

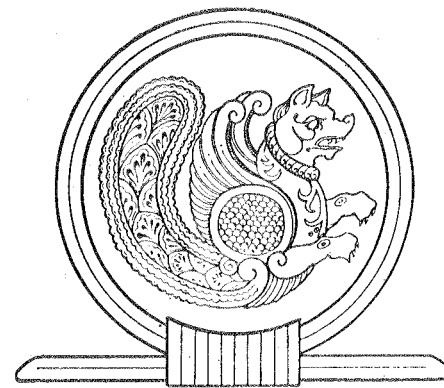
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B. CLAUSE CONJUGATIONS

Conjunctive	ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Future Conjunctive	ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Temporal	ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ
"until"	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ
Conditional	ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ

Obs. 1. In two of these conjugations, ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ and ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ, 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 ⲱⲁⲛ precedes the latter, *i. e.* is treated as part of the conjugation base: ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ. As regards -ⲉ-, it disappears altogether with nominal actor ⁽¹⁾: ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ, 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 ⲱⲁⲛ would seem to encourage the belief that the -ⲉ- likewise preceded the nominal actor, but coalesced with the final -ⲉ of ⲉⲣⲉ; cf. (Sethe ap.) Gardiner *JEA* 16 (1930) 226. However, the ⲉⲣⲉ itself presents an unsolved problem, cf. Gardiner *JEA* 32 (1946) 101.

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

Obs. 2. The ⲉⲓ- of ⲉⲓⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ coincides superficially with the Circumstantial Present in Sahidic, Bohairic, Fayyumic and Subakhmimic, but in Akhmimic the ⲁⲓ- of ⲁⲓⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ coincides superficially with the Second Present; the ⲉⲓ- of ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ 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 ⲉ- appearing before the Infinitive is Sir. xxviii.24 (Lagarde) ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲱ ⲡⲥⲱⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲭⲱⲉⲓ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲧⲓⲥ "those who abandon the Lord will fall into his hand". For ⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲧⲓ see Crum *Dict.* 70 b. In Sir. xxxviii.14 the same idiom occurs in the same tense and the same construction without ⲉ-.

pression, either by a noun or by a special set of pronominal preformatives (some of which, namely ⲕ-, ⲓ-, ⲉ-, 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 ⲧⲁⲓ "here" or ⲙⲙⲁⲩ "there", or a prepositional phrase like ⲡⲙⲙⲏⲧⲡⲓ "with you" or ⲉⲡⲓ ⲧⲡⲱⲗⲓⲥ "in the city":

1	2
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧ	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲃⲏⲕ ⲧⲁⲓ

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 **ΔΩΠΤΩΡΕ ΤΑΚΕ ΜΗΗΓΕ ΕΥΘΥΤΩΝ** "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 **ΠΕΥΓΩΠΕ** "they were happening (*ἐγίνετο, fiebant*)" alongside of **ΠΕΥΓΩΟΠ** "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 ΥΔΡ 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. lxviii.22 **ΠΑΕΙΒΕ**; Deut. xxviii.56 **ΤΕΤΘΗΝ... ΕΤΘΛΕΘΛΩΘ** "she who is soft and smooth" as against **ΠΕΘΗΘΗ** **ΑΠΕΘΘΛΩΘΛΕΘ** "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 **ΑΪΟΤΠ** "I chose him" or **†ΩΤΠ** **ΜΜΟΥ** "I choose him" result in the state **ΨΟΤΠ** "he is chosen". Cf. Zoega 308 (*Apophth.*) **ΑΠΟΚ ΖΩ** **†ΚΩ** **ΜΜΩΤΠ** **ΖΙΒΟΖ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΤΕΤΠΚΗ** **ΖΙΒΟΖ** "I too am excommunicating you, and you are excommunicated"; 1Sam. xxx.1, 3 **ΑΥΡΟΚΖ...** **ΑΥΕΙ** **ΕΖΡΑΪ** **ΕΤΠΟΖΙΣ** **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** **ΕΡΟΦ** **ΑΦΖΟΠ** "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) **ΑΦΟΥΩ** **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 $\epsilon-$, (3) Relative $\epsilon\tau-$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\pi\tau-$ (cf. § 18).

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

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

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 $\epsilon-$, is capable of being preceded by the Circumstantial Converter $\epsilon-$. The resulting form $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\varrho\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$ 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 $\text{οὐν } \varrho\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\iota\upsilon\varrho\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\chi\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \varrho\bar{\eta}\ \varrho\eta\tau\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varrho\epsilon$ "there are eunuchs who were born like that from the womb of their mother"; (2) it is negated by ($\bar{\eta}-$) $\alpha\bar{\eta}$ (§§ 28, 30, 31), *e. g.* Mt. xx.28 $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\varrho\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\gamma\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \pi\alpha\varrho\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \epsilon\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota$ "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 $\text{οὐν } \pi\epsilon\omega\alpha\varrho\varsigma\lambda\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\varrho\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\bar{\eta}\ \varrho\bar{\alpha}\ \pi\epsilon\varrho\varrho\eta\tau$ "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 $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma-$ (contrast *L. Eg. nty st*); cf. Demotic *nty iw.n*, *nty iw.w*.

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

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

15. In these dialects the forms of the Imperfect are similarly $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha\epsilon\gamma-$. 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

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

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

17. The Imperfect can be further preceded by the Relative Converters $\epsilon-$ and (π) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. It is noteworthy that Thompson's Subakhmimic St. John uses $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\varrho\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\beta\bar{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon$ "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. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\pi\tau\alpha$ § 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 - ($\epsilon\epsilon$ -)	$\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ ($\pi\epsilon\gamma$ -)	$\epsilon\epsilon$ - ($\epsilon\gamma$ -)	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma$ -)	$\epsilon\epsilon$ - ($\epsilon\gamma$ -)
$\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon \alpha\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -	$\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -
$\alpha\pi\epsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon \alpha\pi\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon$ - ⁽²⁾	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \alpha\pi\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \alpha\pi\epsilon$ -
$\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon \alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ - 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:

$\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -	—	$\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon$ -	—	—
$\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -	—	$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\epsilon\epsilon$ -	($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ - ?) 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 $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron$ (*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⁾ $\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon$ - without [a stroke over α]: 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 $\omicron\gamma\pi$ "there is", the negation being effected by $\alpha\pi$ "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 * $\alpha\pi\epsilon \omicron\gamma$ - ($\alpha\pi\epsilon$ -) is known to me; the usual construction is $\omicron\gamma$ -... $\alpha\epsilon$ -.

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-

But with the Preterite **ne** we have

neycwtm (**ne**)

neycwtm an (**ne**)

nepe pwwm cwtm (**ne**)

nepe pwwm cwtm an (**ne**)

The construction **ne mprwme... 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 mpaī r peθooy an** "if this one were not doing evil (*εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακὸν ποιῶν*)".

Obs. The Circumstantial Converter **ε-** precedes the negative **n-**, **eneycwtm an**, but the negative **n-** (prevocally often **nn-**) precedes the morpheme **ε-** of the Second Present and the Second Aorist: **(nn)neycwtm an**, **(nn)neyawcwtm 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 (n-)... an		
ε-		εε-
Affirmative	Negative	
ac-	mpc-	ntac-
---	mpatc-	
wac-	mec-	ewac-
ecε-	nnec-	---
Imperatives		
---	mp-	
madec-	mptrac-	

Clause Conjugations

Negated by **tm**

nc-, **tarac-**, **nterac-**, **wantc-**, **ecwan**.

⁽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 **me-**, and Horner's 14 (coll. Shore) does the same and spells **nnne** instead of **ene**, but neither has **mpne**.

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	ec	mmay
(b) Second Perfect	ntayze	mmay
(c) Second Present	ere tnhn mponē	zathk
(d) Second Future	ēnāp pascxa	zathk

as against

	1	2
(e) Second Present	ere neppwoy o npro	ebol zitooy
(f) do. (negated)	neixi eooy an	ebol zitn pwwm
(g) Second Perfect	nta pthrc wope	ebol zitooyc
(h) Second Aorist	eware zehxaxe zwtm	ebol zitooyoy

(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 reconcilantur inimici".

31. The function of **(n-)... 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** **etēnōy** **an** **emate** **para** **n̄rethos** **throu** **n̄ta** **pxois** **ouey** **thoutē** **ayw** **aqseth** **thoutē** ... **adada** ... "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** **cr̄royo** **n̄bi** **thpe** **an̄we** **n̄ta** **pce** **wape** **eqrooy**, 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** **tbawor** **awkak** **ebol** **an** (the all-important **an** ⁽¹⁾ is missing in Leipoldt's text III 79, 4) ... **ere** **pmon̄i** **t̄p̄re** "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 ou** "how are you?" Gen. xliii.27, cf. *Ann. Serv.* 40, 245).

IX. Existential Sentence

33. Existence and non-existence are predicated by **ouy** ⁽¹⁾ "there is" and (**an̄**)**an̄** "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; **oua**, **ouon**, **roeme**; numerals; **gag** "many", **adav** "anybody, anything", **se** "another", **ouhp** "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 **ouy** **oe** **n̄** (Sir. xxvii.21), **an̄** **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 **ouynte**, **ouynta**; **an̄te**, **an̄ta** = "have", see Till *Kopt. Gr.* §§ 289-94.

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

Basic	Preterit	Circumstantial	Relative	"Second"
ouy	ne(o)yn̄	e(o)yn̄	ete(o)yn̄	e(o)yn̄ta a)
an̄	nean̄	ean̄	ete an̄	ete an̄ b)

Satellite in the second degree:

ne(o)yn̄	—	— c)	ene(o)yn̄ d)	—
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(¹) The best MSS. are inconsistent as regards the superlineation of the **n̄** in **ouy**; the earlier MSS. tend to omit the stroke.

(²) In Ps. lxxi.12 **an̄** **neβinn̄** **ete** **an̄tē** **bon̄os** (Till *Kopt. Gr.* § 480) **an̄** means "and".


a) *Études* 50. Add Shenoute ed. Leipoldt III 85, 14 **εωχε ουητq** **ουδομ γαρ οη** **εουητq** **εη πετκα μα ηαq ηζητου** "if he still has power, it is in those who allow him place in them that he has it"; perhaps also Rom. i.14 **ευηταγ εροi** "it is I who owe a debt to them".

b) *Études* 50; *OLZ* 1957, 233.

c) Only **επε(ο)υη(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 **ητοq πενευη δομ μμοq πε εμνωχε** "it was he who was powerful in speech"; Mt. xxi.28, Lk. xv.11 **ουρωμε πενευηταq μμαγ ηωηρε σναγ** "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)υηταq**; and thus Shenoute ed. Chassinat 103, 11.

34. The negative form **μη**, with its built-in negative element, is reminiscent of the negative conjugation bases of the Tripartite Pattern. In fact, **ουη** and **μη** probably are, like most conjugation bases, remnants of the old *sdm.f* conjugation. That **ουη** and **μη** cannot take personal suffixes, results from the definiteness of the latter. That **ουη** and **μη** 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 *mn wn*: Sethe *Verbum* I § 203; Spiegelberg *Rec. tr.* 21 (1899) 41-2. On the existential sentence in M. Eg. (*lw 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 **ουη** and **μη**. 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 (**ουρωμε πενταq** 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 **ουη** and the ordinary prenominal forms of the Converters, **περε, ερε, ετερε** (§ 13); **ετε ουη** 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 **ουον**) and Sahidic **ετερε** (Obs. 3).

Akhmimic	Bohairic	Fayyumic	Sahidic
πε ουη	πε ουον/ηαρε	πε ουαν	πευη/περε
ε(ο)υη	εουον/ερε		ε(ο)υη/ερε
ετε ουη	ετε ουον		ετερε

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

Obs. 2. Sahidic **ετε(ο)υη**, *e. g.* Ps. xxiii.8, Lk. i.49, Eph. iii.20 **πετε ουη δομ μμοq**, Jer. v.5, Acts xxv.5, Rom. xv.1 **πετε ουη δομ μμοq** "who has (have) power"; Ex. xxxiv.7 **πετε ουη ποβε εροq** "who has a sin to his charge"; Lev. xxi.17 **πετε ουη χβιν ειωq** "in whom there is a blemish"; Prov. xiv.4 **μμα ετε ουη εαν ηζητq ηεμμμα** "where there is much produce"; Rev. viii.9 **ετευη ψυχη ηζητου** "in whom there is a soul"; Mk. vii.16 **πετε ουη μααχε δε μμοq** "who has an ear" (cf. Mt. xiii.43 = Mk. iv.9 **πετευητq μααχε μμαγ**).

Shenoute ed. Chassinat 85, 41 **ηρωβ ετε ουη εαν πογχε μμοq επαρογ μμοq ετβε εομτ** "the thing which many neglect for the sake of money"; *ibid.* 159, 30 **μμα ετε ουη ουμνηε σοουε εροq** "the place whither a multitude is gathered" (cf. and contrast Acts xii.12).

Obs. 3. Bohairic, Ps. lv.5 **ου πετε εαν ηααιq ηη** "what is it that flesh will do to me?"; Ps. lv.12, cxvii.6 (= Heb. xlii.6) **ου πετε ρωμ ηααιq ηη** "what is it that man will do to me?"; Sahidic, Lev. xv.32 **πετερε σπερμα ηαει εβοδ μμοq** "from whom sperm will issue".

Obs. 4. Sahidic examples for **επε ουη ου** 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 μη ουκεραγνος ηητ ηωq...** **πευηαχοος αν πε γε...** "if a thunderbolt were not pursuing him... they would not say: ...".

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 **νε-**; 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 **ερωαη-**; **ερεωαη-** 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. **-ei** is normally replaced by **-α**: **τρα-**, **ππα-**; 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 **μαp(ε)-**, Future Conjunctive **ταp(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 **πτερη-** etc. are those of the classical orthography; **πτερε-** 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 **αp-** (Mic. iv.9, Nah. iii.16; relative **εταp-** 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 (**αα-**).

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

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 **πα** alongside of **παρε** (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. [Imperfete **πα** Jo. xii.2 (Rösch)].

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

Circumstantial	ερετεη-	and Third Future ερετεηε-
Second Present	αρετεη-	
Imperfect	παρετεη-	
Aorist	ωαρετεη-	
Neg. Aorist	μπαρετεη-	

⁽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- νε- ϣα- με-	42	×				×		×	base plus -pe
III	τρε- πνε-	43	×		×			×		= base
IV	ππ(ε)- ππατ(ε)- ϣαπτ(ε)- [ετ(ε)-]	44		×		×		×		= base [base plus -pe]
V	ααp(ε)- ταp(ε)- πτερ(ε)-	45		×		×		×		= base

Second Present $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - and Imperfect $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - occur as variants also in Subakhmimic; an isolated instance of Second Future $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha$ - even in classical Sahidic: Sir. ii.15 Lagarde.

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

Bohairic	ορογ-	ππογ-
Fayyumic	τρογ-	ππογ- Mk. viii.30, Jo. iii.20, but ππεγ- Ep. Jer. 66 bis
Akhmimic	τογ-	(π)πογ-
Subakhm.	τρογ-	πογ-

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

Bohairic	ορι-	ππα-
Fayyumic	τρι-	ππι-
Akhmimic	τα-	ππα-
Subakhm.	τρι-, τρα-	πι-

The Subakhmimic forms $\tau\rho\iota$ - and $\tau\rho\alpha$ - are matched by 1st pl. $\tau\rho\bar{\eta}$ - (Jo. vi.52, with a long stroke over all three letters), as against Sahidic $\tau\rho\epsilon\eta$ -.

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 $\tau\epsilon$ - 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 **-α** 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 **π** 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 **-ι** and **-ογ**, while **-π** 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 **-ι** and **-ογ**. The anomalous 1st sg. suffix **-α** 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 **πτερε** and **ταρε** (the two lone instances of 2nd pl. **πταρεπεν-**, 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 **-α**, but otherwise behaves exactly like the conjugations of the Bohairic Group III (however, a peculiarity of the Conjunctive is the 3rd pl. by-form **πσε-** alongside of **πτογ-**).

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

52. The element **-πε** 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 **-πε**. Yet apart from its initial **α-** (Bohairic **απ-**) 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 *JE* 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 *itr.f* with the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern.

53. Of all the forms enlarged by **-πε** 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	ερε	ερε	ελε
Imperfect	περε	παρε	(π)παλε
Second Present	ερε	αρε	αλε
Neg. Aorist	μερε (μαρε)	απαρε	αελε

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

Circumstantial	ε 13	[ερε nil]
Second Present	α 29	αρε 42
Second Future	α... πα- 13	αρε... πα- 9
Neg. Aorist	μα 4	απαρε 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 **-πε** appears consistently throughout the paradigm, presuffixally as well as pre-nominally, in the group **μαρε-** (Causative Imperative), **ταρε-** (Future

Conjunctive), (\bar{n}) $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - (Temporal), $\xi\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - (Aorist). The consistency of $-\rho\epsilon$ in the last-named conjugation is especially noteworthy, since Akhmimic stands alone in this respect (§ 58).

Obs. In this group (except $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -, which has no 2nd persons) the long suffix 2nd pl. seems to be normal in Akhmimic:

Future Conjunctive	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -	Till <i>Osterbrief</i> A 2
Temporal	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -	Gespr. 33, 7
Aorist	$\xi\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -	Hagg. ii.16.

In the Minor Prophets the Causative Infinitive has likewise $\tau\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ - alongside of $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ - (Till's note on Mal. i.7); contrast Prov. xxiv.23 $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -.

57. Historical grammar shows that the $-\rho\epsilon$ 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 (*lir*) really contained a spoken *r* and might therefore have been the source of $-\rho\epsilon$ in the other forms. In itself this is not unlikely, but the evidence of Akhmimic hardly suggests that the $-\rho\epsilon$ is more legitimate in the Second Present than elsewhere.

58. On the other hand the testimony of Akhmimic for $\xi\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ - 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, $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon$, $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$, $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ and Akhmimic $\xi\alpha\rho\epsilon$. This would seem to suggest that $\xi\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ - is genuine, being compounded of $\xi\alpha$ - (*hr*) and, like the other bases of this group, the prospective *sdm.f* $-\rho\epsilon\varsigma$. The $\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$ - of the other dialects may well be due to the analogy of the negative counterpart $\mu\alpha\varsigma$ -/ $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ -.

59. A similar element occurs as 2nd f. sg. suffix in the four Satellites of the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern (in the Relative $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - alongside of $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -, see below), in the Aorist and the Negative Aorist — *i. e.* the same conjugations as have prenominal $-\rho\epsilon$; and in the Perfect $\alpha\rho(\epsilon)$ - 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 $-\rho(\epsilon)$ as secondary), and limit ourselves to the Satellites, to which we add the forms with the Future auxiliary $\pi\alpha$ -:

Imperfect	$\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ -	var. $\pi\epsilon\rho(\epsilon)\pi\alpha$ -
Circumstantial	$\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	* $\epsilon\rho\alpha$ -	var. * $\epsilon\rho(\epsilon)\pi\alpha$ -
Relative	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - var. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ -	var. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho(\epsilon)\pi\alpha$ -
Second	$\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon\rho\alpha$ -	var. $\epsilon\rho(\epsilon)\pi\alpha$ -

The Future forms in $(-)\epsilon\rho\alpha$ - have the testimony of our best MSS. in their favour, while the fuller ones in $(-)\epsilon\rho(\epsilon)\pi\alpha$ - are rather characteristic of late MSS.

The best evidence is available for the Relative $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ -, which occurs, *e. g.*, throughout the excellent Michigan MS. of Ruth, i.16 (*bis*), 17 iii.4, 5, 11. For the contrast Relative Present $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - vs. Relative Future $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ - cf. especially Mk. vi.22-3 according to Horner's 8 (collated) and 74 and Wessely No. 119 b: $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha\omega\varsigma$ "what you want" ... $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\mu\omicron\iota$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ "what you will ask me" (Horner's 114 has $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho$ - and $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha$ -, Wessely No. 120 a $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - and $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha$ -). In Mt. xv.28 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - is supported by Wessely No. 100 ι d. In spite of the strong evidence for $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - the testimony of Thompson's MS. for $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - 1Cor. vii.16 cannot be rejected: while $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - is presumably the primitive form, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - (*e. g.* *Le Muséon* 42, 237 ι ; 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 $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ - 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 $\pi\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha$ -).

For Second Future $\epsilon\rho\alpha$ - 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 $\alpha\rho\alpha$ - Clement ed. Schmidt xx.7 (= Job xxxviii.11, where Ciasca's late Sahidic has $\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha$ -) agrees with the classical Sahidic form.

Because of the dearth of Akhmimic evidence it is impossible to say whether in this dialect the $-\rho(\epsilon)$ of the 2nd f. sg. was treated similarly to the prenominal $-\rho\epsilon$ (§ 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 *ÄZ* 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 $\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\alpha$ - I Cor. xii.16 ap. Zoega 151); Neg. Perfect $\mu\pi\bar{p}$ - 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 - $\pi\alpha$ -. 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 $\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha$ -).

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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NUNTII PERSONARUM ET RERUM

Ist die B-L Schrift im wesentlichen entziffert?

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Nach der Liste von Fr. Steinherr (BO VIII 1951 S. 134 ff) entfallen von 2306 Zeichen der B-L, Bleibriefe aus Assur 450 auf den Worttrenner. Es bleiben demnach 1856 zu lesende Silbenzeichen einschliesslich der Ideogramme und Determinative übrig. Sechs Silbenzeichen (210 $\eta\alpha$, 155 \tilde{a} , 146 a und \tilde{a} , 118 $\eta\alpha$, 113 i und \tilde{i}) nehmen hinsichtlich ihrer Häufigkeit (zusammen 742) die ersten Stellen ein. Nehmen wir an, die beiden i -Zeichen seien bisher zum grössten Teil falsch gelesen worden, so errechnet sich etwa sechs Prozent irriger Lesungen. Der prozentuale Anteil der Falschlesungen erhöht sich noch, da Ideogramme und Determinative hätten abgesetzt, die nicht wenigen Zeichen aber, die ebenfalls " i " oder " \tilde{i} " gelesen wurden, hätten hinzugefügt werden müssen.

Schopenhauer hat Recht, wenn er sagt: "Jede falsche Entzifferung wird, wenn sie auch zu einigen Erscheinungen passt, den übrigen desto greller widersprechen". Widerspruchsvolle Lesungen ergaben sich für jeden, der die bisherige Entzifferung nicht ungeprüft übernehmen wollte, etwa beim B-L Demonstrativpronomen. Es wurde bis jetzt " i " gelesen, wird aber in Zukunft " za " zu lesen sein. Auch der nom. und acc. $\tau\alpha\eta\tilde{u}\tilde{s}$, $\tau\alpha\eta\tilde{u}\tilde{i}$ n (auch $\tau\alpha\eta\tilde{u}\tilde{s}$, $\tau\alpha\eta\tilde{u}\tilde{i}$ n) musste befremden, weil er wirklichkeitsfern war. Wer allerdings von der von mir immer bekämpften Theorie ausging, jedes B-L Silbenzeichen habe nur einen einzigen Lesewert, fand seine i - oder \tilde{i} -Lesung im B-L Verb $\alpha\eta\alpha$ - "machen" schon in der Grossreichszeit bestätigt (vgl. Abb. 1). Für die Lesung " i " wurde dagegen kein überzeugendes Argument beigebracht. Für " $\eta\alpha$ " hätte man sich auf den Namen der Göttin $\tilde{A}\eta$ (!) in Firaktin berufen müssen (vgl. Abb. 1), in dem zum ersten Male das zweigestrichene " i " fassbar

(!) Auf dem Felsrelief von Firaktin (M XXX sowie Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Abb. 550-552) opfert links Hatusili III. dem Saruma, in der Mitte Putuhepa der Hepat. In der Beischrift rechts wird als Landesgöttin die $\tilde{D}\tilde{A}$ - $\eta\alpha$ genannt, zu der vorläufig E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* (RHA VII [1946-47]) S. 43 f u. 119 zu vergleichen ist. Nach KUB X 92 I 14 hatten Hepat und $\tilde{A}\eta$ einen gemeinsamen Tempel.