

The Coptic Conjugation System

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I. Conjugation. Conjugations. Conjugation Patterns

1. For the purpose of this outline (*) **Conjugation** means the various ways in which a Coptic verb can enter into grammatical construction with actor expressions in such a way as to function either as a main sentence or as a dependent clause. Any such construction is a **conjugation**. We thus have **Sentence Conjugations** and **Clause Conjugations**. The former comprise seven **Tenses** (properly so called) — three pairs of affirmative and negative forms and one lone negative form — and the **Imperatives** (only the Causative Imperative is properly speaking a conjugation). The five **Clause Conjugations** comprise 1° three subordinate clause equivalents (two of them compounded with prepositions), which occur in company with a **Sentence Conjugation**, and 2° two “**Conjunctives**”, which normally continue either a **Sentence** or a **Clause Conjugation**; an exception to this rule is the independent (probably elliptic) use of the 1st sg. of the **Conjunctive** and of the 1st pl. of the **Future Conjunctive**, Stern §§ 446, 450. All **Clause Conjugations** are formally set apart from the **Sentence Conjugations** by a mode of negation of their own (§ 27).

2. Coptic has two distinct **Conjugation Patterns**, 1° **Tripartite** and 2° **Bipartite**. Within each pattern the function of grammatical distinctiveness is vested in a different constituent element.

(*) This paper was written and tried out in class while I was Visiting Professor of Egyptology at Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island) in 1959-60 (σοφία γραμματέως ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ σχολῆς Sir. xxxviii.24). I owe a special debt of gratitude to my friend and academic host at Brown, Professor Richard A. Parker, for going over my successive drafts and saving me from many a loose statement.

II. The Tripartite Conjugation Pattern

3. The distinctive element of any conjugation of the **Tripartite Pattern** is the **conjugation base**, which occupies the first position in the pattern. It is followed by (2) the actor expression (noun or pronominal suffix) and (3) the verb in the Infinitive. A **Verb** in Coptic is a word which is capable of filling the last position in the **Tripartite Conjugation Pattern**:

1	2	3
α	πρωμε ϣ	σωτῃ

Nominal and suffixal actor expressions differ in regard to their juncture with the verb: particles requiring the second place in the sentence (ΓΑΡ, ΔΕ, ΟΥΝ, ΔΕ, ΖΩΩϣ) come after the nominal actor, but after the whole complex if the second position is filled by a suffix.

4. The following are the conjugations of the **Tripartite Pattern**:

A. SENTENCE CONJUGATIONS

Affirmative Negative

a. Basic Tenses

Perfect	αϣωτῃ	ἠπῆρωτῃ
“not yet”	— (1)	ἠπατῆρωτῃ
Aorist	ωαϣωτῃ	μερωτῃ (μαρ-)
Third Future	ερωωτῃ (2)	ἠνερωωτῃ

b. Imperatives

[SIMPLE	σωτῃ	ἠπῆρωτῃ (3)
CAUSATIVE	μαρερωωτῃ	ἠπῆρτρερωωτῃ

(1) The affirmative counterpart of ἠπατῆρωτῃ may originally have been ζαρωωτῃ, which in most dialects was levelled under αρωωτῃ.

(2) In Bohairic this form is pointed either ερωωτεμ or ερε-. The syllabication e/fe- is also well attested by early Sahidic MSS.

(3) The Simple Imperative does not belong to any conjugation pattern, but it behaves syntactically like the conjugations of the **Tripartite**

B. CLAUSE CONJUGATIONS

Conjunctive	π̄ϛωτ̄μ
Future Conjunctive	τ̄αρεϛωτ̄μ
Temporal	π̄τερεϛωτ̄μ
"until"	ϛ̄αντ̄ϛωτ̄μ
Conditional	εϛ̄ϛανωτ̄μ

Obs. 1. In two of these conjugations, ε-ϛ-ε-ωτ̄μ and ε-ϛ-ϛ̄αν-ωτ̄μ, there is an additional morpheme between the suffix and the verb. It has not been thought necessary to take these additional morphemes into account, because with nominal actor ϛ̄αν precedes the latter, *i. e.* is treated as part of the conjugation base: εϛ̄αν π̄ρωμε ωτ̄μ. As regards -ε-, it disappears altogether with nominal actor ⁽¹⁾: ερε π̄ρωμε ωτ̄μ, superficially coinciding with the Circumstantial and the Second Present (cf. § 23, Obs. 4); since it is unlikely that so distinctive a morpheme should have been really omitted, the analogy of ϛ̄αν would seem to encourage the belief that the -ε- likewise preceded the nominal actor, but coalesced with the final -ε of ερε; cf. (Sethe ap.) Gardiner *JEA* 16 (1930) 226. However, the ερε itself presents an unsolved problem, cf. Gardiner *JEA* 32 (1946) 101.

A further reason for disregarding the morpheme ϛ̄αν in setting up the Tripartite Pattern is the fact that it can be omitted before the negative τ̄μ (§ 27, Obs. 3).

Obs. 2. The εϛ- of εϛεωτ̄μ coincides superficially with the Circumstantial Present in Sahidic, Bohairic, Fayyumic and Subakhmimic, but in Akhmimic the αϛ- of αϛαωτ̄μ coincides superficially with the Second Present; the εϛ- of εϛϛ̄ανωτ̄μ coincides superficially with the Second Present in those dialects which distinguish the Second Present from the Circumstantial Present (§ 14).

III. The Bipartite Conjugation Pattern

5. The Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is represented by only one (basic) conjugation, the so-called "First Present". It has no conjugation base at all. The first position is filled by the actor ex-

Pattern in the sense that it is not subject to the restrictions of the Bipartite Pattern (§ 23). It is here listed mainly in order to provide the necessary frame for the Negative Causative Imperative. The bare Causative Infinitive is not a conjugation.

⁽¹⁾ The only example known to me of the ε- appearing before the Infinitive is Sir. xxviii.24 (Lagarde) ερε π̄ετκω π̄σωϣ̄ απ̄χοεις εει ετοοτ̄ "those who abandon the Lord will fall into his hand". For ει ετοοτ̄ see Crum *Dict.* 70 b. In Sir. xxxviii.14 the same idiom occurs in the same tense and the same construction without ε-.

pression, either by a noun or by a special set of pronominal preformatives (some of which, namely κ-, ϣ-, ϙ-, resemble — or, historically speaking, have come to resemble — the pronominal suffixes). So far as the Bipartite Pattern as such is concerned, the second (predicate) position is by no means restricted to the verb: it can be filled not only by the Infinitive as well as the Qualitative (whose only function is to fill the second position in the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern), but also by any adverbial expression, *i. e.* either a real adverb like τ̄αἰ "here" or π̄μαϣ "there", or a prepositional phrase like π̄μαντ̄η "with you" or ϣ̄η τ̄πολις "in the city":

1	2
π̄ρωμε †	ωτ̄μ βηκ τ̄αἰ

6. The Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is what Gardiner (*Eg. Gr.* § 319) calls the "Pseudo-verbal construction", *i. e.* a special variety of the sentence with adverbial predicate, in which the adverb shares its privilege of position with certain verb-forms. Historical grammar is able to explain the presence of the Infinitive in this sentence type, and to offer a sort of excuse for the presence of the Qualitative. For a synchronic description of Coptic, however, this historical explanation is irrelevant. Within the framework of Coptic there is nothing "adverbial" about the predicative Infinitive and the Qualitative ⁽¹⁾. On the other hand this sentence type can, of course, be spoken of as a "conjugation pattern" only if its second position is filled by a verb-form.

The distinctive element of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is the verb-form.

IV. Infinitive and Qualitative

7. The only verb-form capable of filling the third position of the Tripartite Conjugation Pattern is the Infinitive. Now the Infinitive is not a typically verbal form. Although it often possesses morphological features of its own, by which it is set apart from ordi-

⁽¹⁾ Vergote *Chr. d'Ég.* 31 (1956) 218; Polotsky *OLZ* 1957, 227.

nary nouns, especially its prenominal and presuffixal forms, it is rather substantival in character and therefore shares several syntactic properties with the noun substantive. Cf. Stern §§ 451, 453, 467, 468, 473. In Crum's *Dictionary* there is under practically every "vb" a special entry headed "nn m". In its capacity as "nn m" an Infinitive can even fill the second position of the Tripartite Conjugation Pattern, i. e. it can function as the actor of another Infinitive, e. g. Sir. xxix.20 **ΑΩΠΤΩΡΕ ΤΑΚΕ ΜΗΝΥΕ ΕΥΣΟΥΤΩΝ** "guaranteeing has ruined many upright men".

8. The following paradox should be noted: the Infinitive, not a typically verbal form, is the only verb-form allowed in the typically verbal Tripartite Conjugation Pattern, whereas the Qualitative, a typically verbal form, occurs only in the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern, in which the privilege of position belongs properly to the adverb.

9. In so far as the Infinitive and the Qualitative of the same verb can both be used in the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern, they form a contrast: the Infinitive expresses an action in progress, while the Qualitative expresses a state. Cf. Acts v.12 **ΠΕΡΥΩΠΕ** "they were happening (*ἐγίνετο, fiebant*)" alongside of **ΠΕΡΥΟΟΠ** "they were (*ἦσαν, erant*)". The possibility of having the same actor for the Infinitive as well as for the Qualitative is limited to intransitive verbs, but the number of such verbs actually admitting both forms in the Bipartite Pattern is none too great. E. g., the Infinitive **ΜΟΥ** "to die" is used in the Bipartite Pattern, when the act of "dying" is spoken of in a general way, as in 1Cor. xv.31 "I die (**†ΜΟΥ**) daily"; 1Cor. xv.22 "just as all men die (**ΠΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ**) in Adam"; Ps. xlviii.10 "if he sees the wise men dying (**ΕΥΜΟΥ**)"; an actual and particular occurrence of "dying" is expressed by the "Future" **ΠΑ-ΜΟΥ** "going to die", while the Qualitative **ΜΟΥΤ** means "being dead". With many intransitive verbs, like **ΖΚΟ** "to hunger" and **ΕΙΒΕ** "to be thirsty" the Infinitive is hardly found in the Bipartite Pattern (1). This is espe-

(1) Outside conjugation the contrast of Qualitative *vs.* Infinitive does not exist. The state *predicated* by the Qualitative is *named* by the Infinitive. Cf. Jo. xix.28 **†ΟΒΕ** as against Ps. lxxviii.22 **ΠΑΕΙΒΕ**; Deut. xxviii.56 **ΤΕΤΩΗΗ... ΕΤΣΑΕΒΛΩΒ** "she who is soft and smooth" as against **ΠΕΩΗΗ** **ΑΠΕΕΣΣΑΒΛΩΒ** "the softness of her smoothness".

cially true of verbs of motion. As a general rule they require the Qualitative, while the Infinitive is mainly used in certain phraseological construction (Obs. 1).

On the other hand, with transitive verbs the contrast of Infinitive *vs.* Qualitative within the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is accompanied by a shift between actor and undergoer. The subject of the state expressed by the Qualitative would be the undergoer of the action expressed by the Infinitive in any conjugation: the actions **ΑΪΣΟΤΠ** "I chose him" or **†ΣΩΤΠ** **ΑΜΟΥ** "I choose him" result in the state **ΨΟΤΠ** "he is chosen". Cf. Zoega 308 (*Apophth.*) **ΑΠΟΚ ΘΩ †ΚΩ ΑΜΩΤΠ ΘΙΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΠΚΗ ΘΙΒΟΛ** "I too am excommunicating you, and you are excommunicated"; 1Sam. xxx.1, 3 **ΑΥΡΟΚΖ... ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΕΙΣΖΗΗΤΕ ΣΡΟΚΖ** "(the Amalekites) burnt it ... (David and his men) came up to the city and behold, it was burnt"; Deut. vi.11 **ΖΕΠΩΗΕΙ ΕΥΘΗΧ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΑΠΚΒΟΧΟΥ** "dug wells which you did not dig"; Mt. xiii.44 **ΟΥΑΖΟ ΕΦΖΗΠ ΠΑΪ ΕΠΤΑ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΨΘΟΠ** "a hidden treasure which a man found and hid". In other words, the Qualitative of transitive verbs has the meaning of a statal passive (1).

Obs. 1. So far as the Sahidic Bible is concerned, the constructions in question, all involving the Circumstantial of **ΕΙ** "to come", are (1) **ΕΦΕΙ ΕΦΠΑ-** "when he was about to ..." Mt. vi.5, Jo. xvi.21, Rom. xv.24, 2Cor. iii.16; note especially **ΕΡΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΙ ΕΦΠΗΥ** "when P. was about to come" Acts v.15; (2) **ΑΨΟΥΩ ΕΦΕΙ** "he has already come" Mt. xvii.12; (3) **ΕΣΕΙ ΕΤΡΕ-** "should it become necessary that ..." Mk. xiv.31.

V. Basic Tenses and Satellites

10. Like other sentence types, the Basic Tenses, affirmative as well as negative, can be preceded by one — in certain cases (§ 17, cf. also § 11 Obs.) by two — of three **SENTENCE CONVERTERS**: (1) **ΠΕ** converts the tense into the corresponding preterit; it does not affect its status as a main sentence, but produces a "relative tense" in the sense in which, e. g., the Latin Imperfect and Pluperfect are "relative tenses" ("Nebentempora" of the Present and the Perfect respectively) (2). The other two convert the tense from a

(1) The term "statal passive" is borrowed from Curme *Grammar of the German Language* (1922) § 194.4.

(2) Cf. W. Gardner Hale *The cum-Constructions* (1887) 18-20, 21 n. 1.

main sentence into a subordinate clause: (2) Circumstantial ϵ -, (3) Relative $\epsilon\tau$ -, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, ϵ -, $\epsilon\eta\tau$ - (cf. § 18).

Obs. 1. The Third Future does not take $\eta\epsilon$, and it is only a matter of inference that its affirmative form can take the Circumstantial ϵ - (coalescing with the initial ϵ -).

Obs. 2. The Preterit Converter $\eta\epsilon$ is often, apparently optionally, followed by $\eta\epsilon$.

11. "Second Tenses" are formed by morphemes which offer a certain resemblance to the Sentence Converters, especially to the Relative. Although this resemblance, so far as it goes, is probably not accidental (cf. § 31), the Second Tenses are on syntactic grounds (§§ 21, 28 *Obs.*) better kept apart from the converted tenses. However, the Second Tenses and the converted tenses can be grouped together as *Satellites* of the basic tenses.

The syntactic function of the Second Tenses is, as a rule, to turn the tense into a noun-equivalent, capable of filling the first (actor) position of the Bipartite Pattern, and thereby to throw emphasis on the adverbial predicate (§ 30). English achieves the same effect in a similar way by the use of the Cleft Sentence ("it was ... that ...").

Obs. The Second Perfect which, in Sahidic at least, is the only Second Tense the characteristic morpheme of which is other than ϵ -, is capable of being preceded by the Circumstantial Converter ϵ -. The resulting form $\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$ coincides superficially with the Relative Perfect, but differs from it syntactically: (1) it can be used as "virtual relative" after an indefinite noun, *e. g.* Mt. xix.12 $\text{οὐκ ἔστιν οὐρανὸς ὡς ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν}$ "there are eunuchs who were born like that from the womb of their mother"; (2) it is negated by ($\bar{\eta}$ -) $\bar{\alpha}\eta$ (§§ 28, 30, 31), *e. g.* Mt. xx.28 $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon \bar{\alpha}\pi\omega\tau\epsilon \bar{\alpha}\pi\omega\tau\epsilon \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\omega\tau\bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\kappa\omega\epsilon\iota \eta\alpha\epsilon \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\epsilon\iota$ "just as the Son of Man came not in order to be served but to serve ..." (for the construction $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon \bar{\eta}$ - definite noun plus Circumstantial cf., *e. g.*, 1Cor. xi.12); Sir. xix.15 $\text{οὐκ ἔστιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος ὅτι ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος ὅτι ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος}$ "there is he who stumbles (cf. § 33) without having done so in his heart". Other examples in *OLZ* 1957, 232.

12. When the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is preceded by the Sentence Converters, the pronominal preformatives are replaced by the pronominal suffixes. With the Relative, however, this is true only when the pronominal actor of the relative clause is distinct from the antecedent; when the antecedent is the actor of

the relative clause, the $\epsilon\tau$ - steps into the first position of the Conjugation Pattern.

Obs. The correctness of analysing, *e. g.*, the relative 1st pl. $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - into $\epsilon\tau$ - plus suffix $-\bar{\eta}$, rather than into $\epsilon\tau$ - plus preformative $\tau\bar{\eta}$ - (*L. Eg. nty iw.n*) is borne out by the 3rd pl. form $\epsilon\tau\omega\gamma$ (contrast *L. Eg. nty st*); cf. Demotic *nty iw.n*, *nty iw.w*.

13. Before nominal subject the Sentence Converters assume the lengthened forms $\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ (Imperfect, § 16) $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon$. This lengthening does not, however, take place in all dialects to the same extent. Cf. §§ 52-55.

14. $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ (pronominal), $\epsilon\eta\gamma$ - are also the forms of the Second Present in Sahidic and Subakhmimic; in the other dialects the forms are $\alpha\eta\epsilon$ (Akhmimic also α), $\alpha\eta\gamma$ -.

15. In these dialects the forms of the Imperfect are similarly $\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon$, $\eta\alpha\eta\gamma$ -. Syntactically, however, the Imperfect goes with the Circumstantial and the Relative, this entire group being in certain respects treated differently from the Second Present. Cf. § 21.

16. The converted forms of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern thus resemble superficially the basic forms of the Tripartite Pattern. Structurally and functionally the three morphemes of

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \eta\epsilon\omega\tau\bar{\alpha} \\ \epsilon\eta\omega\tau\bar{\alpha} \\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\omega}\tau\bar{\alpha} \end{array} \right\}$	correspond to	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \eta\epsilon \alpha\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}, \eta\epsilon \bar{\alpha}\eta\gamma- \\ \epsilon\alpha\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}, \epsilon\bar{\alpha}\eta\gamma- \\ \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}, \epsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\alpha}\eta\gamma-, \text{etc.} \end{array} \right.$
	the four morphemes of	

$\eta\epsilon\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$ is the Preterit Present ("praesens in praeterito") = Imperfect, just as $\eta\epsilon \alpha\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$ is the Preterit Perfect ("perfectum in praeterito") = Pluperfect, etc. However, $\eta\epsilon\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$ sometimes seems to exhibit certain properties of a basic, rather than of a converted, tense, cf. § 28; its primitive converted character is evident in $\eta\epsilon(\omega)\gamma\eta$ § 35.

17. The Imperfect can be further preceded by the Relative Converters ϵ - and (η) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. It is noteworthy that Thompson's Subakhmimic St. John uses $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon \eta\epsilon\omega \bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}$ "he who was formerly (non-simultaneously) blind" ix.13, but consistently avoids the forms

with ϵ -, replacing them mostly by the Relative Present, cf. ii.22, 23, vi.62, vii.42, x.40, xi.6, 32 xii.1, xvii.5, xviii.1.

The ability to be further preceded by the Relative Converter ϵ - belongs to the Preterit Converter $\pi\epsilon$ as such, not to the Preterit Present (Imperfect) specifically, cf. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\alpha$ § 33. It provides therefore no argument for regarding the Imperfect as a basic tense.

The Imperfect can also be further preceded by the Circumstantial Converter ϵ - to express the protasis of an unfulfilled condition ("supposition contrary to fact") ⁽¹⁾.

18. The following table shows the Basic Tenses with their Satellites:

Basic	Preterit	Circumstantial	Relative	"Second"
ϵ - ($\epsilon\epsilon$ -)	$\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ ($\pi\epsilon\gamma$ -)	$\epsilon\epsilon$ - ($\epsilon\gamma$ -)	$\epsilon\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ - ($\epsilon\tau\sigma\gamma$ -)	$\epsilon\epsilon$ - ($\epsilon\gamma$ -)
$\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon \alpha\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -
$\mu\pi\bar{\epsilon}$ -	$\pi\epsilon \mu\pi\bar{\epsilon}$ -	$\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{\epsilon}$ - ⁽²⁾	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\pi\bar{\epsilon}$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\pi\bar{\epsilon}$ -
$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ -	$\pi\epsilon \mu\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ -	$\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ - a)	—
$\omega\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon \omega\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\omega\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\omega\alpha\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \omega\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\omega\alpha\epsilon$ -
$\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon \mu\epsilon\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\epsilon\epsilon$ -	—
$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ -	—	($\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ -) b)	c)	—
$\pi\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -	—	$\epsilon\pi\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ - d)	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon (\pi)\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ - e)	—

Satellites in the second degree:

$\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -	—	$\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -	—	—
$\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -	—	$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -	($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -?) f)

a) Crum *Papyruscodex* 18, 17; Shenoute (?) ap. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* No. 212 (p. 93 b 3).

b) Inferred on the analogy of $\epsilon\pi\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ - as used after $\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ (*OLZ* 1957, 233).

c) Probably non-existent in Sahidic. For Bohairic see Stern § 419, Mallon § 382.

⁽¹⁾ Stern § 630. However, combinations of Basic Tenses with $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ will not be listed as "Satellites in the second degree".

⁽²⁾ $\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{\epsilon}$ without $\bar{\iota}\alpha$ stroke over μ : in the superlineation system here accepted as standard, word-initial syllabic sonorants become non-syllabic when preceded by one-vowel morphemes.

d) References in *OLZ* 1957, 232; add Mk. ix.3 (Horner's 73).

e) Rom. xi.33. For Bohairic cf. Ps. xx.12 and references in Andersson *Ausgewählte Bemerkungen* 62.

f) A likely instance is Acts xxii.24.

VI. Syntactic Peculiarities of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern

19. The construction of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is profoundly altered by the indefiniteness of the actor expression. An indefinite actor expression must in all dialects be preceded by $\sigma\gamma\eta$ "there is", the negation being effected by $\mu\eta$ "there is not". Especially the negation differs entirely from the characteristic negation of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern (§ 28). The Bipartite Conjugation Pattern with indefinite actor expression must therefore be treated under the Existential Sentence (§ 33).

20. After the Sentence Converters the special status of the indefinite actor expression is maintained by different dialects with different degrees of strictness, Akhmimic (with Bohairic as a close second) being the strictest and Sahidic the laxest. For details see § 35.

21. Neither in Akhmimic nor in Sahidic does the rule apply to the Second Present; cf., for both dialects, Prov. xi.17, xii.2, xiii.1, xviii.19. This is one of the reasons for suspecting that the association of the Second Present with the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is secondary (§ 52 Obs.).

No Bohairic example of * $\alpha\pi\epsilon \sigma\gamma$ - ($\alpha\pi\eta$ -) is known to me; the usual construction is $\sigma\gamma$ -... $\alpha\epsilon$ -.

22. Neither in Bohairic nor in Sahidic does the rule apply to the Third Future: both dialects use invariably $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ before an indefinite actor expression. Cf. for Bohairic, Ps. cxxvii.2, Prov. iii.8, 22a, Mt. x.21, xxiv.5, 7, 10, 21, Mk. xiii.12, Lk. i.14, ii.35, xiv.10; for Sahidic, Lev. xxv.5, Deut. xxix.19(18), Jdg. ix.20, Prov. xxii.19, Job v.15, 16, xviii.11, 14, 19, xx.15, 16, 24, 26, Jo. xi.50, 2Cor. viii.13, 14.

23. A severe restriction is imposed upon the direct complement expressions by which the Infinitive can be followed immediately in the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern. Only bare nouns, *i.e.* nouns with zero article (Stern § 332 sub fin.), numerals, and indefinite expres-

sions like **ⲗⲁⲁⲩ** "something", **ⲉⲁⲉ** "many", **ⲟⲩ** "what?" are allowed in this position. Object suffixes, being by nature definite, are excluded. Nouns with an article, even the indefinite article, as well as personal pronouns (suffixes) must be connected by the preposition **ⲡ-**, **ⲙⲙⲟ** (Stern § 494). The rule and the exceptions therefrom (especially **ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲱ**, **ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲱ** "to wish, love") have been worked out by Jernstedt *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1927, 69-74.

Obs. 1. Verbs compounded with nouns denoting parts of the body and taking possessive suffixes are mostly subject to the rule, cf. **ⲭⲓ-ⲉⲣⲁ** = **ⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲣⲁ** "be occupied" Ps. cxviii.23; **ⲕⲁ-ⲉⲧⲏ** = **ⲕⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲏ** "trust" Ps. ii.12, Prov. xxi.22, Sir. xxxviii.40; **ⲕⲁ-ⲣⲱ** = **ⲕⲱ ⲡⲣⲱ** "be silent" Sir. xxxv.8, Mt. xxvi.63, Lk. i.20; **ⲕⲁ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ** = **ⲕⲱ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲧ** = **ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** "despair" Lk. xxi.26. Exceptions: **ⲡ-ⲉⲧⲏ** "repent" Prov. xiii.12; **ⲱⲡ-ⲉⲧⲏ** "commiserate" Prov. xxi.26; but **ⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲏ** "pay attention" Prov. xii.13.

Obs. 2. **ⲡⲁⲛⲁ** "to please" is used in all conjugations: First Present, Acts xii.3, Rom. xiv.18; Imperfect, Ps. xxxiv.14; Circumstantial, 2 Cor. v.9, Heb. xii.28; Relative Present, Deut. vi.18, Heb. xiii.16, and often.

Obs. 3. On the other hand **ⲡⲉⲛⲁ** (with reflexive suffix) "to be willing, consent" is only used in the conjugations of the Tripartite Pattern and in the Imperative (Ps. xxxiv.14 **ⲁⲣⲓⲛⲁⲕ**).

Obs. 4. As Jernstedt p. 72 has pointed out, this rule often allows to distinguish the prenominal base and the 2nd fem. sg. (Jernstedt *Doklady* 1925, 25-6) of the Third Future from those of the Circumstantial and the Second Present. Additional criteria are provided by the rule concerning verbs of motion (§ 9); for Bohairic, by the use of **ⲉⲣⲉ** (as against **ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ**) before indefinite noun (§ 22); and by the fact that the Conjunctive continues neither the Circumstantial Present nor the Second Present. E. g., Ps. xxxvi.15 **ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲏⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲩ** "may their sword enter their heart and their arrows break" can be identified as Third Future (1) by the Infinitive **ⲃⲱⲕ** and (2) by the use of the Conjunctive.

24. The terms "dauerzeiten" and "ereigniszeiten" (Stern) are, on the semantic level, coextensive with "Bipartite" and "Tripartite Conjugation Pattern" respectively. The term "dauerzeiten" ("durative tenses") is adequate, but "ereigniszeiten" ("point tenses", "limitative tenses", "non-durative tenses") has the disadvantage of including the Clause Conjugations, which are not "tenses" at all.

25. In a survey of the Coptic conjugation system the "Futures" with **ⲛⲁ-** require no separate mention, since they are merely expansions of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern. The fact that **ⲛⲁ-** can only

be followed by an Infinitive, not by a Qualitative, and that such an Infinitive can be freely followed by nouns and suffixes denoting the undergoer of the action constitutes no violation of the Stern-Jernstedt rule and does not justify the conclusion that the "Futures" with **ⲛⲁ-** are not durative tenses⁽¹⁾. In characteristic contrast with the post-suffixal additional morphemes in **ⲉⲩ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** and **ⲉⲩ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ** (§ 4 Obs. 1) the **ⲛⲁ-** belongs to the second part of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern. The grammatically operative element of the predicate, the one to which the rules concerning the durative tenses apply, is the auxiliary, not the "main verb". The durative character of the "future" auxiliary **ⲛⲁ-** is borne out by the fact that as soon as a "Future" is formed from a conjugation of the Tripartite Pattern, **ⲛⲁ-** is replaced by its non-durative (Infinitive) alternant **ⲛⲟⲩ** (Bohairic **ⲛⲟⲩ**) **ⲉ-**. Cf. examples where Bohairic **ⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲉ-** corresponds to Sahidic **ⲛⲁ-** (Lk. xxi.7 **ⲁⲣⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲩⲱⲡⲓ** : **ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ** "when these things are about to happen"), or Sahidic **ⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲉ-** corresponds to Bohairic **ⲛⲁ-** (Acts xxviii.10 **ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** : **ⲟⲩⲟⲃ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ** "when we were about to take off"), or Sahidic **ⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲉ-** and **ⲛⲁ-** occur alongside of one another (Lev. x.9 **ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲏ ⲉ-... ⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲏ ⲉ-ⲏⲓⲕⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲡⲟⲣⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉ ... ⲏ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲡⲟⲣⲉⲛⲟⲙⲉⲛⲟⲛ ⲟⲙⲱⲛ**).

The true nature of the relationship between **ⲛⲁ-** and **ⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲉ-** was first recognized by Jernstedt *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1927, 35; **ⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲉ-** occurs not only with **ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ** and **ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲉ**, but also with **ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ** (Mk. xiii.7, Jo. vii.8) and with **ⲉⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉ** (Ez. iii.27), and outside the Bible with the affirmative Perfect (Crum *Dict.* 219 a-b).

Obs. 1. The fact that the only function of **ⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲉ-** is that of a "Future" auxiliary with non-durative conjugations, while **ⲛⲁ** is also a full verb "to go" (cf. *OLZ* 1959, 458), raises grave doubts as to whether **ⲛⲟⲩ** is really an old Infinitive form; it may very well be a late back-formation from **ⲛⲁ-**.

Obs. 2. There is no satisfactory explanation for the absence of the expected preposition **ⲉ-** after **ⲛⲁ-**; cf., however, Spiegelberg *Rec. tr.* 14 (1893) 39-40.

VII. Negations

The various groups of conjugations are correlated to specific modes of negation.

⁽¹⁾ I must formally retract the statement contained in the last sentence of *OLZ* 1959, 458 n. 3.

26. The basic tenses of the Tripartite Pattern have ready-made negative counterparts with built-in negative elements, § 4.

27. The Clause Conjugations are negated by the morpheme $\tau\bar{u}$ (Bohairic and Fayyumic $\omega\tau\bar{u}$); outside conjugation the function of $\tau\bar{u}$ is to negative the Infinitive. It is placed after the pronominal suffix:

Conjunctive $\eta\bar{q}\tau\bar{u}\omega\tau\bar{u}$.

Future Conjunctive: only one example (in independent use, § 1) is on record (Lefort *Le Muséeon* 60, 1947, 12) Mk. xii.14 $\tau\bar{a}\rho\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{t}$ $\chi\bar{n}$ $\tau\bar{a}\rho\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{t}$ "shall we give or shall we not give?"⁽¹⁾

Temporal $\eta\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\epsilon\bar{q}\tau\bar{u}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ (Mk. ii.4, Lk. ii.45, Acts xvii.6, xxi.14).

"until" $\omega\bar{a}\eta\bar{t}\bar{q}\tau\bar{u}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ (Num. xxi.35, Josh. viii.22, Bohairic Gen. xli.49).

Conditional $\epsilon\bar{q}\omega\bar{a}\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ (Sir. xxvii.3, Mt. xviii.16).

With nominal actor, so far as the evidence goes, $\tau\bar{u}$ is normally placed after the conjugation base:

Conjunctive $\eta\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{u}$ $\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$. Exceptionally $\tau\bar{u}$ is found after the nominal actor before the Infinitive: Prov. ii.5 = iii.6.

Future Conjunctive: no example.

Temporal $\eta\bar{t}\epsilon\bar{r}\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{u}$ $\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ (Crum *Papyruscodex* 30, 7).

"until": no Sahidic example is known to me; a Bohairic example is quoted by Stern § 449: $\omega\bar{a}\tau\epsilon\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\rho\bar{n}\bar{a}$ $\omega\bar{x}\bar{n}$ $\eta\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{t}\bar{q}$.

Conditional $\epsilon\bar{r}\omega\bar{a}\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}$ $\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ (2 Thess. ii.3).

Obs. The $\omega\bar{a}\eta$ of the Conditional can be omitted before $\tau\bar{u}$. In Bohairic and Fayyumic this omission is the rule. In Sahidic $\epsilon\bar{q}\omega\bar{a}\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ and $\epsilon\bar{q}\tau\bar{u}\omega\tau\bar{u}$, $\epsilon\bar{r}\omega\bar{a}\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}$ and $\epsilon\bar{r}\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{u}$ $\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ are equally common.

28. The Bipartite Pattern containing a definite actor expression and all "Second Tenses" are negated by ($\eta\bar{n}$ -) ... $\bar{a}\eta$, cf. §§ 31-32.

As regards the converted forms of the Bipartite Pattern, there is a characteristic difference between the Circumstantial and the Relative on the one hand, and the Preterit on the other (§ 16).

⁽¹⁾ This exceptional case runs counter to the old rule, still fully valid in Coptic, that in combinations of the verb "to give" with a *sdm.f* (*iry.f sdm -peq* $\omega\tau\bar{u}$) it is only the former which can be negated.

In the type of Sahidic here described ⁽¹⁾ it is rather uncommon for Circumstantial and Relative constructions of the Bipartite Pattern to be negated, which can be done by $\bar{a}\eta$ alone. The normal method, which is the rule in other sentence-types, is the conversion of negative constructions into Circumstantial and Relative constructions, e. g.

	Tripartite Pattern		Nominal Sentence	
Basic	αϑσωτ <u>̄</u>	̄ <u>̄</u> η̄ϑσωτ <u>̄</u>	πωϑ π <u>̄</u> ε	̄ <u>̄</u> η̄πωϑ Δ <u>̄</u> η π <u>̄</u> ε
Circumst.	εαϑσωτ <u>̄</u>	ε̄ <u>̄</u> η̄ϑσωτ <u>̄</u>	επωϑ π <u>̄</u> ε	ε̄ <u>̄</u> η̄πωϑ Δ <u>̄</u> η π <u>̄</u> ε
Relative	ενταϑσωτ <u>̄</u>	ε <u>̄</u> τε̄ ̄ <u>̄</u> η̄ϑσωτ <u>̄</u>	ε <u>̄</u> τε̄ πωϑ π <u>̄</u> ε	ε <u>̄</u> τε̄ ̄ <u>̄</u> η̄πωϑ Δ <u>̄</u> η π <u>̄</u> ε

and correspondingly in the Bipartite Pattern

Basic	(3rd pl.) $\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$	$\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$
	$\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$	$\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$
Circumst.	$\epsilon\bar{y}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$	$\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$
	$\epsilon\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$	(rarely $\epsilon\bar{y}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$) $\epsilon\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$
Relative	$\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ *	$\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$ *
	$\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$	$\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$
		(rarely $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$) ⁽²⁾
	$\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ *	$\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$ *
		(rarely $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $\rho\bar{r}\omega\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$ *) ⁽³⁾

The constructions marked by * require, as a rule, a resumptive pronoun

⁽¹⁾ But not, e. g., in Shenoute.

⁽²⁾ In Akhmimic the construction $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}\bar{e}$ $\epsilon\bar{n}$ is the norm, e. g. Prov. ix.13, x.12, xi.29, xv.22, xviii.9, xix.23(20), xxiv.22. The Sahidic in all these places has $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{q}\bar{c}\omega\tau\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\eta$.

⁽³⁾ In Rom. ii.29 $\rho\bar{a}\bar{i}$ $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $\rho\bar{e}\bar{q}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{o}$ $\omega\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\bar{a}\eta$ $\epsilon\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{z}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{r}\bar{w}\bar{m}\epsilon$ $\bar{a}\bar{z}\bar{a}\bar{z}$ $\epsilon\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{z}$ $\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ $\rho\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ "whose honour is not from men, but from God" it would be tempting to see a Relative Second Present; in Prov. xxvii.19 $\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{e}$ $\epsilon\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{o}$ $\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ $\bar{a}\eta$ $\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{n}\bar{y}$ "even as the faces do not resemble each other" this would seem less likely, though not impossible.

But with the Preterite *ne* we have

νεγσωτ̄μ (νε) νεγσωτ̄μ αν (νε)
 νερε πρωμε σωτ̄μ (νε) νερε πρωμε σωτ̄μ αν (νε)

The construction *ne m̄prowe... an*, which we might expect on the analogy of the other Converters and which actually occurs in Demotic (Spiegelberg *Dem. Gr.* § 175 under 11), is preserved in the protasis of an unfulfilled condition: Jo. xviii.30, where the true reading (already quoted, presumably from Woide's *Appendix* ⁽¹⁾, by Stern p. 413) is *ene m̄paī r̄ neθoor an* "if this one were not doing evil (*ei mē h̄n oũtos kakōn poiōn*)".

Obs. The Circumstantial Converter *e-* precedes the negative *n̄-*, *eneγσωτ̄μ an*, but the negative *n̄-* (prevocally often *n̄n̄-*) precedes the morpheme *e-* of the Second Present and the Second Aorist: (*n̄n̄*)*neγσωτ̄μ an*, (*n̄n̄*)*neγσωτ̄μ an* (e.g., Isa. xxviii.27; Lefort *Pères apost.* 35, 9).

29. Using the negations as principle of classification, we obtain the following schematic representation of the conjugations:

Basic Tenses		"Second Tenses"	
Negated by (<i>n̄-</i>)... <i>an</i>			
<i>q̄-</i>		<i>eq̄-</i>	
Affirmative	Negative		
<i>aq̄-</i>	<i>m̄nq̄-</i>	<i>n̄taq̄-</i>	
	<i>m̄paτq̄-</i>		
<i>waq̄-</i>	<i>meq̄-</i>	<i>eq̄waq̄-</i>	
<i>eq̄e-</i>	<i>n̄neq̄-</i>		
Imperatives			
	<i>m̄np̄-</i>		
<i>maeq̄-</i>	<i>m̄np̄τreq̄-</i>		

Clause Conjugations

Negated by *τ̄m̄*

n̄q̄-, *ταreq̄-*, *n̄τreq̄-*, *wanτq̄-*, *eq̄wan*.

⁽¹⁾ Woide's text is confirmed by the Chester Beatty Ms. A (coll. Thompson), Delaporte (whose V = Horner's 20), Morgan IV (kindly collated by Mr A. F. Shore). The Chester Beatty Ms. B omits the *m̄-*, and Horner's 14 (coll. Shore) does the same and spells *n̄ne* instead of *ene*, but neither has *m̄ne*.

VIII. The Syntactic Status of the "Second Tenses"

30. The identical treatment, in respect of negation, of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern and the "Second Tenses" arises from the structure of sentences containing a "Second Tense": such a sentence is a true sentence with adverbial predicate, in which the "Second Tense" fills the first position (§ 5). Structurally, therefore, such a sentence is not a "conjugation pattern" at all (§ 6 end).

The Second Present need have no verb at all, *i. e.* the Second Tense morpheme plus the actor expression is by itself sufficient to fill the first position; if it has a verb (Infinitive or Qualitative), the latter is included in the first position. All other Second Tenses must necessarily be followed by an Infinitive within the first position. Cf.

	1	2
(a) Second Present	<i>eq̄</i> <i>m̄maγ</i>	
(b) Second Perfect	<i>n̄taγze</i> <i>m̄maγ</i>	
(c) Second Present	<i>ere</i> <i>n̄n̄n̄n̄</i> <i>m̄pwn̄</i>	<i>zathk</i>
(d) Second Future	<i>ēnār</i> <i>n̄pac̄xa</i>	<i>zathk</i>

	as against	1	2
(e) Second Present		ερε νεppωογ ο π̄ρρο	εβοζ ζιτοοτ
(f) do. (negated)		νεῖχι εοογ αν	εβοζ ζιτ̄π ρωμ
(g) Second Perfect		π̄τα πτηρ̄q̄ ωωπε	εβοζ ζιτοοτq̄
(h) Second Aorist		εωαρε ζενxαxε ζωτ̄π	εβοζ ζιτοοτογ

(a) Ps. lxvii.28 "ibi est"; (b) Ps. xxxv.13 "ibi ceciderunt"; (c) Ps. xxxv.10 "apud te est fons vitae"; (d) Mt. xxvi.18 "apud te faciam Pascha"; (e) Prov. viii.15 "per me regnant reges"; (f) Jo. v.41 "non ab homine accipio gloriam"; (g) Jo. i.3 "per ipsum omnia facta sunt"; (h) Prov. xv.28 "per ipsas reconciliantur inimici".

31. The function of (*n̄-*)... *an* is to negate the nexus between subject and non-verbal predicate. With "Second Tenses", accordingly, it negates the nexus between the noun-equivalent "Second Tense" and the adverbial predicate, not the "Second Tense" itself: "it is not ... that ...". If the "Second Tense" itself, not its nexus with

the adverbial predicate, is to be negated ("it is ... that ... not ..."), this is done by converting the negative Basic Tense into the Relative (§ 28), the Relative Converter functioning as "Second Tense" morpheme; cf. *Études de syntaxe copte* 88-9.

Obs. It should be noted that in Sahidic the position of **an** does not indicate the predicate. It does so often, but far from regularly, in Bohairic, e. g., Mt. x.34, Lk. iv.4, Jo. v.34.

32. (**n̄**-) ... **an** is often used to negative a non-verbal part of the sentence having predicative force, especially all kinds of adverbial adjuncts.

This construction is likewise used with "Second Tenses", if they follow, instead of preceding, the adverbial predicate. In this case **an** follows the predicate (contrast § 31 *Obs.*), while the "Second Tense" is affirmative. Cf. Deut. ix.6, Lk. xii.15, quoted *Études* 39; Deut. vii.7 **ouy** **oti** **xe** **etetnōy an emate para n̄rethos throu n̄ta p̄hoic ouey thout̄n ayo aqseth thout̄n** ... **alla** ... "it was not because you are more numerous than all nations that the Lord preferred you and chose you ... but ..."; *Le Muséon* 42 (1929) 222 **ebol gar an xe c̄r̄royo n̄bi thpe m̄p̄we n̄ta p̄ce w̄p̄e eq̄rooy**, well translated by Lefort (p. 250) "ce n'est pas, en effet, parce que cent est plus grand, que cinquante [*leg. soixante*] ne vaut rien"; Shenoute ed. Chassinat 38, 35 **erwan t̄bawor āw̄kak ebol an** (the all-important **an** ⁽¹⁾ is missing in Leipoldt's text III 79, 4) ... **ere p̄moȳ t̄r̄pe** "it is not if the fox barks ... that the lion is afraid".

Obs. That the basic and essential function of the "Second Tenses" is to nominalize Basic Tenses and to render them capable of becoming subjects of adverbial predicates, could be inferred from the negation (**n̄**-) ... **an** alone, even if it were not amply demonstrated by actual Coptic usage. At the same time it is true that "there are many examples in which II Tenses are used, where no Adverbial extension is present" (Plumley *Introd. Coptic Gr.* p. 81). Such "exceptions", which are relatively not at all numerous, can be brought under a limited number of heads and understood as extensions of the basic function; cf. *Études* 51-3. Inasmuch as such uses deviate from the structure of the "Second Tenses" they are secondary ("emplois abusifs"), but it is not in the least suggested that they should "be dismissed as improper uses". They can be "dismissed" only in the sense that they do not invalidate the definition of the basic function.

(¹) Foxes flee before lions: Shenoute ed. Leipoldt III 87, 23.

It is noteworthy that "exceptions" are especially uncommon with the negation, and it may be mentioned, for the record, that the specific meaning of the negated Second Perfect was correctly defined before this definition was found to be valid for the "Second Tenses" in general (*GGA* 1934, 60).

It is further noteworthy that not all "emplois abusifs" occur in all dialects. Sahidic, e. g., uses the "Second Tenses" not only "properly" with interrogative adverbs (including prepositions with interrogative pronouns) but also with interrogative pronouns as direct complements (following the prenominal Infinitive) and as actors (following the conjugation base). In Bohairic, as was first pointed out by Chaîne *Éléments* § 802, this "improper" extension is unknown (with the exception of the idiom **āpetener oy** "how are you?" Gen. xliii.27, cf. *Ann. Serv.* 40, 245).

IX. Existential Sentence

33. Existence and non-existence are predicated by **oyh** ⁽¹⁾ "there is" and (**m̄**)**m̄** "there is not" respectively, followed by the subject. The subject is never a personal pronoun. As a rule it is one of the following: nouns with indefinite or zero article; **oya**, **oyon**, **zoeine**; numerals; **zaz** "many", **zazay** "anybody, anything", **se** "another", **oyhp** "how much?" The definite article is admitted in two cases: (1) in substantivized relative expressions (Spiegelberg *Dem. Gr.* § 441 Anm.), and (2) in the phrases **oyh oe n̄** (Sir. xxvii.21), **m̄ oe n̄** (1Sam. xxv.17, Isa. i.6, xl.28, Wisd. v.10) "there is a way", "there is no way" (of doing) ⁽²⁾.

The combination with the preposition **n̄te**, **n̄ta** "with" yields the expressions **oyh̄te**, **oyh̄ta**; **m̄h̄te**, **m̄h̄ta** "have", see Till *Kopt. Gr.* §§ 289-94.

The predicates of existence and non-existence have all the Satellites:

Basic	Preterit	Circumstantial	Relative	"Second"
oyh	ne(o)h̄	e(o)h̄	ete(o)h̄	e(o)h̄n̄ta a)
m̄	mem̄	em̄	ete m̄	ete m̄ b)

Satellite in the second degree:

ne(o)h̄ ——— c) **ene(o)h̄** d) ———

(¹) The best MSS. are inconsistent as regards the superlineation of the **n̄** in **oyh**; the earlier MSS. tend to omit the stroke.

(²) In Ps. lxxi.12 **m̄ p̄v̄inn̄ ete m̄n̄t̄q̄ bōn̄hos** (Till *Kopt. Gr.* § 480) **m̄** means "and".


a) *Études* 50. Add Shenoute ed. Leipoldt III 85, 14 **εϋχε ουντϥ ουδου γαρ ον εουνταϥς ρη πετκα μα παϥ ρητοϥ** "if he still has power, it is in those who allow him place in them that he has it"; perhaps also Rom. i.14 **ευνταϥ εροϥ** "it is I who owe a debt to them".

b) *Études* 50; *OLZ* 1957, 233.

c) Only **επε(ο)υν(τα=)** in the protasis of an unfulfilled condition.

d) Job xxxi.35, Mt. xviii.28, Jo. xvii.5, Rom. vi.21, 1Jo. ii.7. In the Cleft Sentence, Acts xiv.12 **πτοϥ πενευν βομ μμοϥ πε ραπωχε** "it was he who was powerful in speech"; Mt. xxi.28, Lk. xv.11 **οϥρωμε πενευνταϥ μμαϥ ρηρηε σναϥ** "it was a man who had two sons", which is the Coptic way of expressing "there was a man who had two sons" ⁽¹⁾; var. **πετε(ο)υνταϥ**, and thus Shenoute ed. Chassinat 103, 11.

34. The negative form **μν**, with its built-in negative element, is reminiscent of the negative conjugation bases of the Tripartite Pattern. In fact, **ουν** and **μν** probably are, like most conjugation bases, remnants of the old *sdm.f* conjugation. That **ουν** and **μν** cannot take personal suffixes, results from the definiteness of the latter. That **ουν** and **μν** can be self-sufficient predicates, results from their being intransitive, while the conjugation bases of the Perfect and the Aorist go back to transitive auxiliary verbs, requiring an Infinitive as their necessary complement.

Obs. 1. L. Eg.  is a phonetic writing of *nn wn*: Sethe *Verbum* I § 203; Spiegelberg *Rec. tr.* 21 (1899) 41-2. On the existential sentence in M. Eg. (*iw wn*, neg. *nn wn*) cf. Gardiner *Eg. Gr.* §§ 107-8.

Obs. 2. The fact that *wn* was a verb-form, does not make "verbs" of **ουν** and **μν**. From the point of view of Coptic they can only be described as predicative expressions of existence and non-existence.

35. "Absolute existence is but rarely asserted; usually there is some qualification in the form of [...] an adverbial phrase [...]. When such a qualification occurs, there is a tendency for it, rather than the notion of existence, to become the real predicate" (Gardiner). The importance of the Existential Sentence for the conjugation system

⁽¹⁾ Cf. the Cleft Sentence with the Relative Perfect (**οϥρωμε πενταϥ-** and sim.) in the opening sentence of other parables, Mt. xxi.33, Mk. xii.1, Lk. x.30, xii.16, xiv.16, xviii.10, xx.9.

lies in the fact that it is likewise used with the verbal partners of the adverbial predicate, *i.e.* the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern (§ 19).

After the Sentence Converters the rule requiring the use of the Existential Sentence for the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern with indefinite actor expression is fully valid in Akhmimic and predominantly in Bohairic (see Obs. 1) and probably in Fayyumic. In Sahidic, so far as the affirmative sentence is concerned, the rule has no absolute validity: we find both the Converters plus **ουν** and the ordinary prenominal forms of the Converters, **περε, ερε, ετερε** (§ 13); **ετε ουν** seems to be limited to the case where the actor has zero article and the predicate is a prepositional phrase; Shenoute, however, uses it also in the Akhmimic manner with verbal predicate (Obs. 2). Before zero article actor and verbal predicate Bohairic uses **ετε** (without **ουν**) and Sahidic **ετερε** (Obs. 3).

Akhmimic	Bohairic	Fayyumic	Sahidic
πε ουν	πε ουν/παρε	πε ουν	πευν/περε
ε(ο)υν	εουν/ερε		ε(ο)υν/ερε
ετε ουν	ετε ουν		ετερε

Obs. 1. Bohairic **ερε ραν** Lk. xxi.5, 20, Mk. vi.9; **παρε ουν** Mk. x.22, xiv.4, 56, Jo. xii.11; **παρε ραν** Mk. i.6, iii.10, iv.36, xiv.4.

Obs. 2. Sahidic **ετε(ο)υν**, *e.g.* Ps. xxiii.8, Lk. i.49, Eph. iii.20 **πετε ουν βομ μμοϥ**, Jer. v.5, Acts xxv.5, Rom. xv.1 **πετε ουν βομ μμοϥ** "who has (have) power"; Ex. xxxiv.7 **πετε ουν ποβε εροϥ** "who has a sin to his charge"; Lev. xxi.17 **πετε ουν ρβιν ριωϥ** "in whom there is a blemish"; Prov. xiv.4 **μμα ετε ουν ραϥ ρηρηε** "where there is much produce"; Rev. viii.9 **ετευν ψυχη ρηρηε** "in whom there is a soul"; Mk. vii.16 **πετε ουν μμαχε δε μμοϥ** "who has an ear" (cf. Mt. xiii.43 = Mk. iv.9 **πετευνταϥ μμαχε μμαϥ**).

Shenoute ed. Chassinat 85, 41 **ρρωε ετε ουν ραϥ ποϥχε μμοϥ επαϥοϥ μμοϥ ετβε ρομτ** "the thing which many neglect for the sake of money"; *ibid.* 159, 30 **μμα ετε ουν οϥμνηϥε σοϥϥ εροϥ** "the place whither a multitude is gathered" (cf. and contrast Acts xii.12).

Obs. 3. Bohairic, Ps. lv.5 **οϥ πετε ραρϥ πααιϥ ρη** "what is it that flesh will do to me?"; Ps. lv.12, cxvii.6 (= Heb. xiii.6) **οϥ πετε ρωμ πααιϥ ρη** "what is it that man will do to me?"; Sahidic, Lev. xv.32 **πετερε σπερμα παει εβοϥ μμοϥ** "from whom sperm will issue".

Obs. 4. Sahidic examples for **επε ουν ουν** in the protasis of an unfulfilled condition (§ 17): Mk. ix.42, Lk. xvii.2 (var. **επερε**), Heb. vii.11. Negative, Shenoute ap. Zoega 461 **επε μν οϥκεραϥνος ρητ ρωϥ...** **περπαχοϥ αν πε ρε...** "if a thunderbolt were not pursuing him ... they would not say: ...".

X. Adjective Verbs

36. The so-called Adjective Verbs belong to the conjugation system inasmuch as they may be said to replace the Qualitative of the verbs to which they are related. With most of those verbs the Qualitative is either extremely rare or altogether non-existent. Of **ow**, however, this is not true, and **ow** and **naow** seem to be practically equivalent.

The structure of the Adjective Verbs is still problematic. In all likelihood the stem is the Infinitive, followed by a possessor expression; cf. Sethe *ÄZ* 64 (1929) 63-4; however, the nature of the prefix **ne-**, which seems to turn this nominal expression into a predicative one, is quite obscure.

37. The Adjective Verbs have all the Satellites. They are negated by (**n-**)... **an**.

Basic	Preterit	Circumstantial	Relative	"Second"
naonw	ne naonw	enawonw	(1) etnaonw	enawonw b)
			(2) ete naonw a)	

a) **et-** is used when the subject of the Adjective Verb is = the antecedent, and **ete** when the subject is distinct from the antecedent. Cf., for the latter case, Shenoute ap. Rossi *Pap. copti* II iii 13 **n̄θe ete naowonw n̄di netq̄naḥxoic epoon** "just as those over whom he will rule are numerous"; with the negation, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* No. 981 (p. 480 b) **(-n̄)θe ete (n̄)naonw an etre-** "the way it is not good for ... to ...". A nominal subject (*Till Kopt. Gr.* § 462) is necessarily distinct from the antecedent.

b) *Études* 51. Add Shenoute ed. Chassinat 135,44-5 **ziṭn̄ on enaḏaḏy enep̄erh̄y** "whereby are they greater than one another?".

Obs. The subject may be definite as well as indefinite (*pace* Till *Kopt. Gr.* § 284). Cf. **naonw on-** Ps. lxxxiii.11, Prov. xi.25, xii.9, xv.16, 17, xvi.19, 32, xvii.1, xix.22, xx.23, xxii.1, xxiv.5, Wisd. iv.1.

XI. Formal Analysis of the Conjugation Bases

38. A classification of the conjugation bases by purely formal criteria must leave out of account not only the preformatives of the First Present, but, so far as Sahidic is concerned, also the Conjunctive, which has become closely assimilated to the First Present (for Bohairic

see § 51). On the other hand, it is useful to include the Satellites of the First Present and, for certain forms (§ 59), of the First Future. Although the Relative Present does not quite fit into any of the groups to be set up (§§ 42, 44), its very recalcitrance will prove illuminating.

A. Sahidic

39. We have to distinguish the prenominal and the presuffixal forms of the conjugation bases.

Prenominally all bases end in a vowel, either **a** or **e**.

Presuffixally the bases end either in **a**, or in stable **e**, or in unstable **e** (alternating with zero).

Unstable **e** behaves differently, according as it is preceded either by one of the stops **n** or **t** (§ 44), or by the sonorant **p** (§ 45).

40. The pronominal actor suffixes fall into four groups:

- (1) Single Surds: (2nd m. sg.) **-κ**
 (3rd m. sg.) **-ϥ**
 (3rd f. sg.) **-c**

(2) Single Sonorants, appearing in two alternant shapes:

non-syllabic (postvocalic)	syllabic (postconsonantal)
(1st sg.) -ī (-ei), that is [i]	-i , that is [i]
(1st pl.) -n	-n̄ , that is [n̄]
(3rd. pl.) -r , that is [u]	-or , that is [u]

(3) The suffix 2nd f. sg. has three alternants: zero, **-e**, **-p(e)**. The distribution of zero and **e** is analogous to that of the non-syllabic and syllabic alternants described under (2) ⁽¹⁾. In one case the alternants zero and **-p(e)** appear as variants (§ 41).

(4) The suffix 2nd pl. has two alternants: short **-ṭn̄**, long **-teṭn̄**. In certain cases these alternants appear as variants (§§ 43 Obs., 45 Obs. 1, 56 Obs.). The short form is perhaps best regarded as added to the prenominal base.

By applying the criteria listed in §§ 39 and 40 we obtain five groups. See the synoptic table on p. 416.

⁽¹⁾ 2nd f. sg. forms ending in **-e** are considered as having zero when the base has stable **e**, and as having **-e** when the base has unstable **e**.

41. First Group.

The base consists preminally and presuffixally of the single vowel **α**:

Perfect **α-**.

1st sg., 1st pl., 3rd pl.: non-syllabic; 2nd f. sg.: zero, var. **-p(ε)**;
2nd pl.: long.

Obs. The zero form of the 2nd f. sg., first explicitly pointed out by Spiegelberg *Rec. tr.* 30 (1908) 141-2, is the one found in the best MSS.

42. Second Group.

The base consists presuffixally either of a single vowel (**ε**) or a vowel (**α**, stable **ε**) preceded by a single consonant:

Circumstantial Present, Second Present, Third Future, Conditional **ε-**; Imperfect **ne-**; Aorist **ωα-**; Neg. Aorist **με-** (**μα-**).

1st sg., 1st pl., 3rd pl.: non-syllabic; 2nd f. sg.: **-pe**; thus also, as variant, in the Relative Present (§ 59); 2nd pl.: long.

Prenominally: lengthened by **-pe**; thus also the Relative Present (§ 53).

Obs. In the Conditional the prenominal and the 2nd f. sg. (*e.g.* Ruth ii.9, Jo. xi.40) is normally **ερωαν-**; **ερεωαν-** is archaic. The 2nd f. sg. of the Third Future is **ερε-** (Gen. iii.16 ap. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* No. 932; Jdg. iv.20, Ruth ii.9).

43. Third Group.

The base ends preminally and presuffixally in stable **ε**, preceded either by stop plus sonorant or by double sonorant:

Causative Infinitive **τρε-**, Neg. Third Future **πνε-**.

1st sg., 1st pl., 3rd pl.: non-syllabic, but 1st sg. **-εῖ** is normally replaced by **-α**: **τρα-**, **πνα-**; 2nd f. sg.: zero; 2nd pl.: short.

Obs. In Sahidic the 2nd pl. variant **τρετετη-** is non-standard, though old; cf. § 56 *Obs.*

44. Fourth Group.

The base ends in a stop (**π, τ**) plus unstable **ε**:

Neg. Perfect. **μπ(ε)-**, "not yet" **μπατ(ε)-**, "until" **ωαντ(ε)-**, [Relative Present **ετ(ε)-**, except for the prenominal form **ετερε** and the 2nd f. sg. variant **ετερε-**].

The **ε** appears preminally and before the suffix 2nd pl.; it disappears before all other suffixes.

1st sg., 1st pl., 3rd pl.: syllabic; 2nd f. sg.: **-ε**; 2nd pl.: short.

Obs. The disappearance of **ε** before the single-consonant suffixes is the norm in the classical orthography (Rahlfs *Die Berliner Hs. des sahid. Psalters* 28 n. 4). Exceptions occur, however, even in old and otherwise careful MSS.

45. Fifth Group.

The base ends in a vowel plus **p** plus unstable **ε**:

Causative Imperative **μαρ(ε)-**, Future Conjunctive **ταρ(ε)-**, Temporal **πτερ(ε)-**.

The **ε** appears preminally, before the single surd suffixes and before the suffix 2nd pl.; it disappears before the sonorant suffixes.

1st sg., 1st pl., 3rd pl.: syllabic; 2nd f. sg.: **-ε**; 2nd pl.: short.

Obs. 1. Alongside of **ταρετη-** there exists a non-standard variant **ταρετετη-**. Cf. § 56 *Obs.*

Obs. 2. The spellings **πτερπ-** etc. are those of the classical orthography; **πτερεπ-** is, however, found in otherwise reliable MSS.

B. Other dialects

46. (Cf. § 41). In the Perfect the 2nd f. sg. form **α-** is also found in Akhmimic (Prov. xxxi.29) alongside of **αρ-** (Mic. iv.9, Nah. iii.16; relative **εταρ-** Zeph. iii.11, Clem. ed. Schmidt p. 16,12) and in Subakhmimic (Jo. iv.18 relative **πτα-**), but neither in Bohairic (**αρε-**) nor in Fayyumic (**αλ-**).

In the 2nd pl. Bohairic has very frequently **αρετεπ-** (as in the Second Present, § 48) alongside of **ατετεπ-**; and thus regularly in the Relative (and Second) Perfect **εταρετεπ-**.

47. (Cf. § 42). In Akhmimic the Aorist belongs to the Fifth Group (§ 58). For the other bases of the Second Group Akhmimic uses preminally both the enlarged and the unenlarged forms, apparently without distinction (§ 55): Circumstantial **ε** alongside of **ερε**, Second Present **α** alongside of **αρε**, Neg. Aorist **μα** alongside of **μαρε**. Whether the Imperfect has **να** alongside of **ναρε** (the latter *e.g.* Jon. ii.1) must be left open for the moment; in books of reference the Second Perfect (cf. *OLZ* 1960, 25 n. 1) ⁽¹⁾ is often mistaken for the Imperfect. [Imperfect **να** Jo. xii.2 (Rösch)].

48. (Cf. § 42). For the 2nd pl. of the Second Group Bohairic adds the short suffix **-τεπ** to the enlarged prenominal base:

Circumstantial	ερετεπ-	and Third Future ερετεπε-
Second Present	αρετεπ-	
Imperfect	ναρετεπ-	
Aorist	μαρετεπ-	
Neg. Aorist	μπαρετεπ-	

⁽¹⁾ Add Mt. xi.26 ap. Amundsen *Symbolae Osloenses* 24 (1945) 123.

Group	Bases	§	1st sg., 1st pl., 3rd pl.		2nd f. sg.			2nd pl.		prenominal
			non-syllabic	syllabic	zero	-ε	-pe	short	long	
I	α-	41	×		×		(×)		×	= base
II	ε- ne- ωα- με-	42	×				×		×	base plus -pe
III	τpe- nne-	43	×		×			×		= base
IV	μαp(ε)- μαπατ(ε)- ωαnτ(ε)- [ετ(ε)-]	44		×		×		×		= base [base plus -pe]
V	μαp(ε)- ταp(ε)- nτεp(ε)-	45		×		×		×		= base

Second Present **ερετῆ-** and Imperfect **περετῆ-** occur as variants also in Subakhmimic; an isolated instance of Second Future **ερετῆα-** even in classical Sahidic: Sir. ii.15 Lagarde.

49. (Cf. § 43). In all other dialects the 3rd pl. forms of the Third Group have **-ου** as against Sahidic **-εγ**:

Bohairic	ερογ-	nnou-
Fayyumic	τρογ-	nnou- Mk. viii.30, Jo. iii.20, but nneg- Ep. Jer. 66 bis
Akhmimic	τογ-	(n)nou-
Subakhm.	τρογ-	nou-

For the 1st sg. the picture is more diversified:

Bohairic	ερι-	ḥna-
Fayyumic	τρι-	nni-
Akhmimic	τα-	nna-
Subakhm.	τρι-, τρα-	ni-

The Subakhmimic forms **τρι-** and **τρογ-** are matched by 1st pl. **τρῆ-** (Jo. vi.52, with a long stroke over all three letters), as against Sahidic **τρε-**.

50. The anomalous 1st sg. suffix. **-α** (§ 49), not being correlated to stable **ε** in the rest of the paradigm, as it is in Sahidic (§ 43), hardly justifies the setting up of a special group. If we disregard it, the Akhmimic and Subakhmimic forms of the Neg. Third Future and the Subakhmimic forms of the Causative Infinitive would join the Fifth Group, while the Akhmimic forms of the Causative Infinitive, the base of which is **τε-** preminally and before the suffix 2nd pl., and **τ-** before all other suffixes, would join the Fourth Group.

Obs. Note that in Akhmimic the paradigm of the Causative Infinitive coincides with that of the fem. sg. Possessive Article, and the paradigm of the Negative Third Future, so far as it is known (I have no reference for the 1st pl.), coincides with that of the pl. Possessive Article.

In the Sahidic Possessive Article the anomalous 1st sg. suffix *-a* goes together with stable *ε* in the rest of the paradigm (except the 2nd f. sg.):

1st pl.	πεν-	τεπ-	πεν-
3rd pl.	πεγ-	τεγ-	πεγ-

In Akhmimic an *ε* appears normally only in the pl. Possessive Article, and only before surd suffixes (contrast 1st pl. ππ-): it is obviously called forth by the phonetic properties of the sonorant π- with special reference to its position in the syllable.

51. In Bohairic syllabic *ḥ* occurs only in word-initial position. For the conjugations of Groups III-V the number of sonorant suffixes is therefore reduced from three to two, viz. the two vocalic suffixes *-i* and *-oy*, while *-n* joins the consonant suffixes. So far as the conjugations of Groups III-IV are concerned, the distinction between stable and unstable *ε* is irrelevant to Bohairic, stable *ε* occurring only in the Circumstantial Present and the Third Future: on the one hand *ε* appears before all consonantal suffixes in all these conjugations, on the other hand it disappears in all these conjugations before the vocalic suffixes *-i* and *-oy*. The anomalous 1st sg. suffix *-a* of the Neg. Third Future can no longer be related to stable *ε* in the rest of the paradigm, but hardly requires the setting up of a special group. All conjugations of Groups III-V can therefore be lumped together in one single group, III. The non-occurrence of ππερε and ταπε (the two lone instances of 2nd pl. ḥταρετεπ-, Stern § 450, notwithstanding) in Bohairic can be made up for by including the Conjunctive, which shares with the Neg. Third Future the anomalous 1st sg. suffix *-a*, but otherwise behaves exactly like the conjugations of the Bohairic Group III (however, a peculiarity of the Conjunctive is the 3rd pl. by-form ḥice- alongside of ḥτογ-).

C. The prenominal and 2nd f. sg. ending *-pe*

52. The element *-pe* which distinguishes certain prenominal bases from their presuffixal forms does not possess the same status in all dialects. The bases in question are the four Satellites of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern (§§ 13, 14), the Aorist and the Neg. Aorist. As the evidence of Akhmimic suggests (§ 58), the Aorist does not originally belong to this group, and may therefore be disregarded. Within the framework of Coptic syntax the Negative Aorist has nothing in common with the bases with which it shares

the prenominal *-pe*. Yet apart from its initial *u-* (Bohairic *uḥn-*) it closely resembles the Second Present, and in the light of historical grammar there can be little doubt that it is in fact compounded with the Second Present; cf. Gardiner *JEA* 16 (1930) 227; Edgerton *JAOS* 55 (1935) 262, 265.

Obs. The Second Present is durative, while the Neg. Aorist is non-durative. In all likelihood the Second Present has acquired its durative character secondarily through the association of *ḥir.f* with the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern.

53. Of all the forms enlarged by *-pe* the Relative Present *ετερε* has the smallest distribution in terms of dialects. The only dialect in which it is firmly established is Sahidic.

Obs. Occasionally *ετε* occurs in classical Sahidic, e. g. Sir. xlv.2 Lagarde (collated).

54. The other forms (disregarding the Aorist, on which see §§ 56, 58) are firmly established in Sahidic, Bohairic and Fayyumic:

	Sahidic	Bohairic	Fayyumic
Circumstantial	επε	ḥπε	ελε
Imperfect	πεπε	παπε	(π)παλε
Second Present	επε	ḥπε	αλε
Neg. Aorist	μεπε (μαπε)	ḥπαπε	μελε

55. Akhmimic, on the other hand, shows considerable fluctuation (§ 47). A count for the Proverbs gives the following results:

Circumstantial	ε 13	[επε nil]
Second Present	α 29	απε 42
Second Future	α... πα-13	απε... πα-9
Neg. Aorist	μα 4	μαπε 12

The prenominal Imperfect does not occur at all in the Proverbs. The large number of Second Presents is characteristic of sapiential style.

56. In sharp contrast with this fluctuation the *-pe* appears consistently throughout the paradigm, presuffixally as well as pre-nominally, in the group *μαπε-* (Causative Imperative), *ταπε-* (Future

Conjunctive), (π)ταρε- (Temporal), ρаре- (Aorist). The consistency of -ре in the last-named conjugation is especially noteworthy, since Akhmimic stands alone in this respect (§ 58).

Obs. In this group (except **μаре-**, which has no 2nd persons) the long suffix 2nd pl. seems to be normal in Akhmimic:

Future Conjunctive	ТАРЕТЕΤΗ-	Till <i>Osterbrief</i> A 2
Temporal	ТАРЕТЕΤΗ-	Gespr. 33, 7
Aorist	РАРЕТЕΤΗ-	Hagg. ii.16.

In the Minor Prophets the Causative Infinitive has likewise **трететη-** alongside of **тететη-** (Till's note on Mal. i.7); contrast Prov. xxiv.23 **тетη-**.

57. Historical grammar shows that the -ре is secondary in the Relative Present (Demotic *nty iw*) and in the Circumstantial (*iw*), but it looks to Coptic for an indication as to whether the Second Present (*iir*) really contained a spoken *r* and might therefore have been the source of -ре in the other forms. In itself this is not unlikely, but the evidence of Akhmimic hardly suggests that the -ре is more legitimate in the Second Present than elsewhere.

58. On the other hand the testimony of Akhmimic for **ραρε-** is supported by a piece of historical evidence. In Demotic the non-relative *sdm.f* of the verb "to come", *iw.f* (Rylands IX i. *iw.f*, cf. Griffith III p. 223 n. 21; 326) occurs, apart from its "prospective" use after an Imperative (thus Rylands IX 12, 16), only after "to give" (*di* and *my*), after *m-drt* "when" (Lexa *Gr. dém.* V 3 p. 824 ex. 6) and after *hr*, *i. e.* precisely in the prototypes of our Fifth Group, **μаре**, **таре**, **πтере** and Akhmimic **ραρε**. This would seem to suggest that **ραρε-** is genuine, being compounded of **ρα-** (*hr*) and, like the other bases of this group, the prospective *sdm.f* -**ре-**. The **ωα-** of the other dialects may well be due to the analogy of the negative counterpart **μα-**/**με-**.

59. A similar element occurs as 2nd f. sg. suffix in the four Satellites of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern (in the Relative **εтере-** alongside of **ετε-**, see below), in the Aorist and the Negative Aorist — *i. e.* the same conjugations as have prenominal -**ре**; and in the Perfect **αρ(ε)-** as variant of **α-** (§ 41). Cf. Sottas *Rev. ég.* N. S. 3 [= 2, fasc. 3-4] (1924) 14-5; Edgerton *JAOS* 55 (1935) 266-7. We may disregard the Aorist (§ 58), the Negative Aorist (§ 52) and

the Perfect (where Sottas had already recognized the -**р(ε)** as secondary), and limit ourselves to the Satellites, to which we add the forms with the Future auxiliary **на-**:

Imperfect	пер-	нера-	var. пер(ε)на-
Circumstantial	ере-	*ера-	var. *ер(ε)на-
Relative	ете-	var. етере-	етера- var. етенα- , етер(ε)на-
Second	ере-	ера-	var. ер(ε)на-

The Future forms in (-)**ера-** have the testimony of our best MSS. in their favour, while the fuller ones in (-)**ер(ε)на-** are rather characteristic of late MSS.

The best evidence is available for the Relative **етера-**, which occurs, *e. g.*, throughout the excellent Michigan MS. of Ruth, i.16 (*bis*), 17 iii.4, 5, 11. For the contrast Relative Present **ете-** vs. Relative Future **етера-** cf. especially Mk. vi.22-3 according to Horner's 8 (collated) and 74 and Wessely No. 119 b: **πετεοναω** "what you want" ... **πετεραιτε** **μμοι** **μμο** "what you will ask me" (Horner's 114 has **πετερ-** and **πετερνα-**, Wessely No. 120 a **πετε-** and **πετερена-**). In Mt. xv.28 **ете-** is supported by Wessely No. 100'd. In spite of the strong evidence for **ете-** the testimony of Thompson's MS. for **етере-** 1Cor. vii.16 cannot be rejected: while **ете-** is presumably the primitive form, **етере-** (*e. g.* *Le Muséon* 42, 237 u; Rossi *Pap. copti* I iii 59a; common in later Sahidic) is easily understood as due to the analogy of the other Satellites.

The Future Imperfect **нера-** is attested in Jo. iv.10 by Horner's 91 (= Delaporte's E) and P. Soph. 368, 17, as well as by Thompson's Subakhmimic (the late Morgan MS. has **перна-**).

For Second Future **ера-** I have only non-Biblical references, *e. g.* Shenoute ed. Leipoldt III 201, 9; *Cairo Cat.* (Munier) No. 9292 recto, 46.

Unfortunately these forms, hard enough to come by in classical Sahidic, are even rarer in Akhmimic. However, Second Future **ара-** Clement ed. Schmidt xx.7 (= Job xxxviii.11, where Ciasca's late Sahidic has **ерна-**) agrees with the classical Sahidic form.

Because of the dearth of Akhmimic evidence it is impossible to say whether in this dialect the -**р(ε)** of the 2nd f. sg. was treated similarly to the prenominal -**ре** (§ 45). Sottas's and Edgerton's conclusion that it originated in the Second Present is plausible but receives no support from Coptic.

Obs. 1. In post-classical Sahidic an occasional 2nd f. sg. -p can be met with in practically all conjugations, e. g. First Present $\tau\bar{p}$ - (Sethe *AZ* 58, 55 n. 1; Worrell *Coptic MSS. in the Freer Collection* 122), First Future $\tau\epsilon\pi\eta\alpha$ - (Piehl *Sphinx* 4, 33; Sethe *l. c.*; cf. Fayyumic $\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\alpha$ - 1 Cor. xii.16 ap. Zoega 151); Neg. Perfect $\alpha\pi\bar{p}$ - and Temporal $\pi\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\bar{p}$ - (Wessely XV No. 198 d), etc.

Obs. 2. In Bohairic the 2nd f. sg. of the First Future is $\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha$ - (first recognized to belong to this paradigm by Stern), which is the more remarkable as the Satellites, with the partial exception of the Relative, have no forms in - $\rho\alpha$ -. In Sahidic $\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha$ - occurs in the P. Soph. (Scholtz-Woide *Gr. aeg.* 97; Sethe *l. c.*) and occasionally elsewhere, e. g. Jdg. xiii.5, 7 (Thompson; but in verse 3 $\tau\epsilon\pi\eta\alpha$ -).

Obs. 3. The Sahidic forms in (-) $\epsilon\pi\alpha$ - have probably nothing to do with the paradigm $\epsilon\pi\alpha$ - discussed by Kahle *Bala'izah* p. 157.

D. Conclusion

60. The formal analysis confirms that the Satellites of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern make up a morphological group by themselves. While the Neg. Aorist joins this group from historical causes, Akhmimic helps us to recognize that the affirmative Aorist originally belonged to an entirely different group.

Purely formal criteria lead to different groupings for different dialects (§§ 50-51) and afford no practical alternative to the classification set forth in §§ 4, 18, 29.

XII. Bibliography

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Till, Walter C.: *Koptische Grammatik* (Saidischer Dialekt). Mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnissen. 2., verb. Aufl. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1961. 364 S. 8° = Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen Sprachen Bd. 1. Lw. DM 38.—. Bespr. von H. J. Polotsky, Jerusalem.

Wenn eine kopt. Grammatik nach 4—5 Jahren vergriffen ist, muß sie einem Bedürfnis entgegengekommen sein. Es darf vermutet werden, daß dieser Erfolg ihr nicht beschieden worden wäre, wenn sie sich nicht auch als brauchbar erwiesen hätte. Die zweite Auflage ist im wesentlichen ein photomechanischer Neudruck der ersten, in den aber, soweit es eben im Rahmen eines solchen möglich war, nicht wenige Berichtigungen hineingearbeitet worden sind. Indem der Rez. den im Vorwort an „die Leser“ gerichteten Wunsch auch auf sich bezieht, läßt er hier eine neue Reihe von Verbesserungsvorschlägen folgen.

§ 157: unter „2“ lies *snw*. § 181 n. 69: bessere Schreibung $\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{r}$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\bar{o}\bar{r}$ (Thompson). § 194 n. 10: st. „alle zwei Jahre“ lies „ganze zwei J.“ § 196 n. 29: bessere Schreibung $\eta\alpha\bar{n}$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\bar{n}$ (Thompson). § 203: die Aspiration in $\phi\alpha$ und $\sigma\alpha$ zeigt keineswegs „deutlich“, daß diese boh. Formen vollbetont sind; cf. pränominale Infinitive wie $\chi\alpha$ -, $\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\bar{n}$ -, $\phi\epsilon\bar{n}$ -.

§ 223: wenigstens soweit die *einvokale* Präposition ϵ - in Frage steht, ist die Sitte, sie mit dem folgenden Nomen zusammenzuschreiben, nicht „von den semit. Sprachen übernommen“, sondern ergibt sich aus der sahid. Orthographie: $\epsilon\bar{r}$ -, $\sigma\bar{n}$ - gegenüber $\sigma\bar{r}$ -, \bar{n} -. § 241: ob in $\eta\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\bar{r}$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{r}$ das $\pi(\epsilon\tau)$ - den Ar-

1) Cf. *OLZ* 1957, 219—234.