

**TOPICS IN COPTIC SYNTAX:
STRUCTURAL STUDIES IN THE BOHAIRIC DIALECT**

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IN THE BOHAIRIC DIALECT

by

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For Annat

For Atai, Rudy and Alma

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: Tensing and Structure in Narrative and Dialogue	29
1.1 Narrative Tensing and Texturing	29
1.2 Dialogue Tensing and Structure	138
CHAPTER TWO: Rhemes and Rhematicity: Nexus Patterns. The Nominal Sentence. Focalization. Issues of Negativity	221
CHAPTER THREE: the Noun Syntagm and the Determination Syn- drome	333
CHAPTER FOUR: Juncture Features	475
BIBLIOGRAPHY	635
APPENDIX (I): Paris BnF Copte 1, by Anne Boud'hors	675
APPENDIX (II): Some Notes concerning the Relations between the Coptic and the Arabic Text in MS Paris copte 1, by Ofer Livne- Kafri	685
INDEX OF SUBJECTS, CONCEPTS AND NAMES	695
INDEX OF COPTIC ELEMENTS AND PHRASES	711
INDEX OF COPTIC PASSAGES QUOTED OR CITED	713

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This work has been long in the making. It has been with me, as my main intellectual concern, for nearly three decades, during which time it grew and took shape, almost organically, in a rambling and discursive manner, with issues rhapsodically looming large and dwindling. All that time it was nourished by conversations and discussions and excited appreciation of newly encountered examples, in classrooms and corridors, in various campuses and countries, on buses, cafés, email and on the phone, with friends, students and disciples turned colleagues. It is impossible to thank all my interlocutors by name, and I heartily acknowledge here their contribution to the composition of ideas presented in this book.

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A.S.-H.

INTRODUCTION

Heavens, what a tough job Egyptian grammar is if one takes it seriously!

(Battiscombe Gunn to Alan Henderson Gardiner, 26/4/21 (AHG Archives [Oxford, the Griffith Institute] 35.17)

Coptic is indeed “*lingua sapientissima*”, but we are constantly and often rudely reminded that *we* are not “*sapientes*” enough.

(Hans-Jakob Polotsky, 1984, p.15)

0.1 General and Methodological

The present work, a long time in the making, has a quintuple ambition and *raison d'être*. First, it aims to depict in detail, using a strictly structural analytic method, some central subsystemic components of the synchronic system of a much-neglected dialect of Coptic: beyond the need to understand how Coptic functions — in F.Ll. Griffith's words¹, “an intelligent study of the linguistic remains” — a description which would be an adequate basis for typological and/or diachronic studies. While not exhaustive (and far from answering all questions raised), this account attempts to isolate and address the main *Problematik* of the said subsystems; I believe in the progressive unveiling of grammatical intricacies, as it were opening phenomenological vistas, with ever-increasing delicacy of resolution. At the same time and to the same extent, I wish to supply a description that would put Coptic once again on the map of General Linguistics, as it was in the nineteenth century: for modern General Linguistics, and its history, have mostly passed Coptic by, regressing in the insightful comprehension of Coptic achieved in the nineteenth century (the typology of Coptic — in contradistinction to pre-Coptic Egyptian — was basically understood and applied by M.G. Schwartze, H. Steinthal and F. Misteli, and even Aug. Schleicher)². Thirdly, my aim is to assess, on a broad canvas and with “minor”

¹ F.Ll. Griffith, “The Study of Egyptology” (Inaugural Lecture, the Ashmolean Museum, May 8, 1901).

² Thus, in ENTWISTLE 1953:354 we read “The grammatical distinctions in *sha-f-sotm* ‘he is accustomed to hear’ are presented before the *verbal stem* is reached” (my italics): an analytically wrong statement one would not expect to find in the old typologists. Or, [“do” with the infinitive] “reflects usage in ordinary speech”, Fewster in ADAMS et al. (eds.) 2000:223 n.7, a statement purely speculative and again heedless of dialectal differences and the importance of *εp-* in this context in Bohairic. Or, and especially critically,

as well as major traits, the nature and degree of the influence — or absence of influence — of Greek on Coptic; by examining and questioning the bias of “Greekness” in Coptic usage, I would return Coptic linguistics to the broader scope of *Egyptian* linguistics; and, simultaneously, formulate ideas towards a Coptic-Greek contrastive grammar³. However, this is not a contrastive investigation — neither Coptic vs. Greek, nor Bohairic vs. Sahidic. At the time an excellent 2000, 2004 Sahidic Grammar (LAYTON 2004) has just appeared in its second edition, one that represents the language as “Coptic”, I wish to assert, or rather reassert, Bohairic as a linguistic system, as worthy (from the viewpoint of grammatical interest) as Sahidic — nay, worthier than Sahidic, a considerably levelled-out dialect. For we have had practically no in-depth study of Bohairic in the twentieth century; even H.J. Polotsky’s work was entirely Sahidic-oriented. Sahidic still stands for Coptic *tout court* (as represented in encyclopedic accounts, in teaching, in “Coptic information” included in Egyptian grammars, such as Fr. Junge’s introductory grammar of Late Egyptian⁴, or in typological-comparative essays). Bohairic grammar has ever been a “sub-Coptology” subject, second (with the false Renaissance of Manichaean and Gnostic Coptology) to Lycopolitan (*alias* Subakhmimic), to recently emerging dialects such as Oxyrhynchite. Therefore, as a fourth aim, I have in mind what H.J. Polotsky called (in his 1959 review of Mallon-Malinine’s Bohairic Grammar) “Neugestaltung der koptischen Grammatik”, in the sense of restoring Bohairic grammar to its proper place in the over-all Coptic picture. Fifth and last, I have in mind the rigorous application of the methods of structural analysis in text-linguistics scope, with a view to testing these models “in the field”, discovering their effectiveness and weaknesses and perhaps contributing to refining and improving its heuristic power. Here belongs the *systemic* interdependence of these “topics” which, although presented separately, are but focus facets and feature clusters in a single close-knit system: only structural analysis can combine in presentation these two — the isolated phenomenon and its associates in the system.

in current Egyptian linguistics, which is still often lamentably dependent on Till’s *Grammatik* (see for instance JANSEN-WINKELN 2000 in an otherwise important and insightful article).

³ When GARDINER 1937:20f. extols “the logicity and clarity of Egyptian syntax”, Coptic is excluded: “Coptic being in the main a language of translation from the Greek, is as regards word-order almost completely under the influence of the originals”: this is all wrong, and tells us more about Gardiner than about Coptic or Egyptian.

⁴ Despite certain curious Coptic references which seem non-Sahidic: $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\tau\mu$, $\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\sigma\sigma\tau\mu$ (135), $\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\sigma\omega\tau\mu$ (164), $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa$ $\sigma\tau\psi\omega\varsigma$ (193), $\epsilon\eta\tau\phi\sigma\omega\tau\mu$ $\lambda\eta$ (257).

0.1.1 Basic structural-analytic procedure: methodological principles in brief⁵.

It is near-impossible to adequately codify the structuralist analytic procedure, except in very general principle; this is due to the fact, once we leave phonology for “grammar”, that is syntax, unsolved theoretical problems abound, notably in principles of commutation and paradigmatics, opposition and neutralization, environment, analysis and synthesis. The following principles must therefore be considered provisional, approximative and personally conceived.

(a) “The objects of interest to linguistic theory are **texts**. The aim of linguistic theory is to provide a procedural method by means of which a given text can be comprehended through a *self-consistent and exhaustive* description [...]. Linguistic theory starts from the text as its datum and attempts to show the way to a self-consistent and exhaustive description of it through an *analysis* — a deductive progression from class to component, and component of component [...]. A totality does not consist of things but of *relationships* [...]. Analysis we can define formally as description of an object by the uniform dependences of other objects on it and on each other. The object that is subjected to analysis we will call *a class*, and the other objects [...] we will call *components of the class*” (L. Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language* [translated by Whitfield, Madison 1961], from Chapters 9-10; my italics). These lines sum up the basic analytical principle of the structural method.

The heuristic procedure is **data-based, empiric** (and therewith repeatable or reconstructable and refutable) and **analytic**. In a ‘listener’s role’ (“*modèle de récepteur*”) **decoding** direction, we isolate in a **given corpus** simple or complex *signifiants*, which have by definition their respective individual *signifiés*. These signs are presented in a statement of **functional value**: any formal (*signifiant*) difference must, as a heuristic axiom (and indeed as the basic definitive property of language as a semiotic system of simple and complex signs) be correlatable with a *signifié* difference. A language element or combination of elements can be described as having a **value** (role, function) only in terms of its **relationships to other elements** or combination of elements, on two axes: **syntagmatic** (linear, [co]textual) or **paradigmatic** (commutative, categorial)⁶. The former can

⁵ To some extent adapted from the methodological Introduction to SHISHA-HALEVY 1998.

⁶ Following a vigorous inner struggle, I have decided not to react here at length to the

be interpreted and qualified in terms of environment, dependence, juncture, rection (government), conditioning, compatibility or incompatibility, sequencing (placement, arrangement, texture); the latter in terms of **opposition** and its negation, **neutralization**; of **significant** or **pertinent** substitution (*ceteris paribus*, in a given syntagmatic environment and slot) and its *signifié*, its **category**; or of **conditioned alternation** (and other types of neutralization). **Zero** ('significant absence') is a normal member of any paradigm, if a 'no element' *signifiant* is privileged to occur at the paradigmatic slot. The category is the building-block of the **pattern**, which is the syntagm matrix, the 'syntagmatic blueprint' subtextual unity. The pattern is definable as a **bounded (delimited) and ordered junctured sequence of categories**.

The decoded-analytic **identity-definition** of an entity of language is effected by the conjoint coordinates of positional and commutational localization; its 'role-name', its analytic identity or individual essential profile consists of its simultaneous syntagmatic and paradigmatic coordination. This 'ID' names the entity, and distinguishes it from any possible homonym(s), for which one or both coordinates might be different. This is, in fact, the quintessence of **analytic information** we can supply on this entity. To this we may add **synthetic statements** about its various allo-forms, or its cumulative profile, consisting of several categories

current trend of rapping the so-called "Standardtheorie" of Middle Egyptian grammar, a concept and term coined by L. Depuydt in the late Eighties as a code-name for H.J. Polotsky's "School", in which commutation plays a decisive role in isolating grammatical categories. Early on carried by J.P. Allen (ALLEN 1986), then by M. Collier (e.g. COLLIER 1992), it has recently been turned by Pascal Vernus from informed critique to a brutal attack in his tellingly named "Les parties du discours en Moyen Égyptien. Autopsie d'une théorie", Genève 1997; see SATZINGER and SHISHA-HALEVY 1999. I find that this trend, blending well in the near-total programmatic disregard, dismissal and miscomprehension of De Saussure's real thought (as distinct from the canonical *Cours*) and of the basic principles of Saussurean-Hjelmslevian structural analysis, wrongs, by its facileness, both Polotsky (who was, so far as I know, annoyed by the "Standardtheorie" canonizing appellation of his thought) and his followers. I shall allow myself one sentence of response (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 2006b). Polotsky did not conceive of "parts of speech" as *a priori* logical categories, to be forced on the "grammatical world"; he considered the text as his analytic starting-point and the syntagmatic-slot-filling paradigm as a heuristic tool — certainly, having syntax overruling morphology! — for establishing the main building-elements ("stoikheia"). This is hardly a denial of "verbal categories", of which he has been accused. By describing a verb form as "substantial" or "adverbial" he never envisaged renouncing the characterizability of its temporal or aspectual functions, or any other analytically evident sophistication. What he strictly adhered to was the overrule of syntactical identity over word-morphological "form", text-referred function to sentential one, and analytically resolved categories over *a priori*, ethnocentric ones. Thus, Polotsky's "adverb", for example, has a tightly-knit paradigmatic + syntagmatic value, significance and identity.

relevant to it, various angles or perspectives from which it can be illuminated, or broader subsystems in which it is subsumed. The stratification of analysis, the so-called 'levels of analysis', I consider extrinsic to linguistic analysis and have tried to avoid as far as possible.

The analysis is in principle **continuous** and **descending**, from text-scope downwards, and patterns are resolved in the course of this descending analysis, primarily by the isolation of delimitative (boundary) signals. The only hierarchy I consider heuristically helpful as well as structurally valid, is the gradient **junctural** one; others (e.g. of primary vs. secondary functions) are dismissible as non-analytic. It follows that the value of the **paradigm-representant** in the linear syntagmatic sequence is determined by its (and its pattern's) entire textual syntagmatic as well as paradigmatic environments. That is to say, every feature or fact or subsystem of grammar must primarily be considered as a **phenomenon of text-grammar**. Patterns, not sentences or clauses, are the main items presented; their enveloping system of grammar is by definition text-grammatical or macro-syntactic, with cotextual formal features an integral part of their pattern attributes.

(b) Syntagmatics: the Compatibilities axis. Staticity and dynamicity.

Analyzability is a basic, indeed definitive property of the linguistic textual complex, with the so-called **Immediate-Constituent** analysis a simple analytic tool for resolving structure elements that are **compatible**, in a distinct *in praesentia* interdependence. **Sequencing** is a complex issue, not exhaustible in schematic sweeping statements of 'word-order'. A basic distinction of actual syntagmatic sequencing and structural (not necessarily of adjoining elements: '**discontinuous**') sequencing is essential. Elements representative of categories often 'reside' in actual locations that are structurally, albeit not typologically, a matter of coincidence. Constituent ordering is not a prime, independent, overruling, governing or motivating feature of syntax. It is one of several cumulatively definitive features of any pattern. Word or constituent order does not 'exist' on its own in a given language, as one of its typological traits. The unfolding of the text — the linear and peripheral sequence of segmental and suprasegmental signals — is all there is to *la parole*: it has no underlying form (its complexity is both syntagmatic and paradigmatic, in what has been described as what has been oxymoronically called "*la profondeur de la surface*"). This unfolding in time is the only dynamic factor in the synchronic structure of language: the grammemic and tagmemic 'networks' are static. The syntagmatic se-

quence has no hierarchies, other than the linear hierarchical Immediate Constituents bracketing model and linkage/delimitation scale exponency; 'dichotomic' statements of rank (as in 'main' or 'subordinate') are logic-based and non-analytical, and must be replaced by syntactic-status and discourse-signalling statements.

There are several (not a great many) types of interdependence between compatible signs in their syntagm. The two basic ones are **phrasal interdependency**, obtaining between **nucleus** and **expansion (satellite)**, and **nexal interdependency**, between a thematic and a rhematic constituent; these two interdependencies are not mutually exclusive, that is, they are mutually combinable (as in an **adnexal** satellite).

In text-scope, what the linguist aims at describing is the **text-grammar**: the **texture**, consisting of **cohesion**, **juncture** and **discourse** signalling. (No "system sentences", in J. Lyons's terminology, are envisaged; only "text sentences"). These and other formal means build up the Functional Sentence Perspective and Communicative Dynamism of sub-textual units, constituting the **information** or 'thematic' **structuring** of the text. **Topic** marking and **Focus** marking, text-referred representant information nodes in the clause, and **Theme** and **Rheme**, constitutive nexal nodes of the same, combine in the information structure of the text — always intricately, and differently for different **textemes** (e.g. **dialogue** and **narrative** ones).

(c) **Paradigmatics: the Commutabilities axis.**

The linguistic form or pattern occurring in *la parole* or in the text is, for the decoding listener-receiver, never the result of a dynamic transformation or transposition procedure. The decoder compares oppositively the signal-complex and various signal configurations continuously received, with other signal complexes and configurations that stand in paradigm with the received one: this is in fact **the decoding process** itself (presupposing **choice** in the encoding — the speaker's — model). The interdependence *in absentia* between commutables is correlated to their **incompatibility** (or **mutual exclusion**) in a given slot of a specific environment, with the variable — the paradigm representant — not motivated or regulated or conditioned by any other element of this environment. Paradigms, too, are (internally) structured, and (externally) opposed to other paradigms, forming molecule-like multi-dimensional complex categories⁷. The Immediate Constituents model is also applica-

⁷ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1994.

ble to paradigms, reducing multi-term ones to constitutive binary ones. Binary *signifié* or sign oppositions may be semantically defined — in given contexts and pragmatic constellations, and therefore always with a measure of uncertainty — as **marked** vs. **unmarked**; some binary oppositions are **privative**, opposing *zero* to **non-zero** *signifiants*. The **value** of signs in a paradigm is determined and indeed defined by the number and structure of paradigm terms. Again, the paradigmatic tension is static, and terms in paradigm are not hierarchically structured: no term is primary or secondary, more or less important; no term (by definition of the opposition) motivates or conditions another; no term underlies another — all are co-present in the paradigm in *la langue*, although only one represents the paradigm (category) in a given slot in *la parole*.

(d) Terminology: the tyranny of terms.

This is an issue much more important than generally realized (relevant terminological issues are discussed in details in the actual studies below). Terms are usually loaded, by connotation, by direct simple or complicated association or by evocation, and strongly condition descriptive conceptualization. With terms, familiarity breeds entrenchment and compartmentalization. Most terms in common use (and even those considered ‘General-Linguistics’ ones) carry Indo-European or Eurocentric ‘squinting’, (Greco-)Latin-based — connotations, often compounded by diachronic-perspective ones⁸. Almost all concepts we commonly use must be elucidated and often redefined; the effect of ‘terminological importation’ is especially biasing and insidious in the case of languages relatively new to modern linguistic research. This problem (often compounded with the diachronic bias, and succinctly summed up for French linguistics by Ch. De Boer as “la tyrannie du latin”), is certainly not negligible for Coptic and Egyptian grammar; see STERN 1880:312 n. 1 on Latin cases (earlier still, STEINTHAL 1847:47). This persistent 18/19th century terminological tradition — based on a still earlier one — was, in the case of Coptic, to converge with the terms of the Greek grammatical categories in the *Vorlage* text; these together furnished much of the modern grammatical terminology of Coptic, at least until Polotsky’s “Coptic Conjugation System” of 1960 and subsequent work.

(e) “Was ist Syntax?”

My own personal answer to this question — the title of John Ries’s seminal book of 1894, a query as freshly relevant today as it was a hun-

⁸ For instance, the use of ‘genitive’ for associative noun phrases.

dred years ago — would be: “almost all there is to grammar”. That is to say, I see ‘syntax’ as coterminous with ‘grammar’, since the paradigm is valid, meaningful and definable syntagmatically, in its slot. However, the status of syntax, which ought to be seen as overruling all other scopes or putative ‘levels’ of analysis, is (and has ever been in the Western linguistic traditions) usurped and encroached upon. This is a Eurocentric Neo-Grammarian morphological bias, often blended with a diachronistic inclination (De Boer’s ‘superstition de la forme’ [meaning word-centered morphology] coupled with ‘la manie de l’explication historique’); syntactic analysis is also impaired and handicapped by carried-over terminological overtones and ethnocentrism. Coptic is a striking case in point; indeed, this crucial methodological lesson — all is syntax, syntactic or syntactic⁹ — is reason enough to get acquainted with Coptic. Moreover, the diachronic dimension of the stratificational issue, namely the popular “syntax to morphology” evolutionary cycle which is currently gaining new vigour in the framework of the (again) fashionable “grammaticalization” phenomenology, is also affected: the facile dictum, “today’s morphology, yesterday’s syntax” loses famously most of its meaning in Egyptian-Coptic (see SHISHA-HALEVY 2000).

(f) “Parts of Speech”.

Parts of Speech are (in De Saussure’s words)¹⁰ “[un] principe purement logique, extralinguistique, **appliqué au dehors sur la grammaire**” (my emphasis). They constitute anything but grammatical categories: as a matter of fact, they correspond to often random **conglomerates** of categories, grouped together and made to cohere non-analytically, aprioristically by logico-semantic considerations. This super-imposed blue-

⁹ Cf. POLOTSKY, 1957a:231. The subordination of morphology to syntax as the essence of “grammar” was of course the general response to “Question III” in the Sixth Congress of Linguists (Paris, 1949).

¹⁰ *Apud* Engler, *Lexique de la terminologie saussurienne* 39. Cf. also Hjelmslev’s “illegitimacies” as phrased in his “La catégorie des cas” (1935): It is illegitimate “to impose on the language a set of categories which has not been established intralinguistically...to impose on the language a logical analysis of judgement...”. Parts of Speech are not of a kind, ontologically and epistemologically. The verb, of course — in Indo-European or outside it — is not a single irreducible ‘part’, but a sentence, clause, a Theme-plus-Rheme nexus complex; the noun — substantive and adjective — is very often definable syntactically (e.g. respectively by expanding a determinator, or by the attributive-slot privilege); the adjective is (at least in Indo-European and Semitic languages) dubious as an entity, unless syntactically endorsed; the adverb is a last-resort, odds-and-ends mixed-bag part of speech, for elements not fitting in the other pigeonholes. Of course, word-classes may be language-specifically, “locally” characterized and defined as “parts of speech”.

print, aprioristic, praeter analytical, universal (as in 'universal adaptor') is surely the most informing and pervasive, the most heavily, insidiously biasing analysis-programming model. It is one that enables us to enjoy in all languages the false security of ethnocentric 'normalcy', but at the same time inexorably leads us astray, especially by imposing the need to ask irrelevant, even false questions that obscure or distort the comprehension of the actual structure of a given linguistic system in its most sensitive and typologically telling points.

(g) Dead-language linguistics.

This methodologically special brand of linguistic enquiry has been much neglected in the second half of the 20th century, with the growing sophistication of text linguistics and discourse analysis from the Sixties to the Eighties and Nineties. I will here no more than quote the cogent final paragraph of JAMIESON 1993, concerned with Sanskrit: "...in the end the best way to approach the writing of the synchronic syntax of a dead language is to try and cultivate a pseudo-Sprachgefühl, which we can only acquire by the diligent and careful reading of texts. This was, of course, the 'secret' of the great syntacticians of the 19th century, one that seems all too often forgotten now", with her own quotation (1993:219 n.1) of Visser's admonition, which is of a special poignancy in Coptic philological linguistics, indeed seems to be taken *verbatim* from a Coptologist's agenda: "...it often happened that a collocation that at first, in its uniqueness, looked like a solecism, an error, a misprint or a corruption, turned out to represent regular idiom when more and more collocations of the identical build were met with. On the strength of the material thus gathered it became possible to solve a number of syntactical puzzles...where rash editors thought 'emendations' were called for".

(h) Grammatical variation.

This issue, generally difficult to come to terms with in the structuralist model, is especially sensitive in the case of dead-language *scripta*, where sociolinguistic correlates are extremely speculative to apply¹¹. However, a somewhat comparable set of parameters may govern the various variant readings in a text so rich in sources as the New Testament, where questions of witness hierarchy and quality must be settled.

¹¹ Cf. WAHLGREN 1995 (Hellenistic Greek), e.g. on final/consecutive constructions, where variation is a vexed question in Coptic too (see below, Chapter Three).

In what may be called the paradigmatics of variant readings, the grammatical features commute (with weak oppositional tension, often reduced to “style” opposition) within a single textual category, no carrying difference in apparently environment and representing equivalent linguistic signs, as “textual isoglosses”. We need to talk here of “texts in context”, the way we consider “language in context”. The frequency, absence or rarity of variation are significant: compare for instance the frequency difference between e.g. $\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and *zero*, different prepositions — e.g. $\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota$ or $\epsilon\iota\varsigma/\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (frequent); $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\phi\eta\epsilon\tau/\pi\epsilon\tau$, $\pi\epsilon\tau/\epsilon\tau$ in the Cleft Sentence (infrequent); $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ and $\gamma\eta\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$, First and Second Tenses, $\mu\pi\alpha\upsilon$ - and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ - (rare). Lexical *variae lectiones* form a class of their own ($\epsilon\mu\iota/\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron/\sigma\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\tau\alpha\varsigma\theta\omicron/\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$, etc.), as do morphological variants ($\alpha\iota\iota\alpha/\epsilon\iota\iota\alpha$ -, $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu/\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu$ -, $\tau\epsilon\mu/\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu$) and the correlation with *variae lectiones* in the Greek *Vorlage* (insofar as we have it) is of course always an essential factor. It is a fascinating question whether we have here an equivalence of signifieds and therefore different systems, or differing textual registers — or rather different renderings by the translators.

A second type of “variation” in Bohairic is provisional, pending the definitive description of language varieties: the different systems of OT Scripture (further subdivisible), NT Scripture, Nitrian (further subdivisible) etc.

(i) Like loan-words, grammatical “Grecisms” (see further below) are of different grades of integration in the overall systems concerned. Just as Greek-origin lexemes may be structurally ranged with Egyptian ones (e.g. $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ with $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\iota$), or alternatively belong to a parallel “technical-register” lexical system, so too Greek particles or conjunctions/adverbials, such as $\phi\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$, $\sigma\tau\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\iota\iota\alpha$ $\mu\eta\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\eta\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\sigma\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\iota\alpha$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ (all occurring in NT Bohairic) may be either pertinent importations, enriching the overall Coptic lexicon of morphs, or, superimposed on the text in a different rank, toning code-switching elements. The same may apply for $\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega$ $\delta\epsilon$ or $\sigma\tau\iota$ $\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron$, even $\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ — but not for $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\pi\pi\epsilon$ or $\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\tau\epsilon$, which grammatically encroach on Coptic forms. By and large, our corpus is (as might perhaps be expected) sparing in this kind of loans, which bring the Coptic text closer to the unseen, yet behind-the-scene, operative system of living Greek, both spoken and written. See further below.

0.2 On the structure and style of the exposition.

The presentation in this work is analytical, rarely synthesizing, and hierarchical in three ranks: the main running exposition; “Obs[ervations]” interpolated in the main text, for discussion of implications, extra-corpus illustration, discussion in the literature, comparative information and so on; and thirdly, footnotes for marginal reflections and references. The need for analytical microscopy — my personal preference over macroscopy — makes often for a “user-unfriendly” face and, I fear, tediousness and “hiccuping” flow of the text. An inelegant, repetitious, cluttered, even occasionally chaotic presentation is inevitable in the multidimensional, non-linear reality of linguistic detailed systems and subsystems, which do not lend themselves to progressive, economic description: the multifarious interconnectedness of features and phenomena cannot be reflected in linear discourse¹². Abundant illustration and comparative view angles may add to the denseness, but are, I believe, of the essence.

0.3 The corpus described.

The descriptive statements made in this study will be based on the unpublished 14th-century MS *Paris BN copte I* (see Appendix I, by Anne Boud’hors), containing the text of the Bohairic Coptic Pentateuch (with a marginal Arabic text, apparently not based only on the Coptic by its side: see here, Appendix II by O. Livne-Kafri)¹³, and well known as one of the oldest Bohairic texts we have. It was briefly described by BROOKE 1902 (there coded “A”), and more thoroughly in RHODES 1921:30, 35ff., 46ff. (coded “C”); Rhodes, an Arabist, was enthusiastic about the competence and scholarly virtues of the Arab philologist-scribe: “The scribe whose work we have before us deserves special notice as a grammarian and a text-critic of no mean order”, 1921:48. Rhodes was not equipped to comment on the Coptic text). On the Paris Pentateuch: see also FUNK 1992, an important annotated collation of the first chapter of Deuteronomy. As W.P. Funk says (1992:17), we have excellent Bohairic sources for the Pentateuch — which also accounts for my choice of this Scripture component for my syntactic study. A second,

¹² I have always been fascinated by the tension between the “inelegance” of language structure — the inherent multilayered and multidimensional systems — and the schematic neatness of the systematization we impose on this structure.

¹³ The Arabic text was added to the margin of the Rome Vat. copto I Pentateuch (9/10th century) several centuries after the Coptic one.

older (10th century) MS contains the Pentateuch, namely the *Bibl. Vaticana copto I* (Hebbelynck-Lantschoot [1937] 1-6, Brooke's "V", Rhodes's "A"), which is for the present purpose outside the main corpus: however, comparison will occasionally be made (where judged grammatically important) with its readings. On the whole, I find the Paris Pentateuch in many grammatical respects the more interesting of the two MSS.

Obs.

The critical editions of the Bohairic Genesis and Exodus by M. Peters (1985 and 1986) have met with adverse, often severe, criticism (QUECKE 1986, SCHENKE 1978b and 1988, FUNK 1989 and 1992) as unreliable and negligent.

0.4 Bohairic and Coptic. Let us return now to the history and background of the exiling of Bohairic to the margins of Coptic studies. The implicitly disparaging evaluation of Bohairic as an "inferior" component of the Coptic dialectological spectrum has been usually attributed to its late documentation (until recently, in 13th-14th, very rarely earlier: 9th-10th century MSS at the earliest), wholly ignoring the flagrant linguistic *non sequitur* involved, which it is hardly necessary to spell out here. Not unlike the Turkish admiral who could not find Malta ("Malta yok!"), LEFORT (1931), the great derogator of Bohairic, denied the dialect any early — indeed, any genuinely Coptic — literary status (1931:135 "sahidique, seul dialecte littéraire de l'égypte jusqu'à la maine mise de l'arabe sur l'Égypte..."), arguing also from wrong information and miscomprehension of Bohairic grammar and in particular of Nitrian (it seems that for him Nitrian was all the Bohairic there was). Today, his opinion is generally rejected, and Sahidic, without losing its representative standing, is dethroned as a linguistically special dialect. (See KASSER 1965:291f. on Sahidic: "le plus évolué (ou le plus neutralisé) ... il perdit peu à peu ses caractéristiques les plus marquantes"). The traditional consensus of the Sahidic Bible translation as the only early and important one is also being slowly dislodged by the early Bohairic sources coming to light (see the Göttingen Septuagint *Genesis* (ed. Wevers, 1974), p. 74f.).

0.4.1 The Study of Bohairic: notes and some highlights

Athanasius Kircher's *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus* (Rome 1636) is of course exclusively Bohairic — both grammatical material

and Bibliotheca Vaticana catalogue. So is his *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta* of 1643/4; we are acquainted with the dialect itself from at least the 13th century. The earliest Coptic grammar — best, among early works of grammatical scholarship — by P. Bonjour, edited by N. Bosson and S. Aufrère (see AUFRÈRE and BOSSON 2003, 2006), is Bohairic.

The story of the rise to eminence of Sahidic and the decline of Bohairic scholarship is very much the story of one Polish-German-English scholar, namely Karl Gottfried Woide (1725-1790). Equipped with the authority and scientific material of his teachers, Paul Ernst Jablonski and Christian Scholtz, Woide seems to have been the main drive behind the speedy rise of Sahidic in the second half of 18th century to the status it still occupies today. The documents proving Woide's Sahidic interest and activities are all housed in the Bodleian (New Bodleian) Library, Oxford, the Woide Papers in the Clarendon Press group of MSS (with an autograph catalogue of 1886-7 by H. Hyvernat in the Bodleian Oriental Reading Room, the MS Cl. Press d.0, shelfmarked ZCat.2). For instance, in 1762 (Cl. Press d.15 "Farrago ad Grammaticam Aegyptiam") we find, on a Bohairic basis (D. Wilkins's 1715 Bohairic New Testament), Sahidic New Testament notes, collations and variant lists.

Around 1770, Woide circulated in the scholarly world of Europe a "pro memoria" inquiry and request for information about Sahidic (in Italian and English; Cl.Press c.3; Bohairic is still "Coptic" *tout court*): "Exclusive of the Coptic, there has been another Dialect in Upper Egypt that varies a Little from the former, but has the same Letter. We call it the Dialect of Upper Egypt, or the Sahidic or Thebaidic Dialect" (a somewhat later Latin version occurs in Cl.Press e.30, a draft of what was soon to appear as the Scholtz-Woide double grammar). In the rich correspondence reacting to this (of the 1780's: Cl.Press c.2) we already find much material on Sahidic (or "Thebaic").

In the programmatic introduction to his autograph "Dissertation upon the Egyptian Language" (1773/4, Cl. Press e.21, p. 4), Woide writes: "I will inquire into the nature of the Egyptian language, and its two Dialects; that of Lower Egypt, the Coptic; and that of Upper Egypt, the Sahidic, or Thebaidic". In this work he pays attention to the grammatical differences between the two dialects (p. 45ff.), states that Sahidic "has more marks of Antiquity", and makes public his intention to promote the study of Sahidic and its texts (47f.). Here is also an early mention of the Askew Codex (p.26, "ms ΠΙΣΤΗΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ").

Chr. Scholtz (1697-1777), Woide's teacher and friend, left Woide several comprehensive works, all dated "Berlin 1748 or 1747": a three-

volume autograph Latin draft of his “Dissertatio de Lingua Coptica vel Aegyptiaca”, which was still monodialectal: a Bohairic grammar. Dated a year earlier, we have Scholtz’s autograph “Grammatica Aegyptiaca utriusque Dialecti, tam communis, quam Sahidica s. superioris Aegypti” which, its title notwithstanding, is still mainly Bohairic (Bodl. Oriental 474-5). Then (Cl. Press e.10), “Analysis Grammatica Vocum Aegyptiacarum Partium Nonnullarum S. Scripturae” — a verse-by-verse transcription, translation and grammatical interpretation, Bohairic (pp. 1-283). However, an additional part (Second Part, pp. 1-120) contains “Fragmenta quaedam SSa in Dialecto Thebaica seu Sahidica conscripta”. On the much-abridged basis of these, Woide finally compiles his famous dual-dialect grammar, appearing under both names in 1778; yet Scholtz-Woide (Oxford: the Clarendon Press) is not a dual Bohairic/Sahidic grammar like L. Stern’s of a century later, but gives one the impression of having the Sahidic “grafted” onto a Bohairic stock, the latter called here “Memphitic” (an old name, going back at least to P. Bonjour’s grammar of the late 17th century: “memphytica sive baheirica”; until the late eighteenth century still standing for “Coptic” esp. in England and Germany). The introduction is Woide’s (p. vii: “Duplex autem est linguae Aegyptiacae Dialectus Inferioris Aegypti, quae Coptica plerumque appellatur, sed potius Memphitica appellanda est; et Superioris Aegypti, quae Dialectus Sahidica, vel Thebaidica, sive Thebennitica, vocatur”)¹⁴. Three years earlier, Woide published, indexed and annotated Scholtz’s edition of an abridged version of La Croze’s *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum* (see QUATREMÈRE 1808:94ff.). The indexes are titled “Indices ad Glossarium Copticum utriusque Dialecti”, and there is a separate Sahidic index; the Coptic is again basically Bohairic, mixed with occasional Sahidic forms. Rarely, an independent Sahidic entry appears; but at the end (p. 183ff.) we have a “Sylloge Quarundam Vocum Dialecti Sahidicae sive Superioris Aegypti”, with cross-references to the Bohairic.

Earlier still, Paul Ernst Jablonski (1693-1757), Scholtz’s brother-in-law, was also Scholtz’s (and Woide’s) teacher. He knew Coptic well (a fact not mentioned in the *Coptic Encyclopaedia* entry, vol. 4 p. 1318, 1991). His papers on Coptic grammar (“Grammaticalia Coptica” — of

¹⁴ This grammar seems to have played an obstructing role in Champollion’s career, in causing being used as pretext for the rejection of his own Coptic grammar and dictionary; yet another manifestation of Berlin/Paris hostility. It is conceivable that Champollion’s Coptic information derived also from some knowledge of P. Bonjour’s autograph grammar of 1698 (see H. Hartleben, *Champollion*, Berlin:Weidmann 1906, t 79ff., 228, 355 n.2).

the 1740's? — Cl. Press d.17) are all Bohairic; however, it seems certain that he was well acquainted with Sahidic texts, as is evident from the first ("Voces Aegyptiacae") of the four volumes of his *Opuscula*, posthumously published (by I.G. Te Water, Leyden 1804-1813), although in the notes, and often in the text, it is the editor who speaks: (298) "...dialecto Aegypti superioris, quae hodie Sahidica vocatur"; (362) "...[fragmenta] quae dialecto Thebaidis sive Sahidica sunt conscripta"; (204 n.(x)) "Colligit Georgius...dialectum Memphiticam fuisse antiquiorem Sahidica sive Thebaica", and so on. However, his grammatical notes and the quoted forms are all Bohairic.

Another grammar to appear in 1778 was Tuki's¹⁵ (Rome), compiled on the basis of Bonjour's autograph grammar (1698, MS 475 of the Bibl. Angelica, Rome). Quatremère's criticism of Tuki (1808:92f.) is just: the work, purporting to be of both dialects, is an uncouth, at times barbaric compilation, compared to its source, which is often impressive for its insights.

In Quatremère's *Recherches Critiques* (1808), the general lines of the Jablonski-Scholtz-Woide German/English connection are drawn, mostly on the basis of the last-named published articles (also as authority for the early years of British Coptic studies, 60ff.): see pp. 80, 85f., 94, 99ff. etc. (104ff. on the development of Sahidic research in Italy and France). Quatremère already uses "Sahidic" and "Memphitic" as fully established terms. He praises (p. 141) Sahidic as being "more literary" and "more scientific", and must have played a decisive role in establishing the view of Sahidic as the scientifically most important of all Coptic dialects.

In the nineteenth century, Amedeo Peyron preferred Sahidic for "grammatico-aesthetic" reasons (1841:xix, 14 "magis regularis atque ad analogiam exacta"... "quod facile colligitur sive ex natura sermonis proprius ad analogiam exacti, ac minus foedati Graecis vocabulis" — the exact opposite of Schwartz's verdict, see below; and I believe the latter is right), while Ludwig Stern preferred Bohairic (1880:11f., with a certain satisfaction, "in Deutschland von je mehr gepflegt" — as against Italy/France? or England?), and as a general policy presents Bohairic first, for its "lautliche einfachheit", although he programmatically claims a balanced treatment of the two dialects. So, in fact, did the more perceptive Coptic grammarians before Polotsky. M.G. Schwartz (1802-

¹⁵ R. Tuki (Ṭūḥī), 1695-1787: see ORSATTI 1996:110f. "religioso di origine egiziana". Copies of his original MS abound in the Borgia collection, later the Bibliotheca Vaticana.

1848), Professor Extraordinary of Coptic in Berlin,¹⁶ was the insightful information source of the typologists H. Steinthal's and F. Misteli's Coptic information (in STEINTHAL-MISTELI 1893; see POLOTSKY 1984:10ff.). He too explicitly preferred Bohairic, as "more regular", less Grecized and more "Egyptian" than Sahidic (in *Das Alte Ägypten* [1843] pp. 1039ff., 2033ff.) and his insightful Bohairic grammar (posthumously published by Steinthal in 1850, as "Koptische Grammatik", dedicated to Alexander von Humboldt) is still the only general-linguistics-oriented one; see p. 8f. on the controversy as to which dialect is superior in "Alterthümigkeit und Sprachrichtigkeit": "Memphiticam dialectum, olim toti Aegypto communem, tanquam antiquiorem et aliarum matrem habendam esse"; here, "Memphitic" is still "Koptisch κατ'ἐξοχήν". For behind-the-scene reasons unknown to me, L. Stern (1880:ix) grumpily ignored the Schwartz-Steinthal grammar completely. He does mention *Das Alte Ägypten* critically and sarcastically, and says, quite unjustly: "...viel blätter und wenig fruchte. Was sollen wir auch von einer linguistischen methode erwarten, die ihre argumente nur zu oft in der speculation sucht?"¹⁷ Stern uses the Pentateuch little for his Bohairic exemplification. Like H.J. Polotsky a century later, he prefers the NT and the Psalms, probably also because of his decision to present as much as possible parallel Bohairic and Sahidic texts. On the other hand, we must mention here the brilliant, if modest dissertation by Ernst Andersson (1904), with insightful observations on the Bohairic Pentateuch (Lagarde's edition) and on Coptic grammar, in one-way dialogue with Stern's *Grammatik*.

The preference for Bohairic was usually shared by those Egyptologists who considered Coptic to be within their brief (W. Spiegelberg, probably K. Sethe — on A. Erman, see below; B. Gunn, later H.J. Polotsky in classroom practice rather than in published research) and by

¹⁶ Ludwig Stern's animus against Adolf Erman and the Egyptological establishment may have been among the reasons for his disappearing from the Egyptological stage following the *Koptische Grammatik*, to reappear as Ludwig Christian Stern, eminent Celtic philologist, authoritative editor of the Würzburg Old Irish glosses and of the Welsh poet ab Gwilym, with Kuno Meyer the co-founder and co-editor of the *Zeitschrift f. Celtische Philologie*. I know nothing of Stern's relations with Schwartz or Steinthal. (Incidentally, Stern does not mention Father Bonjour at all among the early grammarians of Coptic). The fascination of nineteenth-century Coptic and Egyptian philology (and typological linguistics) in Germany is intensified by the mystery still enveloping its protagonists, their background and their mutual relationships.

¹⁷ Polotsky's opinion is hardly more complimentary (1984:10ff): "an unreadable monstrosity", "a grotesque failure", but he notes "valuable observations on Coptic". In his *Grundlagen*, and in classroom discussion, Polotsky's high esteem for Schwartz was always evident.

general linguists — typologists — such as H. Steinthal, referred to above (STEINTHAL 1847:19, 44ff.). Still, Steinthal and Misteli's typological account of Egyptian uses Sahidic as the default, as the "older dialect": 1893: 78f., 56f., 267ff.; 273 n. 1). In the Berlin tradition, Adolf Erman appears to have been greatly responsible for stamping Bohairic as a "younger" dialect (ERMAN 1915:180f.), and Sahidic as the proper tool of Egyptology; Coptic, for A. Erman and K. Sethe, was a means instrumental for reconstructing or comprehending Egyptian, and not a descriptive end in itself. Erman even waxes poetic: Bohairic is a "trübe Quelle", compared with the "reine Born der alten Sahidischen Texte". Yet even he saw in Bohairic juncture-marking a more original phase; and indeed, he conveys here a double message, complaining of the preference of Sahidic by grammarians, and calling for the promotion of Bohairic grammatical research. L. Stern's illustration starts with Bohairic, in his *Koptische Grammatik* (1880)

By the twentieth century, Sahidic, generally speaking, has gained full ascendance, first in view of the great variety and quantity of its documentation (not least the corpus of Shenoute's works and the White Monastery library generally), then by the impetus lent by new instruments of study. It is the first dialect documented in Crum's 1909 *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the British Museum*, as it is in Bentley Layton's sequel *Catalogue*; Bohairic is in fact last, after Sahidic, Akhmimic and "Middle Egyptian". And of course, the entries to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*, while carefully noting all dialectal forms known to its author, are Sahidic. So are almost all grammars, from Steindorff's *Koptische Grammatik* (1904²) to Till's and Lambdin's still widely used works (and B. Layton's excellent recent grammar, mentioned above), and even Polotsky's "Coptic Conjugation System" of 1960; in the encyclopaedic "Coptic" (POLOTSKY 1970), Bohairic hardly features among Coptic dialects (559ff.). (Bohairic featured much more prominently in Polotsky's classroom discourse than in his publications). In such compendia as LOPRIENO 1995, important mainly as source of information on Egyptian for non-Egyptologists, Sahidic represents Coptic, and Bohairic is included for divergent morpho(phono)logy only. Exceptions are Mallon (-Malinine's) special and to date only Bohairic Grammar (1926³, 1956⁴), and of course dialectal grammars (M. Chaîne's of 1933 is especially rich in its treatment of Bohairic, to which it gives preferred status: see there, p. xxxiii). Polotsky's *Grundlagen* (1987-1990) treat Sahidic, pointing out Bohairic idiosyncrasies.

Even today, while a need to apologize for Bohairic is no longer really felt (cf. POLOTSKY 1959:453ff., KASSER 1987:226 n. 2), and the scepti-

cism about the existence of an early literary Bohairic is being proven unwarranted (cf. KAHLE 1954:195 against 248ff.; his assignment of Bohairic attestation to the 4th century, 1954:275ff., is now certainly proven right by the Vatican P. copto 9, the still inedited Bohairic Twelve Prophets), the biased attitude to Bohairic as “late”, hence corrupt, or decadent, or unauthentic, warranting the status of Sahidic as a point of reference to Coptic, persists still. Interest and good or adequate treatment of Bohairic grammar, other than for its (morpho-)phonology, are rare; FUNK 1991 is a brilliant exception; he even uses (1991:50, 52 + n. 92) the irresistible and exquisite “non-Bohairic dialects”, coined by Polotsky in the *Études de syntaxe copte* (1944:10), implying the appreciation of “Bohairicity” as a typological property. Bohairic is certainly still “not sufficiently known” (KAHLE, 1954:232). The present work aims to expand our acquaintance with this fascinating dialect, as also to challenge Polotsky’s opinion (1959:454) on the “unidiomatic character of the Bohairic Bible translation”.

Obs.

(1) A word on the Arabic grammars of Coptic (see BAUER 1972:7ff.). G. Bauer’s late dating of Athanasius of Qûs’s famous work (13/14th, not, as was believed, 10/11th centuries; see V. Frederic, “Bishop of Qûs of the eleventh or fourteenth century”, *The Coptic Encyclopaedia* vol. 1:303f., 1991) does not necessarily accord with the actual Bohairic material. Moreover, Bauer’s conviction (12ff.) that the Sahidic version is original, the Bohairic added, and that Athanasius did not speak (Bohairic!) Coptic himself, and that what we have here is a grammatical-glossographic tradition unrelated to the Coptic in use at the time of writing (39f.) is, I think, unwarranted, or must at least be qualified. The editor’s Coptic observations are indifferent, to say the least; consider p. 40, 156,1S; p. 44, 194B; p. 43, 185, 15B and so on, τωοϣνι (p. 45, 208B/11S) is perfectly correct Bohairic (των-τωοϣν-, according to syllabicity of suffix). Generally speaking, there are no gross inaccuracies in Athanasius’s text, and there is evidence of a fine perception of both dialects. In the grammatical introduction (by Es-Samanûdî) to 13th-century BN 44 Scala (ed. Munier, 1930), the Bohairic is evidently the core, the Sahidic a later addition (see *The Coptic Encyclopaedia* 7:2356).

(2) Bohairic was the dialect for the Coptic study of the brilliant grammarian of Egyptian, Battiscombe Gunn (1883-1950). Browsing in his unpublished papers (in the Griffith Institute archives, Oxford), one sees that Gunn¹⁸ seems to have worked on Coptic especially in the Nineteen Twenties, Thirties and Forties. When he quotes Coptic in his Egyptian stud-

¹⁸ A frank and outspoken reaction to the first edition of Gardiner’s *Egyptian Grammar*: cf. Gunn MSS V 73-5 (also in letters to Gardiner, e.g. AHG 142.124.38); it is not clear to what extent these numerous observations and suggestions were incorporated in subsequent editions. It seems Gunn was really the linguistic conscience behind the EG. In *My Working Years* (London 1962, privately printed), Gardiner warmly acknowledges Gunn’s contribution (see pp. 31, 41); see also the Introduction to the EG, p. xii. On Gunn, somewhat of a mystery figure in early 20th century Egyptology, see the obituaries in *JEA* 36 (1950) (Barnes) and *Annales du Service* 1950:421-427 (Bakir).

ies, it is usually Bohairic, and non-Scripture Bohairic at that. The Gunn Papers V(A) 1.5, p.37, VII *passim* reveal favourite topics in Bohairic grammar, such as noun determination, determinated relative forms, **n-** and **ntε-**, **εie-**. In letters to A.H. Gardiner (AHG 42.124.27 [10/7/20], 142.124.77 [2/3.41]) we find extensive notes on Bohairic phonology; also Gunn's intention to study Bohairic word-order. In the present work, I shall often find occasion to refer to Gunn's studies of Bohairic syntax.

0.5 Bohairic documentation: genres, varieties, attestation

"Langue véhiculaire du delta ou la Basse-Egypte" (Kasser), Bohairic has, until the Nineteen-Eighties been documented only for religious literature, in relatively late MSS. This has now changed: the holdings of the Bibliotheca Vaticana in Rome (see ORSATTI 1996:106ff.) are paradigmatic: scriptures: the Twelve Prophets (P. copto 9, 4th c., hopefully soon to be edited by R. Kasser, N. Bosson and Eitan Grossman), Penta-teuch (copto 1, 9th-10th c.), Psalters (13th-14th c.), Gospels (13th to 18th c.); hagiographical and patristic texts — homilies, martyrologies, lives (9th-10th c.); grammatical and philological texts, *scalae* (13th to 18th c.); liturgical (rites, *horologiae*, missals, lectionaries and hymnaries etc.), mostly 18th c. Other early Bohairic texts (7-8 c.) are the thousands of Kellia inscriptions, mostly published now, edited by N. Bosson. Non-literary Bohairic is relatively rare (cf. Rylands Coptic [Crum] 460, BM [Crum] 545, 590, 608, 626 etc.; Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* I 232 n. 2).

When Polotsky says (1949:26, *à propos* of the Jinkim or syllabic point) that the testimony of Bohairic MSS "cesse en général d'avoir beaucoup d'autorité" after the 14th century, he probably has scribal (graphemic) systems in mind (our own Paris copte 1 is thus at the limit of the "authoritative range", but, as will be seen in Chapter 2, well thought out, precise and even sophisticated). As regards grammar *stricto sensu*, this is certainly not true. "Classic" Bohairic — as still used (e.g. in KASSER 1994:112, 116, n. 13; also by Funk), has little meaning for syntactic investigation, except as a convenient general code for Scripture Bohairic, but it is misleading and imprecise even when applied to the Scriptures as a whole.

In the early days, Polotsky considered only Scripture Bohairic a valid *testo di lingua*; in his review of Till's *Dialektgrammatik* (1934:63) he describes the "Canones Apostolici and similar" unambiguously as "late translations from the Sahidic, which do not count as a source for Coptic grammar", yet Polotsky's own grammatical work on Bohairic includes a fine review of De Vis, *Homélie* II (1930:871-882).

Obviously, the late attestation of the bulk of Bohairic has little dialectological significance. The “official” dialectal varieties under the “Bohairic” general heading have been minutely described, defined and refined by Rodolphe Kasser, in an evolving view for the last quarter of the century. Kasser’s subdivisions of Bohairic are based on graphemic-phonological and (to a lesser extent) morphological scanning, never on systems of “grammar” in the sense applied in the present work: B5 “classical B.”, “classic Bible Bohairic (Funk)” “B. en tant de koinè”, B4 “an early subdivision of B.”, B74 “a kind of south B.” B74! “a metorthographic version” thereof. See KASSER 1973:88f., 1980:56, 76, 82f., 1981:92ff., 121f., 1987:226f., 1989a, 1 1994b:124ff.; so also P. Kahle’s “semi-Bohairic” contrasting with Bohairic proper (1954:196, 231f., 377f.), with absence of combinatory aspiration and the grapheme Ⲥ as symptoms. I use “B4” for all Early Bohairic sources.

While there are structural discrepancies between varieties of Bohairic, all are “well formed”, to borrow a rather meaningless term from a different, non-descriptive school of linguistics. By definition, grammatically pertinent types of Bohairic are difficult to define pre-analytically and *a priori*, yet are impressionistically very striking (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1991a: esp. 57f.). More than for other dialects, the Bohairic linguistic systems differ drastically not only from one genre to another, but even within the Scripture genre:

- The Twelve Prophets/John/Genesis (B4)
- The Pentateuch
- The New Testament (with subgroupings?)¹⁹
- Job/Psalms/Proverbs²⁰
- The Major Prophets²¹
- Scripture hermeneutics (Lagarde’s *Catena*)

And then:

- Patristics
- Homiletics
- Liturgical texts
- Philological works
- Inscriptions and graffiti.

¹⁹ Preferred by Polotsky to OT Bohairic sources, the striking “Nitrian” features of NT texts notwithstanding.

²⁰ POLOTSKY 1944:5, on the Psalms: “un texte qui se distingue par la pureté de sa langue”.

²¹ Tattam’s very late MSS (the edition must be constantly collated).

The **Nitrian subtypes of Bohairic**, far from being a mere fact of provenance for almost all Bohairic texts, will be familiar to any student of Coptic; it is to a degree, by its quantitative prevalence (especially in the Vaticana) often taken as representative of Bohairic. As a rule, *ex silentio*, it is considered to be “B5” (although it is drastically different from e.g. Pentateuch language), and, by implication, a degraded or adulterated form of “pure” Bohairic, a judgement I heartily reject (see now Grossman 2007). Generally, the huge patristic and homiletic corpus has as far as possible been avoided by grammarians as if tainted, a practice implicitly justified by a general consensus or rather belief (never really proven) that all Nitrian texts are spurious and “translated from the Sahidic”, to my knowledge explicitly stated thus only by Crum, in EVELYN WHITE 1926:xxiii ff.; cf. also EVELYN WHITE 1932: 151ff., 355, where the evidence is anything but conclusive; then POLOTSKY 1934:63 (on the *Canones Apostolici* and similar texts: “late translations from the Sahidic, which do not count as a source for Bohairic grammar”; also, with a question mark, in 1959:582, with n. 2; L. Stern did not yet share this bias). This conception — which, even if true, would hardly warrant neglect of this corpus by descriptive linguistics — stems from a fallacious normative view of the Scripture idiom as “pure classic Bohairic”. But Nitrian Bohairic goes back to the fourth century at least (see EVELYN WHITE 1932). As a matter of fact, the New Testament and all Old Testament texts save the Pentateuch are more or less heavily dyed with what may be called Nitrian features and form a spectrum in which the Pentateuch is one extreme, and the patristic and homiletic texts another — are these degrees of admixture with a written colloquial system? This is quite obviously the tension between two very different linguistic over-systems of the Bohairic dialect. The Nitrian one is in all probability closer to the colloquial register, “the spoken language”. I have to declare here an interest, and believe a strong case can be made for the existence of a Nitrian system or systems, probably colloquial and idiomatically “Egyptian”, perhaps even with a claim to being the original core of Bohairic, if the western Delta was indeed its original location (KASSER 1965:295).

And yet, a dichotomy, advocated in the past by the present writer, of “Scripture” (or “pure”, or “classic”) and Nitrian Bohairic, is only broadly useful; in fact, it is inadequate, even misleading, in view of the Nitrian features in the bulk of the NT, Psalms, Job, the Prophets. Also, there is a difference between patristic-martyrological-homiletic and hermeneutical “technical” (Catena) usage. It is also not clear how (sty-

listic) genre distinctions fit in this grammatical picture. What does a text's "being Nitrian" actually mean? After all, Nitria is almost the only source for Bohairic MSS — this is where even the highly respectable *Vat. copto 1* probably came from (the Monastery of Macarius: cf. EVELYN WHITE 1926:xxx, and his excellent account of the library, xxiii ff.). The answer to these queries would have to await precise linguistic description of non-Scripture and Scripture. The Nitrian question is hardly cleared up. Nitrian Bohairic features — pervading also OT and NT texts — still await description; its features are not of a kind, and not of one rank and the same status: $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta$, $\omega\alpha\eta\alpha\tau\alpha$ -, $\mu\pi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ -, $\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ - future; final $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -, ϵ - and α - for the focalizing (Second Present/Future); $\alpha\eta$ with various negative forms; and so on.

The linguistic distinctiveness of genres or types involves cumulative grammatical idiosyncracies — from graphemics to syntax and text grammar — including such elusive parameters as "Grecity", not only in the *per se* risky matter of imported syntax and calque translation, not only in lexical borrowing, but also in such elements, syntagms and values that bridge grammar and lexicon, that make, for a striking instance, the Bohairic New Testament far more "Greek" than the Bohairic Penta-teuch, while fully as "Scriptural": $\sigma\chi\omicron\tau\iota \ \delta\epsilon, \ \mu\epsilon\eta\sigma\omega\eta\eta\epsilon, \ \sigma\pi\alpha\eta\tau\omega\varsigma, \ \chi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\eta\eta, \ \mu\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\sigma\eta\eta, \ \sigma\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\sigma\tau\omicron, \ \epsilon\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, verbal "particle" forms like $\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega \ \delta\epsilon$ or $\alpha\eta$ or $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon, \ \chi\iota\eta\alpha$ "that", $\chi\iota\eta\alpha\mu\eta\eta\omega\varsigma, \ \alpha\mu\omicron\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\varsigma$, adverbial $\Phi\tau\varsigma\iota, \ \chi\iota\eta\eta$, vocative $\Phi\iota\lambda\iota\pi\pi\epsilon, \ \sigma\omega\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$, and so on and so forth. These and similar Grecisms, in patristic Nitrian texts, might be accommodated as deriving from a bilingual or texts-in-contact situation.

The Kellia graffiti and inscriptions (7th-8th centuries), of a genre *sui generis*, are as yet unresearched grammatically. They too are subsumed under the "B5" type. Cf. KASSER 1994b:125, BOSSON 2003 (N. Bosson, currently editing the corpus, has been active publishing and discussing the texts for nearly two decades).

0.6 Bohairic Coptic, Greek and Pre-Coptic Egyptian

"Bey den vielen Hilfsmitteln zur Aufklärung dieser Bastardtochter der alten ägyptischen Sprache, die wir dem Fleiß verdienstlicher Gelehrten in den letzten Jahren verdanken, ist es doch ein unangenehmer Gedanke, daß ihre Bemühungen durch so sparsamen Gewinn belohnt werden".

Thomas Christian Tychsen, *GGA* 1786, 284²²

²² My thanks to Dr. Jürgen Horn, Göttingen, for this excerpt.

While Tychsen's regret (echoed a century later by Ludwig Stern's [1880:xv] despairing "Das Koptische wird sobald keiner auslernen") is perhaps no longer called for today, it is still all the more unfortunate that his genealogical (for him probably not pejorative) characterization of Coptic is still current among Egyptological linguists, making the rift between Coptic and "Egyptian" (cf. POLOTSKY 1984) deeper than ever: Egyptian linguistics ends at Demotic (which too, for various reasons, is progressively seceding from Egyptology's main body).

Part of the low attractivity of Coptic, and *a fortiori* Bohairic Coptic, lies in a mostly implicit apocryphal *communis opinio*, or rather subjective feeling, that Bohairic is "unidiomatic", reproducing rather the Greek mould of its original²³. Most discerning grammarians of Egyptian and Coptic have rejected this view, but the prejudice persists even today, although no basis for this has ever been produced and defended (see POLOTSKY 1959:454f.; Mink's 1972 scanning of the Greek of the individual versions is extremely superficial). As stated above, ours is descriptive approach, a reader- ("decoder-") oriented perspective, not focussing on the dynamics of textual generation; and the reader did not, I hold, see the Coptic text as a Grecized Coptic. The translator, for his part, must have read the Greek, understood and digested it, then rewritten what he understood in Coptic, in the style he considered appropriate: Biblical Coptic, most certainly; Greek Coptic, certainly not.

Psichari's words on the Greek/Hebrew translation interface for the Pentateuch, though a century old, still cogently underline the question (1908:198): "une traduction, si ce n'est toujours servile, du moins toujours, surtout pour le Pentateuque, étrangement fidèle"... "la Septante constitue...une *juxta* de tout repos. Et ce n'est pas seulement la syntaxe, ce n'est pas l'ordre de mots seulement qui suit l'hébreu...Le style n'est pas grec". Can we make this assertion for the Coptic Pentateuch? Admittedly, the texture of Greek influence on Coptic is very complex. A preliminary query must concern both the special "Languages in Contact" situation prevailing, both the translation — inter-textual²⁴ — one and the cultural-sociolinguistic one, and then the "Holy Ghost Greek" (STAMPS 1995:134) concerned. Do we have a "Holy

²³ Probably the first case of an Egyptian text said to be "adulterated" by a Greek *Vorlage* is probably that of the Rosetta and Kanopus decrees: see SPIEGELBERG 1922, in a complex sophisticated polemic against K. Sethe's *Verhältnis*.

²⁴ One of the differences between the Coptic and Greek textual spheres is that we cannot apply the "variant psychology" of the Greek copyist (cf. FRÖSEN 1974:206ff.) to the Coptic one: we simply have no data.

Ghost Coptic"? It would be interesting to compare Scripture Coptic to Septuagint Greek: while the latter is often, perhaps usually, considered basically un-Greek, with so many features or preferences triggered by the *Vorlage* Hebrew environment²⁵, the former is neither peculiar nor uneasy.

A different, if related question concerns the translation technique. Here again we may apply the sophistication achieved for the Greek/Hebrew interface. I shall refer here only to J. Barr's wise and by now classic essay of 1979 (see some relevant highlights below). It is important to note that, much like our Bohairic corpus, the Greek Pentateuch, too, belongs as one single component to the older or oldest translation stratum.

Obs.

(1) BARR 1979:281; there exist "different kinds of literality, various kinds of departure from the literal"; literalism is highly complex. The very juxtaposing of two texts involves "a semantic judgement, the setting forth of a semantic path which may reasonably be taken to have led from one text to the other" (285f.) — "the solution had to be *semantic*, in correct representation of the meanings, and not *formal*, in exact following of the formal patterns of the original" (325); (314ff.) "accuracy and the level of semantic information encoded" as a translation criterion; I would say this is even higher in the case of the Coptic translation: some Greek varieties are in a sense a component of Coptic; the accessibility of the Coptic translator to the Greek text is probably higher than that of the Greek translator to the Hebrew (291); (288f.): a salubrious warning against judgemental postulation of error of rendering.

(2) Beside Hebrew/Greek (see NICCACCI 1903), another striking case of "Languages in Biblical-Textual Contact" interface, instructive (always *mutatis mutandis*) for Coptic is suggested by BROWNE 1987 for Old Nubian/Greek. Browne makes a subtle case for the need for internal resolution, pointing out (309) "the limitations placed upon Nubian in expressing Greek grammatical categories". Nubian has marked structural typological affinities with Coptic. Therefore, the fact that "the relationship between the Nubian and the Greek Tense Systems is far from a one-to-one correspondence" (319) is of interest to us. For example, the fact that Nubian's two narrative tenses (316ff.) do not match the Aorist/Imperfect opposition in Greek is of immediate relevance for resolving Coptic narrative grammar (see Chapter One below)²⁶.

A few reflections upon re-reading one of the classics of Egyptian linguistics, namely K. Sethe's painstaking attempt to determine, on the ba-

²⁵ Cf. for instance VERBOOMEN 1992, on ἡν διδᾶσκων. For some classic discussions of the argued Hebrew or Semitic component of Scripture Greek, see PORTER (ed.) 1991 (reprinted; see especially the contributions by Deissmann, Nigel Turner, Moulton, Silva and Gehman).

²⁶ It would for instance be most interesting to see whether the Bohairic opposition between $\pi\alpha\kappa$ - zero and $\pi\alpha\kappa$ - $\pi\tau\epsilon$ matches a similar distinction in the narrative Comment Mode in Nubian; cf. also the correspondence of Nubian Preterite and Greek Historical Present (BROWNE 1987:320).

sis of catalogued features, the main boundary in the evolution of Egyptian (SETHE 1925). His conclusion was that Demotic still belongs to the “Egyptian” type with Late Egyptian, as it were closing the Egyptian phase, while Coptic manifests an essentially different structure.

However, thanks to the extension and sophistication of Egyptian linguistic research in the 20th century, our sensibilities to both Coptic and Demotic have been greatly heightened, and more and more subtle affinities of Coptic to pre-Coptic have emerged (see for example SHISHA-HALEVY 1981, 1989²⁷; SIMPSON 1996 *passim*). It is therefore, I believe, rash to see a “tiefgreifende Divergenz zwischen Demotisch und Koptisch” (SETHE 1925:299); not surprisingly, Roman Demotic is closest to Coptic. (The affinities of Coptic and even the earliest Demotic are manifold; but one must remember the Continuity Fallacy — the Coptic *scripta* is not derived from the Demotic *scripta* — and the different graphematic encoding of the two languages. We are now indeed approaching the core questions concerning the essential typological identity of Coptic and the nature of Egyptian diachrony — not only because of the distortion of the Continuity Fallacy, but since, in the course of the evolution of Egyptian, “now you see them, now you don’t”, “they” being features of systemic and subsystemic status as well as isolated diaglosses, surfacing and disappearing in the tantalizing capricious whirlpools of documentation. But we still have neither precise synchronic descriptions of individual phases, nor adequate diachronic accounts of individual subsystems. Nor any valid pre-Coptic dialectal resolution²⁸.

In fact, there is an “Egyptian” feel to Bohairic when compared with Sahidic, both typologically and textually, in the measure of formal similarity to the Greek *Vorlage*, cf. POLOTSKY 1950:78f., but later the opposite in 1962:417 n.1; CHAÎNE 1933:xx (“la version de la Basse Égypte...moins grécisée que celle de la Haute Égypte”), SIMPSON 1996:170²⁹, and already SCHWARTZE 1843:2033ff., presenting the bias

²⁷ I bow to the first part of the barbed criticism by G. Vittmann (1998:274 n.60), explaining shortcomings in my “Demotic Worknotes” as due to “mangelnde praktische Erfahrungen mit demotischen Texten”, but must take exception to the gracious second part, in a long-standing German Egyptological tradition of linguist-bashing: “die man von einem linguistisch orientierten Ägyptologen auch schwer verlangen kann”.

²⁸ Discovering the Coptic dialects in Egyptian — a long-standing ambition among Egyptian linguists, is, in the present state of our knowledge, a hopeless task, especially because of the problematic vowelless graphematic representation, but also because the puzzle of Coptic dialects, with “new” dialects emerging almost yearly, is only in part (if at all) geographically assignable, with sociolinguistic and other factors wholly unapproachable for early Egypt (see SATZINGER 1990).

²⁹ An early verdict of “Grecization” of a Demotic text was reached by Spiegelberg

of the ‘Grecized Bohairic’ as a “Grundübel”. This impression must yet be founded empirically, but it seems almost all Coptic/pre-Coptic diaglosses are either exclusively Bohairic or at least shared by Bohairic. The **lexical** properties of Coptic dialects have not been determined, but even the superficial specimen account of MINK 1972 (for the NT) reveals that Bohairic prefers Egyptian lexemes, Sahidic Greek ones: consider Mt. 13:39, 17:27, Luke 20:4, Acts 11:21 (no cases of Boh. Greek/Sah. Egyptian; some cases of Boh. and Sah. Greek, as in Mark 14:43, Heb. 11:8). As for the **grammatical** diaglosses, a tentative check-list was attempted in SHISHA-HALEVY 1981; the present compilation of studies may supply the basis for fuller and better founded argumentation in this respect.

Obs.

The following selected features of Egyptian, which Sethe (1925) excluded from Coptic, are arguably shared by it, albeit sometimes in the idiosyncratic form called for by the Coptic system: (291) *jr*+infinitive; (292) Preterite *jr.f sdm* (ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ is not a descendent of the LE Sequential), *hr.f sdm*, the causative conjugation; (293f.) *p3-dd.f nb* (cf. Boh. Ⲫⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧ-), Preterite/Perfect participial *jr-*; (294) Substantive + Adjective noun phrase; (295) an “early” Future tense (Boh.); (296) the *ⲱⲁⲛ*-less Conditional (Boh., Oxyrhynchite, even Sahidic). Sethe’s cases of Coptic diverging from Old or Middle Egyptian need reconsideration as well. For instance, the “invariable *pw*” Nominal Sentence pattern (304, 314) does occur in Coptic, especially Bohairic (see below, Chapter Three); the feminine has a neutric role in Coptic too (305), as does ‘the feminine overrule’ feature — see Chapter Four; the discontinuous nexal negation occurs in ME too (306), as does the Circumstantial adnominal to non-specific nuclei, and so on. All in all, there are pronounced affinities between Coptic and Old Egyptian: EDEL 1955/1964 *passim* testifies to many.

Sethe does admit LE/Coptic “convergence” in the expression of the pronominal object, and here does Bohairic indeed make its appearance (297f.). Sethe must have been the first to recognize the “Historical Continuity Fallacy” (1925:300ff.: “Coptic not descendant, but ‘sister’ of Demotic”; the Romance/Latin parallel is here invoked for the first time). Coptic is, in Max Müller’s words, “die durch das Christenthum und griechische Schrift befreite *Volkssprache*” (my italics), which well may bring us back to Nitrian Bohairic.

0.7 Coptic:Greek Contrastive View.

The verb-centered structure of Greek (as of all typical Indo-European languages) belongs to what is sometimes naively called, in pseudopsycholinguistic mode, “the Greek mindset” (PORTER 1996:29ff.). However, we are dealing here with much more than this — with a sharp typological difference, which must be considered in any evaluation of the

(1922). While he may be right about the primacy of the Greek version of the decrees, his syntactical arguments (184f.) are untenable today, especially those concerning the cataphoric neuter.

“hidden” Greek element in the Bohairic text. In R. Jakobson’s words (1959): “the grammatical system of a given language determines the aspects of each experience that *must obligatorily be expressed*... Languages differ essentially by what they *must* express, not by what they *can* express”. This realization is not only relevant to the grammatical analysis of the Bohairic text; it is crucial. The “rule of thumb”, according to which a divergence of the Coptic construction from the Greek one indicates “Egyptian grammar”, is in fact a sensitive reagent for measuring the idiomaticity and sophistication of the Coptic feature. But suggesting a situation where every phenomenon of Coptic grammar is caught in a tug-of-war between equal forces of Greek influence and “native Egyptian-ness” (so for instance POLOTSKY 1950:73) is wrong. Coptic features are, first of all, Coptic, meaningful and operative within Coptic subsystems. They are either called for by systemic factors, in the course of the translator re-writing the text he has read, or/and triggered — sometimes rather subtly and elusively — by elements in the Greek original. Here is a partial and selective list of cases, treated below, of categorial asymmetry or disparity between Coptic and Greek, with the Coptic categorization more complex than the Greek one. (Unfortunately, we do not yet have any Coptic-Greek contrastive grammar or any preliminary discussion towards one)³⁰.

Coptic	Greek
ⲙⲁⲓ- zero vs. ⲙⲁⲓ- ⲡⲉ vs. ⲁⲓ- (§1.1.3)	Aorist vs. Imperfect
Quaternary <i>agens</i> placement paradigm (in narrative) (§1.1.5, 2.4.7 [f.])	Binary <i>agens</i> placement paradigm
ⲙⲙⲟⲛ, ⲙⲡⲉⲛ tensed negative pro-clause forms (§1.2.4)	οὐχί
ⲉⲓⲉ- vs. ⲓⲛⲁ- Futures (§1.2.5.1)	Future
Present vs. Aorist (§1.2.5.2)	Present
ⲓⲥ, ⲉⲛⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ, ⲉⲛⲡⲡⲉ (§2.0.3)	ἰδοῦ
Nominal Sentence ³¹ vs. ⲟⲓ/ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ- (§§2.1-2.2)	(εἶναι)

³⁰ See DAUMAS 1952 (Greek/Egyptian), NICCACCÌ 1993 (Greek/Biblical Hebrew).

³¹ A rich pattern set. In ROSÉN 1975b, the author uses, on structuralist principles, the Coptic text to resolve the Biblical Hebrew opposition of the 1st sgl. pronouns 'ny vs. 'nky in Nominal Sentences, as if the Greek was not an intermediary link. Indeed, it is often illuminating to confront Coptic and Hebrew, skipping the Greek, for their typological affinities.

ωοπ, χη, οι η-, η- noun predictors (§§2.2.1-2.2.2)	(εἶναι), noun apposition
η-/ε-οω-/zero — Rheme (§§.2.3, 3.2, 3.3-3.4)	Rhemes of εἶναι (zero det.; εἰς + vn.)
Focalization patterns (Cleft Sentence, Augens, Particles) (§2.4)	various focalization signalling
π- (η-)/πι-/οω-/zero determinator set (§§3.1-3.6)	ὁ- / zero det. set
(π-/πι-) η- vs. ητε- associative sphere- constituence noun expansion patterns (§3.9)	Genitive case
Lexemic-morphological vs. syntagmatic plural of nouns (ternary category) (§3.0.3)	Sgl. vs. pl. morphology (binary category)
ε-+ infinitive / εθρεϋ-/επξιη(εθρεϋ-) etc. (§§3.13)	infinitive
δε-οωηι γαρ / γαρ (§4.5.4)	γάρ

NARRATIVE AND DIALOGUE TENSING AND STRUCTURE

1.1 Narrative Tensing and Texturing

1.1.1 Narrative grammar: Narrative. Models, terminology and concepts

- (a) Pre-Coptic and Coptic Egyptian Narrative Grammar: a note
- (b) "Narrative". Narrative Grammar. Narrative texteme and narrative texture
- (c) The Narrative Texteme
- (d) Traditional hierarchy models in Narrative grammatical analysis: Grounding

1.1.2 Narrative tensing and texture: general. The Coptic system in macroscopy. European and classical languages

- (a) Tense and time
- (b) The main tense oppositions
- (c) Coptic tenses. Coptic and Greek
- (d) Discussions: a classified report

1.1.3 The Coptic system in microscopy: specifics, details and documentation

(a) The opposition $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ + $\emptyset$ vs. $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ + $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$: Rich (Enhanced) Evolution Mode vs. mode switching

- (b) $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}/\mathbf{n\Delta q-}$ + $\emptyset$: functional specification
- (c) $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}/\mathbf{n\Delta q-}$ $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$: functional specification
- (d) Classified representative commented documentation. $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}\mathbf{\Delta q-}$ $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$
- (e) Dream or Vision Narratives
- (f) $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ converted
- (g) $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ with other conjugation forms
- (h) Micronarrative subtextemes and their systems

1.1.4 Atemporal / extratemporal / Present / non-verbal nexal forms in Narrative

- (I) The Nominal Sentence
- (II) The aorist $\mathbf{\omega\lambda\eta\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu}$ in Narrative
- (III) The Present tense in Narrative

1.1.5 Narrative texturing: juncture. "ordination" hierarchy. Information blocking and packaging

(a) Juncture signalling: Narrative cohesion and delimitation. Juncture environments

- (b) Narrative slots (or paradigms) in Evolution Mode
- (c) Connectors and disjunctors: adverbials: $\mathbf{\omicron\tau\omicron\zeta}$, $\mathbf{\lambda\lambda\lambda}$ etc.. Particles: $\mathbf{\rho\alpha\rho}$, $\mathbf{\Delta\epsilon}$, $\mathbf{\chi\epsilon}$, $\mathbf{\omicron\tau\eta}$. The Augens
- (d) Narrative information structure
- (e) Ordination hierarchy in Narrative

1.1.1 Narrative Grammar: Narrative. Models, Terminology and Concepts

(a) Pre-Coptic and Coptic Egyptian Narrative Grammar: a Note

The observation of pre-Coptic Egyptian Narrative Grammar, a central chapter in the grammar of Egyptian still almost entirely to be written, will not only give us an illuminating diachronic-evolutionary grammatical perspective of the Coptic phenomena. It will let us break free of the prejudice of viewing Coptic syntax as derivatory of the Greek one. In this first study of the two text-linguistic ones presented here, I shall recurrently attempt a succinct contrastive evaluation of grammatical highlights of Egyptian narrative, and will have occasion to comment on the “Egyptianness” of features unfolded in the course of the Coptic account see, for instance, §1.1.3(c) (3) Obs. 1; (e) Obs. 5; 1.1.5 (a) (3) Obs. 1, 2, etc. Indeed, Narrative Grammar is one of the “feature clusters” that would most benefit from observation across the unique time depth of Egyptian, for the diachrony of Narrative Grammar is perhaps the most striking multidimensional complex evolutive phenomena in the language.

Whereas the categorial system of the verb as such, abstracted of textemic assignment, will be found to have changed remarkably little through Egyptian diachrony, the most striking change regards the very narrative textemic system itself. First, the loss or, structurally considered, neutralization (formally in favour of the marked term, the “*perfectum praesens*”, functionally in favour of the unmarked one, the Preterite) of the Perfect vs. Preterite opposition. This opposition is present in all phases of Egyptian (even down to Demotic), continuously renewed concomitantly with a continuous attrition and neutralization, but is by and large absent in Coptic (certainly not under the influence of Greek!)¹ Second, the disappearance *en bloc* of all special compound narrative verb-forms, as well as many delimitation-signalling adverbials and particles. In Coptic, on the other hand, we find the primary opposition of Preterite (conventionally and misleadingly called “perfect”) and a verb-form called by the loaded name “Imperfect” (with the temporal Graeco-Romance, rather than the aspectual Semitic associations of the term), along with the so-called pluperfect **NE-ΔQCΩTEM**.

¹ This neutralization is famously encountered in a European *Sprachbund*, including dialects of Romance and Germanic. Incidentally, in such Coptic dialects, notably Oxyrhynchite, and texts as show the morphological opposition **ⲉⲁⲓⲥ**- vs. **ⲁⲓⲥ**-, undertaking the quest for the “lost perfect” (decended from *w3h.f sdm*) is surely worth while (see RICHTER 1997/8).

Study of Egyptian Narrative — from the Pyramid Texts (Old Egyptian), through the Middle Egyptian Coffin Texts and various familiar “Stories” (the early Eloquent Peasant, later Story of Sinuhe and the Shipwrecked Sailor, the even later Papyrus Westcar, all in different subgenres), through the Late Egyptian Stories and the so-called Tomb Robbery accounts (a formal legal-proceedings record with a confession-reporting sub-texteme), to the Demotic Narratives of Papyrus Rylands IX, P. Vandier, Stories of the High Priests, the *Mythus der Sonnenauge*, the Petubastis Cycle — repays the effort by giving us an idea of the rich tapestry of its impressive grammatical and narratological sophistication and complexity², which, at first sight, makes Coptic Narrative seem minimal, flat and primitive. Of course, we have in Coptic very little untranslated straightforward Narrative that can be directly compared with pre-Christian “Egyptian” Narratives³. Still, a careful microscopy of narrative grammar, both Coptic and pre-Coptic, reveals formal/functional matching and affinities⁴, and modifies considerably the impression of Greek calque in the value of the Coptic grammatical forms — indeed, Coptic Narrative is often considerably more sophisticated than its Greek *Vorlage*; and, although no salient grammatical symptoms of orality or narrator/audience interaction are isolable, the richer Egyptian narrative code still echoes in the sophistication of Coptic narrative structure.

Obs.

A.H. Gardiner’s 1937 “Some Aspects of the Egyptian Language”, which, by the way, reveals the eminent British Egyptologist’s deep ignorance of Coptic grammar⁵, justly focusses on Egyptian narrative tenses (p.10ff.), but gives way to a morose feeling of inferiority which I am confident no one will share today, even for Coptic, let alone for pre-Coptic Egyptian — the Romantic nineteenth-century blend of *Völkerpsychologie*, grammatical symbolism and glottogonic speculation apart: “Perhaps it is not wholly fantastic

² There are few special studies of Egyptian narrative grammar. Cf. HINTZE 1952 for Late Egyptian, DORET 1986, MALAISE and WINAND 1999:653ff. for OE/ME; for Demotic we have no special discussion, apart from F.L.I. Griffith’s notes on his Rylands Papyri, especially Rylands IX (1909) and his *Stories of the High Priests* (1900).

³ Two noteworthy authentic (= untranslated) Sahidic instances are such (rhetorical) Narratives as occur in the writings of Shenoute (see SHISHA-HALEVY 2007b) and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, if originally Coptic; in Bohairic we have the numerous Nitrian patristic and martyrological narratives.

⁴ This I have found to be especially true for early Demotic Narrative, in particular the Rylands IX papyrus, where the signifiers are different, but the signified narrative-texture details remarkably similar to the Bohairic Coptic ones.

⁵ See pp. 5 and 10: “My knowledge of Coptic is that which every competent Egyptologist must have, no more” (in *Charles Allberry: a Portrait*. By Patricia K.G. Lewis, privately published. Cambridge 1984).

to link together the passivity of the originating participles with the notorious tendency of the Egyptians to look backwards rather than forwards, and to associate the nominality of those same participles with the immobile rigidity of Egyptian statues and figured representations⁶. How different the liveliness of the Greek narrative tenses, a quality that we might be inclined to associate with the adventurous quality of Hellenic enterprise, no less than with the physical movement which a Pheidias was so well able to impart to marble for the benefit of future generations!". I shall try to show that Bohairic Coptic narrative grammar is in many respects more complex than the Greek one; the Egyptian narrative systems are often more sophisticated still.

(b) "Narrative". Narrative Grammar. Narrative Texteme and Narrative Texture.

"**Narrative**" is conjointly and cumulatively definable pragmatically, (a) by a special monologic situation, (b) by relatively little extratextual pragmatic presupposition; formally, (c) by the *sequence of events*⁷ presented as detached and disjoined from the situation of narration itself, (d) by specific textual cohesion factors and (e) by the rhetorical operation of a dominant presenting and staging factor. Narrative grammar is the function of the narrator's design, will and purpose, his preferred poetic staging and presentation of the facts as "linguistic events" (FLEISCHMAN 1990) — later chunked or packaged as scenes or episodes — and not as segments of "objective reality" (say, in the sense of historical facts, or historiographical events). "The same information can be packaged alternatively as foreground or background", says Helen Dry (*apud* FLEISCHMAN 1990:180), pointing out "...the fragility of intrinsic importance as a criterion for identifying the background of a text". "**Grammar**" is used here as an umbrella term for the total system, comprising numerous subsystems, of oppositions and neutralizations of elements in the syntagmatic scope of a whole text (not of a "sentence"), with the paradigmatic dimension of all commutations observable in all slots and any slot of the same text. These are isolated in the course of a descending analysis of the text. A grammatical system being, by definition, only valid for its textual (corpus) basis, the sum of features of grammar defines the abstract **texteme** realized in this text, and, in a sense, *signify* its role: the narrativity of the prime narrative texteme, for instance, relates to its grammatical system much as a *signifié* to its *signifiant*. It must be stressed that the value of individual features and elements is determined by the very fact of the textemic framework or *système des valeurs*. Thus, the Preterite and Imperfect

⁶ This recalls "Mumiengeist", attributed to "the Egyptians" in STEINTIAL and MISTELI 1893.

⁷ See HAMON 1974:152f. (Propp's "syntagmatic unity of contents").

tenses in narrative clearly have a functional definition different from their value in dialogue. On the other hand, the **texture** of our text is the multidimensional macrosyntactic patterning made up of (a) juncture signals, i.e., links and delimitations or boundary demarcation signals (both types graded on mutually inverse scales); (b) signals of text-grammatical and narratological hierarchy, such as foregrounding/backgrounding shifts, (c) signals of information structuring, often coextensive with (a) and (b), such as focussing or highlighting; (d) signals of narrative pacing or rate or of narrative acceleration, surges, or spurts. A **Narrative Tense** is a convenient code name for any form or construction in narrative texture, whether verbal or non-verbal, carrying either of the two major narrative Modes.

Obs. Some definitions and conceptions of narrative:

(1) DAHL 1985:112 distinguishes narrative discourse (defined as "[a discourse] where the speaker relates a series of real or fictive events in the order they are supposed to have taken place" from actual texts, where "such ideal or pure narrative discourses are...relatively seldom found. Normally, the main story-line is continuously interrupted by various kinds of flashback and points of background information". I find here the postulation of (chrono)logical sequentiality, even on the emic plane, arbitrarily and unnecessarily restrictive. Thus also Dahl's derived notion of "narrative context", environmentally defining the "Narrative Tenses" (112f.: "We shall say that a sentence occurs in a narrative context if the temporal point of reference...is determined by the point of time at which the last event related in the preceding context took place"), and the apparently no less derived "basic" that (113) "a narrative discourse typically starts with the verb in some non-narrative past form" respectively, are at least not of universal usefulness and validity. See KALVERKÄMPER 1981:257, 287 s.v. "Erzähltexte", "Erzählen"; ADAMZIK 1995; OCHS and CAPP 1997; SCHMIDT-KNAEBEL 1999.

(2) Many current ideas concerning Narrative Grammar were first really developed for or on English Narrative (not so narratological models). Some instances: SCHIFFRIN 1981 is an important seminal study of English Narrative, narrative structure and grammar, in the context of the present/past "alternation" (our shifting or transition). Ann Banfield's classic *Unspeakable Sentences* (1982) is another seminal work on the nature of narrative, although more narratologically oriented. Basic in her conception is the distinction of narrative from "representation" (264ff.); the prime characteristic of narrative for her is its sequential or linear ordering. I must differ (beyond her basically generative orientation — witness her "acceptability" judgements) with her viewing Narrative as non-communication (143ff.), also the two-dimensional linearity view of Narrative, as well as the Benvenistean Preterite-centred view of narrative tensing. ADAM 1990 is a useful modern-traditional sketch of the conventional constituent structure of narrative. For other cogent linguistic definitions of narrative see COMBE 1989:165; interestingly, Combe introduces "phrase narrative" (163ff. — also the narrative itself as a "hyperphrase"), cogently objecting to the claim of *catalogicality* in Narrative, and again considering sequentiality and (chrono)logical development paramount. See also VIRTANEN 1992:302ff. (Narrative as a discourse 'hypertype'). It would seem to me that none of the more theoretically conceived conceptions of Narrative does justice to the complexity of actual, language-specific Narrative Grammar, recoverable only by structural analysis and description.

(c) The Narrative Texteme. Narrative Modes

The narrative texteme consists, in its rough, emically and schematically conceived informational **macrostructure** and in conventional current terminology (discussed in some detail below), of (a) a foreground main-line "layer" and its components, (2) a background "layer" and components, to which I add what I would loosely call the "narrator's channel" of data not properly speaking sequentially narrative. In a closer and more precisely nuanced consideration, I would subsume the different "grounding" components as **modes** (preferring this to the conventional back- and foreground, as being less metaphorical and less flat, as multi-dimensional, as non-hierarchical, but especially in order to reinstate "background" as one important and typical constituent of the Comment spectrum). I oppose the **Comment Mode** of the narrative texteme to the **Progression** or **Evolution** one. The former is extrinsic and typically anaphoric to the plot, but often internal to the narrator's perspective, in the sense of "internal information"; the narrator quintessentially extraneous to the narrative, even to a narrating participant therein; commenting, resuming, condensing, explaining, giving reasons for main-line acts and states and information on prior and anterior action; making meta-narrative statements⁸. This is not so much authorial interruption of the plot mainline, but an always open "Narrator's channel", amounting to a kind of constant "voiceover". On the other hand, the Evolution Mode is markedly diegetic, vectored, successive or sequelling, carrying the course and unfolding of the plot — "advancing the plot or moving narrative time forward"⁹. The Comment Mode (henceforward 'CM') is essentially static, often anaphoric, and typically reduces or condenses intrinsically or contextually dynamic information to a static form (sometimes beyond the opposition of static and dynamic. Background, not in the strictly metaphorical pictorial sense but as roughly synonymous to "*setting* information", is but one component of the CM); the Evolution Mode (EM) is typically dynamic, albeit at drastically differing rates of dynamism. Yet *states* may form an essential part of the EM, as may descriptions¹⁰; condensed episodes/event sequences, amplified or elaborated episodes/events; summing-up of "the story so far". EM no less than CM is complex and subsumes sub-modes. Obviously, the interweaving/intermeshing, proportions and relative

⁸ Consider: "It is of week-days, though, and of evenings that I write" (Osbert Sitwell, *The Scarlet Tree*, London 1947, p.118).

⁹ Cf. FLEISCHMAN 1990:175ff.

¹⁰ Cf. HAMON 1974:140.

weight of the two modes and their constituents in a given narrative text is a decisive and distinctive stylistic staging parameter as well as an index of the narration's structuring and pacing. In the shift from EM to CM and back we have the prime delimitation of narrative, while in the complex signalling of EM and CM we have the prime poetic signification of narrative — that of maintaining a **dominant reality (EM) vs. the distancing and deviation (in CM) from this reality** to narrator/readership alternative ones, or to no reality at all.

Obs.

(1) SCHIFFRIN 1981 introduces the dichotomous concepts of "complicating action" and "orientation", later applied by FLEISCHMAN 1990, roughly corresponding respectively to our EM and CM; her "internal evaluation" (58ff.) would certainly be a case of CM. See TOURATIER 1989, a brief outline concerned with French, a system very similar to ours.

(2) "Comment" is used, in a restricted sense, for certain constituents of our Comment Mode, by NICCACCI 1990 (see 22ff., 33).

(3) Comment Mode distinctive features, but also Evolution Mode focussing, may be considered phenomena of modality. See DE VOGÜE 1990. Compare approximately Labov and Waletzky's "Orientation" (1967); WIENOLD 1983:421f. (condensation, summary, orientation).

In its **microstructure**, the narrative texteme reveals its texturing relational exponents, the prime grammatical signals — mode and sub-mode signalling components, as it were the "landmarks" for the two modes; also mode-switching signals, various focussing signals, information-blocking and chunking signals, linking and delimiting boundary (juncture) signals, inner-hierarchy exponents, and so on. Obviously, the linguist's task is here difficult and tricky, and his findings open to criticism of at worst subjectivity and circularity, at best intuitive and subjective handling; but, when all is said and done, there is no denying that we are dealing here with a system of *linguistic signs*, for which the signifieds (functions) and their distribution must be isolated and properly stated.

Obs.

(1) Special varieties of narrative textemes or sub-textemes, some of which will be looked at more closely below, include Dream Narratives (e.g. Gen. 41:10ff., 17ff.), in locutive (1st-person) and delocutive forms, with special striking textural features (see below). Several "micronarrative textemes" or "Narrative Fragments" (see SHISHA-HALEVY 2007b), with reduced and simplified grammatical systems: "resumé" or condensed narrative (Ex. 5:1ff.); "chronicling narratives" (e.g. Gen. 5:31); aetiological naming or identification narrative (Gen. 30:6:8, Num. 20:13 — recalling the "*microrécit*" in proverbs). "Recycled reminiscent narrative" as in Deuteronomy (e.g. Chapters 1- 10, also Gen. 31:7ff., 38ff.), condensed, featuring mostly narrative highlights, with fast pacing and change of the personal axis from delocutive to interlocutive; Report Narrative ("Bericht",

"Tatsachenbericht" [see ROSÉN 1975], "Verkündigung", "Mitteilung"), which, essentially locutive (egocentric), features in Coptic the Focalizing Conversion and almost no CM or Narrator's Channel¹¹. Note also hypothetic scenarios; legal "protatic" or "case-raising" ("fallsetzend") Narratives (often in Lev. e.g. 5:17ff.); prophetic or predicted prospective Narratives or scenarios (e.g. Ex. 3:13, Deut. 24:1ff., 28) which have an immediate relevance for the syntax of the so-called Future tenses (see below).

See SIMMLER (ed.) 1997, especially Schwitalla (41-62) and Babenko (205-213); SCHMIDT-KNAEBEL 1999.

(2) Pivotal-person varieties of Narrative are distinguishable by grammatical specifics (cf. CASPARIS 1975:39ff., 75ff.):

1st sgl., e.g. Gen. 3:10, 24:34ff., 42ff., 31:39ff., 41:10ff., Num. 20:16

1st plur., e.g. Deut. Chapters 2-3

2nd sgl. Ex. 15:1ff., Deut. 24:18:22.; $\text{N}\Delta\text{K}\text{O}\text{I} \text{ M}\text{B}\text{W}\text{K} \text{ P}\text{E}$ implies a condensed allocutive micro-narrative, (Deut. 5:15, 25:17ff. etc.)

2nd plur., e.g. Deut. Chapters 1-2, 8-9-10, with a "recycling" transformation of the delocutive narrative (esp. of Exodus) to the 1st sgl/2nd plur. interpersonal axis.

(2) BENVENISTE 1959 is a famous structural discussion of narrative and its grammar, seminal both for subsequent narratology and narrative text-linguistics. However, within the French *Problematik*, his main preoccupation is the opposition of the Perfect (*perfectum praesens*, expressed by the *passé composé*) and Preterite (*passé simple*), which does not concern Coptic. The Preterite vs. Imperfect opposition, the main grammatical (if not narratological) problem of Coptic and indeed European narrative, is not discussed at all. Incidentally, Benveniste uses here "aoriste" for the Preterite carrier, initiating a usage later adopted by Barthes and other narratologists, argued for unconvincingly ("le terme 'aoriste' n'a pas d'ailleurs de connotations assez différents et assez précises pour créer ici une confusion" 71 n. 2), yet with its useful points (especially in view of the non-past essence of the Greek $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, in the Stoic conception of "undefined tense" and the familiar generic roles of the Greek tense; the narrative carrier is after all not really past — Narrative is not essentially temporal, and certainly not primarily or intimately connected with past time reference: see BANFIELD 1985b:6). Among the important insights of Benveniste's essay, I find the following, again having the *passé simple* vs. *passé composé* in mind, directly pertinent to our EM (ΔQ -, NE - Ø)/CM (NE - PE), and the poetic tension between them (see below): (73) "Le temps fondamentale est l'aoriste, qui est le temps de l'événement *hors de la personne d'un narrateur*" (my italics). Among the more exceptionable statements are the author's evasion of the concept of "narrative tense" and the choice of *temps du récit historique* (see 74 with n. 2): "*historique*" is misleading and needlessly exclusive, and, more importantly, what is evaded here is no less than the crucial structural issue of opposition between tenses in narrative.

(3) WILMET 1976:61ff. is among the best discussions, historical and synchronic-structural, of the rare poetic use of the *passé composé* in Narrative (Pagnol: "un temps imprécis, médiocre, bête et mou"), with the secondary literature on the famous case of Camus' *L'étranger* (often discussed also elsewhere).

¹¹ Cf. POLOTSKY 1985 for the formal distinction between Report and Narrative *stricto sensu*, esp. in Demotic and Late Egyptian. Report in its turn is different from oral Narrative, *pace* WEINRICH 1982:172ff. See FLEISCHMAN 1990:399f.

(d) Traditional Hierarchy Models in Narrative Grammatical Analysis. Grounding.

The dichotomy proposed above between EM and CM is not hierarchical; the EM is not more important or primary than the CM, although it is true that the latter presupposes the former, and not *vice versa*. The current structuring principle generally applied to narrative is hierarchical; I refer to the by now familiar **grounding**. Analytical Narrative Linguistics is just past its model-making phase (with the bridging between narratology and text-linguistics proper still in early stages), and a satisfactory balance between empiricism and more or less "pure" theory is not always achieved. For the hierarchical structuring of narrative, the basic and classical, even canonical dichotomy of *foregrounding* and *backgrounding*, now more or less conventional, was proposed (on the basis of several languages) in HOPPER 1979 and then HOPPER and THOMPSON 1980, with several correlative parameters of "foreground" suggested, of which transitivity is the most important; others (in the authors' terminology) are punctuality, volitionality, action participants, kinesis (dynamicity), aspect (telicity), subject topicality, affirmation. In the earlier formulation, the foreground carries the "discrete, measured events of the narrative" (HOPPER 1979:215), and an association between background and non-topicality as well as with the imperfective aspect is suggested (1980:216). See also FLEISCHMAN 1985 (foreground characteristics: what is humanly important; the main line of story — sequence of temporally ordered clauses; causality or importance for plot development; contextual unexpectedness); see also FLEISCHMAN 1990:168ff. and under "foreground", p.434; SCHIFFRIN 1995. In subsequent and recent developments of this model, *salience* or prominence is added as a rank property or an overlap parameter of foregroundedness (see CHVANY 1985, 1990; WÄRVIK 1990a, BJÖRKLUND 1993:181ff., 207ff.), with vividness, speaker-motivation or topicality as constituent features (cf. also Fleischman's "contextual unexpectedness"), or even substituted for the foreground as a narrative structure constituent. The problem here is the subjectivity of the notion ("presented as salient" might be preferable). Background(ing) is typically considered a kind of subordination ("which rests on an analogy between sentence and text", FLEISCHMAN 1985: 853ff.). Viewing the foreground information as "more important, the background as "less important" carries, beside dangers of simplism, subjectivity and especially circularity, the same dangerous associations of "omissibility" as are encountered in the naïvely reductive conception

of “periphery” or expansion¹²; moreover, the sentence or clause is *per se* and *a priori* not a valid syntactical unit in Narrative, nor is the binary “ordination” (subordination/main clause) model (see here, Chapter Two).

Obs. Some approaches to grounding.

(1) A seemingly irreconcilable double conception of grounding, the tense-based Romanistic one (following H. Weinrich) and the discourse-pragmatic Anglistic one (following Labov) is merged into a compound one by S. Fleischman in FLEISCHMAN 1990. In this important work, Fleischman also presents the conventional, almost banal association of backgrounding with the imperfective, foregrounding with the perfective aspect as an absolute, general, even universal, principle (see 9ff., 24f. etc.). One may have reservations regarding the exclusive association of foregrounding with plot progression (see COUPER-KUHLEN 1989:9ff.) and change, also of background as “setting” (1990:175ff.; see also COVET 1991). But Fleischman also holds (*loc.cit.*) that fore- and background are two extremes of a continuum, admitting of grading — see also GIVÓN 1987, who stresses the non-binary nature of the grounding opposition, and the complexity of the correlation between backgrounding and syntactical subordination; TICHY 1999 expresses the same scepticism regarding the conventional dichotomy, with regards to Greek (Homer and NT) tense and aspect. Now I believe “setting” to be a grammatical phenomenon more complex and multifarious, part and parcel of information-packaging decisions, and not exclusively a background constituent: the “obtaining situation”, for instance, is an EM option. However, an *emic* narrative-mode dichotomy does exist, as CM and EM, within the texteme. Its realization in the text is less sharply divided, albeit with transitions often fuzzy, and above all willed and stylistically, dynamically manipulated by the author-director throughout.

(2) The original definitions of grounding (as in HOPPER and THOMPSON 1980:280f.) are loose and open to some objections of subjectivity and *petitio principii*, and show, moreover, that the concepts were meant as of broader scope than narrative discourse: “That part of a discourse which does not immediately contribute to a speaker’s goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND. By contrast, that material which supplies the main points of the discourse is known as FOREGROUND... The foregrounded portions together comprise the backbone or skeleton of the text, form-

¹² “A nice day” is not really reducible to “a day” in any sense: it does not mean the same thing. It is thus important to bear in mind that “stating that the P[resent] S[tem] clauses serve the purpose of supplying subsidiary information of different kinds is, of course, not to say that, without them, the narrative still would be what it is: leaving them out would make a captivating story into a dry enumeration of the main facts... So the material presented by means of PS main clauses, although it is, from a viewpoint of information, of secondary importance, enhances the aesthetic and dramatic quality of the narrative, adds relief to the *faits et gestes* of the *dramatis personae*, so as to enable the audience to understand and appreciate its content” (SICKING and STORK 1996:94). Consider Wallace’s definition of grounding, which I believe is problematic, simplistic and circular (*apud* FANNING 1990:74f.): “Included in the foreground, for instance, are the more important events of a narrative, the more important steps of a procedure, the central points of an exposition, the main characters or entities involved in an episode. The background includes events of lesser importance, subsidiary procedures, secondary points, descriptions, elaborations, digressions and minor characters or things”.

ing its basic structure; the backgrounded clauses put flesh on the skeleton, but are external to its structural coherence”.

(3) The correlation of foreground with main or independent, background with subordinate or dependent clauses is postulated by TOMLIN 1985, but I believe does not always agree with the empirical facts regarding strategies of foregrounding (see GRIVÓN 1987 and DEPRAETERE 1996, the latter examining foregrounding in English relative clauses, but stating categorically that “main clauses carry the action forward, subclauses do not” — see pp. 671f. and 714ff.). See also THOMPSON 1987:440f., MATTHIESEN and THOMPSON 1988. In fact, it is in the narrative texteme that the traditional binary “ordination” (subordinate/main predication) model, itself metaphorical, aprioristic and non-analytical¹³ fails us most patently.

(4) The essentiality of *event time sequencing*, and thus iconicity, in the foreground is, I believe, exaggerated (cf. DECLERCK 1996:114f. “the distinguishing feature of the foreground... is reference to a sequence of chronologically ordered bounded situations whose sequence is reflected in the linear order in which they are reported”). Narrative Evolution can well move back and forth or, for that matter, stand still: as I have pointed out, states and change of states can well be part of plot progression, in our Evolution Mode: see DRY 1981.

(5) HOPPER 1986 presents several tagmemic means of grounding and advances the possibility of correlating grounding in Germanic with the relative order of verb-clause constituents, suggesting ‘VS’ is “more dynamic and foregrounded” while ‘SV’ is “typical of background”. (Non-verbal signals are generally left out of the discussion, which is pronouncedly Eurocentric). Observe that in Romance, the famous “*Arriva le général*” ‘inversion’ case (see CLIFFORD 1973 and WEHR 1984, with a bibliographical survey) is indeed a foregrounding landmark, but simultaneously and primarily a special “restart” *delimitation* one: see below, on ἀφωπνι ετα-.

(6) The possible view of foregrounding vs. backgrounding as high-level *Rheme* and *Theme* respectively is suggested in KÖNIG 1981, e.g. p. 11; this would seem to disagree with the Coptic facts (both $\eta\alpha\tau$ - zero and $\eta\alpha\tau$ - $\pi\epsilon$, EM and CM respectively, would for instance be rhematic or focalized: see below) and with Weinrich’s suggested model for Romance, where “relief” covers background but presumably also part of foreground (as “low” and “high” relief, respectively). On this issue, see also BYBEE *et al.* 1994:55. “Saliency” as an intrinsic property of foreground recalls high-level rhematicity: see WÄRVIK 1990a.

(7) Fundamental, and also very pertinent to the understanding of Coptic narrative grammar, is the question whether “description” belongs in the foreground or the background: see SCHIFFRIN 1995:301ff. My own view here is that this is a spurious question: while “description” is not a meaningful grammatical-functional concept compatible with narrative structure as envisaged here, a *situation* can be either dynamically or statically conceived. The former alternative is not paradoxical, for a situation may be a component of the development of the plot.

(8) Grounding structure is often applied in modern narratological and Narrative-Grammar analyses of Biblical texts¹⁴ alongside similar concepts, see e.g. REVELL 1985 (rather simplistic; distinguishing “narrative”, “descriptive”, “contextualizing” and “incidental”);

¹³ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1995:139ff., 2006a.

¹⁴ See also ERIKSSON 1943 for the genre distinction of Biblical historiography and narration.

NICACCI 1990, 1994; NICOL 1996; BAAYEN 1997 cogently combines grounding with junctural and informative and communicative structure.

(9) For 'backgrounding', cf. Touratier's definition *apud* SZNAJDER 1996:319: "Une dimension descriptive et explicative qui organise des parenthèses dans [le] canevas narratif pour y disposer personnages et objets ou pour ouvrir des perspectives explicatives, pour suggérer appréciations ou interprétations". (The foreground is the "trame événementielle").

(10) On Weinrich's *Tempus* (1977³, 2001⁶, first edition 1964). A carefully structuralist seminal work, unparalleled in its field for raising ferment and controversy, had almost invariably adverse reviews, with sometimes fierce (and unjustly slurring) criticism (see THOMAS 1974:39 n.31). It has proved an irritant to both Romanists and scholars of poetics and literary theory. Despite some justified reproaches (e.g. the rather forced analysis of Pirandello's stories) and some inbuilt weaknesses of premisses and argumentation (see, for instance, BERSCHIN 1979), I believe the fundamental influence of this insightful and often brilliant book has not only been beneficial within the short lifespan of Text Linguistics (of which Weinrich was a Founding Father) and after, but no less than an inspiration. His subordination of semi-morphological *Tempuslehre* to text-linguistics; his dethroning of the tense-form as a unit of importance *per se* (cf. de Boer's "superstition de la forme"); the conceptualization of tense-marked backgrounding (and, by the "relief" concept, its association with information structuring); stressing of the all-important narrator's attitude (staging, perspective); and, last but certainly not least, overruling and replacing "subordination" etc. by Narrative Grammar and even narratological parameters. (In Coptic narrative, indeed, $\pi\epsilon - \pi\epsilon$ is a fine case of text-grammatical "subordination")¹⁵. Yet another of Weinrich's invaluable pioneering insights is the signalling conception of narrative grammar. The seminal *Tempus*, once a cult book of text-referred linguistics, is now somewhat *passé*, yet will ever be a classic of structural analysis.

(11) The differentiation of cataphoric vs. anaphoric grounding (GIVÓN 1995:64ff.) uses "grounding" as coterminous with coherence and mental connectivity. See below for the ana/cataphoric vectoring factor in Comment Mode.

(12) For some instances of application of the grounding hierarchical model to modern and historical English Narrative, see WÄRVIK 1990b; to French, WEINRICH 1982:171ff. (his own *Tempusrelief*, 157, 168ff.; "Auffälligkeit" approximating "salience"); to Russian, CHVANY 1985 and BJÖRKLUND 1993.

(e) A note on artistic, photographic and cinematographic terminology in the analysis of Narrative.

In the different semiotic systems of linguistics/literature and visual-art actualization, terminology and para-terminology have drawn extensively upon each other's resources¹⁶. The emerging discipline of visual studies enriches our own discipline with terms that stand for concepts that have no name within linguistics. This exceeds mere metaphorical usage, since semiotic nature, textuality and (especially for film and drama) sequen-

¹⁵ Cf. WEINRICH 1977:146.

¹⁶ We find an early application of photographic/cinematographic terminology to the study of Greek *Aktionsart* in MELTZER 1904/5:211, 246.

tiality and basic linearity are common to the two groups, referring to comparable signals for comparable signifieds; consequently, they are not metaphors, and I shall generally dispense with quotes when employing them¹⁷.

Obs.

See TOOLAN 2001:103ff. CHATMAN 1977 on cinematic narrative discourse (in *Citizen Kane*): note the use of "event" as a narrative *signifiant*; the chinese-box nested, not linear, structure (10f.); "speed pans" to represent elapsed time-intervals (15f.); "narrator's summary statement" (15f.); "...when the camera stops recording strict visual reality and puts things together in terms of what contextually would be a character's illusions" (15); the on-screen and off-screen narrator, the narrator as witness (9). On "frame" and "framing", and on the "scene" in literature and film/theatre, see GRANDE 1991. TOMLIN 1985:91ff. (analysis of film as an aid to understanding a written narrative). METZ 1969 ("sequence", "scene"); WEINRICH 1977 ("Relief"); CASPARIS 1975 ("Camera-eye technique"); "slow-motion", "slow camera" (often, e.g. FLEISCHMAN 1990:213, 298 etc.); "dilate", "photo-finish" (LE GOFFIC 1995:136). I find the following terms are useful for conceptualizing features of narrative structure, texture, pacing and juncture as well as tensing: "out of focus"; "camera-eye narratives"; "freeze frame", "time-lens"; "zoom (in/out)" "cut (away) to...", "cut away (to)", "cut back and forth", "continuity cut" (or "jump"), "camera panning or rotating"; "dissolve"; "shot", "successive shots; "close-in", "close-up"; "tight shot (on)", "offscreen", "backdrop". "frame", "framing", "opening up the frame", "sequence"; "strolling camera"; "out of focus".

1.1.2 Narrative Tensing and Texture: General. The Coptic system in macroscopy. European and Classical Languages.

(a) Tense and Time.

"Les temps", writes Le Goffic (1995:145), "peuvent exprimer le temps, mais ne le signifient pas". So too, more radically, Weinrich (2001:14): "Tempus hat nichts mit Zeit zu tun".

Like other grammemic linguistic signs, tenses have no meaning *per se*, but are valorized by their structural (commutation/combination) identity. Being grammatically more loaded (or their connotations more finely tuned) than other linguistic signs, tenses are texteme-sensitive, and narrative tenses have relational *signifiés* that are really functions or roles, and often not easy to grasp (and paraphrase). Much has recently been written about so-called "tense systems", in the satellite's-eye-view typological genre, e.g. works that are by now classics, like Dahl's (1985)

¹⁷ I find it remarkable that cinematic grammar enables us to give a shape to and get a better view of role categories that have been with us in verbal narrative since time immemorial.

or Comrie's (1990), without taking the syntagmatics and paradigmatics of the forms and patterns in question into account, let alone their textemic environment. This is a fundamental, and disastrous, fault, since it gives a synthetic, flat and agrammatical picture of the forms concerned. (It is almost only in the philological linguistics of Graeco-Romance that the link, and the sensitivity it entails, between form and text is still maintained; also in Biblical philology). Moreover, it is not easy to accept the basic narratological differentiation between "tenses of the language" and "tenses of the Narrative", since the former do not analytically exist outside the textemic tenses, of which the latter constitute a major class: language is not realized other than in, and by, texts. (Barthes's narratological "narrative functions" are after all carried by grammatical means).

As an introduction to the detailed description of Bohairic narrative tensing, I shall address briefly the general issue of narrative tensing in European languages, then generally Coptic tensing. Without offering here any elaboration of narrative-tense theory or even an adequately comprehensive survey of the subject, I shall also wish to make a few theoretical points.

Obs.

(1) I can see no unmarked (or "default") vs. marked opposition in narrative tensing, other than the main carrier as against any tense regularly breaking it or deviating from it. The foreground (or the EM) is not unmarked vis-à-vis the CM.

(2) "There's no 'meaning' of the present tense", FLUDERNIK 1991:386: this is in principle true of other tenses, but certainly of Coptic *ne-*, which is not a *tense*, properly speaking.

(3) WILMET 1976:82 "situation objective, impressions affectives, structure des adverbies, mode d'action des verbes, personne grammaticale...niveau de langue" must all be taken into account as factors for the choice of a narrative tense; MCKAY 1992:227, on New Testament Greek tensing: "Ultimately we need to weigh up the evidence of the whole context, verb forms, time markers, sentence structure, the nature of the paragraph, the chapter, even the book, and beyond that the personal, social, political and other assumptions which the writer brought to his task..."

(4) The textual (syntagmatic) inter-tense shift seems to be the main narrative operator: Weinrich's *Tempusübergang*, Bonomi's "glissement de perspective" (1993:11f., 14f.) — this is the delimitation (like the photographic cut) that, together with the event-concatenation linkage in EM, makes *juncture* the main factor in narrative: see SCHIFFRIN 1981: 45, 51ff. and see below.

(b) The main tense oppositions.

Prominent and probably primary among the narrative grammatical signals are what are loosely known as "narrative tenses". The unstructured tense repertory gives a particularly misleading picture, stemming

also from what may be called "associative terminological programming". Here is probably the most instructive instance of a grammatical form being devoid of "meaning" outside its specific systems: for in the narrative *système des valeurs* the tenses have a very different functional definition from the one they have in the dialogic system. Indeed, "tense" has no absolute intrinsic meaning outside of its *texteme*. In the unstructured inventory, the picture is even more misleading. This last distortion is often compounded by the terminology, for the terms conventionally used for the tenses bear strong alien associations that potentially and, in point of fact, bias our judgement of and blunt our sensitivity for the specifics of Coptic.

The Coptic system of narrative tenses seems a greatly reduced one in comparison with the European ones: no Narrative Present, no narrative infinitive; no *perfectum praesens* for report are present. It is certainly also reduced (especially in boundary signalling) compared with its highly complex Egyptian predecessors, a simplification evident already in Demotic. I find this, together with the apparent evolution of a Greek-type narrative Preterite/Imperfect tense system, one of the most intriguing diachronic phenomena of Egyptian. The first reaction, *viz.* that what we have in Coptic is but a calque-replica of the Greek system, must immediately be modified by the numerous "Egyptian" (or anyway "un-Greek") features that emerge upon careful examination. (The issue as a whole requires precise dialectal resolution, and is of course not limited to tensing).

(c) Coptic Tenses.

The mutual opposition between the Coptic tenses traditionally called "Perfect" (ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ) — to which I shall henceforth refer as "Preterite" — and ⲙⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, the "Imperfect", testifies to Latin/Greek terminology and conceptualization¹⁸, compounded with the presupposition or bias of Greek influence, which is not founded on precise study but taken for granted (Chaîne [1933:267f.] thus lightly pronounces, *ohne weiteres*, that the Coptic ⲙⲁⲓ- has "le sens de l'imparfait grec"; or STERN 1880 §373 "dauerzeit der vergangenheit in die beschreibung... entspricht als solche dem griechischen imperfekt"). This aspectual opposition is valid

¹⁸ On the "tyranny" of Latin grammatical conceptualization terminology, cf. DE BOER 1928; see also STERN 1880:312 "lateinische schulausdrücke", referring to case-names (his own terminology is Greco-Latin). This is the non-diachronic Coptological version of De Boer's *tyrannie du latin*.

only in a text-detached, “lexical” and loose sense. The Imperfect is a non-specific, fuzzy, diffuse when in contrast with the specific Preterite¹⁹. Of course, this traditional synthetic “*Tempuslehre*” description is a non-textual, sentence-grammatical, so to speak “lexical” one. Conventionally and traditionally, in the European genealogical, diachronic and geographic *Sprachbund* that may conveniently be called “Graeco-Romance”, the imperfective aspect is associated with a durative *Aktionsart* and description narrative background (broadly seen as a “view from the inside”). As we shall see, for Coptic such statement is inadequate and imprecise.

Certainly, there *is* matching between the Egyptian-Coptic value system and the Greek one, a matching possibly due to contact interaction through the Sacred Texts and through general Greek/Coptic adstratic or superstratic transfer as well as to convergence of functional features: this makes alertness and sensitivity to what is typologically “Egyptian” even more *de rigueur*.

Coptic, it seems, is at the junction of the Greek/Latin/Romance-oriented European tradition and the still largely uncharted Egyptian phenomenology. The opposition of and inter-shifting between Preterite and Imperfect (the former under several names, the latter always “Imperfect”) is a weighty subject with a long and deep and ongoing research tradition. In Coptic as in Greek, the Imperfect (ⲛⲉⲣⲥⲱⲧⲙ / ⲛⲁⲣⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, in its conventional associations and favourite traditional appellation, even going occasionally²⁰ back to its probable Late Egyptian structural and probably formal predecessor *wn.f hr sdm*) is “transparent”, containing a present-tense stem with additional exponent features signalling past time: the augment (which is an Indo-European converter) and the secondary personal endings. (Hence, the conception of the Greek Imperfect as “back-shifted present”: GOODWIN §36, SCHWYZER II 275). Not so in Latin or Romance; the Preterite *is a morphological special term everywhere*. There is no denying the Imperfect (in this morpho-lexical sense of a past-shifted present) is an eminently Indo-European phenomenon: its presence and importance in Coptic is certainly noteworthy.

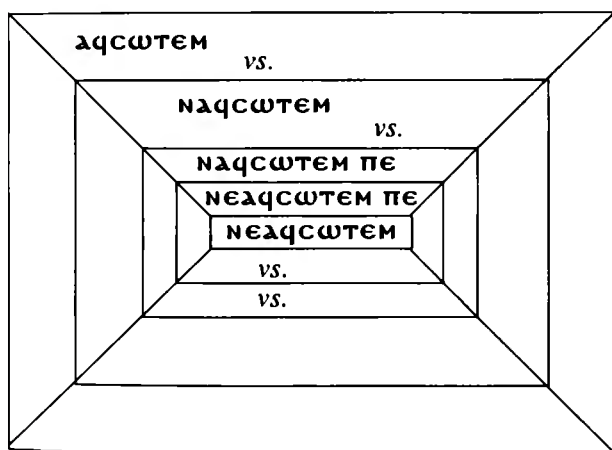
¹⁹ A viable statement so far as it goes; cf. KLEIBER 1987, JANSSEN 1991, EGGS 1993:10ff. However, specificity, indefiniteness and genericity are difficult notions even when applied to nominals; and, for verbal nexus forms, the difficulty is compounded by the co-presence of nominal actants.

²⁰ See NEVEU 1994:200. See POLOTSKY 1990 on the history of Egyptological usage of “perfect” and “imperfect”.

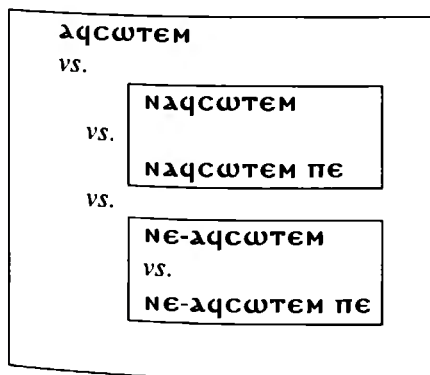
Obs.

The Coptic Preterite (αϥ-) is compatible with adverbs of time extension that show its temporal-deixis compatibility-value to be neutral or unmarked: **ⲛ-ⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ** (Num. 20:29), **ⲛⲕⲉ-ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ** (Gen. 8:10), **ⲛ-ⲧⲛ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ** (Gen.9:28). It is however difficult to conclude much from deictic-modifier compatibility of tenses to their time indication. (See VETTERS 1996, esp. Chapter 3).

The two following diagrams depict, in (respectively) (a) three- and (b) two-dimensional graphic representations, the categorial model for the main narrative tense oppositions of Coptic:



with each plane opposed to the all other adjacent ones. Or, in two-dimensional projection:



An impressionistic Greek/Coptic contrastive scanning results in the following broad structuring of "tense" ranges:

Septuagint Greek	Pentateuch Bohairic
Aorist	Preterite / (Imperfect)
Imperfect	Imperfect / (Preterite)
present	Preterite / (Imperfect ²¹)

While a closer specimen check of the respective Greek correspondences of **ne- Ø**, **ne- pe**, **aq-**, **waq-** and the Nominal Sentence (see in detail below) shows the following correlations:

Pentateuch Bohairic	Septuagint Greek
ne- Ø	Imperfect, Aorist, infinitive, Present, Perfect, (participles)
ne- pe	Imperfect (also $\tilde{\eta}$ v-periphrases); (Aorist)
waq-	Imperfect (also $\tilde{\eta}$ v-periphrases); present; (Aorist)
aq-	Aorist
Nom.Sentence	$\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ constructions (also $\tilde{\eta}$ v-periphrases)

This is surely sufficient to prove, as a structural point of departure, the basically different functional spectrum of the Coptic narrative forms, as well as the independence of their selection of the Greek *Vorlage*. As Roman Jakobson cogently said in his "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation" (1959): "Languages differ essentially in what they must convey, and not in what they may convey... as Boas neatly observed, the grammatical pattern of a language... determines those aspects of each experience that must be expressed in the given language". The use of **ne- pe** for switching to and marking the Comment Mode is peculiarly Egyptian, although, paradoxically, the construction as such is as yet not attested before Coptic; we have here, I believe, a specifically Coptic expression of a functional category well existing in pre-coptic Egyptian, still relatively uncharted territory in all phases of the language.

Obs.

(1) Three contrastive notes at this point. The first is banal: the warning that we can never be entirely sure of the tenses the Coptic translator found in his *Vorlage*, or that we are aware of all his motives for translating as he did. Obviously, the text we have must be

²¹ Cf. SCHWARTZE 1843:1926f. Obviously, many factors determine the precise correspondence, the primary one being lexical, the secondary co(n)textual; we still need a comprehensive contrastive grammar (MINK 1972 is far from adequate, even as jottings towards such a work).

taken as a valid *testo di lingua* and we must make the best use we can of what data we do have. But let us always remember that the Coptic translator did not translate Greek tenses; he translated a *Greek text*, following a careful reading and interpretation.

(2) The second observation refers to a key question, viz. the influence (if any) of Greek tensing on Coptic²². I see three ideal means of determining and resolving this, to be applied conjointly: defining the narrative grammar of pre-Coptic Egyptian; of Septuagint Greek; and, most elegant of all, isolating specifically Coptic signals, that is, such features as do not find matching correspondents in the Greek system of grammar. In parenthesis: the similarity between the *systèmes des valeurs* of the Preterite:Imperfect oppositions in Coptic, Romance, Greek are occasionally uncanny. The reason may be a universally similar partition of the semantic ranges in narrative — the plot-carrier, background-channel-carrier etc. Be that as it may, let me say that, while the translation of the Holy Word attempts, in Coptic as elsewhere, to be as precise as possible, it is in the Bohairic here studied (unlike often in the Septuagint) not a calque translation, but one based on a serious, sensitive, attempt to understand the original, and then make full use of the means to reproduce this comprehension in Coptic. The translation is thus a meaningful and fully valid document of Coptic. It would of course be possible to speculate on the Greek and "Egyptian" components of the Coptic narrative. To identify the latter correctly we would need synchronic and diachronic studies of the Egyptian texteme; but the former, too, is not simply "Greek", but Koine and Byzantine Greek. A curious fact: despite the obvious importance of Greek for the Coptic text — Greek is after all *the* "language in contact" with Coptic, in both textual and sociolinguistic interface with it —, typologically speaking Coptic is, I believe, more Romance (and especially Franco-Romance) than "Hellenic": Latin is more relevant to its structure. The special role of French — as against German or English — grammatical phenomenology for inspiring insights into Coptic, as also the special felicity of French translations from Coptic, would be a familiar experience for Coptic scholars: "Qu'on remarque en égyptien tant de gallicismes", E. Revillout, *RE* 11 (1904) 111; "J'ai parmi les égyptiens de race de bons amis, dont la tournure d'esprit toute française m'étonne toujours", *apud* POLOTSKY 1985a:96 (+ n. 12); see also POLOTSKY 1957b:227 n. 1.

(3) In a sense — and it's another curious reflection — Coptic returns the grammar of our Scripture narrative closer to the Hebrew pre-Greek *Vorlage*, since typologically Coptic has definitely more affinities with Semitic than with Indo-European, even if some traits, perhaps even in the narrative-tense system, were arguably acquired by contact with Greek. (See BARR 1961 Chapter 4:72ff.; 83 n.1).

(4) The third point concerns the absence of the Narrative Present in Coptic, unlike Greek and pre-Coptic Egyptian narratives (also, though with lesser importance, the narrative infinitive²³ and Narrative Perfect), in a word the verb-forms described by Barthes (1953:50) as "des formes moins ornementales, plus fraîches, plus denses et plus proches à la parole" which, when substituted for the narrative Preterite, change the *récit* drastically. In fact, the Coptic *πe*-less *ne*- clauses merge the roles fulfilled in European languages by parts of the spectrum of the Imperfect and of the Narrative Present.

(5) In Biblical Hebrew, in broad schematic outline, the carrier of the Evolution Mode seems to be the *wayyiqtol* form, of the Comment Mode *w-qaṭal* and *w-NOM.-yiqtol*, of

²² Cf. recently GRIESHAMMER 1991/2: 70f., with n. 15.

²³ Cf. KRETCIMER 1910; LOMBARD 1936. The infinitive in Latin mainly hurries narrative pacing (into what J. B. Hofmann called "die fliegende Hast der Erzählung").

the background proper *w-NOM*:- *qatal*, with the respective transition patterns. This is an average view or current consensus, see NICCACCÌ 1990; cf. also ROSÉN 1969; POLOTSKY 1985, for a functional parallelism of *wayyiqtol* and Late Egyptian sequential *jw.f hr sdm*. See also NICCACCÌ 1994:236ff. for an attempt to apply the Bibl. Hebrew system to Moabite. Some further features relevant for narrative grammar and common to Coptic and Hebrew are the Nominal Sentence, existential expressions, *hnh* presentatives (Coptic $\epsilon\eta\eta\pi\epsilon$ etc.), the “indigenous” Tautological Infinitive (GOLDENBERG 1971, SHISHA-HALEVY 1990).

(6) See SCHWARTZE 1843:1926f. for the correspondence Greek Pres. = Copt. Impf., Greek Aorist = Copt.Perf. + Impf. (Schwartzé does not find a difference between the absence and presence of $\pi\epsilon$ with $\eta\epsilon$:- p. 1923ff.).

(7) The Narrative Present occurs in Septuagint Greek, yet in an extremely poor variety and functional range compared with other, early and late, Greek texts, including the New Testament. See THACKERAY 1978:24. We find it especially common in dramatic narrative episodes, with protagonist-delocutive forms of “say” ($\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$), “see” ($\delta\rho\tilde{\alpha}$) and (far more rarely) some verbs of motion ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\nu$), that is to say in initial-boundary delimitative slots. It corresponds to Coptic $\pi\epsilon\delta\epsilon$ -, $\pi\epsilon\delta\alpha$ - (Ex. 5:3, 10:7:9:28:29, Num. 14:28, 20:19, 22:16:28:30 etc.; $\epsilon\epsilon\delta\omega$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ in Gen. 38:22 is not narrative, but reporting) the verb $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\upsilon$ etc. (Gen. 29:2, Ex. 2:6:13, 3:2, 32:19, Num. 22:31 etc.); $\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon\chi\tau$ (Num. 11:9). A rare instance of the Coptic (Sahidic) Narrative Present is Shenoute, Leip. IV 22: a catalogic listing of the Fathers’ action highlights. See SHISHA-HALEVY 2007b.

(8) Incidentally, the only references I can find to the problem of the Greek/Coptic interface as regards the tense system are in SCHWARTZE 1843:1926f., and Gerd Mink’s very summary Coptic contribution to *Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments* (1972). SCHWARTZE 1843:2015f. rejects Greek influence deeper than the surface (note his felicitously worded recommendation, “ein Vergleich der koptischen Sprache mit sich selbst”). Mink regards the question from the textual tradition angle, but states and illustrates the want of matching between the Greek Aorist/Imperfect/Present and the corresponding Coptic ones; the same impression is reported by Schwarze. However, such untypically simplistic wording as Ludwig Stern’s (1880 §373) (the Imperfect) “ist die dauerzeit der vergangenheit in der beschreibung und entspricht als solche dem griechischen imperfect” gives an utterly wrong impression.

(d) Discussions: a classified report

I cannot even attempt to report here adequately on the extensive literature treating the “grammatical personality” (WILMET 1976:79f.) of the Greek, Latin and Romance tense called “Imperfect” (usually in the oppositive context of that other Preterite narrative tense, called simply Preterite, Aorist or Perfect, *passé simple* or *passato remoto*), revealing the lasting fascination of what Marc Wilmet, ever felicitously, calls “l’eternel imparfait”. Generally speaking, the Graeco-Romance Imperfect is conceived of as static, “fuzzy”, diffuse, non-specific, in contrast with the sharply demarcated, specific, dynamic Preterite. As for the Greek contrast of Imperfect (unlike Latin and like Coptic, a morphologi-

cally transparent past-shifted present) the cumulative functional impression found in comprehensive grammars as well as monographs is close to the Romance picture²⁴; both Aktionsart ("plurality", descriptive narration for the Imperfect) and aspect roles (attempted and/or unachieved as against "perfective" completed action) are claimed. Greek, however, unlike Latin or Coptic, and like Romance, has a real Perfect tense — a *perfectum praesens*; unlike Coptic, but like Latin and Romance (and Celtic), Greek has a Narrative or Historical Present, which makes the contrasted systems actually incommensurate. As a general, almost instinctive statement, one recalls the school-class maxim "perfecto procredit, imperfecto insistit oratio".

Following classic seminal discussions (such as LABOV and WALETZKY 1967 — see now LABOV 1997), modern or relatively recent discussions feature cumulatively in the bibliographies and reference-lists of comprehensive treatments of Narrative Grammar, such as WEINRICH 1977, or FLEISCHMAN 1990, and of course in "total grammars" of the languages concerned. Most well-discussed, and most sensitively studied, is the French *imparfait*, well in the center of narratological science in the West. One of the interesting science-sociology phenomena involved is the rift between Anglophone Narrative-Grammar theorists, who centre on the English *Narrative Present* — there is no English (or Germanic) "Imperfect", *pace* WEINRICH 1977, who considers the past progressive an Imperfect in effect ("he was going" is structurally very different, being marked for durativity and not merely a past-shifted present), and between (on the one hand) the Romance philologist-linguists and Modern French narratologically-oriented linguists, and (on the other hand) the classical philologists and linguists, including here the "Sacred Philologies" of the Old and New Testament. The rift is also to a degree one between a philological-linguistic, a narratological-linguistic and a discourse-linguistic orientation.

I shall here briefly mention only such general conceptualizations as have relevance for the functional discussion of Coptic, with some corresponding terminology; for reference to specific functions, see further below (a certain extent of duplication is unavoidable; the use of the index is here recommended).

(1) General — *Tempuslehre*, narrative tensing and tenses in narrative. Greek: the grammars (esp. Kühner-Gerth and Mayser); RUIPÉREZ 1982; RIJKSBARON 1984; RUIGH 1991, with basic literature (presenting the the-

²⁴ See POLOTSKY 1957:227 n. 1.

sis of the *relativity* of the tense stems); MCKAY 1992; TICHY 1999. *Latin*: MELLET 1988. *Romance*: DAUSES 1981; *French*: STEN 1952 (with TOGBY 1955), 1964²; IMBS 1960 (traditional, unstructural); WILMET 1976; DUCROT 1979, 1983; LE GOFFIC 1986, POLLAK 1988, ENGEL 1990, EGGS 1993, BONOMI 1993.

Obs.

To my knowledge, only in Italian grammatical tradition, the attribute “narrative” is terminological (= “a specific kind of *imperfetto*”) and more often than not carries a prescriptive censoring purist overtone, as being an “improper” expansion of a written usage not originally “proper”. See BERTINETTO 1986:381ff, 392ff. for a Romance-oriented description, evading the internal issues and often begging the question; 1987; only in French, it seems, the category has been studied unapologetically: see also POLLAK 1988:124ff.; DAUSES 1981:35ff. calls the traditional *pittoresque* Imperfect “narrative”.

(1) The Imperfect as a diffuse, “fuzzy”, “indefinite” verbal temporal/aspectual category; as an “imperfective aspect” form: “staged durativity”. Durativity and salience. A “fuzzy reality” form. ANSCOMBRE 1986 on the *zero*-article determination as a “substantival Imperfect”: insightful concerning specificity and genericity as a unified theory of language, and specifically important in helping to come to terms with the noun/verb interface (important in Coptic).²⁵ JANSSEN 1991 treats the other side of the issue, namely the Preterite as a “definite description” (see also GERSBACH 1982:202).

SERBAT 1976 is a lucid and important survey of the terminology of the Imperfect, from classical tradition to modern grammar, in aspectual focus.

The Stoics’ and conventional Greek term for the Imperfect, *παρωχημένος παρατατικός* “extensive past”, calls for an inquiry into the original conception of this “paratasis”, which may have referred, not to extended action but to a distance between its “world” and eventing anchored in the main-line reality, and thus is close to the “detachment from reality” or “parallel” or “fuzzy reality” role of the tense: HOFFMANN 1983.

The alleged durativity (or duration) factor in the functional spectrum of the Imperfect — in Coptic as in the Graeco-Romance isogloss — is, I believe, overplayed.²⁶ Consider, for more precise observation and formu-

²⁵ It would be interesting to think in this context of the Old/Middle Egyptian *mrr.f* form as a non-specific verbal substantive; for a view of its event-focussing role in certain configurations, see SATZINGER 1993:202ff.

²⁶ The combination of Coptic *ⲙⲁⲓⲥ* with temporal adverbs indicative of “verbal plurality” (*ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲱ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩ*, Gen. 21:20f.:34, *ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ* Num. 9:16) means

lation, Goodwin's "dwelling on the course of an event", thus following MELTZER 1904/5 and KÜHNER-GERTH's (§383.1) "Verlauf, Entwicklung" (and not duration!); GILDERSLEEVE 1980:88 (§206) "the continuance is in the mind of the narrator; it has nothing to do with the absolute duration of the verb", or (251) "the seat of duration [must be] put where it belongs, in the eye of the beholder, in the heart of the sympathizer, and not in the action itself. Describe a rapid action and you have the Imperfect. Sum up a long action and you have the aorist".

DE BOTH-DIEZ 1985 on the aspectual approach to understanding the *imparfait: passé simple* opposition, with sensitivity to textemic environment of the forms.

DECLERCK 1991 on the Imperfect for "unbounded situation": e.g. Chapter 3, 119ff., 261f. etc.

DELAUNOIS 1988:183f. introduces the concept of "durée psychologique", which signals "l'importance que le locuteur attribue à l'action": cf. Coptic $\pi\alpha\alpha$ - (without $\pi\epsilon$, with *zero*) for event highlighting and indeed focussing (below). MELLET 2003 on the Imperfect in the cotext of the Preterite; also on the Imperfect as "action viewed from inside".

More broadly, forms of imperfective aspect (including the Imperfect proper) are treated within the modality framework (FLEISCHMAN 1995: 522) as marked with respect to "(a) the reality, realization, or referentiality of an event or sequence of events predicated in an utterance; (b) the realization of an agent's wishes, hopes, or intentions, as expressed in the propositions of an utterance; (c) the authenticity of an utterance or chunk of discourse (i.e. a sequence of utterances); or (d) what, for want of a better term, I shall call the canonicity or normalcy of a discourse or of a communicative situation". Consider also the so-called (pre-)ludic role of the forms in Romance (see WILMET 1976:110ff.) and English (KAPER 1980)²⁷; see below.

(2) The Imperfect as a "paintbrush" depicting tense. The Imperfect "descriptive".

"Imperfekt der lebhaften Darstellung" (LERCH 1930).

FANNING 1990:249: the Imperfect primarily descriptive.

"Imparfait pittoresque": Brunetière *apud* POLLAK 1988:125 "tenant de composer et de fixer des tableaux... L'imparfait...sert à prolonger la

compatibility, no more, and is not more indicative than its compatibility with $\uparrow\text{NOW}$ (Ex. 3:9, Deut. 22:16) or $\epsilon\tau\iota$ (Ex. 36:3, Num. 11:33).

²⁷ In Modern Hebrew, the simple past is used for the verbal planning of game scenario.

durée de l'action exprimée par le verbe, et de l'immobiliser en quelque sorte sous les yeux du lecteur. Le parfait est narratif, l'imparfait est pittoresque".

(3) Tensing hierarchy in narrative: the Imperfect marked, the Preterite unmarked term of the narrative carrier category or *vice versa*. The Imperfect thematic. The Imperfect a "relative tense". The Imperfect both backgrounding and prominencing? Backgrounding and delimiting? The Imperfect anaphoric.

Although the Imperfect is more of a narrative tense than the Aorist (DELBRÜCK 1879:103f., 114), the former hierarchy is the most prevalent, indeed the default approach: TOGEBY 1955:390f., BERTINETTO 1987 and many others.

RIJKSBARON 1988: the Imperfect a narrative past *par excellence*, the Aorist non-past (atemporal, even future) but signifying primarily "closedness".

(H.) ROSÉN 1980, RIJKSBARON 1988, LE GOFFIC 1995:134f., and others see the Imperfect as **thematic** to its rhematic environment, in particular the main-line event. This is interesting in view of the prominencing (*relief*) function attributed by others (e.g. Weinrich) to this tense.

The Imperfect as non-autonomous: LE GOFFIC 1995:134f.

"The Imperfect creates a certain expectation on the part of the reader/hearer: what else happened?", RIJKSBARON *apud* PORTER 1989:202.

KLEIBER 2003, on the Imperfect as an anaphoric tense.

See also WEINRICH 1977 (a *relief* tense), EGGS 1993:7ff.

(4) The Imperfect a past-shifted Present:

This too is, or has been, consensual, explicit or implicit. SCHWYZER II 275 "Versetzung in die vergangenheit", "a shifted tense", BANFIELD 1982:103ff. (cf. Polotsky's view in "The Coptic Conjugation System" [1960], retracted in 1987, of *NE-* as a Preterite converter).

WILMET 1976:93ff., 193ff.: the Imperfect "throws a bridge between the past and actuality" 79. See EGGS 1993:7ff.

See also below, under the respective Coptic feature heading, for details of general literature on the following functional aspects of the Imperfect:

"episode amplification" in the foreground;
delimitative/narrative-break role;

situation-opening, initial situation;
 explicative and parenthetic roles;
 a "removedness/detachedness from reality" or "parallel reality"
 signal;
 the Imperfect for anaphoric abstracting; thematization and similar;
 the Imperfect tense-marking of *verba dicendi*;
 "internalizing" role;
 the dilation/slow-motion effect; camera-eye technique.

(5) **The Narrative Present**, not operative in Coptic, constitutes a much-discussed, ever fascinating sub-topic of narrative tensing, as intriguing as the Imperfect. Indeed, it is kindred to the Imperfect in its typical opposition to a Preterite (or "Aorist") main-line narrative carrier. Some selective references to general works and functional highlights, especially those relevant to Coptic tensing.

Greek and Latin: GILDERSLEEVE "annalistic or note-book Present" (1903: §201); KIECKERS 1915; THACKERAY 1978:24; 1923:20ff. and *apud* OSBURN 1986:493f. (on Septuagint Greek, thus directly relevant to our corpus): "(the Present) serves to introduce new scenes in the drama", "a fresh paragraph in the narrative", "to introduce a new scene like a stage-direction"...a "*mise en scène*"; "[to] introduce a date, a new scene, a new character, occasionally a new speaker; in other words a fresh paragraph in the narrative...a curtain-raiser". OSBURN 1986 (New Testament Greek); the Present marking "a major shift to another aspect of the story"; "cataphoric...to set the stage for an event". See also LEVINSOHN 1977, 1992, MALONEY 1989; RUIPÉREZ 1982 Chapter 10 ("[dans le présent] prennent du relief des moments nouveaux ou décisifs d'une série d'événements passés exprimés grammaticalement au temps passé. La narration devient ainsi plus vivante...[le présent] désigne le moment culminant d'une narration, un événement qui coupe le souffle, un moment si surprenant que le temps paraît être suspendu..."). MCKAY 1988 is an interesting and inspired discussion of generic tenses in Greek narrative (referred to below, à propos of Coptic (NE)ϣαϥ-). PARASKEVAS 1993 (Modern Greek, spoken and written); MELLET 1985: in Apuleius, the Present "temps banal du récit", and the Perfect marked as conveying dramatic tension. THOMAS 1974:75 n.155 (sudden important events; highlights in summary narratives). VON FRITZ 1949: narrative peak moments. In Caesar's Latin, the Present is unmarked as foregrounding and main clause, the Perfect backgrounding and subordinate (186f.). In an important structuralist essay, BARRI 1978 discusses, fol-

lowing H.-J. Seiler, the Greek Present (Xenophon) as a foreground (or our EM) carrier in non-actualized narrative stretches, with the Aorist remarkably supplying the background (our CM.) The Present is perfective, non-durative, actional.

Similarly, the Narrative Present as a foregrounding (≈EM) tense: foreground with a high degree of unexpectedness: CHVANY 1985:257ff.; not in CM, SZNAJDER 1996:318f. (Latin); SERBAT 1976:367-405 on the present as a non-tense; 385ff. on the atemporal present.

CASPARIS 1975 for the "focal particularity" of the Narrative Present in a general study.

THOMAS 1974:31ff. is an important general and specific Indo-European study, reviewing and contributing to the research on the Historical or Narrative Present and Preterite/Present tense-shifting in narrative. Note the important note (p. 39 n.31) on Harald Weinrich's treatment of the issue in *Tempus*. (WEINRICH 1977:89 on Franz Werfel's *Das Lied von Bernadette*) and Bronzwaer's treatment of Weinrich. W. sees it as "un-narrative", thus heralding FLEISCHMAN's "anti-narrative": "um der Wahrheit der Geschichte willen...schreckt Werfel von den Erzählungs-tempora zurück". Thomas rejects, for older phases of Indo-European, Kiparsky's statement made for modern European languages that "in using the present the narrator becomes closely involved in the story and relates it as if he were an eyewitness to the action, or wished to convey to the listener the dramatic feeling of being an eyewitness" (KIPARSKY 1968:30).

WILMET 1976:9ff. is a brilliant structuralist study of some narrative roles of the French Present; the author sees the Present as the junction between the chronicling and the narrative, thus in fact suggesting a solution for the puzzle of the familiar double nature of the Present in narrative (STEN 1964:32ff.).

EK 1996 on the German Present as "non-past" — again, essentially negative membership in an opposition of tenses. (see esp. 40ff.).

COWPER 1998:14f. ("the discourse anchor is distinct from, and earlier than, the moment of speech").

RAUH 1978:323ff. examines the Narrative Present from a deictic point of view.

FLEISCHMAN 1990:437 s.v.: an especially important discussion (in my opinion, among the best), again dealing with the ambiguity of the Present in narrative.

FLUDERNIK 1991 is an important structural-narratological treatment of the Present. She stresses that not the meaning of the Present is of impor-

tance, but switching to it (394: “the Present marks a differential value in relation to the past tense”). The Present is used as an initial delimitation (388). “[It signals] tellable events, dynamically relating them to statements in the Preterite that guide the listener’s evaluation of these events, marking the ‘point’ of the story” (386ff.)

SCHIFFRIN 1981 comments especially on the paramount importance of “syntagmatic opposition”, that is, alternation or switching (45, 51ff.).

1.1.3 The Coptic System in microscopy: specifics, details and documentation

(a) The opposition $\mathbf{n\epsilon- + \emptyset}$ vs. $\mathbf{n\epsilon- + \pi\epsilon}$: Rich (Enhanced) Evolution Mode vs. Mode Switching.

In the shift from Evolution to Comment Mode and back, we have the prime delimitation (other than the linkage and, dynamically, the “throb” of EM) of narrative. The syntagmatic coupling of $\mathbf{\Delta q-}$ with $\mathbf{n\epsilon- \pi\epsilon}$, in different sequences and combinations, is the most immediately important grammatical tool in Bohairic Coptic narrative texturing. But within EM, we observe a no less important (and equally frequent) alternation between two types of evolution staging: between normal and enhanced, rich or amplified narration.

The converter $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$, with or without $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$, the so-called “Preterite converter”²⁸, is a marked narrative carrier. In either case, it is non-autonomous in Narrative, signalling both link and delimitation; this strikingly recalls the “*double incomplétude*” observed by Le Goffic of the French *imparfait* (1995, see esp. 133ff.). Moreover, “time location is neither a constant part of its meaning nor its most fundamental value” (*ibid.*). Its name (“Preterite converter”) and the common “morphological” conception of $\mathbf{n\Delta q\omega\tau\epsilon m}$ as a “*praesens in praeterito*”²⁹ notwithstanding, I believe it does not function in Narrative as an augment-like back-shifter of the converter into anteriority, but as a marked delimitative narrative-texture and narrative-function exponent: a narration mode and signal of narrative Focus, pace, scope and staging. The point I find most essential is that the converter $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ itself, with or without $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$, does not primarily express time, tense or aspect. (I shall nevertheless refer to it here as “Imperfect”, for the sake of convenience and a not unwelcome association

²⁸ Probably as early in Egyptian diachrony as the Circumstantial *jw*: see MALAISE and WINAND 1999:262ff.

²⁹ POLOTSKY 1960:399f.

with the Graeco-Romance category of the same name). As I have suggested regarding Demotic and Coptic (1989b:49f.), $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ is functionally kindred to the Second Tense (Focalizing) converter: both are (depending on textual configurations) thematic and/or rhematic exponents and components of the textual and/or clausal information structure, and, more specifically, of what H. Weinrich called “*Reliefgebung*”.

Now $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ is mainly familiar in Coptic as a pronominal Theme in delocutive Nominal Sentence patterns³⁰, a deictic thematic element marking the syntactic unit (prosodically, the colon) preceding it as rhematic. When this preceding unit consists of a whole nexus, as is the case of $\mathbf{n\epsilon- \pi\epsilon}$, this can only mean $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ is a high-order discourse-referred rhematizing element, occurring almost only as a narrative (or narrative-evoking) form: a nexus formally marked as high-order rhematic by a formalized “it’s”, “c’est” element. (As a matter of fact, $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ and $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ may be considered the two constituents of an *embracing discontinuous morpheme*).

Obs.

(1) SHISHA-HALEVY 1999a is a tentative sketch for the present discussion; 2003a is a study of Oxyrhynchite narrative; 2007b describes the rhetorical narrative in Shenoutean Sahidic.

(2) LOPRIENO 1995:232 combines in his definition of $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ both the traditional and the textual views of $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$, ignoring the role of $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ (when present): “converts any verbal form into a *background Preterite*” (my italics). The attribution of CM or backgrounding role to $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$ alone is usual, cf. LAYTON 2004 §§435, 439 “a temporary shift, a stepping away from the primary line of discourse”...“background information”, a statement where both EM-CM switch ($\mathbf{n\epsilon- \pi\epsilon}$ in our Bohairic) and EM-internal “gear-shift” ($\mathbf{n\epsilon- \emptyset}$ in our Bohairic; see below) are conflated.

(3) BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER (1999) assigns the “*Reliefgebung*” role to $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$, “*Sprechhaltung*” — “*Perspektive*” to $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}$. Her discussion is penetrating, and her conclusions in many points close to my own.

(4) $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ is known outside Narrative and/or with other conjugation forms than the Imperfect, for EM-CM switching, as a signal of the commencement of “parallel reality”, or (which may be the same, from a different perspective) as a superordinating signal of high-level rhematicity; for the second role, note its use in *irrealis* and in *irrealis* wish; for the

³⁰ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1987:163ff. In fact, STERN 1880 §373 identifies *ohne weiteres* the Theme with the “preterite” $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$. By the way, to judge by his illustration, $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ occurs more frequently in Bohairic (certainly in Nitrian Bohairic) than in Sahidic. The only dialect I am aware of that formally distinguishes the two $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ elements is a variety of Oxyrhynchite, in the Codex Schøyen Matthew (ed. Schenke 2000): $\mathbf{\pi\epsilon}$ is the pronominal Theme in the Nominal Sentence, $\mathbf{\pi\eta}$ a “backgrounding particle”, “textual marker” (so Schenke in his index, p. 216). In this corpus, $\mathbf{\pi\eta}$ occurs as a real backgrounding exponent, also with $\mathbf{\xi\alpha\eta-}$ and Temporalis $\mathbf{\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\eta-}$ (consider Mt. 9:2, 14:8); see also SHISHA-HALEVY 2003a.

latter, consider $\pi\epsilon$ as an apodotic superordinator, especially with $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - (apodotic $\sigma\tau\sigma\zeta$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$... $\pi\epsilon$ in our corpus, Num. 34:5). In our corpus, we find $\pi\epsilon$ also with the Circumstantial, not in narrative (Lev. 4:22, Deut. 32:12 etc.), with the Focalizing Conversion (Second Tense) and once with $\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha\eta$: see below.

(4) While Polotsky in his *Grundlagen* still considers $\pi\epsilon$ - to be a "präteritale Transposition", he retracts here (1987:3) the first converter status accorded it in the "Conjugation System", since it is not assignable to any Part of Speech: "Die Präteritale Transposition betrifft weder Wortklassen noch Gliedsätze, sondern verschiebt Vollsätze in die relative Vergangenheit...Es war ein Fehler meines "Conjugation System" §18, ihr die erste Stelle unter den Transpositionen anzuweisen".

While both $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ and $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ are non-autonomous, i.e., they are functionally resolved only within a more or less extensive "chunk" of the text, the latter has phoric or referential force, and that in a double sense: $\pi\epsilon$, a non-commutable pragmatic-situationally referent "it's" element anchors the whole narrative tense-form in the narrator/audience-centered *hic-et-nunc* world, the whole $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ complex is *Narrative-anaphoric*, relative in the textual-situation-oriented sense, either formally resuming a verbal element or staged as strongly referred to it.

Now $\pi\epsilon$ - alone, without $\pi\epsilon$, is a delimiter, a narrative shifting signal on its own — a narrative "gear-shift" or rather, a focus-shift, zooming-in, close-up or amplifying exponent, a narrative focussing staging index. The tension here is between the main concatenating and measured narrative Evolution Carrier ($\alpha\eta$ -) and the essentially non-narrative (cf. Fleischman's "anti-narrative"), non-concatenating, unmeasured and holographic "depicting" $\pi\epsilon$ -. On the other hand, $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ supplies a more drastic and deeper change, viz. a *switch of Mode* — opening Comment Mode, closing Evolution Mode, or (according to configuration) *vice versa*. The $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ segment is as a rule a far stronger **break/delimitation** in narrative, a true cut-away to offscreen or backdrop, much more highly delimitative than $\pi\epsilon$ - alone ($-\alpha\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ is a particularly delimitative compound signal, but, on the other hand, $-\alpha\epsilon$ -, a link and weak delimitation, typically integrates the evolutive $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$). What $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ achieves is a break with the prevailing reality and world of discourse, that is, narrative evolution albeit in reference to it; this is the effect of the anchoring of a clause, thematically and indeed nexally, in the narrator/audience's own pragmatic reality, which is precisely what the exophoric "pragmatic" $\pi\epsilon$ does³¹. It sets the "discourse anchor" (COWPER 1998) in the Narrator's world of discourse, together with a for-

³¹ Somewhat like "C'est" in the dialogic French "C'est maman qui me bat", answering "Pourquoi pleures-tu", $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ is essentially presentational, nexus-presenting (cf. LAMBRECHT 1988).

malized measure of what Damourette and Pichon called “réinvasion nynégocentrique” (1936 §§1604, 1722 etc.).

The absence of $\pi\epsilon$ is thus meaningful, i.e. structurally a **real zero element**, and, functionally speaking, a highly loaded one at that. Of course, this staging exponent (stemming from a poetic decision of the translator-writer to present the facts relating to the narration in a certain way, and the ratio of its double opposition, to $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ and to $\lambda\eta$ - — cutting back and forth between the three narrative forms — is a text-specific factor and a stylistic-poetic balancing, making for a desired variable pace, complexity and compactness of the narration. As we have seen, there is no simple and direct way for us to turn to the Greek *Vorlage* to understand Coptic narrative structure; it must be resolved internally, generalizing and applying (to avoid circularity) the insight won from clear striking passages to such as are less unambiguous, complex or more blurred. It must be remembered that both $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ and $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ refine the narration beyond the original and introduce nuancing absent in the Greek. (Incidentally, P and Vat. copto 1, generally agreeing in the balancing of the two delimitations, seem to differ most when the translator-subjectivity factor is at its most sensitive. These are cases of causal staging or the anaphoric internal-evaluation handling of the foregoing EM events in the “Narrator’s Channel”: see in detail below).

I find it difficult to consider $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ and $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ with the main EM carrier $\lambda\eta$ - in simple terms of high-level thematicity and rhematicity, especially since $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ marks “Obtaining Situation” stretches (thematic?) as well as narrative focal points, and $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ stands in opposition of rank to both $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ and $\lambda\eta$ -, that is, to the EM as a whole, often supplying information or data that may be seen as incidental, but as often signalling a switch to a parallel world or reality that cannot be related to the basic narrative world in terms of Theme or Rheme. The answer, of course, lies in the realization that the intricate *valeur* interplay of thematicity and rhematicity is, like any grammatical function, not only, dependent upon and resolveable by syntagmatics and paradigmatics, but also dynamic. That is to say, $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ is only thematic in certain configurations with a rhematic environment or segment; and so is $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$, which is thematic in both $\lambda\eta$ - and $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ environments.

Obs.

(1) As said, it is the tension between the EM carrier $\lambda\eta$ - and the EM/CM exponents (respectively) $\pi\epsilon$ - $\emptyset$ and $\pi\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon$ that is the prime regulator of narrative pace and texture. Narrative stretches with “flat” EM $\lambda\eta$ - only acquire a special “ornamental” (Barthes) or lapidary chronicling character: consider Gen. 1:4f. $\sigma\theta\omicron\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\phi\omega\rho\chi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\phi\uparrow$

ΟΥΤΕΠΙΘΩΙΝΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕΠΙΧΑΚΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΤ ΜΟΥΤ ΕΠΙΘΩΙΝΙ ΔΕ-
ΠΙΕΖΟΥΘ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΧΑΚΙ ΑΦΜΟΥΤ ΕΡΟQ ΔΕ-ΠΙΕΔΩΡΕ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΡΟΥΕΙ ΨΩΠΙ
ΑΤΟΥΣΙ ΨΩΠΙ ΠΙΕΖΟΥΘ ΝΖΟΥΤ.

(2) The opposition ΝΕ- Ø vs. ΝΕ- ΠΕ has a decidedly different value in Nitrian narratives; ΝΕ- ΠΕ is there apparently much less marked, judging by its relative frequency (ΝΑ- Ø is uncommon), in some texts seemingly unmarked (e.g. in De Vis, *Homélie*s and the CSCO *Acta Martyrum*). It characterizes descriptive and durative narrative, rather than the Comment Mode. See (on Nitrian ΠΕ) the Gunn Papers (at the Griffith Institute, Oxford) VII 19. The distributional-functional system is also different in New Testament narratives (these statements are made impressionistically, and need to be implemented by precise corpus-special analyses), and seems to be more similar to that resolved in our corpus, and somewhat in a mid-way position between the latter and Nitrian Bohairic. For instance, ΝΕ- Ø does concatenate in Acts; *verba dicendi* occur with ΠΕ. The system of the early Bohairic B4 Twelve Prophets (P. Vat. copt. 9) is different still.

(3) The colon-final placement of ΠΕ is remarkably consistent, as the exx. presented below will show, and exceptions are few (one such is Gen. 40:4 ΟΥΟΖ ΑΠΙΜΝΟΥΤ ΤΛΕΩΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΙΩΧΗΦ ΑΓΗΝΙΟΥ ΕΤΟΤQ ΝΑQΤΖΕΗQ ΕΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑQΟΖΙ ΟΥΒΗΟΥ ΝΑΥΧΗ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΔΕΝΠΙΨΤΕΚΟ ΝΖΑΝΕΖΟΥΤ). In fact, this is apparently the most conspicuous final boundary-signal among delimitative elements in the language. (In Nitrian it often occurs in sets of two, as "foreshadowed"³², e.g. De Vis II 36, AM II 106, 136, 194, 198, 204 etc. For some strikingly *final* occurrences in Nitrian, cf. AM I 80, II 99, 148, 188 etc.; it seems often to be shared by several ΝΕ- clauses (e.g. De Vis I 116f., II 79, AM I 81).

(b) ΝΕ-/ΝΑQ- + Ø: functional specification.

"Narrative gear-shift" or shift or change of focus: I would define its function as *the expanding of the narrative dimension*, in leaving the flat, 2-dimensional narrative reality for a marked 3-dimensional (or even 4-dimensional, taking time extent as an important event component) one. It marks detail-rich, holographic or amplified evolution or episode/scene amplification, for event or state: this is, so to speak, enhanced or "boosted" flow of narrative.

The semantic spectrum of enhanced narration — Rich or Enhanced Evolution — includes the following (note that the ideally resolved roles enumerated below often combine, overlap or converge in the actual occurrences). Occasionally, the assignment of individual occurrences to this or the other role is subjective and might be contested:

(1) Shift of focus: close-up or zooming-in focussing on action (dynamic) as a slow-motion presentation, or on state as a *tableau*, static or dynamic. Signalling prominence or urgency of the storyline. Dramatic event presentation; holographic depicting narrative focussing

³² SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a: 167f.

or highlighting. Narrative Peak; “freezing the moment”, visually vivid “freeze-frames”; “blow-up”. “Paintbrush narration”.

Following **ⲛⲁⲩ** “see”: the perceived in dramatic close-up or slow-motion (“camera-eye” focus). Here is a unique opposition environment between **ⲛⲉ-** and **ⲛⲉ- ⲛⲉ:** the former occurs as focussing object of “see”, introduced by **ⲉⲛⲛⲉ** **ⲓⲥ** (cf. Biblical Hebrew *r’h w-hnh*), the latter as second-object actant (**ⲛⲁⲩ** + Obj. + **ⲉⲛ-ⲛⲉ- ⲛⲉ**).

(2) Essential narrative information: basic narrative situation enmeshed within EM.

(3) Essential narrative information: narrative frame-of-reference (“enframing”) situation: “Obtaining Situation”, typically initial (pertinent to the plot or to protagonist characterization), close-up zooming-in on Initial Situation. “Lingering camera” effect. “Thematic context”, “scene” or “context for apprehension” of the plot.

(4) Essential narrative information: statal-adverbial description. Nominal predication.

All these must be kept carefully distinct from background setting in CM.

(5) Cut-away, focus-shift and zoom-in (on events); “panning” or “rotating camera” effect.

(6) Totalizing-iterative or resultative-iterative *Aktionsart* action-amplifying role; ensuing condition or state. Pointing out the significance of an act, action or state.

(7) Non-punctual, diffused-action reiterated *Aktionsart* action-amplifying role.

Numerous cases where the plural-actor **ⲛⲉ- Ø** form seems to contrast with a singular-actor Preterite (“Perfect”, **ⲁⲓ-**), consider Ex. 18:13, Deut. 9:10 etc., would be symptomatic of this role.

(8) *Verba dicendi*, cognition verbs (affirmative)

Not common (**ⲛⲉⲉⲁ** is more of a Narrative/Dialogue switching or delimitation signal).

The transition from **ⲁⲓ-** carried to **ⲛⲉ- Ø-** carried EM slows down narrative pacing and enriches, deepens the narrative scope; the inverse configuration speeds narration up, simultaneously “flattening” it. In the Initial Situation, the pace halts, yet we do not leave EM. Arguably, **ⲛⲁⲓ-** does not deepen or enrich a state: it is, after all, the main, if not only means of expressing a state in narrative EM.

Obs.

(1) Zooming-in focussing or narrative peak in Demotic Narrative is marked, as in Coptic, by (*is*) *wn-n3w* + durative Rheme (P. Spiegelberg 4/1.2, P. Krall 24/21).

(2) Some references to general or European-languages discussion of the above special roles or comparable ones: "episode amplification" within the foreground (our EM): cf. CHVANY 1985:257ff., 266f. (imperfective Present and imperfective Past); FANNING 1990:191 ("prominence"), FLEISCHMAN 1990:318ff. (amplification). FUCHS 1991:108f. In HOPPER's model, this would probably be a background function (1979:215). "Narrative highlighting" or "narrative focussing": this is a much-debated term and issue. It overlaps S. Fleischman's "narrative peak" (1990:141f.; see 193ff.), BAAYEN 1997: focal referential concern (Bibl. Hebrew *yiqtol*), opposed to the basic narrative carrier (Bibl. Heb. *wayyiqtol*, our *aq-*) which expresses difocal referential concern.

Of the Greek Imperfect, cf. GILDERSLEEVE's (1903) "particularization", MANDILARAS 1973:132ff. ("...a sort of emphatic Aorist, where the Imperfect is used to stress the activity or the action of the verb"). Cf. FLEISCHMAN 1990:193ff. on description, which may verge on event focussing; also 1990:276 and Longacre *apud* FLEISCHMAN 1990:140; MELLET 2003, on the "inferred causality" of the *imparfait*. For the Narrative Present in similar roles, see CASPARIS 1975. Of course, "focalization" has different connotations in narratology, signifying (shift of) narration perspective or point of view: "Le narrateur s'efface derrière ce personnage qui est au centre de l'action et qui nous impose alors son propre regard sur les événements en cours" (MELLET 1988:173ff.); FLEISCHMAN 1991a:27ff. Yet grammatical narrative focalization is very different from dialogic or ex-positive one.

(3) On the special focussing camera-eye technique, zooming-in or slow-motion ('piano-sequenza') and tableau effect in Narrative: Jespersen's *lento/allegro* pacing musical metaphors (e.g. *apud* SCHWYZER II 277); METZ 1969:222f., POLLAK 1988:124ff., 144 (the "time-lens" effect); Longacre *apud* FLEISCHMAN 1990:140, FLEISCHMAN 1990:397 n.193.

(4) LE GOFFIC 1995:136 for the dilation/slow-motion effect of the French *imparfait*.

(5) In-narrative zooming-in focus shift by means of a presentative (Bohairic $\epsilon\eta\pi\tau\epsilon$ (IC) as illustrated below): on Bibl. Hebrew *whnh*..., see REVELL 1985:421f. ("incidental" is simplistic and, I believe, wrong); better NICCACCI 1990:§§66-70; BAAYEN 1997:258ff. ("focal referential concern"). On Modern Welsh *dyma/dyna*, Middle Welsh *llyma/llyna* in narrative, SHISHA-HALEVY 1997:77ff., 1999b:220f. In Demotic, see *Mythus* 18:27f., 31 (dramatic pre-peak signalling).

(6) For situation-opening and Initial Situation see POLLAK 1988:126; "obtaining situation": cf. CASPARIS 1975:130ff. "descriptive present as a background tableau"; FUCHS 1991:109ff., 109ff.; "toile de fond à l'histoire, décor..."; DE BOTH-DIEZ 1985:15f., "fond de décor"; STEN 1964:129, TOGEBY 1982:§917. BAAYEN 1997:264f. (Bibl. Hebrew). The well-known European "opening" Imperfect (e.g. in BERTINETTO 1986) may be related; we have in Coptic no "closing" delimitative role. On the Narrative Present in similar roles, see FLUDERNIK 1991:388.

(7) The $\mu\epsilon$ - marking of *verba dicendi* "say, speak" ($\Sigma\omega$, $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$) as *basic narrative situation* constitutes a striking parallel to the Imperfect marking of Romance and generally European and Indo-European *verba dicendi* in Narrative, an intriguing phenomenon that has drawn many discussions and various explanations. Consider two recent studies, on Old French and Modern English: FLEISCHMAN 1990:82f., 1995: 536ff.; FLEISCHMAN: "a narrative signal that what follows is not the direct speech quote, though it may have all the formal trappings of the direct-quotation style. Rather, it is a verbalization of something the quoted speaker was turning over in his or her mind. On this reading it would be the "ruminative" quality of the quoted material... that motivates the imperfective"; J. Bybee *apud* FLEISCHMAN *ibid.*: "a quoted utterance is "in progress" and perhaps also backgrounded given that what it reports is an ongoing mental attitude...when what is be-

ing reported on is rather how the speaker feels about something". CASPARIS 1975:108ff. for *verba dicendi* in the English Present; so too SCHIFFRIN 1981:58ff. See also DAUSES 1981:43ff. (French), POLLAK 1988:133 (French) on the thematicity of *verba dicendi*.

Latin: MELLET 1988:132f., 248ff. for the Imperfect tense of Latin *verba dicendi*; the early LØFSTEDT 1911:152ff. too discusses the *verba dicendi* in the pluperfect in later Latin as thematic or background: "...etwas Nebensächliches, mehr bei Seite oder im Hintergrund (jedenfalls nicht auf gleicher Linie) Stehendes... ein Nebenfaktum". (See already Hultsch *apud* HARTMANN 1918/20:40). Cf. also (H.) ROSÉN 1980; also, more generally, the opposition of a thematic tense (and tense segments) — the Imperfect — to a rhematic one (the Perfect).

Greek: RUKSBARON 1984:18 (the *verba dicendi* tense is thematic, since it is "intended to obtain a reaction from the interlocutor"). much earlier, MAYSER II/1:135 (the verb of saying as thematic or incomplete); KÜHNER-GERTH II §383.3 ("wenn die berichtete Rede dem Erzähler nicht schon als abgeschlossenes Ganze vorschwebt, sondern in ihren einzelnen Momenten entwickelt wird"); SCHWYZER II 277f., KIECKERS 1915:7f. and THACKERAY 1923:21 for Greek *verba dicendi* in the Present tense; SVENSSON 1930:10ff., 30ff., 68ff., 120ff. is one of the best treatments of Greek *verba dicendi* (in the Present and Imperfect tenses) in Narrative; another (for post-classic Greek) is ERIKSSON 1943:16, 21, 64f., 88ff.

(8) See below for the delimitative/narrative-break role of the Imperfect; THACKERAY 1923:21 for the Narrative Present in Septuagint Greek ("The tense as a rule is, I believe, 'dramatic' in the sense that *it serves to introduce new scenes in the drama*" — original italics); in 1923:22 Thackeray writes of a *mise en scène* role of the present. SVENSSON 1930:92ff., 96ff., 120 writes of "dramatic tension" and "dramatic eventuality" of this tense in Greek. MELLET 1988:230ff. for narrative-break and 'gearshift' nature of the Imperfect in Latin. See also DE BOTH-DIEZ 1985:18 for the homolexic shift *imparfait-to-passé simple* with the effect of "*discours dramatisé*"; also MELLET 2003.

Typically, then, $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}\emptyset$ is **non-phoric**, i.e. does not resume, herald or at all refer to a foregoing or following narrative cotext. (This lower cohesion value means a relatively high Communicative Dynamism grading). It is **affirmative only**. It is very rarely concatenating: or rather never really concatenating at all, but occurring in short series (unlike $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}\mathbf{p\epsilon}$), and thus very different in its combinatorics from the narrative Preterite $\mathbf{\lambda q-}$ (*alias* Perfect). It also has an otherwise differing syntax (for instance, in its incompatibility with inclusion by $\mathbf{\Sigma\epsilon-}$). (Note again that all above roles regard "**linguistic eventing**", that is, staging decisions and options of the narrator, and not attempts at the objective reproduction of real event ["change of situation"] features).

(c) $\mathbf{n\epsilon-}\mathbf{n\lambda q-} + \mathbf{p\epsilon}$: functional specification.

Here (ana-)phoric association, even a general or vague one with the information given in some foregoing narrative segment or stretch, is almost *de rigeur*; $\mathbf{p\epsilon}$ is a hyper-clausal referent. Somewhat paradoxically,

NE- ΠΕ information is often more "important" for the plot, being of immediate relevance to main-line neighbouring events, than the evolutive **NE- Ø** information; **NE- ΠΕ** information as it were supports the narrated plot as it is (being) (re-)considered by the narrator; but **NE- Ø** information *is* the plot, albeit in a privileged rank. The delimitative junctural value of **NE- ΠΕ** is strong. Negation is very common, even characteristic of certain functions (note for instance **ΝΑΥΕΜΙ/ΣΩΘΗΝ ΔΝ ΠΕ** or **ΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΔΝ ΠΕ**); **NE- ΠΕ** too does not concatenate or occur in series, but in isolated "islands". It is interesting to note that, judging by the Coptic facts, the "background" is superordinated to its cotext and rhematic, not thematic. **The CM information is by no means less important than EM information.** The pivotal point here is the deviation from the *narrative world of reality* to another, simultaneous and parallel one, the internal one of the narrator *vis à vis* his audience, in which the event or state are anchored by means of **ΠΕ**, which also anchors the presented information in the Narrator's Present and marks the information as represented, not narrated. It will be seen that, while the background (*lato sensu*) constitutes a multifarious complex category; it is but one component of our Comment Mode, which, if anything, is even more complex.

The semantic spectrum of Comment Mode staging as occurring in our corpus includes:

(1) "psychologistic" information on internal mental/emotional/intellectual/cognitive background states (and/or their physical manifestation) as motive or cause or as the *reason why* for Evolution Mode cotext.

Note the typical (albeit not constant) occurrence of **ΓΑΡ, ΔΕ, ΕΠΙΔΗ...** in this kind of background.

(2) Explicatory-relevance background: the (physical or metaphorical) ground, motive, or *reason why* for Evolution Mode co(n)-text; also cataphorically anticipating the reason for, or the reason for stating, a following action or state. The particle **ΓΑΡ**, which is definitely not a narrative-discourse signal, is typical here.

(3) "Omniscient Narrator's Channel" — narrator's interference — shift (or cut) away from the narrative world to narrator/audience situation, while maintaining the internal cohesion of the Narrative itself. Synoptic, panoramic or "bird's-eye" view, zoom-out; "from then on...". "Voiceover"-type telling of "what is happening". Nar-

³³ CASPARIS 1975:129.

rator's anaphoric (*reprise*) abstracting, chronicling, generalizing, paraphrasing, condensing, reviewing, reworking or elaborating of EM plot information. Internal evaluation of the facts as fraught with significance; "authorial comment"³³; "*und zwar*", "and (he) did", "and in fact..." etc. Narrator's perspectives on goal, intention, significance of Evolution Mode context. "Behind the scene" information. Metanarrative information. Anaphoric scenic setting: recalling, recapturing, recapitulating or otherwise anaphoric narrative; anaphoric narrative-situation closeup.

Often, an *und zwar* (approx. "and that...") rhematizing of additional information is in evidence. On the whole, $\mathbf{n\epsilon- \pi\epsilon}$ marks in this role *Metanarrative*, rarely even *meta-narration* ("as I told you earlier", etc.) information. This is certainly the most subtle and finely nuanced functional category of $\mathbf{n\epsilon- \pi\epsilon}$, to be considered with suspense-building and otherwise audience-oriented narrating tactics. Occasionally, the *reprise* (itself typically paraphrastic) resumes the Narrative after some break (e.g. conversation or detailed specification), as in Gen. 32:22, 37:28. As well as resumptive cohesion, we often observe also *narratological cataphoricity*, in the sense that this strong backward-looking delimitation, in itself topicalizing, acts simultaneously, Janus-faced, as a "springboard" for gathering momentum for a **forward narrative spurt**, conveying the sense that "something is about to happen". (Greek/Coptic $\mathbf{\mu\epsilon\mathbf{\nu}}$ ["*μὲν solitare*"] comes to mind as a comparable device). The condensation of the plot makes for rapid pacing, the opposite of the slow-down effected by the shift from $\mathbf{\alpha\mathbf{q-}}$ to $\mathbf{n\alpha\mathbf{q-}}$ $\emptyset$, which is probably the most striking narrative modulation in Coptic.

(4) **Marked and significant simultaneity with narrative events** "and/but at the (very) same time...", shifting, as it were, the focus to a parallel world, which is cataphorically significant for the plot (that is, turns out to be important in the sequel).

This too has an anaphoric referential component, with a narratologically cataphoric direction. The discourse marker $\mathbf{\Delta\epsilon}$ is here typical.

(5) **Specification Content (second object actant) of seeing ($\mathbf{n\alpha\mathbf{\tau}}$) — the scene or presented as external to narrative reality.**

This category may be related to $\mathbf{n\epsilon- \pi\epsilon}$ in dreams and visions (see below in detail), that is, signalling different, remote and innerly parallel or subjective reality. This role is of special interest, for in the $\mathbf{\Sigma\epsilon-}$ clause serving as object to $\mathbf{n\alpha\mathbf{\tau}}$ we find a rare slot of striking opposition between $\mathbf{n\epsilon- \pi\epsilon}$ and $\mathbf{n\epsilon- \emptyset}$, the former "flat", in CM, following the seen object; the latter only object actant, dramatic, closeup or slow-motion.

Obs.

(1) In Demotic, the metanarrative "Narrator's Aside" in the Comment Mode uses *wn-n3w-*, i.e. the Imperfect (*e*)*ne-* (*Setne* 4/3 "I was referring to..."); see QUACK 1991:199f., also on Comment Mode resuming by the delimiting construction INFINITIVE + relative *jrf*. But it is in the earliest extensive Demotic Narrative known — the 6th century B.C. P. Rylands IX, edited in 1909 with a brilliant commentary and annotation by Frances Llewelin Griffith — that supplies the striking structural parallel to Bohairic narrative grammar: it is sometimes almost as if the Coptic Bible translator was performing in an old tradition of narrative technique, using specific Coptic means. For in Ryl. IX we find, in addition to Evolution Mode carriers and delimitation signals, a clear distinction between the Evolution Mode "obtaining situation" signals (*j.jr.s hprjw-*, e.g. 17/1, 19/1) and true *ne-* marked "backgrounding" Comment Mode, e.g. 5/14, 12/19 (delimited as *j.jr.s hpr wn-n3w-*, e.g. in 2/20, 11/9f., 12/1).

(2) Some general and European-language studies relevant to Comment Mode tensing and functional range: RUKSBARON 1988:250ff. on the delimitative/narrative-break role of the Herodotean Greek Imperfect, which is simultaneously the device for "establishing cohesion between... distant parts of a given narrative"; FANNING 1990:248f. for the Imperfect as a parenthetical tense. For French, IMBS 1960:93 ("imparfait de rupture/clôture", inter-episode boundary), EGGS 1993:12; 15ff., Ettmayer apud POLLAK 1988:126 for the French Imperfect as a situation-opening boundary signal; also STAVINHOVA 1978:16ff. MELLET 1988:230ff. (Latin). Note that the Coptic differentiation of *ne-* and *ne-πε* is not triggered by any verbal feature in the Greek original, indeed does not correspond to any simple formal categories in the European languages.

(3) MELLET 1988:176ff., 259ff. for the explicative role of the Latin Imperfect. For Greek, KÜHNER-GERTH §383.2; FANNING 1990:248f.; SICKING and STORK 1996:47ff. ("offering the reader a *dramatis persona's* motivation for acting or speaking in a certain way... provid[ing] the background for something the reader has been told before"). For French, POLLAK 1988:144ff., ABOUDA 2004 (see p. 66).

(4) "Detachment or removedness from reality": cf. GILDERSLEEVE 1903 §213f., GOODWIN §36ff., MAYSER II/1:138f., MCKAY 1992:212ff. (Greek). Cf. Le Goffic's "Fictivity": *fictif*, as against "true-ness": *le vrai*, comes close to our "removedness from reality" (LE GOFFIC 1986).

(5) Anaphoric abstracting of preceding Narrative, metanarrative, internal evaluation and similar; CASPARIS 1975:119ff. for the English present tense used for synopsis, authorial comment, resumé condensing etc.; FLUDERNIK 1991:368, 377f. for the English present in internal evaluation and "consequences, results and reactions that occur in the wake of items"; GILDERSLEEVE 1903 §218, GOODWIN 1965 §§39-40, on the Greek Imperfect ("Imperfect of points assumed... the result of a previous discussion" "a fact just recognized as such"); also SICKING and STORK's important discussion of the Herodotean Imperfect ("P[resent] S[tem]"), 1996:66f. ("... by using a PS Herodotus invites his audience to connect the subordinate clause and the main clause in question so as to form one complex and integrated whole rather than two separate units of information... From a viewpoint of *reference*, the subordinating conjunction "ἐπεὶ suggests to the reader that, in the reality referred to, the situation mentioned in the subclause in some significant way relates to the situation that is the referent of the main clause..."; also *ibid.* 85, 93 (Historical Present for expressing the "hard core of the narrative"). GILDERSLEEVE 1903:§220 on the Greek Imperfect expressing the "sudden appreciation of a real state of things"). See RUKSBARON 1988 for the *cataphoric* functional component of the Herodotean Greek

Imperfect (in the sense of “something is about to happen”; “signalling that the author will continue his story elsewhere...raising expectations as to what is going to happen next”); in NT Greek, the Present marks “a major shift to another aspect of the story... cataphoric... to set the stage for an event” (OSBURN 1986). On the narrative functions in point in general, beyond specific tenses, see SCHIFFRIN 1981:59 for internal evaluation; HAMON 1974:6 for Narrative-Grammar “anaphoricity” (“linguistic forms which may refer with concision to anterior and remote mentions”). On anaphoric grounding see GIVÓN 1995:68ff. KLEIBER 2003. For the author’s “high level evaluative generalization” (in English and general), cf. TOMLIN 1985:116 (though I cannot accept his absolute correlation of “foregrounding with the syntactically independent, backgrounding with dependence”, e.g. p.87ff.; this last issue is investigated also by MATTHIESEN and THOMPSON 1988). See also EHRLICH 1990 on resumé condensing. The concept of the Imperfect as a “stratigraphical” tense — signalling partly overlapping actions, a kind of multilayer condensing — also recalls **νε- πε** (STAVINHOVÁ 1978:18ff.).

(6) It is possible to view the Narrator’s interventions as “parentheticals” (see BANFIELD 1982:42f., 71ff., 76ff., 189ff.); but it is then difficult to accept her “parentheticals allow no true negation” (47, 84f.) — in our CM negation is typical. See POLLAK 1988:144ff.; For the special asymmetry of the negative Imperfect in Greek, see SVENSSON 1930:103ff.

(7) On superordination in Biblical Hebrew narrative, see WINTHER-NIELSEN 1992, arguably not (*pace* WINTHER-NIELSEN 78) “foregrounded self-contained action”, but cataphoric resumé.

(8) On the “internalizing” role of the European Imperfect, cf. POLLAK 1988:142 (“phänomenologisch-bewußtseinsimmanente Vorgangspräsentation”); SCHIFFRIN 1981:58ff. (“internal evaluation”) and FLEISCHMAN 1995:541 (perspective “internal to a situation”); also MELLET 2003.

A contrastive chart of combinatory parameters of **νε- + zero and **νε- πε** in narrative:**

(parameters:)	νε- πε	νε- zero	νε-λ- πε
ΓΑΡ, ΕΠΙΔΗ	+	(-)	+
ΔΕ	+	+	+
οὐτοῦ -shift	+	+	+
Δε-	+	+	(-)
further conversion	(*)	+	(-)
topicalization + (ΔΕ)	+	+	+
presentation	(-)	+	(-)
negation	+	(-)	+
Stative Rheme	+	+	(-)
“infinitive” Rheme	+	+	+
adverbial Rheme	+	+	(-)

(*) rarely attested (-) unattested

(d) Representative commentated documentation

(I) NE- , NARE- / NAQ- - $\emptyset$

(1) Dramatic focus-shift: closeup zooming-in, focussing on an action (dynamic) as slow-motion presentation, or on a state as a tableau; dramatic event presentation; narrative focussing or highlighting, narrative peak; “freezing the moment”; “blow-up”, visually vivid “freeze-frames”. Observe cases of ZHΠΠE IC presentative superordination:

Ex. 34:29 $\text{ζωc δε εϕηνοϑ επεcнт нζε-μωτcнc εβολ ζενπιτωϑ ncina} \div \text{οτοz ζηππε nape-}\uparrow\text{πλαz cνο}\uparrow\text{τωνι xη ζενnenziz μμωτcнc} \div \text{εϕηνοϑ δε επεcнт εβολ ζιπιτωϑ} \div \text{οτοz naqemi an πε нζε-μωτcнc ζε-αqzιωϑ нζε-πzo μπανom нτεπεqzo}$ — EM and CM in syntagmatic contrast: the first NE- $\emptyset$ depicting a *tableau*, the subsequent NE- πε supplying background information for the action (see below, for negative cognition verbs). So too:

Gen. 29:2 $\text{ζηππε ic οτω}\uparrow\text{ nacxη ζентκοι naoxη δε μματ нζε-}\bar{\Gamma}\text{ nozi necωϑ sim. Gen. 15:17.}$

Gen. 7:17f. $\text{οτοz aqayai нζε-πimωϑ οτοz aqτωϑn н}\uparrow\text{κτωωτοc οτοz ac}\bar{\Gamma}\text{ici εβολ zaпkazi οτοz naqamazi нζε-πimωϑ οτοz naqηnoϑ na}\uparrow\text{yai emayw ziZenπikazi οτοz nacna nacηnoϑ нζε-}\uparrow\text{κτωωτοc ca}\uparrow\text{ywai m}\uparrow\text{imωϑ πimωϑ δε naqamazi πε emayw ziZenπikazi οτοz aqzωbc nnitωϑ τηροϑ...}$ — a striking instance of fast-to-slow-motion dynamic staging, with Mode shifting. For the Hebrew grammar of this passage, see NICCACC1 1990:30f.

Gen. 25:25 $\text{aqi δε εβολ нζε-пecyηpi пecyopп mmici... мененca}\bar{\Gamma}\text{ai aqi εβολ нζε-пeqcon nape-teqziz amoni m}\bar{\Gamma}\text{eibc nhcaτ.}$

Gen. 24:45 $\text{οτοz acyωπi m}\bar{\Gamma}\text{a}\uparrow\text{zeknaicazi εβολ ζен-παρηт cατοтc ic pebekka nacηnoϑ εβολ epε-tecζηapia ziTecnazbi}$ — dramatic Narrative: note again (ζηππε) IC.

Gen. 47:11f. $\text{οτοz aiωch}\bar{\Gamma}\text{ epεπεqιωт nem neqcnhoϑ yωπi οτοz aq}\uparrow\text{ nωϑ notamazi ... οτοz nape-iωch}\bar{\Gamma}\text{ yicoto m}\bar{\Gamma}\text{eqιωт nem neqcnhoϑ nem phi τηpq нτε-πεqιωт coτο καταcωma.}$

Ex. 14:22 $\text{οτοz a}\bar{\Gamma}\text{i ε}\bar{\Gamma}\text{oтn нζε-nenyηpi m}\bar{\Gamma}\text{ic}\bar{\Gamma}\text{ εomη}\uparrow\text{m}\bar{\Gamma}\text{}\bar{\Gamma}\text{iωm epetyoωϑ οτοz πimωϑ oi notcovт cαoт-inaм nem caxazh μμωϑ}$ — the dramatic-*tableau* effect here is striking, with the moment frozen: a fine instance of EM state.

ing” of Laban’s cattle, strongly recalling the marked role of the conjunctive in Late Egyptian narrative, opening a salient (and magical) characterization of the protagonist (P. D’Orbiney 1.4ff., see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995a:301ff.).

Gen. 1:1-2 ΕΝΘΑΡΧΗ ΑΦΤ ΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΤΦΕ ΝΕΜ ΠΚΑΖΙ ΠΚΑΖΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΘΑΤΝΑΘ ΕΡΟQ ΠΕ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΤCΟΒΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΟΘΧΑΚΙ ΝΑQΧΗ ΕΞΕΝΦΝΟΘΝ ΟΘΟΖ ΟΠΝΑ ΝΤΕΦΤ ΝΑQΝΗΟΘ ΖΙΔΕΝ-ΠΙΜΩΘ... — the ultimate initial situation.

Gen. 42:6 ΙΩCΗΦ ΔΕ ΝΑQΟΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΠΚΑΖΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΦΔΙ ΝΑQΤ ΒΟΛ ΜΠΙΜΗΥΙ ΤΗΡQ ΝΤΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ.

Gen. 39:2f. ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΘC ΧΗ ΝΕΜ ΙΩCΗΦ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΕΟΘΟΝ-ΟΘΡΩΜΙ ΠΕ ΕQΤΜΑΤ ΝΑQΕΜΙ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΠΕQΘC... (Vat om. ΟΘΟΝ). ΝΕ- ΠΕ marks CM that gives the reason for the subsequent text. ΟΘΟΝ is difficult, but existence is here well attested, and a Nominal Sentence would be *lectio facillior*.

Gen. 22:1 ΟΘΟΖ ΑCΩΠΙ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΝΑΙCΑΔΙ ΝΑΡΕ-ΦΤ ΖΩΝΤ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΠΕΔΑQ ΝΑQ ΔΕ-

Gen. 37:3 ΙΑΚΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΑQΜΕΙ ΝΙΩCΗΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕΝΕQΥΗΡΙ ΤΗΡΘ ΔΕΝΕΠΥΗΡΙ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΤΕQΜΕΤΔΕΛΛΟ ΑQΘΑΜΙΟ ΔΕ ΝΑQ ΝΟΥΘΗΝ ... ΕΤΑΘΝΑΘ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΝΕQCΝΗΟΘ ΔΕ-ΠΕQΙΩΤ ΜΕ ΜΜΟQ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕΝΕQΥΗΡΙ ΤΗΡΘ ΑΥΜΕCΤΩQ...

Gen. 18:22 ΟΘΟΖ ΕΤΑΥΤΑCΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑΘ ... ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΔΕ ΕΤΙ ΝΑQΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤQ ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΠΘC ΟΘΟΖ ΕΤΑQΔΩΝΤ ΝΔΕ-ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΠΕΔΑQ — observe that ΓΑΡ is not exclusively explicative nor a sufficient correlate of the CM (that is, of ΝΕ- ΠΕ).

Gen. 27:23 ΝΑΡΕ-ΝΕQΔΙΔ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ ΜQΩΙ — Esau’s hairiness is not staged here as explicative background in CM, but, I suggest, as an *essential* — indeed, crucial — *descriptive part of the plot*: the disguise that is central to the ruse of Rebecca and Jacob.

Deut. 9:24 ΟΘΟΖ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΡΑΤCΩΤΕΜ ΝCΑΠCΑΔΙ ΜΠΘC ΜΠΕΤΕΝΝΑΖΤ ΕΡΟQ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΤΕΝCΩΤΕΜ CΑΤΕQCΜΗ ÷ ΝΑΡΕΤΕ-ΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΤCΩΤΕΜ ΝCΑΠΘC ΙCΔΕΝΠΙΕΖΟΟΘ ΕΤΑQΟΘΟΝQQ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ (= Vat) — again, not staged explicatively: “In fact, you have been disobedient...” — but as an *essential obtaining situation*. Recycled reminiscent narrative.

(4) Essential narrative information: basic or enframing or “obstinate” obtaining narrative situation (typically initial, sometimes medial):

Deut. 9:9 ΝΑΙΧΗ ΝΖΡΗΙ ΖΙΠΙΤΩΘ ΝΖΜ ΝΕΖΟΟΘ ΝΕΜ ΖΜ ΝΕΔΩΡΖ ΩΙΚ ΜΠΙΟΘΩΜ ΟΘΟΖ ΜΩΟΘ ΜΠΙCΩ — the situation here is not part of the setting, but a basic component of the evolution.

Gen. 11:1f. *οτορ νаре-пκαзи ои нотсѣотот нотωт нем оѣсмн нотωт оτορ асѣωпи етатким ммωот ... аѣзим нотмеѣѣωт оτορ аѣωпи ммат ... оτορ пеѣеотрωми мπεѣѣѣнр.*

Num. 11:1 (and 4:2) *οτορ пилαος наѣхремрем нзанпет-зωот мπεмѣо мπεѣс оτορ аѣωтем нѣе-пѣс.*

Gen. 42:7 *εταρναѣ де нѣе-ιωснѣ енеѣсннот аѣсотω-нот наѣри ммоѣ нѣеммо евол зарωот* — observe that Joseph's prevarication is not staged here as "inside-knowledge" Narrator's Channel information (as in many exx. below), but non-committally, as a segmental chunk of EM for the reader to judge.

Num. 25:6 *οτορ ιс оѣрωми ... аѣини мπεѣснон нзаѣма-ѣианιтнс мπεмѣо ммωѣснс нем мπεмѣо нѣсѣнагωγη тнрс нтененѣнри мпѣс̄л нѣωот де наѣримι ѣатенни-рωот нтеѣсκннн.*

Deut. 9:15 (cf. also 5:23) *εταικотт аи епеснт евол зип-тωот оτορ питωот наѣмоѣ нхрωм ѣплаѣ бѣ нωни наѣхн ѣентаѣиз бѣ (= Vat)* — locutive "recycled" reminiscent narrative.

Gen. 23:10 *εѣрωн де наѣземси ѣенѣмнѣ нненѣроѣ нхет аѣеротω де нѣе-εѣрωн пихеттеос набраам пе-ѣзаѣ еѣсωтем нѣе-ненѣроѣ нхет нем оѣон ним етна еѣотн еѣваки...*

Deut. 25:17ff. *пωс аѣоѣи оѣвнκ зипимωит оτορ аѣѣоѣи мπεκсат ... нѣок де наκѣокер оτορ наκѣоси (= Vat).*

Ex. 24:17f. *пиини де мпиωот нтепѣс наѣои мѣрнѣ нѣхрωм еѣзιѣаѣ зιѣентаѣе мпитωот мπεмѣо нненѣнри мпѣс̄л оτορ аѣѣенаѣ нѣе-мωѣснс еѣотн еѣмнѣ нѣѣнп...*

Gen. 41:46 (and often sim.) *ιωснѣ де наѣѣен̄ нромпи ет-аѣоѣи ератѣ мπεмѣо мѣараѣ ... оτορ аѣи нѣе-ιωснѣ...* — age specification as enframing Obtaining Situation.

(5) *Verba dicendi:*

Deut. 1:25 *εταѣмωѣтс аѣѣи ѣеннотѣиз евол ѣенпѣ-таѣ нтепκαзи аѣи епеснт зарон оτορ наѣѣω ммос ѣе* - a case of speech quoted in "recycled" revisited Narrative (see below).

Ex. 12:33, 19:19 *мωѣснс де наѣсѣаѣи ѣѣ де наѣеротω наѣ.*

Ex. 17:2 *οτορ наѣзωотѣ нѣе-пилαος емωѣснс оτορ наѣѣω ммос ѣе-мамωот нан...*

(6) Verbs of cognition:

Ex. 20:18 **ΟΤΟΖ ΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΩ ΝΑΦΩΤΕΜ ΕΪΣΜΗ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΝΕΜΪΣΜΗ ΝΤΕΪΣΑΛΠΙΓΓΟΣ.**

(7) Essential narrative information: incidental statal-nominal predication:

Gen. 10:8-9 **ΧΩΣ ΔΕ ΑΡΧΪΦΕΕΒΡΩΔ ΦΥΔΙ ΑΦΕΡΕΗΤΣ ΝΟΨΑ-ΦΩΠ ΡΙΖΕΝΠΙΚΑΡΙ ΝΑΦΟΙ ΝΑΦΩΦ ΝΞΕΡΗΖ...**

Cf. also Gen. 42:6, Ex. 14:22 etc.

(8) Essential narrative information: statal-adverbial predication:

Gen. 2:12 **ΠΙΝΟΨ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΚΑΡΙ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΨ ΝΑΝΕΦ ΟΨΟΖ ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΙΩΝΙ ΝΑΨΑΝ ΝΞΕΒΣ ΜΜΑΨ (= Vat).**

(9) Cut-away, focus-shift and zooming-in:

Gen. 18:16 **ΑΨΤΩΨΝΟΨ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑΨ ... ΑΨΨΟΨΥΤ ΕΞΕΝ-ΠΨΟ ΝΣΟΔΟΜΑ ... ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΔΕ ΝΑΦΜΩΨΙ ΝΕΜΩΨ ΕΦΤΦΟ ΜΜΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ.**

(10) Resultative-iterative *Aktionsart* action-amplifying role:

Gen. 30:38f. **...ΟΤΟΖ ΑΡΧΑΝΙΨΒΟΪ ΕΤΑΦΚΟΚΟΨ ΝΨΡΗΙ ΞΕΝ-ΝΙΜΑ ΝΤΣΟ ΝΤΕΝΙΕΨΩΨ ΨΙΝΑ ΑΨΨΑΝΙ ΝΞΕ-ΝΙΕΨΩΨ ΕΨΩ ΝΣΕΪΨΨΩΨ ΕΝΙΨΒΟΪ ΝΞΕ-ΝΙΕΨΩΨ ΟΤΟΖ ΝΑΨΜΙΣΙ ΝΞΕ-ΝΙΕΨΩΨ ΝΨΑΝΟΨΟΝ ΕΨΟΙ ΝΘΟΙΘΟΙ ΝΟΨΩΨ...**

(11) Totalizing-iterative *Aktionsart* action-amplifying role:

Deut. 9:22 **ΞΕΝΠΙΡΩΚΨ ΞΕΝΠΙΠΙΡΑΨΜΟΨ ΞΕΝΠΙΕΜΨΑΨ ΝΤΕ-ΪΕΠΙΘΨΜΙΑ ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝΪΨΩΝΤ ΜΠΨ̄̄ ΠΕΤΕΝΝΟΨΪ — second-person-plural recycled reminiscent narrative.**

(12) Diffused-action “plurality” *Aktionsart* action-amplifying role: iterative:

Ex. 18:13 **ΟΤΟΖ ΑΨΨΩΠΙ ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑΠΕΦΡΑΨΪ ΑΦΕΜΣΙ ΝΞΕ-ΜΨΨΣΗΣ ΕΪΨΑΠ ΕΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΟΤΟΖ ΝΑΦΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΩ ΜΠΚΩΪ ΜΜΩΨΣΗΣ.**

(II) **ΝΕ-, ΝΑΡΕ-/ΝΑΦ- + ΠΕ**

(1) “Psychologistic” information on internal mental/emotional/intellectual/cognitive background states (and/or their physical manifestation) as motive or cause or as the *reason why* for Evolution Mode cotext:

Gen. 29:20 **αφερωκ n-ξ nρομπι οτορ νατχη mπερμθο πε mφρη† nζανκοτζι νεροοτ δε-ναφεραγαπαν mμοc πε** — the same information is presented as EM (Preterite) in verse 18: **ιακωβ δε αφεραγαπαν nραχηλ.**

Gen. 37:4 **ετασνατ δε-περειωτ mει mμοq ατμεcτωq νατδεmζοm αν πε εcαζι nεμαq.**

Ex. 1:21 **επιαν δε νατεργο† ζατση mφ† πε ... ατθαmιο νατ nγενηι...**

Ex. 2:15 **αqσωτεm δε nδε-φαραω επαicαζι οτορ φαραω ναqκω† ncατακο mmωτcηc πε (πε *super lin.*).**

Gen. 37:11 **ατχορ εροq ... πεqιωτ δε ναqαρεζ επαicαζι πε.**

Gen. 24:21 **πιρωmι δε ναq†νιατc ναq πε εqχω nρωq εεmι δεαπθc cοττεnπεqμωιτ ψανmφη.**

Instances of “(he) did not know” — **ναqεmι/cωοτη αν πε:** Ex. 16:15 **πεδεπιοται πιοται mπεqψηηρ δε-οτ πε φαι ÷ νατcωοτη mμοq αν πε δε-οτ πε ÷** — a typically Bohairic prolepsis. Also Gen. 19:33:35, 31:32, 42:23, Ex. 16:15, 34:29, 39:6:23 etc. (See also exx. of **ναqεmι (αν) πε** in *Dialogue*, below).

Gen. 31:2 **οτορ αqηνατ nδε-ιακωβ επρο nλαβαν δεναqοι mφρη† ncαq nem ῑ εφοοτ nεμαq πε.**

(2) Explicatory-relevance background: the (physical or metaphysical) ground, cause, motive or *reason why* for Evolution Mode context.

Num. 22:3 **οτορ αφερζο† nδε-mωαβ ζατση mπιαοc εμαψω δε-νατωψ πε οτορ αφερψλαζ nηητ nδε-mωαβ.**

Gen. 21:20 **οτορ ναρε-φ† χη nem πιαοτ πε αqαιαι.**

Instances of “he wasn’t able/could not” — **ναqψδεmζοm αν πε** (Gen. 37:4, 45:1:3, Ex. 7:21, 9:11, 15:22f. etc.). In Greek often only γάρ.

Gen. 11:30 **οτορ cαppαι νεοτατθρηη τε ÷ οτορ ναcζεψηηρι αν πε οτορ αqζι nδε-θαppα ναβραμ...** Also Gen. 16:1.

Gen. 37:34 **ιακωβ δε αqφωζ nνεqζεωc ÷ ναqερζηη πε.**

Gen. 42:23 **nθωοτ δε νατeμι αν πε δε-ιωcηφ cωτεm ερωοτ ναρε-πιερμενετηc γαρ χη οττωοτ πε.**

Gen. 37:24 **ατζητq εδρηη επιακκοc πιακκοc δε ναqψοτωοτ πε mμον-ζαι mmωοτ nζηητq.**

Gen. 2:5 **nεmπατεφ† γαρ ζωοτ ζιδεnπικαζι οτορ nem-mon-ρωmι πε εερζωβ**

Ex. 12:30 **αοτηω† nδρωοτ ψωπι ζενπικαζι τηηq nτεχηmι nemmon-ηι γαρ πε mπεοτοnμοτ nζηητq.**

Cf. also Gen. 13:5ff., 21:14, Ex. 15:22f. Deut. 34:7, 5:5.

(3) “Narrator’s Channel”: shift-away from the narrated world to narrator/audience present situation. Synoptic, panoramic or “bird’s-eye-view”; “from then on”. Narrator’s anaphoric (*reprise*) abstracting, chronicling, generalizing, paraphrasing, condensing, reviewing, elaborating of foregoing EM plot facts. Internal evaluation of the facts as fraught with significance; cases of “*und zwar*”, “and (he) did”, “and in fact...” etc. Meta-narrative information.

Ex. 1:19 **ΨΑΥΜΙCΙ ΓΑΡ ΙCΔΕΝ-ΜΠΑΤΟΥ ΕΞΟΤΗΝ ΖΑΡΩΟΥ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΡΕΦΘΕΜΕCΙΟ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΥΜΙCΙ ΠΕ** — “and indeed they did (in this case)” — anaphorically reaffirming an atemporal “event” and applying this to a historical past event.

Num. 9:16 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΝΑΦΥΟΠ ΠΕ ΝΧΗΟΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΡΕ-†ΘΗΠΙ ΖΩΒC ΜΜΟC ΠΕ.**

Deut. 2:14f. **ΟΥΟΖ ΝΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΑΝΑΙΤΟΥ ΜΜΟΥΙ ... ΛΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΕ ΨΑΤΕCΖΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕ-†ΓΕΝΕΑ ΤΗΡC ΝΤΕΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΜΠΟΛΕ-ΜΙCΤΗC ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ†ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ... ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΡΕ-ΤΔΙΔ ΜΦ† ΧΗ ΖΙΔΩΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΦΟΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ†ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΨΑΤΟΥΖΕΙ...** — a metaphysical perspective is added here to the reworking of the narrative development in EM (in a Narrative that is itself “recycled”): a clear *und zwar* case of with explicatory relevance. So too:

Gen. 37:25 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΖΑΝΙCΜΑΝΛΙΤΗC ΕΤΜΟΥΙ ΖΙΠΙΜΩΙΤ ΕΤΗΝΗΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΓΑΛΑΔ ... ΝΑΥΜΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΕΤΗΝΗΟΥ ΕΔΡΗΙ ΕΧΗΜΙ** — a different (and just briefly hinted-at) story — that of the Medianite traders — converging at this point with the main one, viz. “Joseph and his Brothers”.

Gen. 26:13 **ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΘΙCΙ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΑΦΜΟΥΙ ΕΑΙΔΙ ΠΕ ΨΑΤΕΦΕΡΝΙΥ† ΕΜΑΨΩ** — a rapid, condensed paraphrastic resumé of the plot.

Ex. 2:9 (“**ΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΑΙΛΛΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΜΑΘΙΝΑΦ ΝΗΙ**”) ... **ΑCΘΙ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-†CΖΙΜΙ ΜΠΑΛΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑC†ΘΙΝΑΦ ΠΕ (= Vat)** — another clear case of “and so she did”.

Ex. 9:23f. **ΑΦΖΩΟΥ ΝΔΕ-ΠΘC ΝΟΥΑΛ ΕΔΡΗΙ ΕΔΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡΦ ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ ΝΑΦΥΟΠ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΑΛ ΠΕ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΧΡΟΜ ΝΑΦΖΙΨΑΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΠΙΑΛ ΠΙΑΛ ΔΕ ΝΑΦΟΥ ΕΜΑΨΩ ΠΕ ΕΜΑΨΩ (Vat ΝΑΦΥΟΠ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΑΛ ΠΕ ... ΝΑΦΖΙΨΑΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΠΙΑΛ ΠΕ ΠΙΑΛ ΔΕ ΝΑΦΟΥ ΕΜΑΨΩ ΕΜΑΨΩ)** — a nice alternation of narrative back-stepping and slow, closeup progress.

Ex. 14:8 $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{π} \overline{\text{ρ}} \text{ε} \text{π} \overline{\text{ρ}} \text{η} \text{τ} \text{μ} \overline{\text{φ}} \text{α} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ω} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{τ} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{φ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{λ} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{σ} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \text{α} \overline{\text{φ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ω} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ν}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{η} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{λ}} \div \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{η} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{λ}} \div \text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{τ}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{ι}$ $\text{ε} \text{β} \overline{\text{ολ}}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ι}} \div$.

— condensed, resulting, summing-up conclusion.

Gen. 8:3 $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{π} \overline{\text{ι}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \text{η} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{ω} \overline{\text{ο}} \div \text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{π} \overline{\text{ι}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{τ}} \text{η} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{ι}$ $\text{ε} \text{β} \overline{\text{ολ}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{π} \overline{\text{κ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{ι}} \div \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}} \div \text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{β}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{κ}}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{π} \overline{\text{ι}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο} \text{μ} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ο}} \div \text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{π} \overline{\text{κ}} \overline{\text{η}} \text{β} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \dots$ — a complicated passage, specifying Joseph's duty and functioning in a sophisticated way, in Coptic as in Hebrew, but flattened and simplified in the Greek.

Gen. 7:18 $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \text{σ} \overline{\text{η}} \text{α}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \text{σ} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{π} \overline{\text{κ}} \overline{\text{η}} \text{β} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{σ}$ $\text{σ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{π} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{ι}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \div \text{π} \overline{\text{ι}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{α}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{κ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{β}} \overline{\text{σ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ν}} \overline{\text{ι}} \text{τ} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο} \text{ν} \overline{\text{τ}} \text{η} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ι}} \dots$

Gen. 32:22 $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{ι}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ι}} \text{τ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ι} \overline{\text{ο}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{θ}} \text{ο}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{θ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{κ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{β}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{λ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ν}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{τ}} \dots$ condensing of verses 17-21.

Several particularly difficult *loci* probably belong here:

Num. 21:6... $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}} \text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ζ} \text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ν}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{λ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{σ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{β}}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{λ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{λ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{σ}}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{π} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ν}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{λ}}$ — the non-narrative information is here anaphoric and thematic, a narrative pause making for suspense. Clearly similar are:

Gen. 44:12 $\text{α} \overline{\text{φ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ι}$ $\text{φ} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ι}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ν}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{κ}}$... $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{τ}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{σ}}$ $\text{ι} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ν}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{ψ} \overline{\text{α}} \text{τ} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{φ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{κ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{φ}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{λ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{κ}}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{β}} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ν}}$ (= Vat).

Gen. 40:4 $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{ν}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{τ} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ν}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ}$ $\text{ι} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{σ} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{φ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{θ}} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{β}} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{χ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ψ}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{κ}} \overline{\text{ο}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο} \text{ο}.$

(4) “Parallel shots”: marked and significant *simultaneity with narrative EM events* “all this time” “and/but at the (very) same time...”, shifting to a parallel world that is typically cataphorically significant (i.e. turns out to be important in the sequel):

Gen. 33:3 $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{θ}} \overline{\text{ε}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{β}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{κ}} \text{ι}$ $\overline{\text{β}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{σ} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{κ}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{η}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{η}} \text{ρ} \overline{\text{ι}}$ $\text{λ} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{α}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{σ} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{λ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ι}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{φ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{α}} \text{ω} \text{ν}$ $\text{μ} \overline{\text{μ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ρ} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{χ}} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{λ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ε}} \text{μ}$ $\text{ι} \overline{\text{ω}} \text{σ} \overline{\text{η}} \overline{\text{φ}}$ $\text{ε} \overline{\text{π}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{θ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{κ}}$ $\text{ζ} \overline{\text{ι}} \overline{\text{ζ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ο}} \text{ο}$ $\text{π} \overline{\text{ε}}$ $\text{ο} \overline{\text{σ}} \text{ο} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{α} \overline{\text{ρ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{τ}} \overline{\text{ω}} \overline{\text{ψ}} \overline{\text{τ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{ζ}}$ $\text{ν} \overline{\text{σ}} \overline{\text{ο}} \overline{\text{π}} \dots$

Ex. 10:22f. $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\alpha\gamma\psi\omega\pi\iota$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\sigma\tau\chi\alpha\kappa\iota$ $\nu\delta\omicron\mu\delta\epsilon\mu$ $\chi\iota\delta\epsilon\mu$ - $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota$ $\tau\eta\rho\zeta$ $\nu\chi\eta\mu\iota$... $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\lambda\iota$ $\nu\alpha\tau$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\zeta\sigma\omicron\mu$ $\sigma\tau\delta\epsilon$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\lambda\iota$ $\tau\omega\eta\zeta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\chi\iota\delta\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\mu\alpha$ $\eta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ ν - $\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\eta\epsilon\eta$ - $\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho\tau$ $\mu\pi\iota\sigma\lambda$ $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\phi\omicron\tau\omega\iota\eta\iota$ $\psi\omicron\pi$ $\nu\alpha\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\eta$ - $\zeta\omega\beta$ $\eta\iota\mu$ $\epsilon\psi\alpha\tau\mu\omicron\psi\iota$ $\nu\delta\eta\tau\omicron\tau$.

Ex. 2:3f. $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\alpha\varsigma\chi\iota\omicron\tau\iota$ $\mu\pi\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau$ $\epsilon\delta\eta\rho\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\alpha\varsigma\chi\alpha\zeta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\phi\iota\alpha\rho\omicron$ ÷ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\tau$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\chi\iota$ - $\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\tau\epsilon\zeta\omega\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\varsigma\tau$ $\eta\iota\alpha\tau\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\zeta$ $\epsilon\epsilon\mu\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ - $\sigma\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\iota$ $\mu\mu\omicron\zeta$.

Ex. 13:20f. $\alpha\tau\eta\alpha\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\eta\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\mu\pi\iota\sigma\lambda$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\sigma\omicron\kappa$ - $\chi\omicron\theta$ ÷ $\alpha\tau\theta\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\mu$ ÷ $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\pi\psi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\phi\tau$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\zeta\theta\iota\mu\omega\iota\tau$ $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\omega\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ ÷.

Ex. 1:12f. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\eta\tau$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\theta\epsilon\upsilon\iota\omicron$ $\mu\mu\omega\omicron\tau$ $\mu\mu\omicron\zeta$ ÷ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\eta\alpha\psi\alpha\iota$ $\eta\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron$ $\pi\epsilon$ ÷ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\nu\delta\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\omicron\tau$ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$ $\mu\upsilon\omicron\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\eta\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\mu\pi\iota\sigma\lambda$ ÷ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\eta\iota\rho\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\eta\mu\iota$ $\sigma\epsilon\pi\delta\omega\rho\iota$ $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\mu\pi\iota\sigma\lambda$... $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\alpha\tau$ - $\zeta\epsilon\mu\kappa\omicron$ $\mu\pi\omicron\tau\omega\eta\eta\delta$ $\pi\epsilon$ ($\pi\epsilon$ added *super lin.*). Vat has $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\eta\alpha\psi\alpha\iota$ $\eta\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron$ $\pi\epsilon$ / $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\nu\delta\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\omicron\tau$ / $\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$ $\mu\upsilon\omicron\tau$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\eta\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\mu\pi\iota\sigma\lambda$ / $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\eta\iota\rho\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\eta\mu\iota$ $\sigma\epsilon\pi\delta\omega\rho\iota$ — this is on the whole a difficult passage. Observe that $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\eta\alpha\psi\alpha\iota$ and $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\nu\delta\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\omicron\tau$ share one $\pi\epsilon$, being a binomial complex (and not a series or concatenation), while $\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$ $\mu\upsilon\omicron\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ is the Narrator's parenthetical comment, and $\eta\alpha\tau$ - $\zeta\epsilon\mu\kappa\omicron$ $\mu\pi\omicron\tau\omega\eta\eta\delta$ $\pi\epsilon$ is a *reprise*.

Gen. 4:2 ... $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\alpha\gamma\psi\omega\pi\iota$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$ $\eta\omicron\tau\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\zeta\alpha$ - $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\eta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\zeta\epsilon\rho\zeta\omega\beta$ $\epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ (= Vat) — an especially neat illustration of the rhematicity of $\eta\alpha\zeta$ - $\pi\epsilon$.

Sometimes, we witness a clear simultaneous anaphoric scenic setting, or anaphoric narrative-situation closeup:

Num. 22:22 $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\alpha\zeta\omega\eta\tau$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\phi\tau$ $\delta\epsilon$ - $\alpha\gamma\psi\epsilon\eta\alpha\zeta$ $\eta\theta\omicron\zeta$ ÷ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\theta\epsilon$ $\alpha\zeta\omicron\zeta\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\zeta$ $\sigma\tau\beta\eta\zeta$ $\chi\iota\pi\iota\mu\omega\iota\tau$... $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\eta\alpha\zeta\alpha\lambda\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\omega$ $\pi\epsilon$.

Age specification seems to belong under this heading:

Gen. 25:25f. $\alpha\zeta\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\psi\omicron\rho\pi$ $\mu\mu\iota\varsigma\iota$... $\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\eta\eta\pi\epsilon\zeta\mu\alpha\eta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\varsigma\alpha\tau$... $\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\varsigma\alpha\phi\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\zeta\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\zeta\sigma\omicron\mu$... $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\eta\eta\pi\epsilon\zeta\mu\alpha\eta$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$ $\iota\varsigma\alpha\alpha\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\zeta$ - $\delta\epsilon\eta$ $\eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\alpha\zeta$ $\nu\delta\epsilon$ - $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$.

Also ($\eta\alpha\zeta$ - $\delta\epsilon\eta$ - or $\eta\alpha\zeta\chi\eta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta$ - $\pi\epsilon$) Gen. 16:16, 26:34, 25:20, 37:2 etc. Consider, however, the unmistakable pertinence for the plot in $\pi\epsilon$ -less cases like:

Gen. 17:23ff. **αφ' ἧς** **νδε-αβρααμ** **νισμαηλ** **περψηρι** **νem** **νεφμεσρηνι** ... **οτορ** **αφσοτβetcαρξ** **ντετοτμετατcevi** ... **αβρααμ** **δε** **ναqxη** **ξενq̄θ** **νρομπι** **εταφσοτβetcαρξ** **ντετεφμετατcevi** — Moses's vision of the burning bush may also have a dreamlike quality, formally verging on the Dream Narrative texteme (discussed and illustrated below); note that it is the second, negated clause that is staged as CM.

Ex. 3:2 **αφνατ** **δε-ναρε-πιβατος** **μορ** **νxρωμ** **οτορ** **πιβα-τος** **ναφροκx** **αν** **πε** (= Vat).

(5) “Omniscient Narrator’s Channel” — information on goal, intention, significance of Evolution Mode context:

Gen. 37:34 **ιακωβ** **δε** **αφψωz** **ννεφzβωc** ... **ναφερzηβι** **πε**.

(6) Specification content (second object actant) of *seeing* — the scene seen being presented as external to, and removed from, narrative reality (see above on **νατ** **δε-ναq-**, without **πε**):

Gen. 6:12 **οτορ** **αφνατ** **νδε-ψ†** **επικαρι** ÷ **οτορ** **ναqτακ-νοττ** **πε**.

Gen. 42:27 **αφνατ** **εψμοτp** **μπεφzατ** ÷ **ναqxη** **zιρωq** **μπι-сок** **πε**.

Gen. 31:2 **αφνατ** **νδε-ιακωβ** **επzo** **νλαβαν** ÷ **δε-ναqoi** **μψρη†** **νcaq** **νem** **̄** **εφοοτ** **νemaq** **αν** **πε...**

Consider the dialogic projection of the same text in verse 5, without **πε**: **†νατ** **ανοκ** **επzo** **μπετενιωτ** ÷ **δε-qoi** **μψρη†** **νcaq** **νem** **̄** **εφοοτ** **νemηι** **αν**.

Compare also **νε-α- πε** in the actantial-content slot:

Ex. 39:43 **αφνατ** **νδε-μωτchc** **ениzβhoσι** **τηpoт** **οτορ** **νεατθαμιωoт** **πε**.

(7) Some instructive **νε- πε** cases of special interest:

(a) **νακοι** **μβωκ** **πε** **ξενπκαρι** **νxημi** (etc.) (Deut. 6:21, 15:15, 24:18:20), interlocutive (1st/2nd persons, sgl. and plur.), always with **πε**, presented as a narrative fragment, or as a meta-narrative condensed circumstance that is simultaneously also a narrative epitome (précis of a story, such as Deut. 26:5ff.), and a permanent reminder, ever evocative of the entire complex narrative of “Israel’s Captivity and Liberation by God” (still the core-sentence of the Haggadah or main text in the Jewish Passover *Seder* ritual: “For Ye Were Slaves in the Land of Egypt”). Contrast this with (Deut. 25:18) **νθοκ** **δε** **νακzοκεp**

οτοζ νாகζοϑι, which are truly narrative and amplified at that. Similarly, in Ex. 23:9 we have ναρετενοι γαρ μπροσελιτοζ ζωτεν πε. Only in Ex. 22:21 ναρετενοι γαρ νψεμμο ζωτεν πε we find Vat — not P — omitting πε.

(b) Equally dialogic, and equally causal, is Num. 31:15f. εθεοϑ αρετεντανδεζιμι νιβεν ÷ ναι γαρ ναψοπ πε νοτρικι ννενψηρι μπικλ...

(c) νανεζ πε, νεζωζ πε: Gen. 24:16, 26:7 αφερζο†... δεοτηι γαρ ενεζωζ πε P (Vat νενεζωζ πε — also staging as cause?), 29:17, 39:6.

(d) Comparing our manuscript with Vat in cases like Gen. 13:5ff. (really very rare) brings home the “translator-subjectivity” factor in staging and presenting events as *causal* (CM) or as *non-causal* (essential Obtaining Situation): λωτ δε ζωϑ φη εποψι νμεαβραμ ναψοπ ναϑ πε νδε-ζανεζωοτ νεμ ζανεζωοτ νεμ ζαν-σκηνη ναρε-πικαζι δε ετεμματ ψωπι (*sic*, for ψωπ) μμωοτ αν πε εθορψωπι ζιοτμα δε-ναρε-πετεντωοτ οψ ναψδεμζομ αν πε εψωπι ζιοτμα ÷ οτοζ αϑωωπι νδε-οτψοντ οττε-νιμανεζωοτ ντενιτεβνωοτι ντεαβραμ νεμ οττε-νιμανεζωοτ ντενιτεβνωοτι ντελωτ νιχανανεοζ δε νεμ νιφερεζεοζ ναψοπ πε ζιζενπικαζι μπιχοτ ετεμματ πεδεαβραμ δε νλωτ... (Vat ναψοπ ναϑ/ναρε-πικαζι δε ετεμματ ψωπ μμωοτ αν πε / δε-ναρε-πετεντωοτ οψ πε / ναψδεμζομ αν πε εψωπι ζιοτμα / ναψοπ).

(e) Passages difficult to assign or judge are remarkably few, considering the bulk of the evidence:

Deut. 5:4 ...οτοζ ανοκ ναιοζι ερατ πε οτεπεϑ̄ νεμωτεν ... εταμωτεν ενικαζι ντεπεϑ̄ δε-αρετενερζο† ζατζη μπρο μπιχωμ — reminiscent Narrative.

Deut. 5:24 ...οτοζ ναρετενζω μμοζ πε δε-ζηππε αϑταμον νδε-πεϑ̄ φ† επεϑωοτ οτοζ τεϑςμη ανκοθμεζ ζενομη† μπιχωμ εψωπ ανψανοταρτοτεν ... τεμμαμοτ (= Vat) — ναρετενζω μμοζ πε may here be external to the narrative proper, this being a “recycled” first-person-centered reminiscent one.

(8) Striking paradigmatic or syntagmatic EM:CM opposition cases (νε- Ø vs. νε- πε):

(See also above for paradigmatic opposition following $\eta\alpha\tau$ “see” and with age specification);

(a) $\chi\eta$ — copula with adverbial Rhemes:

Gen. 41:56 $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\pi\iota\zeta\kappa\omicron\gamma\alpha\rho\ \chi\eta\ \zeta\iota\zeta\epsilon\eta\pi\zeta\omicron\ \mu\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omicron\tau\omega\eta\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\iota\omega\sigma\eta\Phi\ \eta\eta\iota\alpha\zeta\omega\rho\ \tau\eta\rho\tau\ \eta\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron\ \omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\ \eta\alpha\gamma\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \eta\eta\iota\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\tau.$

(b) Existence and possession:

Existence is properly speaking a pre-predication introduction into discourse, not predicative nexus, and thus in a sense a special preparatory type of setting; yet a distinction is formally signalled by means of $\pi\epsilon$ between incidental and plot-pertinent existential (and possessive) settings, the former Narrator’s “bonus” information, the latter of true “Obtaining Situation” status:

$\eta\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset$: obtaining possession-situation — plot-essential:

Gen. 16:1 $\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\zeta\iota\mu\iota\ \eta\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\mu\ \eta\alpha\varsigma\mu\iota\varsigma\iota\ \eta\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\omicron\tau\beta\omega\kappa\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \eta\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\ \div\ \pi\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\mu...$

Ex. 2:16 $\pi\iota\omicron\tau\eta\beta\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\mu\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\ \eta\text{-}\zeta\ \eta\psi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\tau\mu\omicron\eta\ \eta\eta\iota\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\ \eta\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\theta\omicron\rho\ \pi\omicron\tau\iota\omega\tau.$

Gen. 24:29 $\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\omicron\tau\varsigma\omicron\eta\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\eta.$

$\eta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\mu\omicron\eta\text{-}\emptyset$ (very rare) — dramatic obtaining situation:

Gen. 45:1 ... $\omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta\text{-}\zeta\iota\ \omicron\zeta\iota\ \epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \iota\omega\sigma\eta\gamma\ \zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\eta\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\zeta\gamma\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\eta\eta\omicron\tau.$

As against

$\eta\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\text{-}/\mu\mu\omicron\eta\text{-}(\tau\epsilon\text{-})\ \pi\epsilon$: explicatory-relevance background, The Omniscient Narrator’s “inside information”:

Gen. 8:9 $\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma\theta\omicron\ \dots\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\tau\eta\ \epsilon\tau\kappa\tau\beta\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\text{-}\mu\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\ \zeta\iota\zeta\epsilon\eta\pi\zeta\omicron\ \mu\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\gamma.$

Ex. 12:30 $\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\eta\iota\gamma\tau\ \eta\zeta\rho\omega\tau\ \psi\omega\pi\iota\ \zeta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\gamma\ \eta\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \eta\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta\text{-}\eta\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \pi\epsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\ \mu\omicron\tau\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\gamma.$

Num. 20:2 $\eta\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta\text{-}\mu\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\ \zeta\epsilon\eta\tau\varsigma\tau\eta\eta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta\ \alpha\tau\theta\omega\tau\tau.$

Num. 3:4 $\omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\ \alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\tau\ \eta\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha\lambda\beta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \alpha\beta\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\ \dots\ \omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta\text{-}\mu\omega\tau\ \psi\eta\eta\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \pi\epsilon\ \omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\ \alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\eta\beta\ \eta\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\lambda\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \iota\theta\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \lambda\alpha\rho\omega\eta\ \pi\omicron\tau\iota\omega\tau.$

Gen. 41:8 $\alpha\Phi\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\ \zeta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\varsigma\omicron\tau\iota\ \eta\omega\omega\tau\ \omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta\text{-}\Phi\ \eta\ \epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\ \mu\Phi\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon.$

Cf. $\eta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon$ in the environment of “being unable”.

Also Gen. 41:49, 43:32, 45:1.

(2) αq- > ναq- πε : Evolution-to-Comment Mode Shift (very common):

Gen. 25:21 Ἰσαακ δὲ ἀφμενρε-ησαῦ ... ρεβεκκα δὲ νας-
μει νιακωβ πε.

Gen. 37:11 ἀρχορ δὲ ἐροq νδε-νεqςνηοῦ πεqιωτ δὲ
ναqαρὲρ ἐπαῖσαδι πε.

Gen. 37:24 ἀρχιτq ἐδρῆι ἐπιλακκος πιλακκος δὲ ναq-
ψοῦωοῦ πε.

Gen. 4:2 ἀςμῖςῖ κκαῖν ... ἀσοῦαζτοτς ÷ ἀςμῖςῖ μπεqςον
αβελ ÷ οῦορ αqψωπι νδε-αβελ νοῦμανεςωοῦ ντεζανε-
ςωοῦ ÷ καῖν δὲ ναqερζωβ ἐπκαρῖ πε (= Vat).

(3) ναq- πε > αq- Comment-to-Evolution Mode shift (anticipatory
or cataphoric Comment. Common)³⁴:

Gen. 48:10 νεαῶρρω δὲ πε νδε-νενβαλ νιακωβ οῦορ
ναqψδεμδoм ннаῦ мβολ αῖν πε οῦορ αqῆροῦῶωνт
ἐροq αqτῖ ἐρωοῦ.

Gen. 37:28 οῦορ ναῶνηοῦ πε νδε-νῖρωμι ммаῖνεος
οῦορ αῦςωκ αῦениωснῖ ἐπψωῖ ῶенпилаκκος ÷ αῦτ
νῖωснῖ ἐβολ.

Gen. 21:20 οῦορ наρε-ῖῖт χη нем пιαлоῦ πε αqαῖαῖ οῦορ
αqψωπι...

Num. 15:32 οῦορ наре-ненψηρι мῖсῖα χη ριψαqе πε
οῦορ αῦῶιμι...

Ex. 14:10 ναqῶαῶωοῦ πε νδε-ῖῖараω οῦορ αῦῶοῦψт...

(4) ναq- Ø > αq- : “gear-shift” — Focus change, reducing Narrative
dimensions (zoom-out) (relatively uncommon):

Ex. 1:20 ῖῖт δὲ ναqερπεῶнанеq ннῖρεqῆмесῖο οῦορ
αqαψαῖ νδε-пилаос.

Gen. 31:39 наῖροκρ ῶенпкаῦμα ... пῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ αqψенаq
ἐβολ ζанаβαλ.

(5) αq- > ναq- Ø > ναq- πε: Evolution to Rich (Enhanced) Evolu-
tion to Comment Mode (relatively uncommon):

Gen. 8:3 οῦορ ναqτῖнтоτq νδε-пῖмωοῦ οῦορ ναqмоψῖ
ἐβολ ζапκαρῖ ναqτῖ нтоτq πε οῦορ ναqῖνηοῦ нсвоk πε

³⁴ Na. 2:9-10 (B4) неммон-петῶоῦψт πε αῦζωλεμ мῖῖῖῖῖт нем пῖноῦῖ
οῦορ неммон αῦρηῶq мῖсῖоῖсῖа πε αῦρρω... is a striking instance of
cataphoric Comment Mode.

ΝΖΕ-ΠΙΜΩΘ — a striking case of the anaphoric CM resuming the immediately foregoing EM.

Gen. 7:17f. **οτορ αραυαι ΝΖΕ-ΠΙΜΩΘ οτορ αραωορν Ν†κϑωτορ οτορ αςϑιςι εβολ ραπκαρι οτορ νααμαρι ΝΖΕ-ΠΙΜΩΘ οτορ ναρνηορ ναυαι εμαυω ριζενπικαρι οτορ ναϑνα ναϑνηορ ΝΖΕ-†κϑωτορ ϑαπυωι μπιμωορ πιμωορ δε νααμαρι πε εμαυω ριζενπικαρι οτορ αραωβϑ ννιτωορ τηρω...**

Obs.

(1) On tense switching and its functional correlates, see WEINRICH 1977:164ff., 190ff., among the first to realize the prime role of tense-shifting, more important than the tenses themselves; BONOMI 1993[1994]:14ff. ("glissement de perspective", "écart de perspective"); FLEISCHMAN 1985:865ff. (Past/Present); 1990:439 s.v., esp. 199ff.; 378 n.39 (cf. our mode-switching). Cf. also GILDERSLEEVE 1903 §211: interweaving of Imperfect and Aorist "so combined that the general statement is given by the Aorist and the details of the action by the Imperfect, or the situation is described by the Imperfect and isolated points presented by the Aorist".

(III) **ΝΕ-Α-ΠΕ**: high CM ("background") setting

Instances of **ΝΕ-Α-ΠΕ**, neg. **ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ...ΠΕ** are relatively rare, concentrated mostly in Genesis and Exodus. While, as has been pointed out, **ΝΕ-** itself is, not a past-tense or anteriority shifter, but a dynamic in narrative information-structuring signal, integrated and integrating in narrative texture³⁵, **ΝΕ-Α-ΠΕ** constitutes a strong explicatory bracketing CM delimitation, with built-in temporal back-shifting, for events already completed at narrative time with consequent narrative-synchronous (narrative-present) states. This "natural background"³⁶ (with **ΠΕ** here a discontinuous obligatory sequel of **ΝΕ-Α-**, and the opposition with **ΝΕ-Α-Ø** very weak) is also a striking case of "text-syntactic subordination" (which, in fact, H. Weinrich inspiredly reformulated as narrative "*re-lief*"). The particle **ραρ** too is here virtually a pattern constituent, a CM initial boundary signal in complementary distribution with **οτορ**.

(1) **ΝΕΑ-ΠΕ**:

(a) physical or psychological "*reason why*" background (**ραρ** an integral part of the **Α-ΠΕ** configuration):

Gen. 28:11 **αρκωτ μμαρ ÷ ΝΕΑΡΗ ραρ ρωτπ πε.**

³⁵ Just as the Circumstantial Preterite **εα-** in Sahidic narrative or the Circumstantial *sqm.n.f* in Middle Egyptian have a narrative-foreground progression-marking continuative role.

³⁶ WEINRICH 1982:195ff. qualifies [+retrospectivity] (in addition to [+inconspicuousness] and [+narration]) as a distinct type of background. See also FANNING 1990:307f., 321.

Gen. 18:15 $\alpha\varsigma\zeta\omega\lambda \ \delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\alpha\rho\rho\alpha \ \epsilon\varsigma\zeta\omega \ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \zeta\epsilon\mu\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\omega\beta\iota \div \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\tau \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \pi\epsilon$. — “she had become frightened”, rather than “she was afraid”.

Ex. 9:11 $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\alpha\psi\omega\zeta\epsilon\mu\zeta\omicron\mu \ \alpha\lambda\ \pi\epsilon \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\nu\iota\phi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\omicron\chi\iota \ \epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\psi \ \dots \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\psi\omega\pi\iota \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \pi\epsilon \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\nu\iota\psi\alpha\psi \ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\iota\phi\alpha\rho\text{-}\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$.

Ex. 9:31 $\pi\iota\mu\alpha\chi\iota \ \delta\epsilon \ \kappa\epsilon\mu \ \pi\iota\omega\tau \ \alpha\theta\mu\iota\omega\iota \div \ \pi\iota\omega\tau \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\phi\text{-}\phi\omicron\varsigma \ \pi\epsilon \div \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \pi\iota\mu\alpha\chi\iota \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\phi\epsilon\rho\zeta\rho\omicron\zeta \ \pi\epsilon$.

Gen. 45:26 $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\chi\tau\omega\mu\tau \ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\pi\epsilon\phi\epsilon\chi\eta\tau \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta \div \ \kappa\epsilon\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\chi\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\theta\omicron\tau\omicron\psi \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \pi\epsilon$.

Gen. 48:10 $\nu\epsilon\alpha\psi\chi\rho\omega\psi \ \delta\epsilon \ \pi\epsilon \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda \ \nu\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\alpha\phi\zeta\epsilon\mu\zeta\omicron\mu \ \kappa\kappa\alpha\psi \ \mu\beta\omicron\lambda \ \alpha\lambda\ \pi\epsilon \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\tau\zeta\omega\kappa\tau \ \epsilon\rho\omicron\chi \ \alpha\chi\tau\phi\iota \ \epsilon\rho\omega\theta$.

Cf. Ex. 17:12 $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\zeta \ \delta\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omega\theta\chi\eta\varsigma \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\psi\chi\rho\omega\psi \ \pi\epsilon \ \dots \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \lambda\alpha\rho\omega\kappa \ \kappa\epsilon\mu \ \chi\omega\rho \ \alpha\theta\tau\alpha\zeta\rho\omicron\chi \ \kappa\kappa\epsilon\phi\zeta\iota\zeta$.

Gen. 26:18 $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\kappa \ \lambda\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\kappa \ \psi\epsilon\kappa\kappa\iota\omega\psi\alpha\tau \ \kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\omega\theta \ \kappa\eta \ \epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\nu\iota\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\iota \ \kappa\epsilon\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\mu \ \pi\epsilon\phi\iota\omega\tau \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\psi\omicron\rho\omicron\tau \ \pi\epsilon \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}$ (πε *super lin.*).

Also Gen. 18:11, 19:29, 45:3, Ex. 12:39.

(b) Content — second object-actant — of seeing (cf. $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset$ and $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon$ above, and $\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\phi\text{-}$ below):

Ex. 39:43 $\alpha\phi\kappa\alpha\psi \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\omega\theta\chi\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\kappa\iota\gamma\beta\eta\theta\iota \ \tau\eta\rho\omega \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\psi\theta\alpha\mu\iota\omega\theta \ \pi\epsilon$.

Probably also (although here the verb of perception is absent — note the presence of $\phi\upsilon\lambda\iota$, as it were an object actant of the missing “see” verb):

Lev. 10:16 $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \pi\iota\beta\alpha\mu\pi\iota \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota \ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\psi\kappa\omega\tau \ \alpha\phi\text{-}\kappa\omega\tau \ \kappa\omega\phi \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\omega\theta\chi\eta\varsigma \div \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \phi\upsilon\lambda\iota \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\psi\rho\omicron\kappa\chi\epsilon \ \pi\epsilon \ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\phi\zeta\omega\kappa\tau \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\omega\theta\chi\eta\varsigma$.

Obs.

$\nu\epsilon\alpha\phi\text{-}\emptyset$ is extremely rare. I find only Deut. 9:24 $\alpha\iota\tau\text{-}\chi\omicron \ \mu\pi\epsilon\mu\theta\omicron \ \mu\pi\theta\varsigma \ \kappa\zeta\mu \ \nu\epsilon\chi\omicron\theta\theta \ \kappa\epsilon\mu \ \kappa\mu \ \nu\epsilon\zeta\omega\rho\epsilon \ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\alpha\phi\zeta\omicron\varsigma \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\theta\varsigma \ \epsilon\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron\kappa\eta\kappa\omega\psi \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ (Vat. $\nu\epsilon\alpha\phi\text{-}$, no $\pi\epsilon$). This is probably a case of the Focalizing (Second Tense) conversion of $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}$, and therefore without $\pi\epsilon$ (Recycled Condensed Narrative).

(e) Dream or Vision narratives

The fine and poetically essential balancing between Enhanced Evolution Mode Narrative ($\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset$) and variously functional Comment Mode ($\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon$) collapses, by design, in Dream Narratives (DNs). Or, put structurally: the opposition between the two embracing complex morphemes $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset$ and $\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon$ is neutralized in the DN texteme as a poetic

contrivance, a special formal combination of the two being opposed to the Evolution Mode Preterite λq -. This means no less than the perfection of a new and even finer poetic device. Not the obliteration of “semantic” (*signifié*) differences between the two narrative modes, but that to the “flat”, as it were *chronicling* or *recording* EM carrier λq -, the DN texteme opposes a special blend of the *egocentric* or *personal perspective* (cf. the Narrator-sphere Comment Mode ne - pe), the *removed-from-reality* (or *blurring of reality*: ne - pe again), the *précis-fraught-with-significance* (ne - pe , yet again) — all these with the dramatic closeup zooming-in effect of ne - $\emptyset$, slow-motion or *tableau* blow-up; the narrator’s personal deepening “antinarrative”, which is also non-actual and shifts to a parallel-reality. This is the subtle semantic structure of the Coptic reported dream. While the inter-mode tension characterizing usual Narrative is absent in DN, the Preterite may be considered here *marked*, as against the unmarked combined ne - $\emptyset$ / pe .

The book of Genesis supplies us with several sophisticated instances of the telling or reporting of visions and dreams. This narrative subtexteme — with a very impressive, and no less grammatically fascinating history, as yet untold, in Egyptian — is of descriptive and comparative-general interest. Dream Narratives are distinct, and instructive for Narrative Grammar and Narrative Theory in general, on three counts: (a) the evolving plot is experienced by its Narrator as beheld and preceived, beyond any participation of his in the story; (b) the narrative is “timeless” - that is, it is extratemporal, coinciding in “happening time” with the time of perception by the Narrator; (c) in the cultural domain we are dealing with, Dream and often Vision Narratives are emblematic narrativized metaphors, fraught with prophetic significance.

As said, we find here ne - $\emptyset$ and ne - pe opposed to the Preterite; pe occurs almost always, though not with every ne - form, but, applying to a ne - *grouping*, it as it were characterizes the narrative carriers collectively. The blurring of reality expressed by the variation $n\lambda q$ - pe / $\emptyset$ gives the eventing in DN an out-of-focus framing: we are *distanced from our own reality and transferred into a different alternative one*, a parallel world, in a narrator’s present perspective and constant a zooming-in, slow-motion focussing (the absence in Coptic of the Narrative Present is thus compensated for to an extent). The ne - forms carry the basic tableau situation; λq - the culmination or climax of the dream. Let me quote here from FLEISCHMAN 1990 (p. 248f.): “In verbalizations of dreamwork the boundaries of events are often blurred, and temporal sequence is confused... the ordered language of consciousness provides a

mediation and the linguistic form through which the chaotic and unarticulated contents of the unconscious can be mapped onto narrative” (see also *op. cit.* 378 n. 40, 395 n. 182; FLEISCHMAN 1989).

The main distinctive formal characteristics of the dream sequence (of course, always differentially, in opposition to “real” narrative) are:

(a) tensing (see above);

(b) special opening/closing boundary signals: (1) the “seam” or interface of the narrative/dream narrative textemes, enframing phrases containing “dream” and, as a rule, “see” (ἀφνὰς εὐσπρασσι, ἀινὰς ἐρωσθ νναβαλ νθρασσι, ταρρασσι θαι εταινὰς ἐρος, νδρηι δενταρασσι, ἀινὰς εὐσπρασσι ἀινὰς... and so on; “see” only, in Moses’s vision of the burning bush); (2) ζηππε ις, (μφρη†) ιςδεκ signalling the opening of the Dream Narrative itself³⁷; (3) (optional) the final boundary or enframing signal closing the dream texteme and resuming the “real” Narrative: ἀφτωνq, ἀφτωνq ... οτοz νεοσπρασσι τε;

(c) The absence or extreme rareness of negation; hence, the virtual absence of polarity.

(d) Several types of textemic structure, specified below in order of increasing complexity. Note that we witness in the DN *dynamic or multi-layered static/dynamic tableaux*, rather than *plot development* properly speaking; there is no clear distinction between durative/recurrent and punctual/single action; any movement may be contained either in the basic dynamic *tableau* or proceed from a static one, animating it; that as a rule the Preterite αq- carries the culmination or *dénouement* and message of the dream, rhematically to the basically thematic νε- and νε-πε. (The *verbum dicendi* used is πεzαz).

(1) Dynamic *tableau* (single layer): action in progress (νε- πε) (Gen.37:9)

(2) Dynamic *tableau* (single layer): action (νε- Ø) and quality state description (νε- πε + νε- + νε- in coordination: πε is shared) (Gen. 31:10)

(3) Static *tableau* becoming dynamic (“coming alive” or animated): basic thematic situation (νε-) from which simple outline movement action (αq- αq- αq-) starts (e.g. Gen. 37:6ff.): this latter action is rhematic (the message, “point” or climax of the DN).

³⁷ By this token, “dreaminess” is observable in Num. 24:5 and even in the monologic Gen. 28:17.

(4) Static *tableau* becoming dynamic: thematic background picture [NOUN PHRASE + Circumstantial present/NE- existence + PE/description NE- PE], across the foreground of which recurrent movement is in progress (NE- PE) (Gen. 28:12f., 40:16f.); or from which simple outline movement action starts (AI- AI-) in a given Obtaining Situation (NE-) (Gen. 40:9ff.). The recurrent movement or the movement action are rhematic (the message, “point” or climax of the DN).

(5) Pharaoh’s First Dream (Gen. 41:1ff.): dynamic *tableau* (multiple layer). Thematic initial state of dreamer (NE- PE); new participants joining the dreamer in movement (NE- PE) to form a thematic grouping; still new participants entering the stage (NE-) to effect the culmination or climax in one simple rhematic act (AQ-). Pharaoh’s Second Dream is apparently staged as sequel of the first or second half of a complex dream (notwithstanding the enframing “he woke up, slept some more and saw another, second dream” and the introductory ZHPPE): new participants coming on stage (NE-), yet others entering (NE-) and bringing about the culmination (AQ-).

Note that Pharaoh’s own *report* of his dreams as distinct from the “official” Narrator’s version has a different texture, one that recalls “real” rather than dreamed Narratives, and is apparently staged more as a real plot development — Pharaoh presents this scenario as reality: initial obtaining situation (NE-); first slow-motion or closeup plot development (NE-); concluding stage of first episode (NE- PE); new slow-motion or closeup plot development (NE-); [Narrator’s Channel interposition: MPI-]; culmination (AQ-); Narrator’s final evaluation (NE- PE). The second Dream (abridged): static *tableau* (NOUN + Circumstantial); movement (NE- PE; cf. types [1] and [2] above), culmination (AQ-). Only in Pharaoh’s dreams does Vat’s reading vary from P’s, as a rule omitting PE. This is not the case in other dreams or in “real” Narrative. (A difference between Locutive [1st-person] and Delocutive DNs is observable in Coptic as in pre-Coptic Egyptian).

The texts themselves (I have entered the *lemniscus* delimiter, see Chapter Four below):

Gen. 28:12f. αἰνᾷ εὐφραστοὶ ζήππε ἰς οὐμῶςκι ἐσταδ-
 ρηοῦτ δὲνπικαζὶ ἐρε-δωσ θὶ ψαζρηὶ ἐτφε οὐορ νᾶρε-
 νιαγγελος ντεφτῆ νᾶωνᾶ ἐπῳωὶ νᾶωνηοῦ ἐπεσῆτ ζιωτς
 πε ÷ πῶς δὲ νᾶϣταδρηοῦτ ζιδωσ πε ÷ οὐορ πεδᾶϣ δὲ-
 ... ᾶϣτωνϣ δὲ νδε-ιακωβ ντοοῦ (P = Vat).

Gen. 31:10 αἰνᾷ ἐρωῶ νναβαλ νῶραστοὶ ζήππε ἰς
 νιβᾶρητ νὲν νιδωῖαὶ νᾶωνᾶ ἐζρηὶ ἐξεννιεσῶτ νὲν

ΝΙΒΑΕΜΠΙ ΝΑΘΟΘΟΒΥ ΠΕ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΘΟΙ ΝΑΟΦΙΑΟΤΑΝ ΝΕΜ
ΑΟΤΑΝ ΝΚΕΡΜΙ ΕΘΜΟΞΘ (= Vat).

Gen. 37:6ff. $\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\tau\iota$ ÷ $\theta\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\theta$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ÷ $\iota\varsigma$
 $\delta\epsilon\kappa$ $\eta\alpha\eta\chi\eta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\theta\epsilon\mu\eta\tau$ $\eta\tau\kappa\omicron\iota$ $\epsilon\eta\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\rho$ $\eta\gamma\alpha\eta\chi\eta\alpha\theta$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\eta$
 $\tau\omega\eta\eta$ $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\rho\alpha\chi\eta\alpha\theta$ $\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta$ $\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma\theta\omicron$ $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta$
 $\chi\eta\alpha\theta$ $\alpha\theta\omicron\theta\omega\psi\tau$ $\mu\pi\alpha\chi\eta\alpha\theta$ (= Vat).

Gen. 37:9. $\gamma\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\theta$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\tau\iota$ ÷ $\mu\phi\epsilon\rho\eta\tau$ $\iota\varsigma\delta\epsilon\kappa$ $\pi\iota\rho\eta$
 $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\bar{\iota}\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\theta$ $\eta\alpha\theta\omicron\theta\omega\psi\tau$ $\mu\mu\omicron\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ (= Vat).

It is as if Joseph invites his brothers to join in a private game he has invented for himself: this is strikingly like the so-called “(pre)ludic” role of the Romance Imperfect. So too perhaps Ex. 1:10.

Gen. 40:9ff. $\eta\delta\epsilon\rho\eta\iota$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\tau\iota$ ÷ $\eta\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ - $\omicron\theta\epsilon\omega$ $\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\lambda\iota$
 $\chi\eta$ $\mu\pi\alpha\mu\theta\omicron$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\delta\epsilon\rho\eta\iota$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\omega$ $\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\lambda\iota$ $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\omicron\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ -(Vat
 $\eta\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ -) $\bar{\iota}$ $\eta\chi\alpha\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ ÷ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma\phi\omicron\rho\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\eta$ -
 $\gamma\alpha\eta\varsigma\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\theta\phi\epsilon\gamma$ $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\lambda\iota$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\iota\alpha$ -
 $\phi\omicron\tau$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\rho\omega$ ÷ $\chi\eta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\delta\iota\delta$ $\alpha\iota\theta\iota$ $\eta\eta\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\lambda\iota$ ÷ $\alpha\iota\omicron\phi\omicron\theta$
 $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\rho\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\delta\iota\delta$ $\mu\phi\alpha\rho\omega$ (= Vat).

Gen. 40:16f. $\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\theta$ $\epsilon\omicron\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\tau\iota$ ÷ $\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\theta$ $\iota\varsigma\delta\epsilon\kappa$ - $\eta\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\bar{\iota}$
 $\eta\kappa\alpha\eta\omicron\theta\eta\eta$ $\eta\chi\omicron\eta\delta\alpha\rho\iota\theta\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\iota\delta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\phi\epsilon$ ÷ $\eta\gamma\rho\eta\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\kappa\alpha$ -
 $\eta\omicron\theta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\pi\psi\omega\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ $\eta\delta\eta\eta\tau\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ ÷ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\theta$
 $\epsilon\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\pi\omicron\theta\rho\omicron$ $\phi\alpha\rho\omega$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\mu\omicron\theta$ $\eta\gamma\omega\beta$ $\eta\alpha\mu\rho\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\eta\iota\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau$
 $\omicron\theta\omega\mu$ $\mu\mu\omega\theta$ $\pi\epsilon$ ÷ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\eta\omicron\theta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\eta$ $\gamma\iota\delta\epsilon\eta$ -
 $\tau\alpha\alpha\phi\epsilon$ (= Vat).

Pharaoh's Dreams — the official version:

Gen. 41:1ff. $\phi\alpha\rho\omega$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\theta$ $\epsilon\omicron\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\tau\iota$ ÷ $\iota\varsigma\delta\epsilon\kappa$ - $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$
 $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ (Vat om. $\pi\epsilon$) $\delta\iota\delta\epsilon\eta\phi\iota\alpha\rho\omicron$ ÷ $\gamma\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\phi\epsilon\rho\eta\tau$ $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ -
 $\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\phi\iota\alpha\rho\omicron$ $\eta\alpha\theta\eta\eta\omicron\theta$ $\epsilon\pi\psi\omega\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ (Vat om. $\pi\epsilon$) $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\bar{\gamma}$
 $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\theta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\omicron\theta\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ ÷ $\eta\alpha\theta\mu\omicron\eta\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\alpha\chi\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon\bar{\gamma}$
 $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ ÷ $\eta\alpha\theta\eta\eta\omicron\theta$ $\epsilon\pi\psi\omega\iota$ ÷ $\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\varsigma\alpha$ - $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon\eta$ -
 $\phi\iota\alpha\rho\omicron$ ÷ $\epsilon\theta\delta\alpha\iota\omega\theta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\omicron\theta\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\theta\psi\omicron\mu$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\omicron$ -
 $\theta\alpha\phi\omicron\tau\iota$ ÷ $\eta\alpha\theta\mu\omicron\eta\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta$ - $\eta\iota\epsilon\gamma\omega\theta$ $\iota\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\eta\phi\iota\alpha\rho\omicron$ ÷ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$
 $\alpha\tau\bar{\gamma}$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\delta\alpha\iota\omega\theta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\omicron\theta\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\theta\psi\omicron\mu$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\omicron$ -
 $\varsigma\alpha\rho\bar{\chi}$ ÷ $\alpha\theta\omega\mu\kappa$ $\eta\tau\bar{\gamma}$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ ÷ $\epsilon\theta\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\theta$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\omicron\theta\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\theta\varsigma\omega\tau\tau\iota$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\omicron\theta\alpha\phi\omicron\tau\iota$ ÷ $\alpha\eta\tau\omega\eta\eta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\phi\alpha\rho\omega$ ÷ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$
 $\alpha\eta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\iota$ ÷ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\theta$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\tau\iota$ $\mu\mu\alpha\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\tau$ $\gamma\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$
 $\eta\alpha\theta\eta\eta\omicron\theta$ $\epsilon\pi\psi\omega\iota$ $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\bar{\gamma}$ $\eta\delta\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\omicron\theta\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\mu$ $\eta\omicron\theta\omega\tau$ ÷
 $\epsilon\theta\delta\omicron\eta\tau$ ÷ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\theta$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon\bar{\gamma}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\delta\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ $\epsilon\theta\psi\omicron\mu$ ÷
 $\epsilon\theta\omicron\iota$ $\eta\delta\iota\mu\phi\epsilon\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\theta\eta\eta\omicron\theta$ $\epsilon\pi\psi\omega\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\varsigma\omega\theta$ ÷ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\pi\bar{\iota}$
 $\eta\delta\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ $\epsilon\theta\psi\omicron\mu$ ÷ $\epsilon\theta\omicron\iota$ $\eta\delta\iota\mu\phi\epsilon\gamma$ $\alpha\theta\omega\mu\kappa$ $\mu\pi\bar{\iota}$ $\eta\delta\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau$ -
 $\varsigma\omicron\tau\tau\iota$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\delta\omicron\eta\tau$ ÷ $\alpha\eta\tau\omega\eta\eta$ $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\phi\alpha\rho\omega$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon\omicron\theta\rho\alpha$ -
 $\varsigma\omicron\tau\iota$ $\tau\epsilon$.

Pharaoh's slightly abridged and differently worded locutive version (square brackets enclose Pharaoh's additions):

Gen. 41:17-24 **ⲛⲉⲣⲏ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲁϥⲟⲩ** ÷ **ⲓϥⲉⲕ ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲗⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲉϥⲕⲉⲛ-ⲛⲉⲛϥⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙⲑⲓⲁⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲙⲑⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲑⲓⲁⲣⲟ** ÷ **ⲛⲁⲉ-ⲓ ⲛⲉⲗⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲟⲩϥⲙⲟⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲟⲩ** ÷ **ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲓⲁⲭⲓ** (Vat add. **ⲟⲩⲟⲗ, ⲟⲩ. ⲡⲉ**) ÷ **ⲗⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓϥ ⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲕⲁⲙⲉⲛⲗⲏⲩⲟⲩ** (Vat add. **ⲡⲉ**) **ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲛⲑⲓⲁⲣⲟ** ÷ **ⲉⲩⲗⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲟⲩϥⲙⲟⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲟⲩ** ÷ [**ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ**] ÷ **ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲁⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲁⲣⲓ** ÷ **ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲕ ⲛⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲗⲉ** ÷ **ⲉⲃⲏⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲉⲧϥⲱⲧⲡ** [**ⲁⲩⲱⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲁⲓ** ÷ **ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ-ⲡⲟⲩⲗⲟ ⲁⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ** (Vat om. **ⲡⲉ**) **ⲙⲑⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲟⲛ**] ÷ **ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲛⲧ ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ** ÷ **ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁϥⲟⲩ ⲙⲑⲣⲏⲧ ⲓϥ ⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲉⲙϥ ⲉⲛⲏⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲗⲁⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲛⲧ** ÷ **ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲙϥ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲙ** ÷ **ⲉⲃⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲙⲑⲗⲉⲗ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ** (Vat om. **ⲡⲉ**) **ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲁⲡⲓⲓ ⲛⲁⲉⲙϥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲙ** ÷ **ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲙⲑⲗⲉⲗ ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲕ ⲙⲡⲓⲓ ⲛⲁⲉⲙϥ ⲉⲃⲏⲁⲛⲉⲩ** ÷ **ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲟⲛⲧ ⲁⲓⲁⲉⲧⲁⲣⲁϥⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲓϥⲣⲁⲛⲱ...**

Obs.

(1) Interestingly, the Narrative Peak in Jacob's "genetic-engineering" ruse (Gen. 30:10) is presented as a vision, or at least a parallel-reality happening (compare the cinematographic haze or veiled photography in similar cases): **ⲗⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓϥ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲱⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁ ⲉⲣⲣⲏⲓ...ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲉ...** etc.

(2) Other dream reports in Coptic. In Bohairic, Daniel's dream (ed. Bardelli, e.g. Ch. 7 **ⲧⲓⲟⲣⲁϥⲓϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲗⲉⲛ**) which uses only **ⲛⲉ-**, **ⲛⲉ- ⲡⲉ** and **ⲁⲓ-**, but remarkably **ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ** (most often), **ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ** and **ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ** in mid-dream; also 2:31.

In the Early Bohairic Twelve Prophets (B4, in the unedited P. Vat. copto 9), we find the same visionary blurring of EM and CM; note also the use of the demonstratives, and the Presentatives with Circumstantial present carried on by **ⲛⲁⲓⲓ- ⲡⲉ**:

Zach. 5:9 **ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲗⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓϥ-ϥⲓⲙⲓ ϥⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ-ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲗ ⲟⲩⲟⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ-ⲗⲁⲛⲧⲉⲛⲗ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲗⲏⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩ.**

Zach. 1:8 **ⲓϥ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲓⲗⲗⲏⲓ ⲉⲁⲉⲛⲟⲩⲗⲉⲟ ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲭⲱⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲗⲉ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲗⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲓ ⲡⲉ.**

For Nitrian Bohairic, there are numerous instances of visions, dreams and apparitions, by and large no different from "real" narratives except for the opening: Mac. No. 8 B, p. 55f. (initial **ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ⲓϥⲉⲕ ⲉⲓ-** and in the course of the text **ⲓϥⲉⲕ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ**; otherwise only **ⲁⲓ-** and **ⲡⲉⲁⲓⲓ/ⲡⲉⲁⲓⲓ-ⲡⲉⲁⲓⲓ**); AM I 46-51, 73, 110, 126, II 33f. etc. Obviously, the adequate description of Nitrian Bohairic dream narrative must be carried out on the background of Nitrian "real" Narrative.

In Sahidic, (**ⲗⲱϥ**) **ⲉⲱⲁⲉ** + Circumstantial/Focalizing (Second) Preterite characterizes the opening: the Circumstantial alone serves as a DN carrier (**ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲁϥⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲱⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ...** Shenoute *ed.* Leip. IV 125). In Shenoutean Sahidic, (**ⲗⲱϥ**) **ⲉⲱⲁⲉ-** with the Circumstantial (Present) or Focalizing (Second) Preterite (**ⲛⲧⲁ-**:

past) generally introduce a dream or vision; outside Shenoute, we also find $\xi\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\alpha\text{-}$, $\xi\omega\varsigma\ \mathfrak{Z}\epsilon\text{-}$ and even $\mathfrak{Z}\epsilon\text{-}$ (with Circumstantial). Remarkably, we find $\omega\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\gamma$ in *Apocalypsis Sinuthii* (Leip. IV 198), see SHISHA-HALEVY, 2007b.

(3) Scholars have commented on the dreamlike quality of Jacob's strange night wrestling (Gen. 32:25): $\mathfrak{n}\alpha\alpha\tau\text{†}\ \mathfrak{n}\epsilon\mathfrak{m}\alpha\alpha$ — no $\pi\epsilon$ in our corpus. (Vulg.) et ecce vir luctabatur cum eo usque mane, (Vetus Lat.) luctabatur/(con)luctatus est; Greek $\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\epsilon\nu$ (v.l. $\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$). (The variation an intertextual-paradigmatic indicant of the distinctness of the DN texteme?) Structural narratologists have viewed this episode as a specially instructive narrative "in nutshell": see Barthes in Barthes *et al.* (eds.), *Analyse structurale et exégèse biblique*, Labor et Fides, 1972. (See also special discussion below).

(4) The Bohairic Apocalypse merits special study. This is a case of DN extended, drastically blown-up, to a complex dreamlike Narrative, in a heady mixture of narrative and prophetic subtextemes. I find remarkable the paucity of $\alpha\alpha\text{-}$ / $\mathfrak{n}\alpha\alpha\text{-}$ variant reading against the prevalence of $\mathfrak{n}\epsilon\text{-}$ $\pi\epsilon\text{-}$ / $\mathfrak{n}\epsilon\text{-}$ $\emptyset$ variant reading (e.g., 4:3, 5:4, 13:2 etc.); the Narrative Present (e.g. 6:16, 11:6, 14:5:12, 17:8 etc.), the Aorist (4:10), the Focalizing Conversion (13:12) and various Nominal Sentence patterns (11:4, 12:3:5:18, 13:18 etc.); the "obstinately" recurring initial signals $\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\omega\ \xi\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ IC and $\mathfrak{M}\Phi\mathfrak{P}\eta\text{†}\ \mathfrak{n}\omega\omega\text{-}$ $\epsilon\alpha\text{-}$ insist on the textemic identity.

(5) For dreams and visions in Shenoute's Sahidic, see SHISHA-HALEVY 2007b §§2.7, 2.8.

(6) No need to enlarge on the importance of dreams in pre-Coptic Egyptian linguistic and literary culture. For Demotic, see RAY 1976, Texts 8, 9 ("*n.j n rsw*"); episodes/dreams introduced by *jw.w dd*; main carrier: perf. *sdm.f* and *w3h.f sdm*; Obtaining Situation: Present, 8/3, 9/5, 12f. *rwj hr t3-hny Mn-Nfr* "I was upon the necropolis of Memphis"; TAIT 1977, No. 16 p. 56ff. and No. 17, with discussion and references; SMITH and TAIT 1983, text 2 (p. 116 + n. bh, p. 116), introduced by Second Tense or Emphatic, *j.jr.f pry-n-rswy*; DEPUYDT 1994:60 (No.2, with n.29): — the Present (discussed in the context of Stern-Jernstedt's Law); Setne II 1/1 (Circumstantial opening and resumé: *rswy jw.w md...*). See below, for notes on Egyptian narrative grammar. For Late Egyptian see the famous Chester Beatty dream-interpretation papyrus (GARDINER 1935:9ff.), where the dream itself is condensed in the "adverbial paradigm": Stative, prepositional phrase, circumstantial *sdm.f*, the *hr* + infinitive converb.

(7) For the dramatic narratological significance of Biblical dreams, see ALTER 1981:163. EHRlich 1953 is an illuminating comparative literary-folkloristic, linguistically conscious but not grammatical study of OT dreams. BAAYEN 1997:258ff. for Biblical Hebrew *w-hnh* used in a dream sequence.

(8) Some references to studies and features of Dream Narrative grammar in European and other languages. On the whole, while general, "oneirocritical", oneiromantical and literary studies of the dream are extensive (e.g. KESSELS 1978 for Greek, or STEINER 1952 for Latin), we find relatively little special attention is given to DN grammar. See LAMBRECHT 2000 ("internal contextualization", following Fillmore). Even in such a fascinating and satisfying collection of essays on dreams and dreaming as the one edited by Shulman and Stroumsa (1999), there is no consideration, no mention even, of the formal poetic aspects of DN, or of the relevance this might bear for both message and cultural significance. Dennis Tedlock's contribution (104-118), attempting a comparison of DN to myth, tantalizingly brushes what I have in mind, but does not touch language.

(9) For Greek, see SVENSSON 1930:96ff. (Present for events, Imperfect for description);. GOODWIN claims (§33) that the Historical Present is absent in Homer; but see Penelope's second dream (Odyssey T 535ff., see KESSELS 1978:91ff.), which has an especially so-

phisticated structure, featuring almost all tenses: Present switching to Aorist, with the Imperfect and Pluperfect. This, by the way, is the only instance of the Narrative Present in Homer (similarly in Pindar: only in Pyth. 4.159ff.). In the papyri, the intermeshing of all three narrative tenses — Imperfect, Aorist, Present — characterizes dream reports: see MAYSER II/1 §33.1 Anm.b, II/1:140 (a) for the Perfect, signalling personal emotional involvement, in dreams.

(10) Latin literature offers a long range of dreams. Some selected grammatical highlights of these texts: (Virgilius, Aeneis. See STEINER 1952): *ecce* (II 270ff.); *dixit* (VIII 31ff.), *dixerat* finally, after spoken text (I 309, VII 141), also *sic fatus* (IV 560ff.); *videbar*, *visus...* + inf., *visi*, *viderat* enframing verb (V 339). Narrative carriers: Perfect (I 356 *nudavit*, *rexit*; V 336), Imperfect (VIII 33f.), Present (IV 465ff., VII 413ff.: Turnus's dream, STEINER 1952:62ff. Other texts: (Quintus Ennius I fgt.17 Steuart p. 5, Skutsch I fgt I 29): *videbar*, *visus...* + infinitive; Present *videtur*; carrier: Imperfect. Cf. STEINER 1952:20ff. (Valerius Flaccus: GÄRTNER 1996): introductive *ecce*; *viderat*, *visus...* + infinitive; *dixit* (*dixerat* finally); the Present an auxiliary narrative carrier. The Pluperfect for DN backgrounding (Latin): FANNING 1990:307f., 321.

(11) For Italian, see BERTINETTO 1986:368f. (Imperfect). A.L. LEPSCHY (1996:112f.) seems to misconstrue the transition from *imperfetto* to *passato remoto* in the following dream passage from Pulci's *Morgante* (43.2ff.) — my italics:

Io ho fatta una strana visione:/Che m'assaliva un serpente feroce;/non mi valeva, per chiamar, Macone;/onde al tuo Iddio,.../Rivolsi...e mi soccorse.

Consider in Italian the "classic" structure and texture of the following dialectal dream text ("Er Sogno Bello", in the *fumetto* series *Sonetti in vernacolo pisano* by Fucini and Terreni, in *Pisa Informazioni*, 15/9/97. Unfortunately, I cannot reproduce here the main pictorial text, which contains its own plot and is a co-text for the verbal narrative, but only the accompanying baloon "supertitles" with a resumé of the cartoons. Finite narrative tense forms are given in italics):

Metanarrative and opening signals:

"Stanotte ho fatt' un sogno, e mi pareva,

Da tanto ch'era bello, di sognare."

[husband recounting his dream to his wife in bed]

Obtaining initial situation:

"S'aveva l'ale tutt'e dua,

S'aveva,

E si volava via, rasente ar mare"

[winged, nightgowned husband and wife hovering over the sea]

Dream Narrative development:

"E 'n der guarda 'n dell'acqua

Si vedeva

Perle, oralli e tante robbe rare;"

[wife admiring submarine treasures]

DN continued: presentative narration device:

"E un dorfino parlante che diceva:

'Le volete?

Venitel' a pigliare.'"

[Smiling dolphin addressing pleased wife]

Narrative focussing — peak buildup; crisis. Verbum dicendi marked as external and thematic by passato prossimo:

"Te nun volevi, Rosa! E io t'ho detto:
 'Lassami fa', nun c'è nulla di male.
 Guarda, ne piglio una manatta e smetto'".

[husband importuning — in close-up]

Narrative peak; dream-closing signal; pluperfect already outside dream:

"Stendo la mana, così tal e quale;

Mi sveglio...Destinaccio malidetto!

L'avevo messa drent' all'urinale"

[back in bed: husband, upset, with hand in bedside pot; wife turning away and getting up].

Note that Italian uses the Imperfect for the retelling or reporting on film narratives, as a shift to a parallel reality: (Carlo Cassola, *Un Cuore Arido*) "Finalmente cominciò il film. Subito Anna provò l'acuto piacere di essere trasportata in un altro mondo. Una ragazza usciva correndo da una casa e si recava da un fabbro: un giovane ricciuto, coi baffi. Questi interrompeva il lavoro, sorridendo con tenerezza alla giovane donna, che gli diceva: "Mio padre acconsente alle nozze". I due, allora, si baciavano. Poi la giovane fuggiva via e per la strada incontrava un uomo vestito di nero, che camminava appoggiato a un bastone. Lo fermava, gli si inginocchiava davanti e gli diceva: "Beneditemi, padre". — Ah, quello è il padre, — commentò Livio. — Ma che dici? Quello è un prete, — disse Lina..." — note the persistent use of the Imperfect, obliterating all texture distinctions as well as main/included clauses; also the transition to the present tense in the watching characters' discussion "in real time" of the film.

(12) STEN 1964:99 n.1, 135 (on French): the "evocative" effect of the Imperfect; when a series of Imperfects is broken by the Preterite, one can see the Preterite as marked, in extreme cases as a "brutal" break in the dream.

(13) The Present tense is used for DN in European and classical languages (CASPARIS's "symbolic particularity", 1975:79f., 86, 101ff.) as well as in Modern Hebrew, pre-Coptic Egyptian — either for the basic DN carrier or for the *dénouement* and narrative peak. The absence of this form in Coptic narrative (itself an interesting typological change-feature) correlates with the polysemantic range of *ne- ne*.

(14) Generally, on the use of the Imperfect for the "out of focus" perspective in dream narrative, cf. FLEISCHMAN 1989, 1990:248f., 378 n.40, 395 n.182.

(15) On the removal-from-reality and imagined/parallel world role of the Imperfect, cf. perhaps the "reminiscent" Imperfect in Greek and Latin (SCHWYZER II 277f., LOHMANN-HOFMANN-SZANTYR II 317). See WILMET 1976:83ff. for the French "hypocoristic" Imperfect, involving also the switch from allocutive to delocutive person when addressing a child ("and did he hurt his little finger?"); 101ff. for the "preludic" roles; 87 for the exclamative role; CAPALLO 1986. FLEISCHMAN 1989; 1995, e.g. 522 ("a speaker's lack of belief in or lack of commitment to (a) the reality, realization or referentiality of an event or sequence of events..."; p. 525f. on the preludic role. EK 1996:122ff. (the scenic present in French); ANSCOMBRE 2004:81 (ex. 45) and 83 (ex. 56); IMBS 1960:98 "un écart modal entre le réel et l'imaginaire"; LE GOFFIC 1986:64ff., 1995:134ff. "a world inaccessible to the utterer's 'here and now'" (which forms part of the "double incompleteness" of the Imperfect, the other being its absence of autonomy); BERTINETTO 1986:368ff. (also the preludic role).

(16) In literary Modern Welsh, the essentially narrative tense called Imperfect (present base, secondary personal suffixes) expresses distance- or removedness-from-reality (including potentiality) and thus features in dream and fantasy narratives (the Imperfects are italicized): "Dychmygwch eich hunain ar y daith, yn cerdded drwy'r mwd gan deimlo'r

tir yn gwegian oddi tanoch. Un cam seithug... a gallech gwmpo i ddyfroedd duon pwll diwaelod. *Byddai*'r gwynt yn mwmlal yn gwynfannus ym mrigau'r llwyni bedw, a *byddai* rhaid gochel rhag llithro ar y mwsogl... *Codai* tarth o'r dyfroedd duon ymhobman", approx. "Imagine yourself on the trip, walking through the mud, feeling the ground swaying under your feet. One missed step, and you could tumble into the black water of a bottomless pit. The wind *would mumble* mournfully in the branches of the birch groves and you *would have* to beware lest you slip on the moss. Vapour *would rise* from the black water everywhere...."

(f) **NE-** converted

Conversion of narrative **NE-** means in effect practically only Relative forms (in our corpus as a rule **ENE-**, not **ETENE-**). Relative converted forms of **NE-** in narrative are, as a rule, not accompanied by **PE** (the *irrealis* protasis, which may be Circumstantial in form, is dialogic or expositive). They are not properly speaking narrative clauses, or at least stand outside of the **PE** vs. $\emptyset$ Narrative-Mode opposition:

Gen. 19:11 **NIPOMI ENATZIPENΦPO**.

Gen. 21:17 **ΑΦ† CΩTEM ETSMH MΠIΔO EBOΛ ΞENΠIΔA ENAQXH MMOQ**.

Gen. 39:13 **NH ENACCAΔI MMΩOT NEMAQ**.

Deut. 3:2 **NIAMOPPEOC NH ENATΩOP ZIMHP MΠIOPΔANHC**

Deut. 4:46 **CHΩN ΠOTPO NTENIAMOPPEOC ΦH ENAQΩOP ΞENECEBΩN**.

The only exception to this I am aware of is negative, predicating **CΩOTN** ("psychologistic" Omniscient Narrator's information):

Ex. 1:8 **ΑQTΩNQ NΞE-KEOTPO EZENXHMI ΦH ETENAQ-CΩOTN AN PE NIΩCHΦ** (= Vat).

(Deut. 32:17 [Vat] **ΞANBEPI AΠ††NOOT NH ENAPE-NOOTIO† CΩOTN MMΩOT AN PE** has **NE** in our manuscript; emend to **PE**? but see below, Chapter Two, on the mysterious **ΑQΘΩN NE**).

(g) **PE** with other conjugation forms

(1) Circumstantial (**EQ-** / **EQ-**) **PE** in narrative — Comment Mode:

These forms appear to be the nearest in structural essence to the CM **NE-/NEA-** **PE** clause forms discussed above (Circumstantial / **NE-** variant readings corroborate this view; generally speaking, there is a definite macrosyntactical affinity between the two conversions).

Deut. 32:12 **ΠΩC MMAOTATQ PE ETAQENOT MMON-KENOT† NΩEMMO NEMΩOT PE** (= Vat).

No need to restore here **NE-** (*pace* ANDERSSON 1904:143, SCHENKE 1987:548).

(2) **ναϕνα- γαρ πε** — explicatory relevance:

Gen. 35:18 **ασωπι δε εсна† нтесψϣχη ναснаμοϣ γαρ πε αс†рен-πεсran зε-**.

(3) Superordinative **πε** (not narrative):

Especially striking is **πε** in *apodosis*, where **πε** is not speaker/narrator-referent, but *internally anaphoric*, to the preceding textual segment (whether marked as protatic or not). The superordinating and the detaching-from-reality roles of (**ναϕ-**) **πε** converge in *irrealis* apodoses:

Num. 22:33 **ενεμπесρικι πε н†оϣноϣ нѠк мен ναйна-ζοβεκ πε Ѡη δε ναинаτανζος πε** (= Vat).

Not wholly clear to me, but apparently superordinative, is also

Num. 34:5 **οτοϣ ερεωπι нζε-πimωит εβολ Ѳiom πε** (= Vat) Greek **ἔσται ἡ διέξοδος ἡ θάλασσα**

Obs.

(1) On **πε** with apodotic Future tenses³⁹, cf. POLOTSKY 1939:110, quoting also **εie- πε** (Job 31:7f.) and Jer. 43:3, where the protasis is not marked as such, concluding with the reservation that “these observations do not apply to B”. See also POLOTSKY 1960:26. This is, I believe, not a “contingent” (*pace* Depuydt, the Introduction to CSCO 544/copt.47, *Encomiastica from the Pierpoint Morgan Library*, Leuven 1996, p. xxi) or sequelling Future “then I will...”, as would be **ερε-** (see below), but rather superordinating **πε** and superordinated future.

(2) Mac. No. 20 p. 109 **ενακѠн ψαѲооϣ πε** resp. **ειѲнт πε** has **πε** in both Allocation and Response, both in Focalizing Conversion.

(3) The Preterite (**αϕ-**) occurs in Shenoutean Sahidic with **πε** in superordinating nexus-focussing function: **εmmон εωΔπε αϣоρϣ πε ρωс ραιρετικός** (Shenoute Amél. II 341) “...otherwise, they would have been considered heretic”; **ενεϣнρεν-кемλ...неϣнаконсѠ н неεicπε αϣконсѠ πε** (Amél. I 95) “Were they in other places, they would be slain — or indeed they *were* slain”.

(4) **πε** for signalling remoteness of event possibility (*irrealis* protasis, wish — backgrounding role?):

Num. 11:18 **нанес нан εανωπι ζенхми πε** (= Vat).

Num. 14:2 **αμοι εнеанмоϣ πε ζенпкаρι нхми** (Vat **неанмоϣ πε**).

Num. 22:33 **ενεμπесρικι πε н†оϣноϣ нѠк мен ναйна-ζοβεκ πε Ѡη δε ναинаτανζος πε**.

³⁹ This construction is hardly the “functional heir” of Egyptian *sdm.k3.f* (*pace* DEPUYDT *apud* LOPRIENO 1995:261 n.199; and rightly VERNUS 1990c:96f.): yet **πε** is not a sequelling, but a superordinating-hyper-rhematizing exponent, and at that rather the “heir” of Egyptian #NEXUS + *pw#*.

(5) Focalizing Conversion (Second Tense) + πε:

Ex. 16:8 **οὐταρ ναϥωοπ ζαρον αν πε** (N *super lin.*; Vat ναϥ-, no πε).

In Bohairic, outside the corpus:

ερε-ναϊαζι νεων ντοτκ πε (AM II 238).

Obs.

(1) The construction is well attested in Sahidic: **ντακει επειμα ναϥ ννατ πε** John 6:25 (not in Palau Ribes, Chester Beatty, Lycop. or Boh.); **ντατ̄ δε ζοος πε** John 11:13; **εκτων πε** NHC V 23; **ερενκοτκ πε** Shenoute Amél. I 113.

(2) In Coptic narrative (unlike pre-Coptic Egyptian), the Focalizing Conversion is never part of EM, but a typical CM form. This agrees well with the construction in point here.

(3) Although the Focalizing Conversion in Coptic (rarely if at all) functions as a “that” form, some instances recall Egyptian “*mrr.f pw*” “It means that...” and even “c’est que...” (POLOTSKY 1976 §26.4). We have as yet no attestation of πε following nexus in Demotic and LE cf. SETHE 1925:§15; LOPRIENO 1995:109ff. and the reference to Sasse on p. 263 n. 26.

(6) Lev. 8:31...**οτορ πεζεμωτςης πε ναρων** (Vat om. πε)

This example is, I believe, unique. I cannot account for πε here.

(h) Micronarrative subtextemes and their systems

Chronicling narrative: carriers αϥ- vs. ναϥ- πε (age correspondence):

Gen. 5:31 **οτορ αϥωοπι νζε-νιεζοοτ τηροτ ντελαμεχ ψ̄ν̄γ νρομπι οτορ αϥμοτ οτορ νοε ναϥχη ζενϥ̄ νρομπι πε οτορ ανωε ζϥ̄ε-ḡ νϥηρι.**

Aetiological Narrative (especially for naming or identification): Gen. 11:9, 16:14, 30:6, 32:33, 36:24: only the husk of a story, in minimal sequences of the “flat” αϥ- carrier, with νε- wholly absent.

“Recycled reminiscent condensed Narrative”: Deut. 1-3, 5:22-25, 9:8-10. Note the change of personal axis (3rd plur. to 1st sgl./2nd plur.); carriers **εταϥ-**, **αϥ-**; **νε-** rare: **νε- ραρ** without πε (9:24:25); **νε- Ø** for concomitant (“obtaining situation”, 5:23, 10:3) but also **νε- Ø** for Enhanced Evolution (9:9), in this special edited narrative sequence which is in fact almost entirely made of highlights; very rarely **νε- πε**, that is (2:15 [=Vat] is evidently a case of *und zwar*; in 5:24 **ναρετενζω μμοc πε** [=Vat], the people’s declaration is presented as cataphorically significant and even crucial). **Cataloguing, not sequencing** αϥ- αϥ- αϥ- (e.g. 3:7f., 10:3), with a different **οτορ** vs. *zero* ratio and function; also, a different dialogue / narrative ratio.

1st-person-centered "locutive" Narrative: Gen. 1:29, 27:2:6 $\chi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon\alpha\iota$:- "nynegocentric" *perfectum praesens*; Gen. 3:10 (Cleft Sentence); Gen.24:34-37 (Report merging into Locutive Narrative)⁴⁰.

Report (historical or generic-hypothetical) reveals dialogic features:

Gen. 3:12f. $\dagger\varsigma\epsilon\imath\mu\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\eta\iota\ \eta\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\varsigma\ddagger\eta\eta\iota\ \varsigma\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\omega\omega\eta\eta\ \alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu\ \dots\ \pi\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota\ \alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu$ — topicalization, focussing (Cleft Sentence).

Deut. 26:13f. $\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\omicron\ \eta\eta\eta\ \epsilon\theta\omicron\tau\alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \varsigma\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\eta\iota\ \alpha\iota\tau\eta\tau\omicron\tau\ \mu\pi\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota\tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \pi\iota\omega\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \pi\iota\omicron\rho\Phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \dagger\chi\tau\omicron\alpha\ \dots\ \mu\pi\iota\chi\omega\ \eta\varsigma\omega\iota\ \eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\pi\iota\epsilon\rho\pi\epsilon\varsigma\omega\eta\omega\ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\pi\iota\omicron\tau\omega\mu\ \varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron\tau\mu\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\gamma\eta\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\mu\omega\omicron\tau\ \mu\pi\iota\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\lambda\ \mu\mu\omega\omicron\tau\ \epsilon\pi\theta\omega\varsigma\epsilon\mu\ \mu\pi\iota\ddagger\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\mu\omega\omicron\tau\ \dots$ — strings of negative Preterite (the negative Preterite *not delimitative*, see below), recalling the Egyptian so-called "negative confession" (*Book of the Dead*, Chapter 125)

Deut. 22:16 $\tau\alpha\iota\omega\epsilon\rho\iota\ \eta\tau\eta\iota\ \alpha\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ (Greek. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$) $\mu\pi\alpha\iota\rho\omega\mu\iota\ \epsilon\tau\varsigma\epsilon\imath\mu\iota\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \dagger\eta\omicron\tau\ \eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\ \dagger\eta\omicron\tau\ \upsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\ \eta\gamma\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma\iota\ \epsilon\delta\omega\varsigma$ — topicalization; compatibility with the Present tense.

Also Gen. 39:14ff. $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\pi\varsigma\iota\eta\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon$:-; appositive $\Phi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau$ - relative construction; interlocutive pronominal compatibility; Gen. 41:10-13; 42:30f.; Ex. 32:23 $\pi\epsilon\delta\omega\tau\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \dots$

Rather surprisingly, we do not find the Focalizing Conversion in Report narratives (the FC occurs in Narrative included, as object of cognitive verbs, e.g. Gen. 43:25; or else in true CM, as in Gen. 25:10; or in poetic textemes, e.g. Deut. 33:21). See further below.

I find especially fascinating the catechetically "responsive" Set Narrative:

Deut. 26:5ff. $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\omega\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\pi\epsilon\mu\theta\omicron\ \mu\pi\theta\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\omicron\tau\ddagger\ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\dagger\varsigma\omicron\rho\iota\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\delta\pi\varsigma\ \eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau\ \alpha\upsilon\omega\eta\alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\delta\text{-}\rho\eta\iota\ \epsilon\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\omega\omega\pi\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron\tau\kappa\omicron\tau\delta\iota\ \eta\eta\pi\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\omega\omega\pi\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\omicron\theta\eta\eta\omega\ddagger\ \eta\psi\lambda\omicron\lambda\ \dots\ \alpha\tau\ddagger\epsilon\mu\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\eta\ \eta\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon\eta\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\tau\theta\epsilon\beta\iota\omicron\eta\ \alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\alpha\eta\gamma\beta\eta\omicron\tau\iota\ \epsilon\theta\eta\alpha\omega\tau\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\eta\ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\eta\omega\omega\ \epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\iota\ \epsilon\pi\theta\varsigma\ \Phi\ddagger\ \eta\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\iota\omicron\ddagger\ \alpha\upsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu\ \eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\theta\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\varsigma\mu\eta\ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\eta\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\theta\epsilon\beta\iota\omicron\ \dots\ \alpha\upsilon\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \varsigma\epsilon\eta\text{-}$

⁴⁰ The quintessential delocutivity of the written French "Preterite [*passé simple*] Narrative" was pointed out by Roland Barthes; see BANFIELD 1985a (see p. 7, n. 9 on 1st-person Narrative) and 1985b:6. The famous case (Camus, *L'étranger*) of the poetic device of having the French Perfect (*passé composé*) as the narrative carrier proves the point. Moreover, this delocutivity signifies the detaching of the narrative grammar from the Narrator's "I" (Benveniste *apud* BANFIELD 1985b:7), making the tension and alternation between the EM and Narrator/Audience-oriented CM so real and important as a poetic principle.

ΧΗΜΙ ΣΕΝΟΘΝΙΩΤ ΝΔΟΜ ΝΕΜ ΣΕΝΟΘΔΙΔ ΕCΑΜΑΔΙ ΝΕΜ
 ΣΕΝΟΘΣΦΟΙ ΕΦΔΟCΙ ΝΕΜ ΣΕΝΖΑΝΝΙΩΤ ΝΝΑΘ ΝΕΜ ΣΕΝ-
 ΖΑΝΜΗΝΙ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΩΦΗΡΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦΕΝΤΕΝ ΕΔΟΘΝ ΑΠΑΙΜΑ
 ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦΤΝΑΝ ΜΠΑΙΚΑΔΙ ΕΤΔΑΤ ΝΕΡΩΤ ΖΙΕΒΙΩ ΤΝΟΘ ΖΗΠΠΕ
 ΑΙΙΝΙ ΝΤΑΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΕΝΙΟΘΤΑΘΖ ΝΤΕΠΙΚΑΔΙ ΦΗ ΕΤΑΦΤΗΙΦ
 ΝΗΙ... — note here the focussed opening, the rhetorical effect of the
 elaborate modifications, the nynegocentric deixis (the story unfolding
 into an intimate first-person Report). In a sense, this is the story con-
 densed by ΝΑΚΟΙ ΜΒΩΚ ΠΕ (etc.), discussed above and below.

Obs.

See GILDERSLEEVE 1903:92 on Herodotus 1, 69 (the Imperfect as a *reporting* tense as against the narrative Aorist); MAYSER II/1:140f. for the Perfect tense, signalling personal emotional involvement in *complaints* and *accusations*. For Egyptian and Biblical Hebrew (where the Report Narrative tense system is entirely different), see POLOTSKY 1985; NICCACCÌ 1994:232 with n. 24.

The **generic hypothetical scenarios** in Leviticus and elsewhere are instances of **legal or preceptive narrative scenario**, case-raising (“*fall-setzend*”) that postulate complex possible event sequences akin to generic conditional protasis-apodosis complexes, even when not introduced by ΕΩΩΠ “should it happen”. The preceptual dénouement is a true superordinated apodosis, either the Absolute Future (see below, dialogue tensing) — for the instruction itself, presented as an unconditional, not-to-be-questioned ensuing event, rhematic to the entire foregoing thematic narrative stretch; or the Preterite, expressing the legal or ritual significance and definition of the foregoing plot. The Conjunctive is here the main carrier, conditionals are delimitations, the negative Conjunctive or negative Conditional and Circumstantial forms supply the restrictive stipulation:

Lev. 5:1 ΕΩΩΠ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΟΨΥΧΗ ΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΕCΣΩΤΜ
 ΕΤCΜΗ ΝΟΤΑΝΑΨ ΟΘΟΖ ΦΔΙ ΟΤΜΕΘΡΕ ΠΕ ΙΕ ΑΦΝΑΘ ΙΕ ΑΦΕΜΙ
 ΕΠΙΖΩΒ ΑΦΥΤΕΜΔΟC ΕΦΕΘΙ ΜΠΙΝΟΒΙ.

The Preterite, when it occurs in this case as a narrative background component, is interesting, but does not really conflict with the temporal genericity (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:202f.); it varies with the Conjunctive (cf. Lev. 5:4 ΟΘΟΖ ΦΔΙ ΝΤΕΦΕΜΙ), may share in coordination or disjunction with the unconverted Nominal Sentence, or with the definitely generic verbal noun (cf. Lev. 5:21 ΙΕ ΕΘΒΕΟΘΜΕΤΩΦΗΡ ΙΕ ΕΘΒΕΟΘΖΩΛΕΜ ΙΕ ΑΦΘΙ ΜΠΕΦCΦΗΡ ΝΔΟΝC).

Lev. 5:17ff. ΟΨΥΧΗ ΘΗ ΕΤΝΔΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΕCΙΡΙ ΝΟΤΙ

ΝΝΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΕΠ⁷ ΕΤΕCΨΕ ΝΑΙΤΟΥ ΑΝ ΟΥΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΕΜΙ.
ΟΥΟΥ ΝΤΕΨΩΨΑΥΤ ΟΥΟΥ ΝΤΕΨΙ ΜΠΕΨΝΟΒΙ ΟΥΟΥ ΕΨΕΙΝΙ
ΕΨΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΨΙΛΙ ... ΟΥΟΥ ΕΨΕΧΩ ΝΑΨ ΕΒΟΛ.

Lev. 17:3ff. ΦΥΩΜΙ ... ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΨΟΛΨΕΛ ΝΟΥΜΑCΙ ... ΝΕΜ
ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΨΩΤ CΑΒΟΛ ΝΨΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΟΥΟΥ ΝΤΕΨΥΤΕΜΕΝΨ
ΕΨΡΕΝΦΥΡΟ ΝΨCΚΗΝΗ ... ΟΨCΝΟΨ ΑΨΦΟΥΨ ΕΒΟΛ.

The Preterite may convey the significance of the events as explanation basis for the outcome, with γΑΡ:

Lev. 20:12 ΕΨΩΠ ΝΤΕΟΥΑΙ ΝΚΟΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΨΕΛΕΤ ΝΤΑΨ ΜΑ-
ΡΟΥΨΟΘΕΒΟΥ ΜΠ⁸ ÷ ΑΨΕΡΑCΕΒΗC ΓΑΡ ΟΥΟΥ ΕΡΨΟΥ.

The “adulterous woman” episode (Num. 5:12-31) is especially sophisticated and rich in grammatical information. Starting off with ΟΨΥΩΜΙ ΑΡΕΨΑΝΤΕΨCΨΙΜΙ ΕΡΠΑΡΑΒΕΝΙΝ ΟΥΟΥ ΝΤΕCΨΙΨΟ ΜΜΟΨ ΨΕΝΟΥΨΙΨΟ, it has the Conjunctive as “case-raising” EM carrier and the Absolute Future for the “directions”, almost recalling scenic instructions and narrative EM. But it also features the Preterite and Circumstantial Present for Narrator’s Channel behind-the-scene CM, events and states (including cognition) respectively (13 ÷ ΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΑC-
CΩΨ ÷ ΘΑΙ ΜΠΕCΕΡΒΟΚΙ, 14 ΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΕCΟΟΨ, 27 ΝΨΕΜΙ ΑΝ [Circumstantial]), the Nominal Sentence with γΑΡ for legal significance and definitions (15), dialogue with allocution (19f.) and the preset Response (22), conclusion, summing-up and resumé with an embryonic narrative (29ff.).

In the case of the ‘ineluctable prophetic scenario’, e.g. in Deut. Chapter 28; 31:20, the Narrative Carrier is the Absolute Future (ΕΨΕ-, see Dialogue Tensing below), with an interplay of ΟΥΟΥ and zero for linkage: ΕΙΕΨΙΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΨΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΚΑΨΙ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ... ΕΨΕΟΥΩΜ ΕΨΕΜΑΨΗΤΟΥ ΟΥΟΥ ΕΨΕCΙ ΟΥΟΥ ΕΨΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΕΨΑΝΝΟΥΨ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ ΕΨΨΕΜΨΙ (Vat ΕΨΕΨΕΜΨΙ) ΜΜΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΥ ΕΨΕΨ-
ΨΩΝΤ ΝΗΙ ΟΥΟΥ ΕΨΕΨΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ...

Obs.

It is of interest to note that the original Hebrew uses *ki-yiqtol* for initiating these legal narratives, and distinctively *w-qatal* both for the main carrier (contrast *wa-yiqtol* for the EM in non-generic narratives) and the dénouement-outcome-apodosis-instruction. Both Greek and Coptic make a clean and clear formal break, the former between the Conjunctives following ἔάν or ὅς ἂν and the future.

1.1.4 Atemporal / Extratemporal/ Present / Non-Verbal Nexal Forms in Narrative

These are of interest especially, on the one hand, since Bohairic Coptic does not use the narrative or the so-called Historical Present, so

typical of Greek, as of most other IE languages. On the other hand, the two narrative forms in question, namely the Aorist **ὑαϳϳωτεμ** and the Nominal Sentence, do not have a specific Greek formal correspondent at all, and so indicate, as peculiarly “Egyptian”, an internal authentic functional value in Coptic uninfluenced by the *Vorlage* (which is not to say that there isn’t in the Greek some signal that triggers the choice of one of these Coptic specialties). Yet another point of interest is the *cohesive* aspect: these clause forms are not necessarily marked as Narrative (by **νε-**) and therefore optionally, and positively, markable (by *zero*) as excluded from the overall textemic frame. Needless to say, this latter case proves again the point that past tense (let alone *past time reference*) is not a necessary constituent of Narrative.

(I) The Nominal Sentence

This pattern set (see Chapter Two) is especially intriguing, since we have here a truly “Egyptian” phenomenon — a special nexus pattern (not verbless, or verb-*zeroed*, but non-verbal: see Shisha-Halevy 1998:108ff. and 1999:156ff.), and the syntactic pattern does not exist in the Greek *Vorlage*. The NS, a much-discussed pattern set or sets, is atemporal, i.e. tense-indifferent. When it is **νε-**converted, this does not tense-mark it for the past, but serves cohesively, as a link, to “narrativize” it, to integrate it in Narrative or as a specific component of Narrative. The patterns occurring in Narrative (all delocutive) are, according to my typology of 1987: the delocutive Theme, unexpanded, expanded, or (a typical Bohairic choice) topicalized; the Endophoric-Theme pattern; the Copular Naming Pattern (see Chapter Two).

(1) The NS unconverted by **νε-**: included; metanarrative; extra-Narrative (chronicling); naming.

(a) The Delocutive pattern, included (“subordinated”), by converter or conjunction (“that”):

Gen. 25:3 **αϳμωτ εοϳδελλο πε εϳδεηκ εβολ.**

Gen. 25:21 **ναϳτωβϳ μπϳτ πε εϳβε-ρεβεκκα δε-οϳαϳ-ρην τε — δε-** introducing reason for action, in Comment Mode.

Gen. 38:16 **μπεϳεμι γαρ δε-τεϳϳελεετ τε — δε-** conditioned by the verb.

(b) Expanded Delocutive (demonstrative Rheme) — metanarrative, extra-Narrative, chronicling:

Deut. 33:1 **ϳαι πε πϳμωτ εταϳμωτ μμοϳ νδε-μωϳχη.**

Gen. 36 *passim* **ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΙΖΦΟ ΝΤΕ-ΗCΑΤ ... ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΑΔΑ ΤCΞΙΜΙ ΝΗCΑΤ ... ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΝΤΕΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΗCΑΤ.**

(c) The Copular Pattern — naming:

Gen. 2:11-14 **ΦΡΑΝ ΝΟΨΑΙ ΜΜΩΟΨ ΠΕ ΦΗCΩΝ ΦΨΑΙ ΠΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΚΩΨ ΕΠΙΚΑΞΙ ΤΗΡΨ ΝΕΨΛΙΑΤ ... ΟΨΟΞ ΠΙΑΡΟ ΜΜΑΞ-Γ ΠΕ ΠΙΤΙΓΡΗC ... ΠΙΑΡΟ ΜΜΑΞ-Δ ΠΕ ΦΨΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΕΨΦΡΑΤΗC.**

(2) The NS **ΝΕ-** converted:

(a) The Topicalized Delocutive NS — Evolution Mode: cataphoric-descriptive slowdown; characterization of a Narrative participant (as a rule, a singular individual) as preparatory for follow-up. Thus, in terms of texture and juncture, it is a delimitation. The Topic, always highly specific and typically a Proper Name, effects Theme-switching or Theme (re-)introduction. The Rheme is always indefinite:

Gen. 1:2 **ΠΚΑΞΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΟΨΑΤΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΨ ΠΕ ΟΨΟΞ ΝΑΤCΟΒΨ.**

Gen. 3:1 **ΠΙΞΟΨ ΔΕ ΝΕΟΨCΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΨΤΕ ΝΙΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΨ.**

Gen. 6:9 **ΝΩΕ ΔΕ ΝΕΟΨΡΩΜΙ ΝΘΜΗ ΠΕ.**

Gen. 25:27 **ΟΨΟΞ ΗCΑΤ ΝΕΟΨΡΩΜΙ ΠΕ ΕΨCΩΟΨΝ ΝΤΜΕΤ-ΞΕΡΗΞ ΝΡΕΜΝΚΟΙ.**

Ex. 32:16 **ΝΙΠΛΑΞ ΝΕΟΨΞΩΒ ΝΤΕΨΨ ΠΕ.**

(b) Comment Mode: anaphoric background situation

Gen. 11:30 **...ΟΨΟΞ CΑΡΡΑ ΝΕΟΨΑΤCΡΗΝ ΤΕ ΟΨΟΞ ΝΑCΞΨΕ-ΨΗΡΙ ΔΝ ΠΕ.**

(c) Comment Mode: Narrator's Channel: extra-narrative glossing.

Ex. 16:36 **ΠΙΟΨΜΟΡ ΔΕ ΝΕΟΨΡΕΜΗΤ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ-ΠΙΓ ΝΨΙ.**

Contrast, in a dialogic locutive report, no **ΝΕ-** conversion:

Gen. 46:32 **ΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΔΕ ΞΑΝΜΑΝΕCΩΟΨ ΝΕ ΞΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΡΕΨΨΑΝΕΨ-ΤΕΒΝΗ ΝΕ.**

(d) **ΝΕ-**converted unexpanded Delocutive (rare) — anaphoric Comment Mode characterization:

Gen. 14:18 **ΟΨΟΞ ΜΕΛΧΙCΕΔΕΚ ΠΟΨΡΟ ΝCΑΛΙΜ ΑΨΕΝΞΑΝΩΙΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕΜ ΞΑΝΗΡΠ ΝΕΨΟΨΗΒ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΜΨΨ ΕΤCΟCΙ.**

(e) **ΝΕ-**converted expanded Delocutive (rare) — explicative background Comment Mode:

Gen. 43:32 **ΝΕΟΨCΩΨ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΝΡΕΜΕΝΧΗΜΙ ÷ ΠΕ ΜΑ ΝΕ-CΩΟΨ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΕΝΙΕCΩΟΨ.**

Note here the “foreshadowed” πε, common in Nitrian Bohairic (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:167f.; see Chapter Four).

(f) νε-converted Endophoric Pattern: Evolution Mode dramatic development — Narrative Peak. Obtaining Situation in Evolution Mode development:

Gen. 29:25 αςωπι δε ετατοοσι ωπι ρηππε νελια τε.

Gen. 15:17 επιδη δε νεφνατ νρωτπ μφρη πε ÷ οτωαζ αςωπι — the Greek has here ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίνετο ὁ ἥλιος πρὸς δυσμαῖς; Coptic seems to read the confirmative ἐπεὶ with δὴ “already”, and not a subordinated clause.

Gen. 40:20 αςωπι δε ρενπιεροοτ μμαρ-ῖ νε ÷ περοοτ μμιςι μφαραω πε. This *locus* is somewhat problematic: the separator in νε ÷ περοοτ is unique (Vat has here no separator until after πε), and raises doubt as to the converter status of νε- (the Hebrew has no verb or pronominal Theme).

(g) νε- converted zeroed-Theme Delocutive (rare): unexpected development in Evolution Mode:

Gen. 25:24 οτορ ατμορ εβολ νδε-νεσεροογ ερεσμιςι οτορ νεζαναθερτ ρνατ ρεντεσ νεζι.

(h) The Relative-Topic Cleft Sentence, based in Bohairic, not on the Endophoric NS subpattern but on the Immutable pragmatic-Theme (πε) one, is very rare in narrative. It gives CM information:

Gen. 2:6 οτμοτμι δε εωασι επωπι εβολ ρενεδεμ οτορ ωατσο μπρο μπκαρ τηρϣ.

Gen. 2:10 οτιαρο δε εωασι εβολ ρενεδεμ.

Obs.

See BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER 1999. I believe it is not the Theme π(ε) alone that signals CM information (62, 66f.), but the pattern as a whole: πε is rather a referent to a pragmatic situation.

(II) The Aorist ωαϣωτεμ in Narrative:

This is an especially interesting form for our examination from several points of view, both contrastively — Greek has no special correspondent for it — and internally, both synchronically and diachronically ωαϣ- (especially discussed below, among other Dialogue/Exposition tenses and as a tense opposed to the Present tense) is not merely (like the Narrative Present in such languages as feature it) a *generic* tense: it has *inter alia* a sequelling or ensuing-resultative semantic component which, however, is not used in the corpus for narrative-event linkage; it is typi-

cally *apodotic* to the extratemporal Conditional $\alpha\varphi\omega\alpha\text{-}$, and *superordinated*. Its affirmative and negative constituent “correspondents” have proceeded diachronically apart, just as they integrate differently in the synchronic system: they are asymmetrical, perhaps more than any tense subsystem. $\omega\alpha\varphi\text{-}$ differs from the Generic (or Non-actual) Present in ways that will be precised below. One is its very occurrence as a “habitual” narrative tense. It is extratemporal in narrative as well. It is not turned into a past tense by ne- , but rather given narrative compatibility and cohesion. Note that $\omega\alpha\varphi\text{-}$ almost never occurs delimitatively, in Theme-switching ($\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}$), but always in personal linkage ($\omega\alpha\varphi\text{-}$).

Obs.

Sahidic narrative $\text{ne-}\omega\alpha\varphi\text{-}$, perhaps typically, corresponds often to unconverted $\omega\alpha\varphi\text{-}$ in Bohairic; Ex. 33:8, Num. 9:17:18 — although Sahidic too occasionally documents the unmarked narrative Aorist⁴¹. See De Vis II 133 for the rare narrative $\text{m}\pi\alpha\varphi\text{-}$.

(1) Unconverted $\omega\alpha\varphi\omega\text{TEM}$

(a) Comment Mode: Omniscient Narrator’s Channel, explicative extra-narrative information:

Gen. 50:4 $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\tau\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\pi\text{nie}\rho\omega\omega\ \text{nt}\epsilon\text{nik}\omega\varsigma$.

(b) Non-specific action in Evolution Mode Narrative: features of regularity, procedure and protocol. Typically, sequencing *in apodosi* to narrative eventual-temporal protases ($\alpha\varphi\omega\alpha\text{-}$, $\text{men}\epsilon\text{nc}\alpha\text{-}$, $\text{N niben}\ \epsilon\text{-}$, $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi$), i.e. superordinative. Affirmative and negative.

Ex. 18:26 $\alpha\varphi\chi\alpha\theta\ \epsilon\varrho\rho\eta\text{i}\ \epsilon\delta\omega\omega\ \dots\ \omega\theta\omega\zeta\ \text{n}\alpha\theta\text{'}\rho\alpha\pi\ \epsilon\pi\text{i}\lambda\alpha\omega\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\ \text{n}\omega\theta\text{n}\omega\theta\ \text{niben} \div \pi\text{i}\varsigma\alpha\delta\text{i}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\varphi\ \omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\text{n}\varphi\ \epsilon\pi\omega\omega\text{i}\ \epsilon\lambda\text{-}\text{m}\omega\theta\varsigma\text{hc} \div \varsigma\alpha\delta\text{i}\ \text{niben}\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\text{i}\omega\omega\theta\ \omega\alpha\theta\text{'}\rho\alpha\pi\ \epsilon\rho\omega\omega\theta\ \text{n}\theta\omega\omega\theta$.

Ex. 33:7 $\omega\theta\omega\zeta\ \alpha\varsigma\omega\omega\pi\text{i}\ \omega\theta\omega\text{n}\ \text{niben}\ \epsilon\text{t}\kappa\omega\text{'}\ \text{n}\varsigma\alpha\pi\theta\varsigma\ \omega\alpha\varphi\text{-}\omega\epsilon\text{n}\alpha\varphi\ \epsilon\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\text{t}\varsigma\kappa\eta\eta\eta$.

Num. 9:17 $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\ \alpha\rho\epsilon\omega\alpha\text{n}\text{'}\theta\eta\pi\text{i}\ \omega\epsilon\text{n}\alpha\varsigma\ \dots\ \text{men}\epsilon\text{nc}\alpha\text{n}\alpha\text{i}\ \omega\alpha\theta\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{b}\dots$ (Greek Aorist).

Num. 9:23 $\epsilon\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\text{t}\epsilon\text{n}\pi\text{i}\omega\alpha\zeta\varsigma\alpha\zeta\eta\text{n}\text{i}\ \text{nt}\epsilon\pi\theta\varsigma\ \omega\alpha\theta\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{b}\ \text{n}\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\epsilon\zeta\ \epsilon\text{n}\text{i}\omega\theta\epsilon\rho\omega\text{i}\ \text{nt}\epsilon\pi\theta\varsigma\ (\approx \text{Greek Aorist})$.

Ex. 33:11 $\omega\theta\omega\zeta\ \alpha\pi\theta\varsigma\ \varsigma\alpha\delta\text{i}\ \omega\theta\text{v}\epsilon\text{m}\omega\theta\varsigma\text{hc}\ \text{n}\epsilon\omega\ \omega\theta\text{v}\epsilon\omega\ \dots\ \omega\theta\omega\zeta\ \omega\alpha\varphi\chi\alpha\varphi\ \epsilon\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\delta\omega\omega\text{n}\ \epsilon\text{t}\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{m}\omega\lambda\eta$.

Ex. 40:37 $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\ \delta\epsilon\ \text{m}\pi\alpha\text{t}\epsilon\varsigma\omega\epsilon\text{n}\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\omega\omega\text{i}\ \text{n}\delta\epsilon\text{-t}\theta\eta\pi\text{i}\ \text{m}\pi\alpha\theta\omega\text{m}\omega\text{i}\ \omega\alpha\pi\text{i}\epsilon\omega\omega\theta\ \epsilon\omega\alpha\varsigma\omega\epsilon\text{n}\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\omega\omega\text{i}\ \text{n}\delta\epsilon\text{-t}\theta\eta\pi\text{i}$.

⁴¹ The conversion system of the Aorist is not straightforward, testifying to the intricate synchronic and diachronic profiles of this very special form. Cf. QUECKE 1979:441, SHISHA-HALEVY 2003a.

Gen. 30:42 **ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΑΨΩΑΝΜΙCΙ ΝΞΕ-ΝΙΕCΩΘ ΜΠΑQΧΑΘ ΜΜΑΘ**.

Also Ex. 33:8f., Ex. 34:34, Ex. 40:36f.

Obs.

Bodmer III John, B4, ever remarkable in its narrative syntax, supplies rare instances of *concatenated* **ΨΑQ-** generic EM — note the Conjunctive as a gnomic subnarrative carrier, absent in non-paradigmatic Narrative: John 10:12 **ΨΑQΧΩ ΝΝΙΕCΩΘ ΨΑQ-ΦΩΤ ΨΑΡΕ-ΠΙΟΨΩΝΨ ΖΟΛΜΟΨ ΝΤΕQΔΟΡΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ** (Also 15:6). For **ΨΑQ-** in gnomic-paradigmatic narrative in Nitrian Bohairic, cf. De Vis I 67. Cf. also Shenoutean **ΨΑΙΝΑΥ**, Leip. IV 198.

(c) Non-specific eventual sequelling — Evolution Mode:

Num. 11:4-10 **ΟΘΟΖ ΑΨΖΕΜCΙ ΑΨΡΙΜΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΠΕΞΕΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΜΠΙCΛ ΞΕΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΨΑQ ΝΑΝ ΕΟΨΩΜ ... ΝΕΝΒΑΛ CΕΝΑΨ ΕΖΛΙ ΑΝ ΕΒΗΛ ΕΠΙΜΑΝΝΑ ΠΙΜΑΝΝΑ ΔΕ ΜΦΡΗΨ ΝΟΨΒΕΡΨΗΟΨ ΠΕ ΟΘΟΖ ΠΕQCΜΟΤ ΝCΜΟΤ ΝΟΨΧΡΙCΤΑΛΛΟC ΟΘΟΖ ΨΑQΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΛΑΟC ΕCΩΚΙ ΜΜΟQ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΕΨΩΠ ΑΡΕΨΑΝΨΙΟΨ Ι ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΞΕΝΨΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΜΠΙΕΞΩΡΖ ΨΑQΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΜΑΝΝΑ ΖΙΩΤC ΟΘΟΖ ΨΑQCΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΩΘ ΨΡΙΜΙ ΝΞΕ-ΜΩΨCΗC ΚΑΤΑΝΟΨΔΗΜΟC ΠΙΟΨΑΙ ΠΙΟΨΑΙ ΖΙΡΕΝΠΕQΡΟ ΟΘΟΖ ΑQΞΩΝΤ ΞΕΝΟΨΜΒΟΝ ΝΞΕ-ΠΞC ΕΜΑΨΩ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΟΨ-ΠΕΤΖΩΘ ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΜΩΨCΗC (= Greek Aorist).**

Note that the Aorist resumes here the Preterite narration after a long interposition of the Israelites' complaint, the description of the manna and the manner of collecting it: events are reported by the Aorist tense.

(d) Pre-narrative cosmological scenery (creation geographics) (Omniscient Narrator's Channel?):

Gen. 2:6 **ΟΨΜΟΨΜΙ ΔΕ ΕΨΑCΙ ΕΨΨΩΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΕΔΕΜ ΟΘΟΖ ΨΑCΤCΟ ΜΠΖΟ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡQ.**

Gen. 2:10 **ΟΨΑΡΟ ΔΕ ΕΨΑQΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΕΔΕΜ.**

Note here the Cleft Sentence, as a rule excluded from Evolution Mode. In both instances the Greek has the Imperfect.

(e) Scenario: **ΨΑQCΩΤΕΜ** for marked resultative sequel — Evolution Mode.

Inevitability in ensuing is an essential semantic component of **ΨΑQ-**, and one of its more striking affinities with the Absolute Future **ΕQΕ-** (see below). *Natural processes* are typical:

Ex. 17:11 **ΟΘΟΖ ΑCΨΩΠΙ ΑΡΕΨΑΝΜΩΨCΗC QΑΙ ΝΝΕQΞΙΞ ΨΑQΞΕΜΝΟΜΨ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙCΛ ÷ ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΑQΨΑΝΧΩ ΝΝΕQΞΙΞ ΕΞΡΙΗ ΨΑQΞΕΜΝΟΜΨ ΝΞΕ-ΑΜΑΛΗΚ** (in Greek, the Imperfect).

Num. 21:8f. God's instructions to Moses: **οτορ εσεωπι αρε-
ψανπιρορ βιλαισι εοτρωμι οτορ εφεδοτωτ επιρορ
νηομτ οτορ εφεωνδ**. The narrative realization of the same pro-
gram: **αεωπι ροταν αρεψαν-οττορ βιλαισι νκαοτρωμι
οτορ ντεφδοτωτ επιρορ νηομτ ψαφωνδ** (~ Greek Imper-
fect).

Ex. 16:21 **αφψαννηομ νδε-φρη ψαφβαλ εβολ** (i.e. the
manna).

Gen. 39:3 **ναφεμι δε νδε-πεφδ̄ε δε-πδ̄ε χη νεμαρ οτορ
ρwb niben εψαφαιτοτ ψαρε-πδ̄ε σοτηενπιμωιτ δ̄εν-
νεφδ̄ιδ̄**.

Ex. 1:19 **πεδε-νιρεφομεσιο δε μφαραω ÷ δε-μφρη† αν
νηιζιομι ντεχημι ÷ νε νιζιομι ντενιζεβερος ÷ ψαωμισι
γαρ ικδ̄ενμπατοσι εδοϋν ραρωτ νδε-νιρεφομεσιο ÷
οτορ ναωμισι πε** (= Vat). Properly a narrative scenario-in-allocation
(Dialogue) form, **ψαωμισι** here expresses regular ("natural") inevita-
ble procedure, and the same verb recurs, coordinated and marked by
νε- πε, Greek *καὶ ἔτικτον* (not so in Hebrew, where "and they give
birth" (*w-qatal*) expresses a regular generic superordinated sequel); this
can only be the Narrator's own comment on what happened in Egypt,
"and in fact they did give birth".

(2) The Aorist **νε**-converted: **νεψαφωτεμ (πε)** (rare).

(a) Comment Mode: natural content (second object actant) of seeing
(cf. **νε- πε** above), or background information:

Gen. 13:10 **οτορ αφαι ννεφβαλ επψωι αφναϋ ενιπεριχω-
ρος τηρς ντεπιωραανης δε-νεψατσω πε** (= Vat) (Greek *ἦν
ποτιζομένη*).

Gen. 29:3 **εβολ γαρ δ̄εν†ψω† ετεμμαϋ νεψαωτστο
νηορι ÷ νεοτον-οϋνιω† δε νωνι τοι οτορ νεψαϋ-
ωωω† τηρω εμαϋ νδε-νιμανεσωω ντοτσκορκερ
μπιωνι εβολ ριρωσ ν†ψω† οτορ ψαωτσο ννιεσωω
οτορ ψαωτασθο μπιωνι ερορ** (Vat *ερος*) **ν†ψω† επεφμα
(Vat ψαϋ- νεοτον- νεψαϋ-)** (Greek Imperfect).

Obs.

(1) See McKAY 1988, 1992 for insightful studies of "timeless" verb forms (Present, Aorist, Imperfect) and contexts in Ancient and New-Testament Greek Past Narrative, as opposed to the past-reference Aorist and Imperfect. See especially 1992:212ff. and

220ff., the last for the distinction of gnomic “paradigmatic” atemporality (e.g. in similes, parables) and Past-Narrative timelessness; the Imperfect is used for a “more emphatic and deeper level of generality”, and rarely, included or backgrounding-explicative (1988:197); also the resolution of “mythological Narrative” as an important narrative subtexteme (1988:202ff.); for our $\text{ne}\omega\alpha\text{q-}$ cf. 1988:205ff. See also PORTER 1989:217ff., 233ff. for the opposition “timeless” vs. “omnitemporal”.

(2) See PERL 1989, SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:92ff. for atemporal naming in Narrative (Coptic $\omega\alpha\text{w-}/\text{ne}\omega\alpha\text{w}\text{m}\text{o}\text{w}\text{t}$ etc., our $\text{ce}\text{t}\text{p}\text{an-}$, $\text{cem}\text{o}\text{w}\text{t}$ Deut. 2:11:20, 3:9); ERIKSSON 1943:56ff. for the Greek Present used in genealogical history.

(3) See DEPUYDT 1994:64 for the diachronic perspective on what the author calls “aoristus in praeterito”, with examples for $\text{wn-n}^3\text{w-}$ + Aorist in Demotic, attested from Ryl. IX on. Incidentally, the fact that $\omega\alpha\text{q-}$ is typically apodotic to $\alpha\text{q}\omega\alpha\text{n-}$ does not receive any synchronic systemic attention, see DEPUYDT 1994:83f.

(III) The Present Tense in Narrative

As pointed out above, Bohairic Coptic — and indeed Coptic in general, possibly against pre-Coptic Egyptian — does not share in the “Historical” or “Narrative” Present isogloss (used in other languages either/and as an “antinarrative” device, for chronicling or cataloguing or for vivid, dramatic, focussed or highlighted narration, that is for episodal enhancing expressed in Coptic by ne- without pe-). This absence is structurally important; I take it as yet another symptom of the independence of the Coptic translation of *Vorlage* constraints, for the Narrative Present belongs to the Septuagint Greek tense-system, although to a restricted degree. Nonetheless, the present does occur in our narrative corpus, with a significant restriction of scope.

(a) $\Delta\epsilon$ -included or converted Present/Adjective Verbs, following $\text{n}\alpha\text{w}$ “see” (see further below). Since Coptic does not feature the preterital overrule stylistically and normatively known as *consecutio temporum*, the present is normal in included status:

Gen. 1:4 $\text{o}\text{w}\text{o}\text{z} \alpha\text{q}\text{n}\alpha\text{w} \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\Phi\text{t} \text{e}\text{p}\text{o}\text{w}\text{i}\text{n}\text{i} \Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\text{n}\epsilon\text{q}$

Gen. 28:8 $\text{o}\text{w}\text{o}\text{z} \alpha\text{q}\text{n}\alpha\text{w} \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{h}\text{c}\alpha\text{w} \Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{c}\epsilon\text{z}\text{w}\text{o}\text{w} \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\text{i}\omega\epsilon\text{-}\text{p}\text{i} \text{n}\text{te-n}\text{i}\chi\alpha\text{n}\alpha\text{n}\epsilon\text{o}\text{c}.$

Gen. 29:3 $\text{e}\text{t}\alpha\text{q}\text{n}\alpha\text{w} \Delta\epsilon \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{p}\text{e}\text{c} \Phi\text{t} \Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{c}\epsilon\text{m}\text{o}\text{c}\text{te} \text{n}\lambda\text{i}\alpha\text{...}$

Also Gen. 42:1, Num. 24:1.

Obs.

Note that, following $\text{n}\alpha\text{w}$ “see”, we encounter an actantial-content opposition paradigm of $\text{n}\alpha\text{q-}$ pe- vs. the present: in the latter case, $\text{n}\alpha\text{w}$ is cognitive-perceptual (“perceive”) rather than visual, and evidently has a different valency: $\Delta\epsilon\text{-}$ + verb-form is second actant.

(b) Converted: Relative

Gen. 15:11 **αἰ** **δε** **ἐπ** **σε** **ν** **τ** **ν** **δε**-**ν** **ι** **ζ** **α** **λ** **α** **†** **ε** **ξ** **ε** **ν** **ν** **ι** **σ** **ω** **μ** **α** **ε** **τ** **φ** **η** **ψ**.

(c) Converted: adverbial, adclausal, adnexal, adnominal Circumstantial:

Gen. 21:22 **πε** **δε**-**α** **β** **ι** **μ** **ε** **λ** **ε** **χ** ... **ε** **φ** **ω** **μ** **μ** **ο** **ς** **δε**...

Gen. 34:25 **α** **ς** **ω** **ψ** **π** **ι** **δε** **ν** **ρ** **η** **ι** **δε** **ν** **π** **ι** **ε** **ρ** **ο** **ο** **τ** **μ** **μ** **α** **ξ**-**ῖ** **ε** **τ** **χ** **η** **δε** **ν** **ο** **τ** **μ** **κ** **α** **ξ**...

Gen. 27:34 **α** **φ** **ω** **ψ** **ε** **β** **ο** **λ** **δε** **ν** **ο** **τ** **ν** **ι** **ψ** **†** **ν** **ς** **μ** **η** **ε** **ς** **ε** **ν** **ψ** **α** **ψ** **ι** **ε** **μ** **α** **ψ** **ω**.

Gen. 26:8 **α** **φ** **η** **α** **τ** **ε** **ι** **ς** **α** **α** **κ** **ε** **φ** **ω** **β** **ι**...

(d) The unincluded Present is rarer:

(1) Comment Mode (“Omniscient Narrator’s Channel”): general information; ethno/geographics:

Gen. 2:12 **π** **ι** **ν** **ο** **τ** **β** **δε** **ν** **τ** **ε** **π** **ι** **κ** **α** **ρ** **ι** **ε** **τ** **ε** **μ** **μ** **α** **τ** **ν** **α** **ν** **ε** **φ**.

Deut. 2:11 **ς** **ε** **†**-**ρ** **α** **ν** **ε** **ρ** **ω** **ο** **τ** **δε**-**ν** **ι** **ο** **μ** **μ** **ι** **ν**.

Cf. also Deut. 2:20 (**ς** **ε** **μ** **ο** **τ** **†** **ε** **ρ** **ω** **ο** **τ**).

Num. 13:21 **ο** **τ** **ο** **ξ** **π** **ι** **χ** **ε** **τ** **τ** **ε** **ο** **ς** **ν** **ε** **μ** **π** **ι** **ε** **β** **ο** **τ** **ς** **ε** **ο** **ς** **ν** **ε** **μ** **π** **ι** **α** **μ** **ο** **ρ** **ρ** **ε** **ο** **ς** **ς** **ε** **ψ** **ο** **π** **δε** **ν** **π** **ι** **α** **ν** **τ** **ω** **ο** **τ**.

(2) Comment Mode: Descriptive/backgrounding (+ **πε**)

A single instance: Gen. 26:7 **δε**-**ο** **τ** **η** **γ** **α** **ρ** **ε** **ν** **ε** **ς** **ω** **ς** **πε** **δε** **ν** **ε** **ς** **ρ** **ο** (= Vat, Greek +³ν).

Obs.

μ **π** **α** **τ** **ε** **φ**- in narrative is always Circumstantial (*zero*-converted: see below, Chapter Four), as a rule following the Preterite:

Gen. 41:50 **ι** **ω** **ς** **η** **†** **δε** **α** **ψ** **η** **ρ** **ι** **β** **ω** **ψ** **ι** **ν** **α** **φ** **μ** **π** **α** **τ** **ο** **τ** **ι** **ν** **δε**-**†** **ξ** **ν** **ρ** **ο** **μ** **π** **ι** **ν** **ε** **κ** **ο**

Num. 13:22 **ο** **τ** **ο** **ξ** **α** **φ** **κ** **ε** **τ** **χ** **ε** **β** **ρ** **ω** **ν** **η** **ν**-**ξ** **ν** **ρ** **ο** **μ** **π** **ι** **μ** **π** **α** **τ** **ο** **τ** **κ** **ε** **τ**-**δ** **α** **ν** **ι**...

Also Gen. 19:3, 24:45, 44:4, Ex. 12:34, Deut. 33:1.

Possible main-clause cases constitute a shift to CM:

Gen. 36: 31 **ν** **α** **ι** **ν** **ε** **ν** **ι** **ο** **τ** **ρ** **ω** **τ** **ε** **τ** **α** **ϕ** **ε** **ρ** **ο** **τ** **ρ** **ο** **δε** **ν** **ε** **δ** **ω** **μ** ÷ **μ** **π** **α** **τ** **ε** **ο** **τ** **ρ** **ο** **ψ** **ω** **π** **ι** **δε** **ν** **π** **ι** **ς** **α**

CM, explicatively backgrounding, are also the rare instances of **ν** **ε** **μ** **π** **α** **τ** **ε** **φ** **†**, with **γ** **α** **ρ**:

Gen. 2:5 **ν** **ε** **μ** **π** **α** **τ** **ε** **φ** **†** **γ** **α** **ρ** **ξ** **ω** **ο** **τ** **ξ** **ι** **δε** **ν** **π** **ι** **κ** **α** **ρ** **ι** **ο** **τ** **ο** **ξ** **ν** **ε** **μ** **μ** **ο** **ν**-**ρ** **ω** **μ** **ι** **πε**

(also in the NT: John 3:24, 11:30).

1.1.5 Narrative Texturing: Juncture. “Ordination” Hierarchy. Information Blocking and Packaging.

Discussing the transition configuration of tenses, above, we were concerned with the syntagmatics of Narrative. Yet this is only one aspect of the manifold phenomenology of narrative juncture. Gradient linkage and

delimitation make for a complicated textural patterning and of course development *rate* (pacing) and development *manner* (cf. the functions expressed for cinematic Narrative by numerous delimitation-procedure signifiers, such as are called: *cut (to)* and *cut-away*, *fade (to)*, *intercutting*, *break in action*, *dissolve*, *continuity jump* or *cut* as against *sequence*). Three tightly intermeshed issues are involved, the first two comprising *signifier*, the third *signified* features. First, the sophisticated interplay of variously graded links and their negative counterparts, delimiters, is signifier of a textual contour or patterning of **juncture**. Juncture signals and environments are examined under (a) below. Juncture patterning as eminently, perhaps primarily applied to **information structure**: first, **blocking** or **chunking** (which is a special case of narrative staging and information packaging); then, the high-level thematicity/topicality or rhematicity/focality signalling for narrative events, (b) below. Among juncture exponents, the hierarchical marking of events plays a striking role; this is discussed under (c).

Obs.

(1) Absolute narrative-initial delimiters, such as those described for European Narratives (e.g. German by HARWEG 1968; French, BOSSONG 1984, GÜLICH, 1990; Irish, see VAN HAMEL 1940:221+ n.1; MACCANA 1996) occur in pre-Coptic Egyptian, in Old Coptic (SATZINGER 1994 217[a])⁴², and in Coptic NT parables, but not in our corpus. For general discussions, see GÜLICH, HEGGER and RAIBLE 1974; WIENOLD 1983.

(2) Narrative juncture is of course just one set of juncture signals among numerous others: see below, Chapter Four, for a systematic scanning of juncture features in the corpus studied. On punctuation in Coptic texts, the earlier grammarians were curiously agreed that it hinders rather than guides analysis; so too Lagarde (*Pentateuch Koptisch*, Introduction., ix: "Nicht des Redens darüber wert") and Stern (1880 §9 [punctuation] "meist ganz sinnlos gesetzt"...). See in some detail below, Chapter Four.

(a) Juncture Signalling: Narrative Cohesion and Delimitation. Juncture Environments

(1) **Zero vs. non-zero linked concatenation.** The formal opposition evident in contrasting combined events such as Num.26:10 $\alpha\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\omega\nu\ \eta\rho\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\phi\omicron\mu\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ with Num. 11:31 $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\pi\pi\eta\lambda\ \iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\phi\epsilon\rho\delta\iota\nu\iota\omicron\rho$ is familiar from many texts in various dialects. It has been variously identified as carrying a junctural function, with *zero* a **link**⁴³, signifying, through inner cohesion, a certain grade of event blocking; this is the marked term of the opposition (the narrative asyndesis is very "Egyptian", yet with a specific Coptic inversion of

⁴² $\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\kappa\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\kappa\epsilon$ in 101 is not a Cleft Sentence, but probably a Focalizing Conversion ("a different textual situation"), *pace* Satzinger *op. cit.* 218(s).

⁴³ See Chapter Four for the junctural terms and concepts.

marking, for in pre-Coptic Egyptian, it was overt coordination between clauses that was marked; not so noun coordination). Non-*zero* coordination is a **delimitation**, signifying an inner weakness of cohesion (the unmarked term). Note that *zero* coordination does not correspond to prosodic close juncture between the coordinated terms.

Obs.

(1) It is important to point out that this is no "colloquial-register parataxis" phenomenon (SORNICOLA 1985:15, with ref. to Hofmann's *Lateinische Umgangssprache*), but in certain cases (cf. Gen. 27:14:22 (vs.21):25ff., Deut. 9:17, 32:6, recalls the pacing effect of what HAVERS 1931 called the "Enumerative Redeweise" and described as the "veni-vidi-vici-Stil" (treated earlier in *IF* 45 (1927) 229-251). Cf. the cataloguing-enumerative listing in Ex. 39:15ff., Deut. 28 (prophetic scenario), 32:15ff., and perhaps even Deut. 9:17 $\lambda\iota\beta\omicron\rho\beta\epsilon\rho\ \mu\eta\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \bar{\epsilon}\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\eta\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\iota\delta\epsilon\mu\delta\omega\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\theta\omicron\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ and Num. 12:11 $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\iota\ \lambda\eta\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\ \lambda\eta\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\beta\iota$.

(2) Sahidic, and rarely Nitrian Bohairic (cf. AM II 158 $\lambda\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\ \omicron\theta\omicron\rho\ \lambda\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\kappa\iota\ \epsilon\lambda\alpha\delta\omega\eta\tau\ \mu\theta\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\theta\omicron\rho\ \lambda\alpha\tau\alpha\theta\omicron\omicron\lambda\dots$) use also the Circumstantial $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\text{-}$ as a (sub-coordinated) concatenating narrative link-form. This use of the Circumstantial Preterite may go as far back as the narrative use of the Circumstantial *sdm.n.f* in Middle Egyptian.

(3) $\mu\epsilon\mu$ does not coordinate narrative event forms, although it does coordinate clauses: Gen. 2:5, Deut. 29:6. See below, Chapter Four.

(4) For the linking force of *zero* coordination, cf. the micro-coordination and subcoordination by means of the Conjunctive (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Seven). For the analogousness of the *zero* coordinated Preterite to the post-imperative Bohairic $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\alpha\text{-}$, see POLOTSKY 1987b:161, and further below (Dialogue).

(5) Consider *zero* coordination also in the special *résumé* reminiscent-narrative texteme (Deut. 1:40ff.).

(7) The Historical Present is frequently asyndetic in the Greek New Testament: BLASS-DEBRUNNER-REHKOPF 1984 §462(1). On the asyndetic Aorist in Mark, see REISER 1984:99ff. 138ff.

(8) Evolution Mode events — concatenated — are strikingly more tightly linked than Comment Mode ones, which are non-concatenating. Cf. BAAYEN 1997:260ff.

(9) As pointed out above, "past-tense concord" in narrative is not really cohesive, as a deictic temporal category; it is however anaphorically cohesive in the very recurrence of $\lambda\alpha\text{-}$ in concatenating sequences⁴².

(2) **Tense and Mode Shifting.** The high delimitative value of $\mu\alpha\alpha\text{-}$ and Mode-switching and the relatively low delimitation within Evolution Mode to Enhanced Evolution ($\lambda\alpha\text{-}$ to $\mu\alpha\alpha\text{-}$) have been treated above. (Note that, its delimitative force notwithstanding, $\mu\alpha\alpha\text{-}$ still includes some fuzzy anaphoric reference, i.e. linkage, to preceding context).

(3) **$\mu\pi\epsilon\alpha\text{-}$: the negative Evolution Mode delimitation.** In Comment Mode ($\mu\alpha\alpha\text{-}$ $\lambda\eta\ \mu\epsilon$), negation does not delimit *per se*, while it is

⁴⁴ KLEIBER 1993 objects to the application to tense-categories of the much-discussed distinction of deictic and anaphoric.

a co-delimiter. In Evolution Mode, however, in the dynamic main-line, a Preterite chain sequence is typically “broken”, delimited by a negative Preterite. This (often with other delimiters, such as topicalization and/or particles) constitutes a very common device for pacing and rhythm-setting. Narrative concatenation, it may be said, is essentially unnegatable, and is broken by negation, which signals the final boundary of an event sub-chain:

Gen. 15:10f. $\alpha\chi\alpha\iota \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\alpha\chi \ \nu\eta\alpha\iota \ \tau\eta\rho\omega\tau \ \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \alpha\chi\phi\alpha\omega\omega\tau \div \alpha\chi\alpha\omega \ \mu\pi\epsilon\mu\theta\omicron \ \nu\eta\omicron\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\omega\tau \div \nu\iota\zeta\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau \ \delta\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\phi\alpha\omega\omega\tau.$

Ex. 16:24 $\omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \alpha\omega\varsigma\omega\Delta\pi \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \mu\mu\omicron\varrho \ \nu\zeta\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\iota \ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{--}\phi\rho\eta\tau \ \epsilon\tau\alpha\varrho\omicron\tau\alpha\zeta\alpha\zeta\alpha\tau\iota \div \nu\omega\omega\tau \ \nu\Delta\epsilon\text{--}\mu\omega\tau\varsigma\eta\varsigma \div \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\text{--}\chi\omega\varsigma\varsigma.$

Num. 9:6 $\omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \alpha\theta\omega\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\beta \ \dots \ \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \alpha\varsigma\omicron\zeta\iota \ \nu\Delta\epsilon\text{--}\tau\theta\eta\pi\iota \ \dots \ \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \mu\pi\omicron\omega\psi\Delta\epsilon\mu\Delta\omicron\mu \ \epsilon\iota\pi\iota \ \mu\pi\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma\chi\alpha.$

Gen. 30:40 $\dots \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \alpha\chi\phi\omicron\rho\Delta\omega\tau \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \nu\alpha\chi \ \nu\zeta\alpha\lambda\omicron\zeta\iota \ \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\text{--}\mu\omicron\Delta\tau\omega\tau \ \nu\epsilon\mu \ \nu\iota\epsilon\varsigma\omega\omega\tau \ \nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda.$

Gen. 38:15 $\alpha\varsigma\eta\alpha\omega \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \Delta\epsilon\text{--}\alpha\varsigma\eta\lambda\omega\mu \ \mu\epsilon\varrho\psi\eta\rho\iota \ \epsilon\rho\eta\iota\omega\tau \ \nu\theta\omicron\varrho \ \delta\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\tau\eta\iota\varsigma \ \nu\alpha\chi \ \epsilon\omicron\tau\varsigma\zeta\iota\mu\iota \ \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \epsilon\tau\alpha\varrho\eta\alpha\omega \ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\Delta\epsilon\text{--}\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma \ \alpha\varrho\mu\epsilon\tau\iota \ \Delta\epsilon\text{--}\omicron\psi\pi\omicron\rho\eta\eta \ \tau\epsilon \ \dots \ \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\varsigma\omega\omega\varsigma\varsigma.$

Gen. 38:20 $\alpha\varrho\omega\tau\omega\rho\pi \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\Delta\epsilon\text{--}\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma \ \mu\pi\iota\mu\alpha\varsigma \ \mu\beta\alpha\epsilon\mu\pi\iota \ \Delta\epsilon\tau\Delta\iota\Delta \ \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\omega\tau \ \dots \ \omicron\omega\omicron\zeta \ \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\Delta\epsilon\mu\varsigma.$

Obs.

(1) The main difference between Old/Middle Egyptian and Coptic formal narrative texturing seems to be in the rich repertory of special delimitation signals of the former. In Old and Middle Egyptian, both the “Obtaining Situation” (in Evolution Mode) and “Omniscient Narrator’s Information” (in Comment Mode) components of narrative, Comment Mode and Enhanced Evolution components are characterized by the durative-present, adverbial-Rheme or Nominal Sentence nexus patterns, typically preceded and marked by a paradigm of particles (*sk*, *st*, *jhr*, *jsk*, *jst*), but also by *zero* as “absence of *jw*”. Indeed, the familiar, only apparent paradox of the “relief” form — “important” yet “incidental” or “marginal” — is well explicable by the duality of CM and Enhanced Evolution. Without this marking particle, the same pattern expresses Enhanced Evolution: description, close-up slow-motion and so on (consider *The Shipwrecked Sailor* 25ff., 59f., *pace* VERNUS 1990a:172f., 192f.); the Stative expresses the “obtaining situation” (*Shipwrecked Sailor*, 23ff.). The “narrative backbone”, or evolution carrier, is the *sdm.n.f* form (Actor + Stative for verbs of movement and some other intransitives). *Wn* periphrastic forms express i.a. enhanced evolution, also the past durative or habitative, while ‘*h*’ and *jw-lwn- hpr.n*, *wn-jn-* etc. are Evolution Mode “foregrounding”, accelerating, chunking delimitations. Other important EM delimitations are *hpr.n-*, the specific narrative *sdm.jn.f*,⁴⁵ and the periphras-

⁴⁵ JUNGE 1989:98 “Following Weinrich, *Tempus*, it should be enough to translate forms like that as Preterite (French: *imparfait*), the (‘zero-stage’) ‘tense’ of narration” is inaccurate: the unmarked narrative tense (Benveniste’s and Barthes’s “Aorist”) is the French *passé simple*; the *imparfait* is not a Preterite; and *sdm.jn.f* is a chunk-initial delimitation signal.

(4) On the Narrative Present as link/delimiter in NT Greek (Mark), and see LEVINSOHN 1977, 1992 "detachment of events from their contexts — detached events introducing a new paragraph when that paragraph represents a new section of a larger incident", see MALONEY 1989.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Setne* 4/14-20.

εΘΒΕΦΔΙ ΕΤΕΔΟC... (Gen. 10:9). Note the unchanging “dialogic” deixis in Gen. 29:27-8 ΔΕΚ-ΠΞ ΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΘΔΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΙΕΤ ΝΤΧΕ ΝΑΚ / ΔΥΔΕΚ-ΤΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΘΔΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΛΑΒΑΝ Τ...

Note that the ΦΔΙ series is used cataphorically as well as anaphorically; for the former, consider for instance Deut. 1:5.

Obs.

(1) It is in Dialogue that the opposition ΦΔΙ (proximal) vs. ΦΗ (distal) really becomes operative: consider Gen. 37:22:32f. This opposition is also functional as nuclear to the relative, ΦΔΙ-ΦΗ ΕΤ-: see SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:228ff. (with complex reference differences of phoricity and “deictic tone”).

(2) The Preterite, the main narrative carrier, is evidently compatible with the “*hic and nunc*” ΤΝΟΦ (“now”) only in strongly presentative locutive dialogue, where it is then resolved as a *perfectum praesens* (cf. Berschin’s review of H. Weinrich’s *Tempus*³, BERSCHIN 1979:89): (Ex. 3:9) ΟΥΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΤΝΟΦ ΙC ΠΔΡΩΟΦ ΝΝΕΝΩΗΡΙ ΜΠΙCΑ ΔΦΙ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΖΑΡΟΙ.

(3) The temporal/local deictics of the “then”/“there” type (German *da*, Welsh *yna*, Italian *allora*, Hebrew *‘az* and so on), Evolution-Mode onset (“foregrounding”), episode-demarcation and narrative-hierarchy exponents, familiar from European and other narratives, do not occur in Coptic in a comparable role (ΤΟΤΕ “then” is a full temporal initial clause-modifier, e.g. in Deut. 1:5). Similarly absent are the temporal backgrounding signals like “now”, French *or* (Old/Middle/Late Egyptian seems to have used *ist* in a similar role). For some discussions of general issues involved, cf. STAMMERJOHANN 1977, WÄRVIK 1987, 1990 (esp. 535f.), BRINTON 1989, SCHIFFRIN 1990: grammaticalized (co)text-deictics, typically with true context-deictic homonyms.

(4) EM onset and episodes, as defined by Van Dijk *apud* BRINTON 1993:73 (“Coherent sequences of a discourse, grammatically marked for beginning and/or end, and further defined in terms of some kind of ‘thematic unity’ — for instance, in terms of identical participants, time, location or global event or action”) are in Bohairic marked by narrative-onset delimiters such as ΔCΩΩΠΙ (ΕΤΑΔ-) ΔΦ- (see below) and/or *agens* topicalization, usually with ΔΕ. See EHRLICH 1990:62ff., BRINTON 1993 for a general discussion of the episode and its demarcation. Earlier, LONGACRE 1979 and HINDS 1979 postulated the “paragraph” as the basic building-block of narrative, understood mainly as an extent of thematic unity and in the framework of pragmatic-semantic-cognitive-communication theory.

(5) On phoricity vectors in English Narrative, see GUTWINSKI 1976, e.g. 65ff, 112ff.; 79ff., 118ff., 138ff. on lexical cohesion.

(5) **Proper Names** (and specific substantives/pronominals) are reasserted as strong delimitations (often as Topics, but also as differently constructed Themes; almost invariably with other delimiters; often following a dialogic insert in the Narrative), while their pronominal representation constitutes a common link. The reassertion grading of PNs seems to be a measure of their narratological (protagonistic) importance or text-absolute (“pragmatic”) status (reassertion is definitely preferred

for God or the Pharaoh); it is also associated with the very complex paradigm of nominal-Theme construction in or out of conjugation forms (see in detail below, Chapter Four):

Ex. 24:18 **οτορ αqυεναq νδε-μωτснс εδωтн ... οτορ αqυεναq επωωι επιτωοτ...**

Gen. 20:4 **αqυεναq νδε-ϥ† ρααβιμελεх ... οτορ πεδαq ναq δε ... αβιμελεх δε мπεqθορ ερος...**

Gen. 38:15 **аснаѠ γαρ δε-аснλωм πεqψηρι ерниω† нѠq δε мπεqтнс ναq εοτсξιμι οτορ етаqнаѠ ерос νδε-ιοτдас αqμεσι δε-οтпорнн τε ... οτορ мπεqсѠтонс.**

Gen. 47:22...**ψατεпκaρι нниотнв ммаѠaтq мπειωснϥ ωοпq ѡεноτaиo γαρ наq†тaиo нниотнв νδε-ϥараω οτορ наѠтωм мпитаиo етаqтнiq нωοτ νδε-ϥараω.**

Obs.

(1) See ROSS 1996 for the junctural interplay of (repeated) Proper Names and appellatives with pronominals, especially in Latin (520ff. for the noun as delimitation); SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:112ff. for Coptic.

(6) “**α-ιακωβ αq-ψεναq**”: the nexus-topicalizing delimitation.

This is a construction of importance in most Coptic dialects, discussed below, under Narrative Information Structure; though marginal in our corpus, it is still macrosyntactically operative and fully valued (and marked) in its paradigm, used superordinatively in the final part of a narrative EM chunk:

Gen. 25:33 **αηсaѠ δε αq† нниметψορп ммисι εβολ нia-κωв.**

Gen. 32:2 **αqκοтq νδε-λaβaн αqυεναq οτορ αιακωв αq-ψεναq.**

Internally, however, this construction constitutes — when opposed to “**αqυεναq**” — a striking delimitation, topicalizing the basic core nexus (“**αιακωв**”), then and thus marking, prominencing, “**αqυε-ναq**”.

Obs.

See SHISHA-HALEVY 1983, 1986a:162f. POLOTSKY 1990:181, Bosson 2006b on Oxyrhynchite. Generally speaking, we find nexus constituents topicalized; but the fact that a nexus may be focalized per se (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995b:162ff.) and that textual stretches may be comprehensively topicalized by anaphoric representatives (e.g. English “[...] and that...”, or German “[...] und zwar...”: SHISHA-HALEVY 1999b:182f.) supports the expectation that a nexal dependency may also be topicalized: see also GOLDENBERG 1971, COHEN 2001.

(7) **The Narrative/Dialogue interface** involves several striking intertextemic delimitations and boundary environments:

(a) *Dialogue in Narrative* is of course ubiquitous, with **Ξε-** an obligatory boundary signal for the “suspension of narrative” (“he said” — **πεΞα**q etc. — is fully on narrative ground). This is a theoretically difficult issue, which I cannot address here: Dialogue is not merely integrated into Narrative, but it is part thereof, and part of the main-line narrative development⁴⁸.

(b) The narrative projection of a dialogic texteme (in the configuration Dialogue > Narrative), marked by appropriate personal shift, is of particular interest for the *zero*-coordinated Preterite as projection of the Post-Imperatival Conjunctive:

Gen. 18:25 “**ΑΝΙΩΘΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΤΑΘΩΜ**” **ΟΘΟΖ ΑΡΙΝΙ ΝΑQ ΑQΘΩΜ**.

Gen. 18:26 “**ΖΕΝΚ ΕΡΟΙ ÷ ΜΑ-ΟΘΦΙ ΕΡΩΙ**” **ΟΘΟΖ ΑQΖΕΝQ ΕΡΟQ ΑQΤ-ΦΙ ΕΡΩQ**.

Gen. 27:21f. “**ΖΕΝΚ ΕΡΟΙ ΠΑΨΗΡΙ ÷ ΝΤΑΔΕΜΔΕΜ ΕΡΟΚ**” **ΑQΖΕΝQ ΝΔΕ-ΙΑΚΩΒ ΖΑΙCΑΑΚ ΠΕQΙΩΤ ΑQΔΟΜΔΕΜ ΕΡΟQ**.

Ex. 10:21f. “**CΘΤΕΝΤΕΚΔΙΔ ΕΠΨΩΙ ΕΤΦΕ ΟΘΟΖ ΜΑΡΕQ-ΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΟΘΧΑΚΙ**” — **ΑΜΩCCHC CΘΤΕΝΤΕQΔΙΔ ΕΠΨΩΙ ΕΤΦΕ ΟΘΟΖ ΑQΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΟΘΧΑΚΙ** sim.14:26f. etc.

Gen. 29:27/8 “**ΔΕΚ-ΠΞ ΟΘΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΘΑΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΙΕΤ ΝΤΧΕ ΝΑΚ**” — **ΑQΔΕΚ-ΤΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕ-ΘΑΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΛΑΒΑΝ Τ ...**

(c) Dialogic projection of Narrative (Narrative > Dialogue):

Gen. 31:2/5 **ΑQΝΑΘ ΝΔΕ-ΙΑΚΩΒ ΕΠΖΟ ΝΛΑΒΑΝ ÷ ΔΕ-ΝΑQΟΙ ΜΦΡΗΤ ΝCΑQ ΝΕΜ Γ ΕΦΟΟΘ ΝΕΜΑQ ΑΝ ΠΕ...** “**ΤΝΑΘ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΠΖΟ ΜΠΕΤΕΝΙΩΤ ÷ ΔΕ-QΟΙ ΜΦΡΗΤ ΝCΑQ ΝΕΜ Γ ΕΦΟΟΘ ΝΕΜΗΙ ΑΝ**”.

Note here the telling of dreams. Observe the persistence of the fuzzy-reality signal **πε** in the telling:

Gen. 41:1ff/17ff. **ΦΑΡΑΩ ΑQΝΑΘ ΕΟΘΡΑCΟΤΙ ÷ ΙCΔΕΚ-ΝΑQΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤQ ΠΕ ΖΙΔΕΝ-ΦΙΑΡΟ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΜΦΡΗΤ ΝΕΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΦΙΑΡΟ ΝΑΘ ΝΗΟΘ ΕΠΨΩΙ ΠΕ ΝΔΕ-Ξ ΝΕΖΕ ΕΝΑΝΕΘ ΕΙC. ...ΑQΤΩΝQ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΦΑΡΑΩ ΟΘΟΖ ΑQΝΚΟΤ ΕΤΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΑQΝΑΘ ΕΚΕΡΑCΟΤΙ ΜΜΑΖ ΒΤ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΝΑΘΝΗΟΘ ΕΠΨΩΙ ΝΔΕ-Ξ ΝΔΕΜC ΔΕΝΟΘ-ΛΑΔΕΜ ΝΟΨΩΤ ΕΘΔΟΝΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΝΑΝΕΘ ΟΘΟΖ ΙCΚΕΞ ΝΔΕΜC**

⁴⁸ The astounding **ΞΙΝQ** (*dd.n.f?*) in the Schøyen Matthew (Oxyrhynchite dialect, ed. Schenke 2000), 8:32, is certainly part and parcel of the plot.

εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (etc.) — dialogized (reported) as:

ΝΕΡΗΙ ΣΕΝΤΑΡΑϢΟΤΙ ΙϢΔΕΚ-ΝΑΙΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤ ΕΚΚΕΝ-ΝΕΝϢ-
 ΦΟΤΟϢ ΜΦΙΑΡΟ ΟΘΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΑϢΝΗΟϢ ΕΠΥΩΙ
 ΣΕΝΦΙΑΡΟ ΝΔΕ-Ξ̄ ΝΕΖΕ ΕΝΑΝΕϢ ... ΝΑϢΜΟΝΙ ΠΕ ΣΕΝΠΙΑΧΙ
 etc. ΑΙΤΩΝΤ ΔΕ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΙΕΝΚΟΤ ΑΙΝΑϢ ΟΝ ΣΕΝΟϢΡΑϢΟΤΙ
 ΜΦΡΗ† ΙϢ-ΚΕΞ̄ ΝΣΕΜϢ ΝΑϢΝΗΟϢ ΕΠΥΩΙ ΣΕΝΟϢΛΑΣΕΜ ΝΟ-
 ϣΩΤ ΕϢΔΟΝΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΝΑΝΕϢ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΙΚΕΞ̄ ΔΕ ΝΣΕΜϢ ΕϣΩΜ
 ΕΤΟΙ ΝΔΙΜΦΕΖ ΝΑϢΝΗΟϢ ΕΠΥΩΙ ΣΑΘΟϣΩΟϢ ΠΕ (etc.).

(d) Narrative-in-Allocation: a compressed embryonic narrative sub-texteme:

Deut. 24:18 ΟΘΟΖ ΕΚΕΕΡΦΜΕϢΙ ΔΕ-ΝΑΚΟΙ ΜΒΩΚ ΠΕ ΣΕΝΠ-
 ΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΑϢϢΟΤΚ ΝΔΕ-Π̄Ϣ ΠΕΚΝΟϣ† ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑϢ
 (often in Deuteronomy).

Obs.

(1) The special stylistic device known as “Free Indirect Discourse” (*Erlebte Rede*, *style indirect libre*) may be fundamentally interpreted as the superposing or overmapping of the dialogic textemic system or components thereof onto a narrative one. See LORCK 1921, for an early discussion of an issue central to most modern narrative-grammatical studies; FLEISCHMAN 1990:227ff. and often, for a recent narratological-grammatical discussion.

(2) Some classic or striking discussions of general considerations concerning dialogue in narrative, including the familiar issue, also pertinent for Coptic ΠΕΔΑϢ, of the “ — said he —” narrative *incise* (or “*Schaltesatz*”) and its placement: KIECKERS 1912 (cf. especially the constructions discussed p. 173ff.), 1913; HERRMANN 1973, ROSIER 1993; LONGACRE 1994.

(b) Narrative slots (or paradigms) in Evolution Mode

The following are the main formal bounding landmarks of EM configurations:

(1) **Narrative-opening signals.** Unlike the New Testament, our corpus is remarkably poor in initial boundary markers: this, however, is not true for Dream Narratives and micronarrative textemes, on which see special discussions above.

Obs.

See SHISHA-HALEVY 1987:173 for the presentative Cleft-Sentence-like constructions; LAYTON 2004 §§465, 471, 476-482 for presentative and existential initial-boundary delimiters.

(2) ΕΤΑϢ... ΑϢ- , in conjunction with ΑϢ- ΑϢ- ΑϢ- marked concatenation sequences, is an important configuration in narrative evolution. It

serves to delimit a new EM segment, but also to **integrate** narrative events and event-groups. In a formalized hierarchical set of events, we find an iconic association between earlier and subsequent acts, through the formal statement of a time-lapse. Within its complex and in clause scope, **εταq-** is **Topic**, and signals a textually rhematic status for the subsequent events. This, beyond “jolting” the plot, refreshes, consolidates and indeed reorganizes it. This is a well-known delimitative slow-down-plus-accelerating, forward-propelling device for “foregrounding” or EM, but we must distinguish in our text at least three subtypes of preceding **εταq-**:

(a) Theme-*agens* maintained:

Gen. 24:16 **εταci** **αcμαz** **ντεcρτδpια**.

Gen. 24:63 **εταqδεοψτ** **ννεqβαλ** **αqναθ**.

Gen. 25:8 **εταqμοοнк** **αqμοο**.

(b) Theme-*agens* switched or asserted:

Ex. 32:1 **εταqнаθ** **νδε-πιαλoс** **δε-αqωcк** **νδε-μωηчнc...**
αqθωο† **νδε-πιαλoс**.

Gen. 37:4 **εταθнаθ** **δε** **νδε-νεqсннoθ** **δε-πεqιωт** **με**
μμοq **εβολ** **οθтeneqψнpι** **тнpoθ** **αθμεcтωq** **νδε-νεq-**
сннoθ — note here the dynamic **νδε**-construction of the Theme-*agens*, signalling narrative development (see in detail below).

(c) No topicalization is present, but rather adverbial clause pre-modification:

Gen. 38:29 **ζωc** **δε** **εταqен-теqдiз** **наq** **сaтoтq** **αqι** **εβολ**
νδε-πεqсoн. — **сaтoтq** resumes here the pre-modifying clause, while the temporal “protasis” is a form of high-level topicalization⁴⁹; the inverse sequence, **αq-** ... **εταq-** is very different, the Temporal occupying a modifier-adjunctual slot: Gen.32:31 **αφpη** **δε** **ωαι** **εpoq**
εταqсiнi ...

(3) (**εψωп**) **αqψαп-** ... **ψαq-**. The so-called “Conditional” is not conditional in narrative. It is, like **εταq-**, topical, but not to the temporally oriented **αq-**, but to **ωαqсωтeм** (see further below), initializing extratemporal narrative-event units. Note the Theme-switching, typical but not obligatory (the inverse is true for **εταq-** **αq-**):

Ex. 17:11 **οθoз** **αcψωпi** **αpεψαпμωθчнc** **qai** **ννεqдiз**
ωαqδεμнoм† **νδε-πiсл**.

⁴⁹ Cf. RYCHNER 1968:582ff., 588f. (Old French). FLEISCHMAN 1990:176ff.; PENNELL ROSS 1991.

Ex. 33:8 **ΕΩΠΑ ΔΕ ΑΦΨΑΝΜΩΨΙ ΝΞΕ-ΜΩΤΣΗΣ ΨΑΦΟΡΙ
ΕΡΑΤΨ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΛΑΟΣ.**

(4) **αψωπι** [ADVERBIAL] **αψ-**, with the adverbial setting a **topical** adverbial-status (converbal) verbal paradigm; **αψ-** is thus **super-ordinated**, the new EM episode sharply demarcated, and the evolution, as it were, vigorously propelled forwards:

αψωπι [Adv.] **αψ-** Gen. 7:10, 8:6:13, 14:1, 19:34, 22:20, 30:41, etc.

[**ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕψ-**] Gen. 27:1 — see detailed discussion below, Chapter Three.

[**ΞΕΝΠΞΙΝΘΡΕ-**] Gen. 19:29, 24:52 — see detailed discussion below, Chapter Three.

[**ΕΤΑ-**] Gen. 20:13, 12:11, Ex.13:17 (**ΜΠΕψ-**).

Similarly Topic + superordinated narrative events are the following cases of dramatic evolution buildup to a narrative peak:

αψωπι [**ΜΠΑΤΕ-**] **ΞΗΠΠΕ** IC + NOUN. **Εψ-** (Gen. 24:15).

ΕΤΑψ- ... **ΞΗΠΠΕ** IC **ΝΑψ-** (Gen. 18:2).

And the non-adverbial topicalization:

αψωπι [Topic] — **ΨΑψ-** Ex. 33:7.

αψωπι itself is firmly anchored in the Hebrew-Greek ‘calque’ correspondent (ἐγίνετο), yet continuing an Egyptian narrative device using *hpr* “become” from the oldest phases on — is conjointly the formalized delimiter and the Narrator’s cataphoric signalling of new developments to come.

Obs.

(1) Dialogic/locutive **ΕΕΨωπι** too is followed by the adverbial-Topic slot: Gen. 9:14f., 24:14, 39:10 etc.

(2) Functionally comparable to a degree to these delimitations is the familiar French (and Italian) narrative inversion, close to an “at that point” deictic, generally known as the inversion or the “*Arriva le général*” construction, a verb-clause thematization reintroducing a Theme and signalling an “Evolution Onset”. Cf. BLINKENBERG 1928:88ff.; LERCH 1939, CLIFFORD 1973, WALL 1980, WEHR 1984:30ff..

(3) See ZAKRZEWSKA 1999 on the function of **ΕΤΑψ-** among other delimitations in Bohairic Narrative (“providing for the temporal, referential and action coherence of the text”).

(4) On superordinated temporal sequentiality as an action-propelling or foregrounding device, see DECLERCK 1996:110ff.; DECLERCK 1997:188f., 212ff.; TOMLIN 1985, THOMPSON 1987:440ff. and MATTHIESEN and THOMPSON 1988, (on the correlation of grounding and “ordination” in general); RYCHNER 1968, FLEISCHMAN 1990:176ff. (Old French *si* superordination); GROSSMAN 2007 on Nitrian Bohairic.

(5) The paradigm following **ΝΑΥ ΔΕ-/ΟΥΟΖ**:

The constructions of **ΝΑΥ** are here presented in a dependence actant matrix:

ΝΑΥ [Ø 1st OBJ. ACTANT]	ΔΕ- αq- Gen. 8:13 ΝΑΝΕ# Gen. 1:10:12 etc. PRESENT Gen. 28:8, 29:31 ΖΗΠΠΕ ιc αq- Gen. 33:1 ΔΕ- Nominal Sentence Ex. 2:2 αq- Ex. 34:35 ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑq- ΠΕ Gen. 6:12 ΟΥΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΝΑΝΕ# Gen. 1:31 ΟΥΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ ιc SUBST. αq- Ex. 14:10 ΟΥΟΖ ΝΕαq- ΠΕ Ex. 39:43 ΖΗΠΠΕ (SUBST.) ΝΑq- Gen. 19:28, 29:2
[ε- 1st OBJ. ACTANT]	
(THEME)	(RHEME)

This scheme is, I believe, of interest for the insight of a *zero* 1st object actant in the case of **ΔΕ-** complementation, for the actantial exponents, and for the occurrence of both EM and CM in the second object actant, which is evidently rhematic in the subtextual information structure of this configuration.

Obs.

(1) Cases like (Gen. 24:45) **αΥΟΥC ιc ΡΕΒΕΚΚΑ ΝΑCΝΗΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ**, or (Num. 25:6) **ΟΥΟΖ ιc ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ... αqιΝΙ ΜΠΕqCΝΟq**, while certainly evolution onset or even peak delimitations, differ in the Presentative used (**ιc**, not **ΖΗΠΠΕ (ιc)**), which does not complement **ΝΑΥ** "see".

(2) In Dream Narratives, **ΝΑΥ ΕΟΥΡΑCΟΥ** "see a dream" is arguably also continued actantially by the specific narrative sequence (see above).

(c) Connectors and disjunctors: **ΟΥΟΖ, ΑΛΛΑ** etc. Particles: **ΓΑΡ, ΔΕ, ΔΕ, ΟΥΝ**. The *Augens*

ΔΕ and **ΓΑΡ** are by far the most common particles occurring in narrative. The special junctural property of these and other particles (of Greek origin) lies in their being, conjointly and simultaneously, both linking and delimiting devices, in their respective ways connecting their clauses (placed following the 1st prosodic position in the clause's colon) or clause-complexes with the foregoing cotext, but also initiating a new narrative textual subunit (see below, Chapter Four).

(1) **ΔΕ** is adversative in Dialogue (consider for instance Gen. 18:27, 24:31, 26:27, Ex. 33:12:12, 25:13 etc.), but in narrative links a new unit or complex, typically with marked Theme/Topic-switching, to its preceding cotext. Note here the complex linked delimitation signal SUB-

STANTIVE/PRONOUN ΔΕ (ΝΘΟQ) | —, in EM, CM (background information) or locutive Narrative:

Gen. 4:2 ...ΟΘΟQ ΑQΨΩΠΙ ΝΞΕ-ΑΒΕΛ ΝΟΤΜΑΝΕCΩΘ ÷ ΚΑΙΝ ΔΕ ΝΑQ ΕΡΞΩΒ ΕΠΚΑΞΙ ΠΕ.

Gen. 24:27 QCMAPΩOΤ ΝΞΕ-ΠΘC Φ † ΜΠΑΘC ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΦΗ ΕΤΕΜΠQΧΩ ΝCΩQ ΝΤΕQΔΙΚΕOCTNH ... ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΠΘC COT-ΤΕΝ-ΠΑΜΩΙΤ...

Gen. 27:32 ΟΘΟQ ΠΕΞΕ-ΙCΑΑΚ ΠΕQΙΩΤ ΝΑQ ΞΕ ... ΝΘΟQ ΔΕ ΠΕΞΑQ ΞΕ- ...

Non-thematic high-level topicalization:

Gen. 29:31 ΕΤΑQΝΑΘ ΔΕ ΝΞΕ-ΠΘC Φ† ΞΕ-CΕΜOCT ΝΛΙΑ ΑQOΩΝ ΝΤΕCΤO†.

Topicalization as episode-opening delimitation:

Gen. 41:50 ΙΩCΗΦ ΔΕ ΑΨΗΡΙ Β ΨΩΠΙ ΝΑQ.

Gen. 26:8 ΠΕΞΑQ ΞΕ-ΤΑCΩΝΙ ΤΕ ΑQΕΡΞO† ΓΑΡ ΕΞOС ΞΕ-ΤΑCΞΙΜΙ ΤΕ ... ΑQΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΘ ΝΟΤΜΗΨ ΝΕΞOΘ ΑQΞO-ΨΩΤ ΔΕ ΝΞΕ-ΑΒΙΜΕΛΕΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΙΨOΨΤ...

Obs.

On δέ as boundary marker in Classical Greek narrative, see BAKKER 1993: note especially 284ff., 290ff. δέ marking event or “participant discontinuity”, shifts in perspective or point of view; 279f. (δέ linking clausal intonation units; marking the Topic; marking frame-setting preposed adverbials). See also ROSÉN 1973:318ff., 1975a, for superordinative δέ; REISER 1984.

(2) ΓΑΡ (described for Greek by Denniston as “asseverative, confirmatory and causal, inferential”) has such a marked affinity with the Comment Mode that, especially with negative clauses, it may be considered a co-marker with ΝΑQ- ΠΕ (it is certainly part of the pattern in ΝΕ-Α- ΠΕ cases). However, it is often coupled with Evolution Mode Preterites (true evolution) or ΝΕ- (obtaining/relevant situation, etc.) as well: but reason-giving may well not be restricted to the Comment Mode, and ΓΑΡ alone does not necessarily imply background or comment. Indeed, this particle uniquely raises the fundamental question of whether it by its occurrence alone shifts the Narrative to CM. Is ΓΑΡ — or some occurrences thereof — part of a metatextual utterance? I believe we are dealing with two distinct entities or two roles of ΓΑΡ: the first, delimiting, parenthetic, in the (“Omniscient”) Narrator’s Channel, not immediately relevant to the preceding segment; the second, linking within the narrative chain, linear with the evolving plot, explicatory to the preceding segment.

(a) The case of *rap* linking within Enhanced Evolution or “Amplified Episode”: *naq-*.

Gen. 47:22 *ψατεν-πκαρι ννιοσθβ μμασατq μπειωσhφ υοπq ÷ ðενοσταιο rap ÷ naq†ταιο* “and this, since...”

Gen. 27:23 *nape-neyqzið rap oy mφwi* (see above, under *ne- Ø*).

Gen. 29:9 *neoc rap nasmoni nniεσωσ nteπεσιωτ*.

(b) In the more usual and perhaps even more interesting case of linking *rap* with Evolution Mode Preterites, i.e. the main plot carrier, *rap* links what is the important, often the most important new foreground / evolutive information, with an explicative or justificative event / action. This last is just as much part of the event chain, beside and beyond its inter-eventual relevance to the foregoing narrative segment as its explanation, specification, logical grounding: not explicatively commenting on background, nor giving a meta-narrative reason, but associating its clause (e.g. as the reason for foregoing events, for saying, for naming) with the foregoing evolution cotext. Like subordination, explication can well be part of the Narrative Evolution, as an “*und zwar*” rhematic addition: “...and this he did/and he did so, since...”:

Gen. 19:30 *aqi ðe epwwi nðe-awt...aqepzo† rap* (sim. 20:2, 26:7): the message is *his being afraid*. This is a neat case of mode opposition, for *naq- pe* is of course usual for “psychologicistic” Comment Mode (see above). In our case, though, we had best translate (in an *und-zwar* form): “...and he went up/he did so since he was afraid”.

Reason given for name-bestowing:

Gen. 35:7 *aq†renφpan mπima etemmaσ ðe-beθhλ ðen-πima rap etemmaσ aφ† oσonq epoq* (cf. also Ex. 2:22, in dialogue).

Gen. 38:16 (“He said to her: let me come in unto thee”) *mpeqem rap ðe-teqweleet te*.

“For (he) said...”, introducing internal dialogue, is especially striking:

Gen. 38:11 *peðe-ioσðac ðe neamap... aqðoc rap ðe-mhπωc nteqmoσ* (sim. 21:16).

Ex. 13:17 *mpeqsimwit ðaxωσ nðe-φ†... aqðoc rap nðe-φ† ðe...* (sim. 12:33, 42:4).

Contrast the Narrator’s background comment with the subsequent evolutive reason-giving for an evolution event in:

Gen. 41:56f. *nape-πιγκo rap xh ziðenπzo mπικαρι τηpq pe aqoσwn ðe nðe-iωσhφ nniαwp τηpoσ ncoσo oσoç*

ναϥ† εβολ ... απιρκο γαρ δεμνομ† ριδενηκαρι τηρϥ “and he did this, since...”.

Deut. 34:9 αιησοϥ πωηρι ναϥη μορ μπ̄να νκα† αϥχα-
νεϥδεϣ γαρ εδωϥ νδε-μωϥχηϥ.

Ex. 13:19 αμωϥχηϥ ωλι ννικας ντειωχηϥ̄ νεμαϥ δενοϥ-
αναϥ γαρ αιωχηϥ̄ ταρκενεϥηρι μπ̄τ̄α...

Locutive Narrative:

Gen. 37:17 αϥοϥωτεβ εβολ ται αιϥωτεμ γαρ ερωϥ εϥ-
δω μμοϥ δε-μαρον εϥωταιμ.

Deut. 2:10 νιϥηρι γαρ ντε-λωτ αι† ναροηρ νωϥ ... νιο-
μμιν γαρ νϥορη ναϥωρη ριωτϥ πε.

(c) Delimiting γαρ with νε- πε (Comment Mode):

Gen. 31:32 (28:11, 29:9 and often) ναϥεμι γαρ αν πε.

Ex. 12:30 νεμμον ηι γαρ πε μπ̄εοϥον-μοϥ νδεητϥ.

Gen. 29:2 νεαϥρη γαρ ρωτη πε.

Gen. 45:26 νεμπ̄εϥτανϥοϥτοϥ γαρ πε.

Clearly parenthetical is

Gen. 35:18 αϥωπι δε εϥνα† ντεϥϥϥχη — ναςναμοϥ
γαρ πε...

Other particles are rare, or virtually excluded, from Narrative in our corpus (see Chapter Four). In Gen.22:7, δε corresponds to δε in Vat. The typically dialogic or expository οϥν, so very common in Greek and NT Coptic narrative (“narrative coherence by suggested quasi-causal relationship”, used “between larger narrative episodes”, POYTHRESS 1984), is extremely rare in the Bohairic Coptic Pentateuch, occurring once in **locutive** narrative:

Gen. 41:24 αιδε-ταραϥοϥι οϥν ννιϥϥ̄ρανϥ... (= Vat).

And once in Delocutive Narrative:

Gen. 27:35 πεδαϥ οϥν ναϥ δε... (Vat δε), apparently similar
to

Gen. 22:7 νεοϥ δε πεδαϥ δε... (Vat δε)

Obs.

In Greek Narrative, οϥν seems to signal return to EM (POYTHRESS 1984:327f.), whereas δε typically marks the reverse mode switching (*ibid.* 326f.). On narrative CM γαρ, see SICKING and VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993:131ff.

(3) The Augens in Narrative. The Augens⁵⁰, essentially a pronominal-linkage modifier, is a typically dialogic element and unusual in narrative.

⁵⁰ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Six.

As a junctural element (see Chapter Four) it is rather tricky, since it may occur as **colon-second**, and thus as a prosodic-unity boundary signal, but is typically also an ultra-clausal link, and has an immediate association (and, often, placement) with a preceding nominal or pronominal.

ζω=:

Gen. 22:20 ΙC ΜΕΛΧΑ ΖΩC ΔCΙ.

Gen. 30:42 ΑΦΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΝΞΕ-ΝΙΑΤΜΗΙΝΙ ΝΑΑΒΑΝ ΝΑΝΙΜΗΙΝΙ
ΖΩΟΤ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ.

Gen. 27:31 ΑΦΘΑΜΙΟ ΖΩQ...

Ex. 7:11 ΑΤΙΡΙ ΖΩΟΤ ΝΞΕ- ... ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†.

ΝΘΟ= (cf. Subst. ΔΕ ΝΘΟQ-, above)

Num. 22:22 ΑQΩΕΝΑQ ΝΘΟQ ÷ ΟΤΟZ ΟΤΑΓΓΕΛΟC ... ΑQ-

Also Gen. 29:37, 30:1.

ΜΑΨΑΤ=

Gen. 32:4 ΑQCΩΞΠ ΔΕ ΝΞΕ-ΙΑΚΩΒ ΜΜΑΨΑΤQ.

ΤΗΡ=

Ex. 4:19 ΑΤΜΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΤ ΝΞΕ-

Gen. 24:36 ΑQ† ΝΑQ ΝΝΗ ΕΝΑΨΝΤΑQ ΤΗΡΟΤ.

(d) Narrative Information Structure:

(1) Information Blocking (“Chunking”): Event and Event-Block Boundaries. In Coptic narrative, the asyndetic combination of Preterites in narrative, as opposed to ΟΥΟZ coordination, constitutes a special junctural link, the *signifié* of which is the marking of eventual information blocking, inner cohesion of complex eventing (signalling complex-event boundary) or close concatenation, and, iconically, a flowing narrative pace. This is an extension and refinement of the striking **iconicity** of narrative grammar. As pointed out above, *zero* coordination, historically unmarked, is here a **link** (signifying eventual blocking, through inner cohesion, though not closest juncture), while ΟΤΟZ constitutes a **delimitation** (signifying an inner want of cohesion), the boundary between event blocks or chunks — it coordinates such blocks or chunks. In fact, and somewhat paradoxically, the peculiarly Coptic ΟΤΟZ/ΑΨ (sprouting in Demotic, but not really operative until Coptic) loosens up the texture rather than tightens it up. In Coptic Narrative, on the other hand, close parataxis does not signal foregrounding, but a grade of pacing and the constituents of a tight information block. In the paradigm:

ΑQ-...ΑQ-...ΑQ-

ΑQ- # ΟΤΟZ ΑQ- # ΟΤΟZ ΑQ- ...

the first term is tightly linked into a “compound event” or *hyperevent* (SHISHA-HALEVY 1997), the latter either sequenced or unsequenced (catalogic), expressing relatively isolated or independent events. This “horizontal hierarchy” or juncture distinction, like other information-arrangement, focus-shifting or pace-changing options, is a staging decision of the narrator, of far-reaching poetic-communicative significance; not merely in the segmentation of the text (the decision of where an event and an event block begins and where it ends), but also in the “packaging” of an event as expanding another, as of different rank — indeed, we are dealing here with no less than the management of the information flow. Now, while the construction of the Greek original certainly triggers or prejudices the Coptic translator’s choice, it must yet again be pointed out that the Hebrew “first original” offers a sequence of *wayyiqtol* forms, which is closer to the Coptic than to the Greek grammar.

Observe the following formal parameters in the exx. below, parameters which, in interchange and combination, formally define, by their convergence, a gradation of chunking:

(a) the presence or absence of the *lemniscus* delimiter “÷”, which, in interplay with the others (point and colon: see below, Chapter Four; only a few of these are reproduced here in the documentation) marks rhythm between Preterites as the formal signifier of pace (juxtaposed *zero*-linked events are not expressed by close juncture). The delimiter ÷ overrules *zero* linkage, that is, like $\sigma\tau\sigma\sigma$, it signals a boundary between event chunks;

(b) the physical extent of the Preterite forms, which is not necessarily short (by no means “staccato” rhythm), either of the *zero*-coordinated terms may be expanded and modified;

(c) the persistence or switching of the Theme-agens;

(d) the concatenation of the number of asyndetic forms is restricted to two or three links;

(e) the lexical classes of verbs coordinated — (1) the initial, (2-3) the subsequent.

The numbers enclosed in square brackets below refer to the construction of the Greek *Vorlage*; (1) = Aorist participle + finite Aorist, (2) finite Aorist + finite Aorist.

Obs.

(1) The narrative infinitive coordinated to finite narrative carriers, in Romance, Celtic and other IE and non-IE languages may be compared here: see SHISHA-HALEVY 1997.

(2) The Late Egyptian “Sequential” *jw.f hr sdm* is a comparable close-concatenation form in EM. Earlier, in Middle Egyptian, a sequence of *sdm.n.f* forms seems to be the “tighter” eventual foreground form opposed to the delimited *jw sdm.n.f*.

(3) Cf. FLEISCHMAN 1990:162ff., 185ff., 192f. on event boundaries, event coordination and foregrounding; 189ff. for “and” coordination in Narrative; 205ff. for “co-subordination”, especially apt for the Coptic construction in point.

(a) *Zero*-coordination for event blocks or hyperevents, also combined with single events:

Gen. 21:2 [1], 29:31 [2], 30:17 [1] etc. **α**ϭ**ε**ρβ**ο**κ**ι** α**ς**μ**ι**ϭ**ι**.

Gen. 29:11 [1] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ιακ**ω**β **μ**εν**ρ**ε**ρ**α**χ**η**λ** ÷ **α**ϩ**ω**ϩ **ε**β**ο**λ **ς**εν**τ**ε**ρ**ϭ**μ**η **α**ρ**ι**μ**ι**.

Gen. 33:5 [1] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ς**ο**ϩ**ω**τ** **α**ρ**η**α**τ**.

Gen. 33:4 [1] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ς**ο**ς** **η**ς**ε**-**η**ς**α**τ **ε**β**ο**λ **ε**ρ**ρ**α**ρ** **α**ρ**τ**ϩ**ι** **ε**ρ**ω**ϩ.

Gen. 27:14 [1+2] **α**ρ**ϩ**ε**η**α**ρ** **α**ρ**ς**ι**τ**ο**τ** **α**ρ**ε**νο**τ** **η**τε**ρ**μ**α**τ ÷ **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**τε**ρ**μ**α**τ **θ**α**μ**ιο **η**η**ι**χ**ο**τ**ω**μ.

Num. 16:32 [2] **α**ρ**ο**τ**ω**η **η**ς**ε**-**π**κα**ρ**ι **α**ρ**ο**μ**κ**ο**τ**.

Gen. 25:1 [1] **α**ρ**ο**τ**α**ρ**τ**ο**τ** **η**ς**ε**-**α**β**ρ**α**α**μ **α**ρ**ς**ι **η**ο**τ**ς**ι**μ**ι**...

Ex. 32:20 [1+2] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ς**ι **μ**π**ι**μ**α**ς**ι** **ε**τ**α**τ**θ**α**μ**ιο**ρ** **α**ρ**ο**κ**ρ**ε**ρ** **ς**ε**η**ο**τ**χ**ρ**ω**μ** **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**τ**ε**η**νο**ρ** **ϩ**α**τ**ε**ρ**ϩ**μ**α **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**α**τ**ρ** **ε**ς**ρ**η**ι** **ε**π**ι**μ**ω**ο**τ** **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**τ**ς**ο** **η**η**ε**η**ϩ**η**ρ**ι **μ**π**ι**ς**λ** (narrated procedure).

Gen. 26:30f. [1+2] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ι**ρ**ι** **η**ο**τ**ϩ**ω**π**ς** **ε**ρ**ω**ο**τ**: **α**θ**ο**τ**ω**μ. **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**τ**ς**ω. **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**τ**ω**ο**τ**η**ο** **η**τ**ο**ο**τ** ÷ **α**ρ**ω**ρ**κ** **η**ω**ο**τ **η**ς**ε**-**ϩ**ρ**ω**μ**ι** **μ**π**ε**ρ**ϩ**η**ρ** ÷ **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**τ**ϩ**ω**ο**τ** **η**ς**ε**-**ι**ς**α**α**κ** ÷ **α**τ**ϩ**ε**η**ω**ο**τ **ε**β**ο**λ **ε**ρ**ρ**ο**ρ**... (cf. 24:54 etc. **α**θ**ο**τ**ω**μ ÷ **α**τ**ς**ω).

(b) *ο*θ**ο**ρ-coordinated or punctuation-delimited single event or event blocks:

Gen. 50:26 [2] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**μ**ο**τ** **η**ς**ε**-**ι**ω**ς**η**ϩ** **ε**ρ**ς**ε**η**ρ**ι** **η**ρ**ο**μ**π**ι **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**κ**ο**ς** **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**χ**α**ρ** **ς**ε**η**ρ**ι**ς**λ** **ς**ε**η**η**μ**ι.

Ex. 4:31 [2+2+1] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**η**α**ρ**τ **η**ς**ε**-**π**ι**λ**α**ο**ς **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ρ**α**ϩ**ι **ς**ε**α**ρ**ς**ε**μ**π**ω**ι**η** **η**ς**ε**-**ϩ**η**ρ** **η**η**ε**η**ϩ**η**ρ**ι **μ**π**ι**ς**λ** **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**η**α**τ** **ε**π**ο**τ**ρ**ο**ς**ε**ς** **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ρ**ι**τ**ρ **ε**π**ε**ς**η**τ **η**ς**ε**-**π**ι**λ**α**ο**ς **α**ρ**ο**τ**ω**τ.

Num. 14: 45 [2] **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ι** **ε**π**ε**ς**η**τ **η**ς**ε**-**π**ι**α**μ**α**λ**η**κ **η**ε**μ** **π**ι**χ**α**η**α**η**ε**ο**ς **ε**τ**ω**π **ε**π**ι**τ**ω**ο**τ** **ε**τε**μ**μ**α**τ ÷ **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ρ**ιο**τ**ι **η**ς**ω**ο**τ** ÷ **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**ς**ο**τ**ς**ε**τ **η**ς**ω**ο**τ** **ϩ**α**ε**ρ**η**ι **ε**ε**ρ**μ**α** ÷ **ο**θ**ο**ρ **α**ρ**α**ς**ο** **ε**ρ**π**α**ρ**ε**μ**β**ο**λ**η**...

(c) *Zero* coordination may narrate dramatically:

Deut. 9:17 [1] **α**ι**β**ο**ρ**β**ε**ρ **η**ρ**π**λ**α**ς **β**ρ **ε**β**ο**λ **ς**ε**η**η**α**ς**ι**ς **α**ι**ς**ε**μ**ς**ω**μ**ο**τ **μ**π**ε**τε**η**μ**θ**ο **ε**β**ο**λ.

or else be the narrative projection of a post-imperative Conjunctive:

Gen. 27:26f. [1] ("ῥενκ εροι ÷ μαοϥφι ερωι") οτορ
αϥρενϥ εροϥ αϥϣφι ερωϥ.

Gen. 27:21f. [2] ("ῥενκ εροι παϥηρι ÷ νταζομζεμ εροκ")
αϥρενϥ νδε-ιακωβ ρα-ιϥαακ πεϥιωτ ÷ αϥζομζεμ εροϥ.

(d) Oppositions of single *and* double event blocking for the same verbs:

Gen. 30:14 [2] αϥϥεναϥ νδε-ροϥβην ϣεννιεροοϥ ντε-
πωϥρ-κοϥο αϥζιμι νζανζεμϣεϥ, vs. Gen. 30:10 [2] αϥϥε-
ναϥ δε νδε-ιακωβ εϣοϥν ϣαροϥ οτορ αϥερβοκι νδε-
ϥελαπα (and not Leah).

Gen. 24:61 [1] αϥτωνϥ δε νδε-ρεβεκκα νεμ νεϥεβιαικ
αϥαληι ενιζαμαϣλι αϥϥενωϥ... vs. Gen. 4:8 [2] αϥτωνϥ
νδε-καιν εδεναβεα πεϥϥον οτορ αϥοϥβεϥ.

(2) **Theme-agents placement. Topicalization in Narrative. Theme-switching. Information structure in the narrative clause.** The placement paradigm of the nominal and to a degree pronominal (not personal-pronoun) actor-Theme in the Coptic verb phrase (conjugation form) is complex, and constitutes a junctural and information-structuring grammeme of high importance, a key exponent of a complex formal/functional system⁵¹. I shall here no more than touch upon this issue, which is only one special case in the broader issue of clause-to-text-scope information structure in form and function.

In Coptic, a four-member arrangement paradigm corresponds to a relatively simple binary paradigm in Greek:

Coptic	Greek
(a) Theme > conjugation-form	(1) Theme > finite verb-form Theme > participle Rheme
(b) Base + Theme > conjugation-form	(2), [(1)]
(c) Theme <i>infix</i> ed in conjugation-form	(2), [(1)]
(d) Conjugation-form > (νδε-) Theme	(2) verb-form (participle or finite verb) > Theme

⁵¹ Compare, for instructive typological-comparative information regarding Berber, the classic structural account in GALAND 1964. We encounter a formal system complex as the Coptic one: a triple placement paradigm, with important post-rhematic "mutation" marking and concord, "inner-verbal" (Zakrzewska's term, ZAKRZEWSKA 1993) placement and intra-clausal reference.

While the Coptic constructions (a), (d) respectively match almost perfectly the Greek (1) and (2), (b) and (c) most often correspond to (2), yet cases of (1) do occur (e.g. Gen. 19:23f., 28:12, 32:2, Ex. 9:23, 12:36). In any case, a mechanical response of Coptic to the Greek, which could mean non-pertinence of the Coptic paradigm, is, I believe, ruled out: one cannot speak of a simple reflection in Coptic of Greek word-order. Obviously, the functional value of the Coptic and the Greek forms is structurally different, and we are up against the situation of a partial formal/functional overlapping between the two languages. (In Greek, construction [2] is the unmarked term of the opposition).

I am afraid I cannot offer here a confident, predictive statements for the distribution of these four sequences. This will eventually be done in the framework of a unified theory of Theme placement in various textemes, narrative and dialogic, actant noun extraposition in general, and perhaps even an overall theory of word-order; all this is as yet *Zukunftsmusik*. The emerging picture, which is as yet fragmentary, points to Theme specificity, textual cohesion (including Theme recall) and relative textual thematicity of the actor and the verb phrase as primary operative factors. The following investigation protocol seems to be indicated:

- (1) internal analytic interpretation of the individual constructions;
- (2) examining their possible correlation with formal (a) clause-internal and/or (b) text-grammatical (combinatory, narratological and narrative-grammar) parameters. Among the former, Theme-*agens* extent, Theme-*agens* specificity, internal "*Flexionsisolierung*" (grammeme/lexeme-separating structure), tense and negation of verb component etc.; among the latter, opposition or gradience of switching vs. persistence of the Theme, thematicity of the verb clause, cohesiveness or linkage, disruptivity or delimitation, concatenability, narrative status, compatibility or incompatibility with discourse signalling etc.;
- (3) examining their possible correlation with Narrative-Grammar and narratological functions, such as information chunking, pacing; dramatic highlighting; Narrative Mode, and so on;
- (4) scanning markedness / unmarkedness gradience or opposition;
- (5) examining the difference between Theme-switching vs. Theme (re)introduction; or between various hierarchical Theme repertoires or "folders" (narratologically more or less prominent or significant); or the possibility that the Themes of the four constructions are drawn ("re-called") from different cumulative "Theme folders" (differing, for instance in narrative depth or *immediacy of presence*), or from a single

“folder” but four different “recall triggers” signalling the extent of re-winding required for decoding the reference.

I have applied this check-list to a limited, random specimen group of occurrences with their cotexts in the corpus, with certain conclusions, which must be considered impressionistic pending a full exhaustive study. (Only instances of narrative $\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ and $\nu\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ $\pi\epsilon$ were included; all constructions occur also in non-narrative textemes, although with a significantly different proportion of frequency). It will be seen that the quaternary construction paradigm constitutes a primary — perhaps even prime — poetic means for marking narrative hierarchy and continuity — indeed, narrative texture.

(a) Formal topicalization: # *Theme [+ discourse signals] + conjugation-form* #.

Gen. 4:1 $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\mu \ \Delta\epsilon \ \alpha\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha \ \tau\epsilon\zeta\iota\mu\iota$.

Num. 14:6 $\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon \ \pi\omega\eta\rho\iota \ \nu\eta\lambda\theta\eta \div \ \nu\epsilon\mu \ \chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon \ \pi\omega\eta\rho\iota \ \nu\iota\epsilon\phi\omega\eta\eta \div \ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \ \delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta \ \epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\rho\text{-}\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota \div \ \alpha\theta\phi\omega\zeta \ \nu\eta\omicron\upsilon\zeta\text{-}\beta\omega\varsigma\ldots$

Gen. 16:1 $\varsigma\alpha\rho\rho\alpha \ \Delta\epsilon \ \tau\epsilon\zeta\iota\mu\iota \ \nu\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\mu \ \alpha\varsigma\mu\iota\varsigma\iota\ldots$

Gen. 15:12 $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\phi\eta \ \nu\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\tau\iota \ \ldots \ \omicron\tau\omega\mu\tau \ \alpha\upsilon\iota \ \epsilon\delta\epsilon\eta\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\mu$.

Gen. 4:2 $\omicron\theta\omicron\zeta \ \alpha\zeta\omega\omega\pi\iota \ \nu\delta\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda \ \ldots \ \kappa\alpha\iota\eta \ \Delta\epsilon \ \nu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\rho\zeta\omega\beta \ \epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota \ \pi\epsilon$.

Gen. 12:6 $\nu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\alpha\theta\omega\omicron\pi \ \chi\iota\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota \ \mu\pi\iota\chi\omicron\upsilon\theta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\theta$.

This is in Bohairic not merely, and not always, a prominencing Topic-marking construction, with the conjugation rhematic to the thematic Topic, nor indeed a homogenous pattern. The topicalized *agents* construction, with a venerable history in Middle Egyptian (# Subst. + *sdm.f* #) is non-concatenating, has a low (lowest?) grade of backward textual cohesion, and is consequently and simultaneously a high (highest?) delimitation — and forward action-propelling device. It signals a clean break in the narrative chain (typically, accompanied by $\Delta\epsilon$, weak link and strong delimiter): an episode/scene-initial boundary (e.g. Gen. 5:24), a parenthesis or “cut-away” (e.g. Gen. 25:6, 41:11, Ex. 11:10, 12:35, etc.); “side-stepping” or “backstepping” from the evolution mainstream, also summing-up or supplying Obtaining Situation information (e.g. Ex. 11:3, 12:6, 16:35); transition to Comment or Evolution Mode or to Enhanced Evolution (e.g. Gen. 4:2, 15:12, Ex. 2:16, 3:1, 5:13, 9:31, 14:8, 17:2, Num. 14:6 etc.) — the construction is very common with $\nu\alpha\zeta\text{-}$ ($\pi\epsilon$) or $\nu\epsilon\alpha\zeta\text{-}$ $\pi\epsilon$; narrative superordination (“at that

point...”, e.g. Gen. 15:12); it occurs with contrastive, alternating or reciprocal Theme/Rheme configurations (e.g. Gen. 27:30, Ex. 9:31f., 14:29 etc.) Its Theme-*agens* recall is usually relatively distal (from a not immediately present “Theme folder”). This is not so much Theme switching as the (re)introduction of Theme. The Theme-*agens* is usually specific, but may be indefinite (Gen. 15:20), yet not generic (*zero*-determined).

Obs.

(1) In a case like Num. 14:6 **ΙΗΣΟΥ ΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΗΛΩΗ ΝΕΜ ΧΑΛΕΒ ΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΙΕΦΩΗΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΗΗ ΕΤΑΨΞΕΡΙΚΑΖΙ ΑΨΦΩΞ ΝΝΟΥΞΒΩΣ**, the Topic extent is striking, and may prejudice the selection of construction, ruling out (b) and (c).

(2) Relatively rare are cases of focussing, not topicalizing extraposition (§2.4.7). In Dialogue or Exposition, focussing instances are Gen. 37:20 **ΟΨΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΡΕΩΟΨ ΑΦΟΨΟΜΩ**, Ex. 21:13 **Φ† ΑΓΤΗΙΩ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΝΕΩΞΙΩΞ**, Gen. 21:6 **ΟΨΩΒΙ ΑΦΑΙΩ ΝΗΙ**. From the indefinite noun to the thematic verb, the information contour in this case is distinctive.

(3) *Zero* determination does occur in a special non-narrative group of object-actant topicalization (note the regulation of *zero/non-zero* anaphoric pronoun by Topic determination):

Deut. 29:6 **ΩΙΚ ΜΠΕΤΕΝΨΩΜ ΟΨΟΞ ΗΡΠ ΜΠΕΤΕΝΩΨ⁵²**, Num. 8:26 **ΞΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΩΕΡΞΩΒ**.

(4) I must point out in this connection the importance — and devaluation — in Bohairic of the topicalized-Rheme Nominal Sentence pattern: see Chapter Two (§2.1.1 III).

(5) Coptic topicalization may correspond to the Greek preposed dative of articulated Proper Names with a passive verb: Gen. 2:2 **ΑΔΑΜ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΞΕΜ-ΒΟΗΘΟΣ ΝΑΩ**, 10:20 **ΟΨΟΞ ΣΗΜ ΑΨΜΙΣΙ ΝΑΩ**. Passivization does not serve in our corpus for FSP exponence purposes.

(b) #Base + Theme + Conjugation-form#

This, an infrequent construction, is, I believe, the most intriguing of all four: the Preterite (rarely, Imperfect) base/converter + *agens* occurs first without a governed verb lexeme, then is represented pronominally in a full conjugation form. This is a [Base+Theme] topicalizing construction, that is, a case of *formal-nexus topicalization*.

Gen. 25:33 **ΑΗΣΑΨ ΔΕ ΑΩ† ΝΝΙΜΕΨΩΟΡΠ ΜΜΙΣΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ**.

Gen. 32:2 **ΑΩΚΟΤΩ ΝΞΕ-ΛΑΒΑΝ ΑΩΨΕΝΑΩ ΟΨΟΞ ΑΙΑΚΩΒ ΑΩΨΕΝΑΩ**.

Gen. 33:17 **ΑΩΤΑΣΘΟΩ ΝΞΕ-ΗΣΑΨ ... ΕΣΗΕΙΡ ΟΨΟΞ ΑΙΑΚΩΒ ΑΩΞΩΛ ΕΝΙΚΚΗΗΗ**.

⁵² ANDERSSON 1904:8 considers this ungrammatical. Note the indefinite Topics in Gen. 9:4 **ΟΨΑΩ ΞΕΝΟΨΣΝΟΩ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΨΟΜΩ**, also **ΟΨΑΩ ΜΠΕΦΟΨΟΜΩ ΟΨΗΡΠ ΜΠΕΩΣΟΩ** (De Vis I 192).

Lev. 8:21 **ΟΘΟΖ ΑΜΩΨΧΗC ΑΨΙΝΙ ΜΠΙΩΙΛΙ ΤΗΡΨ** (cf. 24 **ΟΘΟΖ ΑΜΩΨΧΗC ΑΨΙΝΙ ΝΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΑΑΡΩΝ...**).

Gen. 28:12 ...**ΟΘΜΟΩΚΙ ΕCΤΑΔΡΗΟΨΤ ΔΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΡΕ-ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕΨ† ΝΑΨΝΑ ΕΠΨΩΙ ΝΑΨΝΗΟΨ ΕΠΕCΗΤ**.

Gen. 41:4 **ΟΘΟΖ Α†Ξ ΝΕΖΕ ΕΤΔΑΙΩΟΨ ΔΕΝΠΟΨCΜΟΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΨΨΟΜ ΔΕΝΝΟΨCΑΡΞ ΑΨΩΜΚ Ν†Ξ ΝΕΖΕ ΕΤ ΕΘΝΑΝΕΨ...** (Dream Narrative: sim. 41:7:24). The complex, previously introduced Theme-*agens* in this last example may *also* indicate a formal motivation of construction (b) by its Theme-*agens*.

The discontinuous Theme-*agens* in this construction is always specific; its extent ranges from short to very long. This construction seems to be used in the final part of a narrative development *superordinatively*, for the *dénouement*, *outcome*, *point* or *condensed summing-up* of the foregoing chain of events. Like (c), it delimits a final boundary, but, unlike (c), it is not dramatic or highlighting. It occurs as the main-point tableau or event in a dream sequence and even in its “dream-telling” version (Gen. 41:4:7:24); in the latter role, construction (c) comes close: Ex. 7:12...**ΟΘΟΖ ΑΨΨΒΩΤ ΝΑΑΡΩΝ ΩΜΚ ΝΝΙΨΒΟ† ΝΤΕΝΗ** which is, however, more dramatic and solemn.

Obs.

(1) The marked [base+Theme]-topicalizing construction (b) # **α**- Theme **αΨCΩΤΕΜ** # — with its discontinuous Theme — is formally opposed to both (a) (topicalized) # Theme **αΨCΩΤΕΜ** # and to (c) # **α**- Theme **CΩΤΕΜ** #. In the case of (b:a), the formal distinctive-feature opposition is of the respective presence vs. absence (*zero*) of the nuclear conjugation base; in (b:c), of the presence (delimiting) vs. absence (*zero*, linking) of pronominally repeated base. The (b) pattern is remarkably “right”, in the diachronic and synchronic “holographic” view of the base (and converter; whether a “verbum vicarium” or not) — as a nuclear constituent, not in need of a lexemic expansion; it is certainly not a case of anacoluthia.

(2) The formal-nexus topicalizing construction occurs sometimes in dialogue (Gen. 19:13 ...**ΑΝΟΝ ΤΕΝΝΑΤΑΚΟΨ ΔΕ-ΑΠΟΨΔΡΩΟΨ ΑΨΔΙCΙ ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΠΨC ΟΘΟΖ ΑΨΤΑΨΟ ΝΔΕ-ΠΨC ΕΨΩ† ΝΤΑΙΒΑΚΙ ΕΒΟΛ** (to be understood as “at last...”?), but is prevalent, even as a formalized (formulaic) Absolute Future form, in the Leviticus preceptive injunctions, again with a special tone focussing: **ΕΡΕ-ΠΙΟΨΗΝΒ ΕΨΕ-**; see Chapter Four.

(3) This construction is common in some types of Sahidic (e.g. Gnostic texts), and in Oxyrhynchite (esp. the Schøyen Matthew), and is almost typical of the Early Bohairic (B4) Twelve Prophets (consider Soph. 3:8, Na. 1:8, 2:3, 3:19, Hab. 3:3, Zach. 3:1, 7:7, 8:10, Hag. 2:18, Jon. 1:2, Soph. 3:8:16 etc.) and some parts of the Bohairic NT (e.g. *Apocal.*), expressing solemn prophecy.

(4) On the topicalized base/converter in Sahidic, cf. POLOTSKY 1987a:181, LAYTON 2004 §330-333, esp. 332a; for Oxyrhynchite, SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:327, and now in detail, BOSSON 2006b.

(5) The nuclearity of the 'pro-verbal' base/converter is certain. In Shenoute we even find an instance (Leip. IV 96f.) of a nexus-focussing base occurring anaphorically alone, with a zeroed lexeme: $\text{NENNA}\sigma\omega \text{ AN PE} - \text{MPO}\tau \text{ P}\omega$. See SHISHIA-HALEVY 1986a:153, 161ff. for bases and converters in bracketing junctural status. Needless to say, the tensed Response-forms that look like stressed conjugation bases point in the same direction.

(c) Theme-agens infixed in conjugation-form: #base + Theme + Verb Lexeme ("infinitive") #:

Gen. 1:5 ... $\text{OPOZ A}\Phi\text{† MO}\tau\text{† EPIO}\tau\omega\text{INI ZE-PIEZOO}\tau$... $\text{OPOZ APOT}\epsilon\text{ZI YWPI ATWOTI YWPI MPIEZOO}\tau \text{ NZOTIT}$ (contrast the preceding concatenating construction [d]: 1:2f. $\text{AQYWPIN NZE-OPO}\tau\omega\text{INI OPOZ AQNA}\tau \text{ NZE-}\Phi\text{†}$).

Gen. 4:26... $\text{OPOZ A}\Phi\text{† XAOTMHINI NKAIN...}$

Gen. 30:22 $\text{A}\Phi\text{† DE EP-}\Phi\text{ME}\tau\text{I NPA}\chi\text{HA OPOZ AQCATEM EPOT NZE-}\Phi\text{† AQOTWN NTECTO}\text{†}$.

Gen. 16:3 (Sarah did not bear children for Abraam. She told him to come to her handmaid Agar...) $\text{ACAPPA TCZIMI NABPAAM} \div \text{GI-AGAP TECTBWKI...}$

Gen. 19:23f. $\text{OPOZ A}\Phi\text{RH YAI ZIZENPIKAZI AP}\overline{\text{C}} \text{ ZWOT EZENCODOMA NEM GOMORRA OPOZ ALWT YENAZ} \dots \text{OPOZ A}\text{†CZIMI NAWT ZO}\tau\text{WT E}\Phi\text{AZOT...}$

Gen. 41:50ff $\text{IWC}\eta\text{H}\Phi \text{ DE AYHPI } \bar{\text{B}} \text{ YWPI NAQ ... AQ}\text{†REN-}\Phi\text{RAN MP}\epsilon\text{QYOPN MICI ZE-MANACC}\eta \text{ ZE-A}\Phi\text{† } \Theta\text{RIEP-PWBW NNAMKAZ NZHT THPO}\tau \dots \text{AQ}\text{†REN-}\Phi\text{RAN MPIMAZ}\bar{\text{B}} \text{ DE AQ}\text{†RENQ ZE-E}\Phi\text{REM ZE-A}\Phi\text{† } \Theta\text{RIAI.} \dots$ (Cf. also Gen. 4:26 $\text{OPOZ CH}\Theta \text{ AO}\tau\text{YHPI YWPI NAQ}$).

Gen. 30:18 $\text{PEZE-LIA ZE-A}\Phi\text{† } \text{† MPABEXE NHI ... OPOZ AC}\text{†REN-PEQRAN ZE-ICAXAP}$.

Gen. 35:7 "He called the place 'Beth-El' (i.e. 'House of God')", $\text{ZENPIMA GAP ETEMMA}\tau \text{ A}\Phi\text{† OTONZQ EPQ}$.

Ex. 33:6 ("BEY-THNOT NNEHENCTOLH NEM NENETCOL-CEΛ")... $\text{OPOZ ANENYHPI MPIC}\bar{\Lambda} \text{ BAYOT MPOTCOLCEΛ...}$

Ex. 10:20 etc.... $\text{OPOZ AP}\overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \Theta\text{REPZHNT M}\Phi\text{ARAW NYOT}$.

Ex. 20:11 $\text{NZPHI GAP N-}\bar{\text{C}} \text{ NEZOOT AP}\overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \Theta\text{AMIO NT}\Phi\text{E NEM PIKAZI}$.

Consider also Gen. 27:30, 30:41; Ex. 2:24, 7:12, 9:5:12:23, 10:13, 12:36, 19:8:17, 24:4 etc.

The infixed-Theme construction, in a sense the formally unmarked structure of a nominal *agens*⁵³, where the noun is substituted for a per-

⁵³ Although constructions (a) and (c) are well established and their opposition fully functional from the earliest Egyptian, and (d) from Late Egyptian on.

sonal pronoun, is in our corpus a functionally strongly marked construction. It breaks narrative continuity (cf. Ex. 30:11, 33:11 vs. 30:17:22). It is non-concatenating, but, often following narrative development, we find it expressing a **Narrative Peak, culmination or dramatic sequel** (thus typically a narrative-chain-final boundary; it may then appear to be the initial boundary for its own subsequent development, with $\text{n}\Delta\epsilon$ -adjoined Theme: so for instance Gen. 12:7:36, 30:22 etc.). Also, superordinatively, in the narrative projection of an imperative (Ex.33:6) and with superordinating $\text{o}\theta\text{o}\zeta$ (see below; consider Gen. 7:6, 17:1, 27:30 etc.). The construction also occurs, in a solemn, ceremonious and ritual tone, in **aetiological name-bestowing, Condensed Narrative**. Generally speaking, this construction highlights significant and consequential acts (cf. Gen. 30:41 and the recurring "...and God hardened Pharaoh's heart" in Exodus). Note significant cases of locutive "Present Perfect": Gen. 27:46 $\text{a}\pi\alpha\rho\eta\tau\ \epsilon\rho\omega\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\omega\text{n}\delta$; cf. also Ex. 13:3 $\text{n}\delta\rho\eta\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \delta\epsilon\text{n}\text{o}\tau\delta\iota\delta\ \epsilon\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\iota\ \alpha\pi\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{n}-\theta\eta\text{n}\text{o}\tau\ \epsilon\beta\text{o}\lambda\ \mu\eta\alpha\iota$, also 14): it is as if the narrator suddenly shifts into a *hic-et-nunc* perspective, thereby adding a dramatic dimension. Much more rarely, the construction expresses an outcome apparently devoid of any prominence, a mere chain-final boundary signal (so Ex. 4:28, 19:8).

Non-specific and specific Themes occur, but not *zero* determination. The Theme is usually short (in number of syllables), and never extensive. In accordance with the functional profile depicted above, the Theme is typically recalled from a "prominent protagonist folder" mostly **extra-textual**, most frequently featuring in our corpus $\Phi\uparrow$, $\text{n}\theta\epsilon$, $\text{m}\omega\theta\text{c}\text{h}\text{c}$.

(d) # *Conjugation-form* $\text{n}\Delta\epsilon$ - + *Theme* #

Gen. 1:3-4 $\text{p}\epsilon\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\Phi\uparrow\ \dots\ \text{o}\theta\text{o}\zeta\ \alpha\gamma\text{n}\alpha\theta\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\Phi\uparrow\ \text{o}\theta\text{o}\zeta\ \alpha\gamma\Phi\omega\text{-}\rho\delta\ \epsilon\beta\text{o}\lambda\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\Phi\uparrow\ \dots$

Gen. 4:15ff. $\alpha\pi\theta\epsilon\ \Phi\uparrow\ \chi\alpha\text{-o}\theta\text{m}\eta\text{i}\text{n}\iota\ \text{n}\kappa\alpha\iota\text{n}\ \alpha\gamma\iota\ \Delta\epsilon\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\alpha\iota\text{n}\ \epsilon\beta\text{o}\lambda\ \epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\text{o}\ \text{m}\Phi\uparrow\ \dots$

Gen. 31:55, 32:3 $\alpha\gamma\text{t}\omega\text{n}\eta\ \Delta\epsilon\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\text{n}\ \text{n}\text{t}\text{o}\text{o}\text{t}\iota\ \dots\ \alpha\gamma\text{-}\kappa\text{o}\text{t}\eta\ \Delta\epsilon\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\text{n}\ \dots\ \text{o}\theta\text{o}\zeta\ \alpha\gamma\text{o}\theta\omega\rho\text{p}\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\text{b}\ \dots$

Gen. 21:2 $\text{o}\theta\text{o}\zeta\ \alpha\text{c}\epsilon\rho\text{b}\text{o}\kappa\iota\ \alpha\text{c}\mu\iota\text{c}\iota\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha$.

Gen. 27:38 $\text{p}\epsilon\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{c}\alpha\theta\ \dots\ \text{o}\theta\text{o}\zeta\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\text{-}\mu\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \text{n}\epsilon\eta\text{t}\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{c}\alpha\alpha\kappa\ \alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\text{o}\lambda\ \text{n}\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{c}\alpha\theta$.

Non-specific quantified Themes occur here, including $\text{o}\tau\alpha\iota$ (Gen. 14:13) but again no *zero* determination. This is certainly the most common, and, accordingly, perhaps the least marked construction. Yet it re-

veals the **highest cohesivity** as well as **dynamicity**. The Theme-exponence is also unmarked, with Theme persistence or Theme alternating, as it were Theme-selecting from a given, **intratextual most immediately (and constantly) present** repertory of potentially thematic nominals and pronominals (consider for instance the fact that “ϣ” occurs here anaphorically — it does not occur in construction [a]). This construction does not delimit: it is, as said, the most dynamic, used as the non-initial links of concatenated fast-pacing eventing (οτορ or δε are typical), also **return to movement** after a narrative “still” or break. Some striking instances are Gen. 1:3ff. 19:36f., 33:6f., but the construction is ubiquitous. (The fact that this is the Coptic *Flexionsisolierend* — lexeme/grammeme separating — construction *par excellence* must be related to its “dynamic event link” role, since the grammeme / lexeme dichotomy has a motor effect). Let me stress again the superficial, text-anaphoric nature of the Theme recall in this construction.

Obs.

(1) Extreme *Flexionsisolierung* makes possible such cases as the series (x13) of ϣϣοτορτ δε- in Deut. 27:15ff., where the nominal *agentes* are not text-anaphoric, but rhematic: this is certainly not a case of anti-topic (see LAMBRECHT 1996:202ff.).

(2) For the Narrative/Dialogue seam marker πεδεαϣ with a nominal *agens*, the unmarked (“normal”) form is clearly πεδε-, while the δε- construction is rare or excluded.

(3) Construction (d) is often used in and following εταϣ- topicalization (e.g. Gen. 32:31, 37:4, 38:29).

(4) Combination and contrasts of Theme placements in a stretch of text are common. Some examples of (a) + (d):

Gen. 19: 1ff. αϣι δε δε-πιαγγελος β̄ ερρηι εσοδομα.

λαωτ δε ναϣρεμσι...

εταϣναϣ δε δε-λαωτ αϣτωνηρ ... οτορ αϣοτωψτ...οτορ πεδεαϣ...

οτορ νιρωμι ντετβακι νιρεμσοδομα αϣκωτ οτορ ναϣμοτ̄ ελωτ πε.

αϣι δε-λαωτ αϣορῑ ερατϣ...

νιρωμι δε αϣσοϣτεννοϣδε̄ εβολ αϣσεκλαωτ οτορ αϣϣεαμ...

νιρωμι δε εναϣρῑεν-ϣρο̄ μπῑνι αϣϣαρῑ ερωϣ...

Note also a case of topicalization like Gen. 41:50 ιωσχηϣ δε αϣηρῑ β̄ ψωπῑ ναϣ μπατω̄ι δε-τ̄ξ̄ νρομ̄πῑ νεκο.

Num. 22:22 οτορ αϣδωντ̄ δε-ϣ̄τ̄ δε-αϣϣεναϣ̄ νθοϣ ÷ οτορ οταγγελος ντεπε̄ϣ̄ αϣορῑ ερατϣ.

(c) + (d) Gen. 1:2f. vs. 5 οτορ αϣ̄τ̄ μοτ̄... οτορ αϣναϣ̄ δε-ϣ̄τ̄ ... οτορ αϣϣωρ̄δε̄ εβολ δε-ϣ̄τ̄.

(5) ZAKRZEWSKA, in her important study of 1993 of Bohairic narrative grammar, based on Hyvernat's *Acta Martyrum* (an important corpus of Nitrian Bohairic), investigates, in the framework of T. Givón's functionalist model, Theme-switching and cohesion in general, introducing several parameters correlated to functions in a taxonomic hierarchy: intro-

duction of a new Theme; reintroduction of Theme, and so on. She also examines the topicality and rhematicity of the respectively placed Themes. In general, she finds the preverbal placement correlates with forward and backward continuity, while "inner-verbal" placement, according to Z. unmarked (which is certainly not the case in our corpus — see above), and of a higher rhematicity, effects mainly backward discontinuity (actually in agreement with the Topic's context anchorage). Especially interesting are her findings regarding the lexemic, narratological and specificity constituency of the actor nominals: for the "inner-verbal" placement, non-specific, collective, inanimate, narratologically marginal. It is evident that my own findings for the Bohairic Pentateuch are very different.

(3) High-Level Topicalization, Rhematization and Focalization in Narrative

(a) Protatic/Temporal Clause topicalized

For presetting, "constituting the temporal frame or ground for the following episode" (BRINTON 1993:84f.), narrative $\lambda\psi\alpha\lambda\eta$ - and $\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$ - are topicalized, with the subsequent narrative stretch high-level rhematic by that token. (See above, for $\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$ -.... $\lambda\psi$ - configurations). Some exx. of $\lambda\psi\alpha\lambda\eta$ -: Gen. 30:38:42, 33:8:9:9:9, Ex. 16:21, 17:11, 33:8:9, 34:34). This is a common feature of narrative information structure in Indo-European and outside it (see REVELL 1985:420f., for "contextualizing clauses" in Biblical narrative). While the familiar Coptic configuration of # Clause Conjugation + Narrative Carrier # correspond as a rule to the Greek # (Aorist) participle + finite verb", Coptic (as often) brings us closer to the pre-Greek Hebrew construction of a succession of finite narrative forms in iconic sequence.

Obs.

(1) $\lambda\psi$ - $\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$ - or $\eta\lambda\psi$ - $\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$ - (as e.g. in Gen. 32:31, 25:20) are very different as regards information structure, for we have in these cases one high-level nexus constituent, not two.

(2) The *iconic staging* device of depicting one event as "antefact", as anterior and Topics important in many languages. For the topicalizing segmentation of "adverbial clauses" in Late Egyptian, cf. SATZINGER 1976 on *jr*- segmentation; ROSS 1991 (Latin); RYCHNER 1968 (Old French); THOMPSON 1987, COUPER-KUHLEN 1989:12ff. (with further references); DECLERCK 1996 (English). The Topic status or rhematic importance are not necessarily bound up with the "subordination" vs. "main clause" marking — cf. the Latin *cum inversum* figure and its correspondents ("He was still smoothing soil over the forehead when suddenly a dark figure was standing over him"). Another issue involved here is that of "sloppy simultaneity" (DECLERCK 1991:41ff.) or, in the case of $\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$ -, rather "sloppy anteriority".

(3) On "Conditionals as Topics", see SCHIFFRIN 1992 (esp. 183ff.).

(b) The Focalizing Conversion (Second Tense) in Narrative.

Probably the most striking, even surprising feature of Bohairic Coptic narrative, in diachronic view, is the almost total absence of the Focalizing Conversion or Second Tense, in Scripture Bohairic marking predominantly **circumstants** (adverbials) as focal. In pre-Coptic Egyptian, even in Roman Demotic, the so-called emphatic form (as well as other types of Cleft Sentence) is an important narrative device. On the other (the functional) hand, Narrative Focalization is a complex, not self-evident notion, far beyond the contrastive-Focus dialogic essence of the Focalizing Conversion. The Focalizing Conversion of the Preterite⁵⁴ does occur in Report, in special Narrative textemes (such as the aetiological, locutive “Naming Narrative”):

Deut. 22:16 **ΤΑΙΩΕΡΙ ΝΤΗΙ ΑΙΤΗΙΣ ΜΠΑΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΨΕΖΙΜΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΑΦΜΕΣΤΩΣ ΤΝΟΥ.**

Ex. 2:10 **ΟΥΟΖ ΑΣΤΡΕΝ-ΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΔΕ-ΜΩΨΗΙΣ ΕΣΔΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ-ΕΤΑΙΕΝΦ ΕΠΨΩΙ ΔΕΝΠΙΜΩΨ.**

Moreover, the FC is not excluded of the cognitive-contents narrative slot (following “see”, “hear”):

Gen. 43:25 **ΑΨΩΤΕΜ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ-ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗΨ ΜΕΤΙ ΕΟΨΩΜ ΝΕ-ΜΩΨ ΜΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΨ.**

Deut. 33:21 **ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΝΑΨ ΕΤΕΦΑΠΑΡΧΗ ΔΕ-ΕΤΑΨΨΕΨΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΜΑΨ.**

And in the “Omniscient Narrator’s Channel”, that is in Comment Mode:

Gen. 38:9 **ΕΤΑΦΕΜΙ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΑΨΝΑΝ ΔΕ-ΑΡΕ-...ΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ.**

Num. 13:22 **ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΜΜΑΨ ΝΔΕ-ΑΧΙΜΑΝ ΝΕΜ ΣΕΣΙ ΝΕΜ ΘΑΛΩΝ ΝΙΔΩΨ ΝΤΕΑΝΑΚ.**

Gen. 25:10 **ΠΙΙΟΖΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΜΖΑΨ ÷ ΦΗ ΕΤΑΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΔΨΟΦ ΝΤΟΟΤΩ ΝΝΕΝΔΡΟΤ ΝΤΕΧΕΤ ΕΤΑΨΘΕΜΣ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΜΜΑΨ ΝΕΜ ΣΑΡΡΑ ΤΕΦΣΙΜΕ.**

Obs.

(1) H.J. POLOTSKY’s categorical “Un Parfait Second...ne se trouve jamais dans une phrase purement narrative” (1944:141) calls for some modification: it does not distinguish between dialects, and, more importantly, begs the question of what is “purement narratif”. But this statement was made à propos of Stern’s attribution of subjective value

⁵⁴ The Second or Focalizing Imperfect is very rare, and to my knowledge not attested in our corpus: **ΕΝΑΦΨΛΗΛ ΠΕ ΔΕΝΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΕΦΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ** (Mac. Nn. 6 p. 45: CM).

to the Second Tenses (1880:212), which is an apt description of the main semantic feature of the Comment Mode.

(2) In New Testament Bohairic narrative, we find $\alpha\kappa$ - corresponding, in classic topicalizing configurations, to a Focalizing Conversion in Sahidic, or in clear CM cases: Gal. 2:1-2 $\alpha\iota\psi\epsilon\eta\eta\iota\ \epsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\iota\ \epsilon\iota\lambda\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\iota\psi\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma\omega\rho\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ (Sah. $\alpha\iota\beta\omega\kappa\ \dots\ \eta\tau\alpha\iota\beta\omega\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\ \dots$) — note the absence of $\eta\eta\iota$ in the thematized verb.

John 21:1 $\eta\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\omicron\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \dots\ \alpha\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\eta\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\tau$ — an instance of the Boh. $\alpha\kappa$ -Focalizing Preterite (cf. §2.4.2(b)3)?

John 6:6 $\phi\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\pi\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma\iota\eta\ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\pi\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma\iota\eta\ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon$ (Narrator's Channel, CM; Sah. $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa$ -). (B4 John $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\omega\ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon$)

John 21:23 $\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\delta\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\iota\varsigma\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \dots$ (Sah. $\eta\tau\alpha$ -).

Acts 16:18 $\phi\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\varsigma\rho\alpha\ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\eta\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\theta\omicron\upsilon$ (Sah. $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\pi\epsilon$, a rare case of Foc. Imperfect in CM).

John 19:36 $\eta\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \alpha\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \gamma\iota\eta\alpha\ \eta\tau\epsilon\uparrow\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta\ \delta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ (Narrator's Channel, CM; Sah. $\eta\tau\alpha\theta$ -).

A FC does however occur in the Comment Mode and especially the meta-narrative Narrator's Channel (with a Basic Preterite v.l.):

John 11:13 $\eta\eta\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\iota\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\ \eta\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$.

John 11:51 $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\delta\epsilon\text{-}\phi\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\iota\tau\omicron\tau\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \dots$

John 21:19 $\phi\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\chi\eta\mu\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\ \dots$

(3) In Shenoutean Sahidic, the lexeme-focussing or nexus-focussing Focalizing Preterite in Narrative marks sharply the CM: (Leip. III 96) $\gamma\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\psi\delta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\alpha\theta\pi\omega\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\gamma\eta\tau$ — $\eta\tau\alpha\theta\pi\omega\upsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho$ "It was as if they became crazed — and indeed they did". But the narrative FC is also found Egyptian-like, in detailed episodal descriptive amplification (Amplified or Enhanced Evolution): (Amél. II 87) $\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta\eta\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \varsigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \eta\gamma\eta\tau\varsigma\ \eta\theta\epsilon\ \eta\gamma\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\rho\ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\pi\omega\gamma\ \alpha\eta\ \psi\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\gamma\eta\ \alpha\eta\ \psi\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\text{(}\omicron\upsilon\text{)}\omega\eta\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\psi\lambda\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\psi\omega\ \epsilon\psi\lambda\lambda\omega\ \eta\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon\ \delta\iota\eta\ \eta\epsilon\iota\beta\ \eta\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \psi\alpha\eta\eta\omega\ \eta\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\pi\epsilon$ "Those who have fallen down into it wallowed in it like swine, not until it reached their thighs, and not until they sank up to their thighs, but even until they appeared fouled and smeared in it from the nails of their feet to the hair of their head". See SHISHA-HALEVY 2007b.

(4) Pre-Coptic Egyptian. In the Old Kingdom autobiographical narrative, the Emphatic form features especially in the thematic verbs of movement (DORÉ 1986:69ff., 152ff.). In Middle Egyptian, cases of verb of clear "Emphatic" $\textit{sdm.n.f}$ (verb of movement and some intransitives, passive $\textit{sdm.n.tw.f}$: — see POLOTSKY 1965:79ff.) are well attested in Locutive/Allocutive Narrative, e.g. in autobiographical Narratives (cf. POLOTSKY 1965:84f. etc.; also in the so-called "Poetical Stela" of Thutmose III. In the story of Sinuhe, the Emphatic in Condensed Narrative (92ff.); also, in meta-narrative and meta-textual CM (see exx. 3-4 in POLOTSKY 1957:45); in descriptive Enhanced Evolution (POLOTSKY 1957:47 ex. 21, 48 ex. 25). On p. 48f., the famous Sinuhe B 199-200 is discussed at length: a striking instance of zoom-in "freeze-frame", or "paintbrush" slow-motion Enhanced Evolution (following the unmarked EM event of Sinuhe receiving a letter from Pharaoh): "It was as I was standing amidst my family that the letter arrived; it was (only) after I had prostrated myself that it was read out to me".

(5) The "Emphatic" form $\textit{j.jr.f sdm}$ is important in Late Egyptian as a behind-the-scene "psychologistic" and intentional as well as background-information Comment Mode form, especially in locutive "confession" 1st-person reporting Narratives ("Tomb Robberies"), but also for descriptive and close-up Enhanced Evolution: BM 10052 13/19f. "It is in order

to put it in NN's home that he stole the silver", P. Mayer A 6/16f. "It was out of fear that I said it" P. Mayer A 2/19 "It was when I was young that I killed my father", LRL 7/11f. "It was only when they met me that I found that he had sent a boat to collect me".

(6) It is in Demotic that the narrative FC is most prevalent. We encounter here several narrative roles of the Second Tense (*pace* JOHNSON 1976:115 "not a narrative tense"). Here we even have a recent pioneering special study (WIDMER 1999). Indeed, the Demotic Second Tense / Emphatic thematic and cataphorically focussing verb-form is an important feature of Demotic Narrative, both as a special Enhanced or Rich Narrative form) our $\text{naq-} + \text{zero}$) and as a Comment Mode (our $\text{naq-} \text{ite}$) delimitation, combining a cataphoric kind of episodal amplification with a narrator's supply of relevant particulars. Not so much for narrative peak marking, but to express a significant narrative change or development — an *episode delimitation*, inter-episode seam, or foregrounding "springboard", usually with thematic lexemes of ancillary narratological status ("find"⁵⁵, "see", "hear", "happen", "say", and verbs of movement: "arrive", "turn to", "leave", "descend, ascend", "reach", "embark" and so on), cataphorically highlighting Circumstantial details and motives, and on the whole with a delimitative function. Instances of *j.jr.f...jw-* (Circumstantial focalized) are frequent from Ryl. IX on, and seem to be cases of "no sooner...than". Consider Ryl. IX 3/7, 5/10, 11/8.13, 14/3 etc., P. Spiegelberg 2/9, *Anksh.* 3/19f., P. Krall 17/22f., *Setne* 3/30.31.38, 4/23.38, 5/11.13.15.30.31, *Setne* II 1/15, 2/2ff.; *Mythus* 8/6ff., 10ff.). Widmer's "glossing Second Tense" (1999:184f.) is closest to our Comment Mode signalling; she also (1999:174ff.) points out the use of the Second Tense "simply (*sic*) to delimit a macrosyntactic unit".

(7) The Narrative Present too may express "high-Focus events" (FLEISCHMAN 1990:193ff., see PARASKEVAS 1993); but this is a different kind of narrative focalization, one that merges into narrative "relief" and borders on the episodal or eventual amplification expressed in Bohairic by naq- (above). (See JUNGE 1989:18ff., 63ff.).

(c) The "Tautological Infinitive" in Narrative

This is another special focussing construction, not of circumstants but of verb lexemes and/or the verbal nexus itself. Familiar and much-discussed in Semitic and (Indo-)European (especially Romance. Cf. GOLDENBERG 1971), it is well attested in Egyptian from the Pyramid Texts on. I have tried to show (1990), that we have in the Biblical instances a case of converging or merging of the Hebrew/Greek calque with the genuine Egyptian feature. The construction is rare in our corpus, and always corresponds to a Greek "Tautological Infinitive" or "Tautological Participle":

Gen. 20:18 $\text{šeno} \psi \theta \alpha \mu \alpha \phi \uparrow \psi \theta \alpha \mu \text{ c} \alpha \nu \alpha \lambda \text{ n} \tau \circ \uparrow \text{ n} \text{ i} \nu \text{ e} \text{ n}$
 $\text{e} \tau \text{ š} \text{ e} \text{ n} \text{ p} \text{ n} \text{ i} \text{ n} \alpha \text{ b} \text{ i} \text{ m} \text{ e} \text{ l} \text{ e} \text{ x} \text{ e} \theta \text{ e} \text{ c} \alpha \text{ r} \text{ r} \alpha$ (συγκλείων συνέκλεισεν).

Ex. 13:19 $\text{o} \theta \text{ o} \text{ z} \text{ a} \text{ m} \omega \text{ t} \text{ c} \text{ h} \text{ c} \text{ w} \alpha \text{ i} \text{ n} \text{ n} \text{ i} \text{ k} \alpha \text{ c} \text{ n} \text{ t} \text{ e} \text{ i} \omega \text{ c} \text{ h} \text{ f} \text{ n} \text{ e} \text{ m} \alpha \text{ q}$
 $\text{š} \text{ e} \text{ n} \text{ o} \text{ t} \alpha \text{ n} \alpha \psi \text{ g} \alpha \text{ r} \text{ a} \text{ i} \omega \text{ c} \text{ h} \text{ q} \text{ t} \alpha \text{ r} \text{ k} \text{ e} \text{ n} \text{ e} \text{ n} \psi \text{ h} \text{ r} \text{ i} \text{ m} \text{ p} \text{ i} \text{ c} \bar{\alpha} \text{ e} \text{ q} \text{ z} \omega$
 $\text{m} \text{ m} \text{ o} \text{ c} \text{ z} \text{ e} \dots$ (ὄρκω γὰρ ὄρκισεν).

⁵⁵ It must be pointed out that *gm* hardly conditions an Emphatic form: cf. Ryl. IX 8/4, 9/1 etc.

Lev. 10:16 **ΣΕΝΟΥΚΩΤ ΑΥΚΩΤ ΝΩΦ ΝΔΕ-ΜΩΤ** **CHC** (ζητῶν ἐξεζήτησεν).

(d) Narrative Highlighting: Presentatives (see discussion and illustration below, Chapter Two, §2.0.3).

As has been pointed out, Amplified or Enhanced Evolution (distinct from a “boosted” flow of narrative) is related to narrative superordinative highlighting by means of **ΖΗΠΠΕ** (**IC**), which may, beyond its delimitative junctural role, be viewed as true narrative focussing.⁵⁶

Gen. 37:25 **ΑΥΓΕΜΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΩΤΩΜ ... ΖΗΠΠΕ IC** **ΖΑΝΙCΜΑΗΛΙ-ΤΗΣ ΕΤΜΟΥΙ...**

This Focus construction is often formalized as the “object of seeing” (here also **ΟΤΟΖ** may mark the superordination); even here the characterization of “unexpectedness” or “counter-expectation”, or “suddenness” is striking:

Gen. 29:2 **...ΟΤΟΖ ΑΥΝΑΘ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC** **ΟΤΩΥΩΤ ΝΑCΧΗ ΣΕΝΤ-ΚΟΙ ΝΑΥΧΗ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΘ ΝΔΕ-Γ ΝΟΖΙ ΝΕCΩΘ.**

Ex. 14:10 **ΑΥΔΟΤΩΥΤ ... ΑΥΝΑΘ ΟΤΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC** **ΝΙΡΕΜΕΝ-ΧΗΜΙ ΑΥΘΑΟΘΤ ΖΙΦΥΑΖΟΘ ΜΜΩΘ.**

Also Gen. 18:2, 19:28, 22:13.

(e) Ordination Hierarchy in Narrative

In a text such as ours, which is by and large unarticulated, the isolation of narrative segments — blocks, chunks — by various means, including verbal and non-verbal signals such as particles and adverbials, links and delimitations, is essential. Formalized different-rank configurations of non-autonomous or lower-autonomy units, “included” or embedded with main-clause narrative carriers are, in this respect, important. However, one must, I believe, carefully evaluate one’s terminology in this context. The famous (apparently oxymoronic) Egyptian “non-initial main clause”⁵⁷ is usually illustrated by the Late Egyptian narrative “sequential”, *jw.f hr sdm*⁵⁸. The concatenated and concatenating narrative-

⁵⁶ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1997, for presentative focalization in Celtic and Romance narrative.

⁵⁷ “Main” is delusive, and always relative, on a scale of cotextual dependence, integration and linkage; “non-initial” is even more problematic, since “initiality” is both relative and dependent on the unit contemplated.

⁵⁸ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1973 for the apodotic *jw.f hr sdm* and its Coptic “Clause Conjugation” **ΕΦCΩΤΜ** descendant. Compare also (to a degree) the sequelling Conjunctive in Egyptian (SHISHA-HALEVY 1994). Late Egyptian *jw.f hr sdm* is considered a close-concatenation form in EM (see DEPUYDT 1993:26ff.). However, it is not clear to which looser-juncture narrative-event forms it stands opposed; structurally, the LE form is *sui*

event unit does often not comply with the conventional hypotactic *vs.* main clause dichotomy⁵⁹: the interdependence of the links in the narrative chain is, of course, tautological. In Coptic, there is no morphologically distinct EM carrier, yet it is certainly arguable that the *ne*-conversion is a type of “non-initial clause”, marking a dependent, environmentally pertinent discourse function. On the other hand, the cohesion inside a “narrative block” constituted by a sequence of *asyndetic* perfects is effected by a specific kind of “co-subordination”⁶⁰. Generally speaking, the converters should not be taken simply as embedding or integrating signals, but as linking or delimiting junctural signals (below, Chapter Four), and/or structuring discourse- or textual-hierarchy ones (both “Preterite” and Focalizing converters, on the information-structure level)⁶¹. The Coptic “Clause Conjugation” acquires, in narrative text-grammar, a new signalling significance: they are “subordinate” only in the sense of the Hjelmslevian determination dependency, that is, they presuppose and determine the existence (in their immediate environment, in the Coptic case in point) of some non-Clause-Conjugation nexal form, while the inverse is not true: non-Clause-Conjugation nexal forms do not determine Clause Conjugations. By this token, the *ne-naq*- (*ne*) narrative tense forms are not subordinate (*pace* WEINRICH 1977, on forms expressing *relief*). Be that as it may, the most useful operative “ordination” principle in narrative is **superordination**, that is, the marking of the narrative “linguistic event” or chain of “linguistic events” as salient or prominent in relation to their preceding environment. This is effected in different syntactical ways:

(1) *etaq*- *aq*-, *aqwan*- *aq*- configurations were discussed above. Here the superordination of the narrative-evolution segment is marked by a topicalized “antefact” Clause Conjugation form.

(2) The *per se* superordinative infixed Theme-*agens* construction; also the (a) formal topicalization Theme-*agens* construction:

Gen. 4:1 *aaam ae aqcoθeneθa teqczi mi*.

generis, as B. Gunn notes in a letter to A.H. Gardiner (20/7/39, Gardiner Papers at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, AHG 142.124.90): “But in describing *iw f hr sdm* as a continuative construction, one must have regard to the mere position of it in the text rather than to the sense...” [Gunn shows the form to be also apodictic to a temporal prolatiss, occurring also after an ‘initial relative’] “even when it cannot be taken as a continuation of the relative... Thus the ‘continuative’ force of *iw f hr sdm* is pretty vague; all that seems to matter is that it should not come at the beginning”.

⁵⁹ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY, 2006a.

⁶⁰ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Seven; FLEISCHMAN 1990:205ff.

⁶¹ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1995b:131ff.

(3) The superordinating *οτορ* in *apodosi* (with the foregoing cotext either marked or unmarked), a clear case of high-level rhematicity of a nexus (see below, Chapter Four; and see ANDERSSON 1904:27f., with numerous exx. from our corpus):

Ex. 1:12 *καταφρητ δε εναυθββιο μμωσ μμοq ÷ οτορ νασηνοσ ναψαι...* (cf. ANDERSSON 1904:74 “etwas verdächtig”).

Gen. 17:1 *αψωπι δε νδε-αβραμ ðενq νρομπι ÷ οτορ απ̄ς οτονρq εαβραμ.*

Gen. 27:30 *αψωπι δε εταqι εβολ νδε-ιακωβ... ÷ οτορ ανσαψ πεqcon ini εβολ ðεντ̄δορ̄ς.*

Gen. 7:6 *νωε δε ναqχη ðενx νρομπι ÷ οτορ απιμωσ νκατακλ̄σμοc ι ε̄ξενπικᾱρι.*

(4) Superordinative highlighting by means of *ρηππε* (*ιc*) (discussed above and below, Chapter Two), which may, beyond its delimitative junctural role, be viewed as true narrative focussing.

(5) Transition to Evolution Mode or to Enhanced Evolution (e.g. Gen. 4:2, 15:12, Ex. 2:16, 3:1, 5:13, 14:8, 17:2, Num. 14:6 etc.)

(6) The CM forms *ναq-* (*πε*) or *νεαq-* *πε* are fuzzily superordinate (and anaphoric) to their preceding cotext.

Obs.

(1) Above, I have contested the validity of a simple correlation of grounding and “ordination”, as postulated for instance by TOMLIN 1985 and (in a more sophisticated model) MATTHIESEN and THOMPSON 1988. The nucleus/satellite analytical principle hardly applies to narrative hierarchy, unless overmapped by the Theme/Rheme one; I certainly find it difficult to view *ναq-* *πε* and the CM as “satellital” to a “nuclear” EM. In fact, the EM/CM model is textural, not structural in the hierarchical sense; there is a “determination” dependence between the two Modes, since the CM presupposes an EM, while the inverse is not true.

(2) For some discussions contesting or rejecting the old, logic-oriented binary model of “subordinated clause” vs. “main clause”, see HAMP 1973; PFISTER 1995; SHISHA-HALEVY 1995b:139f., 2006a.

(3) On cataphoric *ται τε οε* “thus”, serving to focalize and delimit subsequent narrative events, see SHISHA-HALEVY 2007b (Shenoutean Sahidic: see for instance Leip. IV 26f.) Irish *is amhlaidh a-, is é an chaoi a-* provides a striking parallel.

1.2 Dialogue Tensing and Texturing

1.2.1 Dialogue grammar. The Dialogue texteme. Substructures of Dialogue.

1.2.2 Specifically dialogic features: a brief check-list.

1.2.3 The Allocation.

1.2.3.1 The interrogative Allocation. Questions. “Rhetorical Questions”.

(a) General.

(b) Nexal questions; unintroduced assertive-focal formal questions.

(c) Specially introduced assertive-focal formal questions.

(d) Rhematic questions.

(e) Inclusion/ coordination of questions.

1.2.3.2 Allocation, exclamation, address. Imperatives.

(a) Attention-forcing address.

(b) Imperatives. **ΜΑΡΕQCΩΤΕΜ**: the jussive / causative imperative. Sequelling **ΜΑΡΕQCΩΤΕΜ**.

(c) The imperatives — extended construction: the Post-Imperative Allocutive slot.

1.2.4 The Response.

1.2.4.1 Response forms and constructions: “apocritics” and “reactives”.

1.2.4.2 Detailed contrastive Allocation/Response repertory.

1.2.4.3 Special responsive/allocutive clauses.

1.2.5 Tensing in Dialogue: the main tenses.

1.2.5.1 The two Futures.

(a) The problem.

(b) General considerations: parameters.

(c) Diachrony

(d) The Absolute-Definite (“specific”) Future (**ΕQCΩΤΕΜ**, **ΝΝΕQCΩΤΕΜ**).

(e) The Contingent-Indefinite Future (**QCΝΑCΩΤΕΜ**): present-based “tempus instans”.

(f) Absolute-Definite and Contingent-indefinite Futures combined/opposed

1.2.5.2 The Present, non-actual Present and Aorist.

(a) The Present.

(b) The Aorist.

(c) The Non-actual Present.

1.2.5.3 The adverb-rheme Present: a note on copular **ΧΗ**.

1.2.5.4 The Imperfect in Dialogue.

1.2.5.5 The Preterite **ΑQCΩΤΕΜ** in Dialogue: some problem highlights.

1.2.1 Dialogue Grammar. The Dialogue Texteme. Substructures of Dialogue

In “Sentence Grammar”, the dialogic clause has ever been considered as a default or “normal” sentence type. (Even Discourse Analysis, which has replaced the Text-Linguistics of the Nineteen-Sixties and Seventies, is mostly concerned with dialogic discourse, as if “discourse” were dialogic by default.) And yet, far from being a mere juxtaposition of

clauses, the basic or minimal Dialogue Texteme is a tightly and subtly knit complex, which comprises, in its ideal, classic or most explicit form of "alternating discourse" or *Wechselrede*, two recurring substructures or subsystems: the allocutive and the responsive ones. These reveal special kinds of interdependence (and respectively "insufficiency"), and consequent cohesion, which differs sharply from cohesion in narrative, although the basic linear succession is typical of both textemes. Indeed, Dialogue is defined primarily by this design (of course, Dialogue differs from Narrative also in pragmatic presupposition, which furnishes the pragmatic environment for the linguistic patterning): the progressive, dynamic intermeshing of two texts by two different locutors, with the prime cohesive factor between one Allocution-Response unit and the concatenated subsequent one being the fact that one Response forms the allocutive basis — in fact, a thematic base — for another. Needless to say, there are numerous variations on the basic Alternating Discourse configuration. The Dialogue is not a broken text or an integrated sum of text fragments, but a textemic system maximally combining two formally (and pragmatically distinctive) subsystems. In the following pages, I shall try and depict the basic structure of Bohairic Coptic dialogue and its constituents, as it occurs in the studied corpus, focussing (a) on the syntagmatic-and-paradigmatic profile of the Interrogative and Imperative Allocution and Response, as well on the syntagmatics of address and exclamation in the given corpus, with some contrastive data from Nitrian Bohairic; (b) on Dialogue tensing in the corpus.

Obs.

(1) "Sentence Grammar" is, and has ever been, typically dialogic. I suspect this stems from the implicit belief that dialogue is "more realistic," reflecting spoken language, a prejudice stemming in turn from the greatly mistaken belief that the spoken linguistic variety is more "authentic" or in some way "more true", and anyway primary, to the written variety. Note the compatibility of the Dialogue and Narrative textemes — both real syntagmatic compatibility and the blend or overmapping of a "dialogic perspective" on Narrative (Free Indirect Discourse); see above.

(2) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1981 for a pragmatically striking type of allocution/response: "the Oracular Dialogue" (Late Egyptian).

(3) Some important or recent state-of-the-art reports on various aspects of Dialogue Analysis: HELBIG 1975 (German); KALVERKÄMPER 1981:257 s.v., HUNDSNURSCHER and WEIGAND (eds.) 1995, with research-historical overviews; ADAMZIK 1995:286f. s.v.; FRITZ and HUNDSNURSCHER (eds.) 1994, with contributions on Dialogue typology, question-answer sequences, Dialogue Grammar; STATI and WEIGAND (eds.) 1992 on methodology, Dialogue Grammar, cohesion in dialogue; BAZZANELLA 1996 (ed.), on repetition in Dialogue; LÖFFLER 1993 (ed.).

1.2.2 Specifically Dialogic Features: a Brief Check-list

(a) Reference and Juncture. Discourse signals. Dialogic. The Allocation/Response Dependency.

The personal reference in Dialogue is inter- or delocutive, but interlocutive pronouns⁶² are pivotal, in a typical speaker's-role-switching interchange of locutive (1st-person) and allocutive (2nd-person) reference. This switch is a main delimitation factor. As for juncture, The internal junctural mechanism of the Allocation and its Response is very complex.

Theoretically, two constituent types of linkage are conceivable in a dialogic text, viz. (a) internally, between the Allocation and Response substructures, (b) between the #Allocation + Response# complex and its linearly preceding or successive one. Ideally, (b) is operated by reacting to the last Response, or part thereof, or its Allocation, that is linking to it by (a). It is important to realize that the Allocation + Response configuration (1) constitutes a single complex textual matrix unit, not two texts, and (2) that each of its two constituent parts is independent as grammatical structure and system. The implication and consequence of (1) is that, only when the end of the matrix is reached can the exact function (and logical status) of the allocation be resolved by the decoding reader/listener. Thus, whether or not a Response is required/expected/solicited "by" a Question is not a valid query, and must be replaced by whether a Response is present as non-zero, or whether it is zeroed; and then, in actual analysis, whether the Response is governed (i.e. conditioned).

(b) Specific Allocation/Response signals and forms are encountered: see below.

(c) Particles and particle roles specific to Dialogue, e.g. *rap* in Response (e.g. Gen. 20:11). See below, Chapter Four.

(d) Focalization (Focalizing Conversion [*alias* Second Tenses], Cleft Sentences, particles, Augens) is in our variety of Coptic peculiar to dialogue, or nearly so; at most, common to Dialogue, Exposition and the Comment Mode of Narrative: see above, and below, Chapter Two (the Focalizing Conversion and Cleft Sentence) and Four (the Augens).

Obs.

Cf. SCHIFFRIN 1995:77 "Question-answer pairs are structurally complete after the provision of their second part". However, I cannot simply accept that "a question defines a set of answers" (HUDDLESTON 1994:413f.) In the text, there is a compatibility and selection

⁶² Note for instance the following cases: formalized allocutive generic person (ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲟⲩ Gen. 11:10, 25:18 etc.); number neutralized: ⲛⲛⲉⲕ/ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛ- e.g. in Lev. 19.

dependency between the two substructures of Dialogue. Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1981, 1995b:183ff.; See BLUMENTHAL 1981: esp. 99ff., 108ff. for the expectation and presupposition parameters in the Response and Allocation/Response relationships.

1.2.3 The Allocation

1.2.3.1 The interrogative Allocation. Questions. "Rhetorical Questions".

(a) General

The interrogative Allocation ("Question") is formally distinct in that it is part of a specialized dependency matrix that opens a slot for reaction ("Response") — a slot that may, like most valency slots, be occupied by *zero*; the Question *governs* its Response, which is thus actantial; the Question being of the Response, in terms of high-level information structure, *topical and thematic* to its *rhematicity*. (Other Allocations may be reacted to, yet as free complements, not governed and actantial).⁶³ Two sharply diverging formal types of Questions are distinguishable: one (a) nexus-referred, querying the validity of a nexus and eliciting confirmation or refutation of this validity (*alias* polar or yes/no Questions), the second (b) Rheme-referred, or rather using a special ("interrogative") Rheme to elicit rhematic information.⁶⁴ Type (a) is in a sense "rhematic" too: its high-level "validity Rheme", potentially explicit in the pro-clausal "yes/no" Response, is the confirmation or repudiation of the validity of the very nexus; and a high-level Rheme may be the *assertion* of the validity of the nexus, or such assertion presented allocutively, soliciting agreement or challenging disagreement. The only Response solicited by high-assertiveness questions is one of (dis)agreement.

Both types may, according to conventional typology and terminology, be "rhetorical", although the so called Rhetorical Questions — better *Assertive-Focal Formal Questions* — are immediately associated with the first. Assertive-Focal Formal Questions take on an interrogative form — are, so to speak, "disguised" or "packaged" as Questions — but actually take a place on an *interrogation-assertion-exclamation* gradient continuum of modality, mapped onto nexal or rhematic interrogative patterns. However, not only is it the case that no sharp boundaries

⁶³ Arguably, by the very occurrence of a Response, an Allocation is retrospectively defined as elicitive and "incomplete".

⁶⁴ The two types are compatible in certain languages, e.g. Turkish, where rhematic elements can be followed by *-mi*, which converts the whole to nexal interrogation.

are determinable between the traditional and still prevalent distinction of “rhetorical” and “non-rhetorical” (unmarked? at any rate, not a unitary type) ones, but, like many a “logical” notion disguised as grammatical phenomena, it is often in Coptic not a grammatically meaningful dichotomy at all — that is, when it is not signalled by any or some or all of a repertory of markers (see below), yet when it is so marked, we might suggest that the greater the number of assertivity signals found in a given instance, the higher its grade of assertivity.

Rhetorical Questions are in fact assertions that are focussed along the bipolar *yes — no* axis, uniquely rendering the *yes vs. no* truth-value opposite one of focus.

From the communicative angle, it is, I believe, wrong to relate “rhetoricalness” to the speaker’s absence of expectation of response, for some reaction is invariably expected and in fact and in effect solicited. Certainly, the difference — only superficially binary — between *zero* and *non-zero* Response is not coextensive with the non-binary semantic differentiation of logical types of Questions.

Obs.

(1) On Rhetorical Questions, their distinctive textual status, their statement value, the role of negation in them, etc., see GRÉSILLON 1980; KORZEN 1985:126ff. HOFF 1983 (Latin) correlates the typology of Questions (p. 124) with the speaker “knowing” (or “not knowing”, as the case may be) the answer, and presupposing the same of his interlocutor. However, one may object that this dichotomy is too coarse by far: there are in-between cases in which the speaker is doubtful about the answer — or believes he knows it, needing confirmation — or suspects it, waiting for admission — or is really impatient for an action to take place (“Will you leave?”) — or is confronted with an obvious state of things (“Are you still alive?”), and so on. The special case of Deliberative Questions (cf. Gen. 33:15 *AN NTΛ-*, below) is treated by ROUCHOTA 1983 for Modern Greek, and defined pragmatically (see esp. p. 180); this too is a kind of Question subject to numerous nuances but entirely indifferent to the notion of “knowing the answer”. HUDDLESTON 1993 too relates the difference between English exclamatory and interrogative clauses to pragmatic parameters. However, written-language (text) data must, and do, suffice to resolve the nature and profile of Questions. In fact, the Dialogue texteme is a case where the issue of the relationship — synchronic as well as diachronic — and interaction (if any) of spoken and written diasystems is sharply brought into focus.

(2) The insight that Questions are a kind of Topic for their Responses (Htz 1978:100ff.; SHISHA-HALEVY 1981, 1995b:175ff.) which is formally confirmed in certain languages may, I believe, be at least in part extended to allocution/reaction in general.

(3) HUDDLESTON 1994 distinguishes the grammatical category of “Interrogatives” from the semantic one of “Questions”. I use here the latter as specific instances, subsystems and cases-in-point of the former.

(4) The tone of inquiry, part of the *signifié* of interrogative signalling, is essential to its assertiveness. It may be marked (even in the written text, by its own signals) as impatient,

aggressive, surprised, indignant, ironic... cf. RENCHON 1967:112 on exclamation "étonnement un peu sceptique... la stupefaction, le défi, la bravade, la déception, l'ironie".

(5) One striking grammatical criterion of a high-assertiveness formal Question is the low-to-zero functional load of negation (where present) — see below: ΚΝΑΞΩ ΕΡΟΚ.../ΚΝΑΞΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΝ "Will/Won't you have done....?"

(6) A very interesting case of an interrogative-focal shape to an emphatic-description exclamative assertion are the Modern Irish constructions of the type "Nach iad atá socair suaimhneach!" "Aren't they calm and peaceful!". In form, this combines two matrices, viz. a negative-interrogative conversion (like: "Á! Nach iontach é an grá?" "Oh, isn't Love wonderful?") with a Cleft Sentence matrix (like "Is an bhean ramhar féin a bhí ann" "It was the fat woman herself who was there"). Formally, then, "Isn't it they who are tranquil (and) peaceful", but functionally "Aren't they tranquil (and) peaceful!". This phenomenon is also instructive with regard to the affinity, observable in Coptic — though less so in Bohairic? — of "Rhetorical" Questions with focalization (and thus the Cleft Sentence), more specifically with nexus focussing.

The marking paradigm of Nexal Questions includes a *zero*-marked term. This is in itself striking in a written text, where one cannot fall back on suprasegmentals (especially intonational contours). It is also striking that *zero*-marking is in Nitrian most typical of **Allocutive (2nd person) Questions**. On the other hand, Rhematic Questions are always primarily marked for interrogativity by their very interrogative Rheme (ⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲑⲱⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ), which, however, has in Coptic a non-interrogative indefinite-specific homonym ("so-and-so", "a certain place" etc.): this is in fact a "pro-Response", representative responsivity cancelling the primary interrogativity. Secondly, therefore, these Questions contain and are marked by focalizing forms and/or constructions.

(b) Nexal Questions. Unintroduced Assertive-Focal Formal Questions

These are characterized by the non-rhematic, prefixed Question markers, and by the pertinence of negative/affirmative modulation.

ΑΝ-: marked term

zero : unmarked term (mostly allocutive; almost only affirmative. Present or Nominal Sentence/Cleft Sentence). Often Assertive-Focal (then especially marked).

Obs.

In spite of frequent graphemic delimiters (points, colon: or *lemniscus* ÷) separating ΑΝ from its clause (Gen. 8:7 ⲁⲛ ÷ ⲁⲡⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣ; 29:6 ⲁⲛ: ⲕⲟⲛⲁ, Ex. 17:7 ⲁⲛ- ÷ ⲡⲉⲥ ⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲏⲧⲉⲛ, Num. 16:22 ⲁⲛⲡⲁⲩⲱⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ... etc., see Chapter Four), ΑΝ seems to be inseparable from it by non-graphemic elements (except clause modifiers, which structurally belong to the clause: Ex. 4:18). This may be a rare marking of an intermediate (close, non-closest) grading of juncture.

Examples:

(I) **AN-**

(1) In quoted or indirect Questions — object actants of *verba dicendi*, *sentiendi* etc. (all Greek εἰ):

Gen. 8:7f. **ΕΝΑΥ ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΑΠΙΜΩΟΥ ΞΡΟΨ** (ΕΒΟΛ) (Greek εἰ).

Gen. 18:21 **ΕΝΑΥ ΑΝ-ΚΑΤΑΠΟΨΪΡΩΟΥ ... ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΣΕΔΩΚ ΜΜΟQ ΕΒΟΛ**.

Ex. 4:18 **ΝΤΑΝΑΥ ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΕΤΙ ΣΕΟΝΣ** (contrasted with the “direct” Gen. 43:27).

Num. 13:18ff. (**ΝΑΥ**) **ΔΕ- ΑΝ-QΔΟΡ ΙΕ-ΑΝ-ΟΨΔΩΒ ΠΕ ΙΕ ΑΝ-ΟΟΨΚΟΨΔΙ ΠΕ ΙΕ-ΑΝ ΟΨΝΙΨ† ΠΕ ... ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΝΑΝΕQ ΙΕ-ΑΝ-QΨΩΟΥ ... ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΟΨΟΝCΟΒΤ ΚΩ† ΕΡΩΟΥ ΙΕ-ΑΝ-ΞΑΝΑΤCΟΤ ΝΕ ... ΔΕ-ΑΝ-QΚΕΝΙΩΟΥΤ ΨΑΝ-ΜΜΟΝ**.

Deut. 4:32ff. (**ΨΙΝΙ**) **ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΑCΨΩΠΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΑΙCΑΔΙ ... ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΑΨCΩΤΕΜ ΕΞΩΒ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ† ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΑΕΘΝΟC CΩΤΕΜ ΕΤCΜΗ ΜΨ† ΕΤΟΝΣ ΕQCΑΔΙ ... ΙΕ ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΑQΨΩΝΤ ΝΔΕ-Ψ†**.

Gen. 27:21 **...ΝΤΑΔΟΜΔΜ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΙ ΗCΑΨ** (contrast Gen. 27:24 **ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΙ ΗCΑΨ**).

Gen. 42:16 (**ΟΨΩΝΞ ΕΒΟΛ**, transitive) **ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΤΕΤΕΝ ΔΕ ΜΕΘΜΗ**.

Num. 14:30 (**ΧΡΕΜΡΕΜ**) **ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΨΕΝΩΤΕΝ ...**

Ex. 17:7 **ΑΨΕΝΤ-ΠΨC ΕΨΔΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΠΨC ΨΟΠ ΝΔΗ-ΤΕΝ ΨΑΝ-ΜΜΟΝ**.

Gen. 43:7 (The man asked us:) **ΑΝ ΕΤΙ ΠΕΤΕΝΙΩΤ ΟΝΣ ΙΕ ΑΝ-ΟΨΟΝΤΕΤΕΝ-CON ΜΜΑΨ**.

Gen. 44:19f. **ΝΘΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΚΨΕΝ-ΝΕΚΑΛΩΟΥ ΕΚΔΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΟΨΟΝΤΕΤΕΝ-ΙΩΤ ΜΜΑΨ ΙΕ-CON**.

Gen. 24:23 **ΝΘΟ-ΤΨΕΡΙ ΝΝΙΜ ΜΑΤΑΜΟΙ ÷ ΑΝ ΟΨΟΝ-ΤΟΠΟC ...**

NB: no **ΔΕ**-marking of the interrogative as actantial, but **ΜΑΤΑΜΟΙ**, while being delimited from its sequel, is both retrospective and prospective.

Obs.

(1) For the formal distinction and opposition of “quoted interrogation” vs. “direct interrogation”, cf. John (B4) 21:15ff.x3 **ΚΜΕΙ ΜΜΟΙ** but delocutively quoted 21:17 as **ΑΝ-ΚΜΕΙ ΜΜΟΙ** (not so in Homer’s **ΚΕΡΑΓΑΠΑΝ ΜΜΟΙ/ΧΜΕΙ ΜΜΟΙ**).

(2) The suprasegmental (probably intonational) markers of interrogation in spoken Bohairic — in correlation with zero or non-zero segmental markers — are, of course, entirely unknown; but I believe they are in any case irrelevant or non-essential for the written marking of interrogativity.

(3) On so-called “direct” vs. “indirect speech”, an issue of linkage and delimitation (Chapter Four), see QUECKE 1990; PEUST 1996 for Late Egyptian (74f. for interrogation marking, 72 for vocative allocation as exponent of “Direct Speech”).

(2) In rhetorical, formal, solemn or ceremonious, affective, expressive, ironical or emphatic proclamatory interrogation. Often, Assertive-Focal Question (in the Greek, various markers):

Gen. 45:3 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΙΩΧΗΦ ΑΝ-ΕΤΙ ΦΟΝΣ ΝΔΕ-ΠΑΙΩΤ** (Greek *zero*).

Gen. 24:58 **ΑΝ-ΤΕΡΑΥΕΝΕ#** (Response: **†ΝΑΥΕΝΗΙ**) (Greek *zero*).

Num. 16:22 **Φ† Φ† ΝΤΕΝΙΠΝΑ ΝΕΜCΑΡΞ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΙCΔΕ-ΟΤΡΩΜΙ ΑΦΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΑΝ-ΠΔΩΝΤ ΜΠΩC ΝΑΙ ΕΔΕΝ†CΘΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΤΗΡC** (Greek *zero*).

Num. 16:9:13 **ΑΝ-ΟΤΚΟΤΞΙ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ (ΦΑΙ) ΔΕ ...** (Greek μή).

Ex. 14:11 **ΑΝ-ΕΤΕΜΜΟΝ-ΜΔΑΘ ΔΕΝΠΚΑΡΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ** (Greek *zero*).

Num. 22:37 **ΜΗ ΜΠΙΟΤΩΡΠ ΕΜΟ† ΕΡΟΚ ΕΘΒΕΟΘ ΜΠΕΚΙ ΖΑ-ΡΟΙ ... ΟΝΤΩC ΑΝ-†ΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΝΕΡΤΙΜΑΝ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΝ** (Greek *zero*).

Ex. 14:12 **ΑΝ-ΦΑΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΙCΑΔΙ ΕΤΑΝΔΟΦ ΝΑΚ...** (Greek οὐ).

Obs.

It will be observed that **ΑΝ-** introduces in Bohairic (not in Sahidic?) Assertive-Focal ("Rhetorical") Questions; this is, of course, a feature of Demotic and of earlier Egyptian, cf. Ryl. IX 5/10. and SPIEGELBERG 1924:§485f.

(3) In a Question/Response concatenation:

Gen. 29:5f. **ΝΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΕΒΟΛ ΘΩΝ — ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΧΑΡΡΑΝ / ΑΝ-ΤΕΤΕΝCΩΘΝ ΝΛΑΒΑΝ ... ΤΕΝCΩΘΝ ΜΜΟΦ / ΑΝ-ΦΟΝΣ ΦΟΝΣ** (Greek *zero*).

(4) **ΑΝ-** with the Absolute ("Definite") Future is very rare: expressing doubt and thus, as it were, a paradoxal collocation. I find only Gen. 17:17 (Greek εἰ + Fut.) **ΑΝ-ΕCΕΜΙCΙ...** "will she really give birth?" (See below, on the unquestionability of the Absolute-Definite Future). This is in fact an Assertive-Focal Question.

Obs.

Otherwise, **ΑΝ-** + *allocutive* Absolute Future is not interrogative, but used to express obijuration: (again, Greek εἰ). Synchronically, we seem to have here a different homonymous **ΑΝ** entity:

Gen. 14:23 **ΑΝ-ΕΕΙΕCΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΝΕΤΕΝΤΑΚ ΤΗΡΩΤ.**

Gen. 31:50 **ΑΝ-ΝΝΕΚΘΕΒΙΟ ΝΝΑΥΕΡΙ ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΝΝΕΚCΙCΖΙΜΙ ΕΔΕΝΝΑΥΕΡΙ.**

Deut. 1:35 **ΑΦΩΡΚ ΕΦΔΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΕΡΕΨΟΤΑΙ ΝΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΑΦ ΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ.**

(5) Gen. 33:15 **ΑΝ-ΝΤΑCΩΔΠ ΝΕΜΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΝΙΜΗΨ ΕΤΝΕΜΗΙ** (Greek *zero* + Fut.) is a rare instance of **ΑΝ-** introducing a

Deliberative Question. This is not a case of ellipsis of a verb (so ANDERSSON 1904:66f.), but one of the locutive functional and morphological merger of Conjunctive (*quâ* non-factive “that”- form) and deliberative **ταρεϙ**- (very marginal in Bohairic).

Obs.

In the context of deliberative “that”- Questions, Modern Greek *vá*- Questions come to mind: see ROUCHOTA 1993 for a pragmatic basis; seemingly a Mediterranean isogloss, it occurs also in Modern Hebrew (*še*-) and colloquial Arabic) — “shall I?”. Sahidic does not have **ene**- in this case.

(II) *Zero* (in the Greek, various interrogative markers) — also Assertive-Focal Questions:

Ex. 2:7 **τεοϣω νταμοϣ† νε...** (Greek *zero*).

Gen. 43:27f. **ϣοϣοϣ νε-πετενιωτ ... ετι ϣονϣ** answered **#ϣοϣοϣ νε-πεκαλοϣ πενιωτ ετι ϣονϣ** (Greek *ei/zero*) — observe that Gen. 46:30 **ετι γαρ κονϣ νεοκ** is not a question (note **γαρ**).

Gen. 27:24 **νεοκ πε παϣηρι ηϣαϣ** “Are you my son E.”? (Greek *zero*).

Assertive-Focal Questions, even when not specially introduced, may be marked by any or some or all of the following: negation; special introductory signals; focalization; the Augens:

Gen. 27:38 **οϣμοϣ μμαϣατς ετεντακ παιωτ** (Greek *μή*).

Ex. 2:14 **...ϣαν εκοϣω εϣοτβετ νεοκ...** (“...or is it that it is to murder me you wish...?”) (Greek *μή*).

Note here the Circumstantial Present as Cleft Sentence Topic (see Chapter Two).

Gen. 44:15 **τετενϣωϣη αν ϣε...** (Greek *zero*).

Obs.

“Intonation Questions” for *zero*-marked Questions (JUNGE 1983) characterizes a syntactical pattern by spoken-language prosodic data that are not merely absent, but irrelevant in the written-language text. “Pseudofragen” or “emotionel-konstatierende Fragen” for the traditional Rhetorical Questions (*ibid.*) is, I believe, inadequate.

(c) Marked Assertive-Focal Formal Questions

The following Greek-origin elements introduce marked argumentative (“rhetorical”) assertions. While their Greek correspondents do introduce Formal Questions, it is arguable that clauses not introduced by **αν**-, the only certain interrogative marker in Coptic, are in reality *not Questions at all*, but instances of enhanced — focalized — nexus, often with added

attitudinal characterization. The attestations often do not match their Greek correspondents in the *Vorlage*: note *μητι* for *μή*, *μη* for *οὐκ* and *οὐχί*, which do not occur in the corpus as initial elements. This means no more, no less than the advantage taken by Coptic of the possibility of markedness-enhancing grammemic borrowing, like (for some examples) *καν* and *ζοταν* with the Conditional, or *ειμητι* and *ζωc* (*τε*), *μηποτε* and *μηπωc* with the Conjunctive, *ζοτε* with the Circumstantial, Sentence Particles like *ραp*, *δε*, *μεν*, and so on and so forth — at the same time giving these elements a systemically independent value in Coptic. (In fact, the elements listed below *are* initial, discourse-signalling sentence particles, and, like the other particles of Greek origin, have their own *valeur* in Coptic):

μη “it is surely not the case that...”

μητι similar?

μη (ιc) ... αν (discontinuous, self-cancelling negatives) “it is surely the case that...!”

ξαpa (sceptical tone)

ιe- (attested only once in the corpus): affective (emotionally loaded) Question — reproach, disbelief.

Note the frequency of focalization in the Assertive-Focal Question clauses.

αω inferential (?) or amazed (?) question, reactive to a (pragmatic) situation (once, Greek *ἄρα γε*): see, however, Obs. below.

Gen. 30:2 *μη ανοκ-τωεβιω mϥ†* (in Greek focalizing word order).

Num. 11:12 *μη ανοκ αιερβωκ μπαλλαοc τηp ιe ανοκ αιμαcοϥ*.

Num. 12:2 *μη mωϥcηc mμαϥατq εταpϥc cαδι nemαq μη mπεq cαδι nemαν ανοn* (Greek *μή... οὐχί...*).

Lev. 10:19 *μη qηαωπι eqpanαq mϥc* “It will surely displease the Lord!”

Num. 11:22 *μη nιeωoϥ nem nιeζωoϥ αωγανδελδωλοϥ μη cεnαpαωoϥ*.

Deut. 20:19 *μη oϥpωmi πε πιωγην ετδενтκοι...*

Deut. 29:17 *μητι oтон-oϥpωmi ιe-oϥcζimi ιe-oϥπατpια ιe-oϥϥλη εapοϥζηт piki cαβολ mϥc (= Vat)* (Greek *μή*).

Num. 20:10 *μητι тennaini noϥmωoϥ nωten eβολ δεν-тапeтpα* (Greek: adverbial-focalizing word-order; Sahidic: Focalizing Future) (= Vat) (Greek *μή*).

Gen. 29:25 *μη nεταιερβωκ nak an εтβε-pαxηλ* (Greek *οὐ*).

Num. 16:29 **ΜΗ ΠῚC AN ΠΕΤΑQTATOI** (= Vat) (Greek οὐχί; apodosis, not Question).

Ex. 4:11 **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΕΤΑQTPO ΕΡΩΜΙ ΟΤΟZ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΕΤΑQTΑΜΙΟ-ΕΒΟ ΝΕΜΚΟΤΡ ... ΜΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠῚC ΦῚ** (Greek οὐκ).

Num. 22:37 **ΜΗ ΜΠΙΟΩΡΠ ΕΜΟῚ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΘΒΕΟΘ ΜΠΕΚΙ ΖΑΡΟΙ ... ΟΝΤΩC ΑΝ ὲΝΑΨΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΝΕΡΤΙΜΑΝ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΝ** (Greek οὐχί... οὐ).

Num. 22:30 **ΜΗ ΑΝΟΚ-ΤΕΚΕΩ ΑΝ ... ΜΗ ΔΕΝΟΩΞΙΠΖΟ ΑΙ-ΞΙΠΖΟ ΜΜΟΚ ...** (Greek οὐκ, μή).

Gen. 34:23 **ΜΗ ΑῖΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΝΑΝ ΑΝ** (Greek οὐχί; focalizing word-order).

Num. 23:12 **ΜΗ ΝΗ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΦῚ ΝΑΤΗΙΤΟῚ ΕΔΟῚΝ ΕΡΩΙ ΝΑΙ ΝΕῚΝΑΑΡΕZ ΕΔΟΤΟῚ** (Greek οὐχί...).

Ex. 4:14 **ΜΗ ΙC ΑΑΡΩΝ ΠΕΚCΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΙΛΕῚΤΗC ὲCΩῚΝ ΔΕ-ΔΕΝΟῚCΑΔΙ QΝΑCΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ ΝΘΟQ** (= Vat).

Deut. 11:30 (ΠΤΩῚ ΝΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ...ΠΤΩῚ ΝΓΑΙΒΑΛ) **ΜΗ ΙC ΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΞΙΜΗΡ ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC...** (read with Vat **ΜΗ ΙC ΝΑΙ ΑΝ?**).

Deut. 32:34 **ΜΗ ΙC ΝΑΙ ΑΝ CΕΘῚΤ ΝΤΟΤ** (= Vat) (Greek οὐκ ἰδοῦ).

Gen. 37:13 **ΜΗ ΙC ΝΕΚCΝΗῚ ΑΝ CΕΜΟΝΙ ΔΕΝ CΙΧΕΜ** (Greek οὐκ).

Gen. 18:13 **ΖΑΡΑ ΤΑΦῚΜΗΙ ὲΝΑΜΙCΙ** (Greek ἄραγε).

Gen. 37:10 **ΤΑΙΡΑCῚ ΟῚ ΤΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΙ ΕΤΑΚΝΑῚ ΕΡΟC ΖΑΡΑ ΔΕΝΟῚ ΤΕΝΝΑΙ...**

Gen. 27:36 **ΙΕ-ΜΠΕΚCΕΔΠ ΟῚCΜῚ ΝΗΙ ΡΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΙΩΤ** (Greek οὐχ-)

Gen. 26:9 **ΑΨ ΤΕΚCΖΙΜΙ ΤΕ** "She is your wife then?" or "What! is she your wife?!" (Greek ἄρα γε).

Obs.

(1) Unlike **ΑΝ-**, **ΜΗ** is resumable (and repeatable), like a converter or conjugation base: see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:162 n. 38.

(2) The semantic affinity and compatibility of Assertive-Focal Allocutions with focalization (of actants, circumstantiṣ or nexus) is well known and instructive concerning the structural meaning of the assertivity sememe. However, in Pentateuch Bohairic (unlike Sahidic, Nitrian and the early Bohairic (B4) P. Vat. copto 9 and Bodmer III), the Focalizing Future **ΑQΝΑ-** is not a conditioned (grammaticalized) form of **ΜΗ-** Assertive-Focal Questions.

(3) We do not find in the corpus an enclitic **ΖΑΡΑ** (Greek ἄρα), a homonymy situation occurring e.g. in the NT: **ΝΙΜ ΖΑΡΑ ΠΕ** Mt.18:1, **ΜΗΤΙ ΖΑΡΑ** II Cor. 1:17.

(4) See STERN 1880 §526 for "interrogative" **ΙΕ-**, **ΙΕ-** in Nitrian: AM I 29 indignant exclamation: **ΙΕ-ΜΠΕΚCΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΕ-ΕΚΦΩΝ ΝΝΑΙCΝΟQ ΝΑΘΝΟΒΙ ΕΒΟΛ**. This

would agree well with the LE etymology of this proclitic (Hannig, *Handwörterbuch* 21 "Gefühlsausbruch"); cf. *j3 ih* (Wb I 25, 9 "Was soll?", ERMAN 1933:§687, "was soll es heissen", "was fällt euch ein?" "unwillige Redensart". Compare Nitrian Bohairic impatient/indignant $\alpha\omega$, see below). However, the "reinforcing" roles in LE must yet be related to this; and the three main functions of Coptic $\epsilon\iota\epsilon/\iota\epsilon$ — interrogative marking, superordinating role in *apodosi* and (typically Bohairic, for Sahidic η) disjunctive "or" (e.g. Gen. 31:14, 43:7 in disjoined Questions), often interrogative — still remain to be precisely defined, integrated within one functional spectrum or else assigned to several homonyms. For interrogative $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ - in L* (Kellis) cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 2002:308. (The interrogative/disjunctive/connective fuzziness certainly recalls the Greek "doubles" $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ and $\tilde{\eta}$ $\tilde{\eta}$, and may have been influenced by them: see several studies in RUKSBARON [ed.] 1997).

(4) Question-initiating $\alpha\omega$ (structurally different from the cataphoric pro-form interrogative Rheme $\alpha\omega$ which, by the way, is more typically Sahidic than Bohairic, which often responds with $\eta\eta\mu$ and $\sigma\sigma$) is a colloquial Nitrian feature: see POLOTSKY 1934:64f., quoting several examples ($\alpha\omega$ $\pi\iota\alpha\lambda\sigma\omega$ $\pi\epsilon$ "Here then is the child!" or similar AM I 228 (and not "where is the child?" *pace* Crum, *Dictionary* s.v. $\alpha\omega$). Also Mac. No. 29 figt. 5: $\alpha\omega$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\sigma\eta$ $\eta\sigma\omega\theta\omega$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\sigma\omega\theta\omega\sigma\epsilon\beta$ $\eta\tau\omega\theta\eta\eta\eta$...: "Nay, could one (on the contrary) detract from the marvel...?". The inferential role is corroborated by the post-classic Greek $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ $\gamma\epsilon$ (so, not $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$: see BLOMQVIST 1969:128f.) in Gen. 26:9 and probably by Egyptian precedents. However, an alternative view, perhaps better suiting the respective contexts, would see $\alpha\omega$ as expressing amazement: "What!...?" or, more moderately, "Why,...!"⁶⁵. Battiscombe Gunn compiled a brilliant diachronic and comparative profile of $\alpha\omega$ (Egyptian *jh*), a study originally meant for his seminal *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris 1924), discussing also its inferential sense, and other interrogatives and particles in Egyptian, Semitic and Indo-European. This study has not been published, and constitutes item VII 58 in the Gunn Papers (the Griffith Institute, Oxford). (This study may form part of a new edition of Gunn's *Studies*, currently being prepared for publication at the Griffith Institute, Oxford).

(d) Rhematic Questions

These contain an intrinsically interrogative grammemic Rheme, with which a lexemic, pronominal or Proper-Name element in the Response (if any) may cohere in a special "matching" Rheme forming rhematic linkage: "...who...?" "John", "...where...?" "...London...". They have the distinctive and definitional coherence of nexal pro-clausal Responses ("yes/no") with the nexus in the Allocution. The Response is here a higher level "validity Rheme", being rhematic on the same level as the Question. The Rhematic Question is thus definable by its formal "incompleteness", that is, by the junctural distinction of opening a slot fillable in the Response: indeed, the joint or conjoined complex Rheme ("...where...?" — "...London...") is distinctive of these Questions.

⁶⁵ Note also that the Hebrew original has here *'ak hinneh*, that is a Presentative, non-inferential element, which may indicate that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ is after all the proper reading.

(1) Rhematic Questions may be Assertive-Focal (“Rhetorical”) Formal Questions:

Num. 16:11 **οτοζ νιμ πε ααρων δε-αρετενχρεμρεμ νωω**
- Theme specific, therefore **νιμ** “rhetorical” and the whole Assertive-Focal, not interrogative.

Ex. 10:7 **ψαθηαυ δε οτον-ερωπ ναψωπι...**

Deut. 1:12 **πως †ναψδεμζομ μμαθατ εφαι μπετενζιςι.**

Gen. 18:13 **εθε-οθ ασαρρα σωβι νζρηι νζηης.**

Gen. 26:10 **οθ πε φαι ετακαιϛ ναν.**

Gen. 4:10 **οθ πετακαιϛ.**

Also Gen. 21:26, 43:44, 44:4, Num. 31:15.

Obs.

(1) For **ψαθηαυ δε** cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:85 and reff. For **δε** here, see §4.6.1 below.

(2) On Assertive-Focal “Why...?”, see KORZEN 1985:126ff.

(3) **πως** is the only Greek-origin interrogative Rheme I find in the corpus.

(4) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:43, 108 on the status and distribution of **νιμ** in the syntax of naming.

(5) In **ιωζαννης νιμ ετεκψινι νωω** AM II 124 we see the syntax of the identifying interrogative Rheme applied to a Proper Name; “Which John...?” (SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:43, 108).

(6) **νιμ** is the only interrogative pronoun privileged to occur in initial position followed by a verb clause. This is only apparently Topic placement: it is a different, focal slot and not the topicalized actant (e.g. Num. 11:12 **μη ανοκ αιβωκ...ιε-ανοκ αιμασο;** for the focal noun-initial construction, see Chapter Two below, and SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:85f.). When the Theme in nexus with **νιμ** is co-specific with it (i.e. a Proper Name), we have an Assertive-Focal (“rhetorical”) Allocution (see above, Num. 16:11).

(2) Rhematic Questions (with the same Rhemes) may be truly interrogative, that is, may be answered by matching non-interrogative Rhemes:

Gen. 27:32 **νεοκ-νιμ νεοκ — ανοκ πε πεκψηρι πεκ-ωορπ μιςε ησαυ.**

Gen. 32:27 **νιμ πε πεκραν — ιακωβ.**

Ex. 4:2 **οθ πε φαι — οθψωτ (πε *super lin.*).**

Gen. 24:23f. **νεο-τψερι ννιμ ... αν οτον-τοπος ... εθρεν-μτον μμον — ανοκ-τψερι μβαθοηλ ανοκ ... οτοζ οτον-τοπος ... εθρεκμτον μμοκ.**

Gen. 15:8ff. **πως †ναεμι δε-... — εϊ νηι νοτβαζςι...**

(3) **αρετενερω** “How are you?” is an historically rooted but isolated idiomatic clause-form:

Gen. 43:27 **αψενοθ δε δε-αρετενερω.**

Obs.

This is a unique case of interrogative actant focalization with the Focalizing Present in Pentateuch Bohairic: cf. POLOTSKY 1940.

(4) $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\ \eta\mu\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\$ is another old, colloquial locutive (1st-person) affective idiom, expressing weary, despairing or agitated renunciation (Greek $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\omicron\iota + \text{neutr./infinitive}$, $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu + \text{infinitive}$):

Gen. 25:22 $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\ \eta\mu\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\$.

Gen. 25:32 $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\ \eta\mu\iota\ \eta\mu\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\$.

Gen. 27:46 $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\ \eta\mu\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\$.

Num. 11:20 $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\ \eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\$.

Obs.

For this expression, also attested outside the Pentateuch (Job 30:2, I Cor. 5:12), cf. Late Egyptian $n\text{-}iry\text{-}ih\ \dots n\text{-}iry\text{-}ih\ t3y\ kt\ ntj\ m\text{-}di.j$, Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Pl. XXXIII No. 2 (Ostr. Leipzig 16) *ro* 3 and Pl. LXIX No. 3 (Ostr. Staring) *ro* 3 $n\text{-}iry\text{-}ih\ nn\text{-}$ not distinctly infinitival forms. To my knowledge, there is no Demotic attestation. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:328, STERN 1880:124 ("elliptical"). The "accusative" $n\text{-}$ is indeed difficult, and reminds one of $n\text{-}$ following the Shenoutean $\tau\omega\ \epsilon\tau\omega$, also an "Egyptian" colloquialism (SHISHA-HALEVY 1978).

(e) Inclusion / Coordination of Questions.

(1) All Questions — indeed, the dialogue texteme itself — are includable as object actants in the valency matrix of *verba dicendi* by means of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$, with the verb $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ "say", which is famously distinctive for a valency actantial slot filled by the formal "neutric" pronominal object $\text{-}c$ or $\text{-}q$ as cataphoric referent to $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ ($\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ etc.). It is interesting to observe the junctural delimitation by means of the "heavy" *lemniscus* delimiter ÷ between $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ and its verb, clearly indicating the belonging of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$, as an inclusion marker, to the dialogue. Question clauses may be marked by sentence particles (also signalling interrogative tone) as part of textual cohesion, although this is not common (see below for Nexal Questions with $\omicron\mu$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$, $\rho\omega$).

Obs.

"Inferential Questions", like Greek $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (PALMER 1995) and Egyptian interrogative + (*jirf*) (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986b), combine an interrogative with a Sentence Particle (see Chapter Four §4.6.1).

(2) Rhematic Questions (interrogative or Assertive-Focal) are coordinated or disjoined by $\omicron\mu\omega\varsigma$ or $\iota\epsilon$ respectively:

Ex. 4:11 $\eta\mu\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \omicron\mu\omega\varsigma\ \eta\mu\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\$.

Gen. 44:16 $\omicron\mu\omega\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \iota\epsilon\ \omicron\mu\omega\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\mu\iota\$.

For Nexal Questions, *οτοζ* seems excluded in favour of *ιε* or *zero*, with *ϣαν* (unlike Sahidic *η*) not connective but truly disjunctive:

Num. 11:12 *μη ανοκ αιερβωκ μπαλλαος τηρϣ ιε ανοκ αιμασοϣ*.

Gen. 43:7 *αν-ετι πετενιωτ ονδ ιε αν-οϣοντετεν con mmaϣ*.

Ex. 2:14 ...*ϣαν εκοϣωϣ εδοτβετ νεοκ*... "... or is it that you wish..."

Num. 12:2 *μη μωϣχςc mmaϣατϣ εταπϣ̄c cαδι nemaq μη mπεqαδι neman anon*.

Num. 13:18ff. (*ναϣ*) *δε-αν-ϣδορ ιε αν-οϣδωβ πε ιε αν-οϣκοϣδι πε ιε αν-οϣνιωτ πε ... δε-αν-νανεq ιε αν-ϣζωοϣ ... δε-αν-οϣον-σοβτ κωτ ερωοϣ ιε αν-ζανατσοτ νε ... δε-αν-ϣκενιωοτ ϣαν mmon*.

Deut. 4:32ff. (*ϣιni*) *δε-αν-αϣωπι καταπαicaδι ... δε-αν-αϣωτεm εζωβ μπαρητ δε-αν-αεθνοc cωτεm ετcmη mϣτ ετονδ εqααδι .. ιε δε-αν-αϣωντ nδε-ϣτ*.

1.2.3.2 Allocution, Exclamation, Address. Imperatives

Formally marked Questions, both nexal and rhematic, can in Coptic (as in other languages) almost always be exclamative. Indeed, Assertive-Focal Formal Questions *are* in a sense exclamations, if we define this for written language, in a way that would include prominence of an utterance but exclude (or disregard, or not depend on) suprasegmental features. **Address** is the prototypical allocutive signal:

(a) Attention-forcing address, an almost ideal dialogue-opening discourse signal, typically takes the form of an allocutive Proper Name or its equivalent, with no further allocution marker except for reiteration (also in the Greek original). Note the delimiters, indicating the relative prosodic autonomy of the addressed element:

Gen. 27:1 *παϣηρι ÷ ζηππε ανοκ*.

Gen. 27:18 *παιωτ ÷ ζηππε ανοκ*.

Note the Coptic possessive, corresponding here and often to the Greek vocative of the "inalienable" kinship noun.

Gen. 22:7 *παιωτ ÷ οϣ πετωοπ παϣηρι*.

Gen. 31:11 *ιακωβ ÷ οϣ πετωοπ*.

Gen. 46:2 *ιακωβ ÷ ιακωβ ÷ οϣ πετωοπ*.

Gen. 22:1:11 *αβρααμ ÷ αβρααμ ÷ ζηππε ανοκ*.

Ex. 3:4 *μωϣχςc ÷ μωϣχςc ÷ οϣ πε ετωοπ*.

The placement of the allocutive-augential accompaniment of Imperatives may differ from that of correspondents in the Greek:

Gen. 18:25 **μη̄ωρ μηεριρι νεοκ μπαςαζι** (Greek **μηδαμῶς σὺ ποιήσεις**).

Obs.

(1) See SVENNUNG 1958; GÉRARD 1980; RENCHON 1967. For an instance of the fine or blurred boundary between interrogation, "Rhetorical Question" and exclamation in English, see HUDDLESTON 1993: the author claims only pragmatic differences between these.

(2) We have in the corpus no instance of the morphological Greek vocative case as in the NT or Nitrian (such as **κρατιστε θεοφιλε, πετρε** Luke 1:3, 22:35, **φιλιππε** John 4:9, **στυγγε** Philipp. 4:3) and formalized imperatives (**αγε** James 4:13, **χαίρε/χερε/χερετε** etc.).

(3) On the pragmatic specificity in address and vocative determination, in Bohairic **πi-** or **π-** (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:49ff.): **ποτρο; †εξιμι** AM II 295, **ϥη ετ-** AM II 306; see also Chapter Three.

(4) The allocutive system is especially register-sensitive; in the Nitrian and "Nitrian-constituent" texts we find allocutive signals and elements — native and esp. Greco-Coptic — which may well be colloquial, and are absent in the Pentateuch: **ω nem** Mac. No. 6, SV 66; De Vis I 69, **ω ze-** AM II 322, **ω via (nemwten)** De Vis II 191, AM I 31; **καγη κεϥαλη** AM I 19; **χερε** Luke 1:27, **χερετε** AM II 276; **πιβημα πιβημα** AM I 229; **τξηρηνη νωτεν** AM I 116 **τξηρηνη νακ** Mac. No. 18; **αδοκ μπαρη†** SV 75, **αδοκ nemay** SV 46, 59, AM II 323, **αδοκ εκ-** De Vis I 149, 163, **αδοκ ρωκ** Cat. 9.

(g) **ω**, the familiar attention-forcing opening discourse signal is absent in the Pentateuch. Greek **ὦ** occurs only twice in the Septuagint: Gen.27:20, with no Coptic correspondent (**παωρηι**); for the doubled **ὦ ὦ** — not Address but emotion signal — in Num. 24:23, Bohairic has one **ω**.

Obs.

Coptic **ω** is lexicographically considered a "native" element (Crum, *Dictionary* 517bf.), but the reflex of the Egyptian *j3* (etc.) — if it is one — must no doubt have merged functionally with the Greek **ὦ ὦ**. The presence vs. absence of the Greek element in exclamation and address is an issue in the synchrony and diachrony of Greek. Arguably, the two slots or roles define two homonyms (cf. SCHWYZER II 600f.); the early zeroing, or alternatively presence of **ὦ** may be due to "affect" or address tone: Cf. GILDERSLEEVE 1903 §20 ("the omission of **ὦ** in prose is passionate or late"); KÜHNER-GERTH II/I:48f., 310ff.; MAYSER II/I 55: in the Greek Papyri, **ὦ** marks in "vocative" formulaic or solemn address. Needless to say, in Coptic, the distribution and value of the corresponding element are different.

(b) Imperatives. **μαρεσωτεμ**

(1) The Imperative is a grammatical phenomenon that is far from simple, in every respect, starting with its structural identity and nature. In

pre-Coptic Egyptian it is a morphologically distinct entity; in Coptic it is partly morphologically distinct, partly homonymous with the verb lexeme (“infinitive”), but even in the latter case, it constitutes a “ $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\epsilon\text{M}_3$ ” — distinct from $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\epsilon\text{M}_1$ and $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\epsilon\text{M}_2$, mainly on the basis of its commutation with $\text{M}\pi\epsilon\text{P}$ - (the nuclear proclitic form of $\text{M}\Phi\omega\text{P}$ “Don’t!”, expanded by the verb lexeme) and with the morphologically marked imperatives ($\text{A}\rho\text{I}\theta\omega\text{I}$, $\text{M}\alpha$ - etc.). In our corpus, the usual morphologically distinct Imperatives are:

$\text{A}\rho\text{I}\theta\omega\text{I}$, $\text{A}\rho\text{I}$ - ($\text{I}\rho\text{I}$) Gen. 20:16, 31:16, 34:9, Lev. 23:39.

$\text{A}\rho\text{I}\epsilon\text{M}\text{I}$ Gen. 20:7, 38:25.

$\text{A}\text{N}\text{I}\text{T}\neq$ (INI) Gen. 38:24.

$\text{A}\text{N}\text{A}\theta$ ($\text{N}\text{A}\theta$) Gen. 20:7.

$\text{A}\text{M}\theta\theta$ (I) Gen. 24:33

$\text{M}\alpha$ -, $\text{M}\text{H}\text{I}\neq$ (I) Gen. 27:26, 34:8f., 42:37, Deut. 3:28, $\text{M}\alpha$ - $\text{Z}\theta\text{H}\neq$ Ex. 34:11f.

$\text{M}\alpha$ - I - $\text{Z}\theta$ Deut. 3:28.

$\text{M}\alpha\omega\epsilon\text{N}\alpha\neq$ Gen. 7:1, 19:34.

$\text{M}\alpha$ - imperatives of causative lexemes:

$\text{M}\alpha$ - $\text{T}\theta\text{T}\text{B}\theta\text{Q}$ Ex. 19:23.

$\text{M}\alpha$ - $\text{T}\alpha\text{C}\theta\theta$ Ex. 32:27.

$\text{M}\alpha$ - $\text{T}\text{C}\theta\text{I}$ Gen. 24:17.

$\text{M}\alpha$ - $\text{T}\Phi\theta\text{I}$ Gen. 24:54.

$\text{M}\alpha$ - $\text{T}\alpha\omega\epsilon$ - $\text{T}\epsilon\text{C}\theta\text{P}\text{H}\text{X}\text{I}$ Gen. 34:12.

$\text{M}\alpha$ - $\text{T}\alpha\text{I}\epsilon$ - $\text{P}\epsilon\text{K}\text{I}\omega\text{T}$ Deut. 5:16.

$\text{M}\Phi\omega\text{P}$ +Voc. + imp. Gen. 23:6.

(Voc.) + $\text{M}\pi\epsilon\text{P}$ - $\text{I}\rho\text{I}$ Gen. 18:25, 19:7.

Obs.

(1) LAYTON 2004, Chapter Sixteen is an excellent account of the Sahidic Imperative. In Coptic, the Imperative has a tenuous non-lexical connection with the verb, unlike Greek, where the Imperative is marked for aspect (McKAY 1985) and diathesis (“voice”). It is a moot question whether the Imperative is a nexal form or not; settling its “finiteness” is perhaps less of a problem in Coptic than in Indo-European or Semitic (cf. DAVIES 1986: 118ff.). The combination of the Imperative with the Augens supports the view that a covert allocutive “person” is present in the Imperative form (cf. DAVIES 1986:134f., 138ff., 144ff.). The structural allocutivity of the Imperative is of course evident, e.g. by the absence of allocutive forms of $\text{M}\alpha\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}$ - ($\text{M}\alpha\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}$ - is attested in Late Sahidic).

(2) The problem of Imperative negation (in Coptic as in Egyptian, by a special grammemic negative Imperative) is shared by other languages: see DAVIES 1986:67ff, ZANUTTINI 1994. In Coptic, the semantic incompatibility of lexemic (as against grammemic) “Imperativeness” and negation is formally manifested in the obligatory auxiliiation in negation — the negation resides in the Imperative auxiliary, to which the verb lexeme is an expansion, while the “affirmative” Imperative is a distinct morphological entity.

(3) I find no correspondent in the corpus to the Sahidic rhetorical (and focalizing?) **ἡμῶρ εἵρε-**, common in Shenoute and Besa (also in other dialects).

(2) **μαρεψωτεμ**: the Jussive / Causative Imperative. Sequelling **μαρεψωτεμ**

(a) Delocutive **μαρεψ-/μαρω-**

(1) Affirmative Jussive (delocutive imperative), not causative (Greek Jussive) — very often sequelling (“and / then / therefore let him...”, or summing up, following a Topic. Cf. also the # imperative + **οὕοz** **μαρεψ-** # constructions below). Negative Jussive not sequelling:

Gen. 1:3:6:9:11:15 (the creating Divine Command) “**μαρεψωπι νδε-**...” **οὕοz** **αἰψωπι νδε-**...

Ex. 10:11 **μαρωψενωο δε νδε-νιρωμι οὕοz** **μαρω-**
ψεμψι μψ†.

Gen. 27:41 **μαρωψωντ νδε-νιεζοοτ ντεψμοτ μπαιωτ**
ζινα νταψωτεβ νιακωβ (= Greek) — impatient wish.

Lev. 24:16 **εψδω δε μψραν μπῶc** **ψενοτμοτ μαρω-**
ψοβεψ ψενζανωμι μαρωψιωμι ερωψ ... ψενπζινορεψ-
ζεοτα εψραν μπῶc **μαρεψμοτ**.

Gen. 30:24 **μαρεψ††** **†** **μπιψηρι** **μμαζ-β** **νηι**.

Gen. 34:21 **ναιρωμι ζανζιρηνικος** **νε** **μαρωψωπι** **νε-**
μαν **ζιψενπικαζι** **οὕοz** **μαοτερ-ιεβψωτ** **νψητψ**.

Gen. 33:14 **εψωπε** **αιψανβοζι** **νσωοτ** **νοτεζοοτ** **νοτωτ**
σεναμοτ **τηρωτ** **νδε-νιτεβνωοτι** **μαρεπαῶc** **μοψι** **ψα-**
ζωψ **μπεψαλοτ** **ανοκ** **δε** **ειεψεμζομ** **ζιπιμωιτ**.

Deut. 20:5ff. **νιμ** **πε** **πρωμι** **νταψκωτ** **νοτνη** **μβερι ...**
μαρεψψεναψ **επεψηι** etc.

Lev. 19:3 **ανοκ** **πε** **πῶc** **πετεννοτ†** **ψοται** **ψοται** **μαρε-**
ψερζο† **ψατζη** **νοτιωτ** **νταψ** **νεν** **οτματ** **νταψ**.

Gen. 33:9 **οτoν†-οτμηψ** **μματ** **παῶc** ÷ **μαρενετενοτκ**
ψωπι **νακ**

Ex. 36:6 **ρωμι** **νιβεν** **νεν** **σζιμι** **νιβεν** **μπενερωτερζωβ**
δε.

Lev. 14:17 **οὕοz** **μπενερεψρωμι** **ζοδζεδ** **μπεψψηρ**
οὕοz **εκεερζο†** **ψατζη** **μπῶc** **πεκνοτ†** — a summing-up of
the preceding verses. Note the allocutive Absolute Future sequelling the
Jussive (see below).

(2) Polite wish:

Gen. 17:18 **ιcμaηλ** **ψαι** **μαρεψωνψ** **μπεκμθο**.

Gen. 21:12 **μπενερε-πιcαζι** **ψωπι** **εψηαψτ** sim. Gen. 31:35.

Gen. 13:8 **ΜΠΕΝΘΕ-ΟΤΩΟΝΤ ΨΩΠΙ ΟΤΩΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΤΩΚ.**

Gen. 45:5 **ΜΠΕΝΘΕ-ΠΕΤΕΝΖΗΤ ΜΚΑΖ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΝΘΕΡΙ-
ΖΩΒ ΝΨΟΤ ΝΤΕΝΘΗΝΟΤ.**

(3) Delocutive **ΜΑΡΕQ-/ΜΑΡΟΤ-**: Absolute-Definite Future + **ΜΑΡΕQ-**, **ΜΑΡΕQ-** in *apodosi* etc.: sequencing delocutive causative: “ (... and then / as a result / so that you) make/cause him to/let him...”; affirmative only (cf. also below, on post-imperative **ΜΑΡΕQ-**):

Gen. 2:18 **ΝΑΝΕC ΑΝ ΕΘΡΕΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΨΩΠΙ ΜΜΑΤΑΤQ ÷ ΜΑΡΕΝΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΑQ ΝΟΤΒΟΗΘΟC ΚΑΤΑΡΟQ.**

Num. 35:28 ...**ΜΑΡΕQΨΩΠΙ ΓΑΡ ΞΕΝΤΒΑΚΙ ΝΤΕΠΕQΜΑ ΜΦΩΤ.**

Also Ex. 14:15:16, 19:10, 26:24.

(4) Locutive plural **ΜΑΡΕΝ-**: non-causative, textually sequencing hortative “(and) let us...”, “let us then / therefore...”:

Gen. 19:34 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΔΙΕΝΚΟΤ ΝCΑQ ΜΗΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΜΑΡΕΝΤCΟQ
ΝΟΤΗΡΠ ΞΕΝΠΑΙΚΕΕΞΩΡΖ...**

(5) #**ΜΑΡΕΝ-**#, negative **ΜΠΕΝΘΡΕΝ-**: hortative “let us (not...)”; often *pragmatically* sequencing (“let us then....”):

Gen. 1:26 **ΜΑΡΕΝΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΤΡΩΜΙ.**

Gen. 24:57 **ΜΑΡΕΝΜΟΤ ΝΤΑΛΟΤ ΝΤΕΝΨΕΝC ΕΦΑΡΩC.**

Ex. 15:1:21 **ΜΑΡΕΝΖΩC ΕΠΤC.**

Deut. 13:13 **ΜΑΡΕΝΨΕΝΑΝ ΝΤΕΝΨΕΜΨΙ ΝΖΕΝΚΕΝΟΤ.**

Gen. 37:21 **ΜΠΕΝΘΡΕΝΞΟΘΒΕQ ΕΟΤΨΤΧΗ.**

(6) **ΜΑΡΟΝ** + “illative” local adverbial: hortative movement (Greek verb of motion).

Gen. 4:8 **ΜΑΡΟΝ ΨΑΤΚΟΙ.**

Gen. 35:3 **ΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΒΕΘΗΛ.**

(7) Locutive Singular #**ΜΑΡΙ-** “May I....” — politely expressing wish, in response to a pragmatic situation:

Gen. 25:30 **ΜΑΡΙΞΕΜΤΠΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΑΙΦΙCΙ** (Greek factitive: γειῶσον με).

Gen. 46:30 **ΜΑΡΙΜΟΤ ΞΕ ΙCΞΕΝΤΝΟΤ ΞΕ-ΔΙΝΑΤ ΕΠΕΚΖΟ** (Greek ἀποθανοῦμαι).

Obs.

(1) **ΜΑΡΕQ-** is a specifically *allocutive* dialogic form, a synchronic effect and structural implication of its **ΜΑ-** imperational component. The Jussive is not used even in instructions, the legal code or injunctions or precepts, for which we have the Absolute-Definite

Future **εγε-**: this is neutral or indifferent to the Locution/Allocation/Delocation perspectival distinction and the Allocation/Response systemic one. The synchronic issue is one of homonymy: Causative Imperative (**μα-** + **ρεγ-**, like **τ-ρεγ-** and **τα-ρεγ-**) vs. Jussive (**μαρε-** modal base). In our Bohairic, the causative reading is rare and probably affirmative only (unlike the affirmative **μαρεγ-**, The Bohairic negative **μπενερεγ-** is formally detached from the negative Imperative **μπερ-**). At any rate, the semantic distinction between the two is less sharp in Coptic than in European or Semitic languages, but the reading or decoding of the form as one or the other must often be correlatable with its syntactic and/or pragmatic environments. (The form is certainly not “optative”, *pace* PEUST 1996:51; see POLOTSKY 1950:81ff., 1987:144f.; LAYTON 2004:268f.).

(2) **μαρον** is the only clause-form expressing movement without a verb of movement — the local adverb is an essential constituent of this pattern (in Middle Egyptian, *jw* with an illative prepositional phrase constituted a non-modal similar clause). **μαρον** is not more of an “interjection”, so LAYTON 2004:186, than other imperatives; it is a fully-stressed “lexicalized” pro-nexal grammeme, with a zeroed lexeme.

(c) The Imperatives — extended constructions. The Post-Imperative Allocutive Slot.

(1) Imperative + Allocutive Pronoun/Address Noun

(a) (**οτορ**) **νθοκ** (**δε**) + Imperative (= Greek [= Heb.]):

Ex. 28:3 **οτορ νθοκ σαδι...**

Ex. 28:1 **οτορ νθοκ ανιοσι...**

Ex. 14:14 **οτορ νωωτεν χαρωτεν.**

Gen. 9:7 **νωωτεν δε αιαι οτορ μαρπικαρι οτορ αψαι
ζιωτω.**

(b) Imperative + **νθοκ νεμ** (= Greek)

Gen. 7:1 **μαωενακ νθοκ νεμ πεκνη τηρω.**

Gen. 8:16 **αμοτ εβολ ... νθοκ νεμ νεκωρηι νεμ τεκ-
εζιμι...**

(c) Imperative + **νθοκ** (rare): Gen. 18:25 **μφωρ μπεριρι νθοκ
μπαϊσαδι** (Greek μηδαμῶς σὺ ποιήσεις).

(d) Imperative + Address.

Gen. 27:26 **ζενκ εροι ÷ μα-οτφι ερωι παωρηι** (= Greek).

Gen. 19:7 **μφωρ νανσνηοτ μπερερ-παϊπετρωοτ** (Greek μηδαμῶς μὴ πονηρεύσεσθε).

Ex. 8:25 **μπεροσαρτοτκ δε φαραω εεργαλ...** (= Greek).

Num. 23:18 **τωνκ βαλαακ οτορ σωτεμ** (= Greek).

(e) Address + Imperative — not attested (?)

(2) Imperative + Post-Imperative Extension: the post-imperative Allocutive Slot. High-level Rheme/Apodosis to Imperative.

(a) In the post-imperative slot resides the second pre-eminent syntactic paradigm of dialogue. We have here another dependency matrix, where the initial position is again allocutive, and the second exhibits certain affinities with the Response, such as the informational implicative "dependency and foundedness" on the Allocation. Formally, another point of similarity is the essential asyndetic or rather paratactic linkage to the imperative ("ostende bellum pacem habebis") — a prospective "apodotic" reference. The post-imperative sequel is indeed rhematic to the "in case the injunction is performed" Topic "packaged as" Imperative, which is in many respects similar to conditional protases. In this, the sequel resembles the Response. Formal similarities include the occurrence here of the Absolute-Definite Future $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$, against the propensity of the Contingent-Indefinite ($\mu\alpha$ -) Future with the Allocation and especially Question (below). However, the post-imperative sequel is juncturally distinct from the Response. Its prime trait is that it does not entail role-switching: it is within the Allocation boundaries. In fact, it is in a way an *Allocutive Response*, a seeming oxymoron and paradox: a response "packaged" in the allocation. Needless to say, all members of the post-imperative paradigm have — by structural implication — a *valeur* and "reference" different from their value in other slots, such as locutive or allocutive.

Obs.

(1) The post-imperative paradigm studied here (see also SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:194ff.) is synthetic to a degree: that is, it must be further refined in better resolution. Moreover, the imperative initial to this construction (as it were, the "pre-post-imperative imperative") is obviously heterogeneous in internal information structure. For instance, the grammaticalized or auxiliary $\lambda\mu\mu$, $\chi\lambda\mu$ +... differ from full-value lexemic imperatives.

(2) The post-imperative paradigm must be kept carefully apart from the coordinated imperative (not $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi$ -!): see below.

(3) On Imperatives as protases, see DOBROVIE-SORIN 1984, DAVIES 1986: the post-imperative environment: 157ff., 161ff. on Imperative-like conditionals. BOLINGER 1967:340ff. (protasis — apodosis cases of imperative and non-imperative).

(4) $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ ⁶⁶ is not attested in the Pentateuch, but is not excluded from Nitrian Bohairic, nor from Scripture (where it is very rare; cf. POLOTSKY 1987:160 n.13), in the Psalms (twice, 33:6, 45:9), which Polotsky described as "un texte qui se distingue par la pureté de sa langue" (1944:5). The form is well attested in the B4 early Bohairic John (Bodmer III) 11:35 $\lambda\mu\sigma\tau\ \tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\eta\lambda\sigma\tau$ (Homer $\lambda\eta\lambda\sigma\tau$) and 21:12 $\lambda\mu\omega\iota\eta\iota\ \tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -

⁶⁶ I find "Promissive" (so LOPRIENO 1995:230f. — no word about the post-imperative $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi$ -) too coarse as a descriptive term: the "personal guarantee" (or egocentric subjectivity; not promise) seme in $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi$ - is only one component in its semantic structure; the sequelling feature is just as important. "Future Conjunctive" (so Layton) is quite acceptable; "Prospective Conjunctive" I believe is best.

ΤΕΤΕΝΟΥΜ (Homer ΟΥΜ imp.). However, ΤΑΡΕΚ- “and I will let/make you see/ eat” here is neatly opposed as the allocutively marked term in-paradigm to the normal Bohairic post-imperative sequelling, delocutive ΜΑΡΕQ-: consider John 11:44 ΧΑQ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΑΡΕQΥΕΝΑQ “and let him go...” as well as to the interestingly paratactic Contingent-Indefinite Future, consider John 16:24 B4 ΑΡΙΕΞΙΝ ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΞΙ (Homer also ΟΥQ), in the very “guarantee apodosis” marked role typical of the Biblical Sahidic ΤΑΡΕQΩΤΜ: “Come and (I guarantee that) ye will receive”.

(1) IMPERATIVE + zero + IMPERATIVE: complex hyper-injunction or injunctive scenario (different-rank concatenated, directed, successive-sequenced constituent injunctions). Up to three constituents are found. The Coptic construction usually differs from the Greek one:

Ex. 10:28 ΜΑΩΕΝΑΚ ... ΜΑΖΘΗΚ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΠΕΡΟΥΑΖΤΟΤΚ ΔΕ-
sim. Gen. 24:6, Deut. 4:23.

Gen. 27:19 ΤΩΝΚ ΖΕΜCΙ ΟΥΜ ... (Greek ἀναστὰς κάθισον καὶ φάγε) sim. Gen. 28:2, 19:14f.

Lev. 10:4 ΑΜΩΙΝΙ ΑΛΙ- ΝΕΤΕΝCΗΝΗΘ ΕΒΟΛ (Greek καί).

Gen. 31:12 ΔΟΨΤ ΕΨΩΙ... ΑΝΑΨ (Greek καί).

Gen. 38:24 ΑΝΙΤC ΕΒΟΛ ΡΟΚΖC (Greek Imperative + καί + Jussive).

Gen. 34:9 ΑΡΙ-ΨΟΜ ΕΡΟΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΨΕΡΙ ΜΗΙΤΟΨ ΝΑΝ ΟΥQ
ΝΕΝΨΕΡΙ ΣΙΤΟΨ...

Gen. 45:13 ΧΩΛΕΜ ΑΝΙΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΔΡΗΙ... (Greek ταχύναντες καταγάγετε).

Gen. 12:19 ΣΙΤC ΜΑΩΕΝΑΚ (Greek λαβὼν ἀποτρέχε) sim. Deut. 31:26.

Gen. 18:6 ΙΗC ΝΤΟ† ΟΥΨΕΜ Ν-Γ ΜΜΕΝΤ ΝCΕΜΕΔΑΛΙΟΝ
(Greek καί).

Gen. 29:7 ΜΑΩΕΝΩΤΕΝ ΜΟΝΙ (Greek ἀπελθόντες βόσκετε).

Gen. 21:18 ΤΩΟΨΝΙ ΣΙ ΜΠΙΑΛΟΨ ΑΜΟΝΙ ΜΜΟQ (Greek Imper., Imperative καὶ + Imperative).

Gen. 27:43f. †ΝΟΨ ΟΨΝ ΠΑΨΗΡΙ CΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΑCΜΗ ΤΩΝΚ ΜΑ-
ΩΕΝΑΚ... (Greek ἄκουσον...καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι).

Obs.

See DONHAUSER 1982 on Imperative coordination.

(2) IMPERATIVE + ΟΥQ / ΔΕ / zero + IMPERATIVE: catalogic listing (same-rank injunctions). The Coptic construction closely resembles the Greek one:

Deut. 12:28 ΑΡΕΖ CΩΤΕΜ ΟΥQ ΑΡΙΟΨΙ ΝΝΑΙCΑΞΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ (= Greek).

Gen. 14:21 ΜΑΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΗΙ ΣΙ ΔΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΝΙΖΘΩΡ (= Greek).

Gen. 1:22 **αιαι οτορ αψαι οτορ μαρ-νιμωο** sim. Gen. 1:28, 9:1:7 (= Greek).

(3) IMPERATIVE + **οτορ** + IMPERATIVE: same-rank (non-catalogic) successive-sequenced coordination of injunctions. The Coptic construction usually resembles the Greek one:

Gen. 1:22 **αιαι οτορ αψαι οτορ μαρ-νιμωο** (= Greek).

Gen. 45:13 **ματαμεπαιωτ επαωοτ τηρϩ ετθενχημι νεμ-ζωβ νιβεν ετατετενναοτ ερωοτ οτορ χωλεμ ανι-παιωτ εσρηι...** (= Greek).

Ex. 17:5 **μοϣι δαζωϩ μπαιλαο ÷ ϩι νεμακ εβολ δεν-νιδελλοι ... οτορ πιϣωωτ ... ÷ ϩιτϩ νερηι δεντεκδιζ οτορ μοϣι...** (Greek δέ, καί).

Gen. 9:7 **μαρ-πικαρι οτορ αψαι ριωτϩ** (= Greek).

Num. 3:6 **ϩι ντϣϥλη ντελεϩι οτορ ματαρωοτ** (Greek Imperative + Future).

Ex. 14:13 **δεμνομτ ορι ερατενθηννοτ οτορ ανατ...** (= Greek).

Ex. 23:21 **μαρθηκ εροϩ οτορ σωτεμ νσωϩ μπερ-ερατ-θωτ νρητ νεμαϩ** (Greek καί x3).

Ex. 25:2 **αζοο ννενηρηι μπισα οτορ ϩι νηι νζανα-παρχη** (= Greek).

Num. 20:26 **βωϣ νααρων ντεϩστολη οτορ μηις εδεν-ελεαζαρ** (= Greek).

Gen. 15:5 **ζοϣωτ επωωι οτορ ϩιηπι...** (= Greek).

(3) IMPERATIVE + **οτορ** + allocutive-sphere Absolute-Definite Future: sequenced main point of Divine Command. The Coptic construction usually resembles the Greek one:

Ex. 3:16 **μαϣενακ μαθοϣετνιδελλοι ... οτορ εκεζοο νωοτ...** (Future = Greek)

Deut. 31:26 **ϩι μπαιζομ ... χαϩ σαπϣϣιρ ντκϣωωτοο... οτορ ερεϣωπι νακ μμαϣ εϣμετμεϣρε** (Greek λαβόντες... θήσετε... καί ἔσται)

Num. 8:2 **σαδι νεμ ααρων οτορ εκεζοο ναϩ δε...** (= Greek).

Gen. 44:4 **τωνκ ϩοδι σαμενζε ννιρωμι ... εκεταρωοτ εκεζοο νωοτ** (Future = Greek).

(4) IMPERATIVE / **μαρεϩ-** + **οτορ** / zero + non-allocutive Absolute-Definite Future: assured sequel/result (see below). The Coptic construction usually resembles the Greek one:

Gen. 24:44 **ნოკ ცა ÷ ეიეტო ნნეკეჯამაჲლი** (Greek *καί*).

Ex. 8:12 **ცოჲტენ-პეკჳბოტ ... ოჲოჲ მაოჲყაჲ მპიაჲან ნტეპკაჲი ოჲოჲ ეჲეჲოჲპი ნჲე-ჯანღელჲმ ...** (= Greek).

Num. 20:8 ...**ოჲოჲ ცაჲი ნემჲპეტრა მპოჲმჲო ოჲოჲ ეცეჲ მპეცმჳოჲ** (Greek *λαβè... καὶ λαλήσετε... καὶ δώσει...*).

(5) IMPERATIVE + **ოჲოჲ** / *zero* + interlocutive-sphere Contingent-Indefinite Future: locutive: undertaking, promise, assurance. The Coptic construction resembles the Greek one:

Gen. 34:12 **მათჳე-ტეცჲრჲი ემაჲო ოჲოჲ ტენნათჲც** (= Greek).

Ex. 24:12 **ამოჲ ეჲოჲი ჯაროი ჲიჯენჲპიტჳოჲ ოჲოჲ Ბოჲპი მმაჲ ოჲოჲ ჲნაჲ ნაკ ჲჲანჲლაჲ** (= Greek).

Num. 22:19 **ოჲი ნემჲი ... ოჲოჲ ჲნაემი ჲე-ოჲ პეტეპჲც ნაჲოჲ ნჲი** (= Greek).

Deut. 32:7 **ჲენჲეკიოტ ჲნათამოკ ნეკჲელლოი ცენაჲ-ჯოც ნაკ** (= Vat) (= Greek).

(6) IMPERATIVE + **ოჲოჲ** / *zero* + locutive Conjunctive: successive-sequenced willed result / consequence. The Coptic construction never really resembles the Greek one:

Gen. 19:34 **მაჲენე ეჲოჲნ ენკოტ ნემაჲ ოჲოჲ ნტენ-ტოჲნოცოჲჲოჲ...** (Greek *εἰσελθοῦσα...κοιμηθήτι... καὶ ἐξαναστήσωμεν*).

Gen. 11:7 **ამოჲინი მარენჳე ეპეცჲტ ნტენჲერჲპოჲლაც მმაჲ** (Greek *δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συνχέωμεν*).

Ex. 3:10 **ამოჲ ნტაოჲოჲპკ** (Greek *δεῦρο ἀποστείλω*).

Gen. 49:1 **ჲოჲოჲ ჲნათამოტენ** (Greek *συνάχθητε ἵνα ἀναγγείλω*).

Gen. 31:44 **ამოჲ ნტენცემნი ნოჲდიაჲჲკჲ** (Greek *δεῦρο διαθώμεθα*) sim. Gen. 37:20, Num. 23:27.

Gen. 27:21. **ჯენკ ეროი პაჲჲი ნტაჲომჲემ ეროკ** (Greek *ἔγγισον ... καὶ ψηλαφήσω*).

Gen. 38:16 **ხატ ნტაი ჲარო** (Greek *ἔασόν με εἰσελθεῖν*) sim. Deut. 9:14.

(7) IMPERATIVE / **მარეჲ-** + **ოჲოჲ** / *zero* + delocutive Conjunctive: successive-sequenced unwilled result / consequence. The Coptic construction does not resemble the Greek one:

Gen. 18:23 **მპერტაკო მპიჲმჲი ნემ პიჲაჲტ ნტეჲოჲპი ნჲე-პიჲმჲი მჲჲრჲჲ მპიაცეჲჲც** (Greek *interrogative Futures*)

Gen. 1:6 **მარეჲოჲპი ნჲე-ოჲტაჲო ... ოჲოჲ ნტეჲოჲპი ეჲეჲჲრჲ ევოლ...** (Greek *two Jussives*).

Obs.

Note the remarkable Ex. 32:10...**οτοζ †νωτ χατ αιεμβον δενοσδωντ ερρη
εδωσ νταφοτω εβολ** (Val. **εαιμβον**; Greek **καί + part. aor. + Future** [micro-
narrative: Hebrew Imperative + *wayyiqtol*!])

(8) IMPERATIVE / **μαρεq-** + **ζινα** + Conjunctive: purposed result/sequel (consecutivum or finalis). The Coptic construction resembles the Greek:

Deut. 31:28 **θωσ† ννιαρχων ... ζινα ντααδι ενοσ-
μαωδ** (= Greek).

Gen. 24:14 **ρεκττερεδρια ζινα νταω** (= Greek).

Gen. 27:41 **μαροσδωντ νδε-νιεροσ ντεφμοτ μπαιωτ
ζινα νταδωτεβ νιακωβ** (= Greek).

Ex. 2:20 **μοσ† οσν εδωσν εροq ζινα ντεqοσωμ νοσωικ**
(Greek **ὅπως**).

Ex. 20:12 **ματαιεπεκιωτ νεμτεκμασ ζινα ντε-πιπεθνα-
νεq ωωπι μμοκ οτοζ ζινα ντεκερ-οσνιω† νχοσ ζι-
δενπικαζι...** (= Greek).

(9) IMPERATIVE + **οτοζ** / *zero* + **μαρεq-** (delocutive).

(a) **οτοζ** / (very rarely) *zero* — causative/result sequelling (“and so /
thereby make [...] happen...” etc.). Affirmative only. The Coptic con-
struction usually resembles the Greek one:

Ex. 10:21 **σοττεντεκδιδ επωωι ετφε οτοζ μαρεq-
ωωπι...** (= Greek).

Ex. 14:16 **σοττων-τεκδιδ εβολ εδεν-φιομ οτοζ φορδq
οτοζ μαροσι εδωσν νδε-νενωηρι μπιτλ** — temporal/logical
sequelling (“and then make them go in...”) (= Greek) sim. Ex. 19:10.

Gen. 31:37 **семннтоσ μπαιμα...οτοζ μαροσσοζι ντεν-
μη†** (= Greek).

Deut. 32:50 **μοσ ερρη εδενπιτωσ ... οτοζ μαροσχακ
δатеппеклаос** (= Greek Imperative + passive Imperative).

Gen. 41:33f. **σοσνι νак νοσρωμι νсаβε οτοζ νκατζηт...
οτοζ μαρεqιρι νδε-φαραω μαρεqχω νξαντοπαρχηс ζι-
δενπικαζι οτοζ μαροσσι μπире-ē ... οτοζ μαροσθοσєт-
ниδrhoσι τηροσ ... μαροσθοσєт-πисото ... οτοζ εσєωω-
πι νδε-ниδrhoσι...** (= Greek).

Also Gen. 18:3f., Deut. 10:11.

(b) **οτοζ** / *zero* contents of *verbum dicendi*: affirmative or negative.
The Coptic resembles the Greek:

Num. 5:2 **οαζсаζни ετοτοσ ... οτοζ μαροσζιοσι εβολ** (= Greek).

Ex. 14:2 **САДИ** **НЕМ** **НЕНУНРИ** **МΠΙCΛ** **ΟΘΟZ** **ΜΑΡΟΤΟΥΤΕΒ** (= Greek).

Lev. 16:2 **САДИ** **НЕМ** **ΑΑΡΩΝ** **ΠΕΚCΟΝ** **ΟΘΟZ** **ΜΠΕΝΘΕΡΕΦΥΕ-ΝΑQ** **ΝΟΥΝΟΥ** **ΝΙΒΕΝ** **ΕΞΟΥΝ...** (= Greek).

Lev. 24:2 **ΖΟΝΖΕΝ** **ΕΤΟΤΟΥ** **ΝΝΕΝУНРИ** **МΠΙCΛ** **ΟΘΟZ** **ΜΑΡΟΥCΙ** **ΝΑΚ** **ΝΟΥΝΕZ...** (= Greek).

Num. 21:7 **ΤΩΒZ** **ΟΥΝ** **МΠΘC** **ΜΑΡΕΦΑΛΙ** **ΝΝΑΙΖΟΥQ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΖΑΡΟΝ** (Greek **καί**) *sim.* Ex. 8:4 (**ΟΘΟZ**), 10:17 (**ΟΘΟZ**).

Deut. 15:9 **ΜΑΖΘΗΚ** **ΕΡΟΚ** **ΜΠΕΝΘΕΡΕ-ΟΥCΑДИ** **ΕΦΖΗΠ** **ΨΩΠΙ...** (Greek **μή γένηται**) *sim.* Deut. 11:16.

(c) *Zero* - plural locutive, affirmative: grammaticalized (auxiliary) Imperative. The Coptic differs from the Greek:

Ex. 14:12 **ΧΑΝ** **ΜΑΡΕΝ-** (Greek **πάρες ἡμᾶς ὅπως + conj.**).

Gen. 19:32 **ΑΜΗ** **ΜΑΡΕΝΤCΕ-ΠΕΝΙΩΤ** **ΝΟΥНРИ** (Greek **δεῦρο καί ποτίσωμεν**).

(d) The delimited negative Jussive is *not in the post-imperative slot*. The Coptic resembles the Greek:

Ex. 19:24 **ΜΑΨΕΝΑΚ** **ΕΞΡΗΙ ...** **ΟΘΟZ** **ΑΜΟΥ** **ΑΨΩΠΙ ...** **ΝΙΟΥНВ** **ΜΠΕΝΘΕΡΟΥΙ** **ΕΨΩΠΙ...** (= Greek).

Deut. 4:9 **ΜΠΕΡΕΡΨΩΨ** **ΝΝΙCΑДИ** **ΤΗΡΟΥ** **ΝΗ** **ΕΤΑΝΕΚΒΑΛ** **ΝΑУ** **ΕΡΩΟΥ** **ΟΘΟZ** **ΜΠΕΝΘΕΡΟΥΖΑΛ** **ΕΒΟΛ...** (= Greek).

Obs.

(1) For the Imperative + **ΜΑΡΕQ-** configuration POLOTSKY 1987:165ff. establishes two classes:

(I) IMP. + **ΜΑΡΕQ-** Boh. (Sah. **ТАРЕQ-**, **ΕΤРЕQ-**, **Ε-**, Conjunctive) — contentually weak Imperative, and **ΜΑΡΕQ-** independent of the Greek;

(II) IMP. **ΟΘΟZ** **ΜΑΡΕQ-** Sah. = Boh., Greek Jussive, rhematic Imperative⁶⁷. The evidence above considerably refines this scheme.

(2) Some interesting post-imperative cases in Nitrian: Luke 6:37f. (**ΟΘΟZ** **ΝΝΟΥ-** + **ΟΘΟZ** **CΕΝΑ- ΑΝ**); **ΟΘΟZ** **ΜΑΡΙ-** is attested only in Nitrian: AM I 99 †**ΜΑΡΟΚΖΚ...** **ΟΘΟZ** **ΜΑΡΙΝΑУ** ironic “and then I will see”, in AM II 86 **ΑΜΟΥ** **ΨΑΡΟΙ** **ΜΦΟΥ** **ΠΑΘC** **ΙC** **ΝΤΕΚ†ΔΟΜ** **ΝΗ** **ΜΑΡΙΕΡΠΕΜΨΑ...**, **ΜΑΡΙ-** expresses *desired consequence*.

1.2.4.1 Response Forms and Constructions: “apocritics” and “reactives”

(a) The Response, presupposing an Allocution, relates to it in a rather special kind of dependency, which has affinities to types of high-level

⁶⁷ Cf. MCKAY 1985:214ff.

nexus — responsive rhematicity based on allocutive thematicity. In some respects, the responsive system is even more intriguing than the allocutive one. To respond to Nexal Questions, Coptic has a special system of tensed affirmative and negative responsive pro-clause-forms, which may also be combined with fuller responsive constructions⁶⁸. These pro-forms are always formally related to non-responsive proclitic grammemes: either tonic (unreduced) forms of conjugation bases (nuclear auxiliaries or pro-verbs); or formally related to such bases (ⲁⲉⲁ — not in our corpus — and the Preterite base ⲁ-, ⲙⲉⲩⲏ and ⲙⲡⲉ-, ⲛⲛⲟ and ⲛⲛⲉ-, ⲱⲟ and ⲱⲁ-), or one homonymous with the statement of non-existence ⲙⲙⲟⲛ-; or (not attested in the corpus) one homonymous with the form of a plural/neuter pronoun thematic to a presental predication (ⲉⲉ). While ⲉⲉ responds in Nitrian and NT Bohairic to the actual Present, ⲁⲉⲁ responds (*i.a.*) to Generic Present clauses (e.g. the Nominal Sentence); only ⲙⲙⲟⲛ and ⲙⲉⲩⲏ (and of course ⲛⲛⲟ and ⲱⲟ) are always representative pro-forms, usually responsive to past Questions; ⲙⲙⲟⲛ, ⲁⲉⲁ and ⲉⲉ are also clause-initial asseverative Dialogue particles, responding as it were to an implicit denial or sceptical Nexal Question. Neither ⲛⲛⲟ, ⲱⲟ and ⲉⲉ are attested in the Pentateuch. The negatives ⲙⲙⲟⲛ and ⲙⲉⲩⲏ occur as pro-forms also in the second term of an alternative Question (...ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲙⲙⲟⲛ/ⲙⲉⲩⲏ "...or not?").

Obs.

(1) On responsive syntax in general, see FUGIER 1995 (Latin); SHISHA-HALEVY 1995b: §3.3.2 (Welsh, with references for the Celtic phenomenon). I cannot accept in a simple fashion that forms of Response resolve the Question type (so for instance JUNGE 1983:545 n.3): see the evidence for the Question-Response correlation, presented in tabular form below.

(2) As already pointed out, the Response is in all probability apodotic/rhematic to the Question's protaticity/topicality, on a high (textual) level of predication; the responsive pro-forms are formal Rhemes, often cataphoric to a whole responsive clause (cf. WELKE 1992:39f.).

(3) Coptic does not have the famous European ternary pro-clausal Response system of a single negative opposed to two affirmative Responses, one unmarked, the other marked for repudiating/refuting/protesting its allocation: French *non/oui: si* (cf. WILMET 1976b, a brilliant study of the complexities of Allocation/Response modalities). WUNDERLI 1975 and 1976:209ff. relates *si* and *oui* anaphorically to negative and affirmative nexus proposed in the respective Allocations. I cannot accept Schiffrin's view of *no* as elliptical (SCHIFFRIN 1995:77) — but ellipsis of what? Surely not of the Question clause — cf. the use of Coptic ⲙⲙⲟⲛ. Coptic ⲉⲉ occurs also in cases of "*si*", "*doch*", cf. Mt. 15:27 = Mark 7:28, Mt. 17:25.

⁶⁸ Cf. Modern Welsh *dolnaddo* (past), *ielnage, naci* (Present): SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:62.

- (4) Terminology. "Negative-pronominal particles" (SCHWARTZE-STEINTHAL 1950:366) is more perceptive than Stern's "adverbia der bejahung" (1880 §528) and Layton's "interjections" (2004 §241, 245). These elements were studied in the 1930s and later by B. Gunn for Nitrian (Gunn MSS VII 3, 46 at the Griffith Institute, Oxford: unpublished).
- (5) The pro-form is included in the Question as a "forestalled" Response, corresponding to the Question's tense: **MMON**: **NEOK-ΘYATPOLIC** **ΩAN-MMON** AM II 125, **ΧΝΑΕΡ-ΘYCIA...** **ΩAN-MMON** AM I 102; **ΜΦΗ** in **ΞΑΡΑ ΔΥΜΟY** **ΩAN-ΜΦΗ** AM I 18, **ΔΥΙ ΝΞΕΠΧΣ** **ΩAN-ΜΦΗ** AM II 290 (in SV 46 it marks the past reference of the preceding). Coptic differs thus from languages which have in this case the nexal negation with the verb zeroed: consider German *nicht* ("Du kommst oder nicht?"), colloquial French *pas* ("tu viens ou pas?"), *non* in a higher register; Modern Welsh *peidio* or *llai* or *ddim* (again a difference of register?).
- (6) **MMON** "It isn't so", "It isn't true", "*Non è il caso*" or sim. (e.g. Gen. 42:12, but also many of the apparently pro-formal examples) is probably the basic meaning (cf. Turkish *yok*), related to the existential one of **MMN**- (already in the earliest Demotic, Ryl. IX 17/3, and probably earlier). The affirmative counterpart of **MMON**, **OTON** responds to **AN-OTON**- in Jer. 44:17 Tattam; **OTON-ΩΔOM** **MMON** to **OTON-ΩΔOM** **MMWTEN**, Mt. 20:22, Mark 10:39.
- (7) **MMON** (**ΔΛΛΑ...**) responds as refusal form to an Imperative (Gen. 19:2). Pro-form **MMON** occurs often as a negative alternative in protases ("if not...") and disjunctions ("or not...", "otherwise", "or else"). The Demotic protatic *jn bn* "if not" (see already Ryl. IX 13/2, 14/5f, 17/3) seems to have modal or future reference (i.e. to be a pro-form of the negative future?). For Demotic *mn* (*twin sdm...*, ERICHSEN 1956 1/8), we unfortunately want the preceding dialogue.
- (8) **MMON** "no" is the only nexal pro-form to be substantivized by **OT**- in Mt. 5:37, II Cor. 1:18 (in focus and Rheme status, probably conditioned), **ΠΙ**- in II Cor. 1:17 etc. (Cf. WUNDERLI 1976:214ff. for French *oui*, *non* substantivized). Consider also the famous **ΔΞΑ ΔΞΑ** **MMON** **MMON**, **OT-ΔΞΑ**, **OT-MMON** II Cor. 1:17ff.; **OTΔΞΑ** **ΠΕΤ**-, with **OT**- conditioned by the focal status, II Cor. 1:19.
- (9) In cases like Gen. 30:1 **ΜΑΩΗΡΙ** **ΝΗΙ** **MMON** **†ΝΑΜΟY**, **MMON** is the Circumstantial adverbial protatic ("otherwise", "or else", εἰ (δέ) μή, Lat. *alioquin*); so too in Gen. 42:16 (in Nitrian and the early "B4" we find the form **EMMON**, with the converter unzeroed, e.g. Mac. No. 95).
- (10) J. Černý's *Etymological Dictionary* 145 refers **ce** etymologically to Roman Demotic *st* (Erichsen, *Glossar* 470), referring to Mag. 18, 31 (Griffith-Thompson I, 122 (1904)); Spiegelberg, *Gramm.* §138 Anm.: *n st n'-šn-n.j m-p3-hrw?* — *St*. "Will they inquire for me today?" — "They (will)". Frankly, I find it difficult to see a thematic plural pronoun in pro-clausal role (Černý does not mention **nno**, and gives no etymology for **ωο** or **εξε/αξα**). However, a neutric anaphoric pronoun is conceivable in this function⁶⁹, and a distinctive Theme may well represent a nexus. While **αξα**, **αξη**, **αξο** (Crum, *Dictionary*, 64f. — Crum chooses **εξε** as the master form) may, formally speaking, all be tonic, non-proclitic unexpanded forms related to the Preterite base/pro-verb **α-**, **αξ-**, **αξ-** (the old auxiliary **ω3h**), the e-vowel forms, esp. Sahidic, viz. **εξε**, **ξε** support the suspicion that we have here a merger of the responsive pro-forms with an assenting interjection; there is certainly a distinct affinity of responsive **αξα** with the Preterite Allocation. **nno** is synchronically and structurally a pro-verb, as early as Roman Demotic, where we have the *finite* responsive pro-clause **#bn-jw.f#** **#bn-jw.ω#** "he/they shan't" (Petubastis =

⁶⁹ Cf. Modern Irish *sea*, neg. *ní hea*, which, however, contains a rhematizing element (*i*)s: "it-is it".

P. Spiegelberg col. X), and the affirmative *iw.j* "I will" (*ibid*) (I thank Dr. Mark Smith, Oxford for the information). In Shenoutean Sahidic Coptic, we find once a similar finite pro-form in nexus focalization: *NCABHA ETBHHTQ...NENNAOΩ AN PE MPOW PΩ* "Were it not for him... we would not have stayed (as indeed they did not)" (Leip. IV 97, condemned by the editor). In Gen. 42:21, *αγα* is both allocutive and reactive-to-situation. (11) *ce* in "Old Coptic", SATZINGER 1994:214 line 101, is neither responsive, nor question-invoking, but something like "Yea,..." (cf. Luke 11:51 etc.). Both *αγα* and *ce* may serve, initially, to reinforce an asseveration (Boh. *ce* corresponding in this role to Sah. *αγα*),⁷⁰ often following an argumentative question or another allocution: Luc. 7:26; 12:5 *αγα*, with a reiterated injunction; Mt. 11:9, Luke 11:51, 18:8 *ce* *†δω* *μμοc* *νωτν*... (cf. the use of *(ε)αμην*); *ce* *††εο* *εροκ* Phil. 4:3. Consider also the solemn rhetorical addresses — "Yes, Father..." Luke 10:21, Mt. 11:26; Apoc. 16:7 *ce* *π̄ε̄* *ϕ̄†* *π̄ιπ̄αντοκρατωρ* *π̄ιϕ̄μ̄η* *νεκρ̄αν* *τηρω̄* *ξανμε̄ομ̄η* *νε*.

(12) *αγα* and *ce* may constitute the whole Response, and are then immediately followed by an addressed "Vocative" (e.g. *πᾱε̄c*); or they may precede a responsive clause (see below). The Question may indeed be evoked by *αγα*, and may not be explicit at all: *χο̄τω̄ω̄ δε̄ ε̄ε̄μ̄ι δε̄-αγα* *ic* *νε̄νε̄ϑ̄παρχοντα* *τηρω̄*... *σιτω̄* *νακ* *AM* I 117. (13) The admittedly impressionistic statement that Bohairic seems to prefer the Present to the Aorist agrees with the contrast between Boh. *ce* and Sah. *ω̄o* in Mt. 17:25.

(14) On *μ̄ϕ̄η*, see ANDERSSON 1904:122f.; see STERN 1880 §528 on *αγα* and *ce*.

(15) In Gen. 17:17, God's *αγα* responds remotely and fuzzily to Abraham's doubting *αν̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄ω̄πι*... *αν̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄μ̄ιc*, which, however, is followed by *ic* *μᾱηλ* *ϕ̄αι* *μᾱ-ρε̄ω̄η̄δ*..., to which God's Response is also referable.

(16) See KASSER 1999 on special delimiters of Dialogue subunits in the B4 Bodmer III.

1.2.4.2 Detailed contrastive Allocation/Response repertory

(a) As will be seen from the tables below, the Pentateuch usage of the responsive elements is, compared with Nitrian and the NT, restricted and infrequent; except for a rare instance of *μ̄ϕ̄η*, none of them ever responds to a question; they are not pro-forms strictly speaking, in the dialogic Allocation/Response extent cohesive role⁷¹. On the other hand, the Nitrian (specimen check) and NT (the exhaustive evidence) usage is conversational (and colloquial). Note the following restrictions and combinations:

ce does not respond to an interrogative Nominal Sentence;

αγα does not respond to a Present Tense;

αγα responds to non-specific foregoing textual stretches containing various tenses;

μ̄ϕ̄η responds only to *αq-* (*νε-αq-*), and is always a pro-form;

⁷⁰ *caɪ-* for the 3rd plural theme prefix in Hag. 2:13 (B4, P. copto 9, collated) is remarkable. *caɪ-νᾱc̄ω̄q* answers the polar question *μη̄ξ̄ι c̄ε̄νᾱc̄ω̄q*. Seeing that *αɪ* is not attested for *ε* elsewhere in the MS — and would be unique indeed where a native Coptic grammeme is concerned — I wonder whether it would be daring to suggest that we have here a marked responsive form, confirming the nexus as Focus.

⁷¹ In the B4 Twelve Prophets, we find an instance of *μ̄μ̄ον* responding to *μη̄ξ̄ι* (i.e. *μη̄τ̄ι*) + *νᾱ*-Future (Hag. 2:12).

MMON responds to the Present, Contingent-Indefinite Future, Nominal Sentence, Imperative; **MMON** **αλλα** to non-specific foregoing textual stretches.

The Pentateuch

Responsive responding to (clause):

αγα-

non-specific context/pragmatic situation/instruction (**αγα...γαρ**) Gen. 42:21.

non-specific context/remote doubting **αν εσε-?**/Jussive (**αγα εηππε ις...**)

Gen. 17:19.

σε

Not attested in the corpus.

MMON

ψαν-MMON

αν- + Contingent-Indefinite Future Num. 11:23,
Deut. 8:2.

ψαν-MMON

αν- + Present Gen. 42:16, Ex. 17:17.

ψαν-MMON

αν- + Nom. Sentence Gen. 27:21.

ιςσε-MMON

αν- + Present Gen. 18:21.

ιςσε-MMON

ιςσε- + Contingent-Indefinite Future Gen. 24:29.

MMON

Contingent-Indefinite Future Deut. 8:2.

MMON

Nominal Sentence Gen. 42:9f.

MMON αλλα + Cont. Fut.

non-specific context/pragmatic situation Num. 13:30.

MMON αλλα + Cont. Fut.

request/proposal (Imperative) Gen. 19:2.

MMON + Voc.

request/proposal (Imperative) Gen. 23:15.

MMON αλλα αρεσωβι

(neg. Preterite statement: "I did not laugh") Gen.
18:15.

μη

μη + Preterite Num. 22:30.

ψαν-μη

σε- + Preterite Gen. 24:21.

Nitrian, New Testament:

Responsive responding to (clause):

αγα, αγα

zero + Preterite AM I 44, Mt. 13:51, Acts 5:8.

[pragmatic allocation — falling movement of idol] AM II 303.
Imperfect (?) AM I 51.

αν- + Nom. Sentence ("νθοκ πε X?") AM I 96

μη + Nom. Sentence (neg. "νθοκ- + Subst. **αν**") Mac. No. 30.

οτκοτν + Nom. Sentence ("νινοτ† **ξανδεμων νε?**")
AM II 300.

zero + Nom. Sentence ("νθοκ πε X?") Act. 22:27.

(**ψαν**) + Nom. Sentence (Subst. **φα- πε**) Rom. 3:29.

zero + Nom. Sentence ("X πε ?") AM II 124.

zero + Nom. Sentence ("νθοκ- + Substantive?") AM II 28.

	zero + Nom. Sentence ("ნოკ პე X?") AM I 112.
ცე	გადა+ actual Present AM II 124, De Vis II 151. zero + actual Present (affirm., neg.) AM I 60, Mt. 9:28, 17:25, 21:16, John 21:15f. გადა რა + Existential Mac. No. 32. Adjective Verboid (negative statement) Mt. 15:27 = Mark 7:28.
მმონ	
მმონ ალაა	Nom. Sentence (statement: "ოჲ- პე", "ნოჲ პე" "Subst. პე") Joh. 7:12, 9:9, AM II 215f.
მმონ ალაა	Jussive request/proposal (Imperative) Acts 16:37 მნ + Nom. Sentence ("ნოჲ-ოჲ") John 18:17 მნ ოჲონ- John 21:5 ან- + Present Mt. 13:29 zero + Nom. Sentence ("ნოჲ პე X?") John 1:21 (ხმეჲ ჯე-) + Contingent-Indefinite Future AM I 243 (არეტენმეჲ ჯე-) + Preterite Luke 12:51, 13:3
მჴნ	
	მნ + Preterite Luke 22:35
ყან-მჴნ	Pluperfect AM II 290
ყან-მჴნ	გადა- + Preterite AM I 18

(b) Interrogative Allocation + Response configurations: two joined substructures and subsystems. The information in the following schematic tables, typologizing interrogative Allocation/Response combinations, is based on our corpus and on a specimen of Nitrian texts and therefore is not definitive, but as nearly representative as possible; it will serve to show the broad structural scope and variety of Nitrian, compared with the rather pedestrian Pentateuch⁷². The following formal features should be noted (see also below, following the tables):

(1) Some tenses do not occur in the Question subsystem at all, such as the Absolute-Definite Future and the Aorist, or are very rare, like the Imperfect.

(2) Some Nominal Sentence patterns do not occur in the Question at all, or are typical of Response, such as # ანოკ პე # (see below, Chapter Two).

(3) Rhematic Questions are not negated. Rhematic Questions are inherently interrogative, by token of special *cataphoric* interrogative pro-forms. No Response marker (pro-form) introduces the Response to Rhematic Questions. (See Chapter Two for Rhematic Questions consisting of a Focalizing Conversion form).

(4) In the Question-Response complex, neither Question markers nor Response markers are in themselves essential; but a representative of either class is as a rule present, with few exceptions.

⁷² I include here only Responses more or less directly associated with its Question.

(5) Nitrian: Nexal Question markers occurring are: (affirmative) *zero*, **ΑΝ, ΞΑΡΑ**; (negative) **ΜΗ, ΟΥΚΟΥΝ, ΙΕ**, *zero*. Zeroed Responses occur with the Question markers **ΜΗ, ΟΥΚΟΥΝ**, *zero*. Non-zero Response markers occur with the following Question markers list: **ΜΜΟΝ** with *zero*; **ΑΞΑ** with *zero*, **ΑΝ, ΟΥΚΟΥΝ**; **CE** with *zero*.

(6) Pentateuch. Nexal Question markers occurring are: (affirmative) *zero* **ΑΝ, ΜΗ(ΤΙ), ΞΑΡΑ**; (negative) **ΜΗ, ΑΝ, ΙΕ**, *zero*. Zeroed Responses occur with: *zero*, **ΑΝ, ΜΗ**; Response markers occur — **ΜΜΟΝ** with **ΑΝ**; **ΜΦΗ** with **ΜΗ**.

(7) The constituency of *zero*-marked Questions. Nitrian: Nominal Sentence, Preterite, Present, Focalizing Present, Contingent-Indefinite Future, Existential. Pentateuch: Nominal Sentence, Present, Focalizing Present. Note the exclusion of the Absolute Future, Aorist and Imperfect. *Zero*-marked Questions are more frequent by far in Nitrian and the New Testament.

(8) Only the Nominal Sentence and Present (incl. Contingent-Indefinite Future and Existential) occur as Question-echoing Response.

(9) Note below several instances where it is the Response that resolves the nature and structure of the Question. (The trivial case is of the zeroed Response, which marks the Allocation as Assertive-Focal ([Rhetorical] Question).

(10) Interrogative Responses mark non-interrogative Allocations or are meta-allocutive (i.e. reacting to the very asking of the Question).

(11) A specific question, in need of special study, concerns the formalities of Response to focalizing constructions and to Nominal-Sentence-type nexus: some evidence is presented below. It appears that Response by Rheme or Focus alone is rare or excluded: Response is generally made by full pattern.

(12) Responses are not zeroed, but are *nil*, with actantial ("indirect") Questions.

Nitrian

Question marker	Question clause	Response pro-form	Response clause
Nexal:			
<i>zero</i>	ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΥ-	<i>zero</i>	echoed* AM I 20
<i>zero</i>	ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΥ-	ΜΜΟΝ <i>zero</i>	AM II 76
<i>zero</i>	ΝΘΟΚ ΟΥ-	ΑΞΑ	echoed* AM II 28
<i>zero</i>	ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ Χ	<i>zero</i>	ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ AM II 66
<i>zero</i>	ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ Χ	ΑΞΑ	ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ AM II 11

Question marker	Question clause	Response (pro-)form	Response clause
zero	PN + πε	αξλ	νηοq πε AM II 124
λN-	νηοκ πε	αξλ	λνοκ πε AM I 96, 112
λN-	νηοκ πε X	αξλ	echoed ^a AM I 96
MH	ΦλI πε X	zero	νηοq λN πε AM II 139
οΥΚΟΥΗ	Topic. Nom. Sent.	αξλ	echoed ^a AM II 300
οΥΚΟΥΗ	νηοκ-οΥ- οN ^s	zero	λνοκ -οΥ- λN AM II 28
zero	Preterite	αξH + voc.	zero AM I 44
zero	Present	ce + voc.	zero AM I 60
zero	Present	ce	echoed, + [...] ^b AM II 124
zero	Present	ce	echoed ^a AM II 126
zero	Foc. Present	zero	echoed ^a AM II 203
zero	Voc. + Present	zero	οΥ πετωοπ + Voc. AM II 318
	[zero]	αξλ	νηοκ πε Φ† AM II 303
	[zero ^c]	αξλ	Topic + Imperative AM I 117
zero	Voc. + Preterite	zero	νηοκ-νιM + Voc. AM I 36f.
zero	Contingent Future	zero	neg. Contingent Future ^a AM I 59
zero	Cont. Future + ψλN-μμον ⁿ	zero	neg. Contingent Future AM I 1, 102
zero	Contingent Future + ψλN- Contin- gent Future	zero	Contingent Future AM I 53
zero	νηοκ-Rheme + ψλN-μμον ⁿ	zero	λνοκ-matching Rheme. ⁱ AM II 125
zero	Pluperfect + ψλN-μΦH ⁿ	[oblique Response] ^f	AM II 290
zero	οΥοN-	[dialogue-arresting Response] ^e	AM I 66
zero	Present	[dialogue-arresting Response] ^e	AM I 47
MH	Foc. Present	[oblique Response] ^f	AM II 75
zero	Foc. Present	οNτωc + Contin- gent Future	AM I 232
zero	Contingent Future + Voc.	[oblique Response] ^f	AM I 25
zero	Contingent Future	[dialogue-arresting Response] ^e	AM II 19
zero	Contingent Future	zero	Contingent Future AM I 132
zero	Present + Voc.	[self-supplied Response] ^g	AM I 55
zero	Preterite + οN ^d	[zero]	AM I 76
zero	Preterite + οN ^d	[zero]	AM I 78
zero	Preterite	[oblique Response] ^f	AM II 7
zero	Preterite + Voc.	[zero]	AM I 28
zero	Present	[zero]	AM I 29, 97
zero	Contingent Future + †NοΥ ^h	[zero]	AM I 98

Question marker	Question clause	Response (pro-)form	Response clause
zero	Present + ρω ^k + Address	[zero]	AM II 318f.
zero	ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΑΤΕΤΕΝ-	αζα	ΑΝΟΝ ΠΕ De Vis II 265'
ΙΕ	Preterite	[zero]	AM I 29
ΖΑΡΑ	Foc. Future	[zero] ^d	AM II 248
ΖΑΡΑ	Contingent Future	[zero] ^d	AM II 212
ΜΗ	Preterite +		
ΜΗ	Imperfect +		
ΜΗ	Preterite +		
ΜΗ	Preterite	[zero]	AM II 56f.

Rhematic (selection):

(ΘΩΝ)	ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΨΡΕΜ-ΘΩΝ	ΑΝΟΚ-ΟΨΡΕΜ-Χ	AM II 76
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ	ΦΑΙ ΠΕ Χ ^m	AM I 50
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΙΜ ΝΤΑΚ ΤΕ	ΤΑΜΑΨ ΜΜΔΙ-ΝΟΨ† ΤΕ	AM II 11f.
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ	Χ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ	AM I 66
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΘΟΚ-ΝΙΜ (ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†)/ΕΚ-	ΑΝΟΚ-Χ	AM I 37, II 111, 125
(ΟΨ)	ΟΨ ΠΕ ΕΤΨΟΠ	ΑΓΕΝΣ — ΠΕ ΕΤ ^j	AM II 105
(ΟΨΗΡ)	ΟΨΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΙΣΔΕΝ-ΕΤΑΚ-	ΙΣ- Χ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ	AM II 290
(ΔΕΝΑΨ Ν-)	ΕΡΕ- ΝΘΩΝ/ ΔΕΝΑΨ ΜΜΔ ^o	ΕΨ- ΔΕΝ-/ΧΗ ΖΙΔΕΝ- ^o	AM II 76, 149
(ΟΨ, ΝΙΜ)	ΕΚ- ^p ΕΘΒΕΟΨ/ ΝΝΙΜ	ΕΙ-... ^p ΕΘΒΕ- /Ε-...	AM I 75, 229
(ΘΩΝ)	ΑΚΝΑΨΕ ΝΑΚ ΕΘΩΝ	ΕΙΞΗΛ ΕΡΑΤϣ ΜΠΙΞΗΓΕΜΩΝ	AM II 74
(ΝΙΜ)	ΕΚ- + ΝΝΙΜ + Address	[self-supplied Response] ⁸	AM II 273
(ΘΩΝ)	ΑΦΘΩΝ ΔΕ †ΝΟΨ ⁴ ΝΔΕ-Φ† ΝΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ... +		
(ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΨ)	ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΨ ΜΠΕ- ϣΙ + ΝΤΕϣ- ⁴	[zero]	AM II 280f.

Combined — Rhematic / Nexal

(1) (ΘΩΝ)	ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΡΕΜΘΩΝ + ΖΑΡΑ	Present [Condensed Response] ¹	AM II 122
(2) (ΝΙΜ)	Χ-ΝΙΜ ΕΤ- + zero Χ ΠΕ + ΨΑΝ- zero + ΚΕ-ΟΨΑΙ ΠΕ	αζα ΝΘΟϣ ΠΕ	AM II 124

Pentateuch

Question marker	Question clause	Response (pro-)form	Response clause
nexal:			
zero	Contingent Future ⁷	zero	neg. Absolute-Definite Future Gen. 18:24, 28
zero	ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ + Rheme	[zero]	ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ^u Gen. 27:24
zero	ΦΔΙ ΠΕ + Theme	[zero]	Gen. 43:29
zero	Present	[zero]	Gen. 44:15, Ex. 2:7f.
zero	Present	[oblique Response] ^f	Gen. 24:5
zero	Present	[zero]	echoed ^a Gen. 43:27f.
zero	Foc. Present + Augens ^d	[zero]	Ex. 2:14.
zero	ΟΥ- ΜΜΑΥΑΤQ ⁷³ ΕΤ- + Address	[zero]	Gen. 27:38
ΑΝ-	Present	[zero]	echoed ^a Gen. 29:5f.
ΑΝ-	ΟΥΟΝ-	[zero]	echoed ^a Gen. 44:19f..
ΑΝ-	Contingent Future ΜΜΟΝ	[zero]	Deut. 8:2
ΑΝ-	Contingent Future	[zero]	Num. 16:22
ΑΝ-	Conjunctive 1st sgl. ¹	[dialogue-arresting Response] ^f	Gen. 33:15
ΑΝ-	Absolute-Definite Future	[zero]	Gen. 17:17
ΑΝ-	Foc. Conv. Existential	[zero]	Ex. 14:11
ΑΝ-	ΟΥ- ΠΕ ⁷⁴ ΦΔΙ ΔΕ...	[zero]	Num. 16:9:13
ΑΝ-	ΠΑΙ- ΠΕ ΠΙ-	[zero]	Ex. 14:12
ΑΝ-	Contingent Future	[zero]	Num. 22:37
ΔΕ-ΑΝ-	Nom. Sentence	(-)	Num. 13:18:19
ΔΕ-ΑΝ-	Present	(-)	Num. 13:19:20
ΔΕ-ΑΝ-	Verboid	(-)	Num. 13:19
ΜΗ	Preterite	ΜΦΗ	Num. 22:30
ΜΗΤΙ	Preterite	[zero]	Gen. 20:9
ΜΗ	ΟΥΟΝ-ΩΔΟΜ	[zero]	Num. 22:38
ΜΗ	ΝΘΟΚ ΕΤΝΔ-	[zero]	Num. 11:29
ΜΗ	ΜΩΥCΗC	[zero]	Num. 12:2
ΜΗ	ΜΜΑΥΑΤQ ΕΤΔ-		
ΜΗ	ΑΝΟΚ ΔΙ- ^o	[zero]	Num. 11:12
ΜΗ	ΟΥΟΝ- + Contin- gent Future	[zero]	Gen. 18:14

⁷³ c *super lin.*, with -q crossed out.⁷⁴ Vat ΑΝ ΠΕ.

Question marker	Question clause	Response (pro-)form	Response clause
ΜΗ	Contingent Future [zero]		Gen. 37:8, 41:38, Lev. 10:19 etc.
ΜΗΤΙ	Contingent Future [zero]		Num. 20:10
ΜΗΤΙ	ΟΥΟΝ- [zero]		Deut. 29:18
ΜΗΤΙ ΔΗ	Present +		
ΜΗ	Foc. Preterite + ΔΗ [zero]		Gen. 31:14f.
ΜΗ	ΔΝΟΚ- Rheme [zero]		Gen. 4:9, 30:2
ΜΗ	Rheme - ΠΕ - Theme [zero]		Deut. 20:19
ΜΗ	ΔΝΟΚ-ΤΕΚΕΩ ΔΗ [zero]		Num. 22:23
ΜΗ + Topic... ΜΗ	Contingent Future [zero]		Num. 11:22
ΜΗ	Preterite [zero]		Num. 23:26, 24:12
ΜΗ	Foc. Preterite [zero]		Gen. 31:15, 29:25
ΜΗ... ΔΗ	Foc. Future [zero]		Gen. 34:23
ΜΗ... ΔΗ	Focus — ΠΕΤΑΓ- [zero]		Num. 16:29
ΜΗ... ΔΗ	ΔΝΟΚ + Rheme [zero]		Num. 22:30
ΜΗ... ΔΗ	ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ + Rheme ^Δ [zero]		Ex. 4:11
ΜΗ... ΔΗ	Topic + ΝΔΙ ΝΕΪΝΔ [zero]		Num. 23:12
ΜΗ... ΔΗ	Contingent Future [zero]		Num. 23:19:19
ΜΗ... ΔΗ	Topic + Present [zero]		Gen. 37:13, Ex. 4:14, Deut. 32:34
ΖΑΡΑ	Contingent Future [zero]		Gen. 18:13
ΖΑΡΑ	ΣΕΝΟΤΙ ΤΕΝΝΔΙ (foc. nexus) [zero]		Gen. 37:10
ΙΕ	Preterite [zero]		Gen. 27:36
ΜΗΤΙ Address ^Δ	Conditional (deliberative?)		
ΙΕ	ΕΨΩΠ + Conditional	neg. Absolute Future	Gen. 18:30:32
zero	Address + Topic + Contingent Future + ΜΗ ΝΘΟQ ΔΗ + Preterite [Oblique Response]		Gen. 20:4ff.

Rhematic (selection):

(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΘΟΚ-ΝΙΜ	ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ- Rheme	Gen. 27:32
	ΝΘΟΚ		
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΑΓ-	[zero]	Gen. 21:26, Ex. 4:11
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΔΑΡΩΝ ΔΕ-	[zero] ^W	Num. 16:11
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΘΟ-ΤΨΕΡΙ ΝΝΙΜ	ΔΝΟΚ-ΤΨΕΡΙ Ν- Χ	Gen. 24:23f.
(ΝΙΜ)	ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ	# Χ #	Gen. 32:27

Question marker	Question clause	Response (pro-)form	Response clause
(NIM)	ΠΑΙ- NIM ΠΕ	ΠΑΙ ΠΕ —	Rheme Gen. 24:65
(ΟΩ)	ΑΝΟΝ-ΟΩ...ΔΕ-	[zero] ^w	Ex. 16:7
(ΟΩ)	ΟΩ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΙΛΙΩ (ΔΕ) ΑΡΕ-	[zero]	Num. 22:28f.
(ΟΩ)	ΟΩ ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑ- / ΠΕΤΑΚ-	[zero]	Gen. 4:10, Num. 23:11
(ΟΩ)	ΟΩ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ	Rheme + ΠΕ	Ex. 4:2
(ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΩ)	ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΩ + Preterite	[Dialogue-arresting Response] ^f	Num. 22:32f.
(ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΩ)	ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΩ + Preterite	[zero]	Gen. 18:13, Num. 31:15
(ΟΩ)	Topic + ΟΩ ΤΕ + Address	[zero]	Gen. 37:10
(ΟΩ)	ΟΩ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ ΕΤΑΚ-	[zero]	Gen. 26:10
(ΟΩ, ΔΕΝ-ΟΩ)	ΟΩ ΠΕΤΕΝΝΑ- + ΙΕ ΟΩ ΠΕΤΕΝΝΑ- + ΙΕ ΑΝΝΑ- ΔΕΝΟΩ +	[zero]	Gen. 44:16
(ΑΩ)	ΔΕ-ΟΩ/ΖΑΝΑΩ (-) ΝΡΗ† ΠΕ/ΝΕ	(-)	Num. 13:18:19:20
(ΠΩC)	Contingent Future [instruction]		Gen. 15:8f.
(ΠΩC)	Contingent Future [zero]		Deut. 1:12
(ΑΔΟ-)	ΑΔΟ-ΝΑΙΡΩΜΙ ΑΦΙ	ΑΓΕΝS - ΑΩ- i	Num. 22:9f.
(ΘΩΝ)	ΝΕΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝ- ΕΒΟΛ-ΘΩΝ	ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ-	Gen. 29:4, 42:7
(ΘΩΝ)	ΑCΘΩΝ	ΙC ΖΗΠΠΕ (CΕΝ- ΔΟΩΝ ΔΕΝ-)	Gen. 18:9
(ΘΩΝ)	ΑΙΝΑΔΕΜ-ΑΩ ΘΩΝ	[zero]	Num. 11:13
(ΩΛΘΕΝΑΩ)	ΩΛ-ΘΕΝΑΩ ΔΕ ΟΩΝ- + Con- tingent Future	[zero]	Ex. 10:7

Notes:

(a) The Question clause echoed in the Response, with interlocutive personal switch, and (where relevant) anaphoric reference to Question. Note that the Response to the topicalized Nominal Sentence occurs without Topic.

(b) The Response consisting of the echoed Question with further expansion.

(c) No verbal allocation. The Response here is either pragmatically reactive to the falling movement of the idol, or textually implicit, invoked by the Response.

(d) ΟΝ "yet, again" marking an ironic Rhetorical Question; so too ΖΑΡΑ + Focalizing Future/Basic Contingent-Indefinite Future with pronoun+Augens focalized: will you send me there, too?"; so too the Contingent-Indefinite Future with preceding †ΝΟΩ (AM II 15), and the Augens in Ex. 2:24.

- (e) Dialogue-arresting Response: allocutive "Why do you ask?", "Who are you?"; "I know nothing (but...)" "What is this for me?" and so on.
- (f) "Oblique Response": "Won't you have done with this misguided magic...?"- "It isn't I who misguide..."; "Is it to die badly that you wish?" "This world's death is no death", "Shall I return...?" "Beware not to return..." and so on.
- (g) "Self-supplied Response" in the Allocation: "Don't you know me? I am..." "To whom do you make me sacrifice — Peter or Apollo?"
- (h) $\uparrow\text{now}$ "now" marking an impatient Question⁷⁵ (impatience is perhaps also marked by the negative). In AM II 15 a preceding $\uparrow\text{now}$ is ironic; the Augens too may mark assertiveness and irony.
- (i) "Matching Rheme": affirmation of a cohesive non-identical Rheme: "Are you an inhabitant of the city of the Kingdom...?" "I am an inhabitant of the city of Antioch..."
- (j) Apocritic-explanatory presentational nexus. This is the case of the apocritic (non-po-lemic) Cleft Sentence (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1987 and reff.)⁷⁶, or a special noun-initial, verb-second construction superficially coinciding with a topicalizing construction: see below, Chapter Two.
- (k) Interrogative nexus focalized by the focussing particle $\rho\omega$ — amazed Question: "Are you really alive...?!"
- (l) "Condensed Response": "Where are you from? Do you know the land of X?" — "The land you're looking for is..."
- (m) The Copular Pattern responding to the interrogative Delocutive one (see below, Chapter Two).
- (n) Affirmative-form Question incorporating negative pro-form Response: "Did Christ come into the world or not?" (cf. also AM I 18).
- (o) Isomorphic Question and Response: Response including pron. representant of Question's nominal Theme; Response supplying non-pronominal representants to Question's pronouns.
- (p) Homolexic and isomorphic Question and Response: Response supplying non-pronominal representants to Question's nim and ow .
- (q) While ze is (not unlike own) an anaphoric interclausal connector of the whole Allocation/Response complex, $\uparrow\text{now}$ and the Conjunctive seem to be markers of Assertive Focality ("rhetoricalness") of the Question.
- (r) An example from a different Nitrian corpus (De Vis, *Homélie*), included because of the interest of the special endophoric pattern $\text{anok } \pi\epsilon$, normally representing a Cleft Sentence, but here responding to a focalizing #Initial Pronoun, Second Verb#.
- (s) $\text{xprictianoc } \mu\epsilon\text{n } \text{anok-owai}$ ("ich bin einer" "j'en suis un") responds here to the opening Allocation neok-ownazwpaioe . It is of interest to find owai representing here a *zero* article, and, for that matter, to find a *zero* article in Topic status.
- (t) Deliberative Question.
- (u) The " $\text{anok } \pi\epsilon$ " Nominal Sentence pattern (below, Chapter Two), responsive to the special naming-identitive pattern (SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:91f., 103f. "Are you Esau?" "I am").
- (v) Noun-initial *agens*-focalizing construction, resembling a topicalizing one.
- (w) In these cases, both the high-specificity Themes and consecutive ze - + Conjunctive mark the Assertive-Focality of the "Rhetorical" Questions.

⁷⁵ Cf. the questions marked in Russian, Yiddish and Israeli Hebrew by the prefixed *nu*.

⁷⁶ Also in $\text{ekswown } \mu\mu\text{oq } \text{neown } (?) \uparrow\text{cswown } \mu\mu\text{oq } \text{an } \text{alla } \text{powno } \text{etawoworpt } \text{erow}$ (AM II 124).

(x) The (Assertive-Focal) Question itself is in this case a self-offered Response.

(y) Question in *protasi*.

Obs.

Two interesting instances of the Focalizing (Second) Present in Dialogue: the non-allocutive (expository) John 10:20 $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota$ is instructively opposed to the allocutive $\lambda\rho\epsilon\lambda\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota$, $\lambda\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota$ (I Cor. 14:23). On the other hand, in John 10:32f. (B4) the Second Tense occurs in the Response, not the Question (see below, Chapter Two): $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\ \eta\gamma\omega\beta\ \mu\mu\omega\sigma\ \tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota\omega\ \epsilon\delta\omega\iota\ ?$ — $\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\ \eta\delta\omega\kappa\ \alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega$.

1.2.4.3 Special responsive/allocutive clauses

(a) In Response status one encounters clauses which are *adverbial Rhemes with their Themes zeroed*:

(1) $\# \mu\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon / \mu\eta\pi\omega\varsigma + \text{Conjunctive}\#$ constitutes an autonomous clause, following $\alpha\eta\delta\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\epsilon\delta\alpha\eta$ “he said” with the particle $\gamma\alpha\rho$, expressing hidden fears or suspicion in **internal** (Gen. 27:12, 31:31, 38:11, 42:4, 50:15, Ex. 13:17) or **external** (Gen. 24:5, 47:18) **allocution**. $\# \eta\iota\lambda\alpha\ \eta\tau\epsilon - \#$ (Gen. 33:8) constitutes the “affirmative” (hidden purpose) term.

(2) $\# \mu\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\uparrow\ \alpha\eta\#$ Ex. 10:11 ($\mu\grave{\eta}\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$) is both allocutive and responsive (note that negation is essentially dialogic).

(3) $\# \delta\epsilon\eta\omicron\tau\mu\alpha\uparrow\#$ “Fortunately”, Gen. 30:11.

Obs.

For the typically Bohairic dialogic predication $\# \mu\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\uparrow\ \alpha\eta\#$, $\# \mu\phi\rho\eta\uparrow\ \alpha\eta\ \eta - \#$ (no $\pi\epsilon$) “not thus”, “not like...”, cf. also Ps. 1:4, 118:85, Job 5:8, Is. 16:6f., Ez. 16:28. Another predicative-adverb (or clause modifier with a zeroed clause) is $\# \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma \#$, Job 39:24, Mt. 25:23.

(b) The **Performative** (AUSTIN 1975: not however the “expositive” performative. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1995b:187ff.) is a *par excellence* locutive allocution form; one, however, that excludes Response; or else, it is arguably a case of Allocation/Response neutralized. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:79 n.92, for the performative role of the Focalizing Present: Bohairic examples are all Nitrian, with the converter form $\epsilon -$, not $\alpha -$ (Circumstantial topicalization? — see below, Chapter Two): $\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\beta\eta$ (AM II 36), $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omega\omega + \text{Conjunctive}$ (AM II 273; ed.’s note “sic more *sahidico*. Lege $\uparrow\sigma\tau\omega\omega$ ” is uncalled for), $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\eta\ \mu\mu\omicron\kappa$ (AM II 86f.), perhaps $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\chi\alpha\iota$ (AM II 270). In our corpus, the unmarked $\uparrow\uparrow\chi\omicron\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ in Gen. 44:18 is in function Performative proper⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ I have not studied the applicability of KOSCHMIEDER’s (1965) broader term and concept, “Koinzidenzfall”, in the Bohairic systems.

1.2.5 Tensing in Dialogue: the Main Tenses

“Tempus hat nichts mit Zeit zu tun”.

(H. Weinrich, *Tempus*⁶ [2001] p. 14).

Tenses are textemic entities *par excellence*, probably the most environmentally-sensitive entities in grammar. The reference to tenses — their very identity — are only structurally resolvable, by combination and commutation. The formalities, distribution and functionalities of the formal category conventionally called “tense”, with *time reference* one possible — but not necessary — component of its complex *signifié*, have in dialogue a particularly salient place. The three-pronged temporal reference-points Presentation, suspiciously European-ethnocentric, aprioristic and logic-founded, is for Coptic obviously wrong, not merely simplistic. The profile of the tenses presented here — the main tenses occurring in the corpus — is analytic, viewed structurally. The tense form itself does not function apart from its environment — lexical, morphological and syntactic — and a specific role or *valeur* cannot be attributed to it *per se*. (See SHISHA-HALEVY 2003a).

1.2.5.1 The Two Futures

(a) The Problem

Students of all Coptic dialects are familiar with the terminological and conceptual issue of the “double Future”, namely the so called “Third Future” ⲉⲓⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ/ⲉⲓⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, of restricted convertibility and of certain familiar modalities, alongside the periphrastic (“go” ⲛⲁ-) First (and, Focalizing) Future, structurally Present-based, immediately and eminently comparable to the “going to” periphrastic future in some European and other languages, and of primarily temporal, not modal, semantic range. This is indeed very much a “Romance” predicament, and, once again, an instance of Coptic complexity sophistication “having to choose” where the Greek *Vorlage* has by and large only a single form. The opposition between the two forms obtains in all dialects, yet differs between dialects.

In fact, “the Problem of the Future” looms large in general and special discussions of Indo-European and language-specific studies of future tenses, synchronic as well as diachronic, chiefly in dichotomic terms of “Tense or Mode?”. “Is There a Future [Tense]?”, or are we dealing with a complex entangled continuum of modal components, slipping through our fingers if we attempt to capture them temporally, and their synthesizing into a form epitomizable as a tense expressing futurity (whatever this may mean or however definable), from a bird’s-

eye-view, can only be at the expense of their individual essential features? Or is the same true of temporality? Or ought we rather to give up the "Tense" vs. "Mode" preconceived dichotomic distinction as misguided, wrong, blurred, not rigorously or even adequately definable and in fact misleading, replacing it by different, finer distinctions of modality within a *prospective* frame of reference, that is, reconcile the two perspectives?

Obs.

(1) Some instructive or notable treatments of the Coptic future tenses. TATTAM in his generally indifferent *Compendious Grammar* (London 1863²) distinguishes between εἰε- "future tense definite", -נא- "future tense indefinite", comparing proportionally אק- and וקאק- (respectively). This conceptual symmetry is not all wrong, in fact it is insightful, since specificity is arguably applicable to verbal base forms — which, with Theme segments, constitute nexal or predicative syntagms — to *environment* as well as to noun syntagms. As I will attempt to show, this characterization and appellation is in principle acceptable.

CHAÎNE 1930:§625ff. understandably compares the נא- Future to the French "futur prochain", and describes the semantics of the Bohairic "Fut. III" in terms of "assurance" and "certitude".

While for 18th-century still Bohairic-oriented Coptic grammarians like Scholtz and Woide (I §106, p. 166), εἰε- was "Futurum I" and the נא- future was "Futurum II", the "Futurum Tertium vel Optativus" was מאפעק-, the Berlin School 19th-century Second-Tense terminology, together with the shift of attention to Sahidic, formed the terminological system still by and large prevailing. In P. Bonjour's grammar of 1698 (AUFRÈRE and BOSSON 2005), the terminology is "Futurum Primum" for both forms (see pp. 117f, 119 etc.).

STERN 1880 §§367f., 379ff.: [נא-] "instans" but also "Futurum I": "der nächste ausdruck der zukünftige handlung...wechselt im gebrauche mit dem dritten [futurum] in beiden dialekten"; [εἰε-] "das dritte futurum" — "bestimmter (whence Tattam's "definite"?) und nachdrücklicher" "...[hat] oft die feierlichkeit einer versicherung" (so stressed by Stern himself). This Future is said to be more frequent in Bohairic; §381 documents B εἰε- for S -נא-. Stern compares the opposition between the two Futures to that between English *will* and *shall*.⁷⁸

POLOTSKY, *Grundlagen* discusses only the Sahidic Futures (1990:193ff., 213ff.): εἰε- "simple Future" (while stressing its modal role!) and "(Tempus) Instans" for -נא- (following STERN 1880 §367; see Marouzeau, *Lexique*³ 100).

POLOTSKY 1959, in his only special discussion of Bohairic grammar: "Fut III"; -נא- "auxiliary", without a special name. "Energetic Future" is still current (even for other dialects than Bohairic, e.g., Sahidic and Oxyrhynchite — it is *i.a.* used by Schenke in his editions)⁷⁹. The term derives from Arabic grammar, where the "energetic forms of the imperfect" (WRIGHT 1967 vol. II [Part III], p. 24 §14, p. 41ff. §19) are characterized by

⁷⁸ Horner's policy in his Bohairic New Testament (1898-1905) is explicitly stated (Introduction, p. xxiv): εἰε- to be translated by "shall", קנא- by "will". This tells us more about his English usage than about any founded consideration of Coptic tenses.

⁷⁹ So *i.a.* FUNK 1991b:103f. "the interfix of the affirmative energetic future".

la- prefixed, *-(a)nna*, *-an* suffixed, and a functional range certainly recalling that of Bohairic *eqe-*; without *la-*, we have the “Energetic” jussive/imperative (WRIGHT 1967 vol. I [Part II] 97ff.). It is of interest for the syntactic quality of Bohairic *eqe-* that the Semitic *-na* suffix, generally known in Semitic linguistics as the “Nun energicum”, is currently taken to be a *superordinating sequelling* mark (occurring for instance in the El Amarna letters as apodotic): see FASSBERG 1994 Ch. 2 (esp. 63ff.). Polotsky objects to “Energetic” in Coptic, as unwieldy. Athanasius of Qūs (BAUER 1972:182ff.) is instructive on the Future, for he combines the affirmative *eqe-* and *ṭna-* in a suppletive complex paradigm, while illustrating them with respectively delocutive and allocutive personal forms: this agrees with the functional profile in our corpus (see in detail below).

SHISHA-HALEVY 2003a:254ff is a pilot study for the present discussion, describing the Oxyrhynchite Future tenses.

(b) General Considerations and Parameters

(1) Some semantic and syntactic-semantic parameters of Future Tenses to be considered for their characterization (in part overlapping or inclusive):

- affirmative/negative;

(typical negative Future: [+ GENERICITY])

- the actantial personal sphere: interlocutive (locutive/allocutive) or delocutive;

(the theoretical significance of the “person-sensitive” paradigm, especially in modal forms: is this really a single paradigm, or a *collage* of several fragmented ones? In the structural-theoretical context, does the personal variable mar the *ceteris paribus* stipulation?)

- [± SEQUEL], [± SUPERORDINATION] (i.e. sequelling / non-sequelling, superordinative / non-superordinative);

(of which [± APODICTICITY] is a special subclass)

- [± SPECIFICITY] (temporal); [± TIME-REFERENCE/TIME-LIMIT], [± TELICITY]

- eventing static, complexive or dynamic

- eventing situation bounded vs. unbounded

- macro/micro-eventing: overhead, overall vs. detail eventing

- [± PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT/ENGAGEMENT/OBLIGATION]

(or [± Actant/Locutor Instigation])

- [± VOLITIONALITY], [± INTENTIONALITY]

- [± VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION/AGENCY]

- [± AUTHORITATIVENESS]

- [± ASSURANCE/CERTAINTY]⁸⁰

- [± INELUCTABILITY]

⁸⁰ BYBEE, PERKINS, and PAGLIUCA 1994:248f. “rather than the speaker’s confidence in making the prediction, what is at issue is whether the speaker is offering an assurance that an event will take place at some definite time or is not offering such an assurance”.

- [$\pm$ ABSOLUTE VALIDITY].
 - [$\pm$ QUESTIONABILITY]
 - [$\pm$ CONDITIONABILITY]
 - included/integrated or non-integrated ("independent", "autonomous")
 - compatibility with modifiers (esp. temporal)
- (modified/unmodified eventing)

Obs. — General and Comparative

(1) For some similar semantic parameters of Future tensing, cf. MATZEL and ULVESTAD 1982:310ff., 319f. On the semantics of the "Future" see DAHL 1985:105ff. "Future time reference" (i.e. prospectivity) is arguably the dominant, and perhaps the only constant semantic feature (DAHL 1985:106f.), although it too may be complex (i.e., include the present locutor's Present). For insights on parameters of futurity, see Chapter Seven in BYBEE, PERKINS, and PAGLIUCA 1994: definite/indefinite Futures: "expected", "prearranged", "scheduled", obligatory Futures; immediate future. On volitionality and telicity (endpoint view) in analysis of the Future, see HOPPER and THOMPSON 1980:252f., 270f.

(2) The discussion of Future tenses in English (and to some extent in General Linguistics) is famously characterized by a fierce controversy between the so called "Modalists" and the "Futurists" (ROTGÉ 1995). The question is, in a nutshell, whether "There is a Future" in the temporal sense. However, this is once again a case of dichotomist simplism, for the concepts of "modality" and "temporality" in the case of prospective reference are flawed by apriorism: most tenses, including even "past" tenses, present a rich spectrum of "objective" and "subjective" perspectives. The palette of prospectivity in particular is never detachable from actantial volition, intent, obligation, fear etc. COMRIE 1989 concludes, tentatively and somewhat helplessly, that "it is possible for future tenses to exist", but that "the question whether any particular form in any particular language is an instance of future tense, or to what extent it is an instance of Future tense, is a question that requires detailed and insightful analysis", which is really a statement of perplexity. The gradience of "tensehood" (and equally of modality) implied in Comrie's statement is nevertheless of interest.

(3) Romance, Egyptian and general: FLEISCHMAN 1982 is an important tractate. Here as often elsewhere, it is instructive to compare the Egyptian synchronic and diachronic facts with the Romance ones. However, Egyptian does not on the whole conform to the general (if not universal) diachronic scenarios offered in this work, and often adopted in later studies of "grammaticalization". The Future as a case in point of both "yesterday's syntax is today's morphology" (1982:126f.) rather begs the question of stratal syntax/morphology delimitation, and is ethnocentrically tailored for IE: $\mathbf{\text{na-}}$ is still synchronically operative as a lexeme (Stative of "go"), and the grammaticalization of the preposition r - "to" is arguably synchronous with the earliest $jw:f r sdm$ Future. Neither do we have here a clear case of "analytic ousting synthetic" (1982:32ff., Chapter 5), for $jw:f (r) sdm$ has been synthetic since late ME, and $\mathbf{\text{qnacwtem}}$ is still analytic in Coptic, almost two millennia later; and anyway, we know now the analytic-to-synthetic development is but one sector of a cyclic evolution (SHISHA-HALEVY 2000. Fleischman does recognize the cyclic factor). The Romance case of "obligation modality to future temporality" is certainly not paralleled in Egyptian. If anything, Egyptian $jw:f r sdm$ evolved in the long run from a locative-deictic Present-based type of temporality to a non-temporal, but not simply modal, futurity in Bohairic Coptic, and pronounced modality in Sahidic; the $\mathbf{\text{na-}}$

"go" analytic Future from temporality to temporality. But temporality is, or may be, no less complex than modality — "Aktionsart to Tense" is here an important possibility of evolution. "Futures evolve from modals and are likely to be put to modal use" (1982:24, 108ff.) is generally unsatisfactory — in fact, this aspect of the grammaticalization of future categories is always the most dubious. On the other hand, Egyptian is certainly a case of "future tenses [being created] from spatial categories" (1982:24, 161 n.24), which applies also to the LE-to-Coptic "go" Future (p. 78ff. "verb of spatial advance"). As for "the future as a projected Present" (1982:30) — *jw:f r sdm* was such a Present, and is so no more, while the *na-* Future is the new futuristic "imminent" Present. I cannot see in Egyptian any support for correlating the analytic/synthetic change with SOV to SVO word-order change which, it is only fair to observe, Fleischman does not offer as a "total explanation" (p.50): in fact, through the very long history of Egyptian, true "word order" variation-over-time is exceedingly rare: see SHISHA-HALEVY 2000. (The entirely modal Old Egyptian-to-Demotic "prospective" *sdm.f* form, which disappeared in Coptic outside the purely grammatical *pεq-* auxiliary following *†*, must be part of the diachronic account). As for the synchronic parameters of futurity, Fleischman does not really consider the personal factor in the function of Future modality/temporality; nor does she convincingly separate the temporal from the modal spectra, or consider the distinct nature of negativity.

(4) On the diachrony typology of the Future, its striking propensity for grammaticalization, see also PAGLIUCA 1987 (modal- to-temporal is again presented as a general tendency). Also BYBEE, PAGLIUCA and PERKINS 1991 (lexical sources for futures, and again modal / aspectual / *Aktionsart*-to-temporal development). On analytic-to-synthetic typological diachronics (the Germanic Future), see MÜLLER 1964.

(5) The literature on the many English Future tenses is too extensive to encompass here. See only DECLERCK 1991:87f., 185ff. (the synthesis into a future tense is but a bird's-eye-view of an intricate continuum of modal components); HUDDLESTON 1995 (pragmatic-semantic); ROTGÉ 1995 (the future as a "modalized time", an interplay between time and modality).

(6) For some highlights on the analytic French "futur proche", dwelling especially on its semantics of affect and its modalities (impatience, anger, threat, promise, wish...), and its oppositions with the synthetic Future "simple", see STEN 1964:55ff. 237; 1964:52f., 235f. on its affinity with the Present and compatibility with "now" (cf. our *†now*, below); TOGEY 1982 §§1027f.; note especially the cases of syntagmatic contrast of the two forms, with the FP opening the complex (again, as in Coptic, cf. below) — the FS is then essentially consequential (as in Coptic); JEANJEAN 1988 (esp. 243f., 251ff.), EMIRKONIAN and SANKOFF 1986 (spoken French; statistical-sociolinguistic); WAUGH and BAHLOUL 1996 (journalistic French; the FP has a link between the utterance [speaker] situation and the future, while the FS has no such explicit link; the FP has affective, subjective personal engagement which the FS lacks). See also BLANCHON 1988 (note especially 171ff. — [+/-humanly controlled], human conditioning vs. fatidical conditioning vs. natural conditioning).

(7) MS variation (variant readings) of the two futures is very rare in the Pentateuch. Some cases (I take the following from Peters's critical editions, not always reliable): Gen. 26:24 *†naεpepekeδpoδ aψai*, Gen. 34:17 (fatidical) *Φai naψωπι/εqεψωπι*, Ex. 26:17, 30:13, 31:11.

(8) Still, why is it that the dialects differ from one another in the Futures used in independent translations of the same Greek text? Three theoretically possible answers, are (a) a different interpretation of the same Greek forms, (b) different values and range struc-

tures for the morphologically corresponding ("same") forms, or (c) different decisions and choices governing the rendering in Coptic. All these, operative conjointly, make drawing contrastive conclusions very difficult, if not impossible. However, agreements and disagreements, considered qualitatively (by form and function) and quantitatively, are instructive. As an instance, let me take B/S/Oxyrhynchite Matthew (in Horner's and Schenke's respective editions):

(I) B=S=O: BS Present, O $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - (27:4:24); BS $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - and $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -, O Present (5:22:28, 8:7, 10:11, 23:36, 13:49)

(II) B=O=S: BO $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -, S $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - (7:16, 8:11:13, 12:27, 16:18 etc., modal / prophetic injunction; 24:9:14, 25:34 following $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$, 10:12 BO $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -, S $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\rho\epsilon$ -).

(III) is the most common and statistically typical situation: S=M $\neq$ B: SO $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - B $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - (6:22f., 7:11 prophetic; 6:14:33f. apodotic; 24:12:21:24:29, 16:27, 24:10, 25:31 $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$)

(IV) B=S=O: SBO $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - (7:9f., 17:22, 20:4, 21:25, 24:47 often "no doubt..."; 23:34, 27:24 intention); note this consensus especially in the relative ($\pi\epsilon\tau\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ -/ $\pi\epsilon\tau\mathfrak{n}\epsilon$ - etc.) e.g. 23:12:18, 26:21:23:25:28 etc. SBO $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - is modal (affirm. 5:33, 15:28, 9:21:29, 26:64 jussive, optative; neg. 6:14, 16:22, 20:6:24 etc. "God forbid!")

(9) New Testament Bohairic Futures — some noteworthy cases:

(a) Relatively rare variant readings are found, contrary to Horner's statement in his Introduction (e.g. John 8:28:33, 11:12, Luke 1:35, 19:26).

(b) In *apodosi* cases: $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - for desirable, $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - future for undesirable sequels (Mc. 16:16ff., Luke 19:26); (Luke 1:76, 19:42ff., 20:6).

(c) Note Luke 1:31ff. $\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\kappa\iota\ldots\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\ldots\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\text{-}\omicron\tau\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{i}\omega\tau\ldots\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\ldots\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\ldots\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\kappa\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\ldots$ (v.l. $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron$) where the prophecy seems to be subdivided in three constituents, with $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - marking the final peak;

(d) Argumentative $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - Future (Rom. 9:19);

(e) $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - Future in a "helpless" query (Rom. 6:1:2);

(f) $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - in a "prophetic scenario" or confident prediction (Mt. 20:18f., 21:3:25, 24:47, 26:2:24, Mark 14:21);

(g) The interlocutive:delocutive sphere opposition is not as pronounced as in the Penta-teuch. Cf. Acts 18:6, Apoc. 18:7);

(h) Generally speaking, the $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - Future seems in the NT to express the normal, $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - the transcendental, divinely perceived order of things; the blend of the two in Jesus's language is not the least point of interest in its grammatical characterization in Coptic, over and beyond the system of its Greek *Vorlage*. Consider (for some striking exx.) Mt. 20:30, 24:48:50, 26:2:33, Mark 14:21.

(10) Old Testament Bohairic Futures: Psalms (ed. Lagarde):

(a) One gets an impression of a true variation of futures, often with the same verb lexeme (cf. 28:5:8f., 29:13, 51:6f., 68:36, 93:14, 118:15ff., 138:16ff., 145:9f.);

(b) no interlocutive/delocutive distinction (cf. 55:7f., 68:36, 74:2, 118:15ff etc.);

(c) Note (12:2) $\omega\mathfrak{a}\theta\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\tau\mathfrak{z}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ -, inconceivable in our corpus;

(d) In 134:16ff., the negative Future expresses an absolute negation rather than inability: "on no account will they..." $\rho\omega\omicron\tau\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\omega\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\tau\epsilon\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\tau\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\omega\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\tau\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\tau\ldots$ etc.

(11) In Nitrian Bohairic, the $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -/ $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - relationship is yet again different, with the $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - range broader and encroaching on that of $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - (cf. $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - vs. $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - $\pi\epsilon$).

(a) Assured or divine prediction, promise, assured result: $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$ - Future (AM I 3, 4, 8, 10, 66, 84 etc.);

(b) modal “optative” *eqe-*, *eke-*, *nne-* (AM I 6, 21, 59, 137 etc.);

(c) Injunctive, *eke-*; Jussive, *eqe-* (AM I 10, 12, 21, 45, 71).

(12) In the early B4 text of the Twelve Prophets (P. Vat.copto 9, as yet unpublished), there are instances of *ete-* corresponding to the later (B5 or standard Boh.) version *†na-*. Consider Hag. 2:9:19:23; however, in 2:2:12, the delocutive *na-* Future (in an Assertive-Focal or “Rhetorical” Question) of B4 corresponds to B5 *eqe-/ete-*.

(13) The Future and the “Finalis”/Consecutive, (Sah.) *δε(καλς) eqe-/e(n)nneq-, δε-εqna-*:

In Sahidic, these are closely connected. Not so in Bohairic, where the final /consecutive conjunctions or adverbs usually govern the Conjunctive as a “that”-form, but in special junctural circumstances also enter other, intriguing constructions: *μηπως ντω-* Deut. 9:28, *εωστε ντεκ-* Deut. 28:35, *εina [εοταν αψωαν-] ωα-* Ex. 40:32. Outside the corpus, consider *δε-αφνα-* (B4) Zach. 5:10; Nitrian: *δε-εina eqna-* AM I 13, *δε-αqna-* AM I 82, II 105, 298, *δε-εqna-* AM I 24, 68, *δε-* + Conj. AM I 4, 7, 150 (content), *δε-εina-* + Conj. AM I 4, 5, 14, 16, 207 (consec.), 89 (content) *εina-* + Conj. AM I 12, 16, 120, 121 (content), *δεxαc εορεq-* AM I 3, 246, II 123, *δεxαc eqe-* AM I 7, 104, 2 (content). Obviously, the rich variety of constructions, conjunctions and converbs (including *εορεq-*, *επξινορεq-* etc.) — and functions: a continuous spectrum stretching across purpose, goal, consequence and content — makes a special study essential (see below, Chapter Three; cf. HULT 1990 for the comparable complexity of these constructions in 5th century Greek).

(c) Diachrony. The historical extent of Egyptian makes the Egyptian Future tenses a show-piece and test-case for studying the evolution of grammatical categories. However, even without invoking the “Continuity Fallacy”, the overall picture of the Egyptian Future, in synchrony and diachrony, is still largely blurred, and the systemic significance of such central forms as the so-called Prospective *sdm.f* and future reference of the all-important Present-tense matrix not yet fully realized. Here too the distinction of tense and mood is fuzzy.

Obs.

(1) Loprieno’s diachronic account in 1995 is inaccurate and open to objections on several counts. (94) *eqe-* (in LE “Objective Future”) “has invaded the domain of mood” (see also pp. 82f., 96, 176f., 222f.) — this is certainly not true for Bohairic, whose *eqe-* in no sense continues the prospective *sdm.f*⁸¹. This is yet another case of the obfuscation brought about by seeing Sahidic as the typological representant of Coptic. *-na-* is by no means a converter, in any sense of the term (*pace* LOPRIENO 1995:94). 1995:177 is inexact: Bohairic (with other dialects) does have an # *ερε-* NOUN *ε-ωτεμ* # form.

(2) “Objective” is used of the ME *r-* future by Vernus (VERNUS 1990c, e.g. 9ff.; also by Loprieno 1995 of LE) in a semantic spectrum (“threats, assurances, obligation, omina, prediction, prophecies”) which matches almost perfectly the functional range of the Bohairic Absolute-Definite Future (below): this is yet another conservative trait of Bohairic against Sahidic. The prospective *sdm.f* is Vernus’s “subjective” future (1990c:

⁸¹ It is certainly not the case that Latin *amare habeo* was “modally neutral” while the Romance (*j’*)*aimerai* is modal (So LOPRIENO 1995:272 n.71).

20ff.), but this is synonymous with “modal” and not the notion of agent-subjectivity and contingency which we apply to the Bohairic **na-** future (below). Familiar roles of the **eqe-** future are discernible already in LE and in religious pre-Demotic: VERNUS 1990a:172ff.

(3) Two notes on Demotic Futures. (a) The Demotic future *jw.f sdm* is generally speaking non-modal. In certain texts, it is opposed to the traditional “Prospective *sdm.f*”, negatived as *hn-jw sdm* or *nn sdm.f*. Thus in the BM mortuary text edited by M. Smith (1987), the affirmative form expressing (beside the old optative) also confident prediction, assured wished-for result of the performance of the mortuary ritual. (b) In Demotic, we have a full-fledged opposition of periphrastic vs. non-periphrastic future forms. But in early Demotic, we already find *šm* used as the auxiliary in a periphrastic Present-based Future, much like Coptic **now e-**: see SPIEGELBERG 1925 §139, VITTMANN 1998:445f.

(d) The Absolute-Definite (“Specific”) Future (**eqecwtem, nneq-cwtem**)

(1) This form (“definite” in the sense of [OED] “having clear or exact limits, clearly defined, determinate, fixed, certain”) is an exponent of complexive, intensive, absolute-validity, ineluctable macro-futurity. It is more-over quintessentially a superordinated follow-up or sequelling syntactic category. Not a temporally nuanced tense, but “pure prospectivity” in a prospective scenario. In a more detailed semantic and formal-syntactic-parameter profile, we have here:

- [+ SEQUELLING]
- [+ INELUCTABILITY]: unrepealability; confident tone
- [+ DIVINE INSTIGATION / INVOLVEMENT FACTOR]: this Future is part of the “Divine (or, less commonly, Royal) Word Grammar”
- [+ DEFINITENESS OF EVENTING]
- [- TEMPORALITY]: out of time and place: extratemporal, extra-local
- [- SENSITIVITY TO the *agens* INTERPERSONAL SPHERE], the interlocutive: delocutive and locutive-allocutive perspective or sphere of reference.
- [- DEIXIS]
- [- CONDITIONABILITY]: incompatible with protatic status markers
- [- INSTIGATOR INTENT/HOPE/ENGAGEMENT]
- [- VOLITIONALITY]
- [- INSTIGATOR/SPEAKER ORIENTATION]
- [- QUESTIONABILITY]: incompatible with nexal (incl. Assertive-Focal [“Rhetorical”]) or rhematic interrogation markers
- [- AFFECT/MODALITY] = [+ IMPASSIVITY]
- [- DETAILING OF EVENTING]: complexive “Macrofuture”
- [- ANCHORING IN LOCUTOR’S TIME FRAME].

The form is or is characterized by

- Actor/instigator: typically *plus habens* or *plus habens*-oriented

- Eventing complexive/indifferent to dynamic/static opposition
- Eventing indifferent to bounded/unbounded situation. It is
- Not put in question: incompatible with Nexal or Rhematic interrogation, “Rhetorical Question” (Assertive-Focal Formal Interrogation), Modality Question $\pi\omega\varsigma$, and so on
- Never responsive
- Incompatible with protatic environment ($\iota\epsilon\Delta\epsilon$) (*in apodosi*, unmarked by $\iota\epsilon$)
- Rarely compatible with presetting temporal adverbials: typically unmodified (see Obs. below)
- Incompatible with particles: $\sigma\theta\eta$, $\rho\alpha\rho$
- Typically and quintessentially sequelling, thus apodotic ($\sigma\theta\sigma\zeta \epsilon\varphi\epsilon$ -)
- Not occurring in protasis; when apodotic, then unmarked by $\iota\epsilon$
- Theme-*agens* specific in affirmative environment
- Non-disjoinable by $\iota\epsilon$, yet coordinated by $\sigma\theta\sigma\zeta$
- Conversion highly restricted
- Incompatible with Presentative ($\zeta\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \iota\varsigma$, $\zeta\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$)
- Rarely compatible with Theme-*agens* topicalization⁸²
- Incompatible with focalization
- Rarely compatible with Augens
- Juncturally marked as link
- Rarely subcategorizable (“carried on”) by the Conjunctive
- Normally not included (“subordinated”, e.g. by $[\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon] \Delta\epsilon$ -).

Obs.

(1) Sequelling. This is probably the most interesting and syntactically most important function and quality of the Absolute-Definite Future, which is typically or even exclusively affirmative. The syntactic and morphosyntactic verbal category of *superordinated*, *often rhematic sequel* is of prime importance in Egyptian synchrony and diachrony: let me mention only *sdm.hr.f*, *sdm.k3.f*, *sdm.jn.f*; the apodotic (prospective) *sdm.f* (in Old and Middle Egyptian); the Sequential *jw.f hr sdm*, *hr sdm.f* (in Late Egyptian); the Conjunctive (SHISHA-HALEVY 1995a), $\omega\lambda\varphi\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ (see below and SHISHA-HALEVY 2003a), the apodotic $\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$ (SHISHA-HALEVY 1973) in Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic. (In Demotic, the important *injunctive* role of *jw.f sdm* is arguably yet another facet of its superordinative nature). As is evident from the examples below, the sequelling role of $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon$ -, being essentially syntactic and not only semantic, is fully compatible with most semantic components of the form.

(2) (Pre-)modification. The very rare case of Gen. 30:20 $\alpha\phi\uparrow \uparrow \eta\eta\iota \eta\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\omicron \epsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\epsilon\varphi \eta\delta\epsilon\eta\iota \delta\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\iota\chi\omicron\sigma\theta\eta \eta\tau\epsilon\uparrow\eta\sigma\theta \epsilon\varphi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\tau \eta\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ is instructive: the adverb here accents the consequential and apodotic-superordinating effect of $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon$ -. An-

⁸² Not, however, with *nexus topicalization* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\theta\eta\beta \epsilon\varphi\epsilon$ -...): see above and below.

other striking instance is Gen. 50:25 $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\lambda\iota\omega\chi\eta\theta\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\eta\iota$ $\mu\pi\bar{\iota}\varsigma\lambda$ $\epsilon\epsilon\zeta\omega$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\delta\eta\rho\eta\iota$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\omega\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\theta\bar{\iota}$ $\dagger$ $\eta\lambda\omega\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{---}$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda\alpha\kappa\varsigma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\theta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\mu\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$, which may perhaps also be understood as a causal "on the occasion of...", or "should God visit..."

(3) The unique $\lambda\eta\text{---}\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma\iota$ in Gen. 17:17 proves the rule rather than contradicts it, for Abraham does not really question the Divine statement about Sarah: he is sceptical, and restates it *as a paradox*.

(4) Among the rare compatibilities of this Future we find $\zeta\eta\eta\lambda\eta$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\text{---}$ Ex. 6:1. Temporal post-modifiers (adjuncts) do occur, yet rarely: Gen. 15:13 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\beta\iota\omega\theta$ $\eta\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota$. Presentative instances are even rarer: Ex. 32:34 $\dagger\eta\theta\omega$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\omega\eta\epsilon\lambda\kappa$ $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\sigma\iota\mu\omega\iota\tau$ $\delta\lambda\zeta\omega\eta$ $\mu\pi\iota\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$... $\zeta\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\rho\text{---}\omega\theta\eta\mu$ $\mu\mu\omicron\kappa$. The combination of presentation with topicalization is significant.

(5) Association of the Absolute-Definite Future with the Divine Law-giving Locutor makes it an important constituent of "Divine Word Grammar" (cf. NORDEN 1913) and in particular the "Pentateuchische Gesetzssprache" or "modus mandativus" (POLOTSKY 1987:194).

(6) The unrepealability of the $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\text{---}$ Future derives also from its "intensity" (cf. GLINZ 1969:56 "intensive Zukunftserwartung") or "energeticity" (cf. the Arabistic term still current), but is mainly a factor of its indifference to contingent utterance-incident circumstances.

(2) Roles and documentation (classified by prime syntactic / semantic-pragmatic roles and associations)

(a) Affirmative

(1) Affirmative only: inevitable/ineluctable/inexorable sequel (with $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ or *zero*) apodotic/non-apodotic superordinating sequelling (affirmative only?); follow-up (even concatenating), *dénouement*: "(and) then...", "(and) so...", "(and) consequently...". The Absolute-Definite Future is here *high-level-rhematic*.

Obs.

(1) The Absolute-Definite Future, even without $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$, is as a rule separated from its "protasis" by the *lemniscus* delimiter ÷ (Chapter Four), as in Gen. 30:15 or 42:34 and often; this is normally the case with "conditional" protasis/apodosis complexes.

(2) For the Absolute-Definite Future in the post-imperative slot, see above.

(3) Note the important Future configuration $\dagger\eta\lambda\text{---}\dots(\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta)$ $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\text{---}$ (etc., for various persons) discussed below, which, I believe, strongly corroborates the sequelling role of the Absolute-Definite Future.

(4) Cf. ANDERSSON 1904:27 "so werde ich..." ($\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\text{---}$ Gen. 4:14), yet — wrongly, I believe — attributing this to $\sigma\theta\omicron\zeta$ rather than the future form.

(5) Note below numerous cases of Sahidic and/or Greek "and" for the Bohairic asyndetic Future; comparison with a sensitive modern version (e.g. Luther's German one) is also instructive in these cases.

(6) DEPUYDT 1993:244f. "The sequence $\eta\eta\lambda\omega\tau\eta\mu$ $\pi\epsilon$ — as distinct from $\eta\eta\lambda\omega\tau\eta\mu$ without $\pi\epsilon$ — typically occurs in the apodosis of conditional sentences" is factually correct. It is a marked superordinated construction of the $\eta\lambda\text{---}$ Future, occurring in *apodosis*

(see above, on *πε* with narrative verb-forms) as “it is/means...that...”, but hardly enough to warrant “the (functional, ASH) equation *sdm.k3.f* = *qna3awtm* *πε* seems obvious”. As it is, beside the residual apodotic *eq3awtm* (significantly not attested in Bohairic, unlike its protatic homonym: cf. KASSER 1994), *waq-* and *eqe-* are typical apodotic forms, but neither, and certainly not *qna3awtm* *πε*, is simply or obviously equivalent to the essentially OME *sdm.k3.f*.

Gen. 42:34 *ανιωσι μπетенκοϑδι ncon* *ζαροι ÷ ειεμι δε-νωπτεν-ζανζηρ αν*.

Gen. 30:20 *αϑι† † nni* *νοτταιο ενανεϑ νζηρhi* *ζενπαιc-νοϑ ντε†νοϑ eqemenrit* *νδε-παζai*.

Gen. 4:14 *icδε xna3itt* *μϑοοϑ εβολ* *ζαπρo* *μπκαζι* *οτοζ* *ειεωπι* *ειγιαζom* *οτοζ* *ειεcθερτερ* *ζιζενμπκαζι...*

Gen. 18:5 *οτοζ* *ειεϑi* *νοϑwik* *ερετενεοϑωm* *menenca-* *nai* *ερετενεωενωτεν*.

Gen. 24:46 *cω* *nθok* *ειetco* *nnekke3ama3ai* (Arabic *wa-*; Greek *καί*), *sim.* 24:44.

Gen. 26:2ff. *ωπι* *δε* *ζενπικαζι* *ε†ναζoϑ* *νακ* *οτοζ* *αρι-ρεmn3wai* *ζιζενπικαζι* *οτοζ* *ειεωπι* *νεμακ* *ειεcmοϑ* *εροκ* *ειε†* *μπaiκαζι* *τηρϑ* *νακ*.

Real concatenation: every *eqe-* form sequels the form preceding it.

Gen. 27:45 *ωπι* *νεμαϑ* *n3ane3ooϑ* *ωatepenbom* *nem* *p3awnt* *μπεκcon* *κοτϑ* *εβολ* *ζαροκ ...* *οτοζ* *ειεταϑo* *ncωk* *εβολ* *mmaw*.

Gen. 29:27 *δεκπ3* *οϑn* *εβολ* *ντεθαi* *οτοζ* *ειε†* *n†xe* *νακ*.

Gen. 30:15 *μαπεζai* *nni ÷* *ειε†* *ne* *nni3emϑe3*.

Gen. 31:3 *ματαcθo* *επκαζι* *ντεπεκιωτ* *nemπεκ3ωοϑ* *οτοζ* *ειεωπι* *νεμακ* *sim.* 32:9.

Gen. 42:20 *οτοζ* *πετεnκοϑδι* *ncon* *ανιτϑ* *ζαροι* *οτοζ* *εϑετεnζε-νετεncα3i*.

Ex. 8:25 *†ναωενhi* *εβολ* *ζιτοτk* *οτοζ* *ειετωβ3* *μϑ†* (cf. the narrativization of this Allocution [verse 26] *αϑi ...* *οτοζ* *αϑ-τωβ3...*).

Ex. 14:4 *ανοκ* *γap* *ειεθρε-π3ηт* *μϑαpaω* *nωοт* *οτοζ* *ερε-ϑo3i* *ζιϑαζοϑ* *mmωοϑ* *οτοζ* *ειεϑiωοϑ* *νζηρhi* *ζενϑα-paω...*

Lev. 18:5 *nai* *ετεϑpωmi* *na3itoϑ* *eqeωn3*.

Ex. 22:3 *εωωп* *δε* *mmontaϑ* *mmaϑ* *eqetnιϑ* *εβολ...*

Ex. 5:21 *eqenaϑ* *epωteν* *n3e-ϑ†* *eqe†zaп*.

Num. 8:2 *cα3i* *nem* *αapωn* *οτοζ* *εκε3oс* *naϑ* *3e...* *sim.* Lev. 17:2, Lev. 19:2.

Num. 20:8 ...**οτοζ σαδι nem τπετρα μποτμοο οτοζ εσετ μπесμωοτ.**

Deut. 30:1ff. **οτοζ εσεψωπι ατψανι εδωκ нδε-наицади тнροτ нтеписмоτ ... ερεταλθε-неκновι тнροτ нде-пѣс οτοζ εφена нак...**

Deut. 2:28 **εκετѣρε ннι ѡαατ ειεοτωм** (Greek. *καί*, Sah. *ατω*).

Deut. 5:27 **εκεσαди ... εнесооμοτ οτοζ εнеαιτοτ.**

Num. 16:30 **ερεпкази οτων нρωφ εφεомкоτ.**

Gen. 28:15 **ζηппε анок τχη немак οτοζ ειεαρεз ерок ... οτοζ ειεταсθок.**

Deut. 29:13 ...**зина нтеψсемннhtк наq нотлаос οτοζ нѡоq ερεψωπι нак нноτ†.** Not balanced or symmetrical — *εφε-* is here resultative.

Deut. 7:4 **εсеѣензпекωнρι γαr εвол зарои ερεψемψи нзанкенοτ† οτοζ εφεδωнт nembon ερωтен нде-пѣс ερεφет-ѡнноτ εвол нхωлем** — a real “narrative” future scenario.

Gen. 18:26 **εψωп айандем-н нѡннι ѡенсодома τβαки ειεχαпιμα тнrq εвол εѡвнтоτ.**

(2) Numinous “Divine Word”: “Divine Promise”, “Statement of Divine Intent” (often, but not necessarily, sequelling):

Gen. 28:15 **ζηппε анок τχη немак οτοζ ειεαρεз ерок... οτοζ ειεταсθок** — note the coordination of the Absolute-Definite Future to the Present, which is no less promissory.

Gen. 46:4 ...**οτοζ анок εiei немак εδpнι εхнмι анок εieенк епψωи ψαδαε.**

Gen. 6:18 **εieсemнι нтадиѡнκн немак.**

Ex. 14:4 **анок γαr εieѡpe-пзнт мѣараω нψот οτοζ εφε-содι зιѣαζοτ ммωοτ οτοζ εieсiωοτ нδpнι ѡенѣараω...** Contrast the “nynegocentric”-presented “I am going to...” in

Ex. 14:17 **ζηппε анок τнаѡpe-пзнт мѣараω нψот.**

Ex. 9:5 **οτοζ апѣс ѣт†† нотнеи εqдω ммос де-нδpнι ѡенpαс† ερεпѣс ipи мпαιцади.**

Ex. 21:13 **εie† нак нотма ѡpеpѣωт емаτ нде-ѣн етаqдωтєв.**

Gen. 6:7 **εieφетпipωмι εвол етаиѡмioq.**

(3) Benediction, Malediction (“Divine Partner”):

Lev. 26:5f ...οὗτος πικαρί ἐφεῖτ' ἡνεφούταρ οὗτος νιψῶν ἡν ἡντιμεψωῖ ἐφεῖτ' ἡποθούταρ οὗτος ἐρεπίθνωσ' ταρο ἡνωτεν ἡπισόλ' οὗτο ἐφεταιρε-πιδίτ'...

Gen. 3:19 ἐκεῖσ' ἡμπεκωῖκ' ἡνεπῶτ' ἡπεκρο ῥατεκ-
ταθεὸ ἐπικαρί ἐταθῆιτκ' ἐβόλ' ἡῆντq.

Ex. 7:28 ...οὗτος ἐρεψίαρο βεβί ἐψῶνι ἡζανχροῦρ...

Gen. 9:25 ῥεζοῦορτ' ἡῆε-ῥανααν ἐφεψῶπι ἡοῦαλοῦ
ἡῆε-ῥανααν.

(4) Fatidical Prediction, Prophetic Word; “Prophetic Future Scenario” (“Divine Partner”):

Gen. 4:14 οὗτος εἰεψῶπι εἰψιαρομ οὗτος εἰεθερτερ ρι-
ῆενπκαρί...

Gen. 18:10 καταπαίχνοσ' ἐζανοῦνωσι ἐσεῖ ἡοῦηρι
ἡῆε-ῥαρρα τεκρῆμι.

Gen. 15:13 ἡενοῦεμι ἐκεεμι ῆε-ἐρεπεκῆροῶ ἐρ-ρεμν-
ῆωιαι ... ἐθεαίτοσ' ἡβωκ οὗτος ἐθετρεμκῶσ' ἐθεθε-
βίωσ' ἡ-ῆ ἡρομπί — Circumstantial ἐθε-? (see below).

Gen. 24:14 οὗτος ἐσεψῶπι ἡπαρθενος ὅθ' ἀνοκ' ἐῖνα-
ῆος ἡῆς ῆε-ρεκτεῖρῆρια ... ἡτεῆῆος ῆε ... ται τε ὅθ'
ἐτακσεῖτωτς... sim. Gen. 24:43.

Gen. 41:30f. ἡεἰεῖεῖεῖεῖ ἐθεῖ ἡῆε-κε-ῆ ἡρομπί ἡῆων
οὗτος ἐθεερεῖωβῶ ἡπιδίσι ἐρεπίζκο ἡοῦνκ' ἡπικαρί...

Gen. 28:14 οὗτος ἐρεπεκῆροῶ ἐρ-ἡῆρηῖ ἡπῶν ἡτεπι-
καρί ἐφεῖσ' ἡπῶς ἐπῶ ἡῆιομ ἡεμπεμντ' ἡεμπεμῆιτ'
ἡεμπεῖεῖτ' οὗτος ἐθεῖεῖεῖεῖ ἡῆρηι ἡῆητκ' ἡῆε-ἡῆῆῆλη
ῆηροσ' ἡτεπκαρί...

Num. 23:9 ῆηππε ἡς οῦαλοσ' ἐφεψῶπι ἡμαῖατq.

Could this be a case of the adnominal Circumstantial converter zeroed before ἐφε-? See below, Chapter Four.

Deut. 31:20 εἰεῖεῖεῖεῖ γαρ ἐῖοσ' ἡπικαρί ἡαῖαθον.

Deut. 7:4 ἐσεῖεῖεῖεῖεῖεῖ ἡπῶν γαρ ἐβόλ' ῆαροι ἐφεψῶμῶ
ἡζανκεῖνοσ'...

Also: Deut. 28 *passim*, Num. 33:52f.

Obs.

Prophecy is, properly speaking, non- or extra-temporal: it is a case of the ineluctable “future scenario”. Note the neutralizing (in the allocutive forms ἐκε-, ἐρετενε-) of directives or injunctions and the “Future Scenario”.

Obs.

(1) Note the difference between the Future and the Jussive **μαρεq-** (above): the former is in reality not a Jussive, but a delocutive prospective constatement.

(2) I find of interest the cotextual combination of the negative Absolute Future with the statements of Non-Existence and the Preterite in De Vis II 119f. **οὔχοτι δε-μμον-ελι νεμκαρ σαρχι νσα ννεφρκο οὔδε ννεφιβι δε οὔδε ννεφδici οὔδε μμον-δεφι ο ντεζανρωμι αλλα αqωπι εφοι νατμκαρ ρωc νοτ†... etc.:** **ννεq-** appears here to be virtually aoristic.

(3) The discontinuous-Theme construction **ερε-** [nominal Theme-*agens*] **εφε-**, occurring for the Future only in this role (with nominal + delocutive Themes), is not triggered by any special Greek syntax. Above, we found it used in narrative as marked. Here, too, it may signal solemn or enhanced preceptive pronouncement: Lev. 4:6f. **οτορ ερε-πιουης εφεσωπ μεφρτης δενπιcνοq...** and so often in Leviticus; Num. 19:19 **οτορ ερεφh εοσας εφenoτδε εβολ...** This is obviously not a straightforward case of *agens* topicalization (the priest is the constant Topic of the text and indeed the texteme), but the *topicalization of the whole nexus*.

(3) Mayser II/1:212ff., 229ff. discusses the complicated distribution and interplay of Hellenistic Greek Imperative, Jussive and Future, e.g. in edicts and decrees (for which we have of course a contrastive dimension with Demotic: cf. SIMPSON 1996:116ff., 120ff.): the “juridicity” feature is joined here by the “Royal/Divine Word” one. Generally, in Greek legal language, the Future, Jussive, Optative and Infinitive are the main carrier, in a distribution that is rather complex. For examples of the use of the legal Jussive in Greek (e.g. in wills), see for instance the texts in CLARYSSE 1995; for wills and obligations, see TAUBENSCHLAG 1995; the Future is used in locutive undertakings/obligations, e.g. in the texts in SUPENSTEIN 1963. For the Demotic legal Future (for obligations, guarantees, liabilities, sureties) cf. for instance SETHE 1920; CRUZ-URIBE 1985; MARTIN 1995. Neither Demotic nor Coptic use the **μαρεq-** Jussive in these genres: in Bohairic, as we have seen, **μαρεq-**, if not Post-Imperative, is rather a polite circumlocutory request-form.

(6) Oath-taking, adjuration (interlocutive, delocutive) (Divine Oath or Divine Partner). **an** homonym:

Gen. 50:25 **οτορ αιωcηφ ταρκο ννεnψηρι μπiσα εφδω μμοc δε νδρηι δενπιuini ετεφ† ναuini ερωτεν μμοq ερετενεελλακac εβολ θα νεμωτεν.**

Another case of the Absolute-Definite Future pre-modified, by a causal “on the occasion of...”.

Gen. 14:22 **ειεcοττενταδix ερρηι ραφ† ετδoci.**

Gen. 24:7 **αqωрк ннi εφδω μμοc δε-ειε† μπαικαρι νακ.**

Num. 32:11...**δε-αν-εθεuνατ επικαρι...**

Gen. 31:49f. **εφenaτ нде-φ† οττωι νεμακ ... δε-ан-νнек-θεbio ннаuepi δε-ан-ннекciцmи εδennaуepi.**

(7) Prayer and Request (addressed to *plus habens*, or to numinous authority) (uncommon):

Gen. 27:28 **οτορ ερεφ†† νακ εβολ δен†iω† нте-тфe.**

Gen. 32:20 **ειεοωuт мπεqzo ... ειenaτ επεqzo.**

(8) Statement of Resolute Intent (rare)

Gen. 45:28 ΕΙΕΨΕΝ ΗΙ ΝΤΑΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΨ ΜΠΑΊΜΟΨ.

Gen. 24:19 ΕΙΕΤCΙΟ ΝΝΕΚΚΕΖΑΜΑΨΛΙ ΨΑΤΟΨCΩ ΤΗΡΟΨ.

Some striking or prevalent converging / overlapping combinations of semantic-pragmatic roles and associations:

result+promissiveness: Deut. 5:27, Lev. 26:4:19, Num. 4:19, 16:30.

result+injunctiveness: Gen. 32:18, Deut. 1:17, 2:28.

result + prayer invocation: Gen. 28:2f.

sequelling + fatidicality: Gen. 9:6.

sequelling + "Divine Word" numinosity: Gen. 20:7.

inevitability+ injunctiveness: Num. 1:52, 3:10.

fatidicality + injunctiveness: Gen. 3:19(!), 4:2, 8:22, 3:14-18.

fatidicality + benediction: Gen. 27:39f.

(b) Negative — non-sequelling. Much more restricted distribution

(1) Delocutive, allocutive — "official" categoric prohibition; generic interdiction:

Gen. 41:44 ΑCΝΟΨΚ ΝΝΕΛΙ ΙΝΙ ΝΤΕΨΔΙC ΕΖΕΜΠΚΑΨΙ ΤΗΡΨ ΝΧΗΜΙ.

Gen. 41:16 ΑCΝΕΨ† ΝΝΟΨΕΡΟΨΩ ΜΠΙΟΨΔΑΙ ΜΨΑΡΑΩ.

Gen. 32:32 ΕΘΒΕΨΔΙ ΝΝΟΨΟΨΩΜ ΝΔΕ-ΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΜΠΙCΛ ΜΠΙ-ΜΟΨΤ ΕΤΑΨΝΟΨΨ.

Gen. 31:32 ΨΗ ΕΤΟΨΝΑΔΕΜ-ΝΕΚΝΟΨ† ΝΤΟΨΨ ΝΝΕΨΩΝC.

Ex. 12:43 ΨΔΙ ΠΕ ΨΝΟΜΟC ΜΠΙΠΑCΧΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗC ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΝΕΨΟΨΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΨ.

Ex. 22:18 ΝΝΕΤΕΝΕΡ-ΨΨΗΡ ΝΩΝC ΝΕΜ ΝΙΨΑΡΜΑΓΟC.

Ex. 22:21 ΧΗΡΑ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΕΜ ΟΡΨΑΝΟC ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΝΕΤΕΝ†ΜΚΑΨ ΝΩΟΨ.

Ex. 23:24 ΝΝΕΚΟΨΩΨΤ ΝΝΟΨΝΟΨΤΕ ΟΨΔΕ ΝΝΕΚΨΕΜΨΙ ΜΜΩΟΨ.

Lev. 22:30 ΕΨΕΟΨΟΜΨ ΔΕΝΠΙΕΨΟΟΨ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΨ ΟΨΟΨ ΝΝΕ-ΤΕΝΨΩΔΠ ... ΕΠΕΨΤΟΟΨΙ.

Gen. 9:4 ΟΨΑΨ ΔΕΝΟΨCΝΟΨ ΜΨΨΧΗ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΨΟΜΨ.

Deut. 17:15f. ΝΝΕΚΨΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΝΕΡ-ΟΨΡΩΜΙ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ ΝΑΡ-ΧΩΝ ΕΨΡΗΙ ΕΔΩΚ ... ΕΘΒΕ ΔΕ-ΝΝΕΨΕΡΕΨΕΘ ΑΨΑΙ ΝΑΨ ΟΨΟΨ ΝΤΕΨΤΑCΘΟ ΜΠΙΛΑΟC ΕΔΨΗΙ ΕΧΗΜΙ ΔΕ-ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΨΑΨΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝΟΨ ΕΝΑΨ ΕΠΑΜΩΙΤ ΔΕ — an interestingly irregular example: the negative Absolute-Definite Future is here illustrated as (a) sub-categorized ("carried on") by the Conjunctive, a rare phenomenon; (b) included by ΕΘΒΕ ΔΕ- (rare as well), (c) included by ΔΕ- in a final construction (very rare).

The Decalogue: Deut. 5:18ff. **ΝΝΕΚΕΡΝΩΙΚ ΝΝΕΚΣΩΤΕΒ ΝΝΕΚ-
 ΣΙΟΤΙ ΝΝΕΚΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ ΣΑΠΕΚΥΦΗΡ ΣΕΝΟΤΜΕΘΡΕ ΝΝΟΤΣ
 ΝΝΕΚΕΡΕΠΙΘΤΜΙΝ ΕΤΣΖΙΜΙ ΜΠΕΚΥΦΗΡ ΝΝΕΚΕΡΕΠΙΘΤΜΙΝ
 ΕΠΗ ΜΠΕΚΥΦΗΡ...** — the Greek negated Future, and not μή ού,
 renders here the “Divine Negative Imperative” (and not an especially
 emphatic command / prohibition).

(2) Locutive: Divine Promise:

Gen. 19:22 **ΙΗΣ ΟΤΝ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΘΡΕΚΝΑΖΜΕΚ ΕΜΑΤ ΝΝΑΥΔΕΜ-
 ΣΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΡΙ ΝΟΤΣΩΒ ΨΑΤΕΚΨΕΝΑΚ ΕΣΟΤΝ ΕΜΑΤ** — this is
 a nicely paradoxical locus: declaration of Divine Inability!

Gen. 18:31 **ΝΝΑΤΑΚΟΣ ΕΘΒΕΠΙ-Κ̄.**

(3) Oath-taking, adjuration (Divine Partner):

Gen. 31:49f. **ΕΦΕΝΑΤ ΝΔΕ-Φ† ΟΤΤΩΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ ... ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΝΝΕΚ-
 ΘΕΒΙΟ ΝΝΑΨΕΡΙ ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΝΝΕΚΣΙCΖΙΜΙ ΕΔΕΝΝΑΨΕΡΙ.**

Gen. 42:15 **ΨΕ-ΠΟΤΣΑΙ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΨΕΝΩΤΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΤΑΙ...**

(3) Conversion of the Absolute-Definite Future

The Absolute-Definite Future is convertible, albeit in a very restricted
 manner. In a taxonomic sense, we may consider the unrestricted conver-
 sion of the Contingent-Indefinite Future (**ΝΑ-**, below) to be the “active”
 suppletive correspondent for the Absolute-Definite one, while the re-
 duced convertibility of **ΕΓΕ-** may be attributed to its syntactically inert
 nature, to its built-in sequencing syntactic properties (somewhat like the
 unconvertible “Clause Conjugation” forms) and perhaps also to its
 prevalent “Divine Word Grammar” absolute nature, rather than to any
 inherent atemporality, modal essence or qualities.

(a) Relative: attested only in certain restricted syntagms (cf. AN-
 DERSSON 1903:62ff.; POLOTSKY 1960:400):

(1) in Topic of Cleft Sentence — always allocutive: **-ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕ- or
 ΕΤΕΚΕ-**

Ex. 3:14:15 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΣΟC** — adverbial Focus, sim. 26:17.

Ex. 20:9 **Ὶ ΝΕΖΟΟΤ ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΕΡΖΩΒ ΜΜΩΟΤ** — nominal/ad-
 verbial Focus Ex. 19:3 **ΝΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΣΟΤΟΤ** - pronominal Focus;
 sim. 20:22, Num. 23:16.

Ex. 22:30 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΑΙC** - nominal focus; sim. 26:24.

Deut. 20:20 **ΝΘΟC ΕΤΕΚΕΟΡΔC.**

Deut. 6:13 **ΠῚC ΠΕΚΝΟΤ† ΠΕΤΕΚΕΕΡΖΟ† ΣΑΤΕCΖΗ ΝΘΟC
 ΜΜΑΤΑC ΠΕΤΕΚΕΨΕΜΨΗC ΟΤΟΖ ΝΘΟC ΠΕΤΕΚΕΤΟΜΚ ΕΡΟC
 ΟΤΟΖ ΕΚΕΩΡΚ ΜΠΕCΡΑΝ** - nominal/pronominal Foci; note the coor-
 dinated subcategorization by the unconverted Future.

(2) In expansion of Theme in Nominal Sentence:

Ex. 23:22 **ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΙCΑΔΙ ΕΤΕΚΕΔΟΤΟ**...

Deut. 19:4 **ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΟΤΑΖCΑΖΝΙ ΕΤΕ-ΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ ΜΠΙΡΕΦΔΩ-ΤΕΒ**.

(3) Negative: rare. Negative generic “cannot”, “does not by nature...” (cf. the negative Aorist, below). Appositive (the actual antecedent **ΦΗ** or **ΦΑΙ**).

Gen. 32:13 **ΜΦΡΗΤ ΜΠΙΨΩ ΝΤΕΦΙΟΜ ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-ΝΝΟΨΩΠQ**.

Deut. 28:50 **ΟΨΥΛΟΛ ΝΑΤΨΦΙΤ ... ΦΑΙ ΕΤΕ-ΝΝΕΦΔΟΨΨΤ ΕΠQ ΝΟΨΔΕΛΛΟ**.

(b) Circumstantial.

In our variety of Bohairic, the Circumstantial converter is systematically zeroed before syllabic nasals, that is, before negative conjugation-forms (below, Chapter Four; see SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:226ff.); this, with the fact that the conjunctive use of **ΝΝΕQ-** with **ΔΕΧΑC** is absent in the corpus, makes the Sahidic conditioned Circumstantial in **ΔΕΚΑΔC ΕΝΝΕQ-** out of place in Bohairic. However, there are in our corpus quite a few *loci* where the Circumstantial converter — always zeroed — structurally exists before the affirmative **ΕΦΕ-** and negative **ΝΝΕQ-**:

Gen. 1:6 **ΜΑΡΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΟΤΤΑΔΡΟ ... ΟΤΟQ ΝΤΕΨΩΠΙ ΕΦΕΦΩΡΔ ΕΒΟΛ...** (Greek ἔστω διαχωρίζον).

Ex. 34:7 **ΦΑΠΙΝΙΨΤ ΝΝΑΙ ΟΤΟQ ΠΙΑΛΘΗΝΟC ΟΤΟQ ΕΦΑΡΕQ ΕΟΨΜΕΘΜΗΙ ΟΤΟQ ΕQΙΡΙ ΝΟΨΝΑΙ ΨΑΖΑΝΨΟ ΕΦΩΛΙ ΝΝΙΑΝΟ-ΜΙΑ ... ΟΤΟQ ΝΝΕΨΤΟΨΒΟ ΜΦΗ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΕΝΟΧΟC**.

(ANDERSSON 1903:62 “eigentlich ε + **ΝΝΕQ-**, partizipial aufzufassen”; but the Greek has καὶ οὐ καθαριεῖ).

Num. 23:9 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΟΤΛΑΟC ΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ ΜΜΑΨΑΤQ** (but Greek μόνος κατοικήσει)

Lev. 25:6 **ΟΤΟQ ΕΨΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΓΕΝΗΜΑ ΝΤΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΕΚΕ-ΟΨΟΜΟΨ ΝΘΟΚ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΚΒΩΚ** (Greek ἔσται βρώματά σοι).

Lev. 26:6 **ΟΤΟQ ΕΙΕΤ ΝΟΨΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΙΔΕΝΠΕΤΕΝΚΑΖ ΟΤΟQ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΝΚΟΤ ΝΝΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΦΗ ΕΤΝΟΨΨ** (Greek καὶ οὐκ ἔσται...).

Lev. 23:7 **ΕΨΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΕΨΕΜΟΨΤ ΕΡΟQ ΔΕ-QΟΨΑΒ** (Greek κλητὴ ἁγία ἔσται ὑμῖν).

Deut. 20:8 **ΟΤΟQ ΕΨΕΟΨΑΖ-ΤΟΤΟΨ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙCΑΖ ΕΨΕCΑΔΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΑΟC** (Greek προσθήσουσι... λαλήσαι).

Ex. 28:35 **ΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΑΑΡΩΝ ΔΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΕΡΕΨΨΕΜΨΙ ΕΨΕCΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΕΨCΜΗ ΕΦΗΝΗΟΨ ΕΔΟΨΗ ΕΠΕΘΟΨΑΒ...ΝΕΜ ΕΦ-ΝΗΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ** (Greek ἀκουστή ή φωνή αὐτοῦ).

Lev. 11:2 **ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΘΙ ÷ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΘΟΜΟΘ** is difficult (= Vat, but Greek Relative): the delimiting punctuation mark may be a clue, but does not rule out the adnominal Circumstantial.

Ex. 34:2 **ΩΩΠΙ ΕΚΕΒΤΩΤ ΝΩΩΡΠ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΚΕΙ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΕΞΕΝΠΙΤΩΘ ΝΤΕCΙΝΑ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΚΕΘΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΚ ΝΗΙ ΜΜΑΘ** (Vat **εκ-**; Greek γίνου ἔτοιμος) is different, for here we have a Stative Rheme with **εκε-**. So too in:

Deut. 28:33...**ΕΚΕΘΗΘ ΝΔΟΝC ΕΚΘΟΤΠ...** (Greek ἔση ὑδικοῦμενος). This last passage was understandably condemned by Funk (1992:25), but historical evidence (WINAND 1996) supports this “hybrid” form, and I suggest we wait for further evidence. (A possible case is also Lev. 11:26 [Vat Circ. Present]).

(4) The Absolute-Definite Future in conjunctive-final construction (very rare).

ΔΕ-ΝΝΕ-

Lev. 10:7 **ΝΝΕΤΕΝΙ CΑΒΟΛ ΜΦΡΟ Ν†CΚΗΝΗ ... ΔΕ-ΝΝΕΤΕΝ-ΜΟΘ**.

Deut. 17:15f. **ΝΝΕΚΩΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΝΕΡ-ΟΦΡΩΜΙ ΝΩΕΜΜΟ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΔΩΚ ... ΕΘΒΕ ΔΕ-ΝΝΕΦΘΕΡΕΖΘΟ ΑΨΑΙ ΝΑΖ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΕΓΤΑCΘΟ ΜΠΙΛΑΟC ΕΔΡΗΙ ΕΧΗΜΙ ΔΕ-ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΘΑΖΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝΟΘ ΕΝΑΘ ΕΠΑΜΩΙΤ ΔΕ**.

Obs.

(1) The final / consecutive constructions are connected in the corpus with the functional status of the Conjunctive as a “that”- form, so different from Sahidic. Consider (**Δε-** + Conjunctive, consecutive) Ex. 3:11, Deut. 30:13 and of course **ΞΙΝΑ** (not **ΔΕΧΑC**). **ζωστε, ζοπωc/μηπωc, μηποτε** + Conj. (e.g. Deut. 13:17, 20:18, Lev. 6:15, Gen. 12:13, 3:22, 27:12). In Nitrian, NT and OT corpora, the Sahidic-like constructions are far more usual. Final **ννε-** De Vis I 76; **δε-ννε-** *ibid.* 32, 89, 90; “lest” De Vis II 206; **δε-εγε-** De Vis I 60, II 22; **δεχαc** is uncommon.

(e) The Contingent-Indefinite Future (**ϷΝΑCΩΤΕΜ**): Present-based “Tempus Instans”

(1) This form, an extension of the Present-tense matrix, is sharply opposed to the Absolute-Definite Future in its semantic and formal-syntactic-parameter characterization:

- [- SEQUELLING]. [- APODOTICITY]
- [- AUTHORITATIVENESS]
- [- DIVINE INVOLVEMENT FACTOR]
- [- ABSOLUTE VALIDITY] — of relative, reserved, limited validity
- [-TELICITY]

- [+ TEMPORALITY]
 - [+ CONTINGENCE] in the sense of “the quality of uncertain and circumstance-conditioned occurrence”
 - [+ UNDERTAKING]
 - [+ VOLITIONALITY]
 - [+ INSTIGATOR/LOCUTOR/ACTANT INVOLVEMENT/INTENT/HOPE/ENGAGEMENT]
 - [+ QUESTIONABILITY] including Assertive-Focal (“Rhetorical”) Questions
 - [+ INSTIGATOR/LOCUTOR ORIENTATION]
 - [+ AFFECT/MODALITY]
 - [+ SENSITIVITY TO *agens* INTERPERSONAL SPHERE] the interlocutive locutive-allocutive perspective or sphere of reference (even with a delocutive referent): this is rephrasable as
 - [+ DEIXIS (interlocutive)]
- The form / is characterized by
- Distinctively protatic case-raising (“*fallsetzend*”)
 - Unbounded-situation eventing
 - Anchoring in speaker’s Present
 - Hesitant tone: unmarked for ineluctability
 - Detailing, specifying *Aktionsart*
 - Dynamic (processual) Eventing, Detailing. “Microfuture”
 - “Indefiniteness” (non-specificity)
 - Basically locutive-allocutive (interlocutive) perspective.
 - Freely subcategorizable (“carried on”) by the Conjunctive
 - Syntactically active (not inert)
 - Compatible with **ΟΤΝ, ΓΑΡ, ΖΕ**
 - Freely compatible with specific time-indications
 - Freely compatible with modifiers
 - Freely included or embedded (e.g. by [**ΕΘΒΕ**] **ΖΕ-**)
 - Compatible with Presentative **ΖΗΠΠΕ (ΙC)**
 - Compatible with topicalization (esp. pronominal **ΑΝΟΚ**)
 - Compatible with interrogation, Rhetorical Question, Modality Question **ΠΩC**;
 - Compatible with Focalization and focussing Presentation
 - Compatible with Augens
 - Compatible with explicative environment
 - Compatible with protatic (**ΙCΖΕ**) and with apodotic environment (when apodotic, it is marked by **ΙΕ**; in *apodosi*, the two Futures are strikingly in opposition)

- *Minus/plus habens* agens / instigator/ partner status irrelevant.
- Compatible with Response
- Compatible with unrestricted conversion
- Disjoinable by *ιε*
- Juncturally unmarked.

Obs.

(1) Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 2003a.

(2) Contrary to general opinion, it is the *να*- Future that lends itself to affects and modalities, whereas the Absolute-Definite one is "impassive" and detached; the Contingent-Indefinite Future is detailing and circumstance-sensitive *Aktionsart*-wise, as against the complexive Absolute-Definite Future. This opposition, which in a sense resembles the one between the contingent and inherent nominal predications (*οι* *ν*- vs. Nominal Sentence, respectively; see below, Chapter Two), is entirely "value added" above the Future tensing in the Greek original.

(3) See MANDILARAS 1973:181ff., FANNING 1990:120ff. for tensing in the Greek original. Often, the Contingent-Indefinite Future = Greek Present (Schwartz *apud* POLOTSKY 1990:215). Incidentally, Schwartz compares the *να*- Future, not to the French *future proche* but to ("gerade wie") "je suis à écouter" (SCHWARTZ and STEINTHAL 1850:444ff).

(2) Compatibilities:

temporal adverbials:

†*νοϞ* (*γαρ, δε, ουν*): Gen. 47:4, 19:9, Ex. 9:15, Num. 24:17

†*ναταμοϞ οτοϞ †νοϞ αν*.

-*ουν †νοϞ* Gen. 24:50.

νδρι δεντϞαϞι ντεπαιεδωρϞ Ex. 11:4.

μπαϊναϞ νρασ† Gen. 29:18, Ex. 9:18, 10:4.

ν-† νεροοϞ μμοϞι Ex. 5:3.

ετδαν μπαμοϞ Deut. 32:29.

ετι γαρ κε-ξ νεροοϞ Gen. 7:4.

μϞοοϞ Deut. 20:3.

ϞαθηναϞ δε- Focus Ex. 10:7.

Interrogative/presentative/protatic environment:

αν Ex. 16:4, Num. 14:30, Deut. 8:2.

μη Gen. 18:17, 37:10, 41:38, Lev. 10:19.

ζαϞα Gen. 37:10.

zero interrogative marker Ex. 5:16.

πωϞ Ex. 33:16, Deut. 1:9:12, 7:18.

ζηππε Ex. 7:17, 8:17:25, 10:4, 14:17, Num. 25:12.

ιϞδε Gen. 43:4f., 24:42, Num. 14:8 — significantly not *εϞωπ*.

Explicative environment:

γαρ Num. 22:17.

οϞ γαρ Deut. 2:5:19, 4:22, 18:12.

($\epsilon\theta\epsilon$) $\Sigma\epsilon$ - inclusion, Gen. 44:34, Ex. 4:1, Deut. 5:25, 32:43.

Augens.

Gen. 31:5 $\uparrow\eta\lambda\eta\lambda\theta\ \lambda\eta\eta\kappa$.

(3) Conversion: unrestricted⁸³.

(a) Relative:

All constructions, all persons (e.g. Gen. 18:17, 20:13, Deut. 5:31; Gen. 19:19, Ex. 4:15:17, Num. 23:13, Deut. 5:31; Gen. 44:9:10, Ex. 12:10:15, Lev. 22:2, Deut. 5:27).

Note especially the protatic-role "case-raising" $\Phi\eta$ / $\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda$ -, often and typically combined with "apodotic" $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ -, which is after all the "official" law-setting form (e.g. Gen. 6:21, 44:10, Ex. 12:10:15, 18:20, 19:12, Lev. 4:4, 7:27, 18:5(!), 22:6, Num. 6:16, 22:35).

(b) Circumstantial:

All persons (e.g. Lev. 23:43; Gen. 35:1; Gen. 20:9, Ex. 33:22, Lev. 22:29).

(c) Focalizing Conversion (Second Tense):

all persons (e.g. Gen. 3:4, 34:23, 37:36, 43:16, Ex.10:26).

(d) $\eta\epsilon$ - (e.g. Gen.31:27).

(4) The Locutive (Speaker, 1st-person) Sphere

The speaker's personal axis, perspective and sphere, anchored in the speaker's pragmatic here-and-now, is the most typical and prevalent; the difference, even in the case of a Divine "Speaker", between the Present-based declaration of personal disposition and the Divine Numinous Word is well demarcated semantically — the Contingent-Indefinite Future is not marked for Divine involvement (and the locutor is not typically divine), while it is marked for intent-oriented future action. Typical environmental semantic features, in English resolution equivalents:

foreground locutivity factor:

"I'm going to..."

"I intend to (see to it that)", "I mean to".

"I'm willing/prepared/disposed to..."

"I promise/undertake to..."

"I'm disposed to..."

Background locutivity factor:

"I saw to it that...", "I'll see to it that..."

"I know/believe that..."

⁸³ ANDERSSON 1903:62 suggests explicitly that $\eta\lambda$ - serves suppletively to convert $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - (cf. Deut. 17:16 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\mu\theta\ \eta\lambda\epsilon\Phi\eta\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\mu\theta\ldots$).

“You’ll see that...”

“If I wish, then...”

(a) Affirmative — declared will, disposition, design or intention:

Gen. 7:4 **ΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΕ-Ὶ ΝΕΖΟΟῦ ὲΝΑΙΝΙ ΝΟῦΜΩΟῦ ΝΚΑΤΑ-ΚΛΩΣΜΟΣ ΕἸΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ** — Divine instigator and intent, precisely timed by temporal adverbial.

Ex. 11:4 **ΝῆΡΗ ῚΕΝΤῼΩΥΙ ΝΤΕΠΑΙΕἸΩΡῼ ὲΝΑΙ...**

Ex. 19:9 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ὲΝΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΚ...**

Ex. 7:17 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ὲΝΑΜΙΩΥΙ ῚΕΝΠΙΩΒΩΤ...**

Ex. 23:20 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ὲΝΑΟῦΩΡΠ ΜΠΑΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ῚΑἸΩΚ.**

Ex. 9:18 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ὲΝΑῼΩῦ ΕἸΡΗΙ ΕἸΩΚ** sim. Ex. 16:4.

Ex. 8:25 **ΙC ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ὲΝΑῼΕΝΗΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΤΚ** sim. Ex. 3:13.

Ex. 16:4 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ὲΝΑῼΩῦ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΝῼΑΝΩΙΚ ΕΒΟΛ ῚΕΝΤῼΕ.**

Ex. 33:14 **ΑΝΟΚ ΕΘΝΑΜΩΥΙ ῚΑἸΩΚ ΟῶΟῼ ὲΝΑὲ-ΕΜΤΟΝ ΝΑΚ.**

Ex. 2:9 **ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ὲΝΑὲ ΝΕ ΜΠΕΒΕΧΕ.**

Num. 22:17 **ὲΝΑΤΑΙΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΑῼΩ ΟῶΟἼ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΚΝΑἸΟΤΟῦ ΝΗΙ ὲΝΑἸΟῦ ΝΑΚ.**

Ex. 32:33 **ΤΕΝΝΑἸΟῦ ΟῶΟἼ ΤΕΝΝΑCΟΤΜΟῦ.**

Ex. 33:19 **ΑΝΟΚ ὲΝΑCΙΝΙ ῚΑἸΩΚ.**

Deut. 4:22 **ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ὲΝΑΜΟῦ...** — the Coptic for “I’m dying” (“je meurs”)?

Ex. 33:1 **ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΕΤΑΙΩΡΚ ΜΜΟἼ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΝΕΜΙCΑΑΚ ΝΕ-ΜΙΑΚΩΒ ΕΙἸΩ ΜΜΟC ῚΕ-ὲΝΑἸΗΙἼ ΜΠΕΤΕΝἸΡΟἸ.**

Num. 12:8 **ὲΝΑCΑἸΙ ΝΕΜΑἼ ΝΡΟ ΟῦΒΕΡΟ.**

Num. 14:12 **ὲΝΑῼΑΡΙ ΕῼΩῦ ΟῶΟἼ ΝΤΑΤΑΚΩῦ.**

Num. 14:19f. (**ΧΑ-ῼΝΟΒΙ ΜΠΑΙΛΑΟC ΝΑἼ ΕΒΟΛ...**) **ὲΝΑΧΩ ΝΩῦ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΚCΑἸΙ.**

(b) Assertive-Focal Formal Questions — affirmative:

Gen. 41:38 **ΜΗ ΤΕΝΝΑἸΕΜ-ΟῦΡΩΜΙ ΜΠΑΙΡΗὲ.**

Gen. 37:10 **ΖΑΡΑ ῚΕΝΟῦΙ ΤΕΝΝΑΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΕΜ ΤΕΚΜΑῦ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΚCΝΗΟῦ ΝΤΕΝΟῦΩῦΤ ΜΜΟΚ.**

(c) In Response — affirmative and negative:

Gen. 19:2 **ΜΜΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΝΝΑΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΖΙΠΙῼῸΕἼ** sim. Num. 13:30.

Gen. 29:8 **ΤΕΝΝΑἸΕΜἸΟΜ ΑΝ ῼΑΝΤΟῦῸΩῦὲ ΝἸΕ-ΝΙΜΑ-ΝΕCΩῦ ΤΗΡΟῦ ΝΤΟῦCΚΕΡΚΕΡ ΜΠΙΩΝΙ...**

Gen. 38:16f. **ὲΝΑΟῦΩΡΠ ΝΕ ΝΟῦΜΑC ΜΒΑΕΜΠΙ.**

(d) *In apodosi*, including post-imperative-slot apodosis — affirmative:

The opposition $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon$ - vs. $-να$ - is here especially striking:

- $-να$ - is not marked for sequelling;
- $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon$ - is absolute, impersonal, detached-objective, marked for sequelling;
- $-να$ - expresses will, intention etc.

Ex. 8:17 $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi \ \alpha\epsilon \ \alpha\kappa\psi\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\omega\psi \ \epsilon\omicron\tau\omega\rho\pi \ \mu\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \chi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \ \dagger\eta\alpha\omicron\tau\omega\rho\pi \ \epsilon\zeta\rho\eta\iota \ \epsilon\delta\omega\kappa \ \dots \ \eta\omicron\tau\alpha\varrho \ \eta\omicron\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\rho$.

Ex. 24:12 $\alpha\mu\omicron\tau \ \epsilon\pi\psi\omega\iota \ \chi\alpha\rho\iota \ \chi\iota\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\tau\omega\omicron\tau \ \omicron\theta\omicron\zeta \ \dagger\eta\alpha\ddagger \ \eta\alpha\kappa \ \eta\zeta\alpha\eta\pi\lambda\alpha\acute{\alpha}\zeta \ \eta\omega\eta\iota$.

Num. 22:34 $\dagger\eta\omicron\tau \ \iota\varsigma\delta\epsilon \ \pi\iota\zeta\omega\beta \ \rho\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa \ \alpha\eta \ \dagger\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma\theta\omicron$.

Num. 20:18 $\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\iota\eta\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \chi\iota\tau\omicron\tau \ \epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta \ \dagger\eta\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\delta\omicron\tau\eta \ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\kappa$.

Deut. 12:20f. " $\dagger\eta\alpha\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu\text{-}\alpha\varrho \ \alpha\varsigma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\rho\text{-}\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\tau\eta\mu\iota\eta \ \eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\psi\tau\chi\eta \ \epsilon\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu\text{-}\alpha\varrho$ "... $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu\text{-}\alpha\varrho$ — an instructive example, sharply confronting and contrasting the personal with the impersonal-detached categories of Futurity.

Deut. 2:27f. $\dagger\eta\alpha\varsigma\iota\eta\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \chi\iota\tau\epsilon\eta\pi\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota \ \alpha\iota\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\psi\iota \ \chi\iota\pi\iota\text{-}\mu\omega\iota\tau \ \eta\eta\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\iota \ \epsilon\omicron\tau\iota\eta\alpha\mu \ \omicron\tau\alpha\epsilon \ \delta\alpha\delta\eta \ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ddagger\delta\epsilon \ \eta\eta\iota \ \delta\alpha\zeta\alpha\tau \ \epsilon\iota\epsilon\omicron\tau\omega\mu$ — another interesting example, illustrating (a) the switch from Contingent to Absolute Future concomitant with the personal-sphere switch, (b) the sequelling role of the Absolute-Definite Future regardless of person.

Ex. 32:33 $\Phi\eta \ \epsilon\tau\alpha\varphi\epsilon\rho\eta\omicron\beta\iota \ \epsilon\rho\omicron\iota \ \dagger\eta\alpha\varrho\omicron\tau\varrho \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \chi\iota\pi\alpha\delta\omega\mu$.

(e) Negative (+ affirmative) — refusal:

Ex. 5:2 $\dagger\eta\alpha\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\pi\varrho \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \alpha\eta \ \text{sim. Gen. 32:26.}$

Ex. 21:5 $\eta\ddagger\eta\alpha\psi\epsilon\eta\eta\iota \ \alpha\eta \ \epsilon\iota\omicron\iota \ \eta\rho\mu\zeta\epsilon$.

Num. 23:20 $\dagger\eta\alpha\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau \ \omicron\theta\omicron\zeta \ \dagger\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma\theta\omicron \ \alpha\eta$.

Num. 16:14 $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\zeta\rho\eta\iota \ \alpha\eta$.

Num. 13:31 $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\psi\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\psi\omega\iota \ \alpha\eta$.

(f) Focalization cases (not Focalizing Conversion).

Deut. 9:6 $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\mu\iota \ \mu\Phi\omicron\omicron\tau \ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\theta\eta\iota \ \alpha\eta \ \pi\delta\bar{\varsigma} \ \eta\alpha\ddagger \ \mu\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota \ \eta\alpha\kappa\ldots$

Deut. 18:12 $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\iota\omega\rho\epsilon\beta \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \eta\alpha\iota \ \pi\delta\bar{\varsigma} \ \eta\alpha\varrho\omicron\tau\omicron\tau \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$.

(g) Some striking or typical lexical compatibility environments:

$\mu\omicron\tau$

Gen. 30:1 $\eta\alpha\psi\eta\rho\iota \ \eta\eta\iota \ \mu\mu\omicron\eta \ \dagger\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\tau \ \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ (Greek Fut. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$)

Gen. 50:24 $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa \ \dagger\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\tau \ \delta\epsilon\eta\omicron\tau\psi\eta\eta\iota \ \alpha\epsilon \ \Phi\ddagger \ \eta\alpha\psi\eta\eta\iota \ \epsilon\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$ (Greek Pres. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\omega$).

Gen. 48:21 **ῥηππε ἀνοκ ἵναμοῦ** (Greek Fut. τελευτήσω).

Ex. 12:33 **ἀνον τηροῦ⁸⁴ τένναμοῦ** (= Vat; Greek Pres. ἀποθνήσκω).

Deut. 4:22 **ἀνοκ γὰρ ἵναμοῦ ῥενπαικαρι οὐοῖ ἵναερ-
ῥίνιορ ἀν μπιορδανῆς** (Greek Pres. ἀποθνήσκω).

Allocutive cases: Gen. 20:3 **ῥηππε νῆοκ χναμοῦ** (Greek present).

Delocutive apodotic cases (see below): Gen. 33:13f. (If I rush them...) **ῥεναμοῦ τηροῦ** (Greek Future).

Gen. 44:22 **ἐψωπ δὲ ντερχα-περιωτ ῥναμοῦ** (Greek future). Note the contrast with the resultative Absolute Future in Ex. 11:4-5 **ἵναι...οὐοῖ ἐθεμοῦ νῆε-** (= Vat) (Greek Future).

ῥενα-: mostly 1st plural. Interrogative, responsive, Presentative.

Gen. 43:4f. **ἰῥῆ οὐν χναοῦωρπ μπενῶν νεμᾶν τέν-
ναῤῥεναν** sim. Gen. 44:26.

Gen. 22:5 **ἀνοκ δὲ νεμπιαλοῦ τένναῤῥεναν ῥαμῆαι**.

Ex. 3:18 **τέναῤῥεναν οὐν ν-ῖ νεῤῥοῦ μμοῤῥι** sim. Ex. 5:3:8, 8:23.

Ex. 10:9 **ἀνον τένναῤῥεναν νεμῆενῥεῤῥι νεμῆεν-
ῥελλοι...**

Ex. 3:13 **ῥηππε ἀνοκ ἵναῤῥενη ῥανενῥηρι μπίῥᾶ**.

Num. 13:30 **μμον ἄλλα ῥενοῦῥε τένναῤῥεναν ἐψωι**.

Num. 13:31 **τένναῤῥε ἐψωι ἀν**.

Num. 14:40 **ῥηππε ἀνον τένναῤῥεναν ἐπιτωῦ**.

Deut. 1:41 **ἀνον τένναῤῥεναν ἐψωι**.

Gen. 44:34 **πῶς γὰρ ἵναῤῥενη ἐψωι ῥαπαιωτ...**

Gen. 46:31 **ἵναῤῥενη νταταμε-ῥαραῤῥ**.

Especially interesting in this connection is the differentiation of the Future **ῥναι** and the actual-prospective reference of **ῥνηοῦ** "he is coming". It would appear that this verb stands outside the **ῥνα-** vs. **εῤῥε-** opposition, unlike the deictically different **ῥενα-**, but the opposition between the two forms is unclear to me (the Greek fluctuates between Present and Future):

Locutive: **ἵνηοῦ, τέννηοῦ**.

Num. 10:30 **ἵνηοῦ ἀν ἄλλα εἰεῤῥενη...** (= Vat) "I'm not coming, but I shall go..." (Greek Fut.).

Num. 16:12 **τέννηοῦ ἀν** (= Vat) (Greek Pres.).

As against

Num. 20:18 **ἵναι** (Greek ἐξελεύσομαι).

⁸⁴ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:326.

Num. 16:14 **ΤΕΝΝΑΙ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΔΝ** (= Vat) (Greek Pres.).

Delocutive: **QHHO** + Adverbial.

Gen. 24:13:43 **ΣΕΝΗΟ** **ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΑΖΜΩ** (Greek 13 Pres.; 43 Fut.).

Gen. 41:29 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC Ξ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΖΕΝΟ** **Q** **ΣΕΝΗΟ** **ΕΝΑ-
ΥΩ** **ΣΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡQ ΝΧΗΜΙ** (Greek Pres.) — not fatidical
(which would be **ετε-**), but oneiromantical, a grammatical distinction
as crucial as the one between Dream Narrative and “Reality Narrative”
(see above).

Ex. 18:15 **Ο** **ΗΙ QHHO** **ΖΑΡΟΙ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΛΑΟΣ** (Greek παραγι-
νεται).

ΖΗΠΠΕ (ΙC) QHHO + Adverbial (**ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC** for true Speaker’s
here-and-now perspective):

Gen. 48:2 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΙΩCΗΦ ΠΕΚΩΗΡΙ QHHO** **ΖΑΡΟΚ** (Greek
Pres.).

Ex. 18:6 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΙΟΘΟΡ ΠΕΚΩΟΜ QHHO** **ΖΑΡΟΚ** (Greek
παραγίνεται).

Ex. 9:3 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΟΥΔΙΔ ΝΤΕΠ** **Σ** **ΝΗΟ** **ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΔΕΝ-
ΝΕΚΤΕΒΝΩΟΤΙ ΕΤΣΕΝΤΚΟΙ** (Greek ἐπέσται) — note that the Pre-
sentative is here revealed to be of the same category as **ΟΤΟΝ-/ΜΜΟΝ**,
preceding the non-specific **ΟΥΔΙΔ**.

Ex. 7:15, 8:16 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΝΘΟQ QHHO** **ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΜΩ** **Ο**
(Greek ἐκπορεύεται).

The periphrastic **ΝΟΤΙ Ε-** expresses “be about to...”, always *in pro-
tasi* (?):

Ex. 1:16 **ΕΥΩΠ ΑΡΕΤΕΝΩΑΝ ΝΟΤΙ ΕΘΕCΙΕ-ΝΙΖΕΒΡΕΟC**
ΑΥΩΑΝΙ ΕΤCΕΜΙCΙ... (Greek όταν μαιούσθε τὰς Ἑβραΐας καὶ ὅσιν
πρὸς τίκτειν).

Ex. 30:20 **ΑΥΩΑΝΝΟΤΙ ΕΙ ΕΣΟ** **Τ** **Ν ΕΤCΚΗΝΗ...**

While the verb in **ΜΩΠΙ Ε-** is a lexically loaded descriptive
(*Aktionsart*) auxiliary:

Gen. 25:32 **†ΜΩΠΙ ΕΜΟ** **Ο** (a calque of the Greek πορεύομαι
τελευτᾶν?) and

Gen. 26:13 **ΝΑQΜΩΠΙ ΕΑΙΑΙ ΠΕ** (= Vat) (Greek προβαίνων μεί-
ζων ἐγίνετο).

Different still is the case of **ΝΑQHHO** **N-** + INFINITIVE: gradual
Aktionsart.

Gen. 7:17 **ΟΤΟZ ΝΑQHHO** (i.e. **ΠΙΜΩ**) **ΝΑΥΑΙ ΕΜΑΥΩ ΖΙ-
ΔΕΝ-ΠΙΚΑΖΙ** (Greek καὶ ἐπληνθύνθη τὸ ὕδωρ).

ΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ (always formally or contextually-virtually negative):

Present reference.

Num. 13:31 **ΤΕΝΝΑΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΑΝ ΟΥΒΕ-ΠΑΙΕΘΝΟC.**

Ex. 1:9 **†ΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΜΜΑΤΑΤ ΑΝ ΕQΑΙ ΜΜΩΤΕΝ.**

Gen. 29:8 **ΤΕΝΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΑΝ ΨΑΝΤΟΘΩΟΤ† ΝΔΕ-ΝΙ-ΜΑΝΕCΩΟΤ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝΤΟΨCΚΕΡΚΕΡΠΩΝΙ.**

Deut. 7:18 **ΠΩC †ΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΝQΟΤΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ.**

Assertive-Focal (“Rhetorical”) interrogation: “how can I?” = “I cannot”:

Deut. 1:12 **ΠΩC †ΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΜΜΑΤΑΤ ΕQΑΙ ΜΜΩΤΕΝ,**
cf. 9 **†ΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΜΜΑΤΑΤ ΑΝ ΕQΑΙ ΜΜΩΤΕΝ.**

(5) The Allocutive (2nd-person) Sphere

This is strikingly rarer than the locutive perspective. Note however the same compatibilities as those specified above; note also the frequency of queried, hypothetical, doubtful, hopeful or conjectured Future modalities:

Gen. 20:4 **ΟΨΥΛΟΛ ΝΑΤΕΜΙ ΟΤΟΞ ΝΘΜΗ ΧΝΑΤΑΚΟQ (“I cannot believe that...”).**

Gen. 24:42 **ΙCΔΕ ΧΝΑCΟΤΤΩΝ-ΠΑΜΩΙΤ ΦQΑΙ †ΝΟΨ Ε†ΜΩΥΙ ΖΙΩΤQ.**

Gen. 37:8 **ΜΗ ΔΕΝΟΨΜΕΤΟΨΡΟ ΧΝΑΕΡ-ΟΨΡΟ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΔΩΝ ΙΕ ΔΕΝΟΨΜΕΤΨC ΧΝΑΕΡΨC ΕΡΟΝ.**

Ex. 5:16 **ΚΝΑΘΙ ΜΠΕΚΛΑΟC ΟΨΝ ΝΔΟΝC.**

Gen. 42:36 **ΙΩCΗΦ QΨΟΠ ΑΝ CΨΜΕΩΝ QΨΟΠ ΑΝ ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΘΙ ΜΠΚΕΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΝ...**

Num. 14:30 **ΑΝ-ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΨΕΝΩΤΕΝ ΕΔΟΨΝ ΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ... —**
God’s oath.

Deut. 8:2 **ΕΘΡΕQΕΜΙ ... ΔΕ-ΑΝ-ΚΝΑΑΡΕΞ ΕΝΕQΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΨΑΝ-ΜΜΟΝ.**

Gen. 20:3 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΝΘΟΚ ΧΝΑΜΟΨ.**

Gen. 42:15 **ΔΕΝΦQΑΙ ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΟΨΩΝΞ ΕΒΟΛ.**

Deut. 3:27 **ΑΝΑΨ ΝΝΕΚΒΑΛ ΔΕ-ΚΝΑΡΕΔΙΝΙΟΡ ΑΝ ΜΠΑΙΟΡ-ΔΑΝΗC.**

Deut. 31:29 **†ΕΜΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ-ΕΤΔΑΗ ΜΠΑΜΟΨ ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΡΑΝΟ-ΜΙΝ.**

Gen. 44:29 **ΕΨΩΠ ΟΨΝ ΑΡΕΤΕΝΨΑΝΩΛΙ ΜΠΑΙΧΕΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΑΞΟ ... ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΛ-ΤΑΜΕΤΔΕΛΛΟ ΕΑΜΕΝ† ΔΕΝΟΨΜΚΑΞ ΝΞΗΤ.**

(6) Delocutive reference

Again, this case is relatively rare. In fact, most examples still show interlocutive syntagmatic or pragmatic anchoring or embedding or perspective, e.g. with an interlocutive object actant or circumstant; “I know/say/claim that...” is, for instance, a typical locutive anchoring environment. The interlocutive deixis is thus usually present. Conjointly or alternatively, these delocutive *να*-Future clauses are marked as explicative by *δε*-, *γαρ*; or as addressed (or deictically proximal, pragmatically allocutive); or as assertively “rhetorically”, interrogative again, pragmatically allocutive; or as apodotic (also post-imperative). Some delocutive cases express a possible (“might happen”) or potential scenario:

Gen. 29:32 *†* *νοῦ* *qnamēnrit*.

Gen. 49:29 *ἀνοκ* *cenaxat*.

Gen. 43:7 *μη* *nanēmi* *anon* *πε* *δε-qnaξoc* *nan*... — sim. “I know that...” cases: Gen. 18:19, Ex. 3:19.

Ex. 8:22 *εῷ* *ωπ* *γαρ* *ανψανψετνιβο†* *ντενιρεμνχημι* *μποτμο* *cenaxiwni* *εζων*.

Gen. 44:31 *εῷ* *ωπ* *αφψαννατ* *ερον* *μπιαλοτ* *νεμαν* *αν* *qnamot* *οτοζ* *νεκαλωοι* *cenaelometzeallo* *μπεκαλοτ*...

Gen. 3:5 *cenaxowm* *nze-netenbal* *tetennaermφρη†* *nzanonot†*.

Ex. 5:10 *cenax†τωζ* *nwti*.

Ex. 4:1 *cenaxoc* *γαρ* *nhi*.

Ex. 4:14 *αφψαννατ* *εροκ* *qnarwpi* *nφρη* *nφητq* *δε-zenotcazi* *qnacazi* — apodotic.

Ex. 11:9 *φαραω* *nacwtem* *ncaēhnot* *an*.

Ex. 19:13 *cenacet-wni* *cenaxelk-coθneq*.

Deut. 9:6 *εκεεμι* *zeeθve-teqmeθmhi* *an* *π̄c* *na†* *μπαικαζι* *eθnaneq* *nak*.

Ex. 10:7 *ψαθατ* *δε* *οτον-εροп* *naψwpi* *nan*.

Lev. 9:4ff. (addressed) *nφρη* *zenφoos* *π̄c* *naotonzq* ... *οτοζ* *qnaotwnz* *zenēhnot* *nze-otwot*.

Num. 14:3 *eθveot* *qnaolten* *nze-π̄c* *εζoтn* *epikazι*...

Num. 14:8 *icze* *qcowtp* *mmon* *nze-π̄c* *qnaolten* *εζoтn* *epikazι*...

Deut. 32:7 *ψenpekιwt* *οτοζ* *qnatamok* *nekzealloi* *οτοζ* *cenaxoc* *nak*.

Deut. 32:43 **οὐνοῦ μμωτεν νιέθνοϛ νεμπεϕλαοϛ οὐοῖ
μαροῦ†δουμ νωοῦ νδε-νιαγγελοϛ τηροῦ ντεϕ† δε-
ϕναῖ μπεμψιψ μπιςνοῦ ντενεϕωηρι.**

Deut. 5:25 **οὐοῖ †νοῦ μηποτε ντενμοῦ δε-ϕναμονκ-
τεν εβολ νδε-παϊνιψ† νχρωμ.**

Gen. 33:13 (If I guide them...) **σεναμοῦ.**

Num. 14:41 **πετενμωιτ νασωοῦτεν αν.**

Ex. 4:8f. **εψωπ δε ντοῦψτεμναῖ† εροκ δεντςμνη μπιμ-
hini νροῖτ σεναναῖ† εροκ δεντςμνη μπιμhini μμαδ-β.**

Num. 22:4 **†νοῦ ταϊςναγωγη ναλεδξ-νη τηροῦ ετκω†
ερον...**

Ex. 1:10 **...οὐοῖ αῦψανβωτς ερον σεναψενωοῦ εβολ
δενπενκαῖ.**

Gen. 18:14 **μη οὐον-οῦσαῖ ναερ-ατδουοῦ.**

Ex. 33:16 **πως σναψωπι εσοῦονξ εβολ νταϕμμη δε-
αιῖιμι νοῦξμοτ νναῖρακ...**

Num. 23:19 **μη ϕναῖρι αν...ϕνασαῖ.**

Ex. 16:4 **επῖνταῖοντοῦ δε-αν-σεναμωψι ψαν-μμον.**

Num. 16:22 (if one has sinned,) **αν-πδωντ μπῶϛ ναι εδεν-
†ῶναγωγη τηρς.**

For να-Future statements explicating, specifying and detailing pre-
ceding εϕε- statements, see below.

(f) Absolute-Definite and Contingent-Indefinite Futures Combined/ Opposed

Here is a stylistically and poetically important phenomenon, which must be considered a stylistic/rhetorical figure. The evident structuring indicates that this is no less than a macrosyntactic (textual) patterning. (In fact, these figures serve to corroborate the functional statements made above about the respective Future forms):

(1) **να- > εϕε-: να-: chain-opening; typically locutive.**

εϕε-: sequelling, follow-up, dénouement, summing-up.

also used to achieve a crescendo rhetorical effect.

Examples (selected from among many others):

Gen. 7:4 **ετι γαρ κε-7-εξουοῦ †ναῖνι νταῖιδ οὐοῖ εἰεεν-
νενψηρι μπιςλ.**

Gen. 4:14 **ιςδε χναῖιττ μῦοοῦ εβολ ραπξο μπκαῖρι οὐοῖ
εἰεχωπ εβολ ... οὐοῖ εἰεψωπι εἰϕιαξομ...**

Gen. 40:13 **ετι κε-ῖ νεξουοῦ ϕναερῦμεῖ νδε-ῦαραω ντε-
καρχη οὐοῖ εϕεχακ ... οὐοῖ εκε†... οὐοῖ εκεῖρι νδῆητκ...
οὐοῖ εκεερ-ῦμεῖ ... οὐοῖ εκεεντ ...**

(2) εφε- > να- (> εφε-).

να- a “Micro-Future” explicating/specifying/detailing a preceding εφε- “Macro-Future” statement:

Gen. 41:40f. **ΝΘΟΚ ΕΚΕΨΩΠΙ ΕΞΕΝΠΑΝΙ ... ΖΗΠΠΕ †ΝΑΧΩ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΦΟΟΘ ΕΞΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡΩ ΝΧΗΜΙ.**

Lev. 26:6 **ΟΘΟΖ ΕΙΕ† ΝΟΨΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΙΞΕΝΠΕΤΕΝΚΑΖ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΝΚΟΤ ΝΝΕΩΨΩΠΙ ΝΞΕ-ΦΗ ΕΤΝΟΨΩΠ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΙΘΗ-ΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΩΩΘ †ΝΑΤΑΚΩΘ.**

Ex. 19:12f. **ΞΕΝΟΨΜΟΨ ΕΦΕΜΟΨ ΞΕΝ-ΖΑΝΩΝΙ ΣΕΝΑΣΕΤ-ΩΝΙ ΕΡΟΩ ΙΕ ΞΕΝΖΑΝΣΟΘΝΕΩ ΣΕΝΑΞΕΛΚ-ΣΟΘΝΕΩ ΕΡΟΩ.**

Ex. 7:3f. **ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΕΙΕΘΡΕΠΖΗΤ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ ΝΨΟΤ ΟΘΟΖ †ΝΑΘΡΟΨΑΨΑΙ ΝΞΕ-ΝΑΜΗΝΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΨΦΗΡΙ ΞΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΝΕΩΣΩΤΕΜ ΝΣΑΘΗΝΟΨ ΝΞΕ-ΦΑΡΑΩ ΟΘΟΖ †ΝΑΙΝΙ ΝΤΑΞΙΞ ΕΞΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΙΕΕΝΝΤΑΞΟΜ (sic) ΠΑ-ΛΑΟΣ ΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΜΠΙΣΑ ΕΒΟΛ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΕΨΕΕΜΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝΞΕ-ΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ΞΕ-ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΘΣ ΕΤΣΩΟΨΤΕΝ ΝΤΑΞΙΞ ΕΞΕΝ-ΧΗΜΙ** — this is a particularly instructive example, with a sophisticated interplay of the two Futures, in a double ascending contour: the last Absolute-Definite Future is certainly the culmination of a dramatic rhetorical buildup. Consider also Ex. 3:20ff.

Obs.

(1) Cases like Ex. 32:34 **†ΝΟΨ ΞΕ ΜΑΨΕΝΑΚΟΨΟΖ ΣΙΜΩΙΤ ΞΑΞΩΩ ΜΠΙΛΑΟΣ ... ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙΣ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΦΕΡΨΟΡΠ ΜΜΩΨ ΞΑΞΩΚ ΞΕΝΠΕΖΟΟΨ ΔΕ Ε†ΝΑΞΕΜΨΩΙΝΙ †ΝΑΙΝΙ ΠΟΨΝΟΒΙ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΞΩΨ,** or Ex.33:20 **ΝΝΕΩΨΞΕΜ-ΞΟΜ ΝΝΑΨ ... ΟΨ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΝ-ΡΩΜΙ ΝΑΝΑΨ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΕΩΩΝΞ** are different from the configuration just described, for here the Contingent-Indefinite Future really belongs to a new syntactic unit or chunk, being a clear delimiter demarcating it from the unit containing the Absolute-Definite Future. Zach. 3:8f. (B4, P Vat. copto 9) **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ †ΝΑΙΝΙ ... ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΙΕΨΩΚ ... ΟΘΟΖΕ ΕΙΕΞΕΜΞΟΜ** may be a case of configuration (1); the Greek has here twice the Present tense following ἰδοῦ.

(2) The alternation of the two Futures in the prophecy of Daniel 8:19ff. (ed. Bardelli) is instructive — the presented Contingent-Indefinite Future opens the subtext, and then replaces the Absolute-Definite Future for modified and thematized prophetic predictions: **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ †ΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ ... ΕΦΕΤΩΝΩ ... ΞΕΝΤΕΩΞΟΜ ΑΝ ΦΝΑΤΑΚΟ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΕΦΕΟΖΙ ... ΕΦΕΛΙΑΙ.** Consider also the whole of Chapter Eleven.

(3) French “*Écoute maman, je vais mettre ma pélerine avec le capuchon et Lili prendra celle de Paul*” (Pagnol) illustrates nicely both the personal shift and the sequelling/superordinating factor.

(3) Gen. 34:11-12, 15, 16 (generally = Vat) is perhaps the most literarily striking and instructive, if difficult instance, bringing home conjointly (a) the neutralization of the interlocutive/delocutive parameter in the Absolute-Definite Future, (b) the difference in tone, perhaps modal-

ity between the two Futures — Jacob's sons using the confident, unconditional Absolute-Definite Future, Sicheim the hesitant, even fawning, tentative, suggestive Contingent-Indefinite Future — and (c), the detailing, specifying *Aktionsart* role of the Contingent-Indefinite Future against the complexive *Aktionsart* of the Absolute-Definite Future:

Sicheim: ΜΑΤΑΨΕΤΕCΘΡΗΘΙ ΟΤΟZ ΤΕΝΝΑΤΗC ... ΟΤΟZ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕ† ΝΤΑΙΛΛΟΤ ΝΗΙ ΝΟΤCΖΙΜΙ...

Jacob's sons' deceitful ruse: ΞΕΝΦΔΙ ΕΝΕΙΝΙ ΜΜΩΤΕΝ ΟΤΟZ ΕΝΕΨΩΠΙ ΞΕΝΘΗΝΟΤ ... ΟΤΟZ ΤΕΝΝΑ† ΝΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΩΤΕΝ ÷ ΤΕΝΝΑCΙCΖΙΜΙ ... ΟΤΟZ ΕΝΕΨΩΠΙ ΞΕΝΘΗΝΟΤ ΕΝΕΕΡΜΦΡΗ† ΝΟΤΓΕΝΟC ΝΟΤΩΤ.

Note Sicheim's recycled version (verses 22f.), reporting this conversation, emotionally involved(?) in the Contingent-Indefinite Future: ΜΟΝΟΝ ΞΕΝΦΔΙ CΕΝΑΙΝΙ ΜΜΟΝ ... ΜΟΝΟΝ ΞΕΝΦΔΙ ΜΑΡΕΝΙΝΙ ΜΜΩΟΤ ΟΤΟZ CΕΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ.

(4) Some cases of striking paradigmatic oppositions of the two Futures:

Gen. 29:32 ΔΕ-†ΝΟΤ QΝΑΜΕΝΡΙΤ

locutive, naming explication

Gen. 49:29 ΑΝΟΚ CΕΝΑΧΑΤ...ΘΟΜCΤ

Gen. 13:17 ΔΕ-†ΝΑΤΗΙQ ΝΑΚ

explicative and specifying

Gen. 46:31 †ΝΑΨΕΝΗΙ ΝΤΑΤΑΜΕΦΔΑΡΑΩ

locutive, intention

Gen. 30:20 ΝΔΡΗΙ ΞΕΝΠΑΙCΗΟΤ ΝΤΕ†ΝΟΤ

ΕQΕΜΕΝΡΙΤ: non-explicative (sim. 29:34)

Gen. 50:5 ΕΡΕΤΕΝΘΟΜCΤ

reported recycled instruction

Gen. 13:15 ΕΙΕΤΗΙQ ΝΑΚ

solemn declaration

Gen. 45:28 ΕΙΕΨΕΝΗΙ ΝΤΑΝΑΨ ΕΡΟQ ΜΠΑ†-ΜΟΤ

sequelling, relieved rhetorical exclamation, upon learning that Joseph is alive: "Now I can go and see him..."

1.2.5.2 The Present, Non-Actual Present and Aorist

(a) The Rheme in the so-called Coptic Present nexus pattern is, formally, a rhematic **converb** either the Stative — Static Converb — or the "adverbial infinitive", "gerund": the Dynamic Converb, homonym of the verb lexeme ("substantival infinitive")⁸⁵, the adverbiality of which is synchronically immanent⁸⁶. The whole nexus is eminently comparable

⁸⁵ For the term, its applications and related topics, see HASPELMATH and KÖNIG (eds.), esp. 1995.

⁸⁶ Cf., for the immanence of adverbiality, the more marginal, but analogue case of ΤΗΡ=, an adverb-slot pronominal-cohesion Augens (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:171ff.) which is historically traceable to a prepositional phrase (*r-drw*). Cf. STRUCKER 1962:46 §60.

to the English progressive (and, historically, to Goidelic and Brythonic Celtic periphrastic Present tenses). Since it is the only real Present form in Coptic, it cannot be simply characterized as durative or progressive. However, there are in Coptic instances of the Present used generically, as a Non-Actual Present tense, and formal features coupled with this reading; which raises a synchronic question of its relationship with the Aorist, and a diachronic one of the existence and history of the “affirmative generic” verbal feature.

Obs.

(1) On the adverbiality of the Present-matrix Rheme, see SCHENKEL 1978. Against POLOTSKY 1960:395 (“Within the framework of Coptic there is nothing adverbial about the predicative Infinitive and the Qualitative”; a statement not modified or retracted in 1990:216f., despite the synonymy of “der Adverbialsatz” and “das Präsens”; Polotsky evidently considers both lexical and “Present” “infinitives” identical, for the issue he finds in need of explanation is the *predicativity* of the latter), I agree with Schenkel. that the “infinitive is adverbial”, both historically and synchronically: in fact, it is not an infinitive but a converb. Its adverbiality is complex, syntagmatic-and-paradigmatic. (This is by the way nice example for the multi-dimensional “holistic” profile of a grammatical element, with the diachronic dimension present in the structural synchrony, adding “holographic” depth to the synchronic systemic *valeur*). This is not to say that the Present-Rheme converb is synchronically — or ever was — really “locative” (*pace* POLOTSKY 1985c:21); the pattern itself is existential-statal.

(2) We have now, I believe, a good (albeit not final) discussion and documentation of the Generic Present in Demotic: SIMPSON 1996:141ff. (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:118f., 202f.)⁸⁷. This is a distinct form, often or mostly homonymous with the Durative Present, and not a “use” thereof, *pace* DEPUYDT 1994:63ff. (cf. his n.48 on p. 64). Another aoristic “relict” in Bohairic (B4) Coptic with Demotic documentation is the participial ⲉⲡ- (SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:315f.).

(3) For the “durative” and generic use of the Present in Shenoutean Sahidic, see YOUNG 1961, with a Present/Aorist variation and distribution thesis. My own findings point rather to a lexical-semantic factor of difference in Theme constituency for the opposition range: human agency in the Present, “natural” non-human (e.g. astronomical, plant, animal, Satanic...) for the Aorist.

(4) I use “actual”, of the Present, in the sense of “tense-specific and actualized by coincidence with a Speaker’s ‘now’”; and not as Marc Wilmet applies it in his brilliant study of the Scenic Present (WILMET 1976a:9-40).

(5) Variation and *variae lectiones* of Aorist and Present are rare in the Bohairic ⲙⲧ. An interesting case is the Bohairic for “which is called...” and similar: ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ (e.g. Mt. 26:36, Luke 2:4, 9:10 etc.) alongside ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ (etc.) Mt. 27:33, Luke 19:29, 26:3:14 v.l. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ, Acts 10:1; with ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲣⲙ “translate, render” we invariably find the Aorist: (ⲉⲩ) ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲉⲣⲙⲉⲥ ⲉⲩⲉ... etc. Acts 9:36, 13:8, 1 John 38:42 etc.

⁸⁷ An additional example, with a striking contrast between the actual and the generic for the same verb, is NHC III 139 ⲡⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲟⲩ.

(6) Luke 7:8 is a nice example for the opposition of Present to sequencing Aorist within the [+ HUMAN] range: †ⲫⲥⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲫⲁⲓ ⲫⲉⲙⲁⲩⲉⲛⲁⲕ ⲩⲁⲩⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲉⲙⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲩⲁⲩⲓ.

(b) The Aorist **ⲩⲁⲩⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ** / **ⲙⲫⲁⲩⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ** — a Coptic tense-form not matched by a special correspondent in the Greek — is formally and functionally complicated, by no means a “simple” generic tense (if generic tenses can ever be simple): see SHISHA-HALEVY 2003a, for the Aorist in Oxyrhynchite. **ⲩⲁⲩⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ** and **ⲙⲫⲁⲩⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ** diverge sharply, and indeed constitute two autonomous formal-functional verbal entities. Like the Absolute-Definite Future **ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ**, the affirmative Aorist contains a **sequencing** syntactic component, probably associated with the diachronic conjunction or converter *hr*. As a matter of fact, I believe *hr*, from early Egyptian on but especially in Late Egyptian, to be a **superordinating** element rather than a coordinating one. Its sequencing role, prominent in the affirmative **ⲩⲁⲩ** — not however in **ⲙⲫⲁⲩ** — derives from this superordination. More than with most tenses, the asymmetry between the negative and affirmative “correspondents” is here marked. The affirmative Aorist is among the “newest” tense-forms of Egyptian-Coptic; it does not exist as a separate morphological category in LE⁸⁸. The negative **ⲙⲫⲁⲩ**-, on the other hand, is extremely old, and goes back, formally and functionally, directly and exactly to the O/ME negative generic *n sdm.n.f*, well discussed by B. Gunn in his *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1924:110ff.). Functionally, the two could not be more dissimilar. Differently from **ⲩⲁⲩ**-, **ⲙⲫⲁⲩⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ** has a prominent “inability” and “impossibility” seme, with perhaps an “against nature” subseme; an emphatically negative (“by no means”) quality, not unlike that of **ⲛⲛⲉⲩ**-, is also in evidence. Most significantly, **ⲙⲫⲁⲩ**- (exceedingly rare in Nitrian) is, as said, not sequencing or ensuing like **ⲩⲁⲩ**-, although it does (like many other unmarked forms) occur apodotically to **ⲁⲩⲩⲁⲛ**-; unlike **ⲩⲁⲩ**-, **ⲙⲫⲁⲩ**- often occurs initially in its cotextual unit.

The *convertibility* of the Aorist is limited. The relative of **ⲩⲁⲩ**- occurs in a few formalized fixed phrases, while the adverbial *Circumstantial* conversion of **ⲩⲁⲩ**- is rare or non-occurring; this, possibly related to the inbuilt sequencing role, associates the form yet again with the **ⲉⲩⲉ**- Future. The adverbial *Circumstantial* of the Aorist is very rare, if at

⁸⁸ The OE and ME *ju.f sdm.f* is a complex periphrastic form, meaning “nexus in the Present” — the present occurrence and validity of a converb (*Circumstantial sdm.f*); it is non-sequencing.

all attested. The Focalizing Conversion $\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa$ - is well attested. $\mu\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa$ - is not Evolution Mode narrative (see above). The conversion of $\mu\pi\alpha\kappa$ - is similarly rare: its Focalizing Conversion is not attested (a fact arguably associated with the historical “emphatic” component of the form). $\mu\epsilon$ - $\mu\pi\alpha\kappa$ - is rare in Bohairic, and seems to be attested in Nitrian only⁸⁹. However, the Circumstantial is fairly common. Observe that it is the Relative Present, not the Aorist that normally occurs as Topic, pointing to the suppletive role of the Present.

Obs.

(1) Generic vs. “Episodic” Tenses. Gnomic, Generic and “Habitual” tenses. Genericity and Statives, in general: DAHL 1995; cf. especially 417ff. Coptic, like Hindi and Turkish (among other languages)⁹⁰, offers the opposition of a non-generic Present and a generic “Aorist”. The “Imperfect” tense is basically non-generic (DAHL 1995:419f.; cf. RUIPÉREZ 1992 §275). See also DAHL 1995:420ff., 424 with reffs., on the relationship between generics and habituais, which are temporal generic sentences. The diachronic evolution or — in terms of primary/secondary functions — even diachronic “direction” is held to be “generic from habitual”; the “past of a general habitual” (our $\mu\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa$ -). KRIFKA *et al.* 1995, esp. 36ff. Note in particular the role of actant categorization [+ NATURAL], with cases of [+ HUMAN] as “animal”, in the opposition of Aorist and Present in Coptic. I find good contrastive semantic definitions in SMITH 1997:33f. “a pattern of events other than a specific situation [denoting] a state that holds consistently over an interval” for habituais, but “[generics] ascribe a property to a class or kind...the verb constellations of generic sentences are usually associated with dynamic situation types at the basic level of classification”. Gnomic, generic and omnitemporal (in English): DECLERCK 1991:280ff. For French, KLEIBER 1987 on the semantics of habituais. (Ch. I on habituality and genericity — both, according to Kleiber, subcategories of gnomicity, itself opposed to “episodicity”; Ch. IV on habituais and “frequentatives”).

(2) On the Greek Gnomic Aorist, see GILDERSLEEVE 1903: 244f., not always really matching the Coptic Aorist; PORTER 1989:217ff., 233ff. (NT Greek); RUUGH 1971 §231ff. (“faits itératifs permanents”, constituted by “un nombre indéterminé de répétitions du procès”; §237 comp. with the “historical Present”); RUKSBARON 1988:245 n.14 and further literature (consider the apodotic *Iliad* θ 412, quoted in RUKSBARON 1988:412); COMRIE 1990; HOFFMANN 1983:4ff. on the Greek Present, Aorist and Future, the ἀοριστία common to them and the Present as an “extensive” (παρατατικός) tense. See BARRI 1981:4f. for the Modern Greek “Aoristic Present” (“indefinite, general non-past reference”, often futuric).

(3) On the Gnomic Aorist in Vedic, sequencing as well as generic, I quote Saul Migron (letter of May 2001): “Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax* p. 288 gives two Vedic prose examples of the aorist which Musić, IFAnz 5.91 characterizes as gnomic. Delbrück merely

⁸⁹ An instance is Mac., p. 160 No. 29 fgt. 3.

⁹⁰ Cf. PSICHARI 1908:188 “Il y a donc des coïncidences fortuites entre des langues qui n'ont entre elles aucun contact historique. Par exemple l'aoriste gnomique est très employé en turc osmanli...et n'a rien de commun avec l'aoriste gnomique ancien”, a nice insight encountered in a monograph on the grammatical independence of Septuagint Greek, by a Neohellenic philologist.

notes that a certain sequence which often appears in discussions of the ritual... is often found 'ausserhalb des eigentlichen Rituals'. I call this 'the aorist of assured result'. Its global aspect renders the aorist suitable for serving as the 'pre-t' tense in Old Indian (=time of reference; cf. Gonda, *The Aspectual Function of the Rgvedic Present and Aorist*, IV: 'The Aorist of the Antecedent Process'). It is worth considering whether the Coptic (and earlier Egyptian) Aorist, expressing the immediate desirable result of magical or medical procedures ("ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲗⲟ" etc.), is not comparable. In Migron's words "Operation *p* has been/is performed, (thereby) result *q* has been/is produced". Note the definition of generic tenses as "naturally inevitable" or "essentially inevitable" (in DAHL 1995). The alleged future meaning of the Aorist (for which, see also the Gunn Papers in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, VII 63) must derive from this relative temporal quality.

(4) On genericity as a component of temporal (non-)specificity, see MUMM 1995: 170ff.; ANSCOMBRE 1986a,b; HOPPER and THOMPSON 1980:251ff.

(5) The Aorist is not the only sequencing form in Egyptian. This is in fact a typologically important category in Coptic and pre-Coptic Egyptian: the Conjunctive (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1995), The Absolute-Definite Future (above), Apodotic ⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ (SHISHA-HALEVY 1973); in LE, the Sequential *jw.f hr sdm*. Indeed, S. Groll's "Non-Initial Main Clause" for LE, while leaning over too dangerously to translation-inspired terminology, must be decoded as "sequencing".

(6) Tait 1977 claims sequencing function for the Demotic *bw-jr* base, which expresses "the result that will *not* follow provided one obeys an instruction given in the first half of the line...or provided one is the kind of person specified in the first half".

(7) The special combination of the sequencing (syntactic) and generalizing (semantic) natures of the Aorist is not a matter of neutralization (*pace* DEPUYDT 1989:16ff.), since they are not anywhere in opposition. More importantly, Depuydt seems to mistake the quintessentially Egyptian *syntactic* feature of sequencing for *semantic* "contingence". In fact, Depuydt seems to continue therein Polotsky's "ein Contingens" of the Aorist (POLOTSKY 1985c:22) which is meant semantically, as a feature of "potential/uncertain occurrence" (almost synonymous with "Potentialis"). Polotsky seems to consider the apodotic role of the Aorist central and even quintessential (1990:194). Cases of non-generic/non-habitual sequentiality are legion (so Crum's marginal note on his copy of Stern's grammar, at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, p. 218)⁹¹. On the other hand, Depuydt is way off the mark when he writes of the "implied condition" in the Aorist (1993:208ff.): this is trivializing, since a conditional implication is inherent in genericity itself, as indeed is potentiality, futurity and so on.

(8) GREEN 1987:89 (cogently reviewed by H. Satzinger in 1991 in *BiOr* 48:143-148) seems to have the sequencing retrodependence of the Aorist in mind when he defines its essential semantics as the "expression of a 'fact' in the form of a neutral ('indicative') statement which expresses the logical consequence or deduction stemming from the premise(s) expressed in the preceding statement(s)".

(9) Extratemporality (KOSCHMIEDER 1965) is the Aorist's main semantic distinctive feature; its habitual reference is usually contextual (see POLOTSKY 1959:460; YOUNG 1961: 118 n.17): I believe it is in essence a generic, not habitual form.

⁹¹ Incidentally, Depuydt's treatment (1989:23f.) of ⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲡⲉ (and ⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲡⲉ, as if the personal parameter here is of no account) as "contingent future" is for me unacceptable, and underlines the pervasive confusion of syntactic and semantic consideration; ⲡⲉ superordinates here the future *in apodosi*.

(10) On the problematic conversion system of the Aorist, also historically, see QUECKE 1979:441.

(c) The Aorist: token documentation

Somewhat surprisingly, the dialogic Aorist seems to be rarer in the corpus than the narrative one (see above). In narrative Comment and Evolution Mode, the affirmative Aorist most typically expresses explicative extranarrative information (Comment Mode, Omniscient Narrator's Channel); non-specific action or marked inevitable resultative sequel in Evolution Mode; prenarrative cosmological reality (creation geographics):

Affirmative

(1) The Sequelling Aorist (in exposition)

Gen. 31:8 apodotic: **ΕΨΩΠ ΑΡΨΑΝΔΟΣ ΔΕ-ΝΙΑΘΥΙΑΟΥΤΑΝ ΕΨΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΑΚ ΜΒΕΧΕ ΨΑΡΕΝΙΕΣΩΘ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΜΕΣ-ΛΟΥΙΑΟΥΤΑΝ.**

Ex. 18:16 apodotic: **ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΟΥΑΝΤΙΛΟΓΙΑ ΨΩΠΙ ΟΨΤΩΟΨ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΟΨΙ ΖΑΡΟΙ ΨΑΙΝΕΤΨ-ΠΙΟΨΑΙ ΠΙΟΨΑΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΑΤΣΑΒΩΟΨ...**

Num. 12:6 apodotic: **ΕΨΩΠ ΑΡΨΑΝΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΟΨΠΡΟΨΗ-ΤΗΣ ΝΤΩΤΕΝ ΔΕΝΟΨΖΟΡΟΜΑΨ ΨΑΙΟΨΟΝΖΤ ΕΡΟΨ ΟΘΟΖ ΨΑΙ-ΣΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΑΨ.**

Deut. 16:19 **ΝΙΑΩΡΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΨΑΨΨΘΑΜ ΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ ΝΤΕΝΙΣΑ-ΒΕΨ ΨΑΨΤΑΚΟ ΝΝΙΣΑΔΙ ΝΘΜΗ** (Greek και ἐξαίρει...).

(2) Habitual

Deut. 5:24 **ΨΑΡΕΨ† ΣΑΔΙ ΝΕΜ ΡΩΜΙ.**

Negative: Impossibility

Gen. 18:12 ...**ΕΣΔΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ-ΜΠΑΡΕΨΑΙ ΨΩΠΙ ΜΜΟΙ ΨΑ†-ΝΟΨ ΠΑΨ† ΔΕ ΑΨΕΡΔΕΛΛΟ** (Greek Perfect: γέγονε).

The temporal adverb here is interesting: probably not “this has not happened to me until now” (as in the Greek, unless the Perfect here too has a generic-potential role), but “this has not been possible for me so far”.

Gen. 29:26 **ΠΕΔΕΛΑΒΑΝ ΔΕ ΔΕ-ΜΠΑΣΨΩΠΙ ΔΕΝΠΑΙΜΑ Ε† Ν†ΚΟΨΔΙ ΜΠΑΤΕΝ† Ν†ΝΙΨ†** (Greek οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως δοῦναι τὴν νεωτέραν πρὶν ἢ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν — infinitive, expressing impossibility or rather formal negative obligation = prohibition).

Converted negative (Relative):

Lev. 11:47 **ΔΕΝΘΜΗ† ΝΝΗ ΕΤΤΑΝΔΟ ΝΕΜ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΜΠΑΨΜΟΨ** (Greek τῶν ζωογονούντων).

Num. 20:5 **ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΕΜΠΑΨΣΙ† ΜΜΟΨ ΟΨΔΕ ΜΜΟΝ-ΚΕΝΤΕ ΝΔΗΤΨ** (Greek τόπος οὗ οὐ σπείρεται).

Note here the combination with an existential statement, very different from the Present, in that it neutralizes the actual vs. non-actual (generic) distinction.

(d) The Non-Actual Present

As said, the Aorist is typically generic-potential, while the Present is — again, typically or rather statistically — non-generic, actualized, more specific. Yet I suspect the Present Tense is functionally more complicated and less monolithic than it is generally made out to be. The actual or statal Present is in Coptic generally taken to be representative of the Present *tout court*; this, I suggest, is erroneous.

The case for the **generic, non-durative or non-actual (or better yet, non-statal Present)**, elusive like a hypothetical sub-atomic particle, is still frail, if striking yet rare cases like the Shenoutean Sahidic ⲉⲡⲡⲱⲧ (ed. Amél. I 276, II 33; cf. FUNK 1978a:106 n.68.; SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:125f.) are all there is to go on for establishing this formal entity (corroboration of which is now forthcoming from Demotic:) beyond doubt. Still, I suggest the Stern-Jernstedt Rule may be broadly applied as a diagnostic. Being a prime symptom of durativity (SHISHA-HALEVY *ibid.*), its negation in the solid evidence-base of cases like “ⲓⲟⲩⲉⲙ-ⲁⲓ”, i.e. the Present with a rhematic transitive converb directly attached (expanded) to a *zero*-determined nominal object — one of Jernstedt's original exception sub-rules — is a powerful criterion: for while the *zero* determinator is here arguably the genericity marker for the whole syntagm, this is semantically not a neutralization of the actual vs. non-actual opposition: **it is non-actual only** (with the object actant overtly signalling this). Or, put more precisely, it has a *generic reading*. Obviously, for other constructions the actual vs. generic opposition is indeed neutralized in the form itself. The case of ⲟⲩⲱⲩ is even more interesting: this verb occurs rhematically only in non-actual nexus (cf. the exclusion in some types of English of {*want, wish, love...*} from the progressive verbal pattern). So do of course certain movement-semantic lexemes (like ⲉⲓ, ⲃⲱⲕ, ⲡⲱⲧ) where a Stative static converb represents both dynamic and statal verbal Rhemes.

Obs.

(1) I believe the historical existence of a formal/functional generic or non-actual Present has now been conclusively established at the Demotic stage by Robert Simpson (1996:141, §9.4, with references). It would seem this form was marginalized and almost ousted in Coptic by the Aorist, except for *zero*-article object cases.

(2) The “Antecedentless Relative” and “Adverbial” roles of ⲉⲓ- (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1975, 1976) appear to be cases of the Generic or Non-Actual Present, and may, I suggest, be taken as corroborating its existence.

- (3) Bohairic seems to maintain the Present vs. Aorist opposition more carefully than Sahidic (cf. exx. in POLOTSKY 1990:196f.).
- (4) JERNSTEDT 1927 does not explicitly mention *zero* article as a decisive factor in the alternation of object constructions. Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:113ff.
- (5) The full case of the "violation" of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule and other diathesis features as symptomatic of the Non-actual Present still remains to be presented. Cf. also BROWNE 1978:248 and 1979:53 No. 13 ro 4 (+ ed.'s note, p.55f.). Cases like Shenoute ed. Young (Vienna 1993) 69 $\alpha\phi\sigma\omega\epsilon\eta\zeta\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ "he has already died" are any-thing but rare.
- (6) It is in the B4 Early-Bohairic John that almost all Bohairic instances of the formally marked cases of Circumstantial non-actual Present as complement of $\sigma\omega$ are concentrated, in an impressive strength of documentation (kindly re-collated by the editor at my request): $\lambda\iota\sigma\omega\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\varsigma$ 9:27; $\lambda\iota\sigma\omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma\delta\eta\tau\eta$ 19:22 (immediate object construction), and $\lambda\phi\sigma\omega\epsilon\eta\mu\sigma$ 19:33, $\lambda\sigma\omega\epsilon\varsigma$ 16:32 (infinitive, not Stative, with intransitives). See FUNK 1977:33 n. 49.
- (7) A brief word on the pre-Coptic career and formal/functional details of the non-durative Present. The first indicative trait may be very early: B. Gunn (Gunn MSS V 74, The Griffith Institute, Oxford) *ad* Gardiner, *Grammar* §304, 2: "*m* replaces *hr* with *intransitive* verbs of motion" (Gunn's italics). See COLLIER 1994:60ff. on the distinction of grammemic ("aspectual") and lexemic homonyms of this element, and the different infinitive paradigms respectively following the two. I fully agree with WINAND 1997:229 that the LE post-negator *jwn3* can on no account be seen as a durative marker. What is needed is a generous collection of *hr*-converbs for intransitives at the ME and LE phases.
- (8) For the famous correlation of a "partitive" object (cf. Coptic N- $\mu\mu\sigma$) and durativity or "imperfectivity" in Finnish and Estonian, cf. HOPPER and THOMPSON 1980:264f.
- (9) See YOUNG 1961 for a structural, corpus-based study of the specific value of the Shenoutean Aorist as opposed to the Present (animals incl. the Devil, inanimates, natural phenomena — the Aorist; humans — the Present). The Aorist in these cases is clearly not a "Potentialis", even in allegories or parables — for this see a nice instance in BEHLMER 1996:106f. (the shepherd with the sheep and rams). In the NT, the Present:Aorist opposition must yet be studied. An especially intriguing case is $\epsilon\tau\mu\sigma\tau/\epsilon\tau\sigma\tau\mu\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\omicron\kappa$ vs. $\epsilon\psi\alpha\tau\mu\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\omicron\kappa$ (e.g. Mt. 26:3:14:36, Luke 2:4, 9:10, 19:29 etc.).

Some examples:

Gen. 42:1f. $\varsigma\epsilon\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\sigma\sigma\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$.

Gen. 42:16 $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\theta\mu\eta\iota\psi\alpha\eta\mu\mu\omicron\eta$.

Gen. 42:18 $\Phi\tau\text{-}\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\text{-}\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\sigma\tau\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta$.

Observe that the opposition of Actual vs. Non-actual Present is limited to the dynamic verbal Rhemes; the Stative (as also the non-verbal adverbial) Rheme occurs in actual and non-actual semantics:

Gen. 6:20 $\eta\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda$ (Greek $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$) the generic Relative Present.

Gen. 34:10 $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\psi\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omega\eta\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\theta\omicron$.

Lev. 15:2 $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha\delta\epsilon\mu$.

Gen. 26:28 **ΣΕΝΟΘΝΑΘ ΑΝΝΑΘ ΔΕ-ΝΑΡΕ-Φ† ΧΗ ΝΕΜΑΚ** (Greek ὅτι ἦν κύριος μετὰ σοῦ).

Ex. 33:21 **ΟΘΟΝ-ΟΘΜΑ ΧΗ ΖΑΡΟΚ** (Greek ἰδοὺ τόπος παρ' ἐμοί).

Ex. 23:21 **ΠΑΡΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΧΗ ΣΙΔΩΚ** (Greek τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα μου ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ).

But may also occur unmediated:

Gen. 42:35 **ΝΑΡΕ-ΦΜΟΥΡ ΜΠΖΑΤ ΜΠΙΟΥΑΙ ΠΙΟΥΑΙ ΣΕΝΠΕΓ-СОК.**

Gen. 18:9 **ΙC ΖΗΠΠΕ CΕΝΣΟΘΝ ΣΕΝ†CΚΗΝΗ.**

A tentative impressionistic statement may be made concerning the (at least partial) disparity of the adverbial list occurring as Rhemes in the respective constructions, but they seem to overlap (again, partially). Another statement may consider **ΧΗ** (typical of a Divine Locutor or Partner?) clearly marked as physically localizing, while *zero* (for we may in Bohairic take the absence of a copula in the slot in point as *zero*) neutralizes some distinction concerning the nature of rhematic localization in this nexus pattern.

1.2.5.4 The Imperfect in Dialogue

This issue is keenly interesting, in view of the *zero* vs. **ΠΕ** opposition discovered in Narrative (above, §1.1), and the fact that **ΝΑΓ-**, even in Narrative, is not concatenating. In fact, these questions touch the core of the theory of textemics, for we see that dialogic **ΝΑΓ-** is still relateable to narrative roles: 1st-person Locutive/Allocutive Narrative, and Dream/Vision Narrative.

(a) **ΝΑΙ/Ν ΕΜΙ ΓΑΡ (ΑΝ) ΠΕ**: background:

Also Gen. 18:19 (God's reason for blessing Abraham).

Gen. 28:16 **ΠΘC ΧΗ ΜΠΑΙΜΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΑΙΕΜΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ.**

Gen. 43:7 **ΜΗ ΝΑΝΕΜΙ ΑΝΟΝ ΠΕ ΔΕ-ΓΗΝΑΔΟC ΝΑΝ ΔΕ-...**

Gen. 3:5 (the snake to Eve) **ΝΑΓΕΜΙ ΓΑΡ**, which has no **ΠΕ** (= Vat), is not difficult, for it is not a background.

(b) Reminiscence, record, history; Recycled Narrative: allocutive only?

— no **ΠΕ**:

Gen. 26:28 **ΣΕΝΟΘΝΑΘ ΑΝΝΑΘ ΔΕ-ΝΑΡΕ-Φ† ΧΗ ΝΕΜΑΚ.**

Deut. 25:18 **ΠΩC ΑΦΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΓ ΟΘΒΗΚ ΖΙΠΜΩΙΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΓ-ΔΩΔΙ ΜΠΕΚCΑΤ ... ΝΘΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΑΚΖΟΚΕΡ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΚΔΟCΙ.**

Deut. 28:62 **ΝΤΨΕΒΙΩ ΔΕ-ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΙ ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΝΙCΙΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΦΕ ΕΤΕCΕΔΠΘΗΝΟΘ...** (Vat + **ΠΕ**):

(c) A special rhetorical *topos*:

ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ ΖΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ ΣΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ Ex. 22:21, Deut. 10:19.

Ex. 23:9 **ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΡΟΧΛΙΤΟΣ ΞΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ ΞΕΝΠ-ΚΑΞΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ.**

... **ΞΕ-ΝΑΚΟΙ ΜΒΩΚ ΠΕ ΞΕΝΠΚΑΞΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ** Ex. 15:15, 16:12, 24:18; 20:21, Deut. 5:15.

Despite their allocutive dialogic guise, these are cases of an embryonic narration, **represented only by its Comment Mode condensation**, rather than dialogue. Or rather, they illustrate the overmapping compatibility of Dialogue and Narrative. They are neatly in contrast with the naming-aetiological **ΝΑΙ-** (no **ΠΕ**), truly focalizing, in

Ex. 18:3 (“ΓΕΡΣΑΜ”) **ΕΦΞΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΞΕ ΝΑΙΟΙ ΝΡΕΜΝΞΩΙΛΙ ΞΕΝΟΥΚΑΞΙ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ.**

(d) Ex. 1:10 **ΝΑΙ ΞΩΟΥ ΝΑϞ†-ΤΟΤΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΝΗ ΕΤ† ΟΥΒΗΝ** (Greek προστεθήσονται καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους) — this unique instance is interesting: The Imperfect seems to express here a **hypothetical scenario**.

Obs.

Ex. 16:3 **ΑΜΟΙ ΕΝΕΞΑΝ- ΠΕ** is modal, and the Imperfect form conditioned.

1.2.5.5 The Preterite **ΑΦΩΤΕΜ** in Dialogue: some problem highlights

Preterite or Perfect? It is easy to forget that **ΑΦΩΤΕΜ**, the Narrative Carrier *par excellence*, also occurs in Dialogue. The first question to be asked is, whether we can find data to specify a formal definition for a reading of **ΑΦ-** as Perfect (i.e. *perfectum praesens*), not Preterite; say, in locutive or presentative environment (Report being such a locutively marked sequence), or combined with **†ΝΟΥ**. Can we contrast — and oppose — the two in Bohairic Coptic? Or else, in such a passage as

Gen. 20:6 **ΑΝΟΚ ΞΩ ΑΙΕΜΙ ΞΕ-ΞΕΝΟΥΞΗΤ ΕΦΟΥΑΒ ΑΚΕΡϞΔΙ ΕΘΒΕϞΔΙ ΑΙ†ΑΣΟ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΠΙΧΑΚ ΕΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΘΒΕϞΔΙ ΜΠΙΧΑΚ ΕΘΙ ΝΕΜΑΣ**

we must reconcile ourselves to a merging neutralization of the two (kept distinct, in an opposition periodically neutralized and periodically renewed, throughout Egyptian diachrony, up to and almost not including Coptic)⁹³. However, numerous cases of “nynegeocentric” (“speaker’s-

⁹³ The periphrastic Perfect, using the auxiliaries **ΚΗΝ** **Ε/Θ-** (Nitrian) or (B4, Pent.) **ΟΥΩ** with the Circumstantial Present converb has in my opinion not yet matured into fully developed Perfect tenses. (**ΟΥΩ** is in all probability an alloform of **ΟΥΩΞ**, the Coptic form of **ⲙⲓⲥⲏ**, the auxiliary of the Demotic periphrastic Perfect tense). See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986:119 n.43, RICHTER 1997/8; LAYTON 2004 §304f. does not refer to a *perfectum praesens* value of the Preterite, yet often translates the form by an English Present Perfect (he describes it as “past tense conjugation”).

here-and-now", Damourette-Pichon's term) may be read as Perfects (quite a few instances have a Perfect or a Present in the Greek *Vorlage*). Note especially *Presentative* occurrences of the Preterite, diagnostic Preterites in Leviticus, and Preterites with presental temporal modification⁹⁴:

ἐνππε ἵνωθ ις αq- / αι- Gen. 27:36, Ex. 3:9, 18:11.

ἐνππε (ις) Ν αq- / ακ- Gen. 19:21:34, 20:16, 27:2, 38:13, Ex. 6:12, 7:1, 18:11, Num. 17:27, 3:12, 18:8, 22:5, 23:11, Deut. 1:21, 2:24:31, 31:14 Gen. 48:11, Ex. 6:12, Lev. 13:8:17:25.

Num. 14:40 ἀνερνοβι.

Gen. 27:36 αqθι-θιβς γαρ μοι φαι φμαρσοπ-β πε.

Ex. 5:23 ιςξεν-εταίωε γαρ εξοσν ξαφαραω εσαξι νε-μαq... αqτξεμκο μπαλλαος ("he has been tormenting").

On the other hand, real Preterite cases have time-specifying modification, or are part of lists:

Num. 20:24 ξε-ατετενοριζωντ ξιξενφμωσ ν†αντι-λογια.

Gen. 21:26 μπιεμι ... οταε νοοκ μπεκταμοι οταε ανοκ μπισωτεμ.

Obs.

The basic question here, of course, is whether the perfectal reading of αq-, triggered by environmental signalling, is due to an innate component, diachronically isolable, or to the environment alone.

⁹⁴ RAUH 1978:9ff., 21ff. rejects the possibility of combining past tense with non-past adverbials.

RHEMES AND RHEMATICITY: NEXUS PATTERNS.
THE NOMINAL SENTENCE. FOCALIZATION;
ISSUES OF NEGATIVITY

2.0 Rhemes and rhematicity

2.0.1 Basics of Coptic rhematicity

2.0.2 Existence. The Statal-Existential nexus pattern

2.0.3 Presentation: ρⲏⲡⲓⲉ, ⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩⲏⲓ

2.1 (Pro)Noun rhemes: the Nominal Sentence

2.1.0.1 Preliminary

2.1.0.2 Patterning in general

2.1.0.3 Research history

2.1.1 The Delocutive Pattern set

(I) The Delocutive Pattern, Theme anaphoric: # rheme ⲡⲉ # (1)

(Ia) The Delocutive Pattern, anaphoric Theme zeroed: # Rheme — zero Theme#

(II) The Delocutive Pattern, Theme expanding the cataphoric formal Theme:

Rheme ⲡⲉ Theme

(III) The Delocutive Pattern, Theme topicalized: # Theme (Topic) Rheme ⲡⲉ #

(IV) The Delocutive Pattern: Theme endophoric: # Rheme ⲡⲉ # (2);

(IVa) the Endophoric Pattern topicalized: # Topic Rheme ⲡⲉ#

(V) The Delocutive Pattern: Immutable ("pragmatic-situation" / exophoric)
Theme (ⲡⲉ): # Rheme ⲡⲉ # (3)

(VI) The Copular Pattern: # Theme — copular ⲡⲉ — Rheme #

(VII) Special nexal patterns with no formal Theme or Copula

2.1.1.1 Some assorted configurations: transitions between Delocutive Nominal-Sentence patterns / macrosyntactic patternings; paradigmatic oppositions

2.1.2 The Interlocutive Pattern set

2.2.1 Verbal copular elements in Bohairic: ⲟⲓ ⲛ- / ⲉⲣ-: incidental (circum-stance-referred, non-inherent) noun predication

2.2.2 ϭⲏ, ϩⲟⲡ

2.3 Rhematicity-marking ⲛ-

2.4 Focalization

2.4.1 Focalization (I): the Focus-initial, Relative-Topic Cleft Sentence: a basic formal-functional account

2.4.2 Focalization (II): the Focalizing Conversion (*alias* "second tense"): a basic account

2.4.3 The Focalizing Conversion and negation

2.4.4 The topicalized or focalized (so-called tautological) infinitive

2.4.5 Focussing particles. The Augens

2.4.6 Issues of negativity: negator morphology. Negation and focalization

2.4.7 Focalization and topicalization: some observations

2.0.1 Basics of Coptic Rhematicity

The Theme and the Rheme are the basic constituents of clausal-scope information structure. They constitute the nexus terms: the Theme is the information base, a higher-*signifiant* of “what the nexus is about”, and the Rheme the higher-*signifiant* of “what is the message or point made about the Theme”. The nexus itself, the (inter)dependence of Theme and Rheme, is an additional, grammemic constituent, *signifié* of a copula (which is not always segmentally present in Coptic nexal patterns) or of the very contact of Theme and Rheme — a clause element that may be focussed, topicalized, queried or stated as (non) existant. Coptic has three nexus matrices or patterns, and one pre-nexal matrix¹:

- The (Pro)nominal-Rheme Pattern (“Nominal Sentence”): **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ, ΦΥΔΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΝΟΜΟΣ.**

- The Adverbial-Rheme Pattern, for specific Themes, predicating the Dynamic and Stative Converbs, in which case it is the “Bipartite Conjugation Pattern”; predicating the Contingent Future; predicating a class of adverbials: **†ΖΟΝΖΕΝ, ΦΟΝΣ, ΤΕΝΝΑΜΟΥ, ΤΕΝΝΖΡΗ ΓΑΡ ΣΕΝΝΕΝΝΟΒΙ.**

- The Pro-Verbal Rheme (Verbal Nexus) Pattern predicating pro-verbal auxiliaries, expanded by and governing verb lexemes (“infinitives”), of nominal/pronominal Theme-actors: **ΑΤΕΤΕΝΕΡΟΥ, ΕΚΕ-ΩΤΕΜ.**

- The Existential/Presentative Pre-nexal Clause, which introduces nominals into discourse so as to make them eligible for occurrence in the nexus patterns: **ΜΜΟΝ-ΠΟΡΗ ΜΠΑΙΜΑ, ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΖΑΝΙCΜΑΗ-ΛΙΤΗΣ ΕΤΜΟΥΙ....** This pattern serves to predicate adverbials and verbal converbs indirectly, of non-specific nouns or pronouns. Non-specific (“indefinite”) existants and presentates may be expanded by adverbials, or by converbs; the latter are by nature adnexal (rhematic), and supply an alternant to the Adverbial-Rheme Pattern, for non-specific themes.

Other nexus types (**ΟΥΟΝΤΑC, ΝΑΝΟΥC, ΠΕΖΑC**) are either derivatives or expansions of the main three, or “diachronic residue”, i.e. remnants of an earlier system of grammar.

The Focus and the Topic (not at all symmetrical) are discourse-referred or marked for discourse-“chunk”-scope roles, prominent landmarks in the information texture.

¹ The remarkable similarity, in this as in so many other features, to Celtic is by now almost common knowledge, albeit still surprising, and still somewhat beyond the pale of scholarly discussion. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1995:131ff.; 2003b.

Obs.

(1) The theoretical issues associated with the information structure of syntactical units, from the utterance ("sentence") to the text, are complicated and extremely controversial. The literature on the problematics of Theme-/Rheme conceptualization and terminology is vast, and I cannot in the present scope even begin to refer the reader to central discussions. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:69ff. and references; WEIGAND 1979; WELKE 1992 (esp. 32ff.).

(2) While the essentiality logic-oriented "Predicate" may be used as synonym of "Rheme", "Subject" should not, I believe, owing to its pervasive and still current association with the verbal nexus pattern ("verb clause") as the first argument or actant in the verbal valency matrix; "Grammatical Subject", an oxymoron, since "Subject" is no less "logically" conceived than "Predicate", is still very much with us, a nonsensical and ethnocentric terminological misnomer. This terminological asymmetry goes usually unobserved.

(3) On the verb as a nexal pattern, in general-theoretical and Semitic view, see GOLDENBERG 1998 — a brilliant essay which ought to be a cornerstone of any grammatical theory. Needless to say, this alone collapses the traditional Parts-of-Speech model.

(4) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a: Chapters One and Three, for the Adverbial-Rheme Pattern; 1986a:153 for the conjugation bases as pro-verbs; 1984, 1998:184ff, 1999:220ff. for the Existentials and Presentatives.

(5) Thematicity/rhematicity and nucleus/satellite status are compatible: witness the Circumstantial, Conjunctive and *n*-Rhemes (the last also "object-actantial"). See BARRI 1978:263f.

2.0.2 Existence. The Statal-Existential Nexus Pattern.

Existence and Presentation, treated in some detail below and in Chapter Three as reduced-determination environments for noun determinators, must be briefly discussed here too, in the context of rhematic nouns and nexal matrices. Existence, unlocated (absolute) or located, basically atemporal², is in Coptic not verbal³, nor, in point of fact, at all nexal; it is marked by the prefixes *oʿon-* (affirmation of existence) and *mmon-* (affirmation of non-existence). Needless to say, the fact that *oʿon-/mmon-* is often a translation of *εἶναι* in the Greek *Vorlage*, or are typically translated by the "be" set of forms in English and other West European type languages, hardly sheds a descriptive light on its nature and structural identity in Coptic. *oʿon-* and *mmon-* form a pair of *sui generis*, asymmetrically associated atemporal clauses⁴ that, in

² This accounts in part for such hybrid constructions (*oʿon* + Nom. Sentence) as Gen. 39:2 *neʿoʿon-oʿpʿami pe eʿtmaʿt* (Vat *ne-*).

³ Its synchronically non-verbal nature is also symptomized by peculiar actantial properties: consider Gen. 40:17 *neʿoʿon nʿshṭq pe eʿbol ʾden nḥ tḥroʿ eʿʿare-pʿro ʿʿaraʿw oʿomof*.

⁴ The Stative Converb *ʿʿon*, expressing a verbal type of existence (*qʿʿon ʾn* Gen. 42:36), enters a present-tense nexus pattern.

macro-syntactic view, actualize and introduce nominal “Existants” and “Non-Existants” into discourse. These nouns are neither rhematic — **OTON** does not predicate a noun — nor is **OTON-/MMON-** itself a Rheme.

Absolute (Non-)Existence is well attested in the corpus. Non-existence seems in this case to be more common than existence:

Num. 21:5 **MMON-ΩΙΚ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΩΟΥ.**

Gen. 24:25 **OTON-ΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΘΡΕΚΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΚ.**

The existential locator slot (if any) — of restricted adverbial commutability: mainly **ΜΜΑΥ** and a few prepositional locatives, many of which mark possession — is as a rule adjunctal (occasionally, adnominal), not rhematic:

Num. 20:2 **ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-ΜΩΟΥ ΠΕ ΞΕΝ-†CΤΝΑΓΩΓΗ.**

Num. 22:24 ...**ΕΟΤΟΝ-ΟΥCΟΒΤ CΑΜΝΑΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥCΟΒΤ CΑΜΝΑΙ.**

Deut. 32:12 **ΜΜΟΝ-ΚΕΝΟΥ† ΝΥΕΜΜΟ ΝΕΜΩΟΥ ΠΕ.**

Lev. 11:21 ...**ΕΤΕΟΤΟΝ-CΗΒΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ.**

Lev. 11:23 ...**ΕΤΕΟΤΟΝ-CΤΟ ΜΦΑΤ ΕΡΩΟΥ.**

Deut. 21:18 **ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΕΟΤΟΝ-ΟΥΨΗΡΙ ΝΤΕΟΤΑΙ.**

Gen. 24:22 **ΞΑΝΛΕΩΝ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΕΟΤΟΝ-ΟΥΚΙ† ΝΨΙ ΕΠΙΟΤΑΙ ΠΙΟΤΑΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ.**

However, the converbs (specific adverbial verb-forms), typologically very important in the history of Egyptian⁵, are, when formally adjunctal to the statement of (Non-)Existence, and, in point of information structure, *always rhematic*. In pre-Coptic Egyptian, they could also be adnexal (adjunctly rhematic) in other environments. This status is in Coptic expressed analytically, by the Circumstantial conversion of a rhematic converb; but in Coptic too the rhematic converb itself is probably adnexal — adnominal to a non-specific existant of **OTON-/MMON-**. These are, by the same token, grammaticalized to copular (in the sense of nexus-mediating) status, annexing non-specific Themes with converbal (statal) Rhemes in a real, if periphrastic, nexal pattern.⁶ The Coptic converbs are of two types — eventual or Dynamic (rather rare in combination with existence and non-specific Themes) and Statal (Stative) (for some reason more common; including the Future auxiliary **ΝΔ-**):

⁵ A verbal category typical of Egyptian-Coptic (esp. ME and Demotic-Coptic) as it is of Celtic: cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 2003b.

⁶ It may be that **OTON** focusses its Existant, so as to render its thematicity (in nexus with a converb) lower than a regular definite Theme; where the definite Theme is anaphoric, the “existential Theme” is cataphoric.

Gen. 47:13 **ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-СОῤῥΟ ΔΕ ΥῶΠ ΠΕ.**

Ex. 10:4 **ΟῤῥΟΝ-ἜΡΟΠ ΝΑΨΩΠΙ.**

Gen. 23:6 **ΜΜΟΝ-ἨΛΙ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΑΞΝΟ ΜΠΕQΜΖΑῤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΟΚ.**

It is important to remember that these rhematic converbs are still locations of the Existential, and not direct nexus constituents; also, that even here the existential role of **ΟῤῥΟΝ-** and **ΜΜΟΝ-** is operative. Even here, we still face the impossibility of directly predicating an adverbial of a non-specific noun or pronoun, a phenomenon encountered in many languages and transcending genealogical and typological boundaries, one that sets adverbial predication apart from other Rhemes. Adverbial predication of non-specific Themes is represented as the location of an Existential Statement.

2.0.3 Presentation

(a) The elements **ἨΠΠΕ** and **ΙC**, extremely common, usually but not always triggered by Greek *ἰδοῦ*, mark Presentative clauses which have a marked affinity to Existentials: indeed, they are “Deictic Existentials” (never negative). We encounter a wide variety of constructions, of which the majority is in Dialogue (see Chapter One, for narrative focussing by means of Presentative signals). The actual forms found in the corpus are three: **ἨΠΠΕ**, **ΙC** and **ἨΠΠΕ + ΙC**, with the original Greek an undifferentiated *ἰδοῦ*; **ΙC ἨΠΠΕ** is extremely rare in the corpus; **ΙC** occurs, preposition-like, before absolute, extraposed or topicalized or thematic nouns, and is incompatible with extraposed pronouns or pronominal forms of the verb — the actual differentiation is thus of **ἨΠΠΕ** vs. **ΙC** vs. **ἨΠΠΕ ΙC**, before specific nominal Topics, as follows:

<i>Presentate:</i>	Non-Specific Noun/Pronoun	Noun/Pronoun Topic/ Theme/Focus (noun specific)	Nexus, ΟῤῥΟΝ-/ΜΜΟΝ- (adv. may precede)
ἨΠΠΕ	(-)	+	+
ἨΠΠΕ-ΙC	+	+	(-)
ΙC-	(-)	+ (-)*	+
ΙC ἨΠΠΕ	(-)	(+)	(+)

* **ΙC** does not precede a personal pronoun.

The opposition is thus in fact only between $\iota\varsigma$ and $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$. Generally, proclitic $\iota\varsigma$ - (rarely alone, usually as $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ -) introduces all kinds of noun-initial constructions; $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ pronoun-initial ones, including nexus patterns with pronominal Themes. Sahidic, on the other hand, opposes $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ to $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ - $\xi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ — both before nouns only —, while $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ - $\xi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ (no $\xi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ alone) occurs before pronouns or nexal constructions. Bohairic $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ is not bound in closest juncture (again, unlike Sahidic $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ - $\xi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$).

Functionally, the Presentatives, compatible with the Present, Future and Preterite tenses, occur mostly in *hic-et-nunc* allocutive environment, but are also encountered in narrative as highlighting (narrative focussing) exponents. In dialogue, the Presentative-marked Preterite ($\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\alpha\varphi$ -) seems to be a true *perfectum praesens*, with cases of Perfect and Present in the Greek *Vorlage*. Other observed roles of the Presentative exponents are: Performative or Synchronous Present (“*Koinzidenzfall*”), including “Divine-Intervention” Performatives; Response; imminent action; assertive or expressive (focussed) Allocutions, marked allocutivity (“you know, for your information”), incl. prophetic pronouncements; diagnostic observation; preceptive superordination (“at that point the priest shall observe...”); narrative backgrounding; narrative tableau superordination; dramatic narrative highlighting⁷; superordinative narrative episode introduction; Narrative-Peak Focalization; Dream Narrative introduction; nexus focussing. Note the frequent Presentatives combined by $\omicron\omicron\omicron\zeta$ with $\mu\alpha\tau$ and $\Delta\omicron\tau\omega\tau$.

Obs.

(1) On the nature and status of the Presentative category, Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1984b:77, 1998:184ff., 1999:220ff., 2003b (Modern and Middle Welsh, Modern Irish, with references to general discussion); CHAKER 1984 (Berber). Generally, see also DIEWALD 1991:154ff., MARTIN 1993.

(2) LAYTON 2004 §476ff. is the only one to treat Sahidic $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ alongside the existentials. Bohairic differs from Sahidic in the relative order of the two Presentatives (Sah. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\xi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ etc., unlike Bohairic, also concurring - $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$, $\xi\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$) which makes for a marked difference in the Presentative construction between the dialects (the only instance of the inverse sequence in the corpus is Lev. 13:21).

No less than twenty-seven formally and, to a degree, functionally discrete Presentative constructions are observable, as follows (the Greek has $\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$ unless differently specified):

(1) $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ + Pronoun: Response to Address:

⁷ For narrative presentation in Celtic and Romance, cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1997, 1999b.

ΖΗΠΠΕ ΔΝΟΚ Gen. 22:1:11, 27:1:18, 37:13.

(2) ΖΗΠΠΕ IC + Specific Noun: presentative Allocution:

Ex. 24:8 ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΠΙCΝΟΦ.

Gen. 30:3 ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΤΑΒΩΚΙ ΒΑΛΛΑ.

Gen. 31:48 ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΠΑΙΤΑΛ ΝΕΜ ΤΑΙCΤΩΛΗ.

(3) ΜΗ IC [...] ΔΝ + specific Noun/Pronoun + Present (Greek οὐκ ἰδοῦ): focalization of nexus (by means of Assertive-Formal ("Rhetorical") Question):

Ex. 4:14 ΜΗ IC ΔΑΡΩΝ ΠΕΚCΟΝ ΔΝ ΠΙΛΕΨΙΤΗΣ †CΩΘΩΝ...

Gen. 13:9 ΜΗ IC ΠΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡΦ ΧΗ ΜΠΕΚΜΘΟ ΔΝ.

Deut. 11:30 Vat ΜΗ IC ΝΑΙ ΔΝ ΖΙΜΗΡ ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC (ΟΝ).

(4) ΖΗΠΠΕ IC + NOUN Εφ- / Εαφ- / Ναφ- (affirmative): signalling narrative focalization, strikingly in Dream or Vision Narrative (see Chapter One), through protagonist's or dreamer's eyes: internal contextualization;⁸ presenting a narrative tableau; superordination:

Gen. 22:13 ΑΦΝΑΘ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΟΘΕCΩΘ ΕΩΤΑΞΝΟ ΜΜΟΦ
ΣΕΝΝΕΦΤΑΠ ΣΕΝΟΨΩΥΗΝ ΔΕ-CΑΒΕΚ.

Gen. 29:2 ΑΦΝΑΘ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΟΨΩ† ΝΑCΧΗ ΣΕΝΤΚΟΙ.

Gen. 37:25 ΑΨΕΜCΙ ΔΕ ΕΟΨΩΜ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΖΑΝΙCΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ
ΕΨΜΩΙ...

Gen. 18:2 ΑΦΝΑΘ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC Γ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΝΑΨΟΞΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΨ.

Gen. 28:12 ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΟΨΜΟΨΚΙ ΕCΤΑΔΡΗΟΨΤ ΣΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ
ΟΨΟΞ ΝΑΡΕΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕΨ† ΝΑΨΝΑ ΕΨΩΩΙ ΝΑΨΝΗΟΨ
ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΖΙΩΤC ΠΕ.

Gen. 41:19 ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΚΕΞ ΝΕΞΕ ΝΑΨΝΗΟΨ ΕΨΩΩΙ sim. 41:6.

Gen. 15:17 ΕΠΙΔΗ ΔΕ ΝΕΨΝΑΘ ΝΞΩΤΠ ΜΨΡΗ ΠΕ ΟΨΩΞ
ΑΦΩΩΠΙ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΟΨΕΡΙΡ ΕΦΟΙ ΝΧΡΕΜΤC ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΛΑΜΠΑC
ΝΧΡΩΜ ΕΑΨCΙΝΙ ΣΕΝΘΜΗ† ΝΝCΩΜΑ ΕΤΨΗΨ.

Gen. 31:10 ΑΙΝΑΘ ΝΝΑΒΑΛ ΝΘΡΑCΟΨΙ ΖΗΠΠΕ IC ΝΙΒΑΡΗΙΤ
ΝΕΜ ΝΙΩΙΑΙ ΝΑΨΝΑ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΞΕΝΝΙΕCΩΨ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΒΑΕΜΠΙ ΝΑ-
ΨΟΨΟΨΩ ΠΕ ΟΨΟΞ ΝΑΨΟΙ ΝΑΨΨΙΑΨΩΔΑΝ ΝΕΜ ΔΨΔΑΝ ΝΚΕΡΜΙ
ΕΨΝΟΔΨ.

(5) ΖΗΠΠΕ + Ναφ- (affirmative): superordinative Narrative-Peak
Focalization (see Chapter One):

Ex. 34:29 ΨΩC ΔΕ ΕΦΝΗΟΨ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΔΕ-ΜΩΨCΗC ΕΒΟΛ
ΣΕΝΠΙΤΩΨ ΝCΙΝΑ ΟΨΟΞ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΝΑΡΕ-†ΠΛΑΞ CΝΟΨ† ΧΗ
ΣΕΝΝΕΝΔΙΞ ΜΜΩΨCΗC.

⁸ Fillmore's term. The Circumstantial, adnexal, recalls in these cases the French rhematic relative in presentative cases such as "La voilà qui arrive": see LAMBRECHT 2000. The Imperfect, a specific narrative focalization tense, alternates here with the rhematic Circumstantial.

Gen. 19:28 **αφναϑ οτορ ρηππε ναφνηοϑ επωωι νδε-οϑωαρ** — focalization through protagonist's eyes.

(6) **ρηππε + εϑ-**: (affirmative): preceptive “scenario”:

Lev. 13:6 **εφεναϑ εροϑ νδε-πιοϑηβ ... οτορ ρηππε εφοι νηλοα νδε-πιϑορ** (= Vat).

(7) **ρηππε + εϑε-** Absolute Future: preceptive superordination (“at that point the priest shall observe...”):

Lev. 13:20 **ρηππε εφεναϑ νδε-πιοϑηβ...**

(8) **ρηππε + {ανοκ} + Present**, affirmative: locutive/allocutive dialogue — Performative or Synchronous Present, incl. Divine-Intervention Performatives (all persons); allocutive instruction scenario; locutive Report (incl. delocutive pronouns):

Gen. 24:13:43 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑορι ερατ.**

Gen. 25:32 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑμοωι εμοϑ.**

Gen. 28:15 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑχη νεμακ.**

Ex. 7:15 **ρηππε νεοϑ ϑνηοϑ** sim. 8:16.

Gen. 32:18 **ρηππε νεοϑ ρωϑ ϑσαμενηνη.**

Gen. 32:7 **ανι ρανσαϑ ρηππε νεοϑ ϑνηοϑ.**

Gen. 16:11 **ρηππε νεο τεερβακι.**

Also Ex. 6:30, Deut. 11:26.

(9) **ρηππε + {ανοκ} + να-** Future (affirmative; see above, Chapter One): locutive/allocutive imminence (also in apodotic superordination).

Gen. 48:21 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑναμοϑ** sim. Gen. 20:3 (Greek Present).

Ex. 3:13 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑναωενηι** sim. Ex. 19:9.

Num. 25:12 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑναϑ...** sim. Ex. 16:4.

Num. 14:40 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑennaωεναν επιτωοϑ...**

Ex. 10:4 **ρηππε ανοκ ϑναϊνι μπαϊναϑ νρασϑ νοϑωδε εϑωω** sim. Ex. 8:17.

(10) **ρηππε + ανοκ + Preterite** (rare): narrative background (?)

Gen. 27:6 **ρηππε ανοκ αιωτεμ επεκιωτ εϑσαξι νεμ ησαϑ...** (Greek *ιδε* + Aor.).

(11) **ρηππε + (Adv.) + Preterite**, affirmative and negative: Allocution (*perfectum praesens*); diagnostic observation; 1st-person Narrative.

Num. 24:10 **ρηππε ϑενοϑσμοϑ ακσμοϑ ...**

Num. 22:32 **οτορ ρηππε αιι ...**

Num. 23:20 **ρηππε αιερρητς νεμοϑ ...**

Deut. 26:17 **ρηππε μηοοϑ ακσωτπ μηϑϑ** (no Greek correspondent).

Num. 17:27 **ρηππε ανϑωϑ εβολ οτορ αντακο.**

Deut. 13:15 **ρηππε αϑερμεομηι νδε-παϊσαξι.**

Deut. 17:4 **ἤνπε** τὰϕμνὶ αἰψωπι.

Deut. 5:24 **ἤνπε** αἰταμον ...

Gen. 37:9 **ἤνπε** αἰνατ̃ εκερασоти.

Gen. 42:2 **ἤνπε** αἰσωтем δε- ...

Gen. 48:11 **ἤνπε** μποτωονετ **ἤνπε** αἰ† ταμοι - a rare instance of negative nexus.

Also Gen. 19:21:34, 20:15, 27:2, 42:2, Lev. 13:17:25 (diagnostic observation).

(12) **ἤνπε** IC + Specific Nominal Topic + Preterite (affirmative; negative only in the diagnostic-observation case). Diagnostic observation; superordinative narrative episode-introduction; dramatic narrative highlighting; Allocution (*perfectum praesens*):

Deut. 19:18 **ἤνπε** IC οσμεορε ννοτ̃δε αἰτωνϑ.

Ex. 3:9 **ἤνπε** †νοτ̃ IC π̃ρωοτ̃ ννενωηρι μπικ̃λ αἰ επωωι εαροι — **ἤνπε** IC not in close juncture.

Gen. 38:13 **ἤνπε** IC πεωομ αἰψεναϑ.

Ex. 14:10 **ἤνπε** IC νιρεμνχημι αἰθοοω† (no Greek correspondent).

Num. 12:10 οτορ α†ϑηπι ψεναс εβολ εα†сκηνη οτορ IC μαριαм асκωк нсεрт...αἰδот̃ωт нδεαарων ερηι εδε-
μαριαм οτορ **ἤνπε** асκωк нсεрт.

Num. 25:6 οτορ IC οτρωμι ... αἰνι мπεссноϑ.

Lev. 14:39 εφенаτ̃ επινι οτορ **ἤνπε** IC πιθопε αἰμοωι εβολ деenniдoi нтепинι sim. (diagnostic observation) Lev. 13:13:31.

Lev. 13:32 οτορ εφенаτ̃ нде-пиот̃нв οτορ **ἤνπε** мπε-
сдωρ εβολ нде-пи́омдем — note the negative nexus, exclusive to the diagnostic presentation.

Gen. 27:36 †ноτ̃ IC пакесмоτ̃ αἰс̃ιτϑ.

(13) **ἤνπε** + Present/на- Future (affirmative): Allocution; diagnostic observation; in the 1st person often Performative or Synchronous (when Coptic-на- corresponds to a Greek Present):

Deut. 1:10 **ἤνπε** тетенои м̃ооτ̃ м̃φρη† ннicioτ̃ нте-
т̃ф̃е.

Deut. 26:3 **ἤνπε** †от̃ωνε εβολ м̃ооτ̃ (no correspondent in the Greek).

Ex. 23:20 οτορ **ἤνπε** †наот̃ωρп мпааγγελос.

Num. 24:14 οτορ †ноτ̃ **ἤνπε** †наψеннι.

Gen. 38:24 **ἤνπε** семвоки.

Gen. 42:22 **ἤνπε** секω† нсаπεссноϑ.

Ex. 17:9 **ΑΝΟΚ ΖΗΠΠΕ †ΝΑΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤ ΕΔΕΝΤΑΦΕ ΜΠΙΤΩΘ**
(= Vat; Greek Perfect ἔστηκεν as Synchronous Present:)

Gen. 34:21 **ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΦΟΨΕΘΩΝ ΜΠΟΨΜΘΟ.**

Lev. 13:39 **ΟΘΟΖ ΕΦΕΝΑΨ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΟΨΗΒ ΟΘΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΣΕ-
ΔΕΝΠΙΨΑΡ ... ΝΔΕ-ΖΑΝΑΛ** - diagnostic observation.

(14) **ΖΗΠΠΕ + ΟΘΟΝ-/ΜΜΟΝ-**: Allocution; diagnostic observation:

Ex. 33:21 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΟΘΟΝ-ΟΨΜΑ ΧΗ ΖΑΡΟΚ** (Greek has here no ex-
istential, but a located Presentative).

Gen. 31:44 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ-ΖΑΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ.**

Lev. 13:21 **ΑΦΨΑΝΝΑΨ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΙC ΖΗΠΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ-ΦΩΙ ΝΟΨ-
ΟΒΨ ΝΔΗΤΦ** (= Vat).

This, with Gen. 18:9 (= Vat) and Ex. 8:25 (Vat ΙC), are the only in-
stances I am aware of the “Sahidic” sequence ΙC **ΖΗΠΠΕ**; note exactly
the same wording with **ΖΗΠΠΕ** alone in Lev. 13:26. (See no. [27] be-
low).

(15) **ΖΗΠΠΕ + {ΑΝΟΚ} ΕΙΕ-** Absolute Future (see above, Chapter
One): Divine Promise (Greek Present — Performatives?):

Ex. 34:11 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΙΕΖΙΩΨΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΑΔΩΤΕΝ ΜΠΙΑ-
ΜΟΡΡΕΟC...**

Ex. 7:27 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΙΕΨΑΡΙ ΕΝΕΚΪΗ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΔΕΝΖΑΝ-
ΔΡΟΨΡ** — apodotic.

(16) **ΖΗΠΠΕ + Topic + ΕΦΕ-** Absolute Future (see above, Chapter
One): Divine Promise:

Ex. 32:34 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΠΑΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΦΕΕΡΨΟΡΠ ΜΜΩΨΙ ΔΑ-
ΔΩΚ** (Greek Present!).

Num. 23:9 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΟΨΛΑΟC ΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ ΜΜΑΨΑΤΦ ΟΘΟΖ
ΜΝΟΨΟΠΦ ΔΕΝΝΙΕΘΝΟC.**

(17) **ΖΗΠΠΕ + ΕΙΕ-** Absolute Future: Divine Promise:

Gen. 48:4 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΕΙΕΘΡΕΚΑΙΔΙ.**

(18) (**ΖΗΠΠΕ**) ΙC + Nominal Theme + ΧΗ (Present) — Allocution:

Gen. 20:15 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΧΗ ΜΠΕΚΜΘΟ.**

Ex. 24:14 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΑΑΡΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΖΩΡ ΣΕΧΗ ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ.**

Gen. 12:19 **†ΝΟΨ ΙC ΤΕΚCΖΙΜΙ ΧΗ ΜΠΕΚΜΘΟ.**

Gen. 16:6 ΙC ΤΕΒΩΚΙ ΧΗ ΔΕΝΝΕΔΙΔ.

Gen. 47:6 ΙC ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ ΧΗ ΜΠΟΨΜΘΟ.

Gen. 42:13 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΠΙΚΟΨΔΙ ΧΗ ΔΑΤΕΝΠΕΝΙΩΤ.**

Gen. 42:28 ΙC ΦΔΙ ΧΗ ΔΕΝΠΑΣΟΚ sim. Deut. 3:11.

(19) **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC + Nominal Topic/Theme** (Present, affirmative —
negative nexus only in cases of diagnostic presentation): Allocution;
prophecy; diagnostic observation:

Gen. 37:19 *ἤνπε ἰς πῖρεϛϕέρρασοϞ ἐττη ὀνηοϞ*.

Gen. 41:29 *ἤνπε ἰς ῥήρομπι σέννοϞ*.

Lev. 14:37 (no Greek correspondent) *οὗοῡ ἐφέναϞ ἐπίϛοῡ οὗοῡ ἤνπε ἰς πῖοῡ ῥέννιζοῖ ντέπῖνῖ sim. (diagnostic observation) Lev. 13:10:20:30 (negative nexus).*

Ex. 9:3 *ἤνπε ἰς ο὞δῖζ ντε-πῶϛ ἡνοϞ ἐρρηῖ ἐδέenneκ-τέβνωϞ*.

(20) *ἰς* + Specific Nominal Topic/Theme (Present, affirmative): allocation; diagnostic observation:

Gen. 45:12 *ἰς ντέτενβαλ σέναϞ*.

Gen. 34:10 *ἰς πῖκαῡ ὀοῡεσῶν ἡπέτενμῶο (vs. 34:21 πῖκαῡ ἤνπε ὀοῡεσῶν ἡποῡμῶο).*

Gen. 32:20 *ἰς πεκαλοϞ ἰακωβ ὀνηοϞ sim. 48:2, 27:42.*

Lev. 13:56 *οὗοῡ ἀϕῡανναϞ ἡδε-πιοῡηβ οὗοῡ ἰς πῖοῡ ὀοῖ ἡῡλοα — diagnostic observation.*

(21) *ἰς* + nominal Focus (Cleft Sentence): focussing (?)

Gen. 31:44 *ἤνπε ἡμον-ῡἰ ἡεμαν ἰς ϕῡ† πετέρμεῶρε.*

(22) *ἤνπε* + Nominal Sentence.

Deut. 10:14 *ἤνπε γαρ ἡα-πῶϛ πεκνοῡ† ἡε ἡδε-τῡε ἡεμ τῡε ντέτῡε πῖκαῡ ἡεμ ἡη τηροϞ ἐτεῡῡῡῡῡ (= Vat).*

(23) *ἤνπε ἰς* + nominal Topic (Nominal Sentence Pattern III): expressive descriptive exposition (in Allocution).

Deut. 3:11 *ἤνπε ἰς πεϕῡλοῡ ο὞βενῖπῖ πε ἰς ϕῡἰ ὀῡῡ ῥέν...*

(24) *ἰς* + Preterite (extremely rare — the only instance in the corpus): Divine Performative.

Deut. 1:21 *ἡναϞ ἰς ἀπῶϛ πετέννοῡ† † ἡπῖκαῡ ῡἡτῡῡ ἡπέτενῡο (Vat ἰς ἡ†).*

(25) *ἡῡρη† ἰς* + Noun + *ἐϕ-*: sub-initial vision in Dream Narrative reporting.

Gen. 41:22 *ἡἡναϞ οἡ ῥενοῡρασοῡ ἡῡρη† ἰς κεῡ ἡῡεμσ ἐῡῡῡῡ ἐῡῡῡ... (Vat add. οὗοῡ, om. ἰς).*

The all-initial vision in Pharaoh's first dream is introduced by *ἰςῡεκ ἡαϕ- πε* (verse 2; see Chapter One); in the second dream by *ἤνπε ἡαϕ-*. Reporting his dream, he starts with *ἰςῡεκ ἡἡ-* (verse 17), going on to sub-episodic *ἤνπε ἰς* (verse 19).

(26) *ἤνπε ἡῡρη† ἡε-*: sub-episode in Dream Narrative.

Gen. 41:2 *ἤνπε ἡῡρη† ἡε-εβοἡ ῡένῡἡαρο ἡῡῡῡῡ ἐῡῡῡ πε ἡδε-ῡ ἡεῡε ἐἡἡεϞ.*

(27) *ἰς ἤνπε* + (Pron.) + nexus: apocritic (responsive) signal:

Gen. 18:9 IC 2HPΠE CEN⁵ON⁵ 2EN⁵CKHHH.

Ex. 8:25 IC 2HPΠE ANOK [†]NAWHHHI ...

(b) **ONH**. This “particle”, always clause-initial, is truly mysterious: it has no Greek correspondent, nor is it triggered by any apparent feature in the Greek text, a rather uncommon state of things. It is exclusively and idiomatically Bohairic, occurring in all the varieties (Pentateuch, OT, NT, B4 — very common; Nitrian). Sahidic usually has no equivalent for **ONH**; in Crum’s exx., Sah. has once **ONTWC**, once **ΠΑΝΤWC**. Sah. **OTOI** is a *hapax*: Crum *Dictionary* 422a “advb showing consent”, Westendorf 268 “Partikel der Bekräftigung: ‘ja, gewiß’ which may be related. But **ONH**, for some no less mysterious reason, is always included by explicative **2E**-, and thus cannot be simply asseverative. It seems often to focalize the nexus, with an “after all...” nuance: indeed, this is the only functional statement one feels entitled to make. Occasionally, it is combined with **rap**, which is curious, firstly for the unusual occurrence of this particle in **2E**-included clauses, secondly for the double explicative marking. In fact, this is an embarrassing case where we are not even sure of the Coptic meaning (no Egyptian etymology is forthcoming):

2E-ONH + Preterite in Narrative Comment Mode

Gen. 6:12 **OTO2 A2NA2 N2E-Π2C Φ[†] EΠIKAZI OTO2 NA2-TAKHO2T PE 2E-ONH A2AP2 NIBEN CΩ2 MPE2MΩIT 2I2EN-ΠIKAZI**.

Gen. 26:7 **A2EP2O[†] E2OC 2E-TAC2IMI TE MHΠOTE NC2-2O2BE2 ... E2BE-PEBEKKA TE2C2IMI 2E-ONH 2AP ENECΩC PE 2ENΠEC2O** — “she was lovely”

2E-ONH in Dialogue:

Gen. 29:15 **NNEKEP2OB NHI N2IN2H 2E-ONH 2AP N2OK-ΠACON** — “you are my brother, after all”.

Deut. 28:40 **2AN2OEIT E2EΩ2ΠI NA2 ... NNEKO2NO2 EBOA-MMO2 2E-ONH E2EBOP2EB N2E-NEK2OEIT**.

Also Gen. 6:13, Deut. 32:51x2, 33:19.

2E-ONH in preceptive Exposition:

Lev. 22:20 **2E-ONH 2AP CEΩHI NΩTEN AN**.

Lev. 21:21 **2E-ONH O2ON-A2NI N2HT2**.

Deut. 21:14 **2E-ONH AK2EBIOC** “since you *did* humiliate her, after all”.

Also Deut. 23:21.

2.1 (Pro)Noun Rhemes: The Nominal Sentence

2.1.0.1 Preliminary

The foci of tension in the description of this much discussed nexus-pattern set of sets, of central typological interest and much-discussed in Egyptian and Coptic, are its constituent sequence ("Word Order") and correlated or signified information structure; the copula constituent (if any); the time reference of the pattern; and what we may call "the meaning of verblessness". The last mentioned issue is, I think, the most easily addressed. We have here a clause form apart, with no relevance or bearing on or of the verbal nexus. The question of exponence of "be", which is of interest in Indo-European, simply does not arise in the Coptic formal interdependence of (pro)nominal Theme and Rheme. Thus, it is not "verb-less". "Non-verbal" would not be much amiss, were it not for the implied attribution of primacy to the verb. The question of "tense" is related: "tense" being a verbal category, it must not be looked for in a nexus pattern set that has no relation to the verb. This will be evident in the consideration of individual patterns, below. As against these non-questions, the points of Copula and sequence are real, and must be carefully examined for the specific constructions. The copula ("the *signifiant* of which the *signifié* is the nexal interdependence itself") is, in general syntax, immediately associated with Nominal-Sentence-type clauses. But in Egyptian and Coptic, as often in Semitic — and this is a major typological trait — the copular exponent is mainly a suprasegmental — prosodic — feature contained in the *pronominal Theme*, which has traditionally (and still currently) led to miscomprehension and confusing of Copula and Theme. (The definition of Copula given above detaches it from the exclusive domain of the verb). In our variety of Bohairic, in fact, the pattern, important in Sahidic, that includes a segmental Copula among its constituents is marginal: see below.

As for sequencing, it is, by definition of "pattern" ("ordered, junctured and bounded sequence of paradigms/categories"), a pattern constituent, and not an independent or separate property; it is anyway in Coptic non-grammemic, i.e. non-distinctive. Rheme-to-Theme and Theme-to-Rheme sequences are indeed encountered, but not as opposed terms in a sequence paradigm. The latter sequence, outside the Interlocutive Pattern very rare in our Bohairic, is a special linking device in Sahidic and other types of Bohairic, whereas the former is associated

with various linkage by means of the pronominal Theme $\pi\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \text{ne}$. In contradistinction to the *determinatum/determinans* sequence (including determinator + lexeme noun phrase), which may be considered a *Grundrichtung* in Coptic, the NS sequences vary from the interlocutive and copular patterns (Theme-to-Rheme) to the delocutive ones (Rheme-to-Theme); the sequencing of other nexus patterns is as rigid as the noun-phrase one.

The paradigmatics of the NS is not concerned with the verb (nor has to do with *tense*: the NS is as tense-less as it is non-verbal), but with the $\text{OI}\ \text{n-}$ copular pattern of non-essential, descriptive, incidental predication (see in detail below). Generally speaking, the constituency of the Theme is pronominal only; but what is striking in Bohairic is that this applies to the Rheme as well — or rather to the nuclear *determinator pronoun* (definite or indefinite articles: see Chapter Three), which are the real Rhemes, just as the pro-verbs (*alias* conjugation bases) are the real Rheme for the verbal nexus.

Obs.

(1) On the *Grundproblematik* of the Nominal Sentence, generally and in Egyptian-Coptic, Welsh and Irish, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1987; 1998:108ff., 198ff.; 1999:161ff. 2003b:265ff.

(2) The Gunn Papers, item V A 1.14 contains a veritable monograph, “Notes on a Peculiar Class of non-verbal Propositions”; incidentally, Gunn often corrects “verbless” to “non-verbal”: OE, ME are studied; there is much material in response to SETHE 1916, isolating patterns, discussing terminology, dwelling on topics such as constituent placement, specificity etc. Gunn avoids “subject / predicate” and statements made in terms of “major / minor / equivalent / doubtful (relative) significance” (fn.: “there are all degrees of ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ in the terms of various propositions”). On the ME NS, see also Gunn’s letters to Gardiner (AHG papers 142.124.123, letter of 3/2/21, Gunn informing Gardiner of his plans to study the NS; see also in his notes on Gardiner’s *Egyptian Grammar* (Gunn Papers V 73ff.). B. Gunn’s perceptive notes (the Gunn Papers 45.1.1) on the MS of Alan Henderson Gardiner’s *Theory of Speech and Language*, alongside notes by J.R. Firth, V. Brøndal, C.H. Armbruster and others), p. 15 (cf. *Theory of Speech and Language* 57 n.2) “Anyone who is thoroughly used to speaking such a language as Arabic, feels, when he has to speak much in another foreign language which has always to express the copula, that this expression is something cumbersome and superfluous” are certainly worthy of notice.

(3) The early conception of $\pi\epsilon$ as “Copula” (e.g. “expressing the substantive verb *esse*” SCHWARTZE and STEINTHAL 1850:418f., 472: not however STEINTHAL and MISTELI 1893!) must have stemmed from an ethnocentric slip. Spiegelberg’s laconic 1925:203 “...mit selbständigem demonstrativem Subjekt (sog. Copula)” more or less sums up the *communis opinio*. This is still the usage in Pre-Coptic Egyptian linguistics, e.g. SCHENKEL 1984:166f.; LOPRIENO 1995:69, 133, 105 “(*pw*) acquires the function of a semantically empty copula” (“this [is] > “is”). The Polotskyan tradition (for Egyptian and Semitic)

breaks with this usage, following SETHE 1916: see POLOTSKY 1962, 1987:19ff, GROLL 1967, GOLDENBERG 1983, SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a, 1987, VERNUS 1994 (*pw* "indice du sujet"); LAYTON 2004 Chapter 13 (an excellent account of the Sahidic patterning).

(4) See HERBERMANN 1994 on the special properties of the delocutive pronouns and their distinction from the interlocutive ones.

(5) Typological-comparative. Berber: GALAND 1964, esp. 34, 42, 52f. Semitic: GOLDENBERG 1983; ZEWY 1996. Welsh and Irish, SHISHA-HALEVY 1998 (Chapter Three) and 1999. Already in STEINTHAL-MISTELI 1893:56f., 296ff., the NS is seen as a prime typological feature: *pw* a thematic pronoun (but, with Hebrew and Chinese, "used as copula"), with anaphoric "force" only. Not a verb "be" (so explicitly 56f.). Note also the insight (57) that in Coptic what we really have is an "articular sentence" — the lexeme is grammatically marginal.

(6) Diachrony, in general (below, particular observations will be offered). We do not have to date any consistent diachrony of the NS comparable to SETHE 1916, not to mention any systemic exposition (e.g. on the relationship between the development of the Nominal Sentence and, less directly, the Cleft Sentence to the evolution of the articles, or the "devolution" of the adjectives). "Pan-Egyptian": SETHE 1916; JUNGE 1981:435ff. (compatibility-constituency overview); LOPRIENO 1995 has many slips, especially regarding dialects other than Sahidic. O/ME: GILULA 1976, with an excellent discussion of the nature of *pw*; WESTENDORF 1981/2. LE: GROLL 1967; JUNGE 1981, SATZINGER 1981. Demotic: JOHNSON 1981; SHISHA-HALEVY 1989b. (It is of interest to note that both Copular and Delocutive-Expanded Theme patterns are rare or absent in Early and Ptolemaic Demotic). In fact, the NS sets seem to differ dramatically from one phase of Egyptian to another (the only exception being the similarity of Roman Demotic to Coptic), a fact in keeping with the realization that the individual phases do not derive from each other, except in a broad and "popular" sense.

(7) The conversion properties of the respective patterns differ, and will be discussed below as a distinctive trait added to and deepening the pattern' definition. $\pi\epsilon$ - does not indicate time but narrative linkage: see Chapter One.

2.1.1 The Delocutive Pattern Set

(a) Theme and Rheme

$\pi\epsilon$ or $\{\pi\epsilon\}$ - pronominal Theme (mostly) or copula (in one pattern) — is certainly the characteristic of this pattern set; as a formal Theme, it is also a Rheme-marker or Rheme-index. It is the only delocutive pronoun not commutable with a noun syntagm (i.e. determinator), demonstrative pronoun, or Proper Name. Its usual high encliticity is the main internal link for the pattern set. The reference or phoricity vectorial principle (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1987, with a basic reference typology as pattern classifier) takes care, as a junctural cohesive factor, of external linkage. It is thus a crucial junctural classificatory principle for the set, which is the most sophisticated of all, and includes seven main patterns:

(I) # **Rheme** $\pi\epsilon$ # (1) — anaphoric-Theme (high referential-formal textual linkage through $\pi\epsilon$)

(Ia) # **Rheme** *zero* # — *zero*-Theme pattern

(II) # **Rheme** $\pi\epsilon$ **Theme** # (lower linkage) — separating formal (cataphoric) and non-formal Themes

(III) # **Topic (Theme)** **Rheme** $\pi\epsilon$ # — Theme topicalized, Topic often turned Theme (high internal linkage: topical, fuzzy (non-formal) external linkage)

(IV) # **Rheme** $\pi\epsilon$ # (2) — endophoric Theme (very low external linkage = high delimitation; high internal linkage)

(IVa) # **Topic Rheme** $\pi\epsilon$ # — the Endophoric Pattern topicalized:

(V) # **Rheme** $\pi\epsilon$ # (3) — Immutable-Theme — Exophoric (no textual linkage, but pragmatic, not textual linkage). A pattern highly important, since it is in Bohairic the core construction of the Cleft Sentence. Internal linkage is very low.

(VI) # **Theme** $\pi\epsilon$ (copula) **Rheme** # - the Copular Pattern

(VII) **Special Nexal Patterns with no formal Theme or Copula**

Obs.

(1) On $\pi\epsilon$, comparatively. Berber: “pronom personnel sujet”, “indice de personne”, “particule prédicative” and “sujet”, GALAND 1964:33ff.; in 38 + n. 9, 43 # d-/t- N # ~ our — $\pi\epsilon$ (“particule prédicative” — rather a nexally operative “it”?). The comparison with French “c’est” is instructive: cf. WAGNER 1980:87ff. *It’s, Tis* (dialectal, also Anglo-Irish; also Irish *is*) are also rhematizing exponents for whole nexuses (French *c’est* in presentational cases like *C’est maman qui me bat* (answering “Why are you crying?”) is different: *ce* is here pragmatically situation-referential, see below, and cf. our “Immutable $\pi\epsilon$ ” pattern (below). In Coptic, we have high discourse-level nexus-rhematizing with converted forms: $\pi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi$, $\epsilon\pi$ (see above, Chapter One).

(2) We see that at least three patterns have the appearance “NOUN/PRONOUN $\pi\epsilon$ ”; two patterns, “NOUN $\pi\epsilon$ NOUN”; two patterns, “NOUN NOUN $\pi\epsilon$ ”. However, under the structural definition of pattern as ‘ordered, junctured and bounded sequence of categories or paradigms’, and the structural definition of identity (see the Introduction), this homonymy of patterns is immediately and sharply resolved by distinct and distinctive paradigmatic and syntagmatic specification.

The **Rheme constituency** consists of “nominals” only in a manner of speaking, for in Bohairic (unlike Sahidic, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a) really no *zero*-article or (alternatively) bare-lexeme Rhemes occur. Thus, pronominals (including and most prevalently, determinators) are predicated in this pattern. However, the few adverbials that share the rhematic slot in two patterns, namely (I) and (III), are bare lexemes, i.e. not determined; in their case, we have $\pi\epsilon$ remarkably predicate a lexeme, not a pronoun.

(b) The individual patterns:**(I) The Delocutive Pattern, Theme anaphoric: “Rheme $\pi\epsilon$ ” (1)**

This, in a sense the minimal pattern of the set, is relatively uncommon in the corpus, compared with its topicalized or expanded co-patterns.

Distinctive Profile:

- Only here we find the “Jernstedtian” partitive syntax of the indefinite article (JERNSTEDT 1949, JERNSTEDT [NAGEL] 1978: $\sigma\tau\text{---}\pi\epsilon$ with the Rheme of usual masculine compatibility).

- This pattern is very often — indeed, as a rule — included by $\Sigma\epsilon$ -, typically following a prolepsis to which $\pi\epsilon$ is anaphoric. It is a pattern of high or highest linkage with its preceding cotext, either by direct reference by $\pi\epsilon$ or by such links as $\Sigma\epsilon$ -, or by the Relative converter jointly with reference by $\pi\epsilon$. It is the absence of such linkage that distinguishes the Endophoric Pattern (see below).

- The pattern is but very rarely negated, almost only in its relative conversion: $N\text{---}\dots\Delta N$ in converted, *zero*... ΔN in unconverted status (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1994 and below, Chapter Four).

- Rheme constituency and specificity: indefinite article; possessive pronoun and articles; indefinite/interrogative pronouns; $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - (very rare). Exclusions: *zero*; { $\pi\iota$ -}, { π -}.

Adverbials — prepositional phrases: $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \Sigma\epsilon N$ - (Gen. 17:12 relative, Lev. 9:10 Relative, 3:12, 27:20, Num. 17:5, 31:20 relative, Gen. 19:37, Deut. 20:15, 32:32); $\epsilon\theta\upsilon\epsilon$ - (Lev. 9:10 relative): Rhemes not predicated by the Adverbial-Rheme Nexus matrix.

- Theme Constituency: $\pi\epsilon \tau\epsilon n\epsilon$. Its encliticity depends on the nature of the cola: thus, Num. 13:28 $\chi\alpha\nu\nu\iota\omega\tau n\epsilon \epsilon\mu\alpha\omega$ but Gen. 27:11 $\eta\varsigma\alpha\tau\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\n \sigma\tau\rho\omega\mu\iota \epsilon\phi\rho\eta\tau n\omicron\omega\iota \pi\epsilon$.

- Conversions: restricted. Circumstantial; Relative, only for possessive-pronoun and adverbial Rhemes or negated nexus.

- Text-grammatical notes. The pattern is of Narrative/Exposition/Dialogue compatibilities. In Dialogue it is responsive (Ex. 4:2), or interrogative-allocutive (e.g. Ex. 14:12, Num. 13:18, 16:13, 32:8), or presented by $\sigma\tau\eta\iota \gamma\alpha\rho$ or $\chi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \iota\varsigma$ (e.g. Lev. 5:9:12, 14:31:52). As pointed out, its macrosyntactic integration is very high, and its linkage close.

Selective representative Documentation

Gen. 29:12 $\alpha\phi\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\chi\eta\lambda \Sigma\epsilon\text{---}\pi\varsigma\omicron\n \mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma\iota\omega\tau \pi\epsilon \omicron\sigma\omicron\chi \Sigma\epsilon\text{---}\pi\omega\eta\rho\iota n\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha \pi\epsilon$ — see the sensitive discussion in ANDERSSON 1904:59.

Gen. 30:29 ΝΘΟΚ ΕΤΣΩΘΗΝ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΝΕΚΤΕΒΝΩΟΪ ΤΗΡΟΪ
ΕΝΑΨΝΕΜΗΙ ΔΕ-ΟΨΗΡ ΝΕ.

Deut. 23:7 ΝΝΕΚΜΕΣΤΕ-ΟΨΖΨΔΟΨΜΕΟ΢ ΔΕ-ΠΕΚΣΟΝ ΠΕ.

Num. 13:18 ...ΙΕ ΑΝ-ΟΨΔΩΒ ΠΕ ΙΕ ΑΝ ΟΨΚΟΨΔΙ ΠΕ ΙΕ ΑΝ-
ΟΨΝΙΩΨ ΠΕ.

Ex. 2:2...ΕΤΑΨΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΨ ΔΕ-ΟΨΑΣΤΙΟ΢ ΠΕ sim. Num. 13:18.

Ex. 16:15 ΟΨ ΠΕ ΦΨΙ ΝΑΨΩΟΨΗ ΜΜΟΨ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΔΕ-ΟΨ ΠΕ.

Deut. 14:7f ...ΟΨΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ.

Gen. 12:18 ΕΘΒΕΟΨ ... ΜΠΕΚΤΑΜΟΙ ΔΕ-ΤΕΚΣΖΙΜΙ ΤΕ.

Gen. 28:17 ΙΣΔΕΚ ΠΑΙΜΑ ΟΨΖΟΨ ΠΕ ΦΨΙ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΗΙ
ΜΦΨ ΠΕ ΟΨΟΖ ΘΑΙ ΤΕ ΨΠΨΛΗ ΝΤΕΤΨΕ (= Vat) (Greek ὡς φοβε-
ρὸς ὁ τόπος οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦτο ἀλλ' ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ... "nothing
but..." — note here the remarkable contrast of three Delocutive NS
patterns: topicalized Delocutive Theme opening, Delocutive and Ex-
panded Delocutive Theme carrying on. This is also a rare case of our
pattern negatived.

Deut. 32:28 ΔΕ-ΟΨΕΘΝΟ΢ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΨΤΑΚΟ ΜΠΕΨΣΟ΢ΝΙ — not
a Cleft Sentence: if ΕΤΑΨ- isn't Relative, following as it does the in-
definite Rheme, then it must be either the Temporal or the Circumstan-
tial Focalizing Preterite.

Lev. 27:28 ...ΠΕΤΟΨΑΒ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΝΗ ΕΘΟΨΑΒ.

Gen. 38:15f. ΑΨΜΕΨΙ ΔΕ-ΟΨΠΟΡΗ ΤΕ ... ΜΠΕΨΕΜΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ-
ΤΕΨΨΕΛΕΤ ΤΕ.

Gen. 19:37 ΕΒΟΛ ΨΕΝΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΕ — adverbial Rheme.

Also Deut. 24:15, 32:20.

Conversions:

Circumstantial:

Gen. 31:31 ΟΨΝΧΑΙ ... ΕΟΨ΢ΙΟΨΙ ΠΕ.

Gen. 35:29 ΑΨΧΑΨ ΨΑΤΕΝΠΕΨΓΕΝΟ΢ ΕΟΨΨΕΛΛΟ ΠΕ ΕΨΔΗΚ
ΕΒΟΛ sim. Gen. 25:8.

Lev. 4:21 ...ΕΨΔ-ΟΨΝΟΒΙ ΝΤΕΟΨ΢ΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΠΕ.

Lev. 2:5 ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΕΟΨΨΟΨΨΩΟΨΨΙ ΠΕ...

Relative:

Lev. 4:7 ΕΤΕ-ΦΗ ΠΕ ΕΤΨΕΝΨ΢ΚΗΝΗ — note (rather than a re-
markable position of ΠΕ) that the converted NS is here ΦΗ ΠΕ, with the
Rheme ΦΗ expanded by the Relative form.

Num. 17:5 ΖΛΙ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ ΕΤΕ-ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΝΕ ΨΕΝΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ
ΝΑΔΡΩΝ (= Vat) — note here the non-specific Rheme expanded by the
Relative, characterizing generic Relatives (see below, Chapter Four).

Deut. 32:21 ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-Ν-ΟΨ-ΝΟΨΨ ΑΝ ΠΕ ... ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-Ν-ΟΨ-
ΕΘΝΟ΢ ΑΝ ΠΕ.

Note the adnominal predicative pronominal-possessive system:

nominal possessor — **ετε-φλ- πε** (Ex. 29:26, Lev. 7:20), negated as **ετε-ἡ-φλ- αν πε** (Gen. 47:26); pronominal possessor — **ετε-φω= πε** (Lev. 5:24), negated as **ετε-ἡφωq αν πε** (Gen. 15:13).

See below, for the zeroing of the Theme in similar cases.

Obs.

(1) Gen. 37:32 **αν-ψοην μπεκψηρι τε ψαν-μμον** is Endophoric (Vat **τωοην**)

(2) In Gen. 20:3 **χναμοσ εεβε-τςριμι ετακολς ÷ θαι τε εςωοπ nem οσζαι** (Vat **θαι cωοπ**, Greek αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶ συνφκηκυῖα), is **τε** here a writing of **δε**?

(3) In Apoc. 2:2 **νη ετζω μμοc ερωσ ζε-ζαναποστολοc νε οσοζ εζανοστον αν νε** (sim. verse 9) we have a remarkable instance of Rheme and Theme anaphoric, in a special double linkage.

(4) For the adverb predicated by **πε** in the Nominal Sentence pattern, see SHISHA-
HALEVY 1986a:38ff. This is not the adverb adnominally expanding the articles (*ibid.* 22f.), but the adverb *as adverb lexeme*. The repertoire of adverbial Rhemes is richer in Nitrian and OT texts outside the Pentateuch:

AM 147 **ψα-παίμα πε.**

AM 157 **παρητ πε** (see below, the topicalized-Theme pattern).

Dan. 7:28 **ψα-μναι πε.**

Dan. 12:6 **ψα-θνασ πε.**

Dan. 11:36 **ετι ψα-οσcνοσ πε.**

(5) I would now like to suggest that the *zero*-determined Rhemes of the type **ciψε πε** or **βοτε πε** (Shenoute, SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a) are really cases of "properization" — as "generic notion name" of the abstract or verb-noun (SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a §§0.2.

(d), 0.4 (b), 1.1 (c) and *passim*). See Chapter Three below.

(6) The famous II Cor. 10:7 **κατα-φρητ ετε-νεοq-φλπχc ανον ζων** is still unique (consider however John 21:21 **νεοq-οσ** and Cat. 5 **νεοq-πιαιβολοc** uncollated). Were it not for the absolute consensus, the two supporting exx. and the diachrony of the construction, one would wonder with Hans Quecke (letter of 14-10-87): "kann man diesen [Ausdruck] überhaupt als einen regelmäßig gebildeten Satz betrachten?". At any rate, this is obviously a relativization of the immediately preceding **φλπχc πε**: if "ad-hoc" meant anything when it comes to syntactic structure, this would be a case in point⁹. See GILULA 1976:167 + n.44 for the diachronic dimension.

(7) The special (in the sense of 'idiomatic') and as yet not entirely clear construction **οσ-INFINITIVE + ADV. + {πε}** (FUNK 1991 §4.4.3), with Bohairic, Oxyrhynchite, Fayyumic Sahidic and Subakhmimic distribution, both interlocutive and delocutive (John 18:37, B4 and 9:34, B5, Gen.2:23 B4 **ζε-τινι εβολ ζενπεcζαι τε**; yet no instance in our corpus). For Oxyrhynchite, see SCHENKE 1997/8a:169f. has the fem. **οσ-** or pl. **ζεν-** as formal Rheme, and an expanding infinitive (of a closed group: **ι, εινε,**

⁹ John 21:21 **νεοq-οσ** (Greek οὗτος δὲ τί) is relevant here: the reading **οσ πε** (codd.) changes the meaning "What about him?" altogether (Bodmer III — B4 — has here **φλαι νεοq αqναερ-οσ**). **ντοq πωq μμιν μμοq** (Shenoute, ed. Amél. II 257 uncollated) may be a companion example, evoking the Pauline one. Sahidic has here the mysterious interrogative **νε** (also found after **αqθων**, e.g. Ex. 2:20): **παι δε ντοq νε**. See POLOTSKY 1990:251 n.14, FUNK 1991:27f. n.50.

MICE, ΔΠΟ and CBBE attested so far). ΤΕ is anaphoric to a specific textual environment. However, the partitive syntagm of article and infinitive is not straightforward. Consider Funk's cogent words (1991:60): "Die Infinitive...können wohl nicht einfach als "verbalsubstantive"... angesehen werden. Nicht der von ihnen benannte Vorgang wird prädiert, sondern die wesentlich durch die Modifikatoren ausgedrückten Eigenschaften, zu deren nominaler Zuordnung man sich des Infinitivs als lexikalischen Nukleus bedient. Der Infinitiv allein bildet daher nur in prosodischer Hinsicht die Komplettierung des durch οτ- gegebenen Rahmens. Syntaktisch umfaßt die den Prädikator expandierende unmittelbare Konstituente die gesamte Infinitivphrase...Innerhalb dieser hat wiederum... nur die adverbiale Ergänzung rhematisch Funktion...". I would not go so far as to say that the infinitives are of no informative value. What worries me is rather the semantics of the combination of "one" or indefinite article with the *nomen verbale* - substantive, not participle! The striking affinity with Focalizing Conversion paraphrases (e.g. in parallel versions), with the infinitival verb corresponding to the "that"- conversion (e.g. in John 1:13, 7:28, 9:35) does certainly support Funk's view of the thematic infinitive. Still, this does not clarify, I believe, the joining of infinitive and article and the way to "one, who..." ("Du bist ganz in Sünde geboren" for ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΤΔΦΟ ΤΗΡΚ ΔΕΝΦΝΟΒΙ John 9:35), rather than the indefinite infinitive "a case of".

(8) Deut. 17:15 ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΝΥΕΜΜΟ ... ΙΕ ΠΕΚΣΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ (Vat ΔΕ-ΟΤΗΙ ΠΕΚΣΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ) is perhaps to be seen as Circumstantial (haplography of ε- following ΙΕ), but the zero... ΑΝ negation speaks somewhat against this analysis (I cannot see the reading of Vat as the source of our text).

(9) Οτ- ΕΦΩΦ ΠΕ "a...of his" is Nitrian (e.g. SV 30 etc.), and noteworthy as a means to by-pass the specificity of the possessive articles. See below, Chapter Three.

(Ia) The Delocutive Pattern, Anaphoric Theme Zeroed

This is a rare and sporadic subpattern, yet one of considerable importance, in that it (alongside the Immutable-ΠΕ pattern) is core for a Cleft Sentence type. Also, for its various synchronic, contrastive and diachronic echoes, such as the "ΝΤΑΚ ΕΤΕ-" Oxyrhynchite Cleft-Sentence-like construction discussed below, or the Late Egyptian correlation of extraposition/topicalization and zero Theme (below). The construction, of close external juncture, is still largely obscure, and probably comprises several different varieties; we need a systematic muster of examples.

(1) Some cases of Relative Conversion

(a) The Relative possessive-pronoun Rheme, with ΦΗ- or Π- as formal antecedent, is the most conspicuous. The structural difference between the pronoun "ΝΟΤΚ" and the substantivized Relative "ΝΕΤΕ-ΝΟΤΚ" is not clear (and yet, there are very few instances of *varia lectio* here: cf. Gen. 33:9), nor the structural reason for the association of Theme zeroing with the Relative Conversion, which may have to do with the very mechanism of NS Relative Conversion, diachronically very rare and, for the Delocutive-Theme NS, probably not attested at all.

ΦΗ ΕΤΕΦΩQ/ΠΕΤΕΦΩQ (N-) (etc.) (vs. - ΦΩQ ΑΝ ΠΕ).

ΝΕΤΕΝΟΘQ ΤΗΡQΘ (etc.) (Gen. 20:7, Num. 31:9): does ΤΗΡQΘ here exclude ΝΕ?

ΝΕΤΕΝΟΘK (Gen. 33:9), ΝΗ ΕΤΕ-ΝΟΘK (Num. 16:5).

ΘΗ ΕΤΕΘΩΤΕΝ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑ ... ΦQΘΑΙ ΦQΘΑΙ ΕΤΕΘΩQ ΝΚΤΗ-
CIC (Lev. 25:10, 27:2).

(b) Adverbial Rheme, substantivizing Relative Conversion:

ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-ΕΘΒΕ-ΦQΝΟΒΙ ΜΠΙΛΑQΘ (Lev. 9:15 cf. ANDERSSON 1904: 101).

(c) Hermeneutical syntax:

Num. 33:6 ΑΠΙ ΕΒQΘΑΝ ΕΤΕQΘΜΕΡQΘ ΝΤΕΠΩQΘΕ (Vat + ΠΕ).

(2) Non-Relative cases:

(a) Gen. 13:13 ΝΕ-ΖΑΝΡΕQΕΡΝΟΒΙ (Vat + ΝΕ ΕΜΑΩQ) (Greek οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι... πονηροί).

Gen. 25:24 ΝΕ-ΖΑΝΑΘΡΕQ CΝΑQ ΔΕΝΤΕCΝΕΔΙ (= Vat) (Greek τῇδε ἦν διδύμα ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς) ΝΕQΘQΝ- or ΝΑΡΕ- would have meant a rhematic ΔΕΝ- cf. POLOTSKY 1960 §§35,54 + obs. 3, and contrast

Gen. 38:27 ΝΕQΘQΝ-ΖΑΝΑΘΡΕQ ΔΕΝΤΕCΝΕΔΙ ΠΕ.

(b) (M)ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΑΝ (Gen. 4:15, 48:18, Ex. 10:11), also outside the corpus (Greek οὐχ/μὴ οὕτως)

(c) Gen. 23:15 QΘ ΔΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΑQΘ (Vat + ΠΕ; Greek οὐχὶ κύριε) (QΘ ΔΕ v.l. QΘ ΔΕ ΠΕ Rom. 6:15, Act. 21:22.)

Obs.

(1) The ΦΗ ΕΤΕΦΩQ possessive construction is certainly not restricted to Bohairic, nor, in Bohairic, to our corpus. Shenoutean Sah. exx. (ΠΕΤΕΠΩQ) are sporadic: Leip. III 69 ΠΕΤΕΠΩΝ, Wess. 9 118a 22f. ΝΤΚ-ΠΕΤΕΠΩΚ ΘΕ ΑΝ, Chass. 18 ΝΕΤΕΝΟQ ΤΗΡQΘ, Or. pp. 155, 156 ΠΕΤΕΠΩΚ, ΤΕΤΕΠΩΚ varying with ΠΩΚ, ΤΩΚ. Bohairic, outside the corpus: ΤΕΤΕΘΩQ ΜΒΑΚΙ John 4:44, 15:9, ΠΕΤΕΦΩΙ 16:15; Mt. 20:14:15, 25:25:27. Early Bohairic (B4) John, ΝΕΤΕΝΟQ 8:44, 13:1, ΝΕΤΕΝΟQ 10:14, ΝΗ ΕΤΕΝΟQ ΤΗΡQΘ 10:4.

(2) One cannot help recalling, when considering Ε-/ΕΤΕ-ΦΩQ (ΠΕ), the syntactically *per se* very different Demotic possession-predicating pattern, basic in sales contracts etc. (nty-) mtwf, neg. bn-(jw)- mtw- jn s (e.g. P. Berlin P 13633 10, see ed.'s note, p. 5, negative e.g. in P. Hauswaldt 2a ro 8 etc.; this last pattern, of great antiquity, seems to stand in complementary distribution with wn-mtw=, the former with anaphoric-pronominal and specific *possessa* (including p3-nty- and ... nb), the latter with indefinite and zero-determination ones, and in formulaic combination with possessive-article Rhemes (p3y.k... p3y). Incidentally, the form bn-jw-mtw.st jn "it is not yours (2nd fem.)", P. Hauswaldt 3a ro 5, 7a ro 8 would seem to correspond to a Sahidic QΘΝΤΑC-Ε "You (fem.) have it/them" (see LAYTON 2000 §82 and p. 309ff.).

(3) Another possible case of Theme zeroing in Oxyrhynchite is $\sigma\tau\ \epsilon\eta$ "how...?" occurring in Psalms, Matthew (e.g. Mt. 26:54). However, this is properly zeroing in the Expanded-Theme Pattern (II, below), or even an isolated case of unmediated binominal (bimembral) Rheme — Theme construction.

(4) Cases of Theme-zeroing in the hermeneutical Relative conversion (of the Endophoric Theme?) in Nitrian Bohairic: $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\sigma\tau\text{-}\dots$ AM II 90, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \mu\phi\iota\omega\tau\text{-}\dots$ *ibid.* 104. Hermeneutical zeroing of Theme in Demotic: SIMPSON 1996:167 (R23 and 27) "*nty-iw-p3y:f wħm X*".

(5) In Luke 20:20 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\omega\ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\tau\ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\eta\iota$ (v.l. + $\nu\epsilon$) we have a different environment, historically attested, favouring the zeroing of the anaphoric Theme; cf. also Acts 24:14 $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\iota\varsigma\text{-}$, Shenoute Chass. 63 $\delta\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

(6) Note a case of zeroed Theme in a Circumstantial conversion (v.l. $\pi\epsilon$) in I Cor. 6:11.

(7) ME *jw mj shr ntr* (Sinuhe B 43) is a special case of incidental Theme zeroed, although *jw* is here still a formal Theme. In a sense, this is a correspondent of the Coptic Endophoric pattern.

(8) LE D'Orb. 8/3 zeroed Theme after topicalization: *ħr jr p3-nty-jw.k jr n.j p3y.k jyt...* See ČERNÝ-GROLL 1978:524f.

(9) The unbearable light-handedness of a "grammatical philology" is here in evidence: BROOKE 1902:271 "No importance can be attached in Bohairic to the insertion or omission of the copula before a verb". Forbes Robinson *apud* BROOKE 1902:271 n.1 "...in latter copies the genius of the language asserted itself and caused the omission". TILL 1951:401 "nicht ernst zu nehmen".

(II) The Delocutive Pattern, Theme expanding the cataphoric Formal Theme

A very common, perhaps the most common pattern. $\{\pi\epsilon\}$ is here not anaphoric, but a "provisional" formal Theme **cataphorically co-referential** with an articular or demonstrative non-formal specific Theme. From the communication-contour angle, it is symmetrically inverse to the Topicalized Delocutive NS. The expansion is specific, yet not necessarily cotext-anchored, and often pragmatic-situation anchored. Whereas the unexpanded pattern (I, above) is closely linked to its preceding cotext, and indeed constitutes a **close junctural link**, the Topicalized-Theme (III below) and the expanded ones both are relative **junctural delimitations** (they as it were carry their referates — their lexical "non-formal" Themes — within their bounds). However, the topicalized-Theme pattern is, through its Topic, anchored in the preceding cotext; the expanded-Theme one is not, and is strongly delimitative. Thus, we isolate a double opposition: **Rheme — $\pi\epsilon$** (unexpanded Theme), pronominally anaphoric and juncturally closely cotext-bound (high linkage) opposed to both **Topic — Rheme — $\pi\epsilon$** (topicalized Theme) and **Rheme — $\pi\epsilon$ -Theme** (expanded Theme), which, in turn, are opposed to one another as a link (*via* the topic) and a strong delimiter, respectively. I suggest that $\pi\epsilon$ is a formal Theme, conditioned when the actual

(= non-formal) Theme follows its Rheme: the Rheme-to-Theme sequence must be pronominally mediated (in Coptic and, I suggest, in ME as well), whereas the inverse (Theme-to-Rheme) sequence is either not mediated at all, or, marginally in our corpus, marked as nexal by means of a copula. (In fact, the construction closest to ours, but belonging to verbal nexus syntagmatics is the specification of delocutive pronominal Themes by means of $\mathbf{n\mathbf{\Sigma}\epsilon}$ -). The expansion is therefore thematic, not an “afterthought”, but rather an “antitopic”, and the linkage it provides with the preceding cotext or situational context often recalls topical anchoring. This is not surprising, in view of the frequent grammaticalized thematic nature of the formal Topic in Pattern III below.

Obs.

(1) The expansion-syntagmatics mechanism. It is illuminating to compare our expanding Theme with the “Antitopic” (LAMBRECHT 1996:202ff., following CHAFE 1976: “lexical topic NP positioned AT THE END of the clause containing the information about the topic referent”). In English, the Antitopic is a specialized construction; not so in Coptic, where this characterizes almost an unmarked Rheme-Theme pattern. Is our expansion an “afterthought” (203) — note the prevalence of non-lexical anaphors ($\Phi\Delta\mathbf{I}$ etc.)? “Unaccented” (203): while the enclitic status of the thematic $\pi\epsilon$ is fairly certain (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:34f., 161 n.36), we know next to nothing about the prosodics of the expansion inside the whole complex. On the other hand, “an implicit request from the speaker to the hearer to put the propositional information ‘on hold’ until the antitopic is uttered” (203), “high accessibility of the referent as a general condition for appropriate use of the antitopic construction across languages” (203), “discourse context in which the topic referent is already highly salient”, whereas “left-detachment constructions” are “reserved for topic announcing or topic-shifting contexts” (204) — all these add up to a functional difference between the two kinds of topic, with the clause-final one, at least in English, especially marked. This is hardly the case in Coptic, neither for the expansion of $\pi\epsilon$ nor the $\mathbf{n\mathbf{\Sigma}\epsilon}$ - construction. (Consider, however, the Gunn papers [the Griffith Institute, Oxford] V 75 [ad Gardiner §146 “Emphasis by Anticipation”, in an unbound copy of the *Egyptian Grammar*, keenly annotated by Gunn]: “I disagree with much of this; it is often the part left to the end that is emphasized”).

Distinctive Profile:

- The pattern is dialogic or expositive, distinguished from the topicalized-Theme one (Pattern III) as responsive (see below).
- Theme constituency and specificity: always specific; deictics and highly specific elements ($\Phi\Delta\mathbf{I}$ Deut. 9:3 etc., $\tau\omicron\omicron\sigma\tau\mathbf{I}/\pi\omicron\omicron\sigma\tau$ Ex. 16:23: 25, Proper Names), for non-specific Rhemes; possessive article, for personal-pronoun Rhemes. This implies specificity for $\mathbf{n\mathbf{I}\mathbf{B}\mathbf{\Sigma}\mathbf{N}}$ syntagms (probably “all”, not quantifying “any”, “every”¹⁰), as well as for $\mathbf{n\mathbf{H}}$

¹⁰ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:143. 146ff.

ετ- (see Chapter Three). Φαί δε-, rarely δε-, is the “that”-form Theme.

- Rheme constituency and specificity is broadest (thus different from the Delocutive Pattern [I]): all determinators occur except *zero*¹¹; π- is very rare, occurring only in poetic language; demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns; delocutive personal pronoun — only with possessive-article Themes; Proper Names; adverbials (again, different from Pattern [I]). I find no example of either a *zero*-article or a Proper-Name Rheme in the corpus (polemic or apocritic naming, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:87ff., 102ff. and *passim*).

- The distinctive internal cohesion of the pattern is effected by the near-absolute concord of the expansion (the non-formal Theme) with the formal Theme. There is low or no linkage with textual environment of the clause, other than through the specificity of the non-formal Theme.

- Negation of the pattern is attested, but very rare: I frankly cannot explain this, nor correlate it with any other factor.

- Conversion too is relatively rare — in the corpus only Relative and νε- (the Circumstantial is relatively common in Sahidic).

- Textgrammatical profile. Juncture, reference and concord contours. Prosody. Special configurations:

(a) In the case of demonstrative Rheme, the Rheme reference is often cataphoric **ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΙΡΑΝ / ΝΙΡΟΜΠΙ...**, an introductory unit of listings (e.g. Gen. 25:7:13:17, Ex. 1:1, 6:14ff., Deut. 15:2); anaphoric reference seems to be less prevalent (e.g. Deut. 32:49).

(b) The demonstrative **Φαί** is also (perhaps even more) frequent in the expansion (non-formal Theme) constituent, mainly for non-specific and interrogative Rhemes. Its reference is anaphoric: Num. 3:9 **ΟΥΤΑΙΟ ΕΓΤΟΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ** (cf. ...**ΠΕ Φαί** in 8:16), unless we have **Φαί δε-** or **Φαί ετ-**, which are cataphoric.

(c) See above, on the internal and external linkage of our pattern.

(d) The expansion (non-formal Theme) is the concord-motivating factor, for demonstrative-pronoun Themes and in general: Num. 3:9 **ΟΥΤΑΙΟ ΕΓΤΟΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ** (cf. **ΠΕ Φαί** in 8:16); see below, for some rare exceptions.

(e) The foreshadowed **ΠΕ** — a structurally single **ΠΕ** occurring twice, in two different prosodic *cola* (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:167f. and below, Chapter Four) — is found only in this pattern, in two very similar texts:

¹¹ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1984:177ff.

Gen. 43:32 **ΝΕΟΨΩΦ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΠΕ ΜΑΝΕΨΩΨ ΝΙΒΕΝ** (= Vat).

Gen. 46:34 **ΟΨΩΡΕΒ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΠΕ ΜΑΝΕΨΩΨ ΝΙΒΕΝ** (Vat Δε).

This teaches us something about the prosodic contour of the pattern, the encliticity of the formal Theme and especially the considerable weight of the expansion (Theme).

Obs.

(1) Conspicuous by their absence as Theme in our corpus are indefinites (but Nitrian **ΟΨΗΔΙΩΤΗΣ ΠΕ ΟΨΑΙ** Cat. 151) and ϵ -+ infinitives (Mt. 20:23 **ΦΩΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΤΗΙΩ**).

(2) Diachrony. On the ME forerunner of our pattern, cf. SETHE 1916 §§116-7, GILULA 1976:162, 168f.

The pattern is rare in Demotic (SPIEGELBERG 1925:§459, SIMPSON 1996:166), attested from Late Roman Demotic on (and even then evidently restricted: e.g. Myth 16/10f., with a demonstrative expanding Theme; Mag. 2/13, 19/17, 15/20; converted and negated in Petubastis (Krall) W 11f.), and earlier only in OE and ME: The topicalized-Theme Delocutive (below, Pattern III), on the other hand, has a continuous documentation and is also attested in LE and from Early Demotic. However, all attempted statements concerning relative chronology of the individual patterns must take the Continuity Fallacy or "parallax" into account: one documented phase did not evolve from the respectively "preceding" ones; the absence of data for the sociolinguistic, stylistic or dialectological parameters is drastically distorting (these are rather written disjointed "chronolects" — F. Kammerzell's coinage: language varieties and diasystems separated by the time dimension — rather than phases of one and the same language).

Selective representative Documentation

Indefinite-Article Rheme

Gen. 45:28 **ΟΨΝΙΩΨ ΝΗΙ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ** sim. Gen. 22:23, 32:2, 38:25, 50:11, Deut. 32:47 etc.

Ex. 16:23:25 **ΞΑΝCΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΝΕ ΕΨΟΨΑΒ ΜΠΨC ΠΕ ΤΟΟΨΙ... ΝΕΝCΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΨC ΠΕ ΠΟΟΨ** — foreshadowed Theme.

Num. 13:19f. **ΟΨ-ΑΨ ΝΡΗΨ ΠΕ ΠΙΚΑΞΙ...**

Ex. 18:11 **ΟΨΝΙΩΨ ΠΕ ΠΨC.**

Num. 16:9 **ΑΝ-ΟΨΚΟΨΔΙ ΝΩΤΝ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ ΔΕ-** sim. Num. 16:13, Ex. 9:27; ΔΕ- Num. 16:12. — ΦΑΙ here is cata-, not anaphoric.

Deut. 22:5 **ΟΨΩΡΕΒ ΝΤΕΠΨC ΠΕ ΟΨΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ...**

Gen. 49:9 **ΟΨΜΑC ΜΜΟΨ ΠΕ ΙΟΨΔΑC.**

Deut. 32:33 **ΟΨΜΑΘΟΨΙ ΝΑΡΑΚΩΝ ΠΕ ΠΟΨΗΡΠ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΜΑ-ΘΟΨΙ ΝΞΟΨ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ.**

Also Ex. 34:10, Lev. 1:3:9:, 3:3, 10:13, 21:20, Deut. 33:25, Lev. 2:7:16, 3:6:7, 15:31, 19:25, Deut. 20:20 etc.

Obs.

In the Nitrian Martyrologies, the recurring “οὗαι πε φ† Ν...” (e.g. AM I 6) calls for some attention, for it means, not “One is NN’s God”, but “One is God, *und zwar* NN’S”, or “NN’s is the one God”; Proper-Name generic and “inalienably associated” φ† merging. Compare also AM I 38 παραν νεν φωκ οὗαι πε (not νε).

Interrogative-Pronoun Rheme

Ex. 10:8 ΝΙΜ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΝΑΨΕΝΩΟΨ.

οὗ ΝΕ ΝΙΜΕΤΜΕΘΡΕΨ (Deut. 6:20).

οὗ ΠΕ (ΠΕΦΡΑΝ) (Gen. 31:36, Ex. 3:13).

οὗ / ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ / ΠΑΙ- (Gen. 33:5:8, Ex. 5:2, 13:14, 16:15, Lev. 25:11, 45:28, Deut. 29:24 etc.).

Gen. 47:8 ΟΨΗΡ ΝΕ ΝΙΡΟΜΠΙ.

ΝΙΜ ΠΕ (Proper Name) (Num. 16:11), ΠΙ- (Deut. 20:5ff.).

Obs.

A special case is οὗ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ ΕΤΑ- (mostly with the Relative Preterite; e.g. Gen. 20:9, 26:10, 27:20, 29:25, 42:28, Ex. 4:2, 14:5:11, 18:14 etc.), which constitutes a Cleft-Sentence-like construction (see below).

Personal-Pronoun Rheme + Possessive-Article Theme.

This is the only pattern clearly predicating the personal pronoun. See below, for the distinctive and distinct ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ with an Immutable-Theme and the proclamatory / introductory ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ...

Gen. 49:3 ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΤΑΔΟΜ.

Num. 18:20 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΤΕΚΤΟ.

Deut. 10:9 ΝΘΟQ ΠΕ ΠΟΨΚΛΗΡΟΨ.

Deut. 18:2 ΝΘΟQ ΠΕ ΤΟΨΤΟΙ.

Deut. 10:21 ΝΘΟQ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΝΟΨ†.

Rhematic {π-}: rare

Num. 24:20 ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΕΝΙΕΘΝΟΨ ΠΕ ΠΙΑΜΑΛΗΚ.

Gen. 37:33 ΤΨΘΗΝ ΜΠΑΨΗΡΙ ΤΕ ΘΑΙ.

Deut. 33:29 ΤΨΗQ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΨΟΨΨΟΨ — a gnomic generic sentence (see Chapter Three for the generic-name article).

Probably most prevalent are cases of **demonstrative Rheme** (usually **cataphoric**):

ΦΑΙ ΠΕ + **Theme** (Theme specific: Proper Name, poss. article, def. articles): Gen. 17:10, 24:14:44, 25:7:17, 40:12, 48:18, Ex. 1:1, 3:12, 6:14ff.26, 12:43, 14:12, 15:2, 16:15:23:32, 22:27, 23:22, 25:3, 35:1:4, Lev. 6:2:7, Num. 7:17, 13:27, 18:31, 19:2, 20:13, 26:51:63, 27:12, Deut. 10:21, 34:4 etc.

ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΡΩ ΜΜΩΟ — a recurring formulaic construction (e.g. Ex. 4:22, 8:16, 9:1, 10:3 etc.).

ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΙ (Num. 34:2f.); see also Ex. 29:1:38, Gen. 24:14, 45:9.

Possessive Rhemes:

Ex. 19:5 ΦΩΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡΩ sim. Gen. 26:20.

Gen. 26:20 ΦΩΝ ΠΕ ΠΙΜΩΟ.

Gen. 12:12 ΤΕΡΕΣΙΜΕ ΤΕ ΘΑΙ.

Ex. 4:22 ΠΑΨΟΡΠ ΜΜΙΣΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΣΛ.

Adverbial Rheme:

Deut. 32:32 ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΞΕΝΘΩ ΝΑΛΩΛΙ ΝΟΔΟΜΑ ΠΕ ΤΟΥ-
ΒΩ ΝΑΛΟΛΙ (= Vat) (vs. 32:32f., topicalized ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝ-) — a rare and juncturally instructive case of discord between formal and non-formal Theme, probably due to the ungendered Rheme.

Lev. 23:28 ΕΘΒΕΟΨΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΙΤΩΒΞ ΕΘΒΕΘΗ-
ΝΟΨ.

Lev. 2:5 ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΟΥΕΣΧΑΡΑ ΠΕ ΠΕΓΔΩΡΟΝ.

Ex. 1:19 ΜΦΡΗ† ΑΝ ΝΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ ΝΕ ΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΝΤΕ-
ΝΙΖΕΒΡΕΟΨ — negatived (rare). The placement of ΑΝ is remarkable, and may indicate a *focalizing negation of the Rheme* (cf. the Focus negation in Focalizing Conversion syntax, below).

Deut. 22:26 ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ ΠΑΙΖΩΒ — as usual for ΠΑΙΡΗ†, no marking of adverbial status here. Note P. Vat. copto 9 (B4) Jon. 1:14 ΦΡΗ† ΕΤΕΟΨΩ[Ψ] ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΑΚΙΡΙ.

Obs.

(1) In (Ex. 3:14) ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΨΟΨ..., the Relative is not "simply" in commutation with the substantive in the Deut. 22:26 example; it is rather a Relative-expanded Endophoric pattern, a Cleft Sentence (see below). (Observe that ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ is old in Bohairic: cf. James 2:17 Quecke *Or.* 43 (1974) 388).

(2) Note ΜΦΡΗ† as Theme: Gen. 32:4 ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΜΦΡΗ† ΕΤΕΡΩ ΜΜΟΨ; Num. 32:8 ΑΝ ΦΑΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΨΑΙΩ.

(3) The adverbial Rheme in general is old in Bohairic: cf. ΜΗ ΙΣΞΕΝ-ΞΗ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΨΟΨ ΠΑΝΟΨ† Hab. 1:12 Vat. copto 9 (B4).

Conversions

Relative: possessive-pronoun Rhemes only?

Gen. 38:25 ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΕ-ΝΟΨΩ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ.

Lev. 27:24 ΦΑΙ ΕΤΕ-ΦΩΩ ΠΕ ΠΠΟΞΙ.

Lev. 6:8 ΟΥΘΟΙΝΟΨΙ ΕΤΕ-ΠΕΓΜΕΨΙ ΠΕ ΠΨΟΨ (= Vat; (Greek appositive: ὁσμή εὐωδίας τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς τῷ κυρίῳ) — note the indefinite antecedent of the hermeneutical Relative.

NE-

Gen. 30:30 ΝΕΓΑΝΚΟΨΔΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΕΝΔΨΝΤΑΚ.

Gen. 43:32 ΝΕΟΨΩΨ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΠΕ ΜΑΝΕΨΩΨ
NIBEN.

Obs.

The Relative NS pattern expands a non-specific nucleus in Nitrian and ΝΤ too:

De Vis II 55 ΖΑΝΜΗΨ... ΕΤΕ-ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΖΟΨΙΤ ΜΜΩΨ; AM I 205 ΝΙΡΕΨΕΡ-
ΝΟΒΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΕΤΕ-ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΖΟΨΙΤ ΕΤΕΝΨΗΤΟΨ; Philipp. 3:19:19 ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ-
ΤΟΨΨΑΕ ΠΕ ΠΤΑΚΟ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ-ΠΟΨΝΟΨ† ΠΕ ΤΟΨΝΕΔΙ is a case of the Copular
Pattern converted.

Assorted remarkable cases:

(1) Although the normal appositive syntgmatics, viz. juxtaposition, is the rule between {ΠΕ} (nucleus) and its expansion, for numbers we find N- apposition:

Deut. 23:12 ΖΑΝΒΟΤΕ ΝΕ ΜΠ-Β̄.

(2) A unique example of ΝΔΕ- apposition, properly belonging in the verb clause system: I cannot account for it, but the Presentative is also remarkable:

Deut. 10:14 ΖΗΠΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΑ-ΠΨ̄Ψ ΠΕΚΝΟΨ† ΝΕ ΝΔΕ-ΤΨΕ ΝΕΜ
ΤΨΕ ΝΤΕΤΨΕ ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΕΤΕΝΨΗΤΨ (= Vat)¹².

(3) Gen. 32:4 ΨΔΙ ΠΕ ΜΨΡΗ† ΕΤΕΨΔΩ ΜΜΟΨ — ΜΨΡΗ†, adverbial, is here the Theme.

(4) The expanded Theme may be topicalized (see pattern III below) in a rare solemn asseveration, where Topic and Theme are not only co-present, but co-referent and almost synonymous: Deut. 7:9 ΠΨ̄Ψ ΠΕΚΝΟΨ† ΨΔΙ ΠΕ Ψ†.

(5) Ex. 16:23:25 ΖΑΝΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΝΕ ΕΨΟΨΑΒ ΜΠΨ̄Ψ ΠΕ ΤΟΟΨΙ...
ΝΕΝΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΨ̄Ψ ΠΕ ΠΟΟΨ.

An especially nice instance of the “foreshadowed enclitic” (SHISHA-
HALEVY 1986a:167f., and see Chapter Four) combined with pattern switching (I to II or IV). It is clear that ΝΕ and ΠΕ belong here to the same prosodic category.

(6) Ex. 1:19 ΜΨΡΗ† ΑΝ ΝΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ ΝΕ ΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΝΤΕ-
ΝΙΖΕΒΡΕΟΨ.

An instance of affirmative nexus but negative Rheme. Cf. the opposition between negative Focus and negative nexus (the Focalizing Conversion, below).

¹² Compare the probably Copular ΝΤΑΨ ΠΕ ΠΙΜΑΙΤ ΔΝ ΝΘΟΨΙΤΕ ΝΔΕ-ΠΨΑΡΠ
ΝΡΩΜΕ (Man. Ps. 22.6f.; cf. Wurst *apud* SCHENKE 1997/8b:190), where ΝΔΕ- specifies
the Theme ΝΤΑΨ, not the Copula ΠΕ, which is phorically inert.

(7) Deut. 33:17 **ζΑΝΤΑΠ ΝΤΕΦΑΘΤΑΠ ΝΟΨΩΤ ΠΕ ΝΕΨΤΑΠ.**

Poetic language — homolexicemic Rheme/Theme: note the singular formal Theme.

(8) Gen. 37:32 **ΑΝ-ΨΘΗΝ ΜΠΕΚΨΗΡΙ ΤΕ ΘΑΙ.**

A unique case of the *zero* article as Rheme: however, in view of **ΤΨΘΗΝ** in verse 33 (so Vat too), I would suspect the same form in our verse too (phonetic simplification of a difficult cluster?).

(9) Ex. 30:13 (**ΤΦΑΨΙ Ν†ΚΙ†**) ... **Κ ΝΤΕΒΙ ΠΕ †ΚΙ†.**

A noteworthy *locus*. I see this as an instance of the Immutable-Theme pattern (V), with the final **†ΚΙ†** not appositive Theme, but distributive-adverbial (“It’s 20 bricks per Kiti”).

(III) The Delocutive Pattern, Theme topicalized

This pattern is very typical of Bohairic, and typologically important in Bohairic more than in any other dialect. In fact, the devalued Bohairic Topic is encountered not only in NS patterning: contrast John 9:3 **ΦΑΙ ΜΠΕΨΕΡΝΟΒΙ** with Sah. **ΜΠΕΠΑΙΡΝΟΒΕ**. However, topicalization as a general issue must be studied further; by general impression I would suggest that the Topicalized Nominal-Sentence Theme is still a case apart. In a superficial sense, this pattern is the mirror image of the Expanded Delocutive (II), and these two patterns are the only ones of the Delocutive set to be “in concurrence”, i.e. in paradigmatic opposition. A key feature in this pattern is the devaluation of topicality — the Topic being formally defined by its conditioned resumption by a pronominal, formally thematic anaphor — into a clause-initial Theme. This is a devaluation by no means absolute and complete, yet no doubt more than incipient. In fact, it is probably a gradient feature; but the real “topicality of the Topic” is usually maintained through special signalling, e.g. by **ΜΕΝ... ΔΕ...** and other exponents of contrastive prominence (cf. Gen. 27:22 **†CΜΗ ΜΕΝ ΤCΜΗ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΕ ΝΙΖΙΣ ΔΕ ΝΕΝΔΙΣ ΝΗCΑΨ ΝΕ**). Or, by macrosyntactic linkage to the preceding cotext or context (consider the pragmatic Topic in Ex. 12:26 **ΦΑΙΨΕΜΨΙ ΟΨ ΠΕ**); or by the determination of the Rheme and the relationship of its lexeme to that of the Topic. On the other hand, Lev. 13:21 **ΦΑΙ ΟΨΞΛΟΑ ΠΕ** illustrates the Topic-turned-Theme extreme. This is a case of what is too generally known as “grammaticalization” (an unfortunate term really, since any attested linguistic form or combination is “grammatical” by definition of grammatical structure. Better, “formalization”). A formal feature that strongly corroborates this analysis is the inclusion of the Topic in the conversion of the clause. However, an even more important distinctive feature of the pattern, its *raison d’être* in fact, is the high

cohesivity of its Topic: I believe this is the main difference between the two concurring patterns (II) and (III) — the former Rheme-initial, Theme-final, essentially delimitative, the latter Theme-initial, in structural sequence Theme-final, and highly cohesive. (The Topic of [III] is also generally speaking of higher specificity than the Theme of [II]).

Distinctive Profile:

- The pattern is essentially dialogic — rarely narrative, unless *νε*-converted; then in Comment Mode (e.g. Gen. 46:32)
- The prevalence of demonstratives as Topics is very striking indeed: yet they also occur also as expansions in pattern (II), which calls for a resolution of the paradigmatic opposition between the two patterns (see below).
- The Rheme constituency is as varied as that of Pattern (II), but subtly different from it, in that cases of specific Rheme are rare, and the typical Rheme is non-specific or specificity-indifferent.
- Topic constituency, syntagmatics and specificity. The Topic is highly specific and cohesive, not only by determinators (consider Gen. 29:31; also, Proper Names and the frequent {Φαί} and possessive articles). {Φαί} ({παί}-) is, I believe, particularly important. As a rule combining with non-specific Rhemes, it is the most striking case of Topic-to-Theme formalization (in fact, neutralizing the distinction between Topic and Theme).

Note: (a) extensive topics are rare: Gen. 48:5; (b) the Topic may be expanded by a (Preterite) relative form, which is placed as final in the clause (a construction to be carefully distinguished from the Cleft Sentence): Gen. 37:10 *ταῖραςοι οὗ τε παυήρι ἐτακνάει ἐρος*. On the other hand, Present-tense relatives occur within the Topic units — the Topic may then be fairly extensive (Gen. 41:27); (c) cases of Topic/Rheme balance — equi-specificity, homolexemicity — are very rare, and favour balanced or correlative *Wechselsatz* reading: Gen. 25:28 *δε-νε-τεφζορζς τεφζρε τε* (for more examples, see below; in this, too, our pattern corresponds to the Sahidic Copular Theme-to-Rheme pattern). In fact, the specificity imbalance — highly specific Topic, non-specific Rheme — is a prime factor, the most striking characteristic of this pattern.

• Generally speaking, in cases of “real” prominent Topics (see above), this pattern *focalizes* the Rheme (Deut. 9:13 *παῖλαος ῥανναψατ-ναρβι νε*) and is opposed to the expanding Theme (Pattern II) as typically allocutive, not reactive: Ex. 12:27 *Φαίψεμψι οὗ πε — οὗ-ψοτψωοτψι μπ̄ς πε παῖπαςχα*. The Topicalized-Theme

Pattern, through its initial Thematization, is typically part of thematic progression, and is strikingly anaphorically-linked or cotext/context-referred: Deut. 1:17 $\pi\iota\gamma\alpha\pi \Phi\alpha\Phi\uparrow \pi\epsilon$ follows (verse 15ff.) $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\ldots \sigma\tau\alpha\pi\ldots \xi\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\alpha\pi\ldots \uparrow\gamma\alpha\pi\ldots$

• Negation is but rarely attested. In this, the locutive Topicalized Theme pattern is again associated with the Copular Pattern. (Theme-initial NS nexus patterns seem generally to be less compatible with nexal negation). The only instance I find in the corpus follows the Presentative $\gamma\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \text{ IC}$, and is thus not straightforwardly topicalized:

Lev. 13:31f. $\alpha\varphi\psi\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\sigma \ldots \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\omicron\zeta \sigma\theta\omicron\zeta \gamma\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \text{ IC } \pi\epsilon\varphi\zeta\omicron \sigma\tau\alpha\eta\epsilon \alpha\eta \pi\epsilon \ldots \sigma\theta\omicron\zeta \gamma\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\varphi\alpha\omega\rho \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \ldots \sigma\theta\omicron\zeta \pi\gamma\omicron \eta\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\omicron\mu\delta\epsilon\mu \eta\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\epsilon \alpha\eta \pi\epsilon$ (exactly = Vat, even to the alternation of *zero* ... $\alpha\eta$ and (non-Circumstantial?) η ... $\alpha\eta$ — an alternation I cannot explain).

• Conversion is well attested, in two constructions. The first converts the Rheme + Formal Theme core alone, with the Topic preceding the converters, the second converts the whole Topic + clause complex. The former delimits the Topic from the Rheme + Formal Theme core, the second links the Topic to the rest of the pattern in especially close juncture.

Obs.

(1) This pattern is, as said, typically Bohairic: see POLOTSKY 1987:32, 45f., not considering topicalization but different “clause rhythms”.

(2) See SHIBATANI 1991 for the “grammaticalization of Topic into subject”, which here calls for comment on several counts. First, the terminological “subject”, which I would replace by “Theme”, because of the terminological association of “Subject” with verbal nexus (see above). Second, and more importantly, “grammaticalization” (or better formalization) can, I believe, be meaningful both — or either — synchronically or diachronically. Pronouncing on this phenomenon in the latter perspective is rather foolhardy in the case of Egyptian (“Demotic-to-Bohairic”?), while the former requires a study of Bohairic topicalization at large, to establish opposition paradigms that would allow us to identify, qualify and possibly quantify the first term as clause-referred, i.e. thematic, rather than discourse-referred, i.e. topical. We will have to characterize types of differences or perhaps transition or gradation between Topics — “weakly cotextual” — and wholly non-cotextual Themes. Moreover, Shibatani does not take into account the junctural factor, of the gradation of cohesion of the clause to its environment. Finally, the whole conceptualization is unfortunately non-structural.

(3) The Topicalized-Theme pattern may, in a broad view, be taken to correspond in Bohairic to the copular pattern (Theme-copula-Rheme) in Sahidic — cf. POLOTSKY 1987:36ff.; LOPRIENO 1995:267 n.76.

(4) Diachronic predecessors are considered in a Sahidic view of things, e.g. SETHE 1916 §128ff. Ours is a pattern of importance in the diachrony of the Egyptian NS — indeed, Sethe reflects on its primacy (in relative diachrony) in the later phases of Egyptian over

the expanded-Theme pattern. See also JOHNSON 1981 (Demotic); WESTENDORF 1981/3:86ff. (LE too seems to prefer this pattern! — see GROLL 1967; JUNGE 1981; SATZINGER 1981).

(5) Demotic # N N p3y #: see JOHNSON 1981:419: “anomalous” — yet this pattern is anything but rare (in JOHNSON 1991:16f., this is the only NS pattern to be illustrated in the corpus-based grammar). It is very common, indeed it is, from the earliest Demotic on (cf. Ryl. IX 3/17f.) almost the first pattern that comes to mind for predicating one noun of another. Consider Oracle 5/10, Ins. 9/23, Mag. 12/26, Myth. 17/15, I Setne 5/12 etc. (cf. also the “Your elder son is my elder son” formulaic clause in marriage contracts).

(6) In Nitrian Bohairic, the reference contour for this pattern is distinct, also, endophoric-like, anaphoric to the Rheme: De Vis I 98 ΤΕΤΙΑ ΜΠΑΡΙΜΙ... ΦΩΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΙΩΤ, AM I 38 ΠΑΡΑΝ ΝΕΜ ΦΩΚ ΟΥΑΙ ΠΕ.

(7) The Topicalized Delocutive is used hermeneutically (in Sahidic, the Copular pattern is used in this case), cf. De Vis II 106, 107; Cat. 10. Note Cat. 40 †CΣΙΜΙ †CΦΙΑ ΤΕ ΕΤΕ-ΝΘΟQ ΡΩ ΠΕ ΠΧC, combining both topicalized and endophoric constructions.

(8) Is AM I 54 ΝΑΝΟΤ† ΝΕΤΕΝΝΟΤ† ΝΕ ΤΑΜΕΤΟΤΡΟ ΤΕΤΕΝΜΕΤΟΤΡΟ ΤΕ the Bohairic version of the *Wechselsatz* or correlative or balanced construction (cf. also Gen. 25:28, quoted below)? For Coptic and Demotic, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a:184ff., 1989b:59f.

(9) Non-anaphoric resumption in topicalizing the final-Theme pattern (II) yields cases like ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΜΕΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΜΕΤΜΕΘΡΕ John 8:14 (B4). AM I 128 ΑΝΟΝ ΞΑΝΞΗΚΙ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΝΕ resumes the topicalized plural personal pronoun lexically, as if it were a plural determinator — actually the only way of resuming it.

(10) A special Bohairic proleptic topicalizing pattern: cognition verbs contract an idiomatic clause-object construction for Nominal Sentence clauses (Pattern I), in which the Theme of the clause joins the lexeme as object actant, and is then resumed in the content-(Δε-) clause. It is thus topicalized:

Ex. 2:2 ΕΤΑΥΝΑΘ ΔΕ ΕΡΟQ ΔΕ-ΟΥΑCΤΙΟC ΠΕ.

Ex. 16:15 ΝΑΥCΩΘΩΝ ΜΜΟQ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΔΕ-ΟΥ ΠΕ.

Ex. 21:36 ΑΥΨΑΝCΟΥΕΝ-ΠΙΜΑCΙ ΔΕ-ΟΥΡΕQΣΟΛΔΕΛ ΠΕ.

Num. 11:16 ΝΗ ... ΕΤΕΚCΩΘΩΝ ΜΜΩΘ ΔΕ-ΞΑΝΠΡΕCΒΩΤΕΡΟC ΝΤΕΠΑΙΛΑΟC ΝΕ.

In Nitrian: ΔΡΕCΟΥΩΝΤ ΔΕ-ΑΝΟΚ ΝΙΜ Mac. No. 8 Β ΑCΟΠQ ΔΕ-...ΠΕ Mac. No. 6; sim. ωΠ De Vis I 168, II 165; ΝΑQCΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΔΕ-...ΝΕ De Vis I 69, II 172, Cat. 76 ΑΥΔΕΜΟΥ ΔΕ- + NS De Vis II 75; Cat. 96, 100 etc.

Selective representative documentation

Indefinite-Article Rheme: most common

Deut. 32:4 Φ† ΞΑΝΜΗ ΝΕ ΝΕQΞΒΗΟΤΕ ΟΥΟΞ ΝΕQΜΩΙΤ ΤΗ-ΡΟΥ ΞΑΝΞΑΠ ΝΕ.

Gen. 2:23 ΦΑΙ †ΝΟΥ : ΟΥΚΑC ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΝΑΚΑC ΝΕΜ ΟΥ-CΑΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΤΑCΑΡΞ.

Note the colon prosodic unit following Topic + Particle separator.

Gen. 4:13 ΠΑΝΟΒΙ ΟΥΝΙΩ† ΠΕ sim. 18:20.

Gen. 27:11 ΗCΑΥ ΠΑCΟΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕQΡΗΤ ΝQΩΙ ΠΕ.

Ex. 12:42 ΦΑΙ ΟΥΟΤΕΡΩΙ ΝΤΕΠCΤΕ ΤΕ — contrast this with the Immutable-Theme Ex. 12:42 ΟΥΟΤΕΡΩΙ ΝΤΕΠCΤΕ ΠΕ).

Lev. 19:20 **οτορ θαι οτβωκι τε.**

Gen. 28:17 **ιςδεκ παϊμα οτχο† πε.**

Gen. 46:32 **νιρωμι δε ρανμανεσωο νε ρανρωμι γαρ νρεφωανεω-τεβνη νε** — a rare unconverted narrative (Comment Mode) instance.

Deut. 12:23 **περсноρ οτψοχη πε.**

Lev. 27:28 **δε-πεθοταβ πε ντενεθοταβ μπ̄с.**

Also Gen. 4:13, 18:20, Ex. 3:5, 29:22:28, 21:29, 31:16, 34:9:14, 36:36, Lev. 5:1, 13:28, 16:34, 24:10, Num. 13:32, 16:3, 21:24, 32:4, Deut. 3:11:17, 4:24, 7:16);

Rheme: number, quantifier

Deut. 6:5 **п̄с πεκνοο† οται πε.**

Gen. 41:25 **ορασοι м̄φараω οσι τε.**

Gen. 41:27 **†з̄ νερε ετωом ετδαιωοο οτορ ετρωοο εοηноο επωωι самензноο з̄ нромпи νε.**

Gen. 35:22 **νενωηρι δε νιακωβ ιβ νε** sim. 49:28.

Ex. 12:40 **πιδινδωιαι ντενενωηρι μπ̄сλ ... ολ̄ нромпи πε** (Vat. **νε**) — the concord with the Rheme, as in Vat, indicates a different pattern (the Endophoric Theme, Pattern IV).

Also Gen. 46:26f., 47:9.

Interrogative-Pronoun Rheme: ним, οτ

Gen. 24:65 **παιρωμι ним πε εττη** — not Cleft Sentence, but Relative expansion of the Topic (not the Rheme!), which is pragmatically cohesive and syntactically final.

Gen. 44:15 **παιρωβ οτ πε εταρετεναισ̄** sim. Ex. 1:18.

Gen. 29:15 **πεκβεχε οτ πε** sim. Gen. 46:33 = 47:3.

Gen. 37:10 **ταιρασοο οτ τε παωηρι ετακнаω ερος.**

Also Ex. 12:26, Deut. 7:1.

Specificity-indifferent Rhemes:

Deut. 33:7 **φαι φαιοσдас πε.**

Deut. 1:17 **πζап φαφ† πε** — the possessive pronoun is specificity-indifferent: see Chapter Three.

Ex. 13:2 **ιςденφρωμι ωаптевνη νοσι νε** sim. Gen. 48:5 — adverbial Topic.

Num. 20:19 **πιρωβ ρλι πε.**

Also Ex. 9:29.

Specific Rheme: π- н- /-нте- (rare)

Deut. 21:17 **φαι тарχη нтенефωηρι πε** sim. Ex. 12:2 — note that this article ({π-}) is not specifying *per se*: see Chapter Three. However, in Deut. 21:17 we find a Relative clause coordinated to the Rheme: **οτορ етесωε наρ еси н†метωор ммис̄ι**, a remarkable com-

patibility, which must mean a pronominal, not converter role of the Relative.

Ex. 13:6 ΠΙΕΞΟΟΤ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΞ-Ξ ΠΥΑΙ ΜΠ̄C ΠΕ — possibly a Topicalized Endophoric (“On the seventh day, it’s/there is the Lord’s Holiday”).

Specific Rheme: Possessive Article (rare)

Gen. 25:28 ΝΕ-ΤΕQΔΟΡΔC ΤΕQΔΡΕ ΤΕ — almost *Wechselsatz*.

Gen. 31:43 ΝΑΙΩΕΡΙ · ΝΑΩΕΡΙ ΝΕ · ΟΤΟΞ ΝΑΙΤΕΒΝΩΟΤΙ · ΝΑΤΕΒΝΩΟΤΙ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΤ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΩ ΕΡΩΟΤ: ΝΟΤΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΜ ΝΑΩΗΡΙ — two instances of the *Wechselsatz* or correlative/balanced construction.

Adverbials as Rheme (uncommon)

Ex. 29:14 Φ̄ΑΙ ΕΞΕΝΦ̄ΝΟΒΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ (= Vat).

Num. 11:7 ΠΙΜΑΝΝΑ ΜΦ̄ΡΗ† ΝΟΤΒΕΡΩΗΟΤ ΠΕ.

Conversions

Relative:

The only instance has the converter bracketing the whole [Topic + core] complex:

Lev. 14:35 Φ̄Η ΕΤΕ-ΠΙΝΙ Φ̄ΩQ ΠΕ.

Obs.

The same construction in Dan. 6:2 (Bardelli) ΕΤΕΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΟΥΑΙ Ν̄ΗΤΟΤ ΠΕ.

Circumstantial:

Gen. 11:3 ΟΤΟΞ ΑΤΟΤΤΩΒΙ ΨΩΠΙ ΝΩΟΤ ΕΤΩΝΙ ΟΤΟΞ ΠΟΤ-ΚΑΞΙ ΕΟΤΒΡΕΞΙ ΠΕ — ΠΟΤΚΑΞΙ stands here in symmetry to ΤΟΤ-ΤΩΒΙ, and the Circumstantial is rhematic complement to ΕΤΩΝΙ, and thus not properly topical.

ΝΕ-: in Narrative, all instances of “Narrator’s Channel”, Comment Mode — see above.

Gen. 25:28 ΔΕ-ΝΕ-ΤΕQΔΟΡΔC ΤΕQΔΡΕ ΤΕ (= Vat) — this *locus* — one of the *Wechselsatz* kind, with the Topic and Rheme of equal specificity — is marked by especially close linkage of Topic to clause, as against the normal delimitation of the Topic from the clause by the conversion, in a homogenous series of passages, all predicating a quality or property, all coordinated, with a Proper-Name Topic, all background-supplying in narrative Comment Mode:

Num. 12:3 ΟΤΟΞ ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΜΩΤCΗC ΝΕΟΤΡΕΜΡΑΨ ΠΕ ΕΜΑ-ΨΩ.

Gen. 29:31 ΡΑΧΗΛ ΔΕ ΝΘΟΣ ΝΕΟΤΑΒΡΗΝ ΤΕ.

Gen. 24:1 ΟΥΟΣ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΝΕΟΤΣΕΛΛΟ ΠΕ.

Ex. 16:36 ΠΙΓΟΤΜΟΡ ΔΕ ΝΕΟΤΡΕΜΗΤ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΠΙ-Γ ΝΨΙ.

Gen. 29:17 ΛΙΑ ΔΕ ΝΕΟΤΖΑΙΕ ΝΙΑΤΣ ΤΕ.

Num. 12:3 ΟΥΟΣ ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΜΩΨΧΗΣ ΝΕΟΤΡΜΡΑΨΥ ΠΕ ΕΜΑΨΩ.

Num. 35:23 ΟΥΟΣ ΝΘΟΦ ΝΕΟΤΖΑΔΙ ΝΤΑΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ.

Lev. 24:10 ΟΥΟΣ ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΕ-ΠΨΗΡΙ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΙ ΝΙΣΡΑΗ-ΛΙΤΗΣ ΟΥΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΝΕΟΨΨΗΡΙ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΟΤΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ΔΕΝΝΕΝ-ΨΗΡΙ ΝΙΣΛ.

Also Ex. 33:11, 22:4.

Obs.

Again, conversion before Topic may be an indication of grammaticalization into Theme. An Early Bohairic example: ΕΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΣΟΝΙ ΠΕ John 18:40 (B4).

Assorted Remarkable Cases

(1) Gen. 45:6 ΘΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΘΜΑΖΡΟΜΠΙ Β† ΤΕ ΕΤΑΨΩΠΙ...

This is a case of the Topicalized Endophoric Theme: see below. This is characterized by the concord of the formal Theme with the Rheme, not the Topic, and the placement of ΓΑΡ: contrast Ex. 29:14, quoted above. (Vat has Pattern (II)). Note discord with ΕΤΑΨ-, in P and Vat.

(2) Gen. 41:26f. †Ξ ΝΕΖΕ ΕΘΑΝΕΨ Ξ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΕ ΟΥΟΣ ΠΙ-Ξ ΝΖΕΜΣ ΕΘΑΝΕΨ Ξ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΕ — note the plural reference to the “complexive”, formally singular Topic. This instance is hermeneutic, and in Sahidic would probably be copular (the Theme-to-Rheme sequence applies to our pattern too).

(3) In Ex. 31:15 ΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΖ-Ξ ΖΑΝΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ÷ ΝΕ [ΟΨΜ] <Μ>ΤΟΝ ΕΦΟΨΑΒ ΜΠΔ̄ (ΟΨΜ *super lin.*) (= Vat) we have the Topicalized Endophoric Pattern (below).

(4) Deut. 8:9 ΟΥΚΑΖΙ ΕΝΕ-ΝΕΦΩΝΙ ΜΒΕΝΙΠΙ ΝΕ.

The Circumstantial- ΝΕ- conversion is probably in adnominal status; like the relative, converting the whole topicalized complex. The Rheme would then be adverbial (a unique example of the rhematizing Ν- as Rheme of NS). Vat has here ΕΡΕΝΕΦΩΝΙ ΖΑΝΒΕΝΙΠΙ ΝΕ, which is remarkable too, in the form ΕΡΕ- of the Circumstantial converting a NS.

(5) Lev. 11:41 ΣΑΤΦΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ... ΟΨΩΡΕΒ ΝΗΤΕΝ ΠΕ ΦΔΙ (= Vat).

This again is a topicalization of the Endophoric Pattern (IV), showing a resumption of the Topic in a peculiar demonstrative extension, thus, in effect, topicalization of Pattern (II).

(6) Num. 16:3 ΤΑΙΣΨΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΤΗΡΣ ΖΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΕΨΟΨΑΒ ΝΕ (= Vat) — an instance of *ad sensum* reference to the Topic.

(7) Deut. 4:35 $\overline{\pi\epsilon\kappa\nu\omicron\tau}\ \overline{\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma}\ \overline{\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\Phi\iota}$ — it is doubtful whether this is the Topicalized-Theme pattern (II) and not a Topicalized Delocutive variety of the “Divine Acclamation” construction: see below.

(8) Num. 22:3 $\overline{\alpha\varsigma\rho\iota\kappa\iota}\ \overline{\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda}\ \overline{\mu\mu\omicron\iota}\ \overline{\Phi\iota}\ \overline{\Phi\iota}\ \overline{\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon}\ \overline{\nu\varsigma\omicron\pi}\ \overline{\pi\epsilon}$.

Here the Nominal Sentence has *adverbial* status (“for the second time”).

(IV) The Delocutive Pattern: Theme Endophoric. (IVa), The Endophoric Pattern Topicalized

Gen. 37:27 $\overline{\Delta\epsilon}\text{-}\overline{\pi\epsilon\kappa\nu\omicron\tau}\ \overline{\pi\epsilon}\ \overline{\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma}\ \overline{\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\chi}\ \overline{\tau\epsilon}$.

Ex. 20:10 $\overline{\Delta\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\tau}\ \overline{\Delta\epsilon}\ \overline{\mu\mu\alpha\gamma\text{-}\xi}\ \overline{\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\kappa}\ \overline{\mu\overline{\pi\epsilon\kappa\nu\omicron\tau}}\ \overline{\nu\epsilon}$.

This pattern, common in the corpus, is an intriguing one, important, I believe, both for its unique internal juncture and reference mechanism and for the fact that it is in Sahidic the core of the much more familiar Cleft Sentence. In this pattern, the Theme $\overline{\pi\epsilon/\tau\epsilon/\nu\epsilon}$ is even “more formal” than elsewhere: it refers back — mechanically, in a manner of speaking, and purely as a means of internal cohesion — to the **determinator nucleus** (Chapter Three) in the Rheme, in a kind of automatism that makes its phoricity non-pertinent, and functional only as a junctural signal and suprasegmental *signifiant* of copula. Quoting from SHISHA-HALEVY 1987:164f. “the theme is empty, a ‘dummy’ slot-filler, formal constituent...indeed a mark of the preceding segment’s rhematic status... [the formal theme] is neither commutable with [n]or referent to any lexeme and is thus paradigmatically as well as macrosyntactically inert”.

The Endophoric Theme is thus internally phoric and has no real referent deictic role, either in the cotextual environment or in the pragmatic situation of the clause. This approximately matches Karl Brugmann’s “freie Impersonalien” and “Subjektlose Verba”¹³, in Indo-European a verbal diathesis and valency feature; or “It’s...” / “C’est...” (occasionally, “There is...”) clauses. (However, the zeroed-Theme pattern is in Bohairic essentially different: see above).

If this pattern is somewhat problematic, it is not in the systemic fact and details of its very existence and structure, but, technically, in identifying and distinguishing it from the final (expanded) Theme pattern (II)

¹³ Cf. POLOTSKY 1987:28.

and the Topicalized-Theme one (III). It must also be carefully distinguished from the "Immutable Theme" one (V, below), in which $\pi\epsilon$ is pragmatic and situationally or exophorically referent. This is difficult for the *sgl.* masculine determinators, but can nevertheless be based on formal and semantic evidence.

Obs.

(1) Cf. COHEN 1966:56ff. ("verbes unipersonnels", Damourette and Pichon's term); GOUGENHEIM 1970:130-148.

(2) The Existential-Presentational reading of the Endophoric pattern, triggered by the conjunction of an adverbial modification with an non-specific Existant/Presentate-Rheme, is shared by some varieties of the Immutable Theme one (see below): the unedited. (B4) Zach. 3:9 $\epsilon\delta\rho\eta\iota\ \epsilon\delta\epsilon\eta\ \pi\omega\nu\iota\ \mu\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\ \xi\ \mu\beta\alpha\lambda\ \eta\epsilon$ "There are seven eyes" or "Seven eyes are observable" (Greek existential $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\ \acute{\omicron}\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}\iota\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu$). Evidently, there are two different kinds of existence or existentiality relation expressed here ($\omicron\tau\eta\eta\text{-}\xi\ \mu\beta\alpha\lambda$ would have here a different meaning): our *locus* is **presentative and explicative**.

Distinctive Profile

- Textemics. the distribution of the pattern is broad: legal, diagnostic, expositive textemes; dialogue; narrative (when $\eta\epsilon$ - converted).

- Juncturally, the pattern is more highly linked than the final-Theme pattern (II). It is often reactive: responsive to questions — especially Cleft — or reactive to querying pragmatic situations; also resultative, grounding-explicative (explicative $\xi\epsilon$ - or $\rho\alpha\pi$ are significant components), constative, diagnostic, summing-up, definitional. It usually occurs at the end of its macro-unit (usually demarcated by the *lemniscus* graphemic delimiter "÷" [see Chapter Four], which properly belongs to the preceding text, as it were a colon or semi-colon), constituting in itself a final boundary signal or delimiter. (All this does not apply to the dialogic occurrences, to the negated or converted or modified pattern, or to the Topicalized Endophoric). The Endophoric pattern also follows a presetting adverbial phrase.

- Negation is relatively well attested.

- Conversion is well attested. $\eta\epsilon$ - *narrativizes* the pattern; most often in Comment Mode, but occasionally for the Narrative Peak (Gen. 29:15 $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\iota\alpha\ \tau\epsilon$).

Obs.

(1) I find in the corpus no instance of the type $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho\chi\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho\chi\ \alpha\eta\ \tau\epsilon$ (I Cor. 15:32), Endophoric (not Topicalized) Theme, with its real Rheme the lexemic reiteration (Common in Shenoute, cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a). In Nitrian, $\eta\epsilon\omicron\alpha\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\sigma\omega\iota\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau\ \omicron\omega\omicron\alpha\ \pi\alpha\iota\eta\omega\tau\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau\ \eta\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau$ (Cat. 230) belongs rather to the Immutable-Theme or " $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \pi\epsilon$ " pattern (below).

- (2) A suppletive alternant of this NS is conjugated $\psi\omega\pi\iota$: $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\phi\eta\alpha\tau\psi\omega\pi\iota$ (Gen. 29:7)
- (3) The Endophoric responsive to a Cleft Sentence, even without the formal Theme π :- $\#\omega\tau\epsilon\tau\text{-}\#\epsilon\lambda\alpha\text{-}\eta\epsilon\#$ De Vis II 92; Cat. 229.
- (4) The Endophoric/unexpanded Delocutive responsive to the final-Theme expanded delocutive: Cat. 32, 33, 36, 40, 58 — hermeneutic syntax.
- (5) The Endophoric pattern is well attested in Demotic, from its earliest phase on: SHISHA-HALEVY 1989b:55ff. Consider Ryl. IX 3/17f., 6/15, 8/9.13 etc. A Demotic predecessor of the hermeneutical Relative Conversion following a Proper Name (Or. 2/12f.) *Kmj nty-jw t3-wnm p3y*, also Mag. verso 1/8. Negatived: P. Berlin 13619 line 10f. *bn t3y.w prt-sht in t3y* (ed. Zauzich, *Papyri der Insel Elephanine*, Berlin 1978) “It’s not their seed-grain”. Converted: Circumstantial, *Setne* II.5/15. In Demotic, we seem to have most often zero-determination of the Rheme: *šm p3y* Ankhsh. 9/16 (pragmatic?), or Ryl. IX 17/5 (negatived): *bn dnjt jw-n3w-mtwf jn t3y*. P. Berlin P. 13549 12 (ed. Zauzich 1993) *mdt jw-jw.s p3-4 s3w t3y* “It’s a matter concerning the four phylai”. This may be essentially different, for here the reference — and the concord linkage — is to a gender/number exponent or exponence-slot contained in the lexeme itself, like the residual case of Coptic $\text{CON/C}\omega\text{NI}$, $\epsilon\text{PO}/\epsilon\text{P}\omega$ and such. In written language, one must consider this slot still fully operative (cf. French written language) — Ryl. IX 10/21 *rmt-swg.w n3w*, P. Berlin P. 15628 line 7f. *mdt* ‘3.1 *m-šs t3y*, also II *Setne* 2/17; Oracle 6/7 zero-determined but specific: *hrw n3-ntrw p3y* Or. 6/7; indefinite: *w’-msh...p3y* Loeb 10/4f., *w’-nr...p3y* Mag. 3/17. However, this is the case in NS generally; consider P. Berlin P. 13549 12 to 15 (ed. Zauzich 1993), where we have instances of the Endophoric, Delocutive and Topicalized Delocutive patterns, all with zero-determined Rhemes, and it seems that the determination opposition in this slot is between *p3*- and *zero*, with the indefinite playing a marginal role, if any: this needs further study. (In P. Berlin P. 13549 verso 5 we find a mysterious *t3y* which seems to sum up (neutrally) a preceding cotext, but, since its following adverbial sequence appears to be rhematic, may be endophorically thematic to an unexpressed feminine Rheme such as *mdt: t3y r tm sgby r-jr.f* Zauzich “Das ist (ein Wort) um ihn nicht zu verletzen”...“Für den Sprecher liegt damit eine Art Nominalsatz vor: (*mt*) *t3y*”. See also below, for the Topicalized Endophoric in Demotic.

Selective representative Documentation

Lev. 3:3 $\omega\theta\omega\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\eta\iota\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda\delta\epsilon\pi\pi\iota\psi\omega\tau\psi\omega\tau\psi\iota$
 $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\omega\tau\delta\alpha\iota\div\omega\theta\omega\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\mu\pi\tau\overline{\zeta}\pi\epsilon$.

Ex. 12:11 $\dots\omega\theta\omega\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\tau\omega\mu\zeta\delta\epsilon\eta\omega\tau\iota\omega\varsigma\div\omega\tau\pi\alpha\varsigma\chi\alpha$
 $\mu\pi\tau\overline{\zeta}\pi\epsilon$.

Lev. 6:10 $\lambda\iota\theta\iota\eta\zeta\eta\eta\eta\omega\tau\iota\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\omega\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\psi\eta\eta\mu\pi\tau\overline{\zeta}$.
 $\eta\epsilon\theta\omega\tau\alpha\beta\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\theta\omega\tau\alpha\beta\eta\epsilon$.

Lev. 18:17 $\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\zeta\iota\eta\tau\psi\epsilon\tau\iota\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\psi\eta\eta\tau\iota\eta\epsilon\mu\tau\psi\epsilon\tau\iota\eta\tau\epsilon$
 $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\psi\epsilon\tau\iota\eta\epsilon\pi\theta\omega\tau\pi\mu\pi\omega\tau\psi\iota\pi\iota\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda\div\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon\mu\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\tau\alpha\tau$
 $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\epsilon\div\omega\tau\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ sim. 18:12ff.

Gen. 37:27 $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\eta\text{CON}\pi\epsilon\omega\theta\omega\zeta\tau\epsilon\eta\text{CAP}\tau\epsilon$.

Lev. 16:4 $\omega\tau\zeta\omega\varsigma\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\omega\tau\omega\beta\omega\zeta\epsilon\psi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\zeta\iota\omega\tau\zeta\eta\epsilon\mu$
 $\omega\tau\zeta\omega\varsigma\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\eta\omega\tau\epsilon\delta\tau\eta\eta\eta\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\psi\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\psi\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\eta\text{-}$
 $\pi\epsilon\psi\omega\mu\alpha\div\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\omega\varsigma\epsilon\tau\omega\tau\alpha\beta\eta\epsilon$.

Lev. 20:14 $\Phi\eta$ ετνασί νοῦςζιμι nem τεσμαῶ ÷ ὀθανομία τε εἰεροκρῶ ζενοοχρῶμ.

Num. 15:26 ὅτορ εἰεχω εβολ ν†ςτναγωγῇ τηρς ... ζε-
οῦμετατεμι τε.

Gen. 28:17 $\Phi\eta$ ι δε αν πε αλλα πηι μῆ† πε ὅτορ θαι τε
†ππλη ντετῦε.

Ex. 31:16 ὅτορ εἰεαρεζ νζε-νενωηρι μπῖςλ ενααβ-
βατον εἰροῦαίτοῦ ... ÷ ὀδαιαθηκη νενεζ τε ... οῦμηινη
νενεζ πε.

Num. 18:19 νη ετοῦναενοῦ μπῶς ... αἰτηίτοῦ νாக ... ὀ-
νομος νενεζ ÷ ὀδαιαθηκη ντε-οῦζμοῦ νενεζ τε μπε-
μοο μπῶς νாக nem νεκζροζ μενεκςωκ.

Num. 28:17 ὅτορ νερηι ζνςοῦ-ῖε μπιαβοτ πῡαι πε.

Ex. 32:5 πῡαι μπῶς πε ρας† — ρας† is here a clause modifier
(adverbial) and not an appositive Theme (Pattern II).

Lev. 23:5f. ζενπιζοῦιτ ναβοτ ζενςοῦ-ια μπιαβοτ ντε-
ομη† ν†ζαναροῦζι ὀπαςχα πε μπῶς ὅτορ ζενπιεζοῦῶ
ντε-ςοῦ-ῖε μπιαβοτ ÷ ὀῡαι ντενιατκῶβ πε μπῶς.

Lev. 27:7 εῡωπ μεν ὀζζωῶτ πε εῡωπ δε ὀςζιμι τε.

πασον πε / ταςῶνι τε / ταςζιμι τε / πενςον πε
τενςαρζ τε etc. (Gen. 20:2:5:12, 26:7:9, 37:27 etc.); very probably
also τεκμαῶ γαρ τε / τεκςῶνι γαρ νῡενιῶτ τε (Lev. 18:7:11).

Obs.

(1) Some Nitrian and NT documentation for the Endophoric Pattern:

Mac. 6 ἀμοι νίτεβνωῶσι μμαῶατοῦ νε.

Mt. 5:34 μπερωρκ ντῦε δε-πῶρονος μῆ† πε ... ὀδε ἰλνμ δε-ῶακι
μπινιῡ† νοῦρο τε seems on its way to the Topicalized Endophoric pattern (IVa be-
low).

Ez. 13:15 (εἰεζωκ εβολ μπαζῶντ εζεν†δοι) μη ταῖδοι αν τε μη νη
†αῡοῡζ μμος αν νε.

John 5:10 πςαββατον πε.

John 10:22 τῦρω τε.

John 9:4 πιεζοῦῶ πε (πι- "day" contrasted with "night").

John 12:31 †νωῡ πζαπ πε (topicalizing premodification?).

The Endophoric responsive to Cleft Sentence: John 9:2.

I Cor. 7:4 (she/he has no authority) αλλα †ςζιμι τε / πιζαι πε.

νεῡωρπ δε πε, νε†παρςκετη τε, νεπςωῶ πε. John 18:28, 19:14:31.

Nitrian ταναγκη τε or αναγκη ερον τε (+ ε- + INF/εῶρε-) De Vis I 87, 100, or
αναγκη πε εῶρε- Cat. 49 or αναγκη εῶρε- Cat. 49 (cf. Mt. 18:7), or αναγκη ε-
+INF (zero Theme) Rom. 13:5. Bodmer III (B4) John 10:16 has αναγκη + Conjunctive
(cf. the "Rhematic Word-class" (SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:157ff. for Welsh, with references
to other languages).

(2) Zeroed-Theme-Endophoric instances are found in Luke. This is instructive, being indicative of the highly formal slot-filling nature of this Theme: #**ρωρι**# Luke 24:29 (v.l. **ρωρι πε**); #**ξανομη**# Luke 20:20.

Conversions:

Relative: hermeneutic, following Proper Name as formal antecedent:

Gen. 35:6 **λωζα ... ετε-βεθλ πε**.

Ex. 1:11 **ιων ετε-θβακι μηρη τε**.

Circumstantial:

Ex. 29:18 **οτορ εκεινι μπιωλι τηρ ριξενπιμα νερωοτωοιτωι μπ̄ς ... εοτωοτωοτωι μπ̄ς πε**.

νε-: the most common conversion:

Gen.29:25 **νελια γαρ τε**.

Gen.29:15 **ζηππε νε-λια τε**.

νε- + time-expression + πε (Gen. 15:17 **φναω ν-**, 40:20 **περοοω μμιςι**, **νιεροοω ντερη μπαλολι** Num. 13:20 etc.).

Obs.

(1) Hermeneutical [...] **ετε- + Rheme πε** De Vis I 43, 46, 48, 193, 194, II 23, 162, 34, 95, 106, 111, 118 (**ετε-ανοκ πε** — a different pattern, discussed below; also in our corpus: Gen. 44:15), Cat. 132, 169. **ετε** Rheme πε vs. **ετε-φαι πε** Rheme Cat. 14, 34 (also with **ρω ον**). Also Cat. 4, 7, 28, 41, 60, 63, 64, 66; Col. 1:6, Heb. 9:10, Eph. 1:14:23, 5:23 v.l. **πε/τε**; zeroed πε (at least as a variant reading): Col. 1:15:24:27, Heb. 10:20 and so on. Note that πε in these constructions is always a final boundary signal (this is striking in Demotic: e.g. II Setne 2/10). The Rheme is always highly specific, with a specificity-raising apposition. In fact, this Relative is not a converter; consider **οτ-ετε-N πε** (again, rising specificity) Cat. 89, 187, and the in itself remarkable Relative following a Proper-Name antecedent.

(2) The hermeneutical Endophoric “**ετε-N πε**” varies with the converted copular **ετε-φαι πε N**.

(3) πε may be zeroed in the hermeneutical Endophoric pattern **ετε-Rheme πε** Col. 1:15: 24:27, Heb. 10:20. Consider also, De Vis II 15 **φν ετε-νεοφ πε πιωνς**, De Vis II 29 **θαι ετε-πεσαθλον πε πιωνς**.

(4) Narrativization of the pattern is quite frequent outside the corpus:

AM II 299 **νερορι γαρ πε**.

SV 38 **νεπсноτ γαρ мпиωм πε**.

SV 54 **νε-†φρω γαρ τε**.

AM I 51 **νεοτρασοι πε**.

John 13:30 **νεεζωρη δε πε** (note the *zero* article).

(5) Note Cat. 211 **ενε-φαι γαρ πε** “if it were so” see Gen. 28:19 quoted below.

Assorted Remarkable Cases

(1) Gen. 31:38:41 **ναϊκ̄ нромпи не ειχη немак** is not a Cleft Sentence, but a kindred, Presentational pattern. Similarly:

(2) Deut. 2:14 $\overline{\alpha\eta}$ $\overline{\eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota}$ $\overline{\eta\epsilon}$ $\overline{\omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\varrho\chi\epsilon\iota}$...

(3) Gen. 44:6 $\Phi\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\Theta\mu\alpha\lambda\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota$ $\overline{\beta\tau}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\omega\pi\iota$.

(4) Gen. 28:19 $\Phi\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ "This/it isn't so" may be Endophoric, but

(5) Num. 32:8 $\alpha\eta$ - $\Phi\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\Phi\rho\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\alpha\iota\varrho$ $\eta\chi\epsilon$ - $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\omicron\tau$ is probably a case of Pattern (II), with *thematic* $\mu\Phi\rho\eta\tau$.

(6) Num. 11:19 $\eta\omicron\psi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\alpha\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\omicron\psi\omega\mu$ $\eta\chi\eta\tau\varrho$ $\omicron\psi\alpha\epsilon$ $\overline{\beta}$ $\alpha\eta$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\omicron\psi\alpha\epsilon$ $\overline{\epsilon}$ $\eta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\alpha\eta$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\omicron\psi\alpha\epsilon$ $\overline{\iota}$ $\alpha\eta$ $\eta\epsilon$ — this catalogue of negated Endophorics represents the Focus of a foregoing Cleft Sentence (with Circumstantial Topic: see below).

(7) Ex. 10:9 $\alpha\eta\omicron\eta\tau$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\psi\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta$... $\pi\psi\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\mu\pi\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ $\pi\epsilon\eta$ - $\eta\omicron\psi\tau$ (Vat $\pi\psi\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$... $\pi\epsilon$). A rare instance of zeroed Endophoric Theme (cf. Pattern Ia above for the zeroing of the anaphoric Theme).

(8) Gen. 45:8 τ - $\eta\omicron\psi$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\eta\theta\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$ $\alpha\eta$ $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\psi\omicron\rho\pi\tau$ $\epsilon\mu\eta\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\Phi\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ is interesting, combining the Endophoric or the Immuta-ble Theme pattern — it is impossible to ascertain which — with a non-Cleft focalizing construction (focussing $\alpha\eta$; see below).

Obs.

(1) Contrast Mac. No. 29 $\kappa\epsilon$ - $\overline{\iota}$ $\eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\omega\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ with Mac. No. 5 $\kappa\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\overline{\beta}$ $\epsilon\tau$ -, which has a *zero*-Theme Cleft Sentence.

(2) Consider Nitrian and NT: $\Phi\alpha\iota$ ($\chi\omega\varrho$ / $\rho\omega$ $\omicron\eta$) $\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\Phi\rho\eta\tau$... Cat. 2, 38, 105, 194 etc. Rom. 5:15. Relevant are also Cat. 3, 4 $\eta\alpha\psi$ $\eta\rho\eta\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$, Cat. 4 $\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\varrho$ -, Cleft Sentence, contrasted with $\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\tau$... $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau$ $\eta\alpha\alpha\iota\varrho$ Cat. 52, a *zero*-theme Cleft Sentence; Cat. 211 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - $\Phi\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\pi\epsilon$ "if it were so".

(IVa) The Endophoric Pattern Topicalized

In the Topicalized Endophoric, a sub-pattern, the formal Theme does not agree with the Topic (there is thus a considerable delimitation between Topic and kernel pattern). This pattern does not share the special macrosyntactic linkage of the Endophoric (above):

Ex. 31:15 $\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\alpha\lambda$ - $\overline{\xi}$ $\gamma\alpha\eta\varsigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\eta$ $\div$ $\eta\epsilon$ [$\omicron\psi\mu$] $\langle\mu\rangle$ - $\tau\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\varrho\psi\alpha\beta$ $\mu\pi\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ ($\omicron\psi\mu$ *super lin*).

Ex. 32:16 $\eta\iota\pi\lambda\alpha\chi$ $\eta\epsilon\omicron\psi\omega\beta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\Phi\tau$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\omicron\psi\omicron\gamma$ τ - $\gamma\rho\alpha\Phi\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\Phi\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\Phi\tau$ $\tau\epsilon$ (= Vat).

Lev. 11:10 $\eta\eta$ $\tau\eta\rho\omega$... $\omicron\psi\omega\rho\epsilon\beta$ $\pi\epsilon$.

Nicely contrasted with the clearly Endophoric case of $\gamma\alpha\eta\omega\rho\epsilon\beta$ $\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\eta$ $\eta\epsilon$ (Lev. 11:10:12:13). See ANDERSSON 1904:103f.

Ex. 12:42 $\Theta\alpha\iota$ $\omicron\psi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\psi\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ $\tau\epsilon$.

Lev. 25:33 $\eta\eta\eta\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - $\eta\iota\beta\alpha\kappa\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\lambda\epsilon\psi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\omicron\psi\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\iota$ $\eta\tau\omega\psi$ $\pi\epsilon$ (= Vat)

Ex. 35:2 $\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\alpha\lambda$ - $\overline{\xi}$ $\pi\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ (= Vat).

ΦΔΙ ΦΜΑΞ-Γ̄ ΝСОП ПЕ (Gen. 27:36, Num. 22:28:32, 24:10) — adverbial status: “for the... time”.

Ex. 30:13 (ΤΦΔΥΙ Ν†ΚΙ†)... $\bar{\kappa}$ ΝΤΕΒΙ ΠΕ †ΚΙ† — possibly a Topicalized Immutable-Theme (Pattern V) case. †ΚΙ† is adverbial, not thematic: “per *kiti*”.

Obs.

(1) Nitrian and NT examples: Cal. 171 ΠΑΙΔΠΟΤ †ΔΙΑΘΕΚΙ ΜΒΕΡΙ ΤΕ.

1 Cor. 15:56 ΤСОУΡΙ ΓΑΡ ΜΦΜΟΥ ΦΝΟΒΙ ΠΕ ΤΞΟМ ΔΕ ΜΦΝΟΒΙ ΦΝΟΜΟС ПЕ: A *sortes* syllogism, in Bohairic not Copular (as in Sahidic) but Topicalized Endophoric. Rom. 6:23 ΝΙΟΨΩΝΙΟΝ ... ΦΜΟΥ ПЕ.

1 Cor. 11:3 ΤΑΦΕ Ν-.... Χ ΠΕ + ΤΑΦΕ Ν- ΠΕ Χ.

(2) In Demotic: P. Berlin (ed. Zauzich) P. 15530 x+10f. *Ht-ntr Yb jry* ’3 p3y: note the anaphora to the Rheme, not to the Topic.

(V) The Delocutive Pattern: Immutable (“Pragmatic-situation” / Exophoric) Theme (ΠΕ)

The existence of this pattern as distinct from the Endophoric-Theme one is certain, although it is difficult to distinguish between the two in cases of masculine (sgl.) Rhemes. First, it is *the* pattern predicating interlocutive personal pronouns. Second, it is formally the core pattern for the Bohairic Cleft Sentence (see below; in Sahidic it is the Endophoric which is the core):

Ex. 19:4 ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΩ.

Num. 23:16 ΝΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕCΔΔΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ (Vat ΝΑΙ ΠΕΤΕΚΕ-).

Ex. 23:12, 35:2 $\bar{\varsigma}$ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΙΡΙ ΝΝΕΚΕΖΒΗΟΘΙ.

Gen. 43:11 ΙCΞΕ ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ ΔΡΙΟΘΙ ΜΦΔΙ.

Two types of this special construction are observable. In the first, the pragmatic ΠΕ enters into nexus with an interlocutive pronoun or (rarely) a non-specific noun. Rather, a pronoun or noun are *predicated of an existent situation*; this is a “Rheme” in a very different sense than one segmental element predicated of another. In the second, it is an entire nexus, between an interlocutive pronoun and a Proper Name, which is predicated of the existent situation.

Distinctive Profile:

- The referentiality of the Theme is external (not to the Rheme), yet not anaphoric to a preceding textual segment or to the Topic, but to a pragmatic environment or basis, in which it anchors its nexus.
- A prime formal distinctive feature of the pattern is the discord of the Theme (always ΠΕ) with a feminine singular or a plural Rheme.
- Topicalization of the Pragmatic Theme is extremely rare, if at all attested.

- Theme constituency: $\pi\epsilon$ only.
- Rheme constituency: interlocutive pronouns (common); delocutive (very rare); indefinite noun; $\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\tau$.
- Conversion: Relative only, in hermeneutical glossing.
- Negation: attested only responsively.

Obs.

(1) See POLOTSKY 1987:117ff. on the “starres $\pi\epsilon$ ” in the basis of the Boh. Cleft sentence.

(2) A formally and functionally comparable contrast is expressed in the Modern Hebrew Nominal Sentence by the difference of a gender/number-movable prefixed thematic pronoun *hû-/hî-/pl. hêm-* and an immutable *ze-*. The formal opposition of a movable personal pronoun and an inert deictic or personal pronoun, in English *it's* vs. *he is...*, French *il est...* vs. *c'est...* is not on a par functionally, since the immutable sector is in those cases much broader than in Coptic.

Several subpatterns are observable here:

(a) # PERSONAL PRONOUN $\pi\epsilon$ # - interlocutive and (very rarely) delocutive. $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \pi\epsilon$, { $\eta\theta\sigma$ =} $\pi\epsilon$. Dialogic. Not negated in the studied corpus. Of very restricted conversion; never interrogative; almost never modified. The pattern or patterns in point are either presentative or textually representative: in either case, the information structure “Rheme to Theme” is far from certain. On the contrary: while the formally apparent structure advocates seeing $\pi\epsilon$ as thematic, functional evidence contradicts this, and speaks for an *a-nexal* structure, somewhat similarly to Existential or Presentative $\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ IC statements which is not to say that $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \pi\epsilon$ expresses the same notion as $\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \lambda\eta\sigma\kappa$ (e.g. Gen. 27:18).

(1) Proclamatory (in “Divine Self-Assertion”) or acclamatory — presentational-existential: interlocutive persons only

Deut. 32:39 $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \pi\epsilon \sigma\theta\sigma\eta \mu\mu\sigma\eta\kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \epsilon\beta\eta\lambda \epsilon\rho\sigma\iota$.

Obs.

(1) See POLOTSKY 1987:25ff. (26f. on Sah. vs. Boh.), LAYTON 2004 §§280ff.

(2) For the proclamatory/acclamatory functions, see NORDEN 1956:143ff., 177ff.; SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:320, 1989a:107.

(3) Outside the corpus: Is. 47:10; De Vis I 195. John 8:58 $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\mu \psi\omega\pi\iota \lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \pi\epsilon$ “I am in existence”; Acts 5:36, AM I 28, 42, 112, 126; $\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\eta \pi\epsilon$ “we’re (something)” Gal. 2:6;7; Soph. 2:15 (fem. locutor) $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \pi\epsilon \sigma\theta\sigma\eta\epsilon \mu\mu\sigma\eta\kappa\epsilon\lambda\iota \delta\epsilon \mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\iota$ (B4).

(4) $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \pi\epsilon$ in John 8:24 and 13:19 (“believe that...”) expresses the mystical “theological-existential identity”. Interestingly, negated in Acts 13:25 $\lambda\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\iota \delta\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \eta\eta\mu \lambda\eta\sigma\kappa \gamma\alpha\rho \lambda\eta \pi\epsilon$, $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda \eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\sigma\tau \mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\iota$ must in Coptic mean something like “It’s not me (you’re waiting for)”, but the Greek means something

like "Whatever you think that I am, I am not (it)" (τι ἐμὲ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι οὐκ εἰμι ἐγώ — may γάρ be the Coptic answer to the focalizing inversion of ἐγώ in the Greek?

(5) How is Gen. 44:18 **ნოკ პე მენენცა-ფარაჲ** (Greek σὺ εἶ μετὰ Φαραῶ) to be analyzed, and what does it actually mean? Is the adverbial constituent here thematic? or is it rhematic? or an adjunctal modification of **ნოკ პე**?

(6) A kindred construction to the one studied here, is Heb. 1:12 **ნოკ დე ნოკ პე** "you are you" = "you are immutable" (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a), Ps.101:28 **ნოკ დე ნოკ პე ოჟოზ ნეკრომპი სენამოჟნკ ან**, Heb.13:8 **ნოჲ ნოჲ პე ნემ ოაენეზ**: I do not find in the corpus an attestation for this construction.

(7) Deut. 24:10 **ეჟოპ დე ოჟოთ-ოჟნხაი ოპეჟჟჟჟჟ ოჟნ ოტე-ნოჲ პე ოჟოჟოჟ** — approx. "Whatever it be that he owes" is syntactically mysterious (=Vat; Greek ὁφείλημα ὅτιοῦν). See POLOTSKY 1987:67; cf. Sah. Ruth 3:10 (ed. Shier — not in the Greek) **πετεντοჲ პე ნჟნთჟ** "whoever he be".

Conversions:

Relative: in hermeneutical glossing only. The Relative converter **ეტე-** is in hermeneutical syntax not an expansion of the lemma, but only a link between lemma and gloss (often even without a formal antecedent). Consequently, **პე** in our NS pattern does not refer to the nucleus:

Gen. 44:15 **პირჟმი ოტე-ანოკ პე**.

Deut. 10:15 **აჟსჟთჟ მჟოჟჟოჟ მენენცოჟ ოტე-ნოჟ-ტენ პე**.

Obs.

(1) See POLOTSKY 1987:86 on **ჟნ ოტეოჟ-პე**; also 104f. on **ეტე-პე** in the hermeneutical NS.

(2) Acts 27:23....**ეტე-ანონ პე ჟა-ნჟ** (**ჟა-** is used almost exclusively for interlocutive apposition, perhaps in a colloquial register; it is rare in our corpus, Gen. 42:10; see SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:329 and Chapter Three below) **ეტე-ანონ პე** Rom. 9:24, **ეტე-ნოჟოჟ პე** Cat. 64 etc. The special character of this conversion is proven by the occurrence of non-specific antecedents: Cat. 118, SV 32 **ოჟრეჟერნოჟი ოტე-ანოკ პე**.

(2) Responsive, reactive or otherwise text-anaphoric, in cohesion to rhematic specific noun syntagms or Proper Names. It is probably not the phoric force of the deictic Theme **პე** that is the operator of this strong anaphoric / representative linkage, but its *specificity*, enabling the representation of the specific determinators (and their commutators, Proper Names) *in the scope of affirmation of the whole nexus*. For some reason, which still escapes me, **ანოკ პე** is also the realization of a theoretical interlocutive "**ანოკ-ჟაი**" which is not attested, where the second constituent is a *rhematic specific anaphor*, as it were *le* in a "*je le suis*"; what seems to be the difficulty is the very conjunction of

rhematic and anaphoric; the non-specific representant $\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\tau\iota$ is also excluded in our corpus from the Rheme slot of the Interlocutive Pattern, although not from the Delocutive one (our Pattern [I]):

Gen. 27:24 $\mu\epsilon\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \mu\alpha\psi\eta\rho\iota \eta\varsigma\alpha\tau \text{ — } \alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon$.

Ex. 4:11 $\mu\iota\mu \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\text{—}\epsilon\beta\omega \mu\epsilon\mu \kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\rho \dots \mu\eta \alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \alpha\mu \mu\epsilon$.

Obs.

(1) Outside the corpus: $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon$ responsive to “ $\mu\epsilon\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \dots$?”, Mark 14:61f. $\mu\epsilon\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \mu\chi\bar{\varsigma} \mu\psi\eta\rho\iota \mu\bar{\Phi}\eta \epsilon\tau\varsigma\mu\alpha\rho\omega\sigma\tau \text{ — } \alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon$; $\alpha\mu\omicron\mu \mu\epsilon$ responsive to the expanded $\mu\iota\mu \mu\epsilon\dots$ in Cat. 36, 40, 60, 69. AM I 55 $\mu\epsilon\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \mu\alpha\bar{\Phi}\eta\mu\omega\tau \lambda\epsilon\alpha \alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon$. $\alpha\mu\omicron\mu \mu\epsilon$ responsive to initial-position focalization, DV II 265.

(2) Anaphoric $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon$: John 11:10 (B4) $\mu\iota\rho\epsilon\gamma\tau\bar{\varsigma}\epsilon\beta\omega \omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon \mu\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma} \alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \gamma\alpha\rho \mu\epsilon$ “Je le suis”: John 8:28, 18:5:8 (Cat. 221), 13:13 (Cat. 213)

(3) Self-identifying $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon$ “It’s me”, responding to an implied “Who is it/are you?”: Luke 24:39. John 6:20.

(b) # PRONOUN $\mu\epsilon$ + Proper Name #: interlocutive persons only

(1) Self-introduction, self-presentation: proclamatory (of *plus habens*), acclamatory (to *plus habens*) — Divine or royal “signature” to pronouncements or edicts. The action expansion or sequel (or preceding cotext) are here a significant component of the macrosyntactic construction for this pattern: our NS pattern, formally a final or initial delimiter (boundary signal), validates these acts as of Divine Agency. Consider: $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \bar{\Phi}\dagger$ Ex. 3:6, 6:2f. [$+\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon \lambda\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\dots$], 6:6 [$\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon \epsilon\iota\epsilon\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\omicron\sigma$] 14:4 [$\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon \lambda\iota\mu\iota \mu\mu\alpha\iota\rho\eta\tau$] $\omicron\gamma \alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \mu\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma} \mu\epsilon\tau\text{—}$ (Lev. 22:16, Ex. 6:2:7 etc.).

Gen. 41:44 $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \bar{\Phi}\alpha\rho\alpha\omega$.

$\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \bar{\Phi}\dagger$ (+ EXPANSION) Gen. 28:13, 35:11, 46:2.

Gen. 31:13 $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \bar{\Phi}\dagger \epsilon\tau\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon\mu\eta\gamma \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$.

Ex. 3:14 $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \bar{\Phi}\eta \epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\mu$.

Ex. 20:5 $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \gamma\alpha\rho \mu\epsilon \mu\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma} \mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\omega\tau$.

$\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \mu\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma} \mu\epsilon\tau\text{—}\dots$ (Lev. 22:16, Ex. 6:2:7, 7:5:17, 14:4, 15:26, 31:13, 35:3, Num. 35:34, Lev. 18:2, 22:23).

Gen. 45:3 $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \iota\omega\varsigma\eta\bar{\Phi}$.

Gen. 24:34 $\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\epsilon \mu\alpha\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau \mu\alpha\upsilon\rho\alpha\alpha\mu \alpha\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma} \delta\epsilon \lambda\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\mu\omega\tau \epsilon\mu\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma} \epsilon\mu\alpha\psi\omega\dots$ — remarkably, we have here a Proper-Name-equivalent noun syntgm, and a rare instance of the Augens.

Obs.

(1) The exclusion of the Proper Name from Rheme status in the Interlocutive Pattern (below; cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1987:163f., 1989a:38, 90; FUNK 1991:23ff.) does not necessar-

ily imply that our “**ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ + PN**” pattern predicates the Proper Name; it rather *presentatively states* a PN identity — the highest-specificity PN is not predicated of an (equally-specific) interlocutive pronominal Theme. In AM II 294 **ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ** ⲫⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ **ΑΝΟΚ-ΒΩΚ** (v.l. **ΟΥΒΩΚ**) **ΝΤΑϞ** or Hos.11:9 (B4) **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ** ⲫⲧ **ΟΥΟΞΕ ΝΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΑΝ**, we have nice instances of the Presentational Pattern alternating with the Interlocutive, and apparently occupying a suppletive functional slot for predicating a Proper Name of a locutive (and allocutive?) personal pronoun, a predication that apparently cannot be direct and immediate.

(2) Cf. again NORDEN 1956:143ff., 177ff. See FERRETTI CUOMO 1998 for a “modern” (Dante, *Divine Comedy*) literary application of the Hebrew/Greek scheme that gave us in Coptic “**ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠῚC ΠΕΤ-**”. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:103ff. on identitive naming.

(3) Outside the corpus. Mal. 1:6 B4 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΝῚC**, **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΝΙΩΤ**; royal “diatagmatic” pronouncements, decrees and edicts: De Vis I 193 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΝΑΒΟΥΧΟΔΟΝΟCΟΡ ΠΟΥΡΟ** ⲧCⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲧⲥⲓCⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲧⲧⲱⲟⲩ... AM I 122 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟC**; Mac. No. 16 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΙΟΥCΤΟC ΠΙΕΒΙΗΝ**; AM I 4 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠῚC ΠΕῚC**; De Vis II 266 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ**. Also incantatory, in magical texts, e.g. Kropp *Zaubertexte* (G) **ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΜΑῚΤ ΜΠΩΝΞ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡϞ**.

(4) Our pattern (and **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ** above) is related to the various constructions, many of which are Presentational types, used in Coptic to open letters and for sender identification: AM I 123 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΕΙCῚΔΙ...**; **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ Χ...** **ΕΙCῚΔΙ Ν-** SV 29, 33 etc.

(5) The prosody of the pattern is not clear. A case such as (NHC II 93) **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕῚΔϞ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤ-** is at least an indication that {ΠΕ} is not enclitic, and is possibly, but not conclusively, Copular (see below).

(6) The pattern and its Presentational role is well founded in Egyptian diachrony: see SETHE 1916 §143ff. For ME *jnk pw*#, see SCHENKEL 1984:168 “be (there)”; it may be effectively negated in LE (cf. VERNUS 1985) as *bn sw* “not be there, be deficient, not disponible”. On the OE/ME pattern *jnk pw* + PN and *jnk pw* + PRONOUN, see GILULA 1976 and again SCHENKEL 1984:168. (With an adnexal extension — *jnk pw* + converbs: Circumstantial or Stative forms) — this pattern is attested from OE through Coptic. In Demotic, conclusive instances (as against the Endophoric Theme) are rare on my files: a possible example is *m3't p3y* “It’s the truth”, P. dem. Strassburg 12 (see SPIEGELBERG 1925:203, where he suggests emending it, I believe unnecessarily; see also his original translation. I have not collated the text of 1902 [Strassburg:Schlesier & Schweikhardt] p. 34). In Mag. *jnk pe* + PN, only twice, at the very beginning of the text (1/21.28), against numerous *jnk* + PN (2/8.22, 5/9 etc.); *ntk* + PN 2/21; *jnk* + PN responsive to *ntk-nym*, 9/32 — differently from Coptic, where the PN is usually not predicated in this pattern: see SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:105, FUNK 1991.

(2) Identifying-by-name. This pattern is allocutive, or supplies the apocritic (responsive) identification-by-name to the interlocutive **ΝΘΟΚ-ΝΙΜ (ΝΘΟΚ)**

Gen. 27:24 **ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΩΗΡΙ ΗCΑῤ — ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ.**

Two possible analyses and interpretations are “Is it you, my son Esau?” (see [a] above), or “Are you my son Esau”? The Greek σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου Ησάυ does not resolve this dilemma. On the other hand, Gen.

27:21 **ΞΕ-ΑΝ-ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΙ ΗΣΑΨ ΨΑΝ-ΜΜΟΝ** (the Greek has the same), being included by **ΞΕ-** seems to be “whether you are my son Esau, or not”.

Gen. 27:32 **ΝΘΟΚ-ΝΙΜ ΝΘΟΚ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΨΗΡΙ ΠΕΚΨΟΡΤ ΜΜΙCΙ ΗΣΑΨ**.

(c) # NOUN SYNTAGM (non-specific) + **ΠΕ #**

Conclusive and unambiguous as a special invariable situational, pragmatic or exophoric Theme is **ΠΕ** following indefinite feminine singular or definite and indefinite plural Rhemes. Instances are rare:

Lev. 11:20 **ΞΑΝΩΡΕΒ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ** (Vat **ΝΕ**) — ANDERSSON 1903: 103f. objects here rightly to Lagarde’s emendation to ...**ΝΕ**, explaining **ΠΕ** as (my wording) “an unmarked form of the Copula”.

Ex. 12:42 **ΟΠΟΤΕΡΨΙ ΝΤΕΠΩC ΠΕ** strikingly contrasted with the Topicalized Endophoric **ΦΑΙ ΟΠΟΤΕΡΨΙ ΝΤΕΠΩC ΤΕ** *ibid*.

Lev. 13:23 **ΟΠΟΤΛΗ ΝΤΕΠΙΕΡΩCΤ ΠΕ** (= Vat).

Lev. 13:28 **ΟΠΟΤΛΗ ΝΤΕ-ΟCΚΩΚ ΠΕ** (= Vat) — judging by these two last exx., we may ask ourselves — albeit with no conclusive answer — whether the many other *diagnostic* Nominal-Sentence cases in Leviticus, Chapter 13 etc., with indefinite masculine singular Rheme are not in fact instances of our pattern: **ΟΠΒΟΤΕ ΠΕ, ΟΨΥΠΕ ΠΕ, ΟΨΩΡΕΒ ΠΕ, ΟΨΔΑΝΕ ΠΕ, ΟΨCΕΩΤ ΠΕ**.

Obs.

(1) In Num. 14:22 **ΦΜΑΞ-ΙΟ ΝCΟΠ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ** it is **ΦΑΙ** that refers pragmatically, while **ΠΕ** is cataphoric to it — this is not a case of the Endophoric Theme.

(2) Diachrony. While it is fairly established that the thematic *pw* is invariable in Old and Middle Egyptian, and variable in Late Egyptian and Demotic, this may be a misguided consensus, in the absence of more precise pattern resolution in the respective phases, especially the differentiation between anaphoric, endophoric, and situational-exophoric reference of the pronoun. See ROQUET 2006 for *pw* in prosodic view.

There is much material on ME *pw* and constructions in OE and ME (“Non-Verbal Sentences in *pw*”) — dozens of pages, with perceptive, penetrating notes and rich exemplification in Gunn’s papers at the Griffith Institute, Oxford (V A 1.14: around and after 1914), with many points of French equivalence and correspondence (Gunn was a competent Francophone). Gunn was interested in ME *pw* and apparently intended to publish a study of it (his letter to Gardiner, 3/2/21, AHG papers at the Griffith Institute, 142.122.123). Consider for instance Gunn’s papers V A 1.14 p. 2f.: “explanatory [...] taking the word in a wide sense: its function is to state that something or other is more or less equivalent to some events... the sentence which is predicate to *pw* constitutes practically a reason for, or a justification of, what has just been said...”. Cf. narrative **ΝΑQ- ΠΕ** in our Comment Mode, a narrative correspondent to the expositive *sdm.f pw*. (Chapter One above). Gunn’s extensive documentation illustrates numerous sub-functions.

(3) For the diagnostic *exx.* in Leviticus, cf. the immutable *pw* in the ME medical texts, e.g. *mwjt-r3 pw* "It's the mouth-liquid", Eb. 855b; pl. *qs.w pw nw q3b.t.f* "It's his breast-bones" Sm. 42. cf. SETHE 1916:101f., WESTENDORF 1962:282f., 1981:88ff. Very important are the cases of *sḏm.f pw* "it means that...", also — and typically — following the *ir*-marked Topic e.g. Eb. 97/13ff. *jr-...sḏm.f pw* (cf. Gunn MSS V A 1.14), in which *pw*, rhematizing the *sḏm.f* nexus, is probably related to our *πε*.

(4) OE: EDEL 1955/64 §959ff., the invariable *pw* attested already from the 4th Dynasty, i.e. the earliest documents; its opposition with the Endophoric seems to be as early, consider Pyr. 577a *Jst tw hn' Nbt-H.t.*

(5) Bohairic and OE/ME: cf. Sethe (1925:304, 314 No. 4) who sees in this a feature of special significance. See Spiegelberg, *ÄZ* 55 (1918) 85 (*šrt pw nn rh.s h3k*, 18th Dyn.).

(6) LE: SATZINGER 1981:481f., 491f. — this seems to be yet another diagloss between Bohairic and LE (cf. Pyr. 577a quoted above). Cf. p. 490, *exx.* 22-3; BM 10052 5/20, P. Anast. IX 7-8. We find here also the endophoric type, as in HS 9/2.11f. *3st t3y*. Consider the "legal definition" in GROLL 1967:6 *ex.12*; the very problematic concord in the Topicalized-Endophoric instances, GROLL 1967:6 *exx.* 16-17, while *jnk p3y*, (ČERNÝ-GROLL 1978:522 *ex. 1478*) may well be a case of immutable *πε*. Cf. JUNGE 1996:184ff. "der *p3y*-Satz".

(7) Demotic: remarkably *jnk t3y* Myth.9/20, *mtwf p3y* P. Spiegelberg 2/14; Mag. 14/31, 27/30, perhaps 10/21 (the hermeneutical relative *nty-jw-smtt pw*). See Quack, *Enchoria* 25 (1999) 42. The practical differentiation in Demotic between Endophoric and Exophoric Immutable *πε* is not any easier than in Coptic: *šm p3y* Ankhsh. 9/16 "It is summer" may be pragmatic-situational (exophoric) and not Endophoric. Of Simpson's examples from the Decrees, we have two hermeneutical relative cases of *nty-jw-p3-...p3y*: T36 probably, Can. 15/55 which may be either Endophoric or Exophoric, and one (Rph. 24/10) which is clearly Endophoric: see SIMPSON 1996:166f.

(8) Note the peculiar construction in NHC I (Tripartite Tractate), where a Relative-Topic *πετ(λ)*-Cleft Sentence focusses *an adverb*: this would presuppose an #Adverbial + *πε*# core (see our [e] below and pattern (1)): the adverbs in question are *λζN-*, *ζN-*, *λβαλ ζN-*, *λβαλ ζITN-*: see THOMASSEN 1990:428f.

(9) I do not find the Immutable Theme topicalized in our corpus. Note John 13:26 *ΦΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΗΝΑΣΕΠ-ΠΙΛΩΜ ΝΤΑΤΗΙΩ ΝΔΩ ΝΘΩΡ ΠΕ* (Pal. Ribes *ΠΕΤΜΜΑΩ ΠΕ*) or the lemmatic Topic in I Cor. 11:3 *†CΦΡΑΓΙC ... ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ*.

(d) # NOUN SYNTAGM (specific) + πε #: resumptive/responsive (anaphoric) to focalization constructions (incl. Cleft Sentence)

Gen. 45:8 *†ΝΟΩ ΔΕ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΑΝ ΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΘΟΡΠΤ ΕΜΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ Φ† ΠΕ*.

This may well be a case of the Endophoric Theme pattern.

(e) # Adverbial (παρη†) + πε #

Gen. 43:11 *ΙCΞΕ ΠΑΡΙΗ† ΠΕ ΑΡΙΟΤΙ ΜΦΑΙ* — "if this is so,...": see above, for *παρη†* as Rheme in various patterns.

Assorted Remarkable Cases

One verse (Ex. 20:22) combines two remarkable instances of the Cleft Sentence, generally based in Bohairic on the Immutable-Theme pattern:

ΝΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΞΟΤΟΥ (= Vat), extending *πε* beyond the personal pronoun, also to the plural demonstrative;

ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΝΕΤΑΡΕΤΝΝΑΨ is remarkable not only for its Topic form (which would be rare even in Sahidic), but for its non-contrastive focussing function.

Obs.

A negatived case from the Psalms, the pattern anaphoric to a non-Cleft focussing construction: Ps. 99:3 ΝΘΟΥ ΑΦΘΑΜΙΟΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ "HE created us, and not we"; see below, for initial-position foci. Also De Vis II 265 ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΑΤΕΤΕΝ-... ΑΞΑ ΑΝΟΝ ΠΕ. Also, ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ responding to an indefinite Rheme (as would be "Je ne le suis pas" for "Je n'en suis pas un"): Luke 22:58 ΝΘΟΚ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΩΟΥ — ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ.

(VI) The Copular Pattern: # Theme — copular *πε* — Rheme

This pattern, well established in Sahidic, where it is idiosyncratic in constituency, constituent properties including prosody, and especially in macro-syntactic and information structure, distinct from the expanded-Theme Delocutive (Pattern II), is much rarer and even more specialized in Bohairic. (It is more usual in Nitrian, yet still presenting a different functional picture from the Sahidic one).

Obs.

(1) On this pattern in Sahidic and some of its properties, see POLOTSKY 1962:418, 425ff., 430f.; SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:34f., 161f. n.36, 1987: 165ff. It is also well attested in Oxyrhynchite (e.g. Mt. 4:18, 5:13, 10:14, 13:37-39, 14:33); also in Nitrian-Bohairic hermeneutical textemes such as Cat.

(2) Anyone familiar with the texts concerned would notice how much more extensive is the use of this pattern in Sahidic, compared with Bohairic, in which the Sahidic Copular pattern corresponds especially to the Topicalized-Theme and Endophoric Patterns (III and IV): see POLOTSKY 1987:41f. This is yet another indication of the thematic status of the formal Topic in (III).

(3) Diachrony. The ME correspondent of this pattern is well established: SETHE 1916: §142; GILULA 1976:161, 163f. on #*pron* — *pw* — *N^{def}#*; JUNG 1981:440f., 450f., 457f. I must disagree with WESTENDORF 1981/3 (OE), who sees this predication as "Es ist der Fall: A ist B", which seems to be the presentational role of the "pragmatic Theme". Like Westendorf, SCHENKEL 1987 claims the Copula "represents the subject" (266) (thus, = our 'Theme'). However, he accepts Depuydt's view that the Rheme is contrastively 'emphatic', i.e. focal. This is certainly not the case in Coptic. In fact, Schenkel combines Westendorf's and Depuydt's views: the first formal and, I believe, unnecessary, the second functional and factually wrong. I agree with WESTENDORF 1989 (for OE) that this predication is not 'emphatic'. The Copular pattern is rare in Demotic (SIMPSON 1996:166) and in LE, focal; # *jnk pw* X #, which is well attested, is again different.

(4) I must take issue with DEPUYDT 1986, who characterizes this pattern in Coptic as "emphatic" in the Egyptological terminological sense. The 'Emphatic' (= Second Tense, Focalizing Conversion) is by no means in Coptic exclusively Theme-initial. The Emphatic is not always or even prevalently a Thematic Progression, low-CD construction,

although Polotsky's orthodox model would certainly suggest this. But, most importantly, unlike the Focalizing Conversion, the Copular NS, or any NS, is not a focalization pattern. (See also FUNK 1991:57ff., SATZINGER 1991:299). As a matter of principle, I cannot accept W.P. Funk's view, that the difference between # Rheme — formal Theme — Theme # (our Pattern II) and # Theme — Copula — Rheme # is gradual (FUNK 1991:5 n.13): these are fundamentally different matrices. The former differs from the latter in constituency and in clausal information contour, which integrates with textual information structure; they link differently with their cotext, and differ in any conceivable property that contributes to the definition of a pattern.

Distinctive Profile

- Theme constituency: always highly specific: demonstratives; $\Phi\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\text{-}$ or $\{\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\}\rho\alpha\lambda\eta$ or Proper Name; perhaps also delocutive personal pronoun ($\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$).

- Rheme Constituency: Proper Names (highly specific); $\{\pi\iota\text{-}\}$ (rare). Note the Theme/Rheme equispecificity.

- Copula: $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$ (for demonstrative Themes).

- This, often (not always) a classic Thematic Progression, low-Communicative-Dynamism construction ('ascending nexus'¹⁴), is in Sahidic the most macrosyntactically marked pattern of all, most strikingly in its retrospective linkage to its cotext. In Bohairic, however, its linkage to preceding cotext is rather simple and as a rule grammemic.

- Prosodically, the Sahidic copular NS has a junctural boundary between the Theme and the copula (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:34f., 161f. n.36); in our Bohairic, punctuation delimiters do not corroborate this. Note, however, the extensive expandability of the Theme as against the Rheme.

- Conversion: only adnominal (Relative, Circumstantial).

- Negation: not attested.

(a) Basic naming:

Gen. 29:16 $\Phi\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\text{-}\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\iota\alpha\text{-}\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma\text{-}\Phi\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\text{-}\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\text{-}\rho\alpha\chi\eta\lambda$.

Gen. 36:32 $\Phi\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\text{-}\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\beta\alpha$.

Gen. 35:10 $\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$.

$\Phi\rho\alpha\lambda\eta$ (N-....) $\pi\epsilon$ + PROPER NAME · (Gen. 11:29, 16:1, 25:1, Ex. 1:15, 18:3f., Lev. 24:11, Num. 25:15, 26:59).

Obs.

(1) Contrast $\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\lambda\eta$ here, initial Theme, with its equally thematic correspondent in Ex. 3:13 $\omicron\theta\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\lambda\eta$, or Ex. 3:15, 6:3 $\Phi\alpha\iota\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\text{-}\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$..., or Gen. 28:18,

¹⁴ SATZINGER 1991:297ff.

Ex. 15:3... **πε πεφραν**, or Cat. 123 **ανατολη πε πεφραν**, where it is an expanding final Theme. The difference is in the Communicative Dynamism of the naming: in our Copular pattern, it is basic or Existential or a Thematic-Progression kind; in the Expanded Formal Theme pattern, it is polemic, higher or focussing CD. There are different types of naming besides basic naming: name-assigning, identitive naming, epistolary naming, polemic or focalized naming, all formally affected by the parameters of locutivity/allocutivity/delocutivity and focality: see SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:87ff.

(2) The Copula is always **πε**: the “feminine” Proper Name, just like the feminine personal pronoun, does not motivate feminine concord (SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:12, 14, 20ff.).

(3) The Bimembral Rheme-initial pre-Coptic Egyptian naming pattern # PN - *rn.f*#, prevalent in Demotic, is not attested in our corpus, but occurs residually in Sahidic as #X **ριπτιϥ** #: see WESTENDORF 1981/3:81ff., and below, on binominal patterns in the corpus.

(4) In Mal. 1:2 **μη νιϥαϥ αν πε ιακωβ** we have the nearest case to a *Wechselsatz* (with **μη...αν** a discontinuous Assertive Question marker).

(b) Responsive to an interrogative Expanded-Theme Pattern:

Ex. 16:15 **οϥ πε φαι — φαι πε πιωικ εταϥτηιϥ νωτεν**.

(c) Hermeneutical — Proper-Name equivalence; name glossing:

Num. 21:13 **αρνων ραρ πε πιϥιη — translation or equivalence naming**; SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:87ff.

Gen. 36:1:8 **ηϥαϥ δε νθοϥ πε ελωμ...** — a rare case of Topicalized Theme preceding the Copula, and a Delocutive Theme.

Gen. 15:2 **πωηρι δε μμασεκ... ÷ φαι πε δαμασκος ελιε-ζεϥ** (Greek οὗτος...).

Gen. 23:2 **†βακι ιαρβοκ θη ετχη ϥενπιϥζον ÷ θαι τε χεβρων** (Greek αὕτη ἐστὶν χεβρων).

Gen. 23:19 **μπεμθο μμαμρη ÷ θαι τε χεβρων** (Greek αὕτη ἐστὶν χεβρων).

Also Gen. 35:19:20:27, 36:43, 48:7.

Assorted remarkable cases:

Lev. 17:11:14 **†ψϥχη ραρ ντεϥαρϥ νιβεν πε πεϥϥνοϥ (= Vat)**.

A difficult *locus*, where the interpretation as a copular construction is perhaps slightly less probable than an Expanding-Theme one, judging by contextual criteria (“blood” is the theme of the passage) and the higher specificity of **πεϥϥνοϥ** as compared with **†ψϥχη**. This seems to conflict with the Greek rendering (11 τὸ γὰρ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξιλάσεται, 14 ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν). However, another possibility, more attractive in view of the re-

stricted and somewhat banal application of the Copular Pattern, is to see here a gnomic-proverbial *Wechselsatz* or balanced construction, predicating the equivalence of “soul” and “blood”.

Conversions:

Relative:

Gen. 22:24 ΘΗ ΕΤΕ-ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΡΕΗΜΑ.

Circumstantial — always adnominal:

Gen. 16:1 ΟΥΒΩΚΙ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΓΑΡ.

Gen. 25:1 ...ΝΟΥCΖΙΜΙ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΧΕΤΤΟΥΡΑ.

Also Gen. 38:1:2.

Obs.

(1) Some occurrences from outside the corpus: The hermeneutical function, familiar in Sahidic, is well attested in Nitrian, although its range seems to be somewhat reduced in Bohairic by the topicalized delocutive used hermeneutically (e.g. De Vis II 106, 107, 169). De Vis II 90f. ΠΙΖΟΥΤ/ΠΙΜΑΖ-ḅ ΠΕ + P. The *glossing hermeneutical* Copular Pattern (no *comme*) selects and thematizes individual lemmata: Cat. 9, 1, 66, 72, 84 etc. ΡΑΚΑ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΖΟΥΤΑΝ-; ΖΙΚΗ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ.... ΡΑC† ΠΕ... (note the accompanying tell-tale particles: ΓΑΡ, (ΖΕ) ΟΥΝ.

(2) The Copular as a *responsive* pattern: Cat. 214 ΟΥ ΤΕ †ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΜΒΕΡΙ... ΘΑΙ ΤΕ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΝΧΩ ΝΝΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΕΔΡΗΙ (“that” clauses as Rheme occur only in this pattern); AM I 50 ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΔΔΔΙ ΜΦ†.

(3) Note the naming *topicalized Copular* SV 55 ΝΑΙ- ... ΦΑΙ ΠΕ Χ. The Relative Copular is typically Nitrian: De Vis II 15 ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-ΝΘΟQ ΠΕ ΠΩΝΔ, 29 ΘΑΙ ΕΤΕ-ΠΕCΑΘΛΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΩΝΔ.

(4) Copular ΠΕ is invariable: Cat. 102 †ΒΩ ΝΚΕΝΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΠΕ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΡΕQ-ΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΟΥΟZ ΝΔCΕΒΗC, which, however, may vary (inexplicably for me) with a gender-number concurring movable Copula: Cat. 158 †ΧΩΡΑ ΟΥΝ ΕΘΟΘΗΟΥ ΤΕ †ΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΗC... ΟΥΟZ †ΟΥCΙΑ ΔΕ ΕΤΑQΔΟΡC ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΤΠΡΟZΕΡΕCΙC ... (also Cat. 154, 157).

(VII) Special nexal patterns with no formal Theme or Copula

(a) Theme-initial binominal patterns, recording-chronicling, are often encountered in lists (we find here as a rule consensus of Paris with Vat, and no εἶναι in the Greek) — **specifying name-identity or quantity or constituency**: # N — [number or quantity “name”]#. Note the frequent *lemniscus* between Theme and Rheme.

ΟΥΟZ ΝΕΝΩΗΡΙ/ΝΕΝΔΡΟ†/ΝΙΡΑΝ Ν-...: [XYZ] # (Gen. 10 *passim*, 25:4, 46:9ff., Ex. 6:15ff:18ff., 21ff., Num. 2:3:5:7, 3:19ff.:24:30ff., 7:12 etc.).

ΟΥΟZ ΦΗ ΕΤΧΗ ΖΙΔΕΝ... [X] (Num. 10:15ff.:19:20 etc.) ΦΗ ΕΤΖΙΔΕΝ-...[X] Num. 10:15ff.

παρχων... ÷ [X] (Num. 2:10 etc.).

N (material) ÷ [quant.] (Ex. 38:29, Lev. 23:13, Num. 2:26:31f., 7:85ff., 28:20ff., 29:9, 31:38ff. etc.).

εβολ $\bar{\alpha}$ εν- [X] (Num. 1:6ff.).

Φα- [X] ÷ παημος n- [X] (Num. 26 *passim*).

nenwηri n- ÷ [X] [Y] (Gen. 10:1, Num. 26 *passim*).

niψtχh ntenipwmi ÷ [number] (Num. 31:39).

αψωπι... $\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ (Num. 17:14; cf. also Gen. 25:3, 31:36f., 47:28, Num. 26:62): no rheme-introducing n-.

πεφδωρον ÷ [X] (Num. 7:37:43 etc.).

Note also:

Deut. 5:14 $\pi\epsilon\zeta\theta\theta\ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ \mu\mu\alpha\zeta\text{-}\bar{\zeta}\ \bar{\zeta}\alpha\eta\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\eta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\eta\ \mu\pi\bar{\theta}\bar{\zeta}\ \pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\theta\bar{\iota}$ (= Vat).

Deut. 16:8 $\pi\epsilon\zeta\theta\theta\ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ \mu\mu\alpha\zeta\text{-}\bar{\zeta}\ \theta\bar{\zeta}\bar{\alpha}\iota\eta\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \pi\psi\alpha\iota\ \mu\pi\bar{\theta}\bar{\zeta}\$ (= Vat) — where $\pi\epsilon\zeta\theta\theta$ seems to be adverbial, but may well be thematic-topical.

Obs.

(1) I suggest that, instead of speculating on whether what is zeroed here is a Copula or a formal Theme anaphoric to the Topic, these well-attested constructions should not be seen as a case of *zeroing* at all, but as true binominals; certainly, triggered by Biblical Greek constructions (in their turn triggered by the Hebrew), yet firmly rooted in the Egyptian past and grammatically viable. True, this special specifying pattern sometimes resembles appositive-listing constructions (such as the *badal* apposition in Arabic), and is never negated or converted; yet the interdependence of its two constituents is arguably, often clearly nexal.

(2) These patterns are contrasted, as stylistically special, “Biblically marked” variants, to — and occasionally combined with — the “regular” Delocutive NS patterns; occasionally, these regular patterns, initial or final, serve as frame to the special ones:

Num. 25:14 $\Phi\ \rho\alpha\eta\ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ n\text{-}$ [X], 25:15 $\Phi\ \rho\alpha\eta\ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ n\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\eta\iota\mu\iota\text{-}\dots\pi\epsilon$ [X].

Num. 34:19ff. $\eta\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon\ n\iota\ \rho\alpha\eta\text{-}\dots\tau\Phi\theta\lambda\eta\ n\text{-}\dots$ [X].

(3) We have an exactly parallel pattern in Demotic, predicating terms in spatial/temporal closed systems: Hawara Urk. XVIa (= P. Hamburg dem. 4) lines 17, 18f., LÜDDECKENS 1998:172 (ed.’s note, with further references, p. 182): *nij-jw-wn-mtw.j h’j k.t tnj 1/2 + 1/10* “What I myself own is the other 1/2+1/10 part...”. In Ryl. IX 3/7f. we have the infinitive as Rheme of a binominal construction, again with a quantitative-specification: *djt šp.w šh n šwt 50* “to have them receive 50 blows of the whip” (see VITTMANN 1998:344f.). The infinitive is rhematic in the oracular inquiry form *p3y.j-š-shn nfr šm r p3-iš*, P. Berlin P 15637+15803 line x+2f. Also, compare in Demotic the formulaic construction in sale or lease contracts of real estate properties, in the clause identifying the property in question by specifying the boundaries or neighbouring properties: *n3y.f hyn.w.... p3y.f rsy.... p3y.f j3bt...., n3y.f hyn.w rsy....* (“Its neighbours — its south:...”, “its east:...”, “its southern neighbours: ...”) and the like.

2.1.1.1 Some assorted configurations: transitions between delocutive Nominal-Sentence patterns / macrosyntactic patternings; paradigmatic oppositions

Lev. 13:21 **ΙC** **ΖΗΠΠΕ** **ΜΜΟΝ-ΦΩΙ** **ΝΟΤΒΑΨ** **ΝΣΗΤQ** **ΟΤΟZ** **ΦΘΕ-ΒΙΝΟΤ** **ΑΝ** **ΖΙΤΕΝΠΨΑΡ** **ΝΤΕΠΕΦΑΟΤΑΝ** **ΟΤΟZ** **Φ̣ΑΙ** **ΟΤΖΛΟΛ** **ΠΕ** — descriptive Present and non-descriptive (diagnostic) NS.

Deut. 21:20 **ΠΕΝΨΗΡΙ** **Φ̣ΑΙ** **ΦΟΙ** **ΝΑΤ†ΜΑ†** **ΟΤΟZ** **ΟΤΡΕΦΨΘΗΝΗ** **ΠΕ** **ΦΟΙ** **ΝΑΤCΩΤΕΜ**.

(a) Expanded-Theme ⇒ Binominal (below) (Question ⇒ Response).

Gen. 47:8f. **ΟΤΗΡ** **ΝΕ** **ΝΙΡΟΜΠΙ** **ΝΕΖΟΟΨ** **ΝΤΕΠΕΚΩΝΣ** — **ΝΙ-ΡΟΜΠΙ** **ΝΤΕΝΙΡΟΜΠΙ** **ΝΤΕΠΑΩΝΣ** **ΝΗ** **Ε†ΨΟΠ** **ΝΣΗΤΟΨ** **Ρ̄Λ** **ΝΡΟΜΠΙ**.

(b) Expanded-Theme ⇒ Copular (Question ⇒ Response).

Ex. 16:15 **ΟΨ** **ΠΕ** **Φ̣ΑΙ** — **Φ̣ΑΙ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΙΩΙΚ** **ΕΤΑΦΤΗΙΦ** **ΝΩΤΕΝ**.

(c) Anaphoric-Theme ⇒ Expanded-Theme (shared or bracketing ap-
positive Theme).

Lev. 10:13 **ΟΨ** **ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ** **ΝΑΚ** **ΠΕ** **ΟΤΟZ** **ΟΨ** **ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ** **ΝΝΕΚΨΗΡΙ** **ΠΕ** **Φ̣ΑΙ**.

(d) Topicalized-Theme ⇒ Anaphoric-Theme

Gen. 46:32 **ΝΙΡΩΜΙ** **ΔΕ** **ΖΑΝ** **ΜΑΝΕCΩΟΨ** **ΝΕ** **ΖΑΝΡΩΜΙ** **ΓΑΡ** **ΝΡΕΦΨΑΝΕΨ-ΤΕΒΝΗ** **ΝΕ**.

(e) Topicalized-Theme ⇒ Topicalized Interlocutive (below).

Gen. 27:11 **ΗCΑΨ** **ΠΑCΟΝ** **ΟΤΡΩΜΙ** **ΕΦΡΗΤ** **ΝΦΩΙ** **ΠΕ** **ΑΝΟΚ** **ΔΕ** **ΑΝΟΚ-ΟΤΡΩΜΙ** **ΕΦΘΗΝ**.

Two cases of *tensed environment* for the Nominal Sentence:

(f) Present ⇒ Nominal Sentence (⇒ Present).

Deut. 14:7f. **CΕCΑΘΜΙ** **ΝΣΕ-ΝΑΙ** **CΕΦΩΡΞ** **ΔΕ** **ΑΝ** ... **ΝΑΙ** **ΖΑΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ** **ΝΩΤΕΝ** **ΝΕ** — descriptive Present Tense in contrast with non-descriptive (preceptive) NS.

Ex. 5:17 **ΤΕΤΕΝCΡΩΦΤ** **ΟΤΟZ** **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΡΕΦCΡΩΦΤ** (vs. **CΕCΡΩΦΤ** v. 8) - allocutive incidental description vs. essential characterization (vs. delocutive description); Greek σχολάζετε σχολασταί έστε (σχολάζουσιν ...).

(g) Nominal Sentence ⇒ Present.

Lev. 14:21 **ΕΨΩΠ** **ΔΕ** **ΟΤΖΗΚΙ** **ΠΕ** **ΟΤΟZ** **ΤΕΦΞΙΞ** **ΞΙΜΙ** **ΑΝ...**

Inherent-characterizing NS and incidental corollary Present.

(h) Absolute-Definite Future (εφε-) ⇒ Nominal Sentence.

Deut. 33:29 **ΕΦΕΕΡΝΑΨ†** **ΕΡΟΚ** **ΝΣΕ-ΠΕΚΒΟΗΘΟC** **ΤCΗΦΙ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΕΚΨΟΨΨΟΨ** — an interesting conjunction of the extratemporal Absolute-Definite Future (see above, Chapter One) and the atemporal Nominal Sentence.

(i) Cases of paradigmatic opposition:

Lev. 25:25 **ΕΦΟΙ ΝΞΗΚΙ** vs. **ΟΞΗΚΙ ΠΕ** Lev. 25:35 — no difference in the Greek, which is verbal in both cases (πένηται).

Lev. 13:34 **ΕΦΟΙ ΝΞΑΝΕ ΑΝ** (Greek οὐκ ἔστιν κοίλη) vs. **ΟΞΑΝΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ** Lev. 13:31 (Greek οὐχ ἡ ὄψις ἐγκοιλοτέρα) — decription vs. negated diagnostic characterization.

Deut. 20:21 **ΠΕΝΩΗΡΙ ΦΑΙ ΦΟΙ ΝΑΤΨΜΑΨ ΟΘΟΞ ΟΘΡΕΦΩΣ-ΝΗΝ ΠΕ ΦΟΙ ΝΑΤΩΤΕΜ** — differentiation of inherent quality (NS) and behaviour (Present Tense; in the Greek, three Present verbs).

Obs.

Outside the corpus, note:

Expanded-Theme $\Rightarrow$ Copular (Question $\Rightarrow$ Response):

AM 1 50 **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ** $\Rightarrow$ **ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ...**; but

Expanded-Theme $\Rightarrow$ Expanded-Theme:

AM 1 66 **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ** — ... **ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ**, and

Expanded-Theme $\Rightarrow$ Expanded-Theme $\Rightarrow$ Copular:

AM 1 2 **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ** — ... **ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ** — **ΠΑΡΑΝ ΠΕ...**

Copular $\Rightarrow$ Topicalized:

I Cor. 11:3 **ΤΑΦΕ [...]** **ΠΕ ΠΕΧ̄C** **ΤΑΦΕ ΔΕ Ν[...]** **ΠΕCΖΑΙ ΠΕ**
ΤΑΦΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΧ̄C ΦΨ ΠΕ.

Topicalized $\Rightarrow$ Relative Endophoric:

Cat. 40 **†CΖΙΜΙ †CΟΦΙΑ ΤΕ ΕΤΕ-ΝΘΟQ ΡΩ ΠΕ ΠΧ̄C.**

2.1.2 The Interlocutive Pattern Set

Generally speaking, this pattern is in no way formally or functionally associated with the Delocutive patterns. It differs from them in almost every non-trivial formal aspect. The Interlocutive is not suppletive in any structurally precise sense to the delocutive NS (I must thus completely retract my statement to that effect, made in 1984a; see FUNK 1991:3), unless in the approximate and almost trivial or tautological sense of the “classroom paradigm” of person, which is nowhere part of linguistic reality. The Delocutive set does not “exist for” Interlocutives, and *vice versa*: no *ceteris paribus* opposition can be established, but no complementarity and environmental alternation can be established either, for the person is not a prime conditioning factor. (Generally speaking, suppletivity is untenable outside of and beyond the traditional *fero-tuli-latum* scope, unless complementarity between patterns can be established, which is difficult if not impossible). Cotextual combinations such as Gen. 12:12f. **ΤΕQCΖΙΜΙ ΤΕ ΘΑΙ ... ΑΞΟC ΟΘΝ ΔΕ-ΑΝΟΚ-ΤΕQCΩΝΙ** may account for this easy fallacy. For why should there be “a delocutive form for the Interlocutive”, any more than “a past form

for the future” — such synthetic paradigms are convenient “presentation” constructs, and have no analytic basis: the Interlocutive and Delocutive sets are not alternants, any more than the Preterite and the Future forms are.

Distinctive Profile:

- Theme constituency: proclitic homonyms of the entire interlocutive pronoun system:

ΑΝΟΚ- Ex. 3:11 ΑΝΟΝ- Ex. 16:7, Gen.42:10

ΝΘΟΚ- Gen. 29:14 ΝΘΟ- Gen. 24:60, 39:9 ΝΘΩΤΕΝ- Gen. 42:34

- Substantival apposition to the Theme is marked by ΣΔ- (probably a colloquial feature, very rare in our corpus¹⁵, used here to characterize *minus habentes*? It is well attested in Nitrian). The Augens marks rhetoricity or topicalization.

- Rheme constituency:

{Π- } Gen. 4:9, 30:2

{ΠΕϞ-} Gen. 12:13, 29:15, 39:9, Num. 22:30,

ΦΔ- Gen. 32:17, 50:19 (specificity-indifferent)

ΟΤ- Ex. 33:3, Deut. 7:6 ΖΑΝ- Ex. 5:17

ΝΙΜ “who?” Ex.3:11 (+ sequencing ΣΕ-+ Conjunctive, which marks the question as assertive [“rhetorical”])

ΟΤ “what?” Ex.16:7 (+ sequencing ΣΕ-+ Conjunctive, which marks the question as Assertive [“rhetorical”])

Significant are here *the exclusions*: zero-determination; Proper Names¹⁶, personal pronouns, demonstratives; in our corpus also {ΠΙ-} (?), ΟΤΑΙ, — ΝΙΒΕΝ¹⁷. This is the only pattern to exclude the specificity extremes from rhematic status. The exclusion of *zero* implies a different “sense” assigned to ΟΤ-; however, the exclusion of the Proper Names does not mean that the equally interlocutive “ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ + PN” predicates the Proper Name: it presents a Pronoun — PN identity (see above).

Obs.

Outside the corpus and dialect (see also FUNK 1991:22ff.):

(1) Epiph. 105 ΑΝΟΚ-ΦΩΚ ΓΑΡ, Is. 43:1 (Tattam) ΝΘΟΚ-ΦΩΙ ΝΘΟΚ, Oxyrh. Ps. 118:94 ΑΝΚ-ΠΟΚ: confirming the specificity-indifference of ΦΩ=.

¹⁵ Occurring only in Genesis, also following verbal nexus or, Augens-like, following interlocutive pronouns: Gen. 47:4, 42:13.

¹⁶ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:44ff. for affinities between Proper Names and *zero-determination* generic “Notion Names”.

¹⁷ Structurally two different homonymous entities, the first specifying determinator (“all”), the second quantifier, compatible with *zero-determination* (“any”, “every”: SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:114, 143f., 146ff.)

- (2) Oxyrh. Ps. 101:28 **ΝΤΑΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΚ-ΝΤΑΚ** is surprising (SCHENKE 1996:105) — Boh. **ΝΘΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ**, Sah. **ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΟΝ ΠΕ** in a different pattern, expressing a different meaning.
- (3) II Cor. 12:11 **ΔΝΟΚ-ΖΛΙ** (cf. FUNK 1991:28f., 67).
- (4) - **ΕΒΟΛ (ΞΕΝ-)** predicated in John 8:23, 16:19 (FUNK 1991:67ff.).
- (5) The absence in our corpus of rhematic **ΟΥΑΙ (ΞΑΝΟΥΘΝ)** is attested in B5) is of consequence, since this is the text-cohesive mechanism for predicative anaphoric reference to the indefinite article (see FUNK 1991:31ff.): AM II 28 **ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΝΟΚ-ΟΥΑΙ** even resumes a *zero-article* Topic.
- (6) I have no statistics to evaluate the preference stated by Funk (1991:50ff.) in Bohairic for the indefinite in complex noun syntagmes (**ΟΥ-ΖΑΝ- ΝΤΕ-Π-**, where Sah. prefers **Π-/Ν- Ν-Π-**). It is possible that this preference involves the basic values of the respective articles (e.g. in the generic role), and is thus practically unverifiable.
- (7) We have in the corpus no instance of the rhematic **ΟΥ-ΙΝΙ ΕΒΟΛ...** (B4) Gen. 2:23 and elsewhere, only in the NT): see FUNK 1991:57ff., nor is **ΟΥ- + Proper Name** (*ibid.* 64ff.) attested.
- (8) **ΝΘΟΚ-ΝΙΜ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†**, **ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΥ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†** SV 65, 67, and often in Nitrian, may be colloquial. The adverb has here pattern significance.
- (9) The virtual exclusion of the Proper Name as Rheme is Coptic, and does not go back as far as Demotic: consider *Setne* 4/27, II *Setne* 5/10, *Mag.* 9/17, 12/15 etc.

• Conversion: none attested in the corpus, except for a single possibly Circumstantial negated instance (Gen. 42:24 **ΞΕ-ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΞΙ-ΡΗΝΙΚΟC ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΞΗΡ ΔΝ**). This too indicates the distinctiveness of the pattern.

• Negation by postpositive **ΔΝ** is well attested.

• Prosody: closest (?) internal juncture. Bohairic orthography — as is the norm outside the “pure Sahidic” domain¹⁸ — does not reflect the thematic nature of the interlocutive pronominal Themes by a special reduced morphophonological homonym. This prosodic feature is symphonized by the placement of enclitics after the Rheme syntagm¹⁹ (**ραρ** Gen. 50:19, Ex. 16:8; *Augens* Gen. 23:6, 24:24, 27:32 and so on). The proclitic nature of the Theme is simultaneously also the prosodic formal Copula *signifiant* for the “nexus” *signifié*.

• Two peculiar linkage features are observable: number concord of Theme and Rheme indefinite article (**ΔΝΟΝ-/ΝΤΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝ-**, **ΔΝΟΚ-/ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΥ-**) seems to be the rule. In the topicalized subpattern, the Topic is exactly echoed in the Theme, yet these two are homonyms: “lexemic” personal pronoun and pronominal Theme, respectively. Note that the topicalized subpattern (locutive [1st] persons only?) is found as

¹⁸ See FUNK 1991:4ff., 13ff. The prosodically unmarked variant in Shenoutean Sahidic (**ΔΝΟΚ-** Amél. II 70, **ΝΤΩΤΗ-** Leip. IV 100 etc.) may perhaps be considered an Akmimicism.

¹⁹ FUNK 1991:8ff.

a rule with particle or Augens²⁰, which adds to the segmentation and topicalization marking, beside their rhetoricity value. The Topic is fully functional, in *context* anchoring.

Obs.

(1) The best treatment to date of the Interlocutive set — indeed, the best descriptive account, in my opinion, of any NS pattern in Coptic — is FUNK 1991, a brilliant monographic pan-Coptic discussion, based mainly on the NT corpus. See also SHISHA-HALEVY 1987:163f.

(2) Diachrony. The forerunner of the Interlocutive may be included among the *jnk-nb.in* patterns: SETHE 1916:§59ff., 63; part of the diachronic difficulties comes to light here, and the difference between interlocutive and delocutive pronouns is manifest; GROLL 1967:29ff., GILULA 1976:167f. SCHENKEL 1984:162ff. sees *jnk-*, *ntk-* as a case of focussing. It is clear that a Rheme-initial pattern is also written in this way, and the master matrix may be the binominal one, which is not the case in Demotic or Coptic (although the Theme-initial matrix accommodates the Interlocutive too). At any rate, the orthographic opacity of Egyptian surpasses even that of Bohairic, and prosodic data have not to date been mustered to resolve the individual patterns. Here too, the development of determinators may be associated with pattern definition as well as constituency. In LE through Demotic, the pattern seems to be only Theme-initial, as in Coptic: I shall only quote the negative *bn mtyw-rm jn*, in Ryl. IX 1/18 with its LE antecedent (VITTMANN 1998:310f.)

(3) The well-known instance of *ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲥ*- (Sah. *ⲛⲧⲓⲥ*)-*ⲫⲁ*-(*ⲡⲁ*-), II Cor. 10:7, apparently cast in the Interlocutive NS matrix, is still unique: see above.

(4) *ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ*- occurs in Early Bohairic (B4) Hag. 2:16. See FUNK 1991:12ff.

(5) ROSÉN 1975b applies the Coptic *ⲁⲛⲧ*-/*ⲁⲛⲟⲕ* paradigm to resolving the Biblical Hebrew *ANJ* — *ANKJ* dilemma, purely typologically, it seems, without considering the Greek intermediate stage: both *ⲁⲛⲟⲕ* and *ANKJ* are rhematic as well as unmarked.

Selective representative Documentation

Gen. 47:3 *ⲁⲛⲟⲛ-ⲉⲁⲛⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲁ-ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲧ*.

Ex. 33:3 *ⲛⲉⲟⲕ-ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲱⲧⲛⲁⲣⲃⲓ*.

Ex. 3:11 *ⲁⲛⲟⲕ-ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁ-ⲛⲧⲁⲱⲉⲛⲛⲓ ⲉⲁⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ*.

Gen. 24:24 *ⲁⲛⲟⲕ-ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲓ ⲙⲃⲁⲑⲟⲩⲛⲁ ÷ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ : ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁ* — the Augens (*{ⲛⲉⲟ=}* only?) is here *topicalizing* rather than a signal of rhetoricity.

Gen. 23:6 *ⲛⲉⲟⲕ-ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛⲫⲧ*.

Gen. 50:19 *ⲁⲛⲟⲕ-ⲫⲁⲫⲧ ⲉⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ* — note here the compatibility and sequence of the two enclitics²¹. The Augens focalizes the Rheme rhetorically in the two last exx.

Gen. 27:32 *ⲛⲉⲟⲕ-ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉⲟⲕ* is rhetorical and sarcastic.

²⁰ Cf. FUNK 1991:8f., 25ff.

²¹ SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:166f.

Conversion*Circumstantial?*

Gen. 42:24 **ΔΕ-ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΖΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΖΗΡ**
ΑΝ — the second sentence is probably Circumstantial, zeroed before
 syllabic nasal in negation (see Chapter Four).

Obs.

Conversion, out of corpus — Relative: Acts 27:23 **ϥ† ΕΤΕ-ΑΝΟΚ-ϥΩϥ**, Cal. 220
ΜΠΑΡΗ† ΟΝ ΕΤΕ-ΑΝΟΚ-ΟΥΕΒΟΛ...ΑΝ; NE- Hag. 2:16 (B4) **ΝΕ-ΝΘΕΤΕΝ-ΝΙΜ**
ΓΑΡ, Obd. 1:11 **ΟΥΟΖ ΝΕ-ΝΘΟΚ ΟΥΑΙ ΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣΗΤΟϥ ΠΕ**. Job 4:19 **ΝΗ ΔΕ**
ΕΤΩΟΠ ΣΕΝΖΑΝΗΙ ΝΟΜΙ ΕΤΕ-ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΝ ΑΝΟΝ-ΖΑΝΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝΠΑΙΟΜΙ
ΝΟΨΩΤ is a striking topicalized and converted example, irregular both in the expansion
 form of the indefinite antecedent-nucleus and in the anacolouthic resumption. No less re-
 markable is John 17:14 (B4) **ΚΑΤΑϥΡΗ† ΕΤΕ-ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΝΝΑΝΟΚ-ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝΠΙ-**
ΚΟCΜΟC ΑΝ with an adverbial Rheme, undetermined.

Negation:

Deut. 11:2 **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΑΛΩΟϥ ΑΝ**.

Gen. 42:10 **ΑΝΟΝ-ΖΑΝΖΗΡ ΑΝ ΣΑ-ΝΕΚΑΛΩΟϥ**.

Gen. 42:24 **ΔΕ-ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΖΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΖΗΡ**
ΑΝ — probably Circumstantial, zeroed before syllabic nasal in negation
 (see Chapter Four).

Num. 22:30 **ΜΗ ΑΝΟΚ-ΤΕΚΕΩ ΑΝ** — discontinuous **ΜΗ...ΑΝ**.

Deut. 32:6 **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΟΥΛΑΟC ΝCΟΔ ΟΥΟΖ ΝCΑΒΕ ΑΝ** — coord-
 inated Rheme negation.

Topicalized subpattern — locutive only

Gen. 27:11 **ΗCΑϥ ΠΑCΟΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕϥΡΗΤ ΝϥΩΙ ΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ**
ΑΝΟΚ-ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕϥϣΗΝ.

Ex. 6:12 **ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΚ-ΟΥΑΤCΑΔΙ**.

Ex. 22:27 **ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΚ-ΟΥΡΕϥΕϥΕΝΖΗΤ**.

Gen. 42:11 **ΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΡΕΝ ΑΝΟΝ-ΝΕΝΩΗΡΙ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΝΟΥΩΤ**.

Ex. 16:7f. **ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΝ-Οϥ**.

2.2.1 Verbal copular elements in Bohairic: **ΟΙ Ν-** / **ΕΡ-**: incidental (circumstance-referred, non-inherent) noun predication

(a) A familiar, historically rooted and typologically important con-
 struction employs the Stative converb of **ΙΡΙ** “do” with the rheme-mark-
 ing **Ν-** in a complex copula **ΟΙ Ν-**, the core auxiliary nucleus of a
 Present-tense noun-predication pattern. This is in fact an analytic and
 verbalized construction for the historical one, which predicated a noun,
 adverbialized and marked by *m-* (Coptic **Ν-**) in the adverbial-Rheme

One of the two main formal differential factors between the NS Rheme and the OI N- one lies in the determination of the Rheme for OI N- usually *zero* (generic) or indefinite (individualizing, substantival). The other factor is of course the nexal matrix itself, which predicates the Rheme locatively, “in the status/state/role/capacity/form/consistence of...”.

The conversions attested in the corpus are the Circumstantial (adnexal — adnominal to both specific and non-specific nominal nuclei, and adverbial); **NE-** (in narrative and narrational allocution), and Relative (attributive, expanding only specific nuclei). Interestingly, the Focalizing Conversion *alias* Second Present is absent in the corpus (it is well attested in Sahidic, Oxyrhynchite and in other Bohairic corpora).

(1) The above opposition, well-known in Celtic, constitutes part of an interesting European-African isogloss, frequently discussed for specific languages but far from well described or clearly understood. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:39f. (Shenoutean Sahidic), 1998:193ff. (Modern Welsh), 201ff. (Modern Irish), 1999:208ff. (Middle Welsh). The opposition is found also in the Iberian peninsula, in Spanish and Catalan (VAÑO-CERDÁ 1982, DELBEQUE 1998) on the European, in Egyptian-Coptic and in Berber languages on the African flank of the *Sprachbund* (SHISHA-HALEVY 2003b:268ff.).

(2) 1 Cor. 15:10 τοῖς ἑστέ τοῖς ἑμοῖς “ἐγὼ ὃ ἐγώ” is contrasted to the Divine Proclamation (Ex. 3:14) ἄνθρωπος περ ἐγὼ εἶμι “ἐγὼ ὃ ὢν”; “I am what I am” does not precisely convey the sense of the former.

Selective representative Documentation

Ex. 21:8 $\varphi\omicron\iota\ \overline{\nu\theta\varsigma}\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\tau\eta\iota\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\varphi\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ — an uncommon negative instance.

Gen. 23:4 †οι ΝΡΕΜΝΔΩΙΛΙ ΟΘΟΖ †οι ΝΨΕΜΜΟ.

Gen. 10:9 ΝΑQΟΙ ΝΑΦΩΦ ΝΔΕΡΗΔ ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΠΘC Φ† ΕΘ-
ΒΕΦΑΙ ΕΤΕΔΟC ΔΕ-ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΕΒΡΩΔ ΠΙΔΦΩΦ ΝΔΕΡΗΔ
ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΠΘC Φ† — observe that the nominal expansion of the
determinator is not characterized in any formal way for inherence or
incidentalness.

Ex. 19:16 ΝΑCΟΙ ΝΟΨΝΙΨ† ΝCΕΝCΕΝ.

Ex. 22:21 ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ ΖΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ (above, Chap-
ter One).

Gen. 14:10 †ΔΕΛΛΟΤ ΔΕ ΕΤΜΟΛΖ ΝΑCΟΙ ΝΨΩ† ΨΩ† ΝΕΜ
ΒΡΕΖΙ.

Ex. 25:33 Γ ΝΚΡΑΤΗΡ ΕΤΟΙ ΜΠCΜΟΤ ΝΚΑΡΙΑ.

Ex. 26:8 ΜΑΡΕΨΩΠΙ ΕQΟΙ Ν-Λ ΜΜΑΖΙ.

Ex. 26:24 ΕΤΕΨΩΠΙ ΕΨΨΗΨ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΚΕΦΑΛΙC ΕΤΟΙ ΝΟΤΑΙ.

Ex. 26:32 ΝΟΤΚΕΦΑΛΙC ΕΤΟΙ ΝΝΟΤΒ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΤΟΨ-Λ ΜΒΑCΙC
ΕΤΟΙ ΝΖΑΤ.

Ex. 30:23 ΟΨΚΨΝΑΜΩΜΟΝ ΕQΟΙ ΝCΘΨΝΟΨQΙ.

Ex. 21:5 Ν†ΝΑΨΕΝΗΙ ΑΝ ΕΙΟΙ ΝΡΕΜΖΕ.

Lev. 20:20 ΕQΕΨΩΠΙ ΕQΟΙ ΝΕΝΟΧΟC.

Lev. 26:13 ΦΗ ΕΤΑQΕΝΘΗΝΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ ΕΤΕ-
ΤΕΝΟΙ ΜΒΩΚ.

Gen. 17:14 ΠΙΖΩΟΨΤ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΑΤCΕΒΙ.

Deut. 1:19, 8:15 ΠΨΑQΕ ΤΗΡQ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΨ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΖΟ† “frighten-
ing” (ΕΡ-ΖΟ† “fear” Gen. 28:17 etc.) Ex. 3:6, Deut. 2:4:8.

Gen. 31:47 “ΠΙΘΑΛ ΕΤΟΙ ΜΜΕΘΡΕ” — the name of the “Witness
Cairn”: contrast Gen. 31:46 ΠΑΙΘΑΛ ΕΤΕΡ-ΜΕΘΡΕ ΟΨΤΩΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ
“It is this cairn that testifies (or: “is witness”) between me and you”.

(b) Copular ΕΡ- + Noun Syntagm (same determination profile) pro-
vides the non-durative (or better non-statal), alternant for ΟΙ Ν-. By the
same token, copular ΕΡ-/ΟΙ Ν- is characterized as intransitive²². In this
syntagm set, ΕΡ- is thematic, the noun syntagm rhematic. Within the
opposition indicated here in-conjugation, ΕΡ- signals non-durativity:

Ex. 7:15 ΑQΕΡ-ΟΨΖΟQ “it turned into a snake”.

Num. 7:87...ΕΑΨΕΡ-ΟΨΡΟΜΠΙ.

Gen. 48:19 ΕQΕΕΡ-ΟΨΝΙΨ† ΕΡΟQ — ΟΨ- probably conditioned
here by the comparative expansion ΕΡΟQ.

Ex. 16:20 ΑΨΕΡ-QΕΝΤ.

Ex. 7:19 ΕΤΕΕΡ-CΝΟQ.

²² Cf. POLOTSKY 1960 §7-9.

Ex. 38:23 **ΝΘΟQ ΠΕΤΑQΕΡ-ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ.**

Num. 12:11 **ΟΤΗΙ ΑΝΕΡ-ΑΤΕΜΙ.**

Some striking pairings of the **ερ / οι n-** alternation and, where extant, their NS *opposita*:

-ΕΡ-ΑΤCΩΤΕΜ Deut. 9:24.

-ΟΙ ΝΑΤCΩΤΕΜ Deut. 9:24.

ΕΡ-ΜΕΘΡΕ- ΕΕΡΟΨΜΕΘΡΕ ΝΟΔΙ Ex. 23:1.

-ΟΙ ΜΜΕΘΡΕ Gen. 31:47.

However, **qερμεθρε, cερμεθρε** Gen. 31:48, Deut. 19:18 may be a case of the rarer “play the role of”, “act as” (see Obs. below, discussion of Shenoute Chass. 20ff.).

ερ-ζο† Gen. 28:13 “fear”: **ΜΠΕΡΕΡΖΟ†.**

Gen. 28:17 **ΙCΔΕΚ ΠΑΙΜΑ ΟΨΖΟ† ΠΕ** (= Vat) “awe-inspiring”, “terrible”. Cf. (De Vis I 76) **ΟΨΖΟ† ΠΕ ΕΩΡΚ ΜΜΗΙ ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΕΩΡΚ ΜΜΕΘΝΟΨΔ.**

-ΟΙ ΝΖΟ† Deut. 6:22 “frightful, terrible” **ΖΑΝΩΨΗΡΙ ΕΝΑΝΕΨ ΟΨΟΖ ΕΨΟΙ ΝΖΟ†** — possibly supplying the Circumstantial conversion of the NS **ΟΨΖΟ† ΠΕ**? Similarly the Relative in (De Vis I 201) **†ΟΨΝΟΨ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΨ ΝΤΕΨΜΟΨ ΘΗ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΖΟ† ΝΑΖΡΕΝΡΩΜΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ.**

ερ-ΝΩΙΚ Lev. 20:10.

-ΟΙ ΝΝΩΙΚ Lev. 20:10 **ΨΗ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΝΩΙΚ ΝΕΜ ΘΗ ΕΤΟΨΟΙ ΝΝΩΙΚ ΕΡΟC.**

ερ-ΨΡΗ† n- Gen. 34:15 **ΕΨΩΠ ΝΤΕΤΕΝΕΡ-ΠΕΝΡΗ†**²³.

-ΟΙ ΜΨΡΗ† n- Gen. 3:22, 13:16, 28:14, Gen. 48:20, 34:16.

ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ is common, outside of the **-ΟΙ n- / ερ-** alternation.

ερ-ΨC Ex. 15:9 ...**ΝΤΕΤΑΔΙΔ ΕΡ-ΨC**, Gen. 1:28 **ΑΡΙ-ΨC ΕΔΩQ** (i.e. **ΠΙΚΑΖΙ**).

Ex. 21:8 **QΟΙ ΝΨC ΑΝ ΕΤΗC ΝΑQ ΕΒΟΛ.**

²³ Note the difference between the noun-predicating **ερ-{...}ΡΗ†** and **ΑΨΙΡΙ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†** Ex. 7:10, where we have the lexemic, not grammemic **ιρι** with **ΠΑΙΡΗ†** its object. It is of interest that it is **n-** in the mediate-object construction that carries the junctural differentiation in this case (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Three).

ερ-**ΔΑΔΙ** Deut. 2:9 **ΜΠΕΡΕΡ-ΔΑΔΙ** **ΕΝΙΜΩΑΒΙΤΗΣ**.

Num. 35:23 **ΟΘΟΖ ΝΘΟQ ΝΕΟΘΔΑΔΙ ΝΤΑQ ΑΝ ΠΕ**.

ερ-**ΝΙΩ†**, **ερ-οϞΝΙΩ†** (Num. 15:8, Gen. 43:34) “be big, great”.
οϞΝΙΩ† ΠΕ (Num. 13:18) “it is strong”.

Lev. 25:25 **ΕQΟΙ ΝΖΗΚΙ** vs. **οϞΖΗΚΙ ΠΕ** Lev. 25:35.

Lev. 13:34 **ΕQΟΙ ΝΔΑΝΕ ΑΝ** (Greek οὐκ ἔστιν κοίλη) vs.
οϞΔΑΝΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ Lev. 13:31.

Deut. 20:21 **ΠΕΝΩΗΡΙ ΦΔΙ QΟΙ ΝΑΤ†ΜΑ† ΟΘΟΖ ΟΡΕQΩϞΝΗΝ**
ΠΕ QΟΙ ΝΑΤCΩΤΕΜ.

Although it is the pattern and its grammemic constituents that carry the special predication function, the rhematic lexemes — an open yet special class — may be characterized semantically. It is significant that *none of these lexemes is abstract* — this would enable an indefinite Rheme of a NS pattern with adjectival role (“οϞΜΕ ΠΕ”):

Human status, role, class, institution, relationship, state, age, quality:

+ **ΔΕΛΛΟ** Gen. 43:14 **ερ-ΔΕΛΛΟ/ω** Gen. 18:11:13.

+ **ΚΟϞΔΙ** Deut. 7:7.

+ **ΝΙΩ†** Gen. 21:8, 43:34 **αCΕΡΝΙΩ† ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΤΤΟΙ ΜΒΕΝΙΑ-ΜΙΝ**, Num. 15:8 **ΕΡΕΟϞΕϞΧΗ ΕΡΝΙΩ†**.

Gen. 48:19 **ΕQΕΕΡΟϞΝΙΩ† ΕΡΟQ**, with **οϞ-** probably conditioned by the expansion **ΕΡΟQ**.

+ **ΒΩΚ** Gen. 44:9 **ΕΝΕΕΡΒΩΚ ΜΠΕΝϞC**, 30:26 **ΝΗ ΕΤΑΙΕΡΒΩΚ ΝΑΚ ΕΘΒΗΤΟϞ** (vs. **†ΜΕΤΒΩΚ ΕΤΑΙΑΙC**, presupposing ***ερ-ΜΕΤΒΩΚ**), Gen. 25:23, 29:32.

+ **ΡΕΜΖΕ** Ex. 21:5.

+ **ΡΑΜΑΟ** Gen. 30:43.

+ **ΖΗΚΙ** Lev. 25:25.

+ **οϞΡΩΜΙ ΝΡΕΜΕΝΚΟΙ** Gen. 16:12.

+ **ϞC** Ex. 15:9 **ΝΤΕΤΑΔΙΔ ΕΡϞC**, Gen. 1:28 **ΑΡΙϞC ΕΔΩQ** (i.e. **ΠΙΚΑΖΙ**), Ex. 21:8 **QΟΙ ΝϞC ΑΝ ΕΤΗΙC ΝΑQ ΕΒΟΛ**.

+ **ΑΡΧΩΝ** Gen. 1:26.

+ **ΖΗΓΟϞΜΕΝΟC ΕΔΕΝΠΙΛΑΟC** Deut. 20:9.

+ **οϞΡΟ** Gen. 37:8 **ΧΝΑΕΡΟϞΡΟ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΔΩΝ**.

+ **αϞωϞϞ** Gen. 10:9.

+ **οϞΗΒ** Deut. 10:6, Ex. 30:30.

- + ΡΕΜΝΩΙΛΙ Gen. 21:23.
- + ὡΜ Deut. 7:3.
- + ΑΤΣΩΤΕΜ, ΑΤΤΜΑΤ etc. Deut. 1:26, 21:20, Gen. 43:14.
- + ὡΡΠ Gen. 48:20.
- + ΣΑΕ Deut. 2:7.
- + ΝΩΙΚ Lev. 20:10.
- + ΜΕΘΡΕ Deut. 19:8.
- + ὠΦΗΡ, ὠΦΕΡΙ Gen. 14:13, 30:8.
- + ΒΟΗΘΟΣ Ex. 2:22.
- + ΔΑΔΙ Num. 25:18, 33:55, Deut. 2:9.
- + ΝΑΨΤ Gen. 15:1.

Non-human constituency or attribute: material, shape, form, modality, emotion, language and speech, colour:

- + ΡΗΤ (+ Ν- or possessive): (Gen. 27:12:14:27).
- + ΖΟΤ Deut. 6:22, 8:14.
- + ὡΑΦΕ Deut. 7:2.
- + СНОΦ Ex. 7:17.
- + φΕΝΤ Ex. 16:20.
- + ΖΟΦ Ex. 7:15 (οφ-).
- + ΔΡΑΚΩΝ Ex. 7:9:10:12 (οφ-, ζΑΝ-).
- + ὠΒΩΤ Ex. 4:4 (οφ-).
- + ΖΛΟΛ Lev. 13:6.
- + ΔΑΝΕ Lev. 13:34.
- + СЕРВЕНИ Num. 33:55.
- + ΑΟΤΙΑΟΤΑΝ ΝΕΜ ΑΟΤΑΝ ΝΚΕΡΜΙ Gen. 31:10f.
- + ΟΘΟΟΨΑΤ ΝΖΜΟΨ Gen. 19:26.
- + ὡΨΑΤ ὡΨΑΤ ΝΕΜ ΒΡΕΖΙ Gen. 14:10

+ ΟΨΦΟΤΟΨ ΝΟΨΩΤ, ΟΨΜΗ ΝΟΨΩΤ Gen. 11:1 — the only case in the corpus of οφ- determination following ΟΙ Ν-: not indefinite article, but a focussed quantifier: discontinuous οφ ΝΟΨΩΤ.

In some special cases, the Rheme following copular ΕΡ- — strangely only in the Absolute Future (thus perhaps “suppletive” to the NS) — is possessed and in fact determination-indifferent (see Chapter Three);

Ex. 21:34 ΕΦΕΕΡ-ΦΩΦ.

Ex. 13:12 ΕΨΕΕΡ-ΝΑΠΨ.

Ex. 4:16 ΕΦΕΕΡ-ΡΩΚ.

(c) Several other ΕΡ- entities, structurally distinct from the copular ΕΡ- that alternates with ΟΙ Ν-:

(1) **ερ-** + Adverbial (see POLOTSKY 1959:459) in non-durative environment, alternating with the rhematic adverbial in the Present; rare in the corpus, but well attested elsewhere:

Gen. 44:4 **εταθερσαβολ δε ντβακι...**

Gen. 3:5 **τετενναερμφρητ ηζαννοφτ.**

Gen. 3:22 **αφερμφρητ νοται εβολ μμον** sim. Gen. 28:14.

(2) Non-copular **ερ-** + *zero* article + NOUN: marking (“deriving”) the denominal stem of verb lexemes, in durative and non-durative environments:

+ **νοβι** Gen. 40:1 (note the degree modification in Ex. 32:31 **ερνοβι ζενοϥνιϣτ ηνοβι**).

+ **ζωβ** Gen. 31:29, Ex. 31:4.

+ **σαλπιζιν** Num. 10:10.

+ **οϣω** Num. 11:28, 32:31.

+ **οϣωινι** Gen. 1:15:17.

Gen. 31:46 **παιθαλ ετερμεϥρε οϣτωι νεμακ** — here, however, we may have an instance of the rare **ερ-** “constitute, play role of”, “act as” (see below).

(3) **ερ-** + Greek morphological infinitive, serving in Bohairic as a Coptic/Greek buffer or interface grammeme, to integrate Greek verb lexemes in the Coptic grammatical system (Sahidic integrates Greek zero-stems without an auxiliary). Durative and non-durative environments. The **ερ-** + Greek **-n**-form syntagm is only semi-analyzable, like the famous “cranberry” case; alternatively, it is arguable that the Greek-origin element has lexemic status in Bohairic Coptic, but hardly a nominal one (see below, Chapter Three); it is certainly not on the same structural standing as “**ϣωτεμ**” “native” infinitives.

Ex. 34:16 **εϥεϥρενεκϣηρι ερ-πορνεϣιν.**

Ex. 5:16 **εαϥερ-μαστιγγοιν μμωϣ.**

Also Gen. 21:10, 29:18:20, Ex. 16:30, Lev. 26:34, Num. 27:14, 11:25, Ex. 32:4 and *passim*.

(4) **ερ-** + Egyptian verb lexeme. Extremely rare:

αρι-εμι (imperative only? e.g. Deut. 2:7). Perhaps **ερ-ζινιορ** (Num. 32:5).

(5) **ερ-** constituent of lexeme-premodifier (actually preverb-role adverbial, as first term of a compound), in non-durative environment only (? cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:124ff., LAYTON 2004 §183).

ερ-ϣορπν- + INF, Deut. 31:3:6, Ex. 32:34, 35:34, Num. 32:11:11.

ερ-ζηтс-н- + INF, Gen. 6:1, 44:12, Num. 17:11, Deut. 2:31; ер-
 зһтс-ε- + INF, Gen. 18:27, 9:20, Deut. 11:5.

(ερ-пкε- Eph. 5:12; ер-ροϑε- is rare in Bohairic; neither occur in the corpus).

(6) ер- н-/ε-: ер- “render”, “verb of incomplete predication” (Curme) — trivalent ер-/αιε. The Rheme with *zero* or indefinite determination.

Ex. 5:21 αρεтєнєр-пєнсѳοι мво†.

Gen. 42:36 атєтєнαιт натϣһρι.

Gen. 14:23 αιєр-αβραμ нрамаο.

Ex. 8:10 αταιтοϑ нѳнωοϑ ѳнωοϑ.

Gen. 34:31 ατιρι нтєнсωни мѳρη† нοϑπορνη.

(7) ер- *lexeme*, not auxiliary grammeme: “commit, execute”, “do”, “make”, “exercise, practice”, “spend (time)” “reach” (age, number) and similar; in non-durative and durative environment. Object with full determination paradigm, including *zero*. (*Zero-object* and no-object cases are also encountered: Gen. 41:34, 48:20). Here, too, one may find nouns entering the copular ер- construction as well as the deriving ер-. Except in extreme cases, it is not always easy to distinguish between lexemic and deriving ер-; the danger of subjectivity and translation-view is usually present:

+ πεтзωοϑ Gen. 31:29, Num. 35:23, Ex. 22:8.

+ πεθнаνεq Num. 10:32.

+ μεθμηι Gen. 20:16, 41:32.

+ мκαρ нзһт Gen. 27:38.

+ ѳμεϑи н-, περμεϑи Gen. 41:9.

+ πϣтωρι Gen. 43:9.

+ тимη Lev. 27:8 + τερτιμη Lev. 27:13.

+ ϋιηιορ Gen. 32:10:23, Num. 32:5:7, perhaps “execute crossing”
 vs. ϋιηιορ *ibid.* “cross”.

+ οϑнаι Gen. 24:12.

+ οϑниϣ† н- Gen. 21:8.

+ οϑαηαϣ Lev. 5:22.

+ вωκ Ex. 14:5.

+ πωβϣ, περωβϣ Gen. 41:52, 40:23, Deut. 26:13.

+ ѳμεϑи, περμεϑи Gen. 8:1, 40:14, Num. 10:9.

+ ѳρωϣи Deut. 32:10.

+ Φαί Gen. 12:18.

+ time expressions Gen. 25:7, 14:4, Lev. 12:5, 22:7.

+ age Gen. 35:28, Num. 28:3.

+ number Gen. 41:32, 42:13, Num. 11:21.

(7) ΕΡΒΟΚΙ, ΜΒΟΚΙ “conceive, be/become pregnant” — alternation between non-durative and durative environments.

(a) ΕΡΒΟΚΙ vs. ΜΒΟΚΙ “conceive” vs. “[be] pregnant” (ΕΡΒΟΚΙ non-durative)

Gen. 38:24 ΖΗΠΠΕ ΣΕΜΒΟΚΙ.

Num. 11:12 ΘΗ ΕΤΕΜΒΟΚΙ.

Gen. 16:5 ΕΤΑΣΝΑΘ ΔΕ ΔΕ-ΑCΜΒΟΚΙ — Focalizing Present.

Gen. 38:25 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΕΝΟΘΥ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΙΜΒΟΚΙ ΑΝΟΚ (v.l. ΔΙΕΡΒΟΚΙ).

Focalizing Present “It is by the man whose these are, that I am pregnant” (v.l. Basic Preterite “... I have conceived”).

Gen. 38:18 ΑCΕΡΒΟΚΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ (Preterite).

Gen. 16:4 ΑCΕΡΒΟΚΙ (Preterite).

(b) But *performatively* (“Divine-Intervention Performative”), ΕΡΒΟΚΙ occurs even in the (non-actual?) Present:

Gen. 16:11 ΖΗΠΠΕ ΝΘΟ ΤΕΕΡΒΟΚΙ.

Gen. 25:23 ΨΛΟΛ Β ΑΡΕΕΡΒΟΚΙ ΜΜΩΘ.

These are instances of the biological condition being not only simultaneous, but *taking effect* simultaneously with, and by, the Divine Utterance in a kind of “induced Performative”. We have here very probably the Non-Actual Present, see above, Gen. 25:23 is a case of Focalizing Present and not Preterite (note the Greek Present), in a special Cleft Sentence pattern with an initial nominal Focus (see below).

Obs.

(1) It is possible that the paradigmatic opposition between the Inherent and Incidental is not binary, but ternary; shared, at least in Shenoutean Sahidic, by $\bar{p}$ - + zero article, not alternating with $\bar{o}$ n- in durative nexus²⁴. The sense here is “act as”, “play the part of” or “assume the likeness of” or similar, as against “be by nature *or form*”: Shenoute ed. Chass. 20ff. (said to Kronos-Satan) ΝΓΡ-ΖΟΟΤΤ ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΓΡ-CΖΙΜΕ ΑΝ ΝΓΡ-ΜΑCΕ ΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΖΤΟ ΖΙΕΙΩ ΝΓΡ-ΖΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΟΝ ΖΙΟΤΟΟΖΕ ΑΥΩ ΔΑΤCΕ ΝΙΜ ... ΝΓΡ-ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ ΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ CΟΟΥC ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΓΡ-ΨΗΙ ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΑ ΕCΨΟΚΖ ΝΓΡ-ΤΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΚΑΖ ... ΚΖΙ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΕΙΝΕ ΝΝΑΙ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΝΑΙ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΗΠ ΑΝ ΕΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΠΕΚΖΡΒ ΠΕΚΖΡΒ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΝΤΟΚ ΟΝ ΠΕ (for

²⁴ There is always the possibility that we have here the case of the Non-Actual (Generic) Present, which does not allow the ΕΡ-/ΟΙ n-alternation.

the final Nominal Sentences, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a:186). (It may well be that similar cases of “act as” hide among the *ερ*- occurrences in Bohairic, consider Deut. 10:6 *αϥερωϥηβ νζε-ελεαζαρ*). Thus the Demotic *jr.n.j t3 jw.j m hmt* is probably “I became male/assumed male nature, while/from being female”, “I played the part of a male” (Isis’ declaration on the conception of Horus), SMITH 1987:62f. Compare Romance “do” as in “fare la tigre”, “faire l’idiot” (see, for the broader role spectrum in French, GIRY-SCHNEIDER 1987, SPENCE 1988).

(2) *ωωπι εφοι ν-* is non-durative — either Future (Greek *ἔσται*): Num. 29:13, also Ex. 27:1, 30:1, Deut. 6:8, 33:5; or else Jussive/Imperative: Ex. 26:8 *μαρεϥωωπι εφοι να μμαρι*, also Gen. 27:29.

(3) It is possible to see *ερ-* as suppletive to the Nominal Sentence (FUNK 1991:29 n.54), since *οι ν-* is in partial opposition to the latter; however, since this opposition is neutralizable, *ερ-* and the NS do find themselves often alternants.

2.2.2 *χη, ωωπι*

So far as I know and my documentation goes, the distinctly and peculiarly Bohairic Copula *χη* — occurring only with prepositional Rhemes in the Present — is not a trait of pre-Coptic Egyptian; Demotic or even LE may yet yield attestation of the grammaticalized, auxiliary Stative of *h3’*, for the first radical of which Coptic *κ* should strangely be the reflex — but such a two-laryngeal root may easily be irregular (see Černý, *Etym. Dict.* 52 with references to attestations for this form as early as the 20th Dynasty).²⁵ Cf. Crum, *Dict.* 95b “qual + prep or advb, *be, exist, lie*”. Where Boh. *χη* corresponds to Sahidic *κη*, we normally have a full lexical value (e.g. Greek *κεῖσθαι*), while “Bohairic only” means normally Greek *εἶναι*. This feature is doubtlessly of the few major innovations of Bohairic, generally a conservative dialect (it is very rare in B4). Now the question is not so much why is *χη* “necessary”, but what is its functional charge in opposition with the *zero* determined by it; and only in Bohairic is a *zero* term at all observable in the Present, a momentous first analytic interposition and exponence of overtness in this, the ancient pivotal and (at least in Old/Middle Egyptian) certainly the prime nexal matrix of Egyptian. One possibility to be considered is that *χη* is the correspondent, or even alternant of non-inherent *οι ν-* introducing adverbial Rhemes. This is also the first breach in the old symmetry between the adverbial and converbal (Stative or Dynamic Converb) Rhemes. I can make no satisfactory statement as to the function of *χη* vs. *zero* opposition in the corpus (with no correspondence in the Greek). The only real working hypothesis, I believe, is that *χη* is not a mere

²⁵ Rarely in Demotic (late only?), so P. Insinger 14/9 and probably 35/8, but apparently never as Copula.

Copula, i.e. nexus *signifiant*, but an overt signal of marked stativity and focussed situationality. A clue to this may be the frequent occurrence of $\chi\eta$ in presentative clauses (see above); in the fact that $\chi\eta$ is as a rule found in affirmative, not negative nexus; that $\chi\eta$ is in the corpus unusual in age-specification by $\Sigma\epsilon\eta$ -. On the other hand, in cases where there is no real opposition, as e.g. for $\mu\pi\epsilon\mu\theta\omicron$ η - or $\epsilon\delta\omicron\tau\eta\eta$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta$ -, $\chi\eta$ may have no more than the value of a segmental copula. Similarly for the narrative $\eta\lambda\eta$ - $\chi\eta$... (consider Gen. 40:9:11, 29:2, Ex. 34:29, Num. 15:32 etc.). $\chi\eta$ seems favoured in the Relative Conversion. On the other hand, $\chi\eta$ does not seem to occur in purely metaphorical location, unless in presentative, solemn, Divine-Locutor context (including age specification) — $\epsilon\tau\tau\eta$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau$ seem never to have $\chi\eta$. It seems clear that the mere adverbial repertory alone does not prejudice $\chi\eta$ or its absence. However, pending an exhaustive study, all these reflections have no more than impressionistic and speculative value, and conflicting evidence is ample.

Obs.

$\chi\eta$ is rarely in evidence in the early B4 Bohairic of the Twelve Prophets or Bodmer III John, see John 17:13 $\epsilon\iota\chi\eta$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (zero e.g. in 10:38, 11:61, 11:15:21:31, 12:8:9 etc), Mal. 1:12, 2:6.

Consider the following representative documentation:

Ex. 33:21 $\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\eta$ $\omicron\tau\mu\alpha$ $\chi\eta$ $\eta\alpha\rho\kappa$.

Gen. 47:6 $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota$... $\chi\eta$ $\mu\pi\omicron\tau\mu\theta\omicron$.

Gen. 42:28 $\iota\varsigma$ $\Phi\alpha\iota$ $\eta\chi\eta$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\kappa$.

Gen. 42:13 $\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\delta\iota$ $\eta\chi\eta$ $\Sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\pi\epsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau$.

Gen. 16:6 $\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon\beta\omega\kappa\iota$ $\chi\eta$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\delta\iota\delta$.

Also, in the solemn declaration: "God is with...": Gen. 26:24:28, 39:21:23, 21:20, 12:4, 16:16, 31:38 etc.

Gen. 42:32 $\eta\chi\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\pi\epsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau$.

$\Phi\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\rho\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\iota$. Gen. 43:16, 44:1.

Gen. 27:15 $\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\delta\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\delta\omicron\tau\eta\eta$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\pi\epsilon\chi\eta\iota$.

Gen. 7:22 $\eta\chi\alpha\iota$ $\eta\iota\beta\epsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\eta$ $\eta\iota\delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\omega\tau\omicron\iota$.

Gen. 37:22 $\eta\alpha\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\eta$ $\eta\iota\pi\omega\alpha\eta$.

Gen. 25:9 $\Phi\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\eta$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\mu\theta\omicron$ $\mu\mu\alpha\rho\eta$.

Gen. 17:23 $\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\chi\eta$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\pi\eta\iota$ $\eta\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\mu$.

Gen. 35:9 $\alpha\Phi\uparrow$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$ $\epsilon\eta\chi\eta$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\alpha$.

Compare instances, frankly disconcerting, of zero copula *opposita*:

Gen. 42:21 $\eta\eta\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\alpha\rho$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$.

Gen. 42:35 $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\mu\mu\omicron\tau\eta\eta$ $\mu\eta\eta\alpha\tau$ $\mu\pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ $\mu\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\pi\epsilon\eta\eta$ - $\omicron\kappa$.

Gen. 38:21 **ΜΜΟΝ-ΠΟΡΝΗ ΜΠΑΙΜΑ** — located Non-existential.

Gen. 19:11 **ΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΨΙΡΕΝΘΡΟ ΜΠΙΝΙ...**

Gen. 23:8 **ΙCΔΕ CΨΕΝΤΕΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ...**

Gen. 24:62 **ΠΙΚΑΡΙ ΕΤCΑΠΕΜΕΝΤ.**

Gen. 18:9 **ΙC ΨΗΠΠΕ CΕΝΨΟΨΝ ΨΕΝ†CΚΗΝΗ.**

Also, *zero* is usual in age specification: Gen. 17:1 etc.

(b) The Copular Stative Converb **ΨΟΠ**, much rarer than **ΧΗ**, seems to be lexically active, and express real human (or Divine) Existence-in-Location; **ΨΩΠΙ** is an important auxiliary, either integrating the converbs (with Circumstantial conversion, the analytic expression of what used to be their adverbial commutability) in non-durative environment, or characterizing ingressive *Aktionsart*.

Gen. 24:3 **ΝΗ Ε†ΨΟΠ ΝΨΗΤΟΨ.**

Gen. 24:62 **ΝΑΨΨΟΠ ΠΕ ΨΕΝΠΙΚΑΡΙ ΕΤCΑΠΕΜΕΝΤ.**

Gen. 25:27 **ΕΨΨΟΠ ΨΕΝΟΨΗ.**

Gen. 20:3 **ΕCΨΟΠ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΞΑΙ.**

Gen. 21:20 **ΑΨΨΩΠΙ ΨΙΨΨΑΨΕ** illustrates the dynamic counterpart of Copular **ΨΟΠ**.

2.3 Rhematicity-Marking **Ν-**.

As a second or third “predicative” actant, or, outside the valency dependency matrix, as a rhematic “adverbial” adjunct, **Ν-** (Egyptian *m-*) with noun syntagm (*zero* or indefinite-determined — consequently a double opposition, **ΟΙ Ν-** vs. **Ν-**, *zero* vs. indefinite, not in the Greek — is a specifically rhematic-expansion marker; its alternation with **Ε-** (see Chapter Three, §3.2 [d]) is a definite Egyptian trait. It is a moot point whether the object marker **Ν-** (**ΜΜΟΨ**) and the adnominal attributive *nota relationis* **Ν-** (attributive, determinative, appurtenative, possessive, principally according to expansion determination — arguably formalized-rhematic; see Chapter Three)²⁶ — are synchronically part of the distribution system of this same element or homonyms; at any rate, the adverbial object-actant / predicative / adverbial slot is certainly remarkable:

Lev. 6:9 **ΕΨΕΟΨΟΜΨ ΝΑΤΚΩΒ.**

Ex. 39:1 **ΑΨΘΑΜΙΩΨ ΝΞΑΝCΤΟΛΗ.**

Ex. 7:1 **ΑΙΤΗΙΚ ΝΝΟΨ†.**

Ex. 5:21 **ΑΡΕΤΕΝΕΡ-ΠΕΝCΘΟΙ ΜΒΟ†.**

²⁶ See BARRI 1978:263 (Theme — Rheme structure *inside the phrase*).

Ex. 7:1 εφεψωπι νακ νοτπροϥητης (contrast Ex. 30:2 εφεψωπι εφοι ντετραγωνον).

Deut. 28:44 νθοϥ εφεψωπι νοταϣε νθοκ δε εκεψωπι νοτσατ.

Gen. 38:11 ζεμσι νχηρα.

Gen. 14:14 ατελ-λωτ περσον ναιχμαλωτος.

When it is nexus that occupies the second or third “predicative” actant slot, or is otherwise adverbial, or is adnominal, we find the Circumstantial conversion (which is an analytic converb or adverbial-privilege finite verb-form) signalling this adnexal expansion status (see also in detail below, Chapter Four, on the junctural final-delimitation role):

Gen. 15:2 ανοκ σεναχατ εβολ ειοι νατϣηρι.

Deut. 22:4 ακϣαννατ εϣιω μεκσον ιε περμασι εατζει ϣιϣμωιτ.

Ex. 1:18 παιζωβ οτ πε εταρετεναιϥ ερετεντανϣο ννιζωοττ.

Gen. 16:1 οτβωκι επεσραν πε αгар.

Ex. 26:24 ετεψωπι ετϣηϣ νδε-νικεϣαλις ετοι νοται.

The Conjunctive, still most enigmatic of Coptic verb-forms and hitherto almost neglected in Bohairic linguistics, is another adnexal converb. (See, on Sahidic, SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a, Chapter Seven; 1995a). In Bohairic, it is characterized by some striking substantival privileges, as a final or consecutive “(so) that”-form (observe the Conjunctive following δε- in Ex. 3:11 ανοκ νιμ δε-, Ex. 5:2 νιμ πε παι δε-, Ex. 16:7 ανον-οτ γαρ δε-, or following ϣινα, ϣοπωc, ϣωcτε, μηποτε/μηπωc *passim*, or in *protasi* after εψωπι: see below, Chapter Three), but its specific role as post-imperative (above, Chapter One) and generally sub-coordinating form is certainly compatible with an adnexal or nexus-adjoining higher-level rhematic sequel.

Obs.

(1) In Welsh, leniting *yn-*, but for the lenition homonymous with the preposition *yn-* “in”, is both rhematicity marker and denominal adverbial-adjunct deriver (the latter role much like Romance *-ment*, *-mente*). Another interestingly relevant Welsh feature is the formal merging (as *lenition* morphophonemic marking of the first consonant of a noun) of predicative, adverbial and object: see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995:190f., 1999:211ff.

(2) The Nucleus — Satellite (attribute) dependency is well compatible with the Theme-Rheme one: see BARRI 1978.

(3) For rhematic slots of the French adjective, see ROTHENBERG 1975. Such scanning of adjectival slots reveals interesting parallels and differences between Coptic *n-* attribution

and the French *de-* and *zero + concord* linkage constructions: “immobile, le chat guette la souris” and “Paul me regarde, silencieux” (1975:232ff.), absent for Coptic *n-*, bring home the fact that *n-* is essentially satellital. Cases like “le chat demeure immobile” (250ff.), “cette réponse l’a rendu furieux” (250ff.) would have *n-* Rhemes in Coptic, as are the *de-* cases in “il y a une fenêtre d’ouverte” (246ff.), “quelque chose d’intéressant” (238ff.).

(4) On the so-called absolute constructions (Latin to Modern French) as adverbial-rhematic (converbal!) see SCHMITT-JENSEN 1988, MÜLLER-LANCÉ 1994.

(5) The very special morphology of the Coptic Conjunctive (Sah. etc. *n-*, Boh. *nte-/n-*) indicates a rhematic converb (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Seven) in paradigmatic opposition to the equally rhematic adnexal Circumstantial one; both occur adnominally or adverbally.

(6) Gen. 32:27 *ερεπεκραν ψωπι δε-πιςα* has *δε-* commuting with *n-* as rhematicity marker.

(7) The familiar morphological puzzle of the two 3rd-plural forms of the Conjunctive, viz. *ntow-* (“regular” in its paradigm) and *nce-* (deviant, Sahidic-like yet equally Bohairic in distribution) was to my knowledge tackled only by L. Stern (1880:274, 282), who was confident he could correlate the forms with respective different meanings: *ntow-* “wirkliche folge” — “die form des objektiven modus der vorstellung”, *nce-* “beabsichtigte folge” — “die Form des subjektiven modus der folge”. I have not studied the Conjunctive in the corpus.

2.4 Focalization. The grammar of focalization, which I will here define, loosely and inadequately, as “the syntax of any formal rhematic marking of a clause constituent for prominence or salience beyond clausal-rheme-hood, within information-block scope”, is among the more essential, if more difficult issues of grammar. Its difficulty is no doubt also due to the imponderables and intangibles involved on the semantic (*signifié*) plane, once we leave the doubtful support of the logic-of-contrast behind, and enter the realm of the expression of what is subjectively and attitudinally considered of relative importance; but mainly because it is a feature of *macro-syntax*, comprehensible only as a component of information structure, pragmatics, and ultra-clausal scope, and we still find it difficult to exceed the limits of the sentence in our formal analysis. Focalization, or, more elegantly, *mise en relief*, is one of the more familiar features of Coptic and pre-Coptic Egyptian, as any scholar of Egyptian diachrony will concede. Indeed, the history of modern Egyptian linguistics is entwined with focalization grammar, and not a little of the typological affinity of Egyptian and French, that makes for the affinity of idiom and turn of phrase between the two, can be traced to similarity in focalization constructions and their structural value.

The multifarious means and devices of focalization in Coptic: the Cleft Sentence and Focalizing Conversion patterning, the so-called Rhe-

torical Questions, noun, pronoun and adverbial extraposition, the Tautological Infinitive, the Augens, **ON**, negating and others, provide signals not only for various applications or locations of Focus, but also for types and degrees and the very nature of focality.

For reasons of space, I shall not dwell here at all on current trends in Focus grammar; my impression is that, barring some specifically descriptive insightful treatises, the common understanding of grammatical Focus is still rough and ready, not to say approximate, with some areas (such as focalization in Narrative) almost wholly uncharted, and the very terminology highly individualistic and often confused. Moreover, Sentence Grammar is still the basis for discussion, explicitly or implicitly. I shall discuss here briefly five specific focalizing devices which, in their essential complementarity and considerable overlap, seem to corroborate comprehensive “envelope” focussing of a clause as an emic overhead notion, with localized focussing marked specifically and/or cotextually; the focalizability of the nexus itself, well established in Coptic, is part and parcel of this notion. A question that is sometimes raised in Indo-European and Semitic focalization grammar, namely the relationship of Focus and modality — or at least *subjectivity* — seems of little import in Coptic²⁷. On the other hand, since our corpus is a translated one, it is important to address the question of the relation of Greek and Coptic Focus phenomena; that is, the existence and nature of triggers in the Greek *Vorlage* for the choices and decisions of the Coptic translator. Nevertheless it is crucial to remember that (a) there can be no one-to-one correspondence between the two systems, (b) there is no reason to suppose the Greek-to-Coptic rendering proceeded by clauses (or by smaller units): it is rather information blocks that are the units to be contrasted, and the respective information structures that inform the translator’s choice; (c) quantitative (“grading of focality”) considerations cannot be simply applied; (d) discrepancies between the two texts, and in particular instances of “no focality feature in the Greek” with Coptic focalization prove that the translator’s decisions are primarily motivated by exigencies and demands of the Coptic system, not dictates

²⁷ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Two (the Shenoutean Second Tense); 1990, for nexus focussing in Coptic; 1998:28ff. for Modern Welsh Narrative, dialogic and expository focussing; 1999:194ff. for Middle Welsh narrative focussing; DEPUYDT 2001, on the logic of Focus. COHEN 2001 on Focus in Old Babylonian, with general ramifications. GOLDENBERG 1971, a descriptive essay on the so-called Tautological Infinitive, in language-specific and general view; DIK 1981; LAMBRECHT 1995; SORNICOLA 1996. A special number of *Linguistics* (39-3 [2001]) was recently devoted to focalizing constructions, especially Cleft constructions, more or less presenting the state of the art on this topic.

or constraints of the Greek one. All in all, the various constructions marking focality in Coptic discussed here in outline, including the Cleft Sentence, the Focalizing Conversion, Augens construction (in Chapter Four) and the Tautological Infinitive, constitute an impressive array, albeit one less rich than the one found in earlier Egyptian — Narrative Focalization is conspicuous by its sparseness in Coptic. SHISHA-HALEVY 2002, a pilot study on focalization in Oxyrhynchite, covers part of the ground examined here. I shall here present, discuss and document focalization patterning.

2.4.1 Focalization (I): the Focus-Initial, Relative-Topic Cleft Sentence (“CS”): a basic formal-functional account

(a) We have here a strikingly dichotomous matrix (often referred to as “Cleft Sentence” *tout court*²⁸), in which the first Immediate Constituent (pronoun or noun syntagm, thus in Coptic always pronominal; no *zero* determination is attested. Adverbials are attested outside the corpus, almost only $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\tau$) is the Focus, while the second, a nexus (verbal or adverbial Rheme) marked by $\epsilon\tau$ -; $\pi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\tau$ - (one closed-juncture unity) or $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - is the Topic. The Topic is thematic, either given or presented as given. The main formal descriptive problem concerns the difference between the Topic forms (with formal parameters, e.g. Focus/Nexus constituency, Focus/Nexus negation or affirmation, or else different functioning, theoretically responsible). Structurally, is there a core nexus pattern within the complex matrix (an issue, not of reduction²⁹, but of analysis), and, if so, which? The answer, I believe, is that the $\pi\epsilon(\epsilon)\tau$ -CS is analyzable as a co-referent appositive Relative expansion of the Immutable $\pi\epsilon$ - Pattern (above, Pattern V: $\pi\epsilon$ situation-phoric or pragmatic). In fact, this is the major difference between the Bohairic and Sahidic Cleft constructions: the latter uses the Endophoric-Theme pattern, where $\pi\epsilon$ is determinator-anaphoric Theme, with the prime role of internal link, as core. In either case, $\{\pi\epsilon\}$ is not copular, but a formal Theme, a post-signal of rhematicity of the segment preceding; it is *neither anaphoric nor cataphoric*, and, in the complex CS clause, it is glossed or specified, appositively expanded by the Relative, which marks the topical or thematic nexus, that turns the initial Rheme into a Focus. This formal Theme is zeroed in the case of $\epsilon\tau$ -, which may be

²⁸ So for instance in WIDMER 1999:180 n.76, simplistically: “There is a close relation between Second Tenses and cleft sentence, since they both indicate that something is emphasized”.

²⁹ Cf. SORNICOLA 1991:43ff., on the Romance CS and its core.

Obs.

(2) Some special discussions of the CS in other languages (beyond the general classical ones, such as Sandfeld's, Jespersen's, Damourette and Pichon's, referred to in POLOTSKY 1944 and 1962): TUAILLON 1975 on adverb CS focalization in French; ROTHENBERG 1971b, THUN 1975, LAMBRECHT 1988, 2000 on the Presentational (or nexus-presenting, nexus-rhematizing) CS in French; SORNICOLA 1988, DELIN and OBERLANDER 1995 on English (I find of interest the discussion of the CS in Narrative, e.g. 477ff., 483ff., 488ff.) on English; KAPELUK 1988, Chapter Three for Amharic; SORNICOLA 1991 on the CS in Romance; SHISHA-HALEVY 1998: 169ff. and 1999: 186ff. for Welsh.

(3) The Immutable-Theme Nominal Sentence pattern is in Bohairic the normal combinatory resumptive pattern for the CS (e.g. in responses or in otherwise anaphoric negation/interrogation):

Ex. 4:11 ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΦΘΑΜΙΟ-ΕΒΟ ΝΕΜ ΚΟΤΡ ΠΕΘΝΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕΜ ΒΕΛΛΕ ΜΗ
 ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΘ̄C (ΠΘ̄C appositive to ΑΝΟΚ). Corroborative of the Endophoric NS —
 CS affinity even in Bohairic are also such cases as Num. 11:19 ΝΟΥΕΖΟΥΤ ΑΝ ΠΕ
 ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΟΥΩΜ Ν̄ΣΗΤϩ ÷ ΟΥΔΕ ̄ ΑΝ ΝΕ ÷ ΟΥΔΕ ̄ ΝΕΖΟΥΤ ΑΝ ΝΕ ÷ ΟΥΔΕ
 ̄ ΑΝ ΝΕ... (Circumstantial Topic; Vat has ΕΤΕΝΝΑΟΥΩΜ). Contextual support for the
 affinity of the Endophoric to the Cleft Sentence is also the antithetic Ex. 32:18 (= Vat):
 ΟΥCΜΗ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΖΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΞΟΡ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥCΜΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΖΑΝΑΡ-
 ΧΩΝ ΝΤΕ-ΟΥΗΡΠ ΕΐCΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΟC ΑΝΟΚ, or Gen. 45:8 †ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΑΝ
 ΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΡΠΤ ΕΜΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ Φ† ΠΕ, which has the Endophoric- or Immutable-
 Theme contrastively linked to a sequence-marked focalization; also Am. 7:8 B4, B5
 ΟΥΑΤΑΜΑC ΠΕ responding to ΟΥ ΝΘΟΚ ΕΤΑΚΝΑΤ ΕΡΟϩ.

(4) In Sahidic, and more frequently in Bohairic, we find a CS pattern without a formal Theme at all, or rather with the formal Theme zeroed: Focus + $\epsilon\tau$ - (etc.): see POLOTSKY 1962 §9; 1987:121ff., 1990:429f. (Copula-less); also SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:318ff., 1987:171f.; already STERN 1880 §306 ("suppression of copula"), ANDERSSON 1904:40f., with a selection (for our corpus) of the most striking Foci; SETHE 1916 §§54, 74, 77. In Sahidic this construction is associated with the personal-pronoun Focus (POLOTSKY 1962:425 n.1); in the Theban dialect (*ibid.*), it is correlated with indefinite nominal Foci, before a new actor-theme (that is, not coreferent with the Focus). This last construction is

³⁰ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:28ff.; 1999:194ff.

typical also of the Bohairic usage, but not without exception. (Generally, indefinite foci combine in Bohairic with πϵτ-). Beyond its diachronic interest, this pattern may, in view of its prevalent construction, imply a non-converter, but *pronominal*, role of the relative; an alternative analysis, however, might postulate here a zeroed-Theme subpattern (see above, for Theme zeroing in the Nominal Sentence patterns) as core. Owing to Focus specificity in Sahidic and Theban, the interdependence between Focus and Topic precludes any interpretation but the nexal one; this is not the case in Bohairic.

(5) Depuydt's discussion of 1994, more or less rephrased in 1998, is seriously flawed by simplistic exposition and argumentation, and often wrong. To give this exposition the critique it deserves, one would have to respond more or less to each and every paragraph in the work on a very basic level (cf. 1994: 67, 68, 69, 70; 1998:58, 59, 60, 61). Depuydt, ignoring or misrepresenting all preceding discussion since Polotsky's "Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence" of 1962, says of πϵ: "πϵ may be sometimes interpreted by scribes (*sic!*) as either copula or definite article and at other times neither" (1994:70). General miscomprehension of the CS or NS as pattern sets is in evidence: (1994:65ff.; 67) "The Late Egyptian nominal sentence as a rule, does not have a Copula, and therefore neither does the Late Egyptian or Demotic cleft sentence" — incidentally, a patent *non sequitur*: *pw* did not "disappear in Egyptian", but survives in Coptic πϵ. It is a fatal error to consider such elements (and diachrony in general) entirely unsystemically and in detachment from the micro- and macro-syntactic details of the patterns in which they occur. Another error is the "diachronic continuity" fallacy, as if one corpus-attested phase evolved from the preceding one ("later on, in latest Demotic, and especially in Coptic, trimembral nominal sentences became common again"). Depuydt's diachronic scenario is no less unnecessary than unfounded. A third error is to treat Coptic as monolithic, ignoring the considerable dialectal differences (see e.g. pp. 69ff., 1998:59, 60, 64). It is certainly not true that "cleft sentences are not analytically transparent" (R. Simpson's statement about Demotic) "applies to all Coptic cleft sentences" (p. 59). Obviously, Depuydt (p. 70) does not understand the significance of the Endophoric or the non-phoric (Immutable) πϵ.

(6) The complementary functional status of our CS to Focalizing Conversion, stipulated by Polotsky as early as 1944 (see also 1987:136ff.), is marred by the fact that prepositional phrases can either be focussed by the Focalizing Conversion or in the Relative-Topic CS, with the nominal Focus resumed by and in the prepositional phrase. According to A. Boud'hors, Bohairic "prefers" the latter way, "reducing the functional range of the Second Tenses" (1993:228ff.). In fact, there is an important *opposition* between the two constructions.

(7) For a contrastive study of Coptic/Greek focalization, See POLOTSKY 1944:29ff. and *passim*, SHISHA-HALEVY 2002.

(8) A possible instance of "that"-form ετα- following πϵ: De Vis II 118 σϣωω πεταπωηρι μϣϥ ϩιεμκαζ ιε σϣωω ναϩ οη πε εταϩ ϧιωτϩ νταικαϣε (εταϩ- could well be the so-called Temporalis).

(9) Notes from Diachrony. SATZINGER 1981:491, 505 n. 83: as in Bohairic, we have in the Topic an expansion of the "*N pw*" core. Arguably, the # Focus + ετ- # subpattern "continues" (structurally, not physically) the old Participial Statement construction, which is thus alive in Coptic (*pace* SATZINGER 1981:498). On the latter construction, see also VERNUS 1990:188f. For LE, see RITTER 1994 (*pw*: "subject" in the "syntactic dimension", as against pragmatic and semantic ones).

(10) The Demotic CS points to an Endophoric pattern as core: P. Berlin P13633 (Elephantine) line x+25 *t3-h mdt t3-nty-jw.in rh s* "It's the exact state of things that you

know", Ryl. IX 2/5 ss *shk.w n3-jjr hpr*, I Setne 4/8 *w't wnw't t3-jjr hpr* etc. etc.; even with pronominal Focus: *mtw n3 nty-* Ryl. IX 13/6, *mtwt t3 nty-* Ryl. XI 7, *mtws t3-w'n.w...* P. Spiegelberg 1/16. As in Coptic, we do find *mtws p3-jjr-* in *Mag.* 21/22. Sahidic-like, in the attested Demotic it is also the Endophoric Pattern that represents the CS in the textual sequel (anaphoric, e.g. in Responses, e.g. II Setne 4/9f., 11f.). See briefly JOHNSON 1981:420, SIMPSON 1996:167ff. VITTMANN 1998:238ff. seems to misconstrue the structure of the Demotic and general CS, characterizing it as a clause "with relative predicate".

(11) The *ep-* Topic, generic and past tense, is not attested in our corpus, but is in the B4 John (7:19, 15:16, 18:14), always with a highly specific Focus (personal pronoun or Proper Name). Incidentally, in Oxyrhynchite, *ep-*, where not substantivized as *περ-*, *περσ ep-* or similar, seems specialized for the CS Topic (CS with personal-pronoun or Proper-Name Focus), and has little or no "normal" adnominal occurrence (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:315 on Matthew; the same obtains for Acts and Psalms). See BOSSON 2006a:64ff. for the Codex Schøyen Matthew.

(b) The Circumstantial Topic. I find in the corpus only Num. 11:19 as an instance of the Circumstantial thematization form for a nominal Focus (see below, for *e-* as a Focalizing Conversion form): **ΝΟΥΕΞΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΘΩΜ ΝΣΗΤΩ ΟΥΔΕ Β ΑΝ ΝΕ ΟΥΔΕ Ε ΝΕΞΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΕ...** (Vat **ΕΤΕΤΕΝΝΑ-**)

Obs.

Outside the corpus, cf. De Vis II 49 **ΝΙΜ ΝΣΗΤΩ ΕΡΕΦΙΟΜ ΨΘΕΡΘΩΡ ΕΤΒΗΤΩ**, etc. Clearly, in Nitrian Bohairic the status of the Circumstantial Conversion is very different, in adnominal and other slots as well: AM II 129 **ΟΥ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ ΕΚΣΩ ΜΜΟΩ**, and especially as Topic with adverbial Foci (concurring with the Focalizing Conversion, see below), an historically established role (SHISHA-HALEVY 1978).

(c) Focalization — Morphologically Unmarked Topic (I)

The interrogative pronoun **ΝΙΜ** combines with the unconverted Pret-erite to form a peculiar subpattern with unmarked Topic, in a construction typical of Nitrian texts but attested in all types of Bohairic, viz. **ΝΙΜ (ΟΘΝ) ΑΩ-** (Gen. 27:33, 43:22, Deut. 5:26).

Obs.

(1) This construction, typical of Bohairic, may have belonged to a more colloquial register. See already PRAETORIUS 1881:180; POLOTSKY 1934:64, 1990:180. Outside the corpus, consider:

Job 38:5 **ΝΙΜ ΑΩ- ΙΣΣΕ ΚΩΘΩΝ ΙΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΩ-**

Rom. 11:34f. (consensus) **ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΑΩ- ΙΕ ΝΙΜ ΑΩ- ΙΕ ΝΙΜ ΑΩ-**

Soph. 3:18 B4 **ΝΙΜ ΑΩ-** vs. **ΝΙΜ ΕΤΑΩ-** Hag. 2:3, **ΝΙΜ ΕΘΝΑ-** Am. 7:2, Obd. 1:3, Na. 1:6:6, 3:7.

Cat. 194f. **ΑΩ ΜΦΩΣΙΣ ΑΦΜΟΥ† ΕΡΟΣ ΣΕ-ΩΙΚ ΝΤΕΠΩΝΣ ...**

(3) Unlike other interrogative adverbials, **ΝΟΥΗΡ** and (sometimes) **ΘΩΝ** enter for some reason unmarked-Topic constructions:

Mark 15:4 **ΑΝΑΤ** **ΔΕ**-**ΣΕΕΡΚΑΤΕΡΟΠΙ** **ΕΡΟΚ** **ΝΟΤΗΡ** (cons.).

AM I 235...**ΔΕ**-**ΑΤΘΙCΙ** **ΕΤΑΛΦΕ** **ΝΟΤΗΡ**.

AM II 112 **ΔΕ**-**ΑΦΦΩΚ** **ΕΘΩΝ**.

Cat. 227 **ΔΕ**-**ΑΤΧΑΦ** **ΘΩΝ** (John 20:2:13:15).

The Relative-Topic CS is not triggered by **ΟΤΗΡ** either:

SV 20 **ΔΕ**-**ΟΤΟΝ**-**ΟΤΗΡ** **ΝΕΡΩΠ** **ΜΜΑΤ**.

De Vis I 190 **ΑΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΤ**...**ΔΕ**-**ΟΤΟΝ**-**ΟΤΗΡ** **ΝΔΟΜ** **ΨΟΠ** **ΔΕΝ†ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ**.

ΟΤΗΡ **ΑΦ**- Cat. 155, AM I 174; cf. also Mark 6:38, 8:20, Luke 13:34, 15:17, 16:5:7.

(d) Focalization — Morphologically Unmarked Topic (II)

There are instances of initial non-interrogative Focus, and unmarked Preterite Topic (resuming the actantial Focus), which differ, by cotext — especially by the thematicity of the verb clause — and/or by low / indifferent specificity, from topicalization cases (see below):

Gen. 25:23 **ΨΛΟΛ** **Β** **ΑΡΕΕΡΒΟΚΙ** **ΜΜΩΟΤ**.

Gen. 21:6 **ΟΤΣΩΒΙ** **ΑΦΑΙΦ** **ΝΗΙ**.

Lev. 25:5 **ΟΤΡΟΜΠΙ** **ΝΤΕΟΤΜΤΟΝ** **ΕΣΕΨΩΠΙ** **ΜΠΙΚΑΖΙ**.

Deut. 16:15 **Ξ** **ΝΕΖΟΟΤ** **ΕΚΕΛΙΤΟΤ**.

Gen. 44:27 **ΨΗΡΙ** **Β** **ΑΤΑΙCΖΙΜΙ** **ΜΑCΟΤ** **ΝΗΙ**.

Deut. 28:38 **ΖΑΝΚΟΤΔΙ** **ΕΚΕΟΛΟΤ**.

Gen. 37:20 **ΟΤΘΗΡΙΟΝ** **ΕΦΖΟΟΤ** **ΑΦΟΤΟΜΦ** — here we have, similarly to the “Presentational” CS (below), focussing or rhematization of the entire nexus of nominal and verbal constituents: “(The situation/matter is) that a wild beast has devoured him”.

There do occur occasional cases of high-specificity Focus, beside personal pronouns. None is cotext-bound:

Deut. 8:17 **ΤΑΝΟΜ†** **ΝΕΜ** **ΠΑΜΑΖΙ** **ΝΤΕΤΑΔΙΔ** **ΑΤΙΡΙ** **ΝΗΙ** **ΝΤΑΙ-ΝΙΨ†** **ΝΔΟΜ**.

Gen. 45:8 **†ΝΟΤ** **ΔΕ** **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ** **ΑΝ** **ΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΤΟΡΠΤ** **ΕΜΝΑΙ** **ΑΛΛΑ** **Φ†** **ΠΕ** — the Focus is here triply marked: by its initial placement, by **ΑΝ** and, retrospectively, by the conjunct Nominal Sentence with the formal or situational #Theme **ΠΕ**# (see above).

In a case of an initial non-anaphoric adverbial, like Deut. 9:6 **ΕΘ-ΒΕΤΕΚΜΕΘΜΗΙ** **ΑΝ** **ΠΘC** **ΝΑ†** **ΜΠΑΙΚΑΖΙ** **ΝΑΚ**, both sequence and **ΑΝ** signal focalization.

Obs.

(1) Outside the corpus:

Mt. 16:17 **CΑΡΞ** **ΝΕΜ** **CΝΟΦ** **ΑΝ** **ΑΦΩΡΠ** **ΜΦΑΙ** **ΝΑΚ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΑΛΛΑ** **ΠΑΙΩΤ** **ΠΕΤΔΕΝΝΙΦΗΝΟΤ**...

Mt. 13:27 **ΜΗ** **ΟΤΔΡΟΔ** **ΕΝΑΝΕΦ** **ΑΝ** **ΑΚCΑΤΦ** **ΔΕΝΠΕΚΙΟΖΙ**.

³¹ Similarly in the extensive listing (ongoing research; an interim report in the 7th Coptic Congress, Leiden 2000) presented by W.P. Funk for NT, OT and Nitrian, B4 and B5 sources.

The $\epsilon\tau$ - Topic is affirmative only, most typically co-referent with the Focus, and converting the “Converbial” Conjugation Pattern (Present and Future). (This supports the diachronic identification with the Participial Statement, still fully functional in LE³², rather than analysis as a zeroed-Theme core + appositive Relative expansion). The higher the specificity of the Focus, the higher the probability of finding $\epsilon\tau$ - as the Topic form. But quantifier Foci (including indefinite determinators), also combine with $\epsilon\tau$ -. On the other hand, middle-range determinators tend to combine with $\pi\epsilon(\epsilon)\tau$ - (details below). Thus, interlocutive pronouns combine more usually with $\epsilon\tau$ - rather than $\pi(\epsilon)\epsilon\tau$ -; delocutives with $\pi\epsilon\tau$ -; π - and $\pi\iota$ - with $\pi\epsilon\tau$ -, demonstratives usually with $\epsilon\tau$ -; indefinites and interrogatives with $\pi\epsilon\tau$ -. The *zero* determinator is entirely absent in the CS Focus, as in the NS in general³³. With all four parameters applied, it is possible to predict the choice of $\epsilon\tau$ - or $\pi(\epsilon)\epsilon\tau$ - with a degree of confidence. But no more than that: a tendency, not conditioning or selection.

(1) Focus listing for the $\epsilon\tau$ - Topic in the corpus:

Focus: high- and low-specificity is typical; middle-specificity is rare. { $\pi\iota$ -} is extremely rare.

- Indefinite articles; quantifiers.

$\omicron\tau$ - (Gen. 27:38, 49:1, Ex. 32:17f., Num. 6:7, Deut. 24:6).

$\xi\alpha\lambda$ - (Lev. 22:25).

Ex. 11:1 $\epsilon\tau\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\epsilon\rho\theta\omicron\tau\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\ \nu\alpha\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta$.

[number name] (Ex. 23:10).

Gen. 23:15 $\tau\ \eta\kappa\iota\ \eta\gamma\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omega\iota\ \eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\kappa$ (= Vat.)

- Interrogative Pronouns (also $\pi\epsilon\tau$:- below).

$\omicron\tau$ (Gen. 49:1).

$\eta\iota\mu$ (Gen. 49:9, Ex. 32:24, Num. 11:4:18:29, 24:9:23, Deut. 5:29, 30:12f.).

$\alpha\upsilon$ (Deut. 4:7:8).

- Personal Pronouns, interlocutive:

$\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ (Gen. 42:37, Ex. 4:12:15, Deut. 32:39).

Gen. 31:39 $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\eta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\tau$ (note the conditioned theme-pronoun in interlocutive personal linkage; also $\eta\theta\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa$ - Num. 22:34) — the possibility of a Focalizing (“Second”) Imperfect must not be entirely dismissed.

$\eta\theta\omicron\kappa$, $\eta\theta\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$ (Ex. 20:22, Num. 11:29, Deut. 9:1, 20:20).

Ex. 32:22 $\eta\theta\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\theta\eta$.

³² GARDINER 1957 §§227, 373; GROLL 1967:47ff.

³³ Unless it be before the quantifier $\kappa\epsilon$ -.

- Personal Pronouns, delocutive (rare):
 нѠоq, нѠωοτ (Gen. 42:38, 45:26, Deut. 1:39, 3:22).
 Gen. 44:20 нѠоq ммаѡатq етѡоp.
- Demonstratives:
 ѳѡι (пαι-) (Gen. 5:29, 25:22).
 Deut. 3:28 ѳѡι етнарѡорпммоѡι.
 Gen. 31:46 παιѡαλ етермеѡре ѡтѡι немак.
- Proper Names³⁴:
 Num. 12:2 мн мѡѡснс ммаѡатq етапѡс сѡΔι немѡq.
 Ex. 2:22 ѳ† гар мпαιωт етѡι мβονѡос ннι.
 {πι-}: extremely rare; not anaphoric.
 Num. 7:9 нιѡемѡι нтеπεѡѡαв етентѡтѡ (= Vat).
- Possessive article {пек-}, rare:
 Gen. 3:10 тексмн ета[ι]сѡѡмеq is formally deviant, and, functionally, clearly Presentational (that is, тексмн is not focal at all). In a remarkable near-consensus, all MSS except Bodmer III (B4) have here for some mysterious reason the masculine object resumptive pronoun; Vat reads петѡисѡѡмеq. Formally, both the Relative Preterite and the Topic, not co-referent with Focus, are remarkable too. (See below, [g]).
 Ex. 23:21 парѡ гар етхн зѡѡq.

Obs.

(1) Three rare, apparently negative instances in the NT call for observation:

Mt. 7:21 ѡтѡн нѡбен ѡн етѡѡ ммѡс ннι Δе-пѡс пѡс еѡнѡι еѡѡн ѡтметѡтpо нтениѳноѡι v.l. еѡнѡι еѡѡн ѡн. Apparently a case of truly negative nexus, this *locus* is noteworthy for the position of the post-negator, which raises the possibility of a specially located *focal* negation being an option beside nexal and topic negation (this is, I believe, a real term in the negation paradigm for the Focalizing Conversion, see below). (Luke 12:6, Cat. 146) мн нΔѡΔ ѡн етѡт† ммѡѡѡ еѡѡ... is not really negative, but marked by мн...ѡн as enhanced “Rhetorical” Assertion (see above). Zach. 3:2 (B4) мн ѡн ѳѡι ѡн пе мсррн† нѡѡѡе ... Greek οὐκ ἰδοῦ τοῦτο ὡς δαλὸς ἐξεσπαρμένος — a very rare Theme-initial, Adverbial-Rheme, Copular NS pattern; ѡн, part of the мн... ѡн Assertive Question, is here repeated as a “fore-shadowed enclitic”.

(2) The specifically Oxyrhynchite pattern # нтак ете- + Proper Name/PN-equivalent is and still not quite understood (SCHENKE 1978:55f. (101f.), 1996:106; SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:319ff.; exx. in Acts: 7:32, 9:20:22; in the Psalms: 2:7, 30:4:5, 41:10, 42:2, 45:11, 141:6; a few similar instances from Nag Hammadi are discussed in SCHENKE 1991:53. See Bosson 2006a:60ff on the Codex Schøyen Matthew. The initial personal

³⁴ It is worth noting that this construction is attested in early Bohairic epistolography, in the presentative CS as opening formula “PN етсΔѡеι”: see Worrell, *Coptic Texts* 175ff.

pronoun here is by no means focal or always rhematic; on the contrary, there are clear instances of the highly specific noun being the Rheme. Can this be a special CS pattern, focussing a Nominal-Sentence Rheme by zeroing its $\pi\epsilon$ Theme (Immutable? Endophoric? See above, the Nominal Sentence patterns) - "It is Christ that you are"? A possible, but doubtful instance of $\pi\epsilon$ not zeroed is Ps. 118:11 $\text{ΝΤΑΚ ΕΤΕ-ΠΕΡΩΤΑΤ ΜΠΑΞΗΤ ΠΕ}$, with most letters doubtful (see SCHENKE 1996:106 n.56). And yet I must confess I do not see how this information structure is effected by the complex construction in point, unless there be here some similarity to the Focalizing Converter + Theme Topic in cases like ΑΚΛΟΒΙ "It is mad you are". At any rate, this peculiar pattern hints at the association and mutual implications of the following four issues: (1) the zeroing or absence of π - in the CS Topic, (2) zeroing of the Theme $\pi\epsilon$ in the NS, (3) the uneasy Relative conversion of any NS, (4) the remarkable privilege of a NS instead of verbal nexus in the CS Topic. Macrosyntactically and pragmatically, this pattern is pro-/acclamatory (as a rule interlocutive — only Act. 9:20 and 22 are delocutive cases). Incidentally, the construction range for ΝΤΑΚ ΕΡ- (etc.) recalls, but does not exactly match our corpus: see SCHENKE 1996:107f. (on Psalms); BOSSON 2006a:64ff for Codex Schøyen.

(2) Focus listing for the $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - Topic (with the $\pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau$ - variant, sometimes significant). As already pointed out, this — even for normally $\epsilon\tau$ -Topic Foci — is the form of preference outside the Present/Future and cases of absence of co-reference between Focus and Topic. Also, a tendency of preference with mid-range of Focus specificity.

- Interrogative pronouns (var. $\pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau$ -):

ΟΘ, ΝΙΜ (Gen. 21:26, 27:18, Ex. 17:4, 10:26, 15:24, Num. 9:8, 16:30 etc.).

Deut. 3:24 $\text{ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΝΝΟΘ† ΠΕΤΝΑΙΡΙ...}$

Ex. 4:1 ΟΘ ΠΕ†ΝΑΔΟQ ΝΩΟΘ.

Gen. 46:3 ΟΘ ΠΕΤΩΟΠ (so always; ΟΘ ΠΕ ΕΤ- a common variant, Ex. 3:4, Gen. 21:29, 27:37, 44:15).

- Demonstratives (less typical?):

Num. 23:2 ΦΑΙ ΠΕ†ΝΑΑΙQ.

The $\pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau$ - variant seems to be here especially significant (Ex. 30:13, Num. 22:38).

Ex. 19:3 $\text{ΝΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΔΟΤΟΘ}$ and similar 20:22, 23:16 etc.

Delocutive personal pronouns ($\pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau$ -):

Deut. 6:13 $\text{ΝΘQ ΠΕΤΕΚΕΤΟΜΚ ΕΡQ.}$

Deut. 1:38 $\text{ΝΘQ ΠΕ ΕΘΝΑΤΗΙQ (= Vat)}$

Ex. 38:23 $\text{ΕΛΙΑΒ ΦΗ ΝΤΕ-ΑΧΙCΑΜΑΧ... ΝΘQ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΦΕΡΑΡ-ΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ.}$

- Interlocutive personal pronouns (rare) ($\pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau$ -):

Ex. 19:4 $\text{ΝΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΘ.}$

Note the interlocutive reference linkage.

- Determinators: {πι-}:

Gen. 3:13 **πιβοq πεταφερζαλ μμοι** — presentational, not focussing.

- Proper Names:

Gen. 31:32 **ραχηλ τεφςζιμι πεταςκολποϑ.**

Deut. 6:13 **πῶς πεκνοϑ† πετεκεερζο† ζατεφζη**, also **πε ετ-** Deut. 32:12, Ex. 14:14:25, 15:3.

Ex. 16:6 **πῶς πενταφενθνοϑ εβολ ςενπκαζι νχημι.**

Gen. 31:44 **ϕ† πετερμεϑρε οϑτωι νεμακ.**

- Possessed Focus:

Gen. 45:12 **ρωι πετσαζι νεμωτεν.**

- Indefinite article (Sgl.) (very rare: only Preterite?):

Gen. 43:12 **οϑμετατεμι πεταςωπι.**

Ex. 15:15 **οϑςϑερτερ πεταφζιτοϑ.**

Arguably, **οϑμετατεμι** and **οϑςϑερτερ** are here not focal: this is in all probability a Presentational pattern, with **πε** rhematizing both noun and verb in nexus (see below).

Deut. 32:28 **οϑεθνος πε εταφτακο μπεφςοϑνι** (= Vat). This is not a CS, but a NS with expanded Rheme.

- Adverbials; **παιρη†** — **πε(ε)τ-** only.

Gen. 39:19 **παιρη† πεταφαιq** also Ex. 23:11.

παιρη† πε ετ- is especially well attested (Ex. 3:14, 22:30, 23:11, 26:17, 27:11), which may indicate that it is not a CS (but means “This is the manner in which...”): it seems to be an expansion of **παιρη† πε** “That is how it is”.

Ex. 23:12 **ς νεζοοϑ πε ετεκιρι ννεκζβηνοϑι**, also Ex. 20:8, 34:21, 35:2.

Obs.

(1) In Ex. 4:2 **οϑ πε ϕαι ετςεντεκζιζ** we have, I believe, a special formalized allocutive-deixis case of the Expanded-Theme Delocutive NS (as a rule with the Relative Preterite; also Gen. 20:9, 26:10, 27:20, 29:25, 42:28, Ex. 4:2, 14:5:11, 18:14 etc.) which constitutes a Cleft-Sentence-like form that is not based on the Endophoric or Immutability-Theme pattern.

(2) The expanded NS with a substantival Relative expansion (**N πε / νε ϕη / νη ετ-**) is often the Bohairic correspondent of the CS in other dialects. It is also correlatable with high-specificity Foci: see POLOTSKY 1962 §8-9, with a special treatment of the Bohairic phenomenon. It seems a typically Bohairic rendering of certain Greek phrases. Also POLOTSKY 1990:426f., quoting e.g. Gen. 24:14, Ex. 3:14, 10:8, 29:1; for the copular “**N πε πετ-**” (#Theme + Copula + Rheme#) in the Sahidic Bible and non-Biblical Sahidic, see POLOTSKY 1962 §11. (Is this the Coptic “Pseudo-Cleft” pattern? Cf. NEVEU 1994).

(g) A functional note. Pending a comprehensive macro-syntactical appraisal of Coptic focalization, to include the CS, the Focalizing Conversion, the Augens and minor constructions in an information-structure scope³⁵, we can only hope for some fleeting impressionist functional understanding of the CS Focus. Generally speaking, the CS focalization is less sophisticated, less nuanced than focussing by the FC: this derives mainly from the functional value difference resulting from the difference between (mostly high-specificity) actants and circumstants (adjuncts). One must indeed observe here on the asymmetry of the CS and the Focalizing Conversion (below): the focality of the latter is certainly more contextual and cotextual — thus much more varied — than the former, where it is largely absolute; the CS never to my knowledge enters a “Thematic Progression” configuration; juncturally it is more highly delimitative than the linking FC. Significant is also the typical high specificity of the CS Focus, where the FC has nothing comparable.

Interrogative pronouns enter in Bohairic the CS as a conditioned construction, hence have no special functional load in this pattern (ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲓⲥ is not really opposed to ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥ). Non-interrogative Foci are pertinent, unless they are triggered by preposed personal pronouns in the Greek (often following the Hebrew) e.g. in Deut. 3:24, 9:1. For pertinent pronoun and Proper-Name focussing, as well as for the rarer possessed and definite nouns, we find cases of “only...” (Deut. 20:20), “...and not...”, “...in person”, “none other than...”, “no less than...” (Gen. 31:32:48, 39:19, 45:12, Ex. 2:22, 23:21, Deut. 1:39, 3:22, 31:3). For the rare indefinites we have true contrast (Ex. 32:17:18). For the few focal adverbials, especially ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ, the pattern expresses “only” (“only thus”, “in this very way”, “just so”).

(h) The non-focussing Presentational Pattern (rare). This nexus-rhematizing, non-polemic construction is macro- and micro-syntactically distinct (SHISHA-HALEVY 1987:172ff., esp. 174). It occurs in narrative/report-initial role (as against the dialogic or expositive noun/pronoun-focussing CS), and in apocritic (responsive) and explicative slots (with no special formal marking in the Greek). The formal theme ⲡⲉ, where present, is situational; the relative is Rhematic or adnexal:

³⁵ The present writer is engaged on a comprehensive study of rhetorical focalization in Shenoutean Sahidic.

Gen. 3:10 **ТЕКСМН ЕТА[1]СОӨМЕQ ЕКМОУИ ЗЕНПИПАРАДИ-
СОС АΙΕΡΖΟ†** (consensus of all codd.), answering “Where are
you?”

Ex. 2:18-19 **ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΝΡΕΜΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΦΝΑΖΜΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝΤΟΤΟΥ**, answering “Why did you hurry back?”

Probable cases are:

Gen. 43:12 **ΟΥΜΕΤΑΤΕΜΙ ΠΕΤΑQΩΠΙ.**

Ex. 15:15 **ΟΥCӨΕΡΤΕΡ ΠΕΤΑQΔΙΤΟΥ.**

Gen. 3:13 **ΠΙΖΟQ ΠΕΤΑQΕΡΖΑΛ ΜΜΟΙ.**

Obs.

(1) Outside the corpus, consider:

John 9:15 (“How did you come to see?”) **ΟΥΟΜΙ ΠΕΤΑQΧΑQ ΕΞΕΝΝΑΒΑΛ ΟΥΟΖ
ΑΠΑ-ΙΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΜΒΟΛ (B4 ΑQΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΝΟΥΟΜΙ ΑQΤΗΙQ ΕΝΑΒΑΛ ΑΠΩΙ
ΜΜΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΜΒΟΛ).**

John 12:29 (B4) **(ΖΕ)ΥΔΑΡΑΒΑΙ ΠΕΤΑQΩΠΙ...(ΖΕ)Υ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΠΕΤΑQCΑΔΙ
ΝΕΜΑQ** (explaining the voice from heaven).

Luke 9:7f. Three explanations: **ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΠΕΤΑQΤΩΝQ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΝΗ ΕΘΜΩΟΥΤ...
ΗΛΙΑC ΠΕΤΑQΟΥΟΝQ ΕΒΟΛ... ΟΥΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΝΤΕΝΙΑΡΧΕΟC ΠΕΤΑQΤΩΝQ.**

Luke 19:31 **ΠCӨ ΠΕΤΕΡΧΡΙΑ ΜΜΟQ** (answering “Why do you untie the colt?”).

De Vis II 168 **ΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΤΩΟΠ ΖΕΝΤΑΙΠΟΛΙC ΕΡΕΠΑΩΗΩ ΤΗΡQ ΝΕΖΠΙ
ΖΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΝΕ ΕΤΑΥCΙ-ΕΡΔΩΤ ΕΥΕΡΖΩΒ.**

(2) On the CS and CS-like Presentational clauses, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:28ff.
(Welsh); THUN 1975. KRÖTSCH and SABBAN 1990: 93, 95f. “Le c’est...qui/que cohésif”,
with a resuming element (not Focus but “thématisation forte”), 93, 95 “le c’est qui/que
présentatif” answering “Qu’est-ce que si passe?” — “entièrement rhématique”;
ROTHENBERG 1972, 1979, LAMBRECHT 1988, 2000.

2.4.2 Focalization (II): the Focalizing Conversion (*alias* “Second Tense”): a basic account

(a) Preliminary. In 2002, I attempted a succinct discussion of the *Problematik* and main descriptive facts of the FC in the Oxyrhynchite dialect. Apart from a few general statements, I shall not repeat here what was said about tensing, Focus and focalization, synchrony and diachrony of the FC, Greek motivation of Coptic focalization and of course the actual typology of the Oxyrhynchite constructions. In the actual FC picture that emerges in our corpus and in Bohairic in general, there are sections that differ from the Polotskyan “orthodoxy” and the *communis opinio*: I shall treat those in more detail.

The FC, by and large the core of Polotskyan Egyptian linguistics, and a showpiece of Egyptian-Coptic grammar, is a high-level thematizing device, within which the built-in Topic/Theme, also marker of textual and contextual cohesivity, is (a) a FC nexus, essential and integral in the

FC construction — the converted nexus, with its own Theme and Rheme; or, more difficult to understand, for adverbial or (rarely) Stative converbal Foci, (b) the special nuclear formal nexus of the converter itself with its (pro)nominal Theme: $\alpha q/\alpha p\epsilon-$.

In the FC construction set, Coptic (and especially Sahidic) breaks a three-thousand-years-old historical matrix, *viz.* the familiar adverbial-rheme one, the “Bipartite” Pattern, pivotal throughout the history of Egyptian: this was presented by Polotsky — in 1944, 1960, 1965 and still in basically the same way in 1990:136f., as the proper syntagmatic framework of the FC. The exclusiveness and indeed primacy of this model is contestable already in Demotic (perhaps before then)³⁶. The disruption of this association — both in Topic placement and in Focus word-class, as well as in numerous other details — is certainly related to the withdrawal of the FC, complete by Late Egyptian, from practically all substantival-privilege slots. It is also the case that the initiality of the FC conversion evident in this matrix (among the neatest instances of initiality in the earlier stages of Egyptian) is impaired in Coptic in two ways, *viz.* (a) the zeroed Circumstantial conversion of the FC and (b) the spread of Focus-initial matrices, perhaps also encouraged by Greek syntactic-prosodic influence. Bohairic, while relatively conservative in its FC patterning as well as in focal word-class, shares this general Coptic tendency.

The most satisfactory way of describing the subtleties of functional hypercategories is the structural procedure of isolating precisely formulated oppositions in precisely defined environments, that is, accounting for all observable parameters, in the syntagmatic and paradigmatic dimensions. On the paradigmatic axis, pertinence of linguistic signs (the formal/functional quality of not being conditioned, of *standing in opposition* in-paradigm to other signifiers/signifieds) is scalar: the smaller a paradigm is, the weaker the opposition and hence the pertinence of its members, the richer a paradigm the higher its members’ pertinence. It is thus not simply the case that the members of a paradigm cover each their share of a semantic continuum, and that their functional load expands and shrinks as their paradigm grows more or less rich. (Conditioning is de-pertinentization. When an opposition of the focalizing conversion or other focalizing constructions to unmarked tense forms is cancelled or weakened — as often in the case of interrogative adverbs or pronouns — the Focus, although still formally marked, is functionally non-pertinent.)

³⁶ See SATZINGER 1991:297 and SIMPSON 1996:171ff.

Contrary to general intuitive opinion, the Focus is most often not contrastive — that is, not in opposition to one specific lexemic element, but (at least potentially) to all elements in any associative paradigm with it; which explains why the non-focal rest of the clause is not contrasted as a specific semantic entity to the Focus. The dichotomous conception of a Focus-and-Topic constituency of the sentence, with clear-cut edge to each constituent, is implied in all treatments of the FC. Yet there is a difference between the syntagmatic spread of focal information within the sentence and the paradigmatic structure of the Focus, which is a correlate of the number and nature of the opposed terms commutable with (a) the focus and (b) the construction in point (POLOTSKY 1957:110 n.1 “There is admittedly no ‘objective’ criterion for determining the degree of emphasis borne by an adverbial complement. The only way is to examine whether, in a given context, it is the verb or the adverbial expression which contributes more to the predication contents of the sentence” is disheartening, because of the very subjectivity and inherent circularity involved).

The Focus is superimposed onto the Theme-Rheme basic nexus. What is focussed in the first instance is the whole clausal complex — actants, verbal lexeme, circumstants (adverbial adjuncts) and even their nexus — in a kind of overall ‘*Envelope Focussing*’³⁷. In the second instance, i.e. one stage ahead in the focalized reading, in the decoding based on the special marking of a clausal constituent³⁸ conjointly with co(n)textual information structure and blocking, a specific constituent of the verb clause is resolved as being in focus: a circumstant (‘adverbial adjunct’), an actant, a verb lexeme, even the nexus itself — after all, the nexus interdependency is a fully privileged clause constituent, and as such is focalizable (and topicalizable). Nexus focalization has a rich range of semantic references, correlatively with various discourse and pragmatic environments. (Cf. COHEN 2005:17ff., 29-68).

³⁷ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:28ff. on the concept of Envelope Focussing (mainly effected by the periphrastic use of the auxiliary *gwneud* “do”) in Modern Welsh, with reference to Herodotean Greek (see ROSÉN 1957, 1967) and Coptic. In Welsh, a special converter (*fe-*) is used for higher-level rhematizing or focussing (“highlighting”) of a verbal nexus, especially in the narrative texture: see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995 §§3.1.1-3.2.1.

³⁸ Focalization (rhematization, applied to any constituent of the clausal complex), and topicalization (thematization — applied to a nexus) occur and are marked conjointly, indeed are inseparable. The marking can reside in either the Focus itself or in the topic, or in both; but when only the Focus is marked, this does not mean (as in the Rheme-Theme structure) that the rest is unimportant or basic or given or presupposed: it is only “unhighlighted”.

The placement of the Focus is of some importance as a typological index of constructions, and of course from the information-structure angle, but should not, and cannot, be understood in isolation from the whole matrix or pattern. For Topic-initial constructions — the great majority of cases — it is as a rule the *valency matrix* that serves as delimiter, that is, when the valency matrix is concluded, the Focus commences. On the other hand, for the relatively limited Focus-initial construction, the Focus/Topic structural boundary runs just after the Focalization Converter.

Obs.

(1) The distinction (LOMBARDI VALLAURI 1998) between broad (“esteso”) and narrow Focus (“ristretto e contrastivo”) is useful, partly coextensive with my “envelope focussing”. See also DİK *et al.* 1981 on the “non-cotextual Focus” (pragmato-semantic, logically abstract, incl. underlying structures); ROBERT 1993 on the complexity of focal categories (in French, Berber, Chinese).

(2) BOUD’HORS 1993 is the only attempt to date to confront different dialects in their focalization usage. On the basis of the Gospel of Matthew (B5), she confirms the “Egyptian orthodox” usage of Bohairic (and yet, the Bohairic FC is by no means limited to postposed adverbial Foci).

(3) That Bohairic prefers the Relative-Topic CS, “reducing the functional range of Second Tenses” is an impression, not really measurable diachronically or synchronically: see POLOTSKY 1944:64, BOUD’HORS 1993:228ff. Cf. already STERN 1880 §375. In fact, the statements made 1944:31 + n.2 are valid by and large for Scripture Bohairic, not Nitrian (“‘bohairique pur’ par opposition au bohairique de Nitrie”): “...Ann. Serv. XL 244, ou il aurait fallu dire que l’état du bohairique à l’égard du normal égyptien est déjà celui du démotique”. But early Bohairic is here less conservative: see QUECKE, Or. 43 (1974) 388 James 2:18, or ⲁⲉ-ⲁⲩⲛⲁ- Zach. 5:10. in P. Vat. copto 9 (B4); see further below.

(4) Is the FC substantival (see discussion in SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:63f., 99f.)? This is today still in consensus, and a cornerstone of Polotsky’s model from 1944 to 1990 (129ff.), where “Substantivische Transposition” reaffirms his conviction of this, argued thus: “...weil sich in ihnen die Nominalisierung auf der *Verbalbegriff* als Kern des Satzinhaltes konzentriert”. Polotsky takes the substantivity of the FC, an essential factor in his model, as given, with no special proof other than the pattern itself: an obvious *petitio principii*. Therefore, I wholly agree with DEPUYDT 1995a:47f. that the “substitution identity definition” is here a weak component in Polotsky’s grammatical analysis and heritage; much less, that there is any call for intuitive or language-philosophical insight to establish analytical identity structurally. (Adverbs are not difficult because they are “morphologically less distinct” [cf. DEPUYDT 1995a:48] — the morphological form has nothing or little to do with our analysis [DE BOER 1928] — and anyway, in Coptic, the FC has broken out of the adverbial-predicate frame or matrix.) The substantive is anyway definable paradigmatically, by substitution in specific slots: actantial occurrence, rhematic status in Nominal Sentence, compatibility with prepositions, and other, more language-specific criteria. The synthesis or conglomerate of several paradigms may be taken as the definition or “name” (or even synthetic identity) of a word class such as “Substantive”. By this test, with the matrix break mentioned above, the Coptic FC has nothing conclusively substantival about it. All syntagmatic and paradigmatic distinctive substantival properties, barring the compatibility with demonstrative articles and adjec-

tives, with attributive adjectives and with gender-number categorial exponents, were shared by the Middle Egyptian emphatic forms.

A few isolated traces of possibly substantival FC syntagmatics do remain in Coptic³⁹. Sahidic $\Delta\text{INTAQ-}$, past alternant of $\Delta\text{IN EQ-}$, may be a prepositional governance of "that" (ENE-NTAQ- is more difficult by far); $\text{NTAQ-} \dots \text{PE}$ (John 11:13 Sah. codd. AB, Palau Ribes and Thompson, not Boh.), which STERN 1880:217 translates "das/was..., das ist..." recalls ME "*mrrf pw*", which predicates a "that" form of the situational *pw*: "this means...that...", but may be a case of PE signalling Comment Mode. The occurrence of an interrogative FC as object-actant following "find" (Oxyrh. Acts 4:14 EN-ANEPOT , different in Boh.) is not of the FC as such, but of the whole interrogative clause (in fact, we famously find in Manichaean Lycopolitan interrogative clauses, including FC cases as object actant of negated SINE)⁴⁰. The instances of injunctive AQNA- (e.g. Hos. 2:9, John 14:17 B4), or the final DE-AQNA- , rare in Bohairic (e.g. Zach. 5:10; not rare in Sahidic) may also point to a "that"-form essence of the FC at least combinatorily.

(5) The Bohairic non-durative FC-homonym (SHISHA-HALEVY 1972) occurs twice in protatic roles. First, the AQ- of AQWTEM- , the Bohairic negative Conditional, a form by now best established in Oxyrhynchite; second, the ETAQ- Temporal, topicalizing narrative action (or packaging it as topical) so as to accelerate and "jolt" narrative pace (see Chapter One), is sharply distinct from the Focalizing Preterite by a complex array of macrosyntactic signalling on either flank of the opposition, which in general indicates the respectively different junctural boundary, for the FC following the focal adverbial, for the Temporal the "main clause". (The basic textemic distribution of the two forms is complementary as well: the Temporal a narrative configuration, the FC dialogic). In the following passages, the main signalling segments for the Temporal are underlined⁴¹:

Gen. 6:1-2 $\text{OYOT AQWAPI ETANIPWMI EPZHCT NAWAI ZIZENPIKAZI OYOT APMICI NAWOT NZANWEPRI ETANNAW DE NDE-NIAGGELOC NTEPT ENIWEPRI NTEIPWMI DE-NANET ATGICZIMI NAWOT EBOA SENNH THROT ETATCOT-POW}$.

Gen. 6:5 $\text{ETAQNANW DE NDE-PTC PT ENIKAKIA NTEIPWMI DEANAWAI ZIZENPIKAZI OYOT OYON NIBEN EQPAKI SENPOZHT ENAWW EZENPI-PEZAWOT NNOWEZOOT THROT OYOT AQMOKMEMK NDE-PT}$.

Ex. 2:10 $\text{ETAQERNIWT DE NDE-PIAΛOT ACENQ ESOVN}$ (absence of adverbial adjunct).

For the Focalizing Preterite, consider (see more examples below):

Ex. 20:23 $\text{NΩWTEN ETAPETENNAW DE-ETAIKAZI NEMWTEN EBOA SENTPE NNETENΘAMIO NWTEN NZANNOHT NZAT NEM ZANNOHT NNOVB}$.

³⁹ Interestingly and perhaps aptly (*pace* BAUER 1972:45), Athanasius of Qûs assigns to the converter α - the substantival value of Arabic 'an- (208/14).

⁴⁰ Consider Man. Ps. 151.27 $\text{MAION-EIANTNTWNK ANIM}$, 156.9 $\text{MPOWON-ET PE PNOTTE}$ etc.

⁴¹ ETE-MPEQ- is extremely rare in the corpus. The mysterious Num. 2:33 $\text{NIAE-WITHC ETEMPOW [space] WINI EPWOT NDRHI NSHOT KATAΦRH ETAPOC ZONZEN ETOTQ MMWTHC OYOT APIPI...}$ (= Vat) is non-conclusive. Of course, this is the form of the FC for negative Topic, interrogative Focus and affirmative nexus: Jer. 3:2 $\text{ETEMPEWDEM SENAW MMA}$. Na. 3:19 (B4) $\text{ETEMPE-TEKAKIA TAW ETEMPECPOZ WANIM NCHOT NIBEN}$, with the subnexus MPE- and TEKAKIA itself topicalized. The Bohairic Temporal is considered by some (Schenke, Funk) a secondary role of the Relative Preterite; in some dialects the two are morphologically distinct: see POLOTSKY 1944:53; also in a "classic" type of Sahidic, such as Budge's Psalter.

Gen. 45:7 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\Phi\uparrow \rho\alpha\rho \tau\alpha\theta\sigma\iota \delta\lambda\alpha\omega\tau\epsilon\kappa \epsilon\sigma\epsilon\alpha\pi\text{-}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\alpha\pi \nu\omega\tau\epsilon\kappa \epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}$
 $\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\rho\iota \sigma\theta\sigma\epsilon \epsilon\omega\lambda\alpha\epsilon\omega\sigma\theta\eta\iota\omega\uparrow \kappa\epsilon\omega\alpha\pi \nu\omega\tau\epsilon\kappa \uparrow \nu\sigma\upsilon \alpha\epsilon\ldots$

Gen. 47:4 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \epsilon\pi\omega\omega\iota \delta\epsilon\pi\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\rho\iota \mu\mu\sigma\kappa\text{-}\mu\alpha \mu\mu\sigma\iota \rho\alpha\rho\ldots$

In fact, the difference between the FC construction and the Temporal + apodotic-clause construction is one of information level, since in both cases $\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\text{-}$ is either thematic or topical.

(6) GROSSMAN 2007 offers a fresh perspective on $\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\text{-}$ in Nitrian Bohairic, viz. as a Circumstantial conversion form, more or less replacing $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\text{-}$. In my opinion, we have here a protatic application of the Relative, used as a “that”-form, and not a Clause Conjugation.

(7) I find keenly interesting B. Gunn’s opinion of Polotsky’s *Études*, esp. in the Middle Egyptian context, not least because Gunn knew the weak points of Gardiner’s *Egyptian Grammar* very well indeed — indeed, he inspired or suggested (re)writing parts of it — and, unlike Gardiner, undoubtedly fully understood Polotsky’s argumentation. In a kind of loyal attempt to console him, Gunn writes to Gardiner (8/6/44 AHG Papers at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, 42.124.35): “I do not think their [the Sec. Tenses’] use is restricted to the emphasizing of the adverbial predicate”. Indeed, Gunn has a point here.

(7) WIDMER 1999 is a discussion of the Demotic FC, with a survey of the morphological aspect (166ff.). I find most interesting the haziness of the tense/time distinction in Demotic (167), where the later Egyptian temporally unmarked “Emphatic” *jrr f-sdm* may exist alongside the focalizing Converter *jrr f-* prefixed to tense forms: is the Bohairic focalizing Present really a Present-Tense? “Simply used to ‘stress’ an adverbial adjunct” (170) is trivializing and begs the question. The treatment of Coptic $\epsilon\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau$ as a case of “verb omitted” (169 + n.16) is wholly unacceptable.

(8) The ‘*innamā*’ cataphoric focalization in Arabic (see HORN 1980) is not found to correspond to the FC in our text (consider e.g. Deut. 27:22, 29:14f., 32:27f.). This is probably due to the different value of the respective constructions, discernable even in the Coptic: Greek contrastive picture (in Greek, marked placement of adverbials; in the NT, also periphrasis? See ROSÉN 1957, 1975a:34ff., 35 n.23). The respective structures of the Greek and Coptic focalization category are very different; the Coptic translator, having read and interpreted the Greek text, rendered it in Coptic according to the systemic exigencies of his language, and not according to the dictates of any “triggering” features of the Greek. See SHISHA-HALEVY 2002.

(9) The difference in value between Bohairic and Sahidic is striking. The FC is more valued (“less grammaticalized”, or less “easily triggered”) in Bohairic. Again, it is in this respect closer to ME/LE/Demotic. In fact, all the following point to a greater refinement, variety and sophistication of structure-explicitation means in Bohairic (this amounts, speaking metaphorically, to precise “focal sharpshooting” of Bohairic compared with a more “broadside” focal envelope of Sahidic). Some impressions from Exodus and Deuteronomy, pending a systematic contrastive inter-dialectal investigation⁴²:

Sah. FC = Boh. FC, certainly most common: Ex. 1:28, 2:10:14, 10:6, 12:30, 28:67. Deut. 5:3, 10:6, 22:27, 28:67, 29:14, 32:31:37, 33:13.

Sah. FC ~ Boh. basic (unmarked): Ex. 6:1 ($\epsilon\epsilon\eta\alpha\text{-}$ vs. $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}$, also 31:4, 32:47, 16:1, 13:5, 15:4:18 etc.; Deut. 1:10, 2:4, 2:5:7, 11:24, 12:18, 13:5, 15:4, 31:4 etc.

Sah. FC ~ Boh. topicalization: Ex. 2:6

Sah. FC ~ Boh. NS: Ex. 33:17.

Sah. FC ~ Boh. inversion of Focus: Ex. 7:7:17, 2:7, 10:22.

⁴² Using for Sahidic Kasser’s Bodmer Exodus and Budge’s 1912 Deuteronomy (coll. by Thompson).

Though simpler in Bohairic than in many other dialects of Coptic (e.g. in the morphological differentiation of Focalizing *vs.* Relative Preterite (*vs.* Temporal in Fayyumic), the morphology of the Bohairic FC in the corpus and outside it still calls for some observations:

(1) The Second-Tense converter is the odd one out in POLOTSKY 1960 (actually to my knowledge the only publication of H.J. Polotsky's to use the "converter" terminology); differently in the *Grundlagen*, where it is **NE-**, not assignable to, or matching, any Part of Speech, that is rather lamely exiled from the conversion triad, POLOTSKY 1987:3: "Die Präteritale Transposition betrifft weder Wortklassen noch Gliedsätze, sondern verschiebt Vollsätze in die relative Vergangenheit... Es war ein Fehler meines "Conjugation System" §18, ihr die erste Stelle unter den Transpositionen anzuweisen". (However, in the "Coptic Conjugation System" Polotsky did not explicitly or implicitly introduce the transformationally dynamic notion of "transposition", but of *conversion*, fuzzily defined and anecdotically described as syntactic-role markers). The morphosyntactic and functional close affinity of the FC and **NE-** is, I believe, as evident as that of the Circumstantial and Relative (see FUNK 1986:104, SHISHA-HALEVY 1989:49f., 2006a).

(2) The Problem of focalizing ϵ -. Circumstantial, FC, non-conversion: identity and homonymy.

(a) While in Pentateuch MSS ϵ - λ - variation appears to be very rare (an instance is Gen. 43:25), we find in the corpus, and especially outside it ϵ - well established as FC:

Deut. 12:30 ΔΕ-ΕΡΕΝΑΙΘΕΝΟC ΙΡΙ ΕΝΟΘΝΟΥ† ΝΑΩ ΝΗΗ†
(Vat ΔΡΕ-).

Gen. 18:14 μητι οσον-σαδε ναερατδωμ ζατενϕ† εινα-
 τασθο γαροκ καταπαισιουτ ερανουνηωσι (= Vat).

And, more remarkably still, ϵ - as special FC for focalizing other clause-constituents than the adverbial adjunct, including perhaps the injunctive modal role. Here we seem to have a real Circumstantial-Topic focalization (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a §2.5).

Deut. 7:7 οὐχ οὐτι Δε ἐρετενω μνησε (= Vat).

Ex. 15:18 πῶς ἐκοί νοῦρο ψαενης νημ ψαενης ντεπι-
νης οὐογ ἐτί.

Deut. 31:29 ΕΤΖΑΗ ΜΠΑΜΟΤ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΡΑΝΟΜΙΝ (Vat ΤΕ-ΤΕΝ-).

Gen. 18:9 ἐκνῆστον (responsive to ἀθῶν) (Vat cἐνῆστον).

Ex. 12:18 ΕΤΗΝΑΕΡΖΗΤΣ ΝCΘΥ-ΙΔ ΜΠΙΑΒΟΤ ΝΞΟΥΤ.

Lev. 3:7 **ε**ϥ**η**α**ε**ν**ϥ** **ε**ῥ**ο**τ**η**ν **μ**π**ε**μ**θ**ο **μ**π**θ**̄ (= Vat).

Ex. 18:14 **ε**θ**ε**ο**τ** **η**θ**ο**κ **μ**α**τ**α**α**κ **ε**κ**ε**μ**ε**ς (Vat **ε**τ-, i.e. CS. This may mean that **η**θ**ο**κ **μ**α**τ**α**α**κ is focussed in P too).

Lev. 13:6 **ο**θ**ο**ρ **ρ**η**π**ε **ε**ϥ**ο**ι **η**ρ**ο**λ (Gk καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄμαῦρα ἡ ἀφῆ...).

Ex. 2:14 **η**ι**μ** **π**ε **ε**τ**α**ϥ**χ**α**κ** **η**α**ρ**χ**ω**ν ... **ψ**α**η** **ε**κ**ο**τ**ω**ψ **ε**ῥ**ο**ε**β**ε**τ** ÷ **η**θ**ο**κ **μ**π**ι**ρ**η**† **ε**τ**α**κ**ῥ**ω**τ**ε**β** **μ**π**ι**ρ**ε**μ**η**χ**η**μ**ι** **η**α**ϥ** (Vat **α**κ-).

(b) Rarer instances of focalizing **ε**-, not in opposition to **α**-, are even more baffling:

Gen. 44:15 **ῥ**ε**ν**ο**θ**ῆ**ω**η**μ** **ε**ψ**α**ϥ**ῥ**ῆ**ω**η**μ**.

Deut. 29:19 **ῥ**ε-**ε**ι**μ**ο**ψ**ι **ῥ**ε**η**τ**ο**ρ**μ**ε**ς** **μ**π**α**ρ**η**† (= Vat).

Gen. 26:8 **ῥ**ε-**ο**η**η** **γ**α**ρ** **ε**η**ε**ω**ς** **π**ε **ῥ**ε**η**π**ε**ρ**ο** (Vat **η**ε-) — **ε**- before **η**εω**ς** is not conclusively a converter. Also Gen. 29:17.

Deut. 9:25 **ε**η**ε**α**ϥ**ῥ**ο**ς (Vat **η**εα**ϥ**-) — the case of **ε**ηε- is again different: **ε**ηε- forms occur throughout Coptic as the main clause or basic form of this converter, as yet inexplicably.

Obs.

(1) Focalizing **ε**- is common in the Bodmer III (B4) John, in various constructions⁴³:

11:4 **π**α**ι**ψ**ω**η**η** **η**η**ο**ψ**ω**η**η** **μ**μ**ο**† **α**η **π**ε **α**λ**λ**α **ε**ϥ†**ω** **ε**ῥ**ε**η**π**ι**ω**τ **η**τ**ε**ϥ†.

4:11 **ε**ϥ**η**τ**ο**τ**κ** **ο**η**η** **ε**β**ο**λ **τ**ω**η** **η**ῥ**ε**-**π**ι**μ**ω**τ** **ε**τ**ο**η**ῥ**.

15:27 **ε**ι**ς**ῥ**ε**η**η** **ε**τ**ε**τ**ε**η**ω**π **η**ε**η**η.

4:51 **ῥ**ε-**ε**ϥ**ο**η**ῥ** **η**ῥ**ε**-**π**ε**κ**ω**η**ρ**ι** (B5 **ϥ**ο**η**ῥ).

Also 12:6:26 (no conversion in B5). John 14:7 **ῥ**ε-**η**η **α**ϥ**η**α**ψ**ω**π** **η**ε**μ**ω**τ**ε**η** **ε**ϥ**η**α**ψ**ω**π** **ῥ**ε**η**η**η**η**ο**† (B5 **ῥ**ε-**α**ϥ**ω**π **η**ε**μ**ω**τ**ε**η** **ο**θ**ο**ρ **ε**ϥ**ε**ψ**ω**π **ῥ**ε**η**η**η**η**ο**†, but two focalizations in the Greek) appears to be a case of *Circumstantial FC*, well attested in pre-Coptic Egyptian, rare in Coptic; attested in Oxyrhynchite Acts 4:12 (ed. Schenke) **ο**ῥ**α**ε **μ**μ**η**-**κ**ε**ρ**ε**η** **ρ**α**τ**η**η** **ε**ρ**α**τ**ε**ϥ **η**η**ρ**ο**μ**ε **ε**α**η**η**ε**ο**ψ**ῥ**ε**ι **η**ρ**η**τ**α**.

(2) The regular Bohairic FC **α**- is of course well attested in various focalization patterns, in a pattern spectrum broader than in our corpus, in B4 John 19:24 **α**ϥ**ε**ρ-**τ**α**η**ι**μ**. 13:18:22 **η**η**α**ι**ῥ**ε**ρ**ω**τ**ε**η** **α**η **α**ϥῥ**ε**η**ι**μ and 16:13 **α**ϥ**η**α**ς**α**ῥ**ι **γ**α**ρ** **α**η **ε**β**ο**λ **ρ**ι**τ**ο**τ**α (as in Nitrian, **α**- seems preferred for negative constructions); **α**ϥ(η**α**)- 16:14:15, 17:20 (*nil det.*!), **α**ϥ**η**α**ε**ρ**ο**† 21:21 etc. **ῥ**ε**η**α**ψ** **μ**μ**ο**† **α**ϥ**η**α**μ**ο**τ** 18:32. 21:19.

(3) Focalizing **ε**- occurs even more frequently in the B4 Twelve Prophets, in various focalization patterns (I have not collated most of the readings):

Injunctive-Hortative: Hos. 2:9, Jon. 2:3 **ε**ι**η**α**ψ** **ε**π**ω**α**η** **ρ**α**ρ**ο**κ** **π**ῥ̄ **π**α**η**ο**τ**†; Mich. 6:8 **ε**π**η**α**τ**α**μ**ο**κ** ϥ**ρ**ω**μ**ι **ῥ**ε-... also Hos. 2:9 coll. This is an old role of the

⁴³ I believe this Topic form has venerable ancestors from Late Egyptian on (SHISHA-
HALEVY 1978). A striking Demotic example is *Petubastis* 2/16 *jw-bn-p.k jj n sf r-dh3 jl*
“Why didn’t you come yesterday?”.

FC: see for Demotic JOHNSON 1976:111 n.191 and SMITH 1997/8:197f. (P Berlin P. 13548; for Late Egyptian, CASSONET 1994:37ff., 42ff., 50ff.).

Focus-initial, interrogative Focus: Mich. 6:6 **ΣΕΝΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΤΑΞΕ-ΠΑῚ**.

These, beside the "orthodox" Topic-initial construction: Na. 3:7, Obd. 1:5, Jon. 1:8:10, Mich. 6:7, Zach. 2:6, probably Am. 8:5; but **αϥθων** (as always!) Hos. 13:10, Zach. 1:5 **αϥθων νε** and Hos. 11:9 **αϥνδρη νδητκ**, Zach. 2:12 **αϥμϥρητ n-** and Hab. 3:8 **αρε-πεκμβον δεννιαρωσ**. Another favourite environment for **α-** is the "Rhetorical" **μη ...αν** (Joel 3:4, Hab. 2:6). Zach. 5:10 **αρεναι ναωλι ... εθων** and Zach. 2:4 **αρεναι νησ ντοερω**.

(3) The **ε-/α-** alternation and variation of FC is a familiar landmark, especially of Nitrian Bohairic. As in other cases, there is no basis for seeing this as a Sahidicism (consider the B4 systems). Some general tendencies are detectable on first examination, but on the whole the exact environmental-distributional factors are still obscure, and the distribution does not yet lead to understanding the nature of this formal opposition of the two focalizing exponents. Some classified highlights from outside the corpus:

(a) **αϥθων** De Vis I 30, II 140, Cat. 4, 13, 107, 205 (!), AM I 24, 98, 214 — **εϥθων** is much less usual, but does occur.

εϥθων τνω πιδεμων De Vis II 231.

δε-αίνα-εθων De Vis I 102.

ακρηλ εθων De Vis II 195.

αίνα-νθων SV 21, 23, 28.

δε-εκχη νθων De Vis II 172.

είνα-/εκνα- νθων De Vis I 181, II 137.

(b) **ειστω ε (ερε)-** De Vis II 168, 246f., 250, AM I 15, 66, 126, **εϥστω ε-** SV 11, 14, 22, 34, 50.

εϥστω Rhet. AM I 11, 112.

ειερεπιθωμιν SV 18.

AM I 64 **αϥστω νταωλι ννισαμοσλ νθων** (otherwise **ε-**).

αρεστω ντα- νος- / ερεστω ντα- n- De Vis I 39f.

αϥστω ντα- AM I 64, 69.

(c) **ερεε-οτ ερεεμσι** De Vis I 27.

εκζεμσι εκερω AM I 191.

(d) Negative constructions have usually **α-**, not **ε-**.

(e) Cases of apparently real variation:

δε-α-ναϥ νρητ De Vis I 84.

δε-εθνα-ναϥ νρητ De Vis I 143.

ζωс δε-αϥνα- De Vis I 24.

δε-εϥνα-/αϥνα- v.l. De Vis II 171.

αίναερω De Vis I 65.

εθναοεμοσ De Vis I 156.

δε-αϥναδос δε-οτ De Vis II 195.

εκδω ммос δε-οτ (common phrase) Mac. 6.

αρεтенδω ммос δε-αнок-nim Cat. 45 = Mt. 16:15

εκнамети δε-на-nim ne Cat. 94.

ζαpa εсmmατ εθве-οτ ? answered **εсmmατ εθве-** De Vis I 59.

ан-εϥναсμοσ ερωκ мπεκμθο Job 1:12.

(4) Focalizing **εαϥ-**, well established in Sahidic (especially in Shenoute), is rare in Bohairic and absent in our corpus:

Cat. 134 **οτταρ εθвнтq ан εαϥεϥαι нде-...**

(3) A cloud of doubt seems to hover over Bohairic **apε-τεn-** apparently Focalizing Preterite. Is this a fleeting remnant of the old (even Demotic) “Emphatic” *j.jr.f sdm*, past tense or atemporal, ousted almost completely by the analytic, converter *jrr* and its allomorphs? While Gen. 43:27 **apετενεροϥ** is, somewhat surprisingly, the Focalizing Present in Bohairic and Late Egyptian (POLOTSKY 1940), and it is Sahidic that responds here in the unconverted **τετενεροϥ**, the following *loci* — *past tense* — are difficult out of corpus):

AM I 214 **apετεnχω nτετεnπολιc nααθhnoϥ εθβεοϥ**.

AM I 19 **apετεnnaϥ εοϥ ρωτεn δε-apετεnci† nτετεn-εωκ εβολ**.

Cat. 208 **apετεnχω nλαζapoc εθωn**.

John 11:3 **apετεnχαq θωn** (B4).

(4) Second-power conversion. In Bohairic, we find only **ενε-** as a possible instance of synchronic double FC conversion: not attested in the studied corpus.

Obs.

(1) Consider Mac. No. 6 p.45 **εnαqωnη πε δεnπεqεnτ εqωq εβολ an**, Mac. No. 20 **εnακθωn qαφoοϥ πε** resp. **ειφnτ πε**. The construction is especially well attested in Cat. (5, 21, 28, 37, 47, 56, 77, 86.31.35.36 etc.). A case of unconverted focalizing **na-** is De Vis II 151 **naq- oi naq nρη†**.

(2) For Demotic, see QUECKE 1979:440, 446 and SHISHA-HALEVY 1989:49ff.

(c) **Patterning**⁴⁴

(I) **Affirmative nexus and constituents**

(1) Focus-Initial Patterns: Topic **ε-/α-** marked (very rare): **ε-** Circumstantial?

Ex. 18:14 **εθβε-οϥ nεοκ mμαϣατκ εκqεmci**.

Gen. 38:25 **εβολ δεnπιρωmi ετεnoϥq ne nai aimboki anok**.

Topic unmarked (usual):

εθβε-οϥ- + Preterite Gen. 4:6, 12:18, 43:6, 44:4f., Ex. 2:20.

Neg.: Ex. 5:14, Num. 11:11, 22:37.

+ Pres. Gen. 40:7, 42:1, 44:7, Ex. 2:13, 3:3, 14:15, Deut. 1:27.

⁴⁴ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Two for FC patterning in Shenoutean Sahidic; 2002 for Oxyrhynchite.

+ Fut. Gen. 47:15, Num. 14:6.

ՀԻՆԱ ԵԹԵ-ՕԺ Gen. 18:13, 26:9, 29:5.

+ Pres. Gen. 24:31, 32:29.

ԲՈՒՇ + Preterite Deut. 2:7, 25:18.

+ Fut. Gen. 44:8:34, Deut. 1:12, 7:17, 18:21.

+ Pres. Deut. 32:30.

ՊԱԹՈՆԱԺ ՃԵ + Pres. Ex. 16:28, Num. 14:11:27.

Focus Constituency

Interrogative adverbials: (ՀԻՆԱ) ԵԹԵ-ՕԺ “why”, “for what reason”, ԲՈՒՇ “how”, ՊԱԹՈՆԱԺ “until when”.

Non-interrogative adverbial: ԵՅՈՒ ՃԵՆ-.

Topic Constituency

Conjugation forms:

Unmarked (basic) conjugation (see also above).

ա- FC (Present) (very rare).

ե- FC (Present) (very rare).

Text-Grammatical Characterization

Low thematic cohesion — no essential linkage (this is typical, but not invariable, in the case of interrogative Foci). Pragmatic thematicity is in evidence.

Obs.

(1) Outside the corpus. The rich Focus constituency, with the FC following all types of Focus, is a landmark not only of Nitrian and NT Bohairic, but also of early OT usage, or the “B4” variety. The picture seems to be still confused:

John 13:35 ՃԵՆՓՈՒ ԴՈՆԱԵՄԻ B4 (B5 ԸԵՆԱ-).

John 21:19 ՃԵՆԱՊ ՄՄՕԺ ԴՊՆԱ- B4.

Mich. 6:6 ՄՃՐԽԻ [ՃԵՆՕ]Ժ ԴԻՆԱԴԱՃԵՊԱԾԸ B4.

ԵԹԵ-ՕԺ ԵԿ- Mark 5:35 (v.l. Basic).

ԵԹԵ-...ԱՐԵ- ՆԱ- Rom. 14:15 (v.l. Basic).

ՄՃՐԽԻ ՃԵՆ-ԱՊ ... ԱՐԵՆԵՐԻ ՄՓՈՒ Acts 4:7 (cons.).

ՀԻՏԵՆԱՊ ՆԵԴԱ ԵԹԵՆ- Mac. No. 33.

ՆԱՊ ՆՐԻԺ ԵՐԵ- ՆԱ- Cat. 100.

ՃԵՆԱՊ ՆՋՕ ԴԻՆԱ- Mac. No. 31.

ՆԱՊ ՆՐԻԺ ԱԿՆԱ- ԻԵ ՆԱՊ ՆՐԻԺ ԽՆԱ- Cat. 9.

ՆԱՊ ՆՐԻԺ ԵՊՆԱ- Cat. 48, 67 etc.

ԵՅՈՒ ՃԵՆ- ԱՐԵ- — ՊՕՆ Acts 19:25 (v.l. basic).

Mark 3:22 ՃԵՆՔԱՐԽՈՆ ՆԵՆԻԴԵՄՈՆ ԴՊԶԻՕԻ ՆՆԻԴԵՄՈՆ ԵՅՈՒ.

Cat. 134 ՕՄԴԱՐ ԵԹԵՆԴ ԴՆ ԵԴԵՐ-ՓՈՒ ՆՃԵ-...

ԵԹԵՓՈՒ ԵԴԱՐ- Cat. 228.

ετβεϥαι ερε- Cat. 162.

εβολ θων εϥνα- Cat. 85.

εθβε- ερε- De Vis I 154.

εθβε-οτ εκ- / ερε- Cat. 129, AM I 15, 116, 122 etc.

Cat. 98 πωс οτн αινα- η ζιτεν-αυ ηζωβ.

The formulaic “ϥαι ετε-εβολ ζιτοτϥ ερε-ωοτ ηιβεν ερ-πρεπι ναϥ nem-πεϥιωτ”, e.g. AM I 109.

(2) No FC follows *ωαθνατ* (δε-) “Until when?” (Num. 14:27, *pace* Andersson’s emendation, 1904:120); we encounter either a Circumstantial or basic Topic (POLOTSKY 1960:25f. does not discuss Bohairic); see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:85).

(3) Other interrogative adverbials occur in the corpus in final placement: ... *νσα-οτ* Gen. 37:15f., ... *δε-οτ* Ex. 22:27, ... *νθνατ* Gen. 30:30, ... *ναυ νρη†* Deut. 28:67.

(4) Initial Foci have not yet been recognized, let alone studied, for pre-Coptic Egyptian (see however JOHNSON 1976:119 n.188 for a possible Demotic instance).

(2) Topic-Initial Patterns, historically the sole construction, still constitute by far the prevalent FC syntax in Bohairic.

(a) Interrogative Focus: except for *πωс* and *εθβεοτ*, invariably final:

Num. 11:13 *αιναδεμαϥ θων*.

Gen. 37:16 *ατμονι νθων*.

Gen. 37:30 *αιναϥεννι εθων*.

Gen. 37:15 *ακκω† νσαοτ*.

Gen. 42:7 *εταρετενι εβολ θων*.

Gen. 16:8 *αρεννηοτ εβολ θων οτοζ αρενα εθων*.

Gen. 30:30 *†νοτ δε αιναθαμιο νηι νοτнι νθνατ*.

Gen. 44:16 *ανναθαμαιον δε-οτ*.

Deut. 28:67 *αρε-τοοσι ναϥωπι νθνατ ... αρε-ροτзи ναϥωπι ναυ νρη†*.

(b) Non-interrogative Focus. For the Topic, verbs-of-movement⁴⁵ or verbs-of-incomplete-predication lexemes are typical. The Focus is as a rule final. Note that (a) *νδε-* and *δε-* actant-specification stands outside the sequencing scope; (b) *ε-* + infinitive Foci are not necessarily final, being apparently always focal in FC environment; (c) some adverbials, like *мϥοοτ* “today”, may follow the Focus as final adverbial “Antitopics”. Note that, of two successive adverbials, either the last is focal or both are, as a coordinative or compound group:

Num. 13:33: *ανοι мϥρη† ηζανϥδεητ мποτмео*.

Deut. 24:15 *αρεζθηϥ χη εροϥ*.

⁴⁵ An old Egyptian feature: POLOTSKY 1944:83f.

Gen. 44:30 τεϑψοχη αςαψι ςεντψοχη μπιαλοϑ.

Gen. 43:25 αϑςωτεμ γαρ ςε-αρε-ιωςηϑ μεϑι εοϑωμ
μπιμα ετμμαϑ.

Gen. 34:31 αλλα αϑναιρι ντενςωνι μϑρηϑ νοϑπορνη.

Num. 20:17 ανναμοψι ςιπιμωιτ νοϑρο.

Gen. 30:16 ακνηοϑ εςοϑν ςαροι μϑοοϑ.

Gen. 44:30 †νοϑ ςε αιναψεννη εςοϑν ςαπεκαλοϑ ετε-
πενιωτ πε μπιαλοϑ χη νεμνη αν — Circumstantial negated
nexus as Focus.

Gen. 45:7 εταϑ† γαρ ταοϑοι ςαςωτεν εσεςπ-οϑςωςπ
νωτεν ςιςενπικαςι οϑος εψανεψοϑνιω† νςωςπ νω-
τεν...

Gen. 24:50 εταςι εβολ ςιτενπϑς νςε-παςζωβ ÷

Gen. 47:4 ετανι επψωι ςενπικαςι.

Gen. 42:9 εταρετενι ε† ν-ιατενϑηνοϑ ννιτατςι ντε-
†χωρα.

Gen. 42:10 ετανι εψεπςανςρηνοϑι ναν ςα-νεκαλωϑι.

Gen. 42:12 μμον αλλα εταρετενι εναϑ ετατςι μπικαςι.

Gen. 45:5 μπενϑρεπετενςητ μκας οϑδε μπενϑρεπιςωβ
νψοτ ντεϑηνοϑ ςε-εταρετεντηιτ μναι ÷ εταϑ† γαρ
ταοϑοι ςαςωτεν εϑωνς νωτεν.

Num. 22:20 ιςςε εταϑι νςε-ναςρωμι εμοϑ† εροκ...

Gen. 49:31f. εταϑϑεμςαβρααμ μμαϑ: νεμ ςαρρα τεςς-
ςιμι ÷ εταϑϑεμςιςαακ μμαϑ: νεμ ςεβεκκα τεςςςιμι ÷
εταϑϑεμςια μμαϑ.

Deut. 10:6 εταςμοϑ μμαϑ νςε-ααρων.

Deut. 22:27 εταςςεμς ςεντκοι.

Ex. 2:10 εταιενς επψωι ςενπιμωοϑ.

Ex. 20:22 ςε-εταιςαςι νεμωτεν εβολ ςεντϑε.

Focus Constituency:

Adverbials (the broadest definition): singly, or in clusters.

Topic Constituency

FC-marked conjugation forms.

Text-Grammatical characterization

In Dialogue (the overwhelming majority of the cases) and Narrative, the Topic is in general pragmatically (situationally), more rarely *textu-*

ally, cohesive (for the latter, cf. Gen. 49:31f.). The Focus may effect the linkage (consider focal **ММАѠ**). However, it consists as a rule of verbs of incomplete predication (i.e. inherently thematic), which is not the case with the Relative-Topic CS (above). The FC occurs in 1st-person-centered (locutive) Report; far less in Narrative, but then only in Comment Mode, thus not in the primary plot line: see above, Chapter One.

(3) One important resolution of Envelope Focussing is the focussed *rhematic lexeme*. The cases, uncommon but well established, are varied, but occur typically in the *allocutive or responsive subsystems of Dialogue*. (Similarly, the case of whole-clause or of nexus focussing).

(a) In reactive or responsive Dialogue; in Narrative (internal Evolution Mode narrative carrier), always focussed converbal Rheme of the durative conjugation pattern:

Num. 22:29 **ΑΡΕΩΒΙ ΜΜΟΙ**.

Gen. 16:5 **ΕΤΑCΝΑѠ ΔΕ ΔΕ-ΑCΜΒΟΚΙ** — object of verb of perception: in fact, a type of Free Indirect Discourse.

Gen. 44:5 **ΔΕΝΟѠCΙѠΗМ ΑϞCΙѠΗМ** (Focalizing Present or Pret-erite?) — co-focussing with the Tautological Infinitive; more clearly still in Gen. 44:15 **ΔΕΝΟѠCΙѠΗМ ΕϞΑϞCΙѠΗМ**.

(b) Responsive [lexeme + adverbial] focussing:

Gen. 16:8 (“Whence and whither are you going?”) **ΑΙϞΗТ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΤΖΗ ΜΠΖΟ ΝCΑΡΡΑ ΤΑѠC**.

Gen. 37:16 (“What are you looking for?”) **ΑΙΚѠ† ΝCΑΝΑCННОѠ**.

Obs.

(1) Nothing like the quintessentially allocutive **ΑΚΛΟΒΙ** “It is crazy you are” occurs in the corpus. The delocutive Basic Tense **ϞΛΟΒΙ** John 10:20 (B4) is neatly opposed to the allocutive “**ΑΚΛΟΒΙ**”: Acts 12:15 **ΑΡΕΛΟΒΙ**; but also the delocutive **ΑΡΕ-ΝΑΙ ΛΟΒΙ** I Cor. 14:23 cons. (Acts 26:24 v.l.); **ΕΡΕΤΕΝΛΟΒΙ** AM I 114, also in Shenoutean Sahidic (**ΕΚΛΟΒΕ** Shenoute BLOr 8664 A (6) f.6 ro with parallels in BLOr 3581A). Perhaps similar is **ΑΡΕ-ΝΑΙ ΤΑΔΙ** Acts 2:13 (cons).

(2) No clear performative FC is attested in the corpus. Consider the following (and see Chapter One [Dialogue] and SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:79 n.92).

(a) **†ΟѠѠϞ ΑΝ...ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΟѠѠϞ**... AM II 11: Performative or contrast-induced focalization? **οѠѠϞ** occurs often in the FC.

(b) **ΑΙΔΕΡΟΚ** “I mean you!”. SV 17, 37, 67 (vs. **ΕΙΔѠ ΕΡΟ-** SV 42); **ΕΚΔΕ-ΡΕΝΙМ...ΕΙΔΕΡΕ...** AM I 128.

ΕϞΔΕΡΕ- almost always **ε-** in Cat. 46, 6, 17, 32, 54, 133 etc.. **ΑϞΔΕΡΕ-ΝΙМ** Cat. 214 (John 13:22-24). This is not a late feature: consider John 13:22 (B4) **ΑϞΔΕΝΙМ**, or **ΝΝΑΙΔΕΡѠΤΕΝ ΤΗΡѠϞ ΑΝ** John 13:1; **ΑΙΔΕΡΟ** v.l. **ΕΙ-** Mark 5:41. Somewhat similar is **ΕΙCΑΔΙ** **ε-** Cat. 1, 36, 128, 214 etc.

(c) Crum & Bell, *Jews and Christians*: 97.4 **ΑΙΝНѠ ΕΖΗТ** “I am coming north”.

(d) John 8:11 **ΕΙ†ΖΑΠ (ΑΝ)**.

(e) AM II 36 ἀνοκ ἰακωβος πεκβωκ εἰτωβρ μμοκ οθορ ἀριοτι νεμνι νοσναι.

(f) Gen. 16:11 ζηππε νεο τεερωκι — Divine-Intervention Performative.

(c) In Dialogue, Exposition or poetic passages, we find focussed the adverbial *Rheme* of the adverb-rheme nexal pattern:

Gen. 3:9, 4:9 ἀδὰμ ἀκῶν.

ακῶν + NOUN Gen. 18:9, 19:5, 22:7, 38:21, Ex. 2:20, Deut. 32:37.

Deut. 33:13 ἀρθενπсμοу мпѣс нзе-περκαζι.

Num. 36:7 δε-αρεπιотαι πιοται ден τερκληροномια.

Num. 13:22 ἀμμαу нзе-αχωам нем сеси нем θαλμιν.

αμφρη† н-... Deut. 33:25, 32:31.

Deut. 33:13 ἀρθενпсμοу мпѣс нзе-περκαζι.

Obs.

For Ex. 2:20 ακῶν δε νε (= Vat), compare Zach. 1:5 νετενιο† δε αῶων νε, and perhaps Oxyrh. Ps. 88:50 (SCHENKE 1996:105 compares Ps. 103:8). I do not understand this construction: is νε an interrogative enclitic particle? Can νε be related to the mysterious interrogative we find in Sah. John 21:21 παῖ δε νεοq νε (Boh. νεοq-οу)?

(4) *Actant focussing* with the FC is extremely rare in the corpus, actually found only in the very old phrasal construction for “how are you?” Gen. 43:27 ἀρετενερ-οу (cons.) (POLOTSKY 1940). This means, of course, that the Relative-Topic CS is the only actant-focussing construction in the described system.

(5) So-called Rhetorical Questions, a typical focalization environment, are common in the corpus. As pointed out above, these are not real questions, but enhanced *assertions* focussed along the yes/no axis, and only formally “packaged as” interrogative (see Chapter One). They are marked by μη (also with a negative nexus: μη + н-...αν) and μη...αν. In a sense, these are cases of layered, double — for μη...αν, triple — focalization, higher on the focality scale. In the following instances, the adverbial Focus of the FC, always final, is underlined:

Gen. 34:23 οθορ νουτεβνωоти нем νοуqте-φат нем νοуqπαρχοντα τηροу μη αῡναуопи нан ан.

Gen. 40:8 μη αρε-ποσβαλ уоп ан εβολ ριτενφ†.

Gen. 29:25 μη нetaiepbωk нak ан εθεραχхл.

Gen. 31:15 μη нetaюπten нak • ан • мфρη† нzanуе-мωоу.

The focalization in the following passages is different, not bearing on an adverbial but on the *entire nexal or existential statement* including its locating adverbial — real, unresolved Envelope Focussing:

Ex. 2:14 $\psi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\psi\ \epsilon\delta\omicron\theta\beta\epsilon\tau\ \nu\theta\omicron\kappa\ \mu\tilde{\theta}\ \rho\eta\uparrow\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\delta\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\text{...}\mu\pi\iota\epsilon\mu\nu\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \nu\sigma\alpha\zeta$

Ex. 14:11 $\alpha\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\theta\ \delta\epsilon\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\ \nu\chi\eta\mu\iota$.

The unconverted basic tense — unmarked Topic — may occur with a “Rhetorical Question” marked assertion (unlike normal Sahidic):

Num. 23:19 $\mu\eta\ \eta\gamma\alpha\iota\ \rho\iota\ \alpha\lambda\ \eta\gamma\alpha\sigma\alpha\zeta\iota\ \mu\eta\ \eta\gamma\alpha\omicron\zeta\iota\ \alpha\lambda\ \nu\delta\epsilon\text{-}\tilde{\theta}\ \eta\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon$.

Num. 20:10 $\mu\eta\tau\iota\ \tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\iota\ \nu\iota\ \nu\omicron\tau\mu\omega\omicron\tau\ \nu\omega\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\mu\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\tau\ \rho\alpha$.

And, for actant focussing, the Relative-Topic CS is used:

Num. 16:29 $\mu\eta\ \pi\tilde{\theta}\ \alpha\lambda\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\tau\alpha\omicron\iota$.

Obs.

(1) Note the following cases of “Rhetorical” focalization outside the corpus:

Cat. 107 $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\phi\omicron\iota\ \nu\alpha\tau\omega\omicron\tau\eta\ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\phi\theta\omega\eta$.

Cat. 79 $\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\eta\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\tilde{\theta}\uparrow\ \chi\alpha\zeta\ \nu\omega\psi$ - nexus or lexeme focussing.

John 8:22 (B5) $\mu\eta\ \alpha\eta\alpha\delta\omicron\theta\beta\epsilon\zeta\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\tau$.

Mal. 2:10 (B4) $\mu\eta\ \nu\omicron\tau\eta\ \nu\omega\tau\epsilon\ \nu\omega\tau\ \alpha\lambda\ \alpha\zeta\epsilon\mu\tau\epsilon\eta\ \nu\omega\tau\ \alpha\lambda$.

Joel 3:4 (B4) $\mu\eta\ \nu\alpha\tau\eta\ \nu\alpha\lambda\ \mu\pi\epsilon\theta\eta\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\omega\tau\ \nu\delta\iota\omicron\tau\iota\ \alpha\lambda$.

Job 1:9 $\mu\eta\ \alpha\ \epsilon\text{-}\iota\omega\ \psi\epsilon\mu\psi\ \mu\pi\tilde{\theta}\ \nu\delta\iota\ \nu\delta\eta$.

Jer. 8:22 $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\text{-}\text{CON}\uparrow\ \delta\epsilon\mu\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\alpha\ \mu\eta\ \alpha\lambda\text{-}\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\text{-}\text{CHINI}\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau$.

Mt. 26:53 $\iota\epsilon\ \alpha\kappa\mu\epsilon\tau\iota\ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\text{-}\psi\delta\omicron\mu\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\tau\omega\beta\ \mu\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau\text{...}$ — content clause focalized, in which Non-Existence is focalized in its turn.

Ps. 61:2 $\mu\eta\ \alpha\ \epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\psi\tau\chi\eta\ \nu\alpha\sigma\eta\epsilon\delta\omega\ \alpha\lambda$.

Ps. 87:11 $\mu\eta\ \chi\eta\alpha\iota\ \nu\iota\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\psi\tilde{\theta}\ \eta\ \nu\iota\ \nu\epsilon\zeta\mu\omega\tau$.

Hab. 2:6 (B4) $\mu\eta\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\ \rho\omega\ \alpha\lambda\ \alpha\tau\eta\ \nu\alpha\delta\iota\omicron\tau\ \epsilon\lambda\ \rho\omicron\zeta$ — Augens or object actant or both focalized.

Zach. 3:2 (B4, collated) $\mu\eta\ \alpha\lambda\ \psi\alpha\iota\ \alpha\lambda\ \pi\epsilon$ - Foreshadowed negator Enclitic?

(2) A nice unrecognized Demotic example (P. Berlin P. 13549 verso 14f). *bn-jw j.r.j hpr n Yb n p3 hrw jn*, (“Am I not present in Elephantine today?” or sim.), which was I believe mistaken by the editor for an assertion (“Heute bin ich nicht in Elephantine”), with the consequent need to postulate an error, as if the writer began with a neg. Fut. III and switched anacoluthically to a negative *j.jr.f*. Contextually, an assertion does not make sense here: preceding “It’s the people who hate me that say these things...”, and following “the people who are saying these calumnies are not hidden from me”. Similarly from Elephantine, P. 13633 verso 5f. is probably rhetorical-interrogative as well (the text has the same bitter polemic tone as P. 13549): *bn j.jr Dd-hr hb n.j m-jm.f jn* “Hasn’t Teos written to me about it?” makes better sense than Zauzich’s “Darüber hat mir Teos nicht geschrieben”. The actantial *m-jm.f* seems to me out of the question as Focus of *j.jr*; the translation would have been in any case “Nicht darüber hat mir...”, while “It is not to me that Teos has written” is meaningless in the context⁴⁶. (In Ryl. IX 12/12 we have *jn*-introducing a Rhetorical Question with the Emphatic form).

⁴⁶ Zauzich’s note (p. 5) “Die Verneinung des 2 Tempus ist in Demotischen selten” is incomprehensible to me.

2.4.3 The Focalizing Conversion and Negation. The evident affinity and partial overlap of negation and focalization makes for a special heady effect of their combination in Coptic. The Assertive-Focal (*alias* Rhetorical) Question is one environment where the semantic truth-value opposition of negation and affirmation *signifiés* is neutralized, leaving only the focussing effect of negation. The observed incidence of negation is as follows. (Note that the Focus-initial construction is extremely rare with negation of nexus, which is a corollary of the incompatibility of nexal negation and interrogative Rhemes). The Focus-initial negative construction does occur with the negation of the Focus, the nexus being affirmative):

(a) **Nexus (affirmative vs. negative — may be affirmative with nexus constituents negated):** $N \dots \Delta N$, ΔN following the Topic or enclosing the whole nexus;

(b) **Focus (nexus affirmative, Topic affirmative):** ΔN following the Focus;

(c) **Topic (nexus affirmative, Focus affirmative):** Topic variously negated.

The difference between (a) and (b), while formally clear, is semantically difficult and tenuous: its functional essence may on occasion be a higher focality for (b), but usually we can only observe the tendency of the negation signal to gravitate towards the Rheme or Focus — towards a nexal constituent — rather than, in a Copula-less nexal pattern, be truly nexus-referred or vaguely referred. The negation signal is intrinsically focalizing.

(a) Deut. 30:12f. $\text{NACN}\bar{\Delta}\text{PHI } \bar{\Delta}\text{ENT}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\epsilon} \Delta N \text{ O}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon} \text{ NAC}\bar{\Delta}\text{IMHP} \dots \Delta N$.

Gen. 3:4 $\text{NAP}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-TENNA}\bar{\text{MO}}\bar{\text{O}} \Delta N \bar{\Delta}\text{ENO}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{MO}}\bar{\text{O}}$, also 16:8.

Deut. 8:3 $\text{NAP}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-PI}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{MI}} \text{ NAWN}\bar{\Delta} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{WIK}} \text{ MMA}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{TQ}} \Delta N$.

Num. 20:17 $\text{NANNACINI } \Delta N \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{BO}}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\Delta}\text{ITENNIKOI O}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{BO}}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\Delta}\text{ITENNI}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{LOI}} \text{ O}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon} \text{ TENNACEM}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}} \Delta N \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{BO}}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\Delta}\text{ENO-}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{AKKOC}} \text{ NTA}\bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{LLA}} \bar{\text{ANNAMO}}\bar{\text{O}} \bar{\Delta}\text{IPM}\bar{\text{OIT}} \text{ NO}\bar{\text{TPO}} (= \text{Vat}).$

Ex. 16:8 $\text{O}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{GAP}} \text{ "AQ}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{P}} \bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{ARON}} \Delta N \text{ PE } \div \text{N}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-PE}\bar{\text{TENX}}\bar{\text{PEM}}$.

Deut. 29:14 $\text{NAXW NTAIDIA}\bar{\text{Θ}}\bar{\text{HKH}} \bar{\text{ANOK}} \text{ NEM}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{TEN}} \text{ MMA}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{TEN}}\bar{\text{Θ}}\bar{\text{HN}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}} \Delta N \text{ M}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}} \bar{\text{ALLA}} \text{ NEM NH ETENPAIMA NEM}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{TEN}} \text{ M}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}} (= \text{Vat}).$

Num. 23:19 $\text{NAP}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{T}} \text{ OI } \Delta N \text{ M}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{RH}}\bar{\text{T}} \text{ M}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{MI}} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{AP}} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{POQ}} \text{ O}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon} \text{ M}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{RH}}\bar{\text{T}} \Delta N \text{ NO}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{RI}} \text{ NP}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{MI}} (= \text{Vat}).$

Deut. 11:10 $\text{NAGOI GAP } \Delta N \text{ M}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{RH}}\bar{\text{T}} \text{ MPKAZI NTExHMI}$.

Deut. 30:13 $\text{NACN}\bar{\Delta}\text{PHI } \bar{\Delta}\text{ENT}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\epsilon} \Delta N \text{ O}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon} \text{ NAC}\bar{\Delta}\text{IMHP M}\bar{\Phi}\bar{\text{IOM}} \Delta N$.

(b) Deut. 5:3 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon\mu\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\nu\iota\omicron\tau\ \alpha\eta$ (add. supra. lin. P) $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \eta\epsilon\mu\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$ — cf. the famous Ryl. IX 13/11f. *bn-jr(j) ir.w n ntn-jt.w 3n...*

Num. 16:29 $\mu\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\eta\tau\ \alpha\eta\ \epsilon\psi\alpha\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \dots\ \alpha\epsilon\text{-}\eta\alpha\iota\ \eta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \iota\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\eta\tau\ \epsilon\psi\alpha\sigma\delta\epsilon\mu\pi\omega\iota\eta\iota\ \eta\epsilon\omega\mu\iota\ \eta\iota\beta\epsilon\eta\ \alpha\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\mu\pi\omega\iota\eta\iota\ \eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\iota$ (= Vat).

Gen. 38:9 (he knew) $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\epsilon\text{-}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\delta\ \eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \eta\alpha\upsilon\ \alpha\eta$.

Deut. 32:31 $\eta\omicron\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \alpha\sigma\mu\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\eta\tau\ \mu\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \alpha\eta$ (= Vat)

(c) Not conclusively attested in the corpus.

Obs.

(1) Num. 2:33 $\eta\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\iota\theta\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\iota\eta\iota\ \epsilon\epsilon\omega\sigma\ \eta\delta\epsilon\eta\iota\ \eta\delta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\eta\tau\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \chi\omicron\eta\chi\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \mu\mu\omega\tau\chi\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon\ \alpha\psi\iota\epsilon\ \eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\eta\psi\eta\eta\iota\ \mu\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha$ makes better sense as a case of negative “Temporal” ($\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\text{-}$) and superordinative-apodotic $\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon\ \alpha\psi\text{-}$ than as Relative. For a negative Topic, consider $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\ \psi\alpha\text{-}\eta\iota\mu\ \eta\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\iota\beta\epsilon\eta$ Na. 3:19 (B4).

(2) In Gen. 44:30 $\tau\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\iota\eta\eta\psi\epsilon\eta\eta\iota\ \epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \gamma\alpha\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\ \mu\pi\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\eta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\eta\iota\ \alpha\eta$, all three constituents are affirmative, with the Focus a negated Circumstantial clause (“the child not being with me”).

(3) There is actually no formal negation in instances like Ex. 14:11 $\alpha\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\mu\mu\omicron\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\eta\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota\ \eta\chi\eta\eta\iota$, where we have a Rhetorical Question, with [Existential + Locating Adverbial] focussed, and a positive statement of non-existence.

(4) For a rare case of affirmative nexus, negative Topic in Demotic, cf. *jjr bn-p3y.j wn mdt...dd-bw-jr rmt 'š.s* SMITH 1997/8:198 (P Berlin P. 15617 vo 3).

2.4.4 The Topicalized or Focalized (so-called Tautological) Infinitive. This construction, brilliantly discussed by G. Goldenberg (1971) and studied for Coptic by the present author (1990), might be considered a Hebrew-Greek calque in Coptic, but should be regarded in the diachronic context of the corresponding Old and Middle Egyptian focalized-infinitive construction (SHISHA-HALEVY, *op. cit.*) as well as the synchronic focalization (and generally rhetorical) system. For this common pattern, like other cases of “native” Coptic syntax triggered and statistically enhanced by Greek correspondents), must have been decoded by the reader as a pertinent Coptic linguistic sign, probably with stylistic overtones of “Scripturality”, regardless of any special Greek history attached to it.⁴⁷ (This construction is stylistically typical of, but not exclusive to, *plus habens*, especially Divine, Allocution; cf. the “Divine Grammar” nature of the Definite-Absolute Future $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}$, Chapter One).

⁴⁷ It is OT-Scriptural when we find the Tautological Infinitive in the NT: John 3:29 $\delta\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\iota\ \upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi\iota$, or in homiletic texts: De Vis II 118 $\delta\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\mu\iota\ \alpha\epsilon\epsilon\mu\iota$.

The pattern consists usually of the repetition (including equivalence repetition), in resonance of a **ΣΕΝ-ΟΤ**-marked verbal-noun lexeme or verbal abstract, the initial occurrence marked as Topic or Focus, the second included in a conjugation form. The effect of this is a focalization of the lexeme and eventually *the nexus* in the said conjugation form. Almost invariably occurring in autonomous clauses (unincluded, except for **ΣΕ-** inclusion following *verba dicendi* or *sentiendi*; not Relative or Circumstantial), the pattern is as a rule affirmative, which may hint at its nexus-focussing role. On the other hand, it is often connected by **καί** or **αὐ** to its cotext.

The construction occurs in Dialogue:

Gen. 26:28 **ΣΕΝΟΤΗΝΑΤ ΑΝΝΑΤ ΣΕ-**..., in Response.

Gen. 19:17 **ΣΕΝΟΤΗΝΟΖΕΜ ΝΟΖΕΜ**, imperative Allocation.

Gen. 44:5 **ΣΕ- ΣΕΝΟΤΘΙΩΗΜ ΑΦΘΙΩΗΜ** — probably Focalizing Present — which would co-focalize the lexeme; the Greek has here the Present. Also, less ambiguously, Gen. 44:15 **ΣΕΝΟΤΘΙΩΗΜ ΕΥΑΦΘΙΩΗΜ**. (In Gen. 3:4 (B4) (= Vat) **ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΜΟΤ ΑΝ ΣΕΝΟΤΜΟΤ** we even have explicit FC with nexal negation, focussing adjunctal **ΣΕΝ-ΟΤ**+ infinitive, which, despite the inverse internal information structure, results in the same macrosyntactic effect.

In preceptive generic-legal exposition:

Lev. 20:2 **ΣΕΝΟΤΜΟΤ ΜΑΡΟΤΣΟΘΒΕ**q, focussing injunctions.

Ex. 15:26 **ΣΕΝΟΤΩΤΕΜ ΝΤΕΚΩΤΕΜ ΝCΑΤCΜΗ ΜΠΘC**.

Lev. 7:24 **ΕΟΤΩΜ ΔΕ ΝΝΟΤΟΤΟΜΟΤ** — a less formalized topicalization.

Lev. 14:48 **ΣΕΝΟΤΔΩΨ ΦΔΗΨ ΑΝ** — a rare Stative, a rarer negative instance: “by no means”, not focussing an injunction: “spread it has not”.

Ex. 22:17 **ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΣΕΝΟΤΘΩΤ ΝΖΗΤ ΝΤΕΨΥΤΕΜΘΩΤ ΝΖΗΤ**.

Two formally remarkable variations on the pattern:

Deut. 22:7 **ΣΕΝΟΤΟΤΩΡΠ ΕΚΕΧΑ-†ΜΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝΟΤΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ** — a rare instance of simultaneous Topic and Anti-topic.

Ex. 21:28 **ΣΕΝΖΑΝΩΝΙ ΕΨΕCΕΤ-ΩΝΙ** consider also Lev. 20:27 **ΣΕΝΠΩΝΙ**... ANDERSSON 119f. (unnecessarily) suggests emending to **ΣΕΝΟΤΩΝΙ**; Num. 14:10 **ΖΙΩΝΙ ΕΡΩΟΤ ΣΕΝ-ΠΩΝΙ** or Num. 15:35 **ΕCΕΖΙΩΝΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΣΕΝΠΩΝΙ** may be different.

Num. 8:26 **ΖΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΦΕΡΖΩΒ** — here the *bare* lexeme, not zero-determined one, serves as action abstract (otherwise, we should find **ΖΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ**). This is the normal construction for topicalizing and focalizing compound (auxiliary + abstract) verbal nexus.

In Allocation, Narrative and Report; in poetic Narrative — in parenthetical status (Narrator's Channel, Comment Mode Narrative):

Gen. 22:17 **ΣΕΝΟΤΣΜΟΤ ΕΙΕΣΜΟΤ ΕΡΟΚ.**

Ex. 3:16 **ΣΕΝΟΤΨΙΝΙ ΑΙΨΙΝΙ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ** (sim. Gen. 50:24).

Num. 22:30 **ΣΕΝΟΤΞΙΠΞΟ ΑΙΞΙΠΞΟ ΜΜΟΚ** — interrogative Allocation.

Gen. 37:8 **ΜΗ ΣΕΝΟΤΜΕΤΟΤΡΟ ΧΝΑΕΡΟΤΡΟ** — Allocation — Rhetorical Question (see below, comment on Gen. 43:3). Compound verb focalized (different **ΕΡ-** auxiliary from Num. 8:26 above).

Gen. 43:3 **ΣΕΝΟΤΜΕΤΜΕΘΡΕ ΑΦΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ ΝΑΝ** — compound (auxiliary + abstract) verb focalized (different **ΕΡ-** auxiliary from Num. 8:26 above).

Gen. 20:18 **ΣΕΝΟΤΨΘΑΜ ΑΨ† ΨΘΑΜ ΝΣΑΒΟΛ...**

Gen. 43:7 **ΣΕΝΟΤΨΙΝΙ ΑΨΥΕΝΤΕΝ.**

Gen. 31:30 **ΣΕΝΟΤΕΠΙΘΤΜΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΑΚΕΡΕΠΙΘΤΜΙΝ** — compound (auxiliary + abstract) verb focalized (different **ΕΡ-** auxiliary from Num. 8:26 above).

Gen. 47:22 **ΣΕΝΟΤΤΑΙΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΨ†ΤΤΑΙΟ ΝΝΙΟΤΗΒ** — compound (auxiliary + abstract) verb focalized.

Ex. 15:1 **ΜΑΡΕΝΖΩΣ ΕΠΨ† ΣΕΝΟΤΩΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΑΨΙΩΟΤ** — compound (auxiliary + abstract) verb focalized.

2.4.5 Focussing Particles. The Augens

Prosodically marked “floating”, colon and segment-referred (often clitic), pronoun-cohesive adverbial elements that signal focalization of segments, relationship (including possession) or nexus:

Gen. 27:36 **ΙΕ ΜΠΕΚΣΕΞΠ-ΟΤΣΜΟΤ ΝΗΙ ΡΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΙΩΤ.**

Deut. 21:14 **ΞΕ-ΟΤΗΙ ΑΚΘΕΒΙΟC** “for you *did* humiliate her, after all”.

Deut. 29:14 **ΝΑΙΧΩ ΝΤΑΙΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ ΜΜΑΤΑ-ΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝΟΤ ΑΝ ΜΨΟΟΤ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΜ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΜΠΑΙΜΑ ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ ΜΨΟΟΤ.**

See in detail below, Chapter Four.

2.4.6 Issues of Negativity: negator morphology. Negation and focalization

The essential affinity of special negation and constituent focalization has been commented on by SEILER (1952) and MOORHOUSE (1959:73ff.), while nexal negation (MOORHOUSE 1959:1ff., following O. Jespersen),

bearing on the very interdependence of Theme and Rheme, is close to nexus focussing in a paradigm of nexus-referred elements signalling, e.g., the (non-)existence of the nexus, the querying or the predicating of nexus, and so on⁴⁸. It is by token of the very specific-associatedness and incidence of negation and its signal (an incidence not necessarily coinciding with its location) to a segmental or non-segmental element, that its focalization or co-focalization role comes into effect. In Coptic, I have in mind only **AN** and **N-...AN**, for the negative conjugation bases are not negators, and **WTEM-** is a negator of the verb lexeme or infinitive.

Obs.

(1) The negation of nexus between the FC Theme-Topic and its Focus is different from the durative nexus-pattern negation (cf. POLOTSKY 1944:87ff). This constitutes yet another formal difference between the two patterns, and is significant for the issue of negative focalization.

(2) So-called Embracing Negation (a topic recently again much discussed, especially in typological and historical general grammar) is old in Egyptian, but I would hesitate to trace it simply back to ME *n...js* (SATZINGER 1967). Only in some sources of Demotic does the embracing negation seem to be almost fully established (but consider Rhind I 2.4 *jw bn Wsir nw r-rf*, unless this is a neg. Future [Quack]). However, in Bohairic, at least Nitrian and NT, **n-** seems occasionally (not in our corpus) to be more than a mere *Vorsignal* of negation (WEINRICH 1982:710ff.), but the carrier of negativity, and **AN** (not *zero...AN*), in clause-final placement, a true negation focusser, compatible with non-nexal negative elements such as **NNEQ-**, **MMON** and **MPEP-**. The case of **AN** following other full negatives in Bohairic (SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:324f.) cannot but mean a synchronic negative-focussing for the "post-negation". It is mostly attested in Nitrian and the NT, and could well be a colloquial — and archaic, i.e. conservative — feature:

MMON...AN: De Vis I 65.3, 145.1, AM II 208, Mac. No. 9, emphatic "by no means", AM I 29, 128, 165, 207, 46; gnomic 73.

AM I 120 **MMON OPO XEMEΘNOTX AN**.

De Vis II 109 **MMON-WXOM NTEΦMOT XWNT EPOQ AN**.

De Vis II 266 **MMON-XAI NTAN MPAIPH† AN**.

MPEP- AN appears to be an emphatic, expressive, affective-tone negation (+ **EPTHPQ**) "by no means": SV 19, 28, AM I 8 (same verb repeated), 163, (!) 216, De Vis II 178, 149 (+ **EPTHPQ**; without **AN** rather weak and phraseological: "don't say..." "don't be angry", De Vis II 216, 224), I 123, II 149 (**AN** marking final boundary in Nitrian, unlike Sahidic). Note in the Pentateuch Ex.12:13 **NNEK-...AN** codd. (not P: condemned by ANDERSSON 1904:80), NT Bohairic **NTOWTEM-...AN** Mark 6:11 (cod. A).

(3) For LE, see WINAND 1997:227: *jwn3* probably still functional as a negation focusser ("pas du tout, vraiment pas, absolument pas"). W. is convinced that the grammaticalization process is complete in Coptic (232). And yet, we find in LE similar cases to Nitrian /NT Bohairic **MMON...AN**, **NNEQ-...AN** (227: still focussing "particle"), 226. There seems to be no attestation of *sw hr sdm* with *bn-... jwn3*, 229, which means that the Present is not negated nexally.

⁴⁸ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1995:162ff., 1998:50f., COHEN 2001.

(4) The Embracing Negation as a typological *Sprachbund* isogloss, bridging Western Europe and North Africa: MOLINELLI 1984, BERNINI 1984, BERNINI and RAMAT 1992 (not properly recognizing the Egyptian construction); SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:136ff. O. Jespersen's seminal *Negation in English* (and other treatments of negation), the starting-point of all modern discussion of the issue, call in the present context for two research-historical observations. First, on the fact that he succeeded in gaining an insight into the difference of nexal and "special" negation primarily on the basis of North-West European languages, in which this distinction is much obscured by negation morphology and syntactical inertion. Second, on the fact, probably not coincidental, that, beside negation syntax, Jespersen was much preoccupied by focalization constructions (not least the Cleft Sentence, the term coined by Jespersen's teacher and senior colleague, Chr. Sandfeld).

(5) "Jespersen's Cycle": in our text, there is no indication that *n-* alone has any standing. On the contrary, *an* alone is the unmarked negative, *n-... an* being syntactically marked. In Egyptian, the negation load transference cannot be correlated to a drastic word-order change (in the transition to a verb-first order, a transition not attested for Egyptian, which is verb-first from the "*sdm.f* system" to the "*aqawtm* system" — cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 2000), nor to a tendency to have the negation located "as near to the verb as possible" (cf. BURRIDGE 1993:198ff., 203f.). But then, the evolutive process of PREVERBAL to EMBRACING to POSTVERBAL cannot really be traced in Egyptian diachrony, probably because of the "spasmodic" historical documentation and inadequate synchronic resolution.

(6) The negation in "Rhetorical Questions", actually focussed assertive statements (see Chapter One) is special in that it meets and is effectively neutralized with its usual affirmative *oppositum* in a focalization along the yes/no axis. See TOBLER 1886-1912 (IV):69ff.

(7) The *n-...an* vs. *an* distribution — opposition, alternation and variation — is an issue never seriously tackled on corpus basis. As often, M.G. Schwartz in his "white elephant", *Das alte Ägypten* (1843), makes some insightful statements on the Bohairic dialect: he believes (1460ff.) *n — an* to be a "stronger" (our focussed) negation, and attempts to formulate distribution and frequency patterning. He associates *zero-... an* with Bohairic. Somewhat later, in the posthumous Schwartz-Steinthal 1850:436, *n-... an* is clearly associated with the Circumstantial. See also STERN 1880 §431: "*ε- n — ...an*, with *ε-* usually lost" (STERN 1880 §§388ff. too seems to associate the full *n-... an* form with Sahidic, as against Bohairic); cf. ANDERSSON 1904:110 on Lev. 7:10: almost always *n-...an*; 115f. *ad* Num. 6:12 *ncēnti an* "also eigentlich *enēnti an*", with further *exx.* See FUNK 1987 on the dialectal spread of the two negation-forms.

n-...an alternates in the corpus with *zero-...an* (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1994 and Chapter Four below), the latter unmarked, the former as a rule marked as a Circumstantial Conversion form (extremely rarely, syntactically marked instances of *εq- an* constitute a third *oppositum*)⁴⁹:

Gen. 44:26 *MTENKOϞI NCON XH NEMAN AN.*

⁴⁹ It may be no coincidence that the ME negators *n-* and *nn*, in being incompatible with *jw*, neutralize Circumstantial/autonomous opposition. GUNN 1924:105, 114f., 165f., 150ff. ("*nn* used attributively to a general (undetermined) noun") on adnominal *n sdm.f*, *n sdm.n.f*, *nn sdm.f*, *n wnt* etc.

Num. 6:12 **εθεωωπι νσενπ αν.**

Deut. 8:9 **οσκαρι νκναοωμ μπεκωικ αν...**

Deut. 28:36 **οθεθνος νρωμι νκσωοτν μμοq αν (= Vat).**

Lev. 22:14 **φρωμι ετναοωμ εβολ δεννη εθοταβ νρεμι αν.**

Lev. 19:27 **νοτωωτ αν πε** is in Coptic circumstantially construed (Greek affirmative: ἄθυτόν ἐστιν).

Deut. 22:2 **εωωπ εqδεnt εροκ αν (= Vat);** also, with the same Stative — a mere coincidence? — Deut. 25:4 **οτρωμι εqδεnt εροq αν** (note disparity of the two 3rd person sgl. pronouns) — frankly, I do not see the connection between this specific lexical converb and its deviant construction.

Lev. 11:26 **οτοz δεννιτεβνωοτι τηροφ φη νιβεν ετε-νισοπ ντερατq φορδ οτοz ερεωλι ννεqιεβ οτοz οτ-σαθμι εqσαθμι μμοq αν** — the nom. extraposition seems significant.

Obs.

Nitrian texts have **εq- αν** very frequently: De Vis I 90, 133, 134, 161, II 17, 190, 210, 211 — but also Circumstantial **ν- ...αν** De Vis I 101, 25, **νρεμι αν** De Vis II 176, 278, **ενq(εμι) αν** II 195, 238 **ν- ...αν** unconverted De Vis II 16, 172.

Unmarked (rather than “independent”) syntactical status is signalled by **zero-...αν**:

qοτωω αν Deut. 25:7 **†οτωω αν** Deut. 25:8, also 30:11, 31:2, Num. 11:6, 14:41:43.

Gen. 31:29 **†νοτ ταξιz δεμzομ εερ-πετρωοτ νακ αν** — note the final placement of nexal-negation, non-focalizing **αν**.

Both **zero- αν** and **-αν** follow Relative Conversion in the corpus:

πρωμι ετε-qνασωτεμ αν Deut. 18:19, 25:9; also Deut. 13:3: 6:13, 28:61.

Lev. 7:10 **ωοτωωοτωι νιβεν εθοτωωεμ αν.**

Two rare exceptions are

Deut. 31:13 **νοτωηρι ετε-νσεσωοτν αν**: rhythmical factor?

Deut. 32:21 **φη ετε-νοτνοτ† αν πε ... φη ετε-νοτεθνος αν πε** — Relative Nominal Sentence.

For the FC, **ν-...αν** negates the nexus between Theme-Topic and Focus, while **αν** is Focus-referred: see above. However, it is probably a postfixed form — **αν**, not **zero... αν**, that signals “local” focalizing negation in the corpus:

Deut. 32:6 **οταλос νсоz οτοz νсаβε αν.**

Gen. 30:15 **ΚΗΝ ΑΝ ΞΕ-**.

Deut. 9:5 **ΕΘΒΕΤΕΚΜΕΘΜΗΙ ΑΝ ΠΘ̄C ΝΑ† ΜΠΑΙΚΑΞΙ ΝΑΚ** — this preposition seems to be especially prone to focalization; this is true from the earliest Egyptian phase on. Also

Num. 35:22 **ΞΕΝΟΥΞΑΠΙΝΑ ΕΘΒΕΘΜΕΤΞΑΞΙ ΑΝ** — here, and often, **ΑΝ** marks a *delimitation* (Chapter Four).

Lev. 15:25 **ΞΕΝΠCΗΘΩ ΑΝ ΝΤΕΤΕΚΕΡΩΩ**.

Num. 16:28 **ΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΞΙΤΟΤ ΑΝ (= Vat)** — protasis.

Gen. 27:12 **ΝΟΥCΑΧΟΠΙ ΟΘΟΞ ΝΟΥCΜΟΥ ΑΝ**.

Deut. 28:13 **ΕΓΕΛΙΚ...ΝΟΥΑΦΕ ΟΘΟΞ ΝΟΥCΑΤ ΑΝ**.

Num. 12:8 **ΞΕΝΟΥΝΑΘ ΟΘΟΞ ΞΕΝΟΥCΜΟΤ ΑΝ**.

Num. 24:17 **†ΝΑΤΑΜΟΦ ΟΘΟΞ †ΝΟΥ ΑΝ**.

Gen. 45:8 **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΑΝ ΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΡΠΤ ΕΜΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ Φ† ΠΕ**. Focal negation by **-ΑΝ** seems neatly opposed to nexal negation by **Ν...ΑΝ**, for FC constructions: see above.

In **ΜΗ... ΑΝ**, the high-focality term in paradigm with either **ΜΗ** or **ΜΗ... zero** alone (see above), we have **ΑΝ** signalling highest co-focalization (in this sense, **ΑΝ** here is anything but “expletive”⁵⁰):

Gen. 31:15 **ΜΗ ΝΕΤΑΨΟΠΤΕΝ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΞΑΝΨΕΜΩΘ** also Gen. 20:5, Deut. 32:34, Ex. 4:14 **ΜΗ ΙC ΑΑΡΩΝ ΠΕΚCΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΙΛΕΨΙΤΗΣ ...**

The placement of **ΑΝ** in these cases is environmentally conditioned, while **ΜΗ** is initial (see above for more examples).

Obs.

(1) Some instances of focalizing **ΑΝ** in the NT:

Imperative + ADV. - **ΑΝ** John 6:27.

Preterite — ADV. - **ΑΝ** John 7:10.

John 14:22 **ΙΟΥΔΑC ΜΠΙCΚΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ ΑΝ** B4 (B5 **ΑΝ** alone): a nice instance of delimiting negation.

John 6:32 **ΜΜΩΨCΗΣ ΑΝ ΑΦ† ΝΩΤΕΝ ΜΠΙΩΙΚ** B4 (B5 **ΑΝ** alone), also 7:19, 15:16, I Cor. 15:10, Eph. 6:77.

ΜΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝ ΑΙ- John 6:70, 18:26.

ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΑΝ John 13:10:18.

ΝΝΙ- ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΜ- Rom. 4:12.

ADV. (...) - **ΑΝ** Acts 10:1, Rom. 4:13, 13:13, John 10:33, II Cor. 1:12.

II Cor. 10:8 **ΠΙΕΡΩΨΙ ΕΤΑΠΘ̄C ΤΗΙΦ ΝΗΙ ΕΥΚΩΤ ΟΘΟΞ Ν-ΕΠΕΤΕΝΡΩΨΤ ΑΝ**.

Rom. 8:12 **ΟΘΟΝ ΕΡΟΝ ΞΕΝCΑΡΞ ΑΝ**.

(2) FUNK 1986:103f. n.3, 31 points out the need to distinguish (for Akhmimic) between *zero* and *nil*, with **ΕΝ** “alone”, the Relative **ΕΤΕ-CE-... ΕΝ** has *zero*. The same obtains for Oxyrhynchite (SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:314f.); the opposition obtains only in converted state.

⁵⁰ Cf. ORLANDINI 1993.

(3) On **an** negating a clause component, cf. STERN 1880:227. This use is found as early as Demotic (GILULA 1972); probably earlier, with *n-js* (continuous, not embracing), as against the embracing discontinuous *n...js* (GILULA 1970:208ff.; Cf. JUNGE 1979). The logic of the focalizing **n- an** is also diachronic: focalizing continuous *n-js* (in ME).

(4) Negation-signalling structure is very different outside the corpus.

n-...an not Circumstantial in the NT: Mt. 26:62:65:70, Mark 10:38, 13:33:35, Luke 13:25, John 13:10, 14:30, 15:15.

zero-... an (+ v.l. **n- ...an**) unmarked: Luke 12:24 14:21 Mt. 28:6, 27:24.

eq-... an oʔoʔ n-... an Luke 7:33.

n(n)- an neg. FC John 11:51, 17:9:15, Rom. 14:17.

n(n)-an autonomous or unmarked in John (B4) 5:24, 6:36, 7:19, Hos. (B4) 11:9 (interlocutive NS), Hab. 1:2. In B4 John one discerns a distinctive system, with *zero- ... an* often a "local negation":

n- n an aq- John 6:32.

n- ADV an aq- John 6:58.

nn- VERB an John 5:13:36:39, 6:22:27 etc.

(5) **ne-εταq-... an** seems to be an established form in Cat. of the Preterite FC construction, negatived nexus (e.g. Cat. 97, 137, 8, 33, 184, 208 etc.). Cf. (?) the Demotic pre-negator *bn-jw-* (SPIEGELBERG 1925 §472ff., exx. 213f., even for *j jrf sdm* in negated nexus: JOHNSON 1976:122 E207; SIMPSON 1996:138).

(6) Negative phraseology: **noʔ-ʔan-koʔʔi an** — NT (Acts 17:4, 19:23 adnom., 12:18, 20:12, *not in the Greek*); Nitrian AM 1 91. Cf. STERN 1880:266 "verkürztes participium" ("die nicht klein ist"). **mpaipnʔ an alla-** Job 2:4, 5:8, 34:36, Ps. 1:4, 118:85, Is. 10:15 (Tattam).

2.4.7 Focalization and topicalization: some notable constructions

(a) In Coptic, as in other Topic-prominent languages, the noun or pronoun or adverbial preceding, extraposed to and resumed by a syntactically unmarked verb clause is not necessarily topical ("Topic" — a cotextually or contextually given, thus anchoring-in-discourse element of the clausal information structure, typically co-referent with its Theme. It is typically of high specificity, and may be grammaticalized into Theme in certain NS patterns: see above). Extraposition is often *focalizing*, a function signalled by non-specific or determination-indifferent noun syntagms and/or the absence of cotextual, external (as against internal or pragmatic) linkage and cohesion, and/or special co-focalizing elements. The Topic is in these cases verbal (thematic lexemes are typical). Clear focalization is at the conjunction of several of or all these features. Focalization in these case is juncturally a delimitation, whereas Topicalization is a strong linkage (Chapter Four).

Gen. 25:23 **ʔaʔa ʔ arɛɛɛɛboʔki mmʔoʔ.**

Gen. 21:6 **oʔɛɛʔbi aʔaiaʔ nni.**

Lev. 25:5 **oʔɛɛɛɛɛɛ nteoʔmton ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ mʔikaʔi.**

Deut. 16:15 **ʔ neʔoʔoʔ ɛɛkaʔitoʔ.**

Gen. 44:27 $\psi\eta\rho\iota \bar{\nu}$ αταίσιμι μάσος ηηι.

Deut. 28:38 $\chi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$.

Ex. 12:46 $\omicron\tau\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\psi\upsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\mu\mu\omicron\upsilon$ “even a bone”.

Deut. 1:28 $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\chi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\rho\iota$ $\eta\alpha\tilde{\psi}\omega\pi$ $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\upsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$
($\eta\epsilon\mu$ focussing: “even”).

Gen. 44:5 $\chi\alpha\eta\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon$.

Gen. 35:10 $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\pi\bar{\iota}\varsigma\bar{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota$ $\eta\delta\epsilon$ - $\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\eta$ focalized Rheme.

Deut. 27:6 $\chi\alpha\eta\omega\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\omicron\delta$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

Deut. 4:12 $\omicron\tau\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\upsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$... $\omicron\tau\varsigma\mu\eta$ $\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - $\tau\epsilon\eta\varsigma\omicron\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\varsigma$.

Gen. 45:8 $\eta\omega\tau\epsilon\eta$ $\alpha\eta$ $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\pi\tau$ $\epsilon\mu\eta\iota$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\tilde{\psi}\dagger$ $\pi\epsilon$ — a rare instance of pronominal focussing, resumed, like a Cleft Sentence, by the Immutable-Theme or Endophoric Nominal Sentence.

(b) Topicalization is signalled by *specific* extraposed nouns, cotextually cohesive, and no restriction of the verb lexeme.

Gen. 22:5 $\chi\epsilon\mu\varsigma\iota$ $\mu\pi\alpha\iota\mu\alpha$... $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\pi\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha$ - $\psi\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta$.

Gen. 27:37 $\eta\theta\omicron\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\omicron\psi$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\ddagger\eta\alpha\lambda\iota\upsilon$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$.

Ex. 6:12 $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ - $\omicron\tau\alpha\tau\varsigma\alpha\delta\iota$.

Ex. 5:16 $\pi\iota\tau\omicron\chi$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\varsigma\epsilon\ddagger$ $\mu\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\beta\iota\alpha\iota\kappa$ $\omicron\tau\omicron\chi$ $\varsigma\epsilon\delta\omega$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\eta$ $\delta\epsilon$ - $\tau\eta\pi\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\tau\omega\beta\iota$ $\mu\alpha\theta\alpha\mu\iota\omega\upsilon$.

Gen. 42:18 $\tilde{\psi}\dagger$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\ddagger\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\ddagger$ $\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\varphi\chi\eta$.

Topicalization extends to adverbials, pre-setting circumstance (time or place, modality only in the case of the “Tautological Infinitive”) to a clause:

Lev. 11:26 $\omicron\tau\omicron\chi$ $\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\iota\tau\epsilon\beta\eta\omega\upsilon\tau\iota$ $\tau\eta\rho\omega$ $\tilde{\psi}\eta$ $\eta\iota\beta\epsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\iota$ - $\delta\omicron\pi$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\varphi$ $\tilde{\psi}\omicron\rho\delta$ $\omicron\tau\omicron\chi$ $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\omega\lambda\iota$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\varphi\iota\epsilon\beta$ $\omicron\tau\omicron\chi$ $\omicron\tau\varsigma\alpha\theta\mu\iota$ $\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\alpha\theta\mu\iota$ $\mu\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\eta$.

The non-specific extraposed Topic⁵¹ is less common by far, and never cotextually anchored:

Lev. 10:9 $\omicron\tau\eta\rho\pi$ $\eta\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\varsigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\varsigma\omega\upsilon$.

Deut. 8:13 $\omicron\tau\chi\alpha\tau$ $\eta\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta$ $\alpha\psi\omega\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\psi\alpha\iota$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$...

Gen. 31:39 $\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\alpha\pi\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ $\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\varphi$ $\mu\pi\iota\epsilon\eta\varphi$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$.

Deut. 29:6 $\omega\iota\kappa$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\tau\omega\mu$ $\omicron\tau\omicron\chi$ $\eta\rho\pi$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\varsigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\varsigma\omega$ — zero-determined generic Topic, resumed by zero.

⁵¹ See LÖTSCHER 1992.

(c) In poetic language, a third construction is encountered:

Ex. 15:2 $\sigma\theta\beta\omicron\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\mu$ $\sigma\theta\rho\epsilon\varphi\omega\beta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\lambda\chi\omega\iota$ $\lambda\varphi\psi\omega\pi\iota$
 $\nu\eta\iota$.

Ex. 15:4 $\xi\alpha\kappa\omega\tau\tau\iota$ $\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\nu\tau\tau\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\lambda\varphi\chi\omicron\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$
 $\xi\epsilon\nu\Phi\iota\omicron\mu$.

Ex. 21:8 $\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\nu\psi\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron$ $\varphi\omicron$ $\nu\overline{\sigma}\overline{\varsigma}$ $\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\iota\varsigma$ $\nu\alpha\varphi$.

In this case, the extraposition seems to be *thematizing*, not topicalizing or focalizing.

For infinitives (verb lexemes) and other abstracts, the indefinite Topic is the rule: witness the so-called Tautological Infinitive nexus focussing construction (above), where $\xi\epsilon\nu$ - (rarely ϵ -) is a grammaticalized preposition marking the topicalization:

Gen. 22:17 $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\tau\varsigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\varsigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$.

Gen. 43:7 $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\psi\iota\kappa\iota$ $\lambda\varphi\psi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$.

Gen. 43:3 $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon$ $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha\kappa$ — topicalizing a compound verb.

Num. 8:26 $\xi\omega\beta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\nu\eta\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\rho\omega\beta$ — topicalizing a compound verb.

(d) The Presentatives $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$, $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$, $\iota\varsigma$ are devices enabling one type of topicalization, not focalization (see above):

Ex. 6:30 $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\lambda\omicron\kappa$ $\varsigma\psi\omicron\mu$ $\nu\chi\epsilon$ - $\tau\alpha\varsigma\mu\eta$ - note that $\nu\chi\epsilon$ - does not signal topicality⁵², but is simultaneously a “*Flexionsisolierung*” (cf. POLOTSKY 1990:171 n.5) and a Theme-recall device:

Ex. 4:14 $\mu\eta$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\lambda\alpha\rho\omega\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\kappa$ $\pi\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\dagger\varsigma\omega\omicron\upsilon\kappa$
 $\chi\epsilon$ - $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\tau\varsigma\alpha\chi\iota$ $\varphi\eta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\chi\iota$.

Gen. 42:13 $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota$ $\varphi\chi\eta$ $\xi\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\varphi\iota\omega\tau$.

Lev. 13:31f. $\lambda\varphi\psi\alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha\upsilon$... $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\omicron\zeta$ $\omicron\theta\omicron\zeta$ $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\varphi\zeta\omicron$
 $\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ $\alpha\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon$.

(e) The preposition $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon$ - is a rare topicalization signal: so is ϵ - for infinitives (cf. LE *jr*-):

Gen. 17:20 $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon$ - $\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha\eta\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\lambda\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$
 $\lambda\iota\varsigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varphi$.

Lev. 7:24 $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\nu\eta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$.

(f) Topicalization in Narrative, as a Theme-recall device, one of several, in Theme-switching delimitation juncture: see above, Chapter One,

⁵² Pace LOPRIENO 1995:224; not even “antitopicality”.

tentatively on the different topicalized term in the four-term Theme-agens placement paradigm, which also includes (beside the topicalized Theme, the $\alpha\epsilon$ -marked Theme, the Theme in commutation with the delocutive suffix-pronoun⁵³) a nexus-topicalizing term:

Gen. 17:24 $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu \alpha\epsilon \eta\alpha\eta\chi\eta \varsigma\epsilon\eta\bar{\eta}\theta \eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota\ldots$

Gen. 25:33 $\alpha\eta\varsigma\alpha\tau \alpha\epsilon \alpha\eta\uparrow \eta\eta\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\rho\pi \mu\mu\iota\varsigma\iota \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \eta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$.

Obs.

(1) On # Noun + *sdm.f* # thematization in ME, with the subsequent nexus rhematic as a whole, adverbial-converbal, "Circumstantial *sdm.f*": see WESTENDORFF 1953, DORET 1980, JUNGE 1978 (1979); LOPRIENO 1995:187ff. The feature of Topic specificity is heuristically useful in an article-less language such as Middle Egyptian (SHISHA-HALEVY 2007a). It is of interest to note cases where the topicalization is conditioned, as in the thematic status of an "inalienably possessed" noun, when the possessor is the formal Topic, the possessed the Theme: $s3.j 'f \eta\eta\tau$ "My son, his arm is strong" = "My son's arm is strong". See also PANHUIS 1984.

(2) Topicalization is common in Demotic, beyond the topicalized delocutive NS, at least in some stylistic categories such as letters; in fact, so prevalent as to give the impression of devaluation or grammaticalization. So for instance the Berlin Elephantine texts (Ptolemaic and earlier) in ZAUICH 1993: $t3y-j\eta\tau ty.j jnw.s$ P. Berlin P. 15513 x+4f. "This cow, I had them bring it", x+ 12f. $p3-\bar{s}n r-hb.k n.jtb3t.f jw.j jr p3y.w rw\bar{s} 'n$ "The request you sent me, I will take care of them (*sic*) too".

(3) On topicalized adverbials (presetting starting-point for the subsequent clause), see SATZINGER 1971 (LE: nominal, pronominal and adverbial Topics are *jr*-marked), SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a (Shenoutean Sahidic); BLUMENTHAL 1975:306ff. (French); POPPE 1991 (Middle Welsh).

(4) On topicalization as the "introduction of new Theme" cf. PANHUIS 1984. See SORNICOLA 1985a, excellent on topicalization and discourse strategy in the IE range of languages.

(5) See STEMPEL 1981 and KRÖTSCH and SABBAN 1990 on initial-placement marked focalization in modern French.

(6) Initial-position focalization is common outside the corpus: DV II 265 $\eta\theta\omega\tau\epsilon\eta \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\mu\omicron \eta\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma \mu\pi\omicron\omicron\tau \lambda\lambda\alpha \lambda\eta\eta\omicron\eta \pi\epsilon$.

⁵³ It is certainly not true that any delocutive pronoun commutes in a general straightforward way with a noun syntagm and *vice versa*. Value factors must be introduced in a *système des valeurs*; placement slots "come with" their syntagmatic/paradigmatic identity profile; some terms are more marked than others; and, moreover, text-grammatical functions render the "Sentence-Grammar" functional evaluation almost trivial.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NOUN SYNTAGM AND THE DETERMINATION SYNDROME

3.0.1 Preliminaries: the determination syndrome. Actualization. Specificity. Determination and articles

3.0.2 The Coptic lexeme. "Nounhood". Lexeme and noun syntagm. Lexeme and determinator interdependence

3.0.3 Exponence, "residence" and marking of the gender-number category

3.0.4 Morphosyntax: determinator nuclearity

3.1 Determination-sensitive environments

3.2 Six reduced determination subsystems

(a) Determination of infinitives

(b) Determination of Existants and Non-Existants

(c) Presentative clauses introduced by (ϣΗΠΠΕ) IC-

(d) Determination in inherent and non-inherent rhematic status

(e) Theme determination following ΝΔΕ-

(f) Theme-agens determination following a negative conjugation base or in negative environment

3.3 The *zero* article. *Zero* article or articlelessness?

3.4 The indefinite articles. Particular vs. non-particular indefiniteness. ΟΥΔΙ, ΟΥΟΝ and ΕΛΙ

3.5 ΠΙ- and Π- "two definite articles"?

3.5.1 {ΠΙ-} the deictic, cohesive specifying article

3.5.2 {Π-} — the non-cohesive, non-deictic, pure actualization designative or naming article

3.5.3 Possession and determination

3.6 Generics: a retrospect and synthesis

3.7 The substantivized and determinated Relative Forms

Excuse: A brief note on demonstrative deixis

3.8 The Proper Name: five observations

3.9 The noun syntagm expanded: the *notae relationis*. Associative relationships. Constituence ("inalienable") Personal-Sphere Association

3.10 Attribution: the adnominal noun syntagms. The "Adjective"

3.11 The noun syntagm/pronoun/Proper Name) expanded: some appositive constructions

3.12 The reiterated noun syntagm

3.13 “That”-forms, nexal substantivation forms, infinitives and converbs. Final clauses and related forms

3.0.1 Preliminaries: The Determination syndrome. Actualization. Specificity. Determination and articles

Determination — primarily conceived of as nominal determination — is one of the most difficult and least successful topics of grammatical description. Clearly, we don’t see deeply, structurally and multi-dimensionally enough in this case. It will, I believe, sharpen our focus to list and examine the reasons for this failure. I see four major complicating factors:

(a) Determination is a signalling complex, a syndrome, a set or orchestrated ensemble of features; it is a cluster or conglomerate, not a simple category. But we tend to watch for a formal/functional category *in word scope* (which accounts for the pseudo-paradigmatic and pseudo-analytic synthesis of mutually commutable articles) rather than in the macrosyntactic, cotextual environment (e.g. adjacent verb forms, expansions, constituents in nexal interdependence with the element under scrutiny, negative environment, preceding textual stretches and “landscape”). All determination gradings, like any paradigmatic dependence, are only valid in specific slots. In the word extent, the articles themselves and the articular slot command our analytic attention, distracting us from giving due consideration to the environment¹. It is the environment of a noun that is specific, or non-specific, or of middle-specificity grading. A most salubrious exercise is the study of determination-signalling environments in article-less (or definite-article-less) languages, such as Old/Middle Egyptian or Turkish: the insight of the associations of specificity with FSP in the latter (JOHANSSON 1977) is inspiring for Egyptian and Coptic.

(b) The functions themselves and the signifieds signalled in the determination syndrome are elusive, subtle, highly abstract and not easy to paraphrase or translate. This is in part accountable for (d) below.

¹ In SHISHA-HALEVY 2007a, the author studies determination-signalling environmental factors in article-less Old and Middle Egyptian where, somewhat like the absence of vocalic graphemes in the Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic scripts, this lack turns out to be a blessing in disguise, freeing us from “la superstition de la forme” (De Boer) and forcing us to consider syntagmatic factors.

(c) The complexity of the categorial cluster itself, due to the interaction and interference of three sets of parameters, is bewildering: (1) the lexico-semantic makeup, semes and sememes (of lexemes) — abstracts, (non)countables or amorphous, and subvarieties thereof, in combined effect with determinators; (2) syntactic status, in micro ("prepositional phrase", "actant", "Rheme" etc.) and macro (i.e. textual syntax, thematicity and topicality, rhematicity, reference etc.); (3) any "meaning" (in the sense of *signifié*) of the determinator itself (deixis, genericity, "one", "zero").

(d) More than any other linguistic phenomenon, this is prone to ethnocentrism, an implicit assumption of close matching and correspondence of categorial structure in the language under study with our own; but our own systems are consciously or subconsciously applied, not analytically present.

Obs.

(1) Almost all special discussion regarding the syntagmatics and nature of determination in Coptic has hitherto been on Sahidic. TILL 1927, while simplistic and undiscerning, seems to be aware of the complexity of the issue, the importance of environment and the fact that no specific article has a "meaning". See JERNSTEDT 1978; SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Five; LAYTON 1990 and 2004 (see entries in the Subject Index).

(2) Serious discussions are even rarer for pre-Coptic phases of Egyptian. JOHNSON 1987 is not always helpful, since generative in conception and formulation. Studying the "article-less" phases, namely Old and Middle Egyptian, is worthwhile, enhancing our sensitivity to environmental symptoms of specificity. But the inverse is equally true: a sensitive understanding of *Artikellehre* is an advantage in tackling determination in articleless languages. Article-less languages and linguistic phases are generally ignored in studies of nominal determination; see BIRKENMAIER 1979, CHVANY 1983 on Russian and Bulgarian; on Latin ROSÉN (H.) 1994; on Turkish (no definite article), JOHANSSON 1977 (discussing mainly the FSP aspect of word-order-signalled specificity), NILSSON 1979 (rather basic, on the marking of specificity by the genitive and accusative cases).

(3) Of the vast literature on determination and articles, I have picked out such treatments, few in number, that reveal structuralist sensibilities. Observe that most default references to "article" are to the specifying ("definite") one; indefinites are taken up far less frequently. Incidentally, the French system seems most similar to the Coptic one: WINKELMANN 1978 is noteworthy in its textual approach, with the binary oppositions of referential (generic vs. non-generic = particular), particular (specific vs. non-specific), specific (text-internal [anaphoric vs. cataphoric], vs. text-external); KORZEN 1996 (Italian), CORBELIN 1987, WILMET 1983, 1986, HARRIS 1987 (all on French); CHRISTOPHERSEN 1939, YOTSUKURA 1970 (of the best discussions of determination in English), HAWKINS 1978 (English); GIVÓN 1978 (structural; important in associating such parameters as plurality, gender, negation, case-marking, topicality); EROMS 1988 (German). NOCENTINI 1996 is a typology of European articles and their evolvement (in Romance and Germanic), on the basis of twenty binary traits, oppositions and compatibility (combination) properties. Coptic does not seem to be essentially different from the West-European profile (cf. NOCENTINI 1996:4ff.).

(4) The ever-fascinating evolution of the “European” Germanic and Romance articles is described in NOCENTINI 1996: I find it difficult to share his view, expressed elsewhere mostly in German writing, of the article as “sign of linguistic progress” (HODIER 1954:15 “danach wären also die Sprachen, die zu einer Artikelentwicklung nicht gekommen sind, gewißermaßen als ruckständig zu beurteilen...”, or SNELL 1946:199f. “Es ist... nicht abzusehen, wie in Griechenland Naturwissenschaft und Philosophie hätten entstehen können, wäre nicht im Griechischen der bestimmte Artikel vorhanden gewesen”; see even Schuchardt in SPITZER (ed.) 1928:212 on the article as “Kulturvorschrift”. This is an ethnocentric view that does not consider specificity as much as metalinguistic abstraction, and moreover confuses “article” with “definite article”. The correlation of an evolving article with loss of case (40ff.) does not apply to Egyptian. While the significance of the transition from demonstrative to article as a reduction-indeixis grammaticalization is acceptable (although this is an imponderable, and in a sense a *petitio principii*), it is difficult to agree that the construction “in which the transition began” is identifiable. See also PRESSLICH 2000:27ff. — structural, always in the scope of specific syntactical roles. The issue is problematic, as timing the emergence of a “*waschecht*” article is difficult, as with any grammaticalization process, and is tightly related to the very definition of an article (definite and indefinite ones are drastically different); the evolutionary phases and relative chronology may be agreed on. Of course, the articles evolved in Egyptian too, by an internal mechanism and independently of any external influence (see SCHWARTZE 1843:1073ff.), the “written articles” between the written phases we call Middle and Late Egyptian; but this is only to say they are part of the systems — not really chronologically contiguous — that happened to be represented in writing; we encounter, after all, articles in such glimpses of the colloquial language as are forthcoming even in the earliest period of Egyptian. In fact, it is not so much a question of “when” (the articles emerge) as of “where”, in the sense of slots and functional sectors. For various reasons (not least the vowelless graphemics and the corpus situation) we cannot resolve the specific systems with much certainty, and have to make do with the essentially approximative “definite” — “indefinite” — *zero* state: the quaternary system found in Bohairic (see below) may well have been anticipated in some phase or variety of Egyptian.

Actualization. As noted, noun determination is a syndrome — a scatter of characterizations of a noun on the basis of formal signalled differentiations: “la condition nominale”, no less than the core issue of nominal syntax. Determination is all-involving, but has little to do with nominal morphology,² and everything to do with nominal syntax. The article itself, a “young” feature in most familiar languages, of which the birth can be detected or traced in every language having one, is but one component of this syndrome. However, one of the immediate effects of the combination of a lexeme with a determinator (even a *zero* one: see below) is the actualization of the former — enabling it to function as a syntagm constituent. This is distinct from, but conjoint with, specification: it means rather priming the lexeme *for* specificity or non-

² In Coptic no more than Egyptian (*pace* LOPRIENO 1995:55ff.)

specificity characterization, thereby turning it from lexeme to noun and a constituent of the noun syntagm. One specific determinator, viz. {π-}, seems to effect pure actualization, without concomitant specification — see below.

Obs.

See BALLY Ch. 3, p. 87; COSERIU 1975. Noun actualization seems to be kindred to verbal finiteness — “finite noun” (cf. AGEL 1996, esp. 16ff.).

“Definiteness”, specificity or familiarity may be textual or extratextual, pragmatic-situational: in its simplest formulation, it “presents the element designated by the noun as something known in the particular context in which it is mentioned” (NILSSON 1979:119ff.), where at least “presents”, “context” and “known” are open to considerable further sophistication (for instance, “known to be a fact” in the case of infinitive specificity). Many relevant questions are still unanswered: genericity (“reference to all individuals of a certain class”, NILSSON 1979: 122) — normally conceived of as non-specific — may be metaphorically “disguised” as specific or non-specific. (Since it is after all a decoding analysis we are engaged in, how do we account for “reading” a noun as specific or generic?). Is anaphoricity a signalization of the “known or familiar” higher-specificity property, or a mere representation/substitution, or both? Specificity, a syndrome of resoluteness on several parameters (including those of quantification, individuation and concretization), is clearly cumulative and scalar, on a gradient of converging signalization and marking of environment around the noun in point. So far as I know, little adequate descriptive work has so far been done on any language to do justice to this multi-dimensional characterization of textual constituents, which seems no less than a principle — or a component of a principle — informing language (*quâ* text) as a whole. This characterization, which is scope-referred and eminently junctural, is both and conjointly syntagmatic (e.g. by reference, phoricity, specification; by the very fact an element is *prius dictum* or in cohesion with a coreferent), paradigmatic (the extent of commutability in inverse proportion to specificity) and intertextual or pragmatic (*prius nota* playing a role as consequential as that of *prius dicta*).

Specificity types, as well as grades for individual types, must be distinguished — textual-referential, combinatory yet non-referential (for instance, the specificity of cases like πωq “his mouth”, or of Proper Names), pragmatic-situational. Another necessary distinction is that between *specific* (of noun syntagms and their environment), and *lexeme-specifying* (which must also be specific: e.g. some determinators).

A striking instance of primary specificity — certain grades, conditioning alternant environment in Coptic — is the Theme of the Durative Conjugation Pattern (converbal Rheme), where the high to highest specificity range (π1- / Proper Name / specific pronoun) is a distinctive part of the basic pattern, while the low to lowest specificity range conditions the statal-existential subpatterns or allo-patterns *oʋon-/mmon-* + *oʋ-/zero* article/non-specific pronoun + Rheme. Another instance is the nexal or phrasal expansion and specification of a noun in its interplay both with the determinator paradigm of the nuclear noun and the form of expansion. Yet another noteworthy instance is the status of {Φ_λ-}, specificity-indifferent since it is in contact with the determinator (or the noun syntagm as a whole), out of contact with the noun lexeme: a case of juncturally-signalled specificity characterization.

Obs.

- (1) See discussions of specificity in the works quoted above, à propos of the definite articles in the individual languages; also HARRIS 1980 (for Romance); HAWKINS 1978:114, 167f.; THRANE 1980, esp. 77f., 171ff., 191ff. (familiarity = “location in the immediate situation of the utterance”; countability and quantifiedness count as components of specificity). Our specificity subsumes identifiability and cotextual and/or contextual “anchoredness”: PRINCE 1981, LAMBRECHT 1994.
- (2) The environment of the determinator co-signals specificity type and grading. However, in “article-less” phases of a language — Old through Middle Egyptian, in our case — it is the environment (e.g. lexeme + actualizers such as gender-number exponents, expansion, verb forms for which the noun is actant) that is the prime field and signalling carrier of the determination syndrome. See SHISHA-HALEVY 2007a.
- (3) While the specificity parameter is certainly an attribute of pattern constituents, Coptic word-order (or better constituent ordering) is not directly correlated with it, unlike, e.g. Greek (cf. ROSÉN 1975).
- (4) Specificity may extend to the verbal nexus, although we are as yet far from having a “unified theory of specificity of linguistic entities”: see MUMM 1995:170ff. Note for instance the pragmatically specific performative, or the oppositions in various Aktionsart categories.
- (5) PRESSLICH 2000:36ff., with most earlier discussions, presents specificity as a binary category (genericity and referentiality probably separate features, (47ff.)). However, genericity is not opposed to particularity where it is disguised as “particular kind”.

Determination and article set. As stressed above, the “article system” is essentially synthetic, not analytic, since it is only in isolated environments that the determinators constitute a true paradigm.

Note the following simplified scheme for our Bohairic (following and modifying WINKELMANN 1978. See below for actual details, discussion and illustration):

SPECIFIC

REFERENTIAL, TEXTUAL, DEICTIC

{πΙ-}

ana-phoric**cata-phoric****exo-phoric****(text and pragmatic "world")**

NON-REFERENTIAL, NON-DEICTIC

{π- }

uniques (τῷ ε), genus name (τῷ ηι)**"naming" metalinguistic actualizator****lexeme representant for inalienable****association (π- N-)**

Οῦ-

"a certain..."**specific-indefinite**

NON-SPECIFIC

GENERIC

{π- }

genus name*zero***abstract, extensional
unstructured
(genus-representing
genus member)**

Οῦ-

**"a quantity unit"
"instance genericity"**

ΠΙ-

**intensional
genericity**

NON-GENERIC OR PARTICULAR

Οῦ-, ὅλῃN-

indefinite**"one/any instance/case of..."****"some instances/cases of..."**

Obs.

Greek/Coptic typological contrast is here sharp, with the Coptic system considerably more sophisticated. This has a deep significance for the relation between the Greek *Vorlage* and its Coptic re-writing:

GreekCoptic (Bohairic — see below)

definite

definite — actualizing, non-phoric, naming

definite — actualizing, phoric, deictic, non-naming

zero

indefinite

*(nil)**zero**(nil)*

3.0.2 The Coptic lexeme. “Nounhood”. Lexeme and Noun Syntagm. Lexeme and determinator interdependence. Famously, Coptic (as has recently also been attributed to Polotsky’s model for Middle Egyptian) has no verb. Or rather, verbality and verthood are in Coptic first of all a matter of rhematicity and occurrence privilege in specific nexus patterns, and not of a specific lexico-morphological subsystem. By the same token, nominality and nounhood are not lexemic, but are a matter of pattern compatibility — in the noun syntagm — but here the lexical inventory does come into play. Barring the converb (i.e. adverbial-privilege verb-form) known as “Stative”, as well as a small inventory of sentence particles, prepositions and adverbials, the entire lexicon is of nominal privilege. “Infinitives” are merely lexemes with a special combinatory morphology (pre-object actantial linkage marking, the so-called construct and pronominal states), and, unlike the other nouns, actualizable not only by combination with determinators in the noun syntagm, but also by its combination with “pro-verbs”, *alias* conjugation bases, the real verbs of Coptic: Φ - NOBI is thus eminently comparable with $\Delta\text{Q-COTEM}$ (incidentally, so is also the specific noun with the finite verb)³. As is well known, the compatibility with the articles or better determinators extends to adverbials and even grammemes (such as MMON “no”); this ensues from the nuclearity of the determinators, which are *expandable* by lexemes or any non-nexal element (see below). This is therefore not a firm test of noun-hood. Nor is compatibility with the auxiliary (rather auxiliaries) $\epsilon\text{P-}$, also combinable with adverbials (see Chapter Two); or rhematic status in the Nominal Sentence (i.e. predicability by $\pi\epsilon$, see Chapter Two), or compatibility with the *nota relationis* N- , or with some prepositions, also shared by certain adverbials. Actant or Existant status is exclusively nominal, but this, like rhematicity and thematicity, is arguably an articular rather than a lexemic privilege.

3.0.3 Exponence, “residence” and marking of gender/number category: lexemic, morphemic, morphosyntactic. Grammatical gender is primarily — arguably even solely — a junctural phenomenon: it has only a junctural “meaning”. This regards first of all reference phenomena, with linkage, mostly anaphoric, between pronouns and noun syntagms — that is, between personal or demonstrative pronouns and

³ M.G. SCHWARTZE (in BUNSEN 1845:641f.) explicitly states the nuclearity of the bases-with-Theme as an auxiliary verbal nexus; see also STEINTHAL-MISTELI 1893:293, probably Schwartz’s teaching. (Also SHISHA-HALEVY 2000:83ff.).

determinator pronouns (*alias* articles) — or Proper Names, or other pronouns. The category is here quaternary, and its structure straightforward: sgl. masculine vs. sgl. feminine vs. plural (feminine+masculine vs. a complex neuter, expressed by the sgl. feminine, by the sgl. masculine or by a sgl.masc./sgl.fem./plur. fluctuation (e.g. in reference to a *zero* determinator. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Five). However, the prime gender linkage, of lexeme to determinator pronoun (article or demonstrative), is difficult, for we encounter two distinct junctural dependencies inside the noun syntagm, namely a *compatibility/selection* and a *determination* one. In the first relationship, individual singular lexemes constitute two lists, which select “their” determinator, respectively masculine or feminine: $\tau\text{-}\Phi\epsilon$, $\Phi\text{-}\text{NOBI}$, $\pi\text{-}\xi\omega\beta$ and even $\dagger\text{-}\text{C}\xi\text{IMI}$ (for the plural, see below). Following this selection, the subsequent gender reference of the combined noun syntagm is determined and motivated by the determinator, indeed conditioned by it⁴. In the second dependence, less common but certainly well established, the determinator — singular or plural, masculine or feminine in reference to another noun syntagm, pronoun or proper name, is expanded by *any lexeme* (this applies also, and even more commonly, to two homonymous masculine and feminine $\sigma\text{-}$ singular indefinite articles). Sahidic examples for this are $\pi\text{-}\mu\epsilon$ “the true one (masc.)”, or $\pi\text{-}\text{C}\Phi\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\eta$ “the syllabary” (Shenoutean Sahidic), or $\tau\text{-}\pi\lambda\sigma\epsilon$ (Luke 5:36): none in our corpus; any in Bohairic? A second difficulty concerns the interference — if any — of the lexeme itself in the gender/number reference “career” of the noun syntagm. It is, for instance, a fact that a *zero*-determined “masculine” noun (that is, one that has a selection dependence with a masculine determinator) is never represented by a feminine anaphor, while a *zero* determinator with a “feminine” noun is famously resumed by masculine/feminine/plural neutralization.

Gender is morphologically marked in very few lexemes by final-vowel lengthening (or by the laryngal morphophoneme? This could even include the pair CON vs. $\text{C}\omega\text{NI}$): CABH vs. CABE , $\text{\text{S}\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ vs. $\text{\text{S}\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ and so on. In almost all lexemes, however, there is no marking to replace the pre-Coptic “motion” suffix *-t* for the marked feminine, vs. the unmarked masculine *zero*. Pronominal and lexemic gender categorizations are thus drastically different, the former regulating, motivated and motivating, the latter determinator-pronoun-triggering, but intrinsically unmarked for the category.

⁴ This is certainly true of homonyms like $(\pi\text{-})\xi\mu\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ and $(\tau\text{-})\xi\mu\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ (a Sahidic phenomenon), where the gender-motivating signal is by necessity the determinator.

Very different is the case of the morphological or morpho-lexical plural. Here we have the lexeme — of Egyptian and even Greek origin — in syntagm with a plural suffixed or infixed morph:

- {LEXEME} + suffix {-[o]ϣ}
- or {LEXEME} + suffix {-i}
- or {LEXEME} + suffix {-ωοϣ}, {-ωοϣi}, {-ηοϣi}
- or {LEXEME} + infix {no breaking in Bohairic}: εβιαικ, Ϸθωρ

Theoretically, three possible analyses present themselves:

- (a) The plural morph is autonomous and pertinent, i.e. is not motivated by the plural determinator pronoun, which is merely compatible with it; it is a distinct lexeme, or rather “lexico-syntagm”;
- (b) The plural morph is motivated by a plural determinator morph;
- (c) The plural morph is part of a discontinuous complex including the determinator exponent of plurality.

I do not have precise statistics on the prevalence of these forms in Coptic in general or in Bohairic, nor their distribution over dialects and texts (B. Layton reports one-hundred entered in Crum’s *Dictionary*). In the corpus studied, I count just over thirty individual plurals, many of which are not opposed in the corpus to a singular lexeme (*pluralia tantum* are Ϸροϣ, which may be suppletive to the singulars ϣηρι/ϣερι, and σποτοϣ). While I can find no correlation of the attestation (≃ existence) of this form with any formal lexemic structure, lexical semantics may seem to hint at a coherent class of classes: kinship, administrative, legal and social roles and status, household animals, anatomical parts of animals and humans, architectural features — all components of *closed systems* and, incidentally, involving a personal-sphere (“inalienable”) association, see below. Almost all are expanded, mostly by the *notae relationis* N- and NTE-. Not contained in these classes are Ϸβηοϣ Gen. 39:11, Ϸρηοϣ Lev. 25:37 (both inalienable), the magical staves (νιϣβοϣ Gen. 30:37), and the ensemble of Egyptian waterways (νιιαρωοϣ Ex. 8:1). Significantly, no abstracts and mass nouns are represented. Since those last mentioned are clearly collectives or “set” system plurals (in the sense of Italian *le mura*, *le ossa*, equally re-organized remnants of an earlier morphological system), it is conceivable that all these morphological plurals express in some way an isolated (but productive) specially marked plurality, “set” collectives. These would be survivors (in a re-organized, rather than collapsed, system) of the pre-Coptic Egyptian plural formation. (Note that the Coptic here shows once again — according to its means, which *must* be used — considerable sophistication over the Greek *Vorlage*).

In view of the above, structure possibilities (a) and (c) above seem most probable; this is corroborated by the fact that the plural determinators **NI-**, **ḡAN-**, **nen-** with the unmarked lexeme are well attested for these lexemes, presenting an opposition of fragmentated vs. "set" plural. It is significant that none of the marked plurals is compatible with *zero* determination, which must mean they do not occur generically (see below): the few instances of *quantified* morphological plurals, with **n-**{+ no article} their *outil grammatical*, apparently do not count as true *zero* article. Indeed, this is a cogent argument to see these as a *nil* article case (see below), and one of discontinuous quantification.

οἱ μὲν **νιέφωσι** Gen. 26:14.

ἑλάντεβνωσι **νεῖωσι** Gen. 26:14 — a peculiar case (two plurals, nuclear and satellital).

ἑλάνκοι **νῆρῳ** Gen. 42:2, 43:2:4.

30 νῆμα **ἑλάν** Gen. 32:14.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 12:19.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 50:7:23.

nenῶμι **n-** Gen. 21:25.

but **ἑλάν** **νιῶμι** **νιῶμι** Gen. 26:25 (cf. POLOTSKY 1968).

νοῖμι **ἑλάν** Gen. 14:15, 26:14, 30:26.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Gen. 33:6.

nenῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 5:15f., 32:13.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 5:14:19.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 28:3.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 3:16.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Num. 17:25 **νιῶμι** **ἑλάν**.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 1:19.

νοῖμι **ἑλάν** Deut. 3:6f., Num. 32:26, 31:17.

ἑλάν **νιῶμι** Gen. 34:9.

νεῖμι **ἑλάν** Gen. 37:18, 16:13, 27:37.

νεῖμι **ἑλάν** Gen. 19:14.

nenῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 10:9.

nenῶμι **n-** Gen. 23:3.

νοῖμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 6:17, 4:5, 10:6.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 26:13.

νεῖμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 30:4.

nenῶμι **ἑλάν** Gen. 22:17.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Gen. 24:32.

νιῶμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 29:34.

νεῖμι **ἑλάν** Ex. 21:28, Lev. 6:20, Num. 12:12, Gen. 40:19.

ΝΙΙΑΡΩΘ Ex. 8:1.

ΝΙΕΕΘ Ex. 4:20.

ΝΕΦΕΕΘ Gen. 42:26f.

ΞΑΝΕΕΘ Gen. 32:5.

ΝΙΖΘΩΡ Ex. 14:9.

ΝΟΤΖΘΩΡ Ex. 9:3, 14:17, Deut. 11:4.

ΝΙΔΑΜΑΤΛΙ Gen. 24:20.

ΞΑΝΔΑΜΑΤΛΙ Gen. 30:43.

ΝΕΦΔΑΜΑΤΛΙ Gen. 24:14:19.

ΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΘΙ Gen. 29:7, 31:43 ΝΑΙ-.

ΝΟΤΤΕΒΝΩΘΙ Num. 32:26, Gen. 30:29.

ΝΙΖΑΛΑ† Lev. 19:26.

ΝΙΕΖΕΘ, ΝΙΕΖΩΘ Num. 31:28.

ΞΑΝΤΕΒΝΩΘΙ ΝΕΖΩΘ Gen. 26:14.

ΞΑΝΕΖΕΘ Gen. 30:43.

ΝΙΡΩΘ Ex. 29:4:42.

ΝΟΤΗΘ Deut. 16:7(!), Num. 24:5, Gen. 34:28, 30:21.

ΝΕΝΗΘ ΝΝΟΤΙΟ† Ex. 12:3.

ΝΙΑΖΩΡ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΝCΟΘO Gen. 41:56.

ΞΑΝΔΡΗΘΙ Gen. 27:7.

ΝΕΚΔΡΗΘΙ Lev. 25:37.

ΝΙΖΒΗΘΙ Ex. 1:14.

ΝΕΦΖΒΗΘΙ Gen. 39:11.

ΝΙΩΒΟ† Gen. 30:37, Ex. 7:12.

In opposition to (selection):

ΞΑΝΒΩΚ, ΞΑΝΒΩΚΙ (marking gender) Gen. 20:14, 24:35.

ΞΑΝΗΙ Ex. 1:21, Deut. 8:12.

ΝΙΗΙ Ex. 6:17.

ΞΑΝΩΟΜ Gen. 19:12.

ΝΟΤΙΟΡ Ex. 7:19.

ΝΙΑΔ Ex. 29:31, Lev. 7:15.

ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΝΙΑΔ (τῶν κρεῶν) — ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΝΙΑΘΙ (τῶν κρεῶν) — ΝΝΕΦΑΘΙ (τὰ κρέα) Gen. 12:4ff.

NB: ΠΑΛΟΘ- Ν-, ΝΑΛΩΘΙ ΝΙCΔΑΚ, ΠΙΑΛΟΘ ΝΤΕ- Gen. 24:59, 26:25.

Obs.

(1) LAYTON 1990:85f. "...specific gender (or lack of specific gender) is a potential that is actualized only in the...Determinators" "the lexeme express[es] two closely related types of meaning man/human, truth/true etc...two actualizations of a single (though bivalent)

lexical potentials". The first statement is very true. The second is problematic: the lexeme is decoded as entity or quality according to environment, including its determinator and the referential connections thereof. Layton's "gendered" and "genderless common noun" (2004 §§104-125) really begs the question, since "noun" may be conceived of as either a noun syntagm or a noun lexeme.

(2) Cases like $\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta/\zeta\rho\omega\zeta$ $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}$ Gen. 29:2, varying with $\zeta\rho\omega\zeta$ $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}$ Gen. 29:3:10; $\rho\omega\zeta$ $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{i}$ Luc. 21:24 (v.l. $\rho\omega\zeta$), or $\kappa\epsilon\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{q}$ $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{q}$ - (POLOTSKY 1930:84; this is a common Bohairic form, to judge by the entry in Crum's *Dictionary*), and even more cogently the lexemicized possessive in $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{q}\rho\omega\zeta$ (POLOTSKY 1934:66), all seem to point to the masculine singular as unmarked term of the gender category, as in Semitic and Romance.

(3) The morphological plural, a feature almost entirely unresearched, for any corpus and any dialect, was discussed by STERN 1880 §209ff., esp. §225 ("mostly *unumgänglich*"); see LAYTON 2004:87 "individual concrete plurality". The form was never restricted to native Egyptian lexemes (cf. the early $\rho\rho\alpha\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{i}$ B4 John 5:39) - the only non-syntactical "Egyptian intervention" in these imported elements; not occurring in our corpus.

(4) In the Sah. NT, we find (in about 500 occurrences, with $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{w}$ and $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{e}$ accounting for most of those) 28 lexemes with morphematic plural, of which exactly half are attested with "syntactical" plural ($\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{w}$, $\rho\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{h}$, $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}$, $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{n}$, $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{h}$, $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{h}$, $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{b}$, $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}$, $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}$, $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{e}$, $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{w}$, $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}$, $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}$, $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{h}\rho$), and only few coincide with the Boh. ones in our corpus; however, the number of lexemes is similar in the two dialects. I have no statistics for the Bohairic NT or for Nitrian texts.

(5) The morphological "set" plural may be considered higher on the specificity scale than the unmarked lexeme, in such cases where both stand in opposition (i.e. following $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{i}$ - and $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}$ -). See GIVÓN 1978, VALENTIN 1986:263, FLAUX 1997 for correlations and mutualities of number and specificity.

(6) In Old and Middle Egyptian, article-less phases, a built-in gender-number exponent nucleus (-zero / -w number, then + zero / - t gender) was suffixed to the lexeme (also to adjectives, participles and Relative Forms).

(7) See (on gender/number in French, a system most resembling our Coptic one) TOGEBY 1951:141ff., POTTIER 1962:103ff., DUBOIS 1965:17-51, SAUVAGEOT 1972:75f., SPENCE 1972:124f., ESCHMANN 1976 (spoken French, see especially pp. 13ff., 88f.), JACOB 1990.

(8) The gender of abstract deriving morphs is not entirely clear: $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$ -, masculine in the grammaticalized action noun - $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$ - (see below), is opposed to a feminine verbal abstract ($\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}$ -); perhaps even cases like the variation in $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}\rho\omega\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}$ $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{w}$ $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{q}/\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}$ Rom. 6:19.

3.0.4 The nuclearity of the determinators

"The prefixation of grammatical information" (JACOB 1990:59ff.) with lexemic information an expanding satellite or periphery is an important typological principle of Coptic as it is in French (and in Romance generally, and often in Germanic). In fact, the nuclear status of the determinator slot in the noun syntagm (nucleus = categorial segment of a syntagm, the segment encoded with grammatical information on the relationships and status of the whole syntagm) is more evident than other prefixed grammemes on Coptic, such as the word-formational

μετ- and ατ- or the grammaticalized ρεμ-, πεε-. It seems that statements of the nuclearity of the Coptic article predate the European formulations of the Nineteen-Fifties and Sixties, by H. Frei (for French) and H.-J. Seiler (for German): P.V. Jernstedt's seminal paper of 1949 (translated into German by P. Nagel in 1978), one of the most brilliant treatises of Egyptian linguistics (see *passim*, §§7ff., 14ff., 25 etc., referring only to the Sahidic indefinite article; and the "partitive *izafet*" dependence between determinator and lexeme). Subsequently, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a, Chapter Five, with references to other discussions.

The nuclearity of the Coptic determinators is established first of all by the gender-number and zero/non-zero concord test of anaphoric references to a noun syntagm, which "are to" or represent the article rather than the lexeme — this is of importance, inasmuch as it reduces or cancels the interference of the semantic sublexical classes such as abstracts, countables etc. — but also by numerous other indicants. Striking among these is the evidence of resumption and resumption concord; of hyperdetermination, like οσπαρη† (AM II 72 — not in our corpus; Sah. οσ-τει-μινε: JERNSTEDT 1978, §14f.; the substitute status of οσ- and ζαν-; bracketing determinators, with the *nota relationis* and Circumstantial conversion as operators of the expansion status inside the brackets; and, of course, the prosodic relationship of the former to οσαι/οσι. ζαν- does not have in Bohairic a non-proclitic counterpart, ζανοτον corresponding to ζοινε etc. Consider the following representative *loci*, all indicative of a nuclear determinator:

Num. 6:7 ψυχη νιβεν εαρμοσ (= Vat).

Num. 7:71 ενριεβι εαρερ οσρομπι (Vat εασ-).

Num. 14:18 παινιω† νηαι οσος νομηι.

Ex. 23:7 πεττοσβηοστ οσος νομηι.

Deut. 28:64 ζανκενοσ† ζανωε νεμ ζανωνι.

Deut. 33:25 οσβενιπι νεμ οσζομτ πε πεεθωσι.

Gen. 34:7 πινιω† οσος πιαλθθινος οσος εαρεεζ...

Deut. 25:15 οσωι ναληθινον νεμ νομηι.

Deut. 9:9:18 ωικ μπιοσωμ μωσ μπισω, sim. Deut. 29:5,

Ex. 34:28.

Ex. 10:10 οσπετζωσ (cf. οσενανοσζ Mt. 11:30 Oxyrhynchite: see SCHENKE 1996:11ff.).

Cat. 57 ...εανοκ-οσνοσ† οσος νωηρι ννοσ†.

Ps. 85:10 νεοκ-οσνιω† οσος εαρι ...

AM I 164 ω πισοζ οσος ναθτ.

Ps. 68:30 οσζηκι οσος εαμοκε.

The systemic implications of the nuclearity of the determinators go deep. Just two examples: first, the Nominal Sentence, which turns out to be rather a "Pronominal Sentence", predicating only determinator pronouns⁵, not even the noun syntagm. This accounts for the dramatic restrictions in the Interlocutive Pattern Rheme (see Chapter Two). Second, the existence in Coptic of a special construction predicating "adjectives" or rather quality-expressing nouns, replacing an old pattern of Egyptian (Gardiner's "Sentence with Adjectival Predicate")⁶. The determined noun is prominent among the various Coptic answers to the Greek and Egyptian adjective ("ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ").

Obs.

(1) The general realization of the grammatically nuclear status of the articles is very slowly gaining ground (cf. BARRI 1975:75ff.: articles nuclear in Cappadocian Modern Greek, BARRI 1977; HARRIS 1980, JACOB 1990, NOCENTINI 1996:17ff. — earliest for French: GUILLAUME 1919 defines the article simply as "quelque chose qui emploie le nom", a brilliantly laconic characterization; Foulet as "une sort de simple signe grammatical qui annonce le nom", but the conventional presentation ("the article an auxiliary appendage to the noun") is still traditionalist, even in Romance, see for instance WILMET 1986a or PERROT 1994:25, FLAUX 1997, FLAUX et al. (eds.) 1997; RENZI 1989:357 "L'articolo accompagna spesso il nome"; KORZEN 1996:689: "gli articoli si aggiungono alla testa nominale come particelle di carattere morfematico" — no less than French, Italian makes impressive use of the anaphoric nuclear article ("la Simeone" — the Simeone Law [*la* coreferent with *legge*]). Coptic indicates the nuclearity of determinators most unequivocally (JERNSTEDT 1949; SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a, Chapter Five; LAYTON 1990:84ff.: the lexeme is "a completer" qualifying the determinator).

(2) POLOTSKY 1989:471f. addresses some strong critical remarks on the present writer's statements in 1986a Chapter Five, and especially on the discussion of the familiar cases of ⲡⲥⲟⲙ, ⲡⲙⲟⲓⲛⲉ etc., according to Polotsky "syntaktisch bedingt". I, too, see them as "syntaktisch", but cannot see their being conditioned in any way. Polotsky seems to agree about the nuclearity of the article here, but (self-contradictorily, it seems) not about the partitive dependence of article and lexeme; he disagrees (471 n. 13) that ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲗⲁⲗⲁⲃⲏ belongs here, apparently misunderstanding my use of "compatibility", by which I meant Hjelmslev's special type of interdependence. Polotsky disagrees also with my suggestion that lexemes do not in Coptic have an inherent gender (the significance of the masculine pronominal anaphor to zero-determined "feminine" lexemes is not addressed); and rejects (without arguments) my admittedly speculative suggestion that ⲡ-ⲙⲉ or ⲧ-ⲡⲗⲟⲉ (Luke 5:36 Palau Ribes), like the ⲟⲩ-ⲗⲉⲛ-ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛⲉ construction, may be a case of *hyperdetermination* — specific determinator + generic zero: zero does indeed have a "positive Zählwert", but that may and typically does signify the "genus" (See BROWNE

⁵ At least in Bohairic: consider the ⲩⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ pattern predicating the bare lexeme in Shenoutean Sahidic, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a.

⁶ "Godly" is at least one possible (and, I understand, hermeneutically acceptable) interpretation of the Coptic ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓ John 1:1, corresponding to the Greek rhematic zero-determined θεός. It may well be that "the Word was God" would be rendered as ⲛⲁⲣⲉ-ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲟⲓ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ and not by a Nominal Sentence.

1978a: 201). I must still insist that this is a probable analysis, replacing, and I feel preferable to, Polotsky's (1989:471) $\pi\mu\epsilon$ as "syntactically conditioned", for Polotsky = "derived from predicative deep structure". Moreover, I do not think we need a different term for the determinator in cases like $\pi-\mu\epsilon$ (pace POLOTSKY 1991:242).

(3) The familiar coordination of π - attributes and the *zero*-generic Circumstantial to the (usually rhematic) indefinite article reveals the nuclearity of the latter: Ps. 68:30 $\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\iota \sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\varphi\mu\omicron\kappa\epsilon$, Ps. 85:10 $\nu\theta\omicron\kappa-\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota\omega\tau \sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\varphi\iota\rho\iota$..., also Ps. 69:6 $\sigma\tau$... $\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \nu\zeta\omega\beta$.

3.1 Determination-sensitive slots (environments). Because of the different structures of the determinator paradigms in the individual slots, one cannot really establish a structurally sound synthetic hyper-paradigm; the familiar ternary "category", almost entirely synthetic, is valid for few environments other than the trivial word scope. It is instructive to scan some of the most important slots of the noun syntagm, examining the specific category and participation role of determination in the given environments. Many of these may (as in GIVÓN 1978) be presented as parametrical properties (Rhematicity, Topicality etc.). The following characterization of thirteen selected slots is tentative and based on the findings in the studied corpus.

(1) INHERENT or ESSENTIAL RHEME, THEME of Nominal Sentence, FOCUS of Relative-Topic Cleft Sentence: [+/- specific, + particular, +/- quantified].

This is an especially privileged slot, not least since the tension between specificity of Rheme and Theme is in a sense copular, that is, exercises a nexal operative role, and has beside a constitutive role in the pattern *signifié* as identificative or descriptive. The individual patterns have their own individual specificity contours, with a particular divide between Interlocutive and Delocutive Patterns: see above, Chapter Two. See also JERNSTEDT 1949 [1978], POLOTSKY 1989.

(2) INCIDENTAL, CONTINGENT NON-INHERENT RHEME marked by $\epsilon\rho$ -, ($\sigma\iota$, 1) ν -, ($\psi\omega\pi\iota$) ϵ - [- specific, - particular, +/- quantified].

See above, Chapter Two; and see below.

Gen. 17:8 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota \nu\omega\sigma\tau \nu\theta\omega\tau$ — never $\nu\theta\omega\tau\nu\theta\omega\tau$.

Gen. 28:3 $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota \epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\omega\sigma\tau\varsigma \nu\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$.

Gen. 34:9 $\sigma\iota\tau\omega\tau \nu\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\psi\eta\rho\iota \epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\chi\iota\omicron\mu\iota$.

Gen. 34:4 $\sigma\iota \nu\tau\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda\omega\tau \nu\eta\iota \epsilon\omicron\sigma\tau\varsigma\iota\mu\iota$.

Gen. 28:22 $\psi\omega\pi\iota \epsilon[\pi\eta\iota \mu\pi\nu\omega\tau]$ — counter-intuitively, π - ν - is not specific *quâ* determinator: see below (§3.9) for the Personal-Sphere ("inalienable") Association.

Ex. 12:14 $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota \nu\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\phi\mu\epsilon\tau\iota$.

Ex. 21:5 **NTNAWENHI AN EIOI NPEMZE** — **N-** cannot in Coptic be a non-rhematic adverbial adjunct.

(3a) EXISTANT **OTON-** [- specific, +/- particular, +/- quantified].

(3b) NON-EXISTANT **MMON-** [- specific, - particular, - quantified]: lowest determination profile.

See SHISHA-HALEVY 1984b for Sahidic.

(4a) POSSESSUM **OTONTA= MMONTA=** [+/- specific, +/- particular, +/- quantified].

This seems to be one of the slots characterized by a maximal determination category.

(4b) POSSESSOR [+/- specific, + particular, - quantified].

(5a) Segmentation (extraposition) — cotext-anchored TOPIC [+ specific, +/- particular, - quantified]:

Deut. 29:5 **NETENZBWC MΠOTEPATAC NETENΘWOT MΠOT-
ΣIT EBOL**.

(5b) Segmentation (extraposition) — cataphoric FOCUS (§2.4.7) [- specific, - particular, -/+ quantified]:

Deut. 23:25 **OCΣ NNEKXIOYI** (cf. ANDERSSON 1904:8f.).

Deut. 9:18 **WIK MΠIOYWM MWOY MΠICW**.

Lev. 10:9 **OTHHP NEMOTCIKERA NNETENCWOT**.

Deut. 8:13 **OTZAT NEMOTNOYB AYANAYAI NAK ...**

(6) **NZE-Theme** [+/- specific, + particular, +/- quantified].

In poetic language, we find: Gen. 27:29 **OTOG MAPOTEPBWK NAK
NZE-ZANEΘNOC OTOZ MAPOTOTWYT NAK NZE-ZANAPXWN**.

Outside the corpus we find the rare *zero* determination in negative environment:

Jer. 30:33 **NNEQYWP I NZE-PWMI/NZEYHP I NTEPKAZI** Tattam (collated).

Jer. 28:43 **NNEQTACΘO EPQ NZE-YHP I NPWMI** Tattam (collated).

Deut. 21:5 **EYWP I SENPWOY NZE-XW EBOL NIBEN NEM-
ANTIXOGIA NIBEN** is probably not a case of *zero* determination (and quantification: "every case of..."), but of totality ("all forgiveness") with **NIBEN** a determinator.

(7a) OBJECT ACTANT (I — non-durative; unmarked) [+/- specific, +/- particular, +/- quantified].

(7b) OBJECT ACTANT (II – marked for durativity) [+/- specific, + particular, +/- quantified].

A status in which it is often the “case-marking” that carries the burden of specificity signalling. So in Turkish (JOHANSSON 1977, NILSSON 1979), Amharic (KAPELIUK 1972), Modern Greek (ROUSSO and TSIMPLI 1994). In Coptic, the *N*- object is apparently incompatible with extensional genericity (cf. the Non-Actual Present: above, Chapter One; SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a, Chapter Three.)

(8a) AGENS ACTANT (I — affirmative nexus) [+/- specific, +/- particular, +/- quantified]

Another environment of maximal determination.

(8b) AGENS ACTANT (II — negative nexus) [+/- specific, +/- particular, – quantified]

The following three terms (9a-c) of a polysyntagm paradigm constitute a classic case of a syntactical environment or frame functioning combinatorily with the determined noun syntagm, to signal a specific dependence. The divide of specific *vs.* non-specific nucleus, generally considered the motivating factor of Relative *vs.* Circumstantial Conversion (which are therefore considered non-pertinent) turns out to be more fuzzy and less sharp than it is conventionally supposed to be, and the two conversion forms are found to be rather in opposition following specific nuclei: the Circumstantial rhematic or adnexal, the Relative attributive⁷. In fact, the attributive clause expansion is (co-)specifying, while the adnexal one is non-specifying⁸.

(9a) NUCLEUS OF ADNOMINAL CLAUSE (II) + Circumstantial CONVERSION: *rhematic* (“*predicative*”, *adnexal*) *expansion* [+/- specific, +/- particular, +/- quantified] — a very broad determination range for the nucleus.

Exx. for the specific nucleus, including pronouns, with clear rhematic status of the Circumstantial (see Chapter Four):

⁷ Polotsky's functional “attributive” for the formal “adnominal” (1990:241ff.) obscures this fine functional shading of adnominal clauses (see here also his discussion of *παι* + Circumstantial, a clear adnexal construction). See ROTHENBERG 1972 (“propositions relatives adjectives”).

⁸ The adnexal adnominal role of Circumstantial converbal forms is well established in early Egyptian (Amenemope X 12 *p3-jtn jw.f wbn*, exactly corresponding to the Coptic “*Ⲫⲣⲏ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩⲱⲁⲓ*” construction, e.g. in *Ⲓⲙⲡⲏⲛⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ ⲉⲙⲛⲁⲩⲱⲣⲉ*, Shenoute Leip. III 87, and its variants): DAUMAS 1962:30.

Deut. 22:4 ακωαννατ ε-φιω μπεκσον ιε περμασι εαττει
ριφμωιτ.

Ex. 23:4 ακωαντματ ε-τερε μπεκζαζι ιε περιω ετσο-
ρεμ...

Lev. 14:52 νεμ-πικοκκινος ερσατ (έν τῷ κεκλωσμένῳ κοκ-
κίνῳ).

Gen. 15:2 ανοκ σεναχατ εβολ ειοι νατωηρι.

Gen. 20:3 θαι τε εσωοπ νεμοτται.

Occasionally, and often in Nitrian, the difference between the Circumstantial and the Relative is to our sensibilities elusive; the former is typical of place-and-time characterizations, as if it were a grammaticalized conjunctive conversion. Formally speaking, ερε- is doubtlessly predominant. All in all, this is still one of the riddles of Nitrian Bohairic)⁹:

Deut. 14:14 ναι νε νιτεβνωοτι ερετενεοτομοτ (ANDERSSON 1903:34f.).

Gen. 2:4 πιεροοτ εαφτ θαμιετφε νεμπκαρι νζητq (B4).

SV 27f. πιζοι ερεπιπραγματεττης ταλνοτ εροq (vs. νινεq
εττιζωq).

Cat. 112 παλλοτ δε-οτη ερεπιςτναδονιον τοι ριωτq.

{Φη} ερε- De Vis II 76, Cat. 106, 108, 115, 134 etc., {Φαι} ερε- Cat. 94.

(9b) NUCLEUS OF ADNOMINAL CLAUSE (I) + Relative CONVERSION: *attributive expansion* [+ specific, +/- particular, +/- quantified].

The uncommon contrary exx. of low nucleus specificity are all cases of non-particular (generic), non-specific reference, often in legalistic "case-presenting" usage,¹⁰ supporting the opposition "Relative = attributive, Circumstantial = adnexal".

Num. 15:30 οτψοχη εθνα- (= Vat). Also Lev. 5:4, cf. 5:17
(οτψοχη θη σθνα-).

Lev. 27:12 οται εθνανεqοται ερζωοτ (= Vat) — see ANDERSSON 1903:108.

Outside the corpus, the construction, well established, has a broader range:

⁹ A Demotic example: *t3 dnyt jw.s ph r-jrj* Parker, *JARCE* 3 (1964) 95 (A, line 6. Parker emends to *ntj-jw.s*).

¹⁰ A feature well attested from Old Egyptian on and apparently residual in Coptic. See for Egyptian: EDEL 1955/1964 §1049, DAUMAS 1962:24f., GRIFFITHS 1968, SHISHA-
HALEVY 1981 §2.5. A typical instance is the medical usage *s nty...* (Westendorf *Medizinische Texte* 5.9ff.20).

Zach. 2:8 (B4) **ΕΣΩΥ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΝΕΜΤΕΒΝΗ ΕΤΣΕΝΤΕΣΜΗ†** (collated).

De Vis II 108 **ΟΥΣΝΟQ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΕΘΜΩΟΥΤ ΠΕ.**

De Vis I 77 **ΖΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ.**

zero + **ΕΤΑQ-** De Vis I 75 **ΜΗ ΜΜΟΝ-ΡΩΜΙ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΦΟΟΥ**
ΕΤΑΥΕΡΩΜΜΟ ΜΠΟΥΜΑΝΜΙCΙ (alongside **ΕQΣΕΝΡΠ ΕQΤΑΔΙ**
and, for **CΖΙΜΙ, ΕΨΑΡΕΠΙQΟΥΟ-ΗΡΠ ΘΡΕCΤΙΔΙ**).

De Vis II 217 **ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΑCΕΡΜΟΝΑΧΗ ΕΤΑCΤΑCΘΟC**
ΕΦΑQΟΥ...

De Vis I 100 **ΟΥΤΑΖ ΕΘΑΝΕQ.**

De Vis II 45 **ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΟΥΑΙ ΕΤΑQΝΕΖCΙ ...**

De Vis I 158 **ΙΤΕ-ΖΗΚΙ ΙΤΕ-ΡΕΜΑQ ΙΤΕ ΒΩΚ ΙΤΕ ΡΕΜΖΕ ΙΤΕ-**
QΩΟΥ ΙΤΕ CΖΙΜΙ ΕΘΑΜΟΥ.

Cat. 175 **ΨΕ ΕΘΛΗΚ** may be different, resuming the foregoing
ΠΨΕ ΕΘΛΗΚ.

Also De Vis I 76, 77, 147, 201 etc.: apparently, for the Present the
construction is most common with Statives.

Is. 65:20 **ΝΝΕQΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΟΥΟΝ ΕΘΑΜΟΥ** (Tattam, collated:
consensus).

(9c) (NUCLEUS OF ADNOMINAL CLAUSE (III): NEGATIVE ENVIRONMENT +
ΔΕ- + NEGATIVE ENVIRONMENT: the adnominal paradigm to a generic
zero-determined nucleus, in a doubly negative environment “(there is
no...) such as... [not]” — [– specific, – particular, – quantified]¹¹.

A lowest-determination nucleus, due to the non-existence semantics
of the expression.

A sole example in the corpus is Deut. 3:4 (Vat: P has here **ΔΕ**)
ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-ΒΑΚΙ... ΔΕ ΜΠΕΝΔΙΤC.

Exx. in the Bohairic NT: Luke 8:17:25, 12:2, Mt. 10:26 **ΜΜΟΝ-**
ΠΕΤQΟΥC ΓΑΡ ΔΕ-QΝΑCΩΡΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΜΜΟΝ-ΠΕΤQΗΠ ΔΕ-CΕ-
ΝΑΕΜΙ ΕΡΟQ ΑΝ. We encounter here the convergence of three fea-
tures:

(a) Expansion of *zero*-article, as Non-Existent.

(b) Expansion of Non-Existence or its semantic equivalent (para-
phrastic or rhetorical equivalent)¹².

¹¹ This is a striking case of “doubt regarding existence” (cf. METHNER 1913, on the
Latin generic pronoun used in similar configurations).

¹² Cf. in early Demotic Ryl. IX 10/16 *mn-ndt=nfrt* (**ΜΝΤΝΟQΡΕ**) *jw-bn-p-Pr* ^c3 *djt*
jr.w s n..

(c) The expanding adnominal clause — as a rule negative. This is a special case of rhematic (predicative) adnexal expansion; it is a striking environment for the “syntactic neuter” gender-number fluctuation, in reference to the *zero* article.

In Sahidic, this is a familiar landmark of Shenoutean idiom (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:148, 213):

Amél. II 33.10f. ΜΗ ΟΥΝ-ΣΕ-ΨΑΙΡΕ ΔΕ-ΜΠΟΥΡΔΟΥ Η ΟΥΝ-ΡΩ
 ɣI-COBT ΔΕ-ΜΠΟΥΑΣΤΟΥ.

Paris 130⁴ 28 p. 42 ΜΝ-ΤΟΠΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΖ ΔΕ-NCENANOEIN AN.

Leip. III 215 ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΗΝΑΑΥ ΖΗΝΕΝΤΑΥΡΩΒ... ΝΗΝΤΟΥ ... ΔΕ-
 ɣΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΝΕ ΖΜΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡΟΥ ... ΟΥ ΖΩΩQ ΠΕΤΟΥΡ-ΖΩΒ ...
 ΝΗΝΤQ ... ΔΕ ɣΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΖΗΤΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕ.

Orientalia 44 (1975; p. 156, BL Or. 8664 f. 2 p. λΓ) Ν†COOYN AN ΔΕ-
 ΚΝΑΣΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΖΑΖ ΕQO ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΘΙΜΕ ΜΠΕΘΙΤΟΥQ
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕQΨΒΗΡ ΔΕ-ΜΠΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΟQ ΕΤΩQ ΑΥΩ ΕQCΩQ
 ΝΤΨΕΕΡΕ Η ΤCΩΝΕ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ-ΜΠΟΥCΩΩQ ΝΤΩQ ΝΤΟQ.

Chass. 97. ΟΥ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΔΕ-ΝΟΥQ ΑΝ ΝΕ.

3.2 Six reduced determination subsystems. In the following slots, the determination paradigm is not ternary, but binary and occasionally suppressed altogether.

(a) **The determination of infinitives.** Generally speaking, the determinators with the infinitive are highly grammaticalized, constituting with select prepositions or with the *notae relationis* the grammemic frameworks of syntactical patterning into which the infinitive is integrated lexemically. It may be of interest to note that the determinators (often interpreted as operators of substantivity) do not always, or even typically *substantivize* the verbal noun except formally, and do not on their own *concretize* it; its semantic verbality remains unaffected and often operative in all its determined forms. The determinator slot in the infinitive also allows the signalling of actants (see below for the “personal infinitive”, with *agens*). While final personal suffixes are unequivocally objective, personal components of the determinators are either agentive or objective: the possessive articles neutralize the first and second actants. The determinators are compatible with objective signalling; this means that, unlike the possessive suffixes with non-verbal lexemes, objective suffixes do not render the infinitive specific.

(1) The *zero* determinator has a different value in the pre-infinitive slot than with non-verbal lexemes (*nil* determination is the case of the infinitive in-conjugation: Ex. 4:9 ΕCΕ-ΨΩΠI, Ex. 4:12 ΟΥΟZ ΝΤΑ-ΤCΑΒΟΚ, or following the auxiliary ΝΑ- in the Future: Ex. 4:12 ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΝΑ-ΟΥΩΝ, or in the causative infinitive or other following cases:

Ex. 7:3 ΕΙΘΕΡΕΠΗΤ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ ΝΨΟΤ ΟΤΟΞ †ΝΑΘΡΟΤΑΨΑΙ
ΝΞΕ-ΝΑΜΗΝΙ.

Ex. 2:4 ΕC† ΝΙΑΤC ΕΕΜΙ ΞΕ-...

Ex. 2:18 ΕΘΒΕΟΘ ΑΡΕΤΕΝΧΩΛΕΜ ΕΙ.

Deut. 23:6 ΤΑΙΕ-ΝΟΘ†.

Deut. 19:3 ΜΑ ΜΦΩΤ.

Note that in the discontinuous construction of ΘΡΟ, Ε- + infinitive has *nil*, not *zero* determination:

Deut. 18:10f. ΝΝΟΘΞΙΜΙ ΝΞΗΤΚ ΕΦΘΡΟ ΜΠΕΦΨΗΡΙ ΙΕ ΤΕΦ-
ΨΕΡΙ ΕCΙΝΙ ΞΕΝΟΘΧΡΩΜ. Similarly in the case of ΝΗΟΘ Ν- + in-
finitive and other periphrastic constructions: Ex. 1:12 ΝΑΘΝΗΟΘ
ΝΞΕΜΝΟΜ†, ΝΑΘΝΗΟΘ ΝΑΨΑΙ, Ex. 4:10 Ν†ΞΕΜΞΟ ΝCΑΞΙ ΑΝ

(2) The singular indefinite determinator with the infinitive is gram-
maticalized, typically rhematic or thematic (including topicalization):

Lev. 20:2 ΞΕΝΟΘΜΟΘ ΜΑΡΟΘΞΟΘΒΕC (see Chapter Two for the
Tautological Infinitive).

Num. 27:7 ΞΕΝΟΘ† ΕΚΕ† ΝΩΟΘ.

Lev. 23:37 ΝΗ ΕΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΟΘ† ΕΡΩΟΘ ΞΕΝΟΘΜΟΘ†.

Gen. 34:14 ΟΘΨΥΠΙ ΠΕ.

Ex. 30:32 ΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΝΟΘΤΟΘΒΟ — ΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΟΘ-
ΤΟΘΒΟ ΜΠΩC (see below, and above, Chapter Two).

Num. 17:25... ΕΘΑΡΕΞ ΝΕΜ ΟΘΜΗΝΙ.

The indefinite article is no less grammaticalized when following other
prepositions, adverbializing the infinitive:

ΑΦΡΙΜΙ ΝΟΘΝΙΨ† ΝΡΙΜΙ Gen. 46:29, 37:10; also Lev. 16:32
(ΕΘΒΕ).

Obs.

Note ΟΘ- + infinitive (rhematic, in a focalizing construction): Gen. 2:23 ΟΘ-ΙΝΙ ΕΒΟΛ
ΤΕ B4 (in our corpus a focalizing ΕΤΑΘCΙΘΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝ-): see FUNK 1991:57f., 57
n. 97; cf. SCHENKE 1981:45f. for the comparable Oxyrhynchite ΟΘΙ ΕΒΑΛ (*origo*,
destinatio)

(3) The plural indefinite ΞΑΝ- is very rare with the infinitive, fully
concretizing it:

Gen. 49:26 (in poetic language) ΞΑΝCΜΟΘ ΝΤΕΠΕΚΙΩΤ ΝΕΜ-
ΤΕΚΜΑΘ ΝΙCΜΟΘ ΝΤΕΞΑΝΚΑΛΑΜΦΟ ΝΕΝΕΞ ΝΙCΜΟΘ ΝΤΕΝΙ-
ΤΩΟΘ ΜΜΑΜΜΟΝΙ.

(4) Π-, The non-phoric, actualizing, notion name generic determinator
is typical of infinitive determination. The isolated form ΝΕΝ- serves

suppletively as its plural only in associative expansions with *n-* and *ντε-*, and is a case apart — plural only¹³.

(a) *ε-π-* + infinitive is an idiomatic concurrent of *ε-* + infinitive (which seems to be rarer in Bohairic than in Sahidic), semantically elusive but probably indicating a marked intended and desired purpose: “for the (express) purpose of” (often, perhaps mostly — but by no means always = *τό* + infinitive in Greek). This grammaticalized role is strikingly generic:

Ex. 16:33 *εκεχαϩ μπεμθο μϕ† επαρεϩ εροϩ*.

επαιτοϑ Deut. 27:26.

επϑοθεϩ Deut. 17:7.

εϕοϑομϩ Lev. 19:23.

επσι Ex. 16:8, Lev. 25:19.

επϑομϑεμ Ex. 12:13.

επ† Num. 31:4:5.

εϕνοϩεμ Gen. 32:8.

επωεμϣι n- Ex. 10:26.

εϕμεϑι εροϩ Ex. 17:11.

επιϕωϣεν Num. 8:24 contrasted with *εϕωϣεν*, Num. 8:22.

(b) The concretization and semantic focussing of the infinitive is signalled combinatorily, by *π-* with *n-* or *ντε-*. In this construction, *n-* (which in non-infinitival lexemes signals special “inalienable” or Personal-Sphere constituency association: see below) marks actantial, *ντε-* appurtenative dependence. The plural *nen...n-* is especially rare with infinitives, and, as usual, higher in individualizing-concretizing-specializing value than the singular.

Gen. 32:30 *ϕναϑ μϕ†* as Place Name: “the occasion of ...”.

Gen. 21:16 *ϕμοϑ μπιϣηρι* “the event of ...”.

Num. 20:3 *πτακο nenεcηηοϑ* “the occasion of ...”.

Gen. 23:1 *πωνϑ ncαρρα* “the length of life”.

Lev. 25:26 *πωπ nηιρομπι* “the number”.

Deut. 33:13 *πcμοϑ μπϑ̄̄* “the blessing” (vs. 14 *πicμοϑ ντε-ξαν...*, cataphoric).

Ex. 4:25 *πcεβι ντεπιαλοϑ* “the foreskin”.

Lev. 18:8 *πωπι ντετcζιμι μπεκιωτ* “the shameful parts”.

Deut. 8:17 *παμαρι ντεταϑιϑ* “the grasping power”.

Deut. 5:25 *nencaϑι μπαλαοc* “the speech-words”.

¹³ Cf. SILVERMAN 1981 for the origins of this form.

(c) π- + infinitive: generic — concept/notion name:

Gen. 35:2 ΠΕΜΤΟΝ ΠΕ.

Lev. 8:14 and *passim* ΠΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ.

Deut. 28:48 ΠΙΖΚΟ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΙΒΙ ΝΕΜ ΦΒΩΥ ΝΕΜ ΦΜΟΨ.

(d) π/πι-infinitive: variation? some difficult cases of apparent variation:

ΠΙΦΩΥΕΝ ΝΤΕ- varying with ΠΦΩΥΕΝ ΝΤΕ- Num. 4:28:33 etc.

Ex. 34:21 ΞΕΝΠΙΪ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΩCΞ.

Deut. 28:48 ΠΙΖΚΟ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΙΒΙ ΝΕΜ ΦΒΩΥ ΝΕΜ ΦΜΟΨ — all apparently generic.

(5) πι- + infinitive is usually cataphoric:

Num. 1:44 ΠΙΞΕΜΠΥΙΝΙ ΕΤΑΨΑΙϞ.

Ex. 3:17 ΠΙΘΕΜΚΟ ΝΤΕΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ.

Gen. 49:26 (in poetic language) ΖΑΝCΜΟΨ ΝΤΕΠΕΚΙΩΤ ΝΕΜ-ΤΕΚΜΑΨ ΝΙCΜΟΨ ΝΤΕΖΑΝΚΑΛΑΜΦΟ ΝΕΝΕΖ ΝΙCΜΟΨ ΝΤΕΝΙ-ΤΩΨ ΜΜΑΜΜΟΝΙ

Gen. 49:18 ΠΙΝΟΞΕΜ ΝΤΕΠΨC.

Gen. 49:25 ΠΙCΜΟΨ ΝΤΕΤΦΕ.

Num. 3:35, 4:41:45 ΠΙΞΕΜΠΥΙΝΙ ΝΤΕ-.

Much more rarely, anaphoric:

Gen. 34:27 ΝΙΞΩΤΕΒ “the corpses”, “partitive” or rather *associative*: “the... of slaying”.

Obs.

(1) Hermeneutical syntax supplies numerous instances of anaphoric reference for πι- + infinitive:

ΠΙΨΤΕΜCΟΨΩΝC Cat. 3

ΠΙΞΟC ΞΕ- Cat.3.21, 155

ΠΙΟΨΟΝΞϞ Cat. 4.

The pronominal object is non-specifying, not incompatible with the definite article; it may even be that it conditions it, in which case the article is both anaphoric (signalling a *factive* (known-as-fact) infinitive¹⁴) and cataphoric.

(6) Deictic characterization of the infinitive:

Deut. 31:26 ΝΑΙCΑΞΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝΤΕΤΑΙΞΩΔΗ.

Deut. 29:24 ΠΑΙΜΒΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΑΙΝΙΨΪ ΝΞΩΝΤ.

Deut. 13:14 ΠΑΙCΑΞΙ.

Gen. 42:21 ΠΑΙΞΟΞΞΕΞ.

¹⁴ Cf. the definite article in such cases as “William O’Shaughnessy, responsible for the setting up of the telegraph system in India...”.

(7) Possessive Article + infinitive — a construction of syntactical importance in Late Egyptian and Demotic: πεq- neutralizes the fine distinctions of π- ... Ν-, π-... ΝΤΕ- and πΙ- ... ΝΤΕ-:

(a) Valency and actance opposition indifferent or neutralized:

Deut. 10:22 ποταψαι.

Lev. 8:33 πετενζωκ εβολ.

Deut. 26:7 πενθεβιο nem πενδici nem πενροδρεδ.

Lev. 9:7 πεκχω εβολ (possessive of πχω εβολ — ritual name and concept, Lev. 8:14 and *passim*).

Num. 4:47f. ποτδεμπωini, πεφδεμπωini.

Lev. 25:26 πεq† εβολ.

(b) Actantial status — as *agens* or object actant — resolved by subsequent resumption in a Relative construction:

Ex. 16:8 πετενχρεμρεμ φη νωτεν ετετενχρεμρεμ μμοq.

Deut. 28:57 πεκμκαρ νρητ nem πεκροδρεδ ετενεκδαδι ρεδρωδκ μμοq

Deut. 28:67 νιναϑ ντενεκβαλ ηη ετεκναϑ ερωϑ.

Lev. 25:50:51 πεqτηiq εβολ one pronoun agentive, the other objective (diachronically "correct"). Contrast πεq† εβολ Lev. 25:27 (the pronoun objective) and π† εβολ ΝΤΕ- Lev. 25:25.

(b) The determination of the Existant/Non-existent.

(1) The Existential Statement, non-verbal in Coptic (unlike pre-Coptic Egyptian) and not a nexal or predicative clause pattern, has been discussed in Chapter Two above. The Existential Statement introduces nominal entities into discourse, actualizing them, and is logically presupposed, not only by specificity or definiteness (cf. VERNUS 1985) but by indefiniteness, indeed by any particularity of nominal elements. But οϑον- clauses state the existence of nouns and noun equivalents that are already actualized; in our Bohairic corpus, the only constraint is on the existant's specificity, for it may be particular or quantified (see §3.1 above, under 3a). However, when the Existant is qualified in any way, or the Statement of Existence is *located* — as it most often is — the overall combinatory specificity grade is necessarily higher, with a corresponding heightened thematicity of the Existential Statements (and in it the existant) within the broader textual scope. The formal locator μμαϑ does not occur with Existential Statements, but is essential to existential possession verboids. Note the following representative exx., of variously determined Existents, in unlocated, located and qualified-Existant Existential Statements:

Gen. 45:11 **οὐκ-εἰ** **ν**ρομπι.

Lev. 25:26 **ε**ωπ **δε** **ε**οῦον-οῦαι **μ**μον-πετ²η² **δ**αρο².

Ex. 2:1 **νε**οῦον-οῦαι **δε** **ε**βολ **δ**εντ²η²λη **ν**λε²ι.

Deut. 25:11 **ε**ωπ **δε** **ε**οῦον-ρ²ωμι **β** **ε**τ²ωοντ **ε**τ²οπ.

Gen. 38:27 **νε**οῦον-ζ²ανα²ρε²τ **δ**εντε²ς²νε²δε²ι **πε**.

Gen. 39:2 **νε**οῦον-οῦρ²ωμι **πε** **ε**ρ²τ²μα²† — not located.

Gen. 24:23 **αν-ο**ῦον-το²πο²ς **δ**ατε²ν²πει²ωτ **ε**ο²ρε²ν²μ²τον **μ**μον.

Gen. 24:25 **ο**ῦον-το²ζ **ν**ε²μ **ς**ω²τ²β²εν **ζ**α²ρον **ε**να²ω²ω²τ **ο**το²ζ **ο**ῦον-το²πο²ς **ε**ο²ρε²κ²μ²τον **μ**μο²κ.

Gen. 24:22 **ζ**α²ν²λε²ων **ν**νο²τ²β **ε**οῦον-ο²κ²ι²† **ν**ω²ι **ε**πι²ο²τ²αι **πι**ο²τ²αι **μ**μω²τ.

Gen. 18:24 **ε**ωπ **ε**οῦον-**ν** **ν**ο²μ²ηι **δ**εν²†**β**α²κι.

• Note: zero Existant?

Lev. 20:13:16:27 **ο**ῦον **ε**ρ²ω²τ.

Perhaps also Gen. 40:17 **νε**οῦον **ν**δ²η²τ² **πε** **ε**βολ **δ**εν²η²η **τ**η²ρο²τ **ε**ω²α²ρε²πο²τρο **φ**α²ρα²ω **ο**το²μο²τ

(2) **μ**μον-, Affirmation of Non-Existence. Here we find a different and the very lowest determination profile, with no specificity, particularity or quantification (**κ**ε-, a quantifier following *zero* determinator, is an exception). Statements of absolute, i.e., unlocated, Non-Existence are more common than Statements of absolute Existence

Num. 21:5 **μ**μον-ω²ικ **ο**τ²δε **μ**ω²τ.

Num. 20:5 **μ**μον-μ²ω²τ **ε**ς²ω.

Gen. 38:21 **μ**μον-πο²ρ²η²η **μ**πα²ι²μα.

Gen. 39:9 **μ**μον-ζ²λι **ε**ρ²ο²ι **ε**ρ²ο²ι **ζ**μ²πε²ρ²ηι **ο**τ²δε **μ**μον-ζ²λι **ε**ρ²η²π **ε**ρ²ο²ι sim. Gen. 19:31, 31:44.

νε²μ²μον-ρ²ωμι **ν**δ²η²το²τ Num. 26:64 sim. Gen. 41:39.

Deut. 32:12 **μ**μον-κε²νο²† **ν**ω²ε²μ²μο **ν**ε²μ²ω²τ **πε**.

Ex. 9:14 **μ**μον-κε²ο²τ²αι **μ**πα²ρ²η²† **ζ**ι²δ²εν²π²κα²ζι **τ**η²ρ²q sim. Deut. 4:35.

Num. 20:5 **μ**μον-κε²ντε **ν**δ²η²τ² **ο**τ²δε **α**λο²λι **ο**τ²δε **ε**ρ²μα²ν **ο**τ²δε **μ**μον-μ²ω²τ **ε**ς²ω.

μμον-ω²ζ²ο²μ Gen. 43:32, 44:22, 19:19 etc.

Deut. 8:15 **μ**μον-ω²τ **μ**μα²τ sim. Num. 20:5.

Num. 23:22 **μ**μον-θ²ι²ω²η²μ **γα**ρ **δ**εν²ι²α²κ²ω²β **ο**τ²δε **ω**εν²ζ²ιν **δ**εν²π²ι²ς²λ.

Deut. 32:28 **μ**μον-ε²πι²ς²τ²η²μ²η **ν**δ²η²το²τ.

Lev. 13:31 **μ**μον-ρ²ωι **ν**α²ο²τ²αν **μ**φ²η²ρ²ω **ν**δ²η²τ²q.

Ex. 12:30 **ν**ε²μ²μον-ηι **γα**ρ **πε** **μ**πε²ο²ῦον-μ²ο²τ **ν**δ²η²τ²q.

Special to **ΜΜΟΝ**-, affirming Non-Existence and mostly Circumstantial, are the substantival Relative forms **ΠΕΤ**- (Stative Converbs) and **ΦΗ ΕΤ**- (dynamic conversbs) as Existant. The determination grading of these forms is discussed below: these are equivalents of non-specific, non-particular, non-quantified *nomina agentis*:

Gen. 41:8 **ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-ΦΗ ΕΤΤΑΜΟ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ ΕΡΟΣ ΠΕ**.

Lev. 25:26 **ΕΥΩΠ ΔΕ ΕΘΘΟΝ-ΘΤΑΙ ΜΜΟΝ-ΠΕΤΔΗΦ ΔΑΡΟΦ**.

Lev. 26:17 ...**ΜΜΟΝ-ΠΕΤΘΟΔΙ ΝCΑΘΗΝΟΤ** sim. Lev. 26:36f.

(3) The location of the Existential Statement is grammaticalized into a regular verboid of possession, with the location expressing the possessor (**ΘΘΟΝΤΕ**- / **ΘΘΟΝΤΑ**-, discussed and illustrated below); or, for a special lexical list of *possessa* and a correlated limited list of formalized or semi-formalized prepositions to introduce and mark the *possessor*, the location expressing the marked association of “inalienable” distinctive and definitive part to its enframing “whole” — predicative Personal-Sphere Constituence Association (§3.9), opposed to the unmarked **ΘΘΟΝΤΑ**-/ **ΜΜΟΝΤΑ** = possessive verboids:

ΘΘΟΝ-

ΚΕΘΤΑΙ ΕΘΘΟΝ-ΥΔΣΟΜ ΜΜΟΦ Gen. 41:38, Ex. 4:13 etc.

Deut. 14:9:10 ...**ΕΤΕΘΘΟΝ-ΤΕΝΖ ΜΜΩΟΤ** sim. Lev. 11:9f.:12.

Deut. 1:15 **ΞΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΝCΑΒΕ ΕΘΘΟΝ-ΕΠΙCΤΗΜΗ ΜΜΩΟΤ**.

Deut. 29:18 **ΜΗΤΙ ΘΘΟΝ-ΝΟΤΝΙ ΔΕΝΘΗΝΟΤ**.

Lev. 22:21 **ΘΘΟΝ-ΑΘΝΙ ΝΔΗΤΟΤ** — contrast the non-grammaticalized preposition in Num. 5:2 **ΘΘΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΕΘΘΟΝ-ΑΘΝΙ ΖΙΩΤΦ**.

Ex. 13:7 **ΘΘΟΝ ΕΘΘΟΝ-ΥΕΜΗΡ ΜΜΟΦ**, sim. Ex. 12:19.

Lev. 11:21 ...**ΕΤΕΘΘΟΝ-CΗΒΙ ΜΜΩΟΤ**.

Lev. 11:23 ...**ΕΤΕΘΘΟΝ-ΦΤΟ ΜΦΑΤ ΕΡΩΟΤ**.

Gen. 6:17 **CΑΡΞ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΕΘΘΟΝ-ΠΝΔ ΝΩΝΔ ΝΔΗΤΦ** sim. Gen. 7:15:17, 24:23, Num. 27:18: probably not inalienable, witness Gen. 41:38 **ΘΡΩΜΙ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ† ΕΘΘΟΝ-ΘΠΝΔ ΝΤΕΦ† ΝΔΗΤΦ**.

ΜΜΟΝ- is much rarer in this construction.

Deut. 32:20f. **ΜΜΟΝ-ΚΑ† ΜΜΟΦ ... ΜΜΟΝ-ΝΑΖ† ΜΜΟΦ**.

See §3.9 for a discussion of Personal-Sphere Constituence Association.

(4) The dependence between **ΘΘΟΝ**-/ **ΜΜΟΝ**- and the (Non-)Existant is, I believe, *not* nexal: like the Presentative Statements (Chapter Two), which have marked affinities with the Existential Statements, the latter

is a “pre-predication” clause, not a predication. However, the Existant is often seen to be *focussed* by **οὔον-** or **μμον-**, which would *prima facie* seem to conflict with the thematic status of the Existential Statement when it is followed by adverbial locations of existence which seem to be rhematic in the broader information structure, and especially when followed by the verbal commutables of the adverbial locations, the dynamic and Stative Converbs, which are always rhematic. The solution of this conundrum may lie in the very non-specificity of the Existant, which makes for a special, cataphoric type of thematicity, one that is compatible with Focus (paradoxically, the verbal Rhemes attested are all almost formal, of lexically thematic or less informative verbs):

οὔον-

Gen. 40:9:10 **νεοὔον-οὔβω** **ναλολι** **χη** **μπαμθο** **πε**.

Gen. 31:14 **μητι** **αν** **οὔον-κετοι** **σῶζπ** **ναν** **ιε** **κεκλη-
πονομια**.

Num. 13:18f. **αν-οὔον-σὸν**† **κῶ**† **ερῶσ**.

Ex. 10:7 **οὔον-ῥροπ** **ναψωπι**.

Ex. 10:10 **οὔον-οὔπετρωσ** **χη** **ζαζωτεν**.

μμον-

Gen. 47:4 **μμον-μαμμονι** **γαρ** **ψοπ**.

Gen. 20:9 **οὔζωβ** **μμον-ζλι** **ναλιϛ**.

Lev. 25:31 **νη** **ετεμμον-σὸν**† **τακτηιοστ** **ερῶσ**.

Gen. 41:54 **νεμμον-ωικ** **ψοπ** **πε** *sim.* 47:13.

Gen. 16:16 **ψωπι** **μμον-αρικι** **σι** **εροκ** *sim.* Num. 35:27.

Gen. 23:6 **μμον-ζλι** **μμον-ταζνο**.

Obs.

(1) Polotsky explicitly, even emphatically considered **οὔον-/μμον-** to be predicative, even if not verbal: 1960 §33 “existence and non-existence are predicated by **οὔν** ‘there is’ and (**μ**)**μν** ‘there is not’...the predicates of existence and non-existence”...§34 “That **οὔν** and **μν** can be self-sufficient predicates, results from their being intransitive...”, §34 Obs. 2 “From the point of view of Coptic they can only be described as predicative expressions of existence and non-existence”. He does not discuss or adduce any arguments in support of this view. As a matter of fact, this — I feel an ethnocentric and logic-derived perspective — is the general view or at least reference to existentials (cf. also MARTIN 1993).

(2) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1984b on Existence Statements in NT Sahidic. Comparison of Sah. and Boh. (NT) shows that Boh. shies away from the quantified Non-Existant (consider Gal. 1:7 Boh. **κεσῶι** **πε** for Sah. **μν-κεσῶι**, also John 11:9, Acts 27:22:34). Bohairic also seems to avoid cases of **οὔον-** + zero determination in conversion): cf. POLOTSKY 1960:§35 + obs. 1, 3. (Polotsky does not mention **ναρε-οὔον-** and similar forms, which are typically Nitrian, but occur in the NT and even some OT corpora).

(3) On **οὐν-πετ-** cf. QUECKE 1985:263f. Both Existence and Non-Existence with the Relative Existant have early pre-Coptic precursors. Cf. the generic Existant in LE *mn-p3-nty-* (by "morphologically definite", he must mean "formally"; not "subject", *pace* VERNUS 1985:155), and Demotic *mn-/wn p3-nty-*, familiar from gnomic didactic literature (P. Insinger) and well attested elsewhere (note the plural substantivized relative in *mn-n3-nty-ph n-dt.j* "There are no things that reached...", Zauzich, *Papyri aus Elephantine* [1978] P.15519 line 9f.).

(4) **μμον-πεφρη†** Job 2:3 is, I believe, a strong argument for the non-specificity of **φωφ** and **πεφ-** (below, §3.5.3). De Vis II 212 **μμον εφρε-** is remarkable: a "that"-form Existant.

(5) **qꜣꜣꜣ nꜣε-** may be seen as a paraphrastic specific-Existant or particular-Existant alternant of **οὐον-**: consider Gen. 6:4, John 4:23, 16:2, 8:50, 9:41; negative Gen. 42:13, 44:20, 40:8 (+ **φῃ ετνα-**), 40:8, 41:15, 42:13:32:36, 44:20, Deut. 32:39.

(5) **οὐοντ(λ)φ / μμοντ(λ)φ**. The possession verboid locates existence or non-existence with the *possessor*, by means of the grammaticalized preposition **ντε-/ντα=**, neutralizing appurtenance, belonging and possession. The *possessum* is presented, not as Existant, but as (object) actant.

- The *possessum* determination in the corpus is [– specific] but [± particular] and [± quantified], which interestingly concords with the existant status of the *possessum*. On the other hand, the *possessor* is, in the corpus, always specific, and almost exclusively pronominal (or Proper Name, which shares many pronominal properties).

- Two prosodically different allomorphs are encountered:

A "full" form (**οὐον/μμοντα=**, **οὐον/μμονθη=**) which is prosodically unmarked ("absolute"), occurring with indefinite and number-name *possessa*, introduced and marked as possessed object by **n-**;

A reduced marked form (**οὐον/μμοντ=**, realized before the pronominal constituents as **-†-**, **-τεφ-**, **-τεκ-**, **-τετεν-**) that is prosodically linked to an immediately following *possessum* ("construct") — occurring with a *zero-article possessum* (including **νχαι νιβεν** and "two", which are constructed as *zero-* with postpositive "**β̄**"), as well as with *zero possessum*.

For a nominal *possessor*, the pre-nominal form is **οὐοντε-** (in which case, the "two" *possessum* is constructed as non-*zero*, introduced by **n-**).

Interestingly, we find in the corpus several instances of **οὐον-ντε-** and **μμον-ντε-**, i.e. a form indicative of an incomplete fusion of the original constituents of the verboid, and incidentally also of their semantic autonomy. It may well be a form distinctive of the written idiom.

The formal locator **μματ** is usual, but not conditioned, with either of the two verboids. It seems excluded by a non-formal adverbial. Its place-

ment is enclitic: either following the *possessum* in the construct construction, or following the verboid and preceding the verboid in the *n*-mediated construction. It cannot be argued that **ΜΜΑϞ** is a discontinuous part of the existence component of **ΟΥΝΤΑΞ**, since it does not occur with Existence or Non-Existence Statements: this is frankly perplexing.

Non-possessive **ΝΤΕ-** is but rarely attested:

Deut. 21:18 **ΕΥΩΠ ΔΕ ΕΟΤΟΝΟΥΗΡΙ ΝΤΕΟΥΑΙ ΕΦΟΙ ΝΑΤΙΩ-ΤΕΜ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΡΕΦΥΣΗΝΗΝ** (Greek **ἐὰν δέ τις ἦ υἱὸς ἀπειθῆς**) — generic, case-raising, in this passage the possession or possessedness has little informational weight, indeed is thematic: “should a man’s son be disobedient ...”.

Yet for the Relative, in the case of antecedent = *possessum*, the **ΟΥΟΝΤΑϞ** (not **ΜΜΟΝΤΑϞ**) verboid is replaced by an allotactic construction — no existence, **ΝΤΕ-** rhematic. Bohairic avoids thus wholly the delocutive anaphoric pronominal *possessum* (“whom... has/have”), so familiar in Sahidic, and the special “Dependent Pronoun” objective pronominal paradigm (LAYTON 1999, 2004 §88). This is a conservative feature in the predication of possession, which characterizes **ΟΥΟΝ-** here as an *outil grammatical*.

Gen. 39:4 **ΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΕΝΤΑϞ.**

Gen. 45:10 **ΝΕΤΕΝΤΑΚ.**

Gen. 46:32 **ΝΗ ΕΤΕΝΤΩΟΥ.**

Gen. 30:30 **ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΝΑΨΝΤΑΚ.**

Deut. 19:15 **ΤΕΚΨΕΡΙ Β ΕΤΕΝΤΑΚ.**

Contrast Bohairic and Sahidic in cases such as

I John 4:16 **ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΑϞ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΖΗΤΝ** “the love God has in us”, corresponding to Bohairic **†ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕΨ† ΕΤΕΝΨΗΤΕΝ**, illustrating the role of adnominal **ΝΤΕ-**, further grammaticalized into a *nota relationis* introducing the *possessor*.

Job 2:4 **ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΑϞ-Ϟ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ** has both pronominal and nominal possessors, the latter marked by the preposition **Ν-**.

ΝΤΕ- occurs also adnominally, following low- and high-specificity nuclei:

Deut. 15:7 **ΟΥΙ ΝΤΕΝΕΚΒΑΚΙ.**

Lev. 11:32 **ΟΥΑΙ ΝΤΕΝΑΙ.**

Gen. 43:34 **ΝΙΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΩΟΥ** “all their lots” (lit. “all-lots of theirs”).

And, more generally, as an associative-appurtenative *nota relationis* : see below.

• Note:

(1) Infinitive as *possessum* (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1989b:31ff. for the Demotic correspondent of this periphrastic modal form):

Gen. 18:31 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\iota \epsilon\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota$ "I must needs speak".

(2) Probable instances of *zero possessum* (cf. the *zero* Existant in Lev. 20:13; 16:27).

Deut. 25:5 $\mu\mu\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\varrho \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$ (note the proclitic allomorph!)

Representative examples:

Num. 31:4 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\beta\eta\eta \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$.

Gen. 43:6; 7 $\alpha\eta\text{-}\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\text{CON} \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$, Gen. 44:19 $\alpha\eta\text{-}\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\iota\omega\tau \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \iota\epsilon \text{CON}$.

Gen. 44:20 answered by: $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\alpha\eta \eta\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron \eta\iota\omega\tau \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$.

Deut. 3:19 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\eta\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\eta \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \eta\omicron\sigma\mu\eta\psi \eta\tau\epsilon\beta\eta\eta$.

Deut. 4:7 ... $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\alpha\varrho \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \eta\omicron\sigma\eta\eta\sigma\eta\sigma\tau$.

Deut. 4:8 ... $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\alpha\varrho \eta\chi\alpha\eta\mu\epsilon\theta\mu\eta$.

Ex. 33:12 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\alpha\kappa \eta\omicron\sigma\chi\mu\omicron\tau \eta\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$.

Ex. 32:24 $\eta\eta\mu \epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\eta\omicron\sigma\beta \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$.

Gen. 19:8 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\text{-}\psi\epsilon\tau\iota \bar{\beta} \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$ (vs. Gen. 29:16 $\eta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\eta \eta\psi\epsilon\tau\iota \bar{\beta} \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \pi\epsilon$ and Deut. 19:15 $\tau\epsilon\kappa\psi\epsilon\tau\iota \bar{\beta} \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\kappa$).

Gen. 19:12 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\alpha\kappa \eta\omicron\sigma\chi\iota \mu\pi\alpha\iota\mu\alpha$.

Ex. 2:16 $\eta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\tau\alpha\varrho \eta\text{-}\zeta \eta\psi\epsilon\tau\iota \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$.

Gen. 33:11 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\chi\alpha\iota \eta\eta\beta\epsilon\eta$.

Deut. 12:12 $\mu\mu\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\tau\omicron\iota \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$ sim. 14:27, 14:29 ($\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$).

Num. 3:4 $\eta\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\eta\eta\tau\omicron\sigma\text{-}\psi\eta\tau\iota \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \pi\epsilon$ sim. Num. 27:4.

Num. 27:8 circ. $\mu\mu\omicron\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\psi\eta\tau\iota \eta\chi\omega\omicron\sigma\tau \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$.

Deut. 25:5 $\mu\mu\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\chi\omicron\sigma\chi \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$.

Num. 5:8 $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi \Delta\epsilon \mu\mu\omicron\eta\eta\text{-}\pi\iota\tau\omega\mu\iota \eta\chi\alpha\varrho\iota\chi\eta\tau \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \chi\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon \epsilon\tau$ is remarkable, for the rare compatibility of *n-* with *zero* determination of the *possessum*, and the apparently different syntax of the nominal possessor.

Difficult is

Gen. 33:9 $\sigma\theta\omicron\eta\eta\text{-}\sigma\theta\mu\eta\psi \mu\mu\alpha\sigma$ - a rare case of non-*zero* determination with the proclitic allomorph (but $\sigma\theta\mu\eta\psi$ "much, a lot" may not really be a case of non-*zero*, bare or *zero* $\mu\eta\psi$ not being admissible).

(c) **Presentative clauses introduced by ($\chi\eta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$) $\iota\varsigma$** are to a considerable extent complementary to Existentials, also as regards determina-

tion. In their minimal construction, their presented actant (“Presentate”) is specific only:

Ex. 24:8 $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\iota\varsigma\nu\omicron\upsilon$.

Gen. 30:3 $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\beta\omega\kappa\iota$ $\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$.

Gen. 31:48 $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\lambda$ $\nu\epsilon\mu$ $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$.

When the Presentative presents a clause Theme, the latter is specific:

Gen. 20:15 $\xi\eta\pi\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota$ $\chi\eta$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\mu\theta\omicron$ sim. Gen. 12:19.

Gen. 16:6 $\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon\beta\omega\kappa\iota$ $\chi\eta$ $\xi\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\zeta\iota\zeta$.

Otherwise, they contract topical constructions, usually with high-to-highest specificity, rarely with particular-indefinites, see discussion and illustration above (2.0.3) — always to the exclusion of *zero* and *generics*.

(d) Determination in inherent and non-inherent rhematic status. The association of rhematic (predicative) functions with non-specific indefiniteness and *zero* determination is as commonplace as that of specificity with thematicity and topicality. Still, it is not absolute and certainly not simple, and therefore calls for some consideration. Rhematic environments were examined below, in Chapter Two: I will here dwell only on some aspects of determination.

(1) The Nominal Sentence. An imbalance of specificity is clearly operative in establishing the nexus (see Chapter Two for Rheme-determination details). We must here distinguish between the two patterns groups — the great Delocutive-Theme set, and the much smaller, but very intriguing, Interlocutive pattern. *Zero* determination is excluded from the Rheme in the Delocutive set; this excludes the diffuse, extensive, non-particular, generic Rheme (but still allows for other subtypes of genericity, see below). The indefinite Rheme is predominant in the entire Delocutive pattern set; the high-specificity demonstrative (with possessives and personal pronouns) is second in frequency. More than in any other pattern, the rhematic indefinite determinator acts in the delocutive as “adjectival matrix” or adjectival deriving morph (semantically adjectival), with the expanding lexeme its lexical base:

Deut. 9:8 $\xi\alpha\lambda\beta\epsilon\mu\iota\pi\iota$ $\nu\epsilon$ “Sie sind eisern”.

Num. 13:18:20 $\omicron\tau/\xi\alpha\lambda\alpha\omega$ $\nu\pi\eta\uparrow$ $\pi\epsilon$ — the indefinite determinator does not determinate $\alpha\omega$, but [$\alpha\omega$ $\nu\pi\eta\uparrow$] as a whole.

Another point of interest in this pattern set, in the context of the said imbalance or asymmetry of specificity, or inequispecificity, concerns the extreme rareness of { $\pi\iota$ -} - determined Rhemes, while demonstratives are relatively common (even the unusual non-phoric { π -} is here better

attested than {π1-}). In fact, the phoric {πϵ} has a *textual representing specificity* that is higher than the deictic one. This imbalance, which is so essential for the nexal dependence that it may be regarded as copular, obtains also between Topic and Rheme.

The Interlocutive-Theme pattern, distinct in all the possible distinctive traits of a pattern, is special also in its Rheme determination. Here it is the "notion name" Proper-Name-forming, very-high-specificity *zero* determination that is excluded, together with the high-specificity demonstrative and personal pronouns — all to maintain the same copular inequispecificity, for the {ΑΝΟΚ-} interlocutive paradigm is as specific as a proper name, as the Stoic grammarians knew (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a: 29f., 44ff., 89f., 105 on the notion-name *zero* and the Interlocutive NS Rheme, also POLOTSKY 1987:24, FUNK 1991 on the latter.)

(2) Non-inherent nominal-Rheme-introducing Ν- + *zero/indefinite*; ϵ- + *indefinite*: Here the generic *zero* is opposed to the equally non-specific and generic (non-particular, albeit quantified: see below) οτ-, the instantial metaphor of genericity, which is more concrete (sometimes even more specialized, specified and limited: consider Deut. 22:21 quoted below), but no more particular: "any [single or several] specimen(s) of the kind representing the whole kind": "as / in the capacity or form of a-". This opposition is not triggered by any feature in the Greek *Vorlage*, and in fact does not exist in the Greek: yet another sophistication of the Coptic over its original.

This paradigm occurs even in the third actantial slot ("predicative object actant"):

Deut. 32:14 ἀσσοϩ νηρηπ.

Ex. 7:1 ρηππε λιτηικ ννοϣ† μφαραω οτορ αρων πεκ-
CON εφεωπι νாக νοτπροφ ητης (Vat μπροφ ητης).

Gen. 14:14 αθελλωτ περCON ναιχμαλωτος — note here the striking "adverbial Rheme" role.

Deut. 26:19 μφρη† εταραικ νονομαστος.

Num. 22:18 ...λαιϩ νκοϣδι ιε νιω†.

Ex. 6:5 φη ετενιρεμνημη ιρι μμωοτ μβωκ νζητηϩ.
as against

Deut. 28:9 εφετοϣноск ναϩ νοτλαος εφοϣαβ.

Lev. 19:32 τωνκ ϩαδων νοτρεμνησχιμ.

Gen. 22:2 ανιτϩ νηι μμαϣ νοτϩλιλ.

Gen. 23:9 μαρεϩτηιϩ νηι νοτϩφo.

Ex. 29:2 εκεθαμιωοτ νωοτ νοτσεμεδαλλιον — οτ- too marks the noun as non-adverbial, but predicative and actantial.

Gen. 34:4 **ἑἰς νταλλαοῦ νηι εοῦςζιμι.**

Deut. 21:11 **ντεκῶιτς νακ εοῦςζιμι.**

Gen. 38:14 **μπερῑθις ναῖ εοῦςζιμι** sim. (affirmative) Gen. 16:3.

Gen. 28:9 **αῖςι μμαελεεθ εοῦςζιμι** (contrasted with non-narrative, non-factive Deut. 24:4 **εῖςις ναῖ νςζιμι**, corresponding in both instances to the Greek γυναικα).

Gen. 22:3 **αῖςι εζνιροκζ εῖςαλ.**

Other narrative or scenario cases: Gen. 20:12, 29:24, 38:14 (neg.), Deut. 21:11, 25:5.

Gen. 24:60 **ψωπι εζανῶβα.**

Gen. 28:3 **εκεψωπι εζανῶωῑτς νεῑνος.**

Ex. 22:30 **ερετενεψωπι νηι εζανρωμι εῖοῡαβ.**

Gen. 28:22 ...]**ψωπι ε[πνι μπνοῡτ]** - a remarkably specific (even particular?) instance.

Gen. 17:6 **αἰχακ νῑωτ νοῡμνηψ νεῑνος ... εἰεχακ εζανψ-
λολ.**

Gen. 9:3 **εῖεψωπι νωτεν εῖςρε.**

Gen. 9:13 **εσεψωπι εῖμνῑνι.**

Ex. 12:14 **ερεψωπι νοῡερῑμεῡι.**

Gen. 21:30 **ζῑνα ντοῡψωπι νηι εῖμῑεῑμεῑρε** sim. Gen. 31:44.

Also Gen. 12:2, 21:13, 46:3, 47:4, Ex. 32:10.

Obs.

(1) In Gen. 34:22 **ζωστε εψωπι νοῡλλας νοῡωτ** "a single people" we are, I believe, still in the generic range: **οῡ-** **νοῡωτ** is not necessarily more concrete than the "exemplary" **οῡ-**. See also Gen. 11:1.

(2) In Deut. 21:15 **αρεψανςζιμις νοῡτ ψωπι νοῡρωμι** we have a nice instance of a **ν-** homonym: this is the possessive **ψωπι ν-/ναῖ**.

(3) Mt. 5:37 **μαρεπετενςαῡι δε εροῡαζα αῡα μμον μμον** has **οῡ-** substantivizing the whole "yes-no" phrase in a non-specific rather than indefinite grading, which cannot in this case be *zero* (so also II Cor. 1:18, against the specific **πῑ-** in II Cor. 1:17).

The copular auxiliary Stative Converb **-οἱ** combines in the Present tense with **ν-** for the incidental or contingent predication of nouns in the analytic version of Gardiner's familiar "*m* of predication" pattern of Egyptian (see above, Chapter Two). Here the occurrence of rhematic **οῡ-** is extremely uncommon:

Ex. 19:16 **νασοἱ νοῡνῑψῑτς νςενςεν.**

Gen. 11:1 **οἱ νοῡςῑφοτοῡ νοῡωτ νῑμ οῡςμῑ νοῡωτ** — not the indefinite article.

However, the non-durative or unmarked alternant of $-OI\ N-$, namely $\epsilon\rho-$, does combine frequently with concretizing / individualizing $\sigma\tau-$ and $\xi\alpha\eta-$: a non-specific, quantified, particular Rheme:

Ex. 7:12 $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\rho-\xi\alpha\eta\Delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\eta$.

— $\sigma\tau\Delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\eta$ Ex. 7:9:10.

— $\sigma\tau\xi\omicron\omicron$ Ex. 7:15.

$\epsilon\rho-\sigma\tau\lambda\omicron\omicron$ Deut. 4:20.

Or with an anaphoric “substitute” $\sigma\tau-$ (“one”):

Gen. 15:1 $\pi\epsilon\kappa\beta\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\rho-\sigma\tau\eta\iota\omega\tau$.

(3) The unique Gen. 5:2 $\alpha\rho\theta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\ \sigma\tau\xi\omicron\omicron\tau\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \sigma\tau\zeta\eta\mu\iota$ (= Vat) has a rhematic “Third Actant” in an instantial generic determination and no segmental mark of rhematicity.

(e) **Theme determination following $\eta\zeta\epsilon-$.** While the actant-Theme slot following the Conjugation Bases allows for maximal determination, $\eta\zeta\epsilon-$ introducing the postpositive Theme coreferent with the grammemic pronominal one in the Conjugation form never introduces *zero* determination, while both specific and non-specific (indefinite) nouns and pronouns occur (see above).

(f) **Theme-agens determination following a negative conjugation base or in negative environment** - the indefinite determinator is excluded, with the *zero* generic overruling:

Deut. 22:5 $\eta\eta\epsilon\xi\omega\sigma\tau\ \dagger\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\ \eta\zeta\eta\mu\iota\ \xi\iota\omega\tau\epsilon$.

Deut. 3:3 $\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon\psi\tau\epsilon\mu\ \xi\rho\omicron\zeta\ \eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\ \psi\omega\pi\iota$.

3.3 The *zero* article. *Zero* article or articlelessness?

This feature and issue, infinitely fascinating, involves several difficult and theoretically problematic notions. First, the *zero* element in general, and the *zero* article in particular, which is among the most useful applications of the structural principle (“significant absence”): *zero* presupposes the presence of non-*zero* in-paradigm. But since a paradigm is absolutely, constantly and dynamically dependent on, specific to and distinctive of its environment, it ensues that there are different-value *zeroes*. Another question, which must be posed but cannot be answered in the present context, concerns the nature of a *zero* signifiant and implication its special form may have for its *sign*. The subtle interplay and interaction of lexicon (e.g. prepositional lexical subsystems) and determi-

nation acquires in the case of *zero* a special significance.¹⁵ *Zero* appears to be the only determination *signifiant* that is primarily, if not only generic (below), in the sophisticated double — and surprisingly not contradictory — sense of **abstract-diffuse-extensional** and **notion/genus name**: at once negating all characterization, lowest of all specification grading, and yet as high-specificity as a Proper Name.

Obs.

(1) Apart from the Nominal Sentence, H.J. Polotsky paid little attention to noun syntax until his 1989 and 1991 articles — indeed his very last ones to be published before his death. In his structuralist years, around his *annus mirabilis* of 1960, his writing and especially teaching explicitly included the *zero* notion and the *zero* article or *Nullartikel* (cf. 1960:411). But in his late writings — 1987/1990, 1989, 1991, simultaneously with his embracing of a transformationalist and even “deep structure” model, abandoning the structuralist one, he slid back to vague “*Artikkellos[igkeit]*”, “*indeterminiert*”, or “bare substantive” even in clear cases of structural *zero* (e.g. 1987:24, 1990:219, 241ff.). Polotsky’s late total rejection of *zero* element, implied in the vituperative (1989:464 n. 2) “In Bezug auf das nackte Substantiv von “Nullartikel” oder gar “zero-determined” zu reden ist um nichts besser als wenn man das nackte $\omega\tau\tau\mu$ als “Nulltempus” oder “zero-conjugated verb” bezeichnen wollte”. Now the “bareness” of $\omega\tau\tau\mu$ in nexus — or better as governed by the conjugation bases — is indeed very different from the absence of an article in paradigm with $\pi\iota$ - and $\omega\tau$ -, which is a real case of *zero* determination; “zero tense” has nothing to do with either. “*Artikkellos*” is of course the common judgement (or rather evasion of judgement).

(2) For some general and special treatments of *zero* determination, see JESPERSEN 1949 (1961):449ff., YOTSUKURA 1970:68 (English), GUILLAUME 1919; ANSCOMBRE 1986a, b, generally on *zero* determination and articlelessness esp. in French, semantic functions and interface with the verb (imparfait).

FLAUX 1997 (French again; 54ff. on the interaction of negation and determination). “No phonetic realization of the presence of the article” (KORZEN 1996, on Italian: 694). “*Senza determinante*” (*ibid.* 139ff., 693, but usually coded as ‘SNØ’): is structurally unclear and under-resolved.

(3) BORGHOUTS 1980:78 n.59 comments on “overdetermined” and “underdetermined” nouns sharing the property of being highly specific and unique (in a positive or respectively negative way).

As an introduction, some representative cases of relatively straightforward *zero* article in its distinctive slots may give an idea of its broad distribution in Coptic:

Deut. 32:39 MMON-KEOTAI .

Num. 32:4 $\text{OTONTOT-TEBNH MMAOT}$.

Deut. 24:20 CEK-ZWIT : compound verb¹⁶.

¹⁵ Consider for instance the near-complementary distribution of French *en* and *dans*, or English *by* (as in “by car”) and *in*.

¹⁶ Cf. “None of my stories really happened, of course...I’m not writing autobiogra-

Gen. 42:16 **ΞΕ-ΜΕΘΜΗ**: not compound?

Deut. 11:11 **ΕΥΣΕ-ΜΩΟΘ** - famously constituting an “exception” to the Stern-Jernstedt Rule. In fact, probably an instance of the Non-Actual (Generic) Present.

Gen. 18:11:13 **ΑΠΕΡΔΕΛΛΟ**: **ΕΡ-** auxiliary verb (Chapter Two)¹⁷.

Ex. 16:20 **ΑΠΕΡΦΕΝΤ**.

Deut. 10:6 **ΑΦΕΡΟΘΗΒ**.

Ex. 4:27 **ΑΦΤΦΙ ΕΡΩΦ**.

Deut. 32:6 **ΟΥΛΑΟΣ ΝΟΟΞ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΟΑΒΕ ΑΝ**.

Deut. 2:28 **ΕΚΕΤΔΡΕ/ΜΩΟΘ ΝΗΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΑΖΑΤ**.

Deut. 19:3 **ΜΑ ΜΦΩΤ**.

Num. 5:20 **ΟΥΟΖΙΜΕ ΔΑΖΑΙ**.

Num. 1:44 **ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΚΑΤΑΦΘΛΗ**.

Num. 14:18 **ΠΘΣ ΠΙΡΕΦΩΟΘ ΝΖΗΤ ΦΑΠΙΝΙΩΤ ΝΝΑΙ ...**

Num. 12:7 **ΠΡΟ ΟΥΒΕΡΟ**.

Ex. 19:13 **ΝΝΕΔΙΔ ΘΙ ΝΕΜΑΦ**.

Num. 31:18 **ΜΠΟΘΟΘΕΝΨΑΙΡΙ ΝΖΩΟΤ**.

3.3.1 The following issues are distinctive and salient in the syntagmatic and paradigmatic environments of zero determination:

(a) The cohesion to zero (see Chapter Four) is typically gender/number-neutral.

Num. 6:7 **ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΛΦΜΟΘ** (= Vat).

Num. 7:71 **Ε Ν-ΖΙΕΒΙ ΕΛΦΕΡΟΘΡΟΜΠΙ** (Vat **ΕΛΘ-**)¹⁸.

Gen. 6:17 **ΣΑΡΞ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΕΟΘΟΝ-ΠΝΑ ΝΩΝΔ ΝΔΗΤΦ**.

Gen. 31:10 **ΑΘΑΝ ΝΚΕΡΜΙ ΕΘΝΟΔΘ**.

Gen. 43:31f. (**ΧΑΩΙΚ ΕΔΡΗΙ**) **ΑΘΧΩ ΔΑΡΟΦ ΜΜΑΘΑΤΦ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΘΧΩ ΔΑΡΩΟΘ ΜΜΑΘΑΤΟΘ ΑΘΧΩ ΔΑΡΩΟΘ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ΜΜΑΘΑΤΟΘ**.

Ex. 15:22 **ΝΑΘΔΕΜΜΩΟΘ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΩ**.

Deut. 9:9:18 **ΩΙΚ ΜΠΙΟΘΩΜ ΜΩΟΘ ΜΠΙΩ**.

NB: Ex. 12:16 **ΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ... ΝΝΕΤΕΝΑΙΤΟΘ**: not *zero* determined: “all works”, with **ΝΙΒΕΝ** determinator, not quantifier.

NB: Num. 8:26 **ΖΩΒ ΝΝΕΦΕΡΖΩΒ** — a nice illustration of the difference between the **ΕΡ-** homonyms: here we apparently have the derived **ΕΡΖΩΒ** “work”, not the compound **ΕΡΖΩΒ** “do a job”.

phy”. Some cases in English of word-formational *nil* determination rather than *zero* in composition: talk shop — hair-raising — sand-piper — turn-coat.

¹⁷ See above, and Chapter Two.

¹⁸ For more exx., cf. Layton, *BASP* 14 (1977) 72f.; Browne, *BASP* 16 (1979) 169f. Shisha-Halevy 1986a:147f.; Polotsky 1990:244f.

(b) **Different-value zeroes. The *signifié* of zero determination.** In Bohairic, zero determination seems to be distributionally slightly less important than in Sahidic: the respective *systèmes des valeurs* are different. There is virtually no difference in Coptic between “SNØ sgl” and “SNØ pl.” (to use the codes of KORZEN 1996) with the “zero plural” a higher concretization grade, since we have quantification as an added factor. Zero is found — according to its slot — opposed to $\sigma\tau$ -, to $\{\pi\iota\}$ - and $\{\pi\}$ -, to non-zero as a composite paradigmatic term, or to all other determinators. Iconically simulating the lexeme itself, zero determination expresses abstraction: extreme and absolute non-quantification, non-referentiality¹⁹, non-particularity (genericity) — this is in fact the only determinator to express genericity as a primary *seme*²⁰; the absence of specificity and quantifiedness, or, in notion naming or in naming in general, the metalinguistic external perspective (a function properly assumed by the special determinator $\{\pi\}$ -, see below). Needless to say, all these depend on the specific opposition prevailing in each individual paradigm/slot. For instance, in opposition to $\sigma\tau$ - and $\xi\alpha\eta$ -, as in the case of the Existant, zero signifies extensional genericity; similarly in a ternary opposition, with $\{\pi\iota\}$ - and $\sigma\tau$ -/ $\xi\alpha\eta$ - (e.g. as object actant); in opposition to $\{\pi\}$ - in naming, as a notion (genus) name (see below, discussing generics); again in opposition to $\sigma\tau$ -/ $\xi\alpha\eta$ -, in rhematic status, as absolute and abstract attributeless predicate.

The fascinating and somewhat paradoxical convergence, under zero, of extreme generic abstraction and extreme Proper-Name uniqueness, derives from the already mentioned iconic simulation of lexemicity — Guillaume’s “nom en puissance” and the lexeme-actualizing zero, and the very tension between zero and *nil* discussed below.

(c) **Zero vs. *nil* determination.** This — and *tertium non datur* (although $\{\pi\}$ - determination comes close) is the prime distinction, one that is evaded by such pseudo-descriptive characterizations of a noun as “articleless”, “indeterminate”, “bare” — indeed pseudo-descriptive, since ignoring a crucial distinction. My main objection to this evasion is

¹⁹ Cf. WEINRICH 1982:287f.

²⁰ This is in fact the main difference between the Coptic and Egyptian zeroes: cf. even, paradoxically and counter-intuitively, a possibly *specific* zero, “a certain...”, see VERNUS 1990:191 (pre-Demotic). We are familiar with *pragmatically* specific zero determination (as in “percorso mostra”, “in zona”, “DO NOT USE TOILET WHEN TRAIN IS IN STATION”); “telegraphic” journalistic zero, not specific or generic but rather replacing the whole articular system (“YOUTH BREAKS NECK IN SUMMER CAMP”), or cotextually closed-system specificity (“There was mutual understanding between mother and son”). On the Proper-Name (“Notion Name”) specific zero, see below.

that it is unstructural, heedless of the linguistic sign and its structure, as also of basic structural analysis: the difference between an absence that is paradigmatically opposed to a presence (non-zero) and one that is not. A formal characteristic that has a semantic counterpart (*signifié*) must by the same token be a *signifiant*, and a real segmental entity. The informational analytical implications of distinguishing a *zero* article from *nil* (non-significant absence — indeed, not “absence” at all, since a “presence” is not contemplated) determination are many. The former constitutes, and signifies, a negation neutralization of all categories that are elsewhere compatible with the noun; the latter signifies *inertness* — indifference to and rejection of the determination syndrome as a whole: no less than cancellation of the determinator slot. The former characterizes the noun lexeme as noun-syntagm constituent; the latter, as a lexemic base for grammemic processes. Contrast the infinitive in $\alpha\varrho\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ or $\tau\rho\epsilon\varrho\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ or $\alpha\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ with the infinitive in $\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$; or — on a higher level of analytic sophistication, among the various $\epsilon\rho$ -homonyms (Chapter Two), the deriving word-formational $\epsilon\rho$ - with both the copular and the “lexical” $\epsilon\rho$ -. Moreover, subsuming *zero* and *nil* determination under “articlelessness” makes us lose sight of features of exclusion and compatibility; different values of *zero* in different paradigmatic environments, the diachrony of transition from a binary to a ternary article system.

While the *zero* vs. *nil* commutability test is usually straightforward and useful, e.g. for junctural characterization (Chapter Four), there are still non-conclusive cases, like the absence feature following quantifiers and numbers (cf. Ex. 1:9 $\sigma\theta\eta\iota\omega\tau\ \mu\mu\eta\omega$, Ex. 4:8 $\pi\iota\mu\eta\iota\eta\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\zeta\bar{\omega}$, Ex. 10:22 $n\text{-}\bar{r}\ \eta\epsilon\zeta\omega\sigma\sigma$, Gen. 32:14f. $\bar{c}\ \mu\beta\alpha\epsilon\mu\pi\iota\ \bar{k}\ \mu\beta\alpha\rho\eta\iota\tau\ \bar{c}\ \eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\sigma\ \bar{k}\ \eta\omega\iota\lambda\iota\dots$ Num. 29:13:20 and so on), while the *zero* following other cases of *nota relationis* is fairly certain. The rare instances of quantified morphological plurals, with *n*- {+ no article} their *outil grammatical*, apparently do not count as true *zero* article: Gen. 26:14 $\sigma\theta\mu\eta\omega\ \eta\iota\epsilon\tilde{\varphi}\omega\sigma\iota$ (*ibid.* $\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\eta\omega\sigma\iota\ \eta\epsilon\zeta\omega\sigma$ is difficult), Gen. 42:2, 43:2:4 $\chi\alpha\kappa\omega\sigma\Delta\iota\ \eta\delta\ \rho\eta\sigma$, Gen. 32:14 $\bar{\lambda}\ \eta\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma\lambda\iota$. As a bracketing base, we apparently have *zero* rather than *nil*, since it is arguably the very choice of the former that defines the constructional hierarchy and constitutes its internal linkage: Gen. 45:8 $\sigma\theta\iota\omega\tau\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \bar{\sigma}\bar{c}$, that is, $\sigma\theta[\iota\omega\tau\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \bar{\sigma}\bar{c}]$. On the other hand, following the *initio compositi* (“participial”) pre-object verb-lexeme (as in Deut. 23:25 $\iota\alpha\zeta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\sigma\sigma$, Gen. 46:32 $\rho\epsilon\varrho\omega\lambda\eta\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon\beta\eta\eta$, Ex. 14:9 $\delta\alpha\varsigma\iota\text{-}\zeta\theta\sigma$, Ex. 30:25 $\tilde{\varphi}\alpha\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\delta\epsilon\eta$), where determination commutation is not attested in the corpus, the situation is not entirely clear. Sahidic construc-

tions such as the Shenoutean “ $\zeta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota\text{-}\pi\epsilon\eta\mu\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\eta$ ” may indicate elsewhere a *zero* article following the *i.i.c.* component (the specificity of $\pi\epsilon\alpha\text{-}$ is occasionally low; see below); this is probably supported by such compounds as

$\mu\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\iota$ Gen. 17:12:26.

$\omega\pi\text{-}\zeta\alpha\text{-}\zeta\alpha\tau$ Gen. 17:26, Ex. 12:41.

$\rho\epsilon\mu\text{-}\eta\iota$ Lev. 18:12f., $\rho\epsilon\mu\text{-}\eta\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$ Gen. 32:3, $\rho\epsilon\mu\text{-}\eta\text{-}\beta\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ Lev. 19:3.

$\omega\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\iota\omega\tau$ Lev. 18:11 $\omega\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau$ Gen. 43:29.

— all with a medial conditioned grammeme selected (conditioned) by the initial lexeme; not so in the case of

$\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\phi\alpha\tau$ Num. 35:3.

In these cases the *zero* itself — that is, in its very selection — is part of the high-linkage mechanism of compounding, alongside the prosodic reduction of the *in initio compositi* lexeme. This does not seem to be the case in the more grammaticalized word-formation cases:

$\mu\epsilon\tau\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\alpha\lambda\omicron$ Gen. 21:2, $\mu\epsilon\tau\text{-}\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ Gen. 31:47f.

The iconic resemblance of *zero* and *nil* determination has some consequences of importance, notably the apparent incompatibility of the “possessive pronoun” $\phi\alpha\text{-}$ with a following *zero* article: $\phi\alpha\text{-}$ is non-specifying, or rather specificity-indifferent, because it has no contact with the noun lexeme, but the difference between the *zero*-determined noun syntagm and the noun lexeme²¹ is too fine; see more below.

Nil determination itself is not monolithic.

(d) *Nil* determination: a brief classification. The following types are grammatically significant:

(1) No determination commutation before any lexeme in certain environments: see (c) above.

(2) No determination commutation before certain lexemes, in any environment: $\tau\omicron\omicron\sigma\iota$, $\mu\epsilon\pi\iota$, $\rho\omicron\tau\tau\iota$.

(3) No determination commutation before certain pronominal grammemes, in any environment: $\omicron\tau\omicron\eta$, $\eta\theta\omicron\alpha$, $\varphi\alpha\iota$.

(4) Proper Names (which may be rendered phoric by demonstratives: SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:11f.; or may be de-properized by determinators: *ibid.*) still have *nil*.

²¹ The compatibility of $\phi\alpha\text{-}$ with $\eta\iota\mu$ or $\omicron\tau\eta\mu$ does not invalidate this, since these are pronouns, not lexemes. Incidentally, welsh *un*, elsewhere “one”, is eminently comparable to $\phi\alpha\text{-}$, in being determination-indifferent in anaphoric linkage and pre-determination position: SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:74ff.

(5) $\Phi\lambda$ - "one/he of-"²², preceding the determinator slot, is by that token not a determinator, but inert or indifferent to determination (the same applies to $\{\Phi\omega\neq\}$ and even, in certain environments, to $\pi\epsilon\zeta$ - (which, however, gets its specifying effect from its contact with the lexeme).

(6) $\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau$ -, the formal nucleus of substantivized Relatives is indifferent to determination: see below.

Obs.

(1) $\zeta\lambda$ and $\sigma\tau$ are in Bohairic compatible as Rhemes with Themes in the Interlocutive NS, hence are not cases of *zero* determination (Sahidic integrates these pronouns in the NS patterns by means of the indefinite article), cf. FUNK 1991:28.

(2) The Focalizing Present $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\rho\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\mu$ (John 19:24 B4) proves that $\{\Phi\lambda\}$ — not aspired here! — is not a determinator (it is compatible with most determinators: see below).

(3) The Non-Existant following $\mu\mu\omicron\eta$ -, when nominal, is invariably *zero*-determined. In this sense, there is no real commutation case to base a *zero* on; nevertheless, there is some commutation in the post- $\mu\mu\omicron\eta$ - slot; and the overhead hyper-paradigm of (non-) existence must possibly also be taken into account.

(e) Zero and Indefinite. This, at first sight probably the most tangible affinity of *zero* determination, must still be carefully reviewed, for the indefinite may, on occasion, be particular, may be anaphoric (and is frequently cataphoric) and is always to some extent quantified — in all these respects unlike *zero*. Both are non-specific, but their main association is in that the indefinite is the next grade on the individualizing or concretizing scale, after and above the *zero* — which makes for a frequent rhetorical figure of various contextual contrast:

Deut. 8:8 $\sigma\tau\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\ \eta\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \iota\omega\tau\ \zeta\alpha\eta\iota\alpha\zeta\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota\ \zeta\alpha\eta\beta\omega\ \zeta\alpha\eta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\eta$.

Gen. 44:19f. $\lambda\eta\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\omega\tau\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \iota\epsilon\ \kappa\omicron\eta\eta$, answered $\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\eta\tau\alpha\eta\ \eta\omicron\tau\zeta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\ \eta\iota\omega\tau\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\ \eta\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau$...

Ex. 12:15 $\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu\text{-}\alpha\tau\psi\epsilon\mu\eta\rho \Rightarrow \tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\tau\psi\epsilon\mu\eta\rho$.

Ex. 19:13 $\zeta\epsilon\eta\zeta\alpha\eta\omega\eta\iota\text{...}\kappa\epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omega\eta\iota$ and similar phrases.

Moreover, *zero* Non-Existant ($\mu\mu\omicron\eta$ - + *zero*) contrasts neatly with indefinite Existant ($\omicron\tau\omicron\eta$ - + $\sigma\tau$ -/ $\zeta\alpha\eta$ -, e.g. Lev. 13:21:30:31).

Deut. 22:5 $\eta\eta\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \eta\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\ \psi\omega\pi\iota\ \zeta\iota\omicron\tau\zeta\iota\mu\iota$ (= Vat) — observe the *zero* / indefinite alternation.

In Lev. 26:12 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \eta\omega\tau\epsilon\eta\ \eta\eta\omicron\tau\uparrow\ \omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\text{...}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \eta\eta\iota\ \eta\omicron\tau\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, the opposition is motivated by the rhematic

²² And not the specific "he of", as translated in SHISHA-HALEVY 1985.

lexemes (“[a single] Godhead”, taken in abstraction, but “[one out of many] people[s]”, concrete and individualized).

(f) Special affinity of zero with negative environment²³. In actantial, existential and *possessum* status in negative nexus, *zero* as expressing the “nulligeneric” seems to exclude the indefinite (not the definite!) altogether: negativity and indefiniteness are incompatible:

ⲟⲩⲟⲛ-ⲟⲩ- vs. ⲙⲙⲟⲛ- *zero* Lev. 13:21:30:31.

Deut. 15:11 ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲁⲕⲓ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ...

Deut. 18:1 ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲩⲱⲡⲓ ...

Num. 21:5 ⲙⲙⲟⲛ-ⲱⲓⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲱⲟⲩ.

Gen. 38:21 ⲙⲙⲟⲛ-ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ.

Deut. 12:13 ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲧⲉⲩⲧⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ.

A case like Deut. 25:13f ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲩⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ (= Vat) with the [ⲟⲩ- ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩ-] constituent unity bracketed by ⲛⲛⲉ- apparently does not constitute an exception: ⲟⲩ- here is not an indefinite article, but ⲟⲩ- ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩ- a discontinuous correlative phrase meaning something like “one... another... [on different occasions]”.

(g) Zero and rhematicity

In the inherent or essential predication by the Nominal Sentence, it is the indefinite or definite determinator that are rhematic, and (unlike Sahidic: SHISHA-HALEVY 1984) *zero* is excluded. But in non-inherent or incidental rhematic status, it is the definite or specific determinators that are excluded, and *zero* and indefinite determination stand in a fine opposition, as specified above.

(h) Zero article in coordination: bracketing

In noun-syntagm coordination, primarily a case of determinator connection, the lexemes “make themselves felt”, that is, interfere in the grammemic mechanism, more than in any other construction (note again the effect of the resemblance of *zero* and *nil*). The existence, in Coptic as in pre-Coptic Egyptian²⁴, of special connectors for *zero*-determined coordinates, has in our Bohairic a special significance, for, while ⲛⲉⲙ is

²³ Indeed, *zero* may carry the negativity: cf. “There is small sign in the McCreary book that either Eames or his biographer has weighed the alternative proposition” (TLS, December 3, 2004).

²⁴ Gunn Papers V 75, and letter to Gardiner 24/11/34 *ad Egyptian Grammar* 1927 §91 p. 69 (AHG 142.124.102): “I have no doubt that words coupled by *hr* are undetermined words...the usage is thus as with Coptic *g1*”.

the normal coordinator for this determination, **ḡ** is also used (alongside **nem**) as a closer link — almost as of a coordinative compound — in the phrases “(flowing/oozing with [N-]) milk-and-honey” and (much more rarely) “(full of) silver-and-gold”:

ερω† nem εβιω Ex. 3:8, Num. 14:8 (Vat **ḡ**).

Deut. 27:3 **ερω† εβιω** (Vat + [**εβολ**] **ḡ**).

ερω† ḡεβιω Ex. 13:5, Lev. 20:25, Num. 16:13, Deut. 26:9, 11:9.

ψοσο nerω† εβολ ḡεβιω Deut. 26:15, 31:20.

εḡμεḡ nḡat ḡinoḡv Num. 22:18, 24:13.

Here **ḡ**-, which is in Sahidic the normal inter-zero connector, is restricted to a few closely-knit phrases, bracketed by **n**-; however, it is not the bracketing that is accountable for **ḡ** -: witness Gen. 45:8 **ο†ιω† nem ḡc**] or Deut. 8:8 **ο†καḡi ncoḡo nem iω† ḡaniaḡaloli ḡanḡw ḡanerḡan**.

Other groups are as a rule coordinated with **nem**, which is in Bohairic considerably more extended in function:

Deut. 14:15 **ειο†a nem ḡaḡci nem ψο†c**.

Deut. 10:18 **ωik nem ḡvoc**.

Ex. 4:11 **εβο nem κο†p पेḡnaḡ εβολ nem बेल्ले**.

Lev. 26:1 **nnetenḡamio nωten nḡanmoḡnk nḡiḡ ḡḡae ḡω†ḡ**.

Ex. 36:6 **pωmi nem cḡimi** — in Topic.

Ex. 35:31 **ο†pnḡa nka† nem coḡḡa**.

Deut. 26:19 **mḡrḡ† etaqaiḡ nonomacḡoc nem ψο†ψο† nem ωο†**.

aḡḡamioḡ nḡwoḡ† nem cḡimi Gen. 1:27, 5:2.

Deut. 11:11 **ο†καḡi ntwoḡ ne nem meψψω†** (Vat **ο†meψ-ψω†**)

Gen. 37:25 **ο†t ncoḡnoḡqi nem con† nem cḡaktḡ**.

Disjunctors occur in commutation with **nem**:

Deut. 12:13 **mmonḡeqtoi ḡḡae κληḡoc**.

Num. 22:18 **εaiḡ nκοḡḡi ie niω†**.

Num. 20:5 **mmon-kenḡe nḡḡḡḡ ḡḡae aloli ḡḡae erḡan ḡḡae mmon-mwoḡ ecw**.

Lev. 12:7 **ḡḡe eḡnamici ite ḡwoḡ† ite cḡimi**.

Gen. 1:6 ...**nḡeqψωpi eḡeḡωḡḡ εβολ ο†ḡe mwoḡ nem ο†mwoḡ** (Vat; Greek ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος) — we would expect here an indefinite after **ο†ḡe**, unless the asymmetry is based on a distinctive interpretation of this *locus*.

Obs.

(1) Cases of interest outside the corpus:

Cal. 187 $\epsilon\omega\tau\iota\ \eta\iota\beta\epsilon\tau\ \eta[\eta\sigma\eta\tau\iota\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \epsilon\sigma\eta\tau\iota\eta\tau\iota]$.

De Vis I 172 $\eta[\psi\omicron\pi\eta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \varsigma\alpha\epsilon]$.

(2) Is $\omicron\tau\omicron\zeta$ allowed here only metalinguistically? consider Cal. 204 $\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\zeta\iota\ \epsilon\eta\iota\Phi\alpha\text{-}\rho\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \dots\ \varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\eta\iota\ \omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\ \rho\epsilon\epsilon\Phi\iota\omicron\tau\iota$.

3.4 The indefinite articles. Particular vs. non-particular indefiniteness. $\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$, $\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\eta$ and $\zeta\alpha\iota$.

(a) The indefinite articles or determinators, $\omicron\tau\text{-}$ and $\zeta\alpha\eta\text{-}$, by no means simply the negative binary counterpart of the definite, are in a sense even more complicated, synchronically and therefore diachronically. The indefinite is characterizable in function as a grammaticalized quantifier, actualizing and individualizing a nominal notion as generic or particular, without cotextual or pragmatic referentiality or familiarity, yet with a possible specificity (as in "I'm expecting a friend"): "a [certain] case / instance / specimen / kind / manifestation of...". The generic indefinite is instantial and metaphoric ("an instance of" = "any conceivable individual case of"). The said individualization subsumes and is informed by a basic quantification and it is probable that $\omicron\tau\text{-}$ and $\zeta\alpha\eta\text{-}$ are operative as homonyms in two distinct paradigms, one determining, the other quantifying. In the singular, gender differentiation (that is, $\omicron\tau_{\text{masc}}\text{-}$ and $\omicron\tau_{\text{fem}}\text{-}$) is called for, especially because of reference features such as those discussed in JERNSTEDT 1978 [1949].

(b) The instantial or casual ("care-raising") genericity — which is intensional — of the *singular* indefinite article, as in:

Ex. 8:12 $\zeta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon\ \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \uparrow\eta\alpha\omicron\tau\omega\pi\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\eta\iota\ \epsilon\varsigma\omega\kappa\ \dots\ \eta\omicron\tau\alpha\zeta\ \eta\omicron\tau\zeta\omicron\pi$.

Ex. 9:18 $\zeta\eta\pi\pi\epsilon\ \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \uparrow\eta\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\eta\iota\ \epsilon\varsigma\omega\kappa\ \mu\pi\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\tau\ \eta\pi\alpha\varsigma\uparrow\ \eta\omicron\tau\alpha\lambda$.

Perhaps also:

Deut. 17:8 $\omicron\tau\epsilon\omicron\eta\eta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \omicron\tau\epsilon\omicron\eta\eta, \omicron\tau\zeta\alpha\pi\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \omicron\tau\zeta\alpha\pi$.

Deut. 17:11 $\epsilon\omicron\tau\iota\eta\alpha\mu$ (i.e. $\epsilon\omicron\tau\text{-}\omicron\tau\iota\eta\alpha\mu$?) $\omicron\tau\alpha\epsilon\ \omicron\tau\varsigma\alpha\zeta\eta$.

Ex. 21:24f. $\omicron\tau\beta\alpha\lambda\ \varsigma\alpha\omicron\tau\beta\alpha\lambda\ \omicron\tau\eta\alpha\zeta\zeta\iota\ \varsigma\alpha\omicron\tau\eta\alpha\zeta\zeta\iota\ \omicron\tau\varsigma\iota\zeta\ \varsigma\alpha\omicron\tau\varsigma\iota\zeta$.

and, I believe, the rhematic slots following $\eta\text{-}$ and $\epsilon\text{-}$, discussed above (statistically certainly most numerous), even with the Rheme specified and concretized:

Gen. 9:3 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \eta\omega\tau\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\tau\varsigma\epsilon$.

Gen. 9:20 **ΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΟΤΡΩΜΙ ΝΟΤΩΙ.**

Gen. 12:19 **ΔΙΟΛC ΝΗΙ ΕΤCΖΙΜΙ.**

Ex. 14:22 **ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΙΜΩΟΤ ΟΙ ΝΟΤCΟΒΤ CΑΟΤΙΝΑΜ ΝΕΜ CΑ-
ΖΑCΗ ΜΜΩΟΤ.**

Noteworthy is the unique

Gen. 5:2 **ΑΦΘΑΜΙΟΟΤ ΟΥΖΟΟΤΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΥCΖΙΜΙ** (consensus), where the absence of segmental rhematicity marking is probably correlatable to the exclusion of *zero* determination; genericity almost overlaps here with true indefiniteness ("an instance of malehood/femalehood").

The instantial generic is opposed (still only in the singular?) to indefinite specificity ("a certain, particular...", JOHANSSON 1977 esp. 1189ff., NILSSON 1979:119):

Gen. 1:2 **ΟΥΠΝΑ ΝΤΕΦΤ.**

Gen. 32:30 **ΔΙΝΑΤ ΓΑΡ ΕΟΤΝΟΤ† ΝΖΟ ΟΥΒΕΖΟ.**

Num. 5:20 **ΟΥCΖΙΜΙ CΑΖΑΙ.**

Perhaps it is to be found also in the numerous occurrences of the indefinite article in legal and/or ritual case-raising context (as in Lev. and Num. 5, 6 *passim*).

(c) The non-generic (particular) role of the indefinite article is ubiquitous:

Ex. 3:22 **ΑΛΛΑ ΕCΕΕΡΕΤΙΝ ΝΖΕ-ΟΥCΖΙΜΙ ΝΤΟΤC ΝΤΕCΘΕΨΕ ΝΕΜ ΤΕCΨΦΕΡΙ ΝΖΑΝΚΕΤΟC ΝΖΑΤ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΝΟΤΒ**, sim. Ex. 11:2.

Ex. 4:25 **ΕΤΑCCΙ ΔΕ ΝΖΕ-CΕΠΦΩΡΑ ΝΟΤΑΛ...**

Note that it is in such cases as the last example that the functional opposition of indefinite and *zero* determination is most salient: the former a true object actant, the latter bordering on a compound lexeme (CΙ-ΑΛ would be "to flint-take").

(d) The indefinite article is often, perhaps typically, non-referential and non-cotextual. However, it may be anaphoric, yet not deictically (as in the case of ΠΙ-) but as pro-form, substitute or representant, representing descriptively a preceding indefinite syntagm:

Ex. 3:22 **ΑΛΛΑ ΕCΕΕΡΕΤΙΝ ΝΖΕ-ΟΥCΖΙΜΙ ΝΤΟΤC ΝΤΕCΘΕΨΕ ΝΕΜ ΤΕCΨΦΕΡΙ ΝΖΑΝΚΕΤΟC ΝΖΑΤ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΝΟΤΒ.**

Deut. 28:36 **ΖΑΝΚΕΝΟΤ† ΖΑΝΨΕ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΩΝΙ.**

(e) Like other determinators, and more conspicuously than others (see JERNSTEDT 1978 [1949]; and above, §3.0.4), the indefinite article is nuclear in the noun syntagm, contracting with its expanding lexeme a relationship that can be described as partitive: "one/an instance/case... of the class/kind X", a relationship compatible with the anaphoric

(proform) role of $\text{O}\overline{\text{O}}\text{-}\text{ZAN-}$. This insight of Jernstedt's is all-important, accounting for most peculiarities from the very common "adjectival" — rather "denominal" — reading of the indefinite (esp. as Rheme), to the rarer phenomenon of PME (Sah.) "the true one" (alongside TME "Truth"), $\text{†}\text{ZO N-}$ "she with/characterized by [a] face of..." (and PIZO N- : "he with the face /the face of...") and similar. The difference, also with junctural implications, of T-ME and P-ME may be correlated with the distinction of *determinator + bare lexeme* and *determinator + zero-determined lexeme* ("hyperdetermination") respectively, the latter characterized with an internal boundary (delimitation) and accordingly richer nucleus grammemic paradigm (Chapter 4).

(f) The indefinite article is especially familiar in essential (inherent) rhematic status, that is, in the Nominal Sentence. Here, in fact, it replaces or rather subsumes the *zero* article, which is excluded²⁵ (both in the Delocutive and Interlocutive-Theme pattern sets: for the latter, see FUNK 1991:41), and is therefore the only non-specific determinator. Indeed, in both NS sets it is part of the grammatical matrix of the pattern, and grammatically indispensable:

Ex. 6:12 $\text{ANOK GAP ANOK-OATCAZI}$.

Num. 13:18 ... $\text{IE AN-OZWB PE IE AN OTKOTZI PE IE AN-OTNIW† PE}$.

Gen. 29:31 $\text{PAXHA AE NΘOC NEOTAZPHN TE}$.

(g) The indefinite article covers the entire lowest-specificity range and is grammatically indispensable also with abstract lexemes after the preposition SEN- , and for all lexemes in some constructions. In these cases, its semantic opposition to *zero* is of course neutralized:

Ex. 4:18 MAWENAK SENOTOTZI .

Ex. 12:9 EQΘOCI SENOTMOW .

Ex. 7:11 SENOTMETΦAPMAKOC .

Ex. 15:21 $\text{SENOTWOT GAP AQZIWOT}$.

Ex. 13:19 $\text{SENOTWINI POC NAWINI}$ — the Tautological-Infinite construction (Chapter Two).

Deut. 12:6 MΦPH† NOTMOW .

Ex. 16:14 MΦPH† NOTIW† .

Ex. 3:22 $\text{ALLA ECCEPETIN NZE-OTCZIMI...}$

²⁵ In Demotic, it seems to alternate with or be opposed to *zero*: the distribution is still problematic, synchronically and diachronically. *w' bhw p3y* in H.J. Thissen, *Demotische Graffiti... Medinet Habu* (1989) 89 No. 115, and of course in Mag.; yet already in Ryl. IX 3/18 (Focus of Cleft Sentence).

(h) While the singular indefinite article, also (homonymically) operative in the quantifier category, is as a rule not combined with other quantifiers, rare exceptions do occur:

Ex. 2:13 $\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\sigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\mu\iota\ \bar{\nu}\ \eta\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\beta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\ \sigma\upsilon\beta\epsilon\sigma\omicron\tau\epsilon\text{-}\rho\eta\sigma\upsilon$ (Vat $\rho\omega\mu\iota$). ($\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\mu\iota\ \bar{\nu}$ ("a pair of men"?) is attested also in BM Or 8780 f. 23 *vo* in marg.: see Layton, Cat. 405ff. BM 8780 f.23 *vo* and ref.).

Also Gen. 25:24 $\eta\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\theta\epsilon\tau\ \varsigma\eta\alpha\sigma\ \xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\chi\iota$ (= Vat). Not commonly, $\sigma\upsilon$ - acts as quantifier ("one"):

Deut. 1:23 $\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\ \eta\tau\omega\mu\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\mu\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda\eta$.

Obs.

(1) The alleged "cataphoricity" of the indefinite article (WEINRICH 1982:263ff.), for instance in a case like "Never play poker with a man called Doc... Never sleep with a woman whose problems are worse than your own" (actually generic!), or "we boarded a ship that went to Marseilles", is non-referential and non-vectorial, pragmatic rather than grammatically formal — very differently from the cataphoric definite, as in "the restaurant where we had dinner", where the expansion and definite article are two constituents of a discontinuous reference chain, and the latter, representing the former, is meaningless without it.

(2) Diachrony and synchrony. In Late Egyptian and the 1000-year span of Demotic, the distribution and function of the indefinite article are still very much variables of text and texteme, probably (at least in the former) a matter of the ternary system ousting or replacing the binary one. What may be stated with confidence is that the indefinite article evolved considerably later than the definite article. For Greek — another instance of binary to ternary, in the written language from Byzantine Greek onward — see KUHLMANN 1997/8:86ff.; for Germanic and Romance, with a general exposition and theoretical foundation, see PRESSLICH 2000 (41ff., 75ff. on the association of the indefinite with partitivity and its universal derivation from "one"; its relation to *zero* is also investigated [e.g. 68]. HOPPER and MARTIN 1987 study the development in English ("decreasing referentiality: weakening of presentative functions; grammaticalization — evolution from lesser to greater contextualization"); NOCENTINI 1996:30ff.: the indefinite is as a rule more recent in relative chronology than the definite (in W. Europe, but also in Egyptian). HEWSON 1997 attempts to relate the two articles, the indefinite (as unmarked) and the definite (as marked, but are they at all relatable, even synchronically?). See NOCENTINI 1996:16 for correlation between existence of indefinite and incompatibility of demonstrative with determinator. While the very emergence of an indefinite article and perhaps the rate of its evolution seem to be independent of the definite article, it is true that binary systems of *zero* and indefinite, with no definite, are rarer (Turkish). For descriptive accounts of various European languages, see also CORBELIN 1987:243, EROMS 1988:271, 281ff., VAN DE VELDE 1994.

(3) For LE, see the Gunn Papers (Oxford, the Griffith Institute) V 53 "Use of the word *w*^c in Wenamûn and the Leopold II and Amherst Papyri": "a certain...", "simply the indefinite article", "the partitive sense of 'one of'", "'one' as opposed to 'other'". IV A 21 ("Late Egyptian Stories: Grammatical Notes") "*w*^c as indefinite article with/without *n*", "*w*^c before nouns stressed not article", "preceded by possessive article: one...of hers" (e.g. W 2/76, TB 9/3), "before noun, with $\bar{\mu}$ ", "following noun".

(4) For indefinites and phoricity, see COLE 1974.; see also Obs. I above.

(5) On the specific indefinite in Turkish, see JOHANSON 1977 (pointing out complicating factors of Functional Sentence Perspective and information structure), NILSSON 1979:119 ("presents the element as known in the particular context in which it was mentioned"... "reference to a particular individual... may be particular in a given situation, although indefinite", 122f.) Cf. also KORZEN 1996:278ff. KAPELIUK 1972 on Amharic, with its well-known affinities to Turkish: here too the overt accusative marks specificity also with the indefinite.

(6) JERNSTEDT 1978 [1949], one of the three "founding" treatises on Coptic linguistics, treats only (Shenoutean) Sahidic, and only for the "reduced pronominal" indefinites $\sigma\tau$ ($\sigma\tau\alpha$) and $\xi\epsilon\eta$ - ($\xi\sigma\iota\eta\epsilon$). But in the third part of his essay, discussing $\tau\epsilon\iota$ -MINE N- as expansion of the demonstrative and the possessive pronoun, J. extends the "partitive" ("Izafet") analysis beyond the indefinite. Indeed, I think the extension of Jernstedt's model of partitive determinator/lexeme relationship to the definites is not ad-hoc but structurally unavoidable, as is implied in the Bohairic $\pi\iota$ - $\sigma\tau\sigma\epsilon$ N-: Num. 14:18 $\pi\alpha\iota$ - $\eta\omega\uparrow$ $\eta\eta\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\tau\sigma\epsilon$ $\eta\sigma\eta\eta\iota$; Deut. 8:9 $\mu\beta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\iota$ pred. of NS (Greek $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$) (Vat $\xi\alpha\eta\beta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\iota$).

(7) POLOTSKY 1989:468ff. (and 1991) suggests a "shift of subst. to adjectival meaning" in the non-specific (indefinite) rhematic noun. This is begging the question. In fact, he conceives of the "definite adjectivals" $\pi\mu\epsilon$ or $\mu\mu\epsilon$ as derived from a deep-structure nexal $\sigma\tau$ -... $\pi\epsilon$, $\xi\epsilon\eta$ -... $\eta\epsilon$ by conjoint transposition and condensation. I believe the partitive or associative relation is here perfectly applicable: as in $\uparrow$ -[$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ N-], $\uparrow$ [$\xi\sigma$ N-] so too in the case of $\pi\mu\epsilon$. This relationship is thus distinct from that of { $\Phi\alpha$ -}, *pace* POLOTSKY 1989:471f.

(i) Several syntactical slots of the indefinite article have already been examined above in this chapter. Three other difficult ones with noteworthy properties are:

Topic, Focus. Cases of indefinite extraposition or segmentation do not constitute a thematic link — the initial noun is not anchored in preceding cotext, like specific topics. In all these instances the extraposed noun seems to carry *prominence* (not generally to be found in Bohairic topicalization) and *rhematic Focus* rather than thematicity. This is not a topicalization construction, but a focalization one, distinct by its very determination (see Chapter Two above, for the focal extraposition of an indefinite noun).

Gen. 31:39 $\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\theta\eta\rho\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$ $\sigma\tau\sigma\sigma\mu\eta$ $\mu\pi\iota\epsilon\eta\eta$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ - a case of "not even" focalization.

Ex. 12:46 $\sigma\tau\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\omega\eta$ $\epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda$ $\mu\mu\sigma\eta$ — a case of "not even" focalization.

Ex. 15:2 $\sigma\tau\beta\sigma\eta\theta\sigma$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\sigma\tau\tau\epsilon\eta\omega\beta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda$ $\epsilon\delta\omega\iota$ $\lambda\eta\omega\omega\pi\iota$ $\eta\eta\iota$.

Differently prominent, and equally non-thematic, are the initial nouns in:

Lev. 10:9 **ΟΘΗΡΠ ΝΕΜΟΤΣΙΚΕΡΑ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΣΩΟΤ.**

Deut. 8:13 **ΟΤΞΑΤ ΝΕΜΟΤΝΟΤΒ ΑΤΨΑΝΑΨΑΙ ΝΑΚ.**

Different still is

Ex. 15:4 **ΞΑΝΣΩΤΠ ΝΑΝΑΒΑΤΗΣ ΝΤΡΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ ΑΡΞΟΛΚΟΤ ΞΕΝ-ΦΙΟΜ.**

Deut. 1:28 **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΜ ΞΑΝΚΕΨΗΡΙ ΝΑΨΩΠ ΑΝΝΑΨ ΕΡΩΟΤ**
(**ΝΕΜ** focussing “even”).

Obs.

Topicality and high or higher specificity are two aspects of one and the same phenomenon. This does not, I think, extend to thematicity (*pace* BIRKENMAIER 1979 42-70, esp. 49ff.). In situations of article-less determination (e.g. Old and Middle Egyptian), the Topic “counts as” specific by its very Topic-hood: consider two central cases of grammaticalized topicalization — the much-discussed “Topic + *sdm.f*” construction (see WESTENDORF 1953, JUNGE 1978 (1979), DORET 1980) and the “*s3j* ‘*f nht*’” construction, with an inalienable possessed Theme following the extraposed possessor; the Topic placement here is conditioned.

Actantial and non-actantial apposition to specific nucleus; nucleus to specific apposition:

Ex. 15:14 **ΑΨΩΤΕΜ ΝΞΕ-ΞΑΝΕΘΝΟC.**

Ex. 14:20 **ΟΤΟΞ ΑΨΩΠΙ ΝΞΕ-ΟΤΓΝΟΨΟC ΝΕΜΟΤΧΑΚΙ** —
note the coordinated phrase appositively to a *singular* agent pronoun.

Gen. 33:18 **CΑΛΗΜ ΟΤΒΑΚΙ.**

Num. 32:36 **ΑΒΡΑΝ ΝΕΜ ΒΕΘΑΡΑΝ ΞΑΝΠΟΛΙC.**

Gen. 39:1 **ΠΕΤΕΨΗΡΗ ΟΤΡΩΜΙ ΝΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ.**

Distributive-quantifier reiteration:

ΟΤΡΕΜΗΤ ΟΤΡΕΜΗΤ Ε/ΜΠΞΙΗΒ Num. 29:10:15.

Excuse: ΟΨΑΙ, ΟΨΟΝ, ΞΑΙ

(a) **ΟΨΑΙ**. The indefinite article’s synchronic-systemic relation to a prosodic allomorph **ΟΨΑΙ** / **ΟΨΙ** (in Bohairic, obtaining only for the singular) sets it apart from the definite determinator. **ΟΨΑΙ/ΟΨΙ**, the full prosodic alternant, is compatible with **ΠΙ**- or *zero* determinators (and by this token lexemic rather than grammemic — or at least not fully grammemic) and has several clear-cut grammatical roles and several structural entities; unless anaphoric (i.e. syntagmatically grammemic), it refers to animates only. Note that **ΟΨΑΙ, ΟΨΙ** is not compatible with **ΝΙΒΕΝ** (**ΟΨΟΝ** replaces **ΟΨΑΙ** in this slot: see below):

(1) **ΟΨΑΙ Ν-** / **ΝΤΕ-** (either **ΠΙ**- or *zero* determined) is juncturally and functionally opposed in-paradigm to **ΟΨ-**; **ΟΨΑΙ ΜΜΟΞ** is its pro-

nominal form. Unlike *οὗτον* (below), the environment of *οὗται* is primarily affirmative:

“One/first of two”:

Ex. 37:8 *οὗται* *νχεροῦβιμ* *ζιζενπιῶται* *νλακζ* *ντεπιλλα-στηριον* *οὗοζ* *πικεῶται* *νχεροῦβιμ* *ζιζενπιλλακζ* *μμλζ-β* *ντεπιλλαστηριον*.

Deut. 21:15 (*ςζιμι* *ςνοῦ†*) *οὗ* *μμωοῦ* *εφμει* *μμος* *οὗ* *μμωοῦ* *εφμος†* *μμος*.

“One” (number):

Lev. 23:28 *ζ* *νζιηβ* *ναταζ* *νι...* *οὗται* *μμλζι*.

Deut. 12:14, 17:2 *ςενοῦ* *ννεκβακι* (for *οὗ* *ντενεκβακι* Deut. 15:7 see below, 3.9 [f]).

(2) *οὗται* formal nucleus, whether anaphoric or not:

Lev. 27:11 *οὗτεβνη* *εφζλςेम* ... *οὗται* *εβολ* *ςενηη* *ετε-ς* *υε* *λν* *εινη* *εβολ* *νςητοῦ*.

Lev. 27:33 *οὗται* *ενανεφ* *ςλοῦται* *εφζωοῦ*.

Lev. 5:22 *οὗται* *εβολ* *ςενηζωβ* *νιβεν*.

Lev. 21:14 *οὗχηρα* *νem* *οὗ* *εςζωοῦ* *εβολ* *νem* *οὗ* *ες-ςοq*.

(3) Human indefinite or generic pronoun: “one”, in actantial status:

Lev. 15:24 *εϋωπ* *αρεϋανοῦται* *νκοτ* *νemλς*.

Deut. 22:28 *εϋωπ* *αρεϋανοῦται* *ςιμι* *νοῦαλοῦ*.

Deut. 24:5 *εϋωπ* *αρεϋανοῦται* *ςι* *νοῦςζιμι...*

Deut. 21:22 *εϋωπ* *αρεϋανοῦνοβι* *ϋωπι* *ςενοῦται*.

For the plural of *οὗται*, *ζανοῦτον*, morphologically the indefinite plural of *οὗτον* as a *lexeme*, stands structurally as the pro-enclitic alternant of *ζαν-*; *ζανοῦτον* too is often anaphoric, by dint of *ζαν-*.

Gen. 30:39 *ζανοῦτον* *εῶοι* *νθοιθοι* *νοῦωβϋ* *νem* *ζανλ-οῦαν* *νκερμι*.

(4) Correlative *οὗται...οὗται* (“one...another”) configuration (always anaphoric)²⁶:

Ex. 28:7 *οὗ* *οὗβε* *οὗ*.

Ex. 21:12 *αρεϋανοῦται* *†* *νοῦνϋλϋ* *νοῦται*.

(5) *πιῶται* *πιῶται* and *ϋῶται* *ϋῶται*. The difference in form of these very common phrases, often combined, for the adverbial-distributive “each”, less usually “one by one” (not really concurring with *οὗτον* *νιβεν*; both forms are resumed by the singular), is frankly baff-

²⁶ AM II 165 *εβολ* *ςενοῦ†μι* *ε†μι* ... *εβολ* *ςενοῦςβακι* *εβακι* is remarkable in the zero determination of the second term of the correlation.

fling: the functional difference between $\pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ escapes me. While it is on the whole clear that $\pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ is anaphoric and specific, and $\pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ usually opens the sequence that is carried on appositively and *adverbially* by $\Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ (as in Ex. 12:3f., Num. 16:17f. and often), $\Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$, non-specific, non-phoric, often following *in statu adverbiali* actantial pronouns, there are too many exceptions for this to be the full picture. The difference must be fine, and evidently not founded on the Greek original.

Ex. 16:18 $\alpha \pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \varsigma\omega\kappa\iota \nu\alpha\varsigma\ldots$

Ex. 12:3f. $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \varsigma\iota \nu\alpha\varsigma \nu\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau \ldots \epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\varsigma\iota \ldots \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \mu\pi\epsilon\varrho\omega\psi\iota.$

Ex. 12:22 $\nu\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\iota \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \mu\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron \nu\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varrho\eta\iota.$

Ex. 32:29 $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\omega\kappa \nu\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\iota\delta \ldots \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varrho\psi\eta\rho\iota \nu\epsilon\mu \pi\epsilon\varrho\varsigma\omicron\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\iota.$

Num. 2:34 $\psi\alpha\tau\omicron\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\beta \mu\pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota.$

Consider also the following adverbial (or predicative, or appositive) instances:

$\pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ Num. 4:19, 6:54, 7:5, 33:54, etc.

$\pi\iota\ldots \pi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ Num. 29:9.

$\epsilon\Phi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ Ex. 16:22 (but: $\epsilon\tau\omicron\tau\iota$ Ex. 26:5).

(b) $\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota$ is another “lexico-pronoun”, pronoun with dominant lexic properties. Attested in most dialects (albeit with different values), it has a plural form, $\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota$, the plural correspondent of $\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$, and is famously compatible with $\nu\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\iota$ — a syntagm more important in Sahidic²⁷, with *zero* and (in Bohairic, outside the corpus) $\nu\iota(\kappa\epsilon)-$ and $\nu\alpha\iota-$. $\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota$ alone has *zero*-determination status. Like $\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$, $\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota$, much more important, refers to animates (incl. human and animal; etymologically, probably a participle of $\omega\iota\iota(n)$ “exist, be”) and is gender-indifferent (in certain configurations, masculine; resumed by masculine only). It is in Bohairic (not in Sahidic) homonymous with the non-existence-stating elements (both compatible in Ex. 13:7 $\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota \epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota-\psi\epsilon\mu\eta\rho \mu\mu\omicron\varrho$, Deut. 33:26 $\mu\mu\omicron\iota\iota-\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota \mu\Phi\omicron\rho\eta\tau \mu\Phi\eta\tau$). The singular does not enter partitive constructions as $\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ does.

Zero-determined singular $\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota$, like a lexeme, favours, and indeed is practically conditioned by, negative environment, as an alternant to affirmative $\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$:

²⁷ $\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\iota \nu\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\iota$ is in the corpus expanded by the Relative, $\nu\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\iota$ being the determinator, not quantifier.

ΝΝΕΟΘΟΝ ΕΡΨΑΕ vs. ΕΡΨΑΝ-ΟΤΑΙ ΕΡΨΑΕ Deut. 15:4:7.

Ex. 13:7 ΝΝΕΦΟΘΟΝΖΥ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕ-ΟΘΟΝ ΕΟΘΟΝ-ΨΕΜΗΡ ΜΜΟQ.

Ex. 23:26 ΝΝΕΟΘΟΝ ΕΝΦΝΑΜΙCΙ ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΒΡΗΝ ΨΩΠΙ.

Deut. 23:17 ΝΝΕΠΟΡΗΝ vs. ΟΘΟΝ ΕΦΕΡΠΟΡΝΕΨΙΝ ΨΩΠΙ — ΟΘΟΝ supplying here a masculine term.

ΝΝΕΟΘΟΝ- also Ex. 10:14, 11:6, 23:26, Num. 8:19, 17:5, 18:5.

Ex. 10:6 ΜΠΙΝΑΨ ΕΟΘΟΝ ΜΠΕΦΡΗ†, cf. also Gen. 41:19.

Non-animates are rare: ("any", always anaphoric, almost only in negative environment):

Ex. 9:24 ΜΠΕΟΘΟΝ ΨΩΠΙ ΜΠΕΦΡΗ† (i.e. hail)

Ex. 13:7 ΝΝΕΦΟΘΟΝΖΥ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕ-ΟΘΟΝ (*scilicet* "food") ΕΟΘΟΝΨΕΜΗΡ ΜΜΟQ.

Non-negative occurrences are very rare, and as a rule correlative (beside the ubiquitous ΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ):

ΟΘΟΝ CΑ-ΟΘΟΝ "one after the other" Ex. 10:1 (Greek ἡξῆς), Deut. 2:34.

Ex. 35:5 ΜΑΡΕΟΘΟΝ ΘΙ ΝΤΕΝΟΘΟΝ ΜΜΩΤΕΝ.

The plural ΖΑΝΟΘΟΝ is very different, and its syntax closer to that of ΟΤΑΙ (above). Semantically, it is not restricted to animates, and often lexically fuzzy (even absent in the original):

Gen. 30:39: (anaphoric) ΖΑΝΟΘΟΝ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΘΟΙΘΟΙ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝ-ΛΟΤΙΑΟΤΑΝ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝ-ΛΟΤΑΝ ΝΚΕΡΜΙ.

Ex. 16:20 ΑΨΩΔΠ ΝΖΑΝΟΘΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟQ sim. 19:22, 29:34.

Ex. 16:27 ΖΑΝΟΘΟΝ ΔΕΝΠΙΛΑΟC.

Ex. 29:34 ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΑΡΕΨΑΝ-ΖΑΝΟΘΟΝ CΩΔΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ-ΝΙΑQ.

ΖΑΝΟΘΟΝ corresponds in Bohairic to Sah. (etc.) ΖΟΙΝΕ, not attested in Boh. but presupposed by ΖΑΝ-.

Obs.

(1) ΟΤΑΙ in negative environment means "not (even) a single one": ΜΠΕΟΤΑΙ ΜΜΑΨ-ΑΤQ CΩΔΠ Ex. 8:27, 14:28, 24:11.

(2) Phraseological ΝΙΟΘΟΝ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ† Luke 18:16, Cat. 7 ΝΑΙΟΘΟΝ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ† Cat. 58; 1 Cor. 16:18, Cat. 189: see Crum, *Dictionary*, 482a.

(c) ΖΛΙ, corresponding in many ways to Sahidic ΛΑΑΨ, is usually inanimate in reference (thus sometimes contrasted with ΟΤΑΙ for animates. In fact, non-anaphoric ΖΛΙ may be seen as the inanimate alternant of ΟΘΟΝ in negative environment). Unlike ΟΘΟΝ, ΖΛΙ is combined, by

the *notae relationis* **н-**, **нтє-**, pronominally **нтаз**, with other noun lexemes (“any...”) while it is not compatible in the corpus, unlike Nitrian Bohairic, with any determinator (i.e. a true grammemic pronoun). This is the prime difference between **отон/отαι** and **злї**:

Deut. 24:5 **злї нзѡв**.

Deut. 28:55 **злї нєнхлї**.

Gen. 37:24 **злї ммѡот**.

Num. 17:5 **злї нѡєммо**.

Ex. 19:12 **злї нтаѡ** (i.e. any part of the mountain).

злї occurs often in negative environment (“nothing/no-one”; it sometimes even acquires negative semantics of its own):

Num. 16:15 **мпиѡзлї нтотѡт ѡѡѡє мпитзємко нѡѡлї ммѡот**.

мπεзлї мѡт Ex. 9:6:7.

Ex. 16:19 **мпенѡрєзлї сѡѡп**.

Gen. 37:24 **ммон-злї ммѡот нѡнѡтѡ**.

Deut. 16:18 **ннєкєрєзлї нзѡв**.

Ex. 19:12 **...єѡтємѡї нєм злї нтаѡ**.

Rhematic, **злї** is inherently negative — “nothing”, “a trifle” (Greek οὐδέν):

Num. 20:19 **пизѡв злї пє**.

Ex. 22:9 **ѡн ѡтн ѡє-нѡѡзлї** (v.l. BGJ **злї ACLa нѡѡзлї пє**) is still mysterious: **ѡтн**, **ѡє-**, **н-ѡт-** (?) are wholly enigmatic, while the Theme **пє** may be zeroed in our MS.

Obs.

(1) In the Interlocutive NS as well as the Delocutive pattern, **злї** (and **ѡт**: cf. Ex. 16:7, 16:15) occur without the indefinite article only in Bohairic: FUNK 1991:28; however, **ѡт-злї** does occur in Bohairic (e.g. v.l. John 8:54, often in Nitrian), almost always rhematic in the NS.

(2) **нзлї** “at all” Luke 19:8 does not occur in the corpus.

Human animate **злї** is somewhat less usual. Apparently occurring only in negative environment, this raises the question of the opposition of **злї** with **отон**; the frequent combination of **злї** with **ммон-** may be significant, although Deut. 33:26 **ммон-отон мѡрѡт мѡт** still points to some distinction between **отон** and **злї**.

Ex. 10:23 **мπεзлї нѡт єпєѡсѡн ѡѡѡє мπεзлї тѡнѡ...**

Ex. 22:10 **ѡѡѡз нтєѡтєм-злї ємї**.

Ex. 34:24 **ннєзлї нтєпєккѡзлї єрєпїѡтмин**.

Gen. 39:11 **ммон-злї єѡѡтн ѡєнпнї** — **єѡѡтн** is here remarkable for “inside”.

Gen. 31:50 **ΜΜΟΝ-ΞΛΙ ΝΕΜΔΝ.**

Gen. 39:9 **ΜΜΟΝ-ΞΛΙ ΕΦΘΟCΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΞΜΠΕΦΗΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΜΟΝ-ΞΛΙ ΕΦΞΗΠ ΕΡΟΙ** has both animate and inanimate **ΞΛΙ**.

Gen. 20:9 **ΟΥΞΩΒ ΜΜΟΝ-ΞΛΙ ΝΔΔΙΦ.**

Also Ex. 34:24, Lev. 27:26, Deut. 11:25.

3.5 {π-} and {πΙ-} — “Two definite articles”?

Bohairic has a four-term articular system, with separate and asymmetrical singular and plural subsystems for all non-*zero* articles:

Singular	Plural
{π-}	ΝΕΝ- (Ν-)
{πΙ-}	ΝΙ-
ΟΥ-	ΞΔΝ-
<i>zero-</i>	

The prevailing consensus concerning the two “weak and strong” articles of Bohairic, a reputation based on a Sahidic “squinting” viewpoint rather than on true observation, and dependent on a pseudo-prosodic, pseudo-quantitative imponderable — why then isn’t **ΠΑΙ-** the “strongest article”? — is misleading rather than helpful. As it is, a complicated environment-dependent system of oppositions — a sophisticated *système des valeurs* — relates between the two determinators. Viewing them through the epistemological filter of the West-European article system (and we are of course talking about a difference in code, and not in the reflection of objective reality), in a simplistic traditional conception of determination, and not as valued by the syntagmatics-and-paradigmatics of varying construction, cannot but obscure for us the fine mesh of opposition and especially the functional range of {π-}. This is not to deny the obvious morphological relatedness of {π-} and {πΙ-}, synchronically referable to their nuclearity and the fact that both carry primary gender and number exponence; nor even their deictic interdependence as respectively *zero* and “marked” terms.

Obs.

(1) The diachronic aspect of the quaternary system, peculiar if not exclusive to Bohairic²⁸, escapes me. To my knowledge, no Demotic (let alone LE) data are indicative of a similar

²⁸ W.P. Funk (I quote from a letter of July 24, 2000) points out that F4 “is, I think, relatively close to Bohairic. Especially in the *plural* article usage: very rarely an article other than **ΝΙ-** at all, and if something other than **ΝΙ-**, then the usage is almost evenly di-

system. And yet, Bohairic is generally conservative, and has in general few important innovations compared with the other dialects. DEPUYDT 1985a: 51 facetiously “derives” π - from $\pi\pi$ -, through what he lightly calls “a loss of the vowel”. This is meaningless — is it a feature of diachronic evolution? What does “derivation” mean in this context? Synchronically, π - and $\pi\pi$ - are *not* prosodically related alternants²⁹; both are proclitic, and postulating a prosodic derivation dependence between them is tantamount to derive Sah. article π - from the demonstratives $\pi\epsilon\iota$ -/ $\pi\pi$ -.

(2) Comparative. For a similar phenomenon in Germanic (I don’t know of any instance outside Germanic),³⁰ see EBERT 1971 (on Northern Frisian) — two morphological articles for the “Bekanntheit des Referents”: (a) obligatory in (“cumulative”) non-specific reference; also for unica; “water”; “the sun”; “the door” — situationally unique, with no further specification: cf. our π -; (b) deictic, specified by preceding or following cotext: Bohairic $\pi\pi$ -. See also D. HARTMANN 1982 (NHG dialects), MARKEY 1985b, EROMS 1988:269ff. (one article stressed, the other proclitic); HARWEG 1989 (spoken NHG, dialectal, but also standard).

(3) The $\pi\pi$ - / π - distribution issue is closely associated with the alternation n -/ $n\pi\epsilon$ -, discussed in detail below. Consider the Gunn MSS (the Griffith Institute, Oxford) VII 12-14: “Rule: when the rectum is undetermined (semantically — ASH) and has no article and is not a proper name, the genitival n -, not $n\pi\epsilon$ -, and if the regens has the definite article this must be of the $\pi\pi$ -series, not the π -series” (Gunn mentions “nouns which can take the π -series” — he has obviously identified here a specific lexical group — ASH)... “Rule: nouns which can take π -articles take $\pi\pi$ -articles (a) in the vocative... [but:... $\Phi\uparrow$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\delta$...], when followed by a relative expression (including $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\lambda\omega$ and $\epsilon\tau$ - + qual.), (b) often before $n\pi\epsilon$ + determined noun (the question still is why $n\pi\epsilon$ is employed in some cases and not in others)”. This was obviously one of the foremost topics of interest to Battiscombe Gunn, who was very attentive to Bohairic (and especially, against the prejudice of his day, to Nitrian Bohairic).

(4) In CHAÎNE 1933 we find the most detailed — indeed, the most serious — discussion of this difficult issue (see pp. 125-132, §§267-285). True, Chaîne falls for the red herring of the “fort vs. faible” approach; yet such formulations as (§275) “noms communs de sens

vided between $n\pi$ - and n -...almost all such cases are “pre-genetival” (pre- n -, avoiding the $n\pi\epsilon$ -convention valid for $n\pi$ -), resemble very much the conditions and rarity of Bohairic $n\epsilon n$ -, whereas $n\pi$ - is the only plural article occurring in a relative-clause expanded NP. In the singular, however, the situation is clearly different from Bohairic: $\pi\pi$ - is not normally used, for instance, with highly abstract notions or other things of “higher deixis”...I would say, the singular is just about the situation as in dialect M...”. The difference between the singular and plural subsystems is again striking; and, while the determinator *forms* themselves are all present in the inventories of other dialects (including, of course, Sahidic), their values differ drastically.

²⁹ KASSER 1994 attempts a prosodic assignation of the stable, three-millennia-old π - π - n - series, on a ternary scale of tonicity; however, one misses $\Phi\eta$ / $\pi\eta$ and $\pi\pi$ - (Sah. or Boh.), and thus we gain little insight into the functional and structural value of either, in relation respectively to $\Phi\lambda\iota$ / $\pi\lambda\iota$ and π -. Viewing $\pi\pi$ - as “strong” (trad. terminology) with relation to π - is unfounded, for while the former is a zero-grade of $\pi\eta$, the latter does not really have a “guṇa” grade correspondence (unless it be the $\pi\epsilon$ - of $\pi\epsilon$ -q-, as Kasser maintains).

³⁰ It is possible, of course, that the complicated and still controversial story of the pre-Romance article and determinator system hides the presence of two higher-specificity (“definite”) articles.

générique" (π - or π 1-); §274 "noms d'action" (flottement π 1-/ π -); (§271) (π -) for "noms d'objets uniques...mais lorsque la signification première de ces noms est prise dans un sens générique pour désigner d'autres objets qui leur sont supposés semblables, ces noms sont déterminés par l'article fort", (§268) "les noms toutefois reçoivent l'article fort, lorsqu'ils sont employés pour désigner des êtres réputés semblables à Dieu ou encore pour désigner le vrai Dieu en faisant la supposition qu'il existe d'autres dieux. Leur signification consacrée pour par l'usage et réservée à un être unique, revêt alors un sens générique qui est spécifié et individualisé par l'article fort", show a sensitive and discerning evaluation of the facts. (Resorting to "euphonic considerations" in §284 is probably no more than a manifestation of "descriptive despair").

3.5.1 { π 1-} the deictic, cohesive Specifying Article. { π 1-} is a high-specificity article, with its specificity and lexeme-specifying force stemming from syntagmatic and/or paradigmatic dependence on another noun syntagm, specific or non-specific, co-textual, intertextual or contextual. This, in a nutshell, is what distinguishes it from π -.

In Bohairic, the association of { π 1-} with the demonstrative determinator Φ H is severed (while Φ H is still directly opposed to Φ AI, albeit not as distal to proximal, as in most other dialects: witness the pre-Relative slot, this is not the case between π 1- and π AI-. This ensues in a different value to π AI-, as is evident, e.g., in { π AI-} NOTOT , 1 Thessal. 2:14): { π 1-} is an article — the in some senses unmarked definite article of Bohairic (Note that the following roles of { π 1-} are not mutually exclusive). In fact, { π 1-} is simple in comparison with { π -}.

L. Stern's characterization (1880 §227) of the π 1- series as of "ver-eintzelnd und unterscheidend bestimmende bedeutung" is still unexceptionable. Indeed, { π 1-} — and only { π 1-} amongst articles — characterizes a noun as familiar, as of high specificity.

{ π 1-} is in essence a *cohesive* linking element, phoric on the textual plane, and referential both textually and extra-textually: it is in fact a striking case for the "world-of-discourse as text". The phoricity of { π 1-} — a textual-linkage application of its basic deixis — is double:

(a) Anaphoric — reintroducing a noun as already mentioned or familiar from the text:

(1) Representing:

Ex. 8:12-13 $\text{OTATNOTOTOP} \dots \text{PIATNOTOTOP}$.

Ex. 9:22-25 $\text{OTAT} \dots \text{PIAT}$ (cf. 9:24 $\text{AQWOT NZE-PTC NOTAT} \dots \text{NAQWOP DE PIAT PE}$).

Deut. 10:1-3 $\text{PALX CNOT} \uparrow \dots \text{NIPALX} \dots \uparrow \text{PALX CNOT} \uparrow$.

Num. 25:6ff. $\text{IC OTWMI EBOA ZENNENWHRH MPTCA AQINI} \dots \text{PIRWMI NICRAELITHC}$.

Gen. 30:32 $\text{ECWOT NIBEN NATATAN} \dots \text{NEM NIAOTIAOTAN}$.

Gen. 30:35 **ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΕΤΕΟΨΟΝ-ΟΨΟΨΩΨ ΝΨΗΤΟΨ ... ΝΙΟ-ΨΩΨ.**

(2) Fuzzily anaphoric — recalling from a cumulative database or folder:

Gen. 32:22 **ΑΨΙ Ν†CΖΙΜΙ Β† ΝΕΜ †ΒΩΚΙ Β† ΝΕΜ ΠΕΨ-ΙΑ ΝΨΗΡΙ...**

Gen. 41:56 **ΑΨΟΨΩΝ ... ΝΝΙΑΖΩΡ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝCΟΨΟ ΟΨΟΖ ΝΑΨ† ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ.**

(3) In specificity concord — anaphorically cohesive in apposition:

Gen. 41:45 **ΩΝ †ΒΑΚΙ.**

Ex. 3:1 **ΧΩΡΗΒ ΠΙΤΩΟΨ.**

Gen. 21:33 **Φ† ΠΙΨΑΕΝΕΖ.**

Gen. 22:21 **ΩΖ ΠΙΨΟΡΠΜΜΙCΙ.**

Gen. 3:22 **ΛΑΒΑΝ ΠΙCΨΡΟC.**

(b) Cataphoric — heralding reference. This is juncturally (Chapter Four) both a boundary (retrospective) and a link (prospective).

(1) Introducing a noun as to be subsequently specified, and in fact heralding its expansion.

Gen. 23:9 **ΠΙΜΖΑΨ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΑΙΠΛΟΨΝ.**

Gen. 20:3 **†CΖΙΜΙ ΕΤΑΚΟΛC.**

Gen. 26:2 **ΠΙΚΑΖΙ Ε†ΝΑΨΟΨ ΝΑΚ.**

Gen. 25:6 **ΝΙΨΡΟ† ΝΤΕΝΙΠΑΛΑΚΗ ΝΤΕΑΒΡΑΑΜ.**

Ex. 22:5 **ΝΙCΩΤΠ ΝΤΕΠΕΨΙΑΖΑΛΟΙ.**

Gen. 28:12 **ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕΦ†.**

Gen. 28:20 **ΠΙΜΩΙΤ ΦΑΙ ΑΝΟΚ Ε†ΜΩΨΙ ΖΙΩΤΨ.**

Gen. 26:18 **ΝΙΨΩ† ΝΤΕΠΙΜΩΟΨ ΝΗ ΕΤΑΨΨΟΚΟΨ ΝΨΕ-ΝΙΑ-ΛΩΟΨΙ ΝΤΕΑΒΡΑΑΜ.**

Gen. 17:13 **†ΨΨΧΗ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΨ.**

Deut. 1:17 **ΠΙCΑΨΙ ΕΤΝΑΨΤ ΝΤΕΝΘΗΝΟΨ.**

Ex. 16:2 **†CΨΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΤΗΡC ΝΤΕΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΜΠΙCΛ.**

Gen. 32:22 **ΠΙΨΙΝCΙΝΙ ΝΤΕΙΑΒΩΚ.**

Num. 34:6 **ΠΙΝΙΨ† ΝΙΟΜ.**

(2) In specificity concord — cataphorically cohesive in apposition:

Gen. 23:2 **†ΒΑΚΙ ΕΡΒΟΚ.**

Gen. 19:9 **ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΨΕ-ΛΩΤ.**

(c) A third type of reference is non- or extra- (inter-) textual (“exophoric”). It is typically dialogic-situational, but not really restricted textemically. Here we find singulars as well as plurals, as *prius nota*, not *prius dicta*; or simply as *familiar in the world of current discourse*:

Gen. 22:5 **ΖΕΜCΙ ΜΠΑΙΜΑ ΝΕΜ** †εω.

Gen. 24:55 **ΜΑΡΕ†ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC** ωωπι **ΝΕΜΑΙ**.

Gen. 42:9 **ΝΙΤΑΤCΙ ΝΤΕ†ΧΩΡΑ**.

Gen. 26:1 **ΠΟΤΡΟ ΝΝΙΦ†ΛΙCΤΙΙΜ**.

Gen. 42:33, 43:6 **ΠΕΖΕ-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΔΕ ΝΑΝ Π̄C ΜΠΙΚΑΖΙ ... ΑΦ-
ΩΕΝΤΕΝ ΝΖΕ-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ...**

Gen. 43:8 **ΟΨΩΡΠ ΜΠΙΑΛΟΨ ΝΕΜΗΙ**.

Deut. 19:18 **ΕΨΕΨΙΝΙ ΝΖΕ-ΝΙΡΕQ†ΖΑΠ...**

Deut. 20:5 **ΕΨΕCΑΔΙ ΝΖΕ-ΝΙCΑΖ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΑΛΟC**.

Deut. 9:28 **ΜΗΠΩC ΝΤΟΨΔΟC ΝΖΕ-ΝΗ ΕΤΨΟΠ ΞΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ**.

(d) {πι-} occurs *generically* as a closed-system-deictic, which is probably the same as the always singular "category-caption" generic (very different from the Notion-Name generic role of {π-}: see below); this occurs often in catalogic enumeration. This is a system of paradigmatic specificity: a structured and finely delimited lexical system of systems, in which every term is "definite" in the Saussurean sense of expressing "that which all others do not express".

Deut. 24:19 **ΠΙΖΗΚΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΨΕΜΜΟ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΟΡΦΑΝΟC ΝΕΜ
†ΧΗΡΑ**.

ΝΙCΑΒΕΨ ΝΙΘΜΗΙ, ΝΙΔΩΡΟΝ Deut. 15:19.

ΠΙΝΙΨ†, ΠΙΚΟΨΔΙ Gen. 25:23.

ΠΙΚΟΨΔΙ ... ΠΙΚΕΟΨΑΙ Gen. 42:13.

Gen. 32:19 **ΠΙΜΑΖ-ḅ ΝΕΜΠΙΜΑΖ-ḅ**.

An extensive technical-terminology case — catalogue of Temple utensils: Ex. Chs. 25, 36ff.

ΠΙΨΕΜΜΟ, ΠΙΡΕΜΝΔΩΙΛΙ Num. 35:15.

ΠΙΡΗ, ΠΙΙΟΖ Gen. 37:9, Deut. 17:3.

Deut. 7:1 **ΠΙΧΕΤΤΕΟC ΝΕΜ ΠΙΓΕΡΓΕCΕΟC ΝΕΜ ΠΙΑΜΟΡΡΕΟC
ΝΕΜ ΠΙΧΑΝΑΝΕΟC ΝΕΜ ΦΕΡΕCΕΟC ΝΕΜ ΠΙΕΨΕΟC** (Vat **ΠΙΦΕΡΕCΕΟC**) — the *zero* article here is a mystery for me; the Greek has here only definite generic nouns.

Deut. 2:12 **ΠΙΧΟΡΡΕΟC ΝΑQΨΟΠ ΞΕΝCΗΡ**.

Deut. 2:20 **ΚΕΓΑΡ ΝΙΡΑΦΑΙΝ ΝΑΨΨΟΠ ΖΙΩΤQ**.

Checklists of animal species: Deut. 14:12-18 **ΠΙΔΨΩΜ ΠΙΝΟΨΡΙ
ΠΙΝΟΨΕΡ ΠΙΑΛΗΕΤΟΝ ΠΙΘΡΕ ΠΙΑΒΩΚ ΝΕΜ ΛΑΡΟΝ ΑΡΟΔΙΟΝ
ΚΨΝΟΝ ΖΙ...** The switch to zero-article generic terms is remarkable.

It is here that {πι-} (metaphorically generic) and {π-} (quintessentially generic) are closest to one another, even up to the syntagmatic adjacency of both articles — as a rule, not in haphazard admixture but in separate groups:

Deut. 28:48 $\pi\iota\kappa\omicron$ $\text{NEM}\pi\iota\upsilon\beta\iota$ $\text{NEM}\Phi\beta\omega\psi$ $\text{NEM}\Phi\mu\omicron\tau$.

Deut. 30:15 $\pi\omega\text{N}\Sigma$ $\text{NEM}\Phi\mu\omicron\tau$ $\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\theta\text{N}\lambda\text{N}\epsilon\eta$ $\text{NEM}\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\tau\text{-}\zeta\omega\omicron\tau$.

Deut. 1:17 $\pi\iota\zeta\alpha\pi$ $\Phi\lambda\text{-}\Phi\uparrow$ $\pi\epsilon$.

Or in paradigmatic adjacency — { $\pi\iota$ -} for a term in a structured closed system (typically in syntagmatic compatibility), { π -} for an isolated term as *unicum*:

$\pi\iota\kappa\lambda\zeta\iota$, $\text{NIM}\omega\omicron\tau$ Gen. 19:31.

$\pi\kappa\lambda\zeta\iota$ Gen. 7:23, 8:11.

$\pi\iota\rho\eta$, $\pi\iota\iota\omicron\zeta$ Gen. 37:9, Deut. 17:3.

$\Phi\rho\eta$ Lev. 22:7, Gen. 19:23.

$\pi\iota\overline{\sigma}\overline{\zeta}$ Ex. 21:4 “the master” (of a slave).

$\pi\overline{\sigma}\overline{\zeta}$ (passim) “the Lord”.

(e) High-to-highest specificity is a prominent trait in the name paradigm, following $\Sigma\epsilon$ - of the naming one. Here { $\pi\iota$ -} commutes with Proper Names and with { π -} genus and notion names (see below, 3.8):

$\uparrow\text{-}\rho\epsilon\text{N}\omicron\tau/\pi\epsilon\eta\rho\alpha\text{N}\Sigma\epsilon\text{-}$
 $\mu\omicron\tau\uparrow\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\rho\alpha\text{N}\Sigma\epsilon\text{-}$
 $\zeta\epsilon\uparrow\rho\alpha\text{N}\epsilon\rho\omega\omicron\tau\Sigma\epsilon\text{-}$

$\pi\iota$ - Gen. 1:5:10, 2:23

NI - Deut. 2:11:21, Gen. 32:2

$\pi\iota$ - NTE - Gen. 35:8, 31:47f. (see below)

π - (genus/notion name) Gen. 30:18, Num. 1:13

π - N - Gen. 32:30, 35:18, 50:11, 21:31 (see below)

PROPER NAME Gen. 16:11, 3:20, 17:19 etc.

NIM Gen. 2:19 (pro-PN).

CLAUSE in PN status Gen. 22:14, Num. 28:18.

Obs.

Gen. 30:13 $\alpha\zeta\chi\eta\rho\Sigma\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\omicron$ is a case of Proper Name “translation” rather than naming. See SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a: 25, §2.3.1.4 and 141 s.v. Naming.

3.5.2 { π -} — the non-cohesive, pure-actualization designative or naming article

This intriguing determinator is non-referential; it is “autistic”. Unlike { $\pi\iota$ -}, it does not relate “its” lexeme syntagmatically to another noun syntagm, whence $\pi\iota$ - draws its specifying force. But { π -} specifies its lexeme metalinguistically: “the sign that signifies SKY, SEA, SIN”, isolating, demarcating and delimiting it in a sense from its syntactical

environment, much as double quotes would do³¹. It is solely actualizing — a generic, designative, *naming* article — a special determinator definitely absent in the Greek system. It is singular only. **ΝΕΝ-** (and the residual **Ν-**: POLOTSKY 1968; see also Chapter Four), conventionally assigned as its plural form, are in fact very different: they occur only in the discontinuous **ΝΕΝ- Ν-**. The article **Π-** does not occur in apposition to a proper Name, unless in the discontinuous Constituence Personal-Sphere Association construction **Π- Ν-** described below. Here, in fact, is the hub of the problem of {**Π-**}. What is the common ground of, say, the *unicum* **ΦΙΟΜ** and the first term in Ex. 21:22 **ΠΖΑΙ Ν†ΟΖΙΜΙ** and in Num. 20:24 **ΦΜΩΘ Ν†Ε†ΑΝΤΙΛΟΓΙΑ**? Since, generally speaking, outside these constructions, {**Π-**} is syntactically inert, relatively speaking: it itself is non-phoric, and is but rarely expanded attributively or even resumed (even the article + **ΟΘΟΖ Ν-** construction, testifying to partitivity, is excluded for {**Π-**}; and so is the combination of **ΦΟΤΑΙ** and **Ν-**, while **ΠΙΟΤΑΙ Ν-** is well attested). This type of generic is but rarely expanded:

Unique: Deut. 34:12, 11:24 **ΦΙΟΜ ΝΣΔΕ**.

Unique: Num. 34:12 **ΦΙΟΜ ΕΘΜΟΛΖ**.

Unique: Deut. 8:15 **ΠΥΑΦΕ ΠΙΝΙΨ† ΕΤΕΜΜΑΘ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΖΟ†** (expressive).

Generic: Num. 31:50 **ΦΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΑΦΣΙ ΝΟΨΚΕΨΟC ΝΝΟΨΒ**.

Generic: Num. 21:5 **ΠΩΙΚ ΕΨΟΨΕΙΤ** (expressive; Arabic demonstrative!).

Generic: Num. 23:19 **ΝΑΡΕΦ† ΟΙ ΑΝ ΜΦΡΗ† ΜΦΡΩΜΙ ΕΨΑΨ†-ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΦ** — not conclusively relative; most probably adnexal Circumstantial, as often following **ΦΡΗ† Ν-**.

Generic: Gen. 27:27 **ΤΚΟΙ ΕΤΣΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ** (poetic-expressive).

Address Status: (extra-corpus): Mark 10:17f. **ΦΡΕΦ†CΒΩ ΝΑΓΑΘΟC**.

I suggest that {**Π-**} **Ν-** (almost only specific nouns or PNs follow here) does not constitute an expansion of a nuclear {**Π-**} , but is a complex frame or matrix of discontinuous elements, in which the article is an initial constituent (details below). In this case {**Π-**} is not nuclear, and does not specify its lexeme alone, but combinatorily, by induction — it is the element following the *notae relationis* that is marked as specific (cf. the combinatory specificity of “age” in “Johnson’s age”, as contrasted with “The age of Johnson”³².) On the other hand, {**Π-**} + **Ν†Ε-**

³¹ Cf. ROSÉN (H.) 1999:41f. for the use of Latin *ille* and *hic* for the same purpose.

³² It is of course probable that specificity is here overruled by the signalling of distinct homonyms by the different constructions.

(specific) is a special and near-unique case of {π-} expanded, and not discontinuous: see further below.

Obs.

(1) The plural article ἡ- does occur in the corpus as a morphophonemic alternant (ἡλλωσθηῖς νικαῖακ Gen. 26:25 (= Vat): see POLOTSKY 1968) before unstressed vowel — arguably, a case of “signalling of preservation of initial lexeme-boundaries”, ASH; cf. OLZ 59:253 n. 1 1964, omitted in *Collected Papers* 438. The “π<V” rule is valid only for Egyptian lexemes. The fact that ἡεν- is not attested alone does not mean, I think, that π- and π- are neutralized in the plural, but only that generic-name π- is singular only. The genericity of {π-} is stated, following STERN 1880:227, also by DEPUYDT 1985a (π- “Element-genus”, ZERO “genus”; D. uses Mallon-Malinine's examples and is not corpus-based).

3.5.2.1 Different roles of {π-}:

(a) The article {π-} actualizes-by-naming unique geographical and cosmic notions — a closed lexical list — such as

πκαζι Gen. 8:1:9:11.

τφε Gen. 8:2.

φνοσν Gen. 1:2.

φιαρο Gen. 41:1.

φιομ Gen. 22:17.

φρη Lev. 22:7.

The four cardinal points: Gen. 28:14, 24:62.

πσϙ, φ† *passim*, which have the status of highest-specificity Proper Names.

(b) {π-} in the name slot:

Gen. 16:14 ...†ραν δε-τωω† εταйнаσ (= Vat).

Gen. 1:8 αφ† μοσ† επιταδρο δε-τφε.

Num. 11:3 ασ†ρεν-φραν μπιμα ετεμμασ δε-φρωκζ.

Gen. 21:33 φ† πιωαενεζ.

Gen. 30:18 δε-φβεχε.

De Vis I 181 αqωωπι επεφραν πε φνοβι.

Ez. 13:10 (Tattam, collated) εσζω μμοσ δε-τζιρηνη τζιρηνη
οσοζ μμον-ζιρηνη

(c) {π-} with lexemes in general (open-listed), which it designates by forming their Notion Names and actualizes metalinguistically. This role coincides with {π-} forming genus names, often in enumeration. (BALLY 1950 §115 [“l'emploi générique des substantives”] présente à l'imagination des entités existant à un seul exemplaire et échappant à toute quantification”):

πῆριον Gen. 31:39.

φῆμων Ex. 1:22.

φῆεχε Lev. 19:13.

πсноқ Deut. 15:23.

φῆμινι Gen. 9:12.

τέρω† Gen. 21:8.

φῆρωμι + πτεβνη Num. 31:11, 8:17.

исѣен-φῆρωμι ψα-πτεβνη Ex. 9:25, 12:12 etc.

εѣен-φῆнови Num. 29:25.

ῥα-πсноқ Num. 35:25 (subsequently — but generically still —
ῥαπισноқ in Num. 35:27; always definite in Greek).

ε-π† Num. 31:4.

ε-φῶτοmq Lev. 19:23.

ε-ππολεμος Num. 32:6.

π- in grammaticalized noun phrases:

εφῆμα ѣε- Gen. 26:5 etc.

μφῆρη† n-, ετ-, ὅμη† n- *passim*.

φῆνατ n- premodifier (see below).

пке- “also”, with Proper Names or personal pronouns.

Obs.

(1) Ex. 7:15 πῶσωτ εταφῶνζq αφερωζοq - non-generic — is difficult: Vat has here πi-. εταq- is not relative but Temporal. Is this article due here to the mystical uniqueness of a magic wand?

(2) πi- in the rare, if not (in the corpus) unique Ex. 2:14 μπιρη† ετακῶτες μπιρεμνημη nсаq (Vat φῆρη†) is either marked as affective, or else is cataphoric: “in the very manner in which ...”.

(d) π- + quantifier: non-phoric article, combinatory specificity:

ῥμαζ [num.] нромпи Num. 33:38.

μпмаζсоп [num.] Gen. 22:15.

пкевеніамін Gen. 42:36 (cf. παικειορδανης, Num. 32:5, Deut. 3:27).

(e) π-ετ- actualizing, lexemizing the relative conversion to *zero*-determination. Here π- (masculine only) is not really opposed to φῆn, since it is severely restricted. Structurally, this is a different, homonymic entity, since ετ- is not lexemic. At any rate, this is a non-phoric element (see in detail below):

πιπετρωσ Deut. 24:7.

παιπετρωσ Gen. 19:7.

ζανπεῖθανετ Num. 10:30 (= Vat).

Obs.

πκε is distinctively common in the NT and Nitrian sources with Proper Names and their commutables, personal pronouns: **nem πκεnθoq** **ξωq** Cat. 31, 47, Mac. No. 6; **πκεανον ξων** AM I 214 — exx. on p. 128 of Crum's personal copy of Stern's *Koptische Grammatik* (1880, rebound 1929, at the Griffith Institute, Oxford); John 12:10 **ξινα nceδωτεb μπκελλζαροc**; also Gal. 2:1, Acts 12:25, 19:15, Philipp. 4:3, **δενткерωμη** Acts 23:11.

(f) π- n- (almost only specific³³): discontinuous close ("inalienable" or Personal-Sphere Constituence Association) non-possessive association, see in detail below: combinatory high specificity. The article itself is of neutral specificity (which is why it occurs here):

Φμαci μπεκcon Deut. 22:1.

Φιω μπεκcon Deut. 22:4.

Θματ μπιλλoт Ex. 2:8.

тсгimι μπeqωΦηp Deut. 22:24.

πcon μπαζai Deut. 25:7f.

тΦтλh nλεтi Num. 17:2.

Θoтhуci μπaлoз niaкωb Gen. 32:24.

nenmaуz μπiлaoс nтeπikaзi Gen. 23:13.

Obs.

(1) **Φnαт n-** is grammaticalized in **Φnαт npoтzi**, **Φnαт nζanatooтi** Ex. 16:6:12 as an adverbial pre-modifier, contrasted with: — **мΦnαт nζanatooт**, **мΦnαт nζanapoтzi**, post-modifier, Ex. 16:8:13. Ex. 16:13 **мΦnαт Δε nωωpп ac-ωωπi...** is not in conflict with the above statement, since this is in contrastive focus; nor is Num. 28:16, where **мΦnαт** is coordinated to **μπiαβοт**.

(2) Num. 21:29 **ω Φλaoс nχamωc** (= Val) in address may be a case of "pragmatic Proper-Name", cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:49ff., but is possibly another instance of π- n-.

(3) Note instances of appositive {π-} n- (following Proper Names, delimitative in contrast to πi- nтe-):

Ex. 3:1 **ioθop пeqωom # Φoтhв mmadiam**.

Gen. 24:10 **eтmecoпoтamia # eθbaki nnaχwp**.

Gen. 41:46 **Φapaω # ποтpo nχhmi**.

Deut. 33:1 **мωтсhс # Φpωmi мΦт**.

(g) π- nтe- (specific³⁴): an especially intriguing environment for {π-}, here singular only (no nen-). Probably not another discontinuous construction, yet still not entirely clear to me: it is strongly suggestive of being an opposition construction for the π- n- one, reducing or annulling the Personal-Sphere Constituence Association (see below):

тcopmec nтeπαгнт Deut. 29:19.

³³ Unless in poetic language.

³⁴ Unless in poetic language.

πχρεμρεμ ντενενηψηρι μπίσα Num. 14:27.

πψιπι ντετσζιμι μπεκίωτ Lev. 18:8.

πκαζι ντεπεκίωτ Gen. 31:3.

τερω† ντετεγματ Deut. 14:21, Gen. 23:19, 34:26.

φμωοτ ντε†αντιλογία Num. 20:24.

τσαρξ ντεπεγατσεβι Gen. 17:24f.

(h) π- ... π- reiterative compound phrases:

The reiterated noun syntagm³⁵ is a feature of importance and still some mystery in Coptic in general. In our Bohairic, the indefinite article (in Sahidic: “all sorts of...”) does not reiterate; we encounter all three other articles in these idiomatic phrases. Observe that these are as a rule real compounds, with their constituents linked in close juncture.

(1) φρωμι φρωμι totalizing: “each and every man”, Lev. 20:9, 22:18 (+ ετνα-); 17:13, 18:6 (resumed by ννεq- Sgl! Greek ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος):

(2) φοται φοται, opposed to πιοται πιοται: adverbial “each”, “one by one” — see above, under οται. πιοται seems to be anaphoric and specific, πιοται πιοται usually opening the sequence carried on by φοται φοται, and φοται φοται non-specific, non-phoric; φοται φοται is typically appositive. However, this is no more than an impression, with numerous contradictory examples, and the opposition in the actantial slot (always agent actant) escapes me altogether (Greek always ἕκαστος):

Gen. 44:11 απιοται πιοται οτοζ μπεγσοκ ριξενπικαζι οτοζ α φοται φοται οτων μπεγσοκ.

Num. 16:17 μαρεπιοται πιοται εἰ ντεqωοτην οτοζ ερε-φοται φοται ινι ντεqωοτην.

Ex. 16:16 φοται φοται μαρεqσωκι (cf. Ex. 32:27 μαρε-φοται φοται ζωτες).

Ex. 16:29 ...φοται φοται ξενπεγμα — appositive, adverbial and rhematic.

Ex. 36:4 ...φοται φοται καταπεqρωβ.

(3) φα-πιεζοοτ πιεζοοτ Ex. 16:4f. proves the compound nature of the reiteration phrase: “each day’s (ration)”.

(4) Zero determination reiterated, following Rheme-introducing ν-, expresses focussed fragmentation:

-οι νψω† ψω† Gen. 14:10 (Greek φρέατα φρέατα).

³⁵ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:46f. for Shenoutean Sahidic.

-ΛΙΤΟΥ ΝΩΝΟΥ ΘΝΟΥ Ex. 8:10 (Greek συνήγαγον αὐτοὺς θιμωνίας θιμωνίας).

-ΛΙϣ ΜΜΕΛΟΣ ΜΕΛΟΣ Lev. 1:5 (Greek κατὰ μέλος).

Following the prepositions ΚΑΤΑ and Ν-, reiteration focalizes adverbial phrases:

ΚΑΤΑΚΟΥΔΙ ΚΟΥΔΙ Deut. 7:22 "little by little" (cf. ΚΑΤΑΦΑΙ ΦΑΙ Ex. 26:24 "exactly thus", Greek κατὰ τὸ αὐτό).

ΝΖΑΝΑΤΟΥΣΙ ΝΖΑΝΑΤΟΥΣΙ Ex. 16:21, Lev. 6:5 — reiterated prepositional phrase — seems to mean "very early in the morning" (Greek πρῶι πρῶι).

3.5.3 Possession and determination. In this brief note, I will try and examine the contact area or interface of lexeme and pronominal (or rather grammemic) exponent of possession (in point of fact, *possessor*) or, more generally, *possessedness*, in its determination aspect. As will be seen in following paragraphs, "possession" is not a clear or even generally suitable notion. It is conventional, and as if generally well-understood; but in fact, both it and its kindred terms "belonging" and the (for Coptic) almost nonsensical "genitive", are more obscuring than descriptively helpful. For neither ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ, nor ΤΕΡΩ† ΝΤΕΤΕΦΜΑΦ, nor ΠΧΡΕΜΡΕΜ ΝΤΕΝΕΝΩΗΡΙ ΜΠΙΣΛ, all corresponding to Greek genitive cases, are well served by being described as "genitive" or "possession" — these terms short-circuit the sophisticated relations expressed by the Coptic syntax. This reservation advanced, I still use here "possession" as a cover term, as code, for convenience and brevity.

First, it must be realized that the 'pronoun — noun lexeme' and 'noun syntagm — noun syntagm' dependencies are in this context so drastically different as to be different phenomena: employing the dubious "pronominalization" as a bridge between these two sets of features — using the nominal set to explain the pronominal one (so POLOTSKY 1985: see below, Obs. 1) is, I believe, basically wrong and muddles the issue. Indeed, only the former, usually close-junctured, is properly speaking possessive (approximately signifying "belonging"); the latter, all open-junctured, all formally linked by the *notae relationis* Ν- and ΝΤΕ-, are associative-appurtenative, with "inalienable" (Personal-Sphere Constituence Association) relationship a specially marked case.

(a) {ΦΑ-} is neither a determinator, nor it is possessed; it is specificity-indifferent, non-specifying and non-actualizing, since it inhabits a *pre-determinator slot*, adjoining the noun syntagm and *out of*

contact with the lexeme (this is a rare, if not unique case of two grammemes in contact in a nucleus — expansion dependence). Notably excluded before the *zero* article, but not before *nil* in non-lexemic cases (can this be for the iconic reason that *zero* article resembles the bare lexeme too closely?):

ⲫⲁ- ⲡⲓ- Num. 29:11, Ex. 34:6, 16:7 etc.

ⲡⲓ-... ⲡⲓ- Ex. 16:4.

ⲛⲏ ... Gen. 44:34.

ⲡ- ... Gen. 50:19, Ex. 13:12 only ⲫⲧ, ⲡⲉⲥ.

ⲡⲉⲓ-... Deut. 12:17, Gen. 32:18 — compatibility of kindred.

ⲡⲛ Gen. 27:23, 47:26, Num. 3:21:33, Ex. 31:2.

ⲛⲓⲙ Gen. 32:17, 38:25.

ⲟⲩ- ...ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ Deut. 12:8: also indefinite article?

ⲡⲱⲥ Gen. 24:57.

Appropriately, ⲫⲁ- has non-specific or rather specificity-indifferent syntax³⁶; it is an anaphoric-substitute “pro-form”, gender-number cohesive (never cataphoric; non-deictic).

Deut. 12:17 ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲕⲉⲗⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲕⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ.

Deut. 18:15 ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ... ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧ.

Ex. 13:12 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲛⲁⲡⲉⲥ, sim. 21:4.

Deut. 33:7 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲫⲁ-ⲓⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ.

Ex. 16:4f. ⲫⲁ-ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ.

(b) {ⲫⲱ=} is the personal pre-personal-pronoun alternant of {ⲫⲁ-}. It too is non-specific, or rather specificity-indifferent. Anaphoric (non-deictic; gender-number-cohering substitute or pro-form); often rhematic (with *possessedness*, not possession predicated, as with ⲫⲁ-). Its syntax reflects specificity-indifference:

Gen. 38:25 ⲡⲓⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ.

Lev. 22:22:24 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲁⲗ ... ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗⲗⲉⲗ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲓ.

Deut. 20:18 ⲡⲗⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲥⲟⲛ ... ⲫⲱⲓ...

Ex. 21:34 ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲫⲱⲓ.

Noteworthy — and in my opinion indicative of specificity-indifference — is the construction:

Gen. 49:25 ⲫⲧ ⲫⲱⲓ (Greek ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμὸς), an appositive attributive construction (in the corpus, only here in poetic language; possibly reflecting idiomatic Coptic and early Egyptian syntax (see also below).

³⁶ Cf. Modern Welsh *un-*, a “one”-type nuclear pro-form (SHIISHA-HALEVY 1998: 74ff.) which, like our ⲫⲁ-, is specificity-indifferent.

(c) {πεq-}, which is related prosodically to Φω=q as its pre-lexeme proclitic alternant, is structurally a true determinator (hence “possessive article”), specific and specifying by virtue of its *pre-lexemic position* - its contact with the lexeme.

(d) A specific and specifying grammaticalized paraphrastic counterpart of {Φω=}, very common outside the corpus, is {πετεΦωq} / {Φη ετεΦωq} (πε), or lexeme-specifying {πετεΦωq} n- (Φω= n- occurs too in Nitrian Bohairic; the last two possibly expressing *focussed* possession in opposition to the unmarked πεq-). See above, Chapter Two (the Delocutive-Theme Nominal Sentence, for Theme zeroing):

ΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΘ ΤΗΡΟΥ (etc.) Gen. 20:7, Num. 31:9.

ΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΚ Gen. 33:9, ΝΗ ΕΤΕ-ΝΟΥΚ Num. 16:5.

Lev. 5:24 ΦΗ ΕΤΕΦΩQ ΠΕ ΕΡΕΤΗIQ ΝΑQ.

ΦΟΥΑΙ ΦΟΥΑΙ ΕΤΕΤΕΘΩQ ΝΚΤΗCIC ... ΦΟΥΑΙ ΦΟΥΑΙ ... ΕΘΗ ΕΤΕΘΩΤΕΝ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑ ... ΤΤΙΜΗ ΝΘΗ ΕΤΕΘΩQ ΜΦΟΥΧΗ... (Lev. 25:10, 27:2) — special reference to ΦΟΥΑΙ ΦΟΥΑΙ?

(e) ΝΤΑ= is used to introduce the *attributive* pronominal possessor for a quantified or low-specificity (indefinite, *zero*-determination) or *markedly specific* (including high-specificity) nominal *possessum*:

ΟΥCΩNI ΝΤΑQ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC Lev. 21:3.

[number] n-... ΝΤΑQ Ex. 36:38, 38:10ff.

ΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΩΤΕΝ Lev. 2:13, Deut. 5:14, 28:42.

ΕΡΟΣ ΝΤΑQ Deut. 3:3.

ΤΑΙΩΕΡΙ ΝΤΗ Deut. 22:16.

Obs.

(1) In the unedited B4 Twelve Prophets (P.Vat. copto 9) Zacharias we find four intriguing examples of πi- ΝΤΑ= (Zach. 9:17 ΠΙΑΓΛΘΟΝ ΝΤΑQ, 11:6 ΠΙΟΥΡΟ ΝΤΑQ, 11:10 ΠΙΩΒΩΤ ΝΤΗΙ, 11:5 ΝΙΜΑΝΕCΩΘ ΝΤΩΘ) — all apparently not deictic — which must indicate some difference from πεq-, either as expressing a different marked semantics of association (closer?), or a higher specificity of {πi-} as against a specificity neutrality of {πεq-}. The prevalence of special constructions for under- or over-specific *possessa* (English “a/*this* friend of mine”, Welsh *hen drowsus i'm hewythr* “old pants of [‘to’] my uncle’s” and so on) implies structurally a possessive determinator (“my” etc.), or specifying possession, on (almost) the same grade as — or even slightly higher than — median definite article. See PALERMO 1998.

(2) Luke 5:3 ΑΦΟΛQ ΕΟΥΑΙ ΝΝΙΖΟΙ ΕΦΑCΙΜΩΝ ΠΕ hints at the possible nominal-possessor alternant of the ΝΤΑ= construction following low-specificity *possessa*.

(f) A few lexemes of a lexically well-defined closed group, have, preposition-like, a special pronominal (“pre-suffix-pronoun”) morphological allomorph linking them directly to possessor pronouns. These are

all instances of "inalienable" association (in reality almost only body parts). Linkage with noun syntagms (not *zero*-determined?) is effected by the complex means of *н*- following a cataphoric delocutive possessor pronoun. Very often, the lexeme in point is grammaticalized as part of a complex preposition (or even as an unanalyzable one). All these lexemes have combinatory (but not intrinsic) specificity.

Deut. 13:6 *кенк*.

Lev. 13:12 *ичѣн-ѡѡ ѡѡ-рѡтѡ*.

Num. 32:24 *рѡтѡ*.

Num. 4:27 *рѡѡ нѡѡрѡн*.

Deut. 28:64 *ѡѡрѡѡѡ мѡѡѡѡ*.

Ex. 12:28 *ѡтѡтѡ мѡѡѡѡѡ нѡѡ ѡѡрѡн*.

Lev. 14:17 *ѡѡѡѡ нѡѡѡѡѡѡ нѡѡѡѡѡѡ*.

Obs.

(1) The acute terminological and conceptual problem triply addressed in 1985 (POLOTSKY 1985, DEPUYDT 1985b, SHISHA-HALEVY 1985) reflects different analytical approaches to a basic structural puzzle, namely the contradiction between the non-specific, non-specifying *ѡѡ* - / *ѡѡѡ* and the proclitic lexeme-expanded alternant of the latter, namely the specifying possessive article {*пѡѡ*}. H.J. Polotsky's explanation is essentially dynamic and indeed generative: progressive pronominalization (of possessor — *пѡѡ*-, of *possessum* — *ѡѡ*-, of both — *ѡѡѡ*); the aspiration of Boh. *ѡѡ*- is explained (Polotsky 1985:91f.) by "[die] Ellipse des Substantivs, zu dem das anlautende *ѡ*/ѡ- gehört: das Substantiv, an das *ѡ*/ѡ- sich unter Aufgabe seines Tones und damit seiner Aspiration anlehnen würde, wenn es vorhanden wäre, ist eben von vornherein im Plane der Konstruktion "erspart" und kann keine de-aspirierende Wirkung ausüben" — that is, by postulating deletion in surface structure. The possessives must be explained after the "genitive" construction: "die Possessiva die Genetivkonstruktion bzw. ihre Kenntnis voraussetzen und daher nach derselben zu besprechen sind" (Polotsky reproaches Stern for "putting here the cart before the horses", whereas Stern is here nothing if not scientific — ASH) "daß es mit der sachgemäßen Reihenfolge auch nicht getan ist: eine rationelle Darstellung müßte die Genetivkonstruktion eng mit den Possessiva verbinden; auf diese Weise erschiene die Unterordnung eines Substantivs (des Besitzers) unter ein andres (ein Besitz) als Ausgangspunkt einer progressiven Pronominalisierung, die mit dem beiderseits pronominalen *пѡѡѡ* ihr Ende erreicht". As often in his later work, Polotsky mixes here linguistic-systemic analysis and metalinguistic-dynamic synthesis. DEPUYDT 1985b sees *пѡѡѡ* as "substantial", *пѡѡѡ*- as "adjectival", which makes no syntactical sense and contradicts just about everything in the Coptic system of grammar. Like Polotsky, Depuydt sees the "genitive" syntagm as underlying, that is, operates in a generative model.

(2) The puzzling aspiration of *ѡѡ*- is indeed remarkable and telling³⁷. R. Kasser attributes this to its being half-stressed (1994: 289f., 294f. etc.), in an argumentation that is rather ad-hoc. POLOTSKY 1985:91 sees it as consequence of a deletion of an underlying substan-

³⁷ No aspiration in the lexicalized and lexemic (further determined) *пѡтѡѡѡѡѡ* "bridegroom": Crum *Dictionary* 561a.

tive (Obs. 1). I suspect the answer is rather a structural and functional one: $\Phi\alpha$ - (historically $p\beta$ - n -, which alone may account historically for its prosodic nature in Coptic — *pace* LOPRIENO 1995:69, $p\beta$ - n - does not refer to specificity) is a bound form, yet *not proclitic*³⁸, in the usual sense, for it unusually occupies the *pre-determinator slot*. This prosodic feature must indicate both its precise paradigmatic functional identity with $\Phi\omega$ = and, syntagmatically, its pro-form (substitute) nature as well as *the fact that it is not a determinator*. (Incidentally, this element is not always aspirated in the Bodmer III B4 John: cf. 7:16, 19:24; see Kasser's note, p. ix).

(3) $\Phi\alpha$ - and its various constructions are remarkably well attested in John (B4) $\text{NETENOWI THPOW NOWK NE OTOZ NOWK NOWI NE}$ 17:10, also 8:44, 16:14f., 17:17:18:35. Contrast John (B4) 14:27 TETEOWI NERIPHNNH (Greek $\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\eta\nu\eta\ \tau\eta\nu\ \xi\mu\eta\nu$), 17:17 $\text{PETE}\Phi\omega\text{K NC}\alpha\text{Z}$ with TEQZIPHNNH 14:10 ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$): does the former focus the possession? John 19:24 (B4; B5 $\alpha\text{CNA-}$) $\alpha\text{CER-TANIM}$ in the Present proves by the waiving of the Stern-Jemstedt Rule that TA- ($\Theta\alpha$ -) is not specific.

(4) Note also the following representative instructive exx. outside the corpus: characterizing *possessum* specificity AM II 202 $\text{OZ}\alpha\text{OI E}\Phi\omega\text{I PE}$ "a boat of mine"; cases illustrating the focusability of $\Phi\omega$ =, De Vis II 232 $\alpha\text{NON-NOWK NPEMPAOWH}$; its pro-form nature, Luke 22:42 $\text{PETEPNNH AN A\alpha\alpha\alpha}\Phi\omega\text{K MAREQWOWI}$.

(5) Appositively attributive (colloquial?) Nitrian $\text{PA}\beta\text{IOC}\Phi\omega\text{I}$ Mac. No. 4 fgt 3, NET-PIP NOWTN , with other exx., p. 118 in W.E. Crum's copy of Stern's *Koptische Grammatik* by Stern (1880, rebound 1929, at the the Griffith Institute, Oxford, with many marginal annotations in German. Apparently, Stern was the main source for Crum's Coptic grammatical information). This construction is idiomatic and specifically allocutive (*pace* ANDERSSON 1904:73 on Gen. 49:25 ["servility to Greek: in good Boh. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -. Sounds strange to Coptic ears"]). May this be the descendant construction of LE possessive *-jnk* (cf. GILULA 1968)³⁹, also allowing for specificity marking of the *possessum*, and — *mutatis mutandis* — comparable to attributive-rhematic "mine" in earlier English (and Germanic), as in "father mine"? The $\text{PETE}\Phi\omega\text{K N-}$ construction is well attested in Nitrian: cf. AM I 96, 104, 170 — it appears to be typically allocutive, usually affective or rhetorical.

(6) For the ancestor of $\Phi\alpha$ -, viz. $p\beta$ - n -, often written p - n -, see SPIEGELBERG 1918: this article brings home the close association $\Phi\alpha$ - has with Proper Names, both as nucleus for a Proper-Name expansion, then as a Proper Name itself. For the syntactic phenomenon in a general perspective, cf. Old Italian [*il di lui*]-*amico*, PALERMO 1998 (with associated constructions, such as I'[ADJ] di lui [NOUN]); also the Modern French possessive article (cf. for Early French: POSENER 1988), TOGEBY 1982: I 475f., WEINRICH 1982:310ff., JACOBS 1990:67f.; Cf. also, French *celui de Subst^{plur}*, see VELAND 1996 esp. 127f., 136ff.

(7) In LE, a special attributive postpositive pronoun set (*jnk*, *twt*, *swt*) expresses the possessor after low- or high-specificity nominal *possessum*, under almost the exact conditions of our attributive $\text{NT}\alpha$ = ([e] above): ERMAN 1933 §107ff.

(8) Cases like $\text{EP}\omega\text{Q/ZIP}\omega\text{Q N}\text{†}\omega\text{Y}\text{†}$ Gen. 29:2, varying with $\text{ZIP}\omega\text{C N}\text{†}\omega\text{Y}\text{†}$ Gen. 29:3:10; $\text{P}\omega\text{Q NTCHQ}$ Luke 21:24 (v.l. $\text{P}\omega\text{C}$), KENQ NTEQMAW (De Vis II 7, POLOTSKY 1930:84), and, even more cogently, the lexemicized possessive in $\text{PEQPA}\omega\text{Q}$,

³⁸ See Chapter Four for grading of boundness (close juncture).

³⁹ Predicative $\Phi\omega$ = may be related to an important and as yet unclarified phenomenon of pre-Coptic Egyptian, where we have three distinct Nominal Sentence patterns for predicating possession, namely the old *ntk* + POSSESSUM, *n.k-jmj* + POSSESSUM, and the late (but not Coptic) *nj-sw* + POSSESSUM, historically an adjective-Rheme pattern.

πεκρω, πρω (AM I 129, POLOTSKY 1934:66) or ειρω nniebo (De Vis II 247 — note the immediate direct-object indicating specificity-indifference of ρω). All point to the 3rd-sgl.-masculine possessed lexeme being an active motivating lexeme, not a syntagm form.

3.6 Generics: a retrospect and synthesis

ΠΟΤΓΟΜΟC ΝΝΟϚΒ ΝΕΜΠΟΤΓΟΜΟC ΝΖΑΤ ΝΕΜΝΙΩΝΙ ΕΤΤΑΙ-
 ΗΟΤΤ ΝΕΜΝΙΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗC ΝΕΜΝΙΨΕΝC ΝΕΜ ΘΗΖΙ ΝΕΜΟΛΟ-
 CΙΡΙΚΟΝ ΝΕΜΚΟΚΚΙΝΟΝ ... ΝΕΜΨΕ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΘΨΙΝΟΝ ΝΕΜΖΟΜΤ
 ΝΕΜΒΕΝΙΠΙ ΝΕΜΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΝ ΝΕΜΚΩΝΑΜΩΝΟΝ ΝΕΜCΘΟΙΝΟϚ-
 QI ΝΕΜCΟΞΕΝ ΝΕΜΛΙΒΑΝΟC ΝΕΜΗΡΠ ΝΕΜΝΕΖ ΝΕΜCΤΜΕΔΔ-
 ΛΙΟΝ ΝCΟϚΟ ΝΕΜΤΕΒΝΗ ΝΕΜΕCΩΟϚ ΝΕΜΖΘΟ ΝΕΜCΩΜΑ
 ΝΕΜΨϚΧΗ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΝΕΜCΠΟΡΑ ΝΤΕΤΕΠΙΘΜΙΑ ΝΤΕΤΨϚΧΗ
 ΑΨΥΕΝΩΟϚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΟ (Αποκ. 18:12-14)

The passage just quoted from Revelation uses different signals, with different lexical categories, for expanded and unexpanded nouns, all to express the generic in formal topic status.

How — in what forms and environments, with what semantic distinctions — does Bohairic express the generic? This topic, central in the phenomenology of the determination syndrome in any language, and largely unresearched in Egyptian-Coptic, is as difficult and elusive as it is fascinating and crucial for optimal translation. Apparently, the “generic sense” is rather a generic — i.e. non-particular — *reading* of the determinators in their lexical and syntactic environment, under circumstances that are not easy to isolate and define. In fact, it is a cluster of perspectives of determination, from various semasiological angles. The very fact that *all* articles are compatible with generic readings is instructive as to the essence of this semantic range (rather than “category”). As will be seen, Bohairic has a complex system of generic markers, a system more sophisticated than the Sahidic or the Greek ones (Greek has a binary article system but makes use of number, and even gender markers, such as the plural neuter, for generics).

When Östen Dahl says (1995:425): “to my knowledge, there is no language which has a ‘generic’ article”, he makes a claim too sweeping; in Bohairic Coptic, both *zero* and {Ϝ-} articles are — or so I suggest — “generic articles”, that is, for both, a generic reference — generic reference of two kinds — is a prime *signifié*, namely, extensive-diffuse “lexeme-simulating” and naming genericity, respectively. For

the two other determinators presented above, {π1-} and {οϣ-}, genericity seems to be incidental (I prefer this to “secondary”) and “metaphorical”, triggered by a special textual environment. I find noteworthy the formulation in JACOBSSON 1997:151, that genericity is a function of the total context and as such not a feature of articles, noun phrases or verbs. The distinction between generic and non-generic is one of degree along a continuum, and linguists have drawn the dividing line between the two concepts at varying points along this continuum. I would question here only the scalar conception, and replace it with the perspectival one — arguably compatible with the said continuum — suggested below.

Obs.

Some useful general and particular formulations and discussions of genericity: CHRISTOPHERSEN 1939:128ff., 144ff. (English); JESPERSEN 1949 (1961):131ff.; CHRISTOPHERSEN *apud* JESPERSEN 1949 (1961):438ff.; SMITH 1975 (English): a good reasoned survey of literature, with a somewhat sceptical, not to say despairing conclusion. JACOBSSON 1997 (English. A sophisticated hierarchical analysis: ranks of genericity; opposition of genera: 150; syntactic- environment factors: 141). BRAUNMÜLLER 1977: 93ff., HAWKINS 1978:14ff., THRANE 1980:200. “Against genericity” (in French): see WILMET 1983, 1988 (see e.g. 231f., objecting to the concept because of its “inquiétante plasticité”, suggesting “extensité”, “extensitude”, “extensivité”, or “extensibilité”); CORBELIN 1987:98ff., 108 ff.; HARWEG 1969 (German).

Four determinator signals for generic reading are encountered in our variety of Bohairic, making for four distinct genericity types, namely {π-}, *zero*, {π1-}, οϣ-. All determinators, perhaps even ζαν-, are susceptible of generic decoding. The Bohairic system of generic marking is thus considerably more sophisticated than the Sahidic one⁴⁰. Of these determinators, the first two are actually “purpose-built” exponents of genericity; with the first primarily a *naming* exponent; the others are decoded as generic in a *metaphorical* or “masked” view of the class: π1-masked, οϣ- (ζαν-) masked. (*Zero* too may be considered as masking “as a bare lexeme”). Except for a certain grammatically alternant overlap between οϣ- and *zero*, these four types, corresponding to distinct semantic perspectives of genericity, are not conditioned or excluded grammatically — indeed, by definition; they would not have a meaning otherwise — and yet, they are typical of specific grammatical environments. Indeed, it is the environment that operates the generic de-

⁴⁰ See SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:233ff. for a tentative first formulation of the issue at hand.

coding, for genericity has no single absolute synthetic meaning. (The following detailing observations will occasionally review statements made above on the respective determinators).

(a) {π-}, the pure-actualization determinator (above, 3.4.2), is directly metalinguistic: its deictic force is in this sense *external* - it refers *from outside* “*la parole*” in, and not, as with exophoric πi-, from inside discourse out. It expresses two denotative notions, namely *unica* — the names for unique entities — and a distinct type of genericity. I suggest the latter is no other than the *genus* and *notion name*: not “the class of X” but “the class *called* X”, just as for uniques we have “the thing called X”. In fact, both roles are one: *naming*. We encounter here the genus named, or — if one prefers — masked as an unique, in isolation from any or all other kinds. This forms a sharp contrast with the πi-masked generic, which relates the kind to others in a class system, opposing kinds and ranges. Thus, π- is the nearest Coptic has (other than *zero*) to a specialty generic article.

Note the following functional and distributional highlights of {π-}, which I believe to be symptomatic and telling:

- Prevalently determining abstracts, especially verbal nouns of all kind (infinitives, επ- + infinitives, επΔΙΝΘΕC-, επΔΙΝΤΕC-, lexical abstracts)

- Rarely occurring with Greek loans (unlike πi-); strikingly rare with επ- integrated Greek infinitives.

- Very rarely predicated (rhematic), either in the essential-inherent predication patterns (Nominal Sentence, see Chapter Two) or as incidental Rheme: here rather the *zero* (extensional) and indefinite (instantial) generic types are found.

- {π-} is the determinator occurring in real naming and as quote form:

Gen. 16:14 ...†ΡΑΝ ΔΕ-ΤΨΩ† ΕΤΑΙΝΑΘ (P = Vat).

Gen. 1:8 ΑΦ† ΜΟ† ΕΠΙΤΑΔΡΟ ΔΕ-ΤΦΕ.

Num. 11:3 Α†ΡΕΝΦ ΡΑΝ ΜΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΘ ΔΕ-ΦΡΩΚΞ.

- {π-} is the determinator used in grammaticalized (adverbial, conjunctive) noun phrases:

ΕΠΨΩΙ, ΕΠΕCΗΤ, ΞΙΦΟΘΙ Gen. 37:18.

ΕΦΜΑ ΔΕ-, ΜΦΡΗ† ΕΤ-/Ν-, ΝΘΜΗ† Ν-; ΠΚΕ-.

- For the important role of {π-} as main constituent part of the discontinuous π- Ν- and π- ΝΤΕ-, see below. This is still the named genus,

representing it here almost iconically as non-referent 'token', in an associative ("inalienable" [for *n-*], or [for *ntε-*] non-possessive) dependence with a specific noun, which lends the whole phrase its specificity. *π-* itself is again specific only in the "external" meta-lexical sense suggested above; the absence of phoricity and the total non-informativeness on anything to do with lexeme specificity, but *on the lexeme as such*, is of the essence.

• Perhaps the case of metalinguistic determination *par excellence*, namely lemmatic and gloss determination, features {*π-*}.

Obs.

(1) The class denotation as "notion name": "begreppsform", "ordbogform", HANSEN 1927 — "la notion en soi", POTTIER 1962; Glinz's "Sachkern"; "the signicate is the word itself", HEWSON 1972:89 n. 10; "conceptual SNØ", KORZEN 1996:254 n. 153; SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:47f.; FUNK 1991:40.

(2) On *π-* as lemma/gloss form: SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:234f. with n.31; on properizing {*π-*}, SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:12, 33f.; VERNUS 1990a:191 (LE-Demotic).

Lexicographical determination is of course a separate topic of interest. In Kircher's *Scalae*, the lemmata are but rarely *zero*-determined, especially in Greek-origin words (and naturally in Proper Names, astrological and other terms etc.): *απσις, αστρα, στοιχιον, αποδεξις, φορισμα, ιρις, οθρον* — then often articulated in the Arabic gloss. Usually, however, the Arabic article glosses the definites in Bohairic (*πiρωμι, nιρωμι, nιξιomi*; less usually *φpαν, τφε*). In Crum and Bell's "Greek-Coptic Glossary" (*Aegyptus* 6, 1925, 266) it is hardly the case that (183) "there is no system in the use of the article". Parts of the body have the Coptic definite (5-48, 131-180); animals — the Coptic *zero* (65ff., 405ff.). Agricultural instruments and installations — the Coptic definite (111ff., 205ff., 284); human types and properties — the Coptic *zero* (172, 233f., 335, 263ff., 327ff.). Materials, forms of water etc. — the Coptic *zero* (187ff., 231f.); professions — the Coptic definite. Glosses of Proper Names — the Coptic definite (247f., 250f.). *πeτ-* corresponds to the Greek definite article with participle or agent noun (221ff., 381ff.); "*zero*-antecedent" *εq-*: *λήγατον·εqμην* 344. A few exceptions: 195 *κάδος εiz τηβε tine* (275-8, 294f., 296f., 299, Greek words 350f., 191).

Generic:

πөнpион Gen. 31:39.

фmωoф Ex. 1:22.

фmннi Gen. 9:12.

фвexε Lev. 19:13.

πcноq Deut. 15:23.

фmннi Gen. 9:12.

фноvi Num. 29:31.

фpωmи πeвнн Ex. 9:25, Num. 18:15, 31:11, 8:17.

тepω† Gen. 21:8.

фoфωиnи Ex. 10:23.

επωτεκο Num. 15:34.

ἑντκοι Deut. 22:25 Greek ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ.

ἑνεῖ Lev. 19:31.

ἑνερασοτι Gen. 46:2, 20:6, 31:10f.

ἑμωιτ Deut. 22:4.

ἑνωι Deut. 17:5 Greek ἐν λίθοις.

επολεμος Deut. 24:5.

ετσηγι Gen. 31:26.

εῖνασ μβολ Gen. 27:1.

πωσ-σοτο Gen. 30:14.

Gen. 13:2 οτραμαο πε ἑνπτεβνη νεμπρατ νεμῖνοσβ .
Uniques:.

τῖε Gen. 8:2.

πκαρι Gen. 8:1:9:11.

ῖιομ Gen. 22:17.

ῖρη Lev. 22:7.

πῶ, ῖ† *passim*.

ῖιρο Ex. 7:20.

επωαγε Ex. 4:27.

πεμντ (and all cardinal points) Gen. 24:62.

ποτρο Jon. 3:7 B4.

(b) **The zero article (3.3): the iconic, lexeme-simulating masked generic.** This article, for which genericity is the sole *signifié*, is another metalinguistic device, more obliquely and more sophisticatedly metaphrastic, exploiting and, as it were, playing on the iconic similarity of *zero* (actualizing determinator in *la parole*) and *nil* (no determinator, bare unactualized lexeme as in *la langue*) — integrating the lexeme in discourse, but as it were *isolating it* from its syntactic environment and treating it as a pristine, non-actualized and still “potential” entity of *la langue*. The *zero* article signifies or denotes diffuse, extensional class-constituency, class as an unbounded, amorphic mass of class-members; it is an extensional, unstructured, frameless view of the genus. It is, incidentally, also more grammaticalized or more grammemically operative. Note *zero* following **μμον-** the “nulli-generic” is closely associated with non-existence: CHRISTOPHERSEN *apud* JESPERSEN 1949 (1961): 438ff.; less typically, it follows **οτον** as existant; in derived verbs (**επ-νοβι**, **ῖι-σβω**); in attribution (**ν-αγαθος**), *zero* as non-essential i.e. incidental Rheme (following **ν-**), or following prepositions in generic collocations. Unlike European and Semitic languages, *zero* is in

Coptic incompatible with plurality (see above, on the Coptic “morphological plurals”).

Some typical roles of *zero* determination illustrated:

(1) Object generic — *zero* marking verbal compounding or following auxiliaries (as derivation basis — derived verbs: *nil?*).

СЕ-МΩΘ Ex. 7:21.

ΟΘΕΜ-ΩΙΚ, ΔΕΜ-ΨΕΜΗΡ Ex. 12:19.

ϸΙ-ΩΘ Ex. 2:19.

ΕΡ- (“do”) Gen. 41:9 (Chapter Two).

ΕΡ- (“be”) Gen. 25:23, 29:32 (Chapter Two).

†-ΤΟΞ Ex. 5:10.

ΟΘΕΜ -ΑΤΨΕΜΗΡ Ex. 12:15.

ΨΑΝΕΨ-ΤΕΒΝΗ Num. 32:4.

СОТЕН-ΨΑΙΡΙ ΝΞΩΟΤТ Num. 31:18.

ΔΕ-ΜΕΘΜΗ Gen. 42:16.

(2) Attributive generic — “adjective” — easily the most prevalent use of the *zero*-article generic. The genus here expands a lexeme as quality attribute (see below):

ΟΥΑΤСЕΒΙ ΝΡΩΜΙ Gen. 34:14.

СЪΙМЕ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝСАВЕ Ex. 35:25.

ΟΨΙ ΝΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΝ ΝΕΜ ΝΘΜΗ Deut. 25:15.

†СЪΙΜΙ ΝΕΘΟΨΙ Num. 12:1.

(3) Incidental rhematic generic — rhematic second or third actant (see above, and Chapter Two):

Ex. 16:20 ΑΨΕΡ-ϸΕΝΤ.

Ex. 7:19 ΕΨΕΕΡ-СНОϸ.

Ex. 26:32 ΝΟΥΚΕΦΑΛΙC ΕΨΟΙ ΝΝΟΨΒ ... ΟΥΟΞ ΤΟΥ-Δ ΜΒΑCΙC ΕΨΟΙ ΝΞΑΤ.

Ex. 30:23 ΟΥΚΩΝΑΜΩΜΟΝ ΕϸΟΙ ΝCΘΨΝΟΨΙ.

Gen. 42:36 ΑΤΕΤΕΝΑΙΤ ΝΑΤΨΗΡΙ.

Gen. 14:23 ΑΙΕΡΑΒΡΑΜ ΝΡΑΜΑΟ.

(4) *Zero* as negative-environment generic. *Zero* represents the low-specificity (with the indefinite instantial generic excluded) in negative environment:

Deut. 24:16 ΝΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΟΨ ΕΔΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΟΨΔΕ ΝΝΕΨΗΡΙ ΜΟΨ ΕΔΕΝΙΩΤ.

Deut. 12:13 ΜΜΟΝΤΕϸ-ΤΟΙ ΟΨΔΕ ΚΛΗΡΟC.

Gen. 38:21 ΜΜΟΝ-ΠΟΡΝΗ ΜΠΑΙΜΑ.

Deut. 17:16 ΝΝΕϸΘΕΡΕΞΘΟ ΑΨΑΙ ΝΑϸ sim.17.

Deut. 15:11 ΝΝΕΞΗΚΙ ΓΑΡ ΜΟΨΗΚ.

Ex. 19:15 ΜΠΕΡΤΟΜΙ ΕΣΖΙΜΙ.

Gen. 36:31 ΜΠΑΤΕΟΨΡΟ ΨΩΠΙ.

Ex. 16:24 ΜΠΕΡΕΝΤ ΨΩΠΙ.

Deut. 8:3 ΝΑΡΕΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΑΩΝΣ ΕΩΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΑΤΩ ΑΝ.

Obs.

Note here also the highly formalized configuration, already referred to in several connections, viz. NEGATIVE-EXISTENTIAL (Non-Existence) ENVIRONMENT + ΔΕ- + NEGATIVE ENVIRONMENT: the adnominal paradigm to a generic zero-determined nucleus, in a doubly negative environment "[there is no...]....such as...[not]" — [- specific, - particular, - quantified].

(c) The singular {ΠΙ-} (3.4.1) — the "definite generic", familiar from many languages, poses the difficulty of resolving deictic phoricity from the denotative generic definitude, which is yet again a mask — this time of high deixis-induced specificity. Only superficially paradoxical "specific and generic", this determinator, condensing as it were the whole kind into a single class-member item, characterizes the class-set or system-of-classes or *inter-genus* generic; ΠΙ- is class-forming — class-bounding, class-contrasting, intensional. The genus is presented as a sub-range or component in a structured world-of-kinds spectrum. Genericity is here categoric and concretized.

Num. 11:12 ΠΙΤΕΒΤ ΤΗΡΩ ΝΤΕΨΙΟΜ.

Ex. 17:7 "ΠΙΣΩΝΤ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΧΡΕΜΡΕΜ" (in naming).

Num. 35:15 ΝΕΜ ΠΙΨΕΜΜΟ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΡΕΜΝΣΩΙΛΙ.

Deut. 7:1 ΠΙΧΕΤΤΕΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΓΕΡΓΕΣΕΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΑΜΟΡΡΕΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΧΑΝΑΝΕΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΨΕΡΕΣΕΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΕΨΕΟΣ, also Deut. 20:17 etc.

ΠΙΣΗΚΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΨΕΜΜΟ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΟΡΨΑΝΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΨΧΗΡΑ Deut. 24:19f., 26:12.

Deut. 26:12 ΠΙΛΕΨΙΤΗΣ.

Gen. 31:40 ΠΙΣΙΝΙΜ ΑΩΨΕΝΑΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΝΑΒΑΛ.

(d) The plural ΝΙ- is encountered, less usually, in a different, if evidently related type of genericity, a "lower genericity" which is often difficult to distinguish from the exophoric or intertextual particular definite and the collective of class members ("all members but not the species itself", JESPERSEN 1949 [1961]:492). It may be significant that the plurals here correspond as a rule to a (Hebrew)-Greek definite plural:

Lev. 1:2 ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΩΤΙ ΝΕΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝΝΙΕΣΩΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝΝΙΕΣΩΩΤ.

Gen. 30:32 **ḤENNIZIB ḤENNIBAEMTI** (Greek definite plural).

Num. 21:6 **ΝΙΖΟQ ... ΕΨΑΥḤΩΤΕΒ** (ANDERSSON 1904:104, Greek definite plural)

Gen. 15:11 **ΝΙΖΑΛΛḤ** (ANDERSSON 1904:41 attributes this to a “slip of the Coptic translator”: Greek ὄρνεα).

Gen. 31:35 **ΜḤΡΗḤ ΝΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ — ΜḤΡΗḤ ΝΝΙ-** is idiomatic in Bohairic and very common outside the corpus (e.g. Hab. 14 B4), e.g. notably in the Psalms; but Greek definite plural here too.

Gen. 32:28 **ΟὔΟΝ-ΨḤΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ḤENNIPΩΜΙ** (Greek indefinite plural).

Obs.

(1) FUNK 1991:50 seems to deny genericity of definite determination outside Bohairic. However, on no more than two successive pages of Shenoutean Sahidic (Leip. III 146f.), I find **ΠḤΟC, ΤΕCΜΟḤΝΗ, ΠḤΙΡΕΤΙΚΟC, ΠḤΛΛΗΝ, ΠḤΓΕΝΕΒΙΩ; ΠḤΡΙC-ΤΙΑΝΟC, ΝḤΑΛΛΑΤΕ, ḤΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟC, ΝḤΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC, ΝḤΑΙΜΩΝ, ΝḤΩΜΕ, ΝḤΓΓΕΛΟC**. What this boils down to is the very semantic conception of genericity, whether narrow or broad, the latter, with which I concur, envisaging any kind of non-particularity as generic.

(2) I find it hard to agree with DEPUYDT 1985a:59 “π- ...[indicates] one element as the representative of the genus independently from other elements”, whereas **οὔ-** and **πἱ-** “determine one element as part of a genus”. Rather, **π-** calls a genus *by name*, while **πἱ-** represents it in a world of genera.

(3) For the “discriminative generic”, cf. TOBLER 1886/1912:102 (an article) “mit der besonderen Kraft die Gesamtheit der einen gewissen Namen tragenden Dinge oder Wesen, jede irgendwo und irgendwann vorhandene Menge eines so oder so benannten Stoffes allem anders Heissenden gegenüber zu stellen (le mammifère, l’oxygène), oder auch den einheitlichen Begriff von dieser oder jener Kraft, Tätigkeit, Bewegung, Form, Zahl, Eigenschaft u. dgl., zu dem wir von vielen einzelnen Wahrnehmungen aus gelangt sind, zu allem dem in Gegensatz zu bringen, was nicht unter jenen Begriff fällt (*la vie, la beauté, la faim*)”. See also TOBLER *op. cit.* 44, 46, 110f.

(4) On plural generics, see JACOBSSON 1997:148f. (English), MARTIN 1986:198ff. (French).

(5) Exx. for **ΜḤΡΗḤ ΝΝΙ-**, on p. 116 of Crum’s copy of Stern’s *Koptische Grammatik* (at the Griffith Institute, Oxford); consider De Vis I 142, 191f. There are certainly non-generic cases of the plural where the specification, cataphorically referred to by **ΝΙ-**, is merely implied: Jon. 3:7 B4 **ΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΤΕΒΝΙΟḤΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΕḤΩḤ** (sic) **ΝΕΜ ΝΙΕCΩḤ** (“those in the city of Nineve”).

(6) Generic abstracts, to my knowledge not occurring in our corpus, are attested elsewhere: **ḤΜΑΙΝ, ḤCḤḤΙΑ** Luke 2:52; Mac. *passim* (e.g. 35B): **ḤΑΓΑΠΗ, ḤḤΕΛΠΙC, ḤΜΕΤΜΑΙ-ΨΕΜΜΟC/ΟΝ/ΡΩΜΙ/ΡΕΜΡḤΩΨ**; plurals *ibid.* 35C **ΝΙḤΩΤΕΒ, ΝΙΠΟΡ-ΝΙΑ, ΝΙCΙΟḤΙ, ΝΙΜΕΘΝΟḤC**.

(e) **οὔ-** (**ḤΑΝ-**) (3.3) — the instantial casual generic: the generic is here masked as “any instance of...”, “any given case of...”, “a kind of...”. This is, I find, the most elusive type of genericity, difficult to isolate, with the generic / particular distinction most tenuous. It is possibly

old (found in Demotic) and peculiarly Bohairic (I say this with some hesitation). This genericity is part of the grammar of case-raising, so important in ritual, legal and medical textemes and their blending: consider Num. Ch. 5, the generic scenario in Deut. 21:10ff. and similar passages, and of course Leviticus *passim*. Instructive for understanding this is its apparent incompatibility with negative environment; its conditioned occurrence as alternant of *zero*, e.g. following **ΝΔΕ-**, in Topics and object actants; its formalized role in the so-called Tautological Infinitive and generally with the infinitive and abstracts.

Lev. 21:2 **ΕΔΕΝΟΤΙΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΤΗΛΩ ΝΕΜ ΕΔΕΝΟΤΩΗΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΩΕΡΙ ΕΔΕΝΟΤCON...**

Deut. 8:18 **ΠΥΛΑΙΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΕΡΜΜΑΤ ΝΔΕ-ΟΤΖΟΙ ΕΓΘΙΛΑΠCΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΘΛΗ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΙΒΙ.**

Deut. 22:22 **ΕΓΕΝΚΟΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΤCΖΙΜΙ ΕCΖΕΜCΙ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΙ.**

Deut. 10:18 **ΟΤΟΡΦΑΝΟC ΟΤΩΕΜΜΟ ΟΤΧΗΡΑ (Sah. π-, τ-).**

ΟΤΝΟΤΒ ΝΕΜ ΟΤΖΑΤ Gen. 24:34:53, 44:8, Deut. 8:13.

Consider also the following grammatically conditioned cases: **ΕCΖΕΜCΙ ΔΕΝΟΤCΝΟQ ΝΤΑC** Lev. 12:5, **ΟΤΩΠΙ ΝΤΕΤCΩΝΙ ΜΠΕΚΙΩΤ** (Topic) Lev. 18:12, **ΔΕΝΟΤΟΤΔΑΙ** Gen. 28:21, **ΟΤΩΙΚ** Gen. 28:20 obj. (**ΖΑΝΩΙΚ** Ex. 16:4), **ΟΤCΟΤΟ ΟΤΗΡΠ** Gen. 27:28, **ΟΤCΝΟQ ΝΑΘΝΟΒΙ** Deut. 21:8.

Two instances of the plural **ΖΑΝ-**, occurring in object status, may be read generically but may well be non-generic indefinite plurals, as in the Greek original ("some..."):

Gen. 41:15 **ΚΩΤΕΜ ΕΖΑΝΡΑCΟΤΙ ΟΤΟΖ ΚΒΩΛ ΜΜΩΟΤ.**

Ex. 16:4 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ †ΝΑΖΩΟΤ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΝΖΑΝΟΕΙΚ.**

Obs.

(1) On the indefinite generic, see JESPERSEN 1949 (1961):67 ("all-representative" use, "the sb refers to all members (or any member), but only as a representative of the members. It does not denote the class or species in itself") "To begin with" said the Cat, "a dog's not mad"/ "A dog growls when it's angry". "You're enough to try the patience of an oyster!" (Lewis Carroll); "a cat may look at a king". See also BURTON-ROBERTS 1976 (English), SEPPÄNEN 1984:116 (English): "a description of the indefinite article can suggest...that its generic sense may be due not to the inherent meaning of the article itself but rather to semantic material present elsewhere in the sentence".

(2) See STERN 1880 §232 on the indefinite in fixed adverbial phrases (**ΔΕΝΟΤCΩΟΤΤΕΝ**, **ΔΕΝΟΤΩΦΗΡΙ** etc.); FUNK 1991:39ff. for **ΟΤ-** with abstracts ("generic").

(3) Generic **ΖΑΝ-** occurs following **ΜΦΡΗ†** in B4: Soph. 1:17 **ΕΤΕΜΩΥΙ ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΖΑΝΒΑΛΕΤ**, Soph. 2:3 **ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΖΑΝΜΟΤΙ**, **ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΖΑΝΟΤΩΝΩ ΝΤΕ†ΑΡΑΒΙΑ.**

(f) Oppositions, alternations and combinations: classified striking examples

(1) The case of **οτ-** vs. **zero** (see also above, 3.2 [e]) is especially instructive, revealing the largely alternant nature of this opposition; **zero** realizing the nulligeneric in negative environment. Note also the differentiation between actants and circumstants, the junctural exploitation of the **zero** vs. indefinite opposition and the frequent **οτ-** following initial **zero**.

(a) Deut. 22:5 **ννε-σκετοc νζωοτt ψωπι ριοτcζιμι** - **zero** and **οτ-** generic, in alternation (actant vs. circumstant).

Ex. 12:15 neg. **οτεματψεμηρ**. vs. affirm. **τακεοτψεμηρ**

(b) Deut. 25:14 **ννεοτνιωτt μμεντ νεμοτκοτδi ψωπι**.

Deut. 25:13 **ννεοτψι νεμ οτψι ψωπι** — correlative framework.

(c) Deut. 22:22 **ερενκοτ νεμ οτcζιμι εcζεμci νεμ ραι** — casual generics vs. compound verb.

εκελλωοτ ννοτb ζενοτνοτb Ex. 30:5, 36:38 etc.

Ex. 30:6 **ερεεncοτνοτqi εβολ ζενοτcοτνοτqi**.

ερεi εβολ ζηтc νζε-οτμωοτ vs. **αqibi νζε-πιλλοc νcα-μωοτ** Ex. 17:3:6 — syntactically conditioned alternation.

Ex. 19:13 ...**ceт-ωni ζεnζανωni**.

(d) **zero** for the interrogation, **οτ-** in the response: Gen. 44:19f. **αν-οτονтeтen-iωт μματ ie con — οτονнтan нoтζελλο niωт μματ νεμ οταλλοτ...**

(e) Lev. 26:1 **ννεтenθaμio нωтen нζaнμoтнк нziδ oτaε φωтz** — **zero** inside non-generic indefinite bracketing (a more complex hierarchy is signalled by bracketing)

Ex. 35:31 **οτπnα нkaтt νεμ coφia νεμ oτkaтt νεμ oтeπи-ctημη**.

(2) π- vs. πi-, for specific lexemes:

πkazi Gen. 1:2, 8:1:9:11 — usually in collocations, e.g. with **тφe**, “the earth”, vs. **πikazi** “the land, the world” Gen. 7:23, 19:31.

φpη Lev. 22:7 **οτοz нтeφpη ρωтп** vs. **πиioz, пipη** Deut. 17:3, Gen. 37:9.

φμωοτ Ex. 1:22 vs. **πιμωοτ** Gen. 8:1 (water of the Deluge), **πιμoтнζωοτ** Gen. 8:2.

pωc нтcηqi Deut. 20:13 (Vat **нтcηqi** = ἐν φόνω μαχαίρας).

(3) π_1 - vs. π - vs. *zero* in lists.

Deut. 30:15 πῶνός νεν φμοῦ πιπεθανενεφ νεν πιπε-
θωοῦ.

Deut. 11:24 πωρε — πιαντιβανος — φιαρο — φιομ
 ετ — πινω† νεσφρατης: generics vs. Proper Names?

Deut. 16:19 **ՈՌՈՇԻ-ՃԱՐՈՆ ՈՒՃԱՐՈՆ ԴԱՐ ՊԱՏՊԹԱՄ
ՈՆԵՆԵԱՆ ՆԵՆԻՇԱԵՐ.**

Or of various hierarchical arrangements, also combined with grammatical factors:

Deut. 28:48 πιρκο νεμ πιιβι νεμ ψβαω νεμ ψμοϑ.

Note the recurrent $\text{IC}\Sigma\text{EN}\Phi\text{P}\omega\text{MI}\ \omega\alpha\text{PT}\epsilon\text{V}\text{NH}$ Ex. 9:25, Num. 8:15:17, 31:11, never differently.

Gen. 31:40 **ΝΑΙΡΟΚΖ ΞΕΝΠΚΑΤΜΑ ΜΠΙΕΞΟΟΤ ΝΕΜ ΠΔΑΦ ΝΤΕ-ΠΙΕΔΩΡΞ.**

Deut. 10:18 $\mu\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\pi\omega\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\iota\kappa$ $\nu\alpha\zeta$ $\nu\epsilon\mu$ $\sigma\tau\zeta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ —
three different generic types combined.

Deut. 8:3 **ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΑΩΝΣ ΕΩΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΑΤΩ ΑΝ.**

Deut. 4:19 ΦΡΗ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΟΪ ΝΕΜ ΝΙCΙΟΤ (+ ΤΦΕ).

Still, in the longer lists the semantic ground for shifting from one genus expression to another wholly escapes me (P and Vat seem to differ. Vat adheres rather more to the Greek; P seems to be freer):

Deut. 14:4-8. 12-18. — animal species catalogue:

ΟΥ-ΜΑCΙ, ΖΙΗΒ, ΒΑΡΗΙΤ

zero — εΙΟΤΛ, ΘΑΞCI, ΨOΨ, ΓΑΜΤΛΟΠΑΡΔΑΛIC / CΘPOC-
ΘOC, ΕΛΧΩB, ΛΑΡON, ΑΡΩΔION, KINON, ΞIΠ etc.

Τ-ΡΑΓΕΛΑΦΟ.

πι- — γαργοροῦσα, ἄμοσλ, ρατῆατ, χιρογίλλιον, ριρ, ἀδωμ, νοῦρι, νοῦερ, ἀλιετον, ὅρε.

ΔΒΩΚ ΝΙΒΕΝ.

⁴¹ Cf. MAYSER 1926-1938: II 2. 8 etc., SCHWYZER 1953-1977: II 23.

3.7 The substantivized, determinated and generic Relative Forms

This is one of the typologically most interesting and consequential issues of Egyptian syntax, still far from perfectly understood. While antecedent determination and its correlation with relativization is a familiar object of study, Relative-clause determination is still conventionally ignored (the affinity in certain Indo-European languages of the definite article and Relative pronoun has been commented upon). Here once again the Coptic system outdoes Greek in sophistication and sheer elegance of the formal means. We find, not a lexeme, but the Relative Conversion of verbal or adverbial-Rheme or nominal/pronominal-Rheme nexus expanding either Φ_H or π - in close or closest juncture. The Bohairic system is very different from the Sahidic one, on which almost all discussion has so far focussed, and seems to have finer distinctions. The following four structural questions must be addressed (cf., for Shenoutean Sahidic, SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:83f., 114, 152).

(a) How is the notion of specificity applicable to the Relative Form?

(b) How is the notion of specificity correlatable here with genericity, and what types of genericity are here observable? How is marking the generic related to lexemization?

(c) What are the external and internal junctural syntagmatic properties and paradigmatic properties of $\Phi_H \epsilon\tau$ - / $\Phi_{\Delta I} \epsilon\tau$ - and of π - $\epsilon\tau$ -?

(d) What (if any) are the deictic properties of the Relative Forms in point?

Excuse: a note on demonstrative deixis

The approximate synthetic functional notion which we have of the demonstratives must be properly corrected by precise analytical data, including environment and pattern, distribution and commutability. Here I present no more than a few, rather disjointed, illustrated preliminary observations towards such an account.

(a) Away from Relative environment, $\Phi_{\Delta I}$ ($\pi_{\Delta I}$ -) and Φ_H are in Bohairic asymmetrical (to a far greater degree than in Sahidic): $\Phi_{\Delta I}$ is a broad-range, Φ_H a narrow-range deictic. Their opposition is mostly neutralized: Φ_H does not occur at all as focus or Rheme (cf. STERN §245); what is more, $\Phi_{\Delta I}$ is the only text-phoric representant of the two. The functional assignation of π - to Φ_H (following Sahidic) must be reviewed, for $\Phi_{\Delta I}$ takes on in Bohairic certain expressive roles associated in Sahidic with π - (POLOTSKY 1957:229f.), cf. $\pi_{\Delta I}$ - NOTOT (De Vis I 123, Cat. 225), Num.14:18 $\pi_{\Delta I}$ - NIOT NNAI , and ω $\pi_{\Delta I}$ - (De Vis I

196), consider De Vis I 175 $\tau\alpha\iota\nu\iota\omega\tau\ \nu\omega\phi\eta\rho\iota\ \nu\epsilon\mu\ \tau\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\omicron\ \nu\epsilon\mu\ \tau\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\iota\eta\ \nu\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\zeta\eta\kappa\iota\ldots$

(b) The typical textual phoricity of $\Phi\alpha\iota$ is not shared by $\Phi\eta$. $\{\Phi\alpha\iota\}$ has a double mobility. First, the neutric $\Phi\alpha\iota/\nu\alpha\iota$, or $\Phi\alpha\iota/\theta\alpha\iota$ for grammatical gender, which are always text-phoric, and mostly anaphoric; second, the masculine as opposed to the feminine and plural: $\Phi\alpha\iota/\theta\alpha\iota/\nu\alpha\iota$, rarer and of different referentiality, and typically carrying sex-marking function. In the first case, $\Phi\alpha\iota$ and $\nu\alpha\iota$, in Narrative or Exposition, are often fuzzily anaphoric (note $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\Phi\alpha\iota$, $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\Phi\alpha\iota$, $\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\tau$), less usually cataphoric: consider Ex. 13:15, 16:15, 13:14, 34:32, Lev. 11:9:28f., Num. 8:15, Lev. 14:19, 21:14, Deut. 3:21, 5:15, Gen. 10:9, 16:14, 19:22, 20:6, 15:10:14, 18:5, 10:18 etc.; cataphoric reference Gen. 20:13, 25:16, 34:15, 45:17, Ex. 15:1 $\alpha\varrho\varrho\omega\varsigma\ \nu\tau\alpha\iota\omega\text{-}\delta\eta$, Num. 15:22, 26:51 $\theta\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\eta\ \nu\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa\omega\phi\eta\rho\iota\ \mu\pi\iota\varsigma\lambda\ldots$, Lev. 11:13 $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\omicron\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \omicron\rho\beta\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \xi\epsilon\mu\mu\iota\zeta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau\ldots$; Lev. 11:21 $\nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\omicron\sigma\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\ldots$; Num. 16:9 $\Phi\alpha\iota\ \xi\epsilon$). In Nominal Sentence Topics or Themes the reference is as a rule anaphoric (Lev. 21:9:13, 22:11f., 26:27, Ex. 8:18, 12:47, Lev. 16:29:34, 5:1:4, 10:16f., Deut. 9:3, Ex. 12:16, 21:8, 31:14, 37:16x10 $\Phi\alpha\iota\ \alpha\varrho$ -, Gen. 37:22). It is always anaphoric in the case of $\nu\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\Phi\alpha\iota/\nu\alpha\iota$ (Ex. 14:3, Lev. 11:6, 13:37 etc.). Note $\Phi\alpha\iota$ for cohesive summing-up (Num. 7:17:35:41), $\Phi\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon$ as a grammaticalized clause for "that is" (e.g. Gen. 14:2:8, 15:3, 19:38 etc.).

(c) The second case (full gender mobility) is typically, but not essentially, dialogic.

Here and in Narrative/Exposition, $\Phi\alpha\iota/\theta\alpha\iota$ may replace the personal pronouns as a highly cohesive alternant of $\mu\epsilon\omicron\omicron / \mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$:

Gen. 17:18 $\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha\eta\lambda\ \Phi\alpha\iota\ \mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi\omega\mu\zeta$ — a remarkable *locus*: $\Phi\alpha\iota$ either resumes the topical $\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha\eta\lambda$, or characterizes it for deixis ($\mu\epsilon\iota$ -would mark it as anaphoric, not as situationally prominent).

Gen. 16:12 $\Phi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\varphi\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\omega\mu\iota\ \nu\rho\epsilon\mu\eta\kappa\omicron\iota$.

Deut. 3:11 $\zeta\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\ \iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\varphi\theta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon\mu\iota\pi\iota\ \mu\epsilon\ \Phi\alpha\iota\ \varrho\chi\eta\ \xi\epsilon\mu\text{-}\tau\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\ldots$

Gen. 42:6 $\iota\omega\varsigma\eta\Phi\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\varrho\omicron\iota\ \nu\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\omicron\omicron\ \Phi\alpha\iota\ \nu\alpha\varrho\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ldots$

Or it may refer to contextually (pragmatically) familiar specific entities, situation or background:

Gen. 12:12 $\tau\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\iota\mu\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\alpha\iota$.

Gen. 12:18 $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\Phi\alpha\iota\ \nu\alpha\eta$.

Gen. 37:32 $\alpha\eta\zeta\epsilon\mu\theta\alpha\iota$.

παλαος Num. 11:11f. and *passim*.

Num. 32:5 παιορδανης.

Gen. 20:10 οτ πετακνατ εροq εακερφαι.

Gen. 42:14 φαι πεταιδoq νωτεν ειδω μμοc δε-.

Num. 22:33 αcρικι cαβολ μμοι φαι φμαρ-γ cοπ πε.

Gen. 19:34 δενπαικεεδωpε (also Ex. 11:4).

Expressive deixis (see [d] below) (cf. Sahidic πi-):

Num. 14:18 παινιωτ nναι.

Consider also Gen. 18:25, 19:12:20, 20:11, 22:14, 24:13, 26:10, 26:26, 24:58, 35:17, 37:32.

It is φαι that is focussed:

Gen. 26:24 καταφαι φαι.

Ex. 30:37 παιcεμνι φαι.

Ex. 12:2 παιαβοτ φαι.

(d) The above notwithstanding, there are still two slots of opposition between φαι and φη (and, unlike Sahidic, παι- and πi-, the former a deictic demonstrative, the latter article), of which the most conspicuous is the slot preceding the Relative, φη / φαι ετ-, where, inversely, it is φη that is unmarked (see below). In this slot, φαι is clearly marked for locutivity or allocutivity (the I-you-deixis), and is often affectively expressive (SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:228ff.). In this environment, φαι signals the “situation-at-hand deixis” and more generally the interlocutive sphere (HARWEG 1968, 1990:167f.). Note that the selection of φαι and φη is not triggered here by the Greek *Vorlage* — indeed, the Coptic is considerably more sophisticated in this point than the Greek; also, that, unlike φη ετ-, φαι ετ- is always anaphoric:

Gen. 11:4 (Let us build) οτπoρoс φαι ετετεqαφe ναωωπι ωαερηι ετφe “a tower such as has a peak reaching the sky” (Greek οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ...).

Gen. 39:17 πεκαλοτ нzeвpeoc φαι ετακενq...: pejorative, disparaging: affective.

Gen. 3:11 πιωηη φαι εταιρεηωηηκ εροq δε-φαι μματ-ατq μπεροτωμ εβολ μμοq: focussing.

Ex. 10:11 μαροτωεμωι мφ† φαι γαρ нoωτεν ετετεηκω† ηcωq: affective, disparaging.

пαι ετ- occurs also in concord to {пαι-} determination of the nucleus:

Deut. 4:8 παιηомoc τηpφ φαι αηοκ εт† μμοq... also Ex. 4:17, Deut. 20:16 etc.

Different perhaps is Gen. 27:20 **οὗ πε Φαι ÷ ετακζεμϛ** (Isaac to Esau, who has just invited him to eat of his game (Greek τί τοῦτο ὅ...)).

Obs.

Both STERN 1880 §246 and POLOTSKY 1987:90f. attribute to **Φαι** "deictic prominence"; according to Polotsky, **Φαι** lends more prominence to the appositive ("parathetic") nature of the Relative clause.

Stem claims that **Φαι ετ-** is scarcely admissible in Boh. appositive Relative; p. 116: "mit nachdruck hinweisend"... "**Φαι** weist energisch auf das folgende hin, **Φη** schwächer auf das vorangegangene zurück".

(e) In the second opposition slot, much rarer, {**Φη**} is strongly marked as affective, as the second antithetic term of two, referring to an inferior or even downright contemptible term of a comparison or contrast:

In Dialogue, in contrast to an interlocutive signal:

Num. 22:33 (but the Angel to Balaam) **νῆοκ μεν ναιναδσοθ-βεκ πε θη δε** (the she-ass) **μαινατανδος** (*sic*) **πε**.

In Narrative, in contrast to another delocutive:

Ex. 7:12 **απωβοτ νααρων ωμκ ννιωβοτ ντενη** (of the Pharaoh's magicians).

Ex. 24:2 **μωτςχς μματτϛ ερεδωντ ραφτ νη δε** (but the Children of Israel) **ννοτδωντ** — marking for inferiority.

(f) The local adverb **τη** (always rhematic in Relative Conversion) seems to have in our Bohairic a markedly pejorative value similar to that of **Φη** (stronger than **ετemmaγ**; **ται** is purely local):

Gen. 37:19 **πιρεϛπερρασου εττη** (said contemptfully by Joseph's brothers).

Num. 16:14 **νιρωμι εττη** (said disparagingly of Korah and his followers).

Deut. 13:5 **πιπροφητης δε εττη** pejorative, contemptful.

Gen. 24:65 **παιρωμι νιμ πε εττη ετςωκ εροϛη ερραν** — uniquely non-pejorative, but distal? Greek τις ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὁ πορευόμενος; ἐκεῖνος is not usually rendered by **εττη**.

Contrast **ται** in **εβολ ται** (locutive narrative) Deut. 9:12; Gen. 37:17 **ατοϛωτεβ εβολ ται**.

Documentation and observations to Question (a) above:

The specificity grading of Relative constructions, as such — from synthetic or analytic close-knit "Relative Forms" such as in pre-Coptic Egyptian, Celtic, Turkish, or Ethiopian languages, to the sometimes

looser (Indo-) European or Semitic type of pronominally marked or converted Relative clause — is an essential part of their individual profile. The question, of course, is how best to quantify, or at least establish absolute points of reference and relative grades of specificity. The following constructions are arranged on a rising specificity scale.

(I) **π-ετ-, н-ετ-** (the latter specific only — grades [7] and [8]). A manifold cluster of homonyms.

(1) Determination-basis lexeme — restricted lexico-semantic constituency: only “good” and “bad”.

Expanding the determinators (only **πετ-**):

πιπεθανεμ Gen. 40:14.

πιπεθανεμ нем πεθαναμ Deut. 12:25, 13:19 — bracketed.

πιπετρωω Deut. 24:7.

παιπετρωω Gen. 19:7.

ξανπεθανεω Num. 10:30.

ξανπετρωω Num. 11:1.

οωπετρωω, οωπεθανεμ Num. 14:23, Lev. 5:4.

ποωπετρωω Num. 11:10.

Probably also

Gen. 37:26 **οω μπεθανεμ ετεννααιμ** (*zero* article!).

(2) Non-specific, non-particular: *zero*-determination grade (*zero* generic), agent-noun-lexeme equivalent. Non-restricted lexical constituency.

In coordination and parallelism with *zero*-determined lexemes:

Ex. 4:11 **εβο нем κοωρ, πεθанаω мвол нем βελλε**.

As Existant or Non-Existant (*zero* / **οω-**):

Lev. 25:26 ...**μμον-πετζημ** **ζαρομ** (Circumstantial).

Ex. 10:10 **οωον-οωπετρωω χη** **ζαζωτεν**.

As object of derivational **ερ-**, **δε-** (lexeme iconic simulation):

Num. 10:29 **ερπεθανεμ**.

Lev. 19:14 **ннеκδεπετρωω**.

In discontinuous combination with **νιβεν** (*zero*):

Lev. 7:19 **πεθοωβηοωτ νιβεν εφεοωομμ**.

(3) Non-specific, non-particular: generic “genus-name” type (cf. {π-} above). Non-restricted lexical constituency? Morphologically restricted (Present tense: Statives only):

Num. 23:3 **ζιπεтсοωτων** (cf. **ζιψαμμ...**).

Lev. 11:39 **πετμωωт ιε φη етапһριон οωομμ**.

Lev. 13:10 **ῥΕΝΠΕΘΟΥΧ ΝΤΕ†CΑΡῤ**.

Lev. 27:10 **ΠΕΘΑΝΕQ ῤΑΠΕΤῤΩΟῤ**, different from the particular and specific Lev. 27:14 **ΟῤΤΕ Φῤ Η ΕΤῤΑΝΕQ ΟῤΤΕ Φῤ Η ΕΤῤΩΟῤ** (= Vat).

(4) Non-specific, appositive-neutric (a unique instance):

Gen. 19:19 **ΑΚΟΡΕΤΕΚΜΕΘΜΗ ΕΡΝΙΩ† ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑΙQ ΝΕΜΗ ΕΘΡΕΤΑΨΤΧΗ ΩΝῤ** (= Vat) (Greek ...τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου ὃ ποιεῖς...).

(5) Particular, specific by reference: anaphoric. Morphologically restricted (Present tense: Statives only):

Deut. 21:1ff. **ΟῤΑΙ ΕQΜΑΨΙ ... ΕΤΚΩ† ΕΠΕΘΑΨΙ ... ΝΤΕΠΕΘΑΨΙ**.

(6) Particular, specific by combination: appositive to highly specific nucleus. Non-restricted lexical constituency? Morphologically restricted (Present tense):

Deut. 28:58 **...ΕΙΡΙ ΝΝΑΙCῤΙ ΤΗΡΟῤ ΝΤΕΠΑΙΝΟΜΟC ΠΕΤCῤΗΟῤΤ**.

Lev. 22:16:32 **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠῤC ΠΕΤΤΟῤΒΟ ΜΜΩΟῤ** (not Cleft Sentence!)

(7) Particular, specific by combination (see above) — “**ΠΕΤΕ-ΦΩQ**”.

ΝΕΤΕΝΟῤΟῤ ΤΗΡΟῤ (etc.) Gen. 20:7, Num. 31:9, **ΝΕΤΕΝΟῤΚ** Gen. 33:9.

(8) Particular, specific: *named as unique* — cf. the article {π-} above. Morphologically restricted (Present Tense):

ΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ “the Holy (usually: “of Holies”, Greek ἅγια (τῶν) ἁγίων and some variants, with no apparent correspondence in the Coptic). This is a technical term, a concept both architectural and ritual⁴² — which appears to have caused some difficulty and ensuing variation in rendering. Note that **ΝΕΤ-** is attested only here:

ΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΕΝΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ Num. 4:4, Ex. 30:36, Lev. 27:28.

ΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΕΝΕΤΟΥΑΒ Lev. 16:33, 27:28.

ῤΕΝΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ Num. 4:16.

ΦῤΑΝ ΜΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ Lev. 22:32 — a case of “inalienable” association (below), incidentally proving the non-zero and specific nature of **ΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ**.

†CΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΕΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ Ex. 29:29.

Compare the following plural phrases:

ΝΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΕΝΕΘΟΥΑΒ Lev. 10:12.

⁴² **ΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ** is early as a concept in Egyptian: see VITTMANN 1996:466ff. (Ryl. 9 11/8).

NEΘOYAB NTENEΘOYAB Lev. 6:10.

ΕΞΟΤΗ ΕΝΗ ΕΘΟYAB NTENH ΕΘΟYAB Num. 4:19 (Vat ΕΝΕΘOYAB NTENH ΕΘΟYAB).

NH ΕΘOYAB NTHI Lev. 19:30.

and probably also

Ex. 23:7 ΠΕΤΤΟΥΒΗΟΥΤ ΟΥΟΥ ΝΟΜΗΙ ΝΝΕΚΞΟΘΒΕQ (= Vat) — a “type name”? The coordination of n- is remarkable, proving this is not zero determination.

ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΞC ΠΕΤΤΟΥΒΟ ΜΜΩΟΥ Lev. 22:16:32.

Deut. 28:58 ...ΕΙΡΙ ΝΝΑΙCΑΞΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕΠΑΙΝΟΜΟC ΠΕΤC-ΞΗΟΥΤ...

Also, in actual naming:

Lev. 23:21 ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΜΟΥ† ΕΠΑΙΕΖΟΥΘ ΦΥΙ ΔΕ-ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ† ΕΡΟΥ.

(II) {ΦΗ ΕΤ-}

(1) Non-specific but *hypothetically* particular, a special, paradoxical and very rare determination characteristic, carried, outside conjugation, by the indefinite article (see above).

(a) Thematic protatic-generic *agens* actant (case-raising: initializing a hypothetic “generic scenario”, carried on by the Conjunctive) in legal, medical and ritual textemes. Tenses: Future (ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑ-):

Ex. 21:15 ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑ† ΝΟΥΨΑΨ ΜΠΕΡΙΩΤ ΙΕ ΤΕΦΜΑΘ ΞΕΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΜΑΡΕΦΜΟΥ.

Ex. 21:16 ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΩΛΙ ΝΟΥΑΙ ΝΣΙΟΥΙ ΟΥΟΥ ΝΤΕΦΘΕΠΞΩΡΙ ΕΞΩQ ΝΤΕΦΤΗΙQ ΕΒΟΛ ... ΞΕΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΜΑΡΕΦΜΟΥ.

Ex. 22:20 ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΕΡΨΟΥΨΩΨΙ ΝΖΑΝΚΕΝΟΥ† ... ΕΤΕΦΟΥΤQ ΕΒΟΛ.

Num. 19:11 ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΘΙΝΕ ΜΦΗ ΕΘΜΩΟΥΤ...

Also, title-wise, without a scenario:

Lev. 12:7 ΦΗ ΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΕΘΗ ΕΤΝΑΜΙCΙ.

Lev. 11:36 ΦΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΝΑΘΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΗ ΕΘΜΩΟΥΤ ΝΤΕΝΑΙ.

(b) “Any (particular) one who...”:

ΦΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤ-, e.g. Lev. 15:32, 17:4. Mostly masculine singular. A special construction, rooted in the Egyptian past.

Gen. 41:24 ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-ΦΗ ΕΤΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΡΟC (Greek ὁ ἀπαγγέλων): proves non-specificity — this is not ΦΗ, but ΦΗ ΕΤ-.

Gen. 41:15 QΨΟΠ ΑΝ ΝΞΕ-ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΒΟΛC (Greek ὁ συνκρίνων), sim. Deut. 27:18ff., 28:31, 32:39.

ΦΗ ΕΤΘΙΜΝΟΥ (Sah. ΟΥΑ ΕQ- Deut. 32:25, functionally identical? see POLOTSKY 1987:78f.)

Lev. 27:14 **ΟΥΤΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΝΕΩ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΖΩΟΤ.**

Lev. 11:36 **ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΒΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΗ ΕΘΜΩΟΤ ΝΤΕΝΑΙ.**

Obs.

ΝΙΒΕΝ is a post-positive determinator and a quantifier homonym — so at least in Sahidic (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:143ff.); the former ("all") combines with the bare lexeme, the latter ("any, every") modifies a *zero*-determined one⁴³. This element has remarkable prosodic properties. On **ΦΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤ-** see QUECKE 1985:264 "Rest der älteren Sprache"; POLOTSKY 1987:84f. In fact, **ΝΙΒΕΝ** behaves here prosodically like an Augens (Ex. 16:23 **ΦΗ ΤΗΡΩ ΕΘΝΑ-** etc.). However, **ΝΙΒΕΝ** does not always occupy the colon-second position: Deut. 21:5 **ΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΒΕΝ**, possibly Num. 18:13 **ΩΡΩΠ ΝΟΥΤΑΖ ΝΙΒΕΝ** (Greek τὰ πρωτογενήματα πάντα). In Demotic, *nb* seems to be a determinator, judging e.g. by the relative expansion of the *nb*-phrase, cf. STRICKER 1962 §41ff.; §46 on *nty nb...* "all that...", an immediate correspondent to our **ΦΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤ-**. A symptom of the non-determinator status of **ΝΙΒΕΝ** would be its compatibility with non-*zero* determinators. While **ΝΤΗΙ ΟΥ-ΩΡΩΠ ΜΜΙCΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ** (Num. 8:17 Lag.) is Lagarde's own Coptic, and similarly fictive is **ΟΥ-...ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΗΙ** (Lev. 21:19, 22:18; see Crum *Dictionay sub ΝΙΜ*), probably Wilkins' own translation into Coptic from the Greek (BROOKE 1902:262), we do have a few genuine instances in Bohairic and Sahidic: **ΠΩΡΩΠ ΜΜΙCΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ** Num. 3:13 (Vat **ΩΡΩΠ**), **ΝΕΝΠΕΘΟΟΤ ΝΙΒΕΝ** (letter of H. Quecke 2/7/80), Choiak-Psalmody, ed. Labib 1955 p.333; def. plural in Sahidic Ruth (ed. Shier) 4:7 **ΝΩΛΔΕ ΝΙΜ**; **ΠΒΑΡΟC ΝΙΜ** in **ΝΗC** VII 11, and in Demotic *p3-rmt nb p3-t3* always in the Hauswaldt Pap. corpus; Hawara 20.10 *p3 hrw nb n p3 t3*. Telling, of course, is also the very compatibility with the specific **ΦΗ** in the construction under discussion (SIMPSON 1996 §1.4.5 *t3-nty...nb*).

(c) {**ΦΗ ΕΤ-**} appositive to a non-specific nucleus, translatable as "such as...". Non-restricted in pattern, tense or lexeme:

Deut. 11:2 **ΖΑΝΑΛΩΟΤΙ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΝCΕCΩΟΤΗΝ ΑΝ** (Greek ὅσοι οὐκ οἶδασι) — the negative is unusual.

Lev. 27:14 **ΦΡΩΜΙ ... ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΕΡΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ** (Greek ἄνθρωπος ὅς ἄν ...).

Lev. 15:2 **ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΦΗ ΕΤΕΟΤΟΝ-ΟΥΤΕΛΤΕΛ ΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΔΕΝ-ΠΕΡCΩΜΑ** (Greek ἀνδρὶ, ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ἐὰν...).

(2) Specific and particular: "the (particular one) that..." — comprehensive, unrestricted tense and gender/number repertory:

Ex. 39:13 **ΦΗ ΕΤΑΡCΕΠΙ.**

Ex. 21:19 **ΦΗ ΕΤΑΡ† ΜΠΙΕΡΔΟΤ.**

Lev. 24:14 **ΦΗ ΕΤΑΡCΑΖΟΤΙ.**

Lev. 25:30 **ΦΗ ΕΤΑΡΩΟΠ.**

Lev. 5:24 **ΦΗ ΕΤΕΦΩΩ ΠΕ ΕΡΕΤΗΠΩ ΝΑΩ.**

⁴³ It is in cohesion with the quantifier **ΝΙΒΕΝ** combined with *zero* determination that we encounter the masculine/feminine neutric neutralization: Num. 6:7 **ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΑΡΜΟΤ**, Lev. 17:12 **ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΝΕΡΟΤΩΜ-CΝΟΩ.**

Ex. 21:22 εφετοςι καταφην επεχαι ντςζιμι ναχιτq.
 νη ετενοωq Ex. 16:13 sim. Num. 16:5.

ΘΗ ΕΤΕΘΩΤΕΝ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑ ΦΟΥΑΙ ΦΟΥΑΙ ΕΤΕΘΩq ΝΚΗΤΗCIC
 Lev. 25:10, 27:2.

Num. 17:13 ΝΗ ΕΘΜΩΟΥΤ ... ΝΗ ΕΤΟΝΔ.

Ex. 16:23 ΦΗ ΤΗΡq ΕΘΝΑΕΡΖΟΥΟ.

(3) Specific and particular: in appositive-anaphoric linkage with a specific and particular nucleus:

Deut. 21:1 ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΦΗ ΕΤΕΠΩC ΠΕΚΝΟΥ† ΝΑΤΗΙq ΝΑΚ.

Num. 14:31 ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΦΗ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΖΕΝΘΗΝΟΥ CΑ-
 ΒΟΛ ΜΜΟq.

Lev. 4:5 ΠΙΟΨΗΒ ΦΗ ΕΤΘΑΖC.

Deut. 9:12 ΠΕΚΛΑΟC ΝΗ ΕΤΑΚΕΝΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ-ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ.

(4) Specific and particular: ΦΗ (ΕΤΕ-) ΕΘΒΕΦΗΝΟΒΙ (ritual term: name and type of a specific sacrifice).

ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-ΕΘΒΕΦΗΝΟΒΙ... Lev. 9:15, 14:13:19.

A zero-conversion variant is

Lev. 7:7 ΦΗ ΕΘΒΕΦΗΝΟΒΙ (= Vat) (Greek τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας),
 cf. Lev. 8:14 ΠΙΜΑCΙ ΕΘΒΕΦΗΝΟΒΙ.

Another variant is

Lev. 14:17 ΦΗ ΝΤΕ-ΕΘΒΕ-: the morphemic-orthographic merging of ΕΤΕ- and ΝΤΕ- may have Demotic precedents, and even LE ones, as *nty-* ADV.⁴⁴ Compare Lev. 8:2 ΠΙΜΑCΙ ΝΤΕ-ΕΘΒΕ-ΦΗΝΟΒΙ (= Vat), Lev. 7:7 ΦΗ ΕΤΕ†ΜΕΤΨΑq† (Vat ΝΤΕ-), and cases of ΝΤΕ- + adverb like ΠΙΨΟΥΨΩΟΥΨΙ ΝΤΕ-ΜΜΗΝΙ Num. 4:16. However, {ΦΗ} occurs as nucleus of ΝΤΕ- especially in affiliation: Proper Name + {ΦΗ} ΝΤΕ- + Proper Name (Ex. 35:34, 37:20), cf. also ΘΗ ΝΤΕ-ΛΑΡΩΝ Ex. 29:29.

(5) Two special cases in poetic language:

(a) Specific and particular.

Num. 23:8 ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-Φ† CΑΖΟΥΙ ΕΡΟq ΔΗ — peculiar on two counts: the negative — unique in my files — and the object actant nucleus.

(b) Non-specific, non-particular — *instantial* generic (above):

Deut. 32:25 ΟΨΔΕΛΨΙΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΦΗ ΕΤΩΙΜΝΟΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΔΕΛΛΟ.

⁴⁴ See BORGHOOTS 1980:74ff.

Obs.

(1) An instance of the "named generic" may be **πετсовк** as opposed to **πινιω† ηρεφροτωιν** in Gen.1:16 B4 (our MS has **πικοτξι**).

(2) The systems outside the corpus differ considerably from ours. Probably most notable is **π-ετ-** following **μμον-/οτων-**, of a broader range in B4, NT and Nitrian:

νημμον-πετξοτψτ πε Na. 2:10, 3:18; also Hos. 7:7.

Mt. 10:26 **μμον-πετξовс глр зε-φηλθωρп εβολ αν**.

I Cor. 11:34 **οτων-πετξοκερ** (cons.).

Hag. 2:6 **πετψοτωοτ** (τῆν ξηράν; opposed to **өн етψοτωοτ** in Jon. 1:9 and **φн етψοτωοτ** Hag. 2:21).

μμον-πετ- John. 15:13, Rom. 3:11:12 (all cons.).

De Vis I 181 **μμον-πετιρι νοημετхс**.

De Vis II 38 **μμον-πετξем†пи**.

The nature of the relation — opposition? — with **φн ет-**, within the same text or between sources, is frankly elusive, consider Na. 2:12, Hag. 2:6:23 (B4 and B5), Luke 9:36 etc.

Observation to Question (b):

The following isomorphic correlation between the generic determination-signals before lexemes and before converters of verbal nexus, as exponents of *agens* actantial genericity, cannot, in my opinion, be dismissed as coincidental (in order of ascending genericity):

{ πι- }	{ φн- ет- }	— <i>agens</i> hypothetically particular in a case-raising hypothetic "generic scenario" ⁴⁵
{ п- }	п-ετ-	— "named" genericity of <i>agens</i> : "type name"
οτ-	οτ-εναλνοτq, οτ-ξοτεναλνοτq	(Oxyrh.) ⁴⁶ — casual instantial genericity of <i>agens</i> (also φн ет- : Deut. 32:25)
zero	∅-εq-	— zero-grade genericity of <i>agens</i> .

οτ-εναλνοτq (Oxyrhynchite) Mt. 11:30, see SCHENKE 1996:111ff., **οτξοτεναλνοτq** (Oxyrhynchite) Ps. 85:5.

εq- "(any) one who" (SHISHA-HALEVY 1976), is a case of *zero* determination grade, and like it is typical — indeed the alternant of other actantial-generics — of negative environment:

Deut. 18:10f. **ηνοτξιμι ησнтк εqορο ηπεqψηρι ιε τεq-ψερι εсini ξενοτхрωη — ηεq†φλзри — λψεβεν — εq-μοτ† εβολ ξεηθenexi — εqξοτψт εξανηηini — εqψini ηηιρεqμωοτ.**

⁴⁵ Greek "potentiality" ἄν in Relative and conditional clauses may well be the trigger, or a trigger, for this type of genericity in the Coptic text.

⁴⁶ Mt. 11:30 ed. Schenke. The (early) Sahidic **т-ερε-** and **ηεηηтоτ-** in the Palau Ribes Luke (2:5, 18:24 ed. Quecke), appositive to Proper Names or substantival, are in juncture analogous to **οτ-ε-ηαλνοτq**.

Deut. 12:9 ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΨΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΨΗΤΟΨ ΕΨΟΨΩΤ ΟΨΔΕ ΕΨ-
 ΨΟCΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΔΕΨΩΨ (= Vat).

Obs.

(1) The *zero-grade* agential generic is used outside the corpus for glossing Arabic adjectives (in the Paris scalac, Vat. copto 71: SHISHA-HALEVY 1976:136f.), and also outside negative environment:

Apoc. 2:15 ΠΑΙΡΗΨ ΨΩΚ ΟΨΟΝΝΤΑΚ ΜΜΑΨ ΕΨΑΜΟΝΙ ΝΤCΒΩ ΝΝΙΚΟΛΑΨΤΩΝ.

(2) The probably related adverbial and adverbial role of ΕΨ- with an invariable 3rd person sgl. masculine (SHISHA-HALEVY 1975) is discernible only by position, and often cannot be clearly distinguished from the *zero-generic* ΕΨ-:

Ex. 30:32 ΝΝΕΤΕΝΘΑΜΙΟ ΜΠΑΙΡΗΨ ΕΨΟΨΑΒ.

Mark 7:10 ΜΑΡΕΨΜΟΨ ΝΟΨΜΟΨ ΨΗ ΕΘΝΑCΑΔΨ ΕΨΨΩΟΨ ΝCΑΠΕΨΙΩΤ ΝΕΜ
 ΤΕΨΜΑΨ (v.l. ΟΨCΑΔΨ).

Mark 7:35 ΝΑΨCΑΔΨ ΠΕ ΕΨCΟΨΤΩΝ (consensus).

(3) Note the *zero-generic* coordinated to the rhematic indefinite article: Ps. 68:30 ΟΨΨΗ-
 ΚΙ ΟΨΟΨ ΕΨΜΟΚΨ Ps. 85:10 ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΨΝΙΩΨ ΟΨΟΨ ΕΨΨΙΡΙ....

Observations to Questions (c) and (d)

(1) Contrasting such cases as

Ex. 39:13 ΨΗ ΕΤΑΨCΕΠΙ.

Ex. 21:19 ΨΗ ΕΤΑΨΨ ΜΠΙΕΨΨΟΤ.

Gen. 41:24 ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-ΨΗ ΕΤΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΨΟC.

Lev. 12:7 ΨΗ ΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΕΘΗ ΕΤΝΑΜΙCΙ.

with

Deut. 21:1 ΠΙΚΑΨΙ ΨΗ ΕΤΕΨΨC ΠΕΚΝΟΨΨ ΝΑΤΗΨΨ ΝΑΚ.

Deut. 11:2 ΨΑΝΑΨΩΟΨ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΝCΕCΩΟΨΝ ΑΝ.

Lev. 15:2 ΟΨΨΩΜΙ ΨΗ ΕΤΕΟΨΟΝ-ΟΨΤΕΛΤΕΛ ΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΔΕΝ-
 ΠΕΨΩΜΑ,

we conclude that {ΨΗ ΕΤ-}, which may be considered a kind of analytic Relative pronoun⁴⁷, operates in two junctural manners, namely as initial boundary or as backwards link (in the latter case, its gender/number characteristics cohere and enhance the retrospective linkage). On the other hand, Π-ΕΤ- is not backwards cohesive. The rare appositive ΠΕΤ-, as in:

Deut. 28:58 ...ΕΨΙΡΙ ΝΝΑΨCΑΔΨ ΤΗΨΟΨ ΝΤΕΠΑΨΝΟΜΟC ΠΕΤC-
 ΔΗΟΨΤ...

Lev. 22:16:32 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΨC ΠΕΤΤΟΨΒΟ ΜΜΩΟΨ, is, I suggest, not linked anaphorically at all, but a case of an apposed highly specific

⁴⁷ Cf. an almost exact parallel in Middle Welsh *yr hyn/yr hon a-*: Shisha-Halevy 1995:144ff.

and particular *named* entity: see above. Indeed, $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - constitutes, or is preceded by, a boundary signal in the environment in point.

(2) Both π - and $\Phi\eta$ in the constructions in point are proclitic to their relative converter. The linkage of $\Phi\eta$ — cataphoric to its nexal attribute — is looser, as indicated by the occurrence of NIBEN following $\Phi\eta$ and Augentia (THPOY , ANOK , NΘOK , NΘWTEN) following NH ⁴⁸. This in turn correlates with a different commutability profile on both flanks of either seam: different grades of close juncture or boundness (see Chapter Four).

(3) The only substitute found for π - in the case of $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - is n- , in restricted cases; the converted conjugation form is the Present only, with certain limitations even in the Present, and “good”/“bad” (“Adjective Verb”). $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - is affirmative only. For $\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau$ -, on the other hand, the commutabilities are maximal — the full gender/number range for $\Phi\eta$, most of the nexal types and patterns in Relative Conversion.

(4) The considerable distal and (metaphorically) affective deictic value of $\Phi\eta$ is drastically reduced before the Relative to a mere anaphoric potentiality, while $\Phi\eta\alpha\iota$, elsewhere an undifferentiated phoric representative, forms in $\Phi\eta\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau$ - a marked interlocutive and expressive analytic Relative pronoun.

Obs.

(1) For (a), the grammatical literature has been restricted to the basic definite vs. indefinite opposition, which is evidently inadequate. See the early TILL 1927:60ff. (“Indeterminierte Ausdrücke mit dem best. Artikel im Koptischen”, begging the question in most constituents of the title), NAGEL 1973, QUECKE 1985:262f. (corrective to Nagel); POLOTSKY 1987:80, 85 (on $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - and $\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau$ -). On Bohairic, we find QUECKE 1985:266. On the $\pi\epsilon\tau\text{NANOYQ}$ type, QUECKE 1985:273f. Quecke explicitly states the leximization role: 1985:265ff. “...bestimmte substantivische Relativsätze den Rang eines Nomens erhalten, und syntaktisch entsprechend behandelt werden”; also 279 n. 31.

(2) For (b), see POLOTSKY 1987:48ff., 78ff., 91, 98ff. on $\pi\epsilon\tau$ -: “der *generelle* Adjektivsatz” (my italics — Polotsky says very little on Boh. $\pi\epsilon\tau$ -). On the “hypothetic generic”, 1987:81ff. Earlier, see QUECKE 1985:263.

(3) For (c), on the “parathetic” (our “appositive”) $\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau$ - (“a looser link”; $\Phi\eta\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau$ - even looser) POLOTSKY 1987:89ff.

(4) Diachronic. Already Demotic poses some intriguing questions in this context, especially concerning the relationship between “adjective” leximization and types of genericity — *p-nty-n3-kmf* vs. *km* “black” (QUACK 1999 A4); in Ryl. IX, *p-nty-w^ab* the

⁴⁸ Like other Augentia, THP= may occur at a later, colon-final position: Gen. 31:18 NH ETENTAQ THPOY , Gen. 27:45 $\text{NH ETAKAITOY NAQ THPOY}$. However, the placement following NH is usual (Gen. 34:28, 35:2, 41:17 etc.). Exx. for ANOK etc.: Ex. 23:27, 24:21, Lev. 22:15, Deut. 4:2:8 etc.

specific "the Holy of Holies", VITTMANN 1998:466f., beside *p3-w'b*, *n3-w'bw*. In gnomic-didactic textemes such as Papyrus Insinger, *p3-nty-* shows a gamut of grammatical roles and slots, specific and non-specific, particular and generic (including our "hypothetical particular" generic), and must, like our $\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau$ -, structurally be considered a cluster of homonyms: (1) existant (19/1, 20/8f. etc.; rarely negative); cf. also *jw-mn-nty-s-y re-p3-nti* P. Berlin 13548 (ed. Zauzich 1993) Ptol. — no det.: "...dass es nichts darin gibt, das den Gott verletzt"; (2) in address (4/11), (3) topical-protatic (18/18, 33/19); (4) both protatic and apodotic, in a Theme-Rheme *Wechselsatz* (# *p3-nty-.... p3-nty-... #*) (5/2, 6/12, 6/22ff.) — perhaps the most interesting pattern; (5) both focal and topical, in a Cleft Sentence (# *p3-nty-.... p3-nty-... #*) (33/14, 34/23).

3.8 The Proper Name: five observations. In my 1989 study of the Coptic Proper Name on a pan-dialectal basis, I have attempted to show, on the basis of syntactical properties, that this important element of *la parole* is not a class or an entity of *la langue* but the "occupant" of a high-grade location on a scale of a signalled property of nominals: there is certainly no essential binomy or dichotomy of PN ("PN") vs. appellative, except as a convenient breviloquy. "Properization" ("God", "The Supreme Court") and "deproperization" ("a grip that would do credit to a Conan Doyle or an Agatha Christie") are relative, environmentally signalled notions. In its syntactical behaviour, the PN shows an affinity to certain pronouns, and especially to interlocutive (locutive and allocutive) ones, notably in its marked non-phoric or referentially inert nature.

In this section, I would like to contemplate briefly the Bohairic PN in the studied corpus, in the light of the discussion of the noun syntagm so far, focussing on four aspects, generally not repeating statements and observations made in 1989a.

Obs.

Literature update (studies of grammatical and especially syntactical aspects of the PN, also of its grammatical — not of semantic or of philosophical — nature, beyond those listed and discussed in SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a). French and German are especially prominent among the languages treated: SLOAT 1969 (English), LE BIHAN 1978, TOGEBY 1978 (40ff on the articulated, possessed PN; see also TOGEBY 1851:157f.); SWIGGERS 1982; MOLINO 1982 (see esp. 7ff. no unambiguous coextensive criteria: "il n'y a pas une caractérisation définie du nom propre ni dans une langue donnée ni encore moins dans une perspective générale"; 10 "everything may be a PN"; 11f. a syntactic characterization — esp. "tolerance" for the articles), KLEIBER 1983; LOMHOLT 1983, esp. the Introduction; a unique pioneering treatment of geographical names, discussing such aspects as cohesion (52ff.), apposition, prepositional phrases (21ff.) and of course the articulated PNs. KUBCZAK 1985; GARY-PRIEUR 1994 is a good account of PN syntax in French, the most comprehensive work to date (see esp. Chapter 4 for *ce* + PN, pragmatics, affect, anaphoricity, ostension, metaphoric roles and so on; Chapter 5 for the articulated PN and PN metonymy); JONASSON 1994; HARWEG 1999 (especially on the nature of the PN, its realization in *la parole*, communicative roles); WILLEMS 1996; FLAUX 1997.

(a) **Naming signals** (SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:141 s.v. “naming”) are not of a kind, and generally reflect in our corpus the Greek (and earlier Hebrew) original. And yet, these differences must be real, associated with different aspects of the complicated phenomenon of naming. They form a discontinuous unity with $\Sigma\epsilon$ -, which introduces rhematically the well-demarcated name paradigm itself:

$\uparrow\text{ραν } \epsilon\rho\sigma = \Sigma\epsilon$ - Lev. 23:2, Deut. 2:11:21.

$\uparrow\text{ρεν} = \Sigma\epsilon$ - Num. 32:42.

$\uparrow\text{ρεν-πεφραν}/\Phi\text{ραν } \text{n-} \Sigma\epsilon$ - Gen. 30:8, 32:31, 22:14.

$\text{μο}\omega\uparrow\text{ } \epsilon\rho\sigma \Sigma\epsilon$ - Lev. 23:3:4.

$\text{μο}\omega\uparrow\text{ } \epsilon\text{πεφραν } \Sigma\epsilon$ - Gen. 16:11, 17:5:19, 32:28.

...πεκραν $\omega\omega\pi\iota \Sigma\epsilon$ - Gen. 17:15, 32:28.

Gen. 17:5 $\text{ννο}\omega\text{μο}\omega\uparrow\text{ } \epsilon\text{πεκραν } \Sigma\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\mu \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{πεκραν } \omega\omega\pi\iota \Sigma\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\mu$.

The name paradigm itself is remarkably not limited to high-specificity elements or combinations — it is its environment alone that marks its “name-hood”:

“Name Paradigm”

$\pi\iota$ - Gen. 1:5:10, 2:23

$\text{n}\iota$ - Deut. 2:11:21, Gen. 32:2

$\pi\iota$ - $\text{n}\tau\epsilon$ - Gen. 35:8, 31:47f.

π - (genus/notion name) Gen. 1:8:10, 26:20ff., 30:18, etc.

π - n - Gen. 32:30, 35:18, 50:11, 21:31 (see §3.9)⁴⁹

PROPER NAME Gen. 16:11, 3:20, 17:19 etc.

$\text{n}\iota\text{m}$ (indef.) Gen. 2:19

CLAUSE Gen. 22:14, Num. 28:18

(b) Expanded and expanding PN: PN and apposition

The PN, well capable of further specification and hardly “incompatible with restrictive criteria” (*pace* common language-philosophical non-analytic opinion, e.g., HAWKINS 1978:285f.), is not expanded by π - (unless as part of the “inalienable” association construction, §3.9), but may well be appositively expanded by higher-to-lower specificity coreferent determinators, two facts that inform its specificity profile:

Gen. 26:34 $\epsilon\lambda\omega\text{m } \pi\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma, \beta\epsilon\eta\rho \pi\iota\chi\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\sigma$.

PN $\pi\iota\tau\omega\omega\text{ } \text{Num. 20:22, Ex. 3:11.}$

⁴⁹ The actual name in $\Phi\text{ραν } \text{n-}$, in the Personal-Sphere Constituence Association construction (§3.9), is not possessed, but representative of the whole “person-hood” of the named.

PN †βακι Gen. 10:11, 1:45, 46:28.

Num. 3:4 ααρων ποτιωτ.

Ex. 14:31 μωϋσῃς περπαλοϋ.

Ex. 3:1 ιοθορ περψομ φοτηνβ μμαδιам.

PN нем PN ρανοπολις ετζορ Num. 32:36.

Gen. 39:1 πετεφρη ... οφρωμι νρεμνημη.

δε- following a PN introduces "translation naming" (SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a:2.3.1.3f.)⁵⁰

Gen. 30:18 ισαχαρ δε-φβεχε.

Gen. 30:13 αςχηρ δε-οφρμμο.

The expanding or satellital PN following δε- as a special rhematic naming apposition is the adnominal packaging of naming, adjoined to a higher- or lower-specificity nucleus. In Dialogue, with human reference and when it follows παι- or πι-, this apposition is as a rule disparaging:

οφωψην δε-ςαβεκ Gen. 22:13.

πιρωμι δε-λωτ Gen. 19:9.

φαι δε-μωϋσῃς Ex. 32:1:23 — disparaging.

πετζορι ιακωβ Gen. 49:24 — this (in poetic language) is different (Greek δυνάστου Ιακωβ).

Obs.

Outside the corpus:

δε- PN Acts 5:36, 19:14.

οφαι επεφραν πε X Acts 19:24.

†ςζιμι δε-PN Αποκ. 2:20.

παι δε-ζηρωδης De Vis I 37 disparaging; so too

οφρωμι/παιρωμι δε-ις Mac. No. 6.

παихет δε-λοφκας Mac. No. 6.

παιψολ δε-χρης†ανος AM I 218.

παιραν δε-ιςλ AM I 122, 125.

οφαι δε-PN AM I 51.

οφπολις δε-τεντωρι AM I 110, 202.

πιρωμι εφτροπιος De Vis II 263.

As a rule, sequence opposition in appositive phrases containing PNs follows the Greek (and Hebrew) original. Generally, the PN follows in Allocution:

†βακι ερβοκ Gen. 23:2.

παϋς αβραам Gen. 24:12:12, 32:4.

παψηρι ηςαϋ Gen. 27:21.

⁵⁰ Hermeneutical PN translation has distinct constructions: Act. 13:9 ραυλος δε ετε-παυλος πε (SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a 2.3.1.3)

ΤΑΒΩΚΙ ΒΑΛΛΑ Gen. 30:3 dialogue, vs. ΒΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΣΒΩΚΙ Gen. 30:4.

ΔΑΡΩΝ ΠΟΤΙΩΤ Num. 3:4.

ПАСОН НСАѢ Gen. 32:17.

ΠΕΚΑΛΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 32:18.

ПЕКΩΗΡΙ ΠΕΚΩΟΡΠ ΜΜΙCΙ ΗCΔϞ Gen. 27:32.

παωνηρι ιωσνηφ Gen. 45:28 — inverse sequence in the Greek.

ΠΑΠΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ Deut. 3:27.

ΠΚΕΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΝ Gen. 43:14, 42:36.

πΚΕΘΟQ ζωq, πΚΕΛΝΟΝ ζΩΝ (Cal. 31, 47 etc.) is a familiar trait of Nitrian Bohairic. For reasons obscure to me, πΚε- seems to vary with a marginal πΚΕ- reading before a PN (e.g. Gal. 2:1, Philipp. 4:3).

(d) **The Proper Name in allocutive Dialogue.** The addressed noun (“vocative”) has a special kind of pragmatic specificity, and indeed *is* an ad-hoc pragmatic allocutive PN (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1989a §1.2, with further references to discussions of this pragmatic “definitude”, familiar in several languages). In Bohairic, this is confirmed by the occurrence of the naming article {π-}:

Num. 21:29 ω ΦΛΑΘΟC ΝΧΑΜΩC.

Num. 20:10 ϸΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΩΙ ΝΙΑΤϸΩΤΕΜ.

(Mt. 22:16 $\Phi\rho\epsilon\psi\tau\sigma\beta\omega$.)

Mark 10:17f. ΦΡΕΨΤΕ ΒΩ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ.)

Other dialogic roles of the PN (see above, §1.2.3.2):

- **Attention-forcing Address**, an almost ideal dialogue-opening discourse signal, typically takes the form of an allocutive Proper Name or its equivalent:

Gen. 27:1 пащһры ÷ җһппе анок.

233ff. on the Associative Construction set, comprising (among others) three formally and functionally distinct and opposed constructions, namely π - $\mathbf{n}$ -, π - $\mathbf{n\tau\epsilon}$ - and $\pi\mathbf{i}$ - $\mathbf{n\tau\epsilon}$ -. In structural terms, what we find at first sight is a double opposition of $\mathbf{n}$ - with $\mathbf{n\tau\epsilon}$ - and $\pi\mathbf{i}$ with π -, a multidimensional opposition constituting, with other determinators, several combined constructions and, for some early scholars of Coptic, the main typological interest of Bohairic: it is at any rate unique to our dialect, enabling sophistication of association and possession semantics unmatched elsewhere in Coptic or, for that matter, in the Greek original.

The quest for a functional differentiation between $\mathbf{n}$ - and $\mathbf{n\tau\epsilon}$ - constructions goes back to L. Stern's grammar, if not earlier. Stern (1880: 183ff.) first made the distinction between possession and appurtenance; in π - $\mathbf{n\tau\epsilon}$, probably the most puzzling of the three main constructions, Stern sees "specification, not possessive association" (§295), "...wo das unwesentlichere antecedens von allgemeiner, abstracter bedeutung ist, durch den davon abhängigen genitiv aber mit nachdruck auf das besondere, concrete bezogen werden soll". In the only grammar, half a century following Stern's, which tries to do justice to the subtleties of Bohairic, namely CHAÎNE 1933, somewhat frantically convoluted statements such as the following (§§203ff.) testify to the difficulty of the descriptive task: " $\mathbf{n}$ - introduit le complément déterminatif après un nom de sens générique qui est alors pris dans son acception première marqué par l'article faible...la particule $\mathbf{n\tau\epsilon}$ - introduit toujours le complément déterminatif après un nom d'action et après un nom de sens générique lorsque celui-ci est pris dans son acception particulière ou individuelle marquée alors par l'article fort". As for the case of $\pi\mathbf{i}$ - vs. π - $\mathbf{n\tau\epsilon}$, an insightful opinion was offered almost *en passant* by Borgehouts (1980:78), making the distinction of "natural" vs. "accidental appurtenance". Taking here up again this difficult and important issue, I must first point out that the mystery is still anything but cleared up: several questions remain, while others may be answered, and not all puzzling cases of "variation" (§3.9.2 [g]) — to my mind, almost certainly alternation or opposition — can yet be accounted for.

The problem begins in the very general terms accepted for its phrasing. As already stressed above, neither the pre-analytical or universalist concept of "possession", nor the "belonging" sub-ranges match the Bohairic Coptic division of the "association" continuum. The prevalent pairing of "inalienable" with "possession" is equally misguided, for, closely observed, true "inalienables" are not possessed. Nor do they "belong": a priest is neither possessed by, nor belongs to, God; a half is neither possessed by, nor belongs to, the whole; the land is neither pos-

sessed by, nor belongs to, Egypt — it *is* Egypt. We do not possess our name, or parts of our body: they are essential, distinguishing, definitional constituents, representative parts or aspects of us, characterizing us as inherently distinct from others, and in this is quite different from *incidental*, contingent association, which may indeed include a bona-fide possessive one. My further objection to the “inalienability” or terminology is not ideological, but epistemological: the term, basically legal, ill suits semantic-linguistic epistemological needs; it does not lend itself to gradience and environmental annulment or invalidation; and, most important, it means little or nothing in cases such as “ $\pi\kappa\alpha\rho\iota$ $\nu\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\mu$ ”, “ $\tau\tilde{\upsilon}\theta\lambda\eta$ $\nu\lambda\epsilon\tau\iota$ ” “ $\tilde{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\theta$ $\nu\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota$ ”, “ $\tilde{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\varsigma\chi\alpha$ ” and the like. I would like to combine here a new term, namely “Constituence Association” (“CA”) with Ch. Bally’s “Personal-Sphere” concept (BALLY 1926), for the projection onto a multi-dimensional core-and-periphery syntactic structure of the essential, inherent relation between constituent part and including whole, the former potentially representing the latter or an essential aspect thereof. The first term is a representative constituent part of a whole that is adequately presented by the second, but is enriched and enhanced by the combination of first and second.

As will be seen, this very striking relationship between two (always two) nominal (always nominal) concepts is expressed by a peculiar construction, which stands in opposition to two others, one expressing unmarked association and the other “non-CA” or “reduced-CA” one; the whole triad being completely asymmetrical, as asymmetrical, in fact, as the triad itself is in relation to (a) cases of predicative possession (possession verboids and related constructions) and (b) “his-” pronominal-possessor phrases ({ $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma$ }, — { $\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ }).

Obs.

(1) L. Stern devoted a special chapter (1880 Chapter IX) to “die Relation”, to an extent building on, but profiting little from the theoretical-comparative basis laid in H. Steinthal’s brilliant 1847 dissertation on the *nota relationis*: (one would like to have some information on contacts — if any — between Stern and the typologist Steinthal, who had made these elements, patterns and dependencies of Coptic his own). Consider STEINTHAL 1847:47f. $\omicron\pi\rho\omega\mu\iota$ $\nu\lambda\tau\eta\nu\omicron\beta\iota$: “homo, qui “sine-peccato”, ein Mensch welcher sündlos”, quite rightly objecting to the “genitive” terminology, unfortunately still persist-

⁵¹ See LOPRIENO 1995:55ff.: “genitive (direct/indirect)”, a familiar Egyptological rather than linguistic landmark. Incidentally, ν - is not a “determinative pronoun” (56). and $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\nu\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ is about the worst “synthetic” illustrative construction conceivable for the *nota relationis* in Coptic.

ent today⁵¹, Steinthal says: "Praeterea quum id, profecto verum sit, Coptos, qui omnes casus ñ denotarent, denotasse nullum: nos quoque, quum sententias Aegyptias ad verba vertamus in nostros sermones, casus omnino evitare debemus, ac ne supplere quidem quos Copti non suppleverint". However, Stern kept to the "genitival" terminology: 1880 §293: "genitiv der relation", §294: π-ντε- "der bestimmte genitiv", which faults the many insights in "die Relation".

(2) STEINTHAL and MISTELI 1893:277f. "Das koptische ν ist, wie neupers. i, ein ausschließlich syntaktisches Zeichen der Attribution allgemeinsten Sinnes, das sich mit den Wortarten oder Redeteilen nicht berührt" — this is insightful, allowing also the subsuming of other ν- morphs. We also find here (272ff.) the junctural gradation of association ("Angehörigkeit"), from the compositional ΡΕΝ-Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ to 'ΠΙΩΗΡΙ ΝΤΕ-ΦΡΩΜΙ' (actually not attested?) — calling for mid-grade π- ΝΤΕ-. Stern's "Relation" and "Annexion" (1880 Chapter X) refer to the same junctural continuum (1880:85 "wortkette der relation", for both composition and *nota relationis*).

(3) As might be expected, B. Gunn addressed this issue too (Gunn Papers MS VII 12-14 in the Griffith Institute, Oxford). To give an idea of his shorthand style in these work-note: "Rule: when the rectum is undetermined (semantically, ASH) and has no article and is not a PN, the genitival ν, not ΝΤΕ, and if the regens has the definite article this must be of the π-series, not the π-series" (Gunn mentions "nouns which can take the π-series", having identified here a lexical group). "Rule: nouns which can take π-articles take π-articles (a) in the vocative... [but:... Φ† ΕΤΟΝΣ...], when followed by a relative expression (including ΕΤΕΜΜΑ and ΕΤ- + qual.), (b) often before ΝΤΕ + determined noun (the question still is why ΝΤΕ is employed in some cases and not in others) (are exceptions incorrect??)."

(4) Diachrony is here greatly neglected. See BORGHOUTS 1980 for Late Egyptian, a study discerning also in its Coptic statements; 66f. briefly on Demotic, for which see also SIMPSON 1996:67ff. We have to bear in mind that the Coptic (sub)systems do not continue Demotic ones, and, like the determination systems themselves, Demotic *n-/nte-* (with an absent — or zero? — *nota relationis* for a third term) do not always match their Coptic correspondents.

3.9.2 The individual constructions: brief characterization, comment and representative documentation.

(a) Pattern (Ī): {π-} Ν-, ΝΕΝ- Ν- two noun syntagms connected by ν-, the first determined by {π-}, the second by any specific determination, in a discontinuous framework for "inalienable", or Personal-Sphere, Constituence Association. CA relates, as it were, a fragment part in a jigsaw puzzle, to its complete picture, integral, emblematic and inherently essential parts constituting the complex Whole, which subsumes them — wants them, so to speak, for its completude; this whole clusters, so to speak, around a nuclear or core as its "Personal Sphere". It is deeply significant, and paralleled in numerous other languages (see below the reference to literature on possession and "inalienability"), that the *part* is not marked in this construction either as specific or as non-

specific, but as generic, and a special “name” metaphrastic generic at that — it is rather in the relationship between the two terms that resounds the essentiality which is one term of that haunting opposition of inherence vs. incidence, which we find in nominal predication (Chapter Two). I would quote here my tentative definition of “inalienable essential association” (so called in SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:237): “...a highly marked type of essential association spectrum, including *inter alia* as components: inherent attributes, intimate personal ties, natural (physical, biological, geographical and conventional), including by-definition part/whole association, permanent and significant possession, close personal association”. Paradoxically, this is not a type of possession (we are tautologically and circularly guided by “of”, associating this with possession), but both componential and representational: “N¹ represents N²” (compare Gen. 41:46 $\pi\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\varsigma\ \nu\chi\eta\mu\iota$ with the *Città di Roma* type of appositive construction).

N- + (non-zero, usually specific determinator) are here the prime exponents, although the non-phoric, non-specific, naming article π - (“naming generic” — see above) is an essential component too. Note the absence of *zero* article in this construction; also that it is purely nominal — any pronominal term (such as the possessive articles or $\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$) neutralizes at once all associative distinctions. Also, the clear predominance of the singular, both in the strength of attestation and the variety of categories represented (category [a] absent; see below). In fact, $\nu\epsilon\pi\text{-}$ is not clearly connected or related to π -: even beyond the fact that the plural and singular systems are independent of each other and asymmetrical, $\nu\epsilon\pi\text{-}$ (rarely $\nu\text{-}$) really belongs only in the associative phrase, while π - is the number-neutral (morphologically singular) “notion name” and “named generic” meta-linguistic actualizer, not specific *per se*⁵². In fact and significantly, plurality of the first noun — the constituent element — or possessedness of the second, seems to reduce in degree, or even to cancel the CA, replacing it by a less marked or unmarked $\nu\tau\epsilon\text{-}$ signalled association. Another factor that reduces CA grading is the switch from a PN to an appellative: see below, (g). This scale of “personalization” of the associative relationship — PN, singular appellative, plural appellative for the second term, expansion or specification of the first — gives us an intimation of the nature of the CA.

The correlation of this special associative construction with the lexicon is not straightforward. A well-defined core lexeme repertory is typi-

⁵² Consider cases such as Deut. 23:18 $\Phi\upsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\pi\omicron\rho\eta\eta$ (instantial generic) and the remarkable, equally generic, $\dots\omicron\omega\pi\iota\ \epsilon\pi\eta\iota\ \mu\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau$ Gen. 28:22.

cally, statistically, connected with this construction, while a considerable fuzzy lexeme periphery is also found sharing this slot. What ought to be realized, however, is that the construction is not conditioned or selected by the very presence of any lexeme; the inverse is also true: a non-core lexeme is “read”, decoded as constituent, often with implications for translation, by its occurrence in this pattern, of which the *signifié* is “Personal-Sphere Constituence Association”. In 1994 I suggested that this is indeed a lexico-semantic property, of a specific closed group (“the X lexemes”) as grammatical nucleus: “the inalienably associated lexemes”, with various sub-ranges. However, it is clear that these lexemes (a) interact with the expansion and (b) receive their value from their being in the lexical constituency of the “discontinuous grammeme π- n-” pattern. It would seem that, while the core “lexeme group X” is certainly statistically connected with the first-noun constituency of this pattern (the expansion is not primarily restricted lexically), this list, together with the pattern itself, has a motivating and signalling effect — any lexeme occurring in the nucleus would be decoded as sharing in an “inalienable” association (CA); the pattern itself has a “distinctive relational meaning”, as in evidence when “untypical” lexemes occupy it; also, the “same” lexeme can be “relative” and “absolute”. This instance of grammar/lexicon, lexeme/environment permeability and interaction-loop is also of theoretical interest, raising questions of theoretical import: is the CA signification primarily a valential function of the lexeme, as “*nomen relativum*”? If a lexeme occurs twice, in two different patterns, do we have a case of homonymy (so for instance $\xi\alpha\tau_1$ “[one’s own] silver [money]” and $\xi\alpha\tau_2$ “silver (metal)”? Is there a “lexical group for which CA is potentially signalled by construction”?

“Inalienability” or CA — which may be metaphorical — is marked by its construction. It is neither absolute nor the property of a single pattern, but evidently a radial gradient, with a core lexical list for which different “symptomatic” constructions converge. One such construction, for instance, predicates the very existence of a constituent part in an usually animate Whole, by the formal means of $\mu\mu\omega\sigma$ and $\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma$, instead of $(\nu)\tau\alpha\sigma$ with $\mu\mu\alpha\sigma$ for the existential predication of possession by means of the special verboid:

Deut. 1:15 $\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\sigma\text{-}\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\eta\ \mu\mu\omega\sigma$ (opposed to non-grammaticalized Deut. 32:28 $\mu\mu\omicron\sigma\text{-}\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\eta\ \nu\sigma\eta\tau\omicron\sigma$ “in them”).

Lev. 11:9f.:12 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\sigma\text{-}\tau\epsilon\eta\zeta\ \mu\mu\omega\sigma$ also Deut. 14:9:10.

Ex. 13:7 $\omicron\theta\omicron\sigma\ \epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\sigma\text{-}\psi\epsilon\mu\eta\rho\ \mu\mu\omicron\sigma$.

Lev. 11:21 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\sigma\text{-}\chi\eta\beta\iota\ \mu\mu\omega\sigma$.

Lev. 11:23 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\theta\omicron\text{-}\eta\tau\omicron\ \mu\tilde{\phi}\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\theta$.

Deut. 32:20f. $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\kappa\alpha\tau\ \mu\mu\omicron\eta$.

Deut. 32:20f. $\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma\tau\ \mu\mu\omicron\eta$.

In this sense, the $\pi\text{-}\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}$ construction, which in effect negates, reduces or annuls the CA, stands half-way between the CA-marked and marking $\pi\text{-}\eta\text{-}$ and the totally unmarked $\pi\text{-}\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}$: see below.

It is crucial to bear in mind that, much like staging choices in narrative (Chapter One above), the formal “packaging” of the relationship between two nouns — as any of the $\pi\text{-}\eta\text{-}$, $\pi\text{-}\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}$ or $\pi\text{-}\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}$ types of interdependence — has nothing objectively inevitable about it, but involves a personal representation choice by the writer-translator, his suggestion of a world-view at any given textual and pragmatic situation. There is thus no natural or necessary link between the participant lexemes and their mutual relation.

Three major lexical groups enter the CA construction most typically, no doubt further refinable. As already pointed out, these are indicative, not of simple lexical motivation for the construction but of the special relationship signified by $\pi\text{-}\eta\text{-}$. Note that some lexemes occur in more than one group, also that there are some borderline cases for which the class assignation is debatable, and subjective (this classification does not necessarily replace the semantically more concrete one into six groups, offered in SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:237ff.):

(a) the first noun is representative of or coreferent with the second, or rather of/with the Whole. It may even be its typical manifestation. This is, I find, the most telling of semantic cases: the interdependence of the two terms is almost appositive, not subordinative. “He has” predication is here not possible;

(b) the first noun is a relational abstract constitutive part of the identity profile or Personal Sphere of the second: kinship; social/religious order and status. “He has” predication is possible;

(c) the first noun is a concrete constitutive part of the identity profile of the second: anatomical parts (incl. extensions and metaphors), physiological and physical properties, attributes, faculties and their manifestation; personal effects and possessions. “He has” predication is possible.

Documentation (speciminal or selective — see SHISHA-HALEVY 1994: 237ff. for the exhaustive listing. An asterisk marks items occurring in more than one pattern)⁵³:

⁵³ I count in the corpus 115 items in this construction, of which about one-third occur in both $\pi\text{-}\eta\text{-}$ and $\pi\text{-}\eta\tau\epsilon\text{-}$ patterns.

Singular:

(a) ΠΤΩΟΘ ΝΑΕΡΜΩΝ Deut. 3:8.

ΠΤΩΟΘ ΝCΙΝΑ Lev. 25:1 and often.

ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΓΕCΕΜ Gen. 47:4, 23:2, 41:46, 48:7 and often.

ΝΙΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΤΕ-ΠΩΝΞ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ Gen. 25:7(!).

ΤΦΘΛΗ ΝΛΕΘΙ Num. 17:2.

ΦΝΑΘ ΝΡΟΘΖΙ, ΦΝΑΘ ΝΞΑΝΑΤΟΟΘΙ Ex. 16:6f.

Φ[ΝΑΘ ΝΞΩΤΠ] ΜΦΡΗ Gen. 15:17.

ΤΗΠΙ ΝΝΙΕΞΟΟΘ Num. 14:34.

ΝΙΕΞΟΟΘ ΝΤΕΠΖΗΒΙ ΜΦΡΙΜΙ ΜΜΩΘCΗC Deut. 34:8.

*ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΧΕΤ Gen. 23:7.

ΦΛΑΟC ΜΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΧΕΤ Gen. 23:7.

ΦΝΟΜΟC ΜΠΙΠΑCΧΑ Num. 19:14 .

ΘΡΑCΟΘΙ ΜΠΙΕΞΩΡΞ Gen. 20:3.

ΜΦΡΗ† ΜΠΙΨΟ ΝΤΕΦΙΟΜ Gen. 32:12.

ΤΦΑΨΙ ΝΤΦΘΛΗ ΜΜΑΝΑCΗ Deut. 3:13.

ΤΨΩ† ΜΠΑΝΑΨ Gen. 21:14.

*‘ΦΝΑΘ ΜΦ†’ Gen. 32:30 in naming; not actantial association (Greek εἶδος θεοῦ); contrast the anaphorically marked ΠΙΝΑΘ ΝΤΕ-Φ† Gen. 32:31.

Num. 33:8 ΦΜΩΙΤ Ν-Γ ΝΕΞΟΟΘ may belong here, but is probably different: non-specific, quantified second noun.

(b) ΤCΞΙΜΙ ΝΛΩΤ Gen. 19:26.

ΘΜΑΘ ΜΠΙΛΛΟΘ Ex. 2:8 .

*ΠCΟΝ ΜΠΑΞΑΙ Deut. 25:7f..

*ΤCΞΙΜΙ ΜΠΕQCΟΝ Deut. 25:7 (ΠΕQ- does not condition ΝΤΕ-).

ΦΟΘΗΒ ΜΦ† Gen. 14:18.

ΜΩΘCΗC ΦΒΩΚ ΜΠΞC Deut. 34:5.

ΦΗΝΒ ΜΠΙΝΙ Ex. 22:8.

...ΨΩΠΙ ΕΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΘ† Gen. 28:22 — in rhematic status, generic — unique among zero and indefinite articles.

(c) ΤCΑΡΞ ΝΟΘΡΩΜΙ Ex. 30:32.

ΠCΝΟQ ΜΠCΕΒΙ Ex. 4:25f.

*ΤΑΦΕ ΝΙΩCΗΦ Deut. 33:16.

ΠΑΛΟΞ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 32:24.

ΘΟΘΗΨCΙ ΜΠΑΛΟΞ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 32:24.

*ΤCΜΗ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 27:22.

*ΠΞΟ ΜΠΚΑΖΙ Ν†ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟC Gen. 19:28.

*ΦΡΟ Ν†CΚΗΝΗ (vs. ΝΙΞΒΗΟΘΙ ΝΤΕ†CΛΗΝΗ) Num. 4:30.

ΤΞΟ† ΝΙCΑΑΚ Gen. 31:42.

ΠΕΜΒΟΝ ΝΕΜΠΔΩΝΤ ΜΠΕΚCΟΝ Gen. 27:45.

ΦΝΟΒΙ ΜΠΑΙΛΑΟC Num. 14:19.

*ΠCΑΔΙ ΜΠΘC Deut. 34:5.

*ΠΤΑΚΟ ΝΝΕΝCΝΗΟC Num. 20:3.

ΦΜΟC ΜΠΑΛΟC Gen. 21:16.

ΠΩΝΔ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ Gen. 25:7(!)

ΤΔΔΗ ΜΠΚΑΡΙ Deut. 28:49.

*ΦΜΑCΙ ΜΠΕΚCΟΝ Deut. 22:1.

*ΦΙΩ ΜΠΕΚCΟΝ Deut. 22:4.

ΦΒΕΧΕ ΝΟCΠΟΡΝΗ Deut. 23:18.

ΠΡΑΤ ΜΠΙΟCΔΙ ΠΙΟCΔΙ Gen. 44:1.

ΘΡΑCΟCΙ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ Gen. 41:25.

Plural — note the drastic reduction in constituency:

(b) *ΝΕΝΩΗΡΙ Ν- Num. 27:1 sim. Gen. 23:7 (Num. 10:8 ΝΙΟCΗΒ ΝΙΩΗΡΙ ΝΤΕΑΔΡΩΝ is not CA, but genealogical status attribution).

ΝΕΝΔΡΟΤ Ν- Gen. 25:3ff., 37 *passim*, etc. (in genealogical lists).

ΝΕΝCΝΗΟC ΝΙΩCΗΦ Gen. 45:16.

(c) ΝΕΝCΦΟΤΟC ΜΦΙΟΜ Ex. 14:30 — here, and usually in this class, metaphorical (not for Ν-).

ΝΕΝΜΑΩΔ ΜΠΑΛΟC ΝΤΕΠΙΚΑΡΙ Gen. 23:13.

ΝΕΝCΑΔΙ ΜΠΑΙΛΑΟC Deut. 5:25.

ΝΕΝΒΑΛ ΜΠΘC Deut. 11:12.

ΝΑΛΩΟCΙ ΝΙCΑΑΚ Gen. 26:25 — for the morphophonemic allo-morph Ν-, see POLOTSKY 1968.

Obs.

(1) On “nomina relativa”, *Ars Anonyma* (Cod. Bern), ed. Keil VIII “Sunt alia ad aliquid dicta, quae ad aliam personam referuntur, ut magister dominus pater, quae relativa dicuntur, quia ad alias personas referuntur, id est ad personam discipuli et serui et filii: quando enim magister dicitur, intellegitur et discipulus, et quando dominus nominatur, intellegitur et seruus; sic et pater quando dicitur, reuelatur et filius.”. Thus both intrinsically and extrinsically (by possessor) specified, hence the generic article. See SWIGGERS and WOUTERS 1995.

(2) Recent general and specific studies of so-called inalienable possession, with valuable bibliographical surveys, are SPANOGHE 1995 (Romance), VELAZQUEZ-CASTILLO 1996 (Guaraní), BARON *et al.* (eds) 2001, JACOB 1993 is a good resumé of the inalienability phenomenon all the way back to Lucien Lévy-Bruhl’s original anthropo-linguistic study of Melanesian languages of 1916 (*MSL* 19:96-104), and Bally’s criticism of 1926 (in the *Festschrift Louis Gauchat*: BALLY 1926). This paper, mainly discussing the problem of French *son/le [bras]* and associated constructions, stresses the importance of pragmatic factors involved, and the primacy of reference and reference-domain explication by the syntactical mechanisms involved. DIEM 1986 is a survey of the phenomenon in Semitic

(see p. 228ff. for a general discussion), reporting briefly on individual languages: it uniquely takes into account narrative structures and discourse constellations. Diem arrives at much the same main conclusions as the present discussion, viz. the relativity and gradience of the inalienability feature, and its dependence on specific syntax. See also SEILER 1983:10ff., 17ff. etc. KORZEN 1996:557ff., on the marked lexical constituent in special Italian patterns with predicative ("gli occhi chiari"). Inalienability must be distinguished from focussed possession (cf. MARKEY 1985b). MRTHUN 2001 is a study of the participation of verb clauses in the possession and inalienability phenomena in American-Indian languages. Incidentally, the collection of articles of which Marianne Mithun's forms part, as well as VELAZQUEZ-CASTILLO 1996, bring home the subtlety, sophistication with the rich variety of means and implications of the grammar of possession and inalienability in the world's more esoteric languages; also, the advisedness of isolating the "grammars" of kinship and body-part terms. On inalienability in English as a special case of more general distinctions within noun-modification structures, see BRUGMAN 1996. By far the most comprehensive programmatic modern compilation on what is by now known as "inalienable possession" is to my knowledge CHAPPELL and MCGREGOR (eds.) 1996. Here, beside the extensive and detailed descriptive accounts, we find an excellent bibliography, with a certain bias for the more esoteric languages. In the introduction by the editors, research-historical and theoretical observations, with definitions which reveal the inadequacy of the prevalent semantic approach; "inalienability" itself, "indissolubility" (consider body-part syntax in the Coptic martyrologies!) and "possession" (in the context of the usual focus on kinship terms, body parts, even part/whole), all do not do justice to the intricacies and sophistication of the phenomenon. Bally's "personal domain" or "sphere" ("sphère personnelle"), in his seminal essay mentioned above, is clearly superior as a cover notion.

(3) De la GRASSERIE 1906 is an early, if not the earliest general and comparative study of this special lexico-syntactic phenomenon. I find noteworthy the terminology: "subjective nouns" certainly comes closer to its special identity-expressing function than "inalienable"; also, the explicit (see the introduction, p.2f.) reference to the part verbal and other non-nominal word-classes play in expressing this; also, the association of Proper Names and pronouns in this connection: "personalized" is a term used below for the idiosyncrasy (Second and Third part).

(4) I find cogent and relevant to many issues touched on in the present chapter, and even deeply affecting, R. Langacker's statement of 1972 (*apud* SPANOGHE 1995:23), which I shall here quote in full: "Suffice it to say that the syntax of "have" and "be" involves many peculiarities, and that there is some important but as yet dimly understood linguistic relationship holding among such notions as existence, identity, possession, location and tense. The elucidation of these relationships will have profound consequences for our understanding of the structure of human language". The very relationship of "inalienable" association and possession (and possessedness) is but rarely pondered in the literature: it is precisely here that Coptic may contribute towards a clearer understanding of the phenomenology.

(5) For older Egyptian, one construction marking inalienability is the formal and obligatory separation of possessor and inalienable (body part) as Topic and Theme respectively, of the type **s3.j 'f nht'*, see EDEL 1955/64:412, GARDINER 1957:163. Another may be the occurrence as the *in fine compositi* following the adjective as *i.i.c.* At least part of the spectrum of the so-called "Direct Genitive" construction may be considered in this light. Incidentally, B. Gunn (the Griffith Institute, Oxford, MS V A 3.1) also embarked on a study of the OE and ME "Direct" and "Indirect Genitive": we have a listing of nuclear

lexemes, and the rudiments of descriptive statements. This is interesting, in view of Gunn's extensive notes on *n-* and *nte-* in Nitrian Bohairic (MS VII). See SHISHA-HALEVY 2007:239f., 247f.

(6) At least three adnominal *n-* homonyms of the *nota relationis* are easily resolved by structural analysis (four, if we include the Rheme-introducing *n-* before *zero* and indefinite articles: see above and in Chapter Two):

Deut. 32:9 **ΤΟΙ ΜΠΘC**.

ΘΥΛΙ n-, ΘΥΙ n- Gen. 37:20, Num. 35:3, Deut. 12:14.

Ex. 17:13 **ΘΩΩΤΕΒ ΝΤΗQI**.

CO... **ΜΠΙΔΒΟΤ...** Num. 29:7:12.

Deut. 27:2 **ΕΜΗΡ ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC**.

(7) **ΤCQIMi n-**: the singular **QIME**, shown by YOUNG 1971 to be a specific and specialized form for inalienable "wife" in the Sahidic *π- n-* construction, is not attested in Bohairic.

(8) Remarkably, **ΘΡΑCΘΥΙ n-** has CA both with the night and with the dreamer; **ΠΚΑQI n-** CA both with the place and with its inhabitants.

(9) The *nota relationis n-* features in yet another construction, familiar in Semitic, in which "inalienable" nouns — more specifically, parts of the body — are nuclear and expanded by their nominal "possessor". The grammatical mechanism here is different: the inalienables are not determinated, but formally and cataphorically marked as possessed by a delocutive suffixed pronoun, which is then expanded and nominally specified for possessor or "the Whole" by a mediating *n-* + noun or PN. This pattern also serves as the nominal construction of some compound prepositions:

ΡΩC ΝΤΗQI Gen. 34:26.

ΕΡΩQ ΜΒΑΛΛΑΜ Num. 23:5, sim. Gen. 31:28.

ΕΤΟΤQ ΜΜΩΘCΗC ΝΕΜ ΑΑΡΩΝ Ex. 12:28, Num. 15:6.

ΕQΡΑQ ΝΑΒΡΑΜ Gen. 14:17.

QΗΤC ΝΤΕQΔΙΔ ΝΟΥΙΝΑΜ Lev. 14:36.

ΑΦΡΗΔQ ΜΠΚΑQ Deut. 28:64.

(b) **Pattern (II) {π-} + nte-**. Probably the most intriguing of all in this set of constructions⁵⁴. This pattern is the only case of *nte-* opposed to *n-*, and indeed the only case of *nte-* pertinent (= non-conditioned, meaningful: *nte-* is conditioned, i.e. obligatory, following all other determinators but {π-}). It signifies primarily the suppression or annulment or negation of the special Constituence Personal-Sphere Association or "inalienability" link expressed iconically or even emblematically by *n-*. *nte-* expands here the *π-* marked genus name (this is not any more a case of discontinuous matrix) and, as a delimitation, breaks up and invalidates the "personalized" relation, by "depersonalizing" it. This allows, for instance, the marking of **ΤCΜΗ ΝΤΕΠΘC** or **ΝΕΝ-ΤΑΠ ΝΤΕΠΙΜΑΝΕΡ-QΘQΩQΘQΥΙ** as metaphors, but especially — for the core lexemic "X" repertory referred to above as typical or even

⁵⁴ Depuydt's statements (1985a:53) "*π-* requires *n-* to follow it", "*π- nte-* is almost entirely absent" are untenable.

valential in Pattern I — when the first term is further specified, or when the expanding noun has the possessive article, i.e. is *marked as possessed*: we then have the (negative) signalization of *non-Constituence* association. Note that the expanding noun is here very often, almost as a rule, not the Whole, but a merely larger constituent of which the nuclear noun is part and possessed, e.g. (ΑΤ)CΕΒΙ, ΜΟΡΤ, ΑΦΕ. In this pattern, {π-} stands in opposition to {πι-} (construction III), which is phoric and specific/specifying on its own, with its whole construction signifying unmarked association; π- ΝΤΕ-, on the other hand, signifies and expresses the suppression or reduction of Constituence Association:

ΤCΑΡΞ ΝΟΨΡΩΜΙ Ex. 30:32.

ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΧΕΤ Gen. 23:7.

ΠΞΟ ΜΠΚΑΖΙ Ν†ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟC Gen. 19:28.

is in opposition with

ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΤΕΠΕΚΙΩΤ Gen. 31:3.

ΤCΑΡΞ ΝΤΕΠΕQΑΤCΕΒΙ Gen. 17:24f.

ΠΞΟ ΝΤΕΝΕΤΕΝΜΟΡΤ Lev. 19:27.

Φ† ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ and Φ† ΝΤΕΝΕΚΙΟ† in the same verse (Acts 7:32).

Otherwise, ΝΤΕ- characterizes the nucleus as associated to its expansion in a non-possessive relationship — *appurtenance*, in the broadest sense.

ΝΤΕ- is incompatible with *zero* determination (cases like ΝΤΕ-ΡΑC†, ΝΤΕ-ΨΟΡΠ are PNs, not *zero-det.* lexemes), and is in this pattern almost always combined with a specific noun. As in Pattern (I), the specificity of the whole phrase is combinatory, dependent on the expanding noun⁵⁵, and not signalled in the nucleus alone; the phrase has no deictic value.

Documentation:

The core repertory of Pattern (I):

Singular

Gen. 49:24 ΤΞΙΞ ΝΤΕΠΕΤΞΟΡΙ.

Gen. 17:24f. ΤCΑΡΞ ΝΤΕΠΕQΑΤCΕΒΙ.

Num. 12:12 ΤΟ† ΝΤΕΤΕQΜΑΘ.

Lev. 18:8 ΠΨΙΠΙ ΝΤΕΤCΞΙΜΙ ΜΠΕΚΙΩΤ.

Num. 27:21 ΠCΑΞΙ ΝΤΕΡΩQ.

Gen. 37:3 ΠΨΗΡΙ ΝΤΕΤΕQΜΕΤΞΕΛΛΟ.

⁵⁵ Accordingly non-specific in the poetic Gen. 49:6 ΝΕΝΚΟΒΞ ΝΤΕΟΨΜΑCΙ and Gen. 27:28 ΠΑΨΑΙ ΝΤΕΟΨCΟΘΟ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΗΡΠ.

Deut. 5:28 $\tau\sigma\mu\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\sigma\alpha\delta\iota$ “sound”.

Deut. 28:45 $\tau\sigma\mu\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ $\pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\upsilon\theta\tau$ “voice”.

Gen. 18:1 $\Phi\rho\omicron$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\eta\eta\eta$.

Lev. 19:27 $\pi\rho\omicron$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\omicron\rho\tau$.

Gen. 34:33 $\pi\rho\omicron$ $\mu\pi\alpha\eta\omicron\mu$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\omicron$.

Lev. 19:27 $\pi\eta\omega\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\Phi\epsilon$.

Deut. 33:15 $\tau\alpha\Phi\epsilon$ $\eta\gamma\alpha\eta\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\Phi\omicron$ (poetic).

Deut. 8:17 $\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\iota\delta$.

Ex. 4:25f. $\pi\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\theta$.

Gen. 31:3 $\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\iota\omega\tau$.

Ex. 12:22 $\Phi\rho\omicron$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\iota$ (vs. the unexpanded, anaphorically specific $\pi\rho\omicron$ *ibid.*).

$\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\tau$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\theta$ Deut. 14:21, Gen. 23:19, 34:26.

Deut. 31:29 $\epsilon\pi\delta\alpha\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\epsilon\gamma\omicron\theta\theta$.

The nuclear noun is an abstract or verbal noun:

Deut. 29:19 $\tau\varsigma\omicron\rho\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\eta\tau$.

Deut. 33:16 $\tau\varsigma\omega\theta\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\Phi\epsilon$.

Gen. 27:28 $\pi\alpha\psi\alpha\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\theta\varsigma\omicron\theta\omicron$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ $\omicron\theta\eta\rho\pi$.

Num. 14:27 $\pi\chi\rho\epsilon\mu\rho\epsilon\mu$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\psi\eta\eta\iota$ $\mu\pi\iota\varsigma\bar{\lambda}$.

Num. 20:24 $\Phi\mu\omega\theta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\iota\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$.

Deut. 31:10 $\pi\psi\alpha\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\varsigma\kappa\eta\eta\omicron\pi\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha$.

Ex. 26:8 $\tau\psi\iota\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\theta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\psi\omega\eta$.

Num. 16:22 $\Phi\tau$ $\Phi\tau$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\pi\eta\bar{\lambda}$ in address.

Plural (rare):

Ex. 29:2 $\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\pi$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon\rho\psi\omicron\theta\psi\omega\theta\psi\iota$.

Gen. 49:6 $\eta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\theta\tau\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota$ (= Vat; poetic).

Num. 27:1 $\eta\epsilon\eta\psi\epsilon\eta\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda$ $\pi\psi\eta\eta\iota$ $\eta\theta\Phi\epsilon\rho\ldots$

(c) **Pattern (III): { $\pi\iota$ -} + $\eta\tau\epsilon$ -**. This very common construction is (semantically) unmarked for precise manner of association, in the broadest sense of appurtenance (in Sahidic, $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - seems to be marked as against the unmarked η -: cf. LAYTON 2004:113f.). It is, however, characterized, for the familiar special lexeme group of patterns (I — II), by the *phoricity of the phrase as a whole*, as signalled in the nucleus, which is anaphoric and/or cataphoric; by the further specification and expansion of the first term; by the predominance of plurals. In all these cases there is signalization of the total annulment of the CA, or rather indifference there to. The pattern is characterized by the broad (free) range of determination of the satellite (expansion), and by the openness of the lexeme repertory:

Num. 27:7 ΝΙCΗΝΟϞ ΝΤΕΠΟΤΙΩΤ.

Num. 4:41 ΠΙΔΕΜΠΩΙΝΙ ΝΤΕΠΑΗΜΟC ΝΤΕΝΕΩΗΡΙ ΝΓΕΔ-
CΩΝ — verbal nouns with actant.

Num. 4:45 †CΜΗ ΝΤΕΠΩC- metaphoric?

Num. 4:44 ΝΙΗΙ ΝΤΕΝΟΤΙΟ†- metaphoric.

Deut. 31:14 ΝΙΡΩϞ ΝΤΕ†CΚΗΗΗ.

Num. 19:18 ΝΙΚΑC ΝΤΕΝΙΡΕCΜΩϞΤ — no longer “inalienable”.

Gen. 49:18 ΠΙΝΟΞΕΜ ΝΤΕΠΩC — actantial.

Gen. 49:25 ΠΙCΜϞ ΝΤΕΤΩC — actantial.

Gen. 32:22 ΠΙΔΙΝCΙΝΙ ΝΤΕΙΔΒΟΚ — actantial.

Lev. 14:28 ΠΙΜΑ ΝΤΕΠΙCΝΟQΝΤΕ-ΩΗ ΝΤΕ†ΜΕΤΩΑQΤΕ.

When the nucleus is of higher or lower specificity, that is, on either side of ΠΙ- in the specificity scale⁵⁶, ΝΤΕ- is conditioned i.e. is non-pertinent. However, ΝΤΕ- enables the individual determination of individual constituents: Patterns IIIa-b-c.

(d) Pattern (IIIa) ΠΑΙ- / ΩΗ + ΝΤΕ-: deictic (high specificity) nucleus. Here, for the first time, we find a pronoun eligible to follow ΝΤΕ-; the expansion is of the here-and-now locutive deictic range. ΝΤΕ- itself is non-pertinent, and expresses the most general kind of association.

Gen. 30:20 ΠΑΙCΗϞ ΝΤΕ†ΝϞ.

Deut. 31:26 ΝΑΙCΑΔΙ ΤΗΡϞ ΝΤΕΤΑΙΞΩΔΗ.

Deut. 29:24 ΠΑΙΜΒΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΑΙΝΙΩ† ΝΔΩΝΤ.

Deut. 22:16 ΤΑΙΩΕΡΙ ΝΤΗΙ — a deictic correspondent to “ΤΑ-
ΩΕΡΙ” or to †ΩΕΡΙ ΝΤΗΙ? See Obs. below.

Deut. 29:24 ΠΑΙΜΒΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΑΙΝΙΩ† ΝΔΩΝΤ.

Lev. 4:29 ΩΗ ΝΤΕΩΝΟΒΙ — we have here a rare case of a generic rectum of ΝΤΕ-.

PN ΩΗ ΝΤΕ- PN Ex. 35:34, 37:20.

(e) Pattern (IIIb): {ΠΕQ-} + ΝΤΕ- is significant also for the compatibility of the possessive article with ΝΤΕ-, which is thus revealed as non-possessive. The possessive article is higher than ΠΙ- on the specificity scale, and has a personal-deictic component

Gen. 31:6 ΠΑΒΕΧΕ ΝΤΕ†ΜΗ† ΝΞΙΕΒΙ.

⁵⁶ I must disagree with BORGHOUTS 1980:66, who attributes the selection of ΝΤΕ- following Ϟ- or ΠΕQ- to the absence of deixis. As in the case of LE adnominal post-positive (enclitic) *jenk* etc., this is rather a matter of specificity grading; and the higher-specificity grades, deictically marked, condition ΝΤΕ- just as the lower-specificity grades do (cf. *this/a friend of mine*): ΠΑΙ- ΝΤΕ- etc.

Num. 8:16 **τεqτο† ντενιωορп ммici**.

Num. 5:29 ...**ερεπεсзai нтаc** — **ντε-** here is not expanding-adnominal, but rhematic (in the Stative-Durative Nexus Pattern).

(f) (IIIc): **οτ-** / *zero* — + **ντε-**: non-specific nucleus, specific or non-specific expansion; broadest/unmarked association (non-pertinent **ντε-**).

Deut. 3:2 **αqερρεqнозем ντενενωпρι мпиcλ**.

Lev. 2:14 **δενζη ντενεκοτταз**.

Num. 23:14 **οτmanapeз ντεοπιοгi** sim. Ex. 30:2, Gen. 14:233.

Num. 30:10 **οτετχη ντεοτχηpa**.

Ex. 3:15 **οτμεπi ντεzanδωοτ нδωοτ**.

Ex. 19:4 **зантенз ντεzanapaωм** sim. Gen. 49:23.

Lev. 11:32 **οτai ντεnai**.

Deut. 15:7 **οπi ντενεκβαки**.

Gen. 19:12 **κεοτai нтаκ**.

Ex. 38:10ff. **κ нстπλос нτωοτ, κ мвасic нτωοτ**.

Num. 21:28 **οτβαки ντεсhωн**.

Deut. 4:25 **zanωпpi ντενεκωпpi**.

Deut. 23:19 **мнci нзат неммнci нδpe нем мнci ντεзωв нiben**.

Num. 30:14 **εтχη нiben неманаω нiben ντεοτснаω**.

Note also (specificity-indifferent nucleus):

Deut. 32:14 **οωт нзihв нем ντεzanωiai** — poetic languages.

Note the alternation **н-Zero** / **ντε-zan-**.

Lev. 17:13 **φρωми φρωми ντενενωпpi мпиcλ**.

Lev. 10:12 **нн εθοτab ντενεθοτab**.

Lev. 19:30 **нн εθοτab нthи**.

πεθοτab ντεнн εθοτab Ex. 30:36, Lev. 27:28.

Gen. 33:5:8 **οτ нтаκ не nai**.

Gen. 48:8 **ним нтаκ пе φai**.

Obs.

In the unedited B4 Twelve Prophets (P.Vat. copto 9) Zacharias, we find four examples of **πi- ...нта-**, concentrated in Chapter 9 and 11: Zach. 9:17 **πιαгaон нтаq**, 11:5 **ниманесωοτ нτωοτ** 11:6 **πιοτpo нтаq**, 11:10 **πiωωт нthи**. With no apparent trigger in the original Greek, this construction must be opposed to **πεq-**, either as expressing a different — marked — semantics of association (as the pronominal form of **πi- ντε-**, which is not possessive); or a higher specificity of {**πi-**} as against a specificity neutrality of {**πεq-**}; or a special rhetorical-emotive and focussing deixis, in Constituence Association environment. In fact, the three functional possibilities mentioned are compatible and potentially related. For the affective function with apparently intimately-associated nouns, compare "the nerve of her!" "the smell of you..." in English

— Zach. 9:17 **παραθον νταq** is indeed clearly rhetorical-exclamatory: εἴ τι αγαθὸν αὐτοῦ; the others seem not to be affective, but may well be instances of “inalienable” association.

(g) (I) vs. (II) vs. (III) — “same”-lexeme paradigmatic opposition cases (selection). These sets are instructive for illustrating the differences between CA and non-CA relationship, and the reduction and gradation of CA: (a) the weakening or annulment of the CA in the case of possessed or associated expansion nouns, occasionally in long association chains, (b) the generally associative, non-marked syntax of (1) non-CA with the same lexemes (which in effect are not the same), (2) plurality of the first and especially second terms, as reduced or annuled CA, (3) appellatives, as reduced CA (generally speaking, PNs as second term favour the CA construction), (4) grammatically conditioned **ντε-**, e.g. in the case of pronominal, not nominal expansion or non-specific nucleus; (c) “variation” — frankly baffling, even if (I believe) provisionally so; by no means rare.

Gen. 26:25 **φραν μφ†**.

Gen. 25:13 **νιραν ντενενωηρι νισμηνλ**.

Gen. 23:13 **νενμαωz μπιαλос ντεπικαρι**.

Ex. 5:3 ...**ενενμαωz ντενετενωηρι** .

Ex. 2:8 **τωερι μφαραω**.

Gen. 26:34 **ιοτδιν τωερι μβενρ**.

Gen. 9:19 **νωηρι νε ναι ντενωε**.

Ex. 5:3 ...**ενενμαωz ντενετενωηρι νενμνωηρι ντενετενωηρι**.

Gen. 27:46 **νενωηρι ντενενδρο† νхет**.

Gen. 27:46 **νενωηρι ντεпαιкаρι** — not (or reduced) CA: metaphor.

Gen. 28:1 **νιωηρι ντενιχανανεос** — removed affiliation, reduced CA.

Deut. 9:2 **νιωηρι ντεενακ** — not CA?

Gen. 25:6 **νιδρο† ντενιπαλακη ντεавраам**.

Gen. 28:21 **пни мпαιωт**.

Gen. 24:67 **пни нсарра**.

Gen. 46:31 **пни нтепαιωт** — metaphor: not real house, but “paternal family”, **пни нтепекωφηρ** Deut. 5:21.

Num. 3:35 **ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΕΠΗ ΝΤΕΝΙΜΑΝΩΠΙ ΝΤΕΠΑΗΜΟΣ ΜΜΕΡΑΡΙ** — Merari belongs to his tribe no less than his tribe belongs to him! a nice instance of “Personal-Sphere”.

Lev. 25:33 **ΝΙΗΙ ΝΤΕΘΒΑΚΙ ΝΤΕΠΟΤΑΜΑΖΙ.**

Num. 1:2 **ΝΙΗΙ ΝΤΕΝΟΤΙΟ†** — not CA?

Lev. 25:15 **ΤΗΠΙ ΝΝΙΡΟΜΠΙ.**

Num. 4:40 **ΤΗΠΙ ΝΤΕΝΟΨΡΑΝ.**

Gen. 36:10, Deut. 5:21 **ΤΣΖΙΜΙ ΝΗΣΑΨ, ΤΣΖΙΜΙ ΜΠΕΚΩΨΗΡ.**

Gen. 37:2 **ΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΝΤΕΠΕΩΙΩΤ.**

Ex. 14:30 **ΤΞΙΞ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ.**

Lev. 26:25 **ΝΕΝΞΙΞ ΝΤΕΝΕΤΕΝΞΑΞΙ.**

Ex. 6:3 **Φ† ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ, Φ† ΝΙΣΑΑΚ, Φ† ΝΙΑΚΩΒ, Φ† ΝΝΕΚΙΟ†.**

Ex. 5:3 **Φ† ΝΤΕ-ΝΙΖΕΒΡΕΟΣ.**

Num. 16:22 **Φ† Φ† ΝΤΕΝΙΠΝΑ** in address — not CA.

Deut. 1:4 **ΠΟΨΡΟ ΝΘΒΑΣΑΝ.**

Deut. 9:26 **ΠΟΨΡΟ ΝΤΕΝΙΕΘΝΟΣ** — not CA.

ΠΟΨΡΟ ΝΤΕΝΙΑΜΟΡΡΕΟΣ Deut. 1:4, Num. 21:21 — not CA.

Num. 25:15 **ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΜΑΔΙΑΜ.**

ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΕ†ΦΩΛΗ ΝΙΣΑΧΑΡ Num. 7:18:24:30 etc. — not CA?

Num. 3:35 **ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΕΠΗ ΝΤΕΝΙΜΑΝΩΠΙ ΝΤΕΠΑΗΜΟΣ ΜΜΕΡΑΡΙ**

Ex. 24:6 **ΤΨΑΨΙ ΜΠΙΣΝΟΦ.**

Num. 31:30 **ΤΨΑΨΙ ΝΤΕΝΕΨΗΡΙ ΜΠΙΣΛ.**

Ex. 24:6 **†ΚΕΨΑΨΙ ΝΤΕΠΙΣΝΟΦ** — ΚΕ reducing CA.

Deut. 31:29 **ΕΤΞΑΗ ΜΠΑΜΟΨ** “after my death”.

Deut. 31:29 **ΕΠΞΑΕ ΝΤΕΝΙΕΞΟΟΨ** “the last day”, not CA.

Deut. 1:2 **ΠΤΩΟΨ ΝΧΗΡ.**

ΠΤΩΟΨ ΝCΙΝΑ Ex. 34:32 etc.

Deut. 1:9 **ΠΤΩΟΨ ΝΤΕΝΙΑΜΟΡΡΕΟΣ** — not CA.

Ex. 34:29 **ΠΙΤΩΟΨ ΝCΙΝΑ**- very remarkable, even strange; extremely rare.

Deut. 4:48 **ΠΙΤΩΟΨ ΝΤΕCΑΝΙΩΡ.**

Gen. 14:24 **ΤΤΟΙ ΝΝΙΡΩΜΙ**.

Gen. 43:34 **ΝΙΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΝΤΩΟΘ** — grammatically conditioned (pronominal expansion); not **ΝΕΨΤΟΙ** probably to disambiguate the assignment of the Augens **ΤΗΡΟΘ**.

Gen. 36:8 **†ΜΑΘ ΜΜΟΝΙ ΝΤΕΡΕΒΕΚΚΑ**.

Ex. 2:8 **ΘΜΑΘ ΜΠΙΛΛΟΘ**.

Wholly mysterious is the following variation:

Gen. 26:25 **ΝΑΛΩΟΪ ΝΙCΑΑΚ**.

Gen. 26:19 **ΝΙΑΛΩΟΪ ΝΤΕΙCΑΑΚ**.

Gen. 24:59 **ΠΙΛΛΟΘ ΝΤΕΑΒΡΑΑΜ**.

Ex. 23:16 **ΠΨΔΙ ΜΠΙΩCΪ ΝΤΕΝΕΚΨΟΡΠ ΝΟΨΤΑΞ**.

Ex. 23:15 **ΠΨΔΙ ΝΤΕΝΙΑΤΨΕΜΗΡ**.

Lev. 16:18 **ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠCΝΟΪ ΝΤΕΠΙΜΑC ΝΕΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠC-
ΝΟΪ ΜΠΙΒΑΜΠΙ** (no differentiation in the Greek).

ΠΚΑΞΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ *passim*.

ΠΚΑΞΙ ΝΧΑΝΑΑΝ *passim*.

ΠΚΑΞΙ ΝΤΕΧΑΝΑΑΝ Gen. 11:32, Num. 27:12 (τὴν γῆν χανααν).

Out of over 30 cases in Genesis, only two instances of **ν-** following **καρι** correspond to the definite τὴν γῆν χανααν (the other is the remarkable, almost unique 17:8 **ΠΙΚΑΞΙ ΤΗΡΪ ΝΧΑΝΑΑΝ**). It would appear that the overall determination here hints at a non-coreferent “of” association value for **ντε-**, against a coreferent “City of Rome” type construction for **π-** **ν-**, which would support the constituent nature of “inalienability”.

Deut. 5:25 **ΤCΜΗ ΜΠΨC**.

Deut. 28:45 **ΤCΜΗ ΝΤΕΠΨC ΠΕΚΝΟΨ†** (no difference in the Greek form).

Deut. 33:7 **ΤCΜΗ ΝΙΟΨΔΑC**.

ΤCΜΗ ΝΤΕΝΕΤΕΝCΑΞΙ Deut. 1:34, 5:28.

Deut. 9:5 **ΘΜΕΤΑCΕΒΗC ΝΤΕΝΔΙΕΘΝΟC**.

Deut. 9:4 **†ΜΕΤΑCΕΒΗC ΝΤΕΝΔΙΕΘΝΟC** (no difference in the Greek form).

3.10 Attribution — the adnominal noun syntagm: the “Adjective”.

The disappearance of the essentially appositive, concord-linked adjective in “proto-Coptic”, conjointly with the much earlier emergence of the gender-number-marked and gender-number-marking definite article (surely the most striking phenomenon of Egyptian diachrony), is a typologically fascinating feature with several implications. An early concomitant symptom of its impending demise is its detachment from the verb, of which it is, Semitic-style, a participial form in Old and Middle Egyptian. Synchronically, however, it is a haunting question whether we can speak of attribution as a special construction at all. What we find is apparently a sub-case of the associative syntagm, with the *zero*-generic expanding noun linked by the familiar *nota relationis* *n-*. Num. 21:8 *ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲕ ⲛⲗⲟⲙⲧ* or Lev. 4:28 *ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲛⲛⲟⲗⲉⲙ* is essentially the same as Lev. 4:28 *ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲉⲙⲡⲓ ⲛⲗⲓⲙⲓ*, or Lev. 4:23 *ⲟⲩⲗⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲃⲛⲓ*. However, since it is hardly the case that *zero* article is in this slot commutable *ceteris paribus* with non-*zero*, as *n-* is part of a discontinuous *π- n-* morph, and *ⲛⲧⲉ-* a conditioned link in other circumstances, it is arguable that we do not have a *zero* here at all, and *n-* is a true attribute marker prefixed to the bare lexeme, forming once again a “morphological” adjective entity. Or, even if preceding a *zero*, *n-* may be a homonym, the familiar Rheme-introducing (“predicative”) element in a generalized adnexal adnominal role. In brief, the Coptic *n*-attribute is far from clear, and “*of*”, “*de*” parallels (even in the strikingly similar “frippon d’enfant”, “monster of a woman” construction) are not really explicatory.

And yet, the Adjective as a word-class, syntactically and structurally conceived⁵⁷, might be postulated for Bohairic Coptic too. In *Coptic Grammatical Categories* (1986a, Chapter Four)⁵⁸, I suggested that, for Shenoutean Sahidic, the familiar Sahidic “double placement” and paradigmatic opposition in a specific list of nouns, including and mainly loan-

⁵⁷ The adjective, and in particular the Egyptian adjective, is quintessentially a phenomenon of syntax (cf. MALAISE and WINAND 1999:79).

⁵⁸ On the famous Romance (especially French) problem of adjective placement. WILMET 1993 is a very readable, loaded humoresque (a relatively late study in a long tradition, including Wilmet’s own in *RLR* 45 (1981), and others, partly enumerated in SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:132 n. 15). Cf. also TOGEBY 1984 IV §1537, 1539f. for the expressive (often pejorative) “frippon de valet” type; ROTHENBERG 1970 includes “un frippon d’enfant” (II, 86f.) as *appositive*. This is interesting, since the Coptic construction is arguably predicative *and* appositive (and not “partitive”): see for French also SCHMITT JENSEN 1988, on the relationship between adjectival attributive and predicative-ad-clausal status.

nouns from Greek that are in the Greek system true adjectives — $\text{co}\Phi\text{oc n-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ and $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \text{ n-co}\Phi\text{oc}$ — might be applied to define a paradigmatic class of synchronic, syntactically defined Coptic adjectives. This tagmemic paradigm is almost flimsy in our corpus of Bohairic. The regular sequence has the Greek loan-noun satellital, not nuclear (I have no detailed information concerning other varieties of the dialect):

Deut. 3:25 $\text{πατρωσ}\tau\ \text{ναγαθον}$.

Deut. 28:47 $\text{ζητ}\ \text{ναγαθον}$.

Deut. 20:11 $\text{ξανκα}\tau\ \text{νηριηνικον}$.

Gen. 37:4 $\text{νηλι}\ \text{νηριηνικον}$.

Lev. 21:20 $\text{οψω}\rho\alpha\ \text{ναγριον}$.

$\text{θηριον}\ \text{ναγριον}$ Deut. 7:22, Lev. 26:22.

Num. 16:2 $\text{ξανρωμι}\ \text{νονομαστος}$.

Ex. 28:39 $\text{οψω}\beta\ \text{μποικιλτον}$.

Deut. 25:15 $\text{οψωι}\ \text{ναληθινον}\ \text{nem}\ \text{nemhi}$ — emhi is one of the very few lexemic Egyptian adjectives in this slot.

Ex. 2:13 $\text{ορωμι}\ \bar{\beta}\ \text{νηεβρεος}$.

Gen. 38:2 $\text{ορωμι}\ \text{νηανανεος}$.

In our corpus, however, $\text{ni}\omega\tau$ and $\text{ko}\tau\tau\iota$ do occur exclusively in the nuclear position, and for them no real opposition of placement obtains; this may be seen as an extension of the usual nuclear position of quantifiers — Ex. 23:13 $\text{ξανκενο}\tau\tau$, Lev. 26:26 $\text{μη}\tau\ \text{nc}\epsilon\text{imi}$ — which in turn form a sub-class of nuclear grammemes:

Deut. 25:14 $\text{οθνι}\omega\tau\ \text{mment}\ \text{nem}\ \text{οκο}\tau\tau\iota$: no “one” — the determinator nucleus is sufficient.

Deut. 9:1 $\text{ξαννι}\omega\tau\ \text{μβaki}$.

Num. 14:23 $\text{κο}\tau\tau\iota\ \text{ναλο}\tau\ \text{niben}\ \text{ναtemi}$.

Gen. 42:15 $\text{πετε}\text{nc}\text{κο}\tau\tau\iota\ \text{ncon}$.

(Deut. 8:15 $\text{πω}\alpha\epsilon\ \text{πινι}\omega\tau\ \text{ετεμμα}\tau$ hints at another constructional possibility, but here the primary nucleus is name-generic).

However, ordinals ($\text{ma}\epsilon$ - from two on) do have a double placement:

Gen. 8:13 $\text{πιαβο}\tau\ \text{νηο}\omega\text{it}$.

Gen. 8:4 $\text{πιαβο}\tau\ \text{μμα}\epsilon$ -7.

Gen. 10:2 $\text{οψω}\eta\pi\iota\ \text{μμα}\epsilon$ -2.

As against:

Gen. 15:16 $\text{πιμα}\epsilon$ -4 $\text{n}\tau\omega\sigma\tau$, which may be marked as focussed (“only the fourth generation”).

And we also find isolated cases like

Gen. 34:14 $\text{ο}\tau\alpha\text{t}\epsilon\beta\iota\ \text{n}\rho\omega\text{mi}$ — focussed as pejorative and affective (“We cannot do this thing, give our sister to an uncircumcised man,

for it is a shame for us" (a Greek relative: ἀνθρώπῳ ὃς ἔχει ἀκροβυστίαν),

in opposition to

Gen. 16:3 **ΤΕΣΒΩΚΙ ΝΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ**.

Gen. 20:4 **ΟΨΩΛΟΛ ΝΑΤΕΜΙ ΟΨΟΖ ΝΘΗΜΙ**.

Lev. 4:23 **ΟΨΖΩΟΤ ΝΑΤΑΘΝΙ**,

in contrast to the functional charge of placement opposition in "non-adjectival" cases like

Num. 12:1 **†CZIMI NEΘOYI**.

Ex. 2:7 **ΟΨCZIMI ΝΡΕCΨΑΝΨ** ("a woman").

Compared with Lev. 4:28 **ΟΨΒΑΕΜΠΙ ΝCZIMI** ("female"), this may point to traces of a semantically distinctive, tagmemically sensitive group of nouns that could be tagged as adjectival. These would include as a sub-class Greek loan-adjectives that feature in Coptic gender concord linkage (animate -OC, inanimate -ON), a mechanism not always active also in non-attributive status:

Ex. 27:1 **ΕCΟΙ ΝΤΕΤΡΑΓΩΝΟΝ**.

Num. 4:6 **ΕCΟΙ ΝΖΨΑΚΙΝΘΙΝΟΝ**.

Deut. 25:16 **ΖΑΝΔΔΙΚΟC** (deeds).

Cases of marked feminines are arguably non-adjectival, but substantival, with no necessary feminine concord even for movables:

Lev. 21:7 **ΟΨCZIMI ΜΠΟΡΗΗ**.

Num. 12:1 **†CZIMI NEΘOYI**.

Ex. 21:8 **ΚΕΕΘΟC ΔΕ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ**.

Gen. 41:33 **ΟΨΡΩΜΙ ΝCΑΒΕ**.

Ex. 35:25 **CZIMI ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝCΑΒΕ** (cf. **CΑΒΗ ΝCZIMI** Prov. 14:1, which may be focussing as well).

Deut. 32:6 **ΟΨΛΑΟC ΝCΟΞ ΟΨΟΖ ΝCΑΒΕ ΔΝ**.

Obs.

(1) Demotic as we know it from our sources shows a state of transition from the old "morphological adjective" (which of course is no less a syntactical feature) to the syntactic *n*-attribute, a panoramic impression probably to be corrected by precise corpus-based study, which may result in a picture of balanced distribution between the two constructions. See STRICKER 1962; SIMPSON 1996:50ff.

(2) On the evolution of the Egyptian attribute, see STEINTHAL and MISTELI 1893:270f.; also 96f., 276ff. on the *nota relationis* generally, as a typological trait.

(3) GOLDENBERG 1995 is a brilliant and elegant essay on attribution, the Semitic adjective and on the Adjective as a phenomenon in general linguistics. I find thought-provoking in the context of the Coptic constructions in point especially the relation, very convincingly delineated and for Semitic inescapable, of the adjective to the genitive and the Relative (see especially pp. 2ff., 8f., 11ff.). The aptness of this is especially striking when we con-

sider the analytic, systemic, and practical correspondence of Coptic πϵτ- to Greek adjectives (cf. "an adjective constitutionally includes a pronominal head", p. 9); also illuminating is the functional affinity of our possessive pronoun Φα- etc. to the Semitic *ša-*, *zā-* etc., elements which have a deictic pronominal basis (see COHEN *Forthcoming*). Even Goldenberg's view of the adjective as "downgraded predication" (2f.), which I would on methodological principle find exceptionable as non-signalling and essentially transformational, may score a descriptive point for Coptic, since, as suggested, our own n- may be an adnominal role of the Rheme-marking ("predicative") element, etymologically *m-*.

(4) Outside the corpus, we do encounter rhetorically motivated first (nuclear) position of Greek loan-adjectives — the issue needs obviously to be studied further: Mac. Nos 18-20 ΠΙΛΗΘΗΣ ΝΗΣΓΕΜΩΝ... ΠΙΛΛΗΘΙΝΟΣ ΝΗΘΥ... ΠΙΛΛΟCΙΟC ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC; Mt. 12:35 ΠΙΛΓΕΘΟC ΝΡΩΜΙ.

3.11 The expanded pronoun/Proper Name/noun syntagm: some appositive constructions.

Apposition, a non-associative substitutive-and-amplificative construction, is of interest in the context of n-marked rhematic expansion "packaging". In fact, the attributive adjectival construction in pre-Coptic Egyptian was also appositive in formal principle, with concord linkage added to juxtaposition. The following constructions are noteworthy:

(a) Specifying apposition: relative (rhematic *appositum*) and direct expansion. Note that the Greek triggers the relative and rhematicity of the *appositum* in two different Coptic ways:

ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ Gen. 44:15 (Greek ἄνθρωπος οἷός ἐγώ).

ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΕ-ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΠΕ Gen. 44:24:30:31 (Greek τὸν παῖδά σου πατέρα δὲ ἡμῶν, τοῦ παιδός σου πατὴρ δὲ ἡμῶν).

ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ Gen. 44:27 (Greek ὁ παῖς σου ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν).

(b) *Ṣa-*: colloquial-register or otherwise stylistically marked apposition, lexically specifying *interlocutive* pronouns. This distinctively Bohairic construction occurs in the corpus locutively, in the "Egyptian Episode" of Genesis, used by Jacob's sons as *minus habentes* usually with *νεκαλωσι* and once with its equivalent: do they address their superiors (Pharaoh and the still unrecognized Joseph) in a lower — or lowly — register?

Gen. 47:4 ΤΕΝΝΑΩΠΙ ṢA-ΝΕΚΑΛΩCΙ ṢΕΝΠΚΑΡΙ ΝΓΕCΕΜ.

Gen. 42:13 ΤΕΝΕΡ-ἸΒ ΝCΟΝ ṢA-ΝΕΚΑΛΩCΙ.

Gen. 42:32 ΤΕΝΕΡ-ἸΒ ΝCΟΝ ṢA-ΝΕΝṢΡΟ† ΜΠΕΝΙΩΤ.

Gen. 47:3 ΑΝΟΝ ΞΑΝΜΑΝΕCΩΘ ṢA-ΝΕΚΑΛΩCΙ sim. Gen. 46:34.

Gen. 42:10 ΕΤΑΝΙ ΕΨΕΠΞΑΝṢΡΗΘCΙ ΝΑΝ ṢA-ΝΕΚΑΛΩCΙ.

Only once do we find the construction outside Genesis, allocutively, mediating between the allocutive pronoun and the specific Relative Form. What is the peculiar deictic tone in Moses's address that is expressed or evoked by this element?

Deut. 4:4 **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΔΕ ΣΑ-ΝΗ ΕΘΘΗΖ ΝCΑΠΘ̄C ΠΕΝΝΟϋΤ ΤΕΤΕΝΟΝΣ ΤΗΡΟϋ ΜΦΟΟϋ.**

Beyond any special stylistic charge this construction may carry, a question worthy of being raised is the way in which essentially delocutive referential and non-referential elements⁵⁹ — anaphoric pronouns, nouns and Proper Names — may be adjoined to interlocutive pronouns. This is an interface that involves a significant shift of perspective and correspondingly an interesting junctural linkage and delimitation environment.

Obs.

(1) Needless to say, **ΣΑ-** is not an obligatory construction in our corpus: consider such *loci* as Num. 3:13:41:45 (ANDERSSON 1904:113) and Deuteronomy *passim*; also Ex. 12:22. And yet, the precise environmental configuration of the instances of **ΣΑ-** is uncommon enough to make its occurrence almost predictable (see JELANSKAJA 1962:95f.). This is a strikingly Nitrian and Nitrian-component (NT and OT) construction. The element **ΣΑ-** introduces PNs, specific nouns, **π-** in associative syntagms, that is with **Ν-** or **ΝΤΕ-**, and **ΦΗ-ΕΤ-**; that is, not indefinites and *zero*-generics. Cf. AM II 199, 211, De Vis I 31, II 88, 109.; Cat. 79 **ΕΘΒΗΤΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΣΑ-ΝΗ ΕΤΑΦ̄Τ ΧΑϋ ΝCΩQ...**, **ΕΘΒΗΤ ΔΕΟϋΝ ΣΑ-ΠΕΚΩΗΡΙ.** In Biblical texts: Ps. 113:26 **ΑΝΟΝ ΣΑ-ΝΗ ΕΤΟΝΣ**; Dan. 1:12, 3:4, 9:8. Early exx. in Kellia I 104 No. 28 (early: 6-8 centuries; ed. Daumas and Guillaumont, 1969) **ΑΝΟΚ ΣΑ-ΠΙΔΩΠ**, ed. Bosson 2003 — in a slightly different construction (and broader distribution?): **ΑΡΙΠΙΝΑΙ ΝΕΜΝΙ ΣΑ-ΠΙΡΕΦΕΡΝΟΒΙ** No. 91; probably also **ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕϋΙ ΣΑ-ΠΩΛΕΜΟC** No. 10, **ΑΝΟΚ ΣΑ-ΠΙΔΩΒ** No. 98.

(2) This construction is compatible with the Augens, which it follows: **ΝΕΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΩ ΣΑ-ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC** (AM I 49). In Nitrian, the construction may also (albeit rarely) be delocutive: Cat. 154 **ΕΤΕΝΘΩϋ ΟΝ ΝΕ ΣΑ-ΝΙΑΤΩΠ-ΕΡ-ΕΜΟΤ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ**; also Cat. 106 **ΕΛΤΕΡΚΑΤΑΔΙΚΑΖΙΝ ΜΜΟQ ΕΦ̄ΜΟϋ ... ΣΑ-ΦΗ ΕΤΕΜΠΕΦΕΡΝΟΒΙ.** Note that **ΣΑ-** does not always occur with PNs (which, again, are by this token marked as essentially different from "appellatives") and never with number names: AM I 155 **ΕΡΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΙΟΥΛΙΟC**, AM I 65 **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΜΠ-Γ̄.**

(3) So far as I know, we have no real etymology for this element, nor a clear Demotic precedent attestation for it. Crum *Dictionary* 633a (d) identifies here a prepositional "in respect of, on behalf" role; see also 629a (with variant forms **ΕΔ-**, **ΩΔ-**). Of course, this would hardly account for its special preferred interlocutive environment.

3.12 The reiterated noun syntagm is no less a case of determinator construction and slotting than the non-reiterated one (see, for Shenoutean Sahidic, SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:§1.3.3; to the references there add BOL-

⁵⁹ In fact, **ΝΗ ΕΤ-** in Deut. 4:4 means "you who...", i.e. is allocutive.

LÉE 1978). In the corpus examined here we find prevalent the *adverbial-status distributive focussing* role of reiteration:

(a) πι- πι- for totalizing “each and every”, but also distributively (“in each respective/individual instance”):

for πιοῦται πιοῦται, φουῖται φουῖται, see above.

Gen. 32:16 ἀγθητοῦ ννεβαλωοῖ πιοῖ πιοῖ βαοῦσα μμαῶατq.

Ex. 16:4f. φῶ-πιεζοοῦ πιεζοοῦ.

(b) π- π- totalizing:

φρωμι φρωμι....(φη) ετνα- Lev. 20:9, 22:18, 26:2.

(c) οῦ- οῦ- quantifying “one (in each case)”.

οῦρεμῆτ οῦρεμῆτ ε/μπριμβ Num. 29:10:15.

(d) Reiterated *zero* determination seems to occur only following the Rheme-introducing *n-*, expressing focussed fragmentation:

Ex. 8:10 ἀῖταιοῦ νῶνωοῦ ῶνωοῦ.

See above (3.3).

(e) Miscellaneous, distributive or focussing, following *κατα-* or *n-*.

καταφῶι φῶι “exactly thus” Ex. 26:24, Gen. 26:24.

Lev. 6:5 νῶνατοοῖ ῶνατοοῖ.

Obs.

Outside the corpus, cf. κεῶωβ κεῶωβ “any other thing (of the kind)”, in disjunctions with *ιτε* and *ιε* Cal. 143, 220; Rhematically, 1 Cor. 15:39 *σαρξ νιβεν ταϊσαρξ ταϊσαρξ αν τε* (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1984a).

3.13 “That”-forms, nexal substantivation forms, infinitives and converbs. Final clauses and related forms.

In this, to the author probably the least satisfactory section of this work, two related topics, namely (a) “that-” forms and related nexus-substantival construction forms, and (b) final, purpose and consecutive construction forms will be no more than lightly visited — with some prominent questions raised, the syntax illustrated and possible hints at distribution and function indicated. This is an important issue in Coptic, but a crucial one in early pre-Coptic Egyptian grammar, where finite nominal and substantival verb forms, alongside adverbial converbal ones, play important roles in verbal-nexus and focalization matrices, as well as in general substantive-privilege slots (e.g. following prepositions, Nominal-Sentence Rhemes). Following the reduction and elimination of the synthetic substantival Relative Form (while the ‘adjectival’ ones are still fully operative in LE and even linger on in Demotic), nexal

substantivation changes dramatically, and is very different in the analytic and synthesized-analytic phases, from Late Egyptian on. Here the infinitive, finitized in various ways, takes over from the rhematic finite converbs, e.g. in the time-honoured syntagms grammaticalizing *rdj* (†, “give, let, cause”) as *agens* carrier, or the possessive articles.

Somewhat surprisingly, substantivality and the broader nominality turn out to be gradient qualities: not all slots or environments, structurally symptomizing, determining and, in the long run, defining this quality, concur and are coextensive. One instance of this is the privilege of being combined with — actually expanding — determinators, a privilege restricted to lexemes. Arguably, it is not a higher nominality, but lexicemicity that enables this. Another instance is the blurring of the borderline — in another metaphor, the leakage in the partition — between nominal (substantival or adnominal) and adverbial status: examples are certain converbs (Circumstantial Conversion) used appositively, or as a prospective “that”-form (see Obs. 3-4 below), or as Topic and Theme forms in focalization patterns, usually following their adverbial or (pro)nominal focus in a role typically substantival. As a matter of fact, it is an extreme grammaticalization of a lexically frozen converb, namely *r-dd* “saying”, that gives us the one and only native Coptic substantivizing (and general-subordinating) “conjunction”, namely ⲗⲉ-.

As for “finality”, it covers a very complex and fluid semantic gradient spectrum from scope and effect of action, through content of will or intention, through expressly willed purpose, to will-indifferent “objective” outcome or sequel. This spectrum is difficult to demarcate using the familiar naive and logic-based (and thus non-analytic) “purpose” vs. “consequence” dichotomic structure. The gamut seems to be richer in Coptic, where the different forms and constructions concur, i.e. stand in opposition in one and the same corpus, than in Greek, where the considerable variety of conjunctions, with not a little sophistication of distinctions, serves also the stylistic characterization of texts and registers⁶⁰; it is certainly more sophisticated in Bohairic than in Sahidic. (The Greek *Vorlage* does certainly not throw here any light on the Coptic system). The tentative functional principles listed below, all rudimentary, imprecise, impressionistic and far too broad, are suggestions preliminary to rigorous study. I firmly believe, here as generally, in the basic difference

⁶⁰ Cf. GOODWIN 1965:vii “It is interesting to know that in all the Attic prose, except Xenophon, *ōs* final occurs only five or six times while *ἵνα* occurs 999 times (see his Appendix III).

of *signifiés* for the various *signifiants*, however subtle and elusive this difference may be (and the main difficulty here is the unfamiliar semantic landscape and the tenuousness of certain distinctions), whatever areas of overlap there may be between functional ranges and sectors. The scarcity, almost total absence of variant readings of “that”-forms and final constructions between manuscripts (e.g. ours and Vat) must add confidence to the pursuit of their individual semantics.

A second, theoretically important and structurally unsurprising realization is that forms are valued also by combination, i.e. by syntagmatic contrast. In a passage featuring, say, ϵ - + infinitive, $\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\zeta$ - and $\zeta\iota\alpha$ + Conjunctive, in that order, at least the last two have different value from their value in other combinations.

Obs.

(1) For OE and ME, see STEINTHAL and MISTELI 1893:298f.; FRANDSEN 1975 is a privately circulated sketch following Polotsky's year of teaching at Copenhagen; POLOTSKY 1976. The Egyptian “that”-form certainly merits synchronic and diachronic monographic treatment. See also Junge *apud* PEUST 1996:39 with n. 148.

(2) The concurrence between a personal/finite “that”-form and the infinitive, variously agent-characterized, poses a universal problem across typological and genetic borders. LEMHAGEN 1979 describes the complexity, hierarchy and variety of parameters involved (for French); the largely diachronic case of Latin *quod* as against the AcI is of course a permanently open issue. On the other hand, Latin makes intensive and sophisticated use of “word-formational” verbal nouns as a third pole of the complex nominalization category: see ROSÉN (H.) 1981 for a structural account. For Modern Welsh “*i*- cum infinitivo” and the substantivizing converter $y(r)$ -, *mai*- (with some Modern Irish correspondents), see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995, 1998:56f., 162, 183.

(3) The Circumstantial converter as appositive “that”-form (in Nitrian) mostly occurs in a single phraseologically specific NS pattern (note the interlocutivity, and the constant presence of $\alpha\lambda\alpha$):

AM II 115 $\theta\psi\omega\pi\iota$ $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $\alpha\lambda$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\eta\eta\theta$ $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$.

AM II 97 $\theta\psi\eta\theta$ $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\omicron\iota$ $\eta\eta\iota\beta\alpha\epsilon\mu\pi$.

AM II 97 $\theta\psi\omega\pi\iota$ $\eta\eta\iota$ $\alpha\lambda$ $\pi\epsilon$... $\epsilon\kappa\mu\theta$ $\dagger$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\omega\tau$ $\delta\epsilon$ - $\pi\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon\eta\chi\eta\mu$.

AM II 96 $\theta\psi\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\eta$ $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $\alpha\lambda$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\psi\omega\psi$ $\eta\chi\omega\tau\alpha$ $\eta\chi\eta\mu$.

But also rather frequently in: AM II 113 $\theta\psi$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\psi\omega\pi\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\kappa$ $\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\mu$.

(4) $\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$, another converter, is used in Nitrian as a prospective or sequelling “that” form, in some cases renderable as final:

AM II 145f. $\alpha\eta\kappa$ - $\eta\iota\mu$ $\alpha\eta\kappa$ $\psi\alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\mu$ - $\Phi\alpha\iota$ sim. De Vis II 127.

AM II 147 $\alpha\chi\alpha\tau$ $\psi\alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\kappa$.

De Vis II 127 $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\psi$ $\dagger$ $\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\psi$ $\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\kappa$... $\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omega\tau$ $\eta\pi\omicron\tau\eta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron$ - $\rho\iota\omicron\eta$.

De Vis II 183 $\dagger$ $\eta\alpha\omicron\lambda\eta$ $\tau\eta\rho\eta$ $\psi\alpha\tau\eta\alpha\psi$...

A similar feature occurs in “late” (really colloquial?) Sahidic — indeed, it is one of its characteristic traits — and is even one of Shenoute's register-switch rhetorical devices.

(a) **δε- “that”-form:** a grammaticalized and fossilized converb of **δεω** “say”, proclitic (in closest juncture) to any non-converted clause or clause complex, in a broad range of substantival roles, this is the closest in Coptic to a “general subordinator” conjunction.

(1) Discontinuous component of the verb lexeme, interpretable as its valency characteristic (rektion) and its contentual object (as a rule second or third) actant; introducing contents of speech (*verba dicendi, loquendi, cogitandi, sentiendi*, etc., with **δεω** and other lexemes, **δε-** is incorporated in the verb, proleptically represented by the neutric -C (see [2]).

Gen. 1:4 **αϥναϥ ΝΔΕ-ϥ† εϥϥωινι ΔΕ-ΝΑΝΕϥ.**

Ex. 16:15 **ΝΑΥCΩΟΥΝ ΜΜΟϥ ΑΝ ΔΕ-Οϥ ΠΕ .**

Gen. 42:24 (οϥωνϩ εβολ), 49:15 (ΝΑϥ), Deut. 2:7 (ΕΜΙ).

Ex. 8:1 **ΑΔΟC ΝΑΑΡΩΝ ΠΕΚCΟΝ ΔΕ-CΟΥΤΕΝ ΠΕΚΥΒΩΤ.**

Ex. 8:5 **CΕΜΝΗΤC ΝΕΜΗΙ ΔΕ-ΝΤΑΤΩΒϩ...** (Greek πότε εὔξωμαι).

(2) Various appositive to neutric pronouns and pronominals; appositive Theme in Nominal Sentence:

Num. 16:13 **ΑΝ-ΟΥΚΟΥΔΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ-ΑΚΕΝΤΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ ΠΚΑϩΙ...**

Num. 16:9 **ΑΝ-ΟΥΚΟΥΔΙ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ ϥΑΙ ΔΕ-Αϥ† ΜΠΙCΛ ΟΥΕΤ-ΘΗΝΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ-†CΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ.**

Num. 16:3 **ΧΑC ΝΩΤΕΝ ΔΕ-ΤΑΙCΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΤΗΡC ΨΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΕΥΟΤΑΒ ΝΕ.**

Gen. 45:5 **ΜΠΕΝΘΡΕ-ΠΙϩΩΒ ΝΥΟΤ ΝΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝΟΥ ΔΕ-ΕΤΑΡΕ-ΤΕΝΤΗΙ ΕΜΝΑΙ.**

(3) Explicative or causal **δε-** grounds (metaphrastically, much like **γαρ**, but less finely nuanced) the actual existence of the preceding text:

Gen. 33:11 **ϩΙ ΝΝΑΙCΜΟΥ ΕΤΑΙΕΝΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΔΕ-ΑϥΝΑΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΔΕ-ϥ†.**

Deut. 12:12 **ΕΡΕΤΕΝΟΥΝΟϥ ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΠϥC ΝΕΜ ΝΕΤΕΝ-ΥΗΡΙ ΝΕΜΝΕΤΕΝΥΕΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΤΕΝΒΩΚ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΤΕΝΒΩΚΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΛΕΥΤΗC ΕΤΔΕΝΝΕΤΕΝΠΩΛΗ ΔΕ-ΜΜΟΝΤΕϥΤΟΙ ΜΜΑϥ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΛΗΡΟC ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ.**

It is especially striking following questions, giving the basis for asking the question (“seeing that ...”):

Num. 11:11 **ΕΘΒΕΟΥ ΑΚΘΕΜΚΟ ΜΠΕΚΒΩΚ ΟΥΟϩ ΕΘΒΕΟΥ ΜΠΙ-ΔΙΜΙ ΝΟΥϩΜΟΤ ΜΠΕΚΜΘΟ ΔΕ-ΑΚΘΑΛΕΠΔΩΝΤ ΜΠΑΙΛΑΟC ΕΡΟΙ.**

Num. 11:12 ΜΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΙΕΡΒΩΚΙ ΜΠΑΙΛΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΩ ΙΕ ΑΝΟΚ
ΑΙΜΑCΘΘ ΔΕ-ΚΔΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΙ ΔΕ-ΘΙΤΩ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΚΕΝΤ.

Num. 11:13 ΑΘΝΑΔΕΜΑΩ ΘΩΝ Ε† ΜΠΑΙΛΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΩ ΔΕ-
CΕΡΙΜΙ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΔΩΙ...

(4) ΔΕ- + Conjunctive expresses the potential modal consecutive sequel: "(So) that (I can should...)" ("so dass ich imstande bin/soll..."). Often in So-called Rhetorical Questions, or with affect: self-deprecation or contempt, mockery, indignation. It is either locutive or allocutive. This clearly seems to be an idiomatic "native" Coptic rhetorical-semantic category — observe the varying Greek equivalents:

Ex. 3:11 ΑΝΟΚ-ΝΙΜ ΔΕ-ΝΤΑΥΕΝΗΙ ΖΑΦΑΡΑΩ (Greek ὅτι + Fut.).

Ex. 5:2 ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ ΔΕ-ΝΤΑCΩΤΕΜ ΝCΑΤΕΩCΜΗ (Greek ὅτι + Fut.).

Ex. 16:7 ΑΝΟΝ-ΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ-ΝΤΕΤΝΧΡΕΜΡΕΜ ΔΑΡΟΝ (Greek ὅτι + Pres.).

Gen. 20:9 ΜΗΤΙ ΑΝΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΕ-ΑΚΙΝΙ ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΔΩΙ... (Greek ὅτι + Perf.).

Deut. 30:12f. ΝΑCΝΖΡΗΙ ΔΕΝΤΦΕ ΑΝ ΔΕ-ΝΤΕΚΔΟC ΔΕ- ...
ΟΥΔΕ ΝΑCΖΙΜΗΡ ΜΦΙΟΜ ΑΝ ΔΕ-ΝΤΕΚΔΟC (Greek καὶ + Fut., καὶ + Conj. Aor.).

Non-rhetorical consecution "so that I may ...":

Ex. 8:5 CΕΜΝΗΤC ΝΕΜΗΙ ΔΕ-ΝΤΑΤΩΒΞ...

Lev. 22:33 ...ΕΔΙΕΝΘΗΝΟΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ ΔΕ-
ΝΤΑΥΩΠΙ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΝΝΟΘ† (Greek ὥστε + infinitive).

A unique, to me unexplicable case of seemingly real purpose-clause, is also the only delocutive instance on my files:

Ex. 22:7 ΕΥΩΠ ΔΕ ΑΡΩΔΑΝΟΤΑΙ † ΝΟΤΖΑΤ ΜΠΕΩΥΦΗΡ ΙΕ
ΖΑΝΚΚΕΤΟC ΔΕ-ΝΤΕΩΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΟΘ (= Vat) (simple infinitive in the Greek).

ΔΕ- does not *condition* the Conjunctive here (nor any other clause-form). In fact, since the Conjunctive itself often has a "that"-form role, the paradigm is ternary:

ΔΕ- + Conjunctive.

Conjunctive.

ΔΕ- (CLAUSE).

(5) ΔΕ- as universal subordinator:

ΕΘΒΕ-ΔΕ- Deut. 9:28 etc. — apparently a case (the only one) of a prepositional *rectum*.

ⲉⲫⲙⲁ ⲉ- + ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ: only Preterite and dialogic Gen. 19:2:8, 18:5, 22:16:18, 26:5, Num. 14:43, 25:14. Deut. 8:20 etc.

ⲟⲩⲭⲟⲧⲓ ⲉ- Deut. 7:7.

Obs.

Not attested in our corpus, but in NT or/and Nitrian:

ⲉⲱⲥ ⲉ- "as if" De Vis II 54, 89 etc. (ⲉⲱⲥ ⲉⲱⲉ- ⲉⲱⲉ- in Sahidic etc.)

ⲉⲱⲥ ⲉ- (ⲧⲉⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ-) final, De Vis I 123, II 39.

ⲙⲫⲣⲏⲧ ⲉ- De Vis II 33 (cf. ⲙⲫⲣⲏⲧ ⲉⲑⲣⲉ- De Vis II 47 [POLOTSKY 1930:876 "Sahidicism"]), Cat. 194.

(b) The Conjunctive: a continuing or sequelling "that" form?

The "that"-role of the Conjunctive, familiar in Bohairic, is still difficult to reconcile with the sub-coordinative function of this form, which I believe is converbial in essence (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a, Chapter Seven). The Conjunctive is an elusive form, in any dialect: despite its long continuous history, we do not yet have a coherent impression of its functional nature for any phase of Egyptian. The conjunctive roles of the Conjunctive are much more pronounced in Bohairic, although its subcategorizing function is well-established, albeit perhaps not central; it may be that this latter role, prevalent in Sahidic, is what distorts the overall functional picture, and that it is the substantival status that is primary and may even account for its "carrying-on" brand name. The correlation of its distinctive roles in Sahidic and Bohairic with its respective morphological characteristics, namely *n*- and *nte*- — the latter, after all, an almost exclusively adnominal morph in Bohairic — still remains to be attempted.

I suggest the Conjunctive — a converb in Bohairic too — is an adnexal case of that quintessentially Egyptian category, namely *the sequelling "that" form* (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995a, esp. 311ff.) This is, I believe, historically plausible too. In fact, it is probably the only functional heading for its disparate roles in Demotic (see Obs.).

(1) The "conjunctive" Conjunctive:

The Conjunctive is in our Bohairic the normal conjugation form following the Greek imports ⲉⲓⲛⲁ, (ⲉⲓⲛⲁ) ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ, (ⲉⲓⲛⲁ) ⲉⲟⲡⲱⲥ, ⲉⲱⲥⲧ/ⲁⲉ, ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ, ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ. The frequent absence of agreement with the Greek construction must indicate the meaningfulness of the choice of Coptic forms, with the Greek-origin elements being, so to speak, naturalized in Coptic, even if it is true that the Greek text does prejudice the choice of the Coptic construction.

Ex. 20:20 ⲉⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲉⲣⲛⲓⲣⲁⲩⲉⲛ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲙⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲟⲧⲓ ⲱⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲑⲏⲏⲟⲩ ⲉ-ⲛⲛⲉ-

ΤΕΝΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΕΡΟQ (Greek ἔνεκεν... τοῦ πειράσαι... ὅπως ἂν γένηται... ἵνα μὴ ἁμαρτάνητε).

Deut. 8:2-3 ΕΚΕΕΡΦΜΕΒΙ ΜΦΜΩΙΤ ΤΗΡQ ΦΗ ΕΤΑΦΕΝΚ
 ΖΙΩΤQ ΝΔΕ-ΠῚ ΠΕΚΝΟΦ ΖΙΠΩΑΦΕ ΖΟΠΩC ΝΤΕΦΘΕΜΚΟΚ ...
 ΟΦΟΖ ΑΦΘΕΜΚΟΚ ΑΦΘΕΚΕΚΟ ΟΦΟΖ ΑΦΤΕΜΜΟΚ ΜΠΙΜΑΝΝΑ...
 ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΦΤΑΜΟΚ ΔΕ... (Greek ὅπως ἂν... ἵνα...).

Ex. 9:16 ΕΘΒΕ-ΦΔΙ ΑΦΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΖΙΝΑ-ΝΤΑΦΩΝΗ ΝΤΑΔΟΜ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΗΤΚ ΟΦΟΖ ΝΤΟΦΦΙΡΙ ΕΠΑΡΡΑΝ ΖΙΔΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡQ
 (Greek ἔνεκεν τοῦτου... ἵνα ἐνδείξωμαι... καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ).

Ex. 5:3 ΦΨ ΝΤΕΝΙΖΕΒΡΕΟC ΑΦΘΑΖΜΕΝ ΕΡΟQ ΤΕΝΝΑΦΕΝΑΝ
 ΟΦΝ Ν-Γ ΝΕΖΟΟΦ ΜΜΩΨ ΕΖΡΗ ΖΙΠΩΑΦΕ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΝΦΕΤ-
 ΦΟΦΩΟΦΨ ΜΠῚ ΠΕΝΝΟΦΨ ΜΗΠΩC ΝΤΕ-ΟΦΜΟΦ ΤΑΖΟΝ
 (Greek ὅπως θύσωμεν... μὴ ποτε συναντήσῃ).

Ex. 10:1f. ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΕΘΡΕ-ΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΝΦΟΤ ΝΕΜΝΕΦΑΛΛΩΟΨ
 ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΝΑΜΗΝΙ ΑΙΔΙ ΕΖΡΗ ΕΔΩΟΦ...ΖΩΠΟC (sic) ΝΤΕΤΕ-
 ΤΕΝCΑΔΙ ΕΔΡΗ ΕΝΕΝΜΑΦΔ ΝΤΕΝΕΤΕΝΦΗΡΙ ΝΕΜΝΙΦΗΡΙ
 ΝΤΕΝΕΤΕΝΦΗΡΙ (Greek ἵνα ἐξῆς ἐπέλθῃ... ὅπως διηγήσῃσθε).

Ex. 12:42 ΟΦΟΦΕΡΨ ΝΤΕΠῚ ΠΕ ΖΩCΔΕ ΕΕΝΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ ΟΦΟΦΕΡΨ ΝΤΕΠῚ ΤΕ ΖΩCΔΕ ΝΤΕC
 ΦΩΠΙ ΝΝΕΝΦΗΡΙ ΜΠΙCΛ ΦΑΝΟΦΔΩΟΦ (Greek ὥστε + infinitive, twice).

Gen. 34:22 ΔΕΝΦΔΙ CΕΝΑΙΝΙ ΜΜΟΝ ... ΕΦΟΦΦΩΠΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ
 ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΦΩΠΙ ΝΟΦΛΑΟC ΝΟΦΩΤ ΤΗΡΟΦ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΝCΟΦΒΕ
 ΝΕΝΖΩΟΦΤ (Greek τοῦ κατοικεῖν... ὥστε εἶναι... ἐν τῷ περι-
 τέμνεσθαι — note the surprising Greek correspondent for the Coptic
 ΖΙΝΑ + Conj.).

Consider also Gen. 24:3, 32:11, 34:30, 37:22, 46:34, Lev. 26:15,
 Deut. 19:6, 4:21, 21:8, 17:20, 6:3:18, Num. 16:34, Deut. 32:27, 8:2f.,
 12:25 etc..

ΖΙΝΑ and ΜΗΠΟΤΕ with the Conjunctive may constitute complete
 superordinative clauses on their own:

Gen. 18:21 ΙCΔΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΑΕΜΙ — apodotic.

Gen. 24:5 ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕCΦΤΕΜΟΦΩΨ ΝΔΕ-ΨCΖΙΜΙ ΕΜΩΨ
 ΝΕΜΗ — responsive.

ΖΙΝΑ- with the negative Conjunctive differs from ΜΗΠΟΤΕ + af-
 firmative Conjunctive, as Greek ἵνα μὴ- is opposed to μὴ-:

Ex. 28:35 ΟΦΟΖ ΕΦΕΦΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΑΑΡΩΝ ΔΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΦ-
 ΦΕΜΨ ΕΦΕCΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΕΦCΜΗ ... ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΦΨΤΕΜΜΟΦ...
 (Greek ἵνα μὴ...).

(2) ΜΜΟΝ-ΦΔΟΜ ΝΤΕ- Gen. 44:22, Ex. 8:22, 19:23 etc. is a famil-
 iar landmark of Bohairic: only Non-Existence?

(3) "That"-form Conjunctions may occur appositively to neutric pronoun + $\omega\pi\iota$: Gen. 44:7 $\text{NNEC}\omega\pi\iota \text{NNEK}\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\tau\iota \text{NTOT}\iota\pi\iota \text{M}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda\iota$.

(4) Following $\epsilon\omega\pi$ (historically containing a neutric pronoun, and the precursor of $\omega\pi\iota$ in a grammaticalized protasis): Gen. 34:15, Ex. 15:26, Num. 30:12 etc.⁶¹

(5) In locutive deliberative questions, the "that"-form Conjunction, following $\sigma\tau\omega\psi$ or interrogative marker, corresponds analytically to the deliberative $\tau\alpha$ - of Sahidic (see POLOTSKY 1944:17f., §9)⁶²:

Ex. 2:7 $\text{TEOT}\omega\psi \text{NTAMOT}\dagger \text{NE}...$

Gen. 24:5 $\text{XOT}\omega\psi \text{NTATAC}\theta\theta$.

Gen. 33:1 $\text{AN-NTAC}\omega\lambda\pi$ (Vat AN-TA-).

(6) The "continuing" Conjunction, so prominent in Sahidic that it has come to oust or marginalize other roles in the pan-Coptic picture, is, I suggest, secondary and derived by alternative analysis from the sequencing "that"-role in cases like:

Gen. 44:32 $\epsilon\omega\pi \lambda\iota\psi\text{TEMENQ} \text{ZAPOK} \text{NTATAZOQ} \text{MPEK-M}\theta\theta...$

Gen. 44:7 $\text{NNEC}\omega\pi\iota \text{NNEK}\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\tau\iota \text{NTOT}\iota\pi\iota \text{M}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda\iota$.

Obs.

(1) In Oxyrhynchite, the Conjunction is even found as a post-prepositional *rectum* form (SCHENKE 1996:115f.). This exceeds even the Bohairic "that" distribution range.

(2) In Nitrian Bohairic, we find the (conjunction in injunctive and jussive roles (e.g. De Vis I 83, II 130); the apodotic role, also attested in non-literary sources, e.g. the Epiphanius letters; also Demetrius, (De Vis I 168), a superordinative role attested from Late Egyptian onward; and the typically Bohairic sequencing "so that" role (e.g. De Vis II 171).

(3) The Conjunction in Demotic (SPIEGELBERG 1922/1925 §140-153, JOHNSON 1976: 282ff.): protatic roles, SPIEGELBERG §495), final (§149); following prepositions — attested early, but fully established by Roman Demotic (§148); rarely adnominal (§151; see JOHNSON 1976:294f.); Injunctive §152 — this is hardly a "modal" role in the Indo-European sense, *pace* LOPRIENO 1995:95, 229). All these are definitely compatible with a "that"-form core function.

(c) Verbal nominalization bases.

(1) $\epsilon\text{PEQ-}$ alone is in our corpus not a "personal" (that is, finitized), but a causative infinitive: Ex. 7:3 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon\text{PEPE}\eta\text{HT} \text{M}\Phi\alpha\text{PA}\omega \text{N}\psi\text{OT} \text{OTOT} \dagger \text{N}\lambda\theta\text{ROT}\alpha\psi\alpha\iota \text{N}\lambda\epsilon\text{-NAMHINI}$.

⁶¹ The Conjunction "carrying on" in *protasi* is familiar in all Coptic dialects (Ex. 21:18, Lev. 7:18, 25:26, Deut. 17:2 etc.). Cf. a *que-* form carrying on the conditional protasis in French (TOGBY 1982 §651, following Tobler).

⁶² Cf. the prospective "that"-deliberative questions in Modern Greek (ROUCHOTA 1993), Arabic, Modern Hebrew: a mediterranean isogloss?

However, it is the basis of two formalized converbs, namely $\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\varphi$ - and $\epsilon\pi\chi\iota\eta\theta\rho\epsilon\varphi$ -.

Obs.

(1) See POLOTSKY 1987:157ff. $\tau\rho\epsilon\varphi$ - has in Sahidic a broad syntactic range: as Rheme of NS e.g. (Shenoute ed. Young 1993, 129), as Non-Existant (Sirach 40:29), as immediate object (Mt. 20:32, Luc. 6:31), and, of course, following determinators including demonstratives (II Cor. 7:11 etc.).

(2) The Portuguese *infinito pessoal* e.g. (*o*) *folares*: a "syntactic substantive", homonym of the fut. subjunctive, is register-marked "assim indica che és mal educado" (see BRAKEL 1981:199). It recalls the Coptic finitized infinitive in many respects: it occurs following prepositions, the definite article, and generally as a versatile "that"-form: see FLASCHE 1947, BRAKEL 1981:210 on its junctural properties; see LEDGEWAY 1998, on the history of the form (which is an isogloss extending to Old Neapolitan, Sardic, Calabrian and more). The total replacement of the infinitive by a "that"-clause, which however is not "morphologized" into a new, finitized infinitive, is familiar from the Balkanic *Sprachbund* (Modern Greek *vá*-).

(2) $\chi\iota\eta$ - + Lexeme does not derive a generic notion name, but a true lexicalized verbal substantive. Unlike the infinitive itself, to which $\chi\iota\eta$ - adds a feature of concreteness ("act of", "instance of"), it is not usually determinated as a generic by π -, unless in the converbal syntagms with prepositions (below) or in the π - η - association⁶³. It has a full determination range, singular and plural numbers, deixis, possessive articles (this is perhaps its most striking concretization feature, with the possessor the *agens* of the verbal action), quantifiers, *\eta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota* etc. The form renders Greek verbal nouns and verbal abstracts, infinitives and subordinate clauses. Apparently, $\chi\iota\eta$ - (+ Lexeme) subsumes two homonyms. The masculine is highly grammaticalized and hardly variable; the less common feminine $\eta\chi\iota\eta$ -, $\tau\chi\iota\eta$ - (η -/ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ -) is as a rule a more concrete ("manner of..."), a true lexical verbal noun. Plurals, possessives, even zero determination signal a third case, of *de-grammaticalization*:

Gen. 9:16 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\chi\iota\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\iota\ \eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (Greek infinitive).

Gen. 3:16 $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\omega\pi\iota\ \chi\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\ \eta\chi\iota\eta\ \pi\iota\chi\iota\eta\tau\alpha\theta\theta\circ$ (Greek η $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$).

Gen. 4:7 $\pi\epsilon\varphi\chi\iota\eta\tau\alpha\theta\theta\circ\ \epsilon\varphi\epsilon\omega\pi\iota\ \chi\alpha\theta\alpha\kappa$ (Greek η $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$).

Gen. 11:10 $\eta\iota\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\chi\iota\eta\eta\mu\iota\varsigma$ (Greek $\alpha\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$).

⁶³ Athanasius of Qūs presents Bohairic $\pi\chi\iota\eta$ - + INF in correspondence to the Sahidic infinitive: see BAUER 1972:176f.

Gen. 30:30 **ῥΕΝΠΑΞΙΝΙ ΕῤΟΤΗ ΕΡΟΚ** (Greek ἐπὶ τῷ ποδί μου).

ΝΙΞΙΝΔΦΟ Gen. 25:12.

ΚΑΤΑΠΑΙΞΙΝΨΙΝΙ Gen. 43:7.

ῥΕΝΟῤΞΙΝΤΩΟῤΝΟῤ Num. 10:6 (= Vat).

ΞΙΝΕΡΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ Lev. 16:29.

ῥΕΝΠΕΚΞΙΝΙ Ex. 34:24 (vs. **ΠΞΙΝΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕ**- Num. 33:38).

ΠΕΚΞΙΝΜΩΥΙ ΕΒΟΛ Deut. 28:5, 33:18 (vs. **ΠΙΞΙΝΜΩΥΙ** Ex. 33:8, Gen. 33:14).

ΠΕΦΞΙΝΕΡΦΜΕῤΙ Lev. 2:9.

ΝΟῤΞΙΝΦΩΥΕΝ ΤΗΡΟῤ Num. 4:27 (vs. **ΝΟῤΦΩΥΕΝ** 4:32, **Π/ΠΙΦΩΥΕΝ ΝΤΕ**- 4:28, 33).

ΝΑΞΙΝΑΡΕΞ Lev. 22:9.

ΠΙΞΙΝΔΩΙΛΙ ΝΤΕ- Ex. 12:40.

ΤΑΛΩΟῤ...ΝΞΙΝΤΑΛΟ Ḃ Lev. 24:6.

NB: **ΤΕΦΞΙΝΨΑΞΙ** Deut. 28:49 (= Vat) = "his manner of speaking", "language"; **ΤΕΚΞΙΝΕΡΡΩΜΙ** De Vis II 10 "the manner of your becoming human".

(d) Converbs: Prospectives (non-factive) and Scenario Eeventives.

The sheer number and variety of converbal forms in the continuum of consecutive, final (intention, purpose and goal), generally prospective and sequencing "that" in our corpus and in all types of Bohairic is amazing, and greater than in Sahidic. The converbs are:

Bohairic:

ΕΘΡΕΦ-

Ε- INFINITIVE.

ΕΠ- INFINITIVE.

ΕΠΞΙΝ- INFINITIVE.

ΕΠΞΙΝΤΕΦ-

ΕΠΞΙΝΘΡΕΦ-

(**ΕΠΤΡΕ-** is yet another form attested outside the corpus: Rom. 15:13, I Cor. 10:13, Ez. 16:26).

Sahidic:

ΕΤΡΕΦ-

Ε- INFINITIVE.

ΕΠ- INFINITIVE.

(1) **Ε-** + (**ΨΤΕΜ**) + **infinitive**: often conditioned, i.e. valential; appositive; adnominal. Expresses something like lowest-rank finality — specifying the import, purport, force, effect; the non-factive scope and/or implication of an action. Usually corresponds to Greek infinitives, but

ζωστ/δε ε- INFINITIVE does usually, but not always have ὥστε + infinitive as its original. In more detail:

(a) Valential (second or third actant) or semi-valential. Governing verbs (selection):

ζονγεν, ἥνιατς, ψενα-, ιης, μοψι, ταπο, νοπι, ι, χω-
λεμ, οταρτοτ, χω, οτωψ, μεπι, κα†, σωтем (ηα-), ζω,
ωрк, ψδεμζом/ημον-ψζом, οταρτοτ=, οτωρη. Negatived
infinitive: χωп, ζωψ, ορι, ιρι, ерзал, ηψот, тарно, ωрк.

Ex. 8:25 **μπεροταρτοτκ δε еерзал еψтеμοτωρη мпи-
λαос εβολ.**

Deut. 5:1 **ερετενεαρεζ εαιτοσ** (Greek infinitive).

(b) Appositive, also to a cataphoric neutric pronoun (rarer than in Sahidic): **ηανес ε-** infinitive etc. Gen. 29:26, 44:17, 31:7.

(c) ζωστ/δε ε- INFINITIVE (as a rule = Greek; also rarely Greek τοῦ + infinitive) Gen. 5:7, 23:8, Ex. 6:13:27, 30:18:38, 29:36, 12:42, 36:2, 38:28, 39:3, Lev. 5:22, 15:32, 16:10, 17:4, 18:20, 23:37, 25:28, 27:2, 26:44, 20:4, Deut. 28:55.

Specific function: often “to the extent of”, “even up to...”:

Gen. 34:22 **ζενφαι сенаини ммон ... еероψωпи неман
ζωστε еψωпи нотлаос нотωт тнроψ** (Greek ὥστε εἶναι)
ζина нтенсоψе-ненζωот.

Num. 7:1 **αψωпи ζенпиероот етаρζωк нδε-μωτснс
ζωсае етаρο н†скннн ератс** (Greek ὥστε + infinitive).

Deut. 28:54f. **еқеервасканос ζенпeqвал епeqсон нем
теqсζими ... ζωсае еψтем† нотαι ммωот** (Greek ὥστε + in-
finitive).

Deut. 12:20 **αψωπнereπiотннн нδε-таψтхн ζωστε еоте-
маз** (Greek ὥστε + infinitive).

(d) Adnominal (also valential): Deut. 29:4 **ζανβαλ εναψ ... ζан-
маψζ еσωтем.**

Ex. 35:25 **отор сζими нивен ηαβн ζеннесмети еерιοпн.**

(e) Actantial: Num. 5:8 **εψωп δε ммонтeπiρωми нζαqиэнт
ммаш ζωсае е†** (Greek ὥστε + infinitive).

(f) Scope of an action (“with the effect of...”, consequential, some-
times verging on purpose or goal); action plan; import of action etc.

Ex. 7:14 **αqρoψ нδε-пρηт мфараω еψтемоτωρη мпи-
лаос εβολ.**

Num. 25:1 **αqсωq нδε-пилаос еерпорнеψи.**

Deut. 4:25 **отор нтетeпiри мпиетζωот мпeмθo мп̄с
петeннот† е†-ζωνт нαз** (Greek infinitive).

Ex. 35:1 **...εταρζοτοψ εαιтоψ** (vs. επαίτοψ Deut. 27:26).

Deut. 18:9 $\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\rho\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\eta\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$.

Ex. 32:12 $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \dots\ \epsilon\delta\omicron\theta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\gamma\rho\eta\iota\ \chi\iota\eta\iota\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

Ex. 9:17 $\epsilon\tau\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\ \eta\theta\omicron\kappa\ \kappa\iota\rho\iota\ \mu\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\psi\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$.

Gen. 43:18 $\dots\epsilon\varsigma\iota\tau\epsilon\eta\ \eta\delta\omicron\eta\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\uparrow\mu\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\eta\ \mu\beta\omega\kappa$ (Greek infinitive... $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ + infinitive).

Deut. 9:1 $\eta\theta\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\epsilon\rho\delta\iota\eta\iota\omicron\rho\ \mu\pi\iota\omicron\rho\lambda\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma\ \mu\tilde{\theta}\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\psi\epsilon\ \epsilon\delta\omicron\tau\eta\ \epsilon\epsilon\rho\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\alpha\eta\eta\iota\psi\uparrow\ \eta\epsilon\theta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (Greek infinitive + infinitive).

Deut. 30:10 $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\kappa\omega\alpha\eta\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\ \tau\varsigma\mu\eta\ \mu\pi\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\kappa\eta\omicron\upsilon\uparrow\ \epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\rho\iota\ \eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\ \tau\eta\rho\omega$.

Deut. 34:11 $\eta\iota\mu\eta\eta\iota\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \eta\iota\psi\tilde{\theta}\eta\rho\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\omega\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \epsilon\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\eta\mu\kappa\alpha\varsigma\iota\ \eta\chi\eta\mu\iota$.

(2) $\epsilon\pi$ + infinitive: not negatived, no *agens* expressed. *Not valential* (this seems to be distinctive).

Probably indicates marked intended and desired purpose: “for/with the (express) purpose of”: see above, §3.2 (a), for documentation. Note the following contrasting pairs:

$\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$ Ex. 16:33 (Greek $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\rho\eta\varsigma\iota\upsilon$) vs. $\epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ Deut. 28:45 (Greek infinitive).

$\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Deut. 27:26 (Greek $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ + infinitive) vs. the valential $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Ex. 35:1 (Greek infinitive).

$\epsilon\pi\delta\omicron\theta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\gamma$ Deut. 13:9 (Greek infinitive) vs. Ex. 16:3, 17:3 $\epsilon\delta\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon\beta\ \eta\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\eta\eta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$, $\epsilon\delta\omicron\tau\beta\epsilon\eta$.

(3) $\epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta$ + infinitive: not negatived, no *agens* expressed. *Not valential*. “For the purpose of”. When following ϵ - + infinitive, then sequelling and/or higher-rank goal: “and so...”.

Gen. 43:18 $\dots\epsilon\varsigma\iota\tau\epsilon\eta\ \eta\delta\omicron\eta\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\uparrow\mu\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\eta\ \mu\beta\omega\kappa$ (Greek infinitive + infinitive... $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ + infinitive).

Ex. 35:35 $\alpha\tau\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\iota\ \eta\varsigma\omicron\tilde{\theta}\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\kappa\alpha\uparrow\ \epsilon\theta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\ \eta\eta\iota\gamma\beta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\omega$ (Greek infinitive).

$\epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\eta\iota\eta\iota$ Lev. 8:15.

$\epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\eta$ Gen. 3:22.

Num. 10:2 $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\psi\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \eta\alpha\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\theta\omega\upsilon\uparrow\ \eta\uparrow\varsigma\eta\eta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\omega\varsigma\ \eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\uparrow\mu\alpha\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ (Greek infinitive + infinitive).

Lev. 17:11 $\epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\eta\tau\omega\beta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\eta\tau\omega\upsilon\beta\omicron$ (not in the Greek).

Lev. 14:23 $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \dots\ \epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\eta\tau\omega\upsilon\beta\omicron\gamma$ — also Lev. 17:11, Lev. 13:59 $\epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\eta\tau\omega\upsilon\beta\omicron\gamma$, Lev. 14:49 $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\iota\ \epsilon\pi\delta\iota\eta\eta\tau\omega\upsilon\beta\omicron\ \mu\pi\iota\eta$.

Lev. 16:27 **נַאִי עֲלֵתֶנָּה פִּנְסוֹתָא עֲשֹׂתָא עֲלֵינָא** **בְּזֵל**.

Lev. 24:7 **עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲלֵינָא עֲשֵׂה**.

(4) ΕΠΔΙΝΤΕ + infinitive: pronominal *agens* only. Not negated. Not valential.

A rare, stylistically marked form (P in constant consensus with Vat), the etymology of which is obscure, unless we have here the morphological apparatus of the Conjunctive (the syntagm of ΔΙ-Ν- with the Conjunctive would be historically embarrassing, but well in accord with the substantival role of the latter). It usually seems to express, in a solemn tone (usually a Divine Locutor), not so much purpose as the inner significance of an action, which may be part of a Divine Plan or Purpose.

1st sgl. Ex. 16:4 **עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה מִן הַיָּד עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲלֵינָא עֲשֵׂה**... (= Vat) (Greek ὅπως).

Lev. 26:45 **עֲלֵינָא עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה** (= Vat) (Greek τοῦ + infinitive).

2nd pl. Lev. 26:1 **עֲלֵינָא עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה** (= Vat) (Greek infinitive).

Lev. 20:26 **עֲלֵינָא עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה** (= Vat) (Greek infinitive).

3rd sgl. Num. 19:13 **עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה** (= Vat) (Greek different).

3rd pl. Gen. 1:15 **עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה** (= Vat) (Greek ὥστε + infinitive).

Obs.

Note the following catalogue (still in need of structuring and collating) of broadly final, sequelling constructions in Nitrian Bohairic, on the narrow basis of De Vis, Cat. and Sinuthii Vita. Obviously, corpus-specific study is *de rigueur*. The system hinted at here is even richer than that of the Pentateuch: we find no less than twenty-six affirmative, seven negative forms, with often surprising compatibilities:

ε- + INF

De Vis I 76 etc.

επ + INF.

De Vis I 109 etc.

ε(ϣτεμ)ερε-

De Vis II 147, SV 41.

Conjunctive

De Vis II 276, SV 74.

εΠΔΙΝ- + LEXEME

De Vis II 140.

εΠΔΙΝΤΕ-

De Vis II 177.

εΠΔΙΝΤΕ + Conjunctive

Cat. 95.

ΜΗΠΟΤΕ + Conjunctive

De Vis I 134, 139.

ΞΙΝΑ + Conjunctive

Cat. 4, 18, De Vis II 68.

ΞΩCTE + Conjunctive

De Vis II 82.

ΞΕΧΑΣ + Conjunctive

De Vis I 125, II 100.

ΞΕΧΑΣ ΕΦΕ-

De Vis II 247, SV 61.

ΞΙΝΑ ΕΦΕ-

SV 17.

ΜΠΕΡΧΑΣ + Conjunctive

De Vis II 100.

ΞΩCΔ/Τ/ΞΕ ΕΦΝΑ-

Cat. 25, De Vis I 123.

ΞΩCΞΕ ΑΦΝΑ-

De Vis I 24.

ΞΩCT/ΔΕ ΕΘΡΕΦ-

Cat. 95.

ΞΙΝΑ Ε(ΨΤΕΜ)ΘΡΕΦ-

Cat. 26.

ΞΕ- + ΕΦΕ-

SV 32.

ΞΕ-ΝΝΕΦ-

De Vis II 137.

ΞΕ- + Conjunctive

De Vis II 146.

ΞΕ-ΕΦΝΑ-

De Vis II 257.

ΞΕ- ΑΦΝΑ-

De Vis II 171, 212, SV 60.

ΞΕ-ΞΙΝΑ ΕΘΡΕ-

Cat. 84, 90.

ΞΕ-ΞΙΝΑ ΝΝΕΦ-

Cat. 74, De Vis I 124.

ΞΕ-ΞΙΝΑ ΕΦΕ-

Cat. 149.

ΞΕ-ΞΙΝΑ ΕΦΝΑ-

Cat. 75.

ΞΕ-ΞΙΝΑ + Conjunctive

Cat. 7, 26.

ΞΕ-ΞΙΝΑ ΜΗΠΩC + Conjunctive

Cat. 27.

ΞΕ-ΕΘΡΕ-

Cat. 26, 28.

ΨΑΤΕ- as sequelling or final "that" form

De Vis I 26, II 136.

(5) ⲉⲟⲣⲉ-/ⲉⲟⲣⲉ-: negativable (but rarely negated?)

This form is especially difficult to evaluate functionally. It has a subtly articulated semantic spectrum — not primarily final or consecutive — and syntactic roles similar to those of ⲉ- + infinitive, with the essentially junctural difference of either concurring (linkage) or discarding (delimitation) with its preceding nominal or pronominal environment.

For Coptic ⲉⲟⲣⲉ-, the Greek text has as a rule an infinitive or εἰς + verbal noun; but the former is after all also the Greek correspondent of the simple ⲉ- + infinitive in Coptic. The differentiation of (ⲭⲱⲥⲧⲉ) ⲉ+ INFINITIVE and (ⲭⲱⲥⲧⲉ) ⲉⲟⲣⲉⲓ- is thus an internal Coptic question. In general, and in superficial view, we find: restrictive “for the purpose of” specification; “with respect to...” “in that...” — contents, object actant; apposition to cataphoric neutric -ⲥ-; appositive “namely, that”; “that” as first target/goal or sub-goal, not main final purpose; often caused or enabled consequence (“with the effect, that...”).

However, I suggest for ⲉⲟⲣⲉ- a typical and distinctive “*causative*” *sequel* reading, in a broad spectrum ranging from downright factitivity through various grades of causation to “may” / “can” modalities; the mainframe actor enabling, occasioning, bringing about, inducing or contributing to the action by the -ⲣⲉⲓ- one. In this interpretation, the Coptic text introduces the causative semantic category *in divergence from the Greek text*, which is enriched by the translation (which is also, and primarily, an *interpretation*):

Num. 35:6:11:15 ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲟⲣⲉⲓⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲟ “so that he can/may flee there” (Greek infinitives).

Gen. 19:20 ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲧ ⲉⲟⲣⲓⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲟ “so as to enable me to flee”.

Gen. 1:14 ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲉ-ⲭⲁⲛⲣⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲛⲓⲧⲁ-ⲁⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲟⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓ “that they may...”.

Lev. 19:29 ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲱⲣⲓ ⲉⲟⲣⲉⲥⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲛ “so as to make her a fornicator” (Greek ἐκπορνεῦσαι αὐτήν).

Num. 21:29 ⲁⲟⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣⲓ ⲉⲟⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ (Greek infinitive) “so that they may be saved”.

Gen. 36:7 ⲛⲁⲣⲉ-ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲟⲣⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲓⲟⲩⲙⲁ (Greek τοῦ + infinitive) “to permit their living in the same place”.

Ex. 15:1 ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲟⲣⲟⲩⲁⲟⲥ (Greek τῷ λέγειν v.l. λέγον-τες) “to make them say”.

Deut. 4:14 ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲭⲁⲛⲭⲁⲡ... ⲉⲟⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ... contrast with ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓ ⲫⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲛⲣⲟ-ⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ... “to bring you to observe them” (Greek infinitives).

Lev. 4:3 **ΝΤΕΦΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΕΘΕΟΤΛΑΟΣ ΕΡΝΟΒΙ** “to make a people sin” (Greek τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἁμαρτεῖν).

Gen. 3:23 **ΑΠΘΕ Φ† ΟΘΟΡΠQ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΙΠΑΡΑΔΙCOC ΜΠΟΤ-ΝΟQ ΕΘΕΡΕΦΕΡΩΒ ΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ** (Greek infinitive) “to make him work the land”, sim. Gen. 2:15.

Deut. 20:19 **ΕΩΠ ΔΕ ΑΚΩΑΝΖΕΜCΙ CΑΒΟΛ ΝΟΤΒΑΚΙ... ΕΒΩΤC ΕΡΟC ΕΘΡΕΚΖΙΤC** “that you may take it” — final goal.

Deut. 4:20 **ΑΦΕΝΘΗΝΟΤ ... ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΕΘΡΕΤΕΝΕΡΟΤ-ΛΑΟC ΝΑQ** “that you may make a people unto Him” — final goal.

Deut. 8:16 **...ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕQΤΖΕΜΚΟΚ ΟΤΟΖ ΝΤΕΦΕΡΠΙΡΑΖΙΝ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΘΡΕΠΙΠΕΤΝΑΝΕQ ΩΠΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΠΖΑΕ ΝΤΕΝΙΕΖΟΟΤ** (Greek... καὶ εὖ σε ποιήσῃ) “so that good may/can befall you” — final goal.

Lev. 22:13 **ΑCΩΑΝΕΡΧΗΡΑ ΕΑΤΖΙΤC ΕΒΟΛ ΕΩΤΕΜΘΡΕΔΡΟΔ ΩΠΙ ΝΑC** (so: Vat **ΕΩΤΕΜΘΡΕ-**) “so that she can have no progeny” — a rare negative instance.

Num. 14:3 **ΕΘΒΕΟΤ QΝΑΟΛΤΕΝ ΝΔΕ-ΠΘΕ ΕΔΟΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΕΘΡΕΝΖΕΙ ΞΕΝΠΒΩΤC** “so as to make us fall”.

Adnominal, appositive, contentual, expanding cataphoric neuter. Not causative:

Gen. 47:29 **ΑΤΞΩΝΤ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΕΖΟΟΤ ΕΘΡΕQΜΟΤ.**

Gen. 25:24 **ΑΤΜΟΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕ-ΝΕCΕΖΟΟΤ ΕΘΡΕCΜΙΩΙ** sim. 47:29.

Lev. 11:39 **ΕΩΠ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΟΤΟΝ ΜΟΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΟΤΙ ΕΘΡΕΤΕΝΟΤΟΜΟΤ** — adnominal! (Greek ὃ ἐστί ὑμῖν τοῦτο φαγεῖν) “that are edible for you”.

Gen. 18:25 **ΜΦΩΡ ΜΠΕΡΙΡΙ ΝΘΟΚ ΜΠΑΙCΑΔΙ ΕΘΡΕΚΞΩΤΕΒ ΝΟΤΘΜΗΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΤΑCΕΒΗC.**

Gen. 24:23:25 **ΑΝ-ΟΤΟΝ-ΤΟΠΟC ΞΑΤΕΝΠΕΙΩΤ ΕΘΡΕΝΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ** “so as to enable us to...”?

Gen. 16:3 **ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ-Ι ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΕΘΡΕΑΒΡΑΜ ΑΙΤΟΤ** — a unique alternant of **ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕ-** (= Vat) (Greek τοῦ + infinitive).

Lev. 4:27 **ΘΗ ΕΤCΩΕ ΑΝ ΕΘΡΕCΩΠΙ.**

Deut. 4:42 (**Γ ΜΒΑΚΙ**) **ΕΘΡΕQΦΩΤ ΕΜΑΤ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΡΕQΞΩΤΕΒ.**

Deut. 30:20 **ΦΔΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΩΝΞ ΝΕΜ ΠΑΩΑΙ ΝΤΕΝΕΚΕΖΟΟΤ ΕΘΡΕΚΩΠΙ ΖΙΞΕΜΠΙΚΑΖΙ** - not purpose, but specification of **ΦΔΙ** (evident in the articulated Greek τὸ κατοικεῖν σε).

Gen. 2:18 **ΝΑΝΕC ΑΝ ΕΘΡΕΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΩΠΙ ΜΜΑΤΑΤQ.**

Gen. 34:22 $\Sigma\epsilon\eta\tilde{\varphi}\alpha\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\iota\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota\ \dots\ \epsilon\theta\rho\omega\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\ \gamma\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \nu\omicron\tau\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\tau\omega\tau\ \tau\eta\rho\omega\tau\ \gamma\iota\alpha\ \nu\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\tau\beta\epsilon\text{-}\nu\epsilon\iota\gamma\omega\tau\tau$.

Gen. 17:19 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\mu\iota\ \nu\tau\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\ \nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\omicron\tau\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\ \nu\epsilon\iota\epsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\theta\rho\iota\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \nu\alpha\gamma\ \nu\iota\omicron\tau\uparrow$ sim. 26:29 (negative).

Also Num. 14:3, Ex. 8:14, 15:1, Gen. 19:19, Lev. 4:22:27, Deut. 5:29.

Valential, actantial (rare, in contrast to ϵ - + infinitive).

Ex. 9:28 $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\delta\gamma\ \epsilon\theta\rho\omega\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \nu\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\text{-}\nu\iota\sigma\mu\eta\ \nu\tau\epsilon\pi\tilde{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma}$ (Greek $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ + infinitive).

Ex. 31:16 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\ \dots\ \epsilon\iota\alpha\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\eta\iota\ \epsilon\theta\rho\omega\alpha\iota\tau\omega\tau$ final goal.

Restrictive specification of respect, import, force etc. (rare, compared with ϵ - + infinitive):

Deut. 12:4 $\mu\iota\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\sigma\omicron\tau\pi\gamma\ \nu\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\text{-}\pi\tilde{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma}\ \epsilon\theta\rho\omega\tau\mu\omicron\tau\uparrow\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho\alpha\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\omega$ — not purpose, but restriction of respect. Sim. Deut. 12:21:26, 14:23.

Goal — specific purpose? also $\gamma\omega\sigma\alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\gamma$:-

Lev. 11:45 $\tilde{\varphi}\eta\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \Sigma\epsilon\eta\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota\ \nu\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \epsilon\theta\rho\iota\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \nu\omega\tau\epsilon\iota\ \nu\iota\omicron\tau\uparrow\ \omicron\tau\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omega\pi\iota\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omega\tau\alpha\beta$ (Greek infinitive).

Ex. 30:4 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \nu\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\ \gamma\iota\iota\iota\psi\epsilon\iota\gamma\omega\uparrow\ \gamma\omega\sigma\alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon\theta\rho\omega\gamma\iota\tau\gamma\ \nu\tilde{\alpha}\rho\eta\iota\ \nu\tilde{\alpha}\eta\iota\tau\omega$ also 37:5, 37:14 — specific purpose; thus, different from $\gamma\omega\sigma\alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon$ - + infinitive.

Lev. 20:5 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma\ \nu\epsilon\mu\ \omicron\tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\uparrow\mu\alpha\uparrow\ \nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\gamma\ \gamma\omega\sigma\alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\omicron\rho\kappa\epsilon\iota\iota\ \epsilon\iota\iota\alpha\rho\chi\omega\iota\iota$.

In cases of Theme-switching, or any Theme clarification, $\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\gamma$ -may have allomorphic conditioned status, in complementary distribution with ϵ - + infinitive (this also applies to several of the exx. above):

Gen. 4:15 $\alpha\pi\tilde{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma}\ \chi\alpha\text{-}\omicron\tau\mu\eta\iota\ \nu\kappa\alpha\iota\iota\ \epsilon\psi\tau\epsilon\mu\theta\rho\omega\tau\tilde{\sigma}\theta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\gamma\ \nu\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\tau\iota\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\mu\gamma$ or, "so as not to let him be killed".

Gen. 24:23:25 $\alpha\iota\text{-}\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \tilde{\alpha}\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\iota\mu\tau\omicron\iota\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota$.

Gen. 2:18 $\nu\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\ \epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\iota\omega\mu\iota\ \psi\omega\pi\iota\ \mu\mu\alpha\omega\tau\gamma$.

Ex. 32:13 $\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\gamma\ \alpha\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\eta\gamma\ \mu\pi\omega\tilde{\alpha}\rho\omega\tilde{\alpha}\ \omicron\tau\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\theta\rho\omega\alpha\mu\omicron\iota\ \mu\mu\omicron\gamma\ \psi\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon\gamma$.

Gen. 30:41 **ΔΙΑΚΩΒ ΧΑΝΙΩΒΩ† ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΝΝΙΕCΩΘ ΝΣΡΗΙ
ΣΕΝΝΙΜΑΝΤCΟ ΕΘΡΟΘΓΙΩΥΩΘ.**

Excuse: causatives

As said, the auxiliary infinitive **-ΘΡΕQ-** is in our corpus broadly causative (ranging from causative proper, through factitive to a "let" permissive and "may" or "can" modality), in approximate opposition to the lexemic morphological causatives⁶⁴. We find the following lexemes more commonly predicated by **-ΘΡΕQ-** in the corpus. It will be observed that, even in the unusual case of the attestation of a "lexical" (i.e. morphological) causative for the same root, no real synchronic concurrence exists between the two, since the lexical items are valued within the sublexical (including non-causative) systemic frames — their meanings are different from **-ΘΡΕQ-** + lexeme. This difference is more pronounced in Bohairic than in Sahidic:

ΕΡ- Gen. 12:2, 13:16, 19:19 (**ΕΡΝΙΩ†**), 34:16 (**ΕΡΠΟΡΝΕΩ†**), Deut. 28:29 (**ΕΡΩΦΗΡΙ**), 41:51 (**ΕΡΠΩΒΩ**), Deut. 28:21 (**ΕΡΘC**), Ex. 23:33 (**ΕΡΝΟΒΙ**), Num. 33:54 (**ΕΡΚΟ†**). This case is of special interest, since the **-ΡΕ-** segment in **ΘΡΕ-** is after all the allo-form of **ΙΡΙ/ΕΡ-** governed by the proclitic **Τ-** (i.e. **†**); **ΘΡΟΕ-** is not concurrent here⁶⁵ — this is a conditioned case. Quality verbs are prevalent.

†- Deut. 22:19 **†ΟCΙ** (**ΤΤΟ** not attested in Bohairic).

ΓΙ-ΔΡΟΔ Lev. 19:19: conditioned.

ΑΥΔΙ Gen. 3:16, 16:10, 17:2:6:20, 22:17, Ex. 11:9:10, 32:13, Lev. 25:16, Deut. 1:10, 13:17, 17:16:17, Num. 26:54, Lev. 26:9 (**ΤΑ[Ν]Ω**).

ΑΙΔΙ Gen. 17:20, 26:22, 41:52, 48:4, Lev. 26:9 (**ΤΑΙΟ**).

CΒΟΚ Lev. 25:16 (**ΤCΒΚΟ** not attested).

ΝΩΟΤ Deut. 2:30, Ex. 4:21, 7:3, 9:12:34, 10:1:20, Deut. 2:30.

ΜΤΟΝ Deut. 5:33.

ΔΩΝΤ, ΜΒΟΝ Num. 14:23, 20:24, Deut. 32:41.

⁶⁴ According to Polotsky, Bohairic "prefers [**ΘΡΕQ-**] to the lexical causatives" (POLOTSKY 1987:146); but it is difficult to see how one can quantify this choice, given the basic difference of the two incommensurables — a syntactical construction, by definition productive, and a restricted lexical class. To my knowledge, we hardly ever find variant reading of the two "causatives". It is of course true that many lexical causatives, familiar in Sahidic, are not or not yet attested in our Bohairic sources. I list in the corpus (the most common) **ΘΕΒΙΟ, ΤΖΕΜΚΟ, ΤΑΚΟ, ΘΗΕCΙΟ, ΘΑΜΙΟ, ΤΟΥΒΟ, ΤΑΡΚΟ, ΤΑΟΥΟ, ΤΑΝΖΟ, ΤΕΜΜΟ, ΤΟΥΖΟ, ΤΑΖΝΟ, ΤΑCΘΟ, ΤΦΟ, ΤCΟ, ΔΦΟ, ΤΑΜΟ, ΤΑΔΡΟ, ΤΑΖΟ, ΤΖΕΜCΟ**.

⁶⁵ Rarely in the Present: Num. 14:11 **ΩΑΘΝΑΘ ΔΕ ΠΑΙΔΑΟC ΘΡΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΜΒΟΝ**.

ϣωπι Lev. 23:43, Gen. 47:11:21 (ⲁϣⲱ).

ϣωⲟⲩ Ex. 11:21.

ⲑⲓⲛ Deut. 32:42.

ⲟⲩⲟⲥⲑⲉⲛ Ex. 34:24.

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲓ Deut. 24:5.

ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ Deut. 12:10.

ϣⲱⲧ Ex. 23:27.

ⲓ ⲉⲡϣⲱ Gen. 2:9.

ⲕⲁ-ⲣⲱⲓ Num. 13:30.

ⲧⲱⲙⲧ Ex. 23:27.

ⲉⲱⲛⲧ Gen. 28:10:13, Lev. 2:8.

Obs.

POLOTSKY 1930:876 considers De Vis II 47 ⲙⲉⲣⲏⲧ ⲉⲟⲣⲉ- a "Sahidicism" for the properly Nitrian ⲙⲉⲣⲏⲧ + Conj., as in Ez.18:23.; however, I see no reason to assume here a Bohairic calque of ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ-.

(6) ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛ- + Lexeme. Rare

Ex. 30:15 ... ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲓⲥⲩⲟⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲥ

Lev. 4:27 ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲩⲱⲕⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲥ ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ ... ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲓⲉⲛⲧⲟⲕⲏ ... ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲥϣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲟⲣⲉⲥϣⲱⲡ.

Num. 1:51 ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧ ... ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧ.

Num. 7:89 ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲙⲱⲧⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲕⲏⲏⲏ ... ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉⲥ...

(7) ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ- / ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩ pronominal or nominal *agens*

Very rare (see above, for ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩ). Like ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩ, the form seems to express the inner significance or more important aspects of an action:

Lev. 15:23 ⲉⲓⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ (= Vat) — remarkably, a rare case of anaphoric ⲡⲓ- determination.

Lev. 15:31 ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲡⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩⲉⲙ.

Lev. 23:22 ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲕⲙⲡⲥⲱⲩⲡ ⲙⲡⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩⲱⲥⲉ.

Num. 5:21 ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲥ ⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲅⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉⲥ ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉⲥ ⲣⲱⲩⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲕⲟⲩ.

(8) ⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩ- pronominal or nominal *agens*: an eventive scenario converb: "in the event of", "on the occasion of" — usually calamitous happenings ("scenario" including Narrative proper but also

preceptual instruction, prophecy and so on). Continued by the Preterite **αφ-**. As a rule, the corresponding Greek form is **ἐν τῷ + (αὐτὸν...)** + infinitive.

Usually, following the plot-carrying verb, as adjunctal circumstance (on a broad semantic range, most typically explicative):

Gen. 19:33 **ΝΑΦΕΜΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕCΕΝΚΟΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΕC-ΤΩΝC.**

Ex. 34:29 **ΑΦΘΙΩΘ ... ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΦ† CΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΑΦ.**

Lev. 26:25f. **ΕΘΕ†ΘΗΝΟΘ ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΝΕΝΔΙΔ ΝΤΕΝΕΤΕΝΔΑΔΙ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΟΤΖΕΔΖΕΔΘΗΝΟΘ...**

Gen. 32:20 **ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕCΑΔΙ ΝΕΜ ΗCΑΘ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΤΕΝ-ΔΕΜΦ.**

Lev. 18:28 **ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΨΤΕΜΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΖΡΟΨ ΕΔΕΝΘΗΝΟΘ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΕΦΜΕCΤΕΘΗΝΟΘ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΤΕΤΕΝCΟΦΦ.**

Lev. 22:16 **ΟΘΟΖ ΕΘΕΙΝΙ ΕΔΩΘ ΝΟΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ ... ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝ-ΘΡΟΤΟΤΩΜ ΝΝΗ ΕΘΟΤΑΒ.**

Ex. 16:7 **ΟΘΟΖ ΦΝΑΘ ΝΖΑΝΑΤΟΟ†Ι ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΘ ΕΠΙΩΘ ΜΠΙΘ†C ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΦCΩΤΕΜ ΝΔΕ-ΠΘ†C ΕΝΕΤΕΝΧΡΕΜΡΕΜ...**

Num. 25:11 **ΦΙΝΝΕΟC ... ΑΦ†ΜΤΟΝ ΜΠΑΕΜΒΟΝ ... ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝ-ΘΡΕΦΧΟΖ ΕΠΑΧΟΖ.**

Num. 26:61 **ΑΦΜΟΘ ΝΔΕ-ΝΑΔΑΒ ΝΕΜ ΑΒΙΟΤΑ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝ-ΘΡΟΤΙΝΙ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΝΟΤΧΡΩΜ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ.**

Deut. 16:13 **ΠΨΑΙ ΕΚΕΑΙΦ ... ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΚΘΩΟ† ΕΣΟΤΝ...**

Deut. 9:14 **ΜΠΕΡΔΟC ΣΕΝΠΕΚΖΗ† ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΠΘ†C ΠΕΚ-ΝΟΘ† ΤΑΚΕ-ΝΑΙΕΘΝΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΤΖΗ ΜΠΕΚΖΟ...**

Lev. 20:4 **... ΝΤΟΤΩΛΙ ΝΝΟΤΒΑΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝ-ΘΡΕΦ† ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝΠΕΦΔΡΟΔ ΝΟΤΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΨΤΕΜΣΟΘΒΕΦ.**

Ex. 28:35 **ΟΘΟΖ ΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΑΑΡΩΝ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΦΨΕ-ΜΨΙ ΕΤΕCΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΕΦCΜΗ ... ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΦΨΤΕΜΜΟΘ...**

Far less usually, the converb is clause-initial, a topical circumstance “preset” (in a drastically restricted semantic range). This position of the converb (preceded by the formal **αψωπι**, in true Narrative) makes it a full constituent of the clause’s information structure, a staging and “packaging” decision of the speaker/narrator-translator:

Num. 15:18f. **ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΤΕΤΕΝΨΕ ΕΣΟΤΝ ΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ Ε†-ΝΑΕΝΘΗΝΟΘ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΣΟΤΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΟΘΟΖ ΕCΕΨΩΠΙ ΑΡΕΤΕΝ-ΨΑΝΟΤΩΜ ... ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΙΝΙ ΝΟΤΑΦΕΡΕΜΑ...**

Lev. 24:16 **ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΦΔΕΟΤΑ ΕΦΡΑΝ ΜΠΘ†C ΜΑΡΕΦΜΟΘ.**

Gen. 39:15 **ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΕΡΕΩΣΤΕΜ ΔΕ ΔΕ-ΑΙΘΙCΙ ΝΤΑCΜΗ**
ΟΘΟΖ ΑΙΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΩCΩΔΠ ΝΝΕΩΖΒΩC ΝΤΟΤ — report, not
 narrative.

Num. 26:26 **ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΟΤΖΕΔΖΕΔΘΗΝΟΤ ΣΕΝΠΙCΟΤΟ**
ΝΕΜ ΠΙΩΙΚ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΡΕΜΗ† ΝCΖΙΜΙ ΕΘΕ† ΝΝΙΩΙΚ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΣΕΝ-
ΟΘΜΑΨΙ.

Gen. 19:29 **ΑCΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΣΕΝΠΔΙΝΘΡΕΠC CΦΕΝΔΝΙΒΑΚΙ**
ΤΗΡΟΤ ... ΑΦ† ΕΡΦΜΕCΙ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ.

(9) **ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕ-** pronominal or nominal *agens* : post-eventive scenario converb. It too may be topical (this role is of course typical of **ΕΤΑΩCΤΕΜ**, the so-called “Temporal” conjugation form), but adjunctly gives relative temporal information (as a rule, the Greek has μετὰ τοῦ + (αὐτὸν) + infinitive).

Ex. 7:25 **ΑΨΜΟΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕ-Ξ ΝΕΖΟΟΤ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕΠC**
ΨΑΡΙ ΕΦΙΑΡΟ.

Ex. 18:2 **ΑΩCΙ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ-ΙΟΘΟΡ ... ΝCΕΠΦΩΡΑ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘ-**
ΡΕΩΧΑC...

Deut. 24:4 **ΝΝΕΩΨΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΕCΙC ΝΑΩ ΝCΖΙΜΙ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘ-**
ΡΕCΩΩΩ.

Lev. 13:7 **ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΑΩΨΑΝΟΨΩΤΕΒ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΜΗΝΙ ΣΕΝΠΙ-**
ΨΑΡ ΜΕΝΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕΩΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΩ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΟΨΗΒ ΕΠΔΙΝΤΟΨ-
ΒΟΩ

Lev. 14:48 **ΟΘΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΣΕΝΟΨΔΩΨ ΩΔΗΨ ΑΝ ΣΕΝΠΙΝΙ**
ΝΔΕ-ΠΙCΟΖ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΟΨCΕΛΔ-ΠΙΝΙ.

Deut. 12:30 **ΜΠΕΡΚΩ† ΝCΑΜΩΨΙ ΝCΩΟΨ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΟΨ-**
ΩΟΤΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ.

Gen. 5:4 **ΑΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΕΖΟΟΤ ΝΑΔΑΜ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕ-**
ΩΔΦΟ ΝCΗΘ...

Topical, in real Narrative only (?), following **ΑCΨΩΠΙ**, which is a “dummy” formal Narrative Carrier enabling the initial position of **ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕΩ-**. This position of the converb makes it a full constituent of the clause’s information structure, in the Narrator’s staging or “packaging” choice:

Gen. 25:11 **ΑCΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕΩΜΟΨ ΝΔΕ-ΑΒΡΑΑΜ**
ΑΦ† CΜΟΨ ΕΙCΑΑΚ.

Gen. 27:1 **ΑCΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕΩΕΡΔΕΛΛΟ ΝΔΕ-ΙCΑΑΚ**
ΟΘΟΖ ΝΕΩΒΑΛ ΑΨΕΡΖΛΟΛ ΕΦΝΑΨ ΜΒΟΛ ΑΩΜΟΨ†...

Gen. 39:5 **ΑCΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕΩΩΧΑΩ ΕΔΕΝΠΕΩΗ ...**
ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦ† CΜΟΨ ΕΠΗΙ ΜΠΙΡΕΜΕΝΧΗΜΙ.

Our converb is thus opposed to the equally topical **εταq-**, which, its conventional name notwithstanding, is not temporal and does not convey relative chronology⁶⁶:

Gen. 50:14-15 **οτοz αqταcθo νδε-ιωcηϕ εϛρηι εχημι νθοq νem νεqcnητ νη τηροτ ετατuενωοτ νemaq εθεmcπεqιωτ μεnencaθρεqθωmc mπεqιωτ ## ετατνατ δε νδε-nencnηοτ νιωcηϕ δε-αποτιωτ μοτ πεδωοτ ...**

See above, for an instance, unique in the corpus, of **μεnenca** — TIME EXPRESSION — **εθρε-** (Gen. 16:3).

⁶⁶ See GROSSMAN 2007, for an “adverbial conversion”-view of **εταq-**.

JUNCTURE FEATURES

4.1 Juncture in general. Linkage and delimitation. Levels and gradience

4.2 Juncture seams/boundaries: a brief scan in expanding scope.

4.2.1 The word as a junctural entity in Coptic: a brief note

4.2.2 Coordination and disjunction linkage

4.2.3 The bracketing link set

4.2.4 Referential linkage and cohesion: phorics

4.2.4.1 Anaphoric reference: a miscellany

4.2.4.2 The “neuter gender” signifié

4.2.4.3 Anaphoric linkage to the indefinite article: three junctures.

4.2.4.4 The case of ⲙⲉⲣⲏⲛⲓ , ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲛⲓ

4.2.4.5 The “neutric feminine overrule”

4.2.4.6 The Ⲙⲁⲓ link

4.2.4.7 Reference juncture: examination of selected Juncture Domain Frames and scopes

4.2.4.7.1 [Antecedent to Relative clause]

4.2.4.7.2 [Topic to clause]

4.2.4.7.3 In-nexus concord linkage

4.2.4.7.4 Ana-cataphoric reference

4.2.4.7.5 Anacoluthia

4.2.5 *Zero* as link or delimiter

4.2.6 Prosodic linkage

4.3 Scopes of junctural validity (a selective repertory)

4.4 Graphemato-morphematic juncture: graphemic and graphotactic epiphenomena of juncture

4.4.1 ⲟⲩ vs. ⲩ for /u/ — “graphematic crasis”

4.4.2 Punctuation features: the lemniscus, the colon, the raised point

4.4.3 The end-of-line break. Consonantal writing?

4.4.4 (Morpho-)syllabic boundaries: the Jinkim

4.4.5 “Aspirate” consonants (Ⲑ , Ⲙ , ⲙ) and “aspiration”

4.4.6 Juncture and aspiration: aspiration as link / delimitation

4.4.7 Striking environments and features of allomorphic juncture.

4.4.7.1 The laryngeal (Glottal Stop, ‘Ayin) phonemes (“ X_1 , X_2 ”): the Bohairic reflexes as juncture features

4.5 Integration in texture. “Ordination”: “Syntactic Status”. Converters. Discourse signalling: some prominent cases

4.5.1 The Circumstantial conversion: junctural Syntactic Role Status scanning

4.5.1.1 Notes on morphology, morphophonemics, morphotactics

4.5.1.2 Syntactic slotting: the adnexal Circumstantial: adnominal adverbial, adclausal

4.5.2 The Relative: some reflections

4.5.2.1 Notes on morphology, morphophonemics, morphotactics

4.5.3 Expansion conversion: juncture gradience

4.5.4 Superordination

4.6 Sequencing, placement and prosody features

4.6.1 “Sentence Particles” and the JDF defined by them: some highlights of discourse signalling

4.1 Juncture in general. Linkage and Delimitation. Levels and Gradience.

(a) **Juncture**. In this last chapter, I wish to dwell on matters that concern the very texture of the text and its constituents — to specify, map and try to understand, classify and perhaps quantify (at least in a relative way), the means Coptic has for signalling grading of “togetherness” and “apartness” of segments, from the graphemic level to longer stretches of text, and in fact, to present textural and prosodic features and phenomena as preliminaries to an account of juncture and cohesion in Bohairic Coptic.

We use junctural concepts and terms unconsciously, as a matter of fact, without giving much thought to their significance, or even their actual meaning: affixation, position and sequence, slot and syntagm, commutation in a slot, “ordination” (as in “subordination”) and inversion, pattern and construction, narrative concatenation and allocution/response syntagmatics, are all junctural or juncturally significant concepts or assume junctural information. Indeed, **analyzability** — the very quintessence of the text, *la parole*, language itself — is a junctural notion and, as is well known, a relative one.

Juncture phenomenology consists of the intricate interplay of **links** (formal cohesion signals) and **delimiters**, the exponents of their reduction or negation. Both classes signal boundaries or “seams”, and, therein, a grading or opposition of formal signalling of some degree of “togetherness”. (I find it heuristically advisable to see **cohesion between continuous or discontinuous segments** as the basic positive *signifiant* and often *signifié* property, the reduction or enhancement of which, to a minimal or maximal degree, would constitute and signal a

grading of delimitation or linkage). Of course, all linkage and delimitation is relative, and linkage of some grade obtains across all boundaries.

Juncture features are, analytically speaking, of different orders, in correspondence to the traditional levels of analysis: graphemic, phonemic, morphophonemic (including lexematic-phonemic), morphemic and morphosyntactic, syntactic (and text-syntactic), but this stratification is non-hierarchical, partly overlapping, continuous and fuzzy, and best replaced by the determination of junctural *unit*, *scope* and *domain*.

In a comprehensive study of juncture features, the text is first scanned for boundaries or seams, and then we examine the obtaining paradigms or commutation classes for the structure of juncturally resolvable units, and (when possible) the quantified gradience of linkage and delimitation. We thus have in the present study three procedurally related analytical goals:

(1) **Listing of boundaries:** formulating statements on boundaries that delimit segments in a syntactical inter-dependence, with linkage and/or delimitation features across them, in a paradigmatic statement of complexity (and, where feasible, also scalar gradience), from text-level downwards — for instance, narrative sequencing, concord, reference, assimilation, combinatory syllabicity;

(2) **Presentation of linkage / delimitation symptoms**, from the graphemic to the macro-syntactic.

(3) **Resolution of scopes and units:** formulating statements concerning the validity of obtaining formal linkage or delimitation features: determining and correlating these links and delimiters with the scopes or extents within which they obtain — for instance, “word”, “lexeme”, nexal and hyper-nexal narrative block, allocution-response complex.

The present essay (see pilot studies in SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Six, 2003c and 2004) attempts to scan the Coptic text for boundaries or seams, and then to judge the nature of obtaining linkage/delimitation and (when possible) their relative grading. This is not a systematic and exhaustive attempt at a comprehensive uniform theory of Coptic juncture (such as is ROSÉN 1964 for Biblical Hebrew, Attic Greek and Sanskrit), but means to present materials for such a study, and address the issues it involves.

(b) Let me begin by introducing **working definitions for basic terms and concepts** germane to juncture phenomena and essential in formulating statements concerning the validity of formal linkage or delimitation features.

Cohesion, cohesivity: degree of mutual formal association of continuous or discontinuous segments in a text.

Linkage: marking of higher-grade cohesion or of cohesion in general.

Delimitation: marking of annullment, negation or reduction of linkage.

Seams or boundaries (here coded by “‡”) are higher-delimitation (lower-linkage) slots or points of contact of segments (typically, where several delimiters converge), flanked on either side by lower-delimitation (higher-linkage) areas. We are also concerned with a structure of paradigms obtaining in these slots and flanking them.

Link: index, signal or exponent of linkage or cohesion. Links are definable (here slightly modifying ROSÉN 1964:160) as “exponents of dependence obtaining between segments or unit in a higher unit not exceeding their arrangement”. Every link is by the same token also a delimiter, since it defines, concomitantly with the relevant delimiter, the segment units which it links. A delimiter, on the other hand, is a boundary signal only, and an exponent of negative linkage.

Delimiter: index, signal or exponent of delimitation. Delimiters signal the reduction and/or annulation (cancelling) of links: they are by definition inter-segment boundary signals; the more delimiters obtaining across a boundary, the more open the juncture across it. Inversely, the more links obtaining across a boundary, the closer the juncture across it. Delimiters are (cf. ROSÉN 1964:164) “exponents of the dependence between segments or annullment units across a boundary”.

Juncture grading: a juncture slot is characterized for gradience by the number of links/delimiters obtaining and converging in it.

Juncture Scope (JS): formal extent of validity for links or delimiters. The scope is the range within which links/delimiters obtain or apply (“are true”). In fact, scope is defined by juncture conjointly with syntagmatic structure.

A Juncture Domain Frame (JDF) consists of the elements enframing a Juncture Scope; overall syntagmatic environment — for instance: embraced by $N \dots \Delta N$; including a topicalization and its resumption or representation; antecedent and its relative nexal expansion. Sometimes, the JDF consists of very segments flanking and constituting a boundary. The JDF may coincide or be coextensive with the scope.

Juncture contour: distinctive linkage and delimitation profile over boundaries inside a specific domain frame.

Units in juncture: constituent elements in a boundary or in a cohesive complex.

(c) **Some reflections on structure and unit.** To what degree is the conventional model of *a priori* “building-blocks” (“word, clause, sentence”) at all valid for a given text? A narrative, for instance, is arguably not constituted by clauses at all, but a complex texture built around a concatenation of the expression of linguistic events. The most important factor to realize here is that the unities are neither absolute, nor rigid. This is not surprising, for the decoding analysis (by the reader or listener), which starts at text-level, is linear and cumulative; all structuration is dynamic and ever changing as further signals are transmitted, and cumulatively received, identified and valued. Moreover, any element simultaneously “belongs” — stands in association with — to several others, and may indeed be associated in several kinds of relationship and several grades simultaneously (for a typical instance, internally inside a group and externally with elements outside it, or even outside the text). The textual and subtextual structure is multidimensional. Units do not exist absolutely and *praeter-analytically*, which is why “sentences” and “clauses” as well as “words”, not to mention the “levels” such as morphology and syntax, are not empirically valid grammatical (as distinct from logical) notions. Valid are instead, say, “linked units of commutation in Dialogue” (such as Allocutions and Responses), or “concatenation units in Narrative” such as narrative Evolution Mode events, or the layering of Evolution Mode (linear) and Comment Mode (non-linear), and so on.

Inter-element associatedness is continually signalled and reported in real textual time, as a textual base for retrospection and anaphora is accumulated, whereas for the prospective cotext, yet to come, expectations are manipulated, modified, satisfied or disappointed, and the already realized text reappraised accordingly. The text itself is also delimited, articulated and “chunked” dynamically. All this is the first lesson of the cohesive view of textual reality.

A final word on “familiar” or pre-analytic units. While the *word* unit may be describable for Indo-European and Semitic by its familiar fusion of lexemics and grammemics, or by morphological and morpho-phonemic structure, and its boundaries may be generally definable (initially and finally, e.g. by allowed clusters — list size, constituency — or even phonemes — inventory and exclusion), this would hardly suit Coptic, where *lexemes* are the operative unity, and formal structure multifarious. Coptic, in Schleicher’s verdict (1859) — is “wortlos”, which shows that Schleicher identified the special status of Coptic lexemes. (In Egyptian, we have, of course, the determinatives, a potential final-

boundary marker for the written lexemes in their consonantal root manifestation, which was always fused with grammemic, mostly vocalic infixation and suffixation). All other units are compound, really *syntagms and patterns*, and need to be defined in terms of their constituent categories, order, boundaries and juncture within them. In this respect, $\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ and $\alpha\pi\iota\rho\omega\mu\iota$ # $\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\alpha\eta\sigma\kappa-\sigma\theta\rho\omega\mu\iota$ and $\sigma\theta\rho\omega\mu\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ are different patterns or subpatterns. Coptic uses *scriptio continua*, of course, with some separation and, of course, punctuation marks — according to traditional grammar, notorious for their opacity, and certainly given to variation in occurrence and role. Their polyfunctionality, a confusing and sometimes misleading factor, must not obscure their pertinence; they are a matter of scribal practice and school, and are best studied codex-wise (see discussion at some length below).

Obs.

(1) Junctural discussion and statements in preceding chapters (selection):

(a) Negation as delimitation (Chapter One, Narrative).

(b) Narrative juncture and information structure (Chapter One, Narrative and Dialogue).

(c) Allocution and Response linkage and delimitation, see above (Chapter One, Dialogue).

(d) Juncture profiles of Nominal Sentence patterns (Chapter Two).

(e) The junctural aspect of the opposition between associative phrases, opposition carried by π - η -, π - $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - and $\pi\iota$ - $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - (Chapter Three).

(f) Reference to *zero* article and neutric gender (Chapter Three).

(2) An alternative view, oriented to the articulatedness and analyzability of the text, would see delimitation as primary and linkage as its negation or reduction.

(3) FUNK 2006 is an extremely important paper, offering invaluable observations on aspects of the interface of graphemic/phonetics/phonemics in Coptic and in general, especially in a dead language. See SHISHA-HELEVY 1986a, Chapter Six, 2003c on juncture in literary modern Welsh and 2004, a pilot study of juncture features in Shenoutean Sahidic.

(4) A set of junctural studies may be found almost *avant la lettre* in STEINTHAL and MISTELI 1893:272ff. (in fact, the main topic of this excellent typological sketch): gradience of noun/noun interdependence (276ff. “verschiedene Grade der Angehörigkeit und Verbindung”): $\rho\epsilon\mu$ - $\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ — $\omega\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ — $\omega\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ — $\pi\omega\eta\tau\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ - $\Phi\rho\omega\mu\iota$; then, four grades of verb and object (279ff.); insights on the nuclearity of the conjugation “auxiliaries” or bases, and their affinity to pronominals (293); the referential-junctural role of grammatical gender (287f.), the Conjunctive (“Adjunktiv”, 297ff.), and more.

(5) Following Steintal-Misteli, ERMAN 1915 is the earliest study of Coptic juncture, which unfortunately did not get the appreciation it deserved. Consider the following selection of highlights, many of which are included in the discussion below. Generally, Bohairic is found to be of “looser” juncture than Sahidic: particle placement permits us a glimpse into open and close groups (183f.); the absence of assimilation as a symptom of looseness (our delimiter; 184f). The spelling α - $\sigma\theta$ -, ϵ - $\sigma\theta$ -: (preposition before the indefinite article (185). *a*-vocalism looser than *e*-vocalism (185). Aspiration vs. non-aspiration as indicative of stress (186); cases of unreduced pre-object forms of the infinitive as indicative of juncture (187).

(6) I acknowledge my debt in formulating my thoughts in the present chapter above all to H.B. ROSÉN (1964), a brilliant essay on general, Indo-European and Semitic juncture. There are to my knowledge few systematic descriptive accounts of juncture; see, for instance, BRAKEL 1981 for morphemic juncture in Portuguese.

(d) **Juncture levels.** Levels of junctural analysis are purely analytic models (cf. ROSÉN 1964:164 n.33). In the reality of the text they are almost always blended, and always non-hierarchical, although at the extreme locations — say, at grapheme and text-level — they are more clearly distinct. Here are some striking points in the order continuum of juncture.

- **Graphemato-phonemic juncture** obtains between successive graphemes, and may often be deduced for inter-phonetic and inter-phonemic boundaries;

- **Lexemato-morphemic juncture** obtains within the noun and verb lexeme and the stative: for instance {s-t-m} + {ô — e} in **σωτημ**. (We note that morphs and syllable are incommensurable — **σω** contains elements of more than a single unit: cf. ROSÉN 1964:158; we note the initial and final boundary marking of lexemes, especially cases of final clusters: **σωλπ** but **σωτημ** (cf. POLOTSKY 1933)

Initial boundary: #CS (SC syllabic) [C=consonant, S=sonorant]

Final boundary: SC# (CS syllabic, vocalized)

- **Morphematic and inter-morphemic juncture** obtains within grammemes and grammemic complexes, and between lexemes and grammemes. Here belong the discontinuous linkages of discontinuous morphemes — {e-} + {s-t-p} for **σεται**-, {e-} + {šan} + {f} for **εφυαν**-, {n-} + {an} + {anok} for **νανοκ αν**, {t- Ø — o} + {Ajin + m} + {Glottal Stop} for **ταμο** “tell you” (sgl. fem.), the complex linkages of verb lexemes with their object (**σωτημ**, **σομεν** and **σωτη**, **σεται** **πιζω**) and so on.

- **Nexal/clausal pattern syntagmatic juncture** obtains between constituents of a clause or a hyper-clause: thus, between Theme and Rheme (rather, Theme Phrase and Rheme Phrase), between Focus and nexal Topic (**πρωμι** and **πετσωτημ**, **αφ**- and **θων**, **αφναδος** and **δεοσ**, **ααωι** and **σενψυχη μπιαλοσ**), between Topic and Clause (between **πρωμι** and **αφσωτημ**). Obviously, these (inter-)dependences are combinable, which makes for complicated juncture contours.

- **Inter-clausal pattern syntagmatic juncture** obtains between clauses. Consider narrative concatenation and narrative tense-shifting, clause coordination and disjunction, the Conjunctive “carrying on” a clause, **δε**- inclusion and so on.

• **High Text-level complex syntagmatic juncture** obtains between Allocation/Response; Evolution/Comment Modes, narrative chunks or blocks (see for these Chapter One above); protasis/apodosis (and more generally superordinative sequencing forms, like $\omega\alpha\varrho$ - and $\epsilon\varrho\epsilon$ - with preceding cotext: Chapter One); noun syntagm, pronoun or Proper Name/subsequent reference (anaphoric/cataphoric reference; text-deictic exponence).

(d) **Juncture gradience.** Scalarity or gradience of juncture, while theoretically evident, is difficult to establish empirically. It is obvious that every environment has its own paradigm and paradigmatic structure; there are environments where all we can establish are open/close properties. But there are others where “closeness” or “openness” are accompanied by other formal symptoms, such as (for close juncture) assimilation or doubling of a vowel realizing a glottal stop¹, or a prenominal or pronominal or prosodically reduced allomorph of a lexeme or grammeme (a *delimiter* in close juncture is the maintenance of aspiration for $\Phi\alpha$ -). Or (for open juncture) differences in the class or extent of the elements that may occupy the boundary slot. However, there is correlation of paradigm extent and juncture grading: *the more restricted the paradigm* (such as a paradigm of grammemes) *the closer the juncture*, and the other way around, with lexeme paradigms: the drastically different junctural properties of pronouns and nouns are a striking case in point. Indeed, since inter-paradigm tension (i.e. between similar or kindred paradigms in different slots) and indeed opposition is an important, if usually ignored, structural feature, paradigmatic reduction — even up to paradigm cancelling — is a dynamic link², and paradigm expansion a dynamic delimitation. Juncture is of course a consequence of segmental compatibility, but the *paradigmatic* dimension of juncture is as evident as it is essential for comprehending this factor of linguistic structure, and it emerges from the syntagmatic axis, and the circumstance of compatibility and sequencing being but *a linear projection* of a multi-dimensional structure: linkage, delimitation, boundaries of varying juncture, continuity and discontinuity, sequencing, all obtain between paradigms, and not just between their *in praesentia* representatives in the text. Incidentally, midway grades of grammemicity or lexemicity are not given but ensue *inter alia* from junctural factors. Thus, both separability and

¹ POLOTSKY 1957a:231.

² In fact, totally reduced paradigms flank closest juncture; so $\alpha\tau$ -, $\mu\epsilon\tau$ - followed by *nil*, not *zero* determination are closer than close-juncture slots where *zero* and other articles commute (e.g. following the prenominal construct cases of the infinitive).

inseparability are graded; and when two “close” or “open” boundaries do not reveal any discriminating traits, it is their commutation extent that indirectly indicates their junctural grade (α = entering closer juncture than $\alpha\varphi$ -, and $\alpha\varphi$ -, needless to say, closer than $\alpha\pi\iota\rho\omega\mu\iota \ddagger [\text{C}\omega\tau\epsilon\mu])$. Linkage is thus often cumulative. It is often non-segmental — prosodic and/or relational: manifested in rection (government, conditioning), in special compatibilities (as in the case of specific determinator and relative conversion, see below), and discontinuity in complex marking. Generally speaking, juncture grading across a boundary is determined by the number of links and/or delimiters obtaining for that boundary. Juncture gradience informs all, in the textual and textural aspect of grammatical features, which is after all their prime aspect. Juncture, and juncture gradience, is also essential for comprehending diachronic processes and the diachronic career of specific entities and categories, not only in the “syntax to morphology” evolution and in grammaticalization, but also in deciphering the track and trace of diachrony left in the junctural profile of synchronic elements.

4.2 Juncture seams/boundaries: a brief scan in expanding Scope.

The following summary and selective repertory of in- and inter-segment/unit boundaries also constitutes a listing of syntagmatic compatibilities. The idea is not only to catalogue patterns, boundaries and links across them, but also to demonstrate the descriptive advantage of the junctural view of the constructions in point (selected boundaries will be discussed at length below). The juncture *levels* — inter-graphemic, inter-phonemic, inter-syllabic juncture, inter-syntagm and so on — cut across lexemic, morphemic and even nexal scopes. It is evident that phonemic (including syllabic) boundaries do not coincide with morphemic ones. Very often, in scopes A and B, the left-hand flank of the boundaries includes the delimited constituent + link; the right-hand flank, just the constituent; in more extended scopes, the linkage is predominantly packaged with the second constituent (brief comments are presented in footnotes):

(A) In-lexeme, lexico-morphemic boundaries.

(B) In-phrase boundaries. Word-formation and composition boundaries.

(C) In-clause (in-nexus) boundaries.

(D) Ultra-clausal boundaries.

(E) Text-level boundaries.

(A) In-lexeme, inter-syllable, lexico-morphemic boundaries, including synchronic gender-number morphs: morphemic analyzability is a delimiter.

CΩN ‡ I, ΨEP ‡ I
 PΩ ‡ MI, PΩM ‡ I
 ZB ‡ HOŦI, TEβN ‡ WOŦI
 TΔM ‡ HOŦT
 X ‡ ΛOM, XΛ ‡ OM,
 ZΘ ‡ OP
 MEΘ ‡ MH I — closer juncture than
 ME T ‡ MEΘPE
 Θ ‡ ME CIO — closer juncture than
 T ‡ ΔMO
 CΩ ‡ TEM
 OŦΩ ‡ PΠ³
 CA ‡ XI, ΨΔ ‡ NEΨ
 É ‡ CWOŦ

(B) In-phrase boundaries.

(b1) COMPOUND - CONSTITUENT ‡ COMPOUND - CONSTITUENT.

In composition, the link, if morphophonemic, resides as a rule in the first (*i.i.c.*) constituent, but **ατ**- and similar “semi-lexical” word-formation constituents⁴, which are nuclear, are also linked by the paradigmatic inertia (e.g. *nil*, not *zero* determination) of the expanding second constituents⁵. In case of multiple boundaries, the pre-grammemic one is closer than the pre-lexemic one.

EP ‡ CNOQ
 ΦEP ‡ PACOŦI
 † ‡ ΦI
 MAN ‡ AP EZ
 PEQ ‡ ΘMECIO
 PEMN ‡ †MI
 PEM ‡ ZENHI
 MET ‡ ZELLO
 MEΘ ‡ MH I
 MET ‡ MEΘPE⁶
 AT ‡ ΨEMHP

³ Cf. POLOTSKY 1933.

⁴ Cf. OERTER 1999 for general and terminological information.

⁵ Cf. FUNK 1978b: 114ff., 1979.

⁶ The combinatory aspiration, or absence thereof, possibly defining two **μετ**- entities.

ϣε ‡ N ‡ ΙΩΤ, ϣε ‡ N ‡ ΜΑΤ

ΘΟΤ ‡ ΡΗC

ϣΑΝΕΨ ‡ ΤΕΒΝΗ

ΦΑC ‡ CΟΞΕΝ

ϣΤΕ ‡ ΦΑΤ, CΘΤ ‡ ΝΟΤϣΙ

ϣΩΠ ‡ ΣΑΞΑΤ

Pre-lexemes, *alias* Lexeme Pre-modifiers or Conjugation Mediators, a very limited *i.i.c.* list for an open *i.f.c.* one. Rare in the corpus:⁷

Acts 23:3 ΚΕΡΠΚΕ ‡ ΖΕΜCΙ.

Gal. 3:15 ΜΠΑΤΟΤΑΞΕΜ ‡ ΘΑΨC.

II Tim. 1:6 ΔΕ-ΝΤΕΚΕΡΕΠΙΖΜΟΤ ΝΤΕΦ†ΟΤΑΞΕΜ ‡ ΩΝΣ

(b2) VERB LEXEME ‡ MORPHOLOGICAL PRE-ACTANT MECHANISM (lexico-morphemic patterning, in discontinuous-segment juncture):

CΩΤΕΠ/CΕΤΠ-/CΟΤΠ=, i.e. {s — t — p} ‡ {ô — Ø/e — Ø/ô — Ø}.

(b3) VERB LEXEME ‡ PRONOMINAL OBJECT ACTANT.

χα ‡ τ following consonant, including laryngeal zero.

ΣΟΘΒΕ ‡ τ

ΣΟΘΒΕ ‡ ϣ

ΣΟΘΒ ‡ ΟΤ

ΤΩΟΤΝ ‡ Ι⁸ — less close than

ΤΩΝ ‡ Κ

CΟΤΠ ‡ ϣ

(b4) PREPOSITIONAL BASE ‡ PRONOUN or NOUN⁹.

ΝCΩ ‡ ϣ closer than

ΝCΑ ‡ ΠΙΡΩΜΙ

ΝCΑ ‡ ΘΗΝΟΤ

⁷ This feature is juncturally fascinating, for the overall inner-matrix cohesion is not disrupted by it (the pre-lexemes are in that sense “phantom elements”). See FUNK 1978a:99, 101, 104 (“Präverbal”), 95 n.10, 104 n.59; SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a §3.3 (“Conjugation Mediators”, since they occupy a “zero slot” in the nexus), with further literature; LAYTON 2004 §183. Bohairic (not our corpus) adds ΔΕ- “any longer” (STERN 1880 §454, POLOTSKY 1930:875 ad De Vis II 9; also De Vis II 174, 177) and ΟΤΑΞΕΜ- “again, re-, in reply, in addition” etc. (Greek mostly ἀνα- and ἐπι-: Crum, *Dictionary* 509b: rarely in Sahidic) to the Sahidic repertory. (I believe ΤΠ- [ϣΤΕΜ-] does not belong to this category, formally or functionally, *pace* FUNK 1978a:97f.). These elements are not, I believe, due to a calque interference of Greek preverbs, although the Greek feature, also juncturally interesting, may account for their importance in Coptic; Welsh has a similar category (*newydd*- “recently”, *hen*- “formerly, of old”, *ail* -“again”, *mawr*- “greatly” etc.).

⁸ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1977a.

⁹ Linkage here is probably also effected prosodically by stress; the non-commutability of noun syntagm and personal pronoun, which is the very essence of “inflecting prepositions”, also in Celtic (Shisha-Halevy 2003b:285f.) is indicative of difference in boundary juncture.

ΕΘΒΕ ‡ ΠΙΡΩΜΙ — closer than

ΕΘΒΗΤ ‡ Κ

ΕΘΒΗΤ ‡ Ø

Ε ‡ ΟΤΡΩΜΙ

ΕΡΟ ‡ ς

ΕΡΩ ‡ ΤΕΝ

ΕΡΟ ‡ Ø

(b5) "INALIENABLE" NOUN LEXEME ‡ PERSONAL POSSESSOR.

ΡΩ ‡ C

ΡΑΤ ‡ ς

ΞΩ ‡ ΤΕΝ

(b6) "INALIENABLE" NOUN LEXEME/PREPOSITIONAL BASE ‡ NOMINAL POSSESSOR.

ΞΙΩΤϳ ‡ Ν ‡ ΝΗ ΕΘΟΤΑΒ (Lev. 21:10)¹⁰.

ΤΟΤϳ ‡ Ν ‡ ΑΑΡΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΝΕϳΩΗΡΙ (Deut. 19:5).

ΕΡΩϳ/ΞΙΡΩϳ ‡ Ν ‡ †Ωω† (Gen. 29:2).

ΞΙΡΩC ‡ Ν ‡ †Ωω† (Gen. 29:3:10).

(b7) DETERMINATOR (sgl.) ‡ NOUN LEXEME: π/Φ-, πι-, οσ- + LEXEME.

ΝΙ ‡ CΜΗ — more open than

ΠΙ ‡ ΙΩΤ

Φ ‡ ΡΗ

Φ ‡ ΜΗΝΙ

Φ ‡ ΙΟΜ

Π ‡ ΙΝΙ

ΟΣ ‡ È CΩΟΣ

Generally speaking, with some exceptions, gemination in native, not Proper-Name elements is a signal of two units, that is, a delimitation for a morphemic boundary: "two identical consonants belong to two syllables/morphs": τ ‡ ΤΙΜΗ (Lev. 5:15); ΤΕΝ ‡ ΝΑ- (Gen. 19:3).

(b8) Constituence Personal-Sphere Association: DETERMINATOR (singular-only π- and plural-only ΝΕΝ- + Ν-) ‡ + LEXEME. Determinator + Ν- constitute a discontinuous nucleus constituent, with its own internal boundaries, delimiting determinators from the nuclear lexeme (see [b13]).

¹⁰ Note the tendency to gender/number neutralization before Ν-. cf. ΚΕΝϳ ΝΤΕϳΜΑσ De Vis II 7, ΠΙΡΩϳ, ΝΕϳΡΩϳ De Vis I 28. POLOTSKY 1934:61. The invariable pronoun is here an "inalienable-possession" slot-filler as well as an actualizator and perhaps also specifier (cf. Amharic -u, def. article as well as 3rd sgl. masc. possessive suffix). This is a reduction in linkage grading.

ΦΜΑCΙ ‡ ΜΠΕΚCΟ
 ΝΕΝ-[ΜΑΨΔ] Μ ‡ ΠΙΛΑΟC¹¹.
 ΝΑΛΩΟΤΙ ΝΙCΑΔΔΚ¹².

(b9) POSSESSIVE PRONOUN ‡ DETERMINATOR (NOUN SYNTAGM).

ΦΑ ‡ ΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ ΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ¹³
 ΦΑ ‡ Φ†

(b10) POSSESSIVE PRONOUN ‡ PERSONAL (SUFFIX) PRONOUN.

Φω ‡ ι

(b11) PRONOMINAL NUCLEUS ‡ VERBAL (relative-conversion) EXPANSION (see [b14]).

π ‡ ΕΤ- — closer than

ΦΗ ‡ ΕΤ-

ΦΑΙ ‡ ΕΤ-¹⁴

(b12) DETERMINATOR (+ NOUN LEXEME) ‡ MOVABLE LEXEME.

ΖΑΝCΑΔΙ Ν ‡ ΖΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΝ

ΟΘΡΩΜΙ Ν ‡ ΧΑΝΑΝΕΟC

(b13) DETERMINATOR (+ NOUN LEXEME) Ν- ‡ DETERMINATOR (NOUN SYNTAGM).

(a) Constituence Personal-Sphere Association (= b8).

ΝΕΝΜΑΨΔ Μ ‡ ΠΙΛΑΟC¹⁵

ΝΕΝΣΡΟ† Ν ‡ ΧΕΤ

ΤΨΕΡΙ Μ ‡ ΦΑΡΑΩ

ΕΝΕΝΜΑΨΔ ΝΤΕ- ‡ ΝΕΤΕΝΨΗΡΙ

¹¹ ΝΕΝ- Ν-, and π- Ν-, are discontinuous (see below on juncture across discontinuous boundaries); see Chapter Three on Constituence Association (n.15 below).

¹² See POLOTSKY 1964:253 n.1 (not included in CP), 1968 (Boh.), SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:316 (Oxyrh.).

¹³ While both determinators and possessive pronouns are nuclear, expanded by their respective subsequent segments, or segment strings, πι-, π-, πεq- stand in the pre-lexeme slot, but Φα- in the pre-determinator slot. This is a crucial junctural difference, which accounts for Φα- being non-specifying, specificity-neutral albeit anaphoric (see above, Chapter Three), and is formally symptomized by its aspiration being constant (cf. POLOTSKY 1985:91). Incidentally, I believe that KASSER 1993:53f. n.13 is wrong about the association of Φα- and πεq-: the non-aspiration of the possessive article is prosodically and morphophonemically clear, and the need to distinguish πα- ("my-") from Φα- "he of" cannot be invoked, since they inhabit altogether different slots: see Chapter Three. As far as juncture is concerned, the maintenance of the aspiration is a *delimitation* (within close juncture).

¹⁴ A striking case for the correlation of extent of flanking paradigms and looseness of linkage: π-ΕΤ- close, ΦΗ ΕΤ- (etc.) open, ΦΑΙ ΕΤ- (etc.) opener juncture; see Chapter Three.

¹⁵ A veritable juncture paradigm, the *signifiant* for a sophisticated *signifié* category of association, from Constituence Association (less optly "inalienable possession") — tightest juncture — to unmarked appurtenance — loosest juncture — through a complicated gradation: see Chapter Three, §3.9.

ΝΕΝΨΕΡΙ ΝΤΕ- ‡ ΠΑΙΚΑΖΙ
 ΝΙΨΕΡΙ ‡ ΝΤΕ-ΝΙΧΑΝΑΝΕΟΣ
 ΠΙΛΛΟΣ ‡ ΝΤΕ-ΠΙΚΑΖΙ
 ΝΙΨΗΡΙ ‡ ΝΤΕ-ΝΕΤΕΝΨΗΡΙ

(b) Apposition

Φ† ‡ ΠΙΝΙΨ†¹⁶

(c) Naming specification

ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ‡ ΔΕ-ΜΩΨΧΗ

(b14) DETERMINATOR ‡ RELATIVE CONVERTER.

π ‡ ΕΤ- — closer linkage.

{ΦΗ}/{ΦΑΙ} ‡ ΕΤ-/ΕΤΝΑ-/ΕΤΑΦ- — more open linkage¹⁷.

Deut. 12:25 ΠΙΠΕΘΑΝΕΦ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΘΡΑΝΑΦ.

Gen. 19:7 ΠΑΙΠΕΤΨΩΨ.

Num. 10:30 ΨΑΝΠΕΘΑΝΕΨ.

Ex. 22:20 ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑΕΡΨΩΨΨΨΨ ΝΨΑΝΚΕΝΟΨ†.

Lev. 12:7 ΦΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΕΘΗ ΕΤΝΑΜΙΣΙ.

Gen. 41:24 ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-ΦΗ ΕΤΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΡΟΣ.

Ex. 21:19 ΦΗ ΕΤΑΦ† ΜΠΙΕΡΨΟΤ.

(b15) PRONOMINAL NUCLEUS ‡ NOMINAL EXPANSION.

(a) Interlocutive personal pronoun

Gen. 47:3 ΑΝΟΝ-ΨΑΝΜΑΝΕΨΩΨ ‡ ΨΑ-ΝΕΚΑΛΩΨΙ.

Deut. 4:4 ΝΩΨΤΕΝ ΔΕ ‡ ΨΑ-ΝΗ ΕΘΩΨΗΨ ΝΣΑΠΨ̄Ψ ΠΕΝΝΟΨ†
 ΤΕΤΕΝΟΝΨ ΤΗΡΩΨ ΜΨΩΨ.

(b) Delocutive personal pronoun

Gen. 30:41 ΨΕΝΠΙΣΗΟΨ ΕΨΑΨΨΨΨΨΨΨ ... ΝΔΕ- ‡ ΝΙΕ-
 ΨΩΨ.

Gen. 7:13 ΑΦΨΕΝΑΦ ΝΔΕ- ‡ ΝΩΕ.

(b16) SPECIFIC ANTECEDENT ‡ EXPANDING CLAUSE.

(a) Relative Conversion (+ anaphora) linkage: attributive expansion

Ex. 12:40 ΠΙΨΙΝΨΩΙΛΙ ΝΤΕΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΜΠΙΣΛ ‡ ΕΤ-ΑΨΕΡ-ΡΕΜ-
 ΝΨΩΙΛΙ ΜΜΟΦ.

Ex. 10:6 ΦΑΙ ‡ ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΕΝΕΚΙΟ† ΝΑΨ ΕΟΨΟΝ ΜΠΕΦΡΗ†.

¹⁶ ΠΙ- is here the concordng operator and link *in appositione*, occupying a slot arguably corresponding to the pre-Coptic nuclear gender/number-exponent slot in the adjective: Old/Middle Egyptian *nfr.t* "the/a fem. one qualifiable by beauty", *hm.t nfr.t* "the/a woman — the/a fem. one qualifiable by beauty". From Late Egyptian on, the prefixed nuclear articles carry the gender/number signalling, first in apposition with the suffixed built-in ones, then in diachronic replacement thereof. The partitive dependence between determinator and lexeme is part of the later-Egyptian analytic structure.

¹⁷ This difference is symptomized by relative extent of flanking commutation and (in)separability.

(b) Circumstantial Conversion linkage (+ anaphora): rhematic (adnexal, predicative expansion)¹⁸

Gen. 33:1 $\text{ZHPPe IC HCA}\Psi \text{PEqCON} \ddagger \text{E-QNHOT.}$

Deut. 14:4, Lev. 11:2 $\text{NAI NE NITEBNWOTI} \ddagger \text{ERE-TENEOTOMOT.}$

Deut. 22:27 $\text{†SEΛYIPi} \ddagger \text{E-A}\Psi\text{WP NCWC (Vat; P †- ET}\Psi\text{).}$

(b17) LOW-SPECIFICITY ANTECEDENT $\ddagger$ EXPANDING CLAUSE.

Circumstantial Conversion linkage¹⁹.

Deut. 5:9f. $\text{OTNOT† NPEQXOZ} \ddagger \text{E-Q†}\Psi\text{EBIW.}$

Gen. 22:13 $\text{ZHPPe IC OTECWOT} \ddagger \text{E-}\Psi\text{T}\Psi\text{ZNO MMOQ SEHNEQ-TAΠ.}$

Deut. 23:16 $\text{NNEK† NOTBWK ETOTQ MPEQ}\overline{\text{C}} \ddagger \text{E-AQ}\overline{\text{C}}\text{WT EPATK.}$

Lev. 21:7 $\text{OTCZIMI MPOPNH OTOZ} \ddagger \text{E-CCOQ.}$

(b18) SPECIFIC/NON-SPECIFIC ANTECEDENT $\ddagger$ EXPANDING CLAUSE.

Relative conversion in hermeneutical glossing²⁰:

Gen. 44:24 $\text{PEKALOT} \ddagger \text{ETE-PENEIWT PE.}$

Ex. 1:11 $\text{IWN} \ddagger \text{ETE-}\Theta\text{BAKI M}\overline{\text{C}}\text{PH TE.}$

¹⁸ In Nitrian Bohairic (and to a lesser extent in the NT), the status of this construction is evidently different, but still unclear: Cat. 25 $\text{†KECZIMI EPETICNOQ YAT EBOΛ} \text{ΣΑΡΟC}$, caption; Cat. 35 $\text{E}\overline{\text{O}}\text{BE} \overline{\text{C}}\text{H EPETEQZIX} \Psi\text{OTWOT}$ caption — so often, e.g. 35, 42, 51, 86; De Vis II 153 $\text{ΠΙΖΩM EPΕZW NIBEN C}\overline{\text{C}}\text{HOT EPOT.}$ Also $\text{ΘAI EPε-} \overline{\text{C}}\text{H EPε-}$ De Vis I 101, II 56, Cat. 106, 108, 115 etc. Note the combination of relative and Circumstantial in: $\text{CAZI NIBEN ET}\Psi\text{OTIT EPENIPWMI NAZOOT}$ Cat. 37, with the Circumstantial of looser juncture. In a posthumously published study, one of his rare Coptic essays, B. Gunn examined a ME construction that may be an early precursor of the Coptic one in point.

¹⁹ Lev. 27:12 $\text{OTAI E}\overline{\text{O}}\text{NANEQ}$ or Num. 17:5 $\text{ZAI NYEMMO ETE-EBOΛ AN NE SEHNEHWHPI NAARWN (= Vat)}$ in our corpus illustrate the compatibility of the relative converter with non-specific nuclei, contrary to received grammatical opinion, which is well established esp. in Nitrian Bohairic. This indicates the relative is not a mark of higher specificity — or a specifying exponent — but one term in an expansion paradigm. On the relative converter expanding non-specific nuclei, see STERN 1880 §424: Nic. 1:14 is wrongly interpreted (we have here an autofocal Focalizing Preterite). However, Mt. 19:12 is a good example (Stern's doubts notwithstanding: we have here several witnesses, inc. M 569 ed. Aranda, collated: Hans Quecke by letter, 15/11/88). Consider also the following, especially generic instances: AM I 2 $\text{EZOTE-OTTPANNOC ET}\Psi\text{-TWNQ...}$ 8; AM I 131, 141 $\text{OTAI ET}\Psi\text{QI EBOΛ SEHNOTAPICTON... EBOΛ NOT-}\Psi\text{ARBA NKATMA; AM I 189 OTMA ETEMMON-ZAI NPWMI CWOHN MMOQ AN; Cat. 49 ZAI NPWMI ETEOTONTAQ MMA}\overline{\text{C}}\text{ NOMETATKAKIA; Benjamin, Hom. on the Nuptials of Cana, ed. C.D.G. Muller, (Abh. Heidelberg. Akad. 1968, I) 132. Sahidic: } \Lambda\Lambda\overline{\text{C}}\text{ ET- Shenoute ed. Leip. IV 158.}$

²⁰ See POLOTSKY 1987:104f. on the "Hermeneutischer Relativsatz" and the preference of Bohairic for ETE-...PE and the Endophoric NS pattern over ETE-PAI PE... In this construction, the internal juncture of the expanding clause is closer, the external (expansion) juncture more open.

Gen. 50:1 $\pi\zeta\eta\upsilon\iota\ \nu\chi\eta\mu\iota\ \ddagger\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\Phi\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\ \ddagger\ \zeta\iota\mu\eta\rho\ \mu\pi\iota\iota\omicron\rho\text{-}\Delta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$.

(b19) ZERO-DETERMINATION ANTECEDENT in negative environment $\ddagger$ EXPANDING CLAUSE (negative environment). $\Delta\epsilon$ - linkage²¹:

Deut. 3:4 $\nu\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\nu\text{-}\beta\alpha\kappa\iota\ \ddagger\ \Delta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\nu\Delta\iota\tau\varsigma$ Vat (Paris $\Delta\epsilon$, probably to be emended or at least to be referred back to an original $\Delta\epsilon$ -; there is no particle here in the Greek that would trigger Coptic $\Delta\epsilon$).

(b20) VERB LEXEME (“INFINITIVE”) or CONVERB $\ddagger$ DETERMINATOR + NOUN EXPANSION (object actant); VERB LEXEME (“INFINITIVE”) or CONVERB $\ddagger$ PRONOUN EXPANSION (object actant).

The valency-pattern matrix is an important, closely-knit junctural domain and scope, containing important links. Typologically, it is of significance that the object actant always follows the verb lexeme, and that the *agens* actant always precedes it. The lexeme itself follows the initial boundary; the last actant, wherever it occurs, marks the final one. Completion of the valency matrix is a final-boundary signal; there are two main internal boundaries in the matrix: first and primary, between the verb lexeme and its actants; secondarily, between the actants themselves, linked both to the verb and through the verb. The primary linkage, to the verb, is effected either (1) by a prosodic and/or morphophonemic mechanism in the lexeme, with inseparability and closest juncture, or (2) by a smallish list of rectional grammemic prepositions (mainly ν -, ϵ -, $\nu\varsigma\alpha$ -), in looser juncture with the verb. (In the case of reflexive diathesis, an appropriate anaphor is added).

The difference between actants and circumstants, the most vexed point of valency dependence grammar, is thus, if not practically solved, at least theoretically comprehended, as associated with juncture structure of the verb phrase. A special junctural case is the *zero* object actant, identified as such by the very matrix; location of the *zero* object in the matrix is immaterial: it is its presence that is decisive.

Consider the following range of constructions:

The Bivalence Matrix, of so to speak minimal transitives: *agens* and object actants (including rhematic actant). Note, beside the “normal” ones and the ϵ - rection verbs of cognition and perception ($\nu\alpha\wp$, $\varsigma\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\Delta\omicron\mu\Delta\epsilon\mu$...), also:

²¹ See Chapter Three for $\Delta\epsilon$ - in the paradigm adnominal to a generic nucleus, in a doubly negative environment: see above, Chapter Three (SHISHA-HELEVY 1986a:148, 213). Exx. in the Boh. NT: Luke 8:17:25, 12:2, Mt. 10:26 $\mu\mu\omicron\nu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\pi\ \Delta\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\nu\alpha\epsilon\mu\iota\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\eta$ (Cat. 28).

ζωοτ n- "rain"²² Gen. 19:24, Ex. 16:4.

σωβι n- Num. 22:29.

σι nem- Ex. 19:12.

σωτεμ nca- "obey" Deut. 21:20.

†φι epn- "kiss" Ex. 4:27.

οτων ε- "open" Ex. 13:13.

κίμ n- "move" Lev. 14:44.

υίνι ε- "visit, call on" Num. 26:64.

ερζωβ n- "work (at)" Ex. 31:4.

ιης ντοτ= Gen. 24:18:20.

Deut. 28:44 νθοϋ εφεψωπι νοταφε νθοκ δε εκεψωπι νοτcat.

Gen. 43:9 ειεψωπι ειοι ηρεφερνοβι.

Lev. 11:36 εθεψωπι νητν ετσαζεμ.

Lev. 25:44 νη τηροτ ετναψωπι νακ.

Deut. 1:22 πιμωιτ φη ετετενναψεναν ερηνι ζιωτq (which FUNK 1992:19 emends, with Vat, into ετενναψε).

Also μπενδιτc, ζοοβεq, εκκ, ζενζωνκ, τωοτνι (see below).

Obs.

(1) Cases like πινοβι εταφερνοβι μμοq Lev. 4:28:35 and the structurally different πιcμοτ εταqcμοτ μμοq Deut. 33:1 etc. have μμο= as a conditioned anaphoric formal object — making epνοβι formally and potentially bivalent, cμοτ trivalent — which "rounds up" and closes the construction and also marks a "saturating" matrix-final boundary: the resumption or repetition of the lexeme within the derived denominal verb, effects double linkage with the antecedent. This is distinct from the case of the non-derived πιζεμπψινι εταταιq Num. 1:44, which is old in Egyptian.

(2) It may be that the adverb in ζεμci μπαιμα Gen. 22:5 is also a formal valency slot filler: is ζεμci alone at all attested?

(3) Note the cases of orthographically unmarked linkage mechanism, well attested in the valency matrix. Interesting is here the ambiguity between n- and morphophonemic linkage for non-zero objects (the orthographic zeroing of n- is prevalent in Demotic): Num. 16:15 μπιτζεμκο-οται μμοοτ (but Vat νοται).

Lev. 17:12 ννεqοτωμ-cноq (= Vat); sim. Lev. 7:27.

Gen. 38:8 τoтhoc-οτзpoз.

ψοτο-ερω† εβολ ζιεβω Deut. 26:15, 27:3 (= Vat) (cf. QUECKE 1986:354).

Ex. 4:11 νιμ πε εταqαμιο-εβο nem κοτp πεθνατ μβολ nem βελλε (= Vat).

Gen. 42:16 οτωpп-οται οтн εβολ.

Ex. 11:1 οτοpп-οηноτ (Vat οтepп-).

²² Cf. ROSÉN 1968 ("scio lovem pluere").

The Trivalent Matrix: third actant, rhematic or non-rhematic. The third actant is more restricted than the second, and by that token of a higher linkage with the verb and verb + first actant units of the matrix domain:

Deut. 10:12 $\sigma\theta$ πετεπ $\overline{\sigma\tau}$ πεκνο $\overline{\sigma\tau}$ † ερετιν μο σ ντοτκ.

Ex. 16:33 επαρε σ ερο σ — possibly a case of *zero* third actant.

Ex. 25:11 εκε σ ς ννο σ β.

Deut. 27:1 ...ε† σ ν σ ν εν μωτεν ερω σ (distinct from σ ν- σ ν εν ντεν- Deut. 1:18).

Gen. 44:1 μα σ -νε σ κοκ ν σ αιρω σ ι ν σ ο σ ο νω σ — quadrivalent?

Gen. 19:32-35 μα σ ρε σ ε σ ε σ νιω σ τ νο σ ηρπ ... μα σ ρε σ κο σ νο σ ηρπ.

Deut. 18:10f. ε σ θο σ με σ ω σ ηρι ιε τε σ ω σ ε σ ι ε σ ινι σ ε-νο σ χω σ μ (also Num. 14:11 σ α σ να σ σ ε παι σ α σ ο σ ο σ ρο μο σ ι ε σ μβον).

με σ ρε σ ρ σ ινι σ ρ με σ ν ε- Num. 32:5 (cf. also ε σ ρ σ ινι σ ρ *zero* νε σ — Num. 32:29, ε σ ρ σ ινι σ ρ ν- Num. 33:51).

τα σ ρκο σ ν- Gen. 22:16 — this causative-diathesis matrix helps us to interpret αιω σ ρκ μο σ ι Gen. 22:16, which has the first slot zeroed.

Deut. 21:14 εκε σ α σ ε σ βολ ε σ οι ν σ ρε σ μ σ ε.

Gen. 12:2 ει σ α σ ικ ε σ ο σ νιω† ν σ ω σ λο σ .

Ex. 32:4 α σ θα σ μιο σ νο σ μα σ ι νο σ ω σ τ σ ε.

Ex. 7:1 ε σ ε σ ω σ πι να σ κ νο σ προ σ η σ η σ ς.

Gen. 5:2 α σ θα σ μιο σ ο σ ρ σ ω σ τ νε σ ο σ ς σ ιμι... (= Vat).

Ex. 35:35 α σ μα σ ο σ ε σ με σ ι ν σ ο σ φια.

(C) In-nexus Boundaries: Theme ‡ Rheme.

The inner juncture contour across the sharp Theme ‡ Rheme boundary, external juncture and other specifics are distinctive of nexus type — nominal-Rheme, adverbial-Rheme, verbal-Rheme nexus. (In fact, juncture contour is distinctive and definitional of any pattern).

(c1) Juncture in the nominal-Rheme nexus ("Nominal Sentence") is pattern-specific: the NS pattern set of sets (Chapter Two above) is in this respect considerably heterogenous. Generally speaking, we observe **closer to closest linkage** of pronominal-thematic and rhematic grammemes, the latter covering practically all Rhemes, since it is the determinator nucleus of the noun syntagm that is usually predicated. Note the respective main distinctive features of juncture (details in Chapter Two):

Interlocutive: {**ανοκ**-} proclitic Theme, non-phoric, carries the copular link of close juncture. The pattern has no extra-clausal linkage (although it may occur as Response), and is textually delimitative.

Delocutive: Rheme — {**πε**} internal copular linkage, marked in the highly enclitic delocutive Theme, which (externally) carries also an anaphoric or cataphoric referential cotext or context link; when {**πε**} links internally, the pattern is delimitative. Note the juncturally special Topicalized-Theme, Expanded-Theme, Endophoric-Theme, Immutable-Theme and copular patterns (details in Chapter Two).

(c2-c3) Adverbial-Rheme nexus (Chapter Two).

- Specific Themes: high linkage of Theme and Rheme (grammeme/lexeme close juncture) for personal-pronoun Themes; low linkage of Theme and Rheme (lexeme/lexeme open juncture) for other Themes. External linkage with cotext or context is effected by and through the Theme.

χ ‡ **οτωω** — “aspiration” of pronominal Theme is a link. So too

χ ‡ **ναβωκ**, before grammeme.

νας ‡ **θεντεσμη†**.

νκ ‡ **ναοτωμ αν** Deut.8:9 (Circumstantial).

ς ‡ **ενσοτην** Gen. 18:9 — closest juncture (“liaison étroite” POLOTSKY 1949, KASSER 1994b), symptomized by vocalic realization of syllabic nasal morphs.

- Non-specific Themes. Here the juncture contour is entirely different, for the pattern is not dichotomic, but basically consists of a close-juncture statement of (Non-) Existence (**οτον**-/**μμον**- + existant) followed in low linkage (open juncture) by a rhematic dynamic or Stative converb:

Gen. 20:9 **οτρωβ μμον-ελι νααιϚ**.

Ex. 33:21 **ζηππε οτον-οτμα χη ζαροκ**.

Gen. 23:6 **μμον-ελι μμον ταζνο**.

(c4-c5) Verbal-Rheme nexus.

αϚ ‡ **σωтем**, **α-** **πρωμι** ‡ **σωтем**: structurally, it is the closely linked [base+Theme] **α-Ϛ** (formal nexus) unit that is the formal cataphoric Rheme (“the verb”) — indeed, it is not in structural principle and reality different from the pre-Coptic *sdm.f* verbal system — with the verb lexeme (infinitive) an actantial and appositive expansion of the formal Rheme. The pronominal and nominal Themes are accordingly closely linked to the base, with the [base+Theme] unit (less closely)

linked to the expanding infinitive²³. In this precise junctural sense, the Theme is not infixed at all. The two combined internal juncture contours of these conjugation forms are thus distinctive, differing in the familiar grammeme/lexeme (closer) *vs.* lexeme/lexeme (opener) interface parameter.

(c6-c8) THEME ‡ VERB CLAUSE, VERB CLAUSE ‡ **nzε**-THEME, BASE + THEME ‡ VERB CLAUSE juncture features.

Anaphoric or cataphoric linkage of a core pronominally-linked unit (“**αϥωτεμ**”) to an extraposed Theme makes for three distinctive “*Flexionisolierung*” juncture contours; in the case of an extraposed [base+Theme] unit, nexus-topicalization, the linkage is complex (both anaphora and base repetition) and the cohesion consequently high²⁴.

(a) Gen. 25:21 **ιϥαακ δε αϥμενρε-ηϥαϥ**.

(b) Num. 3:4 **αϥμοϥ nzε-ηαααβ nem αβιοϥα**.

(c) Gen. 25:33 **αηϥαϥ δε αϥ† ηηιμετϥορπ ηηιϥι εβολ ηιακωβ**.

ερεϥοϥηβ εϥεηαϥ (Lev. *passim*).

(c9-c12) Some special BASE + THEME-AGENS [...] links²⁵:

(c9-c10) BASE ‡ SECOND-PERSON-FEMININE *zero* and SECOND PERSON PLURAL PRONOMINAL THEMES²⁶. The conditioned base allomorph indicates higher cohesion: conditioning is a link.

αρε ‡ ∅-ϥωϥ, αρε ‡ ∅-ϥωβι (Preterite: Num. 5:20, 22:29 etc.).

As contrasted with:

α ‡ ϥ-ωρκ, α ‡ ι-τωητ etc.

Gen. 50:5 **ερε ‡ तेη-θोमत्** (Absolute Future).

Cat. 208 **αρε ‡ तेη-ख नलाज़ारोc ऐथोन** (Preterite).

(c11) BASE ‡ NOMINAL THEME boundary:

Gen. 27:28 **οϥοϥ ερε-ϥ† † ηακ**.

²³ The [base + Theme] unit is encountered alone, apocritically: “**ηηηηαϥω αη πε**”... **ηποϥ ϥω** (“...we wouldn’t have stayed” — Indeed, they *did not*”) Shenoute ed. Leip. IV 97.

²⁴ Cf. GALAND 1964, esp. 38ff., 48ff. for the intricate reference patterns in Berber verb clauses.

²⁵ There is similarity between base- and converter-juncture, which makes for the resemblance of some base-initial and converter-initial contours. Bases are nuclear pro-verb auxiliaries governing the infinitive; like pronouns, they are actualizers of the verb, prime grammemic signals (cf., on the “pronominality” of the bases, SCHLEICHER 1859:21, SCHWARTZE-STEINTHAL 1850:423ff.). See note 23.

²⁶ Cf. ROSEN 1964:182 on the juncture around a *zero* segment. Another case in point is the zeroed pre-negator following converters in Akhmimic and Lycopolitan (cf. FUNK 1987), and, in Bohairic, in the Relative conversion (see below). In Coptic, the affinity of *zero* and noun syntagm or Proper Name in this specific slot and environment is junctural.

Gen. 31:8 **ΕΨΩΠ ΑΨΩΑΝΔΟΣ ΔΕ-ΝΙΑΟΤΙΑΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΨΩΠΙ
ΝΑΚ ΜΒΕΧΕ ΨΑΡΕ-ΝΙΕCΩΘ ΤΗΡΟΤ ΜΕCΑΟΤΙΑΟΤΑΝ.**

(c12) [Base + Theme] core unit linkage: discontinuous-segment juncture across pronominal Theme-*agens*²⁷. Here again the left flank of the boundary is more closely linked to the Theme than the right flank — this is evident mainly by allomorphic conditioning of the first base constituent, but also indicated by the unstable distribution of the second:

ε [‡]q[‡] ε- (Absolute-Definite Future, affirmative: consider **ΕΡΕ-** [Theme] **ε-**, **ΕΡΕΤΕΝ-ε-**). Note the syllabication **εq-ε-**.

α-[‡]q[‡]ψΑΝ- (Conditional, affirmative; consider **ΑΡΕ-** [Theme] **ψΑΝ-**).

(c13) CONVERTER ‡ BASE, CONVERTER ‡ DETERMINATOR, CONVERTER ‡ NEXUS: BOUNDARIES AND LINKAGE.

(c14) CONVERTER ‡ **ΟΤΟΝ-** + Theme + Rheme.

Rare in the corpus, but common in Nitrian and (less frequently) NT/OT Bohairic, is the pre-nominal (pre-determinator) allomorph of converters preceding **ΟΤΟΝ-**, indicating a junctural contact-situation between converter (conditioned) and Theme (conditioning): **ΟΤΟΝ-** is here juncturally absent, in the sense that **ΕΡΕ-** etc. is conditioned by an element following **ΟΤΟΝ-**: **ΕΡΕ-ΟΤΟΝ-** is as “prenominal” as **ΕΡΕ-**²⁸. The junctural “transparency” of **ΟΤΟΝ-** correlates with the morpho-syntactical circumstance of its being purely formal, not a form of Existential Statement. The difference between these still enigmatic forms and the normal converters is not yet clear.

Ex. 39:23 **ΞΘΗΣ ΔΕ Ν†ΨΘΗΝ ΝΑCΞΕΝΤΕCΜΗ† ΕϞCHΞΙ...
ΕΡΕ-ΟΤΟΝ-ΟΨCΩΒΙ ΝΑ††ΟΨC ΚΩ† ΕΞΘΗΣ (= Vat!).**

(c15) CONVERTER (Relative) ‡ BASE (Absolute Future).

ΕΤΕ ‡ ΕϞΕΨΩΠΙ Deut. 19:4 (= Vat), with exx. like Ex. 3:14:15 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΞΟΣ (= Vat)** — (see Chapter One) indicate a fuzzy interface between converter and base, with a non-specific affiliation of the second epsilon, which may be indicative of closer juncture. On the other hand, the case of zeroed converter allomorph in:

(c16) CONVERTER (Circumstantial) ‡ BASE (Absolute Future).

²⁷ ROSÉN 1964:180ff. “mediate juncture”: links or delimitations “prevailing between segments that are not immediately adjacent”. The non-initial or second segments are diachronically weak, and synchronically “unstable”, absent in certain environments (notably, for the Bohairic Conditional, in negation, and (as a rule) in the Absolute Future for all dialects, preminally).

²⁸ Bohairic normally has **ΕΤΕ-**, not **ΕΤΕ-ΟΤΟΝ-** with a non-specific actor expression (POLOTSKY 1960:411), but consider **ΕΤΕ-ΟΤΟΝ-ΟΨΑΙ ΝΑ-** Lev. 11:32 or **ΕΤΕ-ΟΤΟΝ-...ΝΞΗ†** Lev. 21:21.

Gen. 1:6 ...**οτορ ντεφωπι ‡ εφεφωρδ εβολ...** (Greek ἔστω διαχωρίζον) is a well-established construction and form; more exx. in Chapter One; taken with the zeroed Circumstantial allomorph before the negator **ν-...αν** (below), while morphophonemically conditioned, it is juncturally significant as arguably more delimiting — less closely linked, since iconically paratactic — than the actual non-zero converter.

(c17-c19) The numerous junctural peculiarities of the Relative-Conversion forms (see also [b17] and [c14] above) are surely also associated with this element's peculiar standing as an "incomplete converter", that is, what is still one of the mysteries of Coptic dialectal morphotactics, namely the fact that the Relative converter seems not always to convert, or to convert only partially²⁹. In precise structural terms, we have to do with its two homonyms, one a true converter, one (still) a pronoun, each with distinctive juncture properties³⁰.

(c17) RELATIVE CONVERTER — ‡ [zero]- — **αν**: discontinuous-segment juncture across a zero segment³¹. Allomorphic **ετε-** (zero delimiter).

Lev. 14:32 **Φη ετε ‡ Ø-φναξιμι αν** (see also below, on non-zero resumption of antecedent in affirmative clauses).

Deut. 25:9 **παιρωμι ετε ‡ Ø-φνακωτ αν μητι μεφσον**.

(c18) RELATIVE CONVERTER ‡ ADVERBIAL RHEME. Allomorphic **ετε-**, joining a boundary less close than **ετ-**; no "liaison étroit" (POLOTSKY 1949, KASSER 1994b).

Φη ετε ‡ εβεφνοβι Lev. 6:23, 9:15 etc³².

²⁹ Consider the case of the **ετ- ce-** isogloss (incidentally, not by-passing Demotic, *pace* QUECKE 1979:439f. — Coptic does not after all "carry on" Demotic any more than Demotic does LE; dialectology cannot be well integrated with written diachrony in Egyptian. **ετ-ce-** (e.g. in Oxyrhynchite Mt. 5:5:7:9, 12:36, 15:32, also in Acts, (mostly with **νε-** future). Historically regarded, **ετεφ-** would correspond, and be diachronically related to the second of two Relative markers in LE (and Demotic?) - *ntj-* and *ntj-jw:f-*, see SCHENKE 1978:*48ff. FUNK 1981 describes **ετ-οφ-** as "synthetic", **ετ-ce-** as "analytic", which, unless meant as a junctural statement, would be tautological and but begging the question. I would also suggest comparing the second syntagm with the Sahidic (and Oxyrhynchite) conjunctive **ν-ce-** (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Seven): **ν-**, functionally kindred to **ετ-** (a relationship already observed by STEINTHAL 1847) is apparently not restricted to nouns. The most inspired and detailed study of the opposition **ετ-ce-** v.s. **ετοφ-** is BOSSON 2006a:49-59, pointing to two conjoint synchronic factors, namely the internal syntagmatics of the Coptic Relative construction and the translated segment in the Greek original.

³⁰ Cf. already SCHWARTZE and STEINTHAL 1850:359 vs. 490 ("declinierte Conjunction").

³¹ Cf. ROSÉN 1964:182

³² Cf. ANDERSSON 1904:101; see POLOTSKY 1949:31f. Note also (Lev. 7:7) **μφρη† μφν εβεφνοβι παρη† ον πε φη ετε†μετψαqt**, for which latter merging of **ετε-** and **ντε-**, see also Chapter Three.

ετε ‡ ἡμαρ Gen. 19:25.

ετε ‡ ἡσυχία Lev. 1:9.

(c19-c20) RELATIVE CONVERTER ‡ TOPICALIZATION/PREMODIFICATION CLAUSE. Allomorphic ετε-, joining a boundary less close than for ετ-. The premodifying or presetting adverbials and adverbial clauses, of a restricted paradigm, are also topical. These constructions are typically Bohairic³³.

Lev. 14:35 φη ετε ‡ πηι φωρ πε.

Deut. 2:25 η ετε ‡ αψανσωτεμ επεκραν ετεψορτερ³⁴.

(c21) PRE-NEGATOR ‡ FOCALIZING CONVERTER.

Whereas the placement of the post-negator αν is apparently pertinent, that is, carries a functional load (see Chapter Two), the pre-negator n- adjoins the initial segment of the focalization construction, namely the converter, in closest juncture, as witnessed by the non-syllabicity of the nasal³⁵. Unlike this embracing negation in unconverted nexus, n-...αν is in this case not Circumstantial:

Gen. 3:4 ηρετennaμoυ αν σενοoμoυ.

Num. 20:17 ηανναcιnι αν εβολ ζιτεnnικoι oταε εβολ ζιτεnnιαζαλοι.

Deut. 29:14 ηαιχω ηταιδιαθηκη ανοκ ηεωτεη ημαρτα-τεη-θηνου αν ηφoου.

Deut. 11:10 ηαφοι γαρ αν ηφρη† ηπικαζι ητεχημι.

Gen. 31:15 ηη ηεταoπτεη ηακ αν ηφρη† ηζανψεμ-μωoυ.

(c22) PRE-NEGATOR ‡ PERSONAL-PRONOUN THEME (sec. person masc.).

Deut. 8:9 ἡκναoωμ αν (Vat ηκνα-) Circumstantial (see below). Both pre-negator and Theme are delimited by syllabicity (below), the latter also by non-aspiration.

³³ φη ετε- + [ADV, AUGENS] αq-, ψαq-, εqε-, Present, ηα- Future, οτoηταε, Nominal Sentence: Polotsky's "split adjective clause" (POLOTSKY 1987:93ff.) is rare in the corpus (Polotsky's exx. are from the NT — very common — and Proverbs). While Polotsky considers this the "transposition" of an entire clause, I take it to be a conversion of a topicalized-premodifier one. The feature is North-Middle Egyptian, shared by Fayumic and Oxyrhynchite (QUECKE 1974:108 + n.212) — e.g. Acts 2:32 (ed. Schenke) ετε-ηηαν τηρη ηηα ηεφ ημετρι. Instances of φη ετε- + adverbial / topicalization (NT) have, besides the NS, also the present, Preterite, Circumstantial Present, Conjunctive, even Imperative (attested in LE!): II Tim. 4:15 φη ετε-ηoοκ ζωακ αρεζ εροκ cαβολ ημοq.

³⁴ See ANDERSSON 1904:63. This is Polotsky's only example (1987:93ff.) from the Pentateuch (he quotes in all 19 others, of which 18 are NT ones, one from Proverbs).

³⁵ See SHISHA-HALEVY 2002:317ff., 321ff. for the delimitation of n- from α- in certain Oxyrhynchite texts. The significance of this juncture property can be evaluated in the context of a general study of the juncture of negation.

(c23) **οὐον-** / **μμον-** ‡ EXISTANT.

Close juncture. Linkage for **μμον-**: exclusion of all but *zero* determination. By this token, **οὐον-** enters looser juncture than **μμον-** (see Chapter Three).

Num. 23:23 **μμον-είψημ γαρ.**

Gen. 47:13 **νεμμον-σοτο δε ψοπ πε.**

Ex. 33:21 **ζηππε οὐον-οῦμα χη ζαροκ.**

Lev. 21:21 **δε-οῦνι οὐον-αῶνι νῆνιτq.**

(D) Textural (ultraclausal, hypemexal) juncture boundaries³⁶.

(d1) **VERB CLAUSE ‡ CONJUNCTIVE.**

A complicated junctural paradigm set, with links/delimiters ranging from connectors (or their zeroing), through personal Theme maintenance (or Theme switching), to negation maintenance (or re-assertion): see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Seven (and above, Chapter One, §1.2.3.2).

Ex. 4:1 **εψωπ αῦψτεμναζ† εροι οῦδε ντοῦψτεμσω-
τεμ νκατασμη...**

Ex. 5:7 **μαροῦψενωοῦ νεωοῦ οῦοζ νσεθουεττοζ νωοῦ.**

Gen. 19:34 **μαψενε εῶοῦν ενκοτ νεμαq οῦοζ ντεντοῦ-
noc-οῦζροῦ...**

Ex. 3:10 **†νωῦ αμοῦ νταοῦορpk...**

Gen. 27:41 **μαροῦῶωντ νδε-νιεζοοῦ ντεψμοῦ μπαιωτ
ζινα νταῶωτεβ νιακωβ μαρεqψωπι νδε-οῦταῶρο ...
οῦοζ ντεqψωπι ερεψωρῶ (so, correctly) εβολ...**

Ex. 14:2 **caḏi nem nenψhpi mṗiḱa οῦοζ μαροῦοῦωτεβ.**

The extended paradigmatics includes other conjugation forms, with their own junctural profile, which, however, is related to that of the Con-junctive:

Num. 21:7 **τωβζ οῦν mṗṗc μαρεqωλι νναιζοοq εβολ
ζαρον.**

Num. 22:19 **οζι nemhi ... οῦοζ †ναεμι δε-οῦ πετεπṗc
ναḏoq nhi (= Greek).**

Ex. 33:14 **ανοκ εθναμοψι ῶaḏωk οῦοζ †να†εμτον
ναk.**

Num. 22:17 **†ναταιοk γαρ εμαψω οῦοζ nh ετεκναḏοτοῦ
nhi †ναaιτοῦ ναk.**

³⁶ See also the discussion of Sentence Particles below.

(d2-d3) PROTASIS ‡ APODOSIS (factual, counterfactual, topicalizing etc.).

Linkage here may be effected by a special sequelling form (ϣαϙ-, εϙε-), but delimitation is in evidence, signalled by rupture of personal concord and syntax:

Num. 12:6 εϣωπ αϙϣανϣωπι νδε-οσπροϕητης ντωτεν
 ζενοϑρομα ÷ ϣαιοϑονετ εροϙ οϑοε ϣαϊαζι νεμαϙ.

Ex. 4:1 εϣωπ αϣωτεμναε† εροι οϣδε ντοϣωτεμςω-
 τεμ νκατασμη σεναδος γαρ νηι δε-μπεϙοϑονεϙ εροκ
 νδε-ϕ† οσ πε†ναδοςϙ νωοϣ.

The *irrealis* complex is more formalized, with νε- and πε linking protasis and apodosis, and tense-shifting delimiting the latter:

Num. 22:33 ενεμπερικι πε ν†οϣνοϣ νεοκ μεν ναινα-
 ζοϑβεκ πε οη δε ναινατανδος πε.

(d4-d5) [FOCALIZING CONVERSION + NEXUS] ‡ FOCUS.

For Topic-initial constructions — the great majority of cases — it is as a rule the *valency matrix* that serves as delimiter, that is, when the valency matrix is concluded, the Focus commences:

Gen. 43:16 αρεναιρωμι γαρ ναοϣωμ νοϣωικ ‡ νεμνι
 μμεερε.

Gen. 43:25 αϣωτεμ γαρ δε-αρε-ιωσχηϕ μεϣι εοϣωμ ‡
 μπιμα ετεμμαϣ.

Num. 11:13 αιναδεμ-αϙ ‡ οων.

Gen. 37:16 αϣμονι ‡ νεων.

Gen. 37:30 αιναϣεννι ‡ εϣων.

Gen. 37:15 ακκω† νσα ‡ οϣ.

Lev. 3:7 εϙναενϙ εζοϣν μπεμοο μπ̄ε̄.

Ex. 2:14 ϣαν εκοϣωϣ εζοϑβετ.

Gen. 44:30 τεϙψϣχη αςαϣι ζεντψϣχη μπιαλοϣ.

Gen. 34:31 αλλα αϣναιρι ντενςωνι μϕρη† νοϣπορνη.

Num. 20:17 ανναμοϣι ριπιμωιτ νοϣρο.

Gen. 30:16 ακνηοϣ εζοϣν ραροι μϕοοϣ.

Gen. 44:30 †νοϣ δε αιναϣεννι εζοϣν ραπεκαλοϣ ετε-
 πενιωτ πε μπιαλοϣ χη νεμνι αν — Circumstantial negated
 nexus as Focus.

An exception to this is the case of Rheme focalization (“auto-focal”) construction, in the Present, where the *focalization boundary coincides with the nexus boundary* and there is no ambiguity as to the incidence of the focalization. The pattern juncture is here closer:

αϙ ‡ οων *passim*.

Gen. 18:9 ες ‡ νζοϣν (responsive to αςοων).

Gen. 16:5 **ΕΤΑΓΝΑΘ ΔΕ ΔΕ-ΑC ‡ ΜΒΟΚΙ.**

Num. 22:29 **ΑΡΕ ‡ CΩΒΙ ΜΜΟΙ.**

In the case of Focus-initial construction, the main Focus ‡ Topic boundary always immediately precedes the Focalizing converter, with secondary boundaries in the Topic:

Ex. 18:14 **ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΘ ΝΘΟΚ ΜΜΑΤΑΤΚ ‡ ΕΚΖΕΜCΙ.**

Gen. 38:25 **ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΕΝΟΥC ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ‡ ΔΙΜΒΟΚΙ ΑΝΟΚ.**

Deut. 31:29 **ΕΤΖΑΗ ΜΠΑΜΟΘ ‡ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΡΑΝΟΜΙΝ (Vat ΤΕ-ΤΕΝ-).**

Gen. 44:5 **ΔΕΝΟΘCΙΩΗΜ ‡ ΑCΙΩΗΜ.**

(d6) VERB CLAUSE ‡ SEQUELLING FORMS: **ΕCΕ-, CΑC-** (see Chapter One).

This set of sequencing clause forms, as a general category old in and typical of Egyptian-Coptic, constitutes an intriguing junctural feature that is hard to match in Indo-European (but are found in Semitic): a category of superordinative, in a sense “apodotic” tenses that are not coordinated to their foregoing cotext but sequencing have built-in links with it. What is juncturally remarkable is, on one hand, the absence of connectors, and, on the other hand, the presence of superordinating exponents, that are juncturally delimiters, since the sequel is rhematic.

Gen. 42:34 **ΑΝΙΟΘΙ ΜΠΕΤΕΝΚΟCΔΙ ΝCΟΝ ΖΑΡΟΙ ÷ ΕΙΕΕΜΙ ΔΕ-ΝΘΩΤΕΝ-ΖΑΝΔΗΡ ΑΝ.**

Gen. 30:20 **ΑΦ† † ΝΗΙ ΝΟΥΤΑΙΟ ΕΝΑΝΕC ΝΔΡΗΙ ΔΕΝΠΑΙC-ΗΟΘ ΝΤΕ†ΝΟΘ ΕCΕΜΕΝΡΙΤ ΝΔΕ-ΠΑΖΑΙ.**

Gen. 18:5 **ΟΘΟΖ ΕΙΕCΙ ΝΟΘΩΙΚ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΟΘΩΜ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ-ΝΑΙ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕCΕΝΩΤΕΝ.**

Gen. 24:46 **CΩ ΝΘΟΚ ΕΙΕΤCΟ ΝΝΕΚΚΕCΑΜΑCΑΙ (Arabic *wa-*; Greek *καί*), sim. 24:44.**

Gen. 4:14 **ΙCΔΕ ΧΝΑΖΙΤΤ ΜΦΟΟΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΠΖΟ ΜΠΚΑΖΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΙΕCΩΠΙ ΕΙCΙΑΖΟΜ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΙΕCΘΕΡΤΕΡ ΖΙΔΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ...**

Num. 12:6 **ΕCΩΠ ΑCΥΑΝCΩΠΙ ΝΔΕ-ΟCΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΝΤΩΤΕΝ ΔΕΝΟΘΖΟΡΟΜΑ ÷ CΑΙΟΘΟΝΖΤ ΕΡΟC ΟΘΟΖ CΑΙCΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΑC.**

Deut. 16:19 **ΝΙΔΩΡΟΝ ΓΑΡ CΑCΩCΘΑΜ ΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ ΝΤΕΝΙCΑ-ΒΕC CΑCΤΑΚΟ ΝΝΙCΑΔΙ ΝΘΜΗ (Greek *καί* *ἐξαίρει*...).**

(d7) Dialogue-internal juncture: **ALLOCUTION ‡ RESPONSE.**

The rich variety of Allocution/Response interface and combinatorics has been studied above in detail (see Chapter One, esp. §1.2.3-4)³⁷. The

³⁷ See also SHISHA-HALEVY 1981b, on the junctural evidence regarding LE dialogue as attested in texts presented as oracular queries.

formal nature of linkage and delimitation between these two sub-systems of dialogue is complex and multifarious. I will limit myself here to repeating germane observations, and point out that (a) while both allocutive and reactive-responsive subsystems of Dialogue carry signals of inter-dependence and mutual linkage, it is the Response that is most typically marked for this linkage, indeed often defining the type of Allocation (even by its zeroing); and yet, the Response is (superficially) the constituent of dialogue that appears most autonomous; (b) rhematic questions not only anticipate, but distinctively open a (rhematic) fillable slot in the Response, while nexal questions prejudice the Response seriously — in fact, practically restrict it to confirmation or repudiation; (c) the post-imperative sequel is different in juncture properties from the Response; (d) Allocutions, esp. interrogative ones, are characterized as such by the very sequel of a Response (as against e.g. “indirect questions”), but may still be Response-less; the difference is mainly junctural.

Some examples:

Ex. 2:14 **ϣΑΝ ΕΚΟΤΩϣ ΕΣΘΘΒΕΤ ΝΘΟΚ ΜΠΙΡΗ† ΕΤΑΚΣΩ-ΤΕΒ ΜΠΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ΝCΑQ.**

Ex. 3:16 **ΜΑϣΕΝΑΚ ΜΑΘΟΘΕΤ-ΝΙΣΕΛΛΟΙ ... ΟΘΟZ ΕΚΕΞΟC ΝΩΟΘ...**

Ex. 24:12 **ΑΜΟΘ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΖΑΡΟΙ ΖΙΞΕΝΠΙΤΩΟΘ ΟΘΟZ ϣΩΠΙ ΜΜΑΘ ΟΘΟZ †ΝΑ† ΝΑΚ ΝΖΑΝΠΛΑΞ.**

Gen. 49:1 **ΘΩΟΘ† ΝΤΑΤΑΜΩΤΕΝ** (Greek συνάχθητε ἵνα ἀναγ-γείλω).

Ex. 14:11 **ΟΘ ΠΕ ΦΔΙ ΕΤΑΚΑΙQ ΝΑΝ ΕΑΚΕΝΤΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝ-ΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ.**

Ex. 4:2 **ΟΘ ΠΕ ΦΔΙ ΕΤΣΕΝΤΕΚΔΙΞ**, answered **ΟΘϣΒΩΤ** (πε *super lin.*).

Gen. 43:7 **ΑΝ-ΕΤΙ ΠΕΤΕΝΙΩΤ ΟΝΣ ΙΕ ΑΝ-ΟΘΟΝΤΕΤΕΝ-CΟΝ ΜΜΑΘ.**

Gen. 43:27f. **QΟΘΟΞ ΝΞΕ-ΠΕΤΕΝΙΩΤ ... ΕΤΙ QΟΝΣ**, answered **QΟΘΟΞ ΝΞΕ-ΠΕΚΑΛΟΘ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΙ QΟΝΣ.**

Gen. 27:32 **ΝΘΟΚ-ΝΙΜ ΝΘΟΚ**, answered **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΩΗΡΙ ΠΕΚΩΟΡΠ ΜΜΙCΕ ΗCΑΘ.**

Gen. 32:27 **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ**, answered **ΙΑΚΩΒ.**

Gen. 18:9 **ΑCΘΩΝ CΑΡΡΑ ΤΕΚCΖΙΜΙ**, answered **ΕCΝΣΟΘΝ...**

(d8) NARRATIVE JUNCTURE (see Chapter One, esp. §1.1.5).

Another sophisticated paradigmatic set features combinations, in various order, of the Preterite **αq-**, main Narrative Evolution Mode tense;

ναq-, Narrative Evolution Mode focussing tense; and ναq- πε, Comment Mode (Narrator's Channel) tense. The two latter forms are delimiting, the last an especially high delimitation. The former is closely linked by *zero*. Note that we are not dealing with coordination, but with *sequentiality*, a *sui generis* type of linkage. Some examples (see Chapter One).

Ex. 2:17 αqτωnq nδε-μωτchc αqναρμοτ.

Ex. 3:6 σενοτνατ αινατ οτορ αιcωτεμ επεκκαρ μπα-
λαoc...

Gen. 25:25 αqι δε εβολ nδε-πεcψhpi πεcψopπ mmici...
μενεncατ αι αqι εβολ nδε-πεqcon ναρε-τεqδιz αμονι
mπθibc nhcατ.

Gen. 22:6ff. αqδι δε nδε-αβρααm nnirokz nτεπιcλil αq-
ταλλhoτ εδεnicαak ... οτορ ατψενωoτ nδε-μπ̄ ετcoπ
πεδεicαak δε ναβρααm [...] πεδε αβρααm δε [...] νατ-
μοψι δε μπ̄ ετcoπ ατi ετ̄μα ετατ̄† zoc ναq.

Gen. 37:4 ετατνατ δε-πεqειωτ mei mmoq ατμεcτωq
νατδεmzom αn πε εcαδι nεμαq.

Ex. 1:21 επιαν δε νατερρο† σεατηh mτ̄† πε ... ατθαmio
νατ nρεnhι...

Ex. 2:15 αqcωτεμ δε nδε-τ̄αραω επαicαdi οτορ τ̄αραω
ναqκω† ncαταko mmωτchc πε (πε *super lin.*).

Gen. 21:20 οτορ ναρε-τ̄† xh nem πιαλοτ πε αqαιαι οτορ
αqψωπι...

4.2.1 The word as a junctural entity in Coptic: a brief note.

The issue of word-division in reproducing a Coptic manuscript text is in fact a pseudo-problem, an issue extrinsic to Coptic and essentially motivated by a Western-squinting editorial perspective. As a technical issue, it is not trivial; but it ought not to be given a scientific descriptive significance. However, the question of whether any “basic (relatively) free form” unity, a non-orthographical (non-typographical) recurrent subtextual segment of relative autonomy, can consistently be defined, resolved and analytically tagged as “word” — is a legitimate and meaningful one in Coptic, as it is in any language. While the general-linguistic consensus as to the incommensurability of specific definitions (semasiological, morphological or prosodic), and the non-universality of composite definitions of the word (along with the concomitant realization of the precedence of syntax over morphology), crystallized in the

heyday of structural linguistics in the mid-twentieth century, does not seem to inform current usage in grammatical description, one may muse on the feasibility of a workable working definition of the Coptic word.

In a typological treatise on language morphology, of which Coptic data (Bohairic and Sahidic, intermingled) constitute the major part, August Schleicher of *Stammbaum* fame reports (1859:20ff.) on M.G. Schwartze's studies. (Generally speaking, the intellectual affinity and empathy of Schwartze with the typologist H. Steinthal, whom he taught Coptic, and the syntactical descriptive interest and acumen of both scholars, were more striking than those of the genealogist and historicist August Schleicher; this may be hinted at by the tone of the report, cf. p. 21). Yet here we have what is the only special discussion of this issue for Coptic (later taken up by Steinthal and Misteli, 1893). Schleicher draws attention to the "root" as a scope for "phonetic changes", and to "uncertainty about the demarcation of the word" and the general orientation of the problem to orthography: elements separated or not separated in writing. S. does not commit himself to answering the question "where do we draw the word boundary?" — "Nur die einsicht in den bau der sprache kann hier entscheiden" (1859:21), but it is this very insight that consistently contradicts the general establishment of such a unity.

From the junctural and structural perspectives, it is evident that the lexeme is, for its part, a real, consistently perceptible unity, the internal cohesion of which is higher than that across its flanking boundaries. This is also true of its syntagm with grammemes, as a rule prefixed to the lexeme, as in $\alpha\psi\omega\tau\epsilon\mu$ (verb clause) or $\pi\iota\rho\omega\mu\iota$ (noun phrase) — and this syntagm tempts comparison with the typical familiar "word" of Indo-European or Semitic. However, verb clauses, and generally nexal syntagms, differ sharply from the conventional word unit in that they include forms that are juncturally widely divergent, with linkage peaks and valleys and open-juncture "islands" — from Gen. 50:19 $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa-\phi\alpha\theta\uparrow \gamma\alpha\rho \alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa$ to Ex.1:19 $\mu\phi\rho\eta\uparrow \alpha\lambda\ \eta\eta\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\mu\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\mu\iota \eta\epsilon \eta\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\mu\iota \eta\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\beta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, from Gen. 37:28 $\omicron\theta\omicron\varsigma \eta\alpha\theta\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma \pi\epsilon \eta\delta\epsilon-\eta\iota\rho\omega\mu\iota \mu\mu\alpha\delta\iota\eta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \dots \alpha\theta\epsilon\eta\iota\omega\varsigma\eta\phi \epsilon\pi\omega\omega\iota \delta\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa\kappa\omicron\varsigma \alpha\theta\uparrow \eta\iota\omega\varsigma\eta\phi \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ to Gen. 13:5ff. $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota \delta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\theta \psi\omega\pi\iota$ (*sic*, for $\psi\omega\pi$) $\mu\mu\omega\theta \alpha\lambda \pi\epsilon$, and so on. If this consideration is conceded, one could assign some morphological characteristics to a Coptic "word"; but then, and by the same token, this unity would have absolutely no junctural or prosodic correlates, or be utterly trivialized. I doubt the descriptive gain in perpetuating the "word" unity at such a high price.

4.2.2 Coordination and disjunction linkage

The connective **οτοζ** is in Bohairic differently related to **nem** compared to the **ατω** vs. **mn** opposition familiar from Sahidic. This means a different functional structure in the two dialects. The main characteristic is here the considerably broader functional range of the connector **nem**, which proportionately reduces that of **οτοζ**. The much more restricted range of **ζι-** also considerably broadens that of **nem**. Hierarchically, **οτοζ** is still of a higher order than **nem**, which in the corpus coordinates internally and, as a rule, symmetrically, infra-clausal unities (nominal — any determination but {π-}? — or adverbial phrases) *as subnexal constituents*, while **οτοζ** superordinates or adds clausal or ultra-clausal ones; **οτοζ** is initial (and prefixed in close juncture) to the added unity, **nem** infixed in the coordinative one.

(a) **nem**

Ex. 9:31 **πιμαζι δε nem πιωτ αμμιωι.**

Gen. 14:10 **†δελλοτ δε ετμολεζ νασοι νψω† ψω† nem βρεζι.**

Deut. 6:15 **ντεπ̄τ̄ς ζωντ nem εμβον (= Vat) —** coordinating verb lexemes in close juncture after bracketing conjugation base.

Deut. 25:13 **nnεοσψι nem οσψι ψωπι.**

Ex. 15:18 **π̄τ̄ς εκοι νοσρο ψαενεζ nem ψαενεζ ντεπιε-νεζ οτοζ ετι.**

Ex. 28:35 **εθεσωτεμ ετεψcmη εφνηοσ ε̄μοσν επεθο-ταβ ... nem εφνηοσ εβολ.**

Deut. 9:24 **αι†ζο mπεmθο mπ̄τ̄ς n-ζ̄m νεζοοσ nem ζ̄m νεζωρζ.**

Gen. 31:10 **αινασ ερωσ nναβαλ nθρασοσι ζηππε ic ni-βαρηιτ nem niζωιαι νασna εζρηι ε̄εnniεcωσ nem ni-βαεmπι νασoσoβψ πε οτοζ νασoι ναoσιαoσaν nem aσaν nκεpmi ε̄μοσ̄ς (= Vat).**

Deut. 26:5ff. **αqεντεn εβολ σεnχηmi σεnoσniω† nζom nem σεnoσ̄ziζ εcamαζι nem σεnoσ̄τ̄oι εq̄zoci nem σεnζannιω† nνασ nem σεnζannmhi ni nem ζανψ̄hpi οτοζ αqεντεn ε̄μοσn απαιμα.**

Gen. 31:2/5 **αqνασ nδε-ιακωβ επζο nλαβαν ÷ δε-ναqoi mφρη† ncaq nem ī εφoοσ aν πε.**

Note the punctuation signals (discussed in detail below) in the following:

Ex. 35:5 **οσnoσb ÷ nem οσζaτ: nem : οσζomτ ÷.**

Gen. 25:2 **α**ςμ**ι**ς **ν**α**q** **ν**ζ**ε**μβ**ρ**α**μ** • **ν**ε**μ** • **ι**ε**ξ**α**ν** • **ν**ε**μ** •
μα**α**α**ν** • **ν**ε**μ** • **μ**α**α**ι**α**μ • **ν**ε**μ** • **ι**ε**ς**β**ο**κ • **ν**ε**μ** • **ζ**ω**τ**ε.

νε**μ** coordinates adverbials, including converbs. Note that here, unlike nominal-term coordination, **ν**ε**μ** itself is usually not demarcated by the dot and colon punctuators. Here and in clause coordination, **ν**ε**μ** coordination by and large resembles **ο**τ**ο**ζ coordination in punctuation; (an exception are **ο**τ**τε** terms: **ο**τ**τε** • **ν**ε**μ** • **ο**τ**τε** seems to be the rule; the raised point is both a separating and isolating mark; see below, on punctuation in detail).

ςε**ν**- **ν**ε**μ** **ε**β**ο**λ **ς**ε**ν**- Deut. 13:7.

επ**ξ**ι**ν**- **ν**ε**μ** **ε**θ**ρ**ο**τ**- Num. 10:2.

Ex. 8:4 **ε**β**ο**λ **ξ**α**ρ**ο**ι** **ν**ε**μ** **ε**β**ο**λ **ξ**α**π**α**λ**λ**α**ο**ς**.

ξι**ν**ι**μ**ι**ς** **ν**τ**ε**- ... **ν**ε**μ** **ξ**ι**ν**ι**μ**α**ς** **ν**τ**ε**- ... Deut. 28:11.

Deut. 28:37 **ς**ε**ν**ο**τ**ω **ν**α**ξ**ι **ν**ε**μ** **ξ**α**ν**π**α**ρ**α**β**ο**λ**η** **ν**ε**μ** **ε**τ**ϕ**ι**ρ**ι **ε**ρ**ο**κ.

εκ- **ν**ε**μ** **ε**κ- **ν**ε**μ** **ε**κ**ν**α- Deut. 6:7.

Also Gen. 1:11:12, 3:15, 4:4, 5:29, 13:3, 19:28, Deut. 11:19 etc.

νε**μ** coordinates an independent pronoun (**ν**ε**μ** **ν**θ**ο**κ vs. **ν**ε**μ**α**κ** opposed in juncture) to other pronouns or nouns:

Num. 18:3 **ν**αι **ν**ε**μ** **ν**θ**ω**τ**ε**ν — typical of interlocutives?

But Num. 16:16 **ν**θ**ο**κ **ν**ε**μ**ω**τ** **ν**ε**μ** α**ρ**ω**ν**.

νε**μ** coordinates *zero* determinators, also after a bracketing indefinite. Here **ν**ε**μ** seems to alternate, at least in the “milk-and-honey” context, with **ξ**ι. Bracketing *n- nota relationis* is common; indeed, bracketing seems to be typical of coordinated *zero* — it is the *zero* article that effects bracketing, not **ν**ε**μ** or **ξ**ι-:

Ex. 4:11 **ν**ι**μ** **π**ε **ε**τ**α**q**θ**α**μ**ι**ο**-**ε**β**ο** ÷ **ν**ε**μ** **κ**ο**τ**ρ ÷ (= Vat).

Ex. 2:14 **ν**ι**μ** **π**ε **ε**τ**α**q**χ**α**κ** **ν**α**ρ**χ**ω**ν ÷ **ν**ε**μ** **ρ**ε**q**†**ξ**α**π** (= Vat).

Deut. 29:6 **η**ρ**π** **ν**ε**μ** **ς**ι**κ**ε**ρ**α (= Vat).

Ex. 35:31 **μ**α**ξ**q **μ**π**ν**ε**τ**μα **ν**κ**α**† ÷ **ν**ε**μ** **ς**ο**ϕ**ι**α** ÷ **ν**ε**μ** **ο**τ**κ**α† ÷ **ν**ε**μ** **ο**τ**ε**π**ι**ς**τ**η**μ**η (= Vat **ν**ςο**φ**ι**α**).

Presented hierarchically: Gen. 45:8 **μ**ϕ**ρ**η† **ν**ο**τ**-[ι**ω**τ ÷ **ν**ε**μ** **ς**ε**ν**].

Ex. 3:8 **ε**q**ς**α† **ν**ε**ρ**ω† ÷ **ν**ε**μ** **ε**β**ι**ω ÷ (= Vat).

Contrasted (no punctuation!) with:

Deut. 6:3 **ο**τ**κ**α**ξ**ι **ε**q**ς**α† **ν**ε**ρ**ω† **ξ**ι-**ε**β**ι**ω (= Vat).

Deut. 26:15 **ο**τ**κ**α**ξ**ι **ε**q**υ**ο**ο** **ν**ε**ρ**ω† **ε**β**ο**λ **ξ**ι-**ε**β**ι**ω (= Vat).

(**ν**ε**μ**...) **ν**ε**μ**α= seems to signal coordination-unit closing, a final boundary signal (note there is remarkably no punctuation before the fi-

nal **ΝΕΜΑ**=, in contrast to the *lemniscus* ÷ before practically every **ΝΕΜ** term of the coordination)³⁸:

Ex. 19:24 **ΝΘΟΚ ΝΕΜ ΑΑΡΩΝ ΝΕΜΑΚ**.

Num. 18:19 **ΝΑΚ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΚΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΚΨΕΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ**.

Gen. 24:10 **ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΝΙΘΑΜΑΤΛΙ ΝΤΕΠΕΦΘ̄C ΝΕΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΝΙΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΤ ΝΤΕΠΕΦΘ̄C ΝΕΜΑΦ**.

Gen. 7:7 **ΝΕΜ ΤΕΦCΖΙΜΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΦΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΝΤΕ-ΝΕΦΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΦ**.

Gen. 7:13 **ΑΦΨΕΝΑΦ ΝΞΕ-ΝΩΕ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΦ-Γ̄ ΝΨΗΡΙ CΗΜ ΧΑΜ ΙΑΦΘΕΘ ΝΙΨΗΡΙ ΝΤΕΝΩΕ ΝΕΜ ΤΕΦCΖΙΜΙ ΝΕΜ †Γ† ΝCΖΙΜΙ ΝΤΕΝΕΦΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΦ**.

Gen. 8:16 **ΑΜΟΤ ΕΒΟΛ ... ΝΘΟΚ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΚΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΤΕΚCΖΙΜΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΝΤΕΝΕΚΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ**

(b) **ΟΘΟΖ**

Gen. 1:4f. **ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦΨΩΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΞΕ-Φ† ΟΤΤΕΠΙΟΤΩΙΝΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΤΤΕΠΙΧΑΚΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦ† ΜΟΤ† ΕΠΙΟΤΩΙΝΙ ΞΕΠΙΕΞΟΟΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΠΙΧΑΚΙ ΑΦΜΟΤ† ΕΡΟΦ ΞΕ-ΠΙΕΞΩΡΞ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΡΟΤΞΙ ΨΩ-ΠΙ ΑΤΟΟΤΙ ΨΩΠΙ ΠΙΕΞΟΟΤ ΝΞΟΤΙΤ**.

Ex. 34:29 **ΖΩC ΔΕ ΕΦΝΗΟΤ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΞΕ-ΜΩΤCΗC ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΙΤΩΟΤ ΝCΙΝΑ ÷ ΟΘΟΖ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΝΑΡΕ-†ΠΛΑΞ CΝΟΤ† ΝΩΝΙ ΧΗ ΞΕΝΝΕΝΔΙΞ ΜΜΩΤCΗC**.

Gen. 7:17f. **ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦΑΨΑΙ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΜΩΟΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦΤΩΟΤΝ Ν†ΚΤΒΩΤΟC ΟΘΟΖ ΑCΘΙCΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΠΚΑΞΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΦΑΜΑΞΙ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΜΩΟΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΦΝΗΟΤ ΝΑΨΑΙ ΕΜΑΨΑ ΖΙΞΕΝΠΙΚΑΞΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑCΝΑ ΝΑCΝΗΟΤ ΝΞΕ-†ΚΤΒΩΤΟC CΑΠΨΑΙ ΜΠΙΜΩΟΤ**.

Ex. 17:12 **ΝΕΝΔΙΞ ΔΕ ΜΜΩΤCΗC ΝΕΑΤΞΕΡΩΨ ΠΕ ... ΟΘΟΖ ΑΑΡΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΖΩΡ ΑΤΤΑΞΡΟΦ ΝΝΕΦΔΙΞ**.

Gen. 41:1ff. **ΦΑΡΑΔ ΔΕ ΑΦΝΑΤ ΕΟΤΡΑCΟΤΙ ÷ ΙCΞΕΚ-ΝΑΦΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΦ ΠΕ (Vat - ΠΕ) ΞΙΞΕΝΦΙΑΡΟ ÷ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΕΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΦΙΑΡΟ ΝΑΤΝΗΟΤ ΕΠΨΑΙ ΠΕ (Vat om. ΠΕ) ΝΞΕ-Ξ̄ ΝΕΞΕ ΕΝΑΝΕΤ ΞΕΝΠΟΤCΜΟΤ ÷ ΝΑΤΜΟΝΙ ΠΕ ΞΕΝΠΙΑΧΙ ΚΕΞ̄ ΔΕ ΝΕΞΕ ÷ ΝΑΤΝΗΟΤ ΕΠΨΑΙ ÷ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΦΙΑΡΟ ÷ ΕΤΞΑΙΩΟΤ ΞΕΝΠΟΤCΜΟΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΨΩΟΜ ΞΕΝΝΟΤΑΦΟΤΙ**.

Lev. 5:1 **ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ-ΟΨΨΟΧΗ ΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΤΕCЦΩΤМ ΕΤCМΗ ΝΟΤΑΝΑΨ ΟΘΟΖ Φ̄ΑΙ ΟΤΜΕΘΡΕ ΠΕ ΙΕ-ΑΦΝΑΤ ΙΕ-ΑΦΕΜΙ ΕΠΙΖΩΒ ΑΦΨΤΕΜΞΟC ΕΦΕΘΙ ΜΠΙΝΟΒΙ**.

³⁸ The fact that the original Greek has here invariably καὶ...μετ(ᾱ)... does not, I believe, detract from the interest of the construction and the final-boundary signalling value of this **ΝΕΜΑΦ**. If it is a calque, the fact that this is a typically Bohairic/LE turn of phrase (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:326f.) indicates that it does have Egyptian roots.

(c) A true opposition of **ΝΕΜ** and **ΟΤΟΖ** is encountered only before Circumstantials (not Relatives):

Ex. 28:35 **ΕΥΕCΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΕQCMH ΕQNHΟΥ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ ... ΝΕΜ ΕQNHΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ** — coordinating the actantial predicative clauses *as paired adverb phrases*.

Deut. 28:37 **ΞΕΝΟΥΑ ΝCΑΔΙ ΝΕΜ ΞΑΝΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ ΝΕΜ ΕΦΙΡΙ ΕΡΟΚ...** — the Circumstantial here is really coordinated to the adverb phrase.

Gen. 41:1ff. **ΝΑΥΝΗΟΥ ΕΠΥΩΙ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΦΙΑΡΟ ΕΥΔΑΙΩΟΥ ΞΕΝΠΟΥCΜΟΤ ΟΤΟΖ ΕΥΩΟΜ ΞΕΝΝΟΥΑ-QΟΥ** — added description.

Ex. 34:7 **ΠΙΝΙΥΤ ΝΝΑΙ ΟΤΟΖ ΠΙΑΛΤΘΗΝΟC (sic) ΟΤΟΖ ΕQΑΡΕΖ...**

Deut. 2:21 **...ΕΝΑΔQ ΟΤΟΖ ΕΝΑΥΩQ.**

ΝΕΜ does not coordinate clauses as such, but as adverbial or nominal commutables, as word-class paradigms. This is a key factor of its functional nature. In Ex. 10:25 **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΜ ΝΘΟΚ ΞΩΚ ΕΚΕΤ ΝΞΑΝΘΑΙΑ ΝΑΝ** we seem to have yet another juncturally definable, homonymous, third **ΝΕΜ** entity, a focussing morph — proclitic like **ΟΤΟΖ**, but not clause-oriented, here prefixed to the whole pronoun + verb clause complex, focussing the pronoun.

Obs.

(1) The prenominal alternant of the *preposition* **ΝΕΜ**/**ΝΕΜΔ**, e.g. as part of a valency matrix of a verb, is a structurally distinct homonym of the connector; this is, in fact, an application of a junctural-profile criteria to establish identity. Gen. 39:2 **ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΩC ΧΗ ΝΕΜ ΙΩCΗΦ**, Gen. 37:4 **ΕΤΑΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ-ΠΕQΕΙΩΤ ΜΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ΑΥΜΕCΤΩQ ΝΑΥΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΕCΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΔQ**, Gen. 40:4 **ΟΤΟΖ ΑΠΙΜΝΟΥΤ ΤΑΞΩΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΙΩCΗΦ**, Gen. 45:1 **ΟΤΟΖ ΝΕΜΜΟΝ-ΞΑΙ ΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤQ ΝΕΜ ΙΩCΗQ**. See ANDERSSON 1904:94.

(2) ERNST 1994 is a cogent discussion of the junctural significance of coordination in Sahidic Coptic and in LE: the distinction between lexemic and determinator coordination is crucial, and of considerable theoretical significance. I readily agree with what Ernst's words (104f.) about the lexical charge of **ΑΥΩ**, which is far from expressing "simple coordination" ("simple coordination" is a phantom anyway). The relationship of **ΜΝ**- and **ΑΥΩ** is still not entirely clear (96ff.); generally speaking, **ΜΝ**/**ΞΙ**- are unmarked, **ΑΥΩ** marked coordination.

(3) KASSER 1995 examines the possibility that **ΑΥΩ** (in Sahidic as well as in other dialects?) is proclitic, on the basis of suprasegmental-prosodic arguments. I believe Boh. **ΟΤΟΖ** is of closer juncture with its following segment than the connector (not the preposition) **ΝΕΜ**.

(4) Outside the corpus, Bohairic **ΝΕΜ** is used disjunctively between interrogative clauses: Mal. 2:14 (B4) **ΕΘΒΕΟΥ ΑΠΩC ΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ ΟΥΤΩΚ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕΤΕΚCΖΙΜΙ**.

(d) **ΙΕ-** as disjunctive coordinator:

The Greek-origin (or Egyptian/Greek merger?) **Η** (**ἡ**), important in Sahidic as it is in other dialects (e.g. Oxyrhynchite), does not occur in our Bohairic corpus; but the proclitic element **ΙΕ-**, which has at least two other homonyms, one interrogative — see Chapter One above — and one apodotic-superordinating, links disjunctively like **Η**; **ΙΕ** is very versatile, even more than most coordinators, in its application:

All determinators are disjoinable by **ΙΕ**:

zero — **ΝΙΒΕΝ ΙΕ- zero** — **ΝΙΒΕΝ** Ex. 35:29.

ΠΙ- ΙΕ- ΠΙ- Ex. 22:5.

Φ- ΙΕ- Φ- Ex. 21:26.

ΟϞ- ΙΕ- ΟϞ- Gen. 44:8.

ΚΕ- ΙΕ- ΚΕ- Gen. 31:14.

zero — **ΙΕ- zero** — Gen. 44:19.

Gen. 31:14 **ΜΗΤΙ ΑΝ ΟϞΟΝ-ΚΕΤΟΙ ΟΖΠ ΝΑΝ ΙΕ-ΚΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ.**

Gen. 31:43 **ΟϞ ΖΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΙϞ ΝΝΑΨΕΡΙ ΜΦΟΟϞ ΙΕ-ΝΟϞΨΗΡΙ ΕΤΑϞΜΑΟϞ.**

Lev. 13:30 **ΟϞΔΟΜΔΕΜ ΠΕ ΟϞΣΕϞΤ ΝΤΕΤΑΦΕ ΙΕ-ΟϞΣΕϞΤ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΤΜΟΡΤ.**

Lev. 5:1 **ΙΕ- ΑϞΝΑϞ ΙΕ-ΑϞΕΜΙ ΕΠΙΖΩΒ.**

Ex. 28:43 **ΕϞΝΑΙ ΕΔΟϞΝ ΕΤΚΚΗΝΗ ... ΙΕ-ΕϞΝΑΙ ΕΔΟϞΝ ΕΨΕΜΨΙ.**

Lev. 5:2 ... **ΕΤΑΔΔΕΜ ΙΕ-ΕΤΜΩΟΤ.**

Lev. 13:24 ... **ΕϞΤΜΟϞΕ ΙΕ-ΕϞΤΑΨΕΟϞΟΒΨ ΕϞΘΡΕΨΡΑΨ.**

Non-Rhetorical interrogative clauses are often disjoined by **ΙΕ-**:

Gen. 32:17 **ΝΘΟΚ ΦΔ-ΝΙΜ ΙΕ-ΑΚΝΑ ΕΘΩΝ.**

Also Gen. 37:8, 43:7, 44:16.

Conjunctive **ΙΕ-** Conjunctive Ex.22:10, Lev.25:14, 5:3, 13:19, Deut. 24:3

Disjoined protases: **ΕΨΩΠ ΑΨΩΑΝ- ΙΕ-ΕΨΩΠ ΑΨΩΑΝ-** Ex. 30:21.

Like **ΟϞΟϞ** and perhaps unlike **ΝΕΜ**, **ΙΕ-** enters close juncture with the added/disjoined segment, which is thus marked for disjunction.

4.2.3 The bracketing link

A segment governing a unit of more than one segment (e.g., in coordination by **ΝΕΜ**) is defined as **initial in a domain frame of bracketed juncture prevailing in its scope**. Evidently, it is opposed as closer juncture in a binary paradigm to the looser-juncture repetition of the same segment. Bracketing by a segment reveals, not its autonomy or relative

importance, but its *nuclearity within its bracketing scope*. The bracketing element establishes juncture hierarchy, scope and Domain Frame, for a specific “island” of close or closer juncture. Some striking instances of bracketing:

(a) Bracketing determinators. Here, the *nota relationis* *n*- and the relative or Circumstantial converters are typical exponents of bracketed juncture linkage:

Ex. 34:7 *πΙΝΙΩ† ΝΝΑΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΠΙΑΛΤΘΗΝΟC (sic, sic) ΟΘΟΖ ΕΦΑΡΕΖ...*

Ex. 23:7 *ΠΕΤΤΟΤΒΗΟΤΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΝΘΜΗ.*

Deut. 8:15 *ΠΥΑΦΕ ΠΙΝΙΩ† ΕΤΕΜΜΑΤ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΖΟ†.*

Following the indefinite article, the basic tense replaces rarely the Circumstantial, and zero article the *nota relationis* + zero:

Num. 14:12 *ΟΤΝΙΩ† ΝΕΘΝΟC ΟΘΟΖ ΝΑΨΩΦ (Vat ΕΝΑΨΩΦ).*

Lev. 26:1 *ΖΑΝΜΟΤΝΚ ΝΞΙΞ ΟΤΔΕ ΦΩΤΖ.*

Obs.

(1) Cases like Ex. 3:22 *ΖΑΝΚΕΤΟC ΝΖΑΤ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΝΟΤΒ* are not instances of bracketing linkage (by lexeme), but of delimiting repeated determinator as a referential pro-form representing the noun phrase.

(2) *οτ- οθoζ n-, οτ- οθoζ εφ-*: Ps. 68:30, 69:6, 85:10, apparently always rhematic in NS.

(b) Bracketing possessive pronoun (see Chapter Three):

Gen. 31:43 *ΝΟΤΙ ... ΝΕΜ ΝΑΨΕΡΙ.*

Ex. 10:1 *ΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΦΑΛΩΟΤΙ.*

(c) Bracketing *n*-, *ντε-*:

Num. 22:18 *ΕΑΙΦ ΝΚΟΨΞΙ ΙΕ ΝΙΩ†.*

Num. 13:31 *ΝΤΩΤΕΝ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΤΝΨΗΡΙ* “yours and your children’s”.

Non-coordinative *nota relationis* bracketing — note the *lemniscus*:

Ex. 8:10 *ΑΙΤΟΤ ΝΘΝΩΟΤ ÷ ΘΝΩΟΤ.*

Ex. 3:8 *ΕΦΞΑ† ΝΕΡΩ† ÷ ΝΕΜ ΕΒΙΩ ÷ (= Vat).*

Ex. 35:31 *ΜΑΖΦ ΜΠΝΕΨΜΑ ΝΚΑ† ÷ ΝΕΜ CΟΦΙΑ ÷ ΝΕΜ ΟΤΚΑ† ÷ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΕΠΙCΤΗΜΗ.*

Gen. 25:2 *ΑCΜΙCΙ ΝΑΦ ΝΖΕΜΒΡΑΜ • ΝΕΜ • ΙΕΞΑΝ • ΝΕΜ • ΜΑΔΑΝ • ΝΕΜ • ΜΑΔΙΑΜ • ΝΕΜ • ΙΕCΒΟΚ • ΝΕΜ • ΖΩΨΕ.*

(d) Bracketing prepositions (the most common case of bracketing juncture); apparently, only in cases of matching determination of the bracketed terms.

N-/MMO=

ΝΖΟ ΟΥΒΕ ΖΟ Gen. 32:30.

ΝΟΖΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΖΙ Gen. 32:16.

ΜΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΙΕ- ΠΙΕΖΩΡΖ Num. 9:21.

ΜΠΕΜΘΟ Ν- ΝΕΜ ΠΕΜΘΟ Ν- Gen. 34:18, 41:37.

N-/NA=

ΝΑϢ ΝΕΜ ΝΕϢΓΕΝΕΑ Ex. 30:21.

ΝΑΚ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΚΔΡΟΔ Gen. 17:7.

ΝCΑ-/NCΩ=

ΝCΑϢ† ΝΕΜ ΜΩϢCΗC Num. 21:5.

Ε-/ΕΡΟ=

ΕΟΤΙΝΑΜ ΙΕ/ΟΥΔΕ ΔΑΔΗ Num. 21:22, Deut. 2:27, 5:32.

ΕΖΑΤ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΟΥΒ Deut 7:25.

ΟΥΤΕ-/ΟΥΤΩ= “between... and...”.

This, continuing early pre-Coptic Egyptian syntax, is a special idiomatic phrasal case (as also revealed by the punctuation: see here some typical cases, and more below); seemingly occurring only with pronouns/Proper Names; “ΟΥΤΩΙ ΝΕΜ ...”, in opposition to “ΟΥΤΕ-ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕ-”. It is used to mark hierarchical structure in group coordination (the latter construction often, but not invariably, responding to the repetition of the preposition in Greek).

ΟΥΤΩΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ ÷ Gen. 16:5, 23:15, 31:44 (Greek ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ).

ΟΥΤΩΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 30:36 (Greek ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Ιακώβ).

: ΟΥΤΩϢ ÷ ΝΕΜ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ÷ ΝΕΜ ΙCΑΑΚ ΝΕΜ ΙΑΚΩΒ Ex. 2:24 (Greek τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ πρὸς...).

ΟΥΤΩΙ • ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ ÷ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕ-ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ Gen. 9:12:15 (Greek ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον πάσης ψυχῆς..).

As opposed to

÷ ΟΥΤΩΙ ÷ ΝΕΜ ÷ ΟΥΤΕ ÷ CΑΡΞ ΝΙΒΕΝ... Gen. 9:17.

ΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΩΚ Gen. 26:28 (Greek ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον σου).

ΟΥΤΩΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΩΤΕΝ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕ-ΠΕΚΔΡΟΔ Gen. 17:10 (Greek ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος...): 11 (Greek ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν).

ΟΥΤΩΙ: ΝΕΜ: ΟΥΤΩΚ Gen. 17:2 (Greek ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ).

ΟΥΤΩΙ: ΝΕΜ: ΟΥΤΩΚ ÷ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕ-ΠΕΚΔΡΟΔ Gen. 17:7.

ΟΥΤΩΙ: ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕ-ΠΚΑΖΙ Gen. 9:13, 16:14.

ΟΥΤΕ-ΝΙΜΑΝΕCΩΘ... ÷ ΝΕΜ: ΟΥΤΕ: ΝΙΜΑΕΝΕCΩΘ... Gen. 13:7

ΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕΟΥCΖΙΜΙ ÷ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕ-ΟΥΙΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΕΟΥΠΕΡΙ Num. 30:17 etc. ΟΥΤΩΙ : ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΩΚ ÷ ΝΕΜ: ΟΥΤΕ: ΝΑΜΑΝΕCΩΘ ΝΕΜ • ΟΥΤΕ • ΝΕΚΜΑΝΕCΩΘ Gen. 13:8.

Note here the pertinent absence of bracketing for looser juncture as *oppositum* (token *exx.*):

ΕΠΑΜΑ ΝΕΜ ΕΠΑΚΑΖΙ Gen. 30:25.

ΞΕΝ- ΝΕΜ ΞΕΝ- Gen. 31:33, Deut. 11:18.

ΝCΑΦ† ΝΕΜ ΝCΩΚ Num. 21:7.

ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝ- ΝΕΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝ- Deut. 11:13.

Examples for non-pertinent (asymmetrical) cases:

Ex. 10:16 ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΠΘC ΝΕΜ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ.

Num. 10:8 ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΜ ΨΑΝΕΤΕΝΞΩΘ.

(e) Bracketing converter: rare in Bohairic.

(1) Relative (“the Relative carried on”) — bracketing ΟΥΟΥ-coordination of affirmative or negative, identical or non-identical conjugation forms:

ΕΤ-[αφ- ΟΥΟΥ αφ-] Gen. 13:4, 31:13, Deut. 32:6 — the boundary of ΕΤ ‡ α- (BASE) is very different from the one of ΕΤ ‡ Theme (PRESENT/FUTURE), where no bracketing is attested.

ΕΤΕ-[ΜΠΑΘ- ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΑΘ- ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΑΘ-] Deut. 4:28.

ΕΤΕ-[ΝΑΚ- ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΑΘ-...ΑΝ] Deut. 8:16.

Ε-[ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝ- ΟΥΟΥ ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝ-] Deut. 32:38.

ΕΤΕ-[ΜΠΑΘ- ΟΥΟΥ ΜΜΟΝ-] Num. 20:5.

ΕΤΕ-[ΝCΕ- ...ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΟΘ-] Deut. 11:2.

The case of ΕΤ- (ΙΕ/ΟΥΟΥ/ΝΕΜ — / Ø) ΕΤ- converting the Present or ΝΑ- Future (e.g. Gen. 2:9, 41:7:27, Ex. 4:18, Lev. 5:2, 11:3:4, Num. 24:15f., Deut. 10:17, 14:6, 32:5) is non-pertinent — this is a conditioned delimitation, since ΕΤ- does not bracket the unconverted durative pattern. However, we do rarely find the Circumstantial as conversion-base in such cases:

Gen. 41:4 †Ξ ΝΕΖΕ ΕΤΞΙΩΘ ΞΕΝΠΟΥCΜΟΤ ΟΥΟΥ ΕΥΩΟΜ ΞΕΝΝΟΥCΑΡΞ.

Note also the cases of coordinated basic, unconverted tense following the relative (in coordination to a Cleft Sentence as a whole, not to the Relative form):

Ex. 33:14 ΑΝΟΚ ΕΘΝΑΜΟΥΙ ΞΑΞΩΚ ΟΥΟΥ †ΝΑ†ΕΜΤΟΝ ΝΑΚ (Vat ΑΝΟΚ †ΝΑΜΟΥΙ). Compare also:

Ex. 2:22 $\Phi\uparrow$ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΙ ΜΒΟΗΘΟΣ ΝΗΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΑΦΝΑΖ-
ΜΕΤ...

Deut. 21:17 $\Phi\alpha\iota$ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΕΝΕΦΩΗΡΙ ΠΕ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΤΕΣΩΕ ΝΑΦ
ΕΘΙ Ν†ΜΕΤΩΟΡΠ ΜΜΙΣΙ (Greek καὶ τούτῳ καθήκει, i.e. focal ar-
rangement) (= Vat), where ΕΤ- is topical to the Focus $\Phi\alpha\iota$ in a coordi-
nated Cleft Sentence.

In Deut. 8:15 $\Pi\omega\alpha\phi\epsilon$ ΠΙΝΙΩ† ΕΤΕΜΜΑΘ ΟΘΟΖ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΖΟ†, the
second relative, which may arguably be a case of repeated (delimiting)
converter following ΕΤΕΜΜΑΘ, is in all probability coordinated to
ΠΙΝΙΩ†.

Obs.

(1) Here is, I believe, an important junctural issue — again, not matched by any formal
distinction in the Greek original — which really concerns the boundary of converters with
their converted tense-forms, no less than any subsequent boundaries within its scope:
“ΕΤΕΡΕ- here makes an environment in which coordination of infinitive lexemes is com-
patible”. Bentley Layton, letter of 19/7/98 à propos Shenoute ed. Leip. IV 43 $\eta\theta\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\ \varsigma\omega\mu\ \eta\ \psi\omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon$.

(2) Bracketing by base, well attested in Sahidic (Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:161f., 2004)
is rare in the corpus; consider in Sahidic even bracketing by base + negative (pron. ac-
tor): Shenoute (ed. Young 1993) 50 $\epsilon\tau\omega\alpha\tau\mu\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\tau\omega\ \chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$; or nominal actor
+ Contingent Future auxiliary: *ibid.* $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\mu\mu\alpha\theta\ \eta\alpha\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\ \mu\mu\omicron\sigma\theta$
 $\alpha\tau\omega\ \varsigma\omega\beta\epsilon\ \eta\varsigma\omega\sigma\theta$.

(2) Circumstantial

Converter repeated: this is the normal construction, hence not a de-
limitation:

$\epsilon\eta\alpha\alpha\phi$ ΟΘΟΖ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi\omega\phi$ Deut. 2:21.

$\epsilon\phi\chi\omega\sigma\theta$ ΙΕ- $\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\phi$ Num. 24:13.

ΕΚ- ΝΕΜ ΕΚ- ΝΕΜ ΕΚΝΑ- Deut. 6:7.

ΕΘ- ΝΕΜ ΕΘΝΑ- Deut. 11:19.

In Gen. 6:5 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\phi\eta\alpha\theta$ ΝΔΕ-ΠΘ̄C $\Phi\uparrow$ ΕΝΙΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΤΕΝΙΡΩΜΙ
ΔΕΑΘΑΨΑΙ ΖΙΔΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΟΘΟΖ ΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΦΡΑΚΙ ΔΕΝ-
ΠΟΨΗΤ (Vat $\phi\rho\alpha\kappa\iota$), ΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ + Circumstantial is the nexal
actant of $\eta\alpha\theta$ Ε-, coordinated to ΕΝΙΚΑΚΙΑ ΔΕ-ΑΘΑΨΑΙ.

(f) Bracketing conjugation-base (a unique instance: cf. SHISHA-
HALEVY 1986a:161f. for Shenoute):

ΜΗΠΩC ΝΤΕΠΘ̄C ΠΕΚΝΟ† ΔΩΝΤ ΝΕΜ ΕΜΒΟΝ ΕΡΟΚ Deut.
6:15 (= Vat) — the close juncture between the action expressions in the
Greek μη...ὀργισθεῖς θυμῶθῃ is possibly the trigger for the Coptic
construction.

(g) Bracketing **MH** (Assertive Focal Question), bracketed clauses:
MH ANOK AI- IE ANOK AI- Num. 11:12.

(h) Not bracketing, i.e., always delimiting by repeated segments: conditioned no-opposition cases. This is as significant and instructive as the bracketing construction:

(1) Interrogative **AN-** (Chapter One): Num. 13:18ff., Deut. 4:32-4.

(2) Including **Ξε-** (Chapter Three): Gen. 29:12, Ex. 3:11, Num. 13:18ff., 16:29, Deut. 4:32-4.

(3) Converters with Durative Pattern: Ex. 28:35, Deut. 11:19 etc.; also, practically speaking, all bases, **MTPEP-** neg. imperative (Deut. 31:6) and so on.

(4) **ε-** before infinitive (which thus proves to be distinct from the preposition **ε-**): Ex. 32:6, Num. 21:11, Deut. 10:12.

4.2.4 Referential linkage and cohesion: phorics

This is the prime and major grouping of linkage and cohesion phenomena, seemingly perhaps the most banal, where linkage seems iconic. It is often conceived of as cohesion *tout court*, and yet, it is complicated, sophisticated, high-ranking and rich in implications, and not at all adequately charted.

Cohesion linkage is often effected by pronominal — representative (**{NΘOQ}**, **{-q}**, **{πE}**, etc.), deictic (the case of **{πI-}** or **{ΦAI}**), or pro-formal (**OTON**, **OTAI**, **ΞAI ΞAN-** etc.) — phoricity.

The difference between the deictic anaphors and the representative ones is considerable. The latter include an echo signal of the referate's constitutive properties — gender, number, specificity — which is essential for identifying the referate, omitting its lexemic content, while the former may concord with the indicated element, but this agreement is not rigorous.

Linkage is the functional essence of these elements. Gender and number, and to a great extent specificity, are in Coptic the main categorial parameters of all cohesive operators within the scope of cohesion. The difference between the “text-internal discourse world” and the “text-external” one (LAMBRECHT 1996:36ff.) is that only in the former case we are concerned with linkage proper: not all reference is juncturally significant. The very multifariousness of phoric devices implies the variety of linkage types.

(1) Cf. HARWEG 1979, EHLICH 1983, SCHIFFRIN 1990; KLEIBER 1992; MOREL and DANON-BOILEAU (eds.) 1992, CORNISH 1996 — all on the distinction and mutual relationship of deixis and anaphora, a controversial central issue. Generally speaking, deixis is hierarchically higher; anaphora/cataphora — relationships obtaining between elements co-occurring in the text — a textual and textual application of deixis. (A striking case of sophisticated text-deictic application is $\mathbf{n\alpha q-}\pi\epsilon$, a normal Comment Mode carrier in narrative, in its basically anaphoric and delocutive linkage to the Evolution Mode carriers $\mathbf{\alpha q-}$ and $\mathbf{n\alpha q-}$, see Chapter One).

4.2.4.1 Anaphoric reference: a miscellany

(1) The reference to non-zero determinators neutralizes specificity/particularity grading:

Gen. 20:3 †CZIMI ETAKOLC.

Num. 31:50 $\Phi\rho\omega\mu\iota\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\varphi\varsigma\iota\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\beta$ — reference to the metaphrastic “naming” determinator is uncommon.

Gen. 39:2 οὐρανοῦ ... ἐκτάματα.

Εκ. 3:22 ἀλλὰ ἐσεερετὶν νῆε-οὔσζιμι ντοτς ντεσθεω
νὲμ τεσφῆρι...

The postulation of two, masculine and feminine, $\sigma\tau$ -homonyms is probably unavoidable, in view of the divergence of $\sigma\tau_{\text{M}}$ and $\sigma\tau_{\text{F}}$, of which $\sigma\tau_{\text{Masc}}$ and $\sigma\tau_{\text{Fem}}$ are proclitic allomorphs:

Lev. 27:33 οὔτι ἐνανεὺς ᾄδονται ἐφ' ἑωσ.

Deut. 21:15 (αξιμι ενοσ†) οσι μμωοσ εφμει μμοσ οσι
μμωοσ εφμοσ† μμοσ.

And especially in view of the gender-characterized anaphoric reference, which, here too, is formally to the nuclear determinator (Chapter Three, see esp. 3.0.1-4).

(2) Especially striking is the fluctuating feminine/masculine/plural reference to the nuclear *zero* article, even with “feminine” (i.e. feminine-determinator-compatibility) lexemes, of Egyptian or Greek extraction: this is a true syntactical “neuter” in the *neutralization* sense, and proves [NUCLEUS to EXPANSION] to be a distinct Juncture Domain Frame (see [2]):

Gen. 31:19 ΚΕΡΜΙ ΕΘΝΟΔΩ.

Gen. 6:12:17 ἀσάρξ NIBEN CΩQ ΜΠΕQΜΩIT.

Gen. 6:15 **сараз** **нибен** **ετεογον-πνα** **νωνς** **νςηтq.**

Num. 6:7 **ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΛΘΜΟΘ.**

Obs.

(1) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:145ff. with further references; for Demotic, SHISHA-HALEVY 1989b:38ff. Apparently, the first to observe on this extraordinary feature of Coptic was Jernstedt (see his posthumously edited *Isoledovanija*, pp. 553-9).

(2) The resumption of **NIBEN** is a difficult issue. Ex. 12:16 **ϩΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ... ΝΝΕ-ΤΕΝΑΙΤΟΥ** (see already SCHWARTZE and STEINTHAL 1850:478) certainly differs from Gen. 6:15 **ϩΑΡΞ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΕΟΥΘΟΝ-ΠΝΑ ΝΩΝΣ ΝΣΗΤΩ** or Num. 6:7 **ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΛΘΜΟΥ** in Juncture Domain Frame, but probably also in the status of **NIBEN** itself — "all" or "any", the latter quantifier with *zero* determination of the lexeme. Consider -**NIBEN** + sgl. Deut. 11:24, Num. 31:51, Lev. 16:17, 18:23; **NIBEN** + pl. Gen. 7:15, Lev. 7:26f., Num. 31:17.

(3) Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1998:71ff. for the structurally and macrosyntactically inevitable postulation of masculine and feminine homonyms of Modern Welsh *un* ("one" not indefinite article, but quantifier and pro-form).

(3) *Nil* (not *zero*, since conditioned) actantial reference to non-nuclear *zero* determination, proving cases of [NOUN to ACTANTIAL RESUMPTION], in particular Topic representation in the Rheme, to be distinct Juncture Domain Frames (see [1]):

Gen. 43:31f. (**χα-ωικ εδρηι**) **αρχω ϩαροϩ μμαϩατϩ οτοϩ αρχω ϩαρωοτ μμαϩατοτ αρχω ϩαρωοτ ννιρεμνχημι μμαϩατοτ**.

Num. 11:13 **μα • αϩ • ναν εοτωμ**.

Ex. 15:22 **νατδεμμωοτ αν πε εω**, sim. Ex. 17:1:2.

Num. 20:5 **μμον-μωοτ εω**.

Deut. 9:9:18 **ωικ μπιοτωμ μωοτ μπιω**, sim. Ex. 16:8, Deut. 9:1, 29:6 (!)

Deut. 2:6 **ϩρε δε ερετενεψωπ...**

NB: Gen. 3:2 **εβολ ϩεν' ποτταϩ ντενιψωην ντεπιπαρ-αδισοτ τεμναοτωμ** (Bodmer III + **εβολ νσητοτ**, resumption to topicalized adverb).

Some slots simply do not allow *zero* as a commutable:

Deut. 8:3 **ναρεπιρωμι ναωνϩ εωικ μμαϩατϩ αν** — Augens.

Deut. 16:4 **ννε-ψεμηρ οτονηϩ εβολ** — reflexive object actant.

Deut. 1:16 **ρωμι ... πεϩσον** — possessive article.

Ex. 23:7 **πεττοϩβηοτ οτοϩ νομηι ννεκϩοϩεϩ** — representative resumption of **πετ-**.

Obs.

See ANDERSSON 1904:8f.; contrast the resumption of indefinite determination in De Vis I 192 **οταϩ μπεϩοτομϩ οτηρη μπεϩσοϩ**.

The representation of, and linkage to, topical *zero*-determined lexemes that are constituents of compound verbs, in the alternant to the Tautological Infinitive construction (Chapter Two), are different:

(c) Antecedent resumption: *zero* vs. *non-zero* resumption of nucleus in adnominal clause (attributive Relative or adnexal Circumstantial). This is a basic junctural environment, paradigmatically revealing two different links, looser and closer respectively.

(1) Generally speaking, *zero* resumptions, of high importance in Coptic, constitute a complicated variety: referential *zero* (e.g. *zero* actants, to *zero* determinator); conditioned *zero*; conjunctive construction with antecedent grammaticalization vs. lexical antecedent; or non-referential *zero* (e.g. actantial, as in Num. 5:8 **ΜΜΟΝΤΕΠΙΡΩΜΙ... ΖΩCΔΕ ΕΤ**).

(a) *Zero* resumption with *zero* marking adverbial status — an eminent instance of junctural significance: adnominal vs. conjunctive constructions (**ΕΤ**₁- “wh-”, vs. **ΕΤ**₂- “that”?). The grammaticalization of the lexeme is both cause and effect of the “conjunctivealization” of the construction.

ΦΡΗ†, (**ΠΑΙ**)**ΡΗ**† (see also special discussion below):

Deut. 7:19 **ΜΦΡΗ**† **ΕΤΑΦΕΝΚ ΕΒΟΛ...**

Beside **ΦΡΗ**†, temporal and local lexemes are found, all in formally marked adverbial status themselves, with no resumption, but a casual adverbial marking of the Relative pronoun, in the Greek, unless the relative is overruled by external syntax (“attraction”). In Coptic, we find two constructions:

Zero anaphor:

Gen. 2:4 ...**ΜΠΙΕΖΟΟ**† **ΕΤΑΠΘ** **Φ**† **ΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΤΦΕ...**- non-initial-position temporal noun, **Ν**- marked for adverbial status. Sim. Gen. 5:1.

Gen. 30:41 **ΔCΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΞΕΝΠΙCΗΟ**† **ΕΨΑΘC**† **ΩΨΩΟ** ... **ΝΞΕ-ΝΙΕCΩΟ**.

Ex. 10:6 **ΙCΞΕΝΠΙΕΖΟΟ**† **ΕΤΑΩΠΙ** **ΖΙΞΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ** sim. Deut. 4:32

Ex. 9:24 ...**ΞΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ** **ΙCΞΕΝΠΙΕΖΟΟ**† **ΕΤΑΕΘΝΟC** **ΩΠΙ** **ΖΙΩΤC**.

Lev. 14:57 **ΞΕΝΠΙΕΖΟΟ**† **ΕΤΕΦΝΑCΩΞΕΜ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΕΖΟΟ**† **ΕΤΕΦΝΑΤΟ**† **ΒΟ**, sim. Num. 30:15 — bracketing by **ΞΕΝ**- or of adverbial status.

Num. 9:1 **ΞΕΝΘΑΞΡΟΜΠΙ CΝΟ**† **ΕΤΑ**† **ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ** **ΝΧΗΜΙ**.

Lev. 7:35 **ΞΕΝΠΙΕΖΟΟ**† **ΕΤΑΦΕΝΟ**† **ΕΞΟ**† **Ν**.

Lev. 19:6 **ΞΕΝΠΙΕΖΟΟ**† **ΕΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΨΩΤ ΕΤΕΟ**† **ΟΜC**.

Gen. 3:5 **ΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ** **ΕΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΟΘΩΜ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΜΜΟQ** **ΣΕΝΑΟΘΩΝ**
ΝΞΕ-ΝΕΤΕΝΒΑΛ — a case of *casus adverbialis*.

Non-zero (ΜΜΟ≠) resumption:

Gen. 5:2 **ΜΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ** **ΕΤΑΘΑΜΙΩΘ** **ΜΜΟQ**.

Deut. 4:10 **ΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ** **ΕΤΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΟΞΙ** **ΕΡΑΤΕΝ** **ΘΗΝΟΘ** **ΜΜΟQ**.

Gen. 21:8 **ΞΕΝΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ** **ΕΤΑΘΤΟΤΙΕ** **ΙΣΑΑΚ** **ΠΕQΥΗΡΙ** **ΜΜΟQ**.

Num. 30:16 **ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ** **ΕΤΑQΣΩΤΕΜ** **ΜΜΟQ**.

Num. 14:40 **ΠΙΤΩΘ** **ΕΤΑΠΘ̄C** **ΔΟC** **ΝΑΝ** **ΞΕ-ΑΝΕΡΝΟΒΙ**.

Num. 33:54 **ΠΙΟΘΑΙ** **ΠΙΟΘΑΙ** **ΕΦ̄ΜΑ** **ΕΤΕΠΕQΡΑΝ** **ΝΑΙ** **ΕΔΩQ**.

Gen. 16:14 Name of well: “**ΤΥΩ†** **ΕΤΑΙΝΑΘ** **ΜΠΑΜΘ**”.

ΠΙΤΟΠΟC/ΠΙΜΑ ... **ΜΜΑΘ** Deut. 12:21, 26:2 etc.

Two examples are, I believe, especially instructive in this context:

In Gen. 39:6 **ΞΩΒ** **ΝΙΒΕΝ** **ΕΥΑQΑΙΤΟΘ** **ΥΑΡΕΠΘ̄C** **CΟΤΤΕΝ-ΝΕQ-ΞΙΞ** it is the *zero* resumption of the Topic alone that signals the adverbial status of **ΞΩΒ** **ΝΙΒΕΝ**: “in every thing”; while in

Gen. 50:5 **ΝΞΡΗΙ** **ΞΕΝΠΙΜΞΑΘ** **ΕΤΑΙΥΟΚQ** **ΝΗΙ** ... **ΕΡΕΤΕΝ-ΘΟΜCΤ** **ΜΜΑΘ**, the topical adverbial **ΝΞΡΗΙ** **ΞΕΝΠΙΜΞΑΘ**... is resumed by the focal anaphoric pro-adverb **ΜΜΑΘ**, instructing us as to the potential resumption paradigm of topical preset adverbials, as well as their very topicality.

Obs.

See LARSSON 1990 *passim*, esp. 187ff. on *zero* anaphor with temporal-quantitative nuclei in Italian. However, the homonymy of the relative-with-*zero*-anaphora and the conjunctive/general subordinator prevailing in Romance does not obtain in Coptic.

(d) Allocution — Response referential linkage and cohesion: **ΜΜΟΝ**, **ΜΦ̄Η**, **CE**, etc. — anaphoric marked Response forms: see above, Chapter One, 1.2.4.

Note: Gen. 44:19f. *zero* article (question) to **ΟΘ-** (answer): **ΑΝ-ΟΘΟΝΤΕΤΕΝ-ΙΩΤ** **ΜΜΑΘ** **ΙΕ-** **CON** # **ΟΘΟΝΤΑΝ** **ΝΟΘΔΕΛΛΟΝΙΩΤ** **ΜΜΑΘ** **ΝΕΜ** **ΟΘΑΛΟΘ**...

(e) Delocutive reference may be disrupted by a noun, at the turning-point between cata- and anaphoric reference:

Ex. 32:1 **ΑQΘΩ†** **ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΛΑΟC** **ΕΔΕΝ-ΑΑΡΩΝ** **ΟΘQ** **ΠΕ-ΞΩQΘ** **ΝΑQ**.

4.2.4.2 The “neuter gender” *signifié*, in an overruling morpho-syntactical signification — grammatical gender has primarily cohesion function — and a *signifiant* homonymous with the feminine singular. (This

is different from the masculine/feminine/plural fluctuation *signifié* observed above for the anaphora to a *zero* article). Its phoricity vector is neutralized; indeed, its very phoricity and link nature is problematic at times, when it seems a mere slot filler. Note the following examples:

Deut. 21:14 **ΟΤΟΖ ΕΣΕΨΩΠΙ ΑΚΥΤΕΜΟΤΑΨ ΕΚΕΧΑΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΣΟΙ ΝΡΕΜΖΕ** — cataphoric, contrasted with anaphoric feminine.

Ex 33:16 **ΠΩΣ ΣΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΕΣΟΤΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΑΦΜΗ ΔΕΛΙ-ΔΙΜΙ ΝΟΤΖΜΟΤ ΝΑΖΡΑΚ** — cataphoric.

Gen. 15:6 **ΑΦΝΑΖ† ΝΔΕ-ΑΒΡΑΜ ΕΦ† ΑΤΟΠΣ ΝΑΦ ΕΟΤΜΕ-ΘΜΗ** — anaphoric to a specific segment or, fuzzily, to foregoing information.

Deut. 18:14 **ΜΠΕΡΤΗΣ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†** — anaphoric.

Lev. 5:1 **ΕΨΩΠ ΝΤΕΟΨΨΧΗ ΕΡΝΟΒΙ ... ΟΤΟΖ ΦΑΙ ΟΤΜΕ-ΘΡΕ ΠΕ ΙΕ-ΑΦΝΑΘ ΙΕ ΑΦΕΜΙ ΕΠΙΖΩΒ ΑΦΥΤΕΜΔΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙ ΜΠΙΝΟΒΙ** — anaphoric.

Ex. 35:5 **ΜΑΡΕΟΤΟΝ ΣΙ ΝΤΕΟΤΟΝ ΝΟΤΑΦΕΡΕΜΑ ΜΠΘΣ ΟΤΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΝΑΣΕΜΝΗΤΣ ΔΕΝΠΕΡΖΗΤ ΕΨΕΙΝΙ ΕΔΟΤΗ...** (Greek *πᾶς ὁ δεχόμενος...*) — anaphoric?

Ex. 25:2 **ΣΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΖΑΝΑΠΑΡΧΗ ΖΙΤΟΤΟΨ ΝΟΤΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΕΣ-ΝΑΙ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΔΕΝ{ΕΔΕΝ}ΠΟΤΖΗΤ** — phoric?

Num. 21:16 **†ΨΩ† ΘΗ ΕΤΑΠΘΣ ΔΟΣ ΜΜΩΨΧΗΣ ΔΕ-ΘΟΘΕΤ-ΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΜΜΑΘ** — anaphoric feminine merges with cataphoric neuter reference.

Cataphoric are cases like:

ΤΗΣ ΕΘΡΕΦ- Num. 21:23.

ΤΗΣ ... ΕΡΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΨΙΝ Num. 11:29.

(ΦΑΙ) ΕΤΕΨΕ ΝΑΦ ΕΣΙ... Deut. 21:17.

ΝΑΝΕΣ + Conjunctive Ex. 14:12.

ΝΑΝΕΣ + ε- INFINITIVE Gen. 29:19.

ΝΑΝΕΣ ΝΑΝ ΕΑΝ- Num. 11:8.

ΣΔΕΝΤΕΤΕΝΨΨΧΗ ΖΩΣΤΕ + INFINITIVE Gen. 23:8.

ΝΝΕΨΩΠΙ + Conjunctive Gen. 44:7.

Ex. 10:10 **ΜΑΡΕΨΩΠΙ ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†**.

Deut. 16:9 **ΕΑΚΕΡΖΗΤΣ ΝΖΙΟCΔ**.

εφεΔος Δε- Num. 5:19 etc. — the systemic absence of *εφεΔε- or *εφεΔω Δε- brings home the linking role and nature of this formal pronoun, which mediates between the verb lexeme and quoted text, in a typologically significant cataphoric buffer between lexeme and clause.

Rare instances of the masculine *signifiant* for the neuter may usually be accounted for:

Num. 9:15:16 **οσορ νξαναρουσζι ναφχη ριζεν†σκκνηη
μϕρη† νοσςμοτ νκρωμ ... παρη† ναφωοπ πε νχοσ νι-
βεν (- q- = πιμαννα?)**

Gen. 1:18 **οσορ αφνασ νδε-ϕ† δε-νανεφ (= Vat)** (no anaphora in the Greek *οτι καλόν*)

Gen. 15:4 ...**οσορ σατοτq οσςμη ντεπ̄σ̄**

Obs.

Demotic, from Ryl. IX on, has the formal feminine signifying neuter gender, not only pronominally and phorically but also as the gender of a Relative form (*t3-ntj-* as the continuation of the early Egyptian relative-stem-suffixed *-t-*: *mrrt.f*, *mrt.n.f*). This formal feminine varies or alternates with the masculine. Consider the following examples (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1989b:40f.): Dem. P. Berlin (ed. Zauzich, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993)³⁹ 136633 x+14 *t3-ntj-jw.w r-ḥn-s* “what they will instruct”, 15530 x+6f. *t3-ntj-jw.w r-jr.-s n.f jw.w r jr-s n.j* “what they will do to him, they will do to me”, Ryl. IX 10/16 (cf. VITTMANN 1996:409, 454) *rh t3-ntj-jw NN dd n-jm.s* “know what NN says”, and even, fully grammaticalized, Dem. P. Berlin 13634+23681 a/b x+2 *n-t3-ntj-jw.f r jj n-jm.s jjr.ḥr.tn* “the moment he comes to you” lit. “in that he will come”. Note the feminine overrule (see below, for the Coptic correspondents) in Topic status, Dem. P. Berlin 15619 verso 1 *p3-ntj-jw.f r dd jjr-s* “whatever he will say, do it”. J. Fr. Quack draws my attention to several others, including *Setne I* 4/18 *jḥ p3-ntj-iw:j(r) ddt.s n.f*. Berlin 15619 is inconclusive, since the pron. object is not the suffix-pronoun, but the “dependent” pronoun, indifferent to gender (J. Fr. Quack). The masculine is found as NS-Theme (πετε- πε): Dem. P. Berlin 13633 verso 18 *p3-ntj-mtr ḥr.w p3y*, and Dem. P. Berlin 13634+23681 a/b x+5 *r-ḥ-n p3-hb.w n.tn n-jm.f* “according to what has been sent to you”.

4.2.4.3 Anaphoric linkage to the indefinite article: three junctures.

(a) In non-nuclear slots (especially actantial or prepositional), pronominal linkage is always specific, by delocutive personal or demonstrative pronoun. Anaphoric reference to the particular indefinite article (“a particular instance of...”) is thus specific, exactly like the link to a definite article:

Gen. 21:6 **οσςωβι αφαιq νηι νδε-π̄σ̄** — a distinctive Juncture Domain Frame: cf. Chapter Two for this focalization pattern. See also Gen. 34:7.

Ex. 32:32 **ιςδε κναχαποσνοβι νωσ εβολ ιε χαq.**

When the indefinite article is non-particular i.e. generic, an object actant has *zero* anaphor, but slots not allowing *zero* still show the same specific pronoun:

Gen. 28:20 ...**ντεq† νοσςωικ νηι εοσωμ νεμ οσςβωσ
νταδολετ μμοq (= Vat).**

³⁹ Cf. editor’s note, p. 4 “Ungenauigkeit bei den neutrich gemeinten Suffixen”.

Deut. 24:12 **ΟΥΔΗΚΙ ΝΝΕΚΕΝΚΟΤ ΞΕΝΠΕΔΖΒΟC** — topicalization Juncture Domain Frame. Cf. also Gen. 31:38f.

(b) An anaphoric indefinite article represents as nucleus an entire foregoing indefinite noun syntagm:

Deut. 25:14 **ΟΥΝΙΩ† ΜΜΕΝΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΚΟΨΔΙ.**

Ex. 3:22 **ΖΑΝΚΕΨΟC ΝΖΑΤ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΝΟΨΒ.**

Deut. 28:36:64 **ΖΑΝΚΕΝΟΨ† ΖΑΝΨΕ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΩΝΙ.**

(a) **ΟΨΔΙ** / **ΖΑΝΟΨΟΝ** (outside the corpus) represent an indefinite noun syntagm or a lexeme as Rheme in a Nominal Sentence:

Αποκ. 2:2:9 **ΖΑΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΝΕ ... ΖΑΝΟΨΟΝ ΑΝ ΝΕ.**

But in II Cor. 11:22 **ΖΑΝΖΕΒΡΑΙΟC ΝΕ ... ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ** — the reference, *anaphoric to the entire nexus*, is zeroed.

Obs.

Job (ed. Porcher) 4:19 **ΖΑΝΗΙ ΝΟΜΙ ΕΤΕ ‡ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΝ ΑΝΟΝ-ΖΑΝΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΑΙΟΜΙ ΝΟΨΩΤ** seems an awkward resumptive construction, but is in fact the only one systemically available — note the delimitation **ΕΤΕ ‡ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΝ...** marking this relative as distinct; this is also manifest in the very compatibility of *zero-determination* **ΟΜΙ** and **ΕΤΕ-**.

4.2.4.4 The case of **ΜΦΡΗ†, **ΠΑΙΡΗ†**** reveals a sophisticated set of representative constructions:

(a) Linkage: masculine “regular” anaphoric actantial representation in relative clause of **Φ/ΠΑΙ-ΡΗ†** as antecedent:

ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΕΔΙ and similar, Gen. 21:11, 27:9, 26:29, Ex. 23:1.

Gen. 27:8 **ΜΦΡΗ† Ε†ΝΑΖΕΝΖΩΝΚ ΕΡΟΦ.**

Gen. 27:19 **ΜΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΚCΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΗΙ ΜΜΟΦ.**

(a') replaces the masculine by what must be a fuzzily text-resumptive neutric feminine, yet may simultaneously mark the grammaticalization (“conjunctionalization”) of **ΦΡΗ†**:

ΚΑΤΑ/Μ-ΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΙΔΙC Gen. 8:21, 19:8, Lev. 24:19, Deut. 2:29 etc.

Ex. 8:9 **ΚΑΤΑΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΦΔΟC ΝΔΕ-ΜΩΨCΗC** sim. Num. 23:30, Ex. 7:22.

Gen. 19:31 **ΜΦΡΗ† ΕΤΕCΤΗΨ.**

Ex. 8:8 **ΚΑΤΑΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΦCΕΜΝΗΤC.**

Num. 33:56 **ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΝΑΙΝΑΔΙC ΝΩΟΨ ΕΙΕΔΙΦ ΝΩΤΕΝ (= Vat!)** is remarkable: **Ν** as Relative converter of **ΝΑΦ-**.

Obs.

(1) W.-P. Funk (tentatively, in a letter of 22/5/98) “the reference to **ΜΦΡΗ†**, if any, is regularly made by -c, not -q. The normal case is no resumptive pronoun at all, or at best something resembling the -c of **ΞΟС**”. Funk compares the “Crypto-Bohairic MS of Nag Hammadi VIII, 1 (Zostrianus), where the Sahidicized **ΜΠΡΗΤΕ** is regularly followed by **ΜΜΟС**”... “You can easily say that only the first pronoun (**ΑΙС**) is really a reference to **ΜΦΡΗ†**, while the second (**ΑΙq**) has a more general antecedent, a more lofty one (“things to be done”, “do it” = “handeln”). Funk refers also to Deut. 1:22, 31:26. “at any rate, -c cannot refer to the *article*”. I readily concur with this distinction of two grades of anaphora.

(2) Note AM I 81 **ΜΠΡΗ† ΕΤΕΚΝΑΝΑΩ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΡΙ ΜΜΟС ΑΡΙΤС** (cf. the neutric feminine overrule, below); B4 (Bodmer III) John 15:12 **ΚΑΤΑΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΙΜΕΝΡΕ-ΘΗΝΟΩ ΜΜΟС** sim. 14:31, 15:9, 17:23.

(b) Delimitation: delimitative *zero* clearly marking adverbial status:

Ex. 39:22 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΑΨΙΡΙ...**

Num. 8:6 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΕΚΕΙΡΙ ΝΩΟΩ.**

(b') *zero* “casus adverbialis” + fuzzily text-resumptive neutric feminine linkage: Num. 36:10 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΑΨΑΙС.**

Deut. 21:3 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΕΚΕΑΙС.**

Num. 25:12 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΑΙΞΟС.**

(c) *Zero* resumption — uncommon in our corpus:

Deut. 7:19 **ΜΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑΦΕΝΚ ΕΒΟΛ...**

4.2.4.5 The “neutric feminine overrule” seems to account for some striking constructions of **ΞΩ** “say” and probably other verbs (see above, §4.2.4.2 Obs. for Demotic antecedents, and §4.2.4.4 Obs. 1, for the feminine anaphor following **ΠΙ/ΦΡΗ†**).

Gen. 22:3 **ΑΨΙ ΕΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΑΦ† ΞΟС ΝΑq.**

Gen. 43:2 **ΠΙΞΕΛΛΟ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΞΟС.**

Ex. 8:9 **ΚΑΤΑΦΡΗ† ΕΤΑqΞΟС ΝΞΕ-ΜΩΨСНС** (see above for **ΦΡΗ†**).

4.2.4.6 The {ΦΔΙ} link is opposed to the delocutive personal pronoun. The former occurs in the corpus in the role of a deictic anaphoric exponent, while the latter is a non-deictic representant. {ΦΔΙ} either

(a) reflects a demonstrative of the Greek original:

Gen. 42:6 **ΙΩСΗΦ ΝΑqΟΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΑqΙ ΟΩq ΦΔΙ ΝΑq† ΕΒΟΛ...** (Greek οὗτος), contrast 42:7 **ΝΘΩΟΩ ΔΕ ΠΕΞΩΟΩ** (Greek οἱ δὲ...).

Num. 5:13:14 **...ΟΩq ΝΤΕΚΕΟΩΑΙ ΝΚΟТ ΝΕΜΑС ... ΟΩq ΝΤΕ-ΨΤΕΜΠΙqΩВ ΟΩΩΝq ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑqРΕΝΝΕΝΒΑЛ ΜΠΕСqΑΙ ... ÷ ΘΔΙ**

ΔΕ ΑΣΣΩQ ΘΑΙ ΜΠΕΣΕΡΒΟΚΙ ΟΘΟZ ΝΤΕΟΨΠΝΑ ΝΧΟZ Ι ΕΔΟΨΝ
ΕΠΕCΖΑΙ ΟΘΟZ ΝΤΕQΧΟZ ΕΤΕQCΖΙΜΙ ÷ ΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΕCΣΟQ... (Greek
αὕτῃ δὲ...).

Ex. 31:14 ΑΡΕZ ΕΠΑCΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΔΕ-ΦΑΙ QΟΨΑΒ ΜΠΘC (Greek
τοῦτο).

Num. 22:5 ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΟΥΛΛΟC ΑQΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΟΘΟZ
ΑQΖΩΒC ΜΠΖΟ ΜΠΙΚΑΖΙ ÷ ΟΘΟZ ΦΑΙ ΑQΟΘΟZ ΔΑΘΟΨΩΙ (Greek
καὶ οὗτος...).

ΟΘΟZ ΦΑΙ ΝΤΕQ- Lev. 5:4 (Greek καὶ οὗτος...), sim. Lev. 5:1 and
Chapter 11 *passim* (clean and unclean animals; ΦΑΙ... Q- (τοῦτο); Ex.
Chapters 37-38 *passim* ΦΑΙ ΑQΘΑΜΙΟ...etc. (Greek οὗτος ἐποίησεν...),
or else, {ΦΑΙ}

(b) is an exponent of strongly delimitative Theme-switching; phori-
cizing (through gender/number cohesion) an adnominal relationship,
calquing the gender/number linkage of the Greek Relative pronouns:

Ex. 8:18 ΦΑΙ ΝΝΕΑQ ΝΟΨΖΟΡ ΨΩΠΙ ΝΔΗΤQ (Greek ἐφ' ἧς).

Ex. 21:8 ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΑCΨΤΕΜΡΑΝΑQ ΜΠΕCΘC ÷ ΟΘΟZ ΘΑΙ
ΝΤΕQΨΤΕΜΟΨΑΨC... (Greek ἥν).

Obs.

Ross 1996 suggests a scalar grading of discourse anaphors according to "referencing strength" for Latin *qui hic ille*, as symptomized by intervening current and non-current entities. Although ΦΑΙ is highly phoric, it is still delimitative, compared with the personal pronoun; ΝΘΟQ ΔΕ is a still higher delimitation or lower linkage.

4.2.4.7 Reference juncture: examination of selected Juncture Domain Frames (JDFs)

4.2.4.7.1 [Antecedent to Relative clause]

(a) The four-term linkage Relative expansion paradigm: ΕΤ- vs. {ΦΑΙ
ΕΤ-} vs. {ΦΗ ΕΤ-} vs. Π-ΕΤ- calls for some observations:

(1) adnominal {ΦΗ ΕΤ-} (only a sector of the functional spectrum of
{ΦΗ ΕΤ-}: see here, Chapter Three, §3.7) constitutes an important de-
limitation — in fact, it is sometimes so regular and predictable that one
may argue it is a *zero*-formal-nucleus link — gender-number-marking
the Relative converter: as it were, formally speaking, a makeshift mov-
able Relative pronoun, by means of a formal deictic nucleus.⁴⁰ The nu-
clear determinators to {ΦΗ ΕΤ-} are specific-phoric {ΠΙ-}, generic {Π-}
or indefinite-generic ΟΨ-, ΖΑΝ-. No *zero* determination is attested; the

⁴⁰ Cf (for Middle Welsh translated texts, where the *Vorlage* is Latin or Old French), the Relative converter *a-* and its phoric nucleus the gender number marked demonstratives *yr hwn*, *yr hon*; see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995:142ff., esp. 145.

extent of antecedent phrase is unrestricted; the Relative-tenses paradigm is apparently unrestricted. Functionally, this delimitation corresponds to a *higher rhematic independence* of the Relative (“appositive”). The expansion is heavy in characterizing information: a rhematic amplification is “packaged” as adnominal. Diachronically, it is instructive to reflect that, again on the formal level, the ΦH component is here also the Coptic concordng operator, seeing that the nuclear article replaces the pronominal-nuclear gender/number-exponence slot of the Semitic-type Egyptian adjective (ΦH in ΦH $\epsilon\tau$ - is indeed an “article”, according to the junctural evaluation in ERMAN 1915:185):

nfr- $\emptyset$ > $\pi\iota$ - $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$
nfr-*t* > θH $\epsilon\tau\text{NANOT}$ -C

Num. 35:23 ωNI NIBEN ΦH $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\text{NAMOT}$ $\text{N}\mathfrak{S}\text{HTQ}$ NQEMI AN (Greek Rel. pronoun).

Lev. 25:44 $\sigma\text{B}\omega\text{K}$ IE- $\sigma\text{B}\omega\text{K}$ NH $\text{THPO}\mathfrak{T}$ $\epsilon\text{TNAYOPI}$ NAK (Greek *zero* determination ... $\delta\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$).

Lev. 5:4 $\sigma\text{B}\mathfrak{T}\text{XH}$ θH $\epsilon\text{TNAPKEC}$ (Greek *zero* det. ... $\tilde{\eta}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$...).

Lev. 15:2 $\sigma\text{P}\omega\text{MI}$ ΦH $\epsilon\text{TEOTON-OTTEATEA}$ NAYOPI $\mathfrak{S}\text{EN-PEQC}\omega\text{MA}$ (Greek $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\delta\text{p}\tilde{\iota}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\delta\text{p}\tilde{\iota}$ $\tilde{\omega}\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$...) — seemingly semantically identical with:

Lev. 27:14 $\Phi\text{P}\omega\text{MI}$... ΦH $\epsilon\text{TNAPAPATIZIN}$ (Greek $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\theta\text{p}\omega\text{p}\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\omega}\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$...).

Deut. 11:2 $\mathfrak{Z}\text{ANAL}\omega\text{OTI}$ NH $\epsilon\text{TENCEC}\omega\text{OTN}$ AN (Greek $\delta\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma\iota$) — the negative is unusual.

Deut. 6:11 $\mathfrak{Z}\text{ANNI}\omega\text{T}$ MBAKI $\epsilon\text{NANE}\mathfrak{T}$ NH $\epsilon\text{TEMPKOTOU}$ $\mathfrak{Z}\text{ANLAKKOC}$ $\epsilon\text{P}\omega\text{HK}$ NH $\epsilon\text{TEMPK}\omega\text{OKOT}$ $\mathfrak{Z}\text{ANIA}\mathfrak{Z}\text{ALOAI}$ NEM $\mathfrak{Z}\text{ANIA}\mathfrak{Z}\omega\text{IT}$ NH $\epsilon\text{TEMPK}\epsilon\omega\mathfrak{T}$ (Greek Relative pronouns).

Lev. 4:16 $\text{PIO}\mathfrak{T}\text{HB}$ ΦH $\epsilon\text{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{ZC}$ ΦH $\epsilon\text{TENEQ}\mathfrak{Z}\text{IZ}$ $\mathfrak{Z}\text{HK}$ ϵBOA (Greek δ + participle δ + participle).

Deut. 21:1 PIKAZI ΦH $\epsilon\text{TEP}\mathfrak{C}$ $\text{PEKNOT}\mathfrak{T}$ NATHIQ NAK .

Num. 14:31 PIKAZI ΦH $\text{N}\mathfrak{O}\text{WTEN}$ $\epsilon\text{TAPETENZEN}\mathfrak{O}\text{HHNOT}$ CA-BOA MMOQ — the position of the Augens accords with ΦH ... MMOQ as JDF.

Deut. 10:2:4 $\text{NICA}\mathfrak{Z}\text{I}$ NH $\epsilon\text{NAT}\mathfrak{Z}\text{INIPLAZ}$ (Greek Relative pronoun).

Lev. 4:5 $\text{PIO}\mathfrak{T}\text{HB}$ ΦH $\epsilon\text{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{ZC}$...

Deut. 9:12 $\text{PEK}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{AOC}$ NH $\epsilon\text{TAKENOT}$ ϵBOA $\mathfrak{S}\text{ENPKAZI}$ NXHMI .

(2) $\Phi\mathfrak{Z}\text{AI}$ $\epsilon\text{T-}$ (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:228ff.).

While $\Phi\mathfrak{Z}\text{AI}$ is obviously different from ΦH deictically, with a locutive/allocutive semantic here-and-now basis, and — formally — is a tighter

link or rather looser delimitation, it is not easy to formulate its precise reference semantics in a sweeping general way. Note the following cases, where Φαι is either affective in rhetorical tone, or else cataphoric-characterizing (“such as....” — see Chapter Three):

Gen. 11:4 οὐπὸργος Φαι ἐτετεράφε ναυωπι γαερηι ἐτφε.

Deut. 21:3 οὐβαρσι θαι ἐτεμπεςερζωβ.

Num. 14:8 πικαρι Φαι ἐτῃα† νερω† νεμεβιω.

Following a highest-specificity primary deictic παι-nucleus, {Φαι ἐτ-} is conditioned, as a deixis concord index:

Ex. 4:17 παιωβωτ Φαι ἐτεκναερναιμηι νερηι νῆητq
sim. Deut. 4:8, 19:1 etc.

Finally, {Φαι ἐτ-} may itself mark the interlocutive here-and-now point of reference:

Gen. 24:42 πιμωιτ Φαι †νωθ ἐ†μωι ριωτq also Gen. 3:11, Ex. 10:11, 23:22 etc.

Ex. 32:7 αφερανομιν νῆε-πεκλαος ναι ἐτακενοθ...
(Greek οὓς ἐξήγαγες) — contrast the unmarked

Deut. 9:29 πεκλαος νη ἐτακενοθ εβολ (Greek Rel. pronoun - plural); νη concords (“ad-sensum”) with the whole phrase and not just with the determinator of πεκλαος, but this may be motivated by the Greek οὓς.

(3) Adnominal πετ- is rare in the corpus, and is rather loosely linked to its nucleus. It is either non-neutric-appositive (a unique instance):

Gen. 19:19 ακερε-τεκμεθμη ἐρνω† πετεκνααιq νεμηι
εορεταψοχη ωνῃ (= Vat) (Greek ...τήν δικαιοσύνην σου ὁ ποιεῖς... with a “fuzzy” neutric concord).

Or it may be particular, specific by combination, appositive to a highly specific nucleus.

Deut. 28:58 εἰρι νναϊαῃι τηροθ ντεπαινομος πετςῃ-
νοθτ.

Lev. 22:16:32 ανοκ πε πῶς πεττορβο μμωοθ (not a Cleft Sentence!)

(b) Actor (Theme) actant in Relative clause, coreferent with antecedent (or, in the case of Cleft Sentence, with Focus + formal Theme) — anaphora to antecedent in the durative nexus pattern Relative clause.

(1) Affirmative nexus: no separate anaphora is the normal construction — the reference is in the “portmanteau” Relative morph, which is by the same token, properly speaking, a pronoun, not converter: both ac-

tor expression (Theme) and exponent of adnominal status of the nexus.

Deut. 20:19 ΜΗ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΨΥΗΝ ΕΤ-ΞΕΝΤΚΟΙ...

Gen. 48:16 ΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤ-ΝΟΞΕΜ ΜΜΟΙ.

(2) Affirmative nexus: pronominal anaphor following the converter ΕΤ- (very rare):

Ex. 22:11 ΟΥΑΝΑΨ ΝΤΕΦ† ΠΕ ΕΤΕΦΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΟΥΤΩΟΘ ΜΠΒ (Vat ΕΤΕΦΕΨΩΠΙ).

This by now familiar case of non-zero anaphoric reference to the *agens*-coreferent antecedent in the Durative Conjugation is significant, inasmuch as it indicates and proves a synchronic non-pronominal (converter) status of ΕΤ-, the last vestige of the historical Relative pronoun (in the specific-pronominal actor [Theme] slot) to assume full converter functioning⁴¹. Indeed, this completes — very late in the day — the converter status of the relative. However, it is from the junctural angle that the difference between the pronominal and converter constructions of ΕΤ- is most pronounced. In fact, their difference is primarily junctural: the former links appositively with the antecedent and nexally with its Rheme (the ΝΑ- auxiliary Stative in our example: -ΕΤ+ΝΑ-), while the latter is doubly and analytically linked to the antecedent, by converter morph and by anaphor, while being sharply delimited from the nexus: ΕΤΕ‡[q+ΝΑ-].

Obs.

(1) See POLOTSKY 1987:55ff. (on the so-called “abundans”), with mostly Sah. exx.; consider Apoc. 1:4 (Homer, *Muséon* 43 [1930] p. 2 and *Muséon* 54 [1941] p. 109) ΠΕΤQ-ΨΟΟΠ; Mark 9:37 (M 569) ΠΕΤΕΦΝΑΨΟΠΤ. Nitrian Bohairic: ΠΙΣΟΝ ΕΤΕΦΝΑΕΡ-ΜΕΛΕΤΑΝ (SV 47); NT: Mt. 5:8, Mark 9:25, John 15:2. Oxyrhynchite Eccl. 4:1 (+ SHISHA-HALEVY 1983:314f.); Sah. Shenoute ed. Leip. III 116 IV 28, Prov. 24:55 = 30:20, *Papyruscodex* 39.29. See, for later Greek, BAKKER 1974: 34ff. (Septuagint), 29ff.

(2) A second analytic possibility for the “absent actor expression” (FUNK 1978:112ff.) postulates a zero anaphoric element following ΕΤ- (FUNK 1978:114 suggests a generative “deletion transformation” here).

(3) This construction is familiar from Demotic (cf. FRANSEN 1991:30f.), and is not a Coptic innovation, but (in Coptic at least) a feature of colloquial language: Theban Grafitti (ed. Jasnow, *Gramm. Demotica* 93, 97) 3446/7f. p3-ntj-jw.f m-tw.k (which would be Boh. ΦΗ ΕΤΕΦΝΤΑΚ), alongside cases of Relative Future (p3-ntj-jw.f + infinitive).

(4) The synchronic variation of Relative pronoun and Relative converter would seem to correspond, diachronically, to a transition (often postulated in numerous languages, e.g.

⁴¹ The Relative, the youngest converter to evolve and indeed never entirely evolved, is also notable juncturally for being the most closely linked to its antecedent determinator — unlike all other converters, it is never initial, but always linked to a nominal or pronominal “prop”.

in Romance, Greek, Celtic and Semitic) from pronoun to converter. However, upon a closer look, it turns out to be almost always a case of coexistence — sometimes in different linguistic diasystems, such as spoken and written varieties, different registers etc. — of the two very different function elements. This may well have been the case in Egyptian, as is suggested by the Demotic and attestation. For Romance, see SORNICOLA 1985:10ff. on the diachrony of the two types, especially in terms of spoken vs. formal-written language; FIORENTINO 1997.

(3) Negative nexus: the {zero...**AN**} embracing negator includes a #zero# boundary that is reflected in the pronominal anaphor. Here the relative exponent is clearly conversive, not pronominal (indeed, the negative construction may well have been one of the starting points or triggers of conversion syntax for *ntj*). We have here delimiting *zero* and a clear boundary:

Lev. 14:32 **ΦΗ ΕΤΕQΝΑΞΙΜΙ ΑΝ.**

Deut. 1:39 **ΦΗ ΕΤΕQCΩΘΗ ΑΝ ΜΦΟΟΘ ΝΟΤΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΙΕ-ΘΘ-ΠΕΘΟΟΘ.**

Also Gen. 17:14, Deut. 18:19, 25:9 etc.

Obs.

The case of Akhmimic and Lycopolitan *zero* -...**AN** (embracing) negation is especially striking, for the *zero* pre-negator is here juncturally evident as a boundary by the persistence of the prefix-pronoun series following the converters: **ε-Ø-CE- ...ΕΝ, ΕΤΕ-Ø-CE- ...ΕΝ, ΝΕ-Ø-CE ...ΕΝ**: see NAGEL 1969:36b, 37; FUNK 1987. The same boundary is revealed by the Bohairic anaphoric pronominal Theme pronoun in **ΕΤΕ- Ø-q-... AN**.

(c) In the case of lexical identity of antecedent with the Relative clause — a *figura etymologica* with an infinitival antecedent or a deriving auxiliary as Relative verb — the JDF is concluded and marked for its final boundary by a formal conditioned “pro-lexemic” object-actant anaphor, *viz.* **ΜΜΟ=** or **ΕΡΟ=**, which does not belong to the valency matrix of the Relative verb but is extraneous to it:

Deut. 28:67 **ΤΖΟ† ΝΤΕΠΕΚΞΗΤ ΘΗ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΞΕΡΖΟ† ΜΜΟC.**

Deut. 28:53 **ΠΕΚΞΟΞΞΕΞ ΕΤΕQΝΑΞΕΞΩΞΚ ΜΜΟQ.**

Lev. 5:6 **ΦΝΟΒΙ ΕΤΑQΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΜΜΟQ.**

Lev. 5:18 **ΤΕQΜΕΤΑΤΕΜΙ ΕΤΑQΕΡΜΕΤΑΤΕΜΙ ΜΜΟC.**

Deut. 28:67 **ΝΙΝΑΘ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΘ ΕΡΩΘΘ.**

(d) The question of identity of referents is inevitable in delocutive pronominal reference. Here are a few selected but typical cases of interest; it will be seen that, out of the maximal three heterophoric referents, only one or two are found contained within the JDF:

Gen. 35:13 $\pi\mu\alpha\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta^1\varsigma\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\eta^2\mu\mu\omicron\eta^3$: 1, 2 — referates outside the juncture domain frame; 3 — inside the JDF.

Gen. 39:19 ## $\eta\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\tau\epsilon\uparrow\varsigma\eta\iota\mu\iota\#\eta\eta\epsilon\eta\alpha\varsigma^1\varsigma\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\mu\omega\omicron\tau^2\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\eta^3$: 1, 2 — inside the larger JDF; 3 — outside it; $\eta\eta$ — deictic link of the smaller domain with preceding referate cotext.

Ex. 6:5 # $\pi\eta\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\eta\iota\mu\pi\iota\varsigma\lambda\ldots\#\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\eta\iota\iota\pi\iota\mu\mu\omega\omicron\tau^1\mu\beta\omega\kappa\eta\lambda\eta\tau\eta^2$ 1, 2 — inside the larger JDF; 1 — linking the JDF to preceding referate cotext; $\Phi\eta$ — initial delimitation/boundary signal for the JDF, deictic link of the whole domain with preceding referate cotext; 2 — conditioned formal link with $\Phi\eta$.

Lev. 4:27 ... $\omicron\tau\iota\eta\eta\iota\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\#\theta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma^1\omega\epsilon\alpha\eta\epsilon\theta\epsilon\varsigma^2\omega\pi\iota$:- 1 — both exophoric (altogether outside textual domain frame) and cataphoric, inside it, in either case strongly delimited from $\theta\eta$; 2 — outside the JDF; $\theta\eta$ — initial delimitation/boundary signal for the JDF deictic link of the whole domain with preceding referate cotext.

Lev. 7:8f. $\pi\iota\omicron\tau\eta\beta\#\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta^1\eta\alpha\epsilon\eta\eta^2\epsilon\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\ldots\Phi\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\eta\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\eta^1\ldots$: 1 — linking outside the smaller JDF, inside the larger one; 2 — conditioned link inside the JDF, linking to $\Phi\eta$, initial delimitation/boundary signal for the JDF, not linking it with the preceding referate cotext; $-\omicron\tau$ — non-phoric.

4.2.4.7.2 [Topic to clause]

This syntagmatic environment⁴² is of special importance in a Topic-prominent language such as Coptic (and has been of central interest from Middle Egyptian on, with a heightened significance from Late Egyptian on). Topic resumption is not simple anaphora, but a special case of coreference: one discontinuous thematic complex, in which the Theme represents the Topic in the core clause. Structurally, the Topic and anaphor-representant define a clear JDF. However, we find different, distinctive internal forms of anaphora and linkage-arrangements for this complex, which are correlated with Topic-forms nexus patterns and/or Theme specificity.

(a) Topic — clause cohesion: some types:

(a) Delocutive concurring linkage.

Deut. 21:17 $\Phi\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\rho\chi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\eta\iota\mu\pi\epsilon$ - Topicalized-Theme Nominal Sentence pattern (see Chapter Two, Pattern III): the Topic often grammaticalized into Theme. So too:

⁴² Externally, the Topic construction is a link, while the initial-placement Focus is a delimitation; see above, Chapter Two.

Gen. 46:32 **ΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΔΕ ΞΑΝΜΑΝΕΣΩΘ ΝΕ ΞΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΓΑΡ
ΝΡΕΨΑΝΕΨΤΕΒΝΗ ΝΕ.**

Ex. 5:16 **ΠΙΤΟΞ ΓΑΡ ΣΕ† ΜΜΟϞ ΔΝ ΝΝΕΚΕΒΙΑΙΚ.**

Gen. 8:22 **ΝΝΙΕΞΟΟΘ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΝΤΕΠΚΑΞΙ ÷ ΟΘΞΡΟΞ ΝΕΜ
ΟΘΩΣΞ ÷ ΟΘΑΡΩΨ ΝΕΜ ΟΘΚΑΩΜΑ ÷ ΠΙΨΩΜ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΞΗ
ΝΨΩΜ ΠΙΕΞΟΟΘ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΕΞΩΡΞ ΝΝΟΩΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΩΟΘ.**

Deut. 24:12 **ΟΘΞΗΚΙ ΝΝΕΚΕΝΚΟΤ ΞΕΝΤΕϞΞΒΟC.**

(b) Resumption of *zero* article + lexeme — alternation of allo-anaphors:

Zero anaphora: **ΩΙΚ ΜΠΕϞΟΘΩΜ...** Ex. 16:8, Deut. 9:1, etc.

Homolexemic linkage (noun lexeme Topic, compound auxiliary +
lexeme derived verb): Num. 8:26 **ΞΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΝΕϞΕΡΞΩΒ** (not ***ΞΩΒ
ΔΕ ΝΝΕϞΙΡΙ**).

Homolexemic linkage (infinitive Topic, conjugated verb):

Lev. 7:24 **ΕΟΘΩΜ ΔΕ ΝΝΟΘΟΘΟΜΟΘ (= Vat).**

(c) Topicalized Endophoric Nominal Sentence (Chapter Two, pattern
IVa): the strong internal Rheme — formal Theme linkage, carried by
concord, overrules the Topic — Theme one, effecting a remarkable de-
limitation and boundary between Topic and core pattern, one sympto-
mized by discord or absence of concord (see §4.2.4.7.3 below):

Gen. 41:26f. **†-Ξ ΝΕΞΕ ΕΘΑΝΕΘ Ξ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΕ ΟΘΟΞ ΠΙ-Ξ
ΝΞΕΜC ΕΘΑΝΕΘ Ξ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΕ.**

Gen. 44:6 **ΦΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΘΑΞΡΟΜΠΙ Β† ΤΕ ΕΤΑΨΩΠΙ.**

(d) Topicalized formal nexus: CONJUGATION BASE + [Conjugation
Base + Nominal Theme]: a double — homogrammemic and pronominal
— resumption linkage; indeed, the internal juncture contour here is
striking for its strong linkage.

This construction (of a broad dialectal distribution) is yet another case
of grammaticalized (and devalued) topicalization, macrosyntactically
superordinative. Two textemic cases are especially common:

In Narrative: **α- αϞ-** (see above, Chapter One, §1.1.5 [d] 1): Lev.
8:24 **ΟΘΟΞ ΑΜΩΘCΗC ΑϞΙΝΙ ΝΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΑΞΑΡΩΝ...**

In a formulaic superordinative constituent clause of the preceptual
texteme: **ερε- εϞε-** e.g. Lev. 13:31, 14:16 etc. **ΟΘΟΞ ΕΡΕΠΙΟΘΗΒ
ΕϞΕΦΩΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ...**

(e) The so-called Tautological Infinitive topicalizing construction
(Chapter Two, §2.4.4), having a formalized adverbial verb (indeed, an

analytical converb) in Topic status, and a repeated conjugated verb, is homolexemically linked to its clause:

Ex. 15:26 **ΞΕΝΟΥΣΩΤΕΜ ΝΤΕΚΣΩΤΕΜ ΝCΑΤCΜΗ ΜΠ̄C̄.**

(f) Conversion of topicalized constructions may in isolated instances be a link between Topic and clause:

Num. 12:14 **ΕΝΕΠΕCΙΩΤ ΑΓΓΙΟΘΙ ΝΑCΝΑ- ΑΝ ΠΕ** (Vat ἡπε-
CΙΩΤ ΑΓ- ΝΑCΝΑ-.... ΑΝ ΠΕ is difficult; Greek εἰ + Aor.).

Gen. 25:28 **ΞΕ-ΝΕ-ΤΕQΔΟΡΔC ΤΕQΔΡΕ ΤΕ** (= Vat) — this is a special *Wechselsatz*-type Topicalized Delocutive NS (see above, Chapter Two).

Lev. 14:35 **ΦΗ ΕΤΕ-ΠΙΝΙ ΦΩQ ΠΕ.**

However, more often than not, conversion is a delimitative index of this very boundary:

Num. 12:3 **ΟΘQ ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΜΩCΗC ΝΕΟΘΡΕΜΡΩ ΠΕ ΕΜΑΩΩ.**

Gen. 29:31 **ΡΑΧΗΛ ΔΕ ΝΘC ΝΕΟΘΑCΡΗΝ ΤΕ.**

(g) The Proleptic Pronoun JDF: verbs of cognition contract in Bohairic a special idiomatic “that”-object-clause construction for Nominal Sentence clauses, in which the actual Theme of the clause joins the lexeme as object actant, and is then resumed in the content (ΞΕ-) clause by the formal NS Theme. It is thus topicalized in its domain frame (in a special included-Topic construction), with the same or similar linkage as in the topicalized Nominal Sentence pattern⁴³:

Ex. 2:2 **ΕΤΑΘΝΑΘ ΔΕ ΕΡΟQ ΞΕ-ΘΑCΤΙΟC ΠΕ.**

Ex. 16:15 **ΝΑCΩΟΘΝ ΜΜΟQ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΞΕ-ΟΘ ΠΕ.**

Ex. 21:36 **ΑΥΩΑΝCΟΥΕΝ-ΠΙΜΑCΙ ΞΕ-ΟΥΡΕQΔΟΛΔΕΛ ΠΕ.**

Num. 11:16 **ΝΗ ... ΕΤΕΚCΩΟΘΝ ΜΜΩΟΘ ΞΕ-ΖΑΝΠΡΕCΒΟΤΕ-ΡΟC ΝΤΕΠΑΙΛΑΟC ΝΕ.**

(h) **ΝΞΕ-** is a postpositive morph adjoining noun syntagms and demonstratives to a personal-pronoun actantial delocutive Theme, following conjugation forms. This is hardly a case of simple anaphora to a topicalized element, nor an “Antitopic” (Chafe and Lambrecht), nor again an epexegetical apposition heralded by a cataphoric pronoun, but a discontinuous complex actor expression, where the personal pronoun is an “incorporation” of the noun, and, in that sense, cataphoric to it. The peculiar formal and junctural nature of this construction is in its marking a boundary between the lexical periphery of a grammemic verb-clause

⁴³ Cf. LAMBRECHT 2000, characterizing the special construction of the “relatif de perception”.

core. **ΝΞε-** itself has no meaning or function, other than the linkage between a noun and a grammemic pronoun *in nexus*, and, by the same token, the delimitation between the nexus in *Flexionsisolierung* or incorporation with its representant thematic and rhematic constituents and its lexical-specification periphery. It is noteworthy that this is one of the rare cases where a personal-pronoun (formally always specific) is linked to a non-specific (but never generic — never *zero*-determined) referent. This construction — predominantly narrative in the corpus — is yet in need of special study (see above, Chapter One, §1.1.5 [d] 1, for tentative suggestions as to its specific information-structuring function in narrative).

Specific Theme-*agens*-actants — the most typical (protagonist PNs are especially usual; this being an unmarked term in the quaternary Theme-placement paradigm, in itself a junctural operator — an initial boundary signal, starting narrative chainlets):

Gen. 23:1:2 ἀφωπι δε ΝΞε-πωνς ΝCαppα ... αCμοϑ ΝΞε-αppα...

Gen. 23:8 ἀqαΞι ΝεM ωοϑ ΝΞε-αβρααμ.

Ex. 7:21 ναqχη πε ΝΞε-πιCνοq Ξενπκαξι τηρq νχημι.

Non-specific Theme-actants — one of the few non-Existential ways of having indefinite Themes:

Gen. 29:2 ναϑχη μμαϑ ΝΞε-ᾱ νοzi ΝεCωοϑ...

Ex. 10:22 ἀφωπι ΝΞε-οϑχακι.

• Ex. 19:16 αϑωπι ΝΞε-ξανCμη ΝεM ξανCετεβρηΞ ΝεM οϑϑηπι Νᾱνοϕος.

The concord link between Theme-actant and the **ΝΞε-** noun syntagm is *sui generis*, and does not prejudice any subsequent linkage to the latter:

Ex. 32:7 αqεpανομιν ΝΞε-πεκλαος ναi ετακενοϑ...(οὓς ἐξήγαγες).

(But Deut. 27:1 εϑεΞος ΝΞε-πιλαος τηρq).

Num. 3:4 οϑοz αqμοϑ ΝΞε-αααβ ΝεM αβιοϑα ... οϑοz ΝεMμοντοϑ ωηρι μμαϑ πε.

Num. 19:18 εϑεCοπq Ξενοϑμωοϑ ΝΞε-οϑρωμι εqοϑαβ (= Vat). Note here the instance of cataphoric discord or absence of concord, which is in fact a case of *specification*.

Gen. 1:14 μαρεqωπι ΝΞε-ξανρεqεροϑωini (= Vat) — the same syntax in the Hebrew, but not the Greek, which has a plural verb.

The pronoun—noun discontinuous complex recalls to a degree the *n*-mediated nominal possession following a delocutive pronoun (the JDF here is that of the closed list of old “inalienables”), where the pronoun is equally idiosyncratic, but tends to masculine-singular neutralization and paradigmatic freezing. Here too, the pronoun — noun juncture, *n*- notwithstanding, involves an incorporation boundary and delimitation:

Ex. 12:28 **ΕΤΟΤQ ΜΜΩϞCHC ΝΕΜ ΑΑΡΩΝ.**

Deut. 19:5 **ΤΟΤQ ΝΑΑΡΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΝΕQΩΗΡΙ.**

Deut. 30:4 **ΑϞΡΗΔQ ΝΤΦΕ (= Vat).**

Gen. 29:2 **ΕΡΩQ/ΞΙΡΩQ ΝΤΩω† (Vat ΕΡΩC, ΞΙΡΩC).**

Gen. 29:3:10 **ΞΙΡΩC ΝΤΩω†.**

Deut. 20:13 **ΡΩC ΝΤCHQI.**

Lev. 21:10 **ΞΙΩΤQ ΝΝΗ ΕΘΟϞΑΒ.**

Obs.

(1) A nice Demotic instance of (c): Dem. P. Berlin (ed. Zauzich 1993) 15530 x+10f. *ḥt-nṯr Yh jṛpy ʿ3 p3y* “the Temple of Elephantine, it’s a great shrine”.

(2) Construction (d) too is attested in Demotic: cf. STRICKER 1962 p. 39 *jw s nb jw.f hk nf*; discussed by the present writer in the forthcoming sequel to 1989b.

(3) In the Bohairic NT, we find the nexus-topicalizing construction usually as a *varia lectio*: 1 list *α-* (Preterite), *να-*, the Circumstantial Present, the Focalizing Converter (not the relative converter!). It is particularly common in B4 (Vat. copto 9: Mich. 3:12, Joel 2:4:10, Soph. 3:8; *ερε- εφε-, ννε- ννεq-*; Mich. 5:4 *αρεωα- αϞωαν-*; *α- αq-* Jon. 1:2:5:7, Na. 2:3, Hab. 3:10; *μαρε- μαρεC-* Jon. 2:8, Hag. 2:18; *ναρε- ναq-* Zach. 3:1; *ετεμπε- ετεμπεC-* (Focalizing Preterite) Na. 3:19; also attested in Nitrian.

(4) Note (*ad* [b]): Cat. 58 *εξεμCι δε ... φωι αν πε ετηiq*, where the masculine resumption of the *ε-* + infinitive Topic is remarkable.

(5) Note (*ad* [f]): *ενε-παρωμι ετεμμαϞ νε-οϞεμμι πε* in Early Bohairic JNES 6:150 (B4, ed. Husselman). See Schwartze *apud* POLOTSKY 1987:181 (“an old construction disappearing in Sahidic but still kept alive in Bohairic”): yet another signal of Bohairic conservatism.

(6) Lev. 20:13 *οϞωq ραρ αϞαιq* and similar are cases of focussing, not topicalization: see Chapter Two, §2.4.7.

(7) (*ad* [g]): Nitrian: *αρεCοϞωντ δε-ανοκ νιμ* Mac. No. 8B; *αCοπq δε-...πε* Mac. No. 6 sim. *ωπ De Vis I 168, II 165; ναqCοϞωνοϞ αν πε δε-...νε* De Vis I 69, II 172, Cat. 76; *αϞδεμοϞ δε- + NS De Vis II 75; ...ξιωωq n- δε- + NS Cat. 96; μεϞι ε- + NS Cat. 100.*

4.2.4.7.3 In-nexus concord linkage. The junctural distinction of the Endophoric Nominal Sentence (Chapter Two, patterns IV and IVa) is in its unique linkage of thematic anaphora to rhematic determinator, which is functional only as a suprasegmental *signifiant* of copula. (This juncture is also of interest as an uncommon link across the quintessential

nexal delimitation — the sharp boundary between Theme and Rheme that is “bridged” by the act of predication). Just as the Theme — here a formal slot-filler and thus rhematizing — is neither commutable with, nor referent to any lexeme, and is thus paradigmatically as well as macrosyntactically inert, so is its no less formal referential, linking operation. This strong linkage even overrules the topicalization reference should the pattern be topicalized, creating a distinctive delimitation between Topic and tightly knit core pattern, where only the Rheme really “exists” in the structural sense:

Gen. 37:27 ΔΕ-ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΠΕ ΟΘΟΣ ΤΕΝΣΑΡΧ ΤΕ.

Ex. 20:10 ΣΕΝΠΙΕΡΟΘ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΡ-Ξ ΝΕΝΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΩ-
ΠΕΚΝΟΘ† ΝΕ.

Ex. 32:16 ΝΙΠΛΑΞ ΝΕΟΘΩΒ ΝΤΕΦ† ΠΕ ΟΘΟΣ †ΓΡΑΦΗ ΝΕΟ-
ΓΡΑΦΗ ΝΤΕΦ† ΤΕ (= Vat).

Lev. 11:10 ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟΘ ... ΟΘΩΡΕΒ ΠΕ.

Lev. 25:33 ΝΙΝΙ ΝΤΕΝΙΒΑΚΙ ΝΤΕΝΙΛΕΥΙΤΗΣ ΟΘΑΜΑΡΙ ΝΤΩΟΘ
ΠΕ (= Vat).

4.2.4.7.4 Ana-cataphoric reference. The cataphoric vector is important as a linkage direction in Coptic, especially in the case of the neutric “feminine” pronoun. Indeed, some interesting cases of “double-faced”, two-vector reference may indicate a neuter overrule of anaphoric reference:

Gen. 43:27 ΠΙΣΕΛΛΟ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΔΟΣ ΔΕ-....

Deut. 9:28 ...ΕΘΙΤΟΘ ΕΣΘΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΑΡΙ ΕΤΑΡΔΟΣ ΝΩΟΘ.

Obs.

(1) See KEŞİK 1989 on “anacataphore”; also DE MULDER 1998.

(2) The remarkable case of Mt. 11:10: ΦΔΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΣΔΗΟΤΤ ΕΘΒΗΤΩ ΔΕ-, Sah. ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΣΗΖ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΩ ΔΕ-, Oxyrh. ΠΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΣΖΗΟΤΤ ΕΤΒΗΤΩ ΔΕ- has no explicit referent, either anaphoric to ΦΗ or cataphoric to ΔΕ-. However, the personal pronoun ρ in the resumptive prepositional phrase suffices for the anaphoric cohesion, while it may not be a coincidence that the first consonant of ρΣΔΗΟΤΤ falls together with the neutric feminine. As it stands, the construction resembles the venerable Egyptian adnominal passive-with-precising-prepositional-anaphora treated in POLOTSKY 1976 §2.2.7 (*jrrw n f r3 pn* “(he) who is made for-him this spell” = “for whom this spell is made”).

4.2.4.7.5 “Anacoluthia”, a stylistic-rhetorical reduction or disruption of cohesion, is formally a junctural phenomenon — featuring not merely looseness or a boundary, but the unpredictability and unexpectedness, thus high thematicity and super ordination, of sequel.

(a) Person/number disruption.

Deut. 17:14 $\epsilon\omega\pi \ \delta\epsilon \ \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\omega\epsilon \ \epsilon\delta\omicron\tau\eta\eta \ \epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota \ \Phi\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\overline{\sigma}\overline{\varsigma} \ \eta\alpha\theta\eta\iota\varsigma \ \eta\alpha\kappa \ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\rho\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\eta\mu\iota\eta\eta \ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\omega\pi\iota \ \gamma\iota\omega\tau\varsigma...$ (= Vat; Greek sgl.). Singular and plural allocutives are evidently in the same cohesive continuity scope, with a fine difference, elusive to me, between the individual allocutor (also used in Coptic as a generic person!) and the communal one. It is difficult to tell which of the two is more personalized, but it is quite clear to me that the interplay between them — the transition from congregational plural to individualizing and more intimate singular — generally constitutes a striking rhetorical device in Deuteronomy.

Deut. 31:26f. $\sigma\iota \ \mu\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omega\mu \ \eta\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\alpha\varsigma \ \varsigma\alpha\pi\varsigma\overline{\Phi}\iota\rho \ \eta\tau\kappa\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\tau\epsilon\overline{\tau}\overline{\alpha}\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta \ \eta\tau\epsilon\overline{\sigma}\overline{\varsigma} \ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\sigma\tau\overline{\iota} \ \omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\varphi\epsilon\omega\pi\iota \ \eta\alpha\kappa \ \mu\mu\alpha\sigma \ \epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon\overline{\tau}\overline{\varsigma}\omega\tau\eta\eta \ \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa \ \eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\varphi\overline{\tau}\overline{\omega}\sigma\eta\eta\eta \ \eta\epsilon\mu \ \tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\gamma\beta\iota \ \epsilon\theta\eta\alpha\omega\tau \ \epsilon\tau\iota \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa \ \epsilon\iota\omicron\eta\delta \ \eta\epsilon\mu\omega\tau\epsilon\eta \ \mu\overline{\Phi}\omicron\sigma\tau \ \eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\overline{\tau}\overline{\delta}\omega\eta\tau \ \mu\overline{\Phi}\overline{\iota} \ \pi\epsilon...$

Deut. 1:22 $\pi\epsilon\delta\omega\tau\epsilon\eta \ \delta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\eta\sigma\omega\rho\pi \ \eta\gamma\alpha\eta\rho\omega\mu\iota \ \delta\alpha\delta\omega\eta \ \mu\alpha\rho\sigma\mu\epsilon\omega\tau\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota \ \eta\alpha\eta \ \omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\alpha\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\eta \ \epsilon\omicron\sigma\varsigma\alpha\delta\iota \ \pi\iota\mu\omega\iota\tau \ \Phi\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\omega\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta \ \epsilon\gamma\rho\eta\iota \ \gamma\iota\omega\tau\varsigma \ \eta\epsilon\mu \ \eta\iota\beta\alpha\kappa\iota$ (FUNK 1992:19 emends, with Vat, into $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\omega\epsilon$ — unnecessarily, I believe).

Deut. 28:25 $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omega\pi\iota \ \epsilon\sigma\delta\omega\rho \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \delta\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\omega\tau \ \tau\eta\rho\sigma$ (cf. FUNK 1992:25).

Deut. 17:7 $\tau\delta\iota\delta \ \eta\eta\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\tau \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\pi\iota \ \gamma\iota\delta\omega\varsigma$ (Vat $\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\omega\pi\iota$).

An intervening noun is a boundary marker, signalling a discontinuity of reference that is not anacoluthic:

Ex. 32:1 $\alpha\varphi\theta\omega\sigma\tau\overline{\iota} \ \eta\delta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\delta\epsilon\eta\alpha\alpha\rho\omega\eta \ \omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma \ \pi\epsilon\delta\omega\sigma\tau \ \eta\alpha\varphi$.

Obs.

Cf., in Shenoulean Sahidic: $\eta\delta\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota\alpha\alpha\tau \ \eta\eta\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\tau\delta\omega \ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \delta\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \epsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta\tau \ \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ (Leip. III 144); (address) $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \tau\eta\rho\varphi \ \gamma\eta\eta\epsilon\varphi\gamma\beta\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon \ \tau\eta\rho\sigma \ \alpha\tau\omega \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\gamma\beta\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon \ \tau\eta\rho\sigma \ \omicron\sigma\omicron\eta\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \eta\gamma\eta\tau\kappa$ (ed. Guérin, *RE* 10 161a). The remarkable rhetorical “disruption of personal consistence” which is often due to the overrule by the interlocutive sphere of reference, goes at least back to Late Egyptian (COUROYER 1977).

(b) Disruption of gender/number reference — always masculine “instead of” feminine/plural neutralization in favour of the masculine:

Gen. 16:3 $\alpha\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha \dots \sigma\iota\text{-}\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho \ \tau\epsilon\varsigma\beta\omega\kappa\iota \ \omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\iota\varsigma \ \eta\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\mu$ (Vat $\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\iota\varsigma$).

Lev. 5:24 †ακω εταqδεmq (Vat δεmq).

Num. 36:5 παρη† †ϕϑλη ντενενωηρι νιωσηϕ εqδε... (= Vat).

Gen. 3:10 τεκμη εταicoθμεq (Vat πεταicoθμεq).

Gen. 19:19 τεκμεθμη ... πετεκνααιq nem hi (Vat. fem.).

Num. 6:2 ορωμι ιε οςριμι αqωανωq νοεσχη ... εφε-τορβοq (= Vat Greek is here not the motivation). Also Deut. 17:2.

Here, in a different sense, belong the cataphoric cases of discord (see above):

Deut. 30:4 αρηδεq ντϕε (= Vat).

Gen. 29:2:3:10 ερωq/ριρωc ν†ωω†.

Obs.

Cases like Gen.41:4 α†ζ νεζε ... αρωmk ... show anaphoric juncture, not with article but with noun syntagm as a whole.

4.2.5 Zero as link / delimiter: a summary typology

(1) Bracketing *zero* determinator: see above, §§3.3, 4.2.3.

(2) *Zero* representative anaphor to *zero* article (as e.g. in Topic) (see above):

Deut. 29:6 ωικ μπετενοσωμ οσoζ ηρη nem ciκερα μπε-τεncω.

(3) *Zero* object actant — fuzzy cotextual representative:

Ex. 22:3 εωωπ δε μμονταq μμασ...

(4) *Zero* representing post-verb and specific pronominal object actant across a [protasis — apodosis] JDF:

Ex. 32:32 ιcδε χναχαποσνοβι νωσ εβολ ιε χαq (νωσ εβολ zeroed).

(5) *Zero* representing nominal expansion in the coordination JDF:

Num. 16:14 κb νωo nem c̄.

(6) Zeroed formal Theme of Nominal Sentence, see Chapter Two above, §4.1.1 pattern Ia — cases of Relative Conversion: ϕη ετεϕωq n-, νετενοσk etc. (Num. 16:5, 31:9, Lev. 25:10 etc.), all apparently periphrastic of the pronominal-possessor possessive pronoun (νοσk, νοσq, θωq n-); this may point to the development of a specific possessive. Also Lev. 9:15 ϕη ετε-εθβε-ϕνοβι μπιαλοc; also, in hermeneutical syntax: Num. 33:6 α†ι εβοσθαν ετεoσμεροc ντε-πωαqε (Vat + πε). In junctural terms, this can only mean *the cancelling of anaphora* following upon grammaticalization, that is, loosening of linkage or delimitation.

(7) *Zero* resumption of temporal antecedents after relative: conjunctive construction?

Num. 9:1 **ΣΕΝΘΜΑΞΡΟΜΠΙ** **СНОУ†** **ΕΤΑΥΙ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΣΕΝΠΚΑΞΙ**
ΝΧΗΜΙ.

Gen. 30:41 **ΑΨΩΠΙ** **ΔΕ** **ΣΕΝΠΙCΗΟΥ** **ΕΨΑΥCΙΨΨΩΟΥ** ...
ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΕCΩΟΥ.

The absence of anaphoric reference here shifts in one sense the construction to conjunctive instead of Relative; but, in another sense, it forms a *casus adverbialis* status, *zero*-marking the adverbial relationship of noun and expansion (cf. English paratactic “the day the sky fell down”, once regarded as “*konjunktionslose Hypotaxe*”). In this latter analysis, we have a *delimitation*, with a delimiting *zero* where an anaphoric resumption would be a link.

(8) *Zero* pre-negator (*zero*...**ΔΝ**) negating the Relative Present, delimiting the converter from the conjugation form, a boundary symptomized by the delocutive pronominal anaphor to the antecedent; *zero*... **ΔΝ** delimits, while **Ν**... **ΔΝ** (Circumstantial) links (see more above). Both define a JDF, within which some cohesion obtains, and an initial and final boundary.

Deut. 1:39 **ΦΗ** **ΕΤΕΨCΩΟΥΝ** **ΔΝ** **ΜΦΟΟΥ** **ΝΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΝ** **ΙΕ-ΟΥ**
ΠΕΘΟΟΥ — that is, **ΕΤΕ-Θ-ΨCΩΟΥΝ** **ΔΝ**.

(9) *Zero* is the allomorph (morphonemic alternant) of the Circumstantial converter before syllabic nasal — a link:

Gen. 20:9 **ΟΥΞΩΒ** **ΜΜΟΝ-ΞΛΙ** **ΝΑΛΙϚ.**

4.2.6 Prosodic linkage

Proclisis is of course the most important word-formational and indeed formational means in Coptic: prepositions, derivational prefixes such as **ΡΕΜ**- and **ΜΕΤ**-, auxiliary verbs (**ΕΡ**- etc.), determinators, conjugation bases — all form prosodically linked nuclei of their various syntagms, which are clearly delimited from others. Enclisis is not involved in nucleus-expansion syntax. Let me here mention three cases of *nexal* prosodic linkage:

(a) In verbal-nexus patterns, the bases, the real verbal component, albeit grammemic and “pro-verbal”, contract with their Theme a tightly linked core verb-clause, nuclear in its syntagm, which is perforce expanded by a lexical periphery:

##α=Ϛ-ϘΩΤΕΜ##, or **##α-ΦΡΩΜΙ#ϘΩΤΕΜ##**

(b) In the Interlocutive Nominal Sentence pattern set (§2.1.2), the proclitic {**ΔΝΟΚ**-} Theme, non-phoric, effects prosodic copular high linkage with its Rheme. Unlike its Sahidic correspondent {**ΔΝR**-}, the Theme is not marked orthographically as proclitic, but is in Bohairic nonetheless

opposed to a tonic (or prosodically unmarked) homonym {**ΑΝΟΚ**}, on the evidence of the placement of variously enclitic elements.

(c) In the Delocutive (basic, expanded- or Topicalized-Theme and Endophoric patterns), the formal delocutive Theme — **πε**, which has a relatively high (but not highest, i.e. close-juncture-contracting) encliticity grading, effects a complex linking action, both pattern-internal and macrosyntactic, which is distinctive of the individual patterns (see details in Chapter Two, §2.1.1). Similarly the Immutable Theme (**πε**), including the case of **#ΑΝΟΚ πε#** (§2.1.1 [V]). See §4.6.1 for enclitic particles.

4.3 Scopes of junctural validity (a selective repertory)

4.3.1 The lexemic scope of validity; the “lexical word”: obtaining links/delimiters (selected instances):

(a) Morpholexemic discontinuous linkage: consonantal (“skeleton”) lexeme morph + discontinuous vocalic morphs: noun lexemes — lexical consonants + full/zero-reduced degree vowels (**ρωμι ρεμ** [**ρ-μ** / **ω** vs. *zero*]; **ϥοι ϥοϣ-**, [**ϥο** / **οι** vs. **ϣ**]); verb lexemes (**ϥωτπ ϥετπ-ϥοτπ** = [**ϥ-τ-π** / **ω** vs. **ε-** vs. **ο** etc.).

(b) In-lexeme linkage by allophonic procedure, e.g.

- “no long /ô/ before /h/” (**πορ**)
- “no long /ô/ following nasal” (**νορεμ, μορ**)
- “in-lexeme glottal-stop realization” (see below)
- “**ϣανεϣ-**”-type sibilant assimilation; **ϥαϣι**-type absence of assimilation

• tone/aspiration correlation (see below): **χω, θαλ**; other symptoms and implications of the tonal unit. Observe that so-called combinatory aspiration is valid in lexemic and phrasal scopes: **εθεε, μαροϣ-εοϣετ-, μετμεορε** (POLOTSKY 1957a:224 n.3 on the delimitation in **μετ-με-ορε**), **ϣρωμι, νεθοϣαβ**.

See also above, §4.2 under A, for prevailing delimitations.

Obs.

For juncture features obtaining within word boundary, cf. ROSÉN 1964:160ff.

4.3.2 The phrasal (subnexal) scope of validity: selected instances

(a) Determinator ({**π-**}) + noun lexeme.

(1) Obtaining: combinatory aspiration link: **ϣρωμι, ομε** (below).

(2) Obtaining: nasal desyllabification link: **ιτον** but **πεμτον** (below).

(3) Obtaining: gender selection-dependence between lexeme and determinator: Φ - $\rho\omega\mu\iota$, τ - Φ ϵ (see Chapter Three).

(b) Apposition nucleus (nominal, pronominal, Proper Name) + *appositum*.

Obtaining: gender compatibility interdependence link:

PN $\uparrow\beta\alpha\kappa\iota$ Gen. 10:11, 1:45, 46:28.

Num. 3:4 $\alpha\alpha\rho\omega\kappa\iota\ \rho\omicron\tau\iota\omega\tau$.

(c) Verb lexeme + pronominal object.

Obtaining: pre-nominal allomorphic selection link.

Obtaining: pre-pronoun allomorphic selection link.

Obtaining: object-pronoun and lexeme morphonemic allomorph selection, e.g. glottal-stop environment (see below).

$\chi\alpha$ - τ .

$\tau\omega\omicron\tau\eta$ - ι but $\tau\omega\kappa$ - κ (SHISHA-HALEVY 1977a).

$\epsilon\sigma\omicron\tau\beta\epsilon$ - $\theta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau$.

$\zeta\omicron\theta\beta\epsilon$ - η (cf. POLOTSKY 1933).

(d) Possessive associative pronoun + determinator + lexeme scope.

$\Phi\alpha$ -. its aspiration is a delimiter: out of contact with the lexeme (therein unlike the determinators), but in contact with determinators (see Chapter Three above). Another delimitation: no gender selection dependence between noun syntagm and $\Phi\alpha$ -.

(e) Nucleus (antecedent) — verbal expansion (Relative clause) scope.

Obtaining: links of anaphoric reference (above).

(f) preposition + noun syntagm (singular specific determinator):

Obtaining: labial assimilation link of nasal (for syllabic nasals only).

Deut. 31:18 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\Phi\omega\kappa\eta\zeta\ \mu\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\epsilon\zeta\omicron\theta\omicron\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau$.

Obtaining: pre-nominal allomorphic selection link.

(g) preposition + suffix pronoun:

Obtaining: stem-ultimate-syllable stress link.

Obtaining: pre-pronoun allomorphic selection link.

(g) [Noun/pronoun + Augens + ...] colon unit.

Obtaining: placement rules (see below).

Num. 14:31 $\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\ \Phi\eta\ \kappa\omicron\omega\tau\epsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\theta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\ \kappa\alpha$ -
 $\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\mu\omicron\eta$.

(h) The coordination/disjunction scope:

Obtaining: coordinator/disjunctive link (as by definition).

Obtaining: bracketing link (one possibility).

(i) The valency matrix scope:

Obtaining: actant sequencing and dependency complex of lexeme + specifically conditioned actant forms (as by definition).

Num. 5:26 €qετco n†cziMI mPIMωoθ.

Ex. 1:21 επιαν δε νατερρο† ζατηη mΦ† πε ... αθεαμιο
nαθ nρενηι...

Ex. 2:15 αqcoτεm δε nζε-Φαραω επαicaζι oθoζ Φαραω
nαqκω† ncaτακο mμωoθcHC πε.

4.3.3 The nexal scope of validity: selected instances

(a) “Nominal Sentence”: noun-Rheme nexus (see above, Chapter Two):

The Interlocutive-Theme pattern

Obtaining: {αnoκ+} procliticity link (Theme to Rheme JDF).

The Delocutive-Theme pattern (general)

Obtaining: {+ πε} relative-encliticity link; {πε} final boundary (Rheme to Theme JDF).

The Delocutive-Theme Pattern (topicalized Theme)

Obtaining: Topic resumption in thematic anaphora link: gender-number concord — {πε} final boundary (Topic to Theme JDF).

The Endophoric Pattern

Obtaining: in-nexus reference to article — thematic anaphora link to rhematic determinator — {πε} final boundary (Rheme to Theme JDF).

(b) Verbal nexus:

The Base-Conjugation, personal-pronoun Theme

Obtaining: total junctural closure within formal (grammemic) nexus: verb-stem and Theme (α=q), and close juncture between formal verb-nexus and lexemic actant (α=q-coτεm).

The Base-Conjugation, (pro)nominal Theme

Obtaining: partial junctural closure; closer between formal (grammemic) verb-stem and Theme (α-πιρωμι, α-Φαι) and open between formal verb-nexus and lexemic actant (α-πιρωμι#coτεm).

Converter + personal-pronoun Theme (affirmative and αn-negative durative and adverb-Rheme nexus)

Obtaining: suffix-pronoun link alternant of prefix pronoun (†- but €- etc.).

Obtaining: (adnominal and adverbial negative Circumstantial) n-....αn negation, zero converter (SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:226ff.).

Converter + nominal / pronominal Theme

Obtaining: selection link of prenominal allomorphs αρε-, nαρε-, €πε- (not relative converter).

Topicalized nexus by discontinuous base+theme formal “pro-verbal” or grammemic verbal nexus: ΕΡΕ-ΠΙΟΤΗΒ ΕΓΕΝΑΤ.

Obtaining: double linkage between Topic and Comment (i.e. thematic clause).

Obs.

The construction is in our corpus common in the Absolute Future and in narrative (see above, Chapter One). It is generally prevalent in B4: John 1:2:5, 2:8, 3:8, Na. 1:8, 3:19, Soph. 3:8:16, Zach. 11:1 etc.

Relative-pronoun Theme (not converter!) + Rheme (Statal Nexus):

Obtaining: the following links/delimiters:

ΝΕΘ-ΟΨΑΒ Ex. 36:6: the aspiration link.

ΕΤ-ΕΜΜΑΤ: the nasal desyllabication link.

ΝΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΙ Ex. 36:7: the non-aspiration delimiter.

4.3.4 The hypernexal scope of validity: textual juncture (selected instances)

(a) Dialogic Allocution + Response.

Obtaining: Response-marked-form links (ΑΞΑ, ΜΦΗ, ΜΜΟΝ etc.; see above, Chapter One).

(b) Protasis + apodosis (“removed from reality”).

Obtaining: ΝΕ- concord linkage.

(c) Topic/proleptic pronoun + clause.

Obtaining: anaphora rules, prolepsis rules (see above).

Ex. 16:15 ΝΑΨΩΟΨΝ ΜΜΟQ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΞΕ-ΟΨ ΠΕ.

(d) The Narrative chain (see above, Chapter One).

Obtaining:

Theme continuity as link.

ΟΨΟΞ vs. zero as linkage exponents.

Mode continuity (maintenance) as link (ΑQ- ΑQ- ΝΑQ-).

Mode switching as delimitation (ΑQ- ΑQ- ΝΑQ- ⇒ ΝΑQ- ΠΕ).

(e) Verb + subcategorizing Conjunctive (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Seven).

Obtaining: person/number categorization non-pertinence as link.

Obtaining: negation subcategorization non-pertinence as link.

4.4 Graphemato-morphematic juncture: graphemic and phototactic epiphenomena of juncture. Here is a whole world of *scripta* data, in which the mysterious and phantom-like apparent outdoes by far the evident, real (in the sense of formal/functional reality) and clear: ortho-

graphic filtering and scrambling of the emic and etic code⁴⁴. And yet, this “Buchstabenlehre”, as the nineteenth-century scholars would describe the pursuit, is perforce our main or only gate to such crucial systems of linguistic reality — first *la parole*, then *la langue* — as phonetics/phonemics (morpho)phonotactics, as well as native metalinguistics generally: we know little about the scribal tradition(s) and schools with which to associate them, or their junction with Greek ones. We are certainly in need of an updated dependable Coptic Gardthausen; such statements as we find on Coptic punctuation are dismissive or evasive. Here I shall but hint at some central junctural features and roles of the written text (note that Bibl. Vat. copto 1, the manuscript probably most germane to ours, is still sharply different from it in many graphematic respects)⁴⁵.

4.4.1 $\text{o}\tau$ vs. τ for /u/ — “graphematic crisis”. The typically Sahidic graphemic near-symmetry of $(\epsilon)_1$ and $(\text{o})\tau$ is not found in Bohairic in our corpus; ϵ_1 in Bohairic is bivocalic, while $\text{o}\tau$ is univocalic; ϵ_1 is either diphthongal as in $\epsilon_1\epsilon\chi\alpha\kappa$, Ex. 33:23; disyllabic ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon_1$, Lev. 14:36) or belongs, delimitatively, to two segments, as in $\text{o}\tau\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon_1\epsilon\dots$ Lev. 22:22. ϵ_1 is probably bivocalic in $\text{o}\tau\epsilon_1$ “get far” (Gen. 44:4) as in “one” (fem.), for which usual Bohairic forms are $\text{o}\tau_1$ and $\text{o}\tau\epsilon\epsilon_1$. Postvocally, $\text{o}\tau$ has two juncturally significant occurrences, which vary, albeit to a limited extent (only following the preposition ϵ -). The $\epsilon\text{-}\text{o}\tau\text{-}/\epsilon\tau\text{-}$ variation (preposition with indefinite article) notwithstanding, one could suggest that $\text{o}\tau$ is vocalic (and syllabic/syllable peak), τ consonantal (and syllable coda):

• $\epsilon\text{-}\text{o}\tau\text{-}$

(a) crossing grammeme $\nmid$ lexemic boundary.

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\text{o}\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\text{o}\tau\text{o}\tau$ Deut. 20:8.

(b) Crossing converter $\nmid$ determinator (noun phrase) boundary.

Gen. 43:32 $\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\epsilon\text{-}\text{o}\tau\epsilon\omega\eta$ $\text{r}\alpha\text{p}$ $\text{p}\epsilon$.

(c) Crossing some intergrammemic boundaries.

$\epsilon\text{-}\text{o}\tau\text{-}\text{m}\epsilon\theta\text{m}\text{h}\text{i}$ Num. 35:29.

$\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\text{o}\tau\text{-}$ Gen. 4:23, 25:21.

$\epsilon\text{-}\text{o}\tau\epsilon_1\text{o}\tau_1$ $\text{p}\epsilon$ Gen. 31:31 (Circumstantial converter $\nmid$ indef. article).

⁴⁴ See Funk 2006, e.g. 70ff., for a brilliant exposé on the problems and the solutions: a sober and penetrating discussion of the structural way out of this grave difficulty.

⁴⁵ The 4th-century, (B4 Bodmer III) Gospel of John and Genesis differs in the notation of combinatory aspiration; it also has no Jinkim notation (see Kasser’s Introduction). The unedited B4 Twelve Prophets (Val. P. copto 9) is again very different: it has a type of short syllabic stroke, restricted to nasals, and an idiosyncratic, sophisticated system of punctuation.

ΕΤΕ-ΟΘΟΝ-, **Ε-ΟΘΟΝ-**, **ΝΕ-ΟΘΟΝ** Num. 22:24, Lev. 11:21-23, Gen. 39:2f. syll. onset.

ΕΚΕ-ΟΘΩΜ Gen. 2:16 in syllabic onset.

ΕΘΒΕ-ΟΘ *passim*.

ΝΖΕ-ΟΘ *passim*.

• **Ε-Θ** (-): **Θ** linking

(a) Crossing some (other) intergrammemic boundaries (in the case of the preposition **Ε-** varying with **Ε-ΟΘ-**).

Ε-Θ-ΣΙΜΙ Gen. 20:12.

Ε-Θ-ΜΕΤΜΕΘΡΕ Gen. 21:30.

Ε-Θ-ΩΝΣ Gen. 45:5.

Ε-Θ-ΖΡΟΖ Gen. 47:24.

(b) 3rd pl. pronoun following base or converter; always **-Θ** - linking.

ΕΘΕ- *passim*.

ΕΘ- Circumstantial, *passim*: Circ. converter ‡ 3rd person pl.

(c) In final (noun-syntagm) position:

ΣΑΝΑΘΡΕΘ# Gen. 25:24.

ΕΕΘ "asses".

(d) **Θ** number "400".

(e) reduced prosodic grade of [oi]: **ΘΘ-ΝΟΘΙ** (/y/, cf. KASSER 1980:280 row IV, 282)⁴⁶.

• **ΟΘ** following consonant and vowel other than **Ε-**; lexeme-initially, lexemically or mono-morphically; **ΟΘ** delimitative:

(a) 3rd pl., following consonant (**ΠΟΘ-**, **ΨΑ-ΤΟΘ-**, **ΜΑ-ΡΟΘ-**, **ΤΩΟΘ-ΝΟΘ**, **ΣΡΟΘΡ**),

or **Ω** (**ΜΜΩ-ΟΘ**, **ΕΡΩ-ΟΘ**, **ΤΑΚΩ-ΟΘ**, **ΝΗ-ΟΘ**),

(as against **Α-Θ** (never **Α-ΟΘ**) — **Θ** - linking:

ΑΘΨΑΝ-, **ΕΤΑΘ-** **ΜΜΑΘ**, **ΝΑΘ**.

Non-final, intralexemically, internal link: **ΘΩΘ†** Ex. 32:1.)

(b) **ΟΘ-Α**, **ΟΘ-Ω**, **ΟΘ-ΩΝΣ**, **ΝΝΑ-ΟΘΑΖΤΟΤ** Gen. 8:21.

ΣΕΝΑ-ΟΘΩΜ *passim*: syllabic onset: initial boundary.

Α-ΟΘΨΗΡΙ **ΨΩΠΙ** Gen. 4:26.

(c) "What?" {**ΟΘ**}.

(d) In-lexeme: **ΑΟΘΙΑΟΘΑΝ** Gen. 31:10:12 (five syllables?).

⁴⁶ Note **ΘΕΙΝΟΘΙ** in B4 Hab. 1:16, Zach. 9:17. In northern dialects, **Θ** occurs also stressed (B4 **ΘΥΒ** "heel", or Oxyrhynchite, **ΣΘ** "belly", **ΚΘΝ**, **ΣΘΜ** [before nasal]: W.P. Funk, by letter). On the other hand, **ΤΘΤ** (= **ΤΒΤ**), Oxyrh. Ps. 104:29, is apparently a syllabic bilabial sonorant. It would certainly seem that this grapheme has various phonetic and phonematic values.

(e) In alien words: reproducing original graphemics:

ΜΑΘΟΤΣΑΛΛ.

ΟΤΝ.

But Ϸ- in initial position of Greek-origin words (e.g. ϷΑΚΙΝ-ΘΙΝΟΝ — aspirated Upsilon).

Obs.

(1) Note our Ϸε-ΟΤΗ (e.g. Lev. 20:23), against the consistent ϷεΤΗ in B4 John (e.g. 12:29) and P. Vat. copto 9, e.g. Hag. 2:4:8:18, Zach. 9:1; esp. common in Hos., e.g. 8:7:13, 9:4:7:10:12f.:16f. Generally: ΝϷε-τ- (e.g. John 9:4), Ντε-τ- (e.g. John 11:13), ετε-τ- (e.g. John 6:46), ΙϷε-τ- (John 9:25), εθε-τ- (John 8:46), νετ- (e.g. John 19:23 *νετϣοηη ενεματ νετατωρη τε*) etc. One wonders whether the writing ΜΟΝ(τεq) of the neg. Existential/possessive, so typical of this text, and apparently occurring mostly after e-morphs (Ϸε-ΜΟΝ, ετε-ΜΟΝ, νε-ΜΟΝ, εΜΟΝ) is a related phenomenon; but this form occurs also initially (John 13:16:36f., 14:6 etc.). Observe that the second sg. fem. allomorph of the possessive article too is closely linked graphically to an ΟΥ-initial lexeme: John 12:15 *πετρο*.

(2) For ε-ϣ - the rule in Oxyrhynchite? — see BOSSON 1994:189. See BOSSON 2006a:21ff., 30ff. for the ι, ει graphemes in Codex Schøyen (Oxyrhynchite Matthew).

(3) For the issue in point, cf. FUNK 2006:77, on the pertinence of this orthographic differentiation in Fayumic.

4.4.2 Punctuation features: the *Lemniscus*, the *Colon*, the *Raised Point*

In our text, these are in red ink, a prominent set of graphematic features distributed unevenly throughout the text. While variance is more in evidence here than in other cases of grammatical signifiers, and although we can only speculate on the pragmatic purpose of the punctuation marks, it is certainly not the case — even *a priori* — that these are random or meaningless and their distribution chaotic. We know little about Coptic MS punctuation systems and their relation to systems of other languages, especially Egyptian, Greek and Syriac; yet we may speculate that they may have satisfied the need for maintaining the transparency of the text and its articulation, its analyzability, in both senses — a need in all probability associated with the *scriptio continua* (which, in turn, may have signified a reading aloud of the text at some stage of the copying). Coptic needs palaeographical description in broad scope and in detail, and punctuation needs to be studied on a text-specific basis and then by scribal habits and “schools” (it is remarkable that punctuation systems often vary even within a single manuscript, from one part or component to another; this is the case in our MS too). Eventually, we should aim at

the reconstruction of a native conception, or conceptions, of junctural structure and even of a native theory of syntax.

Obs.

(1) The traditional attitude to Coptic punctuation is characterized by exasperation and even irritation. So Lagarde, in his introduction to the *Pentateuch Koptisch* (p. xi) describes it as “nicht des Redens darüber wert”, and even STERN 1880 §635 as “nicht eben wichtig oder nothwendig”, (§9) punctuation being “meist ganz sinnlos gesetzt”.

(2) W.P. Funk (letter, 22/5/98) suggests that “phonetics and syllables as opposed to morphology [are] the underlying principle for graphic issues (...line breaks, separators, glide spelling, sonorant handling)...[in] relatively EARLY manuscripts...in Bohairic... Paris copte 1 is clearly late enough to be fully in the “morphological” way”.

(3) LAYTON 1987:LXIII f. broadly distinguishes two groups of signs: “apostrophes” — “dividers between morphemes or other very small units” and “logical punctuation marks”, “separating clauses or major rhetorical units”; see also *ibid.* 8f.

(4) In the “Hypostasis of the Archons” Nag Hammadi text, we encounter the hooklet indicating “morphemic boundary following a syllable of two or more letters” - $\Delta\text{ΝΟΚ}^{\prime}\text{ΠΕ, ΝΕϞ}^{\prime}\text{ϞΗΡΕ}$: see LAYTON 1973:190ff. on the functions and association with Greek and Egyptian systems. (It is important to note that, whereas the divider forms probably derive from Greek, the role system does not).

(5) For division marks in Oxyrhynchite, cf. SCHENKE 1981:18ff., BOSSON 1994:168ff. apostrophe for syllable final boundary; 173 on the “Komma” and the middle-height point, the latter to separate clauses (“entre deux phrases bien distinctes et formant une idée, une entité sémantique en soi”), the former for “l’articulation d’une phrase comportant deux ou plusieurs concepts, déductions ou autres”. The double point “accroît la valeur de séparation par rapport au ‘point simple’” (BOSSON 1994:167 n.2).

(6) Punctuation highlights in Greek MSS (from the 4th century on): the *lemniscus* ($\lambda\eta\mu\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$), GARDTHAUSEN² (1913) II 414f., role not clear. The *paragraphos* (of various shapes), II 402f. for “Sinnabschnitt”; “Lesezeichen — Interpunktion für Silben-, Wort- und Satztrennung” (II 394ff.). The raised point system, maintained right into the Middle Ages (the higher the point, the longer/greater the pause), II 400f., 404f. For the *colon*, as old as the 3rd century B.C., see II 396ff., also THOMSON 1912:58ff.; see also RAPP 1991.

(7) The punctuation marks in Egyptian were discussed by ERMAN 1925:9f. and ČERNÝ 1977[1947]:24f.): “to facilitate reading and comprehension”, but have never been properly studied. The Coptic systems occasionally seem to allot Egyptian roles to Greek signs.

(8) Vat. copto 1 is in this respect very different from our MS. The text as a whole is much more spaced. There is little or no upper-register letter writing (see below). Punctuation marks include the point in line height; the *colon* (two points) occasionally at verse end; the *lemniscus* is less common than in P, apparently following particularly long discourse (rather than sub-clausal) units. Note especially its use (as in early Greek MSS) to indicate role-switching (our cases of $\text{ΝΘΟϞ ΔΕ ΠΕϺΔϱ... / ΟΥΟϞ ΠΕϺΔϱ... / ΟΥΟϞ ΝΑΥϺΩ ΜΜΟϞ...$); but we also find a three-dot complex mark ($\bullet\circ\bullet$) as an universal demarcator, not unlike the *lemniscus* in P.

(9) Very rare cases of a post-morph apostrophe or hooklet-like raised punctuation are encountered in P: $\text{ΜΗ}^{\prime}\text{ΑΝΟΚ}$ Gen. 18:17, $\text{ΕΡ}^{\prime}\text{ΑΡΧΩΝ}$ Gen. 1:18. This is not frequent enough to formulate functional statements.

(10) Large “capital” letters, generally with preceding spaces, constitute in our MS clear section-initial or sub-paragraph-initial, or passage-initial boundary signals e.g.

Gen. 31:52 **ΑΝΑΘ ΜΜΟΝ-ΖΛΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ**. Gen. 31:49 **†ΖΟΡΑCIC ΕΤΑQΖΟC ΕΦΕΝΑΘ ΝΞΕ-Φ†**. This mark is extremely frequent, averaging 5-6 to a page.

4.4.2.1 Preliminary note. A ternary or three-grade system is broadly discernible in our MS: the *lemniscus* for loosest, the *colon* (or double dot) for closer, the *raised point* for closest juncture demarcation. However, there is some fluctuation, especially between the first two and the last two demarcators. Although the following distribution statements do not amount to confident predictability of occurrence, they come sometimes rather close to this. In general, we observe distinctive functional cores, with overlapping peripheries; when all or some markers are present together, these core roles are in effect simultaneous and conjoint.

(A) A final syntactic delimiter and demarcator: the *lemniscus*

§

This final and boundary signal is a syntactical-unit isolating, defining and delimiting element, sometimes close to a modern “colon”-type element (signalling constructional-syntactic and prosodic unity): it is often found with a {*small space*} as co-delimiter. It does not usually occur in closest or close-juncture slots (this is where the *colon* and the raised point are at their most typical). There is a considerable predictability of its occurrence, in the relative-quantitative classification into instances of prevalence, of exclusion or of fluctuation. The *lemniscus* is generally combined with spacing, at the end of verses, paragraphs and chapters. (Note that verses may begin by opening a new line, yet this is by no means the rule). The units demarcated by the *lemniscus* are not necessarily extensive; not all environments are equally prevalent, nor its distribution consistent in all components of the corpus.

Clause/colon + particle/adverbial § (as a rule):

(when present, a particle or an adverbial is concomitantly unit-demarcating)

ΑΙΕΡΝΟΒΙ†ΝΟΘ § Ex. 9:27.

ΑΙΘΙΩΗΜΓΑΡ § Gen. 30:27 sim. 20:11.

ΜΜΟΝΟΝΡΩ § Gen. 24:8.

ΝΑQ-... ΠΕ § *passim*.

ΝΝΟΘΜΟ†ΤΕΠΕQΡΑΝΞΕ § ΞΕΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 32:28.

ΥΑΘΝΑΘΞΕ § ΤΕΤΕΝΟΘΩ•ΑΝ• Ex. 16:28.

§ closing augential sequence units (as a rule)

ΞΕΝΘΟΚΟΤΕΒΟΛΞΕΝΠΑΚΑΣΝΘΟΚ § ΝΕΜΕΒΟΛΞΕΝΤΑCΑΡΞ
Gen. 29:14.

ΕΘΒΕΟΤΚΥΙΝΙΝCΑΠΑΡΑΝΝΘΟΚ § Gen. 32:29.

...ΠΕΤCΩΤΕΜΕΡΟCΑΝΟΚ § Ex. 32:18.

§ demarcating cola (as symptomized e.g. by repeated “foreshadowed” enclitics: see below).

ΝΕΟΤCΩΓΓΑΡ ΠΕΝΝΙΡΕΜΕΝΧΗΜΙ § ΠΕΜΑΝΕCΩΘΝΙΒΕΝ
Gen. 43:32.

Antecedent § adnominal clause (as a rule).

ΟΤΟΝ § ΕΟΤΟΝ-ΨΕΜΗΡΜΜΟQ Ex. 13:7.

ΝΑΙΝΕΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΘΙ § ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΟΤΟΜΟΤ Lev. 11:2.

ΝΕΟΤΟΝΤΕCΟΤCΟΝΜΜΑΤ § ΕΠΕCΡΑΝΠΕ § ΛΑΒΑΝ Gen. 24:29.

Cf. also Gen. 25:27, 3:19, 6:17, 7:21, 9:29.

verba dicendi (etc.) § ΞΕ (as a rule):

Gen. 42:21 ... § ΞΕΑΞΑ § ΤΕΝΝΞΡΗΓΑΡΞΕΝΝΕΝΟΒΙ

§ between terms of coordination (as a rule).

(ΟΤΟΞ, ΝΕΜ as a rule, incl. *zero*-marked terms; between concatenated or coordinated clauses, etc.).

Gen. 7:13 CΗΜ § ΧΑΜ § ΙΑΦΕΘ , 9:18, 24:54.

§ between iteration terms (as a rule), the *lemniscus* signalling their unity.

ΝΞΑΝΑΤΟΟΙ § ΞΑΝΑΤΟΟΤΙ Lev. 6:5.

ΕΜΑΨΩ § ΕΜΑΨΩ §

ΑΙΤΟΤΝΘΝΩΟΤ § ΘΝΩΟΤ Ex. 8:10.

§ enclosing terms of address (as a rule).

§ ΞΕΙΑΚΩΒ § ΙΑΚΩΒ § Gen. 46:2.

ΑΒΡΑΑΜ § ΑΒΡΑΑΜ § Gen. 22:1.

§ signalling paragraph-end (as a rule).

Ex. 9:12:21, 13:22, 14:4 etc.

§ between terms of apposition (typically).

ΠΕΤΕΦΡΗ § ΠΙCΙΟΤΡΝΤΕΦΑΡΑΩ Gen. 39:1.

ΠΙΨΥΗΝ § ΦΑΙΕΤΑΙ- Gen. 3:11.

CΩΤΕΜΕΤΑΡΑCΟΤΙ § ΘΑΙΕΤΑΙΝΑΤΕΡΟC Gen. 37:6.

ΝΕΝΨΗΡΙΔΕΜΒΑΛΛΑ § ΘΒΩΚΙΝΡΑΧΗΛ § ΔΑΝΝΕΜΝΕΦΘΑ-
ΛΙΜ Gen. 35:25f.

ΠΕΦΑΙ § ΞΕ- Num. 16:9.

ΟΤΚΟΤΞΙΠΕ § ΞΕ- Num. 16:13.

ΦΟΤΑΒ § ΑΝΟΚΠΘCΠΕΤΕΝΝΟΤ† Lev. 20:7.

§ enclosing tabular enumeration terms (as a rule).

ΗΓΕΜΩΝ § ΘΕΜΑΝ §

ΗΓΕΜΩΝ § ΩΜΑΡ §

ΗΓΕΜΩΝ § ΣΩΦΑΡ etc. (Gen. 36:15ff.).

§ signalling the end of topical or thematic unit(s) (as a rule).

ΝΙΨΤΧΗΤΗΡΟΘΕΤΑΙΝΕΜΙΑΚΩΒΕΣΡΗΙΕΧΗΜΙ § ΝΗΕΤΑΘΙ
ΕΒΟΛΣΕΝΝΕΦΑΛΩΣ § ΧΩΡΙCΝΙΖΙΟΜΙΝΤΕΝΕΝΩΗΡΙΝΙΑΚΩΒ §
ΝΙΨΤΧΗΤΗΡΟΘΣCNE Gen. 46:26f.

ΝΑΙΨΕΡΙ § ΝΑΨΕΡΙNE Gen. 31:43 sim. Gen. 2:23, 37:10. Cf. also
Gen. 40:12f., 2:12:16, 3:12, 4:17, 31:32, 29:9 etc.

Corrolaries of the above:

Between protasis and apodosis (“closing the protasis”): Gen. 2:17,
16:42.

Between premodifier and clause: Gen. 3:16, 24:45, 3:17.

Between imperative and post-imperative slot (see above, Chapter
One): Gen. 24:40:51.

Between Temporal (ΕΤΑQ-) and main clause: Gen. 4:1, 38:3.

Following (base/converter +) nominal Theme in nexus: Gen. 2:22,
4:10, 15:16, 34:5, 40:7:9.

Theme ΠΕ (Copula) § Rheme: Gen. 24:29, 38:2.

Theme § Rheme: Gen. 46:9ff. (cf. the *colon* in this role, Gen. 46:23).

ΝΕΝΩΗΡΙΔΕΝΒΑΛΛΑ § ΘΒΩΚΙΝΡΑΧΗΛ § ΔΑΝΝΕΜΝΕΦΘΑ-
ΛΙΜ Gen. 35:25f.

ΑΨΩΠΙΝΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΟΤΗΡΟΘΝΤΕΙΑΡΕΔ § ΡΞΒΝΡΟΜΠΙ etc.
Gen. 5:20:23:27:28.

Topicalized nexus (in Narrative) §1.1.5, ΕΡΕ-NOUN § ΕQE- (also
other tenses): Lev. 1:5, 2:2, 4:5, 8:25 etc.

Focus § Relative Topic (in Cleft Sentence): Ex. 32:24.

Focus ΠΕ § Relative Topic (in Cleft Sentence): Ex. 14:14.

Rheme § ΑΝ ΠΕ Theme: Ex. 14:12.

Clause § modifying clause (as a rule).

ΝΘΩΤΕΝΖΑΝΔΗΡ § ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΙ Gen. 42:9.

**In Dialogue: allocutive clause § addressed noun/name, allocutive
clause § allocutive clause** (not as a rule).

ΑΚΘΩΝ § ΑΔΑΜ Gen. 3:9.

ΑΞΑ § ΤΕΝΝΕΡΗΓΑΡΔΕΝΝΕΝΟΒΙ Gen. 42:21.

§ delimiting well-defined units in Dialogue.

§ ΔΕΠΑΙΡΗΤΑΝΠΑΙΩΤ § Gen. 48:18.

§ †ΕΜΙΠΑΩΗΡΙ†ΕΜΙ § Gen. 48:19.

§ ΔΕΞΗΠΠΕΑΝΟΚ § Gen. 22:11.

§ ΔΕΜΜΟΝΠΑΘC § Gen. 22:15.

The *lemniscus* is exceptional where a *colon* is expected that is, in close-juncture boundaries.

§ ΖΕΡΔΣΟΤΔΡΕ ΝΗΙ Gen. 27:3.

ΔΦΕΣΙΑΡΕΔ Gen. 5:16.

ΑΥCΕΝΔΣΙCΑΑΚ Gen. 22:9.

ΝΕΣΠΕΖΟΟΤΜΜΙCΙΜΦΑΡΑΩΠΕ Gen. 40:20.

ΔΕΑΝ§ (question) Gen. 27:21, 29:5:7f., Ex. 4:18 vs. § ΔΕ-ΑΝΝΗΕΚ- (Gen. 31:50, oath), Gen. 24:23 (questions, no ΔΕ-) and ΑΝΕΤΙ § ΠΕΤΕΝΙΩΤΟΝΔ Gen. 43:5.

The absence of the *lemniscus* within units which are often, typically or as a rule demarcated by *lemnisci* is significant. Rather than close juncture, this implies the prosodic cohesion of cola. Note the following cases of distinctive absence:

- within conjugation forms with pronominal actor;
- after ΝΕΜ, ΟΥΟΖ, ΔΕ, prepositions, the *nota relationis* ἢ;
- between Focus and Topic in Cleft Sentence (both Focalizing Conversion and Relative-Topic Cleft Sentence patterns);
- within determinator + lexeme noun — phrases and ΦΗ + Relative phrases;
- within Nominal Sentence patterns: pronominal Theme and Rheme.
- between clause and particle, before Augens⁴⁷;

Observe the following cases of distinctive punctuation:

ΝΝΟΤΜΟΤ†ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΔΕ § ΔΕΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 32:28 (two ΔΕ-homonyms)

ΝΗΕΤΟΤCΙΜΜΩΟΤ § ΝΘΩΟΤΑ- Num. 4:49 (ΝΘΩΟΤ pronoun — as against the Augens) vs. ΔΕΝΘΟΚΟΤΕΒΟΛΔΕΝΠΑΚΑCΝΘΟΚ § ΝΕΜΕΒΟΛΔΕΝΤΑCΑΡΔ Gen. 29:14. Also:

ΕΘΒΕΟΤΚΩΙΝΙΝCΑΠΑΡΑΝΝΘΟΚ § Gen. 32:29.

... ΠΕ†CΩΤΕΜΕΡΟCΑΝΟΚ § Ex. 32:18 (ΝΘΟΚ, ΑΝΟΚ Augens).

(B) The *colon* [:] closer-juncture medial separator

The *colon* is found as a closer-juncture boundary signal between syntagm terms, and in some cases between syntagms: inter-clausal, inter-word, inter-morph, inter-colon. There is some apparent overlapping with the *lemniscus* — mostly, cases of *lemniscus* for colon — yet distinctive cases point to a basically different specific role. Here, as elsewhere, it is best to isolate the exclusive roles where only (or virtually only) the *colon* occurs, and the *lemniscus* does not.

⁴⁷ Note ΔΕΙΕΜΠΕΚCΕΔΠ:ΟΤCΜΟΤΝΗΙΡΩ • ΑΝΟΚΠΑΙΩΤ Gen. 27:36.

The *colon* is second on the quaternary scale and paradigm of demarcation (highest demarcation first):

lemniscus
colon
 raised point
 (no punctuation)

After the *lemniscus*, the most prevalent demarcator, we find the *colon* (Greek *dikolon*), probably the most elusive and the most difficult to assess functionally. It is best characterized contrastively: it demarcates smaller units than the *lemniscus*; it isolates or *separates* (rather than marking final boundary). The *colon* seems typically to separate morphs, including closest-juncture and lexemic ones, in well-demarcated morph sequences (syntagms) — formal units, while the *lemniscus* concludes syntactic or discourse chunks. It is interesting to note that the distribution of the *colon* in P is not uniform, but evolving: the incidence of *colon* increases as the text advances, at the expense of the raised point, which eventually all but disappears, while the incidence of the *lemniscus* remains more or less constant or even diminishes in some slots. The *colon* occurs **between constituents of larger units**, especially within bound-morph sequences or within **closer-juncture** environment such as enclitics. The *colon* is also found (albeit far less typically) in a set of two, as an embracing or enveloping (discontinuous) demarcator. In the following, I usually do not separate units where the text has no punctuation signal:

ΝΝΟΤΜΟΤ†ΔΕ : ΕΠΕΣΡΑΝ Gen. 17:15 (sim. 9:11).

ΕΤΤΟΜΙΝΟΤΙ : ΕΟΤΙ Ex. 26:3.

ΝΕΜ : ΠΗΡΠ : Gen. 27:37.

ΝΑΣΟΙΝΨΩ† : ΨΩ† : Gen. 14:10.

ΦΗΕΤΑ : ΑΓΑΡ : ΜΑΣϷ Gen. 16:15.

ΙΣΔΕΝ : ΣΙΔΩΝ Gen. 10:19.

ΜΠΕΡΕΝ : ΤΕΚΔΙΔ Gen. 22:12 sim. 43:23f., 39:14.

ΝΕΤΕΝ : ΗΟΤ Gen. 47:24.

ΝΤΕ : ΕΨΡΩΝ Gen. 49:29.

ΝΔΕ : ΜΑΛΕΛΕΝΛ Gen. 5:16, sim. 35:8.

Ν : ΣΟΝ- Gen. 11:19 (vs. ΝΣΟ : Ν- 11:17) sim. 10:4.

ΕΣΟΤΝΖΑ : ΑΓΑΡ Gen. 16:4 sim. 17:22.

ΔΕΝ : ΟΤΜΚΑΖΝΖΗΤ Gen. 42:38.

ΟΤΒΕ : ΑΒΡΑΑΜ : Gen. 17:9.

ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑ : ΡΝΝΕΖΟΟΤ Gen. 8:3.

ΟΤΤΕ : ΝΙΘΗΡΙΟΝ Gen. 3:1.

οὐτωκ : νεμοῦτε : τεσχιμι Gen. 3:15.

οὐτωι : νεμ : οὐτωκ etc. Gen. 9:13, 17:2:7, etc. (÷ in this slot: 9:16:17).

ετασμεс : λιамμασ Gen. 49:31.

αφελ : νεφρσπαρχοντα Gen. 31:18 sim. 45:23.

επδινсοθεν : οσπεθανεσ Gen. 3:22.

ен : πιζατ Gen. 47:14.

εκεοσем : каρι : нниεροσ Gen. 3:14.

οσωρп : οσαιοσн Gen. 42:16.

ектан : δε : αqδψε : Gen. 10:9:26 sim. 16:6.

οσονен : qнаmicι • αν Ex. 23:26 .

αqнаσ : ρηппεicoσесωσ Gen. 22:13.

αqιζαпирωμι : εqοριερατq : ριZen : Gen. 24:30.

нотенсωνι : ψωπιεζανανова : Gen. 24:60.

Especially striking and recurring constellations:

ним : οσн : αq- Gen. 27:33.

енωхΔε : αqρанаq Gen. 5:21 sim. 6:9.

нөωтенΔε : αιαι Gen. 9:7.

наσψοпнаqπε : нZe- Gen. 13:5.

немпоσро : нгоморра Gen. 13:10 sim. Gen. 12:5 before the *nota relationis* and direct-object marking н-, an especially important slot.

асmicι : нөовел : оσοz Gen. 4:22.

ψρανнтсχιμινаврам : пе : сара Gen. 11:29.

ппиеροσ : етапσсθамιο Gen. 5:1:2.

αqθамιοq : κατατзικων Gen. 5:1.

αqψенαqнΔεροσвнн : ZenниεροσонтεпωсΔсoσo Gen. 30:14.

ΔемΔом : еерпетзωσнак : ан Gen. 31:29.

аσ†ренqΔε : ιакωв Gen. 27:36.

Theme : пе : Rheme Gen. 11:29.

Obs.

I find remarkable εβεθ : нл Gen. 35:1:7 with внθ • нл 35:3:8, внθ#нл 35:6 — the toponym is treated as a compound (Arabic too has here two words, with the second “properly” in the genitive case).

The frequent, even normal cases of *colon*, the finer demarcator, combined and contrasted with the looser *lemniscus* are especially telling: the colon internal — as it were inside brackets — the *lemniscus* final and phrase-external:

ἄλχωρ : πεκσον ÷ Gen. 22:20.

: δεις : μελχα ÷ αςμιςι Gen. 22:20 (*lemniscus* for Topic marking).

ανοκ τωηρι̇ μβαθοσηλ ÷ ανοκ : πωηρι̇ μμελχα ÷ φη̇
ετασμαςϙ ἄλχωρ Gen. 24:24.

÷ οτορ̇ ατοσωμ ÷ αςω νθοϙ̇ νεμ̇ νιρωμι̇ : ετνεμαϙ ÷
Gen. 24:54 (sim. 9:10).

ναμκαρ̇ νρητ̇ τηρϙ̇ ÷ νεμ̇ : να̇ : παιωτ̇ Gen. 41:51.

οτορ̇ : σαλα ÷ Gen. 10:24.

αα ÷ νεμ̇ : σελλα ÷ Gen. 4:23, sim. 10:2 etc. etc.

αγαρ̇ : †ρεμνχημι̇ ÷ Gen. 21:9.

οσ̇ πεετωπ̇ : αγαρ̇ μπερερ̇ ρο† ÷ Gen. 21:17.

: οσ̇ ωοτ̇ : νεμ̇ : ος̇ ρι̇ μι̇ ÷ Gen. 6:20.

νναοσ̇ αρ̇ τοτ̇ : δε̇ ÷ ες̇ ρο̇ ρε̇ ρ- Gen. 8:21.

πιχολ̇ : πι̇ αρχ̇ ηστ̇ ρατη̇ ρος̇ ντετε̇ ρϙ̇ ÷ Gen. 26:26.

επι̇ αη̇ : ο̇ ο̇ ν̇ ο̇ ν̇ τη̇ : ες̇ α̇ δ̇ ι̇ νεμ̇ πα̇ σ̇ ϙ̇ ÷ Gen. 18:31.

α̇ ι̇ : οτορ̇ α̇ ω̇ ι̇ : ρ̇ αν̇ ω̇ λ̇ ολ̇ ÷ νεμ̇ ρ̇ αν̇ ω̇ ο̇ τ̇ ντε̇ ρ̇ αν̇ ω̇
λ̇ ολ̇ ε̇ ρ̇ ε̇ ω̇ π̇ ι̇ Gen. 35:11.

÷ νεμ̇ βα̇ σε̇ μα̇ θ̇ : τ̇ ω̇ ρ̇ ι̇ νε̇ λ̇ ω̇ μ̇ : πι̇ ε̇ ρ̇ ε̇ ο̇ ϙ̇ ÷ Gen. 26:34.

νε̇ ω̇ τ̇ εν̇ δε̇ α̇ τε̇ τε̇ εν̇ με̇ σ̇ τ̇ ω̇ ι̇ : α̇ τε̇ τε̇ εν̇ ο̇ ρ̇ ο̇ ρ̇ π̇ τ̇ ε̇ βο̇ λ̇ ε̇ βο̇ λ̇
ρ̇ α̇ ρ̇ ω̇ τ̇ εν̇ ÷ Gen. 26:27.

δ̇ ε̇ νο̇ σ̇ η̇ ν̇ α̇ ρ̇ : α̇ ν̇ ν̇ α̇ ρ̇ ÷ δε̇- Gen. 26:28.

: α̇ η̇ σ̇ α̇ ϙ̇ ε̇ να̇ ϙ̇ ε̇ τ̇ κο̇ ι̇ : α̇ ϙ̇ δ̇ ω̇ ρ̇ δ̇ νο̇ ϙ̇ δ̇ ο̇ ρ̇ δ̇ ϙ̇ σ̇ μ̇ πε̇ ϙ̇ ι̇ ω̇ τ̇ ÷
Gen. 27:5.

The *colon* overlapping the raised point: in this case embracing:

: αν̇ πε̇: Ex. 9:11, 15:23 (cf. the point • αν̇ • πε̇ Gen. 39:6).

ν†̇ ε̇ μι̇ : αν̇ : Gen. 4:9.

α̇ σ̇ †̇ ρ̇ εν̇ πε̇ ϙ̇ ρ̇ αν̇ δ̇ ε̇: ρ̇ α̇ λ̇ Gen. 30:11, sim. 30:6 — a slot where
no *lemniscus* is found to occur.

ρ̇ αν̇: αν̇ ω̇ ε̇ ÷ νεμ̇ ρ̇ αν̇ • αν̇ ω̇ ο̇ Ex. 18:25

In some cases we seem to have the *colon* between non-identical or
identical vowels, possibly to avert elision or diphthongization (crasis),
and to isolate the vowel, but this role is by no means typical or frequent:

ν̇ δ̇ ε̇ : η̇ ρ̇ ÷ Gen. 46:12, sim. 35:8.

ε̇ : ε̇ Lev. 13:56.

ε̇ : ι̇ Lev. 13:30.

ι̇ : ε̇ Lev. 10:16, Num. 6:14.

(NB: space between identical ε̇ vowels in Lev. 2:2, 6:8).

ν̇ ω̇ ε̇ : επ̇ ω̇ ο̇ ϙ̇ ω̇ τ̇ ÷ Gen. 8:6.

Seeming cases of the *colon* in *lemniscus* role are misleading. While the slots may match, the units and the *raison d'être* differ.

ΞΕΑΝ : ϘΟΝΣ : Gen. 29:6 — note enveloping punctuation.

ΜΗΤΙΑΝ : ΟΘΟΝΚΕΤΟΙ Gen. 31:14.

ΟΘΩΟΤ : ΝΕΜ : ΟΤΣΙΜΙ Gen. 6:20 (vs. 19 *lemniscus*).

ΦΜΗΝΙΝΤΕΤΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ : ΦΗ ΕΤΝΑ... Gen. 9:12:18.

ΑΓΑΡ : ΘΒΩΚΙΝCΑΡΑ : ΑΡΕΝΗΟΤΕΒΟΛΘΩΝ Gen. 16:8; sim.
Gen. 49:26, 26:26.

ΑCΤΡΕΝΠΕΡΑΝ : ΞΕCΗΘ ÷ Gen. 4:25, 6:2:13.

ΟΘΟΖΕΤΑϘΜΟΘΝΚ : ΑϘΜΟΘΝΞΕΑΒΡΑΑΜ Gen. 25:8.

: ΕΡΕΦΤ : ΝΑΘΝΑϘ Gen. 22:8.

ΑΠΙΟΘΑΙ : ΕΡΩΟΡΠ Gen. 38:28.

Colon after *Topic*: Gen. 5:21, 6:9.

(C) The raised point [•]: closer- and closest-juncture separator

Typically occurring **within bound morphs** (closer/closest juncture environment), or isolating the post-negator **ΑΝ** — a **short-segment separator, enveloping** or **embracing** the segment (discontinuously: [...•]); also separating two identical vowels or, occasionally, consonants belonging to two units. In general, this seems to serve for **component-segment or morph clarification, marking analyzability** (especially with low-familiarity elements, such as Proper Names) and **averting metanalysis**:

The raised point enveloping the (post) negator ΑΝ.

(especially striking) • ΑΝ • Gen. 20:12, 2:18, 13:6, 24:5, 27:12, 42:11:36, 29:8, 30:33, 43:5 etc.

ΕΝΕ#ΕΒΟΛΞΕΝΠΗΟΡΙ • ΑΝ • ΠΕΝΤΕΝΕϘΑΜΑΞΙ... Lev. 27:22.

ΤΝΑΥΕΝΗ • ΑΝ • ΕΙΟΙΝΡΕΜΞΕ Ex. 21:5.

ΤΕΤΕΝΟΘΩΥ • ΑΝ • ΕCΩΤΕΜ Ex. 16:28.

ϘΟΙΝΘC • ΑΝ • ΕΤΗC Ex. 21:8.

• ΑΝ • ΞΕ • Ex. 5:10.

• ΑΝ • ΠΕ Gen. 37:4.

• ΑΝ ΠΕ • Gen. 45:3.

• ΑΝ • ΟΘΝΤΝΟΘ • Gen. 24:5.

The raised point in environments of closer and closest juncture, typically enveloping short morphs and components:

ΑΝ • ΠΞΩΝΤΜΠCΝΑΙ Num. 16:22.

ΝΑΤ • ΕΡΖΟΑΙ Ex. 30:1.

ΔΕΑΜΟΙ • ΕΝΕ • ΑΝΜΟΘ • ΠΕΞΕΝ Ex. 16:3.
 ΜΑ • ΑQ • ΝΑΝΕΟΘΩΜ Num. 11:13.
 ΟΘΩΜ • ΑQ • Num. 11:18:20.
 †ΝΑΟΘΕΜ • ΑQ • Deut. 12:20.
 ΑΙΝΑΞΕΜ • ΑQ • ΘΩΝ Num. 11:13.
 ΝΝΕΚ • ΕΡΑΔΙΚΙΝ Lev. 19:13.
 ΦΑ • ΡΩC Gen. 24:57.
 ΠΙ • ΙΩΤ • Ex. 9:31.
 ΠΙ • ΑΛ • Ex. 10:15.
 ΠΑ • ΗΙ • Gen. 19:8.
 ΠΕ • ΗΙ • Gen. 17:12.
 ΑΙ • ΔΙΜΙ • Gen. 18:3.
 ΕΤΑΑΔΑΜ • ΜΟΘ† Gen. 2:19.
 • ΑQ • ΤΩΝQ Gen. 25:34.
 ΖΑΝ • ΑΛ • Lev. 13:38:39.
 ΝΝΕΤΕΝ • ΕΝ • ΝΕΤΕΝΒΑΛ Deut. 14:1.
 ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕ • ΕΛ • ΝΑΚΑΣ • ΕΒΟΛ Gen. 50:25, sim. 42:36.
 ΑΛΑΒΑΝ • ΕΛ • ΛΙΑΤΕQΨΕΡΙ Gen. 29:23.
 ΟΘΟΡΠΟΘΕ • ΕΝQ • Gen. 45:27.
 ΝΑΡΕΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ • ΙΗΣ • ΝCΑΛΩΤ Gen. 19:15.
 ΠΑ • ΗΙ • Gen. 19:8.
 ΠΕΚ • ΗΙ • Gen. 17:12.
 ΝΕΜΜΟΝ • ΗΙ • ΓΑΡΠΕ Ex. 12:30.
 ΑΡΕΨΤΕΜΠΕΤΕΝΚΟΘΔΙΝCΟΝ • Ι • ΕΜΝΑΙ Gen. 42:15.
 ΝΝΕΠΑΨΗΡΙ • Ι • ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ Gen. 42:38.
 ΑΠΙΜΩΟΘΝΚΑΤΑΚΛΩCΜΟΣ • Ι • ΕΞΕΝ- Gen. 7:6.
 ΖΑΡΑΞΕΝΟΘ • Ι : ΤΕΝΝΑ • Ι • Gen. 37:10.
 ΑΦ†ΘΡΕΨΩΗΝΝΙΒΕΝ • Ι • ΕΨΩΙ Gen. 2:9
 ΜΠ • Β • Gen. 3:7.
 ΠΙ • Ν • ΝΘΜΗ ÷ Gen. 18:24.
 ΞΕΜ • Λ • ΜΜΑΘ ÷ Gen. 18:30:32.
 • Β • Β • Gen. 6:20, 7:2:3:15 etc.
 ΕΘΒΕ • ΠΙΚ • Gen. 18:31.
 ΑΠΙΛΛΟΘCΙ • Ν • Ι • ΝΞΑΜΟΘΑ Gen. 24:10.
 ΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ • Β • Gen. 19:1.
Isolating Proper-Name segments:
 ΞΕΝ • ΚΑΙΝ • ΑΘΒΕΛ- Gen. 4:24.
 ΑQΞΦΕ (sic) Ν • ΙΑΡΕ • Gen. 5:15.
 ΔΗΕΤΑ • ΑΓΑΡ • ΘΒΩΚΙΝCΑΡΡΑ Gen. 25:12.

schematic functional overview of demarcator slotting

- + typical or exclusive role
 (+) occasional, atypical, also other demarcators occurring
 (-) uncommon
 — virtually no occurrence

	<i>lemniscus</i>	<i>colon</i>	raised point
unit-enveloping incidence	—	(+)	+
unit-final incidence	+	—	(-)
inter-units demarcating incidence	—	+	+
dialogue units	+	—	—
prosodic units	+	—	—
topical/thematic units	+	—	—
nucleus — satellite	+	—	(-)
coordination terms	+	—	(-)
iterated terms	+	—	(-)
apposition terms	+	—	(-)
terms of address			
tabular enumeration terms	+	—	(-)
units demarcated:			
bound morphs: lexemes	—	+	(-)
short lexemes / morphs	—	(+)	+
bound morphs: PNs	—	+	+
bound morphs: grammemes	—	(-)	+
bound morphs: converters	—	—	+
bound morphs: enclitics: $\Delta\mathbf{N}$	—	(-)	+
bound morphs: determinators	—	—	+
unbound morphs: number names	—	—	+
bound morphs: identical segments	—	(+)	+
averting metanalysis	—	—	+

4.4.3 The End-of-Line Break; Consonantal Writing?

The end of the line, a graphematic and orthographic boundary, may be associated more readily than others with syntactic theory; therein lies its general impression of flexibility. As a striking rule, with surprisingly few exceptions, Paris copte 1 avoids end-of-line breaks in mid-morph in Egyptian-Coptic elements:

$\alpha\rho\epsilon/-$, $\mathbf{n}\alpha\rho\epsilon/-$, $\epsilon\tau/\alpha\mathbf{q}-$, $\alpha\sigma/-$, $\mathbf{z}\alpha\mathbf{n}/-$, $\sigma\sigma/-$, $\pi\mathbf{i}/-$, $\pi/-$, $\mathbf{n}\epsilon\mathbf{n}/-$, $\pi\epsilon\mathbf{q}/-$, $\mathbf{z}\epsilon/-$, $\mathbf{n}\tau\epsilon\tau/\alpha\rho\alpha\mathbf{b}\mathbf{i}\alpha$, $\epsilon/\mathbf{\text{S}}\mathbf{o}\sigma\mathbf{n}$, $\mathbf{m}\alpha/\psi\epsilon\mathbf{n}\alpha\mathbf{k}$, $\epsilon\theta/\mathbf{n}\alpha\mathbf{n}\epsilon\mathbf{q}$, $\mathbf{\text{N}}/-$, $\mathbf{z}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{n}/$, $\epsilon/\mathbf{z}\mathbf{o}\tau\epsilon$, $\mathbf{i}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{z}\epsilon\mathbf{n}/\tau\epsilon\mathbf{n}\mathbf{m}\epsilon\tau\alpha\mathbf{l}\mathbf{o}\sigma$, $\mathbf{\text{S}}\alpha/\mathbf{z}\omega\mathbf{q}$, $\mathbf{z}\epsilon-\alpha\mathbf{n}/\alpha-$.

The syllabic cut (see in detail below) is here all-important, and in fact hierarchically primary. Indeed, the association of syllabication and writing principles is so essential, that it brings the “orthographical syllable”

to the fore as a possible basis for the syllable itself (dictating, as in the case of pre-Coptic Egyptian, and proofreading by actual reading aloud may be a possible factor: in fact, I guess the synchronic transmission of the text, i.e. the way it reaches the scribe's decoding cognition, is a key factor).

Perhaps not to be seen as exceptions, but rather as indicative of "hidden seams" for the Coptic encoder/decoder, are:

ნა/ნეჟ Gen. 1:8.

მა/რეჟ- Gen. 1:9 (imperative + auxiliary).

ნიე/βιαικ Gen. 50:17 (ε- part of the plural morphology).

ερετεν/εζοc *passim* (4th ε- historical and synchronic morph).

μη/ποτε *passim*.

сөер/тер Gen. 4:12 (morphematic doubling).

вер/вер Gen. 49:3.

н/нексенрп Deut. 28:39.

πιε/χοοϥ Deut. 27:11.

тевн/ωοϣ Gen. 47:14, 8:20 (base + plural ending).

Exceptions to the inter-morphemic cut do occur, but are relatively rare; some seem to conflict with our syllabication, but are quite viable:

мπε^м/θο Gen. 50:13.

ερετενεοϥ/ωм Gen. 45:18.

ω/σoϥ Gen. 41:42.

пка/χι Gen. 47:4.

εϥα/χοϥ Gen. 49:17, 9:23.

сoз/ποϥ Gen. 50:8.

χα/λα† Gen. 7:21.

ζοτ/βεჟ Gen. 4:15.

θα/μιο Gen. 6:15, Deut. 27:15.

მე/ნენса Gen. 5:4.

πια/βοτ Gen. 8:14.

οϥ/ερп Deut. 9:23.

εϥωοϥ/ιτ Deut. 32:49.

Proper Names are even less subject to the rule here advanced, yet even they largely preserve the syllabic cut:

אי/אקωב

אב/ראм

א/אам

חו/דологомор

דעк/לא

נמי/אייאמ

יו/снѣ

α/ϕ οϕι

η/ϙ αϑ

Similarly Greek loans⁴⁸:

ψϑ/χη

κϑβω/τοϙ, κϑ/βωτοϙ

κατακ/λϑϙμοϙ

πα/ραδιϙϙ

ϑϑΔ/ρια

Obs.

(1) Some pages seem to manifest a concentrated (distracted?) deviation from this consistency: e.g. Lev. 5:16:17 τοϑ/ϑο, ηλι/τοϑ, ηέ/θοϑαβ — all within the same ten lines.

(2) In Vat. copto 1, with much longer lines, the scribe breaks almost 50% of the lines in mid-element.

(3) See BOSSON 2006:21ff., on the end-of-line cut in the Cod. Schøyen Matthew.

In the last 10%-15% of the line, we often find vowels written in the high register (above the line), leaving the consonantal skeleton in the line. This is apparently a space-saving “shorthand”, preparing for the end of the line, and seems to be at least a hint of the realization of the morphematic status of the consonantal skeleton. I doubt that it is the case of forgetful or negligent writing, in view of the general high quality of the scribal practice in our manuscript and the prevalence of the use of the high register.

Some prevalent exx. from Genesis (excluding the omicron-upsilon combination monogramme):

ρ^ομπι

ρ^ωμι

ω^ωπι

ϙ^ωμα

ϙ^αζι

ω^ηρ^ι, ω^ηρι, ω^ερι

ϙ^ωβι

κ^αζι

ειεω^ενηι

ψ^ϑχ^η

νη^ωτεν

αϕ^ωϕ

⁴⁸ The phonology of loan-words in Coptic deserves special study: they are characterized, *inter alia*, by special phonemes or graphemes, idiosyncratic syllabication, end-of-line-cut rules and so on.

Very different is, I think, the case of a *single* high-register vowel or consonant at the very end of the line, to avoid breaking a word (here including Proper Names and loans), or a morph at its very end, before its last element (exx. from Genesis):

εβο[^]2:1

ρ^h2:14

ν[^]ατ^c 3:6

ο^ων^ε 1:9

σμο^ο 27:19

νεμα^c 3:6

δ^ρο^α 3:15

σι^m 3:18

α^ρο^m 4:14

π^e 4:20

ω^hρⁱ 4:26

ενω^c 4:17

η^ρ 9:24

κακⁱ 6:5

χ^ω 24:46

ο^ωο^ε 4:18

αβο^τ 8:4

μαρ^e 24:60

Rarely, more than a single letter is added in this position:

ρω^m 4:1

ωε^ρ 5:16

ρω^m 6:6

κα^ε 12:6

Another special break location is at the very bottom of the page: this, it seems, is a truly final break. Here as much is added as is necessary, and mid-breaks are normal:

εθ/βη† Gen. 12:13.

τας/θοο Gen. 14:16.

ετεμφ^αφ^αραω/ανπε Gen. 47:2.

ε/τεμμα^ω Gen. 19:33.

εβολ/μμα^ω Gen. 19:9, 24:4.

Obs.

(1) The end-of-line challenge is met differently in various scribal traditions in different languages and scripts, and calls for creative and individualistic scribal solutions, being an occasion to display competence and professional flair. While mid-word break is common

in Greek and Latin MSS (with abbreviations as common), in Hebrew 9th to 15th century MSS both are rare, with an average of only 9% mid-word break encountered (only 5% if one deduces basic morph separation (information by M. Beit-Arié). In Syriac MSS, mid-word break is as a rule altogether avoided by various means, such as letter broadening (in Scripture texts), or commencing and recommencing of the next line. See also BEIT-ARIÉ 2003:39 on upper-register lettering near the end of the line in medieval Hebrew MSS of the 13th-15th century (ours is 13th-14th): “placing exceeding letters above the word segment written within the justification” — at least 30% of the cases, with different rates for different locations. This is but one of the tactics in “line management” — “filling up the line with the first letters of the next word (repeated in the next line)”, with graphic fillers, slanting words too long to be accommodated within the line, dilating or constricting last letters, and more.

(2) B. Layton comments on our high-register consonantal writing (letter of 20/3/98): “[The phenomenon] is not so usual in fact...I think this phenomenon, which I call compressed writing, is a function of the page layout and has to do with the regulation of the right margin. Naturally, it is implicated with scribal aesthetic habits, too. In the present case, we have a bilingual manuscript laid out, no doubt, with a mastara (writing board). I would guess that the Arabic column was written first, presenting certain practical limits on the length of the Coptic lines. In any case, there would be the vertical ruling of the mastara pattern, signalling to the Coptic scribe that he'd better bring things to a close. In the heart of the problem in a bilingual, is that Arabic takes so much less room than Coptic; i.e., the Coptic is almost bound to exceed, or threaten to exceed. The solution is for the scribe to compress if necessary at the end of the line...in the case of writings such as ϣⲱⲙⲓ, where ⲱ is stacked above ⲙ, it's tempting to see the position of Arabic vocalic signs as an influence. But two things speak against this. First, consonants are also stacked. Second, in pre-Arabic Sahidic MSS, we find stacked vowels, especially ⲟⲩ (with ⲩ stacked above ⲟ), so the practice/aesthetic predates Islam. I must say, that looking at copt. 1, I see nothing unusual or amiss. I certainly would NOT have guessed that the scribe first wrote the consonants (generally, as in Arabic) and then filled in the vowels (generally, as in Arabic)". What I tentatively suggest — especially in view of the considerable flexibility of the end-of-line cut — is that it is the Egyptian consonantal “skeleton” structure of the word (still synchronically paramount in Coptic), rather than Arabic structure, that is behind this practice; this is especially striking when the vowels are morphemic.

(3) Cases of superlinear correction in mid-line do occur in our MS, but are very rare (e.g. Gen. 20:18).

4.4.4 (Morpho-)syllabic boundaries. The “Jinkim”.

(a) The syllable boundary or “cut” (“limite de syllabe” KASSER 1995: 187ff., 190ff.) is a vital issue in Coptic orthography, morphophonemics and even grammar, but here too the obscure and enigmatic outweighs the clear. I shall not touch here on the Sahidic superlinear-stroke system, and shall generally limit myself to the junctural implications and associations of the phenomenon. In Bohairic, we have a distinct formal exponence and functional system for marking syllabicity, namely the Jinkim (“movement” — the origin of the term, which has Arabic asso-

ciations, and evidently indicates some native grammatical terminological and conceptual tradition, is still obscure). The superlinear “point” (in actual graphic reality often extended to a short dash or apostrophe-like slanting or hooked line), which broadly indicates the syllabic autonomy of the vocalic or (con)sonantal pointed segment, is an exponent of the syllabic jointing, and of potentially morpho-syllabic, phonematic, morphophonemic and morphematic juncture. However, we encounter differences and even conflict between morphophonemic and purely phonematic juncture. (As Stern early noted, 1880 §7, this has grammatical significance too). The said autonomy is relative, and dynamic, i.e. flexible; moreover, every segment may simultaneously enter several divisions, relating to several structures; the attempt to see all of them, flattened, as it were, may account for the apparent variation and contradiction.

Obs.

(1) A short overview of history of the feature and possible connections. This term and concept, to my knowledge the only Coptic grammatical term that must presuppose a grammatical tradition, recalls the Arabic (*ḥarakat*) for “vocalization”, cf. STERN 1880 §§6, 371, yet its function is quite different. In Classical Syriac, the “vowel-point” indicates a higher vocalic grading (diphthong rather than monophthong, *ô* rather than *a*, *a* rather than *e* — interestingly, a relative function). In a second century B.C. Greek papyrus, a similar device is used for word-division, which may be an antecedent of the Coptic “syllabic stroke”. In the “Hypostasis of the Archons” Nag Hammadi text we encounter the hooklet indicating “morphemic boundary following a syllable of two or more letters” - **ⲁⲛⲟⲕⲓⲡⲉ, ⲛⲉⲓⲩⲱⲛⲣⲉ** (LAYTON 1973:189ff., 198f.).

(2) Of course, we have only an orthographic reality to deduce from about phonetic, phonological, prosodic ones: see FUNK 2006. Kasser’s consternation (1993:52) is well justified; but, here too, and as a principle of sound method, it is scribal *variance*, not negligence in scribal practice, that must be contemplated (*pace* KASSER 1994b:109f. with n.2). In fact, this variance provides us with a differential criterion — cases or slots or environments of non-variance are firmly distinct from the “unstable” ones. The Jinkim does not concern words, but syntagmatics, or *the textual sequence of linguistic unities* (*pace* KASSER 1994b:110), just as it concerns morphonology — or morphorthography — rather than phonology pure and simple (FUNK 2006).

(3) POLOTSKY 1949 is the seminal discussion of the Jinkim, marking a “son formant syllabe à lui seul”, rather than the syllabic peak. Evidently, the syllabication bears on the allophonic aspiration (1949:34). The main junctural significance of the Jinkim lies in its absence and segmental replacement in cases of close juncture (“liaison étroite”), e.g. between determinator and lexeme (as in **ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ**), pronominal Theme and Rheme (**ⲕⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ** as against **ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲁⲩ**), Relative converter and Rheme (e.g. **ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ**), see POLOTSKY 1949:29ff., KASSER 1994b:114. Our text evidently has the classic, “earlier” system, although this familiar characterization and classification of Jinkim usage must be further precised. In Polotsky’s post-classic or late system, we find such cases of combinatory aspiration like **ⲭⲛⲁⲩ** as, rather than constituting a contradiction in terms (independ-

ent syllable yet part of cluster), conflict with the morphematic boundary, but may also be taken diachronically as extension of the allophonic and/or allomorphic mechanism beyond the syllable.

(4) KASSER 1994b treats Vat, on the borderline between the classical and postclassical phases, with the Jinkim roles “plus sobres, moins nombreux”. But our MS, later by far, too has early as well as late characteristics. Generally speaking, Kasser distinguishes two forms of syllabifications, a rapid one and a dictation-speed (occasionally “euphonic”) one, that are vindicated by the Jinkim (e.g. 1982, 1994b:115).

(5) The general controversy, or dilemma, about whether the separators and related suprasegmentals indicate syllabic or morphemic boundaries: ROSÉN’s important paper of 1976 (I quote by the pagination in his Collected Papers, *East and West*) on a 13th-century Greek MS of Herodotus, marking syllable-final boundaries by an apostrophe (similar in shape to a *spiritus lenis*), relies heavily on Coptic structural and suprasegmental features: see p. 417ff. on the Sahidic system. Note that “in Coptic there is no conflict between morph and syllable extent” (418 n.42) is certainly inexact as it stands; but it is true that [in Coptic] “befindet sich zumindest an einer der Grenzen jedes Morphems ein Silbengrenze”. Rosén suggests that the apostrophe may be in Coptic a forerunner of the *apices* in the superlinear stroke of early Sahidic MSS (418ff.) He is certainly right when he says (420) that the Coptic system is based on a good understanding of syllabic phonological structure; yet, most importantly (415) “Es darf keinem Zweifel unterliegen, das ein system zur Bezeichnung von Silbengrenzen aus keinen phonetisch-theoretischen Beweggründen erwachsen ist, sondern ursprünglich den rein funktionellen Zweck verfolgt haben muss, d.h. hauptsächlich bei Fehlen eines phonologischen Grenzsignals, adäquat in einer der Erleichterung des Verständnisses dienenden Weise zum Ausdruck zu bringen” — a practical device for isolating and identifying morpho-semantic segments and boundaries. Rosén’s information on the “hooklet” serving to delimit morphemes in certain Nag Hammadi MSS (420) is based on FUNK 1976:58ff. — NHC V, perhaps also Budge’s Sahidic Deuteronomy and the Apocalypse of Elias: “am Wortende bzw vor bestimmten starken Morphemfugen”, but Funk himself retracted this later: see 1982:65; 1995a:15ff. (convergence of morphemic and syllabic boundaries), 1995b:32ff. (syllabic division). See also BOSSON 1994:168ff. on the apostrophe for syllable-final boundary (170f. and n.64 for other discussions).

(6) In 1994b, R. Kasser characterizes systematically, but rather summarily, the usage of Jinkim (“autosyllabicity”) and related graphemic phenomena (see also KASSER 1991b). Kasser does not specifically refer to a morphematic factor (yet see p. 128 n.41, and p. 129). Battiscombe Gunn compiled notes on the Jinkim (more or less contemporaneously with, or earlier than Polotsky’s BSAC article of 1949); unpublished notes, attached to his letter to A.H. Gardiner of 2/3/41 (AHG 142.124.77 at the Griffith Institute, Oxford), with eight points on Bohairic syllable structure; he too points to the existence of several systems, expounding “the most widespread” to his friend and patron.

(7) The Jinkim is not restricted to Bohairic — it is functional in Oxyrhynchite: see the introduction to BOSSON 1997:xi f.. Mink in GABRA 1995:63 is question-begging and self-contradictory: “silbisch im Sinne der Silbenanalyse des Schreibers...” “die Gewiß an der phonetischen Realisation orientierte Silbenanalyse”, which follows a statement of “nicht kohärente Prinzipien” (see SCHENKE 1996:90ff. for a just criticism of Mink’s linguistic introduction to Gabra’s Oxyrhynchite Psalms). In 2006, B. Layton discusses a Sahidic manuscript with a *sui generis* system of Jinkim points: the Apophthegmata Patrum in MS IB 17 (484) of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

(8) Frankly, the syllable is a difficult if not problematic notion. For one thing, where does it “exist” — where is it a meaningful, as against pragmatically useful, entity? Renouncing the traditional stratificational view of language, as Coptic consistently teaches us to do — the syllabic unit conflicts with most other unities. Somewhat like the word, syllabication is well established in some, but by no means all written systems, but even in spoken language its status and integration in phonetic and phonological structure is generally questionable. In written language, syllabic division seems out of place and all but a contradiction in terms, unless it be a device for vocalizing a written text. (See HJELMSLEV’s definitions, “a chain of expression containing no more than a single accent” or “a minimal syntagm on the expression plane”, bring home the difficulty of accommodating this concept in a structural framework, even on the phonematic level: see MALMBERG 1967:69ff., 98ff., 128ff.). In Coptic, it is also intermeshed *inter alia* with the consonantal quality known as aspiration (below).

(9) FORT 2000 is an outstanding study of the phenomena examined here (in the verbal system, especially the Sahidic one) and of the *Problematik* involved. The author, stressing the significance of “engrammation” — the graphematic environment — arrives at not dissimilar conclusions to those of the present discussion: see especially p. 334ff., for the dynamicity and pluridimensionality of the boundary marking; also p. 326 for the end-of-line boundary; and generally, for a cogent evaluation of the notion of the syllable for Coptic.

(b) Syllable-structure constituents — in mutual linkage to form one syllabic unit — are in Bohairic:

Onset (zeroable): consonants or sonorants; clusters, even triple ones (all with a morphemic boundary running within them: $\pi\kappa\Phi\rho$, $\pi\chi\rho\epsilon\mu\rho\epsilon\mu$; double clusters have rising or steady sonority: $\Phi\rho\sigma$, $\tau\tau\iota\mu\eta$), counting as a single segment. According to the Sonority Sequencing Principle: onsets rise in sonority towards the nucleus (cf. de Saussure’s convenient if “unprofessional” “*chaînon explosif rompu*”), as evident in obstruent + sonant clusters⁴⁹.

Nucleus or peak: vowels, sonorants (rarely and only in specific positions; disyllabic $\Sigma\sigma\theta\beta\epsilon\kappa$ with aspiration linking coda of the first and onset of the second; $\epsilon\eta\kappa$ or $\tau\omega\eta\kappa$ with a final cluster as coda).

Coda (zeroable)⁵⁰: Sonority Sequencing Principle: coda clusters fall in sonority from the nucleus ($\epsilon\eta\kappa$, $\tau\omega\eta\tau$, $\lambda\iota\tau$ — all cases of morphemic boundary running within the cluster).

Syllabic juncture can be tentatively described in terms of sonority contour:

“if three adjoined segments fall and rise in sonority, they belong to two different syllables”;

⁴⁹ Monosyllabic rising diphthongs like $\sigma\tau\alpha$, $\sigma\tau\iota$ concur with disyllabics.

⁵⁰ A zeroed coda is of course not the same as a *zero* segment as coda: $\mu\mu\sigma$ “to you” (fem.), $\pi\epsilon$ “your-” (fem.). Vocalic lengthening in coda: $\mu\mu\omega\lambda\sigma\tau$, $\Phi\eta$.

“if three adjoined segments rise and fall in sonority — they belong to a single syllable”.

Two syllables are delimited (in consonantal environment, nasals preceding):

ἡβεχε Gen. 30:32.

ἡμοψι Gen. 31:23.

ἡφιαιο Gen. 31:21.

Marked syllabicity in adjoining vocalic or consonantal environment is always a delimitation. The Jinkim is deployed to mark morphematic and lexematic boundaries (the tension between syllabic/phonosyllabic and morphematic boundaries is of interest):

ἡ- as a rule maintains its syllabicity — this constitutes a delimitation (cf. Lev. 8:33, 13:28, 2:5, 3:2, 4:18:23 etc.):

μα-ἡ-ἐσωσ Gen. 43:32.

ετε-ἡ-στητ Gen. 1:9 — clearly not “liaison étroite”.

αφῆ-ἡ-κοτ Ex. 22:27.

οτ-ἐ-δωρ Gen. 41:11.

νη-ἐ-ἰακωβ Gen. 31:17.

νη-ἐ-βολ Gen. 41:2.

ἐἡμον Num. 20:18: delimitation following the Circumstantial: (Vat μμον).

εκῆεν Ex. 18:19, 34:29.

ερε-ερ- Lev. 16:19⁵¹.

νη-ἡπερ- Ex. 12:39, νη-ἡπατε-, νη-ἡμον Gen. 2:5.

ετε-ἡ-σρη Ex. 11:5.

ετε-ἡπερ-ἡ-μο Ex. 14:9.

ετε-ἡ-τατ Gen. 12:20.

ψα-ἡ-ναι Gen. 22:5.

ψαῖ-ἡ-τοτ-ἡ-ωτ† Gen. 29:8 (!).

ἡ-ἐ-νοχος Lev. 20:10.

ἡ-ἰ-σραῆλ-ἡ-της Lev. 24:10.

ἡ-ἰ-ακωβ Gen. 27:6.

αφ-ἡ-ρι ἡ-οτ-ἡ-οπс Gen. 26:30.

ἡ-ἐ-δωρ Deut. 9:25.

ἡ-ο-νομα-σ-τοс Num. 15:2.

οτ-ἡ-νομ-ἡ-α Lev. 20:14.

⁵¹ The Oxyrhynchite Codex Glazier (the Acts) has for the Absolute-Definite Future a consistent syllabication contrast of ετ-ἐ- as against the other persons, ἐ-κε-, ἐ-γε-, ἐ-σε-.

ΕΤΝΑ-ΝΚΟΤ Lev. 20:13.

ΠΕ-ΙΩΤ Gen. 24:23.

Ε-ΘΒΑΚΙ Gen. 24:10.

ΑΡΙ-ΕΜΙ Gen. 20:7.

Α-ΙΑΚΩΒ Gen. 29:11.

ΑΝ-Ι Gen. 32:7.

ΦΙΛΑΡΟ Gen. 41:1:2 — syllabication conflicting with aspiration (phjaro vs. pi-a-ro).

ΝΚΝΑΟΘΩΜ ΑΝ Deut. 8:9 Circumstantial; Vat ΝΧΝΑ-: χ- non-syllabic, in onset cluster.

ΑΡΕ-Ρ (= Vat) generally.

ΕΤΕ-ΕΘΒΕΦΝΟΒΙ Lev. 6:23. e-te- or et-e-? Probably the former.

NB: ΦΗ ΕΘΒΕΦΝΟΒΙ, ΦΗ ΕΤΕ†ΜΕΤΩΑΥΤ (ΝΤΕ-) Lev. 7:7 — no Jinkim on Ε-.

Ε-ΞΟC.

ΠΑΙΚΕ-ΕΞΩΡΞ.

ΜΑ-ΝΕCΩΘ (unetymological metanalysis).

Ε-ΘΒΕ (“correct”, *pace* KASSER 1994b:128 n.41), like Ε-ΘΒΑΚΙ Gen. 24:2.

ΤΕΚ-ΑΦΕ Gen. 40:19.

The opposition is junctural in a case like:

ΝΗ ΕΤΕ-ΝΤΑΥ Gen. 31:18 (= Vat) against ΝΕΤΕΝΤΑΥ Gen. 24:2.

ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΑΙΜΑ Deut. 29:15, not “‘unseriöse’ Punktierung” (FUNK 1992:26), but the overrule of morphematic over phonosyllabic demarcation.

Absence of syllabicity of nasals in adjoining vocalic environment is always a basic-grade link (cases of “liaison étroite”?):

CΕΝΞΟΘΗ Gen. 18:9.

ΕΤΕΜΜΑΘ (vs. ΜΜΑΘ).

(but: ΕΤΕ-ΝΪΗΤΥ Gen. 49:32, see above);

ΝΑΥ-... ΑΝ, ΝΕΤΑ-... ΑΝ as a rule, for negating the nexus with Focalizing Present/Future/Preterite.

Deut. 8:3 ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΑΩΝΞ ΕΩΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΑΥΤΥ ΑΝ

(c) Cases of syllabic initial radical nasal (looser morphematic juncture) in variation with Ε + nasal: (closer juncture) — some examples are given above and below. The three forms encountered for each instance are the lexemic one (ΜΤΟΝ, ΜΒΟΝ), the marked close-juncture one, with the lexeme “melting” into a preceding unity (ΕΜΤΟΝ, ΕΜΒΟΝ —

MTON:

ΠΕΜΤΟΝ Ex. 35:2 (= Vat).

ΠΙΕΜΤΟΝ Num. 10:36 (Vat ΠΙΜΤΟΝ).

NEMTON Ex. 35:2 (= Vat), 16:23 (= Vat), Deut. 5:14 (= Vat), 12:9.

†ΕΜΤΟΝ Deut. 25:19.

(ΕΤ)ΑΦΕΜΤΟΝ Num. 11:25 (ΜΤΟΝ Vat), Deut. 33:2.

ӨРКЕМТОН Deut. 5:33.

See FUNK 1992:26f. on the variation ἀγῆτον/ἀγετον; ἵχαι is rarer in the corpus than ἐνχαι.

ΣΕΝΟΘΕΜΒΟΝ Num. 11:10, 32:9, 11:1 (Vat ΟΘΜΒΟΝ) vs.
ΟΘΜΒΟΝ Deut. 29:23.

αρεμβον Num. 11:33 (αρεμβον Vat), Deut. 1:37 vs. αρεμβον
Deut. 32:19, 9:8 ντερεμβον Deut. 11:17.

απερς φ† εμβον Deut. 4:21 vs. †μβον Deut. 32:16.

ΠΕΜΒΟΝ Num. 12:9.

NEMBON Deut. 31:17, Num. 16:15 (= Vat).

ΠΑΙΜΒΟΝ Deut. 29:24.

ΔΩΝΤ ΝΕΜ ΜΒΟΝ Deut. 6:15.

†**ΝΑΘΕΡΕΤΑΣΗΓΙ ΜΒΟΝ** Deut. 32:39.

ΘΡΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΜΒΟΝ Num. 14:11 (Vat **ΘΡΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΒΟΝ**).

ΜΠΨΑ

ΠΕΤΕΜΠΨΑ Lev. 16:8.

ΕΤΣΕΜΠΨΑ Lev. 5:10.

ΜΧΑΙ

ΕΕΝΧΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ Ex. 35:32, Lev. 18:6.

ΝΕΝΧΑΙ Ex. 10:15, Gen. 34:29, Deut. 28:55 (= Vat).

ΞΑΕΝΧΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ Deut. 14:26.

ΧΑΕΝΧΑΙ Deut. 15:2.

ΝΞΕΝΧΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ Deut. 29:23.

ΝΕΜ ΜΧΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ Ex. 20:11, 40:9, Num. 16:13, Gen. 36:6 varying with **ΝΕΜ ΕΝΧΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ** Gen. 34:2, **ΟΘΟΞ ΕΝΧΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ** Deut. 8:14 (Vat **ΜΧΑΙ**), Num. 18:14.

ΟΘΜΧΑΙ Gen. 31:31.

ΠΙΕΝΧΑΙ Num. 24:11.

ΝΤΕΕΝΧΑΙ Deut. 28:57.

ΜΘΟ

ΠΕΦΜΘΟ (etc.) Ex. 32:5, Num. 19:3.

ΠΕΜΘΟ Num. 20:10, Gen. 50:13.

Here, and in the next lexeme, we observe a neat alternation in linkage — closest *vs.* close, of obstruent or obstruent-final morph and spirant-final morph, respectively.

ΜΚΑΞ

ΠΕΚΕΜΚΑΞ Deut. 28:57.

ΜΝΟΨΤ

ΠΙΜΝΟΨΤ Gen. 39:4.

ΜΞΑΨ

ΠΙΕΜΞΑΨ Num. 19:18 (Vat **ΜΞΑΨ**) *vs.* **ΠΙΜΞΑΨ** Gen. 23:17, 50:13.

ΟΨΕΜΞΑΨ Num. 19:16 (Vat **ΜΞΑΨ**).

ΟΨΞΦΟ ΝΕΜΞΑΨ, ΟΨΚΤΗΣΙΣ ΝΕΜΞΑΨ Gen. 23:20, 50:13 Vat.

ΜΚΟΤ: ΕΝΚΟΤ usual form in the MS.

ΕΕΝΚΟΤ Gen. 39:10.

ΕΦΕΝΚΟΤ Deut. 22:22.

ΝΤΕΦΕΝΚΟΤ Deut. 22:28.

ΚΝΑΕΝΚΟΤ Deut. 31:16.

ΝΝΕΚΕΝΚΟΤ Deut. 24:12.

ΑΣ^εΝΚΟΤ Gen. 19:33.

(d) Instances of distinctive or significant syllabication:

(1) In the Absolute-Definite Future.

ειέ-, εκέ-, εφε- (but ἐφε- in Vat!). KASSER 1994:129 believes that εκ/ε- is “orthographiquement plus avancé” than ε/κε-. Why, and in what sense? The former is certainly better founded historically.

ερε- sec. sgl. fem. Gen. 16:11, distinguished from

ἐρε- + sec. person plural/nominal Theme (e.g. Gen. 17:5, 18:14, 22:8 etc., Ex. 10:2, 11:6).

ἐ-ι Gen. 24:8.

(2) ἀρε-ωλι sec. sgl. fem. Preterite Gen. 30:15: the core morph is syllabic.

(3) Rel. / Focalizing Preterite ετ-ἀ-NOUN (Gen. 6:1, 25:10, 20:13), ἀ-ϕ†- Gen. 30:18:23, but pronominally always ἐται- etc.; ετ-ἀ-ρετεν- Gen. 42:7:9, 19:12, 45:4:5.

(4) Most interesting: π- article + syllabic vowel, with the Jinkim signalling the morphematic boundary: π+ἀλοϕ, π+ἀλοϝ (Gen. 24:34, 32:25) — still syllabic, although syllable covers more than one grapheme: ἀ- here is a syllabic realization of a *zero* laryngeal consonant. This is a delimitation, and certainly not a case of “liaison étroite”: “il leur arrive aussi, par dérogation due à la distraction, de pratiquer un usage non phonologique et justifié par l’analyse des ensemble d’éléments grammaticaux, en isolant ainsi ἀλοϕ dans π-ἀλοϕ, graphie occultant la division syllabique du mot” (R. Kasser by letter, 25/3/98); ναλωοϑι n- Gen.26:25, ναλοϝ n- Gen. 50:23, both = Vat (nen-ἀ- in Gen. 21:25); see POLOTSKY 1968:244f. Compare, however, πινι in QUECKE 1984:302. On the other hand, ἡζε-ν-ἀλωοϑι ἡκαακ Gen. 26:25 (= Vat) has close juncture with the preceding vocalic environment (contrast ἡζε-icaακ Gen. 26:31, δε-ἡοϑωωω Gen. 37:2). Somewhat similar is ἐτ-ἐξε Gen. 24:34 = Vat, 24:9, 32:25:32, Ex. 23:4.

(5) ρῥᾱκινῑνον Num. Ch. 4 *passim*: ρ — the Greek rough breathing is not considered consonantal for syllabication purposes (Vat ρῑᾱκινῑνον).

4.4.5 “Aspirate” consonants (θ, χ, ϕ, Ϸ) and “aspiration”

“Aspiration” is in Bohairic grammar a conventional name for a weakly phonematic, mostly motivated (conditioned) consonantal property, expressed by special graphemes, which is closely interrelated with syllabication: syllabication-related combinatory aspiration is evidently a junctural link. “Aspiration” in Bohairic has nothing to do with /h/ or the aspirate phonetics of an obstruent consonant.

Combinatory (allophonic) aspiration (a)

Aspiration of the surd consonant immediately preceding a sonorant in syllable-onset clusters:

πχρεμρεμ (triple cluster) Ex. 16:12.

Φρωμι.

Φιάρο (the boundary between article and lexeme is here enough to maintain the syllabicity of α).

μετμεερε (illustrating junctural contrast between two boundaries): μετ-με-ερε.

Combinatory (allophonic) aspiration (b)

Aspiration of consonantal onset, or last consonant in cluster onset, immediately preceding the stress:

Φηθη

μφωρ

χωχα-

πσφιρ (triple cluster) Ex. 27:7

ψεεζ

The stress suprasegmental phone is thus structurally equivalent to a sonorant glide, as a conditioning factor, unless the stress *preserves* an original aspiration.

Obs.

On the junctural associations of these aspiration allophones, cf. POLOTSKY 1949:27 n.1, 34f. "presupposes close juncture"; POLOTSKY 1957a:223 n.4 (de Saussure's "chaînon explosif"); FUNK 2006:82f.: "degrees of prosodic linkage". The association of aspiration with fully stressed vowels is not without exception, cf. KASSER 1993:50f. and Polotsky quoted above.

Aspiration according to (a) only apparently conflicts with syllabication: Gen. 41:1:2 Φιάρο (phja-ro would account for Φ-, while the Jin-kim, if exclusively marking syllabic autonomy, would indicate pi-a-ro). Similarly, cases like Ϝωτεβ, Num. 31:17 ϜοεβοϜ or Ϝωτεμ Deut. 4:36 ϜοεμοϜ do not, I think, pose the short-open-syllable question, but illustrate the same dynamicity.

Non-combinatory (phonematic and "etymological"; or else pertinent) aspiration is I believe questionable, and the phonematic load of the opposition marginal: χοζ Num. 11:9 vs. κοζ Deut. 8:15, πα- vs. Φα-; cf. also νεωτεν pron. as against ντωτεν (ντε-) etc. Lev. 26:31, Num. 16:33 (the latter t < d — this "t₂" "diachronic phoneme" shows the inevitability of a hologrammic diachronic/synchronic view of systemic identity); here the *ceteris paribus* stipulation is often not maintained; consider cases like τωοϜν, †, κωτ, the dental or velar not

subject to combinatory aspiration (b), devoid of written (graphematic) allophones.

Obs.

(1) On the nature of Bohairic Φ χ Θ (σ). Surd+ [h] sequences are in Bohairic written in subsequent separate graphemes: $\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\omega\sigma\tau$, $\pi\zeta\sigma$, $\tau\zeta\iota\kappa\omega\eta$, $\tau\zeta\epsilon\mu\kappa\sigma$ ($\Theta\epsilon\beta\iota\sigma$ is exceptional); Φ Θ χ is not a digraph for $\pi/\tau/\kappa$ + σ - (except for “foreign” Proper Names, which are not a cogent argument anyway). This alone would indicate that the said graphemes are “free” for different functions⁵².

WORRELL 1934:18ff. — the only special study of Coptic phonetics and phonology to date — simply assumes phonetic aspiration for these grapheme, which is still a kind of implicit consensus. But this view was challenged from early on (STERN 1880:17: “emphatic as in Arabic”; DE ZWAAN 1905:419 n.1 “Aspiration is here a doubtful term, for the real value of the Coptic symbol χ is at least as difficult to determine as the exact historical character of the sound represented by the Greek sign χ ”. Incidentally, the two desiderata mentioned by De Zwaan as urgent for Coptic studies are still far from being realized, one century hence) to recent discussion (KASSER 1993:50 n. 4, 1994c:288 n.1, 292 “enforcement”, LOPRIENO 1995:42f. “ejective”), the “pre-stress/pre-sonant quality”, which is in Bohairic mostly conditioned, has been identified as the *fortis* type, although true aspiration may well be a phonetic-realization epiphenomenon thereof, and is relative anyway (cf. CLARK and YALOP 1990:89ff. on initial voiceless plosives in onset); see De Groot and Winteler *apud* JAKOBSON and HALLE 1963 (Swiss German) 155f. + n. 3 “Les fortes s’opposent aux douces par une pression de l’aire plus élevée...et par une durée plus longue...”.

(2) The different treatment of pre-tone aspirating dentals (< t) and non-aspirating ones (< d: cf. $\tau\omega\sigma\tau\eta$, $\dagger$) — see WORRELL 1934: 187ff., VYICHL 1960, KASSER 1994c:291 nn.21, 23 — poses a nice theoretical-structural problem in the combined perspective of synchrony and diachrony, the definition of the phoneme and the nature of allophony; we must, as said, conclude the *synchronic* existence of /t/ and /t_h/, which, however, have really only a diachronic contrast. Of course, in Bohairic, unlike Sahidic, the “aspirate” vs. “non-aspirate” contrast is phonematic, albeit weakly so (cf. also LOPRIENO 1995:42f.): it is only in cases of Θ - (STRESS) vs. τ - (STRESS), that we have a synchronic phonological differentiation, corresponding to a diachronic source difference; elsewhere, both Egyptian /t/ and /d/ merged into Bohairic /t/: /d/ > /t/, /t/ > /t/, /th/ — a classic synchronic merger.

(3) Peripheral auxiliary information, which reflects contemporary phonetics, is not conclusive, but does not point to aspiration. In Greek words, we find in Kellia (7-8 cent.) spellings like $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\delta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Kellia I, 1969, edd. Daumas-Guillaumont, No. 23 p. 105, which, like the “pre-Old Coptic” $\sigma\eta\Phi\iota$ in QUECKE 1997, must be seen in the context of the respective contemporary Greek graphemes and their value. The aid of Arabic pronunciation of Coptic “aspirate graphemes” and the use of Coptic AGs to render Arabic for establishing any synchronic value of Scripture Bohairic is very doubtful (BLAU 1979, SATZINGER 1991b); Θ χ are not spirants, while Φ probably is. Arabic ʔ transcribes both τ and Θ . The Arabic grammatical tradition identifies the “aspirate” quality with the Arabic emphatic one of “strong explosives” (STERN 1880:17 n.1): see now SATZINGER 2003: 203ff. In fact, there aren’t any conclusive arguments in favour of Bohairic graphemes be-

⁵² Cases like Oxyrh. $\text{NET}\Theta\zeta\epsilon\beta\beta\iota\eta\sigma\tau$ recall Egyptian phonetic complementation in enclosing biliteral hieroglyphs — preceding and following them — with their alphabetic values.

ing aspirates in any sense, while counter-arguments abound. (Somehow, I cannot conceive of the third segment in the monosyllabic $\tau\epsilon\phi\omega\sigma$ Joel 1:3 as phonetically aspirate). The transcription in Demotic of aspirate graphemes in Greek PNs and other words (3rd century BC to 1st century AD), generally by surd stops corroborates their emphatic nature (especially that of χ): see CLARYSSE 1987: χ — q , kh , gh (frontal), g (frontal); ϕ — p and ph , θ — t and th .

(4) The allophonic distribution described of aspirates and non-aspirates excludes loanwords from Greek: $\sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$, $\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ Lev. 11:30, $\kappa\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\omega\sigma$ Lev. 11:16 — yet another phonological distinction of this lexical sub-inventory.

(5) The synchronic status of the aspirate/non-aspirate distinction is very weakly phonematic: $\pi\alpha$ - vs. $\phi\alpha$ -, not *ceteris paribus* $\phi\epsilon$ vs. $\pi\epsilon$, $\kappa\epsilon\tau$ - “build” vs. $\chi\epsilon\tau$ (“other”, Crum 507b), $\tau\eta$ “there” vs. $\theta\eta$ “that” (sgl. fem.), less neatly $\eta\omega\omega\sigma$ vs. $\eta\tau\omega\omega\sigma$ (N- + “theirs” [fem.] vs. “with them”); usually, θ χ ϕ occur as allophones of τ κ π in clusters before sonants, or prevocally in tonic syllables.

(6) The constant aspiration in the first consonant of $\theta\alpha\mu\iota\sigma$ (unaccented, from *dit*!), $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda$ - or $\theta\epsilon\beta\iota\sigma$, which, I believe, is not accounted for by the *hori* in the simplex verb (*pace* Crum 457b)? Why the absence of “aspiration” in the velar in $\kappa\omega\tau$, $\kappa\omega\tau$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$, opening a stressed syllable?

4.4.6 Juncture and aspiration: aspiration as link / delimitation

(a) Tone/aspiration correlation *within lexeme boundaries*:

$\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\theta\omega\rho$, $\omega\theta\sigma\rho\tau\epsilon\rho$ — a unit-valid morphonemic alternation link (primarily, one-stress linkage).

$\phi\sigma\tau\phi\epsilon\tau$, $\phi\epsilon\tau\phi\omega\tau$ — aspiration assimilation linkage (the second and first aspirates are secondary).

Obs.

KASSER 1994c suggests a “half-tone” middle degree of tonicity, between *zero* tone and full tone; this reminds one of zero-guṇa-vṛddhi verb tonicity gradation in Indo-European. Cases of half-tone are $\pi\alpha\iota$ - and esp. prenominal (construct) and presuffixal (pronominal) allomorphs of the verb lexemes. See there, 290ff. generally on the correlation of aspiration and tonicity (n. 24 for the repertory and deviations). Kasser attributes practically all to epiphenomena of tonal features, and ignores (a) juncture (which I believe ranks highest as gradient factor); this includes of course inner-lexemic juncture, (b) lexemic *Systemzwang*, which, being synchronic, is *not* analogy, but a junctural pattern property.

(b) Aspiration before (across) seam — link *within a unit*, and

(c) Absence of aspiration before (across) seam — delimiter of two different segments:

“an aspirate is syllable and/or morph-initial, not -medial- or -final”⁵³

“a morphemic/morpholexic inter-segment boundary is present between a non-aspirate and a tonic vowel”:

⁵³ There is in Coptic no instance, in native Egyptian lexemes, of a single syllable having aspirates in both onset and coda — a Coptic Grassmann’s Law: cf. ROSÉN 1964 §3.1 ex. 1 (Attic Greek).

ΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝΟϞ Gen. 34:3, 19:14.

ΨΕΡΠ-ΘΗΝΟϞ Gen. 19:2.

ΕΝ-ΘΗΝΟϞ Gen. 50:24.

ΣΑΤΕΝ-Φ̣ΡΟ Gen. 18:10.

ΝΤΕ-ΧΗΜΙ Ex. 8:2.

ΠΙΜΩΙΤ#ΝΤΕ- Deut. 1:19.

ΝΖΗΤ#ΟΨΟΖ Deut. 1:21.

Φ̣ΩΤ vs. Π-ΩΤ Num. 24:8.

Π-ΩΟϞ Num. 17:7 vs. Φ̣ΩΟϞ “theirs”.

ΝΑΡΕΦ̣ΟϞΩΙΝΙΨΟΠ#ΝΩΟϞ Ex. 10:23. In a case like this, or like Num. 18:17 **α̣φ̣Ο̣ΝΖΟϞ**, aspiration defines rightward linkage in the lexemic scope and a leftward boundary over an internal seam in the nexal scope. This boundary counteracts the strong rightward linkage of a pre-posed grammemic segment, reducing from the overall closure of the seam. It is always at the junction of leftward and rightward junctures, the interface of grammemic and lexemic hyper-paradigms, that this peculiar junctural turbulence is encountered.

ΧΝΑ-, ΕΤΕ-ΧΝΑ-, Ε-ΧΝΑ- vs. ΠΕΚ-ΙΩΤ, ΔΚ-ΟϞΩΨ.

ΝΚΝΑΟϞΩΜ ΔΝ Deut. 8:9 Circumstantial (Vat ΝΧΝΑ-): κ here is the *deaspirated* χ.

(d) Morphemic juncture overruling syllabication (and resulting aspiration).

ΜΕΤΜΕΘΡΕ Gen. 31:48, Num. 17:9 — thus always. Inside-lexeme validity, with two different boundaries (POLOTSKY “given syllabication”, 1957a:224 n. 3), the first less close, the second closer.

ΜΕΘΜΗΙ cuts across morphemic boundary (the existence of ΘΜΗΙ may be a factor here) Deut. 6:20:24 (me-thmêi) (ΟϞ-ΘΜΗΙ Deut. 32:4).

ΜΕΤ- always:

ΜΕΤΙΩΤ Num. 17:17.

ΜΕΤΟϞΗΒ Num. 18:1.

ΜΕΤΝΑΗΤ Deut. 6:25.

ΜΕΤΒΩΚ Deut. 7:8.

ΤΕΝΜΕΤΑΛΟϞ Gen. 47:3.

ΜΕΤΝΙΨ† Gen. 43:33.

ΜΕΤΡΕϞΕΡΖΔΕ Deut. 28:57.

ΟϞΜΕΤΡΕΜΖΕ Lev. 19:20.

(e) Aspirate/non-aspirate variation — not indicating “unstable juncture”, but “telescoped” alternative divisions, see above — is far less widespread than is apparent at first sight, and evidently restricted: τ-/θ- seems especially prevalent. It never occurs in pre-stress aspiration, nor,

in pre-sonorant status, in most slots, e.g. always **εορε-**, **εοβε**, the definite articles or the **θ-** of causatives (**θμεσιο** Gen. 35:17). In fact, the actual morphs given to this fluctuation are practically only the Relative converter **ετ-/εθ-** and the sec. sgl. masc. **κ-/χ-**:

εοοτωρπ Ex. 3:12.

ομαιο (secondary aspiration: from *djt!*!).

φιом Ex. 26:27 **ομη†** Ex. 26:28 **φλακx** Ex. 26:23 **φβεχε** Lev. 19:13.

χοτωψ Gen. 24:5 so always?

χναμοο Gen. 20:7, 24:42.

ηκναοτωм an (Vat **ηχνα-**) Deut. 8:9 Circumstantial — remarkable: **κ** deaspirated, completing a syllable with **η**?

ορασο†ι Gen. 31:10:24 but (rare) **τ-ρασο†ι** Gen. 20:6 (Vat **θ-**).

εκ-ραννι Gen. 17:1 so almost always, but **εχνηο** Gen. 48:7.

nek-manecωο Gen. 13:8 so always.

ετεκ-να- Gen. 15:2 but **ετε-χνα-** Ex. 4:13.

ετ-μωο†τ twice Lev. 5:2 (Vat **εθ-**) but **εομωο†τ** Num. 19:11 (= Vat).

κνα-/χνα- Gen. 37:8 in the same verse, in near-identical environment. True variation.

ετ-να- Gen. 23:10, 21:6f., 25:22, 26:11 etc. (cf. KAHLE 1954:231 n.2).

εθνα εδο†н Gen. 23:18, but:

ετ-panak Gen. 20:15.

ετ-ноσz Gen. 30:32.

ετ-нho Deut. 32:29.

Obs.

(1) Combinatory aspiration / non-aspiration variation is a prominent feature of B4 MSS. In Bodmer III B4 John: **εтна-** 5:24, **ετροτες** 6:11, **δοτβεq** 5:18, alongside **εοβнт** 5:46, **φμη** 6:14. P. copto 9 (Twelve Prophets): **тре-** Mal. 2:8, Hos. 12:11 Hab. 2:6, **εтреq-** Jon. 4:6, but **εεορε-** Na. 2:14, **εтра-** Hab. 3:16, **επтинтρω-** Hab. 3:2, **εтрнт** Mich. 5:13 vs. **εθна-**, **εθнанε†**, **εοο†ав**; **εqро** Hab. 2:6; **мφρη†** Zach. 9:15, but **мпрн†** Zach. 9:7, 12:2; **χна-** Hab. 1:14, **пмонмен** Na. 1:3 but **φма** Na. 2:12; **εтмоψι** Hab. 1:6, **εομεz** Hab. 1:6, **εтнψ** Am. 2:16, **εθλψι** Mi. 3:5 and so on.

(2) "Alien" rules: aspirate graphemes in Greek loans and PNs have a different value, and are outside the distribution observed above: **тχωρα**, **вонθос**, **θнрion**, **енωх**, **хам**, **μαθο†сала**, **ιαφее**, **φ†λ†ст†и†м**, **хет**, **сωφ**, **рововθ**, **варαθ** (final aspirates only in PNs of this kind); **κρεαγρα** Ex. 27:3, **с†пφ†ι†рос** Ex. 24:10, **анаφороп** Ex. 25:28; **ψонzεωмφ†аннх** Gen. 41:45 violates several privilege and compatibility rules. Surds preceding sonorants are not aspirated in these loan-words, even in syntagm with "native" morphs.

4.4.7 Striking environments and features of allomorphic juncture.

The very notion of complementary distribution and environmental conditioning / selection of allomorphs implies linkage, between (a) motivating and (a) motivated segment(s). Above, I have pointed to the junctural correlation of the respective commutability extents of two given segments; the case of one segment being conditioned — governed — by another, is surely an extreme instance of this. The pronominal elements following and delimiting lexemes (as object actants) and some grammemes are instructive. From a different angle and inversely, the formal sensitivity of the environment (especially verb lexemes) to the effect of linkage or delimitation is for us a precious junctural index.

(a) Link: labial assimilation of nasals. Only syllabic nasal morphs assimilate to non-syllabic labials. Assimilation defines here both Juncture Scope and Domain Frame:

ΜΠΙΔΕΒΗΣ Gen. 18:23.

ΠΕΞΕΝΙΡΕΦΣΙΩΗΜ ΟΥΝ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ Ex. 8:15.

ΝΕΠΕΞΟΟΥ ΜΜΙΣΙ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ ΠΕ Gen. 40:20.

ΕΤΕΜΦΑΦΑΡΑΩ ΑΝ ΠΕ Gen. 47:2 .

ΜΦΡΗ† Gen. 18:11.

ΟΥΜΑΣ ΜΒΑΕΜΠΙ Gen. 38:17.

-ΟΥΜΦΩΙ Gen. 27:23.

ΑΝΟΚ ΤΩΗΡΙ ΜΒΑΘΟΥΗΛ ÷ ΑΝΟΚ : ΠΩΗΡΙ ΜΜΕΛΛΑ Gen. 24:24.

ΑΣ† ΜΒΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΣΒΩΚΙ ΝΑΦ ΕΟΥΣΓΙΜΙ Gen. 30:4, sim. Gen. 20:14, 35:25 ΜΒΑΛΛΑ *n. relationis* (= Vat).

As against

ΞΑΝΝΙΩ† ΝΒΑΚΙ Deut. 6:10 (= Vat).

As against

(b) Delimitation.

ΝΕΜΒΟΝ Deut. 31:17, ΝΕΜΤΟΝ Ex. 35:2, 16:23 (=Vat),

Non-syllabics never assimilate:

ΞΕΝΠΚΑΞΙ Lev. 22:33.

ΞΑΤΕΝΦΡΟ Gen. 18:10.

ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΞΕΝΠΕΚΛΑΟΣ Ex. 7:29.

Obs.

A nasal and a labial consonant in contact “will not be of contrasting localization” (cf. ROSÉN 1964:160f.): syllabicity is here a necessary condition in Bohairic Coptic.

(b) The 1st-person-singular pronoun morphematic set: allomorphs defining JDFs and unit-final boundaries, and, by their very selection, acting also as links.

- **ι** — following vowel, or consonant, final delimiter for the [base + actor] core formal nexus JDF; following vowel, final delimiter for the causative verb lexeme + object actant JDF and for the prepositional JDF:

Gen. 3:12f. †**ϞΖΙΜΙ ΕΤΑΚΤΗΙC ΝΗΙ ΝΘΟC ΑC†ΝΗΙ ΞΕΝΠΙΩ-
ΥΗΝ ΔΙΟΨΩΜ ... ΠΙΞΟϞ ΠΕΤΑϞΕΡΞΑΛ ΜΜΟΙ ΔΙΟΨΩΜ.**

Deut. 26:13f. **ΔΙΟΨΩΒΟ ΝΗΗ ΕΘΟΨΑΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΑΗ ... ΜΠΙ-
ΧΩ ΝCΩΙ ΝΤΕΚΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΟΨΟΞ ΜΠΙΕΡΠΕCΩΝΨ ΟΨΟΞ ΜΠΙ-
ΟΨΩΜ ΞΕΝΟΨΜΚΑΞ.**

Gen. 24:45 **ΟΨΟΞ ΑCΨΩΠΙ ΜΠΑ†ΞΕΚΝΑΙCΑΞΙ.**

Ex. 33:12 **ΝΘΟΚ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΚΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΨΗ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΟΨΟΡΠϞ ΝΕΜΗΙ.**

Final delimiter for the verb lexeme + object actant JDF, for the prepositional JDF:

- **τ** — following consonant radical, sonant radical, X (orthographically, but not phonologically zeroed laryngal) radical.

- **ετ** — joining final consonant+sonant radical segmental sequence.

- *zero* — joining radical τ.

χατ Gen. 15:2.

εντ Gen. 20:13.

ολτ Gen. 24:7.

αιτ Gen. 34:30.

τωντ Gen. 31:35.

Ξεμτ Gen. 4:14, 12:13.

Ξοθβετ Gen. 20:11.

Ναζμετ Gen. 32:11.

Θομστ Gen. 47:29.

Ξολαζτ Gen. 28:20.

κολπτ Gen. 31:26.

εθβητ Gen. 22:12 but **εθβητ-τ** (Vat) Gen. 40:14.

εθβετ Gen. 39:8 (Vat **εθβητ**)- the shortening of a closed syllable?

ντοτ Gen. 31:31.

Interesting cases where the morphematic vowel resolves structure and distinguishes between *zero* and *nil*:

κοτ Gen. 24:49.

ϞετϞωτ Gen. 34:30.

(c) The second person feminine suffix pronoun: allomorphs defining JDFs and unit-final boundaries, and, by their very selection, acting also as links:

A famous case of synchronic morphological *zero* (probably corresponding, not to a diachronic phonological loss, but to a phonetic element with no corresponding grapheme — a glottal stop?). Final boundary of: possessive article; conjugation base; converter; prepositional phrase; verb-lexeme; causative verb lexeme; Augens:

- *zero* — in syllable coda.
- *zero* + *e*- colouring in syllable coda — joining *a*-vowel prepositional phrase.
- *i* — in syllabic peak joining consonant, including *X* (laryngeal sonorant).

ερο-Ø Gen. 12:12.

χαρο- Ø Gen. 38:16.

сенаτανѠ- Ø Gen. 12:12.

θεβιο-Ø Gen. 6:9.

πε-Ø-: τεβωκι, νεξιξ, νεβαλ, πεξροξ, τεχτδρια, πελ-
λοξ, νεμ καχ Gen. 3:16, 16:6:10, 24:17, Num. 5:21 etc.

μπε-Ø: μπесωq, μπеер- Num. 5:19.

аре-Ø: Focalizinbg Pres. аренноу, арена, ареервоки Gen. 16:8, 25:23.

аре-Ø: Pret. ареер-, аресωq, аресωви Num. 5:20, 22:29 here not prenominal, but a special pre-*zero* base allomorph.

Note the following syllabication difference, resolving a homonymous morphemic one. The Jinkim does not preclude the coda status of the morphematic *zero*:

ερε-Ø: Abs. Fut. ερεμιци, ερεμοу† Gen. 16:11.

ερε-Ø: Circumst. еретовноу† Num. 5:19.

не-Ø prep. Gen. 30:15, Ex. 2:7.

τεραυε-Ø Gen. 24:58 — special future morph, also Sahidic.

неме-Ø Gen. 20:10.

τωου† Gen. 21:18 (cf. τω†† as early as “Old Coptic”, SATZINGER 1994:214, l.106; for τωου† cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1977a).

μμα†† Gen. 39:9.

εθв†† Gen. 12:13.

нто† Gen. 18:6.

σελξω† Num. 22:29 (Vat ξελξω†).

(extra-corpus) нео ξω† Cat. 33.

Obs.

(1) Two other juncturally significant unit-final archimorphemes with their allomorphs, the general distributional picture of which in Bohairic is still pretty confused (STERN 1880 §342), but in our corpus the trend is clear:

(a) 1st person plural pronoun — apparently conditioned morphonologically: — (ε)N joining vowels and sonorants (all but N, and including the laryngal phonemes); -TEN joining consonants and -N:

VOWEL- N: ΕΡΟΝ, ΝΑΝ, ΠΕΝ-; ΣΘΘΒΕΝ.

ΠΣΙCΙ ΕΤΑQΖΕΜΕΝ Num. 20:14 (= Vat).

ΝΕΝΤΑQΠΤΕΝ Gen. 31:15.

ΑQΕΝΤΕΝ Num. 20:5.

ΟΜΚΤΕΝ QΩΝ Num. 16:34.

ΚΟΤΤΕΝ Gen. 43:10, Deut. 2:1.

(b) The 2nd person plural pronoun. Here the allomorph -TEN joins conjugation bases, converters, simple (i.e. not compound) prepositions (all except ΣΕΝ-), but the allomorph ≠ΘΗΝQ joins the *prenominal* state of verb lexemes and “inalienably possessed” nouns, including those grammaticalized in compound prepositions as a “noun grammeme”:

QΕΡΠ-ΘΗΝQ Gen. 19:2.

ΜΑΤQΒΕ-ΘΗΝQ Gen. 34:2.

ΕΝ-ΘΗΝQ Gen. 50:24.

QΕΡ-ΘΗΝQ Lev. 26:33.

ΜΕCΤΕ-ΘΗΝQ Lev. 6:30.

CQΤΒΕ-ΘΗΝQ Gen. 34:17.

ΕΤΕ†-ΘΗΝQ Lev. 26:25.

CΙ-ΘΗΝQ Lev. 26:33.

ΙΑΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝQ Gen. 42:9.

ΕQΕΝ-ΘΗΝQ Lev. 26:9

ΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝQ Gen. 34:3, 19:14.

On ΕΡΕΤΕΝ(ε)- as the 2nd pl. base form for the Absolute-Definite Future e.g. Deut. 2:1, 6:9; Deut. 14:4 Ρ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕ- (Vat ΕΡΕΤΕΝ-), see QUECKE 1986:353f., FUNK 1992:20; on the “nominality” of ΘΗΝQ⁵⁴, see STEINTHAL and MISTELI 1893:293.

(2) The three allomorphs — better: “allo-lexemic bases” of the dictionary entry ΤΩQΩΝ (“arise, get up”), in Bohairic of reflexive diathesis, are joined by a transitive homonym ΤΩQΩΝ “raise”, and an intransitive ΤΩQΩΝ + actantial preposition (e.g. Deut. 1:19 “set out, move from”). The three allomorphic bases (historically merging suppletively two distinct verbs) are selected by the pronouns: — TEN- for the second plural; for the other persons: ΤΩΝ= by non-syllabic pronouns, ΤΩQΩΝ= by syllabic ones (SHISHA-HALEVY 1977a):

ΤΕΝ-ΘΗΝQ Gen. 34:3.

ΕΤΩΝΤ Gen. 31:35.

ΤΩΝΚ Gen. 19:15.

ΤΩQΩΝΙ Gen. 21:18 (outside the corpus: Dan. (Bardelli) 7:5, Is. 51:9, 52:1, 51:17 Tattam).

ΑQΤΩQΩΝQ Gen. 18:16, Num. 2:9, 10:2, 26:9.

The exact semantic and formal spectrum of non-reflexive ΤΩQΩΝ is not clear to me; consider Gen. 7:17, 22:19, Num. 16:3 (the Present tense), 20:11; I find interesting the nominalizations (see our Chapter Three), like ΠQΙΝΤΩQΩΝ Num. 4:15 =Vat;

⁵⁴ Incidentally, this is the second pronoun to select a pre-nominal allomorph; the other is the *zero* second person singular feminine, conditioning pre-nominal base and converter allomorphs.

ΠΙΤΩΝΩ ΝΤΕ- Num. 25:9; (ΕΥΕΘΩΤΕΒ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ...) ΔΕΝΟΨΔΙΝ-
 ΤΩΟΨΝΟΨ Num. 10:6 (=Vat).

Outside the corpus, we find ΤΩΟΨΝΟΨ much more broadly used, as yet another, inanalyzable lexemic form. It represents a plural Imperative — uniquely marked! — in Athanasius of Qûş (BAUER 1972:186, 3); In the Bohairic Job and Psalms, ΤΩΟΨΝ and ΤΩΟΨΝ ΕΞΡΗΙ Ε- “raise up”/“rise up”, Job 6:21, 30:21, 58:2, 91:12, Ps. 19:19, 74:6, 77:52 etc., alongside the reflexive ΤΩΝ=, Job 7:4, Ps. 3:6:8; typical of NT variant readings, Nitrian Bohairic and Porcher’s Job, we have ΤΩΟΨΝΟΨ in all persons, and in the Present too (proving this is not to be a pronominal object extension, but an inert slot-filler, become part of the lexeme; cf. CΩΟΨΝΟΨ Dan. 1:4): Job 6:16:27, 16:5, 27:7.

4.4.7.1 The laryngeal (Glottal Stop, ‘Ayin) phonemes (“X₁, X₂”): the Bohairic reflexes as juncture features.

This is a striking juncture-sensitive environment, in which diachrony meets synchrony in a multi-dimensional hologrammic reflex. Its value is in the effect that different junctural gradings have environmentally on allophone motivation or selection. We are dealing with an allophonic ensemble — all allophones of some overt phoneme or other — that is cumulatively definable as a covert (sonorant) phoneme.

Obs.

(1) On the synchronic laryngeal phoneme(s)⁵⁵, see SATZINGER 1979, KASSER 1981:98f., 126f., 130f., 143f., 1988:258ff. (row II), 262ff., (“cryptophonème”, “phonème potentiel actif”); KASSER 1991; SATZINGER 1994b, LOPRIENO 1995:44ff., 48ff. (a diachronic conspectus). So far as I know, this phoneme is assigned a special grapheme only in the Bodmer VI Proverbs [ed. Kasser] and in certain Old Coptic texts (SATZINGER 1991:170 §2.7, 173).

(2) SATZINGER 1979 is a good structural treatment (for the Sahidic verbal environment) of these phonemes, postulating “X” (no vowel colouring) and “X’” (vowel colouring), with an /X/ archiphoneme. Its distinctive allophonic property is here defined as “tendency to vocalic reduplication” (347), and indeed, can hardly be characterized more rigorously for Sahidic. Other realizations (see esp. p. 347ff.) — [a] before tonic syllable; [zero] at onset of tonic syllable and at absolute coda of tonic syllable. The vocalic doubling — in unstressed word-final and following the tone before consonant(s) — is irrelevant for Bohairic (cf. KAHLE 1954:240f., n.2).

(3) Compare the synchronic laryngeal sonant in Herodotean Ionic Greek, structurally established (ROSÉN 1962:48ff., esp. §§12.1, 15.27), with the following allophone set: vocalic length, zero, hiatus; no vocalic syllabicity. The similarity to Coptic is striking: cf. (ROSÉN 1962:50) “synchron-analytische feststellbare und sich ihrerseits in ein Phonem gruppierende Lauterscheinung...die historisch-komparativ einen Laryngeal entsprechen”. In fact, H.B. Rosén’s studies of the Greek and IE laryngals in the late nineteen-

⁵⁵ ERMAN’s preference for Sahidic in 1915:181, an essay on juncture, stems from this dialect’s “having” the glottal stop, although it is, as a matter of fact, a dialect with relatively speaking rather poor reflexes of this dia-phoneme.

fifties and sixties owe much to H.J. Polotsky's classroom exposition of the Coptic facts.

(4) The syllabic realization of the laryngeal phonemes as vocalic doubling before the enclitic pronominal Theme — **ⲟⲩⲁⲁ-ⲡⲉ** or **ⲧⲙⲉⲉ-ⲧⲉ** — which is especially significant for our study as junctural link (cf. POLOTSKY 1957a:231, 1957b:348f.; see now ROQUET 2006) is absent in Bohairic, as is in general doubling as laryngeal reflex.

Note the following significant realizations of the laryngeal phonemes:

(a) vocalization of 'Ayin as [a] in syllabic peak: **ⲁⲗⲟⲩ**, **ⲁⲗⲟⲩ** (cf. **ⲙⲃⲟⲛ**, **ⲁⲗⲟⲩ**), **ⲧⲁⲕⲟ** (cf. **ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ**), **ⲙⲁⲛⲱ** — within lexeme boundary, in lexemic scope. Note the form **ⲛ** of the plural "definite" article adjoining this **ⲁ-** (POLOTSKY 1968:245).

(b) Vocalization of 'Ayin as [a]-colouring in median (pre-nominal and pronominal) final — lexeme-boundary status (pregrammemic): **ⲭⲁ-**, **ⲭⲁⲉ**.

(c) Realization as *zero* in final post-consonantal status ('Ayin): **ⲙⲙⲱ**, **ⲧⲱⲩ**, **ⲩⲱⲣ** "scatter", **ⲩⲱⲛ** "(over)turn".

Obs.

(1) **ⲩⲱⲛ** (Sah. **ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ**) has two sporadic by-forms, viz. **ⲩⲱⲛⲉ** Deut. 31:18 **ⲩⲉⲛⲉ** Deut. 7:4, 22:1, **ⲉⲧⲩⲟⲛⲉ** Deut. 32:5, **ⲩⲱⲛ** Ex. 32:25 corrected super lin. to **ⲩⲱⲛⲉ**, **ⲁⲩⲩⲟⲛⲉⲟⲩ** Num. 18:17 — and **ⲩⲱⲛⲩ** **ⲩⲉⲛⲩ** Gen. 19:29 (Crum *Dictionary* 514f.). These may point to a final consonantal reflex of the 'Ayin (Egyptian *pn'*: cf. **ⲩⲱⲛⲉ** [*ʃn'*] and **ⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓ** Sah. **ⲛⲁⲕⲣⲉ**) — with a non-specific consonantal articulation, familiar from the Indo-European laryngeals in certain cases. However, the etymological assignation of these and of the lexically distinct **ⲡⲱⲛ**, **ⲡⲱⲛ**, **ⲩⲱⲛ** "flow, be poured" (*pnn+pn'*) and **ⲡⲱⲛⲕ**, **ⲡⲱⲛⲉ**, **ⲡⲱⲛⲉ** "empty out, draw, bail water" (*pnk*) is not entirely clear, although an Egyptian "Verschärfung" is not out of the question.

(2) *é* following hiatus is familiar from Oxyrhynchite, as syllabic reflex realization of the 'Ajin and, less commonly, Glottal Stop. This is probably the most striking dialect for the synchronic presence of this phoneme (initially and intervocally zeroed): **ⲛⲉⲉ** (equivalent of Sah. **ⲛⲁ-Ø** and Boh. **ⲛⲁⲓ**), **ⲙⲙⲓⲉ** "love", **ⲙⲉⲉ** "truth", **ⲩⲟⲉ** "hair", **ⲙⲟⲩⲉ** (*smʒ*'), **ⲕⲉⲗⲉ** (*q'h*), **ⲡⲉⲣⲡⲙⲓⲉ** "temple", **ⲩⲉⲉ** "shine" (vs. **ⲩⲉ-Ø** "go"), **ⲣⲁⲩⲉⲉ** "east" vs. **ⲣⲁⲩⲉ** "joy", **ⲗⲙⲓⲉ** "fall", **ⲉⲓⲉ-** **ⲓⲉ-** of **ⲓⲟⲉ** "wash".

(d) Vocalization of 'Ayin as [i] in syllabic peak, in final lexemic boundary, in lexemic scope: **ⲓⲱⲓ** "wash"; **ⲙⲟⲩⲓ** "walk" **ⲩⲱⲓ** "hair", **ⲛⲁⲓ** "(have) mercy" etc.

(e) *Zero* realization of the Glottal Stop in median final-lexeme-boundary status: **ⲙⲉ-**, **ⲙⲟⲉ** (cf. **ⲕⲉⲧ-**, **ⲕⲟⲧⲉ**).

(f) Vocalization of the morphematic Glottal Stop, second-person-feminine pronoun, as [i], following a lexeme- or grammeme-final consonant: **ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ-ⲓ** (Gen. 21:18) **ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧ** (Gen. 39:9) **ⲩⲉⲗⲩⲱⲗ-ⲓ** (Num. 22:29, Vat **ⲩⲉⲗⲩⲱⲗⲧ**, cf. STERN 1880 §342).

4.5 Integration in texture. “Ordination”: “syntactic-role status”. Converters. Discourse signalling: some prominent cases.

By “integration in discourse” I mean a specific type of linkage — of course, all textual elements cohere, by definition of a text; but what I have in mind is the role of special morphs that exist for the very purpose of integrating a unit — most notably, a nexal one, or even an information block — as well as delimiting it by **syntactic-role status isolation**, qualifying it for a given junctural slot in texture. Some instances are presented below in detail.

(a) Integration of Greek-origin verbs.

What **ερ-** does for Greek-origin verb lexemes is “lexemization” or “infinitivization”, with nuclear **ερ-** the formal infinitive, and the Greek element — morphologically the nominal Greek infinitive, where Sahidic has a “lexical zero stem” form — is marked as **derivate verb**. This is a significant typological trait, for, unlike Sahidic, Bohairic does not accommodate the Greek element in the infinitive slot at all: the **ερ-**+ infinitive complex is thus only semi-analyzable; **αραπαν** alone is as enigmatic in Bohairic as **αραπα** is in Sahidic, and the question of its precise nature is still pending.

Obs.

(1) Cf. KASSER 1975/6 and 1983:211ff. on the assimilation — a matter of degree — of Greek elements into Coptic.

(2) **αριemi** Deut. 8:5 and **ερziniop** Num. 32:5:29 are two rare cases where native Egyptian infinitives are integrated by means of **ιρι**, although the former is exclusively an imperative (i.e. no **ερ-emi** is present).

(b) “Adverbial Status”

The all-important if elusive adverbial word-class is not an absolutely definable “part of speech”, but a syntactic-role status cluster, syntactically defined (actually, the role at the focus of SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a), and juncturally meaningful; adverbiality is not necessarily marked otherwise. Consider **παρη†**, discussed above, privileged to occur in two disparate slots; or **εξαπινα** as in Num. 4:20, 6:9 **ννοσι εδοϑν εξαπινα**, or Deut. 17:4 **ταϕμηι**, which are wholly non-committal or indifferent as regards their form (unlike clause-initial **καλωc...** vs. adjunctal **...νκαλωc**⁵⁶, for which abundant formal information co-sig-

⁵⁶ **n-** signalling the triply pertinent slot of adjunctal adverbiality, rhematicity and object-hood that is marked in Arabic by the accusative and in Welsh by lenition (SHISHA-HALEVY 1995 §3.4).

nals the function); also the case of $\xi\alpha\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\iota$... Deut. 28:67, adverbial form of the noun $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\iota$.

As unambiguously adverbial as the banal Num. 6:10 $\xi\epsilon\eta\pi\iota\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$... $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\eta\iota$, the case of Deut. 16:8 $\bar{\epsilon}$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\tau\omega\mu$ $\alpha\tau\omega\mu\eta\rho$, and, even more strikingly, $\bar{\epsilon}$ $\eta\chi\omicron\tau$ $\eta\uparrow\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota$ Deut. 16:16, are different still, for here adverbiality is not a function of position, nor of any specific marking, but of purpose-built syntactic patterning. This is also the case of Num. 14:22 $\Phi\mu\alpha\gamma\bar{\iota}$ $\eta\sigma\omicron\pi$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\Phi\lambda\iota$ (= Vat), with *the whole clause* presentationally or rather superordinatively⁵⁷ adverbial, by token of $\Phi\lambda\iota$ ("for the 10th time", "ten times").

As pointed out above (Chapter Two, §2.2.1), the deriving auxiliary $\epsilon\rho$ - also serves to accommodate adverbials in non-durative conjugation environment:

Gen. 44:4 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\eta\uparrow\beta\alpha\kappa\iota$...

Gen. 3:5 $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\epsilon\rho\mu\Phi\eta\uparrow$ $\eta\gamma\alpha\eta\eta\omicron\tau\uparrow$.

Adverbial status is also signalled by a structurally precedent Focalizing Conversion (see Chapter Two). This JDF statement is valid in Bohairic more than in any other dialect of Coptic.

(c) Conversion. This is no doubt the most striking instance of nexus integration in Coptic syntax, and a show-piece of Coptic and Egyptian grammar. Some special theoretical consideration is here called for. Conversion (as first applied to the Coptic verbal system by H.J. Polotsky in 1960, but practically nowhere since in his published work, and indeed not for Egyptian or for other languages — see below, Obs.) has ever been a vague and multilayered concept, never unequivocally defined. Polotsky himself explained the term variously, mostly anecdotically, orally and in classroom discussion — from a technical morphosyntactic shifter of the Durative Conjugation ("Bipartite") *agens* from prefixal to suffixal; to full part-of-speech transference (POLOTSKY 1960 §28 and, more ideologically, later, in 1987-1990 for the idealistic and *a priori* substantive/adverb/adjective triad, with the formal conversion mechanism explicitly presented as a part-of-speech transformative device; cf. 1976 for an early non-morphological conversion scheme in Middle Egyptian); through a less rigorous and more moderate conception, of any syntactic-status formal exponence of the verb, simultaneously implied in 1960. The part-of-speech approach is an application of the original and most conventional connotation (in word-formation context) and

⁵⁷ Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1995:165f. for some cases of superordination overlapping adverbialization.

association of the term, going back at least to Sweet's *New English Grammar* of 1900 (§105) and cultivated in Prague School linguistics, while the macro-syntactic, syntactic-status one, which I endorse here, was more or less "in the air" of Polotsky's teaching in the nineteen-sixties, but has really only been followed up by his disciples.

I wish to propose here again a somewhat novel view of the Coptic converters (tentatively presented in my "Demotic Work-Notes", 1989b:49ff.). Divide them into two groups (mutually compatible, in second-power conversion) — (a) exponents of ad-clausal and adnominal linkage, in clausal scope and nucleus-to-expansion Domain Frame: the Circumstantial and Relative (adnominal) conversions, carrying the opposition of adnexal and attributive expansion respectively; (b) discourse signals, concerned with message and information structuring: the Focalizing and the so-called "Preterite" (NE- NA=) Conversions. Subordination is not a notion that applies easily to Egyptian-Coptic (SHISHA-HALEVY 2006a). The exceedingly old, logic-based, European-ethnocentric, originally prescriptive dichotomy of "subordinate" vs. "main" (clause) — the latter also coinciding with "formally unmarked" (in fact, macrosyntactically marked!) — can and must, I believe, be replaced by statements of junctural gradience and type. The converters, and conversion, are primary exponents of subtextual unities and junctural structuring of discourse.

Obs.

(1) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1995 §1.0.1, on subordination and conversion; 2006a, on Polotsky's use of the conversion terminology and his heritage in this context. See DOKULIL 1968 on conversion in Prague School word-formation terminology — the formal changing of a word's status/role (generally a-priori and non-analytic, in the part-of-speech class range).

(2) "Konversion oder Transposition"... "dass Sätze aller Typen durch verschiedene grammatische Mittel in eine der drei nicht-verbalen Wortklassen: Substantiv, Adjektiv, Adverb überführt werden"... "der ursprüngliche Satz wird so zu einem eingegliederten Satzteil, einem Satzglied substantivischer, adjektivischer, adverbialer Bedeutung", POLOTSKY 1987. "Word classes" in this formulation depend on an essential reduced scheme of the *partes orationis*: the Circumstantial is the "adverbiale Transposition" (Umstandssatz, Zustandssatz); "substantivische Transposition" applies to the Second Tense (which as a matter of fact has no conclusively substantival slotting since Late Egyptian). The odd one out is here NE- (1987 p. 3), which is not assignable to any Part of Speech, and Polotsky of necessity retracts the 1960 system: "Die Präteritale Transposition betrifft weder Wortklassen noch Gliedsätze, sondern verschiebt Vollsätze in die relative Vergangenheit... Es war ein Fehler meines "Conjugation System" §18, ihr die erste Stelle unter den Transpositionen anzuweisen". Conversion has reached its final phase: converters must coincide with specific a priori Parts of Speech in order to qualify, and must be "transposed" from a basic tense — the ideal "verbal" verb clause that is primary and — it must be said — "original". The "Preterite" converter, be it first or last of the

set, contradicts itself: it converts, but is no converter. The description must reject facts: the generative model is, typically, forced on grammatical reality.

(3) “Subordination”, implicit in the very title of DEPUYDT 2000 and in “main”, in the title and in the second constituent of the peculiarly Egyptological term, coined by S. Groll, “Non-initial Main Clause”, leads us further to such symptoms of descriptive unease as “hybrids” (134) or such descriptively meaningless concepts as “independence”. “Working definitions” won’t help (*pace* DEPUYDT 2000:131) unless part of a consistent and uniform general theory. In fact, this difficulty is no less than a blessing, for Egyptian teaches us to break free of this non-analytic dichotomy, *viz.* “main” *vs.* “subordinate”, also in European and Semitic languages and indeed in general linguistics.

(4) See BARRI 1981, for converters in Modern Greek: the basic concept is that of “a verbal preparticle causing transposition (subordination) of the whole clause into a clause-part”, yet in an expanded, broadly conceived system (Circumstantial, conditional, Relative, substantivizers, various subordinators, even temporal markers). See also SHISHA-HALEVY 1995 for converters in Middle Welsh in a narrowly conceived system: clause-oriented (Relative) and discourse-oriented (e.g. negative, interrogative, responsive, focussing). Following Polotsky, the term was extended into pre-Coptic Egyptian and even used by Gerald Browne for Old Nubian.

4.5.1 The Circumstantial conversion: junctural syntactic-role status scanning

Linkage of a special kind is the quintessential function of the Circumstantial converb, which, in a way strikingly similar to the Greek participle (member of a nominal rather than adverbial word-class), is always *rhematically* associated with another textual segment — noun, nexus or a more complex stretch of text — forming with it *a predicative link union* (cf. μετοχή). It is thus a feature with extraordinarily important junctural implications. Its converbal status⁵⁸ too has specific junctural implications.

Obs.

The history of the terminological and descriptive association of the Circumstantial with the “participle” is very old, much older than Stern’s usage, going back to 17th and 18th Latin Coptic grammars. See SCHOLTZ-WOIDE 1778:101 §103 (“Participium Praesens Graecorum Aegyptiace per Praesens Indicativi saepissime exprimitur, adeo ut Praesens Indicativi a Praesenti Participii in utraque dialecto non differat”). In the seventeenth century we find the term in Père Bonjour’s manuscript grammar of 1698 (*Elementa linguae Copticae sive Aegyptiacae*), in the Bibliotheca Angelica, Rome, now edited by AUFRÈRE and BOSSON (2005), a valuable work much plagiarized and even copied by Tuki. Bonjour may have had in mind the periphrastic “dicens est” as the structural essence of the Coptic form (still echoing in Homer’s translation of εϣ- into the English Present Progressive). PEYRON 1841:85 “Praesens et Participium Praesentis”, with εϣ- (129f.) a participle too,

⁵⁸ The Egyptian-Coptic converb systems are treated by the present writer in a forthcoming article.

thus preceding STERN 1880 §400ff. However, Stern seems to use the term advisedly, whereas the tradition was ethnocentric and Greek/Latin-inspired (notably by the Greek textual correspondents of the Coptic). The terminological association, functional but hardly formal, was renewed in Chaîne 1933:300ff., Préface p. ix. ("Construction participe" [of Pres. I, Pres. II] "à raison de son rôle dans la phrase qui est celui de la forme verbale de ce nom dans nos langues"). Polotsky seems to object to the term, although he notes that it is not inapt, functionally (1959:459f.).

4.5.1.1 Notes on morphology, morphophonemics and morphotactics.

(a) **εϣαϥ-**: no clear example in our corpus (with **μπαϥ-** Ex. 33:11 a case of the converter zeroed before syllabic nasal).

(b) Zeroing of the converter in the negative subsystem. Converter zeroing and negativity are closely associated in our Bohairic, by reason of pre-syllabic nasal zeroing:

ḿMON- (Gen. 20:9, 30:1, Lev. 22:21, Num. 22:26, Deut. 8:15 etc.), neatly contrasted with the grammaticalized-formalized Circumstantial **εΜΜΟΝ** "or else, otherwise" (e.g. Num. 20:18).

A case like Gen. 47:4 **μΜΟΝ-μαḿΜΟΝΙ ϣαϣ ϣοπ** is instructive as to the role of **ϣαϣ** in signalling a non-Circumstantial (thus non-zero, unconverted) homonym of *zero* conversion. **ϣαϣ** is thus here a delimiter.

Circumstantial **ḿ...αν**: Gen. 38:8, Num. 35:23 etc. etc. However, note the following extremely rare instances of **εϥ- αν**, all remarkable in one sense or another: Deut. 25:5 **ννετϣιμι μϣη εταϣμοϣ ϣοπι νοϣρωμι εϣϣεντ εροϥ αν** (= Vat), which neutralizes adverbial-adjunctal and adnominal statuses (the Greek has here ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι); similarly, Num. 9:13 **πιρωμι ετναϣοπι εϣτοϣ-βνοϣτ οτοϣ εϣϣενοϣμοιτ εναϣοϣνοϣ αν** (**αν** *supra lin.*; **εναϥ-** may be the adnominal circumstantial of the Focalizing Present; Vat **ϣενοϣμοιτ αν εϣοϣνοϣ**); Deut. 22:2 **εϣοπι εϣϣεντ εροκ αν οϣδε νκϣοϣν μμοϥ αν** (= Vat) — again, for some reason the Stative **εϣϣεντ**. Unique is the full Circumstantial converter, Sahidic-wise before **ν- αν**: Ex. 23:26 **οϣον εν:ϥναμιϣι αν** (Note punctuation. Vat **νϥ- αν**).

μπε- Gen. 24:10, Deut. 3:4.

μπαϥ- Ex. 33:11 **οϣαλοϣ πε μπαϥϣεν-†ϣκηνη εβολ.**

μπατεϥ- is *always* Circumstantial (and, therefore, arguably yet a different case of neutralized conversion): Gen. 19:8, 44:4, 11:4, 19:3, 13:10, 50:16, 41:50, Ex. 1:19, 12:34, 32:1, Deut. 23:21, Lev. 14:36.

(c) Zeroing of the converter before inter allocutive Nominal Sentences:

νθοκ-, νθο-, νθωτεν- Gen. 42:24, Num. 5:20, 16:13 (cf. FUNK 1991:35 n.64).

Obs.

(1) Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1994:226ff. In ME, the negators *n-*, *nn-* are often Circumstantial, especially in statements of non-existence: Sh.S. 148 *t3 w3 n rh sw rmt*, Sin. B 47 *ngr...nn snnw.f*. This neutralization is almost coextensive with that of the opposition *zero* vs. *fw*.

(2) Non-zero Circumstantial before nasals, in B4 Bodmer III John **εμον**, **εμπατε-** (John 9:4, 13:19:22) **εμπατε-** (4:49), **ενε-...αν** (13:38, 6:64); In the B4 (P. Vat. copto 9) Twelve Prophets: **εμμοντεq** adnom. Zach. 9:11, **εμμον** Hab. 2:19, 3:4 adnom., **εμπατεq** Soph. 2:2, **εμπατοϝ** Hag. 2:15, **εμποϝ** Obd. 17 adnom., **εμπq** Hag. 2:3 adnom.

(3) Note in Exodus an instance of textual zeroing: 16:3 **ζοτενζεμci** (**ε** and **αν** added *supra lin.*, but Vat too has **ζοτενζεμci**).

(4) Note Ex. 10:11 **μπαρη† αν** as a relatively autonomous dialogic utterance: negative-adverb “not so”.

(d) **ερε-οϝον-** is rare in the corpus, but usual in Nitrian and common in NT and OT. This is a juncturally fascinating prenominal alternant of the Circumstantial of the adverb-Rheme Durative pattern, with a typically prenominal allomorph of the converter selected *across the οϝον boundary*, without actual contact of the motivating and motivated segments. This alone is of considerable junctural interest. But this also implies the inertness and formal nature of **οϝον**, as a “phantom partition”. All Themes and Existants are indefinite (**οϝ-**, **ζαν-**, **ῑ**):

Ex. 39:23 **ζοhc δε n†ψοhn nacʒentecmh† eqchʒi nɣwb nψwn† ερεοϝον-οϝcωbi nat†οϝω kw† εζοhc** (= Vat). The next exx. are all adnominal, with prepositional Rhemes:

Lev. 21:19 **οϝρωmi ερεοϝον-οϝʒomʒem nʒhtq** (= Vat).

Lev. 21:20 **οϝρωmi ερεοϝον-οϝψωpa naɣpion ɣiwtq** (= Vat).

Deut. 10:7 **οϝκαɣi ερεοϝον-ζανμοϝncωpem nʒhtq** (Vat **εοϝον**).

These are opposed to **ε-οϝον-**, which appears to be rare in Nitrian outside existential statements:

Lev. 23:17 **εϝεʒoʒoϝ εοϝονψemhp mmωoϝ**.

The existential **nape-οϝον** in Gen. 40:10 **nape-οϝον-ῑ nɣaq pe** (Vat **ne-οϝον**), vs. Gen. 40:9 **nape-οϝον-οϝbω ḡaloli xh ḡpam̄eo pe**, is an analogue construction with **ne-** conversion (to my knowledge, neither Focalizing Conversion nor Relative conversion occur in this construction). **ερε-μμον-** is not attested in the corpus.

Obs.

(1) Stem alone has a special statement concerning this mysterious construction (1880 §413), correlating it with prepositional predicates, adducing NT examples; the Themes attested are **οϝ-**, **cnω†** only. In Nitrian, where this form must yet be studied, there cer-

tainly seems to be preference for adverbial and Stative Rhemes (this is an impression based on *Acta Martyrum* and *Catenae*); this form hardly occurs, in any case, with truly existential **oʿon-**, or with the negative **mmon-** in any function (yet another point of affirmative/negative asymmetry!). The Themes are indefinite (not *zero*-determined?). **eoʿon-** is attested, but is rarer in Nitrian (e.g. AM I 134, Cat. 104).

(2) For the possible diachronic precedent of **epe-oʿon**, namely LE *jr-wn*, see SHISHA-
HALEVY 1981:326; cf. Spiegelberg, *ÄZ* 53 p. 8, 62 p. 43 n.6).

(e) Circumstantial conversion of the Absolute-Definite Future: *zero*. This historically established feature, attested in Late Egyptian and Demotic, although in earlier Egyptian, as in Coptic, the converter is sporadically zeroed: see JOHNSON 1976:157ff.; J.F. Quack, *Enchoria* 24:176 (1977/8); consider e.g. P. Berlin 15622+23668 line 6 (ed. Zauzich 1993)⁵⁹.

(1) For the Circumstantial converter zeroed before **nneq-**, cf. Lev. 26:26 **ερετενεοτωμ nnetenci** (ANDERSSON 1904:66), Deut. 8:9. See POLOTSKY 1957:232.

(2) For the affirmative Future, we may, with fair structural certainty, postulate a zeroed Circumstantial converter on the paradigmatic basis of **ωπι** + rhematic Circumstantial, since, in view of the formal/functional sequelling effect of the Absolute-Definite Future (see Chapter One above). "Circumstantial (adnexal) dependence" semantics alone cannot suffice to establish a formal Circumstantial marking:

Ex. 28:35 **οτοζ εφεωπι nδε-αρων zenpzinoreqwe-mwi eʿecwtem eteqcmh eqnhot eʿdoʿn...** (= Vat; Greek ἔσται Ααρων... ἀκουστὴ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ).

Lev. 23:7 **εφεωπι nωten eʿemoʿtʿ eroq δε-γοταβ** (= Vat; Greek ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ πρώτη κλητὴ ἀγία ἔσται ὑμῖν).

Lev. 25:6 **οτοζ εφεωπι nδε-nigenhma ntepikazi ekeo-ʿtomot...** (= Vat; Greek ἔσται... βρώματά σοι).

Gen. 1:6 **οτοζ nteqωπι εφεϥωρξ εβολ οτε mωot nem oʿmωot** (= Vat; Greek ἔστω διαχωρίζων).

Two instances of the periphrastic **ωπι eke-** + Stative, hitherto considered agrammatical in Coptic (cf. however WINAND 1996 for LE):

Deut. 28:29 **εκεωπι εκdomδεμ ... οτοζ εκεωπι εκεʿ-ʿhot** (Vat **εκ-**, Greek ἔση + Pres. Part.).

Ex. 34:2 **ωπι εκεεβτωτ** (Vat. **εκ-**; P emended by FUNK 1992).

⁵⁹ In this corpus, the graphematic distinction is found of *ju-* vs. *r-* for respectively the pertinent vs. formal or conditioned Circumstantial (e.g. following *hpr*).

Probable instances:

Lev. 25:46 **οτορ ετεψωπι νωτεν ερετεναμαρι μμωο**... (cf. ANDERSSON 1904:64f.; Greek ἔσονται ὑμῖν κατόχμοι).

Deut. 20:8 **οτορ εθεοταρτοτορ νδε-νιcαδ εθεcαδι μπι-λαοc** (Greek infinitive).

Deut. 8:9 **οταρι ενενεφωνι μβενιπι νε ÷ εκεδωδι νοτ-ρομτ εβολ ρινεφτωο**.

Num. 9:22 **εταψαι νδε-νιεροο εceερδhiβι εδωc νδε-τθhπi** (Greek πλεοναζούσης σκιαζούσης).

4.5.1.2 Syntactic slotting: the adnexal Circumstantial — adnominal, adverbial, adclausal

(a) Adnominal

Nucleus specificity. The crux of the adnominal Circumstantial is no doubt the conventional view of the Circumstantial as essentially compatible only with non-specific (“indefinite”) nuclei (Gen. 21:19 **μωο εqονδ**; Ex. 30:7 **οτcθhνοτqi εqμοδτ**, Ex. 18:21 **ξανρωμι νομηι ετμοc† н†μετρεqρiπρo**), the Relative with specific (“definite”) ones. However, this old model of a Circumstantial/Relative alternation, conditioned or selected by nucleus specificity, while statistically certainly convincing (it goes back at least to STERN 1880 §§407, 409f., 412, 415, 439 etc., with a very insistent and persistent statement) is, I believe, misleading and inexact (see above, Chapter Three §3.1 (9a-b) and here, §4.2 link b16; also below, on the Relative); specific noun syntagms and even personal and demonstrative pronouns are certainly expandable by the Circumstantial:

Gen. 33:1 **ρηππε ic ηcατ πεqcon εqηηο**.

Lev. 14:52 **нем пикоккинон εqca†** (vs. 51 **ετ**-). ANDERSSON 1904:108 is here discerning, with a unique and cogent statement: “Meiner Meinung nach hängt dieser Gebrauch davon ab, dass das Particip mitunter seine attributive Bedeutung aufgibt und dann nur die Rolle eines erklärenden Nebensatzes spielt”.

Deut. 14:4, Lev. 11:2 **най не нитевнωοσι ερετενεοτομοο** (ANDERSSON 1904:134f. emends to **ετετνε**-).

Lev. 18:9 **νηεκωρπi εβολ μπωπι нтeтeкcωнι нyенiωт iε нyенмaт εaтmacoт нδoтн iε aтmacoт мβολ**.

Deut. 22:27 **†δελψιρι εaтωп нcωc Vat** (P has here **†-ετατ**-; cf. ANDERSSON 1904:136f.).

The Circumstantial is specifically rhematic — *adnexal* — when in opposition to the attributive relative. This is at its clearest when its nu-

cleus is the object of a “verb of incomplete predication”, in which case a striking “union” or “sharing” (cf. the Greek μετοχή) of predication is observable:

Deut. 22:4 ἀκωνανναῶ ἐφίω μπεκσον ιε περμασι εαῶρει
ζιφῆμωιτ.

Num. 22:23 ἀσναῶ νδε-†εω επιαγγελος ... εφορι ερατq
ζιπιμωιτ οτοq τεqχηqι εσῶκεμ δεντεqδιδ.

Gen. 6:16 ἐκεθαμιο ν†κῶβωτοc εσῶοητ εδῶον.

Ex. 19:9 ζινα ντεπιλαοc σωτεμ εροι ειcαδι νεμακ.

The junctural status of the Circumstantial is here delimitative, even disruptive, for, unlike the Relative, it carries the information core: the Theme — Rheme interdependence linkage is looser than the nucleus — satellite one, the nucleus — Relative link is tighter than the nucleus — Circumstantial one⁶⁰.

However, demonstrative-nucleus cases like

Lev. 26:36 νη εαῶcωδπ μφρη† νοῶπολεμοc μμον-πετ-
σoδi νcωoῦ Vat (P εταῶ-, cf. ANDERSSON 1904:112), which are, of course, characteristic of Nitrian Bohairic, are for me still a mystery. Likewise, the Circumstantial as a conjunctive form, following grammaticalized (or “pronominalized”?) substantives like πιμα or φ-
ρη†⁶¹.

The Circumstantial alternates with *n-* (an equally looser link, an adnexal *nota relationis*), following the indefinite article:

Lev. 21:7 οῦcζιμι μπορη οτοq εccoq.

Obs.

(1) The conventional confusion of the functional “attributive” with the formal “adnominal” (as in POLOTSKY 1990:241 ff. “attributiver Umstandssatz”) helps to obscure the special role of the Circumstantial, which is elusive anyway, and can be patent only in opposition to the attributive interdependence. And yet, the “adnexal” status is sharply demarcated, and generally clear. “Satznachtrag” (see MÜLLER-LANCÉ 1994:110 ff. on absolute constructions — “between coordination and subordination”, 72 ff.) is not entirely satisfactory, since it wants the predicativity (rhematicity) factor, and makes use of the misguided notion of “subordination”; indeed, it brings home the inadequacy of the “sub/coordination” model as aprioristic and asyntactical, strange as this may sound. The Egyptological “non-initial main clause” notion, basically flawed, has a similar didactic value, see FELBER 1997:130 ff., as does in this regard Celtic and in particular Irish syntax (HAMP 1973): *agus* typically converts in Modern Irish statal-existential nexus adnexally, in adnominal, adverbial or adclausal status, very differently from temporal or other “conjunctive” adverbial clauses.

⁶⁰ Consider (Cat 37) cαδι νιβεν ετωοειτ ερενιρωμι ναδoτοῦ.

⁶¹ For the latter cf. also B4 (P. Vat. copto 9) Zach. 2:12.

STERN speaks of “attribut eines verbs” — “verbales attribut” (e.g. 1880 §418, pp. 251, 260, 266f., 272 etc.) FUNK 1991:53 adopts “adnexal”, but then restrictedly, as “nicht adnominal” — I believe both adnominal, adverbial and adclausal statuses are compatible with the special adjoined “shared” rhematicity (the μετοχή-type role) that is expressed by the Circumstantial. Indeed, it is always the rhematic core of its complex.

(2) As a higher-level rhematic form, the Circumstantial has affinities with **naq-** (see Chapter One for narrative focussing, and cf. the rhematic Relative in Lambrecht 2000); see Chapter Two for **naq-** and **eq-** following Presentatives. The Circumstantial enters paradigmatic opposition with another rhematic converb, namely the Conjunctive (see STERN 1880 §440 and SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Seven).

(3) Along with **oʿenanoʿoq** (once in Oxyrhynchite, Mt. 11:30 ed. Schenke) and **oʿeq-** (see SCHENKE 1996:100ff.) we encounter the no less instructive Sahidic **π-ερε-** and **τ-ερε-** in the Palau Ribes Luke (2:4, 18:24, cf. Quecke’s Introduction, p. 75): the Circumstantial expands non-specific and specific formal pronominal nuclei.

(4) Consider **oʿ- oʿoʒ n-** (Ps. 69:6) which alternates with **oʿ- oʿoʒ eq-** (Ps. 68:30, 85:10), always Rheme of Nominal Sentence.

(b) Adverbial, ad-clausal or “ad-textual” cases. The Circumstantial rhematically adjoins its nexus to a foregoing verb clause or any other nexal complex or, fuzzily, the preceding text. What this effects is not subordination, but the demarcation of the last and final component of a hyper-nexal complex, in which two rhemes coalesce to form a union of predicates: this is the real sense of the Greek μετοχή (Latinized as *participium*)⁶². Evidently, the term “circumstantial” is basically off the mark, functionally speaking: for it is not circumstance, but the actual *rapprochement*, link, and its interface with the preceding cotext — the adjunction of action or state — that this converb signifies. Its relative rhematicity is a corollary of the said conjunction or adjunction, a role which makes this conversion so very important from the junctural angle. However, in this union the Circumstantial is rhematic — and as such, a final-boundary marker — within a much more extensive JDF, which may contain a sizable chunk of the preceding text: the Circumstantial in that case rounds off a truly macrosyntactic pattern. The following illustration is selective:

eq- (Greek Pres. part., *καί* + Pres.).

eqʒω mmoc “saying” following *verba dicendi* in the broadest sense: Ex. 18:6, Num. 24:12 and *passim* (always Greek-induced: λέγων etc.).

⁶² Cf. LOHMANN 1965:224f.; the Coptic Circumstantial is a finite, analytic converb.

Deut. 4:34 ρωβ νιβεν εταραιτου ... μπεκμθο εκναυ.

Ex. 28:35 ετεςωтем ετεqcmη eqηηοτ εδoтηη επεθoτ-
ав ... нем eqηηοτ εβολ...

Lev. 26:13 φη εταρενηηοτ εβολ ... ετετενοι μβωκ.

Ex. 1:18 παιρωβ οτ πε εταρετεναιq ερετετανδo нη-
ρωот.

ηq- αν: adjunctal only (Greek οὐκ + part.).

Num. 35:23 ωηι νιβεν φη ετεqηαμοτ ηδηтq ηqemi αν.

ε- + Nominal Sentence or Cleft Sentence: relatively uncommon (only delocutive and naming NS):

Lev. 4:21 μφρη† εταρωκq μπιμαci ητεωοpη εφoτ-
ηοβι ητεoτcτηαγωηη πε.

Gen. 35:29 αqμοτ ατχαq δατεηηeqηenoc εοτδello πε
eqδηκ εβολ δeneηaneρooτ.

Gen. 38:2 αqηατ ηματ ... εтwepi ηοτρωμι ηηαηαηeoс
епесpaη πε ατa.

εοτoη-/μμoη-, εοτoηtaq/μμoηtaq (Greek Relative, con-
junct -τός participle, main clause).

Lev. 2:11 ηηeteηθαμiωoτ εοτoη εοτoη-тeμηp ημωoτ.

Lev. 22:21 εβολ δeη ηieρωoτ ie εβολ δeηηiecωoτ
μμoη-αcηη ηδηтoτ.

Num. 22:26 oτμα eqzeδρωδ μμoη-ρη† epiki εoтiηaη ie
δaδη.

εaq- (Greek part. Aor. or Perf.; less usually, finite Aorist with par-
ticiple corresponding to a Coptic unconverted verb). No narrative sequen-
tial εaq- in the corpus.

Gen. 34:7 oτρωβ ηтiπi αqaiq ηδε-cixem δeηπiсa ÷ εaqη-
κοτ ηeη тwepi ηiaκωβ.

Gen. 15:15 ekeтeηaκ ηaηekio† δeηoτziρηηη εaтa-
ηoтaκ δeηoτmetδello eηaηec.

Lev. 6:10 ηηoτδoqδεq εaqδiтeμηp — εaq- object actant
or “adverbial” of δoqδεq (SHISHA HALEVY 1975, 1976).

Lev. 22:32f. aηoк πε πoтc пeттoтbo ημωтeη eaiηe-
ηηoτ εβολ δeηпkazi ηηηηi...

Ex. 16:3 aηoi eηeηηηoτ πε δeηηηηi eηaηieρoт εβολ
ziтeηпoтc.

Num. 22:30 ηη δeηoτziпzo aiziпzo ημoк eaiпpi ηaк
μпaiρη†.

ΜΠΑΤΕq- (mostly narrative) (Greek *πρὸ τοῦ* + inf.; forms of *χρονίζειν* + inf.).

Gen. 19:3f. **ΑΠΟΨΩΜ ΜΠΑΤΟΨΝΚΟΤ** ÷ **ΟΨΟ**ζ...

Gen. 13:10 **ΝΕΨΑΨΤΩ ΠΕ ΜΠΑΤΕΨ† ΡΩΨΤ ΝCΟΔΟΜΑ ΝΕΜ ΓΟΜΟΡΡΑ ΜΨΡΗ†**... NB: the **ΜΠΑΤΕ**- clause is parenthetical here.

Gen. 50:16 **ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΨΤΑΡΚΟΝ ΜΠΑΤΕΨΜΟΨ ΕΨΨΩ ΜΜΟC ΨΕ**...

Gen. 41:50 **ΙΩCΗΨ ΔΕ ΑΨΗΡΙ Β ΨΩΠΙ ΝΑΨ ΜΠΑΤΟΨΙ ΝΨΕ-†-Ψ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΨΚΟ**...

Ex. 12:34 **ΑΨ† ΔΕ ΝΨΕ-ΠΙΛΑΟC ΜΠΙΨΩ† ΜΠΑΤΟΨCΙΨΕ-ΜΗΡ ΝΨΕ-ΝΟΨΟΨΩΨΕΜ**.

Deut. 23:22 **ΝΝΕΚΩCΚ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΤΗC**.

ΕΨΝΑ- (Greek *ὅτι* + pres., *ἦνικα* (ἄν) + pres., *ἐν τῷ* + inf., *ὥ ἄν* + Pres. Conj., Part. Fut.; paraphrastic prep. phrase).

Gen. 31:20 ...**ΕΨΤΕΜΤΑΜΟΨ ΕΨΝΑΨΕΝΑΨ**.

Gen. 35:1 **ΨΗ ΕΤΑΨΟΨΟΝΨ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΚΝΑΨΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ**...

Ex. 28:43 **ΕΨΕCΙΤΟΨ ΝΨΕ-ΑΑΡΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΨΨΗΡΙ ΕΨΝΑΙ ΕΨΟΨΝ Ε†CΚΗΝΗ**;

Lev. 10:9 **ΟΨΗΡΠ ΝΕΜ ΟΨCΙΧΕΡΑ ΝΝΕΤΕΝCΩΨ ... ΕΡΕΤΕΝ-ΝΑΨΕ ΕΨΟΨΝ Ε†CΚΗΝΗ**...

Num. 28:8 **ΕΚΕΑΙΨ ΕΡΕΡΟΨΨΙ ΝΑΨΩΠΙ** — cf. Num. 9:11 **ΕΡΕΡΟΨΨΙ ΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΕΨΕΑΙΨ**, with a different information structure.

(c) A juncturally interesting slot: the Circumstantial adnexal to the Nominal Sentence or Cleft Sentence. This does not imply overlap of the adnominal/adverbial status opposition:

Gen. 24:1 **ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΝΕΟΨΨΕΛΛΟ ΠΕ ΕΑΨΑΙΑΙ ΨΕΝΝΕΨΕΨΟΨ**

Deut. 5:9f. **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ... ΟΨΝΟΨ† ΝΡΕΨΧΟΨ ΕΨ†ΨΕΒΙΩ ΝΝΙ-ΝΟΒΙ ΝΤΕΝΠΟ† ΕΨΕΝΝΙΨΗΡΙ ... ΟΨΟΨ ΕΙΠΡΙ ΝΟΨΝΑΙ ΨΑ-ΖΑΝΨΟ ΝΨΩΟΨ**... — note the different standing of the two Circumstantials, both adnominal, a difference carried by the distinction in linkage.

Gen. 20:10 **ΟΨ ΠΕ ΕΑΚΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΑΚΕΡΨΑΙ** — the first Circumstantial is topical in the CS; the second adnexal.

Gen. 20:3 **ΘΑΙ ΤΕ ΕCΨΟΠ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΖΑΙ**.

Gen. 31:38 **ΝΑΙΚ̄ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΕ ΕΙΧΗ ΝΕΜΑΚ** — the Circumstantial adnexal to “these twenty years”.

Deut. 14:21 **ΝΘΟΚ ΟΨΛΑΟC ΕΨΟΨΑΒ** — Circumstantial adnominal to Rheme.

(d) Adnominal / adverbial status truly overlapping (indefinite nucleus) — uncommon:

Deut. 25:5 **ΕΥΩΠ ΕΟΨΟΝ-ΞΑΝCΝΗΟΨ ΨΟΠ ΞΙΟΨΜΑ ΟΨΟΞ ΝΤΕΟΨΑ ΜΟΨ ΜΜΟΝΤΕΨΡΟΞ ΜΜΑΨ** (Greek σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ἦν αὐτῷ).

Deut. 23:16 **ΝΝΕΚ† ΝΟΨΒΩΚ ΕΤΟΤΨ ΜΠΕΨΘ̄C ΕΛΨΦΩΤ ΕΡΑΤΚ** (Greek Relative).

(e) The Circumstantial as a special rhematic-actant form (“predicative complement”).

(1) The grammaticalized **ΨΩΠΙ** with the no-less grammaticalized Circumstantial Present, always affirmative, periphrastically and suppletively enables the Stative or the Dynamic Converb in certain tense categories (the narrative Preterite, the imperative, the Jussive, the Present-based **ΝΔ**- Future, the Conjunctive and, frequently in the corpus, the Absolute-Definite Future). The auxiliary supplies the nuclear tense categories in a thematic environment, the Circumstantial the Rheme. Juncturally, the personal reference in the actor expression or another pronominal segment of the Circumstantial may be either a conditioned link (e.g. **ΕΨΕΨΩΠΙ ΕΨ-**), or a pertinent delimiter accompanied by a referential anaphoric link (e.g. Gen. 17:1 **ΨΩΠΙ ΜΜΟΝ-ΑΡΙΚΙ ΘΙ ΕΡΟΚ**). The juncture contour within this JDF is peculiar: the linkage of the rhematic actant is looser than that of all other actants being both expanding and information-carrying — overmapping, as it were, a nexal kind of juncture onto a nucleus — satellite one. Here, as usually, the Circumstantial alternates with a rhematic *nota relationis* introducing and marking a rhematic determinator phrase: Gen. 44:10 **ΕΨΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΟΨΑΛΟΨ** (sim. Ex. 30:21).

Note, in the following illustration, cases of the 3rd plural actor, Dynamic Converb and object as suppletive Statives (thus in fact double suppletion); also the use of the copular **ΟΙ Ν-**, where the Circumstantial + Stative is opposed to *zero* (i.e. to **ΨΩΠΙ Ν-**).

Gen. 21:11 **ΑΠΙCΑΞΙ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΙ ΕΨΝΑΨΤ ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ.**

Num. 16:16 **ΨΩΠΙ ΕΡΕΤΕΝCΕΒΤΩΤ.**

Gen. 17:1 **ΨΩΠΙ ΜΜΟΝ-ΑΡΙΚΙ ΘΙ ΕΡΟΚ.**

Ex. 27:16 **ΜΑΡΕΨΨΩΠΙ ΝΞΕ-ΠΕCΚΑΛΨΜΜΑ ΕΨΙΡΙ Ν-Κ̄ ΜΜΑΞΙ ΝΘΙCΙ neg.** Gen. 21:12.

Lev. 11:36 **CΕΞΑΞΕΜ ΟΨΟΞ ΕΨΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΨΞΑΞΕΜ.**

Num. 14:33 **ΝΕΤΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΕΨΕΨΩΠΙ ΕΨΜΟΝΙ ΜΜΩΟΨ ΞΙΠ-ΨΑΨΕ...**

Gen. 41:36 **οὕτως ἐπείωπι νδε-νιζρηοσι ἐπαρεξ ἐρωο**
— here and in the next example, $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$, the latter replacing the non-existent morphological Stative.

Num. 14:33 **ἐπείωπι ἐμονι μμωο** **ζιπψαφε**.

Ex. 25:20 **ἐπείωπι νδε-νιχεροσβιμ ἐρενοστενζ φορω**
εβολ ... οὕτως ἐρεποσζο ζοσψτ ἐζοσν ἐζρεννοσερνο
— a noteworthy case of “inalienable-possession” dependence of the Circumstantial actants with the actant of the auxiliary (and nucleus base): discontinuous **-σ- + νοσ-** and **-σ- + ποσ-**.

Gen. 43:9 **εἰεωπι εἰοι νρεφερνοβι**.

Deut. 28:29 **ἐκείωπι ἐκζομζεμ μμερι**.

Gen. 4:12 **ἐκείωπι ἐκφιαζομ**.

Ex. 33:16 **πως σναωπι εσοσονζ εβολ νταφμηι ζεαι-ζιμι νοσζμοτ ναζρακ**.

Lev. 10:19 **μη φναωπι ἐφραναφ μπσζ**.

Cases of the Circumstantial Absolute-Definite Future complementing **ωπι** (see above, 4.5.1.1 [e]). This **ωπι ἐφε-** *outil grammatical* occurs almost only with an Absolute Future nucleus, which makes it a regular, if not predictable combinatory pattern:

Gen. 1:6 **οὕτως ντεφωπι ἐφεφωρζ εβολ οστε μωο**
νεμ οσμωο (= Vat).

Ex. 28:35 **οὕτως ἐφεωπι νδε-ααρων ζενπζινθρεφ-ψεμψι**
εσесωтем етеφсμη еφнноσ ἐζοσн... (Vat **εσсωтем**).

Lev. 23:7 **ἐφεωπι νωтен εσемоσ† ероφ ζεφосав** (= Vat).

Lev. 25:6 **οὕτως ἐπείωπι νδε-νιγενημα ντεπικαζι ἐκε-οσμοσ...** (= Vat).

The following two remarkable cases are not properly speaking suppletive, but still periphrastic constructions for complex verbal categories:

Ex. 33:13 **ζοπως νταωπι εαιζιμι νοσζμοτ ναζρακ**
combines the Conjunctive with the rhematic Preterite, for a “Future Perfect” complex tense.

Ex. 19:19 **νασψοп δε νδε-νιсμη ντε†салпггос εσ-μωψι**
етзη (Greek **εγίνοντο ...προβαινούσαι**) - a special augmentative *Aktionsart* in Narrative Evolution Mode (Chapter One).

(2) The grammaticalized “descriptive verbs of incomplete predication” (Curme), are illustrated here by **οσω**:

In Dialogue: **οῦω** + Circumstantial Present: “have (already) done” (in the Clause Conjugation or Preterite) — periphrastic Perfect; no special descriptive verb is found in the Greek original, which typically has the Present.

Gen. 24:33 **ψα†οῦω εἰδῶ νηαικαῶ** “have done”: (Greek ἕως τοῦ λαλῆσαι με).

Gen. 43:23 **αιοῦω εἰς ἰμοῦ** (Greek ἀπέχω).

Num. 32:19 **ανοῦω ἐν ἰνενκληρος** (Greek ἀπέχομεν).

In Narrative: **οῦω** + Circumstantial Present: “finish, cease”: Greek (κατα)πάυω + participle.

Preterite: Gen. 49:33 **αφοῦω νδε-ιακωβ εφοταρχαζνι ννεφ-υηρι**.

(**μενενα**) **εταφοῦω εφ-** “finish” Gen. 18:33, 24:22, 27:30.

Gen. 24:19 **ψατεφοῦω εφω**.

Deut. 20:9 **αψανοῦω εῦκαῶ νεμ πιαος**.

Narrative **κην** + Circumstantial Present is semantically distinct from **οῦω** (rare in the corpus, it is a Bohairic lexeme, typically Nitrian, but well attested in the NT and OT outside the Pentateuch): “finish”

Preterite: Gen. 17:22 **αρκην δε εφκαῶ νεμαφ** (Greek συνετέλεσεν λαλῶν).

All other attestations of this verb in the corpus are of a different — valency construction (and render different Greek verbs):

Gen. 30:15 **κην αν ÷ δε-αρεωλι μπαζαι...** (Greek οὐχ ἱκανόν σοι).

Ex. 31:17 **ξενπιεροῦσ μπαζ-ξ αρκην οφορ αφεμτον μμοφ** (Greek ἐπαύσατο).

Deut. 3:26 **κην εροκ μπερ-** (Greek ἱκανούσθω σοι).

(3) The Circumstantial adnexal to the object actant — a third, rhematic, verbal actant. Juncturally, beside sharing in the usual close valency-matrix linkage (cohesion), the Circumstantial marks here the final boundary for the specific valency-matrix JDF, that has the transitive verb lexeme (which is simultaneously resolved as being of reduced rhematicity) as initial boundary. But the distinctive junctural aspect of the construction is the linkage of the second (object) actant to the Circumstantial in nexal Theme+Rheme juncture — the second nexal juncture in this complex JDF. Some representative instances:

ωτεμ: Num. 11:10 **οφορ ψαφωτεμ ερωῦ ετριμι**.

Ex. 19:9 **ζινα ντεπιαος ωτεμ εροι εικαῶ νεμακ**.

ναφ: Deut. 22:4 **ακψανναφ εφιω μπεκcon ιε-πεφμασι εαφζει ζιφ μωιτ**.

Gen. 26:8 **αφθουωτ ... αφναθ ειςαακ εφσωβι nem pe-becca.**

Gen. 16:13, 44:34, 7:1, 24:63f., 31:12 (vs. 10), 21:9, Ex. 23:5, Num. 24:2, 44:31.

Num. 22:23 **αcναθ nδε-†εω επιαγγελος ... εφορι ερατω ζιπιμωιτ οτοζ τεφχηι εκωκεм δεντεφδιζ.**

†-μα† Ex. 23:4 **ακωαν†μα† ετερε mπεκδαδι ie-πεφιω ετοcorem...**

χω Gen. 15:2 **ανοκ cεναχατ εβολ ειои νατωηρι** — Bohairic seems to prefer the copular verbal periphrase to the direct immediate (N-) rhematic adjunct.

Θαμιο Gen. 6:16 **εκεθαμιο n†κτωωτος εκθοωτη εδωτη.**

Of course, cases of third N- /ε- actant are structurally similar in juncture (see Chapter Three, §3.2[d]):

Gen. 12:2 **ειεαικ εοτηνω† νωλο.**

Ex. 32:4 **αφθαμιοφ νοτμασι νοτωτη.**

Note the absence of N- when the rhematic complement is preposed: Gen. 6:16 **ζανζηπι nδε b nem r nδε εκεθαμιοc.**

(f) The initial Circumstantial has premodifier status, marking initial boundary. This distinctive slot is essentially, inversely different from the ones hitherto examined, for here the converbal converted nexus, is not adnexal or rhematic, but a *topical* premodifier to subsequent text, defining (as initial constituent) a pattern in which a clause or clausal complex is high-level rhematic, in nexal interdependence with it. Note that the Focalizing converter, in Bohairic also morphologically distinct from the Circumstantial (in Sahidic they merge morphologically, and are kept distinct by their junctural status), is also an initial boundary signal — a thematic or topical one:

Gen. 20:7 **εφτωβζ εδωκ εκεωνδ.**

Num. 16:13 **εκοι ναρχων ερον nθок-οταρχων.**

Gen. 15:12 **ερεφρη ναρωτη οτωμηт αφι εδनावрам.**

Ex. 33:22 **εφнаcинι nδε-παωωθ ειεακ δеноτχολ nτε†-πεтра.**

Num. 9:11 **ερερωζι ναωωπι εθεαιφ.**

Gen. 48:7 **ανοκ δε εινηωθ εβολ δεν†месопотамια... αcмоθ nδε-ραχηλ...**

Lev. 20:12 **εατεραceвнc γар οτον ερωω.**

Gen. 44:4 **εταθεpαβολ δε n†βαки mπατοωοθει εβολ πεδε-ιωcηφ...**

(g) The Circumstantial enclosed or “vested”. The Circumstantial converter is the only one combinable with a loosely prefixed element that serves to resolve, determine or restrict its semantic reference spectrum; this is common in initial status. The existence of this slot is remarkable, as is also the fact that the said element acts also as a junctural partition delimiting the Circumstantial, partitioning it off — as it were “insulating” it and rendering it inert, in its interdependence with its environment: this Circumstantial no longer defines a sub-textual pattern, but occupies the slot of a “mere” adverbial:

εψωπ +

εψ- Ex. 12:14.

εψνα- Lev. 1:14, 2:4:14, 7:12.

εαψ- Lev. 3:1, 7:18 — εαψοϑωμ ντεψοϑωμ here constitutes a closely-linked Tautological-Infinitive-type focalizing construction; Lev. 13:9.

ζωψ/ετι εψ- Gen. 29:6:9, 44:14, Deut. 31:27, Ex. 34:29.

ζοτε εψ- Gen. 24:11, 42:21, 45:1, Num. 33:40.

[εταψ- Gen. 24:29, Num. 33:39, Deut. 9:23].

ιςεν μπατοψ- Ex. 1:19.

(h) Likewise, the Circumstantial, “vested” and partitioned off, features in the adverbial paradigm following foregrounding-delimiting αψωπι in Narrative Evolution Mode (see above, Chapter One, §1.1.5 [b]):

αψωπι εψ- Gen. 39:10

εψνα- Gen. 35:17f., 38:27

ετα- e.g. Gen. 12:11, 20:3

μενενα- α- Gen. 7:10, 8:6:13, 12:14, 14:1

(i) The adverbial-adjunct Circumstantial is juncturally interesting as a case of a non-referential delocutive pronoun, which is not actantial either; in fact, the only definition of this peculiarly idiomatic and old usage is junctural: the cancelling (“freezing”) of an endoparadigm constitutes a delimitation. In the corpus, I find:

εψκω† “round about” (Gen. 23:17, Ex. 19:12, 25:11:24, Lev. 8:15, Num. 14:12, 35:2 etc.).

εψρακι Lev. 26:24 ειεμοψι νεμωτεν ϑενοϑωντ εψ-
ρακι.

Obs.

(1) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1975, LAYTON 2004 §425. Additional Bohairic exx.: εϣ-
 ρολϣ “sweetly”, Prov. 3:24, Mark 7:10:35 ϣⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲁⲛⲓ ⲉϣϣⲱⲟⲩ, ⲛⲁϣⲁⲛⲓ...
 ⲉϣϣⲱⲧⲱⲛ; also 9:39.

(2) This feature may be as early as Late Egyptian (Circumstantial *sdm.f*): D’Orb. 8,1
 ...*hr rmyt n f q’ f* “... weeping for him loudly”, unnecessarily emended by Gardiner.

(j) “The antecedentless” or better “endonuclear” Circumstantial is a generic, *nomen agentis* nexus-form: the Circumstantial here recalls a participle, although no other sign of nominality is observable. Its syntactical status is *adverbial*. The pronoun — masculine only in the corpus, also feminine outside it, evidently referential (in contradistinction to [i] above) — is actor-actant (only the Dynamic Converb is predicated; I find no Stative example in the corpus). The exact relationship with the adverbial-adjunct Circumstantial is not clear, but one factor common to both is the *adverbial status* which, on a higher analytic level, merges object actant and adverbial circumstant. The distinction is then purely junctural, for it is the referentiality of the pronoun — 3rd sgl. masculine in both cases; effectively nuclear in the *nomen agentis* case: “he/one who...”, but entirely formal and non-referential slot-filler in the adjunctal case — that resolves the actual difference. Note the alternation with analytic or synthetic derived *nomina agentis*:

Ex. 12:9 ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϣⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲉϣ-
 ϣⲟϣⲓ ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ.

Deut. 18:10f. ⲛⲛⲟⲩϣⲓⲙⲓ ⲛϣⲏⲧⲕ.

ⲉϣⲑⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉϣⲱⲏⲣⲓ ⲓⲉ ⲧⲉϣⲱⲉⲣⲓ ⲉϣⲓⲛⲓ ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲱⲙ
 ⲓⲉ-ⲉϣⲱⲛⲓ ϣⲉⲛⲛⲓⲱⲉⲛⲓⲛ
 ⲉϣⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲁⲟⲛⲓⲣⲉϣⲟⲉ
 ⲉϣϣⲉⲙⲧⲁⲩ
 ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲣⲉϣⲧⲣⲁⲩⲣⲓ ⲛϣⲓⲕ
 ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲁⲱⲉⲃⲉⲛ
 ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲉϣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲉϣϣⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉϣⲁⲛⲙⲏⲏⲓⲛ
 ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲣⲉϣⲱⲟⲩⲧ.

Obs.

(1) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1976. Add Pistis Sophia 235.4 ⲛⲓ ⲉϣϣⲟⲃⲕ, NHC VII 74., in Proper-Name status. For Bohairic, cf. also Apoc. 2:15 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ-ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϣⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ.

(2) This is a common gloss and lemma form. No.344 in the 6th cent. Boh. Greek-Boh. glossary published by Crum and Bell in *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) has ⲉϣⲙⲏⲛ glossing λήγυτον. The Scala Magna (BM Or. 8780 f. 73vo) reads ⲉϣⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ *šāriḥ*; in other Scalae such as BM Or. 8775 we find the feminine ⲉϣⲣⲓⲙⲓ *bākiya* “one (fem.) who

cries", "a crying female", among numerous $\epsilon\eta$ - lemmata, some of them evidently adverbial, to judge by the Arabic glosses (the lemmata are always singular).

4.5.2 The Relative: some reflections

Diachronically, this element, structurally closest to the oldest converter, the Circumstantial, was the last to reach full converter-hood; in fact, even in Coptic it still shows some characteristics of a nexus constituent. This synchronic distinction and tension has a distinct junctural character, namely in the representation of an antecedent in the Relative clause by $\epsilon\tau$ - itself:

Ex. 6:9 $\text{NIZBHOTI } \epsilon\Theta\text{N}\alpha\omega\tau$.

Ex. 12:4 $\text{NH } \epsilon\tau\text{ZENPIHI}$.

And perhaps also the rare cases of substantival $\epsilon\tau$ - (Present or Future), not PET- or $\Phi\text{H } \epsilon\tau$ -:

Deut. 21:17 $\Phi\alpha\text{I TAPXH NTENEFYHPI PE OTOT ETESYE NAQ } \epsilon\sigma\text{I... (= Vat.)}$

There are, to accentuate the distinction of this converter/pronominal entity, well-documented indications of a synchronic competing construction, namely, the unusual case of a separate delocutive actor resumption/representation of the antecedent in the affirmative Durative Conjugation, with a converter homonym (see detailed discussion and illustration, above, §4.2.4.7.1[b1]):

Ex. 22:11 $\text{OTAN}\alpha\omega\text{ NTEN}\Phi\text{I PE ETEN}\alpha\omega\text{PI OTWOT MPB}$ (Vat. ETEFEFYPI — in the Base Conjugation, $\epsilon\tau$ - is of course full converter). Note that the case of the negative $\epsilon\tau$ -q-($\text{N}\alpha$ -) with the pronoun resuming an antecedent is quite different — we have here a zeroed pre-negation (i.e. *zero ...AN*): Deut. 1:39 $\Phi\text{H ETENCFWOTN AN M}\Phi\text{OOT NOTAGATHON IE OTPEOTOT}$: the *zero* is here the junctural partition between the Relative and the Theme.

The postulation of a *zero* anaphoric morph, resumptive of the antecedent (so LAYTON 2004 §405: "nothing ($\emptyset$) is suffixed to the converter $\epsilon\tau$ = ($\epsilon\tau$ = + $\emptyset$). This significant absence...expresses resumption + subject function") is, as I now see it, but begging the question, tautological for seeing $\epsilon\tau$ - as converter, and has no actual ground in reference syntax — all the more so, seeing that it is in contrast to the real converter construction with an explicit resumption. (The co-existence of homonymous Relative pronoun and converter is not rare: witness English *that*, or Italian *che*).

The cohesion between antecedent determinator (non-specific, of low specificity, specific, highly specific) and its nexal expansion is as crucial as it is complex: anaphoric reference in many cases, but primarily the special combination of specific determination and the relative converter, a combination which (in view of its statistical predictability quotient) borders on a discontinuous-mark complex. Associated, though not symmetrical with this are the non-specific determinators and Circumstantial expansion. These two types stand in junctural (and functional) opposition — of the most fundamental in Coptic — as attributive satellites, to a looser and marked type of cohesion, that between *specific nuclei and the Circumstantial*: the adnexal or rhematic satellite, discussed above. (Also loose and marked is the “Hermeneutical Relative”, with the Relative expanding a non-specific nucleus). Finally, in a rare construction which must nevertheless be included in the picture, non-specific, as a rule generic nuclei combine with the Relative conversion. Let me stress again, that, while the compatibility of the specific nucleus with the relative and the non-specific one with the Circumstantial are established beyond doubt, the two conversion forms are alternants only in a statistical (“normalcy”) approximative synthetic model: this is a considerable sector of the formal and functional spectra, but there are others, as yet only partly understood. The current classroom formulation, of a relative “proper” with definite antecedent alternating with the “improper” Circumstantial following indefinite ones, is incorrect.

Obs.

(1) Instances of non-specific antecedents of the Relative are as a rule generic, not particular. See STERN §424: his example Nic. 1:14 has, not the relative but Focalizing Preterite, but Mt. 19:12 is a valid instance, Stern's doubts notwithstanding (several witnesses, incl. M 569 ed. Aranda, collated: H. Quecke by letter, 15/11/88); add Benjamin, *Hom. on the Nuptials of Cana* ed. Müller (Abh. Heidelberg Akad. 1968, 1, 132). See also above, Chapter Three, §3.1 9b.

(2) The distinction — logic-oriented, universalistic, praeter-analytic and not intrinsically grammatical — of restrictive vs. non-restrictive (appositive, amplificative, predicative etc.) Relative clauses is by no means correlatable with the formal opposition of Relative vs. Circumstantial, esp. following a specific nucleus. This is (KLEIBER 1967:77) “une opposition introuvable”. Two different pluridimensional semantic oppositions are here active: — specific vs. generic interpretation or reading (34f.), and the restriction, gradual and not dichotomically opposed to non-restriction, of the nucleus. Kleiber's suggestion (e.g. 119ff.) is interesting in the present context: opposing, “semantic-juncturally”, *integration to detachment* of the Relative and nucleus (cf. the “looseness” pointed out above of the rhematic expansion). The specificity grading of the antecedent, which is by definition scalar, is a crucial factor in the semantic reading of the Relative: another is the contribution of the expansion to the said specificity and their junctural interdependence.

(3) The Relative converter is juncturally unique in its usual contingency with its antecedent phrase. This is so constant that such a deviation as Gen. 44:15 $\Phi\alpha\iota\gamma\omega\beta\ \sigma\tau\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\eta\varsigma$ calls for special observation; the Greek $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{o}\ \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \delta\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ is clearly not at the basis of the Coptic, but decisive is the Topicalized-Theme Pattern (Chapter Two, §2.1.1 III), which is in Bohairic so formalized as to constitute a juncturally compact group, and may be triggered by the Greek Copula-less construction.

4.5.2.1 Notes on morphology, morphophonemics, morphotactics

(a) In our corpus, we find a structured ("trendy") fluctuation of aspirated and unaspirated morphophonemic (junctural) alternant of the allomorph $\epsilon\tau-$: see above (cf. ANDERSSON 1904:1f.).

(b) The Preterite or generic-tense Relative-pronoun base (not converter?) $\epsilon\rho-$, attested in older MSS (B4) as well as in many other dialects⁶³, does not occur in our corpus.

(c) The converter form in $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\eta\varsigma\eta\tau\eta$ or $\epsilon\tau-\epsilon\eta\varsigma\eta\tau\eta$ is problematic: the latter analysis is based on the close juncture statement in POLOTSKY 1949 (and cf. STERN 1880:247).

(d) For $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$ as allomorph with the Absolute-Definite Future, e.g. Ex. 3:14, 23:22, Deut. 6:13 etc. neg. Deut. 28:50: see above, Chapter One.

(e) We have in the corpus at least one instance of $\eta\tau\alpha-$, in a Cleft Sentence: $\pi\bar{\sigma}\tau\ \pi\epsilon\eta/\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\eta\theta\eta\eta\sigma\tau$ Ex. 16:6 (η crossed out, ϵ above line). Cf. (?) $\psi\alpha\eta\tau\sigma\tau-$ for the normal $\psi\alpha\tau\sigma\tau-$ in Gen. 29:8 (without claiming any Sahidic factor in the corpus).

(f) The basic fact that Bohairic does not have a special prenominal alternant of the Relative in the durative conjugation, like the Circumstantial $\epsilon-\rho\epsilon-$, the Focalizing Conversion $\lambda-\rho\epsilon$ and $\eta\lambda-\rho\epsilon$ ("Preterite conversion") may be seen as an archaic feature: see QUECKE 1979:439f. Before non-specific Themes in the durative conjugation, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$, not $\epsilon\tau\epsilon-\sigma\theta\sigma\eta-$, is the conversion alternant: POLOTSKY 1960:411. Both peculiarities have a junctural implication, namely looser linkage with the nominal-Theme conjugation form. This is confirmed by the following remarkable cases of open-juncture (or less-close-juncture) Relative Conversion, which indicate a relative autonomy of the converter, at least in substantivized Relative clauses:

Lev. 14:35 $\Phi\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\pi\iota\eta\iota\ \Phi\omega\eta\ \pi\epsilon.$

Deut. 2:25 $\eta\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon-\lambda\psi\psi\alpha\eta\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\theta\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho$ ⁶⁴.

⁶³ Pace Funk, *Coptic Encyclopaedia*, 8 (1991) 105. See FUNK 1977:35 n.57; 1978 §2.4; 1981:183, HAARDT 1978; SHISHA-HALEVY 1983: (Non-Actual Present — atemporal-generic; fixed expressions, fossilized); POLOTSKY 1987:59ff., not mentioning Bohairic.

⁶⁴ See ANDERSSON 1904:63. This is Polotsky's only example (1987:93ff) from the Pentateuch (he quotes in all 19 others, of which 18 are NT ones, one from Proverbs).

However, the first example may point rather to the grammaticalized and devalued status of the Topic in this NS pattern; consider, similarly, Gen. 25:28 **NE-TEQDOPDC TEQDPRE TE**.

Obs.

The Bohairic Relative converter is famous for its extraordinary open juncture with its conjugation form, allowing the interpolation of premodifying topical adverbials, topicalizing extraposition and the (essentially and prosodically different) Augens. However, for a reason not clear to me, this occurs almost only with substantivized (**ΦH ET-**, **ΦAI ET-**) Relative clauses, see POLOTSKY 1987:93ff. and above, §4.2 (boundaries c19-c20):

II Cor. 8:10 **NH ETE OΘ MONON ΠIZW B EAIQ, AΛΛA ΠIKEOΘWY ATETEN-EPWOPH NZITEN-ΘHNOC EPQ.**

Eph. 3:12 **ΦAI ETE-NDPHI NHTQ ANCI MPIOFWNH EBOL...**

Eph. 2:3 **NH ETE-ANON THPOY NANMOYI NDPHI NHTOC.**

Heb. 5:11 **ΦAI ETE-EΘBHTQ OTHWY NAN PE ΠICAZI.**

II Thess. 2:9 **ΦH ETE-PEQZINI EQXH KATAOYENERGEIA NTE-PCATANAC** — the Relative converts a topicalized Circumstantial Focalizing Conversion.

I Tim. 5:3:5 **NH ETE-ONTWC + NS.**

Acts 27:4 **ΦAI ETE-MENENCA... MPE-**

II Pet. 1:19 **NH ETE KAWOC TETEN-**

It would indeed seem that the juncture contour of substantivized Relatives is distinctive (cf. **ΦH NIBEN ET-**). Although I have no textual basis for this as yet, I believe this feature is Egyptian, and that Late Egyptian and/or Demotic evidence of it will eventually come to light.

(g) *Zero* actualization of the Relative converter before adverbials: **ΦH EΘBE-** (Lev. 4:34 etc.) may be associated with the adverbial-Rheme Nominal-Sentence conversion of **ETE-EΘBE- ΠE, ETE-EBOL AN NE ZEEN-** (Lev. 9:10, Num. 17:5, Deut. 20:15).

(h) **ETE-NAQ-** (Deut. 8:16) is the only case we find of Relative Second-Power conversion. We have no Relative Focalizing Conversion (cf. POLOTSKY 1960:405 n.3), despite the affinities of the **NAQ-** and Focalizing conversions (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1989b:49ff.; see also the Oxyrhynchite Acts 4:12 [Schenke] for a rare example of the historically well-established Circumstantial + Focalizing Conversion Cleft). The Aorist **WAZQ-**, for its part, resembles **NAQ-** as regards Relative conversion. Both **ETE-WAZQ-** [Lev. 4:35] and **E-WAZQ-** [Num. 31:23] are attested; diachronically, both have formal and/or functional affinities with the Emphatic, the ancestor of the Focalizing Conversion; even the **a**-vocalization is here significant.

(i) Conversion of the negative Durative Conjugation forms shows three constructions, differing in their junctural profile:

(1) **ΦH ETEQNA- AN** (on the *zero* ... **AN** negator basis, i.e. **ETE-Ø-QNA-... AN**, Gen. 17:14, Deut. 1:39, 18:19, 25:9).

(2) **ΕΤΕΝQ(NA)- AN** (the **N-... AN** negator basis — Lev. 23:29, Deut. 27:26, 29:15, 31:13).

(3) **ΕΤ- AN** (the ... **AN** negator basis): Stative Rheme only. Less common? (Deut. 28:61).

(j) The case of **ΕΤΑQ-**: a brief observation. This unique instance of multiple homonymy is typically Bohairic. Its resolution is entirely structural-syntactic — indeed, it is mainly junctural, for the Temporal **ΕΤΑQ-** is typically an initial-boundary delimiter — a narrative converbal topicalization form (see Chapter One, §1.1.5 and GROSSMAN 2007) — whereas the Relative is a phrase-final delimiter. However, there are examples which complicate the issue, hinting at the existence of special roles and slots of **ΕΤΑQ-** that exceed this simple distribution:

(1) Cases of syntagmatic compatibility like Deut. 29:25 **†ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΝΤΕΠΘ̄C ... ΘΗ ΕΤΑQCEΜΝΗΤC ΝΕΜ ΝΟΨΙΟ† ΕΤΑQΕΝΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΚΑQΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ** hint at the categorial disparity of the adverbial-adjunctal **ΕΤΑQ-**, which is adjoined to the Relative in close narrative linkage. (Incidentally, **ΕΤΑQ-** does not express temporal anteriority or contemporaneity, but only the narrative juxtaposition of actions).

(2) A case like Deut. 22:16 **ΑΙΤΗC ΜΠΑΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΨCΖΙΜΙ ΕΤΑQ-ΜΕCΤΩC †ΝΟΨ (= Vat)** can hardly have relative **ΕΤΑQ-** as a phrase-final delimiting mark, but may probably be a case of close Evolution Mode Narrative linkage (“and now he has come to hate her”). A Focalizing Preterite (“...and it is only now that...”) and even an adnominal-Circumstantial Cleft Sentence are not ruled out.

(3) Num. 12:2 **ΜΗ ΜΩΨCΗC ΜΜΑΨΑΤQ ΕΤΑΠΘ̄C CΑQΙ ΝΕΜΑQ ΜΗ ΜΠΕQCΑQΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ ΑΝΟΝ** represents a case of unambiguous Relative, yet not as expansion — Proper Names, being over-specific, are not usually expanded directly by the Relative conversion — but of Topic of Cleft Sentence: here too, the **ΕΤΑQ-** group concludes and juncturally closes the pattern.

(4) In a case like Gen. 6:7 **ΕΙΕQΕΤ-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΑΙΘΑΜΙΟQ ΕΒΟΛ QΑ ΠQΟ ΜΠΚΑQΙ** (which closely follows the Greek sequencing: the Greek has here a Relative clause), we actually have a neutralization of adnominal/adjunctal status, and **ΕΤΑΙ-** may well be an adverbial “(after) having creating him”; it must be remembered that adverbial or adclausal **ΕΑQ-** is here extremely rare, so rare as to render its opposition with **ΕΤΑQ-** (so important in Sahidic) virtually void.

(5) Similarly, an adverbial slot is clearly indicated in a case with no initial nominal constituent, such as Gen. 21:5 **ΟΨΟQ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΝΑQΧΗ ΞΕΝ̄ ΠΡΟΜΠΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΨΜΑCΙCΑΑΚ ΠΕQΨΗΡΙ ΝΑQ**. Again, this is

not an “after” clause, but the overlay of narrative eventing. It is the converbs — **ΜΕΝΕΝCΑΘΡΕQ-**, **ΞΕΝΠΞΙΝΘΡΕQ-** — that relate acts on the temporal axis (see Chapter Three).

(6) We have in Bohairic to my knowledge no clear instance of the second-power Circumstantial Conversion of the Focalizing Preterite, an important complex conversion in Sahidic (**Ε-ΝΤΑQ-**, **ΝΤΑQ-**: cf. POLOTSKY 1960:398, §11 Obs., and POLOTSKY 1957:232, 1964:252; SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:66f. §2.1.1.2). I expect a sensitive sifting of **ΕΤΑQ-** examples, Nitrian and Scriptural, will yield instances, adnominal and adverbial, of this old Egyptian combination (actually a conversion of the whole focalizing construction), attested also in the Present and **ΝΑ-**Future. (See above, number [2]).

(7) Unambiguously Temporal — that is, quintessentially adverbial — is **ΕΤΑQ-** in the following narrative configurations. Here, the exact relative temporality is expressed by the elements in combination with **ΕΤΑQ-**:

ΑCΨΩΠΙ (ΔΕ) ΕΤΑQ- Gen. 6:1, 11:2, etc.

ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ- ΕΤΑQ- Ex. 34:33.

ΖΟΤΕ/ΖΩC (ΔΕ) ΕΤΑQ- Gen. 38:5:29, 24:30, 2:4, etc.

(ΟΘΟQ) ΕΤΑQ- (ΔΕ) ... ΑQ-/ΝΑQ- Gen. 9:22, 18:2, 24:48, 35:29, etc.

ΝΑQ-/ΑQ- ΕΤΑQ- (ΑQ-) Gen. 16:16, 21:5, 25:20 etc.

Negative **ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΕ- ... ΑQ-** Gen. 8:9, Ex. 2:3, Num. 14:16 etc.

(k) The Hermeneutical Relative Nominal Sentence **ΕΤΕ-... ΠΕ** is of junctural interest, for its internal and external linkage mechanism. The NS concerned is either the Endophoric or the Immutable-Theme (“*c’est*”) one — see Chapter Two; in either case the referentiality of **ΠΕ** is merely formal and non-pertinent. It is questionable whether the lemma is at all the antecedent of the Relative — consider several examples quoted here:

Ex. 29:26 **ΠΙΩΙΛΙ ΝΤΕΠΙΞΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΦΑΑΑΡΩΝ ΠΕ.**

Deut. 10:15 **ΠΟΤΞΡΟΞ ... ΕΤΕΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ.**

Gen. 44:15 **ΞΕΝΟΘΪΩΗΜ ΕΨΑQΪΩΗΜ ΝΞΕ-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΕ-ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ.**

Gen. 50:1 **ΠΞΗΒΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ ΕΤΕΦΗ ΠΕ ΕΤΞΙΜΗΡ ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ. ΠΕΚΑΛΟΨ ΕΤΕΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΠΕ** Gen. 44:24:30:31.

Num. 15:7 **ΡΕΜΗΤ Β ... ΕΤΕΦΡΕ-Γ ΝΟΤΞΙΝ ΠΕ.**

Ex. 1:11 **ΙΩΝ ΕΤΕΘΒΑΚΙ ΜΦΡΗ ΤΕ.**

Expansion syntax and juncture gradience

The Circumstantial, adnexally expanding, has nexal linkage with its nucleus (either a pronoun/noun syntagm, a nexus or textual stretch), while the Relative — as a rule preceding the circumstantial syntagmatically — has attributive linkage with pronominals only: determinators in noun syntagms, or on their own (proclitic, in the latter case) and demonstratives (sometimes proclitic). Attributive juncture is closer than adnexal, which is similar to non-grammemic nexal juncture. (Attributive has syntagmatic precedence over adnexal juncture, when both occur together). This gradience may be correlated, especially in the case of noun-syntagm or pronoun nuclei, with non-nexal but possibly rhematic expansions, namely by means of the *notae relationis* (Chapter Three) or their *n*-homonyms. The following is a tentative approximation for such correlation; each row is of closer juncture than the one immediately above it, the grades merging into one another.

(rising linkage scale)

Circumstantial+ [TEXT] – nexus as Topic Circumstantial+ [NEXUS] – nexus as Topic	
[TEXT] + Circumstantial [NEXUS] + Circumstantial	
NOUN SYNTAGM/PRONOUN + Circumstantial	(π1-NOUN SYNTAGM + nτε- + [non-zero])
Circumstantial as rhematic actant: -ογω ε(q)- etc. -σωτεμ ερο(q) ε(q)- -ψωπι ε(q)-	-ο1 n-, ψωπι (ε(q)ο1) n- -α1(q) n-, -θαμιο(q) n-ογ- etc.
NOUN SYNTAGM ({π1-/πα1}) + Relative	(π1-NOUN SYNTAGM + n- + [zero])
Φα1/Φn + Relative	(π-NOUN SYNTAGM + nτε- + [non-zero]) – reduced or annulled Constituence Personal-Sphere Association
π- + Relative	(π-NOUN SYNTAGM + n- + [non-zero]) – Constituence Personal-Sphere Association

4.5.4 Superordination

This is a syntactic status all too readily overlooked in syntactic scanning. It is a sharp delimitation, marking a clause as of higher informa-

tional rank — as high-level rhematic — than its preceding environment. It is peculiar in that, paradoxically, its very delimitative essence is anaphorically referential: condensing its preceding cotext into a single point, it as it were uses this for leverage into highlight: “in view of all this”, “(only / just...) at this point” and numerous other references to discourse accumulation, down to “therefore” and even “then”, familiar in its Narrative formalization in many languages as the Evolution-Mode plot development signal *par excellence*.

(a) **οὐτο** *in apodosis*; generally superordinating (= Greek):

Num. 21:8 **οὐτο** **ε**εεωωπι **α**ρεωανπιζο **β**ιλαπσι **ε**οω-
ρωμι **οὐτο** **ε**εεωωωωτ **ε**πιζο **ν**ζομτ **οὐτο** **ε**εεωωω.

Ex. 1:12 **κατα**φρητ **δε** **ε**ναθθεβιο **μ**μωω **μ**μο **οὐτο**
νασνηο **να**ωαι... (cf. ANDERSSON 1904:74).

Gen. 9:14 **οὐτο** **ε**εεωωπι **ζ**ενπζινεπι **ν**ζανθ **ε**πι **ζ**-
ζενπικαζι **οὐτο** **ε**εεοωονζ **ν**ζε-τφιτ...

Obs.

This construction of **οὐτο** is not exclusively Biblical, nor can it always be seen as a device for Biblical rhetorical-stylistic effect, motivated by the Greek original *καί*; consider De Vis I 130 n.3, 146, 171 etc.. As a matter of fact, this syntax has Greek roots of long before the Septuagint and cannot be dismissed as Hebraism or Semitism; cf. BEYER 1962:29-74 and passim; Kühner-Gerth §255 n.2 (it is attested from Homer on): as pointed out, this is “the adverb, not the conjunction” (Blass-Debrunner §442.7). It must moreover be borne in mind that the coordinating clause-connector “and” in Egyptian is a newcomer: “adverbial” non-coordinative **αω** still features in the idiomatic “Egyptian” syntax of Shenoute (SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:51f. §1.3.10).

(b) Superordinator **ιε**. In Bohairic, this morph — to my knowledge, without an accepted Egyptian etymon — conflates the disjunctive homonym (Sah. **η**), the pre-clausal superordinating signal, opening the apodosis after topicalizing **ι**ζε (Sah. **ε**ιε) and the interrogation signal (Sah. **ε**ιε, see above, Chapter One, §1.2.3.1). In this case, we find no trigger in the Greek:

Gen. 43:5 [**ι**ζε **δε** **χ**ναοωωπι **μ**πεν **ε**ον **ν**αν **αν**] **ι**
ετennaω **αν** (Vat omits **ιε**).

Num. 11:15 [**ι**ζε **κ**ναρι **ν**ηι **μ**παρητ] **ι**ε **ζ**οθβετ **ζ**-
ενοωμο (= Vat).

Superordinating **ιε** is a non-proclitic homonym of the disjunctive **ιε**.

(c) Sequelling, apodoticity and superordination. These syntactic features overlap, I believe, the last being broader than the first two; sequelling appears to be one of the innermost, most persistent traits of Egyptian in synchrony and diachrony. The Conjunctive is thus a su-

perordinative tense, in pre-Coptic Egyptian⁶⁵ and non-literary Coptic (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1995a); so are the Absolute-Definite Future (above, Chapter One, §1.2.5.1 [d]) and the affirmative Aorist (Chapter One, §1.2.5.2 [b]).

(d) The particles $\sigma\gamma\eta$, $\rho\alpha\rho$, $\Sigma\epsilon_2$ are often superordinative. See below, §4.6.1.

4.6 Sequencing, placement and prosody features

(a) General comments

Constituent sequencing (loosely, “word order”) is a sub-issue of juncture that apparently cannot be approached head-on because of its formidable complexity. First of all, distinction must be made between constituent ordering or sequencing and component placement: the former is a tagmemic factor of relativity; the latter, a matter of the syntagmatic/paradigmatic identity of the said component. Second, the realization is essential that constituent ordering is not a property or feature detached — a phenomenon existing and analyzable separately from, and, as it were, mapped onto the actual segment combination that is the subtextual unit under consideration, but a distinctive, yet not privileged, pattern constituent feature (the pattern being defined as “bounded, junctured and ordered sequence of categories”). What is in fact an ultra-pattern, inter-pattern or hyper-pattern, is the placement of certain “floating” elements, which either stand outside patterns, or are superimposed on patterns in an overhead textual network.

Coptic would qualify as a “VS” language, when we recognize “V” as represented in the core formal nexus that is the conjugation base + Theme/actor syntagm: the verbal nexus pattern (Chapter Two). (The *Flexionsisolierung* device that is the marginalizing of lexical information by means of $\mathbf{N\Sigma\epsilon}$ - hardly affects this structure. See SHISHA-HALEVY 2000 *passim*, esp. 81ff.: the stability of constituent sequencing over the millennia of Egyptian diachrony is impressive). However, the durative conjugation — diachronically and synchronically an essential part of the verbal system — predicating converbs of initial Themes, is most definitely “SV”. Yet the verb-forms here “make use” of an essentially non-verbal nexus pattern, as they have done for millennia. This formulation of sequencing as such is on its own meaningless or trivial, begging the question of the multidimensional formal definition of con-

⁶⁵ The LE “sequential” *jw:f hr sdm* too is, I believe, essentially superordinating: it is apodotic, in the relevant environment (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1973).

struction — except for the purpose of driving home the realization that there is *no* “dominant word-order”; consider also the Rheme-to-Theme and Theme-to-Rheme constituent sequencing of Nominal Sentence patterns (Chapter Two above).

The adaptation of “native” Coptic (rather rigid) sequencing to that of the original Greek is, I believe, minimal; the only instance of interference I can point to with some confidence, but not with certainty, is prosodic, namely the relative weightiness of the initial component(s) of the prosodic clause, as evident in enclitics placement; a corollary is perhaps the focalizing initial position (Chapter Two).

Obs.

(1) STERN 1880 §635 is an early discussion of word order, basic sequence and typical structure.

(2) The Bohairic clause-final tendency, which decidedly harks back to LE and perhaps Demotic (SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:319, FUNK 1991:7 n.18) does not extend to Greek-origin sentence particles (see below), as if these are “imported” together with a prosodic profile.

(3) A manifest weakness, at least in Coptic, of the by now conventional distinction of “pragmatic” (Topic-to-Comment) and “syntactic” (“Predicate to Subject”, presumably Rheme-to-Theme) sequencing — e.g. in LOPRIENO 1988, 2000 — lies in the fact that both Nominal Sentence and Cleft Sentence syntagmatics exhibit both sequences. Thus, Bohairic has Theme-to-Rheme, Rheme-to-formal-Theme-to-non-formal-Theme, Topic-to-Rheme-to-Theme, Topic-to-Focus and Focus-to-Topic for adverb and nominal Foci respectively. Unless we are talking glottogonically, these differences had better be expressed in terms of cohesion and phoricity, nexus patterning, various sequence conditioning and real, meaningful paradigmatic oppositions.

(4) LOPRIENO 2000 operates within an entirely different approach to linguistic system and structure, an approach I reject as essentially non-empirical, even beyond the *per se* innocuous, by now conventional separation of “pragmatic” from “syntactic” (or rather “syntactic”) parameters. However: **ⲟⲩⲛ** (Boh. **ⲟⲩⲟⲛ-**) is not a verb, and can hardly be presented as a (main) instance of “VS” ordering; the relationship between the sole case of “SV” (the Durative or Statal Conjugation - which, incidentally, turns “VS” non-specific Themes!) and the Egyptian “VS”, cannot in any way be considered diachronic; **ⲛⲉⲓ-** (**ⲛⲉⲥ-**) hardly “rhematizes informationally heavy subjects”.

(b) Some instances of striking or special placement phenomena — initial, medial and final boundary signalling:

- Adverbial — clause modifier:

Gen. 31:29 **ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ** ÷ **ⲁⲓⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ** = Greek word order; but note lemniscus, signalling topicalization of the adverbial?

- Adverbial — colon-second delimiter:

Gen. 24:42 **ⲡⲁⲙⲱⲧⲧ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓ**.

- **ⲛⲉⲁⲓ** = actant following the “object of giving” (always specific), and often *finally* placed (with no triggering correspondence in the Greek original):

Deut. 9:6 $\overline{\text{ΠΘ}} \text{C}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΠΑΙΚΑΖΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΚ}}$.

Gen. 20:7 $\overline{\text{ΜΑΤΣΖΙΜΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΠΙΡΩΜΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΦ}}$.

Num. 23:13 $\overline{\text{CΑΖΘΤΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΠΑΙΛΑΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΗ}}$ sim. Num. 22:6.

Gen. 20:7 $\overline{\text{ΜΑ}}$ - $\overline{\text{[ΤΣΖΙΜΙ ΜΠΙΡΩΜΙ]}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΦ}}$.

Gen. 34:4 $\overline{\text{ΘΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΤΑΙΛΛΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΗ}}$.

Gen. 31:12 $\overline{\text{ΝΗ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΤΑΛΑΒΑΝ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΙΡΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΜΩΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΚ}}$.

Gen. 30:4 $\overline{\text{ΑΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΒΑΛΛΑ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΤΕCΒΩΚΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΦ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΘΤCΖΙΜΙ}}$.

Gen. 20:14 $\overline{\text{ΑΦΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝCΑΡΡΑ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΤΕΦCΖΙΜΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΦ}}$ sim. 42:25:28.

Gen. 44:1 $\overline{\text{ΜΑΖ-ΝΕΝCΟΚ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΝΑΙΡΩΜΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝCΘΤΟ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΩΘ}}$.

Contrast $\overline{\text{ΝΑ}}$ = immediately following the verb and preceding the object (both highly specific and non-specific):

$\overline{\text{ΘΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΗ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΘ}}$ - Gen. 15:9, 21:30.

Num. 23:1 $\overline{\text{ΚΩΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΗ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΠΑΙΜΑ}}$ $\overline{\text{Ν-Ξ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΨΗΘΤΙ}}$.

Gen. 15:10 $\overline{\text{ΑΦ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΔΕ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΦ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΝΑΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΤΗΡΘ}}$.

Ex. 16:29 $\overline{\text{ΑΝΑΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΦΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΓΑΡ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΑΦΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΩΤΕΝ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΠΑΙΕΖΟΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΤΕΝΙ-}}$
 $\overline{\text{CΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ}}$.

Obs.

(1) This placement seems to conflict with the tendency of "Wackernagel's Coptic corollary" (cf. POLOTSKY 1961) — and Wackernagel's Law is associated with a high-initial prosodic contour; yet the final or near-final placement of some weakly stressed or prosodically dependent elements is very probably "Egyptian" (SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:319). Other final-position enclitics: Gen. 31:2:5 $\overline{\text{ΔΕΦΟΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΦΡΗΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝCΑΦ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΕΜ}}$ $\overline{\text{Γ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΜΦΟΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΕΜΗ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΑΝ}}$, Gen. 31:29 $\overline{\text{ΜΗΠΟΤΕ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΤΑΔΙΔ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΔΕΜΔΟΜ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΕΡΠΕΤΖΩΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΚ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΑΝ}}$, Gen. 2:19 $\overline{\text{ΦΑΙ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΠΕ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΠΟΤΡΑΝ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΡΩ}}$ ($\overline{\text{ΦΑΙ}}$ focalized!) (all B4); Ps. 48:18 $\overline{\text{ΠΕΦΩΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΑΨΕΝΑΦ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΠΕCΗΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΑΜΕΝΤ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΕΜΑΦ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΑΝ}}$, De Vis II 168 $\overline{\text{ΕΙΘΩΨ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΝΑΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΡΩΘ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΖΩ}}$. (See below, for examples from the corpus itself). Polotsky's treatment of the issue does not include Bohairic specifically, and is Sahidic-oriented (such Bohairic material as is mentioned is NT): we have no Bohairic attestation for his categories Ib (Presentatives), Ic (extraposition), II and III; we have Bohairic attestation only for Ia (initial adverbials). See however Polotsky's n.1 on 1961:298.

(c) *Augentia* are special adverbial-status pronoun-containing cohesive elements. In our Bohairic, their referate nucleus is always specific, mostly highly specific (personal pronouns, Proper Names, demonstratives). Their junctural idiosyncrasy is in the tension between the prosodic and the syntactic units in which they "exist" (colon and pattern respectively), between their anaphoric cohesiveness, their adverbiality and their encliticity, which conditions their actual position in the said prosodic and syntactic units. (Generally speaking, Bohairic is far less enclisis-prone than Sahidic — again, it is in this closer to Late Egyptian). These are real "floating segments", that is, elements the placement of which is not pattern-integral. The variation in placement illustrated

below stems from this tension, and reflects it in the actual text, somewhat as the often irregular combinatory aspiration reflects tension between the syllable and morphemic-segment demarcation systems; but it also serves as *link*, within the respective Domain Frames, which are often defined by the Augens.

Obs.

(1) On the Augens adverbial-rhematic category, see first STERN 1880 §256 “adjunctive persönliche fürwörter” — “pronominals substantive”; POLOTSKY 1961; for Shenoutean Sahidic, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a Chapter Six. LAYTON 2004 §152ff. for Sahidic (“inflected modifiers”, “reinforcers”).

(2) See STRICKER 1962 §58ff. for the special appositive-adverbial syntax of *tr=* in Roman Demotic: the category has yet not been studied for pre-Coptic Egyptian.

(1) **ΜΜΑΥΑΤ** “alone”, “only” (also focussing) has a double pertinent placement (a placement opposition):

• The Augens follows its referate noun/pronoun phrase, in an immediate expansion:

Ex. 12:16 ΦΑΙ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΩ ΕΤΕΘΑΜΙΩ.

Ex. 8:27 ΜΠΕΟΥΑΙ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΩ ΣΩΞΠ.

Ex. 22:27 ΦΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΩΕΒΟC ΝΞΟΛΞ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΩ.

Deut. 8:3 ... ΕΩΙΚ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΩ ΑΝ.

Also Gen. 39:9, 41:40, 42:38 etc. etc.

• Adverbial-rhematic (adclausal or neutral) placement:

Ex. 18:18 ΜΜΟΝ-ΩΞΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΕΡΦΑΙ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΚ.

Gen. 32:16 ΠΙΟΞΙ ΠΙΟΞΙ ΣΑΟΥΣΑ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΩ.

Num. 11:14 ΜΜΟΝ-ΩΞΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΦΑΙ ΜΠΑΙΛΛΟC ΜΜΑΥΑΤ (cf. Deut. 1:12 ΠΩC †ΝΑΩΞΕΜΞΟΜ ΜΜΑΥΑΤ ΕΦΑΙ...).

Also Gen. 21:28, 32:24, Num. 23:9 etc.

(2) **ΜΜΙΝΜΜΟ** is very rare — barely attested — in the corpus:

Lev. 25:49-50 ΕΩΠ ΔΕ ΑΩΞΙΜΙ ... ΕCΩ† ΜΜΟΩ ΜΜΙΝΜΜΟΩ

(3) **ΤΗΡ** “all (of-)”; **ΤΗΡΩ** a generalized plural form (see above, §4.2.4.1):

• Post-nucleus (adnominal or post-referate-phrase) placement:

ΝΗ ΤΗΡΩ ΕΤ- Gen. 35:2, 34:28, 41:7, 46:6, Ex. 12:16, 13:12, 20:4 etc., but:

ΝΗ ΕΤΕΝΤΩΩ ΤΗΡΩ Gen. 46:32, 31:18, 47:1, probably following.

ΝΕΤΕΝΤΑΩ ΤΗΡΩ, ΠΕΤΕΝΤΑΩ ΤΗΡΩ, ΝΕΤΕΝΟΩΚ ΤΗΡΩ Gen. 20:7, 27:2, 31:21, 32:23.

Gen. 35:6 ΠΙΛΛΟC ΤΗΡΩ ΕΤΝΕΜΑΩ.

Gen. 36:6 ΝΙΣΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝΤΕΠΕΦΗΙ, but:

Ex. 29:12 ΠΩΞΠ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΣΝΟΦ ΤΗΡΦ.

Gen. 42:11 ΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΡΕΝ ΑΝΟΝ-ΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΟΤΡΩΜΙ.

Gen. 42:36 ΑΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ Ι — the Augens, part of the Theme phrasal Domain Frame, is sharply delimited from the lexeme Ι.

Also Gen. 24:40, 31:37, 33:8, 47:11.

- Adverbial — Rhematic or neutral placement:

Gen. 33:13 ΣΕΝΑΜΟΨ ΤΗΡΟΨ.

Ex. 4:19 ΑΨΜΟΨ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΨ.

Gen. 24:14 ΨΑΤΟΨΩ ΤΗΡΟΨ.

Gen. 25:25 ΕΦΘΡΕΨΩΨ ΤΗΡΦ.

Deut. 4:4 ΝΘΨΤΕΝ ΔΕ ... ΤΕΤΕΝΟΝΨ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΜΨΟΟΨ.

- Conditioned colon-second pre-referate placement:

Deut. 3:5 ΨΑΝΒΑΚΙ ΕΨΤΑΨΡΗΟΨΤ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝΕ.

Gen. 25:4 ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝΕ ΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΧΕΤ.

- Final placement:

Gen. 11:6 ΨΗΠΠΕ ΙΣ ΟΨΓΕΝΟC ΝΟΨΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΟΨCΠΟΤΟΨ ΝΟΨΩΤ ΤΗΡΟΨ (= Vat).

(4) ΨΩ= “{he}..too”, “{he}for {his} part...”, even “{he} on the other hand...”; often topicalizing.

- Post-referate immediate placement (adnominal):

Gen. 27:34:38 CΜΟΨ ΕΡΟΙ ΨΩ ΠΑΙΩΤ.

ΑΝΟΚ ΨΩ ΕΙΕ... Lev. 26:16:24:41, Gen. 20:6 ΑΝΟΚ ΨΩ ΑΙΕΜΙ..., Deut. 10:10 ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΨΩ ΑΙΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤ ΖΙΠΙΤΩΨ, Deut. 4:14 etc.: not “too”.

Gen. 32:19 ΨΗΠΠΕ ΝΘΟΦ ΨΩΦ ΨCΑΜΕΝΨΗ sim. Gen. 34:22, Lev. 26:43.

Gen. 21:23 ΚΑΤΑΨΜΕΘΗΙ ΕΤΑΙΔΙC ΝΕΜΑΚ ΕΚΕΙΡΙ ΨΩΚ ΝΕΜ ΗΙ.

Gen. 22:20 ΙC-ΜΕΛΧΑ ΨΩC ΑCΜΙCΙ sim. Gen. 4:22.

Ex. 19:13 ΝΗ ΨΩΟΨ ΜΑΡΟΨΙ ΕΨΨΩΙ.

Gen. 30:14:30:42 ΑΨΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΝΨΕ-ΝΙΑΤΜΗΙΝΙ ΝΛΑΒΑΝ ΝΑΝΙ-ΜΗΙΝΙ ΨΩΟΨ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ.

- Adverbial (or ad-clausal) rhematic placement:

Ex. 7:11 ΑΨΙΡΙ ΨΩΟΨ ΝΨΕ-ΝΙΡΕΦΨΙΨΗΜ ΜΠΑΙΡΗΨ, sim. 8:3: 14.

Ex. 22:21, 23:9 ΝΑΡΕΤΕΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΕΜΜΟ ΨΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ ΨΕΝΠ-ΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ.

- Colon-enclitic (colon-final, colon-closing) placement:

Num. 18:28 **ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΡΕΜΗΤ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΖΩΤΕΝ ÷ ΑΝΙ-
ΟΤΙ...** Note the *lemniscus*, delimiting the JDF.

(5) {**ΑΝΟΚ**}, the pronominal prominence marker, combinatory homonym of the lexemic personal pronoun, accompanies Topics and Foci, and (unlike **ζω≡**) is not contrastive or confrontative. It is probably the most common of Augentia, and also the most interesting as regards placement properties. Functionally speaking, it is often elusive and subtle (usually not triggered by any Greek feature).

- Post-referate placement following pronouns (mostly interlocutive) and Proper Names, focussing or topicalizing:

Gen. 29:31 **ΡΑΧΗΛ ΔΕ ΝΘΟΣ ΝΕΟΨΑΘΡΗΝ ΤΕ.**

Gen. 27:36 **ΙΕ ΜΠΕΚΣΕΞΠΟΨΜΟΨ ΝΗΙ • ΡΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΙΩΤ —**
note punctuation.

Num. 12:2 **ΜΗ ΜΩΨΧΗΣ ΜΜΑΨΑΤΩ ΕΤΑΠΘ̄Σ ΣΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΑΩ ΜΗ
ΜΠΕΩΣΑΔΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ ΑΝΟΝ.**

Ex. 4:10 **ΩΣΑΙΩΨ ΑΝ ΝΞΕ-ΠΑΛΑΣ ΑΝΟΚ.**

- Adverbial or adclausal, focussing or topicalizing the personal thematic constituent (mostly interlocutive) of verb clauses. Following the Interlocutive NS, it topicalizes the Theme. Its placement is as immediately following its referate as prosodically possible:

Gen. 18:25 **ΜΦΩΡ ΜΠΕΡΙΡΙ ΝΘΟΚ ΜΠΑΙΣΑΔΙ.**

Gen. 30:1 **ΜΠΕΣΜΙΣΙ ΝΘΟΣ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ.**

Gen. 30:2 **ΜΜΟΝ †ΝΑΜΟΨ ΑΝΟΚ.**

Deut. 32:40 **ΞΕ†ΟΝΞ ΑΝΟΚ ΨΑΕΝΕΞ** sim. Num. 14:28.

Gen. 23:12 **ΚΕΡΖΟ† ΝΘΟΚ ΖΑΤΖΗ ΜΦ†.**

Gen. 15:14 **ΠΙΕΘΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΤΟΨΕΡΒΩΚ ΝΑΩ ΕΙΕ†ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΩ
ΑΝΟΚ.**

Gen. 3:14 **ΑΚΕΡΦΔΙ ΚΕΖΟΨΡΤ ΝΘΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΨΤΕΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΨ
ΤΗΡΟΨ** sim Gen. 4:11.

Gen. 50:19 **ΑΝΟΚ-ΦΔΦ† ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΚ.**

Gen. 22:6 **ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΨΟΨΡΟ ΝΘΟΚ.**

- Colon-second (“colon-enclitic”) placement, always in the prosodic slot between antecedent and relative converter. The colon consists of antecedent + Relative; this is the Domain Frame — made up of two separate sub-cola — within which this placement signals linkage. The Augens also defines the initial boundary:

ΦΗ/ΦΔΙ ΑΝΟΚ Ε†(ΝΑ)... Lev. 14:34, Gen. 24:14, 28:20.

ΦΗ/ΦΔΙ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝ- Num. 14:31, Deut. 11:8.

ΦΗ ΝΘΟΚ ΕΤΑΚ-/ΕΤΕΚ- Gen. 21:23, Num. 11:16.

Deut. 4:2 ΠΑΙCΑΔΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΨΟΝΖΕΝ ΜΜΟQ ΕΤΕΝΘΗΝΟΨ.

Contrast with the post-referate placement:

Gen. 24:3 ΝΙΧΑΝΑΝΕΟC ΝΗ ΕΨΟΠ ΝΨΗΤΟΨ ΑΝΟΚ.

Gen. 13:15 ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡQ ΕΤΑΚΝΑΨ ΕΡΟQ ΝΘΟΚ.

Gen. 24:49 ΙCΔΕ ΟΨΝ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΙΡΙ.

Num. 15:18 ...ΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΕΨΝΑΕΛ-ΘΗΝΟΨ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΨΟΨΝ ΕΡΟQ.

Deut. 30:18 ΦΗ ΕΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΡΨΙΝΙΟΡ ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΕΨΟΨΝ ΕΡΟQ.

• Final placement: here I suspect an appositive construction of the lexemic personal pronoun, not the Augens:

(1) {ΝΘΟQ} ΝΕΜ — (all persons):

Deut. 29:14 ΝΑΙΧΩ ΝΤΑΙΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΝΕΜ ΝΑΙCΑΖΟΨΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ.

Gen. 24:54 ΑΨΟΨΩΜ ΑΨCΩ ΝΘΟQ ΝΕΜΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΝΕΜΑQ.

Also Gen. 14:15, 19:30, 20:7, Lev. 25:41, Num. 16:33, 31:19, Deut. 28:64, Ex. 12:31.

(2) ΑΝΟΚ + Proper Name — the pronoun mediating between locutive pronoun and PN:

Ex. 12:12 ΕΙΕΙΡΙ ΜΠΙΨΙ ΜΠΩΨ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΨC sim. Num. 3:41.

(3) {ΝΘΟΚ} paradigmatically commuting with ΝΔΕ- + NOUN?

Deut. 28:2ff. ΚCΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΝΘΟΚ ΨΕΝΝΙΒΑΚΙ.

ΟΨΟΨ ΚCΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΝΘΟΚ ΨΕΝΤΚΟΙ.

(CΕCΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΜΙCΙ ΝΤΕΤΕΚΝΕΨΙ...

CΕCΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΝΔΕ-ΝΕΚΑΠΟΘΗΚΗ).

Also Num. 14:21.

Obs.

Cases (infrequent in the corpus) of the invariable particle ΝΘΟQ, always combined with ΔΕ, are isolable by the lack of personal concord, which is a junctural delimitation feature: the combination appears to lend ΔΕ full contrastive force (Greek δέ only):

Ex. 9:6 ΑΨΜΟΨ ΝΔΕ-ΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΨΙ ΤΗΡΟΨ ΝΤΕΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ÷ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΝΘΟQ ΨΕΝΝΙΤΕΒΝΩΨΙ ΝΤΕΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΜΠΙCΛ ΜΠΕΖΛΙ ΜΟΨ.

(d) Particles and other prosodically sensitive elements as indices of boundary juncture: a tentative suggestion for a basic relative four-grade scale. The grades merge into one another. This is especially true for (2) and (3), which are therefore most interesting and least trivial:

(1) most open⁶⁶ juncture in evidence:

⁶⁶ Relatively, within the scale proposed.

Gen. 24:49 **ICΔΕ ΟΘΝ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΤΕΤΕΝΑΙΡΙ...**

Gen. 44:8 **ICΔΕ ΜΕΝ ΠΙΖΑΤ ΕΤΑΝΔΕΜQ ΔΕΝΝΕΝCOK ΑΝΤΑC-ΘΟQ**⁶⁷.

Gen. 31:43 **ΟΘ ΔΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΙQ.**

Gen. 27:33 **ΝΙΜ ΟΘΝ: ΑQΔΕΡΔΟΘΔΟΡΔC ΝΗΙ.**

Gen. 32:26 **ΟΘΟΡΠΤ ΑΩΩΡΠ ΓΑΡ ΩΩΠΙ.**

(2) Less open juncture in evidence:

Gen. 24:42 **ΠΑΜΩΙΤ ÷ ΦΔΙ ΤΝΟΘ ΕΤΜΩΙ ΧΙΩΤQ.**

Deut. 4:2 **ΠΑΙCΑΔΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΧΟΝΖΕΝ ΜΜΟQ ΕΤΕΝΘΗΝΟΘ.**

Lev. 18:7 **ΤΕΚΜΑΘ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ.**

Deut. 1:27 **ΕΘΒΕΟΘ ΔΕ ΠΘC ΜΟCΤ ΜΜΟΝ ΑΓΕΝΤΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ.**

Ex. 34:14 **ΟΘΔΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΘΩΩΤ ΝΚΕΝΟΘΤ.**

Deut. 10:14 **ΖΗΠΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΠΘC ΠΕΚΝΟΘΤ ΝΕ.**

(3) Closer juncture signalled:

Num. 14:19 **ΧΑ-ΦΝΟΒΙ ΜΠΑΙΛΑΟC ΝΑQ ΕΒΟΛ.**

Ex. 5:16 **ΚΝΑΔΙ ΜΠΕΚΛΑΟC ΟΘΝ ΝΔΟΝC.**

Deut. 15:2 **ΕΚΕΧΑΕΝΧΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΝΤΑΚ.**

NB: **ΝΙΒΕΝ** appears to be enclitic only in **ΦΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤ-**; it is however the only element occurring in this slot, which is thus structurally of close juncture.

Gen. 35:10 **ΝΝΟΘΜΟΘΤ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΕ-ΙΑΚΩΒ.**

ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΕΤ- Gen. 35:2 etc.

ΝΗ ΕΤΕΝΤΩΟΘ ΤΗΡΟΘ Gen. 46:32, 31:18, 47:1.

Gen. 33:13 **ΕΩΩΠ ΟΘΝ ΑΙΩΑΝΘΟΔΙ.**

Ex. 34:24 **ΕΩΩΠ ΓΑΡ ΑΙΩΑΝΧΙΟΘΙ...**

Deut. 3:25 **ΤΕΝΝΑΩΕΝΑΝ ΟΘΝ Ν-Γ ΝΕΖΟΟΘ.**

(4) Closest juncture in evidence:

Num. 22:17 **ΤΝΑΤΑΙΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΑΩΩ.**

Ex. 16:7 **ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΝ-ΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ-ΝΤΕΤΕΝΧΡΕΜΡΕΜ ΔΑΡΟΝ**⁶⁸.

Gen. 47:4 **ΜΜΟΝ-ΜΑΜΜΟΝΙ ΓΑΡ ΩΟΠ.**

Gen. 23:6 **ΝΘΟΚ-ΟΘΟΠΡΟ ΝΘΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΙΤΕΝΦΤ.**

Deut. 26:10:15 **ΕQΩΟΘΟ-ΕΡΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΙΕΒΙΩ.**

(e) The “Foreshadowed Enclitic” — cases of double simultaneous occurrence of enclitic or less-stressed elements, once in colon-second, again in pattern-proper position (Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:168). This

⁶⁷ As contrasted with Sah. **εωδε-**, which is prefixed in close juncture.

⁶⁸ Cf. also Oxyrhynchite Mt. 26:54 (Cod. Scheide) **ΟΘ-ΘΗ ΟΘΝ.**

is a phenomenon more revealing than others about the tension between prosodic and pattern-distinctive placement of enclitics, as well as about Juncture Scope and Domain Frame:

Gen. 43:32 **ΝΕΟΥΣΩϞ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ÷ ΠΕ ΜΑΝΈ-
CΩΟΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΕΝΙΕCΩΟΥ** (= Vat), also:

Gen. 46:34 **ΟΥΩΡΕΒ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ÷ ΠΕ ΜΑΝΕCΩΟΥ
ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΕΝΙΕCΩΟΥ** (Vat ΔΕ for the second ΠΕ).

Lev. 2:5 **ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΕΟΥΨΟΥΨΩΟΥΨΙ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕΝ-ΟΥΕC-
ΧΑΡΑ ΠΕ ΠΕϞΔΩΡΟΝ** (= Vat).

Ex. 16:23 **ΖΑΝCΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΝΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΜΠΩC ΠΕ** (Vat ΖΑΝCΑΒ-
ΒΑΤΟΝ ΝΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΠΩC ΠΕ).

ΓΑΡ in a problematic instance:

Ex. 32:1 **ΦΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ-ΜΩΨΧΗC ... ΤΕΝΕΜΙ ΓΑΡ** (Vat ΝΤΕΝΕΜΙ
ΑΝ) **ΔΕ-ΟΥ ΠΕΕΤΑϞΨΩΠΙ ΜΜΟϞ**.

Obs.

(1) This intriguing phenomenon, famously discussed by E. Fraenkel for Greek and Latin, is common in Nitrian (esp. the Martyrdoms) e.g. AM I 143 **ΟΥΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΔΩΝΤ ΝΕΜ
ΟΥΘΛΩΨΙC ΠΕ ΝΕΜ ΖΟΔΞΕΔ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΙΕΡΟΟΥ**. B4 John 19:23 **ΝΕΨΩΘΗΝ
ΕΤΕΜΑΨ ΝΕΨΑΤΩΡΠ ΤΕ ΕΨΩΔΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΩΨΙ ΤΗΡC ΤΕ**.

ΑΝ (not occurring in our corpus) in Assertive-Focal-Formal ("Rhetorical") Questions:
ΜΗ ΑΝ ΦΑΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ - Zach. 2:3, 3:20 (B4); also **ΜΗ ΝΟΥΝΟΥΨ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΝ
ΑϞCΕΝΤ-ΘΗΝΟΥ ΑΝ** Mal. 2:10.

(2) **ΕΒΟΛ** in Gen. 6:7 **ΕΙΕϞΕΤΠΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΑΙΘΑΜΙΟϞ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑ ΠΡΟ ΜΠΚΑΖΙ**:
here, however, we have two compatible **ΕΒΟΛ** elements — the first post-verbal (corresponding to the Greek ἀπο- in ἀπαλείψω), the second an adjunctal circumstant **ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΑ**.

(3) At least two prosodically distinct homonymous **ΠΕ** entities, both constituents of NS, are isolable for Shenoutean Sahidic: SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:34f., 161f. (n.36).

(f) Proclisis is important for Coptic junctural typology, as a class of high-to-highest prosodic linkage, initially delimitative (marking initial boundaries), and instructive on the junctural correlates of *syntactic nuclearity*: most proclitics are nuclear in their immediate syntagms.

(1) Grammemic: **ΠΙ-**, **ΠΑΙ-**, **ΠΕ-Κ-**, **Τ-ΡΕ-Ϟ-**; **ΔΕΝ-**, **Ν-**, **Ε-**; **Α-Ϟ-** / **Α-ΠΙΡΩΜΙ-**. Note that determinators are not only initial, but typically contract or motivate subsequent anaphoric-reference linkage; all nuclear proclitics enter a "determination"-type dependence, in which their expansion is nominal or pronominal (this includes the verb lexeme). The nuclear core nexus of the Base Conjugation (**Α=Ϟ-** etc.) with a nominal actor-Theme (i.e. **Α-ΦΡΩΜΙ**) stands in opposition to a juncturally more complex nexus-topicalizing construction **Α-ΦΡΩΜΙ ΑϞ-**, often commented upon above. Closest and near-closest juncture.

(2) Word-formational, derivational, compositional, lexemic: **PEM-**(**N**)-, **PEQ-**, **CΘT-**, **YEN-** “son of-”, **MET-**, **EP-**, **OTEM-** and so on: prosodically reduced first (“*in initio compositi*”) term, nuclear, morphologically marked by opposition with the full, unmarked lexeme. The expansion sequel, unmarked, is either nominal or adverbial (Lev. 18:17 **PEMSENHI**). Closer-to-closest juncture.

(3) {**ANOK-**} Theme in the interlocutive Nominal Sentence pattern: not nuclear, but including both Theme and copula, thus in fact rhematizing its sequel.

(g) A concluding note.

(1) The relationship between prosody and juncture is a prime question to be pondered: is it hierarchical, analogic or even tautological? I see juncture as the primary factor, of the highest rank in a hierarchical structure (cf. POLOTSKY 1949:29f., 34; KASSER 1993:51). The importance of this hierarchy cannot be overstressed. We use prosodic properties as symptomatic, to determine juncture contours. Scalarity of tonicity is exactly what we would expect, in view of the gradation of linkage, which was pointed out early for Coptic (STEINTHAL-MISTELI 1893; earlier still, STEINTHAL 1847:19f., 33).

Combination of less-stressed elements is the basis for establishing a **precedence scheme** (in which any of the slots can be vacant, and most are, at any given occurrence). Unfortunately, we are not in the position of establishing “inverse precedence”, for the clause-final-tendency placement (see above; **PW** is a particle that, if not post-focal, tends to final position; **AN** is another). The following scheme applies to the clause-initial and colon-second tendency, which, although arguably influenced and confirmed by the interference of Greek prosody, is still entirely “native”, and was in evidence in the Middle Egyptian phase⁶⁹.

ZE₂ | rap/OTN/ΔE | NA= | PW | ZW=/THP=/NΘO= | AN | ZE₁ | PE.

ZE₁ = “anymore”, “any longer”.

ZE₂ = “then”: see below.

ΔE NE/ΠE Gen. 9:18, 14:18.

ΔE AN ΠE Gen. 28:17.

⁶⁹ An analogue to the prosodic shift in later Egyptian from sentence-final to sentence-initial, a shift not completed in Bohairic (see SHISHA-HALEVY 1981) is supplied by French (Old to Modern French): LERCH 1930:85f.

ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΠΕ Gen. 31:32.

ΔΕ ΝΑ= Gen. 20:12.

ΓΑΡ ΝΑΝ ΠΕ Gen. 34:14.

ΤΗΡΟϞ ΝΕ Deut. 3:5.

ΤΗΡΟϞ ΑΝ ΜΜΑϞΑΤΟϞ Num. 23:13.

ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡ= Gen. 45:20, Ex. 4:19, 9:19, Lev. 18:27.

ΓΑΡ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΑΝ Deut. 2:9.

ΔΕ ΞΩϞ Gen. 21:13.

ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΞΩ Deut. 10:10.

ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΚ Gen. 50:19.

ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟϞ Ex. 4:19.

ΟϞΝ ΝΩΤΕΝ Gen. 24:49.

ΝΩΤΕΝ ΑΝΟΚ Lev. 26:28.

ΡΩ ΝΘΟϞ Gen. 24:8.

ΠΩϞ ΝΘΟϞ ΑΝ Deut. 31:27.

ΝΗΙ ΡΩ • ΑΝΟΚ Gen. 27:36.

ΑϞΘΩΝ ΔΕ ΝΕ Ex. 2:20 (= Vat; ΝΕ enclitic? see above, Chapter Two).

ΔΕ ΓΑΡ Gen. 16:13.

ΑΝ ΔΕ Ex. 5:10 (cf. FUNK 1991:10 n.23).

ΟϞΝ ΔΕ(?) Ex. 22:9 Ϟ Η ΟϞΝ ΔΕ ΝΟϞΞΛΙ (v.l. ΞΛΙ): the structure is obscure.

Ex. 29:14 Ϟ ΑΙ ΕΔΕΝ-Ϟ ΝΟΒΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ (!), contrast e.g. 29:22:28 Ϟ ΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟϞΔΩΚ ΠΕ .

Obs.

(1) For Sahidic, KASSER 1993, 1994c, 1995a suggests a scale of tonicity, on which the demonstrative, definite and possessive determinators and possessive pronoun are grouped in three locations: tonic, vowel-less/atonic (*zero*, ASH) and semi-tonic: the latter grade is the most elusive, applying according to Kasser to the determinators ΠΕϞ-, ΠΕΙ- as well as the pronoun ΠΑ- (B. ϞΑ-), see 293ff. This is a specific application of a more general tripartition of the tonicity scale as a ternary category.

(2) On enclitic placement see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a, Chapter Six and quoted literature. The colon, the prosodic-syntactic unit, conceived of as an “expiratory complex” (so Slupsky *apud* Fraenkel’s seminal *Kolon und Satz*), may not seem very useful for our written-text purposes, but prosody — like syllabication, like rhythmical prose and the rhythm factor in a written text — is a set of phenomena of language that transcends the difference between spoken and written language. Or perhaps, this is one of those spoken-language features that exist, in some difficult-to-explain way, in the written text.

(3) Two seminal pioneering Germanistic studies on the phenomenon of “weak word leaning on a strong one” (or on a strong combination of words) are J. Ries, *Wortstellung in Beowulf* (1907, Halle a.S.: Niemeyer) 72ff. and E. Sievers’s *Zur Technik der Wortstellung in den Eddalieder* (1909, Leipzig: Teubner). See also DİK 1995, esp. 34f., for the prosodic prominence quality of the initial element which supports the peninitial Greek enclitic particles.

4.6.1 “Sentence Particles” and the JDF defined by them: some highlights of Discourse Signalling

The Coptic particles have never been seriously studied for any dialect, individually or as a group. Juncturally speaking, these elements are not simple delimiters but boundary + scope and colon markers. In fact, they are part of complex signals that “provide an illocutionary template for the utterance” (BOLINGER 1983, on prosodic features). They are also, of course, discourse signals that define and signal intratextual types of limits and connections.

A nice structural-analytical point in Coptic is the relationship of the SPs of Greek origin to the corresponding item in Greek. In this, the category is not unlike all loans, but their elusive discourse-referred, abstract *signifié* makes for especially difficult evaluation. Like other loans, occurrences of the “Greek Particles” in Coptic do not necessarily match an occurrence in the Greek *Vorlage* (see below); when grammatical semasiology is concerned (cf. the Preterite vs. Imperfect opposition in Coptic), the implication of a distinct value system is daunting. Sentence Particles are grammemes; and whereas a Greek lexeme, once it leaves its home system and is integrated in the Coptic lexicon, changes its value accordingly, the case of loan-grammemes is different. Be that as it may, we must view the elements in Coptic as separate linguistic signs; and we are not even on the threshold of a detailed account of the *Graecitas Copta*, especially in terms of lexico-grammatical systems (unfortunately, we don’t even have a serious dictionary — let alone a series of structurally analytic, profiling lexical studies, which obviously must differentiate dialects and genres — of the Greek element in Coptic).

Seeing that this category is not monolithic, we cannot as yet do much better than aim at a broad definition. Denniston’s mentalistic approach — “a word expressing a mode of thought, considered either in isolation or in relation to another thought, or a mood of emotion”, with E. Fraenkel’s “expressing emotion directly and laying emphasis and illustrating context”, or [elements marking] “a tone of speech” (cf. the German term *Abtönungspartikel*)... “a word without a meaning which...is able to discharge emotion, to make known intentions, to connect related clauses”, all eventually focus on the particles as pragmatic-function markers. A different, discourse-analytical approach is taken by POLANYI and SCHA 1983, one that I prefer, as being oriented to juncture functions (1983:264ff): “...discourse structure signalling devices used to mark movement from one discourse unit to another PUSH to an embedded unit, or a POP back to a temporarily displaced controlling unit... [They] force

an interpretation of a clause in a 'frame of reference' other than the one appropriate to the immediately preceding clause. Some signal initialization of a unit ('well'), completion ('OK') or resumption ('so'). Others may explicitly state the termination, initiation or resumption of a unit". See DIK 1995:38ff.; SCHIFFRIN 1985 suggests "conversational coherence" as a specific role of particles: "help[ing] speakers locate themselves and their utterances in the on-going construction of discourse".

Probably the most telling hint about the construction of Coptic particles is their incompatibility with certain converters — namely, those of the "first group", the Circumstantial and Relative. Similarly to Sentence Particles, discourse-oriented converters (of the "second group") also regulate the information flow; but it is the syntactic-status ones that exclude the particles, as, in fact, do $\Sigma\epsilon$ -inclusion and even coordination.

Obs.

(1) The juncture-relevant quandaries and potential insights of particle placement are cogently pondered by DIK 1995 for Herodotean Greek, see Chapter Three (p. 31ff.). (Herodotus seems to be the single most popular Classical Greek author in the field of corpus-based particle study, and perhaps of tensing too). Note especially the *Problematik* of the "peninitial position", where "*second* can mean third or fourth", "*word* can mean constituent", "*sentence* can mean clause or phrase, or, in short, domain". Indeed, I find the notion of "domain" is Dik's most valuable contribution.

(2) HELLWIG 1974 is an extremely important paper on aspects of Greek particles, including the prosodic (see p. 164ff.); SICKING and VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993:71ff. is a general essay on Attic Greek particles — relevant scope, interchangeability and overlap, paraphrasability, context. SLINGS 1997 on the discourse roles of Herodotean particles.

(3) See KROON 1995 and HILTON 1997/8 for Latin particles and their discourse function. See ROSÉN (H.) 1999:161 + n.4 for cohesion by means of Latin particles "translated" from the Greek. This is very different from the Coptic state of things: it is not a reduced Greek-origin system, as in Coptic (see BURKHARDT 1995 on particle translation). I wonder to what extent, if any, Greek (always present in the background of Coptic, be it only intertextually) is essential for understanding the Coptic elements.

(4) See SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:166f. for Shenoutean Sahidic, with its rhetorically operative Greek loan-particles. Even in translated Coptic, it is nevertheless not the case of "re-producing" in Coptic the particles of the Greek *Vorlage*; thus, Mink's formulation (1972:268f.), "... da ihre Wiedergabe unzuverlässig ist und anscheinend die koptischen Texte bald eine griechische Parikel auslassen, bald nach eigenen Gutdünken zufügen oder Vorhandenes verändern..." reveals manifest miscomprehension. In fact, Coptic returns to the particle-rich O/ME phase, which is yet another instance of the cyclical-periodic evolution of Egyptian. In their rich functional variety, Coptic particles match the Greek ones.

(5) FUNK's discussion of 1984, one of the rare general essays on the subject of the Greek/Coptic interface, does not treat the particles at all in its lexical or grammatical sections.

(6) The variant reading $\sigma\tau\eta\iota/\sigma\tau\eta$ is familiar from the B4 Bodmer John (see Kasser's introduction, p. 63f.), but the version also adds (with respect to the Greek) $\rho\alpha\pi$ and $\Delta\epsilon$ (p. 78). Note the following variation in the Bohairic NT: $\sigma\tau\eta$ /no particle John 5:16:18, Mt. 7:19, 3:10 and often; $\sigma\tau\eta/\Delta\epsilon$ John 5:6:11, 6:61, 6:5:12, Luke 4:7, 13:18; $\rho\alpha\pi$ /no

particle Mt. 12:37, 11:13;26:20 and often; **γαρ/δε** John 2:24, 3:24; **γαρ/οὐν** Mt. 14:3; **μεν/δε** Mt. 10:13, 13:8; **γαρ/δε**/no particle Luke 5:9, 12:23, 19:10.

(7) Discourse signalling is *the* essential datum of discourse analysis. See STAMMER-JOHNAN 1977 on Spoken Italian discourse; GÜLICH 1990 for French, Gil 1995, for Romance in general. Note, in this last important study, beyond the distinction of “text adverbials” from sentence particles (esp. 30ff.) the useful concepts of “discourse bridgers”, “discourse commentaries” and “Vertextung” (21ff., 108ff., 129ff.), also the thematic-structuring function (121ff.).

(a) **δε**

(1) **δε** is very common; indeed, it is the general additive connector of narrative clauses and clause-blocks, the basic link-and-delimiter: it establishes a prospective (forward-looking) boundary — hence its role in topicalization, see below — while marking non-initiality, i.e. relating all prospective text to the foregoing stretch. We find **δε** often corresponding to other particles (e.g. γάρ, οὖν) in the Greek *Vorlage*. In narrative (and geographical-descriptive or chronicling exposition, etc.), **δε** is not at all, or only very weakly, contrastive, except for special configurations; but it is often contrastive in Dialogue:

Gen. 35:16ff. **αὐψωπι δε εταρζωντ εχавραθα ... αςμιςι
нζε-рахнл αὐψωπι δε εςνανψοτ ммисι ÷ πεζετρεφθ-
месιο ... αὐψωπι δε εснаτ нтесψохн ... асτρεп-пегран
... асмоѡ δε нζε-рахнл аѡѡмсс...**

Gen. 19:1 **ақи δε нζε-πιαγγελος ѡ ερһи εсодома мѣнаѡ
нроѡи лѡт δε наѡземси ѡатентпѡлн нтесодома.**

Gen. 21:9 **εταснаѡ δε нζε-сарра επωһри нагар...**

Gen. 21:6 **πεзесарра δε деоѡсѡви ақайқ нһи нζε-пѡс.**

Gen. 2:6:10 **οѡμοѡμι δε εψаси επѡѡи εβολ ѡεнедем ...
οѡιаро δε εψақи εβολ εβολ ѡεнедем ... пинѡѡв δε
нтепикаѡи етеμμαѡ нанеѡ...**

Gen. 35:23ff. **...ненѡһри δε нлиа пѡѡрп ммисι нιακѡѡ ÷
роѡѡһн ÷ сѡмеѡн ÷ леѡи ÷ ιοѡаас ÷ ιсахаρ ÷ ѡѡѡѡλѡн ÷
ненѡһри δε нрахнл тсѡимι нιακѡѡ ÷ ιѡсһѣ ÷ нем
beniamin ÷.**

Ex. 33:12 **зһппе нѡок кѡѡ ммѡс де-алиѡи мпαιλαѡс
епѡѡи ÷ нѡок δε мпектаμοι еѣһ етекнаѡѡѡрпқ немһи
нѡок δε акѡс нһи де-тсѡѡһн ммѡк...**

Gen. 27:29 **ѣһ етсарѡѡ ерок қсѡѡѡѡрт ѣһ де-етсμοѡ
ерок қсмамаѡ.**

(2) The fully antithetic particle of Bohairic seems to be **δε нѡѡқ**, which is also highly delimitative:

Ex. 9:6 $\alpha\theta\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\epsilon$ - $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{n}\omega\omicron\iota$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ - $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{x}\bar{h}\bar{m}\bar{i}$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$
 $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{q}$ $\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{n}\omega\omicron\iota$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{\omega}\bar{h}\bar{\rho}\bar{i}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\bar{i}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{\lambda}\bar{i}$
 $\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}$.

(3) $\Delta\epsilon$ is typical of topicalization⁷⁰, Theme-switching or narrative-block-initial position. Here contrast is often discernible:

Gen. 24:27 $\eta\varsigma\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\epsilon$ - $\bar{p}\bar{\theta}\bar{\varsigma}$... $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{k}$ $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{\theta}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$ -
 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$...

Gen. 24:31 $\epsilon\bar{\theta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{z}\bar{i}$ $\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{k}$... $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{k}$ $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{c}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$...

Gen. 4:1 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{m}$ $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{q}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{c}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{i}$...

Gen. 4:2 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{q}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\epsilon$ - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\epsilon$ -
 $\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{q}\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{z}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{i}$ $\bar{p}\epsilon$.

(4) As in Greek, [$\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{n}$... $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$...] discontinuously define the template for an antithetic rhetorical configuration; this is a complex particle. Interestingly, both examples I find illustrate locutive (1st-person) recounting:

Gen. 38:23 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{k}$ $\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{n}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{r}\bar{p}$ $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{c}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{i}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{k}$ $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$
 $\bar{m}\bar{p}\epsilon\bar{k}\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{c}$.

NB: Gen. 41:13 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{k}$ $\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{n}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}\bar{x}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$ $\epsilon\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{x}\bar{h}$ $\bar{\Phi}\bar{h}$ $\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{n}$
 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{q}$ (Vat. $\bar{\varphi}\bar{h}$ $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$).

Obs.

See SICKING and VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993:12ff. on $\Delta\epsilon$ used for text articulation.

(b) $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}$

(1) This is no doubt the most common particle, after $\Delta\epsilon$. Contrary to common opinion, its rich semantics do not so much concern causality, but **grounding**, **founding-in-givenness**, or the presentation “ensuing before basis”. $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}$ grounds the foregoing cotext, or its situation, or even (meta-textually!) its very existence, in an association of inevitability, naturalness or ensuing-ness, validating the foregoing information. Moreover, $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}$ is **anaphorically superordinating** — presenting a pre-supposition, not thematically but rhematically: “and that [*“und zwar”*] is to be considered in view of the fact (which is to be taken as given), that...” (see §4.5.4):

Deut. 18:12 $\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{r}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{p}\bar{\theta}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{p}\epsilon$ $\bar{o}\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{i}$
 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ ÷ $\epsilon\bar{\theta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{r}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}$ $\bar{p}\bar{\theta}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{q}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$.

⁷⁰ On the topicalizing role of “but” particles in German, cf. ALTMANN 1976.

Gen. 42:23 **Ν**ΘΩΟΤ ΔΕ ΝΑΤΕΜΙ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΔΕ-ΙΩΧΗΦ̄ ΣΩΤΕΜ
ΕΡΩΟΤ ΝΑΡΕ-ΠΙΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΧΗ ΟΥΤΩΟΤ ΠΕ.

(2) Concomitantly, **ΓΑΡ** is often **discourse-articulating**, for in its superordinating role, it is a signal of (relative) initiality, owing to its peninitial placement:

Lev. 20:12 **Μ**ΑΡΟΥΔΟΘΒΟΤ # ΕΛΤΕΡΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΟΝ
ΕΡΩΟΤ.

Num. 32:1 **Ν**ΝΟΥΨΔΕΜΔΟΜ ΕΝΔΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΖΙ # ΜΠΟΥΜΟΥΙ
ΓΑΡ ΝCΩΙ...

Thus too, **ΓΑΡ** opens, and delimits, Allocution and Response (Gen. 48:18, 20:11, 23:15, Deut. 11:13); it does not occur in true questions — in this it is unlike its mirror counterpart, **ΟΥΝ**, opening appositive (e.g. Ex. 5:16, Deut. 11:10) and parenthetical segments (Gen. 30:27; note also the grounding of aetiological naming, Gen. 32:30, 35:7, 27:36 etc.); **ΓΑΡ** is a mode-switching delimiter in Narrative, a Comment-Mode initializing signal (esp. with [ΔΝ] + ΠΕ, as a complex signal e.g. Gen. 41:49, 45:3:26, Ex. 12:30:33:39 — see above, Chapter One). Arguably, it is also exclamative in Dialogue.

Obs.

Some outstanding discussions. The Greek **γάρ** seems to have attracted early attention: see for instance the excellent MISENER 1904. (**γάρ** in questions; confirmatory; motivating a word or phrase; explanatory; justifying an attitude of objection or reproof, or some emotion, surprise, indignation, grief; transitional “then”; anticipatory). Note also the following discussions and statements, on roles relevant to the Coptic particle:

DENNISTON 1954:68f., 73ff. for the delimitative and parenthetical role of **γάρ**. SICKING and VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993:20ff. on **γάρ** as basically responsive — as if answering possible questions regarding the preceding or following cotext. ICKLER 1994:381ff. on **γάρ** in questions. Introducing embedded narratives (Herodotus), DE JONG 1997; “A PUSH particle, starting point of embedding, contrasted with **οὐν**, its POP counterpart”; SLINGS 1997:101-102.

(2) Comparable perhaps to a merged range of Latin *enim* and *nam* (the excellent study in KROON 1995, cf. Chapters 6-8.): *at* for “emphatic direction of attention to a new thematic unit”, “transition to a new thematic unit” (1995:152ff., 333ff.), for “meta-communicative comment” (195ff.). For the Latin *enim* and especially *nam*, note especially 195ff. (*enim* for “metacommunicative comment”), 144ff. (*nam* “marks discourse units that provide subsidiary information....”, “confirmative” *nam* for “evidence, justification, elaboration, explanation, background exemplification”), 152ff. (“transition to a new thematic unit”).

(3) Greek **γάρ** would approximately correspond to German *denn* + *doch*. Cf. ROMBOUTS 1982:69, 109 “I have taken cognizance of the fact, that...”. See KOSAKA 1989:160 on *denn* in questions — the clause presupposed as given; generally, on act-of-speech referability of the German particles, KÜPER 1989:492ff., BURKHARDT 1982 on *denn* for marking a presupposition (“I suppose you’ll agree with me that...”); 68f. in questions. The interrogative environment of SPs is especially interesting, not least because of the

special range of dialogic cohesive features: see ICKLER 1994, esp. 381ff. and 399ff. for **rap**-comparable particles in German.

(4) STERN 1880 §607: “die conjunction **rap**”, relating it to **σε** (but it is “nachdrücklicher und selbständiger”, and “gewöhnlich aus dem griechischen texte herübergenommen wird”). As a matter of fact, Coptic does not always correspond here to any single Greek particle (e.g. Gen. 50:20); or it corresponds to Greek **δέ** (e.g. Deut. 11:14, 14:4), or to Greek **καί** (Gen. 41:56, 31:32, Ex.5:23).

(5) For Bohairic **rap**, the Sahidic Pentateuch has either no particle or any other formal sign (Gen. 19:22, 32:1:4:26, Ex. 22:23 etc.), or causal **σε**- (Ex. 20:25, Lev. 10:17), or, normally, **rap** (Gen. 7:4, 18:15:19, 22:12 etc.). Bohairic **rap** corresponds (more or less in that order) to Greek **γάρ**, **δέ** or **καί**, **ὅτι** or **διότι** — or to the absence of any particle: this last is significantly correlatable with the well-defined functional group, especially the delimiting and non-explicative **rap**. This seems to indicate an independent Coptic **rap** entity, extending and only partly overlapping the original functional range of the Greek particle. (Observe that for the fixed combinations of **γάρ** — **οὐγάρ**, **κεγάρ**, **εἰναγάρ** — the correspondence with Greek is almost exact, while for the uncombined particle Coptic diverges — I say this impressionistically — by more than 10%).

(3) **rap** occurs in narrative Comment Mode frequently with Focalizing Conversion and other focalization constructions:

Gen. 43:16 **αρεναιρωμι rap ναοωμ νοτωικ nemmi mperi**.

Ex. 13:19 **σενοταναω rap αιωχηϥ ταρκενενηρηι mπiσλ**.

Also Gen. 47:22, Lev. 10:14, Deut. 11:10, 31:7:21, etc.

(4) Like **δε**, **rap** very commonly accompanies topicalization (incl. presetting adverbial Topics). This, I believe, is an epiphenomenon; **rap** does not, like **δε**, (*co*)signal topicalization:

Ex. 5:16 **πιτοζ rap σε† mμοϥ αν...**

Gen. 50:20 **νωπτεп rap apetencosni ... ϥ† δε...**

Lev. 20:12 **εατεραсевнс rap oton epwot**.

Also Lev. 14:2, 20:6, 18:27.

(5) **rap** delimits, and co-marks with **на= пе** mode-switching to Comment Mode in Narrative; it is in this environment explicative (see in detail above, Chapter One.):

Gen. 45:3 **неаωωθορτερ rap пе**.

Gen. 45:26 **nem пeϣτανζοωτοω rap пе**.

Gen. 31:32 **наϣemi rap an пе**.

Also Gen. 36:7, 35:18 etc.

(6) On the other hand, **rap** is rare, but still attested, in Narrative Evolution Mode (see above, Chapter One). **rap** is here not explicative, but

apparently expresses logical consequence “and therefore”, “which is why...”: in fact, it constitutes an intrusion of CM into EM.

Deut. 34:9 $\sigma\theta\sigma\zeta \alpha\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\tau \pi\omega\eta\rho\iota \nu\eta\alpha\tau\eta \mu\omicron\zeta \mu\pi\eta\alpha \kappa\alpha\tau' \alpha\phi\chi\alpha-\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\zeta \gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon\acute{\delta}\omega\phi \nu\acute{\alpha}\epsilon-\mu\omega\tau\chi\eta\varsigma$ — a possible alternative is “we know this, since...”.

This particle features most typically in exposition and in the Allocation and Response substructures of Dialogue.

(7) In exposition, precisising identification:

Num. 21:26 ... $\xi\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\iota\beta\alpha\kappa\iota \tau\eta\rho\omega \nu\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\alpha\mu\omicron\rho\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \nu\epsilon\mu \epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\beta\omega\eta\kappa \nu\epsilon\mu \eta\eta \tau\eta\rho\omega \epsilon\tau\omicron\iota \nu\theta\omega\psi \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \div \theta\alpha\iota \gamma\alpha\rho \tau\epsilon \epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\beta\omega\eta\kappa \uparrow\beta\alpha\kappa\iota \nu\tau\epsilon\chi\omega\eta\kappa \nu\omicron\tau\tau\omicron \nu\tau\epsilon\eta\iota\alpha\mu\omicron\rho\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

(8) In Assertive Questions (see above, Chapter One), $\gamma\alpha\rho$ is not explicative:

Ex. 16:7 $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha \delta\epsilon \alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha-\omicron\tau \gamma\alpha\rho \xi\epsilon-\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\mu \xi\alpha-\rho\omicron\kappa$ — note the compatibility of topicalizing $\delta\epsilon$ and $\gamma\alpha\rho$ in the same extended clause, though not in the same colon but in two different JDFs.

(9) Initiality-marking $\gamma\alpha\rho$ in Dialogue:

Gen. 23:15 $\mu\mu\omicron\kappa \mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma \alpha\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\mu \gamma\alpha\rho$... opening subsections of response (no particle here in the Greek).

Ex. 14:4 $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa \gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon\iota\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\tau \mu\phi\alpha\rho\omega \nu\psi\omicron\tau$... opening declaration of Divine Intent ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in the Greek).

Gen. 30:30 $\nu\epsilon\zeta\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota \gamma\alpha\rho \nu\epsilon \tau\eta\rho\omega \epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\eta\tau\alpha\kappa \mu\pi\alpha\mu-\theta\omicron$... opening main point of argumentation (Greek $\gamma\acute{\alpha\rho}$); so too in:

Gen. 48:18 $\mu\alpha\iota\rho\eta\uparrow \alpha\lambda \dots \phi\upsilon\alpha\iota \gamma\alpha\rho \mu\epsilon \mu\iota\omega\rho\mu$.

Gen. 48:19 $\uparrow\epsilon\mu\iota \mu\alpha\omega\eta\rho\iota \uparrow\epsilon\mu\iota \phi\upsilon\alpha\iota \gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon\phi\epsilon\psi\omega\mu\iota$... “It is because...”, “the point is, that ...”.

Gen. 20:11 $\mu\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\mu \xi\epsilon \alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \gamma\alpha\rho \xi\epsilon$... opening Response (Greek $\gamma\acute{\alpha\rho}$).

(10) Nuances of causality:

(a) A selection of passages illustrating the run-of-the-mill explicatory situation (see also above, under focalization and mode-switching roles):

Gen. 35:7 $\alpha\phi\uparrow\rho\epsilon\eta\phi\upsilon\rho\alpha\eta \mu\mu\iota\mu\alpha \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau \xi\epsilon\beta\epsilon\theta\eta\lambda \div \xi\epsilon\eta-\mu\iota\mu\alpha \gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau \alpha\phi\uparrow \sigma\theta\omicron\eta\zeta\phi \epsilon\rho\omicron\phi$ — aetiological naming: sim. Ex. 2:22 etc.

Ex. 20:20 ΔΕΜΝΟΜ† ΞΙΝΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕΦΕΡΠΙΡΑΖΕΝ ΜΜΩΤΕΝ ΝΔΕ-Φ† ΑQΙ ΜΝΑΙ ΖΑΡΩΤΕΝ.

Ex. 19:23 ΜΜΟΝ-ΩΔΟΜ ΝΤΕΠΙΛΑΟΣ Ι ΕΠΩΩΙ ... ΝΘΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΚΕΡΜΕΘΕΡΕ ΝΑΝ ΕΚΔΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΘΕΤΠΙΤΩΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΘΟΖ ΜΑΤΟΘΒΟQ.

Ex. 12:30 ΑΟΘΝΙΩ† ΝΔΡΩΘ ΩΩΠΙ ΔΕΝΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΤΗΡQ ΝΤΕ-ΧΗΜΙ ÷ ΝΕΜΜΟΝΗΙ • ΓΑΡ • ΠΕ ΜΠΕΟΘΟΝ ΜΟΘ ΝΔΗΤQ.

Ex. 32:22f. ΜΠΕΡΜΒΟΝ ΠΑΘC ÷ ΝΘΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΤCΩΟΘΝ ΜΠΕ-ΝΟΘΟΙ ΜΠΑΙΛΑΟΣ ÷ ΠΕΔΩΘ ΓΑΡ ΝΗΙ ΔΕ-ΜΑΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΖΑΝ-ΝΟ† ΝΑΝ...

Lev. 18:7 ...ΝΕΜ ΟΩΥΠΙ ΝΤΕΤΕΚΜΑΘ ΝΝΕΚΘΟΡΠQ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕΚΜΑΘ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΝΝΕΚΘΩΡΠ ΜΠΕCΩΠΙ ΕΒΟΛ — ΓΑΡ here also focusses the Rheme “ΤΕΚΜΑΘ”.

Ex. 19:12 (the first and second ΓΑΡ) ΜΑΖΘΗΤΕΝ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ ΕΩΤΕ-ΜΙ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΕΔΕΝΠΙΤΩΘ ... ΟΘΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΝΑΘΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΤΩΘ ΔΕΝΟΘΜΟΘ ΕΦΕΜΟΘ ÷ ΝΝΕΔΙΔ ΘΙ ΝΕΜΑQ ÷ ΔΕΝ-ΖΑΝΩΝΙ ΓΑΡ CΕΝΑCΕΤΩΝΙ ΕΡΟQ.

Consider also Gen. 31:32, 36:7 (explaining the preceding clause), Deut. 4:22, 7:7, 12:9 (explaining the very locution preceding).

(b) Non-explicative, but logically *consequent* relationship (“and thus/therefore...”):

Deut. 34:9 ΟΘΟΖ ΑΙΗCΟΘ ΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΝΑΩΗ ΜΟΖ ΜΠΝΑ ΝΚΑ† ΑQΧΑΝΕQΔΙΔ ΓΑΡ ΕΔΩQ ΝΔΕ-ΜΩΘCΗC.

(c) Cases of # IMPERATIVE... + ... ΓΑΡ... # are striking instances of the particle meta-textually grounding the very allocution, not its content — “this I enjoin you, for...”

Ex. 16:9 ΑΜΩΙΝΙ ... ΑQCΩΤΕΜ ΓΑΡ...

Gen. 24:56 ΜΠΕΡΤΑΖΝΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΑΠΘC ΓΑΡ CΟΤΤΩΝ-ΠΑΜΩΙΤ.

Gen. 32:26 ΟΘΟΡΠΤ ΑΩΩΡΠ ΓΑΡ ΩΩΠΙ.

Also Ex. 32:1:23, Gen. 29:21.

(d) In preceptive textemes, ΓΑΡ bases or justifies the preceding instruction, injunction or prohibition, categorically or contingently — also, metatextually, the actual injunction/prohibition and not its content:

Lev. 18:7 ...ΝΕΜ ΟΩΥΠΙ ΝΤΕΤΕΚΜΑΘ ΝΝΕΚΘΟΡΠQ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕΚΜΑΘ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΝΝΕΚΘΩΡΠ ΝΠΕCΩΠΙ ΕΒΟΛ.

Lev. 13:6 ΕΦΕΤΟΘΒΟQ ΝΔΕ-ΠΙΟΘΗΒ ÷ ΟΘΜΗΝΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ.

Ex. 23:8 ΝΝΕΚΘΙΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΙΔΩΡΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΩΑΘΘΩΜ ΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΘ ΜΒΟΛ — gnomic grounding.

Ex. 22:21f. **οὐ γέμμο ννετεντῆμκαρ ναρ ÷ τετενσωοῦν γαρ ντῖσχη μπιγέμμο.**

Lev. 18:24 **μπερσωρ ῥενναι τηροῦ αῶσωρ γαρ ῥενναι τηροῦ νδε-**

Deut. 12:31 **ννεκίρι ... νιβοτῆ γαρ εταρμεστωοῦ αῶαίτοῦ.**

Deut. 10:19 **ερετενμενρε-πιγέμμο ναρετενοι γαρ νγέμμο ζωτεν πε.**

(e) The particle contributes to the effect of poetical (Deut. 32:36, Ex. 15:9) or poetical-prophetic rhetorics (Gen. 41:31) in the general vague dependency it establishes between verses, and mainly as a signal of commencing a poetic unit:

Ex. 15:9 **αρῥος γαρ νδε-παῃαῃι δε-τῆναῥοῃ νταταρο νταῦωγ νζανωαλ...**

Deut. 32:32 **εβολ γαρ ῥενεῶω ναλολι πε τοῦωω ναλολι...**

Deut. 32:35 **ῥενπχοῦ γαρ ροταν αῥωανωωρτ νδε-τοῦῥατ...**

(f) **δε- + γαρ**: the rare compatibility of causal **δε** with **γαρ** is illustrated by a unique (?) instance:

Deut. 10:17 **αρῥωτπ μποῦῥοῃ μενεσωοῦ ετενεω-τεν πε ... δε-πῶῥ γαρ πετεννοῦτῆ νθορ πε ῥῆτ ντενι-νοῦτῆ... (= Vat).**

(g) In the correlative configuration: **γαρ... εῶβε ῥαι...**, cataphoric **γαρ** (cf. Denniston's "anticipatory use", 1954:68ff.) is resumed by a prepositional expression of explicit causality; **γαρ** itself marks the commencement of a new topic:

Gen. 42:21... **αῃα τεννηρηι γαρ ῥεννενοβι... εῶβεῥαι αῃι ερηι εῃων νδε-παιροῃεῃ.**

Deut. 2:7 **πῶῥ γαρ πετεννοῦτῆ αρῥμοῦ εροκ ῥεννιζ-βνοῖ τηροῦ ντενεκῃιῃ εῶβεῥαι αριεμι δε.**

Deut. 15:11 **ννερηκι γαρ μοῦνκ εβολ ριῃεπικαῃι εῶβεῥαι τῃω μμοσ δε...**

Ex. 16:29 **αναῥ ῥῆτ γαρ αρῆτ νωτεν μπαιεροῦ ντενι-σавбатон εῶβεπαι νθορ αρῆτ νωτεν μπιεροῦ μαῃε-ῃ μπωικ μπιεροῦ ῃ...**

(h) Non-explicative **γαρ** in geographical-topographical identification, a special case of the Narrator's Channel:

Num. 21:25f. **...νεμ εσεβων ῥαι γαρ τε εσεβων.**

(i) **γαρ** in a chinese-box-like hierarchical complex of grounding:

Gen. 47:4 **ετανι επωι ῥενπικαῃι ÷ μμον-μαῃμονι γαρ ωοп ... απιγκο γαρ ῥεμνομῆτ ῥενπκαῃι νχанаан.**

Gen. 47:20 **οτορ** **αιωσηϥ** **ωεππικαρι** **τηρϥ** **ντενιρεμν-
χημι** **μϥαραω** ÷ **ανιρεμνχημι** **γαρ** **†** **μποσκαρι** **μϥαραω**
απιρκο **γαρ** **δεμνομ†** **εδωσϥ**.

(j) The embarrassingly mysterious **δε-οσηι** **γαρ** complex (see also Chapter Two), with no special Greek correspondent — (δι)ότι (γάρ) — occurs (rarely) in Narrative Comment Mode, and (typically) draws attention to background facts in Dialogue. As obscure is **οσηι** itself (not occurring in the corpus without **γαρ**, unlike the NT, OT other than the Pentateuch, and Nitrian).

Lev. 25:42 ...**δεοσηι** **γαρ** **ζανεβιαικ** **ντηι** **νε** sim. 25:55.

Lev. 22:20 ...**δεοσηι** **γαρ** **σεσηπ** **νωτεν** **αν**.

Gen. 29:15 ...**δεοσηι** **γαρ** **νθοκ-πασον**.

Gen. 26:7 ...**δεοσηι** **γαρ** **ενεσως** **πε** **δενηπερζο**.

(k) Two remarkable cases:

Ex. 34:14 **οταε** **γαρ** **ννετενοσωωτ** **νκενοσ†** is of interest, both semantically and formally, since this is to my knowledge the only instance of the particle in a coordinated clause (Greek uncoordinated **οὐ γάρ** **μη...**).

Deut. 10:14 **ζηππε** **γαρ** **ναπσ̄ς** **πεκνοσ†** **νε** **νδε-τϥε** **νem** **τϥε** **ντετϥε...** (= Vat) is the only case I am aware of, of the particle in a presentative clause. (**νδε-** too is here exceptional as marker of thematic apposition to the formal Theme **νε**).

Obs.

(1) **δεσηι** (see above for the orthography) is common in Bodmer III B4 John, but also in P. Vat copto 9 (especially in Osee).

(2) **οτραρ** is inseparable (and thus comparable to **οταε**): Ex. 33:3:20 Greek **οὐ γάρ**. So is **κεραρ** Gen. 9:5, 20:12, Deut. 2:20 etc., Greek **καὶ γάρ**. In both amalgamated or fused cases, the first element is not recognizable on its own as a Coptic entity, and the particular status in the original Greek is apparently irrelevant to the Coptic.

(c) **οσην**

This important particle is in one respect the mirror image of **γαρ**, marking the “ensuing... *after* basis/ground in logical sequence”, validating a textual unit in view of a preceding one (“in view of the above...”). Like **γαρ**, it is conjointly superordinating, rhematizing and discourse-articulating. Both are so-called “implicative particles”. Juncturally, both are also (relative) initiality-signals (this is especially striking in the case of **†****ννοσ** **οσην**). But **οσην** is distinctively *anaphoric*, returning to and resuming the run of discourse while leaving and marking the foregoing text as a concluded digression, while **γαρ** is both ana- and cataphoric. In Dialogue, **οσην** links anaphorically, as marking reactivity.

Obs.

(1) **oʿn** is extremely rare in the Sahidic NT (only Luke 16:27 and Heb. 4:6), with **se** there the usual correspondent to Greek **oũv**. This must mean that the particular Bohairic opposition of **oʿn** (of Greek origin) with **se** (very old Egyptian) is virtually neutralized in Sahidic. For the Sahidic Pentateuch, we have (for Greek **oũv**) instances of the omission of a particle altogether, e.g. Gen. 29:27, Ex. 16:28, Lev. 14:11 etc., or **de** (the “general particular connector”), Gen. 12:12, 50:5, Lev. 11:6; or **se** (Gen. 6:14, 12:13, Ex. 22:24, 33:5 — the latter no doubt the normal correspondent. Bohairic **oʿn** normally corresponds to Greek **oũv**. Only relatively rarely do we find no particle in what sources we have of the Greek original (e.g. Ex. 5:9, Num. 14:9).

(2) Narrative **oʿn** is common in NT (e.g., John) and Nitrian Bohairic; cf., with **peʒaq**, John 4:48, 6:67, Luke 19:12 etc. **se-oʿn** in narrative topicalization: AM 191 **naɪ se-oʿn ʒennpiθopositoʿ**, also 180, 158, 194.

(3) Greek **oũv** in narrative is attested already in Herodotus (e.g. I 85, 95, 110 etc.), in the Narrator’s Channel: see also POYTHRESS 1984:327ff. (on NT Greek): “returning to the main line of events after a digression, a parenthesis, or the supplying of background information”; 336 “the range of **oũv** has been vastly expanded so that it absorbs nearly all the territory normally occupied by **δέ**”.

(4) **oʿn** is extremely common in the hermeneutical *Catena*e, alongside **se-oʿn** (see below), and special ready-made Greek particle amalgams like **hroʿn** (107), **menoʿnge** (145), **otimenon** (107), **otimenɾa** (198), **kemh** (92, 198), **omh**(**de**) (45) etc. It is of course also found in expositive and argumentative textemes (De Vis II 70, 73, 74, 79, 80, 95, 107, 133 etc.). Argumentative **oʿn** in *protasi*: Luke 11:13, 12:26, 16:11.

(5) Greek **oũv** occurs in questions, in compound particles (nexal questions) or, for rhematic questions, alone: **ἄρ’οὐν, οὐκοῦν, τί οὐν**. In Coptic interrogatives (Oxyrhynchite) we find **-oʿn ʒh**, and **ɸwɕ oʿn...ɸwɕ de...** in Rom. 10:14).

(6) **oũv**: outside narrative, POYTHRESS 1984:323 (NT Greek) observes on the roles of “logical inference...a relationship of reason-result or grounds-implication”. However, as with **γάρ**, I believe a more syntactic, less semantic approach to this information-structuring element is called for. SICKING and VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993:25ff., 89ff. on Attic (Lysias, Plato etc.) Greek **oũv**: “back to main line after a digression therefrom”; (27) “a difference in what may be called status between what precedes and what follows”, which is equally suited to **γάρ**.

(7) **oʿn** occurs exceptionally in a Circumstantial Nominal Sentence in Acts 2:30 (cons.) (**αἰμὼν οὐὸς ἀποκοῦ**) **εὐπροφητῆς οʿν πε οὐὸς ἐγκωον de ...**

(a) Allocutive/locutive Dialogue:

(1) Imperative/Jussive + **oʿn**; **ʦnoʿ oʿn** + imperative, the most prevalent occurrence:

Gen. 12:13 **cenazsoebet neo de cenatanʒo azoc oʿn ʒe-anok-teqʒwɪ**.

Gen. 27:8 **ʦnoʿ oʿn paɰhɾi cɸtem ncɸi** sim. 27:43.

Also Gen. 21:23, 27:3, 40:8, 34:8, 45:9:13, 4:23, 5:5:9:18, 33:5, Ex. 2:20, etc.

(2) The *hic-et-nunc*, non-inferential initial-boundary-marking †**ΝΟΩ** **ΟΩΝ** precedes various locutive (1st person, sgl. and plur.) and locutive-sphere clause types:

Num. 14:3 †**ΝΟΩ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΝΑΝΕC** **ΝΑΝ** **ΕΘΡΕΝΚΟΤΤΕΝ**...

Gen. 50:5 †**ΝΟΩ** **ΟΩΝ** †**ΝΑΨΕΝΗ** **ΕΨΩΙ**.

Gen. 48:5 †**ΝΟΩ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΠΕΨΗΡΙ** **Β**...**ΝΟΤΙ** **ΝΕ**.

Also Gen. 19:9. Contrast:

Gen. 24:50 **ΤΕΝΝΑΨΔΕΜΔΟΜ** **ΑΝ** **ΟΩΝ** †**ΝΟΩ**, where †**ΝΟΩ** is a true temporal adverbial ("now") rather than an atonic particle.

(3) Future + **ΟΩΝ** — note the prevalence of verbs of motion:

Ex. 3:18 **ΤΕΝΝΑΨΕΝΑΝ** **ΟΩΝ** **Ν-Γ** **ΝΕΖΟΟΩ** sim. Deut. 3:25.

Ex. 5:16 **Χ/ΚΝΑΣΙ** **ΜΠΕΚΛΑΟC** **ΟΩΝ** **ΝΔΟΝC** — interrogative? note the rare non-colon-second placement (Vat **ΧΝΑΣΙ** **ΟΩΝ** ...), which means a link between **CΙ** and **ΜΠΕΚΛΑΟC**.

Gen. 18:21...**ΟΩΟZ** **ΕΙΕΨΕΝΗ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΕΠΕCΗΤ**.

Deut. 3:25 †**ΝΑΕΡΔΙΝΙΟΡ** **ΟΩΝ**...

(4) In reactive Questions (rhematic and nexal):

Gen. 27:33 **ΝΙΜ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΑΨΔΕΡΔΟΩΔΟΡΔC** **ΝΗ**...

Ex. 5:16 **Χ/ΚΝΑΣΙ** **ΜΠΕΚΛΑΟC** **ΟΩΝ** **ΝΔΟΝC** (observe the placement of the particle; Vat **ΧΝΑΣΙ** **ΟΩΝ**...).

(5) **ΟΩΝ** in *protasi* (Greek οὖν, δέ): "coming to the point", i.e. high-level rhematizing:

Gen. 24:49 **ΙCΔΕ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΝΘΩΤΕΝ** **ΤΕΤΕΝΑΙΡΙ** **ΝΟΩΝΑ** **ΝΕΜ** **ΟΩΜΕΘΜΗ** **ΜΠΑΘC**... sim. Gen. 43:4, Ex. 9:2, 33:13.

Gen. 33:13 **ΕΨΩΠ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΑΙΨΑΝΘΟZΙ** **ΝCΩΟΩ**..., sim. 44:29, 46:33, Ex. 22:27, Lev. 4:22.

(6) **ΟΩΝ** in Narrative (rare). In our corpus, this usually corresponds to Greek οὖν. Always "say" or "tell", that is, the Narrative/Dialogue seam:

Gen. 41:24 **ΑΙΔΕΤΑΡΑCΟΤΙ** **ΟΩΝ** ...(Greek οὖν).

Gen. 27:35 **ΠΕΔΑΨ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΝΑΨ** (Greek δέ).

Ex. 8:6 **ΠΕΔΑΨ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΔΕ**...(Greek οὖν).

Ex. 8:15 **ΠΕΔΕ-ΝΙΡΕΨCΙΨΗΜ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΜΦΑΡΑΨ** (Greek οὖν).

(7) The particle seems to be a summing-up exponent and a final delimiter in

Ex. 22:8 **CΑΔΙ** **ΝΙΒΕΝ** **ΝCΙΝΔΟΝC** ... **ΕΘΒΕΟΩΜΑCΙ** **ΝΕΜ** **ΟΩΙΩ** **ΝΕΜ** **ΟΩΕCΩΟΩ** ... ÷ **ΦΗ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΔΕ** **ΝΟΩZΛΙ** (Vat • **ΦΗ** **ΟΩΝ** **ΔΕ-ZΛΙ** •). The construction is obscure (Greek ὅ τι οὖν ἂν ᾗ; the Ara-

bic translates negatively, *wa-lâ šay'an minha* “and there isn’t anything from it”). All I can say about this is that this seems to relate in some way to the obscurity (for us) of the Coptic idiom for “whoever he be” (cf. $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon$, Ruth 3:10 Sah. [Shier]).

(d) $\Sigma\epsilon$

This is the only one of the old “Egyptian” enclitic particles left in Coptic (*gr*[*t*]). Of the Greek particles, it is compatible only with $\omicron\tau\mathfrak{N}$ (not in our corpus, though), which means that it cannot be synonymous with it. Indeed, it is probably the most interesting, the truly “Egyptian” particle (there are almost no *variae lectionis* of $\Sigma\epsilon$ with $\omicron\tau\mathfrak{N}$ — cf. Gen. 41:33 $\dagger\mathfrak{N}\omicron\tau\text{-}\omicron\tau\mathfrak{N}$ GJ, $\dagger\mathfrak{N}\omicron\tau\text{-}\Sigma\epsilon$ others). $\Sigma\epsilon$ is well established in Bohairic, and the correspondence “Boh. $\omicron\tau\mathfrak{N}$, Sah. $\epsilon\epsilon$ ”, while statistically not far wrong, does not give the whole picture (*pace* FUNK 1991:7, or 10 n.23, there also on the placement of Sahidic $\epsilon\epsilon$).

Obs.

(1) LE and Demotic final *gr* ($\approx$ our $\Sigma\epsilon_1$?) are already distinctive (ČERNÝ-GROLL 1975:134 “adverb”. ERMAN 1933 §682 “enklitische Kojunktion” is felicitous, highlighting its textual effect. Stern extends this terminology to all Coptic particles, see 1880 §610); ERICHSEN *Glossar* 582f., SPIEGELBERG §417ff.

(2) As so often, we find Battiscombe Gunn way ahead in his functional evaluation: (V 73 p. 9f., *ad* Gardiner EG §255, at the Griffith Institute, Oxford) “it seems to me that *grt* is mostly used to introduce a change of Topic” (recently recognized in EL-HAMRAWI 2000); incidentally, this is also a functional feature of $\rho\alpha\rho$. Gunn’s papers (also VI 66) contain much material on Old and Middle Egyptian particles, including their placement and constructions in which they occur and do not occur. Incidentally, in I, 9 (with a letter to Crum of the late 1930s, VII 60) we find an extensive study (published in part in *Festschrift* Crum, 1950) of Nitrian, patristic, hagiographical $\pi\alpha\rho\mathfrak{H}\dagger$ as a connective (“conjunction”: “then, puis, tum...”), a role not occurring in Bible versions, nor in texts with an extant Greek source. Gunn included Bohairic, especially Nitrian observations in many of his Egyptian studies, as for instance in V A 1.4, an unpublished Chapter XXXI for his *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, on Eg. *mry*, *my*, “likewise, similarly”).

(3) $\omicron\tau\mathfrak{N}$ and $\epsilon\mathfrak{H}_2$ are compatible, hence categorially discrete, in Oxyrhynchite: Acts 6:3 $\omicron\tau\ \omicron\tau\mathfrak{N}\ \epsilon\mathfrak{H}\ \pi\epsilon$; $\omicron\tau\mathfrak{N}$ is considerably rarer than $\epsilon\mathfrak{H}$ in the Oxyrh. Psalms, but elsewhere both are well attested in the same texts.

$\Sigma\epsilon$ supplies a striking instance of two- or even threefold synchronic homonymy (cf. FUNK 1991:10 n.23), rather than grammaticalization (which is in fact a diachronic and causal aspect of the phenomenon: cf. ABRAHAM 1991).

δε₁- clause-final adverb, in negative environment: “(not) again, (not) any more”

This is a final boundary signal; post-verbal, almost invariably with the Future (mostly 3rd plural Absolute-Definite Future): the Greek has as a rule an adverb, ἔτι. It occurs in prevalently plural-delocutive/generic environment:

Deut. 17:13 **ΝΝΟΤΕΡΑCΕΒΗC ΔΕ.**

Deut. 17:16 **ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΤΑΖΤΕΝΘΗΝΟΤ ΕΝΑΘ ΕΠΑΜΩΙΤ ΔΕ.**

Gen. 35:10 **ΝΝΟΤΜΟΤ† ΔΕ** sim. Gen. 17:15.

Num. 8:25 **ΝΝΟΤΕΡΩΒ ΔΕ.**

Num. 18:22 **ΝΝΟΤΙ ΔΕ.**

Num. 9:12 **ΝΝΟΤCΩΔΠ ΔΕ.**

Ex. 9:30 **ΝΝΕCΩΠΙ ΔΕ.**

Ex. 5:10 **CΕΝΑ†ΤΟZ ΝΩΤΕΝ ΑΝ ΔΕ.**

ΝΝΕΤΕΝΤΟZΟ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΘ... Deut. 28:68, sim. Ex. 10:28, 8:25, Deut. 3:26.

Obs.

(1) ANDERSSON 1904:37, STERN 1880 §518ff.: “adverb”.

(2) A syntactically distinct, nexus-referred homonym of this element reoccurs as a specifically (Nitrian?) Bohairic “mediator”, “lexeme premodifier” or “verbal preextension”: STERN 1880 §454, SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:124ff., §3.3, LAYTON 2004 §183; POLOTSKY 1930:875 *ad* De Vis II 9; also De Vis II 174, 177.

(3) **δε₁** occurs rarely in affirmative environment (Nitrian): AM I 108 **ΑCΩΟΤΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕCΜΟΤ ΕCΧΩ ΝΡΩC ΔΕ.**

(4) The two **δε** morphs are neatly combined in Rom. 6:9 **CΝΑΜΟΤ ΑΝ ΔΕ ΦΜΟΤ ΔΕ ΝΑΕΡC ΕΡΟC ΑΝ:** two different, compatible JDFs.

δε₂ - clause-enclitic, clause-initial signalling in partial opposition to οϝΝ (see above)

In Dialogue:

(1) With Imperative/Jussive: (also **†ΝΟΤ ΔΕ** + Imperative; cf. **οϝΝ** above); superordinating:

Gen. 45:9 **ΙΗC ΔΕ ΝΤΕΘΗΝΟΤ ΜΑΩΕΝΩΤΕΝ...** (Greek οϝν).

Gen. 31:13 **†ΝΟΤ ΔΕ ΤΩΝΚ ΑΜΟΤ ΕΒΟΛ** (Greek νϝν οϝν or οϝν), also Gen. 41:33, Ex. 10:17, Num. 24:11.

Gen. 46:30 **ΜΑΡΙΜΟΤ ΔΕ ΙCΔΕΝ†ΝΟΤ** (no particle in the Greek).

Note that, while **οϝΝ** is truly a consequential inferential, **δε** is not, but, virtually opening allocutive discourse, adds an “impatience” or “urging” component to the injunction. Except for the doubtful Ex.22:8

ΦΗ ΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΞΑΙ (see above), we do not find in the corpus any instance of ΔΕ compatible with ΟΥΝ, a combination attested in Vat and its apographs (only ΟΥΝ in the other sources):

Ex. 5:18 †ΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΨΕΝΩΤΕΝ Vat †ΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΔΕ (cf. perhaps also Ex. 22:8)

The Greek often has no particle for Coptic ΔΕ₂ (so e.g. in Gen. 23:15, 31:43, Ex. 10:3, 18:28, Num. 14:11:27 etc.).

Obs.

ΔΕ-ΟΥΝ — that is, ΟΥΝ following ΔΕ₂ — is of importance in Nitrian: De Vis I 13, II 23, 47 in questions. It is especially prevalent in *Catena*e, where (like ΟΥΝ and ΡΩ ΟΝ) it seems to be characteristic of hermeneutical style, and occurs almost on every page. A striking instance (203) ΠΙΡΟ ΟΥΝ ΠΕ ΠΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ †ΑΨΛΗ ΔΕ ΤΕ †ΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΦΗ ΔΕ-ΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΝΩΝΗΟΤ ΕΔΟΥΝ ΑΝ... contrasts ΟΥΝ — marking the explication of allegory — with ΔΕ ΟΥΝ, the latter seemingly being a rhetorically peaking term. In AM, ΔΕ-ΟΥΝ occurs rhetorically at the very beginning of a royal epistle (I 169) and, narratively, alongside ΟΥΝ 91, 98, 158, 180, 194).

(2) Marking reactive questions (almost no ΟΥΝ); superordinating:

Deut. 1:27 ΕΘΒΕΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΩΡ ΜΟΤ† ΜΜΟΝ ΑΓΕΝΤΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ (Greek non-interrogative, no particle).

Gen. 31:43 ΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕ†ΝΑΔΙΩ no particle in the Greek.

Gen. 23:15 ΟΥ ΔΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΑΩΡ (Vat add. ΠΕ) (Greek τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο).

Ex. 2:20 ΑΓΘΩΝ ΔΕ ΝΕ (= Vat) — see above, §2.4.2, for this mysterious but well-documented ΝΕ.

Gen. 30:30 †ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΙΝΑΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΗΙ ΝΟΥΗΙ ΝΘΝΑΨ (Greek νῦν οὖν).

(3) ΨΑΘΝΑΨ ΔΕ ... (“*usque tamen*”) + Present; no particle in the Greek. We may have here ΔΕ₁, but the placement weighs against this; is this a case of ΔΕ₃ “still”, “yet”?

Ex. 16:28 ΨΑΘΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΕΝΟΥΩΨ ΑΝ ΕΩΤΕΜ.

Num. 14:11 ΨΑΘΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΠΑΙΛΑΟC ΘΡΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΜΒΟΝ.

Num. 14:27 ΨΑΘΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΤΑΙCΤΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΕΤΩΩΨ ΝΗ ΕΤΟΥΧ-ΡΕΜΡΕΜ ΜΜΩΨ ΝΘΩΨ ΜΠΑΜΘΟ — the Greek has here the accusative τὴν συναγωγὴν τὴν πονηρὰν ταύτην, as the marked case (cf. “Why me?”).

Obs.

ΨΑΘΝΑΨ ΔΕ is generally very well attested: Ps. 6:4, 12:2f., 73:10, 78:5, 81:2 etc. (only 79:5 without ΔΕ); ΔΕ clearly belongs in the pattern, as does ΣΕ in the Shenoutean (Akhmimoid) Sahidic ΨΑΝΤΕΟΥ ΣΕ ΨΩΠΕ, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1986a:85.

(4) **Δε** in non-interrogative Allocation (†**ΝΟΘ** **Δε**):

Num. 11:6 †**ΝΟΘ** **Δε**-**ΑΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ** **ΨΥΘΟΤΙ** (Greek *νυνὶ δέ*).

(5) **Δε** in Narrative (very rare):

Gen. 22:7 **ΝΘΟϚ** **Δε** **ΠΕΞΔϚ** (Vat **Δε**) Greek *δέ* (Arabic *'ammâ*)

Cf. **ΟΘΝ** above in a similar role. May we assume, here and in cases like De Vis II 167 **ΑΨΩΠΙ** **Δε**..., a misreading of **Δε**?

Δε- clause-proclitic grammaticalized converb “saying”

There is surely no need to illustrate this ubiquitous grammaticalized converbal element, arguably the only conjunction in Coptic, an element — in a group of elements — actantial with *verba dicendi* etc., closely associated with explicative clauses and with nexus substantivation. It is of an entirely different syntactic and junctural properties than **Δε**₁ and **Δε**₂, and is mentioned here for completeness' sake. Clause-proclitic **Δε**- falls syntactically into two subclasses, the first valential and thus discontinuously componential of certain lexemes, the second non-valential and essentially a substantivator of all types of nexus, indeed a *substantivizing converter*.

(e) **ΡΩ**

This particle (old, yet first attested as a particle later than the Egyptian ancestor of **Δε**₂, from LE on) is relatively rare in the studied corpus. Unlike the others, it is not discourse- but information-structuring: a focussing signal. It is often placed immediately following (closing) the focussed segment (in that sense, it is “word-enclitic”); note the punctuation delimiter placed immediately following **ΡΩ**, defining the Focus unit and the scope prosodically (in this not unlike Greek *γε*). The particle occurs either “redundantly” with or in focussing patterns, or as a sole focussing signal. (See SHISHA-HALEVY 1990:120f.):

Gen. 27:36 **ΙΕ** **ΜΠΕΚΣΕΞΠΟΘΣΜΟΘ** **ΝΗΙ** **ΡΩ** • **ΑΝΟΚ** **ΠΑΙΩΤ**.

Ex. 36:9 **ΠΑΙΡΗ†** **ΡΩ** ÷ **ΠΕΤΨΟΠ** **ΝΝΙΑΘΛΗ** **ΤΗΡΟΘ** (**ΠΑΙΩΙ** **ΡΩ** *supra lin.* P) (= Vat).

Ex. 28:33 **ΟΘΟΞ** **ΞΑΝΕΡΜΑΝ** **ΝΝΟΤΒ** **ΜΠΑΙΣΜΟΤ** **ΡΩ** ÷ (= Vat).

Gen. 24:8 **ΜΜΟΝΟΝ** **ΡΩ** ÷ **ΝΘΟϚ** **ΜΠΕΡΤΑΣΘΟ** **ΜΠΑΨΗΡΙ** **ΕΜΑΘ** (= Vat) — note here a remarkable adverbial marking of **ΜΟΝΟΝ**; remarkable separation of **ΡΩ** and **ΝΘΟϚ**; remarkable focussing of the imperative negation with **ΜΜΟΝΟΝ**.

Obs.

(1) For the probable etymon of **ΡΩ**, see ERMAN 1933 §683 on LE *m-r3-c*, of colon-final placement.

(2) DEPUYDT 2001, in characterizing $\rho\omega$ (118) as “contrast[ing] a thought as expressed by a sentence or clause, with its negation” trivializes, I think, the point of the flexible focussing incidence of this particle, which can be referred to any focalizable element in the text. Not “sentence” or “clause” but “information block” is the “logical” scope of $\rho\omega$, and there is no need for “negation” or even “contrast” to describe its effect.

(3) A supporting argument for focussing $\rho\omega$ is the prevalent $\Phi\alpha\iota$ ($\pi\alpha\iota$ -) $\rho\omega$ “just this”: see STERN 1880 §249. This particle focalizes the deixis of the $\Phi\alpha\iota$ series in Bohairic generally: B4 John 9:30 ($\Sigma\epsilon\nu\Phi\alpha\iota$). In Nitrian: $\Phi\alpha\iota$ etc. Cat. 5; $\epsilon\theta\upsilon\epsilon\Phi\alpha\iota$ De Vis II 11, Cat. 1, 9, 18, 20, 26, 68 — this is especially striking in hermeneutical style. $\pi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\uparrow\rho\omega$ $\text{on } \epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - Cat. 16, $\pi\alpha\iota$ - $\text{no}\tau\omega\tau\rho\omega$ $\text{on } (\pi\epsilon)$ Cat. 12, 46, 148, $\pi\alpha\iota\epsilon\omega\upsilon\Phi\alpha\iota\rho\omega$ AM I 137. We find $\rho\omega$ also focussing $\pi\iota$ - (De Vis II 26), $\Phi\omega$ = (SV 64). $\rho\omega$ on is especially typical of Nitrian (De Vis, Cat.), often with negation ($\lambda\text{n } \rho\omega$), “(not) at all”, e.g. AM I 128, 129.

(4) The conditioned, colon-second “clause-enclitic” position of $\rho\omega$ occurs less often, in adverb-focussing conversion (Focalizing Preterite): B4 John 9:29 $\lambda\rho\epsilon\uparrow\omega\Phi\eta\rho\iota\rho\omega$ $\Sigma\epsilon\nu\Phi\alpha\iota$, (Cat. 185) $\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\iota\rho\omega$ $\epsilon\theta\upsilon\epsilon$ -. Significantly, we also find $\rho\omega$ in this placement in Rhetorical Questions, where the whole nexus is assertively focussed: $\text{m}\eta\rho\omega$, $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\omega$; consider also $\lambda\text{mo}\iota\rho\omega$, $\lambda\rho\eta\text{o}\upsilon\rho\omega$, $\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\varsigma\rho\omega$, $\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\rho\omega$, $\text{m}\eta\pi\omega\varsigma\rho\omega$ (De Vis I 141, II 162f., AM I 117 etc., John 7:26). The clause-final placement in B4 Gen. 2:19 $\rho\alpha\text{n } \text{n}\iota\text{ben } \epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\text{m } \text{mo}\uparrow\epsilon\rho\omega\text{o}\uparrow$... $\Phi\alpha\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\text{po}\tau\rho\alpha\text{n } \rho\omega$ (interestingly not in P or Vat) is probably an old Egyptian placement (SHISHA-HALEVY 1981:319).

(5) $\rho\omega$ recalls Greek $\gamma\epsilon$ in functional and formal regards: see MOORHOUSE 1959:138ff., 149; SEILER 1977; DIK 1995:38ff., 44 (“counterpresuppositional focus”).

(6) See MIGRON 1994:102ff. on Vedic *vái*, *evá* focussing rhemes.

(f) MEN

This, an essentially cataphoric discourse-organizing particle, is probably the “most Greek”, idiomatically speaking, of Greek loan-particles in Coptic.

(1) Discourse-structuring: $\text{MEN} \dots \Delta\epsilon \dots$ occurs in contrastive/correlative topicalization in dialogue:

Gen. 27:22 $\uparrow\text{cm}\eta$ $\text{MEN } \text{TCMH } \text{NIAK}\omega\text{B } \text{TE } \text{NIZI}\Sigma\Delta\epsilon$ $\text{NEN}\Sigma\text{I}\Sigma$ $\text{NHCA}\uparrow\text{NE}$ (Greek $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \dots \delta\acute{\epsilon} \dots$).

Gen. 38:23 $\lambda\text{noK } \text{MEN } \lambda\text{io}\uparrow\omega\text{WP } \text{M}\pi\text{IMACI } \text{MB}\lambda\epsilon\text{MPI } \text{N}\theta\text{OK } \Delta\epsilon$ $\text{M}\pi\epsilon\text{K}\Sigma\epsilon\text{MC}^{71}$ (Greek $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \dots \delta\acute{\epsilon} \dots$).

Gen. 41:13 $\lambda\text{noK } \text{MEN } \lambda\text{KXAT } \epsilon\chi\epsilon\text{NTA}\lambda\text{APXH } \Phi\eta$ $\Delta\epsilon$ λKAWQ (Greek... $\tau\epsilon \dots \delta\acute{\epsilon} \dots$).

⁷¹ The Greek has $\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, with no explicit object; Coptic, in which an object is essential for the construction of high-transitivity ΣIMI , returns here to the syntax of the original Hebrew. In Greek, the object status may (formally, not pragmatically) be referred to the kid sent by Judas.

(2) A non-correlative, more complicated hierarchical structure, in which **ΜΕΝ** marks the first term of a potential correlation, with the other term realized or unrealized; **ΜΕΝ** also defines the hierarchy:

Deut. 20:11f. **ΕΩΠΑ ΔΕ ΑΚΩΑΝΩΕΝΑΚ ΕΟΨΒΑΚΙ ΕΒΩΤΣ ΕΡΟΣ ... ΕΩΠΑ ΜΕΝ ΑΨΑΝΕΡΟΨΩ ΝΑΚ ΞΕΝΖΑΝCΑΔΙ ΝΖΙΡΗΝΗΚΟΝ ... ΕΩΠΑ ΔΕ ΑΨΥΤΕΜCΩΤΕΜ ΝΑΚ...** (Greek δὲ... μὲν... δὲ...).

Lev. 3:1-6 **ΕΩΠΑ ΔΕ ΟΨΩΟΨΩΟΨΩΙ ΝΝΟΖΕΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΨΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΘC ÷ ΕΩΠΑ ΜΕΝ ΑΨΕΝΨ ΕΨΟΨΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΝΙΕΨΩΨ ... ΕΨΕΕΝΨ ΕΨΟΨΝ ΕΨΟΙ ΝΑΤΑΨΝΙ ... ΕΩΠΑ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΝΙΕCΩΨ ΠΕ ΠΕΨΔΩΡΟΝ...** (Greek δὲ... μὲν... δὲ...).

Lev. 27:7 **ΕΩΠΑ ΔΕ ΙCΞΕΝ Ξ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΕΨΩΨΙ ÷ ΕΩΠΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΨΨΩΟΨΤ ΠΕ ... ÷ ΕΩΠΑ ΔΕ ΕΨΘΕΒΙΝΟΨΤ...** (Greek δὲ... μὲν... [δὲ...]).

(3) “Solitary **ΜΕΝ**” segments a protatic topicalized clause, heralding the rhematic apodosis:

Gen. 44:8 **ΙCΞΕ ΜΕΝ ΠΙΖΑΤ ΕΤΑΝΞΕΜΨ ΞΕΝΝΕΝCΟΚ ΑΝΤΑCΘΟΨ ΖΑΡΟΚ ... ΠΩC ΤΕΝΝΑΚΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΗΙ ΜΠΕΝΘC** (Greek μὲν...).

(4) **ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ** is interesting, being an amalgam of anaphoric and cataphoric (Rheme-heralding) signals:

Gen. 43:14 **ΑΝΟΚ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΜΨΡΗ† ΕΤΑΙΕΡΑΤΨΗΡΙ ÷ ΑΙΕΡΑΤΨΗΡΙ** (Greek μὲν γὰρ...: a remarkable reflection of the original on the Coptic).

Obs.

(1) **ΜΕΝΓΑΡ** is very well attested in the NT and Nitrian, e.g. De Vis II 24, 56f., I Cor. 11:7;14:18 (cons. all), with a rare minority variant **ΓΑΡ ΜΕΝ** still answering to μὲν γὰρ... (I Cor. 14:17, Job 9:19, 12:11, 28:2).

(2) **ΜΕΝΟΨΝ** Cat. 190, very common narratively in the Acts, where we even find **ΔΕ ΜΕΝ ΟΨΝ** (Acts 28:5 one cod.), is not attested in our corpus. **ΜΕΝΤΟΙ**: De Vis II 39.

(g) **ΖΑΡΑ** “thus, then”

Enclitic, non-interrogative **ΖΑΡΑ** (DENNISTON 1954: ἄρα 93) is very rare in the corpus; I find only:

Gen. 26:28 **ΜΑΡΕΨΩΠΙ ΖΑΡΑ ΟΨΤΩΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΨΤΩΚ** (Greek γενέσθω ἄρά).

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APPENDIX I

ANNE BOUD'HORS

(IRHT/CNRS. Paris)

Le manuscrit est sommairement décrit dans les trois catalogues, désormais anciens, d'Amélineau, Chabot et Delaporte (voir les indications bibliographiques à la fin de cet appendice). L'attention portée aux aspects matériels et à l'histoire du livre y est assez limitée, ce qui est normal pour l'époque. Les progrès effectués par la codicologie permettent désormais de connaître davantage les détails de fabrication du manuscrit et, même s'il subsiste des incertitudes, de le situer dans son milieu d'origine¹.

Identification du texte

Pentateuque copte (bohaïrique)-arabe.

Dimensions d'une page

398 mm de hauteur sur 283 mm de largeur.

Support

Papier non filigrané caractéristique des manuscrits du Moyen-Orient à cette époque². Les traces laissées par la forme ayant servi à fabriquer les feuilles sont visibles en transparence: fils de chaîne verticaux et vergeures horizontales, ce qui implique un pliage en deux (in F°) de la feuille d'origine³. Les dimensions de cette dernière étaient donc d'au

¹ De nombreuses observations, habituellement très difficiles à effectuer en raison de la fragilité des manuscrits, ont pu être faites pour celui-ci en 2000, à la faveur d'une restauration qui a entraîné le démontage provisoire de la reliure. Je suis très reconnaissante au service de restauration de la BnF de m'avoir autorisée à examiner le manuscrit pendant cette période, et particulièrement à Fabrice Belliot, en charge des travaux, qui m'a aimablement donné les explications techniques dont j'avais besoin et communiqué la copie de son compte rendu de restauration.

² Cf. Jean IRIGOIN, "Les papiers non filigranés. Etat présent des recherches et perspectives d'avenir" in: *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques*, Vatican, 1993, vol. I, p. 265-312; Monique ZERDOUN BAT-YEHOUDA (éd.), *Le papier au Moyen-Age: histoire et techniques* (Paris, 1998), Paris, 1999 (*Bibliologia* 19); Marie-Thérèse LE LÉANNEC-BAVAVÉAS, "Notes et matériaux. Les papiers non filigranés médiévaux dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale de France", *Scriptorium*, LIII, 1999 (2), p. 275-324.

³ Les fils de chaîne correspondent en effet aux traverses disposées dans le sens de la

moins 566 x 398 mm. En réalité elles devaient être plus importantes et correspondre à un grand format oriental (660/720 x 490/560 mm), car le manuscrit semble avoir été fortement rogné, probablement par plusieurs reliures successives (voir plus loin). Plus précisément encore, on peut mesurer l'épaisseur d'un groupe de vingt vergeures (35-38 mm) et observer que les fils de chaîne sont groupés par deux, ce qui semble caractéristique des manuscrits égyptiens (coptes et arabes) de cette période⁴.

Composition des cahiers et pagination

Selon la foliotation moderne⁵, le manuscrit comporte 372 folios, numérotés A-B-C et 1-368, le dernier étant sans numéro. Les signatures des cahiers ont presque toutes disparu à cause de l'usure des pages qui a nécessité des restaurations (anciennes) dans les angles (la signature $\bar{r}$ au début du 3^e cahier confirme cependant qu'elles existaient). On compte 38 cahiers, dont 34 sont des quinions (cahiers formés de cinq feuilles pliée en deux ou bifolios), unité la plus courante dans les manuscrits médiévaux bohairiques sur papier.

Cahiers "anormaux":

- Le 1^{er} cahier est composé des deux bifolios internes du cahier d'origine (f°1/f°4 et f°2/f°3) et de trois folios simples (f° 5-7) dont les pendants ont été perdus et ont été remplacés par trois feuillets de papier plus récent (f°A-B-C), qui portent un filigrane "à l'ancre" caractéristique des papiers fabriqués pour le Levant du 16^e au 18^e siècles⁶. Les trois feuillets perdus étaient les trois premiers du manuscrit. Ils ne comportaient pas de texte, puisque la Genèse commence bien au f°1 (= $\bar{\Delta}$ dans la numérotation copte d'origine), mais probablement au moins une grande croix ornementale comme on en trouve souvent à cette place.

- Le 10^e cahier (f° 88-93) est constitué de trois bifolios seulement. La Genèse se termine au f° 91, les f° 92 et 93 sont blancs.

largeur du cadre rectangulaire, tandis que les vergeures sont les traces des fils de laiton tendus dans la longueur. De tels détails de description sont appliqués pour la première fois aux manuscrits coptes par Bentley LAYTON, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts Acquired Since the Year 1906*, Londres, 1987.

⁴ Cf. Geneviève HUMBERT, "Un papier fabriqué vers 1350 en Egypte", in: *Le papier au Moyen-Age*, p. 61-73. Dans le Copte 1, l'écart entre deux fils de chaîne est de 8/10 mm, l'écart entre deux groupes d'environ 49 mm, et il semble qu'on puisse distinguer dix groupes par feuille: cf. Anne BOUD'HORS, "Manuscrits coptes de papier (XI^e-XIV^e s.)", in: *Le papier au Moyen-Age*, p. 75-84 (part. p. 82).

⁵ C'est toujours à elle que je fais référence quand j'emploie les chiffres dits "arabes".

⁶ Cf. Ugo ZANETTI, "Filigranes vénitiens en Egypte", in: *Studi albanologici, bulcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini S.J.*, Florence, 1986, p. 437-499.

- Le 19^e cahier (f° 174-177) ne comporte que deux bifolios. L'Exode se termine au f° 175V, les f° 176 et 177 sont blancs.

- Le 38^e cahier (f° 358-368) se compose de cinq bifolios et d'un folio supplémentaire sur lequel est écrite une note arabe à l'encre bleue (ce folio a pu être ajouté plus tard).

Le dernier folio du manuscrit (sans numéro) est de même nature que les folios A-B-C.

Il semble donc que le codex soit constitué de trois parties copiées indépendamment et regroupées dans une même reliure (Genèse, Exode, puis les trois autres livres), ce que confirment les dates indiquées à la fin de la Genèse et de l'Exode (voir plus loin), ainsi que la foliotation d'origine, qui recommence au début de chaque partie.

Le manuscrit est en effet folioté, et non paginé. Les numéros sont inscrits au verso dans le coin supérieur gauche, selon la pratique la plus courante des manuscrits bohaïriques de cette période. La foliotation recommence au début de l'Exode et du Lévitique (cf. ci-dessus), mais aussi au début des Nombres, ce qui correspond à une autre tendance, déjà observable dans un grand nombre de manuscrits antérieurs, de numéroter indépendamment les pages des différents textes contenus dans un codex. La foliotation est indiquée de deux manières: en chiffres coptes traditionnels (hérités du grec), peut-être portés de la main du copiste, et en "chiffres coptes" cursifs⁷, probablement ajoutés plus tard, peut-être à l'occasion d'une nouvelle reliure.

Réglure

Les feuillets ont été préparés, probablement grâce à l'utilisation d'une *mastara*, ou planche à régler⁸. La surface à écrire est divisée en trois colonnes égales, ce qui permet d'utiliser les deux premières pour le copte et la troisième pour l'arabe, plus concis, tandis que sont tracées 33 lignes horizontales séparées de 8/9 mm. On observe que l'arabe ne sort que rarement de la colonne qui lui est réservée, alors que le copte la

⁷ Ces chiffres n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'une normalisation pour l'impression. On trouve un tableau avec différents échantillons tirés de manuscrits dans la *Grammaire copte* d'Alexis MALLON, Beyrouth, 1956⁴, p. 234. Voir aussi Heshmat MESSIHA, "Les chiffres coptes et leurs origines", *Le Monde Copte* 24, 1994, p. 25-27; Rosa COMES, "Arabic, Rūmī, Coptic, or merely Greek Alphanumerical Notation? The Case of a Mozarabic 10th Century Andalusī Manuscript", *Suhayl* 3, 2002-2003, p. 157-185.

⁸ Cf. Denis MUZERELLE, *Vocabulaire codicologique*, Paris, 1985, p. 70: "Instrument composé d'une planchette sur laquelle sont tendues des cordelettes correspondant aux lignes à tracer, de sorte qu'il suffit d'appliquer la feuille sur l'instrument et de la presser le long des cordelettes pour en obtenir l'empreinte sur la feuille".

dépasse fréquemment et semble plutôt éviter la coupure de mots en fin de ligne. La calligraphie de l'arabe semble s'être adaptée à l'espace restant; il est donc probable que la traduction arabe a été copiée après le texte copte. Dans le même sens pourrait aller le fait que l'encre de l'arabe semble plus noire.

Paléographie

- Écriture: c'est le même copiste qui a copié tout le manuscrit, mais en plusieurs parties indépendantes, ce qui se reflète dans des variations quant à l'aspect d'ensemble: plus aéré au début de l'Exode, plus dense au début du Lévitique. En l'absence de paléographie bohaïrique, il est assez difficile de caractériser cette écriture, dont on peut dire cependant qu'elle n'est plus aussi droite et dense que celle de manuscrits un peu plus anciens: on remarquera particulièrement la longueur de la queue supérieure du 6 et de la queue inférieure du 9, et la taille importante de certaines lettres dont l'intérieur est rempli de rouge: 2, 3, 4, 5. Il y a deux formes pour le "hay": 6 et 7⁹. L'encre du texte est noire, mais dans l'Exode certaines lignes sont en rouge, ainsi que le titre courant. Les séparations entre segments de phrases (il peut s'agir de pauses logiques, mais peut-être aussi de respirations à observer dans une lecture à voix haute) sont indiquées par des signes ·S· en rouge, jusqu'au f° 328R; ensuite les espaces destinés à ces signes continuent à être ménagés, mais ne sont plus remplis.

- Diacritiques: *djinkim* (= point, ou plutôt ici tiret très court et légèrement incliné de gauche à droite) sur M et N centres de syllabe et voyelles autosyllabiques. C'est l'usage "classique" en usage jusqu'au 14^e s., défini par H.-J. Polotsky¹⁰.

- Mise en page et décoration: en tête de chaque livre se trouve un frontispice constitué d'entrelacs tracés à l'encre noire, qui n'ont été coloriés que pour le Lévitique (vert-jaune-rouge) et le Deutéronome (rouge et noir). La première page de la Genèse est en lettres qu'on pourrait qualifier de monumentales (de 1,5 à 3,5 cm de haut) avec alternance de deux lignes noires/ deux lignes rouges. La première page

⁹ Je n'ai trouvé de mention de cette double graphie ni dans la *Grammaire copte* de Mallon ni dans la *Koptische Grammatik* de Ludwig STERN (Leipzig, 1880), ni dans les catalogues de manuscrits. Seul Lothar STÖRK, *Koptische Handschriften 2. Die Handschriften der Staats-und-Universitäts-Bibliothek Hamburg. Teil 2: Die Handschriften aus Dair Anba Maqar*, Stuttgart, 1995, p. 108, remarque: "Neben 6 wird auch 7 verwendet".

¹⁰ "Une question d'orthographe bohaïrique", *BSAC* 12, 1949, p. 25-35 (= *Collected Papers*, p. 378-388).

de l'Exode (f° 94R) a trois lignes de lettres monumentales noires, puis quelques lignes en onciale dite "nitriote"¹¹, avec ponctuation par points d'or, tandis que dans la marge un rinceau a été tracé à l'encre, mais non colorié. La première page du Lévitique commence en lettres monumentales avec alternance de deux lignes noires/ deux lignes rouges, l'arabe étant lui aussi monumental. A la première page des Nombres (f° 231R), les trois premières lettres du texte sont seules très agrandies: $\alpha\gamma\theta(2)$, chaque α étant constitué de deux cercles tracés au compas, mais sans couleur. La première page du Deutéronome, sous un frontispice étroit, commence par une initiale à entrelacs, rouge et noire, puis le texte est en module normal.

L'impression d'ensemble est celle de non achèvement, et pourtant d'une utilisation assidue dont témoignent à la fois l'usure, déjà évoquée, et les nombreuses notes.

Notes et colophons

Un peu partout dans les marges, les corrections et ajouts de tous ordres ont été très nombreux. Je relève ici les plus remarquables.

- Dans les marges et en rouge, les nombres contenus dans le texte biblique ont été écrits en toutes lettres jusqu'au f° 18. Exemple au f° 9: $\overline{\text{P}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Z}}}$ (167) a été résolu en marge $\omega\epsilon\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{Q}}$ (cent soixante-sept).

- Dans la Genèse et le Deutéronome une main (occidentale?) a introduit une division du texte en chiffres romains, qui correspond plus ou moins à celle des chapitres actuels. À partir de l'Exode et jusqu'à la fin du Deutéronome, des divisions du texte en lettres coptes rouges sont portées dans la marge, soit 186 sections qui ne correspondent pas aux chapitres actuels.

- Au f° 91R, à la fin de la Genèse, une petite note en arabe écrite dans le sens vertical contient une date: 19 Choïak 1073 (année écrite en chiffres coptes cursifs: z o v), soit 15 décembre 1356.

- A la fin de l'Exode (f° 175V), une petite note arabe est écrite à l'encre rouge en biais dans la marge, avec une date dont l'année, en chiffres coptes cursifs, doit être 1074 (z o g), soit 1357/1358, tandis qu'à la fin du texte se trouve la souscription: $\epsilon\chi\theta\alpha\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{N}}$

¹¹ Cette écriture, qui est celle des manuscrits de parchemin du Ouadi-Natroun (mais aussi celle du BnF Copte 13, dont la provenance précise n'est pas connue), se retrouve dans de nombreux manuscrits de papier du 11^e au 14^e s., utilisée comme écriture ornementale dans les premières lignes d'un texte ou d'une section. Je ne pense pas qu'elle suffise à elle seule à attribuer au Ouadi-Natroun un manuscrit qui l'emploie de cette façon, car cet emploi a pu se répandre ailleurs.

(en rouge) $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa \pi\iota\zeta\eta\kappa\iota \dot{\alpha}\rho\iota \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ ("Exode. Dans la paix, amen. Souvenez-vous de mon humble personne"). Dans la marge inférieure, d'une écriture nettement moins exercée ont été tracés les mots: $\pi\iota\zeta\eta\kappa\iota \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma \overline{\gamma\varsigma} \dot{\eta}\gamma\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma \Phi\ddot{\tau} \eta\alpha\iota \eta\alpha\varsigma \overline{\varrho\theta} \text{ⲡ} \overline{\alpha\rho\omicron\zeta}$, "L'humble Jérémie, fils de l'higoumène. Dieu, aie pitié de lui. Amen. 1177 (de l'ère des) M(a)r(tyrs)"¹².

- Les deux folios suivants, qui sont vides de texte, portent des notes en arabe et des cachets de possesseur ou de lecteur qui sont encore à identifier.

- A la fin du Lévitique (f° 236V) se trouve une petite note en arabe, sans date. En rouge: $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\iota\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\kappa\omicron\eta \alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta$.

- A la fin des Nombres (f° 309R) se trouve une autre petite note arabe en rouge, sans date.

- Le colophon (f° 367V):

A l'origine il comptait dix-huit lignes, mais à partir de la seconde moitié de la ligne 4 et jusqu'à la ligne 15, il a été raturé de telle façon qu'il est illisible. On peut lire encore:

$\alpha\varsigma\chi\omega\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\lambda \eta\chi\epsilon \dagger\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\upsilon \eta\epsilon\eta \omicron\upsilon\zeta\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta \dot{\eta}\tau\epsilon$
 $\Phi\ddot{\tau} \alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\eta \tau\chi\iota\chi \dot{\eta}\pi\iota\zeta\eta\kappa\iota \epsilon\theta\upsilon\epsilon \pi\alpha\psi\alpha\iota \dot{\eta}\tau\epsilon \eta\epsilon\varrho\eta\eta\upsilon\beta\iota$
 $\pi\iota\psi\epsilon\eta\eta\eta \epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\zeta \dot{\eta}\alpha\delta\eta\eta\iota \eta\iota\beta\epsilon\eta\eta \Phi\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon \dot{\eta}\varrho\epsilon\mu\pi\psi\alpha \alpha\dot{\eta}$
 $\epsilon\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\ddot{\tau} \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varrho \chi\epsilon \rho\omega\mu\iota \mu\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha \mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma \eta\epsilon\eta \Phi\rho\alpha\eta$
 $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda \pi\psi\eta\eta\iota \dot{\eta}\alpha\upsilon\rho\alpha\alpha\mu \pi\iota\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\mu\chi\eta \dagger\mu\alpha\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon\ddot{\tau} \dot{\eta}\beta\alpha\kappa\iota$
 [...]

$\kappa\epsilon \omicron\upsilon\omicron\eta\eta \eta\iota\beta\epsilon\eta\eta \epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\chi\iota\mu\iota \dot{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\beta\psi\iota \iota\varsigma \dagger\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}$
 $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varrho\iota\pi\iota \dot{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta \omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta \dot{\eta}\tau\epsilon\varrho\alpha\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\iota \acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon$
 $\pi\chi\varsigma \dagger \eta\alpha\varrho \dot{\eta}\pi\iota\eta\iota\psi\ddot{\tau} \dot{\eta}\psi\epsilon\beta\iota\omega \epsilon\theta\upsilon\epsilon \tau\epsilon\varrho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta \alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta$

$\eta\iota\rho\omicron\mu\pi\iota \dot{\eta}\eta\iota\mu\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\omicron\varsigma \overline{\alpha\omicron\zeta} \eta\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\zeta\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta \dot{\eta}\tau\epsilon \Phi\ddot{\tau} \alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta$

"Achevée la sainte Torah, dans la paix de Dieu, amen. Par la main de ce malheureux sous le nombre de ses péchés, ce misérable (?)¹³ plein de toute souillure, celui qui n'est pas digne d'être appelé "homme", encore moins "moine", qui a nom Michel, fils d'Abraham, originaire de Pemdjè¹⁴ la pieuse cité [...]

¹² La même note, datée de la même année 1460/1461, se retrouve dans le manuscrit BnF Copte 2A (f°186R): c'est une copie du livre d'Ezéchiel datée de 1375, qui a un certain nombre de ressemblances avec Copte 1, mais n'est pas du même copiste.

¹³ Je n'ai pas identifié le mot $\psi\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$. Il pourrait s'agir d'un dérivé de $\psi\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$ « être malade », ou de $\psi\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$, « être démoni ».

¹⁴ Ancienne Oxyrhynchos, actuelle Bahnasa.

Et quiconque trouvera l'oubli ou le repentir, qu'il fasse une aumône et qu'il la fasse comme il convient. Le Christ lui donnera grande récompense à cause de son aumône. Amen.

Années des Martyrs 1076. Dans la paix de Dieu. Amen.”

La copie est donc achevée l'année 1359/1360. Il se pourrait que **ΘΕΩΡΙΑ** soit une mauvaise compréhension du mot hébreu *Torah*, et non pas le mot grec *θεωρία*, qui n'est pas employé dans ce sens. C'est probablement par influence de l'arabe que ce mot apparaît ici en copte, comme l'indique le titre porté au début des Nombres (f° 237R): **ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΠΙΜΑΖ Δ ΝΧΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝ †ΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ** (avec le mot arabe correspondant التوراة).

En marge du colophon se trouve une note en arabe qu'Amélineau reproduit dans sa notice avec le commentaire: “On voit ainsi que le manuscrit a été écrit à Gizeh au mois de Bâbah, au moment où le Nil avait atteint 20 coudées et était resté sans décroître jusqu'à la moitié (?) de Baba, ce qui avait fait grand plaisir aux Egyptiens.” Au folio suivant (f° 368) se trouvent cinq lignes en arabe élégamment tracées à l'encre bleue. C'est sans doute à ces lignes qu'Amélineau fait allusion quand il dit qu'une autre note en arabe “nous apprend que la copie a été collationnée”.

Date

La copie de ce Pentateuque s'est donc étalée entre 1356 et 1360.

Reliure

La reliure actuelle est trop petite pour le manuscrit. C'est probablement une reliure de récupération, qui n'a pas dû être mise en place avant le 16^e siècle (cf. les f° A-B-C et leur filigrane). Il s'agit d'une reliure en cuir marron de type oriental assez banal, à dos plat, sans rabat, avec des motifs estampés à froid (losanges et écoinçons). Lors de la restauration effectuée en 2000, le démontage de la reliure a permis d'en sortir divers fragments coptes et surtout arabes qui servaient de garnissage. Aucun de ces fragments n'est datable avec précision. Cependant plusieurs d'entre eux sont manifestement plus tardifs que le manuscrit Copte 1, au vu de la qualité du papier et de l'écriture. L'un des fragments est en syriaque. La reliure actuelle pourrait avoir été mise en place à la fin du 16^e ou au début du 17^e siècle¹⁵.

¹⁵ On notera une remarque intéressante d'Hugh EVELYN-WHITE concernant les

Histoire du manuscrit

Les différentes mentions, signatures et chiffres apposés sur les premières pages du manuscrit permettent de remonter le fil de ses déplacements. La cote actuelle, Copte 1, a été attribuée au manuscrit dans le premier catalogue imprimé de la Bibliothèque royale (1739), où les manuscrits étaient classés par langue, et à l'intérieur de chaque langue selon les types de texte. En 1682, dans l'inventaire manuscrit de Nicolas Clément, où la numérotation des manuscrits ne recommençait pas pour chaque langue, le manuscrit portait la cote *Regius* 326 (cette indication n'est pas visible dans le manuscrit, mais elle se retrouve grâce aux concordances). Il avait appartenu au collectionneur Gilbert Gaulmin et portait le numéro "trois cent quarante-deux" lors de la vente des manuscrits de ce dernier à la Bibliothèque royale en 1667, où son premier numéro d'inventaire était "520". Gaulmin avait obtenu ce manuscrit vers 1645, par l'intermédiaire de François Daniel et Jean Magy, marchands provençaux établis en Egypte: le cachet de F. Daniel, à ses initiales, se trouve au f°A, accompagné d'une note probablement de la main de Magy: "Ce sont les Cinq livres de Mouyse en arabe et gofetin/"¹⁶.

Où F. Daniel avait-il acquis ce manuscrit? Probablement au Caire ou dans un des monastères du Ouadi-Natroun. La note arabe déchiffrée par Amélineau dit que le manuscrit a été copié à Gizeh, vraisemblablement dans un monastère puisque le copiste est un moine. Le manuscrit a pu ensuite être donné à un autre établissement, peut-être le "monastère des Syriens". La langue et les particularités textuelles pourraient aider à progresser dans cette question.

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manuscrits de Saint-Macaire: "It was in 1626 that the *Barberini Psalter* was rebound: this may indicate some general effort to put the library in order": *The Monasteries in the Wadi n'Natrun*, New York, 1926, vol. 1, p. XXIII, n. 2.

¹⁶ Cf. Anne BOUD'HORS, "Un 'marchand d'Egypte' au service des premiers orientalistes français: François Daniel" in: *Mélanges offerts à Jean Leclant*, Le Caire, 1994, vol.4, p.19-27. Il me faut signaler ici que le cachet avait déjà été identifié comme celui de F. Daniel par Paul DEVOS, qui l'avait relevé sur le Copte 151, fragment d'une Passion de Macrobe sur parchemin, tiré d'un manuscrit syriaque où il servait de feuillet de garde: cf. «Le fragment survivant de la passion copte de S. Macrobe (Ms. Paris Copte 151)», *Analecta Bollandiana* 67, 1949, p. 153-164.

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APPENDIX II

OFER LIVNE-KAFRY

Some Notes concerning the Arabic Version*

The bilingual Coptic-Arabic versions of the Pentateuch of MS Paris. Copt. I, reflect the Copts' need, at a time of lingual transition, of an Arabic translation besides the traditional Coptic text; this is a preliminary study of the Arabic text. The language of the Arabic version belongs to the so-called Christian-Arabic, which, like the medieval Judaeo-Arabic is less committed to the ideal of Classical Arabic (J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic* [Louvain, 1966-1967], vol. 1, p. 19); among Blau's numerous works in this field see, e.g. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic* (Oxford, 1965); *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, second enlarged edition (Jerusalem, 1980; in Hebrew); *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts* (Jerusalem, 2006). As part of Middle Arabic it includes elements of the Classical language, as well as other features, akin to those reflecting the influence of 'conquered languages', the penetration of the dialects into the literary language, hyper corrections, etc. (For a general introduction see Blau, *Christian Arabic*, vol. 1, pp. 42-58.) The Arabic text is discussed here in light of these characteristics, while some questions concerning the relations between the two versions might be posed. For example, was the Arabic translated from the Coptic version, and if so, was it the only source? In most cases where the text exceeds the lines it is Arabic text; this implies that the Coptic text was most probably written first. Is it possible that the Arabic was influenced by the Coptic? Are there signs of the Coptic in the Arabic in terms of grammar, style, or vocabulary? Is there a reflection of the Hebrew version of the Pentateuch? The Septuagint? The answers might be important for the study of Arabic (and Coptic), especially from the linguistic point of view, though other

* The full reference of the manuscript is B.N. Paris. Copt. I. See its description in J.F. Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt*, Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1921 (Ph.D. Dissertation), pp. 46-52. In the framework of this study we will not discuss the scribe's notes in the margins of the manuscript (*ibid.*, pp. 46-52); see also A.E. Brooke, 'The Bohairic Version of the Pentateuch', *Journal of Theological Studies* 3 (1902), pp. 258-278. I wish to thank A. Shisha-Halevy who introduced me to this field, for the text that he made available to me, and for his warm encouragement.

fields might benefit too, such as biblical studies or the history of the area (e.g. cultural evidence of relations among the different Arabic-speaking communities, especially in Egypt). At the present stage of research it is impossible to make a comparison with other Arabic translations of the Bible (Egyptian and others) or to treat exegetical traditions of the text; instead we prefer to show some general trends through selected examples.

Classical elements

These are an important component in all forms of Middle Arabic (see e.g. Blau, *Grammar*, p. 5). It seems that the translator of the Arabic text was acquainted with the grammar of Classical Arabic and wished to produce a translation of 'high language'. This is generally reflected through the impact of Classical Arabic in many ways, such as the preservation of orthographic marks, in the morphology, and mainly through the syntax, where many other Christian texts are far less strict (the preservation of the moods; the cases: nominative, accusative, and genitive of the noun, with the vowels added in many instances; pronouns; numerals, and more). Although he is not always consistent, the translator makes a great effort to adhere to Classical forms.

Some examples which demonstrate Classical usages (sometimes including features of Middle Arabic):

1. In *Num.* 13:23, 25 ... وقطعوا غصناً فيه عنقود عنب... من بعد اربعين ... يوماً ... and they cut a branch in which (there was) a bunch of grapes... after forty days'; the cases are marked in the manuscript according to the rules of Classical Arabic.

2. Correct use of 'لام الامر' (لام الامر); cf. W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* [Cambridge, 1933], vol. 1, p. 291; vol. 2, p. 35) in *Exod.* 5:7, 9 ... فليهتموا بها... فلتثقل اعمال... وليمضوا 'let them go... let the works [of these people] be heavy... let them take care of them [the works]'. Cf. below, the section *The relation of the Coptic to the language of the Arabic version*, 9.

3. The subjunctive of the imperfect (cf. Wright, *Grammar*, vol 2, pp. 22, 28) in *Num.* 13:16 هذه اسماء الرجال الذين ارسلهم موسى ليجسوا الارض 'These are the names of the men whom Moses sent in order that they investigate the land'. Note also the agreement of the different components of the sentence according to the rules of Classical Arabic (cf. Blau, *Christian Arabic*, vol. 2, pp. 275ff.).

4. Special attention should be paid to the Classical use of the dual in the Arabic translation (see *Gen.* 4:23; 40:5; *Exod.* 1:15-16; 5:4; but cf. *Exod.* 1:21 القوابل in the plural), because a special morphological dual category

does not exist in the Coptic text and because the grammatical rules of the dual are not always kept in Middle Arabic in general (see Blau, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 47; pp. 209-223); generally the dual is replaced by the plural (like القوالب, above) as an aspect of the analytic trend (cf. *ibid.*, p. 209). See also, e.g. *Exod.* 1:15 وقال... ملك مصر للقاتلتين اللتين للعبرانيتين واسم احدتهما... 'And the king of Egypt said to the two midwives whom the Hebrews had; the name of one of them...'. The use of the dual for the noun, the relative pronoun, and the pronominal suffix is according to Classical Arabic rules, but the combination احدتهما (instead of احدهما) is probably a reflection of the spoken language (*ibid.*, p. 237; cf. J. Blau, *Grammar*, p. 113).

5. On the penetration of the spoken language see also اي شيء (< ايش) instead of the interrogative pronoun ما 'what'. Both ما ايش and ما appear in *Num.* 13:18-20 in the sense of 'what, of what sort, how?'; cf. Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 27.

6. Classical use of ... ام ... '(either) or', in interrogative sentences: *Num.* 13:18 اقويا هم ام ضعفاء 'are they strong or weak?'; cf. Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 306 (although اقويا seems to have been a better choice: see *ibid.*, p. 308).

7. Classical style and ways of expression: *Gen.* 25:32 قد اشرفت على... الموت '...I am at the point of death' (literally: 'I overlooked death'; cf. E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* [London, 1865-1893], vol. 4, p. 1537). The Coptic text says simply [like the Hebrew] '...I am going to die'.

8. Hyper-corrections: *Exod.* 4:2 فقال له الرب ما هذه التي في يدك اما هو 'and the Lord said: What is it which is in your hand? As for him, he said: a staff'. This is a translation from the Coptic (which is basically a reflection of the Septuagint) πεζαυ ναυ ηδε ποτ δε οτ πε φαι ετθεν τεκνιζ ηθορ δε πεζαυ δε οτωβωτ. It might be an attraction or a 'scholarly hyper-correction' in the Arabic, where there is an adaptation of the demonstrative pronoun and the relative pronoun (which should have been been in the masculine) to عصا, a feminine noun.

Reflection of the Septuagint

The last example is one of many in which the Septuagint is reflected in the Arabic text through the Coptic. This is clearly seen in the preservation of proper names: *Gen.* 38:1 'Hirah', ηραc is translated as ايرس; proper names in *Exod.* 1 follow the Coptic (cf. verse 3 نفثاليم νεφθαλιμ); even Abraham is written ابرام, ابرام (αβραμ, αβρααμ) in *Gen.* 17:5, although in other cases the Arabic word is preferred (like موسى Moses). The

Septuagint's version is also reflected in *Gen.* 12:6 *الشجر المرتفع* 'the high tree' through the Coptic (for the Hebrew version *אלון מורה*). See also *Gen.* 32:2, the Arabic *فسار يعقوب في طريقه ورفع طرفه فرأى عساكر الله...* 'and Jacob went in his way and he looked up and he saw the troops of God...' translates the Coptic version, which is a direct translation of the Septuagint. These might hint also at the presence of the Septuagint's unique (sometimes exegetical) tradition in the Arabic translation.

Reflection of the Hebrew versions of the Pentateuch (or Arabic versions translated from Hebrew).

1. The Coptic version was apparently not the only source on which the Arabic text relied. Differences between the versions are sometimes evident, and there seems also to be a reflection of the Hebrew version of the Pentateuch (or, more probably, of Arabic translations from the Hebrew). The choice of Arabic words sounding similar to Hebrew words in the same verses is not always a proof of a deliberate act by the translator, but it should be taken into consideration. For example, the Hebrew *כרעים* 'shins' translated as *أكراع* (*Exod.* 12:9; 29:17; *Lev.* 1:9; 4:11; 8:21) might be related to a similar use in Classical Arabic (see J.G. Hava, *Al-Faraid, Arabic-English Dictionary* [Beirut, 1986], p. 651); *נשמה* 'soul' translated as *نسمة* in *Gen.* 2:7; 7:22 (cf. Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 693); or even *روح نسمة* in *Deut.* 20:16; *משחה* 'ointment' is translated as *مسحة* (see e.g. *Lev.* 7:35, or *مسحة دهن המשחה* in *Exod.* 29:7); *מחנה* 'a camping place' as *محلة* (*Exod.* 33:7); *מנורה* 'a lamp' as *منارة* in *Exod.* 35:14; *חרם* 'anything devoted to God' is translated as *حرمة* and there is even a pl. form *حرمات* (*Lev.* 27:28-29. For the meaning in Classical Arabic, cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, vol. 2, pp. 553 ff.). In *Lev.* 25:24, *ובכל ארץ אחזתכם* 'and in the whole land you hold', the Arabic is *وفي جميع الارض التي في حوزكم* 'and in the whole land that you possess'. The similarity of sound of *אחזה* and *حوز* (cf. 'حوز' in J. Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 151) apparently caused this translation choice (cf. the same word translated as *ميراث* 'inheritance' in *Gen.* 47:11 or *Num.* 32:29, 32). In *Deut.* 8:9 *במסכנות* is translated as *بالمسكنة* (both mean 'poverty, destitution'. *مسكنة* is the Classical use in Arabic; see Hava, *Al-Faraid*, p. 329). According to Blau, in Judaeo-Arabic texts *צעידה*, plural *צואער* is a literal translation of the Hebrew *עולה* 'burnt-offering' (Blau, *Emergence*, p. 156; cf. Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 372). This word appears in several places, such as *Gen.* 8:21 *בעידה*, but this does not translate the Hebrew parallel. The word *עולות* in the Hebrew version of *Gen.* 8:20 is translated as *محرقات* in the same sense as *צואער* ('burnt-offerings'). *עולה* is translated as *صعيدة* in *Exod.* 29:25; and in *Exod.* 30:20 it translates

אשה, a sacrifice burnt completely (or partly). In *Lev.* 1:3 עולה is translated as وقود کامل and in *Lev.* 4:34 מזבח העולה 'the altar of the burnt-offering' is translated by مذبح الوقود. Sometimes صعيدة apparently translates עולה when it is understood not merely as a 'burnt-offering' but 'burnt-offering' related to the incense and the good smell coming from it. In *Num.* 33:48-50 'the plains of Moab' בערבות מואב is مغارب مواب, غريبات مواب, נִמְגַבְתֵּי מוֹאָב 'the west of Moab', but this is in fact a reflection of the Septuagint, where ערבות מואב is translated as 'the west of Moab' (cf. *Deut.* 1:1 'in the Araba' בערבה 'الغرب' مما يلي 'within the reach of the west').

2. It seems, albeit in rare cases, that (conversely) the Christian-Arabic of the Copts might have influenced the Judaeo-Arabic of Egypt. One case is the adverbial phrase וַחֵסֶד וַחֵסֶד (or חֵסֶד וַחֵסֶד) 'each one, every one' (cf. W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford, 1979], p. 469). Although the classical phrase واحد كل is also in use (cf. Wright, *Grammar*, Vol. 2, p. 204) such as in *Exod.* 5:4 مَا يَفْعَلُ نَاسُكَ حֵסֶד וַחֵסֶד מִמֶּנִּי 'let each one of you [note the preservation of the dual] go to his work', we find more often translations of וַחֵסֶד וַחֵסֶד in phrases like الواحد الواحد (*Exod.* 1:1); واحد واحد (*Num.* 7:5; 11:10) and even واحد واحد (*Num.* 5:10; *Lev.* 7:10; cf. the feminine, *ibid.*, 5:26 واحدة واحدة). The phrase واحد واحد translating in one place חֵסֶד וַחֵסֶד probably tries to place special emphasis on reciprocity (*Gen.* 32:27 '... each killing his brother and friend and neighbor'). A rare instance of a similar use of واحد واحد is attested in an Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic text (Blau, *Grammar*, p. 113, no. 9; *idem*, *Dictionary*, p. 754). This expression may be a loan translation from the Coptic, into both the Christian Arabic and the Judaeo-Arabic of Egypt (probably through Christian-Arabic), and it might represent a spoken language as well. If so, this is important cultural evidence. The findings of Blau in the above-mentioned *Dictionary* may be extremely helpful in any future research on the subject. So far I have not found a direct connection of our text with the Arabic translations of the Torah by Saadia Gaon.

The cultural influence of Muslim society

The cultural influence of Muslim society is expressed in the use of Muslim terminology in non-Muslim texts, even concerning religious matters (cf. Blau, *Emergence*, pp.159-160). Examples: سنة (*sunna*, pl. سنن *sunan*) 'religious conduct, generally of those who follow the way of the Prophet Muhammad; Muslim tradition; Muslim law' appears in many places in biblical connotation. See e.g. *Exod.* 27:21 חוקת עולם 'a lasting

ordinance' سنة ابدية; in *Lev.* 24:22 'the alien, *גר*' is translated by *الذمي* *al-dhimmi* (of a non-Muslim community protected by Islam); in *Gen.* 8:20 'the clean birds' الطير الحلال *al-ṭayr al-al-ḥalāl*; *Lev.* 10:10 'the unclean and the clean' والحرام الحلال *al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* (lawful and unlawful in terms of Muslim jurisprudence (cf. Blau, *Dictionary*, pp. 120, 142).

The relation of the Coptic to the language of the Arabic version

Still, what makes the Arabic version so different from other Christian-Arabic (non-Egyptian) texts seems to be the relation of the Coptic to the language of the Arabic version of the Pentateuch (sometimes, as mentioned, reflecting the Septuagint). The Coptic version may have been the most important source for the Arabic translation. The results are sometimes contrary to what is deemed to match the norm in Classical Arabic, both grammatically and in style, despite the translator's knowledge of Classical grammar. It is difficult to know whether the translator's choices were a result merely of his insufficient knowledge of Classical Arabic or of his wish to produce a more verbal translation of a sacred text; or if there was an attempt to create a literary style understood by the intended readership at a time of linguistic transition (or as the continuation of an already existing version). Also, he might have acquired the knowledge of Arabic grammatical rules, but was not well acquainted with Classical literature. The variation may also hint at what comes instinctively to the translator's mind in his specific linguistic environment. The examples given here are selective; at this stage of the research they point to tendencies rather than giving a full and detailed presentation of the subject.

1. *Deut.* 1:14 The Arabic *وقلتم حسناً هو هذا القول الذي قلته ان تفعل* '...and you said: What you propose to do is good' (literally: 'Good is this thing [cf. Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 570, entry *قول* in the sense of 'matter, thing'] which you have said it, that you would do') is a translation from the Coptic... *περὶ ὧν τὸν θεὸν ἠνεπίκαζι φη ἑτακκαζι ἰμοὺ ἐαίϛ*. Note the influence of the Coptic word order, more especially the possible influence of the adjective verb *ἠνε-* (cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy* [Leuven, 1988], pp. 196; 261).

2. As in the first example, the word order of the Arabic version frequently follows that of the Coptic text. One interesting case is that of *maf'ūl muṭlaq* (the absolute object; cf. e.g. Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 54). In Classical Arabic the internal object follows the verb and very rarely precedes it (cf. Blau, *Christian Arabic*, vol. 3, pp. 604-605). In *Gen.* 15:13 *اعلم علماً* 'you will surely know' the usual word order of Classical Arabic is preserved, but there are examples where the internal object is prefixed

7. In *Exod.* 1:15 ... قايلًا ... وقال ملك مصر للقابليتين... 'And the king of Egypt said to the two midwives... saying...' translates the Coptic ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ... ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ... Cf. *Exod.* 3:4... ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ... ⲉⲓⲓⲱⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ... 'He called him... saying...' is translated

as ... قايلا ... دعاه. The translator probably wanted to reflect in the Arabic the circumstantial durative infinitive by using the Arabic الحال (state of condition). Note that in Classical Arabic قال إن is required before a direct speech as in *Exod.* 3:16. ... وقال اني ذكرًا قد ذكرتمكم.

8. *Exod.* 2:2 ἐταρνασθε εἶροϋ θεοϋτακτιος πε... The Arabic is a literal translation: ... ولما نظروه انه جميل هو ('... when they saw him that he is beautiful...'). The pronominal suffix in نظروه does not match the Classical Arabic (cf. *Gen.* 37:4 ... فلما نظر اخوته ان اياه هو); The هو (it might be a late addition, because it is written in smaller letters; but that is not certain) is not required here in Classical Arabic and it seems to be enclitic, following the sg. masc. enclitic subject πε (Cf. Blau, *Christian Arabic*, vol. 2, p. 402, no. 290.1: a possible reflection of Syriac in the feature of enclitic هو emphasizing the preceding word).

9. In *Exod.* 5:4 μαθενωτεν φουαι φουαι ἡμωτεν ἐνεϋεβηοτι عمله فليمض كل واحد منكما الى عمله 'let each one of you (two) go to his work'; the Coptic imperative is translated by the Arabic jussive connected with the imperative in the use of 'ل of the command' (لام الامر), and not by the Arabic imperative. Cf. above, section *Classical elements*, 2: the example given there is *Exod.* 5:7, 9 ... وليمضوا ... فلتثقل اعمالهم 'let them go... let the works [of these people] be heavy... let them take care of them [the works]'. Here 'ل of the command' is used to translate the Coptic causative imperative (μαρεϋ- let him-): μαροϋεῆνωσ... μαροϋερωϋ... μαροϋιρωσϋ... .

10. Another result of a literal translation is seen in ἐφμα: in *Deut.* 8:20 ἐφμα δε ... ἡπτετεν σωτεμ... 'because you did not listen...', the Arabic version is لموضع عدم سماعكم. لموضع is not an Arabic expression, and it translates the Coptic literally (like μα means 'place'). In *Gen.* 22:16 'because you have done...', ... ففعلت بما translates the Coptic ἐφμα δε ακρι... It might be that بما was chosen here because of the similarity to the sounding of ἐφμα. But cf. *Gen.* 22:18: ἐφμα 'because' is translated by لان (cf. Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 78); in *Gen.* 22:13 'instead of his son' عوض اسحاق ابنه ἐφμα is translated by a parallel Arabic usage.

11. 'To sport, play with a woman' in *Gen.* 26:8 יצחק מצחק את רבקה... אשתו The Arabic version, following the Coptic ισαακ εϋχεωβι nem pebekka teq cxiμι is اسحق يضاحك رفقا زوجته ('Isaac is sporting with Rebekah his wife'; note the similarity of the Arabic root ض.ح.ك to the Hebrew root צ.ח.ק). Cf. *Gen.* 39:17 לנו אשר הבאת לנו 'The Hebrew slave... came to me to make sport on me'. The Coptic is σωβι 'to laugh, play', but the Arabic here is ليفضحني 'to disgrace me'.

Hebrew versions of the Pentateuch and of the culture of Muslim society, and is closely related to the Coptic version from which, for the most part, it was probably translated. Even if we see it as a somewhat artificial combination, it is still quite consistent, and the study of its features in grammar, syntax, and vocabulary might be extremely valuable.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS, CONCEPTS AND NAMES

The index is selective. Pages are given in roman numerals, paragraphs in italics. Multiple occurrences of an item on a given page are listed only once. Page references include footnotes.

Abundans Pronoun, Referent to Antecedent in Relative Construction, 525-526, 597-599

Acclamation, Divine, 153, 263-265

Achmimic, 328, 527

Actant,

Actants vs. Circumstants, 412

Agens/Actor Actant, 114, 123-131, 136, 186, 350, 353, 357, 368, 383, 420, 423, 454, 464, 465, 471, 473, 490, 531, 580

See also Theme

Object Actant, 144, 252, 349-350, 361, 411, 485, 490-491, 589, 593-594

Address, 152-154, 158, 429-430, 547

Adjective, 347, 364, 381, 408, 439, 3.10

Adjectival Role, of Nominal-Sentence Rheme, 283

See also Attribution

Adnexal Role/Status, 6, 224, 227, 280, 291, 292, 350, 351, 448, 458, 489, 517-518, 533-534, 585, 4.5.1, 4.5.1.2, 598, 603

See also Circumstantial Conversion

Adnominal Clause, Nucleus of, 350-351

Adnominal Σ e-Clause, 352

Adverb, Adverbial, 545

Adverbial Commutation, Polotsky's conception of, 4

Adverbial Rheme, 496-497

Adverbial Rheme, following ϵ p-, 285

Adverbial Rheme in Nominal Sentence, 239, 241, 244, 247, 254, 268

Adverbial/Adverbial Status of $\epsilon\phi^-$, 424

Adverbial Status, *casus adverbialis*, 384, 517, 522, 536, 579-580

Adverbial Status, Nominal Sentence in, 256, 262

Adverbial Status Unmarked, 247

Adverbial Topicalized, 515, 518

Premodifying Adverbials, 547

Premodification Juncture, 497

Affective Syntax, 416, 417, 425, 428, 443, 444, 448-449, 457, 525

See also Deixis, Disparaging Affect

Allocation, Allocutivity, 93, 103, 113, 141-164, 1.2.4.2-3, 226-230, 266-267, 271, 274, 303, 318, 323, 324, 500-502, 626

Allocation/Response Dependency, 140, 1.2.4.1-3, 482, 540, 547, 620, 622

Allomorphic Juncture, 4.4.7

Allomorphic Selection, 361, 394, 400, 469, 538, 539, 583-586, 599, 4.4.7

See also Zero Allomorph of Circumstantial/Relative Converter

Amplified Episode, in Narrative, *see* Enhanced Evolution

Anacolutheia, 4.2.4.7.5

Anaphora, Anaphoricity, Anaphors, 66, 249, 277, 341, 346, 378-379, 383, 385, 389, 3.5.1, 415-416, 419, 425, 437, 490, 494, 513, 4.2.4, 4.2.4.1, 4.2.4.3, 525-528, 535, 538, 625, 633 and *passim*

Anaphora in Narrative, 107, 109-110

Ana-Cataphoric Reference, 533, 633

Anaphoric Grading, 522, 523

Anaphoric Pronominal Theme, in Nominal Sentence, 237-240, 264

Anaphoric Theme+Rheme, in Nominal Sentence, 239, 264-265

Anaphoric Theme Zeroed, 240-242

Fuzzy Anaphora, 415, 521-525, 535

Zero Anaphor, 597

Zero Anaphora, 517-518, 520

Anaphoric Association,

with Evolution, by Narrative Comment Mode, 62-66, 71-77

Antecedent Construction, *see* Relative Conversion/Relative Constructions, Juncture of/Antecedent Construction, Nucleus

- Anteriority, Fuzzy, 131
 "Aorist", for the Narrative Carrier Tense, 36
 Aorist (Coptic), 101, 169, 170, 211-215, 605
 Aorist in Narrative 88, 92, 98, 100-104, 114-115
 Apodosis, Apodoticty, in *apodosi*, 57, 93, 96, 101-102, 135, 157, 159, 160, 165, 186, 187-188, 197, 199, 201, 202, 205, 213, 228, 230, 322, 459, 499, 500, 508, 535, 547
 Apposition, 248, 264, 273, 276, 351, 382, 397, 414-417, 419, 424, 428, 432, 436, 448-449, 456, 463, 467, 482, 488, 3.11, 522-523, 524-525, 538, 568, 611, 613
 Appurtenance, 398, 441, 442-443
 Arabic, 146, 179-180, 309, 310, 460, 579
 (Non-)Aspiration, Bohairic "Aspiration", 401-402, 487, 493, 497, 537, 538, 540, 4.4.4-6
 Aspiration, Combinatory, 568, 569-570
 Aspiration, Non-Combinatory, 568-569, 580
 Aspiration, Variation in, 571-572, 599
 Aspiration and Morphemic Juncture, 571
 Assertive-Focal Formal ("Rhetorical")
 Questions, 141-143, 143-146, 146-149, 149-152, 200, 227, 293, 319-320, 321, 322, 324, 326, 457
 Assimilation, 537, 538, 573
 Atemporal/Extratemporal, 274
 Nexal Forms in Narrative, 1.1.4
 Athanasius of Qûs, 18, 577
 Attribution, 3.10
 Augens, 155, 186, 197, 265, 276, 278, 324, 421, 425, 447, 515, 516, 524, 538, 548, 600, 607-611
 Augens in Narrative, 119-120
 Base Conjugation, Conjugation Bases, 126, 128, 340, 536, 539, 605
 Base Conjugation Juncture, 494
 Blocking, of Narrative Information, *see* Chunking
 Bohairic, Introduction *passim*; 12-26, 470
 Status and Study of, 2, 12-19
 Varieties of, 0.5
 Bohairic, Distinctive Features of, 72, 148, 158, 159-160, 167, 1.2.5.1, 226, 232, 249-256, 262-269, 269-272, 272-273, 2.4.1-3, 308, 362, 375-376, 3.5, 480, 495, 497, 530, 536, 539
 Bohairic,
 B4 variety, 80, 87, 92, 127, 133, 144, 148, 160, 167, 177, 184, 216, 219, 239, 241, 247, 252, 255, 257, 259, 263, 266, 271, 278, 279, 289, 297, 299, 301, 308, 309, 314, 315-316, 318, 320, 323, 329, 374, 400, 402, 411, 423, 444-445, 507, 515, 522, 532, 540, 541, 543, 572, 584, 587, 607, 613, 615, 617, 625, 632
 Bohairic and Egyptian, 25-26, 308, 312-313, 336
 New Testament variety, 88, 133, 148, 164, 165, 167, 179, 183, 210, 241, 245, 248, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 268, 269, 275, 279, 297-298, 301, 315-316, 318, 325, 328, 329, 352, 360, 385, 396, 402, 410, 423, 424, 428, 452, 453, 458, 490, 495, 497, 516, 532, 533, 577, 584, 617-618, 625, 626, 633
 Nitrian variety, 19, 21-22, 56, 59, 87, 92, 101, 107, 130-131, 148, 149, 154, 164, 165, 166, 168-169, 170-177, 183, 184, 196, 211, 219, 239, 242, 245, 246, 248, 252, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 269, 272, 275, 276, 277, 279, 282, 296, 297-298, 299, 312, 313, 314, 315-316, 318-319, 325, 327, 329, 346, 352, 360, 361, 377, 385, 386, 388, 396, 400, 402-403, 410, 414-415, 423, 428, 429, 440, 455, 458, 465-466, 471, 486, 489, 495, 516, 522, 532, 577, 584-585, 587, 593, 607, 613, 625, 626, 628, 629, 630, 632, 633
 Old Testament variety (other than Pentateuch), 183, 239, 269, 276, 297, 315-316, 320, 346, 348, 424, 452, 453, 458, 495, 509, 577, 584, 588, 607, 625
 Boundary, Boundary Signal, *see* Juncture: Delimitation. Delimiter

- Bracketing, 81, 128, 375-377, 412, 4.2.3, 509, 538, and *passim*
 Bracketing by Base, 512
 Bracketing by Converters, 511-512
 Bracketing by Determinators, 346, 372, 375-377, 4.2.3, and *passim*
- Case-raising,
 Legal Case-Raising, as Narrative, 96-97
- See also* Hypothetical Particularity
- Cataphora, Cataphoricity, Cataphors, 134, 339, 349, 355, 356, 360, 374, 380, 395, 3.5.1, 401, 415, 463, 467, 525, 530, 535, 624, 625, 632, 633
 Cataphoric Formal Theme of Nominal Sentence, 242-249
 Cataphora in Narrative, 109-110
- Cataphoric Association,
 by Narrative Comment Mode, with Evolution, 64, 74, 80
- Causatives, 470-471, 572
 Causativity, 467-468, 470-471
 Causative Conjugation, 158
 Causative Imperative, 157-158
See also Imperative, Jussive
- Celtic, 210, 222, 226, 280, 295, 485, 587
- Chunking, of information in Narrative, 105, 120-123
- Cinematographic terminology, in analysis of Narrative, 40-41, 87, and Chapter One, *passim*
- Circumstantial Conversion, 85, 87, 88, 91-92, 105, 107, 190, 195-196, 199, 211, 212, 219, 223, 224, 237, 254, 255, 260, 270, 272, 279, 280, 282, 290, 291, 297, 306, 311, 312, 314, 317, 323, 346, 348, 350, 359, 455, 489, 496, 497, 499, 509, 511, 512, 517-518, 532, 536, 539, 541, 542, 581, 589, 617, 4.5.1-4.5.1.2
 Adnexal to Object Actant, 593-594
 Adnominal, 3.1
 Endonuclear Circumstantial, 495-497, 589
 Fuzzy Expansion by Circumstantial, 588
 Circumstantial of Focalizing Conversion, 312, 600, 601
 Circumstantial Opposed to Relative, 350-351
- Circumstantial as Rhematic Actant, 591-593
 Circumstantial as Suppletion Tool, 591-592
 Circumstantial Vested, 595
 Zero Allomorph of Circumstantial, 536
 Zero-Generic Circumstantial, 348
- Clause Conjugation, 592-593
- Cleft Sentence, Relative-Topic (Coptic), 95, 100, 102, 143, 176, 194, 231, 238, 240, 246, 247, 253, 256, 260, 262, 266, 268, 294-297, 299-304, 308, 318, 326, 426, 516, 547, 548, 589, 590, 599, 606
 Cleft Sentence with Circumstantial Topic, 146, 161, 295, 297
 Cleft Sentence with zero Formal Theme, 261, 294, 295, 302
 # ΝΤΑΚ ΕΤ- # in Oxyrhynchite, 301-302
 Cleft Sentence in Egyptian Diachrony, 296-297
- Cohesion, 389-390
 Cohesion in Narrative, 105-120, 129-130
 Cohesion, in and around Nominal Sentence, 250
 Cohesion, Referential, 4.2.4
- See also* Juncture
- Colon (punctuation), 545, 548-552, 554, 555
- Comment Mode, of Narrative, 1.1.1-5, 34-35, 40, 57-59, 62-66, 68, 71-82, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 105, 108, 116, 117-119, 125, 132-134, 137, 214, 219, 232, 250, 253, 254, 267, 309, 318, 324, 479, 482, 502, 514, and Chapter One *passim*
 High Comment Mode, 81-82
- Compound Verbs Topicalized/Focalized, 323-324, 331
- Concord, 107, 244, 253, 255, 258, 272, 346, 390, 416, 450, 467, 488, 499, 523, 524, 525, 531, 537-538, 540, 621, 625, 4.2.4.7.3
 Fuzzy Concord, 525
- Conditional (αϥϣαν-), 104, 114-115, 131, 174, 211
- Conditioning, *see* Neutralization
- Conjugation Bases, 340

- Conjugation Mediators, *see* Lexeme
 Premodifiers
 Conjunctionalization, 521, 536
 Conjunctive (Coptic), 96, 97, 112, 135, 145-146, 149-152, 162, 163, 176, 186, 193, 196, 197, 213, 223, 276, 291, 292, 455, 457, 458-460, 465-466, 480, 498, 508, 519, 540, 592
 Connectors/Disjunctors in Narrative, 116-120
 Consonantal Writing, 557, 559
 Constituence Personal-Sphere Association, 345, 359, 393, 396, 397, 398, 419, 427, 3.9, 433-436, 438-440, 486, 592, 603
 Contextualization, Internal, 227
 Converbs, 88, 115, 209, 211, 216, 219, 222, 223, 224-225, 279, 288, 290, 291, 292, 300, 306, 318, 350, 359, 360, 3.13, 490, 529-530, 582, 588, 591-592, 594, 596, 601, 605, 631
See also Circumstantial Conversion
 Conversion, 280, 311, 494, 495, 4.5
 Conversion Base, 495-496
 Conversion Juncture, 4.5
 Conversion of Nominal Sentence Patterns, 237, 244, 247-248, 251, 254-255, 257, 263, 264, 270, 272, 277, 279
 Second-Power Conversion, 314, 600, 602
 Coordination, 330, 375-377, 511
 Coordination/Disjunction, Juncture of 4.2.2, 538
 Coordination of Imperatives, 160-164, 511
 Coordination of Questions, 151-152
 Zero Article in Coordination, 375-377
 Zero Coordination, 106-107, 122-123, 160-164
See also Circumstantial Conversion, Focalizing Conversion
 Copula
 Copular ϵp^- , 280-284
See also Nominal Sentence/Copular Pattern
 Rhematic Noun Syntagms in the Nominal Sentence, 250, 251, 252, 255, 260, 269-272
 Rhematic Adverbials in the Present Tense ($\chi\eta$), 1.2.5.3, 2.2.2
 Crum, W.E., 92, 213, 410
 Dead-Language linguistics, 9
 Deixis, 387, 389, 391, 443, 444, 514
 Demonstrative Deixis, 414-418
 Deixis in Narrative, 95, 109-110
 Disparaging Affect, Deixis of, 416, 417, 425, 444-445
 Focussing Deixis, 444-445
 Interlocutive in Delocutive Reference, 205
See also Demonstrative Pronouns (Coptic)
 Delocutivity, 95, 2.1.1, 270, 488, 516
 Demonstrative Pronouns (Coptic), 109-110, 238, 244, 246-247, 250, 255, 276, 364, 414-417, 4.2.4.6, 587
See also Deixis
 Demotic, 25, 31, 56, 60, 65, 88, 104, 109, 132, 134, 145, 151, 166, 167, 185, 192, 210, 213, 215, 219, 241, 242, 245, 252, 258, 260, 262, 266, 267, 268, 269, 273, 277, 278, 288, 296-297, 306, 308, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316, 320, 322, 325, 329, 332, 351, 352, 361, 379, 380, 387f., 410-411, 419, 421, 422, 425-426, 433, 450, 452, 458, 460, 491, 496, 516, 520, 526, 532, 585, 606, 608, 628
 Derivation, Denominal (ϵp^-), 285
 Determination Syndrome (of Noun), Chapter Three
 Articles, 27, 335-336, 524
 Article-less Languages, 334, 335
 Article Set, 338-339
 Articles, Nuclearity of, 3.0.4
 Determination in Diachrony, 387-388
 Determination of Focus, 381-382
 Determination of Infinitive, 353-357
 Determination of Nominal Rheme, 364-368
 Determination and Possession, 3.5.3
 Determination of Relative Forms, 3.7
 Determination of Topic, 381-382
 Determination Paradigmatics, 338-339
 Determination-Sensitive Environment, 3.1

- Hyperdetermination, 346, 347-348
 Indefinite Article, 277, 280, 284, 286, 290, 300, 348, 365-368, 3.4, 424, 514, 515, 4.2.4.3
 with Verbal Noun, 240
Nil Determination ("Bare Lexeme"), 323, 373-374
 {n-} Article, 246, 354-355, 3.5, 3.5.2, 405-407, 3.9, 514, 565, 567,
 {ni-} Article, 3.5, 3.5.1
 Proper Names and Determination, 429
 Reduced Determination Subsystems, 3.2
Zero Article, 50, 126, 129, 176, 236, 237, 239, 244, 249, 258, 260, 276, 277, 280, 286, 290, 300, 323, 330, 341, 343, 348, 349, 352, 353, 358, 361, 365-368, 3.3, 378, 379, 397-398, 407-409, 412-413, 418, 441, 453, 509, 514, 515, 521, 523
Zero vs. *nil* Determination, 371-374
Zero-Grade Determination, 418, 423, 424
Zero and Indefinite, 374-375
See also Specificity, Non-Specificity
 Determinators, *see* Determination/Articles
 Diachrony and Synchrony, 372, 568, 569, 4.4.7.1
 Diagnostic Grammar, 220, 226-231, 257, 267-268, 274, 275
 Dialogue, 1.2.1-1.2.5.5, 500-502, 618, 626
 Dialogue Discourse Signalling, 4.6.1
 Narrative/Dialogue Interface, 112-113
See also Allocution; Response
 Discontinuous-Segment Complex, 56, 81, 127, 147-148, 192, 396, 433-435, 448, 456, 499, 500, 532, 631
See also Juncture/Discontinuous-Segment Juncture
 Discord, 247, 255, 261-262, 459, 467, 531, 535
 Discourse Signalling, 4.5, 4.6.1
 Disparaging Affect, 416, 417, 425, 428, 449-450
 "Divine Acclamation/Proclamation" Nominal-Sentence Pattern, 256, 263-265, 430
 Divine Intent, 622
 Divine-Intervention Performative, 226, 228, 231
 Divine Locutor or Partner, 218, 289, 465
 Divine Negative Imperative, 194
 "Divine Partner", 189-192, 194
 Divine/Royal Signature, 263-265
 Divine-Word Grammar, 161, 187, 189-194, 199, 226, 228, 230, 231, 263-265, 322, 465
 Doubling, of Vowel in Laryngeal Environment, 578, 580-582
 Dream or Vision Narrative, 64, 68, 76, 82-91, 113, 116, 127, 203, 218, 226, 227, 231
 Penelope's Second Dream (the Odyssey), 88-89
 Egyptian, Diachrony of, 24-26, 218, 433, 605, 606, 607
See also Cleft Sentence, Determination Syndrome, Narrative Grammar, Nominal Sentence, Relative Conversion
 Egyptian, Late, 48, 69, 88, 94, 122, 131, 132-133, 133-134, 135, 148-149, 151, 211, 213, 242, 245, 252, 266, 268, 269, 300, 306, 312, 313, 314, 325, 332, 361, 380, 402, 433, 460, 488, 496, 500, 506, 507, 585, 596, 605, 606, 628, 631
 Egyptian, Old/Middle, 50, 81, 93, 95, 107, 108, 110, 122, 125, 132, 133, 151, 185, 211, 217, 234, 242, 243, 266, 267, 268, 309, 326, 329, 332, 334, 338, 345, 382, 402, 439, 455, 488, 520, 533, 584, 614, 617, 628
 Egyptian, Pre-Coptic, 90, 132, 133, 135, 145, 154-155, 181-182, 184-185, 186, 188, 211, 216, 234, 271, 288, 294, 308, 312, 314, 316, 326, 334, 335, 347, 371, 380, 387-388, 402, 433, 439-440, 448, 479-480, 453, 493, 510, 524, 526-527, 544, 582, 600, 604, 614, 628, 631
 Enclisis, Encliticity, 266, 277, 278, 536-537, 539, 606-607, 607-613, 613-615
 Foreshadowed Enclitics, 59, 99-100, 244-245, 248, 301, 320, 612
 End-of-Line Break, 4.4.3
 English, 444-445
 Erman, A., 17, 480

- Eventives, 471-474
- Evolution Mode, of Narrative, 34-35, 57-59, 59-62, 72, 73, 74, 83, 94, 95, 97, 100, 101, 102, 107, 108, 110, 113-114, 116, 117-119, 125, 137, 214, 318, 479, 482, 502, 592, 595, 621-622, and Chapter One, *passim*
- Enhanced Evolution, 59-62, 67-71, 79, 82, 108, 118, 125, 132, 135
- Evolution Onset, 115
- Narrator's Comment on Narrative Evolution, *see* Comment Mode
- "Reason Why" for Evolution, 62-66, 71-73, 81-82
- Unexpected Dramatic Development in Evolution Mode, 100
- (Non-)Existant, 2.0.2, 349, 352, 359, 498, 584
- See also* Zero Existant
- (Non-)Existence, 78, 2.0.2, 349, 352, 359
- (Non-)Existence, Statement of, 169, 170-177, 2.0.2, 357-363, 498
- Existential, *see* (Non-)Existence, Statement of; Non-Existence, Statement of
- Existential/Presentative Pre-Nexal Pattern, 222
- Exclamation, 152-154
- Exclusion Features, 276
- Exophoric, Pragmatic or Situational Theme, 57, 249, 252, 257, 261, 262-269, 294, 390-391
- Expansion Syntax, 4.5.1-2, 602-603
- Extraposition, *see* Topic, Topicalization
- Figures, Rhetorical-Stylistic, 206-209
- Final Clauses, Finality, 3.1.3, 454
- Final-Consecutive Sequel, 291
- Final Goal, 468
- See also* Purpose
- Flexionsisolierung*, 130, 331, 494, 530-531
- Focality, 271, 292-294
- Focalization, Focussing, 131-132, 133, 146, 176, 186, 197, 294, 307, 355, 423, 439, 453, 532, 608-609
- Actant Focussing, 319, 320, 2.4.7
- Adverbial Rheme Focussed, 319
- Envelope Focussing, 293, 307, 318, 320
- Focalization in Dialogue, 140
- Focalization in Narrative, 59-62, 67-71, 131-135, 226, 229, 318
- Focalization and Negation, 2.4.3, 2.4.6
- Focalization Patterns, 28, 261, 269-270, 2.4, 2.4.1-7
- Focalization in Topic Position, 2.4.7
- Focalizing ϵ - in Bohairic, 311-313
- Focussing of Negation, 325
- Focussing Particles, 176, 631-632
- Focussing Signal, 631-632
- Lexeme (+ Adverbial) Focussed, 318, 320
- Narratological 'Viewpoint Focalization', 226-228
- Responsive Focussing, 318
- See also* Assertive-Focal Formal ("Rhetorical") Questions, Circumstantial Conversion, Focalizing Conversion, Focus, Negation, Nexus
- Focalizing Conversion (FC), 88, 94, 95, 132-134, 170-177, 199, 212, 240, 270, 280, 296, 304, 2.4.2-3, 499-500, 532, 548, 564, 580, 593, 621
- Circumstantial Topic, 311-312
- FC Converted (Circumstantial), 312, 600
- FC Injunctive-Hortative, 312-313
- FC substantial? 308-309
- Negated, 2.4.3, 2.4.6
- Focus, 6, 132, 194, 295, 306-308, 381-382, 499-500, 528, 610-611
- Initial Actantial Focus, with Unmarked Topic, 298-299
- Focus, in Narrative, *see* Narrative Focus
- See also* Cleft Sentence, Focalization
- Focussing, *see* Focalization
- French, 36, 47, 55, 57, 95, 115, 165, 182, 263, 267, 288, 291-292, 304, 345 and *passim*
- Dream Tensing in French, 90
- Funk, W.-P., 278, 480, 522, 541, 561
- Future, 178-179, 181-184
- Future (Coptic), 1.2.5.1
- Absolute-Definite Future ($\epsilon\phi\epsilon$ -), 127, 145, 156, 157-158, 159, 161-162, 169, 170,

- 185-196, 201, 202, 206-209, 211, 213, 230, 274, 284, 495-496, 563, 566-567, 576, 592, 605, 627, 629
- Absolute-Definite Future Converted, 194-196
- Absolute-Definite Future, Narrative Scenario in, 188, 189, 190
- Absolute-Definite Future, Narrativized, 188
- Contingent-Indefinite Future (қна-), 27, 159, 162, 168, 169, 170-177, 196-206, 206-209
- In Allocutive Sphere, 204
- Delocutive Reference, 205-206
- Futures Shift, 206-209
- Lexical selection/compatibility with, 201-204
- In Locutive Sphere, 199-204
- Gardiner, A. H., 2, 18, 31-32, 310
- See also Gunn, B.G.
- Gemination, 486
- Gender (Coptic), 340-341, 345, 461, 514, 538
- Gender/Number Category (Coptic), Residence of, 340-345, 347-348
- Generics, 368, 378, 391-392, 393, 3.6, 418, 420, 422, 423
- Discriminative Generic, 409-410
- Generic Notion Name, 239, 276, 365, 3.5.2, 405-407, 434
- Instantial Generic, 377-378, 408, 410-411, 422, 434
- Named Generic, 419, 420, 423, 424-425, 434
- See also Legal-Generic Case-Raising, Scenario/Generic-Hypothetical, Zero-Generic
- Glossing/Lemmatic Syntax, 99, 405-407, 424, 596-597
- See also Hermeneutical Syntax
- Glottal Stop, see Laryngals
- Gnomic Grounding, 623
- Gnomic Proverbial Sentence, 246, 271-272
- Goal, Final, 366, 467-469
- See also Purpose
- (De-)Grammaticalization, 8, 178-180, 249-252, 352, 380, 401, 405, 461, 517, 521, 535, 583, 600, 631
- Grammeme, Grammemicity, 123, 130, 147, 155, 158, 165, 216, 270, 286, 382, 435, 482, 493, 494, 529, 530-531, 536, 541, 542, 576, 613 and *passim*
- Greek, 32, 36, 48, 50-51, 65-66, 103-104, 117, 154, 164, 178, 198, 212, 217, 222, 225, 228-231, 257, 263-264, 271, 273, 285, 307, 448-450, 458, 508, 544, 561, 577-578, 617, 620, 625, and *passim*
- Dream Tensing in Greek, 88-89
- Greek, Modern, 142, 146, 212, 460, 582
- Greek (*Vorlage*) and Coptic (Translation), 2, 10, 0.6-0.7, 43, 44, 45-48, 49, 58, 104, 121, 123-124, 131, 134, 187, 285, 293-294, 296, 304, 305, 310, 322, 329, 342, 347, 365, 391, 416, 417, 423, 427, 428, 444-445, 447, 448-449, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462-463, 485, 490, 506, 510, 512, 517, 522, 531, 588, 593, 599, 601, 604, 606, 610, 616, 617, 621, 625, 628, 630, 632, 633 and *passim*
- Greek: Coptic, Contrastive Statements, 0.6-0.7, 45-48, 123, 296, 310, 339, 380, 406, 414, 416, 582, 606, 616, 617, 619, 621
- Greek-Origin Elements, 146-147, 448-450, 458, 579
- Greek-Origin Nouns, 448-450
- Greek-Origin Verbs, 285, 579
- Gunn, B.G. 1, 18-19, 59, 92, 136, 149, 166, 213, 216, 217, 234, 243, 267, 268, 310, 326, 375, 380, 388, 433, 439-440, 448-449, 489, 545, 561, 628
- Hebrew, Biblical, 47-48, 60, 88, 97, 103, 121, 131, 149, 163, 278
- Hebrew, Modern, 51, 90, 460
- Hermeneutical Syntax, 241, 242, 247, 252, 255, 258, 260, 263, 264, 268, 269, 271-272, 356, 428, 489, 535, 602, 626, 630
- See also Glossing Syntax
- High-Register Writing, 556-559
- "Holy (ἁγίους) of Holies" 419-420, 425-426
- Homolexemicity, Syntax of, 176, 249, 250, 527, 529, 530
- Homogrammemicity, Syntax of, 529
- Homonymy, 148, 157-158, 165, 192, 209, 216, 236, 276, 277, 371-374, 380, 384, 435, 445, 448, 461, 514, 515, 518, 628

- Honorific Syntax, 516
 Hyperevent in Narrative, 121
 Hypothetical Particularity, 420, 423, 426
See also Case-Raising
- Iconicity, 131, 371-373, 399, 407, 418
 Imminence, 226, 228
 Imperative, 154-164, 168, 169, 626, 629, 631
 Imperfect, 43, 44, 47, 48-53, 55, and Chapter One *passim*
 "Preludic" Imperfect, 51, 86, 90
 Imperfect, Coptic (ⲙⲁⲓⲕ), 27, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 55-59, 64, 67-71, 77-82, 83, 85, 104, 125, 126, 132, 169, 170, 217-218
 Focalizing Imperfect, 132, 133
 "Inalienable Possession", *see* Constituence
 Personal-Sphere Association
 Incorporation, 530-532
 Infinitives, 331, 340, 3.13, 490
 Determination of Infinitives, 353-357
 ε- + Infinitive, 316, 462-464
 επ- + Infinitive, 464
 Narrative Infinitive, 121
 Thematic, 240
See also "Tautological Infinitive"
- Injunctive, 460
 Injunctive-Hortative Focalizing Conversion, 312-313
 Interlocutive Personal Perspective, Syntax of, 1.2.1-5 *passim*, 262, 263-267, 265, 266, 275-279, 386, 416, 451-452, 488, 516
 Interrogative Pronouns, 304
See also Cleft Sentence, Nominal Sentence
 Intransitive Copular επ-, 280-284
 Irish, 137, 143, 166, 234, 280, 455, 587
Irrealis, 93, 499, 540
 Italian, 347
 Dream Tensing in Italian, 88-89
- Jacob wrestling with the Angel (Gen. 32:24-25), 88
 Jernstedt, P.V., 346, 381
 Jinkim, 4.4.4, 575
 Juncture, 137, 140, 144, 282, 291, 304, 308, 315, 317-318, 328, 329, 338, 340-341, 379, 3.5.1, 414, 424, 425, 430, 433, 440, 495, 496, 571 and Chapter Four
- Allomorphic Juncture, 4.4.7
 Delimitation, 4.1, 4.2.3, 4.2.4.7.5, 4.2.5, 4.2.7 and *passim*
 Discontinuous-Segment Juncture, 485, 487
 Graphemato-Morphematic Juncture, 481, 4.4, 4.4.1, 4.4.7.1 and *passim*
 Gradience of Juncture, 425, 482-483, 4.2.3, 516, 522, 564, 566, 599, 602-603, 611-612 and *passim*
 Juncture Domain Frame (JDF), (def.) 478, 4.1, 509, 4.2.4.7.1-4, 530, 532, 535, 539, 574, 576, 580, 588, 593, 608, 610, 613, 622, 4.6.1 and *passim*, Chapter Four
 Juncture Scope, (def.) 478, 4.1, 4.3, 509, 613, and *passim*, Chapter Four
 Levels of Juncture, 481-482 and *passim*, Chapter Four
 Linkage, 390, 4.1, 4, 2, 3-6 and *passim*
 Linkage/Delimitation in Narrative, 57, 62-66, 68, 79-81, 101, 105-120, 120-123, 127
 Linkage/Delimitation in and around Nominal Sentence Patterns, 237, 240, 242, 244, 247, 254, 256, 257, 261, 264, 265, 270, 277-278
 Narrative Juncture, 1.1.5, 501
 Morpho-Syllabic Juncture, 4.4.4-5
 Topicalization Juncture, 497, 4.2.4.7.2
- See also* Adverb, Adverbial/Premodifying Adverbials/Premodification Juncture, Allomorphic Juncture, Anaphora, Aspiration, Aspiration and Morphemic Juncture, Base Conjugation Juncture, Bracketing, Cataphora, Circumstantial Conversion, Conversion/Conversion Juncture, Coordination/Disjunction, End-of-Line Break, Glottal Stop, Lexemic Scope, Juncture Validity in, Morphophonemics as Juncture Features, Negation, Neutric Feminine, In-Nexus Concord Link, Nexal Scope of Juncture, Nominal Sentence/Juncture Characterization of NS, Ordination, Paradigm and Juncture, Particles, Prosody, Punctuation, Relative Conversion, Relative Conversion/Relative Constructions, Juncture of, Superordination,

- Syllabic Juncture, Theme/Juncture of Theme in Nexus, Zero Link, Delimiter, Zero Segment, Juncture across.
- Jussive (Coptic), 156-158, 169, 192, 460, 626, 629
- Koinzidenzfall*, see Synchronous Present
- Laryngals, 485, 574, 576, 4.4.7.1
- Latin, 47, 49
 Dream Tensing in Latin, 88, 89
- Layton, B., 559
- Legal-Generic Case-Raising, 199, 351, 420
- See also Preceptive-Legal Syntax
- Lemniscus*, 85, 121, 151, 187, 257, 545-548, 550, 551, 554, 555, 549, 610
- Lexeme (Coptic), 128, 130, 133, 236, 277, 285, 286, 318, 320, 323, 336-337, 3.0.2, 340, 341, 342, 344-345, 371, 373, 383, 392, 395, 398-399, 400, 401, 403, 406, 418, 421, 425, 434-436, 440-442, 448, 456, 475, 479, 484, 485-487, 490, 491, 493, 494, 516, 519, 538, 542, 564-565, 570, 573, 578, 614, and *passim*
- "Lexeme Premodifiers", 285-286, 485, 629
- Lexemic Scope, Juncture Validity in, 483-484, 4.3.1 and Chapter Four, *passim*
- Lexemicity, 454, 482, 564
- Lexemization, 402-403, 425, 579
- Loan-Words in Coptic, 557-558
- See also Greek-Origin Adjectives, Greek-Origin Verbs
- Locution, Locutive Personal Perspective, Syntax of, 1.2.1-5 *passim*, 228, 266, 279, 443, 460, 626
- Lycopolitan, 527
- Micronarrative Subtextemes, 94-95
- See also Narrative Fragments
- Morphophonemics as Juncture Features, 537 and Chapter Four, *passim*
- Morpho-Syllabic Boundaries, 4.4.4
- Naming, 488
 Naming, Aetiological, 20, 622
 Naming Apposition, 428
 Naming in Narrative, 99, 129
- See also Proper Name
- Narrative Grammar, 1.1.1-5
 Aetiological Naming Narrative, 94, 129, 132
 Chronicling Narrative, 94
 Condensed Narrative, 35, 36, 82, 96, 129, 219
 Counterexpectation in Narrative, 135
 Dramatic Narrative Highlighting, 226, 229
 Eventive Converbs in Narrative, 471-474
 Generic Narrative, 96-97
 Grounding in Narrative, 37-40
 High Background in Narrative, 81-82
 Locutive Narrative, 95, 119
 Narrative-in-Allocation, 113
 Narrative Bounding Slots, 113-116
 Narrative Delimitation, 55, 57, 107-109, 1.1.5 and Chapter One, *passim*
 See also Juncture
 Narrative *dénouement*, 127
 Narrative/Dialogue interface, 112-113, 627
 Narrative Discourse Signalling, 116-120, 618-619, 620, 621, 622
 Narrative in Egyptian diachrony, 30-32
 Narrative Focus, 59-62, 131-135
 Narrative Fragments, 35, 76, 94
 Narrative Gear-Shift 57, 59-62, 79-81
 Narrative Information-Structure, 120-137
 Narrative Juncture, see under Juncture
 Narrative Linkage, 55, 57, 106-110, 1.1.5 and Chapter One *passim*
 See also Juncture
 Narrative Modes 34-35
 Narrative Mode Shift/Switch, 55, 64, 79-81, 107
 Narrative Pacing, 58
 Narrative Peak Focalization, 60-62, 87, 100, 129, 226, 227
 Narrative Projection of Dialogue, 112-113, 516
 Narrative Relief, 39, 40, 52, 108
 Narrative Tensing (Coptic), 43-48
 Narrative Tensing (general), 41-43, 48-55

- Narrative Texteme, 34-41
 Pacing in Narrative, 60
 Placement of Theme-*agens* in Narrative, 123-131
 Presentatives in Narrative, 226-229, 231
 Recycled (Revisited) Narrative, 70, 73, 94
 Responsive Set Narrative, 95
 Slow Motion in Narrative, 59-62, 68, 83
 Thematicity/Rhematicity in Narrative, 58
 Zoom-in, in Narrative, 59-62, 67-71
 Zoom-out, in Narrative, 63
See also Focalization, Scenario
- Nasal, Lexeme with Initial Syllabic, 564-566
 Negation, 143, 169, 177, 2.4.6, 352, 497, 527, 536, 583-584
 Negation of Nominal Sentence Patterns, 237, 244, 251, 257, 263, 277, 279
 Embracing Negation, 325-326
 Focalizing Negation, 247, 261
 and Generics, 407-409
 Negation Focussed, 325
 Negative Environment, 368, 375, 385-386, 408, 411, 423, 490
 Nexal Negation, 166, 323, 324-325, 327-328
 Neutralization, Conditioning, De-Pertinentization, 30, 41, 82-83, 177, 190, 208, 213, 218, 219, 296, 306, 357, 414, 421, 440, 469, 486, 495, 514, 516, 519, 567, 601
 Neutric Feminine Anaphor/Cataphor, 456, 4.2.4.2, 4.2.4.5
 Neutric Gender (Pronoun), 151, 166, 415, 419, 421, 456, 460, 467, 518-520
 Nexus, 222, 325, 580
 Focussed, in Narrative, 93, 128, 132
 Focussed, in Allocation, 146-147, 176, 227, 232
 Focussed, 133, 167, 232, 293, 320, 322-324, 324-325
 Mediate/Discontinuous, 499-500
 Negated, 375, 564
 Nexal Scope of Juncture, 4.2.6, 539-540
 Nexus Patterns in Coptic, 2.0.1
 In-Nexus Concord Link, 4.2.4.7.3
 as Predicative Actant, 291
 of (Pro)noun with (Pro)noun, *see* Nominal Sentence
 Topicalized, 186, 192, 494, 529, 540, 547
 Topicalized, in Narrative, 111, 126-128, 332
 Verbal Nexus, 222-223, 536
See also Adnexal
- Nil* element, 170, 323, 327, 328, 515
Nil vs. *Zero*, 371-374
 Nominal Sentence (Coptic), 27, 69, 98-100, 168, 169, 170-177, 195, 222, 223, 231, 233-279, 347, 348, 364-365, 379, 548, 589, 590, 606
 in Adverbial Status, 256, 262
 Binominal Theme-Initial Patterns, 272-273
 Configurations and Patternings of Patterns, 274-275
 Copular Pattern, 250, 251, 252, 255, 260, 269-272, 550, 613
 Delocutive Pattern Set, 99, 2.1.1, 386, 613
 Adverbials predicated in, 237, 239, 244
 Cataphoric Expanded Formal Theme Pattern, 242-249, 303
 Endophoric-Theme Pattern Set, 100, 237, 242, 253, 254, 255, 256-262, 268, 269, 294, 295, 330, 489, 602
 Narrativized, 260
 Topicalized, 261-262, 267, 529
 with Zeroed Theme, 261, 302
 Immutable-Theme Pattern, 100, 249, 252, 257, 261, 262-269, 294, 295, 303, 330, 602
 Personal-Pronoun (Interlocutive) + *π*ε, 263-265
 Personal-Pronoun (Interlocutive) + *π*ε + Proper Name, 265-267
 Indefinite Noun-Syntagm + *π*ε, 267-268

- Rhematizing *n*- as Rheme in Nominal Sentence, 255
- Theme Zeroed in Delocutive Nominal Sentence, 240-242, 302
- Topicalized-Theme Pattern, 126, 249-256, 269, 528-529, 599, 600
- "Divine Acclamation" Pattern, 256
- in Egyptian Diachrony, 235, 245, 251-252, 266, 267, 269, 278, 402
- General and Preliminary Issues, 233-235
- Interlocutive Pattern Set, 2.1.2, 265, 266, 386, 516, 536-537, 610
- Suppletivity with the Delocutive Pattern Set, 275-276
- Topicalized Subpattern, 279
- Juncture Characterization of the NS, 492-493, 539
- See also* specific NS Patterns
- Nominal Sentence in Cleft-Sentence Topic, 302
- Oppositions of and Suppletion for, 2.2.1 *passim*
- Nominality, Nounhood in Coptic, 340
- Non-Specificity, 441, 447
- Non-Specific Nucleus Expanded by Relative, 238, 247, 260
- Non-Specific Rhemes with ϵp -, 280-284, 286, 287-288
- Non-Specific Theme, 224
- See also* Specificity
- Notae Relationis*, 290, 353, 355, 362, 385-386, 388, 393-394, 396-397, 433, 3.9, 450, 480, 509, 548, 550, 591, 603
- Noun Predication, Incidental-Contingent, 198, 279-281, 348-349, 365-368, 375, 405, 434
- Noun Predication, Inherent, 198, 405, 434
- See also* Nominal Sentence
- Nubian, 24, 582
- (Non-)Nuclearity, 3.0.4, 340, 451, 484, 487, 494, 520, 523, 524
- Nucleus, 291, 345, 3.1, 350, 351, 352, 374, 382, 383, 402, 409, 416, 419, 421, 422, 432-435, 441, 442, 443, 449, 486, 488, 490, 492, 495-497, 517, 521, 523, 524, 538, 580, 586-587, 591, 598
- Nucleus and Expansion, 6, 291, 399, 536
- See also* (Non-)Nuclearity
- Oath, 192
- Object Actant, *see* Actant/Object Actant
- Object Pronoun, 538
- Obtaining Situation, in Narrative, 38, 58, 59-62, 69-70, 77, 100, 108, 125
- Omniscient Narrator's Channel, 63-64, 70, 73-74, 76, 78, 91, 97, 102, 108, 117-119, 132, 214, 624
- Oppositions, 30, 42-45, 47, 55-59, 77-82, 106-107, 110, 123-131, 198, 201, 206-209, 216, 218, 219, 225-226, 250, 275, 280, 287, 288-290, 292, 304, 306, 321, 335, 342, 344, 371-373, 396, 412-413, 416, 417, 423, 426, 431, 434, 445-447, 449-450, 517, 581, 586-587, 590, 601, 608-609 and *passim*
- Ordination, 4.5
- Ordination in Narrative, 39, 135-137
- Oxyrhynchite, 56, 111, 127, 183, 240, 242, 277, 280, 297, 301-302, 305, 312, 314, 328, 391-392, 423, 496, 497, 542, 544, 563, 578, 588, 600, 612, 628
- Paradigmatics, 6-7, 306, 308, 338-339, 371-373, 514
- Paradigm and Juncture, 479, 482-483, 487, 488, 595
- Parataxis, 107
- Parenthesis, 620
- Parenthetic Comment in Narrative, 66, 75
- Particles, 116-119, 140, 151, 176, 1.2.4.3, 186, 545, 548, 606, 611-613, 4.6.1
- Parts-of-Speech model, 8-9
- Pattern, (def.) 4, 480, 605
- Perfect (Egyptian, Coptic), 30, 219-220, 226
- Performative, 177, 217, 226, 228, 229, 230, 287, 318-319, 338
- Divine-Intervention Performative, 226, 228, 230, 287, 319
- See also* Synchronous Present
- Person, Generic, 140
- "Personal Infinitive", 461
- Persons, Interlocutive, 140
- (Non-)Phoricity, 62, 354, 364-365, 406, 415,

- 426, 441, 442, 4.2.4, 4.2.4.7.5 and *passim*
 See also Anaphora, Cataphora, Exophora, Phoricization
 Phoneme, Covert Laryngeal, 4.4.7.1
 Phoricization, 523
 Phorics, 4.2.4
 Plural (Coptic)
 Morpholexical, 28, 342-345
 Syntagmatic, 28
 Poetical Rhetorics, 624
 Polotsky, H.-J., 1, 4, 16, 17, 19, 20, 57, 132, 295, 296, 305-308, 310, 311, 347-348, 369, 381, 401, 581-582
 Portuguese, 461
 Possession, 78, 239, 240-241, 345, 362, 431, 434
 and Determination, 3.5.3
 Possession Verboid, 357, 361-363
 Possessive Article, 254, 345, 353, 357, 398-400, 434, 443-444, 461, 482, 515
 Possessive Pronoun (Coptic {ϕα-}), 254, 276, 338, 373-374, 398-399, 401-403, 451, 482, 487, 538
 Possessor, 349, 361-362, 400, 486
 Possessum, 349, 361-362, 400
 See also Zero Possessum
 Post-Imperative Allocutive Slot, 112, 158-164, 501, 547
 Pragmatic Theme, 262
 Pre-Negator, 597
 Preceptive-Legal Syntax, 96, 127, 157-158, 191, 226, 228, 232, 323, 529, 623-624
 See also Legal-Generic Case-Raising
 Prepositions, 485, 538
 Present, Narrative, 43, 47, 48, 49, 53-55, 104, 134
 Present forms in Narrative, 1.1.4
 Present Tense (Coptic), 168, 169, 170-177, 209-211, 274, 275, 287
 in Narrative, 104-105
 Focalizing Present, 170-177, 287, 318, 323, 374
 Circumstantial Conversion of, 583
 Generic (Non-Actual), 165, 209-211, 215-217, 287, 350
 Presentational Constructions, 257, 260-261, 263-266, 301, 303, 304-305, 580
 Presentatives, 60, 61, 67, 84, 87, 135, 137, 186, 187, 189, 197, 202-203, 217, 219-220, 2.0.3, 248, 260, 263, 331, 363-364, 588, 625
 Preterite, Coptic (αϕ-), 45, 57, 64, 83, 85, 88, 92, 94, 96-97, 105, 108, 113-114, 115, 121, 126, 132, 168, 169, 170-177, 219-220, 472, 514, 567, 592, 593
 Circumstantial Focalizing Preterite 238, 601
 Focalizing Preterite, 87, 132, 309-310, 311, 314, 329, 489, 567
 Negative Preterite (μπεϕ-) 107
 Relative Preterite, 311, 567
 Pro-Form, 165, 1.2.4.1, 378-379, 518
 Pro-Nexus, 158
 Pro-Verb, 340, 605
 in Response, 166, 167-177, 378, 399, 402
 Proclamation, Divine, 263, 280
 Proclisis, Procliticity, 276, 346, 425, 536-537, 613-614, 631
 Prolepsis, 252
 Pronoun Expanded, 3.11
 Proper Names, 150, 262, 265-267, 270, 276, 277, 297, 301, 361, 392, 396, 422, 423, 3.8, 441, 452, 482, 611
 Identifying-by-Name, 266
 Name-hood, 427
 Naming Apposition, 428
 Naming Forms, 191, 270-271, 427, 437
 Proper Name in Allocation, 429-430
 Proper Name Expanded/Expanding, 427-429, 3.11
 Proper Names in Narrative, 99, 110-111, 430
 See also Generics/Generic Notion Name
 Prophecy, 190
 Prosody, 59, 233, 243, 244, 248, 252, 266, 269, 270, 277, 346, 361, 373, 387-388, 401-402, 425, 490, 538, 542, 548, 570, 631, 4.2.6, 4.6
 Prospective Conjunctive (ταρεϕ-), 158, 159-160, 164
 Protasis, Protaticity, *in protasi*, 93, 114, 131-132, 159, 165, 186, 187, 197, 199, 291, 309, 310, 328, 426, 460, 482, 499, 535, 547, 627, 632

- Pro-verbs (Coptic), 340
 Psychologistic explanation in Narrative, 63, 71-72, 91
 Punctuation in Coptic, 106, 270, 4.4.2, 583, 631 and *passim*
See also: Colon, *Lemniscus*, Raised Point
 Purpose, 355
- Questions, 1.2.3.1, 274, 620, 622
 Coordinated Questions, 151-152
 Deliberative Questions, 145-146
 Included Questions, 151-152
 Nexal Questions, 141-143, 143-146, 151-152
 Reactive Questions, 627
 Rhematic Questions, 141-143, 149-151, 151-152, 169, 501
 Zero-Marked Questions, 1.2.3.1, 170
See also Allocation
- Raised Point, 515, 545, 552-554, 555, 610
 Reality, Fuzzy, Blurred or Alternative, 50-51, 68, 83, 112
 Reference, 4.2.4.1-7 and *passim*
 Referential zero, *see* Zero Resumption in Relative Construction
 Reiteration, 382, 397-398, 3.12
 as Nominal-Sentence Rheme, 257, 264
 Relative Conversion, 91, 105, 194-195, 199, 280, 323, 488, 496-497, 535, 536, 581, 586-588, 617
 Coordinated to Nominal Sentence Rheme, 253
 Expanding Non-Specific Nucleus, 238, 247, 260, 351-352
 Relative Conversion of Nominal Sentence, 237-238, 254, 260, 270, 272, 279, 302
 Relative Converter and Relative Pronoun, 424, 425
 Open Juncture of Relative Conversion with Conjugation Form, 599-600
See also Relative Constructions, Zero Allomorph of Relative Converter
 Relative Constructions, Juncture of, 496-497, 511, 517-518, 538, 4.5.2-4.5.2.1, 4.2.4.7.1
 Actor Expression in, 525-528
 Antecedent Construction, 3.1, 597
 Non-Specific Antecedent, 489
 Relative Converter vs. Pronoun, 526-527
 Relative Forms, Determination of, 395, 3.7
 Relative Forms, Diachrony of, 526-527
 Relative Forms, Substantivized, 395, 3.7, 600
See also Relative Conversion
 Report, 34-36, 85-86, 95, 132, 226, 228, 318
 Response, Responsive, 93, 140, 141, 142, 149, 159, 1.2.4.1-3, 200, 226-227, 237, 243, 257, 258, 259, 262, 264, 266-267, 268, 271, 272, 274, 304, 311, 318, 323, 459, 494, 500-502, 620, 622
 Rhematization in Narrative, 131-135
 Rheme, Rhematicity, 378, 521, 533
 Adverbial Rheme, 222
 Determination in Rhematic Status, 364-368
 Negative Adverbial Rheme, 248
 (Pro-)Verbal Rheme, 222
 Rhematizing *e-*, 365-367
 Rhematizing *n-*, 255, 273, 2.3, 349, 365-366, 440, 448-449, 451, 594
 Rheme Focalized, 250-251, 499-500
 (Pro)nominal Rheme, *see* Nominal Sentence
 See also Theme
 Rhetorical Questions, *see* Assertive-Focal Formal Questions
 Rhetoricity, 276, 278
See also Affective Syntax
- Sahidic, 0.1, 0.4, 0.4.1 and *see* Introduction, *passim*; 31, 56, 81, 87-88, 92, 93, 94, 101, 107, 127, 133, 145, 146, 148, 149, 152, 159-160, 164, 166, 167, 177, 179, 181, 184, 187, 195, 196, 210, 215, 216, 217, 226, 232, 233, 239, 241, 244, 250, 252, 255, 256, 262, 269, 270, 271, 277, 280, 285, 287-288, 292, 294, 295, 296, 297, 303, 309, 310, 313, 314, 320, 326, 341, 353, 362, 375, 376, 381, 384, 397, 404, 410, 414, 423, 440, 442, 448-449, 454, 455, 458, 461, 462, 470, 471, 489, 504, 512, 536, 541, 561, 562, 579, 583, 588,

- 594, 612, 613, 615, 617, 621, 626, 627-628, 630
- Scenario, 471-474
 (Ineluctable Prophetic) Future, 97, 189, 190
 Generic Hypothetical, 96-97, 420, 423
 Hypothetical, 219
 Preceptive, 226, 228
- Schleicher, Aug., 479, 503
- Schwartz, M.G., 15-16, 48, 198, 326, 340, 503, 532
- Second Tenses, *see* Focalizing Conversion
- Self-Assertion, Self-Introduction, Self-Presentation, Divine/Royal, 264-265
- Sequelling Functions, 93, 100-103, 129, 156-158, 161, 163, 180, 184, 185-196, 201, 211-215, 276, 457-460, 464, 482, 499-500, 501, 604-605
- Sequencing, 4.6
- Sichem and Jacob's sons (Gen. 34:11-16), 208-209
- Specificity, 337-338, 345, 364-365, 400, 3.7, 520
 Equispecificity, in Nominal Sentence, 250
 Fuzzy Specificity Divide, 350
 Higher Specificity, of Focus in Cleft Sentence, 300-301
 Indifference (Vagueness) to Specificity, 250, 276, 277, 284, 338, 372, 373-374, 398-400, 403, 444
 Inequispecificity, in Nominal Sentence, 364
 Lower Specificity, of Focus in Cleft Sentence, 300-301
 Paradigmatic Specificity, 391
 Specificity Grading, 357, 366, 417, 418
 Specificity of Rheme in Delocutive Nominal Sentence, 236, 244, 260, 270
 Specificity of Theme in Nominal Sentence, 243-244
 Specificity of Theme and Rheme, 348
See also Determination, Non-Specificity
- Steinthal, H., 16, 432-433, 503
- Steinthal, H. and Misteli, F., 433, 480
- Stern, L. (Chr.), 15, 16, 23, 433
- Stern-Jernstedt Rule, 215-216, 381
- Structural-analytic procedure, 0.1.1
- Subordination, 581, 587
 Subordination in Narrative, 39, 40, 226
- Superordination, 93, 111, 115, 127, 136-137, 180, 187-188, 211-215, 226-229, 322, 430, 460, 482, 500, 508, 529, 580, 4.5.4, 619-620, 625, 629, 630
 Fuzzy Superordination, 137
- Syllable, Syllabication, 575, 578
- Syllabic Cut, 555, 556, 4.4.4
- Synchronous Present ("Koinzidenzfall"), 177, 217, 226, 228, 229, 230
See also Performative
- Syntagmatics, in structural analysis, 5-6, 308
- Synthesis and Analysis, 4, 11, 401
- Tableau*, static/dynamic, 67, 83-85
- "Tautological Infinitive", 134-135, 293, 318, 2.4.4, 595
- Temporal (εταλq-), 113-114, 115, 131, 238, 309-310, 322, 474, 601-602
- Tensing, 1.1.2-4, 1.2.5
- "That"-Forms, 291, 296, 308-309, 310, 361, 3.13, 530
- Thematization, in Nominal Sentence, 249-256
- Theme, Thematicity, 110, 123-131, 195, 2.1.1-2 *passim*, 331-332, 360, 368, 469 and *passim*
 Juncture of Theme in Nexus and Relative Construction, 493-494, 495, 526, 528, 529, 530, 531, 533, 535, 536, 539, 540, 547, 584, 597, 609 and Chapter Four, *passim*
 Pragmatic Theme, 262
- Theme and Rheme, 6, 58, 126, 2.0.1, 233-234, 291, 307, 532-533, 547, 560, 605-606 and Chapter Two, *passim*
See also Actant/Agens Actant
- Time expressions, 260, 287
- Tobler, A., 410
- Topic, 6, 110, 114-115, 125, 126, 131, 142, 243, 249-256, 294-305, 2.4.7, 349, 381-382, 473, 474, 515, 518, 528-530, 540, 551, 552, 600, 610-611
 Adverbial Topic, 515
 Topic expanded, 253

- Topic-turned-Theme, 249-256
 Topic Morphologically Unmarked, 297-299
- Topicalization, 114, 130, 131-132, 186, 197, 248, 249-256, 262, 277-278, 279, 2.4.7, 528-530, 540, 547, 609, 610, 619, 621, 622, 633
 Topicalization in Narrative, 114, 117, 125-126, 131-135, 331-332
 Topicalization of Nexus, 111, 126-128, 186
- See also* Juncture/Topicalization Juncture
- Turkish, 334, 335, 350, 381
- "Und zwar", in Narrative, 64, 73, 94, 111, 118, 246
- Valency Matrix, 104, 141, 151, 223, 308, 456, 463-464, 490-492, 499, 538, 631
- Variation, grammatical, 9-10
- Vedic, 212-213
- Verba dicendi*, 59, 60, 61-62, 70, 144, 151, 163, 323, 456, 631
- Verbal Noun, 461-462
- See also* "That"-form
- Verbal-Rheme Nexus, 493-494
- Verbality, Verb-hood in Coptic, 340
- Verbs of Cognition/Perception, 71, 91, 92, 105, 132, 144, 252, 318, 490
- Vision Narrative, *see* Dream or Vision Narrative
- Wechselsatz*, 250, 254, 271, 272, 530
- Weinrich, H., 40, 54, 82
- Welsh, 61, 90-91, 165, 166, 234, 259, 280, 291, 293, 295, 307, 326, 373, 399, 400, 424, 455, 480, 485, 515, 523, 579, 582
- Welsh, Dream Tensing in, 90-91
- Word, in Coptic, 4.4.1, 502-503
- Zero Actant, 517-518
- Zero Allomorph of Circumstantial Conversion, 536, 539, 583-584, 585
- Zero Allomorph of Relative Converter, 600
- Zero Conversion, 422
- Zero Coordination, *see* Coordination
- Zero Delimitation, 522
- Zero Existant, 358, 363
- Zero Elements/Segments, 55-59, 67-71, 77-82, 106, 143, 146, 160, 161, 162, 164, 168, 170-177, 218, 240-242, 260, 289-290, 326-327, 328, 361, 3.3, 490, 494, 515, 574, 575
- See also* Determination/Zero Article, Zero Morph, and specific entries above and below
- Zero-Generic Circumstantial, 348
- Zero Link/Delimiter, 106, 540, 4.2.5
- Zero Morph, 574-575, 576
- See also* Zero Element, and specific entries above and below
- Zero Morphophoneme, 537
- Zero vs. Nil, 3.3, 353-354, 371-374
- Zero Nucleus, 523
- Zero Possessum, 363
- Zero Pre-negator, 496, 527, 597, 600
- Zero Realization of Phoneme, 485, 4.4.7.1
- Zero Reflex, 4.4.7.1
- Zero Resumption in Relative Construction, 517-518
- Zero Segment, Juncture across, 494, 496
- Zero Theme in Nominal Sentence, 261, 302, 535
- See also* Anaphora, Zero, Coordination, Zero, Determination/Zero Article.

INDEX OF COPTIC ELEMENTS AND PHRASES

*The index is strictly selective. Pages are given in roman numerals, paragraphs in italics. The entries follow the order of the Coptic Index in L. Stern's *Koptische Grammatik* (1880). For conjugation forms and bases, see the Index of Subjects. Multiple occurrences of an item on a given page are listed only once in the index. Page references include footnotes.*

αλογ, αλοχ 567

αν- (interr.) 143, 144-146, 168-169, 170-177

αν (neg.), n-...αν 261, 325-329, 527, 552, 600-601

{ανок} 120, 610-611

απα 147-148, 175, 633

αψ 147-148, 149

αφα αρη- ερε 165, 166, 167-177

αα 57, 69, 81, 97, 105, 117-119, 177, 197, 232, 255, 257, 264, 4.6.1

αα μεν 633

αε 57, 64, 116-117, 4.6.1

ε- (rhematizing) 290, 365-368

ε- (focalizing) 311, 313

ε- + INFINITIVE 28

εεε- 331

εεε- 312

εε- 2.2.1

εε- (Topic in Cleft Sentence) 297

εεεε, εεεε 287

εεεε αα- n- 151

εε- 511, 526

εεαα- 113, 114, 115, 131, 309-310

εεαα- 603

εεε- 460-474

ιε 147-149, 170-177, 186, 197-198, 604

κε-, πκε- 395, 396, 429

κην 219, 593

μεν ... (αε) ... 64, 92, 249, 461

μεν-αα 633

μεν-ουν 633

μη 147-148, 170-177, 513

μηποτε, μηπως 177

μητι 147-148, 170-177

μμινμμο= 608

μμον (resp.) 27, 165, 166, 167-177

μμον- (exist.) 2.0.2, 349, 374, 407, 495, 498

ερε-μμον 495, 584

μμαα 361-362

μμαααα- 120, 608

μπατεα- 105

μφη (resp.) 27, 165, 167-177

μαρον 157, 158

n- (rhematizing, *nota relationis*) 255, 273, 2.3, 365-368, 440, 448-449, 451, 603

n- (object marking) 550

ναα "see" 60, 64, 104, 116

νε (interr.?) 239, 319

νε- 91, 99, 100, 103, 104, 136, 199, 254, 255, 260, 540

νε-/να= ∅ 27, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 55-59, 64, 67-71, 77-82, 83, 85, 104, 125, 227, 502, 514, 588

νε-/να= πε 27, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 55-59, 62-66, 71-82, 83, 85, 104, 117-119, 125, 137, 267, 502, 514, 621

νεαα- ∅ 82

νεαα- πε 81-82, 125

нем 330, 375-377, 504-506

нен- (pl. art.) 394, 434

неоа- in Nominal Sentence 239

ни- 409-410

нивен 349, 418, 421, 515, 612

ним (interr.) 150

нно 165

- ⲛⲁⲉ-** 243, 248, 316, 331-332, 349, 368, 530-532, 625
-ⲟⲓ ⲛ- 27, 28, 2.2.1, 367-368
ⲟⲛ 175
 {ⲡ-} 246, 354-355, 3.5, 3.5.2
ⲡⲉ 56-57, 59, 62-66, 91-94, 99-100, 187-188, 234-235, 2.1.1 *passim*, 294-297, 302, 304, 309, 493, 613
ⲡ-ⲉⲧ- 395
ⲡⲉⲗⲁ 113, 130
 {ⲡⲓ-} 3.5, 3.5.1
ⲡⲱⲥ 150
 (ⲣⲏⲧ) (ⲙ)ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ- ⲙⲫⲣⲏⲧ 177, 247, 261, 263, 277, 282, 303, 410, 517, 4.2.4.4, 584, 587, 628
ⲣⲱ 176, 293, 631, 632, 4.6.1
ⲥⲉ (resp.) 165, 167-177
ⲧⲏⲣ 120, 516, 608-609
ⲧⲱ ⲉⲧⲱ ⲛ- 151
ⲧⲱⲟϥⲛ 538, 576-577
ⲟϥ (interr.) 374
ⲟϥⲁⲓ, ⲟϥⲓ 265, 276, 277, 382-384
ⲟϥⲏⲓ (ⲓⲁⲣ) 28, 232, 543
ⲟϥⲕⲟϥⲏ 170-177
ⲟϥⲏ 92, 119, 197, 4.6.1
ⲟϥⲟⲛ- (exist.) 69, 2.0.2, 349, 495, 498
 ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲟϥⲟⲛ- 495, 584
ⲟϥⲟⲛ (pron.) 384-385
ⲟϥⲧⲉ ("between") 510-511
ⲟϥⲱ 592-593
ⲟϥⲟⲗ, ⲁϥⲱ 116-120, 151-152, 160-164, 187, 507, 511
ⲭⲏ 28, 1.2.5.3, 2.2.2
ⲫⲗⲓ, ⲫⲏ 414-417, 522-523
ⲱ 154
ϥⲟ 165
ϥⲟⲡ 223, 2.2.2
ϥⲱⲡⲓ 585, 591
 ⲁⲥϥⲱⲡⲓ 115
ϥⲧⲉⲙ 325, 485
ϥⲗⲁⲏⲁϥ 317
ⲉⲗ- 264, 276, 451-452, 488
ⲗⲓ- 375-377
ⲗⲱ 120, 609-610
ⲗⲓ 374, 385-387
ⲗⲏⲡⲡⲉ, ⲓⲥ, ⲗⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ 60, 61, 67, 84, 135, 137, 186, 189, 197, 202-203, 217, 219-220, 2.0.3, 248, 260, 263
ⲁⲉ- 104, 151, 257, 276, 290, 352, 409, 427, 454, 456-458, 490, 513, 530, 631
ⲁⲉ-ⲟϥⲏ 630
-ⲁⲉ 119, 150, 176, 605, 4.6.1
ⲁⲱ 151, 522-523
ⲁⲓⲏ- (vn.) 345, 461-462, 464
ⲧⲏⲟϥ 110, 176, 219, 627

INDEX OF COPTIC PASSAGES QUOTED OR CITED

Unless otherwise specified, the references are to the standard Bohairic sources ("B5"). Particular dialects and/or editions are specified in parentheses. Pentateuch readings marked (Vat) refer to the MS *Vat. copto 1*.

The index excludes references given merely to register morphological, phonological or morphophonological, lexical or lexicophonological attestation, and a few special sources (e.g. Kellia graffiti or the Scala Magna).

Old Testament: Genesis

- Gen. 1:1-2 – 69
- Gen. 1:2 – 99, 378, 394, 412
- Gen. 1:2f. – 128, 130
- Gen. 1:3 – 156
- Gen. 1:3-4 – 129
- Gen. 1:3ff. – 130
- Gen. 1:4 – 104, 456
- Gen. 1:4f. – 58, 506
- Gen. 1:5 – 128, 392, 427, 429
- Gen. 1:6 – 156, 162, 195, 376, 585, 592
- Gen. 1:8 – 394, 405, 427, 556
- Gen. 1:9 – 156, 556, 558
- Gen. 1:10 – 116, 392, 427, 427
- Gen. 1:11 – 156, 505
- Gen. 1:12 – 116, 505
- Gen. 1:14 – 467, 531
- Gen. 1:15 – 156, 285, 465
- Gen. 1:16 – 423
- Gen. 1:16 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 423
- Gen. 1:17 – 285
- Gen. 1:18 – 520, 544
- Gen. 1:22 – 161, 161
- Gen. 1:26 – 157, 283
- Gen. 1:27 – 376
- Gen. 1:28 – 161, 282, 283
- Gen. 1:29 – 95
- Gen. 1:31 – 116
- Gen. 1:45 – 428
- Gen. 2:1 – 558
- Gen. 2:2 – 126
- Gen. 2:4 – 517, 602
- Gen. 2:4 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 351
- Gen. 2:5 – 72, 105, 107, 602
- Gen. 2:6 – 100, 102, 618
- Gen. 2:9 – 471, 511, 553, 554
- Gen. 2:10 – 100, 102, 618
- Gen. 2:11-14 – 99
- Gen. 2:12 – 71, 105, 547
- Gen. 2:14 – 558
- Gen. 2:15 – 468
- Gen. 2:16 – 191, 542, 547
- Gen. 2:17 – 547
- Gen. 2:18 – 157, 468, 469, 552
- Gen. 2:19 – 392, 427, 553, 607
- Gen. 2:19 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 632
- Gen. 2:22 – 547
- Gen. 2:23 – 191, 252, 392, 427, 547
- Gen. 2:23 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 239, 277, 354
- Gen. 3:1 – 99, 549
- Gen. 3:2 – 191, 515
- Gen. 3:4 – 199, 321, 497
- Gen. 3:4 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 323
- Gen. 3:5 – 205, 218, 285, 518, 580
- Gen. 3:6 – 558, 558
- Gen. 3:7 – 553
- Gen. 3:9 – 319, 547
- Gen. 3:10 – 36, 95, 301, 305, 535
- Gen. 3:11 – 416, 546
- Gen. 3:12 – 547
- Gen. 3:12f. – 95, 574
- Gen. 3:13 – 303, 305
- Gen. 3:14 – 610
- Gen. 3:14-18 – 193, 550
- Gen. 3:15 – 505, 550, 558
- Gen. 3:16 – 461, 470, 547
- Gen. 3:17 – 547
- Gen. 3:18 – 558
- Gen. 3:19 – 190, 193
- Gen. 3:20 – 392, 427
- Gen. 3:22 – 196, 282, 285, 390, 464, 550

- Gen. 3:23 – 468
 Gen. 4:1 – 125, 136, 547, 558, 619
 Gen. 4:2 – 75, 80, 117, 125, 125, 137, 193, 619
 Gen. 4:4 – 505
 Gen. 4:6 – 314
 Gen. 4:7 – 461
 Gen. 4:8 – 123, 157
 Gen. 4:9 – 174, 276, 319, 551
 Gen. 4:10 – 150, 175, 547
 Gen. 4:12 – 556
 Gen. 4:13 – 252, 253
 Gen. 4:14 – 187, 188, 190, 206, 500, 558
 Gen. 4:15 – 241, 469, 556
 Gen. 4:15ff. – 129
 Gen. 4:17 – 547, 558
 Gen. 4:18 – 558
 Gen. 4:20 – 558
 Gen. 4:22 – 550
 Gen. 4:23 – 153, 541, 551, 626
 Gen. 4:24 – 553
 Gen. 4:25 – 552
 Gen. 4:26 – 128, 128, 542, 558
 Gen. 5:1 – 550
 Gen. 5:2 – 368, 376, 378, 492, 518, 550
 Gen. 5:3 – 554
 Gen. 5:4 – 473, 556
 Gen. 5:5 – 217, 626
 Gen. 5:7 – 463
 Gen. 5:9 – 626
 Gen. 5:15 – 553
 Gen. 5:16 – 548, 549, 558
 Gen. 5:18 – 626
 Gen. 5:20 – 547
 Gen. 5:21 – 550, 552
 Gen. 5:23 – 547
 Gen. 5:24 – 125
 Gen. 5:27 – 547
 Gen. 5:28 – 547
 Gen. 5:29 – 301, 505
 Gen. 5:31 – 35, 94
 Gen. 6:1 – 286, 567, 602
 Gen. 6:1-2 – 309
 Gen. 6:2 – 552
 Gen. 6:4 – 361
 Gen. 6:5 – 309, 512, 558
 Gen. 6:6 – 558
 Gen. 6:7 – 189, 601, 613
 Gen. 6:9 – 99, 430, 550, 552
 Gen. 6:12 – 76, 116, 232, 514
 Gen. 6:13 – 232, 552
 Gen. 6:14ff. – 191
 Gen. 6:15 – 514, 515, 556
 Gen. 6:16 – 587, 594
 Gen. 6:17 – 359, 370, 514
 Gen. 6:18 – 189
 Gen. 6:18f. – 191
 Gen. 6:19 – 552
 Gen. 6:20 – 216, 551, 552, 553
 Gen. 6:21 – 199
 Gen. 6:30 – 217
 Gen. 7:1 – 155, 158, 516, 594
 Gen. 7:2 – 553
 Gen. 7:3 – 553
 Gen. 7:4 – 198, 200, 206
 Gen. 7:6 – 129, 137, 553
 Gen. 7:7 – 506
 Gen. 7:10 – 115, 595
 Gen. 7:13 – 488, 506, 546
 Gen. 7:15 – 359, 515, 553
 Gen. 7:17 – 203, 359
 Gen. 7:17f. – 67, 79, 81, 506
 Gen. 7:18 – 74
 Gen. 7:21 – 556
 Gen. 7:22 – 289
 Gen. 7:23 – 392, 412, 413
 Gen. 8:1 – 286, 394, 407, 412, 412
 Gen. 8:2 – 394, 407, 412
 Gen. 8:3 – 74, 79, 80, 549
 Gen. 8:4 – 449, 558
 Gen. 8:6 – 115, 551, 595
 Gen. 8:7 – 143
 Gen. 8:7f. – 144
 Gen. 8:9 – 78, 394, 407, 412, 602
 Gen. 8:10 – 45
 Gen. 8:11 – 392, 394, 407, 412
 Gen. 8:13 – 115, 116, 449, 595
 Gen. 8:14 – 556
 Gen. 8:16 – 158, 506
 Gen. 8:20 – 556
 Gen. 8:21 – 521, 542, 551
 Gen. 8:22 – 193, 529
 Gen. 9:1 – 161
 Gen. 9:3 – 367, 377
 Gen. 9:4 – 126, 193
 Gen. 9:5 – 624

- Gen. 9:6 – 193
 Gen. 9:7 – 158, 161, 161, 550
 Gen. 9:10 – 551
 Gen. 9:11 – 549
 Gen. 9:12 – 395, 406, 406, 510, 552
 Gen. 9:13 – 367, 510, 550
 Gen. 9:14 – 604
 Gen. 9:14f. – 115
 Gen. 9:15 – 510
 Gen. 9:16 – 461
 Gen. 9:17 – 510
 Gen. 9:18 – 546, 552, 614
 Gen. 9:20 – 286, 378
 Gen. 9:22 – 602
 Gen. 9:23 – 79, 556
 Gen. 9:24 – 558
 Gen. 9:25 – 190
 Gen. 9:28 – 45
 Gen. Ch. 10 – 272
 Gen. 10:1 – 273
 Gen. 10:2 – 449, 551
 Gen. 10:4 – 549
 Gen. 10:5 – 109
 Gen. 10:8-9 – 71
 Gen. 10:9 – 110, 191, 281, 283, 415, 550
 Gen. 10:11 – 428
 Gen. 10:18 – 415
 Gen. 10:19 – 549
 Gen. 10:20 – 126
 Gen. 10:24 – 511
 Gen. 10:26 – 550
 Gen. 11:1 – 284, 367, 367
 Gen. 11:1f. – 70
 Gen. 11:2 – 602
 Gen. 11:3 – 254
 Gen. 11:4 – 416, 525
 Gen. 11:6 – 609
 Gen. 11:7 – 162
 Gen. 11:9 – 94
 Gen. 11:10 – 140, 461
 Gen. 11:19 – 549
 Gen. 11:29 – 270, 270, 550, 550
 Gen. 11:30 – 72, 99
 Gen. 11:32 – 447
 Gen. 12:2 – 367, 470, 492, 594
 Gen. 12:4 – 289
 Gen. 12:4ff. – 344
 Gen. 12:5 – 550
 Gen. 12:6 – 125, 558
 Gen. 12:7 – 129
 Gen. 12:11 – 115, 217, 595
 Gen. 12:12 – 247, 415
 Gen. 12:12f. – 275
 Gen. 12:13 – 196, 276, 558, 554, 626
 Gen. 12:14 – 595
 Gen. 12:18 – 238, 287, 314, 415
 Gen. 12:19 – 160, 230, 364, 378
 Gen. 12:20 – 563
 Gen. 12:36 – 129
 Gen. 13:2 – 407
 Gen. 13:3 – 505
 Gen. 13:4 – 511
 Gen. 13:5 – 550
 Gen. 13:5ff. – 73, 77, 503
 Gen. 13:6 – 552, 554
 Gen. 13:7 – 511
 Gen. 13:8 – 157, 511, 572
 Gen. 13:9 – 227
 Gen. 13:10 – 103, 550, 590
 Gen. 13:13 – 241
 Gen. 13:15 – 209, 611
 Gen. 13:16 – 282, 470
 Gen. 13:17 – 209
 Gen. 14:1 – 115, 595
 Gen. 14:2 – 415
 Gen. 14:8 – 415
 Gen. 14:10 – 281, 284, 397, 504, 549, 554
 Gen. 14:13 – 129, 284
 Gen. 14:14 – 291, 365
 Gen. 14:15 – 343, 611
 Gen. 14:16 – 558
 Gen. 14:17 – 440
 Gen. 14:18 – 99, 437, 614
 Gen. 14:21 – 160
 Gen. 14:22 – 192
 Gen. 14:23 – 145, 286, 408, 444
 Gen. 14:24 – 447
 Gen. 15:1 – 284, 368
 Gen. 15:2 – 153, 271, 291, 351, 430, 594
 Gen. 15:3 – 415
 Gen. 15:5 – 161
 Gen. 15:6 – 519
 Gen. 15:8f. – 175
 Gen. 15:8ff. – 150
 Gen. 15:9 – 607
 Gen. 15:10 – 415, 607

- Gen. 15:10f. – 108
 Gen. 15:11 – 105, 410
 Gen. 15:12 – 125, 125, 126, 137, 594
 Gen. 15:13 – 187, 190, 239
 Gen. 15:14 – 415, 610
 Gen. 15:15 – 589
 Gen. 15:16 – 449, 547
 Gen. 15:17 – 67, 100, 227, 260, 437
 Gen. 15:20 – 126
 Gen. 16:1 – 72, 78, 125, 270, 272, 291, 554
 Gen. 16:3 – 128, 367, 450, 468, 474, 534
 Gen. 16:4 – 287, 549
 Gen. 16:5 – 287, 318, 500, 510
 Gen. 16:6 – 230, 289, 364, 550
 Gen. 16:8 – 153, 318, 321, 430, 552
 Gen. 16:10 – 470
 Gen. 16:11 – 228, 287, 319, 392, 427, 427, 567
 Gen. 16:12 – 283, 415
 Gen. 16:13 – 343, 594, 615
 Gen. 16:14 – 94, 394, 405, 415, 510, 518
 Gen. 16:15 – 549
 Gen. 16:16 – 75, 289, 360, 602
 Gen. 16:18 – 316
 Gen. 16:42 – 547
 Gen. 17:1 – 129, 137, 290, 572, 591, 591
 Gen. 17:2 – 470, 510, 550
 Gen. 17:5 – 427, 427, 567
 Gen. 17:6 – 367, 470
 Gen. 17:7 – 366, 510, 510, 550
 Gen. 17:8 – 348, 447
 Gen. 17:9 – 549
 Gen. 17:10 – 246, 510
 Gen. 17:12 – 237, 373, 553, 553
 Gen. 17:13 – 390
 Gen. 17:14 – 281, 527, 600
 Gen. 17:15 – 191, 427, 549
 Gen. 17:17 – 145, 167, 173, 187
 Gen. 17:18 – 156, 415
 Gen. 17:19 – 168, 392, 427, 427, 469
 Gen. 17:20 – 331, 470, 470
 Gen. 17:22 – 549, 593
 Gen. 17:23 – 289
 Gen. 17:23ff. – 76
 Gen. 17:24 – 332
 Gen. 17:24f. – 397, 441, 441
 Gen. 17:26 – 373, 373
 Gen. 18:1 – 442
 Gen. 18:2 – 115, 135, 227, 602
 Gen. 18:3 – 553
 Gen. 18:3f. – 163
 Gen. 18:5 – 188, 415, 458, 500
 Gen. 18:6 – 160
 Gen. 18:9 – 175, 218, 230, 232, 290, 311, 319, 499, 501, 564
 Gen. 18:10 – 190, 573
 Gen. 18:11 – 82, 92, 283, 370, 573
 Gen. 18:12 – 214
 Gen. 18:13 – 148, 150, 174, 175, 283, 315, 370
 Gen. 18:14 – 173, 206, 311, 567
 Gen. 18:15 – 82, 168
 Gen. 18:16 – 71
 Gen. 18:17 – 198, 199, 544
 Gen. 18:19 – 205, 207, 218
 Gen. 18:20 – 252, 253
 Gen. 18:21 – 144, 168, 459, 627
 Gen. 18:22 – 69, 554
 Gen. 18:23 – 162, 551, 573
 Gen. 18:24 – 173, 358, 553
 Gen. 18:25 – 112, 154, 155, 158, 416, 468, 610
 Gen. 18:26 – 112, 189
 Gen. 18:27 – 116, 286
 Gen. 18:28 – 173
 Gen. 18:30 – 174, 553
 Gen. 18:31 – 194, 363, 551, 553
 Gen. 18:32 – 174, 553, 554
 Gen. 18:33 – 593
 Gen. 19:1 – 553, 618
 Gen. 19:1ff. – 130
 Gen. 19:2 – 166, 168, 200, 458
 Gen. 19:3 – 105, 486
 Gen. 19:3f. – 590
 Gen. 19:5 – 319
 Gen. 19:7 – 155, 158, 395, 418, 488
 Gen. 19:8 – 363, 458, 521, 553, 553
 Gen. 19:9 – 198, 390, 428, 558, 627
 Gen. 19:11 – 91, 290
 Gen. 19:12 – 344, 363, 416, 444, 567
 Gen. 19:13 – 127
 Gen. 19:14 – 68, 343
 Gen. 19:14f. – 160
 Gen. 19:15 – 553
 Gen. 19:17 – 323

- Gen. 19:18 – 153, 217
 Gen. 19:19 – 199, 358, 419, 469, 470, 525, 535
 Gen. 19:20 – 416, 467
 Gen. 19:21 – 220, 229
 Gen. 19:22 – 194, 415
 Gen. 19:23 – 392
 Gen. 19:23f. – 124, 128
 Gen. 19:25 – 497
 Gen. 19:26 – 284, 437
 Gen. 19:28 – 68, 116, 135, 228, 437, 441, 505
 Gen. 19:29 – 82, 115, 473
 Gen. 19:30 – 118, 611
 Gen. 19:31 – 358, 392, 412, 521
 Gen. 19:32 – 164
 Gen. 19:32-5 – 492
 Gen. 19:33 – 72, 472, 558, 566
 Gen. 19:34 – 115, 155, 157, 162, 220, 229, 416, 498
 Gen. 19:35 – 72
 Gen. 19:36f. – 130
 Gen. 19:37 – 237, 238
 Gen. 19:38 – 415
 Gen. 20:1 – 590
 Gen. 20:2 – 118, 259
 Gen. 20:3 – 202, 204, 228, 239, 290, 351, 390, 437, 514, 590, 595
 Gen. 20:4 – 111, 430, 450
 Gen. 20:4ff. – 174
 Gen. 20:5 – 259, 328
 Gen. 20:6 – 219, 407, 415, 572, 609
 Gen. 20:7 – 155, 155, 193, 241, 400, 419, 564, 572, 594, 606, 607, 608, 611
 Gen. 20:9 – 173, 199, 246, 303, 360, 387, 457, 493, 536
 Gen. 20:10 – 416
 Gen. 20:11 – 140, 416, 545, 620, 622
 Gen. 20:12 – 259, 367, 552, 615, 624
 Gen. 20:13 – 199, 415, 567
 Gen. 20:14 – 344, 573, 607
 Gen. 20:15 – 229, 230, 364, 572
 Gen. 20:16 – 155, 220, 286
 Gen. 20:18 – 134, 324, 559
 Gen. 21:2 – 122, 129, 373
 Gen. 21:5 – 601
 Gen. 21:6 – 126, 298, 329, 520, 618
 Gen. 21:6f. – 572
 Gen. 21:8 – 283, 286, 395, 406, 518
 Gen. 21:9 – 551, 594, 618
 Gen. 21:10 – 285
 Gen. 21:11 – 521, 591
 Gen. 21:12 – 156
 Gen. 21:13 – 367, 615
 Gen. 21:14 – 73, 437
 Gen. 21:16 – 118, 355, 438
 Gen. 21:17 – 91, 153, 551
 Gen. 21:18 – 160
 Gen. 21:20 – 72, 80, 289, 290, 502
 Gen. 21:20f. – 50
 Gen. 21:22 – 105
 Gen. 21:23 – 284, 626
 Gen. 21:25 – 343
 Gen. 21:26 – 150, 174, 220, 302
 Gen. 21:28 – 608
 Gen. 21:29 – 302
 Gen. 21:30 – 367, 542, 607
 Gen. 21:31 – 392, 427
 Gen. 21:33 – 390, 394
 Gen. 21:34 – 50
 Gen. 22:1 – 69, 152, 227, 546
 Gen. 22:2 – 365
 Gen. 22:3 – 367, 522
 Gen. 22:5 – 202, 330, 391, 563
 Gen. 22:6ff. – 68, 502
 Gen. 22:7 – 119, 119, 152, 153, 319, 631
 Gen. 22:8 – 153, 552, 567
 Gen. 22:9 – 548
 Gen. 22:11 – 152, 227, 547
 Gen. 22:12 – 549, 610
 Gen. 22:13 – 135, 227, 366, 428, 489, 550
 Gen. 22:14 – 392, 416, 427, 427
 Gen. 22:15 – 395, 547
 Gen. 22:16 – 458, 492
 Gen. 22:17 – 324, 331, 343, 394, 407, 470
 Gen. 22:18 – 458
 Gen. 22:20 – 115, 120, 551, 609
 Gen. 22:21 – 390
 Gen. 22:23 – 245
 Gen. 22:24 – 272
 Gen. 23:1 – 355, 531
 Gen. 23:2 – 271, 390, 428, 437, 531
 Gen. 23:3 – 343
 Gen. 23:4 – 281
 Gen. 23:6 – 155, 225, 277, 278, 360, 493, 610, 612

- Gen. 23:7 – 437, 437, 438, 441
 Gen. 23:8 – 290, 463, 519, 531
 Gen. 23:9 – 365, 390
 Gen. 23:10 – 70, 572
 Gen. 23:11 – 153, 217
 Gen. 23:13 – 396, 438, 445
 Gen. 23:15 – 153, 168, 241, 300, 510, 620, 630
 Gen. 23:17 – 566, 595
 Gen. 23:18 – 572
 Gen. 23:19 – 271, 397, 442
 Gen. 23:20 – 566
 Gen. 24:1 – 255, 590
 Gen. 24:2 – 564, 564
 Gen. 24:3 – 290, 459, 611
 Gen. 24:4 – 191, 558
 Gen. 24:5 – 173, 177, 217, 459, 460, 552, 552, 572
 Gen. 24:6 – 160
 Gen. 24:7 – 192
 Gen. 24:8 – 545, 567, 615, 631
 Gen. 24:9 – 567
 Gen. 24:10 – 396, 506, 553, 564
 Gen. 24:11 – 554
 Gen. 24:12 – 286, 428
 Gen. 24:13 – 203, 217, 228, 416
 Gen. 24:14 – 115, 163, 190, 246, 247, 303, 344, 609, 610
 Gen. 24:15 – 115
 Gen. 24:16 – 77, 114
 Gen. 24:17 – 155
 Gen. 24:19 – 193, 344, 593
 Gen. 24:20 – 344
 Gen. 24:21 – 72, 168
 Gen. 24:22 – 224, 358, 593
 Gen. 24:23 – 144, 358, 359, 468, 469, 548, 564
 Gen. 24:23f. – 150, 174
 Gen. 24:24 – 277, 278, 551, 573
 Gen. 24:25 – 224, 358, 468, 469
 Gen. 24:27 – 117, 619
 Gen. 24:29 – 78, 168, 546, 547
 Gen. 24:30 – 550, 602
 Gen. 24:31 – 116, 315, 619
 Gen. 24:32 – 343
 Gen. 24:33 – 155, 593
 Gen. 24:34 – 265, 411, 567
 Gen. 24:34-37 – 95
 Gen. 24:34ff. – 36
 Gen. 24:35 – 344
 Gen. 24:36 – 120
 Gen. 24:40 – 547, 609
 Gen. 24:42 – 198, 204, 525, 572, 606, 612
 Gen. 24:42ff. – 36
 Gen. 24:43 – 190, 203, 228
 Gen. 24:44 – 162, 188, 246
 Gen. 24:45 – 67, 105, 116, 547, 574
 Gen. 24:46 – 188, 500, 558
 Gen. 24:48 – 602
 Gen. 24:49 – 611, 612, 615, 627
 Gen. 24:50 – 198, 317, 627
 Gen. 24:51 – 547
 Gen. 24:52 – 115
 Gen. 24:53 – 411
 Gen. 24:54 – 122, 155, 546, 551, 611
 Gen. 24:55 – 391
 Gen. 24:56 – 623
 Gen. 24:57 – 157, 399, 553
 Gen. 24:58 – 145, 416
 Gen. 24:59 – 344, 447
 Gen. 24:60 – 276, 367, 550, 558
 Gen. 24:61 – 123
 Gen. 24:62 – 290, 290, 394, 407
 Gen. 24:63 – 114
 Gen. 24:63f. – 594
 Gen. 24:65 – 175, 253, 417
 Gen. 24:67 – 366, 445
 Gen. 25:1 – 122, 270, 272
 Gen. 25:2 – 505, 509, 554
 Gen. 25:3 – 98, 273, 554
 Gen. 25:3ff. – 438
 Gen. 25:4 – 272, 554, 609
 Gen. 25:6 – 125, 390, 445, 554
 Gen. 25:7 – 244, 246, 287, 437, 438
 Gen. 25:8 – 114, 238, 552
 Gen. 25:9 – 289
 Gen. 25:10 – 95, 132, 567
 Gen. 25:11 – 473
 Gen. 25:12 – 462, 553
 Gen. 25:13 – 244, 445
 Gen. 25:16 – 415
 Gen. 25:17 – 244, 246
 Gen. 25:18 – 140
 Gen. 25:20 – 75, 131, 602
 Gen. 25:21 – 80, 98, 494, 541
 Gen. 25:22 – 151, 301, 572

- Gen. 25:23 – 283, 287, 287, 300, 329, 391, 408
 Gen. 25:24 – 100, 241, 380, 468, 542
 Gen. 25:25 – 67, 502, 609
 Gen. 25:25f. – 75
 Gen. 25:27 – 99, 290, 430
 Gen. 25:28 – 250, 252, 254, 254, 530, 600
 Gen. 25:30 – 157
 Gen. 25:32 – 151, 203, 228
 Gen. 25:33 – 111, 126, 332, 430, 494
 Gen. 25:34 – 553
 Gen. 26:1 – 391
 Gen. 26:2 – 390
 Gen. 26:2ff. – 188
 Gen. 26:5 – 395, 458
 Gen. 26:7 – 77, 105, 118, 232, 259, 625
 Gen. 26:8 – 105, 117, 312, 594
 Gen. 26:9 – 148, 149, 259, 315
 Gen. 26:10 – 150, 175, 246, 303, 416
 Gen. 26:11 – 572
 Gen. 26:13 – 73, 203
 Gen. 26:14 – 343, 344, 372
 Gen. 26:18 – 82, 390
 Gen. 26:19 – 447, 554
 Gen. 26:20 – 247, 247
 Gen. 26:20ff. – 427
 Gen. 26:22 – 470
 Gen. 26:24 – 182, 217, 289, 416, 453
 Gen. 26:25 – 343, 344, 394, 438, 445, 447, 567
 Gen. 26:26 – 416, 551, 552
 Gen. 26:27 – 116, 551
 Gen. 26:28 – 218, 218, 289, 323, 510, 551, 633
 Gen. 26:29 – 469, 521
 Gen. 26:30 – 563
 Gen. 26:30f. – 122
 Gen. 26:31 – 567
 Gen. 26:34 – 75, 427, 551
 Gen. 27:1 – 115, 152, 227, 407, 429, 473
 Gen. 27:2 – 95, 220, 229, 608
 Gen. 27:3 – 548, 626
 Gen. 27:5 – 551
 Gen. 27:6 – 95, 228, 563
 Gen. 27:7 – 344
 Gen. 27:8 – 521, 626
 Gen. 27:9 – 521
 Gen. 27:11 – 237, 252, 274, 279, 516
 Gen. 27:12 – 177, 196, 284, 328, 552
 Gen. 27:13 – 153
 Gen. 27:14 – 107, 122, 284
 Gen. 27:15 – 289
 Gen. 27:18 – 152, 227, 263, 302, 430
 Gen. 27:19 – 160, 521, 558
 Gen. 27:20 – 153, 154, 246, 303, 417
 Gen. 27:21 – 107, 144, 162, 168, 267, 428, 548
 Gen. 27:21f. – 112, 123
 Gen. 27:22 – 107, 249, 437, 632
 Gen. 27:23 – 69, 118, 399, 573, 609
 Gen. 27:24 – 144, 146, 173, 265, 266
 Gen. 27:25ff. – 107
 Gen. 27:26 – 155, 158
 Gen. 27:26f. – 123
 Gen. 27:27 – 284, 393
 Gen. 27:28 – 192, 411, 441, 442, 494
 Gen. 27:29 – 288, 349, 618
 Gen. 27:30 – 126, 128, 129, 137, 593
 Gen. 27:31 – 120
 Gen. 27:32 – 117, 150, 174, 267, 277, 278, 429, 501
 Gen. 27:33 – 297, 550, 612, 627
 Gen. 27:34 – 105, 153, 609
 Gen. 27:35 – 119, 627
 Gen. 27:36 – 148, 174, 220, 220, 229, 262, 324, 550, 554, 610, 615, 620, 631
 Gen. 27:37 – 302, 330, 343, 549
 Gen. 27:38 – 129, 146, 173, 286, 300, 609
 Gen. 27:39f. – 193
 Gen. 27:41 – 156, 163, 498
 Gen. 27:42 – 231
 Gen. 27:43f. – 160
 Gen. 27:45 – 188, 425, 438
 Gen. 27:46 – 129, 151, 445, 445
 Gen. 28:1 – 445
 Gen. 28:2 – 160
 Gen. 28:2f. – 193
 Gen. 28:3 – 348, 367
 Gen. 28:8 – 104, 116
 Gen. 28:9 – 367
 Gen. 28:10 – 471
 Gen. 28:11 – 81, 119
 Gen. 28:12 – 124, 127, 227, 390
 Gen. 28:12f. – 85, 85
 Gen. 28:13 – 265, 282, 471
 Gen. 28:14 – 190, 282, 285, 394

- Gen. 28:15 – 189, 189, 228
 Gen. 28:16 – 217, 218
 Gen. 28:17 – 84, 238, 253, 259, 281, 282, 614
 Gen. 28:18 – 270
 Gen. 28:19 – 260, 261
 Gen. 28:20 – 390, 411, 520, 610
 Gen. 28:21 – 411, 445
 Gen. 28:22 – 348, 366, 367, 434, 437
 Gen. 29:2 – 48, 67, 68, 116, 119, 135, 227, 289, 345, 402, 486, 531, 532, 535
 Gen. 29:3 – 103, 104, 345, 402, 486, 532, 535
 Gen. 29:4 – 175
 Gen. 29:5 – 315, 548
 Gen. 29:5f. – 145, 173
 Gen. 29:6 – 143, 552
 Gen. 29:7 – 160, 258, 344
 Gen. 29:7f. – 548
 Gen. 29:8 – 200, 204, 552, 563, 599
 Gen. 29:9 – 68, 118, 119, 547
 Gen. 29:10 – 345, 402, 486, 532, 535
 Gen. 29:11 – 122, 564
 Gen. 29:12 – 237, 513
 Gen. 29:14 – 276, 546, 548
 Gen. 29:15 – 232, 253, 257, 260, 276, 625
 Gen. 29:16 – 270, 270, 363, 554
 Gen. 29:17 – 77, 92, 255, 312
 Gen. 29:18 – 72, 198, 285
 Gen. 29:19 – 519
 Gen. 29:20 – 72, 285
 Gen. 29:21 – 623
 Gen. 29:23 – 429, 553, 554
 Gen. 29:24 – 366, 367, 554
 Gen. 29:25 – 100, 147, 174, 246, 260, 303, 319, 429
 Gen. 29:26 – 214, 463
 Gen. 29:27 – 188
 Gen. 29:27/8 – 110, 112
 Gen. 29:30 – 554
 Gen. 29:31 – 116, 117, 122, 250, 255, 379, 530, 610
 Gen. 29:32 – 205, 209, 283, 408
 Gen. 29:34 – 209
 Gen. 29:37 – 120
 Gen. 30:1 – 120, 166, 201, 610
 Gen. 30:2 – 147, 174, 276, 610
 Gen. 30:3 – 227, 364, 429
 Gen. 30:4 – 573, 607
 Gen. 30:6 – 35, 94, 551
 Gen. 30:8 – 35, 284, 427
 Gen. 30:10 – 87, 123
 Gen. 30:11 – 177, 551
 Gen. 30:13 – 392, 428
 Gen. 30:14 – 123, 407, 550, 609
 Gen. 30:15 – 187, 188, 328, 567, 593
 Gen. 30:16 – 317
 Gen. 30:17 – 122
 Gen. 30:18 – 128, 392, 394, 427, 428, 567
 Gen. 30:20 – 186, 188, 209, 443, 500
 Gen. 30:21 – 344, 554
 Gen. 30:22 – 128, 129
 Gen. 30:23 – 567
 Gen. 30:24 – 156
 Gen. 30:25 – 511
 Gen. 30:26 – 283, 343
 Gen. 30:27 – 545, 620
 Gen. 30:29 – 238, 344
 Gen. 30:30 – 248, 316, 316, 362, 462, 609, 622, 630
 Gen. 30:32 – 389, 410, 563, 572
 Gen. 30:33 – 552
 Gen. 30:35 – 390
 Gen. 30:36 – 68, 510
 Gen. 30:37 – 342, 344
 Gen. 30:38 – 131
 Gen. 30:38f. – 71
 Gen. 30:39 – 383, 385
 Gen. 30:40 – 108
 Gen. 30:41 – 115, 128, 129, 470, 488, 517, 536
 Gen. 30:42 – 102, 120, 131, 609
 Gen. 30:43 – 344
 Gen. 31:2 – 72, 76, 607
 Gen. 31:2/5 – 112, 504
 Gen. 31:3 – 188, 397, 441, 442
 Gen. 31:5 – 76, 199, 607
 Gen. 31:6 – 443
 Gen. 31:7 – 463
 Gen. 31:7ff. – 35
 Gen. 31:8 – 214, 495
 Gen. 31:10 – 84, 85, 227, 370, 504, 542, 572, 594
 Gen. 31:10f. – 284, 407
 Gen. 31:11 – 152, 430
 Gen. 31:12 – 160, 542, 594, 607

- Gen. 31:13 – 265, 511, 629
 Gen. 31:14 – 149, 360, 508, 508, 552
 Gen. 31:14f. – 174
 Gen. 31:15 – 174, 319, 328, 497
 Gen. 31:16 – 155
 Gen. 31:17 – 563
 Gen. 31:18 – 425, 550, 564, 608, 612
 Gen. 31:19 – 514
 Gen. 31:20 – 590
 Gen. 31:21 – 563, 608
 Gen. 31:23 – 563
 Gen. 31:24 – 572
 Gen. 31:26 – 407
 Gen. 31:27 – 199
 Gen. 31:28 – 440
 Gen. 31:29 – 285, 286, 327, 550, 606, 607
 Gen. 31:30 – 324
 Gen. 31:31 – 177, 238, 541, 566
 Gen. 31:32 – 72, 119, 193, 303, 304, 547, 614, 621
 Gen. 31:33 – 511
 Gen. 31:35 – 156, 410
 Gen. 31:36 – 246
 Gen. 31:36f. – 273
 Gen. 31:37 – 163, 609
 Gen. 31:38 – 260, 289, 590
 Gen. 31:38ff. – 35
 Gen. 31:39 – 80, 300, 330, 381, 395, 406, 516
 Gen. 31:39ff. – 36
 Gen. 31:40 – 409, 413
 Gen. 31:41 – 260
 Gen. 31:42 – 437
 Gen. 31:43 – 254, 344, 508, 509, 547, 554, 312, 630
 Gen. 31:44 – 162, 230, 231, 303, 358, 367, 510
 Gen. 31:46 – 281, 285, 301
 Gen. 31:47 – 281, 282
 Gen. 31:47f. – 373, 392, 427
 Gen. 31:48 – 227, 282, 304, 364
 Gen. 31:49 – 545
 Gen. 31:49f. – 192, 194
 Gen. 31:50 – 145, 387, 548
 Gen. 31:52 – 545
 Gen. 31:55 – 129
 Gen. 32:2 – 111, 124, 126, 245, 392, 427, 430
 Gen. 32:3 – 129, 373
 Gen. 32:4 – 120, 247, 248, 428, 429
 Gen. 32:5 – 344, 429
 Gen. 32:7 – 228, 564
 Gen. 32:8 – 355
 Gen. 32:9 – 188
 Gen. 32:10 – 286, 429
 Gen. 32:11 – 459
 Gen. 32:12 – 437
 Gen. 32:13 – 195
 Gen. 32:14 – 343, 372
 Gen. 32:14f. – 372
 Gen. 32:16 – 453, 510, 608
 Gen. 32:17 – 276, 399, 429, 508
 Gen. 32:17-21 – 74
 Gen. 32:18 – 193, 228, 399, 429
 Gen. 32:19 – 391, 609
 Gen. 32:20 – 192, 231, 472
 Gen. 32:22 – 64, 74, 390, 390, 443
 Gen. 32:23 – 286, 608
 Gen. 32:24 – 68, 396, 429, 437, 437, 608
 Gen. 32:25 – 88, 567
 Gen. 32:26 – 201, 429, 612, 623
 Gen. 32:27 – 150, 174, 292, 501
 Gen. 32:28 – 191, 410, 427, 427, 545, 548
 Gen. 32:29 – 315, 546, 548, 572
 Gen. 32:30 – 355, 378, 392, 427, 437, 510, 620
 Gen. 32:31 – 114, 130, 131, 427, 437, 516
 Gen. 32:32 – 193, 567
 Gen. 32:33 – 94
 Gen. 33:1 – 116, 460, 489, 586
 Gen. 33:3 – 74
 Gen. 33:4 – 122
 Gen. 33:5 – 122, 246, 444, 626
 Gen. 33:6 – 343
 Gen. 33:6f. – 130
 Gen. 33:8 – 131, 177, 246, 444, 609
 Gen. 33:9 – 131, 156, 240, 241, 363, 400, 419
 Gen. 33:11 – 363, 456
 Gen. 33:13 – 206, 609, 612, 627
 Gen. 33:13f. – 202
 Gen. 33:14 – 156, 462
 Gen. 33:15 – 142, 145, 173
 Gen. 33:17 – 126
 Gen. 33:18 – 382
 Gen. 34:2 – 566

- Gen. 34:3 – 554
 Gen. 34:4 – 348, 367, 607
 Gen. 34:5 – 547, 554
 Gen. 34:7 – 346, 520, 589
 Gen. 34:8 – 626
 Gen. 34:8f. – 155
 Gen. 34:9 – 155, 160, 343, 348, 366
 Gen. 34:10 – 216, 231
 Gen. 34:11-12 – 208, 209
 Gen. 34:12 – 155, 162
 Gen. 34:14 – 354, 408, 449, 615
 Gen. 34:15 – 208, 209, 282, 415, 460
 Gen. 34:16 – 208, 209, 282, 470
 Gen. 34:17 – 182
 Gen. 34:18 – 510
 Gen. 34:19 – 79
 Gen. 34:21 – 156, 230, 231
 Gen. 34:22 – 367, 459, 463, 469, 516, 609
 Gen. 34:22f. – 209
 Gen. 34:23 – 148, 174, 199, 319
 Gen. 34:25 – 105, 554
 Gen. 34:26 – 397, 440, 442
 Gen. 34:27 – 356, 554
 Gen. 34:28 – 344, 425, 608
 Gen. 34:29 – 566
 Gen. 34:30 – 459
 Gen. 34:31 – 286, 317, 499
 Gen. 34:33 – 442
 Gen. 35:1 – 199, 550, 590
 Gen. 35:2 – 356, 425, 608, 612
 Gen. 35:3 – 157, 550
 Gen. 35:6 – 260, 550, 609
 Gen. 35:7 – 118, 128, 550, 620, 622
 Gen. 35:8 – 392, 427, 549, 550, 551
 Gen. 35:9 – 289
 Gen. 35:10 – 270, 330, 612, 629
 Gen. 35:11 – 265, 551
 Gen. 35:13 – 528
 Gen. 35:16ff. – 618
 Gen. 35:17 – 416
 Gen. 35:17f. – 595
 Gen. 35:18 – 93, 119, 392, 427, 621
 Gen. 35:19 – 271
 Gen. 35:20 – 271
 Gen. 35:22 – 253
 Gen. 35:23ff. – 618
 Gen. 35:25 – 573
 Gen. 35:25f. – 546, 547
 Gen. 35:27 – 271
 Gen. 35:28 – 287
 Gen. 35:29 – 238, 589, 602
 Gen. Ch. 36 – 99, 109
 Gen. 36:1 – 271
 Gen. 36:6 – 566, 609
 Gen. 36:7 – 467, 621
 Gen. 36:8 – 271, 447
 Gen. 36:10 – 446
 Gen. 36:15ff. – 547
 Gen. 36:24 – 94
 Gen. 36:31 – 105, 409
 Gen. 36:32 – 270
 Gen. 36:43 – 271
 Gen. 37:2 – 75, 446, 567
 Gen. 37:3 – 69, 441
 Gen. 37:4 – 72, 72, 114, 130, 449, 502, 507, 552
 Gen. 37:6 – 546
 Gen. 37:6ff. – 84, 86
 Gen. 37:8 – 174, 204, 283, 324, 508, 572
 Gen. 37:9 – 84, 86, 229, 391, 392, 412
 Gen. 37:10 – 109, 148, 174, 175, 198, 198, 200, 250, 253, 354, 547, 553
 Gen. 37:11 – 72, 80
 Gen. 37:13 – 148, 174, 227
 Gen. 37:15 – 316
 Gen. 37:15f. – 316
 Gen. 37:16 – 316, 318, 499, 499
 Gen. 37:17 – 119, 417
 Gen. 37:18 – 343, 405
 Gen. 37:19 – 231, 417
 Gen. 37:20 – 126, 162, 300, 440
 Gen. 37:21 – 157
 Gen. 37:22 – 110, 289, 415, 459
 Gen. 37:24 – 72, 80, 386, 386
 Gen. 37:25 – 73, 135, 227, 376
 Gen. 37:26 – 418
 Gen. 37:27 – 256, 258, 259, 533
 Gen. 37:28 – 64, 80, 503
 Gen. 37:30 – 316, 499
 Gen. 37:32 – 239, 249, 415, 416
 Gen. 37:32f. – 110
 Gen. 37:33 – 246, 249
 Gen. 37:34 – 72, 76
 Gen. 37:36 – 199
 Gen. 38:1 – 272, 554
 Gen. 38:2 – 272, 449, 547, 589

- Gen. 38:3 – 547
 Gen. 38:5 – 109, 602
 Gen. 38:8 – 491, 583
 Gen. 38:9 – 132, 322
 Gen. 38:10 – 109
 Gen. 38:11 – 118, 177, 291
 Gen. 38:13 – 220, 229
 Gen. 38:14 – 367, 367
 Gen. 38:15 – 108, 111
 Gen. 38:15f. – 238
 Gen. 38:16 – 98, 118, 162
 Gen. 38:16f. – 200
 Gen. 38:17 – 573
 Gen. 38:18 – 287
 Gen. 38:20 – 108
 Gen. 38:21 – 290, 319, 358, 375, 408
 Gen. 38:22 – 48
 Gen. 38:23 – 632, 619
 Gen. 38:24 – 155, 160, 229, 287
 Gen. 38:25 – 155, 245, 247, 287, 314,
 399, 399, 500
 Gen. 38:27 – 241, 358, 595
 Gen. 38:28 – 552
 Gen. 38:29 – 114, 130, 602
 Gen. 38:30 – 109
 Gen. 39:1 – 382, 428, 546
 Gen. 39:2 – 223, 358, 507, 514
 Gen. 39:2f. – 69
 Gen. 39:3 – 103
 Gen. 39:4 – 362
 Gen. 39:5 – 473
 Gen. 39:6 – 77, 92, 518, 551
 Gen. 39:9 – 276, 276, 358, 387, 608
 Gen. 39:10 – 115, 566, 595
 Gen. 39:11 – 342, 344, 386
 Gen. 39:13 – 91
 Gen. 39:14 – 549
 Gen. 39:14ff. – 95
 Gen. 39:15 – 473
 Gen. 39:17 – 416
 Gen. 39:19 – 303, 304, 528
 Gen. 39:21 – 289
 Gen. 39:23 – 289
 Gen. 40:1 – 285
 Gen. 40:4 – 59, 74, 507
 Gen. 40:7 – 315
 Gen. 40:8 – 319, 361, 361, 626
 Gen. 40:9 – 289, 360, 584
 Gen. 40:9ff. – 85, 86
 Gen. 40:10 – 360
 Gen. 40:11 – 289
 Gen. 40:12 – 246
 Gen. 40:12f. – 547
 Gen. 40:13 – 206
 Gen. 40:14 – 286, 418
 Gen. 40:16f. – 85, 86
 Gen. 40:17 – 223, 358
 Gen. 40:19 – 343, 564
 Gen. 40:20 – 100, 260, 548, 573
 Gen. 40:23 – 286
 Gen. 41:1 – 394, 564, 568
 Gen. 41:1ff. – 85, 86, 506, 507
 Gen. 41:1ff./17ff. – 112
 Gen. 41:2 – 231, 231, 563, 564, 568
 Gen. 41:4 – 127, 127, 511
 Gen. 41:6 – 227
 Gen. 41:7 – 127, 127, 511, 608
 Gen. 41:8 – 78, 359
 Gen. 41:9 – 286, 408
 Gen. 41:10-13 – 95
 Gen. 41:10ff. – 35, 36
 Gen. 41:11 – 125, 563
 Gen. 41:12 – 411
 Gen. 41:13 – 619, 632
 Gen. 41:15 – 361, 420
 Gen. 41:16 – 193
 Gen. 41:17 – 231, 425
 Gen. 41:17-24 – 87
 Gen. 41:17ff. – 35
 Gen. 41:19 – 227, 231, 385
 Gen. 41:22 – 231
 Gen. 41:24 – 119, 127, 127, 420, 424,
 488, 627
 Gen. 41:25 – 253, 438
 Gen. 41:26f. – 255, 529
 Gen. 41:27 – 250, 253, 511
 Gen. 41:29 – 203, 231
 Gen. 41:30f. – 190
 Gen. 41:32 – 286, 287
 Gen. 41:33 – 450, 628, 629
 Gen. 41:33f. – 163
 Gen. 41:34 – 286
 Gen. 41:36 – 592
 Gen. 41:37 – 510
 Gen. 41:38 – 174, 198, 200, 359, 359
 Gen. 41:39 – 358

- Gen. 41:40 – 608
 Gen. 41:40f. – 208
 Gen. 41:42 – 556
 Gen. 41:44 – 193, 265
 Gen. 41:45 – 390, 572
 Gen. 41:46 – 70, 396, 434, 437
 Gen. 41:49 – 78, 620
 Gen. 41:50 – 105, 117, 130, 590
 Gen. 41:50ff. – 128
 Gen. 41:51 – 551
 Gen. 41:52 – 286, 470
 Gen. 41:54 – 360
 Gen. 41:56 – 78, 344, 390
 Gen. 41:56f. – 118
 Gen. 42:1 – 104, 315
 Gen. 42:1f. – 216
 Gen. 42:2 – 229, 229, 343, 372
 Gen. 42:4 – 177
 Gen. 42:6 – 69, 71, 415, 522
 Gen. 42:7 – 70, 175, 316, 522, 567
 Gen. 42:9 – 317, 391, 547, 567
 Gen. 42:9f. – 168
 Gen. 42:10 – 264, 276, 279, 317, 451
 Gen. 42:11 – 279, 552, 609
 Gen. 42:12 – 166, 317
 Gen. 42:13 – 230, 276, 287, 289, 331, 361, 361, 391, 451
 Gen. 42:14 – 416
 Gen. 42:15 – 194, 204, 449, 553
 Gen. 42:16 – 144, 166, 168, 216, 370, 408, 491, 550
 Gen. 42:18 – 216, 330
 Gen. 42:20 – 188
 Gen. 42:21 – 167, 168, 289, 356, 546, 547, 624
 Gen. 42:22 – 229
 Gen. 42:23 – 72, 72, 620
 Gen. 42:24 – 277, 279, 279, 456
 Gen. 42:26f. – 344
 Gen. 42:27 – 76
 Gen. 42:28 – 230, 246, 289, 303
 Gen. 42:30f. – 95
 Gen. 42:32 – 289, 361, 451
 Gen. 42:33 – 391
 Gen. 42:34 – 187, 188, 276, 500
 Gen. 42:35 – 218, 289, 554
 Gen. 42:36 – 204, 223, 286, 361, 395, 408, 429, 552, 609
 Gen. 42:37 – 155, 300
 Gen. 42:38 – 301, 549, 553, 554, 608
 Gen. 43:2 – 343, 372, 522
 Gen. 43:3 – 324, 331
 Gen. 43:4 – 343, 372
 Gen. 43:4f. – 198, 202
 Gen. 43:5 – 548, 552, 604
 Gen. 43:6 – 314, 363, 391
 Gen. 43:7 – 144, 149, 152, 205, 218, 324, 331, 462, 501, 508
 Gen. 43:8 – 391
 Gen. 43:9 – 286, 491, 592
 Gen. 43:11 – 262, 268, 299
 Gen. 43:12 – 303, 305
 Gen. 43:14 – 283, 284, 429, 632
 Gen. 43:16 – 199, 289, 499, 621
 Gen. 43:18 – 464, 464
 Gen. 43:20 – 217
 Gen. 43:22 – 297
 Gen. 43:23 – 593
 Gen. 43:23f. – 549
 Gen. 43:25 – 95, 132, 311, 317, 317, 499
 Gen. 43:27 – 144, 150, 314, 319, 533
 Gen. 43:27f. – 146, 173, 500
 Gen. 43:29 – 173, 373
 Gen. 43:31f. – 370, 515
 Gen. 43:32 – 78, 99, 245, 248, 358, 541, 546, 563, 613
 Gen. 43:34 – 362, 283, 283, 447
 Gen. 43:44 – 150
 Gen. 44:1 – 438, 492, 607
 Gen. 44:4 – 105, 150, 161, 285, 429, 580, 594
 Gen. 44:4f. – 314
 Gen. 44:5 – 318, 323, 330, 500
 Gen. 44:6 – 255, 261, 529
 Gen. 44:7 – 315, 460, 460, 516, 519
 Gen. 44:8 – 315, 411, 508, 612, 633
 Gen. 44:9 – 199, 283, 516
 Gen. 44:10 – 199, 199, 366, 591
 Gen. 44:11 – 397
 Gen. 44:12 – 74, 286
 Gen. 44:15 – 146, 173, 253, 260, 264, 302, 312, 318, 323, 451, 599, 602
 Gen. 44:16 – 151, 175, 316, 508
 Gen. 44:17 – 463
 Gen. 44:18 – 177, 264, 516
 Gen. 44:19 – 363, 508

- Gen. 44:19f. – 144, 173, 374, 412, 518
 Gen. 44:20 – 301, 361, 361, 363
 Gen. 44:22 – 202, 358, 459
 Gen. 44:24 – 451, 489
 Gen. 44:26 – 202, 326
 Gen. 44:27 – 300, 330, 451
 Gen. 44:29 – 204, 627
 Gen. 44:30 – 316, 317, 322, 451, 499
 Gen. 44:31 – 205, 451, 516
 Gen. 44:32 – 460, 516
 Gen. 44:33 – 366
 Gen. 44:34 – 199, 202, 315, 399, 594
 Gen. 45:1 – 72, 78, 78, 507
 Gen. 45:3 – 72, 82, 145, 265, 552, 620, 621
 Gen. 45:4 – 567
 Gen. 45:5 – 157, 317, 456, 567
 Gen. 45:7 – 310, 317
 Gen. 45:8 – 261, 268, 295, 300, 328, 330, 372, 376, 505
 Gen. 45:9 – 247, 626, 629
 Gen. 45:10 – 362
 Gen. 45:11 – 358
 Gen. 45:12 – 231, 303, 304
 Gen. 45:13 – 160, 161, 626
 Gen. 45:16 – 438
 Gen. 45:17 – 415
 Gen. 45:18 – 556
 Gen. 45:20 – 615
 Gen. 45:23 – 550
 Gen. 45:26 – 82, 119, 301, 620, 621
 Gen. 45:27 – 553
 Gen. 45:28 – 193, 209, 245, 429
 Gen. 46:2 – 152, 265, 407, 430, 546
 Gen. 46:3 – 302, 367
 Gen. 46:4 – 189
 Gen. 46:6 – 608
 Gen. 46:9ff. – 272, 547
 Gen. 46:12 – 551
 Gen. 46:23 – 547
 Gen. 46:26f. – 253, 547
 Gen. 46:28 – 428
 Gen. 46:29 – 354
 Gen. 46:30 – 146, 157, 629
 Gen. 46:31 – 202, 209, 445
 Gen. 46:32 – 99, 250, 253, 274, 362, 372, 529, 608, 612
 Gen. 46:33 – 253, 627
 Gen. 46:34 – 245, 451, 459, 613
 Gen. 47:1 – 217, 608, 612
 Gen. 47:2 – 558, 573
 Gen. 47:3 – 253, 278, 451, 488
 Gen. 47:4 – 198, 276, 310, 317, 360, 367, 437, 451, 556, 583, 612, 624
 Gen. 47:6 – 217, 230, 289
 Gen. 47:8 – 246
 Gen. 47:8f. – 274
 Gen. 47:9 – 253
 Gen. 47:11 – 471, 609
 Gen. 47:11f. – 67
 Gen. 47:13 – 225, 360, 498
 Gen. 47:14 – 550, 556
 Gen. 47:15 – 315
 Gen. 47:18 – 177
 Gen. 47:20 – 625
 Gen. 47:21 – 471
 Gen. 47:22 – 111, 118, 324, 621
 Gen. 47:24 – 542, 549
 Gen. 47:26 – 239, 399
 Gen. 47:28 – 273
 Gen. 47:29 – 468, 468
 Gen. 48:2 – 203, 231
 Gen. 48:4 – 230, 470
 Gen. 48:5 – 250, 253, 554, 627
 Gen. 48:7 – 271, 437, 594
 Gen. 48:8 – 444
 Gen. 48:10 – 80, 82
 Gen. 48:11 – 220, 229
 Gen. 48:16 – 153, 526
 Gen. 48:18 – 241, 246, 547, 620, 622
 Gen. 48:19 – 153, 281, 283, 547, 622
 Gen. 48:20 – 282, 284, 286
 Gen. 48:21 – 202, 228
 Gen. 49:1 – 162, 300, 300, 501
 Gen. 49:3 – 246, 556
 Gen. 49:6 – 441, 442
 Gen. 49:9 – 245, 300
 Gen. 49:15 – 456
 Gen. 49:17 – 556
 Gen. 49:18 – 356, 443
 Gen. 49:23 – 444
 Gen. 49:24 – 428, 441
 Gen. 49:25 – 356, 399, 402, 443
 Gen. 49:26 – 354, 356, 552
 Gen. 49:27 – 429
 Gen. 49:28 – 253

- Gen. 49:29 – 205, 209, 549
 Gen. 49:31 – 550
 Gen. 49:31f. – 317, 318
 Gen. 49:32 – 564
 Gen. 49:33 – 593
 Gen. 50:1 – 490, 602
 Gen. 50:4 – 101
 Gen. 50:5 – 209, 494, 518, 627
 Gen. 50:8 – 556
 Gen. 50:11 – 245, 392, 427
 Gen. 50:13 – 556, 566, 566
 Gen. 50:13 (Vat) – 566
 Gen. 50:14-15 – 474
 Gen. 50:15 – 177
 Gen. 50:16 – 590
 Gen. 50:17 – 556
 Gen. 50:19 – 276, 277, 278, 399, 503, 610, 615
 Gen. 50:23 – 567
 Gen. 50:24 – 201, 324
 Gen. 50:25 – 187, 192
 Gen. 50:26 – 122
- Old Testament: Exodus**
 Ex. 1:1 – 244, 246
 Ex. 1:8 – 91
 Ex. 1:9 – 204, 372
 Ex. 1:10 – 86, 206, 219
 Ex. 1:11 – 260, 489, 602
 Ex. 1:12 – 137, 354, 604
 Ex. 1:12f. – 75
 Ex. 1:14 – 344
 Ex. 1:15 – 270, 270
 Ex. 1:16 – 203
 Ex. 1:18 – 253, 291, 589
 Ex. 1:19 – 73, 103, 247, 248, 343, 503
 Ex. 1:20 – 80
 Ex. 1:21 – 72, 344, 502, 539
 Ex. 1:22 – 395, 406, 412
 Ex. 2:1 – 358
 Ex. 2:2 – 116, 238, 252, 530
 Ex. 2:3 – 602
 Ex. 2:3f. – 75
 Ex. 2:4 – 354
 Ex. 2:5 – 563
 Ex. 2:6 – 48
 Ex. 2:7 – 146, 450, 460
 Ex. 2:7f. – 173
 Ex. 2:8 – 396, 437, 447
 Ex. 2:9 – 73, 200
 Ex. 2:10 – 132, 309, 317
 Ex. 2:13 – 48, 315, 380, 449
 Ex. 2:14 – 146, 152, 173, 312, 320, 395, 499, 501, 505
 Ex. 2:15 – 72, 502, 539
 Ex. 2:16 – 78, 125, 137, 363
 Ex. 2:17 – 502
 Ex. 2:18 – 354
 Ex. 2:18-19 – 305
 Ex. 2:19 – 408
 Ex. 2:20 – 163, 239, 314, 319, 319, 615, 626, 630
 Ex. 2:22 – 118, 284, 301, 304, 512, 622
 Ex. 2:23 – 109
 Ex. 2:24 – 128, 175, 510
 Ex. 3:1 – 125, 137, 390, 396, 428
 Ex. 3:2 – 48, 68, 76
 Ex. 3:3 – 315
 Ex. 3:4 – 152, 302
 Ex. 3:5 – 253
 Ex. 3:6 – 265, 265, 281, 502
 Ex. 3:8 – 376, 505, 509
 Ex. 3:9 – 51, 110, 220, 229
 Ex. 3:10 – 162, 498
 Ex. 3:11 – 196, 276, 276, 278, 291, 427, 457, 513
 Ex. 3:12 – 246, 572
 Ex. 3:13 – 36, 200, 202, 228, 246, 270
 Ex. 3:14 – 194, 247, 265, 280, 299, 303, 303, 495
 Ex. 3:14f. – 299
 Ex. 3:15 – 194, 270, 444, 495
 Ex. 3:16 – 161, 324, 343, 501
 Ex. 3:17 – 356
 Ex. 3:18 – 202, 207, 627
 Ex. 3:19 – 205, 217
 Ex. 3:20ff. – 208
 Ex. 3:22 – 378, 378, 379, 509, 514, 521
 Ex. 4:1 – 199, 205, 302, 498, 499
 Ex. 4:2 – 150, 175, 237, 246, 302, 302, 501
 Ex. 4:4 – 284
 Ex. 4:5 – 343
 Ex. 4:6 – 516
 Ex. 4:8 – 372
 Ex. 4:8f. – 206

- Ex. 4:9 – 353
 Ex. 4:10 – 153, 153, 217, 354, 610
 Ex. 4:11 – 148, 151, 174, 174, 265, 295,
 376, 418, 491, 505
 Ex. 4:12 – 300, 353
 Ex. 4:13 – 359, 572
 Ex. 4:14 – 148, 174, 205, 227, 328, 331
 Ex. 4:14ff. – 207
 Ex. 4:15 – 199, 300
 Ex. 4:16 – 284
 Ex. 4:17 – 199, 416, 525
 Ex. 4:18 – 143, 144, 379, 511, 548
 Ex. 4:19 – 120, 609, 615
 Ex. 4:20 – 344
 Ex. 4:21 – 470
 Ex. 4:22 – 247, 247
 Ex. 4:25 – 355, 378
 Ex. 4:25f. – 437, 442
 Ex. 4:27 – 370, 407
 Ex. 4:28 – 129
 Ex. 4:31 – 122
 Ex. 5:1ff. – 35
 Ex. 5:2 – 201, 246, 291, 457
 Ex. 5:3 – 48, 198, 202, 445, 446, 459
 Ex. 5:6 – 612
 Ex. 5:7 – 498
 Ex. 5:8 – 202
 Ex. 5:10 – 68, 205, 408, 552, 615, 629
 Ex. 5:13 – 125, 137
 Ex. 5:14 – 314, 343
 Ex. 5:16 – 198, 204, 285, 330, 516, 529,
 620, 621, 627
 Ex. 5:17 – 274, 276
 Ex. 5:18 – 630
 Ex. 5:19 – 68, 343
 Ex. 5:21 – 188, 286, 290
 Ex. 5:23 – 220
 Ex. 6:1 – 187
 Ex. 6:2 – 265, 265
 Ex. 6:2f. – 265, 265
 Ex. 6:3 – 270, 446
 Ex. 6:5 – 365, 528
 Ex. 6:6 – 265, 265
 Ex. 6:7 – 265, 265
 Ex. 6:9 – 597
 Ex. 6:12 – 220, 220, 279, 330, 379
 Ex. 6:13 – 463
 Ex. 6:14ff. – 244, 246
 Ex. 6:15ff. – 272
 Ex. 6:17 – 343, 344
 Ex. 6:18ff. – 272
 Ex. 6:21ff. – 272
 Ex. 6:26 – 246
 Ex. 6:27 – 463
 Ex. 6:30 – 228, 331
 Ex. 7:1 – 220, 290, 291, 365, 366, 492
 Ex. 7:3 – 354, 460, 470
 Ex. 7:3f. – 208
 Ex. 7:5 – 265
 Ex. 7:9 – 284, 368
 Ex. 7:10 – 284, 368
 Ex. 7:11 – 120, 379, 609
 Ex. 7:12 – 127, 128, 284, 344, 368, 417
 Ex. 7:14 – 463
 Ex. 7:15 – 203, 228, 281, 284, 368, 395
 Ex. 7:17 – 198, 200, 265, 284
 Ex. 7:19 – 281, 344, 408
 Ex. 7:20 – 407
 Ex. 7:21 – 72, 408, 531
 Ex. 7:22 – 521
 Ex. 7:25 – 473
 Ex. 7:27 – 230
 Ex. 7:28 – 190
 Ex. 7:29 – 573
 Ex. 8:1 – 342, 344, 456
 Ex. 8:4 – 164, 505
 Ex. 8:5 – 456, 457
 Ex. 8:6 – 627
 Ex. 8:8 – 521
 Ex. 8:9 – 521, 522
 Ex. 8:10 – 286, 398, 453, 509, 546
 Ex. 8:12 – 162, 377
 Ex. 8:12-13 – 389
 Ex. 8:14 – 469
 Ex. 8:15 – 573, 627
 Ex. 8:16 – 203, 247
 Ex. 8:17 – 198, 201, 228
 Ex. 8:17ff. – 207
 Ex. 8:18 – 415, 523
 Ex. 8:22 – 205, 459
 Ex. 8:23 – 202
 Ex. 8:25 – 158, 188, 198, 200, 207, 230,
 232, 463, 629
 Ex. 8:26 – 188
 Ex. 8:27 – 385, 608
 Ex. 9:1 – 247

- Ex. 9:2 – 217
 Ex. 9:3 – 203, 231, 344
 Ex. 9:5 – 128, 189
 Ex. 9:6 – 386, 611, 619
 Ex. 9:7 – 386
 Ex. 9:11 – 72, 82
 Ex. 9:12 – 128, 470, 546
 Ex. 9:14 – 358
 Ex. 9:15 – 198
 Ex. 9:16 – 459
 Ex. 9:17 – 464
 Ex. 9:18 – 198, 200, 377
 Ex. 9:19 – 615
 Ex. 9:21 – 546
 Ex. 9:22-25 – 389
 Ex. 9:23 – 124, 128
 Ex. 9:23f. – 73
 Ex. 9:24 – 385, 389, 517
 Ex. 9:25 – 395, 406, 413
 Ex. 9:27 – 245, 545
 Ex. 9:28 – 469
 Ex. 9:29 – 253
 Ex. 9:30 – 629
 Ex. 9:31 – 82, 125, 504, 553
 Ex. 9:31f. – 126
 Ex. 9:34 – 470
 Ex. 10:1 – 385, 470, 509
 Ex. 10:1f. – 459
 Ex. 10:2 – 567
 Ex. 10:3 – 247
 Ex. 10:4 – 198, 198, 225, 228
 Ex. 10:4f. – 207
 Ex. 10:6 – 343, 385, 488, 517
 Ex. 10:7 – 48, 109, 150, 175, 198, 205, 360
 Ex. 10:8 – 246, 303
 Ex. 10:9 – 48, 202, 261, 343
 Ex. 10:10 – 346, 360, 418, 519
 Ex. 10:11 – 156, 177, 241, 416, 525, 584
 Ex. 10:13 – 128
 Ex. 10:14 – 385
 Ex. 10:15 – 553, 566
 Ex. 10:16 – 511
 Ex. 10:17 – 164, 629
 Ex. 10:20 – 128, 470
 Ex. 10:21 – 163
 Ex. 10:21f. – 112
 Ex. 10:22 – 372, 531
 Ex. 10:22f. – 75
 Ex. 10:23 – 386, 406, 571
 Ex. 10:25 – 507
 Ex. 10:26 – 199, 217, 302, 355
 Ex. 10:28 – 48, 160, 629
 Ex. 10:29 – 48
 Ex. 11:1 – 300, 491
 Ex. 11:2 – 378
 Ex. 11:3 – 125
 Ex. 11:4 – 198, 200, 207, 416
 Ex. 11:4-5 – 202
 Ex. 11:5 – 563
 Ex. 11:6 – 385, 567
 Ex. 11:9 – 205, 470
 Ex. 11:10 – 125, 470
 Ex. 11:21 – 471
 Ex. 12:2 – 253, 416
 Ex. 12:3 – 344
 Ex. 12:3f. – 384, 384
 Ex. 12:4 – 597
 Ex. 12:6 – 125
 Ex. 12:9 – 379, 596
 Ex. 12:10 – 199, 199
 Ex. 12:11 – 258
 Ex. 12:12 – 395, 611
 Ex. 12:13 – 355
 Ex. 12:14 – 348, 367
 Ex. 12:15 – 199, 199, 374, 408, 412
 Ex. 12:16 – 370, 415, 515, 608, 608
 Ex. 12:18 – 311
 Ex. 12:19 – 343, 359, 408
 Ex. 12:22 – 384, 442, 452
 Ex. 12:26 – 249, 253
 Ex. 12:27 – 250
 Ex. 12:28 – 401, 440, 532
 Ex. 12:30 – 72, 78, 119, 358, 553, 620, 623
 Ex. 12:31 – 611
 Ex. 12:33 – 70, 118, 202, 516, 620
 Ex. 12:34 – 105, 590
 Ex. 12:35 – 125
 Ex. 12:36 – 124, 128
 Ex. 12:38 – 554
 Ex. 12:39 – 82, 563, 620
 Ex. 12:40 – 253, 462, 488
 Ex. 12:41 – 373
 Ex. 12:42 – 252, 252, 261, 267, 459, 463
 Ex. 12:43 – 193, 246

- Ex. 12:46 – 330, 381
 Ex. 13:2 – 253
 Ex. 13:3 – 129
 Ex. 13:5 – 376
 Ex. 13:6 – 254
 Ex. 13:7 – 359, 384, 385, 385, 435, 546
 Ex. 13:12 – 284, 399, 399, 608
 Ex. 13:14 – 129, 246
 Ex. 13:15 – 415
 Ex. 13:17 – 115, 118, 177
 Ex. 13:19 – 119, 134, 207, 379, 621
 Ex. 13:20f. – 75
 Ex. 13:22 – 546
 Ex. 14:2 – 164, 498
 Ex. 14:3 – 415
 Ex. 14:4 – 188, 189, 265, 265, 265, 546, 622
 Ex. 14:5 – 246, 286, 303
 Ex. 14:8 – 74, 125, 137
 Ex. 14:9 – 344, 372, 563
 Ex. 14:10 – 80, 116, 135, 229
 Ex. 14:11 – 145, 173, 246, 303, 320, 322, 501
 Ex. 14:12 – 145, 164, 173, 237, 246, 519, 547
 Ex. 14:13 – 161
 Ex. 14:14 – 158, 303, 547
 Ex. 14:15 – 157, 315
 Ex. 14:16 – 157, 163
 Ex. 14:17 – 189, 198, 207, 344
 Ex. 14:20 – 382
 Ex. 14:22 – 67, 71, 366, 378
 Ex. 14:25 – 303
 Ex. 14:26f. – 112
 Ex. 14:28 – 385
 Ex. 14:29 – 126
 Ex. 14:30 – 438, 446
 Ex. 14:31 – 428
 Ex. 15:1 – 157, 324, 415, 467, 469
 Ex. 15:1ff. – 36
 Ex. 15:2 – 246, 331, 381
 Ex. 15:3 – 271, 303
 Ex. 15:4 – 331, 382
 Ex. 15:5f. – 343
 Ex. 15:9 – 282, 283, 624
 Ex. 15:14 – 382
 Ex. 15:15 – 219, 303, 305
 Ex. 15:18 – 311, 504
 Ex. 15:21 – 157, 379
 Ex. 15:22 – 370, 515
 Ex. 15:22f. – 72, 73
 Ex. 15:24 – 302
 Ex. 15:26 – 265, 323, 460, 530
 Ex. 16:1 – 554
 Ex. 16:2 – 390
 Ex. 16:3 – 219, 464, 553, 584, 589
 Ex. 16:4 – 198, 200, 200, 206, 207, 228, 399, 411, 411, 465
 Ex. 16:4f. – 397, 399, 453
 Ex. 16:6 – 303, 396, 599
 Ex. 16:6f. – 437
 Ex. 16:7 – 175, 276, 276, 291, 386, 399, 457, 472, 612, 622
 Ex. 16:7f. – 279
 Ex. 16:8 – 94, 277, 321, 355, 357, 396, 515, 529
 Ex. 16:9 – 623
 Ex. 16:12 – 219, 396
 Ex. 16:13 – 396, 396, 422
 Ex. 16:14 – 379
 Ex. 16:15 – 72, 72, 238, 246, 246, 252, 271, 274, 386, 415, 456, 530, 540
 Ex. 16:16 – 397
 Ex. 16:18 – 384
 Ex. 16:19 – 386
 Ex. 16:20 – 281, 284, 370, 385, 408
 Ex. 16:21 – 103, 131, 398
 Ex. 16:22 – 384
 Ex. 16:23 – 243, 245, 246, 248, 421, 422, 573, 613
 Ex. 16:24 – 108, 409
 Ex. 16:25 – 243, 245, 248
 Ex. 16:26 – 191
 Ex. 16:27 – 385
 Ex. 16:28 – 315, 545, 552, 630
 Ex. 16:29 – 397, 607, 624
 Ex. 16:30 – 285
 Ex. 16:32 – 246
 Ex. 16:33 – 355, 464, 492
 Ex. 16:35 – 125
 Ex. 16:36 – 99, 255
 Ex. 17:2 – 70, 125, 137
 Ex. 17:3 – 412, 464
 Ex. 17:4 – 302
 Ex. 17:5 – 161
 Ex. 17:6 – 412

- Ex. 17:7 – 143, 144, 217, 409
 Ex. 17:9 – 230
 Ex. 17:11 – 102, 114, 131, 355
 Ex. 17:12 – 82, 506
 Ex. 17:13 – 440
 Ex. 17:17 – 168
 Ex. 18:2 – 473
 Ex. 18:3 – 219
 Ex. 18:3f. – 270
 Ex. 18:6 – 203, 588
 Ex. 18:11 – 220, 220, 245
 Ex. 18:13 – 60, 71
 Ex. 18:14 – 246, 302, 312, 314, 500
 Ex. 18:15 – 203, 429
 Ex. 18:16 – 214
 Ex. 18:18 – 608
 Ex. 18:19 – 563
 Ex. 18:20 – 191, 199
 Ex. 18:21 – 586
 Ex. 18:25 – 551
 Ex. 18:26 – 101
 Ex. 19:3 – 194, 302
 Ex. 19:4 – 262, 302, 444, 516
 Ex. 19:5 – 247
 Ex. 19:8 – 128, 129
 Ex. 19:9 – 200, 228, 587, 593
 Ex. 19:10 – 157, 163
 Ex. 19:12 – 199, 386, 386, 595, 623
 Ex. 19:12f. – 208
 Ex. 19:13 – 205, 370, 374, 412, 609
 Ex. 19:15 – 409
 Ex. 19:16 – 281, 367, 531
 Ex. 19:17 – 128
 Ex. 19:19 – 70, 592
 Ex. 19:22 – 385
 Ex. 19:23 – 155, 459, 623
 Ex. 19:24 – 164, 506
 Ex. 20:2 – 265
 Ex. 20:4 – 608
 Ex. 20:5 – 265
 Ex. 20:8 – 299, 303
 Ex. 20:9 – 194
 Ex. 20:10 – 256, 533
 Ex. 20:11 – 128, 566
 Ex. 20:12 – 163
 Ex. 20:18 – 71
 Ex. 20:20 – 458, 623
 Ex. 20:22 – 194, 268, 300, 302, 317
 Ex. 20:23 – 309
 Ex. 20:24 – 191
 Ex. 21:4 – 392, 399
 Ex. 21:5 – 201, 281, 283, 349, 552
 Ex. 21:8 – 280, 282, 283, 331, 415, 450, 523, 552
 Ex. 21:12 – 383
 Ex. 21:13 – 126, 189
 Ex. 21:15 – 420
 Ex. 21:16 – 420
 Ex. 21:18 – 460
 Ex. 21:19 – 421, 424, 488
 Ex. 21:22 – 393, 422
 Ex. 21:24f. – 377
 Ex. 21:26 – 508
 Ex. 21:28 – 323, 343
 Ex. 21:29 – 253
 Ex. 21:34 – 284, 399
 Ex. 21:36 – 252, 530
 Ex. 22:3 – 188, 535
 Ex. 22:4 – 255
 Ex. 22:5 – 390, 508
 Ex. 22:7 – 457
 Ex. 22:8 – 286, 437, 627, 630
 Ex. 22:9 – 386, 615
 Ex. 22:10 – 386, 508
 Ex. 22:11 – 526, 597
 Ex. 22:17 – 323
 Ex. 22:18 – 193
 Ex. 22:20 – 420, 488
 Ex. 22:21 – 77, 193, 218, 281, 609
 Ex. 22:21f. – 624
 Ex. 22:27 – 246, 279, 316, 563, 608, 627
 Ex. 22:30 – 193, 194, 299, 299, 303, 367
 Ex. 23:1 – 282, 521
 Ex. 23:4 – 351, 567, 594
 Ex. 23:5 – 594
 Ex. 23:7 – 346, 420, 509, 515
 Ex. 23:8 – 623
 Ex. 23:9 – 77, 219, 609
 Ex. 23:10 – 300
 Ex. 23:11 – 299, 303, 303
 Ex. 23:12 – 262, 299, 303
 Ex. 23:13 – 449
 Ex. 23:15 – 447
 Ex. 23:16 – 302, 447
 Ex. 23:20 – 200, 229
 Ex. 23:21 – 161, 218, 302, 304

- Ex. 23:22 – 195, 246, 525
 Ex. 23:24 – 193
 Ex. 23:26 – 385, 385, 550, 583
 Ex. 23:27 – 425, 471, 471
 Ex. 23:33 – 470
 Ex. 24:2 – 417
 Ex. 24:4 – 128
 Ex. 24:6 – 446, 446
 Ex. 24:8 – 227, 364
 Ex. 24:10 – 572
 Ex. 24:11 – 385
 Ex. 24:12 – 162, 201, 501
 Ex. 24:14 – 230
 Ex. 24:17f. – 70
 Ex. 24:18 – 111, 219, 430
 Ex. 24:20 – 219
 Ex. 24:21 – 219, 425
 Ex. Ch. 25 – 191, 391
 Ex. 25:2 – 161, 519
 Ex. 25:3 – 246
 Ex. 25:11 – 492, 595
 Ex. 25:13 – 116
 Ex. 25:20 – 592
 Ex. 25:24 – 595
 Ex. 25:28 – 572
 Ex. 25:33 – 281
 Ex. Ch. 26 – 191
 Ex. 26:3 – 549
 Ex. 26:5 – 384
 Ex. 26:8 – 281, 288, 442
 Ex. 26:13 – 343
 Ex. 26:17 – 182, 194, 299, 303
 Ex. 26:23 – 572
 Ex. 26:24 – 157, 194, 281, 291, 398, 453
 Ex. 26:27 – 572
 Ex. 26:28 – 572
 Ex. 26:32 – 281, 408
 Ex. 27:1 – 288, 450
 Ex. 27:2 – 429
 Ex. 27:3 – 572
 Ex. 27:11 – 299, 303
 Ex. 27:16 – 591
 Ex. 28:1 – 153, 158
 Ex. 28:3 – 153, 158, 343
 Ex. 28:7 – 383
 Ex. 28:33 – 631
 Ex. 28:35 – 195, 459, 472, 504, 507, 513, 585, 589, 592
 Ex. 28:39 – 449
 Ex. 28:43 – 508, 590
 Ex. 29:1 – 247, 303
 Ex. 29:2 – 365, 442
 Ex. 29:4 – 344
 Ex. 29:12 – 609
 Ex. 29:14 – 254, 255, 615
 Ex. 29:18 – 260
 Ex. 29:22 – 253, 615
 Ex. 29:26 – 239, 602
 Ex. 29:28 – 253, 615
 Ex. 29:29 – 419, 422
 Ex. 29:31 – 344
 Ex. 29:34 – 343, 385, 385
 Ex. 29:36 – 463
 Ex. 29:38 – 247
 Ex. 29:42 – 344
 Ex. 30:1 – 288, 552
 Ex. 30:2 – 291, 444
 Ex. 30:4 – 343, 469
 Ex. 30:5 – 412
 Ex. 30:6 – 412
 Ex. 30:7 – 586
 Ex. 30:11 – 129
 Ex. 30:13 – 182, 249, 262, 302
 Ex. 30:15 – 471
 Ex. 30:17 – 129
 Ex. 30:18 – 463
 Ex. 30:20 – 203
 Ex. 30:21 – 508, 510, 591
 Ex. 30:22 – 129
 Ex. 30:23 – 281, 408
 Ex. 30:25 – 372
 Ex. 30:30 – 283
 Ex. 30:32 – 354, 366, 424, 437, 441
 Ex. 30:36 – 419, 444
 Ex. 30:37 – 416
 Ex. 30:38 – 463
 Ex. 31:2 – 399
 Ex. 31:4 – 285
 Ex. 31:11 – 182
 Ex. 31:13 – 265
 Ex. 31:14 – 415, 523
 Ex. 31:15 – 255, 261
 Ex. 31:16 – 253, 259, 469
 Ex. 31:17 – 593
 Ex. 32:1 – 114, 428, 518, 534, 542, 613, 612

- Ex. 32:4 – 285, 492, 594, 594
 Ex. 32:5 – 259, 566
 Ex. 32:6 – 513
 Ex. 32:7 – 525, 531
 Ex. 32:10 – 163, 367
 Ex. 32:12 – 464
 Ex. 32:13 – 343, 469, 470
 Ex. 32:16 – 99, 261, 533
 Ex. 32:17 – 304
 Ex. 32:17f. – 300
 Ex. 32:18 – 295, 304, 546, 548
 Ex. 32:19 – 48
 Ex. 32:20 – 122
 Ex. 32:22 – 300
 Ex. 32:22f. – 623
 Ex. 32:23 – 95, 428, 623
 Ex. 32:24 – 300, 363, 547
 Ex. 32:27 – 155, 397
 Ex. 32:29 – 384
 Ex. 32:31 – 285
 Ex. 32:32 – 520, 535
 Ex. 32:33 – 200, 201
 Ex. 32:34 – 187, 208, 230, 286
 Ex. 33:1 – 200
 Ex. 33:3 – 276, 278, 625
 Ex. 33:6 – 128, 129
 Ex. 33:7 – 101, 115
 Ex. 33:8 – 101, 115, 131, 462
 Ex. 33:8 (Sah.) – 101
 Ex. 33:8f. – 102
 Ex. 33:9 – 131
 Ex. 33:11 – 101, 129, 255
 Ex. 33:12 – 116, 363, 574, 618
 Ex. 33:13 – 592
 Ex. 33:14 – 200, 498, 511
 Ex. 33:16 – 198, 206, 519, 592
 Ex. 33:19 – 200, 207
 Ex. 33:20 – 208, 625
 Ex. 33:21 – 218, 230, 289, 493, 498
 Ex. 33:21ff. – 191
 Ex. 33:22 – 199, 594, 594
 Ex. 34:2 – 196, 585
 Ex. 34:6 – 399
 Ex. 34:6f. – 153, 430
 Ex. 34:7 – 195, 507, 509
 Ex. 34:9 – 253
 Ex. 34:10 – 245
 Ex. 34:11 – 230
 Ex. 34:11f. – 155
 Ex. 34:14 – 253, 612, 625
 Ex. 34:16 – 285
 Ex. 34:21 – 299, 303, 356, 565
 Ex. 34:24 – 386, 387, 462, 471, 612
 Ex. 34:28 – 346
 Ex. 34:29 – 67, 72, 80, 227, 289, 446, 472, 506, 563
 Ex. 34:32 – 415, 446
 Ex. 34:33 – 602
 Ex. 34:34 – 102, 131
 Ex. 34:35 – 116
 Ex. 35:1 – 246, 463, 464
 Ex. 35:2 – 261, 262, 299, 303, 565, 573
 Ex. 35:3 – 265
 Ex. 35:4 – 246
 Ex. 35:5 – 385, 504, 519
 Ex. 35:25 – 408, 450, 463
 Ex. 35:29 – 508
 Ex. 35:31 – 376, 412, 505, 509
 Ex. 35:32 – 566
 Ex. 35:34 – 286, 422, 443
 Ex. 35:35 – 464, 492
 Ex. Ch. 36ff. – 391
 Ex. 36:2 – 463
 Ex. 36:3 – 51
 Ex. 36:4 – 397
 Ex. 36:6 – 156, 376, 540
 Ex. 36:7 – 540
 Ex. 36:9 – 631
 Ex. 36:36 – 253
 Ex. 36:38 – 400, 412
 Ex. Chs. 37-38 – 523
 Ex. 37:5 – 469
 Ex. 37:8 – 383
 Ex. 37:14 – 469
 Ex. 37:16 – 415
 Ex. 37:20 – 422, 443
 Ex. 38:10ff. – 400, 444
 Ex. 38:23 – 282, 302
 Ex. 38:28 – 463
 Ex. 38:29 – 273
 Ex. 39:1 – 290
 Ex. 39:3 – 463
 Ex. 39:6 – 72
 Ex. 39:13 – 421, 424
 Ex. 39:15ff. – 107
 Ex. 39:22 – 522

Ex. 39:23 – 72, 495, 584

Ex. 39:43 – 76, 82, 116

Ex. 40:9 – 566

Ex. 40:32 – 184

Ex. 40:36f. – 102

Ex. 40:37 – 101

Ex. 42:4 – 118

Ex. 50:7 – 343

Ex. 50:23 – 343

Old Testament: Leviticus

Lev. 1:2 – 409

Lev. 1:3 – 245

Lev. 1:5 – 398, 547

Lev. 1:9 – 245, 497, 563

Lev. 2:2 – 547

Lev. 2:5 – 238, 247, 563, 613

Lev. 2:8 – 471

Lev. 2:7 – 245

Lev. 2:9 – 462

Lev. 2:11 – 589

Lev. 2:13 – 400

Lev. 2:14 – 444

Lev. 2:16 – 245

Lev. 3:1-6 – 633

Lev. 3:2 – 563

Lev. 3:3 – 245, 258

Lev. 3:6 – 245

Lev. 3:7 – 245, 312, 499

Lev. 3:12 – 237

Lev. 4:3 – 468

Lev. 4:4 – 199

Lev. 4:5 – 422, 524, 547

Lev. 4:6f. – 192

Lev. 4:7 – 238

Lev. 4:16 – 524

Lev. 4:18 – 563

Lev. 4:21 – 238, 589

Lev. 4:22 – 57, 92, 469, 627

Lev. 4:23 – 448, 450, 563

Lev. 4:27 – 468, 469, 471, 528

Lev. 4:28 – 448, 448, 450, 491

Lev. 4:29 – 443

Lev. 4:34 – 600

Lev. 4:35 – 491

Lev. 5:1 – 96, 253, 415, 506, 508, 519,
523

Lev. 5:2 – 508, 511, 572

Lev. 5:3 – 508

Lev. 5:4 – 96, 351, 415, 418, 523, 524

Lev. 5:6 – 527

Lev. 5:9 – 237

Lev. 5:10 – 566

Lev. 5:12 – 237

Lev. 5:15 – 486

Lev. 5:16 – 557

Lev. 5:17 – 351, 557

Lev. 5:17ff. – 36, 96

Lev. 5:18 – 529

Lev. 5:21 – 96

Lev. 5:22 – 286, 383, 463

Lev. 5:24 – 239, 400, 421, 535

Lev. 6:2 – 246

Lev. 6:5 – 398, 453, 546

Lev. 6:7 – 246

Lev. 6:8 – 247

Lev. 6:9 – 290

Lev. 6:10 – 258, 420, 589

Lev. 6:15 – 196

Lev. 6:20 – 343

Lev. 6:23 – 496, 564

Lev. 7:7 – 422, 422, 496, 564

Lev. 7:8f. – 528

Lev. 7:10 – 326, 327

Lev. 7:15 – 344

Lev. 7:18 – 460

Lev. 7:19 – 418

Lev. 7:20 – 239

Lev. 7:24 – 323, 331, 529

Lev. 7:26f. – 515

Lev. 7:27 – 199, 491

Lev. 7:35 – 517

Lev. 8:2 – 422

Lev. 8:14 – 356, 357, 422

Lev. 8:15 – 464, 595

Lev. 8:21 – 127

Lev. 8:24 – 127, 529

Lev. 8:25 – 547

Lev. 8:31 – 94

Lev. 8:33 – 357, 563

Lev. 9:4ff. – 205

Lev. 9:7 – 357

Lev. 9:10 – 237, 237, 600

Lev. 9:15 – 241, 422, 496, 535

Lev. 10:3 – 207

Lev. 10:4 – 160

- Lev. 10:7 – 196
 Lev. 10:9 – 330, 349, 382, 590
 Lev. 10:12 – 419, 444
 Lev. 10:13 – 245, 274
 Lev. 10:14 – 621
 Lev. 10:16 – 82, 135, 551
 Lev. 10:16f. – 415
 Lev. 10:19 – 147, 174, 198, 592
 Lev. Ch. 11 – 523
 Lev. 11:2 – 196, 489, 546, 586
 Lev. 11:3 – 511
 Lev. 11:4 – 511
 Lev. 11:6 – 415
 Lev. 11:9 – 415
 Lev. 11:9f. – 359, 435
 Lev. 11:10 – 261, 261, 533
 Lev. 11:12 – 261, 359, 435
 Lev. 11:13 – 261, 415
 Lev. 11:20 – 267
 Lev. 11:21 – 224, 359, 415, 435
 Lev. 11:23 – 224, 359, 436
 Lev. 11:26 – 327, 330
 Lev. 11:28f. – 415
 Lev. 11:32 – 362, 444, 495
 Lev. 11:36 – 420, 421, 491, 591
 Lev. 11:39 – 418, 468
 Lev. 11:41 – 255
 Lev. 11:45 – 469
 Lev. 11:47 – 214
 Lev. 12:5 – 287, 411
 Lev. 12:7 – 376, 420, 424, 488
 Lev. Ch. 13 – 267
 Lev. 13:6 – 228, 284, 312, 623
 Lev. 13:7 – 473
 Lev. 13:8 – 220
 Lev. 13:10 – 231, 419
 Lev. 13:12 – 401
 Lev. 13:13 – 229
 Lev. 13:17 – 220, 229
 Lev. 13:19 – 508
 Lev. 13:20 – 228, 231
 Lev. 13:21 – 226, 230, 249, 274, 374, 375
 Lev. 13:23 – 267
 Lev. 13:24 – 508
 Lev. 13:25 – 220, 229
 Lev. 13:26 – 230
 Lev. 13:28 – 253, 267, 563
 Lev. 13:30 – 231, 374, 375, 551
 Lev. 13:31 – 229, 275, 283, 358, 374, 375, 529
 Lev. 13:31f. – 251, 331
 Lev. 13:32 – 229
 Lev. 13:34 – 275, 283, 284
 Lev. 13:37 – 415
 Lev. 13:38 – 553
 Lev. 13:39 – 230, 553
 Lev. 13:56 – 231, 551
 Lev. 13:59 – 464
 Lev. 14:2 – 621
 Lev. 14:13 – 422
 Lev. 14:16 – 529
 Lev. 14:17 – 156, 401, 422
 Lev. 14:19 – 415, 422
 Lev. 14:21 – 274
 Lev. 14:23 – 464
 Lev. 14:28 – 443
 Lev. 14:31 – 237
 Lev. 14:32 – 496, 527
 Lev. 14:34 – 610
 Lev. 14:35 – 254, 497, 530, 599
 Lev. 14:36 – 440
 Lev. 14:37 – 231
 Lev. 14:39 – 229
 Lev. 14:48 – 323, 473
 Lev. 14:49 – 464
 Lev. 14:52 – 237, 351, 586
 Lev. 14:57 – 517
 Lev. 15:2 – 216, 421, 424, 524
 Lev. 15:23 – 471
 Lev. 15:24 – 383
 Lev. 15:25 – 328
 Lev. 15:31 – 245, 471
 Lev. 15:32 – 420, 463
 Lev. 16:2 – 164
 Lev. 16:4 – 258
 Lev. 16:8 – 566
 Lev. 16:10 – 463
 Lev. 16:17 – 515
 Lev. 16:18 – 447
 Lev. 16:19 – 563
 Lev. 16:27 – 465
 Lev. 16:29 – 366, 415, 462
 Lev. 16:32 – 354
 Lev. 16:33 – 419
 Lev. 16:34 – 253, 366, 415
 Lev. 17:2 – 188

- Lev. 17:3ff. – 97
 Lev. 17:4 – 420, 463
 Lev. 17:11 – 464, 464
 Lev. 17:12 – 421, 491
 Lev. 17:13 – 397, 444
 Lev. 18:2 – 265
 Lev. 18:5 – 188, 199, 207
 Lev. 18:6 – 397, 554, 566
 Lev. 18:7 – 259, 612, 623
 Lev. 18:8 – 355, 397, 441
 Lev. 18:9 – 586
 Lev. 18:11 – 259, 373
 Lev. 18:12 – 411
 Lev. 18:12f. – 373
 Lev. 18:12ff. – 258
 Lev. 18:17 – 258
 Lev. 18:20 – 463
 Lev. 18:23 – 515
 Lev. 18:24 – 624
 Lev. 18:27 – 615, 621
 Lev. 18:28 – 472
 Lev. Ch. 19 – 140
 Lev. 19:2 – 188
 Lev. 19:3 – 156, 373
 Lev. 19:6 – 517
 Lev. 19:13 – 395, 406, 553, 572
 Lev. 19:14 – 418
 Lev. 19:19 – 470
 Lev. 19:20 – 253
 Lev. 19:23 – 355, 395
 Lev. 19:25 – 245
 Lev. 19:26 – 344
 Lev. 19:27 – 327, 441, 442
 Lev. 19:29 – 467
 Lev. 19:30 – 420, 444
 Lev. 19:31 – 407
 Lev. 19:32 – 365
 Lev. 20:2 – 323, 354
 Lev. 20:4 – 463, 472
 Lev. 20:5 – 469
 Lev. 20:6 – 621
 Lev. 20:7 – 546
 Lev. 20:9 – 397, 453
 Lev. 20:10 – 282, 282, 284, 563
 Lev. 20:12 – 97, 594, 620
 Lev. 20:13 – 358, 363, 532, 563
 Lev. 20:14 – 259, 563
 Lev. 20:16 – 358, 363
 Lev. 20:20 – 281
 Lev. 20:23 – 543
 Lev. 20:25 – 376
 Lev. 20:26 – 465
 Lev. 20:27 – 323, 358, 363
 Lev. 21:2 – 411
 Lev. 21:3 – 400
 Lev. 21:7 – 450, 489, 587
 Lev. 21:9 – 415
 Lev. 21:10 – 486, 532
 Lev. 21:13 – 415
 Lev. 21:14 – 383, 415
 Lev. 21:19 – 421, 584
 Lev. 21:20 – 245, 449, 584
 Lev. 21:21 – 232, 495, 498
 Lev. 22:2 – 199
 Lev. 22:6 – 199
 Lev. 22:7 – 287, 392, 394, 407, 412
 Lev. 22:9 – 462
 Lev. 22:11f. – 415
 Lev. 22:13 – 468
 Lev. 22:14 – 327
 Lev. 22:15 – 425
 Lev. 22:16 – 265, 265, 419, 420, 424, 472, 525
 Lev. 22:18 – 397, 421, 453
 Lev. 22:20 – 232, 625
 Lev. 22:21 – 359, 589
 Lev. 22:22 – 399
 Lev. 22:23 – 265, 457
 Lev. 22:24 – 399
 Lev. 22:25 – 300
 Lev. 22:29 – 199
 Lev. 22:32 – 419, 419, 420, 424, 525
 Lev. 22:32f. – 589
 Lev. 22:33 – 573
 Lev. 23:2 – 427
 Lev. 23:3 – 427
 Lev. 23:4 – 427
 Lev. 23:5f. – 259
 Lev. 23:7 – 195, 585, 592
 Lev. 23:13 – 273
 Lev. 23:17 – 584
 Lev. 23:21 – 420
 Lev. 23:22 – 471
 Lev. 23:28 – 247, 383
 Lev. 23:29 – 601
 Lev. 23:37 – 354, 463

- Lev. 23:39 – 155
 Lev. 23:43 – 199, 471
 Lev. 24:2 – 164
 Lev. 24:6 – 462
 Lev. 24:7 – 465
 Lev. 24:10 – 253, 255, 563
 Lev. 24:11 – 270
 Lev. 24:14 – 421
 Lev. 24:16 – 156, 472
 Lev. 24:19 – 521
 Lev. 25:1 – 437
 Lev. 25:5 – 298, 329
 Lev. 25:6 – 195, 585, 592
 Lev. 25:10 – 241, 400, 422
 Lev. 25:11 – 246
 Lev. 25:14 – 508
 Lev. 25:15 – 446
 Lev. 25:16 – 470, 470
 Lev. 25:19 – 355
 Lev. 25:25 – 275, 283, 283, 357
 Lev. 25:26 – 355, 357, 358, 359, 418, 460
 Lev. 25:27 – 357
 Lev. 25:28 – 463
 Lev. 25:30 – 421
 Lev. 25:31 – 360
 Lev. 25:33 – 261, 446, 533
 Lev. 25:35 – 275, 283
 Lev. 25:37 – 342, 344
 Lev. 25:41 – 611
 Lev. 25:42 – 625
 Lev. 25:44 – 524
 Lev. 25:46 – 586
 Lev. 25:49f. – 508
 Lev. 25:50 – 357
 Lev. 25:51 – 357
 Lev. 26:1 – 376, 412, 465, 509
 Lev. 26:2 – 453
 Lev. 26:4 – 193
 Lev. 26:5f. – 190
 Lev. 26:6 – 195, 207
 Lev. 26:9 – 470, 470
 Lev. 26:12 – 366, 374
 Lev. 26:13 – 281, 589
 Lev. 26:15 – 459
 Lev. 26:16 – 609
 Lev. 26:17 – 359
 Lev. 26:19 – 193
 Lev. 26:22 – 449
 Lev. 26:24 – 595, 609
 Lev. 26:25 – 446
 Lev. 26:25f. – 472
 Lev. 26:26 – 449, 585
 Lev. 26:27 – 415
 Lev. 26:28 – 615
 Lev. 26:34 – 285
 Lev. 26:36 – 587
 Lev. 26:36f. – 359
 Lev. 26:41 – 609
 Lev. 26:43 – 609
 Lev. 26:44 – 463
 Lev. 26:45 – 465
 Lev. 27:2 – 241, 400, 422, 463
 Lev. 27:7 – 259, 633
 Lev. 27:8 – 286
 Lev. 27:10 – 419
 Lev. 27:11 – 383
 Lev. 27:12 – 351, 489
 Lev. 27:13 – 286
 Lev. 27:14 – 419, 421, 421, 524
 Lev. 27:20 – 237
 Lev. 27:22 – 552
 Lev. 27:24 – 247
 Lev. 27:26 – 387
 Lev. 27:28 – 238, 253, 419, 419, 444
 Lev. 27:33 – 383, 514
 Lev. 30:43 – 283
 Lev. 45:28 – 246
- Old Testament: Numbers**
 Num. 1:2 – 446
 Num. 1:6ff. – 273
 Num. 1:13 – 392
 Num. 1:44 – 356, 370, 491
 Num. 1:51 – 471
 Num. 1:52 – 193
 Num. 2:3 – 272
 Num. 2:5 – 272
 Num. 2:7 – 272
 Num. 2:8 – 604
 Num. 2:10 – 273
 Num. 2:26 – 273
 Num. 2:31f. – 273
 Num. 2:33 – 309, 322
 Num. 2:34 – 384
 Num. 3:4 – 78, 363, 428, 429, 494, 531, 538

- Num. 3:6 – 161
 Num. 3:9 – 244, 244
 Num. 3:10 – 193
 Num. 3:12 – 220
 Num. 3:13 – 421, 452
 Num. 3:19ff. – 272
 Num. 3:21 – 399
 Num. 3:24 – 272
 Num. 3:30ff. – 272
 Num. 3:33 – 399
 Num. 3:35 – 356, 446, 446
 Num. 3:41 – 452, 611
 Num. 3:45 – 452
 Num. 4:2 – 70
 Num. 4:4 – 419
 Num. 4:6 – 450
 Num. 4:16 – 419, 422
 Num. 4:19 – 193, 384, 420
 Num. 4:20 – 579
 Num. 4:27 – 401, 462
 Num. 4:28 – 356, 462
 Num. 4:30 – 437
 Num. 4:32 – 462
 Num. 4:33 – 356, 462
 Num. 4:40 – 446
 Num. 4:41 – 356, 443
 Num. 4:44 – 443
 Num. 4:45 – 356, 443
 Num. 4:47f. – 357
 Num. 4:49 – 548
 Num. Ch. 5 – 411
 Num. 5:2 – 163, 359
 Num. 5:8 – 363, 463
 Num. 5:12-31 – 97
 Num. 5:13 – 97, 522
 Num. 5:14 – 97, 522
 Num. 5:15 – 97
 Num. 5:19 – 519
 Num. 5:19f. – 97
 Num. 5:20 – 370, 378
 Num. 5:21 – 471
 Num. 5:22 – 97
 Num. 5:26 – 539
 Num. 5:27 – 97
 Num. 5:29 – 444
 Num. 5:29ff. – 97
 Num. 6:2 – 535
 Num. 6:7 – 300, 346, 370, 421, 514, 515
 Num. 6:9 – 579
 Num. 6:10 – 580
 Num. 6:12 – 326, 326
 Num. 6:14 – 551
 Num. 6:16 – 199
 Num. 6:54 – 384
 Num. 7:1 – 463
 Num. 7:5 – 384
 Num. 7:9 – 301
 Num. 7:12 – 272
 Num. 7:17 – 246, 415
 Num. 7:18 – 446
 Num. 7:24 – 446
 Num. 7:30 – 446
 Num. 7:35 – 415
 Num. 7:37 – 273
 Num. 7:41 – 415
 Num. 7:43 – 273
 Num. 7:71 – 346, 370
 Num. 7:85ff. – 273
 Num. 7:87 – 281
 Num. 7:89 – 471
 Num. 8:2 – 161, 188
 Num. 8:6 – 522
 Num. 8:15 – 413, 415
 Num. 8:16 – 244, 244, 444
 Num. 8:17 – 395, 406, 413
 Num. 8:19 – 385
 Num. 8:22 – 355
 Num. 8:24 – 355
 Num. 8:25 – 629
 Num. 8:26 – 126, 323, 324, 331, 370, 529
 Num. 9:1 – 517, 536
 Num. 9:6 – 108
 Num. 9:8 – 302
 Num. 9:11 – 594
 Num. 9:12 – 629
 Num. 9:13 – 583
 Num. 9:15 – 520
 Num. 9:16 – 50, 73, 520
 Num. 9:17 – 101, 101
 Num. 9:17 (Sah.) – 101
 Num. 9:18 – 101
 Num. 9:18 (Sah.) – 101
 Num. 9:21 – 510
 Num. 9:22 – 586
 Num. 9:23 – 101
 Num. 10:2 – 464, 505

- Num. 10:6 – 462
 Num. 10:8 – 438, 511
 Num. 10:9 – 286
 Num. 10:10 – 285
 Num. 10:15ff. – 272, 272
 Num. 10:19 – 272
 Num. 10:20 – 272
 Num. 10:29 – 418
 Num. 10:30 – 202, 207, 395, 418, 488
 Num. 10:32 – 286
 Num. 10:36 – 565
 Num. 11:1 – 70, 418, 565
 Num. 11:3 – 316, 394, 405
 Num. 11:4 – 300
 Num. 11:4-10 – 102
 Num. 11:6 – 327, 631
 Num. 11:7 – 254
 Num. 11:8 – 519
 Num. 11:9 – 48
 Num. 11:10 – 418, 565, 593
 Num. 11:11 – 314, 456
 Num. 11:11f. – 416
 Num. 11:12 – 147, 150, 152, 173, 287, 409, 457, 513
 Num. 11:13 – 175, 457, 499, 515, 553
 Num. 11:14 – 608
 Num. 11:15 – 604
 Num. 11:16 – 252, 530
 Num. 11:18 – 93, 300, 553
 Num. 11:19 – 261, 295, 297
 Num. 11:20 – 151, 553
 Num. 11:21 – 287
 Num. 11:22 – 147, 174
 Num. 11:23 – 168
 Num. 11:25 – 285, 565
 Num. 11:28 – 285
 Num. 11:29 – 173, 300, 300, 519
 Num. 11:31 – 106
 Num. 11:33 – 51
 Num. 12:1 – 408, 450, 450
 Num. 12:2 – 147, 152, 173, 301, 601, 610
 Num. 12:3 – 254, 255, 530
 Num. 12:6 – 214, 500
 Num. 12:7 – 370
 Num. 12:8 – 200, 328
 Num. 12:9 – 565
 Num. 12:10 – 229
 Num. 12:11 – 107, 217, 282
 Num. 12:12 – 343, 441
 Num. 12:13 – 217
 Num. 12:14 – 530
 Num. 13:18 – 173, 175, 237, 238, 238, 283, 364, 379
 Num. 13:18f. – 360
 Num. 13:18ff. – 144, 152, 513
 Num. 13:19 – 173, 173, 173, 175
 Num. 13:19f. – 245
 Num. 13:20 – 173, 175, 260, 364
 Num. 13:21 – 105
 Num. 13:22 – 105, 132, 319
 Num. 13:23 – 68
 Num. 13:27 – 246
 Num. 13:28 – 237
 Num. 13:30 – 168, 200, 202, 471
 Num. 13:31 – 201, 202, 204, 509
 Num. 13:32 – 253
 Num. 13:33 – 316
 Num. 14:2 – 93
 Num. 14:3 – 205, 468, 469, 627
 Num. 14:6 – 125, 125, 126, 137, 315
 Num. 14:8 – 198, 205, 376, 525
 Num. 14:10 – 323
 Num. 14:11 – 315, 470, 492, 566, 630
 Num. 14:12 – 200, 509, 595
 Num. 14:16 – 602
 Num. 14:18 – 346, 370, 381, 414, 416
 Num. 14:19 – 438, 612
 Num. 14:19f. – 200
 Num. 14:21 – 611
 Num. 14:22 – 267, 580
 Num. 14:23 – 418, 449, 470
 Num. 14:27 – 315, 316, 397, 442, 630
 Num. 14:28 – 48, 610
 Num. 14:30 – 144, 198, 204
 Num. 14:31 – 207, 207, 422, 524, 538, 610
 Num. 14:33 – 591, 592
 Num. 14:34 – 437
 Num. 14:40 – 202, 220, 228, 518
 Num. 14:41 – 206, 327
 Num. 14:43 – 327, 458
 Num. 14:45 – 122
 Num. 15:2 – 563
 Num. 15:6 – 440
 Num. 15:7 – 602
 Num. 15:8 – 283, 283

- Num. 15:18 – 611
 Num. 15:18f. – 472
 Num. 15:22 – 415
 Num. 15:26 – 259
 Num. 15:30 – 351
 Num. 15:32 – 80, 289
 Num. 15:34 – 92, 407
 Num. 15:35 – 323
 Num. 16:2 – 449
 Num. 16:3 – 253, 255, 376, 456
 Num. 16:5 – 241, 400, 422
 Num. 16:9 – 145, 173, 245, 415, 456, 546
 Num. 16:11 – 150, 174, 246
 Num. 16:12 – 202, 245
 Num. 16:13 – 145, 173, 237, 245, 456, 546, 566, 594
 Num. 16:14 – 201, 203, 417, 535
 Num. 16:15 – 386, 565
 Num. 16:16 – 505, 591
 Num. 16:17 – 397
 Num. 16:17f. – 384
 Num. 16:22 – 143, 145, 153, 173, 206, 430, 442, 446, 552
 Num. 16:28 – 191, 328
 Num. 16:29 – 148, 174, 320, 322, 513
 Num. 16:30 – 189, 193, 302
 Num. 16:32 – 122
 Num. 16:33 – 611
 Num. 16:34 – 459
 Num. 17:2 – 396, 437
 Num. 17:5 – 237, 238, 385, 386, 489, 600
 Num. 17:11 – 286
 Num. 17:13 – 422
 Num. 17:14 – 273
 Num. 17:25 – 343, 354
 Num. 17:27 – 220, 228
 Num. 18:3 – 505
 Num. 18:5 – 385
 Num. 18:8 – 220
 Num. 18:13 – 421
 Num. 18:14 – 566
 Num. 18:15 – 406
 Num. 18:19 – 259, 506
 Num. 18:20 – 246
 Num. 18:22 – 629
 Num. 18:28 – 610
 Num. 18:31 – 246
 Num. 19:2 – 246
 Num. 19:11 – 420, 572
 Num. 19:13 – 465, 566
 Num. 19:14 – 437
 Num. 19:18 – 443, 531, 566
 Num. 19:19 – 192
 Num. 20:2 – 78, 224
 Num. 20:2f. – 79
 Num. 20:3 – 355, 438
 Num. 20:5 – 214, 358, 358, 376, 511, 515
 Num. 20:8 – 162, 189
 Num. 20:10 – 147, 174, 320, 429, 566
 Num. 20:13 – 35, 246
 Num. 20:14 – 217
 Num. 20:16 – 36
 Num. 20:17 – 317, 321, 497
 Num. 20:18 – 201, 202, 583
 Num. 20:19 – 48, 253, 386
 Num. 20:22 – 427
 Num. 20:24 – 220, 393, 397, 442, 470
 Num. 20:26 – 161
 Num. 20:29 – 45
 Num. 21:5 – 224, 358, 375, 393, 510
 Num. 21:6 – 74, 410
 Num. 21:7 – 164, 498, 511
 Num. 21:8 – 448
 Num. 21:8f. – 103
 Num. 21:11 – 513
 Num. 21:13 – 271
 Num. 21:16 – 519
 Num. 21:21 – 446
 Num. 21:22 – 510
 Num. 21:23 – 519
 Num. 21:24 – 253
 Num. 21:25f. – 624
 Num. 21:26 – 622
 Num. 21:28 – 444
 Num. 21:29 – 396, 429, 467
 Num. 22:3 – 72, 256
 Num. 22:4 – 206
 Num. 22:5 – 220, 523
 Num. 22:9f. – 175
 Num. 22:16 – 48
 Num. 22:17 – 198, 200, 498, 612
 Num. 22:18 – 365, 376, 376, 509
 Num. 22:19 – 162, 498
 Num. 22:20 – 317, 317
 Num. 22:22 – 75, 120, 130
 Num. 22:23 – 174, 587, 594

- Num. 22:24 – 224
 Num. 22:26 – 589
 Num. 22:28 – 48, 262
 Num. 22:28f. – 175
 Num. 22:29 – 318, 500
 Num. 22:30 – 48, 148, 168, 173, 174, 276, 279, 324, 589
 Num. 22:31 – 48
 Num. 22:32 – 228, 262
 Num. 22:32f. – 175
 Num. 22:33 – 93, 93, 416, 417, 499
 Num. 22:34 – 201, 300
 Num. 22:35 – 199
 Num. 22:37 – 145, 148, 173, 314
 Num. 22:38 – 173, 302
 Num. 23:3 – 418
 Num. 23:5 – 440
 Num. 23:8 – 422
 Num. 23:9 – 190, 195, 230, 608
 Num. 23:11 – 175, 220
 Num. 23:12 – 148, 174
 Num. 23:13 – 199, 607, 615
 Num. 23:14 – 444
 Num. 23:16 – 194, 262
 Num. 23:18 – 158
 Num. 23:19 – 174, 206, 320, 321, 393
 Num. 23:20 – 201, 228
 Num. 23:22 – 358
 Num. 23:23 – 498
 Num. 23:26 – 174
 Num. 23:27 – 162
 Num. 23:30 – 521
 Num. 24:1 – 104
 Num. 24:2 – 594
 Num. 24:5 – 84, 344
 Num. 24:9 – 300
 Num. 24:10 – 228, 262
 Num. 24:11 – 566, 629
 Num. 24:12 – 174, 588
 Num. 24:13 – 376, 512
 Num. 24:14 – 229
 Num. 24:15f. – 511
 Num. 24:17 – 198, 328
 Num. 24:20 – 246
 Num. 24:23 – 154, 300
 Num. 25:1 – 463
 Num. 25:6 – 70, 116, 229
 Num. 25:6ff. – 389
 Num. 25:11 – 472
 Num. 25:12 – 198, 228, 522
 Num. 25:14 – 273, 458
 Num. 25:15 – 270, 273, 446
 Num. 25:18 – 284
 Num. Ch. 26 – 273
 Num. 26:10 – 106
 Num. 26:26 – 473
 Num. 26:51 – 246, 415
 Num. 26:54 – 470
 Num. 26:59 – 270
 Num. 26:61 – 472
 Num. 26:62 – 273
 Num. 26:63 – 246
 Num. 26:64 – 358
 Num. 27:1 – 438, 442
 Num. 27:4 – 363
 Num. 27:7 – 354, 443
 Num. 27:8 – 363
 Num. 27:12 – 246, 447
 Num. 27:14 – 285
 Num. 27:18 – 359
 Num. 27:21 – 441
 Num. 28:3 – 287
 Num. 28:8 – 590
 Num. 28:16 – 396
 Num. 28:17 – 259
 Num. 28:18 – 392, 427
 Num. 28:20ff. – 273
 Num. 29:7 – 440
 Num. 29:9 – 273, 384
 Num. 29:10 – 382, 453
 Num. 29:11 – 399
 Num. 29:12 – 440
 Num. 29:13 – 288, 372
 Num. 29:15 – 382, 453
 Num. 29:20 – 372
 Num. 29:25 – 395
 Num. 29:31 – 406
 Num. 30:10 – 444
 Num. 30:12 – 460
 Num. 30:14 – 444
 Num. 30:16 – 518
 Num. 30:17 – 511
 Num. 31:4 – 355, 363, 395
 Num. 31:5 – 355
 Num. 31:9 – 241, 400, 419
 Num. 31:11 – 395, 406, 413

Num. 31:15 – 150, 175
 Num. 31:15f. – 77
 Num. 31:17 – 343, 515
 Num. 31:18 – 370, 408
 Num. 31:19 – 611
 Num. 31:20 – 237
 Num. 31:28 – 344
 Num. 31:30 – 446
 Num. 31:38ff. – 273
 Num. 31:39 – 273
 Num. 31:50 – 393, 514
 Num. 31:51 – 515
 Num. 32:1 – 620
 Num. 32:2 – 302
 Num. 32:4 – 253, 369, 408
 Num. 32:5 – 285, 286, 395, 416, 492
 Num. 32:6 – 395
 Num. 32:7 – 286
 Num. 32:8 – 237, 247, 261
 Num. 32:9 – 565
 Num. 32:11 – 192, 286
 Num. 32:19 – 593
 Num. 32:24 – 401
 Num. 32:25 – 516
 Num. 32:26 – 343, 344
 Num. 32:29 – 492
 Num. 32:31 – 285
 Num. 32:36 – 382, 428
 Num. 32:42 – 427
 Num. 33:6 – 241, 535
 Num. 33:8 – 437
 Num. 33:38 – 395, 462
 Num. 33:51 – 492
 Num. 33:52f. – 190
 Num. 33:54 – 384, 470, 518
 Num. 33:55 – 284
 Num. 33:56 – 521
 Num. 34:2f. – 247
 Num. 34:5 – 57, 93
 Num. 34:6 – 390
 Num. 34:12 – 393
 Num. 34:19ff. – 273
 Num. 35:2 – 595
 Num. 35:3 – 373, 440
 Num. 35:6 – 467
 Num. 35:11 – 467
 Num. 35:15 – 391, 409, 467
 Num. 35:22 – 328

Num. 35:23 – 255, 283, 286, 524, 583
 Num. 35:25 – 395
 Num. 35:27 – 360, 395
 Num. 35:28 – 157
 Num. 35:29 – 541
 Num. 35:34 – 265
 Num. 36:5 – 535
 Num. 36:7 – 319
 Num. 44:31 – 594

Old Testament: Deuteronomy

Deut. Chs. 1-2 – 36
 Deut. Chs. 1-3 – 94
 Deut. Chs. 1-10 – 35
 Deut. 1:2 – 446
 Deut. 1:4 – 446, 446
 Deut. 1:5 – 110, 110
 Deut. 1:9 – 198, 204, 446
 Deut. 1:10 – 229, 470
 Deut. 1:12 – 150, 175, 198, 204, 315, 608
 Deut. 1:15 – 359, 435
 Deut. 1:15ff. – 251
 Deut. 1:16 – 515
 Deut. 1:17 – 193, 251, 253, 390, 392
 Deut. 1:19 – 281
 Deut. 1:21 – 220, 231
 Deut. 1:22 – 491, 534
 Deut. 1:23 – 380
 Deut. 1:25 – 70
 Deut. 1:26 – 284
 Deut. 1:27 – 315, 612, 630
 Deut. 1:28 – 330, 382
 Deut. 1:34 – 447
 Deut. 1:35 – 145
 Deut. 1:37 – 565
 Deut. 1:38 – 302
 Deut. 1:39 – 301, 304, 527, 536, 597, 600
 Deut. 1:40ff. – 107
 Deut. 1:41 – 202
 Deut. 2:5 – 198
 Deut. 2:6 – 515
 Deut. 2:7 – 284, 285, 315, 456, 624
 Deut. 2:8 – 281
 Deut. 2:9 – 283, 284, 615
 Deut. 2:10 – 119
 Deut. 2:11 – 104, 105, 392, 427, 427
 Deut. 2:12 – 391, 514
 Deut. 2:14 – 261

- Deut. 2:14f. – 73
 Deut. 2:15 – 94
 Deut. 2:19 – 198
 Deut. 2:20 – 104, 105, 391, 625
 Deut. 2:21 – 392, 427, 427, 507, 512
 Deut. 2:24 – 220
 Deut. 2:25 – 497, 599
 Deut. 2:27 – 510
 Deut. 2:27f. – 201
 Deut. 2:28 – 189, 193, 370
 Deut. 2:29 – 521
 Deut. 2:30 – 470, 470
 Deut. 2:31 – 220, 286
 Deut. 2:34 – 385
 Deut. 2:42 – 281
 Deut. 3:2 – 91, 444
 Deut. 3:3 – 368, 400
 Deut. 3:4 – 352, 490
 Deut. 3:5 – 609, 615
 Deut. 3:6f. – 343
 Deut. 3:7f. – 94
 Deut. 3:8 – 437
 Deut. 3:9 – 104
 Deut. 3:11 – 230, 231, 253, 415
 Deut. 3:13 – 437
 Deut. 3:17 – 253
 Deut. 3:19 – 363
 Deut. 3:21 – 415
 Deut. 3:22 – 301, 304
 Deut. 3:24 – 302, 304
 Deut. 3:25 – 449, 612, 627
 Deut. 3:26 – 593, 629
 Deut. 3:27 – 204, 395, 429
 Deut. 3:28 – 155, 155, 301
 Deut. 4:2 – 425, 611, 612
 Deut. 4:4 – 452, 452, 488, 609
 Deut. 4:7 – 300, 363
 Deut. 4:8 – 300, 363, 416, 425, 525
 Deut. 4:9 – 164
 Deut. 4:10 – 518
 Deut. 4:12 – 330, 592
 Deut. 4:14 – 467, 609
 Deut. 4:19 – 413
 Deut. 4:20 – 368, 468
 Deut. 4:21 – 459, 565
 Deut. 4:22 – 198, 200, 202, 623
 Deut. 4:23 – 160
 Deut. 4:24 – 253
 Deut. 4:25 – 444, 463
 Deut. 4:28 – 511
 Deut. 4:32-4 – 513
 Deut. 4:32ff. – 144, 152
 Deut. 4:34 – 589
 Deut. 4:35 – 256, 358
 Deut. 4:42 – 468
 Deut. 4:46 – 91
 Deut. 4:48 – 446
 Deut. 5:1 – 463
 Deut. 5:3 – 322, 516
 Deut. 5:4 – 77
 Deut. 5:5 – 73
 Deut. 5:9f. – 489, 590
 Deut. 5:14 – 273, 400, 565
 Deut. 5:15 – 36, 219, 415
 Deut. 5:16 – 155
 Deut. 5:18ff. – 194
 Deut. 5:21 – 445
 Deut. 5:22-25 – 94
 Deut. 5:23 – 70
 Deut. 5:24 – 77, 94, 214, 229
 Deut. 5:25 – 199, 206, 355, 438, 447
 Deut. 5:26 – 297
 Deut. 5:27 – 189, 193, 199
 Deut. 5:28 – 442
 Deut. 5:29 – 300, 469
 Deut. 5:31 – 199, 199
 Deut. 5:32 – 510
 Deut. 5:33 – 470, 565
 Deut. 6:3 – 459, 505
 Deut. 6:5 – 191, 253
 Deut. 6:7 – 505, 512
 Deut. 6:8 – 288
 Deut. 6:10 – 573
 Deut. 6:11 – 524
 Deut. 6:13 – 194, 302, 303
 Deut. 6:15 – 504, 512, 565
 Deut. 6:18 – 459
 Deut. 6:20 – 246
 Deut. 6:21 – 76
 Deut. 6:22 – 282, 284
 Deut. 7:1 – 253, 391, 409
 Deut. 7:2 – 284
 Deut. 7:3 – 284
 Deut. 7:4 – 189, 190
 Deut. 7:6 – 276, 366
 Deut. 7:7 – 283, 311, 458, 623

- Deut. 7:9 – 248
 Deut. 7:16 – 253
 Deut. 7:17 – 315
 Deut. 7:18 – 198, 204
 Deut. 7:19 – 522
 Deut. 7:22 – 398, 449
 Deut. 7:25 – 510
 Deut. Chs. 8-9-10 – 36
 Deut. 8:2 – 168, 168, 173, 198, 204
 Deut. 8:2-3 – 459
 Deut. 8:2f. – 459
 Deut. 8:3 – 321, 409, 413, 515, 608
 Deut. 8:8 – 374, 376
 Deut. 8:9 – 255, 327, 381, 497, 564, 571, 572, 585, 586
 Deut. 8:12 – 344
 Deut. 8:13 – 330, 349, 382, 411
 Deut. 8:14 – 284, 566
 Deut. 8:15 – 281, 358, 393, 449, 509, 512
 Deut. 8:16 – 468, 511
 Deut. 8:17 – 298, 355, 442
 Deut. 8:18 – 411
 Deut. 8:20 – 458
 Deut. 9:1 – 300, 304, 449, 464, 515, 529
 Deut. 9:2 – 445
 Deut. 9:3 – 243, 415
 Deut. 9:4 – 447
 Deut. 9:5 – 328, 447
 Deut. 9:6 – 201, 205, 298, 606
 Deut. 9:8 – 364, 565
 Deut. 9:8-10 – 94
 Deut. 9:9 – 69, 94, 346, 370, 515
 Deut. 9:10 – 60
 Deut. 9:12 – 417, 422, 524
 Deut. 9:13 – 250
 Deut. 9:14 – 162, 472
 Deut. 9:15 – 70
 Deut. 9:17 – 107, 107, 122
 Deut. 9:18 – 346, 349, 370, 515
 Deut. 9:22 – 71
 Deut. 9:23 – 556
 Deut. 9:24 – 69, 82, 94, 282, 282, 504
 Deut. 9:25 – 94, 312, 563
 Deut. 9:26 – 446
 Deut. 9:28 – 184, 391, 457, 533
 Deut. 9:29 – 525
 Deut. 10:1-3 – 389
 Deut. 10:2 – 524
 Deut. 10:3 – 94
 Deut. 10:4 – 524
 Deut. 10:6 – 283, 288, 317, 370
 Deut. 10:7 – 584
 Deut. 10:9 – 246
 Deut. 10:10 – 609, 615
 Deut. 10:11 – 163
 Deut. 10:12 – 513
 Deut. 10:14 – 231, 248, 612, 625
 Deut. 10:15 – 264, 602
 Deut. 10:17 – 511, 624
 Deut. 10:18 – 376, 410, 413
 Deut. 10:18 (Sah.) – 410
 Deut. 10:19 – 218, 624
 Deut. 10:21 – 246, 246
 Deut. 10:22 – 357
 Deut. 11:2 – 279, 421, 424, 511, 524
 Deut. 11:4 – 344
 Deut. 11:5 – 286
 Deut. 11:8 – 610
 Deut. 11:9 – 376
 Deut. 11:10 – 321, 497, 620, 621
 Deut. 11:11 – 370, 376
 Deut. 11:12 – 438
 Deut. 11:13 – 511, 620
 Deut. 11:16 – 164
 Deut. 11:17 – 565
 Deut. 11:18 – 511
 Deut. 11:19 – 505, 512, 513
 Deut. 11:24 – 393, 413, 515
 Deut. 11:25 – 387
 Deut. 11:26 – 228
 Deut. 11:30 – 148
 Deut. 11:30 (Vat) – 227
 Deut. 11:31 – 207
 Deut. 12:4 – 469
 Deut. 12:6 – 379
 Deut. 12:8 – 399
 Deut. 12:9 – 424, 565, 623
 Deut. 12:10 – 471
 Deut. 12:12 – 363, 456
 Deut. 12:13 – 375, 376, 408
 Deut. 12:14 – 383, 440
 Deut. 12:17 – 399, 399
 Deut. 12:20 – 463, 553
 Deut. 12:20f. – 201
 Deut. 12:21 – 469, 518
 Deut. 12:23 – 253, 413

- Deut. 12:25 – 418, 459, 488
 Deut. 12:26 – 469
 Deut. 12:28 – 160
 Deut. 12:30 – 311, 473
 Deut. 12:31 – 624
 Deut. 13:3 – 327
 Deut. 13:5 – 417
 Deut. 13:6 – 327, 401
 Deut. 13:7 – 505
 Deut. 13:9 – 464
 Deut. 13:13 – 157, 327
 Deut. 13:14 – 356
 Deut. 13:14f. – 191
 Deut. 13:15 – 228
 Deut. 13:17 – 196, 470
 Deut. 13:19 – 418
 Deut. 14:1 – 553
 Deut. 14:2 – 366
 Deut. 14:4 – 489, 586
 Deut. 14:4-8 – 413
 Deut. 14:6 – 511
 Deut. 14:7f. – 238, 274
 Deut. 14:9 – 359, 435
 Deut. 14:10 – 359, 435
 Deut. 14:12-18 – 391, 413
 Deut. 14:14 – 351
 Deut. 14:15 – 376
 Deut. 14:21 – 397, 442, 590
 Deut. 14:23 – 469
 Deut. 14:26 – 566
 Deut. 14:27 – 363
 Deut. 14:29 – 191, 363
 Deut. 15:2 – 244, 566, 612
 Deut. 15:4 – 385
 Deut. 15:7 – 362, 383, 385, 444
 Deut. 15:9 – 164
 Deut. 15:11 – 375, 408, 624
 Deut. 15:12f. – 191
 Deut. 15:15 – 76
 Deut. 15:19 – 391
 Deut. 15:23 – 395, 406
 Deut. 16:4 – 515
 Deut. 16:7 – 344
 Deut. 16:8 – 273, 580
 Deut. 16:9 – 519
 Deut. 16:13 – 472
 Deut. 16:15 – 298, 329
 Deut. 16:16 – 580
 Deut. 16:18 – 386
 Deut. 16:19 – 214, 413, 500
 Deut. 17:2 – 383, 460
 Deut. 17:3 – 391, 392, 412
 Deut. 17:4 – 229, 579
 Deut. 17:5 – 407
 Deut. 17:6 – 191
 Deut. 17:7 – 355, 534
 Deut. 17:8 – 377
 Deut. 17:11 – 377
 Deut. 17:13 – 629
 Deut. 17:14 – 534
 Deut. 17:15 – 240
 Deut. 17:15f. – 193, 196
 Deut. 17:16 – 199, 408, 470, 629
 Deut. 17:17 – 470, 470
 Deut. 17:20 – 459
 Deut. 18:1 – 375
 Deut. 18:2 – 246
 Deut. 18:9 – 464
 Deut. 18:10f. – 354, 423, 492, 596
 Deut. 18:12 – 198, 201, 619
 Deut. 18:14 – 519
 Deut. 18:15 – 399
 Deut. 18:19 – 327, 527, 600
 Deut. 18:21 – 315
 Deut. 19:1 – 525
 Deut. 19:3 – 354, 370
 Deut. 19:4 – 195, 495
 Deut. 19:5 – 486, 532
 Deut. 19:6 – 459
 Deut. 19:8 – 284
 Deut. 19:15 – 362, 363
 Deut. 19:18 – 229, 282, 391
 Deut. 20:3 – 198
 Deut. 20:5 – 391
 Deut. 20:5ff. – 156, 246
 Deut. 20:8 – 195, 541, 586
 Deut. 20:9 – 283, 593
 Deut. 20:11 – 449
 Deut. 20:11f. – 633
 Deut. 20:13 – 412, 532
 Deut. 20:15 – 237, 600
 Deut. 20:16 – 416
 Deut. 20:17 – 409
 Deut. 20:18 – 196, 399
 Deut. 20:19 – 147, 174, 468, 526
 Deut. 20:20 – 194, 245, 300, 304

- Deut. 20:21 – 275, 283
 Deut. 21:1 – 422, 424, 524
 Deut. 21:1ff. – 419
 Deut. 21:3 – 522, 525
 Deut. 21:5 – 349, 421
 Deut. 21:8 – 411, 459
 Deut. 21:10ff. – 411
 Deut. 21:11 – 367, 367
 Deut. 21:14 – 232, 324, 492, 519
 Deut. 21:15 – 367, 383, 514
 Deut. 21:17 – 253, 253, 512, 519, 528, 597
 Deut. 21:18 – 224, 362
 Deut. 21:20 – 274, 284
 Deut. 21:22 – 383
 Deut. 22:1 – 396, 438
 Deut. 22:2 – 327, 583
 Deut. 22:4 – 291, 351, 396, 438, 587, 593
 Deut. 22:5 – 245, 368, 374, 407, 412, 491
 Deut. 22:7 – 323
 Deut. 22:16 – 51, 95, 132, 400, 443, 601
 Deut. 22:19 – 470
 Deut. 22:21 – 365, 366
 Deut. 22:22 – 411, 412, 566
 Deut. 22:24 – 396
 Deut. 22:25 – 407
 Deut. 22:26 – 247, 247
 Deut. 22:27 – 317, 489, 586
 Deut. 22:28 – 383, 566
 Deut. 23:6 – 354
 Deut. 23:7 – 238
 Deut. 23:12 – 248
 Deut. 23:16 – 489, 591
 Deut. 23:17 – 385
 Deut. 23:18 – 434, 438
 Deut. 23:19 – 444
 Deut. 23:21 – 232
 Deut. 23:22 – 590
 Deut. 23:25 – 349, 372
 Deut. 24:1ff. – 36
 Deut. 24:3 – 508
 Deut. 24:4 – 367, 473
 Deut. 24:5 – 383, 386, 407, 471
 Deut. 24:6 – 300
 Deut. 24:7 – 395, 418
 Deut. 24:10 – 264
 Deut. 24:12 – 521, 529, 566
 Deut. 24:15 – 238, 316
 Deut. 24:16 – 408
 Deut. 24:18 – 36, 76, 113
 Deut. 24:19 – 391
 Deut. 24:19f. – 409
 Deut. 24:20 – 76, 369
 Deut. 24:22 – 36
 Deut. 24:28 – 36
 Deut. 25:4 – 327
 Deut. 25:5 – 363, 363, 367, 583, 591
 Deut. 25:7 – 217, 327, 437
 Deut. 25:7f. – 396, 437
 Deut. 25:8 – 327
 Deut. 25:9 – 191, 327, 496, 527, 600
 Deut. 25:11 – 358
 Deut. 25:13 – 412, 504
 Deut. 25:13f. – 375
 Deut. 25:14 – 412, 449, 521
 Deut. 25:15 – 346, 408, 449
 Deut. 25:16 – 450
 Deut. 25:17ff. – 36, 70
 Deut. 25:18 – 76, 218, 315
 Deut. 25:19 – 565
 Deut. 26:2 – 518
 Deut. 26:3 – 229
 Deut. 26:5ff. – 76, 95, 504
 Deut. 26:7 – 357
 Deut. 26:9 – 376
 Deut. 26:10 – 612
 Deut. 26:12 – 409, 409
 Deut. 26:13 – 286
 Deut. 26:13f. – 95, 574
 Deut. 26:15 – 376, 491, 505, 612
 Deut. 26:17 – 228
 Deut. 26:18 – 366
 Deut. 26:19 – 365, 366, 376
 Deut. 27:1 – 492, 531
 Deut. 27:2 – 440
 Deut. 27:3 – 376, 491
 Deut. 27:6 – 330
 Deut. 27:9 – 153
 Deut. 27:15 – 556
 Deut. 27:15ff. – 130
 Deut. 27:17 – 191
 Deut. 27:18ff. – 420
 Deut. 27:22 – 310
 Deut. 27:26 – 355, 463, 464, 601
 Deut. Ch. 28 – 97, 107, 190
 Deut. 28:2ff. – 511

- Deut. 28:5 – 462
 Deut. 28:9 – 365
 Deut. 28:11 – 505
 Deut. 28:13 – 328
 Deut. 28:21 – 470
 Deut. 28:25 – 534
 Deut. 28:29 – 470, 585, 592
 Deut. 28:31 – 420
 Deut. 28:33 – 196
 Deut. 28:35 – 184
 Deut. 28:36 – 327, 378, 521
 Deut. 28:37 – 505, 507
 Deut. 28:38 – 298, 330
 Deut. 28:40 – 232
 Deut. 28:42 – 400
 Deut. 28:44 – 291, 491
 Deut. 28:45 – 442, 447, 464
 Deut. 28:47 – 449
 Deut. 28:48 – 356, 392, 413
 Deut. 28:49 – 438, 462
 Deut. 28:50 – 195
 Deut. 28:53 – 527
 Deut. 28:54f. – 463
 Deut. 28:55 – 386, 463, 566
 Deut. 28:57 – 357, 566
 Deut. 28:58 – 419, 420, 424, 525
 Deut. 28:61 – 327, 601
 Deut. 28:62 – 218
 Deut. 28:64 – 346, 401, 440, 521, 611
 Deut. 28:67 – 316, 316, 357, 527, 527, 580
 Deut. 28:68 – 629
 Deut. 29:4 – 463
 Deut. 29:5 – 346, 349
 Deut. 29:6 – 107, 126, 330, 505, 515, 535
 Deut. 29:12 – 366
 Deut. 29:13 – 189
 Deut. 29:14 – 321, 321, 324, 497, 611
 Deut. 29:14f. – 310
 Deut. 29:15 – 564, 601
 Deut. 29:17 – 147
 Deut. 29:18 – 174, 359
 Deut. 29:19 – 312, 396, 442
 Deut. 29:23 – 565, 566
 Deut. 29:24 – 246, 356, 443, 443, 565
 Deut. 29:25 – 601
 Deut. 30:1ff. – 189
 Deut. 30:4 – 532, 535
 Deut. 30:10 – 464
 Deut. 30:11 – 327
 Deut. 30:12f. – 299, 300, 321, 457
 Deut. 30:13 – 196, 321
 Deut. 30:15 – 392, 413
 Deut. 30:18 – 611
 Deut. 30:20 – 468
 Deut. 31:2 – 327
 Deut. 31:3 – 286, 304
 Deut. 31:6 – 286
 Deut. 31:7 – 621
 Deut. 31:10 – 442
 Deut. 31:13 – 327, 601
 Deut. 31:14 – 220, 443
 Deut. 31:16 – 566
 Deut. 31:16f. – 207
 Deut. 31:17 – 565, 573
 Deut. 31:20 – 97, 190, 376
 Deut. 31:21 – 621
 Deut. 31:26 – 160, 161, 356, 443
 Deut. 31:26f. – 534
 Deut. 31:27 – 615
 Deut. 31:28 – 163
 Deut. 31:29 – 204, 207, 217, 311, 442, 446, 446, 500
 Deut. 32:4 – 252
 Deut. 32:5 – 511
 Deut. 32:6 – 107, 279, 327, 370, 450, 511
 Deut. 32:7 – 162, 205
 Deut. 32:9 – 440
 Deut. 32:10 – 286
 Deut. 32:12 – 57, 91, 224, 303, 358
 Deut. 32:14 – 365, 444
 Deut. 32:15ff. – 107
 Deut. 32:16 – 565
 Deut. 32:17 – 91
 Deut. 32:19 – 565
 Deut. 32:20 – 238
 Deut. 32:20f. – 359, 436, 436
 Deut. 32:21 – 238, 327
 Deut. 32:25 – 420, 422, 423
 Deut. 32:25 (Sah.) – 420
 Deut. 32:27 – 295, 459
 Deut. 32:27f. – 310
 Deut. 32:28 – 238, 303, 358, 435
 Deut. 32:29 – 198
 Deut. 32:30 – 315
 Deut. 32:31 – 319, 322

Deut. 32:32 – 237, 247, 624
 Deut. 32:32f. – 247
 Deut. 32:33 – 245
 Deut. 32:34 – 148, 174, 328
 Deut. 32:35 – 624
 Deut. 32:37 – 319
 Deut. 32:38 – 511
 Deut. 32:39 – 263, 300, 361, 369, 420, 566
 Deut. 32:40 – 610
 Deut. 32:41 – 207, 470
 Deut. 32:42 – 471
 Deut. 32:43 – 199, 206
 Deut. 32:47 – 245
 Deut. 32:49 – 244, 556
 Deut. 32:50 – 163
 Deut. 32:51 – 232, 232
 Deut. 33:1 – 98, 105, 109, 396
 Deut. 33:2 – 565
 Deut. 33:5 – 288
 Deut. 33:7 – 253, 399, 447
 Deut. 33:13 – 319, 319, 355
 Deut. 33:14 – 355
 Deut. 33:15 – 442
 Deut. 33:16 – 437, 442
 Deut. 33:17 – 249
 Deut. 33:18 – 462
 Deut. 33:19 – 232
 Deut. 33:21 – 95, 132
 Deut. 33:25 – 245, 319, 346
 Deut. 33:26 – 384, 386
 Deut. 33:29 – 246, 274
 Deut. 34:4 – 246
 Deut. 34:5 – 437, 438
 Deut. 34:7 – 73
 Deut. 34:8 – 437
 Deut. 34:9 – 119, 622, 623
 Deut. 34:11 – 464
 Deut. 34:12 – 393
 Deut. 41:51 – 470

Old Testament: Joshua (ed. Browne, *BASP* 14/1[1977] p.12)

Jos. 31:21 – 516

Old Testament: Major Prophets (ed. Tattam)

Is. 10:15 – 329
 Is. 16:6f. – 177

Is. 43:1 – 276
 Is. 47:10 – 263
 Is. 65:20 – 352

Jer. 3:2 – 309
 Jer. 8:22 – 320
 Jer. 28:43 – 349
 Jer. 30:33 – 349
 Jer. 43:3 – 93
 Jer. 44:17 – 166

Ez. 13:10 – 394
 Ez. 13:15 – 259
 Ez. 16:26 – 462
 Ez. 16:28 – 177
 Ez. 18:23 – 471

Old Testament: Twelve Prophets (B4 – P. Vat. copto 9, uned.)

Hos. 2:9 – 309, 312, 312
 Hos. 7:7 – 423
 Hos. 8:7 – 543
 Hos. 8:13 – 543
 Hos. 9:4 – 543
 Hos. 9:7 – 543
 Hos. 9:10 – 543
 Hos. 9:12f. – 543
 Hos. 9:16f. – 543
 Hos. 11:9 – 266, 313, 329
 Hos. 12:11 – 572
 Hos. 13:10 – 313

Am. 2:16 – 572
 Am. 5:8 – 313
 Am. 7:2 – 297
 Am. 7:8 – 295
 Am. 7:8 (ed. Tattam) – 295

Mich. 3:5 – 572
 Mich. 3:12 – 532
 Mich. 5:4 – 532
 Mich. 5:13 – 572
 Mich. 6:6 – 315
 Mich. 6:7 – 313

Joel 2:4 – 532
 Joel 2:10 – 532
 Joel 3:4 – 313, 320

- Obd. 1:3 – 297
 Obd. 1:5 – 313
 Obd. 1:11 – 279

 Jon. 1:2 – 127, 532
 Jon. 1:5 – 532
 Jon. 1:7 – 532
 Jon. 1:8 – 313
 Jon. 1:9 – 423
 Jon. 1:10 – 313
 Jon. 1:14 – 247
 Jon. 2:3 – 312
 Jon. 2:8 – 532
 Jon. 3:7 – 407, 410

 Na. 1:3 – 572
 Na. 1:6 – 297
 Na. 1:8 – 127, 540
 Na. 2:3 – 127, 532
 Na. 2:10 – 80, 423
 Na. 2:12 – 423, 572
 Na. 3:7 – 297, 313
 Na. 3:18 – 423
 Na. 3:19 – 127, 309, 322, 532, 540

 Hab. 1:6 – 572
 Hab. 1:12 – 247, 329
 Hab. 1:14 – 572
 Hab. 1:16 – 542
 Hab. 2:6 – 313, 320, 572
 Hab. 3:2 – 572
 Hab. 3:3 – 127
 Hab. 3:8 – 313
 Hab. 3:10 – 532
 Hab. 3:16 – 572

 Soph. 1:17 – 411
 Soph. 2:3 – 411
 Soph. 2:15 – 263
 Soph. 3:8 – 127, 127, 532, 540
 Soph. 3:16 – 127, 540
 Soph. 3:18 – 297

 Hag. 2:2 – 184
 Hag. 2:3 – 297
 Hag. 2:4 – 543
 Hag. 2:6 – 423, 423
 Hag. 2:6 (ed. Tattam) – 423

 Hag. 2:8 – 543
 Hag. 2:9 – 184
 Hag. 2:12 – 167, 184
 Hag. 2:13 – 167
 Hag. 2:16 – 278, 279
 Hag. 2:18 – 127, 532, 543
 Hag. 2:19 – 184
 Hag. 2:21 – 423
 Hag. 2:23 – 184, 423
 Hag. 2:23 (ed. Tattam) – 423

 Zach. 1:5 – 313, 319
 Zach. 1:8 – 87
 Zach. 2:3 – 613
 Zach. 2:4 – 313
 Zach. 2:6 – 313
 Zach. 2:8 – 352
 Zach. 2:12 – 313, 587
 Zach. 3:1 – 127, 532
 Zach. 3:2 – 301, 320
 Zach. 3:8f. – 208
 Zach. 3:9 – 257
 Zach. 3:20 – 613
 Zach. 5:9 – 87
 Zach. 5:10 – 184, 308, 309, 313
 Zach. 7:7 – 127
 Zach. 8:10 – 127
 Zach. 9:7 – 572
 Zach. 9:10 – 543
 Zach. 9:15 – 572
 Zach. 9:17 – 400, 444, 445, 542
 Zach. 11:1 – 540
 Zach. 11:5 – 400, 444
 Zach. 11:6 – 400, 444
 Zach. 11:10 – 400, 444
 Zach. 12:2 – 572

 Mal. 1:2 – 271
 Mal. 1:6 – 266
 Mal. 1:12 – 289
 Mal. 2:6 – 289
 Mal. 2:8 – 572
 Mal. 2:10 – 320, 613
 Mal. 2:14 – 507

Old Testament: Daniel (ed. Bardelli)
 Dan. 1:12 – 452
 Dan. 2:31 – 87

Dan. 3:4 – 452
 Dan. 6:2 – 254
 Dan. Ch. 7 – 87
 Dan. 7:28 – 239
 Dan. 8:19ff. – 208
 Dan. 9:8 – 452
 Dan. 11:36 – 239
 Dan. 12:6 – 239

Old Testament: Psalms (edd. Burmester and Dévaud, foll. Lagarde)

Ps. 1:4 – 177, 329
 Ps. 2:7 – 301
 Ps. 12:2 – 183
 Ps. 28:5 – 183
 Ps. 28:8f. – 183
 Ps. 29:13 – 183
 Ps. 30:4 – 301
 Ps. 30:5 – 301
 Ps. 33:6 – 159
 Ps. 41:10 – 301
 Ps. 42:2 – 301
 Ps. 45:9 – 159
 Ps. 45:11 – 301
 Ps. 48:18 – 607
 Ps. 51:6f. – 183
 Ps. 55:7f. – 183
 Ps. 61:2 – 320
 Ps. 68:30 – 346, 348, 424, 509
 Ps. 68:36 – 183, 183
 Ps. 69:6 – 348, 509
 Ps. 74:2 – 183
 Ps. 85:5 (Oxyrh. ed. G. Gabra) – 423
 Ps. 85:10 – 346, 348, 424, 509
 Ps. 87:11 – 320
 Ps. 88:50 (Oxyrh. ed. G. Gabra) – 319
 Ps. 93:14 – 183
 Ps. 99:3 – 269
 Ps. 101:28 – 264, 277
 Ps. 101:28 (Sah. ed. Budge) – 277
 Ps. 101:28 (Oxyrh. ed. G. Gabra) – 277
 Ps. 103:8 – 319
 Ps. 104:29 (Oxyrh. ed. G. Gabra) – 542
 Ps. 113:26 – 452
 Ps. 118:11 – 302
 Ps. 118:15ff. – 183
 Ps. 118:85 – 177, 329
 Ps. 118:94 (Oxyrh. ed. G. Gabra) – 276

Ps. 134:16ff. – 183
 Ps. 138:16ff. – 183
 Ps. 141:6 – 301
 Ps. 145:9f. – 183

Old Testament: Job (ed. Porcher)

Job 1:9 – 320
 Job 1:12 – 313
 Job 2:3 – 361
 Job 2:4 – 329, 362
 Job 4:19 – 279, 521
 Job 5:8 – 177, 329
 Job 30:2 – 151
 Job 31:7f. – 93
 Job 34:36 – 329
 Job 38:5 – 297
 Job 39:24 – 177

Old Testament: Proverbs (edd. Burmester and Dévaud)

Prov. 3:24 – 596
 Prov. 14:1 – 450
 Prov. 24:55 – 526
 Prov. 30:20 (Sah.) – 526

Old Testament: Ruth (Sah. ed. Shier)

Ruth 4:7 – 421

Old Testament: Ecclesiastes (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke)

Eccles. 4:11 – 526

Old Testament: Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) (Sah. ed. Lagarde)

Sir. 40:29 – 461

New Testament: Matthew

Mt. 4:18 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 269
 Mt. 5:8 – 526
 Mt. 5:13 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 269, 269
 Mt. 5:22 – 183
 Mt. 5:22 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 5:22 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 5:28 – 183
 Mt. 5:28 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 5:28 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 5:33 – 183
 Mt. 5:33 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183

- Mt. 5:33 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 5:34 – 259
 Mt. 5:37 – 166, 367
 Mt. 6:14 – 183, 183
 Mt. 6:14 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183, 183
 Mt. 6:14 (Sah.) – 183, 183
 Mt. 6:22f. – 183
 Mt. 6:22f. (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 6:22f. (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 6:33f. – 183
 Mt. 6:33f. (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 6:33f. (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 7:9f. – 183
 Mt. 7:9f. (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 7:9f. (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 7:11 – 183
 Mt. 7:11 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 7:11 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 7:16 – 183
 Mt. 7:16 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 7:16 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 7:21 – 301
 Mt. 8:7 – 183
 Mt. 8:7 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 8:7 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 8:11 – 183
 Mt. 8:11 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 8:11 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 8:13 – 183
 Mt. 8:13 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 8:13 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 8:32 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 112
 Mt. 9:2 – 56
 Mt. 9:21 – 183
 Mt. 9:21 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 9:21 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 9:28 – 169
 Mt. 9:29 – 183
 Mt. 9:29 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 9:29 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 10:11 – 183
 Mt. 10:11 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 10:11 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 10:12 – 183
 Mt. 10:12 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 10:12 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 10:14 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 269
 Mt. 10:26 – 352, 423, 490
 Mt. 11:9 – 167
 Mt. 11:10 – 533
 Mt. 11:10 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 533
 Mt. 11:10 (Sah.) – 533
 Mt. 11:26 – 167
 Mt. 11:30 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 346, 423, 423
 Mt. 12:27 – 183
 Mt. 12:27 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 12:27 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 12:35 – 451
 Mt. 13:27 – 298
 Mt. 13:29 – 169
 Mt. 13:37-39 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 269
 Mt. 13:39 – 26
 Mt. 13:49 – 183
 Mt. 13:49 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 13:49 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 13:51 – 168
 Mt. 14:8 – 56
 Mt. 14:33 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 269
 Mt. 15:27 – 165, 169
 Mt. 15:28 – 183
 Mt. 15:28 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 15:28 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 16:15 – 313
 Mt. 16:17 – 298
 Mt. 16:18 – 183
 Mt. 16:18 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 16:18 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 16:22 – 183
 Mt. 16:22 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 16:22 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 16:27 – 183
 Mt. 16:27 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 16:27 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 17:22 – 183
 Mt. 17:22 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 17:22 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 17:25 – 165, 167, 169
 Mt. 17:27 – 26
 Mt. 18:1 – 148
 Mt. 18:7 – 259
 Mt. 20:4 – 183
 Mt. 20:4 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 20:4 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 20:6 – 183
 Mt. 20:6 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183

- Mt. 20:6 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 20:14 – 241
 Mt. 20:15 – 241
 Mt. 20:18f. – 183
 Mt. 20:22 – 166
 Mt. 20:23 – 245
 Mt. 20:24 – 183
 Mt. 20:24 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 20:24 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 20:30 – 183
 Mt. 20:32 – 461
 Mt. 21:3 – 183
 Mt. 21:16 – 169
 Mt. 21:25 – 183, 183
 Mt. 21:25 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 21:25 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 22:16 – 429
 Mt. 23:12 – 183
 Mt. 23:12 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 23:12 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 23:18 – 183
 Mt. 23:18 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 23:18 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 23:34 – 183
 Mt. 23:34 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 23:34 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 23:36 – 183
 Mt. 23:36 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 23:36 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:9 – 183
 Mt. 24:9 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:9 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:10 – 183
 Mt. 24:10 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:10 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:12 – 183
 Mt. 24:12 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:12 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:14 – 183
 Mt. 24:14 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:14 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:21 – 183
 Mt. 24:21 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:21 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:24 – 183
 Mt. 24:24 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:24 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:29 – 183
 Mt. 24:29 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:29 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:47 – 183, 183
 Mt. 24:47 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 24:47 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 24:48 – 183
 Mt. 24:50 – 183
 Mt. 25:23 – 177
 Mt. 25:25 – 241
 Mt. 25:27 – 241
 Mt. 25:31 – 183
 Mt. 25:31 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 25:31 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 25:34 – 183
 Mt. 25:34 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 25:34 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 26:2 – 183, 183
 Mt. 26:3 – 216
 Mt. 26:14 – 216
 Mt. 26:21 – 183
 Mt. 26:21 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 26:21 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 26:23 – 183
 Mt. 26:23 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 26:23 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 26:24 – 183
 Mt. 26:25 – 183
 Mt. 26:25 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 26:25 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 26:28 – 183
 Mt. 26:28 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 26:28 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 26:33 – 183
 Mt. 26:36 – 210, 216
 Mt. 26:53 – 320
 Mt. 26:54 – 242
 Mt. 26:54 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 612
 Mt. 26:62 – 329
 Mt. 26:64 – 183
 Mt. 26:64 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 26:64 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 26:65 – 329
 Mt. 26:70 – 329
 Mt. 27:4 – 183
 Mt. 27:4 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183
 Mt. 27:4 (Sah.) – 183
 Mt. 27:24 – 183, 183, 329
 Mt. 27:24 (Oxyrh. ed. Schenke) – 183, 183

Mt. 27:24 (Sah.) – 183, 183

Mt. 27:33 – 210

Mt. 28:6 – 329

New Testament: Mark

Mark 3:22 – 315

Mark 5:35 – 315

Mark 5:41 – 318

Mark 6:11 – 325

Mark 6:38 – 298

Mark 7:10 – 424, 596

Mark 7:28 – 165, 169

Mark 7:35 – 424, 596

Mark 8:20 – 298

Mark 9:25 – 526

Mark 9:37 – 526

Mark 10:17f. – 393, 429

Mark 10:38 – 329

Mark 10:39 – 166

Mark 13:33 – 329

Mark 13:35 – 329

Mark 14:21 – 183, 183

Mark 14:43 – 26

Mark 14:61f. – 265

Mark 15:4 – 298

Mark 16:16ff. – 183

New Testament: Luke

Luke 1:3 – 154

Luke 1:27 – 154

Luke 1:31ff. – 183

Luke 1:35 – 183

Luke 1:76 – 183

Luke 2:4 – 210, 216

Luke 2:5 (Sah. Pal. Rib. ed. Quecke) – 423

Luke 2:52 – 410

Luke 5:3 – 400

Luke 5:36 (Sah. Pal. Rib. ed. Quecke) – 347

Luke 5:36 (Sah.) – 341

Luke 6:31 – 461

Luke 6:37f. – 164

Luke 7:8 – 211

Luke 7:26 – 167

Luke 7:33 – 329

Luke 8:17 – 352, 490

Luke 8:25 – 352, 490

Luke 9:7f. – 305

Luke 9:10 – 210, 216

Luke 9:36 – 423

Luke 10:21 – 167

Luke 11:51 – 167, 167

Luke 12:2 – 352, 490

Luke 12:5 – 167

Luke 12:6 – 301

Luke 12:24 – 329

Luke 12:51 – 169

Luke 13:3 – 169

Luke 13:25 – 329

Luke 13:34 – 298

Luke 14:21 – 329

Luke 15:6 – 516

Luke 15:17 – 298

Luke 16:5 – 298

Luke 16:7 – 298

Luke 18:8 – 167

Luke 18:16 – 385

Luke 18:24 (Sah. Pal. Rib. ed. Quecke) – 423

Luke 19:8 – 386

Luke 19:26 – 183, 183

Luke 19:29 – 210, 216

Luke 19:31 – 305

Luke 19:42ff. – 183

Luke 20:4 – 26

Luke 20:6 – 183

Luke 20:20 – 242, 260

Luke 21:24 – 345, 402

Luke 22:35 – 154, 169

Luke 22:42 – 402

Luke 22:58 – 269

Luke 24:29 – 260

Luke 24:39 – 265

Luke 26:3 – 210

Luke 26:14 – 210

New Testament: John

John 1:1 – 347

John 1:2 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 540

John 1:5 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 540

John 1:13 – 240

John 1:16 – 516

John 1:21 – 169

John 2:8 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 540

John 3:8 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 540

- John 3:24 – 105
 John 3:29 – 322
 John 4:9 – 154
 John 4:11 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 4:23 – 361
 John 4:44 – 241
 John 4:51 – 312
 John 4:51 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 5:10 – 259
 John 5:13 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329
 John 5:18 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 572
 John 5:24 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329, 572
 John 5:28 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 299
 John 5:36 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329
 John 5:39 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329, 345
 John 5:46 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 572
 John 6:6 – 133
 John 6:6 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 133
 John 6:6 (Sah.) – 133
 John 6:11 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 572
 John 6:14 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 572
 John 6:20 – 265
 John 6:22 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329
 John 6:25 (Sah.) – 94
 John 6:27 – 328
 John 6:27 – (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329
 John 6:32 – 328
 John 6:32 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 328, 329
 John 6:36 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329
 John 6:46 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 6:58 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 329
 John 6:70 – 328
 John 7:10 – 328
 John 7:12 – 169
 John 7:16 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402
 John 7:19 – 328, 329
 John 7:19 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 297
 John 7:28 – 240
 John 8:11 – 318
 John 8:14 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 252
 John 8:22 – 320
 John 8:23 – 277
 John 8:24 – 263
 John 8:28 – 183, 265
 John 8:33 – 183
 John 8:44 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 241, 402
 John 8:46 – 543
 John 8:50 – 361
 John 8:54 – 386
 John 8:58 – 263
 John 9:2 – 259
 John 9:3 – 249
 John 9:3 (Sah.) – 249
 John 9:4 – 329
 John 9:4 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 9:9 – 169
 John 9:15 – 305
 John 9:15 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 305
 John 9:25 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 9:27 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 216
 John 9:29 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 632
 John 9:30 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 632
 John 9:34 – 239
 John 9:35 – 240, 240
 John 9:41 – 361
 John 10:4 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 241
 John 10:12 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 102
 John 10:14 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 241
 John 10:16 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 259
 John 10:20 – 177, 177
 John 10:20 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 318
 John 10:22 – 259
 John 10:32f. (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 177
 John 10:33 – 328
 John 10:38 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 289
 John 11:3 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 314, 543
 John 11:4 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 11:9 – 360
 John 11:10 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 265
 John 11:12 – 183
 John 11:13 – 133
 John 11:13 (Sah.) – 94, 309
 John 11:15 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 289
 John 11:21 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 289
 John 11:30 – 105
 John 11:31 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 289
 John 11:35 – 159
 John 11:35 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 159
 John 11:44 – 160

- John 11:51 – 133, 329
 John 11:61 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 289
 John 12:6 – 312
 John 12:6 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 12:8 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 289
 John 12:9 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 289
 John 12:10 – 396
 John 12:15 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 12:26 – 312
 John 12:26 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 12:29 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 305, 543
 John 12:31 – 259
 John 13:1 – 318
 John 13:1 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 241
 John 13:10 – 328, 329
 John 13:10f. – 516
 John 13:10f. (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 516
 John 13:13 – 265
 John 13:16 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 13:18 – 328
 John (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) 13:18 – 312
 John 13:19 – 263
 John 13:22 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312, 318
 John 13:22-24 – 318
 John 13:26 – 268
 John 13:26 (Sah., Pal. Rib. ed. Quecke) – 268
 John 13:30 – 260
 John 13:35 – 315
 John 13:35 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 315
 John 13:36f. (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 14:6 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 14:7 – 312
 John 14:7 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 14:10 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402
 John 14:17 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 309
 John 14:22 – 328
 John 14:22 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 328
 John 14:27 – 299
 John 14:27 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402
 John 14:30 – 329
 John 14:31 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 522
 John 15:2 – 526
 John 15:6 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 102
 John 15:9 – 241
 John 15:9 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 522
 John 15:12 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 522
 John 15:13 – 329, 423
 John 15:16 – 328
 John 15:16 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 297
 John 15:27 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 299, 312
 John 16:2 – 361
 John 16:13 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 16:14 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 16:14f. (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402
 John 16:15 – 241
 John 16:15 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 16:19 – 277
 John 16:24 – 160
 John 16:24 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 160
 John 16:32 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 216
 John 17:9 – 329
 John 17:10 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402
 John 17:14 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 279
 John 17:15 – 329
 John 17:17 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402, 402
 John 17:18 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402
 John 17:20 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 17:23 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 522
 John 17:35 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 402
 John 18:5 – 265
 John 18:14 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 297
 John 18:17 – 169
 John 18:18 – 265
 John 18:26 – 328
 John 18:28 – 259
 John 18:32 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312
 John 18:37 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 239
 John 18:40 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 255
 John 19:14 – 259
 John 19:22 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 216
 John 19:23 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 543
 John 19:24 – 92, 402
 John 19:24 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 92, 312, 374, 402, 402
 John 19:24 (Sah.) – 92
 John 19:31 – 259
 John 19:33 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 216
 John 19:36 – 133

- John 19:36 (Sah.) – 133
 John 20:2 – 298
 John 20:13 – 298
 John 20:15 – 298
 John 21:1 – 133
 John 21:5 – 169
 John 21:12 – 160
 John 21:12 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 159
 John 21:15f. – 169
 John 21:15ff. (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 144
 John 21:17 – 144
 John 21:17 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 144
 John 21:19 – 133
 John 21:19 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312, 315
 John 21:21 – 239, 239, 319
 John 21:21 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 312, 239
 John 21:21 (Sah.) – 319
 John 21:23 – 133
 John 21:23 (Sah.) – 133
 John 27:42 – 92
 John 27:42 (Bodmer III ed. Kasser) – 92
 John 27:42 (Sah.) – 92
- New Testament: Acts, Epistles, Apocalypse**
 Acts 2:13 – 318
 Acts 2:30 – 626
 Acts 2:32 (Oxyrh.) – 497
 Acts 4:7 – 315
 Acts 4:12 (Oxyrh.) – 312
 Acts 4:14 (Oxyrh.) – 309
 Acts 5:8 – 168
 Acts 5:36 – 263, 428
 Acts 6:3 (Oxyrh.) – 628
 Acts 7:32 – 301, 441
 Acts 9:20 – 301, 302
 Acts 9:22 – 301, 302
 Acts 9:36 – 210
 Acts 10:1 – 210, 328
 Acts 11:21 – 26
 Acts 12:15 – 177, 318
 Acts 12:18 – 329
 Acts 12:25 – 396
 Acts 13:8 – 210
 Acts 13:25 – 263
- Acts 16:18 – 133
 Acts 16:18 (Sah.) – 133
 Acts 16:37 – 169
 Acts 17:4 – 329
 Acts 18:6 – 183
 Acts 19:14 – 428
 Acts 19:15 – 396
 Acts 19:23 – 329
 Acts 19:24 – 428
 Acts 19:25 – 315
 Acts 20:12 – 329
 Acts 21:22 – 241
 Acts 22:27 – 168
 Acts 23:11 – 396, 396
 Acts 24:14 – 242
 Acts 26:24 – 318
 Acts 27:4 – 600
 Acts 27:22 – 360
 Acts 27:23 – 264, 279
 Acts 27:34 – 360
- Rom. 3:11 – 423
 Rom. 3:12 – 423
 Rom. 3:29 – 168
 Rom. 4:12 – 328
 Rom. 4:13 – 328
 Rom. 5:15 – 261
 Rom. 6:1 – 183
 Rom. 6:2 – 183
 Rom. 6:9 – 629
 Rom. 6:15 – 241
 Rom. 6:19 – 345
 Rom. 6:23 – 262
 Rom. 8:12 – 328
 Rom. 9:19 – 183
 Rom. 9:24 – 264
 Rom. 11:34f. – 297
 Rom. 13:5 – 259
 Rom. 13:13 – 328
 Rom. 14:15 – 315
 Rom. 14:17 – 329
 Rom. 15:13 – 462
- 1 Cor. 5:12 – 151
 1 Cor. 6:11 – 242
 1 Cor. 7:4 – 259
 1 Cor. 10:13 – 462
 1 Cor. 10:17 – 516

1 Cor. 11:3 – 262, 268, 275

1 Cor. 11:34 – 423

1 Cor. 14:23 – 177, 318

1 Cor. 15:10 – 280, 328

1 Cor. 15:32 – 257

1 Cor. 15:39 – 453

1 Cor. 15:56 – 262

1 Cor. 16:18 – 385

II Cor. 1:12 – 328

II Cor. 1:17 – 148, 166, 367

II Cor. 1:17ff. – 166

II Cor. 1:18 – 166, 367

II Cor. 7:11 – 461

II Cor. 8:10 – 600

II Cor. 10:7 – 239, 278

II Cor. 10:7 (Sah.) – 278

II Cor. 10:8 – 328

II Cor. 11:22 – 521

II Cor. 12:11 – 277

Gal. 1:7 – 360

Gal. 1:7 (Sah.) – 360

Gal. 2:1 – 396, 429

Gal. 2:1-2 – 133

Gal. 2:1-2 (Sah.) – 133

Gal. 2:6 – 263

Gal. 2:7 – 263

Gal. 3:26 – 516

Eph. 1:14 – 260

Eph. 1:23 – 260

Eph. 2:3 – 516, 600

Eph. 3:12 – 600

Eph. 5:12 – 286

Eph. 5:23 – 260

Eph. 6:77 – 328

Philipp. 3:19 – 248

Philipp. 4:3 – 154, 167, 396, 429

Col. 1:6 – 260

Col. 1:15 – 260, 260

Col. 1:24 – 260, 260

Col. 1:27 – 260, 260

I Thessal. 2:14 – 389

II Thessal. 2:9 – 600

I Tim. 5:3 – 600

I Tim. 5:5 – 600

II Tim. 4:15 – 497

Heb. 1:12 – 264

Heb. 5:11 – 600

Heb. 9:10 – 260

Heb. 10:20 – 260, 260

Heb. 11:8 – 26

Heb. 13:8 – 264

Heb. 13:25 – 516

James 2:17 (ed. Quecke Or. 43 [1974]
388) – 247, 299

James 2:18 (ed. Quecke Or. 43 [1974]
388) – 308

James 4:13 (ed. Quecke Or. 43 [1974]
388) – 154

II Pet. 1:19 – 600

I John 4:16 – 362

I John 4:16 (Sah.) – 362

I John 38:42 – 210

Apoc. 1:4 – 526

Apoc. 2:2 – 239, 521

Apoc. 2:9 – 239, 521

Apoc. 2:15 – 424

Apoc. 2:20 – 428

Apoc. 4:3 – 88

Apoc. 4:10 – 88

Apoc. 5:4 – 88

Apoc. 6:16 – 88

Apoc. 11:4 – 88

Apoc. 11:6 – 88

Apoc. 12:3 – 88

Apoc. 12:5 – 88

Apoc. 12:18 – 88

Apoc. 13:2 – 88

Apoc. 13:12 – 88

Apoc. 13:18 – 88

Apoc. 14:5 – 88

Apoc. 14:12 – 88

Apoc. 16:7 – 167

Apoc. 17:8 – 88

Apoc. 18:7 – 183

Apoc. 18:12-14 – 403

- Non-Scripture Bohairic: Nitrian Corpora**
- Acta Martyrum* (CSCO, edd. Balestri and Hyvernat)**
- AM I 1 – 171
 AM I 2 – 184, 275, 489
 AM I 3 – 183, 184
 AM I 4 – 183, 184, 184, 266
 AM I 5 – 184
 AM I 6 – 184, 246
 AM I 7 – 184, 184
 AM I 8 – 183, 325, 489
 AM I 10 – 183, 184
 AM I 11 – 313
 AM I 12 – 184, 184
 AM I 13 – 184
 AM I 14 – 184
 AM I 15 – 313, 316
 AM I 16 – 184, 184
 AM I 18 – 166, 169, 176
 AM I 19 – 154, 314
 AM I 20 – 170
 AM I 21 – 184, 184
 AM I 24 – 184, 313
 AM I 25 – 171
 AM I 28 – 171, 263
 AM I 29 – 148, 171, 172, 325
 AM I 31 – 154
 AM I 34 – 92
 AM I 36f. – 171
 AM I 37 – 92, 172
 AM I 38 – 246, 252
 AM I 42 – 263
 AM I 44 – 168, 171
 AM I 45 – 184
 AM I 46-51 – 87
 AM I 46 – 325
 AM I 47 – 171, 239
 AM I 49 – 452
 AM I 50 – 172, 272, 275
 AM I 51 – 168, 260, 428
 AM I 53 – 171
 AM I 54 – 252
 AM I 55 – 171, 265
 AM I 57 – 239
 AM I 59 – 171, 184
 AM I 60 – 169, 171
 AM I 64 – 313
 AM I 65 – 452
 AM I 66 – 171, 172, 183, 275, 313
 AM I 68 – 184
 AM I 69 – 313
 AM I 71 – 184
 AM I 73 – 87, 325
 AM I 75 – 172
 AM I 76 – 171
 AM I 78 – 171
 AM I 80 – 59
 AM I 81 – 59, 522
 AM I 82 – 184
 AM I 84 – 183
 AM I 89 – 184
 AM I 91 – 329, 626
 AM I 96 – 168, 171, 171, 402
 AM I 97 – 171
 AM I 98 – 171, 313
 AM I 99 – 164
 AM I 102 – 166, 171
 AM I 104 – 184, 402
 AM I 109 – 316
 AM I 110 – 87, 428
 AM I 112 – 169, 171, 263, 313
 AM I 114 – 318
 AM I 116 – 154, 316
 AM I 117 – 167, 171, 632
 AM I 120 – 184, 325
 AM I 121 – 184
 AM I 122 – 266, 316, 428
 AM I 123 – 266
 AM I 125 – 428
 AM I 126 – 87, 263, 313
 AM I 128 – 252, 318, 325
 AM I 129 – 403
 AM I 131 – 489
 AM I 132 – 171
 AM I 137 – 184, 632
 AM I 141 – 489
 AM I 143 – 613
 AM I 150 – 184
 AM I 155 – 452
 AM I 158 – 626
 AM I 163 – 325
 AM I 164 – 346
 AM I 165 – 325
 AM I 170 – 402

- AM I 174 – 298
 AM I 180 – 626
 AM I 189 – 489
 AM I 191 – 313
 AM I 194 – 626
 AM I 202 – 428
 AM I 205 – 248
 AM I 207 – 184, 325
 AM I 214 – 313, 314, 396
 AM I 216 – 325
 AM I 218 – 428
 AM I 228 – 149
 AM I 229 – 154, 172
 AM I 232 – 171
 AM I 235 – 298
 AM I 243 – 169
 AM I 246 – 184

 AM II 7 – 171
 AM II 11 – 171, 319
 AM II 11f. – 172
 AM II 15 – 175, 176
 AM II 19 – 171
 AM II 25 – 172
 AM II 28 – 168, 170, 171, 277
 AM II 33f. – 87
 AM II 36 – 177, 319
 AM II 56f. – 172
 AM II 66 – 170
 AM II 72 – 346
 AM II 74 – 172
 AM II 75 – 92, 171
 AM II 76 – 170, 172, 172
 AM II 86 – 164
 AM II 86f. – 177
 AM II 90 – 242
 AM II 96 – 455
 AM II 97 – 455, 455
 AM II 99 – 59
 AM II 104 – 242
 AM II 105 – 172, 184
 AM II 106 – 59
 AM II 111 – 172
 AM II 112 – 298
 AM II 113 – 455
 AM II 115 – 455
 AM II 122 – 172

 AM II 123 – 184
 AM II 124 – 150, 168, 169, 171, 172, 176
 AM II 125 – 166, 171, 172
 AM II 126 – 171
 AM II 129 – 297
 AM II 136 – 59
 AM II 139 – 171
 AM II 145f. – 455
 AM II 147 – 455
 AM II 148 – 59
 AM II 149 – 172
 AM II 158 – 107
 AM II 165 – 92, 383
 AM II 188 – 59
 AM II 194 – 59, 92
 AM II 198 – 59
 AM II 199 – 452
 AM II 200 – 92
 AM II 202 – 402
 AM II 203 – 171
 AM II 204 – 59
 AM II 208 – 92, 325
 AM II 211 – 452
 AM II 212 – 172
 AM II 214 – 92
 AM II 215f. – 169
 AM II 224 – 92
 AM II 238 – 94
 AM II 240 – 92
 AM II 241 – 92
 AM II 248 – 172
 AM II 270 – 177
 AM II 273 – 172, 177
 AM II 276 – 154
 AM II 280f. – 172
 AM II 290 – 166, 169, 171, 172
 AM II 294 – 266
 AM II 295 – 154
 AM II 298 – 184
 AM II 299 – 260
 AM II 300 – 168, 171
 AM II 303 – 168, 171
 AM II 306 – 154
 AM II 318 – 171
 AM II 318f. – 172
 AM II 322 – 154
 AM II 323 – 154

***Catena in Evangelia Aegyptiaca quae supersunt* (ed. Lagarde)**

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Cat. 1 – 272, 318, 632 | Cat. 63 – 260 |
| Cat. 2 – 261 | Cat. 64 – 260, 264 |
| Cat. 3 – 261, 356, 356 | Cat. 66 – 260, 272 |
| Cat. 4 – 260, 261, 261, 299, 299, 313, 356, 466 | Cat. 67 – 315 |
| Cat. 5 – 239, 239, 314, 632 | Cat. 68 – 632 |
| Cat. 6 – 318 | Cat. 69 – 265, 532 |
| Cat. 7 – 260, 385, 466 | Cat. 72 – 272 |
| Cat. 8 – 329 | Cat. 74 – 466 |
| Cat. 9 – 154, 272, 315, 632 | Cat. 75 – 466 |
| Cat. 10 – 252 | Cat. 76 – 252 |
| Cat. 12 – 632 | Cat. 77 – 314 |
| Cat. 13 – 313 | Cat. 79 – 320, 452 |
| Cat. 14 – 260 | Cat. 84 – 272, 466 |
| Cat. 16 – 632 | Cat. 85 – 316 |
| Cat. 17 – 318 | Cat. 86 – 314, 489 |
| Cat. 18 – 466, 632 | Cat. 89 – 260 |
| Cat. 20 – 632 | Cat. 90 – 466 |
| Cat. 21 – 314 | Cat. 94 – 313, 351 |
| Cat. 25 – 466, 489 | Cat. 95 – 465, 466 |
| Cat. 26 – 466, 466, 466, 632 | Cat. 96 – 252, 532 |
| Cat. 27 – 466 | Cat. 97 – 329 |
| Cat. 28 – 260, 314, 466 | Cat. 98 – 316 |
| Cat. 31 – 396, 429 | Cat. 100 – 252, 315, 532 |
| Cat. 32 – 258, 318 | Cat. 102 – 272 |
| Cat. 33 – 258, 329 | Cat. 105 – 261 |
| Cat. 34 – 260 | Cat. 106 – 351, 452, 489 |
| Cat. 35 – 489 | Cat. 107 – 313, 320 |
| Cat. 36 – 258, 265, 318 | Cat. 108 – 351, 489 |
| Cat. 37 – 314, 489, 587 | Cat. 112 – 351 |
| Cat. 38 – 261 | Cat. 115 – 351, 489 |
| Cat. 40 – 252, 258, 265, 275 | Cat. 118 – 264 |
| Cat. 41 – 260 | Cat. 123 – 271 |
| Cat. 42 – 489 | Cat. 128 – 318 |
| Cat. 45 – 313 | Cat. 129 – 316 |
| Cat. 46 – 318, 632 | Cat. 132 – 260 |
| Cat. 47 – 314, 396, 429 | Cat. 133 – 318 |
| Cat. 48 – 315 | Cat. 134 – 313, 315, 351 |
| Cat. 49 – 259, 259, 489 | Cat. 137 – 329 |
| Cat. 51 – 489 | Cat. 143 – 453 |
| Cat. 52 – 261 | Cat. 146 – 301 |
| Cat. 54 – 318 | Cat. 148 – 632 |
| Cat. 56 – 314 | Cat. 149 – 466 |
| Cat. 57 – 346 | Cat. 151 – 245 |
| Cat. 58 – 258, 385, 532 | Cat. 154 – 272, 452 |
| Cat. 60 – 260, 265 | Cat. 155 – 298, 356, 516 |
| | Cat. 157 – 272 |
| | Cat. 158 – 272 |
| | Cat. 162 – 316 |

- Cat. 169 – 260
 Cat. 171 – 262
 Cat. 175 – 352
 Cat. 184 – 329
 Cat. 185 – 632
 Cat. 187 – 260, 377
 Cat. 189 – 385
 Cat. 194 – 261, 458
 Cat. 194f. – 297
 Cat. 204 – 377
 Cat. 205 – 313
 Cat. 208 – 314, 329, 494
 Cat. 211 – 260, 261
 Cat. 213 – 265
 Cat. 214 – 272, 318, 318
 Cat. 220 – 279, 453
 Cat. 221 – 265
 Cat. 225 – 414
 Cat. 227 – 298
 Cat. 228 – 315
 Cat. 229 – 258
 Cat. 230 – 257
- Homélie coptes de la Vaticane* (ed.
 De Vis)
 De Vis I 13 – 630
 De Vis I 24 – 313, 466
 De Vis I 25 – 327
 De Vis I 26 – 466
 De Vis I 27 – 313
 De Vis I 28 – 486
 De Vis I 30 – 313
 De Vis I 31 – 452
 De Vis I 32 – 196
 De Vis I 37 – 428
 De Vis I 39f. – 313
 De Vis I 43 – 260
 De Vis I 46 – 260
 De Vis I 48 – 260
 De Vis I 59 – 313
 De Vis I 60 – 196
 De Vis I 65 – 313, 325
 De Vis I 67 – 102
 De Vis I 69 – 154, 252, 532
 De Vis I 75 – 352
 De Vis I 76 – 196, 282, 352, 465
 De Vis I 77 – 352
 De Vis I 83 – 460
 De Vis I 84 – 313
 De Vis I 87 – 259, 259
 De Vis I 89 – 196
 De Vis I 90 – 196, 327
 De Vis I 98 – 252, 630
 De Vis I 100 – 259, 352
 De Vis I 101 – 327, 489
 De Vis I 102 – 313
 De Vis I 109 – 465
 De Vis I 116f. – 59
 De Vis I 123 – 325, 414, 458, 466
 De Vis I 124 – 466
 De Vis I 125 – 466
 De Vis I 130 – 604
 De Vis I 133 – 327
 De Vis I 134 – 327, 466
 De Vis I 139 – 466
 De Vis I 141 – 632
 De Vis I 142 – 410
 De Vis I 143 – 313
 De Vis I 145 – 325
 De Vis I 146 – 604
 De Vis I 147 – 352
 De Vis I 149 – 154
 De Vis I 154 – 316
 De Vis I 156 – 313
 De Vis I 158 – 352, 630
 De Vis I 161 – 327
 De Vis I 163 – 154
 De Vis I 168 – 252, 460, 532
 De Vis I 169 – 630
 De Vis I 171 – 604
 De Vis I 172 – 377
 De Vis I 175 – 415
 De Vis I 180 – 630
 De Vis I 181 – 313, 394, 423
 De Vis I 190 – 298
 De Vis I 191f. – 410
 De Vis I 193 – 260, 266
 De Vis I 194 – 260, 630
 De Vis I 195 – 263
 De Vis I 196 – 414
 De Vis I 201 – 282, 352
 De Vis II 3 – 299
 De Vis II 4 – 299
 De Vis II 7 – 402, 486
 De Vis II 9 – 629
 De Vis II 10 – 462
 De Vis II 11 – 632

De Vis II 15 – 260, 272
 De Vis II 16 – 327
 De Vis II 17 – 327
 De Vis II 22 – 196
 De Vis II 23 – 260, 630
 De Vis II 26 – 632
 De Vis II 29 – 260
 De Vis II 33 – 458, 516
 De Vis II 34 – 260
 De Vis II 36 – 59
 De Vis II 38 – 423
 De Vis II 39 – 458
 De Vis II 45 – 352
 De Vis II 47 – 458, 471, 630
 De Vis II 49 – 297
 De Vis II 54 – 458
 De Vis II 55 – 248
 De Vis II 56 – 489
 De Vis II 68 – 466
 De Vis II 75 – 252, 532
 De Vis II 76 – 351
 De Vis II 79 – 59
 De Vis II 82 – 466
 De Vis II 88 – 452
 De Vis II 89 – 458
 De Vis II 90f. – 272
 De Vis II 92 – 258
 De Vis II 95 – 260
 De Vis II 100 – 466, 466
 De Vis II 106 – 252, 260, 272
 De Vis II 107 – 252, 272, 516
 De Vis II 108 – 352
 De Vis II 109 – 325, 452
 De Vis II 111 – 260
 De Vis II 118 – 260, 296, 322
 De Vis II 119f. – 192
 De Vis II 127 – 455, 455
 De Vis II 130 – 460
 De Vis II 133 – 101
 De Vis II 136 – 466
 De Vis II 137 – 313, 466
 De Vis II 140 – 313, 465
 De Vis II 146 – 466
 De Vis II 147 – 465
 De Vis II 149 – 325, 325
 De Vis II 151 – 169, 314
 De Vis II 162 – 260
 De Vis II 162f. – 632
 De Vis II 165 – 252, 532

De Vis II 167 – 631
 De Vis II 168 – 305, 313, 607
 De Vis II 169 – 272
 De Vis II 171 – 313, 460, 466
 De Vis II 172 – 252, 313, 327, 532
 De Vis II 174 – 629
 De Vis II 176 – 327
 De Vis II 177 – 465, 629
 De Vis II 178 – 325
 De Vis II 183 – 455
 De Vis II 190 – 327
 De Vis II 191 – 154
 De Vis II 195 – 313, 313, 327
 De Vis II 206 – 196
 De Vis II 210 – 327
 De Vis II 211 – 327
 De Vis II 212 – 361, 466
 De Vis II 216 – 325
 De Vis II 224 – 325
 De Vis II 231 – 313
 De Vis II 232 – 402
 De Vis II 238 – 327
 De Vis II 246f. – 313
 De Vis II 247 – 403, 466
 De Vis II 250 – 313
 De Vis II 257 – 466
 De Vis II 263 – 428
 De Vis II 265 – 172, 269
 De Vis II 266 – 266, 325
 De Vis II 276 – 465
 De Vis II 278 – 327

New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of St. Macarius (ed. Evelyn-White)

Mac. No. 4 fgt 3 – 402
 Mac. No. 5 – 261
 Mac. No. 6 – 154, 252, 259, 313, 314, 396, 428, 428, 532
 Mac. No. 8B – 252, 532
 Mac. No. 8B fgt 1 – 87
 Mac. No. 9 – 325
 Mac. No. 16 – 266
 Mac. No. 18 – 154
 Mac. No. 18-20 – 451
 Mac. No. 20 – 93, 314
 Mac. No. 29 – 261
 Mac. No. 29 fgt. 3 – 212
 Mac. No. 30 – 168
 Mac. No. 31 – 315

Mac. No. 32 – 169
 Mac. No. 33 – 315
 Mac. No. 35B – 410
 Mac. No. 35C – 410
 Mac. No. 95 – 166

***Sinuthii Vīa Bohairice* (ed. Leipoldt)**

SV 11 – 313
 SV 14 – 313
 SV 17 – 318, 466
 SV 18 – 313
 SV 19 – 325
 SV 20 – 298
 SV 21 – 313
 SV 22 – 313
 SV 23 – 313
 SV 27f. – 351
 SV 28 – 313, 325
 SV 29 – 266
 SV 30 – 240
 SV 32 – 264, 466
 SV 33 – 266
 SV 34 – 313
 SV 37 – 318
 SV 38 – 260
 SV 41 – 465
 SV 42 – 318
 SV 46 – 154, 166
 SV 47 – 526
 SV 50 – 313
 SV 54 – 260
 SV 55 – 272
 SV 59 – 154
 SV 60 – 466
 SV 61 – 466
 SV 64 – 632
 SV 65 – 277
 SV 66 – 154
 SV 67 – 277, 318
 SV 74 – 465
 SV 75 – 154

Sahidic: Shenoute

ed. Amélineau

Amél. I 95 – 93
 Amél. I 113 – 94
 Amél. I 276 – 215

Amél. II 33 – 215, 353
 Amél. II 70 – 277
 Amél. II 87 – 133
 Amél. II 257 – 239
 Amél. II 341 – 93

ed. Chassinat

Chass. 18 – 241
 Chass. 20ff. – 287
 Chass. 63 – 242
 Chass. 97 – 353

ed. Guérin

Guérin, *RE* 10 p. 161a – 534

ed. Leipoldt

Leip. III 69 – 241
 Leip. III 87 – 350
 Leip. III 96 – 133
 Leip. III 116 – 526
 Leip. III 144 – 534
 Leip. III 146f. – 410
 Leip. III 215 – 353

Leip. IV 22 – 48
 Leip. IV 26f. – 137
 Leip. IV 28 – 526
 Leip. IV 43 – 512
 Leip. IV 96f. – 128
 Leip. IV 97 – 167, 494
 Leip. IV 100 – 277
 Leip. IV 125 – 87
 Leip. IV 158 – 489
 Leip. IV 198 – 88

ed. Shisha-Halevy

Orientalia 44 (1975; BL Or. 8664 f. 2)
 Or. p. 155 – 241
 Or. p. 156 – 241, 353

ed. Wessely

Wess. 9 – 241

ed. Young (*Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery*, 1993)

Young 50 – 512
 Young 69 – 216
 Young 129 – 461

Other Texts:

Benjamin, Homily on the Nuptials of Cana (ed. C.D.G Müller)

Benjamin, Hom. 132 – 489

The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes (ed. Crum)

Epiph. 105 – 276

Manichaean Psalms (ed. Allberry)

Man. Ps. 22.6f. – 248

Man. Ps. 151.27 – 309

Man. Ps. 156.9 – 309

Nag Hammadi Codices (Facsimile ed.)

NHC II 93 – 266

NHC III 139 – 210

NHC V 23 – 94

NHC VII 11 – 421

NHC VII 74 – 596