Eitan Grossman, Peter Dils,
Tonio Sebastian Richter & Wolfgang Schenkel (eds.)

Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic:
Contact-Induced Change in an Ancient African Language

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Greek Connectors in Coptic. A Contrastive Overview I

Matthias Müller[1]

Abstract

The present paper presents an overview on the use of coordinating connectors of Greek etymology in Coptic. However, the use of connectors of Coptic etymology is contrasted to these so as to receive a fuller picture. The data are mainly taken from Sahidic and Bohairic texts with occasional reference to other varieties of Coptic. The second part of this paper, which treats the subordinating connectors, appeared as Müller 2012.

1 Introduction

I had initially been asked to provide an overview on the topic of Greek conjunctions in Coptic. It soon turned out, however, that Coptic presents some problems in defining such a category precisely. Neither morphology nor syntax supplies enough features to differentiate true conjunctions from conjunctional adverbs or prepositions used as conjunctions. Therefore, I decided to broaden the scope of the paper by taking the larger category of connectors into consideration.

In addition, I have chosen a wider perspective on the matter, so as to contrast the attested Greek connectors with the native counterparts found in Coptic. The usual lists only present the attested Greek connectors without any relation to indigenous patterns. This makes it impossible to ascertain whether the former are typical or marginal patterns. Further research is needed, specifically with regard to a quantitative approach to the various patterns as well as preference in different textual sorts or in the specific style of certain authors. While a couple of patterns can be found in documentary texts, others seem confined to translational literature or are specific to certain Coptic writers, such as Shenute.

Although the paper focusses primarily on the use of Greek connectors, I have added short descriptions of the use of indigenous Coptic connectors if these are underrepresented in the descriptions of modern Coptic grammars. Generally, refences to the standard descriptions of Coptic are given. These are Stern 1880 for Sahidic and Bohairic, Mallon

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[4]1956 for Bohairic as well as Reintges 2004 and Layton [3]2011 for Sahidic.[2] Of these, only Reintges 2004 at first seems suitable for typologists (i.e., for a readership lacking specific knowledge of Coptic looking for glossed examples), but in matters of terminology Stern 1880 and Till 1970 are easier to access even without glossing.

In agreement with the editors of the conference volume, the paper has been divided into two parts. The first one presented here deals with the patterns of coordination; what was originally the second part, devoted to patterns that in Western European languages would usually be subordinated clauses, has already appeared, as Müller 2012. Following a suggestion of the peer-reviewers, examples for Coptic patterns that do not use Greek connectors and were only referred to in footnotes in Müller 2012 have here been moved to the main text as glossed examples.

2 The category *connector*

From the standpoint of Greek etymology, in Coptic we encounter Greek connectors that are classifiable as particles (e.g., =ⲇⲉ =*de* "yet"), conjunctional adverbs (e.g., ⲡⲗⲏⲛ *plên* "nevertheless" or ⲉⲧⲓ *eti* "still") or prepositional phrases (e.g., ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲑⲉ *kata-t-he* "like").

In Coptic, these connectors may consist of a single element such as ⲁⲗⲗⲁ *alla* "but", ⲡⲗⲏⲛ *plên* "nevertheless", =ⲇⲉ =*de* "yet", ⲅⲟⲙⲱⲥ *homôs* "likewise", ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ *palin* "again", ⲏ *ê* "or", etc., or of several elements such as ⲟⲩⲧⲉ … ⲟⲩⲧⲉ … *ute ... ute* "neither … nor", ⲟⲩⲇⲉ … ⲟⲩⲇⲉ … *ude ... ude ...* "neither … nor …", ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ(ⲇⲉ) … ⲁⲗⲗⲁ … *u-monon(=de) ... alla* "not only … but …", ...=ⲙⲉⲛ …=ⲇⲉ =*men ... =de ...* "on the one hand …, on the other hand …", ⲕⲁⲛ … ⲕⲁⲛ … *kan ... kan ...* "whether … whether …", ⲉⲓⲧⲉ … ⲉⲓⲧⲉ … *ite ... ite ...* "be it … be it…." In both categories, particles as well as adverbs can be found. In terms of syllable structure we find monosyllabic (such as ⲏ *ê*, =ⲇⲉ =*de*, =ⲅⲁⲣ =*gar* "for", ⲅⲱⲥ *hôs* "like"), bisyllabic (such as ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ *palin*, ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ *kaigar* "for", ⲉⲧⲓ *eti* "still", ⲅⲁⲙⲁ *hama* "at the same time") and polysyllabic structures (such as ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ *malista* "moreover", ⲉⲫⲟⲥⲟⲛ *ephoson* "as long as", ⲉⲓⲙⲏϯ *imêti* "unless"). Although connectors, being part of the morphological residual category of particles, have a tendency to shorter structures, we find monosyllabic adverbs (ⲡⲗⲏⲛ *plên*) as well as bisyllabic conjunctions (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ *alla*).

Furthermore, the syntactic position of the borrowed connector gives no clue as to whether it belongs to the class of 'real' conjunctions or conjunctional adverbs, as all of these are almost always in initial position, except for a couple of second-position clitics (such as =ⲇⲉ =*de* or =ⲅⲁⲣ =*gar*). (By contrast, Coptic adverbs or adverbial expressions of native origin would normally appear in a position towards the right periphery of the clause in unmarked use.) Non-initial employment of first-position connectors is so rare that it could[3] be considered quantitatively irrelevant; some of the few examples to be found are given below as ex. 1 & 2 with ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ *loipon* "then, therefore, further":

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2 Although it supplies plenty of material for the dialects Sahidic & Bohairic as well as Fayumic and Akhmimic, I have refrained from adding references to Chaîne's grammar (1933) for reasons of accessibility and terminology.

3 A possible explanation might be sought in a diachronic development, which could be outlined along the following possible stages (see also Müller & Uljas 2016): 1) use of the Greek adverb in initial

(1)   After condemning the *tomus Leonis*, the author assures the audience that his hero, Apa Macarius of Tkow, believed properly in the Nicean creed. So he continues:

ⲘⲀⲢⲈⲚⲔⲦⲞⲚ   ⲖⲞⲒⲠⲞⲚ   ⲉ̀ⲬⲚ̀ⲈⲚϬⲞⲘ   ⲘⲚ̀ⲚⲈϢⲠⲎⲢⲈ   Ⲛ̀ⲦⲀⲨⲀⲀⲨ
mare-n-kto-n   ***loipon***   *ečn-en-com*   *mn-ne-špêre*   *nt-a-f-aa-u*
JUSS-1P-turn-1P   then   upon-DEF.P-power   and-DEF.P-wonder   REL-PST-3MS-do-3P

Ⲛ̀ⲦⲈⲚϢⲀϪⲈ   ⲈⲢⲞⲞⲨ   ⲔⲀⲦⲀⲐⲈ   Ⲛ̀ⲦⲀⲚⲈⲢⲎⲦ   ⲚⲎⲦⲚ̀
nte-n-šače   *ero-u*   *kata-t-he*   *nt-a-n-erêt*   *nê-tn*
CNJ-1P-say   OBJ-3P   like-DEF.F-way   REL-PST-1P-promise   to-2P

ϨⲚ̀ⲦⲀⲢⲬⲎ   Ⲙ̀ⲠⲒ̈ⲈⲄⲔⲰⲘⲒⲞⲚ
hn-t-arkhê   *m-pi-egkômion*
in-DEF.F-beginning   of-DEM.M-panegyric

"Therefore, let us turn to the mighty works and wonders that he performed, and let us narrate them in the way that we promised to you in the beginning of this panegyric."
^SDioscuros of Alexandria, *A Panegyric on Macarius* III.13 (Johnson 1980: 21b, 8–12)

(2)   The fame of St Simeon spreads throughout the area:

ⲞⲨⲞϨ   ⲚⲀⲨⲚⲎⲞⲨ   ϨⲀⲢⲞϤ   ⲖⲞⲒⲠⲞⲚ   Ⲛ̀ϪⲈⲞⲨⲘⲎϢ
uoh   *na-u-nêu*   *haro-f*   ***loipon***   *nče-u-mêš*
con   PRT-3P-come.STA   to-3MS   then   PTC-IDF.S-crowd

ⲈϤⲞϢ   ⲈⲂⲞⲖ   ϨⲒϤⲞⲨⲈⲒ
e-f-oš   *ebol*   *hi-pʰ-uei*
DEP-3MS-grow.STA   out   from-DEF₁.M-far

"And then an ever-growing crowd came to him from afar."
^B*Life & Miracles of St Simeon Stylites* (Chaîne 1948: 36, 8–11)

Probably the most basic definition for connectors would be that they "connect words, phrases, or clauses" and are usually distinguished into coordination and subordinating connectors (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 45). Other definitions, such as the one given in Pasch et al. (2003), are often too language specific.

Resulting from the above-sketched issues, I follow within the present paper a functional approach to coordination (Mauri 2008: 23–48). Hence two (or more) grammatical entities considered to be in a functional parallelism are analysed as coordinated, irrespective of their possibly different grammatical structures. This functional parallelism entails semantic, conceptual, and pragmatic parallelism (Mauri 2008: 32–41).

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position as it would appear in Greek, 2) full incorporation of the adverb in the language system and thus moving it rightwards in the clause. For the latter stage, one might quote the treatment of adverbs and connectors independently of their origin in the late indigenous grammars, such as that by Athanasius of Qus (Bauer 1971: 283–289).

3 Semantically coordinating connectors (*conjunctions*)

3.1 Additive/connective

Coptic origin		Greek origin
Connective		
^{SB}JUXTAPOSITION "and"		^S*kai-* "and"
^S*auô* / ^B*uoh* "and"		
^S*mn-* / ^B*nem-* "and"		
^{SB}*hi-* "both … and …"		
^{SB}Conjunctive "and then/thus"		
Additive		
		u-monon(-de) … alla … "not only … but …"

The pattern of *juxtaposition* (Ernst 1994; ^{SB}Stern 1880: §591) is possibly the most wide-spread one (see examples 3b and 7 below). It is regularly employed on the phrasal as well as on the clausal level and is the unmarked pattern for the coordination of main clauses in past states of affairs. All other indigenous coordinators are monosyndetic (Haspelmath 2007: 8–10) and prepositive (*A co B*) and are usually repeated with multiple coordinands, i.e., coordinator omission is usually not licensed (thus *A co B … co N* instead of *A B … co N*, see the examples given in 3 and 4). No special patterns for representative or augmentative coordination exist and inclusory conjunction is not specifically marked, while emphatic coordination, in addition to ϩⲓ- *hi-* (see below), can be expressed by the additional ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ *m-pe-snau* "both together (lit: as the two)"; see Haspelmath 2007 for terminology and typological patterns.

(3a)   Jesus addresses the Pharisees as:
    ⲛ̄ⲥⲟϭ   ⲁⲩⲱ   ⲛ̄ⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉ
    n-soc   ***auô***   *n-blle*
    DEF.P-stupid   CON   DEF.P-blind

(3b)   As above:
    ⲛ̀ⲥⲁϭ   ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲏ
    n-sac   *n-bllê*
    DEF.P-stupid   DEF.P-blind

(3c)   As above:
    ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲭ   ⲟⲩⲟϩ   ⲙⲃⲉⲗⲗⲉ
    ni-soč   ***uoh***   ***m****-belle*
    DEF₂.P-stupid   CON   as-blind
    "You stupid and blind!"   Matthew 23:17 (a ^SAranda Perez 1984: 241;
        b ^MSchenke 1981: 109; c ^BHorner 1898–1905: I 210)

(4a)   The psalmist narrates God's punishment of Egypt and says that he sent his anger among the Egyptians. This anger is further embellished as:

ογϭⲱⲛⲧ̄	ⲙⲛ̄ⲟγⲟⲣⲅⲏ	ⲙⲛ̄ⲟγⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ
u-cônt	**mn**-*u-orgê*	**mn**-*u-thlipsis*
IDF.S-wrath	CON-IDF.s-anger	CON-IDF.s-distress

(4b)   As above:

ογⲑγⲙⲟⲥ		ογϭⲱⲛⲧ	ⲙⲉⲛⲟγⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ
u-thumos	*ø*	*u-cônt*	**men**-*u-thlipsis*
IDF.S-anger		IDF.S-wrath	CON-IDF.s-distress

(4c)   As above:

ογⲙⲃⲟⲛ	ⲛⲉⲙⲟγⲭⲱⲛⲧ	ⲛⲉⲙⲟγϩⲟⲭϩⲉⲭ
u-mbon	**nem**-*u-čônt*	**nem**-*u-hočheč*
IDF.S-anger	CON-IDF.s-wrath	CON-IDF.s-distress

"… anger, wrath, and affliction…"   Psalm 77[78]:49 (a [S]Budge 1899:84;
b [M]Gabra 1995: 151; c [B]Burmester & Devaud 1923: 55)

The default marker for phrasal or clausal entities in cases when an overt coordinator is employed is [S]ⲁγⲱ *auô* / [B]ⲟγⲟϩ *uoh* "and" (Ernst 1994; [SB]Stern 1880: §591),[4] which is not subject to constraints in respect of phrasal entities. Nevertheless, when used for clausal coordination [S]*auô* / [B]*uoh* is semantically marked. It often has an additive ("also; furthermore") function when used with a clause (Layton 2011: §493.3; although there with dependent clauses only). In Sahidic, it always appears in initial position within the second coordinated element, whereas Bohairic has a specific morphosyntactic pattern for coordinated Determiner Phrases: DEF-NP *uoh n-ø*-NP:

(5)   The story of David is pushed further by introducing the following change of circumstances:

ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉⲇⲉ	ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁⲓ	ⲁϥⲙⲟγ	ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲡⲣⲣⲟ	ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ	ⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ
a-s-šôpe=de	*mnnsa-nai*	*a-f-mu*	*nci-p-rro*	*ne-n-šêre*	*n-ammôn*
PST-3FS-be=yet	after-DEM.P	PST-3MS-die	PVS-DEF.M-king	of-DEF.P-son	of-N

ⲁγⲱ	ⲁϥⲣⲣⲣⲟ		ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲁⲛⲛⲱⲛ	ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ	ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ
auô	*a-f-r-rro*		*nci-annôn*	*pe-f-šêre*	*e-pe-f-ma*
CON	PST-3MS-do-king		PVS-N	POSS.M-3MS-son	to-POSS.M-3MS-place

"And after this it came to pass that the king of the sons of Ammôn died and then his son Annôn ruled in his stead."   [S]2 Kings 10:1 (Ciasca 1885: 196)

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4   For other dialectal forms, such as [F]ⲁϩⲁ *aha* or [L]ⲟγⲁϩⲛ *uahn,* see Till (1961: §300). These are, however, considered to have a different etymology, see Černý 1976: 14 s.v. ⲁγⲱ *auô* & 18 s.v. ⲁϩⲁⲛ *ahan* and Vycichl 1983: 18–19 s.v. ⲁγⲱ *auô*, 23 s.v. ⲁϩⲁⲛ *ahan* & 241 s.v. ⲟγⲟϩ *uoh*. [F]ⲁϩⲁ *aha* seems to be confined to non-literary texts and can appear side by side with ⲁγⲱ *auô*.

(6)   With the help of the Lord, St Philotheos ordered pagan idols to kill their priest and afterwards made the idols descend into Hell:

ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉϥⲛⲉⲩⲇⲉ   ⲉⲛⲉⲓ   ⲛϫⲉⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ntele-f-neu=de   *e-nei*   *nče-dioklêdianos*
TMP-3MS-see=yet   OBJ-DEM.P   PVS-N

ⲁϥⲧⲓⲧⲁⲁⲧϥ   ⲉⲧϥⲡⲟⲣⲫⲏ   ⲁϥⲡⲉϩⲥ
a-f-ti-taat-f   *e-t-f-porphê*   *a-f-peh-s*
PST-3MS-give-hand-3MS   to-POSS.F-3MS-purple   PST-3MS-tear-3FS

ⲁⲩⲱ   ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ   ⲉϥϯⲉⲥ   ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲙⲡϥϩⲁ   ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲁϥ
auô   *a-f-šôpi*   *e-f-ti-es*   *ehun hm-p-f-ha*   *mmin mma-f*
CON   PST-3MS-be   DEP-3MS-give-blow   into in-POSS.M-3MS-face   self-3MS

"When Diocletian beheld this, he grasped his purple mantle, tore it and then began to slap himself in his face."   [F]*Mart. Philotheos* (Girard 1923: 107 vs a 3–8)

(7)   After Jesus has taught the little children, they learned about the forms of the father. Then:

ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ   ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ   ⲁⲩϫⲓⲉⲁⲩ   ⲁⲩϯⲉⲁⲩ
a-u-saune   *a-u-suôn-u*   *a-u-či-eau*   *a-u-ti-eau*
PST-3P-know   PST-3P-know-3P   PST-3P-receive-glory   PST-3P-give-glory

"They perceived and they were perceived; they were glorified and they glorified."
          [L]*Gospel of Truth* chap. 10 (Attridge & MacRae 1985: 86 19, 32–34 = Nagel 2014: 48)

(8)   The hero's mother adheres still to her pagan faith and hence is called:

ⲟⲩϣⲁⲙϣⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ   ⲧⲉ   ⲟⲩⲟϩ   ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ
u-šamše-idôlon   *te*   ***uoh***   ***n-agathartos***
IDF.S-serve.PPA-idol   SE.F   CON   as-unclean

"She is an idolatress and unclean!"   [B]Theodore of Ancyra, *On the Theodores*
          (Balestri & Hyvernat 1924: 126, 12–13 = Winstedt 1910: 38, 24–25)

Both comitative [S]ⲙⲛ- *mn-* / [B]ⲛⲉⲙ- *nem-* "and" (Ernst 1994: 93–96; [SB]Stern 1880: §591) and [SB]ϩⲓ- *hi-* "and" (Ernst 1994: 90–93; [SB]Stern 1880: §591) are etymologically prepositions and thus are still bound morphemes that are preposed to the second (and any following) coordinated element. While both are used only for NP-coordination (including infinitives), *hi-* is subject to a specific syntactic constraint: the coordinated NPs must be used without prefixed determiners (definite or indefinite article, demonstratives):[5]

(9)   John preaches against apocryphal writings that should not be read by true adherers of the orthodox faith and calls these texts:

ⲛⲁⲓ   ⲉⲧⲙⲉϩ   ⲛⲥⲁϩⲟⲩ   ϩⲓⲥⲓϣⲉ
nai   *et-meh*   *n-sahu*   ***hi**-siše*
DEM.P   REL-fill.STA   with-curse   CON-bitterness

"… those (books) filled both with curse(s) and bitterness…"
          [S]John of Parallos, *In Michaelem* (van Lantschoot 1946: 304, a16–17)

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5   See also Ernst 1994: 94 for ϩⲓ- *hi-* coordinating attributes and ⲙⲛ- *mn-* coordinating genitives.

(10)   Christ is said to be:

ⲉϥϫⲟⲥⲉ	ⲉⲁⲣⲭⲏ	ⲛⲓⲙ	ϩⲓ̈ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ	ⲛⲓⲙ	ϩⲓ̈ϭⲟⲙ	ⲛⲓⲙ
e-f-čose	*e-arkhê*	*nim*	***hi**-eksuia*	*nim*	***hi**-com*	*nim*
DEP-3MS-be_high.STA	to-rule	QU	CON-might	QU	CON-power	QU

ϩⲓ̈ⲙⲛ̅ⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ	ⲛⲓⲙ	ϩⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲛ	ⲛⲓⲙ	ⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲁⲩⲟϥ		
***hi**-mnt-čois*	*nim*	***hi**-ran*	*nim*	*e-ša-u-tauo-f*		
CON-ABST-lord	QU	CON-name	QU	REL-AOR-3P-put_forth-3MS		

ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ	ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲓⲱⲛ	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ			
u-monon	*hm-pei-aiôn*	*alla*	*hm-p-ke-ua*			
NEG-only	in-DEM.M-age	but	in-DEF.M-other-one			

"He is far above every rule and authority and every power and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the one to come."

<div align="right">^SEphesians 1:21 (Thompson 1932: 199)</div>

Both ^S*mn-*/^B*nem-* and ^{SB}*hi-* "and" may co-occur with *auô*, see below 3.8 "Explanatory clause". The use of *hi-* can denote emphatic coordination (*"both … and …"*). As *mn-* seems to create closer coordination than *auô*, the difference between the two, at least in Sahidic, might be one between natural (*mn-*) and accidental coordination (*auô*).

The verbal form of the Conjunctive (Shisha-Halevy 1995; Richter 2016) is a deranked verbal form that is used in non-parallel constructions, typically in modally marked clauses. Its major (but not sole) function is to mark the clause as sequential to the state of affairs in the initial clause.

The Greek *kai* "and" (Förster 2000: 363) is primarily only attested in specific Greek formulae or phrases copied *en bloc* in legal documentary texts in Sahidic (Richter 2008) or in translated literary texts in Bohairic Coptic.[6] However, occasionally it seems to appear as an elevated mode of expression:

(11)   The letter from Ali to his dear son Ahmed opens with the words:

ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲗⲉⲛ	ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ	ⲛϣⲁⲣⲉⲡ	ⲁⲛⲁⲕ	ⲡⲉ	ⲁⲗⲓ	ⲉⲓⲥϩⲉⲓ
hm-p-len	*e-p-nuti*	*nšarep*	*anak*	*pe*	*ali*	*e-i-shei*
in-DEF.M-name	of-DEF.M-god	first	1s	COP.M	N	DEP-1s-write

ⲉⲓϣⲓⲛⲓ	ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲧ	ϣⲏⲗⲓ	ⲁϩⲙⲏⲧ	ⲕⲉ	ⲧⲉⲃⲙⲉⲟⲩ	
e-i-šini	*(e)-pa-melit*	*(e)-šêli*	*ahmêt*	*ke*	*te-b-meu*	
DEP-1s-ask	for-POSS.M.1s-beloved	of-son	N	CON	POSS.F-3MS-mother	

[ⲕⲉ	ⲛ]ⲉⲃⲥⲛⲉⲩ	ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ				
ke	*ne-b-sneu*	*têr-u*				
CON	POSS.P-3MS-brother.P	all-3P				

"In the name of God. First, I am Ali, who is writing and greeting his beloved son Ahmed and his mother and all his brethren."   ^F*P.Lond.Copt.* 580, 1–2 (Crum 1905: 275)

Additionally, *kai* appears in compounds such as ⲕⲁⲓⲡⲉⲣ *kaiper*, ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓ *kaitoi*, ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ *kaitauta* (see Müller 2012: 128–130). Greek *te* "and" might be hiding underneath the

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6   See e.g., ^B*Life & Miracles of St Simeon Stylites* (Chaîne 1948: 36, 23) ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ *mallon ke mallon* "more and more".

Coptic graphematic representation ⲇⲉ *de*. However, it would be equally possible to assume that Greek *te* and *de* "yet" simply merged into the latter in Coptic (see also 3.3 below).

The polysyllabic as well as polymorphemic connector ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ … ⲁⲗⲗⲁ … *u-monon ... alla ...* "not only … but …" appears in initial position within the respective coordinands (each element in its clause or phrase). It usually coordinates clauses, but also sometimes phrasal entities (see 12 and example 10 above). The *u-monon* clause can be introduced with ⲭⲉ- *če*:

(12)   Theodore calls for endurance in affliction and times of trouble, urging the fellow monks to happily accept whatever fate, since the reward will be inheritance of all the blessings of which the Scripture speaks, the breath of God, and the promises made to the fathers. He goes on to say, adjusting a quote from 2Tim 4:8:

ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ	ⲁⲛⲟⲛ	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲟⲩⲟⲛ	ⲛⲓⲙ	ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲉⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ	ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
u-monon	*anon*	***alla***	*uon*	*nim*	*ent-a-u-mere-p-bios*	*etuaab*
NEG-only	1P	but	one	QU	REL-PST-3P-love-DEF.M-life	holy

ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲓⲁ	ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ	ⲛ̄ϥⲃⲓ	ϩⲁⲡⲛⲟϭⲛⲉϭ	ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄
n-t-koinônia	*m-me*	*n-f-bi*	*ha-p-nocnec*	*m-pe-kh(risto)s*
of-DEF.F-congregation	of-truth	CNJ-3MS-carry	under-DEF.M-disgrace	of-DEF.M-Christ

ⲁⲩⲱ	ⲛ̄ϥϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ	ϩⲁⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥⲉ	ⲉⲭⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ	ⲥⲛⲁⲩ
auô	*n-f-hupomine*	*ha-n-hise*	*ečn-hêt*	*snau*
CON	CNJ-3MS-suffer	under-DEF.P-pain	upon-heart	two.M

"Not only we, but whoever has loved the holy life of the true *koinônia*, has endured the disgrace that was Christ's and put up with sufferings without wavering."

^STheodore, *Instruction Three* §7 (Lefort 1956: 43, 23–26)

(13)   Theodore tries to console his desperate fellow monks with a parable about a man who is the friend of a ruler and therefore does not fear anyone:

ⲁⲩⲱ	ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ	ⲭⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ	ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲉϣⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ	ⲛⲁϥ
auô	***u-monon***	*če-mere-laau*	*n-rôme*	*eš-r-p-et-hou*	*na-f*
and	NEG-only	CMP-NEG.AOR-any	of-man	can-do-DEF.M-REL-bad	for-3MS

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ϣⲁⲣⲉⲕⲉⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ	ⲧⲟϭⲟⲩ	ⲉⲣⲟϥ	ⲛϥⲕⲁⲣⲡⲁⲍⲉ	ⲙⲙⲟⲩ
alla	*šare-ke-mêêše*	*toc-u*	*ero-f*	*n-f-karpaze*	*mmo-u*
but	AOR-other-crowd	attach-3P	to-3MS	CNJ-3MS-harvest	OBJ-3MS

ⲭⲉⲥⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ	ⲭⲉⲡⲣⲣⲟ	ⲙⲉ	ⲙⲙⲟϥ
če-se-soun	*če-p-rro*	*me*	*mmo-f*
for-3P-know	CMP-DEF.M-king	love	OBJ-3MS

"And not only does nobody do him any harm, but many even ally themselves with him, and thus he obtains favours from them, for they know that the ruler loves him."

^S*Vita Pachomii*, 5th Sahidic Life (Lefort 1952: 175, 4–7)

(14)   In the Epilogue of the Life of St Anthony, the reader is urged to read the story on occasion to the pagans, so that they should understand:

ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ	ⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ	ⲓ̄ⲥ̄	ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄	ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	ⲡⲉ
u-monon	*pe-n-čois*	*i(êsu)s*	*pe-kh(risto)s*	*u-nute*	*pe*
NEG-only	POSS.M-1P-lord	Jesus	DEF.M-Christ	IDF.S-god	COP.M

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ   ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ   ⲡⲉ
alla   *p-šere*   *m-p-nute*   *pe*
but   DEF.M-son   of-DEF.M-god SE.M

"… our Lord, Jesus Christ, is not only God, but the son of God."

S*Vita Antonii* (Garitte 1949: 101, 3–4)

(15)   Theodore says to a brother who wants to repent:

ⲟⲩⲛϬⲟⲙ   ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ   ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ   ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲕⲱ   ⲛⲁⲕ
un-com   *m-p-čois*   ***u-monon***   *e-tre-f-kô*   *na-k*
be-power   OBJ-DEF1.M-lord NEG-only   to-INFL-3MS-put for-2MS

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲛϥⲕⲱ   ⲉⲃⲟⲗ   ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ   ⲧⲏⲣϥ
alla   *n-f-kô*   *ebol*   *m-p-kosmos*   *têr-f*
but   CNJ-3MS-put out   OBJ-DEF1.M-world whole-3MS

"The Lord has power not only to forgive you, but to forgive the entire world."

S*Vita Pachomii*, 5th Sahidic Life (Lefort 1952: 194, 30–31)

(16)   Theodore leaves the archbishop to bring his letter to Horsiese and orders his brethren to keep a boat ready for Athanasius in case he may need it on his way south:

ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ   ϫⲉϥⲉⲣϣⲓ   ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ   ⲛϫⲟⲓ
u-monon   *če-f-er-ši<ši>*   *m-pe-n-kuči*   *n-čoi*
NEG-only   CMP-3MS-do-rule   of-POSS.M-1P-little of-boat

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲍⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ   ⲙⲙⲁⲩ   ⲟⲛ   ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲕⲉⲥⲱⲙⲁ
alla   *uonte-f-eksusia*   *mmau*   *on*   *e-pe-n-ke-sôma*
but   have-3MS-power   there   again   to-POSS.M-1P-other-body

"Not only does he have power over our little boat, but he also has authority over our bodies."   B*Vita Pachomii*, §203 (Lefort 1953: 201, 12–14)

In addition to its use within this construction, *monon* is also attested as an adverb:

(17)   St Pachomius advises the monk to set his hope in God, who will not only not forget each one's achievements, but will return them in times of anguish and despair. Yet, Pachomius urges:

ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ   ⲑⲃ̄ⲃⲓ̈ⲟⲕ   ϩⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ   ⲛⲓⲙ   ⲕⲁⲡⲉⲕϣⲁϫⲉ   ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ
monon   *thbbio-k*   *hn-hôb* *nim*   *ka-pe-k-šače*   *m-pahu*
only   humble.IMP-2MS in-thing QU   put.IMP-POSS.M-2MS-word in-back

ⲕⲁⲛ   ⲉⲕⲛⲟⲓ̈   ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ   ⲛⲓ̈ⲙ
kan   *e-k-noi*   *n-hôb*   *nim*
even   DEP-2MS-understand OBJ-thing QU

"Only humble yourself in all things, hold back your words, even if you understand the whole affair!"

S Pachom, *Instruction Concerning a Spiteful Monk* §16 (Lefort 1956: 5, 28–29)

(18)   Diocletian looses his temper after Theodore declares in public to be a Christian. He allows him to take what he wants:

ⲘⲞⲚⲞⲚ   ⲘⲠⲈⲢϮⲘ̄ⲔⲀϨ   Ⲛ̄ϨⲎⲦ   ⲚⲎⲒ   ⲀⲚ
monon *mper-ti-mkah*   *n-hêt*   *nê-i*   *an*
only   NEG.IMP-give-sorrow   of-heart   for-1s   NEG

Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈⲔ,ϪⲰ   Ⲙ̄ⲠⲀⲒⲢⲀⲚ   ϪⲈ ⲒⲎ̄Ⲥ̄   Ⲙ̄ⲠⲀⲘ̄ⲐⲞ
nte-k-čô   *m-pai-ran*   *če-iê(su)s*   *m-pa-mt^{h}o*
CNJ-2MS-say   OBJ-DEM.M-name   CMP-N   in-POSS.M.1s-presence

"… only do not grieve me and mention this name Jesus in my presence!"

ᴮ*M. Theod. Strat.* (Balestri & Hyvernat 1907: 163, 11–12)

For the appearance of the negation ⲀⲚ *an* within a negated imperative, see Müller forthcoming.

3.2 Subtractive/exception

Coptic origin		Greek origin	
Subtractive			
ˢ*ačn-* / ᴮ*a(t)cne-* "without"		*khôris* "without"	
ˢ*n-(p)-ueš-n-* / ᴮ*nuešen* "without"			
Exception			
ˢ*nbl-* "except"		*imêti* "except"	
ˢ*nsabêl e-* / ᴮ*ebêl* "except"			

To express the absence of an entity, Coptic makes use of the indigenous preposition ˢ*ačn-*/ᴮ*a(t)cne* "without":

(19)   Several persons sell some real estate and issue a statement for the current year:
ⲀⲚⲞⲨⲰϢ   ⲀⲨⲰ ⲈⲚ̄Ⲡ̄ⲐⲈ   ⲀϪⲚⲖⲀⲀⲨ   ⲚⲔⲢⲞⲨϤ   ϨⲒϨⲞⲦⲈ
a-n-uoš   *auô* *e-n-pithe*   ***ačn*-*laau*   *n-kruf*   *hi-hote*
PST-1P-wish and   DEP-1P-agree   without-any   of-guile   and-fear

  ϨⲒϪⲒⲚϬⲞⲚⲤ   ϨⲒⲀⲠⲀⲦⲈ
  hi-či-n-cons   *hi-apate*
  and-take-OBJ-violence and-deceit

"We are willing and agree without any guile, fear, force, and deceit."

ˢSale of real estate by Daniel and others to Solomon *P.KRU* 3
(Crum & Steindorff 1912: #3, 11–12)

(20)   St Paul reasons that Christ is a highpriest like Melchizedek. New things replace old ones once the latter have become useless. Similarly, a new hope is introduced:
ⲀⲨⲰ   ⲀϪⲈⲚⲀⲚⲎϢ   ⲈⲚⲎⲘⲘⲈⲚ̄ⲄⲀⲢ   ⲀⲨϢⲰⲠⲒ   Ⲛ̄ⲞⲨⲎⲎⲂ   Ⲛ̄ϢⲀⲈⲚⲈϨ
auô   ***ačen*-*anêš*   *e-nê=m(e)n=gar*   *a-u-šôpi*   *n-ueeb*   *n-ša-eneh*
CON   without-oath   DEP-DEM.P=indeed=for   PST-3P-be   as-priest of-until-eternity

ⲁⲭⲉⲛⲁⲛⲏϣ
***ačen**-anêš*
without-oath

"… without oath, for those others have become priests without oath."

ᶠHebrews 7:20 (Zoega 1810: 160)

(21) Pharaoh said to Joseph:

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ	ⲡⲉ	ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ	ⲁϭⲛⲟⲩⲕ	ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩⲗⲓ	ⲓ̈ⲛⲓ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫⲓⲝ
anok	*pe*	*pharaô*	***acnu**-k*	*nne-hli*	*ini*	*n-te-f-čič*
1s	COP.M	Pharaoh	without-2MS	NEG.FUT-any	bring	OBJ-POSS.F-3MS-hand

ⲉ̀ϫⲉⲛⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ	ⲧⲏⲣϥ	ⲛ̄ⲭⲏⲙⲓ
ečen-p-kahi	*têr-f*	*n-kʰêmi*
upon-DEF₁.M-land	whole-3MS	of-Egypt

"I am Pharaoh, and without you no one shall lift his hand in the whole of Egypt."

ᴮGenesis 41:44 (de Lagarde 1867: 100)

Alternatively, one might choose the construction ˢⲛⲟⲩⲉϣⲛ̄- *n-(p)-ueš-n-* / ᴮⲛⲟⲩⲉϣⲉⲛ- *nuešen-* "without (*lit.* in (the) gap of …)", which is more grammaticalized in Bohairic.[7]

(22) One of the Pachomian rules states:

ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ	ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲥ	ⲛⲟⲩⲉϣⲛ̄ⲣⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ	ϩⲓⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ
nne-rôme	*mooše*	*hn-t-souhs*	***n-ueš-n**-rahtu*	*hi-tolomôn*
NEG.FUT-man	walk	in-DEF.F-congregation	in-lack-of-goat_skin	and-hood

ⲉⲓⲧⲉ	ⲉⲡⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ	ⲉⲓⲧⲉ	ⲉⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ
ite	*e-p-sôuh*	*ite*	*e-p-ma-n-uôm*
whether	to-DEF.M-gather	whether	to-DEF.M-place-of-eat

"No one shall walk in the congregation without both a goat-skin and a hood, whether to the place of gathering or the dining hall."

ˢPachomian Rule #91 (Lefort 1956: 31, 1–2)

(23) Although at first wroth about the disciples asking yet another question, Jesus tells them to ask whatever they wish to know and says:

ⲁⲛⲁⲕ	ϩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ	ϯⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟϥ	ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ	ⲟⲩϣⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉⲓ
anak	*huu-t*	*ti-na-coo-f*	*arô-tne*	***uš-n**-r-phthoni*
1s	self-1s	1s-FUT-say-3MS	to-2P	lack-of-do-envy

"… I myself will tell it to you without envy."

ᴬ*Conversations between Jesus and his disciples* (Schmidt 1919: 11* XVIII, 4–5)

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7   However, the Sahidic form shows that it is a compound even in that dialect, as ⲟⲩⲉϣ *ueš* is the destressed form of ⲟⲩⲱϣ *uôš* and hence must be part of a longer word.

(24)   The martyrdom starts with the following description of the historical-political setting:

ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓⲇⲉ	ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ	ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ	ⲭⲏ	ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟ
a-s-šopi=de	*ere-p-thronos*	*n-ni-rômeos*	*khê*	*ebol*	**nuešen-uro**
PST-3FS-happen=yet	DEP-DEF₁.M-throne	of-DEF₂.P-romans	AUX	out	without-king

“It came to pass that, while the Byzantine throne was empty without a king, ….”

<div align="right">^B*Martyrdom of Theodore, the Oriental, et al*. (Balestri & Hyvernat 1907: 34, 13–14)</div>

The two patterns can be found in mutual variation, as a comparison of the following instances in different dialects shows:

(25a)   The Psalmist describes the situation of the sinner, who provoked the Lord. Defiled are his ways and, since God turned away from him, his opponents rule over him, for the sinner had said boldly in his heart:

ⲛ̀ϯⲛⲁⲕⲓⲙⲁⲛ	ϫⲓⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ	ϣⲁⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ	ⲁϫⲛ̅ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ
n-ti-na-kim=an	*čin-u-čôm*	*ša-u-čôm*	**ačn-pethou**
NEG-1S-FUT-shake=NEG	from-IDF.S-generation	until-IDF.S-generation	without-bad

(25b)   As above:

ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲕⲓⲙ	ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϫⲱⲟⲩ	ϣⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ	ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉϣⲛ̀ⲉⲣⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ
nn-a-kim	*isčen-čôu*	*ša-čôu*	**nuešn-er-pethôu**
NEG.OPT-1S-shake	from-generation	until-generation	without-do-bad

“I shall not be shaken from generation to generation without adversity.”

<div align="right">Psalm 9[10]:27[6] (a ^SBudge 1899: 10–11; b ^BBurmester & Devaud 1925: 9)</div>

(26a)   St Paul reasons about the justification of humans through faith and expresses his conviction that:

ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲁⲉⲓⲟ	ϩⲛ̀ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ	ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉϣⲛ̀ⲛⲉϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ	ⲙ̀ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ
p-rôme	*na-tmaio*	*hn-t-pistis*	**nuešn-ne-hbêue**	*m-p-nomos*
DEF.M-man	FUT-be_justified	in-DEF.F-faith	without-DEF.P-thing.P	of-DEF.M-law

(26b)   As above:

ϥⲛⲁⲙⲁⲓ	ⲃⲉⲛⲫⲛⲁϩϯ	ⲁⲧϭⲛⲉⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ	ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ
f-na-mai	*xen-ph-nahti*	**atcne-ni-hbêui**	*nte-pi-nomos*
3ms-FUT-be_justified	in-DEF₁.M-faith	without-DEF₂.P-thing.P	of-DEF₂.M-law

“The individual will be justified through the faith without the things of the law.”

<div align="right">Romans 3:28 (a ^SThompson 1932: 94 & b ^BHorner 1898–1905: III 24)</div>

A third pattern is the employment of the Greek preposition *khôris* “without”. Note that in the Coptic New Testament this is the only function of *khôris*. It never appears with clausal structures. Both of the indigenous constructions introduced above are used in translated literature as equivalents of *khôris* in the Greek *vorlage*.[8]

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8   E.g., *ačn-* in James 2:20 (^SSchüssler 1991: 61) and *nuešn-* in Hebrews 7:20 (^SThompson 1932: 175 vs. *ačn-* in ex. 20 above and *atcne-* in the Bohairic version, see Horner 1898–1905: III 504).

(27)   One of the Pachomian rules states:

εκταληυΔε   εγειω̄   εκϣανπωϩ   ετсооуϩ̄c
e-k-talêu=de   *e-u-iô*   *ekšan-pôh*   *e-t-souhs*
DEP-2MS-mount=yet OBJ-IDF.S-donkey CND.2MS-reach OBJ-DEF.F-congregation

χωριc   αναγκη   εκναϥϭε   εβολ   εκcωκ   ϩητϥ̄
khôris   *anagkê*   *e-k-na-fôce*   *ebol*   *e-k-sôk*   *hêt-f*
without   need   FOC-2MS-FUT-leap   out   DEP-2MS-lead   front-3MS

"When you are riding a donkey and you reach the congregation, you shall leap off and walk before it, except in case of need." ᔆPachomian Rule #110 (Lefort 1956: 32, 14–15)

(28)   In the seventh wonder of the three saints, a woman and her son are led into the saints' *topos*:

оуоϩ   αуcоβ†   ν̄†αμφανι   χωριc   νεϩ
uoh   *a-u-sobti*   *n-ti-amphani*   ***khôris*** *neh*
and   PST-3P-prepare   OBJ-DEF₂.F-lamp   without   oil

ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲩϣⲧ   ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ   ϧⲁϫⲱ-ⲥ   ν̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ̀   ν̄ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ
e-u-čušt   *ebol*   *xačô-s*   *n-t-parusia*   *n-ni-agios*
DEP-3P-wait   out   for-3FS   as-DEF₁.F-apparition of-DEF₂.P-saint

"And they prepared the lamp without oil, waiting for the apparition of the saints."
                    ᴮCyril of Alexandria, *Miracles of the Three Saints*, #7 (de Vis 1929: 192, 7–8)

All these patterns can be used with the infinitive or (in the case of *khôris*) with a dependent clause expressing a subordinate negative restrictive clause, see Müller 2012: 142–147.

In cases where the given state of affairs does not apply to certain members of a group of entities, Coptic employs either the native ᔆⲛⲥⲁ- *nsa-* "except", ᔆⲛⲃⲗ- *nbl-* "except" (Stern 1880: §571) common only in Upper Egyptian dialects Sahidic and Akhmimic, or the pattern ᔆⲛⲥⲁⲃⲏⲗ ⲉ- *nsabêl e-* / ᴮⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉ- *ebêl e-* "except" (Stern 1880: §571). The latter two are etymologically derived from the verb ⲃⲱⲗ *bôl* "to loosen" and are used as complex prepositions, i.e., pronominal entities are cliticised to the forms.[9] The use of ᔆⲉⲓⲙⲏ† / ᴮⲓⲙⲏ† / ᴹⲁⲙⲙⲏⲧⲓ ˢᴮ*imêt* / ᴹ*ammêti* (NB: < εἰ μή τι) "except" (Stern 1880: §587; Gregorius 1976–78: 210–211 §116bis) is more common in Sahidic than in Bohairic. It can appear with the Coptic preposition ⲉ- *e-* "to" and sometimes overlaps with adversative functions.

(29)   Shenute addresses a pagan philosopher and his vain attempts to discern knowledge. Opposing the philosopher's views he quotes: *He has nourished them with honey out of rock and oil out of the hardest cliffs* (cf. Dt 32:13).

ⲁϣϭⲉ   ⲡⲉ   ⲡⲉⲃⲓⲱ   ⲛⲥⲁⲡϣⲁϫⲉ   ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ   ⲛⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ
aš=ce   *pe*   *p-ebiô*   ***nsa*-p-šače**   *mn-te-sbô*   *n-ne-graphê*
what=now   COP.M   DEF.M-honey   except-DEF.M-word   and-DEF.F-teach of-DEF.P-scripture

ⲛⲓⲙⲆⲉ   ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ   ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄   ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
nim=de   *petra*   ***nsa*-pe-kh(risto)s** *p-nute*
what=yet   rock   except-DEF.M-Christ   DEF.M-god

---

9   See the examples given in Stern (1880: §571). For an example with a noun, cf. ᴮMêna, *Life of Isaac* (Porcher 1914: 344, 15-16) ⲙⲡⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉ-ⲫ† ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ *mpe-hli emi **ebêl e**-pʰ-(nu)ti mauat-f* "Nobody knew except (*ebel e-*) God himself."

ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛⲥⲓⲃⲧ
u pe p-neh ebol hn-u-petra n-sibt
what COP.M DEF.M-oil out in-IDF.S-rock of-hill

ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ
imêti e-te-kharis nt-a-ne-khristianos učai nhêt-s
except to-DEF.F-mercy REL-PST-DEF.P-christian be_safe inside-3FS

"Now, what is the honey except the word and teaching of the Scripture? What rock except the Christ, God? What is the oil out of a rocky hill except the mercy in which the Christians were safe?"   ˢShenute, *As I Sat On A Mountain* (Leipoldt 1908: 52, 2–5)

(30)   The Gospel of Truth states that Truth appeared and joined the father. The father manifested what was hidden and explained it. A narrative interpolation states:

ⲛⲓⲙⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧϥ
nim=gar p-et-šôp imêti a-p-iôt uaeet-f
who=for COP.M-REL-receive except to-DEF.M-father alone-3MS

"For who contains, if not the father alone?"
    ᴸ*Gospel of Truth* §29 (Attridge & MacRae 1985: 96 27, 9–10 = Nagel 2014: 58–59)

(31)   Life and death of everyone are in Jesus' hands, say the Manichean Bema-psalms. He knows who might be half-dead, lying on the way:

ⲁⲩϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲉϥ
a-u-čôbe mma-f têr-u mpe-laue nae ne-f
PF-3P-pass OBJ-3MS all-3P NEG.PST-any pity for-3MS

ⲥⲁⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ
***sablle**-m-pistos mmete n-et-a-u-snuôn n-t-u-psukhê*
except-DEF.P-faithful only DEF.P-REL-PST-3P-know OBJ-POSS.F-3P-soul

"They all passed him by and none pitied him save only the faithful, those who knew their soul."   ᴸ*Psalms of Bêma* 239 (Allberry 1938: 40, 27–28)

(32)   Jesus preaches in the synagogue at Nazareth and says that there were many lepers in Israel in the times of the prophet Elisa:

ⲙⲡⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲩⲣⲟⲥ
mpe-hli nxêt-u tubo ebêl e-neman pi-suros
NEG.PST-any inside-3P be_cleansed except to-N DEF₂.M-N

"… yet none of them was cleansed except Naaman the Syrian."
                        ᴮLuke 4:27 (Horner 1898–1905: II 52)

(33)   John addresses the audience to introduce to them St Anthony, saying that he was of Egyptian descent:

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲣⲏϭⲉ ⲛⲁϣⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲏϯ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲏ
*auô ere-p-rê-ce na-ša e-tôn **iemêti**ˢⁱᶜ p-sa n-t-anatolê*
and FOC-DEF.M-sun-now FUT-rise to-where except DEF.M-side of-DEF.F-east

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲣⲉ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲏϯ ϩⲛⲕⲏⲙⲉ
*auô e-k-uôš e-tre-antônios pire tôn **iemêti**ˢⁱᶜ hn-kême*
and FOC-2MS-wish to-INFL-PN shine where except in-Egypt

ⲡⲙⲁ	ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ	ⲁϣⲁⲓ	ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ̄
p-ma	*nt-a-p-nobe*	*ašai*	*nhêt-f*
DEF.M-place	REL-PST-DEF.M-sin	multiply	inside-3MS

ⲁⲡⲉϩⲙⲟⲧ	ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲩⲉⲁϣⲁⲓ	ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ̄
a-pe-hmot	*r-hue-ašai*	*nhêt-f*
PST-DEF.M-grace	do-more-multiply	inside-3MS

"Now where will the sun rise except in the east? And where would you wish Anthony to shine except in Egypt, wherein sin abounded, but grace much more."

^SJohn the Hermit, *Panegyric on St. Anthony,* §6 (Garitte 1943: 118, 16–19)

For other functions of *imêti*, see Müller 2012: 127 (condition) & 144–146 (exception & restriction).

3.3 Adversative

Coptic origin		Greek origin	
^S*ntof* / ^B*nt^hof*	"rather (lit.: he)"	*alla*	"but"
^S*hôô-f* / ^B*hô-f*	"yet (lit.: self-3MS)"	*imêti*	"but"
^B*m-p^h-rêti*	"but (lit.: in the manner)"	*=de*	"yet"
		palin	"again; on the other hand"
		plên	"however"
		homôs	"nevertheless"
		=men … =de … "on the one hand … on the other hand; although …, yet …"	
		ouk-hoti=ce … alla … "not that … but …"	

The first two adversative elements of Coptic origin, ^Sⲛⲧⲟϥ / ^Bⲛⲑⲟϥ *nt^(h)of* "rather (lit.: he)", being the absolute third person singular masculine pronoun (^SShisha-Halevy 1986: 175–178; ^BMallon 1956: §343) and ^Sϩⲱⲱϥ / ^Bϩⲱϥ *hô(ô)f* "yet (lit.: self-3MS)" (Depuydt 2009, ^SShisha-Halevy 1986: 173–175), were originally agreement-sensitive, but later grammaticalized as 3rd person singular forms (cf. ex. 35 and 36 as well as 37 and 38). They both take second position in the clause and can appear with any sentence pattern.

(35)   The righteous has to suffer, but the Lord is with him, says the Psalmist, and goes on:

ⲡⲙⲟⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲉ	ϩⲟⲟⲩ
p-mu	***ntou***	*n-n-ref-r-nobe*	*hou*
DEF.M-death	rather(3P)	of-DEF.P-AGT-do-sin	be_bad.STA

"… but the sinners' death is wretched."   ^SPs 33[34]:22[21] (Budge 1899: 36)

(36)   An angel guides Paul through the netherworld. Entering a city, he beholds some people underneath trees without fruit. He starts to cry and asks the angel who these would be. Yet, the angel only replies that these should not be wept for at all. So Paul asks again:

ⲟⲩ   ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ   ⲛⲉ   ⲛⲁⲓ
u   ***ntof***   *ne*   *nai*
what   rather(3MS)   COP.P   DEM.P
"But what are these?"   [S]*Apocalypse of Paul* (Budge 1915: 565, 8)

(37)   The Lord sends the fifth plague over Egypt and all the lifestock and cattle of the
        Egyptians dies:

ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲇⲉ   ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ   ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ̀   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ   ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲗ̅
ebol=de   ***nt^{h}of***   *xen-ni-tebnôui*   *nte-nen-šêri*   *m-p-is(raê)l*
out=yet   rather(3MS)   in-DEF$_2$.P-animal.P   of-DEF$_1$.P-child   of-DEF.M-N

 ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϩⲗⲓ   ⲙⲟⲩ
 mpe-hli   *mu*
 NEG.PST-any   die
"… but out of the animals of the children of Israel nothing died."
                        [B]Exodus 9:6 (de Lagarde 1867: 145)

(38)   The apostle asks whether God is only the god of the Jews.

ⲟⲩⲟϩ   ⲫⲁⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ   ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ   ⲁⲛ   ⲡⲉ
uoh   *p^{h}a-ni-ke-ethnos*   ***nt^{h}ôu***   *an*   *pe*
CON   POSS.M-DEF$_1$.P-other-gentils   yet(3P)   NEG   SE.M
"But is he not of the gentiles too?"   [B]Romans 3:29 (Horner 1898-1905: III 24)

The use of [B]ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ *m-p^h-rêti* "as, like (*lit*. in the way/manner)" (see Müller 2012: 147 for
the more common subordinating use as introducing a similarity) seems rare and limited
to Bohairic:[10]

(39)   Cyril introduces a story about God's forgiveness with the assertion that:

ϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲁⲛ   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ́   ϣⲉ   ⲉ̀ⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ
f-uôš=an   *nte-pe-f-t^{h}amio*   *še*   *e-p-tako*
3MS-wish=NEG   CNJ-POSS.M-3MS-creation   walk   to-DEF.M-perdition

ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲕⲟⲧϥ   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲱⲛϧ
m-p^h-rêti   *nte-f-kot-f*   *nte-f-er-metanoin*   *nte-f-ônx*
in-DEF$_1$.M-way   CNJ-3MS-turn-3MS   CNJ-3MS-AUX-repent   CNJ-3MS-live
"He does not want that his creation should go to perdition, but that he should turn
around, repent, and live."   [B]Cyril of Alexandria, *On Repentance* (Chaîne 1913: 509, 3–5)

The Greek ⲁⲗⲗⲁ *alla* "but (< ἀλλά)" (Layton 2011: §493.1) is the Coptic default adversative
coordinator, even if, as shall be seen later, the discourse marker =ⲇⲉ =*de* appears in higher
frequency. It appears in clause-initial position with any sentence pattern and is used for
all types of contrast, i.e., contrast with positive assertion, contrast with negation in clause
2, contrast with negation in clause 1, and contrast with negation in clause 1 & clause 2,
as well as correction (see examples 43 and 44 for the latter), and as a discourse marker.

_____

10 Additional examples can be found in the same sermon (Chaîne 1913: 500, 13–14 & 502, 7–10), all
    referring to Ezra 33:11. Another possibility would be to analyse *m-p^h-rêti* as adverbial expression
    "thus", which, however, would have to assume a missing connector then.

(40) The author of a letter complains about taxes:

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲉⲣⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ	ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲥϩⲁⲓ	ⲁⲃⲁⲗ	ⲛⲁϥ	ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ	ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲧ	ⲙⲙⲟⲓ
alla	*er-t-agapê*	*nte-k-shai*	*abal*	*na-f*	*haro-i*	*empae-f-mout*	*mmo-i*
but	do-DEF.F-love	CNJ-2MS-write	out	to-3MS	about-1S	TEMP-3MS-kill	OBJ-1S

"But be so kind and write to him about me, before he kills me."

^{Sa}*O.Vind.Copt.* 154, 24–26 (Till 1960: 39)

(41) After he created man, God says:

ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡⲗⲱⲙⲓⲉⲛ		ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲃϭⲱⲧ	ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲃ
n-nanu-p-lômi=en		*e-tre-b-côôt*	*uaeet-b*
NEG-be_good-DEF.M-man=NEG		to-CAUS-3MS-stay	alone-3MS

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲙⲁⲗⲉⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲁ	ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲓⲑⲓⲁ	ⲛⲏⲃ	ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲃ
alla	*male-n-tamia*	*n-u-bôithia*	*nê-b*	*katala-b*
but	JUSS-1P-form	OBJ-IDF.S-helper	for-3MS	like-3MS

"It is not good that man stays alone, but let us create for him a female helper like
him."   ^F*Installation of Archangel Michael* §3 (Müller 1962: 11, 3–4)

(42) The hero, John son of Mark from Panicôit, is introduced into the story:

ⲟⲩⲟϩ	ⲫⲁⲓ	ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛ	ⲡⲉ	ⲟⲩⲟϩ	ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ	ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ
uoh	*pʰai*	*ne-u-diakôn*	*pe*	*uoh*	*n-khrêstianos*	*n-rômi*
CON	DEM.M	PRT-IDF.S-deacon	SE.M	CON	as-Christian	of-man

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϣⲧ	ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ	ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲁⲏ̀ⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ	ⲛ̀ⲗⲁⲙⲓⲧⲏⲥ
alla	*a-f-mušt*	*nem-ni-ethnos*	*n-smaêlitês*	*n-lamitês*
but	PST-3MS-visit	with-DEF₂.P-people	of-Ishamêlite	of-Islamic

"He was a deacon and a Christian, but he mixed with the Ishmaelite Islamic people."

^B*Martyrdom of John of Pancôit* §32 (Zaborowski 2005: 58, 232–236)

(43) Barnabas suggests to take Mark along with them into town and to preach the gospel. St
Paul, however, is reluctant. He argues that Mark has been neglectful and that it is thus
not right to give him another chance. Paul asks what the other apostles had quarrelled
about with each other:

ⲁⲛⲁⲩ	ϫⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲓϣⲉ	ⲉϫⲛⲟⲩ	ⲙⲏ	ⲉϫⲛϩⲉⲛϩⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲁ	ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ
a-nau	*ce-nt-a-u-miše*	*ecn-u*	*mê*	*ecn-hen-huparkhonta*	*e-u-na-tako*
IMP-see	CMP-FOC-3P-FIGHT	upon-what	IRP	upon-IDF.P-property	DEP-3P-FUT-perish

ⲙⲏ	ⲉϫⲛⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ	ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ	ⲉϥⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ
mê	*ecn-u-eou*	*nte-pei-ma*	*e-f-na-uôsf*
IRP	upon-IDF.S-glory	of-DEM.M-place	DEP-3MS-FUT-be_idle

ⲙⲙⲟⲛ	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲉϫⲛϩⲱⲃ	ⲥⲛⲁⲩ	ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ
mmon	*alla*	*ecn-hôb*	*snau*	*e-nanu-u*
no	but	upon-thing	two.M	DEP-be_good-3P

"See what they have been fighting about! About perishable properties, was it? About
an idle glory of this place, was it? No, but about two good things!"

^SJohn of Shmun, *On S Mark Evangelist* (Orlandi 1968: 30, 9–13)

(44)   Although Sarah denies to have laughed behind the curtain when she heard that, despite her advanced age, she would be pregnant in a year's time, the Lord says:

ⲘⲘⲟⲛ   ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲁ̇ⲣⲉⲥⲱⲃⲓ

mmon   alla   are-sôbi

no   but   PST.2FS-laugh

"No, but you laughed."   ᴮGen 18:15 (de Lagarde 1867: 35)

The adversative use of *imêti* is restricted to expressions of contrariety with a negated state of affairs in the first clause (as in German "nicht …, *sondern* …") and is derived from its use as an exception marker (see 3.2 above):

(45)   Jesus reproves the Pharisees, asking whether they had not read what David and those with him did when they were hungry:

ⲛ̇ⲑⲉ   ⲛ̇ⲧⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ   ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ   Ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

n-t-he   nt-a-f-bôk   ehun   e-p-êi   m-p-nute

in-DEF.F-way   REL-PST-3MS-go   into   to-DEF.M-house   of-DEF.M-god

ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ   ⲛ̇ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ   ⲛ̇ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ   ⲛⲁⲓ   ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉϣϣⲉ   ⲉⲣⲟϥ

a-f-uôm   n-n-oik   n-te-prothesis   nai   ete-me-šše   ero-f

PST-3MS-eat   OBJ-DEF.P-bread   of-DEF.F-show   DEM.P   REL-NEG-fitting   to-3MS

ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲩ   ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̇ⲙⲙⲁϥ   ⲉⲓⲙⲏϯ   ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ   ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ

*e-uom-u   ude   n-et-nmma-f   **imêti**   n-uêêb   mauaa-u*

to-eat-3P   nor   DEF.P-REL-with-3MS   except   DEF.P-priest   self-3P

"How he entered the house of God and ate the showbread, which befitted neither him nor the ones with him to eat, but only the priests themselves."

ˢMatthew 12:4 (Aranda Perez 1984: 161)

The adversative connector with the highest frequency is the discourse marker ⲇⲉ =*de* "yet (< δέ)" (Reintges 2001). It is cliticized to the first phonetic word, with only a few exceptions (Reintges 2001 for Bohairic indirect object). However, simple contrast is rarely attested.

(46)   Eudoxia asks her brother the emperor Constantine to give orders for an Easter-celebration:

ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲛϩⲉ   ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ

epeidê   a-n-he   e-p-taphos

for   PST-1P-find   to-DEF.M-tomb

Ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉⲇⲉ   ϫⲉⲉϥⲧⲱⲛ   ⲡⲉϥⲣⲟ̄

*mp-n-ime=**de**   če-e-f-tôn   pe-f-ro*

NEG.PST-1P-know=yet   CMP-FOC-3MS-where   POSS.M-3MS-mouth

"… for we found the tomb, yet we do not know where its entrance is."

ˢ*Eudoxia* §79 (Orlandi, Pearson & Drake 1980: 68, 24)

(47)   The Proverbs state:

ϩⲁⲣⲉⲧⲘ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲏⲧ   Ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ   ⲧⲉⲕⲟ   ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ

xare-t-mnt-at-hêt   *m-p-rôme*   *teko*   *n-ne-f-xôu*

AOR-DEF.F-ABST-un-heart   of-DEF.M-man   destroy   OBJ-POSS.P-3MS-way.P

ϩⲁⲣⲉϥϭⲛⲁⲣⲕⲉⲇⲉ   ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ   ϩⲙⲡϥϩⲏⲧ
*xare-f-cn-arke=**de*** *a-p-nute* *xm-p-f-hêt*
AOR-3MS-find-fault=yet   to-DEF.M-god   in-POSS.M-3MS-heart

"A man's folly corrupts his ways, yet in his heart he blames God."

[A]Proverbs 19:3 (Böhlig 1958: 94)

(48) After a couple of days, Papnute reaches a cave. He thinks it is inhabited and in a display of humility and endurance keeps on knocking until the middle of the night. As still nobody answers, he concludes that it must be empty:

ⲁⲛⲟⲕⲇⲉ   ⲁⲓⲙⲟϣⲓ   ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ   ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲡⲩⲗⲉⲟⲛ   ⲉⲙⲟⲩϯ   ϧⲁⲭⲱⲓ
*anok=**de*** *a-i-moši* *exun* *e-pi-spuleon* *e-<i>-muti* *xačô-i*
1s=yet   PST-1s-go   into   to-DEF₂-M-cave   DEP-1s-call   forward-1s

ⲭⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ   ⲉⲣⲟⲓ   ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ
če-smu *ero-i* *pa-iôt*
CMP-bless.IMP   to-1s   POSS.M.1s-father

ⲉⲧⲁⲓϣⲉⲇⲉ   ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ   ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲙⲥ   ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ   ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ
*eta-i-še=**de*** *exun* *a-i-soms* *a-i-nau* *e-u-son*
TMP-1s-walk=yet   into   PST-1s-look   PST-1s-see   OBJ-IDF.S-brother

ⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ   ⲉϥⲭⲱ   ⲛ̀ⲣⲱϥ
e-f-hemsi *e-f-kʰô* *n-rô-f*
DEP-3MS-sit   DEP-3MS-keep   OBJ-mouth-3MS

"So I went into the cave, announcing myself with the words: 'Bless me, my father!' When I went in, I looked around and saw a brother sitting in silence."

[B]Papnute, *Story of Onnophrius* (Amélineau 1885: 168, 9–11 coll.)

The situation is somewhat complicated, as Coptic ⲇⲉ *de* can represent both Greek δέ "yet" and τε "and" (Joussen 1969: 99–102). It is difficult to discern whether these two Greek words simply merged into Coptic ⲇⲉ *de* or whether they were actually still differentiated. A clear case in which *de* (< τε) seems to have been mistaken for δέ is provided by the following example. The copyist has introduced into the text of the Henoticon a line-break that would be fitting if *de* was analyzed as δέ; but this would result in losing the textual coherence.

(49) The text of the Henoticon is headed by the titles of the emperor and the list of the people addressed, i.e., the inhabitants of Alexandria, Libya, and the Pentapolis. It then begins:

ϯⲁⲣⲭⲏ   ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ   ϯⲭⲟⲙⲇⲉ   ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓϩⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ
ti-arkhê *nem-pi-tačro* *ti-čom=**de*** *nem-ni-hoplon*
DEF₂.F-origin   CON-DEM₂.M-strength   DEF₂.F-power=CON   CON-DEM₂.P-arm

ⲛ̀ⲁⲧϣ̀ϯⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ   ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ
n-at-š-ti-ubê-f *nte-te-n-met-uro*
of-NEG-can-give-against-3MS   of-POSS.F-1P-ABST-king

ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ   ⲉⲣⲟϥ   ⲭⲉϥϣⲟⲡ   ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ   ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ   ⲛⲟⲣⲑⲟⲇⲟⲍⲟⲥ
ten-emi *ero-f* *če-f-šop* *ebol* *hiten-pi-nahti* *n-orthodoksos*
1P-know   OBJ-3MS   CMP-3MS-happen.STA   out   by-DEF₂.M-faith   of-orthodox

ⲟⲩⲟϩ	ⲛⲑⲙⲏⲓ	ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ
uoh	*n-tʰ-mêi*	*mmauat-f*
CON	of-DEF₁.F-truth	self-3MS

"Knowing that the origin and strength, the power and the irresistible arms of our empire exist only through the orthodox and righteous faith …."

^B*Correspondence of Peter Mongus & Acacius of Constantinople* XI.2
(Amélineau 1888: 216, 12–217, 1 coll.)

Less frequently attested are the Greek connectors ⲡⲗⲏⲛ *plên* "however (< πλήν)" (^SShisha-Halevy 1986: 60), ^Sϩⲟⲙⲱⲥ / ^Bⲟⲙⲱⲥ *(h)omôs* "nevertheless (< ὁμῶς)"[11] (also written ϩⲱⲙⲟⲥ as in ex. 53 below) and ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ *palin* "again; on the other hand (< πάλιν)". All are generally employed as discourse markers, with ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ *palin* usually expressing repetition and thus often co-occurring with Coptic ⲟⲛ *on* "also", but sometimes also as simple adversatives. While ⲡⲗⲏⲛ *plên* and ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ *palin* always occur in sentence-initial position, ϩⲟⲙⲱⲥ *homôs* does so only if not used with another adversative connector such as ⲁⲗⲗⲁ *alla*:

(50)   After an interlude, the story continues with the narration of further marvels and wonders achieved through the faith of Macarius:

ⲡ̀ⲗⲏⲛ	ϯⲛⲁϫⲱ	ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲧⲛ̀	ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ	ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ
plên	*ti-na-čô*	*erô-tn*	*n-te-špêre*	*nt-a-s-šôpe*
however	1S-FUT-speak	to-2P	OBJ-DEF.F-wonder	REL-PST-3FS-happen

"However, I shall tell you about the wonder which occurred."

^SDioscuros of Alexandria, *A Panegyric on Macarius* V.1 (Johnson 1980: 29b, 1–2)

(51)   Upon Andrew's question, whither those atoned for their sins would be brought, Jesus answers that each one is brought where she or he belongs:

ⲡⲗⲏⲛ	ⲁⲩϯ	ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ	ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ	ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲩⲓ
plên	*a-u-ti*	*m-p-uei*	*p-uei*	*kata-ne-f-hbêui*
however	PST-3P-give	for-DEF.M-one	DEF.M-oneXDIST	like-POSS.P-3MS-thing.P

"… yet each one was placed according to his deeds."

^F*Installation of Archangel Michael* §16 (Müller 1962: 47, 21–22)

(52)   A Saracene ruler visits Simeon Stylites and, while talking to him, a worm drops to the ground from Simeon's thigh:

ⲟⲩⲟϩ	ⲁϥϯ	ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧϥ	ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ	ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲣⲟ
uoh	*a-f-ti*	*n-iat-f*	*mmo-f*	*nče-<pi>-uro*
CON	PST-3MS-give	OBJ-eye-3MS	OBJ-3MS	PVS-DEF₂.M-king

ⲡⲗⲏⲛ	ⲛⲁϥⲉⲙⲓⲁⲛ		ⲡⲉ	ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ
plên	*na-f-emi=an*		*pe*	*xen-u-tačro*
however	PRT-3MS-know=NEG		PTC	in-IDF.S-strength

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11   The connector *(h)omôs* is of even lower frequency in Bohairic, except for two instances from the Scripture, it appears mainly in the Bohairic version of the *Life of St Pachom* (Lefort 1953). It seems unattested in the other dialects so far.

ϫⲉⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ	ⲑⲱⲛ	ⲡⲉ	ⲫⲏ	ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲉⲓ	ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ
če-u-ebol	*tʰôn*	*pe*	*pʰê*	*et-a-f-hei*	*e-p-esêt*
CMP-IDF.S-out	where	COP.M	DEF₃.M	REL-PST-3MS-fall	to-DEF₁.M-ground

"And the king looked at it, but did not understand properly from where that which fell to the ground had come."   ᴮ*Life & Miracles of St Simeon Stylites* (Chaîne 1948: 52, 1–4)

(53)   On his deathbed, Pachom wants the monks of the *Koinonia* to choose a new leader, but the brethren claim that this is impossible. Therefore, he tells them that the Lord pointed out Petronios to him in a vision. However, he adds that:

ϯⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ	ϫⲉⲛⲧⲟϥ	ϩⲱⲱϥ	ⲟⲛ	ϥϣⲱⲛⲉ
ti-meue	*če-ntof*	*hôô-f*	*on*	*f-šône*
PRS.1s-think	CMP-3MS	self-3MS	again	PRS.3MS-ill

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ϩⲱⲙⲟⲥ	ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲱⲛϩ	ⲛⲧⲟϥ	ⲡⲉ	ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ
alla	***hômos***	*efšan-ônh*	*ntof*	*pe*	*pe-tn-iôt*
but	nevertheless	CND.3MS-live	3MS	COP	POSS.M-2P-father

"I think he is ill as well. Nevertheless, if he lives, then he is your father."

                       ˢ*Vita Pachomii*, 7ᵗʰ Sahidic Life (Lefort 1952: 93, 11–13)

(54)   Pachom returns to Palamon and reports about the divine afflatus to found a monastery of Tabenese. His old master is first not amused, feeling abandoned by Pachom, but says:

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲟⲙⲟⲥ	ⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ	ⲙ̅ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅	ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ	ⲛ̀ⲥⲏⲟⲩ	ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
alla	*omos*	*pʰ-uôš*	*m-p-c(ôi)s*	*mare-f-šôpi*	*n-sêu*	*niben*
but	nevertheless	DEF₁.M-will	of-DEF₁.M-lord	JUSS-3MS-happen	in-time	QU

"However, may the Lord's will be done always."

                              ᴮ*Vita Pachomii* §17 (Lefort 1953: 18, 27–28)

(55)   Shenute adresses the word of God and begs it to cease in its admonitions of him, because he is fearful of the final judgement that awaits him due to his sins:

ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ	ⲟⲛ	ⲙ̅ⲡⲣ̅ϩⲱⲡ	ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̅ⲛⲟϥⲣⲉ	ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϣ	ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅
palin	*on*	*mpr-hôp*	*n-n-et-r-nofre*	*e-n-et-uôš*	*e-sôtm*
again	also	NEG.IMP-hide	OBJ-DEF.P-REL-AUX-good	to-DEF.P-REL-wish	to-listen

ⲉⲛⲉⲕϣⲁϫⲉ
e-ne-k-šače
to-POSS.P-2MS-word

"On the other hand, do not withhold your useful (admonitions) from those who want to listen to your words."   ˢShenute, *De iudicio = A26* (Behlmer 1996: 20, b26–21, a5)

(56)   Theodore, troubled by the riches that the *koinonia* is acquiring, pays a visit to Horsiese.

ⲉⲧⲁϥⲫⲟϩϫⲉ	ⲉⲣⲟϥ	ⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ	ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ	ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ	ⲁϥⲣⲓⲙⲓ
eta-f-pʰoh=de	*ero-f*	*a-f-er-aspazesthe*	*mmo-f*	***palin***	*a-f-rimi*
TEMP-3MS-say=yet	OBJ-3MS	PST-3MS-AUX-kiss	OBJ-3MS	again	PST-3MS-cry

ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ   ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ   ⲛ̀ⲣⲓⲙⲓ   ⲟⲩⲟϩ   ⲁϥⲣⲓⲙⲓ   ϩⲱϥ   ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲁⲡⲁ   ϩⲱⲣⲥⲓⲏⲥⲓ
n-ti-unu   *xen-u-ništi*   *n-rimi*   *uoh*   *a-f-rimi*   *hô-f*   *nče-apa*   *hôrsiêsi*
in-DEF₂.F-hour in-IDF.S-great   of-cry   CON   PST-3MS-cry self-3MS PVS-Apa   PN
"When he reached him he kissed him, but suddenly he burst into abundant tears, and also the venerable Horsiese wept." ᴮ*Vita Pachomii*, §197 (Lefort 1953: 191, 30–192, 3)

The polymorphemic connector =ⲙⲉⲛ =*men* ... =ⲇⲉ =*de* ... , wherein both elements cliticize to the first phonetic word in their respective clause or phrase, is mainly used to introduce two alternatives with the semantics of "on the one hand … on the other hand", but it can also be used to express a concessive contrast. The second element is mainly =*de* but ⲁⲗⲗⲁ *alla* or other adversative connectors such as *hô*-PRN are attested as well. The major function is that of a discourse marker to structure the text.

(57) (Cotext fragmentary); Pantoleon asks his father:

ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲉⲓⲱⲧ   ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲟⲩ   ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ   ϩⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ   ⲉⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ
pa-iôt   *etbe-u*   *hoine=**men***   *hn-n-nute*   *e-u-aherat-u*
POSS.M.1s-father because-what some-indeed   in-DEF.P-god   FOC-3P-stand-3P

   ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩ   ⲛⲓⲙ   ⲉⲙⲉⲩⲉϣϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ
   n-nau   *nim*   *e-me-u-eš-hmoos*
   of-time   QU   DEP-NEG.AOR-3P-can-sit

ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲩⲉⲇⲉ   ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ   ⲉⲙⲉⲩⲉϣⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ   ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̅
*hen-koue=**de***   *e-u-hmoos*   *e-me-u-eš-tôun*   *e-p-têr-f*
IDF.P-others.P-yet   REL-3P-sit   FOC-NEG.AOR-3P-can-rise   to-DEF.M-all-3MS
"My father, why, on the one hand, are some of the gods always standing and unable to sit down, whereas, on the other hand, others that are seated are not able to rise at all?"
ˢ*Martyrdom of St Pantoleon* (Quispel & Zandee 1962: vi, 1–9)

(58) The Psalms of Bêma tell how the Holy Spirit revealed the natures of Light and Darkness to the faithful:

[ⲧⲙ]ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲉⲛ   ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ   ⲛⲉⲥϣⲟⲟⲡ   ϩⲛ̅ϯ[ⲉ   ⲙ̅]ⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲛⲁϭ   …
*t-mnt-rro=**men***   *m-p-uaine*   *ne-s-šoop*   *hn-tie*   *m-mnt-nac*   …
DEF.F-ABST-king=indeed   of-DEF.M-light PRT-3FS-be.STA   in-five.F of-ABST-great   …

ⲧⲙⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲟ   ϩⲱⲥ   ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ   ⲉⲥϣⲟⲟⲡ   ϩⲛ̅ϯⲟⲩ   ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ   …
t-mnt-rro   *hô-s*   *m-p-keke*   *e-s-šoop*   *hn-tiu*   *n-tamion*   …
DEF.F-ABST-king self-3MS of-DEF.M-darkness DEP-3FS-be.STA   in-five.M of-magazine …
"The realm of Light, on the one hand, consisted in five Greatnesses, …, but the realm of Darkness consists in five storehouses, …"
ᴸ*Psalms of Bêma* 233 (Allberry 1938: 9, 12–13 & 17–18)

(59) Macarius recounts how he met two 'real' monks in the desert who had been dwelling there for forty years:

ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛ   ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ   ⲡⲉ
*pi-uai=**men***   *ne-u-rem-n-kʰêmi*   *pe*
DEF₂.M-one=indeed   PRT-IDF.S-man-of-N   SE.M

ⲡⲓⲭⲉⲧⲇⲉ   ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲫⲁⲓⲁⲧ   ⲡⲉ

*pi-kʰet=**de***   *ne-u-phaiat*   *pe*

DEF₂.M-other=yet   PRT-IDF.S-N   SE.M

"One was an Egyptian, the other a Libyan."

^B*Sayings of Macarius the Great #21* (Amélineau 1894: 219, 10–11 coll.)

(60)   Besa makes a pun on the name of the nun to whom he is writing (Aphthonia = *the unenvious*):

ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉⲙⲉⲛ   ⲉⲣⲟ   ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ   ϫⲉⲁⲫⲑⲟⲛⲓⲁ

*se-mute=**men***   *ero*   *hm-pu-ran*   *če-aphthonia*

3P-call=indeed   to.2FS   in-POSS.M.2FS-name   CMP-N

ⲧⲉⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉⲓⲇⲉ   ⲉⲣⲟ   ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲟ   ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲥⲕⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟ   ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ

*te-phthoni=**de***   *ero*   *mauaat-e auô te-o*   *n-baskanos ero*   *mmin mmo*

2FS-envy=yet   to.2FS   self-2FS   CON   2FS-do.STA   as-mean   to.2FS   self.2FS

"Although they call you by your name Aphthonia, yet you envy yourself and are mean to yourself."   ^SBesa, *To Aphthonia* I.3 (Kuhn 1956: 37, 33–38, 2)

Further examples can be found below with *sop … sop …* (see 3.4 below).

Much rarer is the use of ⲟⲩⲭⲟϯ *oukhoti* (ⲟⲩⲕ ⲟ̈ⲧⲓ), seemingly attested only in the Scripture and in Bohairic[12]. The clause is introduced by *če*:

(61)   Jesus teaches in the temple and says about the circumcision handed down by Moses:

ⲟⲩⲭⲟⲧⲓ   ϫⲉⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ   ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲱ̈ⲥⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ

ouk-hoti *če-u-ebol*   *hm-môsês pe*

NEG-that   CMP-IDF.S-out   from-PN   SE.M

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ   ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲧⲉ   ⲡⲉ

alla   *u-ebol*   *hn-n-iote*   *pe*

but   IDF.S-out   from-DEF.P-fathers.P SE.M

"… – not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers – …" ^SJohn 7:22 (Quecke 1984: 122)

(62)   St. Paul assures the community of Corinth:

ⲟⲩⲭⲟⲧⲓ   ϫⲉⲁⲛⲟⲓ   ⲛ̄ϭⲥ̄   ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ

ouk-hoti *če-a-n-oi*   *n-c(ôi)s*   *e-pe-ten-nahti*

NEG-that   CMP-FOC-1P-do.STA   as-lord   to-POSS.M-2P-faith

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ   ⲛ̄ϣ̄ⲫⲏⲣ   ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ   ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁϣⲓ

alla   *ten-oi*   *n-špʰêr*   *n-ref-er-hôb*   *e-pe-ten-raši*

but   1P-do.STA   as-friend   of-AGT-do-work   to-POSS.M-2P-joy

"Not that we have dominion over your faith, but we are helpers of your joy."

^B2 Corinthians 1:24 (Horner 1898-1905: III 236)

For the use of *hoti*, see Müller (2012: 159).

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12 Note that the Old Bohairic version of the Gospel of John (Kasser 1960) always has *ukhoci*, cf. John 6:46, 7:22 & 12:6. Stern (1880: §606) also refers to simple *oti* but I have not been able to find examples.

3.4 Disjunctive

Coptic origin	Greek origin	Graeco-Coptic
simple alternative		
[B]*ie* "or"	[S]*ê* "or"	
	ite ... ite "either … or …"	[SB]*sop=men ... sop=de/on ...* "at one time … at another time …"
	negated clause ... *ute/ude ...* or *ute ... ute ..., ude ... ude ...* "neither … nor …"	
choice-aimed alternative		
[S]*čin-, čn-* ≠ [B]*šan-* "or"		

Both disjunctive connectors of Coptic origin, [S]ϫⲛ- *čn-* (also appearing as ϫⲉⲛ- *čen-* or ϫⲓⲛ- *čin-*, or even only ϫⲉ- *če-* preceding a nasal consonant and occasionally elsewhere as in example 66) ≠ [B]ϣⲁⲛ- *šan-* "or" ([S]Layton 2011: §493.44; [B]Stern 1880: §593), are etymologically prepositions and hence cliticise to the left of the second coordinated element. They are both used on the phrasal and on the clausal level. Their primary functional domain is the expression of a "choice-aimed alternative" (Mauri 2008: 154–193) in interrogative constructions ([B]Mallon 1956: §375) or in the construction [S]ϫ(ⲓ)-ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲛ *č(i)n-mmon* / [B]ϣⲁⲛⲙⲙⲟⲛ *šan-mmon* "or not" (Horn 1972) for the present and [S]ϫ(ⲓ)-ⲛⲙⲡⲉ *č(i)n-mpe* / [B]ϣⲁⲛⲙⲫⲉ *šan-mpʰê* "or not" for the past; sometimes, however, both *ie* and *šan* are employed (see example 69). However, Akhmimic Coptic seems to attest only ⲏ *ê* in both functions, i.e., simple and choice-aimed alternative (see Till 1928: 249 §219e).

(63)   St. Menas appears in front of the hegemon to confess in public his Christian faith. After he did, the hegemon Pyrrhus asks him:

    ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩϣⲙ̄ⲙⲟ̄   ϫⲉⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
    ntk-u-šmmo   ***če**-ntk-u-rem-tei-polis*
    2MS-IDF.s-stranger   or-2MS-IDF.s-man-DEM.F-town
    "Are you a stranger or are you of this city …?"

                                 [S]John of Alexandria, *Encomium on St Menas (Drescher 1946:* 50a, 5–7)

(64)   Pilate asks the crowd:

    ϫⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱϣ   ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲕⲁⲛⲓⲙ   ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄   ⲉⲃⲟⲗ   ⲃⲁⲣⲁⲃⲃⲁⲥ ϫⲛ̄ⲓ̅ⲥ̅
    če-(e-)tetn-uôš   *e-tr-a-ka-nim*   *nê-tn* *ebol* *barabbas* ***čn**-i(êsu)s*
    CMP-(FOC-)2P-wish   to-CAUS-1s-put-who   to-2P out N   or-N
    "Whom do you want me to give to you? Barabbas or Jesus (who is called Christ)?"

                                   [S]Matthew 27:17 (Aranda Perez 1984: 278)

(65)   In the night after the leaders of the congregation have taken some members of the congregation into custody, Shenute struggles with a man whom he considers to be a higher force in disguise sent to earth and yells at him to tell him:

ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ	ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ	ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ene-ntou	*p-ent-a-u-r-nobe*	*e-p-nute*
IRR-2P	COP.M-REL-PST-3P-do-sin	to-DEF.M-god

ⲭⲛⲁⲛⲟⲛ	ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ	ⲉⲣⲟϥ
***čn**-anon*	*p-ent-a-n-r-nobe*	*ero-f*
or-1P	COP.M-REL-PST-1P-do-sin	to-3MS

"Could it have been them who have sinned against God or was it us who sinned against him?" ^SShenute, *In the Night* (Leipoldt 1907: 38, 21–22)

(66)   St. Peter ask Jesus whence all the afflication and ill in the world comes:

ⲙⲏ	ⲁⲗⲉⲛⲉⲓ	ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ	ϣⲁⲡ	ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲗⲱⲙⲓ	ϫⲉⲉⲧⲃⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲏⲙⲁ
mê	*ale-nei*	*têr-u*	*šaap*	*etbe-p-lômi*	***ce**-etbe-mastêma*
IRP	FOC-DEM.P	all-3P	happen.STA	because-DEF.M-man	or-because-N

"Do all these happen because of man or because of Mastema?"
<div style="text-align:right">^F*Installation of Archangel Michael* §3 (Müller 1962: 7, 8–9)</div>

(67)   Theodore the Eastern searches for his father in Egypt, asking around for him in the latter's hometown Paphor. An old man replies:

ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ	ⲛⲓⲙ	ⲉⲧⲉⲕϣⲓⲛⲓ	ⲛⲥⲱϥ	ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ	ⲡⲓⲧⲩⲣⲱⲛ	ⲡⲉ
iôannês	*nim*	*ete-k-šini*	*nsô-f*	*iôannês*	*pi-turôn*	*pe*
N	who	REL-2MS-ask	after-3MS	N	DEF$_2$.M-recruit	SE.M

ϣⲁⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ	ⲡⲉ
***šan**-ke-uai*	*pe*
or-other-one	SE.M

"Which John are you looking for? Is it John the recruit or another one?"
<div style="text-align:right">^BTheodore of Ancyra, *On the Theodores*
(Balestri & Hyvernat 1924: 124, 11–12 = Winstedt 1910: 36, 23–24)</div>

While in Sahidic (and the other Southern dialects such as Akhmimic and Lycodiospolitan, in Mesokemic and also in Fayumic Coptic) the Greek ⲏ *ê* "or" (^SLayton 2011: §145(b); ^SGregorius 1991: 82 §161) is the default disjunctive connector, the Bohairic element ⲓⲉ *ie* "or" (^BMallon 1956: §344; ^BGregorius 1991: 82 §161; also attested in Fayumic, see also below example 77), which is of Coptic origin, is everywhere the Bohairic equivalent to ^Sⲏ *ê*.[13] It appears in clause-initial position with any sentence pattern and is used for all types of contrast, as well as a discourse marker. The syntactic position of both *ê* and *ie* is between the coordinated elements as a free morpheme. Both *ê* and *ie* can apply either on the phrasal or on the clausal level. Their main functional domain is a simple alternative, although examples of a choice-aimed alternative can be found.

(68)   The devil is attracted by everything that stinks:

ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲉ	ⲏ̅	ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ	ⲏ̅	ⲛ̅ⲧⲟϥ	ⲕⲉϩⲱⲟⲛ	ⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲙϥ̅
p-mase	*ê*	*p-esou*	*ê*	*ntof*	*ke-zôon*	*e-ša-u-uom-f*
DEF.M-bullock	or	DEF.M-sheep	or	3MS	other-animal	REL-AOR-3P-eat-3MS

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13   For rare attestations in Sahidic, see Crum (1939a: 75a sub e).

ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲣ̅ⲟⲩⲁϣⲏ   ⲛ̅ϩⲟⲟⲩ   ⲉϥⲟⲛϩ̄   ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ   ⲧⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ
efšan-r-u-ašê   *n-hou*   *e-f-onh*   *khôris*   *tre-f-mu*
COND.3MS-do-IDF.S-multitude   of-day   DEP-3MS-live   except   INFL-3MS-die

ⲏ̄   ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ   ⲧⲁⲕⲟϥ   ⲙⲉϥⲕⲛⲟⲥ
ê   *nte-pe-thêrion*   *tako-f*   *me-f-knos*
or   CNJ-DEF.M-beast   destroy-3MS   NEG.AOR.3MS-stink

"The bullock or the ram or even any other beast that is eaten, if it lives a long time before it dies or a wild animal kills it, it does not stink."

<div align="right">^SShenute, *You, O Lord* from Discourses 5 (Young 1993: 30–31 v° 10–18)</div>

(69) A Manichean Psalm to Jesus bewails the soul's ignorance of its own approaching death, caring for bodily matters only. It goes on to say:

ϣⲁⲣⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ   ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϯⲣⲙ̅ⲓ̈ⲏ   ϩⲁⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ   ⲏ   ⲟⲩϣⲃⲏⲣ   ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ
ša-re-rime   *nte-ø-ti-rmiê*   *ha-u-šêre*   *ê*   *u-šbêr*   *e-f-mu*
AOR-2FS-cry   CNJ-2FS-give-tear   under-IDF.S-son   or   IDF.S-friend   DEP-3MS-die

ⲧⲉϭⲓⲛⲉⲓ   ⲁⲃⲁⲗ   [ⲣ]ⲱ   ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲉ   ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲥϩⲏ   ⲧⲉⲗⲟ
te-ø-cin-i   *abal*   *rô*   *uaet-e*   *mare-te-s-hê*   *telo*
POSS.F-2FS-AGT-come   out   PTC   alone-2FS   JUSS-POSS.F-3FS-thought   enter

  ⲁⲡⲉϩⲏⲧ
  a-pe-ø-hêt
  to-POSS.M-2FS-heart

"You weep and you are shedding tears for a son or a friend, who die, yet you should let the thought of your own departure enter your heart."

<div align="right">^L*Psalms to Jesus* 265 (Allberry 1939: 82, 21–23)</div>

(70) St. Paul praises the ways and plans of the Lord, which are unkown to mere mortals:

ⲛⲓⲙⲅⲁⲣ   ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲁϥⲓⲙⲓ   ⲉⲡϩⲏⲧ   ⲙⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄
nim=gar   *p-ete-a-f-imi*   *e-p-hêt*   *m-p-c(ôi)s*
who=for   COP.M-REL-PST-3MS-know   OBJ-DEF.M-heart   of-DEF.M-lord

ⲡⲉⲓ   ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲓⲏⲧϥ̄   ⲉⲃⲟⲗ   ⲓ̈ⲉ   ⲛⲓⲙ   ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ   ⲛⲏϥ
pei   *et-na-seb-iêt-f*   *ebol*   *ie*   *nim*   *p-ete-a-f-šôpi*   *nê-f*
DEM   REL-FUT-teach-eye-3MS   out   or   who   COP.M-REL-PST-3MS-be   for-3MS

ⲛⲗⲉϥϭⲓϣⲁϫⲛⲓ   ⲓ̈ⲉ   ⲛⲓⲙ   ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲁϥⲓⲗⲓ   ⲛⲏϥ   ⲛϣⲁⲣⲉⲡ
n-lef-či-šačni   *ie*   *nim*   *p-ete-a-f-ili*   *nê-f*   *n-šarep*
as-AGT-take-counsel   or   who   COP.M-REL-PST-3MS-do   for-3MS   as-first

  ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲓⲁ   ⲛⲏϥ
  ntale-f-tuia   *nê-f*
  FCNJ-3MS-repay   for-3MS

"For who has known the mind of the Lord who would instruct him? Or who has been his counsellor? Or who has first given to God so that he needs to repay him?"

<div align="right">^FRomans 11:34–35 (Wessely 1908: 8)</div>

(71)   As the sultan asks John to re-convert to Islam, he replies: *I am a man full of pollution.*

ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟⲓ   ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ   ϧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲕⲥⲏϥⲓ

ma-tubo-i   *ebol*   *xen-te-k-sêfi*

give.IMP-purify-1s   out   with-POSS.F-2MS-sword

ⲓⲉ   ⲁ̀ⲣⲏⲟⲩ   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣϩⲙⲟⲧ   ⲛⲏⲓ   ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁϩϯ

ie *arêu* *nte-k-er-hmot*   *nê-i*   *m-pa-na-nahti*

or   maybe   CNJ-2MS-do-favour   for-1s   in-POSS.M-POSS.P.1s-faith

"Purify me with your sword or perhaps grant me the favour of one of my faith."

B*Martyrdom of John of Pancôit* §93 (Zaborowski 2005: 102, 747–748)

(72)   Pachom at first refuses to accept a man from Alexandria, because he had lived in impurity, but finally agrees, urging him to follow the rules. If he should feel sick he is to call Pachom first:

ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲉⲣⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ   ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ   ϫⲉⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ   ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲫϯ   ⲡⲉ

nta-er-dokimazin   *mmo-f*   *če-u-ebol*   *hiten-pʰ-(nu)ti*   *pe*

CNJ.1S-AUX-test   OBJ-3MS   CMP-IDF.S-out   by-DEF₁.m-God   SE.M

ⲓⲉ   ϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ   ⲡⲉ   ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ   ⲡⲉ   ⲉⲧϫⲟⲣϫ   ⲉⲣⲟⲕ

ie *šan-u-ebol* *{pe}*   *xen-ni-demôn*   *pe*   *et-čorč*   *ero-k*

or   or-IDF.S-out   {SE.M}   from-DEF₂.P-demon   SE.M   REL-hunt   OBJ-3MS

"… and I will find out whether the thing is from God or from those demons, who set a snare for you …."   B*Vita Pachomii*, §107 (Lefort 1953: 146, 11–14)

Especially, the Coptic writer Shenute of Atripe uses ⲏ in fashion of 'or rather', known as *disiunctio sinuthiana* (Shisha-Halevi 1976: 37–39 with a lot of further examples):

(73)   Shenute relates how he wrangled with a man in the appearance of an official authority, whom he, however, spotted to be a demon in disguise. The other started to raise his hands against the abbot, yet he, he says:

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ   ϩⲱⲱⲧ   ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ   ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ   ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲱϭⲧ   ⲙⲙⲟϥ

anok   *hôô-t*   *a-i-ti-ubê-f*   *hôste*   *e-tr-a-ôct*   *mmo-f*

1s   self-1s   PST-1s-give-against-3MS   so_that   to-CAUS-1s-choke   OBJ-3MS

ϩⲙⲡⲉϩⲛⲁⲁⲩ   ⲉⲧⲕⲧⲏⲩ   ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁⲕϩ

hm-pe-hnau   *et-ktêu*   *e-pe-f-makh*

in-DEF.M-thing   REL-surround.STA   to-POSS.M-3MS-neck

ⲏ   ⲉⲧϩⲓⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲃ

ê   *et-hi-te-f-nahb*

or   REL-on-POSS.F-3MS-shoulder

"I too fought against him, so that I might choke him with the thing that was around his neck or rather his shoulders."   S Shenute, *In the Night* (Leipoldt 1907: 38, 14–16)

The polymorphemic connector Sⲉⲓⲧⲉ … ⲉⲓⲧⲉ … / Bⲓⲧⲉ … ⲓⲧⲉ … *ite ... ite* "either … or …" (SLayton 2011: §145(b); SBGregorius 1991: 79 §155; < Greek εἴτε … εἴτε …) appears

in front of the coordinated elements expressing positive alternatives.[14] Its use is mainly restricted to coordination on the phrasal level (typically NP), except for dependent clauses. It may alternate with *ê* (see ex. 75) and sometimes even with *mn* (see ex. 76).

(74)   Besa admonishes the brethren to keep vigil:

ЄΙΤЄ	ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ	ЄΙΤЄ	ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ	ЄΙΤЄ	ⲛⲟϭ	ЄΙΤЄ	ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ
ite	*hout*	*ite*	*shime*	*ite*	*noc*	*ite*	*kui*
either	man	either	woman	either	great	either	small

"… man or woman, great or small."   ⁵Besa, *On Vigilance* (Kuhn 1956: 3, 15–16)

(75)   Shenute warns: *Accursed are men and women who with lust will peer or look upon the nakedness of their neighbours in their bedrooms or stare at them in any other place,*

ЄΙΤЄ	ⲉⲩϩⲣⲁϊ	ⲉⲭⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲟ	ЄΙΤЄ	ⲉⲩϩⲣⲁϊ	ϩⲓⲟⲩϣⲏⲛ
ite	*e-u-hrai*	*ečn-u-čo*	*ite*	*e-u-hrai*	*hi-u-šên*
either	DEP-3P-above	upon-IDF.S-wall	either	DEP-3P-above	on-IDF.S-tree

ЄΙΤЄ	ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ	ⲏ̄	ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ	ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲙⲉ
ite	*e-u-bôl*	*n-u-mou*	*ê*	*e-u-mooše*	*hn-u-ome*
either	DEP-3P-loosen	OBJ-IDF.S-water	or	DEP-3P-walk	in-IDF.S-mud

ⲏ̄	ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱ̄	ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ	ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ
ê	*e-u-iô*	*mmo-u*	*ebol*	*hn-u-mou*
or	DEP-3P-wash	OBJ-3P	out	in-IDF.S-water

ⲏ̄	ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ	ⲉϩⲣⲁϊ	ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭⲱⲗⲡ̄	ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ
ê	*e-u-hmoos*	*ehrai*	*n-se-côlp*	*ebol*	*hn-u-mnt-at-soun*
or	DEP-3P-sit	down	CNJ-3P-uncover	out	in-IDF.S-ABST-un-know

"… whether they are on a wall or up a tree, whether urinating or walking in mud, whether bathing or sitting down and uncovering themselves inadvertently or …."
⁵Shenute, *Acephalous Work A 22* (Young 2000: 271 c̄n̄n̄ 1–16)

(76)   Theodore urges the congregation to return to discipline and unity and to correct the negligence and contempt they had fallen into, according to his opinion. He reminds them of Horsiese's labours and the pains that he had endured:

ⲉⲓⲧⲉ	ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲕⲟ	ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲃⲉ	ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛⲉⲩϣⲏ	ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ	ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ
ite	*hn-u-hko*	***mn**-u-ibe*	***mn**-hen-eušê*	*n-rois*	*e-našô-u*
whether	in-IDF.S-hunger	CON-IDF.S-thirst	CON-IDF.P-night	of-watch	DEP-be_plenty-3P

"… whether through hunger or thirst or many nights kept in vigil."
⁵*Fifth Sahidic Life of Pachomius* (Lefort 1952: 273a, 3–6)

(77)   A calligrapher sends an urgent message to a *comes*, quoting from another missive he received from a creditor, in which he was told by that man:

ⲏ̄	ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ	ⲏ̄	ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ	ϯⲛⲏⲩ	ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩ
ê	*p-sabbaton*	*ê*	*t-kuriakê*	*ti-nêu*	*e-tmu*
or	DEF.M-Saturday	or	DEF.F-Sunday	1s-come.STA	to-N

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14   Stern (1880: §593) mentions further *ie … ie …, šan … šan …* and *ê … ê …* for positive contrast "either … or …". However, Crum (1939a: 75a) cites just one example from Fayumic, quoted here as example 78; for another with *ê … ê …,* see example 77.

"Either on Saturday or on Sunday, I shall come to Tmu."

O.CrumVC 48, 3 (Crum 1939b:18)

(78) Somebody sends in a letter some orders pertaining to sheep. The addressee is to get
      hold of someone else and:

ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲱⲛ ⲓⲉ ⲛⲕⲓ   ⲓⲉ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉⲑⲁⲛⲁⲏⲗ   ⲉⲃⲓ   ⲉⲃⲡⲱⲧ
loipôn **ie** *n-k-i*   **ie** *n-k-uate-thanaêl* *e-b-i*   *e-b-pôt*
then   or CNJ-2MS-come   or CNJ-2MS-send-N   CNJ-3MS-come CNJ-3MS-run

ⲉⲃϩⲉⲧⲟⲩ
e-b-het-u
CNJ-3MS-flay-3P

"Then either you come or you send Thanael and he comes and goes and skins them."

ᶠP.Lond.Copt. I 585, 12–14 (Crum 1905: 278)[15]

(79) Once the children of Israel have returned to the Lord in repentance, they will recognize
      those who led them astray and who said:

ⲫⲁⲓ   ⲡⲉ   ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ   ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ   ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ
pʰai   *pe*   *pi-môit*   *mare-n-moši*   *hiôt-f*
DEM.M   COP.M   DEF₂.M-way   JUSS-1P-walk   upon-3MS

  ⲓⲧⲉ   ⲉⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ   ⲓⲧⲉ   ⲉϫⲁϭⲏ
  ite   *e-uinam*   *ite*   *e-čacê*
  whether to-right   whether to-left

"This is the way; let us walk in it, whether to the right or to the left."

ᴮIsaiah 30:21 (Tattam 1852: 120)

Negative alternatives are expressed by the polymorphemic connector ⲟⲩⲇⲉ … ⲟⲩⲇⲉ …
ude ... ude ... or ⲟⲩⲧⲉ … ⲟⲩⲧⲉ … *ute ... ute ...* "neither … nor …"[16] (ˢLayton 2011:
§145(b); ᴮMallon 1956: §344), which appear in front of the coordinated elements.

(80) John describes the abode of the myriads of angels and their occupation:

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲃϣ̄ⲁⲛ   ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ   ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲧⲕ̄ⲁⲛ
ude   *n-se-obš=an*   *nci-n-etmmau*   **ude**   *n-se-nkotk=an*
and_not NEG-3P-forget=NEG   PVS-DEF.P-those   and_not NEG-3P-sleep=NEG

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲕⲟⲁⲛ   ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲃⲉⲁⲛ
ude   *n-se-hko=an*   **ude**   *n-se-ibe=an*
and_not NEG-3P-hunger=NEG   and_not NEG-3P-thirst=NEG

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ\ⲁⲛ/   ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄   ϩⲉⲛⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ⲅⲁⲣ   ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ   ⲛⲉ
ude   *n-se-uôm=an*   *e-p-têr-f*   *hen-pn(eum)a=gar* *n-uoin*   *ne*
and_not NEG-3P-eat=NEG   to-DEF.M-all-3MS IDF.P-spirit=for   of-light   SE.P

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15 I follow a suggestion of Anne Boud'hors/Paris to see the *e-b*-patterns as conjunctives, see Richter
    2016: 367 with note 36 for late Sahidic texts.

16 Distinguishing between *ude* and *ute* is generally impossible in Coptic due to the lack of phonemic
    contrast between voiced and unvoiced stops, see Peust 1999: 79–95 esp. 84; Müller 2011: 518–519.

ⲟⲩⲇⲉⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲱ̄ϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲩ
ude*=*gar *mn-ušê* *nte-n-etmmau* ***ude*** *mn-u-hou* ***ude*** *mn-siu*
and_not=for NEG-night with-DEF.P-those and_not NEG-IDF.S-day and_not NEG-star

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲏ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛ
ude *mn-ooh* ***ude*** *mn-rê* ***ude*** *mn-čaf* ***ude*** *mn-kausôn*
and_not NEG-moon and_not NEG-sun and_not NEG-frost and_not NEG-heat

"Neither do those forget, nor do they sleep, neither do they have hunger nor do they have thirst, neither do they eat at all, for they are sparkling spirits, for they have neither night nor day, neither star nor moon nor sun, neither frost nor heat …."

^SJohn of Parallos, *In Michaelem* (van Lantschoot 1946: 309, a14–b10)

(81) In a letter to an ecclesiastic superior, a man complains about an assault on him by a drunken man and two of the latter's henchmen:

ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲱ ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ϩⲓⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϬϪ
mp-u-kô *hikôn* *hiô-t* *ute* *urête* *ute* *c(i)č*
NEG.PST-3P-let image upon-1S and_not foot and_not hand

"They left no resemblance to myself, neither foot nor hand."

^SO.Mich.Copt. 4, 19–20 (Worrell 1942: 224–226)

(82) In a contract about the purchase of a bull, the seller confirms:

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲗⲟⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲉϣⲧⲟⲩϣⲓ ⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲉⲥⲓ
ude *anak* ***ude*** *lomi* *nte-i* *ne-š-t-u-ši* *bal* *e-pei-mesi*
and_not 1S and_not man of-1S NEG-CAN-CNJ-3P-come out to-DEM.M-calf

ⲛϣⲁ(ⲉ)ⲛⲉϩ ϫⲉⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲓⲙⲏⲛ ⲓ ⲧⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲫⲓⲃ
n-ša-eneh *če-a-te-b-timên* *i* *taa-t* *n-at-amphib(olia)*
in-for-eternity for-PST-POSS.M-3FS-price come hand-1S as-un-strife

"Neither I nor any person belonging to me will ever be able to come back to that calf since I received its payment without objection."

^F*SB Kopt.* II 949, 8–10 (Hasitzka 2004: 86)

(83) A man comes with his crying child to Pisenthius to receive the latter's blessings. He says that the little one is constantly crying now already for a fortnight. He continues:

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϥ̄ϩⲏⲙⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲡⲗⲩⲅⲏ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ
ude *f-xêm=an* ***ude*** *mmon-plugê* *uonh* *ebol* *an*
and_not 3MS-be_hot.STA=NEG and_not NEG-blow reveal out NEG

ϧⲉⲛⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓⲁⲛ ϫⲉⲁϥϣⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲟⲩ
xen-pe-f-sôma *n-ten-emi=an* *če-a-f-šôni* *e-u*
in-POSS.M-3MS-body NEG-1P-know=NEG CMP-FOC-3MS-be_sick to-what

"Neither has he fever nor does his body show any blow. We don't know from what he suffers."   ^BMoses of Quft, *On Pisenthius of Quft* (Amélineau 1889: 114, 10–12 coll.)

More common is the construction of an initial negated clause extended by the alternative introduced with *ude* (or *ute*).

(84) After Macedonius has killed the divine falcon, the two sons of the priest ran away. Their father looks for them everywhere, but to no avail, and he says to himself:

ⲟⲩ   ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉ   ⲉⲃⲟⲗϫⲉⲙⲡⲉⲓϩⲉ   ⲉⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ
u   p-ent-a-f-šôpe   ebolče-mpi-he   e-na-šére
what DEF.M-REL-PST-3MS-happen because-NEG.PST.1S-find OBJ-POSS.P.1S-son

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲡⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ   ⲡⲃⲏϭ
ude   *p-ke-nute*   *p-bêc*
and_not DEF.M-other-god DEF.M-falcon

"What might have happened? For I can neither find my sons, nor the god, the falcon!"

^S*Life of Apa Aaron* (Budge 1915: 446, 18–19)[17]

(85)   God showed his mercy to the world by sending his own son for its salvation from
       captivity:

ⲙ̄ⲡϥⲧⲁⲙⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ   ⲉϥⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ   ϣⲁⲣⲁⲛ   ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
mp-f-tame-aggelos   *e-f-nnêu*   *šara-n*   ***ude***   *arkhaggelos*
NEG.PST-3MS-inform-angel   DEP-3MS-come.STA   to-1P   and_not archangel

    ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲗⲁⲩⲉ   ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏ
    ude   *laue*   *n-arkhê*
    and_not any   of-power

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲁϥϣⲃⲧϥ   ⲛⲧϩⲉ   ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ   ⲉϥⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ   ϣⲁⲣⲁⲛ
alla   *a-f-šbt-f*   *n-t-xe*   *n-u-rôme*   *e-f-nnêu*   *šara-n*
but   PST-3MS-change-3MS   in-DEF.F-way   of-IDF.S-man   DEP-3MS-come.STA   to-1P

"He neither informed an angel when he came to us, nor an archangel nor any power,
but changed himself into human form when he came to us, …"

^A*Apocalypse of Elijah* (Steindorff 1899: 68, 6–9)

(86)   Timothy tells Papnute his story and says about his dwelling:

ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲉϩⲗⲓ   ϣⲟⲡ   ϧⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ
mmon-ehli   *šop*   *xen-pai-ma-n-šopi*
NEG-any   be.STA   in-DEM.M-place-of-dwell

ⲟⲩⲇⲉ   ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ   ⲛⲱⲓⲕ   ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ
ude   *trophê*   *n-ôik*   *e-p-têr-f*
and_not food   of-bread   to-DEF₁.M-all-3MS

"There is neither any person nor any bread in this dwelling place."

^BPapnute, *Story of Onnophrius* (Amélineau 1885: 172, 2 coll.)

The polymorphemic connector expressing "at one time/once … at another time …"
appears either as Coptic ^{SB}ⲥⲟⲡ … ⲥⲟⲡ … *sop … sop …* (see below under 3.6.2 for an
example) or as the Graeco-Coptic blend ^{SB}ⲥⲟⲡⲙⲉⲛ … ⲥⲟⲡⲇⲉ … *sop=men … sop-de/on
…* (^SLayton 2011: §493.44; Müller 2016). It can be used as a singular (with or without a
determiner) or as a plural additionally marked with the indefinite plural article (^Sϩⲉⲛⲥⲟⲡ
hen-sop / ^Bϩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲡ *han-sop*). In the Graeco-Coptic form, it consists of the Coptic word ⲥⲟⲡ
sop "occasion, time" and the Greek elements =ⲙⲉⲛ =*men* "indeed" and =ⲇⲉ =*de* "yet" (the
latter can be replaced by the Coptic ⲟⲛ *on* "also" instead). Both elements appear in initial
position within the coordinated clauses, which can appear as main or dependent clauses.

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17 I am grateful to Jitse Dijkstra/Ottawa, who communicated the results of his collation of the text to me.

(87)   Shenute condems the Jews:

ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩⲅⲁⲣ   ⲛⲁⲙⲉ ⲉϫⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ   ϩⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁϩⲓϩⲏⲧ
a-u-sôuh=gar   name ečm-p-čois   hn-te-u-mnt-uahi-hêt
PST-3P-gather=for truly upon-DEF.M-lord in-POSS.F-3P-ABST-bitter-heart

ⲥⲟⲡⲙⲉⲛ   ⲉⲩϫⲓϭⲟⲗ   ⲉⲣⲟϥ   ⲥⲟⲡⲇⲉ   ⲟⲛ   ⲉⲩⲥⲕⲱⲡⲧⲉⲓ
sop=men   *e-u-či-col*   *ero-f*   **sop=de** *on*   *e-u-skôptei*
time=indeed   DEP-3p-take-lie   to-3MS   time=yet again   DEP-3p-mock

ⲉⲩϫⲱ   ⲛϩⲉⲛϣⲁϫⲉ   ⲛⲙⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ   ⲉⲩⲕⲓⲙ   ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲁⲡⲏⲩⲉ
e-u-čô   *n-hen-šače*   *n-mnt-asebês*   *e-u-kim*   *n-ne-u-apêue*
DEP-3p-say   OBJ-IDF.P-word of-ABST-impious   DEP-3p-move OBJ-POSS.P-3p-head.P

ⲉⲩϫⲱ   ⲙⲙⲟⲥ   ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗ   ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲡⲉ
e-u-čô   *mmo-s*   *če-oua* *p-et-bôl*   *ebol m-p-erpe*
DEP-3p-say   OBJ-3FS   CMP-ah   DEF.M-REL-loosen out OBJ-DEF.M-temple

"For truly they ganged up against the Lord in their cruelty, at one time telling lies against Him, at other times mocking, uttering impious words, shaking their heads and saying: 'Ah, you who destroys the temple' *(Mk 15:29)*."

^SShenute, *The Idolatrous Pagans* (Leipoldt 1913: 9, 23–27)

(88)   Shenute says that certain people are always searching for something:

ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ   ⲉⲩϫⲱⲛⲧ   ⲥⲟⲡⲙⲉⲛ   ϣⲁⲩϭⲛⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩϣⲓⲛⲉ
hen-rôme *n-tei-he*   *e-u-čônt*   **sop=men**   *ša-u-cn-p-et-u-šine*
IDF.P-man   of-DEM.F-way DEP-3p-test time=indeed AOR-3P-find-DEF.M-REL-3P-look

  ⲛⲥⲱϥ   ⲥⲟⲡ ⲙⲉⲩϭⲛⲧϥ
  nsô-f   **sop** *me-u-cnt-f*
  after-3P   time NEG.AOR-3p-find-3MS

"Testing people of that kind – sometimes they find what they are looking for, sometimes they don't."

^SShenute, *Some Kind Of People Sift Dirt* (Amélineau 1914: 75, 3–4)

(89)   Pisura replies to the suggestions to believe in the pagan deities with the question how Christians could possibly believe in pagan religion while it invents false stories contradicting themselves and goes on:

ⲥⲟⲡⲙⲉⲛⲅⲁⲣ   ⲉⲥϫⲱ   ⲙⲙⲟⲥ   ϫⲉⲓⲃ   ⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ   ϩⲓϫⲉⲛⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ
sop=men=gar *e-s-čô* *mmo-s*   *če-12* *n-nuti et-šop* *hičen-p-têr-f*
time=indeed=for DEP-3FS-say OBJ-3FS CMP-12 of-god REL-be.STA over-DEF₁.M-all-3MS

ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ   ⲟⲛ   ⲍ̄ ⲛⲉ   ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡⲇⲉ   ⲟⲛ   ϫⲉⲇ̄   ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡⲇⲉ   ⲟⲛ   ϫⲉⲅ̄
u-sop   *on*   7 *ne* **ke-sop=de** *on*   *če-4* **ke-sop=de** *on*   *če-3*
IDF.S-time again   7 SE.P other-time=yet again CMP-4 other-time=yet again CMP-3

"At one time, it says there are twelve deities ruling over the whole of creation, at other times again they are seven; yet again at other times four, and yet again three."

^B*Martyrdom of St Pisura* (Hyvernat 1886: 127,18–128,2)

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

[ϩⲁ]ⲛⲥⲟⲡⲙⲉⲛ   ϣⲁϥϭⲓⲥⲓ   ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ   ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ

han-sop=men   *ša-f-cisi*   *ehrêi*   *nče-pi-thronos*

IDF.P-time=indeed   AOR-3MS-raise   above   PTC-DEF$_2$.M-throne

ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ   ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲏⲛ   ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ   ⲉⲣⲟϥ

hôsde   *n-se-kên*   *e-u-nau*   *ero-f*

so_that   CNJ-3P-stop   DEP-3P-see   OBJ-3MS

[ϩ]ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲡⲇⲉ   ⲟⲛ   ϣⲁϥⲓ   ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ   ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ

han-sop=de   *on*   *ša-f-i*   *e-p-esêt*   *ečô-u*

IDF.P-time=indeed   again   AOR-3MS-come   to-DEF$_1$.M-ground   above-3P

ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ   ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ   ⲛⲥⲉϭⲟϩ   ⲉⲣⲟϥ   ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ

hôsde   *para-ke-kuči*   *n-se-coh*   *ero-f*   *n-nu-čič*

so_that   for-other-little   CNJ-3P-touch   OBJ-3MS   with-POSS.P.3P-hand

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

 ^{B}*Vita Pachomii*, §76 (Lefort 1953: 81, 17–21)

3.5 Causal

Coptic origin		Greek origin		Graeco-Coptic	
^{S}*če* / ^{B}*če-uêi*	"for"	*=gar*	"for"	^{SA}*če-…* / ^{B}*če-uêi …=gar* "for"	
		^{S}*kai=gar* / ^{B}*ke=gar* "for"			

The Coptic connector *če* is the most common element used to link a causal clause, while *=gar* typically functions as a discourse marker (see Oréal's detailed study in this volume), though a linkage function is attested for *=gar* as well.[18] Whereas *če* always appears in clause initial position, the connector *=gar* is a second position or *Wackernagel*-clitic.

(91)   After walking in the desert for a couple of days, Papnute looks back and says:

ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ   ⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ   ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ   ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉϥϥⲟⲓ   ⲫⲟⲣϣ   ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ

a-i-nau   *e-u-rômi*   *e-f-moši*   *ere-pe-f-fôi*   *p^{h}orš*   *ebol*

PST-1S-see   OBJ-IDF.S-man   DEP-3MS-walk   DEP-POSS.M-3MS-hair   stretch   out

    ⲉ̀ϫⲉⲛⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ   ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ   ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲇⲁⲗⲓⲥ   ⲛⲁϥⲃⲏϣⲅⲁⲣ   ⲡⲉ

    ečen-pe-f-sôma   *mp^{h}rêti*   *n-u-pardalis*   ***na-f-bêš=gar***   *pe*

    upon-POSS.M-3MS-body   like   of-IDF.S-panther   PRT-3MS-naked.STA=for   PTC

"I saw a man walking with his hair stretched out over his body like a panther, for he was naked." ^{B}Papnute, *Story of Onnophrius* (Amélineau 1885: 174, 8–9)

Mainly a discourse marker, but also attested with linkage use, is the Greek ^{S}ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ *kai=gar* / ^{B}ⲕⲉⲅⲁⲣ *ke=gar* "for" (for a corpus-based study on ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ vs. ⲅⲁⲣ, see Boud'hors 2016). It appears in initial position.

_____

18   See also above 3.1 the last *u-monon* example.

(92)   Besa calls for continuous vigilance among the brethren:

ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ   ⲉⲙ̅ⲁⲣⲉⲛ̅ⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ   ϭⲱⲧ̅ϩ̅ⲁⲛ   ⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ
kai-gar *e-šare-n-lêstês*   *côth=an*   *e-u-êi*
and-for   FOC-AOR-DEF.P-robber   pierce=NEG   to-IDF.S-house

ⲏ   ⲟⲩⲙⲁ   ⲉⲙⲛ̅ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ   ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧϥ̅
ê   *u-ma*   *e-mn-khrêma*   *nhêt-f*
or   IDF.S-place   REL-NEG-wealth   in-3MS

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲉϣⲁⲩϭⲱⲧϩ̅   ⲉⲡⲙⲁ   ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϭⲛ̅ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ   ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ
alla   *e-ša-u-côth*   *e-p-ma*   *et-u-na-cn-khrêma*   *mmau*
but   FOC-AOR-3P-pierce   to-DEF.M-place   REL-3P-FUT-find-wealth   there

"For indeed robbers do not break into a house or some place, where there is nothing
of worth, but they break into the place where one would find riches."

ˢBesa, *On Vigilance* (Kuhn 1956: 3, 3–5)

(93)   The Gospel of Truth reasons that the name of the father is the son. It was the father who
begot and named him and thus his is the son and the name. Yet, the name is invisible,
being the mystery of the invisible:

ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ   ⲡⲓⲱⲧ   ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲭⲟⲩ   ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲣⲉⲛ   ⲉⲛ
kai=gar   *p-iôt*   *n-se-cu*   *m-pe-f-ren*   *en*
and=for   DEF.M-father   NEG-3P-say   OBJ-POSS.M-3MS-name   NEG

ϥⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̅ⲇⲉ   ⲁⲃⲁⲗ   ϩⲛ̅ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ
f-uanh=de   *abal*   *hn-u-šêre*
3MS-reveal.STA=yet   out   in-IDF.S-son

"For indeed, the Father's name is not uttered, but it is apparent through a son."

ᴸ*Gospel of Truth* chap. 50 (Attridge & MacRae 1985: 110 38, 21–24 = Nagel 2014: 76)[19]

(94)   In the evening, the brother who dwells in the cave before which Papnute is waiting
returns amidst a herd of antelopes. Seeing Papnute, he is frightened and mistakes him
for an apparition:

ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ   ⲉ̀ⲣⲁⲧϥ   ⲁϥϣⲗⲏⲗ   ⲕⲉⲅⲁⲣ   ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲩⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ   ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
a-f-ohi   *e-rat-f*   *a-f-šlêl*   *ke=gar*   *a-u-er-purazin*   *mmo-f*
PST-1S-stand   to-foot-3MS   PST-3MS-pray   and=for   PST-3MS-AUX-tempt   OBJ-3MS

ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ   ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡ   ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅   ⲕⲁⲧⲁ̀ϯ̀ϩⲉ   ⲉ̀ⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲥ
n-u-mêš   *n-sop*   *nče-han-pn(eum)a*   *kata-ti-xe*   *et-a-f-čo-s*
in-IDF.S-multitude   of-time   PVS-IDF.P-spirit   as-DEF₂.F-way   REL-PST-3MS-say-3FS

"He stood and prayed, for spirits had tempted him often, as he told (later)."

ᴮPapnute, *Story of Onnophrius* (Amélineau 1885: 169,12–170,1 coll.)

In the Graeco-Coptic blend ˢϫⲉ- *če-* / ᴮϫⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ *če-uêi* ... =ⲅⲁⲣ =*gar* "for", the clause is
introduced by the Coptic ϫⲉ- *če-* "for" while the Greek =ⲅⲁⲣ =*gar* "for" appears within
the clause after the first word.

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19 Note that the text follows Nagel (2014: 76 verse 196).

(95)   The Saviour explains that knowledge will only be given to those worthy of it: *It will be given to those who were not brought forth by the polluted sowing of the occupation, i.e., intercourse, but by the first one who has been sent:*

ϫⲉⲡⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ	ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ	ⲡⲉ	ϩⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ	ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ
*če-pai=**gar***	*u-at-mu*	*pe*	*hn-t-mête*	*n-n-ete-ša-u-mu*
for-DEM.M=for	IDF.S-NEG-die	SE.M	in-DEF.F-middle	of-DEF.P-REL-AOR-3P-die

   ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
   n-rôme
   DEF.P-man

“… for he is the one who is immortal among the mortals, the humans.”

                     ^S*Sophia of Jesus Christ* (Till & Schenke 1972: 204, 16–19)

(96)   Shenute argues that nobody would choose a death in sin over a life in righteousness. Yet, people choose the sickness of the sin of Satan in their free will. To those, Shenute will say in anger:

ϥⲥⲟⲩⲟⲣⲧ̄	ⲛϭⲓⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ	ⲉⲧϩⲟⲟⲩ	ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ
f-shuort	*nci-p-meue*	*et-hou*	*nte-p-satanas*
3MS-curse.STA	PVS-DEF.M-thought	REL-bad	of-DEF.M-N

ⲉⲧϩⲱϣ	ⲙⲙⲟϥ	ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ	ⲉⲡϩⲏⲧ	ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
et-hôš	*mmo-f*	*ehun*	*e-p-hêt*	*m-p-rôme*
REL-be_in_distress	OBJ-3MS	into	to-DEF.M-heart	of-DEF.M-man

ϫⲉⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ̄ⲅⲁⲣ	ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ	ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ	ⲛϭⲓⲛⲉⲧϩⲛⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
*če-etbêêt-f=**gar***	*e-u-rime*	*tenu*	*nci-n-et-hn-amnte*
for-because-3MS=for	DEP-3P-cry	now	PVS-DEF.P-REL-in-N

“Cursed is Satan’s evil thought which secures itself into the heart of man, for because of it those in Hell cry now”.   ^SShenute, *De iudicio =A26* (Behlmer 1996: 29, b2–12)

(97)   On the eve of the Sabbath Gessios and Isidoros hear again the voice calling out: *You must not take your brother's wife.* Gessios then asks the voice:

ⲁϫⲓⲥ	ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙ	ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ	ⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ	ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲉ	ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ
a-či-s	*če-nim*	*pe-nt-a-f-tolma*	*e-ire*	*m-pei-nobe*	*n-tei-mine*
IMP-say-3FS	CMP-who	COP.M-REL-PST-3MS-dare	to-do	OBJ-DEM.M-sin	in-DEM.F-way

ϫⲉϩⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲅⲁⲣ	ϥⲙⲡϣⲁ	ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ	ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲟ	ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
*če-hn-u-m{u}<e>=**gar***	*f-mpša*	*m-p-mu*	*m-p-mto*	*ebol*
for-PRP-IDF.S-truth=for	3MS-be_worthy	of-DEF.M-death	in-DEF.M-front	out

   ⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ
   n-ne-f-snêu
   of-POSS.P-3MS-brother.P

“Pray tell who dared to commit such a sin, for truly he is worthy of death before his brothers.”   ^S*Gessios & Isodoros* (Steindorff 1883: 156, 1–3)

(98)   In the introduction to the Apocalypse of Elijah, the word of God is issued to the prophet. He is told to tell the people: *Love not the world nor the things that are in the world* (1 John 2:15):

ϫⲉⲡϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩⲅⲁⲣ   ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ   ⲡⲁⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ   ⲡⲉ
***če*-p-šušu=**gar**   m-p-kosmos   pa-p-diabolos   pe
for-DEF.M-pride=for   of-DEF.M-world   POSS.M-DEF.M-devil   SE.M

   ⲙⲛ̄ⲡϥⲃⲱⲗ   ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
   mn-p-f-bôl   *abal*
   and-POSS.M-3MS-loose   out

"… for the pride of the world belongs to the devil, and its destruction."

^A*Apocalypse of Elijah* (Steindorff 1899: 66, 7–9)

(99)   At night, the Saviour appears to Theodore in his tent, asking him whether he knows
who He is. Frightened, he denies and begs to know who the visitor, appearing in such
awe-inspiring glory, would be:

ϫⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓⲅⲁⲣ   ϧⲉⲛⲡϫⲓⲛⲑⲣⲓⲛⲁⲩ   ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲕ
***če*-*uêi*=**gar**   *xen-p-čin-t^hri-nau*   *ero-k*
for-really=for   in-DEF1.M-NOM-INFL.1S-see   OBJ-2MS

ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ   ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ   ⲛϩⲟϯ   ⲱ̀   ⲡⲁϭ̅ⲥ̅
a-i-šôpi   *xen-u-ništi*   *n-hoti*   *ô*   *pa-c(ôi)s*
FOC-1S-happen   in-IDF.S-great   of-fear   VOC   POSS.M.1S-lord

"… for since I behold you, I am filled with great terror, my Lord."

^B*Mart. Theodore Stratelates* (Balestri & Hyvernat 1907: 159, 1–2)

3.6 Comparative

Coptic origin		Greek origin	
Equality			
^S*n-t-he* ≠ ^B*m-p^h-rêti* "like"		^{SB}*kata-*/*kataro-*	"according to, like, as"
		^{SB}*hôs*	"like, as"
Inequality			
^S*e-*	"(relating) to"	^{SB}*para-*/*pararo-*	"(relating) to"

3.6.1 Equality

Comparison of equality can be introduced either by the Coptic expression ^Sⲛⲟⲉ *n-t-he* ≠
^Bⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ *m-p^h-rêti* "as, like (*lit.* in the way/manner)" or by the Greek preposition ^{SB}ⲕⲁⲧⲁ-/
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲟ- *kata-*/*kataro-* "according to, as, like" (apparently so common in use that some va-
rieties of Coptic coined a specific form of the preposition when followed by a pronoun after
the model of similar Coptic prepositions like *e-*N vs. *ero-*PRN; see the study by Grossman
& Polis in this volume). Sometimes, although less than the first pair, other words of similar
semantics are employed such as ⲥⲙⲟⲧ *smot* "pattern", ⲙⲓⲛⲉ *mine* "sort, quality, manner", ϭⲟⲧ
cot "size, form", or ^Bⲙⲁⲓⲏ *maiê* "kind".

(100) Solomon states in his Book of Wisdom:

ⲁⲛⲅ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ[ⲇⲉ] ϩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲑⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ
ang-u-rôme=de *hôô-t* **n-t-he** **n-uon** *nim*
1s-IDF.S-man=yet self-1s in-DEF.F-way of-one each
"I myself also am a mortal like everyone …"

<div align="right">ˢBook of Wisdom 7:1 (de Lagarde 1883: 76)</div>

(101) Bishop Agathonicus quotes from the Psalms (Ps 36[37]:35–36): *I have seen that the impious one lifted himself up*:

ⲉ[ϥⲧ]ϣⲟⲩⲛ [ⲉ]ϩⲗⲏⲓ ⲛ[ⲧ]ϩⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ
e-f-tôun *ehlêi* **n-t-hê** **m**-p-kendros *m*-p-libanos
DEP-3MS-rise up in-DEF.F-way of-DEF.M-cedar of-DEF.M-N
"… and raised up like the cedar of the Lebanon."

<div align="right">ᶠAgathonicus of Tarsus, *Apology* (Erichsen 1932: 23, 21–23)</div>

(102) Zacharias of Shmun explains a passage from the Book of Jonah (4:5–11) where the Lord says to Jonah: *Why do you not want me to have pity on the Ninevites, who sinned, but later repented?*

ⲙⲏⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲏϯ   ⲙⲏⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ
mê=gar *se-sôun* *mmo-i* **m-pe-k-rêti**   *mê=gar* *se-nahti* *ero-i*
IRP=for 3P-know OBJ-1s in-POSS.M-2MS-manner IRP=for 3P-believe OBJ-1s

ⲛⲧⲉⲕϫⲉ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̇ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙ̇ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲙⲟⲧ
n-te-k-xe *hina* *on* *n-se-er-bôk* *nê-i* **m-pe-k-smot**
in-POSS.M-2MS-way so_that again CNJ-3P-AUX-serve to-1s in-POSS.M-2MS-pattern
"Do they not know me as you do? Do they not believe in me like you do, so that they serve me as you do?"   ᴮZacharias of Shmun, *Consolatory Sermon* (de Vis 1929: 50, 3–4)

In addition, one also finds the Coptic preposition *n-* replaced in this expression by the Greek preposition *kata* as in ˢⲕⲁⲧⲁⲑⲉ *kata-t-he* / ᴮⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲏϯ *kata-pʰ-rêti* "as, like":

(103) The psalmist pleads to the Lord to listen to his prayer:

ϫⲉⲁⲛⲅ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̅ⲛ̅ϭⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓ̈ϭⲁⲗϣⲟⲩ
ce-ang-u-rmn-coile *hm-p-kah* *auô* *e-i-calôu*
for-1s-IDF.S-man-of-sojourn in-DEF.M-land CON DEP-1s-dwell.STA

ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲑⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
kata-t-he *n-na-iote* *têr-u*
according-DEF.F-way of-POSS.P.1s-father.P all-3P
"… for I am a sojourner in the land and a dweller like all my fathers."

<div align="right">ˢPsalm 38(39):13(12) (Budge 1899: 44)</div>

(104) The apostle says that he often longed to visit the Roman congregation:

ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̇ⲧⲁϭⲓ ⲛ̇ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲭⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ
hina *nt-a-ci* *n-u-utah* *xen-tʰênu* *hô-ten*
so_that CNJ-1s-take OBJ-IDF.S-fruit in-2P also-2P

ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲏϯ   ⲙ̇ⲡⲥⲱⲭⲡ   ⲛ̇ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ
kata-pʰ-rêti   *m-p-sôčp*   *n-ni-ke-ethnos*
according-DEF₁.M-manner   of-DEF₁.M-rest   of-DEF₂.P-other-gentiles
"…that I might have some fruit among you also, like even among the rest of the
Gentiles."   ᴮRomans 1:13 (Horner 1898–1905: III 4)

Yet, it is more often employed with a following relative clause expressing a subordinate
clause of comparison, see Müller 2012: 147–149.

When used alone, the Greek preposition *kata-/kataro-* has the basic semantics of
"according to". Only occasionally can a semantic overlap with equiative meaning be
discerned.

The Greek preposition *hôs* (ὡς) "like, as" often appears with an immediately following
undetermined noun. It can be negated as ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲥ *ouk-hôs* 'not like' (see example 108):

(105)   Eusebius urges Cyprian to repent and God will forgive him:
        ⲁⲩⲱ   ⲧⲟⲧⲉ   ⲕⲛⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ   ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲕ   ϫⲉⲕⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ   ϩⲱⲥϣⲏⲣⲉ
        auô   *tote*   *k-na-ime*   *mauaa-k*   *če-k-na-šôpe*   *hôs-šêre*
        CON   then   2MS-FUT-know   self-2MS   CMP-2MS-FUT-be   as-son
           ⲁⲩⲱ   ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ   ⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ
           auô   *klêronomos*   *n-te-f-mnt-ero*
           CON   heir   of-POSS.F-ABST-king
        "… then you will understand yourself that you will be like a son and heir of his
        kingdom."   ˢ*Repentance of Cyprian of Antioch* (von Lemm 1899: 24 a2–8)

(106)   The Psalms to Jesus compare the righteous and the sinner. If someone is a sinner, he
        will depart fear and will be cast into the fire:
        ϩⲱⲥϩⲁⲩⲛ̄   ⲃⲱⲱⲛ   ⲉϥⲣ̄ϣⲉⲩⲉⲛ
        hôs-caun   *bôôn*   *e-f-r-šeu=en*
        as-servant   wicked   DEP-3MS-do-worth=NEG
        "… as a wicked and unprofitable servant."
                                        ᴸ*Psalms to Jesus* 265 (Allberry 1939: 81, 26–27)

(107)   The son of the Persian emperor has been taken prisoner of war by the Romans and is
        handed over to the archbishop of Antioch:
        ⲉⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ   ⲉⲧⲟⲧϥ   ϩⲱⲥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ
        e-a-f-têi-f   *e-tot-f*   *hôs-parathêkê*
        DEP-PST-3MS-give-3MS   to-hand-3MS   as-hostage
        "… being given to him as a hostage, …"
                        ᴮ*Mart. Theodore, Leontius & Panigerus* (Balestri & Hyvernat 1907: 40, 3–4)

(108)   The disciples wish to know how something that was dissolved and destroyed could be
        healed again, but stress the fact:
        ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲥ   ⲉⲛⲉ   ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ   ⲉⲛ[ϫ]ⲛⲟⲩ   ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
        ouk-hôs   *ene*   *n-apistos*   *e-n-čnu*   *mma-k*
        NEG-like   IRR   as-unbeliever   DEP-1P-ask   OBJ-2MS

"… not like unbelievers we are asking you …"

^A*Conversations between Jesus and his disciples* (Schmidt 1919: 11* XVII, 13–14)

For a Sahidic example from Shenute's writings, see Müller 2012: 151.

3.6.2 Inequality

For a comparison of inequality, the entity of comparison must be introduced either by the Coptic preposition ^SFMB^e-/^AL^ⲁ- *e-/a-* (before noun) and ^SB^ⲉⲣⲟ-/^F^ⲉⲗⲁ-/^M^ⲉⲣⲁ-/^AL^ⲁⲣⲁ- *ero-/ela-/era-/ara-* (before pronoun) "(relating) to" (^B^Mallon 1956: §170–174) or the Greek preposition ^SB^ⲡⲁⲣⲁ-/ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ- *para-/pararo-* "to" (Till 1970: §154). The latter is rather underrepresented in Bohairic Coptic. Noteworthy is the double marking in example 113, with the Coptic preposition *e-* and the Greek *para-*:

(109a) The Samarian woman at the well remarks that Jesus has nothing to draw water with and asks him whence he would have the living water. She thus wants to know:

ⲙⲏ	ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲕ	ⲉⲛⲁⲁⲕ	ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ	ⲓ̈ⲁⲕⲱⲃ
mê	*ntok*	*e-naa-k*	*e-pe-n-iôt*	*iakôb*
IRP	2MS	FOC-be_great-2MS	to-POSS.M-1P-father	N

(109b) As above:

ⲙⲏ	ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲕ	ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ	ⲁⲡⲛ̅ⲉⲓⲱⲧ	ⲓ̈ⲁⲕⲱⲃ
mê	*e-nee-k*	*ntak*	*a-p-n-iôt*	*iakôb*
IRP	FOC-be_great-2MS	2MS	to-POSS.M-1P-father	N

(109c) As above:

ⲙⲏ	ⲛ̇ⲑⲟⲕ	ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ	ⲛ̇ⲑⲟⲕ	ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ	ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ
mê	*nt^hok*	*u-ništi*	*nt^hok*	*e-pe-n-iôt*	*iakôb*
IRP	2MS	IDF.S-great	2MS	to-POSS.M-1P-father	N

"Are you then greater than our father Jacob …"   John 4:12 (^S^Quecke 1984: 93;

^L^Thompson 1924: 3; ^B^Horner 1898–1905: 364)

(110) Ptolemaios and Soterichus started to quarrel over their inheritance. They hence go to Antioch to have the emperor settle the case. The narrator then adds a biographical detail:

ⲡⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥⲇⲉ	ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ	ⲛ̅ⲁⲡⲁ	ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭⲡⲉ	ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ
ptolomaios=de	*p-iôt*	*n-apa*	*klaudios*	*u-noc=pe*	*hm-pe-khronos*
N=yet	DEF.M-father	of-Apa	N	IDF.S-great=SE.M	in-DEF.M-time

ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲧⲉⲣⲓⲭⲟⲥ	ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ	ⲛ̅ⲁⲡⲁ	ⲑⲉⲟⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ
para-soterikhos	*p-iot*	*n-apa*	*theodôros*
to-N	DEF.M-father	of-Apa	N

"Ptolemaios, the father of the venerable Claudius, was older than Soterikhos, the father of the venerable Theodore."

^S^Theodore of Antioch, *On Theodor General* (ed. Budge 1915: 31–33)

(111)   The disciples have asked Jesus how he will return in the end of days. He answers:

ⲧⲓⲛⲉⲩⲅⲁⲣ   ⲛⲧϩⲉ   ⲛⲡ̅ⲣⲓ   ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ
ti-neu=gar   *n-t-xe*   *n-p-ri*   *et-priôu*
1S-come.STA=for   in-DEF.F-way   of-DEF.M-sun   REL-go_forth.STA

ⲁⲟⲩ   ⲉⲉⲓⲉ   ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲛⲉ   ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ̅ϥ   ⲛ̅ⲕⲱⲃ   ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲁϥ   ϩⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲉⲁⲩ
au   *e-i-e*   *n-uaine*   *n-saxf*   *n-kôb*   *parara-f*   *xn-pa-eau*
CON   DEP-1S-be.STA   as-light   in-seven   of-times   to-3MS   in-POSS.M.1S-glory

"… for I will come like the sun that comes forth, being seven times brighter than her (the sun) in my glory."

<div align="right">^AConversations between Jesus and his disciples (Schmidt 1919: 6* XI, 6–8)</div>

(112)   The author praises Macarius, arguing that the saying of Psalm 1:1 is fulfilled in him for he never walked in the counsel of the wicked or stood in the path of sinners. He asks rhetorically:

ⲙⲏ   ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲕⲉⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ   ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ   ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ   ⲛⲗⲉⲱⲛ
mê   *uon-ke-socni*   *e-f-hôu*   *para-pi-tomos*   *n-león*
IRP   EX-other-counsel   DEP-3MS-be_bad.STA   to-DEF₂.M-tome   of-N

"Is there a counsel more wicked than the Tome of Leo?"

<div align="right">^BDioscuros of Alexandria, A Panegyric on Macarius III.11
(Amélineau 1888: 105, 2–3 coll.)</div>

(113)   The emperor says to his daughter Hilaria, who is disguised as a monk and hence he does not recognize her, that he heard about the monks that they hate the female gender:

ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲃⲉⲟⲩ   ⲛⲧⲟⲕ   ϩⲩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ   ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉ   ⲛⲙⲟⲟⲩ   ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ
etbe-u   *ntok*   *hullarion*   *te-k-me*   *nmo-u*   **e-para**-*uon* *nim*
because-what   2MS   N   CNJ-2MS-love   OBJ-3P   to-to-any   QU

"Why, Hilarion, do you love them more than anything else?"

<div align="right">^SSong of Hilaria (Till 1941: 131, II 7–8)</div>

Often these patterns are enforced by an expression involving ^{SB}ϩⲟⲩⲟ *huo* "more" (Till 1970: §153) or ^Bϩⲟⲧⲉ *hote* "more" (Stern 1880: §520), because Coptic has no morphological categories like comparative, superlative, or elative:

(114)   Shenute argues against Manichaean writings neglecting the Old Testament: *Listen to what the Scripture says!*

ⲥⲟⲡ   ϫⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲕⲓⲃⲉ   ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ   ⲉⲡⲏⲣⲡ
sop   *če-tn-na-mere-nu-ekibe*   **n-huo**   *e-p-êrp*
time   that-1P-FUT-love-POSS.P.2FS-breast   as-more   to-DEF.M-wine

ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲡⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ   ⲙⲛⲧⲕⲁⲓⲛⲏ   ⲙⲡϥϫⲟⲟⲥ   ϫⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲕⲓⲃⲉ
ete-t-palaia   *te*   *mn-t-kainê*   *mp-f-čoo-s*   *če-tu-ekibe*
REL-DEF.F-old   SE.F   and-DEF.F-new   NEG.PST-3MS-say-3FS   CMP-POSS.F.2FS-breast

"At one time: 'We will love your breasts more than wine' (Song of Songs 1:4), that is to say, the Old and New Testament. He did not say 'your breast'!"

<div align="right">^SShenute, And We Will Also Say This Other Thing That We Found
(Zoega 1810: 420, 14–15)</div>

(115) After a young servant has survived an attempted suicide, he tells his master what has happened. After he let a dish fall into the water the boy said to himself:

ⲟⲩϩ[ⲏ]ⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲛⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ
u-hêu   na-i   pe   nta-en-pa-mu   na-i   mauaat-ø
IDF.S-profit to-1s COP.M CNJ.1s-bring-POSS.M.1s-death to-1s self-1s

ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲕϭⲓϫ
n-huo ***ero***-s *nta-i*   *ehrai*   *e-ne-k-ciǰ*
in-more to-3FS CNJ.1s-go down to-POSS.P-2MS-hand

"It is better for me that I kill myself than fall into your hands."

ˢ*3ʳᵈ Miracle of St Menas* (Drescher 1946: 21, a29–b1)

(116) When the Pharisees ask Jesus for a sign, he likens a man once possessed by a demon to the wicked present generation of mankind. Once the demon is cast out, it sojourns through the wastelands and decides to return home. As it arrives, it finds it empty and void:

ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ϣⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲉϥ ⲛ̄ϥϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲉϣϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄
tote   ša-f-še   ne-f   n-f-či   n-ke-sešf   m-pn(eum)a
then   AOR-3MS-go for-3MS CNJ-3MS-take OBJ-other-seven of-spirit

ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲉϥ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲣⲁϥ
ehre-f   e-u-hau   n-hue-(e)ra-f
towards-3MS DEP-3P-be_bad.STA in-more-to-3MS

"Then it goes and takes seven other spirits with him, more wicked than itself."

ᴹMatthew 12:45 (Schenke 1981: 81)

(117) In the Song of Songs, the female lover starts to praise the beauty of her male lover, wishing to be kissed by him:

ϫⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲕⲓⲕⲉⲓⲃⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧ ⲉⲟⲩⲏⲗⲡ
ce-nanu-ne-k-ikibi   ehuast   e-u-êlp
for-be_beautiful-POSS.P-2MS-breast more   than-IDF.S-wine

"… for your breast is more beautiful than wine."

ᶠSong of Songs 1:2 (Diebner & Kasser 1989: 150)

(118) The hegemon asks the Christian soldiers: *Do you compare me to dogs and pigs?* And they reply:

ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲓ̀ⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉ̀ϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲕ
*alêthôs   se-taiêut   **ehote-ro**-k*
truly   3P-honor.STA beyond-to-2MS

"Truly, they are more honoured than you."

ᴮ*Mart. Papnute* (Balestri & Hyvernat 1907: 115, 8)

(119) A Christian man's son went to Egypt to renounce the faith of his father. When his father finds him he says:

ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϯⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉ̀ϩⲟⲧⲉⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄
*a-f-sôtp   na-f   n-ti-toi   nte-iudas   **ehot-e**-p-kh(risto)s*
PST-3MS-choose for-3MS OBJ-DEF₂.F-way of-N   more-than-DEF₁.M-Christ

"He had chosen for himself the part of Judas instead of Christ."

<div align="right">^BMêna, Life of Isaac (Porcher 1914: 369, 3–4)</div>

(120) Archbishop Peter I, being freed from prison by night by his followers, says to them:

ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ	ⲛ̇ⲧⲁⲧⲏⲓⲧ	ⲙ̇ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧ	ⲉ̇ⲅⲟⲧⲉ	ⲛ̇ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ	ⲙ̇ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ
nane-s	nta-têi-t	mmauat-ø	**ehote**	nta-tako	m-pi-laos
good-3FS	CNJ.1s-give-1s	self-1s	beyond	CNJ.1s-destroy	OBJ-DEF₂.M-people

ⲧⲏⲣϥ
têr-f
all-3MS

"It is better that I deliver myself than destroy all the people."

<div align="right">^BMart. Peter I, Archbishop of Alexandria (Hyvernat 1886: 273, 3–4)</div>

A similar effect is achieved by prefixing ^Sⲅⲟⲩⲉ- *hue-* to a noun or by using ^Bⲅⲟⲩⲟ *huo* in a genitive expression:

(121) Gregory likens Georg to a beast appearing in Cappadocia:

ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ	ⲡⲉ	ⲅⲙⲡⲉϥⲕⲉⲛⲟⲥ
u-ponêros	pe	hm-pe-f-kenos
IDF.S-wicked	SE.M	in-POSS.M-3MS-people

ⲟⲩⲅⲟⲩⲉⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ	ⲡⲉ	ⲅⲙⲡⲉϥⲅⲏⲧ
u-**hue**-ponêros	pe	hm-pe-f-hêt
IDF.S-more-wicked	SE.M	in-POSS.M-3MS-heart

"He is wicked in his race, more wicked in his heart."

<div align="right">^SGregory of Nazianz, On St Atanasius, XVI (Orlandi 1970: 356, 5–6)</div>

(122) The Book of Numbers narrates the successful campaign against the Midianites:

ⲟⲩⲟⲅ	ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ	ⲛ̇ϫⲉⲡⲓⲅⲟⲩⲟ	ⲛ̇ⲧⲉⲛⲓϣⲱⲗ
uoh	a-f-šôpi	nče-pi-huo	nte-ni-šôl
CON	PST-3MS-happen	PVS-DEF₂.M-more	of-DEF₂.P-booty

"And the abundance of the plunder … was: …"

<div align="right">^BNumbers 31:32 (de Lagarde 1867: 397)</div>

In Bohairic ⲉⲅⲟⲧⲉ *ehote* "more" (from *ehote e-*) can sometimes be reinforced by the Greek *mallon*.

(123) The Lord, angered at the behaviour of his chosen flock, tells Moses that He is going to wipe them out by pestilence and disinherit them:

ⲟⲩⲟⲅ	ⲛ̇ⲧⲁⲁⲓⲕ	ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲏⲓ	ⲙ̇ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ	ⲛ̇ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
uoh	nta-ai-k	nem-p-êi	m-pe-k-iôt	n-u-ništi
CON	CNJ.1s-do-2MS	and-DEF₁.M-house	of-POSS.M-2MS-father	in-IDF.S-strong

ⲛ̇ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲟⲅ	ⲉ̇ⲛⲁϣⲱϥ	ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲉ̇ⲅⲟⲧⲉϥⲁⲓ
n-ethnos	uoh	e-našô-f	**mallon ehot-e**-pʰai
of-people	CON	DEP-be.many-3MS	more more-than-DEM.M

"And I will turn you and the house of your father into a stronger and greater nation than this one."

<div align="right">^BNumeri 14:12 (de Lagarde 1867: 349)</div>

3.7 Incrementive/Decrementive

For the expression of this function, no fully grammaticalized pattern seems to have existed in Coptic. Both Sahidic and Bohairic use the infix ⲕⲉ- *ke-* "other" in front of a noun with affirmative clauses for the incrementive ("even") and negative ones for the decrementive functions ("not even"):

(124) Paul recounts how he went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas and Titus:

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ   ⲡⲕⲉⲧⲓⲧⲟⲥ   ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈   ⲉⲩϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ   ⲡⲉ
alla   *p-**ke**-titos*   *et-nmma-i*   *e-u-hellên*   *pe*
but   DEF.M-other-N   REL-with-1S   DEP-IDF.S-Greek   SE.M

ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲍⲉ   ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ   ⲉⲥⲃ̄ⲃⲏⲧϥ
emp-u-anagkaze   *mmo-f*   *e-sbbêt-f*
PST-3P-compel   OBJ-3MS   to-circumcise-3MS

"Yet not even Titus who was with me was, though Greek, compelled to be circumcised."   ᔆGalatians 2:3 (Thompson 1932: 190)

(125) Jesus preaches to love your neighbour and reasons what one would gain who would love those who love him:

ⲟⲩⲭⲓ   ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲧⲉⲗⲱⲛⲏⲥ   ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ   ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ̈
uči   *n-ke-telônes*   *se-ire*   *m-pei*
NEG   DEF.P-other-tax_collector   3P-do   OBJ-DEM.M

"Even the tax-collectors do this, do they?"   ᴹMatthew 5:46 (Schenke 1981: 63)

(126) On their way to Scetis, a man possessed by an evil spirit is brought to Maximus and Domitian. Still far away from them, he cries aloud and curses St. Macarius, saying:

ⲟⲩⲟϩ   ⲓⲥϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲕϣⲗⲏⲗ   ⲥⲉϯϧⲓⲥⲓ   ⲛⲁⲛ   ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲕⲉⲙⲁ
uoh   *ishêppe is ne-k-šlêl*   *se-ti-xisi*   *na-n*   *m-pai-**ke**-ma*
CON   look   lo   POSS.P-2MS-prayer   3P-give-pain   to-1P   in-DEM.M-other-place

ⲉⲕϯ   ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ   ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ
e-k-ti   *n-tot-k*   *nem-nai-rômeos*
DEP-2MS-give   OBJ-hand-2MS   with-DEM.M-Byzantines

"Look, your prayers hurt us even here, while you help these Byzantines."
                    ᴮ*Life of Maximus & Domitian* (Amélineau 1894: 270, 15–16)

The element *-ke-* can be used also with infinitives:

(127) Paul tells the Ephesians to uncover the deeds of darkness:

ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉⲅⲁⲣ   ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ   ϩⲛϣⲗⲟϥ   ⲉⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉϫⲟⲟⲩ   ⲛⲉ
n-et-u-eire=gar   *mmo-u*   *n-čiue*   *hen-šlof*   *e-r-p-**ke**-čo-u*   *ne*
DEF.P-REL-3P-do=for   OBJ-3P   as-stealth   IDF.P-shame   to-do-DEF.M-other-say-3P   COP.P

"For the things they do in secret are shameful even to mention."
                    ᔆEphesians 5:12 (Thompson 1932: 204)

For the negative, decrementive function, the Greek *oude* 'not even' can be found as well:

(128)   Jesus says that the flowers on the field are clad in the most splendid clothing, even though they neither work nor spin:

ογλε	coλoмon	ϩενπεϥϣογ	тнрϥ	мπεϥϯ	ϩιωтϥ
ude	*solomon*	*xen-pe-f-ôu*	*têr-f*	*mpe-f-ti*	*hiôt-f*
neither	N	in-POSS.M-3MS-glory	all-3S	NEG.PST-3MS-give	upon-3MS

мφρнϯ	ноγαι	ннαι
m-pʰ-rêti	*n-uai*	*n-nai*
in-DEF.M-manner	of-one	of-DEM.P

"Not even Solomon in all his glory was clad like one of these."

<div align="right">^BMatthew 6:29 (Horner 1898–1905: I 30)</div>

3.8 Appendix: Explanatory clause

Explanatory clauses may be seen as occupying an intermediate stage. On the one hand, they are not really coordinated elements if we assume as a basic definition that the coordinated elements or state of affairs would be parallel (see above, following Mauri 2008: 23–48). On the other hand, they are not fully subordinate clauses, especially when used in an appositional manner: *the man who saved me, i.e., John, ...* (on Coptic apposition patterns see Callender 1981). However, many languages, including Coptic, express this function with the help of a relative clause.

Only Coptic connectors are attested for the functional domain of explanatory clauses ("namely"). The constructions employed are rather similar, consisting of a relativized clause of nominal predication. The first pattern is ^{SB}ετε-X πε *ete-X pe* "that is to say; namely" (^SLayton 2011: §410; ^{SB}Stern 1880: §409):

(129)   Shenute tells his audience:

αнонλε	ϩωωн	нεсннγ	ενϩocoн	ενo	нкоінωнoc
anon=de	*hôô-n*	*ne-snêu*	*enhoson*	*e-n-o*	*n-koinônos*
1P=yet	self-1P	DEF.P-brother.P	as_long_as	DEP-1P-be.STA	as-partner

мннεнερнγ	αнонншнρε ноγρωмε	ноγωт	ετεπноγτε	πε
mn-ne-n-erêu	*anon-n-šêre n-u-rôme*	*n-uôt*	***ete*-*p-nute***	***pe***
with-POSS.P-1P-fellow	1P-DEF.P-son of-IDF.S-man	of-single	REL-DEF.M-god	SE.M

αγω αнонншнρε	ноγмααγ	ноγωт	ετεϯϩιλнм̄
auô anon-n-šêre	*n-u-mau*	*n-uôt*	***ete*-*t-hi(rusa)lêm***
CON 1P-DEF.P-son	of-IDF.S-mother	of-single	REL-DEF.F-Jerusalem

нтπε	тε	кαтανεгραφн
n-t-pe	***te***	*kata-ne-graphê*
of-DEF.F-heaven	SE.F	as-DEF.P-script

"Yet also we, O brethren, as long as we share community with each other, are children of a single man, namely God, and we are children of a single mother, namely heavenly Jerusalem, according to the Scriptures."

<div align="right">^SShenute, *Acephalous work A22* (Leipoldt 1913: 129, 5–8)</div>

(130) Paul tells the Ephesians to take the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the
      sword of the Spirit:

      ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ   ⲡⲉ
      ete-pi-sači   *nte-p^h-(nu)ti* *pe*
      REL-DEF₂.M-word   of-DEF₁.M-god   SE.M
      "… that is to say, the word of God."   ᴮEphesians 6:17 (Horner 1898–1905: III 374)

The second pattern is ˢᴮ*ete*-DEMᵢ COPᵢ *X*ᵢ "that is to say; namely" (ˢLayton 2011: §410;
ˢᴮStern 1880: §409).

(131) Shenute quotes from the Song of Songs (2:3) *His fruit is sweet in my throat*:

      ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓ   ⲡⲉ   ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ   ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ   ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ
      ete-pai   *pe* *p-logos*   *mn-te-sbô*   *auô t-entolê*
      REL-DEM.M SE.M DEF.M-word CON-DEF.F-teaching CON DEF.F-law
      "… that is to say, the word and the instruction as well as the law."

                          ˢShenute, *As I Sat on a Mountain* (Amélineau 1907: 353, 10–11)

(132) It is said that the demonic father of Diocletian pays him a visit. The former is revealed
      as:

      ⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲁⲓ   ⲡⲉ   ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ   ⲫⲓⲱⲧ   ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ   ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
      ete-p^hai *pe* *pi-diabolos*   *p^h-iôt*   *n-anomia*   *niben*
      REL-DEM.M   SE.M DEF₂.M-devil   DEF₁.M-father of-lawlessness QU
      ⲡϫⲁϫⲓ   ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ
      p-čači   *n-ti-met^h-mêi*
      DEF₁.M-enemy   of-DEF₂.F-ABST-truth
      "… that is to say, the devil, the father of every lawlessness and the enemy of the
      truth."   ᴮ*Mart. Theodore, Leontius & Panigerus* (Balestri & Hyvernat 1907: 41, 11–12)

A specific explanatory function is assumed for ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ *malista* "in particular" used with
the verbal form of the conjunctive (ˢLayton 2011: §493 sub 32A). However, seeing that
malista appears most often as an adverb (Shisha-Halevy 1986: 57–58), it is probably
easier to analyse the instance quoted below within that usage rather than as a connector,
as suggested:

(133) Shenute metes out punishment to some nuns for their misdemeanours. A nun called
      Tsansnô shall receive 40 blows with the rod, for it is reported to him that she followed
      carnal desires as well as that she had lied about worthless perishable things:

      ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲥϯⲟⲥⲉⲇⲉ   ϩⲱⲱϥ   ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲥ⳿ⲯⲩⲭⲏ
      e-tre-s-ti-ose=de   *hôô-f*   *n-te-s-psykhê*
      to-CAUS-3FS-give-loss=yet self-3MS   for-POSS.F-3FS-soul
        ⲧⲁⲓ   ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ   ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄   ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁ   ⲙⲙⲟⲥ   ⲁⲛ
        tai   *ete-m-pe-kosmos*   *têr-f*   *mpša*   *mmo-s*   *an*
        DEM.F REL-NEG-DEF.M-world   all-3MS   worthy   OBJ-3FS   NEG
      ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ   ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲛⲁⳃ   ⲏ̄   ⲟⲩϭⲟⲡ   ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩϭⲱ̄   ⲛ̄ⲥϫⲓϭⲟⲗ   ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲟⲩ
      malista   *u-pinaks*   *ê*   *u-čop*   *mn-u-čô*   *n-s-či-col* *etbêêt-u*
      especially IDF.S-plate or   IDF.S-bowl and-IDF.S-cup CNJ-3FS-lie because-3P

"… so that she might loose her soul – something which the whole world is not worth, let alone a plate or a bowl and a cup – so that she lies about them."

SShenute, *Why O Lord* (Young 1993: 105, 18–31)

For the use of *malista* plus dependent or complement clause as subordinate causal clause, see Müller 2012: 124–125.

4 Conclusion

As can be seen from the material collected above only very few and very specific functions show a single pattern in use. Instead it is common practice in Coptic texts to have a choice between several patterns. Whereas the Greek elements are limited to a peripheral appearance in some categories, they seem central and even basic in others (such as e.g., the adversative patterns). Yet again, for other categories, no Greek elements at all seem to have been employed.

However, further research is needed both into the semantics and pragmatics as well as the quantitative aspects of the use of the respective connectors. Some seem to belong to the inventory of personal style of a certain author while others are in general use, some appear so often that they should be considered the unmarked pattern, while others are encountered only rarely.

Abbreviations used in Glossing

The glossing follows a simplified version of that proposed by Di Biase-Dyson, Kammerzell & Werning 2009 and Grossman & Haspelmath 2014.

All examples are introduced by a context description followed by a Coptic line, a line with analysed text with morpheme division, a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing line, and a translation. These equal the lines (1), (4), (5), and (6) in the glossing proposal of Grossman & Haspelmath (2014: 148–149). As I dispensed with their transliteration line, I choose to represent the digraphs ⲉⲓ and ⲟⲩ in Coptic words as *i* and *u* only, and not as suggested by Grossman & Haspelmath (2014: 147) as *ei* and *ou*, if other Coptic dialects represent them as single letters (hence, e.g., the demonstrative Sⲡⲉⲓ- is given as *pei-* due to Bⲡⲁⲓ- *pai-*, but Sⲉⲓ 'to come' appears as *i* only due to Bⲓ *i*). Finally, following good use of papyrology, I continue using round brackets to dissolve abbreviations, such as *p-c(ôi)s* for ⲡϭ̅ⲥ̅, instead of the suggested pointed parentheses, i.e., *p-c<ôi>s* (Grossman & Haspelmath 2014: 148).

Note that Coptic grammatical forms or patterns are distinguished by italics below, e.g., *Conditional*.

ø	zero	AOR	aorist
1,2,3	number	AUX	auxiliary
A	Akhmimic dialect	B	Bohairic dialect
ABS	absolute	CAUS	causative
ABST	abstract morpheme	CMP	complement clause marker

CMPL	*Completive*		M	Mesokemic dialect
CND	*Conditional*		M	masculine
CNJ	*Conjunctive*		N	name (personal, toponym, etc.)
CO	connector		NCPL	*Negative Completive*
CON	conjuncting element		NEG	negation
COP	copula		OBJ	object marker
DEF	definite article		OPT	*Optative*
DEF₁	definite, generic (B only)		P	plural
DEF₂	definite, phoric (B only)		POSS	possessive
DEF₃	definite of REL-clause (B only)		PROH	prohibitive
DEM	demonstrative		PRP	preposition
DEP	dependent clause ('circumstantial')		PRT	preterite
EX	existential		PST	past ('*Perfect I*')
F	Fayumic dialect		PTC	particle
F	feminine		PVS	post-verbal subject marker
FCNJ	*Future conjunctive*		QU	quantifier
FIN	*Finalis*		REL	relative marker/clause
FOC	focus		S	Sahidic dialect
FUT	future		S	singular
IDF	indefinite		SE	subject element
IMP	imperative		STA	stative
IRP	interrogative particle		TERM	*Terminative*
IRR	irrealis marker (i.e., DEP-PRT)		TEMP	*Temporal*
JUSS	*Jussive*		VOC	vocative
L	Lycopolitan dialect		XDIST	distributive (by iteration)
LIM	*Limitative*			

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