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The Coptic Tenses in the Writing of Shenoute

Dwight W. Young
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Abstract
Shenoute's literary endeavors made him the only outstanding native writer of the Coptic language. Notwithstanding his importance as a Coptic author, Shenoute has received scant attention in grammatical treatments of the Coptic language. It is this fact which prompted the present writer to undertake a thorough statistical study of Shenoute's writings. Without this basic investigation it will not be possible to conduct an exhaustive grammatical examination of Coptic.

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THE COPTIC TENSES
IN THE WRITINGS OF SHENOUTE

by
Dwight Wayne Young

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THE COPTIC TENSES
IN THE WRITINGS OF SHENOUTE
by
Dwight Wayne Young
Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
has been read and approved by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Coptic language is the vernacular Egyptian of Christian Egypt written in Greek letters plus seven additional letters derived from Demotic. This written language was evidently created through the effort of persons with excellent philological training and ability, for the vernacular was reduced to regularity. Coptic was the living language spoken by Egyptian peasants; it had to be forged into a literary language.

1.2. The reduction of Coptic to writing was the fulfillment of the need for vernacular Egyptian translations of the Scriptures for the many Christians of Egypt who could not understand Greek. Since various districts of the land spoke different dialects, eventually five literary dialects of Coptic came into being.

1.3. During the fourth century A. D. the Sahidic dialect gained prominence as the literary language of important monastic communities in Upper Egypt. The White Monastery, located west of the Nile River near the town of Acheim, was founded about the year 350 by an Egyptian named Fqol, who established Sahidic as the official dialect of the community. The greatest variety and number of ancient Coptic manuscripts extant today are written in Sahidic; many of these emanate from the White Monastery.¹

1.4. Late in the fourth century a remarkable man named Shenoute,
the nephew of Pgoi, assumed the reins of leadership at the White Monastery. His administration lasted sixty-six years—years which witnessed important church councils as well as the development of Coptic Christianity. He led the fight against paganism and worldliness among professing Christians. His epistles and sermons have much to say about how those who enter monastic life should conduct themselves. He stressed certain judgment and punishment for sins but had little to say about the grace of God and forgiveness. He had saturated himself with the Scriptures and used them constantly in his ministry. He lived a full and eventful life and is recognized as the founder of Coptic Christianity.  

In fact, in the year of his death the Council of Chalcedon condemned the Monophysite doctrine adhered to by the Christians of Egypt. Shenoute was succeeded by his disciple Bessa, who prepared a written account of his master's life.

1.5. Shenoute wrote numerous sermons and letters which have been preserved by the sands of Egypt. His writings are not polished, but they carry the imprint of a great man who was wholeheartedly devoted to his mission. Oftentimes his style is extremely difficult; at other times it becomes wearisomely uniform and simple when he dwells tediously on favorite themes. But throughout these writings the reader is aware that Shenoute was a practical man dealing with the realities of life.

1.6. Shenoute's literary endeavors made him the only outstanding native writer of the Coptic language. Notwithstanding his impor-
tense as a Coptic author, Shenoute has received scant attention in grammatical treatments of the Coptic language. It is this fact which prompted the present writer to undertake a thorough statistical study of Shenoute's writings. Without this basic investigation it will not be possible to conduct an exhaustive grammatical examination of Coptic.

1.7. For practical considerations this study of the writings of Shenoute has been limited to the most important aspect of Coptic syntax, viz., the verbal tenses. It was the purpose of this study (1) to ascertain the usages of the Coptic tenses by Shenoute; (2) to note the forms used in these tenses; (3) to investigate the origins of the tenses; and (4) to present the results in a convenient, systematic arrangement. The writer has taken into consideration the contributions which scholars in the past have made toward the proper understanding of the Coptic verbal system.

1.8. Shenoute was a prolific writer. It was deemed unnecessary for the present study to search out and examine every published and unpublished manuscript coming from Shenoute; indeed such an attempt would have delayed the appearance of this thesis beyond reasonable limits. Several volumes of Shenoute's writings have been published, however; and these are more than sufficient for the grammarian to understand and evaluate the language of this noteworthy Coptic leader. The texts utilized were those presented in Amelinae's Oeuvres de Schenoudi and those published in volumes three and four of Leipoldt's Simouthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia. To avoid confusion and to achieve
brevity the abbreviations employed by Crum for these volumes were used in the present study. These abbreviations and the volumes which they identify are:

A1 represents Amélineau, volume one;
A2    "    "    two;
C42   "    Leipoldt, volume three;
C73   "    "    four.

The abbreviations "C42" and "C73" designate the numbers of the respective volumes in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.

1.9. As much as possible the quotations from Shenoute's writings for this study are drawn from Leipoldt's volumes, which are a critical edition of a number of manuscripts for each text whereby one superior manuscript is printed as the text and variants from other manuscripts are given in the footnotes. Amélineau's volumes include a great many texts which are edited by Leipoldt. Furthermore, Amélineau's efforts did not result in a critical edition, inasmuch as he was limited usually to one manuscript for each text.
CHAPTER II

THE 9OUH TENSE

2.1. The tense usually designated as Present I is a construction in which either the infinitive or the qualitative form of the verb serves as predicate to a preceding substantive or pronoun. The pronominal prefixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c. t</td>
<td>1, c. TH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m. k</td>
<td>2, c. TETN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f. TE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m. q</td>
<td>3, c. CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f. C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both a substantive and a resumptive pronominal prefix may precede the verb; e.g., (C42, 97) ὁσίαμεν εἰς ἄγοι ὃν ἀναπτύξασθαι έχω
 Pompey Πάππου ἢ πεποίθησεν ἀναφέρει 'the woman who is an adulteress takes the things of her husband, giving them to those who commit adultery with her'.

2.2. When the subject is undefined or has the indefinite article, it is preceded by ωτι or, in negative statements, ἦν: (C42, 13) οὐν ὡτι
ὑπερτέρων διὰ μάρτυρος εὐτυχεῖται ἄποι χαρα 'abundant godliness becomes ours',
(C42, 33) οὐν καὶ ἄρομα 'many eat'.

2.3. The Middle Egyptian (hereafter designated as ME) prototypes of the tense are ὁτιοῦσα and ὁτιοῦσα. The constructions became common in Late Egyptian (hereafter designated as LE), where the following prefixes were written:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c. ὁτιοῦ</td>
<td>1, c. ὁτιοῦ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Singular 2, m. ☉
Singular 2, f. ☽
Singular 3, c. ☽

Plural 2, c. ☄
Plural 3, c. ☄

Examples of the two constructions in IE are: 10 'I am alive', 11 'I say'. Already in IE there are examples in which the preposition ' ', which disappears in Coptic, was omitted before the infinitive.

2.4. One might conclude that the Coptic prefixes for the 3 masc. singular and the 2 masc. singular are derived from ☉ and ☽, inasmuch as ☽ is attested in Demotic in place of ☽. 12 On the analogy of the other pronominal prefixes in Coptic, however, one would expect ☽ and ☽ to be the forms for 2 masc. singular and 3 masc. singular. It is more probable, therefore, that ☽ and ☽ do not go back to original ☼ and ☼ but are, instead, the suffix-pronouns. Since the suffix-pronouns were used frequently in other verbal forms, 2. ☽, ☽, it may indeed be that in Coptic they superseded the regular pronominal prefixes of Present I in the 2 masc. singular and the 3 masc. singular.

2.5. The fundamental significance of the Present I tense is the idea of duration. Progressive action (or a continuing state) and the abiding results thereof are within its scope. The name of the tense is inappropriate, for sometimes a past event is described. On the other hand, it never refers to the future.

2.6. The most common usage of the tense is to indicate action
in progress or a state existing in present time: (C42, 90)

2.7. The tense may be used to represent a condition which is
assumed as perpetually existing: (C73, 1)

2.8. The Present I is used to express that which may be reason-
ably expected to occur. In this usage it has the same force as that of
the ζυγιζων tense: (A1, 5)

2.9. This tense may be used to denote existing results of past
action: (A2, 312)

2.10. Occasionally the tense refers to the past, when emphasis
is placed upon the duration or repetition of the action or condition:
I have been reading in the holy gospels all this time, lo, more than sixty years', (C73, 22) ἔχω πάντες προφήτες ἐτέρας ἐρωτεύεται 'and the Lord God spoke with them (the patriarchs), informing them concerning every thing'. At times this use of the tense may be conditioned by ἐὰν before: (A2, 226) ἐὰν γὰρ μπορεῖς οὐκ οἴησι, ἃν δὲ ἐρρίω 'for before today I have said, "A man shall not work without the old man"', (A2, 245) ἔσεσθαι διδασκαλία ἕως ἀπαντήσαμεν ἀλλ' 'he was with the Father before anything was created'.

2.11. The tense is not restricted to main clauses. Quite often it is found in the protasis of conditional clauses: (C73, 163) εἰπέτε μόνον ὅτι ἔχω ἔρωτα ἐν ἔρξον ἃν ἐρρίω 'if one or some do not wish to work', (A1, 13) ἐνεσθε πείτω παρά τοι ἐγέρσαν ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμαδικὸν 'therefore if this matter does not please the proud man'.

2.12. Either ἄν or ἄν...ἄν is used to negate the Present I tense: (C73, 191) πίσταν εἰσερχόμεν ἄν ἄν ὁπότιμον 'the eye does not stare after a woman', (C42, 108) τιμέτε ἄν...ἄν 'I do not think', (C42, 33) οὐκ οἴον άν 'they do not know', (C73, 35) οὐκ οἴον άν 'the servant does not know'. The use of ἄν for the negation of this tense has been noted above in paragraph 2.2.

2.13. The form ὅρθριαν άν must not be mistaken for the conjunctive tense; the latter is negated by ὅρθριαν rather than by άν.
3.1. This construction, called the conjunctive tense, plays a great role in Coptic; it was used very frequently by Shenoute. The prefixes, which are used with the infinitive, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1, c.</th>
<th>Plural 1, c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c. NTAX or TAN</td>
<td>2, c. NTN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m. NF</td>
<td>2, c. NTETN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f. NTE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m. NQ</td>
<td>3, c. NCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f. NQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix TAN is more common than NTAN for the first person singular. The form NTE precedes a substantival subject.

3.2. The sense of the conjunctive was expressed in ME by the infinitive. The view that by the end of the eighteenth dynasty a desire to express the pronominal agent with this construction led to the formation NTN plus the infinitive has been set forth by Gardiner. This view has recently been reaffirmed and enlarged by Černý.

3.3. In ME the preposition of the original construction fell out and the initial "n" of the pronoun was written with "m". Throughout ME literature there are found abundant examples of the prefixes:
3.4. The Bohairic dialect of Coptic preserves the IE prefixes in more clearly recognizable forms. The Bohairic forms have been listed as follows by Steindorf:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1, c.</th>
<th>Plural 1, c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἵττικ</td>
<td>ἵττεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἵττοκ</td>
<td>ἵττετεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἵττο</td>
<td>ἵττε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἵττοκ</td>
<td>ἵττετε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5. The conjunctive usually serves to continue the tense of the verb in the preceding independent clause. It occurs often after the imperative, the optative and the future tenses: (C73, 200) ὀρέωτ 


'look and see this soul here', (C42, 222) ἔφαρμεν 


'let us hate sin and trample upon it', (C42, 219)


'he will sit upon the throne of his glory and they will assemble', (C42, 120) δέκας ἔφεσσωτ εὐροῦ ἄνω 


'so that we might hearken to them and execute them'. It is not uncommon for the conjunctive after an imperative to have the force of a final clause: (C73, 1) 


'TATAMOK 'listen so that I may tell you'.

3.6. The conjunctive is used after the "conditional" tense (see chapter XV): (C73, 111) ἔρωσαν πᾶσας ἐρώσατε 


'mou εὐπα 'if the Lord is willing and if this righteousness abides'. When the "conditional" is used with the verb ἐγγυτε 'to become, come to pass', the conjunctive which follows serves to introduce a consecutive clause. It should be noted that in such instances the conditional tense has a temporal significance: (C73, 69) ἔρωσαν ἐγγυτε 


"now when it comes to pass also that some of the brethren go south", (C73, 70) ἐγγάνωτέ σε ἑαυτόν
'when it comes to pass that they say'.

3.7. Less frequently the conjunctive continues many other tenses. It is especially infrequent after tenses expressing actions of past time. After Perfect I the conjunctive introduces a final clause: (C42, 108) εἰσε ὅρκῳ ναὶ ὁ ἡμέρα θύματος ἡμῶν ἐν παρθένῳ ἀνευρίσκω 'if you did these things to us so that we would decide to incite you to wrath'.

3.8. No instances were noted in Shenoute's writings in which the conjunctive followed the ἑαυτῷ or ἡταυτῷ constructions.

3.9. The conjunctive is used after several Greek conjunctions: (C73, 168) ἡμέρᾳ χρόνῳ ἰσίᾳ ἡμείᾳ εἰσίτει ἡμέρᾳ κτισμάτων εἰς τὸ παρθένον ἐστὶν ἐν παρθένῳ ἀνευρίσκω 'a man shall not sleep in a cell at midday unless the curtain-mat is drawn up first so that the light gets into the cell', (Ch2, 222) κακιονεὶ ἐγγανωσώμεν ἐναusto ἐνασύνομεν ἐνατοίχῳ ὑπήκοω χρήτε μὴν ἡμῖν 'it is especially good if we remove ourselves from our sins, lest an affliction comes to us'.

3.10. The conjunctive is negated by τῶς placed before the infinitive: (A2, 106) θυμάτως ἐνατοίχῳ 'he will not be manifest'.
CHAPTER IV

THE QANTQWATN TENSE

4.1. By the use of the preposition ων 'until, unto' a tense was formed in Coptic which introduced an action which did or would take place at the culmination of preceding specified action. The prefixes formed from this preposition are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c. QANT+</td>
<td>1, c. QANTN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m. QANTā</td>
<td>2, c. QANTETN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f. QANTē</td>
<td>3, c. QANTOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m. QANTṬ</td>
<td>3, f. QANTē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form QANTē precedes a substantival subject.

4.2. Traces of this tense's origin are noticeable in IE: 17 'until they find', 18 'until I have gone'. Gardiner 19 regards the former example as a phonetic writing of the latter. These IE forms correspond to the Bohairic and Akhmimic QANTQ. Gardiner suggests that the Sahidic QANTṬ may be a secondary development due to contamination of QANTQ with the conjunctive tense. It must not be supposed, however, that QANTṬ is merely the preposition ων plus the conjunctive NQ or NTEQ. Possibly the original form was QANTQ plus the pronoun NQ. 20

4.3. The usual meaning of the tense is brought out in English by the word "until": (C73, 7) ΙΑΡΑΤΣΟΥΝΝ ΜΗΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΟΓΕΙ ΕΣΟΤΗΡ ΜΠΕΡΤΟΝΒΕ they were ignorant of him, until they came to him in
their requital', \( \text{(A1, 2)} \) μὴ ἔρχετο ὁ ἀντικεῖος 'do not work until I am unoccupied'.

4.4. Occasionally the tense has the force of "before": \( \text{(A2, 36)} \) μὴ ἅπαξ ἐκτός ἕμπνευσεν 'he did not escape before they destroyed him', \( \text{(A1, 1)} \) ἐμευχόκοι ὁ ἀντικεῖος 'he never drinks it before he dies'.

4.5. Sometimes the tense is used almost in the sense of a final clause: \( \text{(A2, 123)} \) οὗτος εἰσελθὼν ἐκεῖ ἔγραψεν Ἀγγέλων γεγένητο ἄντικεῖος ὁ ἐξηκόντως θησαυρὸς 'Joseph was falsely accused in the house of the Egyptian so that he came into great afflictions', \( \text{(A2, 36)} \) ὁμονοματικῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκεῖ ἐντευκτὸν 'a multitude of beasts having gathered upon him so that he died'.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{their requital', (A1, 2) μὴ ἔρχετο ὁ ἀντικεῖος 'do not work until I am unoccupied'.} \\
\text{4.4. Occasionally the tense has the force of "before": (A2, 36) μὴ ἅπαξ ἐκτός ἕμπνευσεν 'he did not escape before they destroyed him',} \\
\text{(A1, 1) ἐμευχόκοι ὁ ἀντικεῖος 'he never drinks it before he dies'.} \\
\text{4.5. Sometimes the tense is used almost in the sense of a final clause: (A2, 123) οὗτος εἰσελθὼν ἐκεῖ ἔγραψεν Ἀγγέλων γεγένητο ἄντικεῖος ὁ ἐξηκόντως θησαυρὸς 'Joseph was falsely accused in the house of the Egyptian so that he came into great afflictions', (A2, 36) ὁμονοματικῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκεῖ ἐντευκτὸν 'a multitude of beasts having gathered upon him so that he died'.}
\end{align*} \]
CHAPTER V

THE $\chi\gamma\omicron\omega\tau\omicron$ TENSE

5.1. The tense usually designated as Perfect I is not used with the qualitative form of the verb. The prefixes attached to the infinitive are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1, c.</th>
<th>$\chi$</th>
<th>Plural 1, c.</th>
<th>$\chi\gamma$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2, m.</td>
<td>$\chi\kappa$</td>
<td>&quot; 2, c.</td>
<td>$\chi\gamma\tau\omicron$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2, f.</td>
<td>$\chi\rho\epsilon$</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3, m.</td>
<td>$\chi\gamma$</td>
<td>&quot; 3, c.</td>
<td>$\chi\tau$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3, f.</td>
<td>$\chi\omicron$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both a substantive and a resumptive pronominal prefix may precede the verb: (A2, 108) $\chi\gamma\pi\omicron\nu\alpha\xi$ $\nu\sigma\alpha\kappa$ $\chi\gamma\omicron\omega\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\pi\omicron$ 'a lying spirit was in your mouth'.

5.2. Before a substantival subject the letter $\chi$ is placed to indicate this tense. If such a subject occurs with the indefinite article $\epsilon\gamma$, contraction takes place to form $\chi\gamma$ from $\chi$ plus $\epsilon\gamma$: e.g., $\chi\gamma\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau\omicron$ becomes $\chi\gamma\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron$ $\omega\tau\omicron$ 'a man heard'.

5.3. The IE prototype of the tense is $\chi\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau\omicron$ 21 This construction was used in a number of ways, but frequently it corresponds to the usage of the Coptic equivalent: 'when they had spent seventeen years in this land', $\chi\gamma\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\kappa\iota\omicron\epsilon\omicron$ 'they died', 22 $\chi\gamma\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\omega\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\kappa\iota\omicron\epsilon\omicron$ 'they caused to be brought'. 23

5.4. The Perfect I has been regarded by grammarians as the tense which indicates an action completed in the past. 24 Examples taken from Shenoute's writings are given below to demonstrate that this conception
of the tense is basically wrong. The tense has no essential temporal significance; rather it simply presents the action as attained, irrespective of whether the time of attainment is past, present or future.

5.5. Most often the tense indicates an action which took place in past time, without reference to the duration of the action: (C42, 104) ἵππος ἦν ὡς ἑτοὶς ἐπιγείας 'they nailed his feet and his hands to the wood', (C42, 113) εἰς ὑποτήνυσιν ἰδεῖ, ἐκαὶ ἐπηρρήτων 'they ate encoût the place and διαδοχοὺς 'reading today in the proverbs, I came upon the text: "The tongue of the just is exquisite silver"'.

5.6. Occasionally the Perfect I takes a repeated action and gathers it into a single whole, indicating nothing relative to duration: (A1, 2) Χῖνα ἔθηκεν ἡμᾶς ἐκόσι 'I have said many times', (C73, 198) Χῖνα ἔθηκεν ἡμᾶς ἐκόσι 'I had seen the condition of the water many times'.

5.7. The meanings of certain verbs (e.g., "to know" and "to remain") is such that they may be used with the Perfect I, even though the action signified may extend over a period of time or may be attained in present time: (C42, 115) ἔγνωμεν εἰς οἰκονομήθητε καὶ ἄφθασθον 'we persevered in evil works', (C42, 219) ἔγνωμεν ἐρχόμεν τενοῦ 'I know it now'.

5.8. This tense may be used as a future perfect with an action which would be attained in the future upon the fulfillment of a condition: (C42, 20) ἔσται εἰς ἀπαράβα 'because I shall have transgressed'.
5.9. The οἵτινες construction is used to negate the Perfect I: (C73, 170) ἔπειτα ἐνεστάλη ἐκεῖνος ἑνὸς πενεκομος αὐθορροχ ἐπολα

'he did not pay heed to his words and his law he brought to naught'.

For a fuller discussion of this negative tense, the reader is referred to paragraphs 16.2-8.
CHAPTER VI

THE ĤĂĤÂΤĤ TENSE

6.1. In his letters and sermons Shenoute had occasion many times to mention actions or conditions which could be depicted best by the ĤĂĤÂΤĤ construction. Prefixes attached to the infinitive are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c. ţăά</td>
<td>2, c. ţăάτεά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2, m. ţăά</td>
<td>&quot; 2, c. ţăάτεά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2, f. ţăάпе</td>
<td>&quot; 3, c. ţăą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3, m. ţăą</td>
<td>&quot; 3, f. ţăąο</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

će is the form used before a substantival subject.

6.2. The origin of this construction may be traced back to in MF. Erman has pointed out that in Demotic a fuller form was developed, ĥăâţăâ, which corresponds in form and usage to ĤĂĤÂΤĤ.25

6.3. This tense has been named Praesens Consuetudinis I,27 which is misleading. Plumley commented that "the fundamental notion of a repetition of instantaneous past action demands the relinquishing of the term 'Praesens' at least".28 Without question Plumley is right in contending for the more appropriate name "I Habitudo". Evidence from usage by Shenoute indicates, however, that the temporal element is remote; hence it cannot be said that the basic idea of the tense is "repetition of instantaneous past action".

6.4. The tense is used to depict a generally accepted fact or
truth or to represent a condition which is to be ever taken for granted as a fact. It is used also to denote that which habitually occurs or may be reasonably expected to occur. The temporal element is remote, since the statement is assumed to be true in the past or future, as well as the present.

6.5. Most common is the usage of this tense to set forth the concept of a generally accepted truth or a condition which is to be assumed as true: (C42, 122) σαρξ πνεοετε ταρ τονεσ οιτιον 'for hatred incites a fight', (C42, 134) μη σαρξ πνεοετε σωθε μπτε στρετονηρος οραμε ενεγ 'God never comes to be with evil men, does he?', (C42, 224) ναρ μη σαρξ γοινε απο νεφανοετε 'how do some beget others?', (A2, 116) σαρξ τεγραφ ποσοο λιειγ 'the Scripture despises them in this manner'.

6.6. Closely related to the concept of a generally accepted truth is the idea of that which habitually occurs or may be reasonably expected to occur: (A2, 1) σαρξ παρμε σωθε μπτε μπνοετε 'men become the temple of God', (C73, 22) εισαγησετε εαυ εκεε ευενενοτε 'when I think of our fathers of old, I become like one who has not known God'.

6.7. An extension of the notion of habitual or customary action is the concept of recurrence of the action at successive intervals: (C73, 92) ειτ ονοετε γαιανατ εροετ 'many times I have seen them', (C42, 110) 'when he broke one (palm twig)' πανιν ον ωτικεοτει ετοοτη 'then they kept on giving him another one again', (A1, 12)
6.8. Negation of this tense is effected by ἐμεθωτός; see paragraphs 16.9-11.
7.1. Very rare indeed is the occurrence of this construction in Shenoute’s discourses; in fact, some of the instances where it does occur are quotations from the Bible. To the infinitive are attached these prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c. abs.</td>
<td>2, c. ῬΑΡΕΤΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m. ῬΑΡΕΚ</td>
<td>2, c. ῬΑΡΕΤΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f. ῬΑΡΕ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m. ῬΑΡΕΤ</td>
<td>3, c. ῬΑΡΕΤ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f. ῬΑΡΕ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form ῬΑΡΕ occurs before a substantival subject.

7.2. The Coptic form ἩΠΑΡΕΥ is attested in a reputedly archaic papyrus,29 but this may have resulted from contamination with the conjunctive Ἡ.30

7.3. The ἐ was usually repressed in the first person plural. In one Biblical quotation from Shenoute, however, the fuller form occurs: (A2, 189) ἩΠΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΗΤ ἴ ΗΕ ΤΑΡΕΝΟΛΝΤ ῬΗ ῬΗ ΝΣΟΥΑ ἴ 'are you the one who comes or shall we look for another?'

7.4. The conjunctive form Ῥ is used in place of the first person singular.

7.5. The prototype of this construction has not been found in earlier stages of the Egyptian language. The construction has been conjectured by Polotsky as the possible origin.31

7.6. This tense has been given several names; Steindorff32 pre-
ferred *conjunctivus futuri* (finalis), Folotsky\(^{33}\) used *finale*, and Plumley\(^{34}\) boldly suggests IV Future. In Shenoute, except in Biblical quotations, the construction has the force of a final clause.

7.7. For the most part this tense follows an imperative: (A2, 121) Καὶ ἰς ἦν ἱκ ποκ ἕτερ τάρε πολλές ήλθον ἱκ ἦς ἰερεία

ΝΑΚΩΤΕ ἐποκ 'but take to yourself the girdle of truth, to the end that the word may say to you: "His truth will encircle you" ', (A2, 461)

ἐσαποκ ἐμπείμα ἔντον ταρεσομπκ ἐροκ ἱμυνα ἐμπείμα ετίμαω "receive it to yourself in this place now, so that it will receive you to itself in that place'. The tense is limited to this usage in Shenoute except, of course, in quotations from the Bible, where it is sometimes used following a question also.
CHAPTER VIII

THE ΜΑΡΕΨΩΤΙΜ TENSE

8.1. This construction is usually designated as the "optative".

Pronominal prefixes used with the infinitive are:

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<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΙ</td>
<td>2, c.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΕΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΕΚ</td>
<td>2, c.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΕΤΗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΕ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΕΚ</td>
<td>3, c.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΟΤ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f.</td>
<td>ΜΑΡΕ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form used before a substantival subject is ΜΑΡΕ.

8.2. This form is actually the literal transcription of an imperative plus a verbal auxiliary. The imperative ΜΑ of the Coptic verb + 'to give' is coupled with a shortened form of the auxiliary ΕΙΠΕ. The IE antecedant is [HEX], an example of which occurs in IE proverbial literature: [HEX], 'let him beat you'.

8.3. The optative is used to express potential action in the form of an exhortation or wish. The action may or may not be fulfilled in the future. Shenoute used this construction quite often because of the nature of his ministry to the Christians of Egypt.

8.4. Exhortations are indicated by the optative: (C73, 32)

ΜΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΙΙ ΓΑΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΛΩΝ 'let each one support his neighbor',

(A2, 12) ΜΑΡΟΤΕΙ ΕΤΡΕΤΟΥΜΟ 'may they come to eat it'.

8.5. In the first person plural the optative has the force of a cohortative, whereby one exhorts others to participate with him in any
act:  (C42, 127) ἐτέρετοι οἱ μετανοοῦντες λέγοντες ἀπεισόμεθα ὁ λόγος: 'on account of this let us repent, O brothers', (C73, 177) ἐρχόμενος ἡμῖν ἔτερετοι εἰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργῆς ἡμῶν· 'let us interpret the saying in this way'.

8.6. Closely related to the exhortation is the notion of a wish, which is expressed by the optative and ἐνέπαθε 'to become': (C42, 18) μάρτυρε περὶ ἡμῶν ἐπήρθοντο 'may they become accursed', (A2, 8) μάρτυρε τε γλυκὴν ἐνεργής ἡμῖν ἐνέπαθε ἐπί οὖς ἀλλὰ ἀλλὰ 'may the soul of those who do these things become desolate and deserted'.

8.7. Negation of the optative is effected by the form μηδεμεν-σωμή: (C73, 5) μὴ δεμενσωμή οὖν καὶ ἐπίστατε 'let us not make ourselves strangers to God', (C73, 24) μηδεμενσωμή μὴ ἐπὶ ἀλλὰ μηδεμενσωμή μὴ ἐπὶ μὴ 'let us not despise grace, but let us rather give glory to God'. This form is compounded from the negative imperative μὴ and the causative infinitive (cf. paragraphs 9.1-3).
CHAPTER IX

THE CAUSATIVE INFINITIVE

9.1. The causative infinitive is widely used with verbs. It takes a substantival or pronominal objective after the prefix تر. Pronominal forms are:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1, c.  | تر | تر
| 2, m.  | تر | تر
| 2, f.  | تر | تر
| 3, m.  | تر | تر
| 3, f.  | تر | تر

9.2. In Shenoute's writings the negation of this construction is brought about by a prefixed تر: (C73, 204) ETMTRPEY I AmNNAK XE T-real 'so that they do not read all the words', (Al, 2) ترپکه ETMTRPE YEME 86888668 EXW EN XXXX NAFOHM 'I judge that a man should not find a word to say under any pretext'.

9.3. The causative infinitive is a combination of the two verbs ت 'to give' and ت 'to do'. The construction in LE would be ل ت, but no examples of it have been noted by the present writer. Erman36 has pointed out that the form ل ت corresponds in usage to the causative infinitive plus the prefixed preposition ت, a discussion of which is given in paragraph 9.6. A LE illustration of this form is ل ت. 37 Even in ME the verb ت 'to give' has a causative force.38 The causative "ت" is not unknown in other Semitic languages; in Biblical Hebrew there is the verbal form ت and in Aramaic there is the causative form ت.
9.4. Occasionally the causative infinitive is used as a substantive: (C73, 6) ἐνόπλω ετεργάζοντο κράτος 'it is difficult to set them free'.

9.5. Not infrequently the form is joined to the pronominal prefix of one of the tenses: (C42, 107) εἰσατρέπετε κανήν εὐγένειαν 'he will cause the crowds to know us', (C73, 36) κατεργάζοντες τὴν ἄβαν 'he caused them all to exist', (A1, 22) ἐπιτρέπετε νομοκράτειαν ὁμοφύλων 'he caused the deliberations of the teaching to be dry'.

9.6. Exceedingly common is the ἐτεργάζομαι construction mentioned in paragraph 9.3. Most often it has the force of a final clause: (A1, 4) ἀναγγέλλω εὐχότε ετεργῶν ἐμοί 'I fought him so that I might strangle him', (C73, 171) εἰσηλθὼς ἤρθεν ετεργήταις καὶ ἀπεργάζοντοι 'the ones who will touch them so that they may know that they have matured'. Sometimes εὐχότε supplements this usage: (C73, 180) εὐχότε ἐτεργάζομαι πρὸς καταργάσιον 'so that the earth becomes like paradise', (C42, 215) εὐχότε ἐτεργάζομαι νόσον ἐπειδή εὐχότε πάντα 'so that great desires exist in them'.

9.7. After a verb which expresses a thought, wish, command or the like, this construction functions as a noun clause used as the object: (C73, 2) ἐπιστέφεις ετεργάζοντας ἵππον ἐπιτείχησαν 'he desires that we go to him in peace', (A1, 19) εὑροῦντας ἐτεργάζομαι ὅπως ὁ θάνατος 'he was wishing that sons would come to him'.

9.8. This construction is quite common after an impersonal verb: (C42, 220) ἐπιτρέποι γὰρ ἐτεργάζεται ἐμενεργήτι 'for we must take heed to
one another', (C42, 217) ΝΤΩΝ ΝΤΩΝ ΟΝ ΤΗ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ΚΤΕΙΣΕΒΕΜΕΝ ΜΑΤΑΛΛΥ 'he also is the same; it is impossible that he defile himself'.

9.9. Frequently the causative infinitive has lost its original meaning and is used as a simple infinitive: (C73, 178) ἄρκαις αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπτρεπτική 'is this not a time to do evil?'.

9.10. After the preposition ὑπὸ 'in' the causative infinitive takes the definite article and functions as a temporal clause: (C73, 8) ἐνεπανορθάθη ἐμπτερεκτικῷ ἔφης 'those who will be saved when they believe in the Christ', (C73, 176) ἐμπτερεκτικῷ τῷ πρὶν ἀκομοῦ 'when the sun rises, they assemble', (C73, 148) ἕως τῶν ἐστι ζευγάρια ἐπιτρεπτικῷ 'and the Lord in the gospel was informing by the parable when they began to murmur'. The immediate context determines whether the clause is past, present or future.

9.11. The causative infinitive preceded by the preposition ἀπὸ 'after' is best translated into English as a temporal clause introduced by the word 'after'. This construction expresses subsequent time: (C42, 111) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάς χωρὶς νοτίας ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ἘΜΠΤΕΡΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ ἘΜΠΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ἔστρωσεν γιὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ὥστε συντρήσῃ ἑνωτείην ἐπεξή 'A little guidance first for the Lord's day. After they have read the Psalter and the gospel on a feast day, the multitude desires to depart hastily to their house', (C42, 19) ΝΤΩΝ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΩΝ ΜΝΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΡΟΠΕΝ ΑΛΣΟΧ ἔστε ὁ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἐρωτο ἐπεπήχ. 'also he is the one who commands after they know him'.
9.12. Rarely ἡκα takes the place of μήνα: (C42, 98) 'what is the strength of a woman' ἡκατρεκατατατητει ὑτμντνοείκ ἦν ἡμηκαγαννα 'after she has trampled adultery like Susanna?'.

9.13. One example has been noted in which the causative infinitive, used as a simple infinitive, is preceded by the preposition of the dative, ἄπο: (Al, 3) πειμᾶν ἄπο τρωμε ὀλών εβοξ ὑνεκμνττῶμεν ἔτε 'it is not the place for man to manifest his strength'.

9.14. Sporadically the causative infinitive is preceded by the Greek preposition ἀντί: (A2, 7) ἀερ γεντονηρον ἀντὶ τρειτών τε τετμματα 'she did wicked things instead of purifying herself in that place', (A2, 121) ἀντὶ τρεκχων ὑνμε ἄκκω ὑπεκ 'instead of speaking the truth, you spoke the lie'.
10.1. Preformatives of this construction--called Future I--are used with both the qualitative and the infinitive of the verb. They are:

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<tr>
<th>Singular 1, c.</th>
<th>Plural 1, c.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{n}a$</td>
<td>$\text{n}a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m.</td>
<td>$\text{n}a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f.</td>
<td>$\text{t}e\text{n}a$ or $\text{t}e\text{n}a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m.</td>
<td>$\text{n}a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f.</td>
<td>$\text{c}e\text{n}a$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The element $\mathcal{N}$ precedes the verb when the subject is substantival.

10.2. The Future I may be negated in three ways. (1) When there is a pronominal subject, either $\mathcal{N}...\mathcal{N}$ or $\mathcal{N}$ may be used: (A1, 18) $\text{n}a\text{n}\text{k}\text{x}\text{h}\text{r}\text{o}\text{n}\text{e}\text{m}\text{e} \text{m}\text{m}\text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{n} $'\text{he will not inherit with you}', (A2, 436) $\text{t}e\text{t}\text{o}\text{w}e\text{t} \text{e} \text{c}e\text{n}a \text{m}\text{a} \text{w}e \text{g} \text{m}\text{a} \text{t} \text{h} \text{\tau}\text{t}\text{o} \text{a} \text{h} \text{t} \text{f}\text{f} \text{oo} \text{a} \text{h}$ 'therefore the one who looks at these things, how will he not give a reckoning?'.

(2) $\mathcal{N}$ is used when the substantival subject is definite: (C42, 33) $\text{t}e\text{i}\text{c}\text{o}\text{w}a \text{m}\text{a} \text{n}\text{a} \text{t}\text{o}\text{w}o\text{n} \text{\mathcal{N}}$ 'this body will not arise'.

(3) When the substantival subject has the indefinite article or is undefined, negation is effected by $\mathcal{M}$: (C42, 33) $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{N} \text{\underline{\tau}}\text{\underline{\omega}}\text{\underline{\omega}}$ $\text{n}\text{a}\text{k}\text{x}\text{h}\text{r}\text{o}\text{n}\text{e}\text{m}\text{e} \text{h}'a tree will not inherit', (A1, 10) $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{N} \text{\underline{p}\underline{o}\underline{m}}\text{e} \text{\underline{n}}\text{a}\text{\underline{a}}\text{\underline{m}}\text{\underline{e}}\text{\underline{e}}\text{\underline{e}}\text{\underline{e}}$ 'no man will be able to think'.

10.3. The origin of the Future I was first satisfactorily explained by Gardiner. He cited the following phrase which occurs in a letter from the end of the New Kingdom:
10.4. The most frequent usage of this tense is to express simple futurity: (C42, 19) πορεία πορεία ναθάνος μην ορίζετε 'each will give account to God', (C42, 220) σελήνων εβοκε φυγαίνεις 'they will cry out bitterly'.

10.5. An extension of simple futurity is the use of Future I in promises of blessings to be received upon the fulfillment of certain specified conditions: (C73, 2) το θεό το θεό ενέγραφε αιώνιον καθάρισμα 'you pay heed to the Scriptures and you will know', (C73, 41) εκδικείτε εκδικοφαίνετε κατακεραυνούμενον 'if you continue being humble, you will be loved by God and men', (A2, 441) ερωτάτε ορθά το θεότητα σπουδάζε ήμείς οι ορθοσπουδαστές 'if one pays heed to the depth of the word, he will find a great philosophy in these words'. It should be noted in passing that this tense may be used in the protasis and/or the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

10.6. Occasionally Future I is followed by the enclitic particle τε: (C42, 158) τηλέφωνο τε το οίκον ονομάζετε 'we shall escape great condemnations'.

10.7. The tense is used in questions introduced by interrogative words: (A2, 10) γινετε γινετε έγώ θα δώ 'why will he forsake it forever?', (C42, 102) έγώ έγώ το θεό Θεοκράτα ταξιακά θα μοιχάν αν 'how will you not be criticized?'.

'...the journey which I am going to make'. This IE construction shows that the Future I is developed from the verb 'to go'.
10.8. Very frequently this tense follows the relative particle

\[ \text{et} = (C42, 13) \quad \text{οδόν} \quad \text{NIM} \quad \text{ετναςώτμ} \quad \text{\textquoteleft every one who will hear\textquoteright}, \quad (C73, 176) \quad \text{πόλεως} \quad \text{ετναςωβος} \quad \text{ερώτ} \quad \text{\textquoteleft the place to which we shall go\textquoteright}. \]
CHAPTER XI

THE NEQWWT TENSE

11.1. This tense was used somewhat infrequently by Shenoute.

The pronominal prefixes are:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l, c. N</td>
<td>NEI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m. N</td>
<td>NEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f. N</td>
<td>NEPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m. N</td>
<td>NEQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f. N</td>
<td>NEQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NEPE is the form used before a substantival subject.

11.2. The origin of the tense is to be found in the construction 42 An example from L2 literature is 43 'I would have repaid it to you'.

11.3. Coptic grammarians have given to this tense the name "Imperfect", since it has the same fundamental function as the Greek imperfect tense. It is used to denote action in progress in past time; in this sense Shenoute used the Imperfect in narrating Biblical stories.

The leader of the White Monastery said concerning Rachel: (Al, 19) 44 'she was wishing that sons would come to her'. Concerning Jesus he said: (C73, 148) 45 'and the Lord in the gospel was informing by the parable when they murmured'.

11.4. The durative force of the Imperfect is displayed in contexts where other tenses referring to past time are used: (C42, 109)
'they did not believe the thing which he told them—namely, he is God and the son of God; but they were also mocking while they were watching him casting out demons', (C42, 118) ἐγκόψατε δὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας μόνον ἃ ἐγνώσατε καὶ ἔθεσαν ἑαυτοῖς σάρξιν. 'but others were saying, "unless we are ashamed before both eyes of our first father who has fallen asleep, we shall not remain in this place"'.

11.5. This tense is used to describe situations which existed in past time or actions which regularly occurred or recurred in past time: (C42, 220) Κηρύγμα τε με μετείχομεν 'we used to pasture together', (C73, 198) ἐπιστεύουσα εἷς εὗρον ἐπιμικρύνει 'they kept wanting to drink of the water', (C73, 96) Κηρύγμα μετείχομεν 'we used to be our own master'.

11.6. The notion of duration may be almost negligible: (C73, 143) ἐπιστεύομεν εὐθὺς ἐτεκίμη ἐβολὴν ἀντὶκεῖται καὶ ἐκτοίρων πρὸς ἑνὸς υἱοῦ 'when they were able to hear the voice out of the fire, he was commanding them concerning every thing'.

11.7. The Imperfect may be used with prepositional phrases to express the verb 'to be' when no verb is present: (C42, 220) Κηρύγμα-καὶ ἐν τῷ τῷ ἔστι 'we used to be in this same sheepfold', (C42, 32) ἐπιστεύομεν 'he was in the city'. This construction is possible because of the presence of ἐγνώσατε 'to be' in the Imperfect forms (cf. paragraph 11.2.).
11.8. Often the tense is followed by the particle ТЕ: (A1, 21)

Ньогов πε έρρη μεπσαειο 'they were crying out to the Lord'. Further examples of this phenomenon may be seen in the immediately preceding paragraphs of this chapter.

11.9. The Imperfect is negated by άН or Τι ... ΆН: (A2, 102) Ньогевε άН τε άν Νεγνοβε Νάκτομ εάν τεγάτε 'they were not thinking that their sins were about to return upon their head', (A2, 150) Ньогов άН τε Νεγναταμίο τε 'he (God) was not desiring (that) he (man) would construct (a house)', (A2, 195) άννεωπε τερ άν Νεγνο ετπα 'for I was not choosing more than this'.
12.1. The tense called Future Imperfect occurs only sporadically in Shenoute's works. As the name indicates, this tense is formed by combining the 

\( \text{\textit{na}} \)

element of Future I with the Imperfect construction. Thus the following pronominal forms result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular 1, c. NEINX</th>
<th>Plural 1, c. NEINX</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2, m. NEINX</td>
<td>2, c. NEINX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2, f. NEINX (no examples)</td>
<td>or NEINX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3, m. NEINX</td>
<td>3, c. NEINX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a substantival subject \( \text{\textit{nepe}} \) precedes the subject and \( \text{\textit{na}} \) precedes the verb.

12.2. The particle \( \text{\textit{nepe}} \) may follow the Future Imperfect construction, but quite often it is omitted: (C73, 42) \( \text{\textit{nepe teimine}} \)

\( \text{\textit{naomo nein}} \) 'this sort of man would have been submerged', (A2, 176) \( \text{\textit{nepe tiany tiai eka ov on oteime}} \) 'God is going to come from a woman'.

12.3. The Future Imperfect is regularly negated by \( \text{\textit{an}}. \) Close attention must be given to distinguish this tense (when negated) from the negated Future II, since the forms may then be identical.

12.4. This tense is sometimes used to denote an action which tends toward realization. The implication is that the action is on the verge of attainment. This usage is best translated into English by "to be about to": (C42, 118) \( \text{\textit{arka nepe taoec naan nee ne}} \)
'perhaps the Lord is about to come to him', (A2, 477) ονεγκαμωμεν περὶ εν ηγεμονια υπερ θαματατηρια τεχνοτε ως νερα δερματων 'we are about to be swallowed alive; the water is about to drown us'.

12.5. This tense is used in contrary to fact conditions dealing with past time. Several varieties of conditional clauses are used in the protasis to express the contrary to fact statement; the Future Imperfect follows in the apodosis: (C73, 157) ΕΙΝΕ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΕΙΝ το ΤΕΙΝΟΝΜΙΑ ΗΡΕ ΠΡΟΥ ΙΝΑ ΡΟΤΕΡΗ ΚΑΙΝ ΑΝ ΤΟ ΑΔΕ ΝΕΡΑΝΔΟΛΕΜΟΤ ΑΝ ΤΗ ΕΑΝ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΙ ΗΝΝΑΠΤΗΡΑ ΤΕΚΝΟΤΕ "were this iniquity not great, God would not have cursed Cain, and he would not have brought death upon Ananias and Saphira his wife', (A2, 449) ΕΙΝΕ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΕΙΝ το ΤΗΝ ΗΝΝΑΚΦ ΗΝΟΝ ΑΝ ΤΟ ΑΔΕ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΙ ΗΝΝΑΠΤΗΡΑ ΤΕΚΝΟΤΕ 'had we all considered this, we would not have forsaken the path of the easy life', (C42, 196) Ηνναξαη ΤΑΡ ΚΕΜΟΤΟΤ ΝΜτΗΝ ΜΗ ΑΙ ΑΕΤΩΝΤΙ ΕΒΟΧ ΡΙΤΝΑΠΤΗΕΙ ΗΝΝΑΠΛΕΤΗ ΜΕ ΗΝΝΑΚΑΜΗ 'for if a remnant had not been ours by the Lord, we would have become like Sodom', (A2, 264) ΕΙΜΗΣΙ ΑΤΟΥΝ ΝΕΡΑΝΔΟΛΕΜΟΤ ΤΗ ΠΕ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΙ 'had they not been converted, they would have died in their sins'.

12.6. One example has been noted of the Future Imperfect in the apodosis following a protasis which expresses an improbable future condition: (C73, 167) ΕΙΝΕΤΑ ΣΑΜΑ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣΟΥ ΒΑΙΟ ΝΕΡΑΝΔΟΛΕΜΟΤ ΑΝ ΤΟ 'if he see to their need as a leader, he did it not of grace' is the translation suggested by Crum. Perhaps a better rendering is this: 'if he should see to their need as a leader, he shall not have done it of grace'.
CHAPTER XIII

THE EPECATMA TENSE

13.1. This construction, Future III, has the following pronominal forms:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, c.</td>
<td>epe</td>
<td></td>
<td>1, c.</td>
<td>epe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, m.</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td></td>
<td>2, c.</td>
<td>eke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f.</td>
<td>epe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m.</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td></td>
<td>3, c.</td>
<td>eke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f.</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before a substantival subject epe is used to denote this tense. Since epe is the same form that is used for Present II (see chapter XVI), the context must be studied in order to determine which of these two tenses the writer had in mind.

13.2. One passage has been noted in which epe precedes an anticipatory subject before the pronominal form attached to the verb: (C73, 173) epe ἐποιμοὶ . . . epe ei eπαλ εξακ 'his blessings . . . shall come upon us'.

13.3. Even in ME the preposition ـ was used for expressing the future. In IE this futuristic coupled with the helping verb ἐκ is the prototype of the Coptic Future III. An example of the IE form other than those given by Erman is: ἐκ ἐκ ὑπ' ἐκ ἐκ 'I will kill myself'.

13.4. Shenoute used Future III extensively, especially in the instructions which he gave to those who had become members of the monastic community. This usage has the effect of a cohortative in the
first person plural: (C73, 136) ητω μπάνα πίνα νηπιά τοπικά μνήμην- 
πεπρομενούτο ειμάδοο τενού ενεργού ηπεδερήνυ θητόν

'and every thing which is becoming for piety which we have not said now,
let us instruct each other in them', (C73, 56) αυξι μηθιακονεί 
σημάδα εύεκία ευμερής καταπέτασης 'and those who minister in
that place, they shall do according to that which is fitting', (C73, 74)
ευπλούχοι ηπιούς ηνηπτύ κόροι ηπιούτος ηνιαμβότο

'also if he does not awaken, he
shall call his name outside the reed mat until he arises'.

13.5. The Future III has the force of an emphatic future. As
such it is often used in predictions and warnings of consequences.
Occasionally this usage occurs in the apodosis of a conditional sentence:
(C42, 135) στις ταί παρείκε ευκολώ εμαχ ηνηκαί ηντείμωνε

'because of this the Lord will renounce these in this manner', (C42, 111)

ηπετακέβτατορ ευμπροτε αβηλίτα 'to whom will the things which you
have prepared come?', (A2, 51) ηπραξώς ηε επιγονών ηνηπτίον

'say not, "He shall live a long time"', (C73, 204) στελε επεχειρέ ησύγκ
νο ηπειλακό τηρή 'they shall come upon them, namely, all these
curses', (C42, 20) ευεκτε αγαπαράβα ηπεπτίλομολογείν ημοθο 
εινδατ έπμετερο εμπάσα ηπετάμβοκη εγούν ερο 'if I transgress
the thing which I have confessed, I shall see the kingdom of the heavens
and shall not enter into it'.
13.6. After the particle ἐν introducing a final clause, the Future III tense may be used to express a purpose: (C73, 36) ἄνομος ἔννοια 

'how have the prophets and the apostles and all the other saints from the first until now been willing so that they themselves might receive life, unless they had seen the Lord of glory, Jesus, who took a form of servant on our behalf?', (C42, 223) ἀλλὰ ἐνομοσὰν ἄντρο ἐπερεμένητος 

'but rather he wants us to become small so that he may give to us exceedingly great things'.

13.7. This tense may be used in a purpose clause following ἐκάκιος also: (C42, 120) ἐκάκιος ἔνεστιν ἐρωτή 'so that we might hearken to them', (C42, 122) ἐκάκιος ἔνεστιν πρὸς τῆς ἄνευ ἴσχυς 'so that they may find a purity of their souls'.

13.8. Two instances may be cited where the tense is used in the sense of an optative. The first example occurs in the introduction to a sermon, and the second is found in the closing eulogy of a sermon:

(C73, 140) γνωτι τὸν κυρίον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν 'the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the God of Apa, may he bless us together', (C42, 218) τίνι καὶ νῦνι ἐντακτῷ ἐπίγνω καὶ οἰκοδόμην ἐκκλησίαν 'this house or these houses which we have built to thy glorious, holy name, may you fill them with men for life, may you fill
them with people for life'.

13.9. Negation of Future III is effected by the construction

\[ \text{NEGCONVM} \], which is treated in paragraphs 15.13-19.
CHAPTER XIV

THE EΓΩΑΝΟΣΤΜ TENSE

14.1. Pronominal constructions for this tense are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1, e.</th>
<th>Plural 1, c. EΓΩΑΝ or ΝΟΑΝ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2, m. ΕΓΩΑΝ</td>
<td>2, c. EΤΕΤΩΑΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f. ΕΡΩΑΝ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m. ΕΩΑΝ</td>
<td>3, c. ΕΓΩΑΝ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EΩΑΝ occurs before a substantival subject.

14.2. The construction of this tense consists of the Present II form (cf. chapter XVI) affixed to the element ΩΑΝ. The origin of has been discussed by Chaine. He points out a Demotic construction which is transcribed into hieroglyphics as $\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{ΩΘω}$, and which occurs in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic as EΩΑΝΕ 'if'. A related Demotic construction, when put into hieroglyphics, is $\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{ΩΘω}$ $\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{ΩΘω}$. One would expect this to appear in Sahidic as $\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{ΩΘω}$ $\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{ΩΘω}$, but actually the element ΩΑΝ supplanted the verb $\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{ΩΘω}$. Chaine suggests that this may be the origin of the Coptic form, but he admits that conclusive proof is lacking.

14.3. The form under consideration is designated by grammarians as the conditional tense. Quite often it is used in a conditional sense and should, in such cases, be translated by 'if'; this usage agrees with the relation of the construction to EΩΑΝΕ, mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Indeed, there are a number of examples from Shenoute's writings where EΩΑΝΕ and the EΓΩΑΝΟΣΤΜ formation are used together:
(C73, 207) ἐὰν ζήσως γὰρ ἐὰν ἐγινόσχετο ἡ ἡμέρας μεταξοικὸν 'for if we live, we shall live for my Lord', (C42, 222) ἐὰν ζῆσομεν ἐν Χριστῷ ἡ ἡμέρα περὶ τοῦ 'if we are rich in Christ, it is much better'.

14.4. Occasionally this tense is introduced by the Greek particle κἂν; such cases also have a conditional meaning: (C73, 9) κἂν ἐρῶσαν θνητὸν κἂν εἶχαν θνητὰ μετανοήσαντοι χριστιανοὶ ἐν καὶ εἰς χριστιανοὶ 'even if God releases those who have repented among the people, He will not release these', (C73, 1) κἂν ἐνθαμμένοι εἰπὼν εἰς ἡμᾶς τελευτημένοι εἰς χριστιανοὶ εἰς χριστιανοὶ 'even if we escape the burning of those in this present place, we shall not be safe in the place to which we shall go'.

14.5. There are, on the other hand, numerous instances where this tense has temporal meaning rather than conditional. This is particularly true when the tense is accompanied by the Greek particle ἄπαντα: (C42, 219) ἄπαντα ζῶντας ... τὸ τε καὶ ζῶντας ἐκπροσώπως μητακοφορὸς 'whenever he comes ... then will he sit upon his glorious throne', (C42, 220) 'no one will weep loudly' ἄπαντα ζῶντας ζῶντας τοῦ ἔκειψας 'when we see those who have completed their life'.

14.6. Most frequently there is no accompanying particle to indicate to the reader whether the tense is conditional or temporal. In these instances the context must determine the meaning; sometimes either meaning makes good sense—an indication of the fine line of distinction
existing between the conditional and the temporal in this tense: (C42, 110) ΜΑΝΙΣΤΑ ΑΙΝΑΚ ΕΥΔΑΙ ΜΑΝΔΑΣΤΗ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΡΜΕΑΚ ΤΗΝ ΕΤΟΤΗ

especially I saw a chief judge whose servants were handing him palm twigs. When he broke one into fragments and destroyed it on the ground, then again they kept on giving him another one', (A2, 29) ΦΩΛ ΟΤΝ

but many will be ashamed when the king comes', (C73, 189) ΕΚΦΑΝΒΟΙΚ ΕΑΡΤΙΜ ΚΝΑΚΑΤ ΑΕΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΑΝΕ

'if you go before him, you will see the glory of God', (C73, 58) ΕΚΦΑΝΑΕΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΑ ΕΜΠΑΝ ΜΑΡΩΝ ΕΠΑΝ ΝΑΜ 'when they come out of the refectory, they will give to him', (C42, 113) ΝΩΝΑΝΒΙΟΝ ΑΝΤΑΙΞ ΠΕΚΒΒΙΟ

'when we have humbled ourselves, we have honored humility', (A1, 174) ΕΚΦΑΝΝΕΕΤΕ ΕΒΟΑ ΕΝΕΝΒΙΟΤΕ ΝΑΡΚΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΙΡ ΒΕ ΜΠΕΤΕΡΒΟΝ ΠΝΟΤΤΕ

'when I remember our fathers of ancient days, I do like the one who knows God', (A2, 18) ΕΝΟΙΚΑΛΛΑΚ Υ ΚΑΛΛ ΕΝΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΠΤΜΗΕΤΕ

'if we release him or release them, we honor the multitude', (C42, 33) 'they will go to Hades' ΕΚΦΑΝΜΟΙ ΕΝΕΤΕΜΝΑΤΝΟΤΤΕ 'if they die in their godlessness'.

14.7. Negation of the tense is effected by ΤΗ, which is placed between the pronominal prefix and the verb. When the subject is substantival, ΤΗ occurs between ΕΡΩΜ and the subject: (A2, 13)

'if the man does not remember those who are near to him, how will his heart not be closed?', (C73, 85) 'their blood
is upon them' *εγιναι τοις νενεργητωσι* 'if they do not tell those who are ordained'.

14.8. Strangely enough, the ομην element is occasionally dropped when the tense is negated. This is confusing to the beginner in Coptic studies because the resulting form appears to be the Present II negated by ΤΜ. It should ever be kept in mind, therefore, that the Present II is negated by ομην rather than by ΤΜ. Examples of the so-called conditional tense minus the ομην element are: (C73, 18) *ετεντικοτιπην* 'if you do not turn yourselves, he will sharpen his sword', (C73, 16) *εκείνος εβολευεται μεγενη εροε* 'if it does not manifest itself, he does not see it'.
CHAPTER XV

THE NEGATIVE TENSES

15.1. For a few tenses in Coptic there are no negating particles used. Special tenses of negation, instead, are called upon to take the place of the particles. Treated in this chapter are these negative tenses; in addition, two other negative constructions, ἀπαθετική and ἀπομισθική, are discussed.

15.2. The ἀνατική tense was discussed in chapter five; the corresponding tense of negation is ἀπεκτομή—but it has a wider scope than mere negation of ἀνατική. Pronominal prefixes are:

| Singular 1, c. | ἀπι or ἀπα | Plural 1, c. | ἀπικ or ἀπεκ
| " 2, m. | ἀπικ or ἀπεκ | " 2, c. | ἀπεκ
| " 2, f. | ἀπεκ | " 3, c. | ἀπεκ
| " 3, m. | ἀπικ or ἀπεκ | " 3, c. | ἀπεκ

The spelling of these forms is not consistent in manuscripts of works of Shenoute. Before a substantival subject ἀπεκ is used.

15.3. The prototype of this Coptic construction was used extensively in IE writings. The IE form and its origin have been investigated by Gardiner. He demonstrated that the IE equivalent is Δἐξ αὐτός, the original of which may be conjectured as Δἐξαὐτός (44), by πα(τ)το. He noted also that the form πατο is derived from the verb πα(τ)τα, which is always construed with a following infinitive and means 'to have . . . (done, existed) in the past'. An example of the IE construction (in a shortened form) is Δέξας ταύτα.
50 'you have not found my silver'.

15.4. This tense of negation sometimes serves to denote action which has not been attained; in such cases it is the opposite of the ἀποτιθημένος construction: (A2, 34) ἐπὶ ἀποτιθημίσθης ἢ ἀποτιθημίσθης

whether you did weep or you did not weep', (C73, 34) ἠνθίνεος ἢ ἀνθίνεος

'I sent them and you did not hearken', (C73, 179)

μπεριμέτομεν ὅπως μπεριμέτομεν ἐντὸς μπεριμένε μπράζω 'we did not fear nor were we ashamed of the word', (A1, 5) μπεριμένου 'I did not turn'.

15.5. The usage to express unattained action must occasionally be translated by the English perfect or pluperfect tenses: (A2, 27)

μπεριμένου εἰς ἑνεργ. εἰς 'it has never been said to man', (C73, 198) ἀλλὰ μπεριμένυ ἑνεργ. ἐνεργ. ἐνεργ. μπεριμένου 'but I had never seen it like this time'.

15.6. One instance was noted wherein this construction negated the ἀποτιθημένος tense: (C73, 178) ἠνθίνεος ἢ ἀποτιθημετάνω 'we sinned and we did not repent'. 'We are sinning and we have not repented' is a possible translation of the phrase, but it does not fit the context.

15.7. Rather infrequent in Shenoute's works is the use of this tense in a subordinate adjectival clause: (A2, 62) μεθάρκαν ἢτοι ἡγοῦν ὡς ἑβολ. ἐν ἓν ἢτοι ἡγοῦν ἑβολ. ἐν σεκμένεος μπεριμένῳ μπεριμένῇ 'perhaps rather you will find one out of many and two out of multitudes who have not defiled the temple of God'. It is probable that such a case is actually an incorrect spelling of this tense with the normally prefixed circumstantial ε' omitted; the correct
spelling of the circumstantial form is shown in paragraph 15.9.

15.8. In prohibitions addressed to those living in the monastery, Shenoute used the ἠπειρώσαμε construction to denote an action which must be carried out before that which is prohibited may be done; it is then best translated by 'until' or 'unless': (A1, 14) ἡπειρώσαμε διὰ τοῦτο 'they shall not do any work until they ask one another', (C73, 73) 'we shall not cut down large trees' ἠπειρώσαμε 'unless it is first told to the superior'. These examples may also be improperly spelled circumstantial forms.

15.9. This construction with the prefixed circumstantial ε may be translated into English as a prepositional phrase introduced by 'without': (A2, 386) ὑπάτοςοι γὰρ τὰ εὐθεῖαν πρὸς ἐπιτρέψοντι ποιήμα 'for it is impossible that they know the father without knowing the son', (A2, 392) μὴ δὲ οὐ εἰσήκουσε ἐπιτρέπτων ἐρχόμενον ἐπιτρέπτων μὴ δὲ 'but how will they rejoice when they see him without loving him first?'. On the other hand, these cases could just as easily be interpreted similar to those in paragraph 15.8.

15.10. Another tense, ἠποκρώσαμε, is used to negate the ἢπειρώσαμε construction discussed in chapter six. Pronominal forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1, c.</th>
<th>МЕΤ1</th>
<th>Plural 1, c.</th>
<th>МЕТ1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2, m. МЕТ</td>
<td>2, c. МЕΤΕΤ1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, f. МЕР1</td>
<td>3, c. МЕΤ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, m. МЕΤ1</td>
<td>3, c. МЕТ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, f. МЕР1</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Preceding a substantival subject is the form МЕР1.

15.11. This construction developed from the IE negative escaped.
linked with the verb 'to do, make'. Examples in IE literature are: 51 'I do not understand', 52 'a man is not poor'.

15.12. Regularly this tense presents a negative fact in the same manner that the  aorist tense expresses a positive fact:

(A2, 75)  ὅτε καὶ ἥρωον πετόρων οὐκ ὁδεγόν ἦτοι μετανίθ 

'now indeed they find the thing after which they seek, now they find it not', (A2, 120)  μερε ὃσιά ξι κλωθ εἰμήτει ημίσε θα. 

'an athlete does not receive the crown unless he fights well', (A2, 147)  μετάργατι κἄτι χτι εἰμίπατοκοτ 

'a house is not inhabited before it is built'.

15.13. A third tense of negation is the ᾳνενόμιτσα construction, the forms of which are:

Singular 1, c. ἀνα or ἄνθι
" 2, m. ἀνηκ
" 2, f. ἄνη
" 3, m. ἄνεν
" 3, f. ἄνην

ὁν is used with a substantival subject.

15.14. This construction originated from IE 4. A clear example in IE literature is the following: 4. 53 'I shall not tell it to anyone'.

15.15. Negative Future III is the name which has been given to this tense. Quite often it serves as the negation of the Future III tense, which was discussed in chapter XIII. Examples are: (C73, 128)
'he shall not return to us and we will not love him, but he shall become our enemy', (A1, 18) ἡνεχθῶμεν ομεία θέρ ... ἐμ ἄνας ἔρη 'for he shall not inherit ... with my son', (C42, 20) ἡνεχείν παῖσα Ι' I shall not defile my body'.

15.16. This tense of negation serves occasionally to express a wish: (A2, 202) ἡνεχωτε ἐπάρφωτε ἐπιμένετο μπλογιο 'may it not come to pass that I sin before the Lord'.

15.17. Shenoute liked to use this tense for expressing prohibitions: (C73, 168) ἡνέμπομεν ηθότη ἐνπο ἁμεήρε 'a man shall not sleep in a cell at midday'; (C73, 85) ἡνέμπομεν ἔτη ἡσθν σωμὴ οὐδὲν 'no man among us shall despise a thing'.

15.18. The Negative Future III could be used after οὐδὲν in a negative purpose clause: (C73, 139) μεροῦς μεῦν οὖν ἐνταφις οὐκοοχε οὐκ εἰς ἡλφοξ οὐκέτι ἡμέρα 'may we all abide in the true vine, lest we be cast out like the twig'.

15.19. A negative purpose clause utilizes this tense also after οὐκαί: (C42, 95) οὐκαί οὐκ οὐκοκόκο οὔκεϊνα οὐκ 'so that they will not cause gloom in this great feast'.

15.20. The origin of another negative tense, ἔμπαθος ὥς, has been traced by Gardiner. The ME form was ἔμπαθος; this construction became ἔμπαθος ὥς in IE. A IE example is: ἔπειθε ἐμπαθεῖα ὥς ὥς ἐμπαθεῖα ὥς 55 'before you sent to me'. Gardiner suggested that the cause for the intrusion of the ἔς in ἔμπαθος was analogy of another negative construction, ἔμπαθος, dealt with in paragraphs 15.2-9.
15.21. Pronominal prefixes for this tense are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>1, c.</th>
<th>2, m.</th>
<th>2, f.</th>
<th>3, m.</th>
<th>3, f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἔπαται</td>
<td>ἔπατι</td>
<td>ἔπατε</td>
<td>ἔπατι</td>
<td>ἔπατε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>1, c.</th>
<th>2, c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἔπαιται</td>
<td>ἔπαιτε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before a substantival subject ἔπατε is utilized.

15.22. This tense is used in a temporal sense to portray an action or a condition which has not yet been effected but which is due to be effected in the future. Consequently, the usual translation of the tense in an independent clause is by the phrase "not yet": (C42, 23) ἔπαιται ἔρχομαι 'we have not yet arrived', (C73, 209) ἔπαιταίσθησθε γελῶντε 'they have not yet become whole'.

15.23. In subordinate clauses the circumstantial form of this tense is used—but often the prefixed ε is omitted; the tense may then be translated by "before": (A2, 29) πᾶσιν ἀντρεπομένοις ἔπαιτορετο 'the frost caused them (grain) to wither before seed is taken', (A2, 232) μάρτυρων περιτύλλεσθαι ἔπαιτω κεράν 'may the gospel be read before we enter', (C73, 181) ἕξαερ ἔπαιτοτάλατε ἐστίν ταύτα 'before they were given to them'.

15.24. The final form to be presented in this chapter is the negative imperative. In earlier stages of the Egyptian language it was written Ⲫⲧⲧ 'do not'. This construction consists of the negative plus the verb "to do". In Sahidic the letter μ enters as a transitional sound between the m and the p to make the form ἔπαιτε, which is prefixed to an infinitive to express the negative imperative. \(^{56}\) (C73,
41) ΜΠΡΡΙΝΕ ΝΟΤΡΩΜΕ ΝΡΕΧΟΒΕ 'do not judge a sinner', (C42, 108)
ΜΠΡΙΣΙΣΕ ΝΗΤΝ 'do not give trouble to us'.

16.1. An outstanding feature of the Greek language in the late
period between the reign of Eumenes which are designated by the phrase
Sellos "Greek verses" and "written verses". In previous chapters a
study has been made of the phrase, because it was not possible
for the present writer the time for some of the results there, all of
them still be dealt with in the present manner,

16.3. The result to be treated in this chapter are.

Present: inf. -να ἤναι, chapter III

Future: inf. -ναι ἢναι, chapter V

Subjunctive: inf. -ναι ἢναι, chapter III

Perfect: inf. -ναι ἤναι, chapter II.

Substantiates verily that only citations.

16.11. In the context of this investigation it may be stated
that each of these forms represents the Latin's construction which in
the ancient Ussurait are identified to those but this usage identified as
usage. In the case of (α) construction the equivalent to the Latin's
II tense and his role in the relative construction of the Perfect II
 tense (see paragraph 16.10). As far the other time tenses in the pre-
ceding paragraph, are substantiates in the construction equivalent to
CHAPTER XVI

THE SECOND TENSES

16.1. An outstanding feature of the Coptic language is the distinction between two series of tenses which are designated by the appellations "first tenses" and "second tenses". In previous chapters a study has been made of the former. Inasmuch as the usages and problems are to a great extent the same for each of the second tenses, all of them will be dealt with in the present chapter.

16.2. The forms to be treated in this chapter are:

- **Present**: \( \text{εὐχομαι} \) (cf. \( \text{ἐχομαι} \), chapter II)
- **Perfect**: \( \text{ἐπικόμω} \) and \( (ε)\text{πνευμόω} \) (cf. \( \text{ἐχομαι} \), chapter V)
- **Habitude**: \( \text{ἐναγωμαι} \) (cf. \( \text{ἐγκομιχηθαι} \), chapter VI)
- **Future**: \( \text{ἐπικομωμαι} \) (cf. \( \text{ἐπικομωμαι} \), chapter X)

Grammarians usually list only the form \( \text{πνευμόω} \) as the Perfect II, but in the writings of Shenoute \( \text{ἐπικόμω} \) was often used as an equivalent.

16.3. At the outset of this investigation it must be stressed that each of these forms represents two distinct constructions which in the Sahidic dialect are identical in form but not always identical in usage. In the case of \( (ε)\text{πνευμόω} \), one construction is the Perfect II tense and the other is the relative construction of the Perfect I tense (see paragraph 16.10). As for the other forms listed in the preceding paragraph, one construction is the circumstantial \( ε \) prefixed to
the "first tense". This circumstantial ε is often attached to a negative tense also, which is demonstrated in the next paragraph. The other construction formed with a prefixed ε is the second tense. The distinction can be seen clearly in the Bohairic dialect where the Present II and Future II forms are ἀχώτα and ἀηνακώτα respectively, but the circumstantial present and future are εγκώτα and εγνάκώτα.

16.4. A further proof that the Sahidic forms presented above in paragraph 11.2 represent two separate constructions can be seen in the negation of ἀχώνωται. When this form is circumstantial, it is negated by εμεγκώτα, which is the negative tense of Habitude I plus the prefixed circumstantial ε: (A2, 170) ΝΟΕΔΙΗΑΙ ἐγκώτας ἐμεγκώτα ὀπα εμεγκώτας ἀλλα εμεγκώτας ἐντεθαυνόντων 'and they cast him into a cistern which neither contains nor increases but which ceases in a drought'. When ἀχώνωται represents the Habitude II tense, negation is effected by ΑΝ: (A1, 279) ΕΕΑΡΕ ΠΡΩΤΕ ΝΑΤ ΑΝ ΑΝ ΕΠΑΛΙΟΜΟΝ 'the man does not see the demon'.

16.5. Pronominal prefixes for Present II are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1, c.</th>
<th>ετ</th>
<th>Plural 1, c.</th>
<th>εν</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2, m.</td>
<td>εκ</td>
<td>&quot; 2, c.</td>
<td>ετετά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2, f.</td>
<td>ερε</td>
<td>&quot; 3, m.</td>
<td>ερ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3, f.</td>
<td>εο</td>
<td>&quot; 3, c.</td>
<td>εο</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.6. ερε precedes a substantival subject; this is also the form used in the circumstantial present and in the Future III tense. Perhaps this is composed of ε plus a shortened form of επε 'to do, make'; but this view cannot be substantiated with positive proof at the present time.
16.7. The forms of the personal pronouns in the pronominal prefixes are the same for all the second tenses; hence there is no need to list the prefixes for each of these tenses. The forms given in paragraphs 16.2 and 16.5 should be sufficient for the identification of any form of a second tense.

16.8. The forerunner of the Sahidic form of Present II is lw·f (hr) sdm, which in IE was no longer used as an independent statement—
even though it must often be translated into English as a main clause.\(^{59}\) It refers only to the past or present in ME and does not have a future meaning. Present II and the circumstantial present have different origins, although they are identical in form in the Sahidic dialect. In IE the Present II tense is used with an infinitive; the circumstantial, lw·f sdm(w), uses the qualitative form of a verb.\(^{60}\)

16.9. The initial \(\epsilon\) in forms of the second tenses is derived from the verb \(\delta\varepsilon\) 'to be'.

16.10. Perfect II is occasionally written incorrectly with the initial \(\epsilon\), and sometimes the relative form of the perfect is improperly written without this initial letter; consequently, the two forms may be identical in appearance. They cannot be confused in usage, however; for Perfect II is used in independent clauses and the relative perfect occurs in subordinate clauses. Examples of the spellings of Perfect II are:

(A2, 525) 'they said' ἧ τε ἐνναπων ἦ ἠτανβων "we shall go" or "we have gone"; (C42, 219) ἀλλα ἐνα ταγγια ὀττρι ἐμπεναμογινε

"but my soul has been disturbed by that which is evident
The word which I said', (C42, 132) Pharaoh and all his multitude and the Egyptians whom I smote with great blows'.

16.11. The most important study of the second tenses in recent years was made by Polotsky. He has correctly asserted that the view of Stern, wherein the first tenses and the second tenses are declared to be used for objective and subjective assertion respectively, is too nebulous to be accepted as rational. Polotsky came to the conclusion, on the other hand, that the second tenses were used when interest was centered, not on the verbal action, but on some adverb, direct object, preposition plus noun, noun clause, or adverbial clause (these are grouped together under the term "adverbial complement"). His view is largely based on an analysis of Perfect II; he fails to give due consideration to the fact that the Perfect II is identical in appearance with the relative perfect. It must be recognized, nevertheless, that much of his work is valid; for often the second tenses are used in certain types of independent clauses which he presented. There are cases, however, where the second tenses and the first tenses or some other tense overlap in usage.

16.12. The second tenses are used in main clauses when the adverbial complement is emphasized: (A2, 150) ΝΤΑ ΠΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΟΤΩΝ ΡΟΝΕ ΡΟΟ. 'What evil has the house done? Or, does the house sin?', (A1, 299) ΑΠΟΤΩΝ ΝΤΑΡΕΣΜ ΑΝΕ ΕΤΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΟΥΝ.
'have they opened? Or, have they not heard this: "I do not know you'?,' (C73, 100) ἐὰν πρὶν τε ὀς ἔδειψεν ἐβολὴ ἐκ τῆς ἔρμηνευσιού ἡμᾶς 'therefore God has hindered them in their counsel of ungodliness', (C42, 219) ἐνεκδέικτο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκ τῆς ἐνεπερφασμένης ἐΠΕΙ ΕΠΕΙ 'perhaps men have taken the form of beasts like those concerning whom the Lord told his disciples', (C42, 114) ἂν ἐνίκητο εἰς ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ πάντας ὁ Κυρίος ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἁπάντῃ 'and in this, man finds the example of taking the offering to the church', (A2, 150) ἐπί τῆς γύρως τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐπὶ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ 'he does not estrange men from himself because of the house', (C73, 34) ἔγινεν ἔφαντο ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ ἱλαρωτικῇ ἑπιδρομῇ 'he will endure unto the consummation of the age', (A2, 16) ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας 'or if an angel speaks with you, wherein will he tell you more than God?', (C73, 85) ἔτεκε ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ 'until what comes to pass do you upset your soul?', (C73, 196) ἔτεκεν ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ 'they do not eat in this way simply, but they also seize those who are therein and they are not responsible for them'.

16.13. There are instances in which the second tenses are used with no apparent emphasis upon the adverbial complement or without the complement: (C73, 44) ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐν ἑπιτρέπων ἑπιτρέπων ἑπιτρέπων ἑπιτρέπων ἑπιτρέπων 'but they have also fought or have also despised the things concerning which they were asked', (C42, 219) εἰς ἑρμηνείᾳ ποιός
the shepherd separates the sheep from the goats'.

16.14. The second tenses are infrequently used parallel and equivalent to the first tenses: (C73, 187) ἐκνεφτωμ ἐγὼ ἔχω ἐρχομένῳ ἐγὼ ἀπροσειτό αὐτοῖς ὑπέρ τοῦ ἐν κυρίῳ 

... ἀπὸ ἀνίματον ἡμῶν 'but we ourselves have hearkened to them and we increased our knowledge of them', (C73, 206) ἐκπληρεῖτο ἡ μνήμη ...

... ἀπὸ ἀνίματον 'he chastised us ... and he upbraided us', (A1, 4) ἦπ οὖτε ἦν ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ἐπαύρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἅ 'I do not fear at all, neither am I troubled'.

16.15. Present II is occasionally used in the sense of a tense of Habitude: (A2, 199) ὄρθρι ἔρχομεν ἐπὶ ἑαυτῷ ἑπείρῃ ἐπὶ ἑπείρῳ ἐπὶ ἑπείρῳ ἑπείρῳ ἑπείρῳ 'for an evil eye makes the body of man darkness'.

16.16. Future II is often used with the same meaning as the Future III tense; this is especially true in instructions to monks: (C73, 98) ἐν μνήμῃ ἐγὼ ἐκνεφτωμ ἐγὼ ἐπαύρων ἐν μνήμῃ ἐν μνήμῃ ἐν μνήμῃ ἐν μνήμῃ 'every supervisor shall rest within their houses', (C73, 53) ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ 'now if they arise early in a day ignorantly, they shall pray five times, six times at a time'.

16.17. Future II, like Future III (cf. paragraph 13.8), can be used with the force of an optative: (C42, 218) ἐκναγαρίζῃ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ 'may you guard them from every disturbance with all thy peace'. This quotation occurs in the closing eulogy of a sermon; Future III is used in the preceding sentence in the
same manner.

16.18. Negation of the second tenses is effected either by the particle \( \& \) or by \( \bar{v} \ldots \& \). Examples occur in the preceding portions of this chapter.
17.1. The following synopsis of the Coptic verbal forms is designed to aid the student in identifying any particular form which he may encounter in a Coptic text written in the Sahidic dialect. The forms are arranged alphabetically according to the letter immediately preceding the personal pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERISTIC</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>IDENTIFICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nothing preceding the pronominal preformative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>Present I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by a</td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>Perfect I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>Perfect II or circum. Perfect I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>Perfect II or relative perfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>Habitude I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>Habitude II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by c</td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>Present II or circum. Present I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>Future III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E A</td>
<td>N A</td>
<td>Future II or circum. Future I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by NC</td>
<td>N C</td>
<td>M C</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by NE</td>
<td>N E</td>
<td>M E</td>
<td>Negative Habitue I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by PE</td>
<td>M P</td>
<td>T P</td>
<td>Optative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T N</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by MPT</td>
<td>M P T</td>
<td>M P T</td>
<td>Negative Perfect I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceded by T</td>
<td>M P T</td>
<td>T N T</td>
<td>&quot;not yet&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M P T</td>
<td>T N T</td>
<td>&quot;until&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absence of pronominal preformative</td>
<td>M P T</td>
<td>Negative Imperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17.2. This chart lists in columns A, B and C the pronominal prefix for each tense. Column A indicates the element which precedes
the pronoun, which is given in column B. If an element of the tense indicator follows the pronoun, that element is listed in column C.

17.3. The student must be aware that the chart will not be adaptable to forms for the second person feminine singular; however, these particular forms are rare.

17.4. Tense prefixes used with a substantival subject should be learned separately, since some of them vary from the forms listed on the chart and also since some are identical for more than one tense.

17.5. Special attention should be given to the following forms which can easily be confused: (1) ἐρεῖ πρώμε ωθαταί may be either circumstantial Present I, Present II or Future III; only the context can determine which it is.

(2) ἐγκατσύκλωμα and ἐγκατσύκλωμα ἄν may be confused. The former is the negative construction of ἐγκατσύκλωμα with the ἄν element omitted; the latter is a negated Present II.

(3) ἄρχομαι ἄν is a negated Present I; ἄρχομαι ἄν is a negated Conjunctive form.

(4) ἁρμακταται ἄν may be either a negated Future Imperfect or a negated Future II construction.

17.6. It has been pointed out repeatedly during the course of this paper that the names usually given to the tenses are inadequate and sometimes misleading. The writer suggests that it might be better to refer to the various forms by the prefixes given in columns A, B and C of the synopsis chart. It may be noted that this policy has been followed in titling the chapters of this thesis.
NOTES


2 J. Leipoldt, Scheune von Atripe und die Entstehung des nationalägyptischen Mönchtums.

3 W. H. Worrell, A Short Account of the Copts, p. 22.


5 E. Amelineau, Œuvres de Shenoudi, 2 vols.

6 J. Leipoldt, Simuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia, Vols. 3 and 4.

7 W. E. Crum, op. cit., p. xi.


10 The Tale of the Two Brothers: 15, 8; edited by A. H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories.

11 Pap. Bologna 1094: 9, 2; edited by A. H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies.

12 A. Erman, op. cit.


17 The Misfortunes of Wenasun: 1, 19; edited by A. H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories.

18 Ibid., 2, 36.


22 *The Misfortunes of Wenamun:* 2, 52.


28 Plumley, *op. cit.*, p. 95.


35 H. O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope,* XXVI:2.


37 *The Misfortunes of Wenamun:* 2, 43.


39 Hosea 11:3.


M. Chaine, Le Verbe Copte, p. 10.

The Misfortunes of Wenamum: 1, 19.

Crum, op. cit., p. 681.


Erman, op. cit., pp. 244-5.

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Chaine, op. cit., pp. 43-5.


The Misfortunes of Wenamum: 1, 22.

Ibid., 1, 17.

Lange, op. cit., XXV:12.

The Tale of the Two Brothers: 4, 1.


Erman, op. cit., p. 215.


Ibid., pp. 148, 150, 177.


Černý, op. cit., p. 29.


Polotsky, op. cit., pp. 21-96.

Ludwig Stern, Koptische Grammatik, p. 212.
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