ ⲧⲱⲓ ϩⲱ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲯⲃ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ[k] ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲕⲡⲁϩⲧ ⲛⲅⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ; ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ

ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓ[c] ⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ[l] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲱ[ϥ] ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲟⲙⲕⲧ ⲁⲓⲣ ϩⲟⲧ[ⲉ] [ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱ]ϥ[ⲧ] ⲛⲁϥ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ [ⲓ̅ⲥ̅] ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ [ⲙ]ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲧ[ⲁϥ]ⲉⲓ [ϥ]ⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲛⲉ [ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲕ[ϫ]ⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲃⲟ[ⲏⲑ]ⲉⲓ[m] ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲕⲣ ⲡⲕⲉⲃⲱⲕ[n] ⲁⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲕ. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲕⲉϥⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϯ ϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ 'the West, Hell' d. ⲯⲱϥ 'to lay waste, destroy' e. ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ 'porter' f. ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ 'force' g. ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ 'indeed, really' h. ⲥⲱⲃ 'weak' i. ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ 'the Tartarus' j. ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'torture, punishment' k. ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ 'miserable' l. ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ 'dragon' m. ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ 'to help' n. ⲁⲕⲣ ⲡⲕⲉⲃⲱⲕ 'you took a different route'

HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHÔMIUS

ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲇⲓⲟⲛⲏⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲥⲁϫⲓⲟⲩ[a] ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲭⲱ ϫⲉ †ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲯⲃⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ. †ⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕϫⲓⲧ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ. †ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲯⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲡⲓⲃⲉ (for ⲁϥⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ)[b] ϩⲙ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓϫ[c] ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲱⲥ. ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲇⲓⲟⲛⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲯⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲡⲟⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲁϫⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ †ⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ[d]. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩϥ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ. ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ϩⲓⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲭⲱϩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥϩⲟⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲗⲟ. ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲏⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲯⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲯ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲉϫⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

Key Terms:

Impersonal sentences	contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g. ϥⲣⲱⲫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲉⲛⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲍⲉⲛⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ 'it is sufficient (ϥ-ⲣⲱⲫⲉ) [to just (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) state (ⲉ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲥ) [that (ⲭⲉ) » these (ⲛⲁⲓ) (are) errors (ⲍⲉⲛⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) contrary (ⲍⲉⲛ-ⲭⲁⲭⲉ) to the truth (ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲙⲉ)«]]' (Contra Orig. 408).	§12.1.1.1
Mandative constructions	typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like ⲍⲁⲡ-ⲥ 'it is necessary, must' and ⲛⲁⲛⲟϥ-ⲥ 'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations.	§12.1.1.2
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like ⲥⲟⲟϥⲛ 'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. ⲕⲥⲟⲟϥⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (for ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) ⲥⲉⲍⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ (for ⲥⲉⲍⲩⲡⲟⲙⲉⲛⲉ) ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'you know (ⲕ-ⲥⲟⲟϥⲛ), my lord (ⲡⲁ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ), [that (ⲭⲉ) this race (ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ) called (ⲭⲉ) Christians (ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) bears (ⲥⲉ-ⲍⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ) the tortures (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).	§12.1.2.1

Direct vs. indirect reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲓⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲟϥ 'he said (ⲡⲉϫⲁ-ϥ) to me (ⲛⲁ-ⲓ) [(that) (ⲭⲉ) » Yes (ⲁⲍⲉ), I suffered (ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲍⲓⲥⲉ) a lot (ⲧⲱⲛⲟϥ)!«]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs. ⲁϥⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲡⲁⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲍⲁⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲕϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'he (the archbishop) told (ⲁ-ϥ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) him (the brick-maker) (ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ϥ) [to make (ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ϥ-ⲡⲁⲡⲉ) bricks (ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) for the shrine (ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) of the holy (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲍⲁⲡⲓⲟⲥ) Apa Mêna [until they finished it (ⲱⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲟⲕ-ϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).	§12.1.3
Open vs. remote conditionals	Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲛⲧⲛ ⲉⲛⲣⲏⲥ ⲧⲛⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ '[when they come (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲉⲓ) and find us (ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-ⲟⲛⲧ-ⲛ) awake (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲣⲏⲥ)], we will be glorified (lit. receive (ⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ϫⲓ) glory (ⲉⲟⲟⲩ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ '(if) the Lord (ⲡ-ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) *were* (ⲛⲉⲣⲉ) in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ), *I would go* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) and appeal (ⲧⲁ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ) to him (ⲙⲙⲟ-ϥ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).	§12.2.1

Control	is a special case of anaphoric relation between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.	§12.3.2

Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

ⲡⲉϫⲁⲓ[a] ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲁⲱⲥⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ. ⲁⲓⲣ ⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ[b] ⲉⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ[c]. ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲱⲱϥ[d] ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲧⲛ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲥ. ⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ[e] ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲣ ⲟ[ⲩ] ⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲁⲓ. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲓ ⲁϥϥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ (for ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓⲁ)[f] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲟⲛ; ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ[g] ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲕⲉⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲫⲃⲙⲃⲟⲙ ⲉϥⲓⲧⲥ. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲛⲧϥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲧⲉⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲗⲟⲓⲥⲉ ⲉϫⲱ (read ⲉϫⲱⲓ). ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲁϥⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ. ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛ[ⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲙⲓϫⲁ][ⲏⲗ] ⲱϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϫⲓ ϥⲓⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡϫⲁϫ[ⲉ] ⲛⲥⲱⲃ[h]. [ⲙ][ⲛⲛⲥⲁ] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ [ⲙ]ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ϫⲉ [ⲕⲧⲟ] ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ[i] ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ. ⲁϥⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲓⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ;[j] ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲛⲉ (read ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓⲛⲉ) ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲣⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲉϥⲓ ⲧⲱⲓ ϩⲱ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ[k] ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲕⲡⲁϩⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ; ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ

ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓ[c] ⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ[l] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲱ[ϥ] ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲟⲙⲕⲧ ⲁⲓⲣ ϩⲟⲧ[ⲉ] [ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱ]ϣ[ⲧ] ⲛⲁϥ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ [ⲓ̅ⲥ̅] ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ [ⲙ]ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲧ[ⲁϥ]ⲉⲓ [ϣ]ⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲛⲉ [ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲕ[ϫ]ⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲃⲟ[ⲏⲑ]ⲉⲓ[m] ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲕⲣ ⲡⲕⲉⲃⲱⲕ[n] ⲁⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲕ. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲕⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϯ ϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ 'the West, Hell' d. ϣⲱϥ 'to lay waste, destroy' e. ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ 'porter' f. ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ 'force' g. ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ 'indeed, really' h. ⲥⲱⲃ 'weak' i. ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ 'the Tartarus' j. ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ 'torture, punishment' k. ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ 'miserable' l. ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ 'dragon' m. ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ 'to help' n. ⲁⲕⲣ ⲡⲕⲉⲃⲱⲕ 'you took a different route'

HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHÔMIUS

ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲇⲓⲟⲛⲏⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲥⲁϫⲓⲟⲩ[a] ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲭⲱ ϫⲉ †ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲃⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ. †ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕϫⲓⲧ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ. †ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓϣⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲡⲓⲃⲉ (for ⲁϥⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ)[b] ϩⲙ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓϫ[c] ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲱⲥ. ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲏⲧ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲇⲓⲟⲛⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥϣⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲡⲟⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲁϫⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ †ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ[d]. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩϥ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲩϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ. ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ϩⲓⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲭⲱϩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥϩⲟⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲗⲟ. ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲓⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ϣⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ ⲉϫⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

NOTES: a. ⲁⲍⲓⲟⲩ 'to ask' b. ⲡⲓⲃⲉ 'to agree on' c. ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲝ 'whip, *metaph.* scourge, plague' d. ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ 'urgent'

MONASTIC LITERATURE

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

ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ϫⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲍⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲣ ⲍⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϫⲡⲓⲟ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲛⲁϫⲡⲟ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲑⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲡⲓⲟ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲡⲓⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲍⲛ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲍⲁⲡⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ; ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲑⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7-14).

ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲱⲓⲛⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲍⲛϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ (for ⲍⲉⲛϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ)[a] ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉϫⲉⲛⲏ[b] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲕⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[c] ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲥⲟⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲣ ϫⲣⲓⲁ[d] ⲁⲛ. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲕϫⲓⲧⲕ ⲛϫⲛⲁⲍ[e] ⲉⲡⲉⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲕⲱ ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲓⲣⲉ[f] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲥ ⲍⲓⲣⲙ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲕ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣ ϫⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲕϫⲓ. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲍⲛⲧⲕ[g] ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ. ⲍⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲛⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ[h]. ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲅⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲍⲏⲕⲉ. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲕⲧ ⲍⲏⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲃⲱⲕ. (AP Elanskaya 16a:33-16b:27)

NOTES: a. ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ 'money' b. ⲧⲉ-ϫⲉⲛⲏ 'abroad' c. ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ 'priest' d. ⲣ ϫⲣⲓⲁ 'to be in need (of)' e. ϫⲓ ⲛϫⲛⲁⲍ 'to force somebody' f. ⲃⲁⲓⲣⲉ 'basket' h. ⲍⲛⲧ= 'to approach' g. ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ 'alm'.

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲍⲛⲥⲟⲛ (for ⲉⲍⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ) ⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣϫ[a] ⲉⲃⲱⲣⲥ[b] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲉⲃⲟⲥ[c] (for ⲡⲉⲩⲏⲃⲟⲥ). ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲣ (for ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ)[d] ⲛⲱⲏⲛⲉ[e] ⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ[f] ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲟⲡⲟⲩ[g] ⲛⲥⲉⲍⲟⲧⲃⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ.[h] ⲁⲩⲟⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲭⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ[i] ⲥⲛⲁⲩ. ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲙⲛⲃⲱ (ⲉⲩⲣⲙⲛⲩⲱ)[j] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲍⲟⲧⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲁϫⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ. ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲍⲓϫⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲓⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲍ. ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲱⲍⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ -- ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲱⲙⲱⲉ[k] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲩ -- ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲅⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲍⲉ[l] ⲛⲁⲩ. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ.[m] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲍⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ (for ⲍⲉⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ)[n] ⲛⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲕⲉⲧ-ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ. ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ. ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲓⲟⲕ[o] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲥ̄ⲣ̄ⲟ̄ⲩ̄ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ; ⲡⲉϫⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲍⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲉ ⲉⲁⲕⲥ̄ⲣ̄ⲟ̄ⲩ̄ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲍⲱⲧⲃ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ. ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲉ[p] ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲁⲍⲉ (for ⲉⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲍⲉ)[q] ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣ ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ. ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲉⲓ (for ⲁⲩⲕⲓ) ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ. ⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲍⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩ (for ⲛⲍⲉⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩ) ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ. ⲉⲡⲍⲁⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ ⲁⲩⲇⲟϫⲉⲩⲉ (for ⲁⲩⲧⲟϫⲉⲩⲉ)[r] ⲉⲣⲟⲕ. ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲏϫ (for ⲛⲉϫ) ⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲍⲓⲑⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲍⲓ ⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ. ⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ[s] ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲕⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲍⲧ[t] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲣ ⲁⲧⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲥⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲍⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ. ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲱⲕ[u] ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲟⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲱⲣⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲛⲓⲉⲟⲩⲗ[v] ⲣ ⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲱⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲇⲟⲡⲕ ⲁⲩⲛⲏϫ (for ⲁⲩⲛⲉϫ) ⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲍⲧ[w] ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲍⲗⲗⲟ. (AP Elanskaya 18a:19-19b:8)

NOTES: a. ⲥⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣϫ 'blood brother' b. ⲥⲱⲣⲥ 'to hunt' c. ⲍⲉⲃⲟⲥ 'custom, habit' d. ⲥⲱⲣ 'to spread out' e. ⲱⲛⲉ 'net' f. ⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ '(at a

distance) of about forty (ⲛ-ⲁ-ϩⲙⲉ) miles (ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ)' g. ⲥⲱⲡⲉ 'to seize, catch' h. ⲕⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ 'pike, pole' i. ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ 'disciple' j. ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲃⲱ 'hairy man' k. ⲯⲙⲱⲉ 'to serve, worship' l. ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲍⲉ 'to sacrifice' m. ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ 'to deceive, mislead' n. ⲥⲱⲛⲧ 'creation' o. (ⲧ)ⲇⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ 'to condemn' p. ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲉ 'to torture' q. ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲁⲍⲉ 'to force s.o.' r. ⲇⲟϫⲉⲩⲉ 'to shoot with the bow' s. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ 'since' t. ⲡⲱϩⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'to pour out' u. ⲥⲱⲯⲫ 'to despise' v. (ⲉ)ⲓⲟⲩⲗ 'hind, deer' w. ⲣⲱϩⲧ 'to strike, hit'

HISTORIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE CAMBYSES NOVEL

ⲛⲫⲁⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲫⲭⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟ[ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲓ ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲭ]ⲟⲇⲟⲛⲟⲥⲟⲣ[a] ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲁ[ⲧ]ⲫ ⲁⲩ[ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲫ (?)][b] [ⲉ][ϩ]ⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲛⲛⲉⲡ[ⲓⲥ]ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ.[c] ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲫⲟⲯⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲯⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ. ⲁⲫⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲫⲣⲉⲫⲭⲓ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ[d] ⲁⲫⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲫⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲁⲁ[ϥ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲯⲟ[ⲟⲡ] ϩⲛ ⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲯⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ[e] ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲁϩⲩⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ[f] ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲇⲟⲙ ⲛⲕⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲛ. ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱⲯ ⲥ[ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲧⲁⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲯⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲛⲡⲁⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ[g] ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲥⲏⲫⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲉⲣ ϩⲟⲧⲉ (...). ⲛⲉⲩⲯⲟⲟ[ⲡ] [ⲇⲉ ⲛⲙ]ⲙⲁⲫ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲥⲁⲱⲫ ⲛⲣⲉⲫⲭⲓ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ [ⲟⲩⲁ] [ⲙⲙ]ⲟⲟⲩ [ⲉ]ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲙ. ⲡⲉϫⲁ[ϥ] [ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ] [ⲙ]ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲱⲛϩ ⲫⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ. ⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲇⲉ] [ⲉⲡⲯⲟⲭ]ⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲁⲁⲕ ⲉ[ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟ]ⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣ[†] ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ (...). ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧ[ⲟϥ] [ⲡⲉ] [ⲫⲱⲃ] ⲉⲧⲕⲛⲁⲁⲁϥ. ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲉⲛ[ϥⲁⲓ ⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ] ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲧ[ⲏ]ⲣϥ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲫ[ⲁⲣⲁⲱ[h] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ]ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛϩⲁⲡⲉ[i] ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] [ϩⲛ] ϩⲉⲛⲯⲁⲭ[ⲉ] ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ[ⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉ]ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲯⲁ[j] ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩ]ⲉⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲁ[k] ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁ[ⲧⲣⲟ]ⲟⲩⲯ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲡⲟ[ⲗ]ⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ. ϫⲟⲧⲁⲛ[l] ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϥⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲩϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲕⲉⲙⲛⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛϥⲣ ϫⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛϥ† ⲙⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲟⲓϫ. ⲉⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲕⲛⲁⲯⲡ ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲣ ⲯⲟⲣⲡ ϫⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ.[m] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁϩⲉ ⲣ[ⲁⲧ]ϥ ⲉⲙⲓⲯⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ ⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ† ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲯ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲓⲯⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲁϫⲛ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ϩⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ϩⲓ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲛϩⲏⲧ

ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲫⲉⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ; ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲁⲓϫⲟⲟϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ [ⲡ]ⲣ[ⲣⲟ] ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲣ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ. ⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ [ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲕ] ⲛⲣⲣⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ (for ⲛⲛⲣⲙⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ) ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲉϥ[ⲙⲓⲯⲉ ⲛⲉ] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲉⲫⲛⲉϫ [ⲱ]ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ϩ[ⲛ] [ⲟⲩⲥⲫⲉⲛ]ⲇⲟⲛⲏ[n] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲩϫⲡⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲯⲏⲣⲉ [ⲉⲩⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ] ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲉⲓ (...). (Camb. 7:7-8:25)

NOTES: a. ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲭⲟⲇⲟⲛⲟⲥⲟⲣ 'Nebukadnezar' b. The reconstruction of this passage is uncertain c. ⲉⲡ[ⲓⲥ]ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl* 'letters' d. ⲣⲉϥ-ϫⲓ ⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ 'counselor' e. ⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲯⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ 'the places (ⲙ-ⲙⲁ) of sun (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲏ) rise (ⲛ-ⲯⲁ)' (*metaph.* for the East) f. ϩⲩⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ 'to be obedient' g. ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ 'to beat, strike' h. ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ 'Pharaoh' i. ϩⲁⲡⲉ '(the god) Apis' j. ⲯⲁ 'feast' k. ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲁ 'inattention' l. ϫⲟⲧⲁⲛ 'when' m. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲣⲯⲟⲣⲡ ϫⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ 'in (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) the manner (ⲑⲉ < ⲧ-ϩⲉ) that I have already (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲣ-ⲯⲟⲣⲡ) told (ϫⲟⲟ-ϥ) you (ⲛⲁ-ⲕ)' n. ⲥⲫⲉⲛⲇⲟⲛⲏ 'sling'

The inflectional paradigms of Sahidic tense-aspect-mood markers

PRESENT TENSES				
	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE PRESENT	PRETERIT PRESENT
1st sing.	ϯ-	ⲉ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-
2nd sing. masc.	ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-
2nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ(ⲣ)-	ⲉ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲉ-
3rd sing. masc.	ⲥ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-
3rd sing. fem.	ⲥ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-
1st plural	ⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲛ-
2nd plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-
3rd plural	ⲥⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲩ-	ⲉ-ⲩ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-

FUTURE TENSES					
	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE	PRETERIT FUTURE	NEGATIVE FUTURE
1st sing.	ϯ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲁ-
2nd sing. masc.	ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲕ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲕ-
2nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉⲣ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲣ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-
3rd sing. masc.	ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲥ-
3rd sing. fem.	ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ	ⲉ-ⲥ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲥ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲥ-
1st plural	ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲛ-
2nd plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲧⲛ-
3rd plural	ⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ-	ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲁ	ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲩ-

PERFECT TENSES					
	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT	RELATIVE PERFECT	PRETERIT PERFECT	NEGATIVE PERFECT
1st sing.	ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲓ-
2nd sing. masc.	ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲕ-
2nd sing. fem.	ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲙⲡⲉ-
3rd sing. masc.	ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲥ-
3rd sing. fem.	ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲥ-
1st plural	ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲛ-
2nd plural	ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲧⲛ-
3rd plural	ⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲛⲧ-ⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲙⲡ-ⲟⲩ-

HABITUAL TENSES					
	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE HABITUAL	HABITUAL PAST	NEGATIVE HABITUAL
1st sing.	ϣⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲓ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-
2nd sing. masc.	ϣⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-
2nd sing. fem.	ϣⲁⲣⲉ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲙⲉ-
3rd sing. masc.	ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-
3rd sing. fem.	ϣⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲥ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲥ-
1st plural	ϣⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-
2nd plural	ϣⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-
3rd plural	ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲛⲉ-ϣⲁ-ⲩ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-

RELATIVE TENSES				
	TEMPORAL	TERMINATIVE	CONJUNCTIVE	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1st sing.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲓ-	ϣⲁⲛ†-, ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁ	(ⲛ)ⲧⲁ-	ⲙⲡⲁ†-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2nd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛ-ⲅ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-
2nd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-
3rd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲩ-	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲩ-	ⲛ-ⲩ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲩ-
3rd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲥ-	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲥ-	ⲛ-ⲥ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲥ-
1st plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛ-	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲛ-
2nd plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-
3rd plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-	ϣⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-	ⲛ-ⲥⲉ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-

MOODS			
	JUSSIVE	CONDITIONAL	INFERENTIAL
1st sing.	ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-	ⲉ-ⲓ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓ-
2nd sing. masc.	*imperative*	ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-
2nd sing. fem.		ⲉ-ⲣ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-
3rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲩ-	ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲩ-
3rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-	ⲉ-ⲥ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-
1st plural	ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲛ-
2nd plural	*imperative*	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-
3rd plural	ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ-	ⲉ-ⲩ-ϣⲁⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ

Glossary of native Sahidic Coptic words

Sahidic Coptic words are listed according to their root consonants. Lexical items that share the same sequence of root consonants are ordered with respect to vowels. Tense-aspect-mood markers are cited together with their 2nd person singular feminine form. The relevant paragraphs of the grammar are given in brackets. Lexical items with a word initial ϯ (< ⲧ + ⲓ) and ⲑ (< ⲧ + ϩ) are listed under the letter ⲧ. Abbreviations: Arabic numbers indicate grammatical person (1, 2 or 3), *act* 'active', *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *aux* 'auxiliary verb', *cl* 'clitic pronoun', *comp* 'complementiser', *conj* 'conjunction', *det* 'determiner', *f* 'feminine', *imp* 'imperative', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *num* 'numeral', *pass* 'passive', *pcl* 'particle', *pfx* 'pronominal prefix', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *pron* 'personal pronoun', *ptcp* 'participle', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *sg* 'singular', *sfx* 'pronominal suffix', *supp.* 'suppletive', *TAM* 'tense-aspect-mood marker', *vb* 'verb'. Stem patterns: *nominal state* (verb-), *pronominal state* (verb=), stative (verb†)

ⲁ

ⲁ- *pcl* approximately

ⲁ *TAM* 2:sg:*f* ⲁⲣⲉ PERFECT (§7.3.4)

ⲁⲁ= *vb* *see* ⲉⲓⲣⲉ 'to do'

ⲁⲓⲁⲓ *vb* to grow, increase

ⲁⲃⲱ *nf* ⲁⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl* drag net

ⲁⲗⲉ *vb* ⲁⲗⲏⲩ† to climb, to mount, to go on board

ⲁⲗⲟ= *imp* stop! *See* ⲁⲟ

ⲁⲙⲉ *nm* ⲁⲙⲏⲩ(ⲉ) *pl* shepherd

ⲁⲙⲟⲩ suppl. *imp:sg:m* ⲁⲙⲏ *imp:sg:f* ⲁⲙⲏⲉⲓⲧⲛ *imp:pl* Come! *See* ⲉⲓ

ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ *nm* Netherworld, Hell

ⲁⲙⲣⲉ *nm* ⲁⲙⲣⲏⲩ *pl* baker

ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ *vb* to rule, prevail, grasp, detain

ⲁⲛ *adv* not (in double negative ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) *See* §9.3

ⲁⲛⲁ= ⲣ ⲁⲛⲁ= *vb* to be pleasing, please

ⲁⲛ(ⲉ)ⲓⲛⲉ *imp* Bring! *See* ⲉⲓⲛⲉ

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ *free pron 1:sg* ⲁⲛⲅ *cl 1:sg* I (§2.4.3)

ⲁⲛⲟⲛ *free pron 1:pl* ⲁⲛⲛ, ⲁⲛ *cl 1:pl* we (§2.4.3)

ⲁⲛⲥⲏⲃⲉ *nf* ⲁⲛϩⲏⲃⲉ school

ⲁⲛⲁϣ *nm* ⲁⲛⲁⲩϣ *pl* oath

ⲁⲛⲁⲩ *imp* Look! *See* ⲛⲁⲩ

ⲁⲡⲁ *nm* Apa

ⲁⲡⲉ *nf* head

ⲁⲣⲭⲏ *nm* chief, leader
ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩⲉ *pl*

ⲁⲡⲟⲧ *nm* cup
ⲁⲡⲏⲧ *pl*

ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ *nm* blame, fault
ⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ *vb* to find fault, blame, reproach

ⲁⲣⲏⲩ *adv* perhaps, maybe

ⲁⲣⲱⲓⲛ *nm* lentils

ⲁⲣⲓ *imp* Do! *See* ⲉⲓⲣⲉ

ⲁⲥⲡⲉ *nf* language, speech

ⲁⲩⲱ *conj* and

ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ *imp* Open! *See* ⲟⲩⲱⲛ

ⲁⲱ *adj* which?, what kind of?

ⲁⲱⲁⲓ *vb* to become many, multiply
ⲟⲱ†

ⲁⲱⲏ *nf* multitude, many

ⲁⲫ, ⲁⲃ *nm* flesh, meat

ⲁϩⲉ *nm* length, limit of life

ⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧ= *vb* to stand

ⲁϩⲟ *nm* treasure
ⲁϩⲱⲟⲣ *pl*

ⲁϩⲟⲙ *nm* sigh, groan
ⲁⲱ ⲁϩⲟⲙ *vb* to sigh

ⲁϩⲣⲟ= *adv* why?, how come?

ⲁⲭⲓ= *imp* Speak! *See* ⲭⲱ

ⲁⲭⲛ- *prep* without
ⲁⲭⲛⲧ=

ⲁⲅⲣⲏⲛ *nf* barren (female)
ⲃ

ⲃⲏⲃ *nm* cave, hole

ⲃⲱⲕ *vb* to go, depart
ⲃⲏⲕ†

ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ to enter

ⲃⲉ(ⲉ)ⲕⲉ *nm* wage, reward
ⲃⲩⲕⲉ
ⲃⲉⲕⲏⲩⲉ *pl*

ⲃⲁⲗ *nm* eye

ⲃⲱⲗ *vb* to loosen, untie
ⲃⲉⲗ-, ⲃⲟⲗ=,
ⲃⲏⲗ†,
ⲃⲁⲗ *ptcp:act*

ⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ to melt, dissolve

ⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ *adj* innocent, naive

ⲃⲁⲗⲉ *nm* blind (person)
ⲃⲁⲗⲏ *nf*
ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲉⲩ(ⲉ) *pl*

ⲃⲁⲭⲉ *nm* pottery

ⲃⲁⲁⲙⲡⲉ *nm* ram, goat

ⲃⲱⲱⲛ(ⲉ) *adj* evil, bad

ⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ *nf* evil, misfortune

ⲃⲛⲛⲉ *nf* date, date palm-tree

ⲃⲓⲣ, ⲃⲁⲓⲣⲉ *nm* basket

ⲃⲱⲱⲣⲉ *vb* to push, drive, fend off, repel
ⲃⲉⲉⲣⲉ-,
ⲃⲟⲟⲣ=,
ⲃⲟⲟⲣⲉ†

ⲃⲣⲣⲉ *adj* new, young

ⲃⲱⲧⲉ *vb* to pollute, hate, abominate
ⲃⲉⲧ-, ⲃⲏⲧ†

ⲃⲟⲧⲉ *nf* abomination

ⲃⲱⲱ *vb* to loosen
ⲃⲉⲱ-, ⲃⲟⲱ=,
ⲃⲏⲱ†

ⲃⲁⲫⲟⲩⲣ *nf* saw

ⲃⲟⲩϩⲉ *nm* eyelid

ⲉ

-ⲉ *sfx 2:sg:f* you (woman) (§2.4.2)

ⲉ-, *2:sg:f* ⲉⲣⲉ- RELATIVE MARKER (§§7.2, 11.1)

ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲟ- *prep* to, against, compared to
2:sg:f ⲉⲣⲟ,
2:pl ⲉⲣⲱ-ⲧⲛ

ⲉⲃⲓⲱ *nm* honey

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ *pcl* out, forth

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ *comp* since, because

ⲉⲃⲓⲏⲛ *nm/nf* poor, wretched person

ⲉⲃⲟⲧ *nm* month

(ⲉ)ⲕⲓⲃⲉ *nf* breast

ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ *nm* grape

ⲉⲙⲛⲧ *nm* the west

ⲉⲛⲉ *Q-pcl* introduces yes-no questions

ⲉⲛⲉϩ *adv* (for)ever, never

ⲉⲣⲏⲧ *vb* to vow, promise

ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ *nm* milk

ⲉⲣⲏⲩ *pron* each other

ⲉⲥⲏⲧ *nm* ground

ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ *pcl* down, under

ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ *nm* sheep

ⲉⲧ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-, ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ- RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.1)

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ *prep* for, about, as
ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ= for, because of

ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ *det* DEMONSTRATIVE (§4.1.1) that, those

ⲉⲧⲛ- *prep* to (the hand) of, to
ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ=

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛ- *prep* beside, with
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱ=

ⲉⲧⲧⲱ *nf* burden

ⲉⲟⲟⲩ *nm* honour, glory
† ⲉⲟⲟⲩ *vb* to glorify
ϫⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ *vb* to be glorified

ⲉⲱⲙⲡⲉ *conj* if, when

ⲉⲱϫⲉ *conj* if, when

ⲉϩⲉ *interj* yes

ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ *pcl* inside
ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ- into

ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ *pcl* above, up
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ *pcl* below, down

ⲉϩⲟⲩⲉ more than
ⲉ- *adv* *See* ϩⲟⲩⲟ

ⲉϫⲛ- *prep* upon, over
ⲉϫⲱ= against

ⲏ

ⲏ(ⲉ)ⲓ *nm* house
ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲏ(ⲉ)ⲓ *nm* superintendent

ⲏⲡⲉ *nf* number

ⲏⲣⲡ *nm* wine

(ϵ)ι

-ι *sfx 1:sg* — I (§2.4.2)

ϵι *vb* — to come, go
ⲛⲓⲟⲩ† (supp. *stat*)
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ (supp. *imp*)
ϵι ϵⲣⲁⲧ= — to come to
ϵι ϵⲃⲟⲗ — to come forth
ϵι ϵϩⲟⲩⲛ — to enter

ϵⲓϵ *Q-pcl* — introduces non-biased yes-no questions

ϵⲓⲱ *nm* — donkey

ϵⲓⲃϵ *vb* — to get thirsty
ⲟⲃϵ†

ϵⲓϵⲃⲧ *nm* — the east

ϵⲓⲟⲩⲗ *nm/f* — hind

(ϵ)ⲓⲟⲙ *nm* — sea, Fayyûm

ϵⲓⲙϵ *vb* — to know

ϵⲓⲛϵ *vb* — to bring, bear
(ϵ)ⲛ-, (ϵ)ⲛⲧ=
ⲁⲛ(ϵ)ⲓⲛϵ *imp*

ϵⲓⲛϵ ⲛ- *vb* — to resemble, be like

ϵⲓⲟⲡϵ *nf* — craft, art
ⲣϵϥ-ⲣ-ϵⲓⲟⲡϵ *nm* — craftsman

ϵⲓⲟⲟⲣ *nm* — canal
ϫⲓⲟⲟⲣ *vb* — to ferry over
(< ϫⲓ-ϵⲓⲟⲟⲣ)

ϵⲓⲣϵ *vb* — to make, do, act
(ϵ)ⲣ-, ⲁⲁ=
ⲟ†, ⲱ† — to be
ⲁⲣⲓ-, ⲁⲣⲓ= *imp*

ϵⲓⲱⲣϩ *vb* — to perceive, see
ϵⲓϵⲣϩ-,

(ϵ)ⲓⲣⲟϩ=

ϵⲓϲ *interj* — Behold, Look!

(ϵ)ⲓⲱⲧ *nm* — father
ϵⲓⲟⲧϵ *pl*

ϵⲓⲧⲛ *nm* — rubbish, trash

ϵⲓⲯϵ *vb* — to hang, suspend
ⲁⲯⲧ-, ϵⲯⲧ-,
ⲁⲯⲧ=, ⲁⲯϵ†

ϵⲓⲱϩϵ *nm* — field
ϵⲓⲁϩⲟⲩ *pl*

ⲕ

ⲕ-, -ⲕ (-ⲅ) — you (man) (§2.4.2)
pfx, sfx 2:sg:m

ⲕϵ *det, pron* — (an)other, different
ϭϵ, ⲕⲉⲧ *sg:m*,
ⲕⲉⲧϵ *sg:f*,
ⲕⲟⲟⲩϵ *pl* — (also used as focus pcl) also, too (§4.3.4)

ⲕⲱ *vb* — to place,
ⲕⲁ-, ⲕⲁⲁ=, — set down
ⲕⲏ† — to lie
ⲕⲱ ϵⲃⲟⲗ — to release, dismiss

ⲕⲃⲁ *nm* — vengeance

ⲕⲃⲟ *vb* — to become cool
ⲕⲏⲃ† — be cool

ⲕⲟⲩⲓ *adj* — small, little
ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ *adv* — a little

ⲕⲁⲓϲϵ *nf* — shroud

ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ *vb* — to strip, make naked

ⲕⲁⲕϵ *nm* — darkness

ⲕⲉⲗⲱⲗ *nm* — pitcher, jar

ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗϵ *nf* — cloud

ⲕⲗⲟⲙ *nm* — crown, diadem

ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲛⲕⲉϩ *nm* — elbow

ⲕⲱⲗϩ *vb* — to strike, knock
ⲕⲗϩ-, ⲕⲟⲗϩ=,
ⲕⲟⲗϩ†

ⲕⲓⲙ *vb* — to move, be moved
ⲕⲉⲙⲧ-, ⲕⲉⲙⲧ=

ⲕⲙⲟⲙ *vb* — to become black be black
ⲕⲙⲙ†

ⲕⲁⲙⲉ, -ⲙ *adj* — black

ⲕⲏⲙⲉ *nm* — Egypt

ⲕⲛⲛⲉ *vb* — to be fat

ⲕⲱ(ⲱ)ⲛⲥ *vb* — to slay, wound
ⲕⲉⲛⲥ-,
ⲕⲟ(ⲟ)ⲛⲥ=
ⲕⲟⲛⲥ†

ⲕⲛⲟ(ⲟ)ⲥ *vb* — to stink, rot
ⲕⲟⲛⲥ†

ⲕⲱⲡ *vb* — to hide
ⲕⲏⲡ†

ⲕⲏⲡⲉ *nf* — vault, cellar

ⲕⲣⲟ *nm* — shore, bank

ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ *vb* — to murmur, be vexed

ⲕⲱⲣⲯ *vb* — to request, persuade, entreat
ⲕⲉⲣⲯ-,
ⲕⲟⲣⲯ=

ⲕⲣⲟϥ *nm* — guile, ambush

ⲕⲁⲥ *nm* — bone
ⲕⲁⲁⲥ, ⲕⲉⲉⲥ *pl*

ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲥ *vb* — to whisper

ⲕⲱⲧ *vb* — to build, form
ⲕⲉⲧ-, ⲕⲟⲧ=,
ⲕⲏⲧ†

ⲕⲧⲟ *vb* — to turn, surround, go around
ⲕⲧⲉ-, ⲕⲧⲟ=,
ⲕⲧⲏⲩ†

ⲕⲱⲧⲉ *vb* — to turn, go around
ⲕⲉⲧ-, ⲕⲟⲧ=,
ⲕⲏⲧ†

ⲕⲁϩ *nm* — earth, soil

ⲕⲱϩ *vb* — to envy
ⲕⲏϩ† — be zealous

ⲕⲁϩⲕϩ *vb* — to hew out, smoothen
ⲕⲉϩⲕⲉϩ-,
ⲕⲉϩⲕⲱϩ=,
ⲕⲉϩⲕⲱϩ†

ⲕⲱϩⲧ *nm* — fire

ⲗ

ⲗⲟ *vb* — to cease, stop
ⲗⲟ= *imp*

ⲗⲁⲥ *nm* — tongue, language

ⲗⲁⲁⲩ *pron* — some/anyone, some/anything (§4.3.3)

ⲗⲓⲃⲉ *vb* — to rage
ⲗⲟⲃⲉ† — be mad

ⲗⲟⲓⲇⲉ *nf* — cause, excuse

ⲙ

ⲙⲁ *nm* — place

ⲙⲁ *imp:sg supp* — Give! *See* †

ⲙⲁⲟ *adj* — rich
ⲣ(ϵ)ⲙ(ⲙ)ⲁⲟ

ⲙⲉ *TAM* *2:sg:f* ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL (§9.4.2)
ⲙⲉ *vb* ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ=, ⲙⲁⲓ *ptcp:act* ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ *ptcp:pass* ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ *pl*	to love loving beloved
ⲙⲉ *nf*	truth, justice
ⲙⲟ *imp:sg supp* ⲙⲙⲓⲉⲓⲧⲛ suppl. *imp:pl*	Take! *See* ⲭⲓ
ⲙⲓⲟ= *interj*	be hale, thanks
ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ *nm*	sign, mark
ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ *nm*	road, path
ⲙⲟⲩ *vb* ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ†	to die
ⲙⲁⲁⲃ, -ϵ *num*	thirty
ⲙⲟⲕⲙⲉⲕ *vb*	to think, pounder
ⲙⲟⲕϩ *nm*	neck
ⲙⲟⲩⲕϩ *vb* ⲙⲉⲕϩ-, ⲙⲟⲕϩ=	to afflict, oppress
ⲙⲕⲁϩ, ⲙⲟⲕϩ† ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ	to be painful, be grieved
ⲙⲟⲕϩⲥ *nf*	pain, grief
ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ *nf* ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ *pl*	ceiling
ⲙⲟⲩⲗϩ *nm*	wax
ⲙⲙⲟ= *prep*	*See* ⲛ-
ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ *adv*	daily
ⲙⲙⲓⲛ *pcl* (ⲙⲙⲟ=)	own (§4.3.5)
ⲙⲙⲟⲛ *interj*	No!
ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ *adv*	very much
ⲙⲙⲁⲩ *adv*	there
(ⲙ)ⲙ(ϵ)ⲛ *vb*	(there) is not
ⲙⲛ-, *prep* ⲛⲙⲙⲁ=	with, and
ⲙⲟⲩⲛ *vb* ⲙⲏⲛ†	to remain, continue
ⲙⲁⲛⲉ, ⲙⲁⲛ-	herdsman
ⲙⲓⲛⲉ *nf* ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ *adv*	manner, kind in this way, thus
ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ *vb* ⲙⲉⲛⲉ-, ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩ= ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲟⲩⲧ†	to pasture, land
ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ, *vb* ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧ ⲙⲉⲛⲕ-, ⲙⲟⲛⲕ=, ⲙⲟⲛⲧ†	to form, make
ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ- *prep* ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱ=	after
ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ *nm*	door-keeper
ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ, *nm* ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲏ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉⲉⲩ *pl*	witness, testimony
ⲙⲡⲉ *TAM*	NEGATIVE PERFECT (§9.4.1)
ⲙⲡⲱⲣ *interj*	No, certainly not!
ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ *TAM*	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE (§9.4.3)

(ϵ)ⲙⲡϣⲁ *vb*	to be worthy
ⲙⲣⲱ *nf*	harbour
ⲙⲟⲩⲣ *vb* ⲙ(ϵ)ⲣ-, ⲙⲁⲣ=, ⲙⲟⲣ=, ⲙⲏⲣ†	to bind, tie, gird
ⲙⲁⲣⲉ *TAM*	JUSSIVE (§8.2.2)
ⲙⲉⲉⲣⲉ *n*	midday
ⲙⲟⲣⲧ *nf*	beard
ⲙⲁϲ *nm*	young
ⲙⲁϲⲉ *nm*	young bull, calf
ⲙⲓⲥⲉ *vb* ⲙⲉⲥ(ⲧ)-, ⲙⲁⲥⲧ=, ⲙⲉⲥⲧ=, ⲙⲟⲥⲉ†	to bear, deliver
ⲙⲉⲥⲓⲟ *nf*	midwife, nurse
ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ *vb* ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉ-, ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱ=	to hate
ⲙⲥⲁϩ *nm* ⲙⲥⲟⲟϩ *pl*	crocodile
ⲙⲧⲟ *nm* ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟ	presence
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ *prep*	before
(ϵ)ⲙⲧⲱ *nf*	depth of sea
ⲙⲏⲧ, -ϵ *num*	ten
ⲙⲁⲧⲉ *vb*	to reach, obtain
ⲙⲏⲧⲉ *nf*	middle, midst
ⲙⲟⲧⲉ *nm*	neck
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ *vb*	to speak, call
ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ *nm*	soldier
(ϵ)ⲙⲧⲟⲛ *vb* ⲙⲟⲧⲛ†	to be at ease, rest, relax
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲛ *vb* ⲙⲉⲧⲛ-, ⲙⲟⲧⲛ=	to set at, rest
ⲙⲟⲧⲛⲉⲥ *nf*	contentment, ease
ⲙⲁⲁⲩ *nf*	mother
ⲙⲟⲟⲩ *nm*	water
ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ= *adv*	alone, single (§4.3.5)
ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ *vb* ⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ *vb*	to think to remember
ⲙⲟⲩⲓ *nm*	lion
ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ *vb* ⲙⲉⲩⲧ-, ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ=	to kill
ⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ *nm*	crowd, troop
ⲙⲓϣⲉ *vb*	to fight, quarrel
ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ *vb*	to walk, go
ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ *adv*	perhaps, maybe
ⲙⲟⲩϩ *vb* ⲙⲉϩ-, ⲙⲉϩ-, ⲙⲁϩ=, ⲙⲟϩ=, ⲙⲏϩ†, ⲙⲉϩ†	to fill
ⲙⲁϩⲉ *nm*	ell, cubit
(ϵ)ⲙϩⲓⲧ *nm*	north
ⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ *nm*	ear, handle
ⲛ	
ⲛ- *prep*	LINKAGE MARKER (§§3.1.3, 3.1.4)
ⲛ- *TAM*	NEGATIVE PREFIX (in double negative ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) *See* §9.3

ⲛ- *TAM* *1:sg* (ⲛ)ⲧⲁ-, *2:sg:f* ⲛⲧ-, *2:sg:f* ⲛⲧⲉ-, *3:pl* ⲛⲥⲉ-	CONJUNCTIVE (§8.1.4)
ⲛ-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)
-ⲛ *sfx 1:pl*	we, us (§2.4.2)
ⲛ(ⲉ)- *det:pl*	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2.1)
ⲛ- *prep* ⲙⲙⲟ=	in, as (also used as direct object marker)
ⲙ-, ⲛⲁ= *prep* *2:sg:f* ⲛⲉ, *2:pl* ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲛ	for, to
ⲛ- *prep* ⲛϩⲏⲧ= *1:sg* ⲛϩⲏⲧ, *2:sg:f* ⲛϩⲏⲧⲉ, *2:pl* ⲛϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ	in, inside
ⲛⲁ- *aux*	FUTURE MARKER (§7.3.3)
ⲛⲁ- *pron:pl*	POSSESSIVE PREFIX they of (§4.1.2.2)
ⲛⲁⲁ-, ⲛⲁⲁ= *vb*	to be great
ⲛⲁ(ⲁ), ⲛⲁⲉ *vb*	to have pity
ⲛⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲁⲧ- *vb*	blessed is
ⲛⲁⲓ *pron 3:pl*	DEMONSTRATIVE these (§4.1.1.2)
ⲛⲉ- *det:pl*	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg ⲛⲁ-	my
2:sg:f ⲛⲟⲩ-	your (woman)
ⲛⲉ- *TAM*	PRETERIT (§7.3.5)
2:sg:f ⲛⲉⲣⲉ-	
ⲛⲉ *cl 3:pl*	they (§2.4.3)
ⲛⲟⲩ- *pron:3:pl*	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f ⲛⲟⲩ	yours (woman)
ⲛⲏ(ⲏ)ⲃⲉ *vb*	to swim, float
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ *nm*	gold
ⲛⲟⲃⲉ *nm*	sin
ⲛⲉⲗ- *prep* ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲁ=	beyond, except besides
ⲛ(ⲉ)ⲓ- *det:pl*	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE these (§4.1.1.1)
ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ *nm*	adulterer
ⲛⲕⲁ *nm*	thing, property
(ⲉ)ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ *vb*	to sleep
ⲛⲓⲙ *pron* ⲛⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ	who?, which of? so-and-so (§4.2.1.2)
ⲛⲓⲙ *adj*	every, all (§4.3.1)
ⲛⲁⲙⲉ *adv*	verily, truly
ⲛⲛⲉ- *TAM*	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE (§9.4.4)
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- *vb* ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ=	to be good, fair
ⲛⲟⲩⲛ *nm*	abyss (of Hell)
ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ *nf*	root, radish
ⲛⲥⲁ- *prep* ⲛⲥⲱ= *2:pl* ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ	behind, except
ⲛⲉⲥⲉ- *vb* ⲛⲉⲥⲱ=	to be beautiful

ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲱⲱ= *vb*	to be intelligent
(ⲉ)ⲛⲧ-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)
ⲛⲧⲉ- *prep* ⲛⲧⲁ=	LINKAGE MARKER (§3.1.4)
ⲛⲧⲟ *free pron 2:sg:f* ⲛⲧⲉ *cl 2:sg:f*	you (woman) (§2.4.3)
ⲛⲁϩⲧ *adj*	merciful
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ *nm* ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	god God
ⲛⲧⲟⲕ *free pron 2:sg:m* ⲛⲧⲕ *free pron 2:sg:m* *cl 2:sg:m*	you (man) (§2.4.3)
ⲛⲧⲛ- prep ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ=	in, by hand of, by, with, from
ⲛⲧⲉⲣ(ⲉ)- *TAM*	TEMPORAL (§8.1.2)
ⲛⲧⲟⲥ *free pron 3:sg:f*	she (§2.4.3)
ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ *free pron 2:pl* ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ *cl 2:pl*	you (plural) (§2.4.3)
ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ *free pron 3:pl*	they (§2.4.3)
ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ *adv*	immediately *see* ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛⲧⲟϥ *free pron 3:sg:m*	he (§2.4.3)
ⲛⲁⲩ *vb* ⲁⲛⲁⲩ *imp*	to see, look
ⲛⲁⲩ *nm*	hour, time
ⲛⲁⲱⲉ- *vb* ⲛⲁⲱⲱ=	to be many, much
ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲱⲛ- *prep*	without
(ⲉ)ⲛⲱⲟⲧ vb ⲛⲁⲱⲧ†	to be hard, strong, difficult
ⲛⲉⲉϥ *nm*	sailor, ferryman
ⲛⲓϥⲉ *vb* ⲛⲉϥⲧ=	to blow, breathe
ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *adj*	sweet
ⲛⲉϩ *nm*	oil
ⲛⲟⲩϩ *nm*	rope, cord
ⲛⲟⲩϩ(ⲉ) *vb* ⲛⲉϩ-, ⲛⲁϩ=, ⲛⲏϩ†	to shake, cast off, set apart
ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ *nf*	sycamore
ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ *vb* ⲛⲉϩⲙ-, ⲛⲁϩⲙ-, ⲛⲁϩⲙ(ⲉ)=, ⲛⲁϩⲙ†	to save, preserve
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ- *prep* ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁ=	in front of, before
ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ *vb*	to awake, arise
ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ *vb* ⲛϩⲉⲧ-, ⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ†	to trust, believe
ⲛⲉϩ-ⲯⲁϥ *nm*	terror
ⲛⲟⲩϫ *adj*	lying, false
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ *vb* ⲛⲉϫ-, ⲛⲟϫ=, ⲛⲏϫ†	to throw, cast
ⲛⲟⲟ *adj*	big, large, great

ⲛⲟⲓ *focus pcl*	marks the inverted subject noun (§10.1.5)
ⲛⲉϭⲱ(ⲱ)= *vb*	to be ugly
ⲛⲟϭⲛⲉϭ *vb* ⲛⲉϭⲛⲉϭ-, ⲛⲉϭⲛⲟⲩϭ=	to reproach, mock
ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ *vb* ⲛⲟϭⲥ†	to make angry be angry
ⲟ	
ⲟ† *vb*	to be *See* ⲉⲓⲣⲉ
ⲟⲃϩⲉ *nf*	tooth
ⲟⲉⲓⲕ *nm*	bread, loaf
ⲟⲏⲉ *nm*	clay, mud
ⲟⲛ *pcl*	also, too
ⲟⲟϩ *nm*	moon
ⲡ	
ⲡ(ⲉ)- *det:sg:m*	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2)
ⲡⲁ- *pron: sg:m*	POSSESSIVE PREFIX he of (§4.1.2.2)
ⲡⲁⲓ *pron 3: sg:m*	DEMONSTRATIVE this (§4.1.1.2)
ⲡⲉ- *det sg:m*	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg ⲡⲁ-	my
2:sg:f ⲡⲟⲩ-	your (woman)
ⲡⲉ *cl 3:sg:m*	he (§2.4.3)
ⲡⲓϩ *nf* ⲡⲓⲏⲩⲉ *pl*	heaven, sky
ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓ- *det: sg:m*	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE this (§4.1.1.1)
ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓ *nf*	kiss
ⲡⲱ- *pron:3:sg:m*	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f ⲡⲱ-	yours (woman)
ⲡⲱ(ⲱ)ⲛⲉ *vb* ⲡⲉⲉⲛⲉ-, ⲡⲟⲟⲛⲉ=, ⲡⲁⲁⲛⲉ=, ⲡⲟⲟⲛⲉ†	to change, turn
ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲓ *nm*	bird, chicken
ⲡⲱⲱⲡⲉ *vb* ⲡⲁⲡⲉ-, ⲡⲁⲡⲱ=,	to knead (clay), make bricks
ⲡⲣⲱ *nf*	winter
ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓⲣⲉ *vb* ⲡⲟⲣⲉ†, ⲡⲣⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩ†	to come forth (of light), shine
ⲡⲱⲣⲫ *vb* ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲣⲫ-, ⲡⲟⲣⲫ=, ⲡⲟⲣⲫ†	to spread
ⲡⲱⲣⲫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	to spread out
ⲡⲱⲣϫ *vb* ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲣϫ-, ⲡⲟⲣϫ=, ⲡⲟⲣϫ†	to divide, separate
ⲡⲓⲥ(ⲉ) *vb* ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲥ(ⲧ)-, ⲡⲉⲥⲧ=, ⲡⲟⲥⲉ†	to cook, melt
ⲡⲁⲧ *nf*	knee

ⲡⲱⲧ, ⲡⲏⲧ†	to run, flee, go
ⲡⲁⲱⲉ *nf*	division, half
ⲡⲱⲱϥ(ⲉ) *vb* ⲡⲉⲱϥ-, ⲡⲟⲱϥ=, ⲡⲏⲱϥ†	to divide, separate
ⲡⲱⲱϣ *vb* ⲡⲱⲥⲱ, ⲡⲉⲥⲱ-, ⲡⲟⲱϣ=, ⲡⲁⲥⲱ=, ⲡⲟⲱϣ†, ⲡⲟⲥⲱ†	to amaze, turn aside, leave
ⲡⲱϩ *vb* ⲡ(ⲉ)ϩ-, ⲡⲏϩ†	to reach
ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ *nm*	drug, medicine
ⲡⲱϩⲧ *vb* ⲡⲉϩⲧ-, ⲡⲁϩⲧ=, ⲡⲁϩⲧ†	to bend
ⲡⲱϩⲧ *vb* ⲡⲉϩⲧ-, ⲡⲁϩⲧ=, ⲡⲁϩⲧ†	to pour, flow
ⲡⲱϩⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	to pour out
ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ *nm* ⲙⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ *prep*	hind parts, back behind
ⲡⲉϫⲉ- *vb* ⲡⲉϫⲗ=	said
ⲡⲱⲟⲉ, ⲡⲟⲟ=, ⲡⲟⲩ=, ⲡⲟⲩⲉ†	to break
ⲣ	
ⲣⲏ *nm*	sun
ⲣⲓ *nf*	cell, room
ⲣⲟ *nm* ⲣⲱ=	mouth, door, gate
ⲣⲱ *pcl*	even, indeed
(ⲉ)ⲣⲃⲉ *nf*	enclosure
ⲣⲓⲣ *nm*	pig, boar
ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ *vb* ⲣⲏⲥ†	to watch, be awake
ⲣⲓⲕⲉ *vb* ⲣⲉⲕⲧ-, ⲣⲁⲕⲧ=, ⲣⲉⲕⲧ=, ⲣⲁⲕⲉ†, ⲣⲟⲕⲉ†	to bend, turn
ⲣⲱⲕϩ *vb* ⲣⲉⲕϩ-, ⲣⲟⲕϩ=, ⲣⲟⲕϩ=, ⲣⲟⲕϩ†	to burn
ⲣ(ⲉ)ⲓⲙⲉ *vb*	to weep, cry
ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲙ *nf* ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl*	tear
ⲣⲱⲙⲉ *nm*	man, human
ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ *nf* ⲣⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl*	year
ⲣⲁⲛ *nm* ⲣⲛⲧ=	name
ⲣⲙⲛ-ⲣⲁⲛ *nm*	dignitary
ⲣⲡⲉ *nm* ⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ *pl*	temple
ⲣⲣⲟ *nm* ⲣⲣⲱ *nf* (ⲉ)ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ *pl*	king queen
ⲣⲏⲥ *nm*	south
ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ *nm*	tomorrow, the next day
ⲣⲁⲧ= *nm*	foot

ⲣⲱⲧ *vb* to grow
ⲣⲉⲧ-, ⲣⲓⲧ†

ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ *vb* to care for, be concerned about
ϥⲓ ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ to take care

ⲣⲁⲱⲉ *vb* to rejoice

ⲣⲱⲱⲉ *vb* to suffice, content
ⲣⲉⲱⲧ-, ⲣⲁⲱⲧ-
ⲣⲁⲱ(ⲧ)=

ⲣⲱⲱⲛ *nm* coat

ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ *nm* evening

ⲣⲱϩⲉ *vb* to wash
ⲣⲁϩⲉ† be clean

ⲣⲱϩⲧ *vb* to strike, cast
ⲣⲉϩⲧ-,
ⲣⲁϩⲧ=, ⲣⲁϩⲧ=,
ⲣⲁϩⲧ†

ⲣⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ *nm* monastic garment

ⲥ

ⲥ-, -ⲥ she (§2.4.2)
pfx, sfx 3:sg:f

ⲥⲁ *nm* side, part
(ⲛ)ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ on every side
ⲛⲥⲁ *prep* after

ⲥⲁ *nm* beauty

ⲥⲉ-, -ⲥⲉ they (§2.4.2)
pfx, sfx 3:pl

ⲥⲉ *interj* yes

ⲥⲉ *num* sixty

ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲓ *vb* to be filled, enjoy
ⲥⲏⲩ†

ⲥⲟ *nm* refrain, pardon
† ⲥⲟ

-ⲥⲟⲩ *sfx 3:pl* they (§2.4.1)

ⲥⲱ *vb* to drink
ⲥⲉ-, ⲥⲁ-,
ⲥⲟⲟ=

ⲥⲃⲱ *nf* doctrine,
ⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl* teaching
† ⲥⲃⲱ *vb* to teach
ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ *vb* to be taught

ⲥⲁⲃⲉ *adj sg:m* wise, prudent
ⲥⲁⲃⲏ *sg:f*
ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲉⲩ(ⲉ) *pl*

ⲥⲱⲃⲉ *vb* to laugh, mock

ⲥⲟⲃ(ⲉ)ⲧ *nm* wall, fence

ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ *vb* to make ready,
ⲥⲃⲧⲉ-, prepare, set in
ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ=, order
ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ†

ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲉ *adj* beautiful,
ⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲏ handsome

ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ *nm* doctor, physician

ⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ *nm* fame, report

ⲥⲱⲕ *vb* to draw, gather,
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲕ-, ⲥⲁⲕ-, move swiftly
ⲥⲟⲕ=, ⲥⲁⲕ=,
ⲥⲟⲕ†

ⲥⲱⲗⲡ *vb* to break, burst
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲗⲡ-, ⲥⲟⲗⲡ=,
ⲥⲟⲗⲡ†
ⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ to cut off

ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲗ *vb* to comfort,
ⲥⲗⲥⲗ-, encourage
ⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗ=,
ⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗ†, ⲥⲗⲥⲟⲗⲧ†

ⲥⲙⲏ *nf* voice

ⲥⲙⲟⲩ *vb* to bless
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁ(ⲛ)ⲧ†

ⲥⲙⲙⲉ *vb* to appeal

ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ *vb* to set right,
ⲥⲙⲛ-, construct,
ⲥⲙⲛⲧ=, establish
ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ†

ⲥⲙⲟⲧ *nm* form, character, pattern, likeness

ⲥⲟⲛ *nm* brother, fellow monk

ⲥⲱⲛⲉ *nf* sister
ⲥⲛⲏⲩ *pl*

ⲥⲓⲛⲉ *vb* to pass by, leave
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲛ-,ⲥⲛⲧ=

ⲥⲱⲛⲧ *vb* to create, found
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲛⲧ-,
ⲥⲟⲛⲧ=, ⲥⲟⲛⲧ†

ⲥⲛⲧⲉ *nf* foundation
ⲥⲛⲁⲩ *num sg:m* two
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲛⲧⲉ *sg:f*

ⲥⲁ(ⲁ)ⲛⲱ *vb* to make live,
ⲥⲁⲁⲛⲱ-, nourish
ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ=

ⲥⲛⲟϥ *nm* blood

ⲥⲱⲛϩ *vb* to bind,
ⲥⲟⲛϩ= be bound
ⲥⲟⲛϩ†

ⲥⲛⲁϩ *nm* bondage, fetter
ⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ *pl*

ⲥⲟⲡ *nm* occasion, time
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲡ-
ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ *adv* once

ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ *vb* to remain, be left

ⲥⲡⲓ *nm* rib
ⲥⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl*

ⲥⲟⲡⲥⲡ *vb* to entreat, pray
ⲥⲡⲥⲡ-, ⲥⲡⲥⲱⲡ=,
ⲥⲉⲡⲥⲱⲡ†

ⲥⲱⲣ *vb* to scatter,
ⲥⲉⲣ-, ⲥⲟⲣ=, spread
ⲥⲏⲣ†

ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ *nm* thorn, spike
ⲥⲱⲣⲏ *vb* to mislead,
ⲥⲉⲣⲏ-, ⲥⲟⲣⲏ=, lead astray
ⲥⲟⲣⲏ†

ⲥⲣⲫⲉ *vb* to be at lease
ⲥⲣⲟⲫⲧ†,
ⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ†

ⲥⲣⲟⲫⲣⲉⲫ *vb* to let fall,
ⲥⲣⲉⲫⲣⲱⲫ= dissipate

ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲃⲱⲟⲩⲱ *nm* hare

ⲥⲁⲧⲉ *nf* fire

ⲥⲓⲧⲉ *vb* to throw, sow
ⲥⲉⲧ-, ⲥⲓⲧ-,
ⲥⲁⲧ=, ⲥⲉⲧ=,
ⲥⲏⲧ†

ⲥⲟⲧⲉ *nm* arrow, dart
ⲥⲟⲟⲧⲉ *pl*

ⲥⲧⲟⲓ *nm* smell, scent
ⲥϯ-ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ fragrance,

ⲥⲱⲧⲙ *vb* to hear, listen
ⲥⲉⲧⲙ-,
ⲥⲟⲧⲙⲉ=

ⲥⲱⲧⲡⲓ *vb* to choose
ⲥⲉⲧⲡⲓ-,
ⲥⲟⲧⲡⲓ=,
ⲥⲟⲧⲡⲓ† be better

ⲥⲧⲣⲧⲣ *vb* to tremble

ⲣⲱⲧ *vb* to grow
ⲣⲉⲧ-, ⲣⲏⲧ†

ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ *vb* to care for, be concerned about
ϥⲓ ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ to take care

ⲣⲁⲱⲉ *vb* to rejoice

ⲣⲱⲱⲉ *vb* to suffice, content
ⲣⲉⲱⲧ-, ⲣⲁⲱⲧ-
ⲣⲁⲱ(ⲧ)=

ⲣⲱⲱⲛ *nm* coat

ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ *nm* evening

ⲣⲱϩⲉ *vb* to wash
ⲣⲁϩⲉ† be clean

ⲣⲱϩⲧ *vb* to strike, cast
ⲣⲉϩⲧ-,
ⲣⲁϩⲧ=, ⲣⲁϩⲧ=,
ⲣⲁϩⲧ†

ⲣⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ *nm* monastic garment

ⲥ

ⲥ-, -ⲥ *pfx, sfx 3:sg:f* she (§2.4.2)

ⲥⲁ *nm* side, part
(ⲛ)ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ on every side
ⲛⲥⲁ *prep* after

ⲥⲁ *nm* beauty

ⲥⲉ-, -ⲥⲉ *pfx, sfx 3:pl* they (§2.4.2)

ⲥⲉ *interj* yes

ⲥⲉ *num* sixty

ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲓ *vb* to be filled,
ⲥⲏⲩ† enjoy

ⲥⲟ *nm* refrain, pardon
† ⲥⲟ

-ⲥⲟⲩ *sfx 3:pl* they (§2.4.1)

ⲥⲱ *vb* to drink
ⲥⲉ-, ⲥⲁ-,
ⲥⲟⲟ=

ⲥⲃⲱ *nf* doctrine,
ⲥⲃⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl* teaching
† ⲥⲃⲱ *vb* to teach
ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ *vb* to be taught

ⲥⲁⲃⲉ *adj sg:m* wise, prudent
ⲥⲁⲃⲏ *sg:f*
ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲉⲩ(ⲉ) *pl*

ⲥⲱⲃⲉ *vb* to laugh, mock

ⲥⲟⲃ(ⲉ)ⲧ *nm* wall, fence

ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ *vb* to make ready,
ⲥⲃⲧⲉ-, prepare, set in
ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ=, order
ⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ†

ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲉ *adj* beautiful,
ⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲏ handsome

ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ *nm* doctor, physician

ⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ *nm* fame, report

ⲥⲱⲕ *vb* to draw, gather,
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲕ-, ⲥⲁⲕ-, move swiftly
ⲥⲟⲕ=, ⲥⲁⲕ=,
ⲥⲟⲕ†

ⲥⲱⲗⲡ *vb* to break, burst
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲗⲡ-, ⲥⲟⲗⲡ=,
ⲥⲟⲗⲡ†
ⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ to cut off

ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲗ *vb* to comfort,
ⲥⲁⲥⲗ-, encourage
ⲥⲁⲥⲱⲗ=,
ⲥⲁⲥⲱⲗ†, ⲥⲁⲥⲟⲗⲧ†

ⲥⲏⲓ *nf* voice

ⲥⲛⲟⲩ *vb* to bless
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁ(ⲛ)ⲧ†

ⲥⲙⲙⲉ *vb* to appeal

ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ *vb* to set right,
ⲥⲙⲛ-, construct,
ⲥⲙⲛⲧ=, establish
ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ†

ⲥⲙⲟⲧ *nm* form, character, pattern, likeness

ⲥⲟⲛ *nm* brother, fellow monk

ⲥⲱⲛⲉ *nf* sister
ⲥⲛⲏⲩ *pl*

ⲥⲓⲛⲉ *vb* to pass by, leave
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲛ-,ⲥⲛⲧ=

ⲥⲱⲛⲧ *vb*
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲛⲧ-, to create, found
ⲥⲟⲛⲧ=, ⲥⲟⲛⲧ†

ⲥⲛⲧⲉ *nf* foundation
ⲥⲛⲁⲩ *num sg:m* two
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲛⲧⲉ *sg:f*

ⲥⲁ(ⲁ)ⲛⲱ *vb* to make live,
ⲥⲁⲁⲛⲱ-, nourish
ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ=

ⲥⲛⲟϥ *nm* blood

ⲥⲱⲛϩ *vb* to bind,
ⲥⲟⲛϩ= be bound
ⲥⲟⲛϩ†

ⲥⲛⲁϩ *nm* bondage, fetter
ⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ *pl*

ⲥⲟⲙ *nm* occasion, time
ⲥ(ⲉ)ⲙ-
ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ *adv* once

ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ *vb* to remain, be left

ⲥⲡⲣ *nm* rib
ⲥⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl*

ⲥⲟⲙⲥⲙ *vb* to entreat, pray
ⲥⲙⲥⲙ-, ⲥⲙⲥⲱⲙ=,
ⲥⲉⲙⲥⲱⲙ†

ⲥⲱⲣ *vb* to scatter,
ⲥⲉⲣ-, ⲥⲟⲣ=, spread
ⲥⲏⲣ†

ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ *nm* thorn, spike
ⲥⲱⲣⲙ *vb* to mislead,
ⲥⲉⲣⲙ-, ⲥⲟⲣⲙ=, lead astray
ⲥⲟⲣⲙ†

ⲥⲣϥⲉ *vb* to be at lease
ⲥⲣⲟϥⲧ†,
ⲥⲣⲟⲃⲧ†

ⲥⲣⲟϥⲣⲉϥ *vb* to let fall,
ⲥⲣⲉϥⲣⲱϥ= dissipate

ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲃⲱⲟⲩⲱ *nm* hare

ⲥⲁⲧⲉ *nf* fire

ⲥⲓⲧⲉ *vb* to throw, sow
ⲥⲉⲧ-, ⲥⲓⲧ-,
ⲥⲁⲧ=, ⲥⲉⲧ=,
ⲥⲏⲧ†

ⲥⲟⲧⲉ *nm* arrow, dart
ⲥⲟⲟⲧⲉ *pl*

ⲥⲧⲟⲓ *nm* smell, scent
ⲥⲧ-ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ fragrance,

ⲥⲱⲧⲏ *vb* to hear, listen
ⲥⲉⲧⲏ-,
ⲥⲟⲧⲏⲉ=

ⲥⲱⲧⲡ *vb* to choose
ⲥⲉⲧⲡ-,
ⲥⲟⲧⲡ=,
ⲥⲟⲧⲡ† be better

ⲥⲧⲣⲧⲣ *vb* to tremble

ⲥⲧⲱⲧ *vb* to tremble

ⲥⲏⲩ *nm* time, season
ⲥⲟⲩ- day of month

ⲥⲓⲟⲩ *nm* star

ⲥⲟⲟⲩ *num sg:m* six
ⲥⲟ *sg:f*

ⲥⲟⲩⲟ *nm* corn, wheat

ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ *vb* to know
ⲥⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲛ-,
ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ=

ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ *nm* eunuch

ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ *vb* to straighten,
ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ-, stretch
ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ=,
ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ†

ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ *vb* to gather,
ⲥⲉⲩϩ- collect
ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ=,
ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ†

ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ *nf* congregation

ⲥⲟⲟϩⲉ *nf* egg

ⲥⲓⲱⲉ *vb* to be like gall,
ⲥⲁⲱⲉ† bitter

ⲥⲁⲱϥ *num sg:m* seven
ⲥⲁⲱϥⲉ *sg:mf*

ⲥⲱⲱϥ *vb* to despise,
ⲥⲉⲱϥ- condemn
ⲥⲟⲱϥ=,
ⲥⲟⲱϥ†

ⲥⲁϥ *nm* yesterday

ⲥⲏⲫⲉ *nf* sword, knife

ⲥⲱⲱϥ *vb* to pollute,
ⲥⲉⲉϥ-, ⲥⲟⲟϥ=, defile
ⲥⲟⲟϥ†

ⲥⲁϩ *nm* writer, teacher

ⲥⲟⲟϩⲉ *vb* to set up
ⲥⲁϩⲉ-, ⲥⲁϩⲱ=

ⲥϩⲁⲓ *vb* to write
ⲥⲉϩ-, ⲥⲁϩⲧ=,
ⲥϩⲁⲓⲧ=, ⲥⲏϩ†

ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ *nf* woman
ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ *pl*

ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ *nm* order
ⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ to command

ⲥⲁϩⲟⲩ(ⲉ) to curse
ⲥϩⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲣ-,
ⲥϩⲟⲩⲱⲣ=,
ⲥϩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲧ†

ⲥⲱϭ *vb* to paralyse
ⲥⲉϭ-, ⲥⲟϭ=,
ⲥⲏϭ† be lame

ⲥⲟϭⲛ *nm* ointment

ⲥϭⲣⲁϩⲧ *vb* to rest, pause

ⲧ

-ⲧ *sfx 1:sg* me (§2.4.1)

ⲧ(ⲉ)- *det:sg:f* DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.1.1)

ⲧⲁ- *pron: sg:f* POSSESSIVE PREFIX she of (§4.1.2.2)

ⲧⲁⲓ DEMONSTRATIVE
pron 3: sg:f this (§4.1.1.2)

ⲧⲉ- *det sg:f* POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)

1:sg ⲧⲁ- my
2:sg:f ⲧⲟⲩ- your (woman)

ⲧⲉ *cl 3:sg:f* she (§2.4.3)

-ⲧⲉ *sfx 2:sg:f* you (woman) (§2.4.2)

ⲧⲉⲓ-, ⲧ- DEMONSTRATIVE
det sg:f ARTICLE this (4.1.1.1)

ⲧⲉ(ⲣ)- you (woman)
pfx 2:sg:f (§2.4.2)

ⲧ- *pfx 1:sg* I (§2.4.2)

ⲧ, ⲧⲓ *vb* to give
ⲧ-, ⲧⲁⲁ=,
ⲧⲟ†, ⲧⲱ†
ⲙⲁ supp. *imp:sg*
ⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ to sell

ⲧⲱ- POSSESSIVE
pron 3:sg:f PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f ⲧⲱ- yours (woman)

ⲧⲃⲁ *num* ten thousand

ⲑⲏⲏⲃⲉ *nm* finger

ⲧⲱⲃⲉ *nf* brick

ⲧⲱ(ⲱ)ⲃⲉ *vb* to repay, requite
ⲧⲉⲃⲉ-,ⲧⲟⲟⲃ=

ⲧⲃⲃⲟ *vb* to make pure,
ⲧⲃⲃⲉ-, purify
ⲧⲃⲃⲟ=,
ⲧⲃⲃⲏⲩ†

ⲧⲃⲛⲏ *nm* cattle
ⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl*

ⲧⲱⲃⲥ *vb* to incite, stimulate
ⲧ(ⲉ)ⲃⲥ- motivate, urge,
ⲧⲟⲃⲥ= admonish

ⲧⲃⲧ *nm* fish

ⲧⲱⲃϩ *vb* to entreat, pray,
ⲧⲃϩ-, ⲧⲟⲃϩ= console

ⲧⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ *vb* to honour, pay
ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲉ-, respect
ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲟ=,
ⲧⲁ(ⲉⲓ)ⲏⲩ†

ⲧⲟ(ⲓ)(ⲉ) *nf* part, share

ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ *nf* chest, coffin

ⲧⲁⲕⲟ *vb* to destroy, perish
ⲧⲁⲕⲉ-,
ⲧⲁⲕⲟ=,
ⲧⲁⲕⲏⲩ(ⲧ)†

ⲧⲁⲗⲟ *vb* to lift, set on
ⲧⲁⲗⲉ-,
ⲧⲁⲗⲟ=,
ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲩ†

ⲧⲱⲗⲙ *vb* to defile, besmirch
ⲧⲟⲗⲙ=, ⲧⲟⲗⲙ†

ⲧⲁⲗⲟⲟ *vb* to heal
ⲧⲁⲗⲟⲉ-,
ⲧⲁⲗⲟⲟ=,
ⲧⲁⲗⲟⲕⲏⲩ†

ⲧ(ⲉ)ⲙ- *aux* do not (used to negate infinitivals and relative tenses) (§9.4.6)

ⲧⲟⲙ *nm* mat

ⲧⲁⲙⲟ *vb* to tell, inform
ⲧⲁⲙⲉ-, ⲧⲁⲙⲟ=

ϯⲙⲉ *nm* village, small town
ⲧⲓⲙⲉ

ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ *vb* to make, create
ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ-,ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ=,
ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲏⲩ†

ⲧⲙⲙⲟ *vb* to feed, nourish
ⲧⲙ(ⲙ)ⲉ-,
ⲧⲙ(ⲙ)ⲟ=,
ⲧⲙⲙⲏⲩ†

ⲧⲱⲙⲥ, ⲧ(ⲉ)ⲙⲥ-, ⲧⲟⲙ(ⲉ)ⲥ=, ⲧⲟⲙⲥ†	to bury
ⲧⲱⲙⲛⲧ *vb* ⲧⲟⲙⲛⲧ†	to meet, befall
ⲧ(ⲉ)ⲛ- *pfx 1:pl*	we (§2.4.2)
-ⲧⲛ *sfx 2:pl*	you (plural) (§2.4.2)
ⲧⲱⲛ *adv*	where?
†ⲧⲱⲛ *vb*	to dispute, quarrel
ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ *vb* ⲧⲛ(ⲛ)ⲉⲩ-, ⲧⲛ(ⲛ)ⲟⲟⲩ(ⲧ)=	to send, summon
ⲧⲛϩ *nm*	wing
ⲧⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ *vb* ⲧⲁⲛϩⲉⲧ-, ⲧⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ=, ⲧⲁⲛϩⲏⲩⲧ†	to trust, believe
ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ *nf*	mouth
ⲧⲣⲉ- *aux*	CAUSATIVE INFINITVE (§6.4.3)
ⲧⲏⲣ= *adj* ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ *adv*	all, whole, every entirely, at all
ⲧⲁⲣⲉ *TAM 1:sg* ⲧⲁⲣⲓ	INFERENTIAL (§8.2.4)
ⲧⲱⲣⲉ *nf* ⲧⲟⲟⲧ=	hand, handle
ⲱ(ⲉ)ⲡ ⲧⲱⲣⲉ *vb*	to undertake, stand bail
† (ⲛ)ⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *vb*	to give hand, help
ⲧⲱⲣⲡ *vb* ⲧ(ⲉ)ⲣⲡ-, ⲧⲟⲣⲡ=	to seize, rob
ⲧⲣⲓⲣ *nf*	oven
ⲧⲣⲣⲉ *vb* ⲧⲣⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩ†	to be afraid
ⲧⲥⲟ *vb* ⲧⲥⲉ-, ⲧⲥⲟ=, ⲧⲥⲏⲩ†	to give to drink
ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ *vb* ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ-, ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ=, ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲏⲩ(ⲧ)†	to teach, instruct
ⲧⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ *vb* ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲉ-, ⲧⲥⲁⲉⲓⲟ=, ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲏⲩ†	to decorate, make beautiful
(ⲧ)ⲥⲧⲟ *vb* (ⲧ)ⲥⲧⲉ-, ⲧⲥⲧⲟ=, (ⲧ)ⲥⲧⲏⲩ†	to return, bring back
ⲧⲱⲧ *vb* ⲧⲉⲧ-, ⲧⲟⲧ=, ⲧⲏⲧ†	to agree to, persuade
ⲧⲉⲧⲛ- *pfx 2:pl*	you (plural) (§2.4.1)
ⲧⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲟ *vb* ⲧⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲉ-, ⲧⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲟ=	to send, put forth, produce,
†ⲟⲩ, †ⲉ *num*	five
ⲧⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟⲩ *num*	fifty
ⲧⲟⲟⲩ *nm*	mountain, monastery
ⲣⲙⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ *nm*	monk, hermit
ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ *nm*	shoe

ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ *vb* ⲧⲟⲩⲛ-, ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ=	to rise, carry
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ *vb* ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ(ⲩ)ⲥ-, ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ=	to wake, raise, set up
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ *nm*	idol, statue, pillar
-ⲧⲏⲩⲧ(ⲉ)ⲛ *sfx 2:pl*	you (plural) (allomorph of -ⲧⲛ) (§2.4.1)
ⲧⲱϣ *vb* ⲧⲉϣ-, ⲧⲟϣ=, ⲧⲏϣ†	to limit, fix, determine
ⲧⲟϣ, ⲧⲱϣ *nm*	district
ⲧⲁϣⲟ *vb* ⲧⲁϣⲉ-, ⲧⲁϣⲟ=	to increase
ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲟ *vb* ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲉ-, ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲟ=, ⲑⲃⲃⲓⲏⲩ†	to humilate be humble
ⲑⲙⲕⲟ *vb* ⲑⲙⲕⲉ-, ⲑⲙⲕⲟ=, ⲑⲙⲕⲏⲩ†	to afflict
ⲧⲁϩⲟ *vb* ⲧⲁϩⲉ-, ⲧⲁϩⲟ=, ⲧⲁϩⲏⲩ†	make to stand, reach, befall
ⲧⲱϩⲙ *vb* ⲧⲉϩⲙ-, ⲧⲁϩⲙ=, ⲧⲁϩⲙ†	to summon
ⲧⲉϩⲛⲉ *nf*	forehead
ⲧⲱϩⲥ *vb* ⲧ(ⲉ)ϩⲥ-, ⲧⲁϩⲥ=, ⲧⲟϩⲥ=, ⲧⲁϩⲥ†	to anoint, pour, smear upon
ⲧⲟⲩϫⲟ *vb* ⲧⲟⲩϫⲉ-, ⲧⲟⲩϫⲟ=, ⲧⲟⲩϫⲏⲩ†	to save
ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ *vb* ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ-, ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ=, ⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲩ†, ⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲉⲓⲧ†	to make strong, firm, be strong
ⲧⲱⲱⲥⲉ *vb* ⲧⲉⲥ-, ⲧⲉⲕ-, ⲧⲟⲟⲕ-, ⲧⲟⲥ=, ⲧⲟ(ⲟ)ⲕ=, ⲧⲏⲥ†, ⲧⲏⲕ†	to fix, join, plant
ⲧⲱⲥⲉ *nm*	plant
(ⲧ)ⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ *vb* (ⲧ)ⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ- (ⲧ)ⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ=, (ⲧ)ⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲏⲩ†	to disgrace, condemn
ⲧⲱⲥⲥ *vb* ⲧⲱⲥⲥ=, ⲧⲁⲥⲥ=, ⲧⲟⲥⲥ†	to bleach, dye
ⲧⲁⲥⲉ *nf*	foot-sole
ⲟⲩ	
ⲟⲩ- *det:sg*	INDEFINITE ARTICLE a (certain) (§2.2.2.2)
-(ⲟ)ⲩ *sfx 3:pl*	they (§2.4.2)
ⲟⲩ *pron*	what?
ⲟⲩⲁ *pron sg:f* ⲟⲩⲉⲓ	one
ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ	one by one each one
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ	
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ...	the one ...
ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ	the other
ⲟⲩⲁ *nm*	blasphemy

ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ *vb* to speak blasphemy

ⲟⲩⲉ *vb* to depart, ⲟⲩⲏⲩ† be distant

ⲟⲩⲱ *vb* to cease, stay ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ he is already dead

ⲟⲩⲱ *nm* news, report (ⲉ)ⲣ ⲟⲩⲱ *vb* to reply

ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- *prep* opposite, ⲟⲩⲃⲏ= against

† ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- *vb* to fight

ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ *nm* priest *See* ⲟⲩⲟⲓ

ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ *vb* to become white, ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ† be white

ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ *interj* woe!

ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ *nm* rush, course

† ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ *vb* to advance, go forward

ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ *nm* peasant, ⲟⲩⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓⲙ *pl* cultivator

ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ *nm* light

ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ *adj* Greek

ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ *nm* time, occasion

ⲟⲩⲱⲙ *vb* to eat, bite ⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲙ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲙ=

ⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲛ *vb* (there) is

ⲟⲩⲟⲛ *pron* some/anyone

ⲟⲩⲱⲛ *vb* to open ⲟⲩⲏⲛ† ⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲱⲛ *imp*

ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ *vb* to pass by

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *nf* hour ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl*

ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ *nf* right hand

ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ- *vb* to have ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ=

ⲟⲩⲱⲛϣ *nm* wolf

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *vb* to rejoice

ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ *vb* to reveal, ⲟⲩⲉⲛϩ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ=, appear, show ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ†

ⲟⲩⲟⲡ *vb* to be pure, ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ† holy ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ the holy

ⲟⲩⲏ(ⲏ)ⲣ *adj* how great?, how many?, how much?

ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ *vb* to be glad ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ†

ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ *nf* foot

ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲛ *vb* to broaden, ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛ† be broad

ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *adj* single, alone

ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *vb* to be green, ⲟⲩⲉⲧ-, ⲟⲩⲉⲧ= fresh

ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩⲉⲧ *vb* to be green ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ† pallid

ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲟ)ⲧⲉ *nm* greens, herbs

ⲟⲩⲧⲉ- *prep* between, ⲟⲩⲧⲱ= among

ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃ *vb* to change, pass ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲃ-, through, remove ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲃ=, ⲟⲩⲟⲧ(ⲉ)ⲃ†

ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ *nm* fruit

ⲟⲩⲱϣ *vb* to want, wish ⲟⲩⲉϣ-, ⲟⲩⲁϣ=

ⲟⲩϣⲏ *nf* night ⲛⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ *adv* by night

ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ *vb* to answer, ⲟⲩⲱϣϥ respond ⲟⲩⲉϣⲃ-, ⲟⲩⲁϣⲃ=

ⲟⲩⲱϣⲙ *vb* to knead, bruise ⲟⲩⲉϣⲙ-,ⲟⲩⲟϣⲙ=, ⲟⲩⲟϣⲙ†

ⲟⲩⲱϣⲥ *vb* to broaden ⲟⲩⲉϣⲥ-, ⲟⲩⲟϣⲥ=, ⲟⲩⲟϣⲥ† be at ease

ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ *vb* to worship, greet

ⲟⲩⲱϣϥ *vb* to cush, perish ⲟⲩⲉϣϥ-, ⲟⲩⲟϣϥ=, ⲟⲩⲱϣϥ†

ⲟⲩⲱϩ *vb* to put, set, lie ⲟⲩⲉϩ-, ⲟⲩⲁϩ=, ⲟⲩⲏϩ†

ⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ= to repeat, do again

ⲟⲩⲱϩⲙ *vb* to repeat, answer ⲟⲩⲉϩⲙ-, ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙ=, ⲟⲩⲟϩⲙ†

ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ *nm* dog ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ *pl*

ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ *vb* to be whole, safe ⲟⲩⲟⲭ†

ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ *vb* to break ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲡ ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲡ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲡ=, ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲡ†, ⲟⲩⲟⲭⲡ†

ϥ

ϥⲓⲥ, -ⲧⲉ *num* nine

ⲱ

ⲱⲃϥ *vb* to forget, sleep ⲉⲃϥ-, ⲟⲃϥ=, ⲟⲃϥ†

ⲱⲕⲙ *vb* to be dark, ⲉⲕⲙ-, ⲟⲕ(ⲉ)ⲙ†

ⲱⲗ *vb* to hold, contain, ⲟⲗ-, ⲱⲗ-, gather ⲟⲗ=, ⲏⲗ†

ⲱⲙⲕ *vb* to swallow ⲉⲙⲕ-, ⲟⲙⲉⲕ=

ⲱⲙⲥ *vb* to sink, dip ⲉⲙⲥ-, ⲟⲙⲥ= ⲟⲙⲥ†

ⲱⲛⲉ *nm* stone

ⲱⲛⲕ *vb* to leap (reflexive) ⲟⲛⲕ=, ⲟⲙⲕ=

ⲱⲛϩ, ⲱⲛⲁϩ *vb* to live ⲟⲛϩ† be alive

ⲱⲡ *vb* to count, esteem ⲉⲡ-, ⲟⲡ=, ⲏⲡ†

ⲱⲣⲕ *vb* to swear oath ⲱⲣⲕ-, ⲟⲣⲕ=

ⲱⲣⲭ *vb* to be firm, (ⲉ)ⲣⲭ-, ⲟⲣⲭ=, secure ⲟⲣ(ⲉ)ⲭ†

ⲱⲥⲕ vb to delay, ⲟⲥⲕ† be prolonged

ⲱⲥϩ vb to reap *See* ⲱϩⲥ

ⲱⲧⲡ *vb* — to shut, enclose, imprison
ⲉⲧⲡ-, ⲟⲧⲡ=, ⲟⲧⲡ†, ⲟⲡⲧ†

ⲱⲧⲙ *vb* — to load
ⲟⲡⲧ-, ⲟⲧⲙ=, ⲟⲧⲙ†

ⲱϣ *vb* — to cry, announce, read
ⲉϣ-, ⲟϣ=

ⲱϩⲉ, ⲟϩⲉ *vb* — to stand, stay
ⲁϩⲉ-, ⲁϩⲉ†

ⲁϩⲉ (ⲉ)ⲣⲁⲧ= — to stand (on foot)

ⲱϩⲥ, ⲱⲥϩ *vb* — to reap, mow
ⲉϩⲥ-, ⲱⲥϩ-, ⲟϩⲥ=, ⲟⲥϩ=

ⲱⲭⲛ *vb* — to cease, perish, destroy
ⲱⲭⲛ-, ⲟⲭⲛ=

ⲱⲥⲧ *vb* — to choke, strangle
ⲉⲥⲧ-, ⲟⲥⲧ=

ϣ

(ⲉ)ϣ- *aux* — to be able to, can

ϣⲁ- *prep* — to, towards
ϣⲁⲣⲟ=

ϣⲁ *TAM* — HABITUAL ASPECT
2:sg:f ϣⲁⲣⲉ- — (§7.3.6)

ϣⲁ *nm* — festival

ϣⲉ *nm* — wood

ϣⲉ *num* — hundred

ϣⲉ *interj* — (in swearing) by

ϣⲓ *vb* — to measure, weigh
ϣⲓ-, ϣⲓⲧ= ϣⲏⲩ†

ϣⲟ *num* — thousand

ϣⲱⲃ *vb* — to shave, clip
ϣⲃ-, ϣⲉⲫⲧ- ϣⲟⲃ=, ϣⲟⲫ=, ϣⲏⲃ†

ϣⲓⲃⲉ *vb* — to change
ϣⲃ-, ϣ(ⲉ)ⲃⲧ-, ϣ(ⲉ)ⲃⲧ=, ϣⲉⲫⲧ=, ϣⲟ(ⲟ)ⲃⲉ†, ϣⲟ(ⲟ)ⲫⲉ†,

ϣⲃⲏⲣ, ϣⲃⲣ *nm* — friend
ϣⲃⲉⲉⲣ *pl*

ϣⲉⲉⲓ *vb* — to come and go, wander

ϣⲓⲕⲉ *vb* — to dig
ϣⲉⲕⲧ-, ϣⲁⲕⲧ=, ϣⲟⲕⲉ†

ϣⲕⲁⲕ *nm* — cry, shout
ϫⲓ ϣⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ — to cry out

ϣⲓⲕϩ *nm* — depth, pit

ϣⲱⲗ *vb* — to spoil, destroy
ϣ(ⲉ)ⲗ-, ϣⲟⲗ= ϣⲁⲗ- *ptcp:act*

ϣⲗⲏⲗ *vb* — to pray

ϣⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *nf* — bride

ϣⲓⲙ *adj* — small, little

ϣⲱⲙ *nm* — summer

ϣⲙⲙⲟ *nm* — stranger

ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ *num sg:m* — eight
ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ *sg:f*

ϣⲟⲙ(ⲛ)ⲧ *num sg:m* — three
ϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ *sg:f*

ϣⲙⲱⲉ *vb* — to serve, worship
ϣⲙⲱⲉ-, ϣⲙⲱⲏⲧ=

ϣⲛⲉ, ϣⲛⲏ *nm* — net
ϣⲛⲏⲩ(ⲉ) *pl*

ϣⲁⲛ *TAM* — CONDITIONAL (§8.2.3)

ϣⲏⲛ *nm* — tree

ϣ(ⲉ)ⲓⲛⲉ *vb* — to seek, ask
ϣⲉⲛ(ⲧ)-, ϣⲛⲧ= ⲟⲛ ⲡϣⲓⲛⲉ — to visit

ϣⲱⲛⲉ *vb* — to become sick be sick, ill
ϣⲟ(ⲟ)ⲛⲉ†

ϣⲟⲟⲛⲉ *vb* — to be merciful
ϣ(ⲉ)ⲛ-, ϣⲁⲛ- *ptcp:act*

ϣⲛⲥ *nm* — linen

ϣⲁⲛⲧ(ⲉ) *TAM* — TERMINATIVE (§8.1.3)
1:sg ϣⲁⲛ†-, ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁ- *2:sg:f* ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-

ϣⲡⲉ *vb* — to embarras

ϣⲱⲡ *vb* — to receive, take contain, suffer
ϣ(ⲉ)ⲡ-, ϣⲟⲡ=, ϣⲏⲡ†

ϣⲱⲡ *nm* — moment, instant all of a sudden
ϩⲛⲟⲩϣⲡ(ⲉ) ⲛϣⲱⲡ *adv*

ϣⲱⲡⲉ *vb* — to become, happen, befall
ϣⲟⲟⲡ† — to be, live (at)

ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ *nf* — wonder, amazement

ϣⲁⲁⲣ *nm* — skin
ϣⲁⲁⲣⲉ *pl*

ϣⲏⲣⲉ, ϣⲣ- *nm* — son, child
ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ *nf* — daughter
ϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ — small child, lad

ϣ(ⲉ)ⲓⲣⲉ *adj* — small
ϩ(ⲉ)ⲣ-ϣⲓⲣⲉ *nm* — young servant

ϣⲁⲣⲃⲁ *nm* — scorching heat

ϣⲟⲣⲡ *num sg:m* — first
ϣⲟⲣⲡⲉ *sg:f* ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ *adv* — at first

ϣⲱⲣⲡ *vb* — to be early do first
ϣ(ⲉ)ⲣ(ⲉ)ⲡ -, ϣⲟⲣⲡ=

ϣⲟⲣϣⲣ *vb* — to upset, destroy,
ϣⲣϣⲣ-, ϣⲣϣⲱⲣ=, ϣⲣϣⲱⲣ†, ϣⲣϣⲟⲣⲧ†

ϣⲱⲥ *nm* — shepherd
ϣⲟⲟⲥ, ϣⲱⲱⲥ *pl*

ϣⲱⲥ(ⲉ)ⲙ *vb* — to annoy, fatigue
ϣⲟⲥⲙ† — be disheartened

ϣⲓⲧⲉ *vb* — to demand, extort
ϣⲉⲧ-, ϣⲓⲧ-, ϣⲓⲧ=, ϣⲁ(ⲁ)ⲧ=,

ϣⲏⲧ *num* — two hundred

ϣⲱ(ⲱ)ⲧ *vb* — to cut, slay, be cut short, needy
ϣ(ⲉ)ⲧ-, ϣⲁ(ⲁ)ⲧ=, ϣⲁⲁⲧ†

ϣⲱⲧⲉ *nf* — well, cistern, pit

(ⲉ)ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ *nm* — prison
ϣⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ *pl*

ϣⲱⲧⲙ *vb* — to shut
ϣ(ⲉ)ⲧⲙ-, ϣⲟⲧⲙ† — be shut

ϣⲧⲏⲛ *nf* — garment, tunic

ϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ *vb* — to disturb,

ϣⲧⲣⲧⲣ-, ϣⲧⲣⲧⲱⲣ=, ϣⲧⲣⲧⲱⲣ† — trouble,

ϣⲁⲩ *nm* — use, value

ϣοογ(ϵ) *nm* incense, perfume

ϣοογϵ *vb* to dry out,
ϣογωογ† be dry

ϣογο *vb* to flow, pour
ϣογω=, ϣογο=,
ϣογϵιτ† to be empty, idle

ϣϣϵ *vb* to befitting

ϣοϣ *nf* antelope

ϣωϣ *vb* to spread, scatter
ϣϵϣ-, ϣοϣ=,
ϣнϣ†

ϣογϣογ *vb* to boast

ϣωq *vb* to waste, destroy
ϣϵq-, ϣοq=,
ϣнq† be deserted

ϣqϵ *num* seventy

ϣλqτϵ *nm* impious person

ϣλχϵ *vb* to speak, talk

ϣοχnϵ *vb* to take counsel

ϣωχn *vb* to remain,
ϣϵχn-, ϣοχn=,
ϣοχn† be left over

ϣωωσϵ *vb* to hurt, wound
ϣϵ(ϵ)σϵ-, ϣο(ο)σ=,
ϣο(ο)σϵ†

q

q-, -q he (§2.4.1)
pfx, sfx 3:sg:m

q(ϵ)ι *vb* to bear, carry
q(ϵ)ι-, qιτ=,
qιнγ†,
ptcp:act qλι

qλι-ϣινϵ *nm* messenger

qω, ʙω *nm* hair

q(ϵ)nτ, ʙnτ *nm* worm

qωτϵ *vb* to wipe,
qϵτ-, qοτ= obliterate
qωτϵ ϵʙολ exterminate

qτοογ *num sg:m* four
qτοϵ *sg:f*

qωσϵ *vb* to leap, move
qϵσ-, qοσ=, hastily
ʙнσ†

ϩ

ϩλ- *prep* under, in, at
ϩλρο=

ϩλϵ *num sg:m* final, last
ϩλн *sg:f*
ϩλϵϵγ *pl*
ϵnϩλϵ *adv* at last
ϩϵ *nf* manner
nθϵ *adv* in the manner,
(< n-τ-ϩϵ) like

ϩϵ *vb* to fall, find
ϩнγ†

ϩн *nf* forepart

ϩλθн *prep* in front of
ϩλτϵqϩн

ϩι- *prep* on, at, in
ϩιωω=

ϩινλι *adv* thus

ϩιθн *prep* to, at front

ϩο *nm* face
ϩρλ=

ϩω *vb* to suffice

ϩω(ω)= *pron* -self, also, too,

ϩωʙ *nm* thing, matter
ϩʙнγϵ *pl*

ρ ϩωʙ *vb* to work

ϩʙογρ *nf* left hand

ϩλ(ϵ)ιʙϵϵ *nf* shadow

ϩωʙ(ϵ)ϲ *vb* to cover, protect
ϩ(ϵ)ʙϲ-,
ϩοʙϲ=,
ϩοʙϲ†

ϩʙο(ο)ϲ *nmf* garment
ϩʙωωϲ *pl*

ϩʙϲω *nf* garment
ϩʙϲοογϵ *pl*

ϩιн *nf* road, path
ϩιοογϵ *pl*

ϩλι *nm* husband

ϩοϵιм *nm* wave
ϩнмϵ *pl*

ϩοινϵ *pron* some

ϩο(ϵ)ιτϵ *nmf* linen garment

ϩκο *vb* to hunger,
ϩκλϵιτ†, be hungry
ϩκοϵιτ†

ϩн(н)κϵ *adj* poor

ϩλκ *adj* sober, prudent

ϩω(ω)κ *vb* to gird, brace
ϩϵκ-,
ϩο(ο)κ=,
ϩнκ†

ϩω(ω)κ(ϵ) *vb* to scrape, shave
ϩϵκ-, ϩοοκ=,
ϩοοκϵ†

ϩλλ *n* betrayal
ρ ϩλλ to deceive

ϩλλο, *nm* old man, senior monk

ϩλλω *nf* old woman

ϩωωλϵ *vb* to slip, fall down
ϩολϵ†

ϩλοπλ(ϵ)π *vb* to make weary,
ϩλπλωπ=, plague, distress
ϩλϵπλωπ†

ϩλοστ(ϵ)ν *nm* mist

ϩλλнτ *nm* bird
ϩλλλ(λ)τϵ *pl*

ϩλοσ *vb* to be sweet
ϩολσ†

ϩмϵ *num* forty

ϩλмοι *interj* would that

ϩмογ *nm* salt

ϩмοм, to become hot
ϩнн† be hot

ϩнмϵ *nf* heat, fever

ϩмнϵ *vb* to steer, guide

ϩмϵνϵ *num* eighty

ϩοнντ *nm* copper, bronze

ϩмοοϲ *vb* to sit, dwell

ϩмοτ *nm* grace, gift

ϩмϩλλ *nmf* servant, slave

ϩмϩн *vb* to roar, neigh

ϩмх *nm* vinegar

ϩν- *prep* in, at, on, with
nϩнτ=

ϩϵν- *det:pl* INDEFINITE ARTICLE (§2.2.2.2)

ϩNϵ- *n* will, desire
ϩNⲁ=
ⲣ ϩNⲁ= *vb* to be willing, desire
ϩⲱN *vb* to approach, come
ϩN-, ϩON=,
ϩHN†
ϩⲱN *vb* to bid, command
ϩON=
ϩINHϩ *vb* to sleep, doze
ϩNT= *vb* to move forward
ϩϵNϵϵTϵ *nf* monastery
ϩNⲁ(ⲁ)Y *nm* vessel, pot
ϩⲁIT *nm* judgement, inquest
ϩⲁΠ-C it is neccesary, must
ϩO(O)Π *nm* (marriage) feast
ϩⲱΠ *vb* to hide
ϩϵΠ-, ϩOΠ=
ϩHΠ†
ϩIP *nm* road, street
ϩPOK *vb* to cease, be still
ϩOPK†
ϩⲁPN- *prep* beneath, before
ϩⲁPO=
ϩIPN- *prep* at, upon
ϩIPⲱ=
ϩⲱPΠ *vb* to drench
ϩ(ϵ)PΠ-, ϩOPΠ=,
ϩOPΠ†
ϩPOOY *nm* voice, noise
ϩPOY-ϧⲁI *nm* thunder
ϩPOⲰ *vb* to be heavy, slow
ϩ(ϵ)PⲰ-, ϩOPⲰ†
ϩⲁPⲰ *ptcp :act* patient
ϩⲁPⲰ NϩHT
ϩⲁPϵϩ *vb* to keep, guard
ϩICϵ *vb* to trouble, toil
ϩⲁCT-, ϩⲁCT=,
ϩOCϵ†
ϩICϵ *nm* labour, weariness,
trouble, grief
† ϩICϵ *vb* to give trouble
ⲰΠ ϩICϵ *vb* to take trouble,
suffer
ϩⲁT *nm* silver, coin, money
ϩHT *nm* heart, mind,
ϩTH=
† ϩTH= *vb* to observe
ϩTO *nm* horse
(ϵ)ϩTⲱⲣ *pl*
ϩOT *nm* opposite
ϩⲱT *n* sail
ⲣ ϩⲱT *vb* to sail
ϩOTϵ *nm* fear
ⲣ ϩOTϵ *vb* to be afraid
ϩⲱTϧ, to kill
ϩϵTϧ-, ϩOTϧ=,
ϩOTϧ†
ϩITN- *prep* by, through
ϩITOOT=
ϩTOOYϵ *nm* dawn, morning
ϩHY *nm* profit
ϩOOY *nm* day
(ϵ)MΠOOY today
ϩOOY *vb* to be bad, evil
ϩIOYϵ *vb* to strike, cast,
ϩI-; ϩIT= smite

ϩOYO *nm* greater part
(ϵ)ⲣ ϩOYO *vb* to be more, exceed
ϵΠϵϩOYO *adv* greatly, very, more
NϩOYO *adv* most of all
ϩOOYT *nm* male, husband
ϩOq *nm* serpent
ϩqⲱ *nf*
ϩⲁϩ *adj* many, most
ϩⲱX *vb* to be in straits
ϩϵX-, ϩHX†
ϩUXN- *prep* on, upon
ϩUXⲱ=
ϩOXϩ(ϵ)X *vb* to compel,
ϩ(ϵ)X(ϩ)X-, straighten
ϩϵXϩⲱX=,
ϩϵXϩⲱX† be distressed

X

Xϵ *comp* that
ϵϧOⲗ Xϵ because
ϵTϧϵ Xϵ because
Xϵ *pcl* called
XI *vb* to take, get
XI-, XIT=,
XHY†,
XⲁI- *pctp:act*
MO suppl. *imp:sg*
MMHϵITN *imp:pl*
XO, Xⲱ *vb* to sow, plant
Xϵ-, XO-,
XO=, XHY†
XO, Xⲱ *vb* to put, send forth
Xϵ-, XI-, XO= spend
XO(ϵ) *nf* wall
ϵXH *pl*

Xⲱ *vb* to say, speak
Xϵ-, XOO=,
ⲁXI- *imp*
Xⲱ= *nm* head
Xⲗ(ϵ)Iϵ *nm* desert
XO(ϵ)I *nm* ship
ϵXHY *pl*
XOϵIC (X̄C̄) lord, master
XICOOYϵ *pl*
XOϵIT *nm* olive tree, olive
XⲰK ϵϧOⲗ *vb* to complete,
Xϵϧ-, XⲁK-, accomplish
XOK=, XHK†
XⲰKM *vb* to wash, clean
Xϵϧ M-, XOKM=,
XOKM†
Xϵϧⲗ(ⲁ)C *comp* in order that
XⲰⲗM vb to make merry
XOⲗM† to get busy
XⲰⲰMϵ *nm* papyrus roll,
book
X(ϵ)N *conj* or
XI(N)- *prep* from, since
XNOY *vb* to ask, question
XNϵ-,XNOY=
X(ϵ)Π- hour
XΠO *vb* to beget, bring
XΠϵ-, XΠO=, forth, acquire
XΠⲁϵIT†
XΠIO *vb* to blame
XΠIϵ-,XΠIO=,
XΠIHT†

ϫⲣⲟ *vb* to be strong
ϫⲣⲁⲉⲓⲧ†

ϫⲱⲣⲉ *adj* strong

ϫⲏⲣ *vb* to be wanton

ϫⲉⲣⲟ *vb* to burn, blaze
ϫⲉ(ⲉ)ⲣⲉ-,
ϫⲉⲣⲟ=, ϫⲉⲣⲱ=

ϫⲓⲟⲟⲣ *vb* to ferry over
See ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ

ϫⲣⲟⲡ *nm* obstacle

ϫⲓⲥⲉ *vb* to exalt,
ϫⲉⲥⲧ-, ϫⲓⲥⲧ=,
ϫⲟⲥⲉ† be high
ϫⲁⲥⲓ *ptcp:act*
ϫⲁⲥⲓ-ϩⲏⲧ arrogant

ϫⲁⲧⲫⲉ *nm* reptile

ϫⲟⲟⲩ *vb* to send
ϫⲉⲩ-, ϫⲟⲟⲩ-,
ϫⲟⲟⲩ=

ϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ *vb* to steal
ⲛϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ *adj* secretly

ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧ *num sg:m* twenty
ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ *sg:f*

ϫⲱϩ *vb* to touch
ϫⲉϩ-, ϫⲏϩ†

ϫⲱϩ *vb* to smear,
ϫⲉϩ-, ϫⲁϩ= anoint
ϫⲏϩ†

ϫⲱϩⲙ *vb* to defile,
ϫⲉϩⲙ-, ϫⲁϩⲙ=, pollute
ϫⲁϩⲙ†

ϫⲁϩϫϩ *vb* to strike, beat,
ϫⲉϩϫⲱϩ= gnash

ϫⲁϫ *nm* sparrow

ϫⲁϫⲉ *nmf* enemy
ϫⲓϫⲉⲉⲩ(ⲉ) *pl*

ϭ

ϭⲉ *pcl* then, therefore,
but, again

ϭⲉ *det* other *See* ⲕⲉ

ϭⲱ *vb* to continue, stay,
ϭⲉⲉⲧ†, remain, persist
ϭⲏⲏⲧ†

ϭⲱⲃ *adj* weak

ϭⲱⲱⲃⲉ *nf* leaf
ϭⲃ-

ϭⲃⲟⲓ *nm* arm

ϭⲟⲗ *nm* lie
ϫⲓ ϭⲟⲗ *vb* to tell lies

ϭⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓⲗⲉ *vb* to visit, deposit
ϭⲁⲗⲉ-, ϭⲁⲗⲱⲱ=,
ϭⲁⲗⲏⲩ†, ϭⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩ†

ϭⲁⲗⲉ *nm* lame, crippled
ϭⲁⲗⲉⲉⲩ *pl* person

ϭⲱⲗⲡ *vb* to uncover, reveal
ϭ(ⲉ)ⲗⲡ-, ϭⲟⲗⲡ=,
ϭⲟⲗⲡ†

ϭⲱⲗϫ *vb* to entangle, wrap
ϭ(ⲉ)ⲗϫ-, entwine
ϭⲟⲗϫ=, ϭⲟⲗϭ=,
ϭⲟⲗϫ†, ϫⲟⲗϫ†

ϭⲗⲟϭ *nm* bed

ϭⲟⲙ *nf* power, strength,
mighty deed
ϭⲛ ϭⲟⲙ *vb* to be able

ϭⲱⲙ *nm* garden, vineyard
ϭⲟⲟⲙ *pl*

ϭⲙⲉ *nm* gardener,
ϭⲙⲏⲩ, vinedresser
ϭⲙⲉⲉⲩ *pl*

ϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ *nm* camel
ϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲩⲗⲉ *nf* she-camel
ϭⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ *pl*

ϭⲓⲛⲉ *vb* to find
ϭⲛ-, ϭⲙ-,
ϭ(ⲉ)ⲛⲧ=

ϭⲛⲟⲛ *vb* to become smooth,
ϭⲏⲛ†, ϭⲟⲛ† be soft, weak

ϭⲟⲛⲥ *nm* violence
ϫⲓ ϭⲟⲛⲥ *vb* to use violence

ϭⲱⲛⲧ, to rage
ϭⲟⲛⲧ† be angry

ϭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗ *nm* ship

ϭⲉⲡⲏ *vb* to hasten

ϭⲟⲡⲉ n small quantity

ϭⲱⲡ(ⲉ) *vb* to seize, take
ϭ(ⲉ)ⲡ-, ϭⲱⲡ-,
ϭⲟⲡ-,ϭⲟⲡ=,
ϭⲁⲡ=,
ϭⲏⲡ†

ϭⲣⲏⲡⲉ *nf* diadem

ϭⲣⲱϩ *vb* to be in need

ϭⲱⲣϭ *vb* to waylay, hunt
ϭⲟⲣϭ†

ϭⲟⲣϭⲥ *nf* ambush, snare

ϭⲟⲥϭ(ⲉ)ⲥ *vb* to dance

ϭⲟⲧ *nf* size, age, form
ⲛⲧⲉⲓϭⲟⲧ *adv* of this sort, such

ϭⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ *nf* hair-cloth, sack

ϭⲱⲟⲩϭ *vb* to be twisted,
ϭⲱⲟⲩϭ† crooked

ϭⲱⲱⲧ *vb* to look, see
ϭⲟⲱⲧ†

ϭⲓϫ *nf* hand

Glossary of Greek loan words

Greek loan verbs are given in their 1st person singular Present Indicative Active or Middle citation form. Copto-Greek nouns generally take the same grammatical gender specification as the Greek model; neuter gender of the Greek model noun is usually rendered by masculine gender in the corresponding Coptic target noun. Abbreviations: *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *conj* 'conjunction', *f* 'feminine', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *nt* 'neuter', *pcl* 'particle', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *vb* 'verb'.

Α

ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ *adj* ἀγαθός, -ή, -όν	good
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ *nf* ἀγάπη	love, act of charity
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏⲧⲟⲥ *adj* ἀγαπητός,-ή, -όν	beloved
ⲁⲅⲁⲛⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓ *vb* ⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓ ἀγανακτέω	to become angry
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ *adj* ἀγγελικός, -ή, -όν	angelic
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ *nm* ἄγγελος	angel
ⲁⲅⲉⲗⲏ, ⲁⲅⲉⲗⲉⲓ *nf* ἀγέλη	herd
ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ *adj* ἄγριος, -α, -ον	wild, savage
ⲁⲅⲱⲛⲓⲍⲉ *vb* ⲁⲅⲟⲛⲓⲍⲉ ἀγωνίζομαι	to fight
ⲁⲅⲱⲛ *nm* ἀγών	combat, contest
ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ, ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ *nm* ἀετός	eagle
ⲁⲑⲗⲏⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ἀθλητής	athlete
ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ *vb* αἰσθάνομαι	to perceive, realise
ⲁⲓⲧ(ⲉ)ⲓ, ⲉⲧⲉⲓ *vb* αἰτέω	to ask for
ⲉⲛⲓⲅⲙⲁ *nm* αἴνιγμα *nnt*	'dark' saying, riddle
ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲙⲁ *nm* αἴτημα *nnt*	request, demand
ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ *vb* αἰχμαλωτεύω	to enslave, take as a prisoner
ⲁⲓⲱⲛ, ⲉⲱⲛ *nm* αἰών	millennium, world era
ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ *adj* ἀκάθαρτος, -ον	unclean person, leper
ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲣⲉⲟⲥ *adj* ἀκέραιος, -ον	unharmed, unravaged
ⲁⲕⲣⲓⲃⲏⲥ *adj* ἀκριβής, -ές	exact, accurate
ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲛⲟⲛ *adj* ἀληθινός,-ή, -όν	true, truthful
ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ *adv* ἀληθῶς	actually, really, verily
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ *conj* ἀλλά	but, rather
ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ *vb* ἀμελέω	to neglect, be careless
ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲁ *nf* ἀμέλεια	negligence, carelessness
ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲁⲍⲉ *vb* ἀναγκάζω	to force

ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ *adj* ἀναγκαῖος, -α, -ον — necessary, urgent

ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ *nf* ἀνάγκη — necessity

ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ *nf* ἀνάγνωσις — Scripture reading

ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ *nf* ἀνάστασις — resurrection

ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ *nf* ἀναστροφή — behaviour, mode of life

ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ *vb* ἀναχωρέω — to depart, live as a hermit

ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ἀναχωρητής — hermit

ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ *nf* ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ἀναχώρησις — solitude, seclusion

ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ, ⲁⲛⲓⲭⲉ *vb* ἀνέχω — to hold up, bear

ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ *nf* ἀνομία — crime, sin

ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ *adj* ἄνομος, -ον — lawless, criminal

ⲁⲛⲍⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ *adj* ἀνόσιος, -ον — unholy, profane impious

ⲁⲛⲟⲭⲏ *nf* ἀνοχή — holding back, stopping

ⲁⲛⲇⲓⲗⲉⲅⲉ *vb* ἀντιλέγω — to contradict, protest

ⲁⲛⲧⲩⲕⲓⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ *nm* ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲅⲓⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ἀντικείμενος — opponent, adversary

ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ *adj* ἄξιος, -α, -ον — worthy

ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲩ *vb* ἀξιόω — to esteem, ask, request

ⲁⲝⲓⲱⲙⲁ *nm* ἀξίωμα *nn* — rank, position, principle

ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ *vb* ἀπαντάω — to meet, encounter

ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉ *vb* ἀπειθέω — to defy, disobey

ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ *nf* ἀπολογία — speech

ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲍⲉ *vb* ἀπολογίζομαι — to reckon, justify

ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ *vb* ἀποτάσσω — to renounce, part

ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ *nm* ἀπόστολος — apostle

ⲁⲣⲁ *conj* ἆρα — thus (also used as a Q-pcl)

ⲁⲣⲅⲟⲥ *adj* ἀργός , -ή, -όν — lazy, idle

ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ *nf* ἀρετή — virtue

ⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ *nm* ἀριθμός — number, military unit

ⲁⲣⲝ *nm* ἄρξ — bear

ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ *adj* ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ ἀρχαῖος, -α, -ον — old, ancient

ⲁⲣⲭⲏ *nf* ἀρχή — beginning

ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ *nm* ἀρχάγγελος — archangel

ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ *nm* ἀρχιεπίσκοπος — archbishop

ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ *nm* ἀρχιερεύς — highpriest

ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ἀρχιπροφήτης — archprophet

ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ἀρχιμανδρίτης — Archimandrite

ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ *nm* ἀρχιστράτηγος — commander-in-chief

ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ *nm* ἄρχων — ruler, governor

ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ *adj* ἀσεβής, -ές — impious, godless

ⲁⲥⲕⲉⲓ *vb* ἀσκέω — to practise, go into training

ⲁⲥⲕⲏⲥⲓⲥ *nf* ⲁⲥⲕⲉⲥⲓⲥ, ⲁⲥⲕⲩⲥⲓⲥ ἄσκησις — exercise, ascetic life-style

ⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ, ⲁⲥⲕⲩⲧⲏⲥ ἀσκητής — hermit, monk

ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ *vb* ἀσπάζομαι — to kiss, greet

ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ *nm* ἀσπασμός — greeting

ⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ *nm* αὔγουστος (lat. *augustus*) — Augustus

ⲁⲩⲗⲏ *nf* αὐλή — court, courtyard

ⲁⲩⲝⲁⲛⲉ *vb* αὐξάνω — to increase, grow

ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲣ *nm* αὐτοκράτωρ — Emperor

ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙⲏ *nf* ἀφορμή — starting point

ⲁⲫⲩⲭⲟⲛ *adj* ἄψυχος, -ον — lifeless

ⲃ

ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ *vb* βαπτίζω — to baptize

ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ *nm* βάπτισμα *nn* — baptism

ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ *nm* βάρβαρος — barbarian

ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲉ *vb* βασανίζω — to torture

ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ *nm* βάσανος — torture

ⲃⲏⲙⲁ *nm* βῆμα *nn* — tribunal, raised seat

ⲃⲓⲟⲥ *nm* βίος — life

ⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ *adj* βιωτικός, -ή, -όν — of this world

ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ *vb* βοηθέω — to help, rescue

ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ *nm* βοηθός — saviour

ⲅ

ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲥ *nm* γάμος — wedding, marriage

ⲅⲁⲣ *pcl* γάρ — since, for

ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ *nm* ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ *npl* γένος *nn* — race, origin, generation

ⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ *nf* γνώμη	opinion, advice
ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ *nf* γραφή	Scripture
Δ	
ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ *nm* ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ δαιμόνιον *nn*	evil spirit, demon
ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ, ⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ *nm* δαίμων	evil spirit, demon
ⲇⲉ *pcl* δέ	topic-indicating pcl
ⲇⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲏⲥ *nm* δεσπότης	lord
ⲇⲩⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ *nm* δημιουργός	creator, producer
ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ *nm* ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ διάβολος	devil
ⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ *nf* διαθήκη	testament
ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ *nf* διακονεία	service
ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ *vb* ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲉⲓ διακονέω	to service, to minister
ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ *nm* διακονητής	servant
ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ *nm* διάκονος	deacon
ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ *nf* διάκρισις	examination, evaluation
ⲇⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ *nf* διαφορά	distinction, difference
ⲇⲓⲏⲕⲉⲓ *vb* διήκω	to pervade, guide
ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ δίκαιος, -α, -ον	righteous
ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ *nf* δικαιοσύνη	righteousness
ⲇⲓⲥⲧⲁⲍⲉ *vb* ⲇⲓⲥⲇⲁⲍⲉ, ⲧⲓⲥⲧⲁⲍⲉ διστάζω	to hesitate
ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ *vb* δοκιμάζω	to test, assay
ⲇⲟⲩⲝ *nm* δούξ (lat. *dux*)	commander
ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ *nm* δράκων	dragon
ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ *nf* δύναμις	power
ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ *nm* δῶρον *nn*	gift
Ⲉ	
ⲉⲅⲕⲱⲙⲓⲟⲛ *nm* ἐγκώμιον *nn*	praise, eulogy
ⲉⲍⲏⲅⲓⲥⲑⲁⲓ *vb* εξηγέομαι	to tell at length
(ϩ)ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ *nm* ἔθνος	pagan
ⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ *nm* εἶδος *nnt*	property, thing
ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ *nm* εἴδωλον *nn*	idol
ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧ(ⲉ)ⲓ *prep* ⲉⲓⲙⲏϯ εἰμήτι	unless
(ⲉ)ⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ *nf* εἰρήνη	peace

ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ... ⲉⲓⲧⲉ *conj* εἴτε ... εἴτε	either ... or
ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ *nf* ἐκκλησία	church
ⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ *nf* ἔκστασις	vision
ⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ *adj* ἐλάχιστος, -η, -ον	humble
ⲉⲗⲉⲅⲭⲉ *vb* ἐλέγζω	to reveal, expose
ⲉⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲛ *adj* ἐλεφάντινος, -η, -ον	ivory
ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ *vb* ἐνεργέω	to effect
ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ *nf* ἐνέργεια	cosmic force
ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ *nf* ἐντολή	authorisation, order
ⲉⲛⲱⲭⲗⲉⲓ *vb* ἐνοχλέω	to trouble, burden
ⲉⲝⲏⲅⲓⲥⲑⲁⲓ *vb* ἐξηγέομαι	to expose, to explain
ⲉⲝⲱⲣⲓⲍⲉ *vb* ἐξορίζω	to banish, get rid of
ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ *nf* ἐξουσία	power, strength
ⲁⲓⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩ *vb* ἐπαινέω	to praise, applaud
ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ *nm* ἔπαρχος	governor
ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲃⲟⲩⲗⲏ *nf* ἐπιβουλή	plot, snare
ⲉⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓⲇⲏ *conj* ἐπειδή	for, since
ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ *vb* ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲙⲉⲓ ἐπιθυμέω	to wish, desire
ⲉⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ *nf* ἐπιθυμία	desire
ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ *vb* ἐπικαλέω	to call upon, summon
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ *nm* ἐπίσκοπος	bishop
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ *nf* ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl* ἐπιστολή	letter
ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ *nf* ⲉⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓϯⲙⲓⲁ ἐπιτιμία	reprimand, punishment
ⲉⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ *nf* ἐργασία	profession
ⲉⲣⲅⲁⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ⲁⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲥ ἐργάτης	worker
ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ *nf* ἐρημία	desert
ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ *adj* ἐρῆμος, -ον	deserted, lonely
ⲉⲧⲓ, ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ *pcl* ἔτι	yet, still
ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ *nm* εὐαγγελίον *nn*	Gospel
ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ *nm* εὐαγγελιστής	Evangelist
ⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ *adj* εὐγενής, -ές	noble

ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ *nf* εὐεργεσία	good deed, kindness
ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ *adj* εὐσεβής,-ές	pious

ⲍ

ⲍⲱⲟⲛ *nm* ζῷον *nn*	living being, animal

ⲏ

ⲏ *conj* ἤ	or
ⲉⲥⲩⲭⲁⲍⲉ *vb* ἡσυχάζω	to be quiet
ⲉⲥⲩⲭⲓⲁ *nf* ἡσυχία	silence, stillness

ⲑ

ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ *nf* θάλασσα	sea
ⲑⲉⲁⲧⲣⲟⲛ *nm* θέατρον *nn*	theatre
ⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ *vb* θεραπεύω	to heal
ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ *vb* θεωρέω	to see, observe
ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ, ⲑⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ *nm* θηρίον *nn*	beast, wild animal
ⲑⲗⲓⲃⲉ *vb* θλίβω	to afflict, distress
ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ *nf* θλῖψις	trouble, obstacle
ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ *nm* θρόνος	throne
ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ *nf* **ⲑⲉⲥⲓⲁ** θυσία	sacrifice
ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲍⲉ *vb* θυσιάζω	to sacrifice
ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ *nm* θυσιαστήριον *nn*	altar

ⲓ

(ⲉ)ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ *nm* ἰουδαῖος	Jews
ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ (ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ) Ἰσοῦς	Jesus

ⲕ

ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ *adj* καθαρός, -ά, -όν	pure, clean
ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕ(ⲉ)ⲓ *nf* καθηγέομαι	instruction
ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲏ *nf* καθολικός	Catholic (Church)
ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ *nm* καιρός	time, period
ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓ *pcl* καί τοι	and indeed, and yet
ⲕⲏⲛⲏ *nf* καινός	The New Testament
ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ *adv* κακῶς	badly
ⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ *vb* κάλεω	to call, invite
ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ *adv* κάλως	well, rightly
ⲕⲁⲛ *conj* κἄν	even if
ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲛ *nm* κανών	rule
ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ, ⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ *nm* καρπός	fruit
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ *prep* **ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲟ=** κάτα	according to
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓⲁ *nf* καταλαλία	slander
ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲭⲉ *vb* κατέχω	to withhold, keep
ⲕⲁⲧⲱⲣⲑⲱⲙⲁ *nm* κάτορθωμα *nn*	achievement, success
ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ *vb* κελεύω	to command, order
ⲕⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ *nm* κεστωνάριος (lat. *quaestonarius*)	torturer, executioner
ⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ *nm* κινδύνος	danger, hazard
ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲓⲕⲟⲥ *nm* **ⲕⲗⲩⲣⲓⲕⲟⲥ** κληρικός	cleric
ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ *nm* κληρονόμος	heir
ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ *nm* κλῆρος	heritage
ⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ *vb* κοινωνέω	to live together
ⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ *nm* κοιτών	bed-chamber
ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲉ *vb* κολάζω	to punish
ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲕⲉⲩⲉ *vb* κολακεύω	to flatter
ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ *nf* κόλασις	punishment
ⲕⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ *nm* κοντός	pike, pole
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲉⲓ *vb* κοσμέω	to rule, to equip
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓⲕⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ *adj* κοσμικός, -ή, -όν	worldly
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ *nm* κόσμος	world
ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲥ *nm* κόμβος	girth
ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ *nm* κράτος *nn*	power, might
ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ *vb* κρίνω	to judge
ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ *nf* κρίσις	decision, judgement
ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ *nm* κριτής	judge
ⲕⲩⲡⲏ *nf* κύπη	basement, vault
ⲕⲩⲣⲓ *nm* κύριος	Lord
ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ *nf* κυριακὴ	Sunday
ⲕⲱⲗⲩ *vb* κωλύω	to withold, hinder
ⲕⲱⲙⲓⲥ, ⲕⲟⲙⲓⲥ *nm* κόμης (lat. *comes*)	governor

Λ

ΛΑΟC *nm* λαός	people
ΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ *nm* λεβίτων	garment
ΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ *nm* λείψανον *nn*	remains, corpse
ΛΙΒΑΝΟC *nm* λίβανος	frankincense
ΛΟΓΟC, ΛΩΓΟC *nm* λόγος	account, apology
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ *adv* λοιπόν	furthermore, also
ΛΥΠΕΙ, ΛΗΠΕ *vb* λυπέω	to be sad, grieved

Μ

ΜΑΓΙΑ *nf* μαγεία	magic
ΜΑΓΟC *nm* μάγος	wizard, enchanter
ΜΑΘΗΤΗC *nm* μαθητής	disciple
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΖΕ *vb* μακαρίζω	to bless, congratulate
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC, -Α *adj* μακάριος ος, -α, -ον	blessed
ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ *adv* μάλιστα	most of all, especially
ΜΑΛΛΟΝ *adv* μᾶλλον	more, rather
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ *nf* μαρτυρία	testimony, martyrdom
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ *nm* μαρτύριον *nn*	shrine of a martyr
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC *nm* μάρτυρος	martyr
ΜΑCΤΙΞ *nf* μάστιξ	whip
ΜΕΛΕΤΑ, ΜΕΛΗΤΑ *vb* μελετάω	to attend to, study
ΜΕΛΟC *nm* μέλος	body part, limb
ΜΕΝ *pcl* μέν	indeed
ΜΕΤΑΝΟ(Ε)Ι *vb* μετανοέω	to repent
ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ *nf* μετάνοια	repentance remorse
ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC *nf* μητροπόλις	capital city
ΜΗ *Q-pcl* μή	involves a bias towards a negative response in affirmative interrogatives, and vice versa.
ΜΗΠΩC *conj* μήπως	that not
ΜΙΛΙΟΝ *nm* μίλιον *nn*	mile
ΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ *nm* ΜΟΝΗ μοναστήριον *nn*	monastery
ΜΟΝΑΧΟC *nm* ΜΩΝΑΧΟC, ΜΟΝΟΧΟC μοναχός	monk
ΜΟΝΟΝ, ΜΩΝΩΝ *adv* μόνον	only
ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ *nm* μυστήριον *nn*	mystery, divine secret

Ν

ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC *nm* ναζωραῖος	Nazarene
ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ *nf* ΝΗCΤΑ νηστεία	fast
ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ *vb* νηστεύω	to fast
ΝΗΦΕ *vb* νήφω	to be self-controlled, sober
ΝΟΙ *vb* νοέω	to perceive, think, know
ΝΟΜΙCΜΑ *nm* νόμισμα *nn*	*solidus* (a golden coin)
ΝΟΜΟC, ΝΩΜΟC *nm* νομός	law

Ξ

ΞΕΝΟC, -Η ξένος, -α, -ον	foreign
ΞΕCΤΗC *nm* ξέστης (lat. *sextarius*)	pint

Ο

ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ *nf* οἰκουμένη	world
ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ *nf* ΟΙΚΩΝΟΜΙΑ οἰκονομία	service
ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟC *nm* ΕΙΚΩΝΩΜΟC οἰκονόμος	steward
ΟΝΤΩC *adv* ὄντως	really, verily
ΟΠΤΑCΙΑ *nf* ὀπτασία	appearance, vision
ΟΡΓΗ *nf* ὀργή	anger, wrath, impulse
ΟΡΦΑΝΟC *nm* ὀρφανός	orphan
ΟΥΔΕ, ΟΥΤΕ *conj* οὐδέ	and not
ΟΥΚΕΤΙ *adv* οὐκέτι	no more, no longer
ΟΥΚΟΥΝ *adv* οὐκοῦν	certainly not
ΟΥCΙΑ *nf* οὐσία	state of being, essence

Π

ΠΑΘΟC *nm* πάθος	emotion, grief passion,
ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ *vb* παιδεύω	to educate
ΠΑΛΑΙΑ *nf* παλαιός	The Old Testament
ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ *nm* παλάτιον *nn* (lat. *palatium*)	palace
ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ *nm* ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ παντοκράτωρ	Almighty
ΠΑΝΤΩC *adv* πάντως	entirely, altogether

(ⲙ)ⲡⲁⲣⲁ *prep* ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ= παρά	against, compared with
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ *vb* παραβαίνω	to transgress, overstep
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ *vb* παράγω	to pass by
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲉⲓⲗⲉ *vb* παραέλλω	to give order, summon
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇ(ⲉ)ⲓⲥⲟⲥ *nm* ⲡⲁⲣⲁ†ⲥⲱⲥ παράδεισος	Paradise, Eden
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ *vb* παρακαλέω	to summon, beseech
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ *adj* παράνομος, -ον	lawless, criminal
ⲡⲁⲣⲧⲁⲗⲓⲥ *nf* πάρδαλις	panther
ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ *nf* παρθένος	virgin
ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ *nf* παρουσία	presence, stay
ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ *nf* παρρησία	free speech
ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ *vb* πατάσσω	to beat, strike
ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ *nm* πατριάρχης	Patriarch
ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓⲑⲉ *vb* πείθω	to persuade, agree with
ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ *vb* ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ, ⲡⲩⲣⲁⲍⲉ πειράζω	to put to test, to seduce
ⲡ(ⲉ)ⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ *nm* πειρασμός	temptation, trial
ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ *nm* πεντηκόνταρχος	leader of a company of fifty
ⲡⲉⲣⲡⲉⲣⲟⲥ *nm* πέρπερος	vainglorious, braggart
ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ *nm* πέρσης	Persian
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ *nf* πέτρα	rock
ⲡⲏⲅⲏ, ⲡⲩⲅⲏ *nf* πηγή	fountain, well
ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲝ *nm* πίναξ	plate, dish
ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ *vb* πιστεύω	to believe, have faith
ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ *nf* πίστις	faith
ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ *adj* πιστός, -ά, όν	faithful, trustworthy
ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ *vb* ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ πλανάω	to mislead lead astray
ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ *nf* πλάνη	deceit, imposture
ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲟⲥ *nm* πλάνος	vagabond, imposter
ⲡⲗⲁⲝ *nm* πλάξ *nf*	flat stone
ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ *nm* πλάσμα *nn*	form, figure,
ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ *vb* πλάσσω	to form, create

ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ, ⲡⲗⲩⲅⲏ *nf* πληγή	wound
ⲡⲗⲏⲛ *conj* πλήν	except, save
ⲡⲗⲩⲣⲟⲫⲟⲣⲓⲁ *nf* πληροφορία	certainty, fullness of assurance
ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ (ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄) *nm* πνεῦμα *nn*	spirit, ghost
ⲡⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ̄ *adj* (ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ) πνευματικός, -ά, -όν	spiritual
ⲡⲓⲟⲓⲧⲏⲥ *nm* (for ⲡⲟⲓⲏⲧⲏⲥ) ποιητής	poet
ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲉⲓ *vb* ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ πολεμέω	to fight, quarrel
ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ *nm* ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲟⲥ πόλεμος	war, quarrel
ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ *nf* πόλις	city, town
ⲡⲟⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁ *nf* ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲓⲁ πολιτεία	ascetic labour
ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ *vb* ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲉⲩⲉ πολιτεύω	to perform ascetic labours
ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ *nm* πολιτευτής	patrician
ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ *adj* πονηρός, -ά, -όν	worthless, evil, wicked
ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲉ *vb* πορνεύω	to prostitute, fornicate
ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ *nf* πορνεία	fornication
ⲡⲟⲥⲱ *adv* πόσῳ	how much?
ⲡⲟⲧⲉ *adv* πότε	when?, at what time?
ⲡⲣⲁⲓⲧⲱⲣⲓⲟⲛ *nm* πραιτώριον *nn* (lat. *praetorium*)	palace of the governor
ⲡⲣⲁⲝⲓⲥ *nf* πρᾶξις	deed, act
ⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ *vb* πρέπω	to suit, be fitting
ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ *nm* πρεσβύτερος	priest
ⲡⲣⲟⲍⲁⲓⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ *nf* προαίρεσις	purpose, plan
ⲡⲣⲟⲕⲟⲡⲧⲉ(ⲓ) *vb* προκόπτω	to advance
ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ *nm* πρόσταγμα *nnt*	ordinance, command
ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ *nf* προσφορά	donation, Eucharist
ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲱⲛ *nm* πρόσωπον *nn*	person, mask
ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ *nm* προφήτης	prophet
ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ†ⲓⲁ *nf* προφητεία	gift of prophecy
ⲡⲩⲗⲏ, ⲡⲩⲗⲩ *nf* πύλη	door, gate
ⲡⲱⲥ *adv* πῶς	how?

(2)ρ

ⲥⲣⲉⲡⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ *nm* ῥιπάριος (lat. *riparius*)	officer
ⲥⲣⲏⲧⲱⲣ *nm* ῥήτωρ	publie speaker, advocate
(2)ⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ *nm* ῥωμαῖος	Roman

ⲥ

ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲱⲛ *nm* σάββατον *nnt*	Saturday
ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ *nf* σάλπιγξ	trumpet
ⲥⲁⲣⲝ *nm* σάρξ	flesh
ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ *nm* σατανᾶς	Satan
ⲥⲏⲙⲁⲛⲉ *vb* σημαίνω	to indicate, declare, notify
ⲥⲕⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲱⲛ *nm* σκάνδαλον *nn*	trap, offence, scandal
ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ *nm* ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲏ *npl* σκεῦος *nn*	vessel, tool equipment, property
ⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ *nm* σκοπός	aim, end, goal
ⲥⲕⲩⲗⲙⲟⲥ *nm* σκυλμός	annoyance, vexation
ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ *nf* σοφία	wisdom
ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ *nm* σοφός	wise (man)
ⲥⲡⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ *nm* σπαθάριος	knight
ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ *nm* σπέρμα *nn*	sperm, seed
ⲥⲡⲩⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ *nm* σπήλαιον *nn*	cavern
ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁⲍⲉ *vb* σπουδάζω	to be zealous, diligent
ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ *nf* σπουδή	haste, speed
ⲥⲣⲟ̄ⲥ̄ *nm* (ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ) σταυρός	cross
ⲥⲧⲣⲟⲩ *vb* σταυρόω	to crucify
ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ *nm* στερέωμα *nn*	firmament
ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ στρατηλάτης	commander, general
ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ *nm* στρατιώτης	soldier
ⲥⲧϫⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ *nf* στιχάριον *nnt*	variegated tunic
ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ *vb* συνάγω	to attend Mass, receive the Eucharist
ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲝⲓⲥ *nf* σύναξις	Mass
ⲥⲩⲅⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓ *vb* συγχωρέω	to meet, gather
ⲥⲩⲅⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ *nf* συγχώρησις	agreement, consent

ⲥⲩⲛⲏⲇⲓⲥ *nf* συνείδησις	conscience
ⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ *nf* συντέλεια	completion, end
ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ *nf* σφραγίς	seal, signet
ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ *nm* ⲥⲭⲩⲙⲁ σχῆμα *nn*	monkish garment
ⲥⲫⲉⲛⲇⲟⲛⲏ *nf* σφενδόνη	sling
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ *nm* σῶμα *nn*	body
ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ *adj* σωματικός, -ή, -όν	physical
ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ *nm* σωτήρ	Saviour

ⲧ

ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ *adj* ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲟⲣⲟⲥ ταλαίπωρος, -ον	miserable
ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲥⲉ *vb* ταράσσω	to trouble, upset
ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ *nm* Τάρταρος	Tartaros
ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ *nm* τάφος	tomb
ⲧⲁⲭⲁ *adv* τάχα	perhaps, maybe
ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ, -ⲟⲛ *adj* τέλειος, -α, ον	perfect
ⲧⲓⲙⲏ *nf* τιμή	price, wage
ⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ *vb* ⲇⲓⲙⲱⲣⲉⲓ τιμωρέω	to avenge, punish
ⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲓⲁ, *nf* ⲑⲙⲱⲣⲓⲁ τιμωρία	revenge, punishment
ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ *vb* τολμάω	to dare, undertake
ⲧⲱⲙⲟⲥ *nm* τόμος	roll of papyrus, tome, volume
ⲧⲟⲝⲉⲩⲉ *vb* τοξεύω	to shoot with the bow
ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ *nm* τόπος	(holy) place, shrine
ⲧⲟⲧⲉ *adv* τότε	then, next, at one time
ⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ *nm* τριβοῦνος (lat. *tribunus*)	tribune
ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲉⲩⲥ *nm* τροφεύς	bread-winner
ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ *nf* τροφή	nourishment, meal, food
ⲧⲣⲩⲫⲏ *nf* τρυφή	delicacy, luxury, delight
ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ *nm* τύπος	pattern, image, model

ⲫ

ⲫⲁⲛⲉⲣⲟⲛ *adj* φανερός, -ά, -όν	visible, evident
ⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ *nm* φανός	light, bright, torch, lamp
ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ *nm* φιλόσοφος	philosopher

ⲫⲟⲣⲉ(ⲓ), ⲫⲱⲣⲉⲓ *vb* φορέω	to bear, wear
ⲫⲩⲗⲏ *nf* φυλή	tribe, clan
ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ *nf* φύσις	origin, nature
ⲫⲩⲥⲓ *adv* (ἐν φύσει)	verily, truly

ⲭ

ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ *nf* χάρις	grace, favour
ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ *vb* χαρίζομαι	to grant, donate
ⲭⲓⲙⲱⲛ *nm* χειμών	winter, tempest
ⲭⲓⲣⲟⲇⲟⲛⲉⲓ *vb* χειροτονέω	to elect, appoint
ⲭⲏⲣⲁ *nf* χήρα	widow
ⲭⲣⲉⲱⲥⲧⲉⲓ *vb* χρεστέω	to be in debt, owe
ⲭⲣⲓⲁ *nf* χρεία	need, want
ⲭⲣ(ⲉ)ⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ *nm* ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ χριστιανός	Christian
ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ *nm* χρῆμα *nn*	property, capital, thing,
ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ (ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) *nm* χριστός	Christ
ⲭⲱⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ, ⲭⲟⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ *vb* χορηγέω	to lead choir, provide
ⲭⲱⲣⲁ *nf* χώρα	region, county, land
ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ *prep* χωρίς	without

ⲫ

ⲫⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ *vb* ψάλλω	to sing psalms
ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ *nm* ψαλμός	psalm
ⲫⲩⲭⲏ *nf* ⲫⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ *pl* ψυχή	soul

ⲱ

ⲱ *interj* ὦ	oh

ϩ

ϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ, -ⲁ *adj* ἅγιος, -α, ον	holy
ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ *interj* ἀμήν	Amen
ϩⲁⲡⲁⲝ *adv* ἅπαξ	briefly, in short
ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ, ϩⲁⲡⲗⲟⲥ *adv* ἁπλῶς	briefly
ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ *nm* ἅρμα *nn*	chariot
ϩⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ *nf* ἑβδομάς	week
ϩⲉⲑⲟⲥ *nm* ἔθος	custom, habit
ϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ *nm* ϩⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛ, ϩⲗⲗⲏⲛ Ἕλλην	Greek, pagan

ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ *vb* ἐλπίζω	to look for, hope
ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ *nf* ἐλπίς	expectation, hope
ϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ *vb* ϩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲉ ἑρμηνεύω	to translate, explain, interpret
ϩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ἑρμηνευτής	interpreter
ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ *nm* ἡγεμών	general, governor
ϩⲇⲟⲛⲏ *nf* ἡδονή	pleasure
ϩⲉⲑⲟⲥ *nm* ἦθος	custom, habit
ϩ(ⲉ)ⲓⲕⲱⲛ *nf* εἰκών	image
ϩⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ, ϩⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ *nf* ἡλικία	age, youth
ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ *nm* ἧπαρ *nn*	liver
ϩⲓⲇⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ϩⲩⲇⲓⲱⲧⲩⲥ ἰδιώτης	unsophisticated person, layman
ϩⲓⲡⲡⲉⲩⲥ *nm* ἱππεύς	cavalry man
ϩⲓⲥⲧⲟⲣⲓⲍⲉ *vb* ἱστορέω	to record
ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ *nm* ὁλοκόττινος	*holokottinos* (golden coin)
ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ, ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ *adv* ὅλως	wholly, entirely
ϩⲟⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ *vb* ὁμιλέω	to address, deal with
ϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ *vb* ὁμολογέω	to admit, agree
ϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ ὅραμα	vision, dream
ϩⲩⲡⲟⲣⲁ *nf* ὀπώρα	fruit
ϩⲟⲣⲙⲏ *nf* ὁρμή	onrush, assault
(ⲉⲛ) ϩⲟⲥⲟⲛ *conj* ἐν ὅσον	as long as, while
ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ *conj* ὅταν	as soon as, when
ϩⲩⲗⲏ *nf* ὕλη	forest, matter
ϩⲙⲛⲉⲩⲉ *vb* ὑμνέω	to sing hymns
ϩⲩⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ *nm* ὑπηρέτης	servant, attendant
ϩⲩⲡⲟⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ *vb* ὑπογράφω	to sign
ϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ *vb* ὑπομένω	to endure, be patient
ϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ *nf* ὑπομονή	endurance, patience
ϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲧⲉⲩⲉ *vb* ὑποπτεύω	to suspect, guess
ϩⲩⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ *vb* ὑποτάσσω	to subdue, make subject
ϩⲱⲥ *prep* ὡς	like, as, that, as if
ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ, *conj* ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ ὥστε	so that, in order that

Glossary of linguistic terms

Adjectives	In Coptic, there is no special word class of "adjectives". To ascribe properties to individuals, the attributive construction is used, where property-denoting expressions may appear as head or dependent nouns.	§3.1.3
Adverbs	Adverbs are modifying expressions which bear a close semantic link to the verb; they locate the state of affairs that is described in space and time, or provide additional information about the way in which it came about.	§3.3
Allomorphs	Allomorphs are two alternative realizations of one and the same morpheme.	§2.2.1
Appositions	Appositions are extra-clausal noun phrases, which have the same referent as the proper name or pronoun they modify.	§3.1.6

Aspect	Aspectual distinctions present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described.	§6.2.1, §7.3.4
Case	Case is the morpho-syntaetic encoding of the syntactic dependency between the verbal predicate and its arguments.	§6.3.1.3
Causatives	Analytical causatives are complex predicates consisting of two verbs, which share one argumcnt. The shared argument functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb.	§6.4.3
Cleft sentence	Cleft sentences are focusing constructions, which are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, viz. an initial focus and a relative clause construction that contains the backgrounded proposition.	§11.3
Conditional sentences	Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis).	§12.2.1

Cognate objects	Cognate objects constitute a subclass of manner adverbs that contain a copy of the main verb, e.g. *to laugh a mirthless laugh.*	§3.3.4
Control	The notion of "control" describes a special case of anaphoric relation between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and a noun phrase it is co-refereneed with. In Coptic, control by the matrix subject is clearly the predominant pattern, but cases of object control also occur.	§12.3.2
Dependent	The non-head or dependent constituent of a phrase is the element with a more peripheral function: it can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire expression.	§3.1.1
Determiners	Determiners are grammatical prefixes that indicate the information status or identifiability of the referent of the determined noun. Coptic makes a three-way contrast between definite, indefinite and zero-determined noun phrases.	§2.2
Expletive pronouns	Expletive pronouns have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3
Epenthesis	Epenthesis is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4

Eventive-Stative alternation	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
Evidentials	Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or functions words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.	§8.2.4
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like *know* presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause.	§12.1.2.1
Focus	The focus of a sentence is the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse.	§10.1
Free-choice pronouns	Free choice pronouns like *any* are indefinite pronouns that refer to any representative member of a given category.	§4.3.4
Free relative clause	A relative clause that occurs without a pivot in all nominal positions of the clause.	§11.2
Generic interpretation	The referent of a generically interpreted noun phrase is not a particular entity or object, but rather a class or type of entity or object.	§2.2.2.1
Head	The head of the phrase is the element that determines its syntactic category.	§3.1.1
Iconic ordering	Iconicity is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1

Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1
In-situ	A term that refers to the clause-internal position of a question word or focus constituent	§7.2
Left-dislocation	Left-dislocation is a syntactic operation in the course of which a nominal expression (noun or pronoun) is moved to the left periphery of the clause. The grammatical role (subject, object) of the left-dislocated constituent is indicated by a resumptive pronoun in the associated clause.	§2.4.3.2
Light verbs	Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate.	§6.4.1
Mandative constructions	Mandative constructions (from English *command*) typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives.	§12.1.1.2
Modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2
Negative scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or be more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.2-3

Open vs. remote conditionals	Open or realis conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability. Remote or hypothetical conditionals, on the other hand, present a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible.	§12.2.1
Possession	Possessive noun phrases consist of a possessed and a possessor noun, the latter being marked by a linkage morpheme. A variety of different semantic relations fall under the rubric of possession, ranging from ownership in the narrow sense to the expression of kinship.	§3.1.4
Prefix	Prefixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the right of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
Pronouns	Personal pronouns express person deixis, i.e. the reference to participants, present or absent, of the speech situation.	§2.4
Proximal vs. distal deixis	Proximal and distal demonstratives are deictically contrastive: the former refer to items else to the speaker and the latter to items located at some distance away from the speaker.	§4.1.1
Reduplication	Reduplication is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses	Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification, or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse.	§11.1.5.3
Reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content.	§12.1.3
Resumptive pronouns	Resumptive pronouns are pronominal placeholders inside a clause that occur in the syntactic position from which a nominal constituent has been extracted, e.g. the pivot of a relative clause.	§11.1.3
Rhetorical questions	Rhetorical questions are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the disguise of a question.	§4.2.3
Roots	Roots represent an abstract lexical item which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
Scrambling	Scrambling is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Second Tenses	Coptic uses special inflectional morphology, traditionally referred to as "second tense", in relative clauses, questions and focus constructions.	§7.2

Subject-verb inversion	Inversion involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V–O–S order.	§10.1.5
Suffix	Suffixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the left of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
Specific and non-specific indefinites	Both specific and non-specific indefinites involve reference to an individual or object, which is not identifiable to the addressee. When the indefinite noun phrase refers to a particular entity, it has a specific reading. If, on the other hand, an indefinite noun phrase refers to any arbitrary member of a particular class, it adopts a non-specific interpretation.	§2.2.2.2
Stem pattern	The surface form of the root is called the stem. In Coptic, verbal stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morphosyntactic and semantic properties.	§6.1.3
Switch reference	Switch reference designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
Tense	Tense is a deictic category which describes the location of events in time. Absolute tenses relate an event with respect to a fixed temporal reference point (the present moment), while relative tenses relate an event with respect to another event.	§7.1, §8.1

Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3
Universal quautifiers	Universal quantifiers like *all* in *all birds fly* are associated with an exhaustive interpretation and make reference to the entirety of some discourse domain.	§4.3.2
Unergative vs. unaccusative intransitives	Intransitive verbs fall into two classes, namely unergative verbs with agentive subjects (e.g. ⲛⲏⲏⲃⲉ 'to swim') and unaccusative verbs with non-agentive subjects (e.g. ⲛⲉⲥⲉ-, ⲛⲉⲥⲱ= 'to be beautiful').	§6.3.4
***Wh*-questions**	*Wh-* or constituent questions are questions that address the validity or the truth of some statement.	§4.2.2
Yes-no questions	A question in which the truth of a proposition is at issue. Yes-no questions require "yes" or "no" as an answer and lack question words.	§4.2.2

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