

Contributions réunies par

Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamel et Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami

Hommages

à

Fayza Haikal

Extrait



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Verbal Modality in Egyptian and Elsewhere

THE TOPIC of this paper are verbal expressions implying volition, obligation, permission, possibility, etc. We will not discuss epistemic modalities, that is those that concern the degree of certainty attributed to the event reported (cf. *may in he may be coming by now*).

Languages have, in the main, three different means to express this.

1. Modal verb forms; cf. the conjunctive and optative moods of the Latin verb.
2. Modal auxiliary verbs, like *will, shall, must, can, may, to want, (to) need, to be (to), to have (to)*, etc., and -in other languages- also non-verbal auxiliary elements.
3. Rendering modality by means of adverbial expressions, as in *possibly, hopefully, of necessity*, etc. (This latter phenomenon will not be discussed here.)

1. MODAL VERB FORMS

Modal verb forms quite often express partly a wish, partly an obligation. Closer inspection shows that the meaning typically depends on the grammatical person: if the form is the first person the meaning is volitive, whereas it is jussive for the second and third persons:

	Old/Middle Egyptian. Subjunctive ¹	Late Egyptian. Future	Coptic. Optative	Mod. Arabic. Imperfect without <i>b(i)-</i>	Meaning
1sc	<i>ḏḏj</i> ²	<i>jwʒj r ḏḏ</i> ³	<i>ēēxw</i> ⁴	<i>'aqūl</i>	<u>I want</u> to say
2sm 2sf	<i>ḏḏk</i> <i>ḏḏt</i>	<i>jwʒk r ḏḏ</i> <i>jwʒt r ḏḏ</i>	<i>ēēxw</i> <i>ēēxw</i>	<i>tiqūl</i> <i>tiqūli</i>	You are to say
3sm 3sf	<i>ḏḏf</i> <i>ḏḏs</i>	<i>jwʒf r ḏḏ</i> <i>jwʒs r ḏḏ</i>	<i>ēēxw</i> <i>ēēxw</i>	<i>yiqūl</i> <i>tiqūl</i>	He/she is to say

See footnotes p. 2.

The explanation of this seeming inequity is that these forms are expressions of the wish of the speaker. If the form is first person (speaker and agent are identical) the meaning is, "I want to...". If, however, the form is second or third person (speaker and agent are not identical) the meaning "I want you/him/her to" results in a jussive meaning: "you are to...", "he/she is to...".

This is true for statements. In questions, however, the situation is different. In this case it is the wish of the addressed that determines the meaning.

	Old/Middle Egyptian. Subjunctive	Late Egyptian. Future	Modern Arabic. Imperfect without b(i)-	Meaning
1sc	<i>jn dd=i</i>	<i>n jw=j r dd</i>	(hal) 'aqūl?	Am I to say?
2sm 2sf	<i>jn dd=k</i> <i>jn dd=t</i>	<i>n jw=k r dd</i> <i>n jw=t r dd</i>	(hal) tiqūl? (hal) tiqūli?	Do <u>you</u> want to say?
3sm 3sf	<i>jn dd=f</i> <i>jn dd=s</i>	<i>n jw=f r dd</i> <i>n jw=s r dd</i>	(hal) yiqūl? (hal) tiqūl?	Is he/she to say?

Possibility ("can"), permission ("may"), but also obligation ("must") may be expressed by the Middle Egyptian forms of the Aorist tense, viz. *jw=f sdm=f* (independent, sequential, or circumstantial), circumstantial *sdm=f*, imperfective *sdm=f* (noun clauses), imperfective participle and relative form (attributive clauses)⁵, and the contingent *hr* forms and constructions, viz. *sdm.hr=f*, *hr=f sdm=f*, and *hr sdm=f*. Of the negative constructions, *n sdm.n=f* "he cannot hear" is a very typical case in question. But also the forms of the prospective tense may have potential connotation, as in *ht nbt nfrt 'nhtj ntr jm* "all kinds of god things on which a god may live".

The construction *mk wj r sdm* can probably have the meaning "I have to", or "I shall have to"; cf. *mk wj r nhm 'w=k, shtj, hr wnm.f jt=j*; *mk sw r hbt hr kn=f*, "Now I have to (?) seize your donkey, peasant, for eating my barley. It will have to tread out grain for its offense!" (Peasant B 1, 11).

¹ The form in question is most often what J.P. Allen (*The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, BiAeg 2, Malibu, 1984) terms the "subjunctive *sdm=f*" (as different from the "prospective *sdm=f*") whereas P. Vernus (*Future at Issue*, YES 4, New Haven, 1990) calls the first "prospective *sdm=f*" and the second "prospective *sdmw=f*". From the Old Kingdom on already, the two forms have a tendency to merge (J.P. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, §365). According to P. Vernus (*op. cit.*, p. 15-16; p. 30-31) the prospective *sdm=f* (i.e., his "prospective *sdmw=f*") expresses originally an objective future, but assumes a modal colouring later. Also cf. L. DEPUYDT, "A History of Research on the Prospective *sdm.f* Forms in Middle Egyptian", JARCE 30, 1993, p. 11.

² Cf. P. VERNUS, *op. cit.*, p. 20-24. Note that all first person examples given can be conceived as meaning "I want to (...)".

³ Cf. H. SATZINGER, *Neuägyptische Studien*, Wien, 1976, p. 192-193.

⁴ Cf. B. LAYTON, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary*, PLO Neue Serie 20, Leipzig, 2000, §338.

⁵ Cf. H. SATZINGER, "On Tense and Aspect in Middle Egyptian", in G. ENGLUND, P.J. FRANSEN (ed.), *Crossroads-Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm*, CNIP 1, Copenhagen, 1986, p. 297-313, esp. p. 297-298.

As for Coptic, the optative ⲉⲓⲥ-ⲥⲟⲩⲙ ("third future") has already been mentioned. Another form of frequent modal colouring is the aorist, ⲩⲁⲥ-ⲥⲟⲩⲙ, negative ⲙⲉⲥ-ⲥⲟⲩⲙ. This is typically the case in non-literary texts: ⲉⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩⲩⲱ ⲩⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ⁶, "At the moment they want they shall be removed"; ⲛⲉⲭⲕⲛⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲓⲁⲩⲩ ⲉ-ⲛⲛ.⁷, "The things which I will do/have to do for NN."; ⲙⲁⲓⲭⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ⁸, "I will not sow them for you!"; ⲡⲉⲑⲉⲡ ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲩⲁⲥ ⲉⲗⲁⲛ⁹, "The judgement which they shall give us"; ⲩⲁⲩⲩⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲃⲓⲭ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ¹⁰, "It shall be given to my hands and I shall give it him who is in need"; ⲩⲁⲕⲥⲉⲗⲓ ⲛⲓⲩⲩⲁⲕⲧ(ⲛⲣⲓⲟⲛ) ⲛⲉⲥⲓⲱ ⲙⲙⲉ¹¹, "You shall inscribe these amulets in genuine¹² honey".

2. MODAL AUXILIARY VERBS

If volition, obligation, permission, possibility, etc. is to be expressed explicitly language makes use of auxiliaries of the respective meaning: I *want* to say, I *must* say, I *may* say, I *can* say, etc. Languages show a lot of variation in constructions of such connotations. Cf. English I *want you to tell me*; French, *je veux que tu me dises*; Modern Arabic 'ana 'ayzak tiqul-li (fem. speaker, 'ana 'ayzāk; fem. addressee, 'ana 'ayzik tiqulī-li / 'ayzāki-tqulī-li).

The auxiliary verb may be in a finite form, as above, I *want*, *je veux*, I *can*, I *must*, I *may*, etc., or impersonal: *il faut que tu me dises*; *lāzim tiqul-li*, especially as an expression of obligation or possibility. However, such an impersonal form may be expanded by a phrase that mentions the person involved: *il me faut dire*; *lazīm-n(i)-aqūl*. In this way these constructions become secondarily personalized.

Similarly, we may distinguish between constructions where the main verb is in a finite form (as *dises* in *que tu me dises*, or *tiqūl* in *tiqul-li*), and constructions with the main verb in an infinite form (such as *to tell*, or *dire* in *je veux dire*). In English, a few auxiliary verbs take the mere infinitive, viz. *can*, *may*, *must*, *will*, *shall*, *do*; partly *dare*, *need*: most of them defective verbs that do not have an infinitive themselves and they are all inflected in a peculiar conjugation: no -s in third person singular¹³. The other auxiliaries take the infinitive with *to*: I *want to*, I *wish to*, I *have to*, I *am obliged to*, etc. In Aramaic and Post-biblical Hebrew the preposition *lā*-, equivalent of English *to*, has even become part of the infinitive: Hebrew *likṭōḇ*, infinitive of *kāṭab* "to read".

⁶ M. GREEN, *The Coptic share Pattern and its Ancient Egyptian Ancestors*, Warminster, 1987, p. 65, ex. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69, ex. 81.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72, ex. 91.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72, ex. 92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73, ex. 94.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81, ex. 114.

¹² Perhaps ⲉⲃⲓⲱ was also used for other substances; also in Arabic, 'asal may signify, in addition to "honey", the sweet substance of the dates and other vegetal substances; "black honey" is the term for "treacle", "molasses".

¹³ It is an ancient perfect form (though referring mostly to the present tense); compare *he will/shall*, etc. with *he went*, *he called*, etc.

	Main verb in finite form:	Main verb in infinite form:
Auxiliary in impersonal form:	<i>il faut que tu me dises</i>	<i>il faut dire</i> (an impersonal expression)
Id., secondarily personalized:	<i>laẓimn(i)-aqūl</i> , "I have to say"	<i>il me faut dire</i>
Auxiliary in personal form:	<i>je veux que tu me dises</i> (the agent is not identical with the subject of the auxiliary verb)	<i>I must say; I have to say</i>

In expressions of volition there may be a distinction between utterances that involve one person only, such as *I want to say*, 'ana 'āyiz aqūl, and those in which the agent of the main verb is different from the person to which the modal expression refers: *I want you to say*, 'ana 'ayzak tiqūl. French and German would have a different construction in either case: *je veux dire*, but *je veux que tu dises*; *ich will sagen*, but *ich will dass du sagst*. In Arabic, the main verb is in a subordinating construction; we may call this an analytic type of expression. French, German etc. are economic in not employing a subordinating construction unless it is inevitable: an economic type of expression. Latin and English have means to avoid a subordinating construction as they can embed the main verb and its agent in the *accusative with infinitive* pattern.

2.1. The analytic type

The main verb is in all cases in a finite subordinating form or construction, no matter whether it is coreferential ("identical") with the subject of the auxiliary ('ana 'āyiz-arūh, "I want to go") or not ('ana 'ayz-u-yrūh, "I want him to go"). It is a matter of the morphology and morpho-syntax of the individual language whether the subordinating construction consists of a verb form only (such as 'arūh, yirūh) or employs a conjunction "that" (as 'an in literary Arabic 'urīdu 'an(nahū) yaḍhabau). This type is found in Arabic and many other Near Eastern languages, like Turkish, Modern Persian (in distinction to Old Persian), and it has spread to South-Eastern Europe: Modern Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, and even the Hungarian vernacular of Transsylvania (a phenomenon of the "Balkan Languages").

2.2. The economic type

In general, European languages save the effort of using a finite form for the embedded main verb if its agent is expressly mentioned in the auxiliary construction: *je veux aller*, *voglio andare*, *ich will gehen*, etc. If, however, the agent of the main verb is "new" a

will dass er geht, etc. This type is, though, not restricted to Europe. We also find it in Old Persian, and in modern Hindi¹⁴, and among the Semitic languages, in Aramaic and Hebrew¹⁵.

2.3. The elegant type

The accusative with infinitive, a characteristic Latin construction, is a very versatile and elegant means for embedding a verbal phrase in constructions of various transitive verbs. The agent of the embedded phrase is made the object of the transitive (auxiliary) verb, the (main) verb following in the form of the infinitive. With verbs of perception (*to see, to hear, etc.*) this construction is found in other languages too, such as *eum ire video, je le vois aller, ich sehe ihn gehen; eum canere audio, je l'écoute chanter, ich höre ihn singen*. English can also use it for verbs of knowing, finding, volition, etc. Therefore English has *I want him to go* where most other languages have to use a *that* construction.

The question arises: Of what type is Egyptian? At any rate, Egyptian makes use of modal verb forms as much as possible and takes to modal auxiliary verbs (or constructions) as a last resort only. Also, the use of auxiliary verbs or constructions increases in the course of time: it is much more frequent in Coptic than in Middle Egyptian. In its use of modal auxiliary constructions Egyptian is clearly of the "economic type": the main verb is in the infinitive, wherever possible. If not, Old and Middle Egyptian employ the prospective *sdm=f* (or, as attested in some cases, the subjunctive *sdm=f*) as a finite substantival form, whereas Coptic uses for the same function the causative infinitive, *ⲧⲣⲉⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲧⲙ*, which is the *that* form of Coptic.

2.4. 'To want to', 'to wish to' etc.

As we have seen, there may be a distinction between utterances that involve one person only (this will be signalled by A), and those in which the agent of the main verb is different from the person to which the modal expression refers (B).

sbj "to wish" as an auxiliary verb: + infinitive (A): *mj sbb s mꜣꜣ pr=sn*, "the way someone wants to see his house (again)" (*Lebensm.* 141); *sb=n hm=i jrt mnw n jt=f Jmn m Jpt-swt*, "My majesty wanted to make a monument for his father Amun in Karnak" (Urk. IV, 834).

¹⁴ *Maī jānā cāhatā hū*, "I want to come (*jānā*)", but *maī cāhatā hū ki vah jāe*, "I want him to come" (lit. "that he comes", *ki vah jāe*); quoted from R. SNELL, S. WEIGHTMAN, *Hindi*, Kent, 1989, p. 112.

¹⁵ Cf. Modern Hebrew *ani rotse* (fem.: *rotsa*) *lalékhet*, "I want to go".

Jb, "heart", in *jb=f* r + infinitive (A), "he wants to", lit. "his heart is towards ..." ¹⁶. *Jr wnn jb=f* r *h3 jm dd=f hrt=f*, "If he wants to fight let him utter his wish" (Sinuhe 125-127); *jst jb n hm=f* r *s3 pr it=f Hnsw m W3st...*, "Now his majesty wished to enlarge the temple of Khons-in-Thebes ..." (Karnak, Temple of Khons, dedicatory inscr. in hypostyle hall, by highpriest Hrihor, reign of Ramses XII, [Wb slip 20552610¹⁷]).

Mrj, "to love", as an auxiliary verb: + infinitive (A); + prospective *sdm=f*¹⁸ (B); Coptic (ME,) MEPE- + infinitive "to like to", "to love to"¹⁹.

— (A) Mr *hm(=j) m33 dng pw r jnw Bj3 Pwnt*, "My majesty loves to see this dwarf more than the produce of Bia and Punt" (Urk I, 130, 14-15); *jw Wsjr mr=f m3=k*²⁰ *m wbnw=k nw jwnyt*, "Osiris desires to see you in your risings of the pillared hall"²¹ (CT I, 261, e); NECHMEPE *6W 31 ΠΤΟΟΥ*, "he loved to stay in the desert"²².

— (B) Mr_{tn} *hs tn ntrw=tn nwtjw swd.tn j3wt.tn n hrdw=tn wn=tn tp t3 mj dd.tn ...*, "If you wish that your local gods praise you, and that you (can) pass your office to your children while you are on earth you should say: ..." (lit.: "your wishing that... is like your saying: ...").

Late Egyptian *wh3*, "to want to" + infinitive (A); Coptic OYEW- + infinitive, or OYOW e- + infinitive (A), or + causative infinitive (B)²³: *ir t3-jst n p3-wr n Kpn ntj st wh3 hdb sw* (read *hdb st*?), "As for this crew of the prince of Byblos which they wish to kill" (Wenamun II, 82-83); ACOYOW ENOXC EBOL N3XIOYE, "He wanted to dismiss her secretly" (Mt 1,19); (B) KOYOW 6E ETPEH3OK ..., "Do you want us then to go..." (Mt 13,28).

Coptic 3NE-, 3NA3, and P-3NE-, 3NA3, + e- + infinitive (A), "to want to", "it is pleasing to person to ..." (< *hnn=f* r..., "he is inclined, ready to" [see Wb II, 495, 3]): 63NA4 EBOK EAXA3A, "When he wanted to go to Achaia" (Acts 18, 27); ANP 3NAN 6EI OAPOTN, "We wanted to come to you" (1 Thess, 2,18).

2.5. "Can", "to be able to"

Late Egyptian *rh*, "to know" + infinitive²⁴; Coptic W- + infinitive: *jry=i 2x p3-nty nb jw=j (r) rh jr=f n.w*, "I will do, I will do whatever I might be able to do for them" (LRL 14, 16); *bn tw=j hr rh pr r bl*, "I am unable to go out" (*Letters to the Dead*, pl. VIII = pLeiden 371, v° 22). OAAQ-W P 3W3²⁵, "he can work".

¹⁶ Wb I, 60, 12; sim. Akkadian *libbu-3u*, see W. VON SODEN, *Grundriss der Akkadische Grammatik*, AnOr 33, Rome, 1952, §160e.

¹⁷ Retrived from *Das digitalisierte Zettelarchiv*, <http://aaew.bbaw.de:88/dza/index.html>.

¹⁸ J.P. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, §230; also subjunctive *sdm.f*, cf. E. EDEL, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, AnOr 34/39, Rome, 1955, §48 (*wnn=f*, but also *wn=f*).

¹⁹ Cf. B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §184.

²⁰ Var. *m3n=k*: subjunctive *sdm=k*.

²¹ R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I*, Warminster, 1973, p. 56.

²² Cf. W.E. CRUM, p. 156a.

²³ B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §171 (d).

²⁴ H. SATZINGER, *Neuägyptische Studien*, Wien, 1976, p. 189 ff.; S.I. GROLL, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian*, London, New York, 1970, ex. 64-69.

²⁵ W.E. CRUM, p. 541b.

Coptic ⲉⲙ-ⲉⲟⲙ, "to find power" (or ⲁⲙ-ⲉⲟⲙ, "to be able to find power") ⲉ- infinitive²⁶, "to be able to".

Negative: *n gm.n=f* + infinitive, "he cannot ...": *n gm.n=f dg=f n q'hwj=fj*, "he is not able to glance on his two shoulders" (pSmith 1, 25)²⁷.

Coptic ⲉⲙⲉ, "to know" (a synonym of *rh*) ⲙ- + infinitive, "to be able to"²⁸.

Negative: ⲙⲛⲧⲉ-ⲙ- + infinitive, "he cannot ..."²⁹: ⲙⲛⲧⲟϥ-ⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥϣϭⲏ, "his soul cannot be saved" (*Pistis Sophia* 270, 28); ⲙⲛⲧⲉ-ⲗⲗⲁϥ ⲙⲙϥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲟ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, "No mystery can forgive him" (*ibid.*, 269, 2)³⁰.

2.5.1. Coptic impersonal auxiliaries

ⲉⲭⲉⲥⲧⲓ ⲉ- + infinitive, "it is permitted, possible, proper to..."; neg. ⲟϥⲕ ⲉⲭⲉⲥⲧⲓ³¹: ⲉⲭⲉⲥⲧⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟϥ, "Is it lawful on the sabbath to do good?" (Mark 3,4)³².

B ⲟϥⲟⲛ ⲣⲏⲧⲉ- , *A* ⲟϥⲛ-ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲗ- + infinitive, "it is possible to", "it can be"; neg. *B* ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲣⲏⲧⲉ- , *A* ⲙⲛ-ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲗ-: *A* ⲛⲉ-ⲙⲛ ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲗ-ⲣ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ, "There was no possibility to have sabbath" (2 Macc. 6, 6)³³.

2.5.2. Dto., secondarily personalized

ⲟϥⲛ-ⲉⲟⲙ ⲛ- / ⲙⲙⲟ- actor ⲉ- + infinitive³⁴ (lit. "there is power in"); neg. ⲙⲛ-ⲉⲟⲙ, etc.

ⲟϥⲟⲛ ⲣⲏⲧⲉ- ⲉ- can be personalized in a similar way, viz. by means of ⲙⲙⲟϥ, "in him": *B* ⲟϥⲟⲛ ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉϥⲉ, "I am unable to go" (*S* ⲛⲧⲛⲁϥ ⲉϥⲕ ⲗⲏ); personalized by means of the causative infinitive: *B* ⲟϥⲟⲛ ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ... ⲉϥⲣⲉⲛⲉⲓ, "it is ... possible that we take"³⁵.

2.6. "Must", "have to", "be forced to"

Coptic ⲭⲡⲓ-, ⲭⲡⲉ-³⁶, absolute form ⲭⲡ(ⲉ)³⁷; ⲉⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ ϥⲛⲗⲭⲡⲓⲉⲓ ⲛⲱⲣⲡ, "Elijah will have to come first" (Mark 9,11). It may derive from the prenominal state of ⲭⲡⲟ, "to bring forth", or rather from its etymon, *djt hpr*, "to cause to happen"; thus, *"Elijah will cause his coming to happen first" (?).

²⁶ B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §94 (b).

²⁷ W. WESTENDORF, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter VII. Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*, Berlin, 1962, p. 149, §213 (3).

²⁸ *Id.*, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1977, p. 49, n. 6.

²⁹ K. SETHE, "ⲙⲛⲧⲉ-ⲙⲧⲉ, er kann nicht hören", ZÄS 57, 1922, p. 138. W. WESTENDORF, *op. cit.*, p. 93, s.v. ⲙⲛ-; cf. W.E. CRUM, p. 167b. It is remarkable that "he has not to (...)" is probably also the original meaning of

n sdm.n.f; cf. W. TILL, "Zur Bedeutung der negativen n-Form", ZÄS 67, 1931, p. 118-121, especially p. 120.

³⁰ K. SETHE, *op. cit.*

³¹ B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §487.

³² After B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §392.

³³ W.E. CRUM, *op. cit.*, p. 305b; W. WESTENDORF, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³⁴ B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §394 (a).

³⁵ All examples after W.E. CRUM, p. 305b.

³⁶ B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §184 (d).

³⁷ W.E. CRUM, p. 778 a-b.

Sf. B. F 20†, "necessity" (< *htr* *"obligation", "taxes"): 20† (πε) + conjunctive: B 20† ΝΤΕΩΧΕΜ †ΠΙ ΜΦΜΟΥ, "it is necessary that he take taste of death"; Sf 20† ΠΕ ΝΤΕΟΥΛΙ ΡΑΝΑϸ, "one (fem.) must please him"; B 20† ΕΡΟ ΝΤΕΜΟΥ, "it is necessary for you (fem.) that you die"; B 20† (πε) + infinitive: 20† ΕΡΟϸ ΠΕ ΕΕΡ ΚΟΛΑΖΙΝ ΜΜΟϸ, "it is necessary for him to punish him"³⁸.

ΑΝΑΓΚΗ Ε- + causative infinitive, "has to, of necessity": ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΕΤΡΕΠΜΟΥ ΕΙ, "(Where there is a testament,) the death (of the testator) must come, by necessity" (*Heb* 9,16).

2ΑΠC (< *hp st*, "it is law, or custom") Ε- + causative infinitive (personalization at the main verb!), "it is necessary to...", "must"³⁹: 2ΑΠC ΕΤΡΕϸΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ 2̄ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ, "It is necessary for Him to rise from the dead" (*John* 20,9)⁴⁰.

(ε)ϰϰΕ Ε- + infinitive, mostly causative infinitive, "it is right, fitting, necessary to..."⁴¹: ϰϰΕ ΑΝ ... ΕΤΡΕ ΝΑΪ ϰϰΠΕ ΝΤΕΪ2Ε, "This ... should not be so" (lit. "...happen this way") (*James* 3,10)⁴².

Prepositional phrase: C-ΕΡΟϸ Ε- + infinitive "it is obligatory for him"⁴³ — an isogloss with Semitic; cf. classical Arabic *‘alayhī ‘an ya‘mala hādā*, "He has to do this"; CΕΡΟϸ ΕΡ ΠΝΟΜΟC ΤΗΡϸ, "it is obligatory for him to keep the whole law" (*Gal* 5,3)⁴⁴.

³⁸ All quoted from *ibid.*, p. 722b.

³⁹ B. LAYTON, *op. cit.* §487.

⁴⁰ After B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §392.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, §488.

⁴² After B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §395.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, §486.

⁴⁴ After B. LAYTON, *op. cit.*, §392.