The Miracle of Saint Mina.

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ΓΙϹ ΜΙΝ∂Ν ΝΟΚΚΟⳂ.

TRANSLATED TO DONGOLAWI—ANDAANDI
BY EL-SHAFIE EL-GUZUULI,
TRANSLATED TO ENGLISH
BY VINCENT W.J. VAN GERVEN OEI.

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THE MIRACLE OF SAINT MINA.

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ⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ.

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To the late Francis Ll. Griffith (1862–1934) and the late Gerald W. Browne (1943–2004)

Preface

The Miracle of Saint Mina is one of the most famous texts in the medieval language Old Nubian. The fairly well preserved manuscript was discovered at the beginning of the 20th century. It was first edited by E.A. Wallis Budge in 1909, and then re-edited, analyzed, and translated into English by Francis Ll. Griffith in 1913. Griffith's analysis was revised by Gerald Browne in 1983, and subsequently in 1989, 1994, and 2004. The manuscript containing *The Miracle of Saint Mina* is now kept at the British Museum, London.

Saint Mina (Old Nubian, ⲅⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ; Andaandi, ⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁ) was born in Niceous, Egypt in 285 CE, as the first son of a devout Christian couple, Eudoxios and Euphemia. His name derives from the inverse of the word 'Amen'. Saint Mina is of one the most popular Egyptian saints, working many miracles throughout his life. He died around 309 CE in the hands of a Christian ruler, when he declared his faith after receiving an angelic revelation, and was subsequently buried near Lake Mariout, close to Alexandria.

The story included in this publication tells of one of the many miracles he performed during his life.
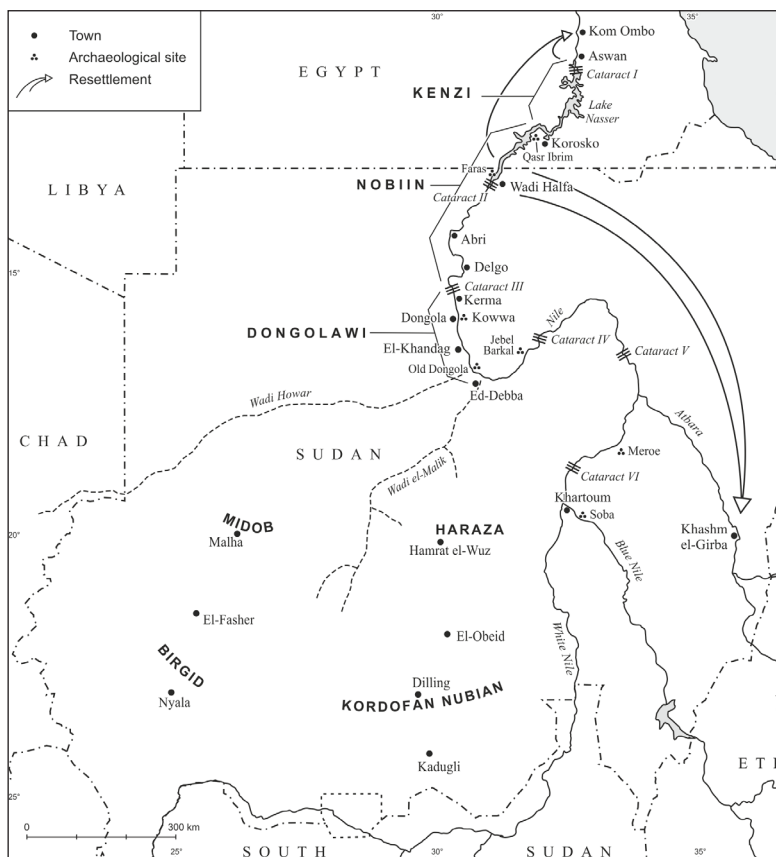
Fig. 1. Geographical distribution of Nubian languages and resettlements caused by the construction of the Aswan Dam in 1960–70. (Courtesy of the Institut für Afrikanistik, Cologne University, Cologne.)

Translator's Note

Based on Browne's revised edition of the Saint Mina text, this study presents the Old Nubian text translated into the Nubian language *Andaandi*, a term which the Dongolawi speakers use for their own language: the so-called self-name. This language is spoken in the Nile Valley of northern Sudan, roughly between the 3ʳᵈ cataract south of Kerma, upstream to the big bend of the Nile near ed-Debba, as shown in figure 1.

The language name Dongolawi is an Arabic term based on the name of the town of Old Dongola on the eastern side of the Nile. This town was the centre of Makuria (in Arabic, al-Muqurra), a Christian kingdom that flourished between the 6ᵗʰ and 14ᵗʰ century.

As a mother tongue speaker of the southern dialect of Andaandi, I translated the text into that variety. One of the characteristic features of southern Andaandi is the presence of [g] where other varieties have [k] or even [h], e.g. ⲦⲀ̄ⲄⲞⲚ *taagon* – ⲦⲀ̄ⲔⲞⲚ *taakon* – ⲦⲀ̄ϨⲞⲚ *taahon* 'he/she/it has come'.

The translation was primarily made to acquaint Nubian speakers with an Andaandi text written with Old Nubian characters (using the Sophia Nubian font) and

to show the close relationship between the Old Nubian language and contemporary Nile Nubian languages such as Andaandi. I also intend to show that it may not only be used for speaking but also for writing.

Reducing a language to writing raises a number of orthographical questions. In Andaandi, for instance, the question arises whether clitic case markers like -ⲅⲓ *-gi,* -ⲅⲁⲇⲇⲓ *-gaddi,* -ⲣ *-r* should be spelled separately or attached to the preceding noun phrase. I hope that the translation, the orthography, and the glossing will stimulate the interest of Nubian speakers in their language and cultural heritage.

In an attempt to retrieve Nubian lexemes that are missing in Andaandi and to avoid Arabic loan words, I have in the course of translation borrowed some words from Old Nubian. This is, for instance, and according to Andaandi phonology and grammar, the case for ⲦⲞⲨⲤⲔⲞⲨⲚⲆⲞ *tuskundo* 'immediately', ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲁⲗⲗⲟ *dumallo* 'suddenly', and ⲦⲞⲨⲆⳝⲁⲣ *tudjar* 'hunting'.

To my knowledge, the Andaandi text represents the first translation from Old Nubian into a contemporary Nubian language. In order to facilitate the comparison, both texts are accompanied by interlinear glossing based on a detailed grammatical analysis. The Old Nubian text analyses and a revised translation were completed by co-editor Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

As for the Andaandi text, apart from consulting Armbruster's grammar from 1960, I asked Marcus Jaeger and Angelika Jakobi (both University of Cologne) to comment on the first draft of my glossing. The glossing of the Andaandi text presented here is the result of their comments and our joint discussion of several grammatical issues. In some cases, we have arrived at new insights that differ from those suggested by Armbruster.

I gratefully acknowledge Marcus Jaeger's effort for patiently reading the first draft of the translation and making valuable comments. I am especially grateful to Angelika Jakobi and Marcus Jaeger for their tireless in-depth discussions and comments on the grammatical analysis of the Andaandi text. Without their help I would not have been able to complete this work in its present shape. Also I would like to acknowledge and thank co-editor and publisher Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei for encouraging me to publish this translation and providing me with his analyses of the Old Nubian text, which were in turn helpful for progressing my own insight into Andaandi grammar.

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Editorial Procedure

The aim of the publication is to offer a parallel Old Nubian–Andaandi text mainly as a mode of making part of the Nubian heritage accessible to a contemporary (Nubian) audience. Thus, this is not strictly speaking a fully annotated philological edition of the Old Nubian manuscript. The editors wish to refer to Browne 1994 for the most recent philological commentary.

The critical apparatus to the Old Nubian text (recto) has been limited to noting the differences with Griffith 1913 (g), Browne 1994 (b^1), and Browne 2004 (b^2), the unpublished manuscript containing his final transcriptions.

The critical apparatus to the Andaandi text (verso) provides supplementary information on certain grammatical and lexicographical features of the language.

On the lower half of the folio, a running English translation has been provided, based on the Old Nubian text.

The annotated texts are followed by a grammatical commentary to the Old Nubian text and a grammatical analysis of the Andaandi translation, offering the reader the pleasure of tracking the similarities and dis-

tinctions between these family members, seperated by a millennium of language change and development.

In the Old Nubian text, the following editorial symbols have been used:

[ ]	lacuna
{ }	deletion by editor
⟦ ⟧	deletion by scribe
ⲁ̣	ⲁ is uncertain

Nubian Orthography

The Old Nubian alphabet was used in Nubia until the 14th century and consisted mainly of Greek letters, extended by a few Coptic and Meroitic letters. Table 1 overleaf, organized along the current Nubian alphabetical order, summarizes and exemplifies the Old Nubian and Nubian characters as used today, among others for Andaandi.

In Old Nubian, a dot or macron placed over a vowel usually indicates that it is an independent syllable, e.g. ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁ́ⲅⲓⲟⲛ *tris·a·gion.* A macron on a single letter, but often (partially) overlapping two, indicates the insertion of the vowel ⲓ, although it may have been phonologically reduced, e.g. ⲇⲓ̄ⲡⲓ̄ⲇⲇⲱ *dip·pid·do.*

The romanization of both Old Nubian and modern Nubian languages follows mostly the common, albeit somewhat unpractical, standard of open ('Italian') pronunciation of the vowels, and 'English' pronunciation of the consonants. The only exceptions are ɓ, romanized *c* but pronounced as a voiceless palatal stop such as as the 'ch' in 'church', and Ⲭ, romanized *x* but pronounced as the Arabic 'kh', in the back of the throat, i.e. i.e. as a voiceless velar fricative.

ON	Nub.	Roman	Example		
ⲁ	ⲁ	*a*	ⲁⲇⲉⲙ	*adem*	'human'
	ⲁ̄	*aa*	ⲁ̄	*aa*	'heart', 'self'
ⲃ	Ⲃ	*b*	Ⲃⲉⲛⲧⲓ	*benti*	'date'
ⲅ	Ⲅ	*g*	Ⲅⲟ̄ⲣ	*goor*	'ant'
ⲇ	ⲇ	*d*	ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁⲇⲉ	*dummade*	'chicken'
ⲉ	ⲉ	*e*	ⲉⲅⲉⲇ	*eged*	'sheep'
	ⲉ̄	*ee*	Ⲅⲉ̄ⲗⲉ	*geele*	'red'
ⲓ	Ⲓ	*i*	Ⲓⲣ	*ir*	'you' (PL)
	Ⲓ̄	*ii*	Ⲓ̄	*ii*	'arm'
	Ï	*y*	ÏⲞ̄	*yoo*	'my mother'
ⲕ	Ⲕ	*k*	Ⲕⲁ̄	*kaa*	'house'
ⲗ	ⲗ	*l*	Ⲕⲁⲗ	*kal*	'food'
ⲙ	Ⲙ	*m*	Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ	*mare*	'millet'
ⲛ	Ⲛ	*n*	Ⲛⲉⲗ	*nel*	'tooth'
ⲟ	Ⲟ	*o*	Ⲟⲥⲥⲓ	*ossi*	'leg'
	Ⲟ̄	*oo*	Ⲟ̄	*oo*	'song'
ⲟⲩ	Ⲟⲩ	*u*	Ⲟⲩⲣ	*ur*	'head'
	Ⲟ̄ⲩ̄	*uu*	Ⲟ̄ⲩ̄ⲗ	*uul*	'thread'
ⲣ	Ⲣ	*r*	Ⲃⲉⲣⲧⲓ	*berti*	'goat'
ⲥ	Ⲥ	*s*	Ⲥⲁ̄Ⲃ	*saab*	'cat'
ⲧ	Ⲧ	*t*	Ⲧⲓ̄	*tii*	'cow'

ON	Nub.	Roman	Example		
ϥ	ϥ	*f*	ϥⲟ̄ⲇⲁ	*fooja*	'bird'
	ⲱ	*w*	ⲱⲉⲗ	*wel*	'dog'
ⳡ	ⳡ	*sh*	ⳡⲁ̄	*shaa*	'spear'
ⳝ	ⳝ	*h*	ⳝⲁⲛⲟⲩ	*hanu*	'donkey'
ẟ	ⳃ	*j*	ⳃⲓⲅⲓⲣ	*jigir*	'mouse'
	б	*c, ch*	іббі	*icci*	'milk'
Ⲅ	Ⲅ	*ŋ, ng*	ⲛⲟⲅⲅⲁ	*noŋŋa*	'chameleon'
ⳤ	ⳤ	*ny*	ⲕⲟⳤ	*kony*	'face'
ⲭ	ⲭ	*x, kh*	ⲭⲁⲣⲁ̄ⳃ	*xaraaj*	'date tax'
ⳍ	ⳍ	*z*	ⳍⲟ̄ⲗ	*zool*	'person'
ꜧ		*i*			
ⲑ		*th*			
ⳤ		*ks*			
ⲡ		*p*			
ⲩ		*i*			
⳧		*ps*			
ⲱ		*o*			
Ⳡ		*w*			

Table 1. The orthography and romanization of Old Nubian and contemporary Nubian languages. The last eight letters occur only in Old Nubian.

the miracle of saint mina

ⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ

1

ⲚⲞⲔⲔⲞⲢ Ⲓ̄ⲤⲀ ⲘⲈⲤⲒ̄ϨⲚ ⲘⲀ̅ⲢⲦⲒⲢⲞ̄Ⲥ, ⲄⲒⲤ ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ,
Ⲁ̄ⲰⲤⲒⲚ ⲦⲀⲚⲚⲀⲚ. ⲀⲢⲦⲒⲚ ⲀⲘⲀ̄ⲚⲆⲞ. Ⲁ̄ⲘⲒ̄Ⲛ.

ⲆⲞⲗⲂⲞ̅ⲩ̅ⲗⲓ: Ⲉ̄Ⲛ ⲰⲈ̄Ⲣ ⲘⲀ̅Ⲣ ⲰⲈ̄ⲢⲢⲞ Ⲁ̄ⲄⲔⲞⲚ.
ⲒⲤⲔⲀⲚⲆⲈⲢⲒ̈Ⲓ̈ⲈⲚ ⲀϣⲁⲒ̈ⲒⲢ. ⲦⲈⲢ ⲔⲞⲚ ⲘⲒ̄ⲢⲀ ⲈⲄⲞⲚ,
5 Ⲁ̄Ⲅ ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲒⲄⲞⲘⲞⲨⲚ, ⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ ⲈⲄⲒⲚ ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ ⲈⲄⲒⲚ.
ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲆⲈϨⲒ̄ⲢⲈ ⲄⲞⲚ ⲆⲒⲄⲢⲒ̄ ⲈⲄⲞⲚ, Ⲉ̄ⲰⲀ ⲄⲞⲚ Ⲁ̄Ⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲗ
ⲈⲄⲞⲚ.

1 ⲚⲞⲔⲔⲞⲢ] 'miracle', 'marvel', from ON ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ- Ⲓ̄ⲤⲀ] 'Jesus'
ⲘⲀ̅ⲢⲦⲒⲢⲞ̄Ⲥ] 'martyr', from ON ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ- ⲄⲒⲤ] 'holy', from ON
ⲅ̄ⲥ̄- 2 ⲀⲘⲀ̄Ⲛ] 'safety', 'peace', from Ar. 3 ⲰⲈ̄ⲢⲢⲞ = indefinite
article + locative, var. ⲰⲈ̄ⲆⲆⲞ 4 ⲀϣⲁⲒ̈-] 'region', 'country' 5 ⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ
ⲈⲄⲒⲚ ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ ⲈⲄⲒⲚ] although it follows the Old Nubian original, this
sounds superfluous in spoken Andaandi; ⲘⲒ̄ⲢⲀ already implies complete
barrenness and the explicit mention of 'neither son nor daughter' has a
comical effect ⲦⲈⲢ ⲔⲞⲚ] pronounced ⲦⲈⲔⲔⲞⲚ 6 ⲆⲈϨⲒ̄ⲢⲈ] 'wealth'
Ⲉ̄ⲰⲀ] 'fame', 'reputation', 'glory' Ⲁ̄Ⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲗ] 'big', 'large', 'great'

A miracle performed by Mina, the holy martyr of Christ. In
the forgiveness of God. Amen.

   You, beloved! There was a woman living in a village in

† ⲁ̄ † ⲱ̄ †

ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣⲁ ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ̄ⲛ
ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥⲟⲩ ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ
ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗⲱ·
ⲧ̄ⲗ̄ⲗ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲕ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲉ̇ⲗⲟ ⲁ̇ⲙⲏ̂·
⸱⸱⸱ ——— ⸱⸱⸱ ——— ⸱⸱⸱
ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇ⲕⲉ· ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ   5
ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲟ ⲁ̄ⲡ̄ⲡⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲁ
ⲇⲟⲩⲁ̇ⲣⲁ· ⲁ̇ⲗⲉⲍⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲛ·
ⲱ̄ⲕⲅⲟⲩⲗⲁ· ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ
ⲁ̇ⲅⲉⲛⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ
ⲛⲁⲗⲱ· ⲅⲁⲕ`ⲉⲛⲇⲉ` ⲁⲥ   10
ⲕⲉⲛⲇⲉ· ⲉⲓⲯ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ ⲅⲟⲩⲕ
ⲧⲗⲱ ⲇⲓⲉⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲕⲟⲁ̇ⲗⲟ ⲉ̇ⲛⲟ

4 ⲁ̇ⲙⲏⲛ. *g*   6 ⲁ̄ⲡⲡⲟⲩ *g*   8 ⲁ̇ⲗⲉⲍⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲛ·] · om. *b¹²*
11–2 ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲧⲗⲱ]+· *g*

the district of Alexandria. And she bore neither son nor
daughter, remaining barren. In glory and wealth she pos-
sessed much,

2

ⲓⲛ ⲅⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲓ ⲛⲉ̄ⲱⲓⲗⲅⲓ ⲕⲟ̄ⲅⲟⲙⲟⲩⲛ.
ⲓⲛⲇⲟ ⲃⲁⲯⲫⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲅⲟⲛ, ⲧⲉⲛⲛ ⲁ̄ⲅⲓ ⲁ̄ⲅ
ⲟⲇⲇⲓⲅⲓⲣⲕⲟⲛ. ⲧⲉⲛⲛ ⲕⲁ̄ⲣ ⲁ̄ⲅⲉⲗⲓ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ ⲅⲟⲛ
ⲙⲓ̄ⲣⲁⲛϭⲓ ⲉⲅⲟⲣⲁⲛ. ⲃⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲇⲁⲱⲁⲇⲓ, ⲧⲓ̄ⲛϭⲓ,
5 ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁⲇⲉⲛϭⲓⲅⲓ ⲇⲟ̄ⲩ̄ⲣⲓⲛ ⲃⲟⲕⲕⲟⲛ.
    ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲛ ⲓⲛ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲅ ⲱⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲓ ⲙⲉⲥⲓ̄ϩⲓⲛϭⲓⲛ ⲉ̄ⲛϭⲓ
ⲁ̄ⲅ ⲃⲁⲯⲫⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲅⲓϭⲓⲣⲕⲟⲛ, ⲛⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣⲓ ⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁ
ⲙⲁ̄ⲣ̈ⲓ̄ⲟ̄ⲧⲛ ⲕⲓⲥⲥⲉⲣ ⲁ̄ⲱⲥⲓⲛⲓⲅⲓ.

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1 ⲓⲛ   ⲅⲟⲛⲟⲛ   ⲅⲟⲛ] 'and/but with this', 'despite this', 'even so'
5 ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁⲇⲉ] 'hen', var. ⲇⲟⲩⲣⲙⲁⲇⲉ, ᴘʟ ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁⲇⲉⲛϭⲓ   6 ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲛ]
conjunction 'and then'   ⲟⲩⲅ] 'day', ᴘʟ ⲟⲩⲅⲓ; ⲓ̈ⲟ̄ⲙ, from Ar. is currently
more common   ⲟⲩⲅ ⲱⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲓ] 'one/some day', 'once'; also ⲓ̈ⲟ̄ⲙ ⲱⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲓ
ⲙⲉⲥⲓ̄ϩⲓ] 'Christian', from Ar.   8 ⲙⲁ̄ⲣ̈ⲓ̄ⲟ̄ⲧ] 'Mareotis' (=Mariut), a lake
south of Alexandria, Egypt.

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but she had no heir. And speaking about this afflicted her
heart. And also all who lived in her house were barren: the
servant girls, the cows, up to the fowls.

B̄

ⲛⲁ· ⲥ̇ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲧⲕⲟⲛ ⲕⲟⲛ
ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲁⲗⲱ· ⲉⲛ̄ ⲅⲉⲉⲛ̄
ⲇ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ̇ ⲉⲓⲁ̇ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲛˋ
ⲁ̇ⲉⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲥⲛⲁ·
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲟⲅⲗⲁ ⲇⲟⲩⲁ̇ⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲱ̅ⲙ̅ⲱ̅   5
ⲱⲁⲛⲅⲟⲩⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲉⲓ
ⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇ⲗⲱ ⲉⲓⲥⲥⲁⲛⲁ·
ⲙⲉⲇ̅ⲟⲩⲛⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ·
ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ· ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲓ
ⲅⲟⲩⲗⲱ ⲕⲓⲉ̅ⲥ̅ⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲗⲱ· ⲟⲩ   10
ⲕⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗⲱ ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲟⲉⲓⲟⲛ·
ⲙⲁⲛˋ ⲉ̅ⲧ̅ⲧ̅ⲗ̅ ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓ̇ⲁ̇ⲛⲟⲥⲓ̣
ⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓⲗⲏⲩⲅⲟⲩⲗ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ
ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣⲁ· ⲧ̄ⲱⲉ̇ⲕⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇ⲥⲛ̄
ⲅ̅ⲥ̅ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̇   15
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲕ̅ⲥ̅ⲥⲉⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲇ̅ⲗⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁ·

12 ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧ̈ⲁ̈ⲛⲟⲥⲓ̣ *g*   16 ⲕⲥⲥⲉⲗⲁ *g*

And on one of the days, hearing women of Christians
speaking about the miracles performed by Saint Mina in
the church of Mareotis,

23

3

ΤΑ ΤΕΝΝ Ā̄ΓΙ ω̄ΕΤΙΡΚΟΝ: ΑλΕ̄ΓΕΑ, ΓΙC
ΜῙΝΑΝ ΑΡΤΙ ΟΝ ΑΝΝ ΔΟΥΜΜΑΔΕΝϬΙΡ ΤΟ̄Ν
ω̄ΕΚΚΙ ΜΟΥΓΙΝΓΙΡΚΙΝ, ΟωωΕλ ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥ
ΜΟΥΓΚΑΤΤΙλΓΙ, ΑΪ ΤΕΝΝ ΚΙCCΕΡ ΒΙ ΟϬΙΡΙ,
5   ΕΓΟΝ.
    ΤΑΓΟΝ, ΟΥΓΙ ΔΙΓΡῙΝϬΙ ω̄ΕΡΙ ΓΑϢΕ̄CΑΝ ΒᾱΔΚΙ,
ΔΟΥΜΜΑΔΕΝϬΙΡ ΤΟ̄Ν ω̄ΕΡ, ΤΕΝΝ ΟωωΕλ
ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥΓΙ ΜΟΥΓΚΟΝ. ΤΕΡ ΚΟΝ ΙΜΒΕλ
ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥΓΙ ΙΝΔΕλ, ΟΥΡΟΥ ΓΑΔΔΙ ϢΟΥΓΟΥΡΚΟΝ,

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3   ΜΟΥΓ-] 'to lay an egg'; ΜΟΥΓΙΝΓΙΡΚΙΝ 'if he/she/it causes to lay egg.' In Andaandi there is no concept of pregnancy for hens.   ΟωωΕλ] 'first', originally from ΟΓΟλ/ΟωΕλ   9 ΟΥΡΟΥ] 'river', 'sea'. More specific than ΕCCΙ 'water', still used in this context: ΕCCΙ ΓΑΔΔΙ ϢΟΥΓΟΥΡΚΟΝ 'he descended to the water.'

that woman said to herself: 'Truly, if it is the God of Saint Mina saying to one of my fowls to give birth, I will place the egg it has laid first in his church.'

Ταριὰ πϵϲϲνα· ἀλϵϲ̄ν
ϲ̄ϲϲου μηναν τ̄λλ̄
αν ⲇоγτραпιγоγλα
оγϵκκα оγννϵϲ` ϵ̄λ
ϵνκоνно· ἀϵιоν   5
коγμпоγ тоγϲκαν
тϵλо оγνноγϲ̄νκα
λо ταν κ̄ϲϲϵλα оγ
тоγⲇⲇρϵ· оγκоγρ ⲇι
ϵλ` αγтακоνноν·   10
⳿ⲇоγтрапιγоγλα ⟦ⲟ̄⟧ ꙋϵλ
ⲟ̄оγντоγⳝα коγμ
поγν κακ̄λ оγϵκκα
оγνноγϲνα· μαν`
ϵ̄тт̄λоν коγμпоγκ`   15
ϵν`ϵ̇τα ἀμανⲇо` ϲоγκ

    And after many a day had passed, one of the fowls became pregnant and laid a first-born egg. And that woman, taking up the egg, was ready to go down to the water,

4

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ ⲇⲁⲱⲁⲇ ⲱⲎⲢ ⲔⲞⲚⲞⲚ, ⲔⲞⲨⲂ
ⲱⲎⲔⲔⲓ Ⲉⲗ, ⲘⲁⲚ ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨⲄⲒ ⲄⲒⲤ ⲘⲎⲚⲁⲚ ⲔⲒⲤⲤⲈ
ⲘⲀⲢⲒ̈ⲞⲦⲒⲢ ⲦⲎⲂⲒⲗⲗⲞ ⲞⲇⲒⲢⲈⲄⲒ.
    ⲦⲁⲄⲞⲚ, ⲔⲞⲨⲂ ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲕⲤⲈⲚⲒⲦ ⲔⲁⲇⲒ
5 ⲘⲞⲨⲔⲔⲈⲇⲞⲗⲓⲗ ⲱⲎⲔⲔⲒ ⲈⲗⲤⲒⲚ ⲄⲞⲚⲞⲚ, ⲇⲞⲨ
ⲈⲢϨⲒ̄ⲤⲔⲒ: ⲤⲁⲗⲀ̄Ⲙ ⲈⲢϨⲒ̄Ⲥ ⲁⲘⲂⲀ̄Ⲃ ⲈⲄⲞⲚ. ⲈⲢϨⲒ̄Ⲥ
ⲔⲞⲚ ⲤⲁⲗⲀ̄ⲘⲄⲒ ϨⲁⲂⲎ̄ⲄⲞⲚ.
    Ⲏ̄Ⲛ ⲦⲈⲔⲔⲒ ⲒⲤⲒⲔⲔⲒⲄⲞⲚ: ⲁⲗⲎ̄ⲄⲈⲇ, ⲈⲢ ⲒⲚⲇⲞ ⲦⲞ̄Ⲛ
ⲒⲘⲂⲈⲗⲔⲒⲚ, ⲒⲤⲀ̄Ⲓ̈ⲔⲈ ⲂⲒ ⲘⲞⲨⲔⲔⲒⲚ? ⲈⲚⲄⲀ̄ⲗ, ⲈⲢϨⲒ̄Ⲥ
10 ⲱⲎⲦⲒⲢⲔⲞⲚ:

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2 Ⲉⲗ] 'find', also Ⲛⲁⲗ 'see', 'look', 'find'   4 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲕⲤⲈⲚⲒⲦ] 'Philoxenite',
from ON ⲫⲓⲗⲟϫⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ-, a town on the southern shore of Lake Mariut.
5 ⲘⲞⲨⲔⲔⲈⲇⲞⲗⲓⲗ] ⲘⲞⲨⲔⲔⲒ 'sail', ⲘⲞⲨⲔⲔⲈⲇⲞⲗⲓⲗ 'be about/ready to sail'
7 ϨⲁⲂⲎ̄-] 'to greet back'

with a servant girl, looking for a boat to take that egg to the
church of Saint Mina located in Mareotes.

    And finding a boat made ready to depart for Philoxenite,
the woman said to the sailor: 'Hello, sailorman.' And he said:

ⲕⲁ ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ· ⲙⲉⲇⳝⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲁⲗ`
ⲟⲩⲉⲗ`ⲇⲁⲗ· ⲁⲅⲉⲕ̄ ⲉ̇ⲗⲁ
ⲙ̣ⲁⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⳟ̄ⲥ̄
ⲥ̣ⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛ ⲕ̄ⳟ̄ⲥⲉ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲉⲱ̇ⲧⲓⲱ̇ ⳟⲟⲛⳝⲗⲗⲁⳟ̄   5
ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁ̇· ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲗ` ⲫⲓⲗⲟ
Ⳡⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏⳟ̄ ⳝⲟⲇⲣⲁ ⲙⲉⲇ
ⲇⲁⳞⲟⲗ` ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲉ̇ⲗⲁ·
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ ⲉ̄ⲧ̄ⲧⳞ ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲓ
[ⲗⲁ]ⳟ̄ⲗⲗⲉ· ⲡ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲥⲱ ⲡⲁ   10
ⲡⲟ ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲁ· ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲛ
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ· ⲉ̄ⲕ̄ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ
ⲡ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲱ· ⲉ̄ⲧ̄ⲧⳞⲟⲛ
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ· ⲁ̇ⲗⲉⳡ̄ ⲉ̄ⲛⲛⲟ
ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⳡ̄ⳟⳞ ⳝⲱ̇ⲇ̄ⲛ̄·   15
ⲁ̇ⲡⲟⲅⲅⳞ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲁ· ⲁ̇ⲗⲉ

3–4 ⳟ̄[ⲥ]ⲟⲩ *g*   6 ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁ̇·] ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁ̇. *g*   10 [. .]ⳟⳞⲗⲉ *g* ⟦ . . ⟧ⳟⳞⲗⲉ *b¹²*
16 ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅⳞ *g;* read ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⳞ

'Hello to you.'
    The woman said: 'Truly, if you depart from here, where will you go to?' The sailor saying:

5

αλε̄γελ αρτι ον ανν ῑγι ᾱρκιν, αϊ
φιλοκϲενιτ καλλι μογκκιλ ερι, εγον.
   ε̄ν τεκκι: ϲερεν, αλλο ϲερεγιλ ω̄εκκι λ̄ω,
αϊγι ερ κονον φιλοκϲενιτιρ οϲοϲ, εγον.
5 ερ2ῑϲ τεκκι: μανλο μινγι λολιν? ενγᾱλ, γιϲ
μῑναν κιϲϲερ δ̄ογ̄ρι, εγον. ερ2ῑϲ ιϲικκιγον:
ερ ϲεν ιλινο̄ϲογν,

1 αρτι ον ανν ῑγι ᾱρκιν] lit. 'if the Lord takes my hand', i.e. 'if the Lord guides me'   3 ϲερεγιλ] 'goodness', 'kindness', 'virtue'   7 ιϲικκιγον] 'he asked'   ιλινο̄ϲ] 'pagan', from Greek via ON ελλннοϲ, 'Greek', 'pagan'

'Truly, if the Lord guides me, it is to Philoxenite that I will go.'
   And the woman said: 'But do me a favor and have me go with you to Philoxenite.' The sailor saying: 'What do you

ⲥⲛ̄ ⲅⲟⲇⲗ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲙⲟⲩ
ⲇⲟⲩⲟⲩⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ` ⲫⲓⲗⲟ
ⲍⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉⲗⲱ
ⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉ· ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲛ
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ· ⲙⲁⲅⲣⲉⲛ   5
ⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲇⲁⲗ` ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲕ̄
ⲁⲩⲁ̀ ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲍⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ
ⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲕ̄` ⲉ̄ⲇ̄ⲇⲁⲗ
ⲕⲟⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲱ· ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲗ̄
ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲁ· ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲟ ⲙⲛ̄   10
[ⲕ]ⲁ̣ ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲓⲛⲁⲓ̈· ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲗ̄
ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲁ· ⲅⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏ
ⲛⲁⲛ ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉⲗⲱ
ⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉ· ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲛ́
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ· ⲉ̄ⲇ̄ⲇⲉ ⲉⲗⲏ   15

11 ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲓⲛⲁⲓ̈· *g*

want there?' The woman saying: 'It is to the church of Saint
Mina that I'm going.' And the sailor said: 'But you're a pagan,

6

ⲕⲓⲥⲥⲉⲣ ⲙⲓⲛⲅⲓ ⲁ̄ⲱⲓⲛ? ⲉⲛⲅⲁ̄ⲗ, ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲱⲉ̄ⲧⲓⲣⲕⲟⲛ:
ⲓⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲅⲓ ⲧⲓⲣⲁⲣⲕⲓⲣ ⲙⲁⲛ ⲕⲓⲥⲥⲉⲣ ⲃⲓ ⲟⲇⲓⲣⲓ,
ⲁⲣⲧⲓ ⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲇⲓ ⲁ̈ⲓⲅⲓ ⲙⲉ̄ⲱⲕⲁⲛⲉⲛ ⲧⲉ̄ⲣⲉⲅⲓ
ⲇⲉ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲛ ⲓⲗⲗⲁⲣ. ⲁⲗⲉ̄ⲅⲉⲇ ⲅⲟⲛ, ⲁ̈ⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲓⲅⲓⲣⲓ,
5 ⲁ̈ⲓ ⲃⲓ ⲙⲉⲥⲓ̄ϩⲓ ⲁⲛⲇⲓ, ⲉⲅⲟⲛ. ⲉⲣϩⲓ̄ⲥ ⲱⲉ̄ⲧⲓⲣⲕⲟⲛ:
ϩⲉ̄ ⲉ̄ⲛ, ⲧⲟⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲛ ⲁ̄ⲅⲓ ⲙⲁ̄ⲅⲓⲣⲙⲉⲛ, ⲁ̈ⲓⲅⲓ ⲉⲛⲛ
ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲅⲓ ⲇⲉ̄ⲛⲟⲥⲕⲓⲛ ⲁ̈ⲓ ⲃⲓ ⲟⲇⲓⲣⲓ.

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2 ⲧⲓⲣⲁⲣ] 'offering', 'obligation'. ⲧⲓⲣⲁⲣⲕⲓⲣ 'as offering'   7 ⲧⲟⲕⲕⲟⲛ
ⲉⲛⲛ ⲁ̄ⲅⲓ ⲙⲁ̄ⲅⲓⲣⲙⲉⲛ] lit. 'don't let yourself get tired'

what will you do in the church?' The woman saying: 'This
egg, I will offer it up in that church, so that the God of Saint
Mina may give it the seed of mankind. And truly, if it be

ⲛⲟⲥˋ ⲉⲓⲛⲗ̄ⲗⲏ ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲗⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲛⲕ ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲣ̄ⲛⲛⲁ· ⲉ̄ⲧ
ⲧⲗ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲁ· ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ⟦ⲗⲁ⟧ⲗⲟ ⲙⲁⲛ ⲕ̄ⲥ
ⲥⲉⲗⲁ ⲕⲉⲛⲇⲟⲩⲕˋⲁⲣⲣⲗ̄   5
ⲗⲉ· ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲉˊⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛ ⲧⲗ̄
ⲗⲗ̄ ⲉ̄ⲧⲕ̄ⲛ ⲕⲟⲃ̄ⲣⲕⲁ ⲁ̇ⲓ
ⲕⲁ ⲇⲉⲛⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟⲁ̇· ⲁⲗⲉ
ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲣⲉ ⲉ̇ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲛ·
ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ̇ⲛⲟⲥⲁⲅⲁⲇⲙ̄ⲙⲉ·   10
ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲗ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲁ· ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲁ·
ⲉ̄ⲇⲇⲉ ⲁ̇ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁⲙⲏ·
ⲙⲁⲅ̄ⲣⲕⲟⲛˋⲉⲛⲇⲉ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲕⲟ̆ⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟⲛ ⲁ̇ⲓⲕⲁ ⲇⲓⲛⲉⲥⲱ·
ⲁ̇ⲓⲥ̄ⲛ ⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲇⲇⲣⲉⲥ̄ⲛ·   15

7–8 ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ *g*   14 ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ *g*

that I give birth, I shall become Christian.' The sailor saying:
'Woman, don't you be insulted, but give that egg to me, for
I will deposit it.

7

ЄⲢ ⲔⲞⲚ ЄⲚⲚ Ⲕⲁ̄ ⲄⲀⲆⲆⲒ ⲰⲒⲆЄⲢⲞⲤ, ЄⲚⲚ ⲞⲄⲒⳞ
ⲆЄⲖⲖⲒⲘЄⲚⲒⲚⲚ ⲒⲖⲖⲀⲢ.
   Ē̄Ⲛ ⲄⲞⲚ ⲁ̄ⲘⲒⲚĒⲢⲞⲤ, ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨⲄⲒ ⲦЄⲚⲚ
Ī̄Ⲣ ⲦⲒⲢⲞⲤ, ⲦЄⲚⲚ Ⲕⲁ̄ ⲄⲀⲆⲆⲒ ⲰⲒⲆЄⲄⲞⲚ, ⲦЄⲚⲚ
5 ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ ⲆⲀⲰⲀⲆ ⲔⲞⲚⲞⲚ. ЄⲢⳞĪ̄Ⲥ ⲔⲞⲚ
ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨⲄⲒ ⲁ̄Ⲣ ЄⲦⲦⲀ ⲦЄⲚⲚ ⲂⲀⲤⲒⲖⲚ ⲂⲀⲢⲢЄⲢ
ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲘĒ ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲞⲨⲢⲔⲞⲚ, ⲪⲒⲖⲞⲔⲤЄⲚⲒⲦⲔⲒ ⲆⲞ̄Ⲩ̄ⲢⲒⲚ
ⲂⲞⲔⲔⲞⲚ. ⲦⲀⲄⲞⲚ, ⲞⲨⲄⲒ ⲆⲒⲄⲢĪ̄Ⲛ϶Ⲓ ⲰĒ̄ⲢⲒ ⲚⲞⲄⲤⲀⲚ
Ⲃⲁ̄ⲆⲔⲒ,

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3 ⲁ̄ⲘⲒⲚĒ̄] 'trust', 'believe', from Ar.

And you, return to your house so that your husband won't
be anxious.'
   The woman believed him, and gave him the egg placing it
in his hand. And she returned to her house with her servant

ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲛ ⲉ̄ⲛ Ⳙⲟⲟⲅⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ
ⲅ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲧⲉⲥⲱ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲟⲅⲟⲗ̄ Ⳙⲉ
ⲅⲓⲙⲉⲛⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟⲁ̇ ⲁ̇· ⲉ̄ⲧ̄
ⲧⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲛ ⲡ̄Ⳙⲧⲉⲩ̆ⲁ̇ ⲕⲟ̆ⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲧⲁⲛˋ ⲉⲓⲗⲁˋ ⲟⲩ   5
ⲧⲣⲁ ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲛⲁ· ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲛ
ⲧⲁⲛ Ⳙⲟⲟⲅⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ ⲅ̄ⲡ̄ⲣ
ⲧⲓⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̆ⲟⲛ
ⲧⲁⲁⲇⲇⲁⲗ· ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲗ̄
ⲗⲟⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ   10
ⲇⲟⲩⲙˋⲉ̇ⲧⲁ ⲁ̇ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲗⲁ ⲕⲉⲛⲁ ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁⲥⲉⲩ
ⲉ̇ⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟ̆ⲣⲥⲛⲁ· ⲫⲓ
ⲗⲟⳅⲉⲛⲏⲧⲟ̇ ⲕⲓⲉⲛ
ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ· ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓ ⲇⲓⲉ̇   15
ⲅⲟⲩⲗ Ⳙⲟⲕⲁ ⲟ̆ⲟⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ

2–3 Ⳙⲉⲅⲓ- *g*   5–6 ⲟⲩⲧ̇ⲣⲁ- *g*   8 ⲇⲟⲩⲙˋⲉ̇ⲧⲁ]+ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲛ *b¹²*   9 ⲁⲅⲟⲡⲡⲗ̄- *g*
13 ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲩⲣⲥⲛⲁ· *g*

girl. The sailor took over the egg, placed it under the *as* and put it among the rest of the food until he arrived at Philoxenite. And after many days had gone by,

8

ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲕⲥⲉⲛⲓⲧⲛ ⲅⲁ̅ⲣⲕⲓ ⲁⲇⲟⲩ̅ⲣⲕⲟⲛ. ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲛ, ⲟⲅⲓⳡ
ⲙⲁⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲅⲓ ⲓ̅ⲱⲟⲥ, ⲙⲁ̅ⲣ ⲟⲱⲱⲓⲛⲧⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲣⲓ
ⲱⲉ̅ⲣ ⲕⲁⲇⲇⲓ ⲙⲟⲩⲕⲕⲓⲅⲟⲛ. ⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲅ ⲱⲉ̅ⲕⲕⲓ, ⲉⲣ2̅ⲓ̅ⲥ
ⲙⲁⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲅⲓ – ⲙⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲩⲣⲟⲥ
5 ⲓ̅ⲱⲥⲓⲛⲅⲓ – ⲕⲟⲩⲃⲛ ⲧⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲣ ⲧⲉⲛⲛ ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲛ ⲃⲁⲣⲣⲉⲣ
ⲃⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲛ ⲛⲁⲗⲟⲥ, ⲧⲉⲛⲛ ⲧⲟ̅ⲇⲁⲕⲓ ⲓⲥⲓⲕⲕⲓⲅⲟⲛ: 2ⲉ ⲧⲟ̅ⲇ,
ⲓⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩ ⲓⲥⲁ̅ⲓ̈ⲣ ⲧⲟ̅ⲛ ⲉⲅⲟⲛ? ⲉⲛⲅⲁ̅ⲗ, ⲧⲟ̅ⲇ
ⲱⲉ̅ⲧⲓⲣⲕⲟⲛ: ⲁ̅ⲃⲃⲁ, ⲉⲣ ⲓⲛⲅⲓ ⳝⲓⲗⲗⲉⲙⲉⲛ?

1 ⲅⲁ̅ⲣ] 'shore', var. ⲁ̅ⲣ   2 ⲙⲁ̅ⲣ] 'village'   3 ⲧⲁ] 'then', from ⲧⲁ̅ 'come'
5 ⲕⲟⲩⲃⲛ ⲧⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲣ] 'inside the boat', var. ⲕⲟⲩⲙ ⲧⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲣ   8 ⲁ̅ⲃⲃⲁ] 'dad'

he arrived at the shore of Philoxenite, but the man forgot
about the egg and returned to a kingdom far away. One
day, when he saw the egg, which he had placed and forgot-

ⲚⲞⲚ· ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲍⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏⲚ
ⲅⲁⲁⲇⲇⲱ ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ· ⲟⲩⲇ̃ⲗ
ⲗⲟⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕ` ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣⲁ
ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲣⲕⲁⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇⲗ̄
ⲗⲁⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ ⲅⲡ̄ⲣⲧ̄ⲥⲥⲛⲁ·   5
ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗⲱ ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲟ
ⲉⲓⲟⲛ· ⲁ̇ⲡⲟⲅⲅⲗ̄ ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲛ`
ⲁ̇ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁ
ⲥⲉⲩⲉ̇ⲗⲁ ⲡⲓⲉⲛ̄ ⲅⲁⲗⲉⲛ·   10
ⲏⲛ` ⲧⲁⲛ` ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲣⲁ ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣ̄ⲥ
ⲥⲕⲁ· ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲗ
ⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ· ⲉ̇ ⲧⲟⲧⲁ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲗ ⲉⲓⲥⲗⲟ ⲉⲓⲥⲥⲛⲁ
ⲅⲁ· ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ·   15
ⲡⲁⲡⲟ ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲛⲕⲁ ⟦ⲁ̣ⲛ̣⟧

3 ⲁⲅⲟⲣⲁ *g*

ten, lying among the other food under the *as*, he said to his
son: 'Hey son, where has this egg been?' And he said: 'Father,
don't you remember this,

9

ⲈⲚ ⲰⲈ̄Ⲣ ⲀⲢⲅⲒ ⲆⲈ̄ⲚϬⲒⲢⲒⲢⲤⲒⲚⲄⲒ, ⲄⲒⲤ ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀⲚ
ⲔⲒⲤⲤⲈⲄⲒ ⲦⲒⲆⲆⲞⲨⲚ ⲒⲖⲖⲀⲢ.

ⲦⲒⲘⲂⲀ̄Ⲃ ⲦⲈⲔⲔⲒ: ϨⲈ̄, ⲈⲒ̈Ⲓ̈Ⲟ ⲀⲖⲈ̄Ⲛ! ⲀⲒ̈ⲄⲒ
ⲔⲀⲢϬⲒⲄⲒⲢⲞⲤ ⲈⲦⲦⲀⲆⲈ̄Ⲛ, ⲀⲒ̈ ⲔⲀⲖⲞⲤⲒⲢⲒ, ⲈⲄⲞⲚ.
5 ⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ ⲔⲀⲢϬⲒⲄⲒⲢⲞⲤ, ⲈⲦⲦⲀ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲞⲄⲞⲖⲖⲞ
ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲞⲨⲢⲦⲒⲢⲒⲚⲄⲀ̄Ⲗ, ⲔⲀⲂⲂⲒ ⲔⲀⲖⲔⲞⲚ. ⲦⲀⲄⲞⲚ,
ⲞⲨⲄⲒ Ⲟ̄Ⲩ̄Ⲛ ⲦⲞⲤⲔⲒⲚⲆⲒⲚϬⲒ ⲚⲞⲄⲤⲀⲚ ⲂⲀ̄ⲆⲔⲒ, ⲘⲀ̄Ⲣ
ⲰⲈ̄ⲔⲔⲒ ⲆⲞ̄Ⲩ̄ⲢⲔⲞⲢⲀⲚ. ⲘⲀⲚ ⲘⲀ̄ⲢⲚ ⲘⲒⲰ̄ⲢⲀⲢ
ⲔⲞⲨⲂⲔⲒ ϬⲀ̄ⲂⲔⲒⲢⲔⲞⲢⲀⲚ.

3 ϨⲈ̄, ⲈⲒ̈Ⲓ̈Ⲟ ⲀⲖⲈ̄Ⲛ] 'oh, yes it's true'   6 ⲔⲀⲂⲂⲒ ⲔⲀⲖ-] 'to eat quickly and
greedily'   7 Ⲟ̄Ⲩ̄Ⲛ] month, cf. ON ⲟⲅⲛ- 'moon' used in dating formulas

which a woman gave to us? – "give it to them in the church
of of Saint Mina."'

And the father said to his son: 'Oh, you're right, cook it
and bring it to me, so that I may eat it.' And when his son

ⲁⲛⲕⲓⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ·⸍ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲕⲕⲁ ⲇⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄
ⲕⲁ· ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛ ⲕ̄ⲥ̄
ⲥⲉⲗⲁ ⲧ̄ⲟ̄ⳝⲁⲛⲁⲥⲁ·⸍
ⲡⲁⲡ̄ⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ   5
ⲧⲟⲧⲓⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ· ⲉ̇ ⲁ̇ⲗⲉⲗⲱ·
ⲧⲁⲕ⸍ ⲁⲓⲅ̄ⲗ ⲧⲟⲕ⸍ⲁⲣⲣⲉⲥⲱ
ⲕⲁⲡⲕⲟⲓ̈ⲟ̇ⲁ̇· ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲗ
ⲗⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲕⲕⲁ ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁ
ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲣⲟⲛ· ⲕⲁⲡ⸍ⲉⲓⲧ̄ⲣ̄   10
ⲥⲛⲁ· ⲥⲟⲩⲁ̇ⲉⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ ⲅⲟⲕⲁ ⳝⲟⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲛ· ⲇ̄ⲡ̄ⲡⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲇ
ⲇⲱ ⲕⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ· ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲕⲕⲟᷓ
ⲙⲁⲛ ⲇ̄ⲡ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ ⲅⲁⲇⲇⲱ   15
ⲕⲉⲛⲟ̇ⲟⲥⲥⲁⲛⲁ· ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ̇

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7 ⲁⲓ̈ⲅ̄ⲗ *g*

cooked it and placed it before him, he ate it. After the days
of three months had passed by, they came to a village, and
they beached the ship on the shore of the village.

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ⲕⲓⲣⲁ̄ⲅⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲅ ⲉⲥⲓⲛⲛ ⲓⲗⲗⲁⲣ ⲅⲟⲛ, ⲉⲣ2ⲓ̄ⲥ ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲙⲁ̄ⲣ ⲕⲁⲇⲓ ⲉⲅⲉ66ⲉ ⲛⲟⲅⲕⲟⲛ, ⲕⲟⲣⲉⲅⲓ ⲁ̄ⲣⲣⲉⲅⲓ.
    ⲙⲁⲛ ⲙⲁ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲅⲟⲛ, ⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲉⲣⲓ̈ⲉⲙ ⲃⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲕⲟ̄ⲗⲛ
ⲕⲓⲥⲥⲉ ⲱⲉ̄ⲣ ⲧⲉ̄ⲃⲕⲟⲛ. ⲧⲉⲣ ⲕⲟⲛ ⲇⲟⲩ ⲧⲟ̄ⲅⲟⲛ
5 ⲕⲟⲣⲉⲅⲓ ⲁ̄ⲣⲣⲉⲅⲓ. ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲛ, ⲧⲓⲣⲓⲥⲁ̄ⲇⲓ̈ⲟ̄ⲛⲛ ⲃⲉⲇⲇⲁⲣ
ⲧⲁ̄ⲥⲓⲛ ⲅⲟⲛⲟⲛ, ⲁⲇⲉⲙⲓ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲁⲥⲉⲛ
ⲟⲅⲟⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲁⲙⲙⲉⲅⲟⲣⲁⲛ, ⲅⲓⲥⲛ ⲉⲥⲥⲓⲅⲉⲇ ⲧⲓⲛⲛ
ⲁ̄ⲛ6ⲓⲅⲓ ⲙⲓⲥⲥⲉⲣⲉⲅⲓ. ⲉⲣ2ⲓ̄ⲥⲛ ⲙⲓⲥⲥⲓ ⲕⲟⲩⲥⲃⲟ̄ⲩⲅⲟⲛ,
ⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁ ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲧⲧⲓⲛ ⲅⲟ̄ⲛ ⲱⲁ̄ⲛⲇⲓⲥⲓⲛⲅⲓ ⲛⲁⲗⲕⲟⲛ.
10 ⲕⲁⲇ ⲁⲣⲟ̄ ⲱⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲓ ⲉⲅⲣⲉⲇⲇⲁ̄ⲛ,

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2 ⲕⲟⲣⲉ] 'sacrament', from ON ⲕⲟⲣⲉ-. Still used in contemporary Nubia, e.g in the Muslim Eid festivals   ⲁ̄ⲣ-] 'receive'. ⲁ̄ⲣⲣⲉⲅⲓ 'in order to receive'   5 ⲧⲓⲣⲓⲥⲁ̄ⲇⲓ̈ⲟ̄ⲛ] 'trisagion'   6 ⲃⲉⲇⲇⲁⲣ] 'prayer', 'supplication'   6 ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲁⲥⲉ] 'baptistery', a place where baptism is performed.   8 ⲙⲓⲥⲥⲉ-] 'sprinkle'

And since it was Sunday, the sailor went up to the village to receive sacrament.

Standing in the village was the church of the Holy Virgin Mary. And he entered to receive sacrament. And after the

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ⲕⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣ` ⲉⲓⲛⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲛ·
ⲁ̇ⲡⲟⲅⲅⲗ̄ ⲇ̄ⲡ̄ⲡ̄ⲇ̄ⲇⲱ ⲕⲉⲇⲁ
ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ· ⲕⲟⲣⲉⲕ` ⲉ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲁ·
ⲙⲁⲛ ⲇ̄ⲡ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥⲟⲩ ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓ   5
ⲁⲛ ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲗⲗⲟ ⲅⲟⲛⲇ̄ⲁⲣⲁ·
ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲁ̇ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲣⲁ ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ·
ⲕⲟⲣⲉⲕ` ⲉ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲁ̇· ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁ̇ⲅⲓ
ⲟⲛ ⲕⲓⲉ̇ⲥ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲕⲟⲛⲟⲉⲓⲟⲛ·
ⲕ̄ⲡ̄ⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲱ̇ϣⲁⲛⲛⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲥ   10
ⲕⲁⲥⲉⲗⲇⲱ ⲧ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ·
ⲁ̇ⲅⲓⲟ̇ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲁ̇ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲁ ⲡⲁⲉ̇ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲁ̇· ⲁ̇ⲡⲟⲅⲅ̄ⲛ ⲙⲁⲯⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲛ
ⲅⲁⲗⲗⲓⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏ
ⲛⲁⲕⲁ ⲡ̄ⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲟ ⲅ̄ⲗ̄ⲥⲛⲁ·   15
ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲧⲟⲩ ⲅⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁ` ⲇⲟⲕⲁ

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13 ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅ̄ⲛ *g*   15 ⲡ̄ⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲟ] ⲡⲗ̄ⲗⲁⲁⲗⲗⲟ *b¹²*

Trisagion had come, all the people assembled in the baptis-
tery to cross themselves with the water of the holy one. And
when the sailor's eyes were opened, he saw Saint Mina com-
ing out shining, as he came riding a white horse,

11

ΤΕΝΝ ΤΟΥΔϨΑΡΝ ⲱ͞ΑⲄΙ ϨΟⲄ͞ΟⲄΙⲢ Ⲁ̄ⲢΕϨϨⲀ̄Ν.
ΤΕⲢ ΚΟΝ ΝⲀϨⲤΙΝ ⲄΟΝΟΝ, ΜΕⲢ̈ΕΜ ⲀⲢΤΙΝ
ⲀΜΟΥⲢΚΕϨ ΟΥⲤΚΕϨΝ Ῑ͞ΓⲞΝ ⲄⲀϨϨΙ ΒⲞ̄Ϩ ϨΟΥ
ϨⲞ̄ΥϨⲄΙⲢ ΟΥⲱⲱⲈ ΒⲀΨⲪΙⲄΟΝ: ⲀⲢΤΙΝ ⲀΜΟΥⲢΚΕϨ
5 ΟΥⲤΚΕϨ ΜΕⲢ̈ΕΜ! ΕΝΝ ΕⲢⲢΙⲄΕϨ Ⲁ̈ΙⲄΙ ΤⲀⲄΙⲢΟⲤ,
Ⲁ̈ Ⲁ̄ΒΕⲄΙ Ⲁ̄ⲱΕϨⲀ̄ⲄΙⲢΙⲄΕϨ ΕⲄΟΝ.
   ⲄΙⲤ ΜῙΝϨ ⲄΟΝ, ⲱⲀⲢⲢΙ ⲀΝ Τ͞ΕΒΟⲤ ⲱ͞ΕΤΙⲢΚΟΝ:
ΜΙΝⲄΙ ΕϨϨΟ ΕΚΚΕΝΕ ΙΝΝΟⲱⲱΙⲄΙ Ⲁ̈ ΒΙ Ⲁ̄ⲱΙⲢΙ?
ΕⲢ, ⲀⲢΤΙΝ ΕⲢⲢΙⲄΕϨ Τ͞ⲞⲢΕϨ?
10   ΤⲀⲄΟΝ, ⲄΙⲤ ΜⲀΝ ΟⲄΙϬ Ⲁ̄Ⲣ

1 ΤΟΥΔϨΑⲢ] 'hunting', from ΤΟΥϨϬΙ 'hunt', from ON ⲧⲟⲩϨϭ-
3 ⲀΜΟΥⲢ] 'order', from Ar.   4 Ῑ͞ΓⲞΝ] 'picture', 'image', from Gr. εἰκών,
via ON ειⲅοⲛ-   ΤⲀⲄΙⲢ-] 'to cover', in this context preferred over Ⲁ̈ΙϨ
'to save', cf. ON ⲁⲅⲗ-

holding up a hunting spear. And when he saw him, he ran
to the image of Mary Theotokos and said shouting: 'In your
name, Mary Theotokos, absolve me, for I have committed
sin!'

40

ⲕ︤ⲛ︦· ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲇⲟ︤ⲛ︦
ⲱⲁⲕ ⲁⲣⲣ︤ⲛ︦ⲛⲁⲅⲣⲁ· ⲧⲁ
ⲣⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲗⲉⲛ ⲧ︤ⲗ︦ⲗ︦ⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛⲟⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲅⲟⲛⲅ︤ⲗ̄
ⲗⲉ ⲅⲟⲩⲇⲁⲗⲁ ⲕⲓⲁ̇ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ̇   5
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ· ⲉⲓⲣⲓⲱⲙⲁⲗⲱ
ⲧ︤ⲗ̄ⲗ̄ⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ̇
ⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥⲉ· ⲅⲁⲡⲉⲕ⸀ ⲁⲩ
ⲉ̇ⲥⲓⲗⲟⲇⲟ̄ⲩⲛ· ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏ
ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁ︤ⲗ̄ⲗ︦ⲟ ⲅⲟⲛ   10
ⲇ̄ⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲇⲅ̄ⲗ̄ⲗⲉ·
ⲙ︤ⲛ︦ⲕⲁ ⲉ̄︦ⲇ̄ⲇⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲣⲉ
ⲉ̇ⲗ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ· ⲅⲟⲇⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛⲛⲓⲗⲟⲥ︤ⲛ︦ⲙⲁⲗⲟ ⲧⲟⲣⲣⲁ
ⲥⲓ· ⲅ̄ⲥⲥ︤ⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲛ ⲟ̇ⲅ̄ⲇ̄   15

10 ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁ︤ⲗ̄ⲗⲟ *g*   14–5 ⲧⲟⲣⲣⲁⲥⲓ⟦⟦ⲛ⟧⟧· *b¹²*

    And Saint Mina, standing at a distance, said to him: 'What shall I do with you? For it is in my Lord's name that I have entered you.'

    And when, taking that man, the saint kicked him

12

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲞⲨⲢⲢⲞ ⲆⲞⲘⲒⲚⲄⲀ̄Ⲗ, ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨ – ⲘⲀⲚ ⲦⲈⲢ
ⲔⲀⲖⲤⲒⲚ – ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲀⲖⲖⲞ ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲘⲀⲆⲈ Ⲁ̄ⲪⲒⲖ ⲀⲚ
ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲦⲞⲄⲞ̄Ⲣ ⲦⲞ̄Ⲛ ϢⲞⲨⲄⲞⲨⲢ ⲂⲈⲖ ⲔⲞⲨⲦⲦⲈⲦⲈ̄Ⲃ
ⲦⲞⲨⲤⲔⲞⲨⲚⲆⲞ ⲔⲀⲄⲀⲔⲔⲒⲄⲞⲚ. ⲄⲒⲤ ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ ⲄⲞⲚ
5 ⲔⲀⲆⲒⲢ ⲔⲞⲨⲆⲀ̄ⲄⲒⲚ ⲄⲞ̄Ⲛ, ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲘⲀⲆⲈⲄⲒ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ
ⲀϢⲞⲨⲢ ⲞϢⲰⲒⲚⲄⲀ̄ⲢⲢⲞ ⲦⲞ̄Ⲛ Ⲁ̄Ⲣ ⲆⲞⲄⲞ̄ⲄⲒⲢ
ⲤⲞⲔⲔⲞⲤ, ⲰⲈ̄ⲄⲞⲚ: ⲒⲚⲒⲚ ⲒⲖⲖⲀⲢ ⲀΪ ⲦⲀ̄ⲄⲞⲢⲒ, ⲒⲚ
ⲦⲀⲚⲚⲀⲚ Ⲁϊ Ⲁ̄ⲰⲤⲒ.
    ⲘⲀⲚⲒⲚ ⲂⲀ̄ⲆⲔⲒ, ⲄⲒⲤ ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ ⲘⲀⲚ Ⲉ̄Ⲛ ⲔⲀ̄Ⲣ ⲚⲞⲄ
10 ⲆⲞⲨ ⲔⲞⲂⲒⲆⲔⲒ ⲔⲞⲔⲔⲒ ⲞⲨⲰϢⲈⲦⲒⲢⲔⲞⲚ.

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2 ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲀⲖⲖⲞ] 'suddenly', from ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲀⲖ 'sudden'. Note that adverbial
-ⲖⲞ is already productive in ON   4 ⲦⲞⲨⲤⲔⲞⲨⲚⲆⲞ] 'immediately', from
ON ⲦⲞⲨⲤⲔⲞⲚⲞ. Commonly the Arabic loan ⲦⲞϢⲰⲀ̄ⲖⲒ is used instead
ⲔⲀⲄⲀⲔⲔⲒ-] 'squawk', 'cackle'

in the head, the egg which he had eaten suddenly came to
life as a fowl, also coming out from under him, stood up and
squawked immediately. And Saint Mina, sitting on his horse,
grasped the fowl by its two wings, took it up and said: 'This

ⲕⲁ ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁ ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲗⲇⲱ
ⲟ̄ⲁⲅⲥⲟⲛ· ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲧⲁⲛ`
ⲛⲁ ⲕ̄ⲡⲥⲗ̄· ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲁⲗ ⲇⲟⲩ
ⲧⲣⲁⲡ` ⲁ̇ⲯⲣⲁⲅⲁ ⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁ
ⲧⲁⲩ̇ⲟⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲕⲁ   5
ⲡⲁⲗⲁ ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲧⲁ ⲅⲟⲛⲟ̄ⲁ
ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲛⲟ ⲟ̄ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲥⲛⲁ·
ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲟ̇ⲣ
ⲧ̄ⲇⲇⲱ ⲁ̇ⲕⲗ̄ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲕⲁ
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲗⲗⲟ ⲇⲟⲩⲙ   10
ⲙⲁ ⲧⲁⲕ` ⲉⲛⲉ̇ⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ·
ⲉ̄ⲛⲇⲱ̇ ⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉ· ⲉ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲗⲱ
ⲥ̄ⲥⲉ· ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ
ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ̄ⲛ ⲅⲟⲅⲗⲟ ⲟ̄ⲟⲣⲁ
ⲕⲓⲁ̇ ⲱⲁⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲕ̄ⲙⲙⲁ` ⲟ̇   15
ⲟ̇ⲕ̄ⲣⲥⲛⲁ· ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲛ

is what I came for, this is what I produced.'
    Saint Mina went to the house of that woman, knocked on
the door and had her called.

13

ĒN ΓΟΝ ΒŌΔΤΙΓΕΔ ΤΔ ΚΟΒΙΔΚΙ ΚΟΥCΚΟΝ.
   ΓΙC ΤΕΚΚΙ ωĒΤΙΡΚΟΝ: ϨĒ ĒΝ, ΙΝ
ΔΟΥΜΜΑΔΕΓΙ ᾱΡ ΕϬϬΟΥ ΕΝΝ ΔΟΥΜΜΑΔΕΝϬΙΝ
ΒΑΡΡΕΡ ΟΥΝΔΟΥΡΟCΚΙΝ, ΕΚΚΙ ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥΓΙ ΒΙ
ΜΟΥΓΤΙΔΔΑΝ. ΕΡ ΚΟΝ, ϨĒ ĒΝ, ΤŌΔ ωĒΚΚΙ ΒΙ
ΟΥCΚΙΝ, ΤΕΝΝ ΕΡΡΙΓΙ ΜῙΝΑ ΕΓΙ ΟΥΝΔΟΥΡ. ΕΝΝ
ΒΟΥΡΟΥωΙ ΔΑωΑΔΙ ΜΑΛΛΕ ΓΟΝ ΒΙ ΟΥCΚΙΡΑΝ,
ΕΝΝ ΤῙΝϬΙ ΓΟΝ. ΕΡ ΚΟΝ, ϨĒ ĒΝ, ΚΙΔΔΙΡΑΡΚΙ
ϬΟΥ ᾱΡ, ΕΝΝ ᾱΒΕΝϬΙΝ ΚΟΜΙCΑΡΝ ΙΛΛΑΡ

5

8 ΚΙΔΔΙΡΑΡ] 'baptism', from ΚΙΔΔΙΡ- 'baptize'   9 ΚΟΜΙCΑΡ]
'remission', from ΚΟΜΙC- 'erase', 'wipe off', 'clean with a sponge'

That woman came running and opened the door.
   And the Saint said to her: 'Woman, take up this fowl and
release it among your fowls, so that they may give birth for
you. And you too, oh woman, I made you bear a son. You

ⲙⲓⲇ̄ ⲕⲓˋ ϣⲁⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲅⲁⲗ
ⲗⲓⲥⲛⲁ· ⲅ̄ⲥⲥ̄ⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥ
ⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲇⲅ̄ⲗⲉ· ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲁ
ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲇⲉⲓⲧⲣⲁⲡⲕⲁ ⲇⲟⲩⲙˋ
ⲉ̀ⲧⲁ· ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲅⲟⲩ   5
ⲗⲟ ⲡⲉⲗⲓⲣⲉⲥⲱ· ⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲁ
ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁ ⲧ̄ⲕⲕⲟⲁⲛⲛⲟⲁ̀·
ⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲉ̀ ⲉ̄ⲧ
ⲧⲁ ⲅⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣⲣⲁⲥⲓ
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥⲕⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲁ̀   10
ⲟ̀ⲕⲉⲥⲱ· ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ⲩⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ ⲕⲉⲗ
ⲗⲱ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲇ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲁ·
ⲟ̀ⲛ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ· ⲉⲓ
ⲣⲟⲛ ⲉ̀ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲁ ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ⲧ̄ⲧ̄ⲕ̄   15
ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲥⲱ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲅⲁⲡⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ

shall call his name Mina. And also your servant girls shall
give birth, and your cows. And you, oh woman, will receive
baptism for the remission of your sins.'

ΙΝΓΙ ⲱⲉ̄ ⲁⲇⲇⲉ̄ⲢⲞⳞ, ⲁ̄ⲫⲉ̄ⲢⲞⳞ, ⲇⲞⲨⲘⲀⲗⲗⲞ ⲄΙⳞ
ⲁⲱ̄ⲁ̄ⲘⲈ ⲇⲁⲂⲔⲞⲚ.
      ⲉ̄Ⲛ ⲄⲞⲚ ⲇⲞⲨⲘⲘⲀⲇⲈⲄΙ ⲁ̄Ⲣ ⲈⲦⲦⲀ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ
ⲇⲞⲨⲘⲘⲀⲇⲈⲚϬΙⲚ ⲂⲀⲢⲢⲈⲢ ⲞⲨⲚⲇⲞⲨⲢⳞΙⲚ ⲄⲞⲚⲞⲚ,
5 ⲇⲞⲨⲘⲀⲗⲗⲞ ⲘⲀⲗⲗⲈ ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨΓΙ ⲘⲞⲨⲄⲔⲞⲢⲀⲚ.
ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨⲱΙ ⲇⲁⲱⲁⲇΙ ⲄⲞⲚ, Ⲧ̄ΙⲚϬΙ ⲄⲞⲚ ⲄⲞⲚ
Ⲙⲉ̄ⲱ ⲁⲚⲔⲞⲢⲀⲚ. ⲉ̄Ⲛ Ⲕ̄Ⲓⲇ ⲔⲞⲚ Ⲙⲉ̄ⲱ ⲁⲚ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ
ⲦⲞ̄ⲇ ⲔⲀⲄⲀΓΙ ⲞⲨⳞⲔΙⲄⲞⲚ. ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲈⲢⲢΙΓΙ Ⲙ̄ΙⲚⲁ
ⲈΓΙ ⲞⲨⲚⲇⲞⲨⲢⲔⲞⲚ, ⲦⲈⲔⲔΙ ⲄΙⳞ Ⲙ̄ΙⲚⲁ ⲱ̄ⲈⳞΙⲚ
10 Ⲛⲁ2ⲁⲇ. ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨⲱΙ ⲇⲁⲱⲁⲇΙ ⲘⲀⲗⲗⲈ ⲄⲞⲚ
ⲞⲨⳞⲔΙⲄⲞⲢⲀⲚ,

Saying this and forgiving, the Saint suddenly became invis-
ible.

      And when the woman took the fowl and released it
among her own fowls, they also gave birth, and the servant

ⲧⲟⲕⲇⲉⲣⲣⲁⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ· ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ
ⲡⲉⲥⲁ ⲧⲟⲕⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ· ⲇⲟⲩ
ⲙⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛⲟ ⲅ̄ⲥⲥ̄ⲗ̄ ⲙⲏⲩ
ⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲛⲁ: ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ̄ⲗ̄
ⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲕⲁ ⲇⲟ̂ⲙ   5
ⲉ̇ⲧⲁ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲓⲅⲟⲩ
ⲗⲟ ⲡⲉⲗⲓⲣⲟⲛ· ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕ
ⲕⲟⲛⲟ ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲓⲥⲁ
ⲛⲁ· ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̂ⲩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓ
ⲅⲟⲩⲗ· ⲟⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ·   10
ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ̄ⲗ̄ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ
ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲟ̂ⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩⲅⲁ` ⲅⲁⲛ
ⲕⲁⲕ̄ⲕ̄ⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲛⲁ·
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥⲕⲟⲛ ⲟ̇ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ
ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲁ̇· ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲇⲅ̄ⲗ̄   15
ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ· ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲉⲇ
ⲟ̂ⲩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ

7–8 ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛⲟ *g*   9–10 ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̂ⲩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ om. *b*[12]

girls and the cows too. The woman herself became pregnant
and gave birth to a first-born son, and she called his name
Mina, as the Saint had also said to her. And her servant girls.

15

ⲦⲞⲚⲒ ⲄⲞⲚ ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨⲱⲒ ⲄⲞⲚⲄⲒ.

   Ⲉ̄Ⲛ ⲄⲞⲚ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲚⲈⲄⲄⲈⲔⲀⲚⲈⲚ ⲞⲨⲄⲒ ⲔⲒⲔⲔⲈⳠⲀⲚ
Ⲃ̄ⲀⲆⲔⲒ, ⲄⲒⳠ ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀⲚ ⲔⲒⳠⳠⲈⲢ ⲘⲀ̄ⲢⲒ̈Ⲟ̄ⲦⲒⲢ ⳦Ⲟ̄⳨ⲄⲞⲚ.

   ⲔⲒⳠⳠⲈ ⲄⲒⳠⲒⲢ ⲦⲞ̄ⳠⲒⲚ ⲄⲞⲚⲞⲚ, ⲤⲞ̄ⲢⲦⲞ̄ⲆⲔⲒ
5 ⲒⳠⲒⲄⲔⲞⲚ, ⲦⲒⲢⲄⲒ ⲔⲒⲆⲆⲒⲢⲔⲒⲢⲒⲢⲒⲚⲚ ⲒⲗⲗⲀⲢ. ⲤⲞ̄ⲢⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ
ⲔⲞⲚ ⲦⲒⲢⲄⲒ ⲂⲈⲆⲆⲒⲦⲒⲢⲞⳠⲒⲢⲒⲢ, ⲦⲈⲢ ⲆⲀ̄Ⲛ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ
ⲞⲄⲒ⳦ ⲆⲀ̄Ⲛ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ ⲆⲀ̄Ⲛ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⳦ⲀⲱⲀⲆⲒ ⲆⲀ̄ⲚⲄⲒ,
ⲔⲒⲆⲆⲒⲢⲔⲒⲢⲒⲢⲔⲞⲚ. Ⲃ̄Ⲁ̄Ⲃ ⲆⲀ̄Ⲛ ⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ ⲆⲀ̄Ⲛ ⲚⲈⲱⲈⲢⲦⲒ
ⲄⲒⳠ ⲆⲀ̄ⲚⲚ ⲈⲢⲢⲒⲄⲈⲆ.

1 ⲚⲈⲄⲄⲈⲔⲀⲚⲈ] 'days of purification/puererium'. According to Nubian customs lasting forty days   4 ⲤⲞ̄ⲢⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ] 'priest', from ON ⲤⲞⲢⲦⲞ-, cf. Andaandi ⲤⲞ̄ⲢⲔⲀⲦⲦⲒ 'scribe' and ⲤⲞ̄ⲢⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ, a current place name

became pregnant too, and gave birth to sons and daughters.

   And that woman, once her days of purification were completed, came to the church of Saint Mina in Mareotis.

   And when she went into the church, she begged the priest

λεειον ⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩⲅⲁ` ⲕⲉⲗ
λⲱ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲁ· ⲅⲁⲕⲕⲁ
ⲁⲥⲕⲁ· ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ̄ⲗⲟⲛ
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲕⲟⲕⲕⲁⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓ
ⲅⲟⲩⲗ ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲁⲛ {ⲅⲓ} ⲅ̄ⲥ̄   5
ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲗⲱ ⲟ̄ⲟⲣⲁ
ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ· ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̇ⲑⲏⲱ̇·
ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲗⲁ ⲕⲓⲉⲛⲛⲟⲛ·
ⲥⲟⲣⲧⲟⲕ` ⲟ̇ⲕⲉⲗⲓⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲕⲁ ⲡ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟⲁ̇· ⲥⲟⲣ   10
ⲧⲟⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲓⲟ̄ⲁ·
ⲧⲉⲇⲇⲱ ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲗⲁ· ⲧⲁⲇⲇⲉ
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲟⲅⲟ̄ⲗⲇⲉ. ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲇ`
ⲇⲉ. ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ
ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲕⲕⲁ ⲡ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲣⲓⲥⲛⲁ   15
ⲡⲁⲡ̄ⲗⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ̂ ⲅⲁⲗⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ̂
ⲥⲉⲩⲁⲣⲧⲟⲩ ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲗ̄ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲛ

6 ⲟⲅⲟ̄ⲗⲇⲉ.] ⲟⲅⲟ̄ⲗⲇⲉ· *b*[12]   14 ⲇⲉ.] ⲇⲉ· *b*[12]

to baptize them. And the priest took them, prayed for them,
and baptized her, her husband, her son, and her sevants in
the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

ΙΝΚΕΓΙ, ΜΕСꟾ2ΙΝϬΙ ΤΙѠΡꟾΝϬΙ ⲀΝΚΟΡⲀΝ, ΤΙΝΝ
ⲀꟾΡΤΙΝ ΟΥΓΙ ΜⲀⲖⲖΕΡ. ΓΙС ΜꟾΝⲀΝ ΚΙССΕΝ
ΤΙΡⲀΡ ΤΙⲆⲆΟ ΚΟΥϬΙⲖ ΓΟΝΓΙ, ΤΕΜΕⲖⲖΙΓΙ ΟϬΙⲖ
ⲀΝΚΟΡⲀΝ, ⲆꟾСⲀΝ ΒΟΚΚΟΝ.
5   ΜⲀⲖⲖΕ ΓΟΝ ΙΝ ΝΟΚΚΟΡ ⲆΟ͞ΥⲖΓΙ ΓΙⲆΙΡΟС
ΝⲀⲖΟС, ⲀΡΤΙΓΙ ΤΕΝΝ ΟΡΚⲀΝΕΓΙ ΤΙΡΚΟΡⲀΝ. ΓΙС
ΜꟾΝⲀ ΓΟΝΓΙ ΤΕΝΝ Ε͞ѠⲀ ΓΟΝ

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6 ΟΡΚⲀΝΕ] in this context, 'kingship'; ⲀΡΤΙΓΙ ΤΕΝΝ ΟΡΚⲀΝΕΓΙ
ΤΙΡΚΟΡⲀΝ 'they gave kingship to God', a common Nubian phrase to
express the greatness of God

Thus they were made to be perfect Christians for all the days
of their life. And they were made servants in the church
of Saint Mina and making their offerings, bearing them to

ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲗⲟⲕⲱ· ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓ
ⲅⲣⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥⲁ
ⲕⲉⲗⲕ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲛ̄ⲛ ⲇⲟⲩ
ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ· ⲧⲉⲛ ⲁ̇ⲯⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲇ̇ⳡⲁⲛⲛⲟ·   5
ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲛⲁ
ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲇⲉⲅⲉⲣ˙ ⲉⲓⲛ̄ⲛ ⲇⲟⲩ
ⲁ̇ⲣⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ· ⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲁⲣⲡⲛⲉ
ⲕⲁ ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉⲅ̄ⲗⲉ ⲕⲁⲕⲁ
ⳝⲟⳝⲟⲕ̄ⲗ· ⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲓⲉⲛ   10
ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ· ⳝ̄ⲙⲗ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲗ
ⲗⲟⲛ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ ⲇⲁⲩ
ⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲁ ⲅⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣ
ⲉⲛ· ⲧ̄ⲗⲗⲓⲕⲁ ⲅⲟⲕ ⲧ[ⲥ]
ⲥⲁⲛⲁ· ⲟⲛ̄ ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏ   15
ⲛⲁⲕⲁ· ⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲥ̄ⲛ ⲅⲟ

6 ⲅⲥⲥⲟⲩ *g*   14 ⲧ[ⲣ] *b*[12]

church until their death.

And when all saw and heard about this great miracle, they gave glory to God and Saint Mina, whose is the glory

17

ⲄⲞⲨⲱⲀⲢⲔⲀⲚⲈ ⲄⲞⲚⲄⲒ ⲞⲨⲮⲞⲨⲢⲦⲒⲢⲔⲞⲢⲀⲚ. ⲘⲀⲚ
ⲱⲞ̄ⲂⲒⲢ ⲦⲞ̄Ⲛ ⲀⲒⲘⲈⲚ ⲂⲞⲔⲔⲞⲚ, Ⲁ̄ⲘⲒ̄Ⲛ.

and the power, now and forever, unto the times of the ages.
   Amen.

ĪƷ

ΚＫ Οῑ ΤΟΕΚＫ· ΕΛ` Οῑ
ΤΑΥΚΑ Μ‾ΦΦΑΝΝΟ
δΕΛΓΟΥΝΑ ΕΛΛΕΝ
ΓΟΥΛѠ ΚΙΕＣΚＫΛѠ
· ——— ἀΜΗΝ ———   5
    .. ——— ..

grammatical commentaries

List of Abbreviations

1		1ˢᵗ person
2		2ⁿᵈ person
3		3ʳᵈ person
ACC		accusative
APPL		applicative (benefactive)
	APPL1	2/3>1; And. -ⲗⲈⲚ
	APPL2/3	1>2/3; ON -ⲧⲢ̄ / And. -ⲦⲓⲢ
C		conjunction
CAUS		causative
COM		comitative
COMPL		completive
	COMPL1	ON -ⲉ̇ⲧ / And. -Ⲉⲗ
	COMPL2	ON -(ⲟ̇)ⲟⲥ / And. -ⲞⲤ
COND		conditional
CONSUET		consuetudinal
COP		copula
DEM		demonstrative
DET		determiner
DIR		directive
DISC		direct discourse marker
DIST		distal
EMPH		emphatic
EXCL		exclusive

FOC		focus marker
FUT		future
GEN		genitive
HAB		habitual/continual
IMPF		imperfective aspect
INCH		inchoative
INCL		inclusive
INDF		indefinite
INSTR		instrumental
INTER		interrogative
J		juncture vowel
LOC		locative
	LOC1	ON -(λ)o
	LOC2	ON -(λ)ᴧ
	LOC3	ON -(λ)ᴧꙍ
NEG		negation
NEUT		neutral (non-preterite, non-negative)
NR		nominalizer
NOM		nominative
OBJ.PL		plural object marker
PASS		passive
PF		perfective aspect
PL		plural
PR		present
PRED		predicative
PROG		progressive
PRON		pronoun
PROP		property
PROSP		prospective

PROX		proximate
POSS		possessive
PT		preterite
	PT1	ON -ο, -ⲁ / And. -ⲕⲟ, -ⲅⲟ
	PT2	ON -ⲥ / And. -ⲥ
PTC		participle
PURP		purposive
Q		question marker
REL		relative marker
STAT		stative
SG		singular
TRANS		transitive
VOC		vocative

And.	Andaandi
Ar.	Arabic
Gr.	Greek
ON	Old Nubian

The Old Nubian and Andaandi Preterite 1 are not etymologically related. The Andaandi neutral morpheme -ⲣ is based on an analysis proposed in Abdel-Hafiz 1988, p. 130. This morpheme may also have existed in Old Nubian, see the commentary to 2.13 ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ.

Line numbers in the grammatical analyses of the Old Nubian and Dongolawi texts refer to the Old Nubian original and the Dongolawi translation respectively. In the Old Nubian analyses square brackets are employed to indicate parts (phrases) of a sentence.

List of Sources

The original manuscript of the Old Nubian text can be found in the British Museum Or. MS. 6805.

OND	*Old Nubian Dictionary* (Browne 1996)
ONG	*Old Nubian Grammar* (Browne 2002)
P. QI 1	*Old Nubian Texts from the Qasr Ibrim* 1 (Plumley & Browne 1988)
P. QI 2	*Old Nubian Texts from the Qasr Ibrim* 2 (Browne 1989a)

K	'Nicene Canons' (Browne 1989)
L	'Lectionary' (Browne 1989)
St.	'Stauros' text (Browne 1989)
WN	'Memorial for King George' (Van Gerven Oei 2011)

1 ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ-ⲁ   ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ-ⲛ̄
  miracle-PRED   Christ-GEN

ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ-ⲟⲩ   ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥ-ⲟⲩ
martyr-J   holy-J

ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁ   ⲁⲩ-ⲥ-ⲁ-ⲗⲱ
Mina-GEN   do-PT2-PRED-FOC

ⲧⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲛ̄   ⲧⲟⲕⲛ̄-ⲛⲁⲩⲉ̇-ⲗⲟ   ⲁ̇ⲙⲏ̂
God-GEN   forgive.TRANS-NR-DET.LOC1   amen

1.1 ⳟⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ-: *OND*, p. 203, 'miracle', possibly deriving from ⳟⲟⲕ- 'glory'; with ⲕⲟ-, suffix for 'to have' (*ONG* §3.9.5): ⳟⲟⲕ-ⲕⲟ-ⲗ- > ⳟⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ- 'that which has glory'.

ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ-: 'Christ'; from Gr. χριστός.

1.2 ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ-: *OND*, p. 111, ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲟⲥ-, 'martyr'; from late Gr. μάρτυρος. With juncture vowel, dependent on ⲉ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-.

ⲉ̄ⲥⲥ-: *OND*, p. 200, 'holy'; with juncture vowel -ⲟⲩ, dependent on ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-.

1.3 ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-: 'Mina', proper name, also known as Mena(s). Henceforth, the complex ⲉ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ- will be glossed and translated as 'Saint Mina'. The genitive phrase 'by Saint Mina, the holy martyr of Christ' should be analyzed as follows: [[ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ]-ⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ-ⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲥⲥ-ⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ]-ⲛⲁ.

ⲁⲩ-: *OND*, p. 13, 'do'. There seems to be a coordination between ⳟⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ-ⲁ and ⲁⲩⲥ-ⲁ-, 'a miracle … performed'. The focus marker -ⲗⲱ is attached to the whole phrase. As Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 210 already suggests, Browne's interpretation of -ⲗⲱ as a copula must be rejected.

1.4 ⲧ̄ⲗ̄ⲗ-: *OND*, p. 171, 'God'.

ⲟⲛ-ⲧⲁⲕ-ⲣⲁ-ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇-ⲕⲉ
love-PASS-PR.PRED-PL.PRED-2PL.EMP

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲟⲩ   ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-ⲗⲟ   ⲇ̄ⲡⲡ-ⲟⲩ
woman-J   INDF-FOC   village-J

ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-ⲗⲁ   ⲇⲟⲩ-ⲁ̇ⲣⲁ
INDF-LOC2   live-PT1.PRED

ⲁ̇ⲗⲉⲍⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉ-ⲛ   ⲱ̄ⲕⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲁ
Alexandria-GEN   district-LOC2

ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲟⲛ   ⲙⲓⲣ-ⲁ   ⲁ̇ⲅ-ⲉⲛⲇⲉ
3SG-C   be.barren-PRED   remain-NEG

ⲧⲟⲕ̄ⲛ̄-: *OND*, p. 177, ⲧⲟⲕⲁⲣ-, 'to forgive'; with regressive as-similation of the transitive suffix before abstract suffix -ⲛⲁⲅⲉ̇ (*ONG* §3.3.2), ⲧⲟⲕ̄ⲛ̄-ⲛⲁⲅⲉ̇- meaning 'forgiveness'.

ⲁ̇ⲙⲏ̅: 'amen'.

1.5 ⲟⲛ-: *OND*, p. 171, 'to love'; with passive suffix -ⲧⲁⲕ (*ONG* §3.9.5a) and 'predicative plural' -ⲁ-ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇ (*ONG* §3.5.2a), which may be analyzed as -ⲁ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲁ, thus exhibiting a common verbal suffixation pattern, see also the com-mentary to 3.12 ⲟ̈ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-. The suffix -ⲕⲉ 'you (plural)' func-tions as a vocative after a plural predicative (*ONG* §3.10), cf. St. 2.9 ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇ⲕⲉ 'beloved', St. 18.6 *sim.*, K 19.7–8 ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉⲕⲉ, and *P. QI* **2** 13.ii.11 ⲥ̄ⲧⲡ-ⲉ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲕⲉ 'nations(?)'.

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-: *OND*, p. 80, 'woman'.

1.6 ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-: *OND*, p. 132, indefinite article 'a', with focus marker -ⲗⲟ marking the whole phrase ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-, which may, by means of an English focus construction, be trans-lated as 'There was a woman …'

ⲇ̄ⲓ̈ⲡ-: *OND*, p. 45, 'village'.

ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-: 'a'; with locative suffix -ⲗⲁ (*ONG* §3.6).

1.7 ⲇⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 132, 'to live'; with -ⲁ̇ⲣⲁ (*ONG* §3.9.6), which may be translated as a past continuous 'was living'.

ⲁ̇ⲗⲉⳅⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉ-: 'Alexandria'

1.8 ⲱ̈ⳝⲅⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 186, ⲱ̈ⳝⲅⲟⲩⲗ- 'administrative district'; possibly deriving from ⲱⲏⲕⲕ- 'administrative district' and ⲅⲟⲩⲗ- 'place'. For absence of final -ⲗ, cf. *P. QI* **2** 25.ii ⲱⲏⲕⲕⲟⲩ (with progressive assimilation ⲕⲅ>ⲕⲕ).

ⲧⲁⲣ-: *ONG* §3.7.1, third person personal pronoun, h.l. 'she'; with conjunction -ⲟⲛ 'and' (*ONG* §3.10).

ⲙⲓⲣ-: *OND*, p. 118, 'to be barren';

ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲁⲣⲁ   ⲙⲉⲛⲛ-ⲁ-ⲗⲱ
bear-PT1.PRED   NEG-PRED-FOC

ⲅⲁ-ⲕˋ-ⲉⲛⲇⲉˋ   ⲁⲥ-ⲕ-ⲉⲛⲇⲉ
son-ACC-NEG   daughter-ACC-NEG

ⲉⲓⲫ̄ⲧ-ⲟⲩ   ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲧ-ⲗⲱ   ⲇⲓⲉⲓ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛ
wealth-J   glory-LOC1   be.many-ACC-C

1.9 ⲁ̇ⲅ-: *OND*, p. 8, 'to remain'; with negative suffix -ⲉⲛⲇⲉ (*ONG* §3.10), dependent on the negation ⲙⲉⲛ-. The construction ⲙⲓⲣ-ⲁ ⲁ̇ⲅ- is a common 'light verb' or 'adjunctive' construction (*ONG* §3.9.19), in which ⲁ̇ⲅ- supports the semantic content of ⲙⲓⲣ-. Following Browne, ⲁ̇ⲅ- should be interpreted here as a habitual, cf. *P.QI* **2** 13.ii.20 ⲁ̇ⲕ-ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲁ- 'he overturned'. In Dongolawi and Nobiin, the adjunctive usage of this verb has developed into a habitual prefix *aag-* (cf. Werner 1987, §6.2.4; Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 163).

ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-: *OND*, p. 137, 'to bear'.

ⲙⲉⲛ-: *OND*, p. 114, negative verb. ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲁⲣⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ- 'she didn't bear'. It seems that ⲙⲉⲛ- is always marked with -ⲗⲱ (*ONG* §3.9.7c)

1.10 ⲅⲁ-: *OND*, p. 196, ⲅⲁⲗ- 'son' (ⲗ unstable); with accusative suffix -ⲕˋ (*ONG* §3.6.3) and negative suffix -ⲉⲛⲇⲉ, cf. 1.9 ⲁ̇ⲅ-ⲉⲛⲇⲉ.

ⲁⲥ-: *OND*, p. 20, 'daughter'; ⲅⲁⲕˋⲉⲛⲇⲉˋ ⲁⲥⲕⲉⲛⲇⲉ 'neither son nor daughter'.

1.11 ⲉⲓⲯⲧⲧ̄-: *OND*, p. 82, 'wealth'. The juncture vowel -ⲟⲩ is here used in an appositive construction, 'wealth and glory' (*ONG* §3.6.5a).

ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲧ-: *OND*, p. 203, 'glory'; with locative suffix -ⲗⲱ, perhaps used here more in an adverbative sense: 'wealth and glory-wise'; in Old Nubian, -ⲗⲟ/-ⲗⲱ appear throughout as markers of adverbials and adverbatives.

1.12 ⲇⲓⲉⲓ-: *OND*, p. 45, 'to be many'; nominalized as object of ⲕⲟⲁ̇- through accusative -ⲕ. Browne expects a participial form ending in -ⲗ, which, however, rarely occurs before accusative -ⲕ. Deletion before -ⲗ seems therefore unlikely.

ᴋo-ȧ-ʟo   ė̄ɴ-oɴᴀ
have-PRED-FOC   be-PT1.3SG.PRED

2 ċ̇ᴇʏᴀᴛᴛ-ᴋ-oɴ   ᴋoɴ-ᴍᴇɴɴ-ᴀ-ʟꟙ
heir-ACC-C   have-NEG-PRED-FOC

ē̄ɴ   ᴦᴇᴇ-n̄   ᴆoʏᴘɪȧ
DEM.PROX   thing-GEN   because.of

ᴇɪ-ȧ-ᴇɪoɴ   ᴛᴀɴ᾿   ȧᴇ̄ʟ-ʟᴀ
speak-PRED-C   3SG.GEN   heart-LOC2

ᴍᴀ̈ᴋ-ᴀᴘ-ɪᴄɴᴀ
be.afflicted-TRANS-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲕⲟ-: *OND*, p. 95, 'to have'; with predicative -ⲁ. The focus marker -ⲗⲟ attaches to the whole phrase ⲉⲓⲫ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ … ⲕⲟⲁ̀-.

ⲉ̀ⲛ-: *OND*, p. 69, 'to be'; predicative periphrastic construction (*ONG* §3.9.14; Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p.120). The whole sentence ⲉⲓⲫ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ … ⲕⲟⲁ̀-ⲗⲟ ⲉ̀ⲛ-ⲟⲛⲁ may be rendered literally 'As for possessing much in wealth and glory, it was so.'

2.1 ⲥ̇ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲧ-: *OND*, p. 158, 'heir'; from ⲥ̇ⲉⲩ- 'to inherit' and abstract suffix -ⲁⲧⲧ (*ONG* §3.3.2), object of ⲕⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛⲛⲁ-.

ⲕⲟⲛ-: *OND*, p. 97, 'to have'; with negative complex -ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲁⲗⲱ, cf. 1.9 ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣⲁ ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲁⲗⲱ, which is a periphrastic construction (*ONG* §3.9.14). Note that 1.12 ⲉ̀ⲛⲟⲛⲁ is the only finite verb form in the whole sequence. Perhaps 1.8–2.2 should therefore be analyzed as [[ⲧⲁⲣ]-ⲟⲛ … ⲙⲉⲛⲛ-ⲁ]-ⲗⲱ [[ⲉⲓⲫ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ … ⲁⲓⲉⲓⲕ]-ⲟⲛ ⲕⲟ-ⲁ̀]-ⲗⲟ ⲉ̀ⲛⲟⲛⲁ [[ⲥ̇ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲧⲕ]-ⲟⲛ ⲕⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛⲛ-ⲁ]-ⲗⲱ, with three clauses introduced by -ⲟⲛ and marked by a focus marker are discursively dependent on ⲉ̀ⲛⲟⲛⲁ.

2.2 ⲉ̄ⲛ: *ONG* §3.7.4, proximate demonstrative pronoun 'this'.

ⲅⲉⲉ-: *OND*, p. 199, ⲅⲉⲉⲓⲗ-'thing' (ⲗ unstable, cf. 1.10 ⲅⲁ-); with genitive -ⲛ̄.

2.3 ⲇ̇ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ̀: *OND*, p. 193, 'because of' with preceding genitive; possibly deriving from ⲇ̇ⲟⲩⲣ- 'cause' with locative suffix -ⲗⲁ.

ⲉⲓ-: *OND*, p. 68, ⲉⲓⲗ- 'to say' (ⲗ unstable); with predicative suffix and conjunction.

ⲧⲁⲛ`: genitive of ⲧⲁⲣ-, from ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲛ.

2.4 ⲁ̇ⲉ̄ⲗ-: *OND*, p. 7, 'heart'; with locative suffix.

ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲕ-: *OND*, p. 109, 'to be afflicted'; with transitive suffix -ⲁⲣ (*ONG* §3.9.5), ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲣ- 'to afflict'. Both Browne (*ONG*

ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲅⲟⲅ-ⲗⲁ   ⲇⲟⲩ-ⲁ̀ⲣⲁ
3SG.GEN   house-LOC2   live-PT1.PRED

ⲙ̄ⲱ̣ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ
all-PL-also-C

ⲙⲉⲓⲣ-ⲁ-ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̀-ⲗⲱ   ⲉⲓⲥ-ⲥⲁⲛⲁ
be.barren-PRED-PL.PRED-FOC   be-PT2.3PL.PRED

ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̂ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲛ̄   ⲧⲁⲉⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗ
servant.PL-GEN   girl.PL-PL-DET

ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗ   ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲓⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲱ   ⲕⲓⲉ̄ⲥⲕⲗ̄-ⲗⲱ
cow.PL-PL-DET   fowl-PL-LOC1   up.to-FOC

ⲟⲩⲕⲣ-ⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲱ   ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-ⲗⲟ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ
day-PL-PL-LOC1   INDF-FOC-C

ⲙⲁⲛˋ   ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄   ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲥ-ⲓ̣ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲛ
DEM.DIST   woman-DET   Christian-PL-GEN

§3.9.5a) and Bechhaus-Gerst (2011, p. 113) refer to -ⲁⲣ/-ⲓⲣ/-ⲟⲩⲣ as 'causative', but perhaps the morpheme should be interpreted as a simple transitive suffix, converting intransitive in transitive verbs, cf. the Kunuz Nubian transitive suffix *-ir, -ur* (Abdel-Hafiz 1988, p. 105).

2.5 ⲅⲟⲅ-: *OND*, p. 201, 'house'.

ⲇⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 52, ⲇⲟⲩⲗ-'to live' (ⲗ unstable);

ⲙⲁ̄ⲱ̄ⲁⲛ-: *OND*, p. 118, 'all'; with plural suffix -ⲅⲟⲩ; -ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ 'also, even' (*ONG* §3.10); and conjunction. ⲙⲁ̄ⲱ̄ⲁⲛ- is always preceded by a predicative suffix (*ONG* §3.7.6e), h.l. ⲇⲟⲩⲁ̀ⲣ-ⲁ.

2.7 ⲙⲉⲓⲣ- 'to be barren', cf. 1.8 ⲙⲓⲣ-. With predicative plural -ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇ after -ⲁ, cf. 1.5 ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣ-ⲁ-ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇-.

ⲉⲓⲥ-: *OND*, p. 69, ⲉⲓⲛ-'to be' with regressive assimilation from the ᴘᴛ2 suffix; periphrastic construction, cf. 1.12 ⲕⲟ-ⲁ̀-ⲗⲟ ⲉ̇ⲛ-ⲟⲛⲁ.

2.8 ⲙⲉⲇⲇⲟⲩⲛ-: *OND*, p. 114, ⲙⲉⲇⲇⲟⲩⲛⲓ(ⲅⲟⲩ)-, 'servants', singular ⲙⲉⲇⲇⲟⲩ- (*ONG* §3.5.1d).

ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 163, ⲧⲁⲉⲓ(ⲅⲟⲩ)-,'girls', singular ⲧⲁ(ⲁ)ⲗ-; with determiner -ⲗ, ⲙⲉⲇⲇⲟⲩⲛⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ 'the servant girls'.

2.9 ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 182, 'cows'.

ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-: *OND*, p. 55, 'fowl'.

2.10 ⲕⲓⲉ̄ⲥ̄ⲕⲗ-: *OND*, p. 93, 'up to'; with preceding locative.

ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓ-: *OND*, p. 135, 'day'. For the double plural marking see the note to 7.15 ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓ.

2.11 ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-: 'one'. For the usage of the locative in ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲱ ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-, cf. 3.11 ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲓⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲗ 'one of the fowls'.

2.12 ⲙⲁⲛ`: *ONG* §3.7.4, distal demonstrative pronoun 'that'.

ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲥ-: *OND*, p. 185, 'Christian'; from Gr. χριστιανός.

ⲉⲓⲗⲏⲩ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗ ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣ-ⲁ
woman.PL-PL-DET say-3PL hear.TRANS-PRED

ⲧⲱⲉ̇ⲕ-ⲁ-ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇-ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁ
miracle-PRED-PL.PRED-REL Saint Mina-GEN

ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̇ⲧ-ⲛ̄ ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲗⲁ ⲁⲩ-ⲟ̆-ⲗ̄-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ
Mareotis-GEN church-LOC2 do-OBJ.PL-DET-PL-ACC

2.13 ⲉⲓⲗⲏⲅ-: *OND*, p. 68, 'women', singular ⲉⲓⲗ-; with plural suffix and determiner.

ⲡⲉⲥ-: *OND*, p. 149, 'to speak, say'; in present tense. It is uncertain whether the present tense (which is otherwise unmarked) is not in fact a default, or 'neutral' tense, as suggested by Abdel-Hafiz 1988, p. 130. Especially when the so-called subjective form (with predicative -ⲁ) is used, as in this case, the temporal aspect of the verbal form is not markedly present tense. At the same time, a precise analysis of the structure of the Old Nubian verbal system is still lacking. Wherever a mere personal suffix is glossed, a 'present' or 'neutral' tense (whether overtly marked or not) is implied. Browne suggests a possible accusative -ⲕ` after ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ, which, however must be ruled out.

ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣ-: *OND*, p. 136, 'to hear'. ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣ- derives from ⲟⲩⲗ(ⲟⲩ)ⲣ-'ear', with transitive suffix.

2.14 ⲧⲱⲉ̇ⲕ-: *OND*, p. 177, 'power, miracle'; with 'predicative plural' and -ⲥ̄ⲛ introducing the embedded clause under ⲉⲓⲗⲏⲅⲟⲩⲗ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣⲁ 'hearing the women say that/speak about'. ⲧⲱⲉ̇ⲕ- is the object of ⲁⲩⲟ̄ⲗ-.

2.15 ⲥ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-: Saint Mina; with genitive suffix. Compare 1.1–3 ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ-ⲁ … ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁ … ⲁⲩ- with 2.14–16 ⲧⲱⲉ̇ⲕ-ⲁ- … ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁ … ⲁⲩ-.

ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̇ⲧ-: Lake Mariut, south of Alexandria.

ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ̇-: *OND*, p. 93, 'church'.

2.16 ⲁⲩ-: 'to do'; with plural object marker -ⲇ̅ referring to ⲧⲱⲉ̇ⲕⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇-, the determiner -ⲗ, plural suffix and accusative case marking as object of ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣ-ⲁ [ⲧⲱⲉ̇ⲕⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇-ⲥ̄ⲛ … ⲁⲩⲟ̄ⲗ]-ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁ 'hearing the miracles … performed'.

3 ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓⲁ̀   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ
  3SG-LOC2   say-PT2.3SG.PRED

  ⲁ̀ⲗⲉ-ⲥⲛ̄   ⲉ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛ   ⲧ̄ⲗⲗ-ⲗ̄
  truth-REL   Saint.Mina-GEN   God-DET

  ⲁⲛ   ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲓⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲁ   ⲟⲩⲉⲕ-ⲕⲁ
  1SG.GEN   fowl-PL-LOC2   INDF-ACC

  ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲉⲥ̀   ⲉ̄ⲗ   ⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ
  bear-IMP.2SG   say.DET   be-COND.3SG

  ⲁ̀ⲉⲓ-ⲟⲛ   ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ   ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲗⲟ
  1SG-C   egg   first-LOC1

  ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲟⲩⲥⲛ̄-ⲕⲁ-ⲗⲟ
  bear-PT2.3SG-ACC-FOC

  ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲗⲁ   ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲇ-ⲇⲣⲉ
  3SG.GEN   church-LOC2   lay.TRANS-FUT.1SG.PRED

  ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣ ⲇⲓⲉ-ⲗ̀   ⲁⲩ-ⲧⲁⲕ-ⲟⲛⲛ-ⲟⲛ
  day   be.many-DET   do-PASS-PT2.3SG-C

3.1 ⲧⲁⲣ-: 'she'; h.l. reflexive 'herself' (*ong* §3.7.2c). 2.12–3.1 ⲙⲁⲛˋ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲗ̄ … ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣⲁ … ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ is one phrase, 'that woman … hearing … said.'

ⲁⲗⲉ-: *ond*, p. 9, 'truth'. ⲁⲗⲉⲥⲛ̄ h.l. as interjection, often introducing the protasis of conditional clause, i.e. ⲁⲗⲉⲥⲛ̄ … ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ 'if it be that …'

3.3 ⲁⲛ: first singular possessive pronoun, 'my'.

3.4 ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-: 'to bear'; with singular imperative suffix -ⲉⲥˋ for -ⲉⲥⲱ. Namely, God's command ⲁⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲁ 'to one of the fowls'.

ⲉⲗ̄: *ond*, p. 68, 'to say'; ⲧⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲗ̄ … ⲉⲗ̄[-ⲗ] 'God … saying'.

3.5 ⲉⲛ-: 'to be'; with third person conditional suffix (*ong* §4.7.5)

ⲁⲉⲓ-: first singular personal pronoun, 'I'.

3.6 ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ: *ond*, p. 101, 'egg'; juncture vowel ⲟⲩ, which is usually present in case of the antecedent of an embedded clause, has merged with final ⲟⲩ.

ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲁⲛⲧⲉ-: *ond*, p. 183, 'first'; with locative suffix -ⲗⲟ, here marking adverbial usage 'for the first time'.

3.7 ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-: 'to bear'; personal suffix with vowel harmony. Again an embedded object clause ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-∅$_i$ … [ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲛ̄]-ⲕⲁⲗⲟ$_i$ 'the egg … laid'.

3.8 ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲁ-: *ond*, p. 141, ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲣ- 'to lay'; composed of ⲟⲩⲧ- and a transitive suffix, with regressive assimilation from the future personal suffix -ⲁⲣⲉ.

3.9 ⲁⲓⲉ-: *ond*, p. 45, 'to be many'; with determiner. ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣ ⲁⲓⲉⲗˋ 'many a day', cf. 7.15–6 ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓ ⲁⲓⲉ̇ⲅⲟⲩⲗ 'many days', where both words appear in plural.

ⲆⲞⲨⲦⲢⲀⲠ-ⲓⲅⲞⲨ-ⲗⲀ   ⲞⲨⲉⲗ   Ⲇ́ⲞⲨⲚⲦ-ⲞⲨⲄ̇-Ⲁ
fowl-PL-LOC2   INDF.DET   be.pregnant-INCH-PRED

ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲠⲞⲨ-Ⲛ   ⲔⲀⲔⲀ̄   ⲞⲨⲉⲔ-ⲔⲀ
egg-GEN   first.born.DET   INDF-ACC

ⲞⲨⲚⲚ-ⲞⲨⲤⲚⲀ
bear-PT2.3SG-PRED

ⲘⲀⲚ`            ⲉ̄ⲦⲦⲀ̄-ⲗ-ⲞⲚ      ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲠⲞⲨ-Ⲕ`
DEM.DIST   woman-DET-C   egg-ACC

ⲉⲚ`-ⲉ̇Ⲧ-Ⲁ
take-COMPL1-PRED

Ⲁ̇ⲘⲀⲚ-ⲆⲞ`   ⲤⲞⲨⲔⲔ-Ⲁ
water-LOC3   descend-PRED

3.10 ⲁⲩ-: 'to do'; with passive suffix -ⲧⲁⲕ, followed by temporal/personal suffix -ⲟⲛⲛ and conjunction. Translation should be past tense because of dependence on the main verb 3.14 ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲛⲁ: ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣ ⲇⲓⲉ-ⲗ` ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟⲛ 'and after many a day had passed'.

3.12 ⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-: *OND*, p. 193, 'to be pregnant'; with inchoative suffix -ⲅ. What seems to be an ordinary juncture vowel before the inchoative suffix may in fact be a remainder of a predicative suffix, as found in that position in other light verb constructions, cf. 12.4 ⲁ̇ⲯⲣ-ⲁ-ⲅ-ⲁ, and even in case the verb ends in a determiner, 4.7 ⲙⲉⲇⲇ-ⲗ-ⲅ-ⲟⲗ` and St. 2.1 ⲉⲓⲁⲣ-ⲗ̄-ⲅⲁⲣ-ⲓⲥ-. Inchoative -ⲅ thus appears to be in a developmental state between light verb and verbal suffix. The same possibly holds for transitive -ⲣ, causative -ⲅ(ⲁ)ⲣ, and future -ⲇ (see also the commentary to 11.12 ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲣⲉ).

3.13 ⲕⲁⲕ̄ⲗ̄: *OND*, p. 83, 'first born', probably from ⲕⲁⲕ- 'to open' or ⲕⲁⲕ- 'to bear' and determiner, cf. 14.12 ⲅⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲕ̄ⲕ̄-ⲕⲁ.

3.15 ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-: 'egg'; with accusative suffix, object of 3.16 ⲉⲛ`ⲉ̇ⲧⲁ.

3.16 ⲉⲛ`-: *OND*, p. 59, 'to bring,' 'to take'; apostrophe marking the morphological boundary with ⲉ̇ⲧ-: *OND*, p. 78, 'to take, receive', which, however, should perhaps be interpreted as grammaticalized into a completive (directive) suffix (cf. Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 150–5). The completive suffix in Old Nubian is -ⲟ̇ⲟⲥ, Nobiin -(*o*)*os* (Werner 1987, 184; Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 147), Kunuz and Dongolawi -*os* (Abdel-Hafiz 1988, p. 122).

ⲁ̇ⲙⲁⲛ-: *OND*, p. 10, 'water'; with locative suffix -ⲇⲟ`.

4   ĸι-cnа   мєⲇⲟ̃ⲟⲩ-ⲛ   ⲧⲁλ`
    go-PT2.3SG-PRED   servant-GEN   girl

    ⲟⲩєλ`-ⲇⲁλ   ⲁⲅє-ⲕ̄   ⲉ̇λ-ⲁ
    INDF-COM   boat-ACC   find-PRED

    ṃⲁⲛ   ⲕⲟⲩмⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ   ⲋ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ мⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛ
    DET.DIST   egg-ACC   Saint.Mina-GEN

    ⲕ̄ⲥⲥє   ⲙⲁⲣєⲱ̇ⲧⲓ-ⲱ̇   ⲅⲟⲛⲟ̃-λ̄-λⲁ-ⲅ̄λ
    church   Mareotis-LOC1   stand-DET-LOC2-DIR

    ⲉⲓⲧ-єⲛⲓ-ⲁ̇
    take-FIN-PRED

    ⲁ̇ⲟⲩλ`   ⲫⲓλⲟ�883єⲛⲓⲧⲏ-ⲅ̄λ   ⲟ̃ⲟ-ⲇⲣⲁ
    boat   Philoxenite-DIR   go-FUT.PRED

    мєⲇⲇ-λ-ⲅ-ⲟλ`   ⲟⲩєⲕ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛ   ⲉ̇λ-ⲁ
    be.ready-DET-INCH-PT1   INDF-ACC-C   find-PRED

ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲕ-: *OND*, p. 161, 'to descend'; ⲉⲛ`ⲉ̇ⲧⲁ and ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲕⲁ both depend on 4.1 ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ.

ⲕⲓ-: *OND*, p. 91, ⲕⲓⲣ- 'to come'. The verbal complex ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲕⲁ ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ may be translated as 'about to go down', interpreting the verb ⲕⲓ- as ingressive (cf. Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 140).

4.2 ⲟⲩⲉⲗ`-: 'a'; with comitative suffix -ⲇⲁⲗ (*ONG* §3.10).

ⲁⲩⲉ-: *OND*, p. 14, ⲁⲩⲉⲗ̄-, 'boat'; ⲁⲩⲉⲕ̄, object of ⲉ̇ⲗⲁ.

ⲉ̇ⲗ-: *OND*, p. 56, 'to find'.

4.3 ṃⲁⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ, object of 4.6 ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁ̇

4.5 ⲅⲟⲛⲟ̄-: *OND*, p. 203, 'to stand'; the series of suffix-es -ⲗ̄ⲗⲁⲅⲗ̄ (*ONG* §3.10) attaches to the whole phrase ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̇ⲧⲓⲱ̇ ⲅⲟⲛⲟ̄-.

4.6 ⲉⲓⲧ-: 'to take', cf. 3.16 ⲉ̇ⲧ-. The suffix -ⲉⲛⲓ indicates a non-personal final clause (*ONG* §4.7.7d). Perhaps this final clause marker should be analyzed as third singular personal suffix -ⲉⲛ (or what Browne calls 'expanded verbid', *ONG* §3.9.9), which also appears in other hypotactical environments plus locative -ⲗⲁ > -ⲓⲁ, cf. 10.7 ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓⲁ̇- for ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲗⲁ-. Bechhaus-Gerst analyzes -ⲓⲁ as the grammaticalized verb ⲉⲓ- 'to say' plus adjunctive (predicative) -ⲁ (2011, p. 96; 193).

ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲗ`: *OND*, p. 14, 'boat'. Note the absence of any suffix, accusative case marking at the end of the phrase ⲟⲩⲉⲕ]-ⲕ-

ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲍⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ-: 'Philoxenite', from Greek Φιλοξενίτη, a town on the southern shore of Lake Mariut.

4.7 ⲇ̄ⲟ-: *OND*, p. 191, ⲇ̄ⲟⲣ-, 'to go'.

ⲙⲉⲇⲇ-: *OND*, p. 113, 'to be ready'; for the determiner -ⲗ before the inchoative suffix, see the discussion of 3.12 ⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-. The whole phrase [ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲗ` [[ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲍⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏⲅⲗ̄ ⲇ̄ⲟⲇⲣⲁ] ⲙⲉⲇⲇⲗⲅⲟⲗ`] ⲟⲩⲉⲕ]-ⲕ- is object to ⲉ̇ⲗⲁ, cf. 4.2 [ⲁⲩⲉ]-ⲕ̄ ⲉ̇ⲗⲁ.

пєс-снα   ē̄ττ-ⲗ̄
say-PT2.3SG.PRED   woman-DET

ἀгоппι-[ⲗⲁ]-г̄ⲗⲗⲉ
sailor-LOC2-DIR

п̄сс-ⲉсⲱ   ⲡⲁⲡ-ⲟ   ἀгопп-ⲁ
say-IMP.2SG   father-VOC   sailor-VOC

тⲁⲣ-ⲟⲛ   пєс-снⲁ   ⲉⲕ̄-ⲕⲉтⲁⲗ   п̄сс-ⲉсⲱ
3SG-C   say-PT2.3SG.PRED   2SG-also   say-IMP.2SG

ē̄ττ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲟⲛ   пєс-снⲁ
woman-DET-C   say-PT2.3SG.PRED

ἀⲗⲉ-с̄ⲛ̄   ⲉⲛ̄-ⲛⲟ   тⲟⲩⲕⲣ-ⲉⲛ
true-REL   DEM.PROX-LOC1   depart.TRANS-2SG

4.9 ⲡⲉⲥ- 'to say'. The verb ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ, alternated with the form ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲁ, introduces a conversation between the woman and the sailor stretching across three pages. Browne suggests that the two different verb forms reflect different Greek Vorlages, respectively εἶπεν 'said', and λέγει 'is saying'. Bechhaus-Gerst suggests that the indefinite form ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲁ is used in case the subject is overly expressed, where the subject is not necessarily explicit in case of definite ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ (2011, p. 184). This differentiation, however, seems to be absent in this case, as throughout the conversation the subjects are overtly expressed.

ⲁⲅⲟⲡⲡⲓ-: *OND*, p. 4, 'sailor'. In Browne's edition translated with 'skipper'. The first two characters of line 4.10 are missing, but the suffix -ⲗⲁ, a locative often occurring before -ⲅ︦ⲗ︦ⲗⲉ seems the most plausible, cf. 8.4 ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇ︦ⲗ︦-ⲗⲁ-ⲅ︦ⲗ︦ⲗⲉ; 14.1 ⲧⲟⲕⲇⲉⲣ-ⲣⲁ-ⲅ︦ⲗ︦ⲗⲉ.

4.10 ⲡ︦ⲥ︦ⲥ-: 'to speak'; with second singular imperative suffix. In this context most probably used as greeting: ⲡ︦ⲥ︦ⲥⲉⲱ ⲡⲁⲡⲟ ⲁⲅⲟⲡⲡⲁ 'Hey, sailorman'.

ⲡⲁⲡ-: *OND*, p. 144, 'father'; with vocative ending -ⲟ, which is only attested in combination with ⲡⲁⲡ- and in ⲉⲓ-ⲱ̀ 'o woman'. Browne analyzes ⲡⲁⲡ-ⲁ-ⲟ, with predicative -ⲁ (cf. ⲁⲅⲟⲡⲡ-ⲁ, see also *ONG* §3.6.4b) but I do not see immediate evidence for such a conjecture.

4.11 ⲁⲅⲟⲡⲡ-: 'sailor'; with predicative suffix, acting as a vocative (*ONG* §3.6.4b).

4.14 ⲉ︦ⲛ︦-: proximal demonstrative, h.l. 'here'; with locative suffix -ⲗⲟ and progressive assimilation. In the context of ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲣ- 'to depart' best translated as 'from here'.

ċ-гⲗ̄ ⳪ⲱ-ⲇⲚ̄
INTER-DIR go-FUT.2SG

5 ⲁ́ⲡⲟⲅⲅ-ⲗ̄ ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲁⲣⲁ ⲁ́ⲗⲉ-ⲥⲚ̄ ⳝⲟⲇ-ⲗ̄
  sailor-DET say-PT2.PRED true-REL Lord-DET

ⲁⲓ̈-ⲕⲁ ⲙⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ` ⲫⲓⲗⲟⳅⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ-гⲗ̄ⲗⲉ-ⲗⲱ
1SG-ACC guide-COND.3SG Philoxenite-DIR-FOC

⳯ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲉ
go-PR.1SG.PRED

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ
woman-DET-C say-PT2.3SG-PRED

ⲙⲁгⲣⲉⲛⲛ-ⲟⲛ ⲁⲓ̈-ⲇⲁⲗ` ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲕ̄
but-C 1SG-COM favor-ACC

ⲁⲩ-ⲁ̇ ⲫⲓⲗⲟⳅⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ-гⲗ̄ⲗⲉ
do-PRED Philoxenite-DIR

4.15 ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲣ-: *OND*, p. 144, ⲧⲟⲕ- 'to depart'; with transitive suffix. The personal suffix without predicative -ⲉⲛ indicates the protasis of the conditional sentence: 'if/when you depart …', cf. *P. QI* 1 4.ii.24 ⲁⲗⲉⲥⲛ̄ ⲡ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛ 'truly, if you believe …'

ⲥ̇-: interrogative pronoun (*ONG* §3.7.5c); with directive suffix -ⲣ̄ⲗ̄, ⲥ̇ⲣ̄ⲗ̄ 'where to?'

ⲇⲱ-: 'to go'; with future second person singular suffix. One would however expect ⲇⲱⲇⲛ̄ⲇ in the apodosis (cf. *ONG* §4.7.5).

5.1 ⲅⲟⲇ-: *OND*, p. 201, 'Lord'.

ⲙⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 120, 'to lead'; with conditional suffix. Note the lengthening of the final -ⲟⲩ, possibly indicating the remains of a predicative suffix preceding the conditional ⲙⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲕⲟ-, cf. 3.12 ⲇⲟⲩⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩⲉ-. Browne suggests that the second ⲟⲩ is part of the stem. This seems unlikely, as there are no other stems attested ending in a long vowel (cf. *ONG* §3.9.2), which can only be the result of a phonological process at the edge of the stem.

5.2 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⳅⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ-: 'Philoxenite'; with directive suffix and focus marker 'it is to Philoxenite …'

5.4 ⲇⲟⲩ-: 'to go'; with personal future predicative suffix.

5.5 ⲙⲁⲅⲣⲉⲛⲛ-ⲟⲛ: *OND*, p. 108, 'but'.

5.6 ⲁⲓ̈-: 'I'; with comitative suffix, marking the receiver of ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲩ- 'to do a favor'.

ⲟⲩⲛⲧ-: from ⲟⲩⲛ- *OND*, p. 125, 'to love'; with substantive formant -ⲧ (*ONG* §3.2.2): ⲟⲩⲛⲧ- 'favor'; object of 5.7 ⲁⲩⲇ̇.

5.7 ⲁⲩ-: 'to do'; with predicative suffix -ⲇ̇ dependent on the imperative 5.9 ⲕⲟⲇⲟⲩⲉⲥⲱ: 'do and … have (me) go (with you)'

ⲁⲓ̈ⲉ-ⲕ̀   ⲉⲇ̄-ⲇⲁⲗ   ⲕⲟ-ⲟ̆ⲟⲩ-ⲉⲥⲱ
1SG-ACC   2SG-COM   have-go-IMP.2SG

ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡ-ⲗ̄   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲁⲣⲁ
sailor-DET   say-PT2.PRED

ⲙⲁⲛ-ⲛⲟ   ⲙ̄ⲛ̄-[ⲕ]ⱥ   ⲇⲟⲗⲗ-ⲓⲛⲁ-ⲓ
dem.DIST-LOC1   INTER-ACC   wish-PR.2SG.PRED-Q

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲁⲣⲁ
woman-DET   say-PT2.PRED

ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛ   ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲅ̄ⲗ̄ⲗⲉ-ⲗⲱ   ⲟ̆ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲉ
Saint.Mina-GEN   church-DIR-FOC   go-PR.1SG.PRED

ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲟⲛ   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ
sailor-DET-C   say-PT2.3SG.PRED

6 ⲉⲇ̄-ⲇⲉ   ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛⲟⲥ̀   ⲉⲓⲛ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲏ
2SG-C   pagan   be-DET-2SG.EMP

5.8 ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲉ-: 'me'; object of ⲕⲟ-. Note that the pronominal root shows compensational lengthening, cf. 6.7 ⲁⲓⲕⲁ, 6.15 ⲁⲓⲥⲛ̄, 9.7 ⲁⲓⲅⲗ̄. The form is a hapax legomenon. Browne conjectures a juncture vowel (*ONG* §3.7.1b n. 26), which however seems unlikely; juncture vowels never occur before accusative case marking.

ⲉⲁ̄-: 'you'; with regressive assimilation ⲉⲣ̄-ⲇⲁⲗ > ⲉⲁ̄-ⲇⲁⲗ.

5.9 ⲕⲟ-: 'to have'; followed by ⲇⲟⲩ- 'to go'. For the construction, cf. 3.16 ⲉⲛ`-ⲉ̇ⲧ-. Just like the transitive and causative suffixes, ⲕⲟ- allows ⲇⲟⲩ- to take another argument, cf. *P.QI* **1** 3.i.17–8 ⲁⲅⲏⲩ[ⲥⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁ] ⲕⲟ-ⲇⲱ-.

5.10 ⲙⲁⲛ-: distal determinative, h.l. 'there'; with locative suffix -ⲗⲟ and progressive assimilation, cf. 4.14 ⲉ̄ⲛⲛⲟ.

ⲙⲛ̄-: interrogative pronoun 'what' (*ONG* §3.7.5b); object of ⲇⲟⲗⲗ-.

5.11 ⲇⲟⲗⲗ-: *OND*, p. 108, 'to wish'; with second singular present predicative suffix and question marker -ⲓ (*ONG* §3.9.21).

5.13 ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲉ-: 'church'. For the construction with directive suffix and focus marker ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲉⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉⲱ ⲇⲟⲩⲣⲉ, cf. 5.2 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲍⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉⲗⲱ ⲇⲟⲩⲣⲉ.

5.15 ⲉⲁ̄-: 'you'; with regressive assimilation before the particle -ⲇⲉ 'but, and' (*ONG* §3.10), probably a loan directly from Gr. δέ, or through Copt. ⲇⲉ.

ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛⲟⲥ`: *OND*, p. 57, 'pagan', from Gr. ἕλλην.

6.1 ⲉⲓⲛ-: 'to be'; with determiner. Perhaps the phrase should be analyzed as [ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛⲟⲥ` ⲉⲓⲛ]-ⲗ̄-. The function of -ⲗⲏ is unclear. According to Browne, it is only employed after a predicative suffix, marking the second person singular

ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲗⲁ   ⲙ̄ⲛ-ⲕ   ⲁⲩ-ⲁⲣⲡ̄ⲛⲛⲁ
church-LOC2   INTER-ACC   do-FUT.2SG.PRED

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲁⲣⲁ
woman-DET   say-PT2.PRED

ⲉ̄ⲛ   ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ-ⲗⲟ   ⲙⲁⲛ
DEM.PROX   egg-ACC-FOC   DEM.DIST

ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲗⲁ   ⲕⲉⲛ-ⲇⲟⲩⲕ`-ⲁⲣⲡ̄ⲗⲗⲉ
church-LOC2   place-offer-FUT.1SG.PRED

ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲉ' ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛ   ⲧⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲗ̄   ⲉ̄ⲧⲕ-ⲛ̄
Saint.Mina-GEN   God-DET   mankind-GEN

ⲕⲟⲟ̄ⲣ-ⲕⲁ   ⲁⲓ-ⲕⲁ   ⲇⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ-ⲁ̇
seed-ACC   1SG-ACC   give-COND.3SG-PRED

(*ONG* §3.9.16a). In this case, however, the predicative suffix is absent. We should interpret ⲉⲗ̄ₐ- … ⲉⲓⲛⲗ̄-ⲗⲏᵢ, in which case it marks an emphasis: 'But you, you're a pagan!' This also explains the use of the plural variant -ⲕⲉ in exclamatory contexts, cf. 1.5 ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉ̇-ⲕⲉ. Similarly in other contexts listed by Browne, e.g. *P. QI* 1 4.ii.24 ⲁⲗⲉⲥ̄ⲛ ⲡ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲧ̄ⲗⲗ̄ⲛ̄ ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲁ ⲅⲁⲇⲁⲣⲁ̇-ⲗⲏ- 'truly, if you believe, you shall surely see the glory of God.'

6.2 ⲁⲩ-: 'to do'; with a full future tense suffix.

6.3 ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-: 'egg'; object of ⲕⲉⲛⲇⲟⲩⲕ`-, with focus marker. In construction similar to 5.2 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲍⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ-ⲗⲱ ⲇ̄ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲉ 'to Philoxenite I want to go' or 'it is to Philoxenite that I want to go.'

6.5 ⲕⲉⲛ-: *OND*, p. 88, 'to place'; followed by ⲇⲟⲩⲕ`-: *OND*, p. 52, 'to offer'. Note that the two verbs have merged fully, there is no sign of any predicative -ⲁ or juncture vowel in between.

6.7 ⲉ̄ⲧⲕ-: *OND*, p. 80, 'mankind'.

ⲕⲟⲟ̄ⲣ-: *OND*, p. 100, 'seed'; object of ⲇⲉⲛ-, marked with accusative -ⲕⲁ.

ⲁⲓ-: 'me'; indirect object of ⲇⲉⲛ-, also marked with the accusative (*ONG* §3.6.3a), cf. 10.13 ⲕⲟⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕ- ⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲇⲓⲛ-.

6.8 ⲇⲉⲛ-: *OND*, p. 42, 'to give'; with conditional suffix and predicative marker, translated as a final clause 'so that he give … ' (*ONG* §4.7.7a). In Old Nubian there are two forms of the verb 'to give': ⲇⲉⲛ-, with a first person recipient (h.l., ⲁⲓⲕⲁ), and ⲧ̄ⲣ̄- with a second/person person recipient, cf. 7.6 et passim. This distinction persists in modern Nubian languages, cf. Midob *téen-/tìr-* (Werner 1993, p. 56), and Nobiin *dèenîr/tèer* (Werner 1987, 187), and as the applicative

ⲁⲗⲉ-ⲥ̄ⲛ   ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲣⲉ   ⲉ̇ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲛ-ⲟⲛ
true-REL   bear-PR.1SG.PRED   be-3SG-C

ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ̇ⲛⲟⲥ-ⲁⲅ-ⲁⲇⲙ̄ⲙⲉ
Christian-INCH-FUT.EMP.1SG.PRED

ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡ-ⲗ̄   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲁⲣⲁ
sailor-DET   say-PT2.PRED

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲁ   ⲉ̄ⲇ-ⲇⲉ   ⲁ̇ⲉ̄ⲧ-ⲧⲁⲕ-ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲏ
woman-VOC   2SG-C   insult-PASS-VET.2SG

ⲙⲁⲅ̄ⲣⲕⲟⲛ`ⲉⲛⲇⲉ   ⲉ̄ⲛ   ⲕⲟⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕ-ⲟⲛ
but   DEM.PROX   egg-ACC-C

ⲁⲓ-ⲕⲁ   ⲇⲓⲛ-ⲉⲥⲱ·
1SG-ACC   give-IMP.2SG

ⲁⲓ-ⲥ̄ⲛ   ⲕⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲇ-ⲇⲣⲉ-ⲥ̄ⲛ
1SG-REL   place-deposit.TRANS-FUT.1SG.PRED-REL

7 ⲉⲓⲡ-ⲟⲛ   ⲉ̄ⲛ   ⲅⲟⲟⲅ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ
2SG-C   2SG.GEN   house-DIR

ⲅ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲧ-ⲉⲥⲱ   ⲉ̄ⲛ   ⲟⲅⲇ-ⲗ̄
return-IMP.2SG   2SG.GEN   husband-DET

(benefactive) suffixes -*deen*/-*tir* (cf. Abdel-Hafiz 1988, p. 112; Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 142).

6.9 ἐN-: 'to be'; with third singular suffix, marking the protasis of the conditional clause, in a construction that Browne calls an 'indicative periphrastic' (*ONG* §3.9.15): ογΝΝpє is embedded under ἐNЄNN-, 'if it be that I give birth'.

6.10 ХpICTIἀNOC-: *OND*, p. 185, 'Christian'; with inchoative suffix ХpICTIἀNOC-ἀΓ- 'to become Christian', which should be properly analyzed as ХpICTIἀNOC-ἀ-Γ-, i.e. with a predicative suffix after the adjective, followed by the inchoative verb 'to become'. This complex is followed by the future affirmative tense (*ONG* §3.9.10): 'I will surely become Christian'. The affirmative is marked by the morpheme -м, which also appears in other emphatically marked environments.

6.12 ἀ͞Є͞T-: *OND*, p. 8, 'to insult'; with passive suffix and vetitive, 'don't be insulted'.

6.13 мАΓ͞pKON`ЄNΔЄ: *OND*, p. 108, 'but'.

6.15 ἀi-: 'I'; with relative suffix -c͞N (*ONG* §3.10): 'For I … '

KЄN-: 'to place'; followed by ογTOγΔ-: *OND*, p. 141, ογT͞p-, 'to deposit', cf. 6.5 KЄN-ΔOγK`-. Future tense suffix -ογΔΔpє shows a weakening of initial -Δ to -ογ similar to the one observed with the inchoative suffix, cf. note to 3.12. Like ἀi-c͞N followed by relative -c͞N, indicating the hypotactical structure 'Give it to me, that I will place it.'

7.1 ΓOOΓ-: 'house', cf 2.5 ΓOΓ-.

7.2 Γ͞Π͞pT-: *OND*, p. 31, 'to return'.

OΓϬ-: *OND*, p. 123, 'man, husband'.

ⲅⲉⲅ-ⲓⲙⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ-ⲁ̀   ⲁ̀
be.anxious-NEG-COND.3SG-PRED   DISC

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲟⲛ   ⲡ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲩ-ⲁ̀   ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ
woman-DET-C   believe-PRED   egg-ACC

ⲧⲁⲛ`          ⲉⲓ-ⲗⲁ`   ⲟⲩⲧⲣ-ⲁ
3SG.GEN   hand-LOC2   deposit.TRANS-PRED

ⲧⲡ̄-ⲥⲛⲁ   ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲟⲛ
APPL2/3-PT2.3SG.PRED   3SG-C

ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲅⲟⲟⲅ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ   ⲅ̄ⲡⲣⲧ-ⲓⲥⲛⲁ
3SG.GEN   house-DIR   return-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲙⲉⲁⳘⲟⲩ-ⲛ   ⲧⲁⲁⲁ-ⲁⲁⲗ
3SG.GEN   servant-GEN   girl-COM

ⲁ̀ⲅⲟⲡⲡ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲟⲛ   ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ   ⲁⲟⲩⲙ`-ⲉ̀ⲧ-ⲁ
sailor-DET-C   egg-ACC   take-COMPL1-PRED

ⲁ̀ⲥ-ⲛ̄   ⲧⲟⲩ-ⲗⲁ   ⲕⲉⲛ-ⲁ
as-GEN   belly-LOC2   place-PRED

ⲅⲉⲅ-: *OND*, p. 198, 'to be anxious'; with negative suffix, conditional and predicative: 'so that he is not anxious', cf. 6.8 ⲇⲉⲛ-ⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟⲁ̀.

ⲁ̀: direct discourse marker (*ONG* §4.8), marking the end of the quote which started with 6.11 ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲁ.

7.4 ⲡⳍ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲩ-: *OND*, p. 123, 'to believe', from Gr. πιστεύω or Copt. ⲡⳍ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ; with predicative, dependent on 7.6 ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁ ⲧⲣ̄ⲥⲛⲁ. Note that the object of ⲡⳍ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲩⲁ̀, the sailor, remains implicit throughout.

7.5 ⲉⲓ-: *OND*, p. 63, 'hand'.

ⲟⲩⲧⲣ-: 'to deposit', cf. 6.15 ⲕⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲧ-.

7.6 ⲧⲣ̄-: *OND*, p. 174, 'to give', here functioning as applicative, adding an indirect object (the sailor) to ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁ. As Browne states ad loc.: 'ⲧⲣ̄- and ⲇⲉⲛ- are often found with an adjunctive, and they thn refer to an indirect object.' For an analysis of the grammaticalization process of both verbs into proper applicative suffixes, see Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 142.

7.11 ⲇⲟⲩⲙ`-: *OND*, p. 54, 'to take, hand over'; followed by ⲉ̀ⲧ- 'recieve, take', here as completive suffix. The apostrophe marks the morphological boundary, cf. 3.16 ⲉⲛ`ⲉ̀ⲧ-.

ⲁ̀ⲥ-: *OND*, p. 21, 'hold (of a ship)'. This meaning is uncertain, as the only other occurrence of ⲁ̀ⲥ- is in 8.8 ⲁ̀ⲟⲩⲛ` ⲁ̀ⲥ-ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩ- 'under the *as* of the ship'. 'Hold' would be a logical translation in the context of ⲧⲟⲩ- 'belly' referring to the inside of the ship, which, however, is not the case (see *infra*). Another meaning of ⲁ̀ⲥ- is 'to measure'.

ⲧⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 181, 'belly'. ⲧⲟⲩ + genitive forms a complex postposition 'under', cf. L 112.8 ⲧⲉⲇ-ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲩ-ⲟ̀ 'under the law'.

ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁ	ⲥⲉⲅⲉ́-ⲗⲁ	ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲩⲣ-ⲥⲛⲁ
food	other-LOC2	place-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲫⲓⲗⲟ̅ⲍⲉⲛⲏⲧⲏ-ⲟ̇	ⲕⲓ-ⲉⲛ	ⲡⲁⲅⲕⲁ
Philoxenite-LOC1	come-3SG	until

ⲟⲩⲕⲣ-ⲓ	ⲇⲓⲉ́-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗ	ⲥⲟⲕ-ⲁ
day-PL	be.much-PL-DET	pass.away-PRED

See also Rilly 2010, p. 382, which describes the development from complex postpositions to simple postpositions as a process of semantic and phonological reduction.

7.12 ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁ: *OND*, p. 85, 'food'.

ⲥⲉⲅⲉ̇-: *OND*, p. 58, 'other'.

ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲩⲣ-: *OND*, p. 141, 'to place'.

7.13 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⳜⲉⲛⲏⲧⲏ-: 'Philoxenite'. Note the form of the locative suffix -ⲟ̇ instead of common -ⲗⲟ. Locative suffixes such as -ⲗⲟ are in fact composite -ⲗ-ⲟ, determiner + postposition. The -ⲟ̇ here would be the same as in L 112.8 ⲧⲉⲇⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲩ-ⲟ̇. As Philoxenite is a proper name, it never takes a determiner, cf. Rilly 2010, p. 382. According to Browne, '[s]ome postpositions often include the prefixed morph -ⲗ-' (*ONG* p. 67). However, this 'morph' appears to be the common determiner -ⲗ, and only appears on noun phrases that are not inherently determinate. Compare for example the following noun phrases with an explicit determiner -ⲗ: 4.9 ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲓ-[ⲗⲁ]-ⲣ̄ⲗⲗⲉ; 4.5 ⳝⲟⲛⳝ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲁ-ⲣ̄ⲗ, and semantically determinate noun phrases without determiner: 5.12 ⳝ̄ⳝⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛ ⲕ̄ⳝⲥⲉ-ⲣ̄ⲗⲗⲉ- (with possessor); 7.1 ⲉⲛ̄ ⳝⲟⲟⲅ-ⲣ̄ⲗⲗⲉ (with demonstrative); 9.7 ⲁⲓ-ⲣ̄ⲗ (personal pronoun).

7.14 ⲕⲓ-: *OND*, p. 91, ⲕⲓⲣ-, 'to come'; with personal suffix only, preceding ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ.

7.15 ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ: *OND*, p. 144, 'until'. ⲫⲓⲗⲟⳜⲉⲛⲏⲧⲏ-ⲟ̇ ⲕⲓ-ⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ 'until he arrived in Philoxenite', cf. 16.10 ⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲓ-ⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ.

ⲟⲩⲕⲣ-: 'days'. Browne analyzes -ⲓ as juncture vowel. However, -ⲓ is also present in the full plural, e.g. 2.10 ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩ-. In other environments, the iota is explicitly marked with a diaeresis, e.g. L 113.2 ⲟⲩⲕⲣ̈ⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ-, indicating (phonologi-

ϭⲟⲣ-ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛ-ⲟⲛ
go-PT1.3PL-C

8 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⳉⲉⲛⲓⲧⲏ-ⲛ   ⲅⲁⲁⲇ-ⲇⲱ   ⲕⲓ-ⲥⲛⲁ
Philoxenite-GEN   shore-LOC3   come-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲟⲅϭ-ⲓⲗ-ⲗⲟⲛ   ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕˋ   ⲁ̀ⲅⲟⲣ-ⲁ
man-DET-C   egg-ACC   forget-PRED

ⲉⲓⲥ-ⲟⲩ   ⲉ̄ⲣⲕⲁⲛⲉ   ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲁ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ
other-J   kingdom   be.far.away-DET-LOC2-DIR

ⲅⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲧ-ⲥ̄-ⲥⲛⲁ
return-TRANS-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲟⲩⲕⲣ-ⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲱ   ⲟⲩⲉⲗ-ⲗⲟ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ   ⲁ̀ⲡⲟⲅⲅ-ⲗ̄
day-PL-PL-FOC   INDF-LOC1-C   sailor-DET

ⲙⲁⲛ   ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ   ⲁ̀ⲟⲩ-ⲛˋ   ⲁ̀ⲥ-ⲛ̄
DEM.DIST   egg-ACC   ship-GEN   *as*-GEN

ⲧⲟⲩ-ⲛⲁ   ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁ   ⲥⲉⲅⲉ̀-ⲗⲁ
belly-GEN   food   other-LOC2

ⲡⲓ-ⲉ̄ⲛ̄   ⲅⲁⲗ-ⲉⲛ
lie-3SG   saw-3SG

cal) independence. Plural forms in /-i/ are attested both in Old Nubian (e.g. 2.8 ⲧⲁⲉⲓ- 'girls'; 2.9 ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ- 'cows'; 2.13 ⲉⲓⲗⲏⲩ- 'women'), Nobiin (e.g. *kàdìis-ìi* 'cats', Werner 1987, p. 80), and Kunuz (e.g. *wel-i* 'dogs', Abdel-Hafiz 1988, p.86). Moreover, plural -ⲅⲟⲩ is not obligatory, cf. 2.8 ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ⲟⲩ-ⲛ(ⲓ)- 'servants'.

7.16 ⲅⲟⲕ-: *OND*, p. 202, 'to pass (away)'.

ⲇⲟⲣ-: 'to go'. ⲅⲟⲕⲁ ⲇⲟⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛ- 'passed and went', i.e. 'had gone by'.

8.2 ⲅⲁⲁⲇ-: *OND*, p. 25, ⲅⲁⲁⲣ-, 'shore'; with regressive assimilation before locative -ⲇⲱ.

ⲟⲅⲇ̄-: 'man', i.e. the sailor.

8.3 ⲁ̀ⲅⲟⲣ-: *OND*, p. 4, 'to forget'; dependent on 8.5 ⲅⲡ̄ⲣⲧ-.

8.4 ⲉⲓⲥ-: *OND*, p. 76, 'other'.

ⲉ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲛⲉ: *OND*, p. 140, 'kingdom'.

ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇ-: *OND*, p. 134, 'to be far away'. ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇⲗ̄- ⲗⲁⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ 'another kingdom far away', cf. 4.4 ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̄ⲧⲓⲱ̀ ⲅⲟⲛⲟ̄ⲇ-ⲗⲁⲅⲗ̄.

8.5 ⲅⲡ̄ⲣⲧ-: *OND*, p. 31, 'to return'; with transitive suffix(?) and regressive assimilation. Compare 8.4 ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇⲗ̄ⲗⲁⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ ⲅⲡ̄ⲣⲧ⳨̄-ⲥⲛⲁ (with transitive suffix) with 7.7 ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲟⲟⲅⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ ⲅⲡ̄ⲣⲧ-ⲓⲥⲛⲁ (without transitive suffix). But possibly we are dealing with an orthographical variant, cf. 8.11 ⲁ̀ⲅⲟⲣ-ⲥ̄ⲥ- and 14.3 ⲙⲏⲩⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁⲅ̄-ⲥ̄ⲥⲛⲁ

8.10 ⲡⲓ-: *OND*, p. 150, 'to lie'; with personal suffix, dependent on ⲅⲁⲗ-: ⲡⲓⲉ̄ⲛ ⲅⲁⲗⲉⲛ 'when he saw lying', cf. *P. QI* 1 5 i 15 ⲅⲗ̄ⲕⲟⲛ … ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ.

ⲅⲁⲗ-: *OND*, p. 195, 'to see'; with personal suffix: subordinated clause (*ONG* §4.7.3c), dependent on 8.12 ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ.

ʜɴ`	ᴛᴀɴ`	ᴏʏᴄᴋᴩ-ᴀ
DEM.PROX	3SG.GEN	place-PRED

ἀ ᴦᴏᴩ-c̄ᴄ-ᴋᴀ
forget-PT2-ACC

ᴨᴇᴄ-ᴄɴᴀ		ᴛᴀɴ	ᴦᴀʌ-ᴦ̄ʌʌє
say-PT2.3SG.PRED		3SG.GEN	son-DIR

ἐ	ᴛoᴛ-ᴀ	є̄ɴ	ᴋᴏʏʍᴨᴏʏ-ʌ
oh	boy-VOC	DEM.PROX	egg-DET

єɪᴄ-ʌᴏ	єɪᴄ-ᴄɴᴀ-ᴦᴀ
INTER-LOC1	be-PT2.3SG.PRED-Q

ᴛᴀᴩ-ᴏɴ	ᴨᴇᴄ-ᴄɴᴀ
3SG-C	say-PT2.3SG.PRED

ᴨᴀᴨ-ᴏ	єɪᴩ-ᴏʏ	є̄ɴ-ᴋᴀ
father-VOC	2SG-J	DEM.PROX-ACC

9 | ᴀɴᴋ-ɪʍ̄ɴ-ɴᴀ-ɪ |
|---|
| remember-NEG-2SG.PRED-Q |

є̄ᴛᴛ-ᴏʏ	ᴏʏєɴ-ɴᴀ	єᴋᴋᴀ
woman-J	a-GEN	1PL.INCL.ACC

8.10 ⲏⲛˋ: variant of ⲉⲛ̄ 'this', here used as a relative pronoun (*ONG* §4.6b), object of ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣ-ⲧ̄ⲥ-: ⲏⲛˋ-∅$_i$ … ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣⲧ̄ⲥ-ⲕⲁ$_i$ and referring to ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ.

ⲧⲁⲛˋ: genitive of 'he', here as subject of ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲣⲁ ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣⲧ̄ⲥ-.

8.11 ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣ-: 'to forget'. Browne analyzes the temporal suffix -ⲧ̄ⲥ as -ⲧ̄-ⲗ, which seems unlikely, as it is coordinated with ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ … ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣⲧ̄ⲥ-ⲕⲁ, cf. 8.15 ⲉⲛ̄-ⲕⲁ … ⲇⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲧ̄-ⲕⲁ, cf. 9.2 ⲇⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲧ̄-ⲕⲁ and L 107.12 ⲉⲛ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲥ-ⲕⲁ.

8.13 ⲧⲟⲧ-: *OND*, p. 180, 'son'; with predicative suffix as vocative.

8.14 ⲉⲓⲥ-: interrogative pronoun; here with locative suffix, 'where'.

ⲉⲓⲥ-: ⲉⲓⲛ-'to be', with temporal and personal suffix causing regressive assimilation, and question marker -ⲅ̇ⲁ (*ONG* §3.9.21).

8.15 ⲉⲓⲣ-: 'you'. The function of the juncture vowel -ⲟⲩ is usually an indication of absent nominal morphology, but this seems not to be the case here. Perhaps it is just a glide inserted between ⲉⲓⲣ- and ⲉⲛ̄ⲕⲁ or a vocative marker like -ⲟ, cf. L 107.1 ⲡⲁⲡⲟ ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲅⲟⲕⲟⲩ ⲇⲓⲛⲉⲥⲱ, also in an imperative context.

9.1 ⲁⲛⲕ-: *OND*, p. 12, 'to remember'; with negative suffix -ⲓⲙⲛ̄, personal suffix, and question marker -ⲓ (*ONG* §3.9.21).

9.2 ⲟⲩⲉⲛ-: 'a'; with genitive suffix. ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁ is the subject of ⲇⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲧ̄-, cf. 8.10 ⲧⲁⲛˋ … ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲣ-ⲧ̄ⲥ-.

ⲉⲕⲕⲁ: first person plural inclusive pronoun 'we', including the addressee(s); with accusative suffix ⲕⲁ. Indirect object of ⲇⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲧ̄-.

ⲇⲉⲛ-ⲇ̄-ⲥ̄-ⲕⲁ ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲛ
give-OBJ.PL-PT2-ACC Saint.Mina-GEN

ⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲗⲁ ⲧ̄ⲇ̄-ⲇ̄-ⲁⲛⲁⲥ-ⲁ
church-LOC2 give-OBJ.PL-IMP.2PL-DISC

ⲡⲁⲡ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲟⲧⲓ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ
father-DET-C say-PT2.3SG.PRED son-DIR

ⲉ̇ ⲁ̇ⲗⲉ-ⲗⲱ ⲧⲁⲕ` ⲁ̇ⲓ-ⲅ̄
oh true-FOC 3SG.ACC 1SG-DIR

ⲧⲟⲕ`-ⲁⲣⲣ-ⲉⲥⲱ ⲕⲁⲡ-ⲕⲟⲓ̈ⲟ̈-ⲁ̇
cook-bring-IMP.2SG eat-COND.1SG-PRED

ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲗⲗ-ⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲕⲕ-ⲁ
3SG.GEN son-C cook-PRED

ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲕⲉⲛ-ⲧⲣ-ⲟⲛ
3SG.ACC place-APPL2/3-PT1.3SG

ⲕⲁⲡ`-ⲉⲓⲧⲡ̄-ⲥⲛⲁ
eat-COMPL1-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲇⲉⲛ-: 'to give'; with plural object marker -ⲇ, referring to
ⲉⲕⲕⲁ. The accusative suffix -ⲕⲁ signals dependency on ⲉ̄ⲛ-ⲕⲁ.
Following observations by Satzinger 1990, Bechhaus-Gerst
2011, p. 208 analyzes the relative clause 8.16 ⲉ̄ⲛⲕⲁ … ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲕⲕⲁ ⲇⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲇ- as a 'type 2' relative clause with an
embedded subject in the genetive case.

9.4 ⲧ̄ⲇ-: *OND*, p. 175, ⲧⲣ̄-, 'to give'; with plural object mark-
er -ⲇ, referring to the recipients of the egg, which remain
unexpressed. Final marker -ⲁ should be interpreted as the
marker for direct discourse: ⲧ̄ⲇ-ⲇ-ⲁⲛⲁⲥ-ⲁ '[saying] "give it
to them"', cf. 7.2 ⲅ̄ⲡⲣⲧ-ⲉⲥⲱ … ⲁ̇.

9.7 ⲧⲟⲕ`-: *OND*, p. 178, 'to cook'; followed by ⲁⲡⲡ-: *OND*, p.
17, 'to bring', the apostrophe marking the morpheme bound-
ary.

9.8 ⲕⲁⲡ-: *OND*, p. 84, 'to eat'; with first person condition-
al suffix, followed by a predicative suffix, signaling a final
clause (*ONG*, §4.7.7a).

ⲅⲁⲗⲗ-: 'son'; note that the lambdas are part of the stem.
Because of the possessor ⲧⲁⲛ, the whole noun phrase is
already determinate.

9.10 ⲕⲉⲛ-: 'to place'; followed by applicative suffix -ⲧⲣ, sup-
porting the argument ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁ, and a personal suffix without
predicative. To be translated with a temporal clause, cf. 8.10
ⲡⲓ-ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲅⲁⲗ-ⲉⲛ.

ⲕⲁⲡ`-: 'to eat'; followed by completive -ⲉⲓⲧⲣ̄ 'to eat com-
pletely'. Browne analyzes the form as ⲕⲁⲡ`-ⲉⲓⲧⲣ̄- eat-send.
TRANS- 'to ingest'. I would rather suggest to read this form
analogous to 3.16 ⲉⲛ`-ⲉ̇ⲧ-, with an expanded suffix form. Re-
member that, compared to current Nubian languages, in

соүа́єι   тоүско-n   оүкр-ι-гоү-λ
month   three-GEN   day-PL-PL-DET

ⲥⲟⲕ-ⲁ   ⲇ́ⲟⲣ-ⲟүⲁⲛⲛ-ⲟⲛ
pass-PRED   go-PT1.3PL-C

ⲇ̄ⲡⲡ-ⲟү   ⲟүⲉⲇ-ⲇⲱ   кι-ⲥⲁⲛⲁ
village-C   INDF-LOC3   come-PT2.3PL.PRED

ⲁ̇ⲟүк-к-ⲟ²   ⲙⲁⲛ   ⲇ̄ⲡⲡ-ⲛ̄
ship-ACC-C   DEM.DIST   village-GEN

ⲅⲁⲇ-ⲇⲱ   кⲉⲛ-ⲟ̇ⲟⲥ-ⲥⲁⲛⲁ
shore-LOC3   place-COMPL2-PT2.3PL.PRED

10 кⲩⲣⲓⲁ̇кⲉ-ⲛ   ⲟүкⲟүⲣ`   ⲉⲓⲛ-ⲛ̄ⲛ-ⲟⲛ
   Sun(day)-GEN   day   be-3SG-C

ⲁ̇ⲡⲟⲅⲅ-ⲗ̄   ⲇ̄ⲡⲡ-ⲇ̄ⲇⲱ   кⲉⲇ-ⲁ
sailor-DET   village-DET.LOC3   ascend-PRED

кⲓ-ⲥⲛⲁ   кⲟⲣⲉ-к`   ⲉ̄ⲧ-ⲛⲓ-ⲁ
go-PT2.3SG.PRED   sacrament-ACC   receive-FIN-PRED

    100

Old Nubian the grammaticalization process is in an earlier, less developed stage.

9.11 ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟ-: *OND*, p. 183, 'three'; modifies ⲥⲟⲩⲁ̇ⲉⲓ, 'three months'; with genitive suffix -ⲛ.

ⲅⲟⲕ-: 'to pass'; ⲥⲟⲩⲁ̇ⲉⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ ⲅⲟⲕⲁ ⲇ̄ⲟⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲟⲛ 'the days of three months passed by', cf. 7.15 ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓ ⲇⲓⲉ̇ⲅⲟⲩⲗ ⲅⲟⲕⲁ ⲇ̄ⲟⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲟⲛ.

9.12 ⲇ̄ⲟⲣ-: 'to go'; with personal suffix, marking a subordinated clause: ⲅⲟⲕⲁ ⲇ̄ⲟⲣ-ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛ- 'after they passed', cf. 9.10 ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲣ-ⲟⲛ.

9.14 ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲕⲕⲟ⁊: the tilde written over the final ⲟ may be interpreted as ⲛ, -ⲟ⁊ being the common conjunction -ⲟⲛ.

9.15 ⲅⲁⲇ-: *OND*, p. 25, ⲅⲁⲣ-, 'shore', cf. 8.2 ⲅⲁⲁⲇ-. Browne translates 'harbor'.

9.16 ⲕⲉⲛ-: 'to place'; with completive suffix -ⲟ̇ⲟⲥ, 'placing completely,' or 'beaching'. See also the commentary to 3.16 ⲉⲛ`-ⲉ̇ⲧ-.

ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ̇ⲕⲉ-: *OND*, p. 93, 'Sunday', from Gr. κυριακή. The Old Nubian construction ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ̇ⲕⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣ` literally translates as 'the day of Sunday'.

10.1 ⲉⲓⲛ-: 'to be'; only with personal suffix, marking a subordinated clause, cf. 6.9 ⲉ̇ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲛ.

10.2 ⲁ̄ⲓ̄ⲡ̄-ⲁ̄ⲇⲱ: Notice again that the presence of the determiner before the locative suffix is often dependent on the determinateness of the noun, h.l. 'to *the* village', cf. 9.13 ⲁ̄ⲓ̄ⲡⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲇ-ⲇⲱ 'to *a* village'.

ⲕⲉⲇ-: *OND*, p. 87, 'to ascend'.

10.3 ⲕⲟⲣⲉ-: *OND*, p. 99, 'sacrament'; with accusative suffix, object of ⲉ̄ⲧⲛⲓⲁ.

ⲘⲀⲚ   ⲆⲠ̄Π-ⲓⲗⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ   ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ-ⲟⲩ
DEM.DIST   village-LOC2-C   virgin-J

Ⲅ̄ⲤⲤ-ⲞⲨ   ⲘⲀⲣⲓⲁ-ⲛ   Ⲕ̄ⲤⲤⲉ-ⲗⲗⲟ   ⲄⲞⲚⲆ̃-ⲁⲣⲁ
holy-J   Mary-GEN   church-FOC   stand-PT1.PRED

ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓⲁ̀-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ   ⲧⲟⲣ-ⲁ   ⲕⲓ-ⲥⲚⲁ
3SG-LOC2-C   enter-PRED   go-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲕⲟⲣⲉ-ⲕ`   ⲉⲧ̄-Ⲛⲓ-ⲁ̀
sacrament-ACC   receive-FIN-PRED

ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁ̀ⲅⲓⲟⲛ   ⲕⲓ-ⲉ̇ⲥⲚ̄-Ⲛⲟ-ⲕⲟⲚⲟ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ
Trisagion   go-PT2.3SG-LOC1-after-C

ⲕⲓ̄ⲧ-ⲁ   Ⲙⲱ̄ⲱⲁⲚⲚ-ⲟⲚ   ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲁⲥⲉ-ⲗⲇⲱ
people-PRED   all-C   baptistery-DET.LOC3

ⲧⲘ̄Ⲙ-ⲓⲥⲁⲚⲁ
assemble-PT2.3PL.PRED

ⲁ̀ⲅⲓⲟ́ⲥ-Ⲛ̄   ⲁ̀ⲘⲁⲚ-ⲕⲁ   ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲚ̄ⲟⲩ-ⲁ̀
holy-GEN   water-ACC   write-FIN-PRED

ⲁ̀ⲡⲟⲅⲅ-Ⲛ̄   Ⲙⲁⲯ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲟⲚ   ⲅⲁⲗⲗ-ⲓⲧⲁⲕ-ⲟⲚ
sailor-GEN   eye-DET-C   open-PASS-PT1.3SG

ⲉ̄ⲧ-: 'to receive'; with suffix -ⲛⲓ indicating a final clause (*ONG* §4.7.7d), cf. 4.6 ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁ̀.

10.4 ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ-: *OND*, p. 146, 'virgin', from Gr. παρθένος. ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ- 'the holy virgin Mary'.

10.8 ⲉ̄ⲧ- 'to receive', cf. 10.3 ⲉ̄ⲧ-ⲛⲓ-ⲁ.

ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁ̀ⲅⲓⲟⲛ: *OND*, p. 176, 'Trisagion', via Greek.

10.9 ⲕⲓ-: *OND*, p. 91, ⲕⲓⲣ-, 'to go'; with temporal and personal suffix, and suffix meaning 'after': ⲕⲓ-ⲉ̀ⲥ̄ⲛ̄-ⲛⲟ-ⲕⲟⲛⲟ- 'after he went'.

10.10 ⲕ̄ⲓ̄ⲧ-: *OND*, p. 91, 'people', with predicative suffix before ⲙ̄ⳡ︥ⳝⲁⲛⲛ- (*ONG* §3.6.4c): ⲕ̄ⲓ̄ⲧⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⳡ︥ⳝⲁⲛⲛ- 'all people'.

ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲁⲥⲉ-: *OND*, p. 85, 'baptistery'.

10.11 ⲧⲏ̄ⲙ-: *OND*, p. 172, 'to assemble'. Notice that although the subject ⲕ̄ⲓ̄ⲧ-ⲁ ⲙ̄ⳡ︥ⳝⲁⲛⲛ- 'all people' carries no explicit plural morphology, the predicate does.

10.12 ⲁ̀ⲅⲓⲟ̀ⲥ-: *OND*, p. 4, 'holy'. Here used as substantive 'holy one'.

ⲡⲁ-: *OND*, p. 145, ⲡⲁⲣ-, 'to write', with final clause morphology, cf. 10.8 ⲉ̄ⲧ-ⲛⲓ-ⲁ̀. Here in the meaning of 'crossing oneself'.

10.13 ⲁ̀ⲡⲟⲅⲅ-: 'sailor'.

ⲙⲁ̀ⲯ-: *OND*, p. 113, 'eye'; with determiner. Subject of the passive clause.

10.14 ⲅⲁⲗⲗ-: *OND*, p. 25, 'to open'; with passive suffix and temporal + personal suffix, marking a subordinate clause: ⲁ̀ⲡⲟⲅⲅⲛ̄ ⲙⲁ̀ⲯ̄ⲗⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲗⲗⲓⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛ 'when the sailor's eyes were opened'. Notice that the passive marker on the verb 'to open' gives it, in English, a so-called anticausative reading: 'the sailor opened his eyes' > 'the sailor's eyes opened'.

ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁ   ⲡ̄ⲗⲗ-ⲁ   ⲁⲗ-ⲗⲟ
Saint.Mina-ACC   appear-PRED   shining-LOC1

ⲅ̄ⲗ-ⲥⲛⲁ
see-PT2.3SG.PRED

11   ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲧ-ⲟⲩ   ⲅⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ`   ⲇⲟⲕ-ⲁ   ⲕ-ⲛ̄
    horse-J   white-ACC   ride-PRED   come-3SG

    ⲧⲁⲕⲕ-ⲟⲛ   ⲧⲟⲩⲇⲟ̃-ⲛ̄   ⲱⲁ-ⲕ
    3SG.ACC-C   hunting-GEN   spear-ACC

    ⲁⲣⲣ-ⲛ̄ⲛ-ⲁⲅⲣ-ⲁ·
    take-raise-CAUS-PRED

    ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲟⲛ   ⲅⲁⲗ-ⲉⲛ   ⲧ̄ⲗⲗ-ⲕ̄   ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲟⲗ
    3SG-C   see-3SG   God-ACC   bear-PT1.DET

    ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ-ⲛ   ⲉⲓⲅⲟⲛ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ   ⲅⲟⲩⲇⲁⲗ-ⲁ
    Mary-GEN   image-DIR   run?-PRED

    ⲕⲓ-ⲁ̀   ⲟⲩⲟⲩ-ⲁ̀   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ
    go-PRED   shout-PRED   say-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲡ̄ⲗⲗ-: *OND*, p. 148, ⲡⲉⲗ-, 'to come out'. Probably related to
12.5 ⲡⲁⲗ-, 'to come out', cf. ⲅ̄ⲗ̄- < *OND*, p. 195, ⲅⲁⲗ-, 'to see'. Ac-
cording to Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 158, this verb later devel-
oped into the future tense prefixes found in contemporary
Nubian languages, e.g. Dongolawi *bi-* and Nobiin *fa-*.

ⲁⲗ-: *OND*, p. 9, 'to shine'; with locative suffix, as adverba-
tive: 'in a shining manner'.

10.15 ⲅ̄ⲗ̄-: *OND*, p. 195, ⲅⲁⲗ-, 'to see'.

10.16 ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲧ-: *OND*, p. 121, 'horse'.

ⲅⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 204, 'white'. ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲧⲟⲩ ⲅⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁˋ is the
object of ⲇⲟⲕⲁ.

ⲇⲟⲕ-: *OND*, p. 49, 'to ride'.

11.1 ⲕ-: *OND*, p. 91, ⲕⲓⲣ-, 'to go'; with personal suffix, mark-
ing a subordinate clause.

ⲧⲁⲕⲕ-: 'him', referring to 10.14 ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲕⲁ. Accusative
subject of the embedded sentence under ⲅ̄ⲗ̄ⲥⲛⲁ.

ⲧⲟⲩⲇⲟ̄-: *OND*, p. 182, 'hunting'.

11.2 ⳙⲁ-: *OND*, p. 185, 'spear'. ⲧⲟⲩⲇⲟ̄ⲛ̄ ⳙⲁ-ⲕ is the object
of ⲁⲣⲡ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲅⲣⲁ.

ⲁⲣⲣ-: 'to take'; followed by ⲛ̄ⲛ-: *OND*, p. 59, ⲉⲛ(ⲛ)- 'to raise',
followed by causative suffix -ⲁⲅⲣ.

11.3 ⲅⲁⲗ-: 'to see'; with personal suffix, subordinate sen-
tence. The object of ⲅⲁⲗⲉⲛ (Saint Mina) is implicit.

ⲧⲗ̄ⲗ-: 'God'. The whole complex ⲧⲗ̄ⲗⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ-
means 'Mary Theotokos'.

11.4 ⲉⲓⲅⲟⲛ-: *OND*, p. 67, ⲉⲓⲕⲟⲛ-, 'image', from Gr. εἰκών.

11.5 ⲅⲟⲩⲇⲁⲗ-: *OND*, p. 32, 'to run?'; meaning uncertain.

ⲟⲩⲟⲩ-: *OND*, p. 121, ⲟⲩ-, 'to shout'. The series ⲅⲟⲩⲇⲁⲗ-ⲁ
ⲕⲓ-ⲁ̀ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ-ⲁ̀ is dependent on 11.6 ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ.

ⲉⲓⲣ-ⲓⲱ̇-ⲙⲁⲗⲱ   ⲧⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲕ̄
2SG-LOC1-according.to   God-ACC

ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲁⲣⲁ
give.birth-PT1.PRED

ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ̇   ⲁ̈ⲓ-ⲕⲁ
Mary   1SG-ACC

ⲁⲩⲗ-ⲟⲥ-ⲉ
save-COMPL2-IMP.2SG

ⲅⲁⲡⲉ-ⲕ`   ⲁⲩ-ⲉ̇ⲥⲓ-ⲗⲟ-ⲇⲟⲩⲛ
sin-ACC   do-PT2.1SG-FOC-because

ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ   ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇ-ⲗ̄-ⲗⲟ
Saint.Mina-C   be.at.distance-DET-LOC1

ⲅⲟⲛⲇ̄-ⲁ   ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ   ⲧⲁⲇ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ
stand-PRED   say-PT2.3SG.PRED   3SG-DIR

11.6 ⲉⲓⲣ-: 'you'; with locative suffix -ⲓⲱ̀, cf. 10.7 ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓⲁ̀-. Ac-cording to Browne, the suffix -ⲙⲁⲗⲱ means something like 'according to, following' (*ONG* §3.10). It may be analyzed as a concatenation of focus markers -ⲙⲁ and -ⲗⲱ. ⲉⲓⲣⲓⲱ̀ⲙⲁⲗⲱ could thus be rendered, as Browne suggests, as something like 'it is through you' or 'it is in your name'.

11.7 ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ̀: 'Mary'; without predicative -ⲁ marking the vocative (or perhaps assimilated in the final -ⲁ̀). Note that this is reflected in the adjective meaning 'Theotokos': ⲧ̄ⲗⲗ̄ⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣ-ⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ̀, cf. 11.3 ⲧ̄ⲗⲗ̄ⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ-ⲛ. These types of variations show once again that the borders between the nominal an verbal domains in Old Nubian are not as rigid as is common in Indo-European languages, and therefore problematize the existing nomenclature and morphologi-cal analysis, which is, precisely, built on the Indo-European format.

11.8 ⲁⲅⲗ-: *OND*, p. 15, 'to save', with completive suffix -ⲟⲥ (cf. Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 148). I have rendered ⲁⲅⲗ-ⲟⲥ- with the more emphatic meaning 'to absolve'.

ⲅⲁⲡⲉ-: *OND*, p. 196, 'sin'; with accusative marker, object of ⲁⲅ-ⲉ̀ⲥⲓ-.

ⲁⲅ-: *OND*, p. 13, 'to do'; with personal suffix, subordinate clause with focus marker -ⲗⲟ and subordinate clause marker -ⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲛ (from ⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲣ- 'cause', *ONG* §3.10): 'because I have …' The combination ⲅⲁⲡⲉⲕˋ ⲁⲅ- is employed for the verb 'to sin', cf. WN 12 ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲡⲉⲅⲟⲩⲕⲟⲛ … ⲁⲅⲉⲓⲇ̄ⲓⲥⲓ<ⲛ>ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁ.

11.10 ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁ-: *OND*, p. 134, 'to be at a distance'; with deter-miner and locative suffix, adverbative to ⲅⲟⲛⲇ̄ⲁ.

ⲙ̄ⲛ-ⲕⲁ	ⲉ̄ⲇ̄-ⲇⲁⲗ	ⲁⲩ-ⲁⲣⲣⲉ
INTER-ACC	2SG-COM	do-FUT.1SG.PRED

ⲉ̇ⲗ-ⲛ̄	ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣ-ⲣⲟ
now-GEN	day-LOC1

ⲥⲟⲇ-ⲟⲩ	ⲁⲛⲛ-ⲓⲗⲟ-ⲥ̄ⲛ̄-ⲙⲁⲗⲟ
Lord-J	1SG.GEN-FOC-REL-according.to

ⲧⲟⲣ-ⲣ-ⲁⲥⲓ
enter-TRANS-PT2.1SG

11.12 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄-: interrogative pronoun; with accusative suffix, object of ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲡⲉ.

ⲁⲩ-: 'to do' with first singular future suffix. Bechhaus-Gerst notes apropos this form that the Old Nubian future tense has clear modal properties, and doesn't solely denote a future tense. Considering the fact that the future tense suffix, contrary to the other temporal suffixes, shows the same type of phonological variation as for example the causative and inchoative suffixes, viz. 3.8 ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲇ-ⲇⲣⲉ, this suffix should perhaps be regrouped in this category. The development of a proper future tense in Nobiin points to a similar analysis. Moreover, a modal redefinition of the future suffix accounts for the fact that it occurs in tandem with the strictly temporal suffix -c, i.e. *P.QI* 1 7.ii.15–6 ⲟⲗⲗⲉⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉⲛ-ⲇ-ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ- 'they would not have hanged' (*ONG* §4.7.6; Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 86).

11.13 ⲉ̇ⲗ-: *OND*, p. 56, 'now'; the phrase ⲉ̇ⲗ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ 'on the day of now', may be translated with 'today'.

ⲅⲟⲇ-: 'Lord'; the juncture vowel signifies moved morphology, in this case -ⲙⲁⲗⲟ: ⲅⲟⲇ-ⲟⲩ$_i$ ⲁⲛⲛⲓⲗⲟ-ⲥ̄ⲛ̄-ⲙⲁⲗⲟ$_i$ 'for it through the Lord/by the Lord's name'.

ⲁⲛⲛ-: genitive of 'I'; ⲅⲟⲇⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲛ-ⲓⲗⲟ-ⲥ̄ⲛ̄-ⲙⲁⲗⲟ should be read like 11.6 ⲉⲓⲣ-ⲓⲱ̇-ⲙⲁⲗⲱ

11.14 ⲧⲟⲣ-: *OND*, p. 179, 'to enter'; with transitive suffix (or perhaps consonant lengthening before vowel) and first person preterite suffix. Browne erroneously reads the form as 'you entered'. According *ONG* §3.10, -ⲥⲓ introduces a clause with 'for', but should probably in all cases be reanalyzed as above, e.g. *P. QI* 1 10.ⲁ.ii.15 ⲁⲛⲕⲓ-ⲕⲉ-ⲣ-ⲁⲥⲓ 'I made you think'

12 ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲟⲛ   ⲙⲁⲛ   ⲟ̇ⲅ̄ⲇ̇-ⲕⲁ   ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙ-ⲁ
    holy-DET-C   DEM.DIST   man-ACC   take-PRED

    ⲧⲁⲕ   ⲟⲩⲣ-ⲗ̄ⲇⲱ   ⲇ̇ⲁⲅ̄-ⲟⲛ
    2SG.ACC   head-DET.LOC3   kick-PT1.3SG

    ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ   ⲉ̄ⲛ   ⲧⲁⲛ`-ⲛⲁ   ⲕ̄ⲡ̄-ⲥ̄ⲗ̄
    egg   DEM.PROX   3SG-GEN   eat-PT2.DET

    ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲁⲗ   ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ`   ⲁ̇ⲯ-ⲣ-ⲁⲅ-ⲁ
    suddenly   fowl   live-TRANS-INCH-PRED

    ⲧⲁⲛ-ⲛⲁ   ⲧⲁⲩ̇ⲟ̇-ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ   ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲕ-ⲁ
    3SG-GEN   under-also   descend-PRED

    ⲡⲁⲗ-ⲁ   ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲧ-ⲁ   ⲅⲟⲛⲇ̄-ⲁ
    come.out-PRED   rise-PRED   stand-PRED

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(not: 'for you intend') and CE 180.B.13 ⲁⲩ-ⲁ̀ⲣ-ⲁⲥⲓ 'I made you do'. In this case, the implicit object of the transitive verb ⲧⲟⲣ-ⲣ- is therefore the sailor, whom Saint Mina entered to make him lay the egg he had eaten.

12.1 ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙ-: 'to take'; dependent on ⳝⲁⲅⲅⲟⲛ: 'when, taking … , he kicked'.

ⲟⲩⲣ-: *OND*, p. 139, 'head'. As body parts are by nature in-alienable (belong to someone), they are often marked with determiner -ⲗ, cf. 10.13 ⲙⲁⲯ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-.

12.2 ⳝⲁⲅⲅ-: *OND*, p. 187, 'to kick'.

ⲉ̄ⲛ: here as relative pronoun, ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲧⲁⲛ`ⲛⲁ ⲕ̄ⲡⲥ-ⲗ̄ 'the egg which he had eaten', cf. ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩ-ⲕⲁ … ⲏⲛ` ⲧⲁⲛ` ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲣⲁ ⲁ̀ⲅⲟⲣ̄ⲥⲥ-ⲕⲁ

12.3 ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲁⲗ: *OND*, p. 54, 'suddenly'.

ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ`: Note that no overt suffix is present. Browne suggests predicative -ⲁ, whose elision may be suggested by the apostrophe. However, the precise orthographical function of the apostrophe, here and in other instances, has not yet been established satisfactorily.

12.4 ⲁ̀ⲯ-: *OND*, p. 23, 'to live'; with transitive and incho-ative marker. The first of a whole series of verbs depend-ing on 12.7 ⳝⲁⲅⲉⲓ-ⲥⲛⲁ: ⲁ̀ⲯⲣⲁⳝ-ⲁ … ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲕ-ⲁ ⲡⲁⲗ-ⲁ ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲧ-ⲁ ⲅⲟⲛⳝ-ⲁ … ⳝⲁⲅⲉⲓ-ⲥⲛⲁ, suggesting a rapid sequence of events.

12.5 ⲧⲁⲅⲟ̀-: *OND*, p. 164, 'under'; postposition with geni-tive: ⲧⲁⲛ-ⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲅⲟ̀- 'under him', followed by -ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ: *OND*, p. 89, 'also'.

12.5 ⲡⲁⲗ-: *OND*, p. 143, 'to come out'.

12.6 ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲧ-: *OND*, p. 102, 'to stand up'.

ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲛⲟ   ⲟ̃ⲁⲅⲉⲓ-ⲥⲛⲁ
three.times   squawk-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ   ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲧ-ⲁ̄ⲇⲇⲱ   ⲁ̇ⲕ-ⲗ̄
Saint.Mina-C   horse-DET.LOC3   sit-DET

ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲕⲁ   ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲁⲅⲉ̄ⲣ   ⲟⲩⲟ-ⲗⲗⲟ
fowl-ACC   3SG.GEN   wing   two-LOC1

ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙ-ⲁ   ⲧⲁⲕ`   ⲉⲛ-ⲉ̇ⲧ-ⲁ
take-PRED   3SG.ACC   take-COMPL1-PRED

ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ   ⲉⲛ̄-ⲇⲱ̂   ⲟ̃ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲉ
say-PT2.3SG.PRED   DEM.PROX-LOC3   come-PT2.1SG.PRED

ⲉⲛ̄-ⲕⲁ-ⲗⲱ   ⲭ̃-ⲥⲉ
DEM.PROX-ACC-FOC   work-PT2.1SG.PRED

ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ   ⲙⲁⲛ   ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲛ̄
Saint.Mina-C   DEM.DIST   woman-GEN

ⲅⲟⲅ-ⲗⲟ   ⲟ̃ⲟⲣ-ⲁ   ⲕⲓ-ⲁ̇
house-LOC1   go-PRED   come-PRED

ⲱⲁⲁⲕ-ⲕⲁ   ⲕ̄ⲙⲙ-ⲁ`   ⲟ̇ⲟ̇ⲕ-ⲡ̄-ⲥⲛⲁ
door-ACC   hit-PRED   call-TRANS-PT2.3SG.PRED

12.7 ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲛⲟ: *OND*, p. 184, 'immediately'. Browne justifies the translation 'immediately' with reconstructed Vorlages of other texts. However, these are not to be trusted entirely. For example, in another instance cited as evidence for the reading 'immediately', *P. QI* 1 4.ii.21 ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲛⲟⲧⲓⲗⲟ ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲙⲁⲣⲓⲉⲛⲇⲛⲁ̀ ⲉ̇ⲗⲓ ⲕⲉⲙⲥⲟⲥⲛ̄ 'immediately he will stink(?): today is the forth' places the word in close connection with ⲕⲉⲙⲥⲟ- 'fourth', which follows as a logical conclusion. Perhaps the translation should read 'he will have stunk for three [days], because today is the fourth.' So in this case the translation here could instead be 'and squawked three times'.

12.8 ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲧ-ⲁ̄ⲇⲱ: The determiner, assimilated to the locative suffix, suggests the determinate reading 'his horse'.

12.9 ⲁ̇ⲕ-: *OND*, p. 8, 'to sit'; with determiner. The whole noun phrase is ⲥ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲟⲩⲣⲧⲁ̄ⲇⲱ ⲁ̇ⲕⲁ̄ 'Saint Mina sitting on his horse'.

12.10 ⲁⲩⲉⲡ̄-: *OND*, p. 14, 'wing'.

ⲟⲩⲟ-: *OND*, p. 138, 'two'; with locative suffix: ⲧⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲟ-ⲗⲗⲟ 'by its two wings'.

12.11 ⲉⲛ-: 'to take'; with completive suffix, cf. 3.16 ⲉⲛ`ⲉ̇ⲧⲁ.

12.13 ⲥ̄-: *OND*, p. 76, 'to work'; with past tense personal suffix, echoing 12.12 ⲇⲟⲩ-ⲥⲉ.

12.15 ⲯⲁⲁⲕ-: *OND*, p. 76, ⲯⲁⲁⲗ-, 'door'; with regressive assimilation before accusative suffix, object of ⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲁ.

ⲕⲙ̄ⲙ-: *OND*, p. 91, 'to knock'.

ⲟ̇ⲟ̇ⲕ-: *OND*, p. 123, 'to call'. Browne translates the transitive suffix with 'had her called', with the unexpressed object 'her'.

13

ⲙⲁⲛ	ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲟⲛ	ⲙⲓⲇ-ⲗ̄
DEM.DIST	woman-DET-C	run-DET

ⲕⲓ`	ϣⲁⲁⲕ-ⲕⲁ	ⲅⲁⲗⲗ-ⲓⲥⲛⲁ
come.PRED?	door-ACC	open-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⳓⲥⲥ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲟⲛ	ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁ	ⲧⲁⲇ-ⲅ̄ⲗⲗⲉ	ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲁ
holy-DET-C	say-PT2.3SG.PRED	3SG-DIR	woman-VOC

ⲉⲛ̄	ⲇⲉⲓⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲕⲁ	ⲇⲟⲩⲙ`-ⲉ̇ⲧ-ⲁ
DEM.PROX	fowl-ACC	take-COMPL1-PRED

ⲉⲛ̄	ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲟ	ⲡⲉⲗ-ⲓⲣ-ⲉⲥⲱ
2SG.GEN	fowl-PL-LOC1	come.out-TRANS-IMP.2SG

ⲉ̄ⲕ-ⲕⲁ	ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲁ	ⲧ̄ⲕ-ⲕⲟⲁⲛⲛⲟ-ⲁ̇
2SG-ACC	bear-PRED	APPL2/3-COND.3PL-PRED

ⲉ̄ⲕ-ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ	ⲉ̇	ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲁ
2SG-also-C	oh	woman-VOC

ⳓⲁ-ⲕ	ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-ⲁⲣⲣ-ⲁⲥⲓ	ⲧⲁⲛ
son-ACC	bear-TRANS-PT2.1SG	3SG.GEN

ⲧⲁⳓ̄-ⲕⲁ	ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲁ̇	ⲟ̇ⲕ-ⲉⲥⲱ	ⲉⲛ̄
name-ACC	Mina-DISC	call-IMP.2SG	DEM.PROX

ⲙⲉⲇϭⲟⲩⲛ-ⲛ̄	ⲧⲁⲉⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲕ-ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ	ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ
servant.PL-GEN	girl.PL-PL-DET-also	and.also

13.1 ⲙⲓⲇ-: *OND*, p. 113, 'to run'; with determiner, modifying ⲉⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-. Perhaps the translation of ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲗ̄ⲗ-…ⲙⲓⲇ should be 'the running woman'.

ⲕⲓ̀-: 'to come'; perhaps followed by predicative suffix, as would be expected.

13.4 ⲇⲉⲓⲧⲣⲁⲡ-: 'fowl', variant of ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-.

ⲇⲟⲩⲙ̀-: 'to take'; with completive suffix, cf. 7.11 ⲇⲟⲩⲙ̀ⲉ̀ⲧⲁ.

13.5 ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡ-: 'fowl'; with locative suffix, in this context ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲟ is best translated as 'among your fowls'.

ⲡⲉⲗ-: *OND*, p. 148, 'to come out'; with transitive suffix -ⲓⲣ, meaning 'to release'. (See also Bechhaus-Gerst 2011, p. 113.)

13.6 ⲉ̄ⲕ-: 'you'; with accusative suffix, indirect object of ⲧⲕ̄-.

ⲧⲕ̄-: *OND*, p. 175, ⲧⲣ̄-, 'to give'; with regressive assimilation from conditional suffix. Should be interpreted as the semantically bleached applicative suffix, introducing a benefactor of ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁ, i.e. ⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲁ.

13.8 ⲉ̄ⲕ-: 'you'; with -ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ 'also' and conjunction.

13.9 ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-: 'to bear'; with transitive suffix and first person suffix: ⲅⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣⲣⲁⲥⲓ 'I made you to bear a son', cf. 11.14 ⲧⲟⲣⲣⲁⲥⲓ. Again Browne translates erroneously with a second person future tense.

ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥ̄-: *OND*, p. 168, 'name';

ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-: 'Mina'; with -ⲁ̀ marking direct speech.

13.12 ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩ-: 'girls'; with determiner and regressive assimilation from -ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ 'also', cf. 13.14 ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗ

ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ: 'and also', cf. Rilly 2007, p. 208 and Van Gerven Oei 2011, p. 244. Often occurs in an enumerative context, ⲉ̄ⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲉⲓⲟⲛ … ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ … ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ.

ογνν-ⲁⲇⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲁ   ⲟ̇ⲛ   ⲉⲛ̄   ⲧⲟγⲉⲓ-ⲅⲟγ-ⲗ
bear-FUT.EMP.3PL   C   2SG.GEN   COW.PL-PL-DET

ⲉⲓⲡ-ⲟⲛ   ⲉ̇   ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲁ   ⲡ̄ⲥⲧ̄ⲧ̄ⲧ-ⲕ̄
2SG-C   oh   woman-VOC   baptism-ACC

ⲉⲓⲧ-ⲉⲥⲱ   ⲉⲛ̄   ⲅⲁⲡⲉ-ⲅⲟγ-ⲛ
receive-IMP.2SG   2SG.GEN   sin-PL-GEN

14   ⲧⲟⲕ-ⲇⲉⲣ-ⲣⲁ-ⲅ̄ⲗ̄ⲗⲉ   ⲉⲛ̄-ⲕⲁ
    forgive-NR-LOC2-DIR   DEM.PROX-ACC

    ⲡⲉⲥ-ⲁ   ⲧⲟⲕ-ⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ   ⲇⲟγⲙⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛⲟ
    say-PRED   forgive-PRED-C   suddenly

    ⲅ̄ⲥⲥ-ⲗ̄   ⲙⲏγ-ⲧⲁⲕ-ⲣ-ⲁⲅ̄-ⲥ̄ⲥⲛⲁ
    holy-DET   dissolve-PASS-TRANS-INCH-PT2.3SG.PRED

    ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲟⲛ   ⲇⲟγⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲕⲁ   ⲇⲟγⲙ-ⲉ̇ⲧ-ⲁ
    woman-DET-C   fowl-ACC   take-COMPL1-PRED

    ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲇⲟγⲧⲣⲁⲡ-ⲓⲅⲟγ-ⲗⲟ
    3SG.GEN   fowl-PL-LOC1

    ⲡⲉⲗ-ⲓⲣ-ⲟⲛ   ⲇⲟγⲙⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛⲟ   ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ
    come.out-CAUS-PT1.3SG   suddenly   and.also

ⲟⲩⲛⲛ-: 'to bear'; with so-called emphatic (or affirmative) future (*ONG* §3.9.10), consisting of a future third person suffix and emphatic -ⲙⲁ, cf. 6.10 ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥⲁⲅ-ⲁⲇⲙ̄ⲙⲉ. Browne's explanation of -ⲙ(ⲁ), pace Werner, as a collapsed negative suffix seems suspect and without immediate proof. Perhaps there is a relation to emphatic -ⲙⲁ, see the commentary to 11.6 ⲉⲓⲣⲓⲱ̇-ⲙⲁ-ⲗⲱ.

13.15 ⲡ̄ⲥⲧ̄ⲧ̄ⲧ-: *OND*, p. 153, 'baptism'; from ⲡ̄ⲥⲧ- 'to splash' with phonologically reduced nominalizer -ⲧ̄ⲧ from -ⲁⲧ(ⲧ) (*ONG* §3.3.2); with accusative suffix, object of ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲥⲱ.

14.1 ⲧⲟⲕ-: 'to forgive'; with nominalizer -ⲇⲉⲣ (*ONG* §3.3.2), cf. 1.4 ⲧⲟⲕⲛ̄-ⲛⲁⲅⲉ̇- 'forgiveness'.

14.2 ⲧⲟⲕ-: 'to forgive'; Browne translates ⲉ̄ⲛⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲁ ⲧⲟⲕⲁ- as 'when he finished saying this', although no subordinate clause morphology is to be found. I would suggest the simple 'saying this and forgiving', where ⲧⲟⲕⲁ- recapitulates ⲧⲟⲕⲇⲉⲣⲣⲁⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ.

ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛⲟ: *OND*, p. 54, 'suddenly', cf. 12.3 ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲁⲗ, for adverbial use of -ⲕⲟⲛⲟ, cf. 12.7 ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲕⲟⲛⲟ.

14.3 ⲙⲏⲩ-: *OND*, p. 118, 'to dissolve'; with passive, transitive, inchoative, and full temporal and personal inflection. 'he started to be made dissolved', i.e. 'he became invisible'.

14.4 ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ̄ⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲕⲁ ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲉ̇ⲧⲁ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗⲟ ⲡⲉⲗⲓⲣⲟⲛ 'and when the woman took the fowl and released it among her fowls' follows literally Mina's order, cf. 13.3 ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲁ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲇⲉⲓⲧⲣⲁⲡⲕⲁ ⲇⲟⲩⲙ̇ⲉ̇ⲧⲁ· ⲉⲛ̄ ⲇⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲅⲟⲩⲗⲟ ⲡⲉⲗⲓⲣⲉⲥⲱ.

14.8 ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ 'and also'. Notice that it has been placed earlier in the enumeration, cf. 13.11 ⲉⲛ̄ ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲇⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲁ· ⲟ̇ⲛ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ.

ογνν-ιϲαⲛⲁ   ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ογⲛ-ⲛ̄   ⲧⲁⲉⲓ-ⲅογ-ⲗ
give.birth-PT2.3PL.PRED   servant.PL-GEN   girl.PL-PL-DET

oⲛ̄   ⲧογⲉⲓ-ⲅογ-ⲗ   ⲧⲁⲣ-ογ
c   COW.PL-PL-DET   3SG-J

ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄-ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ-ⲉⲓoⲛ   ⲟ̌ογⲛⲧ-ογϲ-ⲁ`
woman-DET-also-c   pregnant-INCH-PRED

ⲅⲁ-ⲛ   ⲕⲁⲕⲕ̄-ⲕⲁ   ογⲛⲛ-ογϲⲛⲁ
son-GEN   first.born.DET-ACC   bear-PT2.3SG.PRED

ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥ̄-ⲕ-oⲛ   ⲟ̇ⲕ-ⲓⲥⲛⲁ   ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲁ̇
3SG.GEN name-ACC-c   call-PT2.3SG.PRED   Mina-DISC

ⲅ̄ϲϲ-ⲛⲁ   ⲧⲁⲇ-ⲅ̄ⲗ̄   ⲡⲉϲ-ⲉϲⲛ̄   ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ
holy-GEN   3SG-DIR   say-PT2.3SG   and.also

ⲧⲁⲛ   ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̌ογⲛ-ⲛ̄   ⲧⲁⲉⲓ-ⲅογ-ⲕ-ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ-ⲉⲓoⲛ
3SG.GEN   servant-GEN   girl.PL-PL-DET-also-c

15 ⲟ̌ογⲛⲧ-ογϲ-ⲁ`   ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ   ογⲛⲛ-ογϲⲁⲛⲁ
pregnant-INCH-PRED   and.also   bear-PT2.3PL.PRED

ⲅⲁⲕ-ⲕⲁ   ⲁϲ-ⲕⲁ
son-ACC   daughter-ACC

ⲙⲁⲛ   ⲉ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲗ̄ⲗ-oⲛ
DEM.DIST   woman-DET-c

Yet, again the placement has been in front of the verb. Browne proposes to delete ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ 'servant girls', as they only get pregnant in 14.16 ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲕⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩⲅⲁ`. It is however uncertain whether we are dealing here with a scribal error, or with a narrative technique.

14.11 ⲧⲁⲣ-: personal pronoun 'she'; with juncture vowel, here used reflexively (ONG §3.7.2c), cf. 3.1 ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲁ̇. ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲧ̄ⲧⲗ̄- thus means 'the woman herself'.

14.12 ⲕⲁⲕ̄ⲕ̄- 'first born'; with regressive assimilation before accusative suffix. ⲅⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲕ̄ⲕ̄- may be translated as 'first born son', see also the commentary to 3.13 ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲁⲕⲗ̄.

14.14 ⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥⲕⲟⲛ ⲟ̇ⲕⲓⲥⲛⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲁ̇·: 'and she called his name Mina'. Again a nearly verbatim repetetion of Mina's previous injunction, cf. 13.10 ⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥⲕⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲁ̇ ⲟ̇ⲕⲉⲥⲱ. Notice that in this case the citation has been placed after the verb instead of before.

14.15 ⲅ̄ⲥⲥ-: 'holy', here used as substantive, 'the Saint'; with genitive suffix, marking the subject of the subordinate clause, ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲇ̄ⲅⲗ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲥⲛ̄ 'as the Saint had said to her'.

15.3 ⲅⲁⲕ-: 'son'; with regressive assimilation before accusative suffix. Although ⲅⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲁⲥⲕⲁ or both singular, the interpretation suggests clearly multiple 'sons and daughters'.

ⲧⲁⲛ	ⲕⲟⲕⲕⲁⲛⲉ-ⲛ	ⲟⲩⲕⲣ-ⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗ
3SG.GEN	purification-GEN	day-PL-PL-DET

ⲕⲓⲣ-ⲓⲅ-ⲟⲩⲁⲛ	ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ	ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲉ-ⲗⲱ
go-INCH-PT1.3PL	Saint.Mina	church-LOC1

ⲇ̄ⲟⲣ-ⲁ	ⲕⲓ-ⲥⲛⲁ	ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̇ⲑⲏ-ⲱ̇
come-PRED	go-PT2.3SG.PRED	Mareotes-LOC1

ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲉ	ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥ-ⲗⲁ	ⲕⲓ-ⲉⲛⲛ-ⲟⲛ
church	holy-LOC2	go-3SG-C

ⲥⲟⲣⲧⲟ-ⲕ`	ⲥ̇ⲕⲉⲗ-ⲓⲥⲛⲁ	ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲕⲁ
priest-ACC	beg-PT2.3SG.PRED	3PL-ACC

ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ⲧ-ⲁⲕ-ⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ-ⲁ̇
receive.baptism-TRANS-COND.3SG-PRED

ⲥⲟⲣⲧⲟ-ⲗⲗ-ⲟⲛ	ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙ-ⲓⲇ̃-ⲁ
priest-DET-C	take-OBJ.PL-PRED

ⲧⲉⲇ-ⲇⲱ	ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲗ-ⲁ	ⲧⲁⲇ-ⲇⲉ
3PL-LOC3	pray-PRED	3SG-C

ⲧⲁⲛ	ⲟⲅⲇ̃-ⲗ̄-ⲇⲉ	ⲧⲁⲛ	ⲅⲁⲇ`-ⲇⲉ
3SG.GEN	husband-DET-C	3SG.GEN	son.DET?-C

ⲧⲁⲛ	ⲙⲉⲇⲇ̃ⲟⲩⲛ-ⲓⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗ-ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲕ-ⲕⲁ
3SG.GEN	servant.PL-PL-DET-C-ACC

15.4 ⲕⲟⲕⲕⲁⲛⲉ-: *OND*, p. 96, 'purification'. ⲧⲁⲛ ⲕⲟⲕⲕⲁⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ 'the days of her purification': the forty days after giving birth.

15.5 ⲕⲓⲣ-: 'to go', with inchoative suffix and personal and temporal inflection, lit. 'when they started to go', which Browne translates as 'when they had been completed'. Perhaps simpler would be 'when they had passed'.

15.8 ⲕⲓ-: 'to go'; with personal suffix, signaling the subordinate clause 'when she went', cf. 6.9 ⲉ̇ⲛ-ⲉⲛⲛⲟⲛ. As she has already arrived at the church, perhaps ⲕⲟ̄ⲥⲥⲉ ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ⲥ-ⲗⲁ would be better translated with 'into the church'.

15.9 ⲥⲟⲣⲧⲟ-: *OND*, p. 160, 'priest'; with accusative suffix, object of ⲥ̇ⲕⲉⲗⲓⲥⲛⲁ.

ⲥ̇ⲕⲉⲗ-: *OND*, p. 76, 'to beg'.

15.10 ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ⲧ-: *OND*, p. 160, 'to splash'; with transitive suffix, 'to receive baptism': ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲁ ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟⲁ̇ 'so that he baptize them'. Apparently the woman didn't go to the church alone, as would have been suggested by the previous singular verb forms.

15.11 ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙ-: 'to take'; with plural object marker -ⲓⲟ̇ referring to ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲁ, 'taking them'.

15.12 ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲗ-: *OND*, p. 158, 'to pray'.

15.12–15 The entire phrase [ⲧⲁⲇⲇⲉ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲟⲅⲟ̄ⲇⲇⲉ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲇ`ⲇⲉ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲉⲇⲟ̄ⲩⲛ-ⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗⲇⲉⲕⲉⲕ]-ⲕⲁ is the object of 15.15 ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲥⲛⲁ. The sequence of suffixes -ⲇⲉ … -ⲇⲉ … -ⲇⲉ … -ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲕ (from -ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲛ with regressive assimilation) coordinate the different nouns. It is uncer-

ⲡⳍⲥⲧ-ⲁⲣ-ⲓⲥⲛⲁ ⲡⲁⲡ-ⲗ̄-ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ̂
splash-TRANS-PT2.3SG.PRED father-DET-C C

ⲅⲁ-ⲗ-ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ̂ ⲥⲉⲩⲁⲣⲧ-ⲟⲩ ⲅ̄ⲥⲥ-ⲗ̄-ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲛ
son-DET-C C spirit-J holy-DET-C.GEN

16 ⲧⲁⲛⲥ-ⲗⲟ-ⲕⲱ
name-LOC1-in

ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲣ-ⲓⲅⲣ-ⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ-ⲁ
thus-CAUS-PRED-C Christian-PRED

ⲕⲉⲗⲕ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲛ-ⲛ̄ ⲇⲟⲩ-ⲁⲣ-ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ
perfect be-DET be-TRANS-PT2.3PL.PRED

ⲧⲉⲛ ⲁ̇ⲯⲉ-ⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲣ-ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲱ̣ⲱ̣ⲁⲛ-ⲛⲟ
3PL.GEN life-GEN day-PRED all-LOC1

ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲕ̄ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲛⲁ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲇⲉⲅⲉⲣˋ
Saint.Mina church-GEN-C servant.PRED

tain whether a determiner should be assumed, as Browne does, in ⲅⲁⲗˋⲇⲉ, cf. 15.16 ⲅⲁⲗⲇⲉ

15.17 ⲥⲉⲩⲁⲣⲧ-: *OND*, p. 157, 'spirit'.

15.16–16.1 ⲡⲁⲡⲗ̄ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ̄ ⲅⲁⲗⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ̄ ⲥⲉⲩⲁⲣⲧⲟⲩ ⲅ̄ⲥⲥⲗ̄ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲗⲟⲕⲱ: 'in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.' For 16.1 ⲧⲁⲛⲥ-, cf. 14.14 ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥ- (for the alteration ⲛ/ⲅ, see *ONG* §2.2.2), with suffix -ⲕⲱ after locative (*ONG* §3.10).

16.1 ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓⲅⲣⲁ-: *OND*, p. 66, 'thus'; complex consisting of ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲣ-: *OND*, p. 66, 'thus' and causative suffix, which, unsurprisingly, turns up (albeit mostly fossilized), in a number of Old Nubian adverbials of this sort.

16.3 ⲕⲉⲗⲕⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ: *OND*, p. 87, 'perfect', from ⲕⲉⲗ-: *OND*, p. 87, 'limit, fulness'. Its precise structure is unknown, but it seems verbal. Browne suggests ossified ⲕⲉⲗ-ⲕⲛ̄-ⲛⲁⲛ limit-CONSUET.DET-3PL, which, however, seems unlikely.

16.3 ⲉⲓⲛ-: 'to be'; with progressive assimilated determiner. Browne determines the construction ⲉⲓⲛ-ⲛ̄ ⲇⲟⲩ-ⲁⲣ-ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ to be a 'verbid periphrastic' (*ONG* §3.9.13). The analysis of -ⲛ̄ as assimilated determiner in ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ-ⲁ ⲕⲉⲗⲕⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲛ-ⲛ̄ is strengthened by the presence of a similar structure in 16.9 ⲕⲁⲕ-ⲁ ⲇⲟⲇⲟⲕ-ⲗ̄ (see commentary below).

ⲇⲟⲩ-: 'to be'; with transitive suffix, 'made to be'.

16.4 ⲁ̀ⲯⲉ-: *OND*, p. 23, 'life'; with genitive suffix, dependent on ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲁ.

16.5 ⲟⲩⲕⲣ-ⲁ: with predicative suffix, preceding ⲙ̄ⲟ̈ⲱⲁⲛ-, cf. 2.5 ⲇⲟⲩⲁ̀ⲣ-ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲟ̈ⲱⲁⲛ- and 10.10 ⲕⲓ̄ⲧⲧ-ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲟ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲛ-.

16.7 ⲇⲉⲅⲉⲣˋ-: *OND*, p. 42, 'servant'. Browne assumes a suppressed predicative -ⲁ, signaled by the apostrophe. For the

ⲉⲓⲛ-Ⲛ̄	ⲆⲞⲨ-ⲁ̀ⲣ-ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ	
be-DET	be-CAUS-PT2.3PL.PRED	

ⲦⲈⲚ	ⲆⲀⲢⲠⲒⲚⲈ-ⲕⲀ	Ⲕ̄ⲤⲤⲈ-Ⲅ̄ⲖⲖⲈ
3PL.GEN	offering-ACC	church-DIR

ⲔⲀⲔ-ⲁ	ⳓⲟⳓ-ⲟⲕ-ⲗ̄	
bear-PRED	offer-be.over-DET	

ⲦⲈⲚ	ⲆⲒ-ⲈⲚ	ⲠⲀⲨⲔⲀ
3PL.GEN	die-3SG	until

ⳓⲘ̄Ⲙ̄-ⲄⲞⲨ-ⲖⲖ-ⲞⲚ	ⲉ̄Ⲛ	ⲤⲞⲔⲔⲞⲢ
all-PL-DET-C	DEM.PROC	miracle

ⲆⲀⲨⲈ-ⲕ̄-ⲔⲀ	ⲤⲀⲖ-ⲞⲨ	ⲞⲨⲖⲄⲢ-ⲈⲚ
be.great-DET-ACC	see-PRED	hear.TRANS-3SG

Ⲧ̄ⲖⲖ-ⲒⲔⲀ	ⲤⲞⲔ	Ⲧ[Ⲥ̄]-ⲤⲀⲚⲀ
God-ACC	glory.ACC?	APPL2/3-PT2.3PL.PRED

construction ⲇⲉⲅⲉⲣ‵ ⲉⲓⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲇⲟⲩⲁ̇ⲣⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ, cf. 16.2 ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥⲁ ⲕⲉⲗⲕⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲇⲟⲩⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ.

16.8 ⲇⲁⲣⲡⲛⲉ-: *OND*, p. 38, 'offering'; with accusative suffix, object of ⲕⲁⲕⲁ ⲇ̅ⲟⲇⲟⲕ-.

16.9 ⲕⲁⲕ-: *OND*, p. 83, 'to bear'; perhaps related to 3.13 ⲕⲁⲕⲗ̄ and 14.12 ⲕⲁⲕⲕ̄-.

16.10 ⲇ̅ⲟⲇ-: *OND*, p. 192, 'to offer'; followed by the verb ⲟⲕ-: *OND*, p. 124, 'to be over, to stand', which, however, seems to be semantically bleached. The nominalized verbal phrase ⲕⲁⲕⲁ ⲇ̅ⲟⲇⲟⲕ-ⲗ̄ should be coordinated with ⲇⲉⲅⲉⲣ‵ ⲉⲓⲛ-ⲛ̄.

ⲇⲓ-: *OND*, p. 44, 'to die'; with personal suffix before ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ. ⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲓ-ⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ 'until they die', cf. 7.13 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲍⲉⲛⲏⲧⲏ-ⲟ̇ ⲕⲓⲉ-ⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲁ 'until he arrived at Philoxenite'.

16.11 ⲇ̅ⲙ̄ⲗ̄-: *OND*, p. 189, 'all'.

16.12 ⲇⲁⲩⲉ-: *OND*, p. 36, 'to be great'; with determiner and accusative case, cf. 14.12 ⲕⲁⲕ-ⲕ̄-ⲕⲁ, which seems to have a similar structure. ⲉⲛ̄ ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟⲣ ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲕ̄- 'this great miracle', object of ⲅⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣⲉⲛ.

16.13 ⲅⲁⲗ-: 'to see'. The predicative suffix -ⲁ has most probably assimilated to -ⲟⲩ under influence of the initial vowel of ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣⲉⲛ.

16.13 ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣ-: 'to hear'; with a bare personal suffix, marking a subordinate clause. Note that the personal suffix -ⲉⲛ is singular, whereas the subject ⲇ̅ⲙ̄ⲗ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲗⲗ̄- is plural. Perhaps, as is often the case, the third singular person is the 'default' suffix in these constructions.

16.14 ⲧ̅ⲗ̄-: 'God'; with accusative suffix -ⲓⲕⲁ, indirect object of ⲧ[ⲥ̄]ⲥⲁⲛⲁ, together with ⲅ̅ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲕⲁ.

oñ	ⲉ̄ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁ
C	Saint.Mina-ACC

17
ⲧⲁⲛ-ⲛⲁ-ⲥ̄ⲛ	ⲅⲟⲕ-ⲗ̄	oñ	ⲧⲟⲉ̇ⲕ-ⲗ̄
3SG-GEN-REL	glory-DET	C	power-DET

ⲉⲗ`	oñ	ⲧⲁⲩⲕ-ⲁ	ⲙ̄ⲱ̇ⲱⲁⲛ-ⲛⲟ
now	C	time-PRED	all-LOC1

ⲇ̇ⲉⲗ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲛⲁ	ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛ-ⲅⲟⲩ-ⲗⲱ	ⲕⲓⲉ̄ⲥⲕⲗ̄ⲗⲱ
age-PL-GEN	time-PL-LOC1	up.to

ⲁ̇ⲙⲏⲛ
Amen

ⲅⲟⲕ: *OND*, p. 202, 'glory'; after the final kappa, the accusative case is invisible (or not present at all). Perhaps we are dealing with a complex verb form ⲅⲟⲕ-ⲧ[ⲥ̄]-, with the applicative directly attached to the noun, cf. similar morphological behavior in 6.10 ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲥ-ⲁⲅ-.

ⲧ[ⲥ̄]-: 'to give', here probably as applicative suffix (see commentary *supra*). Browne reconstructs ⲧ[ⲣ̄]-, which seems unlikely considering the subsequent inflection, cf. 9.4 ⲧⲟ̄ⲇ̄-ⲇ̀ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲁ and 13.6 ⲧⲕ̄-ⲕⲟⲁⲛⲛⲟⲁ̇.

16.16 ⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲥ̄ⲛ̄: 'whose', -ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ introducing a relative clause attributive to 16.14 ⲧⲗ̄ⲗ-ⲓⲕⲁ ... ⲟⲛ̄ ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲕⲁ.

17.2 ⲧⲁⲩⲕ: *OND*, p. 164, 'time'; with predicative suffix before ⲙ̄ⲩ̄ⲩⲁⲛ-: ⲉⲗ` ⲟⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲙ̄ⲩ̄ⲩⲁⲛⲛⲟ 'now and in all time'.

17.3 ⲇⲉⲗ-: *OND*, p. 189, 'age'; with plural and genitive suffix, dependent on ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛⲅⲟⲩⲗⲱ.

ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛ-: *OND*, p. 57, ⲉⲗⲗⲉ-, 'time'; with locative suffix and followed by ⲕⲓⲉ̄ⲥ̄ⲕⲗⲗⲱ 'up to', a complex deriving from the verb 'to come'. In *OND*, Browne translates ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛⲅⲟⲩⲗⲱ ⲕⲓⲉ̄ⲥ̄ⲕⲗⲗⲱ with 'forever', which however seems to be the meaning of ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲙ̄ⲩ̄ⲩⲁⲛ-ⲛⲟ. I have opted here for the literal 'unto the times of the ages'.

Grammatical Analysis
of the Andaandi Text

ⲚⲞⲔⲔⲞⲣ ⲓ̄ⲥⲁ ⲙⲉⲥ̄ⲓ̄ϩ-ⲛ ⲙⲁ̄ⲣⲧⲓⲣⲟ̄ⲥ   1
miracle   Jesus   Christ-GEN   martyr

ⲅⲓⲥ   ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁ   ⲁ̄ⲱ-ⲥ-ⲓⲛ   ⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲛ
holy   Mina   do-PT2-3SG   it.is

ⲁⲣⲧⲓ-ⲛ   ⲁⲙⲁ̄ⲛ-ⲗⲟ   ⲁ̄ⲙⲓ̄ⲛ
God-GEN   safety-LOC   Amen

ⲗⲟⲗ-ⲃⲟ̄ⲩ̄-ⲗ-ⲓ
love-STAT-PTC.IMPF-PL

ⲉ̄ⲛ   ⲱⲉ̄ⲣ   ⲙⲁ̄ⲣ   ⲱⲉ̄ⲣ-ⲣⲟ   ⲁ̄ⲅ-ⲔⲞ-ⲛ
woman   INDF   village   INDF-LOC   stay-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲓⲥⲔⲁⲛⲗⲉⲣⲓⲓ̈ⲓ̈ⲉ-ⲛ   ⲁϣⲁⲓ̈-ⲓⲣ
Alexandria-GEN   region-LOC

ⲧⲉⲣ   ⲔⲞⲛ   ⲙⲓ̄ⲣⲁ   ⲉ-ⲅⲟ-ⲛ
3SG.NOM   and   barren   be-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ᾱΓ OYCKI-ΓO-ΜΟΥΝ
HAB give.birth-PT1-NEG.3SG

ΤΟ̄Δ ΕΓΙΝ ΒΟΥΡΟΥ ΕΓΙΝ.
son neither daughter nor

ΤΕΝΝ ΔΕΖῙΡΕ ΓΟΝ ΔΙΓΡῙ Ε-ΓΟ-Ν
3SG.GEN wealth and plentiful be-PT1-NEUT.3SG

Ε̄ωΔ ΓΟΝ ΔΟ̄Υλ Ε-ΓΟ-Ν
fame and great be-PT1-NEUT.3SG

2 ΙΝ ΓΟΝΟΝ ΓΟΝ ΤΕΡ-ΚΙ*
DEM.PROX COM and 3SG-ACC

ΝΕ̄ω-ΙΛ-ΓΙ ΚΟ̄-ΓΟ-ΜΟΥΝ
inherit-PTC.IMPF-ACC have-PT1-NEG.3SG

ΙΝ-ΔΟ ΒΔΨΨΙ-Ρ-ΔΝ ΓΟΝ
DEM.PROX-LOC speak-NEUT-3PL and

ΤΕΝΝ ᾱ-ΓΙ ᾱΓ ΟΔΔΙ-ΓΙΡ-ΚΟ-Ν
3SG.GEN heart-ACC HAB pain-CAUS-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΤΕΝΝ Κᾱ-Ρ ᾱΓ-Ελ-Ι
3SG.GEN house-LOC stay-PTC.PF-PL

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* assimilated to ΤΕΚΚΙ, also ΕΡ-ΚΙ > ΕΚΚΙ; ω̄ΕΡ-ΚΙ > ω̄ΕΚΚΙ

ⲘⲀⲗⲗⲉ	ⲅⲟⲛ	ⲘⲒⲢⲀ-ⲚϬⲒ	Ⲉ-ⲅⲟ-Ⲣ-ⲀⲚ		
all	and	barren-PL	be-PT1-NEUT-3PL		

ⲂⲟⲩⲢⲟⲩ-ⲰⲒ	ϬⲀⲰⲀⲗ-Ⲓ	ⲦⲒ̄-ⲚϬⲒ			
girl-PL	servant-PL	cow-PL			

ⲗⲟⲩⲘⲘⲀⲗⲉ-ⲚϬⲒ-ⲅⲒ	ⲗⲟ̄ⲩⲢ-ⲒⲚ	Ⲃⲟⲕⲕⲟⲛ			
hen-PL-ACC	reach-NEUT.2SG	till			

ⲦⲀⲅⲟⲛ	ⲒⲚ	Ⲉ̄Ⲛ	ⲟⲩⲅ	ⲰⲈ̄Ⲣ-ⲕⲒ	
and.then	DEM.PROX	woman	day	one-ACC	

ⲘⲉⲤⲒ̄ϨⲒ-ⲚϬⲒ-Ⲛ	Ⲉ̄Ⲛ-ⲚϬⲒ				
Christian-PL-GEN	woman-PL				

Ⲁ̄ⲅ	ⲂⲀⲯⲯⲒ-Ⲣ-ⲀⲚ	ⲅⲒϬⲒⲢ-ⲕⲟ-Ⲛ			
HAB	speak-NEUT-3PL	hear-PT1-NEUT.3SG			

ⲚⲟⲕⲕⲟⲢ-Ⲓ	ⲅⲒⲤ	ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ	ⲘⲀ̄ⲢⲒ̈Ⲟ̄Ⲧ-Ⲛ		
miracle-PL	holy	Mina	Mareotis-GEN		

ⲕⲒⲤⲤⲉ-Ⲣ	Ⲁ̄Ⲱ-Ⲥ-ⲒⲚ-Ⲓ-ⲅⲒ				
church-LOC	do-PT2-3SG-PL-ACC				

Ⲧⲁ̄	ⲦⲉⲚⲚ	Ⲁ̄-ⲅⲒ	ⲰⲈ̄-ⲦⲒⲢ-ⲕⲟ-Ⲛ		3
then	3SG.GEN	heart-ACC	say-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG		

ⲀⲗⲈ̄-ⲅⲉⲗ	ⲅⲒⲤ	ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ-Ⲛ	ⲀⲢⲦⲒ	ⲟⲛ	
truth-INSTR	holy	Mina-GEN	God	EMPH	

ⲁⲚⲚ	ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲘⲁⲆⲈ-ⲚϬⲒ-Ⲣ	ⲦⲞ̄Ⲛ
1SG.GEN	hen-PL-LOC	from

ⲱⲈ̄Ⲣ-ⲔⲒ	ⲘⲞⲨⲄ-ⲒⲚ-ⲄⲒⲢ-ⲔⲒ-Ⲛ
one-ACC	lay.egg-3SG-CAUS-COND-NEUT.3SG

ⲁⲓ̈	ⲞⲱⲱⲈⲗ	ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨ	ⲘⲞⲨⲄ-ⲔⲁⲦⲦⲒ-ⲗ-ⲄⲒ
1SG.NOM	first	egg	lay.egg-PASS-PTC.IMPF-ACC

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ	ⲔⲒⳞⳞⲈ-Ⲣ	ⲂⲒ	ⲞϭⲒ-Ⲣ-Ⲓ
3SG.GEN	church-LOC	FUT	deliver-NEUT-1SG

Ⲉ-ⲄⲞ-Ⲛ	ⲦⲁⲄⲞⲚ	ⲞⲨⲄ-Ⲓ
say-PT1-NEUT.3SG	and.then	day-PL

ⲆⲒⲄⲣⲒ̄-ⲚϬⲒ	ⲱⲈ̄Ⲣ-Ⲓ	Ⲅⲁ𝖂Ⲉ̄-Ⳟ-ⲁⲚ	Ⲃⲁ̄ⲗ-ⲔⲒ
many-PL	INDF-PL	pass-PT2-3PL	after-ACC

ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲘⲁⲆⲈ-ⲚϬⲒ-Ⲣ	ⲦⲞ̄Ⲛ	ⲱⲈ̄Ⲣ	ⲦⲈⲚⲚ
hen-PL-LOC	from	one	3SG.GEN

ⲞⲱⲱⲈⲗ	ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨ-ⲄⲒ	ⲘⲞⲨⲄ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ
first	egg-ACC	lay.egg-PT1-NEUT.3SG

Ⲉ̄Ⲛ	ⲄⲞⲚ	ⲒⲘⲂⲈⲗ	ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨ-ⲄⲒ
woman	and	get.up	egg-ACC

ⲒⲚⲆⲒ-Ⲉⲗ	ⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ	ⲄⲁⲗⲗⲒ	𝖂ⲞⲨⲄⲞⲨⲣ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ
pick.up-COMPL1	river	DIR	descend-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ	ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ	ⲆⲀⲰⲀⲆ	ⲰⲈ̄Ⲣ	ⲔⲞⲚⲞⲚ	4
3SG.GEN	girl	servant	INDF	COM	

ⲔⲞⲨⲂ	ⲰⲈ̄Ⲣ-ⲔⲒ	ⲈⲖ	ⲘⲀⲚ	ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨ-ⲄⲒ
boat	INDF-ACC	find	DEM.DIST	egg-ACC

ⲄⲒⲤ	ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ-Ⲛ	ⲔⲒⲤⲤⲈ	ⲘⲀ̄ⲢⲒ̈Ⲟ̄Ⲧ-ⲒⲢ
holy	Mina-GEN	church	Mareotis-LOC

ⲦⲈ̄Ⲃ-ⲒⲖ-ⲖⲞ	ⲞⲆⲒⲢ-Ⲉ-ⲄⲒ
stand-PTC.IMPF-LOC	deliver-PURP-ACC

ⲦⲀⲄⲞⲚ	ⲔⲞⲨⲂ	ⲪⲒⲖⲞⲔⲤⲈⲚⲒⲦ	ⲔⲀⲆⲆⲒ
and.then	boat	Philoxenite	DIR

ⲘⲞⲨⲔⲔⲈⲆⲞⲖ-ⲒⲖ
be.about.to.sail-PTC.IMPF

ⲰⲈ̄Ⲣ-ⲔⲒ	ⲈⲖ-Ⲥ-ⲒⲚ	ⲄⲞⲚⲞⲚ	ⲆⲞ̄Ⲩ
INDF-ACC	find-PT2-3SG	as.soon.as	go.along

ⲈⲢⲌⲒ̄Ⲥ-ⲔⲒ	ⲤⲀⲖⲀ̄Ⲙ	ⲈⲢⲌⲒ̄Ⲥ
skipper-ACC	greeting	skipper

ⲀⲘⲂⲀ̄Ⲃ	Ⲉ-ⲄⲞ-Ⲛ
my.father	say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲈⲢⲌⲒ̄Ⲥ	ⲔⲞⲚ	ⲤⲀⲖⲀ̄Ⲙ-ⲄⲒ	ⳞⲀⲂⲈ̄-ⲄⲞ-Ⲛ
skipper	and	greeting-ACC	greet.back-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ĒN TЄP-KI ICIKKI-ГO-N
woman 3SG-ACC ask-PT1-NEUT.3SG

αλĒ-ГЄΔ ЄP IN-ΔO TŌN
truth-INSTR 2SG.NOM DEM.PROX-LOC from

IMBЄλ-KI-N
start.off-COND-NEUT.2SG

ICᴬ̄ÏKЄ BI MOYKKI-N
in.which.direction FUT sail-NEUT.2SG

Є-N-Гᴬ̄λ
say-NEUT.3SG-when

ЄP2ĪC ωĒ-TIP-KO-N
skipper say-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG

5 αλĒ-ГЄΔ αPTI ON
truth-INSTR God EMPH

ΔNN Ī-ГI ᴬ̄P-KI-N
1SG.GEN hand-ACC take-COND-NEUT.3SG

αÏ ФIλOKCЄNIT KΔΔΔI
1SG.NOM Philoxenite DIR

MOYKKI-λ Є-PI Є-ГO-N
sail-PTC.IMPF be-IMPF.1SG say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲈN   ⲦⲈⲢ-ⲔⲒ
woman   3SG-ACC

ⲤⲈⲢⲈN   Ⲁⲓ-ⲆⲞ   ⲤⲈⲢⲈⲄⲒⲀ   ⲰⲈⲢ-ⲔⲒ   Ⲁ̄ⲱ
alright   1SG-LOC   virtue   INDF-ACC do

Ⲁⲓ-ⲄⲒ   ⲈⲢ   ⲔⲞNⲞN
1SG-ACC   2SG.NOM   COM

ⲪⲒⲖⲞⲔⲤⲈNⲒⲦ-ⲒⲢ   ⲞδⲒ-ⲞⲤ   Ⲉ-ⲄⲞ-N
Philoxenite-LOC   take-COMPL2   say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲈⲢϨ̄Ⲥ   ⲦⲈⲢ-ⲔⲒ   ⲘⲀN-ⲆⲞ
skipper   3SG-ACC   DEM.DIST-LOC

ⲘⲒN-ⲄⲒ   ⲆⲞⲗ-ⲒN   Ⲉ-N-Ⲅⲁ̄ⲗ
what-ACC   want-NEUT.2SG say-NEUT.3SG-when

ⲄⲒⲤ   ⲘⲒ̄Nⲁ-N   ⲔⲒⲤⲤⲈ-Ⲣ   δⲞ̄ⲩ-Ⲣ-Ⲓ
holy   Mina-GEN   church-LOC   go.along-NEUT-1SG

Ⲉ-ⲄⲞ-N
say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲈⲢϨ̄Ⲥ   ⲒⲤⲒⲔⲔⲒ-ⲄⲞ-N
skipper   ask-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲈⲢ   ⲤⲈN   ⲒⲗⲒNⲞ̄Ⲥ-ⲞⲩN
2SG.NOM   since   pagan-COP.2SG

6 KICCЄ-Ρ   MIN-ΓI   ᾱω-IN   Є-N-Γᾱλ
   church-LOC what-ACC   do-NEUT.2SG say–NEUT.3SG-when

    ЄN   ωЕ̄-ΤΙΡ-ΚΟ-N
    woman   say-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG

    IN   KOYMBOY-ΓI   ΤΙΡᴀΡ-ΚΙΡ
    DEM.PROX   egg-ACC   offering-CAUS

    MᴀN   KICCЄ-Ρ   BI   OδI-Ρ-I
    DEM.DIST   church-LOC   FUT   deliver-NEUT-1SG

    ᴀΡΤΙ   ΓIC   MῙNᴀ-N-ᴀI   ᴀϊ-ΓI
    God   holy   Mina-GEN-PROP   1SG-ACC

    MЕ̄ωΚᴀNЄ-N   ΤЕ̄ΡΙ-ΓI   δЕ̄N-IN-N   IλλᴀΡ
    pregnancy-GEN seed-ACC   give.1-NEUT.3SG-GEN so.that

    ᴀλЕ̄-ΓЄδ   ΓON   ᴀϊ   ON
    truth-INSTR   and   1SG.NOM   EMPH

    ΟΥCΚΙ-ΓΙ-Ρ-I
    give.birth-COND-NEUT-1SG

    ᴀϊ   BI   MЄCῙϨI   ᴀN-ᴀI
    1SG.NOM   FUT   Christian   become-IMPF.1SG

    Є-ΓΟ-N
    say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲈⲢϨⲒⲤ   ⲰⲈ̄-ⲦⲒⲢ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ   ϨⲈ̄   Ⲉ̄Ⲛ
skipper   say-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG   oh   woman

ⲦⲞⲔⲔⲞⲚ   ⲈⲚⲚ   ⲁ̄-ⲄⲒ
do.not   2SG.GEN   self-ACC

ⲘⲀ̄-ⲄⲒⲢ-ⲘⲈⲚ
get.tired-CAUS-NEG.IMP.2SG

ⲁⲒ̈-ⲄⲒ   ⲂⲒ   ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨ-ⲄⲒ
1SG-ACC   2SG.GEN   egg-ACC

ⲆⲈ̄Ⲛ-ⲞⲤ-ⲔⲒ-Ⲛ
give-COMPL2-COND-NEUT.2SG

ⲁⲒ̈   ⲂⲒ   ⲞⲆⲒ-Ⲣ-Ⲓ
1SG.NOM   FUT   deliver-NEUT-1SG

ⲈⲢ   ⲔⲞⲚ   ⲈⲚⲚ   ⲔⲀ̄   ⲄⲀⲆⲆⲒ   7
2SG.NOM   and   2SG.GEN   house   DIR

ⲰⲒⲆⲈⲢ-ⲞⲤ   ⲈⲚⲚ   ⲞⲄⲒⲆ
return-COMPL2   2SG.GEN   husband

ⲆⲈⲖⲖⲒ-ⲘⲈⲚ-ⲒⲚ-Ⲛ   ⲒⲖⲖⲀⲢ
be.anxiuos-NEG-NEUT.3SG-GEN   so.that

Ⲉ̄Ⲛ   ⲄⲞⲚ   ⲁ̄ⲘⲒⲚⲈ̄Ⲣ-ⲞⲤ
woman   and   trust-COMPL2

ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥ-ΓΙ   ΤΕΝΝ   Ῑ-Ρ   ΤΙΡ-ΟⳞ
egg-ACC   3SG.GEN   hand-LOC   give.2/3-COMPL2

ΤΕΝΝ   Κᾱ   ΓΑⲆⲆΙ   ⳌΙⲆⲈ-ΓΟ-Ν
3SG.GEN   house   DIR   return-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΤΕΝΝ   ΒΟΥΡΟΥ   ⲆΑⳌΑⲆ   ΚΟΝΟΝ
3SG.GEN   girl   servant   COM

ⲈΡϨῙⳞ ΚΟΝ   ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥ-ΓΙ   ᾱΡ   ⲈΤΤΑ
skipper and   egg-ACC   take   bring

ΤΕΝΝ   ΒΑⳞΙⲖ-Ν   ΒΑΡΡⲈ-Ρ
3SG.GEN   provisions-GEN among-LOC

ⲆΟΥΜΜῈ ΟΥⳞΚΟΥΡ-ΚΟ-Ν
preserve   put-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΦΙⲖΟΚⳞⲈΝΙΤ-ΚΙ   ⲆΟῩΡ-ΙΝ   ΒΟΚΚΟΝ
Philoxenite-ACC   reach-NEUT.3SG until

ΤᾱΓΟΝ   ΟΥΓ-Ι   ⲆΙΓΡῙ-Νϭι   ⳌῈΡ-Ι
and.then   day-PL   many-PL   INDF-PL

ΝΟΓ-Ⳟ-ⲀΝ   ΒᾱⲆ-ΚΙ
pass-PT2-3PL after-ACC

8 ΦΙⲖΟΚⳞⲈΝΙΤ-Ν   ΓᾱΡ-ΚΙ   ⲆΟῩΡ-ΚΟ-Ν
Philoxenite-GEN   shore-ACC   reach-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΤΑΓΟΝ　　　ΟΓΙδ　　ΜᲐΝ　　　　ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥ-ΓΙ　Ῑω-ΟC
and.then　　man　　　DEM.DIST　　egg-ACC　　forget-COMPL2

ΜᾹΡ　　　　ΟωωΙΝΤΙ　　　ωᲐΡΡΙ　　　ωῈΡ　　　　ΚᲐλλΙ
village　　another　　　　far　　　　　INDF　　　DIR

ΜΟΥΚΚΙ-ΓΟ-Ν　　　　　ΤᲐ　　　　ΟΥΓ　　　ωῈΡ-ΚΙ
sail-PT1-NEUT.3SG　　　then　　　day　　　one-ACC

ΕΡϨῙC　　ΜᲐΝ　　　　ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥ-ΓΙ
skipper　DEM.DIST　　egg-ACC

ΜᲐΝ　　　　　ΤΕΡ　　　　ΟΥCΚΟΥΡ-ΟC
DEM.DIST　　3SG.NOM　　put-COMPL2

Ῑω-C-ΙΝ-ΓΙ　　　　　ΚΟΥΒ-Ν　　ΤΟῩΡ　　ΤΕΝΝ
forget-PT2-3SG-ACC　　boat-GEN　inside　　3SG.GEN

ΒᲐCΙλ-Ν　　　　ΒᲐΡΡΕ-Ρ　　　ΒΟῩ-Ν　　　　ΝᲐλ-ΟC
provisions-GEN　among-LOC　lay-NEUT.3SG　see-COMPL2

ΤΕΝΝ　　　ΤΌλ-ΚΙ　　ΙCΙΚΚΙ-ΓΟ-Ν
3SG.GEN　son-ACC　　ask-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ϨΕ　　　ΤΌλ　　　ΙΝ　　　　　ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥ
oh　　　son　　　DEM.PROX　　egg

ΙCᾱϊΙΡ　ΤΌΝ　　Ε-ΓΟ-Ν　　　　　Ε-Ν-Γᾱλ
where　from　be-PT1-NEUT.3SG　say-NEUT.3SG-when

ⲦⲞⲆ ⲱⲈ̄-ⲦⲒⲢ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ ⲀⲂⲂⲀ
son say-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG father

ⲈⲢ ⲒⲚ-ⲄⲒ ⲆⲒⲗⲗⲈ-ⲘⲈⲚ
2SG.NOM DEM.PROX-ACC remember-NEG.INTER.2SG

9 Ⲉ̄Ⲛ ⲱⲈ̄Ⲣ ⲀⲢ-ⲄⲒ ⲆⲈ̄Ⲛ-Ⲛ6Ⲓ-ⲢⲒⲢ-Ⲥ-ⲒⲚ-ⲄⲒ
woman INDF 1PL-ACC give.1-PL-OBJ.PL-PT2-3SG-ACC

ⲄⲒⲤ ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ-Ⲛ ⲔⲒⲤⲤⲈ-ⲄⲒ
holy Mina-GEN church-ACC

ⲦⲒⲢ-Ⲣ-ⲞⲨ-Ⲛ ⲒⲗⲗⲀⲢ
give.2/3-NEUT-1PL-GEN in.order.to

ⲦⲒⲘⲂⲀ̄Ⲃ ⲦⲈⲢ-ⲔⲒ 2Ⲉ̄ ⲈⲒ̈Ⲟ ⲀⲗⲈ̄-Ⲛ
his.father 3SG-ACC oh yes truth-COP.3SG

ⲀⲒ̈-ⲄⲒ ⲔⲀⲢ6Ⲓ-ⲄⲒⲢ-ⲞⲤ ⲈⲦⲦⲀ-ⲆⲈ̄Ⲛ
1SG-ACC ripe-CAUS-COMPL2 bring-APPL1

ⲀⲒ̈ ⲔⲀⲗ-ⲞⲤ-ⲒⲢ-Ⲓ Ⲉ-ⲄⲞ-Ⲛ
1SG.NOM eat-COMPL2-NEUT-1SG say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ ⲔⲀⲢ6Ⲓ-ⲄⲒⲢ-ⲞⲤ
son ripe-CAUS-COMPL2

ⲈⲦⲦⲀ ⲦⲈⲚⲚ ⲞⲄⲞⲗ-ⲗⲞ
bring 3SG.GEN front-LOC

ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲞⲨⲢ-ⲦⲒⲢ-ⲒⲚ-ⲄⲀ̄ⲗ   ⲔⲀⲂⲂⲒ   ⲔⲀⲗ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ
put-APPL2/3-NEUT.3SG-when   be.greedy   eat-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲦⲀⲄⲞⲚ   ⲞⲨⲄ-Ⲓ   Ⲟ̄ⲨⲚ   ⲦⲞⳞⲔⲒ-ⲚⲀⲒⲚ-ϬⲒ
and.then   day-PL   month   three-pertaining.to-PL

ⲚⲞⲄ-Ⳝ-ⲀⲚ   ⲂⲀ̄ⲗ-ⲔⲒ
pass-PT2-3PL   after-ACC

ⲘⲀ̄Ⲣ   ⲱⲈ̄Ⲣ-ⲔⲒ   ⲗⲞ̄ⲨⲢ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲣ-ⲀⲚ
village   INDF-ACC   reach-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ⲘⲀⲚ   ⲘⲀ̄Ⲣ-Ⲛ   ⲘⲒⲱⲢⲀ-Ⲣ
DEM.DIST   village-GEN   harbor-LOC

ⲔⲞⲨⲂ-ⲔⲒ   ⲆⲀ̄Ⲃ-ⲔⲒⲢ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲣ-ⲀⲚ
boat-ACC   anchor-CAUS-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ⲔⲒⲢⲀ̄ⲄⲈ-Ⲛ   ⲞⲨⲄ   Ⲉ-Ⳝ-ⲒⲚ-Ⲛ   ⲒⲗⲗⲀⲢ   ⲄⲞⲚ   10
Sunday-GEN   day   be-PT2-3SG-GEN   because   and

ⲈⲢⳠⲒ̄Ⳝ   ⲘⲀⲚ   ⲘⲀ̄Ⲣ   ⲔⲀⲗⲗⲒ   ⲈⲄⲈϬϬⲈ
skipper   DEM.DIST   village   DIR   ascend

ⲚⲞⲄ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ   ⲔⲞⲢⲈ-ⲄⲒ   Ⲁ̄ⲢⲢ-Ⲉ-ⲄⲒ
go-PT1-NEUT.3SG   sacrament-ACC   receive-PURP-ACC

ⲘⲀⲚ   ⲘⲀ̄Ⲣ-ⲢⲞ   ⲄⲞⲚ
DEM.DIST   village-LOC   and

ГIС	МЕРЇЕМ	ВЕЇЇЕКО̄ᴧ-N
holy	Mary	virgin-ɢᴇɴ

КIССЕ	ω̄Р	ТЕ̄В-КО-N
church	ɪɴᴅꜰ	stand-ᴘᴛ1-ɴᴇᴜᴛ.3ꜱɢ

ТЕР	КОN	δο̄γ	ТО̄-ГО-N
3ꜱɢ.ɴᴏᴍ	and	go.along	enter-ᴘᴛ1-ɴᴇᴜᴛ.3ꜱɢ

КОРЕ-ГI	а̄РР-Е-ГI
sacrament-ᴀᴄᴄ	receive-ᴘᴜʀᴘ-ᴀᴄᴄ

ТαГОN	ТIРIСᾱδIЇО̄N	ВЕᴧᴧαР
and.then	trisagion	prayer

Тᾱ-С-IN	ГОNОN
come-ᴘᴛ2-3ꜱɢ	as.soon.as

αᴧЕМ-I	МαᴧᴧЕ	КαСКαСЕ-N
person-ᴘʟ	all	baptistery-ɢᴇɴ

ОГОᴧ-ᴧО	δαММЕ-ГО-Р-αN
front-ʟᴏᴄ	assemble-ᴘᴛ1-ɴᴇᴜᴛ-3ᴘʟ

ГIС-N	ЕССI-ГЕδ
holy-ɢᴇɴ	water-ɪɴꜱᴛʀ

ТINN	ᾱ-N6I-ГI	МIССЕР-Е-ГI
3ᴘʟ.ɢᴇɴ	self-ᴘʟ-ᴀᴄᴄ	sprinkle-ᴘᴜʀᴘ-ᴀᴄᴄ

ЄΡϨῙϹ-N   MICCI   ΚΟΥϹ-BŌY-ΓΟ-N
skipper-GEN   eye   open-STAT-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΓΙϹ   MῙNΔ   ΦΙΛΙΤΤΙ-N   ΓŌN
holy   Mina   shining-NEUT.3SG   while

ωᾱΝΔΙ-Ϲ-ΙΝ-ΓΙ   NΔλ-ΚΟ-N
appear-PT2-3SG-ACC   see-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΚΔδ   ΔΡŌ   ωĒΡ-ΚΙ   ЄΓΙΡ-ЄΔ-ΔᾱN
horse   white   INDF-ACC   ride-COMPL2-PROG

ΤЄΝΝ   ΤΟΥΔδΙ-ΔΡ-N   ϣᾱ-ΓΙ   11
3SG.GEN   hunt-NR-GEN   spear-ACC

ΔΟΓŌΓΙΡ   ᾱΡ-ЄΔ-ΔᾱN
raise   hold-COMPL2-PROG

ΤЄΡ   ΚΟΝ   NΔλ-Ϲ-ΙΝ   ΓΟΝΟΝ
3SG.NOM   and   see-PT2-3SG   as.soon.as

ΜЄΡΪЄΜ   ΔΡΤΙ-N   ΔΜΟΥΡ-ΚЄΔ
Mary   God-GEN   order-INSTR

ΟΥϹΚΙ-ЄΛ-N   ῙΓŌN   ΓΔΔΙ   BŌΔ   δŌY
give-PTC.PF-GEN   image   DIR   run   go.along

ΔŌYλ-ΓΙΡ   ΟΥωωЄ   BΔψΨΙ-ΓΟ-N
loud-CAUS   call   speak-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲁⲣⲧⲓ-ⲛ   ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲣ-ⲕⲉⲇ   ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲓ-ⲉⲗ   ⲙⲉⲣⲓ̈ⲉⲙ
God-GEN   order-INSTR   give.birth-PTC.PF   Mary

ⲉⲛⲛ   ⲉⲣⲣⲓ-ⲅⲉⲇ   ⲁⲓ̈-ⲅⲓ   ⲧⲁⲅⲓⲣ-ⲟⲥ
2SG.GEN   name-INSTR   1SG-ACC   cover-COMPL2

ⲁⲓ̈   ⲁ̄ⲃⲉ-ⲅⲓ   ⲁ̄ⲱ-ⲉⲇ-ⲁ̄ⲅ-ⲓⲣ-ⲓ-ⲅⲉⲇ
1SG.NOM   sin-ACC   do-COMPL1-STAT-NEUT-1SG-because

ⲉ-ⲅⲟ-ⲛ
say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲅⲓⲥ   ⲙⲓ̄ⲛⲁ   ⲅⲟⲛ   ⲱⲁⲣⲣⲓ   ⲁⲛ
holy   Mina   and   at.distant   become

ⲧⲉ̄ⲃ-ⲟⲥ   ⲧⲉⲣ-ⲕⲓ   ⲱⲉ̄-ⲧⲓⲣ-ⲕⲟ-ⲛ
stand-COMPL2   3SG-ACC   say-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲙⲓⲛ-ⲅⲓ   ⲉⲣ-ⲇⲟ   ⲉⲕⲕⲉⲛⲉ   ⲓⲛⲛⲟⲱⲱⲓ-ⲅⲓ
what-ACC   2SG-LOC   now   today-ACC

ⲁⲓ̈   ⲃⲓ   ⲁ̄ⲱ-ⲓⲣ-ⲓ
1SG.NOM   FUT   do-NEUT-1SG

ⲉⲣ   ⲁⲣⲧⲓ-ⲛ   ⲉⲣⲣⲓ-ⲅⲉⲇ   ⲧⲟ̄ⲣ-ⲉⲗ
2SG.NOM   God-GEN   name-INSTR   enter-PTC.PF

ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲛ   ⲅⲓⲥ   ⲙⲁⲛ   ⲟⲅⲓⲇ-ⲕⲓ   ⲁ̄ⲣ
and.then   holy   DEM.DIST   man-ACC   grasp

ΤΕΝΝ   ΟΥΡ-ΡΟ   δΟΜ-ΙΝ-ΓᾱΛ
3SG.GEN   head-LOC   hit-NEUT.3SG-when

ΚΟΥΜΒΟΥ   ΜαΝ   ΤΕΡ   ΚαΛ-Ϲ-ΙΝ
egg   DEM.DIST   3SG.NOM   eat-PT2-3SG

ΔΟΥΜαΛ-ΛΟ   ΔΟΥΜΜαΔΕ   ᾱΨ-ΙΛ   αΝ
sudden-LOC   hen   life-PTC.IMPF   become

ΤΕΝΝ   ΤΟΓΟ̄-Ρ   ΤΟ̄Ν   ϣΟΥΓΟΥΡ   ΒΕΛ
3SG.GEN   under-LOC   from   descend   get.out

ΚΟΥΤΤΕΤΕ̄Β   ΤΟΥϹΚΟΥΝ-ΔΟ   ΚαΓαΚΚΙ-ΓΟ-Ν
stand.up   immediate-LOC   cackle-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΓΙϹ   ΜῙΝα   ΓΟΝ
holy   Mina   and

Καδ-ΙΡ   ΚΟΥδᾱΓ-ΙΝ   ΓΟ̄Ν
horse-LOC   squat.on-NEUT.3SG   while

ΔΟΥΜΜαΔΕ-ΓΙ   ΤΕΝΝ   αϣΟΥΡ   ΟϣϣΙΝΓᾱΡ-ΡΟ   ΤΟ̄Ν
hen-ACC   3SG.GEN   wing   both-LOC   from

ᾱΡ   ΔΟΓΟ̄ΓΙΡ   ϹΟΚΚΕ-ΟϹ   ϣΕ̄-ΓΟ-Ν
grasp   raise   take-COMPL2   say-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΙΝ-ΙΝ   ΙΛΛαΡ   αϊ   Τᾱ-ΓΟ-Ρ-Ι
DEM.PROX-GEN   because.of   1SG.NOM   come-PT1-NEUT.1SG

IN TⲀNNⲀN Ⲁï Ⲁ̄ⲱ-C-I
DEM.PROX it.is 1SG.NOM do-PT2-1SG

MⲀN-IN BⲀ̄Ⲇ-KI ГIC MĪNⲀ
DEM.DIST-GEN after-ACC holy Mina

MⲀN Ē N-N KⲀ̄-Ρ NOГ ⲆO̅Ȳ
DEM.DIST woman-GEN house-LOC go go.along

KOBIⲆ-KI KOKKI OYⲱⲱⲈ-TIΡ-KO-N
door-ACC knock call-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG

13 ĒN ГON BŌⲆ-TI-ГⲈⲆ
woman and run-NR-INSTR

TⲀ̄ KOBIⲆ-KI KOYC-KO-N
come door-ACC open-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ГIC TⲈΡ-KI ⲱⲈ̄-TIΡ-KO-N
holy 3SG-ACC say-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲮĒ̄ ĒN IN ⲆOYMMⲀⲆⲈ-ГI Ⲁ̄Ρ ⲈⲆⲆOY
oh woman DEM.PROX hen-ACC seize take.to

ⲈNN ⲆOYMMⲀⲆⲈ-NⳘI-N BⲀΡΡⲈ-Ρ
2SG.GEN hen-PL-GEN among-LOC

OYNⲆOYΡ-OC-KI-N
put.in-COMPL2-COND-NEUT.2SG

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ЄР-КІ	КОУМВΟΥ-ΓΙ	ВІ	ΜΟΥΓ-ΤΙΡ-Р-ⲀΝ
2SG-ACC	egg-ACC	FUT	lay.egg-APPL2/3-NEUT-3PL

ЄР	ΚΟΝ	ϨĒ	ĒΝ	ΤŌⲀ	ωĒΡ-ΚΙ
2SG.NOM	and	oh	woman	son	INDF-ACC

ВІ	ΟΥϹΚΙ-Ν
FUT	give.birth-NEUT.2SG

ΤЄΝΝ	ЄΡΡΙ-ΓΙ	ΜĪΝⲀ	ЄΓΙ	ΟΥΝⲀΟΥΡ
3SG.GEN	name-ACC	Mina	FIN	put.in.IMP.2SG

ЄΝΝ	ВΟΥΡΟΥ-ωΙ	ⲀⲀωⲀⲀ-Ι	ΜⲀΛΛЄ	ΓΟΝ
2SG.GEN	girl-PL	servant-PL	all	and

ВІ	ΟΥϹΚΙ-ΡⲀΝ	ЄΝΝ	ΤĪ-Ν6Ι	ΓΟΝ
FUT	give.birth-IMPF.3PL	2SG.GEN	cow-PL	also

ЄΡ	ΚΟΝ	ϨĒ	ĒΝ	ΚΙⲀⲀΙΡⲀΡ-ΚΙ
2SG.NOM	and	oh	woman	baptism-ACC

ⲀŌ̄Υ	Ā̄Ρ
go.along	receive

ЄΝΝ	Ā̄ВЄ-Ν6Ι-Ν	ΚΟΜΙϹ-ⲀΡ-Ν	ΙΛΛⲀΡ
2SG.GEN	sin-PL-GEN	wipe.off-NR-GEN	in.order.to

ΙΝ-ΓΙ	ωĒ	ⲀⲀⲀĒΡ-ΟϹ	Ā̄ΦĒΡ-ΟϹ	14
DEM.PROX-ACC	say	finish-COMPL2	forgive-COMPL2	

ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲀⳖ-ⳖⲞ   ⲄⲓⲤ   ⲀⲰⲀ̄ⲘⲈ   ⲆⲀⲂ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ
sudden-LOC   holy   fade   disappear-PT1-NEUT.3SG

Ⲉ̄Ⲛ   ⲄⲞⲚ   ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲘⲀⳖⲈ-Ⲅⲓ   Ⲁ̄Ⲣ   ⲈⲦⲦⲀ
woman   and   hen-ACC   seize   bring

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ   ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲘⲀⳖⲈ-Ⲛⳝⲓ-Ⲛ   ⲂⲀⲢⲢⲈ-Ⲣ
3SG.GEN   hen-PL-GEN   among-LOC

ⲞⲨⲚⲆⲞⲨⲢ-Ⲥ-ⲒⲚ   ⲄⲞⲚⲞⲚ
put.in-PT2-3SG   as.soon.as

ⲆⲞⲨⲘⲀⳖ-ⳖⲞ   ⲘⲀⳖⳖⲈ   ⲔⲞⲨⲘⲂⲞⲨ-Ⲅⲓ   ⲘⲞⲨⲄ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲣ-ⲀⲚ
sudden-LOC   all   egg-ACC   lay.egg-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ   ⲂⲞⲨⲢⲞⲨ-Ⲱⲓ   ⳜⲀⲰⲀⳖ-ⲓ   ⲄⲞⲚ
3SG.GEN   girl-PL   servant-PL   and

Ⲧⲓ̄-Ⲛⳝⲓ   ⲄⲞⲚ   ⲄⲞⲚ   ⲘⲈ̄Ⲱ   ⲀⲚ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲣ-ⲀⲚ
cow-PL   and   also   pregnant   become-PT1-NEUT-3PL

Ⲉ̄Ⲛ   Ⲕⲓ̄Ⲇ   ⲔⲞⲚ   ⲘⲈ̄Ⲱ   ⲀⲚ
woman   herself   and   pregnant   become

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ   ⲦⲞ̄Ⲇ   ⲔⲀⲄⲀ-Ⲅⲓ   ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲓ-ⲄⲞ-Ⲛ
3SG.GEN   son   first.born-ACC   give.birth-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ   ⲈⲢⲢⲓ-Ⲅⲓ   Ⲙⲓ̄ⲚⲀ   Ⲉⲅⲓ   ⲞⲨⲚⲆⲞⲨⲢ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ
3SG.GEN   name-ACC   Mina   FIN   put.in-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲦⲈⲢ-ⲔⲒ	ⲄⲒⲤ	ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ	ⲱⲈ̄-Ⲥ-ⲒⲚ	ⲚⲀ2ⲀⲆ
3SG-ACC	holy	Mina	say-PT2-3SG	as

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ	ⲂⲟⲨⲢⲟⲨ-ⲱⲒ	ⲆⲀⲱⲀⲆ-Ⲓ	ⲘⲀⲖⲖⲈ	ⲄⲟⲚ
3SG.GEN	girl-PL	servant-PL	all	also

ⲞⲨⲤⲔⲒ-ⲄⲞ-Ⲣ-ⲀⲚ
give.birth-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ⲦⲞⲚⲒ	ⲄⲞⲚ	ⲂⲟⲨⲢⲟⲨ-ⲱⲒ	ⲄⲞⲚ-ⲄⲒ	Ⲉ̄Ⲛ	ⲄⲞⲚ	15
boys	and	girl-PL	and-ACC	woman	and	

ⲦⲈⲚⲚ	ⲚⲈⲄⲄⲈⲔⲀⲚⲈ-Ⲛ	ⲞⲨⲄ-Ⲓ
3SG.GEN	puerperium-GEN	day-PL

ⲔⲒⲔⲔⲈ-Ⲥ-ⲀⲚ	ⲂⲀ̄ⲗ-ⲔⲒ
complete-PT2-3PL	after-ACC

ⲄⲒⲤ	ⲘⲒ̄ⲚⲀ-Ⲛ	ⲔⲒⲤⲤⲈ-Ⲣ	ⲘⲀ̄ⲢÏ̄Ⲟ̄Ⲧ-ⲒⲢ
holy	Mina-GEN	church-LOC	Mareotis-LOC

Ⲇⲟ̄ⲩ̄-ⲄⲞ-Ⲛ
go.along-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ⲔⲒⲤⲤⲈ	ⲄⲒⲤ-ⲒⲢ	ⲦⲞ̄-Ⲥ-ⲒⲚ	ⲄⲞⲚⲞⲚ
church	holy-LOC	enter-PT2-3SG	as.soon.as

Ⲥⲟ̄ⲢⲦⲞ̄ⲗ-ⲔⲒ	ⲒⲤⲒⲄ-ⲔⲞ-Ⲛ	ⲦⲒⲢ-ⲄⲒ
priest-ACC	entreat-PT1-NEUT.3SG	3PL-ACC

ΚΙΔΔΙΡ-ΚΙⲢ-ΙⲢ-ΙΝ-Ν   ΙⲖⲖⲀⲢ
baptize-CAUS-OBJ.PL-NEUT.3SG-GEN   in.order.to

CO̅ⲢTO̅Δ   ΚΟΝ   TIⲢ-ⲅΙ   ΒΕΔΔΙ-TIⲢ-ΟC-ΙⲢΙⲢ
priest   and   3PL-ACC   pray-APPL2/3-COMPL2-OBJ.PL

ΤΕⲢ   ΔA̅Ν   ΤΕΝΝ   ΟⲅΙδ   ΔA̅Ν
3SG.NOM   and   3SG.GEN   husband   and

ΤΕΝΝ   ΤO̅Δ   ΔA̅Ν   ΤΕΝΝ   δΔωΔΔ-Ι
3SG.GEN   son   and   3SG.GEN   servant-PL

ΔA̅Ν-ⲅΙ   ΚΙΔΔΙⲢ-ΚΙⲢ-ΙⲢ-ΚΟ-Ν
and-ACC   baptize-CAUS-OBJ.PL-PT1-NEUT.3SG

ΒA̅Β   ΔA̅Ν   ΤO̅Δ   ΔA̅Ν   ΝΕωΕⲢΤΙ
father   and   son   and   spirit

ⲅΙC   ΔA̅Ν-Ν   ΕⲢⲢΙ-ⲅΕΔ
holy   and-GEN   name-INSTR

16 ΙΝΚΕⲅΙ   ΜΕCI̅2Ι-Ν6Ι   ΤΙωⲢI̅-Ν6Ι   ΔΝ-ΚΟ-Ⲣ-ΔΝ
    thus   Christian-PL   straight-PL   become-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ΤΙΝΝ   A̅ΨΤΙ-Ν   ΟΥⲅ-Ι   ΜΔΛΛΕ-Ⲣ
3PL.GEN   life-GEN   day-PL   all-LOC

ⲅΙC   ΜI̅ΝΔ-Ν   ΚΙCCΕ-Ν   ΤΙⲢΔⲢ
holy   Mina-GEN   church-GEN   offer

ТΙР-ΔΟ   ΚΟΥϬ-ΙΛ   ΓΟΝ-ΓΙ
3PL-LOC   be.incumbent-PTC.IMPF   and-ACC

ΤΕΜΕΛΛΙ-ΓΙ   ΟϬΙ-Λ   ΑΝ-ΚΟ-Ρ-ΑΝ
continually-ACC   deliver-PTC.IMPF   become-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ΔῙ-Ϲ-ΑΝ   ΒΟΚΚΟΝ
die-PT2-3PL   till

ΜΑΛΛΕ   ΓΟΝ   ΙΝ   ΝΟΚΚΟΡ   ΔΟ̄ΥΛ-ΓΙ
all   and   DEM.PROX   miracle   big-ACC

ΓΙϬΙΡ-ΟϹ   ΝΑΛ-ΟϹ   ΑΡΤΙ-ΓΙ
hear-COMPL2   see-COMPL2   God-ACC

ΤΕΝΝ   ΟΡΚΑΝΕ-ΓΙ   ΤΙΡ-ΚΟ-Ρ-ΑΝ
3SG.GEN   kingship-ACC   give.2/3-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ΓΙϹ   ΜῙΝΑ   ΓΟΝ-ΓΙ   ΤΕΝΝ   Ε̄ωΑ   ΓΟΝ
holy   Mina   and-ACC   3SG.GEN   fame.glory   and

ΓΟΥωΑΡΚΑΝΕ ΓΟΝ-ΓΙ   ΟΥΨΟΥΡ-ΤΙΡ-ΚΟ-Ρ-ΑΝ   17
powerfulness   and-ACC   acknowledge-APPL2/3-PT1-NEUT-3PL

ΜΑΝ   ωο̄Β-ΙΡ   ΤΟ̄Ν
DEM.DIST   moment-LOC   from

ΔΙΜΕ-Ν   ΒΟΚΚΟΝ   ᾹΜῙΝ
eternity-GEN   till   amen

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