

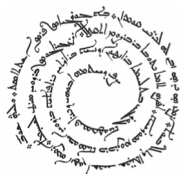
Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels

Translation Technique and the Aramaic
Verbal System

Tarsee Li

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Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels



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Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

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2013

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ISBN 978-1-61143-895-6

ISSN 2165-2600

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication
Data**

Li, Tarsee.

Greek indicative verbs in the Christian
Palestinian Aramaic gospels :
translation technique and the Aramaic verbal
system / By Tarsee Li.

pages cm. -- (Perspectives on
Linguistics and Ancient Languages
; 3)

1. Aramaic language--Grammar. 2. Greek
language, Biblical--Verb. 3.
Greek language, Biblical--Grammar,
Comparative--Aramaic. 4. Translating
and interpreting. 5. Bible. N.T.--Language,
style. I. Title.

PJ5242.L5 2013
492'.356--dc23

2013018574

Printed in the United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents.....	v
Preface.....	xi
Acknowledgments.....	xiii
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Terminology.....	2
1.2. Textual Basis.....	10
1.3. Methodology.....	12
2. The CPA Translation of the Greek Imperfect Indicative.....	15
2.1. Translation of Regular Greek Progressive Imperfects.....	16
2.1.1. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\mu$ + Participle.....	17
2.1.2. Translated by CPA Passive Participles.....	19
2.1.3. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\mu$ + Verbal Adjective.....	19
2.1.4. An Ambiguous Instance.....	20
2.1.5. Instances with Textual Variants or Interference.....	20
2.2. Translation of Regular Greek Non-Progressive Imperfects.....	21
2.2.1. Stative Continuous Imperfect.....	22
2.2.1.1. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\mu$ + Participle.....	22
2.2.1.2. Translated by CPA Participles.....	23
2.2.1.3. An Ambiguous Instance.....	23
2.2.1.4. Instances Requiring Additional Comment.....	23
2.2.1.5. An Instance with Textual Variants.....	24
2.2.2. Habitual Imperfect.....	24
2.2.2.1. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\mu$ + Participle.....	24
2.2.2.2. Translated by CPA Participles.....	25
2.2.2.3. Translated by CPA Perfects.....	25
2.2.2.4. Ambiguous Instances.....	26
2.2.2.5. An Instance with Textual Variants.....	26
2.2.3. Inceptive Imperfect.....	27
2.2.3.1. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\mu$ + Participle.....	27
2.2.3.2. An Instance with Textual Variants.....	27

2.2.4. Tendential Imperfect.....	28
2.2.4.1. Translated by CPA $\kappa\omicron\mu$ + Participle.....	28
2.2.4.2. Instances with Textual Variants	28
2.3. Translation of Special Types of Greek Imperfects.....	28
2.3.1. Periphrastic Imperfect.....	29
2.3.1.1. Progressive Periphrastic Imperfects	29
2.3.1.2. Non-Progressive Periphrastic Imperfects.....	30
2.3.2. Imperfect Indicative of $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ as a Simple Verb	30
2.3.2.1. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ with a Noun Phrase Predicate.....	31
2.3.2.2. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ with an Adjectival Predicate.....	33
2.3.2.3. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ with an Adverbial Predicate	34
2.3.2.4. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ with a Prepositional Phrase Predicate.....	34
2.3.2.5. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ in Possessive Expressions.....	35
2.3.3. Imperfect Indicative of $\epsilon\chi\omega$ Expressing Possession.....	35
2.3.4. Imperfect Indicative of Verbs That Frequently Introduce Direct Speech	36
2.4. Non-Active Instances in Greek and CPA.....	38
2.4.1. Deponent Verbs.....	38
2.4.2. Non-Deponent Non-Active Verbs.....	41
2.4.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA	42
2.5. Summary.....	43
3. The CPA Translation of the Greek Present Indicative.....	45
3.1. Translation of True Greek Presents	48
3.1.1. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle.....	48
3.1.2. Translated by CPA Participles	51
3.1.3. Translated by CPA Passive Participles	52
3.1.4. Translated by CPA Imperfects	53
3.1.5. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Verbal Adjective.....	53
3.1.6. Translated by CPA Nominal Expressions	54
3.1.7. Instances with Textual Variants	55
3.2. Translation of Greek Historical Presents.....	56
3.2.1. Translated by CPA Perfects	57
3.2.2. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle.....	58
3.2.3. Translated by CPA Participles	58
3.2.4. Ambivalent Instances	59
3.2.5. Translated by CPA $\kappa\omicron\mu$ + Participle.....	60
3.2.6. Translated by CPA $\kappa\omicron\mu$ + Verbal Adjective.....	61
3.2.7. Instances with Textual Variants	61
3.2.8. An Additional Instance.....	62
3.3. Translation of Greek Futuristic Presents	62

3.3.1. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle.....	63
3.3.2. Translated by CPA Participles	63
3.3.3. Translated by CPA Imperfects	64
3.3.4. Instances with Textual Variants	64
3.4. Translation of Special Types of Greek Presents.....	66
3.4.1. Present Indicative in Indirect Discourse.....	66
3.4.2. Present Indicative of Past Actions Still in Progress	67
3.4.3. Periphrastic Present.....	68
3.4.4. Present Indicative of εἰμί as a Simple Verb	69
3.4.4.1. εἰμί with a Noun Phrase Predicate.....	70
3.4.4.2. εἰμί with an Adjectival Predicate.....	73
3.4.4.3. εἰμί with an Adverbial Predicate	76
3.4.4.4. εἰμί with a Prepositional Phrase Predicate.....	77
3.4.4.5. εἰμί without an Expressed Predicate	78
3.4.4.6. εἰμί in Special Expressions.....	79
3.4.5. Present Indicative of ἔχω Expressing Possession	80
3.4.6. The Verbs δεῖ and ἔξεστιν	81
3.4.7. The Verb ἦκω	82
3.4.8. Present Indicative of Verbs That Frequently Introduce Direct Speech	82
3.5. Non-Active Instances in Greek and CPA.....	86
3.5.1. Deponent Verbs.....	86
3.5.2. Non-Deponent Non-Active Verbs.....	89
3.5.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA	92
3.6. Summary.....	93
4. The CPA Translation of the Greek Future Indicative.....	97
4.1. Translation of Regular Future Indicatives	97
4.1.1. Translated by CPA Imperfects	97
4.1.2. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle.....	98
4.1.3. Translated by CPA Participles	99
4.1.4. Translated by CPA Imperfect of ἔσθαι + Participle	100
4.1.5. Translated by CPA Passive Participles	101
4.1.6. Instances with Textual Variants	101
4.2. Translation of Special Types of Greek Futures	102
4.2.1. Periphrastic Future	103
4.2.2. Future Verb Phrases with μέλλω	103
4.2.3. Future Indicative of εἰμί as a Simple Verb.....	105
4.2.3.1. εἰμί with a Noun Phrase Predicate.....	105
4.2.3.2. εἰμί with an Adjectival Predicate.....	106
4.2.3.3. εἰμί with an Adverbial Predicate	107

4.2.3.4. εἰμί with a Prepositional Phrase Predicate.....	108
4.2.3.5. εἰμί without an Expressed Predicate	108
4.2.3.6. εἰμί in Possessive Expressions.....	109
4.3. Non-Active Instances in Greek and CPA.....	109
4.3.1. Deponent Verbs.....	109
4.3.2. Non-Deponent Non-Active Verbs.....	111
4.3.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA	112
4.4. Summary.....	113
5. The CPA Translation of the Greek Aorist Indicative.....	115
5.1. Translation of Regular Greek Aorist Indicatives	115
5.1.1. Translated by CPA Perfects	115
5.1.2. Translated by CPA ἄρα + Participle.....	119
5.1.3. Translated by CPA Passive Participles	120
5.1.4. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle.....	120
5.1.5. Translated by CPA Participles	121
5.1.6. An Ambiguous Instance	122
5.1.7. Translated by CPA Imperfects	123
5.1.8. Instances that Involve Textual Variants.....	124
5.2. Translation of Special Types of Greek Aorists	125
5.2.1. Aorist Indicative of ἔχω Expressing Possession.....	125
5.2.2. Aorist Indicative of Verbs That Frequently Introduce Direct Speech	126
5.3. Non-Active Instances in Greek and CPA.....	128
5.3.1. Deponent Verbs.....	128
5.3.2. Non-Deponent Non-Active Verbs.....	130
5.3.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA	131
5.4. Summary.....	131
6. The CPA Translation of the Greek Perfect Indicative	133
6.1. Translation of Regular Greek Perfect Indicatives	133
6.1.1. Active Perfect Indicatives.....	134
6.1.1.1. Translated by CPA Perfects.....	134
6.1.1.2. Ambiguous Instances.....	134
6.1.2. Non-Active Perfect Indicatives	136
6.1.2.1. Translated by CPA Passive Participles.....	136
6.1.2.2. Translated by CPA ἄρα and T-Stem Participle	138
6.1.2.3. An Instance Involving a CPA Addition.....	138
6.2. Translation of Special Types of Greek Perfects.....	139
6.2.1. Perfect Indicative Verbs That Express the Present Tense	139

6.2.2. Periphrastic Perfect.....	140
6.3. Summary.....	141
7. The CPA Translation of the Greek Pluperfect Indicative.....	143
7.1. Translation of Regular Greek Pluperfect Indicatives.....	143
7.1.1. Translated by CPA Perfects	143
7.1.2. Translated by CPA $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle	144
7.2. Translation of Special Types of Greek Pluperfects.....	145
7.2.1. Pluperfect Indicative Verbs That Express the Simple Past Tense.....	145
7.2.2. Periphrastic Pluperfect.....	147
7.3. The CPA Translation of the Greek Periphrastic Future Perfect	149
7.4. Summary.....	150
8. Translation Technique and CPA Verbal Function.....	151
8.1. Observations on Translation Technique.....	151
8.2. Observations on the CPA Verbal System.....	154
8.2.1. The CPA Perfect.....	154
8.2.2. The CPA Imperfect.....	156
8.2.3. The CPA Participles	159
8.2.3.1. $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle.....	160
8.2.3.2. (Pronoun +) Participle.....	162
8.2.4. The CPA Passive Participle.....	171
8.2.5. The CPA <i>qattil</i> Verbal Adjective.....	176
8.2.6. CPA Conditional Clauses	178
8.2.6.1. Counterfactual Conditions	179
8.2.6.2. Factual conditions.....	181
8.3. Observations on CPA Nominal Clauses and Clauses with $\kappa\alpha\mu$	183
8.4. Observations on Textual Issues.....	187
9. Conclusion.....	189
Bibliography	191
Index of Passages Cited.....	201

PREFACE

The early seeds of this study go back to a 2004 NEH summer seminar on Aramaic at Duke University, in which Lucas Van Rompay introduced several of the participants including myself to Christian Palestinian Aramaic. At the time I was also considering a long term project on a historical grammar of ancient Aramaic. A key issue in such an undertaking is the function of the Participle in different forms of Aramaic, which also has some fascinating implications for historical linguistics. However, my desire to explore the function of the CPA Participle had to be placed on hold for a few years due to other duties and projects. A grant for the summer of 2011 allowed me the time and resources to pursue this research, and my original intention was to publish my findings as a journal article on the CPA Participle. However, in the process of doing the research, I realized that I needed to expand the study to include other parts of the verbal system. As a result, I decided to survey the translation of all Greek Indicative verbs, and the study evolved into this small monograph.

Tarsee Li
April, 2013

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was made possible by a United Negro College Fund (UNCF) Henry C. McBay Research Fellowship for the summer of 2011. Special thanks are due to Kimberly Hall, Director, Program Services at UNCF, and Lucy Cort, Proposal Development Specialist, Office of Sponsored Programs at Oakwood University, for their assistance with administrative matters of the grant.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge two individuals who read earlier drafts of this study. Stephen Kaufman granted me access to the Christian Palestinian Aramaic texts of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon when I first decided to embark on this study. He also read an early draft of this book and offered some valuable comments. Lucas Van Rompay, who introduced me to Christian Palestinian Aramaic some years ago, read a later draft of this book and also offered valuable comments and suggestions. The opinions expressed and any mistakes are my own.

Thanks are also due to Paulette Johnson, Kieren Bailey, and Elizabeth Mosby of the Eva B. Dykes Library at Oakwood University for processing inter-library loans and accommodating requests related to my research. This may not seem exceptional for scholars used to working with large research libraries. But their help was significant in light of the fact that this is a small library in a historically black university with limited resources.

I also wish to thank Terry Falla, the editor of this series, and the anonymous readers of the series for their helpful suggestions. Thanks also goes to Melonie Schmierer-Lee for her fine work in the copyediting and the final preparation of the book for printing.

1. INTRODUCTION

Christian Palestinian Aramaic (hereafter, CPA)¹ belongs to the western group of the late ancient Aramaic languages that flourished from the 3rd century of the Christian era to the rise of Islam, along with Samaritan Aramaic and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. CPA was used by Aramaic-speaking Christians in Syria-Palestine and Egypt during the Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods, as a living language until the beginning of the 8th century CE and as a written language until the 13th century CE. Extant texts consist mainly of translations from Greek, and can be subdivided into three periods. The early period can be dated to the 5th–7th centuries CE, the middle period to the 8th–9th centuries, and the late period to the 10th–13th centuries (Müller-Kessler 1999: 631). In contrast to the early and middle periods, texts from the late period show much more interference from other languages, such as Syriac and Arabic. Though the extant texts consist mainly of translations, they are still valuable for the understanding of ancient Aramaic dialects because CPA was a living language in the early period.

Although extant texts in CPA have been known for a long time, and many were published over a century ago, Aramaic scholars are indebted to the works of Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff for more accurate editions of CPA texts based on manuscripts of the early and middle periods, resulting not only in corrections to earlier editions, but also in a clearer distinction between the different periods of CPA. These newer editions of CPA texts allow for more accurate descriptions of CPA grammar. Müller-Kessler (1991) published a grammar that deals with the script, phonology, and mor-

¹ This dialect has also been called Syropalestinian Aramaic. More recently, Desreumaux (1997) called it Melkite Aramaic.

phology of the CPA language. However, a promised forthcoming volume on syntax has not yet appeared. In fact, a thorough study of CPA syntax has never been published.² It is my hope to contribute to filling this lacuna by a study of the CPA translation of Greek Indicative verbs in the New Testament Gospels. Specifically, this study involves a description of translation technique and of its implications for the understanding of CPA verbal function.

1.1. TERMINOLOGY

Since there is no universally accepted terminology for the study of grammar, it is useful to begin by briefly explaining the grammatical terminology adopted in this book. Both Greek and Aramaic have a long history of study, and each language has its own tradition of grammatical terminology. The names of the grammatical forms in Greek and CPA follow the common terminology of their respective traditions. As for the function of these forms, however, inasmuch as this study involves both languages, it was deemed useful to adopt linguistic labels and categories that are cross-linguistically valid. Therefore, though not ignoring the traditional terminology for verbal functions in Greek and Aramaic, which will be referred to as necessary, the labels used here for morphosyntactic function follow primarily those of Comrie (1976).³ Whereas tense describes

² Studies on specific points of syntax have appeared, e.g., Bar-Asher (1988), as well as short sketches of CPA syntax, e.g., Nöldeke (1868: 506–513), whose observations on verbal function comprise only a few lines. The most comprehensive study of CPA syntax was that of Schulthess (1924: 80–99). However, his remarks were extremely brief. For example, the discussion of the function of verbal forms occupies little more than three full pages (pp. 86–90). The recent publication of more accurate CPA texts makes it necessary to update earlier observations and affords us the possibility of presenting more a complete description of CPA syntax and morphosyntax.

³ Since the labels for verbal function can be the same as or similar to names of verbal forms (e.g., “perfect” in perfect aspect vs. Greek Perfect Active Indicative or CPA Perfect), I have adopted here the common practice of distinguishing them by capitalizing the names of verbal conjugations (e.g., Greek/CPA Perfect) and leaving names of tense/aspectual functions in lower case (e.g., perfect).

the relationship between an event and some other point in time, such as the moment of speech (e.g., past, present, future), grammatical aspect describes how its internal temporal structure is viewed. That is, aspect may describe a portion of the time of occurrence (beginning, middle, or end), or the frequency of occurrence, etc. Thus, “the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from the inside” (Comrie 1976: 4). For example, in the sentence, “John was reading the book, when I entered” (pp. 4–5), the last verb, “entered,” can be said to be “perfective” in that the action is viewed as a single whole, whereas the verb phrase “was reading” is “imperfective,” because it makes an explicit reference to a portion of the action, i.e., in this case, the act of reading is described in the middle, excluding the beginning and the end of the action. Comrie (pp. 24–25) also subdivided the imperfective aspect into “habitual” and “continuous,” the latter consisting of “progressive” and “non-progressive.” However, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 137–139) subdivided imperfective aspect into “habitual” and “progressive,” because they observed that, although examples can be found of grammatical forms expressing habitual, progressive, and imperfective aspects, there are no examples in cross-linguistic data of a non-progressive continuous grammatical construction. The label “habitual” refers to customarily repeated actions. As used in this book, it also serves as an umbrella term for not only habitual actions, but also those that are iterative, i.e., repeated actions that have a well-defined end point, or frequentative, i.e., actions that occur frequently in a specific period of time. The label “progressive” refers to a grammatical expression that describes an action as ongoing at reference time. And the label “imperfective” refers to a construction that can express both habitual and progressive meanings. These functions can be illustrated by the following examples.

1. Elle lisait.
2. She was reading.
3. She used to read.

Sentence 1 above contains a French *imparfait*, or a past imperfective that can denote either the past progressive (sentence 2) or the past habitual (sentence 3), depending on context. English does not have a past imperfective construction, but can express both the past

progressive (sentence 2) and the past habitual (sentence 3) by means of distinctive constructions. Furthermore, as Comrie's discussion suggests, there is some inevitable variation from language to language, and grammatical constructions for "progressive," "habitual," or "imperfective" do not always express the exact same range of meanings across languages.

There is also a relationship between imperfective aspect and present tense. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 126) argued that the present tense is a type of imperfective, because present tense constructions in most languages can usually express not only the actual present, i.e., an action that is occurring at the moment of speech (e.g., "He is eating lunch"), but also the general present, i.e., a statement of fact or an action that habitually or customarily occurs but may not be occurring at the moment of speech (e.g., "He drinks with his meals").⁴ That is, since the first type of present is in essence progressive and the latter is gnomic or habitual, the fact that both can be expressed by the same construction means that it is proper to consider the present tense a present imperfective.⁵ Whereas a general (i.e., atemporal) imperfective construction can function in the past, present, or future, a past imperfective, on the other hand, is primarily restricted to the past time. Hence, in most contexts, a past imperfective construction does not express the present, nor does a present construction express the past imperfective.

Another group of grammatical functions relevant for this study can be labeled "perfect." According to Comrie (1976: 52), "the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation." In reality, the label "perfect" has both a broad and narrow meaning. In its broad sense, perfect serves as an umbrella term for both anterior and resultative. In the narrow sense, a perfect is an anterior. According to Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988),

⁴ These English present examples also illustrate the fact that modern English dynamic verbs do not have a true "present tense," but rather two separate constructions for progressive and general present.

⁵ Bybee (1994: 236) does allow for exceptions. The present can be perfective in performatives or in the narration of ongoing events, such as a sports event. Otherwise, presents are imperfectives.

resultatives are “verb forms that express a state implying a previous event” (p. 6), whereas an anterior (called a “perfect” by Nedjalkov and Jaxontov) refers to “a form that expresses an action (or process or state) in the past which has continuing relevance for the present” (p. 15).⁶ Anteriors can be derived from any verb, whereas resultatives are formed from limited lexical sources. Moreover, languages can have various configurations of what and how perfect notions are expressed. Some languages only have an anterior grammatical construction, others only a resultative one, and others both anterior and resultative constructions. Some languages even have more than one type of resultative construction.

There is also a sense in which the different types of perfect are diachronically related. In general, Maslov (1988) explained the grammaticalization of the perfect as follows: “from denoting a state to denoting an action that causes that state, and then—to simply denoting an action” (p. 70). As part of this general development, “it may be said that the statal perfect evolves into the actional perfect” (p. 71), i.e., a resultative tends to eventually develop into an anterior. Another way to state it is that stative grammatical constructions grammaticalize into resultatives, which in turn grammaticalize into anteriors, and the latter grammaticalize into perfectives or past tenses (see Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994: 51–105). Grammatical constructions can, and often do, have more than one function, because they may retain some of their previous functions along the path of their development.

It is also relevant for this study to briefly mention terminology related to voice. The labels “voice” and “diathesis” are sometimes used interchangeably and sometimes distinguished. In the present study, these two labels will be used interchangeably. Shibatani (2006: 220–221) explains the relationship between aspect and voice as follows: “Aspect asks *where* the vantage point is with regard to the temporal structure of an action. . . . Voice, on the other hand, asks *how* an action evolves — that is, it asks about the nature of its origin, the manner in which it develops, and the way that it termi-

⁶ The label “perfect” can also apply to the “inclusive perfect,” which denotes actions or states that began previously and continue at reference time. For example, “I have lived here for three years” (Maslov 1988: 65).

nates.” However, there is some diversity in the definition of voice and of its main divisions, active, passive, and middle. Further, voice is not limited to verbs, but nominal forms can also be marked for voice. Traditionally, a verb has been described as in the active voice when its grammatical subject is the agent or actor, and in the passive voice when the grammatical subject does not perform the action, but is the patient, target, or undergoer of the action. However, according to Haspelmath (1990: 59), it “may not be possible to resolve the question of the main function of the passive cross-linguistically.” He suggests instead that the passive is best understood as primarily a morphological category (p. 62). As for the middle voice, according to Kemmer, the middle voice denotes a transitive situation performed by a single entity on itself, which is distinguished from reflexive voice in that the latter denotes a transitive situation where the actor and patient/undergoer are co-referential. This distinction can be illustrated by the following two sentences:

John is bathing in the river.

John is bathing himself in the river.

In the above examples, although the verb in the first sentence is intransitive in terms of traditional English grammar, both sentences must be understood as denoting a semantically transitive situation, assuming that they describe the same event. Therefore, the first sentence expresses the middle voice, i.e., a transitive situation performed by a single entity on itself, whereas the second sentence expresses the reflexive voice, i.e., a transitive situation where the actor and patient/undergoer are co-referential.

For the purpose of this study, it is not necessary to base our terminology on the most comprehensive description of voice phenomena. That is, since this study is limited to verbal phenomena, it is sufficient to state that voice or diathesis describes the relationship between the verb and the participants in a clause. Further, although it is acknowledged that Active, Middle, and Passive grammatical forms do not necessarily correspond to active, middle, and

passive semantic functions,⁷ since the present research includes the study of translation technique, the translation of formal categories is the natural starting point for any discussion. At times, it may be necessary to single out a specific diathesis for discussion, e.g., passive. At other times, more than one type of non-active voice can be grouped together. In such cases, for the sake of simplicity, I will use the label “non-active” to refer to any voice other than active.

Mention must also be made of deponent verbs. Greek deponent verbs are those that never occur in the Active form, e.g., ἔρχομαι “to come.” There are some verbs, however, that do not occur in the Active form in the New Testament, but do so outside the New Testament, and are, therefore, not true deponents (e.g., διαστέλλω, ἐκπλήσσω, περιβλέπω, φοβέω). Nevertheless, some of these are provisionally included among deponent verbs in this study, because their syntactic behavior or semantic content in the New Testament may qualify as deponent. For example, since the object of the New Testament verb φοβέομαι occurs in the accusative (e.g., Luke 18:2,4), it is grammatically marked as the direct object rather than the agent or cause of fear. Thus, φοβέομαι means simply “to fear,” not “to be frightened,” as if it were the passive of φοβέω “to frighten.” It must also be acknowledged that the notion of deponency in Greek has been challenged (Taylor 2004). My classification of Greek verbs as deponent is due to practical rather than theoretical reasons, i.e., deponency is a notion that is still currently employed in standard Greek lexical and grammatical terminology and many deponent verbs in Greek are in fact translated by active forms in Aramaic. Hence, even if deponent may not be the correct label for these verbs, the category has at least some heuristic value, i.e., there is a practical usefulness in classifying them separately.

Although there are differences in the definition of some voices, the cross-linguistic data concerning their diachronic development is less ambiguous, at least for some functions. Kemmer (1993: 151–242) observed that the most common source of gram-

⁷ As already stated, the present study distinguishes between form and function by capitalizing the names of grammatical forms, including voice, but not the names of their functions.

matal markers of middle voice consists of markers of reflexive voice. According to Heine and Kuteva (2002: 252–53) reflexives tend to grammaticalize into anticausative⁸ or middle, which in turn grammaticalize into passive.⁹ A more comprehensive account of the grammaticalization of passive voice can be found in Haspelmath (1990), who also observed that it is more likely for a language to lack a passive than to have one, and that some languages have more than one way of marking the passive (p. 28). For the purpose of the present study, it is not necessary to describe in detail all of the attested paths of grammaticalization.

In passing, I should mention that Farina (2011) made a strong argument for categorizing the Syriac (and Semitic) T-stems as expressing middle diathesis. However, it is important to note that her use of the label “middle” does not refer to one specific function, but to a “network” (p. xi) of phenomena, a “spectrum of meanings” (p. 96), or “the net of semantic, syntactic and morphological phenomena” (p. 135) that relate to middle diathesis. Thus, her characterization of T-stems as middle does not deny, *inter-alia*, certain passive functions. Although I partially agree with her conclusions, it is beyond the scope of this study to categorize any grammatical form in terms of an overarching semantic meaning that encompasses all attested functions. Rather, this study will simply list the various attested functions, because, from the perspective of grammaticalization, it is normal for a grammatical construction to

⁸ It is useful to give a brief description of unaccusative and anticausative diathesis. An unaccusative verb is an intransitive verb whose subject is not the agent. That is, the grammatical subject is the semantic patient, *i.e.*, it does not actively initiate and is not responsible for the action. English examples include “to die,” “to fall.” Some unaccusative verbs are also anticausative, *i.e.*, they are verbs whose subject is the patient of the action or event, but whose agent or cause cannot be syntactically expressed. For example, in the English sentence, “The car drives well,” the addition of an agent (the driver) in the same clause would be ungrammatical.

⁹ Heine and Kuteva suggest that, since middle is not clearly definable, the grammaticalization of reflexive to middle may be better explained as part of the development of anticausative to passive.

have more than one function. These multiple functions often reflect its historical development.

It is also important to mention and explain a few terms related to grammaticalization. Grammaticalization denotes the study of how certain lexical terms and constructions come to serve grammatical functions and how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions. It is beyond the scope of this research to give a full discussion of grammaticalization. Other works have done this quite well (e.g., Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994; Hopper and Traugott 2003). However, it is useful here to briefly describe some relevant facets of the process of grammaticalization assumed in this book. As a word or grammatical construction develops along the path of grammaticalization, traces of earlier functions or lexical meanings tend to persist, a phenomenon called “persistence” (Hopper 1991). Hopper cites Bybee and Pagliuca’s example of the present-day English future marker “will,” which not only expresses a prediction (i.e., simple future), but also the earlier Old English modal notions of willingness (e.g., “someone who will sign for ...”) and intention (e.g., “I’ll put them in the post today”). Thus, at any synchronic point in time, a given form may have more than one function (i.e., “persistence”). When a form begins to express the meaning already expressed by another existing form, a process called “renewal” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 122–124), two or more grammatical forms overlap in expressing the same function, a phenomenon called “layering” (Hopper 1991). Newly grammaticalized forms “compete with existing constructions” and eventually replace them (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 126).

I should also explain my use of the label “Participle” for CPA forms. It is sometimes used broadly, including Active, T-stem, and/or Passive Participles. However, in some instances a distinction needs to be made, and in such cases the type of Participle will be specified in the discussion. Since the instances discussed in this book are translations of Greek finite verbs, unless there is evidence to the contrary, both Active and T-stem Participles are included in the tally of verbal participial expressions, e.g., $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle or pronoun + Participle. On the other hand, Passive Participles are more likely than T-stem Participles to be nominal in function, and are, therefore, treated separately. This will be more clearly explained in the course of this study.

Finally, I need to explain how I use three terms that will occasionally occur in this study. The terms “idiomatic” and “stylistic” are used in reference to translation technique, whereas the term “optional” is used in reference to grammar. An optional constituent refers to an element of a grammatical construction that is non-obligatory. For example, in contrast to English, which requires a subject personal pronoun with a verb that has no other word as subject, in most languages such a pronoun is non-obligatory, and therefore, at least in some contexts, optional. An idiomatic translation refers one that departs from the original because of the grammatical or usage constraints of either the source or the target language or both. For example, since there is no verb “to have” in Aramaic, the Greek verb ἔχω “to have” is generally translated with a nominal clause that includes a Δ of possession. Some Greek grammatical constructions requiring idiomatic translations occur so frequently as to justify a separate section for their discussion in some chapters. The term stylistic refers to an individual choice by the translator that is not prompted by grammatical constraints. Needless to say, all optional grammatical elements allow for stylistic choices. However, stylistic choices go beyond instances where a CPA translator chose between two optional forms of the same grammatical construction, and also include instances of choices between different lexical and grammatical constructions.

1.2. TEXTUAL BASIS

Since this study explores the CPA translation of the Greek New Testament Gospels, it is important to mention the textual basis of the study. The CPA text of the corpus used here is that published by Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff (1998). I also consulted Desreumaux (1997), who published a new edition of portions of Codex sinaiticus Zosimi rescriptus (CSZR), i.e., the manuscript called Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus (CSR) by Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff. However, since I did not have access to the actual manuscript, I was not in a position to resolve disagreements between his text and that of Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff. The Greek text used for this study is the current edition of Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (hereafter, NA²⁸). Although, it is clear that the Vorlage of the CPA translations is different from the text of NA²⁸, it is best to start with the standard published text and note the textual variants, rather than a priori select another hypothetical Vorla-

ge as a starting point. Besides, there is also a large amount of agreement among the Greek witnesses. For the Greek textual variants, I consulted not only the apparatus in NA²⁸, but also the texts of Pierpont and Robinson (1995) and Holmes (2010).¹⁰

In the chapters on translation technique, occurrences are cited according to the chapter and verse number of the published Greek text (i.e., NA²⁸), and, where more than one instance of a Greek tense occurs in the same verse, these are cited with a letter after the verse number in alphabetic sequence (e.g., Matt. 27:11b). There is a practical advantage to citations based on Greek occurrences, rather than CPA. Due to the fragmentary nature of the CPA texts, many verses are only partially attested, and different parts of the same verse may be attested in different manuscripts. Thus, for example, the fifth instance of a Present Indicative in the same Greek verse (e.g., Matt. 26:45e) may be reflected as the third attested instance in one CPA manuscript (e.g., Matt. 26:45 CCR1) and as the fourth instance in another (e.g., Matt. 26:45 CSRP^d). Therefore, at least in the chapters focusing on translation technique, it is simpler to cite occurrences according to the Greek numbering of chapter, verse, and instance.

Unless otherwise stated, all passages cited as CPA examples are from Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff (1998), and are referred to by both the biblical reference and the manuscript, the latter according to the abbreviation system of Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff (e.g., Matt. 27:30 CCR8). However, in the lists and/or discussions of the Greek text, only the biblical reference is given. In most cases, I have also given the English translation of the CPA text and the standard published Greek text (NA²⁸) in separate lines, but I did not consider it necessary to give a translation of the Greek text, even where it differs from the CPA translation, unless it was relevant to the discussion. Greek textual variants mentioned in the discussion are from any or all of the published texts consulted.

¹⁰ Since the publication of the latest edition of the Greek text was fairly recent, to be more precise, I consulted the apparatus of both NA²⁷ and NA²⁸. Though the changes in the main text of NA²⁸ only concern the Catholic Epistles, the format of the apparatus for the entire edition has also been changed.

1.3. METHODOLOGY

As Bar-Asher (1988: 31) observed, the study of CPA must pay attention to real or supposed influences of other languages with which it was in contact. Such influences can be detected in many facets of the language, i.e., phonetic, lexical, grammatical, etc. One of the most useful sources for evidence of foreign influence in any language can be found in translated texts. Translated texts can be studied both in terms of translation technique and grammar. In general, the starting point for the study of translation technique is the original text from which a translation is made, whereas the starting point of grammatical study is the translated text itself, especially if there are non-translated texts that can serve as reference points for the latter. However, since virtually all CPA texts are translated, one cannot discuss grammatical function in CPA apart from translation technique. Therefore, the present study examines both translation technique and the CPA verbal system. Nevertheless, the study will neither include a full discussion of all aspects of translation technique nor of all aspects of CPA grammatical function. Rather, the focus will be on those aspects of translation technique that provide clues for the understanding of CPA verbal function. As can be seen in the ensuing study, the interplay between literal translation and stylistic variation can provide clues that help explain the functions of the CPA forms.

This study is limited to instances of Greek Indicative verbs and periphrastic expressions that are semantically equivalent to Indicative verbs, because temporal distinctions are grammatically expressed in the Indicative mood, but not in the other moods or non-finite forms. Thus, although the distinction between Present and Aorist Participles in Greek is relevant to the study of aspect, the said forms are atemporal, resulting in more subjectivity in distinguishing between past imperfective and present, etc. Furthermore, the functions of some constructions may be different in subordinate clauses from main clauses. Therefore, since this study focuses primarily on the way translation technique yields clues concerning the function of CPA verbs, I decided to limit it to the study primarily to instances of Greek verbs that occur in the Indicative mood. Periphrastic expressions that are semantically equivalent to Indicative verbs are also included.

The fact that the CPA corpus chosen for this study consists of translations from the Greek has some advantages for grammatical

study, in spite of the unavoidable presence of issues related to translation technique. For example, since the use of the imperfective aspect in many languages can often be a stylistic choice made by a speaker/writer rather than a requirement, an a priori assumption as to how imperfective aspect is rendered can sometimes result in circular reasoning. That is, if one assumes that a certain grammatical construction has an imperfective function, it is tempting to simply conclude that whenever the said construction is used, the author/speaker is expressing an imperfective aspect. Therefore, the use of a translated corpus is more objective than an original Aramaic composition, because, although the translator is free to either depart from the aspect and tense of the Greek original or to translate it mechanically even when it is unnatural for genuine Aramaic, one expects a preponderance of instances where the original is rendered by an Aramaic expression that has a similar range of meanings (and it is generally agreed that the CPA translators had a good grasp of the Greek language). Thus, since in a translated text the employment of the Aramaic past imperfective is motivated by the Greek original in the majority of instances, rather than solely by the stylistic choice of the translator, one can use the instances of past imperfective in the Greek original as a preliminary guide to the instances where the Aramaic translator most likely intended to express it.

On the other hand, it should also be acknowledged that, although a translated text has in its favor an element of control in the interpretation of the CPA form, the nature of the corpus poses a few of complicating factors in the interpretation of the data. One of these is that biblical texts often have textual variants. Text critical issues cannot be avoided, and textual variants, either among the Greek or in the CPA witnesses, are mentioned where relevant. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to engage in an extended discussion of all textual variants or of the Greek Vorlage of the CPA translators. Thus, issues related to textual criticism are only mentioned if relevant to this study.

The imperfectly preserved state of the CPA text can also pose problems in analysis. In some cases, though the CPA translation is only partially preserved, a sufficient amount of text is preserved to analyze the Aramaic construction used. For example, in some instances, the (partially) illegible letters of a word can be easily reconstructed. In other instances, though entire words are missing, the

grammatical form of a missing word can be inferred from the context. For example, if the CPA translation of a Greek Imperfect contains the verb 𐤒𐤌𐤍 “to be” followed by an illegible lacuna, it is often reasonable to conclude that the illegible word was a Participle. On the other hand, however, there are many instances where the text is too poorly preserved for analysis. Further, partially preserved CPA translations of other Greek tenses can be even more challenging. If the CPA translation contains a Participle next to an illegible lacuna, it might be reasonable in some contexts, such as in the translation of the Greek Present Indicative, to conclude that the illegible word was a pronoun. But the reverse is less certain, i.e., if a pronoun occurs next to an illegible lacuna, it is not a given that the illegible word is a Participle. Therefore, although this study includes reconstructed instances such as those in brackets in Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff’s text, I have also indicated in the discussion those instances where missing words must be supplied.

Even if the CPA manuscripts were in perfect condition, some ambiguities would still exist due to CPA orthography. For example, since the text is unvowelled, many verbs have the same form for the Peal Perfect 3ms and the Peal Active Participle ms absolute. In many cases, contextual indicators can be helpful, such as the forms of the other verbs in the context, or the form of the same verb in similar contexts where it is feminine or plural. On the other hand the same grammatical form may be written in more than one way (and orthographic differences may also be peculiar to individual manuscripts). Thus, 𐤒𐤌𐤍 in Mark 9:34 CSRP^e is an Active Participle (Müller-Kessler 1991: 161), but could be mistaken for a Passive Participle (compare 𐤒𐤌𐤍 Matt. 26:63 CSRG/O^d and 𐤒𐤌𐤍 Matt. 26.63 BL). There may also be instances where the assimilation of the 𐤌 in T-stem forms results in ambiguity (Bar-Asher 1988: 50–53). This study acknowledged that there are some orthographically ambivalent instances that cannot be lexically or contextually resolved, and allowed for their analysis as ambiguous.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that, although the CPA and Syriac Estrangelo scripts are not identical, they are similar enough to justify the use of a Syriac Unicode Estrangelo font for the CPA citations in this book. The font used is Estrangelo Edessa.

2. THE CPA TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK IMPERFECT INDICATIVE

The Greek Imperfect Indicative in most instances expresses various types of past imperfective notions. There are at least 954 instances in the Gospels, of which 254 instances have attested CPA translations where the amount of text preserved is sufficient for analysis. However, 9 instances of Greek Imperfect Indicatives serve as auxiliaries in verbal phrases that correspond to other Greek tenses, and are, therefore, discussed under the chapters that cover those other tenses. Also, some of the instances must be treated separately in this study because CPA expressed the equivalent with a verbless sentence or some other expression which is semantically but not grammatically equivalent. These include 44 instances of εἶμι “to be” functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb, 8 instances of ἔχω “to have” expressing possession, though instances expressing other notions have been retained, and at least 35 instances of Greek Imperfect Indicative verbs frequently used to introduce direct speech. These, along with 15 instances of the Periphrastic Imperfect (Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle) are discussed separately in this chapter. Therefore, excluding the instances explained above, 143 regular instances of Imperfect Indicatives remain. A few other instances must also be disqualified because of text critical issues in the Greek Vorlage, which will be discussed individually in the course of this study.

It is appropriate to give here a brief explanation for treating separately verbs that introduce direct speech. Goodwin (1889: 17) noticed that in classical Greek, in “such expressions as *he said, he commanded,*” “the action is of such a nature that it is not important to distinguish its duration from its occurrence.” That is, the aspectual opposition between the Greek Aorist Indicative (i.e., the past perfective/simple past) and the Imperfect Indicative (i.e., the past imperfective) was sometimes neutralized when applied to verbs

introducing direct speech, and both aspects could be used interchangeably, their distinction being “occasionally indifferent” (Goodwin 1900: 270). That does not mean that this aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective was never relevant, but that it was sometimes irrelevant for such verbs. Hence, 35 instances consisting of the verbs λέγω, λαλέω, and ἐρωτάω/ἐπερωτάω are treated separately in the section of this chapter that deals with special types of Greek Imperfects.¹¹ These numbers do not take into account instances of the 3rd person singular ἔφη, which can be analyzed as either 2nd Aorist Indicative or Imperfect of φημί, and of which only 6 instances (out of 29) in the corpus are attested in CPA translation. In order not to count the same word more than once, I counted these among instances of the Greek Aorist rather than the Imperfect, an arbitrary choice that does not imply a preference in the analysis of the Greek form.

As mentioned in the introduction, the past imperfective aspect can be subdivided into progressive and habitual. Imperfective grammatical constructions can express both notions. In some languages, there are grammatical constructions that express only one or the other, but not both. These can also co-exist with imperfective grammatical constructions that can express both progressive and habitual notions. Therefore, the ensuing discussion distinguishes, to the extent possible, these two subdivisions of imperfective aspect.

2.1. TRANSLATION OF REGULAR GREEK PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTS

It must be acknowledged that, although the possible functions of the Greek Imperfect Indicative are well known, there is not always a consensus on the interpretation of specific instances. For example, does the Imperfect ἐζήτουν in Mark 11:18 mean that the chief priests and scribes “were seeking” (ESV), “kept looking” (NRSV), or “began to look” (ISV) for a way to kill Jesus? Therefore, the classification of many instances of the Imperfect is open to debate.

¹¹ See also Joosten’s (1996: 116) recognition that the syntax of ܘܢܪ in Syriac is “peculiar.”

Nevertheless, most of the relevant attested instances of the Greek Imperfect can be categorized as expressing some type of progressive aspect in the past. Progressive Imperfects express an action in progress in past time. These include what is variously called “progressive,” “descriptive,” “durative,” and/or “simultaneous” function(s) in traditional Greek grammars. Also, many potentially ambiguous instances that could express functions other than progressive are provisionally included under the “descriptive” or “simultaneous” umbrella, because, according to Turner (1963: 66), the Imperfect often denotes an action still taking place “when an event in the aorist suddenly intervenes to cap it.” That is, Imperfects can depict the background for events expressed by Aorists, which, in turn, carry the foreground of the narrative. Thus, including some ambiguous instances, there are 79 instances of progressive Imperfects with attested CPA translations.¹²

2.1.1. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\omicron\mu$ + Participle

The majority of Greek progressive Imperfects are translated in CPA by the construction $\epsilon\omicron\mu$ + Participle. In at least 52 instances, the entire expression is clear in at least one manuscript.¹³

¹² A few of these instances involve verbs that can occasionally introduce direct speech (e.g., $\pi\upsilon\eta\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ Matt. 2:4; $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ Luke 1:29; $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega$ Luke 1:65). These possibly should be treated separately, but their provisional inclusion here does not significantly affect the overall statistics.

¹³ Matt. 1:25 CCR3; 2:4 CCR3; 14:5 Sin^a; 21:25b CCR1; 26:63 CSRG/O^d, BL; 27:36 CCR8; 27:39 CCR8; 27:44 CCR1; 28:2 CCR1; Mark 1:7 CCR1; 7:36b CSRP^e; 9:30a CSRP^e; 9:31a CSRP^e; 9:33b CSRP^e; 9:34 CSRP^e; 10:1 CSRO^e; 10:46 CSRP^e; 10:48a CSRO^e; 10:48b CSRO^e; 10:52 CSRP^e; 11:18c CSRP^e; 11:19 CSRP^e; 11:31 CSRP^e; 12:37 CSRO^e; 12:41a CSRP^e, CSRO^e; 12:41b CSRP^e, CSRO^e; 14:35b CSRP^e; 15:3 CSRO^e; 15:6b CSRO^e; 15:29 CSRO^e; 16:8a CSRP^e; Luke 1:24 CSRO^e; 1:29 CCR3, CSRO^e; 1:58 CSRO^e; 1:80a CSRO^e; 1:80b CSRO^e; 9:9 CSRO^e; 17:27a CSRS^e; 17:27b CSRS^e; 17:27c CSRS^e; 17:27d CSRS^e; 17:28a CSRS^e; 17:28b CSRS^e; 17:28c CSRS^e; 17:28d CSRS^e; 18:11 CSRS/P^e; 18:39a CSRS^e; 18:39b CSRS^e; 19:1 CSRP^e; 19:3a CSRP^e; John 2:24 Sin^a; 12:2a T-S^a. This list includes at least 1 instance where $\epsilon\omicron\mu$ serves as an auxiliary for two Participles (Luke 1:80a,b; possibly also Matt. 27:36) and 1 instance where $\epsilon\omicron\mu$ serves as an auxiliary for four Participles (Luke 17:27a,b,c,d). For

sages that Turner (1963: 66) cites in his discussion of the descriptive Imperfect “without a finalizing aorist to follow.” Another important observation is that in v. 27 a series of four Greek Imperfects are translated by $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ followed by a series of four Participles, whereas in v. 28 each Participle is preceded by $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$. Thus, it is clear from this passage that the repetition of $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ as an auxiliary in combination with a series of two or more Participles is optional. It is possible that there was a difference in nuance between the two constructions, but it is difficult to detect it.

In 9 instances, $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ is partially or fully preserved and a following Participle is no longer legible but can be reasonably reconstructed (Matt. 24:1 CSRO^e; Mark 8:15 CSRO^e; 14:61a CSRPe; Luke 1:65 CSRO^e; 7:11 CSRPe; 17:28e CSRS^e; 20:14 CSRO^e; John 6:41 CSRPe; 11:20 Dam^d).

In 4 instances the Participle is visible, but the word immediately before it is not. In 3 of the instances, there is a lacuna just before the Participle (Matt. 26:58b BL; Luke 10:18 CSRO^e; John 11:8 Dam^d). It is probable that the lacuna contained form of the auxiliary $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, though one cannot rule out other possibilities. In 1 instance, it is not possible to determine whether the Participle was preceded by the auxiliary $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ or not, because the extant column begins with the Participle (Mark 11:18a CSRPe).

2.1.2. Translated by CPA Passive Participles

There are also possibly 5 instances of the Greek Imperfect Indicative with a progressive function translated in CPA by a Passive Participle, mostly in combination with $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ (Matt. 28:6 CCR1; Mark 2:4b CCR1; Luke 19:48b CSRO^e; John 11:38b CSRPe, Dam^a; 19:29 Dam^f). The instance in John 11:38b contains a CPA textual variant between the presence and absence of $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$. All other instances occur with $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$. Since these are translations of Greek non-active verbs, they are discussed together with other non-active instances below in section 2.4.1.

2.1.3. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ + Verbal Adjective

There is also 1 possible instance of a progressive Greek Imperfect Indicative translated in CPA with a verbal adjective accompanied by $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ (Matt. 25:5 CSRPe, CSRO^e).

Luke 9:43

כָּל [אֵלֶּם . . .] אֲשֶׁר [אֵלֶּם] אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם [. . .] [CSRO^c]
 וְכָל [אֵלֶּם] אֵלֶּם
 :כָּל אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם [. . .] אֵלֶּם [CSRS^e]
 וְכָל

While they all were amazed at all the things that *happened* [CSRO^c]/*he was doing* [CSRS^e], he said . . .

Πάντων δὲ θαυμάζοντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίει εἶπεν

The Greek manuscripts in the above passage disagree between the Imperfect ἐποίει and the Aorist ἐποίησεν. It is possible that this variant may be reflected in the difference in the CPA witnesses between *אֵלֶם* + Participle (CSRS^e) and Perfect (CSRO^c).

In addition to textual variants, CPA translations may also be affected by differences among parallel passages. There is at least 1 possible instance where the CPA translation of the Greek progressive Imperfect may be due to interference from a parallel passage (Mark 15:47 CSRP^c).

Mark 15:47 CSRP^c

וְכָל אֵלֶם אֵלֶם אֵלֶם אֵלֶם

They saw where he was placed.

ἐθεώρουν τοῦ τέθειται

In the above example, although there are no textual variants for the Greek Imperfect Indicative ἐθεώρουν, it is possible that the CPA translation with the Perfect, *אֵלֶם* may reflect interference from the parallel passage in Luke 23:55, which has the Aorist Indicative ἐθέασαντο.

2.2. TRANSLATION OF REGULAR GREEK NON-PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTS

As already mentioned, some of instances of the Greek Imperfects listed above are ambiguous, and could alternatively be analyzed as expressing a function other than past progressive. In the remaining instances, the non-progressive functions are more clearly visible.

2.2.1. Stative Continuous Imperfect

2.2.1.1. Translated by CPA $\kappa\omicron\omicron$ + Participle

Closely related to Greek Imperfect Indicative verbs expressing past progressive aspect are stative verbs expressing past continuous aspect. See Comrie (1976: 24–26) on the distinction between progressive and non-progressive continuous aspect.¹⁴ Since imperfective stative verbs denote states rather than actions in progress in the past, and since in many languages stative and dynamic verbs may function differently, it is justified to discuss the translation of stative Imperfect verbs separately from progressive Imperfects. The main difference between dynamic and stative verbs is that statives do not require a constant input of effort or energy to be sustained. Thus, only dynamic verbs can be progressive (e.g., one cannot say *‘‘I am being tall’’ or *‘‘The book is belonging to me’’). Statives are not aspectually progressive, but are similar to progressives in the sense that they denote a state (but not an action or event) that is in existence at a given reference time. Nevertheless, as it turns out, the CPA translation employs the same types of grammatical constructions for progressive and stative continuous Imperfects. There are 34 instances of stative continuous Greek Imperfect Indicative verbs with attested CPA translations. The majority of instances are translated in CPA by the construction $\kappa\omicron\omicron$ + Participle, including at least 26 instances where the entire expression is clear in at least one manuscript (Matt. 22:46 CCR1; 27:15 CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRPe; Mark 1:22a CCR1; 6:48b CSRO^e; 7:37 CSRPe; 9:30b CSRPe; 9:32a CSRPe; 9:32b CSRPe; 11:18b CSRPe; 12:17 CSRPe; 15:10 CSRO^e; Luke 1:21b CSRO^e; 1:22a CSRO^e; 9:7 CSRO^e; 9:43a CSRO^e, CSRS^e; 9:45a CSRPe, CSRS^e; 9:45c CSRPe, CSRS^e; 18:4 CSRS/P^e; John 2:25b Sin^a; 11:36b CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:37 CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 12:6a T-S^a; 13:23b CCR8; 13:29a CCR8) and 2 in-

¹⁴ However, as explained in chapter 1, although some languages have grammatical constructions to express progressive aspect, there are no languages with grammatical constructions dedicated to the expression of non-progressive continuous aspect. The latter arises from the semantic properties of stative verbs, not from grammatical forms dedicated to its expression.

stances where $\kappa\alpha\tau$ is partially or fully preserved and the Participle is no longer legible but can be reasonably reconstructed (John 7:44 CSRO^c; 19:26 Dam^f).

Matt. 22:46 CCR1

: $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\tau$

And no one *could* answer him a word

καὶ οὐδείς ἐδύνατο ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ λόγον

In the above example, the Greek Imperfect ἐδύνατο, from δύναμαι “to be able,” is translated in CPA with the construction $\kappa\alpha\tau$ + Participle, i.e., $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\tau$.

2.2.1.2. Translated by CPA Participles

There is at least 1 instance of a stative continuous Greek Imperfect Indicative translated in CPA with a simple Participle without $\kappa\alpha\tau$ (Matt. 2:18 CCR3).

Matt. 2:18 CCR3

$\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$

And *she did* not *want* to be comforted

καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακληθῆναι

In the above example, the Participle $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ is not preceded by $\kappa\alpha\tau$. Thus, though infrequent, it is possible for a Greek Imperfect to be translated in CPA by a simple Participle without $\kappa\alpha\tau$.

2.2.1.3. An Ambiguous Instance

In 1 instance of a stative continuous Greek Imperfect, the CPA form is ambiguous, and could be interpreted either as a Perfect or a Participle (Luke 1:22c. Dam^b). In addition to the ambivalence between Perfect and Participle, this instance could also be part of a $\kappa\alpha\tau$ + Participle construction where $\kappa\alpha\tau$ serves as an auxiliary to two Participles $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$ [. . . $\kappa\alpha\tau$] $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$.

2.2.1.4. Instances Requiring Additional Comment

The remaining 4 instances of stative continuous Greek Imperfect Indicative verbs with attested CPA translations require additional comment. There are at least 2 instances that occur in conditional clauses, one in a protasis (John 14:28) and the other in an apodosis (John 15:19b).

John 14:28 T-S^c

ἤγαπα με : ἂν ἠγάπησεν ἑαυτὸν

If *you loved* me, you would be glad

εἰ ἠγάπατέ με ἐχάρητε

John 15:19 T-S^d

πάντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς κόσμου ἠγάπησαν ἑαυτὸν

If you were of the world, the world *would love* its own.

εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦτε, ὁ κόσμος ἂν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει

In the first example above the Greek Imperfect occurs in a protasis and is translated in CPA by $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ + Participle (John 14:28 T-S^c). In the second example, it occurs in an apodosis and is translated by an expression that could be interpreted either as pronoun + Participle or as pronoun + Perfect (John 15:19b T-S^d).

There is also 1 instance of the stative continuous Greek Imperfect that may not be relevant for this study. In Luke 9:18, the Imperfect verb $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ comes from $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ “to be with,” which is derived from $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$ and has no Aorist. Therefore the CPA translation with the Perfect $\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron$ (Luke 9:18 CSRO^c) is similar to the translation of $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$. Besides, there is no CPA construction $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ + Participle of $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ for the verb “to be.”

2.2.1.5. An Instance with Textual Variants

There is 1 instance of the stative continuous Greek Imperfect where the Greek manuscripts disagree between an Aorist and an Imperfect. It is translated with a CPA Perfect (Mark 9:13 CSRO^c). However, the textual variant makes it unclear whether it is a translation of a Greek Imperfect or an Aorist.

2.2.2. Habitual Imperfect

2.2.2.1. Translated by CPA $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ + Participle

There are at least 19 instances of the Greek Imperfect Indicative with an attested CPA translation expressing some type of past repeated action. This may include habitual, iterative, or customary actions, though for the purpose of this study, I use the label “habitual” in a broad sense that includes these other related functions. The majority of these are translated in CPA by $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ + Participle, including 11 instances where the entire expression is clear in at least

one manuscript (Matt. 26:59 CSRG/O^d, BL; 27:30 CCR8; Mark 15:6a CSRO^e; 15:19a CSRO^e; 15:19b CSRO^e; Luke 18:3b CSRS/P^c; John 2:23b Sin^a; 11:54 Dame; 12:6c T-S^a; 12:11a T-S^a; 12:11b T-S^a) and 1 instance where *κασ* is preserved and a following Participle is no longer legible but can be reasonably assumed (Matt. 26:55 BL).

Matt. 27:30 CCR8

כעִי לַ מַלְאָכִים וְהִכּוּ אֹתוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ בְּעֵץ הַדָּלָה

And they took the reed and *kept on hitting* him on the head.

ἔλαβον τὸν κάλαμον καὶ ἔτυπτον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ

Wallace (1996: 547) suggested that the Greek Imperfect in the above example has both an iterative and a distributive sense (“i.e., each soldier would strike more than once”) and may also be inceptive (“they began beating,” see below).

2.2.2.2. Translated by CPA Participles

In at least 2 instances, the Greek habitual Imperfect is translated in CPA by a simple Participle without *κασ* (Mark 4:8b CSRO^e; Luke 2:3 CSRO^e).

Luke 2:3 CSRO^e

καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔρχονται εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ

And everyone *was going* to be registered, each in his city

καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν

The Greek Imperfect in the above example fits Wallace’s (1996: 546) definition of a distributive Imperfect, which is used for individual acts of multiple agents. The CPA Participle *ἐρχομαι* is not preceded by *κασ*.

2.2.2.3. Translated by CPA Perfects

There is at least 1 instance of a Greek habitual Imperfect translated by a CPA Perfect (Mark 15:19c CSRO^e).

Mark 15:19 CSRO^e

καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἑσθίαι καὶ πίνακα καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἕνα ἄρτον

καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἕνα ἄρτον

And they kept hitting him on his head with a reed, and spitting on him, and bending their knees, and *they bowed down* to him.

καὶ ἔτυπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν καλάμῳ καὶ ἐνέπτυνον αὐτῷ, καὶ τιθέντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ

In the above example the employment of the CPA Perfect to translate the Greek Imperfect may be stylistic. It is not clear whether the CPA sequence $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \dots \kappa\alpha\iota \sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$ ($\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$ + Participle . . . Perfect) was an attempt to reflect the Greek sequence $\text{τιθέντες} \dots \text{προσεκύνουν}$ (Present Participle . . . Imperfect Indicative).

2.2.2.4. *Ambiguous Instances*

There are also 3 instances of Greek habitual Imperfects translated in CPA by $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$ “to give” in the context of Jesus feeding a multitude where the orthography allows for the interpretation as either Perfect or Participle (Mark 6:41 CSRO^e; 8:6 CSRP^e; Luke 9:16 CSRO^e). However, it is unnecessary to settle this ambivalence, since some parallel passages have an Aorist ($\xi\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$ in Matt. 14:19; $\delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$ in John 6:11; see also the textual variant in Matt. 15:36 between $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ and $\xi\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$), and the CPA translation could alternatively reflect interference from those parallel passages. If so, these instances may not be valid examples of CPA translations of the Greek Imperfect.

2.2.2.5. *An Instance with Textual Variants*

There is 1 possible instance of a Greek Imperfect with a habitual function translated in CPA with $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$ and a Passive Participle (Mark 15:8 CSRO^e). However, there is a textual variant in the Greek text, and the CPA reading $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota \kappa\alpha\sigma\iota \kappa\alpha\sigma\iota \kappa\alpha\sigma\iota \kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$ [A] seems to follow neither the reading of the main text of NA²⁸, $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ “as he used to do for them,” nor the majority reading, $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ “as he always used to do for them.” One can postulate that the parallel passage in Matt. 27:15 may have influenced this passage. However, the CPA reading seems strikingly similar to a few late manuscripts that read, $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma \xi\theta\omicron\varsigma \eta\acute{\iota}\nu \iota\acute{\nu}\alpha \tau\omicron\nu \text{Βαραββάν ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς}$ “as it was custom, that he should release Barabbas to them.” Thus, the CPA Passive Participle may not be a translation of a Greek habitual Imperfect, but possibly of the Greek copular clause $\xi\theta\omicron\varsigma \eta\acute{\iota}\nu$.

2.2.3. Inceptive Imperfect

2.2.3.1. Translated by CPA $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\sigma$ + Participle

In at least 7 instances the Greek Imperfect is best understood as inceptive. This function is sometimes also called “inchoative” or “ingressive” in traditional Greek grammars. The inceptive Imperfect denotes a past action viewed from its starting point. For Wallace (1996: 544), it is possibly “the most common” function of the Imperfect in narrative “because it introduces a topic shift.” Nevertheless, he also acknowledges that many of his examples could alternatively be analyzed as progressive. In 6 of the instances, the inceptive Imperfect is rendered in CPA by $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\sigma$ + Participle (Mark 1:21 CCR1; 5:32 CSRO^c; 8:16 CSRO^c; Luke 19:7 CSRP^c; John 12:13 T-S^a; 13:22 CCR8).

Mark 5:32 CSRO^c

וַיֵּצֵא יֵשׁוּעַ אֶת הָאִשָּׁה וַיֵּצֵא אֶת הַבָּתּוּלָה וַיֵּצֵא אֶת כָּל הַנְּשִׂאִים וַיֵּצֵא אֶת כָּל הַבָּתּוּלוֹת וַיֵּצֵא אֶת כָּל הַנְּשִׂאִים וַיֵּצֵא אֶת כָּל הַבָּתּוּלוֹת

And he began to look around to see who it was that had done so.

καὶ περιεβλέπετο ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦτο ποιήσασαν

On the inceptive function of the Greek Imperfect in the above example, see Brooks and Winbery 1979: 95 and Dana and Mantey 1955: 190.

2.2.3.2. An Instance with Textual Variants

There is 1 possible instance where the Greek inceptive Imperfect is not translated as $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\sigma$ + Participle in CPA (Mark 14:72 CSRO^c). However, there the CPA translation $\text{דּוּרְעֵיזַב רָכַב, יַצַּח}$ appears to follow the western reading ἤρξατο κλαίειν “he began to weep” which simplifies the Alexandrian and majority reading ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν,¹⁵ with an additional word assimilated from the parallel passages that have Aorist + πικρῶς “bitterly” (Matt. 26:75 and Luke 22:62).

¹⁵ The meaning of ἐπιβαλὼν is ambiguous, i.e., “when he had started” vs. “when he had considered it.”

2.2.4. Tendential Imperfect

2.2.4.1. Translated by CPA $\kappa\omicron\omicron$ + Participle

In at least 4 instances the Greek Imperfect is best understood as expressing functions typically described as tendential (i.e., at the point of happening), conative (i.e., attempted), and voluntative (i.e., desired). For the sake of simplicity, they are labeled here under the umbrella term “tendential.” In these instances, the action either did not come to a successful conclusion or had not even started yet. This function is similar to the previous one, because in both cases an action is depicted without reference to its completion. In 2 instances, a tendential Imperfect is translated into CPA with $\kappa\omicron\omicron$ + Participle (Mark 15:23 CSRO^e; Luke 1:59 CSRO^e; the Participle is not legible, but can be reasonably assumed in Luke 1:59).

Mark 15:23 CSRO^e

... $\kappa\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\sigma\omicron$ [] $\kappa\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\sigma\omicron$

And *they tried to give him* to drink [wine mixed with myrrh, but he did not take it.]

καὶ *ἐδίδουν* αὐτῷ ἐσυρμισμένον οἶνον• ὃς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν

In the above example, since the drink was refused, the act of giving the drink was conative (and, therefore, “tendential” in the broader sense).

2.2.4.2. Instances with Textual Variants

The other 2 instances of the tendential Imperfect occur in parallel passages. Both instances have the CPA Perfect $\kappa\omicron\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\sigma\omicron$ (Mark 9:38b CSRP^e; Luke 9:49 CSRP^e, CSRS^e). However, there are textual variants in both parallel passages, and some of the Greek manuscripts have the Aorist $\epsilon\kappa\omega\lambda\upsilon\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ “we forbade” instead of the Imperfect $\epsilon\kappa\omega\lambda\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ “we tried to prevent.”

2.3. TRANSLATION OF SPECIAL TYPES OF GREEK IMPERFECTS

This section deals with the CPA translation of special types of Greek Imperfects. This includes instances of the Periphrastic Imperfect and certain verbs whose lexical meaning requires separate analysis.

2.3.1. Periphrastic Imperfect

In addition to the instances of the Greek Imperfect Indicative discussed above, the Greek Periphrastic Imperfect, which consists of the Imperfect of εἶμι “to be” followed by a Present Participle, has the same range of functions as the simple Imperfect. There are 15 instances in the corpus with attested CPA translations, including 4 instances where 1 instance of εἶμι serves as an auxiliary for a series of 4 Present Participles, which is likewise translated in CPA by $\epsilon\omega\omega$ followed by a series of Participles (Matt. 24:38a,b,c,d CSRP^d).

2.3.1.1. Progressive Periphrastic Imperfects

In all except 2 instances the Periphrastic Imperfect expresses a past progressive aspect. And with only 1 exception, all of these are translated by $\epsilon\omega\omega$ + Participle. In most instances, both words are visible in at least one manuscript (Matt. 24:38b CSRP^d; 24:38c CSRP^d; 24:38d CSRP^d; Mark 1:22a CCR1; 2:6 CCR1; 9:4 CSRO^e; 15:43 CSRP^c; Luke 1:10 CSRP^c; 1:21a CSRO^c, Dam^b; John 13:23a CCR8), in 1 instance $\epsilon\omega\omega$ is visible followed by a lacuna where a Participle is no longer legible but can be reasonably assumed (Matt. 24:38a CSRP^d), and in 1 instance the Participle is visible and a lacuna preceding it can be assumed to have had the auxiliary $\epsilon\omega\omega$ (Mark 2:18 CCR1, CSRG^d).

Mark 9:4 CSRO^e

ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲁⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲱ ⲛⲁ ⲱⲕⲉⲓⲛⲉⲣ ⲁⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁ
ⲱⲁⲱ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲁ

And look, Elijah with Moses appeared to them, and *they were speaking* with Jesus.

καὶ ὤφθη αὐτοῖς Ἠλίας σὺν Μωϋσεὶ καὶ ἦσαν
συλλαλοῦντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

In the above example, a habitual or frequentative aspect is not possible, since Jesus’ conversation with Elijah and Moses only occurred once. In fact, in spite of Turner’s (1963: 67) claim that Mark often “uses the periphrastic tense for the customary imperfect,” the instances attested with CPA translations are more likely progressive.

The only instance where the Greek Periphrastic Imperfect with a progressive aspect is not translated by $\epsilon\omega\omega$ + Participle occurs in Luke 9:53 CSRP^c.

Luke 9:53 CSRPe

ܡܠܘ ܕܠܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܩܠܘ ܘܢܩܠܘ ܘܢܩܠܘ ܘܢܩܠܘ

And they did not receive him, because his face *was set to go* to Jerusalem.

καὶ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ

In the above example, the Greek Periphrastic Imperfect is translated in CPA by ܢܩܠܘ and the telic construction ܢ + Imperfect. Thus, the CPA translation reflects an idiomatic rendering of the Greek expression “his face was going.”¹⁶

2.3.1.2. Non-Progressive Periphrastic Imperfects

In 2 instances, it is possible that the Periphrastic Imperfect expresses a past habitual aspect. Both instances are translated by ܢܩܠܘ + Participle. In one instance both words are visible (Luke 19:47a Dam^c), and in the other instance ܢܩܠܘ is visible followed by a lacuna where a Participle can be reasonably assumed (Luke 1:22b Dam^b).

Luke 19:47 Dam^c

ܡܠܘ ܕܠܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܩܠܘ ܘܢܩܠܘ

And he used to teach every day

Καὶ ἦν διδάσκων τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ

Since the above example refers to a daily custom, the expression denotes a customary action.

2.3.2. Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι as a Simple Verb

There are certain Greek verbs whose lexical meaning requires separate analysis. Among these, there are at least 44 instances of the Greek Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι “to be” functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb with a sufficiently legible attested CPA transla-

¹⁶ See v. 51, αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, “He set his face to go to Jerusalem,” and the CPA ܡܠܘ ܕܠܘ ܕ[]ܢܩܠܘ ܘܢܩܠܘ ܘܢܩܠܘ (Luke 9:51 CSRPe).

tion.¹⁷ In virtually all instances, εἰμί is translated with a form of the verb ἴσθι. In many of these instances the CPA form ἴσθι is ambiguous and could be analyzed either as 3ms Perfect or as ms absolute Participles (Matt. 21:33 CCR1; 26:24 CCR1; 28:3 CCR1; Mark 1:23 CCR1; 2:4a CCR1; 6:48a CSRO^e; Luke 1:7a CSRPe; 1:80c CSRO^e; 2:7 CSRO^e; 17:16 CSRS^e; 18:2 CSRS/P^e; 19:2 CSRPe; 19:3c CSRPe; John 11:30 CSRPe^d; 11:32a Dam^a; 12:1 T-S^a; 12:2b T-S^a; 19:31b Dam^f). However, due to the paucity of clear instances of the Participle of ἴσθι in the translation of the Greek Imperfect Indicative of εἰμί, one can reasonably assume that most of these are CPA Perfects. Where the spelling is unambiguous, ἴσθι is usually a Perfect. There are no instances of the Greek Imperfect Indicative of εἰμί translated in CPA by ἴσθι + Participle, unless if one assumes that the lacuna after ἴσθι in Luke 9:14 CSROc originally had a Participle of ἴσθι.

It should also be stated that, though the CPA translation may not always follow the syntax of εἰμί (i.e., a noun phrase predicate in Greek may be translated by something other than a noun phrase predicate in CPA), it tends to be very literal. In any event, the Greek syntax must serve as the starting point for the study of translation technique.

2.3.2.1. εἰμί with a Noun Phrase Predicate

In several instances the Imperfect Indicative of εἰμί is accompanied by a noun phrase predicate with a noun or pronoun as head. In 3 instances it links two noun phrases, a subject and a predicate. All of these are translated in CPA with a form of ἴσθι. In 1 of these instances εἰμί is translated in CPA by the Participle of ἴσθι (John 12:6b T-S^a), and in the other 2 instances ἴσθι is orthographically ambiguous (Luke 17:16 CSRS^e; 19:2 CSRPe). However, due to the fact that the majority of orthographically clear instances of ἴσθι are CPA Perfects, it is likely that these and most of the other ambiguous instances are also Perfects.

¹⁷ The instances may be listed as follows: Matt. 1:18; 21:33; 25:2; 26:24,69b,71; 28:3; Mark 1:23; 2:4a; 6:44,47,48a; 8:9; 12:20; 14:40,56b; 15:25; 16:4; Luke 1:6,7a,66,80c; 2:7; 9:14; 17:16; 18:2; 19:2,3c; 20:4; John 2:25c; 3:1; 7:39b; 11:21,30,32a,b,38a; 12:1,2b,6b; 15:19a; 16:4; 19:31a,b.

Luke 17:16 CSRS^c

ⲓⲛⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲙ ⲁⲟⲟ [ⲁ]

And he *was* a Samaritan.

καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Σαμαρίτης

John 12:6 T-S^a

ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲁ

Because he was a thief.

ὅτι κλέπτης ἦν

In both of the above examples, the Greek ἦν, Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι, is translated in CPA with ⲛⲁⲙ. In John 12:6, the diacritical dot on ⲛⲁⲙ favors the analysis as a Participle. However, it is the only attested instance of the translation of the Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι as a simple verb that is not likely to be a CPA Perfect.

There are also a number of instances where εἶμι is accompanied by a single noun phrase that could be analyzed either as subject or predicate. These include 7 instances of εἶμι functioning as a past time verb of existence “there was/were.” The syntactic function of the noun phrase accompanying a verb of existence is not the same cross-linguistically. I have provisionally analyzed it as the predicate of the Greek sentence, but acknowledge that it could be analyzed as the subject, in which case these instances consist of εἶμι without an expressed predicate. Further, the analysis of the Greek clause as predicate does not settle the issue of the analysis of the corresponding noun phrase in Aramaic, which can also be ambiguous. All instances are translated in CPA with a form of ⲛⲁⲙ (Matt. 21:33 CCR1; Mark 6:44 CSRO^c; 8:9 CSRO^c, CSRPe; Luke 2:7 CSRO^c; 9:14 CSRO^c; 18:2 CSRS/P^c; John 3:1 Sin^a) The orthographically unambiguous instances are CPA Perfects.

Matt. 21:33 CCR1

[. . .] ⲛⲁⲙ ⲁⲟⲟ ⲛⲁⲛ

There *was* a [head of household] man

ἄνθρωπος ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης

In the above example the Greek Imperfect ἦν functions as a verb of existence, “there was,” and is translated in CPA with ⲛⲁⲙ. I have provisionally analyzed the accompanying noun phrase as the predicate, but acknowledge that it can be alternatively analyzed as the subject.

There are 3 other instances where εἰμί is accompanied by a single noun phrase. All are translated in CPA with a form of ἄσπ (Mark 15:25 CSRO^e; John 11:38a CSRP^d, Dam^a; 19:31a Dam^f). The noun phrase accompanying εἰμί is provisionally analyzed as the predicate, but could alternatively be analyzed as the subject. However, at least in the instance in John 19:31a Dam^f the context favors the analysis as the predicate.

John 19:31 Dam^f

ἄσπ[.]. ἄσπ ἄσπ

Because it *was* the day of preparation.

ἐπεὶ παρασκευῆ ἦν

In the above example the Greek Imperfect Indicative ἦν is translated with the Perfect ἄσπ. Though the noun phrase accompanying it could be analyzed as either subject or predicate, the context favors the analysis as predicate.

2.3.2.2. εἰμί with an Adjectival Predicate

In 11 instances the Imperfect Indicative of εἰμί is accompanied by an adjectival predicate. Of these, at least 10 instances are translated in CPA with a form of ἄσπ (Matt. 26:24 CCR1; Mark 6:48a CSRO^e; 14:40 CSRP^e; 14:56b CSRP^e; 16:4 CSRP^e; Luke 1:6 CSRP^e; 19:3c CSRP^e; John 7:39b CSRO^e; 12:2b T-S^a; 19:31b Dam^f). The orthographically unambiguous instances are CPA Perfects.

Mark 14:56 CSRP^e

ἄσπ ἄσπ ἄσπ

For *it was* very large.

ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα

In the above example, the Greek ἦν is translated in CPA with the Perfect ἄσπ.

There is also 1 instance of the Imperfect Indicative of εἰμί accompanied by an adjectival predicate where there is a CPA textual variant between the presence and absence of ἄσπ (Matt. 25:2 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e).

Matt. 25:2

ἄσπ ἄσπ : ἄσπ ἄσπ ἄσπ [. . .] [CCR1]
 ἄσπ ἄσπ ἄσπ ἄσπ ἄσπ ἄσπ ἄσπ [CSRO^e]
 ἄσπ ἄσπ : ἄσπ ἄσπ [CSR^d]

And five of them were foolish, and five wise
 πέντε δὲ ἕξ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μωραὶ καὶ πέντε φρόνιμοι.

In the above example, there are no textual variants to the Greek ἦσαν, 3 pl. Imperfect of εἶμι “to be.” However, there are a number of intra-CPA variants, which appear to be stylistic in nature. What is of interest in this context is the variant between the presence of ϫασ (CCR1, CSRO^e) and a nominal sentence without ϫασ (CSRP^d). The CPA variants suggest that ϫασ in this context was optional.

2.3.2.3. εἶμι with an Adverbial Predicate

In 8 instances the Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι is accompanied by a predicate adverb. Provisionally, the list of predicate adverbs is limited to those adverbs that express location, time, or manner as a sentence predicate, and excludes adverbial conjunctions, such as words meaning, “however,” “therefore,” etc., or adverbial complements, which are not part of the sentence nucleus. Admittedly, the classification involves some subjectivity. In all these instances, εἶμι is translated in CPA with a form of ϫασ (Matt. 1:18 CCR3; 28:3 CCR1; Mark 2:4a CCR1; 12:20 CSRP^c; John 11:21 Dam^d; 11:32a CSRP^d, Dam^a; 11:32b CSRP^d, Dam^a; 12:1 T-S^a). The orthographically unambiguous instances are CPA Perfects.

John 11:32b CSRP^d

ϫασ ἄσασ ἀντί

If *you had been* here . . .
 εἰ ἦς ὧδε

The above example occurs in a hypothetical clause. The Greek Imperfect ἦς is translated by the CPA Perfect ἄσασ.

2.3.2.4. εἶμι with a Prepositional Phrase Predicate

In 11 instances the Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι is accompanied by a predicate that consists of a prepositional phrase. Since, prepositional phrases usually have an adverbial function, this category can also be considered a subset of the previous one. All are translated in CPA with a form of ϫασ (Matt. 26:69b CSRG/O^d; 26:71 CSRG/O^d; Mark 1:23 CCR1; 6:47 CSRO^e; Luke 1:66 CSRO^e; 1:80c CSRO^e; 20:4 CSRO^e; John 2:25c Sin^a; 11:30 CSRP^d; 15:19a T-S^d;

16:4 CCR8). The orthographically unambiguous instances are CPA Perfects.

Mark 6:47 CSRO^c

כָּאִי מַלְאָכָא כְּאִלִּין דִּימָּה :כְּעִי כְּסֵם יַמָּא

And when it was evening, the boat *was* in the middle of the sea.
καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἦν τὸ πλοῖον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
θαλάσσης

In the above example the Greek Imperfect ἦν is translated in CPA with the Perfect דִּימָּה.

2.3.2.5. *εἰμί* in Possessive Expressions

In at least 1 instance the Greek expression εἰμί + dative noun phrase expresses possession, as in the Aramaic equivalent. It is translated in CPA with the possessive expression -Δ כְּסֵם (Luke 1:7a CSRP^c).

Luke 1:7a CSRP^c

[כְּ]אִתְּלָא כְּסֵם [...]

They had [no child].

καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τέκνον

In the above example, the Greek past time possessive expression ἦν αὐτοῖς “they had” is translated in CPA with the equivalent expression כְּאִתְּלָא כְּסֵם.

2.3.3. Imperfect Indicative of ἔχω Expressing Possession

There are possibly 8 instances of the Greek Imperfect Indicative of ἔχω expressing possession with attested CPA translations. In at least 5 of the instances, it is translated by the equivalent CPA expression for possession, which consists of כְּסֵם + preposition Δ attached to the possessor (Matt. 21:28 CCR1; 27:16 CCR1, CSRO^c, CSRP^f; Mark 12:44 CSRP^c, CSRO^c; John 15:22 CCR8; 15:24 CCR8).¹⁸

¹⁸ Additionally, it is also possible that the expression occurs with כְּסֵם in Mark 8:14 CSRO^c, but the text is too fragmentary.

Mark 12:44 CSRP^c

ὅσα [ὅ]λα ἐξήρθη ἐκ τῆς κενῆς ἐπιχορηγίας αὐτῆς
 But she out of her poverty threw in everything that *she had*, all
 her possessions
 αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν
 ἔβαλεν ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς

In the above example, the Greek Imperfect Indicative of ἔχω is translated by the equivalent CPA expression for possession, consisting of κεν + preposition Δ with a pronominal suffix referring to the possessor.

In 3 other instances, the Greek Imperfect Indicative of ἔχω is translated in CPA idiomatically with expressions that do not literally express possession (Mark 8:7 CSRO^c, CSRP^c; John 2:25a Sin^a; 13:29b CCR8).

John 13:29 CCR8

ὅτι ἔτι κεν ἔσται μετὰ τοῦτον
 Since the money bag *was with* Judas
 ἐπεὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν Ἰούδας

In the above example, the Greek Imperfect Indicative of ἔχω is not translated literally in CPA, but idiomatically, with the expression κεν ἔσται “to be with.” This translation may reflect the fact that the money bag did not belong to Judas, though it was in his possession.

2.3.4. Imperfect Indicative of Verbs That Frequently Introduce Direct Speech

There are at least 35 instances of Greek Imperfect Indicative verbs frequently used to introduce direct speech.¹⁹ In the majority of instances, these verbs are translated in CPA with the expression κεν + Participle, except for most instances of ἐπερωτάω and a few instances of λέγω. These consist of 18 instances of λέγω (Matt.

¹⁹ These include 24 instances of λέγω (Matt. 27:41,47; Mark 2:16,24; 5:28,30,31; 6:35; 7:9,14; 8:21; 9:31b; 11:28; 12:38; 14:36; 15:12,14; 16:3; Luke 18:1; John 6:42; 7:40,41b; 11:36a,47), 8 instances of ἐπερωτάω (Mark 7:17; 9:11,28; 9:33a; 10:2; 12:18; 13:3; 15:4), 1 instance of ἐρωτάω (Mark 8:5), and 2 instances of λαλέω (Mark 2:2; Luke 1:64).

27:41 CCR1; 27:47 CCR1; Mark 2:16 CSRG^d; 2:24 CCR1; 5:28 CSRO^e; 5:30 CSRO^e; 5:31 CSRO^e; 6:35 CSRO^e; 8:21 CSRO^e; 9:31b CSRP^e; 15:14 CSRO^e; 16:3 CSRP^e; Luke 18:1 CSRS/P^e; John 6:42 CSRP^e; 7:40 CSRO^e; 7:41b CSRO^e; 11:36a CSRP^d, Dam^a; 11:47 Dam^e), 2 instances of λαλέω (Mark 2:2 CCR1; Luke 1:64 CSRO^e), 1 instance of ἐρωτάω (Mark 8:5 CSRP^e), and 1 instance of ἐπερωτάω (Mark 9:33a CSRP^e).²⁰

Mark 2:16 CSRG^d

ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲗ ⲉⲓⲃⲁⲣⲥ ⲁⲁⲛ

They were saying to his disciples
ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ

In the above example, the Greek ἔλεγον, Imperfect Indicative of λέγω “to speak, say,” is translated in CPA with the expression ⲁⲁⲛ + Participle, i.e., ⲉⲓⲃⲁⲣⲥ ⲁⲁⲛ.

In 6 instances of the Imperfect Indicative of ἐπερωτάω, the CPA translation is clearly a Perfect (Mark 7:17 CSRO^e; 9:11 CSRO^e; 9:28 CSRP^e; 10:2 CSRO^e; 12:18 CSRP^e; 13:3 CSRP^e).

Mark 9:28 CSRP^e

ⲁⲓⲃⲁⲣⲥ ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗ ⲁⲓⲃⲁⲣⲥ

His disciples *asked* him privately
οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν

In the above example, the Greek ἐπηρώτων, Imperfect of ἐπερωτάω “to ask,” is translated by ⲁⲓⲃⲁⲣⲥ, a CPA Perfect.

There are also at least 5 instances where the spelling of the CPA word is ambiguous, and could be analyzed either as a Participle or a Perfect, including 4 instances of the CPA translation of λέγω (Mark 7:9 CSRO^e; 7:14 CSRO^e; 14:36 CSRP^e; 15:12 CSRO^e) and 1 instance of ἐπερωτάω (Mark 15:4 CSRO^e).

Mark 7:14 CSRO^e

ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗ

And *he said* to them
ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς

²⁰ In 2 of the instances, the Participle occurs after a lacuna, which probably had the verb ⲁⲁⲛ (Matt. 27:41; Mark 2:2).

In the above example, the CPA translation can be analyzed either as a Peal Perfect 3ms or a Peal Participle ms absolute.

Two of the ambiguous instances deserve further comment.

Mark 14:36 CSRP^e

ἰὼν αὐτῶν

And *he said*

καὶ ἔλεγεν

Mark 15:12 CSRO^e

ἀπολὶ ἰωάννου ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως

And Pilate answered again and *said* to them

ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς

In the first example above (Mark 14:36), the Greek Imperfect ἔλεγεν is translated in CPA by ἰὼν αὐτῶν. The addition of a personal pronoun to a Participle is common in the expression pronoun + Participle (see chapter three), but one cannot rule out the possibility that it is a pronoun added to a 3ms Perfect (see chapter five). In the last example above (Mark 15:12), the Greek ἔλεγεν is translated in CPA by ἰὼν, which can be analyzed either as a Perfect or a Participle. If it is a Participle, it could be an instance of a reversal of the Greek syntax, where the order of the Greek, i.e., Participle + past time Indicative verb, is reversed in CPA as Perfect + Participle. This phenomenon will be discussed further in chapter eight, section 8.2.3.2.

In 1 instance the Greek Imperfect Indicative ἔλεγον is left untranslated in CPA (Mark 12:38 CSRO^e). Since the omission does not appear to be due to textual variants in the Greek manuscripts, it may be stylistic.

Finally, there is 1 instance of a Greek textual variant where the majority text has a Present Indicative λέγουσιν instead of the Imperfect Indicative ἔλεγον. Thus, the CPA Participle ἔλεγον in Mark 11:28 CSRP^e may, in fact, be a translation of a Greek Present rather than an Imperfect.

2.4. NON-ACTIVE INSTANCES IN GREEK AND CPA

2.4.1. Deponent Verbs

It is appropriate in this section to discuss the few instances of non-active Greek Imperfect Indicatives with attested CPA translations.

As it turns out, the majority of non-active forms can be considered deponent. That is, they never occur in the New Testament in the active voice, but can be considered to have an active meaning, e.g., ἔρχομαι “to come.” Of the 143 instances of regular Greek Imperfect Indicatives examined in this chapter, there are 41 instances of deponent verbs. They may be listed as follows: διαλογίζομαι (Matt. 21:25b; Mark 8:16; 9:33b; 11:31; Luke 1:29; 20:14); διαστέλλομαι (Mark 8:15); διέρχομαι (Luke 19:1); δύναμαι (Matt. 22:46; Luke 1:22a; 19:3b; John 11:37); ἐκπλήσσομαι (Mark 1:22a; 7:37; 11:18c; Luke 9:43a); ἐκπορεύομαι (Mark 11:19); ἐπίκειμαι (John 11:38b); ἔρχομαι (Luke 18:3b; John 11:29); ἴαομαι (Luke 9:11b); καθέζομαι (Matt. 26:55; John 11:20); κάθημαι (Matt. 26:58b; 28:2; Mark 10:46); κατάκειμαι (Mark 2:4b); κείμαι (Matt. 28:6; John 19:29); παραιτέομαι (Mark 15:6b); παραπορεύομαι (Mark 9:30); περιβλέπομαι (Mark 5:32); πορεύομαι (Matt. 24:1; Luke 2:3); προσεύχομαι (Mark 14:35b; Luke 18:11); πυνθάνομαι (Matt. 2:4); συμπορεύομαι (Luke 7:11); φοβέομαι (Mark 9:32b; 11:18b; Luke 9:45c). Some of these deponent verbs do occur in the Active form outside the New Testament, and are, therefore, not true deponents (e.g., διαστέλλω, ἐκπλήσσω, περιβλέπω, φοβέω). However, they are provisionally included among deponent verbs, because their non-active forms have a semantic content that could be considered active.

Most Greek Imperfect deponent verbs are translated in CPA with an active form. Most instances consist of the expression $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ + Active Participle. In 3 instances the verb $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ stands next to a lacuna where a Participle can be reasonably assumed to have been (Mark 8:15 CSRO^c; Luke 7:11 CSRP^g; John 11:20 Dam^b). In 1 instance, the CPA translation consists of an Active Participle without $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ (Luke 2:3 CSRO^e). There are also 2 instances of an active stem CPA Perfect (Luke 9:11b CSRO^c; John 11:29 Dam^d). Translations of Greek deponent verbs by active CPA verbs are to be expected and require no further discussion.

Translations of Greek Imperfect deponent verbs in CPA with non-active participial expressions are limited to specific lexemes. There are 4 instances with CPA expressions containing a Passive Participle, consisting of translations of the verb κείμαι “to lie, be in a place” ($\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. . . $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ Matt. 28:6 CCR1; John 19:29 Dam^f), along with the related forms κατάκειμαι “to lie down” (Mark 2:4b CCR1 $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\iota$. . . $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$) and ἐπίκειμαι “to lie on” (John 11:38b,

CSRO^c, CSRS^c). Both CPA verbs in their respective grammatical forms mean “to be amazed.” Thus, these examples show that there is some room for stylistic variation in the CPA translations.

2.4.2. Non-Deponent Non-Active Verbs

Aside from Greek deponent verbs, there are at least 4 other instances of non-active Imperfect Indicatives with attested CPA translations. All instances are translated in CPA with **רָאם** accompanied by some type of Participle. These consist of 2 instances translated in CPA with **רָאם** + T-Stem Participle (Luke 1:80b CSRO^c; 17:27d CSRS^c) and 2 ambiguous instances, one where the Participle could be read either as an Active or a Passive Participle (Luke 19:48b CSRO^c) and the other where the verb **רָאם** stands next to a lacuna where a (T-stem or Passive?) Participle can be reasonably assumed to have been (Luke 1:65 CSRO^c).²² The instance in Luke 1:80b translates a Greek Imperfect Passive Indicative with **רָאם** + T-Stem Participle.

Luke 1:80 CSRO^c

רָאִים [יִיִּדְעַ]בְּמָה אַבַּר רָאִם רָאִלָּה

And the child continued growing and *becoming strong* in spirit.

Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠϋξάνε καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι

In the above example, the Greek ἐκραταιοῦτο is from the verb κραταιόω “to strengthen, make strong,” whose active form does not occur in the New Testament. The passive κραταιόομαι means “to be strengthened, become strong.” Although the CPA Itpaal Participle יִיִּדְעַ is only partially visible, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the reconstruction. Thus, the verb **רָאם** serves as an auxiliary for two Participles in an extended **רָאם** + Participle expression.

The instance in Luke 17:27d CSRS^c translates a Greek Imperfect Passive Indicative with **רָאם** + T-Stem Participle. It deserves additional comment because the order of the Greek instances in 17c,d is reversed in CPA.

²² The instances in Luke 1:80b; 17:27d involve the employment of **רָאם** as an auxiliary to more than one Participle.

Luke 17:27 CSRS^c

ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ

They were eating, drinking, *marrying*, and giving in marriage
 ἴσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο

In the above example, the words ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ consist of an Itpael Participle followed by a Pael Participle. The verb ⲉⲃⲁⲃ in the Pael stem means “to marry, give in marriage,” and in the Itpael stem “to be married, given in marriage.” The CPA translation departs from the order of the Greek verbs γαμέω “to marry” and γαμίζω (in the passive) “to be given in marriage,” but otherwise the meaning is unchanged. Both the T-stem Participle and the Active Participle are part of a series of Participles in an extended expression ⲕⲁⲓⲛ + Participle.

The instance in Luke 19:48b CSRO^c, which translates a Greek Imperfect Middle Indicative, also deserves additional comment.

Luke 19:48 CSRO^c

ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉⲛ

For the whole crowd *was hanging* on him and listened to him.

ὁ λαὸς γὰρ ἅπας ἐξεκρέματο αὐτοῦ ἀκούων

In the above example, ἐξεκρέματο is the only New Testament occurrence of the Greek verb ἐκκρεμάννυμι, which in the active voice means “to hang” (transitive). In this context, the middle voice is used idiomatically with the verb ἀκούω “to hear” resulting in the sense “to listen eagerly.” The CPA translation employs the equivalent verb ⲉⲃⲁⲃ “to lift up, to hang.” Though the form ⲉⲃⲁⲃ is likely a Passive Participle (i.e., meaning “hung, suspended, hanging”), it is also orthographically ambiguous. An additional complicating factor is that ἐξεκρέματο could be analyzed either as an Imperfect or an Aorist Indicative.

2.4.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that there is also at least 1 instance of a Greek Imperfect Active Indicative

translated idiomatically in CPA with an expression containing a T-stem Participle (Mark 12:17 CSRPe),²³

Mark 12:17 CSRPe

[...] **حَدَّ مَلَأَ مَلَأَ**

And *they were amazed* at [him].

καὶ ἐξεθαύμαζον ἐπ' αὐτῷ

In the above example, the Greek Active ἐξεθαύμαζον is translated idiomatically in CPA with **حَدَّ مَلَأَ مَلَأَ** which consists of a T-stem Participle accompanied by **مَلَأَ**.²⁴ Compare this instance with the two instances where the T-stem of **مَلَأَ** translates the Passive ἐκπλήσσω “to be amazed” as discussed above (Mark 7:37 CSRPe; 11:18c CSRPe).

2.5. SUMMARY

In the majority of instances, Greek Imperfects and Periphrastic Imperfects are translated into CPA by the expression **مَلَأَ** + Participle. It is also clear that the CPA construction **مَلَأَ** + Participle expresses both progressive and habitual aspects in the past, and, therefore, both the Greek Imperfect and the said CPA construction are past imperfective constructions. There are a few instances of the Greek Imperfect Indicative translated by the CPA simple Participle by itself, suggesting either that **مَلَأَ** is an optional auxiliary or that the Participle alone without **مَلَأَ** overlaps with **مَلَأَ** + Participle in the expression of the past imperfective. There are also

²³ There is also 1 instance of a T-stem Perfect, but the passage has a textual variant (Luke 9:34 CSROc), which is discussed above in an earlier section of this chapter. Additionally, there are some ambivalent forms, e.g., **مَلَأَ** in Mark 16:8a (CSRPe), that could also be analyzed as CPA Passive Participles, but contextually are best analyzed as Active Participles. Compare **مَلَأَ مَلَأَ** in the translation of the Greek Imperfect in John 13:29a (CCR8) with the Active Participle in the expression **[مَلَأَ] مَلَأَ** in the translation of the Greek Present in Matt. 26:53a (BL). Also, see above on the textual problem in Mark 15:8.

²⁴ The text of Pierpont and Robinson 1995 has the Aorist ἐθαύμασαν instead of the Imperfect. However, this is not reflected in the critical apparatus of NA²⁸. In any event, both forms are Active in Greek.

a few instances of the CPA Perfect and 1 instance of $\text{ܠܡ} + \text{verbal adjective}$ as an idiomatic translation. These instances suggest that CPA translators were not necessarily mechanical in their task.

Certain verbs required separate treatment because of their lexical meaning, i.e., the verbs $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$ and $\epsilon\acute{\chi}\omega$ and verbs frequently used to introduce direct speech. As can be expected, there are no instances of the CPA expression $\text{ܠܡ} + \text{Participle}$ in the translation of the Greek Imperfect of $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$. Most orthographically unambiguous instances consist of the CPA Perfect. Also, there is at least 1 instance of a CPA textual variant between the presence and absence of ܠܡ , suggesting that its presence was at times optional in nominal/copular sentences. The Greek Imperfect of $\epsilon\acute{\chi}\omega$ was translated in CPA either with the Aramaic nominal expression for possession or idiomatically in cases where the translator felt that there was no real possession involved. As for verbs that introduce direct speech, most instances were translated with $\text{ܠܡ} + \text{Participle}$, except for the word $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$, which was more often translated with a CPA Perfect. There were also some orthographically ambiguous forms that could be analyzed either as Perfect or Participle.

Most instances of non-active Greek Imperfects can be considered deponent verbs, i.e., verbs that occur in a non-active form, but whose semantic meaning can be considered active. Most of these are translated in CPA with active expressions. T-stem and Passive Participles occur mostly in idiomatic translations. At times a T-stem Participle occurs in an expression where ܠܡ serves as auxiliary to two or more Participles, and thus it functions verbally and is part of the expression $\text{ܠܡ} + \text{Participle}$.

3. THE CPA TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK PRESENT INDICATIVE

The Greek Present Indicative in most instances expresses the present tense, but can also in certain contexts express the past or the future. There are at least 2923 instances of the Greek Present Indicative in the Gospels, of which 536 instances are attested with CPA translations where the amount of text preserved is sufficient for analysis. The actual number varies depending on interpretation, since the 2nd person plural Present Indicative and the Present Imperative are indistinguishable (e.g., γινώσκετε Matt. 24:33). Accordingly, 4 of these Present Indicative instances are translated in CPA by an Imperative (Matt. 26:45c CSRP^d; Mark 13:29a CSRP^e, Dam; 14:41c CSRP^e; 14:41d CSRP^e).

Also, as with the Greek Imperfect Indicative, some types of Present Indicative constructions require special treatment. These include 8 instances of regular verbs in the Present Indicative with special functions, 3 instances of the Periphrastic Present, as well as verbs whose lexical meaning requires special treatment. The latter includes 131 instances of verbs that could be expressed in Aramaic with a nominal clause, i.e., εἰμί functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb, ἔχω expressing possession, δεῖ, and ἔξεστιν, 1 instance of the verb ἦκω “to have come, to be present,” which functions as a Perfect when it occurs in the Present, and 108 instances of verbs of speaking commonly used to introduce direct speech, i.e., λέγω, λαλέω, φημί, and ἐρωτάω.

Based on the assumption that the Aramaic Participle was a present tense, Aramaic Participles functioning in past time have been labeled “historical presents” (e.g., for Biblical Aramaic, see for example Bauer and Leander, 1927: 294–295; Rogland 2003: 430–432; Gzella 2004: 120–131). However, a large proportion of alleged historical presents consist of participial expressions introducing direct speech, and the label “historical present” may be inaccurate

for such expressions. That is because, as mentioned earlier in this book, the aspectual opposition between the Greek Imperfect and the Aorist Indicative was sometimes neutralized when applied to verbs introducing direct speech, and if the same phenomenon occurred in ancient Aramaic, the frequent use of the Participle with verbs introducing direct speech may be the result of the “occasionally indifferent” use of the imperfective aspect in expressions introducing direct speech (Goodwin 1889: 270). That is, the Aramaic Participle of verbs introducing direct speech was originally employed instead of the Perfect in past time narrative not as a historical present, but because the aspectual difference between the Perfect and Participle was often neutralized in such expressions. Then, in later Aramaic, when participial expressions for the present and past imperfective became clearly distinguished, the use of the Participle with verbs introducing direct speech persisted as a vestige of earlier usage. For further discussion, see Li (2009: 43–45, 52–55).

Moreover, 6 instances of Greek Present Indicatives have been excluded from the discussion in this chapter, because they serve as auxiliaries in verbal phrases that correspond to other Greek tenses, and are, therefore, discussed under the chapters that cover the respective tenses.

The remaining 275 regular instances of the Greek Present Indicative with attested CPA translations can be divided into at least 196 instances of true presents, i.e., those that express present time, possibly 46 instances of the historical present, i.e., a past time event expressed by a present tense, and possibly 33 instances of the futuristic present, i.e., the present tense used to express a future event. Each of these types of presents will be discussed in separate sections in this chapter.²⁵ It must be acknowledged, of course, that the distinctions among various types of presents are to some extent subjective, and we must allow for the possibility that the CPA translator may have interpreted the form differently from the way

²⁵ This tally includes some verbs that can occasionally be employed to introduce direct speech (e.g., ἐπιτάσσω “to command” Mark 1:27b), but their provisional inclusion does not significantly affect the overall statistics.

amaic as nominal clauses, and suggested that the 3rd person pronoun in such clauses functioned as a copula, though he also admitted that in some clauses the Participle has a durative verbal function. However, inasmuch as the instances of CPA pronoun + Participle translating the Greek Present Indicative show an agreement between the person of the pronoun and the subject of the Participle, it is best to understand the pronoun in these expressions as a personal marker, i.e., a marker of agreement, not a copula or focus marker.

Further, it will be evident in the course of this study that the presence or absence of the pronoun in connection with the Participle is optional, both expressions being variants of the same grammatical construction, which, therefore, could also be labeled “(pronoun +) Participle.” However, since there is a distinction in function between the two expressions in some other forms of Aramaic,²⁶ instances of the simple Participle by itself are provisionally listed separately from instances of the expression pronoun + Participle in this chapter. See chapter eight, section 8.2.3.2, for further discussion.

3.1. TRANSLATION OF TRUE GREEK PRESENTS

3.1.1. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle

The vast majority of the 196 true presents with attested CPA translations in the corpus are translated by participial constructions, consisting either of the expression pronoun + Participle or the simple Participle alone. There are about 112 instances of pronoun + Participle, including at least 101 instances where both words are sufficiently legible in at least one CPA manuscript²⁷ and at least 11

²⁶ See Li (2010) for my discussion of this distinction in Syriac.

²⁷ Matt. 18:12a CSRPe; 8:13b CSRPe; 21:24 CCR1; 21:26a CCR1; 21:27b CCR1; 23:3b CCR1; 23:4c CCR1; 23:5a CCR1, CSROe; 23:5b CCR1, CSROe; 23:5c CCR1, CSROe; 23:13a CCR1, CSROe; 23:13b CCR1, CSROe; 23:13c CCR1; 23:15a CCR1, CSROe; 23:15b CCR1, CSROe; 23:23 CCR1; 23:25a CCR1; 23:31a CSROe; 23:34 CSROe; 24:2a CSROe; 24:44a CCR1, CSRPe; 24:48 CCR1, CSRPe, CSROe; 26:39b CSRPe; 26:53a BL; 26:61 CSRG/Od, BL; 26:62a CSRG/Od, BL; 26:63a CSRG/Od, BL;

instances where an illegible pronoun can be reasonably assumed in a lacuna (Matt. 24:33a CSR^{Pd}; Mark 7:9 CSRO^e; 8:2a CSR^{Pc}; 8:17b CSRO^c; 8:17d CSRO^c; 8:18a CSRO^c; 8:18b CSRO^c; Luke 18:4b CSRS/^{Pc}; 18:41 CSRS^e; John 6:36 CSR^{Pc}; 15:14b T-S^e).²⁸ In some of these instances, the pronoun also occurs in Greek.

As mentioned in the introduction, the main distinction for the present tense that is cross-linguistically relevant, and therefore relevant for translation technique, is between general present and actual present. A general present denotes a statement of fact or an action or event that usually occurs but may not be occurring at the moment of speech, including instances commonly classified in traditional Greek grammars variously as “gnomic,” “static,” “iterative,” “customary,” “durative,” etc. An actual present denotes an action or event occurring at the moment of speech, including in-

27:13b CCR1, CSR^{Pf}; 27:17 CCR1, CSRO^e, CSR^{Pf}; 27:21 CSRO^e; 28:5 CCR1; Mark 1:2 CCR1; 1:27b CCR1; 1:27c CCR1; 2:8a CCR1; 2:8c CCR1; 5:31a CSRO^c; 5:35b CSRO^c; 5:39b CSRO^c; 5:39c CSRO^c; 7:12 CSRO^c; 7:13 CSRO^c; 7:18c CSRO^c; 7:18d CSRO^c; 7:37 CSR^{Pc}; 8:2a CSR^{Pc}; 8:21 CSRO^c; 9:37a CSR^{Pc}; 10:51 CSRO^c; 11:3a CSR^{Pc}; 11:25a CSR^{Pc}; 11:28 CSR^{Pc}; 11:29 CSR^{Pc}; 12:15 CSR^{Pc}; 12:24 CSR^{Pc}; 12:26 CSR^{Pc}; 13:2 CSR^{Pc}, CSRO^e; 13:28a CSR^{Pc}, Dam; 14:36 CSR^{Pc}; 15:4a CSRO^c; 15:4b CSRO^c; 15:9 CSRO^c; 15:12a CSRO^c; 16:6b CSR^{Pc}; Luke 1:34 CCR3; 7:19b CSR^{Pc}; 7:20b CSR^{Pc}; 9:9b CSRO^c; 9:38a CSRS^e; 9:39b CSRO^c, CSRS^e; 9:39c CSRO^c, CSRS^e; 9:39d CSRO^c, CSRS^e; 9:48a CSRS^e; 9:48b CSRS^e; 9:54 CSR^{Pc}; 10:21 CSRO^c; 10:23 CSRO^c; 11:26a CSR^{Pc}; 11:26b CSR^{Pc}; 11:26c CSR^{Pc}; 11:26d CSR^{Pc}; 18:11a CSRS/^{Pc}; 19:14 CSR^{Pc}; 20:2a CSRO^c; John 7:34b CSRO^c; 7:36c CSRO^c; 11:31 CSR^{Pd}, Dam^a; 11:39c CSR^{Pd}, Dam^a; 11:41 CSR^{Pd}, Dam^a; 11:42 CSR^{Pd}; 13:20b CCR8; 14:27a T-S^e; 14:27b T-S^e; 14:27d T-S^e; 14:31a T-S^e; 14:31b T-S^e; 15:2a T-S^e; 15:2b T-S^e; 15:5c T-S^e; 15:23 CCR8; 19:28b Dam^f.

²⁸ These numbers assume that in some instances, one pronoun was employed in connection with two or more Participles (Matt. 23:3b CCR1; 23:5b CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:5c CCR1, CSRO^e; Mark 5:39b CSRO^e; 5:39c CSRO^e; 7:13 CSRO^c; Luke 9:48a CSRS^e; 9:48b CSRS^e; 11:26a CSR^{Pc}; 11:26b CSR^{Pc}; 11:26c CSR^{Pc}; 11:26d CSR^{Pc}). In addition, there are at least 9 additional instances that were excluded from the tally because the verb is not legible in the text, but that may have consisted of pronoun + Participle, since a pronoun stands next to the lacuna (Matt. 26:53b BL; Mark 7:7 CSRO^c; 7:8 CSRO^c; Luke 10:24b CSRO^c; 18:4a CSRS/^{Pc}; John 3:2b Sin^a; 15:10 T-S^e; 15:17 T-S^d; 15:18b T-S^d).

3.1.4. Translated by CPA Imperfects

In at least 2 instances, the Greek Present Indicative expressing present time is translated in CPA as an Imperfect (Mark 2:7c CCR1; 7:6a CSRO^e).

Mark 7:6 CSRO^e

ⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲥ ⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ

With their lips *they honor* me, but their heart is far distant from me.

οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

Assuming that the reconstruction of the bracketed text is correct, the word τιμᾷ, Present Indicative of τιμάω “to honor,” is translated by the CPA Imperfect ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ. Both the latter and the expression pronoun + verbal adjective, ⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲥ, which occurs in the context, express the general present. Thus, although the Imperfect expressing the present tense is rare and has been to a large extent replaced by the Participle, it has not yet completely disappeared. Also, though the instances are too few to draw definite conclusions, it is interesting that the 2 instances occur in contexts that most likely express the general present.

3.1.5. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Verbal Adjective

There are 2 instances of the Greek Present Indicative expressing present time translated in CPA by pronoun + verbal adjective (Mark 7:6b CSRO^e; 14:37d CSRP^e).

Mark 14:37 CSRP^e

ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ

And he came and found them sleeping, and he said to Peter, Simon, *are you sleeping?*

καὶ ἔρχεται καὶ εὕρισκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· Σίμων, *καθεύδεις;*

In the above example, the Present Indicative καθεύδεις from καθεύδω “to sleep” is translated in CPA as ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ, consisting of a verbal adjective followed by a pronoun.

3.1.6. Translated by CPA Nominal Expressions

There are also a number of other instances where the Greek Present Indicative expressing present time is translated in CPA by various non-verbal expressions. These include at least 2 instances where the Present Indicative ὀφείλει, from ὀφείλω “to owe, to be obligated,” is translated in CPA by pronoun + noun (Matt. 23:16b CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:18b CCR1).

Matt. 23:18 CCR1

مَنْ يَسْعَىٰ عَلَىٰ حِمْلِهِ يَسْعَىٰ عَلَىٰ حِمْلِهِ

Whoever swears by the offering that is upon it *is obligated*.

ὅς δ' ἂν ὀμώσει ἐν τῷ δώρῳ τῷ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὀφείλει

In the above example, the Greek Present Indicative ὀφείλει is translated in CPA as سَعَى حِمْلِهِ. The word سَعَى “debtor” belongs to the *qattāl* “nomina agentis” pattern (Müller-Kessler 1991: 92) and is in fact a noun, i.e., the CPA text actually means, “he is an obligated person,” though an adjectival rendering, “owing, obligated” is at times less awkward in modern translation.

There are 3 other instances where the Greek Present Indicative expressing present time is translated idiomatically in CPA by various other nominal expressions. These include 1 instance of πάρεστιν, from παρίεμι “to be present,” which is rendered as هُنَا “here” (John 11:28a CSRP^d), and 2 instances of the verb δοκέω “to think, suppose” (Matt. 21:28 CCR1; 22:42a CCR1).

Matt. 21:28 CCR1

مَا تَرَىٰ هُنَا

But what *do you think?*

Τί δὲ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ;

In the above example (as well as in Matt. 22:42a CCR1), the Greek impersonal expression ὑμῖν δοκεῖ “it seems to you” is translated idiomatically in CPA with the nominal clause مَا تَرَىٰ هُنَا.

There is also 1 instance where the repetition of the Greek verb δίδωμι was left out (John 14:27c T-S^c).

John 14:27 T-S^c

سَلَامًا أُعْطِيكُمْ وَأَنَا سَلَامًا أُعْطِيكُمْ : لَيْسَ كَمَا تَعْطُونَ
لِلْعَالَمِ

My peace I give to you. Not as the world [*gives*] do I give it to you.

εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν• οὐ καθὼς ὁ κόσμος
δίδωσιν ἐγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν

Since the verb δίδωμι “to give” occurs three times in the above example, the CPA omission of the second instance, δίδωσιν, is best understood as stylistic.

3.1.7. Instances with Textual Variants

There is possibly another instance where the Greek Present Indicative expressing present time is translated into CPA as an Imperfect (Mark 14:41e CSRP^c). Although there are some textual problems with this text (see the discussion of this passage in chapter five, section 5.1.8), the Greek variants all agree on the Present Indicative ἀπέχει “it is enough.” However, the CPA translation **לֵּן לֵּן אִתָּא לֵּן לֵּן** “for he saves/lives without end” may be influenced by the Western and other witnesses that read ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος “the end has come.” Since the CPA translation is somewhat idiosyncratic, there is room for uncertainty as to how the CPA translator interpreted the Greek Present Indicative in this instance.

There are at least 2 instances of CPA textual variants, where the witnesses disagree between the Participle and the Imperfect (Matt. 24:50a CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; Luke 9:49 CSRP^c, CSRS^e).

Luke 9:49

וְיָדָעְנוּ לָנוּ מֵאַחַד מֵהֵם [CSRP^c]

וְיָדָעְנוּ לָנוּ מֵאַחַד מֵהֵם לְבָרָא [CSRS^e]

And we forbade him, because he does not *follow* us.

καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ’ ἡμῶν

In the above example there is no Greek textual variant to the Present Indicative. It is translated in CSRP^c with a simple Participle and in CSRS^e with an Imperfect. These textual variants reveal a degree of interchangeability between the CPA Participle and Imperfect in the expression of the present tense.

The passage in Matt. 24:50a is also worth mentioning.

Matt. 24:50

וְיָדָעְנוּ לָנוּ מֵאַחַד מֵהֵם לְבָרָא [. . .] [CCR1]

וְיָדָעְנוּ לָנוּ מֵאַחַד מֵהֵם לְבָרָא [CSRO^e]

וְיָדָעְנוּ לָנוּ מֵאַחַד מֵהֵם

וְיָדָעְנוּ לָנוּ מֵאַחַד מֵהֵם לְבָרָא [CSRP^d]

וְיָדָעְנוּ לָנוּ מֵאַחַד מֵהֵם

The master of that servant will come on a day that *he does not expect* [CCR1/CSRO^e]/*he does not make known* [CSR^d],
 and at an hour that he does not know
 [CCR1/CSRO^e]/expect [CSR^d]
 ἤξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ οὐ
 προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἣ οὐ γινώσκει

The above example is interesting for more than one reason. The CPA manuscripts appear to reverse the placement of the verbs **هَد** and **د.ب./ح.ا**. That is, CCR1 and CSRO^e have the sequence **هَد** and **د.ب./ح.ا** (CCR1/CSRO^e), whereas CSR^d has the sequence **د.ب.** and **هَد**. Since the difference is not due to Greek textual variants, this reflects some stylistic latitude in the CPA translations. Another observation, which is more pertinent to grammatical analysis, is that the Greek Present Indicative **προσδοκῶ** in Matt. 24:50a is translated with a CPA Participle **هَد** “he does [not] expect” in CCR1 and CSRO^e, but with an Imperfect **د.ب.** “he does [not] make known” in CSR^d. Both instances of CPA textual variants involving a disagreement between a Participle and an Imperfect discussed here (Matt. 24:50a; Luke 9:49) occur in contexts where the Greek verbs most likely express the general present. However, the CPA Imperfects may express either the general present or a modality.

There is also 1 possible instance of a Greek true present translated in CPA by the construction **ه.ا** + Participle (Matt. 21:26b CCR1). However, although the majority of Greek witnesses have the Present Indicative **ἔχουσιν**, there are a few manuscripts with the Imperfect Indicative **εἶχον**. Thus, the CPA reading **[ا]ه.ا** **ه.ا** **ه.ا** “they regarded [John as a prophet]” may not in fact be a translation of a Greek Present Indicative.

3.2. TRANSLATION OF GREEK HISTORICAL PRESENTS

Among the many functions of the Greek Present Indicative is that of denoting a historical present, i.e., a past time event expressed by a present tense. For a discussion of the Greek historical present, see Fanning (1990: 226–239). As Turner (1963: 61) observed, though the historical present is very widespread, it is especially frequent with “verbs of speaking, with verbs of seeing . . . , and with verbs of motion, especially coming and going.” The interpretation of these instances is, of course, subjective, since a form intended as

a historical present in Greek may have been understood as a true present by the CPA translator, and vice-versa. There are at least 45 clear instances of Greek historical presents with attested CPA translation in the corpus, and possibly 1 additional instance that the CPA translator understood as a historical present.

3.2.1. Translated by CPA Perfects

In at least 20 instances, Greek historical presents are translated into CPA Perfects that are clear from the orthography (Matt. 2:19 CCR3; 25:11 CSRPe, CSROe; 27:38 CCR8; Mark 2:3 CCR1; 5:35a CSROe; 5:38a CSROe; 5:38b CSROe; 9:2b CSROe; 10:1b CSROe; 11:27a CSRPe; 11:27b CSRPe; 14:37b CSRPe; 15:17a CCR8, CSROe; 15:17b CCR8, CSROe; 15:21 CSROe; 15:24a CSROe; 15:27 CSROe; 16:2 CSRPe; 16:4 CSRPe; John 13:26a CCR8).³¹

Mark 5:35 CSROe

καθῆκα εἰς τὸ διᾶξαι· ἦλθεν ἄσθε ἀπὸ συναγωῆς

While he was speaking these things, *they came* from the synagogue leader

Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου

The above example shows a Greek historical present translated by a CPA Perfect.

In a few of these instances, the CPA translation added a personal pronoun before a Perfect (e.g., Mark 2:3 CCR1; 11:27a CSRPe; 15:17a CCR8, CSROe).

Mark 11:27 CSRPe

καὶ ἦλθον ἄσθε ἔτι ἄσθε

And *they came* again to Jerusalem.

Καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα

In the above example, a pronoun was added before the Perfect in the CPA translation. It is also interesting to see the instance in Mark 15:17a, because it involves a textual variant.

³¹ Assuming that Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff's reconstruction in the bracketed text in Mark 5:38a,b CSROe ([αδ]κα and [κ]κα respectively) is correct.

Mark 15:17

,יֵאָמְרוּ אֵלָיו וְלָבַשׁוּ אֹתוֹ כִּתְמוֹן אֲדָמִי [CCR8]

,יֵאָמְרוּ אֵלָיו וְלָבַשׁוּ אֹתוֹ כִּתְמוֹן [CSRO^e]

And *they dressed* him with a scarlet coat

καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν πορφύραν

In the above example, there is a Greek textual variant, where some manuscripts have ἐνδιδύσκουσιν and others ἐνδύουσιν. However, since both verbs mean “to dress, clothe, put on,” and both are Present Indicatives, the Greek textual variant does not affect the CPA translation. What is significant, though, is the CPA textual variant between the presence (CCR8) and absence (CSRO^e) of a pronoun in front of the Perfect verb. Thus, the addition of the pronoun in CPA is not restricted to the Participle, and this is evident not only from instances where the pronoun is added before a Perfect, but also by at least one CPA textual variant involving the presence or absence of the pronoun before a Perfect.

3.2.2. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle

In a number of instances, the Greek historical present is translated in CPA by some type of participial expression. In at least 5 instances, the CPA translation consists of pronoun + Participle (Matt. 27:47 CCR1; Mark 1:21 CCR1; 10:49a CSRP^c; 15:16b CSRO^e; 15:22a CSRO^e). Three of these involve verbs of speaking, i.e., φωνέω “to call, invite” (Matt. 27:47; Mark 10:49a) and συγκαλέω “to call together” (Mark 15:16b).

Mark 1:21 CCR1

וְהָיוּ עֹשִׂים אֵת אֲשֶׁר יֹאמְרוּ

And *they were entering* Capernaum.

Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ

The above example shows a Greek historical present translated in CPA by the expression pronoun + Participle. The participial construction may express a past imperfective sense.

3.2.3. Translated by CPA Participles

In possibly 2 instances, the Greek historical present is translated by a CPA Participle without an accompanying pronoun (Matt. 26:40b CSRP^d; Mark 8:22b CSRO^e).

Mark 8:22 CSRO^c

[. . . ⲡ] ⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓ ⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲓ ⲛⲓ ⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲓ

And he came to Bethsaida, and *they were bringing* to him . . .

Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Βηθσαϊδάν. Καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ
τυφλὸν

In the above example, the Greek historical present φέρουσιν “they bring/brought” is translated by the CPA Participle ⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲓ.³² The preceding verb ϣⲉⲛⲓ seems to translate the Byzantine reading, which has the singular ἔρχεται “he comes/came,” rather than the plural of the NA²⁸, and is orthographically ambiguous (see below). However, if ϣⲉⲛⲓ is a Perfect, the sequence ⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲓ . . . ϣⲉⲛⲓ consists of the sequence Perfect + Participle, where the Participle gets its past time function from the context, i.e., from the preceding Perfect (see discussion in chapter eight, section 8.2.3.2). The instance in Matt. 26:40b is discussed separately below.

3.2.4. Ambivalent Instances

In at least 12 instances, the CPA translation could be analyzed either as Perfect or Participle, since the text is unvowelled and there is not sufficient contextual evidence. In 2 of the instances, it may not be necessary to decide between Perfect and Participle, because they involve verbs that introduce direct speech, παραγγέλλω “to command” (Mark 8:6 CSRP^c) and possibly ἀποστέλλω “to send” (Mark 11:1b CSRP^c). There are 7 instances of ϣⲉⲛⲓ (Matt. 26:45a, CCR1, CSRP^d; Mark 8:22a CSRO^c; 10:1a CSRO^c; 14:37a CSRP^e; 14:41a CSRP^e; 14:43 CSRP^e; John 11:38 CSRP^d, Dam^a; note: Matt. 26:45a and Mark 14:41a are parallel passages). There is also 1 instance of the verb παραλαμβάνω “to bring along” (Mark 9:2a CSRO^c), 1 instance of νεύω “to gesture” (John 13:24a CCR8), and 1 instance of δίδωμι “to give” (John 13:26d CCR8). It is probable that the majority of these instances should be understood as CPA Perfects (especially the 7 instances of ϣⲉⲛⲓ without the diacritical mark), given that there are few orthographically clear Participles

³² On the spelling of the Afel of ϣⲉⲛⲓ “to bring” with ⲉϥ, see Müller-Kessler (1999: 251).

3.2.6. Translated by CPA $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ + Verbal Adjective

There is also at least 1 instance where a Greek historical present is translated in CPA by $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ + verbal adjective (Mark 11:1a CSRPe).

Mark 11:1 CSRPe

ܘܚܘ ܕܘܥܒܘ ܕܩܝܡܘܢ ܕܒܗܬܦܗܘܓܐ ܘܕܒܗܬܦܗܘܓܐ

And when *they were close* to Jerusalem and to Bethphage and Bethany

Καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς Βηθφαγή καὶ Βηθανίαν

In above example, the CPA translator chose to render the Greek historical present ἐγγίζουσιν “they came near” not with a Perfect $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ but with the adjective $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ “near” accompanied by the Perfect of $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ “to be” expressing past time. The expression $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ could be interpreted either as equivalent to $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ + Participle, “they were drawing near” or, more likely, as the verb “to be” with an adjectival predicate.

3.2.7. Instances with Textual Variants

Further, in at least 2 instances, the CPA witnesses disagree between translating the Greek historical present as a Participle or a Perfect (Mark 2:18a CCR1, CSRG^d; 10:46 CSRPe, CSRO^e).

Mark 2:18

ܘܘܥܒܘ ܕܘܥܒܘ ܕܘܥܒܘ [CCR1]

ܘܘܥܒܘ ܕܘܥܒܘ ܕܘܥܒܘ [CSRG^d]

And *they came* and said to him

καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ

Since there are no variants in the Greek Vorlage of the above example, the CPA variants in the translation of ἔρχονται possibly reflect the ambivalence between translating it literally, $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ (CSRG^d), or idiomatically, $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ (CCR1).

Also, there is 1 instance of a CPA Imperfect (Mark 6:45 CSRO^e). However, the significance of this instance is questionable, because the passage has textual variants. Though the main text of NA²⁸ has the Present Indicative ἀπολύει, the Byzantine text has the Aorist Subjunctive ἀπολύσῃ. Other witnesses have the Future ἀπολύσει, and still others the Aorist Indicative ἀπέλυσεν. Regardless of the Vorlage of the CPA text, the instance occurs in a

subordinate temporal clause, $\kappa\epsilon\alpha\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\sigma\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ “until he dismissed the crowds.” See Schulthess’ (1924: 87) description of the relative future function of the Imperfect.

3.2.8. An Additional Instance

Finally, no doubt, some of the remaining instances of the Greek Present Indicative may also have been interpreted as historical presents by the CPA translator. Therefore, in addition to the clear instances of historical presents, one could possibly add 1 more instance where the Greek Present was translated by a CPA Perfect (Matt. 26:50 CSRP^d, BL).

Matt. 26:50 CSRP^d

ἄνδρα καὶ ἐλπίσας

Friend, why *have you come?*

$\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\ \rho\epsilon, \acute{\epsilon}\varphi' \ \acute{\omicron} \ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota$

The Greek present in the above example is not a historical present, but a perfective present, i.e., a verb that denotes “a present state or condition” and implies “the occurrence of an action which produced that condition” (Fanning 1990: 239). The use of the CPA Perfect in translation is either idiomatic or suggests that the scribe understood the Greek as a historical present.

3.3. TRANSLATION OF GREEK FUTURISTIC PRESENTS

In many languages, a present tense expression can in some contexts be employed to express future actions or events. For example, compare the following two English sentences:

[Present:] I am going to school.

[Future:] I am going to school tomorrow.

In the above examples, the same verbal phrase is used for a present and a future action. Although the English sentence “I am going tomorrow” is not semantically identical in all contexts to the future tense, “I will go tomorrow,” it is also undeniable that there is a great deal of overlap between the two expressions. One distinction between the two expressions is that the expression “I am going” does not itself express the future, but the future time is expressed by the context. Similarly, the Greek Present Indicative can also be used in a future context. There are possibly 33 instances of futuris-

tic presents in the Gospels whose CPA translation is sufficiently preserved for analysis.

3.3.1. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle

In most instances, the CPA translation of Greek futuristic presents employs a participial expression. In 15 of the instances, it is rendered in CPA by the expression pronoun + Participle, including 2 instances where there is also a pronoun in Greek (John 14:19b CCR8; 15:27a CCR8), and 13 instances where the pronoun is added in the CPA translation (Mark 1:7a CCR1; 11:3c CSRPe; Luke 18:7 CSRS/Pc; 19:8a CSRPe; 19:8b CSRPe; 19:13 CSRPe; John 11:47a Damc; 13:27b CCR8; 14:28a T-Sc; 14:28b T-Sc; 14:28c T-Sc; 16:5a CCR8; 16:5c CCR8).³⁴

Mark 11:3 CSRPe

αἴτινος : κλεῖ πῖνκε ραθικ ρα ειρ ραλ ιασηρ ρα
 ραλ τλ αλεσα αση ρα ασα τλ υρι ρα ιαση τλ

And if anyone says to you, “Why are you untying the foal?,” say to him, “The Lord needs it.” And immediately *he will send* it here.

καὶ ἐάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπη• τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο; εἶπατε• ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἔχει, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει πάλιν ὧδε.

In the above example, the Greek Present ἀποστέλλει expresses a future event. Although it is translated by a CPA construction normally used to express the present, there is no reason to doubt that the CPA translator understood its future function.

3.3.2. Translated by CPA Participles

In 8 instances, the futuristic present is translated in CPA by a simple Participle alone without a pronoun, but the subject is explicit in the context (Matt. 24:42 CCR1, CSRPe; 24:44b CCR1, CSRPe;

³⁴ In John 14:28a,b there is one pronoun for two Participles. In John 14:19b a Participle is visible, but not the preceding pronoun; yet, it is reasonable to assume that there was a pronoun in the lacuna, because there is one in the Greek original. Also, the instances in Luke 19:8a,b could be alternatively analyzed as performative presents.

26:24b CCR1; Mark 9:12 CSRO^e; 9:31 CSRPe; Luke 17:20a CSRS^e; 17:20b CSRS^e; John 16:2 CCR8).

Matt. 24:42 CCR1

כִּי־אֵינְכֶם יוֹדְעִים בְּיָמֵי מָה יָבֹא אֲדֹנָיְכֶם

For you do not know on what day your Lord *is coming*.

ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποία ἡμέρα ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται

In the above example, the Greek ἔρχεται, a Present with future meaning, is translated by a simple Participle in CPA. My English translation “is coming” reflects the fact that the English Present Progressive with a future meaning also fits in this context.

3.3.3. Translated by CPA Imperfects

In at least 6 instances, a Greek futuristic present is translated in CPA by an Imperfect (Mt 24:40a CSRPe^d; 24:40b CSRPe^d; 24:41a CSRPe^d; 24:41b CSRPe^d; Mark 11:23c CSRPe; John 7:33b CSRO^c). In some of these instances, the context may be not only future, but also modal. But in others, the CPA Imperfect simply expresses the future.

Matt. 24:40–41 CSRPe^d

שְׁנַיִם יִהְיוּ בַּשָּׂדֶה: אֶחָד יִקָּח וְאֶחָד יִשָּׁרְבֵת
 שְׁנַיִם יִהְיוּ מְטֹחֵת בְּאֵבֶן מְלוּחָה: אֶחָד יִקָּח וְאֶחָד יִשָּׁרְבֵת

Two men will be in the field, one *will be taken* and one *will be left*. Two women will be grinding with a millstone, one *will be taken* and one *will be left*.

τότε δύο ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἷς παραλαμβάνεται καὶ εἷς ἀφίεται• δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν τῷ μύλῳ, μία παραλαμβάνεται καὶ μία ἀφίεται.

In the above example, the CPA Imperfects express the future tense of the Greek futuristic present, without any obvious modal nuance. Also, though some of the words in v. 40 are only partially preserved, the restoration is justified on the basis of the context in v. 41 where the words are clearly visible.

3.3.4. Instances with Textual Variants

There are at least 4 instances involving textual variants that must be mentioned. In 2 instances, the Greek Present Indicative must be understood as a futuristic present in the standard published text because it follows a Future (Matt. 18:12b CSRPe; Mark 2:22b

CCR1). Both instances are translated in CPA by simple Participles. However, in both cases the preceding future tense verb has textual variants.

Mark 2:22 CCR1

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ
[...]

[No one puts new wine in old wineskins.] Otherwise the new wine tears the wineskins, and the wine *is spilled*.

εἰ δὲ μὴ, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκοὺς, καὶ ὁ οἶνος
ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί

In the above example, there is a textual variant in the tense of the Greek Future Indicative ῥήξει, from ῥήγνυμι/ῥήσσω “to tear, rip.” The Greek majority reading has the Present Indicative ῥήσσει instead of the Future (and adds ὁ νέος “new,” i.e., *ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ*, after ὁ οἶνος), in which case one can conclude that the CPA translator understood the next verb as a true present with a general present meaning rather than a futuristic present. That the CPA translation follows the majority reading in this passage is further supported by the fact that the verb in question *ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ* translates the majority reading ἐκχεῖται “is spilled,” instead of ἀπόλλυται “is lost.”

There are also 2 instances in one verse whose textual problems deserve additional comment (Mark 11:24b CSRPe; 11:24c CSRPe).

Mark 11:24 CSRPe

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ
ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ

Whatever *you ask for* when *you pray*, believe that you are receiving it and it will be done for you.

πάντα ὅσα προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰτεῖσθε, πιστεύετε ὅτι
ἐλάβετε, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν.

In the above example, the Greek πάντα ὅσα προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰτεῖσθε “whatever you pray and ask for” is apparently translated in CPA in a rather unusual way. However, it is more likely that the CPA translation is based on the Byzantine text, which has πάντα ὅσα ἂν προσευχόμενοι αἰτήσθε “whatever you ask for when you pray.” If so, the CPA Imperfect *ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ* is in fact not a translation of a Greek futuristic present, but of the Subjunctive αἰτήσθε, and the CPA *ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ* (Imperfect of *ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ* + Par-

tiple) is not a translation of a Greek Present Indicative, but of the Present Participle προσευχόμενοι in a subordinate temporal clause.

3.4. TRANSLATION OF SPECIAL TYPES OF GREEK PRESENTS

In addition to distinctions among Greek Present Indicatives that express past, present, and future time, there are also instances that need to be treated as special categories. This section deals with the CPA translation of Greek Present Indicatives with special types of functions, the Periphrastic Present, and certain verbs whose lexical meaning requires separate analysis. It goes without saying that, some of the special grammatical functions of Presents discussed below may have been otherwise interpreted by the CPA translators. However, due to the paucity of instances, their discussion is limited.

3.4.1. Present Indicative in Indirect Discourse

One of the functions that deserve special comment is the Present in indirect discourse. In English, there is tense sequencing, i.e., indirect discourse requires a change in tense to match the context of the direct discourse. For example, the statement “I see the city” in past indirect discourse would be “He said that he saw the city” (Burton 1898: 137). However, Greek and many modern languages do not have this sequence of tenses. Thus, the Greek equivalent would be “He said that he sees the city” (see Burton 1898: 135–142). Such a Present is not a historical present, but a Present expressing relative time (Blass and Debrunner 1984: 267–268). It occurs with verbs of speaking, perception, and belief (Turner 1963: 64). This relative tense function of the Present is also valid for other Greek tenses, but, for the purpose of this study, only Presents expressing relative tense need special comment. There are at least 5 instances of the Greek Present in indirect discourse with attested CPA translations. In 2 instances, the Greek Present in indirect discourse is translated in CPA by a simple Participle (Matt. 2:4 CCR3; 24:43 CCR1, CSR^{Pd}).

Matt. 24:43 CCR1

ג'ר' אל קום ונבטל נב כסנר ג'ר' אל קום ונבטל
 ג'ר' אל קום ונבטל

tion $\kappa\alpha\iota$ + Participle (Matt. 23:29a CSRO^e; 23:29b CSRO^e), assuming that the verb $\alpha\alpha\iota$ serves as auxiliary to two CPA Participles.

Matt. 23:29 CSRO^e

ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ :ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ
ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ

who *have been building* the tombs of the prophets and *adorning*
the monuments of the righteous

ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τοὺς τάφους τῶν προφητῶν καὶ
κοσμεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν δικαίων

The Greek Present Indicatives in the above example denote actions that began in the past, but continue in the present. Although the connection with the past may not be explicit in the sentence, it can be inferred from the context (see v. 30). Hence, the CPA construction $\kappa\alpha\iota$ + Participle, expressing a past imperfective function.

In 1 instance, the Greek Present of past action still in progress is translated by the expression pronoun + Participle (Mark 8:2b CSRP^e).

Mark 8:2 CSRP^e

ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ

Look, already three days *they have been staying* with me

ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι

In the above example, since the crowds arrived earlier but stayed three days, the Greek Present Indicative can be considered one that expresses a past action still in progress. The CPA translation consists of pronoun + Participle.

The fact that the Greek Present of past action still in progress is translated in CPA by either $\kappa\alpha\iota$ + Participle or pronoun + Participle suggests either a semantic overlap in the two expressions (as in the case of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ + Participle and the simple Participle by itself) or that the CPA translation depended on whether the translator perceived the context to emphasize the past or the present. The instances are too few to draw definite conclusions.

3.4.3. Periphrastic Present

Another special grammatical construction that occurs in the corpus, is the Greek Periphrastic Present, which consists of the Present Indicative of the auxiliary εἰμί in combination with a Present

Participle. There are at least 3 instances of the Greek Periphrastic Present with an attested CPA translation, all of which occur in similar contexts, introducing a translation of a non-Greek word. In all 3 instances, the CPA translation employs the same Passive Participle, ᾶ ἰδῶ “being translated.” In 2 of the instances, it is accompanied by a personal pronoun, ᾶ ἰδῶ ὁμοι ῶ for ὁ ἔστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον “which is translated” (Matt. 1:23 CCR3), ᾶ ἰδῶ ὁμοι for ὁ ἔστιν . . . λεγόμενος “which means” (Matt. 27:33 CCR8), and in 1 instance it occurs by itself, ᾶ ἰδῶ for ὁ ἔστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον “which is translated” (Mark 15:22 CSRO⁶). Since the latter two instances are parallel passages, the presence or absence of the personal pronoun seems optional. Thus, all instances of the Greek Periphrastic Present with attested CPA translations are passive and are translated with an expression that includes a Passive Participle. However, one cannot make generalizations based on these very similar instances.

3.4.4. Present Indicative of εἶμι as a Simple Verb

Besides special types of grammatical constructions and functions, there are also verbs whose lexical meaning requires separate discussion. Among these are 110 instances of the Greek Present Indicative of εἶμι “to be” functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb with a sufficiently legible attested CPA translation.³⁵ As can be expected, the vast majority of instances express the true present. The few instances that express the historical or futuristic present are mentioned where relevant. Although the syntax of εἶμι does not always correspond to that of the CPA translation (i.e., a noun phrase pred-

³⁵ These may be listed as follows: Matt. 1:20; 2:2; 2:18; 18:14; 18:20b; 22:42b; 22:45b; 23:8a; 23:8b; 23:9; 23:10; 23:16a; 23:17; 23:18a; 23:31b; 24:5; 24:26; 24:33b; 24:45; 26:25a; 26:26; 26:28; 26:38b; 26:39a; 26:48; 26:63b; 26:66b; 26:73a; 27:6b; 27:11a; 27:37; 27:40; 27:42b; 27:43b; 27:46; 28:6; Mark 1:24; 1:27a; 2:9a; 4:16a; 4:17b; 6:35; 6:49; 7:11b; 7:15a; 7:15c; 9:5b; 9:7; 9:10; 9:39; 9:40a; 9:42a; 9:47; 12:25c; 12:27a; 12:37b; 12:42; 13:28b; 13:29b; 14:34b; 14:35; 14:44; 15:2a; 15:16a; 16:6c; Luke 1:19; 1:36; 1:63; 7:19a; 7:20a; 7:23; 9:9a; 9:12; 9:13; 9:35; 9:38b; 9:48c; 9:50a; 9:50b; 10:22b; 10:22c; 11:29a; 11:35; 17:21; 18:9; 18:11b; 18:27; 19:3; 19:9; 20:2b; John 6:33; 6:35; 6:42a; 7:40; 11:9a; 11:39d; 12:9; 13:16b; 13:17; 13:19b; 13:25b; 13:26b; 14:28d; 15:1a; 15:3; 15:14a; 15:19a; 15:20b; 15:27b; 19:35a.

icate in Greek may be translated by something other than a noun phrase predicate in CPA), the Greek syntax must serve as the starting point for the study of translation technique. Nevertheless, the CPA translation tends to be very literal.

3.4.4.1. *εἰμί with a Noun Phrase Predicate*

In 56 instances the Present Indicative of εἰμί functioning as a simple verb is accompanied by a noun phrase predicate with a noun or pronoun as head. In at least 45 of the instances it is translated with a personal pronoun, including 8 instances occurring in bipartite nominal clauses where the pronoun can be analyzed as the clause subject (Matt. 22:45b CCR1; 23:31b CSRO^e; 27:6b CSRPF; 27:43b CCR1; Mark 6:49 CSRO^e; 12:37b CSRO^e; Luke 9:38b CSRS^e; John 13:26b CCR8) and 37 instances occurring in tripartite nominal clauses (Matt. 22:42b CCR1; 23:8a CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:9 CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:10 CCR1, CSRO^e; 24:5 CSRO^e; 24:45 CCR1, CSRPF^d; 26:25a CCR1; 26:26 CCR1; 26:28 CCR1; 26:63b CSRG/O^d, BL; 27:11a CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRPF; 27:37 CCR8; 27:42b CCR1; Mark 1:24 CCR1; 1:27a CCR1; 4:16a CSRO^e; 7:15c CSRO^e; 9:7 CSRO^e; 9:10 CSRO^e; 15:2a CSRO^e; Luke 1:19 CSRO^e, Dam^b; 1:63 CSRO^e; 7:19a CSRPF^g; 7:20a CSRPF^g; 9:9a CSRO^e; 9:35 CSRO^e; 10:22b CSRO^e; 10:22c CSRO^e; 11:35 CSRPF^e; 19:3 CSRPF^e; 20:2b Dam^c; John 6:35 CSRPF^e; 6:42a CSRPF^e; 7:40 CSRO^e; 13:25b CCR8; 15:1a T-S^c; 15:14a T-S^c).

Matt. 27:43 CCR1

:**εἰμι υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ**

I am the Son of God
ὅτι Θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός

Matt. 24:5 CSRO^e

εἰμι ὁ χριστός

I am the Christ.
ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ χριστός

The above examples illustrate the Present Indicative of εἰμί with a noun phrase predicate translated with a personal pronoun either in a bipartite (Matt. 27:43) or a tripartite (Matt. 24:5) nominal clause. In Matt. 27:43, the Greek εἰμι is translated with the pronoun εἰμι in a bipartite nominal clause, where the personal pronoun functions as the clause subject. In Matt. 24:5, ἐγὼ εἰμι is translated in

John 11:9 Dam^d

لَا هُنَا ثَلَاثَ عَشْرَةَ سَاعَةً [،ثَلَاثَ عَشْرَةَ سَاعَةً]

Are there not twelve hours in [a day]?

οὐχὶ δώδεκα ὥραι εἰσιν τῆς ἡμέρας

In the above example εἰσιν, which is a Present Indicative of εἶμι, serves as a verb of existence, i.e., “there is/are [not].” Hence, one could question whether the noun phrase “twelve hours” is the subject or predicate, or even whether the analysis should be the same in Greek and CPA. It is interesting that this instance employs the negative لَا instead of لَا. In fact, none of the instances of لَا or لَا translate εἶμι functioning as a verb of existence, though the few attested occurrences are not sufficient to yield definite conclusions.

In at least 3 instances εἶμι is left untranslated, i.e., εἶμι is translated with neither لَا, لَا, nor a personal pronoun. Although εἶμι is not translated, there is a Greek personal pronoun translated by a CPA pronoun in 2 instances (Matt. 23:8b CSRO^e; Mark 14:44 CSRPe) and a Greek demonstrative pronoun translated by a CPA demonstrative in 1 instance (Luke 1:36 CCR3). Alternatively, the instances can be categorized as 2 instances of CPA bipartite nominal clauses with a demonstrative (Luke 1:36) or personal pronoun (Matt. 23:8b) as the subject and 1 instance where the personal pronoun stands alone (Mark 14:44).

Luke 1:36 CCR3

وَأَمَّا هَذِهِ فَهِيَ لَهَا السَّادِسَةُ شَهْرًا، لِلَّتِي سُمِّيَتْ بَارْتَلِيمَا

And this *is* to her the sixth month, to the one who was called barren.

καὶ οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῇ καλουμένην στείρα

In the above example, the Greek ἐστὶν is left untranslated.

3.4.4.2. εἶμι with an Adjectival Predicate

In 30 instances the Present Indicative of εἶμι functioning as a simple verb is accompanied by an adjectival predicate. In at least 13 of the instances it is translated with a personal pronoun, which can be subdivided into 6 instances occurring in bipartite nominal clauses

where the pronoun can be analyzed as the clause subject (Matt. 24:33b CSR^{Pd}; 26:66b CSR^{G/Od}; Mark 4:17b CSR^{Oe}; 13:29b CSR^{Pe}, Dam; Luke 18:9 CSR^{S/Pe}; John 15:3 T-S^e)³⁷ and 7 instances occurring in tripartite nominal clauses (Matt. 23:17 CCR¹; 26:38b CSR^{Pd}; Mark 6:35 CSR^{Oe}; 13:28b CSR^{Pe}, Dam; 14:34b CSR^{Pe}; John 14:28d T-S^e; 19:35a Dam^f).

Matt. 24:26 CSR^{Pd}

ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܡܘܬܘܢ

Look, *he is* in the desert.

Ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐστίν

In the above example, the Greek ἐστίν is translated in CPA with the personal pronoun ܘܢܗܘܘܢ in a bipartite nominal clause where the pronoun can be analyzed as the clause subject.

Also, 6 instances consist of negative sentences. Of these, 2 instances consist of ܘܘܠ accompanied by a personal pronoun, either independent or suffixed (Matt. 23:16a CCR¹, CSR^{Oe}; 23:18a CCR¹), and 4 instances of ܘܘܠ by itself (Mark 7:15a CSR^{Oe}; 9:39 CSR^{Oe}, CSR^{Pe}; John 13:16b CCR⁸; 15:20b CCR⁸).

Matt. 23:16

:ܘܘܠܘܢ ܘܘܠ [CCR¹]

:ܘܘܠܘܢܘܠ [CSR^{Oe}]

It is nothing.

οὐδέν ἐστίν

In the above example, the Greek copula ἐστίν occurs in a negative sentence, and is translated in CPA with ܘܘܠ and a pronoun. It is interesting to notice the CPA variant between an independent pronoun in CCR¹ and a suffixed pronoun in CSR^{Oe}, which suggests that the two are stylistic variants.

In 4 instances εἰμί is left untranslated, i.e., εἰμί is translated with neither ܘܢܗܘܘܢ, ܘܘܠ, nor a personal pronoun (Mark 2:9a CCR¹; 9:5b CSR^{Oe}; 9:42a CSR^{Oe}; 9:47 CSR^{Oe}).

³⁷ In the instance in John 15:3 the CPA personal pronoun actually translates the Greek pronoun rather than of the Present Indicative of εἰμί. Nevertheless, the CPA translation results in a bipartite nominal clause with a pronoun as the subject.

In at least 7 instances the Greek Present Indicative of ἔχω is translated by a CPA expression other than possession. Of these, 3 instances involve the Greek expression χρεῖαν ἔχω “to have need,” and are translated in CPA with a Passive Participle, either with a pronoun (Matt. 26:65 CSRG/O^d; John 13:29b CCR8) or by itself (Mark 11:3b CSRP^e).

Matt. 26:65 CSRG/O^d

ما نحن لا نحتاج لقسمة:

Why do *we* still *need* witnesses.

τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων;

In the above example, the Greek expression χρεῖαν ἔχομεν is translated idiomatically by *ما نحن لا نحتاج* “we need,” a CPA pronoun and a Passive Participle. The other instances involve a Greek expression of possession that is translated in CPA stylistically/idiomatically by a different expression (Mark 2:19c CCR1; 6:38b CSRO^e; 8:5 CSRP^e; 11:25b CSRP^e).

Mark 2:19 CCR1

ما دام العرس معهم لا يمكنهم الصيام

As long as the bridegroom *is with them*, they cannot fast.

ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ’ αὐτῶν οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν

In the above example, the Greek ἔχουσιν is translated idiomatically in CPA rather than with an expression of possession, since the Greek idiom “to have someone with” does not have the same meaning in CPA, i.e., the bridegroom does not actually have possession of the bridal party.

3.4.6. The Verbs δεῖ and ἔξεστιν

Besides εἰμί and ἔχω, there are two other Greek verbs typically translated in CPA with nominal sentences. There are 4 instances of the Greek impersonal Present Indicative δεῖ “it is necessary, one must, should.” All are translated with the CPA adverb *بكل* “by all means,” which is a loanword from Greek πάντως (Mark 9:11b CSRO^e; 13:7 CSRP^e; Luke 17:25 CSRS^e; 19:5 CSRP^e). There are also 2 instances of the Greek impersonal Present Indicative ἔξεστιν “possible, permitted.” Both are translated with the adjective *مسموح* “allowed” (Matt. 27:6a CSRP^f; Mark 10:2 CSRO^e). It is not necessary to discuss them further here.

3.4.7. The Verb ἦκω

There is also 1 instance of the verb ἦκω “to have come, to be present,” which deserves special comment. When it occurs in the Present tense, it functions as if it were a Perfect, and its function is commonly labeled “perfective present” in traditional Greek grammars. That is, it denotes a present state or situation that resulted from a past action or event. There is only 1 instance with an attested CPA translation, and it is translated with a CPA Perfect (Mark 8:3 CSRP^e).

Mark 8:3 CSRP^e

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχονται ἐκ μακρόθεν

For some of them *have come* from a great distance
καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἦκασιν

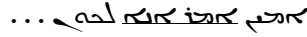
There is a textual variant in the above instance. The main text of NA²⁸ has ἦκασιν, the majority text has ἦκουσιν, and some other witnesses have εἰσίν. The form ἦκασιν is actually a Perfect Indicative. However, it developed in Hellenistic Greek because of the verb’s perfect function in the Present Indicative (Blass and Debrunner 1984: 75). Therefore, the distinction between ἦκασιν and ἦκουσιν is not significant for this study. As for εἰσίν, from the verb εἰμί “to be,” it can be argued that, since the Present/Perfect Indicative of ἦκω denotes a present state of a past action, there is a semantic overlap between εἰμί and ἦκω in this context. Nevertheless, the CPA translation ἔρχονται most likely translates the verb ἦκω, and not εἰμί.

3.4.8. Present Indicative of Verbs That Frequently Introduce Direct Speech

There are 108 instances of the Greek Present Indicative of verbs that can introduce direct speech with attested CPA translations, of which 48 instances denote the true present, and 60 instances the historical present. True present instances consist of 45 instances of the verb λέγω, 1 instance of φημί (Matt. 14:8), 1 instance of λαλέω (Mark 11:23b), and 1 instance of ἐρωτάω (John 16:5b). The majority of these are translated in CPA with a participial ex-

pression, including at least 39 instances of pronoun + Participle and at least 5 instances of the simple Participle alone.³⁸

Matt. 21:31 CCR1

... 

“Truly, *I say* to you . . .”

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι



Mark 9:11 CSRO^c

... 

Why do the scribes *say* . . .

ὅτι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς

The above are examples of the Greek Present Indicative of the verb λέγω functioning as a true present. In the first example, it is translated by the CPA expression pronoun + Participle (Matt. 21:31), and in the second example by a simple Participle alone (Mark 9:11).

As can be expected, there are also 4 ambiguous instances, consisting of 3 instances of the CPA form  (Luke 9:33b CSRO^c; John 6:42b CSRP^c; 13:22 CCR8) and 1 instance of  (John 16:5b CCR8). These could be analyzed either as 3ms Perfect or as ms absolute Participles. However, given that the overwhelming majority of orthographically clear instances are Participles, most if not all of these should also be analyzed as Participles.

³⁸ The instances of pronoun + Participle consist of 38 instances of the translation of λέγω (Matt. 18:10a CSRP^c; 18:13a CSRP^c; 18:18 CSRP^c; 18:19 CSRP^c; 21:27a CCR1; 21:31c CCR1; 23:3a CCR1; 23:30 CSRO^c; 23:36 CSRO^c; 23:39 CSRO^c; 24:2b CSRO^c; 24:34 CSRP^d; 24:47 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^c; 25:12 CCR1, CSRP^d; 26:29 CCR1; 26:64b CSRG/O^d; Mark 2:11 CCR1; 7:11a CSRO^c; 8:12c CSRO^c, CSRP^c; 9:13 CSRO^c; 11:23a CSRP^c; 11:24a CSRP^c; 12:43 CSRP^c, CSRO^c; 13:30 Dam; 15:12b CSRO^c; Luke 7:14 CSRP^c; 10:24a CSRO^c; 17:34 CSRS/P^c; 18:8 CSRS/P^c; 18:29a CSRS^c; John 3:3a Sin^a; 6:32a CSRP^c; 13:16a CCR8; 13:18 CCR8; 13:19a CCR8; 13:20a CCR8; 13:21 CCR8; 16:7a CCR8) and 1 instance of λαλέω (Mark 11:23b CSRP^c). The instances of the Participle by itself consist of 4 instances of the translation of λέγω (Matt. 26:70 CSRG/O^d; Mark 9:11a CSRO^c; 12:37a CSRO^c; Luke 9:18 CSRO^c) and 1 instance of φημί (Matt. 14:8 Sin^a).

The 60 instances of Greek historical presents of verbs that can introduce direct speech consist of 59 instances of the verb λέγω and 1 instance of ἐρωτάω (Luke 11:37). Since the historical present is used in narratives, the majority of instances are 3rd person forms. Hence, in the majority of instances, i.e., 45, the CPA form is orthographically ambiguous, and could be analyzed either as a Perfect 3ms or as a Participle ms absolute.³⁹ Since the orthographically clear instances include twice as many CPA Participles as Perfects, it is possible that most of the ambiguous instances are Participles. However, since both forms are well attested in orthographically clear instances, it is best not to speculate on the correct analysis of these forms, but to allow for their analysis as ambiguous.

Matt. 21:31 CCR1

... εαεε κ εε εεε εεε εεε εεε εεε εεε εεε εεε

They said to him, "The first one." The Lord Jesus *said* to them

...

λέγουσιν• ὁ πρῶτος. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς•

In the above example, the Greek historical present λέγει is translated in CPA with the ambiguous form εεε, which can be analyzed either as a Perfect 3ms or a Participle ms absolute. The fact that it follows a clause with a CPA Participle, εεε, favors the

³⁹ The ambiguous instances consist of 44 instances of λέγω (Matt. 21:31b CCR1; 22:43a CCR1; 26:31 CCR1; 26:36b CSRPe; 26:38a CSRPe; 26:40c CSRPe; 26:45b CCR1, CSRPe; 26:52 BL; 26:64a CSRG/Od, BL; 27:13a CCR1, CSROe, CSRPe; 28:10 CCR1; Mark 2:5a CCR1; 2:8b CCR1; 2:10b CCR1; 4:13 CSROe; 5:36 CSROe; 5:39a CSROe; 6:38a CSROe; 7:18a CSROe; 8:1 CSRPe; 8:17a CSROe; 9:5a CSROe; 9:35a CSRPe; 11:21 CSRPe; 11:22 CSRPe; 12:16 CSRPe; 13:1 CSROe; 14:34a CSRPe; 14:37c CSRPe; 14:41b CSRPe; 14:45 CSRPe; 15:2b CSROe; 16:6a CSRPe; John 11:39a Dam^a; 11:40 CSRPe, Dam^a; 11:44 Dam^e; 12:4 T-S; 13:24b CCR8; 13:25a CCR8; 13:27a CCR8; 13:29a CCR8; 19:26 Dam^f; 19:27 Dam^f; 19:28a Dam^f) and 1 instance of ἐρωτάω (Luke 11:37 CSRPe). The fact that at least 1 of these instances is also accompanied by a personal pronoun in CPA is suggestive that it is an instance of pronoun + Participle (εεε εεε Matt. 22:43a; perhaps also Mark 16:6a), but one cannot rule out the possibility that it is a Perfect with an added pronoun.

analysis of **ἔρχομαι** in this context as also a Participle. Nevertheless, it is best to leave the analysis as ambiguous.

In at least 10 instances, historical presents of verbs that can introduce direct speech are translated with clear CPA Participles (Matt, 21:31a CCR1; 21:41 CCR1; 22:42c CCR1; 26:71 CSRG/O^d; Mark 2:18b CCR1, CSRG^d; 6:37 CSRO^e; 6:38c CSRO^e; 8:19 CSRO^e; 8:20 CSRO^e; John 11:39b CSRP^d, Dam^a). None of these instances is accompanied by a personal pronoun.

Mark 2:18 CCR1

... **καὶ ἔρχονται αὐτῷ**

And they came and *said* to him.

καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ•

In the above example, the Greek λέγουσιν is translated by the CPA mp Participle **ἔρχομαι**. It is interesting that the preceding Greek historical present is translated with a CPA Perfect (i.e., **αὐτῷ**), resulting in the sequence Perfect + Participle. See the discussion on this sequence under the discussion of the Participle's past time function in chapter eight, section 8.2.3.2.

In at least 4 instances historical presents of verbs that can introduce direct speech are translated with clear CPA Perfects (Matt. 27:11b CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRP^f; Mark 5:31b CSRO^e; ; 15:2c CSRO^e; Luke 17:37 CSRS/P^c).⁴⁰

Luke 17:37 CSRS/P^c

καὶ ἀποκριθέντες αὐτῷ

And they answered and *said* to him.

καὶ ἀποκριθέντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ

In the above example, the Greek λέγουσιν, a historical present of λέγω, is translated with **ἀποκριθέντες**, a CPA Perfect.

There is 1 instance of a historical present of the verb λέγω with a CPA textual variant (John 11:34 CSRP^d, Dam^a).

⁴⁰ Matt. 27:11b and Mark 15:2c are parallel texts. Technically, they are not historical presents, but perfective presents, i.e., they denote the present continuing state resulting from a past action.

John 11:34

ܡܠ ܡܘܨܬܗ [CSRP^d]
ܡܠ ܡܘܨܬܗ [Dam^a]

They said to him.
λέγουσιν αὐτῷ

In the above example, there is no Greek textual variant, and the CPA textual variant is probably stylistic in nature. The Greek λέγουσιν, a historical present of λέγω, is translated in CPA as a Perfect in CSRP^d and as a Participle in Dam^a.

3.5. NON-ACTIVE INSTANCES IN GREEK AND CPA

3.5.1. Deponent Verbs

In this section, the instances of non-active Greek Present Indicatives will be discussed. The majority of non-active forms can be considered deponent. Among the instances of regular Greek Present Indicatives with attested CPA translations examined in this chapter, there are at least 74 instances of deponent verbs. Of these, the 42 instances that function as true presents may be listed as follows: ἀποκρίνομαι (Matt. 26:62a; Mark 15:4a); γίνομαι (Mark 2:21c; Luke 11:26d); δέομαι (Luke 9:38a); δέχομαι (Mark 9:37a,b; Luke 9:48a,b); διαλογίζομαι (Mark 2:8a,c; 8:17b); δύναμαι (Matt. 26:42,61; 27:42a; Mark 2:7c,19a,d; 7:15b,18d; 9:3,29; Luke 18:26; John 3:2a,3b; 6:44; 7:34b,36c; 15:4,5c); εἰσέρχομαι (Matt. 23:13b); εἰσπορεύομαι (Mark 7:19a); ἐκπορεύομαι (Mark 7:21; John 15:26); ἐντέλλομαι (John 15:14b); ἐξέρχομαι (Matt. 24:27a); ἔρχομαι (John 7:41b; 12:12,15); πορεύομαι (Luke 11:26a); σπλαγχνίζομαι (Mark 8:2a); φοβέομαι (Matt. 21:26a). Some of these verbs do occur in the active voice outside the New Testament, but are provisionally included here because their non-active forms could easily be understood as active in function by non-Greek speakers.

Most instances of Greek deponent Present Indicative verbs are translated in CPA with participial expressions, either pronoun + Participle or a simple Participle alone. In most cases, they involve an Active Participle. No instance with a Passive Participle is attested in the translation of Greek deponent Present Indicative verbs. In 5 instances Greek deponent verbs are translated in CPA with expressions that include a T-stem Participle. These include 3

instances of *διαλογίζομαι* translated with pronoun + T-stem Participle of **עָשָׂה** (Mark 2:8a CCR1; 2:8c CCR1; 8:17b CSRO^c), 1 instance of *σπλαγγνίζομαι* translated with pronoun + T-stem Participle of **נָשָׂה** (Mark 8:2a CSRP^e), and 1 instance of *γίνομαι* translated with a simple T-stem Participle of **הָבָה** unaccompanied by a pronoun (Mark 2:21c CCR1). The last instance is interesting, because the translation of *γίνομαι* is attested in more than one way. Consider the following examples:

Mark 2:21 CCR1

וְכֹסֶם הָיָה מִן הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה מְרִיבִים

And a tear *is made* worse than it was.

καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται

Luke 11:26 CSRP^c

וְהַאֲחֵרִים מִן הָאֲחֵרִים הָיוּ מְרִיבִים

And the last conditions of the man *are* worse than the first.

καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων

In the above examples, *γίνομαι* is translated in two different ways, with the Itpael Participle of **הָבָה** (Mark 2:21 CCR1) and with the Peal Active Participle of **עָשָׂה** “to be” (Luke 11:26 CSRP^c). At least in some contexts, the difference may be a stylistic choice on the part of the translator.

In passing, the 18 instances of *δύναμαι* expressing present time deserve a brief comment. As can be expected, all instances are translated by some expression containing the verb **יָכַח** “to be able.” In at least 7 instances **יָכַח** is a Peal Active Participle, occurring either as part of the expression pronoun + Active Participle (Matt. 26:61 CSRG/O, BL; John 7:34b CSRO^c; 7:36c CSRO^c; 15:5c T-S^e) or by itself (Mark 2:19a CCR1; 2:19d CCR1; John 15:4 T-S^e). There is also at least 1 instance of the CPA Imperfect **יִכְחֹל** (Mark 2:7 CCR1). However, the majority of instances are ambivalent in form. The Peal Active Participle *ms* can be written either **יָכַח**, which could be confused with the Peal Perfect 3ms **יָכַח** (Müller-Kessler 1991: 178, 204, 207), or **יָכַחֵ**, which can only be distinguished from the Imperfect 3ms **יִכְחֹלֵ** when the diacritical dot is present on the latter (Müller-Kessler 1991: 52, 207). In the case of **יָכַח** (Mark 7:15b CSRO^c; 7:18d CSRO^c; 9:3 CSRO^c; 9:29 CSRP^e; Luke 18:26 CSRS^c; John 3:2a Sin^a; 3:3b Sin^a; 6:44 CSRP^e), the analysis as

a Participle is almost certain, since a Perfect would not fit the context. In the case of **ⲉⲗⲉ** (Matt. 26:42 CCR1 [cf. CSRP^{d?}]; 27:42a CCR1), these instances are provisionally analyzed as Participles, since they do not have the diacritical dot on the aleph (cf. **ⲉⲗⲉ** in Mark 2:7 CCR1).

There are 20 instances of Greek deponent verbs functioning as historical presents. They include the following verbs: **ἀποκρίνομαι** (John 13:26a); **εἰσπορεύομαι** (Mark 1:21); **ἔρχομαι** (Matt. 25:11; 26:40a,45a; Mark 2:3,18a; 5:35a,38a; 8:22; 10:1a,46; 11:27a,b; 14:37a,41a; 16:2; John 11:38); **παραγίνομαι** (Mark 14:43); **συμπορεύομαι** (Mark 10:1b). Most instances are translated in CPA with a Perfect. However, instances translated with the CPA form **ⲉⲗⲉ** could be interpreted either as Perfect or Active Participle (from **ἔρχομαι**, Mark 8:22a CSRO^c; 10:1a CSRO^c; 14:37a CSRPe; 14:41a CSRPe; John 11:38 CSRPe^d, Dam^a; from **παραγίνομαι**, Mark 14:43 CSRPe). Although most morphologically clear instances of this verb are Perfect (e.g., Mark 2:3 CCR1; 5:35 CSRO^c; 11:27a CSRPe; 11:27b CSRPe; 16:2 CSRPe), at least 2 instances show a CPA textual variant between Perfect and Active Participle, i.e., Mark 2:18a (CCR1 and CSRG^d); 10:46 (CSRPe and CSRO^c).

Mark 2:18

ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲓⲛⲟⲥ [CCR1]
ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲗⲉⲛⲟⲥ [CSRG^d]

And they came and said to him
καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ

In the above example, the translation of the Greek historical present is divided between a CPA Perfect (CCR1) and an Active Participle (CSRG^d).

There are 11 instances of Greek deponent verbs functioning as futuristic presents, including: **γίνομαι** (Mark 11:23c); **ἔρχομαι** (Matt. 24:42,44b; Mark 1:7a; Luke 17:20a,b; 19:13; John 14:28b; 16:2); **πορεύομαι** (John 14:28c); **προσεύχομαι** (Mark 11:24b). Most instances are translated by an expression containing an Active Participle, either pronoun + Participle (Mark 1:7a CCR1; Luke 19:13 CSRPe; John 14:28c T-Se) or a simple Participle alone (Matt. 24:42 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 24:44b CCR1, CSRPe^d; Luke 17:20a CSRSe; 17:20b CSRSe; John 14:28b T-Se; 16:2 CCR8). There are no instances of T-stem or Passive Participles. There is a textual problem

In the above example, the Greek non-deponent Present Passive Indicative παραδίδοται, from παραδίδωμι “to hand over, betray,” is translated in CPA by ܩܪܕܝܕܘܬܝܐ , a T-stem Participle.

There are 5 instances where a non-deponent Greek Present Passive Indicative functioning as a true present is translated in CPA with an Active Participle, including 2 instances by itself (Matt. 25:8 CSRP^d, CSRO^e; Luke 7:22e CSRP^g) and 2 instances with a pronoun (Mark 12:24 CSRP^e; 12:26 CSRP^e), as well as 1 instance with a CPA textual variant between the presence and absence of a pronoun (John 15:6c T-S^c, T-S^d; see discussion above).⁴¹

Matt. 25:8 CSRO^e

$\text{ܩܪܕܝܕܘܬܝܐ} [\dots]$

[. . .] our lamps *are going out*.

ὅτι αἱ λαμπάδες ἡμῶν σβέννυνται

In the above example, the Greek σβέννυνται, which is the Present Passive Indicative of σβέννυμι “to extinguish, quench,” is translated in CPA with the Peal Active Participle ܩܪܩܝܐ , from the verb ܩܪܩ “to be extinguished, go out,” which is active in form, but semantically equivalent to the Greek passive form. An example with a pronoun is as follows:

Mark 12:24 CSRP^e

$\text{ܩܪܩܝܐ} [ܩܪܩܝܐ] \text{ܕܗܘܢ}$

Therefore *you err*.

Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε

In the above example, the Greek passive πλανᾶσθε is translated by a pronoun + ܩܪܩܝܐ a Peal Active Participle from the verb ܩܪܩ

⁴¹ Two of these instances are orthographically ambivalent, and could be analyzed either as Active or Passive Participles. Both are translations of ἐγείρονται, Present Passive Indicative of ἐγείρω “to raise up,” passive “to rise up.” In 1 instance the CPA translation occurs with a pronoun, $\text{ܩܪܩܝܐ} \text{ܕܗܘܢ}$ (Mark 12:26 CSRP^e) and in the other instance without it, ܩܪܩܝܐ (Luke 7:22e CSRP^g). Though the CPA form is ambivalent, since the verb ܩܪܩ in the Peal stem, unlike the Greek ἐγείρω, does not mean to “raise up” but “to stand, rise up,” there is no reason not to read these instances as Active Participles, “they rise up.”

“to err, stray.” Though active in form, the latter is semantically equivalent to the Greek passive verb.

There are also 2 instances where a Greek non-deponent Present Passive Indicative functioning as a true present is translated in CPA with a Passive Participle, both of which involve the Greek verb ἀφίημι (Matt. 23:38 CSRO^e; Mark 2:5b CCR1) in performative statements.

Matt. 23:38 CSRO^e

لَا تَرَكَ لَكَ بَيْتًا وَلا مَدِينَةً

Look, your house *is left* to you desolate.

ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος

In the example above, the Greek Present Passive Indicative ἀφίεται is translated in CPA with the Passive Participle لَكَ.

There are 2 instances of historical present Greek verbs that are non-active and not deponent with attested CPA translations. Both are translated with T-stem Perfects (Matt. 2:19 CCR3; 27:38 CCR8).

Matt. 27:38 CCR8

وَمَعَهُ اِثْنَانِ صَارَ صَلِيبًا

Two robbers *were crucified* with him.

Τότε σταυροῦνται σὺν αὐτῷ δύο λησταί

In the above example, the Greek passive historical present is translated by a CPA Itpael Perfect.

There are 8 instances of futuristic present Greek verbs that are non-active and not deponent with attested CPA translations. One of these instances involves a textual variant (Mark 11:24c CSRPe), and is cited above. There are also 4 instances in one passage translated with a T-stem Imperfect (Matt 24:40a CSRPe^d; 24:40b CSRPe^d; 24:41a CSRPe^d; 24:41b CSRPe^d). The passage was cited earlier in this chapter. There are 3 instances translated with a T-stem Participle (Matt. 26:24b CCR1; Mark 2:22b CCR1; 9:31 CSRPe^c).

Matt. 26:24 CCR1

وَيُسَلَبُ ابْنُ الْبَشَرِ

The son of man *will be handed over*.

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται

In the above example, the Greek παραδίδοται “is handed over, betrayed” is passive in function, and is translated in CPA with the Itpael Participle ܘܡܫܘܕܘܬܐ .

There is also 1 instance of a non-deponent Greek Present Passive Indicative functioning as a Present in indirect discourse with an attested CPA translation. It is translated by a T-stem Participle (Matt. 2:4 CCR3).

Matt. 2:4 CCR3

$\text{ܘܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$

He asked when the Messiah *would be born*.

$\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$

In the above example, the Greek γεννᾶται, passive of γεννάω “to give birth,” is translated in CPA with the Itpael Participle ܘܡܫܘܕܘܬܐ .

In addition, the 3 instances of the Greek Periphrastic Present with an attested CPA translation are all passive, since the expression contains a Present Passive Participle. They are translated in CPA with an expression that includes a Passive Participle, either accompanied by a personal pronoun (Matt. 1:23 CCR3; 27:33 CCR8) or by itself (Mark 15:22b CSRO^e). See discussion of these instances above.

3.5.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that there are also a few instances of the Greek Present Active Indicative translated non-actively in CPA. The reason for the non-active translation is usually idiomatic in nature. There are 4 instances of CPA translations with expressions containing a T-stem Participle (Mark 1:27c CCR1; 8:21 CSRO^e; Luke 18:11a CSRS/P^e; John 11:41 CSRP^d, Dam^a).

Mark 8:21 CSRO^e

$\text{ܘܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$

How do *you* not yet *understand*?

$\text{ܘܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$

In the above example, the Greek συνίετε, Present Active Indicative from the verb συνίημι “to understand,” is translated in CPA with a pronoun + the Itpolal Participle of ܘܡܫܘܕܘܬܐ “to understand.” Instead of the reading οὐπω “not yet” in the main text of NA²⁸, the Greek majority text has πῶς οὐ “how not,” and other manu-

scripts have πῶς οὐπω “how not yet.” The CPA translation (**כַּדְוּ לַעַד** **כַּד חַדְוּ** “how until now not”) seems to follow to the latter. However, that does not affect the translation of the verb.

There may also be 1 possible instance of a Greek Present Active Indicative translated in CPA with an ambiguous form that could be analyzed either as an Active or a Passive Participle (Mark 8:17e CSRO^c).

Mark 8:17 CSRO^c

כַּד חַדְוּ [. . .] כַּדְוּ [כַּד] . . .

Do you [not] yet know or *understand*?

οὐπω νοεῖτε οὐδὲ *συνίετε*;

In the above example, the Greek *συνίετε*, Present Active Indicative from the verb *συνίημι* “to understand,” is translated in CPA with **כַּדְוּ [כַּד]**, which can be interpreted as either an Active or a Passive Participle of **כַּד** “to know.” In this context, it is probably best to analyze the form as an Active Participle. It is interesting to compare the translation of the same word in Mark 8:21 CSRO^c, cited above.

3.6. SUMMARY

The majority of regular Greek Present Indicatives are translated in CPA by a participial expression, mostly pronoun + Participle but also often by the simple Participle alone. The fact that the pronoun does not always occur in connection with the Participle suggests that it is optional, and can be left out when the subject is clear from the context. This is supported by instances of textual variants involving the presence or absence of the pronoun.

When the Greek Present Indicative expresses the true present, it is mostly translated by pronoun + Participle or the Participle alone. These participial expressions translate general presents and actual presents as well as performative presents. In a couple of instances the CPA Imperfect translates the general present. The Greek Present Indicative is also occasionally translated idiomatically by a nominal sentence.

Greek historical presents are translated in CPA mostly by a Perfect, but also by participial expressions, including pronoun + Participle or a simple Participle alone. There is 1 instance of **כַּדְוּ** + adjective. There may also be 1 instance of the construction **כַּדְוּ**

+ Participle. The latter also occurs in the translation of Greek Presents that denote past actions still in progress.

As for the Greek futuristic present, most instances are translated in CPA by a participial expression, either pronoun + Participle or a simple Participle alone. In a minority of instances, the CPA translation consists of an Imperfect.

In addition to Present Indicatives functioning as true presents, historical presents, and futuristic presents, there are also special types of Presents that either have special functions or whose lexical meaning requires separate analysis. Among these, the verb εἰμί functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb and verbs that can introduce direct speech occurred frequently enough to deserve a brief summary here. The Present Indicative of εἰμί functioning as a simple verb is almost always translated in CPA with a nominal clause. The attested exceptions involve either an idiomatic translation or a textual variant or the possible interpretation as a futuristic present. Most instances are translated with personal pronouns, both in bipartite nominal clauses and more frequently in tripartite nominal clauses. The distinction between bipartite and tripartite clauses generally reflects the presence or absence of an explicit subject in the Greek original. In a few instances, εἰμί is translated with the CPA copula εἶναι, sometimes accompanied by a pronoun. Instances of εἰμί in negative clauses are usually translated with οὐκ, sometimes accompanied by a pronoun, and in 1 instance with μή and a pronoun. As for instances of Present Indicative verbs that can introduce direct speech, the majority of them are historical presents. Most of these are ambiguous in form, and can be analyzed either as Participle or Perfect. Most of the unambiguous instances are Participles. Regardless of the analysis, they generally occur without a personal pronoun. In contrast to these, true presents of verbs that can introduce direct speech do not occur as often in the 3rd person singular, and therefore are not ambiguous. Most of these are Participles, and are also usually accompanied by a personal pronoun.

Most instances of non-active Greek Present Indicatives can be considered deponent verbs. Most of these are translated in CPA with active expressions. Passive Participles are not attested in the translation of Greek deponent Present Indicative verbs in the corpus. T-stem Participles occur mostly in idiomatic translations. For Greek non-active verbs that are not deponent, CPA T-stem forms

are much more common. Passive Participles are rarely attested, and are limited to the translation of 2 instances of ἀφίημι and the 3 instances of Periphrastic Passive Presents.

4. THE CPA TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK FUTURE INDICATIVE

The Greek Future Indicative in most instances expresses the future tense. There are at least 959 instances of the Greek Future Indicative in the corpus, of which 203 instances are attested with CPA translations where the amount of text preserved is sufficient for analysis. As in the case of other Greek tenses, some of these instances are discussed separately in this chapter. These include 4 instances of the Future of the verbs εἶμι and μέλλω functioning as auxiliaries in verbal phrases expressing the future, along with 24 instances of the Future of εἶμι “to be” functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb. There are also 2 instances of εἶμι that were excluded from this chapter because the word functions as an auxiliary in the Periphrastic Future Perfect expression, which is discussed in chapter seven, section 7.3. On the other hand, since in Greek aspectual distinctions in the future tense are not reflected in the morphology, it is not necessary to separate verbs that introduce direct speech from regular future verbs. Further, there are a number of passages with significant textual variants, which will be mentioned where relevant.

4.1. TRANSLATION OF REGULAR FUTURE INDICATIVES

4.1.1. Translated by CPA Imperfects

As already seen, the CPA Imperfect can be occasionally used in the translation of the Greek Present Indicative. It is much more frequently employed in the translation of the Greek Future Indicative.

In fact, it is the most commonly attested translation of the Greek Future. There are at least 101 instances.⁴²

Mark 1:8 CCR1

كلكم كُنتُم تبتغون ماءً، و هو يبتغى بقدوس
 كلكم كُنتُم تبتغون ماءً
 كلكم كُنتُم تبتغون ماءً

I baptized you with water, but he *will baptize* you with the Holy Spirit.

ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ

In the above example, the Greek Future βαπτίσει is translated by the CPA Imperfect كلكم كُنتُم.

4.1.2. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle

There are also many instances where the Greek Future Indicative is translated in CPA with participial expressions. The most frequent

⁴² Matt. 1:21a CCR3; 1:21c CCR3; 1:23c CCR3; 2:6b CCR3; 2:23 CCR3; 21:24a CCR1; 23:12a CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:12b CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:12c CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:12d CSRO^e; 23:36 CSRO^e; 24:2 CSRO^e; 24:5a CSRO^e; 24:5b CSRO^e; 24:7a CSRO^e; 24:9a CSRO^e; 24:9b CSRO^e; 24:10a CSRO^e; 24:10b CSRO^e; 24:10c CSRO^e; 24:11a CSRP^d; 24:11b CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:13 CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:14a CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:14b CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:29a CSRP^d; 24:29b CSRP^d; 24:29c CSRP^d; 24:29d CSRP^d; 24:30b CSRP^d; 24:30c CSRP^d; 24:31b CSRP^d; 24:46 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 25:1 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 26:31c CCR1; 26:53 BL; 26:64 CSRG/O^d; 27:4 CSRO^d, CSRP^e; 28:7 CCR1; Mark 1:2 CCR1; 1:8 CCR1; 2:20b CCR1; 8:3 CSRP^e; 8:12 CSRO^e, CSRP^e; 9:31b CSRP^e; 11:29a CSRP^e; 12:40 CSRP^e, CSRO^e; 13:6a CSRP^e; 13:22a CSRP^e, Dam; 13:22b CSRP^e, Dam; 13:24a CSRP^e, Dam; 13:24b CSRP^e; 13:25b CSRP^e, Dam; 13:26 CSRP^e, Dam; 13:31a Dam; 16:7 CSRP^e; Luke 1:13a CSRP^e; 1:13b CSRP^e; 1:14b CSRP^e; 1:15b CSRP^e; 1:18 CSRO^e; 1:20b CSRO^e; 1:31c CCR3; 1:32b CCR3; 1:32c CCR3; 1:33a CCR3; 1:35a CCR3; 1:35c CCR3; 1:60 CSRO^e; 1:76a CSRO^e; 1:76b CSRO^e; 9:57 CSRP^e; 11:31a CSRP^e; 11:32a CSRP^e; 11:32b CSRP^e; 17:22c CSRS^e; 17:23 CSRS^e; 17:33b CSRS/P^e; 17:34b CSRS/P^e; 17:35b CSRS/P^e; 17:35c CSRS/P^e; 18:5 CSRS/P^e; 18:8a CSRS/P^e; 18:8b CSRS/P^e; 19:43a Dam^e; 19:43b Dam^e; 19:43c Dam^e; 19:43d Dam^e; 19:44a Dam^e; 19:44b Dam^e; 20:3 Dam^e; 20:13a CSRO^e; 20:13b CSRO^e; John 6:39 CSRP^e; 6:40 CSRP^e; 7:34a CSRO^e; 7:34b CSRO^e; 11:40 Dam^a; 13:21 CCR8; 15:20b CCR8; 16:2 CCR8.

occurring of these is the expression pronoun + Participle, of which there are at least 26 instances where both words are clearly legible in at least one manuscript (Matt. 21:24b CCR1; 21:25 CCR1; 21:37 CCR1; 21:40 CCR1; 24:31a CSRP^d; 24:50 CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 26:31a CCR1; 26:31b CCR1; Mark 4:13 CSRO^e; 11:2 CSRO^e; 11:29b CSRP^e; 11:31 CSRP^e; 13:27a CSRP^e, Dam; 13:27b CSRP^e, Dam; Luke 1:31a CCR3, Dam^b; 1:31b CCR3; 9:41b CSRS^e; 20:5 Dam^e; John 7:35 CSRO^e; 13:26b CCR8; 14:16a T-S^b; 14:16b T-S^b; 15:10 T-S^e; 15:26b CCR8; 16:7b CCR8; 16:8 CCR8) and 3 instances where the pronoun is not legible but can be reasonably restored (Luke 17:21 CSRS^e; John 6:37 CSRP^e; 7:36b CSRO^e).⁴³

Matt. 21:40 CCR1

וְהָיָה כִּי יָבֹאוּ הָאֲדָמָיִם וְהָיָה לַאֲדָמָיִם
 וְהָיָה לַאֲדָמָיִם

Then when the owner of the vineyard comes, what *will be* do to those farmers?

ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, τί ποιήσει τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐκεῖνοις;

In the above example, as in many other instances, it is possible that the CPA expression pronoun + Participle, **וְהָיָה**, does not actually express the future, but that the future notion is based on the context, i.e., **וְהָיָה** “when he comes/will come.” Nevertheless, as will be discussed below, it is undeniable that the CPA Participle can be employed in future contexts (see also Schulthess 1924: 87).

4.1.3. Translated by CPA Participles

In at least 22 instances, the Greek Future Indicative is translated in CPA by a simple Participle without a pronoun (Matt. 1:23a CCR3; 1:23b CCR3; 2:6a CCR3; 18:19 CSRP^e; 24:22 CSRP^d; 26:52 BL; Mark 2:20a CCR1; 8:4 CSRP^e; 9:31a CSRP^e; 9:39a CSRO^e, CSRP^e; 9:39b CSRO^e, CSRP^e; 9:49 CSRO^e; 16:3 CSRP^e; Luke 11:29 CSRP^e; 17:22a CSRS^e; 17:37 CSRS/P^e; 20:6 Dam^e; John 7:38 CSRO^e;

⁴³ Some of these instances also have a pronoun in Greek (e.g., Matt. 21:24b). This list includes 5 instances of a second Participle following a single pronoun (Mark 13:27b; Luke 1:31b; 9:41b; John 13:26b; 16:8).

11:48b Dam^e; 11:48c Dam^e; 15:7 T-S^e; 15:20a CCR8). It could be argued that the CPA translator took the liberty to render the Greek Future in some of these instances as if it were a general present (e.g., Matt. 26:52; Mark 2:20a; 9:39a,b; Luke 17:22a). For example:

Mark 9:39 CSRP^e

ܘܠ ܝܫܘܥ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ
ܘܥܒܕ

For there is no one who *does* a miracle in my name who *can* quickly speak evil against me
 οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὃς ποιήσει δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ δυνήσεται ταχὺ κακολογήσαί με

Although it is possible to analyze the instances in the above example as CPA general presents, in many other instances, the future meaning is not in doubt. In fact, often there seems to be no difference in meaning between instances of the Greek Future translated by the CPA Imperfect and the Participle. That they can be interchangeable in some contexts is demonstrated by instances where both CPA forms are employed to translate more than one instance of the Greek Future in the same verse.

Mark 9:31 CSRP^e

ܘܩܘܠܘ ܠܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܥܒܕ
 And *they will kill* him. And, once he is killed, after three days *he will rise*.

καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποκτανθεὶς μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται

As can be seen in the above example, two Greek Futures in the same verse can be translated in CPA by a Participle (ܩܘܠܘ) and an Imperfect (ܘܥܒܕ) with no apparent difference in meaning (see also Matt. 2:6 CCR3; John 15:20 CCR8; etc.).

4.1.4. Translated by CPA Imperfect of ܐܘܪܘ + Participle

In 1 instance, the Greek Future is translated in CPA as the Imperfect of ܐܘܪܘ + Participle (Luke 17:22b CSRS^e).

Luke 17:22 CSRS^e

ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ [ܘܐܘܪܘ] ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ
ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ ܘܐܘܪܘ

The days will come *when you will desire* to see one of the days of the son of man and will not see it.

Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν καὶ οὐκ ὄψεσθε.

Since the above example is the only attested instance in the corpus of the Greek Future translated into CPA as Imperfect of $\kappa\alpha\omicron\sigma$ + Participle, no further discussion of this construction is warranted.

4.1.5. Translated by CPA Passive Participles

There is at least 1 instance where the Greek Future is translated in CPA by a Passive Participle (Luke 1:37 CCR3).

Luke 1:37 CCR3

: $\kappa\alpha\omicron\sigma$ $\delta\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda$ $\kappa\alpha\omicron\sigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$

For nothing *is too difficult* with God.

ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα

In the above example, the Greek verb ἀδυνατέω “to be unable, to be impossible” is translated in CPA as $\kappa\alpha\omicron\sigma$, which is the Peal Passive Participle fs of $\mu\alpha\tau$ “to be hard.” However, in this context, an adjectival meaning, e.g., “hard, difficult” seems more fitting than a resultative one, e.g., “hardened, made difficult,” and this instance could be considered a nominal sentence.

4.1.6. Instances with Textual Variants

The fact that the Imperfect and the Participle overlap in the expression of the future tense is further demonstrated by at least 4 instances where the CPA translation involves a textual variant where some witnesses have an Imperfect (Matt. 24:12 CSRO^e; 24:47 CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:51a CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:51b CSRP^d, CSRO^e) and others a simple Participle (Matt. 24:12 CSRP^d; 24:51a CCR1) or pronoun + Participle (Matt. 24:47 CCR1; 24:51b CCR1).

It must also be mentioned that at least 15 instances may not be valid for the study of the CPA translation of the Greek Future Indicative because of textual variants in the Greek original. Of these, 4 instances have a CPA Imperfect, including 3 instances where the majority of Greek manuscripts have an Aorist Subjunctive (Mark 6:37 CSRO^e; 13:31b Dam; John 6:35 CSRP^e) and 1 instance where a few manuscripts have an Aorist Subjunctive and others a Present Indicative instead of a Future Indicative (John 16:3 CCR8).

There are 5 instances of the CPA expression pronoun + Participle, including 1 instance where the Greek majority reading has a Present Indicative (Mark 2:22 CCR1), 1 instance where the majority reading has an Aorist Participle (John 13:26a CCR8), 2 instances where some of the witnesses have an Aorist Subjunctive and others a Present Indicative (Matt. 27:42 CCR1; John 15:21 CCR8), and 1 instance where a few manuscripts have a Present Indicative (John 15:26a CCR8).

There are 4 instances of the CPA Participle by itself, including 2 instances where the Greek majority reading has an Aorist Participle (Matt. 18:12 CSRP^e; Luke 10:15a CSRO^e), 1 instance where a few manuscripts have an Aorist Subjunctive (John 16:7a CCR8), and 1 instance where some manuscripts have an Aorist Subjunctive and others a Present Indicative (John 11:48a Dam^e).⁴⁴

In 1 instance, since the majority reading has the Aorist ἐπεοκέψατο instead of the Future ἐπισκεψεται, it is probable that the translation אָבָא (Luke 1:78 CSRO^e) is actually a CPA Perfect translating a Greek Aorist Indicative.

There is also 1 instance of a CPA Imperative, which is probably a translation of the Greek majority reading, which has an Aorist Imperative, though it is worth mentioning that a few manuscripts have an Aorist Subjunctive (John 14:15 T-S^b).

4.2. TRANSLATION OF SPECIAL TYPES OF GREEK FUTURES

This section deals with the CPA translation of special types of Greek Futures. These include instances of the Periphrastic Future, consisting of the Future of εἶμι and a Present Participle, instances of verbal phrases expressing the future with the auxiliary μέλλω, and instances of the Future Indicative of εἶμι functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb.

⁴⁴ Since the verse in Luke 10:15 CSRO^e begins with אָבָא אָבָא, the instance in Luke 10:15a could possibly also be classified as pronoun + Participle.

4.2.1. Periphrastic Future

There are 3 instances of the Greek Periphrastic Future, consisting of the Future Indicative of εἶμι and a Present Participle, with attested CPA translations. As can be expected, all are translated by a form of the verb **𐤀𐤁𐤍** “to be” followed by a Participle. However, in 1 instance the verb “to be” is rendered as the Imperfect of **𐤀𐤁𐤍** (Mark 13:25a CSRP^e, Dam), and in 2 instances by pronoun + Participle of **𐤀𐤁𐤍** (Matt. 24:9c CSRO^e; Luke 1:20a CSRO^e). No difference in meaning could be detected, though the instances are too few for significant comparisons.

Luke 1:20 CSRO^e

~~𐤀𐤁𐤍 𐤀𐤁𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤍~~

And look, *you will be silent.*

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔσῃ σιωπῶν

In the above example, the auxiliary ἔσῃ, the 2 sg. Future Indicative of εἶμι, is translated in CPA with the expression pronoun + Participle, **𐤀𐤁𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤃**. Thus, the translation of the Greek Periphrastic Future lends further evidence to the semantic overlap between the CPA Imperfect and the Participle.

4.2.2. Future Verb Phrases with μέλλω

Similar to the Periphrastic Future, the future tense in Greek can also be expressed by μέλλω + Present Infinitive. There is 1 instance of a Future of μέλλω + Infinitive with an attested CPA translation (Matt. 24:6 CSRO^e). It is translated by a phrase containing the Aramaic auxiliary **𐤁𐤁𐤀**.

Matt. 24:6 CSRO^e

~~𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤍~~

And *you are going to bear* of wars and reports of wars

μελλήσετε δὲ ἀκούειν πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων

In the above example, the Greek Future Indicative of μέλλω and the Present Infinitive of ἀκούω form a verbal phrase expressing future time. The phrase is translated in CPA by the phrase **𐤁𐤁𐤀** (+ pronoun) followed by **𐤀** + Imperfect.

In this context, one should also mention 2 instances of the Present of μέλλω + Infinitive with attested CPA translations (Luke

9:44 CSRO^c, CSRS^c; 19:11 CSRP^c) and 1 instance of the Imperfect of μέλλω + Infinitive (Luke 19:4 CSRP^c).

Luke 9:44 CSRS^c

κεινισ,τις ιωαδαιαδαι κεινισ ιχ σις

For the Son of Man *is going to be delivered* into the hands of men.
 ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς
 χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων

Luke 19:4 CSRP^c

ιωαδαιαδαι κωσ σδαι ια

For *he was going to pass through* that way.
 ὅτι ἐκείνης ἡμελλεν διέρχεσθαι

The first of the above examples contains a verbal phrase that expresses the future, consisting of the Present of μέλλω + Present Infinitive. The last of example contains a verbal phrase that expresses the past time relative future, consisting of the Imperfect of μέλλω + Present Infinitive. The first is translated in CPA with the phrase αδαι followed by ι + Imperfect, whereas the latter with αδαι κωσ followed by ι + Imperfect. Thus κωσ serves as a past time marker when attached to αδαι. Both of these examples can be compared with the previous example, the Future of μέλλω + Present Infinitive, which presumably expresses the future of the future, i.e., “will be going to” vs. “is going to” or “was going to,” but the difference between the employment of the Present or Future of μέλλω does not appear to be semantically significant. In all these examples, μέλλω is consistently translated with a form of the CPA auxiliary αδαι, and the Greek Infinitive is translated by ι + Imperfect.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ There may be an exception in the remaining instance, where the Greek ὅτι παραχρήμα μέλλει ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφαίνεσθαι is translated ιχ δδαι κωσ ια σδαι ιαδαι κωσ ια (Luke 19:11 CSRP^c). However, as Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff’s footnote indicate, κωσ was probably a scribal error for κωδαι.

4.2.3. Future Indicative of εἶμί as a Simple Verb

There are 24 instances of the Greek Future Indicative of εἶμί “to be” functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb with attested CPA translations. These may be further classified as follows.

4.2.3.1. εἶμί with a Noun Phrase Predicate

In possibly 8 instances the Future Indicative of εἶμί functioning as a simple verb is accompanied by a noun phrase predicate whose head is either a noun or a pronoun. Of these, there are 3 instances where εἶμί occurs with two noun phrases, a subject and a predicate. They are translated in CPA with the Imperfect of $\aleph\omega\mu$ linking the subject and the predicate (Matt. 23:11 CCR1, CSRO^e; Mark 10:44 CSRO^e; 13:19 CSRP^e).

Matt. 23:11 CCR1

ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ

As for your greatest one, he *will be* your servant.

ὁ δὲ μείζων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος

In the above example, the Greek Future copula ἔσται is translated in CPA with the Imperfect $\aleph\omega\mu$.

In 2 of the instances, εἶμί occurs with a single noun phrase and functions as the future tense of a verb of existence, “there will be.” These instances are provisionally included here under instances of εἶμί with a noun phrase predicate. However, if the noun phrase in these instances is analyzed as the subject, they should be classified as instances of εἶμί without an expressed predicate. In both instances εἶμί is translated in CPA with the Imperfect of $\aleph\omega\mu$ (Matt. 24:21 CSRP^d; Luke 1:33b CCR3).

Luke 1:33 CCR3

ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ

And for his kingdom *there will be* no end.

καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος

In the above example, the Greek Future ἔσται is translated in CPA with the Imperfect $\aleph\omega\mu$. The CPA translation in the above example could also alternatively be analyzed as a possessive construction, i.e., “his kingdom will have no end.” However, in this context it is best understood not as a possessive, but as reflecting the translator’s need to make a choice between preserving the Greek word

ἔσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου

In the above example, the Future Indicative copula ἔσται accompanied by an adjectival predicate is translated in CPA as in the majority of instances, with the Imperfect ἴστω “he will be.”

There is also 1 instance where it is translated with a personal pronoun in a nominal clause (Luke 11:36 CSRP^e).

Luke 11:36 CSRP^c

It is entirely illuminated.
ἔσται φωτεινὸν ὅλον

ἴστω ἡσὺ ὅλον

In the above example, the Future Indicative copula ἔσται is translated in CPA not with a form of ἴστω, but with a personal pronoun ἡσὺ, which, in turn, could be analyzed as the clause subject.

4.2.3.3. εἰμί with an Adverbial Predicate

In 2 instances the Future Indicative of εἰμί is accompanied by a predicate adverb. As in previous chapters, the list of predicate adverbs is provisionally limited to those adverbs that express location, time, or manner as sentence predicates, and excludes adverbial conjunctions and adverbial complements that are not part of the clause nucleus. In 1 instance εἰμί is translated in CPA with the Participle of ἴστω (Luke 1:34 CCR3).

Luke 1:34 CCR3

How *will* this *happen* to me?
Πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο

ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ

In the above example, since the Greek demonstrative τοῦτο is the subject, the adverbial interrogative πῶς “how?” can be analyzed as the sentence predicate. The verb ἔσται is translated in CPA with the Participle ἴστω. The CPA translator also added ἡσὺ “to me,” which is not in the Greek original. The other instance of εἰμί accompanied by an adverbial predicate has a CPA textual variant (Matt. 24:51c CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e).

Matt. 24:51

:ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ [CCR1]
ἴστω ἡσὺ [ἡσὺ] ἴστω ἡσὺ [ἡσὺ] ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ [CSRP^d]
:ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ ἴστω ἡσὺ [CSRO^e]

ing, and both are translated in CPA with the Imperfect of $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$ (Matt. 24:27 CSRP^d; 24:39 CSRP^d).

Matt. 24:27 CSRP^d

: $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$ η $\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota\omicron\sigma$ $\tau\omicron\delta\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$ η $\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota\omicron\sigma$

So *will be* the coming of the Son of Man.

οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

In the above example the Greek Future Indicative ἔσται is translated by the CPA Imperfect $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$.

4.2.3.6. εἰμί in Possessive Expressions

In 1 instance the expression εἰμί + dative expresses possession. It is translated in CPA by the equivalent possessive expression (Luke 1:14a CSRP^c).

Luke 1:14a CSRP^c

: $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$ η $\chi\omicron\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$

And *you will have* joy and gladness.

καὶ ἔσται χαρὰ σοι καὶ ἀγαλλίασις

In the above example, the Greek Future ἔσται + dative is translated with the equivalent CPA possessive expression, $-\Delta$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$, consisting of the Imperfect of $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron$ + Δ of possession.

4.3. NON-ACTIVE INSTANCES IN GREEK AND CPA

4.3.1. Deponent Verbs

In this section, the instances of non-active Greek Future Indicatives will be discussed. Among the instances of regular Greek Future Indicatives with attested CPA translations examined in this chapter, there are at least 30 instances of deponent verbs.⁴⁶ They include the following verbs: ἀνέχομαι (Luke 9:41b); γίνομαι (Matt. 18:19; John 15:7); γινώσκω/γνώσομαι (Mark 4:13; Luke 1:18); δύναμαι (Mark 8:4; 9:39b); ἐξέρχομαι (Matt. 2:6a);

⁴⁶ In addition, 2 other possible instances of deponent Future Indicatives were excluded from this discussion due to textual issues in the Greek Vorlage: πλοκέπτομαι (Luke 1:78) and παρέρχομαι (Mark 13:31b).

ἐπέρχομαι (Luke 1:35a); ἔρχομαι (Matt. 24:5a; Mark 2:20a; 13:6a; Luke 17:22a; John 11:48b; 15:7); λαμβάνω/λήμψομαι (Mark 12:40); ὁράω/ὄψομαι (Matt. 24:30c; 26:64; 27:4; 28:7; Mark 13:26; 16:7; Luke 17:22c; John 11:40); παρέρχομαι (Mark 13:31a); πίπτω/πεσοῦμαι (Matt. 24:29c); προπορεύομαι (Luke 1:76b); συλλαμβάνω/συλλήμψομαι (Luke 1:31a); τίκτω/τέξομαι (Matt. 1:21a,23b; Luke 1:31b); χαίρω/χαρήσομαι (Luke 1:14b).⁴⁷

Most of the deponent Greek Future Indicatives are translated with CPA active forms. In 17 instances, a CPA active stem Imperfect is employed (Matt. 1:21a CCR3; 24:5a CSRO^e; 24:30c CSRPe^d; 26:64 CSRG/O^d; 27:4 CSRO^d, CSRPe^f; 28:7 CCR1; Mark 12:40 CSRPe^e, CSRO^e; 13:6a CSRPe^e; 13:26 CSRPe^e, Dam; 13:31a Dam; 16:7 CSRPe^e; Luke 1:14b CSRPe^e; 1:18 CSRO^e; 1:35a CCR3; 1:76b CSRO^e; 17:22c CSRS^e; John 11:40 Dam^a). A few instances are translated with a CPA Active Participle, either by itself (Matt. 1:23b CCR3; 2:6a CCR3; Mark 2:20a CCR1; 8:4 CSRPe^e; 9:39b CSRO^e, CSRPe^e; Luke 17:22a CSRS^e; John 11:48b Dam^e) or with a pronoun (Mark 4:13 CSRO^e; Luke 1:31a CCR3, Dam^b; 1:31b CCR3; 9:41b CSRS^e). There are no instances of Passive Participles. There are only 2 instances of a T-stem Participle, both of which are translations of the Greek verb γίνομαι (Matt. 18:19 CSRPe^e; John 15:7 T-S^e).

John 15:7 T-S^e

[. . .] אֲשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ אֶלְכֶם רִצְוֹתַי וְעָשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם

Ask what you wish and *it will be done* [. . .]

ὃ ἐὰν θέλητε αἰτήσασθε, καὶ γενήσεται ὑμῖν

In the above example, the Future Indicative γενήσεται is translated idiomatically in CPA by the Itpael Participle אֲשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ “it is/will

⁴⁷ The verb ὁράω “to see” does not occur as a Future Active Indicative. Instead, the deponent Future Middle Indicative ὄψομαι, formed from a different root, functions as the Future of ὁράω. Similarly, the Future of γινώσκω “to know” is the Middle γνώσομαι, the Future of λαμβάνω “to take” is the Middle λήμψομαι, the Future of πίπτω “to fall” is the Middle πεσοῦμαι, the Future of συλλαμβάνω “to conceive” is the Middle συλλήμψομαι, the Future of τίκτω “to give birth” is the Middle τέξομαι, and the Future of χαίρω “to rejoice” is the Middle/Passive χαρήσομαι.

be done.” For what it is worth, it is also interesting that $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\zeta$ in the above passage translates the Aorist Imperative $\alpha\iota\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ “ask,” as in the manuscripts followed by the main text of NA²⁸, rather than the Greek majority reading, which has a Future Indicative $\alpha\iota\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ “you will ask.”

4.3.2. Non-Deponent Non-Active Verbs

Aside from Greek deponent verbs, there are at least 39 other instances of non-active Future Indicatives with attested CPA translations.⁴⁸ These instances are translated in CPA either with T-stem forms or idiomatically with active forms. There are 23 instances translated with T-stem Imperfects (Matt. 2:23 CCR3; 23:12b CCR1, CSRO^e; 23:12d CSRO^e; 24:2 CSRO^e; 24:10a CSRO^e; 24:14a CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:29d CSRP^d; 24:30b CSRP^d; 25:1 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 26:31a CCR1; 26:31c CCR1; Mark 8:12 CSRO^e, CSRP^e; 13:25b CSRP^e, Dam; Luke 1:15b CSRP^e; 1:20b CSRO^e; 1:32b CCR3; 1:35c CCR3; 1:60 CSRO^e; 1:76a CSRO^e; 17:34b CSRS/P^e; 17:35b CSRS/P^e; 17:35c CSRS/P^e; 20:13b CSRO^e).

Matt. 2:23 CCR3

$\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\eta\sigma\iota$, $\iota\sigma\iota$

He will be called a Nazarene.

$\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται

In the above example, the Greek Future Passive Indicative $\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is translated in CPA with the Itpael Imperfect $\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\eta\sigma\iota$ “he will be called.” Thus, the CPA T-stem is employed to express a passive notion.

Instances of CPA active translations of non-active non-deponent Greek Future Indicative verbs are generally idiomatic in nature. They include at least 10 instances of CPA active stem Imperfects (Matt. 24:7a CSRO^e; 24:11a CSRP^d; 24:13 CSRP^d; 24:29a CSRP^d; 24:29c CSRP^d; Mark 8:3 CSRP^e; 9:31b CSRP^e; 13:22a CSRP^e, Dam; 13:24a CSRP^e, Dam; Luke 11:31a CSRP^e; 11:32a CSRP^e) and 5 instances with an Active Participle, either by itself

⁴⁸ In addition, 1 instance of the Future Passive Indicative of $\psi\psi\acute{\omicron}\omega$ (Luke 10:15a) was excluded from this discussion due to textual variants in the Greek text.

(Matt. 24:22 CSRP^d; Mark 9:49 CSRO^c; Luke 11:29 CSRP^c; 17:37 CSRS/P^e) or with a pronoun (Matt. 21:37 CCR1). There is also 1 instance where the CPA witnesses disagree between an Active Participle and an Imperfect (Matt. 24:12 CSRP^d, CSRO^e).

Luke 11:31 CSRP^c

ܩܘܘܢܐ [ܩܘܢܐ] ܕܩܝܩܐ [ܩܘܢܐ] ܕܩܝܩܐ

The queen of the south *will rise up*
 βασίλισσα νότου ἐγερθήσεται

In the above example, the Greek ἐγερθήσεται, Future Passive Indicative of ἐγείρω “to raise up,” is translated idiomatically in CPA with the Peal Imperfect ܩܘܘܢܐ, from ܩܘܢܐ “to stand, rise up.”

There is also 1 instance of a Greek Periphrastic Passive Future with an attested CPA translation, which is translated by pronoun + Participle of ܩܘܢܐ + T-stem Participle (Matt. 24:9c CSRO^e).

Matt. 24:9 CSRO^e

ܩܘܢܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ

And *you will be hated* by all nations because of my name.
 καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου

In the above example, the Greek Periphrastic Passive Future ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι includes a Present Passive Participle. The Greek verb “to be” in this phrase is translated in CPA with pronoun + Participle of ܩܘܢܐ, as seen in previous examples. The Greek Present Passive Participle μισούμενοι is translated with the Itpael Participle ܩܘܢܐ. Thus, here is another example of the CPA T-stem employed to render a passive notion.

There are no attested instances of Greek non-deponent non-active Future Indicative verbs translated with CPA T-stem Participles or Passive Participles.

4.3.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that there is 1 instance of the Greek Future Active Indicative with a CPA textual variant between an Active and a T-stem Imperfect (Mark 13:22b CSRP^e, Dam).

Mark 13:22

ܩܘܢܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ ܕܩܝܩܐ [CSRP^e]

مِثْلَ [دَام] ، دَامَ [دَام] ، دَامَ [دَام]

who will do signs and wonders [CSRPe] / and signs and wonders

will be done [Dam]

καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα

Although the Greek δώσουσιν, from δίδωμι “to give,” in the above example has a textual variant (a few manuscripts have ποιήσουσιν, from ποιέω “to do”), both forms are Future Active Indicative. The CPA witnesses disagree between the Active (Peal) and the T-stem (Itpael) Imperfect of حَبَد “to do, make.” The differences are not due to the Greek textual variants, and can be, therefore, ascribed to stylistic variation.

4.4. SUMMARY

In summary, the Greek Future Indicative is translated mostly by a CPA Imperfect. There are also many instances where a participial expression is employed, mostly pronoun + Participle, but also the simple Participle alone, and in 1 instance a Passive Participle. Although the future function of participial expressions may be contextually based rather than inherent in the Participle itself, CPA textual variants support the fact that the Imperfect and the Participle overlap in the expression of future time. This overlap is also reflected in the translation of Greek Periphrastic Futures, where the auxiliary εἰμί is translated by the CPA auxiliary دَام either as Imperfect or as pronoun + Participle. As for the Future Indicative of εἰμί functioning as a simple non-auxiliary verb, it is translated in CPA mostly with the Imperfect of دَام, but in at least 2 instances with a simple Participle, and once with the expression pronoun + Participle. There is also an instance of a textual variant between the Imperfect and the Participle of دَام. The translation of εἰμί seems unaffected by the various syntactic constructions with which it occurs. Thus, the translation of the Future of εἰμί as a simple verb seems to be similar to the translation of other Greek Futures.

Unlike the situation with the Greek Imperfect and the Present Indicative, the majority of non-active Greek Future Indicative verbs are non-deponent. Deponent instances are mostly translated actively in CPA, except for infrequent idiomatic instances of T-stem forms. Non-deponent non-active instances are more often translated with T-stem forms. Some non-deponent non-active instances are idiomatically translated in CPA with active forms. There

are no attested instances of non-active Greek Future Indicative verbs translated with CPA Passive Participles.

5. THE CPA TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK AORIST INDICATIVE

The Greek Aorist Indicative in most instances expresses a simple past tense. There are at least 3407 instances of the Greek Aorist Indicative in the corpus, of which at least 685 instances are attested with CPA translations where the amount of text preserved is sufficient for analysis. Although the Greek Aorist Indicative can express notions other than a simple past, which traditional Greek grammars call gnomic, dramatic, futuristic, etc., these do not occur in sufficient numbers to justify treating them as separate sections of this chapter. Instead, they will be discussed on a case by case basis where the CPA translation significantly departs from the translation of the Aorist expressing the simple past. Nevertheless, some verbs do require separate analysis because of their lexical meaning. These include 1 instance of ἔχω “to have” expressing possession and 149 instances of the verbs λέγω, λαλέω, φημί, and ἐρωτάω/ἐπερωτάω. Textual variants will also be discussed where relevant.

5.1. TRANSLATION OF REGULAR GREEK AORIST INDICATIVES

5.1.1. Translated by CPA Perfects

Of the remaining 535 instances of Greek Aorist Indicatives, the majority are translated by CPA Perfects and do not need to be discussed here. These include at least 372 instances where the orthography is clear.⁴⁹ In addition, there are also 136 instances of ambiguo-

⁴⁹ Matt. 1:18 CCR3; 1:19 CCR3; 1:20 CCR3; 1:25a CCR3; 2:1 CCR3; 2:2a CCR3; 2:2b CCR3; 2:3 CCR3; 2:7 CCR3; 14:6a Sin^a; 14:7 Sin^a; 14:9

Sin^a; 14:10 Sin^a; 14:11a Sin^a; 14:11b Sin^a; 14:11c Sin^a; 14:12a Sin^a; 14:12b Sin^a; 14:12c Sin^a; 18:15 CSRPe; 21:25 CCR1; 21:32b CCR1; 21:32c CCR1; 21:32d CCR1; 21:33b CCR1; 21:35a CCR1; 21:36b CCR1; 21:39a CCR1; 21:39b CCR1; 22:46 CCR1; 23:2 CCR1; 23:23 CCR1; 23:35 CSRO^e; 23:37a CSRO^e; 23:37b CSRO^e; 24:3 CSRO^e; 24:22b CSRPe^d; 25:3 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 25:4 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 25:5 CSRPe^d, CSRO^e; 25:7a CCR1, CSRPe^d, CSRO^e; 25:7b CCR1, CSRPe^d, CSRO^e; 25:9 CCR1, CSRPe^d, CSRO^e; 25:10b CCR1, CSRPe^d, CSRO^e; 25:10c CCR1, CSRPe^d, CSRO^e; 26:24 CCR1; 26:26a CCR1; 26:37 CSRPe^d; 26:40 CSRPe^d; 26:42 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 26:43 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 26:44 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 26:49b CSRPe^d, BL; 26:50b CSRPe^d, BL; 26:50c BL; 26:51b BL; 26:55b BL; 26:55c BL; 26:57a BL; 26:57b BL; 26:65b CSRGe/O^d; 26:65c CSRGe/O^d; 26:67a CSRGe/O^d; 26:67b CSRGe/O^d; 26:67c CSRGe/O^d; 26:69 CSRGe/O^d; 26:71 CSRGe/O^d; 26:74a CSRO^d; 26:75a CSRO^d; 27:1 CSRO^d; 27:2a CSRO^d; 27:2b CSRO^d; 27:3a CSRO^d; 27:3b CSRO^d, CSRPe^f; 27:4a CSRO^d, CSRPe^f; 27:5b CSRO^d, CSRPe^f; 27:7 CSRO^d, CSRPe^f; 27:8 CSRO^d, CSRO^e, CSRPe^f; 27:9a CSRO^d, CSRO^e, CSRPe^f; 27:9b CCR1, CSRO^d, CSRO^e, CSRPe^f; 27:9c CCR1, CSRO^d, CSRO^e, CSRPe^f; 27:10a CCR1, CSRO^d, CSRPe^f; 27:10b CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRPe^f; 27:11a CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRPe^f; 27:12 CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRPe^f; 27:14 CCR1, CSRO^e; 27:18 CCR1, CSRO^e; 27:19a CSRO^e; 27:19b CSRO^e; 27:20 CSRO^e; 27:27 CCR8; 27:28 CCR8; 27:29a CCR8; 27:30 CCR8; 27:31a CCR8; 27:31b CCR8; 27:31c CCR8; 27:31d CCR8; 27:32a CCR8; 27:32b CCR8; 27:34a CCR8; 27:35 CCR8; 27:37 CCR8; 27:42 CCR1; 27:46a CCR1; 27:46b CCR1; 27:66 CCR1; 28:1 CCR1; 28:2a CCR1; 28:4b CCR1; 28:6a CCR1; 28:7a CCR1; 28:9a CCR1; 28:9b CCR1; 28:9c CCR1; Mark 1:8 CCR1; 1:9c CCR1; 1:20b CCR1; 1:23 CCR1; 1:24 CCR1; 1:26 CCR1; 1:27 CCR1; 2:4 CCR1; 2:23b CCR1, CSRGe^d; 5:27 CSRO^e; 5:33a CSRO^e; 5:33b CSRO^e; 5:35 CSRO^e; 6:39 CSRO^e; 6:41a CSRO^e; 6:41c CSRO^e; 6:42a CSRO^e; 6:42b CSRO^e; 6:43 CSRO^e; 6:49a CSRO^e; 6:49b CSRO^e; 7:17 CSRO^e; 8:4 CSRPe; 8:6b CSRPe; 8:8a CSRO^e, CSRPe; 8:8b CSRO^e, CSRPe; 8:8c CSRO^e, CSRPe; 8:11a CSRPe; 8:11b CSRPe; 8:14 CSRO^e, CSRPe; 8:19b CSRO^e; 8:20 CSRO^e; 9:2 CSRO^e; 9:3 CSRO^e; 9:4 CSRO^e; 9:6 CSRO^e; 9:8 CSRO^e; 9:9a CSRO^e; 9:9b CSRO^e; 9:10 CSRO^e; 9:13 CSRO^e; 9:14 CSRO^e; 9:27a CSRPe; 9:27b CSRPe; 9:28 CSRPe; 9:33 CSRPe; 9:35 CSRPe; 9:36a CSRPe; 9:38b CSRPe; 10:47 CSRO^e; 11:4a CSRPe; 11:4b CSRPe; 11:19 CSRPe; 11:20 CSRPe; 11:21 CSRPe; 12:16a CSRPe; 12:22a CSRPe; 12:22b CSRPe; 12:26a CSRPe; 12:42 CSRPe, CSRO^e; 12:43b CSRPe, CSRO^e; 12:44a CSRPe, CSRO^e; 12:44b CSRPe, CSRO^e; 13:20a CSRPe, Dam; 14:33 CSRPe; 14:37 CSRPe; 14:39 CSRPe; 14:40 CSRPe; 14:46a CSRPe; 14:50 CSRPe; 15:1a CSRO^e; 15:1b CSRO^e; 15:5 CSRO^e; 15:8 CSRO^e; 15:9 CSRO^e; 15:11 CSRO^e CSRO^e; 15:15b CSRO^e; 15:16 CCR8, CSRO^e; 15:18 CCR8, CSRO^e; 15:20a CSRO^e;

ous forms that could be analyzed either as Peal Perfect 3ms or Peal Active Participle ms.⁵⁰ However, due to the relative paucity of in-

15:20b CSRO^c; 15:20c CSRO^c; 15:25 CSRO^c; 15:43a CSRPe; 15:46a CSRPe; 15:46b CSRPe; 15:46c CSRPe; 16:1 CSRPe; 16:5a CSRPe; 16:5b CSRPe; 16:6a CSRPe; 16:b CSRPe; 16:8a CSRPe; Luke 1:1 CSRPe; 1:2 CSRPe; 1:4 CSRPe; 1:5 CSRPe; 1:8 CSRPe; 1:11 CSRPe; 1:12b CSRPe; 1:20 CSRO^c; 1:22 CSRO^c, Dam^b; 1:24 CSRO^c; 1:26 CCR3, CSRO^c, Dam^b; 1:29 CCR3, CSRO^c; 1:30b CCR3, CSRO^c; 1:38b CCR3; 1:56b CSRO^c; 1:57a CSRO^c; 1:57b CSRO^c; 1:58a CSRO^c; 1:58b CSRO^c; 1:59b CSRO^c; 1:64 CSRO^c; 1:65 CSRO^c; 1:66 CSRO^c; 1:67a CSRO^c; 1:67b CSRO^c; 1:68a CSRO^c; 1:69 CSRO^c; 2:1b CSRO^c; 2:6b CSRO^c; 2:7b CSRO^c; 2:7c CSRO^c; 2:21a Pa; 2:21b Pa; 7:9c CSRPe; 7:10 CSRPe; 7:13a CSRPe; 7:14b CSRPe; 7:15b CSRPe; 7:24a CSRPe; 7:24b CSRPe; 9:7b CSRO^c; 9:8a CSRO^c; 9:8b CSRO^c; 9:9b CSRO^c; 9:10a CSRO^c; 9:10b CSRO^c; 9:11 CSRO^c; 9:12a CSRO^c; 9:15a CSRO^c; 9:15b CSRO^c; 9:16a CSRO^c; 9:17a CSRO^c; 9:17b CSRO^c; 9:17c CSRO^c; 9:32 CSRO^c; 9:34a CSRO^c; 9:36a CSRO^c; 9:36b CSRO^c; 9:36c CSRO^c; 9:37b CSRO^c; 9:38 CSRS^c; 9:40a CSRO^c, CSRS^c; 9:40b CSRO^c, CSRS^c; 9:42d CSRO^c, CSRS^c; 9:46 CSRS^c; 9:47 CSRPe, CSRS^c; 9:49b CSRPe, CSRS^c; 9:51b CSRPe; 9:52b CSRPe; 9:53 CSRPe; 9:56 CSRPe; 10:13a CSRO^c; 10:13b CSRO^c; 10:17 CSRO^c; 10:21c CSRO^c; 10:21d CSRO^c; 10:24a CSRO^c; 11:27c CSRPe; 11:32 CSRPe; 17:17b CSRS^c; 17:20a CSRS^c; 17:26 CSRS^c; 17:27a CSRS^c; 17:27c CSRS^c; 18:40a CSRS^c; 18:43b CSRPe; 19:6b CSRPe; 19:7 CSRPe; 19:8b CSRPe; 19:9b CSRPe; 19:14 CSRPe; 19:45 Dam^c; 19:46 Dam^c; 20:1b CSRO^c, Dam^c; 20:5b CSRO^c, Dam^c; 20:7 CSRO^c; 20:9b CSRO^c; 20:9c CSRO^c; 20:11a CSRO^c; 20:11b CSRO^c; 20:12a CSRO^c; 20:12b CSRO^c; John 2:23 Sin^a; 3:3a Sin^a; 6:43a CSRPe; 7:37 CSRO^c; 7:39b CSRO^c; 7:43 CSRO^c; 7:45a CSRO^c; 7:47 CSRO^c; 11:28a CSRPe^d; 11:28b CSRPe^d; 11:30 CSRPe^d; 11:31a CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:31b CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:31c CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:32a CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:32b CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:33b CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:41a CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:41d Dam^a; 11:45b Pa; 11:46a Pa; 11:46c Pa; 11:51b Dam^c; 11:53 Dame^c; 12:1b T-S^a; 12:2 T-S^a; 12:5a T-S^a; 12:5b T-S^a; 12:9b T-S^a; 12:9c T-S^a; 12:10 T-S^a; 12:13a T-S^a; 12:13b T-S^a; 12:16a T-S^a; 12:16b T-S^a; 12:16c T-S^a; 13:15b CCR8; 13:18a CCR8; 13:21a CCR8; 13:21b CCR8; 13:27 CCR8; 14:28a T-S^c; 14:28c T-S^c; 14:31 T-S^c; 15:9a T-S^c; 15:9b T-S^c; 15:12 T-S^c; 15:15a T-S^c; 15:16a T-S^c; 15:16b T-S^c; 15:16c T-S^c; 15:19 T-S^d, CCR8; 15:20b CCR8; 15:20c CCR8; 15:22a CCR8; 15:24a CCR8; 15:25 CCR8; 16:3 CCR8; 19:27 Dam^f; 19:29 Dam^f; 19:32b Dam^f; 19:33a Dam^f.

⁵⁰ The ambiguous instances are as follows: Matt. 1:24a CCR3; 1:24c CCR3; 1:25b CCR3; 2:21a CCR3; 2:21b CCR3; 2:22a CCR3; 2:23 CCR3; 14:5 Sin^a; 14:6b Sin^a; 21:23b CCR1; 21:29b CCR1; 21:30c CCR1, Jer; 21:31

stances where the Greek Aorist Indicative is translated by an unambiguous Participle, it is likely that most if not all of these are Perfects.⁵¹

Matt. 1:20 CCR3

ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ

And look, an angel of the Lord *appeared* to him in a vision.

CCR1; 21:32a CCR1; 21:33c CCR1; 21:33d CCR1, Jer; 21:33e CCR1; 21:33f CCR1, Jer; 21:34a CCR1, Jer; 21:34b CCR1; 21:36a CCR1; 21:37 CCR1; 25:10a CCR1, CSRPe^d, CSROe; 25:14a CSRPe^d; 26:27 CCR1; 26:39 CSRPe^d; 26:47 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 26:48 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 26:51a BL; 26:65a CSRG/O^d; 26:70 CSRG/O^d; 26:74b CSRO^d; 26:75b CSRO^d; 27:5a CSRO^d, CSRPe^f; 27:34b CCR8; 27:45 CCR1; 28:2b CCR1; Mark 1:4 CCR1; 1:9a CCR1; 1:9b CCR1; 1:28 CCR1; 2:23a CCR1; 4:7d CSROe; 4:8 CSROe; 5:30 CSROe; 5:31 CSROe; 5:37 CSROe; 6:41b CSROe; 6:46 CSROe; 8:6a CSRPe; 8:9 CSROe, CSRPe; 8:10 CSRPe; 8:13 CSROe, CSRPe; 9:7a CSROe; 9:7b CSROe; 10:45 CSROe; 10:50 CSRPe; 10:52b CSRPe, CSROe; 11:2 CSROe; 11:28 CSRPe; 12:19 CSRPe; 12:20b CSRPe; 13:19 CSRPe; 13:20c CSRPe, Dam; 13:20d; 14:45 CSRPe; 14:47a CSRPe; 14:47b CSRPe; 15:14a CSROe; 15:15a CSROe; 15:43b CSRPe; 15:44a CSRPe; 15:44c CSRPe; 15:45 CSRPe; Luke 1:3 CSRPe; 1:13b CSRPe; 1:23a CSROe; 1:23c CSROe; 1:25 CSROe; 1:51b CSROe; 1:53a CSROe; 1:59a CSROe; 1:63a CSROe; 1:63b CSROe; 1:73 CSROe; 2:1a CSROe; 2:4 CSROe; 2:6a CSROe; 3:3 Jer; 7:11a CSRPe; 7:14a CSRPe; 7:15a CSRPe; 7:15c CSRPe; 7:19 CSRPe; 7:20b CSRPe; 9:7a CSROe; 9:10c CSROe; 9:16b CSROe; 9:18a CSROe; 9:37a CSROe; 9:42a CSRS^e; 9:42b CSROe, CSRS^e; 9:42c CSRS^e; 9:42e CSROe, CSRS^e; 9:51a CSRPe; 9:55 CSRPe; 11:27a CSRPe; 11:30 CSRPe; 17:16 CSRS^e; 17:27b CSRS^e; 17:28 CSRS^e; 18:29b CSRS^e; 19:4 CSRPe; 19:5a CSRPe; 19:6a CSRPe; 19:10 CSRPe; 19:12b CSRPe; 19:13a CSRPe; 19:15a CSRPe; 20:1a CSROe; John 6:31b CSRPe; 7:44 CSROe; 11:33a CSRPe^d; 11:35 CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:41b CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:54a T-S^a; 12:1a T-S^a; 12:14 T-S^a; 13:18b CCR8; 13:28a CCR8; 15:6b T-S^c, T-S^d; 15:24b CCR8; 19:30a Dam^f; 19:30c Dam^f; 19:34a Dam^f; 19:34b Dam^f.

⁵¹ Many of these instances should be analyzed as Perfects due to the contextual evidence. For example, there are 13 instances where ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ translates ἐγένετο in phrases that function like the Hebrew discourse marker ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ (see the discussion of the translation of γίνομαι under deponent verbs below). Also, many of these ambiguous CPA forms occur in a context where other verbs are clearly Perfects. One clear exception occurs in John 15:6b T-S^c, T-S^d, where the context favors a Participle (see the discussion below on John 15:6a T-S^c, T-S^d).

conditional clause in the context. See also the discussion of conditional clauses in chapter eight, section 8.2.6.1.

5.1.3. Translated by CPA Passive Participles

Related to the instances in conditional clauses mentioned above there is also 1 instance where the Greek Aorist Indicative in a conditional clause is translated in CPA with a Passive Participle accompanied by **רֵאם דִּיר** (Matt. 24:43a CCR1, CSR^{Pd}).

Matt. 24:43 CSR^{Pd}

רֵאם רֵאִיךְ רֵאֵמֵס רֵאֵמֵס מִיָּד אֵרֵא רֵאם אֵרֵאֵ
 יֵאֵמֵס מֵאֵס אֵס רֵאם רֵאֵ יֵאֵ רֵאם דִּיר רֵאֵ

If the owner of the house had known at what hour the thief would come, *he would have been awake* and would not have allowed his house be broken into.

εἰ ᾗδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποῖα φυλακῆ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διορυχθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ

In the above example, the Greek Aorist ἐγρηγόρησεν in a conditional apodosis is translated by **יֵאֵ רֵאם דִּיר**. The word **יֵאֵ** is normally understood as an adjective, but is a Passive Participle in form. It is possible to analyze the words **יֵאֵ רֵאם דִּיר** as the Passive Participle **יֵאֵ** with a nominal/adjectival function accompanied by the copula **דִּיר** with **רֵאם** as the past time marker. However, no unequivocal instances of **רֵאם** as a temporal marker for **דִּיר** are attested in this study, and **דִּיר** may alternatively have a function related to the counterfactual apodosis (see the discussion in chapter eight, section 8.2.6.1). This clause is followed by the expression **רֵאם** + Participle in the following clause (**אֵס רֵאם** for the Greek Aorist εἴασεν). Additionally, it is interesting to note the CPA expression **רֵאם** + Participle (**אֵרֵא רֵאם**) in the conditional protasis above as the translation of ᾗδει, which is a Pluperfect Indicative that serves as the past tense of οἶδα “to know,” a Perfect Indicative with present meaning.

5.1.4. Translated by CPA Pronoun + Participle

There is at least 1 instance of the Greek Aorist Indicative translated in CPA by pronoun + Participle (Mark 1:29 CCR1).

Mark 1:29 CCR1

ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ
[...]

And they went out immediately from the synagogue and *they were coming* into the house of Simon and of Andrew with James [and John].

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου μετὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου

In the above example, the CPA translation seems to reverse the syntax of the Greek, perhaps for stylistic or idiomatic reasons. The Greek ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον “having gone out they came in” consists of the sequence Aorist Participle + Aorist Indicative, whereas the CPA ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ . . . ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ “they went out/had gone out . . . and were coming in” consists of the sequence Perfect + participial expression.

5.1.5. Translated by CPA Participles

In at least 4 instances, the Greek Aorist Indicative is translated by a simple CPA Participle without either the verb ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ or a pronoun (Matt. 24:22a CSRP^d; 25:1 CSRO^e; 28:8 CCR1; Luke 18:28b CSRS^e). Three of the instances could be explained as stylistic or idiomatic, due to the context.

Matt. 25:1 CSRO^e

ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ

These who took their lamps and *were going out* to meet the bridegroom

αἱτίνες λαβοῦσαι τὰς λαμπάδας ἑαυτῶν ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν τοῦ νυμφίου

In the above example, the Greek has an Aorist Participle (λαβοῦσαι) in the first clause followed by the Aorist Indicative ἐξῆλθον in the second clause. As in the previously discussed example, the CPA translator may have inverted the syntax for stylistic or idiomatic reasons, translating the Aorist Participle as a Perfect and the Aorist Indicative as a Participle. The same phenomenon seems to have occurred in the instances in Matt. 28:8 and Luke 18:28b. It is also of interest to mention that the above example in Matt. 25:1 contains a gender switch from the feminine ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ to the

masculine **يُصَبِّحُ**. These issues will be further discussed in chapter eight.

The instance of a simple CPA Participle in Matt. 24:22a deserves further comment.

Matt. 24:22 CSRP^d

وَأَمَّا فِي ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ لَا يَنْصَلِحُ أَحَدٌ [. . .] ، إِذَا كَانَ أَحَدٌ [. . .] ، لَا يَنْصَلِحُ أَحَدٌ
 ١٥

And [. . .] those days *are cut short* , but if [. . .] no one would be saved.

καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ

In the above example, the Greek Aorist Indicative does not denote a past time action, but is part of a conditional clause, and the CPA translation with a Participle may, therefore, express not past time, but conditional modality. However, there is also an important difference between the Greek original and the CPA translation in this text. Whereas the Greek original places the conditional conjunction εἰ “if” (εἰ μὴ “unless”) at the beginning of the clause, the CPA translation places the conditional conjunction إِذَا after the corresponding clause. The placement of إِذَا could suggest a reversal of the protasis and the apodosis in the translation, but, since the CPA text is unfortunately broken two important places, the exact nature of the CPA conditional sentence in Matt. 24:22 is unclear. Alternatively, if the placement of إِذَا means that the clause is not part of the CPA conditional sentence, the Participle could denote a future event. Contrast this passage with the CPA translation of the parallel passage in Mark 13:20 CSRP^e (لَمَّا كَانَتْ سَاعَةُ الْوَيْلِ (لِحَدِّ صَاعَةِ الْوَيْلِ)).

5.1.6. An Ambiguous Instance

In 1 instance, the CPA Participle is preceded by a lacuna, and it is not possible to determine whether a pronoun or the auxiliary كَانْ had been originally present (Matt. 26:60 BL). Nevertheless, this may not be a translation of the Greek Aorist Indicative, but may be due to interference from the parallel passage in Mark 14:55, which has the Greek Imperfect ἠϋρισκον instead of the Aorist εϋριον.

5.1.7. Translated by CPA Imperfects

There are also at least 6 possible instances where the Greek Aorist Indicative is translated by a CPA Imperfect, which may be ascribed to the CPA translator understanding the Aorist verb as expressing something other than a simple past. Of these, 2 instances could be understood as applying in a present rather than past sense (John 15:8 T-S^c; 15:15b T-S^c).

John 15:8 T-S^c

[. . .] אֲבָרַךְ אֱלֹהִים

By this [my Father] *is glorified*
 ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ πατήρ μου

Although the above example contains an Aorist Indicative, it is probable that the CPA translator understood it as a general present (i.e., a dramatic or gnomic Aorist).

In at least 2 instances, the CPA Imperfect occurs in subordinate clauses (Matt. 2:22b CCR3; 24:39b CSRP^d).

Matt. 2:22 CCR3

וַיִּתְּנֵהּ אֵלָיו בְּחֵזֶן חֲלוֹם וַיִּסְמְךָ אֵלָיו אֶל אֶרֶץ גַּלִּילָה

And it was revealed to him in a dream *that he should go* to the
 land of Galilee.

χρηματισθεὶς δὲ κατ' ὄναρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς
 Γαλιλαίας

Matt. 24:39 CSRP^d

וְעַד שֶׁיָּבֹא הַמַּבּוּל [וְעַד שֶׁיָּבֹא הַמַּבּוּל] . . . וְלֹא יָדְעוּ

And they did not [know] *until the flood came*
 καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως ἥλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμὸς

In the example from Matt. 2:22 above, one would expect the Greek χρηματισθεὶς δὲ κατ' ὄναρ ἀνεχώρησεν “being warned in a dream, he departed” to be translated as וַיִּסְמְךָ . . . וַיִּתְּנֵהּ “it appeared/was shown . . . and he departed.” However, the CPA translator chose to employ a clause beginning with א + Imperfect, which here functions as the complement of a verb of seeing/showing. It is also possible that this stylistic choice may have been influenced by the immediately preceding clause, וַיִּירָא וַיִּפְּחֵם “he was afraid to go there” ἐροβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν. In the example from Matt. 24:39 above, the CPA Imperfect occurs in a temporal clause. Both of the above examples involve subordinate clauses. Both also

fit Schulthess' (1924: 87) description of the Imperfect as a relative future.

In 1 instance of the CPA Imperfect, it is not clear whether or not a modal nuance is present (Mark 14:46 CSRP^e).

Mark 14:46 CSRP^e

ⲟⲓ δὲ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτόν

And they laid their hands on him *to seize* him.

ⲟⲓ δὲ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτόν

In the above example, it is possible to interpret the CPA Imperfect in a telic sense, but other possibilities cannot be ruled out. Contrast the Imperfect above ⲟⲓ δὲ ἐπέβαλον with the Perfect ⲟⲓ δὲ ἐπέβαλον in the parallel passage Matt. 26:50 BL.

Finally, in 1 instance, since the first letter must be reconstructed, i.e., ⲉⲃⲉ[ⲙ] Mark 15:23 CSRO^e, it is not clear that we are dealing with an Imperfect.

5.1.8. Instances that Involve Textual Variants

There are a number of instances that involve textual variants. Of these, 2 instances involve the CPA construction ⲛⲟⲩ + Participle (Matt. 27:29b CCR8; Luke 7:11b CSRP^s). In Matt. 27:29b the majority of Greek witnesses read the Imperfect Indicative ἐνέπαιζον instead of the Aorist Indicative ἐνέπαιξαν, and in Luke 7:11b the majority of Greek witnesses read the Imperfect ἐπορεύετο instead of the Aorist ἐπορεύθη. Thus, the CPA construction ⲛⲟⲩ + Participle in these instances may in fact be a translation of a Greek Imperfect.

There is also 1 instance of the CPA expression pronoun + Participle (Mark 11:24 CSRP^e), where, instead of the Aorist Indicative ἐλάβετε, the majority of Greek manuscripts have the Present Indicative λαμβάνετε, and some other witnesses have the Future Indicative λήμψεσθε (perhaps under the influence of the parallel passage Matt. 21:22).

Further, though it is possible that the Greek Aorist Indicative is translated in 1 instance by a CPA nominal clause, the CPA text, ⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲥⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲥⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲥⲁⲧⲉⲛ (‘‘For he saves/lives without end. And he said, ‘It is the hour.’’’ Mark 14:41 CSRP^e), is not a translation of the main text of NA²⁸ ἀπέχει ἡλθεν ἡ ὥρα ‘‘It is enough. The hour has come.’’ Rather, it is more likely a translation of variants such as the Western text, ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ ὥρα

(perhaps under the influence of τέλος in Luke 22:37), which do not contain the Aorist ἦλθεν. See Metzger's (1994) comments on the Greek text of Mark 14:41.

In addition, there are at least 2 instances of CPA textual variants. In Matt. 24:45, one CPA witness has a Perfect ܡܫܘܠܢ (CCR1) and another one has an Imperfect ܡܫܘܠܢ (CSRP^d). The variant may be explained as due to interference from the parallel passage in Luke 12:42, which has the future καταστήσει instead of the Aorist κατέστησεν. Another CPA textual variant occurs in John 15:6a, where, although there are no Greek textual variants, T-S^c has the pronoun ܐܘܢ after the Participle ܚܘܒܘܬܐ , but T-S^d does not. In any event, in the context of the conditional clause in John 15:6, the Aorist ἐβλήθη does not denote a past time event, but a potential event. Thus, John 15:6a is not only another example of the optional nature of the pronoun in connection with the Participle, but also of the expression (pronoun +) Participle used in conditional clauses.

5.2. TRANSLATION OF SPECIAL TYPES OF GREEK AORISTS

This section deals with the CPA translation of special types of Greek Aorists, which consist primarily of certain verbs whose lexical meaning requires separate analysis.

5.2.1. Aorist Indicative of ἔχω Expressing Possession

There is 1 possible instance of the Greek Aorist Indicative of ἔχω expressing possession with an attested CPA translation (Mark 12:23 CSRP^c). It is translated idiomatically as a CPA Perfect.

Mark 12:23 CSRP^c

$\text{ܠܚܕܝܢ ܥܘܢܐ ܐ[ܘܩܘܢܐ] ܝܢ ܠܚܕܐ[ܘܩܘܢܐ]}$

For seven took her as wife

οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον αὐτήν γυναῖκα

In the above example, the Greek ἔσχον, which is an Aorist Indicative of ἔχω, is translated by a CPA Perfect, which is orthographically clear by the ending with ܐ[. . .] . Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff's restoration ܐ[ܘܩܘܢܐ] is reasonable, because, although the Greek verb ἔχω means literally "to have," the CPA translation with the verb ܘܩܘܢܐ "to take" is the idiomatic expression for taking in marriage.

5.2.2. Aorist Indicative of Verbs That Frequently Introduce Direct Speech

There are 149 instances of Greek Aorist Indicative verbs that are often employed to introduce direct speech with attested CPA translations, including 133 instances of λέγω/εἶπον,⁵² 3 instances of λαλέω (Matt. 23:1; John 7:46b; 15:22b), 6 instances of ἐπερωτάω (Matt. 22:41; 27:11b; Mark 15:2; 15:44b; Luke 9:18b; 18:40b), 1 instance of ἐρωτάω (John 19:31), and 6 instances of φημί (Matt. 21:27b; 26:61b; 27:11c; Mark 9:12,38a; 12:24). The majority of instances are 3rd person singular in Greek, and, therefore, have a CPA translation that involves ambiguous spelling, i.e., they can be analyzed as either as 3^{ms} Perfect or as *ms* absolute Participle. Nevertheless, most of the non-ambiguous instances (i.e., 1st and 2nd person and plural forms) are clearly CPA Perfects, and therefore, most of the ambiguous instances can be assumed to be CPA Perfects.

Matt. 2:5 CCR3

And they *said* to him
οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ

𐤌𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏 𐤀𐤓𐤏

In the above example, the Greek εἶπαν, which is the 2nd Aorist of εἶπον/λέγω “to speak, say,” is translated in CPA by 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏. Since the verb is a 3rd person plural, there is no ambiguity in the form of the CPA translation. It is clearly a 3^{mp} CPA Perfect.

There are a few examples of Greek Aorist verbs that introduce direct speech that are translated in CPA by orthographically unambiguous participial expressions, including 5 instances of the

⁵² These may be listed as follows: Matt. 2:5,8; 18:21; 21:24,28,29a,30a,b,38; 22:44; 24:2,4; 25:8,12; 26:25a,26b,49a,50a,55a,61a,62,63,64,66,73; 27:4b,6,17,21a,b; 28:5,6b,7b; Mark 2:19; 5:34; 6:37; 7:10; 8:5,7; 9:29,36b,39; 10:3a,49,51a,b,52a; 11:29; 12:15,16b,17,26b,43a; 13:2; 16:7; Luke 1:13a,18,19a,28,30a,34,35,38a; 7:13b,14c,20a; 9:9a,12b,13a,b,14,19a,41,43,48,49a,50,54,57,58,59a; 10:18,21b,23; 11:27b,28; 17:17a,19,20b,22; 18:4,9,26,27,28a,29a,41,42; 19:5b,8a,9a,11,12a,13b,15b; 20:2,3,8,13; John 3:3b; 6:32,34,35,36,43b; 7:35,38,42; 11:34,37,40,41c,46b,51a; 12:6; 13:21c,28b; 14:26,28b; 15:20a; 16:4a,b; 19:30b.

simple Participle by itself (Luke 9:12b CSRO^c; 9:19a CSRO^c; 11:27b CSRP^c; 18:26 CSRS^c; John 7:35 CSRO^c).

John 7:35 CSRO^c

[. . .] רַגַּל[וֹ] רַבִּי

The Jews *said*

εἶπον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς ἐαυτούς

For what it is worth, 3 of the instances involve a reversal of the Greek syntax, from Greek Participle + Aorist Indicative to CPA Perfect + Participle (Luke 9:12b,19a; 11:27b).

Luke 9:19 CSRO^c

רַבִּי וְעַתָּה רַגַּל רַבִּי

They answered and *said*

οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν

For a discussion of this syntactical reversal, see chapter eight, section 8.2.3.2.

There is 1 possible instance where the Greek Aorist Indicative of λέγω/εἶπον is translated in CPA with רַגַּל + Participle (Luke 18:9 CSRS/P^c).

Luke 18:9 CSRS/P^c

וְרַגַּל רַגַּל

And he was saying

εἶπεν δὲ

In the above example, the Greek εἶπεν, 2nd Aorist Indicative of λέγω/εἶπον is translated in CPA with וְרַגַּל רַגַּל. It might be possible to analyze the latter phrase as רַגַּל + Perfect, but in the absence of unambiguous instances of the latter in the corpus, it is best to analyze it as רַגַּל + Participle.

In 1 instance of the Greek Aorist Indicative of ἐπερωτάω “to ask,” there is a CPA textual variant between the Perfect and the Imperfect (Matt. 27:11b CSRO^c, CSRP^f).

Matt. 27:11

רַגַּל וְרַגַּל מַלְאָכִים [CSRO^c]
מַלְאָכִים רַגַּל מַלְאָכִים [CSRP^f]

And the governor *asked* him.

καὶ ἐπερωτήσεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγεμὼν

In the above example, there is no Greek variant, and therefore, it is an intra-CPA variant. The Greek ἐπηρώτησεν, Aorist Indicative of ἐπερωτάω “to ask,” is translated in CPA with an Imperfect in CSRO^e and with a Perfect in CSRPe.

5.3. NON-ACTIVE INSTANCES IN GREEK AND CPA

5.3.1. Deponent Verbs

In this section, the instances of non-active Greek Aorist Indicatives will be discussed. Close to half of the Greek non-active forms can be considered deponent. Of the 535 instances of regular Greek Aorist Indicatives with attested CPA translations, there are at least 75 instances of deponent verbs. They include the following verbs: ἀποκρίνομαι (Matt. 25:9; 27:12,14; Mark 8:4; 15:5,9; Luke 17:20a; 20:7; John 3:3a; 6:43a; 7:47); ἄρνέομαι (Matt. 26:70); βούλομαι (Matt. 1:19); γίνομαι (Matt. 27:45; 28:2a,4b; Mark 1:4,9a; 2:23a; 9:3,6,7a,b; 11:19; Luke 1:5,8,23a,59a,65; 2:1a,6a; 7:11a; 9:18a,34a,37a,51a; 10:13a; 11:27a,30; 17:26,28; 19:9b,15a; 20:1a; John 7:43); δέομαι (Luke 9:40a); δέχομαι (Luke 9:53); διαλέγομαι (Mark 9:34); διηγέομαι (Luke 9:10a); δύναμαι (Mark 9:28,40b); δωρέομαι (Mark 15:45); ἐκλέγομαι (Mark 13:20c; John 13:18a; 15:16a,b,19); ἐμβριμάομαι (John 11:33b); ἐντέλλομαι (John 14:31); ἐπιλανθάνομαι (Mark 8:14); ἐπισκέπτομαι (Luke 1:68a); ἰάομαι (Luke 9:42d); καταράομαι (Mark 11:21); μεταμέλομαι (Matt. 21:32d); μιμνήσκομαι (Matt. 26:75a; John 12:16c); παραγίνομαι (Matt. 2:1); πορεύομαι (Luke 7:11b; 9:56; 19:12b); προσεύχομαι (Matt. 26:44; Mark 14:39); σπλαγχνίζομαι (Luke 7:13a); συλλογίζομαι (Luke 20:5a); ὑποδέχομαι (Luke 19:6b).

Greek deponent Aorist Indicatives are generally translated in CPA with active Perfect verbs, and these instances require no extra comments. There are no instances translated in CPA with a Passive Participle. In 15 instances the deponent Greek Aorist Indicative is translated in CPA with a T-stem Perfect. These include: βούλομαι (Matt. 1:19 CCR3); γίνομαι (Matt. 28:2a CCR1; Mark 9:3 CSRO^e; 11:19 CSRPe; Luke 1:5 CSRPe; 1:8 CSRPe; 9:34a CSRO^e; 10:13a CSRO^e; 19:9b CSRPe; John 7:43 CSRO^e); ἐμβριμάομαι (John 11:33b CSRPe^d, Dam^a); ἐπιλανθάνομαι (Mark 8:14 CSRO^e, CSRPe); μιμνήσκομαι (Matt. 26:75a CSRO^d; John 12:16c T-S^a); σπλαγχνίζομαι (Luke 7:13a CSRPe^s).

Matt. 26:75 CSRO^d

:יִזְכֹּר וְזָכַר כִּי כָל מַה שֶׁאָמַר יֵשׁוּעַ

And Peter *remembered* the word of the Lord Jesus that he had said

καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τοῦ ῥήματος Ἰησοῦ εἰρηκότος

In the above example, the Greek deponent ἐμνήσθη is translated idiomatically in CPA with the T-stem (Itpael) Perfect of זָכַר “to remember.”

In 1 instance, a deponent Greek Aorist Indicative is translated in CPA with רָאָה + T-stem Participle (Mark 9:34 CSRP^e).

Mark 9:34 CSRP^e

רָאָה אֶת אֲנָשִׁים מְדַבְּרוֹת בְּעַד הַדֶּרֶךְ וְאֵת הַגָּדוֹל

For *they were discussing* with one another along the way who would be the greatest.

πρὸς ἀλλήλους γὰρ διελέχθησαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τίς μείζων

In the above example, the Aorist of διαλέγομαι is translated in CPA with רָאָה and the Itpael Participle of דָּבַר “to think.” The fact that the imperfective expression רָאָה + Participle is employed in this passage was discussed above. The use of the T-stem Participle in this case is idiomatic in nature.

The translation of γίνομαι deserves additional comment. It is translated in CPA with either the Peal of רָאָה “to be” or the Itpael stem of חָבַד in the sense of “to be done, to occur.” The Aorist Indicative of γίνομαι is frequently used in expressions that function as a discourse marker similar to the Biblical Hebrew יָהָיָה, e.g., καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δέ. In such cases it is generally translated with the verb רָאָה (Mark 1:9a CCR1; 2:23a CCR1; Luke 1:23a CSRO^e; 1:59a CSRO^e; 2:1a CSRO^e; 2:6a CSRO^e; 7:11a CSRP^g; 9:18a CSRO^e; 9:37a CSRO^e; 9:51a CSRP^e; 11:27a CSRP^e; 19:15a CSRP^e; 20:1a CSRO^e), but the Itpael of חָבַד does occur (Luke 1:8 CSRP^e). Compare the following:

Luke 1:8 CSRP^e

וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר חָבַד [. . .] חָבַד, וְהָיָה

And *it happened*, while he was serving as priest, . . .

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεῦν αὐτὸν

Luke 1:59 CSRO^c

כָּוֹנָהּ כָּוֹנָהּ כָּוֹנָהּ

And *it was*, on the eighth day, . . .

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ

In its function as a regular verb rather than a discourse marker, γίνομαι is translated in CPA with either כָּוֹנָהּ (Matt. 27:45 CCR1; 28:4b CCR1; Mark 1:4 CCR1; 9:6 CSRO^c; 9:7a CSRO^c; Luke 1:65 CSRO^c; 11:30 CSRPe; 17:26 CSRS^c; 17:28 CSRS^c) or the Itpael stem of חָבַד (Matt. 28:2a CCR1; Mark 9:3 CSRO^c; 11:19 CSRPe; Luke 1:5 CSRPe; 9:34a CSRO^c; 10:13a CSRO^c; 19:9b CSRPe; John 7:43 CSRO^c).⁵³ The following examples illustrate both translations:

Mark 9:3 CSRO^c

:כָּוֹנָהּ וְהָיוּ כָּוֹנָהּ לְכָוֹנָהּ חֲבֹדָהּ חֲבֹדָהּ חֲבֹדָהּ

And his garments *were made* dazzling and very white like snow.

καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα λευκὰ λίαν

Matt. 27:45 CCR1

:חָבַד מִן הַשָּׁעֵר הַשִּׁשִּׁי וְחָבַד עַד הַשָּׁעֵר הַתִּשְׁעִי

And from the sixth hour *there was* darkness on the earth until the ninth hour.

Ἀπὸ δὲ ἑκτῆς ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης.

The above examples show that the CPA translation of the Aorist Indicative of γίνομαι was stylistic and/or idiomatic, and varied according to the translator's sense of its meaning.

5.3.2. Non-Deponent Non-Active Verbs

Aside from Greek deponent verbs, there are at least 83 other instances of non-active Aorist Indicatives with attested CPA translations. Most instances are translated in CPA by active stem Perfects. In 36 instances the non-active Aorist Indicative is translated in CPA with a T-stem Perfect (Matt. 1:18 CCR3; 1:20 CCR3; 2:3 CCR3; 14:11b Sin^a; 25:10c CCR1, CSRPe^d, CSRO^c; 26:24 CCR1;

⁵³ There is also 1 instance of כָּוֹנָהּ (Mark 9:7b CSRO^c). However, it may be a translation of the Greek majority reading, which has ἦλθεν “he came” rather than ἐγένετο.

26:57b BL; 27:3a CSRO^d; 27:5b CSRO^d, CSRPF; 27:8 CSRO^d, CSRO^e, CSRPF; 27:9a CSRO^d, CSRO^e, CSRPF; 27:9c CCR1, CSRO^d, CSRO^e, CSRPF; Mark 1:9c CCR1; 1:27 CCR1; 9:2 CSRO^e; 9:4 CSRO^e; 16:5b CSRPF; Luke 1:4 CSRPF; 1:11 CSRPF; 1:26 CCR3, CSRO^e, Dam^b; 1:29 CCR3, CSRO^e; 1:57a CSRO^e; 1:64 CSRO^e; 1:67a CSRO^e; 2:6b CSRO^e; 2:21b Pa; 7:9c CSRPF; 9:8a CSRO^e; 9:36a CSRO^e; 17:17b CSRS^e; John 7:39b CSRO^e; 11:53 Dam^e; 12:5a T-S^a; 12:5b T-S^a; 12:10 T-S^a; 12:16b T-S^a; 13:21a CCR8).

Matt. 27:8 CSRO^e

לכאן קראו את השדה בשדה דמים עד היום

Therefore that field *is called* “field of blood” to this day.

διὸ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος Ἄγρὸς Αἵματος ἕως τῆς
σήμερον

In the above example, the Greek Aorist Passive Indicative ἐκλήθη, from καλέω “to call,” is translated in CPA with **קראו**, an Itpael Perfect of **קרא** “to call.” Thus, the T-stem is employed in this instance to express the passive notion of the Greek verb.

In passing, it should be mentioned that there are 2 instances of Greek non-deponent Aorist Passive Indicatives translated with CPA T-stem forms other than Perfect. These consist of 1 instance of a T-stem Participle with a textual variant involving the presence or absence of an accompanying pronoun (John 15:6a T-S^e, T-S^d) and 1 instance of a T-stem Imperfect (John 15:8 T-S^e). Both passages were cited and/or discussed earlier in this chapter.

5.3.3. Active Verbs Translated as Non-Active in CPA

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that there are 2 instances of the Greek Aorist Active Indicative translated non-actively in CPA. Both involve the same Greek verb, προφητεύω “to prophesy,” and are translated idiomatically with a T-stem (Itpaal) Perfect of **נבא** (Luke 1:67b CSRO^e; John 11:51b Dam^e).

5.4. SUMMARY

In summary, the Greek Aorist Indicative is translated in the majority of instances by a CPA Perfect. There are relatively few instances where it is orthographically clear that a verb form other than a Perfect is employed. Some of these are participial expressions. The construction **אם** + Participle occurs in conditional clauses and

with some verbs of speaking. The expression pronoun + Participle and the simple Participle alone are employed in past time (perhaps with an imperfective meaning) after a Perfect, or in conditional clauses. One instance of the Passive Participle accompanied by $\kappa\omicron\sigma\ \delta\iota\kappa$ occurs in a conditional clause, and it occurs in a context where other clauses have the construction $\kappa\omicron\sigma$ + Participle. There are also a few instances of the CPA Imperfect, most of which translate Greek Aorists that express a notion other than a simple past. Many of the instances where the CPA translation has a form other than a Perfect involve textual variants. There are also a number of stylistic and idiomatic CPA translations.

Most of the Greek non-active verbs are translated in CPA with active forms. Deponent Aorist Indicative verbs do not constitute as large a proportion of non-active instances as in the case of the Imperfect and Present Indicative. Often the CPA translation is idiomatic in nature. However, in some instances the CPA T-stem is employed to render the passive voice expressed by the Greek original. There are no instances translated with Passive Participles.

6. THE CPA TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK PERFECT INDICATIVE

The Greek Perfect Indicative in most instances expresses a present perfect tense/aspect. Since traditional Greek grammars explain it as denoting a present state that is the result of a past event, it may be more precisely classified as a present resultative. There are at least 365 instances in the Gospels, of which 69 instances are attested with CPA translations. Since the Greek Perfect is not part of the aspectual opposition between perfective and imperfective, it is not necessary to give special treatment to verbs that introduce direct speech. However, there are at least 18 instances of verbs that do deserve special treatment, because they are employed in the Perfect to express a present tense. These, along with instances of the Periphrastic Perfect, which consist of the Present Indicative of εἶμι and a Perfect Participle, will be discussed under a separate section in this chapter.

6.1. TRANSLATION OF REGULAR GREEK PERFECT INDICATIVES

Of the 51 instances of regular Greek Perfect Indicatives with attested CPA translations, the major distinction in the way they are translated in CPA seems to be between active and non-active forms. In the Perfect Indicative, the forms of the Middle and Passive are morphologically indistinguishable, though the distinction can often be lexically or contextually made, and all non-active instances are likely Passive based on context. None of the instances are deponent. With few exceptions, Greek Perfect Active Indicatives tend to be translated with CPA Perfects, whereas the non-active forms tend to be translated with CPA Passive Participles.

6.1.1. Active Perfect Indicatives

6.1.1.1. Translated by CPA Perfects

In at least 31 instances, a Greek Perfect Active Indicative is translated with a CPA Perfect (Matt. 1:22 CCR3; 2:20 CCR3; 24:21 CSRP^d; 24:25 CSRP^d; 25:6 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 26:45 CCR1, CSRP^d; Mark 5:33 CSRO^e; 10:52 CSRO^e; 11:21 CSRP^e; 13:19 CSRP^e; 13:23 CSRP^e, Dam; Luke 1:25 CSRO^e; 1:36 CCR3; 9:36 CSRO^e; 10:19 CSRO^e; 17:19 CSRS^e; 18:42 CSRS^e; John 6:36 CSRP^e; 6:42b CSRP^e; 11:27 CSRP^d; 11:34 CSRP^d; 14:29 T-S^e; 15:10 T-S^e; 15:15b T-S^e; 15:24a CCR8; 15:24b CCR8; 16:1 CCR8; 16:4 CCR8; 16:6a CCR7; 16:6b CCR8; 19:35a Dam^f).⁵⁴

John 6:42 CSRP^e

ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲛ ⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲁⲓⲛ ⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛ

How does he now say, “I have come down from heaven”?

πὼς νῦν λέγει ὅτι Ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβέβηκα;

In the above example, the Greek Perfect Active Indicative is translated in CPA by a Perfect. It is typical of the majority of instances.

6.1.1.2. Ambiguous Instances

In addition, there are also instances of Greek Perfect Active Indicatives translated in CPA by ambiguous forms. Of these there are 7 instances where the CPA form could be analyzed either as Perfect or Active Participle (Matt. 26:46 CCR1, CSRP^d; Mark 7:37 CSRP^e; 9:13a CSRO^e; Luke 1:22 Dam^b; John 6:32 CSRP^e; 6:39 CSRP^e; 15:18 T-S^d). In most of these instances, a Participle does not seem to fit the context.

Mark 9:13 CSRO^e

ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛ

⁵⁴ There is a textual variant in Matt. 25:6, where CCR1 and CSRP^d read ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛ and ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛ respectively, but CSRO^e has ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛ. However, the footnote in Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff indicates that the manuscript is unclear in the latter. In addition, an instance of the Greek ἦκασιν translated by a CPA Perfect ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲛ (Mark 8:3 CSRP^e) could be added to this list. See the discussion of ἦκω in chapter three.

But I tell you that, truly, Elijah *has* already *come*.
 ἀλλὰ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἤδη ἦλθεν

Although **ἦλθεν** in the above example could be analyzed as a Participle, such an analysis does not fit the context, which suggests rather the analysis as a CPA Perfect. Nevertheless, in a few of these instances, it is possible that the CPA translator employed a Participle rather than a Perfect in order to express a present situation. For example:

Mark 7:37 CSRP^e

הוּ עָשָׂה כָּל הַטּוֹב הַזֶּה

He has done/does all things well.
 καλῶς πάντα πεποιήκεν

In the above example, **הוּ עָשָׂה** can be interpreted either as a pronoun + Perfect, expressing a past or perfect notion “he did/has done,” or pronoun + Participle, which may express a general present notion, “he does.”

Also, there are 2 instances of Greek Perfect Active Indicatives translated by CPA forms that could be analyzed either as Perfect or adjective (Mark 14:42 CSRP^e; 15:44 CSRP^e). Since the Greek Perfect Indicative can refer to present states that result from past events, it is natural that some instances could be translated in CPA as a present state or situation. However, both instances are best analyzed as CPA Perfects. In Mark 15:44 CSRP^e **ἤλθε** is probably a CPA Perfect, based on a comparison with **הֵלַךְ** Matt. 2:20 CCR3, where the plural form of the same Greek verb is clearly translated by a Perfect. As for the instance in Mark 14:42 CSRP^e, it is worth comparing it with the parallel passage in Matt. 26:46 CCR1.

Mark 14:42 CSRP^e

הִנֵּה הוּ עָשָׂה לִּי כְּעֵת הַכּוֹס

Look, he who betrays me *is near*.
 ἰδοὺ ὁ παραδιδούς με ἤγγικεν

Matt. 26:46 CCR1

הִנֵּה הוּ בָּא לִי כְּעֵת הַכּוֹס

Look, he who betrays me *has come near*.
 ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ὁ παραδιδούς με

In the above examples, both passages have the Greek ἤγγικεν, a Perfect Indicative of ἐγγίζω “to come near.” Since the Greek of

the parallel passages above is very similar, except for the word order, a strong case can be made for explaining the difference in the CPA translations as simply orthographic (see Müller-Kessler 1991: 154 on the orthography of e/i- Perfects). See also מִזְכָּר in Matt. 26:45 (CCR1 and CSRP^d). Thus, it is probable that the form מִזְכָּר in Mark 14:42 CSRP^e stands for a Perfect. Nevertheless, if it could be shown to be an adjective, the difference between מִזְכָּר in Matt. 26:46 and מִזְכָּר in Mark 14:42 would be stylistic rather than orthographic in nature.

6.1.2. Non-Active Perfect Indicatives

6.1.2.1. Translated by CPA Passive Participles

As for the 11 instances of non-active Greek Perfect Indicatives, these instances are generally translated in CPA by some type of nominal expression, mostly including a Passive Participle. In 1 instance the CPA Passive Participle is accompanied by a personal pronoun (Matt. 26:31 CCR1).

Matt. 26:31 CCR1

חַבְּבִי אֵינִי

For *it is written*
 γέγραπται γάρ

In the above example, the CPA translation inserts a pronoun that is not in the original. Thus, the Greek Perfect Passive Indicative is translated in CPA with the expression pronoun + Passive Participle.

In at least 6 instances, the CPA translation of the Greek Perfect Passive Indicative involves a simple Passive Participle by itself (Matt. 2:5 CCR3; Mark 1:2 CCR1; 9:12 CSRO^e; 9:13b CSRO^e; 16:4 CSRP^e; Luke 19:46 Dam^e). Most of these involve the Greek verb γράφω “to write.”

Matt. 2:5 CCR3

חַבְּבִי אֵינִי חַבְּבִי

For thus *it is written* in the prophet.
 οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου

In the above example, the Greek γέγραπται is translated in CPA by the Passive Participle חַבְּבִי. Besides γράφω, the Perfect Passive

Indicative of ἀποκυλίω “to roll away” is also translated with a CPA Passive Participle (Mark 16:4 CSRP^e).

There is at least 1 instance where the Greek Perfect Passive Indicative is translated in CPA by a Passive Participle accompanied by the verb ἴσασ (Mark 9:42 CSRO^e). It occurs in a counterfactual hypothetical clause.

Mark 9:42 CSRO^e

ἴσασ [ἴσασ]α οἷα εἰς [. . .] κίτωνα [ἴσασ]ι ἀλε τῆς θάλασσας
[. . .]

It would be better for him if a donkey’s millstone were [tied] on his neck, and *he were thrown* into [the sea].

καλόν ἐστίν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περὶκεῖται μύλος ὄνικος
περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ βέβληται εἰς τὴν
θάλασσαν

In the above example, the Greek βέβληται, a Perfect Passive Indicative of βάλλω “to throw, cast,” is translated in CPA with ἴσασ [ἴσασ]α, the verb ἴσασ “to be” and the Passive Participle of ἴσασ “to throw.” For what it is worth, the fact that the preceding Greek verb in the context is a Present Indicative, περὶκεῖται, from περὶκειμαι “to place around, be around,” shows that βέβληται expresses more a resulting state than an anterior action, and thus functions as a resultative rather than an anterior.

There is also 1 instance where the CPA form could be analyzed either as a Passive Participle or as an adjective (John 19:28 Dam^f).

John 19:28 Dam^f

ἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται

When the Lord Jesus saw that everything *was* already *accomplished*

εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται

In the above example, the Greek τετέλεσται, which is the Perfect Passive Indicative of τελέω “to finish, complete,” is translated in CPA as ἰδὼς “accomplished,” which is a Pael Passive Participle in form, though it can also have the simple adjectival meaning “complete.”

perhaps used with an extended meaning of something whole or complete. It is noteworthy that the CPA translation of this verse contains an unusual amount of added words. The additions are not due to Greek textual variants in this verse, but the addition of **ܡܫܠܡܐ** **ܕܗܘܐ** in this verse may be due to **ܡܫܠܡܐ** in v. 29, which reflects a few Greek manuscripts that add **μετὰ χολῆς** in that verse.

6.2. TRANSLATION OF SPECIAL TYPES OF GREEK PERFECTS

This section will discuss the CPA translation of two special types of Greek Perfects. The first consists of verbs that are employed in the Perfect to express a present tense. The second consists of the Periphrastic Perfect, which has the same range of meaning as the Perfect Indicative.

6.2.1. Perfect Indicative Verbs That Express the Present Tense

There are 18 instances of the Greek Perfect Indicative that involve verbs that express the present tense with a Perfect morphology. The most frequent of these is **οἶδα** “to know,” which occurs in 17 instances with an attested CPA translation. These are consistently translated by a participial expression employing either the verb **ܕܥܝܢܐ** or the verb **ܕܥܝܢܐ**.⁵⁵ In the majority of instances, it is translated by the CPA expression pronoun + Participle, including 14 instances where both words are clearly visible in at least one manuscript (Matt 21:27 CCR1; 24:42 CCR1, CSR^P^d; 25:12 CCR1, CSR^P^d; 25:13 CCR1, CSR^P^d; 26:72 CSRO^d; 26:74 CSRO^d; 27:65 CCR1; 28:5 CCR1; Mark 1:24 CCR1; 4:13 CSRO^c; John 6:42a CSR^P^c; 11:22 Dam^d; 13:17 CCR8; 13:18 CCR8) and 1 instance where the pro-

⁵⁵ The form **ܕܥܝܢܐ** (Matthew 28:5 CCR1; Mark 13:32 Dam; John 19:35b Dam^f) could alternatively be analyzed as a 3ms Perfect. However, given that the enclitic in the form **ܕܥܝܢܐܝܢ** in John 11:22 Dam^d shows that it is a Participle, that plural instances are clearly Participles, **ܕܥܝܢܐܝܢ** (Matt. 21:27 CCR1; 24:42 CCR1, CSR^P^d; 25:13 CCR1, CSR^P^d; 27:65 CCR1; Mark 4:13 CSRO^c; John 13:17 CCR8), and that all other instances of the translation of **οἶδα** involve a participial expression, there is no doubt that the instances of **ܕܥܝܢܐ** are Participles as well.

noun can be reasonably assumed in a lacuna next to the Participle (John 19:35b Dam^f).

Matt. 25:13 CCR1

ⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ
 Be alert, therefore, for *you know* neither the day nor the hour.
 γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν
 ὥραν.

In the above example, the Greek Perfect οἶδατε is translated in CPA by the expression pronoun + Participle, ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ.

In 2 instances, the Greek Perfect Indicative of οἶδα is translated in CPA by a simple Participle without an accompanying pronoun (Mark 13:32 Dam; John 15:21 CCR8).

John 15:21 CCR8

ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ
 Because *they* do not *know* the One who sent me.
 ὅτι οὐκ οἶδασιν τὸν πέμψαντά με

In the above example the CPA Participle is not accompanied by a pronoun.

Another Greek verb that, like οἶδα, occurs as a Perfect with a present meaning is πείθω, which means “to trust” in the Perfect, but otherwise means “to persuade.” There is only 1 such instance with an attested CPA translation, and it is translated by a CPA Imperfect (Matt. 27:43 CCR1).

Matt. 27:43 CCR1

ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ
 He trusts in God.
 πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν

In the above example, the Greek Perfect Indicative πέποιθεν has a general present meaning, and is translated by the CPA Imperfect ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ.

6.2.2. Periphrastic Perfect

In addition to the Greek Perfect Indicatives discussed above, instances of the Periphrastic Perfect, consisting of the Present Indicative of εἰμί and a Perfect Participle, can also be included here, since the Periphrastic Perfect has the same range of meanings as the Perfect Indicative. There are at least 3 instances with attested

CPA translations (Matt. 18:20 CSRP^c; John 6:31 CSRP^c; 12:14 T-S^a).⁵⁶ All of these are passive, consisting of the Present Indicative of εἰμί and a Perfect Passive Participle, and all instances are translated by a CPA Passive Participle.

Matt. 18:20 CSRP^c

כאן שני או שלשה מתקבצים בשמי שם, ואני אהיה שם
 שם

For where two or three *are assembled* in my name, there I am in their midst.

οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν

In the example above, the Greek Periphrastic Passive Perfect εἰσιν . . . συνηγμένοι is translated in CPA by a Passive Participle מתקבצים. In spite of the periphrastic nature of the Greek expression, none of the attested instances include the verb אס in CPA translation.

6.3. SUMMARY

In summary, the major distinction in the CPA translation of regular Greek Perfect Indicatives can be seen between active and non-active instances. Most instances of the Greek Perfect Active Indicative are translated in CPA by a Perfect. In a few instances the form is ambiguous and can be analyzed as either Perfect or Active Participle or as either Perfect or adjective. As for the non-active Greek Perfect Indicative, all of which are likely to be Perfect Passive Indicatives based on context, most instances are translated by a CPA nominal clause. The latter consists mostly of a clause containing a Passive Participle, which is in some cases indistinguishable from an adjective, and perhaps 1 instance of a T-stem Participle accompanied by the verb אס. There is also 1 instance of the CPA Passive

⁵⁶ Another possible instance occurs in Luke 20:6, πεπεισμένος γὰρ ἐστίν. However, there it is more likely that the Greek Perfect Participle functions adjectivally with the verb ἐστίν serving as a copula. It is translated in CPA as אס אס (Luke 20:6 Dam^c), a Passive Participle followed by a pronoun.

Participle accompanied by $\kappa\alpha\theta$ translating a Greek Perfect Passive Indicative in a counterfactual hypothetical clause.

Special types of Greek Perfects consist primarily of verbs in the Perfect that express the present tense. These are translated in CPA with expressions that are commonly employed to translate the Greek Present tense, i.e., οἶδα is translated with a CPA participial expression and one such instance of πείθω is translated with a CPA Imperfect expressing the present. In addition, the only instances of the Greek Periphrastic Perfect with attested CPA translations are passive in voice, and are translated with a CPA Passive Participle without $\kappa\alpha\theta$.

7. THE CPA TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK PLUPERFECT INDICATIVE

The Greek Pluperfect Indicative serves as the past of the Perfect, and is, therefore, in most instances a past resultative. There are 68 instances in the Gospels, of which 13 instances are attested with CPA translations. The instances are few, but they are included here for the sake of completeness. Since none of the Middle or Passive instances are attested with a CPA translation, all of the attested instances are Pluperfect Active Indicative. As in the case of the Greek Perfect Indicative, there are 8 instances of special Pluperfect verbs that need to be discussed separately. These, along with instances of the Periphrastic Pluperfect, which consist of the Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι and a Perfect Participle, will be discussed under the section for special types of Pluperfects in this chapter. Also, an additional section is added to this chapter to discuss 2 instances of the Periphrastic Future Perfect, consisting of the Future Indicative of εἶμι and a Perfect Participle, which does not occur in enough instances to warrant a separate chapter.

7.1. TRANSLATION OF REGULAR GREEK PLUPERFECT INDICATIVES

7.1.1. Translated by CPA Perfects

Of the 5 regular instances of the Greek Pluperfect Indicative, 4 are translated with a CPA Perfect (Mark 14:44 CSRPe; 15:7 CSROe; 15:10 CSROe; John 11:57 T-S^a).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ In 1 of these instances, the CPA translation is graphically ambivalent and could be alternatively analyzed as an Active Participle, i.e., αἰμα

ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν
 δεδεμένος οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φρόνον
 πεποιήκεισαν

In the above example, the Greek Periphrastic Passive Pluperfect ἦν . . . δεδεμένος is translated in CPA with **ἦσαν . . . ἔασαν**. Since the CPA expression does not express an imperfective aspect, e.g., “was being imprisoned,” it is not equivalent to the expression **ἔασαν** + Participle in function. Thus, unless there is evidence to the contrary, the Passive Participle in such expressions functions as a nominal or adjectival predicate, and the verb **ἔασαν** is not an auxiliary.

In 1 instance the Periphrastic Passive Pluperfect is translated in CPA with the verb **ἔασαν** and a verbal adjective (Matt. 26:43 CCR1, CSR^{Pd}).

Matt. 26:43 CCR1

ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲩⲃⲟⲛⲧⲁⲥ, ἦⲥⲁⲛ γὰρ ⲁⲩⲧῶⲛ ⲟⲓ

And he found them asleep, for their eyes were heavy.

ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲩⲃⲟⲛⲧⲁⲥ, ἦⲥⲁⲛ γὰρ ⲁⲩⲧῶⲛ ⲟⲓ
 ὀφθαλμοὶ βεβαρομένοι

Burton (1898: 45) cited the above example as a Periphrastic Pluperfect. It could be argued that the above example is not a true Greek Periphrastic Pluperfect, but simply a past time copulative sentence with a Perfect Participle functioning adjectivally. On the other hand, it must also be acknowledged that periphrasis in Greek can also occur with verbal adjectives (Turner 1963: 89). In any event, the CPA translation employs a verbal adjective.

There is also 1 instance of a Greek Periphrastic Middle-Passive Pluperfect with a middle rather than passive function. Its CPA translation is like that of its passive counterparts, i.e., it is translated with the verb **ἔασαν** and a Passive Participle (Mark 1:6 CCR1).

Mark 1:6 CCR1

ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲩⲃⲟⲛⲧⲁⲥ, ἦⲥⲁⲛ γὰρ ⲁⲩⲧῶⲛ ⲟⲓ

And John was dressed in camel’s hair with a leather belt on his waist.

ⲕⲁὶ ἦⲛ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου καὶ
 ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὄσφυν αὐτοῦ

7.4. SUMMARY

In summary, all instances of the Greek Pluperfect Indicative with attested CPA translations are Active in terms of morphology. Regular Pluperfects are mostly translated with a CPA Perfect, though there is also 1 instance of $\kappa\alpha\tau$ + Participle. Instances of Greek Pluperfects with a past rather than pluperfect meaning are variously translated: the Pluperfect of οἶδα is translated in CPA with $\kappa\alpha\tau$ + Participle; the Pluperfect of εἰώθα with a Passive Participle accompanied by $\kappa\alpha\tau$; and the only instance of a Pluperfect of ἴστημι with a form that could be analyzed either as Perfect or Participle. In contrast to the instances of the Greek Pluperfect Indicative, there are no instances of Periphrastic Active Pluperfects. Most Periphrastic Passive Pluperfect instances are translated in CPA with $\kappa\alpha\tau$ accompanied by a Passive Participle and in 1 instance by $\kappa\alpha\tau$ and a verbal adjective. In 1 instance a Greek Periphrastic Middle Pluperfect is translated in CPA by $\kappa\alpha\tau$ and a Passive Participle. All instances of Periphrastic Pluperfects are translated by a phrase that contains the verb $\kappa\alpha\tau$.

The only 2 instances of the Periphrastic Future Perfect attested with CPA translation in the corpus are Passive, and are rendered in CPA with the Imperfect of $\kappa\alpha\tau$ followed by a word that is best analyzed as a Passive Participle.

8. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND CPA VERBAL FUNCTION

In the study of translated texts, the starting point for the study of translation technique consists of the source text and its language, i.e., the text and the language from which the translation is made, whereas the starting point for grammatical studies consists of the translated text and the target language in which the translation was made. However, as was stated in the beginning, because virtually all extant CPA texts are translations, an adequate description of the CPA verbal system cannot be done without attention to translation technique. It was also explained that in some ways a translated text can afford a greater degree of objectivity in the grammatical description of tense and aspect. Moreover, the presence of textual, stylistic, and/or idiomatic variation in an otherwise literal translation provides useful clues not only concerning the nature of the CPA translation, but also the functions of CPA verbs. Thus, translation technique is an important piece of evidence in the study of morphosyntactic function. Therefore, this research explored both translation technique and the function of the CPA verbs in the New Testament Gospels.

8.1. OBSERVATIONS ON TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The most common phenomena in CPA translation of the Greek Indicative verbs are definitely not extraordinary. That is, the Greek Imperfect Indicative is mostly translated by the CPA expression $\text{ܩܘܡ} + \text{Participle}$, the Greek Present Indicative by the CPA expression $\text{pronoun} + \text{Participle}$, the Greek Future Indicative by the CPA Imperfect, and the Greek Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect Indicatives by the CPA Perfect. This is the ordinary way one would expect an Aramaic translation to render these Greek tenses, and, thus, the majority of instances require no comment.

In general, the CPA translation of the Gospels can be characterized as literal. That is, the CPA translators attempted to stay very close to the wording of the Greek original. The fact that the language of the CPA Gospels is influenced by the Greek original is especially evident in the fact that historical and futuristic instances of the Greek Present Indicative are more frequently translated by CPA Participles than Greek Aorist and Future Indicatives. This will be discussed in more detail below.

On the other hand, it is apparent that the CPA Gospels were not mechanically translated. The clearest evidence of some room for stylistic variation comes from the fact that every Greek tense has two or more ways in which it is translated in CPA. Although, some of these involve idiomatic expressions that cannot be translated literally, one cannot deny that there are instances that are solely due to the stylistic choice of the translator. Examples include leaving out a repetition of the verb $\delta\iota\delta\omega\mu\acute{\iota}$ in John 14:27 T-S^c, as well as the addition of extra words in John 19:30 Dam^f (see chapter six, section 6.1.2.3.).

Further evidence for stylistic variation comes from a number of words analyzed in this study that showed variations in the CPA forms chosen for translation, mostly synonyms. For example, the verb $\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$ is translated by both ܣܝܕܐ (e.g., Matt. 21:27 CCR1) and ܣܝܚܐ (e.g., Matt. 25:12 CCR1). The same is true of $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$, which is translated both by ܣܝܕܐ (e.g., Mark 13:28a CSRPe; 15:10 CSRO^e) and ܣܝܚܐ (e.g., Luke 10:22a CSRO^e). See especially Matt. 24:50b, which has a textual variant between ܣܝܕܐ (CCR1) and ܣܝܚܐ (CSRO^e). Similarly, $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is translated both by the Peal of ܣܝܘܡ (e.g., Luke 11:26 CSRPe) and the Itpael of ܣܝܚܐ (e.g., Mark 2:21 CCR1; 11:23 CSRPe). Compare the translation of $\sigma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ in parallel passages, ܣܝܠܝܚܝܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ , Itpalpal of ܣܝܠܝܚܝܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ , (Matt. 24:29 CSRPe) and ܣܝܠܝܚܝܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ , Itpaal of ܣܝܠܝܚܝܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ , (Mark 13:25 CSRPe and Dam), both meaning “they will be shaken.” Also, the CPA translation of the Greek Perfect $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$ from $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\omega$ “to save” can be literal, ܣܝܘܨܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ from ܣܝܘܨܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ “to live” in Afel “to save” (Luke 17:19 CSRS^e; 18:42 CSRS^e), or idiomatic, ܣܝܘܨܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ from ܣܝܘܨܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ “to heal” (Mark 10:52 CRSO^e).

A degree of stylistic latitude in translation is also suggested by intra-CPA textual variants, i.e., variants not motivated by textual variants in the Greek Vorlage. Examples include textual variants of grammatical forms such as between a Peal Imperfect and a T-stem (Itpael) Imperfect of the same word (Mark 13:22 CSRPe, Dam), the

Passive Participle with **ܩܘܡ** and without it (e.g., John 11:38 CSRP^d, Dam^a), the Active Participle and the Imperfect (e.g., Matt. 24:12 CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:50 CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRP^d; 24:51 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; Luke 9:49 CSRP^c, CSRS^e), the expression pronoun + Participle and the Imperfect (e.g., Matt. 24:47 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 24:51 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e), the Active Participle and the Perfect (e.g., Mark 2:18 CCR1, CSRG^d), and possibly also **ܩܘܡ** + Participle and the Perfect or the simple Participle alone (e.g., Matt. 27:18 CCR1, CSRO^e). Other examples include variants between masculine and feminine (e.g., Matt. 25:2 CCR1, CSRP^d) and between the presence or absence of **ܩܘܡ** serving as copula (e.g., Matt. 25:2 CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRP^d). The last example is worth commenting on:

Matt. 25:2

ܩܘܡܝܢ ܩܘܡܝܢ : ܩܘܡܝܢ ܩܘܡܝܢ [. . .] [CCR1]
 ܩܘܡܝܢ ܩܘܡܝܢ ܩܘܡܝܢ ܩܘܡܝܢ ,ܩܘܡܝܢ [CSRO^e]
 ܩܘܡܝܢ [ܩܘܡܝܢ]ܩܘܡܝܢ : ܩܘܡܝܢ [ܩܘܡܝܢ]ܩܘܡܝܢ [CCR1]
 πέντε δὲ ἔξ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μωροὶ καὶ πέντε φρόνιμοι.

In the above example, there are no textual variants to the Greek ἦσαν, Imperfect of εἶμι “to be.” However, there are intra-CPA textual variants between masculine and feminine forms of **ܩܘܡ** (ܩܘܡ CCR1 and ܩܘܡ CSRO^e respectively) and a nominal sentence without **ܩܘܡ** (CSRP^d), not to mention the variant in the synonyms **ܩܘܡܝܢ** (CCR1, CSRP^d) and **ܩܘܡܝܢ** (CSRO^e), both meaning “foolish.” As a matter of fact, both CCR1 and CSRP^d use masculine verbs where CSRO^e uses feminine verbs for the entire parable (vv. 1–13). However, all three witnesses use the masculine in v. 10, even where the Greek is feminine (αἱ ἔτοιμοι).

Thus, though one must acknowledge some Greek influence on CPA usage in the Gospels, it would be wrong to view the CPA texts as simply “translation Aramaic.” Examples of idiomatic translations and stylistic variation in CPA suggest that, notwithstanding the influence of Greek usage on the CPA translation, the latter also bears witness to the native Aramaic syntax. That is, the CPA text contains authentic, albeit translated, Aramaic. It is not possible in this limited study to determine the full extent of Greek influence on the CPA text, but the latter is nevertheless a text that would be understood by native speakers of CPA.

In what follows, the foregoing study on CPA translation technique is explored for evidence concerning morphosyntactic function in the CPA verbal system. Before proceeding to the next section, however, I must make two additional important comments. First, although I argued here that the CPA translation is not mechanical, and that, therefore, translation technique can shed light on the functions of the CPA verbs, it must also be acknowledged that translation technique does not tell us everything about the Aramaic verb. Second, although translation technique sheds light on the functions of the CPA verbs, one cannot assume that nothing else is known about them. Therefore, one cannot discuss the functions of the CPA verbs on the basis of translation technique alone, but rather translation technique furnishes us with important clues that must be evaluated in the context of comparative synchronic and diachronic evidence.

The format of the ensuing discussion will be as follows. For each CPA construction to be discussed, a brief description will be given along with a summary of the Greek Indicative constructions that it translates, followed by a discussion of the function of the CPA construction. Since many examples are given in the previous chapters, I attempted to avoid repeating CPA examples that were already cited in earlier chapters, though some repetition is inevitable. Also, since the bulk of this chapter deals with the CPA verbal system, it was not always necessary to give the Greek text (nor the English translation) for the CPA examples cited in this chapter.

8.2. OBSERVATIONS ON THE CPA VERBAL SYSTEM

8.2.1. The CPA Perfect

The CPA Perfect is attested in the translation of past tense forms (the Greek Present Indicative expressing historical present and the Aorist Indicative, perhaps also the Imperfect Indicative), resultative forms (the Greek Perfect and Pluperfect Indicative), and some conditional clauses. Thus, the primary function of the CPA Perfect is the expression of past time. Its employment in conditional clauses is part of the common cross-linguistic phenomenon of the employment of past tense forms for the expression of hypothetical and counterfactual modality (Palmer 2001: 203–221). In addition to its function as past tense, the fact that the CPA Perfect translates the Greek Perfect and Pluperfect Indicatives suggests that the for-

mer may also express a perfect function. Compare the following examples:

Matt. 21:36 CCR1

ἔποίησαν αὐτοῖς ὡσαύτως :ܕܝܘܥܗ ܦܥ ܥܡܠܐ ܡܚܘܒܐ

Luke 1:25 CSRO^c

ὅτι οὕτως μοι πεποίηκεν κύριος ܐܘܪܝܬܝ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

Mark 15:7 CSRO^c

οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκεισαν ܕܥܝܠܐ ܦܥ ܥܡܠܐ ܡܚܘܒܐ

All three examples above contain translations of the Greek verb ποιέω “to do,” and all are translated with a CPA Perfect of the verb ܥܡܠܐ “to do.” However, the Greek verb is an Aorist in Matt. 21:36 (ἔποίησαν), a Perfect in Luke 1:25 (πεποίηκεν), and a Pluperfect in Mark 15:7 (πεποιήκεισαν).

The fact that the CPA Perfect is employed to translate the Greek Perfect and Pluperfect Indicatives does not in itself prove that the former has a perfect function. However, there are two reasons why it is plausible to posit that the CPA Perfect has a perfect function in addition to its primary past tense function. First, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, there is a diachronic relationship between the perfect and past functions. That is, resultatives tend to grammaticalize into anteriors, and anteriors into perfectives or past tenses (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994: 51–105), and, in the process, older functions may persist. Thus, it is not unusual for some languages to have a past tense grammatical form that continues to express perfect notions. Second, whereas the Passive of other Greek tenses are translated in CPA mostly by T-stem forms, Greek Perfect and Pluperfect Passives are mostly translated by CPA Passive Participles. Since the latter expresses a passive perfect/resultative sense (see the discussions on the Passive Participle below in sections 8.2.3 and 8.2.4), it is reasonable to conclude that the CPA Perfect can also denote an active perfect sense. Unfortunately, there are too few perfect instances to determine whether this perfect function is resultative or anterior.

The expression ܥܡܠܐ + Perfect occurs in some forms of late ancient Aramaic, e.g., in Syriac (Nöldeke 1904: 206). However, no

translate the Aorist Indicative expressing a general present (i.e., a dramatic or gnomic Aorist) (John 15:8 T-S^c; 15:15 T-S^c), and 1 instance that translates the Perfect Indicative of $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\omega$, which has a present meaning (Matt. 27:43 CCR1). These instances occur in contexts where the Greek verbs may be explained as expressing the general present rather than the actual present. However, it must be acknowledged that distinction between general and actual present is not always clear. Besides, the CPA translator may have interpreted it differently. Hence, although it is possible that the present time function of the CPA Imperfect may be limited to general presents, the paucity of instances does not allow for definite conclusions.⁶³

The semantic overlap between the CPA Participle and the Imperfect in the expression of the present and the future can be illustrated, inter alia, by intra-CPA textual variants. The following are examples:

Matt. 24:12

$\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CSR^P^d]
 $\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CSRO^e]
 $\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$

Matt. 24:47

$\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CCR1]
 $\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CSR^P^d]
 $\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CSRO^e]

Matt. 24:50

$\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CCR1]
 $\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CSR^P^d]
 $\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$ [CSRO^e]
 $\text{וְיִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת הַבְּרָכָה הַזֹּאת עַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְעַל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּשׁ}$

In the above examples, since there are no textual variants in the Greek Vorlage, the CPA variants are due to stylistic variation

⁶³ Joosten (2002) noticed that the Biblical Hebrew Imperfect expressed the general present but not the actual present. The same is true of the Aramaic of Daniel (Li 2009: 101–103, 149–151).

among the translators. The same Greek Present and Future Indicative verbs are translated in CPA either with a (pronoun +) Participle (Matt. 24:12 CSR^{Pd}; 24:47 CCR¹; 24:50 CCR¹, CSRO^e) or with an Imperfect (Matt. 24:12 CSRO^e; 24:47 CSR^{Pd}, CSRO^e; 24:50 CSR^{Pd}).

An interesting illustration of the semantic overlap between the CPA Imperfect and the Participle comes from the translation of the Greek Periphrastic Future, consisting of the Future of εἶμι and a Present Participle. In 1 instance the verb “to be” is translated in CPA with the Imperfect of ܪܫܡ (Mark 13:25 CSR^{Pe}, Dam), and in 2 instances with the expression pronoun + Participle of ܪܫܡ (Matt. 24:9 CSRO^e; Luke 1:20 CSRO^e).

Mark 13:25 CSR^{Pe}

ܪܫܡ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ
καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες

Matt. 24:9 CSRO^e

ܪܫܡ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ
καὶ ἔσεσθε μισοῦμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν διὰ τὸ
ὄνομά μου

Luke 1:20 CSRO^e

ܪܫܡ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔση σιωπῶν

In the above examples, the Future of the auxiliary εἶμι, is translated by a CPA Imperfect of ܪܫܡ in Mark 13:25 and by the expression pronoun + Participle of ܪܫܡ, i.e., ܪܫܡ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ in Matt. 24:9 and ܪܫܡ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ in Luke 1:20. Both types of expressions function as auxiliary to a following Participle, and there is no detectable difference in meaning between them.

Although there is some overlap in the functions of the (pronoun +) Participle and the Imperfect, it is clear that the CPA Participle is more frequently employed in the present tense, and the Imperfect more frequently in the future tense. Moreover, since this study focused on the translation of Greek Indicative verbs, modal instances of the CPA Imperfect are not fully represented.

The expression ܪܫܡ + Imperfect occurs in some forms of late ancient Aramaic, e.g., Syriac (Nöldeke 1904: 209) and Samaritan Aramaic (Vilsker 1981: 84). However, no CPA examples were

attested in the translation of Greek Indicative verbs in the present study.

8.2.3. The CPA Participles

Aramaic Participles have both nominal and verbal functions. Nevertheless, since the instances discussed in this book are translations of Greek finite verbs, all CPA Participles discussed in this study have a predicate function. In terms of voice, however, it is clear that there is no one-to-one relationship between Greek and CPA. The CPA translation is often idiomatic in nature. There are at least three Participles in CPA. In addition to the Active and Passive Participles of active stems, the T-stems also have a Participle. Whereas the non-active forms of the Greek Imperfect, Aorist, Present, and Future Indicative non-deponent verbs are often translated in CPA with T-stem forms, the non-active forms of Greek Perfect and Pluperfect Indicatives are regularly translated with CPA Passive Participles. The difference is due to the fact that, though both the CPA T-stem and Passive Participles may overlap in the expression of some non-active notions, Passive Participles function more frequently as resultatives. That is, the usual non-active form of the CPA Perfect expressing the simple past is the T-stem Perfect, whereas the usual non-active form of the Perfect expressing the anterior/resultative is the Passive Participle. The evidence supports Goldenberg's (1992) observation of a relationship between the perfect aspect and the Aramaic Passive Participle.⁶⁴ The following are some examples of CPA T-stem forms that translate Greek Aorist Passive Indicatives with simple past meaning:

Mark 1:9c CCR1

ܐܘܬܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

⁶⁴ It appears that Farina (2007–08) misunderstood an earlier article of mine (Li 2008) in her assessment that I had disagreed with Goldenberg. In fact, my article agreed with Goldenberg's observation that the Aramaic Passive Participle had a resultative sense, but added that, since the T-stem forms can also function as the passive/non-active counterpart of the Active forms, the study of Aramaic Participles involves three forms rather than only two.

Luke 1:26 CCR3

ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ

Contrast the above examples with the following CPA Passive Participles that translate Greek Perfect Passive Indicatives:

Mark 16:4 CSRP^c

ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ

Luke 19:46 Dam^c

ܘܢܝܢܘܢ [ܘܢܝܢܘܢ] ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ [..]

The above examples employ the CPA Passive Participle in the translation of the Greek Perfect Passive Indicative. Thus, one can distinguish the non-active simple past tense function of the CPA T-stem Perfect from the resultative function of the CPA Passive Participle.

Therefore, T-stem Participles are treated as the non-active counterpart of the Active Participles, and are included in the tally of the expressions ܢܘܢ + Participle and (pronoun +) Participle. On the other hand, Passive Participles function more often as resultatives, and are, therefore, treated separately.

Active and T-stem Participles occur in at least two types of attested CPA verbal participial constructions, the expression ܢܘܢ + Participle and the construction (pronoun +) Participle. In what follows, the said constructions will be discussed in more detail, followed by a discussion of the Passive Participle. It is important to highlight here that the discussion is limited to the verbal and/or predicate functions of these Participles, and is not a complete survey of all their functions.

8.2.3.1. ܢܘܢ + Participle

As is the case with Western Aramaic dialects in general, the verb ܢܘܢ in the expression ܢܘܢ + Participle precedes the Participle, and in some cases serves as auxiliary to a series of two or more Participles. In contrast, in Eastern Aramaic, such as Syriac, the normal word order is Participle + ܢܘܢ.

The construction ܢܘܢ + Participle is mostly employed to translate the Greek Imperfect Indicative, the Periphrastic Imperfect, and the Pluperfect of οἶδα. There are a few instances where it translates the Present Indicative (in the case of historical presents and Presents of past actions still in progress), the Aorist Indicative

(in conditional clauses and with verbs of speaking), and at least once the Perfect Indicative (in a hypothetical clause). The verb $\kappa\alpha\mu$ is a CPA Perfect in virtually all attested instances of $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle translating Greek Indicative verbs. The Imperfect of $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle is rare, but is attested once in the translation of a Greek Future Indicative and once in the translation of a Greek Periphrastic Future, where it has the same function as the 2 attested instances of the expression pronoun + Participle of $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle (see the discussion in section 8.2.2 above).

In passing, it should be mentioned that, as can be expected, the expression Imperative of $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle occurs in CPA in the translation of some Greek Imperatives (e.g., Mark 11:24 CSRP^e), but it is not attested in the translation of Greek Indicative verbs.

In terms of function, the CPA construction $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle generally expresses some type of imperfective aspect. Since imperfective aspect encompasses both progressive and habitual notions, evidence for the imperfective function of $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle is found in the fact that it is employed in the translation of Greek Imperfects expressing both the past progressive and the past habitual. For examples, see chapter two. As for the few instances of Imperfect $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle, due to the paucity of instances, it is not possible to determine whether the construction expresses imperfective aspect in future time or whether it is simply a “periphrastic” future tense. The rest of the discussion deals with Perfect $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle.

Although it is clear that the construction $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle is a past imperfective construction, it does not follow that the Greek Imperfect Indicative and the CPA construction $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle have the same range of meanings and usage. As mentioned earlier, although imperfective constructions express both progressive and habitual aspects, they do not always express the exact same range of meanings across languages. Thus, although it is possible that the CPA translations of Greek inceptive and tendential Imperfects with $\kappa\alpha\mu$ + Participle are due to the fact that this construction expressed the said notions (see examples in chapter two, sections 2.2.3.1 and 2.2.4.1), the few attested instances cannot prove it, especially since the Greek Imperfect can be variously interpreted. Furthermore, Fanning (1990: 191–192, 252–253) explained that the inceptive notion in Greek is based on the discourse rather than

morphology, i.e., it is an effect of the context. “This involves the close collocation of two verbs denoting sequenced situations such that the first indicates the beginning-point of the second” (pp. 191–192). On the other hand, Greek tendential notions arise from the nature of the imperfective aspect itself (pp. 219–220, 249–252).⁶⁵ Therefore, if Fanning is correct, one has a more solid argument for attributing a tendential function to the CPA construction $\kappa\alpha\mu +$ Participle, than an inceptive function.

Additionally, the CPA construction $\kappa\alpha\mu +$ Participle is often employed in counterfactual hypothetical or conditional clauses, in both the protasis (Matt. 24:43 CCR1, CSRPe; John 14:28 T-Se) and the apodosis (Matt. 24:43 CCR1, CSRPe; Mark 13:20 CSRPe, Dam; John 11:21 Dam^d; 11:32 CSRPe, Dam^a). See the discussion below on conditional clauses in section 8.2.6.1.

8.2.3.2. *(Pronoun +) Participle*

More often than not, the Participle without $\kappa\alpha\mu$ occurs with a personal pronoun, which was labeled in this study “pronoun + Participle.” The fact that the pronoun agrees with the subject of the Participle indicates that it serves as a marker of personal agreement rather than as the copula or focus marker. The pronoun usually precedes the Participle, but may also occur after it, and in some cases may even be an enclitic, without any noticeable difference in meaning. The pronoun may also serve as a personal marker for two or more Participles. Further, the presence or absence of the pronoun seems to be optional, which means that the simple Participle by itself is a variant of the construction pronoun + Participle, and the actual construction could also be labeled “(pronoun +) Participle.”

Throughout this study, the simple Participle by itself and the expression pronoun + Participle have been listed separately in the analysis. The following can be said about each one. The expression pronoun + Participle occurs mostly in the translation of the Greek

⁶⁵ Here the label “tendential” is used as an umbrella term for tendential (i.e., at the point of happening), conative (i.e., attempted), and voluntative (i.e., desired) notions. These denote actions that did not come to successful completion. Fanning prefers the label “conative.”

Present Indicative (including true present, historical present, and futuristic present), in the translation of the Perfect Indicative of οἶδα, often in the translation of the Future Indicative, and rarely in the translation of the Aorist Indicative. It might also occur in the apodosis of conditional sentences, translating a Greek Imperfect Indicative (John 15:19 T-S^d), or perhaps an Aorist Indicative (John 15:6 T-S^e). In terms of function, it overlaps with the CPA Imperfect (see below). As for the Participle by itself without either the auxiliary εἰς or the personal pronoun, it occurs in the translation of all tenses, i.e., in the past (including the Greek Imperfect Indicative, the Present Indicative functioning as historical present, and the Aorist Indicative), present (the Greek Present Indicative functioning as true present and the Perfect Indicative of πέθω with a present meaning), and future (including the Greek Future Indicative and the Present Indicative functioning as futuristic present). The simple Participle also occurs in conditional clauses (Matt. 24:22 CSRP^d; perhaps also John 15:6 T-S^d). Notice the CPA textual variant in John 15:6 between the presence of the pronoun (T-S^e) and its absence (T-S^d).

However, though the simple Participle alone and the expression pronoun + Participle were separately analyzed throughout this study, for most regular verbs they are variant forms of the same grammatical construction. That is, the pronoun in the expression pronoun + Participle is optional, and its presence or absence results in no noticeable difference in meaning. One potentially significant difference that can be observed between the simple Participle and the expression pronoun + Participle is that the first occurs in a few instances in the translation of the Greek Imperfect Indicative but the latter does not. It is possible, however, to explain that difference as due to the paucity of instances where the Participle without εἰς translates the Greek Imperfect in this corpus.⁶⁶ Since the majority of instances of the simple Participle alone occur in the

⁶⁶ Note, however, that in the translation of the Greek Present Indicative expressing past actions still in progress, the CPA translation employs both εἰς + Participle (Matt. 23:29 CSRO^e, where the verb εἰς serves as auxiliary to two CPA Participles) and pronoun + Participle (Mark 8:2 CSRP^e).

tive, as well as the Greek futuristic present and the Future Indicative, there appears to be a tendency to translate the Greek Present Indicative in CPA with the expression (pronoun +) Participle regardless of whether it denotes a past, present, or future action. Although the most common CPA translation of both the Greek historical present and the Aorist Indicative consists of a CPA Perfect, there is a noticeable difference in the proportion of instances translated by a participial expression. Orthographically clear instances of the CPA expression (pronoun +) Participle translate a significantly larger proportion of Greek historical presents than Greek Aorist Indicatives. That is, excluding orthographically ambiguous instances and special types of verbs such as those that introduce direct speech, historical presents are translated by 6 instances of (pronoun +) Participle and 20 instances of Perfects (there are also 2 instances where there is a CPA textual variant between Participle and Perfect), whereas Aorist indicatives are translated by 6 instances of (pronoun +) Participle and 372 instances of Perfect.⁶⁷ Similarly, there is a noticeable difference between the proportion of CPA participial expressions employed in the translation of the Greek futuristic present and the Future Indicative. The Greek futuristic present is translated mostly by (pronoun +) Participle and in a minority of instances by the Imperfect (23 Participles to 6 Imperfects in orthographically clear instances), whereas the Greek Future, on the other hand, is translated in the majority of instances by the Imperfect and in a minority of instances by (pronoun +) Participle (101 Imperfects to 51 Participles in orthographically clear instances). It is possible, of course, that some of the instances of Greek historical and futuristic presents were understood by the CPA translators as true presents, but that does not account for all instances. Thus, many of the instances of (pronoun +) Participle in past or future contexts are best explained as due to translation technique rather than Aramaic usage. This is also an example of

⁶⁷ It must also be acknowledged that there are 13 instances of Greek historical presents and 136 instances of Aorist Indicatives that are translated by orthographically ambiguous CPA forms that could be analyzed as either Participle or Perfect. However, one would expect the ratio of the ambiguous instances to be similar to that of the clear instances.

how the study of grammatical function in CPA must pay attention to translation technique.

However, since the CPA (pronoun +) Participle is also used in the translation of the Greek Aorist and Future Indicatives, not all instances can be ascribed to a translation technique. Thus, although the extent to which CPA would normally employ the Participle in past time or future time contexts is much more limited than what is attested in a translated text, one cannot deny that the CPA Participles can have these functions. That brings us to the second reason why the label “historical present” is not the most appropriate for this function, that is, past time instances of the Participle that are not due to translation technique can be explained as contextually based. Schulthess (1924: 87) listed two types of past time functions of the CPA Participle, i.e., Participles in subordinate clauses and Participles expressing a vivid description following a Perfect. There are very few instances of Schulthess’ first category in this study, because it was based on Greek Indicative instances, and most orthographically clear instances of (pronoun) + Participle in this study occur in main clauses. As for Schulthess’ (1924: 87) second type of past time Participles, those expressing a vivid depiction of a past action, it is significant that, as he observed, these Participles occur following a Perfect (see also Margolis 1910: 80–81 for Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic). Aside from instances in conditional clauses and those introducing direct speech, all attested instances of (pronoun +) Participle translating the Greek Aorist Indicative occur after a CPA Perfect (Matt. 25:1 CSRO^c; 28:8 CCR1; Mark 1:29 CCR1; Luke 18:28 CSRS^c).

Matt. 25:1 CSRO^c

אֵיטִינֵס לֹאבוּדְסַי תַּסְ לֹאמְפָדַס עֵאנְטֹוֹן עֲשִׂיִלְתּוֹן עִיס
 אֵיטִינֵס λαβοῦσαι τὰς λαμπάδας ἑαυτῶν ἐξῆλθον εἰς
 ὑπάντησιν τοῦ νυμφίου

Matt. 28:8 CCR1

אֲפֹסִי קָאָמַס רַבִּי מַלְכֵּנוּ קְדִישָׁנוּ עַד אֵלִיעַ אַמְסַ
 קַיִלְתִּילְתִּיל עֵסַי
 Καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι ταχὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου μετὰ φόβου
 καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης ἔδραμον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς
 μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.

Mark 1:29 CCR1

ἔσπευον σὺν αὐτῷ ἔρχομαι ἔπειτα κἀπειτα ᾧ ἦσαν ἄσπευοι
[...] ἄσπευοι γὰρ ἠΐτις

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξεληθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου μετὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου

Luke 18:28 CSRS^c

ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες τὰ ἴδια ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι.

In each of the above examples, the CPA (pronoun +) Participle in past time occurs after a Perfect. What is even more significant is that all these instances involve a reversal of the syntax of the Greek. That is, the Greek sequence Participle + Aorist Indicative was reversed in CPA as Perfect + Participle. This reversal occurs even in some instances of verbs that introduce direct speech (e.g., Luke 9:12 CSRO^c; 9:19 CSRO^c; 11:27 CSRP^c).

Luke 9:12 CSRO^c

προσελθόντες δὲ οἱ δώδεκα εἶπαν αὐτῷ

Luke 9:19 CSRO^c

οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν

Luke 11:27 CSRP^c

ἐπάρασα τις φωνὴν γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπεν αὐτῷ

The fact that these instances of the CPA Participle in past time occur after the Perfect, and that the CPA translator even reversed the order of the Greek syntax to place the Perfect first, suggests that the Participle does not itself express past time, but can have a past time function when the context indicates the temporal sphere. Thus, besides instances that are due to translation technique, the past time function of the CPA Participle appears restricted to instances where the past time is clearly expressed elsewhere in the context, especially by a preceding Perfect verb.

On the other hand, the fact that the past time function of the CPA Participle is contextually conditioned does not necessarily mean that it has no aspectual value. The occasional translation of

the Greek Imperfect Indicative by the simple Participle without $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau$ suggests either that the past time auxiliary $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau$ may be optional, or at least the possibility that the Participle alone without $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau$ could also express an imperfective notion. Although the instances are few, they are worth mentioning.

Matt. 2:18 CCR3

ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ

Mark 4:8 CSRO^c

ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ . . . ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ
 ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ

Luke 2:3 CSRO^c

ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ

In the above examples, ܘܢܘܨܬܐ “she [did not] want” (Matt. 2:18 CCR3) can be described as a past stative continuous, whereas the other instances, ܘܢܘܨܬܐ “and they kept bringing forth” (Mark 4:8 CSRO^c) and ܘܠܗܘܐ “they were going” (Luke 2:3 CSRO^c), occur in contexts that suggest a distributive notion, i.e., individual acts of multiple agents (Wallace 1996: 546), and by extension a past habitual/iterative aspect. In the example from Mark 4:8, the distributive notion is highlighted by the switch in CPA from singular to plural, ܘܢܘܨܬܐ ܘܢܘܨܬܐ , a switch that does not occur in the Greek original (as well as perhaps by the CPA switch from Perfect to Participle). Thus, the Participle in past time contexts can express some types of past imperfective aspect, even without the auxiliary $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau$.

As in the case of past time instances of the CPA expression (pronoun +) Participle, future time instances that are not due to translation technique can be explained as contextually based. Additionally, however, future time CPA Participles also attest to a process common in the development of Northwest Semitic languages in general. That is, the Participle was in the process of taking over the functions of the Imperfect. These explanations are not mutually exclusive.

The third reason why the label “historical present” is not the most appropriate is diachronic in nature. Since, unlike the Greek Present Indicative, the Aramaic Participle was originally atemporal, its employment in the past and the future preceded its development as the present tense. Thus, the employment of the CPA (pronoun +) Participle in past and future contexts could perhaps be evidence

that it has not yet become a full fledged present tense at the diachronic stage of the language attested in the corpus. On the other hand, even if the CPA Participle is a true present tense, its employment in the past and future is better explained as a remnant of its earlier function as an atemporal progressive or imperfective, rather than a more advanced extension of its later present function. This observation does not contradict the well known fact that the Aramaic Participle was in the process of taking over many of the functions of the Imperfect, since the said process does not require it to be a present tense before functioning in the past and the future.

It should be highlighted here that the past and future functions of the CPA (pronoun +) Participle are not in doubt, but only the label “historical present” (and the label “futuristic present”). To some extent, the interpretation of the past and future instances of (pronoun +) Participle depends on whether it is employed to translate the Greek Present Indicative because it is the CPA present tense or because, being atemporal, it is the expression that best fits the Greek original. Unfortunately, the present study cannot give a completely unequivocal answer to this question. Either way, however, the employment of (pronoun +) Participle in past time is not a true “historical present,” because it is not an expansion of its present tense function. Rather, since the Semitic Participle was originally atemporal, the fact that the CPA expression (pronoun +) Participle occurs in past, present, and future contexts may be either because it has not yet fully developed into a present tense, or because in spite of its development as a present tense, some of its earlier atemporal functions persist.

One can also contrast the grammaticalization of the CPA expression pronoun + Participle with the Syriac Participle + pronominal enclitic. On the one hand, neither in CPA nor in Syriac is the grammaticalization of the expression pronoun + Participle complete, since one pronoun can serve as a personal marker for two or more Participles in both CPA and Syriac. On the other hand, the Syriac construction Participle + enclitic pronoun is at a later stage of grammaticalization than its counterpart in CPA. In CPA both the position and the form of the pronoun are variable, i.e., the pronoun can stand before or after the Participle and be independent or enclitic, whereas in Syriac the pronoun is a clitic rather than an independent word. Also, whereas in CPA the expression pronoun +

Participle has not yet become distinct from the simple Participle alone, and continues to have an atemporal function, in Syriac the distinction is clearer, i.e., the Syriac Participle by itself retains its atemporal function but the construction Participle + pronominal enclitic is much more consistently used for the expression of the present tense.⁶⁸ This observation also reflects the difference between Eastern and Western Aramaic of the late ancient Aramaic period.

Although the CPA verbal system did not clearly distinguish between pronoun + Participle and the simple Participle by itself, that distinction may be observable in verbs that commonly introduce direct speech. That is, CPA participial expressions that translate Greek Present Indicatives of verbs of speaking denoting present time consist mostly of the expression pronoun + Participle along with a few instances of the simple Participle by itself, whereas those that translate historical presents and Aorist Indicatives consist of the simple Participle by itself without a personal pronoun.⁶⁹ Thus, at least for verbs that introduce direct speech, the simple Participle by itself can denote both past and present actions, whereas pronoun + Participle tends to be more restricted to present actions. However, because the behavior of verbs that introduce direct speech is distinctive, one must be careful in drawing inferences concerning the CPA verbal system as a whole.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Also, the 3rd person pronoun is omitted in this Syriac expression but not in CPA. For further discussion on the Syriac Participle + pronominal enclitic as the present tense, see Li 2010.

⁶⁹ There are possibly two instances of pronoun + Participle translating historical presents (ܘܢܝ ܐܡܐ Matt. 22:43 CCR1; ܘܢܝ ܐܡܐ Mark 16:6 CSRP^e). However, the form ܘܢܝ is ambiguous, and could be analyzed either as a Participle or a Perfect. Besides, one cannot rule out the possibility that the CPA translator translated the Greek Present literally as a present tense.

⁷⁰ For the sake of completeness, it should be stated that Greek Imperfect Indicative of verbs of speaking are translated mostly with ܠܐܡܐ + Participle, and in a few instances with orthographically clear Perfects. The orthographically ambiguous instances can be analyzed either as CPA Perfects or Participles, including one instance of ܘܢܝ ܐܡܐ (Mark 14:36 CSRP^e). The latter could be an instance of pronoun + Participle of a verb

It is possible that the CPA expression pronoun + Participle was in the process of developing along the same path of grammaticalization as in Syriac, and would eventually have become distinguished from the simple Participle by itself to serve as a grammatical construction limited to the expression of the present tense. However, since with the rise of Islam CPA ceased to be a spoken language, it is not possible to pursue the question of how the CPA Participle would have further developed if the language had continued as a living language.

8.2.4. The CPA Passive Participle

The CPA Passive Participle is mostly employed to translate the Greek Perfect Passive and Pluperfect Passive Indicatives. It also occurs in the translation of the Pluperfect Active Indicative of εἴωθα, which has a simple past meaning, rarely in the translation of Greek Imperfect and Present Indicatives, as well as in the translation of the Periphrastic Passive Present. It is not attested in the corpus in the translation of Greek Aorist or Future Indicatives.

As already mentioned, although non-active Greek Imperfect, Aorist, Present, and Future Indicatives are often translated in CPA with T-stem forms, non-active Greek Perfect and Pluperfect Indicatives are regularly translated with Passive Participles. Thus, although both T-stem and Passive Participles may overlap in the translation of the non-active Greek forms, T-stem forms are the usual means of expressing non-active diathesis in CPA, including, *inter alia*, the passive, whereas Passive Participles function more frequently as resultatives. That is, the CPA Passive Participle denotes a state that resulted from a previous action or event.⁷¹

of speaking in past time, but may simply be a Perfect accompanied by a pronoun. See the discussion of the passage in chapter two, section 2.3.4.

⁷¹ Falla (2008) has an insightful discussion on the classification of words that have participial forms in Syriac. Due to the difficulties in distinguishing results and states, as well as other syntactic complexities, Falla prefers to consider words with such functions adjectives rather than Passive Participles. Nevertheless, the label “Passive Participle” is retained here, because the expression of resultative notions is part of the verbal system of some languages, and the instances discussed here involve the translation of Greek verbs and verb phrases.

Since the CPA Passive Participle, with or without a personal pronoun, denotes a present state, it can be analyzed as a nominal predicate in the clause. Although this study does not deal with the nominal functions of Participles, mention should be made of at least 3 instances where Greek Indicative verbs are translated in CPA with Passive Participles functioning adjectivally. They consist of 1 instance where the Greek Future Indicative of the verb ἀδυνατέω “to be unable, to be impossible” is translated in CPA with the Passive Participle **ܠܡܥܠܐ** (Luke 1:37 CCR3), 1 instance where the Greek Perfect Passive Indicative is translated with the Pael Passive Participle **ܘܥܠܡܐ** (John 19:28 Dam⁶), and 1 instance of the Passive Participle **ܘܥܢܐ** in the phrase **ܘܥܢܐ ܠܥܘܠܡ ܕܥܠܡܐ**, which translates the Greek Aorist ἐγγηγόρησεν in a conditional apodosis (Matt. 24:43 CCR1, CSRPe^d).⁷² Though these instances involve words that are Passive Participles in form, they function adjectivally. These instances are discussed elsewhere in this book, and there is no need for further comment here.

In a number of instances, the CPA Passive Participle occurs in conjunction with **ܠܥܘܠܡ**. Although the combination of **ܠܥܘܠܡ** and a Passive Participle is a literal translation of the Greek Periphrastic Passive Pluperfect (Mark 1:6 CCR1; 15:7 CSROe; 15:26 CSROe; 15:46 CSRPe; Luke 9:45 CSRPe, CSRS^e; John 12:16 T-S^a), it does not follow that both must be analyzed as verbal phrases. It is instructive to compare the translation of the Greek Periphrastic Passive Perfect and Pluperfects.

John 12:14 T-S^a

καθώς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον

ܘܥܢܐ ܠܥܘܠܡ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ

John 12:16 T-S^a

ἐμνήσθησαν ὅτι ταῦτα ἦν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα

ܘܥܢܐ ܠܥܘܠܡ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ

⁷² Another possible instance is **ܘܥܢܐ** in Mark 15:44 CSRPe. However, there it is better analyzed as a CPA Perfect. See the discussion of this passage in chapter six, section 6.1.1.2.

The above examples come from the same context and manuscript. Notwithstanding the fact that the verb εἶμι “to be” is part of the Greek Periphrastic Passive Perfect construction in John 12:14, the CPA translation does not include the verb **ἔσται**, but consists of the Passive Participle alone. On the other hand, the Greek Periphrastic Passive Pluperfect in John 12:16 is translated in CPA with **ἔσται** and the Passive Participle. Thus, the addition of the Perfect of **ἔσται** can be understood as a past time marker. That is, since the CPA Passive Participle without **ἔσται** denotes a present resultative state in a nominal clause, the addition of the Perfect of **ἔσται** turns it into a past resultative state, i.e., a resultative state in a past time clause. Similarly, the translation of the Greek Periphrastic Passive Future Perfect entails the addition of the CPA Imperfect of **ἔσται**, which denotes a future resultative state, i.e., a resultative state in a future time clause (Matt. 18:18 CSRPe).

Another interesting comparison comes from the following instances.

Mark 10:1 CSRO^e

ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται [ἔσται]

Mark 15:8 CSRO^e

ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται
ἔσται [ἔσται] ἔσται ἔσται ἔσται

On **ἔσται** as a Passive Participle, see Müller-Kessler’s (1991: 36). Although the CPA expression **ἔσται ἔσται** is the same in both passages above, they translate two different Greek expressions. The example from Mark 10:1 is a translation of the Greek Pluperfect Active Indicative of εἶωθα “to be accustomed to, be in the habit of,” whose Pluperfect has a simple past meaning (see also Matt. 27:15 CCR1, CSRO^e, CSRPe). On the other hand, as mentioned in chapter two (see section 2.2.2.5), the CPA reading in Mark 15:8 seems to follow a few late manuscripts that read καθὼς ἔθος ἦν ἵνα τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς “as it was custom, that he should release Barabbas to them.” Therefore, it is best to analyze **ἔσται ἔσται** in Mark 15:8 as a past time nominal sentence, translating the Greek copular clause ἔθος ἦν.

There is also an interesting instance of a CPA textual variant consisting of the presence or absence of **ἔσται** in conjunction with

the Passive Participle. It occurs in the translation of a Greek Imperfect Indicative (John 11:38 CSRP^d, Dam^a).

John 11:38

[. . .] ܠܘܠܐ ܕܝܘܡ ܥܘܒܐ [CSRP^d]
 ܠܘܠܐ ܠܘܠܐ ܕܝܘܡ ܥܘܒܐ [Dam^a]

In the above example, there is no textual variant in the Greek Vorlage. Thus, the distinction between ܠܘܠܐ ܕܝܘܡ (CSRP^d) and ܠܘܠܐ (Dam^a) in the CPA witnesses is stylistic, and shows that the addition of ܕܝܘܡ to the Passive Participle is optional, at least in some contexts.

Thus, the combination of ܕܝܘܡ and a Passive Participle is best analyzed not as a verbal phrase ܕܝܘܡ + Passive Participle, but as a Passive Participle functioning as a predicate adjective accompanied by ܕܝܘܡ functioning as a linking verb/temporal marker. Nevertheless, though there is a syntactic difference between a resultative adjective accompanied by a past time marker and a past time resultative expression, the two expressions are very similar in terms of meaning. In fact, one can posit the following diachronic development for the two expressions:

[past] + [resultative] > [past resultative]

That is, what begins as a combination of a past time marker and a resultative adjective can develop into a past time resultative verbal phrase. Either way, the expression denotes a past resultative (i.e., pluperfect) state, as in other forms of Aramaic (Nöldeke 1904: 219,220; Margolis 1910: 82).

In addition, the combination of ܕܝܘܡ and a Passive Participle also occurs in the translation of the Greek Perfect Indicative in a hypothetical clause (Mark 9:42 CSRO^e). See the discussion below on conditional clauses, especially section 8.2.6.1.

In some other forms of Aramaic the Peal Passive Participle of certain transitive verbs can at times function with the active meaning of the root, e.g., Samaritan Aramaic (Rosenberg 1901: 33), Syriac (Nöldeke 1904: 220; Goldenberg 1992: 118–119), Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (Margolis 1910: 82). It is possible that this phenomenon also occurred in CPA, though the attested instances in this study were too few for a thorough analysis. Among the possible examples that can be given, there is the instance of ܘܚܘܠ in Matt. 24:43 (ܘܚܘܠ ܕܝܘܡ ܕܘܠܐ, discussed above) in the context where other

clauses have ܠܐܘܡ + Active Participle, as well as 4 instances of the CPA Peal Passive Participle ܚܘܝܢܐ “to need” employed in the translation of the Greek expression *χρειαὶν ἔχω* “to have need” (Matt. 26:65 CSRG/O^d; Mark 11:3 CSRP^c; John 2:25 Sin^a; 13:29 CCR8).

Matt. 26:65 CSRG/O^d

ܠܐܘܡܢܐ ܚܘܝܢܐ ܠܩܘܪܘܢܐ: ܬܝܢܐ ܚܘܝܢܐ ܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
τί ἔτι *χρειαὶν ἔχομεν* μαρτύρων;

Mark 11:3 CSRP^c

ܠܥܘܠܡܐ ܚܘܝܢܐ ܠܥܘܠܡܐ
Ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ *χρειαὶν ἔχει*.

John 2:25 Sin^a

ܘܥܠܡܐ ܚܘܝܢܐ ܠܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
καὶ ὅτι οὐ *χρειαὶν εἶχεν* ἵνα τις μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου

John 13:29 CCR8

ܠܥܘܠܡܐ ܚܘܝܢܐ ܠܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
Ἀγόρασον ὧν *χρειαὶν ἔχομεν* εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν

In the above examples, the Greek expression *χρειαὶν ἔχω* “to have need” is translated by expressions that include the word ܚܘܝܢܐ, a Peal Passive Participle of ܚܘܝܢܐ “to lack, need.” All the examples except John 2:25 translate Greek Present Indicatives. The instance in John 2:25 translates a Greek Imperfect Indicative, and the past time context accounts for the presence of ܠܐܘܡ before the Passive Participle.⁷³ The employment of ܚܘܝܢܐ in the translation of the Greek expression *χρειαὶν ἔχω* “to have need” can be contrasted with the way the expression was generally translated in Syriac. In Syriac, the expression was clearly passive, since it consisted of the T-stem of ܚܘܝܢܐ often with ܕ of the person in need (Williams 2004: 192). In contrast, two of the instances of ܚܘܝܢܐ above (Matt. 26:65;

⁷³ As for the spelling ܚܘܝܢܐ for ܚܘܝܢܐ in John 2:25, it is an example of a phenomenon more common in the late period of CPA. Müller-Kessler (1991: 46–47) explained the spelling interchange of the sibilants ܘ, ܟ, and ܟ as evidence of that they were no longer differentiated in pronunciation.

εὔρεν αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ
ὀφθαλμοὶ βεβαρημένοι

Mark 11:1 CSRPe

كأنهم نائمون
Καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα εἰς Βηθφαγή καὶ
Βηθανίαν

As discussed in section 2.1.3, the word نائمون “sleeping, asleep” in Matt. 25:5 above it is best analyzed as an adjective of the *qattil* pattern, rather than as either an Active or a Passive Participle of نائم (see Goldenberg 1992: 118–119). In terms of function, however, نائمون can be analyzed either as a past time nominal sentence, “they were asleep,” or as an equivalent to the expression نائم + Participle, “they were sleeping.”⁷⁵ Similarly, the expression قريبون in the example from Mark 11:1 could be interpreted either as a sentence with an adjectival predicate, “they were close,” or as equivalent to قريب + Participle, “they were approaching.” Finally, the fact that قريبون ... نائمون in Matt. 26:43 translates a Greek Periphrastic Passive Pluperfect makes the adjective قريبون “heavy” a good candidate for a resultative sense. Nevertheless, in that context, the simple adjectival meaning seems more prominent than the verbal meaning. All these instances have in common that they occur in past time contexts.

The 2 instances of the CPA pronoun + *qattil* verbal adjective translate the Greek Present Indicative expressing present time (Mark 7:6 CSROe; 14:37 CSRPe).

Mark 7:6 CSRPe

هذا قلبك
οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν
πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ

Mark 14:37 CSRPe

هذا قلبك
هذا قلبك

⁷⁵ Note also نائمون in the example from Matt. 26:43 above, which translates the Greek Present Active Participle καθεύδοντας.

καὶ ἔρχεται καὶ εὕρισκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· Σίμων, *καθεύδεις*;

Concerning the form *ܘܥܒܝܢ* in Mark 14:37, see the discussion above. The word *ܘܥܒܝܢ* in the example from Mark 7:6 above also belongs to *qattil* pattern (Müller-Kessler 1991: 93).

The 2 instances of the CPA *qattil* verbal adjective by itself consist of the Greek impersonal Present Indicative ἔξεστιν “possible, permitted” translated in CPA with *ܘܥܒܝܢ* “allowed” (Matt. 27:6 CSRP^f; Mark 10:2 CSRO^e).

Matt. 27:6 CSRP^f

ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ

Οὐκ ἔξεστιν βαλεῖν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν

Mark 10:2 CSRO^e

[ܟ]ܕܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ ܘܥܒܝܢ

Καὶ προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ ἔξεστιν ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι

In both the above instances, the Greek ἔξεστιν “possible, permitted” is translated in CPA with the *qattil* verbal adjective *ܘܥܒܝܢ* “permitted, allowed.” The word has passive, resultative, and stative nuances, though it is also adjectival in syntactic function.

In addition to the clear instances, there is at least 1 other possible instance of a *qattil* verbal adjective that translates a Greek Indicative verb. In Mark 14:42 CSRP^e, *ܘܥܒܝܢ* translates the Greek Perfect Indicative ἤγγικεν, from the verb ἐγγίζω “to come near.” However that instance is better analyzed as a CPA Perfect. See the discussion on this passage in chapter six, section 6.1.1.2.

Although adjectives of the *qattil* pattern are clearly verbal adjectives that can express resultative notions, the instances are too few to comment more extensively on their verbal/participial function. However, it is worth noting that instances of *ܘܥܒܝܢ* + *qattil* verbal adjective occur in past time contexts, and instances of (pronoun +) *qattil* verbal adjective in present time contexts.

8.2.6. CPA Conditional Clauses

The various grammatical constructions discussed above also occur in conditional clauses. Since this study was based on the translation of Greek Indicative verbs, the instances of conditional clauses included in this study present only a partial picture of CPA condi-

tional clauses. Nevertheless, they are sufficient to make the following observations.

8.2.6.1. *Counterfactual Conditions*

As already mentioned, the employment of past tense forms for the expression of hypothetical and counterfactual modality is a common cross-linguistic phenomenon (Palmer 2001: 203–221). Thus, CPA counterfactual hypothetical or conditional clauses are attested in this study with grammatical constructions that are related to the past time, i.e., $\text{סָמ} + \text{Participle}$, the Passive Participle, and the Perfect. The counterfactual nature of the clause is expressed by the conjunction אִם (Müller-Kessler 1991: 149), which is usually followed by one of the said verbal forms. However, it is difficult to discern any semantic difference between the various past time forms used. For example:

John 14:28 T-S^c

אִם סָמַעְתֶּם וְשָׁמַעְתִּי לִי: אִם שָׁמַעְתֶּם וְשָׁמַעְתִּי לִי
אִם:

Mark 13:20 CSRP^e

אִם לֹא יָבִיאוּ לָנוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים הַלְלוּ לַיהוָה לְבָרְכֵהוּ, לֵאמֹר
אִם יָבִיאוּ לָנוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים הַלְלוּ לַיהוָה

The examples above show the construction $\text{סָמ} + \text{Participle}$ employed in the protasis and the Perfect in the apodosis (John 14:28) as well as in the reverse order, i.e., the Perfect in the protasis and $\text{סָמ} + \text{Participle}$ in the apodosis (Mark 13:20), with no apparent difference in meaning. Also, the expression $\text{סָמ} + \text{Participle}$ can sometimes be used in both the protasis and the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional clause.

Matt. 24:43 CCR1

אִם סָמַעְתֶּם וְשָׁמַעְתִּי לִי: אִם סָמַעְתֶּם וְשָׁמַעְתִּי לִי
[. . .] אִם סָמַעְתֶּם וְשָׁמַעְתִּי לִי

In the above example of $\text{סָמ} + \text{Participle}$ occurs in both the protasis and the apodosis of the same counterfactual conditional clause. The above example also contains the Passive Participle יָבִיאוּ in the apodosis (on this, see the discussion below and in chapter five, section 5.1.3). The following is another example of the em-

permit definite conclusions, and it is possible that these instances of **ኢ** could be otherwise explained.

Even if it turns out to be correct that **ኢ** can function as a correlative with **ላ**, this function does not seem to be shared by its negative counterpart **ይ**. Negative counterfactual apodoses other than nominal sentences are negated with **ላ**. For example:

John 15:22 CCR8

ላ ለእኔ ሳይሆን ለሌሎች ለእኔ ሳይሆን ለሌሎች ለእኔ ሳይሆን ለሌሎች

In the above example, the counterfactual apodosis is negated with **ላ** instead of **ይ**. The latter is not attested as a focus marker on a negative counterfactual apodosis. See also another example in Mark 13:20 CSRP^e cited earlier in this section.

8.2.6.2. *Factual conditions*

In contrast to counterfactual conditional clauses, factual conditional clauses employ a different conjunction, **ከ** (Müller-Kessler 1991: 149), which in turn can be followed by non-past time verbal constructions, such as (pronoun +) Participle and the Imperfect, which are not commonly attested in counterfactual conditions.

The simple Participle without **እኔ** is very common in factual conditional clauses (Matt. 21:24 CCR1; 21:25 CCR1; 21:26 CCR1; 24:50 CSRP^d, CSRO^e; Mark 11:31 CSRP^e; Luke 20:5 Dam^c; 20:6 Dam^c; John 11:48 Dam^e; 15:6 T-S^c, T-S^d; 15:10 T-S^c; 15:20 CCR8; 16:7 CCR8).

John 11:48 Dam^c

ከ እኔ ሳይሆን ለሌሎች ለእኔ ሳይሆን ለሌሎች ለእኔ ሳይሆን ለሌሎች
[...]

be understood as, “If . . . [counterfactual protasis], it would be that . . . [counterfactual apodosis],” which in turn can develop into simply, “If . . . [counterfactual protasis], then . . . [counterfactual apodosis].” However, as the instance in Luke 10:13 shows, **ኢ** is not necessarily clause initial, but occurs immediately before the main verb of the apodosis.

καὶ ἦσαν οἱ φαγόντες τοὺς ἄρτους πεντακισχίλιοι
ἄνδρες

Matt. 24:5 CSRO^c

ܠܡܫܘܢܐ ܕܘܡ ܠܘܟ

ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ χριστός

Matt. 23:11 CCR1

ܕܘܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܘܠܡܘܬܐ

ὁ δὲ μείζων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος

The above examples show the verb ܠܘܟ employed in the translation of εἰμὶ in the Imperfect (Mark 6:44) and Future (Matt. 23:11), but a pronoun in the translation of εἰμὶ in the Present (Matt. 24:5).

The fact that the Participle of ܠܘܟ is rarely employed to express the present tense (and not attested in the translation of εἰμὶ in the Present Indicative in this corpus) is best explained by the fact that the verb “to be” is not obligatory in Semitic. The Participle of ܠܘܟ is attested once in the translation of the Imperfect Indicative of εἰμὶ (John 12:6 T-S^a) and in at least 2 instances of the translation of the Future Indicative of εἰμὶ (Luke 1:34 CCR3; 9:41 CSRO^c, CSRS^c).⁷⁹ Also, the expression pronoun + Participle of ܠܘܟ is attested as an alternative to the Imperfect of ܠܘܟ in the translation of the auxiliary εἰμὶ in the Periphrastic Future (Matt. 24:9 CSRO^c; Luke 1:20 CSRO^c). Further, the Participle of ܠܘܟ “to be” is also attested at least once in the translation of the Present Indicative of γίνομαι (Luke 11:26 CSRP^c).

In passing, it should be mentioned that older Aramaic grammars ascribed a copula function for the personal pronoun, especially the 3rd person, which is understandable when one compares the above examples (e.g., for Samaritan Aramaic, Vilsker 1981: 83; for Syriac, Nöldeke 1904: 246; for Jewish Babylonian/Talmudic, Margolis 1910: 87–88; etc.). However, this view has been challenged in

⁷⁹ The instance in Luke 9:41 consists of pronoun + Participle of ܠܘܟ. There is also an instance of a CPA textual variant in the translation of the Future Indicative of εἰμὶ between the Imperfect ܠܘܟ (Matt. 24:51 CCR1, CSRP^d) and the Participle ܠܘܟ (Matt. 24:51 CSRO^c). See chapter four. Further, the Future Indicative of εἰμὶ is also translated once with the T-stem Participle of ܘܚܝܘܬܐ (Mark 11:24 CSRP^c).

To some extent, the Greek verbs εἰμί and γίνομαι have overlapping functions, and their CPA translation is similar. However there are a few important exceptions. First, in a number of instances, the Aorist Indicative of γίνομαι occurs in expressions such as καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δέ, which function as discourse markers similar to the Biblical Hebrew יָהִי. Falla (2000: 18–19) explains such instances as “marking a sequence introducing new information.” These are usually translated with the Perfect of ראם (and in only 1 instance with the T-stem of חבב Luke 1:8 CSRP^c).

Luke 2:1 CSRO^c

כָּסַמְסָא וְלִמְסָא כָּסַמְסָא

Ἐγένετο δέ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις

In the above example the Greek ἐγένετο δέ serving as a discourse marker is translated with כָּסַמְסָא.

In other contexts of the translation of γίνομαι there is a greater tendency for ראם to overlap with the T-stem of חבב “to be made/done,” which is employed more often when the Greek verb can be rendered in the sense of “to happen, to occur.” Notice the two instances of the Aorist Indicative of γίνομαι in the following example.

Matt. 28:2–4 CCR1

וְדַמְסָא [כָּ]מְסָא יֵצֵא מִכְּסָמְסָא חֲבִיבִים וְיֵצֵא כָּסַמְסָא
[. . .] . . . כָּסַמְסָא וְכָּסַמְסָא . . . כָּסַמְסָא וְ
כָּסַמְסָא וְכָּסַמְסָא

And look *there was* a great earthquake. For an angel of the Lord descended from heaven. . . And his appearance was like lightning. . . [And for fear of him, the guards shook,] and *became* as dead.

καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας· ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου καταβὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ . . . ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπή . . . ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ ἐσεισθήσαν οἱ τηροῦντες καὶ ἐγενήθησαν ὡς νεκροί.

In the above example, the Aorist Indicative of γίνομαι is translated with the CPA Perfect of two different verbs, the T-stem of חבב in v. 2 and the verb ראם in v. 4.

These brief remarks are preliminary in nature. Though the phenomena described above are not necessarily unique to CPA, a more comprehensive study of CPA nominal clauses is desirable.

8.4. OBSERVATIONS ON TEXTUAL ISSUES

Although this study did not focus on text critical matters, textual variants were frequent enough to warrant some brief observations. It is no surprise that the Greek text that served as the basis of the CPA translations of the Gospels differs from the standard published text (NA²⁸). The CPA translation of the Gospels often agrees with the Byzantine/majority text family of the Greek New Testament, as was demonstrated in the case of Mark 2:22 CCR1 (see the discussion of the passage in chapter three, section 3.3.4). See also Mark 8:22 CSRO^e; 11:23 CSRPe; 11:24 CSRPe (see chapter three, sections 3.2.3, 3.5.1, and 3.3.4 respectively).

However, there are also instances where the CPA translation departs from the Byzantine text, such as in Mark 14:41 CSRPe (see chapter five, section 5.1.8); 14:72 CSRO^e (see chapter two, section 2.2.3.2); 15:8 CSRO^e (see chapter two, section 2.2.2.5); John 15:7 T-S^c (see chapter four, section 4.3.1); 19:29–30 Dam^f (see chapter six, section 6.1.2.3). Further, the example of the CPA textual variant in Luke 9:43 (CSRS^e and CSRO^e) may suggest that more than one text type served as the Vorlage for the CPA texts. See the discussion on this passage in chapter two, section 2.1.5. These observations are of a preliminary nature, and it is hoped that the matter will be further studied by scholars with more expertise in New Testament textual criticism.

9. CONCLUSION

The foregoing study explored both the translation of Greek Indicative verbs in the CPA Gospels and its implications for the CPA verbal system. I argued here that though there is evidence that the language of the CPA translation is influenced by the Greek original, it is not a mechanical translation. It is real Aramaic, albeit with some Greek influence. The presence of textual, stylistic, and/or idiomatic variation in an otherwise literal translation provides useful clues concerning both the nature of the CPA translation and the functions of CPA verbs. Hence, the evidence afforded by translation technique concerning the syntax and morphosyntax of the CPA verbal system was discussed in light of synchronic and diachronic comparative evidence.

This research involved entering and analyzing hundreds of instances. I have personally double-checked the data and the analysis, and tried to the best of my ability to find and correct errors. However, it is inevitable that some errors remain, and I cannot claim that it is free from errors. Hopefully, in spite of any errors that might remain, the general conclusions of this study will still prove to be correct.

Since this study is based on only selected phenomena related to CPA translation technique and the CPA verbal system, a more complete study of both may confirm or disprove some of my conclusions. Nevertheless, it is my hope that this short study will make a modest contribution to the understanding of both CPA translation technique and the CPA verbal system.

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INDEX OF PASSAGES CITED

Matt.	
1:20 CCR3	78, 118
2:4 CCR3	92
2:5 CCR3	126, 136
2:18 CCR3	23, 79, 168
2:22 CCR3	123
2:23 CCR3	111
18:10 CSRPe	51
18:14 CSRPe	73
18:18 CSRPe	149
18:20 CSRPe	77, 141
21:27 CCR1	47
21:28 CCR1	54
21:31 CCR1	83, 85
21:33 CCR1	32
21:36 CCR1	155
21:40 CCR1	99
22:46 CCR1	23
23:5 CCR1	50
23:11 CCR1	105, 184
23:16 CCR1	75
23:16 CSROe	75
23:18 CCR1	54
23:20 CCR1	164
23:29 CSROe	68
23:38 CSROe	91
24:5 CSROe	71, 184
24:6 CSROe	103
24:9 CSROe	112, 158
24:12 CSROe	157
24:12 CSRPe	157
24:22 CSRPe	122
24:26 CSRPe	74, 78
24:27 CSRPe	109
24:39 CSRPe	123
24:40–41 CSRPe	64
24:42 CCR1	64
24:43 CCR1	67, 179
24:43 CSRPe	120
24:47 CCR1	47, 157
24:47 CSROe	157
24:47 CSRPe	47, 157
24:50 CCR1	55, 157
24:50 CSROe	55, 157
24:50 CSRPe	157
24:51 CCR1	107
24:51 CSROe	107
24:51 CSRPe	107
25:1 CSROe	121, 166
25:2 CCR1	33, 153
25:2 CSROe	33, 153
25:2 CSRPe	33, 153
25:5 CSROe	20, 177
25:8 CSROe	91
25:13 CCR1	140
26:24 CCR1	92
26:31 CCR1	136
26:40 CSRPe	60
26:43 CCR1	148, 177
26:45 CCR1	90
26:46 CCR1	135
26:48 BL	72
26:48 CCR1	72
26:48 CSRPe	72
26:50 CSRPe	62
26:63 CSRG/O ^d	50
26:65 CSRG/O ^d	81, 175
26:75 CSRO ^d	129
27:6 CSRPe	178
27:8 CSROe	131
27:11 CSROe	127
27:11 CSRPe	127
27:15 CCR1	146
27:18 CCR1	146
27:18 CSROe	146
27:30 CCR8	25
27:38 CCR8	92
27:43 CCR1	71, 140

27:45 CCR1	130	11:23 CSRPe	89, 106, 156
28:2-4 CCR1	186	11:24 CSRPe	66, 106
28:8 CCR1	167	11:27 CSRPe	57
Mark		12:17 CSRPe	43
1:6 CCR1	148	12:23 CSRPe	125
1:8 CCR1	98	12:24 CSRPe	91
1:9c CCR1	160	12:44 CSRPe	36
1:21 CCR1	58	13:20 CSRPe	119, 179
1:22 CCR1	40	13:22 CSRPe	113
1:29 CCR1	121, 167	13:22 Dam	113
2:7 CCR1	156	13:25 CSRPe	158
2:10 CCR1	80	14:36 CSRPe	38
2:16 CSRG ^d	37	14:37 CSRPe	53, 178
2:18 CCR1	61, 85, 89	14:42 CSRPe	135
2:18 CSRG ^d	61, 89	14:46 CSRPe	124
2:19 CCR1	81	14:56 CSRPe	33
2:21 CCR1	87	15:7 CSRO ^e	147, 155
2:22 CCR1	65	15:8 CSRO ^e	173
4:8 CSRO ^e	168	15:10 CSRO ^e	144
5:32 CSRO ^e	27	15:12 CSRO ^e	38
5:35 CSRO ^e	57	15:16 CSRO ^e	80
6:44 CSRO ^e	184	15:17 CCR8	58
6:47 CSRO ^e	35	15:17 CSRO ^e	58
7:6 CSRO ^e	53	15:19 CSRO ^e	25
7:6 CSRPe	177	15:20 CSRO ^e	60
7:14 CSRO ^e	37	15:23 CSRO ^e	28
7:37 CSRPe	40, 135	15:47 CSRPe	21, 138
8:2 CSRPe	68	16:4 CSRPe	160
8:3 CSRPe	82	16:6 CSRPe	77
8:17 CSRO ^e	93	Luke	
8:21 CSRO ^e	93	1:7a CSRPe	35
8:22 CSRO ^e	59, 164	1:8 CSRPe	129
9:3 CSRO ^e	130	1:14a CSRPe	109
9:4 CSRO ^e	29	1:15 CSRPe	106
9:5 CSRO ^e	75	1:20 CSRO ^e	103, 158
9:6 CSRO ^e	145	1:25 CSRO ^e	155
9:11 CSRO ^e	83	1:26 CCR3	160
9:13 CSRO ^e	134	1:33 CCR3	105
9:28 CSRPe	37	1:34 CCR3	107
9:30 CSRPe	18	1:36 CCR3	74
9:31 CSRPe	100	1:37 CCR3	101
9:34 CSRPe	129	1:59 CSRO ^e	130
9:39 CSRPe	100	1:80 CSRO ^e	41
9:42 CSRO ^e	137, 180	2:1 CSRO ^e	186
10:1 CSRO ^e	173	2:3 CSRO ^e	25, 168
10:2 CSRO ^e	178	9:12 CSRO ^e	167
11:1 CSRPe	61, 177	9:19 CSRO ^e	127, 167
11:2 CSRO ^e	164	9:41 CSRS ^e	108
11:3 CSRPe	50, 63, 175	9:43 CSRO ^e	21

9:43 CSRS ^c	21	6:42 CSRP ^c	134
9:44 CSRS ^c	104	7:35 CSRO ^c	127
9:48 CSRP ^c	76	7:37 CSRO ^c	147
9:49 CSRP ^c	55	11:9 Dam ^d	73, 185
9:49 CSRS ^c	55	11:30 CSRP ^d	144
9:50 CSRP ^c	78	11:32b CSRP ^d	34
9:50 CSRS ^c	78	11:34 CSRP ^d	86
9:53 CSRP ^c	30	11:34 Dam ^a	86
10:13 CSRO ^c	180	11:38 CSRP ^d	174
11:26 CSRP ^c	87	11:38 Dam ^a	174
11:27 CSRP ^c	167	11:39 Dam ^a	76
11:31 CSRP ^c	112	11:48 Dam ^c	182
11:36 CSRP ^c	107	12:6 T-S ^a	32
17:16 CSRS ^c	32	12:14 T-S ^a	173
17:21 CSRS ^c	78	12:16 T-S ^a	173
17:22 CSRS ^c	100	13:17 CCR8.....	76
17:27 CSRS ^c	42	13:19 CCR8.....	79
17:27–28 CSRS ^c	18	13:29 CCR8.....	36, 175
17:37 CSRS/P ^c	86	14:27 T-S ^c	54
18:9 CSRS/P ^c	127	14:28 T-S ^c	24, 179
18:27 CSRS ^c	75	15:6 T-S ^c	52, 182
18:28 CSRS ^c	167	15:6 T-S ^d	52, 182
19:4 CSRP ^c	104	15:7 T-S ^c	110
19:9 CSRP ^c	185	15:8 T-S ^c	123
19:46 Dam ^c	160	15:13 T-S ^c	81
19:47 Dam ^c	30	15:19 T-S ^d	24
19:48 CSRO ^c	42	15:21 CCR8.....	140
John		15:22 CCR8.....	181
2:25 Sin ^a	175	19:28 Dam ^f	137
6:33 CSRP ^c	72	19:30 Dam ^f	138
6:39 CSRP ^c	156	19:31 Dam ^f	33

