

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA
————— 256 —————

LABOR OMNIA UICIT IMPROBUS

Miscellanea in honorem Ariel Shisha-Halevy

édités par

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'NOW THIS, NOW THE OTHER'
COORDINATION OF TEMPORAL ALTERNATIVE CLAUSES
IN COPTIC AND BEYOND*

MATTHIAS MÜLLER

INTRODUCTION

The construction discussed here can be considered a subtype of disjunction,¹ where two (sometimes more) states of affairs (henceforth *SoA*'s) are presented that do not co-occur:

- (1) Sometimes it snows, at other times the sun shines.
- (2) 'What did X do last year?' 'Nothing specific. He/She did now this, now that.'

The invented examples above can be rephrased as proper disjunction, i.e., "It is either snowing or the sun is shining," as well as "He/she did this or he/she did that." Inasmuch as they may often be rephrased as "either ... or ...", they might be further seen as a specific case of emphatic coordination. However, their functional domains are not absolutely identical. The same applies to coordination on phrasal level such as e.g. in 'He/She did this and that.'

Yet, semantically the construction might be classified also as contrastive, hence adversative, as is done in the IDS grammar.² The *SoA*'s are coordinated to express a temporal contrast. In this case the examples above might be rephrased as 'Sometimes it snows, but at other times the sun shines.' The adversative classification is more apparent when the

* I would like to express my gratitude to the following colleagues for discussions, helpful comments and answering weird questions about their languages: G. Barjamovic/Copenhagen, H. Behlmer/Göttingen, P. Berg/Helsingfors, S. Bickel/Basel, V. Bongiorno/

Please note that I usually give the Greek word as found in the Coptic text. The transcription employed here for Coptic should be mainly self-evident except for the use of *c* for χ , *k'* for σ , and *x* for β ; both ϵ and \omicron have been transcribed as *i* and *u* irrespective of their use as vowel or glide; double vowels in Sahidic are represented as such in the transcription (i.e., $\alpha\alpha$ as *aa*, etc). Capital letters mark Coptic dialects: S being Sahidic, B Bohairic, and L Lycodiospolitan.

¹ As done by the person celebrated in this volume, see SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, p. 45 §1.3.2.

² See their online project Grammis (<http://hypermedia.ids-mannheim.de/index.html>) sub *Konnektivartikel*.

focus is broadened and the coordination of person as well as local alternatives of the type are considered, as e.g. in ‘Some say yes, some say no.’ or ‘Es versammelte sich viel Volk, hier Frauen, dort Männer.’

Some languages, however, seem to provide evidence in favour of a disjunctive categorization. Firstly, in (Lower) Sorbian the pattern used to express ‘*now ... now ...*’ is otherwise the pattern for emphatic disjunction (‘either ... or ...’).³ Secondly, in many languages the use of a disjunctive connector is an option if more than two entities are connected:

- (3) Sometimes the sun shines, at other times it snows, at other times (again)/ or it even rains.
- (4) He/She did now this, now that, now/or nothing at all.’

An adversative connector seems a less possible, though not absolutely wrong option.⁴ Thirdly, if the scope is slightly changed and (ex. 3) rephrased as ‘Now the sun shines, now it doesn’t.’ a disjunctive construction can replace the pattern better than an adversative one.

It seems that this fuzziness has caused certain difficulties in the categorization of the pattern discussed in several grammars:⁵ if described at all, the categorization varies between copulative conjunctions/relations⁶, disjunctive conjunctions/relations⁷, adversative conjunctions⁸ or correlative

³ SCHNEIDER, *Grammatik der wendischen Sprache*, §93.4. One might interpret the data given for Kazakh by INDJOUJIAN, *Dictionnaire Kazakh–Français*, p. 30, according to which *birde ... birde ...* equals *tantôt ... tantôt ...* in affirmative but *ni ... ni ...* in negated clauses in a similar way, but native speakers deny that possibility (I would like to express my gratitude to R. Mukhamedova/Giessen for her helpful patience on the issue.). The data given in M. & Sh. REICHARDT, *Grammatik des modernen Chinesisch*, p. 279, would point towards a similar use, but see the note pertaining to the respective entry in table 1 below.

⁴ In the examples used one might accept: ‘Sometimes the sun shines, at other times it snows, *but yet at other times* it even rains.’ or ‘He/She did now this, now that, *but sometimes* nothing at all.’ Simple replacement of ‘at other times/now’ by ‘but’ yields an unwanted reading.

⁵ No general typological treatment seems to exist as far as I am able to discern. However, even though many grammars make use of the pattern in their descriptive accounts of the language treated they do not treat the pattern in the specific language.

⁶ ALLAN, HOLMES, LUNDSKÆR-NIELSEN, *Danish*, §905; HOLMES & HINCHCLIFFE, *Swedish*, §905; KESZLER & LENGYEL, *Ungarische Grammatik*, p. 233; TRUMPP, *Grammar of the Paštō*, p. 298.

⁷ Бараев, *Современный осетинский язык I*, §922; BODROGLIGETI, *Modern Literary Uzbek II*, pp. 995–996; BOULANGER, *Grammaire pratique du russe*, pp. 216–217; GÄRTNER, *Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache*, p. 342 §1.1.3. B.28; HASPELMATH, *Lezgian*, pp. 333–334; KUBE in, KEMPGEN *et al.*, *Die slav. Sprachen I*, p. 616; RADEVA, *Bulg. Grammatik*, p. 321; WADE, *Comprehensive Russian Grammar*, §457.

⁸ VON TSCHUDI, *Kechua-Sprache I*, p. 121.

clauses or coordination⁹. Only few grammars explicitly address the issue of categorization.¹⁰

For German, however, Bartels & Tarnot¹¹ categorized the pattern ‘bald ... bald ...’ as additive connector, thus being semantically in the same category as ‘und’. They further fine-tuned their analysis by labelling the construction as antithetic, opposing and alternating (*gegensätzlich, gegenüberstellend, abwechselnd*).

Accessible data¹² from various languages may be organised in a table, as below. However, it should be pointed out that some constructions listed in grammars or dictionaries are considered by native speakers to be very formal or even out of date, notably Danish, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish. The position of the clause is marked by ‘...’:¹³

(i)	CONNECTORS USED ARE TEMPORAL ADVERBS/ADVERBIALS	
	Akkadian	<i>zamar ... zamar ...</i>
	Albanian	<i>herë ... herë ...</i>
	Amharic	<i>ahadahademə ... ahadahademə ...</i>
	Arabic	<i>'ahya:nan ... wa 'ahya:nan ...; hi:nan ... hi:nan ...; 'ahya:nan ... uḥra ...; ta:ratan ... (wa) ta:ratan ('ahra:) ...; maratan ... w maratan ('ahra:) ...; ta:ratan ... ṭawran ...; ṭawran ... 'aṭwaran ...</i>
	Azeri	<i>kah ... kah da ...</i>
	Aymara	<i>ña-hua ... ña-hua ...</i>
	Bahasa Indonesian	<i>kadang-kadang ... kadang-kadang ...</i>
	Bashkort	<i>ber ... ber ...; bersæ ... bersæ ...; æle ... æle ...</i>
	BCMS	<i>katkad... katkad...; nekad ... nekad ...</i>
	Catalan	<i>ja ... ja ...; ara ... ara ...; adés ... adés ... (archaic)</i>
	Chinese	<i>yoù shí ... yoù shí ...; ... shí-èr ... shí-èr ...; hū ... hū ...</i>
	Czech	<i>hned ... hned ...; někdy ... jindy ...; brzy ... brzy ...</i>
	Danish	<i>snart ... snart ...</i>
	Dongolawi	<i>kočče:rāṅkin- ... kočče:rāṅkin- ...</i>

⁹ CAMAJ, *Albanian Grammar*, p. 243 §299; HUALDE, *Catalan*, p. 137.

¹⁰ Actually only KESZLER & LENGYEL, *Ungarische Grammatik*, p. 233 as well as *Nueva gramática de la lengua española. Sintaxis II*, §31.3p.

¹¹ BARTELS & TARNOT, *Von á bis zwischen*, pp. 172 and 235.

¹² Due to the infrequent reference to the construction I have refrained from attempting a proper typological study involving a corpus of languages as diverse as possible. As the construction appears foremost in grammars of European languages the diagram looks rather Eurocentric. A further issue is that the data are sometimes drawn from dictionaries, which did not include the morphological class of a lexeme when used outside its function as connector.

¹³ Note, however, that Chinese sometimes uses patterns that must not appear initially and hence are positioned after the first word only.

	Duala	<i>dongo lá pónḁa ... dongo lá pónḁa ...</i>
	English	<i>now ... now ...; sometimes ... sometimes ...; some- times ... at another time; at one time ... at another time; once ... again ...</i> ¹⁴
	Estonian	<i>pea ... pea ...; korra ... korra ... (archaic?); puhu ... puhu ... (archaic?)</i>
	Even	<i>njān ... njān ...</i>
	Éwé	<i>yèǎḁéwóyì ... yèǎḁéwóyì ...; ø ... yèǎḁéwóyì ...</i>
	Finnish	<i>joskus ... joskus ...; joskus ... toisinaan</i>
	French	<i>parfois ... parfois ...; quelquefois ... quelquefois ...; tantôt ... tantôt ...</i>
	German	<i>bald ... bald ...; mal ... mal ..., manchmal ... manch- mal ...; teils ... teils ...; zuweilen ... zuweilen ...</i> ¹⁵
	Greek	<i>allote men ... ote de ...; ote men ... allote de ...; pote men ... pote/eniote de ...; (classical) tote men ... tote de/eniote ... (hellenistic)</i>
	Hebrew	<i>pá^cam ... pá^cam ... (ancient) lif'amim ... lif'amim ... (modern)</i>
	Hungarian	<i>egyszer ... egyszer ...; hol ..., hol ...; majd ... majd ...; részben ... részben ...</i>
	Italian	<i>ora ... ora ...; talora ... talora ...; talvolta ... talvolta; talvolta ... altre volte ...; spesso ... altre volte; talvolta ... spesso invece ...</i>
	Kalmyk-Oirat	<i>zärmdän ... zärmden ...; negt ... negt ...</i>
	Kazakh	<i>birde ... birde ...; birese ... birese ...</i>
	Kikongo	<i>e-zaka ntangwa ... e ntangwa zakaka ...</i>
	Kirmanjki (Zaza)	<i>gê ... gê/gê ki ...; gégane ... gégane/gégane ki ...</i>
	Latin	<i>modo ... modo ...; alias ... alias ...; tum ... tum ...; aliquando ... aliquando ...; aliquando ... interim/ nonnumquam/modo ...</i>
	Lezgian	<i>gah ... gah ...</i>
	Maltese	<i>issa ... issa ...</i>
	Norwegian	<i>av og ... andre ganger ...; nå ... nå ...; snart ... snart ...</i>
	Osetin	<i>kuü ... kuü ...</i>
	Pashto	<i>kalah ... kalah ..., gāhe ... gāhe ...</i>
	Polish	<i>raz ... raz ...</i>
	Portuguese	<i>já ... já ...; ora ... ora ...</i>
	Qechua	<i>ñarax ... ñarax ...</i>
	Songhay	<i>kyè fo ... kyè fo ...</i>
	Spanish	<i>unas veces ... otras ...; ora ... ora ...; ya ... ya ...</i>
	Swedish	<i>ibland ... ibland ...; lite ... lite ...; ömsom ... ömsom ...</i>

¹⁴ Further patterns and variations, partly out of use, can be found in POUTSMA, *A Grammar of Late Modern English*, pp. 587–588.

¹⁵ Patterns with *-weilen* (like *bisweilen*) are nowadays mainly confined to written texts if still in use at all, while *teils ... teils ...* covers only partly the function examined here.

	Romanian	<i>câ/înd ... câ/înd ...; ba ... ba ... (colloquial); acum ... acum ... (archaic); acuși ... acuși ... (archaic)</i>
	Tagalog	<i>paminsan-minsan ... paminsan-minsan ...; minsan-minsan ... minsan-minsan ...</i>
	Turkish	<i>kâh ... kâh ...; bazen ... bazen ...; kimi (zaman) ... kimi (zaman) ...</i>
	Uzbek	<i>basan ... basan ...; bir ... bir ...; dam ... dam ...; gox ... gox ...</i>
	Vietnamese	<i>khi ... khi ...</i>
	Welsh	<i>weithian ... weithian ...; ambell waith/dro ... ambell waith/dro ...; dro yma ... arall; bryd hyn ... bryd arall</i>
(ii)	CONNECTORS USED ARE NON-TEMPORAL ADVERBS/ADVERBIALS	
	Chinese	<i>bian ... bian ...</i>
	Éwé	<i>gà àḍéwó mè ... yèàḍéwóyì ...</i>
	Latvian	<i>te ... te ...</i>
	Lithuanian	<i>čia ... čia ...; tai ... tai ...</i>
	Romanian	<i>a(i)ci ... a(i)ci ... (regional)</i>
(iii)	CONNECTORS USED ARE TEMPORAL INTERROGATIVES	
	Finnish	<i>milloin ... milloin ...</i>
	Estonian	<i>millal ... millal ...</i>
(iv)	CONNECTORS USED ARE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS	
	Russian	<i>to ... to ...</i>
	Polish	<i>to ... to ...</i>
(v)	CONNECTORS USED ARE DISJUNCTIVE PATTERN	
	Bashkort	<i>jæ ... jæ ...</i>
	Chinese	<i>... bù shì ... jiù shì ... (?)¹⁶</i>
	(Lower) Sorbian	<i>pak ... pak ...; pa ... pa ...</i>
(vi)	OTHER PATTERNS	
	Bulgarian	<i>tu ... tu ...</i>
	Chuvash	<i>te ... te ...</i>
	Chinese	<i>jo ... jo ...</i>
	Musqueam	<i>néc' ... néc' ...</i>
	Udihe	JUXTAPOSITION

Table 1. Structural types of connectors

SOURCES. **Akkadian:** VON SODEN, *Grundzüge der akkadischen Grammatik*, §119g; **Albanian:** CAMAJ, *Albanian Grammar*, p. 243 §299; **Amharic:** LESLAU, *English-Amharic Context Dictionary*, p. 846; **Arabic:** EL-AYOUBI, FISCHER, LANGER, *Syntax der Arab. Schriftsprache* 1/2, pp. 338–339 and I. Kiwirra (PC) and H. Tarawneh (PC);

¹⁶ Thus claimed by M. & Sh. REICHARDT, *Grammatik des modernen Chinesisch*, p. 279. The contacted native speakers were, however, less convinced and would consider such a use as odd. Due to the Chinese syntax the first connector can appear in second position only.

Aymara: MIDDENDORF, *Die Aimará-Sprache*, pp. 112, 236; **Azeri:** SHIRALEV & SEVORTJAN, *Grammatika Azerbaidshanskogo Jasyka*, pp. 307 §686 6), 310 §691e), 315 §698š, 316, 318; **Bashkort:** АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК СССР, ed., *Русско-башкирский словарь*, p. 856a; **B(osnian) C(roatian) M(acedonian) S(erbian):** G. Barjamovic (PC) and M. Schou Madsen (PC); **Bulgarian:** RADEVA, *Bulg. Grammatik*, p. 321; **Catalan:** HUALDE, *Catalan*, p. 137; **Chinese:** ZHENG, *Deutsche Konjunktionen*, p. 41, MA, *Petite grammaire*, p. 118 (ex. 106), M. & Sh. REICHARDT, *Grammatik des modernen Chinesisch*, p. 279 and G. Vittmann (PC) and P. Su (PC); **Chuvash:** ДМИТРИЕВ, *Русско-чувашский словарь*, p. 756; **Czech:** *Mluvnice češtiny* III, p. 457 and R. Landgrafová (PC); SMETANKA, *Tschech. Grammatik*, p. 121; **Danish:** ALLAN, HOLMES, LUNDSKÆR-NIELSEN, *Danish*, §905; **Dongolawi:** ARMBRUSTER, *Dongolese Nubian*, p. 258; **English:** POUTSMA, *A Grammar of Late Modern English*, pp. 587–588; **Estonian:** AHRENS, *Grammatik*, p. 109; **Evenki:** ЦИНЦИУС & РИШЕС, *Русско-Эвенский словарь*, p. 612 to 2; **Éwé:** RONGIER, *Dictionnaire français-éwé*, p. 391 (s.v. *scie*), 420 (s.v. *tantôt*), 450 (s.v. *variable*, (*être -*)); **French:** GREVISSE, *Le bon usage*, §2005 and §2155d and S. Bickel (PC); **Greek:** BLASS, DEBRUNNER, RENKOPF, *Grammatik des NT Griechisch*, §436 ad 1 and KÜHNER & GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik* II, §516.3-4 and §527 note 2; **Hungarian:** KESZLER & LENGYEL, *Ungarische Grammatik*, p. 233; **Kazakh:** R. Mukhamedova (PC); **Kirmanjki (Zaza):** SELCAN, *Grammatik der Zaza-Sprache*, pp. 667–668; **Kalmyk-Oirat:** Илишкина, *Русско-калмыцкий Словарь*, p. 706; **Kikongo:** BENTLEY, *Appendix*, p. 1025; **Lithuanian:** AMBRAZAS, *Lithuanian Grammar*, p. 759 §7.86; **Musqueam:** SUTTLES, *Musqueam Reference Grammar*, p. 425; **Osetin:** Ахвледиани, *Грамматика осетинского языка* I, p. 301, Багаев, *Современный осетинский язык* I, §922; **Pashto:** TRUMPP, *Grammar of the Paštō*, p. 298; **Portuguese:** GÄRTNER, *Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache*, p. 342 §1.1.3. B.28; **Qechua:** VON TSCHUDI, *Kechua-Sprache* I, pp. 121, 234; **Romanian:** BEYRER, BOCHMANN, BRONSERT, *Grammatik der rumänischen Sprache*, §9.4.1 and §5.1.2.2., *Grammatica Limbi Romîne* II, §261 and SANDFELD & OLSEN, *Syntaxe roumaine* II, §27; **Russian:** BOULANGER, *Grammaire pratique du russe*, pp. 216–217, WADE, *Comprehensive Russian Grammar*, §457 and V. Loprieno (PC); **Songhay:** PROST, *La langue Soñay*, p. 462b (*kyè* 4); **Sorbian:** SCHNEIDER, *Grammatik der wendischen Sprache*, §93.4; **Spanish:** *Nueva gramática de la lengua española. Sintaxis* II, §31.3p and S. Torallas Tovar (PC); **Swedish:** HOLMES & HINCHCLIFFE, *Swedish*, §905 and P. Berg (PC); **Turkish:** ERSEN-RASCH, *Türkische Grammatik*, p. 112 (*kâh ... kâh*); **Udihe:** NIKOLAËVA & TOLSKAYA, *A Grammar of Udihe*, p. 159 (ex. 234c) and I. Nikolaeva (PC); **Uzbek:** BODROGLIGETI, *Modern Literary Uzbek* II, pp. 995–996. Language data without references are taken from available dictionaries without listing them.

The largest group within the assembled data uses temporal adverbs or adverbials as connectors. In a couple of languages such as Albanian or Vietnamese, however, the adverbial used is formally identical with a noun “time”, while other languages such as Duala lacking a morphological category adverb make use of a complex noun phrase.¹⁷ As the respective grammars or dictionaries describe these as adverbials I have refrained from splitting them into a different category. Latvian, Lithuanian and a specific pattern of Romanian have been separated as a distinct pattern as they use non-temporal adverbs or adverbials. They all use a local adverb ‘here’, Lithuanian additionally a construction em-

¹⁷ See RONGIER, *Dictionnaire français-éwé*, p. 501.

ploying 'so'. The Chinese pattern *bian ... bian ...* contains the noun 'side'. The Éwé pattern sorted into that category actually makes use of a locative adverbial in the first, and a temporal adverbial in the second clause.¹⁸ In category five only those languages have been included in which the connector is used to express emphatic disjunction as well, hence descriptions of our pattern as disjunctive but appearing only in this pattern have been included in other categories. Category six covers the remaining patterns such as from Musqueam (Halkomelem/Central Salish) making use of 'be different',¹⁹ or Udihe (Southern Tungusic/Altaic) for which actually no specific description is given, but the equivalent seems to be juxtaposition.²⁰ The Chinese pattern *jo ... jo ...* employs a connector that is otherwise used as a conditional marker or as a preposition expressing similes.²¹ The Bulgarian pattern *tu ... tu...* has been sorted here as its functional domain is limited to this function.²² Unlike the etymologically related Russian *to ... to ...* it cannot be used as a demonstrative.

As can be seen from table 1, the connectors can be morphologically simple or complex as well as mono- or polysyllabic, even within the same language. Many languages employ a pattern that repeats the connector in front of each clause, i.e., repetitive connectors. However, as I am lacking data on more than bipartite coordination it cannot be stated with certainty for all languages whether the element must always be repeated. Some languages, notably English but also Spanish, employ patterns with variation in the second element (so-called correlative connectors).²³ As noted above, the use of repetitive connectors is receding in a couple of languages and making way for correlative connectors.

¹⁸ See ITTMANN, *Grammatik des Duala*, §107, on the lack of the category. The expression used *donga lá pónða* comprises the words for "occasion" (*donga*) the locative particle *lá* and the noun for "time" (*pónða*), see DINCKELACKER, *Wörterbuch*.

¹⁹ See SUTTLES, *Musqueam Reference Grammar*, p. 425 §18.4.4.

²⁰ See NIKOLAEVA & TOLSKAYA, *A Grammar of Udihe*, p. 612 §17.1.3.3. I am grateful to I. Nikolaeva for discussing the issue with me. She pointed out that despite the lack of specific data she assumes a similar pattern for Kolyma Yukaghir.

²¹ See VON DER GABELENTZ, *Chinesische Grammatik*, p. 252 §611.

²² Likewise the Chuvash connector *te* that seems limited to this specific function, see СКВОРЦОВ, *Чувашского-русский словарь*, p. 463a s.v. те II.

²³ The terminology is borrowed from PASCH *et al.*, *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren*, p. 523.

LANGUAGES WITH ONLY REPETITIVE PATTERNS ATTESTED

<i>Akkadian</i> [†] , <i>Amharic</i> , <i>Hebrew</i> , <i>Maltese</i>	(Afro-Asiatic; Semitic)
<i>Chuvash</i> , <i>Kazakh</i> , <i>Turkish</i> , <i>Uzbek</i>	(Altaic; Turkic)
<i>Even</i> , <i>Udihe</i>	(Altaic; Tungusic)
<i>Kalmyk-Oirat</i>	(Altaic; Eastern Mongolic)
<i>Bahasa Indonesian</i> , <i>Tagalog</i>	(Austronesian; Malayo-Polynesian)
<i>Vietnamese</i>	(Austro-Asiatic; Mon-Khmer)
<i>Aymara</i>	(Aymaran)
<i>Albanian</i>	(Indo-European, Albanian)
<i>Latvian</i> , <i>Lithuanian</i>	(Indo-European; Baltic)
<i>Danish</i> , <i>German</i> , <i>Swedish</i>	(Indo-European; Germanic)
<i>Osetin</i> , <i>Pashto</i>	(Indo-European; Indo-Iranian)
<i>Latin</i> [†] , <i>Catalan</i> , <i>French</i> , <i>Portuguese</i> , <i>Romanian</i>	(Indo-European; Romance)
<i>BCMS</i> , <i>Bulgarian</i> , <i>Polish</i> , <i>Russian</i> , <i>Sorbian</i>	(Indo-European; Slavic)
<i>Dongolawi</i>	(Nilo-Saharan; Nubian)
<i>Songhay</i>	(Nilo-Saharan; Songhay)
<i>Duala</i>	(Niger-Congo; Bantoid)
<i>Lezgian</i>	(North-East Caucasian; Lezgi)
<i>Quechua</i>	(Quechua)
<i>Musqueam</i>	(Salish; Halkomelem)
<i>Estonian</i> , <i>Hungarian</i>	(Uralic; Finno-Ugric)

LANGUAGES WITH REPETITIVE AND CORRELATIVE PATTERNS ATTESTED

<i>Arabic</i>	(Afro-Asiatic; Semitic)
<i>Welsh</i>	(Indo-European; Celtic)
<i>Kirmanjki</i>	(Indo-European; Indo-Arian)
<i>English</i> , <i>Norwegian</i>	(Indo-European; Germanic)
<i>Italian</i> , <i>Spanish</i>	(Indo-European, Romance)
<i>Czech</i>	(Indo-European; Slavic)
<i>Finnish</i>	(Uralic; Finno-Ugric)
<i>Chinese</i>	(Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)
<i>Éwé</i>	(Niger-Congo; Gbe)

LANGUAGES WITH ONLY CORRELATIVE PATTERNS ATTESTED

<i>Azeri</i>	(Altaic; Turkic)
<i>Greek</i>	(Indo-European; Hellenic)
<i>Kikongo</i>	(Niger-Congo; Bantu)

Table 2. Patterns of connectors

Data taken from Table 1 sorted acc. to patterns attested;
sorted acc. to language families

Almost all languages use connectors that appear in the initial position of the coordinated structures, except for one Chinese pattern in which the first connector seems to be a second position clitic.²⁴

The connectors may be used to coordinate on a clausal as well as on a phrasal level as can be seen from ex. (1) and (2) above. In the former case main clauses are coordinated. The construction can be used within subordinate clauses as well but usually only with additional subordinate connectors, which, however, can sometimes be omitted.

- (5) It seems that sometimes it snows, at other times the sun shines.
 (6) Somebody said, (that) he/she did now this, now that.

However, the connector does not function as a marker of sentential hierarchy but rather coordinates the alternative SoA's. The use within subordinate clauses should thus be analyzed similarly as on the phrasal level.

Screening grammars for the pattern it is noteworthy that it is mainly described in grammars of European languages. However, from this one should perhaps not conclude that what one has here is an areal feature confined to European languages and neighbouring ones. Firstly, not all grammars of European languages consulted treat the pattern, although the relevant dictionaries list entries.²⁵ Secondly, the pattern is rare even in European languages and appears only in specific contexts, which might not be evoked in the situations out of which the data for field studies of non-European languages are taken.²⁶

²⁴ See the data given in M. & Sh. REICHARDT, *Grammatik des modernen Chinesisch*, p. 279. Although it must be admitted here that I do not have the relevant information for a couple of languages the data for which were taken from dictionaries.

²⁵ Finnish dictionaries give *milloin ... milloin ...* as equivalents to *now ... now .../bald ... bald ...*, whereas no such pattern appears in SULKALA & KARJALAINEN, *Finnish*. The same situation applies for Welsh, when WILLIAMS, *A Welsh Grammar*, is consulted for the data supplied by GRIFFITH & JONES, *English-Welsh Dictionary*, sub *now ... now ...*. (I would like to express my gratitude to S. Uljas and T. G. Reid for their help.)

²⁶ Z. Frajzyngier kindly checked his field-notes and data on Lele for me, but with a negative result. A request to H. Eaton about her data regarding Sandawe also had a negative result as has been the one to J. Camacho on Shipibo.

COPTIC

The construction discussed makes its appearance in Coptic grammars mainly just in passing.²⁷ More informative is the subdivision of Crum's article on *sop*,²⁸ seeing that it lists two morphological patterns: one with no overt determiner (i.e., *sop ... sop ...*), the other with the plural indefinite article (i.e., *hen-sop ... hen-sop ...*).²⁹ As roughly half of Crum's examples are taken from the writings of Shenute³⁰, I will start the description with the material taken from that corpus.

Sahidic occurrences from the Shenutean corpus

A search for the construction yields a certain amount of examples in which the initial *sop* is followed by a circumstantial clause. The verbal form could be taken to be a focussing one ('second tense') as well but semantically that does not seem wanted. Additionally, the Bohairic evidence cited below shows indisputably that the form should be analyzed as the circumstantial:³¹

(7) Shenute says that no earthly things belong to him:

<i>u-stiôhe</i>	<i>n-uôt</i>	<i>n-kah</i>	<i>t-ete-unta-i-s</i>	<i>e-i-r-hôb</i>
IDF.S-aroura	of-single	of-earth	DEF.F-REL-have-1S-3SF	REL-1S-do-work

²⁷ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Enchoria* 6, p. 48 analyzed the *e*-forms as second tenses; ID., *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, p. 45 §1.3.2. ("The disjunctive *sop – sop*, *u/hen-sop – u/hen-sop* 'now ... now ...', 'at times ... at times ...' is usually a premodifier."); LAYTON, *A Coptic Grammar*, §422 (⁰*sop ere-* ... ⁰*sop ere-*) and §493.44 (⁰*sop ...* ⁰*sop ...* + circumstantial conversion "At one time ... at another time ...") addresses the construction in his chapter on the circumstantial conversion.

²⁸ CRUM, *Dictionary*, p. 349b. The entry in WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 192, just gives *sop ... sop* (S) "das eine Mal ... das andere Mal".

²⁹ In its single appearance *sop* or *hen-sop* functions as an adverbial "sometimes" as can be seen from the entry immediately following (CRUM, *Dictionary*, p. 349b) to which one might add from Shenute's writings: ^SShenute, *I Am Amazed* (SHISHA-HALEVY, *Enchoria* 5, pp. 78,18–34 (text) and 103 (translation) = ORLANDI, *Shenute contra origenistas*, pp. 56–57). The same applies to AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* II, p. 158,9–10, which, however, is not by Shenute but from Horsiese's *Seventh Instruction* (LEFORT, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, p. 78,32–34). A further example is given below in example 34.

³⁰ Interestingly, the pattern seems to be absent in the writings of his successor Besa.

³¹ Further examples can be found in his sermons ^S*Continuing To Glorify The Lord* (LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite* III, pp. 69,18–70,3) where the continuation of the text supplies further examples of our construction, ^S*Because of You Too, O Prince of Evil* (CHASSINAT, *Quatrième Livre*, p. 36,39–55, see also the version in LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite* III, pp. 77,27–78,4) as well as from *The Idolatrous Pagans or And We Will Also Reveal Something Else* (LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite* IV, p. 8,9–12 = AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* I, p. 169,11–12 [note that the text given by Amélineau adds *-men* also after the second *sop*] and LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite* IV, p. 9,23–27 = AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* I, p. 171,11–13).

nhêt-s

inside-3SF

sop eša-i-cô ero-s m-pi-kʾror
time CIRC-AOR-1S-call OBJ-3SF OBJ-DEM.M-semen

sop e-ša-i-cô ero-s m-pi-ke-ua
time CIRC-AOR-1S-call OBJ-3SF OBJ-DEM.M-other-one

e-mn-ke-ui šoop na-i imêti tai mauaat-s
CIRC-NEG-other-one happen.STA to-1S except DEM.F self-3SF

There is just one single *aroura* of soil that belongs to me, with which I am concerned, now calling it this seed, now this other one, although I have no other than that. (*I am speaking about my body, and I have no other concern beside him that I shall pursue.*)

^SShenute, *I Have Heard About Your Wisdom*³²

- (8) Condemning the Jews he says:

a-u-sôuh gar name ecm-p-cois hn-te-u-mnt-uahi-hêt
PF-3P-gather for truly upon-DEF.M-lord in-POSS.F-3P-ABST-bitter-heart

sop-men e-u-ci-kʾol ero-f sop-de on e-u-skôptei
time-indeed CIRC-3P-take-lie to-3SM time-yet again CIRC-3P-mock

For truly they ganged up against the Lord in their cruelty, now telling lies against Him, now mocking.

^SShenute, *The Idolatrous Pagans*³³

- (9) Shenute compares people with wine saying of some:

n-rôme ne sop-men e-ša-u-ci-me sop-de on
DEF.P-man SE.M time-indeed CIRC-AOR-3P-take-truth time-yet again

e-ša-u-ci-kʾol sop ša-u-sôtm sop-de ša-u-r-at-sôtm
CIRC-AOR-3P-take-lie time AOR-3P-hear time-yet AOR-3P-do-NEG-hear

hen-hou ša-u-tbbo-u hen-hou-de on e-ša-u-cahm-u
IDF.P-day AOR-3P-purify-3P IDF.P-day-yet again CIRC-3P-defile-3P

hen-sêu e-ša-u-r-htê-u ecn-ne-u-nobe hen-sêu-de
IDF.P-time CIRC-AOR-3P-do-heart-3P about-POSS.P-3P-sin IDF.P-time-yet

on e-ša-u-kto-u e-hrai ero-u hen-uoiš e-ša-u-rime
again CIRC-AOR-3P-turn-3P to-up OBJ-3P IDF.P-time CIRC-AOR-3P-cry

ce a-u-aa-u hen-ke-uoiš e-ša-u-raše auô
that PF-3P-do-3P IDF.P-other-time CIRC-AOR-3P-happy and

nse-sôbe e-u-ire mmo-u hen-ebot ê hen-rompe
CNJ.3P-laugh CIRC-3P-do OBJ-3P IDF.P-month or IDF.P-year

e-ša-u-r-n-agathon hen-rompe e-ša-u-r-mnt-asebês nim
CIRC-AOR-3P-do-DEF.P-good IDF.P-year CIRC-AOR-3P-do-ABST-bad every

hôsde e-tm-tre-u-šn-htê-u ecô-u {m}-hn-m-pêue
so_that to-NEG-INFL-3P-pity-heart-3P upon-3P {DEF.P}-in-DEF.P-heaven

³² CHASSINAT, *Quatrième Livre*, pp. 99,43–100,2. With CHERIX, *Étude de lexicographie copte*, I assume that *kʾror* should be emended to *kʾrokʾ* as the former is otherwise unattested.

³³ LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite IV*, p. 9, 23–25.

They are people who at one time speak the truth, at another time they lie; at one time they obey, at another time they are disobedient; one day they purify, another day they defile themselves; at times they regret their sins, at other times they return to them; on occasion they lament that they committed them, on other occasions they are merry and laugh while committing them; some month or year they do good, some other year they commit every evil so that there will be no pity for them in heaven.

³⁴Shenute, *You, O Lord*³⁴

However, in a certain number of examples the clause in question is either introduced by *ce* “that” with the clause itself showing no marking (ex. 11)³⁵ or being marked as dependent, i.e. circumstantial (ex. 12), or shows no specific marking at all (ex. 12–15)³⁶:

- (10) Arguing against Manichaean writings, which neglect the Old Testament, he says: *Listen to that which is written says,*

<i>sop</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>tn-na-mere-nu-ekibe</i>		<i>n-huo</i>	<i>e-p-êrp</i>
time	that	1P-FUT-love-POSS.P.2SF-breast		as-more	to-DEF.M-wine
<i>ete-t-palaia</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>mn-t-kainê</i>	<i>mp-f-coo-s</i>		<i>ce</i>
REL-DEF.F-old	SE.F	and-DEF.F-new	NEG.PF-3SM-say-3SF		that
<i>tu-ekibe</i>					
POSS.P.2SF-breast					
<i>sop</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>tu-ekibe</i>	<i>snte</i>	<i>e-u-o</i>	<i>n-t-he</i>
time	that	POSS.P.2SF-breast	two.F	CIRC-3P-be.STA	in-DEF.F-manner
<i>m-mas</i>	<i>snau</i>	<i>n-hatreeu</i>	<i>n-k'ahse</i>		
of-young	two.M	of-twins.P	of-gazelle		
<i>ete-t-kainê</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>mn-t-palaia</i>			
REL-DEF.F-new	SE.F	and-DEF.F-old			
<i>sop</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>u-maire</i>	<i>nte-staktê</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>pa-son</i>
time	that	IDF.S-bundle	of-oil_of_myrrh	COP.M	POSS.P.1S-brother
<i>na-i</i>	<i>e-f-na-šôpe</i>	<i>n-t-mête</i>		<i>n-na-ekibe</i>	
to-1S	REL-3SM-FUT-happen	in-DEF.F-middle		of-POSS.P.1S-breast	

³⁴ AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* I, p. 249,2–8. Prof. Emmel has been so kind to check Amélineau’s text against his collations and affirms the text given by the latter. He points out that the codex GF from which the example is taken contains mistakes and idiosyncratic spellings of various sorts.

³⁵ A great number of examples can be found in the single leaf Vienna K 9278 (C. WESSELY, *Griechische und koptische Texte* V, pp. 97–98) probably from a lectionary (see EMMEL, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus*, pp. 371–373), in which Shenute quotes the scripture and other texts introduced by *sop ce* 22 times (sometimes adding another quote by *auô ce*).

³⁶ Further examples can be found in his sermons ^S*As I Sat On A Mountain* (AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* I, pp. 341,11–342,1 = LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Simuthii archimandrite* III, p. 48,6–16), ^S*Some Kind Of People Sift Dirt* (AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* II, p. 75,4–12), ^S*I Have Heard About Your Wisdom* (CHASSINAT, *Quatrième Livre*, p. 90,22–36 = DU BOURGET, *BIFAO* 55, pp. 89 (text) and 93 (translation); cf. also the variant in AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* I, p. 410,12–14), ^S*This Great House* (AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* II, p. 15,3–10), all with affirmative or negative aorist.

<i>ete-t-palaia</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>mn-t-kainê</i>		
REL-DEF.F-old	SE.F	and-DEF.F-new		
<i>sop</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>p-et-na-taa-k</i>	<i>na-i</i> <i>pa-son</i>
time	that	who	DEF.M-REL-FUT-give-2SM	to-1S POSS.M.1S-brother
<i>e-tre-k-sôm</i>		<i>n-n-ekibe</i>	<i>n-ta-mau</i>	
to-INFL-2SM-suck		OBJ-DEF.P-breast	of-POSS.F.1S- mother	
<i>ete-t-palaia</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>mn-t-kainê</i>	
REL-DEF.F-old	again	SE.F	and-DEF.F-new	
<i>mpe-f-coo-s</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ui</i>		
NEG.PF-3SM-say-3SF	that	one.F		
<i>sop</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>na-ekibe</i>	<i>hen-purgos</i>	<i>ne</i>
time	that	POSS.P.1S-breast	IDF.P-tower	COP.P
<i>ete-t-palaia</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>mn-t-kainê</i>		
REL-DEF.F-old	SE.F	and-DEF.F-new		
<i>mpe-f-coo-s</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ui</i>		
NEG.PF-3SM-say-3SF	that	one.F		
<i>sop</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>toun-g</i>	<i>p-tu-mhit</i>	<i>auô</i> <i>a-mu</i>
time	that	rise-2SM	DEF.M-wind-north	and IMP-come
<i>p-tu-rês</i>		<i>ng-nife</i>	<i>ehun</i>	<i>e-pa-kêpos</i>
DEF.M-wind-south		CNJ.2SM-blow	into	to-POSS.M.1S-orchard
<i>n-te-na-hêne</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>m-peu-stoi</i>		
CNJ-POSS.P.1S-spice	give	OBJ-POSS.M-3P-fragrance		
<i>ete-pe-pn(eum)a</i>	<i>etuaab</i>	<i>et-hn-t-palaia</i>	<i>mn-t-kainê</i>	
REL-DEF.M-ghost	holy	REL-in-DEF.F-old	and-DEF.F-new	
<i>mpe-f-coo-s</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>p-tu-mhit</i>	<i>ê</i> <i>ce</i>	
NEG.PF-3SM-say-3SF	that	DEF.M-wind-north	or that	
<i>p-tu-rês</i>	<i>mauaa-f</i>			
DEF.M-wind-south	self-3SM			

Now: ‘We will love your breasts more than wine’ (Cant 1:4), that is to say, the Old and New Testament. He did not say ‘your breast’! Now saying: ‘Your two breasts are like young gazelle twins’ (Cant 7:3), that is to say, the New and the Old Testament. Now saying: ‘My brother is a pouch of myrrh that will be on my breast’ (Cant 1:13), that is to say, the Old and the New Testament. Now saying: ‘Who will give you to me, my brother, to have you suck the breasts of my mother?’ (Cant 8:1), that is again to say, the Old and the New Testament; he didn’t say: ‘One’! Now saying: ‘My breasts are like towers’ (Cant 8:10), that is to say, the Old and the New Testament; he didn’t say: ‘One’! Now saying: ‘Awake, north wind and come, south wind, blow within my orchard so that my spices spend their fragrance’ (Cant 4:16) that is to say the Holy Ghost, which is in the Old and the New Testament. He did not say: ‘North wind’ or ‘South wind’ alone!

³⁷Shenute, *And We Will Also Say This Other Thing That We Found*³⁷

³⁷ AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi I*, pp. 195,14–196,8 (= ZOEGA, *Catalogus*, p. 420,13–22 with omissions). The text seems to have continued with further quotes, which are only badly preserved and have thus been omitted.

- (11) Shenute compares the behaviour of children to that of heretics:

un-ke-hôb-de *on* *m-pliknion* *e-ša-u-aa-f*
 PTC-other-thing-yet again of... CIRC-AOR-3P-do-3SM
n-šêre *šêm*
 DEF.P-child small
sop-men *ce* *(e)n-r-šeleet* *sop* *ce* *(e)n-k'ek'ôm*
 time-indeed that CIRC-1P-do-marriage time that CIRC-1P-touch.STA
sop-de *on* *e-n-ire* *n-nai* *mn-ni-koue* *e-u-sôbe*
 time-yet again CIRC-1P-do OBJ-DEM.P and-DEM.P-other CIRC-3.P-laugh
e-p-hae-de *ša-u-tako-u* *têr-u* *auô* *nse-hlplôp-u*
 to-DEF.M-end-yet AOR-3P-destroy-3P all-3P and CNJ.3P-weary
ecn-ne-u-erêu *nse-bôk*
 upon-POSS.P-3P-fellow CNJ.3P-go

There is a further ...³⁸ thing that little children usually do. Now they say: “We are married”; now “We are caught”; now “We are doing this and that” laughing. Finally they destroy them and get weary of their fellows and leave.

^SShenute, *You, O Lord*³⁹

- (12) Relating the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra Shenute explains it as a sign sent by the Lord to teach mankind. He goes on to ask whether the community is not able to repent in light of this:

n-ti-he-de *hitn-te-f-mnt-agathos* *sop-men* *f-ti-sbô*
 in-DEM.F-way-yet by-POSS.F-3SM-good time-indeed 3SM-give-teach
n-u-khôra *hn-hen-hise* *sop-de* *f-paideue* *n-u-polis*
 to-IDF.S-town in-IDF.P-pain time-yet 3SM-instruct OBJ-IDF.S-city
ce *ara* *n-koue* *na-metanoi*
 that so DEF.P-other.P FUT-repent

Likewise by his goodness at one time he teaches a town through suffering, at another time he instructs a city so that others will repent.

^SShenute, *The Idolatrous Pagans or And We Will Also Reveal Something Else*⁴⁰

- (13) He states that envoys should always be sent in pairs, as they were by Jesus and in the manner of Moses and Aaron, who always acted together in the Old Testament:

sop-men *môsês pe* *ša-f-šace* *sop* *on* *aarôn pe*
 time-indeed Moses SE.M AOR-3SM-say time again Aaron SE.M

³⁸ An unknown word of possibly Greek origin used adjectively here. Could it be connected to the base *plêk-* “strike”, see LIDDELL, SCOTT, JONES, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1418b.

³⁹ AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi I*, p. 260,1–4. The second clause poses a problem if Amélineau’s edition is correct. I assume that *n-k'ek'ôm* stands for the qualitative *(e)n-k'<m>k'ôm*. Another possibility might be *n-k'<m>k'ôm-<n>*. It would refer to children playing catch-me-if-you-can.

⁴⁰ AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi I*, p. 160,6–8 = LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite IV*, pp. 1,25–2,2.

<i>ša-f-šace</i>	<i>e-u-hahtn</i>	<i>ne-u-erêu</i>			
AOR-3SM-say	CIRC-3P-with	POSS.P-3P-fellow			
<i>sop</i>	<i>môusês</i>	<i>pe-ša-f-fi</i>	<i>e-hrai</i>	<i>m-pe-k'êrôb</i>	
time	Moses	COP.-REL-AOR-3SM-take	to-up	OBJ-DEF.M-rod	
<i>sop</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>aarôn</i>	<i>pe-ša-f-fi</i>	<i>e-hrai</i>	<i>m-pe-k'êrôf</i>
time	again	Aaron	COP.-REL-AOR-3SM-take	to-up	OBJ-DEF.M-rod
<i>alla</i>	<i>acn-môusês</i>	<i>an</i>			
but	without-Moses	NEG			

Being together it is now Moses, now Aaron who speaks. Now it is Moses who is taking up the staff, now Aaron, but never without Moses.

^SShenute, *God Who Alone Is True*⁴¹

- (14) After a quote, Shenute asks to whom and what it pertains and concludes:

<i>eišan-hast</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>eršan-hast-e</i>	<i>nto</i>	<i>ere-šine</i>	
CND.1S-trouble.1S	or	CND.2SF-trouble-2SF	2SF	CIRC.2SF-seek	
<i>te-na-ime</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ebol-ce</i>	<i>sop-men</i>	<i>nanu šine</i>	<i>tar-n-k'ine</i>
2SF-FUT-know	NEG	because	time-indeed	good seek	FIN-1P-find
<i>n-t-he</i>	<i>et-sêh</i>	<i>hen-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>nanu p-tm-šine</i>	
in-DEF.F-way	REL-write.STA	IDF.P-time-yet	again	good	DEF.M-NEG-seek
<i>n-huo</i>	<i>e-šine</i>	<i>ebol-ce</i>	<i>eršan-p-rôme</i>	<i>hast-f</i>	<i>e-f-šine</i>
in-more	to-seek	because	CND-DEF.M-man	trouble-3SM	CIRC-3SM-seek
<i>n-f-na-k'ine</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>kata-t-he</i>	<i>enta-p-ekklêsiastês</i>	<i>coo-s</i>	
NEG-3SM-find	NEG	like-DEF.M-way	REL.PF-DEF.M-Ecclesiastes	say-3SF	

If I trouble myself or you trouble yourself seeking, you will not understand, because sometimes—as it is written—it is good to search so that we find, at another time it is better not to seek for the sake of seeking because—as the Ecclesiastes says—if man troubles himself seeking, he will not find.

^SShenute, *Is It Not Written*⁴²

- (15) A sermon starts with the words: And also this other one is fitting and a profit.

<i>mare-p-ua</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>p-ua</i>	<i>mošt-f</i>	<i>auô</i>	<i>f-na-ime</i>
JUSS-DEF.M-one	for	DEF.M-one	consider-3SM	and	3SM-FUT-know
<i>e-f-ti</i>	<i>n-hêt-f</i>	<i>hn-u-ôrc</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>hah</i>	<i>n-sop</i>
CIRC-3SM-give	OBJ-heart-3SM	in-IDF.S-assurance	that	many	of-time
<i>e-mn-hôb</i>	<i>hn-ne-n-k'ic</i>	<i>p-ua</i>	<i>p-ua</i>		
CIRC-NEG-work	in-POSS.P-1P-hand	DEF.M-one	DEF.M-one		
<i>kata-te-f-mine</i>	<i>sop-men</i>	<i>ša-n-sêh^{stc}</i>	<i>hen-shai</i>		
like-POSS.F-3SM-manner	time-indeed	AOR-1P-write-IDF.P-writing			
<i>e-p-kah</i>	<i>hn-ne-n-têêbe</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>ntof</i>	<i>hn-ke-hnau</i>	
to-DEF. M-earth	with-POSS.P-1P-finger	or	3SM	with-other-thing	

⁴¹ AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi I*, p. 12,9–12.

⁴² AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi I*, pp. 37,12–38,3.

<i>sop</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>n-hôrk</i> ^î	<i>n-hen-blce</i>	<i>ecn-ne-u-erêu</i>	<i>ê</i>
time	CIRC-1P-heap_up	OBJ-IDF.P-sherd	upon-POSS.P.3P-fellow	or
<i>hen-ke-hnau</i>	<i>n-ti-he</i>	<i>palin</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ša-n-tako-u</i>
IDF.P-other-thing	in-DEM.F-way	again	again	AOR-1P-destroy-3P
<i>n-u-ašê</i>	<i>n-sop</i>	<i>n-t-he</i>	<i>n-n-šêre</i>	<i>šêm</i>
OBJ-IDF.S-multitude	of-time	in-DEF.F-way	of-DEF.P-child	small
<i>et-sôbe</i>	<i>sop</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>n-kim</i>	<i>e-tn-ape</i>	<i>mn-tn-mort</i>
REL-laugh	time	CIRC-1P-move	OBJ-POSS.F-1P-head	and-POSS.F-1P-beard
<i>sop</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>n-k'mk'om</i>	<i>hn-ne-n-hoite</i>	<i>mn-ne-n-ib</i>	
time	CIRC-1P-catch	in-POSS.P-1P-garment	and-POSS.P-1P-nail	
<i>mn-ne-n-bal</i>	<i>men-hôb</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>n-ti-he</i>	
and-POSS.P-1P-eye	and-thing	all	in-DEM.F-way	
<i>etbe-u-khria</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>alla</i>	<i>etbe-p-meeue</i>	<i>et-šuit</i>
because-IDF.S-need	NEG	but	because-DEF.M-thought	REL-empty

May each one consider and understand, being devoted with certainty, for often while there is no work in our hands, each one according to his manner we sometimes write something into the sand with our fingers or some other device, at other times we heap up potsherds on another or similar things, and destroy them, on the other hand again, often like little children at play, we now shake our head and beard, now touch our garments, nails, eyes, and every thing of that sort, not because of need, but because of the vain thought.

^SShenute, *And Also This Other One Is Fitting*⁴³

Examples with the plural indefinite article appear less often. However, they show similar constructions as with the unmarked *sop* such as clauses introduced by *ce* (ex. 16–18) or unmarked clauses (ex. 19). The absence of clauses marked as circumstantial is hardly a structural phenomenon but simply a matter of accidents of survival of the evidence:

- (16) Dealing with the beginning of Jer 6:11 he rhetorically contradicts the words therein and concludes:

<i>ukun</i>	<i>ere-pe-n-iôt</i>	<i>ierêmas</i>	<i>cô</i>	<i>n-hen-šace</i>	<i>n-k'ol</i>
thus	CIRC-POSS.M-1P-father	Jeremiah	say	OBJ-IDF.P-word	of-lie
<i>hen-sop-men</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>a-i-tašo</i>	<i>m-pa-k'ônt</i>	<i>a-i-amahte</i>	
IDF.P-time-indeed	that	PF-1S-increase	in-POSS.M.1S-wrath	PF-1S-seize	
<i>mmo-f</i>					
OBJ-3SM					
<i>hen-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ti-na-pôht</i>	<i>m-pa-k'ônt</i>	
IDF.P-time-yet	again	that	1S-FUT-pour	OBJ-POSS.M.1S-wrath	
<i>ecn-n-šêre</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>hi-p-sa</i>	<i>b-bol</i>		
over-DEF.P-child	little	on-DEF.M-side	of-outside		

⁴³ LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite III*, p. 110,6–15.

Thus our father Jeremiah utters false words saying sometimes ‘I increased my wrath and grasped him’ and at other times ‘I will pour my wrath out over the little children outside.’

^SShenute, from Canon 1⁴⁴

- (17) In a list of punishments for nuns who have violated the rules of the monastery a certain Tsansnô, the sister of Apa Hello, is said to receive 40 blows with the stick:

ebol-ce hen-sop-men ce a-s-pôt ehun e-t-et-hituô-s
 because IDF.P-time-indeed that PF-3SF-run into to-DEF.F-REL-nigh-3SF
hn-u-mnt-šbêr hen-sop-de on ce a-s-ci-k’ol
 in-IDF.S-ABST-friend IDF.P-time-yet again that PF-1S-say-lie
ecn-hen-hbêue ê-u-šuit auô e-u-na-tako
 over-IDF.P-things.P CIRC-3P-empty.STA and CIRC-3P-FUT-perish
e-tre-s-ti-ose-de hôô-f n-te-s-psukhê tai
 to-INFL-3SF-give-loss self-3SM OBJ-POSS.F-3SF-soul DEM.F
ete-m-p-kosmos têr-f mpša mmo-s an malista
 REL-in-DEF.M-world 3SM all- worth OBJ-3SF NEG especially.if
u-pinaks ê u-cop mn-u-cô ns-ci-k’ol etbêêt-u
 IDF.S-plate or IDF.S-bowl and-IDF.S-cup CNI.3SF-say-lie because-3P

Because at times it is said: ‘She hastened to her neighbour in friendship’ and at another time: ‘She lied about worthless deeds that are going to perish, so that she might loose her soul’—which the whole world is not worth, let alone a plate or a bowl or a cup—‘and lie regarding them.’

^SShenute, *Why O Lord*⁴⁵

- (18) He answers accusations from people in Panopolis: How do foreign people know whether I am good or bad?

ebol tôn ce ere-pi-akathartos n-dikastês
 out where that FOC-DEM.M-unclean of-judge
nta-f-n-ni-thlipsis ecô-f etbe-dôron na-tolma
 REL.PF-3SM-bring-DEM.P-distress on-3SM because-gift FUT-dare
e-ce-ni-šace
 to-say-DEM.P-word
hen-sop-men ce ti-na-r-u n-n-topos n-pe-kh(risto)s
 IDF.P-time-indeed that 1S-FUT-do-what to-DEF.M-place of-DEF.M-Christ
hen-sop-de on ce ti-na-mout-f
 IDF.P-time-yet again that 1S-FUT-kill-3SM

How shall this unclean judge who brought these distresses upon him because of a gift dare to utter these words, now ‘What shall I do with the *topoi* of the Christ?’, now ‘I will kill him.’

^SShenute to accusers in Panopolis⁴⁶

⁴⁴ LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite III*, p. 197,7–11.

⁴⁵ YOUNG, *Coptic Manuscripts*, p. 105,4–31.

⁴⁶ LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite III*, p. 26,20–21.

- (19) Shenute advises to focus on the appointed tasks:

e-a-u-toš-k *e-hen-hbêue* *m-pneumatikon* *ng-tôh*
 CIRC-PF-3P-appoint-2SM to-IDF.P-things.P of-spiritual CNJ.2SM-mix
hn-hen-hbêue *n-sômatikon* *hitm-p-pô<ô>ne* *m-p-hêt*
 with-IDF.P-things.P in-bodily by-DEF.M-turn of-DEF. M-heart
m-p-rôme *et-orc* *an*
 of-DEF.M-man REL-secure.STA NEG
hen-sop *gar* *ša-f-aa-f* *m-pa-t-diakonia*
 IDF.P-time for AOR-3SM-do-3SM as-POSS.M-DEF.F-service
hen-sop *n-rm-n-êi* *hen-sop* *e-nai* *mn-ni-koue*
 IDF.P-time as-man-of-house IDF.P-time to-DEM.P and-DEM.P-other.P

Although you have been appointed to spiritual things, you concern yourself with bodily matters by the turn of the heart of the erratic man, now doing the matter of the service, now of the house-keeper, now these, now the others.

^SShenute, *God Who Alone Is True*⁴⁷

- (20) Arguing against swearing an oath in the name of the Lord he asks:

ebol *tôn* *hen-sop* *e-tre-u-r-hen-hbêue* *n-hêgemôn*
 from where IDF.P-time to-INFL-3P-do-IDF.P-things.P of-leader
hen-sop *e-tre-u-r-anaš*
 IDF.P-time to-INFL-3P-do-oath

How are they sometimes working for the hegemon, sometimes swearing?

^SShenute, *So Since the Matter Weighs Upon Your Heart*⁴⁸

Examples 19 and 20 cited above show that the patterns coordinates on the phrasal level as well.⁴⁹

From our corpus study we can extract the following morpho-syntactical details so far. The polymorphic coordinator *sop ... sop ...* can appear without the indefinite article or with the plural form of the latter. The contrast it expresses may be further strengthened by the additional use of *-men ... -de ...* The SoA's used are marked as main or subordinate clauses or introduced by *ce*. In the latter case they are clearly quotes. Thus we can draw up the following diagram:⁵⁰

⁴⁷ AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi* II, p. 517,1–4.

⁴⁸ LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite* III, p. 19,20–21. On the construction see SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, p. 91 §2.6.3.2.

⁴⁹ An example with *sop ... sop ...* coordinating on the phrasal level can be found in ^SShenute, *Continuing To Glorify The Lord* (LEIPOLDT & CRUM, *Sinuthii archimandrite* III, pp. 69,18–70,3). The continuation of the text provides further examples.

⁵⁰ Note that \emptyset in the diagram is used only as a descriptive category.

initial SoA			alternative SoA			
connector		clause/phrase	connector		clause/phrase	
∅ IDF.P-	<i>sop</i>	<i>(men)</i> main clause subordinate clause <i>ce</i> -clause	∅- IDF.p-	<i>sop</i>	<i>(-de)</i> <i>(on)</i>	main clause subordinate clause <i>ce</i> -clause

Diagram 1. Distribution of attested patterns in Shenutean texts

Coptic elements in *italics*; grammatical elements in SMALL CAPS;
 facultative elements in (brackets)

The semantic-pragmatic difference between unmarked *sop* and *hen-sop* is difficult to discern. It does not seem to be an opposition between an imagined single SoA (unmarked) and indefinite SoA's as might appear at first glance. A case in point against such an interpretation is ex. 16 where Jeremiah uttered the two clauses quoted only once. Another point in disfavour of such an analysis can be found in the co-occurrence of unmarked *sop* and clauses using an aorist verbal form such as ex. 15. A third case in point is the appearance of *∅-sop ... hen-sop ...* in the coordinated structure in ex. 14.

In the passage cited above as ex. 9 the normal pattern *sop ... sop ...* varies with *hen-hou ... hen-hou-de ...*, *hen-sêu ... hen-sêu-de ...*, *hen-uoîš ... hen-ke-uoîš ...*, and *hen-ebot ê hen-rompe ... hen-rompe ...*. Thus the pattern can be rhetorically expanded by the employment of other expressions for temporal units such as *hou* "day", *sêu* "time", *uoîš* "time", *ebot* "month" and *rompe* "year". However, these do not seem to represent regular patterns but rather are typical to Shenute's elevated style.⁵¹

Besides these *regular* patterns Shenute sometimes employs the construction to mark only one of the constituent clauses:

- (21) Shenute urges the audience to observe the word of the scripture so that they will understand what he is telling them:

<i>sop</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ne-n-anomia-gar</i>	<i>nhêt-n</i>	<i>auô</i>	<i>a-n-ime</i>
time	that	POSS.P-1P-lawlessness-for	inside-1P	and	PF-1P-know
<i>e-ne-n-nobe</i>		<i>a-n-r-šafte</i>	<i>a-n-ci-k'ol</i>		<i>a-n-lo</i>
OBJ-POSS.P-1P-sin		PF-1P-do-iniquity	PF-1P-speak-lie		PF-1P-cease
<i>e-n-uêh</i>	<i>hipahu</i>	<i>m-pen-nute</i>	<i>a-n-cô</i>		<i>n-hen-cink'ons</i>
CIRC-1P-set.STA	after	of-POSS.P-1P-god	PF-1P-say		OBJ-IDF.P-violence

⁵¹ But see ex. 36 below for another example with *uoîš ... uoîš ...* from Prov. 7:12.

<i>auô</i>	<i>a-n-r-at-sôtm</i>				
and	PF-1P-do-NEG-hear				
<i>auô</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>a-n-planê</i>	<i>a-n-šôpe</i>	<i>n-t-he</i>
and	again	that	PF-1P-deceive	PF-1P-become	in-DEF. F-way
<i>n-ni-akathartos</i>	<i>têr-n</i>				
of-DEM.P-unclean	all-1P				

Now it says ‘For our lawlessness is inside us and we recognized our sins, we committed iniquity, spoke lies, ceased to be set after our God, uttered violence and behaved disobediently’, now again it says ‘We deceived and turned all into those impious ones’.

⁵²Shenute, *I Have Heard About Your Wisdom*⁵²

Here the initial clause is marked but followed simply by a clause attached with *auô* “and”.

Sahidic occurrences outside the Shenutean corpus

Although Shenute’s use of the construction figures most prominently in the material collected, some occurrences of the pattern outside his writings can also be found. It appears in the account of Shenute’s life as well, which is closely parallel to his writings (ex. 27). Nevertheless it is not confined to text with ‘Shenutean connections’ but appears, albeit seldomly, in texts such as the *Sapientia Salomonis* (ex. 33) or the Apostolic fathers (ex. 24)⁵³. Occasionally the pattern is encountered in writings of the church fathers such as St. Athanasius (ex. 30), John Chrysostom (ex. 25), Euodius of Rome (ex. 23) or John of Constantinople (ex. 29) or of Coptic writers such as John of Hermopolis (ex. 26). Another translated text showing the pattern in question is by Asclepius from Nag Hammadi codex VI,8 (ex. 28 & 31). Finally one example can be found each in the Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt (ex. 34) and in the Life of Moses of Abydos (ex. 32). Outside literary texts the pattern is attested in a letter (ex. 22).⁵⁴ All these examples use the standard connector *sop*. Besides these an instance (ex. 36) can be cited in which the

⁵² CHASSINAT, *Quatrième Livre*, pp. 90,41–91,1 = DU BOURGUET, *BIFAO* 55, pp. 89 (text) and 93 (translation); cf. also the variant in AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi I*, pp. 410,15–411,4 giving the expected *a-n-plana* instead of *a-n-planê*.

⁵³ Besides the example cited, it appears also in §8.2 cited in the Bohairic version below, which is, however, slightly different.

⁵⁴ It should be noted though that due to the major absence of electronic corpora of Coptic texts—with the praiseworthy exception of Orlandi’s CMCL database—or full indexed text editions like the Nag Hammadi ones, the collection of material was done by checking printed editions with the help of their index (usually with the entry *-men*). Hence a certain underrepresentation of examples of simple (*hen-*)*sop* ... (*hen-*)*sop* ... may be presumed.

connector used is *uoiš*, another noun for ‘time, occasion’. A similar use can be found in ex. 9 by Shenute quoted above.

Categorizing the data according to the sub-patterns found in Shenutean texts we encounter, besides unmarked *sop*, also *sop* marked explicitly with the singular indefinite article. These appear with clauses introduced by *ce* (ex. 22–23) but also with phrasal coordination (ex. 24–26):

- (22) The writer promises to keep inquiring about the recipient’s well-being:

<i>sop</i>	<i>ša-u-coo-s</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>k-hi-pe-ibt</i>
time	AOR-3P-say-3SF	that	2SM-on-DEF.M-east
<i>sop</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>k-hanhêt</i>
time	again	that	2SM-north

Now I am told you are in the east, now that you are in the north.

^SLetter from Moses to Apa Paham⁵⁵

- (23) Euodius accuses the Jews: Not only did you not give glory to the one greater than Solomon who presented wisdom to humankind, but cast him out of your city saying:

<i>bôk</i>	<i>ebol</i>	<i>hm-pi-ma</i>			
go.IMP	out	from-DEM.M-place			
<i>u-sop-men</i>		<i>ce</i>	<i>hêrôdês</i>	<i>ueš-mout-k</i>	
IDF.S-time-indeed		that	Herod	want-kill-2SM	
<i>u-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>a-u-spsôp-f</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>bôk</i>	<i>ebol</i>
IDF.S-time-yet	again	PF-3P-plead-3SM	that	go.IMP	out
	<i>hm-pi-ma</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>hen-ne-u-toš</i>		
	from-DEM.M-place	or	from-POSS.P-3P-area		

‘Leave this place!’, sometimes saying ‘Herod wants to kill you’, at other times they plead to him ‘Leave this place or their area.’

^SEuodius of Rome, *On the Passion and the Resurrection*, §13⁵⁶

- (24) Ignatius of Antioch is carried to Rome in fetters by rather uncivilized Roman soldiers:

<i>a-u-i</i>	<i>ebol</i>	<i>hn-te-khôra</i>	<i>n-t-asia</i>	<i>auô</i>	<i>ebol</i>	<i>hm-p-ma</i>
PF-3P-go	out	in-DEF.F-land	of-DEF.F-Asia	and	out	in-DEF.M-place
<i>etmmau</i>	<i>e-te-thrakê</i>	<i>mn-hrégion</i>	<i>sop-men</i>	<i>hn-ne-hioue</i>		
that	to-DEF.F-Thrace	and-Regium	time-indeed	in-DEM.P-roads.P		
			<i>sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>hn-ne-thalassa</i>	
			time-yet	again	in-DEF.P-sea	

They left Asia and (went) from there to Thrace and Regium, sometimes by roads, sometimes by sea.

^SMartyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch⁵⁷

⁵⁵ CRUM, *Coptic Ostraca*, p. 101 Ad 67,9-10.

⁵⁶ CHAPMAN in, DEPUYDT, *Homiletica*, pp. 82,39–83,2.

⁵⁷ LEFORT, *Pères apostoliques*, p. 68a18–19.

- (25) John describes in rhetorical questions the situation of former days:

<i>mê</i>	<i>mpe-f-ašai</i>	<i>nk'i-p-mu</i>	<i>hn-n-rôme</i>
IRP	NEG.PF-3SM-multiply	PTC-DEF.M-death	in-DEF.P-man
<i>mn-n-ke-tbnoue</i>	<i>u-sop-me<n></i>	<i>hm-pi-ma</i>	
and-DEF.P-other-animals.P	IDF.S-time-indeed	in-DEM.M-place	
	<i>ke-sop</i>	<i>hn-hen-ke-ma</i>	
	other-time	in-IDF.P-other-place	

Has not death become great among people and even animals, now here, now elsewhere.

^sJohn Chrysostom, *On Michael Archangel*, §22⁵⁸

- (26) John tells his audience to turn to Athanasius about Anthony and cites him saying that Anthony was light, exalted and became all eyes:

<i>auô</i>	<i>a-f-tre-pe-f-uôšm</i>	<i>pe-ebol-hn-ftou</i>	<i>n-stoikhion</i>
and	PF-3SM-CAUS-POSS.M-3SM-dough	DEF.M-out-of-four	of-element
<i>šôpe</i>	<i>e-f-hlulôu</i>	<i>n-t-he</i>	<i>n-ftou</i> <i>n-tmh</i>
happen	REL-3SM-be_exalted.STA	in-DEM.F-way	of-four of-wing
<i>hôte</i>	<i>u-sop-men</i>	<i>e-tre-u-torp-f</i>	<i>ša-p-aêr</i>
so_that	IDF.S-time-indeed	to-INFL-3P-seize-3SM	till-DEF.M-air
	<i>hn-ke-sop-de</i>	<i>e-tre-f-cise</i>	<i>hn-te-theôria</i>
	IDF.P-other-time-yet	to-INFL-3SM-be_high	in-DEF.F-contemplation
<i>auô</i>	<i>u-sop-men</i>	<i>e-f-nau</i>	<i>e-te-psukhê</i> <i>mn-amun</i>
and	IDF.S-time-indeed	CIRC-3SM-see	OBJ-DEF.F-soul of-PN
<i>e-u-ci</i>	<i>mmo-s</i>	<i>ehrai</i>	<i>e-t-pe</i> <i>u-hôb</i>
CIRC-3P-take	OBJ-3SF	up	to-DEF.F-heaven IDF.S-thing
<i>e-a-f-šôpe</i>	<i>hn-u-ma</i>	<i>e-f-uêu</i>	<i>mmo-f</i>
CIRC-PF-3SM-happen	in-IDF.S-place	CIRC-3SM-be_far.STA	OBJ-3SM
<i>n-hen-monê</i>	<i>e-našô-u</i>		
in-IDF.P-station	CIRC-be_plenty-3P		
<i>hn-ke-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>e-f-hmoos</i>	<i>hi-p-caie</i> <i>e-f-nau</i>
IDF.P-other-time-yet	again	CIRC-3SM-sit	on-DEF.M-desert CIRC-3SM-see
<i>e-n-et-u-eire</i>	<i>mmo-u</i>	<i>hn-kême</i>	
OBJ-DEF.P-REL-3P-dot	OBJ-3SM	in-Egypt	

And he caused his dough, the one made out of four ingredients, to become exalted like four wings, so that he was sometimes taken up into the air, at other times exalted in contemplation, now seeing how the soul of Amun was taken up to heaven—something that happened at a place while he was very far from his many dwellings—, now sitting in the desert watching what happens in Egypt.

^sJohn of Hermopolis, *On St. Anthony*, §29⁵⁹

⁵⁸ BRAKKE, in DEPUYDT, *Homiletica*, pp. 52,38–53,1.

⁵⁹ GARITTE, *Orientalia Periodica Christiana* 9, p. 338,2–8. The reference to ‘the dough’ escapes me. I assume the following *pe-ebol-hn-ftou n stoikhon* to be some kind of apposition, although the definite article should be *pe-* instead of *pe-*.

There does not seem to be any semantic or pragmatic difference between the patterns, i.e., *sop* versus *u-sop*, except for a kind of grammatical explicitness. Noteworthy is the change of singular-marked *u-sop* versus plural marked *hn-sop* in ex. 26.

Here we also encounter examples that are not evenly marked as in Shenute’s texts:

- (27) In one version of the story on Shenute’s life it is told how the monastery managed to supply people from outside:

<i>ešôpe</i>	<i>u-aršîn</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>mnt-sašf</i>	<i>n-ertof</i>		
if	IDF.S-lentil	SE.M	ten-seven	of-artaba		
		<i>sop</i>	<i>mnt-ase</i>	<i>n-ertof</i>	<i>khôris</i>	<i>anon</i>
		time	ten-six	of-artaba	except	IP.ABS

If it was lentils, (now) seventeen measures, now 16 measures without us.
^S*Vita Sinuthii*⁶⁰

As can be seen from the cited examples, the same types of clauses can be used after the connector, and phrasal coordination within a main clause is attested as well.

However, much more common seems the use with plural indefinite articles introducing unmarked clauses (ex. 28) or clauses marked as circumstantial (ex. 29):

- (28) God corrected his creation against the disorder, taking away error and cutting off evil:

<i>hen-sop-men</i>	<i>a-f-omes-<s></i>	<i>hn-u-nokⁱ</i>	<i>m-mou</i>
IDF.P-time-indeed	PF-3SM-submerge-3SF	in-IDF.S-great	of-water
<i>hen-ke-sop-de</i>	<i>a-f-rokh-s</i>	<i>hn-u-kôht</i>	<i>e-f-cabaat</i>
IDF.S-other-time-yet	PF-3SM-burn-3SF	in-IDF.S-fire	REL-3SM-be_hard.STA
<i>hen-ke-sop-de</i>	<i>a-f-lôch</i>	<i>mmo-s</i>	<i>hn-hen-polemos</i>
IDF.S-other-time-yet	PF-3SM-crush	OBJ-3SF	in-IDF.P-war
			and-IDF.P-plague

Sometimes he submerged it in a great flood, at other times he burned it in a searing fire, and at still other times, he crushed it in wars and plagues, (*until he brought ...*)

^{SL}Asclepius⁶¹

⁶⁰ LUBOMIERSKI, *Vita Sinuthii*, p. 255, b21–26. The story apparently relates to Shenute’s own account in *Continuing to Glorify the Lord*, referred to above in note 29, see LUBOMIERSKI, *Vita Sinuthii*, pp. 87 and 261. Another possible instance for such a pattern might be found in John of Alexandria, *Encomium of St Menas* (DRESCHER, *Apa Mena*, pp. 60, b29–61, a30) with \emptyset ... *hen-sop-de on ...*

⁶¹ PARROTT, *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI*, p. 432 73, 31–36.

- (29) John urges his audience to have faith in the Lord:

a-nau *e-te-f-nok^j* *m-mnt-mai-rôme* *ehun* *ero-n*
 IMP-look OBJ-POSS.F-3SM-great of-ABST-loving-man into to-1P
hen-sop-men *e-f-parakali* *mmo-n* *hen-sop-de* *on*
 IDF.S-time-indeed CIRC-3SM-summon OBJ-1P IDF.S-time-yet again
e-f-apilê *na-n* *n-n-kolasis* *hen-sop-de* *on*
 CIRC-3SM-threat for-1P by-DEF.P-punishment IDF.S-time-yet again
e-f-ti-sbô *na-n* *e-t-mnt-stmêt* *e-f-erêt*
 CIRC-3SM-give-teaching to-1P to-DEF.F-ABST-obedient CIRC-3SM-vow
n-u-beke *n-n-et-na-sôtm* *nsô-f*
 OBJ-IDF.S-wage for-DEF.P-REL-FUT-hear after-3SM

Consider his great love towards us, now summoning us, now threatening us with punishments, now teaching us obedience, although promising a reward for those who will be obedient to him.

^SJohn of Constantinople, *De Poenitentia et Abstinencia*⁶²

- (30) Athanasius calls his audience to follow the laws of the Lord and to take care of each other: as he himself guides us in his charity and mercy

hen-sop-men *e-f-solsl* *mmo-n* *auô* *e-f-protrepe*
 IDF.S-time-indeed CIRC-3SM-comfort OBJ-1P and CIRC-3SM-encourage
mmo-n *hn-u-nok^j* *n-sops* *e-tre-n-metanoi* *auô* *ntn-r-hote*
 OBJ-1P in-IDF.S-great of-prayer to-INFL-1P-repent and CNJ.2P-do-fear
hêt-f *cekas* *e-fe-ti* *na-n* *n-ne-f-erêt*
 in-3SM so_that FUT.3SM-give for-1P OBJ-POSS.P-3SM-vow
n-at-šace *ero-u* *mn-u-ônh* *n-ša-eneh*
 of-un-speak of-3P and-IDF.S-life of-to-eternity
hen-sop-de *on* *e-f-apilê* *ero-n* *hn-u-mkah* *n-hêt*
 IDF.S-time-yet again CIRC-3SM-threat to-1P in-IDF.S-pain of-heart
e-f-r-mntre *na-n* *m-pe-tsto* *ebol* *mn-u-kolasis*
 CIRC-3SM-do-testify for-1P OBJ-DEF.M-rejection out and-IDF.S-punishment
nte-t-gehenna *n-sate* *mn-u-rime* *nte-p-k'ahk'h*
 of-DEF.F-hell of-flame and-IDF.S-weeping of-DEF.M-gnashing
n-n-obhe *mn-u-mu* *ša-eneh* *ešôpe* *(e)nšan-r-at-sôtm*
 of-DEF.P-tooth and-IDF.S-death to-eternity if CND.1P-do-un-listen
nsô-f *ntn-tm-metanoi* *ebol* *hn-te-n-hiê* *et-hou*
 after-3SM CNJ.1P-NEG-repent out in-POSS.F-1P-way REL-evil

Now comforting and encouraging us with a great prayer to make us repent and fear him, so that he will grant us his unuttered vows and eternal life, now threatening us with grief testifying to us the rejection, a punishment by the fiery hell, the weeping of the gnashing of teeth and eternal death, in case we are disobedient to him and do not repent from our evil way.

^SSt Athanasius of Alexandria, *On Charity and Abstinence*⁶³

⁶² BUDGE, *Homilies*, p. 9,6–10.

⁶³ LEFORT, *S. Athanase, Lettres festales et pastorales*, p. 110,20–27.

- (31) Several methods of punishment are presented:

ere-n-sôma *štrtôr* *<n>-n-et-ine* *an* *n-ne-u-erêu*
 FOC-DEF.P-body disturb.STA in-DEF.P-REL-resemble NEG for-POSS.P-3P-fellow
hen-sop-men *e-f-rôht* *mmo-u* *ecn-m-muiê* *et-sôk*
 IDF.P-time-indeed CIRC-3SM-cast OBJ-3P upon-DEF.P-waters.P REL-flow
hen-ke-sop-de *se-rôht* *mmo-u* *epitn* *e-p-kôht*
 IDF.P-other-time-yet 3P-cast OBJ-3P down to-DEF.M-fire
e-tre-f-tako-u
 to-INFL-3SM-destroy-3P

The bodies are tormented in various ways, sometimes being cast upon raging waters, at other times they are cast down into the fire in order that it may destroy them.

^{SL}*Asclepius*⁶⁴

Usually the connector appears in all clauses. Sometimes, however, the initial clause lacks the connector and only the following ones are marked accordingly similar to a pattern seen in Shenute’s writings (ex. 21):

- (32) Moses and seven of his monks stand inside a pagan temple praying to cast out a demon. The latter, however, tries to scare them away:

auô *ne-ša-f-ôš* *ebol* *n-t-he* *n-u-mase*
 and PRT-AOR-3SM-cry out in-DEF.F-way of-IDF.S-calf
hen-sop-de *on* *e-f-ti-hrou* *n-t-he* *n-hen-htôôr*
 IDF.P-time-yet again CIRC-3SM-give-voice in-DEF.F-way of-IDF.P-horse.P
hen-sop-de *on* *e-ša-n-sôtm* *e-pe-hrou* *n-hen-htôôr*
 IDF.P-time-yet again CIRC-3SM-give-voice in-DEF.F-way of-IDF.P-horse.P
hen-sop-de *on* *e-ša-n-sôtm* *e-pe-hrou* *n-hen-mêêše*
 IDF.P-time-yet again CIRC-3SM-give-voice in-DEF.F-way of-IDF.P-horse.P
e-u-pêt *e-hrai* *ecô-n* *auô* *n-se-hôn* *ero-n an*
 REL-3P-run.STA to-down upon-1P and NEG-3P-approach to-1PNEG
e-p-têr-f
 to-DEF.M-all-3SM
hen-sop-de *on* *ne-ša-f-kim* *e-p-ma*
 IDF.P-time-yet again PRT-AOR-3SM-shake OBJ-DEF.M-place
et-n-aher-at-n *nhêt-f* *hôte* *e-f-na-he* *e[pes]êt*
 REL-1P-stand-1P inside-3SM so_that CIRC-3SM-FUT-fall down
ecô-n *auô* *e-ne-šare-oun* *nhêt-n* *he* *ecm-pe-f-ho*
 upon-1P and CIRC-PRT-AOR-one inside-1P fall upon-POSS.M-3SM-face
hitn-t-he *ete-f-noin* *m-p-kah* *haro-n*
 by-DEF.F-way REL-3SM-shake OBJ-DEF.M-earth on-1P

And (sometimes) he screamed like a calf, sometimes he screamed like horses. Sometimes we heard the voice of horses, sometimes we heard

⁶⁴ PARROTT, *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI*, p. 444 77, 19–24.

the voice of a multitude running towards us, yet did not approach us at all, sometimes he shook the place we stood upon in such a way that it fell upon us and one of us fell on his face by the way he shakes the earth upon us.

^S*Life of Moses of Abydos*⁶⁵

As is apparent, the same types of clauses are used as in Shenute's writings. However, in some examples the sequential verb-form (conjunctive) appears, sometimes in both clauses (ex. 33), sometimes just in one (ex. 34):

- (33) Those who sinned against the Lord cannot escape his punishment and are consumed by fire and water, especially since the latter does not extinguish the former:

hen-sop-men *n-te-p-kôht* *aroš* *nf-tm-rôkh*
 IDF.P-time-indeed CNJ-DEF.M-fire be_cold CNJ.3SM-NEG-burn
n-n-zôon *nta-u-nt-u* *ecn-n-asebês* *cekaas*
 OBJ-DEF.P-animal REL.PF-3P-bring-3P upon-DEF.P-ungodly so_that
eue-nau *nse-ime* *ce* *e-u-thmko* *m-mo-u*
 FUT.3P-see CNJ.3P-know that FOC-3P-afflict OBJ-3P
hitn-te-krisis *m-p-nute*
 by-DEF.F-judgement of-DEF.M-god
hn-sop-de *hn-te-mête* *m-p-mou* *nf-rôkh* *m-mo-u*
 IDF.P-time-yet in-DEF.F-middle of-DEF.M-water CNJ.3SM-burn OBJ-3P
ehun *e-t-ḳom* *n-t-sate* *cekaas* *efe-take-n-karpos*
 inside to-DEF.F-power of-DEF.F-fire so_that FUT.3SM-destroy-DEF.P-fruit
m-p-kah *n-r-ref-cinḳons*
 of-DEF.M-land of-DEF.P-AGT-violence

Sometimes the flame is lowered, that it might not burn up the beasts that were sent against the ungodly, so that they might see and perceive themselves persecuted with the judgment of God, at other times it burns even in the midst of water unlike normal fire, that it might destroy the fruits of the unjust land.

^S*Sa 16:18–19*⁶⁶

- (34) Another one of Apa Aaron's most exemplary features is introduced:

ntof-de *hôt-f* *p-petuaab* *apa harôn* *e-ne-f-r-hôb*
 3SM.ABS-yet self-3SM DEF.M-holy title PN CIRC-PRT-3SM-do-work
e-ne-f-ḳic *mmate* *e-f-ire* *m-p-meeue*
 to-POSS.P-3SM-hand very CIRC-3SM-do OBJ-DEF.M-thought

⁶⁵ TILL, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden* II, p. 54,3–12. It seems that the parallel of Codex B, though damaged, did not employ an initial connector either, see AMÉLINEAU, *Monuments*, p. 690,8–13.

⁶⁶ DE LAGARDE, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 98. The version edited in THOMPSON, *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books*, p. 114, shows some variation.

<i>m-p-et-sêh</i>		<i>ce</i>	...
of-DEF.M-REL-written.STA		that	...
<i>hen-sop-men</i>	<i>nf-tamio</i>		<i>n-hen-kuria</i>
IDF.S-time-indeed	CNJ.3SM-make		OBJ-IDF.P-bandage
<i>hen-sop-men</i> ^{sic}	<i>e-f-šeš-nuh</i>		<i>e-ne-me-f-k'epê-gar</i>
IDF.S-time-indeed	CIRC-3SM-stretch-rope		CIRC-PRT-NEG-3SM-hasten-for
<i>e-šace</i>	<i>imêti</i>	<i>nte-u-nok'</i>	<i>n-r-khria</i> <i>šôpe</i>
to-speak	unless	CNJ-IDF.S-great	of-do-need happen

The holy Apa Aaron did often work with his hands remembering what is written: (*'We worked with our hands day and night, so that we would not add to the toil of any one of you.'*), now making bandages, now plaiting ropes, whilst never hasting to speak unless there was great urgency.

^SPapnutius, *Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt*, §118⁶⁷

While the Turin manuscript of the *Wisdom* is dated the 6th century,⁶⁸ the text of the *Histories* derives from a 10th century copy of a text thought to be of late 4th/early 5th century origin.⁶⁹ Hence, the use of the conjunctive is not diachronically fixed.

Coordination on phrasal level is attested with this variant as well:

(35) Athanasius advises to listen to the holy trumpets of the saviour,

<i>e-u-ôš</i>	<i>ebol</i>	<i>auô</i>	<i>e-u-tôhm</i>		<i>mno-n</i>
CIRC-3P-call	out	and	CIRC-3P-summon		OBJ-1P
<i>hen-sop-men</i>		<i>e-u-polemos</i>		...	
IDF.S-time-indeed		to-IDF.S-war		...	
<i>hen-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ehun</i>	<i>e-t-parthenia</i>	<i>mn-t-egkratia</i>	<i>auô</i>
IDF.S-time-yet	again	into	to-DEF.F-virginity	and-DEF.F-abstinence	and
<i>on</i>	<i>t-sumphonia</i>	<i>n-p-gamos</i>		<i>mn-n-et-prepi</i>	
again	DEF.F-concert	of-DEF.M-marriage		and-DEF.P-REL-appropriate	
<i>m-p-gamos</i>		...			
for-DEF.M-marriage		...			
<i>hen-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ša-f-tahme-n</i>		<i>ehun</i>	<i>e-u-nêstia</i>
IDF.S-time-yet	again	AOR-3SM-summon-1P		into	to-IDF.S-fasting
<i>mn-u-ša</i>					
and-IDF.S-festival					

... calling out and summoning us now to war ..., now to virginity and abstinence as well as the concert of marriage and those things that are

⁶⁷ BUDGE, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, pp. 485,34–486,7. *Ibid.*, p. 1001, translated *kuria* as ‘basket’; I assume that it is connected to *keiria* ‘bandages’ (LIDDELL, SCOTT, JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 935a); thus apparently also VIVIAN, *Histories*, p. 130.

⁶⁸ SCHÜSSLER, *Biblia Coptica* I.4, pp. 21–22, sa 98.

⁶⁹ VIVIAN, *Histories*, pp. 50–54 (date of text) and 70 (date of manuscript). Jitse Dijkstra argues for a date of the composition between 491 and 700, see DIJKSTRA, *Philae*, p. 231.

appropriate for marriage Sometimes he calls us to fasting and festival.

^SSt Athanasius of Alexandria, *Festal letter #1*⁷⁰

Although the number of attested examples is less impressive than in Shenute's texts, we can see that the majority of them follow the patterns attested in the writings of Shenute, i.e., *sop* unmarked or with the indefinite plural article additionally marked by ...-*men* ... -*de*. The major deviation to note is that *sop* may be explicitly marked with the singular indefinite article. The second (or any following) alternative can be additionally marked by -*ke*- "other". The types of clauses are similar as well except for the additional use of the sequential form. Thus, we can expand diagram 1 into diagram 2 below:

initial SoA				alternative SoA				
connector			clause	connector			clause	
∅- IDF.S-	<i>sop</i>	<i>(-men)</i>	main clause/ subordin. clause/ (sequential clause)	∅- IDF.S-	<i>(ke)</i>	<i>sop</i>	<i>(-de)</i> <i>(on)</i>	main clause/ subordin. clause/ (sequential clause)
IDF.P-			main clause/ subordin. clause/ sequential clause	IDF.P-				main clause/ subordin. clause/ sequential clause
initial quote				alternative quote				
∅- IDF.S-	<i>sop</i>	<i>(-men)</i>	<i>ce</i> : clause	∅- IDF.S-	<i>(ke)</i>	<i>sop</i>	<i>(-de)</i> <i>(on)</i>	<i>ce</i> : clause
IDF.P-				IDF.P-				

Diagram 2. Distribution of attested patterns in Sahidic

Coptic elements in *italics*; grammatical elements in SMALL CAPS;
facultative elements in (brackets)

It can be concluded from the data cited that the functional domain of the pattern *sop ce ... sop ce ...* is to introduce alternating quotes from a certain, but not necessarily the same source. The appearance of the *ce*

⁷⁰ LEFORT, *S. Athanase, Lettres festales et pastorales*, p. 3,3–10 (some text irrelevant for the issue at hand has been omitted).

introduced clauses does not follow syntactical rules but rather expresses “now ... saying/said: ‘...’ now ... saying/said: ‘...’”. Therefore it has been reanalysed in diagram 2 and set apart as a specific sub-pattern.

As mentioned above, a single (though attested in various manuscripts) instance can be quoted in which the connector used is not *sop* but *uoiš*.

- (36) Solomon narrates how he saw a young man from his window meeting a woman with the attire of a harlot unable to stay inside her house:

<i>ša-s-r-uoiš</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>e-s-kôte</i>	<i>hibol</i>	
AOR-3SF-do-time	for	CIRC-3SF-turn	out	
<i>uoiš-de</i>	<i>e-s-k'ork'</i>	<i>hatn-n-klk'e</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>hn-ne-platia</i>
time-yet	CIRC-3SF-hunt.STA	at-DEF.P-corner	every	in-DEF.P-street

For now she is roaming, now waylaying at every corner of the streets.

^sProv 7:12⁷¹

Due to its rare attestation it is considered to be a less regular pattern than the one with *sop*.⁷²

Bohairic

The data collected from dialects other than Sahidic are sparse at best. The majority can be found in Bohairic texts, which, however, are usually considered to be translations from Sahidic. Nevertheless, some evidence can be gathered in texts with no known Sahidic source. In addition, the patterns used in Bohairic are not absolutely identical, hence we can assume that it had been productive in that dialect as well.⁷³

The first two examples are from a literary source (*Martyrdom of Ignatius*) and a re-contextualized textual passage (*Martyrdom of Pisura*). Both show certain similarities as well as differences:

⁷¹ WORRELL, *The Proverbs of Solomon*, p. 22. Note that Worrell quotes another manuscript (CIASCA, *Sacrorum Bibliorum* II, p. 158) giving instead *u-uoiš* as the Akhmimic version (BÖHLIG, *Der achmimische Proverbientext* I, p. 34), considered to be the better reading by him. Compared with the data collected for *sop*, both variants seem equally valid. The Bohairic version employs a different pattern (BOURIANT, *Recueil de Travaux* 3, p. 137: *ša-s-er-u-sêu gar e-s-lele ebol ša-s-er-u-sêu-de hen-ni-platia e-s-côrc e-s-ke-nelks niben*).

⁷² I also omitted the pattern used in the translations of Mt 17:15 with ^s*shah n-sop*^B*u-mêš n-sop* (ARANDA PEREZ, *Evangelio de San Mateo*, p. 201, and HORNER, *Coptic Version NT Northern Dialect* I, p. 148), cf. CRUM, *Dictionary*, p. 350b s.v.

⁷³ I disregarded ^BAmphilochius of Iconium, *De Abraham* (DATEMA, *Amphilochii Iconiensis Opera*, p. 289,240–242 with *uoh eta-f-er-hêt-s e-p-cin-helhôl-f a-p^h(nu)ti k^hô n-u-hrôu ebol n-sop 2 u-sop-men e-f-muti ero-f ke-sop e-f-hi-hoti kata p^h-rêti eta-s-šôpi* “and, as he started to slay him, God uttered a cry twice: one time he called him, a second time he scared him, in the way as it happens”) as the semantics there are different.

- (37) Ignatius rejects emperor Trajan's exhortations to believe in pagan deities: *How can we possibly believe in it (i.e. Greek religion) while it thinks of false stories that contradict each other?*

sop-men s-cô mmo-s ce 12 n-nuti et-šop
 time-indeed 3SF-say OBJ-3SF that 12 of-god REL-be.STA

ecen-p-têr-f
 over-DEF.M-all-3SM

sop on ce 7 ke-sop ce 4 ke-sop ce 3
 time again that 7 other-time that 4 other-time that 3

sop-de se-tauro n-han-mêš n-nuti mmon-ran
 time-yet 3P-state OBJ-IDF.P-multitude of-god NEG.have-name

mmon-êpi erô-u s-tauro-de on n-han-cin-cp^ho
 NEG.have-number to-3P 3SF-state-yet again OBJ-IDF.P-NMZ-create

nem-han-genealogia
 and-IDF.P-genealogy

han-sop-de on se-uošt n-ni-pathos nte-ni-tebnôui
 IDF.P-time-yet again 3SF-worship OBJ-DEF+.P-passion of-DEF+.P-animal

hôs nuti uoh ni-tebnôui n-hêmeros mmauat-u an alla
 like god and DEF+.P-animal of-tamed self-3P NEG but

ni-ke-agrios on
 DEF+.P-other-wild again

sop-de on ni-ššên uoh ša-e-xrêi m-pi-šcê<n>
 time-yet again DEF+.P-tree and until-to-down of-DEF+.M-garlic

nem-pi-mcôl mpa-u-er-paratisthe e-uošt mmô-u
 and-DEF+.M-onion NEG.PF-3P-AUX-neglect to-worship OBJ-3P

nem-ni-pompsuliks n-pn(eum)a nte-ti-neci
 and-DEF+.P-bubble of-air of-DEF+.F-belly

Now it says there are twelve deities ruling over all of creation, now seven, now four, now three. Now multitudes of nameless and numberless gods are proclaimed, as well as creations and genealogies. Now the passions of the animals are worshipped like god, and not only the animals of the household but the wild ones as well, now the trees, even down to garlic and onion, (which) one should not forget to worship, and farts.

^B*Martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch, §8.2⁷⁴*

- (38) The governor has demanded Pisura to believe in the pagan deities but he rejects this idea: *How can we possibly believe in it (i.e. your religion) while it thinks of false stories that contradict each other?*

sop-men gar e-s-cô mmo-s ce
 time-indeed for CIRC-3SF-say OBJ-3SF that

12 n-nuti et-šop hican-p-têr-f u-sop on 7 ne
 12 of-god REL-be.STA over-DEF.M-all-3SM IDF.S-time again 7 SE.P

⁷⁴ LEFORT, *Pères apostoliques*, pp. 91b,22–92b,8.

<i>ke-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ce</i>	3	<i>ke-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ce</i>	4
other-time-yet	again	that	3	other-time-yet	again	that	4
<i>han-ke-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>e-u-tauo</i>		<i>n-han-měš</i>	<i>n-nuti</i>		
IDF.P-other-time-yet	again	CIRC-1P-state		OBJ-IDF.P-multitude	of-god		
<i>mmon-ran</i>	<i>mmon-êpi</i>	<i>toi</i>		<i>erô-u</i>	<i>holôs</i>	<i>e-p-têr-f</i>	
NEG.have-name	NEG.have-number	give.STA		to-3P	at.all	to-DEF.M-all-3SM	
<i>han-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>se-tauo</i>		<i>n-han-cp^ho</i>	<i>n-theologia</i>		
IDF.P-time-yet	again	3SF-state		OBJ-IDF.P-create	of-theology		
<i>n-te-ni-nuti</i>	<i>xen-han-saci</i>	<i>n-šfô</i>					
of-DEF+.P-god	in-IDF.P-talk	of-tale					
<i>han-sop-men</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>se-uošt</i>		<i>n-ni-pathos</i>			
IDF.P-time-indeed	again	3SF-worship		OBJ-DEF+.P-passion			
<i>nem-ni-tebnôui</i>	<i>ni-humeros</i>	<i>mmauat-u</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>alla</i>			
and-DEF+.P-animal	DEF+.P-tamed	self-3P	NEG	but			
<i>nem-ni-ke-agrion</i>							
and-DEF+.P-other-wild							
<i>han-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ni-ššên</i>		<i>nem-pi-šcên</i>			
IDF.P-time-yet	again	DEF+.P-tree		and-DEF+.M-garlic			
<i>nem-pe-mcôl</i>	<i>mpa-u-er-paratisthe</i>	<i>e-uošt</i>	<i>mmô-u</i>				
and-DEF+.M-onion	NEG.PF-3P-AUX-neglect	to-worship	OBJ-3P				
<i>nem-ni-pompsuliks</i>	<i>n-pn(eum)a</i>	<i>n-te-ti-neci</i>					
and-DEF+.P-bubble	of-air	of-DEF+.F-belly					

Now saying there are twelve deities ruling over all of creation now they are seven now three, and now four; now multitudes of nameless and wholly numberless gods are being proclaimed, now theological creations of the gods are stated in fairy-tales. Sometimes they worship the passions and the animals—not only the tamed ones, but the wild ones as well—at other times the trees, the garlic and the onions, (which) one should not forget to worship, and farts.

^B *Martyrdom of St Pisura*⁷⁵

While the assumed source text (ex. 37) uses the patterns *sop-men ... sop ... ke-sop ... ke-sop ...*, followed by *sop-de ... ø ...* and *han-sop-de ... sop-de ...* mostly coordinating main clauses or NP, the other one (ex. 38) uses slightly different patterns: *sop-men ... u-sop ... ke-sop ... ke-sop ...*, followed by *han-ke-sop-de ... han-sop-de ...* and *han-sop-men ... han-sop-de ...* and coordinates circumstantial as well as main clauses and NPs. Whether this kind of variation is the outcome of a diachronic process, individual preference, entails a semantic difference or even goes back to some variation in the Greek *Vorlagen* is hard to discern.

However, examples of our pattern from the Bohairic version of the Life of Pachomius show a preference for the pattern IDF.P-*sop*. Main (ex. 39

⁷⁵ HYVERNAT, *Actes des Martyrs*, pp. 127,18–128,2.

& 40) and circumstantial clause coordination occur even together in one and the same coordinated structure (ex. 41):

- (39) After Theodore's return he and Pachomius pray for seven hours and the throne of the Lord appears above them:

<i>han-sop-men</i>		<i>ša-f-c^hisi</i>	<i>ehreî</i>	<i>nce-pi-t^hronos</i>
IDF.P-time-indeed		AOR-3SM-raise	above	PTC-DEF+.M-throne
<i>hôsde</i>	<i>nse-kên</i>	<i>e-u-nau</i>	<i>ero-f</i>	
so_that	CNJ.3P-stop	CIRC-3P-see	OBJ-3SM	
<i>han-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ša-f-i</i>	<i>e-p-esêt</i>	<i>ecô-u</i>
IDF.P-time-yet	again	AOR-3SM-come	to-DEF.M-ground	above-3P
<i>hôsde</i>	<i>para-ke-kuci</i>	<i>nse-c^hoh</i>	<i>ero-f</i>	<i>n-nu-cic</i>
so_that	for-other-little	CNJ.3P-touch	OBJ-3SM	with-POSS.P.3P-hand

At times the throne went up so that they could not see him; at times he went down to them so that they could almost touch it with their hands.

^B*Vita Pachomii*, §76⁷⁶

- (40) St Macarius of Alexandria tells how he battled with some demons for 48 hours, until they became so demented that they changed themselves into a crowd of phantasms:

<i>han-sop-men</i>		<i>ša-u-er</i>	<i>m-p^h-rêti</i>	<i>n-han-mui</i>
IDF.P-time-indeed		AOR-3P-do	in-DEF.M-way	of-IDF.P-lion
		<i>e-u-hôki</i>	<i>n-na-k^lalauc</i>	<i>n-nu-ieb</i>
		REL-3P-scratch	OBJ-my.P-feet.P	with-POSS.P.3P-nail
<i>han-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ša-u-er</i>	<i>m-p^h-rêti</i>	<i>n-han-hof</i>
IDF.P-time-yet	again	AOR-3P-do	in-DEF.M-way	of-IDF.P-snake
		<i>e-u-k^llemk^llom</i>	<i>ehun</i>	<i>n-na-k^lalauc</i>
		REL-3P-encircle	into	OBJ-POSS.P.1S-feet.P

Sometimes they took the appearance of lions scratching my feet with their claws; sometimes they took the appearance of serpents entwining themselves around my feet.

^B*Life of St Macarius of Alexandria*, §8⁷⁷

- (41) Theodore speaks often to the assembled brothers about his approaching death but they do not understand:

<i>han-sop-men</i>	<i>e-f-c^hô</i>	<i>mno-s</i>	<i>nô-u</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>un-u-son</i>
IDF.P-time-indeed	CIRC-3SM-say	OBJ-3SF	to-3P	that	PTC-IDF.S-brother
<i>nxê-ten</i>	<i>ere-p-cois</i>	<i>na-c^hem-pef-šini</i>			<i>n-tai-rompi</i>
among-2P	CIRC-DEF.M-lord	FUT-find-POSS.M-3SM-news			in-DEM.M-year
<i>e-f-sabol</i>	<i>uoh</i>	<i>e-f-saxun</i>	<i>e-f-cosi</i>	<i>uoh</i>	
CIRC-3SM-outside	and	CIRC-3SM-inside	CIRC-3SM-exalt	and	

⁷⁶ LEFORT, S. *Pachomii Vita, Bohairice Scripta*, p. 81,17–21.

⁷⁷ AMÉLINEAU, *Histoire des monastères de la Basse-Égypte*, pp. 245,16–255,1. The paragraph numbering follows VIVIAN, *Four Desert Fathers*, pp. 131–162.

e-f-saxrêi

CIRC-3SM-below

<i>han-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>a-u-en-u</i>	<i>e-pi-iom</i>
IDF.P-time-yet	again	that	PF-3P-bring-3P	to-DEF+.M-winepress

<i>e-^hre-u-hom-u</i>	<i>nten-côlh</i>	<i>m-pu-êrp</i>
to-INFL-3P-press-3P	CNJ.1P-scoop	OBJ-POSS. M.3P-wine

<i>han-mêš-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>n-sop</i>	<i>ša-f-co-s</i>	<i>n-han-uon</i>
IDF.P-multitude-yet	again	of-time	AOR-3SM-say-3SM	to-IDF.P-one

<i>nsausa</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>a-i-xônt</i>	<i>exun</i>	<i>e-^hr-i-še</i>	<i>nê-i</i>	<i>erat-f</i>
apart	that	PF-1S-approach	into	to-INFL-1S-go	to-1S	before-3SM

<i>m-pa-c(o)is</i>	<i>iê(su)s</i>
as-POSS.M.1S-lord	Jesus

<i>han-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ša-f-co-s</i>	<i>xen-uônh</i>	<i>ebol</i>	<i>ce</i>
IDF.P-time-yet	again	AOR-3SM-say-3SM	in-reveal	out	that

<i>ti-meui</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>p^h-(nu)ti</i>	<i>na-c^hem-pa-šini</i>	<i>xen-tai-rompi</i>
1S-think	that	DEF.M-god	FUT-find-POSS.M.1S-news	in-DEM.M-year

Sometimes he said to them: ‘There is a brother among you whom the Lord is going to visit this year, who is outside and inside, who is exalted and humble,’ at another time he said: ‘They have been brought to the wine press to be pressed so that we scoop their wine.’ Often he said to certain of them: ‘I am about to go to my Lord Jesus,’ at another time he said openly: ‘I think that God is going to visit me this year.’

^B*Vita Pachomii*, §199⁷⁸

Usually clauses are connected but sometimes one finds gapping features such as in the following example where the verbal form has not been repeated in the second clause:

- (42) Theodore had entreated Horsiese to daily address the word to the brothers during Passover: *Yet he did not agree to do it continually because of his humility,*

<i>alla</i>	<i>han-sop-men</i>	<i>šare-pen-iôt</i>	<i>apa hôrsiësi</i>
but	IDF.P-time-indeed	AOR-POSS.M-1P-father	Apa Horsiese

<i>er-kathêkin</i>	<i>e-ni-snêu</i>
AUX-instruct	OBJ-DEF+.P-brothers.P

<i>han-ke-sop-de</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>apa theodôros</i>	<i>hō-f</i>
IDF.P-other-time-yet	again	Apa Theodore	self-3SM

but it was now our father Apa Horsiese giving the instruction to the brothers, now Apa Theodore himself, (*because the two were like one man*).

^B*Vita Pachomii*, §205⁷⁹

⁷⁸ LEFORT, *S. Pachomii Vita, Bohairice Scripta*, p. 195,5–13.

⁷⁹ LEFORT, *S. Pachomii Vita, Bohairice Scripta*, pp. 204,26–205,2.

A further example with phrasal coordination is provided by the Bohairic version of the Martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch, which is structurally similar to the above-cited Sahidic version (see ex. 24).

The Bohairic data show that circumstantial clauses are coordinated here and not focussed forms, as the marking of both is different in this dialect. The same can be supposed for Sahidic.

Other dialects

The pattern is almost absent in other dialects; at least the consulted editions of Akhmimic and Fayyumic did not yield any examples. A single instance was found in the Lycopolitan dialect of the Nag Hammadi texts (L₆):

- (43) The different orders start to act in similar ways as soon as they are brought together:

<i>sap</i>	<i>a-s-š-arkhesthai</i>	<i>a-ire</i>	<i>nn-u-pethau</i>	<i>nk'i-ti-taksis</i>	<i>ethau</i>
time	PF-3SF-can-begin	to-do	OBJ-IDF.S-evil	PTC-DEM.F-order	bad
<i>hnn-u-smat</i>	<i>m-mnt-att-hêt</i>	<i>šare-f-kôh</i>	<i>nk'i-ti-taksis</i>		
in-IDF.S-way	of-ABST-un-wise	AOR-3SM-envy	PTC-DEM.F-order		
<i>m-mnt-hêp</i>	<i>hnn-u-ho</i>	<i>n-rmmef-ncnk'ons</i>	<i>ahrêi</i>	<i>e-s-r-hôb</i>	
of-ABST-hide.STA	in-IDF.S-face	of-AGT-violence	up	CIRC-3SF-do-thing	
<i>hôô-s</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>e-p-pethau</i>	<i>mpirête</i>	<i>e-u-k'om</i>	<i>te</i>
self-3SF	also	to-DEF.M-evil	like	CIRC-IDF.S-power	SE.F
<i>n-rmmef-ncnk'ons</i>	<i>ahrêi</i>	<i>te</i>			
of-AGT-violence	up	SE.F			
<i>sap-de</i>	<i>hôô-f</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>šare-ti-taksis</i>	<i>m-mnt-<at>-hêt</i>	
time-yet	self-3SM	also	AOR-DEM. F-order	of-ABST-un-wise	
<i>hu-toot-s</i>	<i>a-r-hôb</i>	<i>e-nanu-f</i>	<i>e-s-ntôn-s</i>	<i>ara-s ce</i>	
put-hand-3SF	to-do-thing	CIRC-good-3SM	CIRC-3SF-equal-3SF	to-3SF for	
<i>ti-taksis</i>	<i>et-hêp</i>	<i>e-s-kôh</i>	<i>a-ire</i>	<i>mma-f</i>	<i>hôô-s an</i>
DEM.F-order	REL-hide.STA	CIRC-3SF-envy	to-do	OBJ-3SM	self-3SF also

Sometimes the evil order might begin to do evil in a foolish way, the <wise> order would emulate, in the form of a man of violence, also doing what is evil, as if it were a power of a man of violence. At other times the foolish order attempts to do good, making itself like it, since also the hidden order is zealous to do it.

^L*Tractatus Tripartitus*⁸⁰

Similar to some of the above patterns, the dialect makes use of an unmarked *sop ... sop-de ...* pattern. It is probably not unreasonable to suggest that all Coptic dialects might have had all the patterns at their

⁸⁰ ATTRIDGE, *Nag Hammadi Codices I*, p. 288 73,31–36. I have refrained from adjusting the spellings and referential mistakes (e.g., *šare-f-kôh* should be *šare-s-kôh*).

disposal but that they are not equally attested due to random accidents of survival.

Diachronic situation (pre-Coptic)

Examples for any phase earlier than Coptic are very rare. The TLA database⁸¹ does not yield even one secure example.⁸² However, Classical Egyptian supplies two examples:

- (44) In a spell for an amulet it is affirmed about the ‘female great one’:

<i>ir.n-s</i>	<i>zp</i>	<i>ʿf3</i>	<i>zp</i>	<i>ʿ3</i>
do.PF-3SF	time	there	time	here

She acted now there, now here.

Book of the Dead, Spell 159 (pTurin 1791)⁸³

- (45) A gloss explains the clause ‘*His mouth is tied, his eyebrows are drawn, while his face is as if he wept*’ in a surgical treatment: *It means that he does not/cannot open his mouth so that he speaks,*

<i>ir.t</i>	<i>inh.wj-f</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>zp</i>	<i>n-srf.t</i>	<i>n-hrw</i>
hurt	eyebrow.DUAL-3SM	do	time	of-moving_rapidly	of-up

<i>zp</i>	<i>n-k3p</i>	<i>n-hrw</i>
time	of-close	of-down

<i>mj</i>	<i>nty</i>	<i>hr-trm</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>hr-f</i>	<i>rm.t</i>
like	REL	PRP-wink	do	face-3SM	cry

His eyebrows are distorted, now rapidly moving upwards, now closing downwards, like someone who winks while his face is crying.

pSmith 4,3–4 gloss I⁸⁴

The first of these examples shows the etymologically connected element *zp* (> *sop*) in a similar construction seen in the Coptic data presented above. Coordination is achieved on phrasal level in this case. Diachronically we are not very far from the Coptic data (1st millennium CE) as the text supplying the example is dated to the last centuries of the 1st mil-

⁸¹ <http://aaew2.bbaw.de/ta/>.

⁸² A possible candidate seems to be Setne Cairo CG 30692,15 (SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Denkmäler* II, p. 113 and ZAUZICH, *Enchoria* 6, p. 82). Though it seems possible to read *i.ir.n=f s zp m-s3 irm=s zp h3.t=f* ‘‘He did it now behind with her, now in front of him,’’ the example is uncertain and hence better left aside. I would like to express my gratitude to D. Devauchelle and Gh. Widmer/ Lille as well as J. F. Quack/ Heidelberg and G. Vittmann/ Würzburg for discussions on the issue.

⁸³ LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, p. 288 73,31–36. Other manuscripts with the same spell show certain variation in the adverbs like *sp wʿ*, *sp nf3* or *sp di*, see KOCKELMANN, *Todtenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden* I.1, p. 172 sub Tb 159V Kol. IV, Z. 6. The older version from the shrine of Tutankhamen does not show the same text; see PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, p. 32 and pl. IV.

⁸⁴ BREASTED, *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I, p. 198. For the translation see HANNIG & WITTHUHN, in JANOWSKI & SCHWEMER, *Texte zur Heilkunde*, p. 250.

lennium BCE. The second example is much older, as the manuscript is dated to the 15th century BCE. The alternatives are introduced with a construction *zp* plus genitive. This might be an earlier pattern for the construction in which the connector still underlies the syntactic rules pertaining to nouns and is not yet perceived as a connector.

The scarcity of examples is noteworthy and might not only be due to the accidents of transmission. Yet at the present time I cannot present other suitable candidates for this function.

CONCLUSION

Despite some unevenness in the distribution of the data the pattern examined in this study can be considered an integral part of the Coptic language system. Typologically, the pattern used to form the connector is not very common, but it is not totally isolated either. The SoA's coordinated are usually, but not necessarily, of a parallel syntactic type. Coordination can be achieved on phrasal as well as on clausal level. There are no requirements for, or constraints on, specific forms to be used. Besides the pattern coordinating clauses and phrases, a special construction for coordinating quotes exists, consisting of the connector *sop* followed by the connector *ce* used to introduce quotes.

Structurally it should be pointed out that the connector appears always clause initial, except in coordination on phrase level of course, even when used with embedded structures such as the circumstantial. Thus the connector is positioned before the converter. Therefore we might hypothesize that the connector could also have been used with any other converted structure such as past-converted structures (*ne-*) or even focussed forms ('*second tenses*'). In this case we could simplify diagram 2 in the following way:

initial SoA				alternative SoA				
connector			clause-type	connector				clause-type
∅- IDF.S- IDF.P-	<i>sop</i>	(-men)	any	∅- IDF.S- IDF.P-	(ke)	<i>sop</i>	(-de) (on)	any

Diagram 3. Distribution of patterns in Coptic

Coptic elements in *italics*; grammatical elements in SMALL CAPS;
facultative elements in (brackets)

Diachronically there are only a handful of examples before the Common Era and it seems to be fully developed only by Coptic. Yet again, even there its productive use is limited to certain writers or specific textual sorts, as one might expect. It is foremost a rhetorical device to present two (or more) SoA's or quotes to the audience which appear from time to time in place of each other.

Typologically Egyptian/Coptic seems to call for a classification of its own seeing that it uses a noun 'time; moment' as connector, which in addition can be explicitly marked as indefinite and is thus syntactically a DP. However, we have seen above the expression (*u-*)*sop/hen-sop* functioning as an adverb and it can hence be classified along with the majority of languages into pattern (i) (see Table 1 above). A similar feature, i.e., nouns used as adverbs, can be found in other languages as well, such as Albanian.⁸⁵

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GLOSSING OF THE EXAMPLES

1, 2, 3	number
ABS	absolute (with pronouns)
ABST	abstract morpheme (with nouns)
AGT	agent
AOR	aorist (verbal form)
AUX	auxiliar
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circumstantial
CND	conditional (verbal form)
CNJ	conjunctive (verbal form)
COP	copula
DEF	definite article
DEF+	definite article with aforementioned NP
DEM	demonstrative
DUAL	dual
F	feminine
FIN	finalis (verbal form)
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future
IDF	indefinite article
IMP	imperative
INFL	inflection
IRP	interrogative particle
JUSS	jussive

⁸⁵ NEWMARK, HUBBARD, PRIFTI, *Standard Albanian*, p. 223. A similar explanation might be used for data of other languages presented above such as Turkish *kâh ... kâh ...* "lit. time ... time ...".

M	masculine
NEG	negation
NMZ	nominalizer (with infinitives)
OBJ	object marker
P	plural
PF	perfect
PN	personal name
POSS	possessive
PRP	preposition
PRT	preterite
PTC	particle
REL	relative morpheme
S	singular
STA	stative
SE	subject element

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