

MEROITICA

INTRODUCTION TO OLD NUBIAN

GERALD M. BROWN

# Introduction to Old Nubian

MEROITICA

Schriften zur ägyptologischen  
und Archäologie

Herausgegeben von  
FRITZ HINTZE



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## Introduction to Old Nubian

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## Vorwort des Herausgebers

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1a) SP : -l

(1b) PP : -a

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

(2) OP : -ka

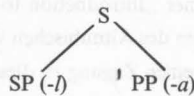
- (3) Auf der Ebene der Nominalkomplexe (NP) werden der Genetiv (NP1) und der Appositiv (NP2) markiert:

(3a) NP1 : -n, -na

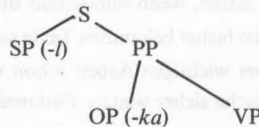
(3b) NP2 : -u

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

- (A) Nominalsatz:



- (B) Verbalsatz:



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

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

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

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

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

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

Infinitiv -e

Partizip -il (Präsens)

-ol (Präteritum).

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

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

Februar 1988

F. Hintze

## PREFACE

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

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

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

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

9 October 1987

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

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## 1 ORTHOGRAPHY

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

Δ	a	λ	l	Φ	ph
Θ	b	Μ	m	Χ	ch (as Germ. <i>Bach</i> )
Γ	g	Ν	n	Ψ	ps
Δ	d	Ζ <sup>sic</sup>	x	Ω	ô
Ε	e	Ο	o	Υ	sh
Ζ	z	Π	p	Ζ	h
Η	ê	Ρ	r	Θ	j (as Engl. <i>judge</i> )
Θ	th (as Engl. <i>thin</i> )	Σ	s	Τ	ñ (as Engl. <i>singer</i> )
Ι	i	Τ	t	Υ	ñ (as Engl. <i>onion</i> )
Κ	k	Υ	u	Ψ, ΟΥ	w (as Engl. <i>wish</i> )

N.B. Ζ stands for both Greek ζ (e.g. SC 13.20-21 λΔΖΔΡΟCΙ-) and ξ (e.g. M. 1.7 ΔλΕΖΔΝΔΡΕ-); Ζ, Θ, Χ and Ψ are found only in loan words. In the Greek alphabet which is the basis of Old Nubian orthography, Ζ represents ξ<sup>1</sup>. Since in Old Nubian the bar over a consonant designates /i/ (see 1.3.3), Ζ without the bar was taken by the Nubian scribes as /x/, despite the confusion with Ζ for /z/. At times there is differentiation: e.g. in gr. 4.1 and 3 Ζ = ζ, while in 4.8 Ψ = ξ.

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

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

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

1.3.1 A vowel constituting a syllable by itself is usually marked with a point or short horizontal (each transcribed as a bar); if the vowel is l, it bears diaeresis: e.g. cf. L. 112.4 ΟΚΕΝ with 105.3 ΟΚΤΔΚΟλ- and 104.6 CΙΩΝΙΔ- with 103.2'ΩΤΤΔ-. Texts other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Garthausen 1913, plates 1-3.

than L. show carelessness: e.g. cf. SC 3.8  $\overline{\Delta}\epsilon[\overline{\lambda}]$ - with 23.16  $\Delta\epsilon\overline{\lambda}$  and 22.13  $\Delta\overline{\lambda}K\Delta$  with 22.10  $\Delta IK\Delta$ .

1.3.2 A vowel preceded by a consonant +  $\lambda$ , N, P or  $\delta$  is regularly marked in L., where the alternation of such writings as 107.4-5  $KOCMO\overline{\lambda}\overline{\Delta}$  with 109.2-3  $KOCM[O]CI\lambda O$  shows that  $-C\lambda\overline{\Delta} = -CI\lambda O$ , with the insertion of a juncture vowel (2.10). In other texts, scribes are less careful, but note e.g.  $\delta\epsilon M\lambda\overline{\lambda}$ - for  $\delta\epsilon MI\lambda I$ - in SC 25.10; at times, word division between lines reflects the pronunciation: e.g. SC 16.23-24  $T\Delta Y/K\lambda O = T\Delta YKI\lambda O$ .

1.3.3 A consonant to be pronounced as if l preceded is regularly marked with a point or short horizontal (each transcribed as a bar): e.g. L. 113.5  $\overline{\tau}\lambda O$  (cf. 113.13  $\epsilon IC\lambda\overline{\Delta}$ ), 112.11  $T\overline{\lambda}\lambda\overline{N}$  (cf. 100.5  $T\lambda\lambda I\lambda$ -), 109.6  $\epsilon\overline{N}\overline{N}\Delta$ - (cf. 113.5  $\epsilon INI\lambda$ ). When the stroke should be placed over  $\delta$ , the latter's protrusion in the original orthography (1.1n) causes the stroke to be placed over the preceding letter: e.g. K. 33.13  $\chi PICTOCI\overline{\Delta}-T\delta O$  (i.e.  $-TI\delta O$ ). If  $\epsilon$  is the first letter of a word and constitutes a syllable by itself, it is normally marked; in this environment marked  $\epsilon$  either stands for /i/ or is simply /e/, depending on the word's etymology: cf. L. 110.2  $\overline{\epsilon}N\epsilon N$ - (i.e. /inen/: cf. Nobiin *in*) and SC 6.15-16  $\overline{\epsilon}\lambda H$ - (i.e. /eli/: cf. Nobiin *eli*).

1.3.4 At times the stroke is found over the second of three letters and implies the insertion of l before the second and also before the third: e.g. St. 12.1  $\overline{\tau}K\overline{\tau}N$  (= /iskitin/) and SC 11.4  $K\overline{\tau}\lambda\Delta\omega$ - (= /kitildō/).

1.4 Abbreviations. Note  $I\overline{\tau}CI$  for  $\overline{\lambda}HC OYCI$ - and  $\chi\overline{\tau}CI$  for  $\chi PICTOCI$ - in SC (see p.19 of my edition). In L. gospel-titles are abbreviated in the lesson-heads (e.g. 106.4  $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\omega}\overline{\gamma}$ ); note also 112.5  $\overline{\pi}\Delta\overline{\tau}$  for  $\overline{\pi}\Delta\overline{\tau}\Delta K O N\Delta$  or  $\overline{\pi}\Delta\overline{\tau}\Delta K I C N\overline{\Delta}$ . Other abbreviations occasionally appear in the graffiti and inscriptions.



## 2 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i (εI, ē [1.3.3], H, I)		u (OY) <sup>2</sup>
Half-Open	e (Ε)		o (O, ω)
Open		a (Δ)	

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

### 2.1.2 Vocalic alternation

Δ vs. ε: e.g. SC 5.22 ΓḤ]ΔΕΤΤΕ- vs. ΓḤΔΔΤΤΕ- in 6.14 and 22.21.

Δ vs. I: e.g. SC 21.3 ΚΔΠ- vs. 21.2 ΚΙΠ-.

Δ vs. O: e.g. SC 21.3 ΚΔΠ- vs. 22.8 ΚΟΠ-.

ε vs. I: e.g. -ΚΕ- vs. -ΚΙ- (see SC 3.17n).

O vs. OY: e.g. ΚΟΝ- vs. ΚΟΥΝ- (passim).

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

### 2.1.3 Diphthongs

ai (ΔI, ΔἹ, ΔΕI, Δē [1.3.3])

au (ΔY, ΔΟΥ, ΔΥΟΥ)<sup>3</sup>

eu (ΕY, ΕΥΟΥ)

oi (ΟΕI, Οē)

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

### 2.2.1 The sonorants have the following distribution:

M and ʔ are restricted to Anlaut and Inlaut.

P and ʋ are restricted to Inlaut.

λ and N are restricted to Inlaut and Auslaut.

### 2.2.2 Consonantal alternation

Γ vs. K: e.g. SC 10.12 ḤΓIΔ- vs. 7.15 ḤKΔ.

Γ vs. ʃ: e.g. SC 7.16 ΓḤλ- vs. 4.23 ʃλλI-.

Γ vs. ʈ: e.g. St. 24.7 ΓΔP- vs. K. 26.10 ʈΔP-.

Δ vs. T: e.g. SC 12.22-23 ΔΔΠΠ- vs. 2.4 TΔΠ-.

<sup>2</sup> At times OY = /ow/: see 2.5.5, 3.9.7b, and cf. fn. 3.

<sup>3</sup> At times ΔY = /aw/: see 2.5.5, 3.9.7b, and cf. fn. 2.

	Labial				Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	Bilabial		Labiodental									
	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd	vs	vd
Explosive	p Π	b Θ			t Τ	d Δ			k Κ	g Γ		
Affricate							j 6					
Fricative			ph Φ		s C		sh ϣ				h 2	
Lateral	Sonorant					l λ						
Roll						r Ρ						
Nasal		m Μ				n Ν		ñ Π		ň Γ		
Approximant				w Υ, ΟΥ			y Ι, ΕΙ					

$\lambda$  vs.  $\Delta$ : e.g. SC 13.22  $\Gamma\Delta\lambda$ - vs. 17.17  $\Gamma\Delta\Delta$ -.

$\lambda$  vs. N: e.g. St. 24.11-25.1  $\overline{\Gamma\Delta\lambda\gamma\text{POC}\overline{\text{N}}}$  vs.  $\overline{\Gamma\Delta\lambda\gamma\text{POC}\overline{\text{X}}}$  passim.

$\lambda$  vs. P: e.g. St. 3.3  $\text{OYK}\overline{\text{X}}$  vs. M. 3.9  $\text{OYKOY}\overline{\text{P}}$ ; cf. also below, 2.6.

P vs.  $\Delta$ : e.g. ILT 2 i 24  $\text{EIP}$ - vs.  $\text{EID}$ - i 18.

2.3 Assimilation of sonorants  $\lambda$ , N, and P. Note that the assimilation is not always graphically indicated.

### 2.3.1 Regressive assimilation (very common)

$\lambda + \Gamma \rightarrow \Gamma\Gamma$	$\text{N} + \phi \rightarrow \phi\phi$
$\lambda + \Delta \rightarrow \Delta\Delta$	$\text{P} + \Gamma \rightarrow \Gamma\Gamma$
$\lambda + \text{K} \rightarrow \text{KK}$	$\text{P} + \Delta \rightarrow \Delta\Delta$
$\lambda + \text{M} \rightarrow \text{MM}$	$\text{P} + \text{K} \rightarrow \text{KK}$
$\lambda + \text{N} \rightarrow \text{NN}$	$\text{P} + \lambda \rightarrow \lambda\lambda$ (or PP: 2.3.2, or Pl: 2.5.6b)
$\lambda + \text{P} \rightarrow \text{PP}$ (or $\lambda\lambda$ : 2.3.2)	$\text{P} + \text{N} \rightarrow \text{NN}$
$\lambda + \text{C} \rightarrow \text{CC}$	$\text{P} + \text{C} \rightarrow \text{CC}$
$\lambda + \text{T} \rightarrow \text{TT}$	$\text{P} + \text{T} \rightarrow \text{TT}$
$\text{N} + \text{M} \rightarrow \text{MM}$	$\text{P} + \phi \rightarrow \phi\phi$
$\text{N} + \text{C} \rightarrow \text{CC}$	

E.g. SC 2.3  $\text{TOPID}\Delta\Delta\text{O}$  (but 5.14  $\text{TOPO}\Delta\Delta\text{O}$ ), K. 28.4  $\text{EIMMEINECO}$  (but ILT 9 ii 5  $\text{EIN-M}\overline{\text{C}}\text{-C}\Delta\text{-N}\Delta\text{-}$ ), SC 22.17-18  $\Delta\text{PM}\overline{\text{C}}\text{KI}\Delta\text{EK}\overline{\text{K}}\Delta$  (but 12.5  $\Delta\text{PM}\overline{\text{C}}\text{KI}\Delta\text{EP}\overline{\text{K}}\Delta$ ).

### 2.3.2 Progressive assimilation (less widespread than regressive assimilation)

$\text{K} + \text{P} \rightarrow \text{KK}$	$\text{N} + \text{P} \rightarrow \text{NN}$
$\lambda + \text{P} \rightarrow \lambda\lambda$ (or PP: 2.3.1)	$\text{P} + \lambda \rightarrow \text{PP}$ (or $\lambda\lambda$ : 2.3.1, or Pl: 2.5.6b)
$\text{N} + \lambda \rightarrow \text{NN}$	$\text{C} + \lambda \rightarrow \text{CC}$

E.g. SC 24.12-13  $\text{KET}\Delta\lambda\lambda\text{ENNN}\Delta$  (but K. 22.12  $\text{KOYPP}\Delta\text{NN}\Delta\text{O}$ ), L.108.1 -  $\text{MINNE}$ - (=  $\text{MIN-PE-}$ ; no examples of failure to assimilate), M. 8.11-12  $\overline{\Sigma\Gamma\text{OP}\overline{\text{C}}\text{K}}\Delta$  (=  $\overline{\Sigma\Gamma\text{OPIC}}\lambda\text{K}\Delta$ : 2.5.6a, 3.9.8).

### 2.4 Assimilation of other consonants (not common)

$\Gamma + \text{K} \rightarrow \text{KK}$	$\text{M} + \text{K} \rightarrow \text{NK}$
$\text{K} + \Gamma \rightarrow \Gamma\Gamma$	$\Pi + \text{K} \rightarrow \Pi\Pi$
$\text{K} + \Gamma \rightarrow \text{KK}$	$\Pi + \text{M} \rightarrow \text{MM}$
$\text{K} + \text{T} \rightarrow \text{TT}$	$\phi + \Gamma \rightarrow \phi\phi$
$\text{T} + \text{K} \rightarrow \text{TT}$	$\phi + \text{K} \rightarrow \phi\phi$

E.g. SC 9.19  $\Delta\text{K}[\Delta]\Delta\text{T}\overline{\text{TOY}}$  (but 17.4  $\Delta\text{K}\Delta\Delta\text{K}\overline{\text{TOY}}$ ), 8.5  $\text{TOY}\overline{\Gamma\text{TOY-}}$  (but 7.18  $\text{TOYK}\overline{\text{TOY-}}$ ).

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

2.5.1 Prevocalic loss of  $\Delta$  between words. It is not attested with the genitive in  $-N\Delta$ , the predicative  $-\Delta$  functioning as a vocative, the postposition  $-\lambda\Delta$ , and the indicative endings in  $-\Delta$ . It appears in the following categories:

a) Predicative, both nominal (3.6.4) and verbal (3.9.6). Nominal: e.g. SC 17.15  $C\Delta\lambda-\bar{E}N-$  (but 17.19-20  $TOT\Delta \bar{E}N-$ ), verbal: e.g. 10.11  $\Gamma O P 6 \Delta P - \epsilon IN-$  (but 10.6  $OY\bar{\Delta} - OY\bar{\Delta} - P\Delta \epsilon IN-$ ); cf. 2.5.2a.

b) Adjunctive (3.9.19). E.g. SC 2.6  $KEN-OYT\bar{P}-OC-$  (but 18.13  $\Pi\epsilon\epsilon I\bar{\Delta} OC-$ ); cf. 2.5.2b.

c) Directive (3.6.3). E.g. SC 19.15  $\bar{\Delta} P \Delta P X E K \bar{E} T-$  (but 24.4  $\bar{\Delta} P \Delta P X E K \bar{\Delta} \bar{E} T-$ ).

2.5.2 Other cases of loss of  $\Delta$  between words:

a) Predicative  $-\Delta$  frequently vanishes after a vowel: e.g. ILT 5 ii 25  $\Delta\lambda\epsilon\_M\bar{\omega}-\omega\Delta N-$  (but St. 8.5-6  $\Gamma[\epsilon]I\bar{\Delta} M\bar{\omega}\omega\Delta N-$ ; see 3.6.4c).

b) Perhaps on the analogy of prevocally elided adjunctives (2.5.1b) are formed desinenceless adjunctives which appear before consonants: e.g. SC 19.16-17  $KEN-\Gamma O \Delta PIN-$ .

2.5.3 Loss of  $\Delta$  within a word. The vowel may drop out between two sonorants: e.g. SC 5.7  $-MENN\Delta C\omega$  (=  $-MEN\Delta N\Delta C\omega$ ), 18.11-12  $COYMPPOYT\bar{P}P\Delta$  (=  $COYMPPOYT\bar{P}\Delta P\Delta$ : 3.9.7a). Assimilation may occur after  $\Delta$  is suppressed: e.g. SC 18.17  $T\bar{M}M\Delta N N \Delta C \Delta$  (=  $T\bar{M}M\Delta - P\Delta N \Delta C \Delta$ : 2.3.1) but ILT 3 i 9  $\Delta\epsilon P N \Delta C \omega$ .

2.5.4 Other vowels may be elided, but the evidence is insufficient to set up general rules: e.g. K. 23.2-3  $MEI6P\Delta TOY(\epsilon) EN-$ , SC 11.16  $KIPI\Delta(\epsilon) \Gamma I \Delta \epsilon$ , 6.15-16  $\bar{E}\lambda HN$  (twice), presumably for  $\bar{E}\lambda H - \epsilon ION$  (see 3.10  $-ON$ ); cf. also the final construction with  $-C\Delta$  (4.7.7c), which seems to stand for  $-C(\omega)-\Delta$ : Stricker 1940, 449. See also 2.5.6a.

2.5.5  $O-\Delta$  and  $\Delta-\Delta$  may be replaced by  $OY\Delta$  and  $\Delta Y\Delta$ , respectively: cf. INT 5 vii 5-6  $-KOY\Delta N N \omega \bar{\Delta}$  (from  $-KO-\Delta N N \omega \bar{\Delta}$ : 4.7.7a), K. 31.7  $-K\Delta Y\Delta N N O$  (from  $K\Delta-\Delta N N O$ : 4.7.5a), M. 7.16  $\bar{O}POY\Delta N-$  (from  $\bar{O}PO\lambda-\Delta N$ , with deletion of  $\lambda$ : 2.5.6a and 3.9.6). Phonologically,  $OY\Delta$  and  $\Delta Y\Delta$  = /owa/ and /awa/, respectively: cf. INT 5 iv 4-5  $C\omega P T \omega \bar{\Gamma} \epsilon I-$  (i.e.  $C\omega P T \omega - I$ : 3.6.5).

2.5.6 Replacement and loss of  $\lambda$  and  $P$ :

a) When preceded by a vowel,  $\lambda$  and  $P$  may be replaced by  $\epsilon I$  (also written  $H$  or  $I$ ), which is /i/ before a consonant and /y/ before a vowel: e.g. SC 8.20-21  $\Gamma O Y \epsilon I OY\Delta T T O-$  (from  $\Gamma O Y \lambda -$ ; contrast 14.21-22  $\bar{\Delta} \epsilon \bar{\lambda} \Delta \Delta Y-$ ), 25.6  $\Pi \Delta \epsilon I \Delta$  (from  $\Pi \Delta P \Delta$ ; contrast L. 113.3  $T \Delta P \Delta$ ). In the verbal system the sequence  $-O\lambda-\Delta N$  becomes  $-OY\Delta N$ : cf. M. 7.16  $\bar{O}POY\Delta N-$  (cf. 2.5.5 and 3.9.6). Postvocalic  $\lambda$  and  $P$  may also disappear totally: e.g. SC 14.12  $\epsilon I \bar{\Delta} P I(\lambda) \Delta O \lambda \lambda -$ , 9.13  $\epsilon I \bar{\Delta} P I(\lambda)$  in clause-final position, 8.8  $TO(P)\bar{\Delta} P \Delta N$ . The vowels preceding  $\lambda$  and  $P$  may also vanish: e.g. SC 3.23  $OYT\bar{P}(I\lambda)$

ΔΟλλ-, 7.13 Τ(ΔΡ)Δ-, 22.10 ΔΤCΠ(Ιλ). In the preterite II verbid (3.9.6), sometimes the vowel before -λ drops out, with λ assimilating to the preceding C (2.3.2): cf. e.g. M. 8.11-12 ΣΓΟΡΤC-ΚΔ (<ΣΓΟΡΙC-λ-ΚΔ <ΣΓΟΡΙCΙλ-ΚΔ); see also 3.9.8.

b) When λ is preceded by Ρ and followed by a vowel, it may be replaced by Ι (i.e. /y/): e.g. SC 12.18 ΤΔΡΙΔ (from ΤΔΡ-λλ); if there is no replacement, assimilation occurs and the result is either λλ (2.3.1) or ΡΡ (2.3.2).

2.6 As a suffix (3.6.1 and 3.9.6), syllable-closing λ regularly becomes Ρ when it opens a syllable; in addition, -Ολ (preterite I verbid) in this environment is replaced by -ΔΡ- (except that -Ολ-ΔΝ → -ΟΥΔΝ: see 2.5.5): e.g. SC 16.14 ΓΕΝΤΡΕΡΔ- (i.e. ΓΕΝΤΡΕλ-Δ: 3.3.2), 11.2 ΠΕCΔΡΔ- i.e. ΠΕCΟλ-Δ-); cf. Stricker 1940, 443. In the case of ΔΟΥλ-λ (present verbid of ΔΟΥλ-), -λ is maintained even when syllable opening: e.g. L. 108.2 ΔΟΥλ-λλΔΝΔ.

2.7 Geminate contiguous consonants occurring in the same syllable are regularly simplified: e.g. K. 33.6 ΔΡΠ (i.e. ΔΡΠΠ from ΔΡΠΠ-Ν); see Stricker 1940, 442. Simplification of geminates may also occur between syllables: e.g. SC 24.8-9 ΔΟΥΔΔΓΕΝΙΔ (i.e. ΔΟΥΔΔΔΓΕΝΙΔ, as in 19.19), M. 7.7-8 ΓΠΡΤΙCΝΔ vs. 8.5 ΓΠΡΤCΝΔ (<ΓΠΡΤC-λ-Ν-Δ; cf. 2.5.6a).

2.8 Occasionally simple consonants are unnecessarily doubled: e.g. St. 32.9 ΟΤΙ66ΟΥ against regular ΟΤ6ΟΥ in SC 24.20.

2.9 Certain postpositions may have λ between them and a preceding noun, and at times the λ is assimilated (2.3.1): e.g. SC 10.12 ΠΔΠ-ΔΔλ, 2.3 ΤΟΡΙ-Δ-ΔΟ, 8.4 Δ-Ρ[Ε]ΓΓΕΔ-ΤΔΥΟ. See 3.10 for a list of such postpositions and cf. Hintze 1975b, §5.3.

2.10 A word ending in two consonants normally inserts an /i/ as a juncture vowel before a suffix beginning with a consonant: e.g. SC 3.7 CΕΥΔΡΤ-Ι-ΚΔ (but ILT 10 A i 16-17 CΕ[Υ]ΔΡΤ-Δ). The juncture vowel is also often to be found between two consonants: e.g. SC 7.6 ΜΔΘΗΤΙC-Ι-ΓΟΥ- (but 10.15-16 ΔΓΓΕλΟC-ΓΟΥ-); see also 1.3.2.4 It may also appear as ΟΥ (2.1.2, 2.11). We also find the juncture vowel (usually written ΟΥ, less frequently Ι) between two words that syntactically cohere: see 3.6.5, 3.9.19 fn. 23).

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

<sup>4</sup> Note in addition ILT 10 A ii 9 ΔΟΥ-Ε-CΠ (vs. L. 107.3 ΔΟΥ-Ν) and L. 113.9 ΟΥΡΟΥΕC- (= ΟΥΡΟΥ-Ι-λ; vs. 113.2 ΟΥΡΟΥ-ΝΔ); here the juncture vowel appears between a vowel (unless ΟΥ is interpreted as /ow/: 2.1 fn. 2) and a consonant.

e.g. St. 14.2-3 2ΔPM-ΟΥ-ΓΟΥΓΛΛΕ (but 2ΔPM-Ι-ΓΟΥΝ in 14.7-8). Note also that -(Δ)P- (causative: 3.9.5a) may also become -ΟΥP- in the neighborhood of -ΟΥ: e.g. SC 22.3 ΟΥΛΓ-ΟΥP-ΔΛΩ (but K. 29.6-7 ΟΥΛΓ-Ρ-MINΛ).

2.12 Metathesis: note ΔΓΟΠΠ- (e.g. M. 4.9) vs. ΔΠΟΓΓ- (e.g. 4.16) and also ΔΔP(Κ)ΚΕΛ- for ΔPP(Κ)ΚΕΛ- (e.g. St. 1.9; for replacement of P with Δ see 2.2.2).

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

### 3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Old Nubian morphology does not mark gender; e.g. the 3rd pers. sg. pronoun  $\tau\Delta p$ - (3.7.1) is "he/she/it" and the 3rd pers. sg. present indicative  $\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}\Delta$  (3.9.6.) is "he/she/it is."

3.2 There is no definite article; for the indefinite article the language employs  $\text{OY}\epsilon\lambda$ -, literally "one" (3.7.6a).

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

3.3.1 Simple substantives: e.g. (consult Indices [see Bibliography] for attestations)  $\Gamma\Delta\Delta$ - "body,"  $\epsilon\text{I}\Gamma$ - "fire,"  $\text{TOY}$ - "belly,"  $\Delta\text{CC}\epsilon$ - "water,"  $\text{KOPOC}$ - "shepherd,"  $\text{M}\Delta\text{K}\omega\epsilon$ - "table."

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

- $\Delta\text{T}(\text{T})$ - deverbative substantive formant, either abstract or concrete: e.g.  $\text{T}\Delta\text{P}\text{P}-\Delta\text{T}\text{T}$ - "destruction" (from  $\text{T}\Delta\text{P}\text{P}-/\Delta\Delta\text{P}\text{P}$ - "to perish"),  $\text{C}\epsilon\text{Y}-\Delta\text{T}\text{T}$ - "heir" (from  $\text{C}\epsilon\text{Y}$ - "to inherit").

- $\Gamma\text{P}\epsilon\lambda$ - deverbative agent-substantive formant, formed from present verbid (3.9.6 fn. 12) of  $-\Gamma(\Delta)\text{P}$ - (causative: cf. 3.9.5a): e.g.  $\Gamma\epsilon\text{N}-\Gamma\text{P}\epsilon\lambda$ - "benefactor" (from  $\Gamma\epsilon\text{N}$ - "to be good").

- $\Delta\Delta\text{T}(\text{T})$ - deverbative agent-substantive formant: e.g.  $\text{OY}\lambda\Gamma\epsilon\lambda-\Delta\Delta\text{T}$ - "listener" (from  $\text{OY}\lambda\Gamma(\overline{\text{P}})$ - "to hear").

- $\Delta\epsilon\text{P}$ - deverbative abstract-substantive formant: e.g.  $\text{TOK}-\Delta\epsilon\text{P}$ - "forgiveness" (from  $\text{TOK}$ - "to forgive").

- $\epsilon$ - abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g.  $\epsilon\text{I}-\overline{\epsilon}$ - "mankind" (from  $\epsilon\text{I}$ - "man") and  $\text{T}\Delta\text{POY}-\overline{\epsilon}$ - "blessing" (from  $\text{T}\Delta\text{POY}$ - "to bless").

- $\text{I}$ - deverbative agent-substantive formant: e.g.  $\text{MEY}\Delta-\text{I}$ - "beggar" (from  $\text{MEY}\Delta$ - "to seek").

- $\text{I}\text{T}\text{T}$ - abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g.  $\overline{\Delta}\text{POY}-\epsilon\text{T}\text{T}$ - "irrigation" (from  $\overline{\Delta}\text{POY}$ - "rain") and  $\overline{\text{C}}\text{K}\epsilon\lambda-\text{I}\text{T}\text{T}$ - "request" (from  $\overline{\text{C}}\text{K}\epsilon\lambda$ - "to beg").



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

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

-KT- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. TATE-KT- "naming" (from TATE- "name" ) and DOXKIT- "wish" (from DOX- "to wish").

-NAYE- abstract-substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative; it may be preceded by -KN- (from -KE-: 3.9.5a): e.g. OYEROYE-NAYE- "share" (from OYEROYE- "one another"), LOK-KN-NAYE- "honor" (from LOK- "glory"), TOW(K)-KN-NAYE- "peace" (from TOWK- "to cease").

-P- deverbative substantive formant, often preceded by a lexically determined vowel: e.g. AI-AP- "death" (from AI- "to die"), ED-EP- "salvation" (from ED- "to save": cf. 2.5.6a).

-PEX- deverbative agent-substantive formant, literally the present verbid of -(A)P- (causative: 3.9.5a): e.g. APPI-IPEX- "annihilator" (from APPI- "to perish").

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

-T- substantive formant, both denominative and deverbative: e.g. EOYK-T- "glory" (from EO(Y)K- "glory") and EIDP-T- "knowledge" (from EIDP- "to know").

-TE- deverbative substantive formant: e.g. AOY-TE- "place" (from AOY- "to be").

-6- probably an allomorph of -T-, found only after 6 and P: e.g. COEO6-6- "office of sonoj" and AP-6- "life, savior" (from AP- "to live"); note that the unasimulated AP-T- is also found.

3.3.3 Some words display more than one suffix: e.g. APM-C-K-I-AEP- "judgment."

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

3.3.5 Loan words include Greek (e.g. ATTELOX-), Coptic (e.g. EPE- "sin"), Egyptian (e.g. OPT- "wine") and Arabic (e.g. CAXX- "anchorite"). Note that in Greek loans ending in -ION, the ending is deleted, possibly because of its resemblance to the Nubian -EION (an allomorph of -ON: 3.10): e.g. EYATTEX- from eὐαγγέλιον.



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

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

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

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

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

-ΚΦ(Φ)- (privative suffix): e.g. ΕΙΔΡΤ-Ι-ΚΦΦ- "without knowledge" (from ΕΙΔΡΤ- "knowledge").

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

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

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

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

### 3.5.1 General plural

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

b) -PI-ΓΟΥ-, less common; often associated with Greek words but found elsewhere as well: e.g. SC 5.8 ΜΟΥΓ-PI-ΓΟΥ-ΚΔ "dogs," 10.13-14 ἸΟΥΔΑΙΩC-PI-ΓΟΥ-ΛΟΘΟΥΝ "because of the Jews" (but L. 11.3.5 ἸΟΥΔΑΙΩC-ΓΟΥ-Ν "of the Jews"), 18.14-15 ΔΔC-PI-ΓΟΥ-ΚΔ "springs."

c) -NI-ΓΟΥ-, less frequent than b): e.g. SC 16.3 CΔXX-NI-ΓΟΥ-ΝΔ "of anchorites," K. 19.2 ΚΤCΕ-NI-ΓΟΥ-ΝΔ "of churches." We also find -N-ΓΟΥ- and -IN-ΓΟΥ-: e.g. M. 17.3-4 ΕΛΛΕ-N-ΓΟΥ-ΛΩ "to the times," and ΕΙΝ-Ν-ΓΟΥ- (3.7.4).<sup>5</sup>

d) In all the above cases -ΓΟΥ- may be deleted: e.g. SC 6.14 ΓΝΔΔΤΤΕ-ΚΔ "thorns" (which the plural infix in the controlling verb ΔΟΥΚΚΙ6ΘCΙ6ΚΕΝΔΕ ΜΝΕΛΟ "I do not uproot them" shows is plural: 3.9.5b), 18.4 ΟΥΝ6-ΟΥ-PI-Ν "of the stars" (cf. ILT 10 A i 10 ΟΥΕΝ6-PI-ΓΟΥ-ΝΔ "of the stars"), 3.11 ΕΦΕΦΤ-Ν "(manifestations of) greediness" (which the plural infix in the controlling verb ΚΟΝ6ΙΝ "of the one who has" shows is plural).

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

ΔΡ[Ε]ΓΓΕ- in SC 8.4 and 8, pl. of ΔΡ(P)Ε- "wave."

-ΔΔΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-, pl. of -ΔΔΤΤ- (3.3.2) in SC 4.16-17 ΕΚΚ-ΔΔΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΚΔ "prophets."

ΕΙΛΗΥ-ΓΟΥ-, ΕΛΛΗΟΥ-ΓΟΥ-, ΕΙΛΙΟΥ- (-ΓΟΥ- deleted), pl. of ΕΙΛ- "woman" in M. 2.13, INT 9 i 14, 6 ii 5; cf. also SC 10.2 ΗΛΤΙ-ΓΟΥ- (with Browne 1986b, ad loc.).

-ΚΔΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-, pl. of -ΚΔΤΤ- (3.4.2): e.g. SC 15.12 ΤΙ6-ΚΔΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΝΔ "of the just."

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

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

### 3.5.2 Predicative plural

a) -Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε-, the predicative of -ΓΟΥ- (3.5.1a), regularly with verbids (3.9.6: cf. e.g. SC 1.6 ΟΝΤΔΚΡ-Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε-ΚΕ "O you beloved!": cf. 4.6d) and found with other nouns: e.g. M. 2.14 ΤΩΕΚ-Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε- "miracles." After a vowel, -Δ- may be suppressed (2.5.2a): e.g. SC 7.17 ΔΥΕ-ΓΟΥ-Ε- "ships" (cf. 8.19 ΔΥΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-). Note also -Ε-ΓΟΥ-Ε-, less common than -Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε- and perhaps simply a spelling variant (2.1.2): e.g. SC 1.8-9 ΚΟΡΟC-Ε-ΓΟΥ-Ε- "shepherds."

b) -ΡΕ-ΓΟΥ-Ε-, the predicative of -PI-ΓΟΥ- (3.5.1b): e.g. SC 5.13 ΜΟΥΓ-ΡΕ-ΓΟΥ-Ε- "dogs."

c) -ΝΕ-ΓΟΥ-Ε-, the predicative of -NI-ΓΟΥ- (3.5.1c): e.g. SC 5.12 ΚΟΥΤΝ-ΝΕ-ΓΟΥ-Ε- "pigs."

d) -ΓΟΥ-Ε- may be deleted: e.g. SC 2.12 ΟΥΛΛΔΚΚΕΡ-Δ- "teachers" (after ΟΥΛ[ΛΔ]ΚΚΕΡ-Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε- in 1.11-12), 5.9 ΚΟΥΤΟΥΝ-ΝΕ- "pigs" (after ΚΟΥΤΟΥΝ-ΝΙ-

<sup>5</sup> N.B. ΔΔC-PI-ΓΟΥ- and CΔXX-NI-ΓΟΥ- show that Zyhlarz's notion that -PI-ΓΟΥ- and -NI-ΓΟΥ- mark animate and inanimate nouns respectively (1928, §81) is wrong.

ΓΟΥ-λ̄ΔΩ in 5.6). Cf. 3.5.1d.

e) Regarding the special plurals listed in 3.5.1e: note that -ΚΔ̄- (with deletion of the element -ΓΟΥ-̄-) appears as the predicative plural in ILT 10 A i 16-17 CE[Υ]ΔPT-Δ 6ΔλλΙ-ΚΔ̄- "serving spirits" and in K. 23.8-9 ΜΔΔ6Δ-ΚΔ̄- "lying"; similarly we have CEΥΔ̄- as the predicative plural of CEΥΔTT- "heir" in St. 5.10-11. For TOΥP-ε-(ΓΟΥ-̄-) note L. 101.3 and 112.11.

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

The inflections are:

Subjective	-λ
Genitive	-NΔ, -N
Directive	-K(Δ)
Predicative	-(Δ)

### 3.6.1 Subjective: -λ (cf. Hintze 1975b)

a) It marks the subject of a sentence: e.g. SC 19.20 ΔΙΔΘΟλOC-λ̄- (with the ubiquitous juncture vowel: 2.10) "the devil," 8.5 υOΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-λ- "some." In certain phonological environments (2.5.6 and 2.7) the ending may disappear: e.g. SC 21.22-23 ΕΙΓΡΙ-ΕΙON "and the statement" (from ΕΙΓΡΙ-Ι-λ- + -ON: 3.10 [under -ON]), 3.12 CΔλ- "the word" (for CΔλ-λ-). The noun in the subjective may be determined (e.g. SC 22.20 CKT̄-λ "the earth") or undetermined (e.g. 3.13 E[Ι]T̄-λ̄- "a man") or abstract (e.g. 7.2 M]GIPK-λ̄ "disobedience"). A noun with a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, if it functions as subject, is marked with -λ: e.g. M. 2.12 ΜΔN' ET̄T̄-λ̄ "that woman," SC 9.10 EN TEET̄T̄-λ̄ "our hope."

b) Proper names and pronouns functioning as subjects do not have -λ: e.g. SC 22.1 ΔΔΔMH-ΕΙON "and Adam," 23.10 TΔP-ON "and he," 22.12 ΜΔN-ON "and that one."

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

### 3.6.2. Genitive: -NΔ, -N (cf. Hintze 1971, II)

a) In general, the genitive is marked with -N if it is closely bound to its noun, with -NΔ if the union is less close. Cf. e.g. SC 8.10 ΔΥΕ-Π CΔΥPO- "ship-rudder" (πηδάλιον) with 4.18 ΕΙΔPT-NΔ ΠΔλKITλΔ "into the sea of thoughts" (ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος τῶν νοημάτων) and especially 19.13-15 ΕΙΕ-Π̄ ΚΔΥΕΙΓΟΥ-Π̄ ΔΙΔΘΟλOC-Π̄

ΜΕΕΡΤΛΟΘΟΥΝ ΕΚΚΙΤΔΚΚΚΔ ΤΔΛΕΝΝΟΝ "and when he saw the offspring of mankind conquered by the baseness of the devil" (ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου κακίας ἐπεβουλεύθη . . .). Here ΔΙΔΘΟΛΟC-ἦ ΜΕΕΡΤΛΟΘΟΥΝ "by the baseness of the devil" and ΕΙΕ-ἦ ΚΔΥΕΙΓΟΥ- "the offspring of mankind" specify a mere juncture of rectum and regens. The phrase ΚΔΥΕΙΓΟΥΝΔ --- ΕΚΚΙΤΔΚΚΚΔ literally "the offspring's having been conquered" expresses a nexus: a relationship between two elements in which one is the logical subject (ΚΔΥΕΙΓΟΥ-ΝΔ) and the other the logical predicate (ΕΚΚΙΤΔΚΚΚΔ). Etymologically, -ΝΔ is to be analyzed as genitival -Ν + predicative -Δ. For the construction see 4.4 and 4.7.1a. Occasionally, we find -Ν even when a nexus is involved: e.g. SC 19.17-18 ΔΕCΤ[Ι]-Ν ΔΟΥΛΔΤΕCἦ ΚΕΛΛΩ "as transgression existed" against the normal ΔΕCΤ-ΝΔ ΔΟΥΛΔΤΕCἦ ΚΕΛΛΩ in 24.2-3 (see 4.7.2). For the contrast between -Ν and -ΝΔ cf. also SC 12.22-23 Ε]Ν-ΝΔ ΔΔΠΠΙΔΕΚΚΔ "our destruction," where Ε]ΝΝΔ is an objective genitive, with 13.21-22 Εἷ ΤΔΚΚΔ "your son" (see 3.7.1a). If the regens is in the predicative (3.6.4), the rectum generally has -ΝΔ: e.g. throughout the Stauros hymn in St. 18.12-27.7 and SC 14.15-16.20, such patterns as ΤΤΔΥΡΟC ΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟ[C]ΡΙΓΟΥ-ΝΔ ΤΕΕΓ[Τ]-Δ-ΛΟ "the cross is the hope of the Christians" (St. 18.12-19.3) predominate, while expressions like Τ-ΤΔΥΡ<Ο>C ΤΕΥΟΛΓΟΥ-Ν ΔΔΥ-Δ-ΛΩ "the cross is the path of those who have gone astray" (19.5-7) are rare. At times, however, there seems to be no discernible distinction between the two genitive markers: cf. e.g. SC 6.11-12 ΜΔΨΔΝ-ΝΔ ΚΔΚΚΔΝΝΙΚ- "the rays of the sun" with 6.1 ΤΚΤ-ἦ ΤΔΡΜΔΔ "into the holes of the earth."

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

c) Occasionally, rectum and regens may be immediately juxtaposed without the genitive-marker: e.g. gr. 4.5 ΔΦ6Ι ΚΔΠΔ "the bread of life" (but K. 20.9 ΔΦ6-ἦ ΚΟΕΦ- "the tree of life") and SC 19.1-2 ΔΓΓΕΛΟC ΟΥΡ[Δ]ΝΙΓΟΥΚΔ "archangels" (but L. 113.12 ΚΠΤ-ἦ ΟΥΡΔΝΙΓΟΥ- "leaders of the people").

d) For deletion of the regens note ILT 7 ii 27 ΤΔΛἦ-ΓΟΥ- "the things of God" (τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ), K. 23.10 ἸΕΡΕΘCINKΔ "that of the priest" and INT 7 i 6 ἸC ΧCΝΔ-ΛΩ "in (the servitude) of Jesus Christ."

e) Attachment of genitival -Ν converts an adverb or postposition into a nominalized attributive: cf. e.g. SC 3.22 Ε]ΙΔΡΤΟΥ ΕΔΛΟ-Ν-Ι-ΛΔ- "in eager understanding" (with -Ι- as in 8.1 ΓΟΥΔ ΟΥΤΟCΔΕΝ-Ν-Ι-ΛΔ) and L. 104.8-9 ΔΝ ΔΙΓΙΡΤ[ΟΥ ΤΕΔΓΙ]ΛΔΕ-Ν (=ΝΔ) "my covenant with them" (cf. SC 12.4 -ΔΔΓΔΛΕ-Ν(ΙΔ), with deletion of regens: see above, section d); cf. also St. 10.10-11 ΔΝΝΙΚΔ "that of mine," K.

20.11 CKITEIΔO-N-I-[[ΓΟΥΝΙ]]-KΔ (with scribal deletion) "the earthly" (pl. in ILT 11 ii 10).

### 3.6.3 Directive: -KΔ (-K before a vowel: 2.5.1c)

a) It marks either a direct or an indirect object: e.g. SC 22.14-15 ΘΥΓ-ΚΔ ΕΚ-ΚΔ ΤΙCCE "I gave you to the man," L. 106.13-14 ΓΔΔΔ ΜΩΥΔΑΝΝΔ ΠΔΥΟΥ-ΚΔ ΤΔΚ[-ΚΔ] Τ[Τ]CIN ΚΕΛΛΩ "as you have given him power over all flesh." Cf. 4.9.2.

b) At times the immediate placing of a noun before its verb suffices to mark it as object: e.g. SC 13.20 ΠCΤΕΥΕΤ ΚΟΔΓ[Ε]ΝΙΔ "in order to make you have faith" and COK ΤΡ- "to give glory" regularly translating δοξάζω (e.g. SC 14.1). See also 4.7.1b.

c) Note the use of -ΚΔ in temporal expressions denoting duration: e.g. K. 32.11-12 ΜCΤΕ ΕΡΚΕΙCΙ(ΓΟΥ)ΓΟΥΚΔ "for forty fasts"; sim. ILT 2 ii 21, 8 i 14, 11 ii 5. Contrast the use of -ΔΟ designating simply the time at which something happens: e.g. K. 33.8-10 ΚΥΡΙΔΚΕΝ ΟΥΚΗ ΔΟΥΤΤΟΥΔΟ "on every Sunday" and see 3.10 s.v. -ΔΟ.

### 3.6.4 Predicative: -Δ, which can be elided (see 2.5.1a)

a) It marks the predicate, both nominal and verbal: e.g. SC 12.10 ΤΑΛΑ ΔΜCΚΔΔ-Δ "God is a judge" and M. 4.16 ΔΠΟΓΓΑ ΠΕCΔΡ-Δ "the skipper said" (cf. 3.9.6). The predicative may be reinforced by -ΔΗ, -ΔΟ, -ΜΔ, ΜΗ and -CΗ (see 3.10). Here also belong nouns dependent upon ΕΙΝ- "to be" and its congeners (3.9.12): e.g. SC 17.19-20 ΤΟΤ-Δ ΕΝΕΝ- "if he is the Son." Note also ILT 4 i 10-11 ΔΓΔΟ ΕΝΕ CΔΔΕΑΡ-Δ-ΝΟΥ ΔΡ6-Δ-ΔΕΝΔΔ "I am the resurrection and the life" (for -ΝΟΥ and -ΔΕΝΔΔ see 3.10 s.v. -ΔΕ); the predicative may be found without formal expression of ΕΙΝ-: e.g. SC 1.1-5 ΓΩΔΝCΗ --- ΔΡΧΗΕΠ[Ι]CΚΟΒΟC-Δ-ΔΕΝΔΔ ΟΝ ΔΚΑ CΔΠΚ[ΚΟ-Δ-Δ]ΕΝΔΝΝΔ --- [CΔΔΔΔΟ "it is a speech of John (sc. who is) archbishop and golden mouthed" (for the sequence -ΔΕΝΔΔ ΟΝ ---- -Δ]ΕΝΔΝΝΔ [= -ΔΕΝΔΔ-ΝΔ] see 3.10 -ΔΕ). The predicative of a noun, regularly reinforced by -CΗ, can function as the antecedent of a verbid or subjunctive: e.g. St. 27.8-10 ΤΑΛΑ-Δ-CΗ ΓΔΔΔΟ ΤΔΔΔΩ ΟΔΔΟΔΔΟ6ΩΔ "because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh" (literally "because of [the one, his being] the to-have-hung ... [who is] God": cf. 4.6.a), INT 5 i 1-2 CΔΔ-Δ-CIN ΠΕCCIN-Δ-ΔΩ "it is a speech which he spoke." For similarity between the predicative and annexion see 3.6.5f and 3.6.6b. Proper names lack -Δ: e.g. SC 11.3-4 ΕΙΡΟ]ΥΜΗ [ΠΕ]ΤΡΟCΙ "you are Peter" (cf. 2.5.2a and 3.3.6).

b) It marks the vocative: e.g. L. 108.3 ΠΔΠ-Δ CCC-Δ "holy Father" and SC 13.16-17 ΤΟΤ-Δ-Δ ΟΚΗΝΔΑΝΔΓΕΝΙΔ "in order to have them call you 'Son of God'" (for -Δ see 4.8). Proper names in the vocative suppress the -Δ: e.g. St. 5.9-10 ΔΝ ΠΔΤ-Δ ΠΕΤΡCΙ "my chosen Peter" (cf. 2.5.2a). Note also ΠΔΠΟ "O Father" (e.g. SC 13.21) from ΠΔΠ-Δ-Ο and ΕΙΩ "O woman" (ILT 6 ii 10) from ΕΙΔ-Δ-Ω (2.5.6a).

c) It appears before ΜΩΥΔΑΝ- "all" and ΜΔΔΔΕ- "all, every":<sup>6</sup> e.g. L. 106.13

<sup>6</sup> Possibly also with CΕΥΕ- "rest" in M. 7.12-13 ΚΔΠΠΔ CΕΥΕΔΔ "in the rest of the food" (sim. 8.9-10), if ΚΔΠΠΔ stands for ΚΔΠΠΔ-Δ (cf. 2.5.2a).



ΓΔΔΔ ΜΩΨΔΝΝΔ ΠΔΥΟΥΚΔ "power over all flesh," K. 23.11-12 ΕΝ ΚΕΤ-Δ ΜΔΛΛΕ- "in all this way" (3.12b). Cf. 3.7.6d, e, i.

d) Occasionally, instead of the predicative, we find the subjective: e.g. ILT 10 C ii 3-4 ΡΔΦ[Δ]ΗΛΗ ΚΕΛΕΥΤΩ ΔΝ ΚΕΛΕΥΤΩ "Raphael's command is my command" (contrast with SC 12.10, cited above in section a), L. 109.6 ΕΝΝΔ ΔΛΛΕCΙΝ ΕΝΝΔCΗΛ ΔΛΕΛ "your word is the truth" (the punctuation marker is misplaced, as in 101.5 and 107.1).

e) There are a few instances where the predicative appears as -Ε (comparable to -Ε-ΓΟΥ-Ε- in the plural: 3.5.2a): SC 23.8 (sim. 15, 21) ΟΥΚΡ-Ε, ILT 7 i 15 ΓΟΥ-Ε-, 8 i 21 ΕΕC-Ε, 9 i 2 CΠΠ-Ε.

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

a) Cases of apposition: e.g. SC 7.5 ΕΟΔ-ΟΥ ΪΗCΟΥ<CΙ>- "Lord Jesus," K. 21.12 ΤΔΡ-ΟΥ ΕΟΔΩ- "the Lord himself" (literally "he, the Lord": [3.7.1]), INT 2 i 27-28 ΤΔΔ ΔΩΔΟΥΜ-ΜΟΝ "and the high one himself" (ΤΔΔ- = ΤΔΡ-: 2.2.2), M. 11.3-4 ΤΩΛΚ ΟΥΝΝΟΛ ΜΑΡΙΔΑΝ "of Mary who gave birth to God," i.e. "Mary Theotokos." Here too belong cases like M. 1.11-12 ΕΙΡΤΤ-ΟΥ ΕΟΥΚΤΛΩ "in wealth and glory" (lit. "in wealth-glory"); cf. also 3.9.19 fn. 23.

b) Cases of attribution: e.g. SC 4.11-12 CΕΥΔΡΤ-ΟΥ ΕΕC-ΟΥ CΕΥΔ ΔΕΝΘΙΚΚΔ "the Holy Spirit blowing upon us," M. 4.4-5 ΚΕCΕ ΜΑΡΕΩΤΙΩ ΕΟΝΘΛΔΓΩ "to the church standing in Mareotis," St. 11.3-4 ΘΡΘΝΟC-ΟΥ ΕΟΚΗΔΩ "upon the church of glory," Ben. 2 ΔΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΟΔΙΝΓΟΥΛ "the angels of the Lord." Cf. 3.6.6a.

c) Binding of postposition to what precedes: e.g. St. 6.2 ΟΥΡ-ΟΥ-ΕΙΘ "from you" (= ΟΥΡ-ΟΥ-ΛΟ: 2.5.6a) but 8.5 ΟΥΛ-ΛΟ (= ΟΥΡ-ΛΟ), INT 1 i 19-20 ΤΩΠΟΥ ΕΘΚΔΝΕΝ-Ι-ΛΔ "in the path of justice" but 2 ii 14 Ω ΔΙΓΔΘΚΔΝΕΝ-ΛΩ "in a voice of exultation."

d) Binding of pronoun to rest of sentence: e.g. M. 8.16-9.1 ΕΙΡ-ΟΥ ΕΝΚΔ ΔΝΚΙΜΝΝΔΙ "don't you remember?," ILT 4 ii 4 Ρ (= ΕΙΡ) ΕΝΝΟ ΔΟΥΔΡΕΝΚΔ<Ν> "if you had been here" (cf. i 2, where the same phrase appears with ΕΙΡ-Ι [= ΕΙΡ-ΟΥ]).

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

<sup>7</sup> In Browne 1985a (B) I mistakenly dealt with -ΟΥ- as if it were a case ending. But it is clearly a phonologically conditioned juncture element: its status is especially clear in such cases as L. 107.1 ΕΟΚ-ΟΥ ΔΙΝΕCΩ "give glory" vs. 106.12 ΕΟΚ ΤΡΚΟΝΝΟΩ "in order that he may give glory" (3.6.3b) and SC 3.9-10 CΕΥΔΡΤ-ΟΥ-ΚΟΝΚ- "spirituality" (literally "the quality of having spirit": cf. 3.3.2) vs. St. 7.7 (et passim) ΕΟΚ-ΚΟ- "glorious" (lit. "glory-having": 3.4.2). The "rules" set up in Browne 1985a (B) show when the juncture element is not required; they have nothing to do with a case ending. Cf. also below, fn. 23.

4-6 ΔΚΕΝΔΔΝΚΕ ΟΥΡ-ΟΥ ΗΝ ΘΜΜΧΓΟΥΚΔ ΠΕΩΨΙΚΙΘΔΡΟΥΛΩ "blessed are you when you will go and judge all these" (4.7.3c), but SC 6.21-23 ΣΤΕΝΔΔΕΙΕ ΔΪ ΠΔΡΡΔ ΕΙΚΔΝΝΔ ΤΟΠΠΑΡΚΙΚΔ ΠΚΤΔΓΡ[Δ(?) Ε]ΤΕΕΙΛΕΘΟΥΝ "blessed have I become because I received as a share cultivation of such land."<sup>8</sup>

f) At times, annexation appears to be similar to the use of the predicative noted above (3.6.4a, sub fin.) but its presence indicates a closer bond: cf. e.g. K. 33.6 ΤΧΛ-ΟΥ ΔΡΝ "of the living God" with St. 27.8-10 ΤΧΛ-Δ-ΕΝ ΓΔΔΛΟ ΤΔΔΔΩ ΟΧΛΟΧΛΟΘΩΔ "because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh." Of these two passages, the former corresponds to an attributive ("restrictive") relative clause, the latter to an appositional ("non-restrictive"); but the predicative is also found when attribution is involved: e.g. St. 12.3-7 ΘΜΜΧ-Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε-ΕΝ ΤΕΝ ΔΕΧ ΟΥΔΤΤΟΧΟ ΕΤΔΥΡΟΥΕΛΔΓΧΛΕ ΠΙΕΤΕΥΟΧΓΟΥΧ- "all who have believed in the cross with their whole heart." Cf. 4.6a.

### 3.6.6 Phrase-terminal inflection

a) If a phrase consists of two or more words, it is regular for its syntactic relation to the rest of the sentence to be marked at the end of the phrase: e.g. ILT 7 ii 15 ΤΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΚΝ-ΚΔ "the Lord of Glory," where -ΚΔ shows that the phrase functions as object, and SC 4.11-12 ΕΕΥΔΡΤ-ΟΥ ΕΤΕ-ΟΥ ΕΕΥΔ ΔΕΝΘΙΚΚΔ "the Holy Spirit blowing upon us," where the first -ΟΥ shows the juncture of ΕΕΥΔΡΤ- with ΕΤΕ-, the second that of ΕΕΥΔΡΤΟΥ ΕΤΕ- with ΕΕΥΔ ΔΕΝΘΙΧ- (3.9.6 and 4.6a), and the terminal -ΚΔ indicates that the entire phrase is the object of the sentence in which it stands.

b) In the case of substantive + adjective, the latter alone shows the relation of the complex to the rest of the sentence (e.g. M. 15.17 ΕΕΥΔΡΤ-ΟΥ ΕΤΕ-Χ-"the Holy Spirit"), unless the predicative is involved; in that case, both substantive and adjective regularly bear -Δ (e.g. L. 108.3 ΠΔΠ-Δ ΕΤΕ-Δ "holy father").<sup>9</sup> If the complex is plural, then the plural marker -ΓΟΥ- is regularly added only to the adjective (e.g. K. 19.3-4 ΠΔΠΔΕ-Ι ΕΤΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΝΔ "of the holy fathers");<sup>10</sup> plural markers other than -ΓΟΥ- remain on the noun (e.g. St. 1.11-12 ΣΠΟΕΤΟΧΟΕ-ΡΪ ΕΤΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-Κ- "holy apostles" [3.5.1d]), L. 101.3 ΤΟΥΡ-Ε ΘΔΥΟΥΚΙΡΡ-Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε "guiltless(?) children" [3.5.2e]).

<sup>8</sup> Here also belongs L. 105.6-7 ΔΝ ΤΟΤΔΜΗ ΕΙΡ-ΟΥ ΔΪΧΟ ΕΧΗ ΕΡ ΟΥΝΝΔΡΔ- "you are my son, I have begotten you today" (see Browne 1986b, as loc.).

<sup>9</sup> Note also the adjectives listed in 3.6.4c, which require their noun to be in the predicative.

<sup>10</sup> Note, however, that in relative clauses whose plural referent is introduced by -ΕΝ (see 3.6.4a) we find both -ΣΓΟΥΕΕΝ --- verbid/subjunctive with -ΓΟΥ- (e.g. St. 4.10-13) and -ΣΓΟΥΕΕΝ --- verbid/subjunctive without -ΓΟΥ- (ILT 10 A i 13-15).

### 3.7 Pronouns

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

	Sg.	Pl.
1	Δῖ-	ΕΡ- (inclusive of 2nd pers.) ΟΥ- (exclusive of 2nd pers.)
2	ΕΙΡ-	ΟΥΡ-
3	ΤΔΡ-	ΤΕΡ-

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

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

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

a) In the genitive we find fusion with -Ν and -ΝΔ, resulting in:

	Sg.	Pl.
1	ΔΝ, ΔΝΝΔ	ΕΝ, ΕΝΝΔ ΟΥΝ, ΟΥΝΔ
2	ΕΝ, ΕΝΝΔ	ΟΥΝ, ΟΥΝΝΔ
3	ΤΔΝ, ΤΔΝΝΔ	ΤΕΝ, ΤΕΝΝΔ

The forms with -Ν tend to be simply possessives (e.g. SC 7.8 ΔΝ CΔΛΓΟΥΚΔ "my words"); those with -ΝΔ may be objective genitives (e.g. SC 22.17-18 ΤΕΝΝΔ ΔΡΜΤΚΙΔΕΚΚΔ "judgment against them") or in dependence upon a noun in the predicative (e.g. St. 4.7-8 ΤΔΛΔ ΟΥΝΔ "our God") or the subject of a verbal noun (e.g. M. 12.2-3 ΕΝ ΤΔΝΝΔ ΚΠC "this which he ate": 4.6a). But, as with nouns (3.6.2a), at times the distinction between -Ν and -ΝΔ seems to be blurred: e.g. St. 12.12-13 ΤΔΝ ΟΡΩCΕΝ "of praise of it," K. 25.6-7 ΟΥΝΝΔ ΜΙΘΡΚΕΙΛΟ "from your disobedience." See also 3.6.1a sub fin. At times—chiefly in translations of Old Testament poetic books—we find uncontracted forms: e.g. ΤΔΡΝ in ILT 2 i 20 (Ps 61:13), perhaps a conscious archaism.

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

b) In the directive the personal pronouns attach -ΚΔ, and those ending in -Ρ- assimilate (2.3.1); the terminal -Δ may elide before a vowel (2.5.1c), resulting in simplification of the geminate (2.7): thus ΤΔΡ- + -ΚΔ → ΤΔΚ-ΚΔ → ΤΔΚΚ- before vowel → ΤΔΚ-:

	Sg.	Pl.
1	ΔῖΚΔ, ΔῖΚ-	ΕΚΚΔ, ΕΚ- ΟΥΚΔ, ΟΥΚ-
2	ΕΙΚΚΔ, ΕΙΚ-	ΟΥΚΚΔ, ΟΥΚ-
3	ΤΔΚΚΔ, ΤΔΚ-	ΤΕΚΚΔ, ΤΕΚ-



Note, however, that with connecting -ON "and" (3.10) we find preservation of both K's: e.g. SC 19.11-12 ΤΔΚΚΟΝ, L. 107.6 ΤΕΚΚΟΝ, ILT 10 A ii 21 ΕΚΚΟΝ; similarly with -ΟΝΟ (3.7.2a): e.g. SC 19.21 ΤΔΚΚΟΝΟ.

3.7.2 The reflexive pronoun is expressed as follows:

a) by -ΟΝΟ: e.g. SC 5.15-16 ΟΥΚ-Κ-ΟΝΟ ΚΑΠΟΠΙ ΔΥΡΟΥΤΚΑ ΤΟΕΤΑΝΔΩ "make yourselves worthy of the very pearl ..."

b) by -ΟΥΡ- literally "head": e.g. L. 105.1-2 ΟΥΕΧΕΝΔΕΕΙΟΝ ΟΥΡ-ΡΩ ΣΟΚΚΑ ΕΤΜΕΝΚΕΡΔΛΩ "and no one takes honor upon himself." Note that ΟΥΡ- and -ΟΝΟ are combined in INT 4 i 18-19 ΕΥΡ [ΙΛ --- ΤΕΝ] ΟΥΚ' ΟΝΟ "pasturing themselves" (ΟΥΚ = ΟΥΡ-Κ-: cf. 2.7).

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

3.7.3 The reciprocal pronoun is expressed by ΟΥΕΡΟΥΕΡ-, ΟΥΕΡΟΥΕΛ- "one another" (literally "one-one": 3.7.6a and 3.8.1): e.g. SC 11.14 ΟΥΕΡΟΥΕΡΓΛΛΕ "to one another."

3.7.4 The demonstrative pronouns are:

ΕΙΝ- "this" pl. ΕΙΝΝ(ΓΟΥ)- (e.g. L. 101.5, 106.8 [3.5.1c and d])

ΜΔΝ- "that" pl. ΜΙΝΙΝΓΟΥ- (only in L. 110.8)

They are used as follows:

a) as attributives (directly preceding their noun): e.g. SC 24.4 ΕΝ ΣΠΑΡΧΕΚΑ "this first-portion," 5.23 ΜΔΝ ΤΔΥΚΛΟ "at that time." They remain in the singular before a plural noun: e.g. L. 103.6 ΕΝ ΤΕΔΓΟΥΛΔ "in these laws." See also 3.6.1a sub fin.

b) as independent pronouns: e.g. SC 9.11 ΕΝ-ΜΟΝ "and this," 22.12 ΜΔΝ-ΟΝ "and that," L. 106.8 ΕΙΝΝ-ΚΔ "these things," 110.8-9 ΜΙΝΙΝΓΟΥΝΔ ΔΙΔΔΛ ΔΟ[ΥΔΔΕ]ΛΚΔ "that those will be with me" (4.7.1).

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

3.7.5 The interrogative pronouns are:

a) ΕΔ(ΙΕ)Ι- "who?": e.g. ILT 6 ii 11-12 ΕΔΙ-Κ-ΟΝ ΔΟΛ[ΛΙ]ΝΝΔ "and whom do you wish?," SC 22.5-6 ΕΔΙ-ΚΝ (3.10) --- Π[Ε]ΦΔ ΤΡΡΔ "who told you?"

b) ΜΝ- "what?": e.g. SC 18.24-25 ΜΝΝΕΘΟΥΝΟ[Ν ΠΕCΔΡΡΕ "and why (lit. "because of what") shall I state it?," 1.6-7 ΜΝ-Δ (4.8) ΠΕCΔΡΡΕ "what shall I state?" Cf. also ΜΝΔΕΟΝΔ "where are you?," which appears several times in SC (see 21.8n).

c) Ε- , an interrogative conjoined with various postpositions to create expressions like Ε-ΛΟ "where?" in L. 113.5, Ε-ΓΛ "whither?" in M. 4.15, Ε-ΚΔΛ "how?"

in SC 21.18,  $\bar{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\tau\pi\alpha$  "how?" in 1.12 and  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon-\iota\phi\phi$ - "what?" in 7.12;  $\bar{\epsilon}$ - may also take verbal suffixes: e.g. SC 1.7-8  $\tau\iota\kappa\alpha\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\bar{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$   $\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha$  "is it that you are sheep?" (see also 4.6a).

For  $-\bar{\iota}$  and  $-\alpha$  see 3.9.21.

### 3.7.6 The indefinite pronouns are:

a)  $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda$ - "one, a" (cf.  $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\pi$ - as number 1: 3.8.1); it is used absolutely or with a preceding noun either in annexion or in a partitive construction: e.g. ILT 7 i 6  $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda[\omicron\eta\eta]$  "and if one ...," M. 1.5-7  $\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$   $\Delta\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$   $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  "a woman lived in a village" (3.6.5b), 8.6  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omega$   $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$ - literally "on one amongst the days," 3.11  $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\pi\alpha\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha$   $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda$ - "one amongst the hens." Note also  $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda$   $\tau\bar{\rho}\lambda$  "anyone" e.g. in K. 19.8: see SC 7.14-15n.

b)  $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\tau\alpha\lambda$ - "each, every," with genitive: e.g. SC 12.12-13  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$   $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$  "(on) each day." Note also the variants:  $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\tau$ - (K. 33.9),  $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau$ - (Nauri 6),  $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau$ - (WN 1).

c)  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$  "all"; it is used absolutely or in apposition: e.g. ILT 7 i 9-10  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\omicron\eta\eta$   $\delta\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau[\tau(?)]\delta\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\epsilon\omega$  "and let all become joyful," Ben. 2  $\Delta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\epsilon$   $\epsilon\omicron\delta\iota\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda$   $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$  "all the angels of the Lord," gr. 4.3  $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\kappa\alpha$  "all of you," INT 2 ii 11  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$   $\epsilon\pi\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon$  "all you nations."

d)  $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ - "all, every," with predicative: e.g. K. 23.11-12  $\epsilon\bar{\eta}$   $\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ - "in all this way."

e)  $\mu\bar{\omega}\omega\delta\eta\eta$ - "all," with predicative; the word is often found with  $-\gamma\omicron\upsilon-$ : e.g. M. 16.5  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\pi\alpha$   $\mu\bar{\omega}\omega\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta$  "on all the days," L. 109.13  $\pi\bar{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$   $\mu\bar{\omega}\omega\delta\eta\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$  "of all who believe."

f)  $\delta\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ - "all" (usually with  $-\gamma\omicron\upsilon-$ ); it is used absolutely or in annexion with a preceding noun or verbid: e.g. L. 103.4-5  $\delta\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\omicron[\gamma]\eta\eta$   $\delta\gamma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\pi\alpha\eta$   $\pi\delta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$  "until all are done" (cf. 4.7.3b), gr. 2.5  $\tau\delta\gamma\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$  "always," INT 2 ii 7-8  $\pi\bar{\epsilon}\epsilon\bar{\alpha}$   $\delta\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$  "of all who rejoice" (4.6d).

g)  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\tau\omicron$ - "whole," in annexion: e.g. SC 7.15-16  $\theta\delta\lambda\alpha\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$   $\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha$  "the whole sea."

h)  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ - "other," in annexion to a following noun: e.g. SC 11.9  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$   $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$ -  $\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\tau\alpha$  "another foundation."

i)  $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\bar{\epsilon}$ - "rest": see above, 3.6.4c fn. 6.

j)  $\delta\gamma\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau$ - "alone, self," in annexion: e.g. SC 17.4  $\delta\kappa\delta\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\gamma\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\kappa$ - "the construction alone."

k)  $\omega\omicron\epsilon\iota-\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ - "some, others," used absolutely: e.g. SC 8.5  $\omega\omicron\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$  "and some ..." (as subject of clause).

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

### 3.8 Numbers

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

1	ΟΥΕΡ- (cf. ΟΥΕΛ- as indefinite pronoun: 3.7.6a)
2	ΟΥΟ(Υ)- (note also ΣΔΝΚΔΝ-ΓΟΥ- "both")
3	ΤΟΥCKO(Υ)-
4	ΚΕΜCO-
5	ΔΙ6-
6	ΓΟΔ6Ω- IN ined.
7	ΚΟΛΟΤ-
8	ΙΑΟΥΕΙ
9	—
10	ΔΙΜΕΔ- (3.8.2)
20	ΔΡΡΕ-, ΣΔΩ-
40	ΕΦΚΕΙC-
1,000	ΔΟΥΔΕ-
10,000	ΤΙΤΟΥ(ΟΥ)ΡΙ-

Cardinals are adjectives and follow their nouns, which are in annexion (cf. 3.6.5b); the cardinals may also be marked as to plural and may be used absolutely: e.g. ILT 8 i 15-16 ΔΓΓΕΛΟCΟΥ ΚΟΛΟΤΓΟΥΚΔ "the seven angels," ii 8 ΠΟΤΟΤΙ ΚΟΛΟΤ- "the seven trumpets," SC 23.23 ΤΙΟΥCΙΚΟΥ[ΟΥΛ]- and 23.24-24.1 ΤΟΥ[ΥC]ΚΟΥ[ΟΥ]Δ "the three," 10.1 ΟΓ6ΟΥ ΔΟΥΔΕ ΔΙ6ΓΟΥΚΔ "five thousand men." Note also ILT 10 A i 2 ΤΙΟΥCKO-Ν-ΓΟΥΚΔ "the three," and St. 24.7-8 ΓΔΡ-ΚΕΜCO-Ν-ΝΔ "of the world" (lit. "of the four sides"); for the plural markers see 3.5.1c and d.

#### 3.8.2 Ordinals; the following are attested:

1st	ΤΟΥCKΔΝΤΕ- (translates πρῶτος in ILT 5 i 14, 25; 8 ii 11)
2nd	ΟΥΕΛ- (see SC 2.13n)
3rd	ΤΟΥCKΤ-
7th	ΚΟΛΟΤΙΤ-
12th	ΔΙΜΕΔ(ΟΥ) ΟΥΕΙΤ-

Like cardinals, ordinals follow their nouns, which, however, are in the genitive: e.g. St. 12.2 ΠΚΤΝ ΤΟΥCKΤΚΔ- "the third share," ILT 8 i 11-12 ΤΡΔΠΔΤΗΚΟ-ΛΟΤΙΤΚΔ "the seventh seal." The cardinal may be used instead of an ordinal: L. 111.7 ΚΔΤΔΠΕΤΔCΜΔ ΟΥΟΥ-ΚΔΛΟ "after veil two."

#### 3.8.3 Multiplicatives; the following are attested:

ΟΥΕΡΔΝ "once" K. 25.1

ΚΟΛΟΤΔΝ "seven times" K. 25.2; cf. also gr. 4.3 ΖΛΟΤΗ (i.e. ΚΟΛΟΤΗ) ΠΔΟΥ "7 times."

3.8.4 Fractions; the only attestation is ILT 8 i 14 ΤΔΡΔΤΝ COYTTTEK-KΔ "for half an hour."

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

3.9.1 Monosyllabic stems: e.g. (consult Indices for attestations) ΔΚ- "to sit," ΔΔΠΠ- "to perish," ΚΙ- "to think."

3.9.2 Polysyllabic stems: e.g. ΔΕΕΚ- "to be patient," ΚΔΡΙΔ- "to break," ΔΟΓΟΠ- "to creep."

3.9.3 There are a few reduplicated stems: e.g. ΚΔC-ΚΔC- "to draw," ΠΕΥ-ΠΕΥ- "to be paralytic," COYP-COYP- "to disturb."

3.9.4 Verbal loan words seem limited to Greek; they include ΚΕΛΕΥ-(Π-) "to order" (for -Π- see 3.9.5a) and ΠΙCΤΕΥ(ΕΙ)- "to believe."

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

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

- (Δ)C- inchoative: restricted in verb formations to periphrastics (3.9.12).

- (Δ)P- causative: e.g. SC 16.9 OYPΠ-ΔP- "to cause to fall" (sim. St. 21.4 OYPΠ-Π-). The causative element may be weakened and become apparently redundant: e.g. CΔΕΔ-Π- "to pray" in SC 13.19 against CΔΕΔ- "to pray" in M. 15.12; the loss of -(Δ)P- may be due to phonological reasons: see 2.5.6a. See also 2.11 (-OYP-).

- Γ(Δ)P- causative: restricted in verb formations to periphrastics (3.9.12).

- ΚΕ-/-ΚΙ-/-Κ- consuetudinal: restricted to periphrastics (3.9.12). Cf. SC 3.17n.

- Μ- admirative: see 3.9.10.

- ΜΕΝ-/-ΜΙΝ- negative verb (from Μ- "not" and ΕΙΝ-/ΕΝ- "to be"): restricted to periphrastics (3.9.12).<sup>11</sup>

- ΤΔΚ- passive: attached to the stem either directly or—in the case of a stem ending in two consonants—with the juncture vowel /i/ (2.10): e.g. SC 1.6 ON-ΤΔΚ- "to be loved," 19.14 ΕΕΚ-Ι-ΤΔΚ- "to be conquered."

<sup>11</sup> The negative prefix Μ- appears elsewhere: e.g. Μ-ΟΝ- "to hate" (literally "not to love"), Μ-ΙΔΙΡΚ- "disobedience" (see SC 7.2-3n and for the positive 1.13n).

N.B. When the verbid is fully reduced (3.9.8), -ΜΕΝ-/-ΜΙΝ- may appear to be attached directly to the stem, but comparison of (e.g.) SC 9.16 ΕΙΔΡΔ-ΜΙΝ- with 8.4 ΤΟΠΙ-ΜΕΝ- and 3.17 ΤΟΚ-ΜΕΝ- shows the progressive reduction of the verbid; a similar reduction is observable with -Γ(Δ)P-: St. 2.1 ΕΙΔΡΔ-ΓΔP-, 3.10 ΠΔΔ-ΓΔP-, 9.8 ΟΚ-ΚΡ- (= ΟΚ-ΤΡ-: 2.4) and with -ΚΕ-/-ΚΙ-/-Κ-: INT 5 vii 9-10 ΜΕΔΔΕΔ-ΚΕΔ-, SC 11.16-17 ΟΥΝΚΟΥΝΚΕΔ-.

Of the above morphemes, the following may also be construed with a preceding noun (in the predicative):  $-(\Delta)C-$ ,  $-(\Delta)P-$ ,  $-T(\Delta)P-$ ,  $-MEN-$ ; e.g. SC 9.19  $T\Delta\Delta-\Delta C-$  "to become flesh," 14.16  $\bar{\Delta}N\bar{C}T-\bar{P}-$  "to effect resurrection" (sim. 10.10  $\Delta[N\bar{C}T-\Delta P-]$ , 10.5  $OP\Delta-\Gamma\bar{P}-$  "to make wine," ILT 10 A i 16-18  $CE[Y]\Delta PT\Delta \delta\Delta\lambda\lambda K\Delta\bar{E}$  ---  $M\bar{N}\bar{N}\Delta N\Delta$  "are they not serving spirits ...?")

Note that occasionally  $-(\Delta)C-$ ,  $-(\Delta)P-$  and  $-T(\Delta)P-$  appear to interchange: e.g. M. 2.4  $M\Delta\bar{I}K-\Delta P-ICN\Delta$  "she became afflicted," L. 101.4  $-TNOY\bar{\Delta}$  "in order to become" (=  $-TIP-INOY\bar{\Delta}$ : 2.5.6a; see also Browne 1982a, 12), 109.9  $T\bar{C}C-\Delta C-P\bar{E}C\omega$  "I make hallow" (vs.  $TICCC\Delta-\Gamma\Delta P-E\bar{C}\omega$  in 109.5; see Browne 1988, II §2.a fn. 2), and cf. also ILT 8 ii 9-10  $ME\Delta\Delta\bar{\Delta}-C-IC\Delta N\Delta$  "they made ready" ( $\eta\tau o\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$ ) with SC 12.17  $ME\Delta\Delta\bar{\Delta}-\Gamma P-ON\Delta$  "he made ready" ( $\eta\tau o\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ).

b) The syntactic morphemes relate the verb to another part of the sentence. Old Nubian displays only  $-6-$ , a morpheme that refers to a plural object (either direct or indirect) and occasionally to a plural subject; it is attached to the verbal stem either directly or by means of the juncture vowel /i/: e.g. SC 4.19  $K\Delta\pi O\pi I\Gamma OYK\Delta \Delta O\lambda-I-6-NI\bar{\Delta}$  "in order to gather pearls" (plural object; cf. 4.7.7d), 5.17  $OYK OYCKP\Delta T I\bar{6}-6-\Delta PPI-K\Delta$  "which I am going to set before you" (plural indirect object; cf. 4.6b), 8.12  $\Delta I-6-O\lambda\Gamma OY N\Delta$  "of those who are dead" (plural subject). Note that  $-6-$  is at times omitted, especially with causatives: e.g. K. 29.15-30.1  $T\bar{\Delta}\lambda OY \delta M\bar{M}\bar{\Delta}\Gamma OYK\Delta C\bar{M}\pi I T-\Delta P-OKK\Delta$  "God who established all"; it may also refer to a plural object not specifically identified in the text: e.g. SC 17.20  $\Delta Y-6-E\bar{C}\bar{N}NO[6]\omega\bar{\Delta}\lambda\omega$  "because he created [sc. everything]." For further discussion see Browne 1988, II.

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

3.9.6 Synopsis of the verb. The arrangement follows the order presented in Browne 1982b (see also Browne 1988, I), where it is argued that the subjunctive arises from the "verbid"<sup>12</sup> through the addition of personal endings (e.g.  $\Delta O\lambda\lambda-I\lambda + -\Delta N$  [3rd pers. pl.]  $\rightarrow \Delta O\lambda\lambda I P\Delta N$  [2.6]), and that the predicative and the indicative arise from fusion of  $-\Delta$  (predicative case: 3.6.4) either with the verbid, resulting in the predicative ( $\Delta O\lambda\lambda I\lambda + -\Delta \rightarrow \Delta O\lambda\lambda I P\Delta$ ) or with the subjunctive, resulting in the indicative ( $\Delta O\lambda\lambda I P\Delta N + -\Delta \rightarrow \Delta O\lambda\lambda I P\Delta N\Delta$ ). Note that the predicative usually requires formal expression of the subject, which is overtly marked in the indicative: cf. SC 19.6  $T\Delta\lambda\lambda O$  ---  $\Delta Y\bar{E}I\delta\Delta P\Delta$  "he made" with 19.11  $\Delta YON\Delta$  "he made."

The form here given,  $\Delta O\lambda\lambda-$  "to wish," shows the juncture vowel  $i$ , which can also appear as  $\epsilon$ . It is required only after a stem ending in two consonants; elsewhere

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



its use is optional: e.g. SC 8.16 ΠΕC-ΕCΙ-, but 22.8 IC-CI-; M. 1.3 ΔΥ-CΔ-, but ILT 10 A ii 9 ΔΟΥ-ΕCΝ.

	Verbid ( <sup>ε</sup> ) ΔΟΧΛΙΛ	Predicative ( <sup>ε</sup> ) ΔΟΧΛΙΡΔ	Subjunctive	Indicative
Present			Sg.1 ΔΟΧΛΙΡΙ 2/3 ΔΟΧΛΙΝ Pl.1/2 ΔΟΧΛΙΡΟΥ 3 ΔΟΧΛΙΡΔΝ	ΔΟΧΛΙΡΕ ΔΟΧΛΙΝΔ ΔΟΧΛΙΡΟ ΔΟΧΛΙΡΔΝΔ
Preterite I	ΔΟΧΛΟΛ ( <sup>Δ</sup> )	ΔΟΧΛΔΡΔ	Sg.1 ΔΟΧΛΔΡΙ 2/3 ΔΟΧΛΟΝ Pl.1/2 ΔΟΧΛΔΡΟΥ 3 ΔΟΧΛΟΥΔΝ <sup>13</sup>	ΔΟΧΛΔΡΕ ΔΟΧΛΟΝΔ ΔΟΧΛΔΡΟ ΔΟΧΛΟΥΔΝΔ
Preterite II	ΔΟΧΛΙCΙΛ ( <sup>ε</sup> )	(ΔΟΧΛΙCΙΡΔ) (ΔΟΧΛΙCΔ) <sup>14</sup>	Sg.1 ΔΟΧΛΙCΙ 2/3 ΔΟΧΛΙCΙΝ Pl.1/2 ΔΟΧΛΙCΟΥ 3 ΔΟΧΛΙCΔΝ	ΔΟΧΛΙCΕ ΔΟΧΛΙCΙΝΔ <sup>15</sup> ΔΟΧΛΙCΟ ΔΟΧΛΙCΔΝΔ
Future <sup>16</sup>	ΔΟΧΛΔΔΙΛ ( <sup>ε</sup> )	ΔΟΧΛΔΡΡΔ	Sg.1 ΔΟΧΛΔΡΡΙ 2/3 ΔΟΧΛΔΝ Pl.1/2 ΔΟΧΛΔΡΡΟΥ 3 ΔΟΧΛΔΡΡΔΝ	ΔΟΧΛΔΡΡΕ ΔΟΧΛΔΝΝΔ ΔΟΧΛΔΡΡΟ ΔΟΧΛΔΡΡΔΝΔ
Imperative <sup>17</sup>	Sg.1 --- 2/3 ΔΟΧΛΕ(CΩ) Pl.1 ΔΟΧΛΔΜCΩ 2/3 ΔΟΧΛΔΝΔ(CΩ)		Vetitive Sg.2/3(?) Pl.2	ΔΟΧΛΔΤΔΜΗ ΔΟΧΛΔΤΔΝΚΕ(CΩ)
			Adjunctive	ΔΟΧΛΔ

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

<sup>13</sup> See 2.5.6a.

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

<sup>15</sup> Also written ΔΟΧΛΙCΝΔ (1.3.2).

<sup>16</sup> Herewith the future with the allomorph -Δ- (3.9.7b); the verb is ΚΙΡ- "to come":

Verbid ( <sup>ε</sup> ) ΚΙΔΔΙΛ	Predicative ( <sup>ε</sup> ) ΚΙΔΔΙΡΔ	Subjunctive	Indicative
		Sg.1 ΚΙΔΔΙΡΙ 2/3 ΚΙΔΔΙΝ Pl.1/2 ΚΙΔΔΙΡΟΥ 3 ΚΙΔΔΙΡΔΝ	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΕ ΚΙΔΔΙΝΔ ΚΙΔΔΙΡΟ ΚΙΔΔΙΡΔΝΔ

<sup>17</sup> For additional formations see 3.9.17.

## 3.9.7 Notes on tenses:

a) The difference between pret. I and pret. II appears to be aspectual in the indicative, where pret. I tends to be either a descriptive imperfect or a resultative perfect, and pret. II is regularly a punctiliar past: e.g. ILT 4 i 1  $\bar{\Sigma}$ KONΔ "he was sitting" ( $\epsilon\kappa\theta\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ ), L. 111.6 ΠΕCΤΔKONΔ "it is called" ( $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ) and ILT 4 i 9 ΠΕCCNΔ "he said" ( $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu$ ); at times, however, the distinction is blurred: e.g. in SC 12.17-18, where pret. I ΜΕΔΔ $\bar{\Sigma}$ ΓΡONΔ is followed by pret. II ΜΕΔΔ $\bar{\Sigma}$ ΓΔΡΙCΝΔ, both rendering  $\eta\tau\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ . In the predicative we find only pret. I (where -PΔ appears after a stem ending in a single -P-: e.g. SC 22.6 Τ $\bar{\Phi}$ ΡΔ [2.5.3]); it corresponds to a descriptive imperfect, resultative perfect or—as a replacement for pret. II—a punctiliar past: e.g. SC 17.22-23 ΔΟΥ $\bar{\Delta}$ ΡΔ "it was" ( $\eta\bar{\iota}\nu$ ), L. 105.7 Δ $\bar{\iota}$ ΔΟ --- ΟΥNNΔΡΔ "I have begotten" ( $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \dots\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\kappa\alpha$ ), SC 19.1 ΔΥΕΙ $\bar{\Delta}$ ΡΔ "he made" ( $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ).

The aspectual distinction between the two preterites vanishes with the verbid and the subjunctive: with the former pret. II is required only when the subject of the clause is in the genitive (4.4); otherwise pret. I is used: cf. M. 12.2-3 Ε $\bar{\eta}$  ΤΔNNΔ Κ $\bar{\Pi}$ C $\bar{\Sigma}$  "this which he ate" (4.6a), M. 11.3-4 ΟΥNNΟΔ ΜΔΡΙΔ- "Mary who gave birth" (4.6d). With the subjunctive, pret. I is adverbial (i.e. equivalent to a circumstantial/temporal clause, without an immediately following postposition except for the connecting particle -ON "and": 3.10 s.v.), while pret. II is adnominal (i.e. attached directly to postpositions or equivalent to a relative clause): e.g. M. 3.9-10 ΟΥΚΟΥΡ ΔΙΕ $\bar{\lambda}$  ΔΥΤΔKON-NON "and when many a day had passed" (4.7.3c), M. 10.8-9 ΤΡΙC $\bar{\Sigma}$ ΓΙON ΚΙ $\bar{\epsilon}$ C $\bar{\eta}$ -NOKONO $\bar{\epsilon}$ ION "and when the Tris-hagion had come" (4.7.3b) and SC 22.10 Ε $\bar{\tau}$ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΔ Δ $\bar{\epsilon}$ C $\bar{\eta}$  "the woman whom you gave to me" (4.6a).

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

b) The future tense has two allomorphs:

-Δ- after a vowel or single sonorant (attested: N, λ, P; the latter two usually assimilating to Δ); -P- is a variant spelling in ILT 9 i 20 C $\bar{\epsilon}$ -P-ΡΔ (cf. 2.2.2).

-ΔΔ-/-ΔΡ- after a consonant or doubled sonorant. Note that ΔΥ, ΟΥ (i.e. /aw/ and /ow/),  $\bar{\Gamma}$  and  $\bar{\Phi}$  count as consonants.

E.g. M. 4.15  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ω-Δ $\bar{\eta}$  (subjunctive, 2nd pers. sg.), St. 6.5 -ΜΕΝ-ΔΡ $\bar{\epsilon}$ - (indicative, 1st pers. sg. [1.3.2]), ILT 10 A i 19  $\bar{\epsilon}$ Τ-ΔΡ $\bar{\Sigma}$ - (verbid), M. 13.9 ΟΥNN-ΔΡΡΔ- (predicative), M. 11.12 ΔΥ-ΔΡΡ $\bar{\epsilon}$  (indicative), INT 1 ii 8 CΟΥ-ΔΡΡΔ- (predicative), L. 100.2  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ΟΥΝΤΟΥ- CΔΡΡ[Δ (predicative), ILT 4 i 12 Δ $\bar{\Phi}$ ΔΔ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΔ (admirative [3.9.10]).

c) With the negative verb -ΜΕΝ-/-ΜΙΝ- (3.9.5a) we frequently find the present when the preterite is expected: e.g. M. 2.1-2 KONΜΕNNΔ $\bar{\lambda}$ ω "she did not have," L. 108.10 ΔΔΠΠΙΜΕNNΔ $\bar{\lambda}$ ω "he did not perish," SC 14.7-8 Ε $\bar{\eta}$ ΠΙΤΔΚΜΕNNΔ[ $\bar{\lambda}$ ]ω "he did not suffer." In all the examples now known, the emphasizing postposition - $\bar{\lambda}$ Ο/- $\bar{\lambda}$ ω (3.10) is attached to the verb.

**3.9.8** Reduced verbid. In the pret. II the full form of the verbid is clearly visible in SE A i 12 ΔΟΛΛΙC̄-KΔ and is but thinly disguised by assimilation in SC 19.14 ΕCΚΙΤΔΚC̄-KΔ (cf. also M. 8.11-12 ΔΓΟΡC̄C̄-KΔ; see 2.5.6a); usually it is collapsed: e.g. L. 107.12 ΕΙΤΡΕC̄-KΔ, SC 9.20-21 -ΓΔΡΕC̄I-K[ΕΝΚΩ. Similarly, with the present tense we find e.g. T1661-ΔΕ in SC 2.14 and ΕΙΔΡΙ in clause-final position in 9.13. Further reductions include ILT 4 i 15 ΠΕC̄-KON Ε̄NC̄NΔ (cf. ΠΕC̄I-KON Ε̄NC̄NΔ in ii 9-10 and ΤΕC̄ΡΕΛ-KON ΕΙΝΜC̄C̄ΔNΔ- in 9 ii 5: 3.9.13). For the loss of I and λ in these forms cf. 2.5.6a.

**3.9.9** Expanded verbid. There is also a verbid terminating in -N instead of -λ. It interchanges at times with the regular verbid: e.g. ILT 4 i 16 ΕΝΕΝ-KΔ and INT 2 ii 9 ΕΝΕλ-KΔ, but it is chiefly used to mark a conditional/temporal clause: see 4.7.3c and 4.7.5b. In shape it is often identical with the 2nd/3rd pers. sg. of the subjunctive.<sup>18</sup> The expanded verbid can also be discerned in some of the verbal forms which are usually built upon the verbid in -λ: e.g. SC 1.6<sup>17</sup> Δ̄N̄-NE (from Δ̄N̄-PE: 2.3.2), followed by ΠΕC̄ΔΡΡΕ (from ΠΕC̄ΔΡΙλ-I-Δ: 3.9.6 [see also Browne 1982b, §22]). Note that in a form like Δ̄N̄NE from Δ̄N̄-PE, the P is no longer regarded as derived from the verbid but is now simply part of the ending.<sup>19</sup>

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

Present Sg.	1	ΔΟΛΛΜΕ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΜΔ
Pl.	1	ΔΟΛΛΜΟ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΜΔNΔ
Future Sg.	1	ΔΟΛΛΔΜΕ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΔΜΔ
Pl.	1	ΔΟΛΛΔΜΟ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΔΜΔNΔ

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

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

<sup>19</sup> Sim. ILT 9 ii 9 ΔΟΥNNΔNΔ (i.e. ΔΟΥλ- ["to be"] + -N- [expanded verbid] → ΔΟΥN- [2.3.1] + -PΔNΔ → ΔΟΥNNΔNΔ [2.3.2]).

Here we should note M. 6.5-6 KENΔΟΥKΔPPΔλE, which reveals the base form of the verbid (from -ΔPPIλ-PE, with P as part of the ending, as in Δ̄N̄NE discussed above). Sim. M. 14.4 ΕC̄C̄NΔ = C̄I-C̄Iλ-NΔ (2.3.2).

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



ΛΜΜΟ ΟΥΚΔ ΕΙΔΡΑΤΑΔΔΔΕΝΚΔ "we wish that you will reveal to us ..." (said by apostles to Jesus).

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

Verbid periphrastic	ΔΟΧΛΙΔ ΕΙΝ- (3.9.13)
Predicative periphrastic	ΔΟΧΛΙΡΔ ΕΙΝ- (3.9.14)
Indicative periphrastic	ΔΟΧΛΙΝΔ ΕΙΝ- (3.9.15)

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

- ΔΥ- "to do" (verb[id] p(eriphrastic))
- (Δ)Ε- inchoative (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)
- Γ(Δ)Ρ- causative (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)
- ΔΔΛ-/ΔΔΡ- "to be" (verb.p., pred.p.)
- ΔΟΥΛ- "to be" (verb.p., pred.p.)
- ΚΕ-/ -ΚΙ-/ -Κ- consuetudinal (denoting customary action; verb.p.)
- ΚΦ(Ψ)- "to be without" (verb.p.); cf. 3.4.2
- ΜΕΔΔ- "to be full" (pred.p.)
- ΜΕΝ-/ -ΜΙΝ- "not to be" (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)
- ΟΚ- "to be" (verb.p.)
- ΠΙ- "to be" (verb.p., pred.p.)

Notes:

a) Of the periphrastic formations, that of the indicative appears to be clearly emphatic and is perhaps on a semantic level similar to the admirative (3.9.10) and the predicative copulative (3.9.16a). But the verbid and the predicative periphrastic, when they can be compared to non-periphrastic formations, seem to be merely stylistic variations of the latter; cf. e.g. ILT 4 i 9 ἸΗΣΟΥΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ "and Jesus said" (non-periphrastic) with ii 19-20 ΠΕΡΙ-ΚΟΝ ΕΝΕΝΔ ΔΙΟΝ ΕΝΕΤΕ "and the sister of the dead man said" (verbid periphrastic [in reduced form]), and cf. also SC 7.2-3 ΜΙΛΙΡΚΔ ΔΙΔΡΚΔ[Λ]Ο ΕΚΝΔ- "disobedience produces death" (non-periphrastic) with K. 24.5-7 ΜΕΡΚΔ ΔΕΙΔΡΚΔ ΕΓΡΔ ΕΝΕΝΕΔΟΥΝ "because disobedience produces death" (predicative periphrastic); see further Browne 1987b, 314. And the difference between the verbid and the predicative periphrastic seems also to be simply stylistic: cf. e.g. ILT 8 ii 6 ΔΥΤΔΚ-ΚΟΝ ΕΝΕΝΔ "and there happened ..." (verbid periphrastic) with 9 i 22-ii 1 ΔΡΜΕΤΔΚ-ΚΔ-ΕΙΟΝ ΕΝΔΝΔ "and he will be judged" (predicative periphrastic [-ΚΔ is assimilated from -ΡΔ: 2.3.2]).

b) At times -(Δ)Ε- and Γ(Δ)Ρ- appear to interchange: see 3.9.5a sub fin.

3.9.13 Verbid periphrastic. The clearest examples show the verbid in its base form: e.g. SC 9.16 ΕΙΔΡΙΛ ΜΙΝΑΤΟΥΛ "who do not understand," 9.5 ΔΔΠΡΕΛ-ΚΦΡ-ΙΚΔ

"imperishable," 11.20 ΠΕΛΘΙΛ ΠΙΡΔ "accrues," 18.7-8 ΔΔΛ ΔΥΔ "making it glow." The verbid is frequently reduced (cf. 3.9.8): cf. St. 2.1 ΕΙΔΡ-ΓΔΡ-ΙCΔΛΟ "he caused [them] to know" with 3.10-11 ΠΣΛΙ-ΓΡΔ ΔΕΝΘΙCΝΔ "he caused [it] to appear to us," and cf. also ILT 9 ii 5-6 ΤΕCΡΕΛ-KON ΕΙΝΜΤCΔΝΔΛΟ "and they have not rested" with 4 ii 9-10 ΠΕCΙ-KON ΕΝC<Δ>ΝΔ "and they said" and i 15 ΠΕC-KON ΕΝCΝΔ "and she said." N.B. The verbid is usually in the present tense, but it is also found in the future (ILT 2 i 18-19 ΕΙΔ ΕΝΕΝ ΘΟΥΡΡΩ ΟΥΕΙCΚΔ Τ66ΔΔΣ "because you will recompense"; sim. 3 ii 9—if correctly restored) and probably in the preterite as well (SC 3.15—if rightly restored—ΤΟΕΙΟΛ [Ε]ΝΕΝΝΔ "of one who has rubbed on"; cf. also Dong. 1 ii 25-26 ΓΠΡ-ΟΕΙΔΛ-[ = -ΟΛ(?) )-ΓΡΔΡΔΛΗ "you will make [it] renewed"). Since the verbid tends to be in the present tense in this construction, it is the auxiliary that regularly designates the time of the action: in addition to the passages cited above, note the future in St. 12.8 ΤΟΝ6Σ ΔΟΥΔΝΝΔ "he will stand."

3.9.14 Predicative periphrastic. E.g. L. 113.4-5 ΠΕCΡΔΤΟΥ[Ε] ΕΙΝΙΛ "saying," K. 24.6-7 ΤΕΓΡΔ ΕΝΕΝΝΕΘΟΥΝ "because it produces," M. 1.9-10 ΟΥΝΝΔΡΔ ΜΕΝΝΔΛΩ "she did not bear." At times the predicative is assimilated or elided: e.g. SC 19.12-13 ΔΟΥΛΛΔΤΡΟΝΔ (from ΔΟΥΛ-ΡΔ-) "he caused him to dwell," 10.11 ΤΟΡ6ΔΡ-ΕΙΝΝ "standing." N.B. The tense of the predicative may be either present or preterite (as in M. 1.9-10 and SC 10.11 just cited) or future (as e.g. in St. 16.4-5 ΔΥ[Λ]ΕΝΔΡΔ ΕΙΝΝ "which will save"<sup>21</sup>). Since the auxiliary also denotes tense, a certain variety of expression obtains: cf. e.g. the passage just cited (future predicative + present subjunctive) with ILT 9 i 22-ii 1 ΔΡΜΤΤΔΚ-ΚΔ-ΕΙΟΝ ΕΝΔΝΔ "and he will be judged" (present predicative [-ΚΔ = -ΡΔ: 2.3.2] + future indicative).

3.9.15 Indicative periphrastic. E.g. M. 6.8-9 ΔΛΕCΝ ΟΥΝΝΡΕ ΕΝΕΝ-NON literally "and truly if I am 'I give birth'" i.e. "and truly if I in fact give birth," ILT 4 ii 15 ΕΝΚΕΤΔΛ ΔΙΜΙΝΝΔ ΓΔΡΙ- "to cause that this one too not die," SC 22.8-9 ΚΟΤΟΝΔ ΜΕΝΔ "it is not that you ate?" N.B. Both dependent indicative and auxiliary can be adjusted as to tense: with SC 22.8-9 just cited contrast SC 13.7-8 ΕΠ]ΔΛΙΘΙΝΝΔΝΔ-ΤΙC[ΝΔ "he caused that they strike" (cf. n. ad loc.).

<sup>21</sup> The verb ΔΥΛ- "to save" stands (if the text is correctly restored) as a verbid connected with the following -ΕΝ-, and we have a verbid periphrastic dependent upon a predicative periphrastic. There are other examples of this kind of proliferation: e.g. SC 2.11 ΜΕΡΔ-ΔΔΡ-ΔΤ-ΔΡΔ-C-ΚΕ "you have become prepared," a concatenation consisting of a verbid periphrastic (ΜΕΡΔ-ΔΔΡ-) attached to -ΔΤ- as a predicative periphrastic (-ΔΔΡ(Δ)-ΔΤ-) and culminating in the construction described in 3.9.16a, and also M. 4.7-8 ΘΟΔΡΔ ΜΕΔΔΣ-ΤΟΛ "ready to go," i.e. a predicative periphrastic (ΘΟΔΡΔ ΜΕΔΔ-) dependent on -Τ- as a verbid periphrastic (ΜΕΔΔΣ-ΤΟΛ). It is by no means clear whether such exuberance is simply the result of an inherited and ossified phrasology or the conscious product of a *Kunstsprache*.

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

a) The predicative copulative. This formation is limited to the second person singular and plural and appears to supply the admirative (3.9.10) with its missing forms. The particles  $-\lambda H$  (sg.) and  $-KE_{pl.}$  are attached to the predicative; with  $-KE$ , the element  $-\lambda-$  precedes in the present and future tenses,  $-\Delta C-$  in the present and preterite. The forms attested are:

	Singular	Plural
Present	---	$-P\Delta-\lambda-KE, -(P-)\Delta C-KE$
Preterite I	$-\Delta P\Delta-\lambda H$	$-\Delta P-\Delta C-KE$
Future	$-\Delta P\Delta-\lambda H$	$-\Delta PP\Delta-\lambda-KE$

Some examples: (preterite sg.) SC 21.22  $K\Delta\pi\Delta P\Delta\lambda H[\cdot]$   $\pi\Delta\Delta P\Delta$   $\pi\Delta PP\Delta\lambda H$  "You ate! You transgressed!" (said by God to Adam after the fall); (future sg.) ILT 4 ii 25  $\epsilon\Delta\Delta\Delta P\Delta\lambda H-$  "you shall see" (comparable in emphasis to the admirative in i 12  $\Sigma P\Delta\Delta\pi M\Delta$  "he shall live"); (present pl.) SC 2.10  $\epsilon\pi N\Delta\lambda KE$  "you really are"<sup>22</sup>; (preterite pl.) 2.16-17  $OY\lambda\lambda\Delta KKE P\Delta\epsilon\Delta P\Delta CK\epsilon$  "you have actually become teachers (of the whole world)"; (future pl.) 21.14  $KOY\lambda\lambda\Delta\epsilon\Delta PP\Delta\lambda KE-$  "you will actually become like (God)." Cf. also  $-KE$  in vetitive formations (3.9.18).

b) Indicative copulative. The postposition  $-M\Delta$ , in which  $\Delta$  may be deleted, is attested as a copula with a preceding noun in the predicative: see 3.10 s.v. It is found attached to the indicative in the following cases: K. 20.5-6  $K\pi M\pi CO-M$   $\epsilon\epsilon IM\pi CO-M\Delta$  "is it (the case that) we did not eat, is it (the case that) we did not drink ...?" WN 4  $\epsilon NNO-M\Delta$  "we are," SC 6.11, 13-14  $\pi\lambda\lambda\Delta M\pi NE-M$  ---  $\phi OYPOYTOY\epsilon P\Delta M\pi NE-M$  "I do not experience ..., I do not trace." In each of these instances  $-M(\Delta)$  appears to topicalize the preceding verb.

3.9.17 Imperative. See the forms listed in the synopsis in 3.9.6. Note that  $-C\omega$  (also spelled  $-CO$ ) is rarely omitted. E.g. SC 17.21  $OY\lambda TP\epsilon C\omega$  "hear," Ben. 18  $T\Delta POY\epsilon C\omega$  "let it praise," SC 24.9-10  $\epsilon OK TP\Delta MC\omega$  "let us give glory," L. 101.1  $\Delta Y\epsilon I\epsilon\Delta N\Delta C\omega$  "do," Ben. 4  $T\Delta POY\Delta N\Delta C\omega$  "let them praise" (cf. Browne 1979, II). See also 4.7.7c.

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

Singular	Plural
$\Delta O\lambda\lambda ON\Delta C\omega$ (pret. I)	$\Delta O\lambda\lambda OY\Delta N\Delta C\omega$ (pret. I)
$\Delta O\lambda\lambda\Delta MH$ (see below)	$\Delta O\lambda\lambda IC\Delta N\Delta MH$ (pret. II)

<sup>22</sup> Probably we should list here ILT 5 ii 4-5  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon T\Delta\lambda KE$  (=  $\epsilon\pi-\epsilon T-P\Delta\lambda-KE?$ ), which appears to be strongly emphatic: "you must take up" ( $\phi\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  ...); as well as K. 21.15-16  $MN\Delta OY\lambda TPIM\epsilon N\Delta KE$  (=  $-M\epsilon N-P\Delta\lambda-KE?$ ) "What? Do you not hear...?" But in both cases we may have  $-\Delta\lambda KE$  attached directly to the stem. For the form  $-(P-)\Delta C-KE$  in the table, there are two examples: L. 106.6  $KO\Delta CK\epsilon$  "you have," and 101.6  $\pi\lambda\lambda\Delta\lambda\lambda\Delta CK\epsilon$  "you shine." For the disappearance of  $-P-$  in all of these examples and for the loss of  $-\lambda-$  in K. 21.15-16, see 2.5.6a (note, however, that in L. 101.6  $\pi\lambda\lambda\Delta\lambda\lambda\Delta CK\epsilon$  may be articulated not as  $\pi\lambda\lambda-\Delta\lambda\lambda-\Delta CK\epsilon$  [with loss of  $-P-$ ] but as  $\pi\lambda\lambda-\Delta\lambda-\lambda-\Delta CK\epsilon$  [with  $-\lambda-$  assimilated from  $-P-$ ]; cf.  $\Delta\lambda-$  in ILT II i 9 and ii 6).

In the forms marked "pret." we apparently have the preterite subjunctive + predicative  $-\Delta + -C\omega$  or  $-MH$  (3.10), resulting in a jussive: e.g. ILT 5 ii 20  $\epsilon\iota\Delta\rho-T\Delta K\Omega\Delta C\omega$  "let it be known," SC 3.14  $\Delta NK\Delta N\Delta C\omega$  "let him remember" ( $\Delta$  for  $O$ : 2.1.2), ILT 7 i 5  $\epsilon\iota\Delta\rho\gamma\Delta N\Delta C\omega$  "let them know," St. 31.11-12  $T\Delta\rho\gamma C\Delta N\Delta MH$  "let him be blessed" (literally "let him be (the one whom) they blessed": cf. Sunn. 1 ii 4  $T\Delta\rho\gamma-C\Delta N\Delta\overline{\omega}$  "blessed is ...."). In the case of the remaining form  $\Delta O\lambda\lambda\Delta MH$ ,  $-MH$  seems to be added to the stem through the intervention of predicative  $-\Delta$  (which may be enlarged by semantic or syntactic morphemes [3.9.5a and b]): e.g. K. 19.14  $\Pi\Delta\lambda\Delta MH$  "let him come forth," SC 25.15  $\Delta Y T\Delta K\Delta MH$  "let it be done," ILT 5 ii 23  $\epsilon\Delta\overline{\rho}\iota\delta\Delta MH$  "let him keep (them)."

**3.9.18 Vetitive.** In addition to negating the imperative by using  $-M\epsilon N-/-MIN-$  (3.9.5a), as e.g. in SC 9.18  $\Delta NKIMIN\epsilon CO$  "do not consider," the language also employs a special vetitive formation:

Singular	Plural
$\Delta O\lambda\lambda\Delta T\Delta MH, \Delta O\lambda\lambda\Delta T\Delta M$	$\Delta O\lambda\lambda\Delta T\Delta NK\epsilon(C\omega)$

Because of  $-K\epsilon$ , the formation in  $-T\Delta NK\epsilon(C\omega)$  can only be second person plural (see 3.10 under  $-K\epsilon$ );  $-T\Delta MH$  could be third person singular in K. 22.2 (see the comment in Browne 1980a, 41 n.9) but is securely attested only for the second person singular. The form  $-T\Delta MH$  (which is probably the negative  $-T\Delta-$  cited in 3.9.20 +  $-MH$ , used in the positive imperative [3.9.17]) is joined to the verb (which may be enlarged by semantic or syntactic morphemes) at times directly, at times through  $-\Delta$  (cf. the formation of  $\Delta O\lambda\lambda\Delta MH$  in 3.9.17): e.g. M. 6.12  $\Sigma\epsilon\overline{T}T\Delta K\Delta T\Delta MH$  "do not be insulted," WN 12  $\Delta NK\iota\delta\Delta T\Delta MH$  "do not remember (them)," K. 27.14  $\Pi\Delta T T\Delta MH$  "do not come forth." The reduced form  $-T\Delta M$  appears in WN 14  $\Delta NK\overline{T}\Delta M$  "do not remember," and possibly in ostr. (Griffith 1913, 56) a 6  $\overline{\Gamma}T\Delta M$ . For further discussion of the singular vetitive see Browne 1980a, V, and Smagina 1986a, 395; 1986b, 25.

For the plural  $-T\Delta NK\epsilon(C\omega)$ , in which  $-T\Delta N-$  is probably the reduced  $-T\Delta M-$  cited above, cf. SC 5.4  $TOK\Delta T\Delta NK[\epsilon]$  "do not cease," ILT 7 i 9  $T\iota\delta\delta\Delta NT\Delta NK\epsilon$  "do not hinder," gr. 4.4  $CO\lambda\Delta TOK\Delta T\Delta NK\epsilon CO$  "do not abandon," and see also L. 115.3 as restored in SC 11.9n.

**3.9.19 Adjunctive.** Several verbal stems can be coordinated by attaching  $-\Delta$  (which may be elided: 2.5.1b and 2.5.2b<sup>23</sup>) to each stem except the last, which alone bears the inflection; the stems need not be immediately contiguous: e.g. SC 7.14-16  $\epsilon\iota T\Delta$

<sup>23</sup> An elided or desinenceless adjunctive may display a juncture vowel (3.6.5): e.g. M. 16.13-14  $\overline{\Gamma}\Delta\lambda-OY OY\lambda\overline{\Gamma}PEN$  "when they, seeing, heard," L. 114.14  $\Pi\iota\lambda \overline{OK}-I ME\delta-6\Delta$  "being ..., standing," SC 22.23-24  $K\Delta C-I \Pi\Delta\delta[\overline{PEIN}\Delta(?)]\lambda O$  "wiping, taking away." Note that such formations can be ambiguous: the juncture vowel can also look like a reduced infinitive (e.g. SC 9.13-14  $\epsilon\iota T\overline{COY} \overline{IHC\overline{OY}CI}$  for  $\epsilon\iota T\overline{COI}\lambda \overline{IHC\overline{OY}CI}$ : see 4.6d), and  $\sigma$  may derive from either the adjunctive or the verbid (for the latter cf. M. 5.9  $KO\delta OY\epsilon C\omega$  for  $KO\lambda \delta OY\epsilon C\omega$ , on the analogy of St. 7.9  $KOYN\lambda K\Delta\Delta N\Delta$ : cf. 4.7.3c).

ΟΥΕΛ ΤΙΔΔCΗ ΟΥΕΡCΔΩ CΚ-Δ ΘΔΛΔCΟΥ ΟΥΔΤΤΟΚΔ ΓCΔ-Δ CΚΚΚΚΔ "... to a man who, sitting on a mountain, considering the whole sea, beholds it," 19.15-17 ΕΤ-Δ ΚΙΤ-Δ CΤΔΥΡΟCΗ ΚΟΕCΔΩ ΚΕΝ-ΕΟΔΡ-ΙΝΓΟΥΚΔ "(he wished,) taking and putting it on, placing and fastening it upon the tree of the cross, to set it." By extension, the adjunctive may follow the verb: e.g. SC 4.4 ΔΟΧΧ-Δ "wishing," at sentence-end.

Certain verbs are characteristically associated with the adjunctive:

ΔΕΝ- "to give" (to me/us) and ΤC- "to give" (to you/him/them), the so-called "dative verbs," used to specify an indirect object: e.g. St. 3.10-11 ΟΥΚΔ ΠCΛΙΓCΡC ΔΕΝΘΙCΝC "he revealed to us" (literally "revealing, he gave to us"), M. 7.5-6 ΤΔΝ ΕΙΧΔ ΟΥΤCΔ ΤCΗΔ "she placed it in his hand."

ΟC- "to take out," often = Gr. *ἐκ*, Engl. "forth": e.g. SC 3.16 CΕΝΔ CΕΝ "if he sends forth" (lit. "if he, sending, takes out": the Greek is *ἐκπέμπει*), 18.19-20 ΟΥΔΧ- CΙΘΕCΔ "to hurl forth" (Gr.: *ἐκβαλεῖν*).

Notes:

a) Occasionally, the adjunctive is coordinated with the main verb by ON "and" (3.11): gr. 2.6-7 ΟΥΧΓCΔ ΘΙΧΔ ON ΠCCEΥΔΗΔCΩ "let them, hearing, considering, rejoice" (cf. Browne 1979, II) and Dong. 1 i 22-23 ΤCΜΔ ΕΙΧΔ ON ΤΕCΗ ΚΟΥΧΔΥC ΠΙΕΙCΔΗΔ "assembling together, they slept within their cave" (see n. ad loc.).

b) In general, the adjunctive is coordinating, while the verbid (in circumstantial/temporal clauses: 4.7.3c) is subordinating: e.g. M. 12.16-13.2 ΜΔΝ ΕCΤCΧΟΝ ΜΙΔC ΚΙ CΔΔΚΚΔ ΓΔΧΧΙCΗΔ "and that woman, running [ΜΙΔC: present verbid], coming [ΚΙ: desinenceless adjunctive: 2.5.2b], opened the door," i.e. "... came running and opened the door." But at times the adjunctive appears to be subordinating: e.g. SC 10.19-20 ΟΥΕΡΙCΔ ΠΕCΤΔΚCΗΝΔΗΔ "they are said to become one" (literally "becoming one, they are spoken of").

**3.9.20** Negative in -ΤΔ. This formant, which appears in the vetitive (3.9.18), is also associated with the negative -ΜΕΝ-, which it seems to intensify: e.g. SC 11.8-10 ΟΥ[ΕΧ]ΕΝΔΕ ΕΙC CΟΥΜΠΟΥΤΤΔ ΟΥ[C]ΚCΚΔ ΕΙΡΟΥΜΕΝ-ΤΔ-ΧΟ "no one can lay another foundation," ILT 4 i 12-13 CΡΙCΔ ΜCΥCΔΗΔ C)CΗ ΔΙCΓCΧΕ ΠCTEΥΧΟΝ ΔΙΜΕΝΤΔΧΟ "and everyone living who believes in me shall not die." See Smagina 1986a, 395 and 1986b, 25.

**3.9.21** Interrogative sentences may terminate with:

a) -Ι: e.g. M. 9.1 ΔΝΚΙΜCΗΝΔΙ "don't you remember?," SC 18.2 CΧΧΔΙ "do you see?," K. 26.13-27.1 ΕΙCΚΔCΔΓCΔ --- ΠΔΔΕΙCΔ ΠΔΔΔΕΙΝΔΙ "how will you transgress?" The particle is not necessary: cf. SC 22.8-9 ΚΟΠΟΝΔ ΜΕΗΔ "it is not the case that you ate?," and 21.18-19 CΚΔΧ ΓΟΥΧΔ ΔΙCΔCΔ ΤΟΡΟΝΔ "how is it that you have fallen in disgrace?"



b) -2Δ: e.g. M. 8.14-15 ΕΙCΛΟ ΕΙCCNΔ-2Δ "where was it?"<sup>24</sup> and INT 5 iii 9-12 ΕΙCKΔPΔΓPΔ-2Δ --- ΠΔΛΔΕΙPΕ- "how will I go forth ...?"

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

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Stem ±	Caus. ±	Inch. ±	Pass. ±	Pl. ±	Neg. ±	Consuet. ±	Admir. +	Inflect. ±	Inter.
-(Δ)P-	-(Δ)E-	-TΔK-	-6-	-MEN-	-KE-	-M-	Indic.,	-I-	
-Γ(Δ)P-							Subjunct.	-2Δ-	
							etc.		

3 and 4 apparently exclude one another, as do 7 and 8. Note, however, that 2 and 3 are compatible (SC 3.21-22 ΕΙ6-PI-Γ-ΔNΔC[ω "pay attention"), as are 2 and 4 (L. 102.6 HY-ΓIP-TΔK-KΔ "to be hidden," SC 3.17 ΕΚK-<sup>5</sup>Τ[i.e. -P]-TΔK-Δ "to be comforted") and 4 and 5 (INT 2 i 12 ΠΕC-TΔK-6-ΔPΔ "were said"). Further, when a causative (2) and a plural infix (5) both appear, the latter may precede the former: cf. e.g. SC 18.13 ΠΕΕΙΔ ΟCΙ6IPΔΓΔPPΔ with St. 7.1 ΕΙΔPΣΓΔΔ6ΔΔΕΝ-. Occasionally, the causatives (2) appear to be interchangeable with the inchoative (3): see 3.9.5a sub fin.

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

-Δ particle of direct discourse: see 4.8.

-(λ)ΔΥΔ "within": ILT 2 ii 9 ΤΕPḢ ΔΕΔ-λΔΥΔ "within their heart." The same word appears to function adverbially in L. 111.13-14 ΜΔNΝΔN ΔΥΔ ΔΔ[PIN(?)] "manna being(?) within" (see Browne 1984, 29). The postposition is composed of ΔΥ- "interior" + -λΔ "in."

-(λ)ΔΥΩ "within": Dong. 1 i 22-23 ΤΕPḢ ΚΟΥλ-ΔΥΩ "within their cave." The word is composed of ΔΥ- "interior" + -λΩ "in."

-ΔΠΠΔ (-ΔΘΘΔ) --- -CḢ "for, since": K. 30.10-13 ΕΙNḢΓΟΥλ-ΔΠΠΔ --- ΚΟλΔ ΤPΔ-CḢ "for these are like ..." (For -CḢ see below, s.v.)

-ΓΔ(λΕ), -λΔ-ΓΔ(λΕ) "(in)to": SC 9.14-15 ΕP-ΓΔ ΔNKITΔKPΔ "they are mentioned to us," 23.5-6 ΠΕCCNΔ M[I]TI-ΓΔλΕ "he said to the serpent," L. 109.6-7 ΚΟCΜO[C]-λΔ-ΓΙλ ΔἼK ΕΙTPḢCIN ΚΕλλΩ "as you sent me into the world," SC 7.10-12

<sup>24</sup> Griffith printed ΕΙCCNΔ<sup>2</sup>Δ, which the presence of -2Δ in the next example suggests is the correct reading. Originally, however, the scribe wrote ΕΙCCNΔCΔ "and then an 2-like character [was] drawn over the C" (Griffith 1913, ad loc.), possibly intended as cancellation; if so, then ΕΙCCNΔ[C]Δ, i.e. ΕΙCNΔΔ (for -Δ see 4.8), is preferable, as in my revision.



ΕΙΔΡΤΙΓΟΥΝΑ ΠΑΧΚΤ-ΛΔ-ΓΧΛΕ-ΧΝ ΣΔΧΚΔ ΠΕΣΔ ΟΥΤΡ ΔΟΧΛΙΡΕΧΝ "for into the sea of thoughts I wish to set forth an argument." For -(λ)ΔΩ-ΓΧΛΕ see under -(λ)ΔΩ.

-(λ)ΔΔλ "with": SC 10.12-13 ΠΔΠ-ΣΔΔλ ΣΓΙΔΕΙΚΟ ΕΙΝΝ "sitting with the Father."

-(λ)ΔΕ "and, but": usually balanced by following particles, in particular by -(λ)ΔΕΚΕλ, which concludes a series of one or more preceding -(λ)ΔΕ's, and to which is attached the inflection relating the complex to the rest of the sentence: SC 6.5 ΠΔ-ΛΔΕ ΚΙΣΤ-ΣΔΕΚΕλ-ΚΔ "summer and winter," M. 15.12-15 ΤΔΔ-ΔΕ ΤΔΝ ΟΓ6-ΣΔΕ ΤΔΝ ΕΔΔ-ΔΕ ΤΔΝ ΜΕΔ6ΟΥΝΙΓΟΥ-ΛΔΕΚΕΚΚΔ ΠΕΤΔΡΙΧΝΔ "he baptized her, her husband, her son and her servant girls." Other balancing combinations include -ΔΕ (---) ON (cf. St. 17.10 ΕΧΔΕ ON --- "both now and..."), -ΔΕ --- ON (SC 23.9-10), -ΔΕΝΔλ ON --- -ΔΕΝΔλ (SC 1.1-5 [3.6.4a]), -ΔΕΝΟΥ (ON) --- -ΔΕΝΟΥ (St. 28.4-6, ILT 2 i 23), -ΔΕΝΟΥ --- -ΔΕΝΔλ (L. 101.4-5), -ΝΟΥ --- -ΔΕΝΔλ (ILT 4 i 10-11 [3.6.4a]). For -ΔΕ introducing the second of two relative clauses see Browne 1988, III §19.e.

-(λ)ΔΩ "upon, for, over": SC 7.15 ΟΥΕΡ-ΣΔΩ ΣΚΔ "sitting upon a mountain," M. 15.12 ΤΕΔ-ΔΩ ΣΙΧΕΛΔ "praying for them." Note also -(λ)ΔΩ-ΓΧΛΕ "to, upon": ILT 8 i 8 ΔΔΣ-ΣΔΩ-ΓΧΛΕ "to the fountain."

-(λ)ΔΟΝ "(down) from": K. 20.6-8 ΣΔΡΜ-ΣΔΟΝ ΪΕΡΟΥΣΔΛΗΜΕΙΔ 6ΔΝΚΔ ΚΟΥΜ-ΜΝΝΔΛΟ "he has no share in Jerusalem from heaven."

-ΕΝΔΕ "not": usually reinforces a negative clause, e.g. L. 108.9-10 ΤΕΡΙΔ ΟΥΕλ-ΕΝΔ[Ε]-Ε[Ι]ΟΝ ΔΔΠΠΙΜΕΝΝΔλΩ "and on one amongst them perished." The combination -ΕΝΔΕ --- -ΕΝΔΕ is frequent: cf. SC 6.11-13 ΜΔΨΔΝΝΔ ΚΔΚΚΔΝΝΙΚ-ΕΝΔΕ ΔΣΣΕΚ-ΕΝΔΕ "... nor the rays of the sun nor water ..." See also ΜΔΓΡΚΟΝ(ΝΟ)ΕΝΔΕ 3.11.

-ΕΝΚΩ "but," characteristically placed at clause-end: cf. SC 3.18-20 ΤΔΡ ΕΙΚΔ ΕΟ6ΕΛΓΟΥΛΚΕΤΔλ ΜΔΝΝ ΓΔΤΤΝΝΚΝΝΟ ΜΔΔΔΚΚΕΝΝΔ-ΕΝΚΩ "but he also fills those who stand near with the good odor of that."

-ΚΔΛΟ, -ΛΟ-ΚΔΛΟ "after": L. 111.7-8 ΚΔΤΔΠΕΤΔΣΜΔ ΟΥΟΥ-ΚΔΛΟ ΠΔΛΔ ΚΙλ- "that which comes after veil two" (3.8.2), St. 13.14-14.1 ΠΔ6ΕΣΙ-ΛΟ-ΚΔΛΟ- "after I have judged" (4.7.3b).

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

-ΚΕΓΔΓΡΣ "according to": L. 104.10-12 6ΔΥΕΝ [ΚΕ]ΓΔΓΡΣ-ΔΕ --- ΕΔΣΤΝ ΚΕΓΔΓΡ[Σ]-ΕΙΟΝ "according to the Gospel ..., but according to the election." Cf. also L. 106.3 [ΙΕΚΕΓΔΣΔΔΚΔ "according to."

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

-ΚΕΤΔλ, with a preceding local postposition, can mean "from": L. 104.5-6 Κ[Μ]ΜΔ ΣΙΩΝΙ-Σ[i.e. -λΔ: 2.5.6a]-ΚΕΤΔλ "he comes from Sion," M. 12.4-5 ΤΔΝΝΔ ΤΔΥΘ-ΚΕΤΔλ ΣΟΥΚΚΔ "coming out from under him." But most often it means "also," and with this meaning may have terminal -λΕ: M. 4.12-13 ΕΚ-ΚΕΤΔλ ΠΕΣΕΣΩ "Hello

to you too!," 14.11-12 ΕΤΤΑ-ΚΕΤΔΛ-ΛΕ-ΕΙΟΝ 6ΟΥΝΤΟΥΕΔ "and the woman too, becoming pregnant ..."

-ΚΕΚΣ, -ΛΟ-ΚΕΚΣ(-ΛΕ)-ΛΟ "up to": ILT 9 ii 18 ΕΡΓΙ6ΟΝΔ 2ΔΡΜΙ-ΚΕΚΣ "they have followed them up to heaven," SC 24.15-16 6ΕΛΓΟ[Υ]ΝΔ ΕΛΛΕΝ[Γ]ΟΥ-ΛΩ-ΚΕΚΣ-ΛΩ "up to the ages of eternity."

-ΚΟΝ "also, and": SC 14.6 ΕΝΕΡΡΙΤ[Δ]ΚΕΝ-ΚΟΝ "and if he suffered." It also appears with verbids periphrastic: see 3.9.13.

-ΚΟΝΟ "after": in adverbs, e.g. M. 12.7 ΤΟΥC-ΚΟΝΟ "immediately" (lit. "after before"), and as a conjunction, as in M. 10.9 ΚΙΕCΕΝ-ΝΟ-ΚΟΝΟ- "after it had come" (4.7.3b).

-ΛΔ (occasionally -ΛΛΔ) "(in)to, in, from": SC 4.18-19 ΠΔΛΚΙΤ-ΛΔ ΚΟΥ66ΡΔ ΤΟΡΔΜCΟ "let us leap into the sea," 5.2-3 ΔΙΚΙC-ΛΔ ΔΟΛΛΙ6ΔΡΡΔΛΚΕ "you are going to gather from (ΕΚ) the depth ...," 5.11-12 ΕCΠΤΤ-ΛΔ ΔΔΛΓΟΥΚΔ- "those who are in prodigality," 13.5 ΔΥΕC-ΛΔ ΔΚΙCΝΔ "he sat in a boat," ILT 10 A ii 18-19 ΕΙ[Ν]ΙΜΕΝ-ΔΕΝΓΟΥ-ΛΛΔ "in the midst of those that will not be ..." See also under -ΓC(ΛΕ). For its similarity with -ΛΟ, see below, fn. 25.

-ΛΕ: see under -ΓC(ΛΕ), -ΚΕΤΔΛ, -ΚΕΚΣ and -6ΟΥΝ.

-ΛΗ copulative: see 3.9.16a.

-ΛΟ (occasionally -ΛΛΟ) "(in)to, in, from": L. 113.1-2 ΒΗΘΛΕΜΗ ΤΟΥΔΑΙΔΗ-ΝΟ "in Bethlehem of Judaea," SC 10.20-21 ΜΑΡΙΔ-ΕΙΘ (2.5.6a) ΟΥΝΝΟΥΤΔΚΔΡΕΙΝΗ "born from Mary," M. 12.14 ΕΟΓ-ΛΟ 6ΟΡΔ "going to the house," L. 100.6-7 ΕΔΛΟΥ-ΛΛΟ ΠΙΚΚΕΝ "when he awoke from sleep," SC 12.12-13 ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΔΟΥΡΤΔΛ-ΛΩ "on each day" (καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν), 14.2 ΤΔΥΚ[Δ] ΜΩΨΔΝ-ΝΟ "always." -ΛΟ is also a focus-marker or emphaziser: M. 1.5-6 ΕΤΤΟΥ ΟΥΕΛ-ΛΟ "a woman" (emphasizing subject), L. 108.2 ΚΟCΜΟCΛΔ-ΛΟ "in the world," SC 11.4 ΕΝ ΚΤΔΔΩ-ΛΟ "upon this rock," INT 1 i 7 ΜΕΔ6ΟΥ-ΛΟ-ΔΩ "upon the servant," SC 14.13 ΔΕCΚΤ-ΛΟ-ΔΔΛ "in patience," 16.20 ΠΕCΕΝ-ΝΟ- "if he says," 12.13 ΘCΔ ΔΕΡΡΔ ΜΗΝΔ-ΛΩ "he does not compute," L. 105.2 ΕΤΜΕΝΚΕΡΔ-ΛΩ "he does not receive." See also 4.1.1.<sup>25</sup>

-ΛΟΓΟ, -ΛΟΚΟ (occasionally with preceding -Λ) "through, by, in": L. 108.3-4 ΕΝ ΤΔΕC-ΛΘΚΩ ΤΕΚΚΔ ΕΙΔΡΙ6ΕCΩ "keep them in your name," SC 7.18-19 ΤΟΥΚΓΟΥΝΔ ΕΙ6ΙΡΚΔΝΕ-ΛΟΚΟ-ΕΙΟΝ CΟΥΡΤΔΚΔ "and disturbed by the violence of the winds," 19.17-18 ΚΟΕΡ-ΡΟΚΟ ΔΕCΤ[Ι]Ν ΔΟΥΔΕCΕΝ ΚΕΛΛΩ "as transgression existed through the tree," St. 33.1-3 ΕΙΜ[Ι]Τ-ΛΛΟΚΟ ΤΔΚΔΝ ΔΡΤΔΚΟΛ "quickly seized by inspiration."

-ΛΟΓΟΕΙΔ "than": see 3.4.4.

<sup>25</sup> In terms of meaning -ΛΔ and -ΛΟ are quite similar, but -ΛΔ appears to be more specific and restricted in its use: only -ΛΟ is a focus-marker, and -ΛΟ is more commonly joined to abstract substantives than is -ΛΔ. But at times it is difficult to see any difference between the two postpositions: cf. e.g. ILT 10 A ii 18-19 ΔΟΥΔ-ΔΕΝΓΟΥΛΛΩ --- ΕΙ[Ν]ΙΜΕΝΔΕΝΓΟΥΛΛΔ "amidst those that will be ..., amidst those that will not be ..."; some of the overlap may be due to the phonetic confusion that is at times found between Δ and Ο (2.1.2).

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

-ΜΔΛΟ "according to, following," with preceding -ΛΟ: SC 10.18-19 ΕΝΝΟ-ΜΔΛΟ "according to this" (see SC ad loc.).

-MH copulative, with a preceding noun or pronoun in the predicative: L. 105.6 ΔΝ ΤΟΤΔ-MH ΕΙΡ- "you are my son" (cf. 3.6.5e fn. 8); it is also used with pronominal subjects (L. 105.8-9 ΕΙΔΜΗ --- "you are ..."), imperative formations (3.9.17) and the vetitive (3.9.18).

-ΜΟΝ "and, also": SC 9.11 ΕΝ-ΜΟΝ ΕΝΝΔ --- "and this is ...," 23.13 ΕΝ ΟΓΧΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΧΔΕΚΕΛΛΟ-ΜΟΝ "on your chest and also on your belly."

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

-ΟΝ "and, but," -ΕΙΟΝ after a vowel, -ΛΟΝ after non-radical λ, -ΝΟΝ after Ν: SC 7.13 CΔΔΚ-ΟΝ ΕΙΜΤΤΡΕΤΔΛΩ "and demonstrating the argument," 4.17 ΕΚΚΕΤΔΛΛΕ-ΕΙΟΝ "and now also," 21.7 ΤΧΛ-Χ-ΛΟΝ "and God," L. 107.1 ΕΛ-ΟΝ "and now," SC 17.19-20 ΤΟΤΔ ΕΝΕΝ-ΝΟΝ "and if he is the Son." At times -ΟΝ is found instead of its allomorphs: ΙΛΤ415 ΪΗCΟΥCΙ-ΟΝ "and Jesus" (but 21 ΪΗCΟΥCΙ-ΕΙΟΝ; cf. 3.3.6), 12-13 ΣΦΙΡΔ ΜΩ-ΩΔΝΔ(Δ)CΗ: ΔΙΔΓΧΛΕ ΠCΤΕΥΛ-ΟΝ "and everyone living who believes in me" (note the postponement of -ΟΝ, by no means unusual [cf. e.g. M. 9.13 and K. 21.7]; with ΠCΤΕΥΛ-ΟΝ cf. SC 17.8 ΠΕCΧ-ΛΟΝ "and speaking"), K. 25.14 ΜΕΝΕΝ-ΟΝ "and if not" (but SC 2.8 ΜΕΝΕΝ-ΝΟΝ; see 3.11). A reduced form -Ν appears to occur in SC 6.15-16 (bis) ΕΛΗ-Ν "and today," and perhaps in K. 26.11 -ΛΟΓΟΕΙΔΝ (see 3.4.4). For -ΔΕ --- -ΟΝ see under -ΔΕ, and for non-enclitic ΟΝ see 3.11. Occasionally we find apparently pleonastic ΟΝ --- -ΟΝ (e.g. St. 8.10-9.1) and -ΟΝ --- -ΟΝ (36.5-7). There are also instances of -ΟΝ introducing a conditional/temporal apodosis: e.g. M. 3.5, 10.10; K. 21.12; St. 11.7.

-(Λ)ΟΡΩ "before, from, with" (optionally with preceding -ΛΟ): SC 10.11 ΠΙ-ΛΔΤΟCΙ-ΟΡΩ ΤΟΡ6ΔΡΕΙΝΝ "standing before Pilate," K. 21.13-15 ΕΤΔΝΝΔ ΤΔΝ ΔΓΓΕΛΟC ΤCΤC-Ι-ΛΟΡΟ (for the juncture vowel see 2.10) "he will receive it from his holy angel," L. 107.2 ΕΙΡ-ΙΩ-[2.5.6b]-ΟΡΩ "with you" (παρὰ σεαυτῶ).

-ΠΔΥ(ΟΥ) "when, until": St. 13.6-11 ΚΙΕΝ ΠΔΥΟΥ --- ΤΟΥΕΧ ΔΟΥΔΔΝΝΔ ΚΟC-ΜΟCΚΔ ΠΕΩΨΔ ΠΔ6ΕΡΙ ΠΔΟΥ "when he comes, he will rest ... until I cease judging the world." It is also found in the directive (3.6.3): M. 16.10-11 ΤΕΝ ΔΙΕΝ ΠΔΥΚΔ "until their death," L. 103.4-5 6ΙΜΜΧΓΟΙΥ]ΝΔ ΔΥΤΔΚΕΡΔΝ ΠΔΥΟΥΚΔ "until all are done" (for the construction see 4.7.3).

-CΙ causal particle, which may render γάρ: M. 13.8-11 ΕΕΤΤΔ CΔΚ ΟΥΝΝΔΡΡΔ-CΙ ΤΔΝ ΤΔCΤΚΔ ΜΗΝΔΧ ΟΚΕCΩ "O woman (for you will bear a son), call his name Mena," which probably reflects parenthetical γάρ in the Vorlage (\*τέξη γάρ υἱόν).

-CΗ emphatic and causal particle, often repeated in the same clause: SC 5.12-13 ΕCΠΤΤΛΔ ΔΔΛΓΟΥΚΔ-CΗ ΚΟΥΤΗΝΕΓΟΥΕΜΔ ΟΚΙ6ΔΡΔ-CΗ "for he called pigs those who are in prodigality," L. 108.2-3 ΔΙΟΝ [ΕΙ]ΔΓΧΛΕ-CΗ ΚΙΡΕ-CΗ "I am coming to you."

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

-CΩ emphatic particle, usually associated with imperatives and vetitives: see 3.9.17 and 3.9.18. At times it emphasizes indicatives: L. 109.1 CENIMÑNE-CΩ "I do not ask," 9 CECΔCPE-CΩ "I hallow."

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

-TΔYO "under," with preceding genitive, -ΔO or -Δ: L. 112.9 TEΔÑ TΔYO ΔΔΔΓOYK[Δ "those who are under the law," St. 13.7-9 CTΔYPOCÑ COYP-PΩ TΔYO-ΔO (emphatic) COYEΔ "resting under the cross," SC 8.8 Δ[PE]ΓΓEX TΔYO TOΔPΔN "entering under the waves." In St. 12.7-8 the rectum is suppressed: TΔYO-ΔO CONGΔ "standing under it."

-TGO "with, from," with preceding -ΔO: K. 31.10-11 EPPOC-I-ΔO-TGO TΔN GΔN-NON ENNO "and with the priest his share is this," St. 7.10-11 EIP-IW[2.5.6b]-TGO OYΔ-ΓPΔ "hearing from you."

-TOYC(OY) temporal adverb "before" (see 3.12c); with -ΔΔ or -ΔO it governs nouns: L. 107.2-3 TOKOY KOCMOXΔ TOYCOY EIPOTGO ΔOYN KOYCCIKΔ "the glory which I had when I was with you before the world," 110.10-11 KOCMOCIN OYKOYPTΔO TOYCOY ΔIK ON[CND]IN "because you loved me before the foundation of the world."

-GOW "through, by, because of, in," often preceded and followed by -ΔO: St. 30.9-11 TTΔΔE ETONKΔNEΔEKEΔ-GOW "by the grace and the philanthropy ...," L. 105.2-3 TΔΔI-ΔO-GOW OKTΔKOX "called by God," St. 10.2-3 EN-NO-GOW-ΔO "because of this," INT 2 i 27 TΔΔIOGOW "in it" (ἐν αὐτῇ). It may also be used with a preceding subjunctive (cf. 4.7.4b): SC 17.12-13 KITECÑ-NO-GOW-ΔO "because he put on ..." Literally, GOW is the adjunctive of GOP- "to go" (2.5.6a), just as GOWΔ (see the next entry) is the preterite I verbid (see Browne 1982a, 12-13); cf. also L. 113.3, where -ΔO TΔPΔ, literally "coming from," renders Greek ἀπό.

-GOWΔ "from," with preceding -ΔO: L. 107.4-5 EN KOCMOXO GOOΔ ΔIKΔ ΔEN-6ICINTOYΔ "those whom you gave to me from the world" (see preceding entry).

From GOYP- "cause" arise two common postpositions:

-GOYN "because of, by, from," with preceding -ΔE or -ΔO: SC 10.15-16 ΔΓ-ΓEXOCFOY-ΔO-GOYN ΔOYKTΔKÑ "worshipped by the angels," 23.11 MÑ-NO-GOYN "because of what?" (sim. 18.24-25 MÑ-NE-GOYN-). For its use with a preceding verbid or subjunctive see 4.7.4. Etymologically, the word comes from GOYP-Ñ, a form still preserved in ILT 7 ii 3 OYN GOYPÑ "because of you."

-GOYPIΔ "because of, concerning," with preceding genitive: SC 14.9-10 EIEÑ KΔYEITGOYN GOYPIΔ- "because of mankind." Sim. -GOYPIKΔ (e.g. St. 4.5).



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

ΜΑΓΓΡΚΟΝ(ΝΟ)ΕΝΔΕ, ΜΑΓΓΡΕΝΝΟΝ, ΜΑΓΓΡΕΝΕΝΔΕ "but": SC 14.3-4 ΜΑΓΓΡΚΟΝΝΟΕΝΔΕ --- ΠΕΣΡΕ "but (ἀλλὰ) I speak ..."

ΜΕΝΕΝ(Ν)ΟΝ "or": SC 2.7-9 ΤΙ[ΚΑΝΕΓ]ΟΥΕΜΔ C[Ε]ΝΔ· ΜΕΝΕΝΝΟΝ ΚΟΡ[ΟCΕ]ΓΟΥΕΜ[Δ] "is it that you are sheep or shepherds?," ILT 7 i 2-3 ΜΕΝΕΝΝΟ[Ν ΟΥΡ]ΙΟΥ ΔΥΡΟΥΤΟΥ-ΓΟΥΓΓΑΞΕΙΟΝ· ΔΟΥΔ ΚΡΘΝ[Δ "or has it reached you alone?" Note also WN 13-14 CΔΛΔ· ΜΕΝΕΝ CΕΕΙΔ· ΜΕΝΕΝ "either in word or in deed."

ΟΝ "and": M. 17.1 ΤΑΝΝΔCΘ̄ ΔΟΚᾹ ΟΝ̄ ΤΟΕΚᾹ "whose is the glory and the power," St. 3.5-8 ΔΟΝ6ΙΝ; ΟΝ ΟΥ ΔΠΟCΤΟΛΟCΓΟΥΑ --- ΤΜΜΑΡΟΥ "as he stood, and we apostles assembled ..." For -ΔΕ ΟΝ and for enclitic -ΟΝ see 3.10.

ΤΚΚΝ̄(ΝΟ) "however, moreover": ILT 5 i 16-17 ΤΚΚΝ̄ ΤΕΛΔΕΙΟΝ· ΚΙΜΕΝΝΔΛΩ "but nevertheless (Gr. οὐ μὲντοι) he did not enter the tomb." 26

3.12 Adverbs and their equivalents.

a) Formations in -ΔΝ appear to be true adverbs: e.g. L. 101.10 ΤΔΤΔΝ- "in vain," St. 33.2-3 ΤΔΚΔΝ "quickly," ILT 4 i 18 ΔΕΚΚΔΝ "secretly."

b) Replacements for adverbs include: pret. I verbids in -ΔΛ (3.9.6 and 4.7.3c), e.g. K. 22.2 ΚΟΥΡΔΛ "joyfully"; 3rd pers. pl. pres. subjunctives, e.g. K.22.12 ΚΟΥΡΡΔΝ-ΛΟ "joyfully"; postpositional phrases, e.g. ILT 4 i 25 ΟΥΔΡΙΤΛΘ̄ "quickly" (lit. "in quickness"), M. 12.7 ΤΟΥCΚΟΝΟ "immediately" (lit. "after before"); note also L. 112.1 ΜΙΝΔΙ ΜΝΔΙΛΟ "individually" (κατὰ μέρος), where reiteration seems to effect a distributive sense.<sup>27</sup> Here also should be mentioned phrases without a postposition, e.g. K. 23.11-12 ΕΝ ΚΕΤΔ ΜΔΛΛΕ- "in all this way."

c) Temporal adverbs include: SC 5.17 ΕΛΗ "today," 8.16 ΤΟΥCΟΥ "before" (ΤΟΥCΟΥ ΠΕCΕCΙ ΚΕΛΛΩ "as I said before"), ILT 4 i 23 ΕΓΕΛ "still" (έτι; sim. L. 102.1). Note also gr. 2.5 ΤΔΥΚΟΥ ΘΜΜΙΛ "always" (versus SC 14.2 ΤΔΥΚ[Δ] ΜΩΩΔΝΝΟ "always") as well as ΕΛΛΕ- "time," e.g. in K. 19.15-16 ΕΛΛΕ ΚΙΛΟ (= ΚΙΛ-ΛΟ) "in the time that comes" i.e. "hereafter" (reduced to ΕΛΕΚ in SC 9.14); ΕΛΛΕ functions adverbially in K. 28.3, where it means "forever," and reinforces a future tense in e.g. SC 5.16-17 ΕΝ ΕΛΛΕ ΕΛΗ ΟΥΚ ΟΥCΚΡΔ ΤΙΘΔΔΡΡΙΚΔ "that which I am going to set before you today" (cf. 4.6.b).

3.13 Interjections: Ε̄ is usually found with vocatives: e.g. M. 8.13 Ε̄ ΤΟΤΔ "O son," ILT 10 A ii 12-13 Ε̄ ΟΥΡΟΥΔ ΟΝΝΟΡΙΟCΙ "O king Honorius" (see 3.6.4b). In M. 9.6 we find Ε̄ ΔΛΕΛΩ "in truth!" Note also ΔΛΟ "yes," which translates ναί in ILT 9 ii 15, probably related to ΔΛΕ- "truth": cf. especially ΔΛΕΛΩ in the Menas passage just cited and also

<sup>26</sup> Note the postponement in St. 12.12-13.3 ΤΔΝ ΘΡΩCΕΝ ΨΟΚΚΔ ΠΔΕΙΔ̄ ΚΤCΕΛΔ ΤΘΔΡΕΝΚΔΝ· ΤΚΚΝ̄ΝΟ "moreover, if, writing a book of its praise, he has given it to the church." Here the Coptic has ΝΘΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΝΤΔΥCΖΔΙ ΜΠΧΩΜΕ ΝΕΠΔΙΝΟC ΜΠΕCΤΔΥΡΟC <--->, and ΤΚΚΝ̄ΝΟ corresponds to ΝΘΟΥΟ ΔΕ; its postponement is no more extreme than that of -ΕΝΚΩ (see 3.10); the punctuation before ΤΚΚΝ̄ΝΟ appears here to have no clause-dividing function: cf. St. 14.8, 18.11, 29.1.

<sup>27</sup> The text, however, may be corrupt (i.e. ΜΙΝΔΙ(ΜΝΔΙ)ΛΟ), like ΚΙCΚΙΛΛΩ(ΚΤΚCΛΩ) in 103.2.

$\bar{\Delta}\lambda\epsilon\bar{C}\bar{N}$  throughout the corpus (e.g. M. 3.1). For  $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}$  and  $\pi\Delta\pi\bar{\omega}$  see 3.6.4b. Here should likewise be mentioned  $\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\Delta}-\lambda\bar{\omega}$  ( $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\Delta}-\lambda\bar{\omega}$ ) "woe!", with  $-\Delta\bar{\omega}$ : e.g. INT 4 i 10-11  $\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\epsilon\bar{\iota}-\Delta\lambda\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\Delta\bar{\Delta}\bar{\omega}$  "woe to them!" Greek  $\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$  "behold" is rendered by  $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$  (e.g. INT 4 ii 9) and by  $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{N}$  (e.g. INT 2 i 19).



## 4 SYNTAX

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

4.1.1 The nominal sentence has a noun or equivalent as predicate, marked regularly by -λ (3.6.4a, d). The normal order is S(ubject) P(redicate), though PS is also found: e.g. SC 12.10-11  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}[\cdot] \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}$  "God is a judge, truthful, powerful, patient" (for the congruence see 3.6.6b), 24.14  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{X}}$  "his is the glory" (here the substantival predicate is suppressed). In the second example, the predicate is reinforced by -C $\overline{\text{N}}$ ; similar reinforcement is also common with -λO (e.g. St. 18.12-19.3  $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}[\overline{\text{C}}]\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}[\overline{\text{T}}]\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}$  "the cross is the hope of the Christians"), -M(λ) (SC 2.14  $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{E}}$  [=  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{E}}$ : 2.5.6a]  $\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}$  "to speak is mine" [i.e. my task]) and -MH (L. 105.6  $\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}$  "you are my Son"). If the subject is obvious from the context, it may be suppressed: e.g. SC 1.7-8  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "are you sheep?," L. 104.11  $\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}$  "they are enemies."

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

## a) Present

Indicative: SC 7.2-3  $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}[\overline{\text{X}}]\overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "disobedience produces death."

Predicative: ILT 4 i 19  $\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}} \cdot \overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "the teacher, coming, calls you" (-λ $\overline{\text{O}}$ : 3.10 [emphatic],  $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{P}} = \overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{D}}$ , adjunctive: 3.9.19).

## b) Preterite I (see 3.9.7a)

Indicative: SC 17.23  $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{D}}[\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}] \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}} [\overline{\text{D}}]\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "and the Word was to God."

Predicative: SC 17.22-23  $\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "in the beginning was the Word" (-λ $\overline{\text{O}}$  emphatic).

## c) Preterite II (see 3.9.7a)

Indicative: M. 5.4-5  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "and the woman said."

Predicative: replaced by pret. I, e.g. M. 4.16  $\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "the skipper said."

## d) Future (3.9.7b)

Indicative: SC 23.2-3  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}} [\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{G}}]\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "and your turning will be toward the man."

Predicative: SC 23.4  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{D}}$  "and he will become lord over you" (-K $\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}$  = -K $\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}$  [cf. K. 32.8-10]; hence - $\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{D}}$  instead of - $\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{D}}$ ).

e) Inversion of subject and predicate: e.g. L. 104.5-6  $\text{K}[\overline{\text{M}}]\text{M}\Delta \text{C}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{W}}\text{N}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{S}}\text{K}\overline{\text{E}}\text{T}\Delta\lambda\Delta\text{Y}-\lambda\text{E}\lambda$  "there comes from Sion the one who saves," ILT 5 ii 10-11  $\text{E}\text{I}\text{T}\overline{\text{P}}\text{T}\Delta\text{K}\Delta\text{P}\Delta \text{T}\Delta\text{K} \text{E}\text{I}-\text{T}\overline{\text{P}}\text{O}\lambda\lambda\text{O}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{W}}\text{E}\text{I}\overline{\Delta} \Delta\lambda\text{Y}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\Delta}\text{E}\text{N}\Delta\text{E}$  "nor was there sent one greater than the one who sent him."

f) When the subject is a generic plural, the indicative may be in the singular: e.g. St. 12.3-8  $\overline{\text{M}}\text{M}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\text{Y}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{N}} \text{T}\overline{\text{E}}\text{N} \overline{\Delta}\text{E}\overline{\Delta} \text{OY}\Delta\text{T}\text{T}\text{O}\lambda\text{O} \overline{\text{C}}\text{T}\Delta\text{Y}\overline{\text{P}}\text{OY}\text{C}\lambda\Delta\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\Delta}\text{E} \text{N}\overline{\text{I}}\text{C}\text{T}\overline{\text{E}}\text{Y}\text{O}\lambda-\text{T}\text{OY}\lambda\lambda\text{O}\text{N} \text{T}\Delta\text{Y}\overline{\text{W}}\lambda\text{O} \text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\overline{\Delta} \Delta\text{OY}\Delta\overline{\text{N}}\text{N}\Delta$  "and all who have believed in the cross with their whole hearts will stand under it" (see Browne 1980a, IV).

4.1.3 If the passages are correctly restored, we have two cases of an adverbial predicate (viz. a postpositional phrase): SC 3.9-10  $\text{E}[\overline{\text{N}}] \text{T}\overline{\text{P}}\text{I}\text{T}[\lambda\text{O}] \text{C}\overline{\text{E}}\text{Y}\Delta\text{P}\text{T}\text{OY}\text{K}\text{O}\text{N}\text{K}\overline{\text{N}} \text{M}\Delta\text{K}[\omega]\text{E}\lambda$  "thus is the table of spirituality" (cf. L. 100.13) and ILT 5 ii 32-33  $\text{T}\overline{\Delta}\lambda\overline{\Delta}\text{OY} [\text{T}\overline{\text{W}}\text{K}]\overline{\text{N}}-\text{N}\Delta\text{Y}\overline{\text{E}}\text{N}\overline{\Delta} \text{OY}[\Delta]\Delta[\Delta\lambda$  "the God of peace is with you."

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

4.3 Complex sentences. Postpositional as well as prepositional conjunctions are employed to form coordinated sentences: see 3.10 s.vv.  $-\Delta\text{P}\overline{\text{P}}\Delta$ ,  $-\Delta\text{E}$ ,  $-\text{E}\text{N}\Delta\text{E}$ ,  $-\text{E}\text{N}\text{K}\overline{\text{W}}$ ,  $-\text{K}\text{O}\text{N}$ ,  $-\text{M}\text{O}\text{N}$ ,  $-\text{O}\text{N}$ ,  $-\text{C}\overline{\text{N}}$ , and 3.11.

4.4 Compound sentences. The verb of subordinate clauses in Old Nubian is either the verbid (3.9.6 fn. 12) or the subjunctive. Both are verbal nouns; the subjunctive overtly expresses person and number, the verbid does not. For the morphology see 3.9.6-3.9.9. The subject of the verbid is in the genitive, usually  $-\text{N}\Delta$ ;  $-\text{N}$  is less common: see 3.6.2a and 3.7.1a; however, if the subject of the verbid is the same as that of the main clause or can be readily supplied from context, it is omitted: cf. M. 11.3-4 cited in 4.6d and 12.16-13.2 in 4.7.3c. With the subjunctive, the subject may be in the genitive or in the subjective, depending on the syntagma: e.g. with  $-\text{K}\text{E}\lambda\lambda\omega$  the subject is in the genitive (see 4.7.2b), with  $-\text{K}\text{O}\text{N}\text{O}$  it is in the subjective (see 3.10 s.v.).<sup>28</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

4.5.1 Subject conversion is achieved through addition of the subjective  $-\lambda$  (3.6.1) to the verbid or subjunctive:

a) Verbid +  $-\lambda$ : e.g. WN 15-16 ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΟΥΡΟΥΕΙΝΔ ΟΥΝΝΙΤΔΚΕCΙλ- "and the birth of King George" (literally "the to-have-been-begotten of King George"), as subject of the sentence ( $-CΙλ = -CΙλ-λ$ : 2.7).

b) Subjunctive +  $-\lambda$ : this results in a cleft sentence, e.g. L. 106.4-5 ΕΝΝΝΚΔ ΟΥ[Δ]ΓΙλλΕ ΠΕCΙΘΕΡλ "it is these things that I say to you."<sup>29</sup> Sometimes  $-\lambda$  is omitted, and the subjunctive alone serves as the marker of the subject of the cleft sentence: e.g. ILT 9 i 11-14 CΠΠΕ ΜΩωΔΝΓΟΥΝΔΕΙΟΝ ΤΔΝ ΚΕΜΔΤΤΝΔ ΠΟΡΝΕΚΝ ΟΡΠλΟΚΟ ΔΙ-ΕΔΡΚΙΚΕCΔΝ "and it is through the wine of the fornication of her wrath that all the nations have fallen" (lit. "and the fact that all the nations have fallen [is] through the wine ..."); see further Browne 1988, III §§20-23.

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

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

a) Order: Ref(erent [i.e. antecedent]) ( $\pm \epsilon \iota \nu -$ ) + Verbid/Subj(unctive) + Inf(lection). E.g.

Verbid: L. 113.5-6 ΙΟΥΔΔΙΟCΤΟΥΝ ΟΥΡΟΥΟΥ ΟΥΝΝΟΥΤΔΚΟλ ( $-\lambda = -\lambda-\lambda$ : 2.7) "the king of the Jews who has been born" (as subject of sentence), St. 27.8-10 Τλ-λΔCλ ΓΔΔλΟ ΤΔΔΔΩ ΟλλΟλλΟ6Ωλ "because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh" (see 3.6.4a, 3.6.5f), M. 1.1-3 COKKOPΔ --- ΜΗΝΔΝΔ ΔΥCΔλΩ "it is a miracle which Mena did" (lit. "it is a miracle, Mena's [being] the to-have-done [it]"; for the

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

use of -δ see 3.6.6b). The referent need not be formally expressed: e.g. K. 22.11-12 ΔΥΟΥΘΟΥΚΔ "the things that you do" (= ΔΥΟΥ-6-Ιλ-ΚΔ: 2.1.2, 2.5.6a; the subject of the clause = that of the sentence), 30.6 ΠΕCΞ- "the one who speaks" (as subject of sentence).<sup>30</sup>

Subjunctive: St. 5.4-6 ΜΥCΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΚΚΔ ΕΓΙΔΡΟΥΚΔ "the mystery of which we ask you" (as object of sentence), L. 111.8-9 ΕΔΥΕΙΡ-Δ --- ΟΚΤΔΚΝ-Δ "... is a tent that is called ..." (3.6.6b).

Note that such relative clauses may be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun ΕΙΝ- "this" (3.7.4). The pronoun here indicates that the clause is either individually definite or typically general: e.g. M. 12.2-3 ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΑΝΝΔ ΚΠCΞ (= ΚΠCΞ-λ, as subject of sentence: 2.7) "the egg, viz. the one that he ate," L. 107.14-15 ΕΝ ΔΙΚΔ ΔΕΝΘΙCΙΝΓΟΥΝ Θ[ΟΥΡΙΔ- "concerning those you have given to me." As an extension of the generalizing use of ΕΙΝ-, we find ΕΝ (Ε)CΔΝΔ, literally "these—who are they?," i.e. "whoever they are" (for (Ε)C- see 3.7.5c): e.g. ILT 9 i 16-17 ΕΝ ΕCΔΝΔ ΕΔΡΜΙΤΗ ΕΙΓΟΝΚΔ ΔΟΥΚCΓΟΥλ "whoever they are who worship the image of the beast."

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

Verbid: M. 8.7-12 ΜΔΝ ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΚΔ --- ΕΔΛΕΝ ΗΝ (i.e. ΕΙΝ) ΤΔΝ'ΟΥCΚΡΔ ΔΓΟ-ΡCCKΔ (3.9.8) "when he saw that egg ..., the one that he had deposited and forgotten."

Subjunctive: SC 5.15-17 ΟΥΚΚΟΝΟ ΚΔΠΟΠΙ ΔΥΡΟΥΤΚΔ ΤΟCΤΑΝΔCΩ· ΕΝ ΕλλΕ Ε-λΗ ΟΥΚ ΟΥCΚΡΔ ΤΙΘΘΑΡΡΙΚΔ "make yourselves worthy (?) of the pearl itself, the one that I am going to set before you today."

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

Verbid: K. 32.12-14 ΕΙΝΗΝΓΟΥλΔ ΟΥΕλΚΔ ΠΔψψΙΚΔΝΝΟλ- "as for one amongst these who is separated."

Subjunctive: St. 16.4-6 ΚΔΡΚ ΔΥ[λ]ΕΝΔΡΔ ΕΙΝΗ ΚΟ[Ν]ΚΟΔΝΝΟΔ "in order that they may have a shield that will save" (ΚΔΡ-Κ; object; ΔΥ[λ]ΕΝΔΡΔ ΕΙΝΗ: 3.9.14).

d) Order: Verbid/Subj. (± Ν(Δ)) + Ref. + Infl. E.g.

Verbid: M. 11.3-4 ΤΞλΚ ΟΥΝΝΟλ ΜΔΡΙΔΝ "of Mary who gave birth to God" (lit. "of Mary, [hers being] the to-have-begotten God"), SC 9.13-14 ΕΙΤCCOY ἸCCOYCI XPIC-TOCICKΔ "Jesus Christ whom you sent" (lit. "Jesus Christ, [yours being] the to-have-sent [him]"; ΕΙΤCCOY = ΕΙΤCCIλ: 2.1.2, 2.5.6a; cf. ILT 10 A ii 20), SC 1.6 (et alibi) ON-

<sup>30</sup> In relative-clause equivalents, the verbid functions as a relative participle. In addition to the examples quoted in the text, note such plurals as St. 12.6-7 ΠΙCΤΕΥΟλΓΟΥλ- "those who have believed." But such usages should not blind the reader to possible interpretation of the verbid as a verbal substantive: e.g. in ILT 7 i 9 ΠΕCOK-KON (i.e. ΠΕCOK-λ-KON "and" [3.10]) can mean "and the one who has spoken," i.e. verbid as verbal adjective/relative participle, but comparison with the Greek original, τὸ λαλῆν, suggests the meaning "and the (f)act of having spoken" (or "the (f)act of speaking": the pret. I may translate a Greek present [Browne 1987b, 319]), i.e. verbid as verbal substantive/infinitive. Cf. also SC 16.19-21, where ΚΔΥΕΞΓΟΥ- "those who are naked" (verbal adjective) is followed by Γ[Δ]ΔΝ ΚΔΥΕΚΚΔ (i.e. ΚΔΥ-ΕΞ-ΚΔ) "the nakedness of the body" (verbal substantive). Cf. in addition fn. 31.

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

Subjunctive: SC 21.3-4 ΚΔΠΕCOYN OYKOYPPΩ "on the day on which you have eaten" (lit. "on the day of your having eaten"), 9.19 ΓΔΔΔΕCÑNΔ ΔΚ[Δ]ΔΤΤΟΥ "the construction which became flesh." Here the subjunctives are marked as genitives (cf. 3.6.2a); in the first example -ΡΩ (= -ΛΩ: 2.3.2) "in" relates the clause to the main sentence, as does the juncture vowel -ΟΥ in the second (3.6.5). Note also gr. 4.1 ΕΙΔ ΓΕCЦИ (i.e. ΠΕCЦИ) ΕΔΠΕΓΟΥΚΔ "the sins of which I have spoken."

e) Equivalent to relative clauses may also be formed by using the pronouns ΕΙΝ- and ΤΔΡ-, joined to the particle -CÑ, without a verbid or subjunctive formally to mark subordination: e.g. SC 24.14-15 ΤΔNNΔ-CÑ ΕΟΚΣ ΤΩΕΚΣ "... of whom are the glory and the power," L. 101.5-6 ΕΙΝÑΓΟΥΛΔ-CIN ΠΙΛΔΔΔΔCΚΕ "... in whom you shine."

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

#### 4.7.1 Object clauses

a) Verbid: L. 107.11-12 ΠΙCΤΕΥ[ΕΙ]CΔNΔ ΕÑ ΔΪΚ ΕΙΤΡΕCΚΔ "they believed that you sent me" (lit. "they believed in your having sent me"; for the verbid cf. 3.9.8).

b) Subjunctive: St. 6.12-7.2 ΔΟΛΛΗΜΟ ΟΥΚΔ ΕΙΔΡΑΓΔΔΔΔΕΝΚΔ "we wish that you will make us know ..."

Note that -ΚΔ may be omitted: SC 17.21-22 ΟΥΛΓΡΕCΩ ΕΛΕΚΛ[Ω Ι]ΩΔNCH ΠΕCÑ "next listen to John saying ..."; sim. M. 2.13.

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

a) Verbid: INT 2 ii 7-9 ΕΡΡΔ ΠΕCΣ ΔΙΜΜΑΓΟΥΝΔ ΔΟΥΕΡÑ ΕΙΔΙΘΩΔ ΕΝΕΛΚΔ "how (true it is) that the habitation of all who exult and rejoice is with you" (ὥς ...).

b) Subjunctive: Dong. 1 ii 1-2 ΕΥΕΔΔ ΕΔΕ(.)CΔNΚΔ ΕΙΡÑ ΕΕΕΙΤΟΥΛ "how proclaimed (?) are your deeds" (ὥς ...).

#### 4.7.2 Comparative clauses

a) Verbid: L. 108.5-6 ΕΝΝΔ ΟΥ[ΕΡ]ΕΝΕΝ ΚΕΛΛΩ "as we are one" (lit. "like our being one").

b) Subjunctive: L. 109.3-4 ΔNNΔ --- ΘΩΔΡΔ ΜΕΝΕΡΙ ΚΕΛΛΩ "as I have come."



#### 4.7.3 Circumstantial/temporal clauses

a) Verbid: SC 9.17  $\text{OY}\lambda\Gamma\text{PE}\bar{\text{N}} \quad \text{T}\Delta\text{YK}\lambda\text{O}$ - "when you hear." (The subject is the same as that of the main sentence.)

b) Subjunctive: L. 104.10  $\text{O}\bar{\text{C}}[\text{I}]\Gamma\Delta[6]\text{EPI} \quad \text{T}\Delta\text{YK}\lambda\bar{\text{O}}$ - "when I take away." (The subject differs from that of the main sentence.)

c) Similarly with the bare verbid or subjunctive. The verbid may end in  $-\lambda$  or it may be the expansion in  $-\text{N}$  (3.9.9):  $\text{ILT II i 7-8 } \text{P}\Delta\text{P}\text{IN}\Delta \quad \text{---} \quad \text{-K}\Delta\Delta\text{EC}\bar{\text{X}}$  "when the Father was about to come" (for the verbid cf. 4.7.6), M. 12.16-13.2  $\text{M}\Delta\text{N} \quad \text{E}\bar{\text{T}}\text{T}\bar{\text{X}}\lambda\text{ONMI}\Delta\bar{\text{X}} \quad \text{---} \quad \text{P}\Delta\lambda\lambda\text{ICN}\Delta$  "and that woman, running (lit. "[hers being] the to-run")<sup>31</sup> opened ...," L. 114.8  $\bar{\text{E}}\lambda\text{EN-NON}$  "and when you find him" (3.9.9 fn. 18; note that the verbid in  $-\text{EN}$  often expresses a temporally or logically prior tense vis-à-vis the main verb). For the subjunctive cf. M. 9.16-10.1  $\text{KYPI}\bar{\text{K}}\text{EN} \quad \text{OYKOY}\bar{\text{P}}' \quad \text{EIN}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-NON}$  "and as it was Sunday"; it may be reinforced by  $-\lambda\text{O}$ , as in St. 11.5-6  $\text{PE}\omega\omega\Delta\Delta\text{EPI}\lambda\text{O}$  "when I will judge."

#### 4.7.4 Causal clauses

a) Verbid: St. 27.10-12  $\text{ECKIT}\Delta\text{K}\Delta \quad \Delta\text{EN}\delta\text{O}\lambda\text{-}\lambda\text{O}\delta\text{OYN}$  "because he was conquered for us."

b) Subjunctive: K. 20.12-13  $\text{MONECIN-NE}\delta\text{OYN}$  "because he hated."

#### 4.7.5 Conditional clauses (closed neutral and open neutral)<sup>32</sup>

a) Built upon the subjunctive is the following formation (stem +  $-\text{KO}-$  + subjunctive-formant +  $-\lambda\text{O}$ —with  $\lambda$  elided [2.5.6a] or assimilated [2.3.2]):

Sg.	1	$\Delta\text{O}\lambda\lambda\text{IKO}\bar{\text{O}}$
	2/3	$\Delta\text{O}\lambda\lambda\text{IKONNO}$
Pl.	1/2	$\Delta\text{O}\lambda\lambda\text{IKOOY}\bar{\text{O}}$
	3	$\Delta\text{O}\lambda\lambda\text{IKO}\Delta\text{NNO}$

E.g. M. 4.16-5.4  $\bar{\text{X}}\lambda\text{EC}\bar{\text{N}} \quad \text{CO}\Delta\bar{\text{X}} \quad \Delta\bar{\text{I}}\text{K}\Delta \quad \text{MOY}\Delta\text{OYKONNO} \quad \Phi\text{I}\lambda\text{OZENITH}\Gamma\bar{\text{X}}\lambda\text{E}\lambda\omega \quad \delta\text{OYPE}$  "Truly if the Lord guides me, I am going to Philoxenite."<sup>33</sup>

There is also a variant in which  $-\text{K}\Delta-$  replaces  $-\text{KO}-$ : e.g. K. 32.2-5  $\text{OY}\epsilon\lambda \quad \text{---} \quad \text{K}\Delta\text{P}\text{P}\Delta\text{NNO}$  (i.e.  $\text{K}\Delta\text{P}-\text{K}\Delta\text{NNO}$ ; 2.4)  $\text{M}\Delta\text{NIN} \quad \text{C}\Delta\text{PEK}\Delta \quad \text{---} \quad \text{P}\Delta\text{CK}\Delta\text{PPE}$  "if one eats ..., that one's sin will I punish," 20.1-2  $\text{OPT}\Delta \quad \text{ENK}\Delta\text{N} \quad \text{E}\lambda\lambda\text{E} \quad \text{ENK}\Delta\text{N}$  "if it is wine, if it is wheat ..." (note absence of  $-\lambda\text{O}$ ). For the 3rd pers. pl. we find  $-\text{K}\Delta\text{Y}\Delta\text{NNO}$  in K. 31.7 (which the scribe adjusted to the sing.  $-\text{K}\Delta\text{NNO}$ ; cf. 2.5.5).

<sup>31</sup> When the subject of the verbid is also that of the sentence, it is omitted; such cases may be conveniently translated as participia conjuncta, but we may in fact be dealing with verbal substantives, as is suggested by the lack of congruence in e.g. M. 16.7-10  $\Delta\text{OY}\bar{\text{D}}\text{PIC}\Delta\text{N}\Delta \quad \text{---} \quad \text{K}\Delta\text{K}\Delta \quad \delta\text{O}\delta\text{OK}\bar{\text{X}}$  "they continued ... (theirs being) the to-offer" i.e. "they continued ... to offer." Cf. fn. 30.

<sup>32</sup> I follow the schematization proposed in Funk 1985. A fuller treatment than the sketch here given may be found in Browne 1987a.

<sup>33</sup> Note the frequent appearance of  $\bar{\text{X}}\lambda\text{EC}\bar{\text{N}}$  "truly" as a formal marker of the protasis. It is probably hypercorrect to translate the word in this context.



b) The bare subjunctive may correspond to a conditional protasis: e.g. SC 14.6-8 ΕΝΕΡΡΗΤ[Δ]ΚΕΝ-ΚΟΝ ΕΟΔΟΥ ΕΝΗΝ ΤΑΡΙΘΕΟΥ[Ν Ε]ΡΡΗΤΔΚΜΕΝΝΔ[Λ]Ω "and if our Lord suffered, he did not suffer because of himself." Similarly, the expanded verbid in -Ν (3.9.9), cited above for circumstantial/temporal clauses (4.7.3c), appears also in conditional protases: e.g. ILT 7 i 6-7 ΔΛΕΚΕΝ ΟΥΕΛΛ[ΟΝ] ΜΔCΔΔΕΝ ΜΔCΔΝΔCΩ "and truly if one will be ignorant, let him be ignorant," 4 ii 24-25 ΔΛΕΚΕΝ ΠCΤΕΥΕΝ ΤΔΛΝ ΕΟΚΚΔ ΕΔΔΑΡΔΛΗ- "truly if you believe, you will see the glory of God."

c) The form -ΚΟΕΙΘ (= -ΚΟ-ΛΟ: 2.5.6a) occurs in ILT 7 i 3-5 ΔΛΕΚΕΝ --- ΔΝΚΔ ΚΙΚΟΕΙΘ: ΕΙΔΡΟΥΔΝΔCΩ "truly if one thinks ..., let him know ..."; it is used instead of the personal formation listed in (a) because the subject of the protasis is that of the apodosis (cf. 4.7.7b).

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

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

a) ILT 7 ii 15-16 ΕΙCΔΝ-ΕΝ-ΔΠΠΔ ΕΟΔΟΥ ΕΟΚΗΚΔ ΕΤΔΥΡΟCΔΩ ΟΛΛΕΙΡΙΜΕΝ-ΔΙCΔΝΔ-C[Ν] "for if they had known, they would not have hanged upon the cross the Lord of Glory."

b) SC 12.23-13.1 Δ[ΟΛΛΕΚΕΝ-ΕΝ-Δ]ΠΠΔ Τ[Δ]Ν ΔCΚΔ [ -ΜΕΝ]ΔΔΡΔ-CΗ "for if he had wished ..., he would not have [shed] his blood [for us]."

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

c) ILT 4 i 2-3 ΕΙΡΙ ΕΗΝΟ ΔΟΥΔΡ[Δ] ΕΝΚΔΝ ΔΝ ΕCΕΔΔ ΔΙΜΕΔΡΔΛΟ (sim. ii 4-5 ΕΗΝΟ ΔΟΥΔΡΕΝΚΔ<Ν> ΔΝ ΕCΕΔΔ ΔΙΜΕΝΔΡΔΛΟ) "if you had been here, my brother would not have died" (lit. "will not have died": cf. 3.9.7c).

#### 4.7.7 Final clauses

a) Addition of -Δ to the conditional described in 4.7.5a (-ΚΟ- + subjunctive + -ΛΟ) results in a form equivalent to a final clause:<sup>34</sup>

Sg.	1	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΙΘΔ
	2/3	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΝΝΟΔ
Pl.	1/2	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΟΥΘΔ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΔΝΝΟΔ, -ΚΟΥΔΝΝΟΔ (2.5.5)

E.g. M. 9.7-8 ΤΔΚ ΔΙΓΔ ΤΟΚΔΡΡΕCΩ ΚΔΠΚΟΙΘΔ "cooking it for me, bring it, so that I may eat it."

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

There is also a variant in -KΔ-, as in the conditional: K. 24.8-11 ΤΧΛΙΚΔ CΕ-ΝΔΜCΩ --- ΤΟΚΔΕΡΚΔ ΔΕΝΘΙΚΔΝΝΟΔ "let us beg God that he may give us forgiveness..."

b) The form -ΚΟΔ(ΛΩ), in which the subject is not marked (cf. -ΚΟΕΙΘ 4.7.5c), occurs e.g. in L. 106.6 ΚΟΝΚΟΔΛΩ "in order that you may have" (the subject is that of the following ΚΟΔCΚΕ "you have" [3.9.16a fn. 22]) and in ILT 5 ii 7-8 ΟΥΚΚΕΤΔΛ ΔΥ-ΕΙΚΟΔ-ΟΥΩΔ "in order that you too may do" (here ΟΥΚΚΕΤΔΛ "you too" makes clear the subject, but the scribe still adds the person-marking variant -ΟΥΩΔ).

c) Imperatives (3.9.17) depending upon the verb ΕΙΛ- "to say" as well as on the particle -Δ of direct discourse (see 4.8) also function as equivalents to final clauses: e.g. L. 109.1-2 ΘCΙΘΕ-Δ-ΕΙΟΝ CΕΝΙΜΝΗCΩ \ΚΟCΚCΚΔΤΤΛΘ ΤΕΚΚΔ ΕΙΔΡΙΘΕ-ΕΙΛΔ-ΕΝΚΩ "and I do not ask that you take them ..., but that you keep them from the evil one" (literally "and I do not ask: 'take them ...,' but saying: 'keep them from the evil one'"), 112.10 ΘΔΝ-ΘCΙΘΕCΔ (= -Ε-CΩ-Δ: 2.5.4) "(God sent his Son) in order that he might redeem them" (lit. "saying: 'Redeem ...'"), SC 18.14 ΜΙΔΔΝΔCΔ (= -ΔΝΔ-CΩ-Δ) "in order to run."

d) Non-personal purpose clauses (in which the subject of the clause is also that of the sentence) may be generated by attaching protatic -ΙΝΙ, which already conveys the notion of purpose (4.7.5d), to -Δ (see preceding paragraph) or -ΔΝ "to say": e.g. St. 10.4-7 ΚΔΔΡΕ ΤΕΝ ΕΝΤΙΓΔΕΡΚΔ ΤΕΚΚΔ ΠΔΛΙΓΡΔ ΤΘΙΝΙ-Δ "I will come, in order to reveal to them their offense" (lit. "saying: '[I do this *vel sim.*] if haply I may reveal ...'"), SC 12.19-21 ΤΙΔΛ ΕΝΚΔ ΠΕCΙΘΕΝΝΟΕΙΟΝ ΕΚΚΔ [Π]ΕΨΩΙΘΙΝΙ-ΔΜΜΕΝΝΔΛΟ "and if God says this, it is not in order to judge us" (lit. "and if God says this, he does not say: '[I do this *vel sim.*] if haply I may judge ...'"). Along with -ΙΝΙΔ we also find the variants -ΕΝΙΔ, -ΙΝΟΥΔ, -ΟΥΝΟΥΔ:<sup>35</sup> e.g. M. 4.6 ΕΙΤΕΝΙΔ "in order to take," ILT 4 ii 1 ΟΡΝΟΥΔ (= ΘΡΙΝΟΥΔ: 1.3.2) "in order to weep," L. 113.8 ΔΟΥΚΟΥΝΟΥΔ "in order to worship."

4.8 -Δ of direct discourse. Direct discourse regularly terminates in -Δ: e.g. SC 21.10-11 ΠΕCΔΡΔCΗ --- ΜΝΔCΟΝΔ-Δ "for he said ...: 'Where are you?'" But -Δ is not obligatory: e.g. SC 21.7-8 ΠΕCΧΔ --- ΜΝΔ[Ε]ΟΝΔ. In addition, -Δ is found in contexts where the Nubian interprets as direct discourse what is not so marked in the Greek original: e.g. SC 7.11-13 ΠΕCΔ ΟΥΤΡ ΔΟΛΛΙΡΕCΗ ΕΙCΙΦΦΟΥ ΤΔΛΔ-Δ "for I wish to set forth what God is" (lit. "... to set forth: 'What is God?'"), translating βούλομαι γάρ ... δεῖξει τί ἐστι θεός.

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

This -Δ is formally distinct from the predicative -Δ (3.6.4): cf. L. 111.8-9 ΕΔΥ-ΕΙΡ-Δ --- ΕΤΕC-Δ-Δ-ΛΟ ΟΚΤΔΚΝ-Δ "... is a tent which is called the Holy ..." (lit. "which is called: 'Holy'" [i.e. in ΕΤΕC-Δ-Δ-, the first -Δ- is the predicative as vocative [3.6.4b], the second that of direct discourse; cf. also 4.6a]); see in addition L. 106.2, SC 13.17. It is probably a reduced form of ΕΙΔ "saying" (adjunctive: 3.9.19): cf. ILT 10 A ii 11-12 ΔΝΚΜΕ --- ΠΔΓΙΝΓΙΜΕΝΔΝΔΛΟ-ΕΙΔ "I do not think that he will separate them ..." (lit. "I do not think, saying: 'He will separate them...'" ) with SC 8.19-20 ΔΟΥΝΝΔ-Δ ΔΝΚΙΜΕΝΚΕCΩ "do not think that he is ..."

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

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

#### SOV / POST / GEN + N / N + ADJ

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

4.9.2 The direct object regularly precedes the indirect (both marked by -ΚΔ: 3.6.3). E.g. SC 5.7-8 ΟΥ[N] ΕΤΕΙΚΕΝΔ[Ε] ΜΟΥΓΡΙΓΟΥΚΔ ΟΥ[ΤΡ]ΜΕΝΝΔC[Ω] "nor place your holy things before dogs," L. 106.13-14 ΓΑΔΔ ΜΩΨΔΝΝΔ ΠΔΥΟΥΚΔ ΤΔΚ[ΚΔ] Τ[Ε]CΙΝΚΕΛ-ΛΩ "as you have given him power over all flesh," 107.6 ΤΕΚΚΟΝ ΔΙΚΔ ΔΕΝ6ΔΡΔΛΗ "and you gave them to me."

4.9.3 Temporal and demonstrative adverbs often stand first in a sentence or clause, while other adverbial phrases tend to appear before the verb and after the direct object. E.g.: SC 6.8-10 ΜΔΝ ΤΔΥΚΛΟ [ΤΕ]ΚΚΔ ΤΡ[Π(?)]ΤΙΚΕΛΔ ΤΜΜΔ[Δ]6ΚΕΝΝ[Δ] "at that time he gathers them into the granary," L. 104.3-5 ΕΙΚΔΡ[ΙΓ]ΡΔΛΟ ΙCΡΔΗΛΙ ΟΥΔΤΤΟ ΕΔΡΤΔΚΟΝΔ "thus all Israel is saved," SC 18.10-12 ΤΔΛΛΟ ΕΚΤΚΔ ΣΜΔΝ-ΓΟΥΛΔΩ CΟΥΜΠΟΥΤΡΔ "it is he who established the earth upon the waters," SC 19.11-13 ΤΔΚΚΟΝ ΠΑΡΔΔΕΙCΟCΛ[Δ]ΛΟ ΔΟΥΛΛΔΓΡΟΝΔ "he caused him to dwell in Paradise."

4.9.4 A postpositional complex terminating in -ΓΛΛΕ regularly follows the verb ΠΕC- "to say": e.g. ILT 4 i 9-10 ΙΗCΟΥCΙΟΝ ΠΕCΚΝΔ ΤΑΡΓΛΛΕ "and Jesus said to her."



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

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

2-3 [ΕΙC]CÑ: "behold," restored on the basis of INT 2 i 19, where ΕΙCCÑ = ἰδοὺ Ps 86:4; cf. also below, ii 19 of the text in 5.2.

3 ΔΟΓΔΡΐ- (= ΔΟΓΔΙΡ- "magus" -ΐ-) -ΓΟΥ-Λ (3.6.1): "magi."

ΜΔΩΔΛ-ΟC-K- ("east," literally "sun's [ΜΔΩΔΛ-] going out" [ΟC-K-: 3.3.2]; cf. Zyhlarz 1928, §51 and above, 3.6.2c) -ΛΟ (= -ΙΛΟ: 1.3.2 and line 7 below): "from the east."

ΤΔΡ- ("to come") -Δ (3.9.19): literally "coming," together with -ΛΟ, it means little more than "from": cf. 3.10 -6ΩΣ.

4 ἸΕΡΟΥCΔΛΜΙΟ (= -ΜΙ-ΛΟ: 2.5.6a): "to Jerusalem."

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

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

5 ΕΛΟ: "where?" (3.7.5c).

ΠΙΝΔ: 3rd pers. sg. pres. indicative of ΠΙ- "to be."

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

6-7 ΤΔΝ (3.7.1a) ΟΥΕΙΡ6- ("star") -Ι-ΚΔ (3.6.3a): "his star."

7 ΓΔ- (adjunctive of ΓΔΛ- "to see"; = ΓΔΛΔ: 2.5.6a): "seeing."

7-8 -CÑ --- -CIN (3.10): "for."

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

8 ΤΔΚ-ΚΔ (3.7.1b): "him."

ΔΟΥΚ- ("to worship") -ΟΥΝΟΥΔ (4.7.7d): "in order to worship."

9 ΟΥΡΟΥ-ΕΣ- (= ΟΥΡΟΥ-Ι-Λ: 2.10 fn. 4) -ΛΟΝ (3.10 -ΟΝ): "and the king."



ΟΥΛΓΡ- ("to hear") - ΕΝ (4.7.3c): "when he heard."  
 ΠΔΝΝΙCΝΔ (3rd pers. sg. pret. II of ΠΔΝΝ- "to be disturbed"): "he became disturbed." For the supraliteral stroke see 1.3.2.

10 [Υ]ΕΡΟΥCΔΛΜΗ (see above, on 1-2) ΟΥΔΤΤΟΛ- (3.7.6g) - ΛΟΝ: "and all Jerusalem."

10-11 ΤΔΔ- (= ΤΔΡ-: 2.3.1) - ΔΔΛ (3.10): "with him."

11 ΔΡΧΗΕΡΕΘC-Δ (3.6.4c) ΜΩΨΔΝ-ΓΟΥ- (3.7.6e): "all the high priests."

11-12 -Λ[Δ]Ε --- -ΛΔΕΚΕΛ-ΓΟΥ-Κ-ΟΝ: 3.10 -ΔΕ. Note the pleonasm (-ΓΟΥΛ- [Δ]Ε --- -ΓΟΥΛΔΕΚΕΛ-ΓΟΥ-), to be contrasted with M. 15.12-15 (cited in 3.10 -ΔΕ).

12 ΚΠΤ- ("people": cf. Arabic قبط) - Ν ΟΥΡΔΝ- ("leader": see SC 19.1-2n) - Ι- ΓΟΥ-: "the leaders of the people."

13 [ΤΜ]Μ- ("to assemble") - Ι- ΓΔΡ- (3.9.5a) - Δ (3.9.19): "causing to assemble."

[Τ]Ε[Κ]ΚΔ: "them" (see above, on line 8).

ΕΓΙΔ- ("to ask") - 6- (3.9.5b) - ΙCΝΔ (cf. ΠΔΝΝΙCΝΔ in 9): "he asked (them)."

13-14 ΕΙCΛΘ (cf. on line 5) [ΧΡΙCΤΟCΙ (cf. on 112.18) ΟΥΝΝΟΥ]-ΤΔΚ-ΟΝΔ- (3rd pers. sg. pret. I indicative: cf. on line 1) - Δ (4.8): "Where is Christ born?"

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

Side i

·N:

	ΚΟΥΝΝΟ CΚΤΔΟ ΔΟΥΔ6ΡΔ ΜΩΨΔΝ	Rev 14:6
	ΓΟΥΚΟΝ 6ΔΥΔ Τ66ΕCΔ CΠΠΕ ΜΩΨΔΝ	
	ΓΟΥΚΔ 6ΕΡΓΟΥΛΔ ΤΔΜΕΓΟΥΛΔ ΚΠΤΙ	
	ΓΟΥΛΔ ΔΔΥΕΛΛΟΕΙΟΝ ΠΕCΗ ΤΔΛΙ	7
5	ΚΕΥΔΝΔ ΤΔΚΚΔ CΟΚ ΤΗΝΔCΩ ΤΔΝ	
	ΔΡΜCΚΔΕΝ ΤΔΡΔΤΔ ΚΡΕCΗΝΟ6ΟΥΝ	
	ΔΟΥΚΔ ΤΗΝΔCΟ ΔΑΡΜΔΔΕ CΚΤΔΔΕ	
	ΚΕΛΚΔ ΔΥΟΥ6ΟΛΚΔ ΘΑΛΔCΚΔ ΟΝ Δ	
	ΜΑΝΝΔ ΔΙCΡΙΚΔ ΕC ΔΓΓΕΛΟCΗ ΟΥ	8
10	ΕΛΛΟΝ ΕΡΓΔ ΚΡΕΝ ΠΕCΝΔ ΠΟΚΙCΗΔ	
	ΔΙCΔΡΙCΗΔ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ ΔΔΥΕΛΟ CΠ	
	ΠΕ ΜΩΨΔΝΓΟΥΝΔΕΙΟΝ ΤΔΝ ΚC	
	ΜΑΤΤΝΔ ΠΟΡΝΕΚΗ ΟΡΠΛΟΚΟ ΔΙ	
	CΑΡΚΙΚΕCΑΝ ΕC ΔΓΓΕΛΟCΗ ΤΟΥC	9
15	ΚΤΤΔΛΟΝ ΤΔΚ ΕΡΓΔ ΚΡΕΝ ΔΔΥΕΛ	
	ΛΟ ΟΥΔ ΠΕCΝΔ ΕΝ ΕCΔΝΔ CΑΡ	
	ΜΙΤΗ ΕΙΓΟΝΚΔ ΔΟΥΚΔΓΟΥΛ ΤΔΝ ΤΔC	
	CΗ ΕΔΚΟΝ ΤΕΝ ΚΟΡΗ ΤΗΝΔΤΤΔ	
	ΔΩ ΕΤΤΟΛΓΟΥΛ ΟΝ ΤΕΝ ΕΙΘΟΝΟΝ ΕΛ	
20	ΔΟ ΤΑΛΛΟ CΕΡΡΔ ΤΔΛΗ CΑΚΤΕΝ	10



ΚΤΜΑΤΤΙΝ ΔΑΚΤΙΠΕΝ ΟΡΠΟΥ ΣΑΜΔΡ  
ΡΑΡΑ Ι(?)ΜΕΔΔΑΙΙΣΗΚΑ ΔΡΜΤΑΚΚΑ

Side ii

:ΠΔ:

- ΕΙΟΝ ΕΠΔΝΔ ΕΙΓΑΔΕ ΤΙΔ ΦΑΔΕΚΕΛ  
ΛΟ ΔΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΨΙΓΟΥΑΘΡΩ ΟΝ ΚΑΤ  
ΤΑΘΡΩ ΤΕΝ ΔΡΜΤΚΔΕΝ ΔΡΠΑΕΛ 11  
ΛΟΝ ΕΛΛΕΝΓΟΥΛΟ ΚΤΚΑΛΕΛΟ ΚΕΔΙΛ  
5 ΔΟΥΘΝΑ ΔΕCΡΕΛΚΟΝ ΕΙΝΜΤCΔΝΑ  
ΛΟ ΟΥΚΟΥΡΔΕ ΘΑΡΔΕΚΕΛΛΟ ΕΑΡ  
ΜΙΤΗ ΕΙΚΟΝΚΑ ΔΟΥΚΟΛΓΟΥΛ ΟΝ ΤΑΝ  
ΤΑΕCΗ ΕΙΕΔΚΟΝ ΕΤΟΛΓΟΥΛ ΕΠΝΟ 12  
ΛΟ ΔΟΥΝΝΑΝΑ ΕΨΙΓΟΥΝΑ ΔΕCΚΙΤΑ  
10 ΤΑΛΗ ΤΕΔΚΟΝ ΕΔΡΟΛΓΟΥΝΑ ΟΝ  
ΙΗCΟΥCΗ ΠΤΕΥΕΤΚΑ ΟΥΛΓΡΙΚΟΝ 13  
ΕΙΝΙCΕ ΑΚΑ ΖΑΡΜΑΔ ΠΕCΗ ΔΙΓΑΛΕ  
ΠΑΕCΟ ΔΤΕΝΔΕΓΟΥΕΛΟ ΔΑΓΟΥΛ ΔΙΡΑ  
ΓΟΥΕCΗ ΕΟΛΛΟΚΩ ΔΙΕΙΓΟΥΛ ΕΛΕΚ  
15 ΚΑΝ ΔΑΟ ΠΕCΗCΗ CΕΥΑΡΤΑ ΤΑΝ ΚΟΡ  
ΠΑΒΕΙΓΟΥΛΟ ΠΑΒΑ ΔΕCΑΚΚΟΔΗΝΟΔ  
ΔΕCΕΡΑΝΝΟΒΟΥΝ ΤΕΝ ΔΕΙΓΟΥΛ  
ΛΟΝ ΤΕΚΚΑ ΕΡΓΙΒΟΝΑ ΖΑΡΜΙΚΤΚΑ  
ΕΛΙΚΟΝ ΕΙΝΙCΕ ΕΨΗ ΔΙΒΒΑ ΕΟΥΛ 14  
20 ΠΑΛΔΑΡΑΜΟΝ ΕΝΟΝΑ ΔΙΒΒΙΔΟ ΔΚΟΛ  
ΛΟΝ ΕΙΤΗ ΤΟΤΗ ΚΟΛΑ ΤΑΛΟ ΕΝΟΝΑ  
ΤΑΝ ΟΥΡΑΔΟΕΙΟΝ ΕΑΠΗ ΤΡΕΤΑΛΟ ΠΙ  
ΔΡΑ ΤΑΝ ΕΙΛΔΕΙΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΠΡ ΚΙΠΡΕΑ  
ΛΟ ΔΑΡΡΑ ΕΨ ΔΤΓ[ΕΛΟCΑΛΟΝ] ΕΑΥ[ΕΡ] 15  
25 [Ρ]Ο ΚΕΛ ΤΑΡ[ΙCΝΑ(?)]

(i)

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

(ii)

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

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

(Nestle-Aland, with variants from apparatus; see also below on ii 17)

# Commentary

i 1 ΚΟΥΝ- (= ΚΟΥΝῃ 3rd pers. sg. pres. subjunctive of ΚΟΥΝ- ["to have"]: 3.9.6, 2.7) - ΝΟ (3.10 - λΟ [emphatic]): "having"; cf. 4.7.3c.

1-2  $\overline{\text{CKT}}$ - ("earth") -  $\overline{\text{XAO}}$  (3.10)  $\Delta\text{OY}\Delta\text{6P}\overline{\text{X}}$  (predicative of present verbid of  $\Delta\text{OY}\lambda$ - ["to be, dwell"; for - $\Delta$ - see 2.2.2] with - $\Delta$ - [3.9.5b, here marking plural subject])  $\text{M}\overline{\text{WY}}\Delta\text{N}-\text{FOY}-$  (3.7.6c) -  $\text{K}-$  (3.6.3a): "to all who dwell upon the earth"; for the construction cf. 4.6d. After - $\text{K}-$ , - $\text{ON}$  "and" (3.10) seems misplaced, and I suspect that we should interchange the beginning of this line with the beginning of the next, reading - $\text{FOYK}\Delta$  in 2 and - $\text{FOYKON}$  in 3 (cf. the translation).

2  $\Delta\text{Y}-$  ("to preach") -  $\overline{\text{X}}$   $\overline{\text{T66-}}$  (=  $\text{T}\overline{\text{P}}-\text{6-}$ : 2.3.1, 3.9.19) -  $\text{EC}\Delta$  (4.7.7c): "to preach."

$\text{C}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\text{E}-$ : "nation"; see 2.5.2a.

3-4  $\text{6EP}-$  ("tribe") -  $\text{FOY}-\lambda\Delta$  (3.10)  $\text{T}\Delta\text{ME}-$  ("tongue") -  $\text{FOY}-\lambda\Delta$   $\text{K}\overline{\text{P}}\text{T}-$  ("people": see 5.1.12n) -  $\text{I}-\text{FOY}-\lambda\Delta$ : "amidst tribes, amidst tongues, amidst peoples."

4  $\overline{\text{X}}$  ("voice"; 3.6.5b)  $\Delta\Delta\text{YE}\overline{\text{X}}$ - (pres. verbid of  $\Delta\Delta\text{YEI}$  ["to be great"]) -  $\lambda\text{O}-$  (3.10) -  $\text{EION}$  (3.10 -  $\text{ON}$ ): "and in a great voice" lit. "in a voice that is great": cf. 4.6a.

$\text{PEC}\overline{\text{N}}$  (3rd pers. sg. pres. subjunctive of  $\text{PEC}-$  ["to say"]): "saying"; cf. 4.7.3c.

4-5  $\text{T}\overline{\text{X}}\lambda-$  ("God") -  $\text{I}-\text{K}-$  (3.6.3a)  $\text{EY}-$  ("to fear") -  $\overline{\text{XN}}\Delta$  (3.9.17): "fear God."

5  $\text{T}\Delta\text{K}-\text{K}\Delta$  (3.7.1b)  $\text{COK}$  ("glory"; 3.6.3b)  $\text{T}\overline{\text{N}}\text{N}\Delta-\text{C}\omega$  (=  $\text{T}\overline{\text{P}}-\Delta\text{N}\Delta-\text{C}\omega$ : 2.5.3): "give glory to him."

5-6  $\text{T}\Delta\text{N}$  (3.7.1a)  $\Delta\text{PM}\overline{\text{CK}}\Delta\text{E}-$  ("judgment") -  $\text{N}$  (3.6.2a)  $\text{T}\Delta\text{P}\Delta\text{T}-$  ("hour") -  $\overline{\text{X}}$  (3.6.1a): "the hour of his judgment."

6  $\text{KP}\overline{\text{EC}}\overline{\text{N}}$ - (3rd pers. sg. pret. II subjunctive of  $\text{KIP}-$  ["to come"; cf. 1.3.2, 3.9.7a]) -  $\lambda\text{O}-\text{6OYN}$  (3.10  $\text{6OYP}-$ ): "because it has come."

7  $\Delta\text{OYK}-$  ("to worship") -  $\Delta$  (3.9.19)  $\text{T}\overline{\text{N}}\text{N}\Delta-\text{CO}$  (see on 5 above): "worship!"

7-8  $\text{2}\Delta\text{PM}-$  ("heaven") -  $\overline{\text{X}}\Delta\text{E}$  (3.10 -  $\Delta\text{E}$ )  $\overline{\text{CKT}}-\overline{\text{X}}\Delta\text{EKE}\lambda-\text{K}\Delta$   $\Delta\text{YOY}-$  ("to make") -  $\text{6}-$  (3.9.5b) -  $\text{O}\lambda-$  (pret. I verbid) -  $\text{K}\Delta$ : "the one who made the heaven and the earth." Cf. 4.6a.

8-9  $\text{O}\Delta\lambda\Delta\text{C}-$  ("sea") -  $\text{K}\Delta$   $\text{ON}$  (3.11)  $\overline{\text{X}}\text{M}\Delta\text{N}-$  ("water") -  $\text{N}\Delta$  (3.6.2a)  $\Delta\text{IC}-\text{PI}-$  (pl. of  $\Delta\Delta\text{C}-$  ["spring"]): 3.5.1b and d) -  $\text{K}\Delta$ : "the sea and the springs of water."

9-10  $\text{E}\overline{\text{C}}$  (3.7.6h)  $\Delta\text{TTE}\lambda\text{OC}-\overline{\text{N}}$   $\text{OYE}\overline{\text{X}}$ - (3.8.2) -  $\lambda\text{ON}$  (3.10 -  $\text{ON}$ ): "and another, second, angel."

10  $\text{EP}\overline{\text{T}}-$  ("to follow") -  $\overline{\text{X}}$  (pres. verbid: 4.7.3c)  $\text{KP}-\text{EN}$  (pres. expanded verbid: 4.7.3c): "when he came following" (3.9.9 fin. 18).

$\text{PEC}\text{CN}\overline{\text{X}}$  (3rd pers. sg. pret. II indicative: 3.9.6, 3.9.7a, 4.1.2c): "he said."

$\text{POK}-$ : "to fall."

11  $\Delta\text{IC}\Delta\text{P}-$ : "to fall, drop" (cf. Browne 1981, 65 and also SC 21.18-19).

$\text{O}\Delta\text{OY}\lambda\text{WN}$   $\Delta\Delta\text{YE}\overline{\text{XO}}$  (=  $\Delta\Delta\text{YE}\overline{\text{X}}-\lambda\text{O}$ : 2.7, 3.10 -  $\lambda\text{O}$  [emphatic]): "great Babylon."

11-14 See 4.5.1b.

13  $\text{OP}\overline{\text{P}}-$ : 3.3.5.

13-14  $\Delta\text{IC}\Delta\text{P}-$  (2.5.2b) -  $\text{KI}-$  (from  $\text{K}\overline{\text{P}}-$ : 2.5.2b, 2.5.6a) -  $\text{KE}-$  (3.9.5a): literally "have been wont to come falling."

14-15  $\text{TOYCKT}-$ : 3.8.2.

16  $\text{OY}-$ : "to shout."

εἴ (3.7.4) εἴ- CΔNΔ (3.7.5c; = εἴ- PΔNΔ pres. indicative: 3.9.6): "whoever they are." See 4.6a.

16-17 CΔPMIT-: "beast."

17 ΕΙΓON-: "image" (εἰκῶν); cf. ii 7.

17-18 TΔTC-: "name."

18 ΕΔ-: "sign."

KOP-: "head."

TNNΔTT-: "front part."

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

19 ΕΤΤ-: usually spelled ΕΙΤ- (cf. ii 8) "to receive."

19-20 ΕΙΘΝΟ- ("right") -N ΕΔΔΟ (= ΕΙ- ["hand"] -ΔΔΟ): "on the right hand."

20 TΔλ-ΔΟ: i.e. TΔP-ΔΟ (2.3.1, 4.1.2f).

CEPPΔ: future predicative of CE(Ι)- "to drink"; see 3.9.7b and 4.1.2d.

CΔKTE-: "anger."

21 ΔCTIPE-: "cup."

21-22 CΔMΔP- ("intoxication") -P- (3.9.5a) -ΔPΔ (pret. I predicative) [MEΔ- ΔΔCICN]-KΔ: "which he [i.e. God] made ready to effect intoxication." For the restoration cf. Browne 1988, III §24 and note M. 4.7-8 60ΔPΔ MEΔΔΔCICN "that is ready to go" (see 3.9.14 fn. 21).

22-ii 1 ΔPMCT- ("to judge") -TΔK- (3.9.5a) -KΔ- (= -PΔ: 2.3.2) -ΕΙΘΝ ΕΝΔΝΔ (3rd pers. sg. fut. indicative: 3.9.7b): "and he will be judged"; cf. 3.9.14.

ii 1 ΕΙΓ-: "fire."

TIΔΦ-: "sulphur."

2 CTC-: "holy"; cf. 3.6.6b.

-OPW: 3.10.

2-3 KΔTT-: "lamb."

3 ΔPΠΔE-: "smoke."

4 ΕλλΕ-N-TOY- (3.5.1c) -ΔΟ KCCΔ-ΔE-ΔΟ (3.10 -KCKΔ): "up to the times," i.e. "for eternity."

4-5 KEΔ- ("to ascend") -IΔ ΔOYONΔ (pret. I of ΔOYΔ-: see i 1-2n and 2.5.6a): "has ascended"; cf. 3.9.13.

5-6 TEC-P- ("to rest"; -P- is weak: cf. below, 16-17 and 3.9.5a) -EΔ-KON (3.9.13, 3.10) EIN-MC- (= -MN-: 2.3.1) -CΔNΔ- (pret. II) -ΔΟ (emphatic: 3.10): "and they have not rested."

6 OYKOYP-: "day."

OP-: "night."

6-8: cf. i 16-19.

8-9 EN (3.7.4) -ΔΟ- ("in") -ΔΟ- (emphatic): i.e. "here."

9 ΔOYN-NΔNΔ: = ΔOYΔ-N- (expanded verbid: 3.9.9) -PΔNΔ (pres. indicative): "they are." See 3.9.9 fn. 19.

ΣΕCKIT-: "patience."

10 ΤΕΔ-: "law."

ΕΔΡ- ("to keep") - ΟΛ-ΓΟΥ-Ν- (3.6.2d) - Σ-: "that of those who have kept." Note that the translator followed τῶν τηρούντων (see the apparatus in Nestle-Aland), not οἱ τηροῦντες, the reading of the main text.

11 ΠCΤΕΥΕΤ-: "faith" (cf. 3.3.2).

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

12 -ΛΔ: here "from" (3.10).

ΔΙ- (3.7.1) - ΓΣ-ΛΕ (3.10): "to me." For the position see 4.9.4.

13 ΠΔ-Ε-CΟ (2nd pers. sg. imperative [3.9.17] of ΠΔΡ- ["to write"; for loss of -Ρ- see 2.5.6a]): "write!"

ΣΤΕΝΔ(Ε)- (3.4.1) - Ε-ΓΟΥ-Ε- (3.5.2a, 3.6.4a) - ΛΟ ΔΣ- (pres. verbid of ΔΙ- ["to die"]) - ΓΟΥ-Λ: "blessed are the dying."

13-14 ΔΙΡ-Δ-ΓΟΥ-Ε-CΗ --- ΔΙΕΙ- (= ΔΙΛ-: 2.5.6a) - ΓΟΥ-Λ: "those who die who are those who die"; ΔΙΡΔΓΟΥΕCΗ appears to be a variant reading (as in 17 below): see Browne 1988, III §7, and cf. St. 27.8-10, discussed in 3.6.4a.

14 CΟΛ-ΛΟΚΩ: CΟΔ- ("Lord") - ΛΟΚΩ (3.10), unusual assimilation.

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

15 ΣΛΟ: 3.13.

CΕΥΔΡΤ-: "spirit."

15-16 ΚΟΡ- ("to toil") - ΠΔ6- (sim.; cf. 3.3.4) - 6- (3.3.2) - Ι-ΓΟΥ-ΛΟ ΠΔ6-Δ ΤΕC-ΔΡ- (ii 5-6n) - ΚΟΔΝΝΟC (4.7.7a): "in order that they may cease toiling from the toils." Note that ΤΔΝ "his" in 15 seems to be a mistake for ΤΕΝ "their" (3.7.1a).

17 ΤΕC-ΕΡΔΝ-ΝΟCΟΥΝ (4.7.4b): "because they cease," a translation of ὅτι ἀναπαύονται, just as ΤΕC-ΔΚ-ΚΟΔΝΝΟC "in order that they may cease," renders ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται: see Browne 1985b, 292-293.

ΤΕΕΙΛ- (2.5.6a): "deed."

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

19 CΣ- (variant of CΔΛ- ["to see"]) - Ι-ΚΟΝ ΕΙΝ-: as in ii 4-5 and 11-12.

ΕCΣCΗ: "behold"; cf. 5.1.2-3n.

19-20 CΙ66- ("cloud") - Δ CΟΥΛ- ("white") ΠΣΛΔΡΔ- (predicative of pres. verbid of ΠΣΛ-ΔΛ(Λ)-, a juncture of two verbs meaning "to shine") - ΜΟΝ (3.10) ΕΝ-ΟΝΔ (pret. I): "and there was a white, shining cloud"; for the structure cf. ILT 10 A i 16-17 cited in 3.5.2e; as for CΟΥΛ-, the final -ΟΥ- seen in M. 10.16 (CΟΥΛΟΥ-ΚΔ; cf. also ILT 6 i 11) and maintained in modern *nulā* is deleted as if it were a juncture vowel (see 2.10).

20 ΣΚ-: "to sit."

21 ΕΙΤ-: "man."

ΤΟΤ-: "son."

KO $\lambda$  $\Delta$ T-: "likeness."

22 OY $\rho$ -: "head."

E $\Delta$  $\Pi$ -: "gold."

TP $\overline{\Delta}$ T-: "crown."

22-23  $\Pi$ I $\overline{\Delta}$  $\rho$  $\Delta$ : pret. I predicative of  $\Pi$ I- ("to be"), just as  $\Delta\Delta\rho\rho\Delta$  in 24 is the pret. I predicative of  $\Delta\Delta\rho$ - ("to be"; for the formation see 3.9.7a: "- $\rho\Delta$  appears [instead of - $\Delta\rho\Delta$ ] after a stem ending in a single - $\rho$ -").

23 TO $\Pi$ O $\Pi$  $\overline{\rho}$ -: if rightly read (the second  $\Pi$  could be T), the word may be related to *tubro* "sickle" in the modern language; if so, it is perhaps a scribal error for TO- $\Pi$  $\overline{\rho}$ -.

KIP $\rho$ EI-: "to be sharp," construed as in 4.6a.

24 E $\Delta$ Y[E $\overline{\rho}$ -: "shrine," restored from L. 111.2-3 and 8.

25 [- $\rho$ I $\rho$ ]: i.e. - $\lambda$ O (2.3.2).

KE $\lambda$ : "coming"; the form is from KEP $\overline{\lambda}$  (2.5.6a), and KEP- is a variant of KIP- (i 6).

T $\Delta$  $\rho$ -: "to come"; for the restoration cf. Sunn. 1 ii 9 T $\Delta$  $\rho$ [I]CN $\overline{\Delta}$ .



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

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