

Language Contact and Translation Practices in Medieval Nubia

Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei
<vincent@vangervenoei.com>

June 26, 2016

1 Greek and Old Nubian Language Contact

When we speak of language contact and translation practices in Medieval Nubia, we are faced with a society that appears very multilingual, producing documents in four different languages: Greek, Sahidic Coptic, Old Nubian, and Arabic.¹

language	# texts	%
unidentified	928	31.7
Greek	892	30.5
Coptic	662	22.6
Old Nubian	232	7.93
Greek–Old Nubian	117	4.00
Coptic–Greek	45	1.54
Arabic	43	1.47
Arabic–Old Nubian	3	0.10
Coptic–Old Nubian	2	0.07
Coptic–Greek–Old Nubian	2	0.07

Table 1: Language of Nubian written sources 6th–15th C. (Grzegorz Ochała, “Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches,” *Dotawo* 1 (2014): pp. 26–27)

In the following presentation I will first briefly discuss the particularities of the Greek written by Nubian scribes and several aspects of Greek loanwords in Nubian in contrast with the Greek influence on Coptic vocabulary. We will then move on to a brief overview of the syntactical and morphological features of bilingual Greek–Old Nubian texts.

1.1 Nubian Greek

It appears that during the Middle Ages, the Byzantine *koinē* was still widely spoken in the region, with nearly one-third of the attested materials from Nubia

¹ Grzegorz Ochała, “Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches,” *Dotawo* 1 (2014): p. 1.

in that particular language.² A number of peculiarities of written Greek in Nubia stand out.

We find a loss of distinction between aspirated, voiceless, and voiced consonants, which is caused by the structure of the Old Nubian phoneme inventory, which has no aspirated stops and a weak distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, while at the same time in spoken Greek voiceless stops were increasingly becoming voiced:

x-γ: Ben 15 ● παχος < Gr. πάχος³

κ-γ: Dong 1 10 ● οικειται < Gr. ἡγείται

ς-ζ: P.QI 1 2.i.3 ● ελπισατε < Gr. ἐλπίζετε

γ-κ: P.QI P 3 ● εκδιγησεν < Gr. ἐχδίκησιν

θ-τ: P.QI 1 2.i.4 ● επιποθειθε < Gr. ἐπιποθεΐτε; P.QI 1 3.ii.4 ● καθορθωσεν < Gr. κατάρθωσεν; Ben 21 ● θαπρια < Gr. τὰ θηρία

Itacism is caused both by sound changes in the Byzantine *koinē*, such as the reduction of several vowels to /i/ and the absence of rounded front vowel /y/ in Old Nubian:

ι-η: Ben 21 ● θαπρια < Gr. τὰ θηρία

γ-η: Ben 21 ● κτηνη < Gr. κτήνη

ει-η: Ben 13 ● ει μερας < Gr. ἡμέρας

οι-η: Dong 1 10 ● οικειται < Gr. ἡγείται

ει-η: P.QI 1 2.i.7 ● ρει < Gr. ρέη

η-ι: P.QI 2 12.i.9 ● εγκαταλημης < Gr. ἐγκαταλίπης

οι-ι: P.QI 2 12.i.13 ● εγκατελοιπον < Gr. ἐγκατέλιπόν

η-οι: Ben 19 ● βογηη < Gr. βουνοί

ι-υ: P.QI 2 13.i.17 ● αλλοφιλοι < Gr. ἀλλόφυλοι, but P.QI 2 13.i.20 ● αλλοφυλος- as loanword

Other vowel variations again show the interplay between changing pronunciations of *koinē* Greek and the smaller Nubian vowel inventory, or are perhaps simply scribal errors (as seems to be the case in Ben, whose scribe was certainly not well versed in Greek):

2. See Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 165–187 for a detailed analysis of the Egyptian *koinē* in terms of vowel/consonant changes and grammar.

3. Editorial Sigla: ●: Both context and form are clear; ○: Context is clear, form is unclear or damaged; ◐: Context is unclear or damaged, form is clear; ◑: Context and form are unclear or damaged; ⊗: Analysis uncertain. And the standard set of editorial sigla: [. . .]: lacuna; { . . . }: addition by editor; { . . . }: deletion by editor; [. . .]: deletion by scribe; ⚭: ⚭ is uncertain; / . . . /: phonological representation; *⚭: Not attested or reconstructed;

- ε-α: P.QI 1 3.i.17 ● τε < Gr. τὰ
- α-αι: P.QI P 6 ● ΔΥΗΑΣΤΕΙΑΣ < Gr. δυναστείας
- ε-αι: Ben 17 ● αστραπε < Gr. ἀστραπαί; Ben 21 ● επηγε < Gr. αἰ πηγαί
- α-ε: P.QI 1 2.i.3 ● ελπικατε < Gr. ἐλπίζετε; P.QI 1 3.i.22 ● καλαγῶντω < Gr. σαλευθήτω; Ben 17 ● ναφελες < Gr. νεφέλαι
- αι-ε: Dong 1 6 ● παιδιογ < Gr. πεδίου
- ε-ει: P.QI 1 2.ii.23 ● παραριπτεσθαι < Gr. παραρριπτεῖσθαι
- ε-ι: P.QI P 3 ● εκδιγнсен < Gr. ἐκδίχων
- α-ια: P.QI P 2 ● αγγελισρηται < Gr. ἀγγαλιάσσονται
- ογ-ο: P.QI 1 3.ii.18 ● αγτογис < Gr. αὐτοῖς
- ω-ο: P.QI 2 12.ii.2 ● γπομηων < Gr. ὑπόμεινον; P.QI 2 12.ii.2 ● τφ[n] < Gr. τὸν
- οι-ου: Ben 7 ● τωογνοι < Gr. τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ
- ω-ου: Ben 7 ● τωογνοι < Gr. τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ
- ογ-φ: P.QI P 1 ● αγτογ < Gr. αὐτῶ

1.2 Greek Loanwords

In comparison with Coptic, the inventory of Greek loanwords in Old Nubian is limited, and the orthographical variants encountered are similar to those discussed above. However, there are a few striking differences with the phonological properties of Greek loanwords in Coptic, which I would like to review briefly.⁴

- Coptic often has false aspiration, such as Copt. ρεθνος < Gr. ἔθνος; Copt. ρελπιζε < Gr. ἐλπίζειν; and Copt. ρικων < Gr. εἰκών. This phenomenon is unknown in ON, cf. P.QI 1 9.ii.7 ● εικον-κα, P.QI 1 9.i.17 ● ειγον-κα < Gr. εἰκών;
- Like in Coptic, the Old Nubian distinction between κ/γ and π/β is weak or perhaps non-existent. In contrast with Coptic, however, the distinction τ/Δ is phonemic. Hence Copt. χρησδιανος, but M 2.12 ● χριστιανος-ιρογν < Gr. χριστιανός;
- In Coptic, initial θ, φ, χ are analyzed as τ+θ, π+θ, κ+θ. For example, Gr. θάλασσα > Copt. τ-θαλασσα, with τ- reanalyzed as feminine determiner. Instead, we find SC 7.15 ● θαλασογ, where the original -α has been reanalyzed as predicative -α.⁵

4. For the Coptic exx. see Sarah J. Clackson and Arietta Papaconstantinou, “Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the Papyri,” in *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, ed. Arietta Papaconstantinou (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 79–83.

5. The -ογ is phonological; ON words are not allowed to end in a voiceless consonant.

- In Coptic, Greek endings are often preserved, whereas in ON they are sometimes reanalyzed as morphemes, as already exemplified above. Also compare Copt. $\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\text{ιον}$ < Gr. $\delta\eta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\text{ιον}$ with K 29.5–6 ● $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{-}\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\kappa\alpha$ < Gr. $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{ιον}$, and St 3.8 ● $\mu\gamma\sigma\tau\eta\rho\gamma$ < Gr. $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\text{ιον}$, where $-\text{ιον}$ has been reanalyzed as the complementizer $-\epsilon\text{ιον}$;
- Whereas in Coptic the supralinear stroke indicates a syllable with ϵ , in ON it appears to signal on a consonant a syllable with ι and on a vowel a syllable consisting of $/V/$: Copt. $\sigma\dot{\rho}\eta\mu\alpha$ < Gr. $\sigma\acute{\rho}\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$; M 7.4 ● $\rho\dot{\sigma}\tau\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\bar{\alpha}$ < Gr. $\rho\text{ισ}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}$; L 111.10 ● $\tau\eta\mu\dot{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\tau\bar{\rho}\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ < Gr. $\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\text{ιον}$;
- In contrast with Coptic, word-initial consonant clusters are not tolerated. Compare Copt. $\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\gamma$ < Gr. $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ with St 1.8 ● $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\sigma\gamma$ < Gr. $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$; P.QI 1 19.C.i.9 ● $\sigma\gamma\tau\bar{\lambda}\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ < Gr. $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta$, with the final $-\eta$ /i/ phonologically deleted.

2 Old Nubian–Greek Bilingual Texts

I would now like to focus on Greek–Old Nubian bilingual texts, in particular Old Nubian translations of the Septuagint, in order to explain certain morphological and syntactical features of literary Old Nubian particular to Biblical translations.⁶

Following Christian Askeland’s study on the Coptic translations of the Septuagint,⁷ I would like to orient this preliminary investigation through the difference between *obligatory explicitation*, which “is caused by the lack of equivalent syntactic categories,” and *optional explicitation*, which “resolves stylistic differences between the source and translation languages,” without which “a translation would be clumsy.”⁸

Both forms of explicitation serve the aim of rendering the Greek *Vorlage* as closely as possible without being ungrammatical. That this drive toward literalness can become quite extreme is shown by Wulfila’s Bible translation in Gothic, where “the Greek *Vorlage* is rendered word for word and in the same order.”⁹ This is possible because Gothic belongs to the same language family as Greek, has a similar verbal and nominal inflection system, and appears to have a relatively free word order.

By contrast, the linguistic differences between Greek and Old Nubian are numerous. For example, whereas the former is an Indo-European SOV language

6. It should be noted that most of the variants in the Greek texts that we will discuss below are not attested in any other Greek manuscripts of the Septuagint, cf. the apparatus in Gerald M. Browne, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Versio Palaeonubiana*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 547 (Louvain: Peeters, 1994), pp. 62–77.

7. Christian Askeland, *John’s Gospel: The Coptic Translation of its Greek Text*, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 44 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

8. *ibid.*, p. 10. See also Kinga Klaudy, “Explicitation,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2nd ed., ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha (Routledge, 2009), p. 106.

9. Carla Falluomini, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles: Cultural Background, Transmission and Character*, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 46 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), p. 66.

that has transitioned to a general SVO structure with the emergence of Hellenistic *koinē*,¹⁰ Old Nubian is a strict SOV language from the Nubian family within the North-Eastern Sudanic subgroup of the Nilo-Saharan phylum; Byzantine Greek has a fusional case and agreement system with a lot of irregular forms, whereas Old Nubian is a very regular agglutinative language like Turkish; the former has a large inventory of discourse particles and clitics, whereas the latter has none; and while Greek has three genders, Old Nubian has none.

These and many other differences imply that we expect to find obligatory explicitation for example in cases where particles and clitics have to be rendered as suffixes, and verbal and nominal morphological categories need to be matched. In terms of constituent order, we expect Old Nubian scribes – following the obligation to arrive at a translation that is as literal as possible – to develop syntactical strategies of optional explicitation to match Greek constituent order whenever possible.

Currently we have the following published bilingual Greek–Old Nubian literary texts, which, apart from a few fragments, come in two varieties:

Full, line by line translations:

- P.QI 1 2.i.1–20 = DBMNT 1002: Ps. 61:10–13 (Qaṣr Ibrīm)
- P.QI 1 3 = DBMNT 1003: Ps. 95:6–13 (Qaṣr Ibrīm)
- P.QI 2 12 = DBMNT 1009: Ps. 26:8–14; 90:1–5 (Qaṣr Ibrīm)
- P.QI 2 13 = DBMNT 1010: Ps. 83:13; 86:1–7; 46:2–6 (Qaṣr Ibrīm)

Translations with alternating lines, one in Greek and one in Old Nubian:

- P.QI 1 2.i.21–ii.30 = DBMNT 1002: Ps. 83.2–12 (Qaṣr Ibrīm)
- P.QI P = DBMNT 1292: Ps. 149–150 (Qaṣr Ibrīm)
- Ben = DBMNT 1319: Dan. 57–81 (Qaṣr El-Wizz)
- Dong 1 = DBMNT 1388: Ps. 103:15–31 (Dongola)
- Dong 2 = DBMNT 1393: Dan. 3:31–34, 38–40 (Dongola)

To make s start with the long overdue inspection of translation techniques present in these bilingual texts, I will give an overview with DBMNT 1002, 1009, and 1010, which are all written in the same hand and therefore – presumably – by the same scribe and translator.¹¹

10. Ann Taylor, “The Change from SOV to SVO in Ancient Greek,” *Language Variation and Change* 6, no. 1 (1994): 1–37.

11. Gerald M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qaṣr Ibrīm*, vol. II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989), 12, with note ad loc.

2.1 Obligatory Explicitation

According to Klaudy, *obligatory explicitation* “is dictated by differences in the syntactic and semantic structures of the languages,” the most obvious cases being those of “missing categories,”¹² in which syntactic and semantic categories of the original and target languages don’t fully overlap. Old Nubian and Greek being part of two completely unrelated language families, obligatory explicitation is very common indeed. Let’s review a few cases.

- First person plural pronoun
- Pairs
- Case
- Prepositions
- Prefix verbs
- Subordination
- Tense
- Pluractionality
- (Medio-)passivity

(1) P.QI 2 13.ii.18–23 ●

a. ὑπέταξε λαοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν·

b. ὑπεταζεν λαοῦς ἡμῖν ἔθνη
 ακοῦπαρρασι κῆτογοῦκα οὔτλε ον᾽ σῖπγοῦκοῖ
 ἦπο τοῦς ποδας ἡμῶν //
 οὔν ὄεν τρᾶ ταγῶ //

c. *ak-oup-ar-r-a-sin* *kipt-ougou-ka ou-gille*
 sit-overthrow-TR-NEUT-PRED-EMP people-PL-ACC 1PL.EXCL-DIR
on sipp-igou-k-on ou-n oe-n tr-il
 and nation-PL-ACC-C 1PL.EXCL-GEN foot-GEN pair-DET
tau-ō
 belly-LOC1

“He overturned peoples for us and nations too under our feet.” (Ps. 46:4)

First person plural pronouns Different from Greek, Old Nubian makes a difference between an inclusive first person plural pronoun (including the addressee) and exclusive one.

Pairs Old Nubian uses as specific plural formation for pairs, such as body parts, whereas Greek has no such form.

12. Klaudy, “Explicitation,” p. 106.

Case The Greek and Old Nubian case systems partially overlap. We see here that objects of the main verb are marked in both languages with the accusative, whereas the recipient has a different case. Such differences can often be ascribed to how valency is encoded differently on ON and Greek verbs.

Prepositions Whereas Greek has prepositions, Old Nubian has postpositions, both simple and complex. In this particular case we see that Greek preposition ὑπό has been translated with postposition ταῤαῤῶ.

Prefix verbs Greek has a large inventory of prefix verbs, consisting of a prepositional prefix and a root. This type of combination is not possible in Old Nubian, which relatively consistently employs so-called multiverb constructions, combining the meaning of two different verb roots to approach the meaning of the Greek prefix verb.

This is another example:

(2) P.QI 2 12.i.12–16 ●

a. ὅτι ὁ πατήρ μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου ἐγκατέλιπόν με, ὁ δὲ Κύριος προσελάβετό με.

b. ὅτι ὀ πῆρ Ἣ ἡ ἡῆρ μοῤ ἐγκατελοπον με ὀ δε κῆ
 απολαδε οη αν ἐνδεκελγοῤλ' αἰκα σολα τοκοῤαν ἑοδἰλω αἰκα
 ἀντελαβετο μοῤ //
 ταμαλανα //

c. *apo-l-de on an en-deke-l-gou-l*
 my.father-DET-CONJ and 1SG.GEN mother-CONJ-DET-PL-DET
ai-ka sol-a tok-ou-an ἡod-il-lō ai-ka
 1SG-ACC abandon-PRED leave-PT1-3PL Lord-DET-FOC 1SG-ACC
tam-al-a-n-a
 tongue(?)-bind-PT1-2/3SG-PRED

“When my father and my mother left me, the Lord took me up.”
 (Ps. 26:10)

Subordination Subordinate clauses in Greek are often preceded by the complementizer ὅτι, which, depending on the verb form, can have a wide variety of meanings. As Old Nubian does not have such a grammatical element, we find very different translation strategies. In this particular example, the Greek ὅτι-clause has been rendered with a regular subordinate clause, in which the Old Nubian verb is not marked with the main predicate marker -ἰ.

Tense Greek is known to have a large verbal tense system, whereas Old Nubian only distinguishes a neutral/present tense and two different past/preterite tenses, of which the distribution still remains uncertain.¹³ In this example, the two Greek aorists are rendered with first preterite forms.

¹³. But see Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei, “Old Nubian Relative Clauses,” *Dotawo* 2 (2015): pp. 53–54.

In the next example, we see that the Greek future tense, is rendered by the Old Nubian intentional mood:

- (3) P.QI 2 12.ii.22–24 ●
- a. καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐλπιδίεις·
 b. 𐤏 𐤅𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤁𐤃 𐤏𐤕𐤅𐤓𐤁𐤃 𐤀𐤒𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏[𐤏]𐤀𐤃 //
 𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤏 𐤀𐤒𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤀𐤒𐤏𐤗[𐤕𐤕𐤕] 𐤕𐤀𐤀𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤏 //
 c. *tar-in aura-n tri-l tau-ō-lo-eion teeil*
 3SG-GEN wing-GEN couple-DET under-LOC1-FOC-C hope
doud-d-r-a-lē
 exist-INT-NEUT-PRED-AFF.2SG
 “And under his wings you shall feel hope.” (Ps. 90:4)

- (4) P.QI 2 13.ii.10–13 ●
- a. δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ σοῦ ἡ πόλις τοῦ Θεοῦ.
 b. 𐤀𐤕𐤀𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤏𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 //
 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 //
 c. *ḥook koñ-j-il-gou-l pes-tak-j-ar-a*
 glory(.ACC) have-PLACT-DET-PL-DET say-PASS-PLACT-PT1-PRED
eir-in jour-irō dipp-a till-na
 2SG-GEN cause-LOC city-PRED God-GEN
 “Glorious things we said because of you, city of God.” (Ps. 86:3)

Pluractionality Another grammatical element that is absent from Greek but in certain contexts obligatory in Old Nubian is the pluractional suffix, encoding plural agents, patients, or recipients in the verbal complex. In this case, the pluractional suffix cross-references with the plural patient of the passive verb.

(Medio-)passivity An interesting issue is encountered with the translation of medio-passive forms, which also gives us an insight into how Old Nubian scribes perceived or, perhaps, “analyzed” the Greek fusional and highly irregular morphology from the perspective of a regular agglutinative language such as their own. In the above example, the Greek passive aorist ἐλαλήθη is translated with a passive suffix -𐤕𐤕 and a preterite 1 tense.

- (5) P.QI 2 13.ii.13–17 ●
- a. μνησθήσομαι Ραβ̄ καὶ Βαβυλῶνος τοῖς γινώσκουσί με·
 b. 𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤓𐤁𐤕 𐤏 𐤕𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕 //
 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤓𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 //
 c. *ank-tak-ad-imme rab-il-de*
 remember-PASS-INT-AFF.1SG(!).PRED Raab-DET-CONJ
babulōn-deke-l tedou ai-k ei-ar-o-l-gou-l-gille
 Babylon-CONJ-DET 3PL 1SG-ACC know-TR-PT1-DET-PL-DET-DIR

“Raab and Babylon shall be mentioned (by me) to those who have known me.” (Ps. 86:4)

Now in the next sentence, which follows directly on the previous one, we find a verb form with the same morpheme $-θη$, but in a different function: as marker of a medio-passive future tense. Naturally, the scribe renders this morpheme with the passive $-τακ$, but then gets into problems with the agreement, which in Greek is a first person singular – “I will mention Raab and Babylon” – but which in Old Nubian should be third person – “Raab and Babylon shall be mentioned.” We nevertheless find, ungrammatically, a first person agreement suffix, as if the scribe intended to repurpose $-τακ$ as medio-passive marker. The absence of accusative case on $\rho\alpha\beta\iota\lambda\alpha\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\beta\gamma\lambda\omega\nu\lambda\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ (which in Greek is a genitive object), however, clearly shows that a passive interpretation is the desired one.

(6) P.QI 2 13.ii.17–22 ●

a. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀλλόφυλοι καὶ Τύρος καὶ λαὸς τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, οἳτοι ἐγενήθησαν ἐκεῖ.

b. ኘ ἰΔΟΥ ἈΛΛΟΦΙΛΟΙ ኘ ΤΥΡΟΣ
 εἰσσεῖ ἈΛΛΟΦΥΛΟΣΓΟΥΛΔΕ ΤΥΡΟΣΓΟΥΛΔΕ
 ኘ ΛΑΟΣ ΤΩΝ Αἰθιοπῶν ΟΥΓΤΟΙ ἔΓΕΝΝΗΘΗΣΑΝ ἔΚΕΙ //
 ΟΥΔΑΜΙΝ ΚἲΤΟΥΓΟΥ{ΓΟΥ}ΛΔΕΚΕΛ ΕΙΝΗΝΓΟΥΛ ΜΑΝΝΟΛΩ

ΚΙΡΑΕΙΣΑΝΑ //

c. *eissin allophulos-gou-l-de tyros-gou-l-de oudm-in*
 INTERJ gentile-PL-DET-CONJ Tyrian-PL-DET-CONJ dark-GEN
kipt-ougou-l-deke-l einēn-gou-l
 people-PL-DET-CONJ-DET DEM.PROX.PL-PL-DET
man-no-lō kir-ah-is-an-a
 DEM.DIST-LOC1-FOC come-INCH-PT2-3PL-PRED

“Lo, the gentiles and the Tyrians and the peoples of darkness – these got into being (lit. coming) there.” (Ps. 86:4)

The next verse again features a verb with $-θη$, another aorist passive. Here the scribe has chosen for a completely different morpheme, the inchoative, to render the meaning of the Greek verb, perhaps because the verb $\kappa\iota\rho$ can simply not be combined with the real passive $-τακ$.

So in these three example we clearly see how the scribe is struggling to render what he wants to consider a single suffix with a fixed meaning, $-θη$, in very different morphological and semantic contexts.

2.2 Optional Explicitation

Optional explicitation “is dictated by differences in text-building strategies ... and stylistic preferences between languages. Such explicitations are optional in the sense that grammatically correct sentences can be constructed without their application in the target language.”¹⁴

14. cite[p. 106]klaudy2009.

Optional explicitation is here compounded by the scribe’s stylistic preference to stay close to the Greek *Vorlage*, to imitate its constituent, if not word order. Optional explicitation therefore often involves strategies that render the grammar of the Old Nubian “foreign” or “artificial,” while at the same time attempting to keep it within bounds of the grammatical. An additional handicap in our endeavor to determine at which points Old Nubian grammar may have been “pushed” is our currently limited understanding of Old Nubian syntax. However, based on some general typological features of OV languages, we will be able to point to a few peculiar aspects of Old Nubian translations from Greek, which then in turn may be used to improve our knowledge of Old Nubian syntax.

- Extended personal pronouns
- Possessor and adjective inversion
- Object inversion
- Leftward movement

I start with this example because it gives us nearly a 1-on-1 Greek–Old Nubian translation. Let us inspect a few of its features.

(7) P.QI 2 12.i.16–20 ●

a. νομοθέτησόν με, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ σου καὶ ὁδήγησόν με ἐν τρίβῳ εὐθείᾳ

b. ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗCΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΕ ΤΗΝ ὈΔΟΝ CΟΥ Ξ ὈΔΗΓΗCΟΝ ΜΕ
 ῤΚΔΕCΩ ΔΙΚΑ ΕΟΔΑ ΕΙΡἸ ΔΔΓΟΥΚΑ ΟΝ ΜΟΥΔΟΥΕCΩ ΔΙΚΑ
 ΕΝ ΤΡΙΒΩ ΕΥΘΕΙΑ //
 ΤἸΠΟΥ ἸΘΚΑΝΕΝΙΛΑ //

c. *irkd-e-sō* *ai-ka* *ηod-a* *eir-in*
 instruct-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM 1SG-ACC Lord-PRED 2SG-GEN
dauou-ka on moudou-e-sō tilpou tij-kane-n-ila
 way-ACC and lead-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM 1SG-ACC path

justice-NMLZ-GEN-DAT

“Instruct me Lord, in your way, and lead me in the path of justice.”

(Ps. 26:11)

Extended personal pronouns All translations of this particular scribe feature a special set of personal pronouns with more extensive forms than otherwise attested in Old Nubian texts. In this case **ειρἸ** instead of regular **ειν**.

Possessor and adjective inversion According to regular Old Nubian DP order, possessors and adjectives precede the noun. However, we find that the scribe quite often inversed this order so as to match the Greek word order. The result is often a stacking of case markers on the right edge of the DP.

Object inversion Old Nubian is an OV language, and therefore usually has the object preceding the main verb. However, it seems that under certain circumstances, the object follows it. This often seems to happen with imperative verb forms, as in this case.

(8) P.QI 1 2.i.3–7 ●

- a. μὴ ἐλπίζετε ἐπ’ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρπάγματα μὴ ἐπιποθεῖτε·
 b. ΜΗ ΕΛΠΙΣΑΤΕ ΕΠ ΑΔΙΚΙΑΝ 𐤀 ΜΗ(*sic*) ΑΡΠΑΓΜΑΤΑ
 ΤΕΕΡΜΕΝΑΣΩ ΟΚΚΔΡ̄Τ̄Ν̄ΓΟΥΚΑ ΟΝ ΣΟΥΡΤ̄Ν̄ΓΟΥΚΕΝΔΕΕΙΟΝ
 ΜΗ ΕΠΠΟΘΕΙΘΕ //
 ΕΙΚΙΘ̄ΜΕΝΝΑΣΩ //
 c. *teeir-men-a-sō okkdirt-in-gou-ka on*
 hope-NEG-PRED-COMM injustice-PL-PL-ACC and
sourt-in-gou-k-ende-eion
 grasping-PL-PL-ACC-NEG-C
eik-ij-men-na-sō
 be.near-PLACT-NEG-IMPL.2/3PL-COMM
 “Do not hope for injustices nor be eager for graspings.” (Ps. 61:11)

In this example, we see that the first imperative verb form **τεε̄ρμεναςω** is again on the left side of the object, but the second is not. But on the second object **σουρτ̄ν̄γουκενδεειον** we find the complementizer **-ειον**, which we know always attaches at the leftmost, or highest constituent of the sentence, and signals leftward movement. We therefore may assume a double movement: leftward movement of both imperative forms and leftward movement of the second object.

- (8′) i. τεε̄ρμεναςω_i οκκΔρ̄τ̄ν̄γουκα t_i ον -ενδε-ειον εικιθ̄μενναςω_j t_j σουρτ̄ν̄γουκ(λ)
 ii. τεε̄ρμεναςω_i οκκΔρ̄τ̄ν̄γουκα t_i ον σουρτ̄ν̄γουκενδεειον_k εικιθ̄μενναςω_j
 t_j t_k

We have to note here that the presence of **-ενδε-ειον** is completely superfluous in terms of conveying the meaning of the Greek. The negative imperative and the conjunction **ον** already do that. The only reason for the presence of **-ενδε-ειον** is that it allows a constituent, in this case the object, to move to the left side of the imperative, thus allowing for the imitation of Greek word order without being ungrammatical.

Finally, for verbs that are not imperatives, there is a grammatical strategy available to move them leftward, called the “affirmative.” This verb is only sparingly used in documentary evidence, and then usually in the context of standard formulas such as “I greet you.” It is much more widely employed in translations, because it allows for the word order to be rearranged in a manner closer to the Greek original.

(9) P.QI 2 12.ii.8–12 ●

- a. ἐρεῖ τῷ Κυρίῳ· ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ καταφυγή μου,
 b. ̄ρει τῷ ̄ω ἀντιληπτῶρ μοῦ εἰ ̄ καταφυγή μοῦ //
 πεσαΔ̄̄με ̄ωΔ̄κα ἀν ταμ̄αν̄ναμα ο̄ν̄ ἀν̄ μᾱν̄τ̄ . . Δ̄ᾱμ̄ῑΔ̄ //

- c. *pes-ad-imme* *ηod-ka* *an* *tamann-a-ma* *on*
 say-INT-AFF.1SG.PRED Lord-ACC 1SG.GEN helper-PRED-AFF and
an *mant...d-a-mi-a*
 1SG.GEN refuge(?)-PRED-AFF-QUOT
 “I will say to the Lord: ‘You are my helper, you are my refuge(?)’”
 (Ps. 90:2)

In this example, the verb has moved to the left of the object, and clearly shows the affirmative morpheme. There is nothing obligatory about this move, again other than allowing the Old Nubian word order to imitate the Greek one.

3 Conclusion

In this presentation I have given a first and tentative overview of certain aspects of the Greek used and translated by Nubian scribes and the interplay between Greek and Old Nubian in several examples gathered from bilingual psalms. It appears that Greek in the Christian Nubian kingdoms had an independent effect on Old Nubian, which can be clearly distinguished from its much stronger influence on Coptic. This is evident from both the spelling of Greek by Nubian scribes, and the characteristics of the inventory of Greek loanword in the Old Nubian lexicon. Moreover, I have shown that a close morphological and grammatical analysis of the bilingual manuscripts may yield valuable information about the limits of grammaticality of Old Nubian, and the different syntactical and morphological techniques the scribes had at their disposal to come to a faithful rendering of the Greek *Vorlages*.

4 Appendix: Full Text Analysis

(a) Septuagint Greek version; (b) parallel Greek/Old Nubian rendering; (c) morphological gloss of the Old Nubian

- (8) P.QI 1 2.i.3–7 ●
- a. μὴ ἐλπίζετε ἐπ’ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρπάγματα μὴ ἐπιποθεῖτε
- b. μη ελπιατε επ αδικιαν 5 μη(*sic*) αρπαγματα
 τεερμενασω οκκαρτῆγογκα ον σογρτῆγογκενδεειον
 μη επιποθειε //
 εικιθμεννασω //
- c. *teeir-men-a-sō* *okkdiirt-in-gou-ka* *on*
 hope-NEG-PRED-COMM injustice-PL-PL-ACC and
sourt-in-gou-k-ende-eion
 grasping-PL-PL-ACC-NEG-C
eik-ij-men-na-sō
 be.near-PLACT-NEG-IMPL.2/3PL-COMM
 “Do not hope for injustices nor be eager for graspings.” (Ps. 61:11)

mood suffix -αΔ. The pluractional suffix -δ is obligatory on verbs of giving with plural objects; the order in the DP κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ is necessarily reversed: the Greek preposition κατὰ is rendered by the complex postposition κεεκα < κελ “limit” + accusative -κα, which takes genitive Γεεñ; αὐτοῦ is rendered by ταρñ, which, being a possessor, always precedes the noun.

(11) P.QI 2 12.i.2–7 ●

a. μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς ἐν ὀργῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου σου·

b. ΜΗ ΑΠΟC[ΤΡ]ΕΨῃC ΤΟ ΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ CΟΥ ΑΠ ΕΜΟΥ

ειρñ κοψκα αιω μαλλε γιπῖρτρα μενεCω

Ἣ ΜΗ ΕΚΚΛΙΝῃC ΜΕ ΕΝ ΟΡΓῃ

ON ΓΟΔ[[ō]]α αιγḫ κενΔεμινεCω εακῖτκαλο

απο τογ Δογλογ Cογ //

ειρñ μεΔδογλοΔω //

c. *eir-in koñ-ka ai-ō malle gipirt-r-a*

2SG-GEN face-ACC 1SG-LOC1 turn turn-TR-PRED

men-e-sō on ηod-a ai-gil

NEG-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM and Lord-PRED 1SG-DIR

kend-emin-e-sō ηakit-kalo eir-in

turn.away(?)-NEG-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM anger-after 2SG-GEN

medjou-lo-dō

servant-LOC1-LOC2

“Do not turn your face away from me and, Lord, don’t turn away from me out of anger for your servant.” (Ps. 26:9)

Notes The Greek preposition ἀπ’/ἀπὸ has been translated differently, first with αι-ω, then with μεΔδογ-λο-Δω; the prefix verb ἀπο-στρέψῃς is translated with a multiverb construction μαλλε γιπῖρτρα μενεCω; the scribe clearly had a problem with ἐν ὀργῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου σου and seems to have interpreted ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου σου as dependent on ἐν ὀργῇ rather than as the prepositional object of ἐκκλίνῃς, hence the additional pronominal clitic in the Greek με, which matches Old Nubian αιγḫ, perhaps a reflex of the double occurrence of the same clitic με in the following line.

(12) P.QI 2 12.i.7–12 ●

a. βοηθός μου γενοῦ, μὴ ἀποσκορακίσῃς με καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με, ὁ Θεός, ὁ σωτήρ μου.

b. βοηθoC μογ γενογ μη ἀποσκορακισῃC με

τηγκΔερτα ανηαεεCω αικα τοδκα τογκογμινεCω

Ἣ ΜΗ ΕΓΚΑΤΑΛΗΠῃC ΜΕ ὀ ὅC ὀ Cῃρ μογ //

ON αικα CολογμινεCω τḫλα αν αφτα //

c. *tēukder-t-a an-na-η-e-sō ai-ka*

help-NMLZ-PRED 1SG-GEN-INCH-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM 1SG-ACC

toj-ka touk-oumin-e-sō on ai-ka

blow-ACC strike-NEG-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM and 1SG-ACC

“Instruct me Lord, in your path, and lead me in the path of justice.”
(Ps. 26:11)

Notes The inverted verb–object order in both clause matches the Greek order, as in (8); possessor inversion with ΤΧΠΟΥ ΤΩΚΑΝΕΝΙΛΑ

(13) P.QI 2 12.i.20–24 ●

- a. ἔνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου. μὴ παραδῶς με εἰς ψυχᾶς θλιβόντων με,
 b. ΕΝΕΚΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΧΘΡΩΝ ΜΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΩΣ ΜΕ ΕΙΣ ΨΥΧΑΣ
 ΑΝ ΟΥΚΚΑΕΙΓΟΥΝ ΔΟΥΡΡΩ ΑΝ ΑΕΛΚΑ
 ΘΛΙΒΟΝΤΩΝ ΜΕ //
 ΜΑΤΑ ΑΔΔΛΓΟΥΚΑ ΔΟΥΜΜΑ ΤΩΔΙΜΙΝΕΣΩ ΔΙΚΑ //
- c. *an ouk-kaei-gou-n jour-rō an ael-ka*
 1SG.GEN oppress-NMLZ.PL-PL-GEN cause-LOC1 1SG.GEN heart-ACC
mat-a add-il-gou-ka doumm-a
 affliction-PRED prepare-NEUT.DET-PL-ACC hand.over-PRED
tij-j-imin-e-sō ai-ka
 give.2/3-PLACT-NEG-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM 1SG-ACC
 “Because of my enemies do not hand me over to those who prepare
 affliction for my heart.” (Ps. 26:11–12)

Notes The scribe took the latter part of verse 26:11 to be part of the beginning of 26:12; rather than interpreting θλιβόντων as a plural genitive dependent on ψυχᾶς “the desire of them that afflict me,” the scribe has taken it to be the as the recipient of the verb παραδῶς; at the same time, εἰς ψυχᾶς is reinterpreted as the object of θλιβόντων; the prefix verb παραδῶς is translated with the multiverb construction ΔΟΥΜΜΑ ΤΩΔΙΜΙΝΕΣΩ.

(14) P.QI 2 12.i.24–29 ●

- a. ὅτι ἐπανεστήσαν μοι μάρτυρες ἄδικοι, καὶ ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἀδικία ἐαυτῆ.
 b. ὅτι ἐπανεστ[ι]σαν μοι ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ ΑΔΙΚΟΙ
 ΑΙΔΩ ΕΙΕΣΑΝ ΟΥΡΡΩ ΜΑΤΑ ΟΚΚΑΡΤΛΓΟΥΛ
 Η ΕΨΕΥΣΑΤΟ Η ΑΔΙΚΙΑ ΕΑΓΤΗ //
 ΟΝ ΜΑΔΟΥΓΕΣΑΝ ΔΟΥΡΡΩ ΟΚΚΑΡΤΛΛΟΝ ΤΕΔΚΟΝΟ ΤΟΥΛΟ //
- c. *ai-o-dō ni-es-an jour-rō matar*
 1SG-LOC1-LOC2 rise-PT2-3PL.GEN cause-LOC1 witness
okkdirt-il-gou-l on adj-oue-s-an jour-rō
 unjust-DET.PL.DET and lie-say-PT2-3PL.GEN cause-LOC1
okkdirt-il-lon ted-k-ono tou-lo
 unjust-DET-C 3PL-ACC-REFL belly-LOC1
 “Because they rose up against me, unjust witnesses, and because
 they lied, the unjust, within themselves” (Ps. 26:11–12)

Notes The scribe seems to have trouble parsing the Greek verb-initial word order, translating both *ὅτι ἐπανεστήσαν μοι* and *ἐψεύσατο* with a causal clause ending in *δογρω*; assuming a parallelism, the scribe misinterpreted *ἡ ἀδικία* as referring back to *μάρτυρες ἄδικοι* instead of being the abstract noun “injustice”; because plural marking on Old Nubian nouns is not obligatory, we find *οκκαῤῥτῥλλον* with the plural reflexive *τεῤῥκονο*.

(15) P.QI 2 12.i.29–ii.1 ◉

- a. πιστεύω τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ Κυρίου ἐν γῆ ζώντων. ὑπόμεινον τὸν Κύριον.
- b. πιστεγῶ τογ ιδειν τα ἄγαθα κῆ ἐν γη ζωντων ἕ
πιστεγεῖμε εἰλλῶδερικα [γ]ῶἄῃ ἔφῥῥτογγογκα ἀφελγογν ἕκῥλα [ον
γπομενω τον κῆ //
ε]φφελω εῶδκα //
- c. *pisteue-imme ηἰλ-j-ad-er-i-ka ηῶd-in*
believe-AFF.1SG.PRED see-PLACT-INT-NEUT-1SG-ACC Lord-GEN
eñitt-ougou-ka añ-el-gou-n iskit-la on
wealth.NMLZ-PL-ACC live-NEUT.DET-GOU-GEN earth-DAT and
eññ-e-lō ηῶd-ka
suffer-NEUT-LOC1 Lord-ACC

“I believe that I will see the wealth of the Lord in the land of the living, and in suffering for the Lord.” (Ps. 26:13–14)

Notes *ὑπόμεινον* was misread as *γπομενω* (cf. (16) *γπομεινων*), leading to the translation *ε]φφελω*; the use of the affirmative *πιστεγεῖμε* is another strategy to create a verb-initial clause in Old Nubian; the non-finite genitive complement *τοῦ ἰδεῖν* is rendered with the finite accusative complement *εἰλλῶδερικα*; again the division of the verses differs from the Septuagint.

(16) P.QI 2 12.ii.1–4 ◉

- a. ἀνδρίζου, καὶ κραταιούσθω ἡ καρδία σου, καὶ ὑπόμεινον τὸν Κύριον.
- b. ἀνδριζογ ἕ κ[ραταιο]γῥεω ἡ καρδια σου ἕ γπομεινων
ῶῑῑερα εν<εν> τογλλικα ειρῃ ἄελλα ἄεκεεω
τῶ[η] κῆ //
εῶδκα //
- c. *ogj-aj-r-a enen toull-ij-a eir-in*
man-INCH-NEUT-PRED be-NEUT.2/3SG strong-PRED 2SG-GEN
aeil-la aesk-es-ō ηῶd-ka
heart-DAT be.patient-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM Lord-ACC
“When becoming a man, become strong in your heart and abide in the Lord.” (Ps. 26:14)

Notes The scribe translates both *καρδία* and (13) *ψυχᾶς* with *ἄεῤ* “heart”; the translation of *ἀνδρίζου* with the subordinate clause *ῶῑῑερα εν<εν>* (with haplography) seems to suggest that the scribe did not recognize it as imperative; *ἡ καρδία σου* is not rendered as the subject of *κραταιούσθω* but as a dative *ειρῃ*

δέλλα; κραταιούσθω is not translated as a separate imperative but as a non-finite verb marked with a sole predicative -α, signaling it takes the inflection of δεσκεω, which also explains the absence of the conjunction ον.

(17) P.QI 2 12.ii.5–8 ●

- a. ὁ κατοίκων ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ἑψίστου, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
αὐλισθήσεται.
- b. ο κατοικων εν βοηθεια τογ γχιστογ εν σκεπη τογ θῶ τογ ογῆογ
ΔΩΔΟΥΓΛΟ ΔΟΥΗ ΤΗΚΕΡΡΑ ΔΟΥΓΛ` ΖΑΡΜῆ ΤΛΛῆ ΕΟΥΡΡΑ
αγλιςθηςεται //
εογαρραλω //
- c. *dōdou-lō dou-n tēuker-ra dou-l harm-in*
high(est)-LOC1 exist-NEUT.GEN help-DAT heaven-GEN God-GEN
till-in hour-ra ηου-ar-r-a-lō
shade-DAT rest-INT-NEUT-PRED-FOC
“The one who dwells in the help of the one who is highest will rest
in the shade of the God of heaven.” (Ps. 90:1)

Notes A typical opening sentence, ending in a focus marker -λω; the two large DPs ὁ κατοίκων ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ἑψίστου and ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ are rendered in reverse order in Old Nubian, according to the regular structure of the Old Nubian DP; the final verb εογαρραλω is not marked for agreement because the subject is explicit; again the usage of complementizer -ειοι allows close imitation of Greek constituent order.

(9) P.QI 2 12.ii.8–12 ●

- a. ἔρεῖ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ καταφυγή μου,
- b. ἔρει τῶ κῶ ἀντιληπτῶρ μογ ει ἕ καταφγη
πεσαδῆμε εοδκα αν ταμανναμα ον` αν`
μογ //
μαντ. . δαμιᾶ //
- c. *pes-ad-imme ηod-ka an tamann-a-ma on*
say-INT-AFF.1SG.PRED Lord-ACC 1SG.GEN helper-PRED-AFF and
an mant...d-a-mi-a
1SG.GEN refuge(?) -PRED-AFF-QUOT
“I will say to the Lord: ‘You are my helper, you are my refuge(?)’.”
(Ps. 90:2)

Notes ταμανναμα translates ἀντιλήπτωρ, cf. ταμαλαμα in (2); the affirmative (or copulative) suffix -μ(α) is often found in elocutionary contexts, but here seems to be part of a discursive structure ending with the λο-marked clause in the next line; the final quotation marker appears to indicate that the scribe considers μαντ. . δαμιᾶ the end of the quote.

(18) P.QI 2 12.ii.12–15 ●

- a. ὁ Θεός μου, καὶ ἐλπῶ ἐπ’ αὐτόν,

- b. $\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\nu\omicron\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\omicron\gamma$ ζ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\bar{\omega}$ $\epsilon\pi'$ $\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}$ //
 τ̄λλα $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}$
- $\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ //
- c. *till-a an-na on tēukder-t-a an-na-sin*
 God-PRED 1SG-GEN and help-NMLZ-PRED 1SG-GEN-EMP
tad-dō-lo teeil doud-d-r-e
 3SG-LOC2-FOC hope exist-INT-NEUT-1SG.PRED
 “My God and my helper, I will hope in him.” (Ps. 90:2)

Notes Again it seems that the scribe has difficulties interpreting the Greek syntactic structure while attempting to follow the Greek constituent order. The result is a leftward moving constituent $\taū\lambda\lambda\alpha \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu} \bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}$ marked by the emphasis marker $-\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}$ leaving the anaphor $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}$ behind (no extraction from PPs is possible in Old Nubian). Focus marker $-\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}$ indicates that we are dealing here with the final element in the series started in the previous line: $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha} \dots \bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{.} \dots \bar{\delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha} // \dots \bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}$.

- (19) P.QI 2 12.ii.15–17 ○
- a. ὅτι αὐτὸς ρύσεται σε ἐκ παγίδος θηρευτῶν
- b. $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\bar{\theta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ //
 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\lambda}[\bar{o}]$ $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$ //
- c. *tadou ai-ka aul-os-ar-r-a-sin*
 3SG 1SG-ACC save-ASP-INT-NEUT-PRED-EMP
 “(For) he will save me [from the snare of hunters].” (Ps. 90:3)

Notes We see here another usage of the emphatic marker $-\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}$, without a relative clause or leftward movement context, but seemingly translating the causal ὅτι; agreement on the verb is absent because the subject $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$ is explicit.

- (20) P.QI 2 12.ii.17–22 ○
- a. καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ταραχώδους. ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις αὐτοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σοι,
- b. ζ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}$ $\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\delta}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\phi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}[\bar{o}]\bar{\gamma}$
 $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omega}$
 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{o}\bar{\iota}$ //
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\delta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\delta}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ //
- c. *sal pann-et-in-no-eion tar-in aura-n tri-l*
 word trouble-NMLZ-GEN-LOC1-C 3SG-GEN wing-GEN couple-DET
tau-o-lō ηour-ka ...-d-r-a-lē ēd-ka
 under-LOC1-FOC shade-ACC ...-INT-NEUT-PRED-AFF.2SG 2SG-ACC
 “And from the word of disturbance, under his wings he will shade you.” (Ps. 90:3–4)

Notes Possessor inversion with *καλ πανηετηνηοειον*; translation of initial *καλ* not with *ον*, but with complementizer *-ειον*, indicating that the scribe considered *καλ ἀπο λόγου ταραχώδους* the first constituent of the new clause while keeping Greek word order; *αγραν τρλ* is a dual as often found with body parts, the Greek has *μεταφρένοις* “shoulders,” and *ταρῆ αγραν τρλ* may be a reflection from the same constituent in the next sentence, or perhaps “wing” and “shoulder” are the same word in ON; the prefix verb *ἐπισκιάσει* has been translated with object + unknown verb *εογρκα . . . Δραλο*; Browne reconstructs both *ταγδλω* and the verb *. . . Δραλο* with a focus marker, which however can only appear once in a clause. Considering the appearance of second person singular affirmative *-λη* in the next sentence, *. . . Δραλη*, and the presence of complementizer *-ειον*, *-λη* is a better and more grammatical reconstruction.

(3) P.QI 2 12.ii.22–24 ●

- a. *καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐλπεις·*
 b. *Ἔ ὑπο τας πτερυγας αγτοῦ ελπ[ι]εις //*
ταρῆ αγραν τρλ ταγδλω[οειον] τεειλ ΔΟΥΔΔΡΑΛΗ //
 c. *tar-in aura-n tri-l tau-ō-lo-eion teeil*
 3SG-GEN wing-GEN couple-DET under-LOC1-FOC-C hope
doud-d-r-a-lē
 exist-INT-NEUT-PRED-AFF.2SG
 “And under his wings you shall feel hope.” (Ps. 90:4)

Notes Consistent translation of *ἐλπεις*, cf. (18); as in (20), clause-initial *καλ* appears to have been translated with the complementizer *-ειον*, and similarly we find an affirmative form in *-λη*.

(21) P.QI 2 12.ii.24–27 ●

- a. *ὄπλω κυκλώσει σε ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ.*
 b. *οπλω κγκλωσει σε ἡ ἀληθειᾶ αγτοῦ //*
ταρῆ τῶκανελσῆ γουειᾶγα ηδκα εικαδρασῆ //
 c. *tar-in tij-kane-l-sin gouei-ah-a ēd-ka*
 3SG-GEN justice-NMLZ-DET-EMP shield-INCH-PRED 2SG.ACC
eik-ad-r-a-sin
 be.near-INT-NEUT-PRED-EMP
 “(For) his justice shall be near you, becoming a shield.” (Ps. 90:4)

Notes As in (19) we find the emphatic marker *-cῆ*, again used in a causal context. As is clear from the constituent order in the ON translation, the scribe had difficulties imitating the Greek order while at the same time using *-cῆ*; the Greek *ἀλήθεια* has been translated with a word otherwise used for “justice,” *τῶκανε*. There is a well-attested ON word for “truth,” *ἄλε*, so perhaps this reflects an error in the Greek *Vorlage*.

(22) P.QI 2 12.ii.27–30 ●

- a. *οὐ φοβηθήση ἀπὸ φόβου νυχτερινοῦ, ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ἡμέρας,*

- b. ΟΥ ΦΟΒΗΘΗΣΗ ΑΠΟ ΦΟΒΟΥ ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΟΥ Ξ ΑΠΟ ΒΕΛΟΥΣ ΠΕΤΟΜΕΝΟΥ{C}
 ΕΥΘΥΜΕΝΔΡΑΛΗ ὄ{N}ΔΔΕ<N> ΕΥΛΟΔΟΥΝ ΟΝ' ΜΕΦῆ
 ΗΜΕΡΑΣ //
 ΟΥΚΟΥΡ
- c. *eu-oumen-d-r-a-lē* *oad-en* *eu-lo-joun*
 fear-NEG-INT-NEUT-PRED-AFF.2SG night-GEN fear-LOC1-because
on meš-in *oukour*
 and arrow(?) -GEN? day
 “You shall not fear because of the fear of the night and of the ar-
 row(?) [that flies] by day.” (Ps. 90:5)

Notes The ON translation of the verse is incomplete; the affirmative on *ΕΥΘΥΜΕΝΔΡΑΛΗ* appears as a strategy to have a verb-initial clause, in imitation of the Greek constituent order.

(23) P.QI 2 13.ii.3–5 ●

- a. οἱ θεμέλιοι αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ἁγίοις·
 b. οἱ θεμέλιοι αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις //
 σῆπτου ταρῆνᾱ εαδδου εἰς τοῖς ὄρεσιν // ΔΟΥΝΝΑ //
- c. *simptou tar-inn-il ηαζζου*
 foundation 3SG-DET mountain-PL-DET-FOC
ηiss-igou-la-lō *doun-n-a*
 exist-NEUT.2/3SG-PRED
 “His foundation is in the holy mountains.” (Ps. 86:1)

Notes Greek οἱ θεμέλιοι is translated with a singular in ON; both DPs *σῆπτου ταρῆνᾱ* and *εαδδου εἰς τοῖς ὄρεσιν* show inversion in order to imitate Greek word order; whereas Greek has dropped the copula, it is explicit in ON.

(24) P.QI 2 13.ii.6–10 ●

- a. ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος τὰς πύλας Σιών ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ σκηνώματα Ἰακώβ.
 b. ἀγαπα κ̄ς τας πύλας σιών ὑπερ παντα τα σκηνωματα ἱακωβ //
 ονηρῆμα εοαλ σιῶνῆ φαλλογκα ἱακωβιν ΔΟΥΕΡ ΔΙΜΗΛΛΩΓΦΕΙᾱ //
- c. *on-r-imma* *ηod-il* *siōn-in* *šal-gou-ka*
 love-TR-AFF.3SG.PRED Lord-DET Sion-GEN door0PL-ACC
iakōb-in *douer* *jimmil-lō-gōēia*
 Jakob-GEN dwelling every-LOC1-than
 “The Lord loves the gates of Sion more than every dwelling of Jakob.”
 (Ps. 86:2)

Notes Usage of affirmative for verb-initial order; whereas Greek usually does not inflect Hebrew names, in ON we find a regular genitive on *ἱακωβιν* and *σιῶνῆ*; the scribe has used the less frequent universal quantifier *διμηλ* rather than *μηλ*.

(4) P.QI 2 13.ii.10–13 ●

- a. δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περι σοῦ ἡ πόλις τοῦ Θεοῦ.
b. ΔΕΔΟΞΑΣΜΕΝΑ ἑλληθη περι σογ ἡ πολις τογ ὁγ //
σοοκ κοφὸιλογλ πεστακόδαρ ειρῆ ὁγρῶ Δῖπα τλῆνα //
c. *ηοοκ κοñ-j-il-gou-l pes-tak-j-ar-a*
glory(.ACC) have-PLACT-DET-PL-DET say-PASS-PLACT-PT1-PRED
eir-in jour-irō dīpp-a till-na
2SG-GEN cause-LOC city-PRED God-GEN
“Glorious things we said because of you, city of God.” (Ps. 86:3)

Notes Possessor inversion with Δῖπα τλῆνα; passive Greek ἐλαλήθη translated with passive ON πεστακόδαρ.

(5) P.QI 2 13.ii.13–17 ●

- a. μνησθήσομαι Ραὰβ καὶ Βαβυλῶνος τοῖς γινώσκουσί με·
b. ΜΗΣΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΡΑΒ Ἔ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΜΕ //
ΑΝΚΤΑΚΑΔῖΜΕ ΡΑΒΙΔΕ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΔΕΚΕΛ ΤΕΔΟΥ ΔΙΚ

ειᾶρολογογλῆ //
c. *ank-tak-ad-imme rab-il-de*
remember-PASS-INT-AFF.1SG(!).PRED Raab-DET-CONJ
babulōn-deke-l tedou ai-k ei-ar-o-l-gou-l-gille
Babylon-CONJ-DET 3PL 1SG-ACC know-TR-PT1-DET-PL-DET-DIR

“Raab and Babylon shall be mentioned (by me) to those who have known me.” (Ps. 86:4)

Notes After the passive aorist in -θη in the last verse, the scribe has trouble parsing the future medium form μνησθήσομαι with the same morpheme. He renders -θη again with the passive -τακ but with a first person affirmative (verb-initial inflection) that in ON makes no sense together with ΡΑΒΙΔΕ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΔΕΚΕΛ, which, judging from the absence of the genitive on Βαβυλῶνος that we find in the Greek, was clearly intended to be the grammatical subject of ΑΝΚΤΑΚΑΔῖΜΕ; because ειᾶρολογογλῆ is a participial form, the object ΔΙΚ cannot follow the verb in order to imitate Greek word order.

(6) P.QI 2 13.ii.17–22 ●

- a. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀλλόφυλοι καὶ Τύρος καὶ λαὸς τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, οἳτοι ἐγενήθησαν ἐκεῖ.
b. Ἔ ἰδογ ἀλοφίλοι Ἔ τυροσ
ειςσῆ ἀλοφλοσγογλαε τυροσγογλαε
Ἔ λαος των αιθιοπων ογτοι ἐγεννηθησαν ἐκει //
ογδμιν κῖτογογ{γογ}λαεκελ εινηηγογλ μαηηολω

κίραεϊσανα //

- c. *eissin allophulos-gou-l-de turos-gou-l-de oudm-in*
 INTERJ gentile-PL-DET-CONJ Tyrian-PL-DET-CONJ dark-GEN
kipt-ougou-l-deke-l einēn-gou-l
 people-PL-DET-CONJ-DET DEM.PROX.PL-PL-DET
man-no-lō kir-aη-is-an-a
 DEM.DIST-LOC1-FOC come-INCH-PT2-3PL-PRED
 “Lo, the gentiles and the Tyrians and the peoples of darkness – these
 got into being (lit. coming) there.” (Ps. 86:4)

Notes It is interesting that λαὸς τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, which is known to refer to all black peoples living south of the Egyptians,¹⁵ that is, including the Nubians, is literally translated with οὐρανῶν κῆρυγγος{γογ}λακεκλ “peoples of darkness” and not with any endonym, perhaps the scribe didn’t understand the Bible was speaking about him?; the passive aorist ἐγενήθησαν is here not translated with a passive -τακ but with inchoative -αε, which often carries a passive connotation.

(25) P.QI 2 13.ii.23–29 ●

- a. μήτηρ Σιών, ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγενήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτὴν ὁ Ὑψιστος.
- b. $\overline{\text{MH}}\overline{\text{P}}$ $\text{ci}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{n}}$ \u03e9rei $\overline{\text{ANOC}}$ \u0394 $\overline{\text{ANOC}}$ $\text{egennhōn en a}\overline{\text{γ}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}$
 $\text{\u0395}\overline{\text{NALO}}$ $\text{ci}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{NKa}}$ $\text{eit}\overline{\text{L}}$ $\text{call}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{MA}}$ on' $\text{eit}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{LW}}$ $\text{TA}\overline{\text{ΔI}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{DWA}}$
 \u0394 $\text{a}\overline{\text{γ}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{OC}}$ $\text{\u0395}\overline{\text{THE}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{WCEN}}$ $\text{a}\overline{\text{γ}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{HN}}$ $\overline{\text{O}}$ $\text{\u0393}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{CTOC}}$ //
 $\text{\u0394O}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{LAGARA}}$ $\text{TA}\overline{\text{Δ}}$ $\text{\u0394O}\overline{\text{ΔO}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{HON}}$ $\text{TA}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}$
 $\text{c}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{TKa}}$ $\text{TO}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{KARA}}$ //
- c. *en-a-lo siōn-ka eit-il sal-d-imma*
 mother-PRED-FOC Sion-ACC man-DET speak-INT-AFF.3SG.PRED
on eit-il-lō tad-io-jōa doull-aη-ar-a tad
 and man-DET-FOC 3SG-LOC1-through exist-INCH-PT1-PRED 3SG
dōdou-m-mon tar-in simpit-ka tošk-ar-a
 high-?-C 3SG-GEN foundation-ACC plant-PT1-PRED
 “‘Sion is the mother,’ the man will say, and the man got into being
 through her, and he, the highest one, laid her foundation.” (Ps. 86:5)

Notes The usage of the complex postposition ταδιωδωα which is often used for the agent of passive verbs (“by”), suggests the scribe’s interpretation of ἐν αὐτῇ as the agent of ἐγενήθη rather than the place; the scribe has difficulties rendering the non-definite ἄνθρωπος and twice uses a determiner; the Greek constituent order of the last sentence is impossible to imitate, as Old Nubian allows no broken subject constituents; $\text{\u0395}\overline{\text{NALO}}$ $\text{ci}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{NKa}}$ in its entirety is the object clause of $\text{call}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{MA}}$; the denominal verb ἐθεμελίωσεν is rendered with $\text{c}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{TKa}}$ $\text{TO}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{KARA}}$; ἐγενήθη is rendered with $\text{\u0394O}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{LAGARA}}$, cf. $\text{KI}\overline{\text{RA}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{ICANA}}$ in (6).

(26) P.QI 2 13.i.29–ii.5 ●

15. Frank M. Snowden, Jr., *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970).

- a. Κύριος διηγήσεται ἐν γραφῇ λαῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων τούτων τῶν γεγενημένων ἐν αὐτῇ.
- b. $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΓΡΑΦΗ ΛΑΩΝ Ἡ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ
[ΓΟΔΛ] ΠΕΣΑΔῩΜΑ ΠΑΑΡΤΛΑ ΚΠΤΓ[Ο]Υ[Λ]ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΙΝῩΓΟΥΝ
ΤΩΝ] ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΔΥΤΗ //
ΟΥΚΕΡΙΓΟΥΛΔΕΚΕΛΓΟΥΛ ΜΑΝΝΩ ΚΑΕΙ ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ //
- c. *ηod-il pes-ad-imma paar-t-la kipt-gou-l-de*
Lord-DET say-INT-AFF.3SG.PRED write-NMLZ-DAT people-PL-CONJ
on einin-gou-n šike-ri-gou-l-deke-l-gou-l
and DEM.PROX.PL-PL-GEN ruler-PL-PL-DET-CONJ-DET-PL-DET
man-nō kaei doul-l-an
DEM.DIST-LOC1 born exist-NEUT-3PL.GEN
“The Lord will say in the writing of the peoples and the rulers of these who are born there,” (Ps. 86:6)

Notes Usage of affirmative ΠΕΣΑΔῩΜΑ for high verb position; ΕΙΝῩΓΟΥΝ is a misinterpretation of τούτων as independent genitive, referring back to λαῶν rather than demonstrative with ἀρχόντων; the genitive marker comes completely at the end of the relative clause ending in ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ. Browne’s interpretation as a direct quote is not sustained by the morphology and the fact that the next verse is already marked as the object of ΠΕΣΑΔῩΜΑ.

(27) P.QI 2 13.ii.6–9 ●

- a. ὡς εὐφραينوμένων πάντων ἡ κατοικία ἐν σοί.
- b. ὡς ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ Η ΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑ ΕΝ ΣΟΙ //
ΕΥΦΑ ΠῆΣΛ ΔΙΜΜΛΓΟΥΝΑ ΔΟΥΕΡῩ ΕΙΔΙΘΩΔΑ ΕΝΕΛΚΑ //
- c. *eñ-a piss-il jimil-gou-na dour-in*
rejoice-PRED say-DET everyone-PL-GEN habitation-GEN(!)
eid-io-jōa en-el-ka
2SG-LOC1-through be-NEUT.DET-ACC
“The habitation of everyone who rejoices is through you.” (Ps. 86:7)

Notes The scribe has interpreted this entire verse as the object of (26) ΠΕΣΑΔῩΜΑ, misunderstanding the function of ὡς; the genitive on ΔΟΥΕΡῩ is ungrammatical and perhaps a scribal error.

(28) P.QI 2 13.ii.10–12 ●

- a. πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κροτήσατε χεῖρας,
- b. ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΚΡΟΤΗΣΑΤΕ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ //
ΚΕΛΛΩ ΣΠΠΕΓΟΥΚΕ ΤΟΠΠΑΔΩΔΝΑΣΩ ΕΙΓΟΥΚΑ //
- c. *kellō sipp-egou-ke topp-ad-j-ana-sō*
all nation-PRED.PL-2PL raise-TR-PLACT-IMP.3PL.PRED-COMM
ei-gou-ka
hand-PL-ACC
“All you nations, raise (your) hands.” (Ps. 46:2)

Notes The universal quantifier *κελλω* only seems to appear in translations, and was perhaps specifically coined in order to imitate the Greek word order, as all other universal quantifiers are postnominal; the *-κε* on *σιπηρογκε* is a special suffix only to address a multiple audience, and is here attached to a predicative (vocative) plural.

(29) P.QI 2 13.ii.12–14 ●

- a. ἀλαλάζατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως.
 b. ἀλαλαζατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως //
 ὄγα τρανασῶ τλλικα λ αἰγαδκανενλω //
 c. *jau-a tr-ana-sō till-ika il*
 shout-PRED give.2/3-IMP.2/3PL.PRED-COMM God-ACC voice
aigaj-kane-n-lō
 exult-NMLZ-GEN-LOC1
 “Shout to God in a voice of exultation.” (Ps. 46:2)

Notes possessor inversion with *λ αἰγαδκανενλω*; applicative construction *ὄγα τρανασῶ* in order to add a recipient *τλλικα*.

(30) P.QI 2 13.ii.15–18 ●

- a. ὅτι Κύριος ὑψιστος, φοβερός, βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.
 b. οτι κ̄ς ὕψιστος φοβερος βασιλεϋς μεγας
 εοδου δωδουλ εγεγαν ογρογτα δαγογραλω
 ἐπὶ πασαν τὴν γῆν //
 ἕκτῃ δῆνλλοδω //
 c. *ηδου dōdou-l euegan ourou-η-a dauou-r-a-lō*
 Lord high-DET fearsome king-INCH-PRED great-NEUT-PRED-FOC
iskiti jimnil-lo-dō
 earth all-LOC1-LOC2
 “The high Lord, fearsome, is a great king over all the earth.” (Ps. 46:3)

Notes The Old Nubian again closely follows Greek constituent order, and again the absence of a copula leads to problems in the translation. Whereas the Greek has two predicates, ON only has one: *ογρογτα δαγογραλω*, a multiverb construction in which the inchoative allows the noun *ογρογ* to be incorporated, again in order to imitate Greek constituent order.

(1) P.QI 2 13.ii.18–23 ●

- a. ὑπέταξε λαοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν·
 b. ὑπεταξεν λαοϋς ἡμιν ἕ εθνη
 ακογπαρρασῆ κῆτογγογκα ογτλλε ον' σῆπιγογκοῆ
 ὕπο τοϋς ποδας ἡμων //
 ογν ὀεν τρλ ταγῶ //

- c. *ak-oup-ar-r-a-sin* *kipt-ougou-ka ou-gille*
 sit-overthrow-TR-NEUT-PRED-EMP people-PL-ACC 1PL.EXCL-DIR
on sipp-igou-k-on ou-n oe-n tr-il
 and nation-PL-ACC-C 1PL.EXCL-GEN foot-GEN pair-DET
tau-ō
 belly-LOC1
 “He overturned peoples for us and nations too under our feet.” (Ps. 46:4)

Notes 1pl exclusive pronouns οἱ γὰρ and οὐκ chosen for translation of ἡμῶν and ἡμῶν; co-presence of complementizer -ειον on κῆτογογοκα and emphatic particle on ακογπαρραcñ, facilitating movement necessary to imitate Greek word order; dual on οεν τρλ.

- (31) P.QI 2 13.ii.23–25 ●
- a. ἐξελέξατο ἡμῖν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ,
 b. εζελεξατο ὁ ὅς τὴν κληρονομίαν ἔαγτον //
 γαcδαραcñ ογκα τλλλ ταρñ σεγδεγαρα //
- c. *nas-j-ar-a-sin* *ou-ka till-il tar-in*
 choose-PLACT-PT1-PRED-EMP 1PL.EXCL-ACC God-DET 3SG-GEN
seu-ae-gar-a
 inherit-NMLZ.PL-CAUS-PRED
 “God chose for us, making (us) his heirs,” (Ps. 46:5)

Notes Absence of Greek word corresponding to ογκα; Browne translates ογκα as the direct object of γαcδαραcñ, which however is clearly marked in the next verse; leftward movement of the verb with -cñ.

- (32) P.QI 2 13.ii.25–28 ●
- a. τὴν καλλονὴν Ἰακῶβ, ἣν ἠγάπησεν.
 b. τὴν καλὴν ἡν ἰακῶβ ἠγάπησεν //
 ἰακῶβιν γαδδογρ ἡν ὀγcñδεκελκα //
- c. *iakōb-in gajjour ēn ous-s-in-dekel-ka*
 Jakob-GEN beauty REL love-PT2-2/3SG-C-ACC
 “the beauty of Jacob, which he also loved.” (Ps. 46:5)

Notes Note the artificial homography between Greek ἣν and ON ἡν; the entire clause is object of (31) γαcδαραcñ; there seems to be no Greek parallel for the -δεκελ; καλὴν ἡν for καλλονὴν may be a scribal error, or an error already in the *Vorlage*.

- (33) P.QI 2 13.ii.28–30 ●
- a. ἀνεβή ὁ Θεός ἐν ἀλαλαγμῶ, Κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος.
 b. ανεβη ὁ ὅς εν ἀλαλαγμῶ κ̄ς εν φωνη σαλπιγγος //
 κεαcνα τλλλ δαγέλω ον εοαλ

c. *ked-is-n-a* *till-il* *jaue-lō* *on* *ḡod-il*
 ascend-PT2-2/3SG-PRED God-DET shout-LOC1 and Lord-DET
 “God went up in a shout, and the Lord ...” (Ps. 46:6)

Notes Constituent order follows Greek, even though unnaturally, with $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\delta\bar{\kappa}\eta\alpha$ preceding the subject $\tau\lambda\lambda\lambda$ without any morphology that seems to allow it to do so. Perhaps to be compared with the imperatives which also seem able to move up if not blocked on the left edge.

References

- Askeland, Christian. *John’s Gospel: The Coptic Translation of its Greek Text*. Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 44. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012.
- Browne, Gerald M. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Versio Palaeonubiana*. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 547. Louvain: Peeters, 1994.
- . “Old Nubian Philology.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 60 (1985): 291–296.
- . *Old Nubian Texts from Qaṣr Ibrīm*. Vol. II. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989.
- Clackson, Sarah J., and Arietta Papaconstantinou. “Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the Papyri.” In *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, edited by Arietta Papaconstantinou, 73–104. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Falluomini, Carla. *The Gothic Version of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles: Cultural Background, Transmission and Character*. Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 46. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015.
- Gerven Oei, Vincent W.J. van. “Old Nubian Relative Clauses.” *Dotawo* 2 (2015): 9–57.
- Gerven Oei, Vincent W.J. van. “Remarks toward a Revised Grammar of Old Nubian.” *Dotawo* 1 (2014): 165–184.
- Horrocks, Geoffrey. *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*. 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Klaudy, Kinga. “Explicitation.” In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2nd ed., edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 104–108. Routledge, 2009.
- Łajtar, Adam, and Grzegorz Ochała. “Two Wall Inscriptions from the Faras Cathedral with Lists of People and Goods.” In *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture*, edited by Adam Łajtar, Grzegorz Ochała, and Jacques van der Vliet, 73–102. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements 27. Warsaw: Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation, 2015.

- Ochala, Grzegorz. "Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches." *Dotawo* 1 (2014): 1–50.
- Snowden, Jr., Frank M. *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Taylor, Ann. "The Change from SOV to SVO in Ancient Greek." *Language Variation and Change* 6, no. 1 (1994): 1–37.
- Zogbo, Lynell. "Bible, Jewish and Christian." In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2nd ed., edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 21–27. London: Routledge, 2009.