

Old Nubian Grammar

Gerald M. Browne

Languages of the World/Materials 330
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In the Middle Ages, Old Nubian was the principal language of the Sudan and the southern part of Egypt. The direct ancestor of the Nubian still spoken in that area, it is the only indigenous African language whose development we can follow for over a millennium.

The corpus of Old Nubian, which occupies fewer than one hundred pages of continuously printed text, extends from the eighth to the fifteenth century of our era, though most of the material is from the tenth to the twelfth. About half of the texts are of religious content, comprising translations of the Greek New Testament, the Septuagint and other Christian writings; the rest are documentary, consisting of public contracts, private letters and similar material.

Belonging to the Nilo-Saharan language family, Old Nubian is written in a modified form of the Greek uncial alphabet, with extra characters taken from Coptic and Meroitic. The general characteristics of the language emerge from the following formula (after Hawkins): SOV / POST / GEN + N / N + ADJ.

The author, Professor of the Classics and Linguistics at the University of Illinois (Urbana/Champaign), has published fourteen books and over seventy articles on Old Nubian; he is regarded as the World's leading authority on that language.

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CORRIGENDA TO G. M. BROWNE, GRAMMAR OF OLD NUBIAN

- \$0.1.3 line 5: for "litteratum" read "litterarum"
- \$2.3.1 under α + p: for "Sl. 17.6-7 AoyAAA" read "SC 21.22 rA.PA."
- \$3.2: delete the last sentence
- \$3.9.6.1b line 1: for "verbid" read "subjunctive"
- \$3.9.12a fn. 72 line 1: for "KOH" read "KOH/OH"
- \$4.1.3 line 2 from end: for "lacunose" read "lacunose or uncertain"

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PREFACE

This work builds upon and greatly expands the brief grammatical sketch that I presented in my *Introduction to Old Nubian*, Meroitica 11, Berlin 1989 (now out of print and virtually unobtainable). I am grateful to Dr. Troy Sagrillo for designing the Nubian font here utilized, and to Mr. James Inman for reading through the text and removing numerous errors.

30 November 2001

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INTRODUCTION

0.1 Prefatory remarks (based on Browne 1999a)

0.1.1 In the Middle Ages, O(ld) N(ubian) was the principal language of the kingdoms of Nobadia, Makuria and Alodia, roughly the area of the modern Sudan and southern Egypt, and it is the direct ancestor of the Nubian still spoken in that area. Of the modern dialects, it is most closely akin to Nobiin (also known as Mahas/Fadidja: Werner 1987.18-24). Belonging to the Nilo-Saharan family, Nubian is the only indigenous African language whose development we can trace for over a millennium.

0.1.2 The corpus of O.N. extends from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries: the oldest dated text consists of O.N. insertions in a Greek epitaph of A.D. 797 (see Łajtar 1997.117; as Łajtar notes, the Coptic Nubian papyrus published as Browne 1993.29-32, might be earlier, but it is dated only on palaeographical grounds; at any rate the text previously thought to be the earliest, Griffith's graffito 4, can now be shown not to contain a date: see Browne 1996g), and the latest is a document dated in 1484 (see Adams 1977.533 with n. 85). But most of the texts, both literary and documentary, come from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.

0.1.3 The language is written in a modified form of the Greek alphabet, with extra characters taken from the Coptic and Meroitic scripts 1.1.1. Previous researchers have assumed that the orthography is based on that of Coptic. While it is true that several O.N. letters are modelled on the latter script, which is also the source of O.N. supraliteration 1.3, it is nonetheless the case that the ductus litteratum is Greek, not Coptic. Specifically, the writing—at least of the literary texts—is similar to the Greek sloping majuscule style of the seventh to the ninth centuries, as noted in Browne 1990b.124-125, where I give a reproduction of a Sinai Greek manuscript (8th/9th cent.), similar in style to the O.N. manuscript most conveniently illustrated on the covers of Browne 1988a and 1998a.

0.1.4 The unmistakably Greek appearance of the O.N. script has a practical application: it has allowed the excavators at Qasr Ibrim to distinguish easily between O.N. and Coptic fragments, even without knowledge of the languages. And failure to recognize the fundamental difference between Coptic and O.N. scripts has contributed at least once to a mistaken identification of an O.N. text as Coptic: the Sunnarti fragment (Sunn. 2 0.3), assumed by its original editor to be a Coptic document, should—on the basis of the writing alone—have been recognized as O.N. Unfortunately, all editors of O.N. texts, including the present author, have used the Coptic alphabet for our publications, but this is simply a matter of convenience—because O.N. employs certain Coptic letters—and it should not blind us to the essentially Greek appearance of the script.

0.1.5 If printed in a modern edition, the corpus of O.N. would occupy fewer than 100 pages of continuous text. Of the material preserved, about half is of religious content, consisting of translations of the Greek New Testament, the Septuagint, and other Christian writings, while the remainder is documentary, comprising public contracts, private letters, and similarly ephemeral material. For many of the religious texts we are fortunate in having the Greek Vorlage, a crucial resource for explicating the language. Having no underlying Greek original, the documentary material is naturally more difficult to elucidate.

0.1.6 Until recently, all research on O.N. was based on the collection assembled in Griffith 1913. But the material available to Griffith amounted to only about 20 pages of continuously

printed text. Now, thanks in large part to excavations undertaken in response to the UNESCO campaign to save the monuments threatened by the Aswân Dam, many new texts have come to light, and the corpus has more than quadrupled. The new material has also allowed significant improvement in understanding the language, and consequently many of the interpretations proposed by Griffith must now be abandoned.

0.1.7 Of the new texts, particularly important is the O.N. translation of Ps.-Chrysostom, *In venerabilem crucem sermo*, discovered by the University of Chicago in the course of its excavations at Serra East. It is by far the longest O.N. text extant, and direct comparison with the surviving Greek model has permitted us greatly to enhance our understanding of the language. In addition, a substantial body of material—both literary and documentary—has been uncovered at Qasr Ibrim by the Egypt Exploration Society. The bulk of these texts have been published in Plumley–Browne 1988 and Browne 1989b and 1991a.

0.1.8 Except for some exiguous fragments (see Zyhlarz 1928.188-192), the texts display a uniform dialect, apart from the following deviations: an archaism in the pronominal system appears in translations of Old Testament texts (chiefly poetic) **3.7.1a**, and the language of the documents avails itself of a periphrastic preterite **3.9.19.1**; also mainly restricted to the documents is the nominal syntagma described in **3.6.6b** fn. 20. Some vocalic alternations may be dialectal in origin: **2.1.2.2** and **2.1.2.3**. Recently, M. Becchaus-Gerst (2000.20-23) has suggested that certain features of the language of IN III 36 (for the siglum see **0.3**) may be cognate with modern Dongolawi/Kenzi.

0.1.9 The general characteristics of Nubian appear in the following formula, based on Hawkins 1979.626, Type 24:

SOV / POST / GEN + N / N + ADJ

In other words, the word order is Subject Object Verb, the language employs postpositions instead of prepositions, and the genitive tends to precede its noun, while the adjective follows it; see further below, **4.9.1**.

0.2 Previous studies (based on Browne 1991b)

0.2.1 Scientific investigation of O.N. began in 1913, when F. Li. Griffith published his edition of the texts then available and included a brief grammatical sketch as well as a glossary (Griffith 1913). Assisted by the Africanist, H. Schäfer, to whom was due the listing of cognates from the modern language, Griffith produced a work which still remains fundamental.

0.2.2 Eight years later appeared H. Abel's study of the Nubian verbal system, a careful analysis which compared the verbal morphology of the ancient language with the evidence of the modern dialects (Abel 1921). As the basis of his work, Abel prepared a concordance of the texts in Griffith; never published, this concordance—recorded on several thousand index cards—is lodged in the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, where I had the opportunity to consult it in 1986/7, when I was Visiting Professor of Egyptology and Sudan Archaeology in the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; it has proved to be extremely helpful in preparing my own O.N. dictionary (Browne 1996a).

0.2.3 In 1928 E. Zyhlarz published the first comprehensive treatment of O.N. (Zyhlarz 1928). The work contains a detailed grammatical analysis, an edition of three of the main

literary texts then available (M., K. and St. **0.3**) and a comprehensive glossary. Unfortunately the work is fundamentally flawed, as the following list of its more glaring defects reveals: (1) whenever Griffith restored a passage, using the appropriate brackets and dots **0.5**, Zyhlarz printed the text without editorial sigla, thereby at times providing false information: e.g. in L. **0.3** 106.16 Griffith printed [ΤΙ]ΣΣ[ΙΚΗΟΥΑ], an unparalleled form which Zyhlarz took over without the brackets and dotted letters and presented to the reader as a legitimate construction (§§195 and 339) (autoptic examination of the passage led me to propose the normal form [ΤΙ]ΣΣ[ΙΚΗΟΥΑ] [Browne 1979.250 and 1989c.19]); (2) Zyhlarz assumed that -α was the definite article (§§61, 75 and p. 178); it is in fact the marker of the subjective case (Hintze 1975b and **3.6.1**); (3) the plural pronouns ογ- and ερ- Zyhlarz interpreted as inclusive and exclusive, respectively (§94), thereby reversing their roles (Vycichl 1958.172-173; 1961 and **3.7.1**); (4) Zyhlarz posited two future tenses (§§164-166), but the language has only one (Stricker 1940.455; Browne 1982b §4b and **3.9.7b**); (5) his description of the 'Partizipien' (§§141-151) must be totally discarded (Hintze 1971.287-291 and **3.9.6**); and (6) his section on "genera verbi" (§§128-139) also requires extensive revision (Hintze 1975a).

0.2.4 A little over a decade later appeared B. H. Stricker's excellent 'Study in Medieval Nubian', which treated orthography, phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary (Stricker 1940). Especially noteworthy are his discussion of the supraliteral stroke (440-441), the fundamental observation that the suffix -α, 'when syllable-opening, ... appears as -p' (443) and the section on the -α of oratio recta (447-451). His treatment of these topics has greatly furthered my own analysis of the language (see below, **1.3**, **2.6** and **4.8**).

0.2.5 Starting in the fifties, W. Vycichl brought out three brief but expert studies (Vycichl 1956, 1958 [of which part b is of fundamental importance for understanding the relationship between the subjunctive and the indicative: see Browne 1982b §22 with **3.9.6**] and 1961).

0.2.6 The excavations in Nubia in the sixties renewed interest in O.N. and prompted F. Hintze to undertake a magisterial series of 'Beobachtungen zur altnubischen Grammatik' (Hintze 1971, 1975a and b, 1977 and 1986). In these studies Hintze radically revised the grammar of Zyhlarz and proposed new models for viewing the language. When in 1978 I began to work on O.N., Hintze kindly provided me with offprints of his 'Beobachtungen', thereby giving me the necessary corrigenda to Zyhlarz and the means to develop my own ideas.

0.2.7 My own research proceeded against the background of the new textual material, and I was especially fortunate in being allowed to edit the Serra East Chrysostom and a large number of literary and documentary texts from Qasr Ibrim **0.1.7**. These texts were especially important in improving my understanding of the O.N. verbal system, concerning which my preliminary study appeared in 1982 (Browne 1982b). In particular, the new material revealed: (1) that the preterite II infinitive (or verbid, as I now prefer to call it **3.9.6** fn. 43) ends in -CIA (Browne 1982b §4e and **3.9.8**); (2) that there is only one future tense, as Stricker had once assumed **0.2.3**; (3) that formations like SC 18.3 καρενια effectively demonstrate the origin of the verbal system as expansions of the infinitive/verbid (Browne 1982b §§5 [especially note f] and 29, 1988a I and **3.9.6**); and (4) that the language has an impressive array of periphrastic formations, some of which were not attested in the texts previously known (Browne 1982b §§34-45, with **3.9.11-3.9.16**). Although I do not claim that my analysis of the verbal system is correct in all its details, it is gratifying to see that at least the broad outline has won acceptance: see especially Werner 1987.143: "Brownes Darstellung des Entstehungsprozesses des altnubischen Verbal-systems ist durch seine Schlüssigkeit und die Reduzierung auf wenige

Grundformen und wenige Regeln überzeugend"; see also Smagina 1986a.11, Vycichl 1990.123, Werner 1993.48 and Bechhaus-Gerst 1996.119 and 232-234.

0.2.8. To conclude this survey, mention should be made of the publications of the Russian scholar, E. B. Smagina. Her first paper (1979) is a careful assessment of O.N. orthography and phonology, to which I have added some comments (Browne 1981c.67). In 1983 appeared her reconstruction of fr. 1 0.3, a text that she and I independently assigned to part of an O.N. version of Revelation (Smagina 1983; Browne 1981d; 1984b.30-36 and 1989c.76-79), and in 1985 she published a useful comparative study on loan words in Coptic and O.N. 1986 saw publication of a paper summarizing her research on morphological problems (1986b) as well as her brief synopsis of O.N. grammar (1986a): this lucid and well-argued presentation should be made available to all Nubiologists and ought therefore to be translated into a western language.

0.3 The present grammar is based on the following texts, most of which were also utilized in my Old Nubian Dictionary, Browne 1996a (note that items marked with * are to be found in Browne 1989c):

*M.	Miracle of Saint Menas
*K.	Nicene Canons
*L.	Lectionary
*St.	Stauros-Text
*SC	Ps.-Chrysostom, In venerabilem crucem sermo
*IN I	Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim I
*IN II	Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim II (only 13-20 are in Browne 1989c; for 21-29 see Browne 1989b)
IN III	Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III (Browne 1991a)
*Dong.	Two Old Nubian Texts from Old Dongola
*Ben.	The Qasr el-Wizz Benedicite
*Sunn. 1	The Sunnarti Mark
*Sunn. 2	The Sunnarti Luke
*FE	The Faras Martyrdom of Epimachus
*SE	Ps.-Chrysostom, In quattuor animalia
Sale	Griffith 1913.53-55 + Browne 1992a
fr. *1, 2	Griffith 1913.55-56
ostr.	Griffith 1913.56
gr. 1-16	Griffith 1913.57-68
WN	Griffith 1928.118-128 (note that I have modified some readings on the basis of a photograph provided by T. J. Logan, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
Nauri	Griffith 1928.128-130
Kanarti	Donadoni 1965 + Browne 2002d
Tamit	Donadoni 1967
Sabagûra	Donadoni 1962
Faras	Altheim-Stiehl 1971 + Jakobielski 1978
Kordofan	Arkell 1951
el-Scheima	Bietak-Schwarz 1987
CM	Browne 1992c.35-37; 1994e.31-32
IN A	Browne 1991b.289-291
IN Q	Browne 1994a.10
KG	Browne 1998d

KD	Browne 2000d
DP	Browne 2001g
CE	Browne 2001b
CL	Browne 2001a

Other, more fragmentary texts, published as well as unpublished, are occasionally utilized; they are cited with pertinent bibliography.

0.4 Even though the present book is a synchronic grammar of O.N., I occasionally cite the modern dialects, using N. for Nobiin (formerly known as Mahas) as well as D. for Dongolawi and K. for Kenzi. Unless otherwise indicated, the source of information for the modern dialects is Murray 1923, occasionally supplemented by Almkvist 1911; Armbruster 1960, 1965; Bechhaus-Gerst 1996; Khalil 1996; Lepsius 1880; Massenbach 1933, 1962; Reinisch 1879; Werner 1987.

0.5 In presenting the texts, I employ the following editorial sigla:

[]	= lacuna
< >	= addition by editor
{ }	= deletion by editor
[[]]	= deletion by scribe
^	^ is uncertain
^	^ is added above line by scribe

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1 ORTHOGRAPHY

1.1 Alphabet

1.1.1 The O.N. alphabet consists of 30 letters, of which 24 are Greek, three (ϑ , ϱ and δ [the last = ς : see below]) are Coptic, and three (τ , φ and π) are enchoric, derived—with varying degrees of probability—from Meroitic. The O.N. names of the letters have not been preserved; presumably they corresponded, at least roughly, with those used in Greek and Coptic, where the names of the three letters mentioned above are reconstructed as *šai*, *hore(h)* and *kyima*, respectively: see Layton 2000 §8. Where the enchoric letters precisely stood in the O.N. alphabet cannot be recovered; their sequence at the end is a modern scholarly convention. The following table gives the letters, their transliteration (recommended for citing O.N. words in linguistic, lexical or historical studies which do not presuppose familiarity with the ancient alphabet) and their broad phonetic value or pronunciation (see 1.1.2 as well as the phonemic inventory presented in Chapter 2). Note that the transliteration does not always correspond with the phonetic value.

Letter	Transliteration	Phonetic Value
α	a	a
β	b	b
γ	g	g
Δ	d	d
ϵ	e	e
ζ	z	z
η	ê	i
θ	th	th (Engl. <i>thin</i>)
ι	i	i
κ	k	k
λ	l	l
μ	m	m
ν	n	n
ξ (sic), ξ , $\bar{\xi}$	x	ks
\omicron	o	o
π	p	p

8			
P	r	r	
C	s	s	
T	t	t	
Y	u	i	
Φ	f	f	
X	h	h (Germ. Bach)	
†	ps	ps	
ω	ô	o	
† _ω	š	š (Engl. sheep)	
2	h	h	
δ = 6	j	j (Engl. judge)	
† _ε	ñ	ng (Engl. singer)	
∞	ñ	ny (Engl. canyon)	
‡, OY	w	w (Engl. wish)	

N.B. An ostracon from Meinarti (University of Kentucky Inv. 6-K-3 / 136; unpublished) gives the O.N. alphabet except for the enchoric letters:

†	λ	β	̄	̄	ε	ζ	ñ	ϕ	ι	κ
	λ	ñ	η	̄	̄	̄	ρ	̄	τ	
	γ	φ	χ		†		ω	ψ	Ϸ	2
	δ	z	†							

Notes:

1. ζ (z) and ̄ (x) are clearly distinguished in the ostracon; cf. also gr. 4.1 and 3 ζ = z, and 4.8 ̄ = x. Elsewhere ζ usually represents both Greek ζ (e.g. SC 13.20-21 λαζαρουσι-) and ξ (e.g. M. 1.7 λλεζανδρε-). In the Greek alphabet which is the basis of O.N. orthography, ̄ stands for ξ (cf. Garthausen 1913 plates 1-3). Because, however, O.N. employs a supraliteral stroke to designate /i/ 1.3.3, ζ without a stroke was used by native scribes to represent ξ, despite the inevitable confusion with ζ representing ζ. (Note that the supraliteral stroke is used haphazardly in the ostracon, but that the stroke over ζ is integral is suggested by the appearance of ̄ in gr. 4.8.

2. In the ostracon δ appears in the position of the letter normally written in (Sahidic) Coptic as ε. Elsewhere ε is found in O.N. instead of δ only in Kanarti 2 εεμ- and Ben. 8 εουμια-. (Griffith 1913.72 draws the δ in K. 19.15 in such a way that it resembles ε, but the plate in Budge 1909 suggests that we probably have merely a badly formed δ.)

3. Coptic Ϸ, which appears in the ostracon, occurs in an O.N. context only in Ben. 17, a Greek quotation in a text that alternates between Greek and O.N.: μαρμελες, i.e. νεφέλαι Dan 3:73, and in the cipher ϷϷ (= δμην) in Sale 2, 22 and IN III 32.2 1.4. The letters x and † are not found in O.N. texts.

1.1.2 The phonetic equivalents proposed above may usually be established by coordinating the evidence of Byzantine Greek, Coptic and modern Nubian, especially the Nobiin dialect (N.), formerly called Mahas (M.). The following treatment is a modification of Griffith 1913.71-73; for attestations of the words here listed, see Browne 1996a. (N.B. The attestations here assembled provide only the N(obiin) evidence that supports equating a particular O.N. letter with a phonetic representation in the modern dialect. Variant manifestations—e.g. the fact that τ, normally corresponding to N. t, may occasionally correspond to d, as in τρι- = N. dir— which a diachronic grammar of Nubian would have to consider, are not tabulated in this synchronic description of O.N.)

α: = N. a (e.g. δμην- = aman).

β: in O.N. words only in -αββα and δμναβιτι-, variants of -αββα and δμναβιτι-, respectively; otherwise it appears only in Greek loan words (e.g. διδωλος-), where it may alternate with π (as in αρχιεπισκοπος-).

γ: = N. g (e.g. γεν- = gen).

δ: = N. d (e.g. διδ- = dij).

ε: = N. e (e.g. ελ- = el).

ζ: only in loanwords (e.g. λαζαρουσι-).

η: = N. i (e.g. ηη- = in), varying with ι, ει and γ; see 2.1.1.

ϕ: usually only in loan words (e.g. φάλας-), but note φάπαρ- as a variant of τάπαρ- (personal name), φηνίσαλ- (also a personal name) as well as φηνακίξ- and μαφτο-, variants of τιμακκίς- and ματτο-, respectively. Like φ and χ, it was probably a fricative, as in Byzantine Greek; in Coptic ϕ = τ + 2 (Layton 2000 §8).

ι: = N. i (e.g. κίρ- = kir), varying with ει, η and γ; see 2.1.1.

κ: = N. k (e.g. κίρ- = kir).

λ: = N. l (e.g. ελ- = el); see 2.2.1.

μ: = N. m (e.g. μεη- = men); see 2.2.1.

ν: = N. n (e.g. μεη- = men); see 2.2.1.

ζ, ̄, ̄: see 1.1.1 note 1.

ο: = N. o (e.g. οκ- = ok), varying with ω; see 2.1.1.

π: represents Greek π in loan words (e.g. ἀποστολος-); in N. it corresponds to f and in K.D. to b (e.g. παρ- = N. fag, K.D. bāg). Note that εαπε- is borrowed from Coptic ηαβε.

ρ: = N. r (e.g. κίρ- = kir); see 2.2.1.

σ: = N. s (e.g. σαμ- = sami 3.3).

τ: = N. t (e.g. τίρ- = tir).

γ: usually only in the digraph ογ (/u/: 2.1) and in the diphthongs αγ, εγ and ηγ 2.1.3; also in loan words (e.g. αλλοφυλος-). In O.N. words it varies with ι (e.g. ηίρ-, ηίγρ-), with which it doubtless coincided in pronunciation, as in Byzantine Greek 2.1.1; cf. also the doubtfully read πύρε- and the personal names δγσσαμ-, φηνίσαλ-, κύειντ- (Quintus?), μετοκγτ(), κύμερον-, κύτογμ- and the toponym γηω.

ϕ: = N. *f* (e.g. ΤΟΥΦϕ = *tu(f)f*); a fricative, not π + 2 as in Coptic (Layton 2000 §8). It varies with π in the loan word ἀρπαῖ-/ἀρφαῖ.

χ: except for the title χαῖριματὰ ἐλ-, the letter appears only in loan words, mostly Greek (e.g. ἀπαρχε-), but once Arabic (σαχχ-); like ϕ and φ, a fricative, not κ + 2 as in Coptic Layton 2000 §8).

†: only in loan words (e.g. ἀποκαλι†ι-). As ἀπσιον- (i.e. ἀψίνθιον) shows, it retained the Greek value /ps/.

ω: varies with ο (e.g. οκ-, ωκ- = N. *ok*), with which it coincided in pronunciation; see 2.1.1.

ψ: = N. *š* (e.g. ψα- = *šā*).

ζ: = N. *h* (ζαρη- = *har(a)m*; Khalil 1996.128); elsewhere only in εἰσι, ἡἀῖ, *το(20)ηδε-, -2α and *2γῶκῆτος-.

ς: corresponds alphabetically with Coptic ς, as the Meinarti ostrakon 1.1.1 shows; it was probably /j/, as cognates in N. suggest (e.g. δεη- = *jem*). In (Sahidic) Coptic, ς is a palatalized half-voiced velar stop (as in Engl. *vacuum*; Worrell 1934.88), enough like /j/, a voiced palatal fricative, to account for phonetic confusion between the two.

ε: = N. *ñ* (e.g. αε- = N. *an*); thought to derive from a similar sign in Meroitic, which it resembles in form but not in sound (the latter is /h/: Zavodovskij–Katsnel'son 1980.88), the letter may in fact be ρ superimposed over ε; for the obvious phonetic overlap cf. εαγε-, εαγγ-, and note IN I 10 A ii 12, where παδινγι- = παδινε-: see 2.2.2. Cf. also 2.2.1.

ο: = N. *ñ* (e.g. οο- = *on*); assumed to derive from a similar sign in Meroitic, which also resembles it in sound: Zavodovskij–Katsnel'son 1980.88. See 2.2.1.

ϖ: = N. *w* (e.g. καϖαρτ- = *kawarti* 3.3); usually replaced by ογ (e.g. ογεα-, γεα-); there is a sign in Meroitic similar in shape and sound: Zavodovskij–Katsnel'son 1980.88).

1.2 Punctuation (based on Browne 1986b)

1.2.1 Following Greek practice, O.N. scribes routinely employed a raised point to mark the end of sentence, clause and colon. (In L. the point is replaced by ∞, the texts occasionally display a different system, in which a raised point separates off virtually every word: IN I 5; II 18, 25; III 30, 34 i; FE). The first two categories call for no comment; the third—corresponding to the sentence constituents of modern linguistics (Habinek 1985.13)—includes the following patterns:

Weighted Subject

M. 12.2-7 κοῦνηποι εἶ τανῆνα κῆσῶ δούηαλ δούτραπ δῶρασα τανηα ταῦοκεταλ σοῦκκα παλα κοῦττα εονδα τοῦσκοηο δαγεισηα “the egg which the man had eaten suddenly became a living hen, came out from under him, stood up and immediately squawked” (sim. K. 22.14-23.3; L. 111.7-9; SC 6.1-2, 9.14-16; IN I 7 ii 23-24, 8 i 16-18, 9 ii 5-7, 10 A i 6-9, 11 ii 1-5)

Weighted Object

M. 1.8-11 ταρην ηῖρα ἀγενδε οὔνηαπα μηνηαλω εακῆηδε ἀσκεηδε “and she, being barren, did not bear either son or daughter” (cf. 14.16-15.3; sim. 2.12-3.1; K. 19.8-10, 20.8-10, 33.2-4; L. 113.11-13; St. 6.12-7.4, 18.11-12, 28.11-29.1, 3-6; SC 6.21-23, 24.9-11; IN I 9 i 7-8, 10 A i 12-15, ii 23-25, 11 ii 12-13)

Postpositional Phrase

M. 1.5-8 εῖτοῦ ογεαλο ἀπποῦ ογεαλα δούτρα δαεζαναρην φῖρογλα “a woman lived in a village, in the district of Alexandria” (the sentence grammatically ends with δούτρα, to which δαεζαναρην φῖρογλα is an appendage; sim. 2.10-12, 16.16-17.4; L. 113.1-2; St. 11.6-10, 15.2-5, 15.11-16.1, 28.3-7, 7-10, 11-29.2; SC 3.18-20; IN I i 4-5, 7 ii 11-13, 9 i 22-ii 2, 10 A i 17-19)

Adjunctive (N.B. This and the three following categories correspond to Greek participial constructions, which are regularly treated as cola)

L. 106.1-2 ---ηῶ δοῦριεαρασῆ ∞ τῶλιαεδοῦρη ἀρ(χ)ηῖερεῶσαῶ οκτακα “... became cause of ..., called [προσαγορευθεῖς] by God high priest” (sim. 112.7-9; SC 4.1-4, 19.23-25, 22.16-18; IN I 6 ii 3-6)

Verbid in -α

L. 111.8-10 εαγεῖρα εῶε(ι)γογῆα εῶσαῶλο οκτακηῶ ∞ κ(ο)η(δ)ια εα(π)κ(ο) τῆηῶτρκα “(after the second veil) is the tabernacle which is called the Holy of Holies, having [ἔχουσα] the golden incense-altar” (sim. SC 21.25-22.1; Sunn. 1 ii 2-3)

Expanded Verbid in -ειη

L. 100.6-7 ἰῶσχηφειοη εαλοῦαλο πικκεη ∞ --- “and Joseph, when he awoke [ἐγερθεῖς] from sleep, ...” (sim. SC 19.13-15)

Subjunctive

L. 113.1-2 --- οῖνηηοῦτακοη βηῶεηη ἰοῦαα(ι)ηηιο ∞ --- “when (Jesus) was born [γεννηθέντος] in Bethlehem of Judea, ...” (sim. IN I 9 i 4)

Appositive and Enumeration

M. 2.5-10 ταν εογλα δούτρα ηῶψαηηοῦκκεταλλεειοη ηεῖραγοῦεῶ εἰσαηα ηεαδοῦηῆ ταεῖρογῶ τοῦεῖρογῶ δούτραπῖρογῶ κῖεῶκῶλω “and also all who lived in her house were barren: the servant-girls, the cows, down to the hens” (sim. 14.8-10; St. 3.8-13; IN I 4 ii 19-20 [apposition]; M. 13.11-14; K. 31.11-13; St. 30.12-13; SC 12.10-11, 18.23-24 [enumeration])

1.2.2 In addition to the raised point (and ∞ in L.), O.N. scribes occasionally employ other marks of punctuation:

: marks the end of a section of text (e.g. K. 19.7); it may be followed by a horizontal stroke (e.g. IN II 16 iv 13), optionally repeated and alternating with a series of dots (e.g. St. 2.8). The stroke alone, without a preceding :, may also occur as a section divider (e.g. St. 28.10) and may be repeated, alternating with a series of dots (e.g. IN I 7 ii 6). For the use of : with numerals see 1.2.3.

:: (optionally followed by a horizontal stroke or strokes) marks the end of a section of text in L. (e.g. 100.12), where : sets off the words of a title (e.g. 100.13).

/ marks the end of a question (both direct and indirect) in M. 9.1, K. 26.12 and SC 18.2, 4-5, 21.20-21, 22.15-16; in M. 9.4 we read ∞ (corrected by the scribe from /). In IN I 4 i 15, ii 15 and 25 we find / at question end.

⊙ is a verse divider in IN I 2, 3; II 12, 13; Dong. 1, 2; Ben.; in gr. 2 verses are divided by ∫.

1.2.3 Numerical signs, used regularly to mark page numbers and also elsewhere, are adapted from the Copto-Alexandrian system and regularly bear supraliteral strokes, i.e. ⲥ̄ for 6 (e.g. M. 6) and Ⲓ̄ for 90 (e.g. Sale 2 ⲫ̄Ⲓ̄ for 99 = ⲁⲙⲙⲙ, i.e. 1 + 40 + 8 + 50 [sim. 22 and IN III 32.2]). As page numbers, they may be preceded and followed by : (e.g. in L. and St.; absent e.g. in M. and SC). Elsewhere, numbers may display a raised point before and after (e.g. K. 32.8 Ⲓ̄ⲥ̄).

1.3 Supraliteration (based on Browne 1981c.55-61). O.N. uses a system of supraliteral marks derived from Coptic (in particular from the usage of such late Sahidic manuscripts as Morgan 574, for which see Quecke 1970.360-371). The mark has its length conditioned by the size of the underlying letter: over a narrow letter (e.g. ⲉ or ⲟ) it can appear as a dot or very short horizontal stroke; over a broader letter (e.g. ⲱ or ⲧ) it is longer. In the interests of typographical uniformity, I have replaced the continuum of forms as they appear in the manuscripts with a horizontal bar (see further Browne 1990b.126-127, with n. 5). The system of supraliteration is most clearly seen in L., on which the following observations are based; it operates in the following environments:

1.3.1 A vowel forming a syllable by itself is regularly marked; if the vowel is *i*, it bears diaeresis; supraliteration does not occur with digraphs: e.g. L. 112.4 Ⲭ̄ⲚⲈⲚ (contrast 105.3 ⲠⲚⲁⲚⲠⲁ-) and 104.6 ⲥ̄ⲱⲙⲙⲁ- (contrast 103.2 ⲓⲱⲧⲧⲁ-, where the diaeresis should also be noted); for the absence of a stroke over digraphs cf. e.g. 101.1 ⲁⲮⲉⲓⲃⲁⲛⲁⲥⲱ. Texts other than L. can be careless: cf. e.g. SC 3.8 ⲁⲉⲓ- with 23.16 ⲁⲉⲓ and 22.13 ⲁⲓⲕⲁ with 22.10 ⲁⲓⲕⲁ. Even L. is not always consistent: e.g. in 108.5 and 109.14 we read ⲟⲮⲉⲣⲓⲛⲁ (where ⲟⲮ, though a consonant, is orthographically treated as a vowel in accordance with regular practice 1.5), but in 110.1 and 3 ⲟⲮⲉⲣⲓⲛ-. Sometimes abnormal word division **1.5** can trigger the stroke, as in St. 4.13-5.1 ⲓⲃⲧⲟⲣ̄ⲟⲥⲁ (but 20.4 ⲓⲃⲧⲟⲣⲱⲥⲁ-), and so can Greek etymology, as in M. 10.8-9 ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁⲒⲒⲠⲠⲟⲛ (ⲧⲣⲓⲥ ἄγγιον). Writings like L. 110.6 ⲁⲓⲕ ⲟⲛⲉⲥⲓⲛ, where the stroke is absent over ⲟ, show that the scribe regarded the complex as a single prosodic unit (/aikonesin/); the division into two separate words is merely a modern convenience.

1.3.2 A vowel preceded by a consonant + λ, η, ρ or δ is normally marked. The alternation of such writings as L. 107.4-5 ⲕⲟⲥⲛⲟⲥⲁⲟ̄ with 109.2-3 ⲕⲟⲥⲛⲟⲥⲁⲟ̄ⲥⲓⲕⲓⲟ shows that -ⲥⲁⲟ̄ is to be interpreted as -ⲥⲓⲟ, where the *i* represents a juncture vowel 2.10. A writing like -ⲥⲁⲟ̄ may have originated in *-ⲥⲁⲟ, with the stroke (designating /i/ 1.3.3) shifted to the right: cf. IN II 18 iv 11 ⲕⲟⲥⲕⲓⲧⲁⲁ, i.e. ⲕⲟⲥⲕⲓⲧⲁⲁ, where L. would write *ⲕⲟⲥⲕⲓⲧⲁⲁ. Other examples of this orthography are 111.9 ⲠⲚⲁⲛⲙⲁ (cf. IN III 55 ii 2 ⲛⲟⲛⲓⲛⲁ), 101.14 ⲛⲓⲥⲥⲣⲉ (cf. 101.13 ⲛⲓⲥⲥⲓⲛⲓⲛⲉ), 107.3 ⲉⲣⲓⲟⲧⲧⲁⲱ (cf. K. 33.13 ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥⲓⲟⲧⲧⲁⲱ [for the stroke over τ see 1.3.3]). Environments which do not permit the stroke display the same phenomenon: e.g. 101.4 ⲒⲛⲟⲮⲁ (where the digraph cannot be marked 1.3.1) = ⲒⲛⲟⲮⲁ. Texts other than L. are less careful: e.g. although in St. 5.7 we have the expected -Ⲓⲣⲁ (i.e. -Ⲓⲣⲁ), in 3.10 -Ⲓⲣⲁ exhibits a redundant stroke; similarly, although the scribe of SC correctly writes Ⲓⲉⲙⲁⲓ- in 25.10 (cf. WN 20 Ⲓⲉⲙⲁⲓ-), he also writes ⲁⲓⲕⲛⲁ instead of ⲁⲓⲕⲛⲁ in 13.1. At times word division between lines reflects the same phenomenon: e.g. SC 16.23-24 ⲧⲁⲮⲕⲓⲟ = ⲧⲁⲮⲕⲓⲟ̄ i.e. ⲧⲁⲮⲕⲓⲟ, and K. 20.4-5 ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲟⲥⲓⲟⲧⲧⲁⲱ = ⲧⲧⲁⲱ i.e. -ⲧⲧⲁⲱ (cf. 33.13 ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥⲓⲟⲧⲧⲁⲱ).

1.3.3 A consonant to be pronounced as *if /i/* 2.1 preceded is generally marked: e.g. L. 113.5 ⲥⲁⲟ (cf. 113.13 ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲟ̄), 112.11 ⲧⲧⲁⲛ (cf. 100.5 ⲧⲓⲁⲁⲓ-), 109.6 ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁ- (cf. 113.5 ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁ). If the consonant is preceded in the same syllable by another consonant or *e*, the stroke is generally so placed in the manuscripts that it begins midway over the first letter and terminates

either at the end of the second or midway over it. In this grammar (and also in my editions of O.N. texts) such writings are represented by the stroke over the second consonant. When the stroke was to be placed over *δ*, the latter's upward extension prompted the scribes to shift the stroke to the preceding letter: e.g. K. 33.13 -ⲧⲧⲁⲱ, i.e. -ⲧⲧⲁⲱ. If *e* forms a syllable by itself, it is regularly marked; in this environment, ⲉ̄ stands either for /i/ (i.e. ⲉⲓ) or /e/ 1.3.1, depending on the word's etymology: cf. L. 110.2 ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲛ (i.e. /in-en/; cf. N. *in*) and 108.12 ⲉⲓⲟⲛ (i.e. /el-on/; cf. N.K.D. *el* and contrast 107.7 ⲉⲓⲁⲱ [i.e. /el-lo/]). Sometimes, when the etymology is not certain, variant spellings reveal the phonology: cf. SC 24.1 ⲁⲮⲉⲥⲁⲛ- with WN 7 ⲁⲮⲉⲥⲁⲛ (i.e. /auisan/) and St. 16.7 ⲒⲟⲮⲉ- with 25.9 ⲒⲟⲮⲉⲓ- (i.e. /gui/). Cf. also writings like K. 19.2-3 ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲛ-ⲁ-ⲒⲟⲮⲉ-, which suggest that the predicative plural is /-a-gu-e/, not /-a-gu-i/ 3.5.2 fn. 13.

1.3.4 Occasionally a stroke appearing over a consonant implies the insertion of /i/ both before and after the consonant: cf. St. 12.1 ⲥⲕⲧⲓⲛ = /iskitin/, M. 10.8 ⲉⲧⲓⲛⲁ = /itinia/ and CL 241.10 -ⲛⲓⲥ = /misi/.

1.3.5 The stroke described in 1.3.3 and 1.3.4 is phonemic and therefore regularly written; writings such as K. 20.11 ⲥⲕⲓⲧ- for ⲥⲕⲓⲧ- are anomalous. On the other hand, the stroke presented in 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 is non-phonemic, hence subject to omission, as instances cited in those sections show.

1.3.6 O.N. occasionally shows orthographic features which do not fit in with the system described above, but which still have analogues in Coptic: e.g. we read ⲟⲛ in M. 14.10 and elsewhere, corresponding to the writing of Coptic ⲟⲛ in late Sahidic manuscripts (e.g. B.M. Or. 6804.2a18 and 3a14; see Budge 1913 plates III and V), and the appearance of ⲉⲛⲁⲱ in M. 12.12 reminds one of the late Sahidic tendency to put a stroke over any letter in word-final position (cf. Layton 1973.199).

1.4 Abbreviations. The texts display both abbreviations by contraction, the so-called *nomina sacra* (e.g. ⲓⲟⲥⲓ- = ⲓⲞⲥⲟⲮⲟⲥⲓ- and ⲭⲟⲥⲓ- = ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥⲓ-; see Browne 1996a.239 and 245) as well as abbreviations by suspension (e.g. L. 112.5 ⲛⲁⲣⲧ = ⲛⲁⲣⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲁ or ⲛⲁⲣⲧⲁⲕⲓⲟⲛⲁ and 112.4 ⲧⲉⲁ = ⲧⲉⲁⲟⲥ, written anomalously as ⲧⲉⲁⲁ in IN I 7 i 21). Note also gr. 9.5 Ⲛ = ⲉⲧⲟⲮⲟⲥ (as in Greek documentary papyri) as well as the ciphers ⲫⲒ̄ = ⲁⲙⲙⲙ 1.2.3 and ⲫⲧⲉ̄ = ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲛⲁ (e.g. St. 1.2: i.e. 689 = 40 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 8 + 30).

1.5 Division of words between lines. L., which is most careful in this area, follows the Greco-Coptic practice of dividing between two vowels (e.g. 111.5-6 ⲁⲟⲮⲉⲥⲁⲛ), between two consonants, if the first is preceded, and the second is followed, by a vowel (e.g. 107.4-5 ⲕⲟⲥⲛⲟⲥⲁⲟ̄) and between a vowel and a consonant followed by a vowel (e.g. 107.5-6 ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲙⲟⲮⲉⲓⲟ). Note that in dividing words between lines consonantal ⲟⲮ is treated as a vowel (e.g. 103.6-7 ⲟⲮⲉⲕⲕⲁ). If a word break occurs where a consonant is followed by *λ, η, ρ* or *δ* + vowel 1.3.2, the break is before the consonant (e.g. 112.7-8 ⲉⲓⲧⲣⲥⲛⲁ). In 114.11-12 ⲛⲁⲮⲁⲗⲟⲥⲕⲁⲓⲟ̄ (cf. 113.3 ⲛⲁⲮⲁⲗⲟⲥⲕⲁⲓⲟ̄), the division follows the etymology (see Browne 1996a.112). Texts other than L. are not as careful; in particular, the scribe of St., though he tries to follow the same system as L., does not always succeed: e.g. 5.5-6 ⲉⲒⲓⲁⲣⲟⲮⲕⲁ. 8.9-10 ⲁⲮⲉⲥⲁⲛⲒⲟⲮⲓⲛⲕⲁ, 10.7-8 ⲛⲁⲛⲁ (with misplaced stroke 1.3.1), 11.4-5 ⲕⲟⲥⲛⲟⲥ-.

1.6 Word demarcation. There is a scribal tendency to leave a space—sometimes only slight—between words. In M., and occasionally elsewhere, the scribe also uses a straight apostrophe to

divide one word off from another. Usually the mark, which is never obligatory, occurs if the first word ends in λ, η or any consonant before an elided λ, and the second word begins with a vowel: cf. e.g. 2.12 ηΔΗ' ΕΤΤ̄λ vs. 2.13 -ΓΟΥΗ ΕΙΗΗΓΟΥλ, 5.6 ΔΙΔΔλ' ΟΥΗΤ̄Κ vs. 11.12 ΕΧΔΔλ ΔΥΑΡΡΕ, 13.4-5 ΔΟΥΗ'ΕΤΑ vs. 14.5-6 ΔΟΥΗ'ΕΤΑ. Exceptionally, the mark occurs between morphemes: 6.5-6 ΚΕΝΔΟΥΚ'ΑΡΡ̄λΛΕ and 12.2-3 ΤΑΗ'ΗΔ; cf. also IN II 22.7 ΠΑΣ'ΣΛΔΓΡΑ- (see Browne 1989b ad loc.) and Dong. 2 i 10 ΤΩΓΑΡ'Η(Ε)ΝΕΣΩ.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 The vowel phonemes of O.N. are:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i (Ἐ 1.3.3, εἰ, η, ι, γ)		u (ΟΥ) ¹
Mid	e (ε)		o (ο, ω)
Open		a (α)	

2.1.1 As in modern Nobiin (Werner 1987.45), O.N. had an opposition between long and short for all its vowels. Vocalic length, normally unmarked, is occasionally indicated by orthographic gemination. The following are examples of words which etymologically contain a long vowel; this vowel may be optionally doubled in the orthography²:

ΓΑΡ-ΓΑΑΡ- 'shore, side': N.K. *gār*

ΤΕΛ-ΤΕΕΛ- 'tomb, grave': N.K.D. *tē*

(No instances of η, but note ΔΙ-/ΔΙΕΙ- 'to die': N.K.D. *dī*)

ΕΟΓ-/ΕΟΟΓ- 'house': N. *nōg*

ΔΟΥΡ-/ΔΟΥΟΥΡ- (variants of ΔΟΥ- 'to go' 2.1.2.2): N.K.D. *jū(r)*

The original quantitative distinction between ο and ω is lost in the post-classical Greek on which the orthography of O.N. depends, and consequently the two graphemes interchange freely, e.g. in the ubiquitous postposition -ΛΟ 'in(to), from', also spelled -ΛΩ. Similarly, the interchange of Ἐ 1.3.3, εἰ, η, ι and γ, all representing /i/, mirrors the itacistic tendencies of later Greek: cf. e.g. Εἶ-/ΕΙ)Η-/ΗΗ- 'to be' and ΣΗΗΕΡ(Ρ)-/ΣΙΗΕΡ(Ρ)-/ΣΥΗΕΡ- 'message, statement'.

2.1.2 Vocalic alternation

2.1.2.1 On a purely phonetic level, ι and ΟΥ interchange frequently as a juncture vowel 2.10 (e.g. SC 9.1 ΕΙΡΙΗΕΝ- vs. 11.10 ΕΙΡΟΥΗΕΝ-: see Browne 1984a ad SC 2.6 for other examples) and occasionally elsewhere: e.g. IN III 32.17 ΗΑΤΑΡΙΓ̄λ = ΗΑΤΑΡΙΟΥλ; note also (see fn. 2): ΔΟΥΤΡΑΠ-/ΔΕΙΤΡΑΠ- 'fowl', ΔΟΥΕΤ̄Τ-/ΔΟΥΕΟΥΤ̄Τ- 'blind', ΚἸΗ-/ΚΟΥΗΗ- 'to knock (upon)', ΚΟΥC-/ΚḶC)- 'to loosen', ΗΙΔ-/ΗΟΥΔ- (under ΗΕΔ- 'to run') and ΣΟΥΗΠΟΥΤ-/ΣἸΠΙΤ- 'foundation'. See also 4.7.7d fn. 115 (-ΗΗΔ vs. -ΗΟΥΔ-/ΟΥΗΟΥΔ).

2.1.2.2 O.N. also shows other vocalic alternations, for which I note examples below. Of these alternations, those between α and ε, ε and ι, and ο and ι may be dialectal in origin (cf. Werner 1987.46, and see my note below on ο vs. ι); the variation between ο and ΟΥ, though perhaps dialectal, may simply reflect a lack of precision on the part of the writer in transcribing the sound, as does also probably that between α and ο (cf. also 2.2.2). The uncommon variation between ο and ε may be only the result of scribal error.

¹ At times ΟΥ = /ow/: 2.5.5 and 3.9.7b, and cf. fnn. 3 and 4. See also 2.1.2.1.

² Throughout this chapter, all attestations—unless specifically marked—are to be found in Browne 1996a. For the dialect sigla see 0.4.

2.3.3 Anomalous assimilations:

λ + λ > λλ: IN I 9 ii 14 ϞΛΛΟΚΩ vs. normal ϞΛΛΟΚΟ in 5 ii 14.
 η + κ > ηκ: IN III 47 i I ΠΑΠΟηΓΑ = ΠΑΠΟηΚΑ (sim. line 5), 7 ΜΟηΓΑΥΑηΝΗΕΛΟ = ΜΟηΚΑΥΑηΝ-ΛΕ-ΛΟ (note also η + λ > ηη: cf. Browne 1991a.98).
 ρ + λ > ηρ (contrast 2.3.1 and 2.3.2): IN I 4 i 8 ΓΑεΔεΗρΑ from -Δερ-λλ, Dong. I ii 6-7 ΔηΝρΑ, i.e. Δηρ-ρα.

2.4 Assimilation of other consonants (infrequent). In each of the following, the first example shows assimilation, the second does not.

γ + κ > κκ: IN III 58.8 ΠκΚκΑ (2nd κ inserted above the line; no instance of -γκ-: in IN III 51.1 and 3 ΕκΚκΑ = ΕκΚκΑ).
 κ + γ > γγ: SC 8.5 ΤΟΥγΓΟΥ-, 7.18 ΤΟΥκΚΟΥ-.
 κ + γ > κκ: St. 9.8 ΟκΚκΑ, IN I 5 ii 31 (?)ΟΥκΚκΑσσΟΥ-.
 κ + τ > ττ: SC 9.19 ΔκΚκΑτΤΟΥ, 17.4 ΔκΚκΑτΤΟΥ.
 η + κ > ηκ: -ΤηΚκΕ (plural vetitive 3.9.18; no instance of -ηκ-).
 π + κ > ππ: K. 32.2-3 ΚπΠπΑηΝηΟ, M. 9.8 ΚπΠπΚοΙδΑ.
 π + η > ηη: K. 20.5 ΚηΗηΟσσο-, IN II 28.9 ΔηΠηΜηΝηΑηΝη.
 τ + κ > ττ: SC 11.9 ΣΟΥηΠηΟΥτΤα, IN II 13 i 28 ΣηΠηΚα.
 τ + σ > σσ: IN III 44.4 ΔηΝεΟσΑηΝα-, SC 23.24 ΕτΣαΝα.
 τ + δ > δδ: IN II 24.8 ΕδΔιΣαΝηΑ-, SC 13.19 ΕτΔιΣαΝα.
 δ + γ > δδ: L. 114.7 ΠδΔηΝηΙδΑσ-, SC 10.1 ΔιΔιΓοΥκΑ.
 δ + κ > δδ: St. 13.11-12 ΤδΔηΕιΓοΥλ-, SC 15.12 ΤιΔκΑεΙΓΟΥηΝα.

2.5 Elision (based on Browne 1985c.6-8). It is not always graphically indicated and was apparently optional (Hintze 1986.289). Most of the examples concern the vowel λ and fall under definite categories 2.5.1-2.5.3. Sporadically ε and ο suffer elision but not frequently enough to categorize 2.5.4.

2.5.1 Prevocalic elision of λ between words. It is not found with the genitive in -ηα 3.6.2, the predicative in -α functioning as vocative 3.6.4b, the postposition -λα 3.10, and the indicative terminations in -α 3.9.6. The elision appears in the following environments:

a) Predicative, both nominal 3.6.4 and verbal 3.9.6. Nominal: e.g. SC 17.15 ΣαΛε εη- (vs. 17.19-20 ΤοΤα εη-), verbal: e.g. 10.11 ϞΟϞΔαρεηη- (vs. 10.6 ΟγΔοΥδρα εηη-); cf. 2.5.2a.

b) Adjunctive 3.9.19. E.g. SC 2.6 ΚηηοΥτρος- (vs. 18.13 ΠεειΔος-); cf. 2.5.2b.

c) Directive 3.6.3. E.g. SC 19.15 αΠαρχεκ ετ- (vs. 24.4 αΠαρχεκΔε ετ-). N.B. Directive -κα + -οη 'and' 3.10 > -κ-οη, never -κα-ειοη: see Browne 1995a.455, where M. 2.1 ϞευΔαττκοη (directive) is contrasted with IN I 4 i 17 Τοκα-ειοη (adjunctive) and 9 i 22-ii 1 αρηϞατακκα-ειοη (i.e. predicative -τακρα- 2.3.2).

2.5.2 Other cases of loss of λ between words:

a) Predicative -α frequently vanishes after a vowel: e.g. IN I 5 ii 25 αΛε ηϞοΥαη- (vs. St. 8.5-6 Ϟ[ε]ειΔ ηϞοΥαη- 3.6.4c). N.B. Proper names ending in -ι 3.3.6 suppress predicative -α 3.6.4b.

b) Perhaps on the analogy of prevocally elided adjunctives 2.5.1b, O.N. occasionally employs desinenceless adjunctives before consonants: e.g. SC 19.16-17 ΚηηοΔορηη-. In K. 32.2-3 α terminating an adjunctive before a consonant is deleted by the scribe: ϞεγεγΑ δΟρΑ κι[α] κΑπΠαηηο; cf. M. 13.1-2 ηΙΔ κι' ϞΑαΚκΑ ΓΑλΛιΣηΑ.

2.5.3 Loss of λ within a word. The vowel may vanish between two sonorants: e.g. SC 5.7 -ηεηηασω = -ηεηηαηασω, 18.11-12 ΣΟΥηΠηΟΥτρρΑ = ΣΟΥηΠηΟΥτρρΑρΑ 3.9.7a (contrast IN I 9 i 21-22 ΣαηαρρΑρΑ, which—if rightly read [the second ρ is uncertain]—shows that the loss of λ is blocked after a doubled sonorant). Assimilation of the sonorants may occur after λ is suppressed: e.g. SC 18.17 Τηηαηηασα = Τηηαρηασα 2.3.1 = Τηηαρηαηασα (cf. L. 101.15-16 Ταρα[ηασω]); for absence of assimilation note IN I 3 i 9 Δερηασω.

2.5.4 Other vowels may occasionally be elided, but the evidence is too meager to permit setting up general rules. Some examples: K. 23.2-3 ΜεΙδραΓοΥε εη- (vs. IN II 16 vi 4-5 εηηαγουε εηη), SC 11.16 ΚιΠιΔε εΙΔε (vs. St. 13.11-13 ΤδΔηΕιΓοΥλΔε εΠεΚαει-ΓΟΥλΔεΚελ-), SC 6.15-16 εηηη (twice), presumably for εηη-ειοη (cf. IN I 4 i 21 ηηοΥσι-ειοη); possibly similar is IN II 14 i 2, where ΤαΥκιοϞεηη = ΤαΥκιοειοη, but the appearance of ΤαΥκιοειοη in SC 21.9 (sim. 5.9-10) suggests a scribal error, -ειο>η: Browne 1998a.20. Note also M. 3.4 Ουηηεσ-(ω) ελ- as well as the final construction with -σα 4.7.7c, which seems to stand for -σ(ω)-α: cf. Stricker 1940.449. See further 2.5.6a.

2.5.5 The vowel sequences α-α, α-ο and ο-α may be replaced by αγα, αγο and ογα, respectively: cf. K. 31.7 -καγηηο (from -κα-αηηο 4.7.5a; note -κααη- in IN III 51.8, after -καγη- in the preceding line), IN III 36 i 16 Ταγοη (from Ταροη, with ρ deleted 2.5.6a), II 16 vii 5-6 κογηηωα (from -κο-αηηωα 4.7.7a), M. 7.16 δορογη- (from δορολ-αη-, with λ deleted 2.5.6a and 3.9.6). Phonologically, αγα, αγο and ογα represent /awa/, /awo/ and /owa/, respectively: cf. IN III 48.4 Δτι = αγει(α) 2.5.6a and II 16 iv 4-5 σωρτωγει- = σωρτω-ι 3.6.5; note also δαρ- 'night', i.e. /owar/, comparable to its N. cognate *awar*.

2.5.6 Replacement and loss of λ and ρ. This is a very widespread phenomenon in O.N., especially in the context described below in (a). It is also found in the modern language: Werner 1987.47-48.

a) When preceded by a vowel, λ and ρ may be replaced by ει (also written η or ι), which phonologically is /i/ before a consonant and /y/ before a vowel: e.g. SC 8.20-21 ΓΟΥει ΟΥαΤτο- (from ΓΟΥλα-: contrast 14.21-22 Δελ Δαγ-), 25.6 Παεια (from Παρα; contrast L. 113.3 Ταρα). In the verbal system, the sequence -ολ-αη invariably becomes -ογαη: cf. M. 7.16 δορογη- (cf. 2.5.5 and 3.9.6); note also IN III 36 i 32 Τορογα = Τορορα from Τορο-α 2.5.5, 2.6 (instead of Τορο-αλα > Τορο-αρα > Τορρα 3.9.7a: Browne 1991a.88). Postvocalic λ and ρ may also disappear totally: e.g. SC 14.12 ειΔρι(λ) ΔοΛλ-, 9.13 ειΔρι(λ) in clause final position, IN I 7 ii 21 -γασσογογο- = -γαρ-σι(λ)-γογο- (sim. SC 9.13-14 ειΤοσοΥ ηηοΥσι), SC 8.8 Το(ρ)Δρηη. The vowels preceding λ and ρ may also vanish, further obfuscating the structure of the language: e.g. SC 3.23 ΟΥτρι(λ) ΔοΛλ-, 7.13 Τα(ρ)α (possibly also in IN I 6 i 7 εοηΔαρα, which would correspond more appropriately than the adjunctive to the Greek ειστήκει [Jn 20:11]); the same loss can occur in Greek loan words: St. 20.5 ι(ερ)εϞεριογο-. Similarly, subjective -α 3.6.1, together with the preceding juncture vowel

3 MORPHOLOGY⁵

3.1 O.N. morphology does not indicate gender; e.g. the 3rd pers. sg. pronoun $\tau\alpha\rho$ - 3.7.1 is 'he/she/it', and the 3rd pers. sg. present indicative $\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\alpha$ 3.9.6 is 'he/she/it is'. Natural gender in the case of animate beings may be lexically expressed: e.g. $\omicron\tilde{\rho}\delta$ - 'man' : $\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tau$ - 'woman', and $\tau\omicron\tau$ - 'son' : $\lambda\omicron$ - 'daughter'. With animals we find $\mu\omicron\gamma\rho\tau$ $\omicron\gamma\eta(\eta)\lambda\epsilon$ - (lit. 'bearing horses' [the unattested sg. would be $\mu\omicron\gamma\rho\tau$ $\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\lambda\epsilon\tau\tau$ - 3.4.2, 3.5.1e]) for 'mares' and $\kappa\alpha\mu\tilde{\eta}$ $\omicron\eta\lambda\iota$ - 'male camel' (cf. Werner 1987.82); otherwise bivalency prevails: e.g. $\lambda\omicron\gamma\tau\rho\alpha\pi$ - 'fowl' is 'hen' in M. 2.9 but 'cock' in 12.3-4 (cf. $\acute{\omicron}/\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$ in Greek).

3.2 The language lacks a definite article; it allows definiteness to be contextually determined or else marked by a demonstrative: e.g. M. begins with reference to $\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ - 'a woman' (1.5-6), subsequently referred to either as $\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tau\lambda$ 'the woman' (e.g. 4.9 [- λ is the marker of the subjective 3.6.1]) or $\eta\lambda\eta$ $\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tau\lambda$ 'that woman' (e.g. 2.12 [for the demonstrative see 3.7.4]).

⁷ For the indefinite article O.N. employs either \emptyset (e.g. M. 10.6 $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\epsilon\omicron\eta\delta\alpha\rho\alpha$ 'there stood a church') or $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ - lit. 'one' 3.7.6a (e.g. M. 1.5-7 $\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\delta\tilde{\pi}\rho\omicron\gamma$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\tilde{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ 'a woman lived in a village'; the appearance of $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ - is especially common in M., where it regularly translates $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ or $\tau\iota\varsigma/\tau\iota$ in the Vorlage: see Browne 1994b.3). ~~Absence of $\omicron\gamma\eta(\eta)\lambda\epsilon$ / $\omicron\eta\lambda\iota$ 3.1 may indicate bivalency (e.g. $\lambda\omicron\gamma\tau\rho\alpha\pi$ - is 'hen' in M. 2.9 but 'cock' in 12.3-4 3.1).~~

3.3 Substantives are either simple or compound. The simple are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Substantives of three or more syllables are often reducible to their components, but two-syllable substantives are either synchronically irreducible⁶ or compound and in some cases cannot be accurately classified without further evidence. Note that I normally regard the /i/ often found between substantive and suffix as the juncture vowel 2.10 and therefore omit it in citing the word⁷; in this detail my methodology differs from that of Werner (1987), who lists e.g. *diffi* 'Festung' (345) as a 'Non-Pausaform' (79); its cognate I record as $\delta\iota\tilde{\rho}\eta$.

3.3.1 Simple substantives. O.N. displays several patterns, the most common of which I here list, each with a representative example. (N.B. Further refinement would be possible if the orthography consistently indicated vocalic length 2.1.1 or if it marked intonation 2.13.)

Monosyllabic	V	$\epsilon\iota$ - 'man'
	VC	$\omicron\gamma$ - 'breast'
	VCC	$\lambda\rho\tau$ - 'island'
	CV	$\gamma\iota$ - '(maternal) uncle'
	CVC	$\gamma\lambda\lambda$ - 'body'
	CVCC	$\kappa\lambda\eta\lambda$ - 'thorn'
Disyllabic	VCV	$\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\epsilon}$ - 'country'
	VCVC	$\tilde{\lambda}\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\lambda}\tilde{\eta}$ - 'water'

⁵ N.B. Unless otherwise indicated, the addresses of the forms in this chapter are to be found in Browne 1996a.

⁶ Typically O.N. lexemes, whether nominal or verbal, have a monosyllabic (C)V(C)-shaped root, which may be extended by one or more suffixes. Diachronically it might be possible to analyze all disyllabic lexemes as originating from a monosyllabic nucleus, but synchronically this does not appear practical.

⁷ Note, however, that the ι which terminates many proper names is an integral part of the word 3.3.6.

literally 'man-loving', translates φιλόανθρωπος in SC 12.7, the genitive 3.6.2 ειεπ̄, lit. 'of mankind', corresponds to ἀνθρώπινος in 14.9 and 19.13, and the present subjunctive 3rd pl. 3.9.6 κεκλήθησαν- 'they being perfect' renders τέλειος in IN I 7 ii 8 (sim.: εγέθαν- 'fearful' = φοβερός in II 13 ii 17 [cf. Browne 1982.b §50.n and 3.9.6.2 ftn. 58] and μελεραν- = τοιαῦτα? in K. 32.1: cf. Browne 1983e.110 ad 31.15-32.1), while the preterite II subjunctive 3rd pl. ταροῦσαν- 'they having blessed' translates εὐλογημένος in Sunn. I ii 4 and 5-6 (= IN II 14 ii 2 and 4) and εὐλόγητος in St. 31.11; cf. SC 24.17 (cf. further St. 29.11-12, where ἄπονα ταροῦσσαγοῦεκε—gen. 3.6.2a, 4.4 + pret. II predicative plural as vocative 3.5.2a, 3.6.4b + κε 3.7.1, 3.10—renders οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρός μου). Note also the common use of the present verbid 3.9.6: e.g. λαγεῖλ 'great' (from λαγ(ει)- 'to be great'), διελ/διεῖλ 'many' (from διει- 'to be many'), δωδολα 'high' (lit. 'being above': i.e. -δω 'upon' 3.10 + the present verbid of δολα- 'being', i.e. δολα-λ 2.7), μεκκῶ 'small' (from μεκκ- 'to be small'), μιῶλ 'bad' (base form unattested). The preterite II verbid 3.9.6 is similarly used: e.g. πεγπεγολ 'paralytic' (from πεγ- 'to release'), τεμεστακολ 'forlorn' (apparently from τεει- 'hope' + ηις- 'fail to find': see Browne 1984a.114 ad SC 14.23-24), and τελεσαλ 'high' (from τελες- 'to be raised' vel sim. 3.9.6.2).

3.4.4 Morphologically, the O.N. adjective does not admit degrees of comparison. But substitutes exist for comparative and superlative:

3.4.4.1 The comparative is indicated by the adjective + -λογοειῶ 'than': e.g. K. 30.6-8 κῆσελα πεσῶπιπα ἄκοσα ηῖψωηγογολογοειῶ ἄκοσαεπ̄ 'for the one who speaks in church is worse than all evils'. Note that in K. 26.11 -λογοειῶη may represent juncture with a reduced form of -ον 'and' 3.10, but we would then have to understand the sentence in question, 26.10-12 (ηῖνα ειρωγ τῶλλιοροειῶη λαγεῖηηῖλ) as 'What? Are you greater than God?', where the assumed -ον would logically cohere with ηῖνα and render an impatient τί δέ; in the reconstructed Greek Vorlage. In IN I 10 A ii 8 -λεδουη means 'than', comparable to N. *Iekin*: see Plumley-Browne 1988.58.

3.4.4.2 The superlative may be formed by attaching the genitive 3.6.2 of the adjective to κελ- lit. 'limit' (Browne 1996a.87): the only example is γενεηκελ- in St. 31.1, which—despite the fact that the Greek model has the positive ἀγαθός¹¹—may mean 'best': so Zyhlarz 1928 §307; cf. Werner 1987.107. Note also σογτ-, which appears to mean 'best' or 'very good' in IN III 49 i 5 and 55 ii 6 (see Browne 1991a.99).

3.5 Plural formation. The general plural morpheme is {-γογ-} 3.5.1, to which may be added other markers of plurality, and which may also be deleted. With the predicative 3.6.4, the plural assumes a form which is slightly different from that exhibited elsewhere and which therefore deserves separate treatment 3.5.2.

3.5.1 General plural

a) -γογ-. the most common marker: e.g. L. 113.3 λογαπ̄-γογ-λ 'magi' (subjunctive 3.6.1), SC 5.22 γῆλαεττε-γογ-κα 'thorns' (directive 3.6.3), 15.19 ογρογ-γογ-ηα 'of kings' (genitive 3.6.2), IN I 9 i 3 δερ-γογ-λα 'in tribes' (-λα as locative 3.10).

¹¹ For the clause in the Nubian, 30.12-31.2, cf. Budge 1915.574 παῖ πεοογ ηαϛ ηῖ πεφειωτ ἡαγῶεοε ηῖ πεπῖα ετογῶαα.

b) -πι-γογ-, less common; often associated—optionally—with loan words from Greek but found elsewhere as well: e.g. SC 5.8 ηογπ-πι-γογ-κα 'dogs', 10.13-14 ἰογδαῖος-πι-γογ-λοδοη 'because of the Jews' (but L. 113.5 ἰογδαῖος-γογ-η 'of the Jews'), 18.14-15 λαγ-πι-γογ-κα 'springs', St. 19.1-2 χριστιανο[ς]-πι-γογ-ηα 'of the Christians' (but SC 14.15 χριστιανος-γογ-η in the same context as the St. citation).

c) -ηη-γογ-, less frequent than -πι-γογ-: e.g. SC 16.3 σαχχ-ηη-γογ-ηα 'of anchorites', K. 19.2 κῆσε-ηη-γογ-ηα 'of churches'. We also find -ηη-γογ- and -ηη-γογ-: e.g. M. 17.3-4 ελλε-ηη-γογ-λα 'to the times' and K. 30.10 εἰη-ηη-γογ-λ- (i.e. εἰη-ηη-γογ-λ- 1.3.3, 3.7.4) 'these (people)'.¹²

d) In all the above cases -γογ- may be deleted: e.g. SC 6.14 γῆλαεττε-κα 'thorns' (which the plural infix -δ- in the controlling verb λογκκιδῶσιδκεηε ηῖηελο 'I do not uproot them' shows is plural 3.9.5b), 18.4 ογῆδ-ογ-πι-η 'of the stars' (cf. IN I 10 A i 10 ογεῖδ-πι-γογ-ηα 'of the stars'; note that the -ογ- before -πι-η is the juncture vowel 2.10), 3.11 εφεφτ-ῖ 'manifestations of) greediness' (which the plural infix in the controlling verb κῶηηη 'of the one who has' shows is plural). Note also the fixed phrase (e.g. M. 2.8) ηελαδου-ηῖ (= ηη-η) ταεγογῶλ 'girls of servants' (i.e. 'servant-girls'), to be contrasted with M. 15.14 ηελαδου-ηη-γογῶλ- 'servants'.

e) O.N. has some plural forms restricted to certain words or word-components; e.g.:

-ῶε-: pl. of the adjective formant -αττ- 3.4.2.

αρ(ε)γγε-: pl. of *αρε- 'wave' in SC 4.8 and 8.

-λαει-γογ-: pl. of -λαττ-, the agent-substantive formant 3.3.2 in SC 4.16-17 εῖκ-λαει-γογ-κα 'prophets'.

ειληγ-γογ-, εῖληογ-γογ-, εἰλογ- (γογ- deleted), ηῖηη-γογ-: pl. of εἰλ- 'woman' in M. 2.13, IN I 9 i 14, 6 ii 5 and SC 10.2 (with Browne 1989g ad loc.), respectively.

-καει-γογ-: pl. of the substantive and adjective formant καττ- 3.3.2, 3.4.2: e.g. SC 15.12 τῖδ-καει-γογ-ηα 'of the just'.

τογῶ-: pl. of τῶτ- 'child': e.g. K. 21.1.

δεηη-ηη-γογ-: pl. of δεη- 'year' in WN 20 (and restored in St. 36.6-7); -γογ- is deleted in SC 25.20 δεη-ηη-κα (= δεηη-ηη-κα 1.3.2).

f) On a different level from the forms listed in the preceding section but still lexically restricted is the formant -ηη-. Except for its appearance in the word ογρ-ηη- 'chief, leader', which—at least in documentary texts—occurs in the singular 3.3.2, -ηη- is a marker of plurality found chiefly before τῖ(±-γογ-) 'pair' in the following: IN II 12 ii 23 αγρ-ηη τῖ(ῖ)- '(pair of) wings', WN 17 κο-ηη τῖ-γογ- 'pair of dominions' (i.e. Dotawo and Palagi: see Browne 1998b.115-116), IN I 4 ii 14 and 26 ηαγ-ηη τῖ- '(pair of) eyes' (also ηαγ-ῖ τῖ- in L. 106.9 and ηαγ-ῖ τῖ-γογ- in IN I 1 ii 6), SC 6.24 ογῶγ-ηη τῖ-γογ- '(pair of) ears'. Note that the comparable expression ὀεη τῖ(±-γογ-) '(pair) of feet' is always found without -ηη-: Browne 1996a.123. Without τῖ- the formant appears in IN I 2 ii 8 ηηκτ-ηη-γογ- pl. of ηηκτ- 'thought' (cf. 5 ii 23 ηη(ῖ)κτ-γογ-).

3.5.2 Predicative Plural

¹² N.B. λαγ-πι-γογ-η-κα and σαχχ-ηη-γογ-ηα—cited in (b) and (c), respectively—show that Zyhlarz's belief that -πι-γογ- marks animate nouns and -ηη-γογ- inanimate (1928 §81) is mistaken.

a) $\bar{\alpha}$ -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ ¹³, the predicative of -ΓΟΥ- 3.5.1a, regularly with verbids 3.9.6 (cf. e.g. SC 1.6 ΟΝΤΑΚΡ-Α-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΚΕ 'O you beloved!' 4.6d) and found with other nouns: e.g. M. 2.14 ΤΩΕΚ-Α-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'miracles'. After a vowel, $\bar{\alpha}$ - may be deleted 2.5.2a: e.g. SC 7.17 ΑΥ $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'ships' (cf. 8.19 ΑΥΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-). Note also $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -, less common than $\bar{\alpha}$ -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - and perhaps simply a spelling variant 2.1.2.2: e.g. SC 1.8-9 ΚΟΡΟC- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'shepherds'. Thrice we find $\bar{\alpha}$ -ΓΟΥ- (IN I 1 ii 11 ΔΙΕΙ- $\bar{\alpha}$ -ΓΟΥ-ΛΩ, 2 ii 3 ΑΓΕΝΔ-Α-ΓΟΥ-ΛΩ and 3 i 10 ΔΕΡ-Α-ΓΟΥ-ΚΕ) and once $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΓΟΥ- (IN II 13 ii 11 CΠΠ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΓΟΥ-ΚΕ).

b) -ΡΕ-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -, the predicative of -ΡΙ-ΓΟΥ- 3.5.1b: e.g. SC 5.13 ΗΟΥΓ-ΡΕ-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'dogs'.

c) -ΗΕ-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -, the predicative of -ΗΙ-ΓΟΥ- 3.5.1c: e.g. SC 5.12 ΚΟΥΤ $\bar{\eta}$ -ΗΕ-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'pigs'.

d) -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - may be deleted 3.5.1d: e.g. SC 2.12 ΟΥΛΛΑΚΚΕΡ-Α- 'teachers' (conjunction reduction after ΟΥΥ[ΛΛ]ΚΕΡ-Α-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - in 1.11-12), 5.9 ΚΟΥΤΟΥΗ-ΗΕ- 'pigs' (after ΚΟΥΤΟΥΗ-ΗΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΛΩΔΩ in 5.6).

e) Regarding the special plurals in 3.5.1e: note that -κα $\bar{\epsilon}$ - (with suppression of the element -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -) appears as the predicative plural in IN I 10 A i 16-17 CΕΥ[ΑΡ]Τ-Α ΔΑΛΛΙ-ΚΑ $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'serving spirits', in K. 23.8-9 ΗΑΔΔΑ-ΚΑ $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'lying' and in L. 104.11 ΟΥΚΚΑ $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'enemies'. Similarly we have CΕΥΔ $\bar{\epsilon}$ - as the predicative plural of CΕΥΑΤΤ- 'heir' in St. 5.10-11 and in IN II 13 ii 25 (where it is written as CΕΥΔ $\bar{\epsilon}$ -: see above, fn. 13). For ΤΟΥΩ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - (ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -) note L. 101.3 and 112.11.

f) Plurals based on -ΑΝ- 3.5.1f have not yet appeared in the predicative.

3.6 'Case inflection'. Here I list a group of comon postpositions loosely corresponding to the case system of some Indo-European languages.¹⁴ Structurally, they belong with the postpositions presented in 3.10 (though—unlike most of the latter—they do not display the linking element -Α-), but for convenience they may be treated 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 0.1.9, 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 in question are:

Subjective 3.6.1	-Α
Genitive 3.6.2	-ΗΔ, -Η
Directive 3.6.3	-Κ(Α)
Predicative 3.6.4	-Α

¹³ I.e. /ague/, not /agui/ 1.3.3: cf. K. 19.2-3 ΚΑΝΟΗ-Α-ΓΟΥ- $\bar{\epsilon}$ - and 7-8 ΟΝΤΑΚΡΑΓΟΥ $\bar{\epsilon}$ - (i.e. - $\bar{\epsilon}$ -, not $\bar{\epsilon}$ -, in both cases). Cf. also IN II 13 ii 25 CΕΥΔ $\bar{\epsilon}$ -ΓΑΡΑ (i.e. /ae/ 3.5.2e).

¹⁴ Hintze (in Browne 1989a.v-vi) rightly emphasizes that 'case inflection' must be here understood in a very loose sense, since O.N. is not *sensu stricto* an inflected language. He also notes that amongst the forms that I list here, there are several different linguistic levels, and his remarks should be consulted for their theoretical implications. His insistence, however, upon the existence of an appositive morpheme in O.N. I must reject: see below, 3.6.5 and fn. 19.

Theoretically—though for practical purposes there appears to be no obvious advantage—one could expand this list by including other postpositions found in 3.10. Building upon the formulation set forth by Smagina 1986a.21-22 and 1986b.393, we could add the following:

Allative	-ΓΙΑ(ΛΕ)
Locative	-ΛΟ
Inessive	-ΛΑ
Superessive	-ΛΩ
Desuperessive	-ΛΩΗ
Comitative	-ΛΑΛ

Terminological ingenuity could doubtless expand the list, but with no gain in utility.

3.6.1 Subjective: -Α (cf. Hintze 1975b and see 0.2.3, 0.2.6)

a) It marks the subject of a sentence: e.g. SC 19.20 ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC- $\bar{\alpha}$ - (i.e. ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC-Ι-Α- with the ubiquitous juncture vowel 2.10) 'the devil', 8.5 ΦΟΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-Α 'some', L. 113.3 ΔΟΓΑ-ΡΙ-ΓΟΥ-Α 'magi'. In certain phonological environments 2.5.6 and 2.7, the ending may disappear: e.g. SC 21.22-23 ΕΙΓΡΙ-ΕΙΟΗ 'and the statement' (from ΕΙΓΡΙ-Ι-Α- + -ΟΗ [see -ΟΗ 3.10]), 3.12 CΑΛ- 'the word' (for CΑΛ-Α, which appears as CΑΛ- $\bar{\alpha}$ in IN I 7 i 2). The noun in the subjective may be determined (e.g. SC 22.20 C $\bar{\kappa}$ Τ-Α 'the earth') or undetermined (e.g. 3.13 Ε[Π]Τ- $\bar{\alpha}$ - 'a man') or abstract (e.g. 7.2 Η[Ι]ΔΙΡΚ- $\bar{\alpha}$ 'disobedience'). A noun with a demonstrative 3.7.4 or possessive 3.7.1a pronoun, if it functions as subject, is marked with -Α: e.g. M. 2.12 ΗΑΝ' ΕΤΤ- $\bar{\alpha}$ 'that woman', SC 9.10 ΕΗ ΤΕΕΙΤ- $\bar{\alpha}$ 'our hope'. Note that the causatives -(Α)Ρ- and -Γ(Α)Ρ- 3.9.5a are at times so construed that their object is regarded as the subject of the dependent verbal element: e.g. Dong. I i 12-13 ΚΤΓΟΥΚΑ ΔΟΥΛΓΟΥ-Α ΠΙΚΔΕΡΑΓΓΡΑΛΗ 'you caused the pigs to hide in the rocks'; see further Browne 1988a.14-15 and 17 and cf. below, 3.6.3a.

b) Proper names and pronouns functioning as subjects lack -Α: e.g. SC 22.1 CΔΑΗΗ-ΕΙΟΗ 'and Adam', 23.10 ΤΑΡ-ΟΗ 'and he', 22.12 ΗΑΝ-ΟΗ 'and that one'. But note ΕΠΗΑΧΟC- $\bar{\alpha}$ 'Epimachus' in IN III 30.30 and 34 (as if a deity: cf. K. 27.8-9 CΑΤΑΗΑC- $\bar{\alpha}$ 'Satan').

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

3.6.2 Genitive: -ΗΔ, -Η (cf. Hintze 1971, II)

a) In general, the O.N. genitive appears as -Η if it is closely bound to its noun, and as -ΗΔ if the union is less close. Cf. e.g. SC 8.10 ΑΥΕ- $\bar{\eta}$ CΑΥΡΟ- 'ship-rudder' (πηδάλιον) with 4.18 ΕΙΑΡΤ-ΗΔ ΠΑΚΙΤΑΔ 'into the sea of thoughts' (ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος τῶν νοημάτων) and especially 19.13-15 ΕΙΕ- $\bar{\eta}$ ΚΑΥΕΙΓΟΥ-ΗΔ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC- $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΕΕΡΤΛΟΔΟΥΗ ΕCΚΙΤΑΚCΚΚΑ CΑΛΛΗΝΟΗ 'and when he saw the offspring of mankind conquered by the baseness of the devil' (ιδὼν δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου κακίας ἐπεβουλεύθη ...). Here ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC- $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΕΕΡΤΛΟΔΟΥΗ 'by the baseness of the devil' and ΕΙΕ- $\bar{\eta}$ ΚΑΥΕΙΓΟΥ- 'the offspring of mankind' specify a mere juncture of rectum and regens. The phrase ΚΑΥΕΙΓΟΥΗΔ -- ΕCΚΙΤΑΚCΚΚΑ (literally 'the offspring's having been conquered') expresses a nexus, i.e. a relationship between two elements in which one is the logical subject (ΚΑΥΕΙΓΟΥ-ΗΔ) and the other the logical predicate (ΕCΚΙΤΑΚCΚΚΑ). Etymologically, -ΗΔ is to be analyzed as genitival -Η + predicative -Α 3.6.4. For the construction see 4.4 and 4.7.1.2a. Occasionally, we find -Η even when a nexus is involved: e.g. SC 19.17-18 ΔΕCΤ[Π]-Η ΔΟΥΛΔΕCΕCΠ

κελλω 'as transgression existed' against the normal ΔΕΣΤ-ΝΑ ΔΟΥΛΛΑΕΩΕΩ ΚΕΛΛΩ in 24.2-3 (for the syntax see 4.7.2). For the contrast between -Ν and -ΝΑ cf. also SC 12.22-23 Ε]Η-ΝΑ ΔΑΠΠΙΛΕΚΚΑ 'our destruction', where Ε]Η-ΝΑ is an objective genitive, with 13.21-22 Ε]Η-ΝΑ ΕΛΚΚΑ 'your son' 3.7.1a; but the association of -ΝΑ with the objective genitive is not invariable: cf. e.g. IN II 18 i 8 (sim. ii 6) [Ε]ΟΔΙΝΑ ΜΕΔΔΟΥΚΑΝΤΙΚ[Α] 'servitude to the Lord' with ii 2 [Ε]ΟΔ]Η ΜΕΔΔΟΥΚΑΝΤΙΚΑ id., and note also St. 32.4 ΤΛΛ]Η ΔΑΡΠΗ[Ε] 'an offering to God'. If the regens is in the predicative 3.6.4, the rectum generally has -ΝΑ: e.g. throughout the Stauros hymn in St. 18.12-27.7 and SC 14.15-16.20, such patterns as ΕΤΑΥΡΟCΧ ΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟ[С]ΡΙCΤΟΥ-ΝΑ ΤΕΕΓ[Γ]-Α-ΛΟ 'the cross is the hope of the Christians' (St. 18.12-19.3) are far more common than expressions like ΕΤΑΥΡΟCΧ ΤΕΥΟΛΓΟΥ-Ν ΔΑΥ-Δ-ΛΩ 'the cross is the path of those who have gone astray' (19.5-7); cf. also L. 112.11-12 ΤΛΛ-]Η ΤΟΥΘ-Ε-ΓΟΥ-Ε-CΙΗ [Ε]Η]ΗCΙΗ 'because you are sons of God' and SC 17.19-20 ΤΛΛ-]Η ΤΟΥ-Α Ε]ΗΕΝ- 'if he is the son of God': here the close juncture of regens and rectum may have dictated against employment of -ΝΑ. Occasionally, we find -ΝΑ used in an admirative or affective sense: cf. e.g. K. 25.4-8 ΟΥΗ-ΝΑ [3.7.1a] ΔΙΕΙΗ-ΝΑ ΓΡΤΔΕΙΚΑΝΕΛΟ ΠΑΔΑΝΑCΩ ΟΥΗ-ΝΑ ΜΙΔΡΚΕΙΛΟ ΠΑΔΑΝΑCΟ 'cease from the shamefulfulness of your heart, cease from your disobedience'. At times, however, there seems to be no discernible distinction between the two genitive markers: cf. e.g. SC 6.11-12 ΝΑΩΑΗ-ΝΑ ΚΑΚΚΑΝΗΚ- 'the rays of the sun' with 6.1 ΕΚΤ-]Η ΤΑΡΗΑΔ 'into the holes of the earth', as well as L. 105.11 ΤΑΗ ΓΑΔ-ΝΔ ΟΥΚΡΙΓΟΥΛΩ 'in the days of his flesh' with M. 15.4-5 ΤΑΗ ΚΟΚΚΑΝΕ-Ν ΟΥΚΡΙΓΟΥΛ 'the days of her purification'. There are two cases of -ΝΑ attached to a substantive: IN I 4 ii 18 ΚΤ-]ΗΝΑ ΤΑΡΙCΑC]Η Ε]ΗΝΑC]Η '... is one upon which a rock had come' and 7 ii 24 ΤΛΛ-]ΗΝΑ ΤΧΟΗΓΟΥΚΕ[ΤΑΛ] 'even the depths of God'; the comparable personal pronoun ΤΑΡ]ΗΗ[Α] is discussed in 3.7.1a. In all three instances we may be dealing with a back-formation based on the genitive type discussed below in section e (note in particular ΤΑΡ]Η-Η-Χ there cited).

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 3.4.3, which regularly comes after its noun 0.1.9, 4.9.1: e.g. SC 15.20-21 ΓΟΥΕΙ-Δ ΕΛΛΕΗ ΚΕΤΑΛΛΕ-ΝΑ- 'the shield of eternity' (δπλον αιώνιον). At times, however, postponement of the genitive appears merely to imitate Greek word order: e.g. IN I 2 i 13 ΔΠΠΑ- ΤΧΛΗΝΑ 'city of God' (ή πόλις του θεου), with the predicative ΔΠΠΑ as vocative 3.6.4b; cf. also SC 9.7-8 (if rightly restored) ΤΕΕΤ [ΤΧΛ]Η ΚΟΗΔΙΑΓΟΥΛΩΤ]Ω 'amongst those who have hope in God' (παρά τοίς ... εύσεβοῦσιν).

c) Occasionally, rectum and regens may be immediately juxtaposed without the genitive marker: e.g. gr. 4.5 ΑΥΘΙ ΚΑΠΑ 'the bread of life' (but cf. K. 20.9 ΑΥΘ-]Η ΚΟΕΡ- 'the tree of life'), SC 19.1-2 ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΟΥΡ]Α]ΗΓΟΥΚΑ 'archangels' (but cf. L. 113.12 ΚΠΤ-]Η ΟΥΡΑ]ΗΓΟΥ- 'leaders of the people') and St. 11.8 ΕΙΩΝΟ ΕΙ- 'right hand' (but cf. IN I 9 i 19 ΕΙΘΗ-Ν Ε(Ι)- id.). Cf. also K. 34.1-2, where ΔΕΛ ΕΛΛΗΓΟΥΛΟ stands for ΔΕΛ-ΓΟΥ-ΝΑ ΕΛΛΗΓΟΥΛΟ 'to the times of the ages' (as in M. 17.3-4). In L. 110.3 Ε]ΗΗ ΟΥΕΡΕ]ΗΗΗΔ the first word represents Ε]ΗΗΓΟΥΝΑ, i.e. 'these people's being one'; here the genitive as nexus marker is lacking. See also SC 11.15 and K. 20.6-7, cited in section e below.

d) Deletion of the regens is not uncommon. I here list representative examples: IN I 7 ii 27 ΤΧΛ]Η-ΓΟΥ- 'the things of God' (τὰ του θεου), K. 23.10 ΙΕΡΕΘCΙΗΚΑ 'that of the priest', IN II 18 i 6 ΙΘ ΧΘΗΝΑ-ΛΩ- 'in (the servitude) of Jesus Christ' (where ΜΕΔΔΟΥΚΑΝΤΙ- is to be understood from i 4-5) and iv 6 ΑΓΓΕΛΟC-ΓΟΥ-ΝΑ 'that of the angels'. Deletion of the regens in the predicative 3.6.4a occurs both with substantives (e.g. SC 3.12-13 CΑΛΑΠΠΑ CΕΥΑΡΤΙΚΟΗΚ-Ι-ΝΑ Η]ΗΝΑC]Η [sic for Ε]ΗΝΑC]Η: see Browne 1998a.7] 'for your word is of

spirituality' [i.e. 'spiritual': the Greek is πνευματικός 3.4.3]) and with personal pronouns 3.7.1a (e.g. L. 107.15-16 Ε]Η Ε]ΗΕΡΑΗΗΝΟ]ΟΥ[Η 'because they are yours'). Cf. also IN II 15 ii 15-19, where --- Μ]Ω]ΦΑΗΓΟΥ-Η ΔΟΥ]ΡΙΑ 'concerning all ...' is followed by --- Μ]Ω]ΦΑΗΓΟΥ-ΝΑ '(concerning) all ...', with deletion of the postposition.

e) Attachment of genitival -Η converts an adverb or postpositional phrase into a nominalized attributive¹⁵: cf. e.g. SC 3.22 Ε]ΙΑΡΤΟΥ ΕΧΛΟ-Η-Η-ΛΑ- 'in eager understanding' (with -ι- [juncture vowel 2.10¹⁶] as in 8.1 ΓΟΥΛ ΟΥΤΟCΔΕΗ-Η-Η-ΛΑ 'in a place of safety') and L. 104.8-9 ΔΗ ΔΙΓΙΡΤ[ΟΥ ΤΕΔΓ]ΗΛΛΕ-Η (= -Η-Χ 2.5.6a) 'my covenant with them' (cf. SC 12.4-ΛΑΓ]ΛΕ-Η-Χ), with deletion of regens: see above, section d). Cf. also St. 10.10-11 ΔΗ-Η-Η-ΚΑ 'that of mine' as a periphrasis for ΔΙΚΑ 'me'; sim. IN II 13 i 4 ΤΑΡ]Η-Η-Χ 'that of his' (for the archaic genitive ΤΑΡ]Η see 3.7.1a sub fin.), and note 19.11-12 ΕΚΙΤΧΔΩΗΗ (= ΔΩ-Η-Η-Η¹⁷) ΟΥΕΘΚΙΤΕΙΗΗ ΖΑΡΗΧΔΩΗ-Η-ΚΑ (= ΔΩΗ-Η-Η-ΚΑ 2.7) 'the heavenly instead of the earthly', K. 20.11 CΚΙΤΕΙΔΟ-Η-Η-[ΓΟΥ]ΗΗ-ΚΑ (with scribal deletion of -ΓΟΥΗ-) 'the earthly (things)'; sim., with plural, St. 3.11-12 ΖΑΡΗΗΔΩΗ-Η-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ (= ΔΩΗ-Η-Η-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ 2.7) 'the heavenly', followed in 12-13 by ΕΚΤΧΔΩ-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ 'the earthly', without -Η-Η-. As the last example shows, genitival -Η is not always required in this pattern: cf. e.g. SC 11.15 ΕΛ ΚΟCΗΟCΑΔ 'in the present world' as well as K. 20.6-7 ΖΑΡΗΧΔΟΗ ΙΕΡΟΥCΑΛΗΗΕΙΑ 'in heavenly Jerusalem' (though in the latter ΔΟΗ may represent ΔΟΗ-Η 2.7): see above, section c). At times there is little appreciable difference between the pattern here described and that presented in section d): cf. e.g. IN III 40.16 ΔΗΗΟΗ ΔCΤΙ-Η-ΛΟ '(on the south the boundary) is (the land) of Anion-Asti' (section d) with 40.28-29 ΔΗΕΙΟΗ ΔCΤΙ-Η-Χ-ΛΟ '(on the north the boundary) is (the land) of Anion Asti' (section e; the subjective stands for the predicative 3.6.4d).

f) As opposed to such languages as Latin, which prefers appositives to genitives in topographical designations (i.e. *urbs Roma* instead of *urbs Romae*), O.N. employs the genitive: cf. e.g. IN I 10 C i 3-4 ΡΩΗΗ-Η ΔΠΠΙΑ 'in the city of Rome'.

3.6.3 Directive: -ΚΑ (-Κ before a vowel; -ΚΑ + -ΟΗ > -ΚΟΗ, not -ΚΑ-ΕΙΟΗ 2.5.1c)

a) It marks either a direct or an indirect object: e.g. SC 22.14-15 Θ]Γ-Δ-ΚΑ Ε]Κ-ΚΑ ΤΙCΕC 'I gave you to the man' and L. 106.13-14 ΓΑΔΑ Η]Ω]ΦΑΗΗΝΑ ΠΑΥΟΥ-ΚΑ ΤΑΚ-[ΚΑ] Τ[Ε]CΙΗ ΚΕΛΛΩ 'as you have given him power over all flesh'. Verbs besides those meaning 'to give' may also be construed with two directives: e.g. IN II 12 i 18-19 ΡΚΛΕCΩ ΔΙ-ΚΑ ΕΟΔΑ ΕΙΡ]Η ΔΑΥΟΥ-ΚΑ 'instruct me, Lord, as to your way' (νομοθέτησόν με, κύριε, τήν ὁδόν σου Ps 26:11) and SE A ii 9-11 Κ]ΤΟΥ ΠΙΚ]Η-ΚΑ-ΛΟ [-ΛΟ is 'emphatic' 3.10] ΤΑΚ-ΚΑ ΚΙΤΧΔΑ]ΗΡΕ 'I will clothe him in a garment of light'. For the word order when two directives appear in the same sentence, cf. 4.9.2. When the causative verb -Γ(Δ)Ρ- 3.9.5a is construed with two objects, the first is in the directive (and the second in the predicative—which is also the case when -Γ(Δ)Ρ- has only one object—3.6.4a): e.g. SC 17.9-11 ΟΥΡ ΔΙ]Η]ΗΧ]ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ-C]Η ΟΥΛΛΑΚΚΕΡ-Α-ΓΑΡ] ΔΟΛΛΙΡΕC]Η 'for I wish to make all of you teachers' and IN I 11 ii 12-13 Η]ΧΑΗΑΙ-ΚΑ CΟCΕΘΔ [ΔΑΥΑΡ]ΓΡΑ 'making Michael great soñoj' (cf. also K. 27.14-15 ΜΑΗ-ΚΑ- --- ΔΟΥΡΙΓΡΑ 'making that the cause' 3.6.4e). Note that the directive pronoun is usually overtly

¹⁵ For a typological parallel from Coptic, see Shisha-Halevy 1986.20 and Layton 2000 §124 (ii: ουηήτερὸ ἰψαηνεῶ 'an eternal kingdom' and πρως ἰκκαταcαρz 'bodily activity').

¹⁶ The juncture vowel is so pervasive in this pattern that it might be preferable to regard the morpheme here as -Η-, comparable to Nobiin -*nū* 'gehörig' (Werner 1987.91 ad m); cf. fn. 27.

¹⁷ The first -Η- (or -Η-: see preceding footnote) nominalizes the postpositional phrase, while the second allows it to depend upon ουεθκιτειηη (lit. 'it being a return for ...', i.e. 'instead of ...').

Pre-
break
word
order

expressed; cases of its suppression are rare and may reflect its absence in the Greek original: e.g. Dong. 1 ii 15-16 $\tau\eta\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\eta\eta\alpha\eta\alpha$ 'they will gather (it)' ($\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ Ps 103:28); sim. K. 26.1 $\tau\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\eta$ 'do not touch (it)' and 29.7-8 $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ 'he does not take (it)' (for the last two passages the Greek Vorlage is not extant).

b) At times the immediate placing of a noun before its verb suffices to mark it as object: e.g. SC 13.20 $\rho\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau$ $\kappa\omicron\delta\gamma[\epsilon]\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ 'in order to make you have faith'; sim. SC 3.18 $\tau\alpha\rho$ $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\omicron\delta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha$ 'those standing near him' (to be contrasted with IN II 16 v 9-10 $\tau\alpha\lambda\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\omicron\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\eta$ 'standing near him'); cf. also IN I 2 ii 5-6 $\eta\lambda$ $\tau\alpha\rho\upsilon\alpha\delta\alpha\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ 'they will praise you'. Here also belongs the 'compound' verb $\epsilon\omicron\kappa$ $\tau\bar{\rho}$ 'to give glory' (regularly translating $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$: e.g. SC 14.1); cf. also SC 13.9 $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\alpha$ 'he journeyed' (lit. 'he road-went'), IN I 6 ii 5 $\phi\epsilon$ - $\eta\eta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ 'turning around' (lit. 'foot-turning'; $\eta\eta$ stands for η 2.8) and 10 C i 6-7 $\alpha\epsilon\lambda[\gamma\alpha\delta\iota]\kappa\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\delta\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'because he rejoiced' (see Browne 1994c.96).

c) Note the use of $-\kappa\alpha$ in temporal expressions denoting duration: e.g. K. 32.11-12 $\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ 'for forty fasts'; sim. IN I 2 ii 21, 8 i 14, 11 ii 5. Contrast the use of $-\lambda\omicron$ 'in' designating simply the time at which something happens: e.g. K. 33.8-10 $\kappa\upsilon\bar{\rho}\iota\alpha\kappa\eta\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\eta$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}\lambda\omicron$ 'on every Sunday'; see 3.10 s.v. $-\lambda\omicron$.

3.6.4 Predicative: $-\alpha$, which can be elided 2.5.1a

a) It marks the predicate of a clause, both nominal and verbal: e.g. SC 12.10 $\tau\bar{\lambda}\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ $\alpha\eta\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\lambda\text{-}\alpha$ 'God is a judge' and M. 4.16 $\bar{\alpha}\rho\bar{\omicron}\gamma\bar{\gamma}\bar{\lambda}$ $\rho\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho\text{-}\alpha$ 'the skipper said' 3.9.6. The predicative may be reinforced by $-\alpha\eta$, $-\lambda\omicron$, $-\eta\alpha$, $-\eta\eta$ and $-\sigma\eta$ 3.10. Here we should also list nouns dependent upon $\epsilon\iota\eta$ 'to be' and its congeners 3.9.12 (see also 4.1 N.B.): e.g. SC 17.19-20 $\tau\omicron\tau\text{-}\alpha$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ 'if he is the Son'. Note also IN I 4 i 10-11 $\alpha\iota\lambda\omicron$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\lambda\delta\epsilon\alpha\rho\text{-}\alpha$ $\langle\delta\epsilon\rangle\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\lambda\upsilon\delta\text{-}\alpha$ $\lambda\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda$ 'I am the resurrection and the life' (for the addition of $-\delta\epsilon$: see Browne 1998a.13; for $-\lambda\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ --- $-\lambda\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda$ see 3.10 s.v. $-\lambda\epsilon$). If the causative verb $-\gamma(\alpha)\rho$ 3.9.5a has one object, it is in the predicative: e.g. St. 34.7-8 $\epsilon\lambda[\epsilon]\rho\text{-}\alpha$ $\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ 'making salvation' and SC 10.5 $\omicron\rho\bar{\rho}\text{-}\alpha$ $\gamma\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$ 'making wine' (if $-\gamma(\alpha)\rho$ has two objects, the first is in the directive, the second in the predicative 3.6.3a; see also below, section e). The predicative may be found in dependence upon a noun or pronoun: e.g. St. 16.13-17.1 $\lambda\upsilon\delta\eta$ $\sigma\eta\eta\epsilon\rho\text{-}\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$ 'these things (which are) the message of the Savior' and SC 1.1-5 $\tau\omega\alpha\eta\sigma\eta$ --- $\alpha\rho\eta\eta\epsilon\pi[\iota]\kappa\sigma\omicron\upsilon\beta\text{-}\alpha$ $\lambda\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda$ $\omicron\eta$ $\alpha\kappa\bar{\lambda}$ $\epsilon\alpha\pi\bar{\eta}[\kappa\omicron\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\Delta]$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ --- [$\epsilon\alpha\lambda\text{-}\alpha$ $\lambda\omicron$] 'it is a speech of John (sc. who is) archbishop and golden-mouthed' (for the sequence $-\lambda\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda$ $\omicron\eta$ --- $-\Delta$] $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ [= $-\lambda\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda\text{-}\eta\alpha$] see 3.10 s.v. $-\lambda\epsilon$); for the syntax, see also Browne 1988a.42 and 4.6e. The predicative of a noun, regularly reinforced by the postposition $-\sigma\eta$, can function as the antecedent of a verbid or a subjunctive: e.g. St. 27.8-10 $\tau\bar{\lambda}\lambda\text{-}\alpha$ $-\sigma\eta$ $\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron$ $\tau\alpha\delta\alpha\omega$ $\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\text{-}\lambda\omicron\delta\omega\bar{\alpha}$ 'because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh' (lit. 'because of [the one, his being] the to-have-hung ... [who is] God': cf. 4.6a) and IN II 16 i 1-2 $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\text{-}\alpha$ $-\sigma\eta$ $\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\text{-}\alpha$ $\lambda\omega$ 'it is a speech which he spoke'. For similarity between the predicative and annexion see 3.6.5f and 3.6.6b. Personal names terminating in $-\iota$ 3.3.6 lack $-\alpha$: e.g. SC 11.3-4 $\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$ $\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota$ 'you are Peter' and IN I 6 ii 7 $\eta\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ 'that it was Jesus' (cf. 2.5.2a); those not so terminating have $-\alpha$: e.g. L. 100.4 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\lambda\text{-}\alpha$; cf. below, section b).

b) It marks the vocative: e.g. L. 108.3 $\rho\alpha\bar{\rho}\text{-}\alpha$ $\epsilon\bar{\sigma}\text{-}\alpha$ 'holy Father' and SC 13.16-17 $\tau\omicron\tau\text{-}\alpha$ $\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\omicron}\kappa\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'in order to have them call you "Son of God"' (for $-\bar{\alpha}$ see 4.8). Personal names ending in $-\iota$ 3.3.6 suppress the $-\alpha$ (cf. above, section a sub fin.); the corpus has no examples of vocatives of personal names not ending in $-\iota$): e.g. St. 5.9-10 $\alpha\eta$ $\rho\bar{\lambda}\bar{\tau}\text{-}\alpha$

$\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota$ 'my chosen Peter' and SC 21.17 $\alpha\delta\alpha\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta\alpha\sigma\omicron\eta\alpha$ 'Adam, where are you?' (cf. 2.5.2a). Note also $\rho\alpha\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ 'O father' (e.g. SC 13.21), from $\rho\alpha\bar{\rho}\text{-}\alpha$ $-\omicron$, and $\epsilon\iota\omega$ 'o woman' (IN I 6 ii 10), from $\epsilon\iota\alpha\text{-}\alpha$ ω 2.5.6a.

c) It appears before $\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ 'all, every' and $\eta\eta\omega\alpha\eta$ 'all'¹⁸: e.g. K. 23.11-12 $\epsilon\eta$ $\kappa\epsilon\tau\text{-}\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ 'in all this way' 3.12b and L. 106.13 $\gamma\alpha\lambda\text{-}\alpha$ $\eta\eta\omega\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\rho\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ 'power over all flesh'. Cf. 3.7.6d, e.

d) Occasionally, instead of the predicative, we find the subjective: e.g. IN I 10 C ii 3-4 $\rho\alpha\phi[\alpha]\eta\eta\eta$ $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\bar{\lambda}$ $\alpha\eta$ $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\bar{\lambda}$ 'Raphael's command is my command' (typologically similar to the so-called 'balanced sentences' of Middle Egyptian and other languages: see Allen 2000.71), L. 109.6 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\bar{\sigma}\sigma\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\alpha\sigma\eta$ [η] $\lambda\lambda\epsilon\lambda$ 'your word is the truth' (the punctuation marker is misplaced, as also in 101.5 and 107.1), SC 9.11-12 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ $\lambda\upsilon\delta$ $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\eta$ $\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ (i.e. $-\lambda\epsilon\eta\text{-}\bar{\lambda}$: see 3.6.2e on L. 104.8-9) 'and this is the eternal life' (to be contrasted with IN I 4 i 10-11 cited above in section a), IN I 4 i 16-17 $\epsilon\iota\rho$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\iota$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\eta\omicron\sigma\alpha\lambda$ $\kappa\rho\lambda$ '(I believe) that you are the Christ who has come into the world', IN II 24.3 $\tau\bar{\lambda}\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\kappa\alpha$ $\gamma\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ (= $\gamma\epsilon\eta\text{-}\bar{\lambda}$ $\lambda\omicron$) 'God is good to you' and III 40.26-27 $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\delta\bar{\lambda}\lambda\omicron$ $\bar{\iota}\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\eta\bar{\iota}\delta\sigma\eta$ $\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\lambda}\lambda\omicron$ 'the boundary is that which is of the territory of Iezekiasi'.

e) There are a few instances where the predicative appears as $-\epsilon$ (comparable to $-\epsilon$ $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $-\epsilon$ in the plural 3.5.2a [cf. also 2.1.2.2]): SC 23.8 (sim. 15 and 21) $\omicron\gamma\kappa\rho\text{-}\epsilon$, IN I 7 i 15 $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ -, 8 i 21 $\epsilon\bar{\sigma}\text{-}\epsilon$ and 9 i 2 $\sigma\bar{\rho}\eta\text{-}\epsilon$. Occasionally we also find $-\iota$ where we would expect the predicative; the instances usually involve the causative verb $-\gamma(\alpha)\rho$ (see section a and 3.6.3a): e.g. K. 27.14-15 $\eta\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$ --- $\delta\omicron\gamma\rho\text{-}\iota$ $\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha$ 'making that the cause', SC 9.20-21 $\omicron\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\kappa$ 'having become one' (where the causative functions as an inchoative: see 3.9.5a sub fin.) and CE 160 B 3 $\kappa\bar{\rho}\eta\text{-}\iota$ $\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha$ 'making (it) a shrine'; cf. also—with the inchoative verb—SC 10.19 $\omicron\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\iota$ $\epsilon\alpha$ 'becoming one' (contrast with M. 6.10 $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\bar{\iota}\delta\eta\eta\omicron\sigma\text{-}\alpha$ $\epsilon\lambda\delta\alpha\eta\eta\eta$ 'I shall become Christian'). I suspect that the appearance of $-\iota$ here may be comparable to the juncture vowel 2.10 optionally attached to desinenceless adjunctives 3.9.19 ftn. 78; i.e. just as adjunctives may lose $-\alpha$ even before consonants 2.5.2b, so too predicative $-\alpha$ may vanish before consonants and be replaced with a juncture vowel.

3.6.5 Here we should mention annexive $-\omicron\gamma$ (also written $-\iota$ and occasionally $-\epsilon\iota$ [e.g. K. 30.11] and η [e.g. K. 31.12]), which is not comparable to the postpositions presented in 3.6.1-3.6.4 but is rather an anaptyctic juncture vowel ('Bindevokal') inserted between two words that closely cohere (cf. 1.3.2 and also 2.10).¹⁹ It is required when the first word ends

¹⁸ And possibly also with $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\epsilon}$ 'rest' in M. 7.12-13 $\kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}\rho\alpha$ $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\epsilon}\alpha\lambda$ 'in the rest of the food' (sim. 8.9-10), if $\kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}\rho\alpha$ stands for $\kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}\rho\alpha\lambda\text{-}\alpha$ (cf. 2.5.6a); but see Browne 1994b.39 ad loc.

¹⁹ In Browne 1985c (B) I mistakenly dealt with $-\omicron\gamma$ as if it were comparable to the postpositions treated in 3.6.1-3.6.4. But it is clearly a phonologically conditioned juncture element: its status is especially clear in such cases as KG 1 ii 18-19 $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\delta}\sigma\iota[\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda$ 'with the holy angels' vs. 8 $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\delta}\sigma\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\omega$ 'before the holy angels' and St. 7.12-13 $\kappa\omicron\sigma\eta\omicron\sigma\text{-}\iota$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\lambda\alpha$ 'to the entire world' vs. 11.4-5 $\kappa\omicron\sigma\eta\omicron\sigma$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha$ 'the entire world'. The so-called 'rules' set up in Browne 1985c (B) show merely when the juncture element is not required; they have nothing to do with a postposition syntactically comparable to those discussed above. I must here formally reject the criticism that Hintze (in Browne 1989a.vi) levels against the present treatment: his insistence upon a formal appositive morpheme, marked by $-\omicron\gamma$, cannot withstand scrutiny, for this so-called morpheme has a disquieting habit of unpredictably vanishing. In addition to the examples quoted above cf. also St. 11.3-4 $\epsilon\rho\delta\eta\eta\omicron\sigma\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\omicron\kappa\bar{\eta}\lambda\omega$ 'upon the throne of glory' with Ben. 2 $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma$ $\epsilon\omicron\lambda\eta\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha$ 'the angels of the Lord'; St. 6.2 $\omicron\upsilon\rho\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\bar{\theta}$ (i.e. $\omicron\upsilon\rho\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$ $\lambda\omicron$ 2.5.6a)

in two consonants and is optional elsewhere (but rare if the first word ends in a vowel and the second begins with one, as e.g. in L. 113.5-6 ΟΥΡΟΥ-ΟΥ ΟΥΗΝΟΥΤΑΚΟΛ 'the king who has been born'). The categories of words so bound together include the following (N.B. I add examples which lack the juncture vowel):

a) Apposition: e.g. SC 7.5 ΕΟΛ-ΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ<ΟΙ> 'Lord Jesus', K. 21.12 ΤΑΡ-ΟΥ ΕΟΛ<Λ> 'the Lord himself' (lit. 'he, the Lord' 3.7.1), IN II 13 i 27-28 ΤΑΔ ΔΩΛΟΥΗ-ΗΟΗ 'and the high one himself' (ΤΑΔ- = ΤΑΡ- 2.2.2), M. 11.3-4 ΤΛΛΑΡ ΟΥΗΝΟΛ ΜΑΡΙΑΝ 'of Mary who gave birth to God', i.e. 'of Mary Theotokos'; here belong cases of nominal asyndeton 4.10 like M. 1.11-12 ΕΙΡΩΤΤ-ΟΥ ΕΟΥΚΤΛΩ 'in wealth and abundance' (see Browne 2000e.139-140 for the meaning of ΕΟΥΚΤ-) and L. 101.11-12 ΔΙΑΛΛ-Ι ΔΕΗΥΟΙΑΔΩ 'upon the service and offering'.

b) Attribution: e.g. SC 4.11-12 ΣΕΥΑΡΤ-ΟΥ ΕΪΣ-ΟΥ ΣΕΥΔ ΔΕΗΔΙΚΑ 'the Holy Spirit blowing upon us', M. 4.4-5 ΚΕΣΕ ΜΑΡΕΩΤΙΩ ΕΟΗΔΙΛΛΑΓ 'to the church standing in Mareotes', St. 11.3-4 and Ben. 2, both quoted above in ftn. 19.

c) Binding of postposition to preceding: e.g. St. 6.2 ΟΥΡ-ΟΥ-ΕΙΘ 'from you' vs. 8.5 ΟΥΛ-ΛΟ 'you', IN II 12 i 19-20 ΤΛΠΟΥ ΤΔΚΑΗΗΗ-Ι-ΛΑ 'in the path of justice' vs. 13 ii 14 Χ ΑΓΓΑΔΚΑΗΗΗ-ΛΩ 'in a voice of exultation'. See further above, ftn. 19.

d) Binding of pronoun to rest of sentence: e.g. M. 8.16-9.1 ΕΙΡ-ΟΥ ΕΠΚΑ [ΔΗ] ΔΗΚΗΠΗΝΑΥ 'don't you remember this?' and IN I 4 ii 4 Π ΕΠΗΟ ΔΟΥΔΡΕΗΚΑ<Η> 'if you had been here' (cf. i 2, where the same phrase appears with ΕΙΡ-Ι: see above, ftn. 19).

e) Binding of a clause terminating in a pronoun to the following clause: e.g. L. 105.6-7 ΔΗ ΤΟΤΑΗΗ ΕΙΡ-ΟΥ ΔΙΛΟ ΕΛΗ ΕΡ ΟΥΗΗΑΡΑ 'you are my Son, I have begotten you today' (here the O.N. translator has imitated Greek word order: υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε; cf. Browne 1984b.29 ad loc.) and IN I 11 i 4-6 ΔΚΕΗΔΑΗΚΕ ΟΥΡ-ΟΥ ΗΗ ΔΗΜΑΓΟΥΚΑ ΠΕΨΦΙΚΙΔΑΡΟΥΛΩ 'blessed are you when you will go and judge all these' 4.7.3c vs. SC 6.21-23 ΔΓΕΗΔΑΕΙΣΕ ΔΪ ΠΑΡΡΑ ΕΙΚΑΗΗΑ ΤΟΠΠΑΡΚΙΚΑ ΠΚΤΑΓΡΙΑ(?) ΕΤΕΣΙΕΔΟΥΗ 'blessed have I become because I received as a share cultivation of such land'. See ftn. 19 sub fin.

f) At times, annecton appears to be similar to the use of the predicative noted in 3.6.4a sub fin., but its presence signals a closer bond: cf. e.g. K. 33.6 ΤΛΛ-ΟΥ ΔΩΗ 'of the living God' with St. 27.8-10 ΤΛΛ-Α-ΟΗ ΓΑΔΔΟ ΤΑΔΔΩ ΟΛΛΟΛΛΟΔΩΔ 'because of God, who hung

'from you' with 8.5 ΟΥΛ-ΛΟ (i.e. ΟΥΡ-ΛΟ 2.3.1) 'you'. There are also instances of -ι and -ΟΥ alternating with zero: cf. e.g. M. 8.16-9.1 ΕΙΡ-ΟΥ ΕΠΚΑ [ΔΗ] ΔΗΚΗΠΗΝΑΥ 'don't you remember this?' and IN I 4 i 2-3 ΕΙΡ-Ι ΕΠΗΟ ΔΟΥΑΡΙΑ(?) ΕΗΚΑΗ 'if you had been here' with ii 4 Π (i.e. ΕΙΡ) ΕΠΗΟ ΔΟΥΔΡΕΗΚΑ<Η> id. (with ΕΙΡ-ΟΥ, ΕΙΡ-Ι and ΕΙΡ in the same phonological setting); cf. also SC 2.5-6 ΓΟΥΛ [ΟΥΤΟΣΔΕΗ(?)ΗΟΥΧ (i.e. -Η-ΟΥ-ΛΑ) ΚΕΗΟΥΤΡΩΟΟΛΚΑ 'one who has beached (his ship) in a place of safety', 8.1-2 ΓΟΥΛ ΟΥΤΟΣΔΕΗΗ-ΛΑ ΚΕΗΟΥΤΟΥΡΩΙΣΕΗΙΔ 'to beach (his ship) in a place of safety', IN II 12 i 19-20 ΤΛΠΟΥ ΤΔΚΑΗΗΗ-Ι-ΛΑ 'in the path of justice' and 13 ii 14 Χ ΑΓΓΑΔΚΑΗΗΗ-ΛΩ 'in a voice of exultation'; i.e. -Η-ΟΥ-ΛΑ vs. -Η-Ι-ΛΑ vs. -Η-ΛΩ. Note also the appearance of -ΟΥ where it can only be anaptyctic: e.g. L. 107.1 ΕΟΚ-ΟΥ ΔΗΕΩΧ 'give glory', where -ΟΥ is morphologically irrelevant (cf. IN I 9 i 5 ΕΟΚ ΤΠΗΑΧ 'give glory'); sim. St. 1.11-2.1 ΤΑΗ ΔΠΟΕΤΟΛΟΟΡΙ ΕΪΣΙΟΥΚ-ΟΥ ΕΙΑΡΓΑΡΙΣΑΛΟ 'which he caused his holy apostles to know', where -ΟΥ is needlessly attached to -Κ (elided from -ΚΑ 2.5.1c); similarly unnecessary is the adherence of -ΟΥ to desinenceless adjunctives 3.9.19 ftn. 78. In addition, Hintze's observation that -ΟΥ is found 'nur an Morphemgrenzen, nicht aber an Komplexgrenzen' is contradicted by 3.6.5e. See further Browne 1991b.288.

upon it in the flesh'. Of these two passages, the former corresponds to an attributive ('restrictive') relative clause, the latter to one that is appositional ('non-restrictive'); but the predicative is also found when attribution is involved: e.g. St. 12.3-7 ΔΠΗΛ-Δ-ΟΥ-Ε-ΟΗ ΤΕΗ ΔΕΧ ΟΥΑΤΤΟΛΟ ΕΤΑΥΡΟΥΣΑΔΓΛΕ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΛΟΓΟΥΛ 'all who have believed in the cross with their whole heart'. Cf. below, 4.6a, with ftn. 100.

3.6.6 Phrase-terminal specification

a) If a phrase consists of two or more words, it is normal for its syntactic relation to the rest of the sentence to be marked at the end of the phrase: e.g. IN I 7 ii 15 ΕΟΛΟΥ ΕΟΚΗ-ΚΑ 'the Lord of Glory', where -ΚΑ shows that the phrase functions as object 3.6.3a, and SC 4.11-12 ΣΕΥΑΡΤ-ΟΥ ΕΪΣ-ΟΥ ΣΕΥΔ ΔΕΗΔΙΚ-ΚΑ 'the Holy Spirit blowing upon us', where the first -ΟΥ marks the juncture of ΣΕΥΑΡΤ- with ΕΪΣ-, the second that of ΣΕΥΑΡΤΟΥ ΕΪΣ- with ΣΕΥΔ ΔΕΗΔΙΑ- 3.6.5b, 3.9.6 and 4.6a, and the terminal -ΚΑ 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. IN II 18 v 11-12 ΨΟΛ ΕΪΣ-Χ 'the holy complex': here -Χ marks the complex as subject 3.6.1a). If, however, the predicative is involved,²⁰ both substantive and adjective regularly bear -Α (e.g. L. 108.3 ΠΑΠ-Α ΕΪΣ-Α 'holy father');²¹ occasionally, the substantive is unmarked in this environment: e.g. IN II 17 ii 8-10 ΕΪΣΙ ΔΙΡΤΙ ΠΑΡΧΛΕ: [Η]ΠΡΙΕΛΔΕΚΕΛΑ ΔΑΡΑ ΗΨΩ[ΔΗ]ΓΟΥΛ 'all the saints who are in the Old and New Testament' (sim. 16 i 5-6 and K. 31.11-13). If the substantive is in the predicative and is modified by the genitive of the personal pronoun 3.7.1a, the latter is generally in the long form (e.g. ΤΑΗΗΑ) if it follows, in the short form (e.g. ΤΑΗ) if it precedes: cf. St. 4.7-8 ΕΟΛ-Α ΤΛΛ-Α ΟΥ-ΗΑ 'our Lord and God' and IN II 12 i 10 ΤΗΚΛΕΡΤ-Α ΔΗ-ΗΑ-ΕΪΣ-ΟΥ 'become my helper' (sim. ii 13-14) vs. IN I 11 i 4 ΔΗ ΠΔΤ-Α ΔΠΟΣΤΟΛΟC-Α-ΓΟΥ-Ε-ΚΕ 'my chosen apostles' and II 12 ii 11 ΔΗ ΤΑΗΑΗΗ-Α-ΗΑ you are my helper'. Similarly, the vocative of ΔΠΟΛ- 'my father' 3.7.1a sub fin. is ΔΗ ΠΑΡΑ (IN II 25.6). If the substantive-adjective complex is plural, then the plural marker -ΓΟΥ- is regularly added only to the adjective (e.g. K. 19.3-4 ΠΑΠΛC-Ι ΕΪΣΙ-ΓΟΥ-ΗΑ 'of the holy fathers');²² plural markers other than -ΓΟΥ- remain on the substantive (e.g. St. 1.11-12 ΔΠΟΕΤΟΛΟC-ΡΙ ΕΪΣΙ-ΓΟΥ-Κ- 'holy apostles' 3.5.1d and L. 101.3 ΤΟΥ-Ε ΔΑΥΟΥΚΙΟΥ-Α-ΓΟΥ-Ε 'guiltless(?) children' 3.5.2e).

²⁰ Occasionally (mostly in non-literary texts) we find this pattern extended—non-obligatorily—to the genitive and directive. For the genitive cf. e.g. IN III 30.10 ΕΛ-Η ΕΟΚΚΟ-Η (gen. of the toponym ΕΛΛ ΕΟΚΚΟ(Λ)-), 34 i 19 ΕΛΗ-Π ΤΑΥΟ-Η 'of Lower Ibrim' (but 30.18 ΕΛΗ ΤΠΟ-Η 'of Ibrim West'), 39.10 ΔΠΟ-Η ΠΕC-Π 'of my father Pesi', 18-19 ΑΠΑ-Η ΕΛ-Η 'of Abba Nal', 22 ΧΗ-Η ΣΟCΟΔΑ-Η (gen. of the personal name ΧΗΛ ΣΟCΟΔΑ; the gen. is the normal ΧΗΛ ΣΟCΟΔΑ-Η elsewhere [e.g. 34 ii 20]); the pattern is also found twice in St., but in the colophon and therefore not necessarily indicative of pure literary Nubian: 32.7-8 ΕΤΑΥΡΟC-Π ΔΔΥΡΚΕ-ΗΑ ΨΟΚΚΑ 'the book of the life-giving cross' and 34.11-35.1 ΣΕΡΡΕ-Η ΗΑΤΤΟ-Η ΠCΟΥCΣΙΔ 'in the Jesus-Church of Serra East' (it is also possible that ΕΛΛΕ(Η) ΚΕΤΑΛΛΕ(Η): 'eternity'—for examples see Browne 1996a.57—optionally preserves this construction). For the directive note SC 9.18 ΤΛΛ-Ε ΔΥΡΟΥΤ-ΚΑ 'only God' (replaced by the normal ΤΛΛ-ΟΥ ΔΥΡΟΥΤ-ΚΑ in 17.2-3), IN I 2 i 12-13 (if correctly restored) ΠΗΗΗΓΟΥ-ΚΑ ΟΥΓΟΥ-ΚΑ 'these two things' and II 21 i 2-3 (non-literary) ΣΟΥΗ-ΤΟΥΤΕ-ΚΑ ΔΔΥ-ΚΑ 'to the Great Scribe'. See also Browne 1996f.131 ad IN III 30.10.

²¹ Note also the modifiers listed in 3.6.4c, which require their noun to be in the predicative.

²² Note, however, that in relative clauses whose plural referent is introduced by -ΟΗ 3.6.4a, we find both -ΔΓΟΥΕCΠ --- verbid/subjunctive with -ΓΟΥ- (e.g. St. 4.10-13) and -ΔΓΟΥΕCΠ --- verbid/subjunctive without -ΓΟΥ- (IN I 10 A i 13-15).

3.7 Pronouns

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

	Sg.	Pl.
1	αἱ-	ερ- (inclusive of 2nd pers.) ογ- (exclusive of 2nd pers.) ²³
2	ειρ-	ογρ-
3	ταρ-	τερ-

These forms, with or without the juncture vowel -ογ-, 2.10, 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 -η and -ηα, resulting in short and long forms:²⁴

	Sg.	Pl.
1	αη, αηηα	εη, εηηα (incl.) ογη, ογηηα (excl.)
2	εῆ, εῆηα	ογῆ, ογῆηα
3	ταη, ταηηα	τεη, τεηηα

The forms with -η tend to be simply possessives (e.g. SC 7.8 αη σαλγογκα 'my words'); those with -ηα may be objective genitives (e.g. SC 22.17-18 τεηηα αρηδκιαεκκα 'judgment against them') or in subsequent dependence upon a substantive in the predicative (e.g. St. 4.7-8 τλαα ογηα 'our God')—to be contrasted with precedent dependence, which prefers the short form 3.6.6b—or the subject of a verbal noun (e.g. M. 12.2-3 εῆ ταηηα κῆσῶ 'this which he ate' 4.6a); -ηα may also be used in an admiring sense: see K. 25.4-8 (cited above in 3.6.2a). But, as with substantives 3.6.2a, at times the distinction between -η and -ηα is blurred: e.g. IN II 18 vi 7-8 εηηα δερκ- 'our tribe', St. 12.12-13 ταη ὄρωσεν 'in praise of it' and M. 8.11-12 ηη ταη ογσκρα δγορδσκα 'this which he had deposited and forgotten'; see also 3.6.1a sub fin. At times—chiefly in translations of the OT—we find uncontracted forms: e.g. ταρῆ in IN I 2 i 20 (Ps 61:13) and in II 15 ii 10—where ταρ' εῆσ- stands for ταρῆ εῆσ- 2.7—(an allusion to Deut 33:2 in Jude 14); it is perhaps a conscious archaism. Note also the fusion of αη- etc. with -ηη- 3.6.2e: e.g. M. 11.13-14 εολοου αη-ηη- λοςῆηαλο 'through my Lord' and IN II 13 i 4 σῆπτοου ταρῆ-η-λ 'his foundation' (Ps 86:1). An expanded genitive ταρῆηα appears—if correctly restored—in IN I 3 ii 10-11: ταρῆηα ἔδηλοκω 'though his justice'; it is comparable to -ηηα found occasionally with substantives 3.6.2a and may be a back-formation from ταρῆ-η-λ (as in IN II 13 i 4 quoted above).

²³ For the distinction between ερ- and ογ- cf. e.g. M. 9.1-3 εῆτοου ογῆηηα εκκα δηνδσκα 'which a woman gave to us' (i.e. to me and you) vs. St. 5.6-7 ογκα πλαιρῶ δεθδσσο 'reveal to us' (i.e. to me and them); note also 28.3-9, where ερ δῆηητοου 'all of us' includes everyone, and ογῆη 'in us' refers only to the elect: see Vycichl 1961.287-288.

²⁴ The -η in the short form is very occasionally doubled before a word beginning with a vowel: e.g. IN II 16 iii 5 αηη ογῆη- and vi 1 τεηη αγρογ-.

Note the special possessive αῖποα- 'my father' (see further Browne 2001c):

	Sg.	Pl.
1	αῖποα- 'my father': see Browne 1996a.16 for examples	
2	(ε)ἱποα- 'your father': in IN I 10 A ii 4 (εἱποη gen.) and II 28.21 (ἱπο = εἱποα-)	
3	ταῖπαπῶ- 'his father': in KD 16 and SC 14.8 τα<ῖπα>πῶ-	
		Pl.
1	εἱη παπῶ- 'our father' (incl.): only in IN III 40.33 ²⁵	ογῆη παπῶ- 'our father' (excl.): only in IN II 14 ii 5-6 and Sunn. 1 ii 7-8
2	*ογῆπαπῶ- 'your father': unattested; cf. N. <i>úffáab</i>	
3	*τεῖπαπῶ- 'their father': unattested; cf. N. <i>íeffáab</i>	

b) In the directive the personal pronouns attach -κα, and those ending in -ρ- assimilate 2.3.1; the terminal -α may elide before a vowel 2.5.1c, resulting in simplification of the geminate 2.7: thus ταρ- + -κα > τὰκ-κα > τὰκκ- before vowel > τὰκ-:

	Sg.	Pl.
1	αῖκα, αῖκ- ²⁶	εκκα, εκ (incl.) ογκα, ογκ- (excl.)
2	εικκα, εικ-	ογκκα, ογκ-
3	τακκα, τὰκ-	τεκκα, τεκ-

Note, however, that with connecting -ον 'and' 3.10 we find preservation of both κ's: e.g. SC 19.11-12 τὰκκον, L. 107.6 τεκκον and IN I 10 A ii 21 εῖκκον (*τὰκκαεἰον etc. is never found: Browne 1995a.455); similarly with -ῶηο 3.7.2a: e.g. SC 19.21 τὰκκονηο.

3.7.2 The reflexive pronoun is expressed as follows:

a) by ὄηο (attached to the directive): e.g. SC 5.15-16 ογκ-κ-ονο κλοπι αγρογτκα τοετανασω 'make yourselves worthy(?) of the very pearl ...'; the postposition is once emphatic: gr. 2.4 αἱ-κ-ονηω φοκκα κογλαρεσο 'teach me myself the book'.

b) by ογρ- (literally 'head'): e.g. L. 105.1-2 ογελεμεθεἰον ογρ-ρω σοκκα σοκκ ετηηηκερλω 'and no one takes honor upon himself'. Note that ογρ- and ὄηο are combined in IN II 15 i 18-19 εγρ[ηα --- τεη] ογκ'-ῶηο 'pasturing themselves' (ογκ'- = ογρ-κ- 2.7).

c) by using merely the personal pronoun 3.7.1: e.g. M. 3.1 ταρῶ πεσσηα 'she said to herself'.

3.7.3 The reciprocal pronoun is expressed by ογῆρογερ-, ογῆρογελ- 'one another' (literally 'one-one' 3.7.6a and 3.8.1): e.g. SC 11.14 ογρογεργῶε οκκαηηασο 'attend to one another'. Cf. also IN I 5 ii 4-5 ογκκεταλ εῖῆεταλκε ογρογ'εῖῆ [i.e. ογρογερ-η: see Browne 1992c.32-33] ὄεῖῆ τρικα δελογῆδκα 'you also must take up washing one

²⁵ In IN I 7 i 21, instead of [παπογ] εῖηηογ ἱποογσι χριστοσιδ 'in our father Jesus Christ', we should read [εολογ] εῖηηογ ἱποογσι χριστοσιδ 'in our Lord Jesus Christ': see Browne 2001c.

²⁶ Once αἱεῖ- (M. 5.8), which is probably to be analyzed as αἱ-εἱ-κ', with -εἱ- representing the juncture vowel 2.10: cf. αἱ-εἱ for αἱ-ογ in IN III 35.18 and 54 i 1 (see Browne 1994b.34).

f) δῆμα- 'all' (usually with -γογ-); it is used absolutely or in annection with a preceding noun or verbid: e.g. L. 103.4-5 δῆμηλγογῆμα ἀγτακεραν παγογκα 'until all are done' 4.7.3b, gr. 2.5 ταγκογ δῆμα 'always' 3.12c and IN II 13 ii 7-8 πῶσῃ δῆμηλγογῆμα 'of all who rejoice' 4.6d.

g) ογᾶττο- 'whole', in annection: e.g. SC 7.15-16 θαλασογ ογᾶττοκα 'the whole sea'.

h) σιαε- 'anyone, everyone': in St. 32.2-33.8 ογᾶτ[ε]λγογῆμασιον χη[λ]ῆ --- ταρε 'let anyone of those who listen to ... come' and IN III 44.19-20 ἀπῆμα: πῆ σιαετῆταν [= σιαε-(ε)τ-ι-τ(ι)ρ)αν] ηῖψαν- 'everyone who is in the village' (see note in Browne 1991a ad loc. and cf. next entry). It is probably related to interrogative σια 3.7.5c sub fin.

i) ἔτισᾶσιν 'anyone': in IN III 41.17 ἐτισᾶσιν [= εἰτ-τῆσ(ρ)α-σιν] πογλαδᾶ 'anyone who will disparage' (see note in Browne 1991a ad loc.).

j) εἰσ- 'other', in annection to a following noun: e.g. SC 11.9 εἰσ σογῆπογῆτα 'another foundation'.

k) σεγῆ- 'rest': see above, 3.6.4c ftn. 18.

l) ἀγρογτ- 'alone, self', in annection: e.g. SC 17.4 ἀκαδατογ ἀγρογτκ- 'the construction alone'; it is also used absolutely in IN I 5 i 23 ἀγρογτογ ῶ γογδ ογῆλλο 'alone in another place'; cf. the next entry.

m) ἀγει-, ἀγογ- 'alone, self', in annection: in SC 8.19 εἰσ(ε)κῆ ἀγειγογλα 'in the high places alone' and IN III 31.9 ἀγογ τᾶρον 'and he himself' (possibly also in II 24.5: see Browne 1996a.13); cf. the preceding entry.

n) ψοει-γογ- 'some, others', used absolutely: e.g. SC 8.5 ψοειγογῆλλον 'and some ...' (as subject of clause).

3.7.7 Relative pronouns do not occur in O.N. For expressing relative-clause equivalents see 4.6.

3.8 Numbers

3.8.1 Cardinals; the following are attested:

1	ογερ-, ογελ-, ἱελ- (cf. ογελ- as indefinite pronoun 3.7.6a)
2	ογο(γ)-, ογῆσο- (note also δᾶπῆκαν-γογ- 'both')
3	τογσκο(γ)-, τογσκι-, τοσκονη-? (Tamat 8.2)
4	κεμσο-
5	διδ-
6	γοδδο-
7	κολοτ-
8	ἰλο- ²⁸ (IN III 43.2)

²⁸ ἰλογῆι, listed in Browne 1989a §3.8.1, is an incorrect reading of Sale 9 (see also next ftn.): see Browne 1992a.455-457.

9	οσκοτα- (IN III 54 i 4 :ϑ-τα, ii 3 ϑ-κο(τα))
10	διηεΔ- 3.8.2
20	δᾶω. ²⁹
40	εῖρεικ-, ῖρικ-
80	(εῖριλογ)ῆ- K. 19.7 (ῖεῖγογε: cf. Zyhlarz 1928 Text II Überschrift Anm. 8)
1,000	λογδε-
10,000	τιτογ(ογ)ρι-

Cardinals are adjectives and follow their substantives, which are in annection 3.6.5b; the cardinals may also be marked as to plural and may be used absolutely: e.g. IN I 8 i 15-16 ἀγγελοσογ κολοτγογκα 'the seven angels', ii 8 ποτοτι κολοτ- 'the seven trumpets', SC 23.23 τιογ(ε)κογ(ογ)λ- and 23.24-24.1 τιογ(ε)κογ(ογ)λ 'the three' and 10.1 ορδογ λογδε διδγογκα 'five thousand men'. Note also IN I 10 A i 2 τιογσκο-η-γογκα 'the three' and St. 24.7-8 γαρ-κενσο-η-ηδ 'of the world' (lit. 'of the four sides' 3.3.4); for the plural markers see 3.5.1c and d.

3.8.2 Ordinals; the following are attested:

1st	τογσκᾶντε- (translates πρῶτος in IN I 5 i 14, 25 and 8 ii 11)
2nd	ογῆλ-
3rd	τογσκῆ(τ)-
4th	κενῆ(τ)- (restored in fr. 1 i 3 and appearing as ᾶτα in IN III 38.2)
7th	κολοτιτ-
12th	διηεΔ(ογ) ογῆιτ-

Like cardinals, ordinals follow their substantives; the latter are regularly in the genitive: e.g. St. 12.2 πῆτῆ τογσκῆκα 'the third share' and IN I 8 i 11-12 τραπετῆ κολοτιτκα 'the seventh seal'. When years of age are involved, annection is employed: K. 32.7-8 γενογ ἱῆ- 'the 12th year', 9-10 δενογ ἱῆ- 'the 13th year' and IN II 20 i 9-10 δενογ τογσκ(η)ταδ παλεη 'if she comes forth from her third year'. Cardinals may also function as ordinals: L. 111.7 καταπεταςμα ογου-καλο 'after veil two' (μετὰ ... τὸ δευτερον καταπέτασμα Heb 9:3) and fr. 1 i 7 τραπετῆ δῆδ-ι-κα 'seal five' (τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα Rev 6:9). Note also IN I 11 i 8-9 γῆκερογτῆ διπα (= διπ-λα) 'on the evening of the eleventh' (ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρα τῆς ἑνδεκάτης), where γῆ-κερ-ογ(ε)ιτ- may mean 'second small fast': see n. ad loc. in Plumley-Browne 1988.

3.8.3 Multiplicatives; the following are attested:

ογερᾶν 'once' K. 25.1
κολοταν 'seven times' K. 25.2; cf. also gr. 4.3 ζλοτῆ (i.e. κολοτῆ) παογ 'seven times' (lit. 'up to seven': see 3.10 s.v. -πα(γ)ογ).

3.8.4 Fractions: 'half' appears as πακ-καττ- 3.3.2 and as σογῆττεκ-κα (directive) in IN I 8 i 14 ταρατῆ σογῆττεκκα 'for half an hour'.

3.9 Verbs in O.N. are built upon stems which are either monosyllabic 3.9.1 or polysyllabic (chiefly disyllabic); the latter also include compound stems 3.9.2. Below I list the basic

²⁹ ἀρεε-, listed in Browne 1989a §3.8.1, is an incorrect reading of Sale 9: see reference in ftn. 28.

-κ(α)ρ- 'to come' may be used as an ingressive: e.g. SC 7.16 ΕΚΚΕΚΑ (i.e. ΕΛ-ΚΡ(Α)-ΚΑ) '(God is like a man) who comes to look upon ...' (θεωροῦντι; sim. 8.15) and IN I 11 i 5-6 ΠΕΨΩ-Ι-ΚΙ-ΔΑΡΟΥΛΩ 'when you will come and judge' (for loss of -λ and -ρ see 2.5.6a). See further Browne 1996a.92 and cf. the intensifying prefix ΤΑ- 3.9.2c. We also find κ(α)ρ- similarly used with a preceding adjunctive 3.9.19.³⁶

-ΚΕ-/ΚΙ-/Κ- consuetudinal: restricted to periphrastics 3.9.12. Cf. Browne 1984a ad SC 3.17.

-κο- 'to have' may be used as a perfect formant (just as the collateral verb ΚΟ(Υ)Η- is used, but only with a preceding adjunctive 3.9.19.1³⁷), but the only more-or-less secure example is IN III 46.3 ΤΟΡΑ ΠΕΚΟΝ (i.e. ΤΟΡ-ΡΑ ΠΙ-Ρ-ΚΟ-Ν) 'after he has caused (them) to enter'. In Browne 1996a.95, I also list 31.8 ΣΠΠΛ ΔΡΚΟΝ 'the nation having approached', but -ΚΟΝ in the latter may be for -ΚΙΡΟΝ 2.5.6a: cf. II 28.18, where ΔΡΚΗ- stands for ΔΡ-ΚΙΡΗ-.

-η- the so-called affirmative 3.9.10.

-ΜΗΝ-/ΜΗ- negative verb (from η- 'not'³⁸ and ΕΙΝ/ΕΗ- 'to be'): restricted to periphrastics 3.9.12.³⁹

-ΤΑΚ- 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 ΟΗ-ΤΑΚ- 'to be loved' and 19.14 ΕΣΚ-Ι-ΤΑΚ- 'to be conquered'.

Of the above morphemes, the following may also be construed with a preceding noun (in the predicative 3.6.4a⁴⁰): -(α)Ε-, -(α)Ρ-, -Γ(α)Ρ-, -ΜΗΝ-/ΜΗ-: e.g. SC 9.19 ΓΑΔ-ΑΕ- 'to become flesh', 14.16 ΔΗΕΤ-Ρ- 'to effect resurrection' (sim. 10.10 Δ[Η]ΕΤ-ΔΡ-), 10.5 ΟΡΠΑ-ΓΡ- 'to make (it) wine' and IN I 10 A i 16-18 ΣΕ[Υ]ΑΡΤΑ ΔΑΛΛΙΚΑΕ --- ΜΗΝΑΝΑ 'are they not ministering spirits ...?'

Note that occasionally -(α)Ε-, -(α)Ρ- and -Γ(α)Ρ- appear to interchange: e.g. M. 2.4 ΜΑΙΚ-ΑΡ-ΙΟΝΑ 'she became afflicted', L. 101.4 -ΓΗΟΥΔ 'in order to become' (i.e. -ΓΗ-ΗΟΥΔ 2.5.6a [see also Browne 1982d.12]), 109.9 ΔΙ ΔΙΚΟΝΟ ΕΒΕ-ΑΕ-ΡΕΩ 'I make myself hallow' (vs. ΤΕΚΚΑ ΣΙΣΑ-ΓΑΡ-ΕΩ 'make them hallow' in 109.5: see Browne 1988a II §2.a fn. 2), and cf. also IN I 8 ii 9-10 ΤΕΚΚΟΝΟ ΜΕΔΔΛ-Ε-ΙΟΝΑ 'they made themselves ready' (ἡτοιμάσαν ἑαυτούς Rev 8:6) with SC 12.17 ΜΕΔΔΛ-ΓΡ-ΟΝΑ 'he made (it) ready' (ἡτοιμάσεν αὐτό).⁴¹ For the interchange of the two causatives, cf. e.g. St. 11.12 ΔΡΟΥ-ΟΥΡ- 'to irrigate' with ΔΡΟΥΔ-ΓΑΡ- id. in 18.5 and 29.3-4, and L. 113.13 [ΤΦ]Η-Ι-ΓΑΡ- with SC 18.17 ΤΦΗ-ΑΡ-, both 'to assemble' (transitive). Note also that ΔΕ- is used absolutely in SC 14.11 ΔΙΜΗΛ ΔΕΟΝΑ 'everything came into being' (and possibly also in fr. 2 b 8, but the text is damaged).

³⁶ Its use with adjunctives may suggest that cases like ΕΚΚΕΚΑ are in reality instances of the desinenceless adjunctive 3.9.19 fn. 78 (see also next fn.).

³⁷ The use of ΚΟ(Υ)Η- with adjunctives may suggest that the instance(s) of -κο- should be considered as controlling a desinenceless adjunctive: see the preceding fn.

³⁸ The negative prefix η- appears elsewhere: e.g. η-ΟΗ- 'to hate' (literally 'not to love') as well as η-ΔΡΚ- 'disobedience' (see Browne 1984a ad SC 7.2-3 and—for the positive—ad 1.13).

³⁹ N.B. When the verbid is fully reduced 3.9.8, -ΜΗΝ-/ΜΗ- may appear to be attached directly to the stem, but comparison of (e.g.) SC 9.16 ΕΙΔΡΛ-ΜΗ- with 8.4 ΤΟΡΙ-ΜΗ- and 3.17 ΤΟΚ-ΜΗ- shows the progressive reduction of the verbid; a similar reduction is observable with -Γ(α)Ρ-: St. 2.1 ΕΙΔΡΛ-ΓΑΡ-, 3.10 ΠΛΑΙ-ΓΡ-, 9.8 ΟΚ-ΚΡ. (= ΟΚ-ΓΡ- 2.4) and with -ΚΕ-/ΚΙ-/Κ-: IN II 16 vii 9-10 ΜΕΔΔΕΛ-ΚΕΛ-, SC 11.16-17 ΟΥΗΚΟΥΗΚΕΛ-.

⁴⁰ Note, however, that -Γ(α)Ρ- may occasionally be preceded by a noun ending in -ι 3.6.4e.

⁴¹ Note the tendency to use the inchoative in a causative sense when the verb governs a reflexive object.

b) The syntactic morphemes relate the verb to another part of the sentence. O.N. displays only -δ-, 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 through the intervention of the juncture vowel /i/ 2.10: e.g. SC 4.19 ΚΑΠΟΠΙΓΟΥΚΑ ΔΟΛ-Ι-Δ-ΜΙΔ 'in order to gather pearls' (plural object; for the final clause cf. 4.7.7d), 5.17 ΟΥΚ ΟΥΚΡΑ ΤΙΔ-Δ-ΑΡΡΙ-ΚΑ 'which I am going to set before you' (plural indirect object; for the relative cf. 4.6b), 8.12 ΛΙ-Δ-ΟΛΓΟΥΝΑ 'of those who are dead' (plural subject). Note that -δ- is at times omitted, especially with causatives: e.g. K. 29.15-30.1 ΤΛΛΟΥ ΔΠΗΓΟΥΚΑ ΣΠΠΙΤ-ΑΡ-ΟΚΚΑ 'God who established all'; it may also refer to a plural object not specifically identified in the text: e.g. SC 17.20 ΑΥ-Δ-ΕΣΠΗΟ[Δ]ΩΔΛΩ 'because he created [sc. everything]'. For further discussion see Browne 1988a.II.

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

3.9.6 Synopsis of the verb. The arrangement here presented follows that of Browne 1982b (see also Browne 1988a.I⁴²), where I argue that the subjunctive arises from the so-called 'verbid'⁴³ through the addition of personal endings (e.g. ΔΟΛΛ-ΙΑ + ΔΗ [3rd pers. pl] > ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑΝ 2.6), and that the predicative and the indicative result from fusion of -α (predicative case 3.6.4) either with the verbid, resulting in the predicative (ΔΟΛΛΙΑ + Δ > ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑΝ 2.6) or with the subjunctive, resulting in the indicative (ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑΝ + Δ > ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑΝΔ⁴⁴). Note that the predicative usually requires formal expression of the subject, which is overtly marked in the indicative: cf. SC 19.6 ΤΑΛΛΟ --- ΑΥΕΙΔΑΡΑ 'he made' with 19.11 ΑΥΟΝΑ 'he made'.

The form here given in the paradigm, ΔΟΛΛ- 'to wish', shows the juncture vowel ι, which can also appear as ε 2.1.2.2. It is required only after a stem ending in two consonants; elsewhere its use is optional: e.g. SC 8.16 ΠΕΕ-ΕΣΙ-, but 22.8 ΙΕ-ΣΙ-; M. 1.3 ΑΥ-ΣΑ-, but IN I 10 A ii 9 ΔΟΥ-ΕΣΙ.

⁴² This arrangement has won acceptance amongst those who work on Nilo-Saharan linguistics: see especially Werner 1987.142-143 and 1993.48 as well as Bechhaus-Gerst 1996.119 and 232-234.

⁴³ 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 more suitable term for the bivalent O.N. form and is to be preferred to 'infinitive' in Browne 1982b and 1987a. Hintze (in Browne 1989a.vii) objects to my bringing together under the heading 'verbid' the two categories of infinitive and participle. He formally segregates the two and believes that the infinitive ends in -ε and the participle in -ια (present) and -οι (preterite). But—as I show in Browne 1991b.288-289—the form in -ε is simply a reduction of -ΕΛ-ΙΑ: cf. e.g. IN II 13 ii 8-9 ΔΙΜΗΓΟΥΝΑ ΔΟΥΕΡΠΙ ΕΙΔΙΘΩΑ ΕΗ-ΕΛ-ΚΑ '(how true it is) that the habitation of all ... is with you' (for the syntax see 4.7.1.3a) and 4 i 25-26 ΜΑΡΙΑΝΑ ΕΟΓΛΔ ΠΑΔΑ ΔΟΡ-Ε-ΚΑ '(seeing) that Mary was going forth from the house' (see 4.7.1.2a): here the parallel syntax shows clearly that ΔΟΡ-Ε-ΚΑ is simply a reduction of ΔΟΡ-ΕΛ-ΚΑ (i.e. ΔΟΡ-ΕΛ-ΚΑ > ΔΟΡ-ΕΚ-ΚΑ 2.3.1 > ΔΟΡ-Ε-ΚΑ 2.7). Note also IN I 11 i 13 ΕΟΠΙΔΛ '(whose lot it would be) to stand ...' (see Browne 1996c.132) and III 48.3-4 ΔΡΡΠ-ΗΟΥΗΝΑ (= ΔΡΡΠ-ΗΟΥΗΝΑ) '(why) are you reluctant to approach ...?' (see Browne 1996f.129-130). Although she agrees with my argument, Bechhaus-Gerst (1996.233) still prefers to use the traditional term participle. If 'participle' is to be preferred, it must—within the confines of O.N.—be understood to include both verbal substantive and verbal adjective: see especially 4.6a N.B.

⁴⁴ In the 1st pers. sg. (ΔΟΛΛΙΡΙ + Δ > ΔΟΛΛΙΡΕ), the phonology, though strange, may be supported: see Browne 1996f.129.

ends w/ λ: verbid

ends w/ ρ: predicative

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	Verbid	Predicative	Subjunctive	Indicative	
Present	ΔΟΛΛΙΑ	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑ	Sg.1	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΙ	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΕ
			2/3	ΔΟΛΛΙΗ	ΔΟΛΛΙΗΝΑ ⁴⁵
			Pl.1/2	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΟΥ	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΟ
			3	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑΗ ⁴⁶	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑΝΑ
Preterite I	ΔΟΛΛΟΛ	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΑ	Sg.1	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΙ	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΕ
			2/3	ΔΟΛΛΟΗ	ΔΟΛΛΟΗΝΑ ⁴⁷
			Pl.1/2	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΟΥ	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΟ
			3	ΔΟΛΛΟΥΑΗ ⁴⁸	ΔΟΛΛΟΥΑΝΑ
Preterite II	ΔΟΛΛΙCΙΑ	(ΔΟΛΛΙCΙΡΑ) (ΔΟΛΛΙCΑ) ⁴⁹	Sg.1	ΔΟΛΛΙCΙ	ΔΟΛΛΙCΕ
			2/3	ΔΟΛΛΙCΙΗ	ΔΟΛΛΙCΙΗΝΑ ⁵⁰
			Pl.1/2	ΔΟΛΛΙCΟΥ	ΔΟΛΛΙCΟ
			3	ΔΟΛΛΙCΑΗ ⁵¹	ΔΟΛΛΙCΑΝΑ
Future ⁵²	ΔΟΛΛΑΔΙΑ	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΡΑ ⁵³	Sg.1	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΡΙ	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΡΕ
			2/3	ΔΟΛΛΑΗ	ΔΟΛΛΑΗΝΑ ⁵⁴
			Pl.1/2	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΡΟΥ	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΡΟ
			3	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΡΑΗ ⁵⁵	ΔΟΛΛΑΡΡΑΝΑ
Imperative ⁵⁶	Sg.1	---	Vetitive	Sg.2/3	ΔΟΛΛΑΤΑΗΗ(CΩ)
	2/3	ΔΟΛΛΕ(CΩ)	Pl.2	ΔΟΛΛΑΤΑΗΚΕ(CΩ)	
	Pl.1	ΔΟΛΛΑΗCΩ	Adjunctive	ΔΟΛΛΑ	
	2/3	ΔΟΛΛΑΗΝΑ(CΩ)			

⁴⁵ Or ΔΟΛΛΕΗΝΑ.⁴⁶ ε may replace ι in the verbid, predicative and subjunctive: ΔΟΛΛΕΛ, ΔΟΛΛΕΡΑ, ΔΟΛΛΕΡΙ etc.⁴⁷ λ may replace ο² in ΔΟΛΛΟΛ (ΔΟΛΛΑΛ) and ΔΟΛΛΟΗ (ΔΟΛΛΑΗ); cf. below, fn. 58.⁴⁸ See 2.5.5 and 2.5.6a.⁴⁹ The form ΔΟΛΛΙCΙΡΑ is not attested (pace SC 7.19, for which see Browne 1996a.23); its reduction to ΔΟΛΛΙCΑ 2.5.6a is found only in attributive constructions (cf. 4.6).⁵⁰ Also written ΔΟΛΛΙCΙΗ 1.3.2.⁵¹ ε may replace ι in the verbid and subjunctive: ΔΟΛΛΕCΙΑ, ΔΟΛΛΕCΙ etc.⁵² Herewith the future with the allomorph -Δ- 3.9.7b; the verb is κίρ- 'to come':

	Verbid	Predicative	Subjunctive	Indicative	
	ΚΙΔΔΙΑ	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΑ	Sg.1	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΙ	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΕ
			2/3	ΚΙΔΔΙΗ	ΚΙΔΔΙΗΝΑ
			Pl.1/2	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΟΥ	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΟ
			3	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΑΗ	ΚΙΔΔΙΡΑΝΑ

(N.B. ε may replace ι in the verbid and subjunctive: ΚΙΔΔΕΛ, ΚΙΔΔΕΡΙ etc.; also with the indicative ΚΙΔΔΙΗΝΑ: ΚΙΔΔΕΗΝΑ; the indicative pl. 3 is realized as ΚΙΔΔΙΗΝΑ 2.5.3.)

⁵³ Also ΔΟΛΛΑΔΕΛ, ΔΟΛΛΑΡΙΑ (verbid), ΔΟΛΛΑΔΙΡΑ (predicative).⁵⁴ Also ΔΟΛΛΑΔΕΗΝΑ.⁵⁵ Also ΔΟΛΛΑΔΕΡΙ, ΔΟΛΛΑΔΕΗ, ΔΟΛΛΑΔΕΡΟΥ, ΔΟΛΛΑΔΕΡΑΗ (and with -ι- for -ε-).⁵⁶ For additional formations see 3.9.17.

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There is also a rare future preterite: see 4.7.3c and 4.7.6. For the special conjugation of the so-called affirmative, see 3.9.10, and for the various periphrastics, see 3.9.11.

3.9.6.1 As stated in 3.9.6, a) the subjunctive can be derived from the verbid through the addition of personal endings, and b) the indicative from the subjunctive through fusion with predicative -α. Since the paradigm presented above is based on these mechanisms, it is convenient to present them here in detail:

a) Derivation of subjunctive from verbid (based on Browne 1982b.13 §5 and 1988a.9-10):

Present -εΛ, -ΙΑ	+ -ι Sg.1	> -(ι)ΡΙ, -ΕΡΙ 2.6
	+ -η 2/3	> *-ΙΑΗ > -(ι)Η 2.5.6a; *-ΕΡΗ > -ΕΗ
	+ -ΟΥ Pl.1/2	> -(ι)ΡΟΥ, -ΕΡΟΥ
Preterite I -ΟΛ	+ -ΑΗ 3	> -(ι)ΡΑΗ, -ΕΡΑΗ
	+ -ι Sg.1	> -ΑΡΙ 2.6
	+ -η 2/3	> *-ΟΛΗ > ΟΗ 2.5.6a
Preterite II -CΙΑ	+ -ΟΥ Pl.1/2	> -ΑΡΟΥ
	+ -ΑΗ 3	> *-ΟΛΑΗ > -ΟΥΑΗ 2.5.5
	+ -ι Sg.1	> *-CΙΡΙ 2.6 > -CΙ 2.5.6a
Future -ΔΔΙΑ/-ΑΡΙΑ;	+ -η 2/3	> *-CΙΡΗ > -CΙΗ
	+ -ΟΥ Pl.1/2	> *-CΙΡΟΥ > -CΟΥ
	+ -ΑΗ 3	> *-CΙΡΑΗ > -CΑΗ
-ΔΔΕΛ [ftn. 53 and 55]	+ -ι Sg.1	> *-ΑΡΙ 2.6 > -ΑΡΙ (-ι is unstable); -ΔΔΕΡΙ
	+ -η 2/3	> *-ΑΡΙΗ > *-ΑΡΗ > ΑΗ 2.5.6a; -ΔΔΕΗ
	+ -ΟΥ Pl.1/2	> *-ΑΡΙΡΟΥ > -ΑΡΡΟΥ; -ΔΔΕΡΟΥ
-ΔΙΑ/-ΔΕΛ	+ -ΑΗ 3	> *-ΑΡΙΡΑΗ > -ΑΡΡΑΗ; -ΔΔΕΡΑΗ
	+ -ι Sg.1	> -ΔΙΡΙ, -ΔΕΡΙ
	+ -η 2/3	> *-ΔΙΑΗ > -ΔΙΗ 2.5.6a
Future -ΔΔΙΑ/-ΑΡΙΑ;	+ -ΟΥ Pl.1/2	> -ΔΙΡΟΥ, -ΔΕΡΟΥ
	+ -ΑΗ 3	> -ΔΙΡΑΗ, -ΔΕΡΑΗ

b) Derivation of indicative from ^{subjunctive} verbid (based on Vycichl 1958.173-174; cf. Browne 1981c.61 and 1982b.21 §§22-23):

	Subjunctive	Indicative
Sg. 1	-ι	+ -α > -ε
	-η	+ -α > -ηα
Pl. 1/2	-ΟΥ	+ -α > -ο
	-ΑΗ	+ -α > -ΑΝΑ

N.B. For the mechanism in Sg.1 (-ι + -α > -ε), cf. IN III 36 i 14, where CΕΥΕΙCΕ ΗΨΩΑΗ- 'all that I inherited' is to be analyzed as CΕΥΕΙCΙ- [subjunctive] + -α ΗΨΩΑΗ- 3.6.4c: see Browne 1996f.129.

3.9.6.2 The paradigm presented in 3.9.6 is an idealized schematization based on the O.N. corpus and is meant to be merely illustrative. The verb $\Delta\text{O}\Lambda\text{-}$ does not display the full panoply set forth above, and I have restored by analogy the forms that are not attested. To supplement the paradigm, I here offer a representative selection of O.N. verbs for each of the endings in 3.9.6. Note that for all of the verbids, the terminal $-\lambda$ is unstable 2.5.6a, 3.9.8; only the forms with $-\lambda$ are here represented.

Present

Verbid ($-(\text{I})\lambda$, $-\epsilon\lambda$): M. 12.9 $\bar{\Delta}\kappa-\lambda$, L. 104.6 $\Delta\gamma\lambda-\epsilon\lambda$, 103.3 $\Delta\lambda-\lambda$, 115.11 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma-\lambda$, IN II 24.2 $\text{H}\alpha\text{C}-\epsilon\lambda$, St. 20.3 $\text{O}\Delta\Delta-\lambda$ (but SC 16.14 $\text{O}\Delta\Delta-\epsilon\lambda$), SC 25.13-14 $\text{O}\gamma\lambda\Gamma-\epsilon\lambda$, K. 26.2-3 $\text{O}\gamma\lambda\lambda-\lambda$, IN I 4 i 13 $\text{P}\bar{\text{C}}\text{T}\epsilon\gamma-\lambda$ (but I 1 $\text{P}\bar{\text{C}}\text{T}\epsilon\gamma-\epsilon\lambda$), M. 4.5 $\text{E}\text{O}\text{H}\delta-\lambda$ (but SC 3.18 $\text{E}\text{O}\delta-\epsilon\lambda$)

Predicative ($-(\text{I})\rho\alpha$, $-\epsilon\rho\alpha$; $-\rho$ may vanish 2.5.6a; here only the full forms are represented): SC 14.16-17 $\bar{\Delta}\text{H}\bar{\text{C}}\text{T}\bar{\rho}-\rho\alpha$, 9.15 $\Delta\text{H}\text{K}\text{I}\text{T}\Delta\text{K}-\rho\alpha$ (but IN II 15 ii 6 $\epsilon\text{I}\Delta\text{X}\text{O}\text{I}\text{T}\Delta\text{K}-\epsilon\rho\alpha$), M. 12.4 $\bar{\Delta}\text{X}\rho-\rho\alpha$ (cf. IN I 4 i 12 $\bar{\Delta}\text{X}\rho-\rho\alpha$), IN II 17 ii 9 $\Delta\lambda-\rho\alpha$ (i.e. $\Delta\lambda\rho-\rho\alpha$ 2.7), 14 i 15 $\Delta\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\rho\alpha$, SC 15.1 $\epsilon\text{C}\text{K}\text{I}\delta\rho-\epsilon\rho\alpha$, K. 32.8-10 $\text{K}\alpha\text{H}-\text{H}\alpha$ (i.e. $\text{K}\alpha\text{H}-\rho\alpha$ 2.3.2), IN II 16 iii 11 $\text{M}\text{O}\gamma\text{K}\text{K}-\rho\alpha$, K. 30.16 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\rho\alpha$, IN III 36 i 16 $\text{T}\epsilon\rho-\rho\alpha$ (i.e. $\text{T}\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha$)

Subjunctive Sg. 1 ($-(\text{I})\rho\text{I}$, $-\epsilon\rho\text{I}$): IN II 21 i 19 $\bar{\Delta}\kappa-\rho\text{I}$, 18 vi 4-5 $\bar{\epsilon}\text{H}-\rho\text{I}$, St. 13.11 $\text{P}\alpha\delta-\rho\text{I}$, SC 8.18 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\rho\text{I}$, IN I 7 i 6 $\text{T}\epsilon\rho-\rho\text{I}$ (i.e. $\text{T}\epsilon\rho\rho\text{I}$ 2.7), III 53.2-3 $\text{T}\text{O}\rho-\rho\text{I}$

2/3 ($-(\text{I})\text{H}$, $-\epsilon\text{H}$): St. 3.1 $\bar{\Delta}\kappa-\bar{\text{H}}$, IN II 18 vi 13 $\Delta\lambda\rho-\epsilon\text{H}$ (but III 36 i 16 $\Delta\lambda\rho-\bar{\text{H}}$), SC 19.23 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma-\text{H}$ (but WN 11 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma-\epsilon\text{H}$), K. 24.6-7 $\bar{\epsilon}\text{H}-\epsilon\text{H}$ (but M. 10.1 et passim $\epsilon\text{I}\text{H}-\bar{\text{H}}$), IN III 39.14 $\text{K}\text{O}-\text{H}$ (but I 1 ii 5 $\delta\omega-\epsilon\text{H}$), K. 30.12 $\text{O}\Lambda\Lambda-\epsilon\text{H}$, SC 14.3 $\text{O}\gamma\lambda\Gamma\rho-\epsilon\text{H}$, L. 100.3 $\text{O}\gamma\text{H}\text{H}-\text{H}$, SC 12.9 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\epsilon\text{H}$ (but 17.21-22 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\bar{\text{H}}$), St. 3.5 $\text{E}\text{O}\text{H}\delta-\text{H}$

Pl. 1/2 ($-(\text{I})\rho\text{O}\gamma$, $-\epsilon\rho\text{O}\gamma$): SC 11.15 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma-\bar{\epsilon}\rho\text{O}\gamma$, St. 5.5-6 $\bar{\epsilon}\rho\text{I}\Delta-\rho\text{O}\gamma$, IN I 7 ii 6 $-\epsilon\text{H}-\epsilon\rho\text{O}\gamma$, FE ii 1 $\epsilon\delta\delta\bar{\rho}-\rho\text{O}\gamma$, IN II 23.10 $\text{O}\gamma\lambda\Gamma-\epsilon\rho\text{O}\gamma$

3 ($-(\text{I})\rho\alpha\text{H}$, $-\epsilon\rho\alpha\text{H}$): L. 103.5 $\Delta\gamma\text{T}\alpha\text{K}-\epsilon\rho\alpha\text{H}$ (but SC 8.7 $\text{T}\text{O}\gamma\text{K}-\rho\alpha\text{H}$), IN III 30.16 $\Delta\lambda-\rho\alpha\text{H}$ (i.e. $\Delta\lambda\rho-\rho\alpha\text{H}$ 2.7), II 13 ii 5 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma\lambda-\lambda\alpha\text{H}$ (i.e. $\Delta\text{O}\gamma\lambda-\rho\alpha\text{H}$ 2.3.2), K. 28.11 $\epsilon\text{K}\epsilon\text{I}\rho-\epsilon\rho\alpha\text{H}$, L. 107.15-16 $\bar{\epsilon}\text{H}-\epsilon\rho\alpha\text{H}$ (but SC 4.16 $-\epsilon\bar{\text{H}}-\text{H}\alpha\text{H} = -\epsilon\bar{\text{H}}-\rho\alpha\text{H}$ 2.3.2), K. 20.17 $\text{K}\epsilon\text{H}\delta-\rho\alpha\text{H}$, Dong. 2 ii 5 $\text{K}\epsilon\text{T}\text{C}-\rho\alpha\text{H}$, K. 28.7 $\text{K}\epsilon\text{I}\rho-\rho\alpha\text{H}$, IN III 30.16 $\text{O}\Gamma-\rho\alpha\text{H}$, M. 2.13 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\rho\alpha\text{H}$ (but IN I 9 ii 17 $\text{E}\text{C}\text{C}-\epsilon\rho\alpha\text{H}$), SC 8.13 $\text{P}\text{I}-\rho\alpha\text{H}$, IN I 8 i 16 $\text{E}\text{O}\delta-\epsilon\rho\alpha\text{H}$ (but II 16 v 10 $\text{E}\text{O}\delta\delta-\epsilon\text{I}\rho\alpha\text{H}$)

Indicative Sg. 1 ($-(\text{I})\rho\epsilon$): IN III 55 i 4 $\bar{\Delta}\kappa-\rho\epsilon$, I 10 C ii 2 $\Delta\text{H}\Gamma-\rho\epsilon$, III 33.10 $\Gamma\epsilon-\rho\epsilon$ (i.e. $\Gamma\epsilon\rho\rho\epsilon$ 2.7; cf. 42.5 $\text{T}\epsilon-\rho\epsilon$), SC 3.5 $\Delta\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}-\rho\epsilon$, IN I 4 i 10 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{H}}-\text{H}\epsilon$ (i.e. $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{H}}-\rho\epsilon$ 2.3.2), IN A i 1 $\bar{\text{C}}\text{K}\epsilon\lambda-\lambda\epsilon$ (i.e. $\bar{\text{C}}\text{K}\epsilon\lambda-\rho\epsilon$), SC 2.13 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\rho\epsilon$, L. 101.14 $\text{P}\text{I}\text{C}\text{C}-\rho\epsilon$

2/3 ($-(\text{I})\text{H}\alpha$, $-\epsilon\text{H}\alpha$): K. 33.6 et passim $\epsilon\text{I}\text{H}-\text{H}\alpha$, SC 9.3 $\epsilon\text{I}\rho-\epsilon\text{H}\alpha$, IN III 57 i 7 $\text{K}\text{O}-\text{H}\alpha$, II 28.8 $\text{H}\alpha\text{C}-\epsilon\text{H}\alpha$ (but SC 21.10 $\text{H}\alpha\text{C}\text{I}-\text{H}\alpha$), III 47 i 6 $\text{M}\text{O}\gamma\text{H}-\text{H}\alpha$ (but 55 ii 2 $\text{M}\text{O}\text{H}-\text{H}\alpha$), I 2 ii 27 $\bar{\text{O}}\text{H}-\epsilon\text{H}\alpha$ (but K. 22.3-4 $\text{O}\gamma\text{H}-\text{H}\alpha$), L. 113.5 $\text{P}\text{I}-\text{H}\alpha$

Pl. 1/2 ($-(\text{I})\rho\text{O}$): SC 11.17 $\Delta\Lambda\text{I}\text{T}\alpha\text{K}-\rho\text{O}$, 12.8 $\text{K}\text{O}\text{H}-\text{H}\text{O}$ (i.e. $\text{K}\text{O}\text{H}-\rho\text{O}$ 2.3.2), IN I 5 ii 1 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\rho\omega$

3 ($-(\text{I})\rho\alpha\text{H}\alpha$): L. 108.2 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma\lambda-\lambda\alpha\text{H}\alpha$ (i.e. $\Delta\text{O}\gamma\lambda-\rho\alpha\text{H}\alpha$ 2.3.2), K. 19.1 et passim $\epsilon\text{I}\text{H}-\text{H}\alpha\text{H}\alpha$ (i.e. $\epsilon\text{I}\text{H}-\rho\alpha\text{H}\alpha$), Dong. I i 9, ii 10 $-\text{K}\epsilon-\rho\text{H}\alpha$ (i.e. $-\text{K}\epsilon-\rho\alpha\text{H}\alpha$ 2.5.3)

Preterite I

Verbid ($-(\text{O})\lambda$ [N.B. Sporadically—under influence of the phonology described in 2.6— o is replaced by λ (cf. also 2.1.2.2): see IN I 1 ii 13 and II 16 v 7-8 cited below⁵⁷; here also belong the adverbial formations described in 3.12b]): IN I 9 ii 20 $\bar{\Delta}\kappa-\text{O}\lambda$, K. 29.11 $\Delta\gamma-\text{O}\lambda$, IN I 4 ii 15 $-\Gamma\alpha\rho-\text{O}\lambda$, Sale 10 $\Gamma\bar{\text{P}}\text{I}-\text{O}\lambda$, K. 29.2 $\Delta\epsilon\text{I}-\text{O}\lambda$, IN I 1 ii 13 $\epsilon\text{I}\Gamma-\lambda\lambda$, 5 ii 10-11 $\epsilon\text{I}\Gamma\rho-\text{O}\lambda$, 4 i 17 $\text{K}\rho-\text{O}\lambda$ (but 5 i 26 $\text{K}\text{I}-\text{O}\lambda$), St. 27.10 $\text{O}\Lambda\Lambda-\text{O}\lambda$, 12.6-7 $\text{P}\text{I}\text{C}\text{T}\epsilon\gamma-\text{O}\lambda$, IN II 16 v 7-8 $\text{T}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\text{C}-\lambda\lambda$

Predicative ($-\alpha\rho\alpha$ 2.6, $-\rho\alpha$ after a stem ending in a single $-\rho$ 2.5.3): K. 27.10-11 $\Delta\text{H}\Delta\Delta\epsilon\text{I}\delta-\alpha\rho\alpha$, SC 18.13 $-\Gamma\alpha\rho-\rho\alpha$, M. 1.7 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma-\bar{\Delta}\rho\alpha$, SC 22.13 $\bar{\epsilon}\text{T}\text{O}\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}-\rho\alpha$, 18.7 $\text{K}\alpha\rho\text{C}-\alpha\rho\alpha$, L. 106.11 $\text{K}\bar{\rho}-\rho\alpha$, M. 11.7 $\text{O}\gamma\text{H}\text{H}-\alpha\rho\alpha$, IN I 9 ii 22-23 $\text{P}\text{I}-\bar{\Delta}\rho\alpha$, i 21-22 $\text{C}\alpha\text{H}\alpha\rho\rho-\alpha\rho\alpha$ (stem ends in $-\rho\rho$ [if the second ρ is securely read], with no loss of λ), M. 10.6 $\text{E}\text{O}\text{H}\delta-\alpha\rho\alpha$

Subjunctive Sg. 1 ($-\alpha\rho\text{I}$): no example; the form is modelled on $-\alpha\rho\text{O}\gamma$ (pl. 1/2).

2/3 ($-\text{O}\text{H}$ ⁵⁸): M. 3.10 $\Delta\gamma\text{T}\alpha\text{K}-\text{O}\text{H}$, IN III 41.3-4 $\Delta\text{O}\gamma\text{H}\text{H}-\text{O}\text{H}$, 35.23 $\text{K}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma-\text{O}\text{H}$, II 21 i 20 $\text{K}\epsilon\text{H}-\text{O}\text{H}$, FE i 6 $\text{O}\lambda-\text{O}\text{H}$, Dong. I i 16 $\text{O}\gamma\text{C}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\rho}-\omega\text{H}$, K. 27.10 $\text{T}\text{O}\rho-\text{O}\text{H}$

Pl. 1/2 ($-\alpha\rho\text{O}\gamma$ 2.6): St. 3.7-8 $\text{T}\bar{\text{H}}\text{H}-\alpha\rho\text{O}\gamma$ (the only example)

3 ($-\text{O}\gamma\alpha\text{H}$ 2.5.5): IN II 21 i 26 $\text{K}\epsilon\text{H}-\text{O}\gamma\alpha\text{H}$, 28-29 $\text{K}\bar{\Delta}\Delta-\text{O}\gamma\alpha\text{H}$, I 4 ii 25 $\bar{\text{O}}\text{C}-\text{O}\gamma\alpha\text{H}$, M. 7.16 $\delta\text{O}\rho-\text{O}\gamma\alpha\text{H}$

Indicative Sg. 1 ($-\alpha\rho\epsilon$): no example; the form is modelled on $-\alpha\rho\text{O}\gamma$ (subjunctive, pl. 1/2).

2/3 ($-\text{O}\text{H}\alpha$, $-\lambda\alpha\text{H}\alpha$): IN I 4 i 1 $\bar{\Delta}\kappa-\text{O}\text{H}\alpha$, SC 3.14 $\Delta\text{H}\text{K}-\lambda\alpha\text{H}\alpha$, 19.11 $\Delta\gamma-\text{O}\text{H}\alpha$, IN I 7 i 10 $-\Delta\text{C}-\lambda\alpha\text{H}\alpha$, SC 12.17 $-\Gamma\rho-\text{O}\text{H}\alpha$, 13.18 $\Delta\epsilon\text{H}\delta-\text{O}\text{H}\alpha$, M. 1.12-2.1 et passim $\bar{\epsilon}\text{H}-\text{O}\text{H}\alpha$, IN I 7 i 2 $\text{K}\rho-\bar{\text{O}}\text{H}\alpha$, 7 $\text{H}\alpha\text{C}\alpha\text{H}\alpha$, II 12 i 16 $\text{T}\alpha\text{H}\alpha\lambda-\lambda\alpha\text{H}\alpha$

Pl. 1-2 ($-\alpha\rho\text{O}$): no example; the form is modelled on $-\alpha\rho\text{O}\gamma$ (subjunctive, pl. 1/2).

3 ($-\text{O}\gamma\bar{\Delta}\text{H}\alpha$): IN I 7 i 5 $\epsilon\text{I}\bar{\Delta}\rho-\text{O}\gamma\bar{\Delta}\text{H}\alpha$ - 3.9.17 (the only example).

Preterite II

Verbid ($-(\text{I})\text{C}\text{I}\lambda$, $-\epsilon\text{C}\text{I}\lambda$): IN III 50.2 $\Delta\Delta\text{C}-\text{C}\bar{\lambda}$, SE A i 12 $\Delta\text{O}\Lambda\Lambda-\text{I}\text{C}\bar{\lambda}$, IN III 30.29 $\epsilon\text{I}\text{T}\bar{\text{O}}-\text{C}\bar{\lambda}$, M. 12.3 $\text{K}\bar{\text{H}}-\text{C}\bar{\lambda}$, WN 15-16 $\text{O}\gamma\text{H}\text{H}\text{I}\text{T}\alpha\text{K}-\epsilon\text{C}\text{I}\lambda$ (but SC 19.14 $\epsilon\text{C}\text{K}\text{I}\text{T}\alpha\text{K}-\text{C}\bar{\text{R}}-\text{K}\alpha$ [i.e. $-\text{T}\alpha\text{K}-\text{C}\bar{\lambda}-\text{K}\alpha$]), IN II 21 i 6 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\text{C}\bar{\lambda}$

Predicative ($-(\text{I})\text{C}\text{I}\rho\alpha$ [above, n. 49], reduced to $-(\text{I})\text{C}\alpha$ 2.5.6a): M. 1.3 $\Delta\gamma-\text{C}\alpha$, St. 2.1 $-\Gamma\alpha\rho-\text{I}\text{C}\alpha$, IN III 31.15 $\text{P}\alpha\epsilon\text{I}-\text{C}\alpha$, St. 1.10-11 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}-\text{C}\alpha$, 29.11-12 $\text{T}\alpha\rho\text{O}\gamma\Delta\text{C}-\text{C}\alpha$

⁵⁷ Possibly also SE A i 9 $\Gamma\bar{\text{T}}\text{T}\alpha\lambda$ (so Browne 1982b.12 §4c), but see now Browne 1996a.31.

⁵⁸ The variant $-\lambda\text{H}$ (comparable to $-\lambda\text{H}\alpha$ in the indicative—see below) is not attested, except perhaps as an ossified relic in $\Delta\epsilon\text{K}\text{K}\text{H}\alpha$ 'secretly' and $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\Gamma\alpha\text{H}$ 'fearful', where it appears to be attached to a verb; $-\lambda\text{H}$ also generates adverbs with no obvious verbal base 3.12a.

Subjunctive Sg. 1 (-()ci, -eci): IN III 48.6 ааc-сi-, M. 11.8-9 ау-ēci-, IN III 49 i 2 доукк-сi-, SC 6.22 еіт-eci-, IN II 24.10 еіт-сi-, SC 8.16 пec-eci- (but gr. 4.6 пec-сi-), L. 107.9 тiδδ-eci- (but 108.15 тiδδ-сi-)

2/3 (-()cin, -ecin): SC 12.5 ау-ecn-, 17.20 ауδ-ecn- (but WN 12-13 ауeiδ-icn-), IN I 11 i 2 [г]ортак-ecn- (but SC 14.6 -eррит[а]к-сн-), SC 23.17 дap-ecn-, 21.17-18 лa-ecn-, IN I 10 C i 2 eñ-ecn- (but 4 i 20 -en-сн-), M. 10.9 кi-ecn- (but IN II 25.5 кa-сн-), SC 23.19 кп-сн-, M. 14.16 пec-ecn- (but IN II 16 i 1-2 пec-сн-)

Pl. 1/2 (-()coy, -ecoy): IN I 7 ii 2 eрритак-сoy-, St. 6.1 eгiа-icoy, IN I 5 ii 30 eтδ-icoy-, SC 21.3, 13 кap-ecoy-, IN I 5 ii 30 коуллиδ-сoy-, 7 ii 18 -н-сoy, SC 2.14-15 оулагс-сoy-, IN III 34 i 28 т-сoy

3 (-()can, -ecan): St. 8.9 ауeiδ-сan-, IN II 14 i 1 да-сan, St. 9.8 л-сan-, L. 111.5-6 доу-ecan, IN I 7 ii 15 ei-сan-, II 25.2-3 нeд-сan-, III 44.11 н-сan-, St. 8.12 оалip-ecan-, IN II 20 ii 14 оуни-сan-, 15 i 14 паδ-ecan- (but St. 9.1-2 пeciδ-ican-)

Indicative Sg. 1 (-()ce): IN III 55 i 2 аут-ice, SE A i 13 -гac-се-, L. 106.8 еск-ice-, IN I 8 i 14-15 ein-ice, St. 6.3 et passim -н-се-, IN I 10 C ii 5 пec-ice, L. 107.4 et passim тiδδ-ice, IN I 1 i 10 тоук-се, M. 12.12 доу-се (but IN II 21 i 30-31 доуc-се)

2/3 (-()c(())na): SC 13.5 аk-icna, M. 13.1-2 гaлa-icna, SC 12.17-18 -гар-icna, M. 8.5 гп-т-сna (but 9.10-11 eт-т-сna), IN I 11 ii 9 гоутак-сna (but K. 22.14 партак-icna), St. 3.10-11 дeнδ-icnā, SC 13.1 дi-сna, M. 8.14 eic-сna- (but IN I 4 i 15 et passim eñ-сnā), IN II 16 ii 1 коуиδ-icna, M. 10.15 eл-сna (but IN I 6 ii 6 eлa-icnā)

Pl. 1/2 (-()co): IN II 21 i 27 доуc-сo, 24.6 eδδ-ico-, St. 17.4 i-сw, L. 113.7 кac-сo-, IN I 11 ii 6 оуаа-ico

3 (-()cana): IN I 10 C i 5 -гр-icana (see Browne 1994c.96; but III 53.6 г-сana-), M. 16.3-4, 7-8 доуxp-icana, IN II 14 i 17-18 eл-сana-, SC 22.17 eрeрpиδ-сana, M. 2.7 eic-сana, SC 23.24 eт-сana, M. 9.14 et passim кi-сana, IN I 5 i 12 ноуа-icana (but II 21 i 14 ноуc-сana), M. 10.11 т-icana, IN I 8 ii 15-16 доуктак-icana (but 17, 18 -так-сana)

Future

Verb id (-aai, -aael, -aria⁵⁹; -dia, -deai): IN II 18 ii 3 [ау]-ādeai, K. 33.14-15 -гад-aeai, IN I 10 A ii 18 доуа-aeai (i.e. -aeai-n, but II 16 vi 3 доуа-āp [i.e. -dia-n]), L. 114.2 [e]ya-dia, IN II 18 i 5-6 econггiδ-aal, Dong. 1 ii 13 eт-aal (but IN I 10 A i 19 eт-apā-), IN I 1 i 8 -nen-aeai (but WN 8 -nen-ā-), III 30.30 eагг-aal- (but 35.17 eагг-apā-)

Predicative (-appa, -ad(())pa; -ad(())pa, -ppa): L. 100.2, 6 -(a)е-appa-, IN II 12 ii 21 eik-appa- (see Browne 1995a.454), WN 7 кa-apa, IN I 2 ii 29 -nen-apa-, M. 13.9 оуни-appa-, K. 28.1 пacк-appa-, IN I 9 i 20 ce-ppa, II 12 ii 8 coy-appa-

⁵⁹ The -p- may be doubled, if L. 101.12 eуapтa[к-arp]ā- is correctly restored: cf. M. 6.2 ау-arpnā and 5-6 -доук-arpā-ae with my note ad loc. (Browne 1994b.35). See also below, 3.9.9 ftn. 65.

Subjunctive Sg. 1 (-ap(p)i, -aepi; allomorph in -a- not attested: for its reconstruction, -a(())pi-, -aepi, see above, ftn. 52): IN III 56 ii 2 нaа-ari-, St. 11.5-6 пeψ-aeepi-, SC 5.17 тiδδ-арpi-

2/3 (-an [not attested; the form is modelled on -anna, indicative, sg. 2/3], -aaen; -ain, -aen): St. 7.1 -гaаδ-aen-, M. 4.15 δw-āp, IN I 4 i 8-9 ei-aen-

Pl. 1/2 (-ap(p)oy, -aepoy; -aepoy): St. 28.11 eлδ-aepoy-, 29.9-10 оуагоуа-aeepoy-, IN I 11 i 5-6 пeψпкiδ-арoy-

3 (-aeran [the only form attested; by analogy we could generate -arpan, -adipan; -aipan, -aeran]): IN II 18 v 2-3 -гaδδ-aeran-

Indicative Sg. 1 (-appe; -a(())pe [cf. also ftn. 59]): M. 11.12 ау-appe, IN III 52.7 eт-appe-, St. 10.4-5 кa-ape, 6.5 et passim -nen-ape-, SC 1.7 oкиδ-appe, IN II 16 iii 11-12 пaл-aeipe-, K. 32.5 пacк-appe, IN III 42.7 пeу-appe, SC 1.7 пec-appe, gr. 4.6 тe-ape-

2/3 (-anna, -aaena; -a(())na, -aena [cf. ftn. 59]): St. 11.12 apoyoua-annā, SC 23.3 доуа-ana, K. 21.13-14 eт-anna, IN I 9 ii 1 eñ-annā, St. 7.9 кa-annā, SC 23.7-8 кпп-anna, 2 оуни-anna, IN III 47 i 8 пaд-anna-, 55 ii 2 тод-aena, L. 103.4 eok-aena

Pl. 1/2 (-arpo; -a(())po): St. 28.6-7 eл-apō-, IN I 10 B i 10 eт-arpo-

3 (-arpana; -aipana, always collapsed to -āpna 2.5.3, which appears also as -āpna in St. 14.9-10 and SC 11.6: see 4.1.2 ftn. 95): St. 12.8 доу-āpna, K. 22.8-9 -nen-āpna-, L. 100.4 oк-arpana-

Imperative (for full documentation see Browne 1997.38-40; selection follows)

Sg. 1 --- (perhaps not part of the language)

2/3 (-e ± -caw 3.10): IN I 2 ii 16 гоуδa-ē-caw, M. 13.11 oк-e-caw, 6 пeлip-e-caw, 4.10 п-с-e-caw, 5.9 -доу-е-сw; 11.8 ауаoc-е, IN I 1 i 4 оуагp-ē, St. 33.7-8 tap-e

Pl. 1 (-an ± -caw): K. 24.3-4 доу-an-caw, 2 кон-an-caw, 30.2-3 tapoy-an-co; no instance without -caw

2/3 (-ana ± -caw): K. 33.5 eу-ana-co, St. 30.1 eт-ana-caw, 15.13-16.1 тδδ-ana-caw; for IN I 3 i 9 aeр-na-caw, St. 29.10 тanna-caw et sim., see 2.5.3; IN 9 i 5 eу-ana, II 26.5 ak-ana

Vetitive (for full documentation see Browne 1997.40; selection follows)

Sg. 2/3 (-tahn ± -caw): IN II 24.9 tot-tahn-co; M. 6.12 aet-taka-tahn

Pl. 2 (-tahnke ± -caw): gr. 4.4 toka-tahnke-co; IN II 26.6 oca-tahnke

3.9.7 Notes on tenses:

a) The difference between preterite I and preterite II appears to be aspectual in the indicative, where I tends to be either a descriptive imperfect or a resultative perfect, and II is regularly a punctiliar past: e.g. IN I 4 i 1 ἄκονα 'he was sitting' (ἐκαθέζετο), L. 111.6 πῆστακονα 'it is called' (λέγεται) and IN I 4 i 9 πῆσσινᾶ 'he said' (εἶπεν). At times, however, the distinction is blurred: e.g. in SC 12.17-18, where pret. I μελλᾶγρονα is followed by pret. II μελλᾶγρονα, both rendering ἤτοίμασεν. Similarly, in K. 22.14 παρτακισνα clearly means 'it is written', for which one would expect pret. I παρτακονα (as in IN III 30.1 et passim: Browne 1996a.145);⁶⁰ in SC 13.18, δῆνδονα, which is preceded and followed by preterites II, must mean 'he gave' (ἔδωκεν); in the text in Lajtar-van der Vliet 1998.51.25-26 μεσορεα ἴλο δαππονα, we should render 'on Mesore 13 she died'. Further instances of apparent interchange of the two preterites include L. 106.8, where εσκισε- renders νενίκηκα, and St. 2.9-10, where λυτακονα means 'it happened' (sim. IN II 16 v 3; cf. I 8 i 13 αγουτακισνα).

In the predicative, we find only pret. I (where -ρα appears instead of -δρα after a stem ending in a single -p: e.g. SC 22.6 τῆρα 2.5.3);⁶¹ it corresponds to a descriptive imperfect, resultative perfect or—as a replacement for pret. II—a punctiliar past: e.g. SC 17.22-23 λογᾶρα 'it was' (ἦν), L. 105.7 αἰλο --- ουνηναρα 'I have begotten' (ἐγώ ... γεγέννηκα) and SC 19.1 λγειδαρα 'he made' (ποίησας).

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 its clause is in the genitive 4.4; otherwise pret. I is used: cf. M. 12.2-3 εἰ τᾶννα κῆσᾶ 'this which he ate' 4.6a and 11.3-4 ουνηναρα 'Mary who gave birth' 4.6d.⁶² With the subjunctive, pret. I is adverbial (i.e. equivalent to a circumstantial/temporal clause 4.7.3c, without an immediately following postposition except for the connecting particle -ον 'and' and -λο as emphazier⁶³ 3.10), while pret. II is adnominal (i.e. attached directly to postpositions or equivalent to a relative clause) or nominal (i.e. equivalent to a substantive): e.g. M. 3.9-10 ογκογρ διελ' λυτακον-νον 'and when many a day had passed' 4.7.3c, 10.8-9 τρισᾶγιον κιῶσῆ-νοκονοῖον 'and when the Tris-hagion had come' 4.7.3b, L. 111.4-6 τᾶριᾶ --- λογῶσαν 'in which they were ...', and IN I 9 i 13-14 λικαρκικεσαν lit. 'the fact that they have fallen' 4.5.1b.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Consequently the resolution of παρ^T in L. 112.5 remains uncertain: either παρτ(ακονα) or παρτ(ακισνα).

⁶¹ In such cases only context determines whether we are dealing with pret. I or present: e.g. in Dong. I i 13 πικαεραγῆρα is pret. I, while in St. 21.6 ογᾶγῆραλο is present.

⁶² Note that the verbid of pret. I can correspond to an imperfect: e.g. SC 8.2, where ἀναδονκα (i.e. -δολ-κα) renders ἐσπούδαζε.

⁶³ But -λο as (temporal) postposition requires pret. II: cf. IN II 21 i 26 κηνογαν-νο 'when they deposited' (where -λο is the emphazier: therefore pret. I) with I 4 ii 6 ελλεσῆ-νο 'when he saw' (where -λο is the postposition in a temporal clause: therefore pret. II). Cf. 4.7.3c and fn. 104.

⁶⁴ When nominal, pret. II subjunctive may be followed by connective -ον: WN 17-18 φῶνοςᾶω τικεσιν-νον 'and the fact that he sat upon the throne' (i.e. his ascension to the throne); sim. SC 23.16-22, where -δε and -ον are used as balancing particles 3.10 with preceding pret. II, in each case nominalized: τογσεσῆ-δε --- τογσεσῆ-νον --- εσῆ-νον 'the fact that he cursed ... and the fact that he cursed ... and the fact that he said ...' (interpreting these instances of pret. II as nominal is preferable to what I set forth in Browne 1982b.20-21 §20). Pret. II subjunctive, if nominal, may also be followed by connective -κον: SC 14.6 εἰερωτ(α)ρκῆ-κον 'and if he suffered' (lit. 'and as to the fact that he suffered').

Note that both pret. I and pret. II at times translate a Greek present. In addition to L. 111.6 (cited above), where πῆστακονα 'it is called' renders λέγεται, O.N. occasionally uses 'situational' preterites, analogous to the 'situational' perfects of literary Arabic (Beeston 1968.49; cf. Reckendorf 1895.54-55): e.g. IN I 9 ii 17-18 τῆν εσειγουλλον τεκκα εριδονα 'and their deeds have followed [ἀκολουθεῖ] them' and 5-6 εσερεκον εινησεσῆλο 'and they have not rested' [καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν]. The preterite II subjunctive is also used situationally in IN I 7 ii 1-2 τερ ερωιταγογῶσῆ δεσκῆλο --- εἰ ουνηνα ερωιτακοογογῶ[γῆ] 'in the endurance of the very sufferings that we have suffered' [πάσχομεν]. Similarly we find a situational use of the verbid of both preterites in IN I 7 i 1 [εἰ]τῆ κῆσελα γοημα πεσσι (= πεσσια) εἰλα 'for a woman to speak [λαλεῖν] in church is disgraceful' and 8-9 τᾶρηλο πεσοκκον (= πεσοκ-κον) τῆδδαντανκε 'and do not hinder speaking [τὸ λαλεῖν] in tongue' (N.B. πεσσι(α) [pret. II] is employed because the subject of the verbid is in the genitive, and when the subject is not expressed, πεσοκ- [pret. I] appears). See further Browne 1987a. 317-319 and also below, 4.6a N.B.

b) The O.N. future tense has two allomorphs:

-λ- (once -p-: see IN I 9 i 20 cited below) after a vowel or single alveolar sonorant (2.2: n, λ and p, the latter two regularly assimilating to λ): e.g. M. 4.15 δω-λῆ (subjunctive, 2nd pers. sg.), IN I 9 i 20 εε-ρα (predicative; cf. 2.2.2), St. 6.5 -μεν-δρε- (indicative, 1st pers. sg. 1.3.2).

-λλ-/αρ- after a consonant or doubled alveolar sonorant (N.B. λγ, εγ and ογ [= /aw/, /ew/ and /ow/ 2.1 fn. 1, 2.1.3 fn. 3, 4] as well as ε and ο count as consonants): e.g. IN I 10 A i 19 ετ-αρᾶ- (verbid), M. 13.9 ουνη-αρρα- (predicative), 11.12 λγ-αρρε (indicative, 1st pers. sg.), IN III 42.7 πεγ-αρρε (ditto), I 1 ii 8 εου-αρρα (predicative), L. 100.2 δουητογῶ-αρρα (predicative), IN I 4 i 12 δω-λλῆμα (affirmative, 3rd pers. sg. 3.9.10).

N.B. Although n is usually treated as an alveolar sonorant and is therefore followed by -λ-, twice in the corpus it appears to have been regarded as similar to ε and ο and is therefore followed by -λλ-: IN II 12 i 2 δον-λλῆμα (affirmative, 3rd pers. sg.) and SC 23.4 εολ-κᾶν-αρρα (predicative).

c) With the negative verb -μεν-/μῆν- 3.9.5a, we frequently find the present when the preterite is expected: e.g. M. 2.1-2 κονηνηλλω 'she did not have', L. 108.10 δαππμῆνηλλω 'he did not perish' and SC 14.7-8 ερωιτακῆνηνηλλω 'he did not suffer'. In all of the examples now known, the emphasizing particle -λο 3.10 is attached to the verb; see also Browne 1987a.320. In such contexts, however, the present is not obligatory: e.g. L. 101.10-11 κορῆαῆμῶσελο 'I did not toil' and IN II 21 ii 9 εἰτηῶσελο 'I did not receive'. When the sentence with a negative verb in a past setting is interrogative, we find only pret. II: e.g. St. 6.3 δεκκῆρῆσελο 'I did not conceal, did I?' (for the interrogative cf. the Coptic: μῆ ἦταιῶσι λη) and SC 21.20 τεδ ἦμῶσελ 'did I not enjoin?' 1.2.2.

N.B. This is the only framework for the so-called 'historical present' in O.N. (Browne 1987a.320: 'the Greek historical present is always translated by a preterite'). Consequently, in SC 22.2 μῆονα we should probably emend to μῆονκονα 'what did he say?', even though the Greek has τί φησιν ...; (cf. Browne 1998a.11).

3.9.8 Reduced verbid. In the pret. II, -σια, the full form of the verbid, is clearly visible in SE A i 12 δολακῆ-κα and is but thinly disguised by assimilation in SC 19.14 εσκιτακῆ-κα, IN

III 34 ii 5 δανισκ-κα, 53.2 οσσκ-κα and KD 15 σετιοκ-κα (cf. also M. 8.11-12 δγορδς-κα 2.5.6a [see Browne 1994b ad loc.]); usually it is collapsed: e.g. L. 107.12 ειτρεις-κα, SC 9.20-21 -γαρεσι-κ(ενκω. Similarly, with the present tense we find the full form in IN I 11 i 13 εονηδλ (see Browne 1996c.132), assimilated in III 48.3-4 δρρπ-νοηηνα (see Browne 1996f.129-130), but usually reduced: e.g. SC 2.14 τιδδ-δε and 9.13 ειδρι (clause-final position). Further reductions include IN I 4 i 15 πες-κον ειπςνη (cf. ii 9-10 πεςι-κον ειπςνη and 9 ii 5 εεσελ-κον ειηηδςανα- 3.9.13); note also SC 9.13, where ειτδσογ = ειτδσι 2.1.2.1 = ειτδσια. For the loss of ι and λ in these forms see 2.5.6a.

3.9.9 Expanded verbid. There is also a verbid terminating in -η instead of -λ (usually spelled -εν, at times [e.g. IN I 4 ii 7] -η). It interchanges at times with the regular verbid: e.g. IN I 4 i 16 ενεν-κα and II 13 ii 9 ενελ-κα; its chief use, however, is to mark a conditional/temporal clause 4.7.3c, 4.7.5b. In shape it is often identical with the 2nd/3rd pers. sg. of the present subjunctive but may usually be distinguished from the latter in terms of distribution: -εν as expanded verbid has the same subject as the main clause, while -εν as subjunctive has a different subject; cf. e.g. M. 11.3-6 ελλεν --- πεςσνα 'when he saw ..., he said' (same subject in main clause: hence ελλεν is expanded verbid) vs. SC 12.8-9 --- κιοηηοσι --- πεςεν κελλω 'we have ..., as he says' (different subject in main clause: hence the form is subjunctive). It should also be noted that both forms of the verbid may occur together, e.g. in IN I 9 i 10 εργλ κρεη, where it appears that the former is subordinate to the latter, i.e. 'when he came [κρεη] following [εργλ]': cf. 4.7.3c. The expanded verbid can at times be discerned in some of the verbal forms usually built upon the verbid in -λ: e.g. SC 1.6 ελπ-ηε (from λπ-ρε [expanded verbid] 2.3.2), followed by πεσαρρε (from πεσαρια-λ [non-expanded] 3.9.6.1, 3.9.6.2: see also Browne 1982b §22). In forms like λπ-ηε from λπ-ρε, the π is no longer regarded as derived from the verbid but is now simply part of the ending.⁶⁵

3.9.10 The affirmative⁶⁶ 3.9.5a is attested only in the present and in the future (in both allomorphs 3.9.7b); it is formed by suffixing -η- (see below) to the verbid, which is always assimilated 2.3.1. The personal endings are those of the indicative:⁶⁷

Present Sg.	1	ΔΟΛΛΗΗΕ	
	3	ΔΟΛΛΗΗΑ	
Pl.	1	ΔΟΛΛΗΜΟ	
	3	ΔΟΛΛΗΗΑΝΑ	
Future Sg.	1	ΔΟΛΛΑΔΗΗΕ	ΚΙΔΔΗΗΕ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΑΔΗΗΑ	ΚΙΔΔΗΗΑ

⁶⁵ Sim. IN I 9 ii 9 ΔΟΥΗΗΑΝΑ (i.e. ΔΟΥΛ- 'to be' + -η- expanded verbid > ΔΟΥΗ- 2.3.1, 2.7 + -ΡΑΝΑ > ΔΟΥΗΗΑΝΑ 2.3.2.

Here we should also note M. 6.5-6 ΚΕΝΔΟΥΚ'ΑΡΡΛΑΕ, which reveals the base form of the verbid (from -ΑΡΡΙΑ-ΡΕ, with Ρ as part of the ending, as in λπ-ηε discussed above). Sim. M. 14.4 Εδςνα = ει-ςινα 2.3.2 (and Browne 1994b ad loc.). See also above, 3.9.6.2 fn. 59.

⁶⁶ Called admirative in Browne 1989a §3.9.10, but I now prefer to designate it the affirmative, in conformity with Werner's term 'Affirmativ' for the corresponding structure in modern Nobiin (Werner 1987 §6.2.9): see the discussion below after the paradigm.

⁶⁷ Note that for the second person singular and plural, the predicative copulative is used 3.9.16a. Dong. I ii 24-25 ΔΟΥΚΤΑΚΑΔΗΗΑ is not an exception; the translation in Browne 1989c.74 'you will be worshipped' is incorrect: the preceding -ΚΟΗΗΟ (2nd pers. sg.) implies change of subject 4.7.5a and c, and so we should render 'it will be worshipped' (cf. also the Greek, which here has κτισθήσονται): see Browne 1995a.458.

Pl.	1	ΔΟΛΛΑΔΗΗΟ	ΚΙΔΔΗΗΟ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΑΔΗΗΑΝΑ	ΚΙΔΔΗΗΑΝΑ

Regarding the suffixed -η-, I follow Werner's explanation for the corresponding form in Nobiin (see above, fn. 66) and assume that it represents a collapsed negative: i.e. i.e. ΔΟΛΛ-η- derives from ΔΟΛΛ-ι- ηπ-ρε, and the original negative turns into an emphatic affirmative: 'Der Prozeß dieser Bedeutungsverschiebung ist einsichtig, aus einer negativen Frage ("du schlägst doch wohl nicht?") wird leicht die Bekräftigung ("du schlägst doch sicher")': loc. cit. This derivation explains why there is no negative; if a negative verb requires emphasis, -λσ 3.10 is added; e.g. 3rd pers. sg.:

	Positive	Negative
Indicative	ΔΟΛΛΗΑ (pres.), ΔΟΛΛΑΗΗΑ (future)	ΔΟΛΛΗΗΗΑ, ΔΟΛΛΗΗΛΗΗ
Emphatic	ΔΟΛΛΗΗΑ, ΔΟΛΛΑΔΗΗΑ	ΔΟΛΛΗΗΗΑΛΟ, ΔΟΛΛΗΗΛΗΗΛΟ ⁶⁸

The formation seems to emphasize the personal involvement of the subject or the significance of the act: e.g. IN I 4 i 6-7 επ εεσαλ ειλπ-ηα- 'your brother will rise', 12 εχδδπ-ηα 'he will live' (both passages concern Lazarus) and St. 6.12-7.2 ΔΟΛΛΗΗΟ ΟΥΚΑ ΕΙΔΡΓΑΔΔΔΕΗΚΑ 'we wish that you will reveal to us' (said by the apostles to Jesus after the latter's resurrection).

3.9.11 Periphrastics are formed by attaching εηη- 'to be' or its equivalent 3.9.12 to a verbid, predicative or indicative, which normally precede. The formations may be illustrated as follows:

Verbid periphrastic	ΔΟΛΛΙΑ-ΕΗΗ- 3.9.13	} both parts take suffixes
Predicative periphrastic	ΔΟΛΛΙΡΑ-ΕΗΗ- 3.9.14	
Indicative periphrastic	ΔΟΛΛΗΑ, ΕΗΗ- 3.9.15	

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

- αγ- 'to do' (verb[id] p(eriphrastic))
- (α)ε- inchoative (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)
- Γ(Δ)Ρ- causative (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)
- ΔΑΡ- 'to be' (verb.p., pred.p.)
- ΔΟΥΛ- 'to be' (verb.p., pred.p.)
- Κ(Δ)Η- 'to be' (verb. p.)
- ΚΕ-/-ΚΙ-/-Κ- consuetudinal (denoting customary action; verb.p.)
- Κδ(ο)- 'to be without' (verb.p.); cf. 3.4.2
- ΗΕΔΔ- 'to be full' (pred.p.)
- ΗΕΗ-/-ΗΗΗ- 'not to be' (verb.p., pred.p., ind.p.)
- ΟΚ- 'to be' (verb.p.)
- Π- 'to be' (verb.p.⁶⁹)

Notes:

⁶⁸ From Browne 1994b.36-37, except that for '2nd/3rd pers. sg.' (for which I cited Dong. 1 ii 24-25), I now write '3rd pers. sg.': see the preceding fn.

⁶⁹ The reference to pred.p. in Browne 1989a §3.9.12 should be deleted: see Browne 1998c.237-238, where it is also pointed out that the verb.p. appears in only one passage, SC 11.20, which is not securely read. See further below, 3.9.19.1 s.v. π-.

N.B. Both dependent indicative and auxiliary can be adjusted as to tense: with SC 22.8-9 just cited contrast 13.7-8 $\epsilon\pi\lambda\lambda\iota\delta\eta\mu\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\eta\alpha$ 'he caused that they strike' (cf. note in Browne 1984a ad loc.).

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 affirmative 3.9.10 with its missing forms. The particles - $\lambda\eta$ (sg.) and - $\kappa\epsilon$ (pl.) (for both of which see 3.10) are attached to the predicative; with - $\kappa\epsilon$, the element - λ - precedes in the present and future tenses, - $\alpha\sigma$ - in the present and preterite. The forms attested are:

	Singular	Plural
Present	---	- $\rho\alpha$ - λ - $\kappa\epsilon$, -(ρ -) $\alpha\sigma$ - $\kappa\epsilon$
Preterite I	- $\delta\rho\alpha$ - $\lambda\eta$	- $\delta\rho$ - $\alpha\sigma$ - $\kappa\epsilon$
Future	- $\delta\rho\alpha$ - $\lambda\eta$	- $\delta\rho\rho\alpha$ - λ - $\kappa\epsilon$

Some examples: (preterite sg.) SC 21.22 $\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\eta$ $\rho\alpha\lambda\omega\alpha$ $\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta$ 'You ate! You transgressed!' (said by God to Adam after the fall); (future sg.) IN I 4 ii 25 $\epsilon\lambda\delta\alpha\rho\delta\lambda\eta$ - 'you shall see' (comparable in emphasis to the affirmative in i 12 $\delta\lambda\omega\lambda\eta\eta\alpha$ 'he shall live'); (present pl.) SC 2.10 $\epsilon\pi\eta\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ (i.e. $\epsilon\pi$ - $\rho\alpha$ - λ - $\kappa\epsilon$) 'you really are', L. 106.6 $\kappa\omega\lambda\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ (for the loss of - ρ - see 2.5.6a) 'you have' and 101.6 $\pi\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ ⁷⁵ 'you shine'; (preterite pl.) SC 2.16-17 $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\kappa\epsilon$ - $\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ 'you have actually become teachers (of the whole world)'; (future pl.) 21.14 $\kappa\omega\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon$ - 'you will actually become like (God)'. Cf. also - $\kappa\epsilon$ in vetitive formations 3.9.18.

In the present pl. there is one case where the ending appears to be - $\lambda\lambda\kappa\epsilon$, attached directly to the stem: IN I 5 ii 4-5 $\epsilon\pi\eta\tau\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon$ 'you must take up' ($\delta\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsilon$); and there is also an instance of - $\lambda\kappa\epsilon$, added to the stem: K. 21.15-16 $\eta\eta\alpha$ $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\gamma\rho\eta\eta\epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ 'What? Do you not hear ...?' Both - $\lambda\lambda\kappa\epsilon$ and - $\lambda\kappa\epsilon$ can be derived from - $\rho\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon$ through application of 2.5.6a. But not so derivable is SC 7.4-5 $\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ (sim. 7 and IN I 11 i 4-5) 'you are blessed', where - $\kappa\epsilon$ is suffixed to the inchoative - $\alpha\sigma$ - (assimilated to - $\lambda\eta$); cf. also CL 240.1, where $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ 'you know' appears to stand for $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho(\rho\alpha)$ or $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho(\lambda)$ $\epsilon\eta$ - (predicative or verbid periphrastic 3.9.13-14), to which - $\kappa\epsilon$ directly adheres.

b) Indicative copulative. The postposition - $\eta\alpha$, in which λ may be deleted, functions 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 $\kappa\eta\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\circ\eta$ $\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\circ\eta\alpha$ 'is it (the case that) we did not eat, is it (the case that) we did not drink ...?', WN 4 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\circ\eta\alpha$ 'we are', SC 6.11, 13-14 $\pi\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\eta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$ --- $\phi\omega\upsilon\rho\omega\upsilon\gamma\omega\upsilon\delta\rho\alpha$ $\eta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\eta$ - η 'I do not experience ..., I do not trace' and perhaps Kanarti 5 $\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\circ\eta$, which may stand for $\eta\alpha\kappa$ - $\alpha\rho\rho\circ\eta$ 'we will suffice' (see Browne 2002d. ad loc.). In each of these instances - $\eta(\lambda)$ appears to topicalize the preceding verb.

3.9.17 Imperative. See the forms listed in the synopsis in 3.9.6. Note that - $\sigma\omega$ (also spelled - $\sigma\circ$) is rarely omitted: as I noted in Browne 1997.41-42, 'there are about 220 instances of imperative + - $\sigma\omega$ as opposed to only 15 without the particle ... it appears that - $\sigma\omega$ may be deleted if an imperative + - $\sigma\omega$ follows': e.g. IN I 9 i 4-5 $\tau\lambda\lambda\iota\kappa$ $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta\alpha$ $\tau\alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\sigma\kappa$ $\tau\eta\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$

⁷⁵ To be articulated either as $\pi\lambda\lambda$ - $\alpha\lambda\lambda$ - $\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ (with loss of - ρ -) or as $\pi\lambda\lambda$ - $\alpha\lambda$ - λ - $\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ (with - λ - assimilated from - ρ - 2.3.2): cf. $\alpha\lambda$ - in IN I 11 i 9 and ii 6 and see Browne 1996a.9.

'fear God; give glory to him' (sim. Sunn. I ii 3-9 [= IN II 14 ii 2-6], IN II 26.5-7, III 49 ii 3 and 57 ii 3-4; cf. 56 ii 3-5 where—if the text is correctly read—there are two imperatives, the first with - $\sigma\omega$, the second without it: $\rho\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\sigma\sigma\circ$ --- $\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\eta$ $\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ 'speak ... let Askim(?) come out'). This type of conjunction reduction is not required: note e.g. the series of imperatives, all with - $\sigma\omega$, in K. 25.6-14 and 26.8-27.4. Elsewhere, we find - $\sigma\omega$ deleted in a heading or rubric: e.g. IN I i 4 $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\gamma\rho\epsilon$ and 5 i 1 $\rho\epsilon\eta\sigma\alpha\eta\alpha$, both of which introduce the ensuing text. Other instances of deletion occur with 3rd pers. sg. imperatives: e.g. SC 33.8 $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ (sim. SC 25.3, IN II 20 ii 13 [both restored] and possibly Griffith 1928.145.4), but we also find - $\sigma\omega$ in St. 36.9 $\tau\alpha\rho\omega\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\omega$ (sim. Ben. 18). Of the two remaining cases where - $\sigma\omega$ is absent, in IN II 21 i 13-14 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\alpha$ seems to depend upon $\lambda\lambda\circ$ (literally 'saying: receive') in the construction described in 4.7.7c, where the particle may be omitted; and in M. 11.8 $\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\lambda\upsilon\lambda\circ\sigma\epsilon$ 'save me!', the words are repeated verbatim in CE 160 A 13; the phrase may idiomatically delete - $\sigma\omega$; note also that the CE passage occurs in a syntactic setting similar to that described in 4.7.7c.

Herewith some further examples of the imperative, all with - $\sigma\omega$: SC 17.21 $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\gamma\rho\epsilon\sigma\omega$ 'hear', Ben. 18 $\tau\alpha\rho\omega\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\omega$ 'let it praise', SC 24.9-10 $\epsilon\sigma\kappa$ $\tau\rho\alpha\eta\sigma\omega$ 'let us give glory', L. 101.1 $\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$ 'do' and Ben. 4 $\tau\alpha\rho\omega\gamma\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$ '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
$\delta\circ\lambda\lambda\circ\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$, $\delta\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$ (pret. I)	$\delta\circ\lambda\lambda\circ\upsilon\chi\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$ (pret. I)
$\delta\circ\lambda\lambda\alpha\eta\eta$ (see below)	$\delta\circ\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\eta$ (pret. II)

In the forms identified as pret. I and pret. II, we apparently have the indicative⁷⁶ + - $\sigma\omega$ or - $\eta\eta$ 3.10, resulting in a jussive: e.g. IN I 5 ii 20 $\epsilon\iota\alpha\rho\tau\alpha\kappa\circ\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$ 'let it be known', SC 3.14 $\lambda\eta\kappa\eta\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$ 'let him remember' (λ for \circ : 2.1.2.2), IN I 7 i 5 $\epsilon\iota\delta\rho\omega\chi\eta\eta\alpha\sigma\omega$ 'let them know' and St. 31.11-12 $\tau\alpha\rho\omega\upsilon\sigma\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\eta$ 'let him be blessed' (literally 'let him be [the one whom] they blessed': cf. Sunn. I ii 4 $\tau\alpha\rho\omega\upsilon\sigma\alpha\eta\alpha\omega$ 'blessed is ...'). Note also IN II 24.4 $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\circ\eta\eta\eta\eta\sigma\omega$ 'let him rejoice': here both copulative particles adhere to the pret. I indicative.

In the case of the remaining form, $\delta\circ\lambda\lambda\alpha\eta\eta$, - $\eta\eta$ seems to be added to the stem through the intervention of predicative - λ (which may be preceded by semantic or syntactic morphemes 3.9.5a and b): e.g. K. 19.14 $\rho\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\eta$ 'let him come forth', SC 25.15 $\lambda\upsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\eta\eta$ 'let it be done' and IN I 5 ii 23 $\epsilon\lambda\chi\omega\iota\delta\alpha\eta\eta$ 'let him keep (them)'.

Note also that the negative of the present indicative with - $\eta\eta$ is found twice (once 2nd pers. sg., once 3rd pers. sg.): IN II 24.15 $\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'do not say' (Browne 2001b ad CE 160 A 13) and 28.9 $\delta\alpha\pi\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'let him not ruin'.

3.9.18 Vetitive. In addition to negating the imperative by using - $\eta\eta\eta$ -/ $\eta\eta\eta$ - 3.9.5a (as e.g. in SC 9.18 $\lambda\eta\kappa\eta\eta\eta\eta\sigma\omega$ 'do not consider'⁷⁷), O.N. also employs a special vetitive formation:

⁷⁶ In Browne 1989a §3.9.17 I analyzed the form as the preterite subjunctive + predicative - λ , but I now prefer to see it simply as indicative: cf. Browne 1997.40-41 and 44. This formation and - $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (below) invite comparison with the indicative periphrastic 3.9.15: i.e. 'let it be that ...'. Note, however, that in St. 31.11-12, cited below, it may be preferable to segment as - $\sigma\alpha\eta$ - λ - $\eta\eta$ (cf. L. 111.9 $\sigma\kappa\tau\alpha\eta\eta\delta$, as discussed in 4.6a). For the tense cf. 3.9.7a ¶4.

⁷⁷ Note also - $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$, cited in 3.9.17 sub fin.

Singular ΔΟΛΛΑΤΑΜΗ(СО), ΔΟΛΛΑΤΑМ	Plural ΔΟΛΛΑΤΑΝΚΕ(СΩ)
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As I wrote in Browne 1997.43, 'with the vetitive, -co tends to be omitted. The Catalogue [40] lists seven instances when it is present, as opposed to 23 when it is not. But cases of its absence often coincide with environments containing formations with -co: e.g. M. 6.12 ΔΕΤΤΑΚΑΤΑΜΗ is followed by ΔΗΘΕΩ in 14 ..., and we may have to do with the same kind of conjunction reduction illustrated above in [3.9.17]. Especially instructive is ... IN II 23.8 ΗΙΑΚΚΑ ΔΥΔΤΑΜΗ ΕΤΕΝΔΕ ΔΥΕ ΑΤΤΑΜΗCΩ "don't do anything bad, and don't let anything be taken", where -ταμη is followed by -ταμηCΩ. In K. 22.2 ΤΤΤΑΜΗ- and SE A i 7 ΤΤΤΑΝΚΕ-, the vetitive adheres to -α of direct discourse [4.8], before which imperatives also may stand without -co: see [4.7.7c] and note L. 115.3 and SC 21.21 (sim. 22.7) ...'.

Because of -κε, the formation in -τανκε(σω) can only be second person plural (see 3.10 under -κε); -ταμη, normally second person singular, is clearly third person in K. 22.1-2 ΤΧΑΙΚΑ [ΔΙΟΥΧ(?) ΤΤΤΑΜΗ- 'let one who is grudging not give to God' and in IN II 22.10-11 ΟΥΡΤΕΚΚΙΔΑΤΑΜΗ ΔΗ ΤΟΤΛ 'let my son not be negligent'. The form -ταμη (which is probably the negative -τα- 3.9.20 + -μη, 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 -α (cf. the formation of ΔΟΛΛΑΜΗ 3.9.17): e.g. M. 6.12 ΔΕΤΤΑΚΑΤΑΜΗ 'do not be insulted', WN 12 ΔΗΚΙΔΑΤΑΜΗ 'do not remember (them)' and K. 27.14 ΠΑΤΤΑΜΗ 'do not come forth'. The reduced form -ταν appears in WN 14 ΔΗΚΤΑМ 'do not remember' and possibly in ostr. a 6 ΓΤΑМ. (See further Browne 1980a.V as well as Smagina 1986a.395 and 1986b.25.)

For the plural -τανκε(σω), in which -ταν- is probably the reduced -та- cited above, cf. SC 5.4 ΤΟΚΑΤΑΝΚ[Ε] 'do not cease', IN I 7 i 9 ΤΙΔΔΑΝΤΑΝΚΕ 'do not hinder' and gr. 4.4 СОΛΑ ΤΟΚΑΤΑΝΚΕCО 'do not abandon'. See also Browne 1997.40.

3.9.19 Adjunctive. Several verbal stems can be coordinated by attaching -α (which may be elided 2.5.1b, 2.5.2b⁷⁸) to each stem except the last, which alone bears the inflection; the stems need not be immediately contiguous: e.g. SC 7.14-16 ΕΙΤΑ ΟΥΕΛ ΤΙΛΑCΗ ΟΥΕΡΛΛΑΩ ΔΚ-Α ΦΑΛΑCΟΥ ΟΥΑΤΤΟΚΑ ΓΧΑ-Α ΕΚΚΚΑ '... to a man who, sitting on a mountain, considering the whole sea, beholds it' and 19.15-17 ΕΤ-Α ΚΙΤΑ ΕΤΑΥΡΟCΗ ΚΟΒΡΑΩ ΚΕΝ-ΕΟΔΡ-ΗΓΟΥΚΑ '(he wished,) taking and putting it on, placing and fastening it upon the tree of the cross, to set it'. The adjunctive at times follows the verb: e.g. SC 4.4 ΔΟΛΛ-Α 'wishing', at sentence-end.

Notes:

a) Occasionally, the adjunctive is coordinated with the main verb by ΟН 'and' 3.11: gr. 2.6-7 ΟΥΛΓΡΑ ΔΙΑΔ ΟН ΠCCEYANA CΩ 'let them, hearing, considering, rejoice' (cf. Browne 1979.II) and Dong. I i 22-23 ΤΗΝΑ ΕΙΑΔ ΟН ΤΕΡΗ ΚΟΥΛΑΥΩ ΠΙΕΙCΑΝΑ 'assembling together,

⁷⁸ An elided or desinenceless adjunctive may display a juncture vowel 3.6.5: e.g. M. 16.13-14 ΕΑΔ-ΟΥ ΟΥΛΓΡΕН 'when they, seeing, heard', L. 114.4 ΠΑ ΔΚ-Ι ΗΕΔΔΑ 'being ..., standing' and SC 22.23-24 ΚΑC-Ι ΠΑΔ[ΡΕΙΝΑ(?)ΛΟ 'wiping, taking away'. Note that such formations may be ambiguous: the juncture vowel can also stand for a reduced verbid 3.9.8 (e.g. ΕΙΤCCEY ΠCCEYCΙ for ΕΙΤCCEIA ΠCCEYCΙ 4.6d), and a desinenceless formation may derive from either the adjunctive or the verbid (for the latter cf. M. 5.9 ΚΟΔΟΥCΩ for ΚΟΛ ΔΟΥCΩ on the analogy of St. 7.9 ΚΟΥΝΛ ΚΔΔΗC: cf. 4.7.3c).

they slept within their cave' (see Browne 1987c ad loc.). A postponed adjunctive may also be linked to the verb by -OH: SC 7.17-19 ΔΥΕΓΟΥCΗCΗ ΤΑΡΙΔ ΔΟΥΔΕΛΓΟΥΚΑ ΤΟΥΚΓΟΥΗΑ ΕΙΔΙΡΚΑΗΕΛΟΚΟΕΙΟΝ CΟΥΡΤΑΚΑ 'the boats going upon it [i.e. the sea], and it being disturbed by the force of the winds'.

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 ΗΑΗ ΕΤΤΛΟΗ ΗΙΑΛ ΚΙ ΨΑΔΚΚΑ ΓΑΛΛΙCΗΑ 'and that woman, running [ΗΙΑΛ: 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 ΟΥΕΡΙΕΑ ΠΕCΤΑΚΗΗΑΝΑ 'they are said to become one' (literally 'becoming one, they are spoken of').

3.9.19.1 Certain verbs, at least in specialized meanings, tend to be associated with the adjunctive:

ΔΕΗ- 'to give' (to me/us) and ΤΡ- 'to give' (to you/him/them) are the so-called 'dative verbs', used to specify an indirect object: e.g. St. 3.10-11 ΟΥΚΑ ΠΛΑΙΓΡΔ ΔΕΗΔΙCΗΔ 'he revealed to us' (lit. 'revealing, he gave to us') and M. 7.5-6 ΤΑΝ ΕΙΑΔ ΟΥΤΡΑ ΤΡCΗΑ 'she placed it in his hand'.

ΔΟΥΛ- 'to be', when it means 'to continue', may be preceded by an adjunctive: IN II 18 vi 3-4 ΚΩΔΕΑ ΔΟΥΑΝΑCΩ 'continue to become holy'.

ΕΙΤ- 'to take' enters into formal contrast with OC- (see below) in the opposition of ΔΑΗ-ΕΙΤ- 'to buy' and ΔΑΗ-OC- 'to sell': for the latter, see Browne 1996a.188, for the former note e.g. IN III 44.4 ΔΑΗ-ΕC[.i.e. ΕΤ 2.4]CΑΗΑ-ΛΟ 'they bought': see Bechhaus-Gerst 1996.268-269, who also records ΕΙΤ- in ΔΟΥΗ-ΕΤΑ 'taking' (e.g. M. 7.11; cf. also IN III 55 i 2-3 ΔΟΥΗΗΑ ΕΤΑ) and in ΕΗ-ΕΤΑ 'taking up' (M. 3.16).

ΚΙΡ- 'to come' is used as an ingressive with preceding adjunctive in IN I 10 A ii 16-17 ΗΕΔΔΛΓΡΔ ΚΔΔΙΝΑ 'he will go to prepare' (modelled on πορεύομαι έτοιμάσαι Jn 14:2: see Browne 1995a.456) and CE 160 B 2-3 ΤΕΗΕΑ ΚΙΑ 'which is going to be broken'. See also 3.9.5a and ftn. 36.

ΚΟ(Υ)Η- 'to have' is employed in documentary texts as a perfect formant with preceding adjunctive (just as the collateral verb ΚΟ- is similarly used as a semantic morpheme 3.9.5a and ftn. 37): e.g. ON III 48.2-3 ΗΟΥΡΤΑ ΚΟΗΟΝΑ 'he has ordered' and 57 i 4-5 ΕΔΥΑ ΚΟΥΗΗΑ 'he has kept'; the adjunctive is desinenceless in 52.2 ΔΟ ΚΟΗΕCΗ 'which he had sought'. See further Browne 1996a.98.

ΟΗ- 'to love' with preceding adjunctive occurs in Dong. I i 8-9 ΟΥΗΗ-Ο(Η)-ΚΕΡΗΑ 'they affectionately give birth' and IN III 57 ii 1-2 ΔΩΚ-ΟΗ-ΔΕCΩ 'affectionately kiss (them)'. See Browne 1992c.33.

OC- 'to take out' often corresponds to Greek εκ, English 'forth': e.g. SC 3.16 CΕΗΑ ΔCΕΗ 'if he sends forth' (lit. 'if he, sending, takes out': the Greek Vorlage has εκπέμπει) and 18.19-20 ΟΥΑΛ-ΔCΙΔΕCΑ 'to hurl forth' (εκβολειν). See also Browne 1996a.128.

ΠΙ- 'to be' with preceding adjunctive represents a stative (equivalent to a Greek perfect passive participle) in SC 8.13 ΓΑΔΓΟΥΚΟΝ CΟΥΡCΟΥΡ-ΤΑΚΑ ΠΡΑΗ 'and (sc. he sees) the

bodies ... pushed forth [ἐξερριμμένα], IN I 5 i 3-4 κῆκα ρ[ε]λγε[λ]τακα· παλα· πῆ (she saw) that the stone had been rolled away [ῥιμένον], 23-24 Ἐ ΓΟΥΔ ΟΥΕΛΛΟ· ΓΕΛΓΕ[Λ]ΤΑΚΑ πῆ 'rolled up [ἐντετυλιγμένον] ... in another place' and 7 ii 11 ΜΥΣΤΗΡ ΕΙΓῚΤΑΚΑ ΠΙΟΛΛ[Α] 'in the hidden [ἀποκεκρυμμένον] mystery'. See further Browne 1998c.237-238 and above, under 3.9.5a fn. 69.


ΤΟΚ· 'to leave, depart', when it means 'to cease', may be preceded by an adjunctive: e.g. SC 3.17-18 Ἐῤῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ ΤΟΚΗΝΚΕΝ(ΚΕΝ) ΚΕΛΛΩ 'as he does not cease to be comforted'. The adjunctive ΤΟΚΑ, if it follows an adjunctive, can represent a Greek aorist participle: e.g. IN I 4 i 17 Ἐῤῥῥῥῥῥ ΤΟΚΑ-ΕΙΟΗ 'and ceasing saying this' (καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα Jn 11:28) and ii 16-17 ΣΙΡῚΣΙΡῚΠῚΝΑ ΤΟΚΑ 'and ceasing snorting(?)' (ἐμβριμησόμενος). See also Browne 1987a.321.

3.9.19.2 Adjunctives preceding a verb can modify it in such a way as to suggest the nuance associated with Greek compound verbs: e.g. L. 107.11 ΠΑΛΑ ΚΡἘΣΙ· 'that I came forth' (lit. 'that I, coming forth, came': ἐξῆλθον) and SC 6.2 ΣΟΥΚΚΡΑ [εῚ]ῚΔΙΚΟΗΗΟῚ 'in order that it may take them down' (ἵνα ... κατενέγκη); see further Browne 1987a.321 and 1994b ad M. 3.16-4.1. Note also that the adjunctive of ΠΕΛ· 'to come forth' appears to be like the *ex* in Latin *existo* in L. 100.5-6 ΤΙΛΙΛΛΩ ΕΔΔΔ ΠΕΛΑ ΔΟΥΛΛ[Δ]ΡΡΑ 'God will be with us' (pace Becchaus-Gerst 1996.270); cf. also KG 2 i 8 with my note in the edition ad loc.

3.9.20 Negative in -ΤΑ. This formant, which appears in the vetitive 3.9.18, is also associated with the negative semantic morpheme -ΝΕΝ-/ΜΙΝ- 3.9.5a, which it apparently intensifies: e.g. SC 11.8-10 ΟΥ[Ε]ΛΗΕΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΣΟΥΗΠΟΥΤΤΑ ΟΥ[Ε]ΚῚΡῚΚΑ ΕΙΡΟΥΜΕΝ-ΤΑ-ΛΟ 'no one can lay another foundation' and IN I 4 i 12-13 ἌΧΟΙΡΑ ΜῚΦΑΝΑ[ἔ]ΟῚ ΛΙῚΓῚΛΕ ΠῚΤΕΥΛΟΗ ΔΙΜΕΝΤΑΛΟ 'and everyone living who believes in me shall not die [οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ Jn 11:26]'. See Smagina 1986a.395 and 1986b.25; for a list of occurrences see Browne 1996a.163.

3.9.21 Interrogative sentence may terminate with:

a) -i: e.g. M. 9.1 ΔΗΚΗΠῚΝΑ-ἰ 'don't you remember?', SC 18.2 ΕῚΛΛΑ-ἰ 'do you see?' and K. 26.13-27.1 ΕΙΣΚΑΡΑΓΡΑ --- ΠΑΔΕΙΡΑ ΠΑΔΔΕΙΝΑ-ἰ 'how will you transgress?'. The terminal particle is not necessary: cf. SC 22.8-9 ΚΟΠΟΝΑ ΜΕῚΝΑ 'it is not (the case that) you ate?' 3.9.15 and 21.18-19 ἘΚΑΛ ΓΟΥΛΑ ΤΟΡΟΝΑ 'how is it that you have fallen into disgrace?'

b) -2A: e.g. M. 8.14-15 ΕΙΣΛΟ ΕΙΣΟΝΑ-2A⁷⁹ 'where was it?' and IN II 16 iii 9-12 ΕΙΣΚΑΡΑΓΡΑ-2A --- ΠΑΔΕΙΡΕ· 'how will I go forth ...?'.


Note that interrogative sentences may commence with ΜΗΑ 'what' 3.7.5b: K. 21.15-22.1 ΜΗΑ ΟΥΛΓΡΙΜΕΝΑΚΕ ΠΑΡΤΑΚΟΚΚΑ 'What? Do you not hear what is written?' (cf. Latin *nonne*) and 26.10-12 (with terminal -ἰ): ΜΗΑ ΕΙΡΟΥ ΤῚΛΙΟΓΟΕΙΑΗ ΔΑΥΕΙΝΑ-ἰ 'what? are you greater than God?' (cf. Latin *num*). For interrogative pronouns in O.N. see 3.7.5.

⁷⁹ Originally the scribe wrote ΕΙΣΟΝΑΕΑ 'and then an 2-like character [was] drawn over the ε' (Griffith 1913, ad loc.), possibly intended as cancellation (see Browne 1994b.62); if so, then we should transcribe as ΕΙΣΟΝΑ[ε]Α, i.e. ΕΙΣΟΝΑἔ (for -A see 4.8).

3.9.22 Position of verbal elements (see 3.9.5 and 3.9.21). Although in sequencing verbal elements O.N. is far less complex than e.g. Georgian (see the pull-out chart in Fährnich 1987), the hierarchy is sufficiently complicated to warrant a diagram and discussion.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Stem ± Caus. ± Inch. ± Pass. ± Pl. ± Neg. ± Consuet. ± Affirm. + Inflect.									± Interrog.
	-(A)P-	-(A)E-	-ΤΑΚ-	-δ-	-ΠΕΗ-	-ΚΕ-	-Η-	Indic.,	-ἰ
	-Γ(A)P-							Subjunct.	-2A
								etc.	

3 and 4 apparently exclude one another, as do 6 and 8 as well as 7 and 8. Note, however, that 2 and 3 are compatible (SC 3.21-22 ΕΙδ-Π-Ε-ΑΗΑΟ[ω 'pay attention'), as are 2 and 4 (L. 102.6 ΗΥ-ΓΙΡ-ΤΑΚ-ΚΑ 'to be hidden' and SC 3.17 Ἐῤῥῥῥῥῥ i.e. Π-ΤΑΚ-Α 'to be comforted') and 4 and 5 (IN II 13 i 12 ΠΕΟ-ΤΑΚ-δ-ΑΡΑ 'were said'). In addition, when a causative (2) and a plural infix (5) both appear in the same segment, the latter may precede the former: cf. e.g. SC 18.13 ΠΕΕΙἔ ὈΟἰῚΡΑΓῚΡΡΑ⁸⁰ with St. 7.1 ΕΙἔΡῚΓῚΔῚΔῚΔῚΕΗ-. Occasionally, the causatives (2) appear to be interchangeable with the inchoative (3): see 3.9.5a sub fin.

Suffice it to say that no O.N. verb has as yet appeared which displays the full panoply here presented (even if we exclude elements which cannot co-exist); on the basis of the specimens cited above, we could conceivably generate, purely *exempli gratia*, ΗΥ-ΓΙΡ-ΤΑΚ-δ-Π-ΝΕΝ-ΚΕΡΝΑ-ἰ 'are they not customarily hidden?' (i.e. 1 + 2 + 4 + 5 [+ juncture vowel 2.10] + 6 + 7 + 9 + 10).⁸¹

3.10 O.N. 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; for full coverage, see the entries in Browne 1996a. Some postpositions often include the prefixed morph -Λ- 2.9; this is here listed in parentheses, outside the alphabetic sequence. N.B. The pervasive interchange of ο and ω 2.1.1 is not reported in the lemmata.

-A particle of direct discourse 4.8.

-A predicative marker 3.6.4.

-(A)Aḡā 'within': IN I 13 ii 9 ΤΕΡῚ ἄεῚ-ΛAḡā 'within their heart'; it is preceded by the juncture vowel 2.10 in IN I 4 ii 16 ΤΑΡ-ἰ-AYā 'within him(self)' (sim. 3 i 22 [if correctly restored] and ii 19). The same word appears to function adverbially in L. 111.13-14 ΜΑΗΗΑΗ AYā ΔAῚΠῚΕΟῚ(?) 'within which manna was' (Browne 2000a.30-31). The postposition is composed of AY- 'interior' + -A 'in', and the non-contracted form appears in IN III 40.14 ΕΙΡ-AYA ΠῚ 'which is under (my) control'; cf. the next entry.

-(A)Aḡō 'within': Dong. I i 22-23 ΤΕΡῚ ΚΟΥΛ-AYō 'within their cave'. The word is composed of AY- 'interior' + -Aω 'in'; cf. the preceding entry.

⁸⁰ It is, however, also possible to interpret as ὈΟἰ-δῚΡΑ-ΓῚΡΡΑ: cf. Browne 1996a.190.

⁸¹ For -ΚΕΡΝΑ indic. 3rd pl. of the consuetudinal see Dong. I ii 10 and 2.5.3.

-αΠΠΑ (-ΔΒΒΑ) --- -CΠ 'for, since': K. 30.10-13 ΕΙΝΗΓΟΥΛ-ΑΠΠΑ --- ΚΟΛΑΤΡΑ-CΠ 'for these are like ...'; for -CΠ see below, s.v.

-Γ(Λ)Ε, -ΛΑ-Γ(Λ)Ε⁸² '(in)to', occasionally 'for, before, against': SC 9.14-15 ΕΡ-Γ(Λ) ΑΝΚΙΤΑΚΡΑ 'they are mentioned to us', 23.5-6 ΠΕCΘΝΑ ΗΠΗΤΙ-Γ(Λ)Ε 'he said to the serpent', L. 109.6-7 ΚΟCΗΟ[C]-Λ(Λ)-ΓΙΑ ΔΙΚ ΕΙΤΡΕCΗΝ ΚΕΛΛΩ 'as you sent me into the world', SC 7.10-12 ΕΙΑΡΤΙΓΟΥΝΑ ΠΑΚΚΤ-ΛΑ-Γ(Λ)Ε-CΠ CΑΛΚΑ ΠΕCΑ ΟΥΤΡ̄ ΔΟΛΛΙΡΕCΗ 'for into the sea of thoughts I wish to set forth an argument', 2.10-11 ΟΥΛΛΟΥΤΤ-ΛΑ-Γ(Λ)Ε-CΠ ΜΕΡΔΔΑΡΑCΑ-ΡΑCΚΕ 'for you have become prepared for instruction' (πρός + acc.), IN I 10 A ii 5 Τ(Λ)Ι-Γ(Λ)Ε '(having set it) before God' and SC 12.4 -ΛΑ-Γ(Λ)Ε-Ν [3.6.2e] ΕΠΗΝΑ- 'it is (one that is) against ...' (πρός + acc.). For -(λ)ΑΩ-Γ(Λ)Ε see under -(λ)ΑΩ.

-(λ)ΑΔΑ 'with', at times 'against': SC 10.12-13 ΠΑΠ-ΛΑΔΑ ΔΓΙΔΕΙΚΟ ΕΙΝΗ 'sitting with the Father' and IN II 15 ii 11-12 ΔΙΝΗΓΟΥ-ΔΑΔΑ ΔΗCΗΚ ΑΥΑΝΗΔ 'to make judgment against all' (κατά πάντων).

-(λ)ΔΕ 'and, but': at times alone (e.g. M. 5.15-6.2 ΕΔ-ΔΕ ΕΛΛΗΝΟC ΕΙΝ(Λ)Η ΚCCEΛΑ ΗΙΚ ΑΥΑΡΡΗΝΑ 'but since you are a pagan, what will you do in the church?' [the Greek Vorlage might have had σὺ δέ: Browne 1994b ad loc.]), but usually balanced by following particles, in particular by -(λ)ΔΕΚΕΛ, which concludes a series of one or more preceding instances of -(λ)ΔΕ and to which is attached the inflection relating the complex to the sentence: SC 6.5 ΠΑ-ΔΔΕ ΚΙCΤ-ΔΔΕΚΕΛ-ΚΑ 'summer and winter' and M. 15.12-15 ΤΑΔ-ΔΕ ΤΑΝ ΟΓΔ-ΛΔΕ ΤΑΝ CΑΔ-ΔΕ ΤΑΝ ΜΕΔΔΟΥΝΗΓΟΥ-ΔΔΕΚΕΚ-ΚΑ ΠCΤΑΡΙC-ΝΑ 'he baptized her, her husband, her son and her servant girls'. Other combinations include -ΔΕ --- -ΔΕ ΟΝ --- -ΔΕΚΕΛ (e.g. IN II 16 ii 3-8), -ΔΕ --- -ΚΕΤΑΛ (29.3-4), -ΔΕ --- ΜΑΓΡΚΟΝ(ΝΟ)ΕΝΔΕ (M. 6.12-13), -ΔΕ --- -ΟΝ—enclitic—(SC 23.9-10), -ΔΕ (---) ΟΝ—non-enclitic—(St. 17.10), -ΔΕ ΟΝ --- -ΔΕ --- -ΔΕΚΕΛ (IN III 33.1), -ΔΕ ΟΝ --- (-ΔΕ ΟΝ ---) -ΔΕΚΕΛ (M. 15.16-17). Formations in -ΔΕΝΑΛ and -ΔΕΝΟΥ occur rarely in isolation (IN III 40.12 and 30.6), but chiefly in combination with other balancing particles: -ΔΕΝΑΛ ΟΝ --- -ΔΕΝΑΛ (only in SC I.1-5 3.6.4a, but the first -ΔΕΝΑΛ could be read as -ΔΕΝΟΥ), -ΔΕΝΟΥ --- -ΔΕΝΑΛ (L. 101.4-5), -ΔΕΝΟΥ --- (-ΔΕΝΟΥ ---) -ΔΕΝΟΥ (St. 28.4-6), -ΔΕΝΟΥ ΟΝ --- -ΔΕΝΟΥ (IN I 2 i 23).⁸³ For -ΔΕ introducing the second of two relative clauses see Browne 1988a III §19e. It also appears attached to the second of two nouns in gr. 6.8-9 ΑΜΑΝ ΠΑΡΡΑΔΕ-ΝΟΝ 'wie Nil und Festland' (so Zyhlarz 1928 §234).

-(λ)ΑΩ 'upon, at, to, for, over', occasionally 'from, in, against': SC 7.15 ΟΥΕΡ-ΛΑΩ ΔΚΑ 'sitting upon a mountain', M. 9.15-16 ΓΑΛ-ΔΩ ΚΕΝΘΟCΘΑΝΑ 'they beached [the boat] at the harbor', 15.12 ΤΕΔ-ΔΩ CΙΕΛΑ 'praying for them', SC 13.5-6 ΕΚ(ΚΑ) ΧΕΡΟΥΒΕΙΝΓΟΥ-ΛΔΩ ΟΥCΚΕΝΗΠ 'in order to place you over [ὑπεράνω] the Cherubim', IN II 15 ii 7-8 ΔΑΜ-ΔΩ ΤΟΡΑ ΚΟ[ΛΟΤΙΤΕ]ΗΠΗΝΟ 'being seventh from [ἀπὸ] Adam', K. 22.5-6 Τ(Λ)Λ (i.e. Τ(Λ)Π) ΤΑC-C-ΛΑΟ ΑΥΟΥΓΟΥΛ 'those who act in God's name' and IN III 33.11-12 ΜΟΔΟΥ ΚΟΛΟ[ΤΙ]ΤΑ ΤΑΔ-ΔΩ ΠΑΔΑΝΗ 'may the seventh seal(?) come forth against him'.⁸⁴ Note also -(λ)ΑΩ-Γ(Λ)Ε

⁸² Griffith believed (1913.90) that -ΛΑΓ(Λ) is used before vowels, -ΛΑΓ(Λ)Ε before consonants, but the newly discovered texts show that this is not the case: cf. IN III 57 ii 1 ΓΑΔ(Λ)ΑΓ(Λ) ΗΑΥΙΚΟΝ and I 5 i 15 ΤΕΛΑΑΓ(Λ)Ε ΕΔΕΑΕΝ-. Griffith's view is expressed in his index, presumably made before his edition received its final form, for in restoring St. 8.8-9 he printed Α(Λ)ΑΓ(Λ)Ε ΑΥΕΙCΑΝ.

⁸³ The combination -ΝΟΥ --- -ΔΕΝΑΛ, listed in Browne 1989a §3.10 for IN I 4 i 10-11, should be emended to -ΔΕΝΟΥ --- -ΔΕΝΑΛ: see Browne 1998a.13.

⁸⁴ Note that with ΗΕC (lit. 'acting in opposition') -ΔΩ also has an adversative sense: SC 5.14 ΤΟΡΟ-ΛΑΟ ΗΕC ΜΟΥΚΚΟΛΟΥ- 'who rage against the master'.

'to, upon': IN I 8 i 8 ΔΑC-ΛΑΩ-Γ(Λ)Ε 'to the fountain', as well as -ΗΑΡΕ-ΛΑΩ (i.e. CΑΡΕ-ΛΑΩ lit. 'at the side of') 'because of' in KG I ii 9 [ΕΠΗΝΑ] ΕΠΤΗ-ΗΑΡΕ-ΛΑΩ 'because of your suffering' (*ἐπὶ τῆ σῆ ἀθλήσει): see my note ad loc. in Browne 1998d.

-ΔΟΚΟ 'through, for the sake of': perhaps simply a variant of -ΛΟΚΟ (see below, s.v. and cf. 2.2.2), but note that both appear at times in the same text: e.g. IN II 28.5-6 ΘΡΟCΠΗΝΕΚΟΝ ΚΟΝΚ(Λ)-ΛΟΚΟ 'and I praise (you) through (our) relationship' and 9-11 ΕΔ-ΔΟΚΟ ΔΟΜΗΑ ΟΥCΚΡΕCΟ 'for your sake, take (him) and put (him) away'.

-(λ)ΔΟΝ '(down) from': usually associated with 'Jerusalem', either (1) attributive 3.6.2e: e.g. K. 20.6-7 ΔΑΡΗ-ΛΑΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΥCΑΛΗΜΕΙΑ 'in heavenly Jerusalem' (also attributive, if rightly restored, in IN II 29.3 ΔΑΡΗΓΟΥ-Α(Λ)ΟΝ ΠΙΚΤΗ- 'of heavenly light'⁸⁵); (2) as a nominalized attributive 3.6.2e (with fn. 17): IN II 19.11-12 CΚΙΤ(Λ)ΔΩΝΗ (= -ΔΩΝ-Η-Ι-Η) ΟΥΕCΚΙ(ΤΕ)ΗΠΗ ΔΑΡΗ-ΛΑ)ΩΝ-Ι-ΚΑ (= -ΔΩΝ-Η-Ι-ΚΑ 2.7) 'the heavenly instead of the earthly', St. 3.11-12 ΔΑΡΗΠΗ-ΔΩΝ-Ι-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ (= -ΔΩΝ-Η-Ι-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ) 'the heavenly'; (3) adverbially: KG I ii 7 ΔΑΡΗΓΟΥ-ΛΑΟΝ '(there is great joy) from heaven', Faras 3.1.1-2 ΔΑΡΗΓΟΥ-ΔΩΝ 'from heaven (bless and protect ...)'⁸⁶, gr. 14.3—if correctly interpreted: see Zyhlarz 1928.189—ΕΛΕΝΑΤ-ΤΩΗ (assimilated from -ΔΩΝ) ΠΔΔ 'sending from Ilenat' and—if rightly restored—SC 13.23-24 ΔΑΡΗ-ΛΑΩΝ ΚΙCΗΑ '(a voice) came from heaven' (another restoration, better suited to the space and supported by parallel phraseology in SC 19.21-22 and IN I 11 i 7-8, is ΔΑΡΗΛΑΟ ΤΑΡΑ ΚΙCΗΑ [same translation]: Browne 2002e). In K. 31.7-10 ΕΚΕΛ ΤΑΡΟΥ ΑΥΗΠΗΝΟ-ΔΩΝ< <God> inscribes his name in <heavenly> Jerusalem', if the passage is rightly restored, -ΛΟ-ΔΩΝ adheres to a present subjunctive; the usage is comparable to Coptic ΣΗ- + focalizing durative present (Layton 2000 §457). As an adverb, ΔΩΝ appears in IN III 35.16 CΑΓΑCΠ ΔΩΝ-ΟΥCΚ(Λ)ΑΟ 'the charge that I put down'.

-ΕΝΔΕ 'not': it may reinforce ΟΥΕΛ- 'one' 3.7.6a in a negative clause: SC 11.8-10 ΟΥ(ΕΛ)-ΕΝΔΕ --- ΕΙΡΟΥΝΕΝΤΑΛΟ 'no one is able ...' (but -ΕΝΔΕ may be omitted: IN II 14 i 10-11 [Ο]ΥΕΝΗΝΑ ΤΑΔΔΩ ΑΚΗCΗΚΑ 'upon which no one has sat'). Otherwise it is not used unless (1) embedded in a negative clause which is preceded by another negative clause (cf. -ΕΝΔΕ --- -ΕΝΔΕ): e.g. SC 9.18-20 Τ(Λ)Λ ΑΥΡΟΥΤΚΑ ΑΗΚΗΜΕCΟ ΓΑΔΔΕCΠΗΝΑ ΔΚ(Δ)ΑΤ-ΤΟΥ ΑΥΡΟΥΤΚ-ΕΝΔΕ 'do not consider only God, nor the construction which became flesh', or (2) preceded by an adjective in a negative clause: e.g. M. 1.8-10 ΤΑΡΟΝ ΗΠΡΑ ΔΓ-ΕΝΔΕ ΟΥΝΗΝΑΡΑ ΜΕΝΗΑΛΩ ... 'and she, being barren, did not bear ...'. The combination -ΕΝΔΕ ... -ΕΝΔΕ is frequent: e.g. M. 1.9-11 ΟΥΝΗΝΑΡΑ ΜΕΝΗΑΛΩ CΑΚ-ΕΝΔΕ ΔΟΚ-ΕΝΔΕ 'she did not bear either son or daughter' and SC 6.11-13 ΗΑΦΑΝΗΝΑ ΚΑΚΚΑΝΗΚ-ΕΝΔΕ ΔCCEK-ΕΝΔΕ '... nor the rays of the sun nor water', and once we find -ΕΝΔΕ-ΜΕΝΕΝ ... -ΕΝΔΕ-ΜΕΝΕΝ: CL 241.3-5 ΕΠ ΧΡΙCΤΟCΙ ΜΕΝΕΠΗ-ΕΝΔΕ-ΜΕΝΕΝ ΕΚ[^{vac.}]ΚΙΔΑΤ-Τ-Ε(Π)ΔΕ-ΜΕΝΕΝ 'if you are neither Christ nor the prophet'. See also ΜΑΓΡΚΟΝ(Η)ΟΕΝΔΕ 3.11.

-ΕΝΚΩ 'but', characteristically placed at the end of a clause: L. 105.6-7 ΤΑΡΓΙΛΛΕ ΠΕCΟΛ Ν ΔΗ ΤΟΤΑΜΗ ΕΙΡΟΥ ΑΙΛΟ ΕΑΝ ΕΚ ΟΥΝΗΝΑΡΑ ΟΝΔ-ΕΝΚΩ 'but the one who spoke to him, saying: You are my son, I have begotten you today' and SC 3.18-20 ΤΑΡ ΕΙΚΑ CΟΔΕΛΟΥΚΕΤΑΛ ΗΑΝΗ ΓΑΤΤΗΠΗΚΗΠΗΝΟ ΗΔΔΑΚΚΕΝΗΑ-ΕΝΚΩ 'but he also fills those who

⁸⁵ The translation in Browne 1989b.52 is to be corrected: ΔΑΡΗΓΟΥ[Α]ΔΟΝ must go with what follows (now lost in a lacuna), not with the preceding ΚΙΤ- 'garment'.

⁸⁶ Note that the phrase is embedded in a text entirely in Greek; its value as evidence of O.N. syntax is therefore not high.

stand near him with the good odor of that'. N.B. The preceding clause contains or implies a negative; there is therefore a contrast with $\text{HAG}^{\text{P}}\text{KON}(\text{HO})\text{ENAE}$ 3.11, which is used both after positive and after negative clauses.

-ka directive marker 3.6.3.

-kaλο, **-lo-ka**λο 'after', occasionally 'against', once (CE 159 A 6) 'since': L. 111.7-8 $\text{KATAPETASNA OYOU-KALO PALLA KIA}$ 'that which comes after veil two' 3.8.2, St. 13.13-14.1 $\text{POYLOYX PADECI-LO-KALO}$ 'after I have ceased separating' 4.7.3b, gr. 10.1-2—if rightly read— PARTAKON-KALO 'after it is written' (but probably correct to PARTAKONH-KALO 'it is written': cf. IN III 36 i 2 and 3.9.7a ¶3), IN III 41.15-17 AI-O-KALO --- POYAAD 'whoever ... will disparage me', CE 159 A 6 $\text{TOT K}^{\text{D}}\text{ARIKALO}$ 'since I shall be childless'.

-ke '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: for the last cf. St. 8.4-5 AN ECEAE OYOE-KE 'my brothers'. Once—if the text is rightly restored—it appears after a singular predicative: L. 102.4-5 $\text{OYROY KOCMOCIN PIKIT[AI(?)]-KE}$ 'you are the light of the world'.

-kegarra 'according to': L. 104.10-12 $\text{DAGEN [KE]GARRA-DE}$ --- $\text{EACTI KEGARRA[AI]-EION}$ 'according to the Gospel ..., but according to the election'. For a similar formation note 106.2-3 $\text{MELCHIEDEKFI [TR(?)]KEKEDLAKA}$ 'in accordance with the order(?) of Melchizedek' (Browne 1996a.175).

-kella, **-kellika** 'as': for the use of these two related postpositions in comparative clauses, see 4.7.2. The collapsed KEEKA 'according to' appears with preceding genitive in IN I 2 i 20 TARFI CEFI KEEKA 'according to his deed'.

-ketala: this emphasizing particle can join with a preceding local postposition to intensify the latter in the sense of 'from': L. 104.5-6 KI[MI]NA CIWNI-X [i.e. -la 2.5.6a] -KETALA 'he comes from Sion', IN I 8 i 12-13 $\text{OYEIARI ZARH-LA-KETALA AYOYAKICHNA}$ 'silence occurred from heaven'⁸⁷ and M. 12.4-6 $\text{TAINA TAYO-KETALA OYKKA PALLA}$ 'coming out from under him'. But most often it means 'also, even' and in this meaning may have terminal -la , but usually only when -EION 'and' follows (cf. Griffith 1913.102): M. 4.12-13 ER-KETALA POCOC 'Hello to you too!', IN I 4 i 11-12 DIEN-KETALA 'even if he die' and M. 14.11-12 $\text{ETI-KETALA-LA-EION DOYNTOGA}$ 'and the woman too, becoming pregnant ...' (N.B. -KETALAE is thrice found without a following -EION : St. 29.3, IN II 17 i 7 and 22.4).

-kekla, (-lo-ki (E)CKLA(LA)LO 'up to': IN I 9 ii 18 $\text{ERIDONA ZARHI-KEKLA}$ 'they have followed (them) up to heaven', SC 24.15-16 $\text{DELOIYINA ELLEN[IOY-LW-KEKLA-LW}$ 'up to the ages of eternity' and IN II 18 vi 6-7 DIAR-KEKLA 'up to death'. It takes a directive suffix 3.6.3 in K. 21.10-11 $\text{PIRNE DECCI-LO-KEKLAOKA}$ 'up the green herbs(?)'.

-kon 'also, and': SC 8.12-13 $\text{TOYCKONO DIDOLGOYINA GADGOY-KON}$ [= -GOY-KON] 'and the bodies of those already dead', 14.6 $\text{EPIEXOTI[A]KCI-KON}$ 'and if he suffered' and IN I 7 ii 21-22 $\text{OYN-KON-T[RE(?)]GOYLO P}^{\text{L}}\text{AI}^{\text{P}}\text{RA DEYDARA}$ 'he also revealed them in our midst(?)' (Browne 1996a.175). In IN II 28.17-18 it is repeated, in the sense of 'both ... and':

⁸⁷ Not 'in heaven', as in Browne 1989c.54, despite the Greek (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ): cf. KG I ii 6-7 $\text{[P]O}^{\text{L}}\text{KAI}^{\text{P}}\text{E [AA}^{\text{P}}\text{ EPIENHOZOYI ZARHI}^{\text{P}}\text{GOY-LON}$ 'because there is great joy from the heavens' (ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς): see Browne 2002e.

$\text{CPII TINO-KON HATTO-KON DRKHO}$ 'when the people both from the west and from the east arrived' (sim. III 42.3). It also appears as a component of $\text{HAG}^{\text{P}}\text{KON}(\text{HO})\text{ENAE}$ 'but' 3.11. For its use in verbids periphrastic see 3.9.13.

-kono, **-lo-kono** 'after': (1) in adverbs, e.g. M. 12.7 TOYC-KONO 'immediately' (lit. 'after before'), and (2) as a conjunction, as in M. 10.9 KICEPI-HO-KONO 'after it had come' 4.7.3b. The word is spelled with terminal -a in IN III 53.2-3 $\text{TORERI PAYI-LO-KONA}$ 'after I enter' (see below, s.v. -PA(YOY)). The reduced form -kon appears to occur in Kanarti 8 ADIP B-KON 'after the 2nd of Hathyr'.

-a subjective marker 3.6.1.

-la (occasionally -lala) '(in)to, in, from': (1) locative: SC 5.11-12 ECPIT-LA DALLOYKA 'those who are in prodigality' and 13.5 AYEL-LA DKICHA 'he sat in a boat', (1a) partitive: M. 3.3-4 $\text{AN DOYTRAPIGOY-LA OYEKKA}$ 'one amongst my fowls', (1b) temporal: IN I 11 i 9 DIPA (i.e. DIP-LA) 'in the evening' and II 20 i 6 $\text{Φ}^{\text{O}}\text{-L}^{\text{A}}$ (sic) 'in Thoth'; (2) allative: SC 4.18-19 $\text{PALKIT-LA KOYDRA TORANCO}$ 'let us leap into the sea'; (3) ablative: 5.2-3 $\text{DKIC-LA DOALIDARPAKKE}$ 'you are going to gather from (EK) the depth ...'; (4) instrumental: St. 16.9-11 $\text{E[O(?)]KOY EPI TPITPIA}$ (= -TI-LA : Browne 1995a.456) DROYDCIN 'which protects with such glory(?)'. See also under -ayd , $\text{-r}^{\text{L}}\text{(AE)}$, -KETALA , -TOYC(OY) and DOYR . For its similarity with -lo , see below, ftn. 88.

-an copulative: see 3.9.16a.

-lae emphazier: see under $\text{-r}^{\text{L}}\text{(AE)}$, -KETALA , -CKLA , DOYR (-LAEDOYI). In other contexts it appears in the following documentary texts: IN III 47 i 6 AKKAEI (= AR-KA-EI-LAE for -KO-EI-LO), 7 HONGAYANNE-LO (if it represents -KAYAN-LA-LO), 48.4 EKKALAE and Kanarti 15 EILA-E .

-lo (occasionally -llo) '(in)to, in, from': (1) locative: L. 113.1-2 $\text{[OY]NHOYTAKON BHOLBENI IOYDAIA[IN]-HO}$ 'when [Jesus] was born in Bethlehem of Judaea', 5 E-LO PIIA 'where is he?', (1a) partitive: M. 2.10-11 $\text{OYKPIGOY-LW OYELLO}$ lit. 'on one amongst the days', (1b) temporal: L. 113.2 $\text{HROWA OYROYNA OYKPIGOY-LW}$ 'in the days of Herod the king', SC 12.12-13 OYKOYI DOYRTAL-LW 'on each day' ($\text{KATH EKASTHN HMERAN}$), 14.2 TAYK[A] HPIYAN-HO 'always' (and M. 2.10-11 quoted above); (2) allative: M. 12.14 EOT-LO DORA 'going to the house'; (3) ablative: L. 100.6-7 EALOU-LLO PIKKEH 'when he awoke from sleep'; (4) instrumental: SC 18.2-3 $\text{EAL-LO [ZARPHIK[A] KAREONNA}$ 'he held heaven with the word'⁸⁸. For -lo TARA 'from' see below, s.v. -DWA sub fin. See also under -ayw , -kalo , -CKLA , -KONO , -MALO , -ORW (-ORALLW , -ORPERE), -TAYO , -TOYC(OY) , -DWA , -DWA and DOYR .

⁸⁸ In terms of meaning -la and -lo are quite similar, but -la appears to be more specific and restricted in its use: only -lo is a focus marker (see the next section), and -lo is more commonly joined to abstract substantives (as adverbials 3.12b) than is -la . But at times it is difficult to see any difference between the two postpositions: see e.g. IN I 10 A ii 18-19 DOYDALHNGOY-LAW --- $\text{EPIHINENAHNGOY-LAA}$ 'amidst those that will be ... amidst those that will not be ...'; cf. also K. 19.16-18 $\text{PROCKOKKA KOC-E-LA KENDOYKKEI}$ 'if he presents an offering in the church' with 20.16-17 $\text{PROCKOKA KOC-E-LLO KENDRANGOYKA}$ 'the offerings which they place in the church', and note IN III 36 i 26 $\text{DOKOC-LA PARRI KOCIEN PAK-LLO}$ 'in the cotton field(?) and in the cultivated depression of the orchard' (sim. 40.28). Some of the overlap may be due to the phonetic confusion that is at times found between a and o 2.1.2.2.

-λο focus marker or emphaziser; etymologically locative. For a full treatment see Browne 1997.1-27, of which the following is a summary: -λο as focus marker may be attached to a predicate (marked with -а 3.6.4), either nominal (SC 14.15-16 ἘΤΑΥΡΟΣΧ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣΓΟΥΗ ΤΕΕΙΤΑ-ЛО 'the cross is the hope of the Christians': such a use may be called copulative) or verbal (IN III 47 i 7-8 ΜΙΕΛ ΕΙΡΙΔ ΠΑΔΔΙΝΑ-ЛО 'the fault(?) will come forth from you'. The predicate need not be marked with -а: IN II 24.3 ΤΑΛΑ ΕΚΚΑ ΓΕΝ-НО 'God is good to you' 3.6.4d (here too -ло may be interpreted as copulative). As focus marker, the particle -ло may adhere to a (pro)noun and mark it as the logical predicate in a structure conveniently translated as an adjectival cleft sentence: SC 22.13 ΜΙΤΑ-ЛО ΔΙΚΑ ΕΤΟΥΕΡΡΑ 'it is the serpent who led me astray' and 10-11 ΤΑΛ-ЛО ΔΙΚΑ ΕΤΟΥΕΡΡΑ 'it is she who led me astray' (for other ways of expressing a cleft sentence in O.N. see 3.9.12a and 4.5.1b). Attached to an adverbial modification, the particle, *qua* focus marker, allows it to function as the logical predicate of a substantial cleft sentence: M. 5.2-4 ΦΙΛΟΖΕΝΗΓΛΑΕ-ΛΩ ΔΟΥΡΕ 'it is to Philoxenite that I am going'. The particle -ло may also serve occasionally as a topicalizer: SC 14.13-14 ΔΕСКТ-ЛО-ΔΑΔ ἘΤΑΥΡΟΣНА ΕΟΚΗ ΟΡΩСΕКА ΟΥΛΓΔΔΕΡΟΥΛ-ΛΩ 'it is in patience [ΔΕСКТ-ЛО-ΔΑΔ: -ло as focus marker] that you will hear [ΟΥΛΓΔΔΕΡΟΥΛ-ΛΩ: -λω as topic marker 4.5.1b] the praise of the glory of the cross'.

-ЛОГО, -ЛОКО (at times with preceding -а) 'through, by, in' (once [IN III 42.3-4] 'for'): SC 19.17-18 КОЕП-РОКО ΔΕСΤΙИΗ ΔΟΥΛΔΕСН КЕΛΛΩ 'as transgression existed through the tree', 7.18-19 ΤΟΥΚΓΟΥΗΝΑ ΕΙΔΙΡΚΑΝΕ-ЛОКО-ΕΙΟΗ СОУРТАКА 'and disturbed by the violence of the winds', St. 33.1-3 ΕΙΠΗΙΤ-ΛΟКО ΤΑΚΑΗ ΑΡΤΑΚΟΛ 'quickly seized by inspiration', L. 108.3-4 ΕΠ ΤΑС-ΛΟΚΩ ΤΕΚКА ΕΙΔΩΙΔΕСΩ 'keep them in your name', and IN III 42.3-4 ΕΑΠΛ Ἐ-ЛОКО --- ТΕРА 'giving ... for two (pieces of) gold'. Cf. also above, -ЛОКО.

-ЛОГОΕΙΑ 'than': see 3.4.4.

-Н(а) copulative: see 3.9.16b for its use with a preceding indicative; it is also employed with a preceding noun in the predicative 3.6.4: SC 1.7-8 ΤΙΚΑΝΕΓΟΥΕ-НА 'are you sheep?' (see further Browne 1984a ad loc.). Note that -а may vanish (1) before a vowel (even when a minor stop precedes): K. 19.11-12 ΑΡΤΟСΑ ΔΩΛΑ-Н ОРНА ΔΟΛΑ-НΔ 'it is only bread, it is only wine', and (2) before a nasal: IN I 2 i 15-16 ΕΙΠΗНА-Н СОДА 'it is yours, Lord'.

-НАЛО, -НА 'according to, following' (with preceding -ЛО): SC 10.18-19 ΕΠ-НО-НАЛО 'according to this' (in IN III 57 i 5 ΕΠНО-НА). The -ЛО need not precede immediately: M. 11.13-15 ΕΟΔΟΥ ΔΗΗΙΛΟСП-НАЛО ТОРРАСΙ 'for it is in accordance with [i.e. through] my Lord that you have entered' (cf. Browne 1994b ad loc.).

-НН а copulative/imperative particle: it is used (1) as a copulative, with a preceding noun in the predicative (L. 105.6 ΔΗ ΤΟΤΑ-НН ΕΙΡ- 'you are my son' 3.6.5e and IN II 12 ii 11-12 ΔΗ ΝΑΗТ. ΔΑ-НН- 'you are my refuge(?)'), or with a preceding pronominal subject (L. 105.8-9 ΕΙΔ-НН ΙΕΡΕΔСОУ ΕΛΛΕΗ ΚΕΤΑ[ΛΛΕ]И 'you are priest forever' and SC 11.3-4 [ΕΙΡΟΥ-НН ИΠΕТРОСΙ 'you are Peter'], and (2) as a marker of the 3rd pers. imperative 3.9.17 (e.g. K. 19.14 ΠΑΛΑ-НН 'let him come forth') and of the vetitive 3.9.18 (e.g. M. 6.12 ΔΕТТАКАТА-НН 'do not be insulted').

-НОА 'to' (with preceding genitive): only in IN II 23.7-8 ΚΡΟΔΑ-Н-НОА ΔΟΕΗ 'if you come to Kroda' (see the note in Browne 1989b ad loc.); the postposition survives in modern Nobiin: see Werner 1987.139-140.

-НОН 'and, also': SC 9.11 ΕΠ-НОН ΕΠНА --- 'and this is ...' and 23.13 ΕΠ ΟΓΛΑΕ ΕΠ ΤΟΥΛΔΕΚΕΛΛΟ-НОН 'on your chest and also on your belly'.

-НА, -Н genitive marker 3.6.2.

-НОН 'as, like': (1) with preceding genitive: L. 105.3-4 ΔΡΩΗНА-НОН 'like Aaron' (sim. 101.7 and KG I ii 13), and (2) with preceding -ΔΕ (once): gr. 6.8-9 ΔΜΑΗ ΠΑΡΡΑΔΕ-НОН 'wie Nil und Festland' (so Zyhlarz 1928 §234).

-ОН 'and, but', -ΕΙΟΗ after a vowel (but regularly ΔΙ-ОН 'and I' [e.g. L. 107.12]), -ЛОΗ after non-radical λ, -НОН after η, -РОН after ρ: SC 7.13 СΔΛК-ОН ΕΙΗТТΡΕΤΑΛΩ 'and demonstrating the argument', 4.17 ΕΚΚΕΤΑΛΛΕ-ΕΙΟΗ 'and now also', 21.7 ΤΑΛ-Λ-ΟΗ 'and God', L. 107.1 ΕΛ-ОН 'and now', SC 17.19-20 ΤΟΤΑ ΕΝΕН-НОН 'and if he is the Son' and IN II 18 iii 3 ΔΙΑΡ-РОН 'and death'. N.B. Directive -КА + -ОН > -КОΗ, never -КА-ΕΙΟΗ 2.5.1c. At times -ОН is found instead of its allomorphs: IN I 4 i 5 ΠСОУСИ-ОН 'and Jesus' (but 21 ΠСОУСИ-ΕΙΟΗ 3.3.6), 12-13 ΔΩΡΑ ΗΠΩΔΑНА(Δ)СΠ ΔΙΔΓΛΛΕ ΠСТЕΥΛ-ОН 'and everyone living who believes in me' (note the postponement of -ОН, by no means unusual: cf. e.g. M. 9.13 and K. 21.7; with ΠСТЕΥΛ-ОН cf. SC 17.8 ΠЕСЛ-ΟΗ 'and speaking') and K. 25.14 НЕНЕН-ОН 'and if not' (but SC 2.8 НЕНЕН-НОН 3.11); note also IN II 18 iv 8 -ΕΙΔΕ-ΟΗ against the normal -ΕΙΔΕ-ΕΙΟΗ in e.g. L. 105.1. A reduced form -И appears to stand in SC 6.15-16 (twice) ΕΛΗ-Н 'and now' and perhaps in K. 26.11 -ЛОГОΕΙΑ-Н: see the comment in 3.4.4.1. For -ΔΕ --- -ОН and other combinations, see above, under -ΔΕ, and for non-enclitic ОН see 3.11. Occasionally we find apparently pleonastic ОН --- -ОН (e.g. St. 8.10-9.1) and -ОН --- -ОН (36.5-7). There are also instances of -ОН introducing a conditional/temporal apodosis: e.g. M. 3.5, 10.10; K. 21.12; St. 11.7; cf. the note in Browne 1994b ad M. 3.5.

-ОН 'when': only in St. 8.12-9.1 ΟΑΙΠΕСАН-НОН 'when they hanged ...' (see Browne 1992c ad loc.; note that -ОН appears here as -НОН, perhaps on the analogy of conjunctive -ОН: see the preceding entry) and IN III 49 i 8 ΟΥТСАН-ОН 'when they deposited (it)'.
 -Λ)ΩΡ 'before, from, with' (optionally with preceding -ЛО): SC 10.11 ΠΙΛΑΤΟСΙ-ΩΡΩ ΕΟУΔΑРЕИΠ 'standing before Pilate', K. 21.13-15 ΕΤΑΗНА ΤΑΗ ΔΓΓΕΛΟС ΕС-Ι-ΛΟРО (for the juncture vowel see 2.10) 'he will receive it from his holy angel' and L. 107.2 ΕΙΡ-ΙΩ-[2.5.6b]-ΩΡ 'with you' (παρά σεαυτῶ). Derivatives are:

-ΩΡΑΛΛΩ 'before' (with preceding -ЛО): only in IN II 16 iv 9-10 ΘΡΟНОС-ΛΩ ΩΡΑΛΛΩ ΔΟΥΚΚΕΗНА 'they worship before the throne'.

-ΩΡΕΡΕ 'before': only in St. 3.4-5 ΟΥΚΛ ΠΚΙСΙГОУ-Λ(Ο?) ΩΡΕΡΕ ΕΟΗΔИ 'it being [lit. standing] before forty days (of his future ascent)', i.e. 'it being forty days before his future ascent'. If the passage is correctly restored, the word is construed with preceding -ЛО.

-ΠΑ(Υ)ΟΥ 'until, when': St. 13.6-11 ΚΙΗ ΠΑΥΟΥ --- ΕΟΥΕЛ ΔΟΥΔΔΠНА КОСНОСКА ΠΕΩΩΑ ΠΑΔЕРИ ΠΑΟΥ 'when he comes, he will rest ... until I cease judging the world'. It is also found in the directive ΠΑ(Υ)ΟΥ-КА 3.6.3: M. 16.10-11 ТЕН ΔΙΗ ΠΑΥКА 'until their death', L. 103.4-5 ΔИИИΛГО[Υ]ИНА ΔΥТАКЕРАН ΠΑΥΟΥКА 'until all are done' (for the construction see 4.7.3) and IN III 42.5 ΔΕМОУ Ε ΠΑΟΥКА 'until 5 years' (i.e. 'for 5 years'; cf. gr. 4.3 ΖΑΟТІ ΠΑΟΥ 3.8.3). Note also ΠΑΥΕΙΛΟΚОНА (= -КОНО: see above) 'after' in IN III 53.2-3 ТΟРЕРІ ΠΑΥΕΙΛΟΚОНА 'after I enter'.

-δΟΥΡΡΩ, -δΟΥΡΙΘ (= -δΟΥΡΙΑΟ: see above) 'because of, concerning': IN II 13 i 12-13 ΕΙΡῆ δΟΥΡῶ 'concerning you' and K. 27.14-28.1 ΜΑΝΚΑΣΙΝ ΤΛΛᾶ δΟΥΡΙΓΡΑ ΕΙΚ[[Δ]]ΚΑ δΟΥΡΙΟ ΠΑΣΚΑΡΡΑΣΙΝ 'because God, making that the cause, will punish you': here δΟΥΡΙΟ is an incorporated gloss which originally controlled a variant reading with the genitive (*ΜΑΝΗΝΑΣΙΝ --- δΟΥΡΙΟ 'because of that'). For its use with a verbid or subjunctive see 4.7.4.

3.11 Conjunctions (non-postpositive); consult Browne 1996a for full coverage.

ΜΑΓῚΚΟΝ(ΗΟ)ΕΝΔΕ, ΜΑΓῚΡΕΝΗΟΝ, ΜΑΓῚΡΕΝΕΝΔΕ 'but': SC 14.3-4 ΜΑΓῚΚΟΝΗΟΕΝΔΕ --- ΠΕΣΡΕ 'but (ἀλλά) I speak ...'. It appears with -ΟΝ 3.10 in M. 6.13-14 ΜΑΓῚΚΟΝ'ΕΝΔΕ Εῖῖ ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΚ-ΟΝ ΔΙΚΑ ΔΙΝΕΩ 'but give me your egg'. The word is to be contrasted with -ΕΝΚΩ: see 3.10 s.v.

ΜΕΝΕΝ(Η)ΟΝ 'or' (lit. 'and if not'): SC 2.7-9 ΤΙΚΑΝΕΓ]ΟΥῚἩΝΑ 'ΟῚἩΝΑ' ΜΕΝΕΝΗΟΝ ΚΟΡ[ΟΣΕ]ΓΟΥῚἩΝΑ 'is it that you are sheep or shepherds?'. It appears with -ΟΝ 3.10 in IN I 7 i 2-3 ΜΕΝΕΝΗΟΝ[Η ΟΥΡ]ΟΥ ΑΥΡΟΥΤΟΥΓΟΥΓΛΑΒΕΙΟΝ ΔΟΥᾶ ΚΡΘῆΝΑ 'or has it reached you alone?'. Note also ΜΕΝΕΝ --- ΜΕΝΕΝ 'either ... or': WN 13-14 ΣΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΝΕΝ ΕΒΕΙᾶ ΜΕΝΕΝ 'either in word or in deed'. For -ΕΝΔΕ-ΜΕΝΕΝ --- -ΕΝΔΕ-ΜΕΝΕΝ '(n)either ... (n)or' see 3.10 s.v. -ΕΝΔΕ.

ΤῚΚῆ(ΗΟ) 'nevertheless, however, moreover': IN I 5 i 16-17 ΤῚΚῆ ΤΕΛΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΙΝΕΝΑΛΩ 'but nevertheless (οὐ μέντοι) he did not enter the tomb'. Note the postponement of the conjunction in St. 12.12-13.3 ΤΑΝ ὄρωσεν ψοκκα παειᾶ κῶσελα ΤῚδάρηκαν ΤῚΚῆῆ⁹¹ 'moreover, if, writing a book of its praise, he has given it to the church'. Here the Coptic has ἡζογο δε ἦνε ἡταγσραῖ ἡπρωωμε ἡεπαῖνος ἡπεσταγρος <-->, and ΤῚΚῆῆῆῆ corresponds to ἡζογο δε; its postponement is no more extreme than that of -ΕΝΚΩ 3.10.

N.B. For asyndeton, a fairly widespread phenomenon in O.N., see 4.10.

3.12 Adverbs and their equivalents.

a) True adverbs include formations in -ΑΗ (cf. 3.9.6.2 ftn. 58): e.g. L. 101.10 ΤΑΤΑΗ- 'in vain', St. 33.2-3 ΤΑΚΑΗ 'quickly' and IN I 4 i 18 ΔΕΚΚΑΗ 'secretly'; for a full list see Browne 1997.57. Here it is also appropriate to list expressions referring to the points of the compass: ΚΑΛΟ- 'north' (lit. 'behind' [one who is facing south, the source of the Nile]): cf. -ΚΑΛΟ 3.10), ΜΑΤΤΟ- 'east', ὄΡΟ- 'south' (lit. 'in front' [of one who is facing south]): cf. -ὄρω 3.10) and ΤΙΝΟ- 'west'. In addition to being used attributively 3.6.2e (e.g. IN III 32.15 ΟΡΟ- Η ΣΕΥΔᾶ 'the southern boundary'), they function as directional adverbs in expressions like ὄρωδε --- ΚΑΛΟ-ΛΟΗ 'on the south ... and on the north' in IN III 36 i 17-18 (for -ΔΕ --- -ΟΝ see 3.10).

b) Replacements for adverbs include: pret. I verbids in -ΑΛ 3.9.6 and 4.7.3c, e.g. K. 22.2 ΚΟΥΡΑΛ 'joyfully' (N.B. the expected -ΟΛ appears in SC 5.19 ΤΑΔΟΛ- 'idly'; see also 3.10 s.v. -ΔΩΟΛ); 3rd pers. pl. pres. subjunctives, e.g. K. 22.12 ΚΟΥΡΡΑΗ-ΛΟ 'joyfully'; postpositional phrases, e.g. IN I 4 i 25 ΟΥΔΡΙΤΑῚ 'quickly' (lit. 'in quickness': see 3.10 s.v. -ΛΟ, ftn. 88), M. 12.7 ΤΟΥΚΟΝΟ 'immediately' (lit. 'after before'); note also L. 112.1 ΜΗΝΔΙ

⁹¹ The punctuation before ΤῚΚῆῆῆῆ appears here to have no clause-dividing function 1.2.1, as occasionally elsewhere in St. (cf. 14.8, 18.11 and 29.1).

ΗῖῖΔΙΛΟ 'individually' (κατὰ μέρος), where reiteration appears to effect a distributive sense.⁹² Here also should be mentioned adverbial phrases without a postposition, e.g. K. 23.11-12 Εῖῖ ΚΕΤΑ ΜΑΛΛΕ- 'in all this way'.

c) Temporal adverbs include: IN I 4 i 3 ΕΛ- 'now', SC 5.17 ΕΛΗ 'today', 8.16 ΤΟΥΣΟΥ 'before' (ΤΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΕΣΕΣΙ ΚΕΛΛΩ 'as I said before'; cf. -ΤΟΥΣ(ΟΥ) 3.10), CL 240.7 ΑΤΑΡΑ 'ever' (πῶποτε) and IN I 4 i 23 ΕΓΕΛ 'still' (ἔτι; sim. L. 102.1). Note also gr. 2.5 ΤΑΥΚΟΥ ΔῖῖῖΙΑ 'always' (versus SC 14.2 ΤΑΥΚ[Δ] ΗῖῖΩΛΗΗΟ 'always') as well as ΕΛΛΕ- 'time', e.g. in K. 19.15-16 ΕΛΛΟ ΚΙΛΟ (= ΚΙΛ-ΛΟ) 'in the time that comes' (i.e. 'hereafter'), reduced to ΕΛΕῚ in SC 9.14; ΕΛΛΕ functions adverbially in K. 28.3, where it means 'forever', and it adverbially reinforces a future tense in e.g. SC 5.16-17 Εῖῖ ΕΛΛΕ ΕΛΗ ΟΥΚ ΟΥΚΡΑ ΤΙΔΔΑΡΡΙΚΑ 'that which I am going to set before you today' (cf. 4.6b).

3.13 Interjections: Εῖ⁹³ is usually found with vocatives (which stand in the predicative 3.6.4b): e.g. M. 13.8-9 Ε ΕῖῖΤΑ 'O woman' (but Εῖ is optional: cf. 13.3 ΕῖῖΤΑ) and IN I 10 A ii 12-13 Ε ΟΥΡΟΥᾶ ΟΗΗΟΡΙΟΣΙ 'O king Honorius' (for the absence of -Α with the personal name see 3.6.4b). In M. 9.6 we find Ε ἄλεω 'in truth!' Note also ἄλο 'yes' (perhaps a shortening of ἄλελο⁹⁴), which translates ναί in IN I 9 ii 5. For the vocatives Εῖῖ 'O woman' and ΠΑΠΟ 'O father', see 3.6.4b. Here we should likewise mention ΟΥΕῖῖ-ΛΟ (Ὶεῖῖ-ΛΟ) 'woe!', controlling -ΛΟ 3.10: e.g. IN II 15 i 10-11 ΟΥΕῖῖΑΛΟ ΤΕΛΛΟ 'woe to them!'. Greek ἰδοῦ 'behold' is rendered by Εῖῖῖ (e.g. IN II 15 ii 9) and by Εῖῖῖῖ (e.g. IN II 13 i 19), the latter presumably to be analyzed as Εῖῖ-ῖῖ lit. 'it is this' (cf. Browne 1996a.77).

⁹² The text, however, may be corrupt (i.e. ΗῖῖΔΗ(ΗῖῖΔΙ)ΛΟ), like ΚΙΣΚΙΛΛΩ(ΚῶΚῶΛΩ) in 103.2: Browne 1998a.4.

⁹³ Probably /e/ and not /i/ 1.3.3: cf. e in N.K.D.

⁹⁴ Cf. also ἄλεεῖῖ 'truly', used especially to introduce a conditional protasis (e.g. M. 3.1) 4.7.5a ftn. 110.

4.1 The simple sentence in O.N. may be classified in terms of its predicate as nominal or verbal or—but only in a few instances 4.1.3—adverbial. In all cases, the subject is a noun or its equivalent, marked regularly by -λ 3.6.1a, b. Nominal and verbal predicates terminate in predicative -α 3.6.4, attached to a noun or a verb, respectively. Adverbial predicates consist of postpositional phrases.

N.B. The distinction here proposed amongst the three different predicate types is different from the 'structural opposition of nominal vs. adverbial predication' which Satzinger finds basic to the majority of African languages, including Nubian (Satzinger 2000.32-36). Choosing the beginning of the Gospel of John as 'an excellent means to give an impression as to whether a given language treats nominal and adverbial predicates in the same way or not' (33), Satzinger contrasts e.g. Greek καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος with Castilian Spanish 'y a Palabra estaba con Dios, y la Palabra era Dios': the former does not distinguish between nominal and adverbial predication, while the latter does. In terms of Satzinger's dichotomy, the relevant portion of John 1:1 in O.N. shows the distinction—if the passage is rightly read and restored: $\text{C}\lambda[\text{ΛO}\text{H}\text{I}] \text{T}\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\text{O} [\Delta]\text{I}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{O}\text{H}\text{A} \text{T}\lambda\lambda[\text{A}\text{O}\text{H}\text{I}] \text{C}\alpha\lambda[\text{E}\text{H}\text{O}\text{H}\text{A}]$ 'and the Word was to God, and God was the Word' (SC 17.23-24): i.e. $\Delta\text{O}\text{Y}\lambda-$ is used with adverbial predication, and $\text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}$ - with nominal. But, as I have shown in Browne 2002c, this dichotomy is not automatic in O.N., for though $\Delta\text{O}\text{Y}\lambda-$ is preferred with adverbial predicates, there are still passages which employ $\text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}$ - (e.g. IN II 28.13-14 $\text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}\text{H}\alpha \text{A}\bar{\text{I}}\alpha\alpha\lambda$ 'she is with me'), and though I find no instances of $\Delta\text{O}\text{Y}\lambda-$ with nominal predicate, to say that $\text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}$ - is here required misses the point. It suffices to place the nominal predicate in the predicative, as e.g. in SC 12.10 $\text{T}\lambda\lambda\bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\text{H}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\kappa}\alpha\lambda\alpha$ 'God is a judge' i.e. ὁ θεὸς κριτῆς [sc. ἐστίν] Ps 7:12 (cited in full in 4.1.1); to this pattern $\text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}$ - may be added, apparently optionally, perhaps to reflect εἶναι in the Greek: e.g. IN I 4 i 10-11 $\text{A}\bar{\text{I}}\alpha\text{O} \text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}\text{H}\epsilon \text{C}\alpha\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha\langle\delta\epsilon\rangle\text{H}\text{H}\text{O}\text{Y} \bar{\alpha}\rho\delta\alpha\delta\epsilon\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}\alpha\lambda$ 'I am the resurrection and the life' (ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωὴ Jn 11:25). When the syntagma is subordinate, $\text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}$ - is required (e.g. M. 5.12-6.1 $\text{E}\lambda\lambda\eta\text{H}\text{O}\text{C} \text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\alpha}$ 'being a pagan'), as it also is when the tense is specified (e.g. 2.7 $\text{M}\epsilon\text{I}\rho\alpha\gamma\text{O}\text{Y}\bar{\epsilon}\lambda\omega \text{E}\text{I}\text{C}\text{C}\alpha\text{H}\alpha$ 'they were barren').

4.1.1 The nominal sentence has a noun or equivalent as predicate, marked regularly by -α 3.6.4a, d. The normal order is S(ubject) P(redicate), though PS is also found: e.g. (SP) SC 12.10-11 $\text{T}\lambda\lambda\bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\text{H}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\kappa}\alpha\lambda\alpha \bar{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\tau\alpha[\text{I}] \text{T}\omega\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\tau\tau\alpha \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha\tau\tau\alpha$ 'God is a judge, truthful, powerful, patient' (for the congruence of the adjective see 3.6.6b), (PS) 24.14 $\text{T}\alpha\text{H}\eta\text{H}\alpha\text{C}\bar{\text{H}} \text{C}\text{O}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ 'his is the glory' (i.e. * $\text{T}\alpha\text{H}\eta\text{H}\alpha\text{C}\bar{\text{H}} \text{C}\text{O}\bar{\kappa}\alpha \text{C}\text{O}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$, with the substantival predicate deleted). In the second example, the predicate is reinforced by -C $\bar{\text{H}}$; similar reinforcement is also common with - λO (e.g. St. 18.12-19.2 $\text{C}\tau\alpha\gamma\text{P}\text{O}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\chi} \text{X}\rho\text{I}\sigma\tau\text{i}\alpha\text{H}\text{O}[\text{C}]\rho\text{I}\gamma\text{O}\text{Y}\text{H}\alpha \text{T}\omega\epsilon\gamma[\text{T}]\lambda\alpha$ 'the cross is the hope of the Christians'), - $\text{H}(\alpha)$ (SC 2.14 $\text{P}\epsilon\text{C}\alpha \text{T}\bar{\text{I}}\delta\delta\text{i}\alpha\epsilon$ [= $\text{T}\bar{\text{I}}\delta\delta\text{i}\alpha\text{-}\delta\epsilon$ 2.5.6a] $\alpha\text{H}\eta\text{H}\alpha\text{-}\text{H}$ 'to speak is mine' [i.e. my task] and - HH (L. 105.6 $\alpha\text{H} \text{T}\text{O}\tau\alpha\text{-}\text{H}\text{H} \text{E}\text{I}\rho$ 'you are my Son'); see further above in 3.10 under each postposition, especially under - λO and - $\text{C}\bar{\text{H}}$, where I summarize the treatment in Browne 1997.1-27 (- λO) and 28-37 (- $\text{C}\bar{\text{H}}$). If the subject is obvious from the context, it may be suppressed: e.g. SC 1.7-8 $\text{T}\bar{\text{I}}\kappa\alpha\text{H}\epsilon\gamma\text{O}\text{Y}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-}\text{H}\alpha$ 'are you sheep?' and L. 104.11 $\text{O}\gamma\kappa\kappa\alpha\bar{\epsilon}\gamma\text{O}\text{Y}\bar{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\omega$ 'they are enemies'. For the reinforcement of a nominal sentence with $\text{E}\text{H}\bar{\text{I}}$ - see 4.1 sub fin.

4.1.2 The verbal sentence has as its predicate a verbal form terminating in predicative -α, i.e. either the indicative or the predicative 3.9.6. 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, 3.9.7.

a) Present

Indicative: Dong. I ii 9-10 $\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\omega\lambda\omega$ $\lambda\gamma\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda$ $\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\rho\eta\alpha$ 'there ships go'.

Predicative: IN II 24.16 $\delta\sigma\lambda\omicron\eta\eta\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha$ (= $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\eta\alpha$ 2.1.2.1) 'and my daughter Miskine is coming'.

b) Preterite I 3.9.7a

Indicative: SC 17.23 $\sigma\alpha[\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\eta]$ $\tau\lambda\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $[\lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\delta\eta\alpha]$ 'and the Word was to God'.

Predicative: SC 17.22-23 $\delta\omicron\eta\eta\delta\omicron\gamma\rho\tau\lambda\omicron$ $\phi\alpha\lambda\omega$ $\delta\omicron\gamma\delta\eta\alpha$ 'in the beginning was the Word' (- $\lambda\omega$ is the emphazier 3.10).

c) Preterite II 3.9.7a

Indicative: M. 5.4-5 $\epsilon\tau\tau\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\alpha$ 'and the woman said'.

Predicative (replaced by pret. I): M. 4.16 $\delta\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\lambda$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\alpha$ 'the skipper said'.

d) Future 3.9.7b

Indicative: SC 23.2-3 $\epsilon\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$ $[\omicron\phi\delta\eta]\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\delta\omicron\gamma\delta\eta\alpha$ 'and your turning will be toward the man'.

Predicative: SC 23.4 $\tau\alpha\rho\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\delta\delta\omicron$ $\epsilon\omicron\delta\kappa\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ 'and he will become lord over you' (- $\kappa\alpha\eta\eta$:- see 3.9.7b sub fin.).

e) Inversion of subject and predicate: e.g. L. 104.5-6 $\kappa\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\sigma\iota\omega\eta\eta\eta\eta\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$ $\lambda\gamma\lambda\epsilon\lambda$ 'there comes from Sion the one who saves' and IN I 5 ii 10-11 $\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\tau\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\tau\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\epsilon\iota\delta$ $\delta\lambda\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta\delta\epsilon$ 'nor was there sent one greater than the one who sent him'. See further Browne 1987a.311.

f) When the verb precedes a plurality of subjects, it may be either plural (as in IN I 9 ii 8-10 $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\delta\sigma\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\eta$ $\delta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\iota\tau\lambda$ $\tau\lambda\eta\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\delta\kappa\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\eta\eta$ 'here are the patience of the holy ones and that of those who have kept the law of God') or singular (as in 8 ii 6-7 $\lambda\gamma\tau\alpha\kappa\kappa\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\sigma\eta\eta\eta$ $[\lambda\delta\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda(?)]$ $\tau\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda$ 'and there occurred voices, thunders, lightnings, earthquakes') (the Greek Vorlage, which in the former passage has $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ and in the latter $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$, is not an obvious determining factor in the O.N. choice between singular and plural). Even when the verb follows a plural subject, it is at least once in the singular: IN I 9 ii 17-18 $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\delta\eta\eta\eta$ 'and their deeds have followed them'; the fact that the Greek here has the singular ($\tau\alpha$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\eta\eta\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\tau'$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\eta\eta\eta$ Rev 14:13) may be significant, but it is also worth noting that when the subject is a generic plural, it may be resumed by a singular: IN I 9 i 16-20 $\epsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\delta\sigma\alpha\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\delta\alpha\rho\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\delta\omicron\gamma\kappa\lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda$ --- $\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\eta$ --- 'whoever they are who worship the image of the beast ..., he will drink ...' (here the Greek has the singular, although in a different construction: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$ $\tau\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\eta\eta$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$... $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$... Rev 14:9-10: for the Vorlage see Browne 1994e.59-60). See further Browne 1987a.314-316 as well as 1989a §3.9.7f, but note that the following verbs there listed I now regard as plurals: St. 12.8

$\delta\omicron\gamma\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (< $\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 2.3.1 < $\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 2.5.3, 3.9.6.2⁹⁵); sim. Dong. I i 9 (and ii 10) $\kappa\epsilon\rho\eta\eta$ (< $\kappa\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\eta$) as well as L. 115.12 $\kappa\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (< $\kappa\epsilon\rho\eta\eta$ < $\kappa\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\eta$); cf. also IN I 10 A ii 12 $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'they will not become separated' (sim. K. 22.8-9 $\mu\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$). Conversely, an indefinite singular may be resumed by a plural (IN I 7 i 3-5 $\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta$ --- $\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta$ $\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'truly, if one thinks ..., let them know'), but the singular is also found (6-7 $\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$) $\mu\epsilon\sigma\alpha\delta\delta\eta\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'and truly, if one is ignorant, let him be ignorant'; for the jussive in this and the preceding example see 3.9.17, and for the conditional clauses see 4.7.5b and c. Note that after a complex terminating in $\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ (see 3.10 s.v. $\delta\epsilon$), the verb is plural in SC 10.3 ($\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$) $\mu\omicron\eta\eta\eta\eta$) but singular in L. 101.2 ($\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ $\mu\omicron\eta\eta$ [if rightly read]); cf. Browne 1988a.20.

g) Occasionally O.N. employs a 3rd pers. pl. active to render a passive, comparable to (Sahidic) Coptic usage (Layton 2000 §175): e.g. L. 115.2 $\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\eta\delta\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$ 'when they had instructed [them]' ($\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ Mt 2:12; similarly the Sahidic has $\lambda\gamma\tau\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'they instructed them'), SC 13.16 $\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'he had them call him' ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\eta$) and IN I 1 i 7 $\tau\omicron\kappa\delta\iota\sigma\eta\eta$ '(blessed is the man ... whose sins) they forgave' ($\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\eta$ Ps 31:1: cf. Sah. $\lambda\gamma\tau\omega\upsilon\beta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'they covered').

4.1.3 The few instances of sentences with postpositional phrases as adverbial predicates are here listed: SC 3.9-10 $\epsilon\eta\eta$ $\tau\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (or $\tau\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$): see Browne 1995a.456; if the latter is correct, the sentence has a deleted regens 3.6.2d, not an adverbial predicate) $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\gamma\kappa\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\mu\alpha\kappa[\omega]\eta\lambda$ 'such is the table of spirituality', IN I 5 ii 32-33 $\tau\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\eta$ ($\tau\omega\kappa\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$) $\omicron\gamma[\lambda]\mu\eta\lambda$ 'the God of peace is with you', III 58.12 $\epsilon\iota\omega$ δ 'η' $\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (i.e. $\delta\alpha\rho\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$) 'the offering(?) is in hand(?)' and DP 7-8 $\tau\alpha\rho\iota\delta\tau\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron$ $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\kappa\tau\lambda$ 'with him [i.e. the Lord] is abundant release' (lit. 'abundance and release' 4.10). Note that the first three passages are all lacunose and therefore doubtful as evidence, while the last may be modelled on the Greek, which here suppresses $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$: $\mu\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\tau'$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\eta\eta$ $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Ps 129:7).

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 serve to form coordinated sentences: see 3.10 s.v. $\delta\eta\eta\eta$, $\delta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$, $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta$, $\kappa\eta\eta\eta$, $\mu\eta\eta\eta$, $\omicron\eta\eta$ and $\sigma\eta\eta$, as well as 3.11.

4.4 Compound sentences. The verb of subordinate clauses in O.N. is either the verbid (see 3.9.6 fn. 43) or the subjunctive. Both are verbal nouns; the subjunctive overtly expresses person and number, the verbid does not: see the synopsis in 3.9.6 and the presentation in 3.9.7-3.9.9. The subject of the verbid is in the genitive⁹⁶, usually $\eta\eta$; $\eta\eta$ 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 sentence 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 $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ and with $\delta\omega\lambda$ it is in the genitive;

⁹⁵ In St. 14.9-10 $\delta\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ 'they will go' is either a plural based on the expanded verbid 3.9.9 or a scribal blunder: $\delta\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$, with the dittography triggered by the occurrence of the second $\eta\eta$ at the beginning of a new line. Note that $\delta\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta$ in 13.9 is singular 3.9.9, with singular subject. Cf. SC 11.6 $\mu\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (if correctly read and restored).

⁹⁶ Exceptions are only apparent: e.g. in IN I 4 i 16 $\epsilon\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'that you are the Christ', $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ is not the present verbid (expanded 3.9.9), but the present subjunctive, i.e. $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ stands for $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$: see the examples in 3.9.6.2, and cf. also St. 6.12-7.2 cited in 4.7.1.2b.

Genitive can be subject of subordinate clause.

with -KONO and -ΛΟΔΟΥΝ, in the subjective (see 4.7.2b, 4.7.3b and 4.7.4b).⁹⁷

Regarding the tenses of the verbid and the subjunctive used in subordinate clauses: 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). But there are exceptions: e.g. contrast L. 114.13 ΤΟΥΤΗ ΠΙΠΗΝ ΓΟΥΛ '(it went forth, until ... it stood over) the place where the child lay' (where the present verbid denotes action contemporaneous with the main verb) with IN I 4 ii 1-2 ἸἸCOYCIἸ ΔIJOYECἸ ΓΟΥΛΛO '(when she came) to the place where Jesus was, (she fell at his feet ...)' (where the preterite II subjunctive also designates time concurrent with the main verb); note also St. 11.5-9 ΠΕΨΩΔΕΡΙΛO ... COHΔHNA 'when I will judge ..., (the cross) will stand' as well as IN I 7 i 6-7 ΔΛECἸ OYEAΛI(OH) HACAΔEH HACAHAOCΩ 'and if one will be ignorant, let him be ignorant': here the present tense could also stand: cf. e.g. M. 4.14-15 ΔΛECἸ EἸHNO TOYKPEH CTΓI ΔΩΔἸ 'if you depart from here, where will you go?'.

In embedding verbid and subjunctives clauses in sentences, O.N. employs various converters (mainly postpositions) which we may classify as substantival, adjectival and adverbial. The substantival converters allow the verbid or subjunctive clause to function as a substantive 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 conversion. Here there are two subdivisions; in the first the verbid or the 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 -λ 3.6.1 to the verbid or the subjunctive:

a) Verbid + -λ: e.g. WN 15-16 ΓEΩPΓI OYPOYEHHA OYHNIITAKECIA- 'the birth of King George' (lit. 'the to-have-been-begotten of King George'), as subject of the sentence; note that -CIA = -CIA-λ 2.7.

b) Subjunctive + -λ: this results in a cleft sentence, e.g. L. 106.4-5 EἸHNIKA OYIΔIΓIΔE ΠECIΔEPἸ 'it is these [things] that I say to you'.⁹⁸ Sometimes -λ is omitted, and the subjunctive alone serves as the marker of the subject of the cleft sentence: e.g. IN I 9 i 11-

⁹⁷ 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 appear to be interchangeable: e.g. the passages in 4.7.2a and b as well as IN I 5 ii 7-8 quoted in 4.7.7b; note also SC 11.15-17 EΛ KOCHOCΔA ΔOYEPPOYAWΔE ... ΔAIIITAKPO 'when we are in the present world, we are bound ...', where the subjunctive appears even though the subject of the clause and that of the sentence coincide, and conversely cf. IN II 16 iv 1-10 KEMIFΩIHΓOYHA ... TIKKEΛΩ CΩPTΩPEI ... ΔAW KENCHIHOYAWH ... ΔOYKKEHNAHA 'when the four ... give ..., the twenty-four ... priests ... worship ...', where the verbid (TIKKEΛ-) is used despite the different subject in the main clause.

⁹⁸ Here ΠECIΔEPἸ 'that I say' is the logical subject, EἸHNIKA (= EἸNIKA 2.8, 3.7.4) 'these things' the logical predicate; it is worth observing that the Ge'ez version of the passage in question, Jn 16:33 (ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν), has the same focus: *zentu we'etu za-nagarkukemu* 'it is this that I told you'. N.B. On the appropriateness of considering an object as the logical predicate, note that 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 əsswa-n* (accusative) *norwall-əna yämmilakäw* 'so it is her that he was sending!'.

14 CἸΠE HἸΨHNGOYHAEION TAH KCHATTἸΔ ΠOPHEKἸ OPΠAKO ΔICAPKICECΔH 'and it is through the wine of the fermentation 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 1988a III §§20-23 and also 1997.15-21 and 24-27, summarized in part above in 3.9.12a (where I point out that the verbal and predicative periphrastics can also yield the O.N. equivalent of a cleft sentence) and 3.10 s.v. -λO focus marker (likewise equated with a cleft construction).

4.5.2 Predicate conversion is effected through fusion of the predicative marker -λ 3.6.4 to the verbid or the subjunctive; this results in the predicative and the indicative, respectively 3.9.6. With this conversion, the subject is normally marked with the subjective marker -λ 3.6.1.

4.6 Adjectival conversion results in the creation of structures that function as relative clauses.⁹⁹ The following arrangements are attested (of which the first is the most common):

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

Verbid: L. 113.5-6 IOYΔAIOCΓOYH OYPOYOY OYHIOYTAKOΔ (-λ = -λ-λ 2.7) 'the king of the Jews who has been born' (as subject of sentence), St. 27.8-10 TἸAAACἸ ΓAΔAO TAAΔO OAAOΔOΔOΔ 'because of God, who hung upon it in the flesh'¹⁰⁰ (see 3.6.4a and 3.6.5f) and M. 1.1-3 EOKKOPΔ --- MHNAHA AYCALO 'it is a miracle which Mena did' (lit. 'it is a miracle, Mena's [being] the to-have-done [it]'; for the use of -λ see 3.6.6b). The referent need not be formally expressed: e.g. K. 22.11-12 AYOGYΔOYKA 'the things that you do' (= AYOGY-Δ-IA-KA 2.1.2.1, 2.5.6a; the subject of the clause coincides with that of the sentence) and 30.6 ΠECἸ- 'the one who speaks' (as subject of sentence).

N.B. In relative-clause equivalents, the verbid functions as a relative participle. In addition to the examples quoted in this section, note such plurals as St. 12.6-7 ΠICTEYOΔOYKA- '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 IN I 7 i 9, ΠECOK-KOH (i.e. ΠECOK-KOH 'and' 3.10) can mean 'and the one who has spoken', i.e. verbid as verbal adjective/-relative participle, but comparison with the Greek Vorlage, τὸ λαλεῖν (1 Cor 14:39), suggests the meaning 'and the (f)act of having spoken' (or 'the (f)act of speaking': the pret. I may translate a Greek present 3.9.7a ¶4), i.e. verbid as verbal substantive/infinitive. Cf. also SC 16.19-21, where KAYEἸΓOY- 'those who are naked' (verbal adjective) is followed by ΓIAIΔἸ KAYEἸKA (i.e. KAYEἸ-KA) 'the nakedness of the body' (verbal substantive). See also 3.9.6 fn. 43 and 4.7.3c fn. 103.

⁹⁹ The treatment here presented summarizes the discussion in Browne 1988a III; for a somewhat different orientation consult Satzinger 1990.185-200.

¹⁰⁰ As the translation shows, this passage displays an appositive/explicative ('non-restrictive') relative clause, as opposed to the attributive/specifying ('restrictive') type exemplified in the first example. But not every specimen with -CἸ is appositive/explicative: cf. e.g. SC 7.14-16 EITOY OYEA TIAACἸ OYEPἸΔO ΔKA ΘAΔACOY OYATTOKA ΓAΔA EKKKA 'a man who, sitting upon a mountain, looks upon the whole sea': here -CἸ controls an attributive/specifying clause, as it regularly does when the referent is plural: e.g. M. 2.14-16 TWEKAGOYECἸ ECOY HHHHA HAPETἸ KCOBA AYἸΓOYKA 'the miracles which Saint Mena performed in the church of Mareotes'; compare this with K. 20.16-17 ΠPOCKOΔ KCOBAO KENδPAMHOYKA 'the offerings that they place in the church'. See also 3.6.5f.

Subjunctive: St. 5.4-6 ΜΥΣΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΒΚΑ ΕΓΡΙΑΡΟΥΚΑ 'the mystery of which we ask you' (as object of sentence), IN II 16 i 1-2 ΣΑΛΑCIN ΠΕCOCIN-Λ-ΛΩ 'it is a speech that he spoke' and L. 111.8-9 ΕΑΥΕΙΡ-Α --- ΟΚΤΑΚΗ-Σ '... is a tent that is called ...' 3.6.6b.

Note that such relative clauses, whether with verbid or with subjunctive, 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. (individually definite) M. 12.2-3 ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥ ΕΠ ΤΑΝ'ΗΑ ΚΠCΑ (= ΚΠCΑ-Λ as subject of sentence 2.7) 'the egg, viz. the one that he ate' and IN I 2 ii 9-10 ΟΥΠ ΠΑΡ]ΚΟΥ ΗΝ (i.e. ειν) ΕΙΡΠ ΛΟΥCΛΩ 'in the valley of weeping, the one that you made'; (typically general) L. 107.14-15 ΕΠ ΔΙΚΑ ΔΕΝΔΙCΗΓΟΥΗ Δ]ΟΥΡΙΔ- 'concerning the ones whom you have given to me' and IN II 15 ii 14-16 Ε]ΕΕΙΟΥ ΕΠ ΤΛΛΑΙ(ΚΩ)ΔΙ]CΑ]ΝΑ Η]Ω]ΨΑΗΓΟΥΗ¹⁰¹ ΔΟΥΡΙΑ 'concerning all the works that they have godlessly done'. Postponed ειν- can also function as a regular demonstrative: e.g. IN I 1 ii 4-5 ΔΑΥ ΕΠ ΤΑΡΙΟ ΔΩΕΝΝΩ 'on this path [the Greek has εν οδω ταυτη Ps 31:3] on which you go'.

As an extension of the generalizing use of ειν-, we find the idiom ειν (ε)COCΑΝΑ, literally 'these—who are they?', i.e. 'whoever they are' (for (ε)C- see 3.7.5c; -CΑΝΑ stands for the present indicative -ΡΑΝΑ 3.9.6): e.g. IN I 9 i 16-17 ΕΠ ΕCOCΑΝΑ ΕΑΡΗΠΗ ΕΙΓΟΗΚΑ ΔΟΥΚΛΟΥΑ '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 ΗΑΝ ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΚΑ --- ΕΑΛΕΗ ΗΝ' (i.e. ειν) ΤΑΗ' ΟΥCΚΡΑ ΔΓΟΡCOCΚΑ 3.9.8 'when he saw that egg ..., the one that he had deposited and forgotten' and 8.16-9.3 ΕΗΚΑ [ΔΗ] ΔΗΚΗΠΗΑ. ΕΤΤΟΥ ΟΥΕΝΗΑ ΕΚΚΑ ΔΕΝΔCΚΑ 'don't you remember this, which a woman gave to us?' (or: 'that she gave it to us?' 4.7.1.2a).

Subjunctive: L. 106.20-21 (if rightly restored) ΕΕ]ΕΙΚ ΔΥΔ Ξ ΕΙΗ ΔΙΚΑ ΔΙC]ΠΚΙΑ 'doing the deed, the one that you have given to me' and SC 5.15-17 ΟΥΚΚΟΝΟ ΚΑΠΟΠΙ ΔΥΡΟΥΚΑ ΤΟCΤΑΝΑCΩ ΕΠ ΕΛΛΕ ΕΛΗ ΟΥΚ ΟΥCΚΡΑ ΤΙΔΔΑΡΡΚΑ '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: L. 115.8-10 (if correctly restored) ΕΡΙΑ ΤΕΔΠ] ΤΙΔΚΑΝΕΛ ΚΙΡΙCΙΚΟΗΝΟΔ Ξ ΓΑΔΠ ΚΕΚΑ]ΓΡΔ Δ]ΟΥΔ]ΡΗΠΗΑ 'in order that the justification of the law might be fulfilled in us, who do not walk according to flesh' and 112.1-2 (referent lost) ΤΕΝ (or εινΠ] ΔΟΥΡΙΚΑ ΜΗΔΑ ΗΠΔΙΛΟ ΠΕCΗΑ ΔΟΥΜΗΕCOCΠ (= -ΜΕΝΕΛ-CΠ: Browne 1982b §54n.) '... concerning which it is not possible to speak individually' (lit. '... to speak ... does not exist': i.e. ΠΕCΙ(Λ)ΗΑ is the subject of the verbid). N.B. K. 32.12-14 was cited in Browne 1989a §4.6d (sim. 1988a III 38 [C.1]) as an example of this pattern: ΕΙΗΗΗΓΟΥΑ ΟΥΕΛΚΑ ΠΑΨΨΙΚΑΗΝΟ-ΛΟΗ- 'and as for one amongst these who is separated'; the text, however, can now be shown to be conditional 4.7.5a: ΕΙΗΗΗΓΟΥΑ ΟΥΕΛΚΑ ΠΑΨΨΙΚΑΗΝΟ-ΛΟΗ 'and if he separates one amongst these'

¹⁰¹ N.B. If the referent is qualified by Η]Ω]ΨΑΗ- 'all' 3.7.6e, the latter follows either the verbal noun (as in the example cited) or the referent itself; in the latter case, -CΠ is attached to the predicative of Η]Ω]ΨΑΗ-: e.g. K. 22.4-5 ΕΙΤΑ Η]Ω]ΨΑΗΑCΗΗ ΤΛΛ [read ΤΛΛΠ] Browne 1998a.2] ΤΑCOCΛΑΟ ΔΥΟΥΑΟΥΑ 'all men who act in God's name'.

refe. + Infl. ~~subordinate~~ conversion clauses built around ειν-

(with -ΛΟΗ instead of the normal -ΕΙΟΗ): see IN II 23.10-11 with my note ad loc. (Browne 1989b.59).

Subjunctive: St. 16.4-5 ΚΑΡΚ ΑΥ]Α]ΕΝΑΡΔ ΕΙΠΠ ΚΟ]Η]ΚΟΑΗΝΟΔ 'in order that they may have a shield that will save' (ΚΑΡ-Κ is object; for ΑΥ]Α]ΕΝΑΡΔ ΕΙΠΠ see 3.9.14) and SC 18.4-5 ΤΠΗΓ]Ο]ΥΚΑ ΟΥΗΚΟΥΗΚΕΡΑΗ 'the bands that are lovely' (note that in 11.16-17 we have CΟΛΛΙΤΟΥ ΟΥΗΚΟΥΗΓΕΑΓΟΥ- 'enticements that are attractive' [see above, section a]).

d) Order: Verbid/Subj. (± Η(Λ)) + Ref. + Infl. E.g.

Verbid: M. 11.3-4 ΤΛΑΡ ΟΥΗΝΟΑ ΗΑΡΙΑΗ 'of Mary who gave birth to God' (lit. 'of Mary, [hers being] the to-have-begotten God'), SC 9.13-14 ΕΙΤCOCΟΥ ΠCOCΟΥCΙ ΧΡΙCΤΟCΙΚΑ 'Jesus Christ whom you sent' (lit. 'Jesus Christ, [yours being] the to-have-sent [him]'; ΕΙΤCOCΟΥ = ΕΙΤCOCΙΑ 2.1.2.1, 2.5.6a; cf. IN I 10 A ii 20) and SC 1.6 (et alibi) ΟΗΤΑΚΡΑΟΥΕΚΕ '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 -Η (ΗΑΡΙΑ-Η) shows that the clause is in the genitive in relation to the main sentence, in the second -ΚΑ (ΧΡΙCΤΟCΙ-ΚΑ) 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 ΚΑΠΕCΟΥΗ ΟΥΚΟΥΡΡΩ 'on the day on which you have eaten' (lit. 'on the day of your having eaten') and 9.19 ΓΑΔΑΔΕCΕΠΗΑ ΑΚ]Α]ΑΤ'ΤΟΥ '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 ΕΙΑ ΓΕCCI [correct to ΠΕCCI: Browne 1998a.25] ΕΑΠΕΟΥΚΑ 'the sins of which I have spoken'.

e) Equivalents to relative clauses may also be formed by using the pronouns ειν- and ΤΑΡ-, joined to the particle -CΠ, without a verbid or subjunctive formally to mark subordination. It is the causal nuance of -CΠ (see 3.10 s.v.) that allows it to initiate a relative-clause construction: e.g. SC 24.14-15 ΤΑΗΗΑ-CΠ ΕΟΚΑ ΤΩΕΚΑ '... of whom are the glory and the power' (or 'for his is the glory and the power') and L. 101.5-6 ΕΙΗΠΓΟΥΑ-CΠ ΠΑΔΑΔΑCΚΕ 'in whom you shine' ('for in these you shine'). See Browne 1997.35-36; this use of -CΠ may be compared to those instances where a noun in the predicative (usually plural) + -CΠ functions as the antecedent of a relative-clause structure: see above, under section a (with fn. 100). Note also that the predicative may be used to express attributive dependence upon a noun or pronoun: see e.g. St. 16.13-17.1 and SC 1.1-5 as examined in 3.6.4a.

f) In joining together two relative-clause equivalents, O.N. usually extends the pattern presented in section a, with or without a connecting particle: e.g. St. 31.2-5 CΕΥΑΡΤΟΥ ΕCOCΟΥ ΔΔΥΡΚΕΑΔΑ ΔΟΥΡΤΟΥ ΟΥΕΛΚΟΑ- 'the Holy Ghost that is life-giving and has a single form' and IN I 9 i 16-19 ΕΠ ΕCOCΑΝΑ ΕΑΡΗΠΗ ΕΙΓΟΗΚΑ ΔΟΥΚΛΟΥΑ ΤΑΗ ΤΑCOCΠ ΕΔΚ-ΟΗ ΤΕΗ ΚΟΥΠ ΤΠΗΑΤΤΑΔΩ ΕΤΤΟΛΓΟΥΑ 'whoever they are [see section a sub fin.] who worship the image of the beast and have received the sign of his name on their forehead'. Other extending mechanisms, less common, are discussed in Browne 1988a.45-46.

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

verbid or subjunctive
il ol sil di
look for following
i, si, an, au

4.7.1 Subject/object clauses. Two of the patterns normally employed for final clauses, -ΚΟΗΝΟΩ 4.7.7a and -ΗΝΩ 4.7.7d, are also used occasionally for subject/object clauses: (subject cl.) L. 105.4-6 ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣΙ --- ΕΟΚ ΕΤΗΩ ΜΕΝΟΝΑ 'it was not for Christ ... to receive honor' (lit. 'for Christ ... to receive honor did not exist'); (object cl.) M. 15.9-10 ΣΟΡΤΟΚ' ΕΚΕΛΙΣΝΑ ΤΕΚΚΑ ΠΕΤΑΚΚΟΗΝΟΩ 'she begged the priest to baptize them' (sim. IN II 16 vi 4-9) and SC 8.1-2 ΚΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΡΩ(ΣΕΗ)Ω ΑΜΑΔΔΟΚΚΑ 'who was hastening to beach (the ship)'.

4.7.1.1 Subject clauses. Two examples are known, of which the second employs the verbid, as probably does the first as well (though the form could be the subjunctive 3.9.6.2): IN I 6 i 1-3 ΤΑΝΝΑ ΔΙΟΛΓΟΥΛΟ ΕΙΔΕΝΕΝ (3.9.14) ΠΑΡΤΑΚΕΣΚΑ '... that it was written that he would rise from the dead' (lit. 'that that he would rise from the dead was written'; note that ΠΑΡΤΑΚΕΣΚΑ [= -ΕΣΙΑΚΑ 2.5.6a, 3.9.8] functions as an object cl. 4.7.1.2a) and 7 i 1 [ΕΙΤ]ΤΗ ΚΩΣΕΛΑ ΓΟΥΗΝΑ ΠΕΣΣΙ(Α) ΕΙΛΑ 'for a woman to speak in church is shameful' 3.9.7a ¶4.

4.7.1.2 Object clauses

a) Verbid: L. 107.11-12 ΠΙΣΤΟΥΕΙΟΑΝΑ ΕΨ ΑΙΚ ΕΙΤΡΕΣΚΑ '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 ΔΟΛΛΗΝΟ ΟΥΚΑ ΕΙΔΡΓΑΔΔΑΔΕΝΚΑ 'we wish that you will make us know ...' (for the subjunctive see 3.9.6.2).

Note that -ΚΑ may be deleted: SC 17.21-22 ΟΥΛΓΡΕΩ ΕΛΕΚΛΩ ΗΩΔΗΝΗ ΠΕΣΨ 'next listed to John saying'; sim. M. 2.13. No subordination at all is marked in the long sentence beginning in SC 18.2 ΕΛΛΑΙ/ <ΤΑΛΛΟ> ΣΑΛΛΟ [ΣΑ]ΡΗΙΚ[Α] ΚΑΡΣΟΗΝΑ --- 'do you see that it is he who held heaven with the Word ...?'.¹⁰²

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

a) Verbid: IN II 13 ii 7-9 ΕΧΩΑ ΠΩΣΩ ΞΗΜΛΓΟΥΗΝΑ ΔΟΥΕΡΨ ΕΙΔΙΩΔΩ ΕΠΕΛΚΑ 'how true it is that the habitation of all who exult and rejoice is with you' (here the Greek has ὡς ... Ps 86:7).

b) Subjunctive: Dong. 1 ii 1-2 ΕΥΑΔΑ¹⁰² ΕΔΕΣΑΝΚΑ ΕΙΡΨ ΕΒΕΙΓΟΥΑ 'how true it is that your deeds are proclaimed(?)' (ὡς ... Ps 103:24).

4.7.2 Comparative clauses, dependent upon -ΚΕΛΛΩ and -ΚΕΛΛΙΚΑ ('according') as' (Browne 1996a.87-88)

a) Verbid: L. 108.5-6 ΕΗΝΑ ΟΥ[Ε]ΡΨΕΝΕΝ ΚΕΛΛΩ 'as we are one' (lit. 'like our being one') and IN I 5 ii 6-7 ΑΝ ΟΥΔΑΔΑ' ΔΥΕΣΨ [i.e. -ΣΙΑΝ 3.9.8] ΚΕΛΛΙΚΑ 'as I did with you'.

b) Subjunctive: L. 109.3-4 ΑΗΝΑ ΚΟ[Σ]ΜΟΣΙΟ ΔΩΔΡΑ ΝΕΝΕΡΙ ΚΕΛΛΩ 'as I am not from the world' 3.10 s.v. -ΔΩΟΛ (with subject in genitive; sim. IN I 10 A i 15-16 ΠΑΥΛΟΣΙ ΔΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣΨ ΠΕΣΕΣΨ ΚΕΛΛΩ 'as the apostle Paul said') and Sunn. I i 2-3 (with the readings corroborated by IN II 14 i 24) ΤΕΛΚΑ ΠΕΦΑ [ΨΔ]ΨΕΣΨ ΚΕΛΛΙΚΑ 'as he said to them'.

¹⁰² Here I originally read ΕΥΑΔΑ (Browne 1987c.78, reprinted in Browne 1989c.73), but ΕΥΑΔΑ I now regard as preferable: see Browne 1996a.4.

4.7.3 Circumstantial/temporal clauses, dependent upon postpositions -ΔΟΗ, -ΚΑΛΟ, -ΚΟΗΟ, -ΟΗ 'when', -ΠΑ(Υ)ΟΥ, -ΤΑΥΚΛΩ 3.10 (see sections a and b), and also used absolutely (section c).

a) Verbid: SC 9.17 ΟΥΛΓΡΕΗ ΤΑΥΚΛΩ 'when you hear' and M. 7.14-15 ΚΙΕΗ ΠΑΥΚΑ 'until he came' (in both examples the subject is the same as that of the main sentence). N.B. Both the examples display the expanded verbid 3.9.9, for which see also section c.

b) Subjunctive: L. 104.10 Ψ[Ε]Γ[Α]Δ[Ε]ΡΙ ΤΑΥΚΛΩ 'when I take away' and M. 10.8-9 ΤΡΙΣΔΓΙΟΗ ΚΙΕΣΠΗΟΚΟ 'after the Tris-hagion had come' (in both examples the subject differs from that of the main sentence). For -ΛΟ-ΔΩΗ 'while' similarly used see 3.10 s.v. -ΔΟΗ.

c) Similarly with the bare verbid or subjunctive. The verbid may end in -Α or it may be the expansion in -Η 3.9.9: IN I 11 i 7-8 ΠΑΠΗΑ --- ΚΔΔΕΣΩ 'when the Father was about to come ...' (for the verbid cf. 4.7.6), M. 12.16-13.2 ΗΑΗ ΕΨΤΛΛΟΗ ΗΔΑΨ --- ΓΔΛΛΙΣΗΑ 'and that woman, running (lit. '[hers being] the to-run'¹⁰³) opened ...' and L. 114.8 ΕΛΕΝ-ΗΟΗ 'and when you find him' (3.9.9; note that the expanded verbid in -ΕΗ often expresses a temporal or logically prior tense vis-à-vis the main verb). For the subjunctive cf. M. 9.16-10.1 ΚΥΡΙΔΚΕΗ ΟΥΚΟΥΡ' ΕΗΨ-ΗΟΗ 'and as it was Sunday'; it may be reinforced by locative -ΛΟ, as in St. 11.5-6 ΠΕΦΩΔΔΕΡΙΟ 'when I will judge'¹⁰⁴. Note also IN I 4 ii 6-7 ΕΛΛΕΣΨΗΟ --- ΕΛΛ[Α]ΕΗ (where the scribe has altered the adjective 3.9.19 to the expanded verbid), both of which we may render as 'when he saw'; here the subject of the preterite II subjunctive coincides with that of the main verb (sim. SC 11.15-17, cited in 4.4 fn. 97; cf. also IN II 21 i 26 ΚΕΝΟΥΑΗ-ΗΟ 'when they deposited' 3.9.7 fn. 63). Usually the subjunctive implies a different subject: contrast M. 8.10 ΕΛΛΕΗ 'when he saw' (no change of subject) with 9.10 ΚΕΝΤΡΟΗ 'when he placed' (pret. I subjunctive; change of subject); and with the latter compare K. 27.8 ΠΑΔΑ ΔΩΡΟΨ (= ΔΩΡΟΛ-ΟΨ) 'after he went out' (pret. I verbid; no change of subject; presumably a less-common 'stylistic' variant of the expanded verbid, perhaps chosen deliberately to balance ΤΟΡΟΗ in line 10¹⁰⁵).

d) Here we should note the use of circumstantial ΗΗΩ to express an ellipsis: e.g. IN I 7 ii 7-9 ΟΥΗΕΚΑΛΟ ΠΕΣΡΕ ΚΕΛΚΨΗΑΝΓΟΥΓΛΑΕ' ΕΨ ΔΕΗΝΑ ΟΥΗΕΚΑ ΗΗΩ 'I am speaking of wisdom to those who are perfect, not (speaking of) the wisdom of this age'; i.e. ΗΗΩ elliptically stands for ΠΕΣΙΜΗΩ; sim. SC 3.6 and 4.20: see Browne 1996a.115 and also below, 4.11.

4.7.4 Causal clauses, dependent upon -ΔΩΩ, -ΛΕΔΟΥΗ-ΛΟΔΟΥΗ and -ΔΟΥΡΡΩ (Browne 1996a.192-194)

a) Verbid: St. 27.10-12 ΕΣΚΙΤΑΚΑ ΔΕΗΔΟΛ-ΛΟΔΟΥΗ. This should mean 'because of the one who was conquered for us' (cf. e.g. IN I 10 A i 19 ΣΕΥΔ ΕΤΑΡΛΓΟΥΛΟΔΟΥΗ 'because of those who are going to inherit'), but the context suggests that it means 'because he was

¹⁰³ When the subject of the verbid is also that of the sentence, it is omitted; such cases may be conveniently translated as participia coniuncta, but we may in fact be dealing with verbal substantives, as is suggested by the lack of congruence in e.g. Dong. 1 ii 12-13 ΑΡΨΗΑΝΑ ΗΔΓΛΑΕ ΕΤΑΔΑΨ 'they look to you, going to receive ...' (sim. M. 16.7-10; SC 8.11; IN II 15 i 9-10 and 18). Cf. 4.6a N.B.

¹⁰⁴ In CE 159 B 9-10 -ΛΟ temporal/locative is followed by -ΛΟ emphatic: ΚΔΔΩ-ΛΟ-ΛΟ 'when (it) will come'; cf. below, 4.7.5a fn. 109, and see also Browne 1997.21-24. See also 3.9.7a fn. 63.

¹⁰⁵ Possibly -ΟΛ and -ΟΗ are purely temporal (cf. Latin *cum* with the indicative), while -ΕΗ is circumstantial (like *cum* with the subjunctive).

conquered for us'. Note also St. 18.3-6 --- λλε] τττλλεκενηα εκκα δρουδγαρενηνοδογη 'because ... and grace protect us'.¹⁰⁶

b) Subjunctive: K. 20.12-13 μονεσιν-νεδογη 'because he hated', IN I 9 i 6 ταρατλ κρεσπνοδογη 'because the hour has come' and SC 23.16-18 δελ κοκτκα μεειακονια ταρια δαρεσπνοδωδλο 'because there existed in it a heart that sat desiring evil'. For -δογρω with subjunctive see IN I 2 i 18-20, cited in 3.9.13.

4.7.5 Conditional clauses (closed neutral and open neutral).¹⁰⁷ The closed neutral (indefinitus) may be illustrated by the Hellenistic Greek of Lk 6:32 ει αγαπατε τους αγαπωντας υμας, ποια χαρις υμιν εστιν; 'if (it is true that) you love (only) those who love you (as you seem to do), what credit is that to you?', and the open neutral (eventualis) by Jn 14:15 εαν αγαπατε με, τας εντολας τας εμας τηρησετε 'if (it happens that) you love me (as I hope you will), you will keep my commandments'.

a) Built upon the subjunctive is the following formation (verbid [reduced 3.9.8]¹⁰⁸ + -κο- + subjunctive-formant + -λο¹⁰⁹—with λ elided 2.5.6a or assimilated 2.3.2; occasionally -λο is absent—see below):

Sg.	1	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΙΘ
	2/3	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΗΘ
Pl.	1/2	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΟΥΘ
	3	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΑΗΘ

E.g. M. 4.16-5.4 δλεσπ̄ εολλ̄ λικ̄ μουδουγοκονηο̄ φιολενηιηγ̄λεεω δογρε 'truly, if the Lord guides me, I am going to Philoxenite'¹¹⁰ and Dong. 1 ii 14-16 τιδ̄κρηνω τεδκα τιηδλ̄δ̄ημδδλ̄ 'if you give it to them, they will gather it'.

There is also a variant in which -κα- replaces -ρο- 2.1.2.2: e.g. K. 32.2-5 ογελ --- καππδνηο (i.e. καπ-κδνηο 2.4) ηδνη εδπεκα --- πασκαρρε 'if one eats ..., that one's sin will I punish' and 20.1 οργα ενκδν̄ ελλε ενκδν̄ 'if it is wine, if it is wheat' (note the absence of -λο). For the 3rd pers. pl. we find -καγδνηο in K. 31.7 (which the scribe adjusted to the sing. -κδνηο 2.5.5) and -καγδν- (without -λο) in IN III 51.7.

b) The bare subjunctive may translate a conditional protasis: e.g. SC 14.6-8 ε̄νηοι-τ[δ]κσ̄-κον εολδου ενηλ̄ ταριδδογη̄ εν̄οριτδκμενηα[λ]ω 'and if our Lord suffered, he did not suffer because of himself'¹¹¹ and IN I 5 ii 11-13 ε̄π̄π̄ [ειαδδ(ο)ρ]ογκετδλλεειον̄

¹⁰⁶ Note that -γρεν (here taken as the expanded verbid) could be subjunctive 3.9.6.2, since a plural subject in -κεκαλ may take its verb in the singular 4.1.2f sub fin.

¹⁰⁷ I follow the schematization proposed in Funk 1985. A fuller treatment may be found in Browne 1987b.

¹⁰⁸ That the verbid is the base is shown clearly in IN III 58.10 πεωφλ̄ ογελ̄ κον̄ 'if he judges again' (where ογελ̄ intervenes between the verbid πεωφλ̄ and κον̄ (for the absence of -λο see below)).

¹⁰⁹ This -λο is locative: see Browne 1998.21-24, and note IN III 51.8 -κα(γ)δνηολο, i.e. -λο locative + -λο emphatic. Cf. also above, 4.7.3c ftn. 104.

¹¹⁰ Note the frequent appearance of δλεσπ̄ 'truly' as a formal marker of the protasis. It is probably hypercorrect to translate the word in this context.

¹¹¹ Literally 'and as to the fact that our Lord suffered': see 3.9.7 ftn. 64.

αγεηλενηο 'and also if you know these things, you are blessed'.¹¹² Similarly, the expanded verbid in -η 3.9.9, cited above for circumstantial/temporal clauses 4.7.3c, may appear also as a conditional protasis: e.g. IN I 5 ii 13 (continues immediately after the end of the previously cited passage) λλεσπ̄ τεκ̄ λγειδεν̄ 'if you do them', 7 i 6-7 δλεσπ̄ ογελ[οη] ηασδδλη ηασδδλω 'and truly, if one will be ignorant, let him be ignorant' and 4 ii 24-25 δλεσπ̄ π̄στεγελ̄ τλ̄π̄ εολκα εδδδρδλη- 'truly, if you believe, you will see the glory of God'. The regular verbid is also occasionally used with conditional nuance: IN II 19.2 δλεσπ̄ διεικολ̄ 'whoever has much', i.e. 'if anyone has much' (sim. IN III 30.30): cf. the conditional use of the participium coniunctum in Classical Greek.

c) The form -κοειδ (= -κο-λο 2.5.6a) occurs in IN I 7 i 3-5 λλεσπ̄ --- δηκα κικοειδ̄ ε̄δρουδληαω 'truly if one thinks, ... let them know ...' (see above, 4.1.2f); 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 -ηη, which is found in St. 10.11-11.1 ογλγρηηαω ... πεσα τδδδη 'listen, if haply I may speak ...'; it is comparable to -ηηδ̄ in final clauses 4.7.7d. The subject of -ηη differs from that of the main verb, and it is only context which removes ambiguity (cf. 4.7.7d ftn. 115).

4.7.6 Conditional clauses (closed hypothetical). For the closed hypothetical (irrealis) cf. the Greek of Jn 14:28 ει ηγαπατε με, εχαρητε αν̄ οτι πορευομαι ... 'if (it were true) that you loved me (but it is not), you would have rejoiced (to hear) that I am going ... (but you did not)'. The protasis of this example is the so-called present irrealis; the past irrealis (which alone is represented in O.N.) would be *ει ηγαπησατε με 'if (it had been true) that you loved me (but it was not) ...'. The corpus now provides three examples of this sentence pattern in O.N.:

a) IN I 7 ii 15-16 εικδν-ει-δπηα εολδου εοκ̄ηκα εταγροεδλω ολλεερινηδδδκα-ηδ-κ[π̄] 'for if they had known, they would not have hanged upon the cross the Lord of Glory'.

b) SC 12.23-13.1 δ[ολλεσπ̄-δη-δ]πηα τ[δ]η δεκα [-ηηη]δδδδδδ 'for if he had wished ..., he would not have [shed] his blood [for us]'.

These two examples contain the future preterite in the apodosis (cf. 3.9.6 sub fin. and 4.7.3c, where a similar use of the future preterite as temporal/circumstantial is cited from IN I 11 i 7-8); for -ειη- cf. Lepsius 1880.113-114.

c) IN I 4 i 2-3 ε̄ρι ε̄ηηο δουγδ[δ(?)] ενκδν̄ δη εεεαλ̄ διηεδρδλο (sim. ii 4-5 ε̄ηηο δουδρηνκαη̄ δη εεεαλ̄ διηεδρδλο) 'if you had been here, my brother would not have died' (lit. 'will not have died': cf. 3.9.7c).

4.7.7 Final clauses¹¹³

¹¹² For the restoration of the end of this example and the beginning of the next, see Browne 1995a.457.

¹¹³ N.B. Two of the patterns normally employed for final clauses, -κονηοδ̄ 4.7.7a and -ηηδ̄ 4.7.7d, are also used occasionally for subject/object clauses: see 4.7.1.

a) Addition of $\bar{\alpha}$ to the conditional described in 4.7.5a ($\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\text{-}$ + subjunctive + $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\text{-}$) results in a form equivalent to a final clause:¹¹⁴

Sg.	1	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΙΩ̄
	2/3	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΝΗΩ̄
Pl.	1/2	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΟΥΩ̄
	3	ΔΟΛΛΙΚΟΑΝΗΩ̄, $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\text{ΚΟΥΑΝΗΩ̄}$ (only in IN II 16 vii 5-6) 2.5.5

E.g. M. 9.7-8 $\tau\alpha\kappa \alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha} \tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon\omega \kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}\kappa\omicron\bar{\iota}\omegā$ 'cooking it for me, bring it, so that I may eat it' and L. 100.1 $\pi\bar{\iota}\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\lambda \kappa\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}[\kappa\omicron\bar{\mu}\eta\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\alpha}\omega$ '(all this happened) in order that what was written ... might be fulfilled' (the terminal $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\omega$ is emphatic 3.10).

There is also a variant in $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\text{-}$, as in the conditional 4.7.5a: e.g. IN III 30.27 $\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\bar{\nu}\eta\omega\alpha$ 'in order that he might put'.

b) The form $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\omega$ ($\lambda\omega$), in which the subject is not marked (cf. conditional $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\omega\bar{\iota}\omega$ 4.7.5c) occurs e.g. in L. 106.6 $\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}\kappa\omicron\bar{\alpha}\omega$ 'in order that you may have' (the subject is the same as that of the following $\kappa\omicron\bar{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ 'you have' 3.9.16a), IN II 18 ii 10 $\tau\omicron\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\bar{\nu}\kappa\omicron\bar{\alpha}$ 'lest we enter' (the subject is that of the preceding $\delta\omicron\gamma\bar{\delta}\bar{\rho} \bar{\mu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\sigma}$ 'let us not proceed') and IN I 5 ii 7-8 $\omicron\gamma\kappa\bar{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\lambda \lambda\gamma\bar{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\omicron\gamma\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order that you too may do' (here $\omicron\gamma\kappa\bar{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\lambda$ 'you too' makes clear the subject, but the scribe still adds the person-marking variant $\text{-}\omicron\gamma\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}$).

c) Imperatives 3.9.17 depending upon the verb $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\lambda$ 'to say' as well as on the particle $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ of direct discourse 4.8 also function as equivalents to final clauses: e.g. L. 109.1-2 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{\epsilon}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu} \bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega} \bar{\nu} \bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta} \bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{\epsilon}\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\lambda}\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}$ 'and I do not ask that you take them ..., but that you keep them from the evil one' (lit. 'and I do not ask: Take them ..., but saying: Keep them from the evil one'), 112.10 $\delta\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\text{---}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}$ (= $\text{-}\bar{\epsilon}\text{---}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ 2.5.4) '(God sent his Son) in order that he might redeem them' (lit. 'saying: Redeem ...') and SC 18.14 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}$ (= $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$) 'in order to run'. Cf. also CE 160 A 12-14 $\tau\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha} \dots \bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\kappa \bar{\lambda}\gamma\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}$ 'if (one) says: God ..., save me ...': here we have what can be regarded as the forerunner of this final construction; for the verb of saying see below, section (d).

d) Non-personal final clauses (in which the subject of the clause is also that of the sentence) may be generated by attaching protatic $\text{-}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$, which already conveys the notion of purpose 4.7.5d, to $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ (see preceding paragraph): e.g. St. 10.4-7 $\kappa\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\delta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\pi}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\iota}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\tau}\bar{\delta}\bar{\delta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ 'I will come, in order to reveal to them their offense' (lit. 'I will come, saying: [I do this *vel sim.*] if haply I may reveal ...'). Along with $\text{-}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ we also find the variants $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$, $\text{-}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$, $\text{-}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$, $\text{-}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ and $\text{-}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ ¹¹⁵: IN II 15 ii 12 $\bar{\lambda}\gamma\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to

do', M. 4.6 $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to take', IN I 8 ii 10 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\psi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to sound trumpet', 4 ii 1 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ (= $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ 1.3.2) 'in order to weep' and L. 113.8 $\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to worship'. Note also $\text{-}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ in IN III 52.3: $\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to give (to me)'. The formant $\text{-}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$ is also prefixed to $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}$, a verb of saying (probably $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\text{---}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\rho}$) which terminates in a consonant that is always assimilated: e.g. SC 12.19-21 $\tau\bar{\iota}(\bar{\lambda})\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha} [\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}]$ '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 ...'). Here belong the citations that are listed incorrectly in Browne 1996a.11 ($\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$) and 18 ($(\bar{\alpha})\bar{\rho}$ -causative); cf. also C 160 A 13-14 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}$ 'if he says' (cited at the end of the preceding section).

4.8 $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ of direct discourse. Direct discourse regularly terminates in $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$: e.g. SC 21.10-11 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ --- $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ 'for he said ...: Where are you?' But $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ is not obligatory: e.g. SC 21.7-8 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$ --- $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}[\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}]$. Note that the governing verb may be one of mental perception: e.g. IN I 5 i 8-9 $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta} \bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\kappa \bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omega}$ 'and I do not know where they put him'. In addition, $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ is found in contexts where O.N. interprets as direct discourse what is not so marked in the Greek Vorlage: e.g. SC 7.11-12 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho} \bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\phi}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ 'for I wish to set forth what God is' (lit. '... to set forth: What is God?'), translating $\bar{\beta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\gamma\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$... $\bar{\delta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\xi}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$, and 21.15-16 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\alpha}[\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}]$ 'because they thought: We are going to be like God' ($\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\beta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\theta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\iota}$). In addition, $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ may depend upon a verb that is only implied in the discourse: SC 23.11-12 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ 'and (do you ask:) Why, cursing the serpent, did he say ...?'. See further Browne 1987a.323, where it is also pointed out that insertion of $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ blocks the transformation noted in 3.9.12a sub fin.: 'and he said' would normally enter O.N. as $\bar{\ast}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\text{---}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$.¹¹⁶

This $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ is formally distinct from the predicative $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ 3.6.4, as is clear from passages in which they both appear: cf. e.g. L. 111.8-9 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ --- $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\sigma}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ '... is a tent which is called the Holy ...' (lit. 'which is called: Holy' [i.e. in $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\sigma}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\lambda}$, the first $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ is the predicative as vocative 3.6.4b, and the second that of direct discourse; cf. also 4.6a]); sim. L. 106.2 and SC 13.17. It is apparently a reduction of $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}$ 'saying' (adjunctive 3.9.19): cf. IN I 10 A ii 11-12 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ --- $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}$ 'I think that they will not become separated ...' (lit. 'I think, saying: They will ...') with SC 8.19-20 $\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}$ 'do not think that he is ...'; and cf. also KD 3 $\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\text{---}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$ 'I write that he may give' (lit. '[saying:] Give!' 4.7.7c) with the more explicit $\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\text{---}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}$ 'saying: Give!' in line 9.

4.9 Word order. For a detailed discussion see Browne 1987a.310-314, from which the following is extracted.

4.9.1 As already noted in 0.1.9, O.N. conforms to type 24 of Hawkins' classification (1979.626; cf. also Hintze 1986.287):

SOV / POST / GEN + N / N + ADJ

significant variants; similarly, $\text{-}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$, mentioned in 4.7.5d, may originally have referred to a singular subject, but synchronically it is impersonal.

¹¹⁶ '[I] posit $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$ instead of $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$ because the translator wrote $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$, not $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$.'—Browne 1987a.324 n. 5.

¹¹⁴ The $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ is probably the marker of direct discourse described in 4.8; a literal translation of $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}$ in M. 9.7-8 (cited below) will accordingly be: 'saying: if haply I may eat it ...' (cf. Smagina 1986a.396).

¹¹⁵ Originally the forms in $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ may have referred to a singular subject and those in $\text{-}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ 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 $\bar{\iota}$ and $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$ 2.1.2.1: see SC 4.19 $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to gather' (in reference to a plural subject; see also my note ad loc. in Browne 1984a); sim. IN I 11 i 12 $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to see' (also with a plural subject; see the revision of the text in Browne 1996c.132); conversely note 4 ii 1 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}$ 'in order to weep' (with a singular subject). It is therefore better, from a synchronic point of view, to regard the two formations as non-

ΔΗ ΕΞΕ⁵ΕΑΔ ΔΙΗΕΝΔΡΔΛΟ (33) ΙΗCOYCION ΤΑΚ ΟΥΩΗ⁶ΕΑΛΕCΦΗΝΟ ΟΗ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟCCOY
my brother will-not-die and-Jesus her weep- when-he- and Jews
ing saw

ΤΑΔΔΑΔ⁷ΚΙΟΛΓΟΥΚΟΝ ΔΩΗ ΚΡΔ ΕΑΛ[Δ]ΕΝ⁸ CΕΥΑΡ⁸ΤΛΩ CΙΡΗCΙΡΗΜΑ ΤΑΚΚΟΝΟ ΠΑΝΗΑ
with-her having-come weep- com- when-he- in-spirit snorting(?) himself disturbing
ing ing saw

(34) ΠΕC⁹CΗΔ⁹ ΕΛΟ ΤΑΚ ΟΥCΚΟΥCCOΔ⁹ ΠΕCΙΚΟΝ¹⁰ ΕΠΙC<Δ>ΗΔ ΤΑΡΓΛΛΕ¹⁰ ΚΡ ΕΛ¹⁰ΕCΟ
he-said where him you-placed and-they-said to-him com- see
ing

ΕΟΔΔ (35) ΟΥΟΙ(?)¹¹CΗΔ ΙΗCOYCI (36) ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟCΓΟΥΛΛΟΝ ΠΕCCA¹²ΗΔ CΚΑΡΙΓΡΔ ΤΑΚΚΑ
Lord he-wept Jesus and-Jews they-said how him
ΟΗΝ<ΚΟΝΑ (37) ΤΕΡΙΔ¹³ΨΟΘΕΙΟΥΛΛΟΝ ΠΕCCAΝΑ ΡΗΜΕΝΤΑ¹⁴ ΕΠ ΔΟΥCΠ ΜΑΡΘΑ ΤΡΙΚΑ
he-loved in-them but-some they-said cannot this blind's eye pair
ΠΚΚ¹⁵ΓΑΡΟΛ ΕΠΚΕΤΑΔ ΔΙΜΙΗΝΑΓΑΡΙΚΑ / ¹⁶(38) ΙΗCOYCION ΟΥΕΛ ΤΑΡΙΑΥΔ CΙΡΗCΙΡΗ¹⁷ΜΑ
having-opened this-too cause-that-he-not-die? and-Jesus again in-him snorting(?)
ΤΟΚΑ ΚΙCΠΗΝΑ ΤΕΔΔΩ ΤΕΛΛΟΝ¹⁸ΚΤΗΗΝΑ ΤΑΡΙCΑCΠ ΕΠΗΝΑCΠ (39) ΠΕCNCΔ¹⁹ΙΗCOYCI
ceas- he-came to-tomb and-tomb rock's having- is he-said Jesus
ing come

ΚΤΚΑ ΓΕΛΓΕΛ ΔCΑΝΑCΩ ΠΕC²⁰ΚΟΝ ΕΠCΗΔ ΔΙΟΝ ΕΝCΤ²¹Χ ΜΑΡΘΑ(?)²¹ ΕΟΔΔ
rock roll-away and-she-said dead's sister Martha Lord
ΤΟΥCΚΟΝΟΤΙΛΟ ΤΟΥΚΜΑΡΙΕ[ΙΝ(?)²²ΔΗΔ ΕΛΙ ΚΕΜCOCΠ (40) ΙΗCOYCION Π[ΕC]²³CΗΔ
immediately he-will-stink today fourth-is and-Jesus he-said
ΤΑΡΓΛΛΕ ΕΡΓΛΛΕ ΠΕCΜCCE[Ι(?)²⁴ΔΑΕCΠ ΠCΤΕΥΕΝ ΤΛΛΗ ΕΟΚΚΑ²⁵ΕΔΔΔΡΔΛΗΔ /
to-her to-you said-I-not truly if-you- God's glory you-will-see?
believe

(41) ΚΤΚΑ ΓΕΛΓΕΛ ΔCΟΥΑΗ²⁶ΝΟΗ ΙΗCOYCI ΜΑΡΘΑ ΤΡΙΚΑ ΔΟΛΛΕ²⁷ΠΙΟΛΓΑΡΑ
rock and-when-they-rolled Jesus eye pair high raising
away
[ΠΕCCHΔ] ΠΑΠΟ ΔΚ<Ο>ΕΛΠΗΕ ΕΡ[ΚΑ ---
he-said father I-thank you

(11:20) ... she was sitting. (21) And Martha said to Jesus: Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died. (22) And now I know that God will give you all the things that you ask of God. (23) And Jesus said to her: Your brother will rise. (24) And Martha said to him: I know that he will rise in the resurrection of the day of completion. (25) And Jesus said to her: I am the resurrection and the life. Whoever believes in me, even if he die, will live. (26) And everyone living who believes in me shall not die forever. Do you believe this? (27) And she said: O Lord, I believe that you are the Christ who has come into the world. (28) And finishing saying this, going off, calling secretly to Martha [sic] her sister, she said: The teacher comes and calls you. (29) And that one, after she heard, quickly rising(?), went following her. (30) But Jesus had not yet entered the village from without but was still in the place where Matha [sic] met him. (31) And the Jews who were comforting her in the house, when they saw Maria quickly going forth from the house, followed her, thinking that she was going to the grave, (ii) in order to weep there. (32) And Mari [sic], when she came to the place where Jesus was, seeing him, falling at his feet, said to him: Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died. (33) And Jesus, when he saw her weeping, and when he saw the Jews who had come with her coming weeping, snorting(?) in spirit, troubling himself, (34) said: Where did you place him? And they said to him: Come and see, Lord. (35) Jesus wept. (36) And the Jews

said: How he loved him! (37) But some amongst them said: Cannot this one who caused the eyes of the blind man to open cause that this one too not die? (38) And Jesus, finishing snorting(?) again within himself, came to the grave. And the grave is one upon which a rock had come. (39) Jesus said: Roll away the rock. And Martha, the sister of the deceased, said: Lord, immediately he will stink: today is the fourth. (40) And Jesus said to her: Did I not say to you: Truly, if you believe, you will see the glory of God? (41) And when they rolled away the rock, Jesus, raising his eyes high said: Father, I thank you ...

Greek Vorlage (Browne 1994e.11-17)

(20) ... ἐκαθέζετο. (21) εἶπεν οὖν ἡ Μάρθα πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὧδε οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός μου. (22) καὶ νῦν οἶδα ὅτι ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσῃ τὸν θεὸν δώσει σοι ὁ θεός. (23) λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀναστήσεται ὁ ἀδελφός σου. (24) λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ Μάρθα· οἶδα ὅτι ἀναστήσεται ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. (25) εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ κἂν ἀποθάνῃ ζήσεται, (26) καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ. πιστεύεις τοῦτο; (27) λέγει αὐτῷ· ναὶ κύριε, ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενος. (28) Καὶ τοῦτο εἰπούσα ἀπήλθεν καὶ ἐφώνησεν Μαρίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς λάθρᾳ εἰπούσα· ὁ διδάσκαλος πάρεστιν καὶ φωνεῖ σε. (29) ἐκείνη δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν ἠγέρθη ταχὺ καὶ ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν. (30) οὐπω δὲ ἐληλύθει ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν κώμην, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐτι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ὑπήνητησεν αὐτῷ ἡ Μάρθα. (31) οἱ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ὄντες μετ' αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ παραμυθούμενοι αὐτήν, ἰδόντες τὴν Μαρίαν ὅτι ταχέως ἀνέστη καὶ ἐξῆλθεν, ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῇ δόξαντες ὅτι ὑπάγει εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον ἵνα κλαύσῃ ἐκεῖ. (32) ἡ οὖν Μαρία ὡς ἦλθεν ὅπου ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἔπεσεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας λέγουσα αὐτῷ· κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὧδε οὐκ ἂν μου ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός. (33) Ἰησοῦς οὖν ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν κλαίουσαν καὶ τοὺς συνελθόντας αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους κλαίοντας, ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν (34) καὶ εἶπεν· ποῦ θεύκατε αὐτόν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε. (35) ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. (36) ἔλεγον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ἴδε πῶς ἐφίλει αὐτόν. (37) τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπαν· οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὗτος ὁ ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ τυφλοῦ ποιῆσαι ἵνα καὶ οὗτος μὴ ἀποθάνῃ; (38) Ἰησοῦς οὖν πάλιν ἐμβριμησάμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον· ἦν δὲ σπήλαιον καὶ λίθος ἐπέκειτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. (39) λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἄρατε τὸν λίθον. λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Μάρθα· κύριε, ἦδη ὄζει, τεταρταῖος γάρ ἐστιν. (40) λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ εἶπόν σοι ὅτι ἐὰν πιστεύσῃς ὅψῃ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ; (41) ἦραν οὖν τὸν λίθον. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἤρεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνω καὶ εἶπεν· πάτερ, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ...

Commentary

i 1 ΔΚ-Ο-ΝΑ: 3rd sg. pret. I indicative of ΔΚ- 3.9.6, 3.9.6.2, 3.9.7a; for the stroke see 1.3.1.

ΜΑΡΘΑ-[ΕΙ]ΠΗ: personal name + -ΟΗ 3.10.

Π[ΕC-C-ΝΑ]: 3rd sg. pret. II indicative of ΠΕC- 3.9.6, 3.9.6.2, 3.9.7a.

2 ΙΗCOYCI-ΓΛΑΕ: personal name in -I- 3.3.6 + -ΓΛ(ΑΕ) 3.10. In this name Η normally has the stroke (5, 9, etc.) 1.3.1.

ΕΟΔ-Α: predicative as vocative 3.6.4b.

ΕΙΡ-Ι: 2nd sg. personal pron. 3.7.1 + annective vowel 3.6.5d; written as Π- in ii 4 and as ΕΙΡ- in i 16.

ΕΠ-ΗΟ: i.e. ΕΠ-ΛΟ 2.3.2 'in this (place)' 3.7.4b and 3.10 s.v. -ΛΟ locative; for the stroke see 1.3.3.

ΔΟΥ-ΑΡ[Α(?)] (also below, ii 4, where Δ¹ bears the stroke 1.3.1 and Δ² is elided 2.5.1a): pret. I predicative 3.9.6, 3.9.6.2 of ΔΟΥ- 2.5.6a 'to be'.

3 ΕΝ-ΚΑΝ: 2nd sg. pres. conditional 4.7.5a of ΕΝ-/ΕΝ- 'to be' 2.1.2.2, joining to ΔΟΥ-ΑΡ[Α(?)] as predicative periphrastic 3.9.11, 3.9.14 in closed hypothetical conditional clause 4.7.6c.

ΑΝ: genitive of 1st sg. personal pron. 3.7.1a.

ΕΕΕΑΛ: i.e. ΕΕΕΑΛ-Α 2.7, subjective 3.6.1a sub fin.

ΔΙ-ΜΕ-ΔΡΑ-ΛΟ: i.e. ΔΙ-ΜΕΝ-ΔΡΑ-ΛΟ fut. predicative 3.9.6.2, 3.9.7b, 4.7.6c, as below, ii 5; probably from ΔΙΜΕΔΡΑΛΟ (cf. 2.3.1) with simplification of geminate 2.7. For -ΛΟ see 3.10 s.v. (focus marker). Note that the stroke expected over Δ 1.3.2 and present in ii 5 is here missing.

ΕΛ-ΟΗ: adverb 3.12c + -ΟΗ 3.10.

3-4 Ε-Π-ΜΕ: 1st sg. pres. affirmative of ΕΙ- 3.9.10.

4 ΤΛΑ-Ι-ΚΑ: directive of ΤΛΑ- 3.6.3, with juncture vowel 2.10; the diaeresis is here incorrect 1.3.1; sim. 5 ΤΛΑΙΝΑ, 21 [(?)Ε]Ι, ii 15 ΔΙΜΙΝΗΑ- and 22 ΕΛΙ.

ΟΕΝ-ΝΑ: 2nd sg. pres. indicative of ΟΕΝ- 3.9.6, 3.9.6.2, with following ΗΨΩΔΗ- 3.6.4c, 4.6a ftn. 101; cf. below, on 12.

ΗΨΩΔΗ-ΚΑ: directive of ΗΨΩΔΗ- 3.6.3, 3.7.6e.

5 ΤΛΑ-Ι-ΝΑ: genitive of ΤΛΑ- 3.6.2, with juncture vowel 2.10, here incorrectly bearing diaeresis (see above, on 4); subject of verbid 4.4.

ΕΚ-ΚΑ: scribal mistake for ΕΚ-ΚΑ: directive of 2nd sg. personal pron. ΕΙΡ- 3.7.1b.

ΤΑ-ΔΕΚ-ΚΑ: i.e. ΤΡ-ΔΕΛ-ΚΑ 2.3.1, directive of fut. verbid of ΤΡ- 3.9.6 ftn. 52 N.B.; for syntax see 4.7.1.2a.

ΙΨΟΥΣΙ-ΟΗ (for ΙΨΟΥΣΙ-ΕΙΟΗ as in 21): personal name (in -Ι 3.3.6) + -ΟΗ, which becomes -ΕΙΟΗ after a vowel 3.10.

6 ΠΕC-Ο-ΝΑ: see above, on 1; for stroke see 1.3.2.

ΤΑΡ-ΓΛΑΕ: 3rd sg. personal pron. 3.7.1 + -ΓΛΑΕ 3.10.

ΕΠ: genitive of 1st sg. personal pronoun. 3.7.1a.

ΕΕΕΑΛ(-Α): see above, on 3.

6-7 ΕΙ-ΔΗ-ΝΑ-Δ: 3rd sg. fut. affirmative of ΕΙ- 3.9.10 + -Δ of direct discourse 4.8.

7 ΗΑΡΘΑ-ΕΙΟΗ—ΤΑΡ-ΓΛΑΕ: see above, on 1 and 6.

8 ΕΙΑΔΤΕ-Η: genitive of ΕΙΑΔ(Η)ΤΕ- 3.3.2, 3.6.2a.

ΟΥΚΟΥΗ-ΝΑ: i.e. ΟΥΚΟΥΡ-ΝΑ 2.3.1, genitive of ΟΥΚΟΥΡ- 3.6.2a.

ΕΑΘΔΕΗ-ΡΑ: i.e. ΕΑΘΔΕΡ-ΑΑ, an anomalous assimilation 2.3.3. The word for 'resurrection' is variously spelled; cf. line 10 and Browne 1996a.195.

8-9 ΕΙ-ΔΕΗ-ΚΑ: 3rd sg. fut. subjunctive of ΕΙ- 3.9.6 ftn. 52 N.B.; for syntax see 4.7.1.2b.

9 ΤΑ-Ε-Π-ΜΕ: for ΤΑ- see 3.9.2c sub fin.; for ΕΠΜΕ see above, on 3-4.

9-10 ΙΨΟΥΣΙ-ΟΗ—ΤΑΡ-ΓΛΑΕ: above, on 5-6. The punctuation dot after ΠΕCΟΗΔ is misplaced.

10 ΑΙ-ΛΟ: 1st sg. personal pron. 3.7.1 + -ΛΟ focus marker 3.10: 'it is I who am ...'.

ΕΠ-ΜΕ: i.e. ΕΠ-ΡΕ 2.3.2, 1st sg. pres. indicative of ΕΠ- 3.9.6, 3.9.6.2.

10-11 ΕΑΔΕΑΡ-Α-ΔΕ)ΝΟΥ ΔΥΔ-Α-ΔΕΗΑΛ: predicative of ΕΑΔΕΑΛ- 2.6, 3.6.4a (where this passage is discussed; cf. also above, on 8) + -ΔΕΗΟΥ --- -ΔΕΗΑΛ 3.10 s.v. -ΔΕ; ΔΥΔ-: predicative of ΔΥΔ- (i.e. /aɲij/; hence stroke over Δ 1.3.1).

11 ΑΙ-Α-ΓΛΑΕ (should be ΑΙΔΓΛΑΕ, as in 13 1.3.1): i.e. ΑΙ-ΑΑ-ΓΛΑΕ 2.5.6a, 3.10 s.v. -ΓΛΑΕ).

ΠC<ΤΕΥ>Ε-Χ (spelled ΠCΤΕΥΛ- in 13): pres. verbid of ΠCΤΕΥ(ΕΙ)- 3.9.6.2, as equivalent to relative participle 4.6a N.B.

11-12 ΔΙ-ΕΝ-ΚΕΤΑΛ: expanded verbid 3.9.9 in a conditional protasis 4.7.5b + -ΚΕΤΑΛ 3.10.

12 ΔΥ-ΑΔΗ-ΝΑ: 3rd sg. fut. affirmative of ΔΥ- 3.9.10.

ΔΥ-Ι-ΡΑ: pres. predicative of ΔΥ- 3.9.6.2, with ΗΨΩΔΗ- (cf. above, on 4).

12-13 ΗΨΩΔΗ-Α(Δ)-CΠ: with ΠCΤΕΥ-Α(-Λ)ΟΗ (3.10 s.v. -ΟΗ), pres. verbid (see above, on 11), 4.6a ftn. 100 and 101.

13 ΑΙ-Δ-ΓΛΑΕ: see above, on 11.

ΔΙ-ΜΕΝ-ΤΑ-ΛΟ: negative in -ΤΑ 3.9.20, with -ΛΟ emphatic 3.10.

14 ΕΛΛΕ-Η-ΓΟΥ-: pl. of ΕΛΛΕ- 3.5.1c.

-ΛΟ ΚCΚΛ-ΛΟ: 3.10 s.v. -ΚCΚΛ.

ΕΠ-ΚΑ: directive 3.6.3a of demonstrative 3.7.4.

14-15 ΠCΤΕΥΕ-Π-ΝΑ: 2nd sg. pres. indicative of ΠCΤΕΥ(ΕΙ)- 3.9.6.2, here built upon expanded verbid 3.9.9. For the question sign after the verb (sim. ii 15 and 25) see 1.2.2.

15 ΠΕC-ΚΟΗ ΕΠ-Ο-ΝΑ: 3rd sg. pret. II indicative, verbid paraphrastic 3.9.12a sub fin., 3.9.13.

Ε: interjection 3.13, with ftn. 93.

ΟΑ-Α: above, on 2.

ΑΙ: 1st sg. personal pron. 3.7.1.

15-16 ΤΑ-ΠCΤΕΥΕ-Π-ΜΕ: cf. above, on 9.

16 ΕΙΡ-: above, on 2.

ΕΗ-ΕΗ-ΚΑ: 2nd sg. pres. subjunctive of ΕΠ-/ΕΝ- 3.9.6.2, 4.4 ftn. 96, in object clause 4.7.1.2b.

ΧΡΙCΤΟCΙ-: 3.6.6.

17 ΚΟCΜΟC-ΑΔ: 3.10 s.v. -ΑΔ; for stroke see 1.3.2.

ΚΡ-ΟΑ: i.e. ΚΡ-ΟΑ-Α 2.7, pret. I verbid of ΚΙΡ- 3.9.6.2, equivalent to relative participle with ΧΡΙCΤΟCΙ as antecedent 4.6a.

ΕΠ-ΚΑ: see above, on 14.

ΠΕC-Α ΤΟΚ-Α-: two adjunctives 3.9.19, the former dependent upon the latter 3.9.19.1 s.v. ΤΟΚ- and rendering Greek aorist 3.9.19.2 (here εἰποῦσα; cf. below, on ii 16-17). For the following -ΕΙΟΗ see 3.10 s.v. -ΟΗ.

18 ΔΥΡ-Α (stroke over ω is misplaced) ΚΙ: two adjunctives, the former modifying the latter, which is desinenceless; the Greek is ἀπῆλθεν 3.9.19.2.

ΗΑΡΘΑ: sic for ΗΑΡΙΑ, as in 25.

<ΤΑ>Η: genitive of 3rd sg. personal pron. 3.7.1b.

ΕΗC-Τ-Ι-ΚΑ: directive of ΕΗC-Τ- 3.3.2, 3.6.3, with juncture vowel 2.10.

ΔΕΚΚΑΗ: adverb 3.12a.

CΚ-Α: adjunctive 3.9.19.

19 [Π]ΕC-Ο-ΝΑ: see above, on 1.

ΟΥΛΛΑΚΚΕΛ-ΑΩ: i.e. ΟΥΛΛΑΚΚΕΛ-Α-ΑΩ 2.7, 3.10 -ΑΩ focus marker.

ΚΡ: desinenceless adjunctive 3.9.19.

ΕΚ: directive of 2nd sg. personal pron. 3.7.1b.

CΚΡΔ: pres. predicative 3.9.6.2 of ΟΚ-; stroke over ο implies /okira/ 1.3.1, 1.3.2.

20 [Η]ΑΗ-ΟΗ: demonstrative pron. 3.7.4 + -ΟΗ 3.10.

ΟΥΛΓΡ-ΕΗ-CΠ-ΗΟ-ΚΟΗΟ: 3rd sg. pret. II subjunctive of periphrastic (either ΟΥΛΓΡ-(ΡΑ) 3.9.14 or ΟΥΛΓΡ-(Χ) 3.9.15) + -ΛΟ-ΚΟΗΟ 3.10 s.v. -ΚΟΗΟ; for the assimilation of -ΛΟ see 2.3.2.

ΟΥΔΠΙΤ-ΑC: postpositional phrase as adverb 3.12b; for the stroke see 1.3.2.

21 [(?)Ε]Ι: desinenceless adjunctive 3.9.19; diaeresis incorrect: see on i 4.

ΤΑΚ: 3.7.1b.

εργ-λ̄: pres. verbid, as participium coniunctum 4.7.3c.
 ΚΙ(Ι)Ν̄: 3rd sg. pret. II indicative of κίρ-; κίχην̄ is expected (as e.g. in M. 4.1; for loss of ρ see 2.5.6a). The scribe also writes κίχην̄ (ii 17), but the latter can be explained as built upon the expanded verbid 3.9.9. Possibly we should here correct to κί(ι)χην̄: cf. M. 14.4 εῶσνα with the note ad loc. in Browne 1994b (cf. 3.9.9 ftn. 65), but dittography of ι is easier to assume than accidental insertion of ι.

ἰῆσογic-ειον: above, on 5.

22 (??)τῆλακῆ: see Browne 1992c.32 and 1996a.163.

ελλεαν: 3.12a.

εрк-λῶ: ерк- + λῶ 3.10; for stroke see 1.3.2.

τορ-α: adjunctive, combining with following κί- 3.9.19.

22-23 κί-μεν-(η)α-λο: 3rd sg. pres. indicative of κίρ- 2.5.6a with negative verb -μεν- as 'historic present' 3.9.7c.

23 εἰεα: 3.12c.

μαρφθα: subject of τῶδεσῆ; note that the same construction has a genitive subject in ii 1 4.4. Note μαρφα for μαρια above in 18.

τακ-κα: 3.7.1b.

τῶδε-σῆ: 3rd sg. pret. II subjunctive 3.9.6.2 of τῶδε(ε)-; for syntax see 4.6d.

γογ-λο: γογλ- + λῶ 2.7, 3.10; we find the full spelling γογλ-λο in ii 2.

24 ΔΟΥ-ῶ-να: 3rd pret. I indicative of ΔΟΥλ- 2.5.6a; cf. above, on ἄκονα in line 1. -ενηω: 3.10.

ἰογδογῶσ-ι (juncture vowel 2.10): better spelled in ii 6 and 11.

εογ-λῶ: 3.10; here -λα is 'in'; in line 26 it is 'from'.

τακ: 3.7.1b.

25 εῖκ-ελ ΔΟΥ(λ)-ΓΟΥ-λ-λον: pres. verbid periphrastic 3.9.13, in plural 3.5.1a and functioning as relative participle 4.6a N.B.

ογΔ(ι)ριτ-λῶ: see above, on 20.

25-26 μαρια-να: genitive as subject of verbid δορε- 4.4.

26 εογ-λῶ: above, on 24.

παλ-α δορε-κα: adjunctive depending on pres. verbid δορε- (reduced 3.9.8); the complex renders the compound verb ἐξήληθεν 3.9.19.2. The terminal -κα indicates an object clause 4.7.1.2a.

ελλ-εη: expanded verbid 3.9.9 as circumstantial 4.7.3c.

ταλ: scribal mistake for τακ 3.7.1b; see Browne 1995a.457.

27 εργ-ι-σ-ανα: 3rd pl. pret. II indicative of εργ- 3.9.6.2.

τελ-Δω-Γ(λ)ε: τελ- 2.3.1 + -Δω-Γ(λ)ε 3.10 s.v. -Δω.

δ[ο]ρ-ηνα: dependent on ανη[λ], the form is either 3rd sg. pres. indicative with suppression of -α of direct discourse 4.8 or (analyzed as -η-α) 3rd sg. pres. subjunctive with -α; if the latter, then it would be tempting to translate the phrase as 'thinking that it was to the grave that she was going ...' 4.5.1.

ανη[λ] (probably better than ανη[λ̄] in the editions: see plate 3 in Plumey-Browne 1988): pres. verbid as circumstantial 4.7.3c. It is also possible to restore as ανη[λ], i.e. postponed adjunctive 3.9.19.

ii 1 (η)αν-νο: cf. above, on i 2 and 20.

ογ-νογλ̄: 4.7.7d, with ftn. 115; the verb is ογ-, similarly spelled below in 7; it is spelled ογγ- in 5 and 10; see 2.1.2.2 and Browne 1996a.129.

μαρι-ον: correct to μαριλ̄-(ε)ον; cf. i 7 μαρθαειον.

ἰῆσογic-η: subject of [Δ]ογ-ε-σῆ, 3rd sg. pret. II subjunctive of ΔΟΥλ- 2.5.6a; see above, on i 23.

2 γογλ-λο: above, on i 23.

κί-εη: expanded verbid 3.9.9, as circumstantial 4.7.3c.

τακ-κα: 3.7.1b.

ελλ-α: adjunctive 3.9.19.

ταν: genitive of 3rd sg. personal pronoun 3.7.1a.

3 [ο]ε-η τρι-γογ- 'pair of feet'; τρι- may be either sg. or pl.: cf. below, lines 14 and 26 μαροαν τρι-κα and see Browne 1996a.123.

(-λ)-Δω: 3.10.

Δεεαρ-α: adjunctive 3.9.19.

3-4 πεс-с-ηλ̄ тар-Γ(λ)ε: see above, on i 1 and 6.

4-5 εοΔ-α — Δι-μεν-Δρα-λο: above, on i 2-3.

5 ἰῆσογic-он: above, on i 5.

τακ: 3.7.1b.

ογγ-η: 3rd sg. pres. subjunctive as circumstantial 4.7.3c; for the spelling of the verb see above, on ii 1.

6 ελλ-ε-σῆ-но (< -λο 2.3.2): 3rd sg. pret. II subjunctive; see 3.9.7a ftn. 63.

он: 3.11.

ἰογΔΔῖοcc-ογ: 2.8.

ταΔ-Δαλ: i.e. тар-Δαλ; 2.3.1, 3.7.1, 3.10 s.v. -Δαλ.

7 κί-ολ-γογ-κ-: pret. I verbid of κίρ- 2.5.6a in pl. 3.5.1a + directive -κ (with elision of α 2.5.1c); the referent is ἰογΔΔῖοcc-ογ 4.6a.

-он: pleonastic with preceding он (3.10 s.v. -он).

ῶγ-η: expanded verbid 3.9.9 as circumstantial 4.7.3c, with which the following κρλ̄ is associated as a postponed adjunctive 3.9.19.

ελλ[-λ̄]-εη: the scribe has changed the adjunctive 3.9.19 to the expanded verbid 4.7.3c.

7-8 σεγарт-λῶ: 3.10 s.v. -ло; for stroke see 1.3.2.

8 сир̄сир̄η-а: 3.9.3, 3.9.19.

τακ-κ-онο: 3.7.2a.

панн-а: 3.9.19.

8-9 πεс-с-ηλ̄: see above, on i 1.

9 ε-ло: 3.7.5c.

τακ: 3.7.1b.

ογсκογс-сo-λ̄: 2nd pl. pret. II indicative of ογсκογр- 2.3.1 + λ̄ of direct discourse 4.8.

9-10 πεс-ι-кон εῖ-с-κλ̄-на: 3rd pl. of construction analyzed in i 15 n.

10 тар-Γ(λ)ε: see on i 6.

κρ̄: desinenceless adjunctive 3.9.19.

ελ̄-ε-сo: 2nd sg. imperative 3.9.17 of ελλ-/ελ̄(λ)-; for the vocalic alternation see 2.1.2.3 and for the spelling with λλ cf. IN I 6 ii 6 ελλ̄ιχην̄.

εοΔ-α: above, on i 2.

10-11 ογγ(ι(?))-с-ηλ̄ (the lacuna contained either nothing or -ι): 3rd sg. pret. II indicative; for the verb see above, on ii 1.

11 ἰῆσογic: above, on i 2.

ἰογΔΔῖοc-γογ-λ-лон: subjective pl. 3.5.1a.

11-12 πεс-с-ана: 3rd pl. pret. II indicative of πεс-.

12 εкарigr̄: 3.7.5c.

τακ-ка: 3.7.1b.

ΓΠΡΤΡΚΟΝ²⁰ΝΩ ΤΟΔ'ΑΦΔ'ΑΠΗΜΑΝΑ // (30) ΕΙΡΗ²⁴ΣΕΥΑΡΤΚΑ ΕΙΤΡΚΟΝΝΟ ΔΟΥΚ²⁵ΤΑΚΑΔΗΜΑ
turn-away they-will-be-disturbed your spirit if-you-send it-will-be-
worshipped

ΟΝ ΓΠΡΟΕΙΑΛΓΡ²⁶ΔΡΑΛΗ ἘΚΤΗ ΚΟΥΚΑ //
and you-will-make- earth's face
renewed

(15) Wine makes the heart of man rejoice; oil makes fair(?) the face of man; bread makes secure the heart of man. (17) There birds affectionately give birth. (18) You gave the rams to the high mountains, you caused the pigs to hide in the rocks. (20) When you established darkness, it became night, and there will go in it all the animals of the land. (22) In the rising of the sun, assembling together, they slept within their cave. (24) How proclaimed(?) are your deeds, Lord; all have you done in your wisdom. (25) This sea is great and wide. (26) There ships travel. (27) All look toward you, going to receive their bread in good time. (28) If you give it to them, they will gather it. (29) If you turn away your face, they will be disturbed. (30) If you send your spirit, it will be worshipped, and you will make renewed the face of the earth.

Greek Vorlage (Browne 1994e.75-77)

(15) καὶ οἶνος εὐφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἰλαρῶναι πρόσωπον ἐν ἐλαίῳ, καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου στηρίζει. (17) ἐκεῖ στρουθία ἐννοσεύουσιν ... (18) ἔδωκας(?) ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ ταῖς ἐλάφοις, πέτρα καταφυγὴ τοῖς χοιρογυλλίοις. (20) ἔθου σκότος καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ, ἐν αὐτῇ διελεύσονται πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ δρυμοῦ. (22) ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ συνήχθησαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις αὐτῶν κοιτασθήσονται. (24) ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε· πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας ... (25) αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἢ μεγάλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ... (26) ἐκεῖ πλοῖα διαπορεύονται ... (27) πάντα πρὸς σὲ προσδοκῶσιν δοῦναι τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν εὐκαιρον. (28) δόντος σου αὐτοῖς συλλέξουσιν ... (29) ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται ... (30) ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου καὶ κτισθήσονται καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.

Commentary

i 1 ΟΡΠ-ἄ-λω: 3.6.1a, 3.10 -λο focus marker; sim. ΡΟΕ-ἄ-λω (2) and ΠΑΡΟΥΟΥ-ἄ-λω (3-4).

ΕΙΤ-ἄ: 3.6.2a; sim. 2 and 4.

ΔΕἄ-κα (also in 4): 3.6.3a; sim. ΚΟΥ-κα (2-3).

1-2 Πῶ-ἄ-ΓΠΡ-ΚΕ-ΡΑ: 3.9.11-13, 3.9.22, 4.1.2a (predicative); sim. ΤΟΥΟΥ-ἄ-ΓΠΡ-ΚΕ-ΡΑ (3) and ΤΟΥΡ-ΓΠΡ-ΚΕ-ΡΑ (4), the last with reduced verbid 3.9.8.

7-8 ΜΑΛΗ-ΝΟ-ΛΩ: 2.3.2, 3.7.4, 3.10; it appears as ΜΑΛ-ΛΩ-ΛΩ in ii 9.

8 ΚΑΥΡΤ-Η-ΝΗ-ΓΟΥ-ἄ: 3.5.1c, with ftn. 12, 3.6.1a.

8-9 ΟΥΝΗ-Ο(Η)-ΚΕ-ΡΝΑ (i.e. ΚΕ-ΡΑΝΑ 2.5.3): 3rd pl. pres. indicative of -κ- consuetudinal 3.9.5a attached to ΟΗ- 'to love' with preceding adjunctive of ΟΥΝΗ- 'to bear' 3.9.19.1.

10-11 ΕΔΣ-ΟΥ ΕΔΣΟΥ-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ: 3.6.5b, 3.6.6a, 3.6.3a.

11 ΤΙΑΡ-ΡΑ-ΛΗ: i.e. ΤΙΑΡ-ΑΡΑ-ΛΗ 3.9.7a ¶ 2 with ftn. 61, 3.9.16a; see also Browne 1989g.72.

11-12 ΔΟΔ-ΟΥ-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ: 2.10, 3.5.1a; sim. ΚΤ-ΓΟΥ-ΚΑ (12).

12 ΔΟΥΛ-ΓΟΥ-ἄ: 3.5.1a, 3.6.1a and Browne 2001d.

13 ΠΙΚΔ-ΕΡΑ-ΓΡ-ΡΑ-ΛΗ: i.e. -ΓΡ-ΑΡΑ- (see above on 11); -ΕΡΑ- = -ΙΡΑ- 2.1.2.2, 3.9.6 ftn. 46, 3.9.6.2, 3.9.7 ftn. 61, 3.9.14.

15-16 ΟΥΔΑΝΚΑΤ-ΚΑ: 3.6.3a.

16 ΟΥΚΡ-ΩΝ: 2nd sg. pret. I subjunctive as circumstantial/temporal 3.9.7a ¶ 3, 4.7.3c.

16-17 ΟΑΡ-Δ-Ε-ῶ-ΝΑ: 3rd sg. pret. II indicative 3.6.4a, 3.9.5a ¶ 2.

17 ὄΝ: 1.3.6, 3.11.

ΤΑΔΙΩ: i.e. ΤΑΡ-ΛΩ 2.5.6b.

ΔΩ-ΔΠ-ΜΑΝΑ: 3rd pl. fut. affirmative of ΔΩΡ- 2.5.6a, 3.9.10.

17-18 ΚΕΛΛΩ: 3.7.6c.

18 ΕΑΡΜΠ-ΟΥ ΠΑΡΡΕ-Ν-ΓΟΥ-ἄ: 3.6.5b, 3.5.1c, 3.6.1a.

21-22 ΝΑΦΑ-Ν ΟC-ΚΕ-ΛΩ: lit. 'in the sun's rising' (Browne 1996a.112) 3.3.2.

22 ΤΠΗ-Δ ΕΙΑ-ἄ: adjunctives—here with ΟΗ 3.9.19a—both meaning 'assembling'.

ΤΕΡ-Π: 0.1.8, 3.7.1a.

23 ΚΟΥΛ-ΔΥῶ: 3.10.

ΠΙΕΙ-Ο-ΑΝΑ: 3rd pl. pret. II indicative.

ii 1 ΕΥ-ΔΔ-ἄ: two adjunctives, the former (with -ἄ elided 2.5.1b) meaning 'rejoicing', the latter 'being amazed' 4.7.1.3 ftn. 102.

1-2 ΕΔΕ-ῆ-Ο-ΔΗ-ΚΑ: 3rd pl. pret. II subjunctive in clause of exclamation 4.7.1.3b; for -ῆ- see 3.9.5b.

2 ΕΙΡΗ (also in 3, 18-19, 23): 3.7.1a.

ΕΣΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-ἄ: 3.5.1a, 3.6.1a.

ΕΟΔ-ἄ: 3.6.4b.

3 ΚΕΛΛΩ-ΚΑ: 3.7.6c, 3.6.2a.

ΟΥΝΕ-ΛΩ: 3.10 -ΛΟ.

4 ΔΟΥ-ῆ-ΩΝΑ: 2nd sg. pret. I indicative, with pl. infix 3.9.5b.

5 ΗΗ: 3.7.4a.

5-6 ΘΑΛΔC-ἄ-ΛΩ: 3.6.1a, 3.10 -ΛΟ (as in i 1-4).

6 ΔΑΥΟΥ-ΡΑ: pres. predicative 4.1.2a.

ΟΗ: 3.11.

ΠΑΛ-ΛΑ: i.e. ΠΑΛ-ΡΑ 2.3.2, 3.9.14.

6-7 ΔΑΗ-ΡΑ: i.e. ΔΑΡ-ΡΑ 2.3.3, pres. predicative 4.1.2a.

9 ΜΑΛ-ΛΩ-ΛΩ: cf. i 7-8.

10 ΔΥΕΙ-ΓΟΥ-ἄ: 3.5.1a, 3.6.1a.

ΔΩ-ΚΕ-ΡΝΑ: cf. above on i 8-9; the verb is ΔΩΡ- 2.5.6a.

12 ΔΙΗΝἄ-ΓΟΥ-ἄ: 3.7.6f, 3.5.1a, 3.6.1a.

12-13 ΔΡ-Π-ΜΑΝΑ: 3rd pl. pres. affirmative 3.9.10.

13 ΗΔ-Γἄ-ἄ: 3.7.1, 2.2.2, 3.10.

ἘΤ-ΔΔ-ἄ: fut. verbid as circumstantial/temporal 4.7.3c.

ΤΕΡ-Π: 3.7.1a.

14 ΠΑΡΟΥ-ΚΑ: 3.6.3a.

ΤΑΥΚ-ΟΥ ΓΕΝ-ΝΩ: 3.6.5b, 3.10 -ΛΟ.

14-15 ΤΙΑΡ-ΚΟΝ-ΝΩ: 2nd sg. conditional 4.7.5a; sim. ΗΑΛΛΕ (adjunctive 2.5.2b)

ΓΠΡΤΡ-ΚΟΝ-ΝΩ (19-20) and ΕΙΤΡ-ΚΟΝ-ΝΟ (24),

15 ΤΕΔ-ΚΑ: 2.2.2, 3.7.1b.

15-16 ΤΠΗ-ΔΔ'-ΔΠ-ΜΑΝΑ: 3rd pl. fut. affirmative 3.9.10 of ΤΠΗ-ΑΡ- 'to cause to assemble'; sim. ΤΟΔ'ΑΦΔ'-ΔΠ-ΜΑΝΑ (20). For the lack of an overt object see 3.6.3a sub fn.

19 (also in 26) ΚΟΥ-ΚΑ: 3.6.3a.

24 ΣΕΥΑΡΤ-ΚΑ: 3.6.3a.

- 24-25 ΔΟΥΚ-ΤΑΚ-ΔΔΠ-ΗΔ: 3rd sg. fut. passive 3.9.5a affirmative 3.9.10 fut. 67.
 ON: 3.11.
 25-26 ΓΠΡ-ΟΕΙ-ΔΔ-ΓΡ-ΔΡΑ-ΛΗ: ΓΠΡ- = ΓΠΡΑ adjunctive 3.9.19; -ΟΕΙ-ΔΔ- = -ΟΕΙ-ΟΔ-
 3.9.6.2 pret. I verbid dependent on causative -ΓΡ- 3.9.13 N.B.; -ΔΡΑ-ΛΗ: 3.9.16a.
 26 ӨКТ-Π: 3.6.2a.

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Abbreviations

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ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl.
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Leipzig.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology. Baltimore.
AO	Analecta Orientalia. Rome.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin.
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists. Urbana.
BMNV	Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie. Warsaw.
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden.
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. London.
BzS	Beiträge zur Sudanforschung. Vienna.
DÖAW	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.- hist. Kl. Vienna.
ÉT	Études et Travaux. Warsaw.
FL	Folia Linguistica. The Hague.
GM	Göttinger Miscellen. Göttingen.
HAS	Harvard African Studies. Cambridge, Mass.
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies. Urbana.
JCopS	Journal of Coptic Studies. Louvain.
JJP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology. Warsaw.
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprache. Berlin.
NC	Nubia Christiana. Warsaw.
NL	Nubian Letters. The Hague.
OA	Oriens Antiquus. Rome.
OC	Oriens Christianus. Rome/Wiesbaden.
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy. London.
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali. Pisa.
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.- hist. Kl.
SP	Studia Papyrologica. Rome/Barcelona.
STB	Sudan Texts Bulletin. Coleraine.
UCCS	University of California: Classical Studies. Berkeley.
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Moscow.
WZHU	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Ges.- Sprachw. R.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik. Bonn.

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