

PREPOSITIONAL SYSTEMS IN BIBLICAL GREEK, GOTHIC, CLASSICAL ARMENIAN,
AND OLD CHURCH SLAVIC

by

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(Under the Direction of Jared Klein)

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the systems of prepositions in Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic based on data collected from the New Testament text of the canonical Gospels in each language. The first part of the study focuses on the inventory of prepositions in each of the languages mentioned. It provides an exhaustive overview of the prepositional systems examining the division of semantic space in them. The second part of this investigation is a comparative study of the overall systems of prepositions in all four languages. It observes similarities and differences between prepositional systems examined in the first part.

The prepositional systems of the languages mentioned have approximately the same range of semantic functions. Each system includes proper and improper prepositional phrases that regularly alternate with each other as well as with nominal ones. The semantics of most prepositions in each of the languages under consideration are closely connected with spatial notions. This is especially common for improper prepositions. Although it is customary for a proper prepositional phrase to be dominant in a certain semantic field, we find instances in all four languages where a construction with an improper preposition prevails. Numerous notions are expressed by a variety of phrases, but there are instances where a concept is indicated only by one construction.

The comparative analysis of the translations of the New Testament from Biblical Greek into Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic shows that there are no absolute prepositional equivalents in these languages, but different types of correspondences can be established.

Constructions that become regular counterparts often share origins and/or primary semantic functions or have approximately the same semantic loads. Many correspondences seem unsystematic or occur only once. The translation of Greek proper, improper, and nominal phrases varies among prepositional and nominal constructions, free adverbs, and even conjunctions or clausal structures.

The range of semantic functions that a certain preposition may have does not influence the number of counterparts it may have. Rephrasing is also an important factor affecting translation. The frequency and semantic load of several correspondences differs among the gospels.

INDEX WORDS: Preposition, Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian, Old Church Slavic, Prepositional semantics, Semantic function, Translation

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Study

This study investigates the systems of prepositions in Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic based on data collected from the New Testament text of the canonical Gospels in each language. The first part of the study focuses on the inventory of prepositions in each of the languages mentioned. It provides an exhaustive overview of the prepositional systems examining the division of semantic space in these systems in all four languages. It also observes the relations between the prepositional and case systems in each language, the various ways in which syncretism has affected the original case system of Proto-Indo-European and how this process has differentially influenced the system of governance in these languages.

Besides analyzing the relationship between prepositions and case forms this study also looks at nominal constructions having the same meaning as prepositional constructions and often commuting with the latter. The goal is not only to give a list of all possible usages for each prepositional phrase, but also to analyze the relationships between them (as well as between prepositional and nominal phrases) and establish patterns of polysemy, synonymy, and antonymy. It is reasonable to suppose that these patterns may reflect peculiarities of speakers' cognition.

The second part of this investigation is a comparative study of the overall systems of prepositions in Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic. It observes similarities and differences between prepositional systems examined in the first part of this study. The findings of the second part are based on the analysis of correspondences between prepositional and nominal phrases in Greek and their equivalents in Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church

Slavic. This section of the research also addresses several issues of translational syntax relating to the various ways in which the translators of Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic converted the prepositional phrases of the Greek exemplar.

1.2 Previous studies

Prepositions have been at the center of linguistic research for a long time. First, interest was concentrated around their origin and formation (Meillet 1951, Naber 1879). There are also a number of works devoted to the study of different preverbs, prepositional constructions and their use and syntactic structure (Van der Meer 1930, Brorström 1965, Xodova 1971, Josephson 1977, Jackendoff 1977, Pavlova 1977, Dunkel 1979, Wade 1980, Sharanda 1981). Modern linguistics is primarily interested in the semantics of prepositions, focusing either on an overall system of prepositions or on particular prepositions (Andrews 1984, Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1993, Maljar and Seliverstova 1998, Segen 2001, Tyler and Evans 2003, Luraghi 2003).

Many modern linguistic studies of prepositions are conducted within the frameworks of cognitive linguistics. Thus, many linguists focus on prototypical categories in the semantics of prepositions (Jackendoff 1983, 1987, Taylor 1989, Vandeloise 1996). The study of the spatial prepositions has taken a special position in cognitive linguistics (Cuyckens 1993, Zima and Tax 1999, Van der Zee and Slack 2003). There is also interest in metaphorical and metonymical processes common in prepositional semantics (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Cuyckens 2002). Some hypotheses of cognitive linguistics are even tested in the fields of language acquisition (Bowerman 1994, Schening 1998) and diachronic linguistics (Geeraerts 1997).

Several studies focus on preverbs and their connections with aspect. It is a well-known fact that Slavic languages use prefixes to express different aspectual values. Some researchers have tried to compare Slavic treatment of aspect to usage of prefixes in other Indo-European languages. The traditional view of the subject holds that the Slavic aspectual system is a much later development that postdates the split of Proto-Indo-European into different dialects (Szemerényi 1996). Nevertheless,

some scholars have tried to establish some tendencies and possible shared developments that could point to the existence of an aspectual system in Proto-Indo-European that already employed preverbs to express perfective and imperfective values (Streitberg 1889, Josephson 1977, Wagner 1987).

1.3 Theoretical background

In spite of this intense scrutiny by linguists, the nature of prepositions is still somewhat unclear. Some of the difficulties are posed by their polysemy, multifunctional character, and ability to be combined with different case forms. The same preposition can be used to refer to several notions, cf. Arm ew ert'eal i k'alak'n 'and going into the city' (M 8:33) and elanein i Bet'ania 'they came from Bethany' (Mk 11:12). On the other hand, several different prepositions can denote the same or similar notions: cf. Goth galaip ana aubjana stap 'he went to a lonely place' (Mk 1:35), qam at marein 'he went to the sea' (Mk 7:31), and jah qimands Iesus in garda 'and Jesus having come to the house' (M 8:14).

In many cases the rich semantics of prepositions can be explained in terms of metaphor or metonymy, two productive processes based on a relationship of correspondingly, similarity and contiguity of two objects or concepts. In particular, these semantic extensions allow one to trace more abstract usages of prepositional phrases to their spatial meanings (Cuyckens 1999). There are some spatial metaphors that are found to be essential for understanding prepositional semantics. The most common is a containment metaphor, based on perception of a human body as a container (Saeed 2003:354)

In traditional linguistics prepositions are considered to be independent lexical items with lexical and grammatical meaning (Shuba 1971, Shanskij 1981, Trask 1993), but some linguists believe a preposition to be a submorpheme that is a part of a complex morpheme including a case ending and a preposition (Kuryłowicz 1962). Contrary to the traditional view, some linguists think

that prepositions do not have independent lexical meaning but only refer to a syntactic connection between members of a sentence (Meshchaninov 1978).

The disagreement of linguists on what the meaning of a lexical item really is leads to further complications in the analysis of prepositional semantics. According to the traditional view, word meaning is determined by a certain set of semantic features (Goddard 1998, Coleman 2003). Each such feature designates a property determining the membership of a given lexical item in a group of objects or concepts (a semantic field). Cognitive semantics holds that word meaning is encyclopedic in nature and associated with a mental gestalt (prototype) that may consist of a set of semantic roles (family resemblances) none of which is necessary (Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1993). It considers that the meaning of a grammatical form only differs from lexical meaning in the degree of abstractness. The cognitive approach adopts a theory of localism stating that local semantic roles have developed earlier than others and describes each spatial meaning using the terms *trajector* (for an entity that moves) and *landmark* (for a background against which an entity moves) (Saeed 2003:359). This theory also stresses the subjectivity of human perception that influences the mapping between notions in reality and lexical items (Tyler and Evans 2003:23).

The final number of semantic roles that prepositions and cases can express is somewhat problematic since we could distinguish in principle as many roles as there are tokens of usage. This problem has been already addressed in the works of several linguists (Haspelmath 1997, Dirven 2003, Luraghi 2003, Tyler and Evans 2003). But there are a certain number of semantic roles which are most commonly assumed. Thus, our study bases its semantic analysis on the classification of semantic roles close to that presented by Silvia Luraghi (Luraghi 2003: 20-48). Our classification comprises the following notions:

❖ spatial concepts:

- location – a static position of a trajector relative to a landmark
- direction – an entity toward which a trajector moves

- source - an entity from or away from which a trajector moves
- path – a way or course through which a trajector moves; this concept has some properties of location and some of direction, since it marks a certain area of a landmark, but also involves a dynamic idea (Luraghi 2003: 22)
- ❖ time – a period during or relative to which something occurs
- ❖ comitative notion – an entity performing an action together with another individual
- ❖ causal concepts:
 - agent/force – an initiator of an action
 - cause/reason – an entity or event that gives rise to another action
 - instrument /means/intermediary – an entity by the help or use of which an action is performed
- ❖ recipient – a person who receives something
- ❖ beneficiary – a person who gains or profits from an action being performed
- ❖ possession – ownership or an act of taking something into one's control
- ❖ purpose – an entity aimed at by some intentional action
- ❖ patient – an entity undergoing the effect of an action
- ❖ manner – a way in which some state of affairs is brought about
- ❖ topic – the main content or referent of some speech activity
- ❖ absence – lack of something which is therefore not present or missing from somewhere.

While analyzing the semantic roles of prepositions and cases several concepts connected with a landmark and trajector should be taken into consideration: the opposition interior/exterior as well as the notions of contact, plexity, and continuity. These concepts have been noticed to influence the peculiarities of the division of semantic space in prepositional systems of different languages (Cuyckens 1997, Schenning 1998, Levinson 2003, Luraghi 2003). All this being said, the non-rigidity of concepts should be kept in mind. Occasionally, the same notion is marked from different

points of view. For example, the concept ‘be dressed’ can be expressed in OCS using the notions of means or location: člověka li měkūkami rizami odena? ‘a man dressed in (= by means of) soft garments?’ (L 7:25), člověka li vŭ mēkŭky rīzy obličena? ‘a man dressed in (= inside) soft garments?’ (M 11:8).

The complexity of functions and semantics of prepositions is rooted in their origins. In the Indo-European languages prepositions originated from free words that had adverbial character and did not refer to a particular word but rather to the whole sentence (Meillet 1951). That is why in some cases a preposition could also be used as a conjunction, cf. Gk ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νίκος τὴν κρίσιν ‘till he brings justice to victory’ (M 12:20) and καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Ἡρώδου ‘and remained [there] until the death of Herod’ (M 2:15).

Throughout the history of language development these adverbs (adpositions) could be employed in constructions with verbs (preverbs), combined with nouns, or used as free adverbials. Depending on their position in the sentence, adpositions are often called prepositions (if they stand before a modified word) or postpositions (if they stand after a modified word). The adverbials in prepositional and preverbal use could become prefixes. It is often the case that within a certain language only one or two types of usage remain productive. For example, Old Church Slavic *kŭ* is never used as a preverb and is found only as a preposition, cf. Iisusŭ že otide sŭ učeníky svoimi kŭ morju ‘Jesus withdrew with his disciples to the sea’ (Mk 3:7), whereas Old Church Slavic *otŭ* is used as a preposition as well as a preverb, cf. vīs jako bo drěvo otŭ ploda svojego poznajetŭ sę ‘for each tree is known from its fruit’ (L 6:44) and člověče, otŭpuštajotŭ ti sę grěsi tvoi ‘man, your sins are forgiven you’ (L 5:20).

Over time the system of prepositions was gradually enriched with new items originating in different grammaticalized combinations of nouns and adverbs with prepositions as well as in case forms, adverbs (cf. Arm ēr nawn i mēi covown ‘the ship was in the middle of the sea’ (Mk 6:47), and

even verbs (cf. Russ nesmotrja na ‘despite’, lit. ‘not looking at’). These prepositions are sometimes called improper to emphasize their later development (as opposed to proper prepositions which appeared earlier). In general, improper prepositions are frequently used as free adverbs but not as preverb and govern only one case (usually genitive). Many improper prepositions are derivatives of proper ones.

In some languages when an adverbial word is used as a preverb it is often repeated in the sentence as a preposition, cf. Gk τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ ‘whatever goes into the mouth [passes] into the stomach’ (M 15:17), Goth *hwas afwalwjai unsis pana stain af dauron*, and OCS *kŭto otŭvalitŭ namŭ kamenŭ otŭ dvŭrii?* ‘who will roll away the stone from the door for us?’ (Mk 16:3). Sometimes the item repeated in the sentence as a preposition is another adverbial word that indicates the same relationship as the preverb, cf. Gk καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξεληθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Βηθανίας and OCS *i vŭ jutrin’ii iŝidŭšemŭ (iz-ŝidŭšemŭ) imŭ otŭ Viθanije* ‘on the following day when they came from Bethany’ (Mk 11:12).

When an adverbial word is used as a preposition it enters into a close union with a case form of a noun, whereas its relationship with a verb weakens. It is this stage of prepositional development that raises debates in linguistic circles. Scholars are concerned about the special relationship between a case and a preposition and the degree of function and semantics that should be credited to each of them (Kuryłowicz 1962, Jakobson 1990). The relationships between nominal and prepositional constructions are often taken into consideration here.

Most Indo-European languages underwent changes in their case systems, merging several cases and thus decreasing the number of cases and increasing the semantic and syntactic load for each remaining case. Proto-Indo-European had eight cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, locative, instrumental, and vocative. Each of them had a certain semantic value. Greek has only five of these cases having lost locative, instrumental, and ablative, the meanings of which are

now redistributed among the remaining cases. Thus, in Greek instrumental (indicating the means by which something happens) and locative (a common indicator of place) have merged with dative, cf. Gk *oíkad' iôn sùn nēusi* (Dat.) *te sēis kai soīs hetároisi Murmidónessin* (Dat.) *ánasse* 'go home with your ships and your men, be king among the Myrmidons' (Beekes 1995:91).

Gothic merged the dative, locative, instrumental, and ablative cases, employing the dative case in all these values, cf. OCS *ne pícēte sę dušejō* (Instr.) *vašejō* (Instr.) and Goth *ni maurnaip saiwalai* (Dat.) *izwarai* (Dat.), lit. 'do not worry with your soul' (M 6:25). The remaining two languages – Old Church Slavic and Classical Armenian – differ from Greek and Gothic in the richness of their case systems. Classical Armenian lost only the vocative case and this had no impact on the relationship between prepositions and case forms because the vocative case is never governed by a preposition. Old Church Slavic merged only ablative and genitive, the latter including the meaning of the former (indicating origin or source), cf. OCS *monastyra* (Gen.) *otūšūdūša* 'having gone from the monastery' (Xaburgaev 1974).

1.4 Method

The semantic analysis conducted in this study follows the main principles of cognitive theory as outlined above. The semantic functions of each proper preposition are summarized in a table which also gives quantitative information about the occurrences of this preposition. This chart has a separate column for each gospel, capturing the peculiarities of prepositional usage for each section. After the semantic roles of all prepositional and nominal phrases in Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic are established, the overall prepositional system is presented at the end of each chapter.

The comparative method is used to establish and analyze correspondences between prepositional and nominal phrases in Greek and their equivalents in Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic. Thousands of comparisons and evaluations are made using mainly index cards,

printed concordances, dictionaries, and other available annotated materials to provide an accurate equivalent for each Greek prepositional and case usage. After all prepositional correspondences are established, a second examination of the entire data is made to ensure that all the correspondences involving prepositions in at least one of the analyzed texts are accounted for (to address those instances where a prepositional construction is translated with a nominal one and vice versa).

1.5 Text

The data analyzed in this study involves texts of the New Testament translated from Greek. The Armenian version is a translation attributed to Mašt'oc' and dated to the 5th century CE. The Gothic version is attributed to Wulfila (c.311 – c.383), the apostle and bishop of the West Goths. The translation into Old Church Slavic is credited to the brothers Cyril and Methodius in the 9th century.

The four canonical Gospels – those attributed to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John - are considered to be equally authoritative accounts of the gospel story, widely known and recognized. The first three are usually called the synoptic gospels. They differ from the Gospel of John in the ways they present the life and teaching of Jesus (Metzger 1965:79). Very little is known about the authors, the date and the original language of the composition. The canonical Gospels are usually dated by the majority of researchers between 55 and 90 A.D. (Alekseev 1999:110). Proposals on the language in which the Gospels were written vary from positing a koine derived from Attic Greek to a translational Greek, heavily influenced by Aramaic (Porter 1991).

The text of the New Testament has a number of variants in Greek, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic, while there is only one received text of the Gospels in Gothic. Since it is problematic to posit which of the Greek versions became a basis for translations into Classical Armenian, Gothic, and Old Church Slavic we will look at a number of them following the annotations of Nestle&Aland (Nestle&Aland 1969). Hundreds of Greek manuscripts were classified as uncials, minuscules, and lectionaries. Capital letters are used to identify uncials; for example, D

stands for the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis which (as we will see further) often disagrees with other versions in its choice of prepositions¹. Many Armenian versions of the New Testament were catalogued by Erroll F. Rhodes who compiled a list of 1244 manuscripts (Rhodes 1959). The basis for the Armenian version remains uncertain, but many agree that the first translation was based on a Syriac text (Arm. 1), but the second translation (Arm. 2) was a revision of the original on the basis of Greek manuscripts. Many Armenian texts are of the second type. Künzle studied the manuscripts M and E (Künzle 1984). We will use materials from his study for our Armenian database. Among the oldest Old Church Slavic versions of the New Testament are Codex Zographensis (Zo), Codex Marianus (Ma), and Savvina Kniga (Sa). Our OCS database also includes some materials from later versions like the tetraevangelium Galičense (Ga) and the tetraevangelium Nicolai (Ni).

There are several factors that should be taken into consideration while studying any translations. An original text usually has a great influence on a translated version. There is also a possibility of influence from other variant texts and parallel texts (this is especially important for the New Testament text where the same stories are retold in different Gospels). There could also be deviations from an original due to certain peculiarities of language development and character.

This study looks at how translators coped with the need to render constructions alien to their native language. There were several possible ways for them to proceed. They could simply imitate Greek constructions, producing Greek structural calques. For example, following Greek, Gothic uses the combination of the verb ‘be’ and a noun in the dative to indicate possession, cf. Goth *dauhtar was imma swē wintriwē twalibē* ‘a daughter was to him (= he had a daughter) about twelve years old’ (Bennett 1981). Translators also could render Greek phrases by constructions common to their native language. Thus, Classical Armenian scribes prefer a construction *and* plus an infinitive (a verbal noun) to a Greek genitive absolute construction, whereas Old Church Slavic and Gothic translators follow Greek and use a dative absolute construction as well; cf. Gk *καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς*

¹ Here and henceforth the apparatus of Nestle&Aland (Nestle&Aland 1969) is used to mark groups of Greek manuscripts.

óðov, Goth jah usgaggandin imma in wig, OCS i isxodeštju jemu na pōtī vs. Arm ew ənd elaneln nora anti i čanaparh ‘and as he was going out onto the path’ (Mk 10:17).

Translational techniques and problems of structural conversions from one language into another have been studied before. The majority of such research concentrates on verb correspondences and their tense forms and nominal constructions (Klein 1992b, Dawson 2000, Molnár 1985), but there are also some that discuss the treatment of prepositional phrases (Klein 1992a, Yoshioka 1996). While establishing prepositional correspondences, this research also examines which language translation shows more resistance to Greek influence and which produces a more slavish word-by-word translation.

CHAPTER 2

BIBLICAL GREEK PREPOSITIONS

2.0 Introduction

This survey of the prepositional system begins with the description of proper prepositions; those that can be found in compound verbs and sometimes can function as free adverbs. Several improper prepositions are also accounted for since they share certain semantic features with proper prepositions. The information about the frequency and specifics of usage are summarized for each preposition in a table concluding every subchapter. The investigation ends with a review of the case system and conclusions are made about the specifics of prepositional semantics and the division of prepositional semantic space.

2.1 ἘΝ

Ἐν is one of the oldest and most frequent prepositions found in Greek. It originates from PIE **en* (Watkins 2000:23) and has many cognates in different IE languages (including Goth *in*, Arm *i*, and OCS *νѣ*). It governs only the dative in Biblical Greek and commonly expresses spatial meanings. Ἐν is frequently used in combinations with the verb ‘to be’ and other verbs that do not express any movement: cf. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ ‘at once there was a man in unclean spirit in their synagogue’ (Mk 1:23), ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ‘he stayed in Galilee’ (J 7:9). This preposition is also sometimes found as a preverb (cf. καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ‘and they put his own clothes on him’ (M 27:31), often assimilated to the following sound (cf. χαίrete δὲ ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ‘but rejoice that your names are written in heaven’ (L 10:20).

In the majority of cases the preposition *ἐν* is used to denote location (landmark) restricted by some boundaries, emphasizing the meaning ‘within, inside’. In such occurrences *ἐν* is frequently combined with nouns naming a variety of settings ranging from cities, temples, and fields to places in books and body parts: cf. διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν ‘teaching in their synagogues’ (Mt 4:23), οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσιν ‘but woe to those who have in [their] wombs (= are with child)’ (Mk 13:17). In a broader sense the prepositional phrase with *ἐν* is used to indicate something that is surrounded, enveloped, especially in association with clothing: οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων ‘those who come to you in sheep’s clothing’ (M 7:15). The preposition *ἐν* is also used in situations when a landmark is discontinuous, consisting of a number of entities and an object is among them: ἐν αἷς καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ‘among whom [was] Mary Magdalene’ (Mk 15:40). Although the primary and more common sense of *ἐν* is ‘inside’ it can sometimes mean ‘on the surface’: ἰδοὺ τρία ἔτη ἀφ’ οὗ ἔρχομαι ζητῶν καρπὸν ἐν τῇ συκῇ ταύτῃ ‘behold, three years I have come looking for a fruit on this tree’ (L 13:7).

The notion of containment, associated with space limited by boundaries, makes possible semantic extensions from concrete to abstract concepts. This type of metaphor greatly increases the semantic load of the preposition *ἐν*: cf. εἰάν ὑμεῖς μείνητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀληθῶς μαθηταὶ μοῦ ἔστε ‘if you stay in my word, truly you are my disciples’ (J 8:31). Metaphorical extensions of location are also at the core of the meaning of expressions like: καὶ γινώσκητε ὅτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ‘and understand that the Father is in me and I am in the Father’ (J 10:38).

A prepositional phrase with *ἐν* can sometimes denote direction, often in combinations with verbs, meaning ‘to put’, ‘to throw’: ὅστις ἦν... βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ‘the one who was... thrown into prison’ (L 23:19). Analogous examples with other verbs are also found: ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ πάσῃ ‘he will guide you into the whole truth’ (J 16:13), ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ

τέκνα καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων ‘to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient ones to the thinking of the righteous ones’ (L 1:17).

There are some rare instances when a prepositional phrase with ἐν is used to denote a path: καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ‘and he followed him along the way’ (Mk 10:52). Such occurrences are often accompanied by the preverb *κατά*- that can also refer to the notion ‘path’: *κατά* συγκυρίαν δὲ ἱερεὺς τις *κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ* ἐκείνῃ ‘but by chance a priest was descending along that road’ (L 10:31).

Ἐν can express two types of temporal concepts: a particular time when something happens and a period of time in or within which something occurs (note the effect of the containment metaphor in the second case): καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐρωτήσετε οὐδέν ‘and on that day you will not ask me anything’ (J 16:23), ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν ‘the one who would destroy and (re)build the temple in three days’ (M 27:40).

There is one occurrence in which a prepositional phrase with ἐν has a comitative meaning: εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι τῷ μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ’ αὐτόν ‘if he is able with ten thousand to meet the one who comes against him with twenty thousand’ (L 14:31). This usage is rather unusual for the semantics of *ἐν*. We would normally expect a preposition *μετά* to be used in both cases. This occurrence should probably be considered as a secondary one, developed through a metonymic extension from the instances where this prepositional phrase designates the manner or circumstances accompanying some action: cf. ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐληλυθυῖαν ἐν δυνάμει ‘until they see the kingdom of God come with power’ (Mk 9:1).

A prepositional phrase with *ἐν* can express a variety of causal relationships. Thus, we find occurrences in which it refers to agent/force: καὶ ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ‘and he was led by the Spirit into the desert’ (L 4:1), τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεθῆναι εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ

‘this kind is able to come out through nothing but prayer’ (Mk 9:29). *Εν* plus the dative is also used to denote an instrument, means, and intermediary: κύριε, εἰ πατάξομεν ἐν μαχαίρῃ; ‘Lord, shall we strike him with a sword?’ (L 22:49), ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ‘he spoke to them in (= by means of) parables’ (Mk 3:23) and καὶ ὁ θεὸς δοξάσει αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ‘and God will glorify him in (= through) himself’ (J 13:32). Occasionally, prepositional phrases with *ἐν* can designate cause/reason: δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται ‘for they think that they will be heard because of their loquacity’ (M 6:7).

There are a few cases where a prepositional phrase with *ἐν* stands for a recipient: καλὸν ἔργον ἡργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί ‘she has done a beautiful thing to me’ (Mk 14:6). *Εν* can also play this semantic role when it is combined with verbs meaning ‘give’, ‘speak’: ὅτι εἰρήνην παρεγενόμην δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῇ ‘that I have come to give peace to earth’ (L 12:51).

The semantic role ‘manner’ is quite common for prepositional constructions with *ἐν*: ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ‘for his word was with authority’ (L 4:32), οὐδεὶς γάρ τι ἐν κρυπτῷ ποιεῖ ‘for no one does anything in secret’ (J 7:4). It is often seen in the structures of the type *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* plus genitive that became formulaic for the New Testament texts: τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου ‘the works that I do in the name of my Father’ (J 10:25).

In a few cases the prepositional phrases with *ἐν* can refer to a patient: καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ ‘and they took offence at him’ (M 13:57). Combined with verbs of sense perception or emotion, this prepositional phrase sometimes stands for topic: πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ χαίρετε ‘but do not rejoice in (= about) this’ (L 10:20). There is also one occurrence where *ἐν*+Dat is used to denote possession: πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοί μὴ φέρον καρπὸν αἶρει αὐτό ‘he takes away every branch of mine that

does not bear a fruit' (J 15:2). It is likely that those constructions, in which $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat refers to topic or possession are secondary and emerge as results of metonymic extensions.

Table 1. Semantic roles of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	178	81	210	133
	direction	5	2	12	2
	path	1	2	2	
	source				
time		30	14	87	36
comitative (animate/inanimate)				1	
causal	agent/force	6	3	6	
	instrument/means/intermediary	24	16	12	11
	cause/reason	1		1	1
recipient			2	1	1
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possessor					1
purpose					
patient		9	5	5	
manner		8	8	21	18
topic			1	2	1
TOTAL		261	134	360	204

2.2 Εἰς

Εἰς (* $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$) is originally just a directional form of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (Sihler 1995:439-440), but it is already recognized in the system of Biblical Greek as an independent preposition. It takes only the accusative case and is usually combined with verbs of motion in which it is also often found as a preverb: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς γῆν Ἰσραὴλ 'he went to the land of Israel' (M 2:21). The primary idea that a prepositional phrase with *εἰς* expresses is direction, motion toward (often into) something with no regard to whether a landmark is continuous or not, cf. καὶ ἄλλα ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν 'and others fell into good ground' (Mk 4:8), καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας 'and another fell among the thorns' (Mk 4:7); or whether a landmark is a surface or a containment: cf. καὶ εἰλκυσεν τὸ δίκτυον

εἰς τὴν γῆν ‘and he pulled the net onto the shore’ (J 21:11), ἀμφότεροι εἰς βόθυνον πεσοῦνται ‘both will fall into a hole’ (M 15:14).

Εἰς plus the accusative is at times used metaphorically, marking a point (result) toward which some action leads: cf. καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν ‘and the two will become one body’ (M 19:5), ἀλλ’ ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται ‘but your sorrow will become joy’ (J 16:20). Another metaphoric extension allows this prepositional phrase to have a meaning ‘opposite (direction), against’ with verbs of speech: ὃς ἔρεῖ λόγος εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ‘who speaks a word against the Son of man’ (L 12:10).

A prepositional phrase with *εἰς* sometimes indicates location: καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε ‘and you will be beaten in synagogues’ (Mk 13:9). When designating time *εἰς*+Acc can denote a period of time (often meaning ‘for ever, for eternity’) or a term before which some action is going to happen: ὁ δὲ δούλος οὐ μένει ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ‘but a slave does not continue in the house for ever’ (J 8:35), ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος ‘but the one who endures until the end’ (M 10:22).

When used with causal connotation the prepositional phrase with *εἰς* can denote means and reason: [μὴ ὀμόσαι] μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ‘[do not swear] by Jerusalem’ (M 5:35), εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; ‘for what was this waste of the balsam?’ (Mk 14:4). There are also numerous cases when this prepositional phrase expresses purpose: εἰς κρίμα ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἦλθον ‘for judgment I came into this world’ (J 9:39), καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς (mss. C, R, D, Θ) ‘and the power of God was for healing them’ (L 5:17).

There are several cases where *εἰς*+Acc is used to denote a recipient: καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ‘and at first this gospel must be preached to all the nations’ (Mk 13:10). We also find sporadic examples of this prepositional phrase being used to indicate manner, patient, and topic: πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην ‘go in peace’ (L 7:50), καὶ ἔτυπτον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν

αὐτοῦ ‘and they struck his head’ (M 27:30), and μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον ‘and do not be anxious about tomorrow’ (M 6:34). We find the majority of the examples for *εἰς*+Acc referring to topic in the Gospel of John. The author of this Gospel prefers to use this preposition in constructions with the verb ‘believe’: ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν ‘that anyone who believes in him’ (J 3:16).

Table 2. Semantic roles of *εἰς*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	4	14	18	11
	direction	175	131	177	116
	path				
	source				
time		5	3	7	13
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary	1			
	cause/reason	2	2	2	1
recipient		1	2	3	2
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possessor					
purpose		11	10	11	8
patient		9	2	4	
manner		4		2	2
topic		3	1	2	35
TOTAL		215	165	226	188

2.3 *ἔκ/ἐξ*

This preposition has two forms *ἔκ* (before a consonant) and *ἐξ* (before a vowel). It goes back to PIE **egʰs* ‘out of’ and is cognate with OCS *izŭ* ‘out of, from’ (Sihler 1995:440). It only takes the genitive and is regularly used with motion verbs in which it is often repeated as a preverb: καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ‘and having immediately gone out of the synagogue’ (Mk 1:29). In the majority of occurrences *ἔκ/ἐξ* plus the genitive is used with a landmark that can be viewed as a container to express the meaning ‘out of, from inside’: ἐκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ

σου ‘first take the log out of your eye’ (L 6:42). This landmark can be both continuous and discontinuous, i.e. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ‘and having immediately come out of the water’ (Mk 1:10), τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας; ‘who will roll away the stone from the door for us?’ (Mk 16:3), animate and inanimate, cf. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐρωτᾷ με ‘and none of you asks me’ (J 16:5) and ὑπήντησεν ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ‘a man from the city met [him]’ (L 8:27). The construction ἐκ/ἐξ+Gen often has a partitive connotation: ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας ‘but inside they are full of plundering and intemperance’ (M 23:25), ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐφάγετε ἐκ τῶν ἄρτων ‘but because you ate from this bread’ (J 6:26). There are also several cases where this prepositional phrase simply means ‘from’ (indicating separation in general, without any specifications concerning contact with the landmark): ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ‘I came from the Father’ (J 16:28).

Metaphoric extensions ‘source’ → ‘origin’, ‘source’ → ‘change of state’ and metonymy ‘source’ → ‘material’ enrich the semantics of prepositional phrases with ἐκ/ἐξ: εἰ μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος ‘unless one is born from water’ (J 3:5), ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθῇ ‘till the son of man is raised from [the] dead’ (M 17:9), and καὶ ἐποίησεν πηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτύσματος ‘and he made mud from the spittle’ (J 9:6). Another illustration of metonymy is demonstrated by occurrences of ἐκ/ἐξ with verbs ‘to sit’ and ‘to stand’: ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ ‘but from now on the Son of man will be seated at the right hand of the power of God’ (L 22:69). This metonymic extension leads to an unusual usage of ἐκ/ἐξ to denote location.

Time expressions with ἐκ/ἐξ are not as common as spatial ones and usually denote a point of time when some action began: ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητός μου ‘I have observed all these

from my youth' (Mk 10:20). $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ can also be a part of an adverbial phrase of time: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omega\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ 'and at once the cock sang for the second time' (Mk 14:72). A prepositional phrase with $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ is occasionally employed to designate a causal relationship. In these occurrences this construction can indicate an agent, i.e. $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \mu\eta\ \tau\eta\ \delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'unless it is given to him by the Father' (J 6:65), means, i.e. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\ \sigma\epsilon$ 'I will judge you by your mouth' (L 19:22), or a cause, i.e. $\acute{\omicron}\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\ \text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\pi\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\ \pi\eta\gamma\eta$ 'therefore, Jesus, weary because of the journey, sat thus upon the well' (J 4:6).

We also find rare occurrences where $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ +Gen stands for a manner and a possessor: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\zeta\ \acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ 'and you will love the Lord your God with all your heart' (Mk 12:30), $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\rho\iota\zeta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\ \mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ 'and a hair of your head will not perish' (L 21:18). Manner and possessor are clearly secondary semantic roles for $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ and appear as results of metaphor and metonymy correspondingly.

Table 3. Semantic roles of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	8	7	4	
	direction				
	path				
	source	61	50	70	139
time		3	2	3	8
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				1
	instrument/means/intermediary	3		1	
	cause/reason	1		2	1
recipient					
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possessor				1	

purpose				
patient				
manner		3	2	1
topic				
TOTAL	76	62	83	150

2.4 ΠΡΟΣ

Πρός (cognate with OCS *protivŭ* ‘against’) originates from IE **pro-ti* ‘against’ (Hofmann 1966:385). The original meaning ‘against’ is still seen in some rare cases in the New Testament: μήποτε προσκόψης πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου ‘so that you do not strike your foot against a stone’ (L 4:11). The preposition *πρός* can govern the accusative, the dative, and the genitive, although we do not find any cases of *πρός* with the genitive in the canonical gospels. This preposition is often combined with motion verbs and verbs of speech and sometimes used with them as a preverb: *προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ* ‘she fell down at his feet’ (Mk 7:25), *ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν προσήχετο* ‘he thus prayed to himself’ (L 18:11).

Prepositional phrases of the sort *πρός* plus the accusative constitute the majority. The primary semantic role of these constructions is denotation of a direction mainly toward a person, but sometimes toward an object: *καὶ σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς μέ* ‘and you come to me’ (M 3:14), *καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν* ‘and Jesus withdrew with his disciples to the sea’ (Mk 3:7).

Πρός+Acc can also indicate location, conveying the meaning ‘near’: *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν* ‘and the whole crowd was on the land near the sea’ (Mk 4:1).

Occasionally, this prepositional phrase denotes such notions as ‘a period of time’ or ‘near a certain time’: *ὕμεις δὲ ἠθελήσατε ἀγαλλιαθῆναι πρὸς ὥραν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ* ‘but you wanted to rejoice for a while in his light’ (J 5:35), *ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔστιν* ‘for it is toward evening’ (L 24:29). Comitative

semantic roles are not typical for this prepositional phrase and those found are results of the metonymic extension ‘be near something/somebody’ → ‘be with something/somebody’: καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ ὧδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ‘and are not his sisters here with us?’ (Mk 6:3).

There are several instances of *πρός*+Acc expressing reason: ὅτι Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ὑμῖν ἀπολῦσαι τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν ‘that Moses allowed you to divorce your wives because of the hardness of your heart’ (M 19:8). With verbs of speech the prepositional phrase *πρός*+Acc often indicates recipient (note the presence of the directional sense, the original semantic function of this construction): καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτήν ‘and they said to her’ (L 1:61). This construction is frequent in the Gospel of Luke in particular. In a few cases it acquires a connotation of purpose: αὕτη ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θάνατον ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ‘this illness is not for death but for the glory of God’ (J 11:4). We also find rare examples of *πρός*+Acc indicating manner or topic: ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ‘acting according to his will’ (L 12:47), ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ‘he asks about peace’ (L 14:32).

Πρός is often combined with an accusative infinitive of purpose: καὶ ποιήσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν ‘and they will show signs and wonders in order to lead astray’ (Mk 13:22), μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς το θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς ‘do not do before men in order to be seen by them’ (M 6:1).

Πρός with the dative occurs rarely in the canonical gospels and is found to denote only direction or location (both emphasizing the meaning ‘near’): ἐγγίζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤδη πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν ‘thus, when he had already drawn near the descent of the Mount of Olives’ (L 19:37), ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἰστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ ἔξω ‘but Peter stood outside near the door’ (J 18:16).

Table 4. Semantic roles of *πρός*

		<i>πρός + ACC</i>				<i>πρός + DAT</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	3	3	6			1		3
	direction	32	44	40	67			1	
	path								
	source								
time				2	1				
comitative (animate/inanimate)		1	3	1	2				
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason	1	1		1				
recipient		2	14	113	24				
beneficiary									
experiencer									
possessor									
purpose		5	1	1	2				
patient									
manner				1					
topic				1					
TOTAL		44	66	165	97		1	1	3

2.5 ΕΠΙ

Ἐπί goes back to IE **epi/opi* and is cognate with OCS *o(b)ŭ* (Watkins 2000:23). It governs the accusative (in the majority of cases with this preposition in the New Testament), the genitive, and the dative. It is also employed as a preverb with a number of verbs: *ἐπίθεις τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπ’ αὐτήν* ‘put your hand on her’ (M 9:18).

With the accusative, *ἐπί* primarily denotes location or direction, frequently emphasizing the idea of action or motion on, upon (on top of) some landmark: *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰστήκει* ‘and the whole crowd stood on the beach’ (M 13:2), *πᾶς ὁ πεσὼν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν λίθον* ‘everyone falling upon that stone’ (L 20:18). But there are also instances where this prepositional construction conveys the meaning ‘into’ (connected with the concept ‘containment’ rather than ‘surface’): *ὅταν δὲ εἰσφέρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς* ‘and when they bring you into the

synagogues' (L 12:11), ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς Γεννησαρέτ 'they came to the land at Gennesaret' (M 14:34). Sometimes ἐπί+Acc designates proximity of an action to someone or something: συνήχθη ὄχλος πολὺς ἐπ' αὐτόν 'a great crowd gathered near him' (Mk 5:21)

A metaphorical extension 'on, upon' → 'over' enriches the semantics of ἐπί, allowing it to indicate more abstract notions (often related to power or authority): ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια 'he gave them power and authority over all the demons' (L 9:1). Occasionally, the prepositional phrase ἐπί+Acc indicates a direction against something or somebody: ὥς ἐπὶ ληστήν ἐξήλθατε μετὰ μαχαιρῶν 'you have come out with swords just as against a robber' (Mk 14:48). In the case of the verb 'put' the ideas of direction and location are often combined because of the particular semantics of this verb. This allows alternative understandings of the same phrase (and further leads to different translations of this phrase into various languages): καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ 'and put [him] on (onto) the pinnacle of the temple' (L 4:9). We also find rare instances of ἐπί+Acc denoting a path (the concept of surface is also present here): κέλευσόν με ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα 'call me to come to you on (=through) water' (M 14:28).

Επί with accusative can sometimes denote a period of time during which something occurs: καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐκβαλὼν δύο δηνάρια ἔδωκεν τῷ πανδοχεῖ 'and on the next day taking two denarii he gave [them] to the innkeeper' (L 10:35). This prepositional construction is at times used to mean a recipient, a beneficiary, or a patient: ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην 'a word of God came to John' (L 3:2), ὕδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐκ ἔδωκας 'you did not give me water for my feet' (L 7:44), τῷ τύποντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα 'to the one striking you on the cheek' (L 6:29). With verbs of sense perception and mental activity this prepositional phrase often designates topic: καὶ πιστεύσομεν ἐπ' αὐτόν 'and we will believe in him' (M 27:42), ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτήν 'he cried about it' (L 19:41).

Just as in constructions with the accusative, *ἐπί* combined with the genitive primarily means a location or a direction on the surface of a landmark: καὶ αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ‘and he was alone on the land’ (Mk 6:47), ὡς ἄνθρωπος βάλην τὸν σπόρον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ‘just as a man should throw a seed onto the ground’ (Mk 4:26). It is rarely used to denote a path (once again the concept of surface is essential here): περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ‘walking on (=through) the sea’ (Mk 6:48). In several instances *ἐπί*+Gen designates a period of time (usually marked by the lifespan of a particular person): καὶ πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ Ἑλισαίου τοῦ προφήτου ‘and there were many lepers in Israel in the time of the prophet Elisha’ (L 4:27).

Through the metonymic shift ‘on something’ → ‘by means of something’ the prepositional phrase *ἐπί*+Gen expands its meaning to signify ‘means’: καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ‘and coming on (=by means of) the clouds of heaven’ (M 26:64). In an adverbial construction *ἐπ’ ἀληθείας* this preposition expresses manner: ἐπ’ ἀληθείας δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ‘but truly I tell you’ (L 4:25).

When combined with the dative, *ἐπί* often signifies location (seldom direction) in the same senses as it does when employed with the accusative or with the genitive: καὶ λίθος ἐπέκειτο ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ‘and a stone lay upon it’ (J 11:38). And again, just like the constructions discussed above, *ἐπί*+Dat can denote time: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦλθαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ‘and at this [time] his disciples came’ (J 4:27).

Ἐπί+Dat sometimes signals the causative roles of reason and means: καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται ‘and many will rejoice because of his birth’ (L 1:14), οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ‘man shall live not by bread alone’ (M 4:4). In a construction that became formulaic in the New Testament *ἐπί* denotes manner: ὃς ποιήσει δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου ‘who does a mighty work in my name’ (Mk 9:39). We find only one instance where *ἐπί*+Dat stands for a

recipient: εἰδὺῖα ὁ γέγονεν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ (mss. R, Θ) ‘knowing what had happened to her’ (Mk 5:33).

This prepositional phrase is often used to denote a topic: οὐ γὰρ συνῆκαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρτοις ‘for they did not understand about the loaves’ (Mk 6:52), ἐξεπλήσσοντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκῇ αὐτοῦ ‘the people were astonished about his teaching’ (M 7:28).

Table 5. Semantic roles of *ἐπί*

		<i>ἐπί</i> + <i>ACC</i>				<i>ἐπί</i> + <i>GEN</i>				<i>ἐπί</i> + <i>DAT</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	24	10	25	6	24	16	20	8	6	3	7	7
	direction	30	26	51	13	5						4	
	path	3				1	2		1				
	source												
time		1		2		1	1	3			1		1
comitative (animate/inanimate)													
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/ intermediary					4	2	2		1	1	1	
	cause/reason									1	1	3	
recipient		3		3						1	1		
beneficiary				1									
experiencer													
possessor													
purpose													
patient				7									
manner							2	3		2	3	5	
topic		3	6	2	3					6	8	18	2
TOTAL		64	42	91	22	35	23	28	9	16	18	38	10

2.6 ΠΑΡΑ

The preposition *παρά* originates in IE **per* (Watkins 2000:65) and has many cognates in different IE languages including Goth *faur* and Arm *ar*. This preposition governs the genitive, the accusative, and the dative and is closely connected with the idea of proximity or vicinity. It is also

found as a preverb with a number of verbs: καὶ παράγων παρά τὴν θάλασσαν ‘and going along the sea’ (Mk 1:16).

Παρά plus the genitive is used only with animate objects and expresses a notion ‘from the presence of someone’: ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ‘whom I shall send to you from the Father’ (J 15:26). This construction is often combined with verbs of speaking or hearing with which it metaphorically expresses a concept ‘source’: ἠκρίβωσεν παρ’ αὐτῶν τὸν χρόνον ‘he ascertained from them the time’ (M 2:7). In rare cases *παρά*+Gen admits a secondary possessive sense along with the primary meaning ‘source’ (through a metonymic extension ‘to come from someone’ → ‘to be possessed by someone’): καὶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ’ αὐτῆς πάντα ‘and spending all that she had (= that is from her)’ (Mk 5:26).

The primary semantic role of *παρά* plus the accusative is to denote location near which something occurs: καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο τυφλοὶ καθήμενοι παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν ‘and lo, two blind men sitting near the road’ (M 20:30). Metaphorically, *παρά*+Acc is sometimes used after comparatives. This function developed through an extension based on the spatial concept ‘near’ → ‘beside’ → ‘in relation to’: κατέβη οὗτος δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ παρ’ ἐκείνου ‘this one went to his house more justified than that one’ (L 18:14). The construction *παρά*+Acc mostly employs inanimate objects, although rare instances with an animate object are also found: cf. καὶ ἦν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ‘and he was near the sea’ (Mk 5:21), ὅτι οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι οὗτοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἐγένοντο ‘that these Galileans were more sinful than all the other Galileans’ (L 13:2).

Παρά more often occurs with the dative of a person than with the dative of an inanimate thing, although we find examples of both cases in the New Testament: cf. καὶ διεφημίσθη ὁ λόγος οὗτος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ‘and this word has been spread among the Jews to this day’ (M 28:15), εἰστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς

μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ‘but his mother and his mother’s sister were standing near the cross of Jesus’ (J 19:25).

Because of this particular usage, in many instances where *παρά*+Dat expresses location it also has a

comitative connotation: ἐπιλαβόμενος παιδίον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ *παρ’* ἐαυτῷ ‘having taken the child he

put him near (= with) himself’ (L 9:47), ἦσαν δὲ *παρ’* ἡμῖν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί ‘but there were seven

brothers among (= with) us’ (M 22:25). This prepositional phrase is also occasionally used to denote

source: μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε *παρὰ* τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν ‘you do not have a reward from your Father’ (M 6:1).

Table 6. Semantic roles of *παρά*

		<i>παρά</i> + <i>GEN</i>				<i>παρά</i> + <i>ACC</i>				<i>παρά</i> + <i>DAT</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location					7	7	14		4	1	6	10
	direction												
	path												
	source	5	6	8	26					1			1
time													
comitative (animate/inanimate)													
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/ intermediary												
	cause/reason												
recipient													
beneficiary													
experiencer													
possessor			1	1									
purpose													
patient													
manner													
topic													
TOTAL		5	7	9	26	7	7	14		5	1	6	10

2.7 ΑΠΟ

Ἀπό goes back to IE **apo* ‘off, away’ (Watkins 2000:5) and is cognate with Goth *af* and OCS

po. It governs the genitive and primarily expresses source, accentuating the idea of separation. *Ἀπό* is

also used as a preverb with a number of verbs: ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα 'the leprosy went away from him' (Mk 1:42). When denoting source, a prepositional phrase with ἀπό can render the idea 'away from' as well as the notion 'out of': καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ ἄγγελος 'and the angel went away from her' (L 1:38), ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρεθ 'Jesus came from Nazareth' (Mk 1:9). A landmark can be animate or inanimate: πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ κατηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ 'go away from me into the fire, cursed ones' (M 25:41), ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκοπτον κλάδους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων 'but others cut branches from the trees' (M 21:8). This preposition is often found in combinations with the adverb μακρόθεν: καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν 'and seeing Jesus from afar' (Mk 5:6).

The notion 'separation' is crucial for the semantics of ἀπό. For this reason, it often designates a starting point of some motion: καὶ ἄρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἕως ὧδε 'and beginning from the Galilee to here' (L 23:5). This prepositional construction is also used to metaphorically express more abstract notions connected with disassociation or removal: αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν 'for he will save his people from their sins' (M 1:21). In addition, we find infrequent instances where ἀπό plus the genitive has a partitive meaning or denotes origin: τίνα θέλετε ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν 'which of the two do you want me to release to you' (M 27:21), οὗτοι οὖν προσῆλθον Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἀπὸ Βηθσαιδᾶ 'so these came to Phillip who [was] from Bethsaida' (J 12:21).

When ἀπό+Gen is used temporally it marks a moment of time when some action begins (a result of a metaphorical extension 'away from a point in space' → 'away from a point in time'): καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ἔλαβεν ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ ἴδια 'and from that hour the disciple took her to his own [house]' (J 19:27). This prepositional phrase sometimes plays a causal role denoting an agent, a cause, or a means: πρῶτον δὲ δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης 'but first he must suffer a lot and be rejected by this generation' (L 17:25), εὗρεν

κοιμωμένους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης ‘he found them sleeping because of the grief’ (L 22:45), ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς ‘you will know them by their fruit’ (M 7:16). *Ἀπό*+Gen can designate a patient where it is combined with verbs implying fear or caution: μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα ‘do not fear those who kill the body’ (M 10:28). Note that the notion of separation is central for the semantics of verbs of this type.

Table 7. Semantic roles of *ἀπό*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction				
	path				
	source	81	45	106	37
time		14	3	14	8
comitative(animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force	2		7	
	instrument/means/intermediary	2			
	cause/reason	5	1	5	1
recipient					
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possessor					
purpose					
patient		6	2	4	
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		110	51	136	46

2.8 ὙΠΟ

Ὑπό originates from IE * *upo* ‘down (on), below’ (Sihler 1995:441) and is related to Goth *uf*.

This preposition governs the genitive and the accusative and sometimes functions as a preverb: καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ‘and she returned to her house’ (L 1:56).

When combined with the genitive, *ὕπό* primarily denotes an agent (often animate): ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν με ἀγαπηθήσεται ὕπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ‘but the one loving me will be loved by my Father’ (J

14:21). This prepositional phrase is rarely used to indicate a cause: καὶ πολλὰ παθοῦσα ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν ‘and suffering much because of many physicians’ (Mk 5:26). We also find a single instance where this construction denotes the location ‘under, beneath’: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή ἀστράπτουσα ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανὸν λάμπει ‘for as soon as the lightning shines flashing from the [earth] beneath the sky to the [earth] beneath the sky’ (L 17:24).

Υπό plus the accusative continues the original sense of this preposition; therefore, it stands for location or direction, meaning ‘under, beneath’: ὥστε δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνοῦν ‘so that the birds of heaven can nest under its shade’ (Mk 4:32), ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς ‘that you should enter under my roof’ (M 8:8). This construction is sometimes used metaphorically to denote more abstract concepts of authority or power: καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ‘for I am a man under authority’ (M 8:9).

Table 8. Semantic roles of *ὑπό*

		<i>ὑπό</i> + <i>GEN</i>				<i>ὑπό</i> + <i>ACC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location			1		3	2	3	2
	direction					3	1	2	
	path								
	source								
time									
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force	22	8	25	2				
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason	1	1						
recipient									
beneficiary									
experiencer									
possessor									
purpose									
patient									
manner									

topic									
TOTAL	23	9	26	2	6	3	5	2	

2.9 ΔΙΑ

Διά has an ambiguous origin; some linguists trace it back to **δισ-α* and consider it to be related to Goth *dis-* (with problematic *d* instead of expected *t*; perhaps borrowed from Lat. *dis-*) (Frisk 1960 I:383). This preposition governs the genitive and the accusative and is often found in verb compounds: *διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων* 'he passes through dry places' (M 12:43).

In combinations with the genitive, *διά* primarily indicates a path: *καὶ οὐκ ᾔφειεν ἵνα τις διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ* 'and he did allow that anyone should carry a vessel through the temple' (Mk 11:16). This prepositional phrase is also used to denote a period of time throughout or after which some action occurs: *ἐπιστάτα, δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιάσαντες οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν* 'master, having worked throughout the whole night we caught nothing' (L 5:5), *καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δι' ἡμερῶν* 'and after [several] days he came again to Capernaum' (Mk 2:1).

Διά+Gen can metaphorically indicate causal relations. Thus, we find examples where this construction refers to means or an agent: *οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ* 'no one comes to the Father but by (through) me' (J 14:6), *οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου* 'for in this way it is written by the prophet' (M 2:5). There is even one instance where it is used to denote a cause: *καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι προσενέγκαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον* 'and being unable to bring [him] to him because of the crowd' (Mk 2:4).

When combined with the accusative, *διά* almost always denotes a cause or reason: *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσουσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου* 'but all this they will do to you because of my name' (J 15:21). *Διά* with this connotation is often found in combinations with the neuter article *τό*, the interrogative pronoun *τί*, and the deictic neuter pronoun *τοῦτο*: *καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὀρίζαν*

ἐξηράνθη ‘and because it did not have a root it withered’ (Mk 4:6), διὰ τί μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίετε..; ‘why (= because of what) do you eat with tax-collectors and sinners?’ (L 5:30), διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν ‘because of this I say to you’ (M 6:25). In only one instance *διά*+Acc designates a path: αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρείας ‘he passed through the middle of Samaria’ (L 17:11).

Table 9. Semantic roles of *διά*

		<i>διά</i> + <i>GEN</i>				<i>διά</i> + <i>ACC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location								
	direction								
	path	7	7	7	14			1	
	source								
time		1	3	3					
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force	1	1	1					
	instrument/means/intermediary	13	2	3	1				
	cause/reason		1			34	20	26	43
recipient									
beneficiary									
experiencer									
possessor									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic									
TOTAL		22	14	14	15	34	20	27	43

2.10 KATA

The source of *κατά* is problematic. Some researchers trace it to IE **kat-* (Watkins 2000:37), others suggest that it originates in IE **kmta* (Frisk 1960 I:800); but the majority agrees that the original meaning of *κατά* is ‘down’. This preposition governs the accusative and the genitive; it is

often found as a preverb in compound verbs where it expresses its primary sense: καὶ κατέβη λαῖλαψ ἀνεμου εἰς τὴν λίμνην ‘and a storm of wind came down onto the lake’ (L 8:23).

Constructions with *κατά* are rarely used in the New Testament with a spatial meaning. We find only occasional instances of *κατά* plus the accusative used to indicate location or direction: ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους ‘there will be earthquakes in places’ (Mk 13:8), καὶ Λευίτης κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐλθὼν ‘and a Levite coming to the place’ (L 10:32). The idea of a motion throughout all parts of an area leads to a distributive notion that becomes crucial for the semantics of this preposition. It is present in instances where *κατά*+Acc denotes a source or a path: καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ‘and when those from town after town were coming to him’ (L 8:4), ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς κώμας ‘and going out they went through the villages’ (L 9:6). This concept is also perceived in temporal usages of *κατά*+Acc where it emphasizes that an action happened at every unit of a certain period: καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκαθεζόμεν ‘I sat in the temple every day’ (M 26:55).

In the majority of instances *κατά*+Acc designates manner. This meaning developed metaphorically from the idea of distribution: πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς κατ’ ἰδίαν εἶπεν ‘he said to the disciples privately’ (L 10:23), καὶ τότε ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ ‘and then he will give to each according to his deed’ (M 16:27). We find rare instances where this prepositional phrase indicates means: μὴ κρίνετε κατ’ ὄψιν ‘do not judge by the appearance’ (J 7:24). The meaning of *κατά*+Acc in this example is again connected with a distributional notion.

Κατά plus the genitive is used to denote spatial relations, indicating sometimes a motion from a higher to a lower place. Thus, we find examples where this construction stands for location or path: διδάσκων καθ’ ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας ‘teaching throughout all Judea’ (L 23:5), καὶ ὥρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ‘and the herd rushed down the slope to the sea’ (Mk 5:13). This

phrase is commonly used in the New Testament with verbs of speech. In these cases *κατά*+Gen expresses the meaning ‘against’ – the result of a metonymic extension ‘down’ → ‘against’ that is evidently based on a contiguity between looking down upon an adversary and saying something against him: καὶ ὅς ἐάν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ‘and whoever says a word against the Son of man’ (M 12:32).

Table 10. Semantic roles of *κατά*

		<i>κατά</i> + ACC				<i>κατά</i> + GEN			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	5	1	5					
	direction			2		12	6	4	2
	path			3		1	1	2	
	source			1					
time		2	2	7	1				
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary				3				
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary									
experiencer									
possessor									
purpose									
patient									
manner		14	12	21	5				
topic									
TOTAL		21	15	39	9	13	7	6	2

2.11 ΠΕΡΙ

Περί goes back to IE **peri-* ‘away’ (Sihler 1995:440) and is related to Goth *fairra* ‘far from’ and OCS *prě-*. This preposition governs the genitive and the accusative and is found as a preverb with a number of verbs: εἰς τις *περιπατῇ* ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ‘if one walks around in the day’ (J 11:9). In combinations with the genitive, *περί* primarily denotes a topic about which something is asserted.

Περί is usually used in this function with verbs of speaking and sense perception: καὶ εὐθὺς λέγουσιν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῆς ‘and immediately they told him about her’ (Mk 1:30), περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ‘but no one knows about that day and hour’ (M 24:36). We also find rare instances where this prepositional phrase metaphorically expresses a reason or a beneficiary: περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε ‘we do not stone you because of a good deed’ (J 10:33), τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἅφεςις ἁμαρτιῶν ‘that is being poured out for many for forgiveness of sins’ (M 26:28).

Περί plus the accusative continues the original spatial functions of this preposition. In the majority of cases this construction refers to a location around something or somebody: καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος ‘and a crowd was sitting around him’ (Mk 3:32). The temporal usage of this phrase simply mirrors the spatial one, indicating an approximate time: περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν ἀνεβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ‘and Jesus cried with a loud voice about the ninth hour’ (M 27:46). There are only a few instances where *περί*+Acc refers to an agent/force: ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν ‘but Martha was distracted with much preparation’ (L 10:40). In one instance this phrase denotes a topic: καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι ‘and the desires for other [things]’ (Mk 4:19).

Table 11. Semantic roles of *περί*

		<i>περί</i> + <i>GEN</i>				<i>περί</i> + <i>ACC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location					3	7	3	1
	direction								
	path								
	source								
time						5	1		
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force							2	
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason			1	5				

recipient									
beneficiary	1	1	1						
experiencer									
possessor									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic	19	12	37	56		1			
TOTAL	20	13	39	61	8	9	5	1	

2.12 META

Μετά goes back to IE **me* (**me-ta*) ‘with’ and is cognate with Goth *miþ* (Sihler 1995:441).

This preposition governs the accusative and the genitive and sometimes occurs as a preverb: *μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν* ‘do not go from house to house’ (L 10:7). *Μετά* plus the accusative is exclusively used to denote time or a period of time after which a certain action occurs: *καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν πάλιν οἱ παρεστῶτες ἔλεγον τῷ Πέτρῳ* ‘and after a little while the bystanders again said to Peter’ (Mk 14:70). A combination of *μετά* with the accusative of a deictic pronoun often fulfills such a temporal function: *μετὰ ταῦτα εὕρισκει αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ* ‘after these [events] Jesus found him in the temple’ (J 5:14).

The semantic roles of *μετά* plus the genitive continue the original meaning of *μετά*. The most common function for this construction is comitative, implying the meaning ‘together with somebody or something’: *ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου* ‘I will perform the Passover with my disciples’ (M 26:18), *ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας... ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ φανῶν* ‘so Judas... went there with lanterns’ (J 18:3).

Through a metonymic extension *μετά*+Gen can denote the location ‘among’: *τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν*; ‘why do you look for the living among the dead?’ (L 24:5). With verbs of speech this phrase sometimes indicates a receiver: *ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐλάλησεν μετ’ αὐτῶν* ‘but he spoke to them at once’ (Mk 6:50). *Μετά*+Gen is also used metaphorically to specify a manner, an emotional state that

accompanies a certain action: καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν ‘and immediately taking it with joy’ (M 13:20).

Table 12. Semantic roles of *μετά*

		<i>μετά</i> + <i>GEN</i>				<i>μετά</i> + <i>ACC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1	2	3					
	direction								
	path								
	source								
time						13	10	13	15
comitative (animate/inanimate)		58	40	38	25				
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient			2	3	7				
beneficiary									
experiencer									
possessor									
purpose									
patient									
manner		2	3	7					
topic									
TOTAL		61	47	51	32	13	10	13	15

2.13 ΣΥΝ

Σύν is thought to continue IE **ksun* ‘with’ (Watkins 2000: 44) and is cognate with OCS *sŭ(n)* ‘with’. This preposition governs only the dative and is used as a preverb with numerous verbs: καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην ‘and he will gather his grain into the granary’ (M 3:12). *Σύν* plus the dative is mainly used with a comitative function in the canonical gospels. The dative indicates generally a person, although several cases with the dative of an inanimate object are also found: Ἰησοῦς ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ‘Jesus went out with his disciples’ (J 18:1), καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ ἐκομισάμην ἂν τὸ ἐμὸν σὺν τόκῳ ‘and having come I should have received whatever [is]

mine with interest’ (M 25:27). We find only one instance where this phrase can be considered to indicate a recipient: καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σὺν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες... (mss. R, Θ) ‘but the leaders, saying to them...’ (L 23:35).

Table 13. Semantic roles of *σύν*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction				
	path				
	source				
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)		4	6	25	3
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient				1	
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possessor					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		4	6	26	3

2.14 ANA

Ἀνά is cognate with Goth *ana* ‘on’ and OCS *na* ‘on’ and goes back to an IE root **an-/ana* (Watkins 2000:3). It is used as a preverb meaning ‘upwards’ more often than as a preposition in the New Testament: *ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος* ‘he went up onto the mountain’ (M 5:1). As a preposition it occurs in the canonical gospels only in combination with the accusative (although it can also govern the dative). *Ἀνά* plus the accusative is used to denote a location in constructions like *ἀνά μέσον: καὶ ἐπέσπειρεν ζιζάνια ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σίτου* ‘and he sowed weeds in the midst of wheat’ (M 13:25). It

can also indicate manner, specifying the type of distribution for something: κατακλίνετε αὐτοὺς κλισίας ὥσει ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα ‘make them recline in groups of about fifty each’ (L 9:14).

Table 14. Semantic roles of ἀνά

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1	1		
	direction				
	path				
	source				
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possessor					
purpose					
patient					
manner		1		3	1
topic					
TOTAL		2	1	3	1

2.15 ΠΡΟ

Πρό originates in IE **pro* ‘in front’ and is cognate with Goth *fra-* (Sihler 1995: 439). This preposition governs the genitive and is often found as a preverb: **προ**άγουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ‘they precede you into the kingdom’ (M 21:31). The notion of precedence is essential for the semantics of this preposition. Thus, the combination *πρό* plus the genitive is used to denote location and direction ‘before something/somebody’ as well as time prior to something: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ‘and he sent them by two ahead of him’ (L 10:1), ἦλθες ὧδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς; ‘have you come here to torture us before [the proper] time?’ (M 8:29).

Table 15. Semantic roles of *πρό*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1			
	direction	1	1	4	
	path				
	source				
time		4	4	1	9
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possessor					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		6	5	5	9

2.16 ὙΠΕΡ

This preposition goes back to IE **uperi* ‘above’ and is related to Goth *ufar* (Sihler 1995:441).

Ὑπέρ governs the genitive and the accusative and is rarely used as a preverb in the canonical gospels:

μέτρον καλὸν πεπιεσμένον σεσαλευμένον ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν ‘they will give a good

measure, pressed down, shaken together, overflowing’ (L 6:38). In the New Testament this

preposition is used only metaphorically. Thus, ὑπέρ plus the genitive denotes a beneficiary in the

majority of its occurrences: τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον ‘this is my body that

[is] given for you’ (L 22:19). There is only one case where this construction refers to a topic: οὗτός

ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον ‘it is this one about whom I spoke’ (J 1:30). Ὑπέρ plus the accusative is

used in comparative constructions, metaphorically continuing the original location meaning of the

preposition (‘over’ → ‘more, better’): ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ ‘the one loving father or mother more than (= over) me’ (M 10:37).

Table 16. Semantic roles of *ὑπὲρ*

		<i>ὑπὲρ</i> + <i>GEN</i>				<i>ὑπὲρ</i> + <i>ACC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location					2		3	1
	direction								
	path								
	source								
time									
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary		1	2	4	13				
experiencer									
possessor									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic					1				
TOTAL		1	2	4	14	2		3	1

2.17 ANTI

The preposition *ἀντί* originates in IE **H₂enti* ‘in front and facing’ (Sihler 1995:439) and is cognate with Arm *ənd* and Goth *and*. It governs the genitive and is sometimes used as a preverb: οὕς *ἀντιβάλλετε* πρὸς ἀλλήλους ‘which you express to each other’ (L 24:17). In the canonical gospels this prepositional phrase is used only metaphorically. It mainly denotes a substitution. This idea has probably developed from the original spatial meaning of this preposition through a semantic extension ‘in front, in place’ → ‘in place of (location)’ → ‘in place of, instead of (concept of substitution)’: καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν ‘and to give his life as ransom in

place of many’ (Mk 10:45). In one instance *ἀντί*+Gen marks a beneficiary: ἐκεῖνον λαβὼν δός αὐτοῖς *ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ* ‘and taking that, give [it] to them for me and you’ (M 17:27). When combined with the relative pronoun *ὅς*, the preposition *ἀντί* expresses causal relations: *ἀνθ’ ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας* τοῖς λόγοις μου ‘because you did not believe my words’ (L 1:20).

Table 17. Semantic roles of *ἀντί*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	3	1	1	1
	direction				
	path				
	source				
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason			3	
recipient					
beneficiary		1			
experiencer					
possessor					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		4	1	4	1

2.18 Improper prepositions

There are several improper prepositions that are used in semantic roles that are the same or similar to those of proper prepositions. In addition, however, some of them convey semantic roles not expressed by proper prepositions. Improper prepositions take the genitive (with the exception of *ἅμα* that takes the dative), do not occur as preverbs, but can function as free adverbs or conjunctions (rare): cf. *ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν* πορεύεται ‘he goes before them’ (J 10:4), *ἐπορεύετο ἐμπροσθεν* ‘he

went ahead' (L 19:28). Improper prepositions are often derived from proper ones and frequently maintain the original meaning of their proper prepositional bases.

The majority of improper prepositions express spatial notions. Thus, *ὑποκάτω* (cf. *ὑπό*) and *ἐπάνω* (cf. *ἐπί*) constitute relational antonyms, expressing the opposed meanings 'under' and 'on, upon, above': καὶ τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης ἐσθίουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ψιγίων τῶν παιδίων 'and dogs under the table eat from the crumbs of the children' (Mk 7:28), οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους 'it is not possible for a city upon a mountain to be hidden' (M 5:14). The prepositions *ἐγγύς* and *ἐντός* (both are derived from the proper preposition *ἐν*) refer to a location, specifying the connotations 'near' and 'within' correspondingly: ἦν δὲ Βηθανία ἐγγύς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων 'now Bethany was near Jerusalem' (J 11:18), ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντός ὑμῶν ἐστίν 'for behold, the kingdom of God is within you' (L 17:21). *Μεταξύ* marks the location 'among, between': μεταξύ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται 'between us and you a great chasm has been fixed' (L 16:26).

The notion 'before, in front of, opposite to', expressed by some proper prepositions (cf. *ἀντί*, *κατά*), is often designated by improper prepositions. Thus, *ἐμπροσθεν*, *κατέναντι*, *ἐναντί(ον)*, and *ἐνώπιον* (the last two are found only in the Gospel of Luke) are all used to denote location (or direction) in front of or opposite to *somebody*: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐστάθη ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος 'and Jesus stood before the governor' (M 27:11), λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας κατέναντι τοῦ ὄχλου 'taking water he washed [his] hands before the crowd' (M 27:24), ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι ἀμφοτέροι ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ 'but they both were righteous before God' (L 1:6), ἔσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον κυρίου 'for he will be great before the Lord' (L 1:15). *Κατέναντι* and *ἐμπροσθεν* are the only improper prepositions that are rarely found in combination with the genitive of an inanimate object:

καὶ καθίσας κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακείου ‘and sitting before the treasury’ (Mk 12:41), ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ‘leave your gift there, in front of the altar’ (M 5:24).

The idea ‘behind, after’ can also be expressed by both proper (cf. the temporal function of *μετά* with the accusative) and improper prepositions. Thus, *ὀπίσω*, *ὀπισθεν*, and *ὑστερον* denote a location (or direction) ‘behind’ or time ‘after’ when combined with the genitive of a person: ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ‘but the one coming after me’ (M 3:11), ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρειν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ‘they put on him the cross to carry after Jesus’ (L 23:26), ὑστερον δὲ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἡ γυνή ‘but after them all the woman died’ (M 22:27). *Ὀπίσω* is often used with verbs meaning ‘follow’: ὑπάγε ὀπίσω μου ‘follow me’ (Mk 8:33). The improper preposition *πέραν* (cf. *περί* and its original meaning) indicates either a space beyond something or a path along which some motion occurs: ὁ ἐστηκὼς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ‘the one standing beyond the sea’ (J 6:22), ἤρχοντο πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ‘they came across the sea’ (J 6:17).

The only improper preposition that refers to source is *ἐξω*, specifying the sense ‘out of’: καὶ ἐκβαλόντες αὐτὸν ἐξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ‘and throwing him out of the vineyard’ (L 20:15). The improper prepositions *ἕως*, *μέχρι*, and *ἄχρι* play temporal semantic roles. All of them designate a certain point in time until which some action or motion occurs: καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης ‘and darkness was over the whole earth until the ninth hour’ (L 23:44), ἔμεινεν ἄν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ‘it would have remained until this day’ (M 11:23), ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ ‘he went away from him until the right time’ (L 4:13). *Ἔως* is also used to denote a direction, an endpoint of an action, and is often found in constructions with *ἀπό*: ἀρξάμενος ἀπο τῶν ἐσχάτων ἕως τῶν πρώτων ‘beginning from the last up to the first’ (M 20:8). Phrases with the improper preposition

ἅμα are rare and carry a comitative connotation: ἐκριζώσητε ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον ‘you may root out the wheat together with them’ (M 13:29). The adverbial preposition *ἐνεκεν* (cf. causal meanings of *ἐν*) is only used to denote reason: ἐνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ‘because of this a man will leave his father’ (Mk 10:7).

There is one concept that is not covered by proper prepositions: the idea of absence. The improper prepositions *ἄτερ*, *ἄνευ*, *πλὴν*, and *χωρίς* are used in those rare cases where this meaning has to be expressed: ὅτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς ἄτερ βαλλαντίου ‘when I sent you without a bag’ (L 22:35), οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ‘it will not fall upon the earth without your Father’ (M 10:29), καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ ‘and another does not exist except him’ (Mk 12:32), καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ‘and without him nothing happened (= came about)’ (J 1:3).

2.19 Cases

Biblical Greek inherited a system of four cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative). The genitive and the dative are the results of syncretism: the Biblical Greek genitive is an outcome of a merger of the IE genitive and ablative; the dative continues the IE dative, locative, and instrumental. When used by themselves, the accusative, genitive, and dative express several prepositional semantic roles. But such usages of nominal constructions occur with much less frequency than prepositional ones.

The primary semantic role of the accusative is denotation of a direct object (a patient): καὶ ἰδοὺ πνεῦμα λαμβάνει αὐτόν ‘and behold, a spirit has seized him’ (L 9:39). It is rarely used to designate direction or time: ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα ‘that everyone looking at a woman’ (M 5:28), καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν χρόνους ἱκανούς ‘and he traveled abroad for a long time’ (L 20:9). We also find infrequent instances where these nominal constructions refer to manner or means: καὶ ἐπέταξεν

αὐτοῖς ἀνακλιθῆναι πάντας συμπόσια συμπόσια ἐπὶ τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ ‘and he ordered them for all to sit in groups on the green grass’ (Mk 6:39), ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν ‘I adjure you by God’ (Mk 5:7).

Accusative phrases are often combined with verbs of speech and denote a source and a topic: καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπηρώτα τοὺς μαθητάς αὐτοῦ ‘and on the way he asked his disciples’ (Mk 8:27), ἐπύθετο οὖν τὴν ὥραν παρ’ αὐτῶν ‘he asked them about the hour’ (J 4:52). Note how Greek alternates between nominal and prepositional constructions while expressing the source notion in these examples. Syntactic and/or semantic differences between the verbs used in these passages could be a reason for that. In the first example τοὺς μαθητάς αὐτοῦ is a direct object of the verb but its semantic side is connected with the concept of source rather than patient. In such examples semantics and syntax are at odds with each other. For the purposes of this study we are going to treat similar cases based on their semantic characteristics. Thus, constructions designating ‘a person asked’ are taken as those marking source, while phrases indicating ‘a matter asked about’ are considered as those expressing a topic.

The Biblical Greek genitive is widely used as a partitive: ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐκεῖ καθήμενοι ‘and some of the scribes were sitting there’ (Mk 2:6). The genitive is often found in comparative constructions: ἰσχυρότερός μοῦ ἐστίν ‘he is more powerful than I’ (M 3:11). When combined with verbs meaning ‘hear’, ‘touch’, and ‘take’, the genitive denotes a patient (still reflecting the partitive notion): καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ δύο μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ‘and the two disciples heard him’ (J 1:37), ἥψατο τῆς σοροῦ ‘he touched the coffin’ (L 7:14), καὶ κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου ‘and taking the hand of the child’ (Mk 5:41). Genitive nominal constructions are often used to denote time: ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσοῦσης ἀνέβη Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ‘but in the middle of the feast Jesus went up to the temple’ (J 7:14). There are several usages of the genitive where this nominal phrase denotes an abstract concept connected with the location ‘over’: καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τῶν

πνευμάτων ‘and he gave them authority over the spirits’ (Mk 6:7). Sometimes a genitive complement of an abstract noun (‘objective genitive’) has a directional connotation ‘against’: ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται ‘but blasphemy against the spirit will not be forgiven’ (M 12:31).

The meaning of the dative is complicated by the fact that it continues the IE dative, locative, and instrumental. The most common semantic roles of the dative in Biblical Greek are recipient (often with verbs of speech) and time: οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ ‘and they said to him’ (M 2:5), ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ ‘this night they will demand back your soul from you’ (L 12:20). The dative is common in combination with the verb ‘follow’ where it marks a patient: καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ‘he followed him along the way’ (Mk 10:52). We also find rare instances of the dative referring to location (the locative semantic role), instrument, agent (the instrumental semantic roles), topic, and manner: ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι ‘he was troubled in spirit’ (J 13:21), καὶ ἤσθιον τοὺς στάχυν ψάχοντες ταῖς χερσίν ‘and they ate the ears of corn rubbing [them] with their hands’ (L 6:1), οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ ‘nothing worthy of death has been done by him’ (L 23:15), μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν ‘do not care about your spirit’ (M 6:25), καὶ τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν ‘and we cast out demons in your name’ (M 7:22).

In many constructions with a nominal phrase an expected preposition is often present as a preverb: cf. προσῆλθαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ‘his disciples came to him’ (M 5:1) and ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ‘he came to Jesus’ (Mk 10:50). In constructions of this type it is the preverb that specifies the meaning and not the nominal phrase. This conclusion is also supported by examples like the ones with the verb ‘touch’. In combinations with this verb the patient is usually marked by the genitive, but when a preverb *προσ-* (as a preposition it takes the dative to denote a location ‘near’) is present, the dative is used: ἤψατο τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ‘he touched the fringe of his garment’ (M 9:20), οὐ προσψάετε τοῖς φορτίοις ‘you do not touch the burdens’ (L 11:46).

2.20 Conclusions

The prepositional system of Biblical Greek is notable for its complexity. The division of semantic space can be summarized as follows. The dominant elements for a field (where they can be determined) are in bold:

❖ space:

➤ location:

- ‘within’:
 - ‘inside’: **ἐν+Dat**, εἰς+Acc, ἐπί+Acc, κατά+Acc, κατά+Gen, ἐντός+Gen, Dat
 - ‘among’: **μετά+Gen**, ἐν+Dat, ἀνά+Acc, μεταξύ+Gen
- ‘on the surface, over’: **ἐπί+Acc**, ἐν+Dat, ἐπί+Gen, ἐπί+Dat, ὑπέρ+Acc, ἐπάνω+Gen, Gen
- ‘under, beneath’: **ὑπό+Acc**
- ‘near’: **παρά+Acc**, **παρά+Dat**, ἐκ+Gen, πρὸς+Acc, πρὸς+Dat, ἐπί+Acc, ἐγγύς+Gen
- ‘against’: κατέναντι+Gen, ἐναντί(ον)+Gen, ἐνώπιον+Gen
- ‘around’: **περί+Acc**
- ‘in place of’: ἀντί+Gen, Gen
- ‘before’: **ἔμπροσθεν+Gen**, πρὸ+Gen, κατέναντι+Gen, ἐναντί(ον)+Gen, ἐνώπιον+Gen
- ‘after, beyond’: **πέραν+Gen**, ὀπίσω+Gen, ὀπισθεν+Gen, ὕστερον+Gen

➤ direction:

- ‘to, into’: εἰς+Acc, ἐν+Dat, ἐπί+Acc
- ‘onto’: **ἐπί+Acc**, ἐπί+Gen, ἐπί+Dat
- ‘under’: **ὑπό+Acc**, ὑπό+Gen, ὑποκάτω+Gen
- ‘to (near), up to’: **πρὸς+Acc**, πρὸς+Dat, ἕως+Gen, κατά+Acc, Acc
- ‘against’: **ἐπί+Acc**, **κατά+Gen**, Gen

- ‘before’: *ἔμπροσθεν*+Gen, *πρό*+Gen, *ἐνώπιον*+Gen
- ‘after’: *ὀπίσω*+Gen, *ὀπισθεν*+Gen, *ὑστερον*+Gen, Dat
- source:
 - ‘from, out of’: *ἐκ*+Gen, *ἀπό*+Gen, *ἐξ*+Gen, *κατά*+Acc, Acc
 - ‘away from’:
 - ‘from a person’: *παρά*+Gen, *ἐκ*+Gen, *παρά*+Dat, *ἀπό*+Gen
 - ‘from an inanimate object’: *ἀπό*+Gen, *ἐκ*+Gen
 - partitive: *ἐκ*+Gen, *ἀπό*+Gen, Gen
- path: *διά*+Gen, *διά*+Acc, *ἐν*+Dat, *ἐπί*+Acc, *ἐπί*+Gen, *κατά*+Acc, *κατά*+Gen, *πέραν*+Gen
- ❖ time:
 - ‘within’:
 - ‘during’: *ἐν*+Dat, *εἰς*+Acc, *πρός*+Acc, *ἐπί*+Acc, *ἐπί*+Dat, *διά*+Gen, *κατά*+Acc, Acc, Gen, Dat
 - ‘during the time of somebody’: *ἐπί*+Gen
 - ‘before’: *πρό*+Gen, *εἰς*+Acc
 - ‘after’: *μετά*+Acc, *διά*+Gen, *ὀπίσω*+Gen, *ὀπισθεν*+Gen, *ὑστερον*+Gen
 - ‘from’: *ἀπό*+Gen, *ἐκ*+Gen
 - ‘until’: *ἕως*+Gen, *μέχρι*+Gen, *ἄχρι*+Gen
 - ‘near, about’: *πρός*+Acc, *περί*+Acc
- ❖ comitative: *μετά*+Gen, *ἐν*+Dat, *πρός*+Acc, *παρά*+Dat, *σύν*+Dat, *ἅμα*+Dat
- ❖ absence: *ἄτερ*+Gen, *ἄνευ*+Gen, *πλήν*+Gen, *χωρίς*+Gen
- ❖ causal:
 - agent/force: *ὑπό*+Gen, *ἐν*+Dat, *ἐκ*+Gen, *ἀπό*+Gen, *διά*+Gen, *περί*+Acc, Dat

- instrument/means/intermediary: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +**Dat**, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ +Gen, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Gen, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ +Gen, $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ +Gen, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Acc, Acc, Dat
- cause/reason: $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ +**Acc**, $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ +Gen, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ +Gen, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ +Gen, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}$ +Gen, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ +Gen, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$ +Gen, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ +Gen
- ❖ recipient: $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +**Acc**, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat, $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Gen, $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ +Dat, **Dat**
- ❖ beneficiary: $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ +**Gen**, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ +Gen, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$ +Gen
- ❖ possessor: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ +Gen, $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ +Gen, **Gen**
- ❖ purpose: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ +**Acc**, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc
- ❖ patient: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ +Gen, **Acc**, Gen, Dat
- ❖ manner: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ +Gen, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Gen, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Acc, $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Gen, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ +Acc, Acc, Dat
- ❖ topic: $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ +**Gen**, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ +Gen, Acc, Dat.

Biblical Greek prepositions are grouped around the concepts salient for speakers.

Prepositions inside of each group constitute relative synonyms since their semantic similarity does not spread throughout all their meanings, i.e., $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, and $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ +Gen, all expressing directional meaning ‘to’. But not all members can be considered synonymous. Although incorporated into the same conceptual group, they sometimes emphasize different semantic senses (often continuing their original spatial meanings): cf. manner functions of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Acc and $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Gen in $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ‘and then he will give to each according to his deed’ (M 16:27) and $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ‘and immediately taking it with joy’ (M 13:20).

Spatial concepts admit nuanced oppositions: ‘location’ – ‘direction’ – ‘source’, ‘before’ – ‘after’, ‘inside’ – ‘on the surface’ – ‘underneath’. The first two oppositions are both spatial and temporal. However, we sometimes find the same prepositional phrase used with variant functions: cf.

ὅτι εἰς οἶκον ἐστίν ‘that he is at home’ (Mk 2:1) and ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τον οἶκον αὐτοῦ ‘he went to his home’ (M 9:7); and prepositions usually connected with differences along the static/dynamic axis used in the same sense: ἦν ἡμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ and ἦν ἡμελλεν πληροῦν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ (mss. P⁴⁵, D) ‘which he was about to accomplish in Jerusalem’ (L 9:31). But such instances are rare and different semantic areas are typically assigned to diverse prepositional phrases. For example, ἐν+Dat and εἰς+Acc distinguish the notions of location and direction.

Nevertheless, numerous concepts can be expressed by a variety of proper prepositions. Situations where only one preposition corresponds to a given concept are rare (i.e. the location ‘around’). This creates a certain imbalance in the manners in which different notions are expressed. Thus, there are seven possible ways to articulate the idea ‘on the surface, over’ (ἐπί+Acc, ἐν+Dat, ἐπί+Gen, ἐπί+Dat, ὑπέρ+Acc, ἐπάνω+Gen, as well as the genitive itself), but there is only one way to render the concept ‘under, beneath’ (ὑπό+Acc). In several passages prepositions that take different cases come to denote the same notions. For instance, ἐπί+Acc, ἐπί+Gen, and ἐπί+Dat have similar temporal functions: cf. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐκβαλὼν δύο δηνάρια ἔδωκεν τῷ πανδοχεῖ ‘and on the next day having taken two denarii he gave [them] to the innkeeper’ (L 10:35), καὶ πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ Ἑλισαίου τοῦ προφήτου ‘and there were many lepers in Israel at the time of the prophet Elisha’ (L 4:27), καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦλθαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ‘and at this [time] his disciples came’ (J 4:27).

Metaphor and metonymy greatly enrich the semantics of each preposition, often increasing the number of their abstract semantic functions. This explains the variety of prepositional phrases that are used to denote more abstract notions like cause, means, or manner.

All these factors lead to frequent variations in manuscripts as well as in the received text. For example, we find the following alterations in the denotation of location and source: καὶ σῶμα

ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ (ms. D) and καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι εἰς γεένναν ‘and to kill the body in hell’ (M 10:28), ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων and ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα εἰς μέσον λύκων (ms. B) ‘I send you forth like sheep in the midst of wolves’ (M 10:16); καὶ ἔξελθε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ and καὶ ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ (mss. P⁷⁵, C, R) ‘and come out of him’ (L 4:35). Variations are common even for the constructions that become formulaic in the New Testament. Thus, the meaning ‘in the name of somebody’ is expressed by the dative alone, ἐν+Dat, or ἐπί+Dat: καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ‘and in your name’ (M 7:22), ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου ‘in the name of my Father’ (J 10:25), ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου ‘in my name’ (Mk 9:39).

Improper prepositions and nominal constructions, although less frequent in the text, sometimes contribute to filling out the range of spatio-temporal relationships and their metaphoric extensions. Thus, the temporal concept ‘from’ is designated by the proper prepositions ἐκ+Gen and ἀπό+Gen, but the temporal notion ‘until’ is specified by the improper prepositions ἕως+Gen, μέχρι+Gen, and ἄχρι+Gen. In some cases it is the improper proposition that is dominant in a field, even though there is a proper preposition with the same function. For instance, πρό+Gen and ἔμπροσθεν+Gen are both used to denote the location ‘before’, but ἔμπροσθεν+Gen is more frequent in this value. Several concepts are primarily expressed by nominal phrases. Thus, the notions ‘patient’ and ‘partitive’ are in the majority of cases marked by the accusative and the genitive respectively (although instances when they are expressed by prepositional phrases are also common).

Several instances allow more than one treatment because of the semantic complexity of a verb. This leads to variant choices of prepositions, i.e. the direct object of the verb ‘to follow’ is expressed by the dative or by μετά+Gen depending on the idea that is accentuated (spatial or comitative): καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ‘and he followed (= went after) him on the way’ (Mk 10:52), ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ’ ἡμῶν ‘because he did not follow (= go with) us’ (L 9:49).

We also find variation in frequency and peculiarities of prepositional usage among the canonical gospels. For instance, *πρός*+Acc is a preferred construction for the denotation of a recipient in the gospel of John while other gospels use the dative in analogous cases.

CHAPTER 3

GOTHIC PREPOSITIONS

3.1 IN

This preposition goes back to PIE **en* (Lehmann 1986:205) and has cognate prepositions in many IE languages, including Gk *ἐν*, Arm *i*, and OCS *vŭ*. *In* is the only preposition in Gothic that governs three cases: the accusative, the dative, and the genitive. It is also used as a preverb: jah so **inkilpo** sunau in aldoin seinamma ‘and she conceived a son in her old age’ (L 1:36).

When combined with the accusative, *in* mainly denotes direction: jah qam in Nazaraip ‘and he came into Nazareth’ (L 2:51). In several cases this construction marks direction metaphorically, reflecting people’s peculiar view of their body as a container: jah þatei in auso gahauseip ‘and what you hear in [your] ear’ (M 10:27). *In*+Acc also denotes the directions ‘against’ and ‘to, up to’: frawaurhta mis in himin ‘I have sinned against heaven’ (L 15:18), swaswe raihtis lauhmoni lauhatjandei us þamma uf himina in þata uf himina skeiniþ ‘for as soon as the lightning shines flashing from the [earth] beneath the sky to the [earth] beneath the sky’ (L 17:24).

In+Acc is often used in temporal function to mark a certain period of time: hwas gaggip in dag ‘who walks during the day’ (J 11:9). It can also metonymically denote purpose, although this function is not common for this prepositional phrase: in dag gafilhis meinis fastaida þata ‘she has observed it for the day of my burial’ (J 12:7). Through a metaphorical extension *in*+Acc comes to refer to manner: gagg in gawairþi ‘go in peace’ (L 7:50).

Location is the primary semantic function of *in* plus the dative. In the majority of such cases this preposition denotes the locations ‘inside’ or ‘among’ (the concept ‘containment’): dugann in swnagoge laisjan ‘he began to teach in the synagogue’ (Mk 6:2), in þaimej was Marja so Magdalene

‘among whom was Mary Magdalene’ (Mk 15:40). In rare cases this prepositional phrase stands for a location on the top of some landmark (the concept ‘surface’): und patei is in wiga miþ imma ‘while you are on the way with him’ (M 5:25). The meaning of this construction is often connected with the idea of the body as a container, mentioned earlier: jah þagkjandans sis in hairtam seinam ‘and thinking to themselves in their hearts’ (Mk 2:6). *In*+Dat is also used in constructions referring to clothing: sai þai in wastjom wulþagaim ‘those who [are] in gorgeous dresses’ (L 7:25). This phrase is also found to denote direction: jah qimands Iesus in garda ‘and Jesus going into the city...’ (M 8:14). In a couple of instances *in*+Dat designates a path: jah laistida in wiga Iesu ‘and he followed Jesus along the way’ (Mk 10:52).

Temporal function is also common for *in*+Dat, and it often refers to a period of time: þata stojþ ina in spedistin daga ‘that will judge him on the last day’ (J 12:48). This prepositional construction is often used with causal functions. We find several examples where it indicates reason, means, or intermediary: iþ faginod in þammei namna izwara gamelida sind in himinam ‘but rejoice in that (= because) your names are written in heaven’ (L 10:20), in huamma waldufnje þata taujis? ‘by what authority do you do this?’ (Mk 11:28), jah guþ hauhiþs ist in imma ‘and God is exalted in (=through) him’ (J 13:31). *In*+Dat denotes manner in three types of constructions, in the phrase with the meaning ‘according to something’ and in the formulaic expressions ‘in the name of somebody’ and ‘in the spirit’: gaggandona in allaim anabusnim ‘walking according to all the commandments’ (L 1:6), þiupida sa qimanda in namin frauþins ‘blessed [is] the one coming in the name of the Lord’ (Mk 11:9), jah qam in ahmin in þizai alh ‘and he came in the spirit into the temple’ (L 2:27). The remaining semantic functions of this construction are the results of metaphorical extensions from its primary spatial roles and are rarely found. Thus, we find isolated instances of this phrase referring to recipient, patient, and topic: jah rodida bi ina in allaim ‘and she spoke to all about him’ (L 2:38), in þuzei waila galeikaida ‘in whom I am well pleased’ (Mk 1:11), jah galaubeiþ in aiwaggeljon ‘and

believe in the gospel’ (Mk 1:15). There is one example where this prepositional phrase can be considered to have a possessive connotation (developed from its primary location semantics): all taine in mis unbairandane akran gob ‘all branches of mine not bearing a good fruit’ (J 15:2).

The prepositional phrase *in* plus the genitive is not as frequent as the other two constructions, discussed above. It is primarily used to denote reason: jah fagino in izwara ‘and I rejoice because of you’ (J 11:15). We also find several instances where this construction refers to notions like topic, purpose, or patient: ip þai siponjos afslauþnodedun in waurde is ‘and the disciples were amazed at his word’ (Mk 10:24), so siukei nist du dauþau ak in hauheinais gudis ‘this sickness is not unto death but for the glory of God’ (J 11:4), infeinoda in ize ‘he had compassion on them’ (M 9:36).

Table 18. Semantic roles of *in*

		<i>in +ACC</i>				<i>in + DAT</i>				<i>in +GEN</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1	3	1	1	45	59	125	75				
	direction	27	78	62	37	10	16	17	6				
	path							3					
	source												
time			3	2	3	7	8	41	19				
comitative (animate/inanimate)													
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/ means/ intermediary					1	15	6	9				
	cause/reason					2	3	8		1	12	7	14
	recipient							1					
beneficiary		1	1	2	1								
possession									1				
purpose													2
patient							2	1	1	1			
manner				2		4	9	18	10				
topic							1				3	4	
TOTAL		29	85	69	42	69	113	220	121	2	15	11	16

3.2 AT

At originates from the IE preverb **ad-* ‘to, near, at’ (Lehmann 1986:45). It governs the accusative and the dative. *At* is also found as a preverb in several compound verbs: **atgaggandei** in *managein aftana* ‘having come into the crowd from behind’ (Mk 5:27). The concept ‘near’ is essential for the semantics of this preposition.

Instances of this preposition with the accusative are very rare and found to denote only the directions ‘up to’ or ‘into’, continuing the primary idea ‘near’: *qam at Iesu* ‘he came up to Jesus’ (Mk 10:50), *jah wratodedun þai birusjos is jera hamma in Iairusalem at dulþ paska* ‘and every year his parents went to Jerusalem to the feast of Passover’ (L 2:41). When combined with the dative, *at* frequently refers to location or direction, once again emphasizing the notion ‘near’: *jah so baurgs alla garunnana was at daura* ‘and the whole city was gathered near the door’ (Mk 1:33), *jah usstandands qam at attin seinamma* ‘and having arisen he came to his father’ (L 15:20).

At+Dat is also used to denote source: *all þatei hausida at attin meinamma* ‘everything that I have heard from my father’ (J 15:15). This semantic function is unusual because prepositions referring to location or direction are almost never connected with the idea ‘source’. It is most likely a result of the semantic extension from the location notion: ‘in the presence of’ → ‘from’. This prepositional phrase also has a temporal function: *at auhmistam gudjam Annin jah Kajafin warþ waurd gudis at Iohannen* ‘at [the time of] the high priests Annas and Caiaphas the word of God came to John’ (L 3:2). The majority of such instances constitute an absolute dative phrase, involving a present participle: *at laisjandin imma þo managein in alh* ‘when he was teaching the crowd in the temple’ (L 20:1).

At+Dat occasionally expresses a comitative relation: *jah niu sind swistrjus is her at unsis?* ‘are not his sisters here with us?’ (Mk 6:3). This meaning is likely to be a metonymic extension from spatial senses of this prepositional phrase. We also find isolated examples of *at+Dat* referring to

notions atypical for this preposition - beneficiary, purpose, and possession: *ei skip habaiþ wesi at imma* ‘so that a boat might be ready for him’ (Mk 3:9), *auk sunus mans ni qam at andbahtjam* ‘for the Son of man did not come for service’ (Mk 10:45), *jah driggkandans þo at im* ‘and drinking that which [is] of them’ (L 10:7). In the last example the possessive connotation is an outcome of a metonymic extension from the location semantics of *at*+Dat ‘near, in the presence of’.

Table 19. Semantic roles of *at*

		<i>at</i> + ACC				<i>at</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location					1	7	2	6
	direction		3	1		1	8	9	9
	path								
	source						2	2	5
time						3	6	8	
comitative (animate/inanimate)							3	1	
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary							1		
possession								1	
purpose							1		
patient									
manner									
topic									
TOTAL			3	1		5	28	23	20

3.3 ANA

Ana continues the IE preverb **an-/ana* ‘on’ (Lehmann 1986:30) and is cognate with Gk *ἀνά* and OCS *na*. It takes the accusative and the dative and often occurs as a preverb: *þatei anakumbida* in *razna* ‘that he was sitting in the house’ (L 7:37). The semantics of this preposition are closely connected with the concept ‘surface’.

The primary semantic function of the construction *ana* plus the accusative is the denotation of the direction ‘upon, onto’: jah driusands ana airþa ‘and falling upon the earth’ (Mk 9:20). Other directional usages of this prepositional phrase express notions ‘into’ (connected with the concept ‘containment’) and ‘against’: brigg ana diupiþa ‘go into the deep’ (L 5:4), gamotjan þamma miþ twaim tigung þusundjo gaggandin ana sik ‘to meet the one coming against him with twenty thousand’ (L 14:31). *Ana*+Acc rarely denotes location, stressing the idea ‘over’: ni aihtedeis waldufnje ainhun ana mik ‘you would have no power over me’ (J 19:11).

Ana+Acc occasionally expresses a temporal notion, marking a period of time during which an action occurs: jah jabai sibun sinþam ana dag frawaurkjai du þus ‘and if he sins against you seven times during a day’ (L 17:4). We find single instances where this prepositional phrase designates a beneficiary: iþ Fareisaieis jah witodafastjos runa gudis fraqepun ana sik ‘but the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the purpose of God for themselves’ (L 7:30). There is also one instance of this construction denoting manner and one example where it indicates purpose: gawaurkeiþ im anakumbjan kubituns ana hvarjanoh fimftiguns ‘make them sit down in groups of fifty each’ (L 9:14), wairpandans hlauta ana þos ‘throwing lots for them’ (Mk 15:24).

When combined with the dative, *ana* typically denotes the location ‘on, on top of’: ana ligra ligandan ‘lying on the bed’ (M 9:2). Although several examples of this phrase referring to the location ‘in’ are also found: attans unsarai manna matidedun ana auþidai ‘our fathers ate manna in the wilderness’ (J 6:31). The choice of preposition here is influenced by the meaning of the nominal part of the construction. Words like ‘desert’ are closely connected with the notion of surface; hence the employment of the preposition that is also associated with this concept². In rare cases this prepositional construction indicates direction or path: jah biþe qam ana þamma stada ‘and when he came to the place’ (L 19:5), gasaihvand Iesu gaggandan ana marein ‘they saw Jesus walking along the

² See also Klein 1992a.

sea' (J 6:19). We find one unusual instance where *ana*+Dat designates source: *weis hausidedum ana witoda* 'we have heard from the law' (J 12:34). In one example this prepositional phrase denotes time: *ip jupan ana midjai dulb usstaig Iesus in alh* 'but already in the middle of the festival Jesus went up to the temple' (J 7:14).

The remaining semantic functions of this prepositional construction are not frequent. When combined with some verbs of sense perception, *ana*+Dat designates topic: *jah usfilmans waurpun ana pizai laiseinai is* 'and they became astonished about his teaching' (Mk 1:22). We find isolated instances where this prepositional construction refers to purpose, means (intermediary), and manner: *usbauhtedun us paim pana akr kasjins du usfilhan ana gastim* 'and they bought from them that field of the potter for a burial for strangers' (M 27:7), *ak ei bairhta waurpeina waurstwa gudis ana imma* 'but that God's deeds may be evident in (=through) him' (J 9:3), *saei ain pize swaleikaize barne andnimip ana namin meinamma* 'the one who receives one of such children in my name' (Mk 9:37).

Table 20. Semantic roles of *ana*

		<i>ana</i> + ACC				<i>ana</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1	2	1	1	10	24	29	10
	direction	11	30	30	15		2	9	
	path								1
	source								1
time				2					1
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary						2	2	1
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary				2					
possession									
purpose			1			1			
patient									
manner				1			1	1	
topic						1	2	4	
TOTAL		12	33	36	16	12	31	45	14

3.4 UF

This preposition goes back to IE **upo* (Lehmann 1986:371-2) and is cognate with Gk *ὑπό*. It governs the accusative and the dative and is sometimes found as a preverb: **ufligand** ana wiga ‘they will faint on the way’ (Mk 8:3). This preposition is not frequent in the New Testament and not found in the Gospel of John, but it occurs in a variety of functions, all of them projecting the spatial notion ‘under’.

When combined with the accusative, *uf* often denotes direction/location ‘under’: ei uf hrot mein inngaggais ‘so that you may come under my roof’ (M 8:8), swaswe raihtis lauhmoni lauhatjandei us þamma uf himina in þata uf himina skeiniþ ‘for as soon as the lightning shines flashing from the [earth] beneath the sky to the [earth] beneath the sky’ (L 17:24). This construction is metaphorically used to indicate location where said of authority or power: jah þan auk ik manna im uf waldufnja gasatids ‘for I am a man set under authority’ (L 7:8). *Uf*+Acc can have a temporal function, referring to a period marked by a lifetime of some person: hwaiwa galaip in gard gudis uf Abiaþara gudjin ‘how he went into the house of God at (the time of) the priest Abiathar’ (Mk 2:26).

In combination with the dative *uf* denotes the location ‘under’: swaswe magun uf skadaw is fuglos himinis gabauan ‘so that the birds of heaven can nest under its shade’ (Mk 4:32).

Table 21. Semantic roles of *uf*

		<i>uf</i> + ACC				<i>uf</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1		1			2	1	
	direction	1	1	2					
	path								
	source			1					
time			1	1					
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								

	cause/reason								
	recipient								
	beneficiary								
	possession								
	purpose								
	patient								
	manner								
	topic								
TOTAL		2	2	5			2	1	

3.5 UFAR

Ufar originates from IE **(s)uper(i)* (Lehmann 1986:372) and is cognate with Gk *ὑπέρ*. As a preposition, it governs the accusative and the dative. This preposition is not found in the Gospel of Mark. *Ufar* rarely occurs as a preverb: jah **ufarskadwida** ins ‘and it overshadowed them’ (L 9:34). The concept ‘over’ is at the base of the semantics of this preposition.

Ufar plus the accusative denotes a path: iddjedunuh ufar marein ‘and they went across the sea’ (J 6:17). This phrase is found in several comparative constructions: saei frijoþ attan aiþþau aiþein ufar mik ‘he who loves father or mother over (=more than) me’ (M 10:37). This function probably developed through a metonymic extension ‘over’ → ‘more’.

When combined with the dative, *ufar* expresses location, specifying the meaning ‘over’: jah atstandands ufar ija ‘and standing over her’ (L 4:39). This construction is also used metaphorically when it refers to authority, power: atgaf im maht jah waldufni ufar allaim unhulþom ‘he gave them power and authority over all demons’ (L 9:1).

Table 22. Semantic roles of *ufar*

		<i>ufar</i> + ACC				<i>ufar</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1		1		3		7	
	direction								
	path				4				
	source								

time									
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary									
possession									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic									
TOTAL		1		1	4		3		7

3.6 BI

This preposition goes back to IE **ambhi/əmbhi* ‘around’ (Lehmann 1986:67) and is cognate with Gk *ἀμφί* and OCS *o(bŭ)*. It takes the accusative and the dative and is often used as a preverb or a prefix: **bi**rodidedun þan Iudaieis bi ina ‘then the Jews murmured about him’ (J 6:41), **bi**hve kunnum þata? ‘how will I (lit. we) know this?’ (L 1:18).

When combined with the accusative, *bi* primarily denotes topic (often with verbs of speech): jah ohtedun fraihnan ina bi þata waurd ‘and they feared to ask him about this word’ (L 9:45). This construction is also used with spatial functions. *Bi*+Acc denotes two types of direction, ‘up to’ and ‘against’: jah managai Iudaie gaqemun bi Marþan jah Marjan ‘and many Jews came to Martha and Mary’ (J 11:19), runa nemun allai gudjans jah þai sinistans manageins bi Iesu ‘all the priests and the elders of the people took counsel against Jesus’ (M 27:1). This prepositional phrase sometimes refers to location, specifying the meaning ‘around’: jah setun bi ina managei ‘and a crowd was sitting around him’ (Mk 3:32). In combination with the verb ‘beat’ *bi*+Acc marks the location ‘on’ indicating an exact area of contact: þamma stautandin þuk bi kinnu ‘to the one who strikes you on the cheek’ (L 6:29). Although a temporal function is uncommon for this construction it occasionally indicates a period of time or an approximate time during which some action occurs: jah bi þrins

dagans gatimrjands þo ‘and building it in three days’ (Mk 15:29), iþ þan bi hveila niundon ufhropida Iesus stibnai mikilai ‘and Jesus cried with a loud voice about the ninth hour’ (M 27:46).

Bi+Acc has also causal functions. It can refer to reason or means: þanuh missaqiss in þizai managein warþ bi ina ‘and then there was discord in the crowd because of him’ (J 7:43), ni bi hlaib ainana libaid manna ak bi all waurde gudis ‘a man shall live not by (means of) bread alone, but by (means of) all the words of God’ (L 4:4). We also find rare instances when this prepositional phrase designates recipient or beneficiary: witandei þatei warþ bi ija ‘knowing what had happened to her’ (Mk 5:33), þei ik bidjau attan bi izwis ‘I will ask the Father for you’ (J 16:26).

Bi plus the dative is mainly used to denote manner, specifying the sense ‘according to’: jah bi þamma witoda unsaramma skal gaswiltan ‘and according to our law he should die’ (J 19:7). This construction becomes formulaic in the canonical gospels when it is followed by *sunjai* with the meaning ‘truly’: aþþan bi sunjai qiþa izwis ‘but truly I tell you’ (L 4:25). *Bi*+Dat occasionally expresses the direction ‘against’: jah bistugqun bi þamma razna jainamma ‘and they beat against that house’ (M 7:25).

Other semantic functions of *bi*+Dat are similar to those that *bi* has when it is combined with the accusative. Thus, *bi*+Dat can express causal relations, referring to reason or means: bi þamma galaubjam ‘because of this we believe’ (J 16:30), insandjands bi siponjam seinaim ‘sending by his disciples’ (M 11:2). It is also found to denote recipient or beneficiary: taujan armahairtiþa bi attam unsaraim ‘to do mercy to our fathers’ (L 1:72), þannu goþ waurstw waurhta bi mis ‘for she did a good deed for me’ (Mk 14:6). Occasionally, *bi*+Dat in combination with the verb ‘take’ identifies location, an area of contact: undgreipands ina bi handau ‘taking him by the hand’ (Mk 9:27).

Table 23. Semantic roles of *bi*

		<i>bi</i> + ACC				<i>bi</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	2	7	2			2		
	direction	2	2		4	2		2	

	path								
	source								
time		1	2						
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary			1		5	1	1	
	cause/reason			1	2			1	1
recipient			1					2	
beneficiary		1		3	7		1		
possession									
purpose									
patient									
manner						3	5	12	10
topic		4	12	23	28				
TOTAL		10	24	30	41	10	9	18	11

3.7 FAUR

Faur continues IE **pr-* ‘forward’ and is cognate with Gk *πάρ* ‘along’ (Lehmann 1986:110).

It governs the accusative and the dative and is also found as a preverb and as a free adverb: jah in maurgin **faur**gaggandans ‘and passing by in the morning’ (Mk 11:20), jah biþragjands **faur** ‘and running ahead’ (L 19:4). *Faur* becomes a prefix in a temporal conjunction *faurþizei*: **faurþizei** sa fairhūs wesi ‘before the world was’ (J 17:5).

When combined with the accusative, *faur* indicates the location ‘near’: sunus Teimaiaius Barteinaiaius blinda sat faur wig du aihtron ‘Bartimaeus, a blind son of Timaeus, was sitting near the road to beg’ (Mk 10:46). It can also refer to direction in general: jah galaip faur gard ‘and he went into the yard’ (Mk 14:68). When used in a temporal function, this prepositional phrase denotes time prior to a certain action: qamt her faur mel balwjān unsis? ‘have you come here before the (proper) time to torment us?’ (M 8:29). *Faur*+Acc sometimes designates beneficiary: jah giban saiwala seinā faur managans lun ‘and to give his life for many [as] ransom’ (Mk 10:45).

Faur+Dat is used to denote only two notions. This construction can refer to the location ‘near’: jah hvarbonds faur marein ‘and passing by near the sea’ (Mk 1:16). It is also found to indicate

a beneficiary: hairdeis sa goda saiwala seinā lagiḡ faur lamba ‘a good shepherd lays down his life for [his] sheep’ (J 10:11).

Table 24. Semantic roles of *faur*

		<i>faur</i> + ACC				<i>faur</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location		3	2			1	1	
	direction		2						
	path								
	source								
time		1			1				
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary			1				1		6
possession									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic									
TOTAL		1	6	2	1		2	1	6

3.8 AFAR

Afar is related to Goth *af* and continues IE **ap(o)-ero* (Lehmann 1986:2). It governs the accusative and the dative and is rarely found as a preverb: jah ni fralailot ainohun ize miḡ sis **afargaggan** ‘and he did not let anyone of them to follow him’ (Mk 5:37).

When combined with the accusative, *afar* has only one function – temporal. This prepositional phrase stands for a point in time after which some actions occur: ḡatei afar twans dagans paska wairḡiḡ ‘that after two days the Passover is coming’ (M 26:2).

Afar plus the dative primarily designates the direction ‘behind’: jah insandidedun airu afar imma ‘and they sent a messenger after him’ (L 19:14). This prepositional phrase is often found in

combinations with the verb ‘follow’: *pozei laistidedun afar Iesua* fram Galeilaia ‘who went after Jesus from Galilee’ (M 27:55). This construction is less frequently used to refer to topic or manner, specifying the sense ‘according to’: *paim hugjandam afar faihau* ‘to those thinking about riches’ (Mk 10:54), *jah haihaitun ina afar namin attins is* ‘and they would call him according to his father’s name’ (L 1:59).

Table 25. Semantic roles of *afar*

		<i>afar</i> + ACC				<i>afar</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location								
	direction					7	16	8	2
	path								
	source								
time		5	7	8	6				
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary									
possession									
purpose									
patient									
manner								2	
topic							1		
TOTAL		5	7	8	6	7	17	10	2

3.9 UND

This preposition continues IE **H₂nti* ‘in front and facing’ (Sihler 1995:439) and is cognate with Gk *ἀντί* and Arm *ənd*. It takes the accusative and the dative and is also found as a preverb: *iþ Iesus undgreipands ina bi handau urraisida ina* ‘but taking him by the hand Jesus raised him up’ (Mk 9:27).

When combined with the accusative, *und* primarily denotes a point of time until/up to which some action continues: *hait nu witan þamma hlaiwa und þana þridjan dag* ‘order now to watch this tomb till the third day’ (M 27:64). It rarely stands for a period of time: *swaswe rodida du attam unsaraim Abrahamah jah fraiwa is und aiw* ‘as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed forever’ (L 1:55). The preposition *und* marks a period of time when combined with the neuter relative pronoun *þatei*: *und þatei miþ im ist brupþaps* ‘while the bridegroom is with them’ (Mk 2:19). This construction is also used to denote direction: *jah qemun und ina* ‘and they came to him’ (L 4:42). We also find examples where this prepositional phrase is part of a comparative construction indicating manner: *iþ is und filu mais hropida* ‘but he cried even more’ (L 18:39).

We find only two instances of *und* plus the dative, both in the Gospel of Matthew. They denote a substitution or replacement: *augo und augin, jah tunþu und tunþau* ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth’ (M 5:38). These occurrences attest to similar developments in the semantics of *und*+Dat and its cognates, Gk *ἀντί*+Gen and Arm *ənd*+Gen, both of which show analogous extensions ‘in front, in place’ → ‘in place of (location)’ → ‘in place of, instead of (concept of substitution)’.³

Table 26. Semantic roles of *und*

		<i>und</i> + ACC				<i>und</i> + DAT			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location					2			
	direction	3	2	5					
	path								
	source								
time		9	5	9	2				
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								

³ At this point it is difficult to say whether this is a parallel development in Gk, Goth, and Arm or the meaning ‘in place of’ was already part of the semantics of **H₂nti* since we also find cognates that do not share this stage: cf. Sanskrit *anti* ‘opposite, before, near’, Latin *ante* ‘before’.

[illegible]

3.10 DU

This preposition has a problematic etymology but it is often linked with OCS *do* ‘up to’ (Lehmann 1986:96). It governs the dative and is also found as a preverb or as a prefix in adverbs and conjunctions: jah is **dugann** alaparba wairpan ‘and he began to be very poor’ (L 15:14), **duþþe** fijaid izwis so manaseþs ‘therefore mankind hates you’ (J 15:19), **duþve** mis bilaist? ‘why have you forsaken me?’ (Mk 15:34).

The notion of direction is central to the semantics of this preposition; therefore in the majority of cases the prepositional phrase *du* plus the dative refers to direction in general or sometimes indicates an opposite direction: gaggiḽ du ḽamma hlaiwa ‘he came to the tomb’ (J 11:38), swe du waidedjin urrunnuḽ miḽ hairum ‘you have run out with swords as against a thief’ (Mk 14:48). When used in a temporal function, *du*+Dat indicates a period of time during which some action occurs: ḽan galuknoda himins du jeram ḽrim jah menops saihs ‘when the heaven was closed for three years and six months’ (L 4:25).

We find one unusual instance where this construction stands for source: sokjandans du imma taikn us himina ‘seeking from him a sign from heaven’ (Mk 8:11). Such usage is likely to be an extension from another semantic function that is common for prepositional phrases with *du*, - the denotation of recipient (often with speech verbs): jah qepun du izai ‘and they said to her’ (L 1:61). We also find several instances where *du*+Dat is combined with verbs meaning ‘become, turn into’

and marks a patient: *ip jus ina gatawideduþ du filegrja þiube* ‘but you have turned it into a cave of thieves’ (L 19:46).

The prepositional phrase *du*+Dat often stands for purpose: *jah atbair giba þoei anabaup Moses du weitwodiþai im* ‘and bring the gift that Moses commanded for a testimony to them’ (M 8:4). Combination of *du* and an infinitive regularly express purpose: *hlaif us himina gaf im du matjan* ‘he gave them bread from heaven to eat’ (J 6:31). In a few instances *du*+Dat designates topic: *þatei þata was du þamma gameliþ* ‘that this was written about him’ (J 12:16). This construction refers to manner in only one instance: *þatei huzuh saei saiþiþ qinon du luston* ‘that whosoever looks at a woman with lust’ (M 5:28). This meaning is secondary, probably developed on the basis of the notion ‘purpose’.

Table 27. Semantic roles of *du*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction	9	53	44	40
	path				
	source		1		
time				2	3
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient		6	110	167	29
beneficiary					
possessor					
purpose		5	16	23	9
patient			4	5	2
manner		1			
topic				1	18
TOTAL		21	184	242	101

3.11 AF

Af continues IE * *apo* (Lehmann 1986:2) and is cognate with Gk *ἀπό* and OCS *po-*. This preposition governs the dative and often occurs as a preverb: *þan afnimada af im sa brupfaps* ‘when the bridegroom is taken away from them’ (Mk 2:20).

The primary function of this prepositional phrase is the denotation of source. It can refer to the source ‘from (inside)’ or simply indicate separation ‘away from’: *qimands Iosef af Areimapaiais* ‘Joseph, coming from Arimathea’ (Mk 15:43), *ak lausei uns af þamma ubilin* ‘but deliver us from (the) evil (one)’ (M 6:13). In the Gospel of John one such use of this construction becomes formulaic: *af mis silbin* ni rodja ‘I do not speak from myself’ (J 14:10). This construction can also express location, specifying the meaning ‘at, near’: *ei ains af taihswon þeinai jah ains af hleidumein þeinai* sitaiwa ‘that we may sit one at your right and one at your left’ (Mk 10:37). We find one instance where this prepositional phrase indicates a point of time when some action begins: *ip af anastodeinai gaskaftais* gumein jah qinein gatawida guþ ‘but from the beginning of creation God made a male and a female’ (Mk 10:6). In one example this construction refers to agent: *jah af saurgom jah gabein jah gabaurjopum þizos libainais gaggandans* afhvapnand ‘and they are choked by cares and the riches and pleasures of life’ (L 8:14).

Table 28. Semantic roles of *af*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1	5	2	
	direction				
	path				
	source	10	21	29	11
time			1		
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force			1	
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					

possession				
purpose				
patient				
manner				
topic				
TOTAL	11	27	32	11

3.12 FRAM

Fram goes back to IE * *pro-mo* (Lehmann 1986:124). This preposition takes the dative. It occurs as a prefix and even once as an adverb: jah qens meina **fram**aldrozei in dagam seinaim ‘and my wife [is] advanced in years’ (L 1:18), iddja **fram** ‘he left’ (L 19:28).

The denotation of source is a primary function for this prepositional phrase. It can refer to the source ‘out of, from’ or mark a location from which some action started: qam Iesus fram Nazaraip ‘Jesus came from Nazareth’ (Mk 1:9), jah galisip gawalidans seinans af fidwor windam fram andjam airpos und andi himinis ‘and he will gather his chosen ones from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the end of heaven’ (Mk 13:27). We find this construction used as a fixed phrase in the Gospel of John: auk fram mis silbin ni qam ‘I have not come from myself’ (J 8:42).

When used in a temporal function, this prepositional phrase expresses the meaning that reflects one of its spatial functions. It indicates a point of time when a certain action or motion began: framuh pan paim dagam Iohannis bis daupjandins und hita piudangardi himine anamahtjada ‘from the days of John the Baptist up to now the kingdom of heaven is violated’ (M 11:12). Another semantic function that is common for *fram*+Dat is the denotation of agent or force: jah gasaihvans warp fram izai ‘and he was seen by her’ (Mk 16:11), swaswe pata skip gahulip wairpan fram wegin ‘so that the boat became covered by waves’ (M 8:24). This construction is also found to indicate beneficiary and topic, but these functions are not frequent and probably appear as a result of metonymic extensions from spatial meanings of *fram*+Dat: bidjaid fram paim anamahtjandam izwis

‘pray for those abusing you’ (L 6:28), jah usiddja meriḅa fram imma and allans stadins ‘and report about him went out into every place’ (L 4:37).

Table 29. Semantic roles of *fram*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction				
	path				
	source	2	7	11	22
time		2	2	6	7
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force	5	6	17	1
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary			2	2	1
possession					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic				2	
TOTAL		9	17	38	31

3.13 US

This preposition has a problematic etymology, but some linguists trace it to IE **aw-* ‘away from, down’ and connect it with OCS *u-* ‘away’ (Lehmann 1986:380). *Us* governs the dative and occurs as a preverb (often assimilated): **urrais us** daupaim ‘he arose from the dead’ (M 27:64).

Us plus the dative mainly denotes source. When used in this function, this phrase can refer to the notion ‘out of’, simply indicate separation ‘away from’, or mark a location from which a certain action starts: ḅatei us fraiwa Daweidis jah us Beḅlaihaim weihsa, ḅarei was Daweid, Xristus qimip ‘that Christ will come from the seed of David and from Bethlehem, the village where David was’ (J 7:42), giban nasein us fijandam unsaraim jah us handau allaize ḅize hatandane unsis ‘to give salvation from our enemies and from the hand of all those hating us’ (L 1:71), gaseḅun ḅana

smakkabagm þaursjana us waurtim ‘they saw the fig-tree withered from [its] roots’ (Mk 11:20). The construction *us himina* is frequent and acquires a formulaic character: qam þan stibna us himina ‘then a voice came from heaven’ (J 12:28). We also find instances when *us*+Dat has a partitive connotation: jah andhaffjands ains us þizai managein qap ‘and answering one of the people said’ (Mk 9:17). There is also one example where this prepositional phrase conveys the idea of possession: ei andhuljaindau us managaim hairtam mitoneis ‘so that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed’ (L 2:35).

When used in a temporal function, *us*+Dat refers to a point of time when some action began: jah þairhgaggands gaumida mann blindamma us gabaurþai ‘and passing through he saw a man blind from birth’ (J 9:1). This construction is occasionally found to denote means and manner: us munþa þeinamma stoja þuk ‘I will judge you by means of your own mouth’ (L 19:22), jah frijos frauþan guþ þeinana us allamma hairtin þeinamma ‘and you shall love the Lord, your God, with all your heart’ (Mk 12:30).

Table 30. Semantic roles of *us*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction				
	path				
	source	5	40	47	48
time			2	1	3
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary	1		3	
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
possession				1	
purpose					
patient					
manner			2	3	
topic					

TOTAL	6	44	55	51
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3.14 MIP

Mip goes back to IE **me-ta* (Lehmann 1986:258-9) and is related to Gk *μετά*. It governs the dative and is also found as a preverb: jah **mip**inn galaip mip Iesua in rohsn ‘and he came into the hall with Jesus’ (J 18:15).

The principal semantic function of this prepositional phrase is comitative: und þatei is in wiga mip imma ‘while you are on the road with him’ (M 5:25). We also find instances where this construction denotes location ‘between, among’: qam at marein Galeilaie mip twei hnaim markom Daikapaulaios ‘he went to the Sea of Galilee between the two coasts of Decapolis’ (Mk 7:31). *Mip* plus the dative often expresses this meaning when it is combined with speech verbs: þanuh sokun mip sis misso Iudaieis ‘then the Jews disputed among themselves’ (J 6:52). There are several cases in which *mip*+Dat refers to manner: gawandidedun þan sik þai sibuntehund mip fahedai ‘then the seventy returned with joy’ (L 10:17). This function developed through a metonymic extension from the comitative semantics of this prepositional phrase.

Table 31. Semantic roles of *mip*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location		6	2	6
	direction				
	path				
	source				
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)		10	45	32	30
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
possession					
purpose					

patient				
manner		5	6	
topic				
TOTAL	10	56	40	36

3.15 WIPRA

Wipra continues the IE structure **wi-tero* ‘apart, in two’ (Lehmann 1986:408). As a preposition it takes the accusative and rarely occurs as a prefix: gaggats in **po wiprawairpon** haim ‘go into the opposite village’ (L 19:30). This preposition is not found in the Gospel of John.

The notion of opposition is essential for the semantics of this preposition. The prepositional phrase *wipra* plus the accusative primarily denotes direction or location. When this construction refers to a direction it specifies the meaning ‘against’: alla so baurgs usiddja wipra Iesu ‘the whole city came out against Jesus’ (M 8:34). When used to denote location, *wipra*+Acc indicates the sense ‘near, beside’: jah alla so managei wipra marein ana stapa was ‘and the whole crowd was near the sea on the land’ (Mk 4:1). We also find instances where this prepositional phrase indicates recipient or reason: jah andhafjands wipra ins Iesus qap ‘and responding to them Jesus said’ (L 6:3), wipra harduhairtein izwara gamelida izwis po anabusn ‘because of your hard-heartedness he wrote for you this commandment’ (Mk 10:5).

Table 32. Semantic roles of *wipra*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location		2	1	
	direction	2	4	1	
	path				
	source				
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason		1		
recipient		1		2	

beneficiary				
possession				
purpose				
patient				
manner				
topic				
TOTAL	3	7	4	

3.16 AND

And originates from IE **H₂enti* ‘in front and facing’ (Sihler 1995:439) and is cognate with Gk *ἀντί* and Arm *ənd*. It takes the accusative and is found as a preverb in a number of verbs:

andnimaina mik in gardins seinans ‘they may receive me in their houses’ (L 16:4). This preposition is not attested in the Gospel of John.

When combined with the accusative, *and* is mainly used to denote spatial notions. It refers to direction or location and is often combined with a form of the pronominal adjective *alls* or the indefinite pronoun *harjizuh* to specify that an action occurs in every part of a landmark: jah usiddja meriḗa fram imma and allans stadins pis bisunjane landis ‘and the proclamation went out from him into every place of the surrounding region’ (L 4:37), ḡishvaruh ḡei merjada so aiwaggeljo and alla manaseḡ ‘wherever this gospel is preached throughout the whole world’ (Mk 14:9). This construction can also indicate path: jah qam and allans gaujans laurdanaus ‘and he went throughout all the regions of the Jordan’ (L 3:3). *And*+Acc is rarely used in a temporal function, denoting a period of time: and dulḡ ḡan harjoh biuhts was sa kindins fraletan ainana...bandjan ‘at each feast the governor was accustomed to release one... prisoner’ (M 27:15).

Table 33. Semantic roles of *and*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	2	2	1	
	direction			2	
	path	1	2	9	

	source				
time		1	1		
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
possession					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		4	5	12	

3.17 PAIRH

This preposition goes back to IE * *ter-que* and is related to Arm *tar-* ‘distant’ (Lehmann 1986:354). It governs the accusative and is found as a preverb (often in motion verbs): **pairh**iddjedun and haimos wailamerjandans ‘they went through the villages preaching’ (L 9:6).

When used in a spatial function, *pairh* refers to a path: inngaggaiḅ pairh aggwu daur ‘enter through a narrow gate’ (M 7:13). This construction can also express a causal meaning. We find examples of *pairh*+Acc indicating agent or means (intermediary): ḅata gamelido pairh praufetuns bi sunu mans ‘that is written by the prophets about the Son of man’ (L 18:31), ainshun ni qimiḅ at attin niba pairh mik ‘no one comes to the Father except through me’ (J 14:6).

Table 34. Semantic roles of *pairh*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction				
	path	2	4	4	4
	source				
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force	2		1	
	instrument/means/intermediary		1	1	3

	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
possession					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		4	5	6	7

3.18 UNДАР

This preposition goes back to IE **ndh-* ‘under’ (Lehmann 1986:376). It governs the accusative and is not found as a preverb in the canonical gospels. This preposition occurs only once in the Gospel of Mark and denotes the location ‘under’: *ibai lukarn qimiþ duþe ei uf melan satjaidau aiþþau undar ligr?* ‘does a light come so that it may be put under a bushel or under a bed?’ (Mk 4:21).

3.19 Improper prepositions

It is hard to posit rigid parameters for determining which Gothic prepositions are improper. This division is rather relative, used to distinguish those items that seem to maintain closer connections with their nominal or adverbial origins. Unlike Biblical Greek improper prepositions that usually govern the genitive, Gothic improper prepositions can take the accusative, the dative, or the genitive. Thus, *undaro*, *nehva*, *faura*, *fairra*, *alja* govern the dative, *in* and *wairþja*, *hindana*, *utana*, *utapro* take the genitive, *inuh* takes the accusative. Several improper prepositions govern more than one case. For example, *ufaro* can be combined with the dative and the genitive, *hindar* is found with the accusative and the dative. But just as in Biblical Greek, several of Gothic improper prepositions are found as free adverbs: *jah staina ufarlagida was ufaro* ‘and it was overlaid by the stone’ (J 11:38), *kunnup þatei nehva ist asans* ‘you know that summer is near’ (Mk 13:28). Many are derivatives of proper prepositions and share their semantic functions. In general, improper

prepositions are limited to spatial functions and do not have particularly complex semantics. In addition, such prepositions are rarely or never used as preverbs.

The improper prepositions with spatial functions can be grouped around several concepts, prominent in this semantic field. The prepositions *ufaro* (cf. *ufar*) and *undaro* (cf. *undar*) express the spatial notions ‘on, over’ and ‘under’: *sai atgaf izwiz waldufni trudan ufaro waurme* ‘behold, I gave you the authority to tread upon serpents’ (L 10:19), *jah auk hundos undaro biuda matjand af drauhsnom barne* ‘and even dogs under the table eat from the children’s crumbs’ (Mk 7:28). *In andwairþja* and *faura* are used to refer to location or direction, emphasizing the notion ‘before’, while *hindar*, and *hindana* express the same semantic functions accentuating the idea ‘behind, beyond’: *swa liuhtjai liuhap izwar in andwairþja manne* ‘so let your light shine before men’ (M 5:16), *faura im gaggip* ‘he goes before them’ (J 10:4), *galeipān hindar markos seinos* ‘to go beyond their regions’ (Mk 5:17), *jah us Idumaia jah hindana Iaurdanaus... qemun at imma* ‘and from Idumea and from beyond the Jordan... they came to him’ (Mk 3:8). The improper preposition *nehva* mainly designates location connected with the concept ‘near’: *wasuh þan Beþania nehva Iairusaulwmiam* ‘but Bethany was near Jerusalem’ (J 11:18).

Unlike the rest of the improper prepositions *faura* is not limited to expressing only one semantic role. Although in most cases *faura* plus the dative marks the concept ‘before’, it is also found to denote a spatial notion ‘beside, near’: *jah bigetun sitandan þana mannan... faura fotum Iesuis* ‘and they found that man sitting... near the feet of Jesus’ (L 8:35). This semantic extension probably made the semantics of this prepositional phrase ambiguous, and for this reason *faura* is found in combination with the noun *andwairþi* ‘countenance’ in order to clarify the sense ‘before’: *fauargaggis auk faura andwairþja frauþins* ‘for you will go before the Lord’ (L 1:76). *Faura*+Dat can also express reason/cause: *jah ni mahtedun andqipān imma faura managein* ‘and they could not greet him because of the crowd’ (L 8:19). This prepositional construction demonstrates an unusual

semantic extension; it is sometimes used to denote a separation, this function is usually designated by the prepositions connected with the notion ‘source’: *hwas gataiknida izwis bliuhan fairra bamma anawairpin hatiza?* ‘who indicated to you to flee from the coming wrath?’ (L 3:7).

The meaning of *fairra*, *utana*, and *utapro* is associated with the concept ‘source’. *Fairra* plus the dative accentuates the idea of separation: *gaggiþ fairra mis jus fraqiþanans in fon þata* ‘go away from me, you cursed ones, into the fire’ (M 25:41). Constructions with *utana* and *utapro* express the meaning ‘out of’ connected with the notion of containment: *ustauh ina utana weihsis* ‘he took him out of the village’ (Mk 8:23), *ni waihts ist utapro mans innaggando in ina...* ‘there is nothing outside of a man going into him...’ (Mk 7:15).

The improper prepositions *alja* and *inuh*⁴ indicate the ideas of exception and absence: *jah nist anþar alja imma* ‘and there is no other except him’ (Mk 12:32), *þatei inuh mik ni maguþ taujan ni waiht* ‘because without me you cannot do anything’ (J 15:5).

3.20 Cases

Gothic has a system of four cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative. The last three of these share some semantic functions of prepositions. Thus, the accusative carries out a number of semantic functions besides its primary role, denotation of patient: *apþan saei wajamereiþ ahman weiþhana* ‘but whoever blasphemes the Holy Spirit’ (Mk 3:29); it is also found to indicate patient in constructions with the verb ‘follow’: *jah laistidedum þuk* ‘and we have followed you’ (L 18:28). The accusative designates several spatial meanings. We find instances where it is used to refer to direction: *þatei huzuh saei saiwiþ qinon du luston* ‘that everyone who looks at a woman with lust’ (M 5:28). When combined with verbs of asking, the accusative metaphorically expresses the notion ‘source’: *jah ohtedun fraihnan ina bi þata waurd* ‘and they feared to ask him about this word’ (L

⁴ We consider *inuh* an improper preposition. Even though it is sometimes used as a preverb and its semantics is not connected with a spatial notion, it is still limited to designating only the concept of absence and has a status similar to that of its Gk cognate *ἀνευ*.

9:45). A temporal role is also common for accusative nominal constructions. In this function they indicate a period of time during which some action happens: *saei habaida unhulþons mela lagga* ‘who had demons for a long time’ (L 8:27). The accusative can also denote recipient, manner, and topic, but these semantic roles are less frequent: *qīþan þoei habaiedun ina gadaban* ‘to tell what had to happen to him’ (Mk 10:32), *jah insandida ins twans hvanzuh faura andwairþja seinamma* ‘and he sent them by two each before himself’ (L 10:1), *þatei attan im qap* ‘that he spoke to them about the Father’ (J 8:27).

The genitive is primarily used to express partitive meaning: *jah gairnida sad itan haurne* ‘and he desired gladly to fill [himself] up of pods’ (L 15:16). The genitive may also convey spatial values. It can denote direction: *gaggida landis* ‘he went into a land’ (L 19:12). As a result of a metaphoric extension based on its partitive meaning, the genitive can express such notions as ‘among’, ‘over’, or ‘in place of’: *jah saei wili izwara wairþan frumists* ‘and whoever will become first among you’ (Mk 10:44), *jah gaf im waldufni ahmane* ‘and he gave then authority over the spirits’ (Mk 6:7), *aipþau hwa gibip manna inmaidein saiwalos seinaizos* ‘but what will a man give as an exchange for (=in place of) his life’ (Mk 8:37). It can also refer to source ‘out of’ or mark the notion ‘separation’: *ip Iudas nam hansa jah þize gudjane jah Fareisaie andbahtans* ‘so Judas took a band of men from the priests and servants from the Pharisees’ (J 18:3), *jah hailjan sik sauhte seinaizo* ‘and to be healed from their sicknesses’ (L 6:18). When used in a temporal function, the genitive indicates a period of time when a certain action occurs: *jah filu air þis dagis afarsabbate atiddjedun* ‘and very early on the first day of the week they went’ (Mk 16:2). The genitive sometimes has possessive function: *sa auk hlaif gudis ist saei atstaig us himina* ‘for the bread of God is that which came down from heaven’ (J 6:33). It rarely denotes patient or topic: *fraihna izwis jah ik ainis waurdis* ‘and I will ask you about one word’ (L 20:3), *sildaleikjandans andawaurde is* ‘wondering about his answers’ (L 20:26).

The dative is the result of syncretism of the IE dative, locative, instrumental, and ablative. This explains the great variety of semantic functions that this case signals. The denotations of recipient (often with speech verbs) or beneficiary are primary for dative nominal phrases: *managai qipand mis in jainamma daga* ‘on that day many will say to me’ (M 7:22), *pan pans fimf hlaibans gabrak fimf pusundjom* ‘when I broke those five loaves for five thousand’ (Mk 8:19). It can denote direction: *jah bedun ina ei lagidedi imma handau* ‘and they asked him that he put [his] hand upon him’ (Mk 7:32). It can also metaphorically refer to location: *jah Iesus pah frodein jah wahstau jah anstai* ‘and Jesus thrived in wisdom and stature and grace’ (L 2:52). The dative is found in constructions of comparison: *ni urrais in baurim qinono maiza Iohanne pamma daupjandin* ‘no one arose among those born from women greater than John the Baptist’ (M 11:11). When used in temporal function, the dative refers to a period of time during which some actions occur: *jah suns sabbato daga galeipands in swanagogen laisida ins* ‘and soon on the Sabbath going into the synagogue he taught them’ (Mk 1:21), *jah bridjin daga urreisan* ‘and on the third day to arise’ (L 9:22). Comitative function is frequent for the dative: *ju gahorinoda izai in hairtin seinamma* ‘he has already committed adultery with her in his heart’ (M 5:28). This construction can also have causal meaning. Thus, we find instances where it refers to an agent or an instrument/means: *patei aflifnoda pahim matjandam* ‘that was left over by those [who were] eating’ (J 6:13), *jah matidedun bnauandans handum* ‘and they ate rubbing with [their] hands’ (L 6:1). The dative can designate patient: *ip anparamma frakann* ‘but he despised the other’ (M 6:24). It is rarely used to indicate topic: *ni maurnaip saiwalai izwarai* ‘do not be anxious about your soul’ (M 6:25). The dative can also express manner due to a metonymic extension from its causal semantics: *hazjan guḡ stibnai mikilai* ‘to praise God with a loud voice’ (L 19:37). This construction is sometimes used to express the formulaic phrase ‘in the name of’: *jah peinamma namin mahtins mikilos gatawidedum* ‘and we have done many mighty works in your name’ (M 7:22).

We find only one form – a neuter interrogative pronoun *hve*, which continues the IE instrumental and is used to denote means: *hve gasupoda* ‘with what is it (lit. has it been) seasoned?’ (L 14:34).

Often the functions just mentioned as well as other semantic roles are expressed by nominal phrases with the help of preverbs. Thus, the accusative can refer to path when the preverb *pairh-* is present: **pairhlaip laireikon** ‘he went through Jericho’ (L 19:1). The role of the preverb is crucial for constructions of this type, since they are not only responsible for the semantics but in some instances define the case that is used. For example, the accusative case is usually used in combinations with the verb ‘follow’ to indicate a patient: *hiri laistjan mik* ‘come here to follow me’ (Mk 10:21). But it is the dative that is employed when the preverb *afar-* is present: **afariddjedun imma** siponjos is ‘his disciples followed him’ (M 8:23).

3.21 Conclusions

The Gothic system of proper and improper prepositions as well as its case system presents the following division of semantic space:

❖ space:

➤ location:

- ‘within’:
 - ‘inside’: **in+Dat**, *ana+Dat*, *and+Acc*, Dat
 - ‘among’: **in+Dat**, *mip+Dat*, Gen
- ‘on the surface, over’: *in+Dat*, *ana+Acc*, **ana+Dat**, *ufar+Acc*, *ufar+Dat*, *ufaro+Dat*(Gen), Gen, Dat
- ‘under, beneath’: *uf+Acc*, *uf+Dat*, *undar+Acc*, *undaro+Dat*
- ‘near’: **at+Dat**, *wipra+Acc*, *af+Dat*, *faur+Acc*, *faur+Dat*, **neha+Dat**, *faura+Dat*

- ‘around’: *bi*+Acc
- ‘in place of’: *und*+Dat, Gen
- ‘before’: *in andwairþja*+Gen, *faura*+Dat
- ‘after, beyond’: *hindar*+Acc

➤ direction:

- ‘to, into’: *in*+Acc, *in*+Dat, *ana*+Acc, *ana*+Dat, *du*+Dat, *and*+Acc, *faur*+Acc, *faura*+Dat, *at*+Acc, Acc, Gen
- ‘onto’: *ana*+Acc, Dat
- ‘under’: *uf*+Acc
- ‘to (near), up to’: *in*+Acc, *at*+Acc, *at*+Dat, *bi*+Acc, *und*+Acc
- ‘against’: *in*+Acc, *ana*+Acc, *wipra*+Acc, *bi*+Acc, *bi*+Dat, *du*+Dat
- ‘before’: *in andwairþja*+Gen, *faura*+Dat
- ‘after, beyond’: *afar*+Dat, *hindana*+Gen, *hindar*+Acc

➤ source:

- ‘from inside’: *af*+Dat, *at*+Dat, *ana*+Dat, *du*+Dat, *from*+Dat, *us*+Dat, *utana*+Gen, *utapro*+Gen, Acc, Gen
- ‘away from’: *af*+Dat, *us*+Dat, *faura*+Dat, *fairra*+Dat, Gen
- partitive: *uf*+Acc, *us*+Dat, Gen

➤ path: *in*+Dat, *ana*+Dat, *ufar*+Acc, *and*+Acc, *þairh*+Acc

❖ time:

➤ ‘within’:

- ‘during’: *in*+Acc, *in*+Dat, *ana*+Acc, *ana*+Dat, *bi*+Acc, *du*+Dat, *and*+Acc, *und*+Acc, Acc, Gen, Dat
- ‘during the time of somebody’: *at*+Dat, *uf*+Acc

➤ ‘before’: *faur*+Acc

- ‘after’: *afar*+Acc
- ‘from’: *af*+Dat, ***fram***+Dat, *us*+Dat
- ‘until’: *und*+Acc
- ‘near, about’: *bi*+Acc
- ❖ comitative: *at*+Dat, ***mip***+Dat, Dat
- ❖ absence: ***inuh***+Acc, *alja*+Dat
- ❖ causal:
 - agent/force: *af*+Dat, *fram*+Dat, *pairh*+Acc, Dat
 - instrument/means/intermediary: *in*+Dat, *ana*+Dat, *bi*+Acc, *bi*+Dat, *us*+Dat, *pairh*+Acc, Dat, Ins (*he*)
 - cause/reason: *in*+Gen, *wipra*+Acc, *bi*+Acc, *bi*+Dat, *faura*+Dat
- ❖ recipient: *in*+Dat, *wipra*+Acc, *bi*+Acc, *bi*+Dat, *du*+Dat, Acc, **Dat**
- ❖ beneficiary: *in*+Acc, *at*+Dat, *ana*+Acc, *bi*+Acc, *bi*+Dat, *du*+Dat, *from*+Dat, *faur*+Acc, *faur*+Dat, Dat
- ❖ possession: *in*+Dat, *at*+Dat, *us*+Dat, Gen
- ❖ purpose: *at*+Dat, *in*+Gen, *ana*+Acc, *ana*+Dat, ***du***+Dat
- ❖ patient: *in*+Dat, *in*+Gen, *du*+Dat, **Acc**, Gen, Dat
- ❖ manner: *in*+Acc, *in*+Dat, *ana*+Acc, *ana*+Dat, *bi*+Dat, *us*+Dat, *afar*+Dat, *mip*+Dat, *und*+Acc, Acc, Dat
- ❖ topic: *af*+Dat, *at*+Dat, *in*+Gen, *ana*+Dat, *du*+Dat, *fram*+Dat, *us*+Dat, *utana*+Gen, *utapro*+Gen, Acc, Gen

We find several similarities in the ways Biblical Greek and Gothic prepositional and case systems divide semantic space. Many notions, both spatial and more abstract (i.e. causal), can be denoted by a number of prepositional and nominal phrases, and this triggers alternations found in the

texts. In some instances these expressions are synonymous (cf. *in*+Dat, *ana*+Dat, and the dative referring to location ‘on the surface, over’), but sometimes constructions can designate the same notion, yet have different connotations (usually connected with their primary meanings). For example, both *ana*+Dat and *and*+Acc can indicate location ‘inside’, but *and*+Acc is preferred when a distributive connotation is present. Gothic shows a particularly high degree of variation in the means which it uses to denote beneficiary. We find eleven different combinations with proper prepositions and one with the dative in this function.

Spatial meaning appears to be original and primary for many prepositions. However, several prepositions are used with greater frequency to articulate secondarily developed abstract meanings than spatial values. Such is the case with *in*+Gen that is mostly found in causal function, indicating reason.

Instances in which one prepositional phrase corresponds to a single concept are not common, but we find more cases like this in Gothic than we did in Biblical Greek. Thus, the location ‘around’ as well as the temporal notion ‘about’ is expressed only by *bi*+Acc, the direction ‘under’ is indicated only by *uf*+Acc, while the temporal concepts ‘before’ and ‘after’ correspond only to *faur*+Acc and *afar*+Acc.

In the majority of cases it is a construction with a proper preposition that is dominant for a certain semantic field. But we also find instances where a nominal phrase prevails. For example, the denotation of patient and the partitive notion are mainly functions of the accusative and the genitive, respectively. Several concepts are not expressed by proper prepositions at all, and semantic gaps are filled in by constructions with improper prepositions. Thus, the location and direction ‘before’ are marked by the improper prepositional phrases *in andwairþja*+Gen and *faura*+Dat, while the notion of absence is expressed by *inuh*+Acc and *alja*+Dat.

Sometimes it is difficult to determine a dominant element for a semantic field because all the constructions that denote the same concept are used sporadically or with similar frequency. For

instance, *uf*+Acc, *uf*+Dat, *undar*+Acc, and *undaro*+Dat very rarely occur in the text, thereby causing problems for the semantic analysis.

Prepositional and nominal phrases are sometimes used differently in the various canonical gospels. For example, *du*+Dat denoting recipient occurs more often in the Gospel of Mark and Luke (110 and 167 occurrences, respectively) than in the Gospels of Matthew and John (6 and 29 occurrences, respectively). The prepositional phrases *uf*+Acc(Dat) and *and*+Acc are not found in the Gospel of John, while they are used in the rest of the canonical gospels.

CHAPTER 4

CLASSICAL ARMENIAN PREPOSITION

4.1 I

This preposition governs the accusative, the locative, and the ablative. It appears as *y* and is written inseparately when the following word begins with a vowel. Often in such cases *i* is reinstated as a separate preposition: *heleal i yerkir* ‘falling upon the ground’ (L 22:44). It is also found as a preverb in the verb ‘rise’: *yareaw i meřeloc* ‘he arose from the dead’ (M 27:64). The origin of this preposition has been variously explained. Meillet considered *i*+Abl to have the same origin as OCS *isŭ/izŭ* ‘from’, thus the unification of *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc with *i*+Abl was a result of merger (Meillet 1936: 95-96). But Pedersen thought *i*+Abl to be of the same origin as *i*+Acc and *i*+Loc. He believed that the ablative meaning of *i* was a secondary development, arising from the locative with the help of a postposition *ē* (a cognate of OCS *otŭ* ‘from’, IE **e/oti*) added on later (Pedersen 1905: 223-224), and, thus, was a result of reanalysis. Pedersen based his proposal on the fact that the Armenian demonstrative pronouns *ays*, *ayd*, and *ayn*, when followed by a noun, had the same form in the locative, dative, and ablative (correspondingly, *aysm*, *aydm*, and *aynm*). The position of Meillet seems more probable, since we find a very precise differentiation between the concepts ‘location/direction’ and ‘source’ in Gk, Goth, and OCS, showing that this distinction is rather salient. Furthermore, the adverbs of place like *and* that have distinctive forms corresponding to the meanings ‘location’, ‘direction’, and ‘source’ are widely used with the preposition *i* following the object, as if to compensate for the lack of a distinction between these concepts on the formal level: *ew elew i miowm awowrc'n yaync'anē minč'dēř owsowc'anēr zžořovowrdn i tačari and* ‘and it came about in one of those days while he was teaching the people in the temple...’ (L 20:1), *zi ašakertk'n nora*

ert'eal ein i k'alāk' andr 'for his disciples had gone into the city' (J 4:8), ew ibrew emowt i town yamboxē anti 'and when he came into the house from the crowd' (Mk 7:17).

When combined with the ablative, *i* primarily denotes source, designating the notion 'out of' or separation 'away from': zi i nerk'owst i srtē mardkan xorhowrdk' č'arowt'ean elanen 'for from inside, out of the heart of men come evil thoughts' (Mk 7:21), anc'c'ē i nmanē žamn 'the hour may pass from him' (Mk 14:35). Occasionally, this construction designates a point from which a certain motion starts (often in a phrase meaning 'at, from a distance'): ork' kac'in i heřastanē 'who stood at a distance' (L 17:12). We also find several instances where this prepositional phrase has a partitive meaning: bazowmk' i hreic' or ekeal ein ār Maremans 'many of the Jews who had come with Mary' (J 11:45). In some cases it expresses the partitive sense even without a nominal phrase that usually precedes it: ew spananic'en i jēnĭ 'and they will kill some of you' (L 21:16). Through metaphorical extensions *i*+Abl comes to denote a material from which something is made: ew boloreal psak i p'šoc' 'and plaiting a crown from thorns' (M 27:29).

This prepositional phrase performs other spatial functions, but they are sporadic and appear to be secondary developments. Thus, *i*+Abl once refers to direction: ew zor yownkanēn xawsec'arowk' 'and whatever you have said into the ear' (L 12:3). This passage is irregular considering the semantics of the ablative (which is strongly connected with the notion of source). It is therefore not improbable that the meaning of *i*+Abl here is causal rather than spatial and it states 'by (means of) the ear'. In this case the meaning of this phrase is regular.

Through metonymic extensions 'out of' → 'at, near' and 'out of' → 'among' this prepositional phrase comes to indicate location: zi nstein mi i snaric' 'that were sitting one at the head...' (J 20:12), ew el hambaws ays i hrēic' minč'ew c'aysawr 'and this story went among the Jews up to this day' (M 28:15). When used temporally, *i*+Abl can denote either a period of time during

which some action occurs or a point of time from which a motion starts: ew kin mi ēr i tēratesowt'ean arean yamac' erkotasanic' 'and one woman who was in a blood flow for twelve years' (L 8:43), zi aha yaysm hetē eranesce'en inj amenayn azgk' 'for behold, from now on all generations will bless me' (L 1:48).

I+Abl can express causal meanings. This construction is often used to indicate agent: ew eljik' atec'eal yamenec'ownc' wasn anowan imoy 'and you will become hated by all because of my name' (M 10:22). We also find several examples where it indicates reason or means: ew YŠ vastakeal i čanaparhēn nstēr i veray albern 'and Jesus wearied because of the journey sat upon the well' (J 4:6), zi zawrowt'iwnk's ayspisik' i jērac' sora linic'in 'that such miracles come about by his hands' (Mk 6:2). Occasionally, *i*+Abl denotes a patient in combination with verbs like 'fear' and 'be ashamed of' whose semantics are closely connected with the notion of separation: t'erews amač'esc'en yordwoy asti immē 'perhaps they will be ashamed of my son' (M 21:37). This prepositional phrase rarely refers to manner or possession: ew siresc'es zTR AC k'o yamenayn srtē k'ommē 'and you shall love the Lord, your God with all your heart' (Mk 12:30), zi hac' yAY ē or ijanē yerknic' 'for the bread of God is that which comes from heaven' (J 6:33).

When combined with the accusative, *i* mainly denotes direction. This prepositional phrase can specify the directions 'into', 'onto', 'up to', and even 'against': ew arjakeal znosa i Bet'leem 'and sending them into Bethlehem...' (M 2:8), el i leārn 'he went out onto the mountain' (M 5:1), ew ibrew ekn i na 'and when he came up to it' (Mk 11:13), meļay yerkins ew āraji k'o 'I have sinned against heaven and before you' (L 15:18). *I* in the directional function is often combined with adverbs like *bac'*: i bac' gnac'ēk' 'go away (=into the open)' (M 9:24). *I*+Acc can also express location. We find a few instances where this construction denotes 'in' or 'in place of' (of price): ew

ənkłmic'i i xors covow 'and that he be drowned in the depths of the sea' (M 18:6), ew etown zna yagatakn brti 'and they gave it for the potter's field' (M 27:10). Temporal function is also common for *i*+Acc. This phrase is found to indicate a period of time or an ending point of time: ew oč' kamēr i bazowm žamanaks 'and he did not want to for a long time' (L 18:4), zi mi i spār ekeal t'axanjic'ē zis 'so that coming up to the end she will not torment me' (L 18:5). In some instances *i* in temporal function becomes part of an adverb: yaynžam āreal acē zna satana i k'ałak'n sowrb 'then taking [him] the devil led him to the holy city' (M 4:5).

With verbs like 'touch' and several verbs of sense perception *i*+Acc denotes patient: merjec'aw i drawšak handerji nora 'she touched the border of his garment' (M 9:20). When expressing a causal meaning, this construction refers to means: or erdnaw i tačarn 'whoever swears by the temple' (M 23:16). The denotation of such semantically close notions as recipient, beneficiary, and purpose is common for *i*+Acc: ew k'arozel yanown nora apašxarowt'iwn ew t'ołowt'iwn mełac' yamenayn azgs 'and to preach to all nations repentance and forgiveness of sins in his name' (L 24:47), i mer koys ē 'he is for us' (Mk 9:40), sa ekn i vkayowt'iwn 'he came for testimony (=to testify)' (J 1:7). In rare instances this phrase indicates topic: ałač'esc'ē i xałałowt'iwn 'he will ask about peace' (L 14:32), zi amenayn or hawatay i na 'that everyone who believes in him' (J 3:16). *I*+Acc can also designate manner: ert' i xałałowt'iwn 'go in peace' (L 7:50), awhrnel z \overline{AC} i jayn mec 'to praise God with a loud voice' (L 19:37). It conveys this function in the formulaic expressions 'in the name of somebody': ew yanown k'o dewš hanak' 'and we have cast out demons in your name' (M 7:22).

The primary semantic role of *i*+Loc is denotation of location. When expressing this function this prepositional phrase can specify the meanings 'in', 'on', and 'among': or ein i tačarin 'who were in the temple' (Mk 11:15), et'e išxanowt'iwn owni ordi mardoy yerkri 'that the Son of man has

authority on earth' (M 9:6), *zi mi x̄rovowt'iwn linic'i i žolovrdeann* 'so that there will be no revolt among the people' (Mk 14:2). *I+Loc* can also refer to location metaphorically when spoken of clothes or people. This usage is connected with the view (already noted previously in Biblical Greek and Gothic) that the human body and clothes are considered by speakers as containers: or *i handerjs erewelis* 'those who [are] in gorgeous clothes' (L 7:25), *k'anzi asēr i mti iwrowm* 'for she said in her mind' (M 9:21). The denotation of path is rare for *i+Loc*: *ew ert'ayr zhet nora i čanaparhin* 'and he followed him along the way' (Mk 10:52).

When used in a temporal function, *i+Loc* denotes a point of time after which some action begins or time in general: *ew yerir awowr yārnē* 'and after three days he will rise (lit. arises)' (Mk 9:31), *erēk yewt'nerord žamow et'oł zna žermnn* 'yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him' (J 4:52). We find one instance where this construction is used in comitative function: or *bazmeal ein i nma* 'those who were sitting at table with him' (L 7:49). Occasionally, *i+Loc* refers to patient, recipient, or purpose: or *xostovanesc'i yis āraži mardkan* 'who will acknowledge me before men' (M 10:32), *asasjir yekelec'woj* 'tell the church' (M 18:17), *gnea inč' or pitoy ic'ē mez i tawnis* 'buy what we need for the feast' (J 13:29). When used with causal function, *i+Loc* indicates means or intermediary: *amenek'ean oroc' ein hiwandk' i pēspēs c'aws* 'all of whom were sick with various diseases' (L 4:40), *ew ĀC p'āraworec'aw i nma* 'and God has been glorified through him' (J 13:31). Occasionally, this construction designates topic: *ew bazowmk' i cnndean nora xndasc'en* 'and many will rejoice over his birth' (L 1:14), *yaysmik hawatamk'* 'we believe in this' (J 16:30). *I+Loc* is also used to denote manner: *gnayin yamenayn patowirans* 'they walked according to all the commandments' (L 1:6), *ew i bazmin hawatarim ē* 'and he is faithful in the great [matter]' (L 16:10).

This preposition is often used in combination with an infinitive to denote purpose (4 instances) or time (44 instances): ew i mtaneln nora ‘and when he entered’ (M 21:10), ew zawrowt'iwn TN̄ ēr i bžškel znosa ‘and the power of the Lord was [with him] to heal them’ (L 5:17).

Table 35. Semantic roles of *i*

		<i>i + ABL</i>				<i>i + ACC</i>				<i>i + LOC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	4	1	1	2	6	6	7	4	186	109	202	118
	direction			1		189	165	225	113				
	path										1		
	source	167	132	231	201								
time		14	5	21	14	5	2	8	14	52	26	84	34
comitative												1	
causal	agent/force	23	6	23	3								
	instrument/ means/ intermediary	7	1	4		9		4	1	3	2	3	7
	cause/reason	10	2	9	2								
recipient						3	4	12	2	1			
beneficiary							1	2					
possession				1	2								
purpose						9	4	7	9	1			
patient		5	2	8	1	12	9	20	1	1			
manner		1	2	1	1	13	18	12	15	5	2	6	5
topic						2	1	2	34	1		2	2
TOTAL		230	151	300	226	248	210	299	193	251	140	298	167

4.2 ƏND

Ənd originates from IE **H₂enti* ‘in front and facing’ (Sihler 1995:439) and is cognate with Gk *ἀντί* and Goth *and*. This preposition governs the accusative, the genitive, the ablative, the locative, the dative, and the instrumental. It sometimes occurs as a preverb or a prefix: varjs oč’ **ənd**ownic’ik’ i hawrē ‘you will not receive rewards from the Father’ (M 6:1), **ənd**ēr? t’oler zis ‘why have you forsaken me?’ (Mk 15:34).

When combined with the accusative, *ənd* primarily designates path: ew oč' t'oloyr et'e ok' anawt' inč' anc'owc'anic'ē ənd tačarn 'and he did not allow that anyone should carry any vessel through the temple' (Mk 11:16). This prepositional phrase can express other spatial functions. *Ənd+Acc* often denotes direction, specifying the senses 'into', 'onto', or 'against': ark zmatowns iwr ənd akanjs nora 'he put his fingers into his ears' (Mk 7:33), ew omank' sksan t'k'anel ənd erness nora 'and some began to spit onto his face' (Mk 14:65), amenayn or əndharc'i ənd vēms ənd ays 'anyone who strikes against this stone' (L 20:18). This prepositional phrase can also indicate various kinds of location. We find instances where it signals 'in', 'on', 'near', 'among/between', and even 'around': ənd xawar mi gnasc'ē 'he will not walk in darkness' (J 8:12), or bnakeal en ənd amenayn erness erkri 'those who dwell upon the entire face of the earth' (L 21:35), minč'dēr zgnayr ȲS ənd ezr covown 'while Jesus was walking near the sea shore' (M 4:18), ew xndrein zna ənd drac'isn 'and they sought him among the neighbors' (L 2:44), ew i veray aysr amenayni viħ mec ē ənd mez ew ənd jez 'and above all these there is a great chasm between me and you' (L 16:26), et'e kaxic'i erkan išoy ənd paranoc' nora 'that a millstone should be hung around his neck' (M 18:6). In two instances in the Gospel of Matthew this prepositional phrase in combination with the demonstrative pronoun *ayn* expresses source, a notion atypical for it: ew anc'eal ənd ayn ȲI 'and Jesus passing from there' (M 9:9), ew minč'dēr anc'anēr ənd ayn ȲS 'and while Jesus was passing from there' (M 9:27). It is not quite clear what is going on here, since even if we assume that instead of *ayn* there should have been the ablative form *aynmanē* and it is the meaning of the case that allows for the connection with the notion of source, we still do not find any evidence for *ənd+Abl* to express source anywhere in the text of the New Testament (see examples below). It is also possible that the Armenian translation differs from the Biblical Greek, Gothic, and Old Church Slavic versions (all of which agree on the

source concept, expressing it with *ἐκεῖθεν*, *jainpro*, and *otū tōdu*, respectively) and indicates path, a notion common for *ənd*+Acc.

When used with temporal function, *ənd*+Acc marks the time during which an action happens: gay *ārawawtown* *ənd aršalowšsn* ‘she came in the morning at daybreak’ (J 20:1). *Ənd* often expresses this temporal role in combinations with infinitives: ew *ənd elaneln* *nora i c'amak'* ‘and when he came into the land’ (L 8:27). Less often *ənd*+Acc refers to patient, recipient, or reason: ew *nayec'eal* *ənd xoramankowt'iwn noc'a* ‘and perceiving their slyness’ (L 20:23), *ayl znoyns arasc'en* *ənd jez* *vasn anowan imo* ‘but they will do this same thing to you because of my name’ (J 15:21), ew *na xožōreal* *ənd bann* ‘and he being sad because of the word...’ (Mk 10:22). We also find a few instances where it denotes topic: *bayc'* *ənd ayn* *mi xndayk'* ‘but do not rejoice about that’ (L 10:20).

Ənd+Gen occurs infrequently and usually denotes the spatial notion ‘instead, in place of’ or a beneficiary: *akn* *ənd akan* ‘an eye for an eye’ (M 5:38), ew *zays āreal tac'es noc'a* *ənd im ew ənd k'o* ‘and taking this give [it] to them for me and you’ (M 17:27). We also find one example where this prepositional phrase refers to topic: *mi hogayk'* *ənd ogwoy* ‘do not worry about [your] spirit’ (L 12:22). *Ənd*+Abl indicates solely the location ‘near’: *nstowc'anel* *ənd aļmē immē* ‘to be set at my right hand’ (Mk 10:40).

When combined with the instrumental, *ənd* can denote location or direction, specifying the notion ‘under’: *ownim* *ənd inew* *zinowors* ‘I have solders under me’ (M 8:9), *et'e* *ənd yarkaw imov* *mtc'es* ‘that you should come under my roof’ (M 8:8). We find one example where this prepositional construction has a comitative function: ew *mankownk's* *ənd inew* *kan yankołni* ‘and the children are with me in bed’ (L 11:7).

Ənd+Dat is rarely found in the text. This phrase occurs with comitative function: *dow* *ənd YI* *Nazovrac'woy?* ‘[were] you with Jesus the Nazarene?’ (Mk 14:67). In one instance *ənd*+Dat has a

partitive connotation: spowng lc'eal k'ac'axov ənd lɛłwoy 'a sponge becoming full of vinegar' (J 19:29).

The primary function of ənd+Loc is comitative: minč'dēr ic'es ənd nma i čanaparhi 'while you are with him on the way' (M 5:25). This prepositional phrase is also used to denote location 'in': zi loys oč' goy ənd nma 'because light is not in him' (J 11:10). In combinations with speech verbs this construction renders the senses 'in' or 'among': ew gnac' ənd mits zarmac'eal 'and he left wondering in his mind' (L 24:12), ew xorhein ənd mimeans 'and they discussed [it] among each other' (Mk 8:16).

When combined with the verb 'kiss', ənd+Loc marks patient (with a notable comitative connotation): ənd orowm es hamborec'ic' na ē 'whoever I shall kiss, it is he' (M 26:48). This construction can also designate recipient (often with speech verbs) and means: or xawsein ənd nma 'who were speaking to him' (M 17:3), šp'ein ənd ap' ew owtein 'they rubbed [them] with [their] hand(s) and ate' (L 6:1). Once again a comitative connotation is also expressed in such passages.

Table 36. Semantic roles of ənd

		<u>ənd</u> + ACC				<u>ənd</u> + LOC				<u>ənd</u> + ABL			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	4	3	10	4	5	7	11	4	7	4	4	
	direction	5	5	8									
	path	12	5	12	4								
	source	2											
time		3	12	12	1								
comitative						52	38	59	42				
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/ intermediary					2	1	2					
	cause/reason		1										
recipient		1	1	2	4	10	8	20	24				
beneficiary													
possession													
purpose													
patient		3	1	4		3	2		1				

manner												
topic	2	4	7	2								
TOTAL	32	32	55	15	72	56	92	71	7	4	4	

		<i>ənd + DAT</i>				<i>ənd + GEN</i>				<i>ənd + INS</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location					3	2	1		3		4	
	direction									2	2	2	
	path												
	source				1								
time													
comitative		2	1	1								1	
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/ intermediary												
	cause/reason												
recipient													
beneficiary						1							
possession													
purpose													
patient													
manner													
topic								1					
TOTAL		2	1	1	1	4	2	2		5	2	7	

4.3 ƏST

Several linguists suggest that this preposition is derived from IE **(a)po-st(i)* and is cognate with Gk *ἀπο*, OCS *po*, and Goth *af* (Dzhaukian 1982:36, Adjarian 1926 II:1066-1067). In the canonical gospels it is found in constructions with the dative, the locative, and the ablative.

When combined with the dative, *əst* denotes exclusively manner, indicating the notion ‘according to’: ew oč' patrastic'ē *əst kamac' nora* ‘and does not prepare according to his wishes’ (L 12:47). *Əst+Loc* can also designate the same concept: ard arjakes zcaṛay k'o *TR əst bani k'owm* i xaławowt'iwn ‘now Lord let your servant go in peace according to your word’ (L 2:29). We find several instances where this prepositional phrase designates a certain period of time, often in

combinations with the noun ‘festival’: bayc' əst tawni sovor ēr dataworn arjakel... kapeal mi ‘but at the festival the governor was accustomed to release... one prisoner’ (M 27:15).

In combinations with the ablative *əst* expresses the meanings that are connected with the original sense of this preposition ‘after’. Thus, this prepositional phrase is found to indicate time ‘after’ or manner (often in constructions ‘one by one’): zhač' mer hanapazord towr mer zawr əst awrēn ‘give us our eternal bread day after day’ (L 11:3), zor et'e greal ēr mi əst miojē ‘which if it were written one by one’ (J 21:25).

Table 37. Semantic roles of *əst*

		<i>əst</i> + <i>DAT</i>				<i>əst</i> + <i>LOC</i>				<i>əst</i> + <i>ABL</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location												
	direction												
	path												
	source												
time						1	1	1	1			1	
comitative													
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/intermediary												
	cause/reason												
recipient													
beneficiary													
possession													
purpose													
patient													
manner		2		8	3	5	1	6	2		1	4	1
topic													
TOTAL		2		8	3	6	2	7	3		1	5	1

4.4 AR

Ar̄ goes back to IE **pr* (Watkins 2000:65, Adjarian 1926 I:479) and is related to Goth *faur* and Gk *παρά*. This preposition governs the accusative, the locative, the genitive, and the

instrumental. It is rarely found as a preverb: *zor es aṛak'ec'ic' jez i hawrē* ‘whom I shall sent to you from my Father’ (J 15:26).

When combined with the accusative, this preposition primarily denotes direction toward an animate object: *ew ert'ayr aṛ na amenayn ašxarhn Hrēastani* ‘and the whole land of Judea came up to him’ (Mk 1:5). *Aṛ+Acc* involves an inanimate object only in constructions with the verb ‘fall’: *ankaw aṛ ots nora* ‘he fell at his feet’ (Mk 5:22). This prepositional phrase can have a temporal function. We find several instances where this construction stands for the temporal notion ‘for a while’: *ew dowk' kamec'arowk' c'ncal aṛ žamanak mi i loysn nora* ‘and you wanted to rejoice for a while in his light’ (J 5:35). *Aṛ+Acc* is rarely used in causal function denoting means or reason: *zi mi aṛ otn koxic'en znosa* ‘so that they may not trample them with the foot’ (M 7:6), *t'e aṛ inč' asac' c'na* ‘for what [reason] he said [that] to him’ (J 13:28). Occasionally, this prepositional phrase indicates patient: *ew erkaynamit miayn linic'i aṛ nosa?* ‘and will he alone be patient with them?’ (L 18:7). *Aṛ+Acc* is used to refer to recipient (often with speech verbs): *ew darjoyc' zarcat'n aṛ k'ahanayapetsn* ‘and he brought the silver back to the high priests’ (M 27:3), *orpēs xawsec'aw aṛ hars mer* ‘when he spoke to our fathers’ (L 1:55).

The occurrence of *aṛ+Gen* is infrequent. This construction is used to denote reason or purpose: *ew aṛ ahin ałakec'in* ‘and they cried because of fear’ (M 14:26), *zays arašjik' aṛ imoy yišataki* ‘do this for remembrance of me’ (L 22:19).

The primary function of *aṛ+Loc* is denotation of the location ‘near’: *zi awasik tapar aṛ armin caṛoc' dni* ‘for behold, an axe is placed near the root of the trees’ (M 3:10). This construction

frequently renders the senses ‘at somebody’s place, presence’ or even ‘among’: ār k'ez ārnem zzatik ašakertawk's handerj ‘I will perform the Passover with my disciples with you (=in your place)’ (M 26:18), ein ār mez elbark' ewt'n ‘there were seven brothers among us’ (M 22:25). *Ar̄*+Loc often conveys a comitative connotation together with its primary spatial meaning: ew č'ic'en? k'ork'n dora ast ār mez ‘and are not his sisters here with us?’ (Mk 6:3).

When *ar̄* governs the instrumental it mainly denotes the location ‘near’: sksaw owsowc'anel ār covezerbn ‘he began to teach by the seashore’ (Mk 4:1). We find only one instance where this prepositional phrase refers to direction toward an animate object: ew ert'ayin ār novaw ‘and they came up to him’ (Mk 10:35). In one case *ar̄*+Ins indicates a path: anc'anein ār Galileac'wovk'n ‘they passed through Galilee’ (Mk 9:30). This prepositional phrase can be used temporally referring to a certain period marked by somebody’s lifespan: ew bazowm borotk' ein yĪĪ ār Eliseiw margarēiw ‘and there were many lepers in Israel during [the time of] the profit Elisha’ (L 4:27). In two instances the Armenian translator uses *ar̄*+Ins periphrastically to express the meaning ‘ghost’. The construction marks an agent/force here: asen t'e ār ač'awk' inč' ic'ē ‘they said that it must be a ghost (= created by the eyes)’ (M 14:26).

Table 38. Semantic roles of *ar*

		<i>ār</i> +ACC				<i>ār</i> + LOC				<i>ār</i> +GEN			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location					5	2	13	5				
	direction	65	40	37	72								
	path												
	source												
time		1		2	1								

comitative						3	3	5	4				
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/ intermediary	1											
	cause/reason				1					2	1		
recipient		4	1	22	5								
beneficiary													
possession													
purpose												1	
patient		3	1	1									
manner													
topic													
TOTAL		74	42	62	79	8	5	18	9	2	1	1	

		<i>aṛ + INS</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	3	10	3	1
	direction		2		
	path		1		
	source				
time		1		1	
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force	1	1		
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
possession					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		5	14	4	1

4.5 Z-

Several linguists connect this preposition with Goth *ga-* and propose IE **kóm* as its origin (Adjarian 1926 II:882, Preobrazhenskij 1959:239). It governs the accusative, the ablative, the locative, and the instrumental and is inseparable from the following word. It is also found as a

lexicalized prefix in the neuter form of the interrogative pronoun: *zinč'?* *vičeik' zčanaparhayn* and mimeans ‘what were you discussing among each other along the way?’ (Mk 9:33).

The primary semantic role of *z*-+Acc is the denotation of patient (definite direct object):

ārak'em zjez *ibrew zoč'xars i mēj gayloc* ‘I send you like sheep into the middle of wolves’ (M 10:16). This prepositional construction can also have spatial semantics. We find several occurrences of *z*-+Acc denoting directional senses ‘upon’ and ‘into’: *aha etow jez išxanowt'iwn koxel zawjs* ‘lo, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents’ (L 10:19), *ew amenayn ok' zna* *bīnabarē* ‘and everyone presses into it’ (L 16:16). This prepositional phrase can be used to refer to location. In some instances it marks the location ‘on’: *elew xawar kalaw zamenayn erkir* ‘darkness took hold over the whole earth’ (Mk 15:33). When used temporally, *z*-+Acc designates a certain time span throughout which an action happens: *ew zeris awowrs šinel* ‘and to build [it] in three days’ (M 26:61), *yoržam p'akec'ann erkink' zeris ams ew zvec' amis* ‘when the heavens were closed for three years and six months’ (L 4:25). We find only isolated cases where this prepositional phrase denotes purpose or topic: *ew žoľovē zptowł zkeansn yawitenakans* ‘and he gathers fruit for eternal life’ (J 4:36), *ew i tan darjeal ašakertk'n znoyn* *harc'in zna* ‘and in the house the disciples asked him again about the same thing’ (Mk 10:10).

In combinations with the ablative, *z*- mainly refers to topic (often with speech verbs): *ew ziard? greal ē zordwoy mardoy* ‘and how is it written about the son of man?’ (Mk 9:12). This construction is often used to denote the direction ‘against’ (frequently in combinations with speech verbs): or *asē ban zordwoy mardoy* ‘who speaks a word against the son of man’ (L 12:10). In only one instance this prepositional phrase marks the location ‘around’: *et'e vēm erkanak'ar kaxēr zparanoc'ē nora* ‘that a millstone were hung around his neck’ (L 17:2). Occasionally, *z*-+Abl designates patient: *bowr ehar znoc'anē* ‘he touched them’ (M 17:7). In a few instances where it is

time	3	4	3	2									
comitative													
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/ means/ intermediary												
	cause/reason												
recipient													
beneficiary													
possession													
purpose				1									
patient	1195	717	1156	1002	2		3						
manner													
topic					4	5	19	11					
TOTAL	1198	724	1162	1006	16	15	30	13	1		1	1	

		<i>z- + INS</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1	3	5	
	direction	4	2	4	2
	path		1	1	
	source				
time		5	1		
comitative (animate/inanimate)			3		
causal	agent/force			2	
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
possession					
purpose					
patient				1	
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		10	10	13	2

4.6 C'-

The origin of *c'* is problematic. It is sometimes linked to Goth *at* (IE **ad-*) (Adjarian 1926 VI:1035-1036). This preposition takes the accusative and is inseparable from the following word. It primarily designates recipient. This construction is often used with the verbs ‘speak, say’, ‘give’:

bazowmk' asic'en c'is yawowrn yaynmik 'many will say to me in that day' (M 7:22), ew et zna c'mayr iwr 'and he gave him to his mother' (L 7:15). When combined with the verb 'ask' this prepositional phrase indicates patient: harc'anēr c'nosa vasn žamown 'he asked them about the hour' (J 4:52).

Table 40. Semantic roles of c'

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction				
	path				
	source				
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient		158	136	188	186
beneficiary					
possession					
purpose					
patient		7	16	11	10
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		165	152	199	196

4.7 Improper prepositions

The majority of improper prepositions in Classical Armenian take the genitive, although we find several of them governing other cases. In the latter instances improper prepositions represent a combination with a proper preposition that dictates the choice of the case. For example, *minč'(ew) c'*- and *mawt i* take the accusative while *mekowsi i* and *šowrj z-* govern the ablative and the instrumental respectively. The accusative case is the one that is preferred in many instances. Improper

prepositions are sometimes found in the text as free adverbs: ew zinowork'n ekeal **aṙajī**... 'and the soldiers coming up...' (L 23:36).

Classical Armenian improper prepositions are primarily used for denotation of spatial concepts. Thus, *i veray*+Gen mostly marks the directions 'onto', 'against' or the locations 'on, on top of': ew ijanic'en i veray ordwoy mardoy 'and they will descend upon the son of man' (J 1:51), ibrew i veray awazaki elēk' sowserovk' 'you came out with swords as upon (=against) a robber' (Mk 14:48), ew YS vastakeal i čanaparhēn nstēr i veray albern 'and Jesus, weary because of the journey, sat upon the well' (J 4:6). This phrase can refer to location (often metaphorically, linked with the notion of power or authority): oč' owneir dow iṣxanowt'iwn i veray im 'you would not have had power over me' (J 19:11). We also find an example of this prepositional construction denoting a path (the notion of surface is also salient here): gay āṙ nosa gnalov i veray covown 'he came to them by walking along the sea' (Mk 6:48). *I veray*+Gen constitutes an exception to the general tendency of improper prepositions to designate spatial concepts since we find it indicating other more abstract notions such as beneficiary, recipient, or patient: ew alawt's i veray aynoc'ik or llken zjez 'and pray for those who persecute you' (M 5:44), ew i k'ahanayapetowt'ean Anayi ew Kayiap'a elew ban ĀY i veray Yovhannow 'and during the priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas the word of God came to John' (L 3:2), ew hovani elew i veray noc'a 'and it overshadowed them' (L 9:34). Rarely this construction indicates means or topic (maintaining its connection with the concept of surface): ew tesc'en zordi mardoy ekeal i veray ampoc' erknic' 'and they will see the son of man coming upon (=by) the clouds of heaven' (M 24:30), ew amenayn žoḻovowrdn owrax linēr i veray amenayn p'āraworowt'eanc'n 'and all the people rejoiced over all the splendors' (L 13:17).

I nerk'oy+Gen expresses the location 'under': t'e tesi i nerk'oy t'zenwoyn 'that I saw under the fig tree' (J 1:50). The prepositional phrase *aṙajī*+Gen occurs only with spatial functions and

indicates either the location or the direction ‘before’: t’ol zpataragn k’o āraji selanoyn ‘leave your gift before the altar’ (M 5:24), ew tanič’in āraji dataworac’ ew t’agaworac’ ‘and they will bring you before judges and kings’ (L 21:12), ankaw āraji nora ‘she fell before him’ (Mk 7:25). The improper prepositions *ənddēm*, *handēp*, and *yandiman* govern the genitive and are used to refer to the location ‘opposite’: or ənddēm jer kay ‘that is opposite you’ (Mk 11:2), ert’ayk’ dowk’ i geawln or handēp mer kay ‘you go into the village which is opposite us’ (L 19:30), ew minč’ nstēr na i lerinn jit’eneac’ yandiman tačarin ‘and as he was sitting on the Mount of Olives opposite the temple’ (Mk 13:3).

A number of improper prepositions are connected with directional notions. The prepositional phrase *hakarāk*+Gen marks opposite direction: ew amenayn ateann xndrein hakarāk YĪ vkayowt’iwn ‘and the whole court sought testimony against Jesus’ (Mk 14:55). The constructions *minč’(ew) c’* +Acc, *minč’(ew) i*+Acc, and *əndaṛaṣ*+Gen indicate the direction ‘to, up to’: ekayk’ ert’ic’owk’ minč’ew c’Bet’leem ‘come, let’s go to Bethlehem’ (L 2:15), ew acin zna minč’ew yartewann lerinn ‘and they led him to the top of the hill’ (L 4:29), ekin minč’ew āṛ na ‘they came up to him’ (L 4:42), ew aha amenayn k’alak’n el əndaṛaṣ YĪ ‘and behold, the entire city went out before Jesus’ (M 8:34). The prepositional phrases *minč’(ew) c’* +Acc and *minč’(ew) i*+Acc are also used with a temporal function denoting the notion ‘until’: ew and ēṛ minč’ew c’vaxčan Hērovdi ‘and he was there until the death of Herod’ (M 2:15), ew ēṛ yanapats minč’ew yawr ereweloyn nora ĪLĪ ‘and he was in the desert until the day of his manifestation to Israel’ (L 1:80). We find one instance where *minč’ ar*+Loc has a comitative connotation: zi ard erek’ awowrk’ en minč’ āṛ is en ‘because it is now three days that they have been with me’ (Mk 8:2).

The construction *yaynkoys*+Gen (*y-ayn-koys* ‘onto that side’) marks the direction or location ‘beyond, behind’: yet aysorik gnac' YŠ yaynkoys covown ‘after this Jesus went to the other side of the sea’ (J 6:1), ays elew yaynkoys Yordananow ‘this happened on the other side of the Jordan’ (J 1:28). The improper prepositions *zhet* (*z-het*), *zkni* (*z-kni*), and *yets* (*i-hets*) govern the genitive and exclusively denote the direction ‘after’: gnac'in zhet nora ‘they went after him’ (M 4:20), ew gnac'in zkni nora ‘and they went behind him’ (J 1:40), ert' yets im ‘get behind me’ (Mk 8:33). These prepositional phrases are primarily found in combination with verbs meaning ‘go, follow’.

When combined with the genitive, the preposition *p* ‘*oxanak*’ mainly refers to the notion ‘in place of, instead of’: Ark'elaos t'agaworeac' Hrēastani p'oxanak Hēvrodi hawr iwroy ‘Archelaus ruled over Judea in place of his father Herod’ (M 2:22). We also find one example where this phrase has a beneficiary connotation: or p'oxanak bazmac' helow ‘which is poured for many’ (Mk 14:24).

The prepositional phrase *ənd mēj*+Gen can indicate the location notions ‘among’ or ‘around’ and path: zor spanēk' ənd mēj tačarin ew sełanoy ‘whom you killed amidst the sanctuary and the altar’ (M 23:35), Yovhannēs ownēr ... gawti maškelēn ənd mēj iwr ‘John had... a leather belt around him’ (M 3:4), ew na anc'eal ənd mējn noc'a gnayr ‘and passing through (=through the middle of) them he left’ (L 4:30). The construction *i mēj*+Gen often indicates the location ‘in (the middle)’ or ‘among’: kac'oyc' zna i mēj noc'a ‘he put him in the middle of them’ (M 18:2), ew YŠ aynowhetew oč' et'e hamarjak šrjēr i mēj hreic'n ‘and thereafter Jesus did not go openly among the Jews’ (J 11:54). It can also express the direction ‘into (the middle)’: ārak'em zjez ibrew zgārins i mēj gayloc' ‘I send you like sheep into the middle of wolves’ (L 10:3). A temporal function of *i mēj*+Gen is an extension of the spatial one and marks the time ‘in (the middle)’: ov? ē i jēnĵ oroy ic'ē barekam ew ert'ayc'ē ār na i mēj gišeri ‘who is there of you who has a friend and he would go to him in the middle of the

night?’ (L 11:5). Occasionally, this construction expresses a comitative meaning: *ew ārnē hamars i mēj noc'a* ‘and he settles accounts with them’ (M 25:19).

The prepositional phrase *šowrj z-+Ins* expresses the location or direction ‘around’: *ew and žoľovowrdn šowrj znowaw nstēr* ‘and there the crowd was sitting around him’ (Mk 3:32), *ew hayec'eal šowrj zamenek'owmbk'* ‘and looking around them all’ (L 6:10). We find only one instance of *šowrj i+Acc* in which it denotes the direction ‘around’: *zi ert'eal šowrj i geawlsn ew yagaraks...* ‘so that going around the villages and countryside...’ (L 9:12).

The combinations *merj i+Acc*, *merj ar̄+Acc*, and *mawt i+Acc* indicate the location ‘near’: *ew ēr i Bet'ania (M: ø) merj yĒM* ‘and Bethany was near Jerusalem’ (J 11:18), *merj ē ar̄ dows* ‘he is near the gates’ (Mk 13:29), *zi mawt ēr i k'alak'* andr tefin ‘for the place was near the city’ (J 19:20). The prepositional phrase *mawt i+Acc* is also found to refer to direction ‘to, up to’: *ayl nawk'n gayin i Tibereay mawt yayn teli* ‘other boats came from Tiberias to that place’ (J 6:23). The construction *minč'dēr z-+Acc* is used in the text only once expressing a temporal notion: *minč'dēr zgnayr YS* and *ezr covown* ‘while Jesus was walking by the seashore’ (M 4:18).

The improper prepositions *artak'oy* and *ar̄ i* are the only ones that are connected with the concept of source. *Artak'oy+Gen* marks the source ‘from, out of’: *ehan artak'oy šinin* ‘he lead [him] out of the village’ (Mk 8:23). In one instance this prepositional phrase expresses a secondary notion of location ‘outside’: *bayc' Mariam kayr artak'oy gerezmanin* ‘but Mary stood outside of the tomb’ (J 20:11). The combination *ar̄ i+Abl* can indicate the source ‘from’: *t'e ar̄ i k'ēn eli* ‘that I have come from you’ (J 17:8). We also find rare examples where this phrase denotes the location ‘near’, closely

connected with a comitative connotation⁵: ew ayžm p'āraworea zis hayr ār i k'ēn p'ārawk'n 'and now, Father, glorify me near you (=in your presence) with the glory' (J 17:5). *Ār i*+Abl is also found to mark purpose and manner: ār i molorec'owc'aneloy et'e hnar inč' ic'ē ew zntrealn 'in order to lead astray, if it is possible, even the elect' (Mk 13:22), t'e amenayn or hayi i kin mard ār i c'ankanaloy 'that anyone who looks at a woman lustfully' (M 5:28). *Ār i* is sometimes used as a conjunction expressing reason: ār i č'goyē hiwt'oy erkrin 'because it did not have moist earth' (M 13:5).

Yet governs the genitive and is used solely with temporal function, expressing the notion 'after': ew yet vec' awowr ānow ȲS zPetros 'and after six days Jesus took Peter [with him]' (M 17:1). Since Classical Armenian inflects its infinitives (unlike Gothic, Old Church Slavic, or even Biblical Greek that inflects the preceeding article but not the infinitive itself) it is not surprising that *yet* is sometimes combined with the infinitive to express the same concept: ew yet matneloyn Yovhannow ekn ȲS i Gaḷilea 'and after John was betrayed Jesus came to Galilee' (Mk 1:14).

The adposition *handerj* occurs postpositively in the majority of cases, although we find rare instances of its use as a preposition: k'aršein zgorcin handerj jkambn 'they pulled in the net with the fish' (J 21:8). *Handerj* governs the instrumental and mainly expresses a comitative notion: yorowm zpasek'n owtic'em ašakertawk's handerj 'in which I will eat the Passover with my disciples' (L 22:11). In one instance it denotes manner: ibrew ār ȲS zk'ac'axn handerj lēlwovn 'when Jesus took the vinegar with the gall' (J 19:30).

The construction *i jērñ*+Gen can mark either agent or means (intermediary) while *i jēr's*+Gen expresses recipient: zi ayspēs greal ē i jērñ margarēin 'for so it is written by the prophet' (M 2:5),

⁵ See the similar development in the semantics of Gk *παρά*+Dat in section 2.6.

ārak'eac' i jērn ašakertac'n iwroc' 'he sent [it] by means of his disciples' (M 11:2), ew tac'ē zaygin i jērs ayloc' 'and he will give the vineyard to (=into the hands of) others' (Mk 12:9).

Vasn governs the genitive. It is also used as part of a conjunction: **vasn zi** zor inč' asic'ēk' i xawari lseli lic'i i loys 'whatever you say in darkness will be heard in light' (L 12:3). *Vasn*+Gen often denotes topic: bayc' vasn awowrn aynorik ew žamow oč' ok' gitē 'but no one knows about that day and hour' (M 24:36). We find many examples where *vasn*+Gen refers to reason: ew tanic'in āraji dataworac' ew t'agaworac' vasn anowan imoy 'and they will bring [you] before judges and kings because of my name' (L 21:12). *Vasn* is often found with this semantic role in combination with pronouns: vasn aydorik asem jez 'because of this I say to you' (M 6:25). Just as in the case of *yet*+Gen, *vasn*+Gen is regularly found in combination with infinitives: vasn merjanaloyn nora yĒM 'because he was approaching Jerusalem' (L 19:11). Occasionally, *vasn*+Gen indicates beneficiary or manner 'according to': ays ē marmin im or vasn bazmac' towéal 'this is my body that [is] given for many' (L 22:19), ew i šabat'own handartec'in vasn patowiranin 'and on the Sabbath they rested according to the commandment' (L 23:56).

The prepositional phrases *āranc'*+Gen, *t'ol z-*+Acc, and *mekowsi i*+Abl express the concept of absence: or šinic'ē town i veray hołoy āranc' himan 'who builds a house over ground without a foundation' (L 6:49), ew ork' kerann ein ibrew hing hazar t'ol zkanays ew zmankti 'and those who ate were about five thousand without women and children' (M 14:21), matnel zna noc'a mekowsi yamboxē 'to give him to them apart from the crowd' (L 22:6).

In a number of cases improper prepositions become part of more complex constructions involving *k'an z-*. Thus, *āraji k'an z-*+Acc designates the location 'before': ew ert'ayr YŠ āraji k'an znosa 'and Jesus went before them' (Mk 10:32). *Yařař k'an z-*+Acc indicates the temporal notion

‘before’: *zi nax oč' mkrtec'aw yāraĭ k'an zčašn* ‘that he did not wash before the dinner’ (L 11:38). The constructions *artak'oy k'an z-+Acc* and *artak's k'an z-+Acc* refer to the source ‘out of’: *ew āreal hanin zna artak'oy k'an zaygin* ‘and taking [him] they cast him out of the vineyard’ (M 21:39), *zi mi ārak'esc'ē znosa artak's k'an zašxarhn* ‘that he should not send them out of the country’ (Mk 5:10).

4.8 Cases

Classical Armenian inherits all PIE cases with the exception of the vocative. Several semantic roles that are often expressed by prepositional phrases are sometimes designated by nominal constructions.

The primary semantic function of the accusative is denotation of patient (indefinite direct object): *ew hanein nma aptaks* ‘and they gave him slaps (on the cheek)’ (J 19:3). The accusative can also indicate a time period during which a certain action occurs: *ew bazowm žamanaks č'ēr handerj zgec'eal* ‘and for a long time he had not been wearing clothes’ (L 8:27). In less frequent instances the accusative refers to topic: *harc'ic' ew es jez ban mi* ‘and I will ask you about one thing’ (L 20:3). In passages where the accusative indicates manner associated with the notion of distribution the nominal phrase is repeated twice: *ew hramayec' noc'a bazmel eraxans eraxans i veray dalar xotoy* ‘and he ordered them to sit down in groups upon the green grass’ (Mk 6:39).

The genitive often expresses a possessive meaning: *ārin osts armaweneac'* ‘they took branches of palm trees’ (J 12:13). It is frequently found with partitive function: *ew i k'alak'ēn yaynmanē Samarac'woc' bazowmk' hawatac'in i na* ‘and many of the Samaritans from that city believed in him’ (J 4:39). It is also used in constructions indicating somebody’s age: *ew ēr ayri amac' ibrew owt'sown ew č'oric'* ‘and she was a widow of about eighty four years’ (L 2:37). The genitive can denote source specifying the notion ‘out of’ or simply marking a separation: *hac' erknic' et noc'a owtel* ‘he gave them bread from heaven to eat’ (J 6:3), *zp'oši otic' jeroc' t'awt'ap'esjik' i vkayowt'iwn*

noc'a 'shake off the dust from your feet for a testimony to them' (L 9:5). Occasionally, the genitive indicates the location 'on, over': or parhein zparhpanowt'iwns gišerwoy hawtic' iwreanc' 'who kept night watch over their flocks' (L 2:8). The genitive denotes the location 'in place of' in constructions that designate price: oč' apak'ēn erkow čnčłowkk' dangi? mioj vačārin 'are not two sparrows sold for one small coin?' (M 10:29). Finally, the genitive may sometimes denote cause or agent: vay ašxarhi gayt'agłowt'eanc' 'woe to the world because of temptations' (M 18:7), ew ard oč' inč' mahow aržani ē gorceal dora 'and nothing deserving death has been done by him' (L 23:15).

The dative mainly denotes recipient (often with speech verbs) or beneficiary: orpēs patmec'aw noc'a 'as it was told to them' (L 2:20), zi nawak mi patrastakan kayc'ē nma 'so that a boat should be prepared for him' (Mk 3:9). It can also mark the directions 'to', 'onto', and 'against' or metaphorically indicate the location 'over': ew matowc'i zna ašakertac'n k'oc' 'and I brought him to your disciples' (M 17:16), dnic'ē nma jērn 'he would put [his] hand onto her' (Mk 5:23), ew et'e ewt'n angam melic'ē k'ez 'and if he sins against you seven times' (L 17:4), et noc'a išxanowt'iwn aysoc' plcoc' 'he gave them authority over unclean spirits' (M 10:1). We also find rare occurrences of dative nominal phrases indicating patient, purpose, manner, or having a comitative value: or barkanay elbawr iwrowm 'who is angry at his brother' (M 5:22), oč' imik' azdic'ē aynowhetew 'it is good for nothing after that' (M 5:13), dmin awrinaki ārnein margarēic'n hark' iwreanc' 'in that same way their fathers treated the prophets' (L 6:23), ew ark verjs mšakac'n awowrn dahekan 'he agreed with the laborers on a denarius a day' (M 20:2).

The instrumental case is closely connected with causative meanings. It often denotes means or agent: ew gnač'in nawow yanapat teli 'and they went by boat into a lonely place' (Mk 6:32), kataresc'in amenayn grealk'n margarēik' (M: margarēiwk') vasn ordwoy mardoy 'all the writings by the prophets about the son of man will be fulfilled' (L 18:31). Comitative meaning is also common

for instrumental nominal phrases: isk $\overline{Y\bar{S}}$ ašakertawk'n iwrovk' gnac' i covezrn 'Jesus went to the seashore with his disciples' (Mk 3:7). Through a metonymic extension the instrumental comes to indicate manner: ew zčanaparhn $\overline{A\bar{Y}}$ čšmartowt'eamb owsowc'anes 'and you teach the way of God truthfully' (M 22:16). Although the instrumental rarely conveys spatial semantics we find several occurrences of this construction denoting the location 'in', the direction 'into', or path: minč'ew tesanic'en zordi mardoy ekeal ark'ayowt'eamb iwrov 'until they will see the son of man coming in his kingdom' (M 16:28), yoržam gayc'es ark'ayowt'eamb k'ov 'when you come into your kingdom' (L 23:42), zi ekn Yovhannēs čanaparhaw ardarowt'ean 'for John has come through the way of righteousness' (M 21:32).

The locative and the ablative occur rarely outside of prepositional constructions. In such instances the locative signifies the notions 'in' or 'over': t'e margarē omn mec yarowc'eal miji merowm 'a great prophet has arisen in our midst' (L 7:16), Ark'ēlaos t'agaworeac' Hrēastani 'Archelaus ruled over Judea' (M 2:22). The locative can also indicate a certain period of time: apa t'e ok' gnay gišeri 'but if anyone walks at night' (J 11:10). In one instance a locative form is doubled to mark a repeated time: ew ert'ayin cnawlk' nora ami ami y $\overline{E\bar{M}}$ 'and his parents went to Jerusalem year after year' (L 2:41). The ablative signals source or a point in time from which some action starts: mi p'oxic'ik' tanē i town 'do not go from house to house' (L 10:7), ew ołormowt'iwn nora azgac' yazgs erkiwłacac' iwroc' 'and his mercy extends from generation to generation to [those] fearing him' (L 1:50).

4.9 Conclusions

All the semantic roles of proper and improper prepositions and nominal phrases can be summarized in the following table:

❖ space:

➤ location:

- ‘within’:
 - ‘inside’: ***i+Loc***, *i+Acc*, *ənd+Acc*, *ənd+Loc*, *z-+Ins*, *aṛ+Acc*, *Ins*, *Loc*
 - ‘among’: *i+Loc*, *i+Abl*, *aṛ+Loc*, *ənd+Acc*, *ənd+Loc*, *ənd mēj+Gen*, *i mēj+Gen*
- ‘on the surface, over’: ***i veray+Gen***, *i+Loc*, *ənd+Acc*, *z-+Acc*, *Gen*, *Dat*, *Loc*
- ‘under, beneath’: *ənd+Ins*, *i nerk‘oy+Gen*
- ‘near’: *i+Abl*, *ənd+Abl*, *aṛ+Loc*, *aṛ+Ins*, *aṛ i+Abl*, *merj i+Acc*, *merj aṛ+Acc*, *mawt i+Acc*, *artak‘oy+Gen*
- ‘around’: *ənd+Acc*, *z-+Abl*, *z-+Ins*, *ənd mēj+Gen*, *šowrj z-+Ins*
- ‘in place of’: *i+Acc*, ***ənd+Gen***, *p‘oxanak+Gen*, *Gen*
- ‘before’: *aṛaṛj+Gen*
- ‘after, beyond’: *yaynkoys+Gen*
- ‘opposite’: *ənddēm+Gen*, *handēp+Gen*, *yandiman+Gen*

➤ direction:

- ‘to, into’: ***i+Acc***, *i+Abl*, *ənd+Acc*, *z-+Acc*, *i mēj+Gen*, *Ins*
- ‘onto’: ***i veray+Gen***, *i+Acc*, *ənd+Acc*, *ənd+Dat*, *z-+Acc*, *z-+Loc*, *Dat*
- ‘under’: *ənd+Ins*
- ‘to (near), up to’: ***aṛ+Acc***, *i+Acc*, *aṛ+Ins*, *minč‘(ew) c‘-+Acc*, *minč‘(ew) i+Acc*, *minč‘(ew) aṛ+Acc*, *ənd aṛaṛj+Gen*, *mawt i+Acc*, *Dat*
- ‘against’: *i+Acc*, *z-+Abl*, *z-+Loc*, *i veray+Gen*, *hakaṛak+Gen*, *Dat*
- ‘before’: *aṛaṛj k‘an z-+Acc*
- ‘after, beyond’: *yaynkoys+Gen*, *zhet+Gen*, *zkni+Gen*, *yets+Gen*

- ‘around’: *z-*+Ins, *šowrj* *z-*+Ins
- source:
 - ‘from, out of’: *i*+Abl, *ənd*+Acc, *artak* ‘oy+Gen, *aṛ* *i*+Abl, *artak* ‘oy *k* ‘an *z-*+Acc, *artak* ‘s *k* ‘an *z-*+Acc, Gen, Abl
 - ‘away from’: *i*+Abl, Gen
 - partitive: *i*+Abl, Gen
- path: *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Acc, *aṛ*+Ins, *z-*+Ins, *i veray*+Gen, *ənd mēj*+Gen, Ins
- ❖ time:
 - ‘within’:
 - ‘during’: *i*+Abl, *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Acc, *əst*+Loc, *aṛ*+Acc, *z-*+Acc, *i mēj*+Gen, *minč* ‘*deṛ* *z-*+Acc, Acc, Loc
 - ‘during the time of somebody’: *aṛ*+Ins
 - ‘before’: *yaṛaj* *k* ‘an *z-*+Acc
 - ‘after’: *i*+Loc, *əst*+Abl, *yet*+Gen
 - ‘from’: *i*+Abl, Abl
 - ‘until’: *i*+Acc, *minč* ‘(ew) *c* ‘-+Acc, *minč* ‘(ew) *i*+Acc
 - ‘near, about’: *z-*+Ins
- ❖ comitative: *ənd*+Loc, *handerj*+Ins, *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Ins, *ənd*+Dat, *aṛ*+Loc, *z-*+Ins, *minč* ‘(ew) *aṛ*+Loc, *i mēj*+Gen, *aṛ* *i*+Abl, Dat, Ins
- ❖ absence: *aṛanc*+Gen, *t* ‘ol *z-*+Gen, *mekowsi* *i*+Abl
- ❖ causal:
 - agent/force: *i*+Abl, *aṛ*+Ins, *z-*+Ins, *i jeṛn*+Gen, Gen, Ins

- instrument/means/intermediary: *i*+Abl, *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Dat, *ar̄*+Acc, *i jer̄n*+Gen, **Ins**
- cause/reason: ***vasn*+Gen**, *i*+Abl, *ənd*+Acc, *ar̄*+Acc, *ar̄*+Gen, Gen
- ❖ recipient: ***c*'**+Acc, *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Acc, *ənd*+Loc, *ar̄*+Acc, *i veray*+Gen, *i jer̄s*+Gen, **Dat**
- ❖ beneficiary: *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Gen, *vasn*+Gen, *i veray*+Gen, *p'oxanak*+Gen
- ❖ possession: *i*+Abl, **Gen**
- ❖ purpose: *i*+Acc, *z*-+Acc, *ar̄*+Gen, *ar̄ i*+Abl, Dat
- ❖ patient: ***z***-+Acc, *z*-+Abl, *z*-+Ins, *i*+Abl, *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Acc, *ənd*+Loc, *ar̄*+Acc, *c*' +Acc, *i veray*+Gen, **Acc**, Dat
- ❖ manner: *i*+Abl, *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc, *əst*+Abl, *vasn*+Gen, *handerj*+Ins, *i veray*+Gen, *ar̄ i*+Abl, Acc, Dat, Ins
- ❖ topic: ***vasn*+Gen**, *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc, *ənd*+Acc, *ənd*+Gen, *əst*+Dat, *əst*+Loc, *z*-+Acc, *z*-+Abl, *i veray*+Gen, Acc

Classical Armenian is remarkable for its small number of proper prepositions. Therefore, proper prepositions have to be combined with a greater number of cases in order to compensate for this shortage and provide the means for the denotation of various semantic roles typical for prepositional phrases. Indeed, we find that Classical Armenian proper prepositions can take up to six cases while in Greek or Gothic the maximum number of cases governed by one preposition is three (cf. Gk *παρά*, Goth *in*). These conditions make possible an extreme situation where one preposition in combination with different cases comes to express almost all significant prepositional semantic functions. Such is the case with *i* which is used to denote spatial, temporal, comitative, possessive, and causal notions as well as recipient, beneficiary, purpose, patient, manner, and topic.

A further consequence of the scarcity of proper prepositions is that a greater number of improper prepositions are employed to fill in the remaining semantic gaps. In fact, some of the improper prepositions seem to occupy an intermediate position between proper and improper since they are not found any more as free adverbs and come to denote other, more abstract notions (e.g. *i veray*+Gen). Classical Armenian improper prepositions can govern cases other than the genitive (e.g. *handerj*+Ins, *mawt i*+Acc). Many of the improper prepositions represent a combination of proper prepositions or a proper preposition in combination with another part of speech (e.g. *ar̄ i*+Abl, *artak'oy k'an z*+Acc, *ənd mēj*+Gen).

Semantic functions generally associated with prepositions are not distributed evenly between prepositional and nominal phrases. On the one hand, we find concepts that can be represented in a number of ways; for example, the source notion 'out of' can be expressed by both proper (*i*+Abl) and improper prepositions (*artak'oy*+Gen, *ar̄ i*+Abl, *artak'oy k'an z*+Acc, *artak's k'an z*+Acc) as well as by nominal phrases (the genitive, the ablative). On the other hand, several notions have only one manner of expression; for example, the temporal notion 'about, near' can be indicated only by *z*+Ins. A semantic field can be dominated by a proper or improper preposition as well as by a nominal phrase. Thus, the construction *i*+Loc is the primary means of designating the value 'in, inside'; the improper preposition *i veray*+Gen determines the idea 'on the surface, over' while the instrumental is the fundamental exponent of means. Some notions that have only one manner of representation in Greek and Gothic can be designated by various means in Classical Armenian. For example, while the concept 'around' is indicated only by *περί*+Acc in Greek and *bi*+Acc in Gothic, in Classical Armenian it can be expressed by a range of constructions with proper (*ənd*+Acc, *z*+Abl, *z*+Ins) or improper (*ənd mēj*+Gen, *šowrj z*+Ins) prepositions.

Finally, variation between prepositional phrases used in the two analyzed Armenian manuscripts is common. Thus, the source value can be expressed by *i*+Abl or *ar̄ i*+Abl: hnarawork' en yĀY (ms. E) and hnarawork' en ār i yĀY (ms. M) 'they are possible from (=on the part of) God' (L 18:27); *i veray*+Gen may alternate with *vasn*+Gen when denoting topic: barwok' margarēac'aw i veray jer Ēsayi (ms. M) and barwok' margarēac'aw vasn jer Ēsayi (ms. E) 'well did Isaiah prophesy about you' (M 15:7). We also find various treatments of parallel passages in the individual gospels: gnac'in zhet nora 'they went after him' (Mk 1:20), et'e ok' kami gal zkni im 'if one wants to go after me' (Mk 8:34).

CHAPTER 5

OLD CHURCH SLAVIC PREPOSITIONS

5.1 ZA

Za has a problematic origin. Some scholars relate it to Arm *z-* (Pokorny 1959 I:451-452) while others are hesitant about this comparison (Vasmer 1986 II:69). *Za* governs the accusative, the instrumental, and the genitive. It is also found as a preverb: *i ta začětŭ syna vŭ starostŭ svojŭ* ‘and that one has conceived a son in her old age’ (L 1:36). *Za* is a constituent of the adverb *zadi* and the conjunction *zanje*: *i stavŭši zadi pri nogu jego* ‘and standing behind near his foot’ (L 7:38), *zanje ne věrova slovesimŭ moimŭ* ‘because you did not believe my words’ (L 1:20).

When combined with the accusative, *za* mainly indicates reason: *za ta děla věro jemljate mi* ‘because of those works have faith in me’ (J 14:11). Denotation of beneficiary is also common for this construction: *i molite za tvorešteje vamŭ napastŭ* ‘and pray for [those] causing troubles to you’ (M 5:44). Occurrences of *za*+Acc with spatial semantics, thought to be original for this preposition (Xaburgaeu 1974:349), are rare. We find only a few instances of this construction referring to the location ‘in place of’: *oko za oko i zŭbŭ za zŭbŭ* ‘an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth’ (M 5:38). This concept is connected with the notion ‘behind’ that is thought to be the original meaning of *za*. *Za*+Acc can also indicate an area of contact: *i imŭ za rŭko otročete* ‘and he took the girl by the hand’ (Mk 5:41). This usage of *za* reflects its original semantics, marking the specific way of grabbing something; in the given example the hand is taken from behind.

Cases where *za* takes the instrumental or the genitive are rare in the canonical gospels.

Za+Ins designates ‘behind’ as a directional notion: *idi za mŭnojo soto* ‘go behind me, Satan’ (L

4:8). *Za*+Gen is found only in the temporal construction meaning ‘before morning’: vŭskrīsŭ že Iisusŭ za utra ‘and Jesus rose before morning’ (Mk 16:9).

Table 41. Semantic roles of *za*

		<i>za</i> +ACC				<i>za</i> +INS				<i>za</i> +GEN			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	6	6	1	1								
	direction					1	1	1					
	path												
	source												
time											2		2
comitative													
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/ intermediary												
	cause/reason	6	4	4	13								
recipient													
beneficiary		3	3	3	11								
possessor													
purpose													
patient													
manner													
topic													
TOTAL		15	13	8	25	1	1	1			2		2

5.2 PO

This preposition originates from IE * (*a*)*po* and is related to Gk *ἀπό* and Goth *af* (Watkins 2000:5, Vasmer 1987 III:292-293). It takes the dative, the accusative, and the locative. It is also commonly used as a preverb: **posŭla** i kŭ Irodu ‘he sent him to Herod’ (L 23:7).

When combined with the dative, *po* primarily expresses spatial semantics, denoting the location ‘in’ or ‘over’, often with an emphasis that an action occurs in every part of a landmark (distributive sense): i bŏdŏtŭ trŏsi po mĕsta ‘there will be earthquakes in place after place’ (Mk 13:8), i tĭma bystŭ po vĭsei zemli do godiny devĕtyjĕ ‘and darkness was over the whole earth till the ninth hour’ (L 23:44). *Po* has similar spatial meaning in the construction ‘in the middle’: korablĭ že

bě po srědě morja vŭlaję sę vŭlnami ‘and the ship was in the middle of the sea, beaten by waves’ (M 14:24). *Po*+Dat also expresses direction, specifying the meanings ‘after, behind’ (often with the verb ‘follow’) or ‘into’: i mŭnogŭ narodŭ otŭ Galileję po njemŭ ide ‘and many people from Galilee went after him’ (Mk 3:7), i povrĭgŭ i bęsŭ po srědě ‘and the demon threw him into the middle’ (L 4:35). This construction is often used to indicate path or an area of contact: uzĭręšę Iisusa xodęšta po morju ‘they saw Jesus walking on the sea’ (J 6:19), i bĭjaaxŭ i po glavě ‘and they beat him on the head’ (M 27:30).

When used temporally, *po*+Dat denotes ‘after’, extending one of the spatial roles of this phrase: i ne po mŭnogu drugyi viděvŭ i... ‘and another, having seen him not after much [time]...’ (L 22:58). Less frequently, this prepositional phrase is used to indicate patient (with a distributive connotation), means, or reason: prijęšę po pĕnędzju ‘they received a denarius each’ (M 20:9), i ašte kŭto poimetŭ tę po silě popĭrište jedino, idi sŭ n’imĭ dŭvĕ ‘and if someone makes you by force [to go] one mile, go with him two’ (M 5:41) jako Mousi po žĭstosrĭdĭju vašemu povelĕ vam ‘that Moses allowed you because of your hardheartedness’ (M 19:8). *Po*+Dat sometimes signals various types of manner: po vĕřę vaju bŭdi vama ‘according to your faith let it be to you’ (M 9:29), jako po oblasti duxomŭ nečistyimŭ velitŭ ‘that with authority he orders unclean spirits’ (Mk 1:27).

Po takes the accusative often in combination with pronouns to denote reason or manner: po čĭto sŭ mytary i gręšĭniky učitelĭ vašĭ jastŭ? ‘why does your teacher eat with tax collectors and sinners?’ (M 9:11), po nježe ne razumĕ vrĕmene posęštenĭju tvojemu ‘because you did not know the time for your visitation’ (L 19:44), po nježe sŭtvoriste jedinomu otŭ sixŭ bratrŭ moixŭ mĭnĭšiixŭ ‘according to what you did to one of the least of these my brothers’ (M 25:40). This phrase can also have a temporal function: po vĭsę dĭni sŭštju mi sŭ vami ‘when I was with you every day’ (L 22:53).

The value ‘after’, primarily as a temporal notion, is essential for the semantics of *po*+Loc: jako po dŭvoju dĭnu pasxa bŭdetŭ ‘for after two days it will be Passover’ (M 26:2). This meaning is

often seen in combination with a deictic: *po semĩ* avi sę paky Iisusũ učenikomũ svoimũ ‘after this Jesus again appeared to his disciples’ (J 21:1). Spatial meaning is less common for this prepositional phrase. We find only rare instances of this construction designating the directional notion ‘after’: *po njemĩ* idete ‘and they [both] went after him’ (Mk 1:20). *Po+Loc* can also refer to beneficiary or manner: *po vasũ* jestũ ‘he is for you’ (Mk 9:40), *po sixũ* bo tvorjaaxq prorokomũ otĩci ixũ ‘for according to this their fathers did to the prophets’ (L 6:23).

Table 42. Semantic roles of *po*

		<i>po+DAT</i>				<i>po+ACC</i>				<i>po+LOC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	9	7	12	7								
	direction	14	14	15	19						1		
	path	6	5	8	2								
	source												
time			1	1	1	1	1	3		10	14	15	19
comitative													
causal	agent/force												
	instrument/means/intermediary				3								
	cause/reason	3	1	2		7	3	6	4				
recipient													
beneficiary											1	1	
possession													
purpose													
patient		2											
manner		7	3	20	4						1	1	
topic													
TOTAL		41	31	58	36	8	4	9	4	10	16	17	19

5.3 O/OBŮ

O/obũ continues both IE **obhi* and **opi/epi* which fell together in Old Church Slavic and is cognate in part of its usage with Gk *ἐπί* (Pokorny 1959 I:323-325, Vasmer 1987 III:96). This preposition governs the locative and the accusative and is sometimes found as a preverb: *i oblěšę i vũ rizy svoję* ‘and they put him into his own clothes’ (Mk 15:20).

When *o/obŭ* takes the locative it can denote the locations ‘around’, ‘over’ (metaphorically), or the direction ‘around’: *i sĕdĕaše o njemĭ narodŭ* ‘and people were sitting around him’ (Mk 3:32), *i strĕgŏšte stražŏ noštĭnŏjŏ o stadĕ svojemĭ* ‘and keeping night watch over their flock’ (L 2:8), *ašte obložĕtŭ kamenĭ žřĭnovĭny i o vy i jeho* ‘if they put a millstone around his neck’ (Mk 9:42).

The denotation of a topic appears to be the main semantic function of *o/obŭ*+Loc: *ponježe ubo mŭnodzi načĕsĕ ĉiniti povĕstĭ o izvĕstĭnyixŭ vŭ nasŭ veštĭxŭ* ‘since many now have already begun to compile a narrative about the events fulfilled among us’ (L 1:1). This prepositional phrase is often used in causal roles. We find examples of *o/obŭ*+Loc referring to agent, means, or reason: *i sego radi sily dĕjŏtŭ sĕ o njemĭ* ‘because of this miracles are done by him’ (M 14:2), *ne o xlbĕĕ jedinomĭ živŭ bŏdetŭ ĉlovĕkŭ, nŭ o vĭsjakomĭ glagolĕ* ‘man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word’ (M 4:4), *onŭ že drĕselŭ byvŭ o slovese...* ‘and he having become sorrowful because of this word...’ (Mk 10:22). In particular in the Gospel of John, this construction is often used to indicate means ‘by oneself’: *ne možetŭ synŭ tvoriti o sebě niĉesože* ‘the Son can do nothing by himself’ (J 5:19).

Less frequently, *o/obŭ*+Loc indicates patient, recipient, or purpose: *o tebě blagovolixŭ* ‘I am pleased with you’ (Mk 1:11), *dĕlo bo dobro sŭdĕla o mĭnĕ* ‘for she did a good thing to me’ (M 26:10), *si bolĕznĭ nĕstĭ kŭ sŭmrŭti nŭ o slavĕ božĭi* ‘this sickness is not for death but for the glory of God’ (J 11:4). We also find several instances where this construction expresses manner or has a possessive meaning: *iže sŭtvoritŭ silŏ o imeni mojemĭ* ‘who will perform a miracle in my name’ (Mk 9:39), *vĭsjakŏ rozgŏ o mĭnĕ ne tvorĕštŏjŏ ploda* ‘every branch of mine not bearing fruit’ (J 15:2).

O/obŭ +Acc occurs less often in the canonical gospels. It can denote the locations ‘near’ and ‘on’: *da jedinŭ o desnojŏ i jedinŭ o šjujŏ tebe sĕdevĕ* ‘let us sit, one at your right hand and one at your left hand’ (Mk 10:37), *byšĕ ob onŭ polŭ Iordana* ‘they were on the other side of the Jordan’ (J

1:28). Occasionally, *o/obů* +Acc expresses the direction ‘onto’ or ‘against’: *i pride vů přěděly Ijuděisky obů onů polů Iordana* ‘and he came into the regions of Judea, onto the other side of the Jordan’ (M 19:1), *da ne kogda přetůkneši o kameně nogy tvojeje* ‘so that you never strike your foot against a stone’ (M 4:6). *O/obů* +Acc can also be used with a temporal function marking some period of time: *obů noště vřso trůžděse se ne jeřomů ničesože* ‘having worked during the whole night we have taken nothing’ (L 5:5).

Table 43. Semantic roles of *o/obů*

		<i>o/obů</i> +LOC				<i>o/obů</i> +ACC			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1	6	7	1	9	8	5	5
	direction		1			2		1	
	path								
	source								
time								2	
comitative									
causal	agent/force	4		1					
	instrument/means/ intermediary	5	2	8	18				
	cause/reason	1	1	2	7				
recipient		2	1						
beneficiary									
possession					1				
purpose				1	1				
patient		6	3	2					
manner			1	1	1				
topic		31	23	59	59				
TOTAL		50	38	81	88	11	8	8	5

5.4 SŮ

The origin of *sů* is not clear. It may be cognate with Greek *σύν* ‘with’ but some of its meanings may be equated with Latin *cum* ‘id.’ (Vasmer 1987 III:539-540). It governs the instrumental and the genitive. *Sů* is often found as a preverb: *kolě kratů sůgrěřitů bratrů moi vů me?* ‘how many times will my brother sin against me?’ (M 18:21).

Comitative value is primary for *sŭ*+Ins: i iny že ladīje bēaxo sŭ nimī ‘and other ships were with him’ (Mk 4:36), pride tamo sŭ svētilīnīky ‘he came there with lanterns’ (J 18:3). Other semantic roles are secondary extensions from the comitative function. We find one example of this phrase with spatial semantics denoting the location ‘among’: čito ištete živajego sŭ mrītvyimi? ‘why do you look for a living one among the dead?’ (L 24:5). *Sŭ*+Ins often expresses recipient in combinations with speech verbs: i glagoljei sŭ tobojo tŭ jestŭ ‘and he is speaking to you’ (J 9:37). This prepositional phrase is also used to indicate means or manner: i grędŏšta sŭ oblaky nebesīskyimi ‘and coming with the clouds of heaven’ (Mk 14:62), jako sŭ vlastījo bě slovo jeho ‘for his word was with authority’ (L 4:32).

Sŭ+Gen is not as frequent as *sŭ*+Ins and primarily occurs with spatial function, denoting the ablative notion ‘out of’ or marking a starting point of some action: Simonu kurinjaninu, grędŏštju sŭ sela ‘when Simon of Cyrene was going out of the field’ (Mk 15:21), i opona crīkŭvīnaja razdŭra sę na dŭvoje sŭ vyše do niže ‘and the church curtain was torn in two from top to bottom’ (Mk 15:38). It repeatedly indicates downward motion away from a source in the phrase ‘from heaven’: da ognī sŭnidetŭ sŭ nebesē ‘that fire shall come down from heaven’ (L 9:54). In one instance *sŭ*+Gen possesses a causal role indicating reason: Iisusŭ že truždī sę sŭ pŏti sędęaše tako na studenīci (ms. Ni) ‘and Jesus having become tired because of the journey was sitting thus on the well’ (J 4:6).

Table 44. Semantic roles of *sŭ*

		<i>sŭ</i> +INS				<i>sŭ</i> +GEN			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location			1					
	direction								
	path								
	source					15	12	19	21
time									
comitative		64	48	80	42				

causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/ intermediary	3	1	1					
	cause/reason								1
recipient		1	2	5	4				
beneficiary									
possession									
purpose									
patient									
manner		6	4	11					
topic									
TOTAL		74	55	98	46	15	12	19	22

5.5 VŮ(N)

Vů(n) originates from PIE **en* with an apparent ablaut variant **on* unknown outside of Slavic (Pokorny 1959 I:311-2) and has cognate prepositions in many IE languages, including Gk *ἐν*, Arm *i*, and Goth *in*. It takes the accusative and the locative and is often found as a preverb: i jegda **vŭnide** vŭ domŭ ‘and when he went into the house’ (M 17:25).

When combined with the accusative, this preposition mainly denotes direction ‘into’: idi **vŭ zemljŭ Izdrailjevo** ‘go into the land of Israel’ (M 2:20). This construction expresses also abstract direction in statements about clothes or transformations: i **vŭ rizo přeprodŭno** oblěšę i ‘and they put him into a purple robe’ (J 19:2), i bystŭ **vŭ dřęvo velję** ‘and it became a big tree’ (L 13:19). Occasionally, *vů(n)*+Acc signifies the directional notions ‘onto’ and ‘against’: ide **vŭ gorŭ** ‘he went onto the mountain’ (Mk 6:46), kolŭ kratŭ sŭgrěšitŭ bratrŭ moi **vŭ mę** ‘how many times will my brother sin against me’ (M 18:21). *Vů(n)*+Acc repeatedly marks an area of contact: bŭjŭštŭjemu tę **vŭ desnjŭjŭ lanito** ‘to the one hitting you on the right cheek’ (L 6:29).

Vů(n)+Acc is sometimes used temporally to mark the time when a certain action happens: i abję **vŭ soboty** na sŭnŭmišti učaašę ję ‘and soon on the Sabbaths he was teaching them in the synagogue’ (Mk 1:21). Rarely, it occurs with causal functions. Thus, we find infrequent instances

where it denotes means or reason: vũ njože měro měrite... ‘by which measure you measure...’ (Mk 4:24), jako pokajašę sę vũ propovědi Ionino ‘for they repented because of the preaching of John’ (L 11:32).

Sometimes the directional value of *vũ(n)+Acc* is extended to indicate recipient or purpose: i vĩaja dastũ vũ ročě jegu ‘and he gave everything into his hands’ (J 3:35), izxodite vũ sũrětenĩje jemu ‘come out to meet him!’ (M 25:6). This construction rarely designates topic: i vėruite vũ evanhelĩe ‘and believe in the gospel’ (Mk 1:15). When denoting manner, *vũ(n)+Acc* can express such meanings as ‘truthfully’ or ‘in the name of’: i pęti božiju vũ istino učiši ‘and you teach the ways of God truthfully’ (M 22:16), azũ pridũ vũ ime otĩca mojego ‘I have come in the name of my Father’ (J 5:43).

The location meaning ‘in’ is primary for *vũ(n)+Loc*: otĩci naši jase mannę vũ pustyni ‘our fathers ate manna in the desert’ (J 6:31). This sense is also seen in assertions about clothes: i vidě dũva anxela vũ bělaxũ rizaxũ sědęšta ‘and he saw two angels sitting in white clothes’ (J 20:12). Commonly, *vũ(n)+Loc* signifies ‘among’: bě že vũ nasũ sedmĩ bratrĩje ‘and there were seven brothers among us’ (M 22:25). The comitative value associated with this phrase is a semantic extension from the local sense ‘among’: do kolě vũ vasũ będq? ‘till when shall I be among you?’ (Mk 9:19). Directional value is rare for *vũ(n)+Loc*: i praxũ prilĩpũšii nasũ otũ grada vašego vũ nogaxũ našixũ otũtręsajemũ vamũ ‘and we shake off to you the dust from your city adhering to us, onto our feet’ (L 10:11).

Vũ(n)+Loc may sometimes be used temporally to denote a certain period of time: vũskrĩšũ že Iisusũ za utra vũ prĩvyi sębotě ‘and Jesus arose early on the first Sabbath’ (Mk 16:9). It is also attested in causal function referring to means or reason: jako vy mũnite vũ nixũ iměti životũ vęčĩnyi ‘for you think to have an eternal life through them’ (J 5:39), vũ čemĩ gybělĩ si xrizmĩnaja bystũ? ‘for

what was the waste of this ointment?’ (Mk 14:4). It infrequently indicates purpose, manner, or topic:

vũ životě věčnĕjemĭ sũxranitũ jŕ ‘he will keep it for eternal life’ (J 12:25), xodeřta vũ zapovědĭxũ

vĭsĕxũ ‘walking according to all the commandments’ (L 1:6), čĭto vũ pročiixũ pečete se? (ms. Zo)

‘why are you anxious about the rest?’ (L 12:26).

Table 45. Semantic roles of *vũ(n)*

		<i>vũ(n)</i> + <i>ACC</i>				<i>vũ(n)</i> + <i>LOC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	1		2	1	112	74	145	120
	direction	144	111	164	86			1	1
	path								
	source								
time		54	31	79	45	2	1	6	4
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means /intermediary		1		1	4	4	5	3
	cause/reason			1		1	1		
recipient					1				
beneficiary									
possession									
purpose		8	5	10	3			1	1
patient									
manner		14	11	14	20	3		7	1
topic		1	2		37			2	
TOTAL		222	161	271	194	122	80	167	130

5.6 NA

Na continues PIE **(a)nō* ‘on’ (Pokorny 1959 I:39-40) and is cognate with Gk *ἀνά* and Goth *ana*. This preposition governs the accusative and the locative and often occurs as a preverb: se daxũ vamũ vlastĭ **nastopati** na zmĭjĕ ‘behold, I gave you power to step upon serpents’ (L 10:19).

When combined with the accusative, *na* mainly denotes the direction ‘onto, upon’ connected with the concept of surface: togda sŕštei vũ Ijudĕi da bĕgajŕtũ na gory ‘then let the ones in Judea flee

onto the mountains' (M 24:16). Less frequently *na*+Acc signals the directions 'against' (often with speech verbs) or 'into': a iže ašte vlasfimisæetŭ na svetyi duxŭ 'but the one who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit' (Mk 3:29), člověkŭ jeterŭ dobra roda ide na stranu daleče 'some nobleman went into a far country' (L 19:12). This construction can also signify 'to, up to': do ideže vŭzvedetŭ na pobědo sŭdŭ 'till he brings justice to victory' (M 12:20), približi sę na vy cēsariŭstvije božije 'the kingdom of God has come near you' (L 10:9).

We find only one case where *na*+Acc denotes the location 'on': i kameni naležaaše na njo (ms. Sa) 'and a stone lay on it' (J 11:38). This phrase is sometimes used temporally to denote a certain period of time: būdite ubo na viŭjako vrěmę 'but stay awake the whole time' (L 21:36). When combined with verbs of emotions, *na*+Acc can indicate patient, a semantic role derivable from its directional meaning: na mę li gněvajte sę? 'are you angry with me?' (J 7:23). Occasionally, *na*+Acc expresses recipient, beneficiary, or purpose: jako mira pridŭ dati na zemljo 'for I came to give peace to the earth' (L 12:51), jako tŭ blagŭ jestŭ na nevŭzblagodětinyje i zŭlyje 'for he is kind to the ungrateful and selfish' (L 6:35), se ležitŭ sŭ na padanije i na vŭstanije mŭnogomŭ vŭ Izdraili 'behold, he is set for the falling and raising up of many in Israel' (L 2:34). We also find rare instances where this construction refers to means, topic, and manner: ne sŭdite na lica 'do not judge by appearances' (J 7:24), ne pŭčete sę ubo na utrěi 'do not worry about tomorrow' (M 6:24), i vŭzlegŭ na lěxy na lěxy po sŭtu i po pęti desętŭ 'and they sat down in groups, by hundreds and by fifties' (Mk 6:40).

Na+Loc primarily expresses the locations 'on' or 'over', although we find instances in which it signifies 'in': i dęti moję sŭ mŭnojo na loži sŭtŭ 'and my children are with me on the bed' (L 11:7), dastŭ imŭ vlasti na dusęxŭ nečistyixŭ 'he gave them authority over evil spirits' (M 10:1), bystŭ gladŭ krępŭkŭ na stranę toi 'there was a great famine in that country' (L 15:14). This syntagm becomes also a part of several numerical constructions particular to Old Church Slavic. Cardinal

numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed as ‘one upon ten’, ‘two upon ten’, etc., employing *na*+Loc in its spatial sense: *ize bēaxo o njemī sū obēma na desēte* ‘those who were around him with the twelve’ (Mk 4:10). We also find this phrase in idioms like ‘give in exchange for something’ where it expresses the notion ‘instead of’, diachronically derived from the local idea ‘in place of’: *čito bo dastū člověkū izmēno na duši svojei?* ‘for what will a man give in exchange for his life?’ (Mk 8:37).

Directional senses are rare for this construction and we find only a few instances that indicate the directions ‘onto’ or ‘into’: *i variti i na onomī polu* ‘and to go before him to the other side’ (M 14:22), *i Levhitū byvū na tomī mēstē prišidū...* ‘and a Levite, when he came to that place...’ (L 10:32). Occasionally, *na*+Loc designates a path: *Petrū xoždaaše na vodaxū* ‘Peter was walking along the waters’ (M 14:29). When used temporally, this phrase indicates a period of time: *i ne xotēaše na dlūdžē vrēmeni* ‘he did not want for a long time’ (L 18:4).

Other semantic functions of *na*+Loc are rare. Thus, we find a few examples where it denotes means: *grēdošta na oblacēxū sū silojō* ‘coming by means of clouds with power’ (Mk 13:26)⁶. In only a couple of instances this phrase acquires a beneficiary connotation: *potripi na mīnē* ‘be patient with me’ (M 18:26).

Table 46. Semantic roles of *na*

		<i>na</i> +ACC				<i>na</i> +LOC			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location				1	97	55	84	43
	direction	86	68	101	38	5		2	
	path					4	4	2	
	source								
time		2	2	5	4		3	1	
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary				1	4	4	3	
	cause/reason								

⁶ Classical Armenian has the instrumental in this passage.

recipient			1						
beneficiary	1	1	5	2	2			1	
possession									
purpose	1	2	4						
patient	2	2	2	2					
manner		2							
topic	3	1	1	1					
TOTAL	95	78	119	49	112	66	93	43	

5.7 DO

This preposition is traced to IE **do*, a shortened form of the **dō* reflected in OE *tō*, NE *to* (Trubachev 1974-2001 V:37-38, Pokorný 1959 I:182). It governs the genitive and is occasionally found as a preverb: i bystŭ nedomyslěštamŭ sę imŭ o semĭ ‘and with them being at a loss about this’ (L 24:4).

The primary function of *do* is temporal. Thus, we often find *do*+Gen in the value ‘until’: tĭma bystŭ po vĭsei zemli do devetyje godiny ‘darkness was upon the whole earth until the ninth hour’ (M 27:45). This phrase can also express spatial semantics marking a point up to which a certain motion continues: i Petrŭ iděaše iz daleče vŭ slědŭ jeho do vŭnŭtrĭ vŭ dvorŭ arhijereovŭ ‘and Peter followed him at a distance inside (= up to inside) into the courtyard of the high priest’ (Mk 14:54). *Do*+Gen expresses the temporal and spatial sense ‘till, until’ in combination with adverbs: do ideže sŭ nimi jestŭ ženixŭ? ‘till when is the bridegroom with them?’ (M 9:15), načĭnŭ otŭ Galilěje do sĭde ‘beginning from Galilee up to here’ (L 23:5).

Table 47. Semantic roles of *do*

		<i>do</i> +GEN				<i>do</i> +adverb			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location								
	direction	7	4	7	2			1	
	path								
	source								
time		22	7	12	5	13	4	6	4

comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary									
possessor									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic									
TOTAL		29	11	19	7	13	4	7	4

5.8 OTŮ

This preposition is often related to Goth *id-* and Gk *ἐτί* (Vasmer 1987 III:168). It governs the genitive and frequently occurs as a preverb: *i otide otŭ njeĵe anxelŭ* ‘and the angel went away from her’ (L 1:38).

The denotation of source is primary for this prepositional construction. It can indicate the sense ‘out of’ as well as mark separation ‘away from’ in general: *bě že eterŭ bolę Lazarŭ otŭ Viθanije* ‘and there was some sick man, Lazarus from Bethany’ (J 11:1), *kŭto sŭkaza vamŭ běžati otŭ grędoštajego gněva?* ‘who told you to run away from the coming wrath?’ (L 3:7). *Otŭ*+Gen also expresses the concept of source in statements about the materials used to make something: *Ioannŭ iměaše rizę svoję otŭ veliĵozdŭ* ‘John had his garment of camel’ (M 3:4). Partitive meaning is also common for this prepositional phrase: *i nikŭtože otŭ vasŭ tvoritŭ zakona* ‘and none of you keeps the law’ (J 7:19). *Otŭ*+Gen sometimes conveys partitive meaning in the absence of a pronominal head (usually present in constructions of this type): *i otŭ nixŭ tepete na sŭnĭmištixŭ vašixŭ* ‘and some of whom you will scourge in your synagogues’ (M 23:34).

When used temporally, *otŭ*+Gen mainly indicates a point of time from which some motion or action begins: *i mimo idy Iisusŭ vidě člověka slěpa otŭ roždĭstva* ‘and Jesus passing by saw a man, blind from birth’ (J 9:1). Less frequently, it refers to a period of time during which something occurs:

iže iměaše běsů otů lětů mūnogů ‘who had a demon for many years’ (L 8:27). *Otů* has the same spatial and temporal roles when it is combined with pronominal adverbs: otů kōdu ubo imatů plěvelu? ‘from where does it have weeds?’ (M 13:27), otů toli cēsarīstvije božije blagověstvujetů sě ‘since then the kingdom of God is proclaimed as good news’ (L 16:16).

Otů+Gen commonly expresses comitative connotations, denoting agent, means (basis), or reason: i viděňu bystů otů njeje ‘and he was seen by her’ (Mk 16:11), otů ustů tvoixů sōždō ti ‘I will judge you by your mouths’ (L 19:22), Iisusů že truždī sě otů poti sědējaše tako na studenīci ‘and Jesus being tired because of the journey was sitting thus on the well’ (J 4:6).

The separative value of *otů*+Gen, combined with the ablative semantics of the verb ‘fear’, allows this phrase to denote patient: ne uboite sě otů ubivajoštiixů tělo ‘do not fear those killing the body’ (L 12:4). In rare instances this phrase expresses possession, a value that is metonymically developed in such cases from the notion ‘out of’: prijesě vaja otů finiků ‘they took branches of a palm trees’ (J 12:13). We also find one instance where this construction indicates manner: vūzljubiši gospoda boga svojego otů všego srīdīca tvojego i vīsejō dušejō tvojejō ‘you shall love the Lord, your God with all your heart and with all your soul’ (L 10:27).

Table 48. Semantic roles of *otů*

		<i>otů</i> +GEN				<i>otů</i> +adverb			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location								
	direction								
	path								
	source	176	90	181	169	13	1	2	1
time		6	3	12	7	3		6	2
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force	11	6	14					
	instrument/means/intermediary	3		3	2				
	cause/reason	5		7	2				
recipient									
beneficiary									
possession		1		1	1				

purpose									
patient			1	2					
manner			1						
topic									
TOTAL	202	99	220	183	16	1	8	3	

5.9 IZŮ

Izŭ goes back to PIE **egʰs* ‘out of’ and is cognate with Gk *ἐκ/ἐξ* (Pokorny 1959:292-3).

This preposition governs the genitive and is often found as a preverb: *izide že Pilatŭ kŭ nimŭ vŭnŭ* ‘Pilate went out to them’ (J 19:29).

The primary semantic function of *izŭ*+Gen is the denotation of source specifying the sense ‘out of’: *i se glasŭ izŭ oblaka glagolje* ‘and behold, a voice out of the cloud, saying...’ (M 17:5). This phrase can also mark separation when it is used in the construction meaning ‘at a distance’: *stojaaxŭ že vŭši znajemii jemu iz daleče* ‘and all known to him stood at a distance’ (L 23:49). In a few instances *izŭ*+Gen expresses a temporal function; it indicates a point of time from which some action starts: *i vŭši ljudŭje iz utra prixoždaaxŭ kŭ njemu vŭ crĭkŭvĭ* ‘and all the people from the morning came to him into the temple’ (L 21:38). In the Gospel of Mark this phrase is found in the lexicalized construction *iz lixa* in the meaning ‘extremely’: *i dzĕlo iz lixa vŭ sebĕ divljaaxŭ sĕ* ‘and they were extremely astonished in themselves’ (Mk 6:51).

Table 49. Semantic roles of *izŭ*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction				
	path				
	source	20	27	25	5
time		1		3	
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				

	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possession					
purpose					
patient					
manner		3			
topic					
TOTAL		21	30	28	5

5.10 KŮ

This preposition originates from IE **kom* (Trubachev 1974-2001 XIII:170-1, Pokorny 1959 I:515-6). It takes the dative and is rarely found as a preverb (not in the canonical gospels, but compare Serbo-Croatian *knaditi* ‘decorate with embroidery, weave’ (Trubachev 1974-2001 XIII:198).

The primary semantic function of *kŭ*+Dat is denotation of the direction ‘to, up to’. This phrase often occurs in combination with animate nouns, although constructions with inanimate objects are also found: *i sŭnidŭ sę kŭ njemu* *vŭsi* *arxijerei* ‘and all the high priests came to him’ (Mk 14:53), *i idęašete kŭ grobu* ‘and they went to the tomb’ (J 20:3). *Kŭ*+Dat infrequently indicates the direction ‘against’: *ašte že sŭgręšitŭ kŭ tebě* *bratrŭ tvoi* ‘if your brother sins against you’ (M 18:15).

When used temporally, *kŭ*+Dat can refer to a time period before which something happens: *ježe jestŭ kŭ sŭbotę* ‘that is [the day] before the Sabbath’ (Mk 15:42). This prepositional phrase often expresses the temporal meaning ‘any more, any longer’ in the specific construction *kŭ tomu*: *idi i otŭ selę ne sŭgręšai kŭ tomu* ‘go and from now on do not sin any more’ (J 8:11).

Kŭ+Dat commonly indicates recipient (often with speech verbs): *i jeteri farisęi otŭ naroda ręšę kŭ nemu* ‘and some Pharisees from the people said to him’ (L 19:39). Less frequently, directional value of this phrase is extended to designate purpose or reason: *si bolęznŭ nęstŭ kŭ sŭmrŭti*

nŭ o slavě boží ‘this sickness is not unto death but for the glory of God’ (J 11:4), kŭ čemu reče jemu ‘because of what he said to him’ (J 13:28).

Table 50. Semantic roles of *kŭ*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location				
	direction	68	53	59	71
	path				
	source				
time		2	6	2	8
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				1
recipient		11	13	121	23
beneficiary					
possessor					
purpose				1	2
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		81	72	183	105

5.11 U

This preposition goes back to IE * *au-* (Vasmer 1987 IV:142) and governs the genitive. It can be used as a preverb: ne moŕetŭ gradŭ **ukryti** sę vŕrxu gory ‘city cannot be hidden on the top of mountain’ (M 5:14).

U+Gen is mainly used with spatial semantic roles. Thus, it can denote the location ‘in’: glasŭ u Rama slyšanŭ bystŭ (ms. Sa) ‘a voice was heard in Ramah’ (M 2:18). It also indicates the location ‘in’ in the construction ‘in somebody’s place, presence’: da obęduetŭ u njego ‘so that he dines with him (=in his place)’ (L 11:37), azŭ jaŕe vidęxŭ u otŭca mojego ‘what I have seen by my Father (=in the presence of my Father)’ (J 8:38). With verbs of asking *u*+Gen expresses source: aŕte česo prosite u otŭca vŭ imę moje dastŭ vamŭ ‘if you ask anything from my Father in my name, he will give [it] to

you’ (J 16:23). Less frequently, this phrase signifies an agent or has a possessive connotation (added to a spatial meaning): *i krištaaxq sę vŭ Iordaniscęi ręcę u njego* ‘and they were baptized by him in the river Jordan’ (M 3:6), *jaže sqtŭ u nixŭ* ‘whichever are in their possession’ (L 10:7).

Table 51. Semantic roles of *u*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	3	2	3	9
	direction				
	path				
	source	3	1	2	5
time					
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force	1			
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possession				1	3
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		7	3	6	17

5.12 PRI

This preposition goes back to IE **prai/prei* (Preobrazhenskij II:125). It governs the locative and is often used as a preverb (frequently with motion verbs): **pri**dęta vŭ slędŭ mene ‘follow me’ (Mk 1:17).

Pri+Loc is mostly used in spatial function denoting the location ‘near’: *juže bo sekyra pri koreni dręva ležitŭ* ‘for already the axe lies near the root of the tree’ (L 3:9). This construction may have a temporal meaning. It can indicate an approximate time or time marked by somebody’s lifespan or functionary period: *pri devętei že godinę vŭzŭpi Iisusŭ glasomŭ velŭjemŭ* ‘about the ninth

hour Jesus cried with a loud voice' (M 27:46), kako vŭnide vŭ domŭ božii pri Aviatar'i arxijerei

'how he entered the house of God during Abiathar's priesthood' (Mk 2:26).

Table 52. Semantic roles of *pri*

		M	Mk	L	J
space	location	10	13	13	3
	direction				
	path				
	source				
time		1	2	3	
comitative (animate/inanimate)					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument/means/intermediary				
	cause/reason				
recipient					
beneficiary					
experiencer					
possession					
purpose					
patient					
manner					
topic					
TOTAL		11	15	16	3

5.13 NADŮ, PODŮ, PŘEDŮ

From a number of IE prepositions with the help of the suffix **-dŭ* were formed several new prepositions in Common Slavic. Thus, we have in OCS *nadŭ* (cf. *na*), *podŭ* (cf. *po*), and *předŭ* (cf. *prě-*). They take the instrumental and the accusative and can be also used as preverbs: i ne dalŭ bi **podŭ**kopati domu svojego 'and he would not have allowed [him] to dig under his house' (L 12:39), i **předŭ**ložišę předŭ narodomŭ 'and they put [them] before people' (Mk 8:6). *Nadŭ* is not found as a preverb in the canonical gospels, but occur in the different Slavic languages at later stages: cf. Old Polish **nad**stawić 'put over', Old Serbo-Croatian **nad**sjesti 'sit on the top' (Trubachev 1974-2001 XXII:19).

When combined with the instrumental *nadŭ* denotes the location ‘over’: *bě že i napīsanīje napīsano nadŭ nimī* ‘and there was an inscription written over him’ (L 23:38). *Nadŭ*+Ins often expresses this spatial meaning metaphorically in constructions where there is an association with power or authority: *jegože postavi gospodī nadŭ domomŭ svoimī* ‘whom the master put over his house’ (M 24:45). *Nadŭ* plus the accusative indicates the directions ‘onto, upon’ or ‘up to’: *i nizŭxodeštę nadŭ syna člověčiskajego* ‘and descending upon the Son of man’ (J 1:51), Samarjaninŭ *že jeterŭ grędy pride nadŭ nī* ‘but a certain Samaritan going along came up to him’ (L 10:33). The choice of the preposition in the last example can probably be explained by the particular manner in which the Samaritan approached the man, leaning over him.

Podŭ is an antonym of *nadŭ*. When combined with the instrumental, it designates the location ‘under’: *jako viděxŭ tę podŭ smokŭvīnicejo* ‘for I saw you under the fig tree’ (J 1:50). *Podŭ* plus the accusative refers to the direction ‘under’: *da podŭ krovŭ moi vŭnideši* ‘so that you will come under my roof’ (M 8:8).

Prědŭ plus the instrumental mainly indicates the location ‘before’: *togda bŭdetŭ ti slava prědŭ vīsěmi sědeštīimi sŭ tobojo* ‘then there will be glory to you before all those sitting with you’ (L 14:10). When combined with the accusative, *prědŭ* designates solely the direction ‘before’: *i prědŭ vladky že i cěsarje vedeni bŭdete* ‘and you will be brought before governors and kings’ (M 10:18).

Table 53. Semantic roles of *nadŭ*

		<i>nadŭ</i> +INS				<i>nadŭ</i> +ACC			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	5		13	1				
	direction							1	2
	path								
	source								
time									
comitative (animate/inanimate)									

causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary									
possession									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic									
TOTAL		5		13	1			1	2

Table 54. Semantic roles of *podů*

		<i>podů+INS</i>				<i>podů+ACC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	3	4	4	2				
	direction					2		2	
	path								
	source								
time									
comitative (animate/inanimate)									
causal	agent/force								
	instrument/means/intermediary								
	cause/reason								
recipient									
beneficiary									
possession									
purpose									
patient									
manner									
topic									
TOTAL		3	4	4	1	2		2	

Table 55. Semantic roles of *prědů*

		<i>prědů +INS</i>				<i>prědů +ACC</i>			
		M	Mk	L	J	M	Mk	L	J
space	location	20	19	30	4				
	direction	1	1	1	1	1		3	
	path								
	source								
time									
comitative (animate/inanimate)									

expresses this meaning in combination with a reflexive pronoun: *mirŭ iměite meždju sobojo* ‘have peace among yourselves’ (Mk 9:50). This phrase can also denote a period of time in the midst of which some action occurs: *meždju že simŭ moljaaxŭ i učenci jeho* ‘and meanwhile his disciples were begging him’ (J 4:31). In combination with the genitive, *okrištŭ*, *vŭ město*, and *bliz* indicate the locations ‘around’, ‘in place of’, and ‘near’ respectively: *i bystŭ na vŭsěxŭ straxŭ živŭštiixŭ okrištŭ ixŭ* ‘and there was fear upon all those living around them’ (L 1:65), *Arxelai cěsar’istvujetŭ vŭ Ijuděi vŭ Iroda město otica svojego* ‘Archelaus rules in Judea in place of his father Herod’ (M 2:22), *nŭ ide otŭ tŭdu vŭ stranŭ bliz pustyni* ‘but he went from there into the country near the desert’ (J 11:54).

In the Gospel of Matthew *vrŭxu* plus the genitive is used to refer to the location ‘on, on top of’ or to the direction ‘onto, upon’: *ne moŭetŭ gradŭ ukryti sę vŭrxu gory* ‘a city cannot be hidden on (top of) mountain’ (M 5:14), *i vŭsěde vrŭxu ixŭ* ‘and he sat upon them’ (M 21:7). The construction *prězde* plus the genitive can indicate the location ‘before’, although it more frequently designates the temporal notion ‘before’: *avi sę prězde Mariŭ* ‘he appeared before Mary’ (Mk 16:9), *jako že bo běaxŭ vŭ dŭni prězde potopa jadŭšte* ‘for in the days before the flood they were eating’ (M 24:38).

The phrase *vŭ slědŭ* plus the genitive primarily denotes the direction ‘after’ (often in combination with the verb ‘follow’): *i posŭlašę molitvŭ vŭ slědŭ jeho* ‘and they sent an embassy after him’ (L 19:14), *grędetŭ krěpliŭ mene vŭ slědŭ mene* ‘one mightier than I will come after me’ (Mk 1:7). *Protivŭ* plus the dative refers to the direction ‘against’ or manner: *i izidŭ protivŭ jemu* ‘and they went out against him’ (J 12:18), *dastŭ... koluŭiŭdo protivŭ silě svojei* he gave... to each according to his ability’ (M 25:15). The improper preposition *sk(v)ozě* in combination with the accusative designates a path: *vŭ to vrěmę pride Iisusŭ vŭ sŭbotŭ skvozě sějanŭja* ‘at that time Jesus went through the fields on the sabbath’ (M 12:1).

Kromě plus the genitive denotes the source relation ‘out of’: *da ne posūljetū ixū kromě strany* ‘so that he should not send them out of the country’ (Mk 5:10). We find only one instance in the Gospel of Matthew where *poslědī* plus the genitive indicates the temporal notion ‘after’: *poslědī že vīsěxū umrětū i žena* ‘after all [of them] the woman also died’ (M 22:27).

The postposition *radi* is the only improper adposition that expresses a causal relation. In combination with the genitive it designates reason: *i sego radi* *ne mogō priti* ‘and because of this I cannot come’ (L 14:20).

The improper prepositions *bez* and *razvě* govern the genitive and refer to the notion of absence (not expressed by proper prepositions): *jako bez mene* *ne možete tvoriti ničesože* ‘for you can do nothing without me’ (J 15:5), *jadōštiixū že běaše jako pětī tisōštī razvě ženū i dětii* ‘and of those eating (=who ate) there were about five thousand besides women and children’ (M 14:21).

5.16 Cases

Old Church Slavic inherited all IE cases with the exception of the ablative which was merged with the genitive. These cases can denote some semantic roles that are often expressed by prepositional phrases.

The accusative primarily indicates patient: *tū bo sūpasetū ljudi svoje otū grěxū ixū* ‘for he will save his people from their sins’ (M 1:21). It can also convey spatial semantics. Thus, it is found to refer to direction or source (in combination with speech verbs): *do ideže položō vragy tvoje podūnožije* *nogama tvoima* ‘until I set your enemies as a footstool for your feet’ (Mk 12:36), *i na pōti vūprašaaše učeniky svoje* ‘and on the way he was asking his disciples’ (Mk 8:27). Directional usages allow this phrase to express purpose, a more abstract function: *i dati dušō svojō izbavljēnīje za mūnogy* ‘and to give his soul as deliverance for many’ (M 20:28). When used in temporal function, the accusative marks a period of time during which something happens: *jegda zaklepe sē nebo tri lēta*

i šestī mēseči ‘when the heaven was closed for three years and six months’ (L 4:25), i tretii dñi vŭskršinetŭ ‘and on the third day he will rise’ (Mk 9:31). Less frequently, the accusative designates topic: Pilatŭ že slyšavŭ Galilějŭ... ‘and Pilate having heard about Galilee...’ (L 23:6).

The dative has a number of semantic functions. It can signify the directional notions ‘to, up to’, ‘into’, or ‘onto’: poslēdŭ že posla imŭ synŭ svoi ‘afterwards he sent his son to them’ (M 21:37), i šīdŭši domovi... ‘and going home...’ (Mk 7:30), nikŭtože bo ne pristavljaetŭ pristavljenīja plata ne běljena rizě vetŭsě ‘for nobody adds an additional piece of unbleached cloth onto an old garment’ (M 9:16). In the dative absolute construction this case expresses temporal semantics: služeštju jemu vŭ činu čředy svojeję prědŭ bogomī ‘while he was serving in his turn as priest before God’ (L 1:8). The denotation of recipient is one of the main functions of the dative: mirŭ yamŭ ‘peace to you’ (L 24:36). It often has this role in combination with speech verbs: i načetŭ imŭ pritŭčami glagolati ‘and he began to tell them in parables’ (Mk 12:1).

The designation of cause is not common for the dative. We find only a few instances where it indicates reason or agent: jegda Irodŭ roždīstvu svojemu večerjŭ tvorjaaše ‘when Herod gave a banquet on account of his birthday’ (Mk 6:21), iže izbyše jadŭšiimŭ ‘that were left by those eating’ (J 6:13). The denotation of possession, purpose, patient, or topic is also not frequent for the dative: i privali kamenī na dvīri grobu ‘and he rolled a stone onto the door of the tomb’ (Mk 15:46), najetŭ dělattelŭ vinogradu svojemu (Savvina kniga) ‘to hire workers for his vineyard’ (M 20:1), i rŭgaaxŭ sę jemu ‘and they mocked him’ (L 22:63), ne divite sę semu ‘do not wonder about this’ (J 5:28).

The instrumental is mainly used in causal functions. It can denote agent, reason, or means: da sŭbŭdetŭ sę rečenoje Isajemī prorokomī ‘so that [what was] spoken by the prophet Isaiah should come true’ (M 8:17), i ne možaaxu besėdovati kŭ njemu narodomī ‘and they could not talk to him because of the crowd’ (L 8:19), čimī osolitŭ sę? ‘by means of what will it become salty?’ (M 5:13).

The instrumental can also have spatial roles indicating a path: jako ne možaaše nikŭtože minŭti

poťimĩ těmĩ ‘for nobody could go along that way’ (M 8:28). Where used temporally, the instrumental refers to a period of time, sometimes indicating turn: ašte li kũto xoditũ noštĩjo ‘but if anyone walks at night’ (J 11:10), paky vũtoricejo šidũ pomoli se ‘going again a second time he prayed’ (M 26:42). This construction may also designate topic, or manner, or express a comitative or possessive sense: ne pĩčete se dušejo ‘do not worry about [your] soul’ (L 12:22), viděxomũ jetera imenĩmĩ tvoimĩ izgonešta běsy ‘we have seen someone casting out demons in your name’ (L 9:49), i bě na sũnĩmišti ixũ člověků nečistomĩ duxomĩ ‘and there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit’ (Mk 1:23).

The genitive mainly expresses partitive or possessive meanings: iže ašte jedino takovyixũ otročetũ přijemletũ vũ imě moje ‘and whoever shall take one of such children in my name’ (Mk 9:37), i vlasũ glavy vašeje ne pogybnjetũ ‘and a hair of your head will not be destroyed’ (L 21:18). It is often found in comparative constructions indicating the standard of comparison: bolii roždenyixũ ženami prorokũ Ioanna Krĩstitelja nikũtože něstũ ‘nobody among [those] born to women is a greater prophet than John the Baptist’ (L 7:28). In negative statements and/or in combination with such verbs as ‘attach’ or ‘fear’ the genitive marks patient: nikũtože bo ne pristavljaetũ pristavljenĩja plata ne běljena rizě vetušě ‘for nobody adds an additional piece of unbleached cloth onto an old garment’ (M 9:16), Irodũ bo bojaše se Ioanna ‘for Herod feared John’ (Mk 6:20). Less frequently, the genitive indicates topic: vũprašaase že godiny otũ nixũ ‘he asked them about the hour’ (J 4:52).

The locative nominal phrase is less common. It can express spatial semantic roles. In the canonical gospels the locative is found to denote the location ‘in’, the direction ‘onto’ or to mark a certain period of time: i soštju Petrovi nizu na dvorě ‘and when Peter was below in the courtyard’ (Mk 14:66), kũto že otũ vasũ možetũ proložiti tělese svojemĩ lakũtĩ jedinũ ‘and which of you can add one yard onto his bodily stature’ (M 6:27), i icěľě otroků tomĩ časě ‘and he cured the boy at that hour’

(M 17:18). The locative is one of the sources for new adverbs of place in Old Church Slavic. These forms are used at first as nominal constructions and later become lexicalized adverbs (cf. *nizu* in the example above).

5.17 Conclusions

Prepositional (proper and improper) and nominal phrases present the following division of semantic space in Old Church Slavic:

❖ space:

➤ location:

- ‘within’:
 - ‘inside’: **vŭ(n)+Loc**, *vŭ(n)+Acc*, *na+Loc*, *po+Dat*, *u+Gen*, *Loc*
 - ‘among’: *vŭ(n)+Loc*, *sŭ+Ins*, *mežd(j)u+Ins*
- ‘on the surface, over’: **na+Loc**, *vŭ(n)+Acc*, *na+Acc*, *po+Dat*, *o/obŭ+Loc*, *o/obŭ+Acc*, **nadŭ+Ins**, *vrŭxu+Gen*
- ‘under, beneath’: *podŭ+Ins*
- ‘near’: **pri+Loc**, *ob(ŭ)+Acc*, *u+Gen*, *bliz+Gen*, *Ins*
- ‘around’: *o/obŭ+Loc*, *okrŭstŭ+Gen*
- ‘in place of’: *na+Loc*, *za+Acc*, *vŭz+Acc*, **vŭ mĕsto+Gen**
- ‘before’: *prĕdŭ+Ins*, *prĕžde+Gen*
- ‘after, beyond’: *za+Acc*
- ‘against’: *prĕmo+Dat*

➤ direction:

- ‘to, into’: **vŭ(n)+Acc**, *vŭ(n)+Loc*, *na+Acc*, *na+Loc*, *po+Dat*, *vrŭxu+Gen*, *Acc*, *Dat*
- ‘onto’: *vŭ(n)+Acc*, *vŭ(n)+Loc*, **na+Acc**, *na+Loc*, *o/obŭ+Acc*, *nadŭ+Acc*, *Dat*, *Loc*
- ‘under’: *podŭ+Acc*

- ‘to (near), up to’: **ků+Dat**, *do*+Gen, *na*+Acc, *nadů*+Acc, Dat
- ‘against’: *ků*+Dat, *vů(n)*+Acc, *na*+Acc, *o/obů*+Acc, *protiv***o**+Dat
- ‘before’: *řádů*+Acc, *řádů*+Ins
- ‘after, beyond’: *za*+Acc, *za*+Ins, *po*+Dat, *po*+Loc, *vů slědů*+Gen
- ‘around’: *o/obů*+Loc
- source:
 - ‘from, out of’: **izů+Gen**, *otů*+Gen, *sů*+Gen, *u*+Gen, *kromě*+Gen, Acc
 - ‘away from’: **otů+Gen**, *izů*+Gen, *sů*+Gen
 - partitive: *otů*+Gen, **Gen**
- path: **po+Dat**, *na*+Loc, *sk(v)ozě* +Acc, Ins
- ❖ time:
 - ‘within’:
 - ‘during’: *vů(n)*+Acc, *vů(n)*+Loc, *na*+Acc, *na*+Loc, *otů*+Gen, *po*+Loc, *o/obů*+Acc, *mežd(j)u*+Ins, Acc, Dat (Dat absolute), Ins, Loc
 - ‘during the time of somebody’: *pri*+Loc
 - ‘before’: **prěžde+Gen**, *za*+Gen, *ků*+Dat
 - ‘after’: *po*+Dat, *po*+Loc, *poslědř*+Gen, Acc
 - ‘from’: *izů*+Gen, *otů*+Gen
 - ‘until’: **do+Gen**
 - ‘near, about’: *pri*+Loc
- ❖ comitative: **sů+Ins**, Ins
- ❖ absence: *bez*+Gen, *razvě*+Gen
- ❖ causal:
 - agent/force: *otů*+Gen, *o/obů*+Loc, *u*+Gen, Dat, Ins

- instrument/means/intermediary: *vŭ(n)+Acc, vŭ(n)+Loc, na+Acc, na+Loc, otŭ+Gen, po+Dat, o/obŭ+Loc, sŭ+Ins, Ins*
- cause/reason: *vŭ(n)+Acc, vŭ(n)+Loc, otŭ+Gen, za+Acc, kŭ+Dat, po+Dat, po+Acc, o/obŭ+Loc, sŭ+Gen, radi+Gen, Dat, Ins*
- ❖ recipient: *kŭ+Dat, vŭ(n)+Acc, na+Acc, o/obŭ+Loc, sŭ+Ins, Dat*
- ❖ beneficiary: *na+Acc, na+Loc, za+Acc, po+Loc*
- ❖ possession: *otŭ+Gen, o/obŭ+Loc, u+Gen, Dat, Gen*
- ❖ purpose: *vŭ(n)+Acc, vŭ(n)+Loc, na+Acc, o/obŭ+Loc, kŭ+Dat, Acc, Dat*
- ❖ patient: *na+Acc, otŭ+Gen, po+Dat, o/obŭ+Loc, Acc, Dat, Gen*
- ❖ manner: *vŭ(n)+Acc, vŭ(n)+Loc, na+Acc, izŭ+Gen, otŭ+Gen, po+Dat, po+Loc, po+Acc, o/obŭ+Loc, sŭ+Ins, protivŭ+Dat, Ins*
- ❖ topic: *o/obŭ+Loc, vŭ(n)+Acc, vŭ(n)+Loc, na+Acc, Acc, Dat, Ins, Gen*

Unlike the languages discussed in previous chapters, Old Church Slavic has both a sophisticated system of cases and a large number of prepositions. This set of features leads to a situation where the same concept can often be denoted by both a prepositional and a nominal phrase with similar frequencies. For example, we find almost the same number of instances where a recipient is indicated by *kŭ+Dat* or by the dative alone. Nominal constructions with prepositional semantic roles occur more often in Old Church Slavic than in the other three languages discussed earlier. For example, the instrumental is one of the preferred constructions for the expression of causal semantics or manner.

Just as in the other languages we have studied, the division of semantic space in Old Church Slavic is uneven. Some notions can be designated by a variety of prepositional and nominal constructions (e.g. manner), while others have limited means of expression (e.g. the temporal notion ‘until’). In the majority of instances proper prepositional phrases dominate semantic fields, although

there exist examples where a semantic notion is primarily denoted by an improper preposition (e.g. the temporal notion ‘before’) or by a nominal construction (e.g. possessive and partitive values). The concept of absence is designated by improper prepositions alone (just as in the other three languages we have discussed).

In the majority of instances improper prepositions express spatial meanings and are not notable for the complexity of their semantics. In rare instances an improper preposition is used to designate an abstract concept. Thus, *radi* (the only postposition in Old Church Slavic), which signals reason, presents one such atypical case.

It is common for prepositions like *kŭ*+Dat, *vŭ(n)*+Acc, *na*+Acc, and *o/obŭ*+Acc to signify both directions ‘to’ and ‘against’. Metaphoric and metonymic extensions greatly enrich prepositional semantics, by increasing the number of means which can be used to denote such abstract notions as cause or manner.

Variation between prepositional phrases or between prepositional and nominal constructions is common. A particular good example of this involves the verb ‘follow’ where the implicit direction ‘after’ can be designated by *za*+Ins, *po*+Dat, or by *vŭ slědŭ*+Gen: idi za mŭnojo ‘follow me’ (Mk 8:33), grędęta po mŭnę (Codex Marianus), grędęta vŭ slědŭ mene (Savvina kniga) ‘follow me’ (M 4:19). There are variations in frequency of prepositional phrases between the different canonical gospels. Some prepositions are found only in one of the gospels while others are widely used. Thus, *poslědŭ*+Gen is only found in the Gospel of Matthew whereas *vŭ slědŭ*+Gen is used in all of the canonical gospels. The combination of *otŭ* with pronominal adverbs is common for the entire text with the exception of the Gospel of Mark where this construction occurs only once. *Nadŭ*+Ins(Acc) is never used in the Gospel of Mark. There are also deviations in prepositional functions between the different canonical gospels. Thus, *na*+Loc is used exclusively in spatial function in the Gospel of John while in the other three gospels it has also temporal and causal functions. *Kŭ*+Dat is primarily

used in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John for the designation of direction, but in the Gospel of Luke it more frequently refers to a recipient (often with speech verbs).

CHAPTER 6

GREEK-GOTHIC CORRESPONDENCES

6.1 Correspondences with 'EN+DAT

6.1.1 'EN+DAT : IN+DAT(ACC)

Gothic frequently responds to *en*+Dat with its cognate *in*+Dat. This correspondence is often found in cases where these prepositional phrases designate the location 'in' literally or metaphorically (in reference to people or clothes): καὶ ἐπνίγοντο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ - jah afhnappedun in marein 'and they drowned in the sea' (Mk 5:13), εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν - jabai nu liuhaþ þata in þus riqiz ist 'if that light in you is darkness' (M 6:23), τῶν θελόντων περιπατεῖν ἐν στολαῖς - wiljandam gaggan in hveitaim 'of [the ones] wanting to go about in robes' (L 20:46). Other location senses are not that common for this correspondence. We find a few instances where it refers to the locations 'among' (often with people), 'on', and 'near': εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν - þiufido þu in qinom 'blessed are you among women' (L 1:42), ἦν ἀνακείμενος εἰς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ - wasuh þan anakumbjands ains þize siponje is in barma Iesuis 'one of his disciples was lying on the breast of Jesus' (J 13:23), καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιῶς - sitandan in taihswai 'sitting at (=near) the right side' (Mk 16:5). This correspondence rarely designates such spatial notions as path or the direction 'into': καὶ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ - jah laistida in wiga Iesu 'and he followed him/Jesus along the way' (Mk 10:52), ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ πᾶσιν (mss. D, L) - briggip izwis in allai sunjai 'he will lead you into all the truth' (J 16:13).

The correspondence *en*+Dat : *in*+Dat is often found with a temporal function. It can denote a certain time or event during which something happened and is often found in combination with

temporal terms: οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκεισαν - þaiei in auhjodau maurþr gatawidedun ‘who committed murder during the tumult’ (Mk 15:7), ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν στιγμή χρόνου - ataugida imma allans þiudinassuns þis midjungardis in stika melis ‘he showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time’ (L 4:5). Causative semantics are also typical for this correspondence. It is found to designate agent, means, and reason: καὶ ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ - jah tauhans was in ahmin in auþidai ‘and he was led by the spirit into the dessert’ (L 4:1), καὶ διαπεράσαντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέραν - jah usleiþandin Iesua in skipa aftra hindar marein ‘and when Jesus crossed by ship again onto the other side (Goth: of the sea)’ (Mk 5:21), ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται - ei in filuwaurdein seinai andhausjaindau ‘that they will be heard because of their wordiness’ (M 6:7).

Other semantic functions of ἐν+Dat : *in*+Dat are more sporadic. In a few instances it represents patient, topic, or manner: ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα - in þuzei waila galeikaida ‘I am pleased with thee’ (Mk 1:11), καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ - jah galaubeiþ in aiwaggeljon ‘and believe in the gospel’ (Mk 1:15), ὅπως ἡ σου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ - ei sijai so armahairtīþa þeina in fulhsnja ‘so that your mercy should be in secret’ (M 6:4). This correspondence is often a part of a set expression ‘in the name of’: καὶ ὅ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου - jah þatei hva bidjiþ in namin meinamma ‘and whatever you ask in my name’ (J 14:13). We find only individual cases where this correspondence conveys comitative or possessive meanings: ὅτι τὸ φῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ - unte liuhad nist in imma ‘for there is no light with him’ (J 11:10), πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ φέρον καρπὸν - all taine in mis unbairandane akran goþ ‘every branch of mine bearing no (Goth: good) fruit’ (J 15:2).

The instances where *en*+Dat corresponds to *in*+Acc are rare. They are limited to cases where these prepositional phrases stand for the location ‘in’ (literally and metaphorically): καὶ ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀνεχώρησεν - jah atwairpands þaim silubreinam in alh aflaiþ ‘and having thrown the silver in the temple he left’ (M 27:5), πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην - gagg in gawairþi ‘go in peace’ (L 7:50). This correspondence is rarely found with a temporal function denoting a certain point of time: εἰάν τις περιπατῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ - hwas gaggiþ in dag ‘if anyone walks during the day’ (J 11:9).

6.1.2 EN+DAT : other prepositional phrases

Correspondences of *en*+Dat with other Gothic prepositional phrases seem to be random. In the majority of occurrences they express spatial or temporal senses. Thus, *ana*+Dat matches up *en*+Dat in cases where they refer to the locations ‘in’ (frequently with nouns meaning ‘a desert, empty place’), ‘on’, or a path: οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τὸ μάννα ἔφαγον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ - attans unsarai manna matidedun ana auþidai ‘our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness’ (J 6:31), καὶ χάρις θεοῦ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ (ms. D) - jah ansts gudis was ana imma ‘and the favor of God was upon him’ (L 2:40), ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ - wesunþ-þan ana wiga ‘and they were on the road’ (Mk 10:32). *En*+Dat is rendered with *ana*+Acc in instances where both denote the direction ‘into’ (once again with words meaning ‘a desert, empty place’): αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑποχωρῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις - iþ is was afleiþands ana auþidos ‘but he withdrew into the dessert’ (L 5:16).

Gothic *bi* coincides with *en*+Dat in some non-spatial functions. The correspondence *en*+Dat : *bi*+Dat is found when designating means or recipient: ἐν τούτῳ γνώσονται πάντες - bi þamma ufkunnand allai ‘by this all [men] will know’ (J 13:35), καλὸν ἔργον ἡργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί - þannu goþ waurstw waurhta bi mis ‘she did a good thing to me’ (Mk 14:6). *En*+Dat is translated with *bi*+Acc in

some cases where it signifies means or a period of time: οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος
 ἀλλ' ἐν παντί ῥήματι θεοῦ (ms. D) - ni bi hlaib ainana libaid manna ak bi all waurde gudis 'man shall
 not live by bread alone but by every word of God' (L 4:4), καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις - jah bi
brins dagans gatimrjands þo 'and building it in three days' (Mk 15:29).

In the occurrences where ἐν+Dat corresponds to *mip*+Dat it designates either the location
 'among', means, or has a comitative meaning: σχίσμα πάλιν ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διὰ τοὺς
 λόγους τούτους - þanuh missaqiss aftra warþ mip Iudaium in þize waurde 'there was again a discord
 among the Jews because of these words' (J 10:19), ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐπιτάσσει τοῖς
 ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν - þatei mip waldufnja jah mahtai anabiudiþ þaim unhrainjam ahmam 'for by
 authority and power he commands the unclean spirits' (L 4:36), εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν -
 siaiu mahteigs mip taihun þusundjom 'whether he is able with ten thousand' (L 14:31).

Correspondences between ἐν+Dat and *and*+Acc are limited to those cases where both constructions
 stand for the location 'in' or a path: διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύσσειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν - du laisjan jah
 merjan and baurgs ize 'to teach and preach in their cities' (M 11:1), καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐν
 ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ - jah usiddja þata waurd and alla Iudaia bi ina 'and this word about him
 spread throughout all Judea' (L 7:17).

We also find single correspondences of ἐν+Dat with *du*+Dat, *und*+Acc, and *afar*+Dat. The
 correspondence ἐν+Dat : *du*+Dat refers to a topic: καὶ ἡγαλλίασεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τῷ θεῷ (ms. D)
 - jah swegneid ahma meins du guda 'and my spirit rejoices in God' (L 1:47). The other two have
 temporal roles, common for these Gothic prepositions. *En*+Dat : *und*+Acc stands for time 'while'
 whereas ἐν+Dat : *afar*+Dat designates time 'after': ἐν ᾧ ὁ νομφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν - und þatei mip
im ist brupfaps 'while the bridegroom is with them' (Mk 2:19), καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς - jah warþ
 biþe afar þata 'and it was after this' (L 8:1).

There are only two instances where $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat is translated with us +Dat. In the first one both prepositional phrases express manner: ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου - frijos fraujaŋ guþ þeinana us allamma hairtin þeinamma jah us allai saiwalai þeinai ‘you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul’ (L 10:27). This meaning is secondary for each of the prepositions and developed through different metaphoric broadenings based on their spatial roles. For $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat it was an extension from the location sense ‘in’ to manner. The meaning of us +Dat was expanded from the spatial notion of source ‘out of’. The second instance of the $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : us +Dat correspondence appears to be based on different interpretations of the passage made by translators: καθίσας δὲ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἐδίδασκεν τοὺς ὄχλους (ms. D) - jah gasitands laisida us þamma skipa manageins ‘and sitting he taught people in/from the boat’ (L 5:3). The Greek variant expresses the location ‘in’, while the Gothic counterpart articulates the source notion ‘out of’.

6.1.3 $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +DAT : nominal phrases

In a number of passages Gothic renders $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat with nominal phrases, mostly with the dative. The dative often matches up with $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat in instances where it metaphorically or metonymically denotes the location ‘in’ (connected with people or clothes): διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς - mitodedun sis ‘they pondered within themselves’ (Mk 2:8), ἄνθρωπον ἐν μαλακοῖς ἡμφιεσμένον - mannan hnasqjaim wastjom gawasidana ‘a man clothed in soft raiment’ (M 11:8). Temporal functions are rare for this correspondence: καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτόν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι παραπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων - jah warþ þairhgaggan imma sabbato daga þairh atisk ‘and on the sabbath he was going through the grain fields’ (Mk 2:23). We also find isolated instances where $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : Dat marks such non-spatial notions as patient, topic, or means: ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων - saei andhaitiþ mis in andwairþja manne ‘whoever acknowledges me before man’ (M 10:32), πλὴν ἐν

τούτω μὴ χαίρετε - sweþauh þamma ni faginob̥ ‘but do not rejoice about this’ (L 10:20),

ἡγαλλιάσατο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι - swegnida ahmin ‘he rejoiced in the spirit’ (L 10:21).

Rare genitive nominal constructions are sometimes used to translate ἐν+Dat with a spatial function designating the location ‘among’ or ‘in’ (metaphorically): καὶ ὃς ἂν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος - jah saei wili izwara wairþan frumists ‘and whoever would be first among you’ (Mk 10:44), καὶ ἀμφοτέροι προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν ἦσαν - jah ba framaldra dage seinaze wesun ‘and both were advanced in their years’ (L 1:7).

The only instance of ἐν+Dat corresponding to the instrumental and referring to means is found with the instrumental form of the neuter interrogative pronoun *hve*: ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; - *hve* supuda ‘by means of what will you season? (Goth: will it be seasoned?)’ (Mk 9:50).

6.1.4 ’EN+DAT : other constructions

Sometimes ἐν+Dat with a temporal or manner function is translated into Gothic with the help of a free adverb. We find several such instances with the adverb *sprauto* as well as with *analaugniba/piubjo* and their counterpart *andaugiba*: ὅτι ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει - þatei gawrikiþ ins *sprauto* ‘that he will take revenge on them soon’ (L 18:8), οὐ φανερώς ἀλλὰ ὥς ἐν κρυπτῷ - ni andaugjo ak swe *analaugniba* ‘not publicly but in secret’ (J 7:10), καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ ἐλάλησα οὐδέν - jah þiubjo ni *rodida* waiht ‘and I said nothing secretly’ (J 18:20), ἴδε νῦν ἐν παρρησίᾳ λαλεῖς - sai nu *andaugiba* rodeis ‘ah, now you are speaking openly’ (J 16:29). We also find instances of rephrasing: καὶ ζητεῖ αὐτὸς ἐν παρρησίᾳ εἶναι - jah sokeiþ sik *uskunþana wisan* ‘and he himself seeks to be known openly’ (J 7:4), οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις - aþþan wai þaim *qīþuhaftom* ‘alas to those who are with child’ (Mk 13:17).

Several temporal usages of *ἐν*+Dat are repeatedly translated into Gothic by the conjunction *mipþanei* and less frequently by *unte* or *biþe*: καὶ ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων - jah mipþanei wrohiþs was fram þaim gudjam ‘but when he was accused by the chief priests’ (M 27:12), ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐστίν - unte sa brupfads miþ im ist ‘while the bridegroom is with them’ (L 5:34), καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτὸν - jah warþ biþe atwandida sik aftra ‘when he returned’ (L 19:15). Such translations are especially common in the Gospels of Luke and John.

6.2 Correspondences with Εἰς+ACC

6.2.1 Εἰς+ACC : IN+ACC(DAT)

In the majority of instances *εἰς*+Acc corresponds to *in*+Acc denoting the direction ‘into’: πέμψον ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς χοίρους - insandei unsis in þo sweina ‘send us into the swine’ (Mk 5:12). The same correspondence is found in passages where this notion is marked metaphorically: καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον - jah galeiþand þai in balwein aiweinon ‘and these will go into eternal punishment’ (M 25:46). The correspondance *εἰς*+Acc : *in*+Acc is less common for the denotation of such directional notions as ‘onto’, ‘against’, and ‘up to’: ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄρος - usiddja Iesus in fairguni ‘he (Goth: Jesus) went out onto the mountain’ (L 6:12), ἡμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου - frawaurhta mis in himin jah in andwairþja þeinamma ‘I have sinned against heaven and before you’ (L 15:18), ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἀστράπτουσα ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανὸν λάμπει - swaswe raihtis lauhmoni lauhatjandei us þamma uf himina in þata uf himina skeiniþ ‘for just as the lightning shines flashing from the [earth] beneath the sky to the [earth] beneath the sky’ (L 17:24). In rare instances this correspondence stands for the location ‘in’: καὶ ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀνεχώρησεν - jah atwairpands þaim silubreinam in alh aflaiþ ‘and having thrown the silver in the temple he left’ (M 27:5).

The correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *in*+Acc is sometimes used for the denotation of a time period (often meaning ‘forever’): καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας - jah þiudanob ufar garda Iakobis in ajukdup ‘and he will rule over the house of Jacob forever’ (L 1:33). Less commonly, it is found referring to the notions ‘recipient’ (with verbs of speaking), ‘purpose’, and ‘manner’: ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ - biþe þan usfullida alla þo waurda seinā in hliumans manageins ‘when he finished all his sayings into the hearings (=ears) of the people’ (L 7:1), ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό - in dag gafilhis meinis fastaida þata ‘in order that she may keep it (Goth: she has kept it) for the day of my burial’ (J 12:7), καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸ οὖς ἀκούετε - jah þatei in auso gahauseiþ ‘what you hear by ear (=secretly)’ (M 10:27). These correlates are used in such set expression as ‘in the name of’: καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ποτίσῃ... εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ – jah saei gadragkeiþ... in namin siponeis ‘and whoever gives to drink... in the name of a disciple’ (M 10:42).

Correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *in*+Dat does not occur as frequently as *εἰς*+Acc : *in*+Acc but practically replicates the semantic functions of this correspondence (with the exception of the denotation of recipient and purpose). Thus, we find *in*+Dat matching *εἰς*+Acc in phrases referring to the direction ‘into’, ‘onto’ and the location ‘in’: οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν- ni þau qimiþ in þiudangardjai himine ‘you will not go into the kingdom of heaven’ (M 5:20), οὐ γὰρ βλέπεis εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων – ni auk saihvis in andwairþja manne ‘for you do not look upon the face (=external circumstances) of men’ (Mk 12:14), ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου - daupiþs was fram Iohanne in Iaurdane ‘he was baptized by John in the Jordan’ (Mk 1:9). Less often these prepositional constructions correspond in cases where they indicate a particular time/time period or manner (in the formulaic expression ‘in the name of’): οἵτινες πληρωθήσονται εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν - þoei usfulljanda in mela seinamma ‘that will be fulfilled in their time’ (L 1:20), εἰς

ζωὴν αἰώνιον φυλάξει αὐτήν - in libainai aiweinon baigrīb izai ‘he will keep it for eternal life’ (J 12:25), ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου - sa andnimands praufetu in namin praufetaus ‘the one receiving a prophet in the name of a prophet’ (M 10:41).

6.2.2 Εἰς+ACC : Du+DAT

Du+Dat mainly corresponds to *εἰς+Acc* in passages where it denotes the direction ‘into’:
 ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου - gagg du garda beinamma ‘go to your house’ (Mk 5:19). This correspondence is less frequently found with such directional notions as ‘at, upon’, ‘to, up to’, and ‘against’: ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ - insaihiḅ du fuglam ‘look at the birds’ (M 6:26), ὅτι ὑπάγει εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον - patei gaggīb du hlaiwa ‘that she goes to the tomb’ (J 11:31), καὶ ἂν ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ - jah jabai sibun sinḅam ana dag frawaurkjai du ḅus ‘and if he sins against you seven times a day’ (L 17:4). The denotation of location is uncommon for these correlates. We find only rare cases where they metaphorically refer to the location ‘on’: εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἠλπίκατε - du ḅammei jus weneiḅ ‘on whom you set your hope’ (J 5:45). Another recurrent semantic function for this correspondence is the denotation of purpose: καὶ προσένεγκον τὸ δῶρον ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς - jah atbair giba ḅoei anabaub Moses du weitwodipai im ‘and bring the gift that Moses ordered for testimony to them’ (M 8:4). *Du+Dat* in a temporal role corresponds to *εἰς+Acc* only in instances where they indicate a certain period of time (often expressing the meaning ‘forever’): ἵνα ἡ μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα - ei sijai miḅ izwis du aiwa ‘so that he will be with you forever’ (J 14:16).

The remaining semantic functions for the pair *εἰς+Acc* : *du+Dat* are infrequent. We find a couple of examples where this correspondence refers to a beneficiary or topic: ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τί ἐστὶν εἰς τοσούτους; - akei ḅata hwa ist du swa managaim? ‘but what are they for so many?’ (J 6:9), τούτων

τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ (mss. B, R, Θ) - þize galaubjandane du mis ‘of those who believe in me’ (Mk 9:42).

Sometimes *εἰς*+Acc corresponds to conjunctions derived from the preposition *du* (cf. *duþe* and *duhve*). The correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *duþe* is connected with the meaning ‘goal’, while *εἰς*+Acc : *duhve* refers to a reason/cause: εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξῆλθον - unte duþe qam ‘for this I have come’ (Mk 1:38), εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; - duhve mis bilaist? ‘because of what have you forsaken me?’ (Mk 15:34).

6.2.3 Εἰς+ACC : other prepositional phrases

There are also a number of other Gothic prepositions that are found to correspond to *εἰς*+Acc with far less regularity than *in*+Acc(Dat) or *du*+Dat. Correspondences between *εἰς*+Acc and *ana*+Acc(Dat) are mainly connected with spatial semantics. These counterparts are often found in combination with nouns whose semantics are closely connected with the notion of surface. Thus, *εἰς*+Acc : *ana*+Acc as well as *εἰς*+Acc : *ana*+Dat can denote the directions ‘into’ and ‘onto’:
ἐπανάγαγε εἰς τὸ βάθος - brigg ana diupiþa ‘put into the deep’ (L 5:4), καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν κολληθέντα... εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν- jah stubju þana gahaftnandan... ana fotuns unsarans ‘and the dust attached...onto our feet’ (L 10:11), ἤλαύνετο ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους - draibiþs was fram þamma unhulþin ana aubidos ‘he was driven by the demon into the desert’ (L 8:29), καὶ ἕτερον ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν - jah anþar gadraus ana airþai godai ‘and another fell onto the good ground’ (L 8:8). Occasionally, the pair *εἰς*+Acc : *ana*+Dat expresses the location ‘on’: ἀνάπεσε εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον - anakumbei ana þamma aftumistin stada ‘sit in the last place’ (L 14:10). In passages where a prepositional phrase is governed by verbs ‘put’ (L 4:9) and ‘fall’ (L 8:8) whose meaning comprises both static and dynamic concepts, it is sometimes hard to determine with certainty whether this prepositional construction expresses direction or location. *Ana*+Acc and

ana+Dat share a number of spatial functions allowing for various renditions. Such instances can be understood as expressing directional or locational values. Thus, L 8:8 could be translated as ‘and another fell **onto** the good ground’ or ‘and another fell **on** the good ground’.

The correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *ana*+Acc is also found to express a non-spatial notion of recipient: οἱ νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτούς - witodafastjos runa gudis fraqebun ana sik ‘the lawyers rejected the purpose of God for themselves’ (L 7:30). Infrequently, *εἰς*+Acc : *ana*+Dat marks a path: ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν - strawidedun ana wiga ‘they spread along the way’ (Mk 11:8).

The correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *and*+Acc indicates the direction ‘into’ or the location ‘in’. It is in some degree restricted, emphasizing that an action/motion happens in every part of a landmark (a distributive notion): καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου - jah qam and allans gaujans laurdanaus ‘and he went into the whole region of the Jordan’ (L 3:3), ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον - þishvaruh þei merjada so aiwaggeljo and alla manaseþ ‘wherever the gospel is preached in the whole world’ (Mk 14:9).

Gothic sometimes responds to *εἰς*+Acc with *at*+Dat or *faur*+Dat when denoting the directions ‘into’ or ‘to, up to’: ὁ ἔλθων εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν - sei qam at dulþai ‘who came to the feast’ (J 12:12), καὶ προδραμὼν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν - jah biþragjands faur ‘and running ahead’ (L 19:4) (*faur* is used here as a free adverb), ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν - qam at marein ‘he went up to the sea’ (Mk 7:31), καὶ ἐξῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (mss. N, T) - jah galaiþ aftra faur marein ‘he went out again up to the sea’ (Mk 2:13).

Εἰς+Acc corresponds to *und*+Acc only in passages denoting either the notion ‘in exchange for’ or the temporal value ‘up to, until’: καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως - jah atgebun ins und akra kasjins ‘and they gave them for the potter’s field’ (M 27:10), ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη

ὑπωπιάζει με - ibai und andi qimandei usagljai mis ‘lest coming up to the end she should torment me’ (L 18:5).

Both $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : bi +Acc and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : bi +Dat are limited. The first marks an area of contact in combination with the verb ‘beat, hit’, while the second refers to means: τῷ τύπτοντί σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα (mss. N, D, W, Θ) - þamma stautandin þuk bi kinnu ‘to the one striking you on [your] cheek’ (L 6:29), [μὴ ὀμόσαι] μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα - [ni swaran] nih bi Iairusaulwmai ‘[do not swear], not even by Jerusalem’ (M 5:35).

We find only individual instances of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : $nehva$ +Acc and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : $wipra$ +Acc, both referring to directional notions. The first correspondence is connected with the direction ‘to, up to’: καὶ ὅτε ἐγγιζουσιν... εἰς Βηθφαγή - jah biþe nehva wesun... in Bepsfagein ‘and when they came near to Bethany’ (Mk 11:1). The second pair is a result of rephrasing and simplification in the Gothic version: πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ὑπάντησιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ – alla so baurgs usiddja wipra Iesu ‘the whole city came out to meet (Goth: against) Jesus’ (M 8:34).

The correspondence $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : $hinder$ +Acc is limited to constructions indicating motion across the sea: ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν - haihait galeiþan siponjans hinder marein ‘he ordered (Goth: the disciples) to go to the other side (Goth: of the sea)’ (M 8:18).

6.2.4 Εἰς+ACC : nominal phrases

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc rarely corresponds to nominal cases alone. Accusative nominal phrases constitute the majority of such instances. The correspondence $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : Acc is mostly found to refer to the direction ‘against’ (with speech verbs): ὅς δ’ ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον - aþþan saei wajamereip ahman weihana ‘but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit’ (Mk 3:29). There are also cases where it designates a patient or a period of time (often meaning ‘forever’): ἀνθ’ ὧν οὐκ ἔγνωσ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου (ms. D) - in þizei ni ufkunþes þata mel niuhseinais þeinaizos

‘because you did not know the time of your visitation’ (L 19:44), καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπόλωνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα - jah ni fraqistnand aiw ‘and they will never perish’ (J 10:28).

Gothic sometimes uses the dative to render non-spatial semantic roles of εἰς+Acc. Thus, we find this correspondence to refer to a recipient or a beneficiary: ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσουσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου - ak þata allata taujand izwis in namins meins ‘but they will do all this to you because of my name’ (J 15:21), εἰ μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον βρώματα - niba þau þatei weis gaggandans bugjaima allai þizai manaseidai matins ‘unless going we should buy food for all these people’ (L 9:13). Rarely, it is connected with the denotation of a topic or a period of time (‘forever’): ἵνα πιστεύητε εἰς ὃν ἀπέστειλεν- ei galaubjaiþ þammei insandida ‘that you believe in the one whom he has sent’ (J 6:29), θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα - dauþu ni gasaiþiþ aiwa dage ‘he will never see death’ (J 8:51). In one passage εἰς+Acc refers to the direction ‘against’ and correlates with a dative nominal phrase, but this correspondence is the result of a periphrasis in the Gothic version: καὶ ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῷ - jah urrunnun wiþragamotjan imma ‘and they went out to meet him’ (J 12:13).

We find three instances where εἰς+Acc is translated with the help of the genitive alone. Two of these are connected with the directional senses of this phrase ‘into’ and ‘onto’: ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακρὰν - gaggida landis ‘he went into a far country’ (L 19:12), διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν - usleiþam jainis stadis ‘let’s go across to the other side’ (Mk 4:35). The third occurrence refers to a topic: ἐρωτᾷ τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην (ms. K) - bidjiþ gawairþjis ‘he asks for peace’ (L 14:32).

6.2.5 Εἰς+ACC : other constructions

In a few instances εἰς+Acc corresponds to an adverb. These are the cases with Gothic adverbs *aftra*, *ibukana*, and *faur*, all used with directional senses: βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω - saiþvands aftra ‘looking back’ (L 9:62), μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω - ni gawandjai sik ibukana ‘let him not turn

back' (L 17:31), καὶ προδραμὼν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν - jah biþragjands faur 'and running ahead' (L 19:4).

Sometimes εἰς+Acc is translated periphrastically with the help of different verbal constructions. We find two such cases, both connected with the directional usages of εἰς+Acc: ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθοῦσα - ak mais wairs habaida 'but rather becoming (Goth: became) worse' (Mk 5:26), ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς φανερόν - ak ei swikunþ wairþai 'but in order that it become clear' (Mk 4:22).

6.3 Correspondences with ἘΠΙ

6.3.1 ἘΠΙ+ACC : ANA+ACC(DAT)

Among all the constructions involving ἐπί, ἐπί+Acc is the most common. Thus, it is not surprising that we find more correspondences with this prepositional phrase than with ἐπί+Dat or ἐπί+Gen. Gothic *ana*+Acc is a regular counterpart of ἐπί+Acc. This correspondence is frequent with directional senses, especially in passages where it is associated with the concept of surface (often with the noun 'land, earth') and expresses the direction 'onto': καὶ καταγαγόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν - jah gatiuhandans þo skipa ana airþa 'and bringing their boats onto the land' (L 5:11). Other semantic roles are also possible for this correspondence, although they are not as frequent. We find ἐπί+Acc : *ana*+Acc designating the direction 'onto' (metaphorically) as well as the directions 'to, up to' and 'against': πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ - ahma weihs atgaggiþ ana þuk 'the Holy Spirit will come upon you' (L 1:35), κατέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν - atiddjedun siponjos is ana marein 'his disciples went down to the sea' (J 6:16), καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν - jah jabai Satana usstop ana sik silban 'and if Satan rose against himself' (Mk 3:26). The denotation of location is rare for these constructions, we find only a few instances where they designate the location 'on': ἵνα ἐξαυτῆς δῶς μοι ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν - ei mis gibais ana mesa haubiþ 'so that

immediately (Goth: *þu*) you give me the head on a platter’ (Mk 6:25). More abstract semantic roles are unusual for *επί*+Acc : *ana*+Acc. It occasionally refers to purpose or topic: ὕδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐκ ἔδωκας - wato mis ana fotuns meinans ni gaft ‘you did not give water for my feet’ (L 7:44), βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ’ αὐτὰ - wairpandans hlauta ana þos ‘casting lots for them’ (Mk 15:24).

Less frequently, Gothic matches up *επί*+Acc with *ana*+Dat. Such occurrences are limited to those having spatial semantics. We find this correspondence in those instances where they designate either the location ‘on, over’ or the directions ‘onto’, ‘into’: τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτρην - unte gasulþ was ana staina ‘for it had been founded on the rock’ (M 7:25), δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν... ἐπὶ πάντα τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ - atgaf izwis waldufni trudan... ana allai mahtai fijandis ‘I gave you the authority to tread... upon all the power of the enemy’ (L 10:19), καὶ ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον - jah biþe qam ana þamma stada ‘and when he came into the place’ (L 19:5).

6.3.2 ΕΠΙ+ACC : other prepositional phrases

Even though *du*+Dat does not match *επί*+Acc as often as *ana*+Acc(Dat), these correspondences are notable for the variety of their semantic functions. The correspondence *επί*+Acc : *du*+Dat may designate different types of directions ‘onto’, ‘into’, ‘to, up to’, and ‘against’: καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου - jah atwalwida stain du daura þis hlaiwis ‘and he rolled a stone onto the door of the tomb’ (Mk 15:46), καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἔδωκάς μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν; - jah duþe ni atlagides þata silubr mein du skattjam? ‘and why didn’t you put my silver into the bank (Goth: set it out for money-lenders)?’ (L 19:23), συνήχθη ὄχλος πολὺς ἐπ’ αὐτόν - gaqemun sik manageins filu du imma ‘a great crowd gathered unto him’ (Mk 5:21), ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλθατε - swe du waidedjin urrunnuþ ‘you came out as against a robber’ (Mk 14:48). This correspondence is also found with a temporal function designating a period of time: ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἑξ - þan galuknoda himins du jeram þrim jah menops saiþ ‘when

heaven was closed up for three years and six months' (L 4:25). The correspondence *ἐπί*+Acc : *du*+Dat may also express abstract functions, although such cases are not frequent. It can designate purpose, a function common for *du*+Dat: ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην- unte duþe mik insandida 'because for this I was sent (Goth: he sent me)' (L 4:43). We also find random instances where these counterparts refer to a patient or topic: σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον - infeinoda du þizai managein 'I have compassion on the crowd' (Mk 8:2), πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν - trauaida du guda 'he trusted in God' (M 27:43).

The prepositional phrases *at*+Dat and *bi*+Acc sometimes match *ἐπί*+Acc. These correspondences are sporadic, as are their semantic roles. Thus, correspondences with *at*+Dat designate the location 'near', the direction 'to, up to', and a recipient: καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον - sitandan at motai 'sitting at (=near) the toll-house' (Mk 2:14), καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπ' αὐτήν - jah qimands at imma 'and coming to it' (Mk 11:13), ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην - warþ waurd gudis at Iohannen 'the word of God came to John' (L 3:2). The correspondence *ἐπί*+Acc : *bi*+Acc refers to an area of contact (in combination with the verb 'hit'), recipient, or topic: τῷ τύποντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα - þamma stautandin þuk bi kinnu 'to the one striking you on the cheek' (L 6:29), εἰδὺς ὁ γέγονεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ (mss. R, Θ) - witandei þatei warþ bi ija 'knowing what had been done to her' (Mk 5:33), ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτήν - gaigrot bi þo 'he wept about it' (L 19:41).

Several Gothic prepositions correspond to *ἐπί*+Acc only occasionally and in instances where this phrase expresses a spatial notion closely connected with their semantics. In the instances where the Greek counterpart refers to the location 'among' it is translated into Gothic with *in*+Acc: οἱ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι (mss. H, T) - þai in þaurnuns saianans 'the ones sown among thorns' (Mk 4:18); while cases with *ἐπί*+Acc designating the location 'on, over' are matched in Gothic by *and*+Acc and *ufar*+Dat: ὡς ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν - swe huhrus mikils and alla airþa

‘when there was a great famine over the whole earth’ (L 4:25), καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εις τοὺς αἰῶνας - jah þiudanoþ ufar garda Iakobis in ajukduþ ‘and he will rule over the house of Jacob forever’ (L 1:33). We find analogous examples among directional and temporal usages of *épi*+Acc. This phrase is once matched by *und*+Acc when it indicates the temporal notion ‘while’: ὅσον μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὁ νυμφίος - und þata hweilos þei miþ im ist brufþaþs ‘while the bridegroom is with them’ (M 9:15). In instances where it denotes the directions ‘after, behind’ or ‘against’, it is sometimes translated with *afar*+Dat and *wipra*+Dat, respectively: καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς - jah gaggip̃ afar þamma fralusanin ‘and he goes after the one [that is] lost’ (L 15:4), καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ - jah jabai þiudangardi wipra sik gadailjada ‘and if a kingdom is divided against itself’ (Mk 3:24).

6.3.3 ἘΠΙ+ACC : other constructions

The only nominal cases that are found to correspond to *épi*+Acc are the dative and the accusative. Correspondences with each of these cases can denote a patient: σπλαγχνισθεῖς ἐφ’ ἡμῶς - gableip̃jands unsis ‘having pity on us’ (Mk 9:22), εὐλόγησεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς (ms. D) - gaþiupida ins ‘he blessed them’ (L 9:16). We also find instances where *épi*+Acc : Dat refers to a beneficiary or marks a period of time: ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους - unte is gods ist þaim unfagram ‘for he is kind to the ungrateful’ (L 6:35), καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐπὶ χρόνον - jah ni wilda laggai hweilai ‘and he did not want to for a (Goth: long) while’ (L 18:4). In a single instance the accusative is used to translate *épi*+Acc designating the direction ‘upon’: καὶ φόβος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν - jah agis disdraus ina ‘and fear fell upon him’ (L 1:12).

On one occasion *épi*+Acc is rendered by a free adverb. Gothic *samana* is used to translate *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* in its idiomatic value ‘at the same place, together’: ἔσονται δύο ἀλήθουσai ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό - twos wairþand malandeins samana ‘there will be two [women] grinding together’ (L 17:35).

6.3.4 ἘΠΙ+DAT : ANA+DAT(ACC)

Just as in the case of *ἐπί*+Acc, Gothic *ana* is the most frequent counterpart of *ἐπί*+Dat; however, in correspondences with this prepositional phrase *ana*+Dat occurs more often than *ana*+Acc. Spatial notions are prominent for these correspondences. *Ἐπί*+Dat : *ana*+Acc is found to indicate only the direction ‘onto’: οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ - aþþan ni hvashun lagjiþ du plata fanan þarihis ana snagan fairnjana ‘and no one puts a patch of new [cloth] onto an old garment’ (M 9:16), while *ἐπί*+Dat : *ana*+Dat has a wider range of applications. This correspondence is often connected with such spatial functions as the locations ‘on, over’ and ‘in’: καὶ χάρις θεοῦ ἦν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ (ms. Θ) - jah ansts gudis was ana imma ‘and the favor of God was upon him’ (L 2:40), ἀλλ’ ἔξω ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν - ak uta ana aubjaim stadim was ‘but he was out in empty places’ (Mk 1:45).

Instances where *ἐπί*+Dat : *ana*+Dat express more abstract notions are rare. We find sporadic cases where this correspondence designates means, manner, patient, or topic: καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κρεβάτοις τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας περιφέρειν - dugunnun ana badjam þans ubil habandans bairan ‘and they began to bring the sick ones in beds’ (Mk 6:55), ὃς ἂν ἐν τῶν τοιούτων παιδίων δέξηται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου - saei ain þize swaleikaize barne andnimip ana namin meinamma ‘whoever takes one of these children in my name’ (Mk 9:37), καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς; - jah usbeidands ist ana im? ‘is he not patient toward them?’ (L 18:7), ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ - usfilmans þan waurþun allai ana þizai mikilein gudis ‘as all were amazed at the majesty of God’ (L 9:43).

6.3.5 ἘΠΙ+DAT : other constructions

Spatial meaning is rare for the correspondences of *ἐπί*+Dat with other prepositional and nominal phrases. We find only *in*+Acc, *at*+Dat, and *ufaro*+Dat used to translate spatial functions of

the Greek counterpart. The correspondence *ἐπί*+Dat : *in*+Acc expresses the location ‘in’: ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ ᾧ ἦν τόπῳ (ms. D) - *salida in þammei* was *stada* ‘he stayed in the place that he was’ (J 11:6). While *ἐπί*+Dat : *ufaro*+Dat is associated with the location ‘on, over’, *ἐπί*+Dat : *at*+Dat refers to the location ‘near’: καὶ φυλάσσοντες φυλακὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτῶν - *jah witandans wahtwom nahts ufarō hairdai seinai* ‘and keeping watch over their flocks by night’ (L 2:8), ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις - *þatei nehva sijup at...* ‘that it is (Goth: you are) near at the gates’ (Mk 13:29).

In most instances where *ἐπί*+Dat is translated into Gothic by prepositional and nominal phrases other than those involving *ana*, it refers to a topic. Of this type are some passages where *ἐπί*+Dat corresponds to *bi*+Acc(Dat), *in*+Dat(Gen), *du*+Dat, *afar*+Dat and the genitive or the dative alone: πάντων δὲ θαυμάζόντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν - *at allaim þan sildaleijandam bi alla* ‘while they were marveling at everything’ (L 9:43), ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεταράχθη - *gaþlahsnoda bi innatgahtai* is ‘but she was troubled greatly at the saying (Goth: his entrance)’ (L 1:29), καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται - *jah managai in gabaurbai is faginond* ‘and many will rejoice at his birth’ (L 1:14), οὕτως χαρὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔσται ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ - *swa faheds wairþiþ in himina in ainis frawaurhtis* ‘as there will be joy in heaven over one sinner’ (L 15:7), ὅτι ταῦτα ἦν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα - *þatei þata was du þamma gameliþ* ‘that this was written about him’ (J 12:16), τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - *þaim hugjandam afar faihau* ‘for those trusting in riches’ (Mk 10:24), καὶ θαυμάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκρίσει αὐτοῦ - *jah sildaleikjandans andawaurde is* ‘and wondering at (=about) his answer (Goth: answers)’ (L 20:26), πρὸς τινὰς τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς - *du sumaim þaiei silbans trauaidedun sis* ‘to those who trusted in themselves’ (L 18:9). Most of such correspondences are found in the Gospel of Luke.

The remaining correspondences with *ἐπί*+Dat are not easily characterized. We find that *bi*+Acc and *in*+Dat can match *ἐπί*+Dat designating means: οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος

- ni bi hlaib ainana libaid manna ‘man shall not live by bread alone’ (L 4:4), ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν (ms. D) - qimandan in milhmam ‘coming by clouds’ (Mk 13:26). There are also irregular instances of ἐπί+Dat being translated by *in*+Gen or *afar*+Dat where these phrases refer to reason: ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ - iḅ is gahnipnands in bis waurdis ‘for he was shocked because of this word’ (Mk 10:22), ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματί σου χαλάσω τὰ δίκτυα - iḅ afar waurda beinamma wairpam natja ‘but because of your word I will throw the nets’ (L 5:5). Correspondences with ἐπί+Dat expressing manner are limited and we come across only random cases where this construction is rendered by *in*+Dat and *afar*+Dat: ὅς ποιήσει δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου - saei taujiḅ maht in namin meinamma ‘who does a mighty work in my name’ (Mk 9:39), καὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ - jah haihaitun ina afar namin attins is ‘and they named him after his father’s name’ (L 1:59). We also find one irregular example where ἐπί+Dat denotes a beneficiary and is translated with *du*+Dat: ὁ κύριος ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ’ αὐτῇ - frauja Iesus infeinoda du izai ‘the Lord (Goth: Jesus) had compassion on her’ (L 7:13).

6.3.6 ἘΠΙ+GEN : ANA+DAT(ACC)

Correspondences of ἐπί+Gen and *ana*+Dat(Acc) are similar to those with ἐπί+Dat. For the most part they are connected with spatial usages of these prepositional constructions. Thus, ἐπί+Gen corresponds to *ana*+Acc only in instances where both denote the direction ‘onto’: πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς - driusands ana airḅa ‘falling onto the ground’ (Mk 9:20). Correspondences with *ana*+Dat are more common and greater in number. Such correspondences mainly designate the locations ‘on’ or ‘in’ (often with nouns like ‘land’, ‘desert’ associated with the concept of surface): ἐπὶ κλίνης βεβλημένον - ana ligra ligandan ‘lying on [his] bed’ (M 9:2), πόθεν τούτους δυνήσεται τις ὧδε χορτάσαι ἄρτων ἐπ’ ἐρημίας - hvaḅro ḅans mag hvaḅ gasoḅjan hlaibam ana auḅidai? ‘whence can one satiate these [men] with bread here (Goth: ø) in the desert?’ (Mk 8:4).

We also find irregular instances where this correspondence refers to the location ‘near’ or the direction ‘onto’: καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου - jah Moses bandwida ana aihvatundjai ‘and Moses showed at the bush’ (L 20:37), ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ λυχνίας τίθησιν - ak ana lukarnastabin [ga]satjib ‘but he puts [it] onto a stand’ (L 8:16). Other semantic roles are exceptional for this correspondence and are limited to rare instances where they indicate means or a path: ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσιν σε - ana handum puk ufhaband ‘they will raise you on [their] hands’ (L 4:11), θεωροῦσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης - gasaihvand Iesu gaggandan ana marein ‘they see Jesus walking on the sea’ (J 6:19).

6.3.7 ἘΠΙ+GEN : other constructions

Other correspondences with *ἐπί*+Gen are irregular. We find *at*+Dat and *uf*+Acc sometimes rendering *ἐπί*+Gen with a temporal function where it designates the notion ‘during the time of somebody’: ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφᾳ - at auhmistam gudjam Annin jah Kajafin ‘at the time of the high priests Annas and Caiaphas’ (L 3:2), πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθὰρ ἀρχιερέως - hvaiwa galaib in gard gudis uf Abiabara gudjin ‘how he came into the house of God at the time of the high priest Abiathar’ (Mk 2:26).

Correspondences between *ἐπί*+Gen and *bi*+Dat are limited to the construction *bi sunjai* designating the notion of manner: ἐπ’ ἀληθείας δεῖ λέγω ὑμῖν - aḅḅan bi sunjai qibā izwis ‘but truly I tell you’ (L 4:25).

6.4 Correspondences with ἘΚ/ΕΞ+GEN

6.4.1 ἘΚ/ΕΞ+GEN : US+DAT

Since the primary meaning of *ἐκ/εξ*+Gen as well as of *us*+Dat is source, it is not surprising that the majority of correspondences between these prepositional phrases is connected with the denotation of this concept. This correspondence can designate three types of source notions - ‘out of’,

‘away from’, and the partitive sense; the sense ‘out of’ is the most frequent: ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ - usiddja us imma ‘he went out of him’ (Mk 1:26), σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν - nasein us fijandam unsaraim ‘salvation from our enemies’ (L 1:71), καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐρωτᾷ με - jah ainshun us izwis ni fraihnib mik ‘and none of you asks me’ (J 16:5). Temporal usages of ἐκ/ἐξ+Gen are also often translated by *us*+Dat. We find this correspondence in cases where it designates a starting point of time: ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος - þata allata gafastaida us jundai meinai ‘all these I have kept from my youth’ (L 18:21). Causal functions, although not as prominent as spatial ones, are regular for the correspondence ἐκ/ἐξ+Gen : *us*+Dat. It is found referring to means or reason: ἡγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως - usbauhtedun us þaim þana akr kasjins ‘they bought with them the potter’s field’ (M 27:7), ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ - uzuh allis ufarfullein hairtins rodeid munþs is ‘for his mouth speaks out of (=because of) the abundance of [his] heart’ (L 6:45). We also find a few instances where ἐκ/ἐξ+Gen : *us*+Dat stands for manner or has a possessive connotation: ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐκ ἐλάλησα - unte ik us mis silbin ni rodida ‘for I did not speak on my own accord’ (J 12:49), ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί - ei andhulsjaindau us managaim hairtam witoneis ‘so that thoughts of many hearts should be revealed’ (L 2:35).

6.4.2 ἘΚ/ΕΞ+GEN : other constructions

Correspondences of ἐκ/ἐξ+Gen with other prepositionals and nominal phrases are mainly grouped around their spatial usages. Thus, ἐκ/ἐξ+Gen is translated with *af*+Dat, *fram*+Dat, or just the genitive alone where it designates the source ‘out of’: εἰσελθόντι ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ - atgaggandin af haipjai ‘to the one coming in from the field’ (L 17:7), ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς - uzuhiddja fram attin ‘I have come forth from [my] father’ (J 16:28), καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες - jah stairnons himinis wairþand driusandeins ‘and the stars will be falling from heaven’ (Mk 13:25). It

is sometimes rendered with *af*+Dat or *faura*+Dat where it stands for the source ‘away from’: τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας; - hvas afwalwjai unsis þana stain af dauron? ‘who will roll the stone away from the door for us?’ (Mk 16:3), ἀλλ’ ἵνα τηρήσης αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ - ak ei bairgais im faura þamma unseljin ‘but that you should keep them away from evil’ (J 17:15). Some partitive usages of *ἐκ/ἐξ*+Gen (many in the Gospel of John) are translated into Gothic by the genitive: καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ποιεῖ τὸν νόμον - jah ni ainshun izwara taujiþ wito ‘and none of you keeps the law’ (J 7:19). Of special interest are locational usages of *ἐκ/ἐξ*+Gen that denote the locations ‘near’ and ‘before’ and are translated with *af*+Dat and *in adwairþja*+Gen, respectfully: ἵνα εἷς σου ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἷς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν καθίσωμεν - ei ains af taihswon þeinai jah ains af hleidumein þeinai sitaiwa ‘so that we sit one at the right and one at the left of thee’ (Mk 10:37), ὁ κεντυρίων ὁ παρεστικῶς ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ - sa hundafaps sa atstandands in andwairþja is ‘the centurion, the one standing before him’ (Mk 15:39). We also find several instances where the source function of *ἐκ/ἐξ*+Gen is interpreted in a different way by a Gothic translator, thus linking it with such prepositional phrases as *in*+Dat and *ana*+Dat designating location: καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ - jah ahmins weihis gafulljada nauhþan in wambai aiþeins seinaizos ‘and he will be filled with the Holy Spirit still from (Goth: while still in) his mother’s womb’ (L 1:15), ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου - weis hausidedum ana witoda ‘we heard from (Goth: in) the law’ (J 12:34).

In several cases *ἐκ/ἐξ*+Gen in temporal functions is translated with *fram*+Dat, the dative, or the accusative alone: ἐκ τούτου ὁ Πιλάτος ἐζήτει ἀπολῦσαι αὐτόν - framuh þamma sokida Peilatus fraletan ina ‘from this [time] Pilates sought to release him’ (J 19:12), καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ δευτέρου ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν - jah anþaramma sinþa hana wopida ‘and immediately (Goth: \emptyset) for the second time the

cock crowed' (Mk 14:72), ἔχων δαιμόνια ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν (mss. R, Θ) - saei habaida unhulþons mela lagga 'the one having (Goth: who had) demons for a long time' (L 8:27).

6.5 Correspondences with ΠΡΟΣ

6.5.1 ΠΡΟΣ+ACC : DU+DAT

The main semantic role of *πρός*+Acc is a denotation of the directional notion 'to, up to'. This explains the predominance of those instances where it is matched up with Gothic *du*+Dat, which is also primarily used in this function. In the majority of such correspondences *πρός*+Acc and *du*+Dat designate a direction toward a person, although cases where they refer to a direction toward an inanimate object are also found: ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ Πιλάτος ἐξω πρὸς αὐτοὺς - þaruh atiddja ut Peilatus du im 'and Pilate went out to them' (J 18:29), προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ - draus du fotum is 'she fell at his feet' (Mk 7:25).

Another common function for these counterparts is a denotation of a recipient in combination with speech verbs: καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους - jah qeþun du sis misso 'and they said to each other' (Mk 4:41). This role is a clear semantic extension from the directional meaning of these prepositions. The correspondence *πρός*+Acc : *du*+Dat is less frequently found with other functions. In several cases it designates purpose (including instances with verbal nouns), a certain time, or the location 'near': μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς - ni taujan in andwairþja manne du saiþan im 'not to do in front of men in order to be seen by them' (M 6:1), οἱ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύουσιν - þaiei du mela galaubjand 'who believe for a time' (L 8:13), ἐβέβλητο πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ - sah atwaurþans was du daura is 'the one who had been thrown down near his gate' (L 16:20). In one passage this correspondence indicates manner: ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι - þatei hʒazuh saei saiþiþ qinon du luston 'that everyone who looks upon a woman lustfully' (M 5:28). We also find one instance where the Greek construction *πρὸς τί* is translated with the adverb

duhve (*du+he*) expressing reason: πρὸς τί εἶπεν αὐτῷ - *duhve* qap imma ‘why he said [this] to him’ (J 13:28).

6.5.2 ΠΡΟΣ+ACC : other constructions

Many correspondences of *πρὸς*+Acc with other Gothic construction are grouped around two functions already mentioned in our discussion of the correspondences of this phrase with *du*+Dat – the denotations of direction and recipient (often with verbs of speech). Thus, *at*+Acc(Dat), *wipra*+Acc, *bi*+Acc, and the dative alone are found corresponding to *πρὸς*+Acc with the directional value ‘to, up to’: ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν - qam *at Iesu* ‘he came to Jesus’ (Mk 10:50), καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐν ῥήματι - jah ni andhof imma *wipra* ni *ainhun waurde* ‘and he did not answer him, not even to a single charge’ (M 27:14), πολλοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐληλύθεισαν πρὸς τὴν Μάρθαν - jah managai Iudaie gagemun *bi Marþan* ‘many of the Jews came to Martha’ (J 11:19), καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν - jah attauhun þana fulan *Iesua* ‘and they led it (Goth: the colt) to Jesus’ (L 19:35). Several instances where *πρὸς*+Acc refers to a recipient are rendered by *wipra*+Acc and the dative alone: καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς - jah andhafjands *wipra ins* Iesus qap ‘and answering them Jesus said’ (L 6:3), τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς; - hva kara *unsis*? ‘what (Goth: care) is [that] to us?’ (M 27:4). Correspondences with *mip*+Dat repeatedly occur in combination with speech verbs where *πρὸς*+Acc and *mip*+Dat refer to the location ‘among’ ἐμάχοντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι - þanuh sokun *mip sis misso* Iudaieis ‘then the Jews disputed among each other’ (J 6:52). These constructions sometimes become counterparts only as a result of periphrasis: καὶ συνέρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς - jah garunnun *mip imma* auhumistans gudjans allai ‘and all the high priests come (Goth: came) together to (Goth: with) him’ (Mk 14:53). *Mip*+Dat does not really match *πρὸς*+Acc in this passage; it rather addresses the comitative semantics of the preverb *συν*-.

Other correspondences with *πρός*+Acc are irregular. In a few cases where it denotes location it is translated by *at*+Dat (senses ‘among’ and ‘near’) or by *wipra*+Acc (notion ‘near’): καθ’ ἡμέραν ἡμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς - daga hammeh was at izwis ‘each day I was among you’ (Mk 14:49), ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν - swaswe juþan ni gamostedun nih at daura ‘so that they no longer had space, not even near the door’ (Mk 2:2), καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν - jah alla so managei wipra marein ana staþa was ‘and the whole crowd was near the sea on the land’ (Mk 4:1). Uncommon instances of *πρός*+Acc designating the direction ‘against’, reason, and topic are matched up by *bi*+Dat, *wipra*+Acc, and the genitive, respectively: μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου - ei huan ni gastagqjais bi staina fotu þeinana ‘so that you do not strike your foot against a stone’ (L 4:11), πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην - wipra harduhairtein izwara gamelida izwis þo anabusn ‘because of the hardness of your heart he wrote for you this commandment’ (Mk 10:5), ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην - bidjiþ gawairþjis ‘he asks about peace’ (L 14:32).

6.5.3 ΠΡΟΣ+DAT : AT+DAT(ACC)

Out of five occurrences of *πρός*+Dat established in the canonical gospels only three have corresponding translations. In all three instances a construction with *at* renders the Greek phrase. In two examples *at*+Dat matches *πρός*+Dat designating the location ‘near’: ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἰστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ ἔξω - iþ Paitrus stoþ at daurom uta ‘but Peter was standing outside near the door’ (J 18:16). In one instance *at*+Acc is used to translate the directional function of *πρός*+Dat: ἐγγίζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡδὴ πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν - biþe þan is nehwa was juþan at ibdaljin þis fairgunjis alewabagme ‘(Goth: then) when he was already near to the slope of the Mount of Olives’ (L 19:37).

6.6 Correspondences with ΔΙΑ

6.6.1 ΔΙΑ+ACC : Gothic constructions

The primary function of *διά*+Acc is to denote reason; therefore, this phrase is mainly matched by those constructions in Gothic that can express this meaning. The group of prepositional phrases that are used to translate *διά*+Acc in this causal function includes *þairh*+Acc, *in*+Gen, *bi*+Acc, and *faura*+Dat: *διά σπλάγχνα ἐλέους* θεοῦ ἡμῶν - *þairh in feinandein armahairtein gudis unsaris* ‘because of the tender mercy of our God’ (L 1:78), ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι *διά φθόνον* παρέδωκαν αὐτόν - *wissa auk þatei in neipis atgebun ina* ‘for he knew that because of envy they gave him over’ (M 27:18), σχίσμα οὖν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ *δι’ αὐτόν* - *þanuh missaqiss in þizai managein warþ bi ina* ‘so there was a division among the people because of him’ (J 7:43), οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως *διά τὴν χαρὰν* - *ni þanaseiþs ni gaman þizos aglons faura fahedai* ‘she no longer remembers the distress because of the joy’ (J 16:21). *In*+Gen and *bi*+Acc often render those cases where *διά* is combined with a pronoun: *διά τὸ* μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς - *in þizei ni habaida diupaizos airþos* ‘because it did not have deep soil’ (Mk 4:5), *διά τὸ* ἐγγὺς εἶναι Ἰερουσαλὴμ αὐτόν - *bi þatei nehwa Iairusalem* was ‘for he was near Jerusalem’ (L 19:11). Such instances of *διά*+Acc are sometimes matched by the conjunctions *du(h/p)þe*, *unte*, or by the adverb *duhve*: *διά τοῦτο* λέγω ὑμῖν - *duþþe qiþa izwis* ‘because of this I say to you’ (M 6:25), καὶ *διά τὸ* μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη - *jah unte ni habaida waurtins, gaþaursnoda* ‘and since it did not have root (Goth: roots), it withered’ (Mk 4:6), *διά τί* μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν; - *duhve miþ motarjam jah frawaurhtaim matjiþ sa laisareis izwar?* ‘why does your teacher eat with tax-collectors and sinners?’ (M 9:11). One example of the correspondence *διά*+Acc : *þairh*+Acc stands out since it refers to a path: καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο *διά μέσον* Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας - *jah is þairhhiddja þairh midja* Samaritan jah Galeilaian ‘and he passed through the middle of Samaria and Galilee’ (L 17:11).

6.6.2 ΔΙΑ+GEN : Gothic constructions

Unlike *διά*+Acc, *διά*+Gen has a variety of semantic roles. This construction often denotes a path and is matched by *þairh*+Acc: ὥστε μὴ ἰσχύειν τινὰ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης - swaswe ni mahta manna usleiþan þairh þana wig jainana ‘so that no one could go through that way’ (M 8:28). We also find irregular occurrences where *διά*+Gen in this function is translated with *and*+Acc or *hindar*+Dat: διὰ τῶν κεράμων καθῆκαν αὐτὸν - and skalios gasatidedun ina ‘through the tiles they let him down’ (L 5:19), ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ διὰ τοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (ms. R) - qam in markom Iudaias hindar Iaurdanau ‘he went into the areas of Judea and (Goth: ø) across the Jordan’ (Mk 10:1). Causal functions are also common for *διά*+Gen. This phrase corresponds to *þairh*+Acc or *bi*+Acc where it refers to means or to just *þairh*+Acc where it designates an agent: καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γινόμεναι - ei mahteis swaleikos þairh handuns is wairþand ‘and (Goth: that) such powers come about by his hands’ (Mk 6:2), πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ - insandjands bi siponjam seinaim ‘sending through his disciples’ (M 11:2), πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου – all þata gamelido þairh praufetuns bi sunu mans ‘all that written by prophets about the son of man’ (L 18:31). Temporal usages of *διά*+Gen are matched by a variety of prepositional and nominal phrases. Thus, we find infrequent instances where *in*+Dat, *bi*+Acc, *afar*+Acc, the dative, and the accusative alone correspond to *διά*+Gen designating a certain point or a period of time during or after which something happens: ἐγένετο δὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας (ms. D) - warþ þan in þamma daga ‘it happened during the day’ (L 9:37), καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω - jah bi þrins dagans anþara unhanduwaurhta gatimrja ‘and within three days I will build another not man-made [temple]’ (Mk 14:58), καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δὲ ἡμερῶν - jah galaip aftra in Kafarnaum afar dagans ‘and after [several] days coming (Goth: he came) again to Capernaum’ (Mk 2:1), καὶ διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας... ἦν κρᾶζων - jah sinteino

nahtam jah dagam... was hropjands ‘and every day and night (Goth: always by day and night)... he was crying’ (Mk 5:5), δι’ ὅλης νυκτός κοπιάσαντες - alla naht þairharbaidjandans ‘working hard the whole night’ (L 5:5).

6.7 Correspondences with META

6.7.1 META+GEN : Gothic constructions

Μετά+Gen in its primary comitative function corresponds solely to *mip*+Dat: ὁ τρώγων μετ’ ἐμου τὸν ἄρτον (mss. R, D) - saei matida mip mis hlaib ‘the one eating (Goth: who ate) bread with me’ (J 13:18). This correspondence also occurs with other semantic roles that are closely connected with the comitative connotation. The correspondence *μετά*+Gen : *mip*+Dat often stands for manner: μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγοντες - mip fahedai qipandans ‘speaking with joy (= joyfully)’ (L 10:17). It is rarely found designating the direction ‘after’ (in combination with the verb ‘follow’): καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν οὐδένα μετ’ αὐτοῦ συνακολουθεῖν - jah ni fralailot ainohun ize mip sis afargaggan ‘and he did not let anyone (Goth: of them) follow him’ (Mk 5:37).

Correspondences with other constructions in Gothic are unsystematic. Rare spatial usages of *μετά*+Gen are rendered with *in*+Dat or the accusative alone (in combination with the verb ‘follow’): ἔτι μικρὸν χρόνον τὸ φῶς μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἔστιν (ms. R) - nauh leitol mel liuhap in izwis ist ‘you will have light among you for yet a little time’ (J 12:35), ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ’ ἡμῶν (ms. D) - saei ni laisteip unsis ‘who does not follow us’ (Mk 9:38). A few cases where the Greek phrase indicates a recipient are translated with *bi*+Dat: ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν - taujan armahairtipa bi attam unsaraim ‘to show mercy to our fathers’ (L 1:72). In some rare instances *μετά*+Gen corresponds to an adverb: ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα - iddja in bairgahein sniumundo in baurg Iudins ‘she hastily went into the hill country into the city of Judea’ (L 1:39).

6.7.2 META+ACC : Gothic constructions

Since the only function of *μετά*+Acc is a designation of time ‘after’ it can correspond only to the one prepositional phrase in Gothic that has this role, *afar*+Acc: *μετά τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ* - *afar urrist* is ‘after his resurrection’ (M 27:53). We also find several instances where *μετά*+Acc is translated with the help of the conjunction *biþe*: καὶ *μετὰ ταῦτα* φάγεσαι - jah *biþe* gamatjis ‘and after that you will eat’ (L 17:8). One instance where the Greek construction is rendered by the dative alone should not be considered a true correspondence set, but rather a case of different readings. The Gothic version expresses the temporal notion ‘during’ rather than ‘after’: *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας* ἀναστήσεται - *bridjin daga* usstandiþ ‘after three days (Goth: on the third day) he will rise’ (Mk 9:31).

6.8 Correspondences with KATA

6.8.1 KATA+ACC : Gothic constructions

The most common correspondence involving this Greek phrase is *κατά*+Acc : *bi*+Dat. It refers to manner specifying the meaning ‘according to’: *κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν* γεννηθήτω ὑμῖν - *bi galaubeinai iggqarai* wairþai iggqis ‘according to your faith may it be to you’ (M 9:29). The correspondences with *bi*+Acc are not as frequent and are limited to instances designating means or path: μὴ κρίνετε *κατ’ ὄψιν* - ni stojaiþ *bi siunai* ‘do not judge by the appearance’ (J 7:24), καὶ μηδένα *κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν* ἀσπάσησθε - ni mannanhun *bi wig* goljaiþ ‘do not greet anyone along the road’ (L 10:4). The notion of means connects the construction *κατὰ τί* and the adverb *biþe*: *κατὰ τί* γνώσομαι τοῦτο; - *biþe* kunnum þata? ‘how (= by means of what) will I (Goth: we) know this?’ (L 1:18).

Correspondences of *κατά*+Acc with other Gothic constructions seem to be grouped around spatial, temporal, and manner functions. *And*+Acc and *in*+Dat match *κατά*+Acc designating the location ‘in’: ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ *κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην* - warþ huhrus abrs *and gawi jainata*

‘there was a great famine throughout (=in) that country’ (L 15:14), ὁ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν - þoei manwides in andwairþja allaizo manageino ‘which you prepared in front of all the people’ (L 2:31). *And*+Acc also covers several cases where the Greek counterpart indicates a path: διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς κώμας - þairhiddjedun and haimos ‘they went through the villages’ (L 9:6). In one instance of the correspondence *κατά*+Acc : *us*+Dat the Greek phrase denotes source with a distributional sense common for this construction, while its Gothic counterpart, a regular marker of source, does not capture this second connotation: τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν - þaiei us baurgim gaiddjedun du imma ‘when they were coming to him from town after town (Goth: from towns)’ (L 8:4).

In several passages where *κατά*+Acc expresses temporal notions it is rendered by *and*+Acc, the dative, or the accusative alone: κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν εἰώθει - and dulþ þan hvarjoh biuhts was ‘it was customary at every feast’ (M 27:15), καθ’ ἡμέραν ἦμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς - daga hammaheh was at izwis ‘every day I was among you’ (Mk 14:49), καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν - jah nimai galgam seinana dag huanoh ‘and let him take up his cross every day’ (L 9:23). The distributive connotation of *κατά*+Acc has to be expressed with the help of the indefinite pronoun *has* since none of the Gothic phrases used in these examples convey this meaning.

We find a few instances in which *κατά*+Acc designates manner and is translated with *miþ*+Dat, an adverb, or by a clausal construction: κατ’ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει- miþ waldufnja jah ahmam þaim unhrainjam anabiudīþ ‘with authority he orders even unclean spirits’ (Mk 1:27), κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν - samaleiko allis tawidedun galiugapraufetum attans ize ‘for in the same way their fathers did to the false prophets’ (L 6:26), καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι θυσίαν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον - jah ei gebeina fram imma husl

swaswe qīpan ist ‘and to give (Goth: and that they should give) a sacrifice (Goth: for him) in accordance with what has been said’ (L 2:24).

6.8.2 KATA+GEN : Gothic constructions

The most common spatial function of *κατά*+Gen is to denote the direction ‘against’. Gothic uses a number of constructions to express this meaning. Thus, we find *κατά*+Gen corresponding to *bi*+Acc, *wīpra*+Acc, *ana*+Acc, and the accusative alone: ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ - þatei broþar þeins habaiþ hva bi þuk ‘that your brother has something against you’ (M 5:23), ὅς γάρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ’ ἡμῶν - unte saei nist wīpra izwis ‘for the one who is not against you’ (Mk 9:40), οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ἐζήτουν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν - *īþ þai* auhumistans gudjans jah alla so gafaurds sokidedun ana Iesu weitwodīþa ‘but the high priests and the whole Sanhedrin were looking for evidence against Jesus’ (Mk 14:55), κατηγορεῖν κατ’ αὐτοῦ (mss. K, L) - wrohjan ina ‘to bring a charge against him’ (L 6:7). Other spatial functions are less common for this Greek phrase. Several correspondences with *and*+Acc mark a path: καὶ φήμη ἐξῆλθεν καθ’ ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου περὶ αὐτοῦ - jah meriþa urrann and all gawi bisitande bi ina ‘and a report went out throughout the entire surrounding region about him’ (L 4:14). Just like in several correspondences with *κατά*+Acc discussed earlier, the Gothic translator uses additional means to express an innate distributive sense of the Greek construction. In one of the instances where *κατά*+Gen corresponds to *ana*+Acc both phrases metaphorically designate the location ‘over’: οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν κατ’ ἐμοῦ οὐδεμίαν - ni aihtedeis waldufnje ainhun ana mik ‘you would not have any power over me’ (J 19:11).

6.9 Correspondences with ΠΑΡΑ

6.9.1 ΠΑΡΑ+GEN : Gothic constructions

This Greek construction corresponds to a number of Gothic phrases with similar frequencies. The majority of these correspondences share the same semantic function – they designate the source

‘out of’ in combination with an animate object. Thus, *at*+Dat, *fram*+Dat, *du*+Dat, *af*+Dat and the dative alone can match *παρά*+Gen in this role: *κἀγὼ ἃ ἤκουσα παρ’ αὐτοῦ* - jah ik þatei hausida *at imma* ‘and what I heard from him’ (J 8:26), *παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη* - *fram frauþin* warþ sa ‘this came from God’ (Mk 12:11), *ζητοῦντες παρ’ αὐτοῦ σημείον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* - sokjandans *du imma* taikn us himina ‘seeking from him a sign from heaven’ (Mk 8:11), *ὅτι δύναμις παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο* - unte mahts *af imma* usiddja ‘for a power went out of him’ (L 6:19), *ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα* - unte nist unmahteig *guda* ainhun waurde ‘for there is not any word impossible from God’ (L 1:37). Some of these correspondences convey possessive connotation: cf. *καὶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ’ αὐτῆς πάντα* - jah fraqimandei *allamma seinamma* ‘and spending all that is from her (=hers)’ (Mk 5:26). Other semantic functions are rare for *παρά*+Gen. Thus, we find only a few instances where it designates an agent and is translated with *fram*+Dat: *τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου* - þize rodidane izai *fram frauþin* ‘to those [things] said to her by the Lord’ (L 1:45).

6.9.2 ΠΑΡΑ+DAT : Gothic constructions

The notion ‘out of’ is not common for this Greek phrase. *Παρά*+Dat used in this function is rendered by some of the prepositional phrases that are used in translations of *παρά*+Gen. *At*+Dat and *fram*+Dat are found in such correspondences: *δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶν* - mahteig ist *at guda* ‘it is possible from God’ (L 18:27), *εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ* - bigast auk anst *fram guda* ‘for you found favor from God’ (L 1:30). *At*+Dat is also used to express other location functions of *παρά*+Dat – the notions ‘near’ and ‘among’: *ἃ ἐγὼ ἐώρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ* - ik þatei gasahv *at attin meinamma* ‘what I have seen near my Father (=in my Father’s presence)’ (J 8:38), *παρ’ ὑμῖν μένων* - *at izwis* wisands ‘staying among you’ (J 14:25). Correspondences of this type occur primarily in the Gospel of John. Other Gothic constructions are found to match up unsystematically with *παρά*+Dat expressing these location concepts. The unusual correspondence *παρά*+Dat : *mip*+Dat refers to the

location ‘among’: ὅτι παρ’ ὑμῖν μένει - unte is miþ izwis wisip ‘for he stays among you’ (J 14:17).

Faura+Dat matches *παρά*+Dat only once, in the instance where it conveys the notion ‘near’: ἔστησεν αὐτὸ παρ’ ἐαυτῶ - gasatida faura sis ‘he set him near him’ (L 9:47).

6.9.3 ΠΑΡΑ+ACC : Gothic constructions

The designation of the location ‘near’ is the primary function of *παρά*+Acc. Of the various ways in which such instances are translated, the correspondences with *faur*+Acc and *faura*+Dat prevail: τυφλὸς τις ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν - blinda sums sat faur wig ‘a blind man sat near the road’ (L 18:35), καὶ ἦν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν - jah was faura marein ‘and he was near the sea’ (Mk 5:21).

Other constructions used to render this location function of *παρά*+Acc, are *at*+Dat, *wipra*+Acc, and *nehwa*+Dat: καὶ εἶδεν δύο πλοῖα ἑστῶτα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην - jah gasaþu twa skipa standandans at þamma saiwa ‘and he saw two ships standing near the lake’ (L 5:2), οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰσιν - ip þai wipra wig sind ‘and the ones which are near the path’ (L 8:12), καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἑστὼς παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Γεννησαρέτ - jah is silba was standands nehwa saiwa Gainnesaraiþ ‘and he himself was standing near the lake of Gennesaret’ (L 5:1). *Faur*+Acc corresponds to *παρά*+Acc also in less common instances where the Greek phrase designates the direction ‘to, up to’: καὶ ἐξῆλθεν πάλιν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν - jah galaiþ aftra faur marein ‘and he went out again to the sea’ (Mk 2:13). In a few cases *παρά*+Acc becomes part of a comparative construction. Such instances are translated into Gothic using *ufar*+Acc or the conjunction *þau*: μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε - ni waiht ufar þatei garaid sijai izwis lausjaiþ ‘do not do more than what is commanded to you’ (L 3:13), κατέβη οὗτος δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ παρ’ ἐκεῖνον - atiddja sa garaihtoza gataihans du garda seinamma þau raihtiz jains ‘this one went down to his house more justified than that one’ (L 18:14).

6.10 Correspondences with ΑΠΟ+GEN

The notion of source is central for the semantics of *ἀπό*+Gen; therefore, many correspondences with it are connected with either the sense ‘out of’ or ‘away from’. Gothic *af*+Dat, *fram*+Dat, and *us*+Dat match the Greek counterpart more often than other constructions. These three phrases correspond to *ἀπό*+Gen where it designates the concept ‘out of’ as well as the notion ‘away from’ (sometimes marking a point in a landmark where a motion started): οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες - jah bokarjos þai af Iairusaulwmai qimandans ‘the teachers who had come down from Jerusalem’ (Mk 3:22), ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ - miþþanei afskaiskaidun sik af imma ‘when they departed from him’ (L 9:33), ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ - qam Iesus fram Nazaraip ‘Jesus came from Nazareth’ (Mk 1:9), καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ’ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ - jah galisip gawalidans seinans af fidwor windam fram andjam airþos und andi himinis ‘and he will gather his elected ones from the four winds from the end (Goth: ends) of the earth to the end of heaven’ (Mk 13:27), ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων - qimandans us Iairusulwmim ‘coming from Jerusalem’ (Mk 7:1), εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου - galaiþ in gard us þizai managein ‘he went into the house away from the crowd’ (Mk 7:17). *Us*+Dat often renders *ἀπό*+Gen in combination with the noun ‘heaven’ where the idea of a downward movement is also expressed: πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ - fon atgaggai us himina ‘fire should come down from heaven’ (L 9:54).

The source semantics of *ἀπό*+Gen are also rendered by other Gothic constructions, but such correspondences are less frequent and unsystematic. Thus, the Gothic counterpart designating the idea ‘out of’ can be *at*+Dat, or *hindar*+Acc: καὶ γινούς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος - jah finþands at þamma hundafada ‘and finding out from the centurion’ (Mk 15:45), ὅπως μεταβῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν - ei uslipi hindar markos ize ‘so that he should go away from their region’ (M 8:34). In the instances

where *ἀπό*+Gen expresses the meaning ‘away from’ it corresponds to *faura*+Dat, *fairra*+Dat, *ana*+Dat, the genitive, or the dative alone: ἐκρύβη ἀπ’ αὐτῶν - gafalh sik faura im ‘he hid from them’ (J 12:36), καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ὁ ἄγγελος - jah galaip fairra izai sa aggilus ‘and the angel went away from her’ (L 1:38), ἦν δὲ Βηθανία ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε - wasuh þan Beþania nehva Iairusaulwmiam, swaswe ana spaurdim fimftaihunim ‘for Bethany was near Jerusalem, about fifteen stadia away’ (J 11:18), καὶ ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν - jah hailjan sik sauhte seinaizo ‘and to be healed from their diseases’ (L 6:18), οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ - ni fairra is þiudangardjai gudis ‘you are not far from the kingdom of God’ (Mk 12:34).

There are a few cases where *ἀπό*+Gen has a partitive meaning. These instances are rendered in Gothic by *af*+Gen or the genitive alone: καὶ τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης ἐσθίουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ψιγίων τῶν παιδίων - jah auk hundos undaro biuda matjand af drauhsnom barne ‘and even the dogs under the table eat the crumbs of children’ (Mk 7:28), ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν αὐτῷ - ei akranis þis weinagardis gebeina imma ‘so that they would give him (some) of the fruit of the vineyard’ (L 20:10).

Many temporal usages of *ἀπό*+Gen are connected with the notion ‘from’ marking a point in time when a certain action or motion began. *Af*+Dat and *fram*+Dat are used to translate such occurrences since they can also express this meaning: ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς ὁ θεός (mss. R, D, Θ) - ip af anastodeinai gaskaftais gumein jah qinein gatawida guþ ‘but from the beginning of creation God made them male and female’ (Mk 10:6), καὶ ἐσώθη ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης - jah ganas so qino fram þizai hveilai jainai ‘and from that moment the woman was saved’ (M 9:22). The unusual correspondence of *ἀπό*+Gen and the accusative refers to a

period of time: ἔχων δαιμόνια ἀπὸ χρόνων ἰκανῶν (ms. D) - saei habaida unhulþons mela lagga
 ‘having (Goth: who had) demons for a long time’ (L 8:27).

Causal usages of ἀπό+Gen are rendered in Gothic with the same prepositional phrases that are used to translate its spatial meanings. Thus, we find *fram*+Dat corresponding to ἀπό+Gen in instances where these indicate an agent: ἦτις οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς θεραπευθῆναι - jah ni mahta was fram ainomehun galeikinon ‘and she could not be cured by anyone’ (L 8:43). *Faura*+Dat is sometimes equivalent to ἀπό+Gen, designating reason: καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου - jah ni mahta faura managein ‘and he could not [see] because of the crowd’ (L 19:3). In the Gospel of John several occurrences of the Greek phrase ἀπό plus the genitive of the reflexive pronoun, meaning ‘by oneself, of one’s own will’, are rendered in Gothic by *af*+Dat and *fram*+Dat: καὶ ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν - jah af mis silbin tauja ni waiht ‘and I do nothing by myself’ (J 8:28), οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐλήλυθα - nih þan auk fram mis silbin ni qam ‘for I did not come by myself’ (J 8:42). The rare correspondence ἀπό+Gen : *bi*+Dat is also connected with the notion of means: ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς - bi akranam ize ufkunnaip ins ‘by their fruit you will recognize them’ (M 7:16).

It has been noted before that in the instances where ἀπό+Gen denotes a patient the notion ‘away from’ is rather prominent. This spatial notion is also part of the semantics of the verbs used in such constructions (like ‘fear’ and ‘beware of’). These instances of the Greek phrase are rendered in Gothic by *faura*+Dat or the accusative alone: προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν - atsaihiþ sweþauh faura liugnapraufetum ‘beware of false prophets’ (M 7:15), καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα - jah ni ogeiþ izwis þans usqimandans leika þatainei ‘and do not fear those killing (Goth: only) the body (Goth: bodies)’ (M 10:28).

There are several instances where ἀπό+Gen corresponds to constructions other than prepositional or nominal phrases. In these cases the source notions ‘out of’ and ‘away from’ prevail

once again. In the majority of such instances *ἀπό*+Gen is translated by an adverb with the suffix *-pro* (an ablative ending) and has either a spatial or temporal meaning: καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰεριχὼ - jah usgaggandin imma jainpro ‘and when he went out of Jericho (Goth: from there)’ (Mk 10:46), ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται - þaþroh þiudangardi gudis wailamerjada ‘from then the kingdom of God is preached’ (L 16:16). We also find one instance where the Greek phrase *ἀπὸ μιᾶς* indicates manner and is rendered by the adverb *suns*: καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ μιᾶς πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι - jah dugunnun suns faurqipan allai ‘and they began at once to make excuses’ (L 14:18).

6.11 Correspondences with ΠΕΡΙ

6.11.1 ΠΕΡΙ+GEN : Gothic constructions

Since the primary function of *περί*+Gen is to designate topic, most renditions of this phrase are also connected with this semantic role. The correspondence *περί*+Gen : *bi*+Acc is the most frequent: ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακώβου - dugunnun unwerjan bi Iakobu ‘they began to get angry about Jakob’ (Mk 10:41). These correlates are often found with speech verbs due to the nature of their function: ἐγόγγυζον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι περὶ αὐτοῦ - birodidedun þan Iudaieis bi ina ‘then the Jews murmured about him’ (J 6:41). Less frequently such usages of *περί*+Gen are translated into Gothic with the help of *fram*+Dat, *du*+Dat, the accusative, or the genitive alone: τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ; - duþve þata hausja fram þus? ‘what is this that I hear (Goth: why do I hear this) about you?’ (L 16:2), ὅτι ταῦτα ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα (mss. D, Θ) - þatei þata was du þamma gameliþ ‘for this was written about him’ (J 12:16), καὶ οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προβάτων - jah ni kar-ist ina þize lambe ‘and he cares nothing about the sheep’ (J 10:13).

Other semantic functions are rare for *περί*+Gen. In several passages where this phrase designates reason it is translated with *bi*+Acc or *in*+Gen: ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ τετραάρχης ἐλεγχόμενος

ὕπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἡρώδιαδος - iþ Herodes sa taitrarkes gasakans fram imma bi Herodiadein ‘and Herod the tetrarch, reproved by him because of Herodias’ (L 3:19), περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε - in godis waurstwis ni stainjam þuk ‘we do not stone you because of a good deed’ (J 10:33).

When *περί*+Gen signifies a beneficiary or purpose it is generally rendered by *fram*+Dat:

προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς - bidjaid fram þaim anamahtjandam izwis ‘pray for those abusing you’ (L 6:28), καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου - jah atbair fram gahraineinai þeinai ‘bring for your cleansing’ (Mk 1:44). Rarely, Gothic uses *in*+Gen to translate of *περί*+Gen designating a beneficiary: ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν - infeinoda in ize ‘he had compassion for them’ (M 9:36).

6.11.2 ΠΕΡΙ+ACC : Gothic constructions

This Greek phrase is primarily connected with the notion ‘around’ and shows only two kinds of correspondences, both of which express either location or the temporal notion ‘around’. *Bi*+Acc is the most frequent counterpart: οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα - þai bi ina miþ þaim twalibim ‘those [who were] around him with the twelve’ (Mk 4:10), περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν ἀνεβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ - iþ þan bi hveila niundon ufthropida Iesus stibnai mikilai ‘and around the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice’ (M 27:46). *Ana*+Acc is an equivalent of *περί*+Acc in only one instance: εἰ περίκειται μύλος ὀνικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ - ei galagjaidau asiluqairnus ana halsaggan is ‘if (Goth: that) a great millstone lies (Goth: were laid) around his neck’ (Mk 9:42). There are also passages where the Greek phrase denotes a topic and is translated with *bi*+Acc, just as in the cases with *περί*+Gen: καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι - jah þai bi þata anþar lustjus ‘and the lusts for other things’ (Mk 4:19).

6.12 Correspondences with ὙΠΟ

6.12.1 ὙΠΟ+GEN : Gothic constructions

The majority of correspondences with *ὕπό*+Gen are associated with the denotation of an agent. In such cases the Greek construction is predominantly equivalent to *fram*+Dat: κάλαμον ὕπο ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον; - raus fram winda wagidata? ‘a reed shaken by the wind?’ (M 11:7). In instances where the Greek construction designates reason it is rendered by *af*+Dat: καὶ ὕπο μεριμνῶν... συμπνίγονται - jah af saurgom... afhvarnand ‘and they are choked... because of worries’ (L 8:14).

We also find two instances where *ὕπό*+Gen corresponds to *af*+Dat and the dative alone as a result of rephrasing: διεσπάσθαι ὕπ’ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀλύσεις - galausida af sis þos naudibandjos ‘the chains were torn by him (Goth: he loosened the chains from himself)’ (Mk 5:4), διὰ τὸ λέγεσθαι ὕπο τινῶν - unte qeþun sumai ‘for it was said by some (Goth: for some said)’ (L 9:7).

6.12.2 ὙΠΟ+ACC : Gothic constructions

The notion ‘under’ is at the center of the semantics of *ὕπό*+Acc; therefore, all the correspondences with this phrase have a spatial meaning. *Uf*+Acc is the most frequently found counterpart of this Greek construction. Such correspondences refer to either the location or the direction ‘under’: καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὕπο ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος - jah auk ik manna im uf waldufnja gasatids ‘for I am a man set under authority’ (L 7:8), ἵνα μου ὕπο τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς - ei uf hrot mein inngaggais ‘that you should come under my roof’ (M 8:8). *Undar*+Acc correlates to *ὕπό*+Acc in only one instance: ἵνα ὕπο τὸν μόδιον τεθῇ ἢ ὕπο τὴν κλίνην - ei uf melan satjaidau aiþþau undar ligr ‘in order that it should be put under a bowl or under a bed’ (Mk 4:21).

6.13 Correspondences with ὙΠΕΡ

6.13.1 ὙΠΕΡ+GEN : Gothic constructions

The main function of *ὕπερ*+Gen is to designate a beneficiary. Gothic translators do not seem to have a preferred construction for this concept. A number of prepositional phrases are used to render this Greek construction, among which are *fram*+Dat, *faur*+Dat, *in*+Gen, and *bi*+Acc:

προσεύχεσθε ὕπερ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς (mss. R, D, Θ) - bidjaid fram þaim anamahtjandam izwis ‘pray for those mistreating you’ (L 6:28), ὕπερ ὑμῶν ἔστιν - faur izwis ist ‘he is for you’ (Mk 9:40), ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω... ὕπερ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς - þatei ik giba in þizos manasedais libainais ‘which I will give for the life of the world’ (J 6:51), καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὕπερ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς - jah bidjaiþ bi þans usþriutandans izwis ‘and pray for those persecuting you’ (M 5:44). In one instance the correspondence *ὕπερ*+Gen : *in*+Gen indicates a purpose (but note once again a beneficiary connotation present in this example): αὕτη ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θάνατον ἀλλ’ ὕπερ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ - so siukei nist du daupau ak in hauheinais gudis ‘this sickness is not for death but for the glory of God’ (J 11:4).

6.13.2 ὙΠΕΡ+ACC : Gothic constructions

Ufar+Dat is used to translate *ὕπερ*+Acc in passages where it designates the location ‘over’ or becomes part of a comparative construction: οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὕπερ τὸν διδάσκαλον - nist siponeis ufar laisarja ‘a disciple is not above a teacher’ (M 10:24), ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὕπερ ἐμὲ - saei frijoþ attan aiþþau aiþein ufar mik ‘the one who loves [his] father or [his] mother more than me’ (M 10:37). Comparative structures with *ὕπερ*+Acc are also rendered with the dative alone or with a construction including the conjunction *þau*: ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου φρονιμώτεροι ὕπερ τοῦς υἱοῦς τοῦ φωτός εἰς τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἐαυτῶν εἰσιν - unte þai sunjos þis aiwis frodozans sunum

liuhadis in kunja seinamma sind ‘for the sons of this age are in their generation wiser than the sons of light’ (L 16:8), ἡγάπησαν γὰρ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ὑπερ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ - frijodedun auk mais hauhein manniska þau hauhein gudis ‘for they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God’ (J 12:43).

6.14 Correspondences with ANTI+GEN

This phrase is sometimes used to mark the notion ‘in place of’⁷. Such rare instances are rendered in Gothic with either *und*+Dat or *faur*+Acc: ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος - augo und augin, jah tunþu und tunþau ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth’ (M 5:38), καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν – jah giban saiwala seinu faur managans lun ‘and to give his soul as a ransom for many’ (Mk 10:45). Causal usages of *ἀντί*+Gen are connected with the concept of reason and are translated with the help of *in*+Gen or the conjunction *duþe*: ἀνθ’ ὧν οὐκ ἔγνωσ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου - in þizei ni ufkunþes þata mel niuhseinais þeinaizos ‘because you have not recognized the time of your visitation’ (L 19:44), ἀνθ’ ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου - duþe ei ni galaubides waurdam meinaim ‘because you did not believe my words’ (L 1:20).

6.15 Correspondences with ΣΥΝ+DAT

In most instances this phrase is rendered in Gothic by *miþ*+Dat. Such correspondences have a comitative meaning: οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα - þai bi ina miþ þaim twalibim ‘the ones who were around him with the twelve’ (Mk 4:10). The comitative semantics of *σύν*+Dat is sometimes rendered by the dative alone if *miþ* is used as a preverb: οἱ συσταυρωθέντες σὺν αὐτῷ - þai miþushramidans imma ‘the ones crucified with him’ (M 27:44).

⁷ See the discussion about the spatial origin of this notion in Chapter 2.17

6.16 Correspondences with ANA+ACC

Only two instances of ἀνά+Acc are translated in the Gothic version. In one of these passages it marks the location ‘between, among’ and is rendered by *miþ*+Dat: ἦλθεν... εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρίων Δεκαπόλεως - qam at marein Galeilaie miþ tweihnaim markom Daikapaulaios ‘he came to the Sea of Galilee, between the two regions of Decapolis’ (Mk 7:31). The second occurrence of ἀνά+Acc refers to manner and is translated by the accusative alone: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο - jah insandida ins twans huanzuh ‘and he sent them off in pairs each’ (L 10:1). Note that the distributive sense is expressed in Gothic with the help of an indefinite pronoun whereas in Greek this meaning is part of the semantics of ἀνά+Acc.

6.17 Correspondences with ΠΡΟ+GEN

Πρό+Gen mainly expresses the temporal meaning ‘before’. It is often rendered by *faur*+Acc which also possesses this value: ὅτι ἠγάπησάς με πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου - unte frijodes mik faur gaskaft fairhauus ‘for you loved me before the creation of the world’ (J 17:24). All instances in which *πρό* is combined with a pronoun are translated in Gothic with the help of the conjunction *faurþizei*: πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτηῆσαι αὐτόν - faurþizei jus bidjaþ ina ‘before you ask him’ (M 6:8). In a few cases *πρό*+Gen is rendered with *faura*+Dat. This correspondence, which is also associated with the temporal notion ‘before’, occurs in those instances where *πρό*+Gen is part of a set expression ‘in the face of (= before) somebody’: προπορεύση γὰρ πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - faurgaggis auk faura andwairþja frauþins ‘for you will go before the countenance of the Lord’ (L 1:76).

6.18 Correspondences with improper prepositions

The relational antonyms ὑποκάτω+Gen and ἐπάνω+Gen express the notions ‘under’ and ‘over’, respectively. The first of them corresponds to *uf*+Acc and *undaro*+Dat: ἡ ὑποκάτω κλίνης

τίθησιν - aipþau uf ligr gasatjīþ ‘or puts [it] under a bed’ (L 8:16), καὶ τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης ἐσθίουσιν - jah auk hundos undaro biuda matjand ‘for even dogs under the table eat’ (Mk 7:28). *Ἐπάνω*+Gen is translated with *ufar*+Dat or *ufaro*+Dat: καὶ ἐπιστάς ἐπάνω αὐτῆς - jah atstandands ufar ija ‘and standing over her’ (L 4:39), καὶ σὺ ἐπάνω γίνου πέντε πόλεων - jah þu sijais ufaro fimf baurgim ‘and you will be over five cities’ (L 19:19). We also find one instance where *ὑποκάτω*+Gen corresponds to the accusative as a result of a slight rephrasing in Gothic: ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου - unte ik galagja fijands þeinana fotaubaurd fotiwe þeinaize ‘till I put your enemies under your feet (Goth: as a footstool of your feet)’ (Mk 12:36). In one passage *ἐπάνω* is used metaphorically as a free adverb and is rendered with a comparative construction in Gothic: ἡδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων - maht wesi auk þata balsan frabugjan in managizo þau þrija hunda skatte ‘for this balsam might have been sold for more than three hundred pence’ (Mk 14:5).

The Greek prepositions *ἐγγύς* (found as a preposition and as a free adverb in the canonical gospels) and *ἐντός* specify the notions ‘near’ and ‘in’ and are translated in Gothic with *nehva*+Dat and *in*+Dat, respectively: διὰ τὸ ἐγγύς εἶναι Ἰερουσαλὴμ αὐτὸν - bi þatei nehva Iairusalem was ‘for he was near Jerusalem’ (L 19:11), γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν- kunnub þatei nehva ist asans ‘you know that the harvest is near’ (Mk 13:28), γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντός ὑμῶν ἐστίν - auk þiudangardi gudis in izwis ist ‘for the kingdom of God is in you’ (L 17:21).

The prepositional phrases *ἔμπροσθεν*+Gen, *ἐνώπιον*+Gen (only in the Gospel of Luke), *ἐναντί(ον)*+Gen (only in the Gospel of Luke), and *κατέναντι*+Gen denote the notion ‘before, in front of, in the presence of’ and are mostly combined with animate nouns. The first two Greek constructions are translated into Gothic in similar ways. Each of them can correspond to either *in andwairþja*+Gen, *faura*+Dat, or *faura andwairþja*+Gen: καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν - jah

inmaidida sik in andwairþja ize ‘and he changed in front of them’ (Mk 9:2), ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐστάθη ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος - iþ Iesus stop faura kindina ‘but Jesus stood before the governor’ (Mk 27:11), ἐξῆλθεν ἐμπροσθεν πάντων - usiddja faura andwairþja allaize ‘he went out in the presence of everybody’ (Mk 2:12), ἔσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον κυρίου - wairþiþ auk mikils in andwairþja frauþins ‘for he will be great before the Lord’ (L 1:15), τότε ἔσται σοι δόξα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν συνακακειμένων σοι - þaruh ist þus hauhiþa faura þaim miþanakumbjandam þus ‘then there will be glory to you in front of all those sitting with you’ (L 14:10), προπορεύσῃ γὰρ ἐνώπιον κυρίου - faurgaggis auk faura andwairþja frauþins ‘for you will go before God’ (L 1:76). In one adverbial occurrence *ἐμπροσθεν* is represented in Gothic by *fram*: ἐπορεύετο ἐμπροσθεν - iddja fram ‘he went ahead (Goth: further)’ (L 19:28). In all of its occurrences *ἐναντί(ον)+Gen* corresponds to *in andwairþja+Gen*: καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῦ ῥήματος ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ - jah ni mahtedun gafahan is waurde in andwairþja manageins ‘and they could not catch him in his words in the presence of the crowd’ (L 20:26). Adverbial and prepositional usages of *κατέναντι* are matched with the adjective *wiþrawairþs* that has similar semantics ‘opposite, facing’: ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κατέναντι κώμην - gaggats in þo wiþrawairþon haim ‘go into the village ahead’ (L 19:30), ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κώμην τὴν κατέναντι ὑμῶν - gaggats in haim þo wiþrawairþon iggqis ‘go into the village that [is] before you’ (Mk 11:2).

There are four Greek prepositions that designate the notions ‘behind, after’: *πέραν+Gen*, *ὀπίσω+Gen*, *ὀπισθεν+Gen*, and *ὕστερον+Gen*. We do not find correspondences for *ὕστερον* because the passages in which it occurs are missing in the Gothic version. Rare occurrences of *ὀπισθεν* are adverbial and translated with the adverb *aftaro* or the complex *du aftaro*: προσελθοῦσα ὀπισθεν – duatgaggandei aftaro ‘approaching [him] from behind’ (Mk 9:20), προσελθοῦσα ὀπισθεν –

atgaggandei du aftaro ‘approaching [him] from behind’ (L 8:44). For the translation of *ὀπίσω* and *πέραν* different means are used. Thus, prepositional usages of *ὀπίσω* mostly occur in combination with the verb ‘follow’ and correspond to either *afar*+Dat or *hindar*+Acc: εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἔλθειν - saei wili afar mis laistjan ‘if one (Goth: whoever) wants to go after me’ (Mk 8:34), ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου - gagg hindar mik ‘get behind me’ (Mk 8:33). Its adverbial occurrences are translated with either an adverb or an adjective: καὶ στήσας ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ - jah standandei faura fotum is aftaro ‘and standing behind, near his feet’ (L 7:38), πολλοὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω - managai galipun siponje is ibukai ‘many of his disciples went back’ (J 6:66). In the instances where *πέραν*+Gen designates the location ‘on the other side of’ it is represented in Gothic by *hindar*+Acc: ὁ ἑστηκὼς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης - sei stop hindar marein ‘the one standing (Goth: the one who stood) on the other side of the sea’ (J 6:22). But this is not the main function of *πέραν*. In most cases it designates a direction or a path. Such prepositional usages are matched with either *ufar*+Acc or *hindar*+Acc: ἦρχοντο πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης - iddjedunuh ufar marein ‘they went across the sea’ (J 6:17), ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου - qam in markom Iudaiais hindar Iaurdanau ‘he goes (Goth: came) into the area of Judea and across the Jordan’ (Mk 10:1). In passages where it is used nominally it is translated with either *hindar*+Acc or the genitive alone: ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν - haihait galeiþan siponjans hindar marein ‘he ordered (Goth: the disciples) to go onto the other side of (Goth: across) the sea’ (M 8:18), διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν - usleiþam jainis stadis ‘let’s go across onto the other side’ (Mk 4:35).

The improper preposition *ἔξω*, specifying the sense ‘out of’, is rendered in Gothic with a construction involving a derivative of the adverb *ut*, sometimes accompanied by *us*+Dat: καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος - jah uswaurpun imma ut us þamma weinagarda ‘and they cast him out of the vineyard’ (Mk 12:8), ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς κόμης - ustauh ina utana weihsis ‘he

led him out of the village’ (Mk 8:23). All adverbial usages of *ἕξω* correspond to the adverb *ut*: καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἕξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς - jah usgaggands ut gaigrot bairaba ‘and having gone out he cried bitterly’ (M 26:75). *Μέχρι*+Gen and *ἄχρι*+Gen share the temporal semantics ‘until’ and both correspond to the same prepositional phrase in Gothic – *und*+Acc: ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον - aiþþau eis weseina und hina dag ‘it (Goth: then they) would have lasted until this day’ (M 11:23), ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας γένηται ταῦτα - und þana dag ei wairþai þata ‘until the day this happens’ (L 1:20).

All occurrences of *ἐνεκεν*+Gen refer to reason and are translated with *in*+Gen: καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ - jah saei fraqisteiþ saiwalai seinai in meina ‘and the one losing (Goth: who loses) his soul because of me’ (M 10:39).

The improper preposition *ἕως* has a special status in the system of Greek prepositions. It can have only two functions, expressing a temporal notion ‘till, until’ or a directional concept ‘up to, as far as’. It occurs not only as a preposition, but also repeatedly in combination with adverbs and as a conjunction. *Ἔως* as a conjunction (only used in temporal function) is equal to the Gothic conjunction *unte*: ἕως ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου - unte qimiþ sa sunus mans ‘till the son of man comes’ (M 10:23). Combinations of *ἕως* with an adverb are rendered with *und* plus an adverb (used both directionally and temporally): καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπ’ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω - jah faurahah als disskritnoda in twa iupaþro und dalab ‘and the curtain of the temple was torn in two from the top to the bottom’ (Mk 15:38), ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται - und hita þiudangardi himine anamahtjada ‘until now the kingdom of heaven is assaulted’ (M 11:12). We also find a passage where *ἕως* and *unte* do not constitute a true correspondence set, but rather are the result of reinterpretation. While the Greek version expresses a directional idea, the Gothic passage has a temporal value: καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ἕως ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ

ἀρχιερέως - jah Paitrus fairraþro laistida afar imma, unte qam in garda þis auhumistins gudjins ‘and Peter followed him at a distance as far as inside (Goth: till he came) into the courtyard of the high priest (Mk 14:54). Prepositional occurrences of ἕως refer to the direction ‘up to’ or the temporal notion ‘until’ and are translated with either *und*+Dat or *und*+Acc: διέλθωμεν δὴ ἕως Βηθλέεμ - þairhgaggaima ju und Beþlahaim ‘let’s go now to (=as far as) Bethlehem’ (L 2:15), κέλευσον οὖν ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὸν τάφον ἕως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας - hait nu witan þamma hlaiwa und þana þridjan dag ‘so order for the tomb to be guarded (Goth: to watch over the tomb) till the third day’ (M 27:64), καὶ ἦλθον ἕως αὐτοῦ - jah qemun und ina ‘and they came up to him’ (L 4:42), καθὼς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν... ἕως αἰῶνος (ms. C) - swaswe rodida du attam unsaraim... und aiw ‘as he spoke to our fathers... forever (= till eternity)’ (L 1:55).

The three Greek prepositional phrases *ἀνευ*+Gen, *χωρίς*+Gen, and *πλὴν*+Gen denote absence or exclusion and are translated differently in Gothic. The first two constructions are rendered by *inuh*+Acc: οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν - ni gadriusiþ ana airþa inuh attins izwaris wiljan ‘it will not fall onto the ground without your Father (Goth: without your Father’s will)’ (M 10:29), ὅτι χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν - þatei inuh mik ni maguþ taujan ni waiht ‘for without me you cannot do anything’ (J 15:5). *Πλὴν* is found both as a preposition and as a conjunction. Prepositional usages are translated with *alja*+Dat: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ - jah nist anþar alja imma ‘and there is no other except him’ (Mk 12:32). *Πλὴν* as a conjunction is matched with different Gothic adverbs and conjunctions that share its semantics: πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν – swebauh qiba izwis ‘but I say to you’ (M 11:22), πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις - apþan wai izwis þaim gabeigam ‘but woe onto you, the rich ones’ (L 6:24).

6.19 Correspondences with nominal phrases

In the majority of instances the Greek accusative has as its counterpart the accusative case in Gothic. Such correspondences include those where the accusative refers to a patient, topic, or spatial and temporal notions: e.g. καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς μαθητάς - jah gasaihvands þans siponjans ‘and looking upon the disciples’ (Mk 8:33).⁸ The number of such instances is increased by those occurrences where the semantics of the accusative is closely linked with the meaning of a preverb: e.g. διήρχετο τὴν Ἱερικὴν - þairhlaip Iaireikon ‘he passed through Jericho’ (L 19:1). The Greek accusative can be also translated with the dative or the genitive. Thus, we find the correspondence Acc : Dat designating a patient or means or having comitative semantics: ὃν ἂν φιλήσω - þammei kukjau ‘whoever I shall kiss’ (Mk 14:44), βαπτισθέντες τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου - ufdaupidai daupeinai Iohannis ‘being baptized with the baptism of John’ (L 7:29), ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ - ju gahorinoda izai in hairtin seinamma ‘he has already committed adultery with her in his heart’ (M 5:28). The correspondence Acc : Gen can express topic in combination with the verb ‘ask’: ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ γὰρ λόγον - fraihna izwis jah ik ainis waurdis ‘I also will ask you one thing’ (L 20:3).

Besides nominal constructions, the Greek accusative may correspond to prepositional phrases in Gothic. These correspondences are irregular (many happen only once) and are connected with a variety of semantic functions, most of which are inherent in the accusative. We find instances where the accusative is translated with *bi*+Dat (marking means) or *bi*+Acc (designating a topic): ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν - biswara þuk bi guda ‘I adjure you by God’ (Mk 5:7), ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν παραβολήν - frehun ina siponjos is bi þo gajukon ‘his disciples asked him about the parable’ (Mk 7:17). In a few constructions, expressing the direction ‘into’, the Greek accusative is rendered by *du*+Dat: καὶ ὅτι σὺ ἄνθρωπος ὢν ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν - jah þatei þu manna wisands taujis þuk silban

⁸ See Chapters 2.19 and 3.20 for more information about the semantic roles of the accusative in Biblical Greek and Gothic.

du guda ‘and because you, being a man, make yourself God’ (J 10:33). One instance of the correspondence Acc : *ana*+Acc is an example of rephrasing. The Greek accusative marks a patient while the Gothic counterpart expresses a direction: ἵνα λιθάσωσιν αὐτόν - ei waurpeina ana ina ‘so that they might stone (Goth: might cast upon) him’ (J 10:31). The single correspondence with *in*+Acc does not present a true equivalent pair since the passage was slightly rephrased in Gothic. Thus, the Greek accusative here expresses a patient while the Gothic counterpart designates a direction: ἀλλ’ ἔτυπεν τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ - ak sloh in brusts seinos ‘but he beat his breast (Goth: upon his breasts)’ (L 18:13).

Gothic uses a great variety of means for representing the Greek dative case. Certainly, in the majority of instances this case is also translated with the dative in Gothic. Among the various semantic roles⁹ covered by this correspondence the designation of a recipient prevails (particularly in combination with speech verbs): πάντως ἐρεῖτέ μοι - aufto qīþīþ mis ‘certainly, you will say to me’ (L 4:23). There are several instances where the Greek dative is rendered in Gothic by an accusative. Such occurrences always indicate a temporal notion: πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις συνηρπάκει αὐτόν - manag auk mel frawalw ina ‘for many times (Goth: many a time) it had seized him’ (L 8:29). The correspondence Dat : Acc is also found in combination with the verb ‘follow’, but here the choice of the case is based on the specific governance of these respective verbs in each language: ἀκολουθεῖ μοι - laistjan mik ‘follow me’ (Mk 10:21). The number of semantic functions of the correspondences Dat : Dat and Dat : Acc is enhanced by those instances where these nominal phrases are used with prefixed verbs. Preverbs influence the choice of cases here, largely increasing their frequency and semantic load: καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπέστη αὐτοῖς - iþ aggilus frauþins anaqam ins ‘and the angel of the Lord came upon them’ (L 2:9). We also find instances where the dative expresses a temporal notion and is translated into Gothic with the genitive: καὶ λίαν πρὶν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται -

⁹ See Chapters 2.19 and 3.20 for details.

jah filu air þis dagis afarsabbate atiddjedun ‘and very early on the first day of the week they came’ (Mk 16:2).

Since the dative is notable for the variety of functions it can have, many of which coincide with prepositional roles, it is not surprising that instances in which this case corresponds to a Gothic prepositional phrase are common. Thus, the dative marking the temporal notion ‘at, on, during’ can be rendered in Gothic by *in*+Dat, *in*+Acc, or *at*+Acc: *καὶ γὰρ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* - jah ik urraisja ina in þamma spedistin daga ‘and I will raise him on the last day’ (J 6:54), *ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρωτῇ σαββάτου* - usstandands þan in maurgin frumin sabbato ‘now rising early the first day of the week’ (Mk 16:9), *καὶ ἀπέστειλεν... τῷ καιρῷ* δουλόν - jah insandida... at mel skalk ‘and he sent... a servant at the season’ (Mk 12:2). In passages where the Greek dative refers to a recipient (often with speech verbs) it can correspond to *in*+Dat, *du*+Dat, or *bi*+Acc: *καὶ ἐλάλει περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν* - jah rodida bi ina in allaim ‘and he spoke about him to all’ (L 2:38), *καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς* - jah qap du im ‘and he said to them’ (L 3:14), *εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν αὐτῇ* - witandei þatei warþ bi ija ‘knowing what had happened to her’ (Mk 5:33). When designating means, the Greek dative can be translated with *in*+Dat or *ana*+Dat: *ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι* - ik daupja izwis in watin ‘I baptize you with water’ (Mk 1:8), *καὶ ἔγνων τῷ σώματι* - jah ufkunþa ana leika ‘and she knew with [her] body’ (Mk 5:29). The directional usages of this case are sometimes rendered by means of those prepositional phrases which explicitly express the directional connotations that are implied by the verbs in the Greek version. Thus, verbal constructions with the dative can be equivalent to verbal combinations with *afar*+Dat (designating the direction ‘after’), *du*+Dat and *neþa*+Acc (both marking the direction ‘up to’), or *wipra*+Acc (expressing the direction ‘against’): *αἵτινες ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας* - þozei laistidedun afar Iesua fram Galeilaia ‘who followed Jesus from Galilee’ (M 27:55), *καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ κωφόν* - jah berun du imma baudana ‘and they brought a deaf man to him’ (Mk

7:32), ἤγγισεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ - atiddja nehv razn ‘he approached the house’ (L 15:25), πορευόμενος ἐτέρῳ βασιλεῖ συμβαλεῖν – gaggands stigqan wipra anþarana þiudan ‘going to make war against another king’ (L 14:31). In rare instances the dative, indicating a beneficiary or a topic, is matched with *ana*+Dat and *bi*+Acc, respectively: ἡγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις - usbauhtedun us þaim þana akr kasjins du usfilhan ana gastim ‘they bought from them the field of the potter for a burial for strangers’ (M 27:7), τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου - þata gamelido þairh praufetuns bi sunu mans ‘the things written by the prophets about the son of man’ (L 18:31).

Just as in the case with accusative phrases, preverbs cause difficulties and increase the frequency of variation in the translation of the dative. In some constructions with prefixed verbs, the Greek dative corresponds to a prepositional phrase in Gothic only because of a difference in interpretation or emphasis. For example, the Gothic version may suggest a more detailed description of the spatial component: παραστήσαι τῷ κυρίῳ - atsatjan faura fraujiu ‘to present [him] before the Lord’ (L 2:22). Sometimes a Greek construction with a prefixed verb is translated with a combination of a non-prefixed verb and a prepositional phrase. A Gothic preposition chosen in such structures is often a regular counterpart of a Greek preposition (preverb): ἵνα πλοιάριον προσκαρτερῇ αὐτῷ - ei skip habaiþ wesi at imma ‘that a boat should be prepared for him’ (Mk 3:9), ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι - unte ju dagans þrins miþ mis wesun ‘for they have already been with me three days’ (Mk 8:2). In some cases a prefixed verb with the dative corresponds to a prefixed verb with a prepositional phrase which is in fact a mere doubling of the prefix: καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ - jah bistugqun bi jainamma razna ‘and they beat upon that house’ (M 7:25).

The most common correspondences of the Greek genitive are those with the genitive in Gothic. In both languages this case mostly expresses a partitive meaning, although it may also have other functions¹⁰: τινες τῶν γραμματέων εἶπαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς - sumai þize bokarje qeþun in sis silbam ‘some of the scribes said among themselves’ (M 9:3). Less frequently the Greek genitive is matched in Gothic with the dative or the accusative. Such correspondences are established in comparative constructions (only for the dative) or in passages where the genitive in Greek designates a patient: ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου - qimiþ swinþoza mis sa afar mis ‘the one stronger than me will come after me’ (Mk 1:7), ἀκούοντα αὐτῶν - hausjandan im ‘listening to them’ (L 2:46), ἐκράτησεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς - habaida handu izos ‘he took her hand’ (M 9:25). In addition, we find the equivalent pair Gen : Dat in instances where these phrases indicate the source ‘out of’: εἰ δὲ μὴ αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ - ibai afnimai fullon af þamma sa niuja þamma fairnjin ‘otherwise it takes the fullness from it the new one from the old one’ (Mk 2:21). The correspondence Gen : Acc may also indicate source in combination with speech verbs: καὶ ἐδεήθη τῶν μαθητῶν σου - jah baþ siponjans þeinans ‘and I begged your disciples’ (L 9:40).

A passage may also be interpreted differently or rephrased: οὐχὶ δύο στρουθία ἄσσαρίου πωλεῖται; - niu twai sparwans assarjau bugjanda? ‘are not two sparrows sold for (Goth: purchased with) an assarion?’ (M 10:29). In one passage the Greek genitive absolute is rendered by a construction with the nominative: καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου - jah biþe warþ sabbato ‘when it was the Sabbath’ (Mk 6:2).

Many other instances where the Greek genitive is matched with a prepositional phrase in Gothic are connected with the temporal usages of this case. The genitive in this function may be translated with *in*+Dat or *ana*+Dat: ὁ ἐλθὼν νυκτός πρὸς αὐτὸν (ms. R) - saei atiddja du imma in

¹⁰ See Chapters 2.19 and 3.20 for details.

naht ‘the one coming (Goth: who came) to him at night’ (J 7:50), καὶ ἐὰν ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ - jah jabai sibun sinþam ana dag frawaurkjai du þus ‘and if he should sin against you seven times a day’ (L 17:4). The genitive absolute in Greek often corresponds to Gothic *at*+Dat: πάντων δὲ θαυμάζόντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν - at allaim þan sildaleikjandam bi alla ‘while all were marveling about everything’ (L 9:43). The remaining correspondences of the genitive with prepositional phrases are irregular. In rare instances where the Greek genitive marks a topic or the notion ‘in place of’ (of price), it is rendered with the help of *bi*+Acc and *in*+Gen(?)¹¹, respectively, which regularly express these concepts in Gothic: ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων - gataihun... all bi þans daimonarjans ‘they told everything, even (Goth: ø) about those possessed’ (M 8:33), διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη τριακοσίων δηναρίων; - duhve þata balsan ni frabauht was in ·t· skatte? ‘why was this perfume not sold for three hundred denarii?’ (J 12:5).

Just as with the dative (although not as often), we find instances where preverbs are involved. There are passages where the preposition used in Gothic is a counterpart of a Greek preverb: τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; - hva þai ana þuk weitwodjand? ‘what do these [people] testify against you?’ (Mk 14:60). Furthermore, we find examples where in both versions prefixed verbs are present and the Gothic translator chooses a prepositional phrase as a counterpart of the genitive to strengthen a certain idea: ἡ οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ - soh ni afiddja fairra alh ‘she did not go away from the temple’ (L 2:37).

6.20 Correspondences with other constructions

On several occasions translation of different parts of speech involves a prepositional phrase. Thus, a number of adverbs are matched in Gothic with a prepositional construction rather than with an adverb. Most of such correspondences are connected with temporal or spatial semantics. For

¹¹ It is impossible to establish the precise case of *·t·* in this instance. Unfortunately, this is the only passage in Gothic that employs *in* to express the notion of price.

example, Greek *ἀνωθεν* and *πρωί* designate time and correspond to *fram*+Dat and *in*+Dat consequently: *παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*- *fram anastodeinai* allaim glaggwuba *afarlaistjandin* '[to me] having followed everything exactly from the very first' (L 1:3), καὶ *παραπορευόμενοι πρωί* - jah *in maurgin* faurgaggandans 'and passing by in the morning...' (Mk 11:20). The adverbs *πανταχοῦ* and *ὅπου* express spatial notions and are translated with *and*+Acc and *ana*+Dat, respectively: καὶ *θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ* - jah *leikinondans and all* 'and healing everywhere' (L 9:6), *ὅπου ὁ παραλυτικὸς κατέκειτο* - *ana þammei* lag sa usliþa 'where (Goth: upon which) the paralytic lay' (Mk 2:4). The correspondence between the Greek adverb *ἀληθῶς* and Gothic *bi sunjai* stands out since it denotes manner: *ἀληθῶς καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ* - *bi sunjai* jah þu þize is 'truly you also are of them' (M 26:73).

In the majority of instances Greek verbs are equivalent to Gothic verbs, and if a Greek verb has a preverb it is matched with a corresponding preverb in Gothic: *ἐκβαλε αὐτόν* - *uswairp imma* 'cast it out' (Mk 9:47). But we find cases where Gothic utilizes a prepositional phrase to render a Greek construction. There are two types of such correspondences. One of them involves Greek infinitives that express purpose and are translated with the help of the clausal structure *du*+infinitive or *at*+Dat: *ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε* - *þatei aggilum seinaim anabiudup bi þuk du gafastan þuk* 'that he will command his angels about you to guard you' (L 4:10), *οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι* - ni qam *at andbahtjam* 'he did not come to be served (Goth: in service)' (Mk 10:45). Gothic counterparts of the second type are the results of rephrasing: καὶ *ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὸν* - jah *ana armins nimands* ita 'and taking him in [his] arms' (Mk 9:36), *ἵνα μὴ ἀποσυνάγωγοι γένωνται* - ei *us swnagogei ni uswaurpanai* waurþeina 'so that they would not be cast out of the synagogue' (J 12:42). Periphrasis influences the translation not only of verbs but also of other parts of speech. Thus, we find instances where a Greek noun corresponds to a prepositional

phrase in Gothic: *διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλάκις πέδαις καὶ ἀλύσεσιν δεδέσθαι* - *unte is ufta eisarnam bi fotuns gabuganaim* ‘for he was often bound with fetters and chains (Goth: with iron fetters around his feet)’ (Mk 5:4).

6.21 Conclusions

The comparative analysis of Greek and Gothic prepositional correspondences shows that even though there are no absolute equivalents in these languages, certain pairs of counterparts are typical (e.g. *ἐν*+Dat : *in*+Dat in Mk 5:13, § 6.1.1) and others are sporadic (e.g. *ἐν*+Dat : *du*+Dat in L 1:47 § 6.1.2). Some correspondences are limited to only one occurrence (e.g. *παρά*+Dat : *faura*+Dat in L 9:47, § 6.8.2). In general, those prepositional phrases whose primary semantics are connected with spatial notions seem to show a particularly wide variety of rendition in Gothic. For example, *ἀπό*+Gen, associated with the source notions ‘out of’ and ‘away from’, has 15 different Gothic counterparts while *μετά*+Gen, expressing primarily a comitative function, has only 5 equivalents. Improper prepositional phrases demonstrate less diversity in translation than do proper ones. On the other hand, the rendition of nominal constructions is highly variable.

Among the preferred Gothic equivalents are those that share either etymological origin (*ὑπό*+Acc : *uf*+Acc) or the majority of the semantic functions of the Greek counterpart (*εἰς*+Acc : *du*+Dat). Occasionally, Gothic renditions are selected based on their primary or frequent semantics. Thus, the correspondence *ἐπί*+Acc : *du*+Dat is not regular and occurs mostly in instances where these phrases designate a purpose (a function particularly common for *du*+Dat).

Although it is often the case that the Gothic translation depends on a function that a prepositional phrase expresses, in some instances a Greek prepositional phrase does not have a wide range of semantic functions but still has a number of Gothic counterparts (e.g. *ὑπέρ*+Gen, § 6.13.1). Sometimes the Gothic translation depends on factors other than the semantics of a preposition. Thus, in several instances *ἐν*+Dat is translated with *ana*+Dat or *ana* +Acc rather than with *in*+Dat in

combination with a noun meaning ‘a desert, empty place’ (§ 6.1.2). Such cases are evidence of conceptual differences between speakers of Greek and Gothic. In the example just mentioned speakers of Greek connect a desert with the notion of container while speakers of Gothic associate it with the concept of surface. We also find a few correspondences that should not have occurred based on the core meanings of the prepositions in question. Such equivalence pairs come about as a result of semantic broadenings (metaphorical or metonymic), e.g. the correspondence $\epsilon\acute{\nu}+\text{Dat} : us+\text{Dat}$, § 6.1.2.

Several instances indicate that the semantic roles of prepositions prevail over the meanings of the cases which these prepositions take. Thus, we find examples of the correspondences $\epsilon\acute{\pi}\acute{\iota}+\text{Acc} : ana+\text{Dat}$ and $\epsilon\acute{\pi}\acute{\iota}+\text{Dat} : ana+\text{Acc}$ in addition to the expected pairs $\epsilon\acute{\pi}\acute{\iota}+\text{Acc} : ana+\text{Acc}$ and $\epsilon\acute{\pi}\acute{\iota}+\text{Dat} : ana+\text{Dat}$. Sometimes the Gothic translation is rather loose. Such is the case with the correspondence $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}+\text{Acc} : us+\text{Dat}$ where the Gothic counterpart does not capture a distributional sense of the Greek construction.

The translation of proper, improper, and nominal phrases varies among prepositional and nominal constructions, free adverbs, and even conjunctions or clausal structures (e.g. correspondences with $\alpha\acute{\pi}\acute{o}+\text{Gen}$, § 6.10). Periphrasis may also be used by translators thereby increasing the number of possible ways of interpretation (e.g. the correspondence $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma+\text{Acc} : \text{Dat}$ in J 12:13, § 6.2.4). It appears to play a particularly important role in translations of Greek nominal phrases and some verbal constructions.

Sometimes a certain correspondence is found in one of the canonical gospels more often than in others. Thus, the Gospel of John seems to favor the equivalent pair $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}+\text{Gen} : in+\text{Gen}$ designating reason, while in the Gospel of Mark this correspondence is practically limited to the pair $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{o} : in$

pizei and in the Gospel of Matthew it occurs only once. For now it is unclear how to interpret these differences in relation to the question of how the Gothic translation actually proceeded.¹²

¹² The claim that the Gothic translation was actually carried out by a group of scholars has been made previously. For more information see Friedrichsen 1961:103-4.

CHAPTER 7

GREEK-CLASSICAL ARMENIAN CORRESPONDENCES

7.1 Correspondences with 'EN+DAT

7.1.1 'EN+DAT : I+LOC(ACC, ABL)

The preposition *i* is cognate with Gk *ἐν*, its most common counterpart. It takes three different cases unlike its Gk equivalent that governs only one. *I+Loc* matches *ἐν+Dat* most frequently. *I* shares many spatial semantic roles of the Gk phrase, among which are designations of the locations 'in', 'among', and 'on' (rare): τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ - or *i tann ic'en* 'to those who are in the house' (M 5:15), εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν - *awhrneal es dow i kanays* 'you are blessed among women' (L 1:42), οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦτῳ προσεκύνησαν - *hark' mer i lerins yaynsmik* *erkir pagin* 'our fathers worshiped on this mountain' (J 4:20). The correspondence *ἐν+Dat* : *i+Loc* is also found in instances where these constructions denote location metaphorically and in expressions about clothing: ἐν ἁμαρτίαις σὺ ἐγεννήθης ὅλος - *i mels isk cəneal es amenewin* 'you were born entirely in sin' (J 9:34), τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν - or *kamin i handerjs erewelis šrjel* 'who like to go about in long robes' (Mk 12:38). Other spatial functions are not that common for this pair. It can sometimes designate the direction 'into' or a path: καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἀπέθετο διὰ Ἡρωδιάδα - *ew ed i bandi vasn Hērovdiay* 'and he put him into prison for the sake of Herodias' (M 14:3), καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ - *ew ert'ayr zhet nora i čanaparhin* 'and he followed him along the way' (Mk 10:52).

The correspondence *ἐν+Dat* : *i+Loc* is regularly used with a temporal function, designating a period of time or an action/event during which something happens: ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις

παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής - yawowrs gaynosik' gay Yovhannēs mkrtič' 'in those days John the Baptist came' (M 3:1), ὡς ἐγνώσθη αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου - ew t'e ziard et canawt's noc'a i bekanel hac'in 'how he had become known (Arm: revealed himself) to them in the breaking of the bread' (L 24:35). Causal functions are less frequent for these equivalents. They can occasionally indicate a reason or means: ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται - et'e i bazowm xawsic' i wreanc' lseli linic'in 'that they will be heard because of their many words' (M 6:7), καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν ὄφεις ἄροῦσιν - i jērs i wreanc' awjs barjc'en 'and they will pick up serpents with their hands' (Mk 16:18). The rest of their semantic roles are unsystematic. We find a few instances where they refer to a topic or a patient: καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ - ew hawatac'ēk' yawetarann 'and believe in the gospel' (Mk 1:15). In other passages they designate manner, sometimes specifying the ideas 'secretly' or 'according to' (as mentioned earlier, this function has clearly developed from the original spatial roles of these prepositional phrases): ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ - i cacowk 'in secret' (M 6:4), πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς - gñayin yamenayn patowirans 'walking (Arm: they walked) according to all the commandments' (L 1:6).

I+Acc shares many functions with *ἐν+Dat* as well as with *i+Loc*. Therefore, it is not surprising that the semantic load of the pair *ἐν+Dat* : *i+Acc* is similar to *ἐν+Dat* : *i+Loc*. The difference between these correspondence sets is often quantitative rather than qualitative. Thus, *ἐν+Dat* : *i+Acc* can designate the directions 'into', 'onto', and the location 'in': ἐν ᾗ εἰσπορευόμενοι - yor ibrew mtanic'ēk' 'going (Arm: when you go) into which...' (L 19:30), ὅτι εἰρήνην παρεγενόμην δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῇ - et'e xalałowt'iwn eki tal yerkir 'that I came to give peace onto earth' (L 12:51), οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς - noynpēs elc'i ew ordi mardoy i sirt erkri 'so the Son of men will be in the heart of the earth' (M 12:40). Directional usages are more common for this pair, which may also indicate a topic, means, or patient (with a directional connotation): ἵνα

πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ - zi amenayn or hawatay i na ‘so that all who believe in him’ (J 3:15), ὅς ἂν
 ὁμώσει ἐν τῷ ναῷ - or erdnaw i tačarn ‘if anyone swears by the temple’ (M 23:16), καὶ
 ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ - ew gayt'aglein i na ‘and they took offence at him’ (M 13:57). The
 temporal usages of ἐν+Dat : *i*+Acc are not as frequent as those of ἐν+Dat : *i*+Loc: ἀγρυπνεῖτε δὲ ἐν
παντὶ καιρῷ - art'own kac'ēk' aysowhetew yamenayn žam ‘but stay awake for the whole time’ (L
 21:36). Εν+Dat is often matched with *i*+Acc in formulaic expression ‘in the name of’ where it
 denotes manner: εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου - awhrneal or gasd yanown TṚ
 ‘blessed [is] the one coming (Arm: are you who come) in the name of the Lord’ (Mk 11:9). *i*+Acc is
 used to denote a recipient more frequently than *i*+Loc; for this reason, ἐν+Dat is matched with *i*+Acc
 in such instances: καὶ πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ - ew zamenayn inč' et i jērs nora ‘and he has
 given (Arm: gave) everything into his hand (Arm: hands)’ (J 3:35).

There are only a few instances where ἐν+Dat is translated with *i*+Abl. The majority of them
 occur as a result of periphrasis: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἣν ὁ λόγος - i skzbanē ēr bann ‘in (Arm: from) the beginning
 there was the Word’ (J 1:1). In a couple of instances ἐν+Dat : *i*+Abl is a true correspondence set,
 designating either a reason or a patient: καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἤχους θαλάσσης -
 ew yerkri tagnap het'anosac' i yahel barbaōroy ibrew covow ‘and on the earth [there will be] distress
 of nations because of perplexity over the roaring sea’ (L 21:25), πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθήσεσθε ἐν
ἐμοὶ - amenek'in dowk' gayt'agteloc' ēk' yinēn ‘you all will take offence at me’ (M 26:31).

Temporal clauses including ἐν and the dative of the articulated infinitive are frequently
 matched with a parallel Armenian construction *i*+Loc (infinitive): ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν
αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν νεφέλην - ew erkean i mtaneln noc'a ənd ampov ‘and they were afraid when they went

into (Arm: under) the cloud' (L 9:34). This correspondence is particularly common in the Gospel of Luke.

7.1.2 'EN+DAT : other prepositional phrases

This Greek phrase is sometimes matched with *and*. Classical Armenian *and* governs four different cases, all of which are used in translations of *ἐν*+Dat. The correspondences with *and*+Acc and *and*+Loc are more regular than *and*+Gen or *and*+Abl. *Ἐν*+Dat is often matched with *and*+Acc or *and*+Loc where it designates the locations 'in' or 'among': καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ - ew k'arozesc'i awetarans ark'ayowt'ean and amenayn tiezers 'and this gospel of the kingdom will be preached throughout the entire earth' (M 24:14), καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ὄρεινῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας - ew and amenayn lērnakołmn Hrēastani 'and throughout the whole mountain region of Judea' (L 1:65), καὶ ἀνεζήτησαν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν - ew xndrein zna and drac'isn 'and they looked for him among relatives' (L 2:44), καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις - ew xalałowt'iwn ararēk' and mimeans 'and be at peace among each other' (Mk 9:50). In one instance *and*+Acc matches *ἐν μέσῳ* expressing the notion 'in the middle, among': καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων - nstēr and vardapetsn 'sitting (Arm: he was) among the teachers' (L 2:46). The correspondence *ἐν*+Dat : *and*+Loc occurs also with a temporal function: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις - ew ełew and awowrsn and aynosik 'and it came about in those days' (L 2:1). The equivalents *ἐν*+Dat : *and*+Acc sometimes denote a path: καὶ περιῆγεν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ - ew šrjēr YŠ and amenayn kołmn Galileac'woc' 'and he (Arm: Jesus) went throughout the whole region of Galilee' (M 4:23). In addition, this correspondence can have such non-spatial functions as a designation of a patient, a recipient, and a topic: ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου (ms. D) - and or hačec'aw anjn im 'with whom my soul is pleased' (M 12:18), ἀλλ' ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ - ayl ararin and

na ‘but they did to him’ (M 17:12), πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ χαίρετε - bayc' and ayn mi xndayk' ‘but do not rejoice about this’ (L 10:20). In one instance and+Loc is not a true equivalent of ἐν+Dat but becomes its counterpart only because the Greek passage was reinterpreted: ἦν ἀνακείμενος εἰς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ - ew ēr mi omn yašakertac'n bazmeal and YĪ ‘and one of his disciples was leaning on the bosom of (Arm: together with, on) Jesus’ (J 13:23).

The correspondence ἐν+Dat : and+Abl occurs only once, where it refers to the location ‘at, near’: καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιόις - nstēr and aġmē ‘sitting (Arm: he sat) at the right side’ (Mk 16:5).

Just as with *i*, a construction and+Acc (infinitive) is sometimes used to translate temporal occurrences of ἐν+Dat (infinitive): ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτὸν - ew and ert'aln nora ‘and when he was leaving...’ (L 8:42).

En+Dat can also be matched by a construction with *z-*, governing three different cases. These correspondences are rare. *Z*+Dat and *z*+Ins can be used to render ἐν+Dat, expressing a path: τί ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διελογίζεσθε; - zinč'? vičaik' zčanaparhayn ‘what were you arguing about along the road?’ (Mk 9:33), ὑπεστρώννουν τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ - zhanderjs iwreanc' taracanein zčanaparhawn ‘they spread their garments along the road’ (L 19:36). The correspondence ἐν+Dat : *z*+Ins is also found in the construction ‘be advanced in days’: καὶ ἀμφοτέροι προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν ἦσαν - ew erkok'ean anc'eal ein zawowrbk' iwreanc' ‘and they were both advanced in their days’ (L 1:7). The correspondence ἐν+Dat : *z*+Acc sometimes indicates means or has a temporal value: τοῦ δοῦναι γνῶσιν σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀφέσει ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν - tal gitowt'iwn p'rkowt'ean žolovrdean nora zt'olowt'iwn melac' noc'a (ms. E) ‘to give the knowledge of salvation to his people through the forgiveness of their sins’ (L 1:77), καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ἐν τρισὶν

ἡμέραις - ew zeris awowrs šineir ‘and building (Arm: thou who would have built) [it] in three days’ (Mk 15:29).

The correspondence *ἐν μέσῳ*+Gen: *i mēj/ i miĵi* +Gen regularly designates the notion ‘in the midst of’: ἦν τὸ πλοῖον *ἐν μέσῳ* τῆς θαλάσσης - ēr nawn *i mēj covown* ‘the ship was in the middle of the sea’ (Mk 6:47), καὶ οἱ *ἐν μέσῳ* αὐτῆς - ew or *i miĵi* nora ‘and those who are in the middle of it’ (L 21:21). Sometimes these Armenian phrases are used to translated the Greek *ἐν*+Dat (without the component ‘middle’): σχίσμα πάλιν ἐγένετο *ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις* - darjeal herjowac linēr *i mēj hrēic* ‘there was again a division among the Jews’ (J 10:19), ὅτι προφήτης μέγας ἠγέρθη *ἐν ἡμῖν* - t’e margarē omn mec yarowc’eal *i miĵi merowm* ‘that a great prophet has arisen among us’ (L 7:16).

The remaining correspondences of *ἐν*+Dat with Armenian prepositional phrases are infrequent. Some of them occur only as a result of rephrasing: ὅτι τὸ *ἐν ἀνθρώποις* ὑψηλὸν - zi or *āraĵi mardkan* barjr ē ‘for what is high among (Arm: before) men’ (L 16:15).

One instance of *ἐν*+Dat with a causative function (means) is translated with *ἀρ*+Acc: μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς *ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν* - zi mi *ār otñ* koxic’en znosa ‘so that they may not trample them with their feet’ (M 7:6). Rare occurrences of *ἐν*+Dat, designating the location ‘on, upon’ are sometimes rendered with *i veray*+Gen: καὶ *ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις* μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται - ew *i veray aysr amenayni* vih mec ē ənd mez ew ənd jez ‘and over all these (Arm: this) between us and you a great chasm has been fixed (Arm: there is a great chasm)’ (L 16:26). One occurrence of *ἐν*+Dat was reinterpreted and rendered with *handerj*+Ins: παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ὥς ἦν *ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ* - ew ārown zna *nawawn handerj* ‘they took him as he was in the boat (Arm: they took him with the boat)’ (Mk 4:36). We also find one instance where the temporal idea ‘after’ is

expressed in Greek by a combination of $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat and an adverb and is matched in Armenian with yet +Gen: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καθέξει - ew elew yet aynorik ‘and it happened after that’ (L 8:1). There is only one case where $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat, designating the manner notion ‘according to’, is translated with $\text{əst}+\text{Loc}$: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ - ew elew i k'ahanayanaln nora əst kargi awowrc' hasaneloy ‘and it happened when he served as a priest according to the order of his course’ (L 1:8).

7.1.3 $\epsilon\nu$ +DAT : nominal phrases

Among different nominal phrases used to translate $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat, the instrumental is the most recurrent. The correspondence $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat : Ins repeatedly occurs designating means: ἐν τίνι ἄρτυθήσεται; – iw? hamemesc'i ‘by means of what will it be salted?’ (L 14:34). It is also found denoting an agent, manner, or having a comitative value: καὶ ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ - ew varēr hogwovh yanapat ‘and he was led by the Spirit in the desert’ (L 4:1), ἐν παρρησίᾳ λαλεῖς - yaytnowt'eamb xawsis ‘you are speaking clearly’ (J 16:29), εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι - et'e karōl ic'ē tasn hazaraw zdēm ownel ‘if he is able to oppose with ten thousand [men]’ (L 14:31). Spatial functions are also common for this correspondence set. It can express the location ‘in’ or a path: ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται - en amenayn inč' āṛakawk' lini ‘everything is in parables’ (Mk 4:11), ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης - zi ekn Yovhannēs čanaparhaw ardarowt'ean ‘for John came to you (Arm: ø) through the righteous way’ (M 21:32). The correspondence $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat : Ins has temporal semantics in one passage: ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχθεισῶν τῶν μυριάδων τοῦ ὄχλου - orovk' i kowtel biwraworac' žoļovrdeann ‘meanwhile, when the crowd of many thousands gathered’ (L 12:1).

The correspondence $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat : Dat is found only in a few instances where these phrases indicate the location ‘in’: οὐκ ἂν ἦμεθα αὐτῶν κοινωνοὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τῶν προφητῶν - oc' haļordeak'

arean margarēic'n ‘we would not have been their partners in the blood(shed) of the prophets’ (M 23:30). The Greek construction is translated with the locative in only one occurrence where it expresses a temporal idea: ἐὰν δέ τις περιπατῇ ἐν τῇ νυκτί - *apa t'e ok' gnay gišeri* ‘if anybody goes about at night’ (J 11:10). Sometimes, a translator reinterprets the Greek text. Such is the case in several examples where ἐν+Dat corresponds to the nominative in Armenian: προὔπῃρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες - *k'anzi yāraj t'šnamik' ein* ‘for before they were in enmity (Arm: they were enemies)’ (L 23:12).

7.1.4 'EN+DAT : other constructions

Sometimes, ἐν+Dat is matched in Armenian with a free adverb: καὶ ζητεῖ αὐτὸς ἐν παρησΐᾳ εἶναι - *ew xndrē ink'n hamarjak linel* ‘and he seeks himself to be open’ (J 7:4). In one instance a Greek periphrastic construction consisting of a verb and ἐν+Dat is translated into Armenian with just a verbal phrase: ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει - *koyš yāsc'i* ‘the virgin will be with child’ (M 1:23).

Several occurrences where ἐν is combined with the dative of the articulated infinitive to form a temporal clause are translated with temporal clauses introduced by the conjunctions *minč'(ew)* or *ibrew*: καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς γονεῖς τὸ παιδίον - *ew ibrew acin cnawlk'n zmanowkn* ‘and when the parents brought in the child’ (L 2:27). This correspondence is found mainly in the Gospel of Luke.

7.2 Correspondences with E'ΙΣ+ACC

7.2.1 E'ΙΣ+ACC : I+ACC (LOC, ABL)

Just as in the case of ἐν+Dat, εἰς+ACC is repeatedly matched in Armenian with *i*+Acc(Loc, Abl). *I*+Acc is its most frequent counterpart, which is explained by the origin and vast number of functions that these constructions share. The correspondence εἰς+Acc : *i*+Acc primarily designates different types of direction like ‘into’ (in most cases), ‘onto’, ‘to, up to’, and ‘against’: καὶ πέμψας

αὐτοὺς εἰς Βηθλέεμ - ew arjakeal znosa i Bet'leem 'and sending them into Bethlehem' (M 2:8), ἀνεχώρησεν πάλιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος αὐτὸς μόνος - gnac' darjeal i leārn miayn 'he went again alone onto the mountain' (J 6:15), ἦλθεν... εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν - ekn i covezm 'he came up to the sea (Arm: seashore)' (Mk 7:31), ἔλεγον εἰς αὐτόν - xawsein i na 'they spoke against him' (L 22:65). Other spatial functions are not common for this pair. It rarely denotes the locations 'in', 'on', or 'in place of' (of price): ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ τρύβλιον - or mxeac' and is i skawārakd 'the one dipping in the dish with me' (Mk 14:20), ἔστη Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν - kayr YS yezer covown 'Jesus stood on the seashore' (J 21:4), καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως - ew etown zna yagarakn bṛti 'and they gave them (Arm: it) for the potter's field' (M 27:10). The construction εἰς τὸ μέσον can be translated with either *i mēj* or *i miḵ* (cf. similar correspondences with εἰς+Dat): καὶ στηθὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον - ari anc' i mēḵ 'and stand in (Arm: arise, pass into) the middle' (L 6:8), καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον - ew ekac' i miḵi noc'a 'and he stood in the middle (Arm: of them)' (J 20:19). The correspondence set εἰς+Acc : *i*+Acc can have a temporal function. All such cases are connected with the expressions 'forever' and 'till the end': καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας - ew t'agaworesc'e i veray tann Yakovbay i yawireans 'and he will rule over the house of Jacob forever' (L 1:33), ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος - isk or hamberic'e i spār 'but the one who endures till the end' (M 10:22).

Non-spatial roles are not frequent for this correspondence. Occasionally, it may indicate recipient or topic: καὶ κηρυχθῆναι... μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - ew k'arozel... apašxarowt'iwn ew t'olowt'iwn melac' yamenayn azgs 'and repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached... to all the nations' (L 24:47), ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτόν - zi amenayn or hawatay i na 'so that everyone who believes in him' (J 3:16). Instances where it

designates means or purpose are rare: [μη ὀμόσαι] μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα - [mi erdnowl] ew mi yĒM ‘[do not swear] not even by Jerusalem’ (M 5:35), οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν - sa ekn i vkayowt'iwn ‘he came for testimony’ (J 1:7). The correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *i*+Acc can also designate manner and is often found as part of a formulaic construction ‘in the name of’: βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς - mkrtec'ēk' znosa yanown hawr ‘baptizing (Arm: baptize) them in the name of the Father’ (M 28:19).

Sometimes *εἰς* is combined with the accusative of the articulated infinitive to express purpose and is matched with a parallel Armenian construction *i*+Acc (infinitive): καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτόν - ew zawrowt'iwn TÑ ēr i bžškel znosa ‘and the power of the Lord was to heal him (Arm: them)’ (L 5:17).

I+Loc is used in translation of *εἰς*+Acc less frequently, mostly designating the location ‘on’: καὶ καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν - ew minč' nstēr na i lerinn jit'eneac' ‘and when he was sitting on the Mount of Olives’ (Mk 13:3). Directional functions are rare for *εἰς*+Acc : *i*+Loc: ὅτι μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα - zi zħac'an i k'arozowt'eann ‘for they repented at (=in response to) the preaching’ (M 12:41). In several instances this correspondence expresses a temporal notion: οἱτινες πληρωθήσονται εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν - ork' lc'e'in i žamanaki iwreanc' ‘those that will be fulfilled in their time’ (L 1:20). *Εἰς*+Acc is also matched with *i*+Loc in a few instances where it indicates purpose: ἀγόρασον ὧν χρείαν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἐορτήν - gnea inč' or pitoy ic'ē mez i tawnis ‘buy whatever we need for the feast’ (J 13:29).

The correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *i*+Abl occurs only as a result of a rephrasing: καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸ οὖς ἀκούετε - ew zor lsēk' yownkanē ‘and what you hear into (Arm: by) [your] ear’ (M 10:27).

7.2.2 E΄+ACC : other prepositional phrases

Many correspondences of *εις*+Acc with other Armenian prepositional constructions are connected with spatial semantic roles. We find a range of variations in translation in instances where *εις*+Acc denotes the direction ‘into’. It can be matched with *ənd*+Acc, *ənd arāj*+Gen, *ar*+Acc, *z*+Acc, or *i mēj*+Gen: ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ - ark zmatowns iwr ənd akanj's nora ‘he put his fingers into his ears’ (Mk 7:33), πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ὑπάντησιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ – amenayn k'alak'n el ənd arāj YĪ ‘the whole city went out to meet with (Arm: before) Jesus’ (M 8:34), ἔλαβεν ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ ἴδια - ar ašakertn zna ar iwr ‘the disciple took her into his own [home]’ (J 19:27), καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται - ew amenayn ok' zna bṛnabarē ‘and everyone rushes into it’ (L 16:16), καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας - ew ayln ankaw i mēj p'šoc ‘and another fell into (the middle of) thorns’ (Mk 4:7). *Εἰς*+Acc, designating the direction ‘onto’, is rendered either with *ənd*+Acc or *i veray*+Gen: τότε ἐνέπτυσαν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ - yaynžam t'k'in ənd eress nora ‘then they spit onto his face’ (M 26:67), καταβαῖνον εἰς αὐτόν - ijanēr i veray nora ‘descending (Arm: it descended) upon him’ (Mk 1:10). In those cases where the Greek phrase indicates the direction ‘up to’ it is sometimes translated with *ar*+Acc: ἔπεσεν αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πόδας (mss. R, Θ)¹³ - ankaw ar ots nora ‘he fell up to his feet’ (J 11:32). *Εἰς*+Acc rarely denotes the direction ‘against’ and path and is matched in these cases with *z*+Abl and *ənd*+Acc, respectively: ὃς ἐρεῖ λόγον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου - or asē ban zordwoy mardoy ‘who speaks a word against the son of man’ (L 12:10), ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον - owr ew k'arozesc'i awetarans ays ənd amenayn ašxarh ‘wheresoever the (Arm: this) gospel is (Arm: will be) preached throughout the

¹³ Several Greek manuscripts have *προς*+Acc in this passage. This phrase is a primary counterpart of *ar*+Acc (see § 7.5.1).

whole world' (Mk 14:9). In a few instances where *εις*+Acc marks a path it corresponds to *z*-+Ins or *i veray*+Gen: *ἐστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν* - *arkanein zčanaparhawn* 'they spread along the way' (Mk 11:8), *ἐστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν* - *taracanein i veray čanaparhin* 'they spread along (Arm: over/upon) the way' (Mk 11:8). In the second example, the Armenian preposition strengthens the concept of surface.

Non-spatial functions of *εις*+Acc are variously translated. Thus, we find the Greek phrase corresponding to *aṛ*+Gen, *z*-+Acc, and *vasn*+Gen where it specifies a purpose: *τοῦτο ποιείτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* - *zays arasjik' aṛ imoy yišataki* 'do this for the memory of me' (L 22:19), *καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* - *ew žołonē zptowł zkeansn yawitenakans* (ms. E) 'and he gathers fruit for eternal life' (J 4:36), *καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς* - *ew zor arard da xawsesc'i vasn yišataki dorin* 'and what she did will be told in memory of her' (Mk 14:9). There are also atypical correspondences with *and*+Acc, *aṛ*+Acc, and *vasn*+Gen, designating respectively recipient, beneficiary, and topic: *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσουσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου* - *aył znoyns arasc'en and jez vasn anowan imo* 'but they will do all this (Arm: the same) to you in my name' (J 15:21), *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τί ἐστὶν εἰς τοσούτους;* - *aył ayn zinč'? ē aṛ aydč'ap' mardik* 'but what are they for so many (Arm: people)?' (J 6:9), *μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον* - *mi aysowhetew hogayc'ēk' vasn vałowj* 'do not be anxious about tomorrow' (M 6:34).

Many Greek passages are not translated literally into Classical Armenian. Sometimes, structural changes and the translator's choice of vocabulary do not affect the general meaning expressed by a Greek phrase, but only slightly alter it: *ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰ πλοιάρια* - *aṛin nok'a znawsn* 'they got into (Arm: took) the boats' (J 6:24). We also find instances where changes in structure lead to completely different readings: *ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν*

νεφέλην - ew erkean i mtaneln noc'a and ampon 'and they were afraid when they were entering into (Arm: under) the cloud' (L 9:34).

7.2.3 EΪΣ+ACC : nominal phrases

Among nominal phrases that are used to translate *εἰς*+Acc, constructions with the dative prevail. The majority of correspondences with the dative express non-spatial functions, although we find a few instances where it indicates the direction 'against': ποσάκις ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς ἐμὲ ὁ ἀδελφός μου; - k'anic's? angam t'e melic'ē inj elbayr im 'how many times will my brother sin against me?' (M 18:21). The correspondence set *εἰς*+Acc : Dat may refer to beneficiary or topic: εἰ μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον βρώματα - bayc' et'e ert'ic'owk' gnesc'owk' bawakan žolovrdeand kerakowr 'unless we go and buy (Arm: sufficient) food for all these people' (L 9:13), καὶ πιστεύσομεν εἰς αὐτόν (ms. Σ) - ew hawatasc'owk' dma 'and we will believe in him' (M 27:42). Less frequently, it denotes purpose or has a temporal value: εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει - οὐδ' imik' azdic'ē 'it will be good for nothing' (M 5:13), ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά - ownis bazowm barowt'iwns hambareal amac' bazmac' 'you have many good thing lying for many years' (L 12:19).

The instrumental corresponds to *εἰς*+Acc in two instances where both phrases indicate the direction 'into': ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου - yoržam gayc'es ark'ayowt'eamb k'ov 'when you come into your kingdom' (L 23:42).

Rephrasing is occasionally a factor influencing the translation. Thus, we find several instances where a construction with *εἰς*+Acc expresses a change of state and is rendered with the nominative: οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας - na elew glowx ankean 'it was turned into (Arm: became) the head of the corner' (Mk 12:10).

7.2.4 ΕΪΣ+ACC : other constructions

Sometimes, *εἰς*+Acc corresponds to a free adverb: *μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω* - *mi darje'i yets* 'let [him] not turn back' (L 17:31). There is one instance where *εἰς*+Acc is matched with a simile-like construction *ibrew* *z*-+Abl: *εἰς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον* - *ibrew zmargarē ownein zna* 'they considered him as a prophet' (M 21:46). We also find occurrences where the Greek phrase is rendered with a construction involving the conjunction *zi* or *andēr*: *εἰς τὸ θανατῶσαι αὐτόν* - *zi spananic'en zna* 'in order to kill him' (Mk 14:55), *εἰς τί ἢ ἀπόλεια αὐτῆς*; - *andēr?* *ē korowstd ayd* 'because of what is this waste?' (M 26:8). In one instance the combination of *εἰς* and the accusative of the articulated infinitive designating purpose corresponds to an infinitive alone: *καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι* - *ew matnesc'en zna het'anosac' aypanel* 'and they will give him to the Gentiles to be mocked' (M 20:19).

7.3 Correspondences with ΕΠΙ

7.3.1 Correspondences with ΕΠΙ+ACC

The primary counterpart of *ἐπί*+Acc is *i*+Acc(Loc, Abl), just as in the cases of *ἐν*+Dat and *εἰς*+Acc. *I*+Abl matches *ἐπί*+Acc only in combination with the verb 'divide': *διαμερισθήσονται... μήτηρ ἐπὶ θυγατέρα* - *bažanesc'i... mayr i dsterē* 'they will be divided... mother against (Arm: from) daughter' (L 12:53). This passage suggests a syntactical and/or conceptual difference between Biblical Greek and Classical Armenian with regard to the notion of separation. While the Greek construction marks a directional notion, the Armenian translation accentuates the concept of separation.

The correspondence *ἐπί*+Acc : *i*+Loc is restricted to the designation of the locations 'in' and 'on': *καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον* - *nstēr i mak'saworowt'ean* 'sitting (Arm: he was sitting) in the custom-house' (Mk 2:14), *ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην* - *i mahičs* 'on the bed' (Mk 7:30).

I+Acc is the most frequent counterpart of *ἐπί*+Acc sharing all its directional functions (‘into’, ‘on, upon’, ‘up to’, ‘against’): καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἔδωκάς μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν; - ew əndēr? oč’ etowr zarcat’n im i seľanawors ‘and why did you not put my silver into the bank?’ (L 19:23), πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ - hogi sowrb ekec’ē i k’ez ‘the Holy Spirit will come upon you’ (L 1:35), καὶ ἔλθὼν ἐπ’ αὐτήν - ew ibrew ekn i na ‘and coming (Arm: when he came) up to it’ (Mk 11:13), ἐαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη - yanjn iwr bažanec’aw ‘he has been divided against himself’ (M 12:26)¹⁴. This correspondence rarely expresses the location ‘on’: καὶ πνεῦμα ἦν ἅγιον ἐπ’ αὐτόν - ew hogi sowrb ēr i nma ‘and the Holy Spirit was upon him’ (L 2:25). It can also designate such non-spatial notions as manner, purpose, and topic: ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἥς πιστός - i sakawowd hawatarim es ‘you were (Arm: are) faithful in little’ (M 25:21), ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην - zi yayn isk ārak’ec’ay ‘for I was sent for this’ (L 4:43), ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτόν (ms. A)¹⁵ - zi amenayn or hawatay i na ‘for everyone who believes in him’ (J 3:15). This correspondence set may have a temporal function: καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐπὶ χρόνον - ew oč’ kamēr i bazowm žamanaks ‘and he did not want for a (Arm: long) time’ (L 18:4).

I veray+Gen is also a common counterpart of *ἐπί*+Acc. It shares all the directional functions of the Greek equivalent with the exception of the designation of the direction ‘into’: ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν - ankan i veray eresac’ iwreanc’ ‘they fell upon their faces’ (M 17:6), ἤγγικεν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ - merjeal ē i veray jer ark’ayowt’iwn ĀY ‘the kingdom of God has drawn near unto you’ (L 10:9), ὥς ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλθατε - ibrew i veray awazaki elēk’ ‘as against a robber

¹⁴ Note that in this passage Greek and Armenian agree on expressing the direction ‘against’ in combination with the verb ‘divide’ whereas a similar construction in L 12:53 (see example above) is articulated in a different way. The reason of such modifications could be connected with a different number of arguments and adjuncts that the verb ‘divide’ has in these passages and/or with the particular semantics of the Armenian noun *anjn* ‘person’, which is widely used as a reflexive.

¹⁵ *Ἐπί*+Acc frequently alternates with *ἐν*+Dat, another common counterpart of *i*+Acc (see § 7.1.1) where it expresses the meaning ‘believe in somebody’. And, indeed, a variant reading of this very passage has *ἐν αὐτῷ*.

you came out' (Mk 14:48). The correspondence *ἐπί*+Acc : *i veray*+Gen can also express the location 'on, over' or a path (with a strong connection to the concept of surface): *ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς τὸ πνεῦμα* - *yoyr veray* tesianic'es zhogin 'over whom you see the Spirit' (J 1:33), Πέτρος περιεπάτησεν *ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα* - Petros gnac' *i veray jroc'n* 'Peter walked across the water' (M 14:29). Just as the equivalents *ἐπί*+Acc : *i*+Acc, this pair can express a topic (only with a lesser frequency): *μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐμέ* - mi layk' *i veray im* 'do not cry about me' (L 23:28). In addition, *ἐπί*+Acc : *i veray*+Gen sometimes refers to beneficiary or recipient: *ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους* - zi na k'alc'r ē *i veray č'arac'* 'for he is gracious to the ungrateful' (L 6:35), ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ *ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην* - elew ban *ĀY i veray Yovhannow* 'the word of God came upon John' (L 3:2).

Correspondences of *ἐπί*+Acc with other prepositional constructions are irregular and for the most part associated with spatial meanings. Thus, in instances where *ἐπί*+Acc denotes the direction 'onto' it is matched with *z*+Ins or *aṛaĵi*+Gen: *οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον* - oc' ok' arkanē jērn *zmačov* 'no one putting (Arm: puts) [his] hand onto the plow' (L 9:62)¹⁶, *ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον* - ankaw *āraĵi nora* (ms. E) 'he fell onto [his] face (Arm: before him)' (L 17:16). If the Greek counterpart indicates the direction 'up to' it is translated with *aṛ*+Acc or *aṛaĵi*+Gen: *ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτον* - acin zna *āṛ Pilatos* 'they brought him to Pilate' (L 23:1), *ἀπαγομένους ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς* - tanic'in *āraĵi dataworac'* 'being brought up to the kings (Arm: they will bring [you] before judges)' (L 21:12). In one instance *ἐπί*+Acc with a directional role corresponds to *zhet*: *καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός* - ew ert'ayc'ē *zhet korowseloyñ* 'and he goes (Arm: will go) after the lost one' (L 15:4). We also find a few occurrences where the Greek equivalent denotes the location 'on' and is translated with *aṛ*+Acc or *and*+Acc: *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰστίκει* - ew amenayn

¹⁶ It is also possible that this passage is altered in Armenian and expresses the notion 'around' rather than 'onto'.

žolovowrdn kayr ār covezern ‘and all people stood on the seashore’ (M 13:2), ὡς ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν - ew ełew sov mec ənd amenayn erkir ‘and a great famine arose over the whole land’ (L 4:25). Occasionally, ἐπί+Acc is rendered with *i mēj*+Gen, designating the location ‘among’: ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας - or i mēj p'šoc'h sermanec'an ‘and others fell among thorns (Arm: which were planted among thorns)’ (M 13:7). The rare non-spatial roles of ἐπί+Acc are limited to the denotations of topic and reason and are matched with *z*+Abl and *vasn*+Gen, respectively: καὶ πῶς γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου... - ew ziard? greal ē zordwoy mardoy ‘and how is it written about the son of man?’ (Mk 9:12), ἐφ' ᾧ πάρει - vasn oroy ekird ‘for which you came’ (M 26:50). The correspondence ἐπί+Acc : *z*+Acc can also express a period of time: ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ - yoržam p'akec'ann erkink' zeris ams ew zvec' amis ‘when the sky was closed for three years and six months’ (L 4:25).

Ἐπί+Acc can occasionally be equivalent to a nominal phrase. The dative case is its most frequent counterpart in Armenian. The correspondence ἐπί+Acc : Dat may also indicate purpose or topic: ὕδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐκ ἔδωκας - jowr otic' imoc' oč' etowr ‘you did not give (Gk: me) water for my feet’ (L 7:44), καὶ πιστεύσομεν ἐπ' αὐτόν - ew hawatasc'owk' dma ‘and we shall believe in him’ (M 27:42). Both constructions can have a directional value: ἀποτινάσσετε εἰς μαρτύριον ἐπ' αὐτούς - t'awt'ap'esjik' i vkayowt'iwn noc'a ‘shake [it] off as a testimony against them’ (L 9:5).

We find only one instance where ἐπί+Acc denotes manner and is matched with the instrumental: ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε - orovhetew ararēk' ‘according to what you did’ (M 25:40).

Occasionally, ἐπί+Acc corresponds to a free adverb or to a construction with a conjunction:

συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό - žolovec'an i miasin ‘they gathered together’ (M 22:34), ἐφ' ὅσον μετ'

αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὁ νυμφίος - minč' p'esayn ənd nosa ic'ē 'so long as the bridegroom is with them' (M 9:15).

7.3.2 Correspondences with ΕΠΙ+DAT

Once again *i*+Acc(Loc, Abl) becomes a primary counterpart here. The rare correspondences with *i*+Abl denote only the direction 'against': διαμεμερισμένοι τρεῖς ἐπὶ δυσὶν - bažanealk' erek'n yerkowc' 'three [will be] divided against two' (L 12:52). The equivalent pair ἐπί+Dat : *i*+Loc is connected with the designation of the locations 'in' and topic: ἀλλ' ἔξω ἐπ' ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν - ayl artak'oy yanapat telis ēr 'but he was out in the desert place' (Mk 1:45), τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν - i hawatal yamenayni 'to believe in everything' (L 24:25). The correspondence ἐπί+Dat : *i*+Acc is the most common one. It can express the location 'near' or have a temporal value: ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἔστιν ἐπὶ θύραις - t'e merj ē i dowrs 'that he is close to the gates' (M 24:33), καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦλθαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ - ew ayn ban ekin ašakertk'n nora 'and after this (Arm: that conversation) his disciples came' (J 4:27). This set also denotes manner (in the formulaic phrase 'in the name of') and topic: ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - or yanown k'o dewš hanēr 'casting out (Arm: who was casting out) demons in your name' (L 9:49), ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ (ms. L) - zi amenayn or hawatay i na 'so that everyone believing (Arm: who believes) in him' (J 3:15)¹⁷.

I veray+Gen matches ἐπί+Dat only in instances where the Greek phrase expresses the direction 'onto', the location 'on, over', or a topic: οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐπιβάλλει ἐπιβλημα ῥάκουσ ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ - oč' ok' arkanē kapert ant'ap' i veray hnac'eal jorjoy 'and no one puts a piece of unshrunk cloth onto an old garment' (M 9:16), καὶ λίθος ἐπέκειτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ - ew vēm mi edeal i veray nora 'and a stone lay on it' (J 11:38), ὅτι χαίρει ἐπ' αὐτῷ - zi owrax lini i veray nora 'that he

¹⁷ As mentioned before, the Greek constructions 'in the name of' and 'believe in somebody' frequently have alternative versions with ἐν+Dat, another common counterpart of *i*+Acc (see § 7.1.1). The passages we just cited also have variant readings with ἐν+Dat.

rejoices over it' (M 18:13). Correspondences of *ἐπί*+Dat with other prepositional phrases are rare and may have a variety of functions. *Vasn*+Gen and *and*+Acc are sometimes found to match *ἐπί*+Dat, designating reason or topic: *ὅτι ὅς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* - *zi amenayn or arjakesc'ē zkin iwr ew oč' vasn pōrnkowt'ean* 'that whoever divorces his wife not because of unchastity' (M 19:9), *ὅτι ταῦτα ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα* - *et'e ayn ēr or grealn ēr vasn nora* 'that this (Arm: that that was what) was written about him' (J 12:16), *ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ* - *ew na xožōreal and bann* 'and he was gloomy because of the word' (Mk 10:22), *καὶ θαυμάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκρίσει αὐτοῦ* - *ew zarmac'eal and patasxanin nora* 'and wondering about his answer' (L 20:26). In instances where *ἐπί*+Dat is matched with *aṛ*+Acc, it may indicate the location 'near' or patient: *ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις* - *t'e merj ē aṛ dows* 'that it is close to the gates' (Mk 13:29), *καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* - *ew erkaynamit miayn linic'i aṛ nosa* 'and will he [not] bear long with them?' (L 18:7).

The instrumental is sometimes the case that corresponds to *ἐπί*+Dat, designating means (a typical function of the instrumental): *οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος* - *oč' hac'iw miayn* *kec'c'ē mard* 'man shall live not by bread alone' (M 4:4).

7.3.3 Correspondences with *ἘΠΙ*+GEN

I+Acc(Loc, Abl) is repeatedly found as a counterpart of *ἐπί*+Gen. The correspondence with *i*+Abl is found to denote the source 'out of' or means¹⁸: *ὅταν ἴδῃτε νεφέλην ἀνατέλλουσαν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν* - *yoržam tesanic'ēk' amp cageal yarewmtic'* 'when you see a cloud rising from the west' (L 12:54), *ἵνα ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα* - *zi i beranoy erkowc' ew eric' vkayic'* *hastatesc'i amenayn ban* 'that every word may be confirmed by the mouths (=words) of two or (Arm: and) three witnesses' (M 18:16). In passages where *ἐπί*+Gen is matched with *i*+Loc, it

¹⁸ Note parallel development of causal semantics on the base of the concept of source in these languages.

designates primarily the locations ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘near’: ὅτι πόθεν τούτους δυνήσεται τις χορτάσαι ἄρτων ἐπ’ ἐρημίας; - owsti? kares yagec'owc'anel zdosa nac'iw yanapati ast ‘whence is one (Arm: are you) able to feed (Arm: satisfy) these with bread in the desert?’ (Mk 8:4), μικρότερον ὃν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς - p'ok'ragoyn ē k'an zamenayn banĵar sermanis or en yerkri ‘the one smaller (Arm: it is smaller) than all (Arm: vegetable) seeds that are on earth’ (Mk 4:31), καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου - ew Movsēs gowšakeac' i morenwojn ‘and Moses revealed near the bush’ (L 20:37). Sometimes this equivalent pair also indicates the time of somebody’s lifespan or a functionary period: ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφᾳ ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην - ew i k'ahanayapetowt'ean Anayi ew Kayiap'a elew ban ĀY i veray Yovhannow ‘at the time of the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas a word of God came to John’ (L 3:2). The correspondence ἐπί+Gen : *i*+Acc does not have as many functions as those of ἐπί+Acc : *i*+Acc and ἐπί+Dat : *i*+Acc. It can denote the direction ‘onto’: καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς - ew ankeal yerkir ‘and falling onto the ground’ (Mk 9:20).

The correspondence ἐπί+Gen : *i veray*+Gen is primarily connected with spatial roles. We often find it designating the direction ‘onto’, the locations ‘on’, or path: ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ λυχνίας τίθησιν - ayl i veray aštanaki dnē ‘but he puts [it] onto a lamp stand’ (L 8:16), ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος - or i veray taneac'n ic'ē ‘who is (Arm: will be) on the housetop’ (Mk 13:15), περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης - gnalov i veray covown ‘walking on the sea’ (Mk 6:48). Occasionally, it signifies the location ‘on’ and connotes means: καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσιν σε - ew i veray jērac' barjc'en zk'ez ‘upon (=with) their hands they will bear you’ (M 4:6). Instances where ἐπί+Gen is matched with other prepositional phrases are infrequent. The Greek phrase is translated with *aṛ*+Ins where it expresses the location ‘near’ or time: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφανερώσεν ἑαυτὸν πάλιν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης - yet

aysorik darjeal yaytneac' zanjn iwr $\overline{Y\bar{S}}$ ašakertac'n iwroc' āṛ covezerbn 'after this Jesus revealed himself again to the disciples near the sea (Arm: at the seashore)' (J 21:1), Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰεχονίαν... ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος – Yovsia cnaw zYek'onia... āṛ gerowt'eambn Babelac'woc' 'and (Arm: ø) Josiah bore Jechoniah... at the time of the Babylonian captivity' (M 1:11). The equivalents $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ +Gen : $\bar{a}\bar{r}$ +Acc can also denote location: καὶ ἂν ἀκουσθῇ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος - ew et'e lowr lic'i ayd āṛ dataworn 'and if this will be heard in the presence of the governor' (M 28:14). Correspondences with $\bar{a}nd$ +Loc and $\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{j}\bar{i}$ +Gen are rare and refer to means and the location 'before', respectively: καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ - ew ekeal and amps erknic' 'and coming on (Arm: with) the clouds of heaven' (M 26:64), καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων σταθήσεσθε - ew āṛāji dataworac' ew t'agaworac' kayc'ēk' 'and you will stand before governors and kings' (Mk 13:9).

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ +Gen is rendered with z -+Ins in constructions expressing an action of dressing: καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια - ew arkin znok'awk' jorjs 'and they put their garments upon (Arm: around) them' (M 21:7). The Greek and Armenian versions differ here in the way they describe this act. The Greek passage connects it with the concept of surface, while the Armenian construction is associated with the notion 'around'.

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ +Gen is rarely matched with a nominal phrase. We find several occurrences where it is translated with the instrumental, specifying the notions of means and manner: ἄνδρες φέροντες ἐπὶ κλίνης ἄνθρωπον - ark' berein mahčawk' zayr mi 'men brought (Gk: bearing) a man on (Arm: with) a bed' (L 5:18), ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις - ayl' čšmartowt'eamb zčanaparhn $\overline{A\bar{Y}}$

owsowc'anes 'but you truly teach the way of God' (Mk 12:14). Occasionally, the Greek phrase is matched with a free adverb: ἐπ' ἀληθείας δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν - ardarew asem jez 'truly, I tell you' (L 4:25).

Rephrasing can once again be the only factor bringing two constructions together. Thus, in one instance ἐπί+Gen is rendered with the genitive: οἶα γναφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι - orpēs t'ap'ic'k' erkri oč' karen aynpēs spitakec'owc'anel 'as a fuller on (Arm: of) the earth cannot so whiten [them]' (Mk 9:3). The Greek counterpart in this passage designates the location 'on' while the Armenian equivalent conveys a possessive value.

7.4 Correspondences with 'EK/EE+GEN

7.4.1 'EK/EE+GEN : I+ABL

The primary counterpart of ἐκ/ἐξ+Gen is *i*+Abl. These prepositional phrases share many functions, the most prominent of which are designations of the source concepts 'out of' and 'away from' and the partitive notion: ἐξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ - el i dmanē 'come out of him' (Mk 9:25), ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσης αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ - ayl zi parhesc'es znosa i č'arē 'but so that you guard them from the evil one' (J 17:15), ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφάγετε ἐκ τῶν ἄρτων - ayl zi kerayk' i hac'ē anti 'but because you ate some of the bread' (J 6:26). Occasionally, this correspondence marks the location 'near': ἵνα εἷς σου ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἷς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν καθίσωμεν - zi nstc'owk' mi yaḵmē k'owmmē ew mi yahekē 'so that we may sit one near your right hand and one near your left' (Mk 10:37). Among non-spatial functions causal ones are the most regular for this pair. It can denote means, often in construction 'by oneself', favored by the Gospel of John: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται - k'anzi i ptloy anti cārñ čanač'i 'for the tree is known by [its] fruit' (M 12:33), ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐκ ἐλάλησα - zi es yanjnē immē oč' xawsec'ay 'for I did not speak by myself' (J 12:49). The designation of reason is also common: ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας - ew ȲS vastakeal i čanaparhēn 'and

Jesus, wearied because of his journey...' (J 4:6). Less frequently, this correspondence expresses temporal or possessive notions: ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ εἶπον - zays i skzbanē oč' asac'i jez 'from the beginning I did not tell you this' (J 16:4), καὶ θριξ̃ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται - ew maz mi i glxoy jermē oč' koric'ē 'and a hair of your head will not be lost' (L 21:18).

We also find one instance where $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ +Gen is matched with i +Loc: ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου - k'anzi oč' ē yazgi k'owm 'for there is nobody from (Arm: in) your family' (L 1:61). This passage is not an example of a true equivalent set but rather presents a case of reinterpretation, where the Greek variant expresses the source 'out of' while the Armenian corresponding construction marks the location 'in'.

7.4.2 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ +GEN : other constructions

The only prepositional phrase, other than i +Abl, that matches $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ +Gen is $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$ +Abl, which shares only one semantic role with the Greek construction – the designation of the location 'near': καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου - nstowc'anel ἄνδ ἀἵμῃ immē 'to sit near my right hand' (Mk 10:40).

Nominal phrases are not regular counterparts of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ +Gen. Correspondences with the instrumental can denote means, manner, or a partitive notion: ἡγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἄγρον - gneč'in aynəw zagarakn 'they bought with them (Arm: it) the field' (M 27:7), οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσιν τὸ πνεῦμα - zi oč' et'e č'apov tay \overline{AC} zhogin 'for not according to measure he (Arm: God) gives the Spirit' (J 3:34), ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας - ew i nerk'oy li en yap'stakowt'eamb ew anxānowt'eamb 'and inside they are full of rapacity and intemperance' (M 23:25). In two instances where $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa/\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ +Gen is matched with the ablative, it indicates the source 'out of' or has a partitive meaning (typical ablatival semantics): μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν - mi p'oxic'ik' tanē i town 'do not go from house to house' (L 10:7), ἔλαβεν οὖν τοὺς ἄρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς... ὁμοίως

καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀψαρίων - ew aṛ hac'n $\overline{Y\bar{S}}$... noynpēs ew jkanc'n ‘and Jesus took bread... and in the same way [some] of the fish’ (J 6:11). In one instance $\acute{e}k/\acute{e}\zeta$ +Gen is matched with an ambiguous Armenian form that is either ablative or genitive plural: ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν - hac' erknic' et noc'a owtel ‘he gave them bread from heaven to eat’ (J 6:31). Here *erknic'* is most likely ablative, but genitive cannot be ruled out since both Armenian cases can express possession and source (with different frequencies, see § 4.8).

$\acute{E}k/\acute{e}\zeta$ +Gen is rendered with the accusative in only one instance, where it designates a topic: συμφωνήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐκ δηναρίου τὴν ἡμέραν - ew ark verjs mšakac'n awowrn dahekan ‘and he agreed with the laborers on a denarius a day’ (M 20:2).

In a few occurrences $\acute{e}k/\acute{e}\zeta$ +Gen is translated with a free adverb: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔπιεν - ew ink'n astj arb ‘and he himself drank from it’ (J 4:12).

7.5 Correspondences with ΠΡΟΣ

7.5.1 ΠΡΟΣ+ACC : $\overline{A\bar{R}}$ +ACC(INS, LOC)

In the majority of cases $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc corresponds to $\overline{a\bar{r}}$ +Acc. Frequently, this correspondence indicates the direction toward an animate or (less often) inanimate object: καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν - ew acin zna aṛ $\overline{Y\bar{S}}$ ‘and they led him to Jesus’ (L 19:35). Occasionally, this pair designates the locations ‘near’, ‘in the presence of’: ἐπισυναγμένη πρὸς τὴν θύραν - žołoveal aṛ drownsn ‘gathering near the door’ (Mk 1:33), καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν - ew bann ēr aṛ $\overline{A\bar{C}}$ ‘and the Word was in the presence of God’ (J 1:1). We also find this correspondence with non-spatial functions. It can denote a temporal notion: οἱ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύουσιν - ork' aṛ žamanak mi hawatan ‘those who believe for a time’ (L 8:13). Infrequently, these equivalents express recipient (with speech verbs) or

reason: εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς - asac' ew āṛ ašakertsn 'and he said to the disciples' (L 17:22),

πρὸς τί εἶπεν αὐτῷ - t'e āṛ inč' asac' c'na 'why he said [that] to him' (J 13:28).

In passages where *πρὸς*+Acc is matched with *āṛ*+Loc, it indicates location. This correspondence can designate the ideas 'near' (most common), 'among', or 'in (somebody's house)': ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν - minč'ew telī ewš oč' linel ew oč' āṛ drann 'so that there was no more place not even near the door' (Mk 2:2), ἕως πότε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔσομαι; - minč'ew yerb ic'em āṛ jez 'how long will I be among you?' (Mk 9:19), πρὸς σέ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα - āṛ k'ez āṛnem zzatik 'I will keep the passover in your place' (M 26:18). There is only one case where *πρὸς*+Acc marks the location 'near' and is translated with *āṛ*+Ins: καὶ θερμαινόμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς - ew jēṛnoyr āṛ lowsovn 'and warming (Arm: he was warming) himself near the fire' (Mk 14:54). We also find one passage where a Greek accusative phrase is rendered with *āṛ*+Acc in an attempt to accommodate the meaning of the preverb *πρό*:- καὶ προῆλθον αὐτούς - ew merjanayin āṛ nosa 'and they preceded them' (Mk 6:33).

7.5.2 ΠΡΟΣ+ACC : other constructions

Other prepositional and nominal constructions matching *πρὸς*+Acc are varied. Most of these correspondences are connected with directional usages. Thus, *πρὸς*+Acc designating the direction 'to, up to' may be translated with *i*+Acc or the dative alone: ἐγγίζουσιν... πρὸς τὸ ὄρος - merj elen... mawt i leāṛn 'they drew near up to the mountain' (Mk 11:1), προῦπήρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς αὐτούς - k'anzi yaṛaj t'šnamik' ein mimeanc' 'for before they were in enmity (Arm: enemies) toward each other' (L 23:12). In one instance *πρὸς*+Acc is rendered with *z*+Ins: καὶ συνάγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν

ὄχλος πλείστος - ew x̄nec'an znovaw žoʎovowrdk' bazowmk' 'and large crowds of people came together to him' (Mk 4:1). This case is an example of differing interpretations, with the Greek passage stating the direction and the Armenian version expressing the location 'around' ('large crowds gathered around him').

In the few instances where the Greek phrase indicates the directions 'into' and 'against' it is matched with *i*+Abl and *z*-+Loc, respectively: καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἐλάλησατε - ew zor yownkanēn xawsec'arowk' 'and that which you have whispered into the ears' (L 12:3)¹⁹, μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου - mi erbek' harc'es zk'ari zotn k'o 'so that you do not ever strike your foot against a stone' (L 4:11). Passages where *πρός*+Acc designates location are less frequent; nevertheless, they are translated in a variety of ways. *Πρός*+Acc can express the locations 'among' or 'near' and is matched with *ənd*+Loc in the first case and with *z*-+Ins in the second: ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς; - minč'ew yerb eḷēc' ənd jez 'how long will I be among you?' (L 9:41), καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν - ew amenayn žoʎovowrdk' zcovezerbn zc'amak'n ownein 'and the whole crowd was on the land near (Arm: around) the sea (Arm: seashore)' (Mk 4:1). In the second example the primary spatial meaning of *z*-+Instr 'around' is extended to mark an approximate territory, close to the sea. A single temporal usage of *πρός*+Acc is rendered with *ənd*+Loc: ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔστιν - zi ənd ereks ē 'for it is close to evening' (L 24:29).

The Greek phrase is frequently combined with speech verbs. In these instances it is translated with *ənd*+Loc, *i mits*+Gen, or *c*' +Acc: ἐμάχοντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι - martnč'ein ənd mimeans hreyk'n 'the Jews disputed among themselves' (J 6:52), οἱ δὲ συνελογίσαντο πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς - ew nok'a xorhec'an i mits iwreanc' 'and they were debating (Arm: thinking) among themselves (Arm: in their minds)' (L 20:5), καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους - ew aseın c'mimeans 'and they said to

¹⁹ For discussion of this unusual usage of *i*+Abl see §4.1.

each other' (Mk 4:41). While *πρός*+Acc has practically the same meaning in all these examples, its Armenian counterparts specify values more common for them: comitative, locational, and directional senses, respectively. Such instances of *πρός*+Acc are also sometimes rendered with the dative or an adverb: τί πρὸς σέ; - k'ez p'oyt'? ē 'what is that (Arm: is that a care) to you?' (J 21:22), ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν προσήχετο - ew zays āranjinn alawt's matowc'anēr 'and he prayed thus to himself' (L 18:11).

The designation of purpose is a recurrent function of *πρός*+Acc. *I*+Acc sometimes becomes its equivalent here: καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λευκαὶ εἰσιν πρὸς θερισμόν ἤδη – ew tesēk' zartorayn (ms. M: zartoraysn) zi spitac'eal en ew i hownjs haseal 'and see the fields, that they are already white for harvest' (J 4:35). *Πρός* in combination with the accusative of the articulated infinitive designating purpose can be matched with *aṛ i*+Abl(infinitive): ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι - t'e amenayn or hayi i kin mard ā i c'ankanaloy 'that everyone looking (Arm: every man who looks) at a woman to lust after' (M 5:28).

Rare cases where *πρός*+Acc marks manner, reason, or topic are matched with *əst*+Dat, *vasn*+Gen, and *i*+Acc, respectively: πρὸς τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ - əst kamac' nora 'according to his will' (L 12:47), Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐπέτρεπεν ὑμῖν - Movsēs vasn xstasrtowt'ean jeroj hramayec' jez 'Moses allowed you because of your hardheartedness' (M 19:8), ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην - alač'esc'ē i xałalowt'iwn 'he asks about peace' (L 14:32). Note that these semantic functions are more common for the corresponding Armenian phrases than for their Greek counterpart. In one instance where *πρός*+Acc is rendered with *zhet*+Gen, the Greek construction is reinterpreted; *πρός*+Acc has its regular directional function here, while the Armenian version expresses the direction 'after': καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ - ew ert'ic'ē zhet knoj iwroy and he shall cleave to (Arm: go after) his wife' (Mk 10:7).

7.5.3 Correspondences with ΠΡΟΣ+DAT

Rare occurrences of *πρός*+Dat are grouped around two notions – the direction ‘up to’ and the location ‘near’. In one case where it denotes direction it is matched with *i*+Acc: ἐγγίζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤδη πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν - ew ibrew ayn inč' merj eľew i zār i vayr lerinn jīt'eneac ‘and when he had already drawn near the descent of the Mount of Olives’ (L 19:37). The four instances where the Greek phrase marks location are translated in different ways. Thus, we find unique correspondences with *i*+Abl, *āṛ*+Ins, *āṛ*+Loc, and *artak'oy*+Gen: καὶ θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους... καθεζομένους ἓνα πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ - ew tesanē erkows hreštaks... zi nstein mi i snaric ‘and she saw two angels... one sitting near [his] head’ (J 20:12), ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλη βοσκομένη - ew and ēr ār lerambn eramak mi xozac' arawtakan mec ‘and there was a large heard of swine feeding near the hill’ (Mk 5:11), ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἰστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ ἔξω - ew Petros kayr ār drann artak'oy ‘but (Arm: and) Peter stood outside near the door’ (J 18:16), Μαρία δὲ εἰστήκει πρὸς τῷ μνημείῳ ἔξω - bayc' Mariam kayr artak'oy gerezmanin ‘but Mary stood outside near (Arm: ø) the tomb’ (J 20:11). In the last example the meaning of the Greek passage is simplified, and the Armenian version states merely ‘outside’ rather than ‘outside near’.

7.6 Correspondences with ΔΙΑ

7.6.1 ΔΙΑ+ACC : VASN+GEN

Vasn+Gen regularly corresponds to *διά*+Acc. The Greek phrase denotes reason almost exclusively; this function is primary (although not exclusive) for the Armenian counterpart: καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἀπέθετο διὰ Ἡρώδιάδα - ew ed i bandi vasn Hērovdiay ‘and he put [him] into prison because of Herodias’ (M 14:3). The Greek construction and its equivalents often have a pronoun as

their object: διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ κόσμος - vasn aynorik ateay zjez ašxarh ‘because of this the world hates you’ (J 15:19).

7.6.2 ΔΙΑ+ACC : other constructions

Other prepositional phrases are rare counterparts of *διά*+Acc. The majority of these correspondences are also connected with the designation of reason (since this is the only function that *διά*+Acc expresses). *I*+Abl, *ā**r*+Gen, and *ā**r* *i*+Abl can be used in translation of *διά*+Acc: καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι προσενέγκαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον - ew ibrew oč' karein merjanal ā*r* na yamboxē anti ‘and when they were unable to bring [him] to him (Arm: to approach him) because of the crowd’ (Mk 2:4), ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παρέδωκαν αὐτόν - t'e ā*r* naxanjow matnec'in zna ‘that they gave him up because of envy’ (M 27:18), διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἰκμάδα - ā*r* i č'goyē hiwt'oy ‘for it did not have moisture’ (L 8:6). In a single instance *διά*+Acc designates a path and is matched with *ἐν*+Acc: αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρείας – ew ink' n anc'anēr ἐν mēj Samareay ‘(Arm: and) he passed through the middle of Samaria’ (L 17:11).

The causal semantics of *διά*+Acc are sometimes rendered with conjunctions like *zi*, *k'anzi*, or *ἐνδέρ*: καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη - ew zi oč' goyin armatk' c'amak'ec'aw ‘and it dried out because it did not have root[s]’ (Mk 4:6), διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς - k'anzi oč' goyr hiwt' erkrin ‘for it did not have deep soil (Arm: moister of the soil)’ (Mk 4:5), διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη - ἐνδέρ?²⁰ oč' ewld ayd vačārec'aw ‘why was this ointment not sold?’ (J 12:5).

7.6.3 ΔΙΑ+GEN : Armenian constructions

Διά+Gen can have three types of functions: spatial, temporal, and causal. We do not find a regular counterpart of this phrase in Armenian. Its translation varies between different prepositional,

²⁰ Note that *ἐνδέρ*? is *ἐν* plus the genitive of the interrogative pronoun *zi*? ‘what?’.

nominal, and adverbial phrases that share its semantics. Thus, in instances where *διά*+Gen indicates a path, it is sometimes matched with *and*+Acc: εἰσέλθατε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης - mtēk' and nel dow̄rn 'enter through the narrow gate' (Mk 7:13). We also find unusual instances where it is translated with *i*+Abl or *ā*+Ins: διὰ τῶν κεράμων καθήκαν αὐτὸν - i c'owoc'n kaxec'in zna 'they let him down through the tiles' (L 5:19), παρεπορεύοντο δια τῆς Γαλιλαίας - anc'anein ār Galīleac'wovk'n 'they went through Galilee' (Mk 9:30). Temporal usages of *διά*+Gen are matched with *z*+Loc and *yet*+Gen: δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιάσαντες - zamenayn gišers ašxat eleak' 'we have toiled (Gk: toiling) all night' (L 5:5), καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δι' ἡμερῶν - ew mteal darjeal i Kap'aīnawowm yet awowrc' 'and when he entered Capernaum again after some days' (Mk 2:1). The set expression *διά παντός* designating extension over a whole period of time is translated with the adverb *hanapaz* that has similar semantics in Armenian: καὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντός ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ - ew ein hanapaz i tačarin 'and the whole time they were in the temple' (L 24:53). Occasionally, the Greek phrase indicates either means or an agent. In these cases it is rendered with *i*+Abl, *i jērn*+Gen, or the instrumental alone: αἱ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γινόμεναι - zi zawrowt'iwnk's ayspisik' i jērac' sora linic'in '(Arm: that) such mighty works come about by his hands' (Mk 6:2), ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου - zi lc'c'i asac'ealn i margarēē 'in order that what was said by the prophet should be fulfilled' (M 13:35), πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ - ārak'eac' i jērn ašakertac'n iwroc' 'sending (Arm: he sent) through his disciples' (M 11:2), οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου - zi ayspēs greal ē i jērn margarēin 'for thus it has been written by the prophet' (M 2:5), ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτῆς - zi p'aīrawor lic'i ordi ĀȲ aynowik 'so that the Son of

God should be glorified through her' (J 11:4), τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν - grealk'n margarēiwk' 'what is written by the prophets' (L 18:31). We also find two passages where *διά*+Gen, designating an agent, is matched with the genitive: ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου - zi lc'i'i ban margarēin 'in order that the word of the prophet should be fulfilled' (M 21:4). The Armenian passages probably have possessive meaning in these cases.

In one instance *i*+Abl becomes a counterpart of *διά*+Gen only as a result of a variant interpretation of this passage by the Armenian translator: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ - ayl amenayn baniw or elanē i beranoy ĀY 'but by every word that comes out through (Arm: out of) the mouth of God' (M 4:4). The Greek phrase expresses its regular meaning here (a path), while the Armenian version marks the source 'out of'.

7.7 Correspondences with META

7.7.1 META+GEN : Armenian constructions

In the majority of instances *μετά*+Gen has a comitative function and corresponds to *and*+Loc: ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο - ert' and nma ew erkows 'go with him (Arm: even) two [miles]' (M 5:41). These equivalents may also have a spatial connotation, designating the location 'among': καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσει - ew zbažin nora and kelcawors dic'e 'and he will put the part of him among hypocrites' (M 24:51). They regularly express this meaning in combination with speech verbs (the second component of such prepositional constructions is often a reciprocal pronoun): καὶ ἔλεγον μετ' ἀλλήλων - ew asein and mimeans 'and they spoke with each other' (J 11:56). Other semantic roles are rare for this pair. Thus, we find a few instances where it signifies a recipient: ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν - ānel olormowt'iwn and hars mer 'to perform the mercy [promised] to our fathers' (L 1:72).

Several other prepositional and nominal phrases in Armenian share the comitative function of *μετά*+Gen. *Handerj*+Ins, *z*+Ins, *i mēj*+Gen, the instrumental, and the dative alone are found to correspond to *μετά*+Gen with this meaning: εἶδον τὸ παιδίον μετὰ Μαρίας - *tesin zmanowkn handerj Mariamaw* ‘they saw the child with Mary’ (M 2:11), ἵνα ᾧσιν μετ’ αὐτοῦ - *zi ic'en znovaw* ‘so that they will be with him’ (Mk 3:14), συναίρει λόγον μετ’ αὐτῶν - *ānē hamars i mēj noc'a* ‘he settled accounts with them’ (M 25:19), καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν - *isk YS ašakertawk'n iwrovk' gnac'* ‘and Jesus went away with his disciples’ (Mk 3:7), συμφωνήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν - *ew ark verjs mšakac'n* ‘and he agreed (Gk: agreeing) with the laborers’ (M 20:2).

Other correspondences are irregular and often occur only once. In one instance the equivalents *μετά*+Gen : *handerj*+Ins indicate means: σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον μετὰ τῆς κουστωδίας - *ew knk'ec'in zvēmnn handerj zawrakanawk'n* ‘they sealed (Gk: sealing) the stone with the guard (Arm: guards)’ (M 27:66). Occasionally, *μετά*+Gen is translated with *ār*+Loc and *i veray*+Gen where it marks a recipient: ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν - *ānel olormowt'iwn ār hars mer* (ms. E) ‘to perform mercy to our fathers’ (L 1:72), ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος μετ’ αὐτοῦ - *or arar zołormowt'iwnn i veray nora* ‘who performed (Gk: performing) the mercy to him’ (L 10:37). In rare cases where *μετά*+Gen refers to manner it is sometimes translated with the instrumental or even with a free adverb: ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως - *ekeal amponk' ew zawrowt'eamb* ‘coming by (Gk: in) clouds (Arm: and) with power (=powerfully)’ (Mk 13:26), ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς - *gnac' i lērnakołmn p'owt'apēs* ‘she went into the mountain country with haste (=hastily)’ (L 1:39).

7.7.2 METÁ+ACC : Armenian constructions

This Greek construction primarily designates the time ‘after’. It is frequently matched with *yet*+Gen in this function: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέδειξεν ὁ κύριος - *yet aysorik ewec'oyc' T̄R* ‘after these [things] the Lord appointed...’ (L 10:1). Occasionally, temporal usage of *μετά*+Acc is translated with the adverb *apa*: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φάγεσαι - *ew apa keric'es* ‘and afterward you will eat’ (L 17:8). *I*+Loc also sometimes renders *μετά*+Acc, but only because some alterations are made by the Armenian translator: καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι - *ew yerir awowr yānel* ‘and to arise after three days (Arm: on the third day)’ (Mk 8:31).

7.8 Correspondences with KATA

7.8.1 KATA+ACC : Armenian constructions

Κατά+Acc often corresponds to *əst*+Loc or *əst*+Dat. For the most part, these pairs indicate the manner ‘according to’: νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ - *ard arjakes zcaṙay k'o T̄R əst bani k'owm i xałəwt'iwn* ‘now Lord let your servant go in peace according to your word’ (L 2:29), καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι θυσίαν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον - *ew tal patarags əst asac'eloyṇ* ‘and to give a sacrifice according to what has been said’ (L 2:24). The correspondence *κατά*+Acc : *əst*+Loc is also found to express means and time (with a distributive connotation): μὴ κρίνετε κατ' ὄψιν - *mi əst ač's datik'* ‘do not judge by appearance [lit. eye(s)]’ (J 7:24), κατὰ δὲ ἐορτήν εἰώθει - *bayc' əst tawni sovor ēr* ‘but it was customary at the feast’ (M 27:15). *Θεο*+Abl matches *κατά*+Acc less frequently. This correspondence set has functions similar to those performed by the pair *κατά*+Acc : *əst*+Loc. It can designate manner and time (with a distributive connotation): καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ εἰς κατὰ εἷς - *ew asel mi əst mioṗē* ‘and to say to him (Arm: ø) one after another’ (Mk 14:19), τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν - *zhac' mer hanapazord towr mer zawr əst awrēn* ‘give us our daily bread day after day’ (L 11:3). In addition, these equivalents

can indicate the source ‘out of’: καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν - ew əst k'ałak'ac' k'ałak'ac' ekeloc'n āṛ na ‘and when people from every city came to him’ (L 8:4). The distributive sense is inherent in the Greek preposition, but it is expressed by a doubling of the noun in Armenian.

Correspondences of *κατά*+Acc with other constructions are less common. Most are grouped around spatial and manner functions. Thus, in the instances where *κατά*+Acc indicates path it is translated with *ənd*+Acc or *i*+Loc: καὶ αὐτὸς διώδευεν κατὰ πόλιν - ew ink'n šrjēr ənd k'ałak's ‘and he went around through the cities’ (L 8:1), καὶ μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε - ew i čanaparhi owmek' oljoyn mi tayc'ēk' ‘and greet nobody along the way’ (L 10:4). *Κατά*+Acc denotes the direction ‘to, up to’ in only one occurrence, where it is rendered by *ar̄*+Ins: Σαμαρίτης δέ τις ὁδεύων ἦλθεν κατ’ αὐτὸν - Samarac'i omn čanaparhordeal ekn ənd noyn ar̄ novaw ‘and a certain Samaritan as he journeyed came (Arm: by the same [path]) to him’ (L 10:33). Note that all these correspondences are found only in the Gospel of Luke.

The locational usages of *κατά*+Acc are facilitated by *i*+Loc: ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην - ew sov sastik yašxarhin yaynmik ‘there was a great famine in that land’ (L 15:14). We repeatedly find this correspondence in the phrase ‘in a dream’ in the Gospel of Matthew: ἄγγελος κυρίου κατὰ ὄναρ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ - hreštak TÑ i teslean ewec'aw nma ‘an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream’ (M 1:20). In one instance the construction *κατά πρόσωπον* is translated with *ar̄aj*+Gen: ὁ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν - zor patrastec'er ar̄aji amenayn žołovrdoc' ‘which you have prepared in the presence of (Arm: before) all the people’ (L 2:31).

Different phrases are used to render *κατά*+Acc where it designates manner. These include *vasn*+Gen, the locative, the instrumental, or the adverb *ar̄anjin* (*ar̄ anjin*): καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον ἡσύχασαν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν - ew i šabat'own handartec'in vasn patowiranin ‘and on the Sabbath they

rested according to the commandment' (L 23:56), κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν - dmin awrinaki aṛnein margarēic'n hark' iwreanc' 'for according to the same (Arm: in the same manner) their fathers did to the prophets' (L 6:23), κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει - zi išxanowt'eamb ew aysoc' ploc' sastē '(Arm: that) he commands even unclean spirits with authority' (Mk 1:27), ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος κατ' ἰδίαν - el i leārn āranjinn 'he went onto the mountain alone' (M 14:23). The temporal function of *κατά*+Acc may be translated with the locative (note that the distributive connotation is once again expressed with the doubling of a noun in Armenian): καὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ - ew ert'ayin cnawlk' nora ami ami yĒM̄ 'and his parents went to Jerusalem every year' (L 2:41). The temporal and distributive semantics of the Greek phrase are sometimes captured by the adverb *hanapaz*: καθ' ἡμέραν ἤμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς - hanapaz aṛ jez ei 'every day I was with you' (Mk 14:49). Occasionally, *κατά*+Acc denotes means. In these instances it is matched with *i*+Abl or the instrumental for which this function is more common: καὶ τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα φωνεῖ κατ' ὄνομα - ew ziwr oč'xarsn koč'ē yanowanē 'and he calls his own sheep by name' (J 10:3), κατὰ τί γνώσομαι τοῦτο; - ew iw? gitac'ic' zays 'by what will I know this?' (L 1:18). There is also one occurrence where the Greek phrase is translated with the help of a clausal construction: κατὰ συγκυρίαν δὲ ἱερεὺς τις κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐκείνῃ - dēp elew k'ahanayi mioj iĵanel ənd noyn čanaparh 'now by chance one priest went down that (Arm: same) road' (L 10:31).

7.8.2 KATA+GEN : Armenian constructions

Κατά+Gen is not notable for such a range of functions as *κατά*+Acc. It has chiefly spatial roles. Nevertheless, it also has a variety of counterparts in Armenian. *Κατά*+Gen primarily indicates the direction 'against' and is matched with *hakaṛak*+Gen, and *hakaṛak*+Gen: κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν -

hakaṛak im ē ‘he is against me’ (M 12:30), ὅς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ’ ἡμῶν - zi or oč'n ē and mez

hakaṛak ‘for the one who is not against us’ (Mk 9:40). Combinations of *κατά*+Gen with the verb

‘divide’ are translated with *i*+Acc and *i*+Abl, just as are analogous constructions with *ἐπί*+Acc (see

discussion in §7.3.1): πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ’ ἑαυτῆς - amenayn t'agaworowt'iwn baṣaneal

yanjn iwr ‘every kingdom divided against itself’ (M 12:25), ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ

πατρὸς αὐτοῦ - k'anzi eki k'akel zayr i hawrē ‘for I have come to set a man against (Arm: to disjoin a

man from) his father’ (M 10:35). In a number of passages where *κατά*+Gen expresses the direction or

topic of an accusation it is rendered with *z*+Abl and *vasn*+Gen: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ’

αὐτοῦ - zi bazowmk' sowt vkayowt'iwn vkayein znmanē ‘for many gave false witness against (Arm:

about) him’ (Mk 14:56), συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν κατ’ αὐτοῦ - xorhowrd (ms. M) ārnein vasn nora ‘they

held counsel against (Arm: about) him’ (Mk 3:6). Since both Armenian phrases primarily denote

topic it is likely that the Armenian translator changes the directional semantics of the Greek

construction in these cases. But it is also possible that the Armenian counterparts extend their

meanings to mark the notion ‘against’ in these passages (cf. similar circumstances with the

correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *z*+Abl in L 12:10, § 7.2.2).

Less often, *κατά*+Gen marks a descending motion and a path and is translated with *i*+Abl or

and+Acc: καὶ ὥρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν - ew dimeac' eramakn i darē

anti i covn ‘and the herd rushed down (Arm: from) the bank into the sea’ (Mk 5:13), καὶ φήμη

ἐξῆλθεν καθ’ ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου περὶ αὐτοῦ - ew el hambaw znmanē and amenayn kołmans

gawārin and a rumor went out through the whole adjacent region (Arm: all parts of the district) about

him’ (L 4:14). It is likely that the correspondence *κατά*+Gen : *i*+Abl presents a case of

reinterpretation. In this case, the Armenian version designates source and should be read ‘from the bank’ rather than ‘along the bank’.

We also find rare occurrences where *κατά*+Gen refers to the location ‘on, over’ (metaphorically, of power) or designates means. *I veray*+Gen is used to translate its metaphorical spatial function ‘on, over’: οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν κατ’ ἐμοῦ - oč' owneir dow išxanowt'iwn i veray im ‘you would not have power over me’ (J 19:11). *I*+Acc renders the causal meaning of the Greek phrase: ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος - erdmnec'owc'anem zk'ez yĀC kendani ‘I adjure you by the living God’ (M 26:63).

7.9 Correspondences with ΠΑΡΑ

7.9.1 ΠΑΡΑ+GEN : Armenian constructions

I+Abl is the most common counterpart of *παρά*+Gen, sharing its usual function – the designation of the source ‘out of’ (primarily with animate objects): ὅτι δύναμις παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο - zi zawrowt'iwn bazowm elanēr i nmanē ‘for a (Arm: great) power went out of him’ (L 6:19). These equivalents also refer on one occasion to an agent: ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου - et'e elic'i katarowmn asac'eloc's nma i TĒ ‘that there will be a completion of those things said to her by the Lord’ (L 1:45). Several other constructions in Armenian can express source; therefore, we find *παρά*+Gen corresponding to *aṙ i*+Abl and *c* ‘+Acc (with speech verbs): ὅτι παρὰ σοῦ ἐξῆλθον - t'e aṙ i k'ēn eli ‘that I came from you’ (J 17:8), ἐπύθετο οὖν τὴν ὥραν παρ’ αὐτῶν - harc'anēr c'nosa vasn žamown ‘he asked them (=from them) about the hour’²¹ (J 4:52). We find one instance where *παρά*+Gen is matched with the nominative as a result of rephrasing: καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ - ew ibrew lowan or iwrk'n ein ‘and those of his [people], hearing (Arm: when those who were his own [people] heard)’ (Mk 3:21). In one instance *παρά*+Gen has a possessive

²¹ See § 2.19 for a more detailed discussion of constructions with verbs meaning ‘ask’.

connotation and is matched with the accusative: καὶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς πάντα - ew caxeal zinč's iwr zamenayn 'and spending all that was hers' (Mk 5:26).

7.9.2 ΠΑΡΑ+DAT : Armenian constructions

Just as is the case with *παρά*+Gen, *παρά*+Dat most frequently corresponds to *i*+Abl. These counterparts denote the source 'out of' (with an animate object): οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ - oč' əndownic'ik' i hawrē 'you do not have (Arm: will not receive) from the Father' (M 6:1).

Another construction that is found to match *παρά*+Dat is *ar̄ i*+Abl (once again, just as is the case with *παρά*+Gen). This correspondence designates either the source 'out of' (with an animate object) or the location 'in (somebody's presence)': δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἔστιν - hnarawork' en ār i yĀY (ms. E) 'it is possible from God' (L 18:27), ἣ εἶχον... παρὰ σοί - zor ownei... ār i k'ēn 'which I had... in your presence' (J 17:5).

Παρά+Dat is sometimes translated with *ar̄*+Loc. In such instances it can express the locations 'in (somebody's presence), chez', 'among', or the direction 'to, up to' (with an animate object): ὅπως ἀριστήσῃ παρ' αὐτῷ - zi čaš keric'ē ār nma 'whether he could dine with him' (L 11:37), ἦσαν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί - ein ār mez ełbark' ewt'n 'for there were seven brothers among us' (M 22:25), ὅτι παρὰ ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰσῆλθεν - t'e ār ārn meławori emowt 'that he went into [the house of] a sinful man' (L 19:7). We also find one irregular occurrence where *παρά*+Dat indicates the location 'near' and is matched with *ar̄*+Loc: εἰστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ - ew kayin ār xač'in YĪ mayrn nora 'and his mother stood near the cross of Jesus' (J 19:25).

7.9.3 ΠΑΡΑ+ACC : Armenian constructions

Just like *παρά*+Gen and *παρά*+Dat, *παρά*+Acc primarily expresses spatial notions. But the only counterpart that it shares with the previous phrases is *ɑ̄r*+Loc. The correspondence *παρά*+Acc : *ɑ̄r*+Loc can designate the direction ‘to, up to’ and the location ‘near’: *καὶ ἔρριψαν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ* - ew ənkec'in znosa *ɑ̄r* ots nora ‘and they cast them at (=up to) his feet’ (M 15:30), *καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐστὼς παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Γεννησαρέτ* - ew ink'n kayr *ɑ̄r* covakin Gennēsaret'ay ‘and he was standing near the lake [of] Gennesaret’ (L 5:1).

Παρά+Acc is sometimes translated with *ɑ̄r*+Ins. This correspondence primarily indicates path, although it may occasionally express the location ‘near’: *καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν* - ibrew anc'anēr *ɑ̄r* covezerbn ‘when he was passing near the sea[shore]’ (Mk 1:16), ἤρξατο διδάσκειν *παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν* - sksaw owsowc'anel *ɑ̄r* covezerbn ‘he began to teach near the sea[shore]’ (Mk 4:1). The remaining correspondences are rare. In some instances where *παρά*+Acc refers to the location ‘near’ it is matched with *ɑ̄r*+Loc: *καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ* - ankaw i veray eresac' iwroc' *ɑ̄r* ots nora ‘and he fell onto his face near his feet’ (L 17:16). Some occurrences of *παρά*+Acc, designating a path, are translated with *ənd*+Acc: *περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν* - minč'dēr zgnayr *ȲS* ənd ezr covown ‘walking beside the sea (Arm: when Jesus was going along the shore of the sea)’ (M 4:18). The spatial value of *παρά*+Acc is often altered in the Armenian version: *ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος τυφλὸς προσαίτης ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν* - ordi Timei Bartimeos koyr nstēr mowrac'ik *yanc's čanaparhi* ‘blind Bertimaeus, the son of Timaeus, was sitting near (Arm: in the passage way of) the road, begging’ (Mk 10:46), ἦλθεν *παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν* - ekn i covezrn ‘he went beside the sea (Arm: onto the seashore)’ (M 15:29). We also find a few cases where *παρά*+Acc

functions as part of a comparative construction and is rendered with a structure involving *k'an z-*+Acc: μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε - mi inč' aweli k'an zhramayealn jez ārnic'ēk' 'do nothing more than that which has been ordered to you' (L 3:13).

7.10 Correspondences with ΑΠΟ+GEN

As expected, the most frequent prepositional construction that matches *ἀπό*+Gen is *i*+Abl. This counterpart shares all types of source functions (the designations of the notions 'out of', 'away from' as well as the expression of a partitive meaning) with the Greek phrase: ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων – or ekeal ein yĒMē 'coming (Arm: who had come) from Jerusalem' (Mk 7:1), οὐ μακρὰν εἰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ - č'es heři yark'ayowt'enē ĀY 'you are not far from the kingdom of God' (Mk 12:34), ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν αὐτῷ - zi i ptloy aygwoyn tac'en nma 'so that they will give him some of the fruit of the vineyard' (L 20:10). The correspondence *ἀπό*+Gen : *i*+Abl can have a temporal role and mark a point in time when an action starts (a typical temporal function for these phrases): ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δὲ οὐ γέγονεν οὕτως - ayl i skzbanē oč' elew aynpēs 'but from the beginning it was not so' (M 19:8). Occasionally, this pair denotes a period of time: καὶ γυνὴ οὕσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν δώδεκα - ew kin mi ēr i tēratesowt'ean arean yamac' erkotasanic' 'and a woman who was in a flowing of blood (=had a flow of blood) for twelve years' (L 8:43).

We find regular occurrences of this correspondence with causal functions. Thus, it can indicate agent, means, or reason: ἠλαύνετο ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου - varēr i diwēn 'he was driven by the demon' (L 8:29), ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς - i ptloy noc'a canijik' znosa 'you will know them by their fruits' (M 7:16), καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου - ew oč' karēr i bazmowt'enēn 'and he could not because of the crowd' (L 19:3). *I*+Abl also matches *ἀπό*+Gen in the construction

‘by oneself’, a common phrase in the Gospel of John: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐλήλυθα - ew oc’ et’e yanjnē inč’ eki ‘and I did not come by myself’ (J 8:42). The designation of manner is rare for these counterparts: εἰς μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν - et’e oc’ t’olowc’owk’ iwrak’anč’iwr elbawr iwrowm i srtic’ jeroc’ ‘if you do not each forgive your brother with your heart’ (M 18:35). Sometimes, they can indicate a patient in combination with the verb ‘fear, beware of’: καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα - ew mi erknc’ik’ yaync’anē or spananen zmarmin ‘do not fear those killing (Arm: who kill) the body’ (M 10:28).

There is only one instance where ἀπό+Gen is translated with *i*+Loc instead *i*+Abl: καὶ ἰάθη ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης - ew bžškec’aw dowstr nora i nmin žamow ‘and her daughter was cured from (Arm: at) that (Arm: very) hour’ (M 15:28). The reason for this translation is most likely a different interpretation made by the Armenian translators of this passage. The Greek phrase denotes the temporal notion ‘from’ while the Armenian counterpart expresses the time ‘at, during’.

We also find one case where ἀπό+Gen designates reason and is rendered with ār+Gen and one occurrence where it marks manner and is matched up with əst+Abl: καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν - ew ār ahin alalakec’in ‘and they cried from fear’ (M 14:26), καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ μιᾶς πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι - ew sksan mi əst miojē amenek’ean hražarel ‘and they began one by one all to make excuses’ (L 14:18).

Correspondences with nominal constructions are unusual. In instances where ἀπό+Gen is translated with the instrumental it has its typical function – the designation of the source notion ‘away from’ or means (by oneself): ἦν δὲ Βηθανία ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε - ew ēr i (ms. M: ø) Bet’ania merj yĒM ibrew asparisawk’ hingetasan (ms. M: hngetasaniwk’) ‘and Bethany was near Jerusalem, about fifteen stadia away (Arm: by about fifteen stadia)’ (J 11:18), ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτὴν ἅπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ - ayl es dnem zna anjamb imov ‘but I put it

[down] by myself' (J 10:18). The Greek phrase is rendered with the genitive in only three cases. In two of them it denotes the source 'away from' and reason²²: τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἀποτινάσσετε - zp'oši otic' jeroç 't'awt'ap'esjik' 'shake off the dust of your feet' (L 9:5), οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων - vay ašxarhi gayt'aglowt'eanc 'woe to the world because of offenses' (M 18:7). The third instance presents a case of reinterpretation where the Greek and Armenian versions agree on source semantics but differ in types of source which they express (the spatial notion 'out of' and material, respectively): οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος καὶ ἀπὸ μελίσσιου κηρίον (ms. K, Θ) - ew nok'a nma jkan xoroveloγ masn ew xorisx mełow 'and they gave him a piece of broiled fish and a honeycomb of bees (Arm: of honey)' (L 24:42).

In rare instances *ἀπό*+Gen is translated with an adverb or even an adjective: ἀπ' ἄρτι γινώσκετε αὐτὸν - ew aysowhetew gitasjik' zna 'henceforth you (Arm: shall) know him' (J 14:7), εἰ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας²³ ἐστιν (ms. D) - et'e Galileac'i ic'ē aym 'whether the man was from Galilee (Arm: might be a Galilean)' (L 23:6). There is one case where the meaning of the Greek phrase is included in the contextual semantics of the Armenian verb: ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς - zarjakealn 'the one put away from a man (Arm: ø)' (L 16:18).

7.11 Correspondences with ΠΕΡΙ

7.11.1 ΠΕΡΙ+GEN : Armenian constructions

Περί+Gen primarily marks a topic and is frequently matched with *vasn*+Gen, the regular construction used to express this meaning in Armenian: καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἡσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν - barwok' margarēac'aw Ēsayi vasn jer 'well has Esaias prophesied about you' (Mk 7:6). This semantic role of the Greek phrase may also be translated with *z*+Abl, *z*+Acc, *i veray*+Gen, and with the dative alone: ἀλλὰ παρρησίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαγγελῶ ὑμῖν - ayl yaytnapēs zhawrē patmec'ic' jez

²² In both of these instances the Armenian form is ambiguous and can be also taken as ablative.

²³ In such instances *ἀπό*+Gen frequently alternates with an adjective (cf. *Γαλιλαῖός*).

‘but I will plainly speak to you about the Father’ (J 16:25), καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν οἱ μαθηταὶ περὶ τούτου ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν - ew i tan darjeal ašakertk'n znoyñ harc'in zna ‘and in the house the disciples again asked him about this (Arm: the same thing)’ (Mk 10:10), ἠγανάκτησαν περὶ τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν - barkac'an i veray erkowc'n elbare' ‘they were angry about the two brothers’ (M 20:24), ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακώβου - sksan barkanal Yakovbay ‘they began to be angry about Jakob’ (Mk 10:41).

Περί+Gen has a range of other functions. It can designate reason or purpose and is matched in these cases with its regular counterpart *vasn+Gen*: περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε - vasñ barwoy gorcoy oc' aīnemk' zk'ez k'arkoc ‘we do not stone you because of a good deed’ (J 10:33), καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου - ew mato vasñ srbowt'eand k'o ‘and offer [them] for your cleansing’ (Mk 1:44). In two occurrences the beneficiary meaning of the Greek phrase is matched with *i veray+Gen*: προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς - alawt's ararēk' i veray nelč'ac' jeroč ‘pray for those abusing you’ (L 6:28).

7.11.2 ΠΕΡΙ+ACC : Armenian constructions

Περί+Acc does not have as many counterparts as *περί+Gen*. The concept ‘around’ determines the set of functions that this phrase performs. They are primarily spatial, although sometimes *περί+Acc* can also mark an approximate time. We find several prepositional phrases that can correspond to this Greek construction. In instances where *περί+Acc* designates the location ‘around’ it is matched with *z-+Ins*, *ənd+Acc*, and *šowrj z-+Ins*: οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα - or znovaw ein ašakertawk'n handerj ‘those who were around him with the twelve (Arm: disciples)’ (Mk 4:10), ζώνη δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ – gawti maškelēn ənd mēj iwr ‘a leather girdle around his waist’ (Mk 1:6), καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος - ew and žolovowrdn šowrj znovaw nstēr ‘and the crowd was sitting around him (Arm: there)’ (Mk 3:32). Its directional function ‘around’ is translated

either with *z*+Abl or *and*+Acc: εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περικείται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ - et'e vēm erkanak'ar kaxēr zparanoc'ē nora 'if a millstone is (Arm: were) hung around his neck' (L 17:2), εἰ περικείται μύλος ὀνικός περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ - et'e arkeal ēr and paranoc' nora erkan išoy 'if a millstone is (Arm: were) hung around his neck' (Mk 9:42). The temporal usages of *περί*+Acc are rendered with *z*+Ins: καὶ ἐξελθὼν περὶ τρίτην ὥραν - ew eleal zerrord žamow 'and going out around the third hour' (M 20:3).

Rephrasing increases the number of renditions of *περί*+Acc. We find several such instances where *περί*+Acc is matched with *z*+Ins and *i*+Loc: καὶ θορυβάζει περὶ πολλὰ - ew zbazowm iwik' zbaēal es 'and you are troubled about (Arm: with) many things' (L 10:41), ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν - ew Mart'a zbaēal ēr i bazowm spasow 'but Martha was occupied with (Arm: in) much service' (L 10:40).

7.12 Correspondences with ὙΠΟ

7.12.1 ὙΠΟ+GEN : Armenian constructions

The most frequent counterpart of *ὕπό*+Gen is *i*+Abl which shares the primary function of the Greek construction – the designation of an agent: ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὕπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων - ibrew harc'aw i p'arisec'woc'n 'being asked (Arm: when he was asked) by the Pharisees' (L 17:20). These equivalents have one more semantic role in common. They both can indicate the source notion 'out of': πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὕπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου - amenayn inč' towaw inj i hawrē immē 'all [things] were given to me from my Father' (L 10:22). The only difference here is the frequency with which these constructions are used in this role, since the designation of source is a primary function of *i*+Abl, but a rare meaning for the Greek counterpart.

The causative semantics of *ὕπό*+Gen may be translated with the instrumental alone: ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλομένην ὕπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ - ayl yoržam tesanic'ēk' šowrj pateal zawrawk'

zĒM̄ ‘but when you see Jerusalem surrounded by (Arm: with) armies’ (L 21:20). In such instances the Armenian version expresses means (also a causal relation) rather than agent. Occasionally, a passage with *ὑπό*+Gen is changed from passive into an active construction in Armenian and as expected an agent is expressed by the nominative: ὅταν κληθῇς ὑπό τινος εἰς γάμους - yoržam koč'ic'ē ok' zk'ez i harsanis ‘when you are invited by someone (Arm: someone calls you) to a wedding feast’ (L 14:8).

7.12.2 ԿԻՈ+ACC : Armenian constructions

This phrase mainly designates the location or the direction ‘under’ and is often matched with *and*+Ins: καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος - k'anzi ew es ayr mi em kargeal and išxanowt'eamb ‘for I am a man who is set under authority’ (L 7:8), ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς - et'e and yarkaw imov mtc'es ‘so that you may enter under my roof’ (M 8:8). In the Gospel of John, this spatial value of *ὑπό*+Acc is translated with *i nerk* ‘*oy*+Gen: ὄντα ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν - zi eir i nerk'oy t'zenwoyn ‘being (Arm: for you were) under the fig tree’ (J 1:48).

7.13 Correspondences with ԿԻԲԵՐ

7.13.1 ԿԻԲԵՐ+GEN : Armenian constructions

It is hard to determine a primary equivalent for this phrase since it is not used repeatedly in the New Testament and its Armenian counterparts occur with approximately similar frequencies. The denotation of beneficiary is a regular function for *ὑπέρ*+Gen. It is rendered in Armenian with either *i veray*+Gen or *vasn*+Gen: καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς - ew alawt's i veray aynoc'ik or llken zjez ‘and pray for those who persecute you’ (M 5:44), ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω... ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς - zor es tac' vasn kenac' ašxarhi ‘which I shall give for the life of the world’ (J 6:51). We also find one occurrences where *ὑπέρ*+Gen with beneficiary meaning corresponds to a periphrastic

construction with *i*+Acc: ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔστιν - i mer koys ē ‘he is for us (Arm: on our side)’ (Mk 9:40).

A single instance of the correspondence ὑπέρ+Gen : p’oxanak+Gen may provide evidence for the merger of the meaning ‘on behalf of’ with the notion ‘in place of’ in the semantics of the Greek phrase²⁴: τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν - or p’oxanak bazmac’ below ‘which is poured for (Arm: in place of) many’ (Mk 14:24).

There are two instances in the Gospel of John where ὑπέρ+Gen has a semantic role other than a beneficiary one. It designates purpose in one of them and topic in the other. In both cases Armenian responds with *vasn*+Gen: αὕτη ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θάνατον ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ - ayn hiwandowt’iwn č’ē i mah ayl vasn p’arac’n ĀY ‘this sickness is not for death, but for the glory of God’ (J 11:4), οὗτός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον - sa ē vasn oroy esn aseī ‘this is he of whom I was speaking’ (J 1:30).

7.13.2 ὙΠΕΡ+ACC : Armenian constructions

This phrase occurs infrequently in the New Testament and is found mainly in comparative constructions. It has only one counterpart in Armenian - *aṙawel k’an z-*+Acc: ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ - or sirē zhayr kam zmayr aṙawel k’an zis ‘the one who loves [his] father or mother more than me’ (M 10:37). The two instances where ὑπέρ+Acc expresses its original meaning ‘over’ (metaphorically in both cases) are periphrastically rendered in Armenian with *aṙawel k’an z-*+Acc ‘more/greater than’: οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον - oč’ ē ašakert aṙawel k’an zvardapet ‘a disciple is not above (Arm: more than) a teacher’ (M 10:24).

²⁴ See Arndt & Wilbur 1957:846 for more examples of this type in Greek.

7.14 Correspondences with ANTI+GEN

It is hard to say which counterpart is a primary one for this Greek construction, since it does not occur often in the text. We find it having two functions – the designation of the notion ‘in place of’ (often with a beneficiary connotation) and reason. In instances where it is used in its spatial function it is matched either with *p’oxanak*+Gen, *ənd*+Loc, or *ənd*+Gen: καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν - ew tal zanjn iwr p’rkans p’oxanak bazmac’ ‘and to give his soul as a ransom for many’ (M 20:28), ὁφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὁφθαλμοῦ - akn ənd akan ‘an eye for an eye’ (M 5:38), δὲς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ - tac’es noc’a ənd im ew ənd k’o ‘give this to them for me and for you’ (M 17:27). *Ἀντί*+Gen with its causative function is translated with either *p’oxanak*+Gen or *vasn*+Gen: ἀνθ’ ὧν οὐκ ἔγνων τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου - p’oxanak zi οὐχ’ canear zžamanak ayc’elowt’ean k’o ‘for you did not know the time of your visitation’ (L 19:44), ἀνθ’ ὧν ὅσα ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε - vasn zi zor inč’ asic’ēk’ i xawari ‘for whatever you speak in darkness...’ (L 12:3).

7.15 Correspondences with ΣΥΝ+DAT

The comitative function of *σύν*+Dat is rendered with *ənd*+Loc and *handerj*+Ins with similar frequencies: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο σὺν αὐτοῖς - ew ȲS gnac’ ənd nosa ‘and Jesus went with them’ (L 7:6), οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα - or znovaw ein ašakertawk’n handerj ‘those who were around him with the twelve (Arm: disciples)’ (Mk 4:10). We also find two instances where it is matched with *ar*+Loc: ἔτι ὧν σὺν ὑμῖν - minč’ ār jezn ei ‘being still (Arm: when I was) with you’ (L 24:44). These examples demonstrate the proximity of comitative and spatial notions discussed in §4.4.

In the phrase ‘with interest’, *σύν*+Dat is translated with the instrumental: καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ ἐκομισάμην ἅν τὸ ἐμὸν σὺν τόκῳ - ew ekeal es tokoseawk’ pahanjei zimn ‘and having come I would get back what was mine with interest’ (M 25:27). One occurrence of the correspondence *σύν*+Dat : *i*+Abl is a result of a variant translation in Armenian: καὶ ἀπῆλθόν τινες τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ

μνημείον - ew gnac'in omank' i mēñ i gerezman 'and some of those who were with us (Arm: of us) went to the tomb' (L 24:24). The Greek version articulates comitative semantics while the Armenian translation expresses a partitive meaning.

7.16 Correspondences with ANA+ACC

This rare construction is found in the New Testament as a part of the phrase *ἀνά μέσον*+Gen and is translated into Armenian with the parallel construction *i mēj*+Gen: ἦλθεν... ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρίων Δεκαπόλεως - ew ekn... i mēj sahmanac'n i Dekapolis 'and he went (Arm: came)... in the middle of the regions of the Decapolis' (Mk 7:31). *Ἀνά*+Acc can also articulate a distributive meaning. These cases can be rendered in Armenian with the doubling of the accusative form: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο - ew ārak'eac' znosa erkows erkows 'and he sent them by twos' (L 10:1). There are also other combinations used to express the distributive semantics of the Greek construction: χωροῦσαι ἀνὰ μετρητάς δύο ἢ τρεῖς - tanein mi mi i noc'anē mars erkows kam eris 'containing (Arm: they contained) two or three measures each' (J 2:6), ἔλαβον ἀνὰ δηνάριον - ārin mēñ mi darhekan 'each received a denarius' (M 20:9). In both cases the Armenian translator modified the expression of the subject rather than the object to articulate the necessary meaning.

7.17 Correspondences with ΠΡΟ+GEN

The concept 'before' is at the core of the semantics of *πρό*+Gen. The translation of this phrase into Armenian depends on whether its function is spatial or temporal. *Πρό*+Gen designates the location 'before' primarily in the construction 'before the face of somebody'. In these instances it is matched with *arāj*+Gen: προπορεύσῃ γὰρ πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - zi ert'ic'es arāji eresac' TÑ 'for you will go before the face of the Lord' (L 1:76). In cases where it refers to the temporal notion 'before' it can be translated with *yaṛajk'an z-*+Acc or a free adverb: ὅτι ἡγάπησάς

με πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου - zi sirec'er zis yāraĭ k'an zlinel ašxarhi 'for you loved me before the foundation of the world' (J 17:24), ἦλθες ὧδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς; - ekir taražam tanjel? zmez 'did you come here before the [proper] time to torment us?' (M 8:29). All combinations of πρό plus the genitive of the articulated infinitive are rendered with a temporal clause with the conjunction minč'č'ew: πρὸ τοῦ συλλημφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ - minč'č'ew ylac'eal ēr zna yorovayni 'before he was conceived in the womb' (L 2:21).

7.18 Correspondences with improper prepositions

The relational opposites ὑποκάτω and ἐπάνω rarely occur in the text of the New Testament, but they nevertheless have a number of counterparts in the Armenian version. Ὑποκάτω+Gen, designating the location 'under', corresponds to and+Ins and i nerk'oy+Gen: ἢ ὑποκάτω κλίνης τίθησιν - kam dnē and marhčawk' 'or he puts it under a bed' (L 8:16), ὅτι εἶδον σε ὑποκάτω τῆς συκῆς - t'e tesi [k'ez] i nerk'oy t'zenwoyn 'that I saw you under the fig tree' (J 1:50). We also find cases where ὑποκάτω+Gen is matched with a nominal phrase only as a result of reinterpretation of the passages: ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν - t'awt'ap'esjik' zp'oši otic' jeroc' 'shake off the dust under (Arm: from) your feet' (Mk 6:11), ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου - minč'ew edic' zt'snamis k'o patowandan otic' k'oc' 'till I put your enemies under your feet (Arm: as a footstool for your feet)' (Mk 12:36).

Ἐπάνω+Gen also finds several counterparts. Its most common equivalent is i veray+Gen that matches it where it denotes the location 'on' or the direction 'onto': σὺ ἐπάνω γίνου πέντε πόλεων - liĭr i veray hing k'alak'ac' 'may you be over five cities' (L 19:19), καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένην - ew edin i veray glxoy nora greal zvnas nora 'and they put over his head the accusation written against him' (M 27:37). In one instance ἐπάνω+Gen is rendered

with *āṛ*+Loc: ἐπιστὰς ἐπάνω αὐτῆς - *ekac' āṛ nma* ‘he stood over (Arm: near) her’ (L 4:39). This passage is an example of rephrasing where the Greek variant expresses the location ‘over’ whereas the Armenian version accentuates the location ‘near’. There is also one instance of the correspondence *ἐπάνω*+Gen : *z*-+Acc which is another example of different wording of a passage: δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων - *etow jez išxanowt'iwn koxel zawjs* ‘I gave you the power to step upon (Arm: to trample) serpents’ (L 10:19). In one instance the spatial value of the Greek phrase becomes metaphorically extended, allowing it to be used in a comparative construction. It is matched with *aweli k'an* in this case: ἡδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων - *mart' ēr zayd ewl vačārel aweli k'an erek'ariwr dahekani* ‘for this oil might have been sold for over (Arm: more than) three hundred denarii’ (Mk 14:5).

The phrase *ἐγγύς*+Gen has three Armenian improper prepositional phrases as its counterparts: *merj* *i*+Acc, *merj* *āṛ*+Acc, and *mawt* *i*+Acc: ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου - *ayl gnac' anti yerkir mi or merj ēr yanapat* ‘but he went from there into the (Arm: a) country that was near the desert’ (J 11:54), ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλίμ - *mkrter ew Yovhannēs i yAenovn merj āṛ Sālim* ‘and John was baptizing at Aenon near Salim’ (J 3:23), ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως - *zi mawt ēr i k'alak' andr telin* ‘for the place was near the city’ (J 19:20). *Merj* and *mawt* match adverbial usages of *ἐγγύς*: γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος - *gitēk' t'e merj ē amaṛn* ‘you know that summer is near’ (Mk 13:28), ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον - *zi mawt ēr gerezmān* ‘for the tomb was near’ (J 19:42). The single occurrence of *ἐντός*+Gen is translated with the combination *i nerk's* *i*+Loc: ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντός ὑμῶν ἐστίν - *zi aha ark'ayowt'iwn ĀY i nerk's i jez ē* ‘for behold, the kingdom of God is in you’ (L 17:21). *Μεταξύ*+Gen, designating the location ‘among, between’, is rendered with *ənd*+Loc and *ənd* *mēj*+Gen: μεταξὺ

ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται - viḥ mec ē ənd mez ew ənd jez ‘a great chasm has been set (Arm: there is a great chasm) between us and you’ (L 16:26), ὃν ἐφονεύσατε μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου - zor spanēk' ənd mēj tačarin ew sełanoy ‘whom you killed between the temple and the altar’ (M 23:35). In one instance a clausal construction covers the semantics of this phrase: ὕπαγε ἐλεγχον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου - ert' yandimaneā zna yoržam dow ew na miayn ic'ēk' ‘go and reproach him between you and him alone (Arm: when you and he are alone)’ (M 18:15).

It is not surprising to see that a group of improper prepositions, all denoting the location/direction ‘before’, *ἐμπροσθεν*+Gen, *κατέναντι*+Gen, *ἐναντί(ον)*+Gen, and *ἐνώπιον*+Gen find only one correspondent in Armenian - *āraǰi*+Gen; for this is the only Armenian prepositional phrase that can express this notion: ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου - t'ol zpataragn k'o āraǰi sełanoy ‘leave your gift there (Arm: ⅈ) before the altar’ (M 5:24), εἰς τὴν κώμην τὴν κατέναντι ὑμῶν – i geawld or āraǰi jer ē ‘into the village that is before you’ (M 21:2), ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι ἀμφοτέρω ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ - ew ein ardark' erkok'in āraǰi ĀY ‘and they were both righteous before God’ (L 1:6), ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ - owrac'eal lic'i āraǰi hreštakac' ĀY ‘he will be denied before the angels of God’ (L 12:9). In a few instances *κατέναντι*+Gen is matched with *ənddēm*+Gen, *yandiman*+Gen, and *handēp*+Gen but these prepositional phrases express a slightly different nuance in these passages, designating the notion ‘against, opposite’ rather than ‘before’: εἰς τὴν κώμην τὴν κατέναντι ὑμῶν - i geawld or ənddēm jer kay ‘into the village that is opposite you’ (Mk 11:2), καὶ καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ - ew minč' nstēr na i lerinn jit'eneac' yandiman tačarin ‘and when he was sitting on the Mount of Olive opposite the temple’ (Mk 13:3), ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κατέναντι κώμην - ert'ayk' dowk' i geawln or handēp mer kay ‘go

(Arm: ye) into the opposite village (Arm: into the village that is opposite to us)' (L 19:30). Rare adverbial usages of *ἐμπροσθεν* are translated with the construction *yaṛaʃ*: *ἐπορεύετο ἐμπροσθεν* - gnac' *yaṛaʃ* 'he went forward' (L 19:28).

Greek constructions connected with the concept 'after, beyond' have several counterparts, the most common of which are *zhet*+Gen and *zkni*+Gen; and these are often used interchangeably in combination with the verb 'follow'. Thus, we find correspondences like *ὀπίσω*+Gen : *zhet*+Gen, *ὀπίσω*+Gen : *zkni*+Gen, *ὀπισθεν*+Gen : *zhet*+Gen, and *ὀπισθεν*+Gen : *zkni*+Gen: ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ - gnac'in *zhet nora* 'they went after him' (Mk 1:20), εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἔλθειν - et'e ok' kami gal *zkni im* 'if someone wants to go after me' (Mk 8:34), ὅτι κράζει ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν - zi ałalakē *zhet mer* 'for she is crying after us' (M 15:23), ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρειν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ - edin i veray nora zxač'n berel *zkni YI* 'they put on him the cross to carry after Jesus' (L 23:26). *Yet*+Gen is a less frequent construction and is used to translate the only occurrence of *ὕστερον*+Gen: *ὕστερον* δὲ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἡ γυνή - *yet amenec'own* meṛaw ew kinn 'and after everybody the wife (Arm: also) died' (M 22:27). Several instances of *ὀπίσω*+Gen and a few cases where *ὀπίσω* is used as a free adverb are also rendered with a construction with *yets*: ὑπάγε ὀπίσω μου - ert' *yets im* 'go behind me' (M 16:23), μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω ὀπίσω - mi darjc'i *yets* 'let him not turn back' (M 24:18). Several adverbial uses of *ὀπισθεν* are matched with the adverb *yetoy*: προσελθοῦσα ὀπισθεν - matowc'eal *yetoy* 'approaching from behind' (L 8:44). *Πέραν*+Gen finds *yaynkoys*+Gen lit. 'onto that side of' as its counterpart in all its occurrences: ἤρχοντο πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης - gayin *yaynkoys covown* 'they went across the sea' (J 6:17), ὃς ἦν... πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου - or ērn... *yaynkoys Yordananow* 'who was... beyond the Jordan' (J 3:26).

Έξω+Gen, the only Greek improper prepositional phrase connected with the notion of source, corresponds to *artak* 'oy+Gen (or to a construction with its variant *artak* 'oy/*artak* 's *k'an* z-+Acc), which has a similar status in Armenian: καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος - ew hanin artak'oy aygwoyn 'and they cast him (Arm: ø) out of the vineyard' (Mk 12:8), καὶ ἐκβαλόντες αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος - ew hanin zna artak's k'an zaygin 'and casting (Arm: they cast) him out of the vineyard' (L 20:15). Adverbial usages of *ἔξω* are matched with *i bac*' or the adjective *artak'in*: τὰ δὲ σαπρὰ ἔξω ἔβαλον – ew xzotann i bac' ənkeç'in 'and they threw the bad ones out' (M 13:48), ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται - bayc' noc'a or artak'ink'n en amenayn inç' aṛakawk' lini 'but to those who are outside everything is in parables' (Mk 4:11). In one instance the combination *ἔξω* *πρός*+Dat is translated with *artak* 'oy+Gen, in this way reducing a more detailed meaning 'outside near' to 'outside of': Μαρία δὲ εἰστήκει πρὸς τῷ μνημείῳ ἔξω - bayc' Mariam kayr artak'oy gerezmanin 'but Mary was standing outside near (Arm: outside) the tomb' (J 20:11).

Μέχρι+Gen and *ἄχρι*+Gen, designating the same temporal concept 'till/until', receive different treatment in Armenian. *Μέχρι*+Gen corresponds only to *minç* '(ew) c' -+Acc: ἔμειναν ἄν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον - apak'ēn kayin ews minç'ew c'aysawr 'they would have remained (Arm: still) until this day' (M 11:23). In the instances where it is used as a conjunction, it is matched with the conjunction *minç* '(ew): μέχρις οὗ ταῦτα πάντα γένηται - minç' ays amenayn elic'i 'till all this happens' (Mk 13:30). *Ἄχρι*+Gen has a greater variety of counterparts. It can correspond to *minç* '(ew) c' -+Acc, *minç* '(ew) i+Acc, *minç* '(ew), or *aṛ*+Acc: ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας γένηται ταῦτα - minç'ew c'awrn yorowm ayd linic'i 'until the day on which this happens' (L 1:20), ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσηλθεν Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν - minç'ew yawrn yorowm emowt Noy i tapann 'until the day that (Arm: on which) Noah

entered into the ark' (L 17:27), ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν - minč'ew kataresc'in žamanakk' het'anosac' 'until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled' (L 21:24), ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ - ekac' i nmanē ār žamanak mi 'he went from him until a time' (L 4:13). *Ἔως*+Gen which can also denote the notion 'till/until', has a similar set of equivalents. Therefore, it is also matched with *minč'(ew)* *c*'-+Acc and *minč'(ew)* *i*+Acc: καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Ἡρώδου - ew and ēr minč'ew c'vaxčan Hērovdi 'and he was there until the death of Herod' (M 2:15), ἄφετε συναυξάνεσθαι ἀμφοτέρω ἕως τοῦ θερισμοῦ - t'oyl towk' erkoc'ownc' ačel i miasin minč'ew i hownjš 'let both grow together until the harvest' (M 13:30). Adverbial usages of *ἕως* are rendered with *minč'(ew)*: ἕως ἄν ἐξέλθῃτε - minč'ew elanic'ēk' anti 'until you go away' (M 10:11). In addition, *minč'(ew)* *c*'-+Acc and *minč'(ew)* *i*+Acc become counterparts of the Greek phrase where it refers to the direction '[up] to' and/or is used in combination with an adverb: ἀρξάμενος ἀπο τῶν ἐσχάτων ἕως τῶν πρώτων - skseal yetnoc'n minč'ew c'ārājīnsn 'beginning from the last up to the first' (M 20:8), ἕως τοῦ ᾅδου καταβήσῃ - minč'ew i džoxs ijc'es 'you will descend to hell' (L 10:15), ἕως πότε μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσομαι; - minč'ew c'erb ic'em ənd jez 'until when will I be with you?' (M 17:17), ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται - minč'ew yayžm ark'ayowt'iwn erknic' bīnadati 'until now the kingdom of heaven is violated' (M 11:12). We find one instance in the Gospel of Luke where *ἕως*+Gen corresponds to *minč'(ew)* *ar*+Acc: ἦλθον ἕως αὐτοῦ - ekin minč'ew ar na 'they came up to him' (L 4:42). In one instance, also found in the Gospel of Luke, the complex construction *ἕως* *πρός*+Acc is mirrored with *minč'(ew)* *i*+Acc: ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν - ehan znosa minč'ew i Bēt'anía 'and he led them as far as Bethany' (L 24:50).

Both instances of *ἀμα*+Dat are translated with *ənd*+Loc: *ἐκριζώσητε ἀμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον* - zcoreann *ənd nmin* i bac' xlic'ēk' 'you will root out the wheat with them (Arm: the same)' (M 13:29), *ὅστις ἐξῆλθεν ἀμα πρωῒ* - or el *ənd ārawawts* 'who went out early (Arm: in the morning)' (M 20:1). This equivalency is not surprising since *ənd*+Loc is the regular means used to designate a comitative notion in Classical Armenian. *Ἔνεκεν*+Gen presents a similar case. Its only counterpart is *vasn*+Gen, the primary construction that is used to denote reason in Armenian: *ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ* - *vasn aysorik* t'olc'ē ayr zhayr iwr 'because of this a man shall leave his father' (Mk 10:7).

The four improper prepositional phrases designating absence, *ἄτερ*+Gen, *ἄνευ*+Gen, *πλὴν*+Gen, and *χωρίς*+Gen, are translated in a variety of ways. Armenian *āranc'*+Gen is their most common counterpart. It corresponds to all these phrases with the exception of *πλὴν*+Gen: *οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν* – yerkin oč' anke'i *āranc' hawr jeroy* 'it will not fall to earth without your father' (M 10:29), *ὅτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς ἄτερ βαλλαντίου* - yoržam ārak'ec'i zjez *āranc' k'saki* 'when I sent you without a purse' (L 22:35), *χωρὶς δὲ παραβολῆς οὐκ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς* - ew *āranc' āraki* oč' inč' xawsēr ənd nosa 'and he did not talk to them without a parable' (Mk 4:34). We also find one instance where *ἄτερ*+Gen is matched with *mekowsi i*+Abl, and a few cases where *χωρὶς*+Gen is rendered with the construction *t'ol z*+Acc lit. 'leave [aside]': *τοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν ἄτερ ὄχλου αὐτοῖς* - matnel zna noc'a *mekowsi yamboxēn* 'to give him to them without (Arm: apart from) the crowd' (L 22:6), *οἱ δὲ ἐσθίοντες ἦσαν ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ πεντακισχίλιοι χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων* - ew ork' kerann ein ibrew hing hazar t'ol zkanays ew zmankti 'and those who ate were about five thousand men except women and children' (M 14:21). Occurrences of *χωρὶς* as a free adverb are

translated with a free adverb: ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἐντετυλιγμένον εἰς ἓνα τόπον - ayl owroyñ caleal i mi kolmn ‘but it is separately rolled up in one place’ (J 20:7). The only instance of πλήν+Gen that we find in the New Testament corresponds to *bayc’ i+Abl*: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλήν αὐτοῦ - ew oč' goy ayl bayc’ i nmanē ‘and there is no other but him’ (Mk 12:32). Free adverbial usages of this phrase are translated with either *bayc’* or *ayl*: πλήν λέγω ὑμῖν - bayc’ asem jez ‘but I say to you’ (M 11:22), πλήν ἔφ’ ἐαυτὰς κλαίετε - ayl lac'ēk' i veray anjanc' ‘but cry over yourselves’ (L 23:28).

7.19 Correspondences with nominal phrases

Greek nominal phrases are matched with various constructions in Classical Armenian. Frequently, they are rendered with prepositional phrases in order to accommodate the meaning of a preverb: οὐκ ἀκούεις πόσα σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; - oč'? lses orč'ap' dok'a hakarāk k'o vkayen ‘do you not hear how many things they witness against you?’ (M 27:13). Sometimes, such correspondences are the result of rephrasing: βαπτισθέντες τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου - zi mkrtec'an i mkrtowt'iwnn Yovhannow ‘undergoing the baptism of John (Arm: for they were baptized into the baptism of John)’ (L 7:29). In other cases a nominal construction is translated with a prepositional one due to a conceptual difference. Such is the case with the verb ‘kiss’, which in Greek requires a direct object expressed by the accusative (patient) but in Armenian is followed by a construction with *ənd* (comitative notion): καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν - ew hambowreac' ənd nma ‘and he kissed (Arm: with) him’ (M 26:49).

Z-+Acc becomes a frequent counterpart of the accusative since it is the normal way in Armenian to mark a definite object: ὅπου ἐποίησεν τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον - owr arar zjowrñ gini ‘where he made the water wine’ (J 4:46). It also shares the temporal function of the Greek accusative: καὶ νηστεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας - ew paheal zk'ārasown tiw ew zk'ārasown gišer ‘and fastening for forty days and forty nights’ (M 4:2). The Greek accusative also

corresponds to Armenian *z*+Acc in combination with the verbs ‘ask’ and ‘look’: τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; - *zi? harc'anes zis zbarwoy* ‘why do you ask me about the good?’ (M 19:17), ἰδὼν τοὺς μαθητάς - *etes zašakertsn* ‘seeing (Arm: he saw) the disciples’ (Mk 8:33). In one instance the accusative is matched with *z*+Ins, articulating the meaning of the preverb used in the Greek passage: καὶ περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοὺς μετ’ ὀργῆς - *ew hayec'eal YS znok'awk' li c'asmamb* ‘and (Arm: Jesus) looking around upon them (Arm: filled) with anger’ (Mk 3:5). *Z*+Abl corresponds to the accusative in combination with speech verbs, where it denotes topic: ὅτι τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν - *t'e zhawrē asēr c'nosa* ‘that he spoke to them about the Father’ (J 8:27).

The temporal function of the accusative is sometimes translated with *i*+Abl or *i*+Loc: ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων - *ew i towē i tačarin owsowc'anēr* ‘and during the day he was teaching in the temple’ (L 21:37), ὥραν ἑβδόμην ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ὁ πυρετός - *yewt'nerord žamow et'oł zna žermnn* ‘at the seventh hour the fever left him’ (J 4:52). *I*+Abl becomes a counterpart of the accusative in combination with the verb ‘beg’ where it denotes source: τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός - *orowm xndrē i k'ēn towr* ‘give to the one begging (Arm: who begs) from you’ (M 5:42). This correspondence is also found in combination with the verbs ‘fear’ and ‘be ashamed of’: ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάννην - *zi Hērovdēs erkñč'ēr i Yovhannē* ‘for Herod feared John’ (Mk 6:20), οὐδε ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπομαι - *ew i mardkanē oč' amač'em* ‘nor do I fear man’ (L 18:4). The concept of source, conveyed in the verb in Greek, is strengthened by the Armenian prepositional phrase on the level of form. Occasionally, *i*+Acc becomes an equivalent of the accusative. We find this correspondence in instances where the accusative designates a patient, the direction ‘upon’ (with the verb ‘look’), or means: πνεῦμα λαμβάνει αὐτόν - *ays harkani i nma* ‘a spirit seizes him’ (L 9:39),

καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα - hayec'arowk' i šowšann 'observe (Arm: look at) the lilies (Arm: lily)' (M 6:28), ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν - erdmnec'owc'anem zk'ez yĀC 'I adjure you by God' (Mk 5:7).

The correspondence Acc : *vasn*+Gen occurs only in combination with speech verbs where both versions refer to topic: ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν παραβολήν - harc'anein zna ašakertk'n vasn āraḱin 'his (Arm: the) disciples asked him about the parable' (Mk 7:17). The correspondence Acc : *c* '+Acc is found only in combination with the verb 'ask': καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐρωτᾷ με - ew oč' ok' i jēñj harc'anē c'is 'and none of you asks me' (J 16:5). *Θst*+Abl matches the accusative in only one instance, where it renders a distributive notion: καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν χρεοφειλετῶν - ew koč'ec'eal ā ink'n mi əst miojē i partakanac' 'and calling (Arm: unto him) every one (Arm: one after the other) of the debtors' (L 16:5).

We find one example where the accusative with a temporal function (and a distributive value) is matched with the locative: συμφωνήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐκ δηναρίου τὴν ἡμέραν - ew ark verjs mšakac'n awowrn dahekan 'and he agreed with the workers on a denarius a day' (M 20:2).

The most common prepositional counterparts of the dative are phrases with *i*. *I*+Acc shares with the dative some directional functions as well as such roles as the designation of patient (with the verb 'touch'), topic (with the verb 'believe'): ἀτενίζοντες αὐτῷ - i na hayein 'looking (Arm: they looked) intently upon him' (L 4:20), οὐ προσψαύετε τοῖς φορτίοις - i bēṛinsn oč' merjanayk' 'you do not touch the burdens' (L 11:46), τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; - o? hawatac' i lowr mer 'who has believed in our report?' (J 12:38). The correspondence Dat : *i*+Acc can also mark manner: καὶ τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν - ew yanown k'o dewš hanak' 'and we cast out demons in your name' (M 7:22). The Greek dative in causal functions (means and agent) is expressed in a variety of ways in Armenian, including *i*+Acc and *i*+Abl: καὶ ἔγνω τῷ σῶματι - ew gitac' i marmin iwr 'and she

recognized with her body' (Mk 5:29), ἃ ἐπερίσσευσαν τοῖς βεβρωκόσιν - or yawelaw i kerawlac'n 'that were left (Arm: was left) by those who had eaten' (J 6:13). *I+Loc* often corresponds to temporal usages of the dative phrase: εἰ τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεύσει αὐτόν - et'e bžškie'ē zna i šabat'own 'if he would heal him on the sabbath' (Mk 3:2). It is also sometimes used to render the dative construction that indicates a recipient in combination with speech verbs: εἶπε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ - asasjir yekelēc'woj 'tell [it] to the assembly' (M 18:17).

In a few instances where the dative expresses a recipient it is translated with *i jeṛs+Gen*:

λησταῖς περιέπεσεν - ankaw i jeṛs awazakac' 'he fell to (=into the hands of) robbers' (L 10:30). The designation of a recipient is a common function for this case, occurring particularly often in combination with speech verbs. In such instances it can be translated either with *and+Acc*, *and+Loc*, *aṛ+Acc*, or *c'+Acc*: καὶ ἐλάλει περὶ αὐτοῦ παῖσιν - ew xawsēr znmanē and amenesin 'and she spoke about him to all' (L 2:38), ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς - aṛakawk' xawsēr and nosa 'he spoke to them in parables' (Mk 3:23), ἐρεῖτέ μοι - asic'ēk' aṛ is 'you will tell me' (L 4:23), εἶπεν τῇ μητρὶ - asē c'mayr 'he said to [his] mother' (Mk 6:24). Most of these correspondences extend to combinations with non-speech verbs: καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτόν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ - ew et zna c'mayr iwr 'and he gave him to his mother' (L 7:15).

The dative in combination with the verb 'follow' is rendered primarily with *zkni+Gen* and *zhet+Gen*: ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί - gnac'in zkni nora žolovowrdk' bazowmk' 'and many people went after him' (M 8:1), ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ - gnac'in zkni nora ašakertk' nora 'his disciples went after him' (M 8:23). Rare comitative usages of the dative are matched with *and+Loc*, a construction for which this function is primary: ἴσθι εὐνοῶν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ σου ταχὺ - ler irawaxorh and awsoxi k'owm valgoyn 'quickly make friends (Arm: become conciliatory) with your

opponent' (M 5:25). This correspondence also occurs in instances where the dative indicates the direction 'against' or means: πορευόμενος ἐτέρῳ βασιλεῖ συμβαλεῖν εἰς πόλεμον - ert'eal tayc'ē paterazm and aylowm t'agawori 'going to make (Arm: will make) war against another king' (L 14:31), ψόχοντες ταῖς χερσίν - šp'ei and ap' 'rubbing (Arm: they rubbed) with their hand[s]' (L 6:1). There are two atypical occurrences where the Greek dative denotes means and topic, respectively, and is matched with *and*+Ins, and *and*+Gen: καλύπτει αὐτὸν σκεύει - t'ak'owc'anē and karaseaw 'he covers it with a vessel' (L 8:16), μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ - mi hogayk' and ogwoy 'do not be anxious about [your] life' (L 12:22). Occasionally, *and*+Acc matches the dative in passages where it refers to a patient: ἐμοὶ χολᾷτε; - and is c'asowc'eal? ēk' 'are you angry with me?' (J 7:23).

Other irregular correspondences with the dative involve *z*+Ins (patient), *aṛ*+Acc (the direction 'up to'), *aṛaṣ*+Gen (the direction 'before'), *vasn*+Gen (topic): ἐνέπαιζον αὐτῷ - aypn ārnein znovaw 'they mocked him' (L 22:63), φέρετέ μοι αὐτὸν - ac zna āṛ is 'bring him to me' (M 17:17), καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ κωφὸν - ew berin āraṣi nora xowī 'and they brought a deaf man to him (Arm: before him)' (Mk 7:32), πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου – amenayn grealk'n margarēik' (ms. M: margarēiwk') vasn ordwoy mardoy 'all the things written by the prophets about the son of man' (L 18:31).

Temporal usages of the dative can correspond either to the accusative or the locative: πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις συνηπάκει αὐτόν - zi bazowm žamanaks yap'stakeal ēr zna 'for it had seized him for a long time' (L 8:29), ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ σαββάτῳ ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρία - ew yarowc'eal ārawawtown āraṣin miašabat'own erewec'aw Mariamow 'and rising early (Arm: in the morning) on the first day of the week he appeared first (Arm: ø) to Mary' (Mk 16:9). There are also occurrences in the Gospel of Luke where it is translated with an adverb: καὶ ἀναστάντες αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ - ew

yarowc'eal noynžamayn 'and arising at the same hour' (L 24:33). A rare instance of the dative absolute is translated with the construction *and*+Acc(infinitive): ἐξελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν - and elaneln nora i c'amak' 'when he went out upon the land' (L 8:27).

We find rare instances where the dative is matched with the instrumental, expressing means (one of its typical functions): ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι - es mkrtec'i zjez ἵρῳ 'I have baptized you with water' (Mk 1:8). Several passages where the dative denotes an agent are translated with the genitive: ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ - ē gorceal dora 'it has been done by him' (L 23:15).

Just as in the case of the dative, the most frequent prepositional counterparts of the genitive are constructions with *i*. *I*+Loc becomes the counterpart of the genitive in some rare instances where it denotes the locations 'in' or 'among': ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος - zi t'ac'e'ē zcag matin iwroy ἰ ἵῳρ 'that he might dip the tip of his finger in water' (L 16:24), μήποτε ἔσται θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ - zi mi x̄rovowt'iwn linic'i ἰ žoḷovrdeann 'so that there will not be an uproar among the people' (Mk 14:2). *I*+Abl often corresponds to the genitive where it is used in its primary role – the designation of the partitive notion: ἦσαν δὲ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐκεῖ καθήμενοι - ew ein omank' ἰ dprac' anti or and nstein 'and there were some of the scribes (Arm: who were) sitting there' (Mk 2:6). This correspondence also occurs with a possessive function or designating source: ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ - zi hac' yĀY ē or ijanēn yerknic' 'for the bread of God is that which comes down from heaven' (J 6:33), ἀκούοντα αὐτῶν - lsēr ἰ noc'anē '(Arm: he was) hearing from them' (L 2:46). *I*+Acc renders the genitive only in combination with the verb 'touch': ἥψατο αὐτοῦ - hasoyc' ἰ na 'he touched him' (M 8:3). *Z*+Abl can also translate the genitive in such constructions: ἀψάμενος αὐτῶν - bowr̄n ehar znoc'anē 'touching (Arm: he touched) them' (M 17:7). In a few cases where the genitive marks a patient or a recipient it is matched with *z*+Acc: καὶ

τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει - ew zmiwsn arhamarhic'ē ‘and he will despise the other’ (M 6:24), καὶ ἐδεήθη τῶν μαθητῶν σου - ew alač'ec'i zašakertsn k'o ‘and I prayed to your disciples’ (L 9:40).

A temporal value is common for the genitive absolute construction. It finds a number of correspondences alternating between clausal constructions with *i*, *and* and the conjunctions *minč* ‘*deř*’, *ibrew*: καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου - ew yelanel diwin ‘and when the demon was cast (Arm: went) out’ (M 9:33), ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου - and arewagaln ‘when the sun was rising’ (Mk 16:2), διδάσκοντος αὐτοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ - minč'deř owsowc'anēr zžołovowrdn i tačari ‘when he was teaching the people in the temple’ (L 20:1), τούτων δὲ πορευομένων - ew *ibrew* nok'a gnac'in ‘and when they went’ (M 11:7).

Phrases with *and* are rare counterparts of the genitive. *Ənd*+Acc becomes its equivalent in one passage designating time: τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως... ἦλθον - bayc' i miašabat'own vałak'aǰ and ařawawtn ekin ‘but on the first day of the week they went (Arm: came) very early in the morning’ (L 24:1). The correspondence Gen : *and*+Gen also occurs once and marks the notion ‘in place of’: ἢ τί δώσει ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ: - kam zinč'? tac'ē mard p'rkans and anjin iwroy ‘or what will a man give (Arm: in ransom) in place of his own soul?’ (M 16:26). One comitative usage of the genitive is translated with *and*+Loc: ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον - or owtēr and is hac' ‘the one eating (Arm: who ate) bread with me’ (J 13:18).

The genitive in comparative constructions is rendered with *k'an z*+Acc, the normal way to indicate the complement of a comparative in Classical Armenian: ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου - gay zawragoynn k'an zis zkni im ‘the one stronger than me comes after me’ (Mk 1:7). We find a few passages where the genitive with irregular function is translated with a prepositional phrase for which the role in question is characteristic. These include Gen : *p'oxanak*+Gen (‘in place of’), Gen : *i*

veray+Gen ('on, over'), and Gen : *vasn*+Gen (topic): τί γὰρ δοῖ ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ; - k'anzi zinč'? tac'ē mard p'oxanak anjin iwroy 'for what will a man give in place of his own soul?' (Mk 8:37), καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τῶν πνευμάτων - ew tayr noc'a išxanowt'iwn i *veray aysoc*' 'and he gave them power over spirits' (Mk 6:7), ἡ γὰρ αὐρίον μεριμνήσει ἑαυτῆς - zi valiwn *vasn iwr hogasc'i* 'for tomorrow will take care of itself' (M 6:34).

There are only three irregular instances where the genitive is translated with another nominal phrase. The correspondence Gen : Loc expresses location: ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας – et'e Ark'elaos t'agaworeac' *Hrēastani* 'that Archelaus ruled over (Arm:in) Judea' (M 2:22). The equivalents Gen : Dat refer to a patient: εἰς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ - apa t'e ew *ekelec'woyn* oč' lowic'ē 'and if he does not listen to the assembly' (M 18:17). The counterparts Gen : Ins designate means: ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου - zi əmbṛnesc'en zna *baniwk'* 'so that they might catch him by [his] word (Arm: words)' (L 20:20). In these instances Armenian once again responds with its most common construction for each semantic role.

7.20 Correspondences with other constructions

The Armenian translation of a small number of adverbial constructions utilizes prepositions. Such is the case with adverbs like *κάτω* and *ἄνωθεν*, connected with the concepts of direction/location and source. The notion of location/direction is inherent in the semantics of these words while source is expressed with the suffix *-θεν*. The Armenian version has a formal representation of all these notions, most of the time expressed with the preposition *i*, rarely with *ənd*: βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω - ark zk'ez asti i *vayr* 'throw yourself down (Arm: from here)' (M 4:6), ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος - or i *verowst* gay 'the one coming (Arm: who comes) from above' (J 3:31), καὶ παράγων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν - ew anc'eal *ənd ayn* YĪ 'and Jesus, passing from there (Arm: through that way)'

(M 9:9). Sometimes adverbs are translated periphrastically: καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ - ew bžškein ənd amenayn telis ‘and healing (Arm: they healed) everywhere (Arm: in all places)’ (L 9:6).

There are a number of Greek verbs that are rendered in Armenian with a periphrastic verbal structure involving a prepositional phrase. The most common of these are ‘hug’, ‘kneel’, ‘raise’, ‘crucify’, ‘understand’, and ‘sleep’: καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτό - ew ənkaleal zna i girks iwr ‘and embracing him (Arm: receiving him into his open arms)’ (Mk 9:36), καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σταυροῦσιν δύο ληστές - ew ənd nma hanin i xač’ erkows awazaks ‘and they crucified (Arm: pulled onto the cross) with him two thieves’ (Mk 15:27). Once again, constructions with *i* are the most common. Phrases involving other prepositions are rare: καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ - ew hanēr zgišern... yaławt’sn ĀY ‘and the whole night he spent in prayer to God’ (L 6:12),

A few nouns do not find exact correspondences in Armenian and are periphrastically rendered with a prepositional construction: ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται ἢ ὀψὲ ἢ μεσονύκτιον - TR̄ tann gayc’ē yerekoreay et’e i mēj gišeri ‘the Lord of the house will come either in the evening or at midnight’ (Mk 13:35), ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρός ἐστιν - ayl ār žamanak mi ē ‘but it is temporary’ (M 13:21). In several instances a form of a Greek adjective is translated with a periphrastic phrase including *i*+Acc: ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος - hayr im or yerkins ē ‘my heavenly Father (Arm: my Father who is in heaven)’ (M 18:35).

7.21 Conclusions

Correspondences between Biblical Greek and Classical Armenian are particularly interesting since these languages not only differ in their case structures but also have significant dissimilarities in their prepositional systems. Some correspondences are expected, such as the cognate structures *ἐν*+Dat and *i*+Loc(Acc). But there are also many matches that seem unsystematic (e.g. *ὑπέρ*+Gen : *i*+Acc).

In several instances, a Greek phrase corresponds to constructions including the same preposition but different cases, and these pairs have approximately the same semantic load (cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : i +Acc and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : i +Loc; $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$ +Acc and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$ +Loc). The difference between such sets of counterparts is quantitative rather than qualitative, since they share a number of functions, but express them with different frequencies. Thus, both $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : i *veray*+Gen and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : i +Acc can express a topic, but the first pair does not have this as a regular function. Such occurrences provide one of the explanations for the high frequency of alternations in translation.

Instances where a Greek prepositional phrase is translated with a nominal construction are common. For example, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat designating causal notions is repeatedly rendered with the instrumental. Other constructions like adverbial phrases or clausal structures are also used in translation. Sometimes a nominative phrase is matched with prepositional or adverbial constructions that are chosen to express the semantics of a preverb used in a Greek passage. Thus, $\acute{\alpha}\tilde{r}$ +Acc is sometimes selected to accommodate the meaning of the preverb $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma$ -.

Occasionally, a correspondence or a particular function that it expresses is connected with a specific phrase. Thus, the pair $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : i +Acc has a temporal role in the expressions ‘forever’ and ‘till the end’. The genitive phrase is rendered with i +Acc only in combination with the verb ‘touch’.

Some constructions show a particularly high number of counterparts. For example, directional usages of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc can be matched with $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$ +Acc, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$ +Ins, $\acute{\alpha}\tilde{r}$ +Acc, z -+Acc, or i *mēf*+Gen. The phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ is translated with i +Acc, i +Loc, and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$ +Acc. Some correspondences occur with a great range of semantic functions (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : i +Acc designates many spatial notions as well as manner, purpose, and topic), but some of them occur only once and/or refer to only one notion (e.g. there is only one occurrence of the pair $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Gen : z -+Acc; the equivalents $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$ +Loc share only a temporal function). Narrow meaning of a phrase does not guarantee that it will

have a limited number of equivalents. Thus, *κατά*+Acc does not have as many functions as *κατά*+Gen, but both constructions are matched in a variety of ways.

In extreme cases it is hard to determine a primary counterpart for a Greek phrase. This is so for two reasons: either it is a rare construction in the Greek version (e.g. *ἀντί*+Gen) and/or it is matched with a number of phrases with similar frequency (e.g. *σύν*+Dat, *διά*+Gen). There are also some exceptional cases where every instance of a rare Greek construction is translated differently. For example, *πρός*+Dat marks the location ‘near’ in only four passages and every such occurrence is rendered in a different way (with *ի*+Abl, *ա֛ր*+Ins, *ա֛ր*+Loc, and *artak’oy*+Gen).

Often, irregular semantic roles of Greek constructions are matched in Armenian with phrases for which these functions are typical (e.g. *πρός*+Acc : *vasn*+Gen indicating reason, *ἐπί*+Dat : Ins designating means, *ἐνεκεν*+Gen : *vasn*+Gen expressing reason).

Many correspondences occur only as a result of periphrasis or variant interpretations of a passage by translators (e.g. *ἐκ/ἐξ*+Gen : *ի*+Loc in L 1:61, § 7.4.1). Sometimes changes made by Armenian translators lead to loss or reduction of the semantics expressed in the Greek version. Such is the case with the correspondence *ἐξω πρὸς*+Dat : *artak’oy*+Gen where the meaning ‘outside near’ is reduced to just ‘outside’. Another technique, specific to Armenian, is the doubling of a construction to express a distributive sense inherent in a Greek phrase (cf. translations of *κατά*+Acc). A number of equivalent sets are found only in a particular gospel. For instance, *κατά*+Acc : *ան*+Ins and *κατά*+Acc : *ա֛ր*+Ins are found exclusively in the Gospel of Luke.

Ի+Acc(Loc, Abl) has a special status in the prepositional system of Armenian, since it is not only the preposition with the widest range of semantics in the language but also appears to be one of the commonest items used in translation. Thus, it is a primary counterpart of not only its cognates

$\epsilon\nu$ +Dat and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc but also of $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc(Dat, Gen), $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ +Gen(Dat), $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ +Gen, and $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}$ +Gen. In addition to these, it is frequently used to match constructions like $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc, $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ +Acc and many others.

A final feature, particular to Armenian, is the fact that a group of Greek improper prepositions designating the location/direction ‘before’ have only one counterpart - $a\bar{r}a\check{\jmath}$ +Gen – as this is the only construction used to express this notion in Armenian.

CHAPTER 8

GREEK-OLD CHURCH SLAVIC CORRESPONDENCES

8.1 Correspondences with 'EN+DAT

8.1.1 'EN+DAT : VŮ(N)+LOC(ACC)

As expected, the most common counterpart of ἐν+Dat is its cognate vŭ(n)+Loc(Acc). The Greek construction more frequently corresponds to vŭ(n)+Loc than to vŭ(n)+Acc. The two sets share a number of semantic functions that are expressed with different frequency. The equivalent set ἐν+Dat : vŭ(n)+Loc primarily denotes location specifying such notions as 'in' (literally and metaphorically), 'among', and 'on' (less common): καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν - i vŭ xramě ne živěaše 'and he did not live in the house' (L 8:27), ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ ἀγέλη χοίρων ἱκανῶν βοσκομένη ἐν τῷ ὄρει - bě že tu stado svinii mŭnogo pasomo vŭ gorě 'and there was a large herd of swine feeding on the hill' (L 8:32), σχίσμα οὖν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ δι' αὐτόν - raspŭrja že bystŭ vŭ narodě jeho radi 'and there was a division among people because of him' (J 7:43). The correspondence ἐν+Dat : vŭ(n)+Acc can also be connected with the location semantics 'in', but not as frequently: ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν - jako slovo moje ne vŭměštajetŭ sě vŭ vy 'for my word does not fit in you' (J 8:37). Occasionally, this pair occurs in those instances where a Greek passage expresses the location 'in' while the OCS translation articulates the direction 'into': καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ - i pŭtice nebesŭskyjě vŭseliše sě vŭ větvi jeho 'and birds of heaven settled in (OCS: into) its branches' (L 13:19). In a few rare passages ἐν+Dat : vŭ(n)+Acc marks a path: καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ - i po Iisusě ide vŭ pŭtŭ 'and he followed him (OCS: Jesus) along the way' (Mk 10:52).

Another somewhat common function for both pairs is the designation of temporal notions. The correspondence $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\acute{\iota}(n)$ +Loc with a temporal function often but not always marks an action during which something happens: $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\eta \kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \breve{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon$ - jako pozna ima $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{pr}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\lambda\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{x}\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\beta\alpha$ ‘how he was known to them in the breaking of the bread’ (L 24:35). The counterparts $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\acute{\iota}(n)$ +Acc recurrently indicate a temporal notion, sometimes marking a period of time: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron \delta\grave{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ - bystŭ že $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{d}\acute{\iota}\nu\iota \tau\eta$ ‘and it was in those days’ (L 2:1), $\tau\omicron\upsilon \delta\grave{\epsilon} \text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon \gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma \dots \acute{\epsilon}\nu \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma \text{H}\rho\acute{\omega}\delta\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ - Iisusu že roždĭšju se... $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{d}\acute{\iota}\nu\iota \text{I}\rho\omicron\delta\alpha$ $\text{c}\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ ‘and when Jesus was born... in the days of Herod the king’ (M 2:1).

Both correspondences can have a causal function. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\acute{\iota}(n)$ +Loc can express reason and means while $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\acute{\iota}(n)$ +Acc marks only means: $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\eta \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ - jako $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{m}\acute{\nu}\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\alpha}\text{z}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{g}\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\lambda\alpha\text{n}\acute{\iota}$ $\text{s}\nu\omicron\text{j}\epsilon\text{m}\acute{\iota}$ $\text{u}\text{s}\lambda\gamma\text{s}\text{a}\text{n}\acute{\iota}$ $\text{b}\phi\text{d}\phi\tau\acute{\iota}$ ‘that they will be heard because of their many words’ (M 6:7), $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \zeta\omega\eta\acute{\nu} \alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\acute{\nu}\iota\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ - jako vy $\text{m}\acute{\nu}\nu\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{n}\acute{\iota}\chi\acute{\upsilon}$ $\text{i}\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota \text{z}\text{i}\text{v}\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\text{v}\acute{\epsilon}\check{\text{c}}\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\iota}$ ‘for you think to have eternal life through them’ (J 5:39), $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\omega}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ - $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{n}\eta\omicron\text{z}\epsilon$ $\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ $\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\tau\epsilon$ ‘by what measure you measure’ (Mk 4:24). Both pairs can designate manner. The only difference here is that $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\acute{\iota}(n)$ +Loc with this role is not limited to any particular constructions while $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\acute{\iota}(n)$ +Acc is found only in phrases meaning ‘truthfully’ or in formulaic structure ‘in the name of’: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\eta\acute{\nu} \acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\acute{\nu} \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha \delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ - $\text{i} \rho\phi\text{i} \text{b}\acute{o}\text{z}\eta\text{j}\text{u}$ $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{i}\text{s}\text{t}\text{i}\text{n}\acute{\omicron}$ $\text{u}\check{\text{c}}\text{i}\text{s}\text{i}$ ‘and you teach the way of God truthfully’ (M 22:16), $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\omicron} \acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\omicron}\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ - $\text{b}\text{l}\text{a}\text{g}\text{o}\text{s}\text{l}\text{o}\text{v}\text{l}\text{j}\epsilon\text{n}\acute{\upsilon}$ $\text{g}\text{r}\acute{\epsilon}\text{d}\text{y}\text{i}$ $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{i}\text{m}\epsilon$ $\text{g}\text{o}\text{s}\text{p}\text{o}\text{d}\acute{\iota}\text{n}\text{j}\epsilon$ ‘blessed [is] the one who comes in the name of the Lord’ (Mk 11:9). In addition, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\acute{\iota}(n)$ +Acc can mark topic in combination with the verb ‘believe’: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \pi\text{i}\sigma\text{t}\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\omega} \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ - $\text{i} \text{v}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\text{i}\text{t}\epsilon$ $\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\text{e}\text{v}\alpha\text{n}\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\epsilon$ ‘and believe in the gospel’ (Mk 1:15).

8.1.2 'EN+DAT : other prepositional phrases

Na+Loc(Acc) is another regular counterpart of *ἐν*+Dat. The Greek phrase corresponds to *na*+Loc where it denotes the location 'on' and to *na*+Acc where it marks the direction 'to': ἦν ἀνακείμενος εἰς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ - bě že jedinů vŭzležę otů učeniků jeho na loně Iisusově 'and one of his disciples was lying on the lap of Jesus' (J 13:23), ἄνδρες Νινευῖται ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης - mužī Ninevitiscii vŭstanotů na sodŭ sŭ rodomŭ simŭ 'men of Nineveh will arise unto judgment with this generation' (M 12:41). It is interesting to note that the correspondence *ἐν*+Dat : *na*+Loc often occurs in combination with nouns the semantics of which are somehow connected with the concept of surface. These include nouns designating 'place', 'synagogue', 'marketplace', and even 'heaven'. The choice of the OCS preposition can probably be explained by the sense 'open place, space' that is present in all these words and is closely connected with the notion of surface: ὅμοια ἐστὶν παιδίῳ καθήμενῳ ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς - podobnŭ jestŭ dĕtištemŭ sĕdĕštemŭ na trŭžištixŭ 'it is like children who sit in the markets' (M 11:16), ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς - jako mŭzda vaša mŭnoga na nebesixŭ 'for your reward is great in heaven' (M 5:12).

The Greek phrase is also matched with *na*+Loc in instances where it designates path or means: μήποτε ἐκλυθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ - da ne kako oslabĕjotů na poti 'so that they do not become weary along the way' (M 15:32), ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως - grĕdŏšta na oblacĕxŭ sŭ silojŏ 'coming by clouds with power' (Mk 13:26). Correspondences with *na*+Acc can mark a patient or express a temporal notion: ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου (ms. D) - na n'ŭže blagoizvoli duša moja 'with whom my soul is pleased' (M 12:18), ἵνα ἓνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ πάσχα - da jedinogo vamŭ otŭpuštŏ na pasxo 'so that I will release to you one man at the Passover' (J 18:39).

Na+Loc(Acc) sometimes becomes a counterpart of *ἐν*+Dat only because of some changes made during translation: καὶ ἔθεντο πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν - i položiše vši slyšeštei na sřidīcixŭ svoixŭ ‘and all who heard put [them] in (OCS: on) their hearts’ (L 1:66).

O+Loc matches *ἐν*+Dat in a number of instances. Primarily, these are passages where the Greek phrase denotes topic: ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀληθινός - o semī bo slovo jestŭ istinīnoje ‘for about this the word is true’ (J 4:37). This correspondence can also have causal (means) and possessive functions: ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται; - o čemī osolitŭ se ‘with what will it be salted?’ (L 14:34), πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ φέρον καρπὸν - všjakŭ rozgŭ o mīnē ne tvoreštŭjŭ ploda ‘every branch of mine not bearing fruit’ (J 15:2). It sometimes expresses recipient, patient (in combination with the verbs ‘be pleased’ and ‘tempt’), or manner (sometimes as part of a set construction ‘in the name of’): ἀλλ’ ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ - nŭ sŭtvoriše o njemī ‘but they did to him’ (M 17:12), ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα - o tebē blagovolixŭ ‘I am pleased with you’ (Mk 1:11), καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου - i běsi povinujŭtŭ se namŭ o imeni tvojemī ‘and demons subject themselves to us in your name’ (L 10:17). Rare occurrences where *ἐν*+Dat designates the location ‘near’ are rendered either with *ο*+Loc or *ο*+Acc: ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχθεισῶν τῶν μυριάδων τοῦ ὄχλου - o nixŭže sŭnīmŭšemŭ se tīmamŭ naroda ‘when multitudes of peoples gathered near them’ (L 12:1), καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιτοῖς - sēdēštī o desnojo ‘sitting near the right side’ (Mk 16:5). Sometimes *ἐν*+Dat : *ο*+Loc do not represent true counterparts but come about only as a result of rephrasing: οὐθέν εὔρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἵτιον - ne obrētŭ ni jedinoje o člověčē semī viny ‘I have not found a single fault in (OCS: about) this man’ (L 23:14).

Correspondences with other prepositional phrases are rare and sometimes occur only due to modifications made during translation. Such is the case with the pair *ἐν*+Dat : *οτι*+Gen: ὅτι οὐκ ἐν

τῷ περισσεύειν τινὶ ἢ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ - jako ne otŭ izbyťika komužido životŭ jeho jestŭ otŭ iměnjja jemu ‘for one’s life is not in (OCS: from) the abundance of his possessions’ (L 12:15). Several correspondences of ἐν+Dat with prepositional phrases are connected with spatial semantics. Thus, it is matched with *po*+Dat where it indicates path or the location ‘in’ (in the construction ‘in the middle’): ὑπεστρώννουν τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ - postilaaxo rízy svoje po poti ‘they spread out their garments along the way’ (L 19:36), καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων - sědětŭ po srědě učitelŭ ‘sitting among (=in the middle of) the teachers’ (L 2:46). It is matched with *mežd(j)u*+Ins in the instances where it expresses the location ‘among’: ἐὰν ἀγάπην ἔχητε ἐν ἀλλήλοις - ašte ljubŭvŭ imate meždju soboj ‘if you have love among each other’ (J 13:35). We also find a single occurrence where it denotes the location ‘on, over’ (metaphorically) and is translated with *nadŭ*+Ins: καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις... χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται - i nadŭ vŭsěmi simi... propastŭ veljja utvrđi se ‘and over all this... a great chasm was fixed’ (L 16:26).

Several temporal usages of ἐν+Dat are rendered with *mežd(j)u*+Ins and the adverbial construction *do ideže* (*do i-de-že*): ἐν τῷ μεταξύ ἡρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ - meždju že simi moljaaxo i učenci jeho ‘meanwhile the disciples begged him’ (J 4:31), ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν - do ideže ženixŭ jestŭ sŭ nimi ‘as long as a bridegroom is with them’ (L 5:34). Note that in the instance of the correspondence ἐν+Dat : *mežd(j)u*+Ins the semantics of the Greek adverb *μεταξύ* is rendered with the preposition. There are a few instances where secondary functions of the Greek phrase coincide with the primary functions of a Slavic prepositional construction, giving rise to such correspondences as ἐν+Dat : *otŭ*+Gen, expressing reason and ἐν+Dat : *sŭ*+Ins, possessing a comitative value: καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἤχους θαλάσσης - i na zemli toga językomŭ otŭ nečajanjja šjuma morŭskajego ‘and on earth [there will be] distress to nations because

of perplexity from the roar of the sea' (L 21:25), εἰ δυνατός ἐστὶν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι - ašte silinũ jestũ sũ desetũjo tysqštĩ sũrēsti 'if he is able with ten thousand to meet' (L 14:31).

8.1.3 'EN+DAT : nominal phrases

Less frequently, nominal phrases correspond to ἐν+Dat. In such instances the OCS nominal expresses its primary semantics. Thus, in most passages where ἐν+Dat is matched with the instrumental it denotes means: αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί - tũ vy krĩstitũ duxomĩ svetyimĩ i ognjemĩ 'he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire' (M 3:11). The correspondence ἐν+Dat(infinitive) : Dat (the dative absolute construction) primarily occurs with a temporal function: ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν νεφέλην - ubojaše že se vũšĩdũšemũ imũ vũ oblakũ 'they feared when they were entering the cloud' (L 9:34). The equivalent set ἐν+Dat : Acc marks patient: ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων - iže ispovēstũ mę přědũ člověky 'who will acknowledge me before men' (M 10:32). These correspondences are not limited to these functions. For example, ἐν+Dat : Ins can also indicate time, path, agent, and manner: εἰς δὲ τις περιπατῇ ἐν τῇ νυκτί - ašte li kũto xoditũ noštĩjo 'if someone goes at night' (J 11:10), ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης - pride bo kũ vamũ Ioannũ Krĩtitelĩ poťimĩ pravĩdĩnomĩ 'for John (OCS: John the Baptist) came to you along the way of righteousness (OCS: along the righteous way)' (M 21:32), καὶ ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ - i vedēaše se duxomĩ vũ pustynjo 'and he was led by a spirit into the desert' (L 4:1), ἐσκίρτησεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ μου- vũzigra se mladĩničĩ radoštami vũ čřěvě 'the baby leaped joyfully in my womb' (L 1:44). The correspondence ἐν+Dat : Acc can be connected with the concept of path: καὶ περιῆγεν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ - i proxoždāaše vĩsjo Galilējo 'and he passed through the whole Galilee' (M 4:23). Note that the semantics of the OCS preverb *pro-* is crucial here.

Sometimes a nominal phrase becomes a counterpart of $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat only because of rephrasing. All instances where the Greek construction is matched with the genitive or the nominative are of this type: $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu \epsilon\nu \gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\eta\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\nu \text{ } \text{I}\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\nu\omicron\upsilon \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\sigma}\tau\iota\nu$ - bolii roždenyixŭ ženami prorokŭ Ioanna Krīstitelja nikŭtože nēstŭ ‘no one is greater than John (OCS: the prophet John the Baptist) among those (OCS: of those) born of (OCS: by) women’ (L 7:28), $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron \delta\epsilon \epsilon\nu \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\omega\nu \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ - bystŭ že jedinŭ otŭ dīnŭ ‘it happened in (OCS: \emptyset) one of the days’ (L 8:22).

8.1.4 $\epsilon\nu$ +DAT : other constructions

Other elements involved in the translation of $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat are adjectives, verbs, and conjunctions. The Greek construction ‘in heaven’ is repeatedly translated into OCS with the help of an adjectival form with a possessive suffix: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \omicron \pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu \omicron \epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ - da i otīcī vašī nebesīskyi ‘and your Father ‘who [is] in heaven (OCS: and your heavenly Father’ (Mk 11:25). The semantic value of the Greek periphrastic structure ‘be with child’ is rendered with an adjective that has similar meaning: $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota} \delta\epsilon \tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\nu \gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\iota} \epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$ - gore že neprazdīnyimŭ ‘and alas to those who are with child’ (M 24:19). In one instance $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat is matched with a participial construction: $\text{ } \text{I}\delta\epsilon \nu\tilde{\nu} \epsilon\nu \pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha \lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ - se nynja ne obinuje sę glagoleši ‘behold, now you are speaking plainly (OCS: not being wordy)’ (J 16:29).

Temporal usages of $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat(infinitive) can be translated with clausal structures with the conjunctions *jegda* or *jako* (in place of the dative absolute construction as in the examples above): $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron \epsilon\nu \tau\omega \epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ - i bystŭ jegda vŭzvrati sę ‘and when he came back’ (L 19:15), $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron \epsilon\nu \tau\omega \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\iota\theta\eta\tilde{\nu}\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \mu\epsilon\tau' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ - i bystŭ jako vŭzleže sŭ nima ‘and when was at a table with them’ (L 24:30).

8.2 Correspondences with Εἰς+ACC

8.2.1 Εἰς+ACC : VŮ(N)+LOC(ACC)

Just as in the case of ἐν+Dat, *vŭ(n)+Loc(Acc)* is a primary counterpart of *εἰς+Acc*, to which it is etymologically related. Correspondences with *vŭ(n)+Acc* are more common than those with *vŭ(n)+Loc* owing to the semantic particulars of these constructions. The equivalents *εἰς+Acc* : *vŭ(n)+Acc* mainly occur with directional value specifying the notions ‘into’, ‘onto’ (rare), or ‘against’: *μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθης* - *ni vŭ vīsī vŭnidi* ‘do not go into the village’ (Mk 8:26), *ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος* - *izidŭ vŭ gorŭ* ‘they went out onto the mountain’ (M 26:30), *καὶ ἂν ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ* - *i ašte sedmorcejŭ dīnīmī sŭgrěšitŭ vŭ tē* ‘and if he sins against you seven times a day’ (L 17:4). The correspondence *εἰς+Acc* : *vŭ(n)+Loc* is rarely found with a direction role, but it regularly denotes the location ‘in’: *πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν* - *padŭ vŭ zemli* ‘falling (OCS: having fallen) into earth’ (J 12:24), *καὶ ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀνεχώρησεν* - *i povrīgŭ sŭrebro vŭ crīkŭve otide* ‘and having thrown the silver in the temple he left’ (M 27:5). This pair is often found in passages where the direction or recipient value of the Greek version is reinterpreted as location: *προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν* - *varjajŭ vy vŭ Galilěi* ‘I will go before you into (OCS: in) Galilee’ (M 26:32), *καὶ κηρυχθῆναι... εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* - *i propovědati se... vŭ vīsěxŭ jězycěxŭ* ‘and it should be preached... to all nations (OCS: among all nations)’ (L 24:47).

Both types of correspondences can have a temporal function, the only difference being that *εἰς+Acc* : *vŭ(n)+Acc* shows this value only in the construction ‘forever’: *ἵνα ἡ μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* - *da bŭdetŭ sŭ vami vŭ věkŭ* ‘so that he will be with you forever’ (J 14:16). Both pairs can also have beneficiary semantics: *καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν* - *a ne vŭ bogŭ bogatějei* ‘and he does not

get rich for God' (L 12:21), οἱ νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτούς - zakonīnici sŭvētŭ božii otŭvrīgō vŭ sebě 'the lawyers rejected the purpose of God for themselves' (L 7:30).

The correspondence $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : $vŭ(n)$ +Acc less regularly designates purpose, manner, and topic (in combination with the verb 'believe'): λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς - si glagolano bōdetŭ vŭ pametī jeje 'it will be told for the memory of her' (Mk 14:9), ἵνα ὧσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν - da bōdōtŭ sŭverīšeni vŭ jedino 'so that they will become one' (J 17:23), ἵνα πιστεύητε εἰς ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος- da vēruete vŭ tŭ jegože pošla onŭ 'so that you believe in the one whom he has sent' (J 6:29). It also sometimes marks a recipient (with a strong directional connotation): ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ - jegda sŭkonīča vīse glagoly sīje vŭ sluxy ljudīmŭ 'when he finished all his words into the hearing of the people' (L 7:1). The Greek phrase is matched with $vŭ(n)$ +Loc in rare instances where it denotes reason: εἰς τί ἢ ἀπώλεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; - vŭ čemī gybělī si xrizmīnaja bystŭ? 'for what [reason] was this waste of ointment?' (Mk 14:4).

8.2.2 Εἰς+ACC : other prepositional phrases

Na +Acc(Loc) is another common counterpart of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc. Just as in the case of $vŭ(n)$ +Loc(Acc), $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc is translated with na +Acc where it has a directional value. This correspondence can designate the directions 'into', 'onto', 'against', and 'to, up to': ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ - da izvedetŭ dělatelje na žetvō svojō 'so that he send out workers into his harvest' (M 9:38), ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος - vŭzide na gorō 'he went up onto the hill' (M 14:23), ὃς δ' ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον - a iže ašte vlasfimisæetŭ na svetyi duxŭ 'for whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit' (Mk 3:29), καὶ κλινουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν - i poklonīšamŭ lica na zemljō 'and where they bowed [their] faces toward the ground' (L 24:5). The

Greek phrase is matched with *na*+Loc in the instances where it indicates the locations ‘on’, ‘in’, or ‘in place of’ (often in combination with nouns which are semantically connected with the concept of surface, like ‘place’, ‘marketplace’, etc.): καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν - i syi na selě ‘and the one who is on the field’ (Mk 13:16), καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε - i na sũnĩmištixũ bĩjeni bȃdete ‘and you will be beaten in synagogues’ (Mk 13:9), καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως - i dašę ję na selě skȃdelĩniči ‘and they gave them for the potter’s field’ (M 27:10). The correspondence *εἰς*+Acc : *na*+Loc rarely expresses the direction ‘into’: τότε οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραλαβόντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον - togda voini ixemonovi přeimũše Iisusa na sȃdišti ‘then the soldiers of the leader taking Jesus into the praetorium’ (M 27:27).

Εἰς+Acc can be matched with both *na*+Acc and *na*+Loc where it indicates purpose: καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι - i předadetũ i językomũ na porȃganije ‘and they will give him to the Gentiles for mockery’ (M 20:19), [μὴ κτήσησθε] μὴ πῆραν εἰς ὁδὸν – [ne sũtežite] ni piri na poti ‘[take] no bag for the journey’ (M 10:10). In addition, the counterparts *εἰς*+Acc : *na*+Acc can have a temporal function or refer to a patient (in combination with the verb ‘be pleased’) or a topic: ἦλθον εἰς τὴν ὥραν ταύτην - pridũ na godino sĩjo ‘I came at this hour’ (J 12:27), εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου (mss. R, Θ) - na nĩže blagoizvoli duša moja ‘with whom my soul is pleased’ (M 12:18), μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον - ne pĩčete sę ubo na utrěi ‘therefore do not worry about tomorrow’ (M 6:34).

Other prepositional phrases correspond to *εἰς*+Acc less frequently. Some of them do so only because of reinterpretations made during the translation. Such are the instances where *εἰς*+Acc is matched with *sk(v)ozě* +Acc and *pri*+Loc: καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκπορεύεται - i skvodžě afedronũ

isxoditŭ ‘and it goes out into (OCS: through) the latrine’ (Mk 7:19), ἔστη Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν - sta Iisusŭ pri brězě ‘Jesus stood on (OCS: near) the shore’ (J 21:4).

Several directional usages of εἰς+Acc are rendered with *kŭ*+Dat, *po*+Dat, *mežd(j)u*+Ins, and *protiv*φ+Dat. *Kŭ*+Dat matches the Greek construction where it denotes the directions ‘onto’, ‘against’, and ‘to, up to’: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ - i tŭ vŭzvedŭ oči svoi kŭ učenikomŭ (ms. Sa) ‘and he lifted up his eyes unto his disciples’ (L 6:20), ἐὰν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σε ὁ ἀδελφός σου (mss. R, D, Θ) - ašte že sŭgrěšitŭ kŭ tebě bratrŭ tvoi ‘if your brother sins against you’ (M 18:15), καὶ ἦρχοντο εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον - i iděasete kŭ grobu ‘and they went to the tomb’ (J 20:3). This correspondence can also designate purpose: εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει - ni kŭ česomu že bŭdetŭ kŭ tomu ‘it will be good for nothing’ (M 5:13). *Po*+Dat becomes a counterpart of εἰς+Acc where it marks an area of contact: καὶ ἔτυπτον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ - i bŭjaaxŭ i po glavě ‘and they beat on his head (OCS: him on the head)’ (M 27:30). This pair repeatedly occurs as part of the construction ‘in the middle’: καὶ στηθι εἰς τὸ μέσον - i stani po srědě ‘and stand in the middle’ (L 6:8). We also find a few instances where this correspondence marks path: ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν - postilaaxŭ po poti ‘they spread [them] along the way’ (Mk 11:8). The correspondences εἰς+Acc : *mežd(j)u*+Ins and εἰς+Acc : *protiv*φ+Dat are rare; the first pair marks the direction ‘onto’, while the second is connected with the direction ‘against’: ἐβλεπον εἰς ἀλλήλους οἱ μαθηταὶ - sŭziraaxŭ že se meždju sobojŭ učenici ‘the disciples looked upon each other’ (J 13:22), ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ὑπάντησιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ - izide protivŭ Iisusovi ‘they came out against Jesus’ (M 8:34). In the case of the pair εἰς+Acc : *protiv*φ+Dat the OCS construction is able to simplify the structurally more complex Greek variant since *protiv*φ covers the semantics of εἰς ὑπάντησιν.

In a couple of instances where *εἰς*+Acc designates reason it is rendered with *po*+Acc or *radi*+Gen: *εἰς τί ἐδίσταςας*; - *po číto* se usumíně? ‘why did you doubt?’ (M 14:31), *εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῆς*; - *česo radi* gybělī si? ‘why is this waste?’ (M 26:8). Several temporal usages of the Greek phrase where it expresses the notion ‘till’ are matched with *do*+Gen, the only construction in OCS that can have this function: ἵνα μὴ *εἰς τέλος* ἐρχομένη - da ne *do konīca* prixodešti ‘lest, coming till the end’ (L 18:5). We also find several instances where *εἰς*+Acc denotes topic or recipient and is translated with *o*+Loc: ἐρωτᾷ [τὰ] *εἰς εἰρήνην* (mss. B, K)²⁵ - *molitŭ se o mirě* ‘he asks about peace’ (L 14:32), ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἡργάσατο *εἰς ἐμέ* - *dělo bo dobro sŭdělā o mīně* ‘for a good deed she did to me’ (M 26:10).

8.2.3 Εἰς+ACC : nominal phrases

Correspondences with nominal constructions are rare. Most of them occur in instances where the meaning expressed in a passage is directly connected with a primary function for a nominal phrase. Thus, *εἰς*+Acc is matched with the dative, the instrumental, and the accusative where it denotes recipient (or beneficiary), means, or patient, respectively: ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσουσιν *εἰς ὑμᾶς* - *nŭ si vŭsja sŭtvorētŭ yamŭ* ‘but they will do all this to you’ (J 15:21), [μὴ ὁμόσαι] μήτε *εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* - [ne klēti se] ni Ijerusalimomī ‘[do not swear] by Jerusalem’ (M 5:35), πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον *εἰς τὰ δῶρα* - *vŭsi bo otŭ izbytīka svojego vŭntrŭgo dary* ‘for they all gave gifts out of abundance’ (L 21:4). Correspondences with the dative can also have a directional value, mark purpose or topic (in combination with the verb ‘believe’): καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα *εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς* - i šīdŭši *domovī* ‘and having gone into her house’ (Mk 7:30), μισθώσασθαι ἐργάτας *εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα αὐτοῦ* - *najetŭ dělatelŭ vinogradu svojemu* (mss. Sa, Ma) ‘to hire workers for his

²⁵ Several Greek manuscripts have *πρός*+Acc in this passage, but this is the only instance where *πρός*+Acc designates a topic; *εἰς*+Acc expresses this function more frequently in the New Testament.

vineyard’ (M 20:1), καὶ πιστεύσομεν εἰς αὐτόν (ms. Σ) - i vërq imemũ jemu ‘and we will believe in him’ (M 27:42). Occasionally, εἰς+Acc is translated with a nominal phrase only because of rephrasing during the translation: καὶ εἰς ἀφροδῶνα ἐκβάλλεται - i afedronomĩ isxoditũ ‘it goes out into (OCS: through) the latrine’ (M 15:17).

8.2.4 Εἰς+ACC : other constructions

In rare instances εἰς+Acc corresponds to adverbs like *vřskqjŕ*, *vřspetĩ*, or *otũnŕdĩ* that have semantics similar to some functions of this Greek phrase: εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; - vřskojŕ mę ostavi? ‘why did you leave me?’ (Mk 15:34), καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω - i zĩřę vřspetĩ ‘and looking back’ (L 9:62), καὶ μὴ δυναμένη ἀνακῦψαι εἰς τὸ παντελές - i ne mogŕřti sę vřskloniti otũnŕdĩ ‘and not being able to straighten herself fully’ (L 13:11). We also find one instance where the meaning of the Greek phrase is rendered with a preverb: καὶ προδραμὼν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν - i **prědũtekũ** ‘and having run ahead’ (L 19:4).

Several passages where εἰς is combined with an infinitive and designates purpose are rendered with a clausal structure involving *da* or an infinitive alone: εἰς τὸ θανατῶσαι αὐτόν - da i ubĩjŕtũ ‘to kill him’ (Mk 14:55), καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτον - i sila gospodĩnja bę cęliti ję ‘and the power of the Lord was to cure him’ (L 5:17).

8.3 Correspondences with Εἰς

8.3.1 Εἰς+ACC : NA+ACC(LOC)

Na+Acc(Loc) becomes a primary counterpart of εἰς+Acc since both constructions have a similar status in the prepositional system of each language. Their meaning is strongly connected with the concept of surface. The Greek phrase is mainly matched with *na+Acc* where it denotes the directions ‘onto’, ‘into’, ‘to, up to’, ‘against’: ἐκάθισεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν - vřřede na nĩ ‘he sat upon it’ (Mk

11:7), ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθον - pridŏ na zemljo ‘they came into the land’ (Mk 6:53), ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐλθόντες - na Iisusa že prišidŭše ‘and having come to Jesus’ (J 19:33), ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλθατε - jako na razboinika li izidete ‘as against a robber you came out’ (Mk 14:48). *Na+Loc* becomes its counterpart where it marks the locations ‘on’, ‘in’ (rare), or path (with a strong connection to the concept of surface): καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν - i přebystŭ na njemĭ ‘and it stayed on him’ (J 1:32), καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον - sĕdeštĭ na mytĭnici ‘sitting in the custom place’ (Mk 2:14), Πέτρος περιεπάτησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα - Petrŭ xoždaaše na vodaxŭ ‘Peter walked on the water’ (M 14:29). This correspondence can also sometimes have a directional value: καὶ προσέκυλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου - i privali kamenĭ na dvĭri grobu ‘and he rolled a stone onto the door of the tomb’ (Mk 15:46). In a few instances the directional meaning of *ἐπί+Acc* is reinterpreted and matched with *na+Loc* expressing location: καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν - i ni jedina že otŭ njeju ne padetŭ na zeml’i ‘and not even one of them will fall onto the ground (OCS: on the ground)’ (M 10:29).

In addition, the equivalent pair *ἐπί+Acc* : *na+Acc* can express purpose or beneficiary: ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην - jako na se pošlanŭ jesmĭ ‘for I was sent for this’ (L 4:43), ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροὺς - jako tŭ blagŭ jestŭ na nevŭzblagodĕtĭnyje i zŭlyje ‘for he is kind to (=for) the ungrateful and selfish’ (L 6:35). We also find rare instances where *ἐπί+Acc* : *na+Loc* have a temporal function: καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐκβαλὼν δύο δηνάρια - i na utrija išĭdŭ izĭmŭ dŭva pĕnĕdza ‘and on the next day, taking (OCS: having gone [and] taken) two denarii’ (L 10:35).

8.3.2 ἘΠΙ+ACC : other constructions

Most other prepositional phrases corresponding to *ἐπί+Acc* share some directional functions with this Greek construction. Thus, in some instances where *ἐπί+Acc* denotes the direction ‘into’ it is matched with *vŭ(n)+Acc* and where it marks the direction ‘onto’ it is translated with *vŭ(n)+Acc* or

nadŭ+Acc: τῷ τύποντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα - bŭjŕŕŕujemu tɛ vŭ desnjŕjŕ lanito ‘to the one striking you upon the (OCS: right) cheek’ (L 6:29), πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν - ognja pridŭ vŭvrěŕŕŭ vŭ zemljŕ (mss. Ma, Zo) ‘I have come to cast fire onto the earth’ (L 12:49), καταβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου - nizŭxoděŕŕe nadŭ syna člověčŕskajego ‘descending upon the son of man’ (J 1:51). Sometimes, if *ἐπί*+Acc designates the direction ‘against’ it corresponds to *vŭ(n)*+Loc: πάντα βασιλεία ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν διαμερισθεῖσα - vŕsjako cěsarŕstvŕje razdělŕ ŕe samo vŭ sebě ‘every kingdom divided against itself’ (L 11:17). We find one instance where *ἐπί*+Acc refers to the direction ‘after’ and is matched with *vŭ slědŭ*+Gen: καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς - i idetŭ vŭ slědŭ pogybŭŕŕeje ‘and he goes after the lost one (OCS: ones)’ (L 15:4). Several occurrences where the Greek phrase expresses the direction ‘to, up to’ are rendered with *kŭ*+Dat and *prědŭ*+Acc: ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἀνακάμψει - kŭ vamŭ vŭzvratitŭ ŕe ‘it will come back to you’ (L 10:6), καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ βασίλεις ἀχθήσεσθε - i prědŭ vladyky že i cěsarje vedeni bŕdete ‘and you will be brought to (OCS: before) leaders and kings’ (M 10:18).

The location value of *ἐπί*+Acc is matched by a number of prepositional constructions depending on what type of location is conveyed. Thus, it is translated with *vŭ(n)*+Loc, *po*+Dat, and *nadŭ*+Ins where it denotes the location ‘on, over’: καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ - i vŭcěsaritŭ ŕe vŭ domu Ijakovli ‘and he will reign over the house of Jacob’ (L 1:33), σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν - tŕma byŕtŭ po vŕsei zemli ‘darkness was over the whole earth’ (Mk 15:33), βασιλεŭσαι ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς - da cěsarŕstvujetŭ nadŭ nami ‘in order to rule (OCS: so that he rules) over us’ (L 19:14).

Although we find rare instances where phrases with *vŭ(n)* and *po* are connected with the notion ‘on, over’ it is likely that in these passages the meaning of *ἐπί*+Acc is altered and the OCS versions capture the notions ‘in’ and ‘along’, respectively.

In a few instances where $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc expresses the location ‘among’ it is rendered with $\nu\acute{\upsilon}(n)$ +Loc: ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας - a druga padō νῦ trīnī ‘but others fell among thorns’ (M 13:7). The correspondences $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : o +Loc and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : u +Gen state the location ‘near’: συνήχθη ὄχλος πολὺς ἐπ’ αὐτόν - sūbra sē narodū mūnogū o njemī ‘a great crowd gathered near him’ (Mk 5:21), γενόμενοι ὀρθριναὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον - byvūšē rano u groba ‘they were early near the tomb’ (L 24:22).

Another function of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc that is rendered with a number of prepositional phrases is the designation of manner. These usages are matched with $\nu\acute{\upsilon}(n)$ +Acc, $\nu\acute{\upsilon}(n)$ +Loc, o +Loc, and po +Acc: συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό - sūbrašē sē νῦ kupū (mss. Ma, Zo: νῦ kupě) ‘they were gathered together’ (M 22:34), ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἤς πιστός - o malě bě věrīnū ‘you were faithful in a little’ (M 25:21), ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων - po nježe sūtvoriste jedinomu otū sixū bratrū moixū mīnīšiixū ‘according to what you did to one of the least of these my brothers’ (M 25:40).

There are also a number of correspondences where the semantics expressed are rare for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc but primary for the OCS rendition. Examples of such cases are the sets $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : $k\acute{\upsilon}$ +Dat designating recipient, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : o +Loc marking topic or patient, and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : do *ideže* indicating the temporal notion ‘while’: ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην - bystū glagolū božii kū Ioannu ‘the word of God came to John’ (L 3:2), καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ’ αὐτόν - jakože jestū pīsano o njemī ‘as it is written about him’ (Mk 9:13), σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον - milosrīdujō o narodě ‘I have compassion on the people’ (M 15:32), ἐφ’ ὅσον μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὁ νυμφίος - do ideže sū nimi jestū ženixū ‘while the bridegroom is with them’ (M 9:15).

Among correspondences of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc with nominal constructions we find only those with the accusative, the dative, and the locative. The Greek phrase is matched with the accusative in some

instances where it denotes time: ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ - jegda zaklepe se nebo tri lěta i šestī měsēcī ‘when the heaven closed up for three years and six months’ (L 4:25).

Correspondences with the dative designate recipient or topic: καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἔδωκάς μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν; - i po čito ne vūdastū mojego sīrebra pěnežīnikomū? ‘and why did you not give my silver to bankers?’ (L 19:23), καὶ πιστεύομεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν - i věřo imemū jemu ‘we believe in him’ (M 27:42). A rare correspondence with the locative marks the direction ‘onto’: οὐδεὶς... ἐπιράπτει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν – nikūtože... ne pristavljajetū rizě vetšě ‘no one ... puts onto an old cloth’ (Mk 2:21). We also find a number of instances where the meaning of the Greek construction ἐπὶ πρόσωπον is simplified and matched with the forms of the adverb *nicī* or *nici*: ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ - pade nicī ‘he fell on his face (OCS: down)’ (M 26:39), ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν - padō nici ‘they fell on their faces (OCS: down)’ (M 17:6).

8.3.3 Correspondences with ἘΠΙ+DAT

Just as in case of *ἐπί*+Acc, *na*+Acc(Loc) becomes one of the most common counterparts of *ἐπί*+Dat. *Na*+Acc accommodates its directional function ‘against’ while *na*+Loc matches its location semantics ‘on’ or ‘near’: διαμεμερισμένοι τρεῖς ἐπὶ δυοῖν - rozdělenū trīje na dŭva ‘three will be divided against two’ (L 12:52), καὶ λίθος ἐπέκειτο ἐπ’ αὐτῷ - i kamenī naležaaše na njei ‘and the stone was lying on it’ (J 11:38), ἔστιν δὲ... ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ - jestū že... na onīčīi kopeliě ‘and there is... near the Sheep’s Pool’ (J 5:2). In instances where *ἐπί*+Dat denotes topic it can be rendered only by *na*+Acc: τοῖς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρημασίᾳ (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - upŭvajōštīmū na bogatŭstvo ‘for those that trust in riches’ (Mk 10:24). The correspondence *ἐπί*+Dat : *na*+Loc sometimes marks patient: καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς; - i trīpitū na nixū? ‘and will he be patient with them?’ (L 18:7).

Other correspondences are sporadic in character; many of them are connected with spatial semantics. Thus, *ἐπί*+Dat is translated with *vŭ(n)*+Loc where it designates the location ‘in’: ἀλλ’ ἔξω ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν - *nŭ vŭnĕ vŭ pustĕxŭ mĕstĕxŭ bĕ* ‘but he was out in desert places’ (Mk 1:45). It is matched with *pri*+Loc where it marks the location ‘near’: ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις - *jako blizŭ jestŭ pri dvĭřixŭ* ‘for he is close to the doors’ (M 24:33). In instances where *ἐπί*+Dat expresses the location ‘on, over’ it is rendered either with *o*+Loc or *nadŭ*+Ins: καὶ φυλάσσοντες φυλακὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτῶν - *i strĕgŏšte stražŏ noštĭnŏjŏ o stadĕ svojemĭ* ‘and keeping night watch over their flock’ (L 2:8), ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν - *jako nadŭ vsĕmŭ imĕnĭjemĭ svoimĭ postavitŭ i* ‘that he will put him over all his possessions’ (M 24:47). Causative functions of *ἐπί*+Dat are translated with *o*+Loc or *po*+Dat: ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ - *onŭ že drĕselŭ byvŭ o slovese* ‘and he was shocked because of the saying’ (Mk 10:22), ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματί σου χαλάσω τὰ δίκτυα - *po glagolu že tvojemu vŭvrĭžemŭ mrĕže* ‘but at your word I will let down the nets’ (L 5:5). In one instance the passage where *ἐπί*+Dat expresses causative semantics is slightly changed and rendered with *razvĕ*+Gen: ὅτι ὅς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ - *jako iže ašte pustitŭ ženŏ svojŏ razvĕ slovese prĕljubodĕina* ‘that if someone divorces his wife not because of unchastity (OCS: except for unchastity)’ (M 19:9). In the instances where *ἐπί*+Dat indicates manner (often in the set construction ‘in the name of’) it is matched with *vŭ(n)*+Acc, *o*+Loc, or the instrumental alone: καὶ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ - *i propovĕdati sĕ vŭ ime jego* ‘and to preach in his name’ (L 24:47), ὅς ποιήσῃ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου - *iže sŭtvoritŭ silŏ o imeni mojemĭ* ‘who performs a wondrous deed in my name’ (Mk 9:39), εἰδομέν τινα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - *vidĕxomŭ jetera imenĭmĭ tvoimĭ* *izgonešta běsy* ‘we saw somebody casting out demons in your name’ (L 9:49). *Ἐπί*+Dat designating

patient and topic, a less common function for this phrase, is translated with either *o*+Loc and the accusative or with *o*+Loc and *vŭ(n)*+Acc, respectively: καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς - i milosřidova o nixŭ 'and he had compassion on them' (M 14:14), ὁ κύριος ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτῇ - gospodi milosřidova jō 'the Lord had compassion on her' (L 7:13), οὐ γὰρ συνῆκαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρτοις - ne rozuměše bo o xľěběxŭ 'for they did not understand about the loaves' (Mk 6:52), ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ (mss. P⁶⁶, L)²⁶ - da všjakŭ věrujei vŭ nŭ 'so that everyone believing in him' (J 3:15).

We also find irregular instances where *ἐπί*+Dat indicates the direction 'onto' and time and is matched with the locative and an adverb, respectively: οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ - nikŭtože bo ne pristavljaetŭ pristavljenŭja plata ne běljena rizě vetŭšě 'for nobody adds an additional piece of unfulled (OCS: unbleached) cloth onto an old garment' (M 9:16), καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦλθαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ - i togdaže pridŭ učenici jego 'and then his disciples came' (J 4:27).

8.3.4 Correspondences with *ΕΠΙ*+GEN

Once again *na*+Acc(Loc) becomes the most regular counterpart here. *Na*+Acc matches the directional usages of *ἐπί*+Gen: ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ - vŭzložiše na glavŭ jego 'they put [it] onto his head' (M 27:29). Correspondences with *na*+Loc repeatedly express the locations 'on' and 'in' (often in combination with nouns associated with the notion of surface), but can also indicate means: κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων - propovĕdajte na krověxŭ 'proclaim on the housetops' (M 10:27), ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ - sta na mĕstě ravně 'he stood in a flat place' (L 6:17), καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἄρουσίν σε - i na rŭkaxŭ vŭzŭmŭtŭ tĕ 'and they will take you up upon their hands' (M 4:6).

²⁶ A variant reading here has *ἐν*+Dat.

A number of correspondences with *ἐπί*+Gen are grouped around its spatial functions. In those passages where the Greek phrase denotes the location ‘in’ it is matched with *νῦ(ν)*+Loc or *u*+Gen (sometimes indicating ‘chez’): ὅτι πόθεν τούτους δυνήσεται τις ὧδε χορτάσαι ἄρτων ἐπ’ ἐρημίας:- otŭ kɔdu sŭje moʒetŭ kŭto sŭde nasytiti xľěbŭ vŭ pustyni? (ms. Ni) ‘from where here can anyone satiate them with bread in the desert?’ (Mk 8:4), καὶ εἰάν ἀκουσθῇ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος - i ašte uslyšano bɔdetŭ u ixemona ‘and if it is heard in the governor’s place’ (M 28:14). Occasionally, the pair *ἐπί*+Gen : *νῦ(ν)*+Loc indicates means: ἵνα ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα - da vŭ ustěxŭ dŭvoju li trii sŭvėdėtěľŭ stanetŭ vŭsja kŭ glagolŭ ‘so that every word may be confirmed through/by the mouth of two or three witnesses’ (M 18:16). If *ἐπί*+Gen marks the location ‘on, over’ it is translated with *nadŭ*+Ins: ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ - jegoʒe postavi gospodŭ nadŭ domomŭ svoimŭ ‘whom the Lord put over his house’ (M 24:45). Sometimes, *ἐπί*+Gen marks path, in which case it is paired with *po*+Dat: θεωροῦσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης - uzŭrěšę Iisusa xodešta po morju ‘they saw Jesus walking along the sea’ (J 6:19). The rare correspondences *ἐπί*+Gen : *pri*+Loc and *ἐπί*+Gen : *prědŭ*+Ins are connected with designations of the spatial notions ‘near’ and ‘before’, respectively: καὶ ἰδὼν συκὴν μίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ - i uzŭrěvŭ smokŭvŭnicɔ jedinɔ pri potŭ ‘and seeing one fig tree near the road’ (M 21:19), καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων σταθήσεσθε - i prědŭ vojevodami i cėsari stanete ‘and you will be set before governors and kings’ (Mk 13:9). The first set can also be used temporally: πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθάρ ἀρχιερέως - kako vŭnide vŭ domŭ boʒii pri Aviatar’i arxijerei ‘how he entered the house of God during Abiathar’s priesthood’ (Mk 2:26). In a single instance *ἐπί*+Gen refers to the direction ‘onto’ and is translated with the rare construction *vrŭxu*+Gen: καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια - i vŭzľoʒiše vrŭxu jeju rŭzy svoje ‘and they put their garments over them’ (M 21:7). We also find

passages where *ἐπί*+Gen refers to time or manner (in the phrase ‘truly’) and is translated with *νῦ(η)*+Acc: Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰεχονίαν... ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος – Iosjĩa že rodi Ijexonjĩŋ... νῦ πρῆσelenije Vavilonũskoje ‘and Josiah begot Jechoniah... during the Babylonian deportation’ (M 1:11), ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις - nũ νῦ istinŋ pŋti božĩju učiši ‘but you truly teach the way of God’ (Mk 12:14).

There are also examples of correspondences that occur only due to rephrasing: μικρότερον ὂν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς - mĩnje vīsẽxũ jestũ sěmenũ zemĩlĩnyixũ ‘it is the smallest of all seeds on the earth (OCS: of the earth)’ (Mk 4:31).

8.4 Correspondences with *ἘΚ/ΕΞ*+GEN

This Greek construction is predominately matched with *οὐ*+Gen, which coincides with it in all of its most important functions. This correspondence designates all types of source (‘out of’, ‘away from’ and the partitive notion): καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος - i abĩje vũsxodẽ οὐ vody ‘and immediately coming out of the water’ (Mk 1:10), τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας; - kũto otũvalitũ namũ kamenĩ οὐ dvĩrii? ‘who will roll the stone for us away from the door?’ (Mk 16:3), τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός; - kyĩ οὐ oboju sũtvori voljŋ otĩŋ? ‘which of the two did the will of the father?’ (M 21:31). It also shares temporal (designating a period of time or a starting point of time) and causal functions (reason and means) of *ἐκ*+Gen: ἔχων δαιμόνια ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν (mss. R, Θ) - iže imẽaše bẽsũ οὐ lẽtũ mũnogũ ‘having (OCS: who had) a demon for many years’ (L 8:27), ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω - οὐ sego mũnodzi otũ učenikũ jẽgo idŋ vũspẽtĩ ‘from this [time] many of his disciples drew back’ (J 6:66), ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ - οὐ izbytũka bo srĩdĩca glagoljŋtũ usta jẽgo ‘for

his mouth speaks out of the abundance of his heart' (L 6:45), ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται - otŭ ploda bo drĕvo poznano bŏdetŭ 'for by the fruit the tree will be known' (M 12:33).

In passages where ἐκ+Gen is matched with σὺ+Gen its semantics is closely connected with the notion 'from above' (often 'from heaven'): καὶ καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους - sŭxodeštemŭ že imŭ sŭ gory 'when they were going down from the mountain' (Mk 9:9), ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν - xlĕbŭ sŭ nebesē dastŭ imŭ jasti 'he gave them to eat bread from heaven' (J 6:31). Sometimes however, this correspondence simply marks the source 'out of': ὃς εἰσελθόντι ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ - iže prišĭdŭšju sŭ sela reĉetŭ jemu 'who will say to him when he comes in from the field' (L 17:7).

We also find a number of occurrences where ἐκ+Gen is translated with izŭ+Gen. These counterparts are often connected with the source notion 'out of'; however, they can also denote 'away from': καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔπιεν - i tŭ iz njego pitŭ 'and he drank from it' (J 4:12), σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς - sŭpasenĭje otŭ vragŭ našixŭ iz-d-roky vŭsĕxŭ nenavideštĭixŭ nasŭ 'salvation from our enemies and from the hands of all who hate us' (L 1:71). The correspondence ἐκ+Gen : izŭ+Gen is sometimes found in instances where these phrases mark a point of time (when a certain action starts) or designate manner: ἐκ παιδιόθεν - iz otročiny 'from childhood' (Mk 9:21), καὶ λίαν ἐκ περισσοῦ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐξίσταντο - i dzĕlo iz lixa vŭ sebĕ divljaaxŏ sĕ 'and they were exceedingly astonished among themselves' (Mk 6:51).

Correspondences of ἐκ+Gen with other prepositional and nominal phrases are sporadic and limited in number (some of them occur only once). In a few passages where ἐκ+Gen marks the location 'near' it is translated with ο+Acc: τότε ἐρεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ - togda reĉetŭ

cěsarĩ sŏštiimũ o desnojo jegŏ ‘then the king will say to those who were near his right hand’ (M 25:34). The rare correspondence $\acute{e}\kappa$ +Gen : o +Loc is only found when designating means in the construction ‘by oneself’: $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \acute{\epsilon}\xi \acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \circ\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha$ - jako azũ o sebě ne glagolaxũ ‘for I did not speak by myself’ (J 12:49). The Greek phrase is rendered with $vũ(n)$ +Acc only in the passages where it denotes manner: $\circ\upsilon \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\upsilon \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\sigma\iota\nu \tau\omicron \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ - ne vũ měro bo bogũ dastũ duxa ‘for not by measure he (OCS: God) gives the Spirit’ (J 3:34). There is also one instance where it is matched with po +Dat, articulating the distributive connotation of the Greek phrase in this passage: $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omega\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha \tau\omicron\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \delta\eta\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \tau\eta\nu \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$ - sũvěštavũ že sũ dělately po pěnedzju na dĩnĩ ‘and agreeing with the workers on a denarius a day’ (M 20:2). Reinterpretation is most likely the reason for the correspondence $\acute{e}\kappa$ +Gen : $vũ(n)$ +Loc: $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\eta\varsigma \omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ - ježe jestũ vũ xramě jegŏ ‘what is from (OCS: in) his house’ (M 24:17).

The most common nominal counterpart of $\acute{e}\kappa$ +Gen is the instrumental. This is not surprising, since these phrases share causal functions: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\omega\nu \lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\nu \sigma\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$ - i slovesy svoimi osŏdiši sę ‘and by your words you will be condemned’ (M 12:37). We also find this correspondence designating the source ‘out of’: $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu \mu\acute{\eta} \tau\iota\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\theta\eta\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\xi \acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ - ašte kũto ne roditũ sę vodojo ‘if one is not born out of water’ (J 3:5). Rare temporal usages (with the connotation of turn) of $\acute{e}\kappa$ +Gen are matched with the adverb *vũtoricejŏ* (an old instrumental): $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omega\rho \acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ - vũtoricejŏ kurũ vũspětũ ‘a cock crowed a second time’ (Mk 14:72). The partitive function, common for $\acute{e}\kappa$ +Gen, is shared by the genitive: $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\omega\nu \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\nu \pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ - iže ašte jedino takovyixũ otročětũ prijemletũ ‘whoever receives one of these children’ (Mk 9:37). This value is sometimes altered and translated with the accusative, designating a patient: $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omega\nu$ - nũ jako jali jeste xlěby ‘but because you ate of (OCS: have eaten) the loaves’ (J 6:26). The

correspondence $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ +Gen : Gen can also have a possessive connotation: καὶ θριξ̃ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται - i vlasŭ glavy vašeje ne pogybnetŭ ‘and a hair of your head will not perish’ (L 21:18).

In a number of occurrences $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ +Gen corresponds to adverbs that have the prefix *iz/is*: ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ εἶπον - sixŭ že vamŭ isprŭva ne rĕxŭ ‘and I have not spoken these [things] to you from the beginning’ (J 16:4), ἦδαι γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἰησοῦς - věděaše bo iskoni Iisusŭ ‘for Jesus knew from the beginning’ (J 6:64). There is one instance where the meaning of the complex construction $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ *ἐναντίας* is somewhat simplified being rendered with *prĕmo*+Dat: ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ κεντυρίων ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ - viděvŭ že sŭtĭnikŭ stojĕi prĕmo jemu ‘and when the centurion who stood facing (OCS: against) him saw’ (Mk 15:39).

8.5 Correspondences with ΠΡΟΣ

8.5.1 Correspondences with ΠΡΟΣ+ACC

The primary counterpart of $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc is *kŭ*+Dat, a construction that maintains a status similar to that which this phrase has in the Greek prepositional system. Therefore, we find this correspondence designating not only the direction ‘to, up to’ (with animate and inanimate objects), its primary function, but also recipient (often with speech verbs): προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ - pripade kŭ nogama jego ‘she fell up to his feet’ (Mk 7:25), εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς - reče kŭ nimŭ ‘he said to them’ (L 5:22). The equivalent pair $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc : *kŭ*+Dat sometimes expresses purpose or reason: αὕτη ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θάνατον - si bolěznĭ něstĭ kŭ sŭmrŭtĭ ‘this sickness is not for death’ (J 11:4), πρὸς τί εἶπεν αὐτῷ - kŭ čemu reče jemu ‘why he said to him’ (J 13:28). The Greek construction $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +reflexive pronoun is rendered in three ways, two of them involve *kŭ*+Dat and one engages *vŭ(n)*+Loc: ὥστε συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - jako istězati se kŭ sebě ‘so that

they questioned among themselves’ (Mk 1:27), διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους - myšljaaxɔ drugŭ kŭ drugu ‘they said to themselves (OCS: one to the other)’ (L 20:14), ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν προσήχετο - sice vŭ sebě moljaaše se ‘thus he prayed to himself’ (L 18:11). Several instances where *πρός*+Acc denotes recipient (often in combination with speech verbs) are rendered with the dative alone: ἀπεκρίθησαν πρὸς αὐτόν - otŭvěštaše jemu Ijuděi ‘they (OCS: the Jews) answered him’ (J 8:33).

Correspondences with prepositional phrases, other than *kŭ*+Dat, are often connected with spatial functions. Thus, *πρός*+Acc is rendered with *vŭ(n)*+Loc, *mežd(j)u*+Ins, and *u*+Gen where it denotes the location ‘among’: ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς - do kolě bɔdɔ vŭ vasŭ ‘how long will I be among you?’ (L 9:41), προὔπῃρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς αὐτούς - přězde bo běašete vraždŭ imɔšta meždju sobojɔ ‘for they had previously been in enmity (OCS: previously they were having enmity) with each other’ (L 23:12), καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ ὧδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς - ne i li sestry jeho sɔtŭ sŭde vŭ nasŭ? ‘are not his sisters here among us?’ (Mk 6:3). The correspondence *πρός*+Acc : *u*+Gen can also express the location ‘chez’ or have a comitative meaning: πρὸς σέ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα - u tebe sŭtvorjɔ pasxɔ ‘I will keep the passover in your place’ (M 26:18), καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν - i slovo bě u boga ‘and the Word was with God’ (J 1:1). In passages where it marks the location ‘near’ it is translated either with *pri*+Loc or *predŭ*+Ins: παρακαθεσθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας - jaže i sědŭši pri nogu ‘who sat near the feet’ (L 10:39), ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν - jako kŭ tomu ne vŭměštati se ni predŭ dvŭřimi (mss. Sa, Ma, Zo) ‘so that there was no longer room for them not even near the door’ (Mk 2:2).

Directional usages of *πρός*+Acc are rarely matched with constructions other than *kŭ*+Dat. We find a few occurrences where such instances are rendered with *na*+Loc (expressing the direction ‘to, up to’) or *o*+Acc (marking the direction ‘against’): ἔπεσεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας - pade jemu na

nogu ‘he fell up to his feet’ (J 11:32), μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου - *jeda kogda o kameni* prětŭkneši nogy tvojeje ‘lest you ever strike your foot against a stone’ (L 4:11). The rare temporal usage of *πρὸς*+Acc is translated with *vŭ(n)*+Acc and *pri*+Loc: οἱ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύουσιν - *iže vŭ vrěme* věřo jemljotŭ ‘those who believe for a time’ (L 8:13), ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔστιν - *jako pri večerě* jestŭ for it is near evening’ (L 24:29).

Several abstract functions of *πρὸς*+Acc are also rendered with a variety of constructions. For example, *πρὸς* plus an accusative infinitive of purpose corresponds to *na*+Acc, a purpose clause with *da* or *jako* plus infinitive: πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν - *na pogrebenije* me sŭtvori ‘she did [it] for my burial’ (M 26:12), πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς - *da vidimi* bŭdete imi ‘so that you will be seen by them’ (M 6:1), πρὸς τὸ κατακαῦσαι αὐτά - *jako sŭžešti* je ‘to burn them’ (M 13:30). In instances where *πρὸς*+Acc indicates topic (a rare function for this Greek phrase) it matches with *o*+Loc, a typical means of expressing this meaning in OCS: ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην - *molitŭ se o mirě* ‘he asks about peace’ (L 14:32). The rare causal function of *πρὸς*+Acc is rendered with *po*+Dat or *radi*+Gen: ὅτι Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ὑμῖν - *jako Mousi po žistosrīdiju vašemu* povelŭ vamŭ ‘for Moses allowed you because of your hardheartedness’ (M 19:8), πρὸς τί εἶπεν αὐτῷ - *česo radi* reče jemu (ms. Zo) ‘for what [reason] he spoke to him’ (J 13:28). *Po*+Dat also corresponds to *πρὸς*+Acc in the infrequent instances where it designates manner: καὶ μὴ ἐτοιμάσας ἢ ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ - *i ne ugotovanŭ li ne sŭtvorī po voli jeho* ‘and not preparing or acting according to his will’ (L 12:47).

There are also a couple of correspondences that arise as a result of different interpretations of a passage by the translators. The pairs *πρὸς*+Acc : *otŭ*+Gen and *πρὸς*+Acc : *sŭ*+Ins are among such instances: καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν - *i slovo bě otŭ boga* (ms. Zo) ‘and the Word was with (OCS:

from) God’ (J 1:1), ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι - iže vŭzřitŭ na ženŭ sŭ poxotĩjŭ ‘whoever looks upon a woman to lust after (OCS: with lust)’ (M 5:28).

8.5.2 Correspondences with ΠΡΟΣ+DAT

This rare construction finds only three counterparts in OCS. *Kŭ+Dat* facilitates its directional usages: ἐγγίζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤδη πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν - približajŭštju že sŭ abĩje kŭ nizŭxoždenĩju gorě elěonĩscě ‘when he had already drawn near the descent of the Mount of Olives’ (L 19:37). In instances where *πρός+Dat* designates the location ‘near’ it is matched with *pri+Loc* and *u+Gen*: ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλη βοσκομένη - bě že tu stado svinĩno velĩje, pasomo pri gorě ‘and there was there a great heard of swine feeding near the mountain’ (Mk 5:11), καὶ θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους... ἓνα πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ - i vidě dŭva anxela... jedinogo u glavy ‘and she saw two angels... one - near the head...’ (J 20:12).

8.6 Correspondences with ΔΙΑ

8.6.1 ΔΙΑ+ACC : OCS constructions

Although this Greek phrase ultimately expresses only one notion – reason, it finds a number of counterparts in OCS. It is often matched with *radi+Gen*: ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παρέδωκαν αὐτόν - jako zavisti radi předašŭ i ‘that they gave him up because of envy’ (M 27:18). This OCS construction is also used to translate those common instances where *διά* is combined with the accusative of a pronoun: διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη - česo radi xrizma si ne prodana bystŭ ‘why was this ointment not sold...?’ (J 12:5). Among other means that are used to render this structure are *po+Acc*, the instrumental, and the conjunction *zane*: διὰ τί μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν; - po čĩto sŭ mitary i grěšĩniky učitelĩ vaši jastŭ ‘why does your teacher eat with tax collectors and sinners?’ (M 9:11), διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντας - imĩže samŭ věděaše všŭ

‘because he himself knew all’ (J 2:24), καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη - i zanje ne iměaše korenĭja usŭše ‘and because it did not have roots it dried out’ (Mk 4:6).

Za+Acc and the instrumental alone are also regular counterparts of *διά*+Acc: διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων - za straxŭ ijuděiskŭ ‘for fear of the Jews’ (J 19:38), καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι προσενέγκαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον - i ne mogŏšte pristŏpiti kŭ njemu narodomĭ ‘and being unable to bring [him] to (OCS: approach) him because of the crowd’ (Mk 2:4). There is one unusual instance where *διά* is part of the construction *διά μέσον* connected with the notion of path and is matched with *mežd(j)u*+Ins: καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας - i tŭ proxoŏdaaše meždju Samarĭjejo i Galilějŏ ‘he was passing between Samaria and Galilee’ (L 17:11).

8.6.2 ΔΙΑ+GEN : OCS constructions

In the majority of instances *διά*+Gen denotes path and is matched with *sk(v)ozě* +Acc: παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας - iděaxŏ skvozě Galilějŏ ‘they went through Galilee’ (Mk 9:30). Less regularly, such occurrences of the Greek phrase are translated by the instrumental alone: δι’ ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν - iněmĭ poĭtimĭ otidŏ ‘they left by another way’ (M 2:12). *Po*+Dat becomes a counterpart of *διά*+Gen where both phrases are parts of the construction ‘in the middle’: καὶ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτοῦ (ms. R) - i prošidŭ po srědě ixŭ ‘and he went through in the middle of them’ (J 8:59).

The temporal value of *διά*+Gen is rendered either with *po*+Dat, *vŭ(n)*+Acc, *o/obŭ*+Acc, or the instrumental alone: καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δι’ ἡμερῶν - i vŭnide paky Iisusŭ vŭ Kapernaumŭ po dĭnĭxŭ ‘and entering (OCS: Jesus entered) Capernaum again after some days’ (Mk 2:1), καὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντός ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ - i běaxŏ vŭ inŏ vŭ crĭkŭve ‘and they were in the temple continuously’ (L 24:53), δι’ ὅλης νυκτός κοπιᾶσαντες - obŭ noštĭ vĭsŏ truŏdĭše se ‘laboring the

whole night’ (L 5:5), καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκοδομησάι - i trīmi dīnīmi sūzīdati jō ‘and to build (OCS: it) in three days’ (M 26:61). The instrumental also matches διὰ+Gen where it has functions common for this nominal phrase, such as the designation of means and agent: ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι’ αὐτοῦ - da vīsi vērō imōtū imī ‘so that all believe through him’ (J 1:7), ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου - da sūbōdetū sē rečenoje prorokomī ‘so that what [was] said by the prophet will be fulfilled’ (M 21:4).

There are also a few instances where the semantics of διὰ+Gen are reinterpreted and comes to have unusual counterparts (e.g. *izŭ*+Gen): ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ - nŭ o vīsjakomī glagolē isxodeštiimī izŭ ustū božii ‘but about every word that comes out through (OCS: out of) the mouth of God’ (M 4:4).

8.7 Correspondences with META

8.7.1 META+GEN : OCS constructions

Since *μετά*+Gen shares most of its functions with *sŭ*+Ins that has approximately the same status in the OCS prepositional system, one expects this OCS phrase to be its most common counterpart, and this is indeed the case. In most of its occurrences this correspondence expresses comitative meaning: κάκει ἔμεινεν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν - i tu živěaše sŭ učeniky svoimi ‘anc there he lived with his disciples’ (J 11:54). It is regularly found in combination with speech verbs: ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐλάλησεν μετ’ αὐτῶν - onŭ že abīje glagola sŭ nimī ‘and immediately he spoke with them’ (Mk 6:50). The equivalents *μετά*+Gen : *sŭ*+Ins can also denote means, recipient, or manner (with a strong comitative connotation): σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον μετὰ τῆς κουστωδίας - zapečatīlēšše kamenī sŭ kustodījejo ‘sealing the stone by setting a watch’ (M 27:66), ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος μετ’ αὐτοῦ - sŭtvorii milostī sŭ nimī ‘the one showing mercy to him’ (L 10:37), ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως - grędōšta na oblacěxŭ sŭ silojō ‘coming on clouds with power’ (Mk 13:26).

Correspondences with other constructions are less frequent, often occurring only once.

Po+Dat matches *μετά*+Gen in the rare instances where it has either directional or temporal function ‘after’: καὶ οὐκ ἄφῃκεν οὐδένα μετ’ αὐτοῦ συνακολουθῆσαι - i ne ostavi iti po sebě ni jedinogo ‘and he did not allow anyone to go after him’ (Mk 5:37), εἰ μὴ λάβῃ... οἰκίας... μετὰ διωγμῶν - ašte ne imatŭ prijēti... se domovŭ... po izgŭnanŭi ‘if he will not receive... houses... after persecutions’ (Mk 10:30). We find two passages in which the Greek phrase is translated with *mežd(j)u*+Ins. In both instances it indicates the location ‘among’ in combination with speech verbs: μὴ γογγύζετε μετ’ ἀλλήλων - ne rūpŭštate meždju sobojŭ ‘do not murmur among yourselves’ (J 6:43). In one passage where *μετά*+Gen is combined with a speech verb it is matched with *kŭ*+Dat: καὶ ἔλεγον μετ’ ἀλλήλων - i glagolaaxŭ kŭ sebě ‘and they were saying to themselves’ (J 11:56). Even though both versions mark a recipient in this construction they do it in their own ways specifying distinct senses – comitative and directional, respectively. We also find one instance where *μετά*+Gen designates manner and is rendered with the instrumental alone: ὅθεν μεθ’ ὅρκου ὡμολόγησεν - tēmŭže sŭ kletvojŭ izdreče ‘so that he promised with an oath’ (M 14:7).

8.7.2 META+ACC : OCS constructions

Μετά+Acc is limited to only one function – the designation of time ‘after’. Ultimately it has only one true counterpart – *po*+Loc: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεδειξεν ὁ κύριος - po sixŭ že javi se gospodŭ ‘after this the Lord appeared’ (L 10:1). In addition, we find rare instances where it is matched with *vŭ(n)*+Acc: μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται - vŭ tretii dñŭ vŭskrŭsnetŭ ‘after three days (OCS: on the third day) he will rise’ (Mk 9:31). In this passage the meaning of the Greek phrase is most likely reinterpreted in OCS as ‘at, during’. Therefore, *vŭ(n)*+Acc is not a true equivalent of *μετά*+Acc.

8.8 Correspondences with KATA

8.8.1 KATA+ACC : OCS constructions

The most frequent counterpart of *κατά*+Acc is *po*+Dat that shares its main function – designation of manner with a strong distributive connotation (often indicating ‘according to’): *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν* - *po semu bo tvorjaaxo lūžiimū prorokomū otīci ixū* ‘for according to this their fathers did to the false prophets’ (L 6:26). The correspondence *κατά*+Acc : *po*+Dat can refer to means or path: *καὶ τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα φωνεῖ κατ’ ὄνομα* - *i svoje onice glašajetū po imeni* ‘and he calls his sheep by name’ (J 10:3), *καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καθ’ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν* - *i ide po vīsemu gradu* ‘and he went through the whole city’ (L 8:39). In passages where *po*+Acc renders the temporal function of the Greek phrase the distributive meaning is covered by a form of the indefinite pronoun *vīsī*: *καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν* - *i da vūzimetū křistū svoi po vīse dīni* ‘and let him take up his cross daily’ (L 9:23). We also find three occurrences where the Greek phrase is matched with *po*+Acc, all denoting the location ‘in’: *ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους* - *i bōdōtū tṛosi po mēsta* ‘and there will be earthquakes in places’ (Mk 13:8).

Correspondences with *na*+Loc(Acc) are less frequent but have the same semantic load as *κατά*+Acc : *po*+Dat(Acc), with the exception of the designation of manner. Thus, the pair *κατά*+Acc : *na*+Acc often has temporal function and just as in the case of the previous equivalent pair the distributive meaning is expressed with a form of the indefinite pronoun *vīsī* or the adjective *vīsjakū*, its derivative: *ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἐορτήν ἓνα* (mss. N, R) - *potřebō že imēaše na vīse prazdīniky otūpuštati imū jedinogo* ‘and he was obliged to release one man to them at every festival (OCS: at all festivals)’ (L 23:17), *εὐφραινόμενος καθ’ ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς* - *veselē sē na vīsjakū dīnī svētīlo* ‘feasting magnificently every day’ (L 16:19). Occasionally, *κατά*+Acc : *na*+Acc expresses means: *μὴ κρίνετε κατ’ ὄψιν* - *ne sōdite na lica* ‘do not judge by appearances’ (J 7:24).

Those occurrences where the counterparts *κατά*+Acc : *na*+Loc mark path or the location ‘in’ are less common: καὶ μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε - i nikogože na poti ne cěluite ‘and do not greet anyone along the way’ (L 10:4), ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην - bystŭ gladŭ krěpŭkŭ na straně toi ‘there was a great famine in that country’ (L 15:14). This correspondence can also have a directional function: καὶ Λευίτης γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἔλθων (mss. R, D, Θ) - i Levg’itŭ byvŭ na tomŭ městě přišĭdŭ ‘and a Levite coming by chance by that place’ (L 10:32).

Some correspondences are limited to certain constructions. Thus, *κατά*+Acc is matched with *vŭ(n)*+Loc in the phrase ‘in a dream’: καὶ χρηματισθέντες κατ’ ὄναρ - i otŭvētŭ priimŭše vŭ sŭnĕ ‘and having been warned (OCS: received an answer) in a dream’ (M 2:12). The Greek construction *κατ’ ἰδίαν* is translated with a form of *jedinŭ*: οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν - učēnici vŭprašaavŭ i jedinogo ‘his disciples asked him in private’ (Mk 9:28). In the gospel of Luke, three instances of *κατά*+Acc designating path are rendered with *sk(v)ozĕ* +Acc: καὶ αὐτὸς διώδευεν κατὰ πόλιν - i tŭ proxoždāše skvožĕ grady ‘and he went through cities’ (L 8:1). Rare occurrences where the Greek phrase denotes source are matched with *otŭ*+Gen and the distributive meaning is once again translated with the help of the indefinite pronoun *vŭsŭ*: καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτόν - i grĕdŭštemŭ otŭ vŭsĕxŭ gradŭ kŭ njemu ‘and when they came from every city (OCS: all cities) to him’ (L 8:4).

Other correspondences occur only once. The pairs *κατά*+Acc : *nadŭ*+Acc and *κατά*+Acc : *kŭ*+Dat are connected with the direction ‘to, up to’: Σαμαρίτης δέ τις ὁδεύων ἦλθεν κατ’ αὐτόν - Samarjaninŭ že jeterŭ grĕdy pride nadŭ n’ĭ (ms. Sa: kŭ njemu) ‘and a certain Samaritan, making his way, came up to him’ (L 10:33). The counterparts *κατά*+Acc : *prĕdŭ*+Ins express the location ‘before’: ὁ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν - ježe jesi ugotovalŭ prĕdŭ licemŭ vŭsĕxŭ ljudii ‘which you prepared before all people’ (L 2:31). One instance of *κατά*+Acc with manner

function is matched with *protiv*ϕ+Dat: ἔδωκεν... ἐκάστω κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν - dastŭ... kolužido protivϕ silě svojei ‘he gave... to each according to his ability’ (M 25:15). The titles of the gospels are interpreted in different ways in each language. In Greek *κατά*+Acc marks the concept of manner common to it, while the OCS variant treats the heading as a source notion expressed by *otŭ*+Gen: κατὰ Μαθθαῖον - otŭ Matθeā ‘according to Matthew (OCS: from Matthew)’.

8.8.2 KATA+GEN : OCS constructions

Occurrences of *κατά*+Gen find a number of matches, all designating different notions. *Na*+Acc covers all the instances where this Greek phrase denotes the direction ‘against’: ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ - jako bratrŭ tvoi imatŭ něčito na te ‘that your brother has something against you’ (M 5:23). *Na*+Loc corresponds to *κατά*+Gen marking the location ‘on, over’: οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν κατ’ ἐμοῦ οὐδεμίαν - ne imaši oblasti na mīně nikojeježe ‘you would have no power over me’ (J 19:11). It is matched with *po*+Dat where it indicates the location ‘in’ or path: διδάσκων καθ’ ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας - učę po vīsei Ijuděi ‘when he taught throughout all Judea’ (L 23:5), καὶ ὥρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν λίμνην - i ustrīmi sę stado po brěgu vŭ jezero ‘and the herd rushed along the bank into the lake’ (L 8:33). There is also one instance where the Greek phrase refers to means and is translated with the instrumental for which this function is customary: ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος - zaklinajŭ te bogomī živyimī ‘I adjure you by the living God’ (M 26:63).

8.9 Correspondences with ΠΑΡΑ

8.9.1 ΠΑΡΑ+GEN : OCS constructions

The primary function of *παρά*+Gen – the designation of the source ‘out of’ in combination with an animate object – is rendered either with *otŭ*+Gen or *izŭ*+Gen: ἐπύθετο οὖν τὴν ὥραν παρ’ αὐτῶν - vŭprašaaše že godiny otŭ nixŭ ‘and he inquired about the hour from them’ (J 4:52), ὅτι δύναμις παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο - jako sila iz njego isxoždaaše ‘for power came forth from him’ (L

6:19). Correspondences with *otŭ*+Gen are more frequent and can also denote an agent: ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου - jako bŏdetŭ sŭvrŭšenŭje glagolanyimŭ jei otŭ gospodi ‘that there will be fulfillment to what was said to her by the Lord’ (L 1:45).

In instances where *παρά*+Gen is matched with *u*+Gen it often has the connotation ‘in somebody’s presence, place’, connected with possessive semantics: καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ - i slyšavŭše iže bĕaxŏ u njego ‘and when those who were with him heard’ (Mk 3:21). In one passage this possessive meaning of the Greek phrase is translated with a possessive pronoun: καὶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ’ αὐτῆς πάντα - i iždivŭši vŭše svoje ‘and spending all that was hers’ (Mk 5:26).

8.9.2 ΠΑΡΑ+DAT : OCS constructions

This Greek construction has several correspondences that are similar to those with *παρά*+Gen. Thus, it is matched with *otŭ*+Gen where it expresses the source ‘out of’ in combination with an animate object: παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τοῦτο ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν - otŭ člověkŭ se ne vŭzmožŭno jestŭ ‘this is impossible from men’ (M 19:26). In the same way, it is translated with *u*+Gen if its function is associated with the semantics ‘in somebody’s presence, place’: ἃ ἐγὼ ἐώρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ - azŭ jaže vidĕxŭ u otŭca mojego ‘what I have seen in the presence of my Father’ (J 8:38). But *παρά*+Dat has more semantic roles than *παρά*+Gen. As a result, it has a greater number and variety of counterparts. It is matched with *vŭ(n)*+Loc in those instances where it indicates the location ‘among’: διεφημίσθη ὁ λόγος οὗτος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις - promŭče se slovo se vŭ Ijuděixŭ ‘this word spread among the Jews’ (M 28:15). We also find unusual occurrences where this construction denotes the direction ‘to (somebody’s place)’ and the location ‘near’ and is translated with *kŭ*+Dat and *pri*+Loc, respectively: ὅτι παρὰ ἁμαρτωλῶ ἀνδρὶ εἰσῆλθεν - jako kŭ grĕšŭnu možju vŭnide ‘that he went to a sinner’ (L 19:7), εἰστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ - stojaaxŏ že pri krŭstĕ Iisusovĕ mati jeho i sestra matere jeho ‘and near the cross of

Jesus his mother and his mother's sister were standing' (J 19:25). Note that these functions are primary for their OCS counterparts.

8.9.3 ΠΑΡΑ+ACC : OCS constructions

Functions of *παρά*+Acc are practically divided between *pri*+Loc and *kŭ*+Dat.

Correspondences with *pri*+Loc constitute the majority and cover such spatial roles of the Greek phrase as the designation of the location 'near' and path: ἤρξατο διδάσκειν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν - načetu učiti pri mor'i 'he began to teach near the sea' (Mk 4:1), περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν - xode že pri mor'i 'walking along the sea' (M 4:18). Since *pri*+Loc does not have direction roles, *kŭ*+Dat, for which the indication of direction is primary, complements it. Thus, the correspondence *παρά*+Acc : *kŭ*+Dat exclusively marks the direction 'up to': καὶ ἐξῆλθεν πάλιν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν - i izide paky kŭ morju 'and he went again to the sea' (Mk 2:13).

In addition, we find two instances where *παρά*+Acc designates path and is translated with *na*+Loc: ὃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν - ovo pade na poti 'one [seed] fell along the path' (Mk 4:4). In one passage the location value of the Greek phrase is rendered with *na*+Loc: καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ - i pade ničī na nogu jego 'he fell down near his feet (OCS: up to his foot)' (L 17:16).

In the Gospel of Luke *παρά*+Acc is repeatedly used as part of a comparative construction. Such instances are rendered in OCS either with the adverb *pače* or the genitive alone (this correspondence is found only once): ὅτι οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι οὗτοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἐγένοντο - jako Galilějane sii grěšinėiše pače všěxŭ Galilėjanŭ běše 'for these Galileans were more sinful than all the Galileans' (L 13:2), μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε - ničitože bolje povelėnajego vamŭ tvorite 'do no more than has been commanded to you' (L 3:13).

8.10 Correspondences with ΑΠΟ+GEN

As expected, *otŭ*+Gen, with a semantic load similar to that of *ἀπό*+Gen, becomes its most common equivalent. This correspondence expresses all possible types of source notions (‘away from’, ‘out of’, and a partitive concept): σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν- tŭ bo sŭpasetŭ ljudi svoje otŭ grĕxŭ ixŭ ‘for he will save his people from their sins’ (M 1:21), ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα - otide prokaza otŭ njego ‘the leprosy went out of him’ (Mk 1:42), ἐνέγκατε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀψαρίων - prinesĕte otŭ rybŭ ‘bring in some of the fish’ (J 21:10). These counterparts have the same temporal functions – the designation of a starting point and a period of time: ἀπ’ ἄρτι γινώσκετε αὐτὸν - otŭ selĕ znaete i ‘from now you know him’ (J 14:7), καὶ γυνὴ οὕσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν δώδεκα - i žena sqŕŕti vŭ toĕenŭi krŭve otŭ dŭvoju na desĕte lĕtu ‘and a woman who was in a flow of blood for twelve years’ (L 8:43). They also share causal semantics indicating agent, means, and reason: ἦτις οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς θεραπευθῆναι - i ni otŭ jedinogo ne moŕe icĕlĕti ‘and she could not be healed by anyone’ (L 8:43), ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς - otŭ plodŭ ixŭ poznajete je ‘you will know them by their fruits’ (M 7:16), καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραζαν - i otŭ straxa vŭzŭpiŕe ‘and from fear they cried out’ (M 14:26). This correspondence can denote manner as well: εἰ μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν - aŕte ne otŭpuŕtajete kŭŕido bratu svojemu otŭ srĭdĭcĭ vaŕixŭ ‘if you do not forgive each [of you] his own brother from your hearts’ (M 18:35).

There are three more phrases in OCS that partially share the source semantics of *ἀπό*+Gen. Thus, we find correspondences with *izŭ*+Gen and *sŭ*+Gen, designating the source ‘out of’, and less frequent associations with the genitive, marking the sources ‘out of’ and ‘away from’: ἀφ’ οὗ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐξῆλθεν - iz njegoŕe bĕsi izido ‘out of whom demons came’ (L 8:35), ἐρχόμενον ἀπ’ ἀγροῦ

- gr̥dʒʃtju sū sela ‘the one coming from the field’ (Mk 15:21), ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ἀπὸ ἱματίου καινοῦ σχίσας ἐπιβάλλει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν - jako nikūnože pristavljenīja rizy novy ne pristavljaetū na rizʒ vetūxʒ ‘for nobody puts a piece from a new garment onto an old garment’ (L 5:36), ἦν δὲ Βηθανία ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε - bě že Vithanīja bliz Ijerusalima jako pětī na desēte stadii ‘and Bethany was near Jerusalem about fifteen stadia away’ (J 11:18). The equivalent pair ἀπό+Gen : izū+Gen can also have a temporal function: ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς δὲ οὐ γέγονεν οὕτως - is prūva že ne bystū tako (ms. Sa) ‘but from the beginning it was not so’ (M 19:8). The correspondence ἀπό+Gen : sū+Gen is repeatedly associated with the notion of descending (often in the construction ‘from heaven’): καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ - i dzvězdy sūpadʒtū sū nebesē ‘and the stars will fall down from heaven’ (M 24:29).

Occurrences where ἀπό+Gen is rendered with *o*+Loc are limited to the construction ‘by oneself’: καὶ ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν - i o sebě ničesože ne tvorjʒ ‘and I do nothing by myself’ (J 8:28). In combination with the verb ‘fear’ ἀπό+Gen marks a patient and is matched with *otū*+Gen or the accusative alone: μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα - ne uboite sē otū ubivajoštiixū tělo ‘do not fear those who kill the body’ (L 12:4), καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα - i ne uboite sē ubivajoštiixū tělo ‘do not fear those who kill the body’ (M 10:28). The rare correspondence ἀπό+Gen : *Ins* occurs only with causal functions (agent and reason): ἠλαύνετο ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου - gonimū byvaaše běsomī ‘he was driven by the demon’ (L 8:29), καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου - i ne možaaše narodomī ‘and he was not able because of the people’ (L 19:3). A number of correspondences occur because of rephrasing. For example, ἀπό+Gen is found matching to *vū(n)*+Acc or the locative alone only as a result of reinterpretations made by translators: καὶ ἰάθη ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης - i icělě dūšti jeje vū tū časū ‘and her daughter was healed

from (OCS: at) that moment’ (M 15:28), καὶ ἐθεραπεύθη ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης - i icělē otrokŭ tomĭ časě ‘and the child was healed from (OCS: at) that moment’ (M 17:18).

Three adverbs *vŭkupŭ* and *iskoni* sometimes become counterparts of *ἀπό*+Gen: καὶ ἤρξατο ἀπὸ μιᾶς πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι - i načesę vŭkupŭ otŭricati sę vĭsi ‘and they all together began to make excuses’ (L 14:18), ὅτι ὁ κτίσας ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς - jako sŭtvorii iskoni ‘that the one making [them] from the beginning’ (M 19:4). Note that in the case of correspondences with *iskoni* the source meaning of the Greek counterpart is expressed in OCS on the level of form with the prefix *is-*.

8.11 Correspondences with ΠΕΡΙ

8.11.1 ΠΕΡΙ+GEN : OCS constructions

The expected counterpart of *περί*+Gen is *o/obŭ*+Loc. Both prepositional phrases are dominant in the designation of topic: τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ; - čĭto se slyšę o tebě? ‘what is this that I hear about you?’ (L 16:2). This correspondence less frequently expresses purpose or reason: καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου - i prinesi o očĭštenĭi svojemĭ ‘and make an offering for your purification’ (L 5:14), περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε - o dobrě dělě ne meštemŭ kamenĭja na tę ‘we do not stone you because of a good deed’ (J 10:33).

Another prepositional phrase that is found to match *περί*+Gen is *za*+Acc. This OCS construction renders the beneficiary semantics of the Greek phrase, more common for it than for *o/obŭ*+Loc: προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς - molite za tvorešteje vamŭ obidę ‘pray for those abusing you’ (L 6:28). *Za*+Acc also corresponds to *περί*+Gen in a few instances where it indicates purpose: καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου - i prinesi za očĭštenĭje tvoje ‘and make an offering for your purification’ (Mk 1:44).

We find two unusual occurrences where *περί*+Gen designating topic is rendered with *vŭ(n)*+Loc and the accusative, constructions that are used less frequently in OCS to express this

semantic role: τί περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μεριμνᾶτε; - čito vŭ pročiixŭ pečete se? (ms. Zo) ‘why are you anxious about the rest?’ (L 12:26), τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; - čito me glagolješi blaga? ‘why do you ask (OCS: speak to) me about the good thing (OCS: things)?’ (M 19:17).

8.11.2 ΠΕΡΙ+ACC : OCS constructions

O+Loc becomes, once again, the most frequent counterpart for *περί*+Acc. Both constructions can denote the location ‘around’ as well as topic: οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα - iže bēaxo o njemī sŭ oběma na desēte ‘those who were around him with the twelve’ (Mk 4:10), ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλήν διακονίαν - i Marθα mlŭvljaaše o mŭnodzě služībě ‘but Martha was busy about much service’ (L 10:40). Other counterparts of this Greek phrase have only one function in common. Thus, the correspondence *περί*+Acc : *okrīstŭ*+Gen indicates only the location ‘around’: ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὄχλον περὶ αὐτὸν - uzīrěvŭ že Iisusŭ mŭnogŭ narodŭ okrīstŭ sebe ‘and Jesus, seeing a great crowd around himself’ (M 8:18). The rare equivalent pair *περί*+Acc : *pri*+Loc shares only the temporal function ‘around’: περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν ἀνεβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς - pri devetěi že godině vŭzŭpi Iisusŭ ‘and around the ninth hour Jesus cried out’ (M 27:46). In a number of passages the semantics of *περί*+Acc are reinterpreted. Thus, in a few instances where it denotes the temporal notion ‘around’ it is matched with *vŭ(n)*+Acc that merely states a certain time period: καὶ ἐξελθὼν περὶ τρίτην ὥραν - i išīdŭ vŭ tretījo godino ‘and going away around (OCS: at) the third hour’ (M 20:3). Occasionally, a spatial function of the Greek phrase is replaced with a comitative one in OCS: οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα - iže bēaxo sŭ njemī sŭ oběma na desēte (ms. Ma) ‘who were around (OCS: with) him with the twelve’ (Mk 4:10).

8.12 Correspondences with ὙΠΟ

8.12.1 ὙΠΟ+GEN : OCS constructions

The designation of agent, a primary function of *ὕπό*+Gen, is mainly translated with *otŭ*+Gen: καὶ ἐθεάθη ὕπ' αὐτῆς - i viděňŭ bystŭ otŭ njeje 'he was seen by her' (Mk 16:11). Less frequently, the instrumental and the nominative (with inversion of diathesis) can also render this meaning of the Greek phrase: καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὕπὸ πάντων - i bŭdete nenavidimi vīsěmi 'and you will be hated by all' (L 21:17), καὶ ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὕπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων - i jegda na nŭ glagolaaxŭ arxijerei 'and when he was accused by the chief priests (OCS: when the chief priests accused him)' (M 27:12). The correspondence *ὕπό*+Gen : *otŭ*+Gen sometimes expresses reason: παθοῦσα ὕπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν - postradavŭši otŭ mŭnogŭ bolii 'suffering from many doctors (OCS: pains)' (Mk 5:26).

8.12.2 ὙΠΟ+ACC : OCS constructions

There is only one construction connected with the notion 'under' in OCS - *podŭ*+Ins(Acc). It becomes the only counterpart of *ὕπό*+Acc. The correspondence *ὕπό*+Acc : *podŭ*+Ins occurs in passages where the Greek phrase denotes the location 'under' while *ὕπό*+Acc : *podŭ*+Acc covers its directional usages: ὄντα ὕπὸ τὴν συκῆν - sŭšta podŭ smokovŭnicejo 'being under the fig tree' (J 1:48), ἵνα μου ὕπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς - da podŭ krovŭ moi vŭnideši 'in order that you come under my roof' (M 8:8). We also find one passage where *ὕπό*+Acc is matched with an adjective having the prefix *pod-*: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἀστράπτουσα ἐκ τῆς ὕπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὴν ὕπ' οὐρανὸν λάμπει - jako bo mlŭnŭi bliscajŭšti sę otŭ **podŭ**nebesŭskyje na **podŭ**nebesŭskŭjo svŭtitŭ sę 'for just as lightning shines flashing from the [earth] beneath the sky to the [earth] beneath the sky' (L 17:24).

8.13 Correspondences with ὙΠΕΡ

8.13.1 ὙΠΕΡ+GEN : OCS constructions

Beneficiary usages of ὑπέρ+Gen are translated with *za*+Acc or *po*+Loc (only in two instances): καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς - i molite za tvorešteje vamŭ napastĭ ‘and pray for those persecuting you’ (M 5:44), ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν (mss. R, D) - po vasŭ jestŭ ‘he is for you’ (Mk 9:40). There are also two occurrences of the correspondence ὑπέρ+Gen : *o*+Loc in the Gospel of John. One of them expresses purpose while the other marks topic: αὕτη ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θάνατον ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ - si bolěznĭ něstĭ kŭ sŭmrŭti nŭ o slavě božĭi ‘this sickness is not for death but for the glory of God’ (J 11:4), οὗτός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον - sĭ jestŭ o njemĭže azŭ řěxŭ ‘he is [the one] about whom I said’ (J 1:30).

8.13.2 ὙΠΕΡ+ACC : OCS constructions

The spatial semantics of ὑπέρ+Acc are rendered with *nadŭ*+Ins, one of the primary means used in OCS to express the location ‘on, over’: οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδάσκαλου - něstŭ učenikŭ nadŭ učitelemĭ ‘a disciple is not above a teacher’ (M 10:24). In those passages where the Greek phrase becomes part of a comparative construction it is translated with the help of the adverb *pače*+Gen: ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ - iže ljubitŭ otĭca li materĭ pače mene ‘who loves father or mother more than me’ (M 10:37).

8.14 Correspondences with ἈΝΤΙ+GEN

The spatial meaning of this construction is translated into OCS in three ways: with *za*+Acc, *vŭz*+Acc, or *vŭ mesto*+Gen: ὁφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὁφθαλμοῦ - oko za oko ‘an eye for an eye’ (M 5:38), ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος - i otŭ isplnjenĭja jego my vŭsi prijesomŭ blagoděti vŭz blagoděti ‘from his fullness we have all received grace for grace’ (J 1:16),

Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδου - Arxelai cěsar'istvujetŭ vŭ Ijuděi vŭ Iroda město otica svojego 'Archelaus ruled over Judea in place of his father Herod' (M 2:22). In the Gospel of Luke it is several times used to denote reason. These instances are rendered either with *po*+Dat or the conjunction *zanje*: ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνωσ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου - po nježe ne razumě vrěmene posěšteniju tvojemu 'because you did not realize the time of (OCS: for) your visitation' (L 19:44), ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας τοῖς λόγοις μου - zanje ne věrova slovesimŭ moimŭ 'because you did not believe my words' (L 1:20).

8.15 Correspondences with ΣΥΝ+DAT

This rare Greek phrase is matched in OCS with *sŭ*+Ins, a primary means used to express comitative values: καὶ ὥφθη αὐτοῖς Ἡλίας σὺν Μωϋσῇ - i avi sę imŭ Ilĭja sŭ Movsěomĭ 'and Elijah with Moses appeared to them' (Mk 9:4). In two instances in the Gospel of Luke *σύν*+Dat is changed and the comitative value is replaced with a partitive meaning in one passage and with a location sense in the other: καὶ ἀπῆλθόν τινες τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον - i idŭ jeteri otŭ nasŭ kŭ grobu 'and some of those with us (OCS: of us) went to the tomb' (L 24:24), σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν ἄγει - nadŭ vŭsěmi simi tretii sĭ dĭnĭ imatŭ dĭnĭsĭ 'besides (=with) all this (OCS: on top of all this) this is today the third day' (L 24:21).

8.16 Correspondences with ἈΝΑ+ACC

Rare instances of *ἀνά*+Acc are matched with *po*+Dat: χωροῦσαι ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς - vŭměstěštĭ po dŭvēma li trĭmŭ měramŭ 'each holding two or three measures' (J 2:6). The two occurrences of the construction *ἀνά μέσον* are translated with *po srědě*+Gen and *mežd(j)u*+Ins: καὶ ἐπέσπειρεν ζιζάνια ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σίτου - i vŭsěja plěvelŭ po srědě pŭšenice 'he sowed weeds in the middle of the wheat' (M 13:25), ἦλθεν... ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρίων Δεκαπόλεως – pride... meždju prěděly Dekapolĭsky 'he came... in the middle of the region of the Decapolis' (Mk 7:31).

8.17 Correspondences with ΠΡΟ+GEN

The functions of *πρό*+Gen are divided between two OCS constructions. Its temporal occurrences are matched with *prězde*+Gen, which is, like its Greek counterpart, an infrequent phrase in OCS and occurs primarily with a temporal role: ἤλθες ὧδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς; - prišlŭ jesi sěmo prězde vrěmene mōčitŭ nasŭ? ‘have you come here to torture us before [the appointed] time?’ (M 8:29). The instances where *πρό*+Gen designates the location ‘before’ are limited to the construction ‘before the face of somebody’ and are translated with *prědŭ*+Ins: προπορεύσῃ γὰρ πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου (mss. C, R, D, Θ) - prědŭideši bo prědŭ licemŭ gospodŭnjemŭ ‘for you will go before the face of God’ (L 1:76).

8.18 Correspondences with improper prepositions

Most Greek improper prepositional phrases find only one or two counterparts in OCS. Thus, *ἐγγύς*+Gen corresponds to *bliz*+Gen when it is used as a preposition and as a free adverb: ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνῶν ἐγγυὺς τοῦ Σαλίμ - bě že Ioannŭ krŭstę vŭ Ennoně blizŭ Salima ‘and John was baptizing at Aenon near Salim’ (J 3:23), γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγυὺς τὸ θέρος - věste jako blizŭ jestŭ žetva ‘you know that the harvest is near’ (Mk 13:28). *Ἐντός*+Gen is translated with a more complex construction *vŭn qtrŭdu* *vŭn*+Loc, which captures the meaning of the Greek construction precisely: ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν - se bo cěsarŭstvŭje božŭje vŭn qtrŭdu vŭ vasŭ jestŭ ‘for behold, the kingdom of God is within you’ (L 17:21). *Μεταξύ*+Gen is matched with *mežd(j)u*+Ins: μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται - meždju nami i vami propastŭ velŭja utvřidi sę ‘between us and you a great chasm has been fixed’ (L 16:26). The rare construction *ἅμα*+Dat corresponds to *sŭ*+Ins, a primary means for designation of the comitative notion, strengthened with the adverb *kupŭno*; its adverbial occurrences are matched with this adverb alone:

ἐκριζώσητε ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον - vüstriǵnete kupīno sū nimi i pīšenicō '[lest] you root up the wheat together with them' (M 13:29), ὅστις ἐξῆλθεν ἅμα πρωΐ - iže izide kupīno jutro 'whoever went out early in the morning (=together with the morning)' (M 20:1). Ἐνεκεν+Gen is exclusively matched with *radi*+Gen: ἐνεκεν τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ - sego radi ostavitŭ člověkŭ otīca svojego 'because of this a man will leave his father' (Mk 10:7).

Unlike the majority of improper prepositions *ἐπάνω*+Gen finds a number of counterparts. In the instances where it expresses location it is matched with *na*+Loc, *nadŭ*+Ins, *vřixu*+Gen (this phrase also translates the adverbial usages of *ἐπάνω*), and even with a comparative construction: καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ - i sědětīimī na njemī 'and by the one sitting on it' (M 23:22), ἴσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων - bŏdi oblastī imy nadŭ desetījŏ gradŭ 'be one having power over ten cities' (L 19:17), οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους - ne možetŭ gradŭ ukryti sě vřixu gory 'a city cannot be hidden upon a mountain' (M 5:14), ἡδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πρᾶθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων - možaaše bo si xrizma prodana byti vešte trii sŭtŭ pĕnĕdzī 'for this ointment could have been sold for more than three hundred denarii' (Mk 14:5). The only directional usage of this Greek phrase is rendered with *na*+Acc: ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων - se daxŭ vamŭ vlastī nastŏpati na zmīje 'behold, I gave you power to trample upon serpents' (L 10:19).

ὑποκάτω+Gen is primarily matched with *podŭ*+Ins: ὅτι εἶδον σε ὑποκάτω τῆς συκῆς - jako vidĕxŭ tĕ podŭ smokŭvŭnicejŏ 'that I saw you under the fig tree' (J 1:50). In two instances the meaning of this Greek phrase is rendered with a form of a noun that contains *podŭ* as a prefix: ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου - do ideže položŏ vragy tvoje podŭnožīje nogama tvoima 'till I put your enemies under your feet (OCS: as a footstool for your feet)' (Mk 12:36).

The improper prepositions that are associated with the concept ‘before’ - *ἐμπροσθεν*+Gen, *κατέναντι*+Gen, *ἐναντί(ον)*+Gen, and *ἐνώπιον*+Gen – all correspond to *prědŭ*+Ins: ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἔμοι *ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων* - iže ispověstŭ mę *prědŭ člověky* ‘whoever acknowledges me before men’ (M 10:32), λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας *κατέναντι τοῦ ὄχλου* - priimŭ vodŭ umi rŏčě *prědŭ narodomŭ* ‘taking water, he washed his hands before the people’ (M 27:24), ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι ἀμφοτέρω *ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ* - běašete že oba pravīdīna *prědŭ bogomŭ* ‘and they both were righteous before God’ (L 1:6), καὶ ἐφάνησαν *ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν* - i avišę sę *prědŭ nimi* ‘and they appeared before them (=in the eyes of them)’ (L 24:11). When used as a free adverb, *ἐμπροσθεν* is translated with *prědi*: ἐπορεύετο *ἐμπροσθεν* - iděaše *prědi* ‘he went ahead’ (L 19:28). *Κατέναντι*+Gen is the only construction in this group that finds another equivalent – *prěmo*+Gen: καὶ καθίσας *κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακείου* - i sědŭ Iisusŭ *prěmo gazofilakŭi* ‘and he (OCS: Jesus) sitting opposite (=before) the treasury’ (Mk 12:41). Adverbial usages of this phrase are matched with an adjective (a derivative of *prěmo*): ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν *κατέναντι κώμην* - iděta vŭ *prěmŭnojo vŭši* ‘go into the opposite village’ (L 19:30).

The improper prepositions that are grouped around the notion ‘after, behind’ have different sets of equivalents. The prepositional occurrences of *ὀπισθεν* are matched with *po*+Dat and *vŭ slědŭ*+Gen, while its adverbial usages are translated with the adverb *sŭ zadi*: ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρειν *ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* - zaděšę jemu krŭstŭ nositi *po Iisusě* ‘they put the cross upon him to carry after Jesus’ (L 23:26), ὅτι κράζει *ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν* - jako vŭpŭjetŭ vŭ *slědŭ nasŭ* ‘for she is crying after us’ (M 15:23), προσελθοῦσα *ὀπισθεν* - pristŏplŭši *sŭ zadi* ‘coming behind (OCS: from behind)’ (L 8:44). *Ὀπίσω*+Gen can also be rendered with *po*+Dat and *vŭ slědŭ*+Gen; in addition, it is sometimes translated with *za*+Ins: εἴ τις θέλει *ὀπίσω μου* ἐλθεῖν - iže xoštetŭ *po mŭně* iti ‘if someone

wants to go after me' (Mk 8:34), καὶ ὃς οὐ... ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου – i iže... vŭ slědŭ mene ne grędetŭ 'and who... does not go after me' (M 10:38), ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου - idi za mŭnojo 'go after me' (Mk 8:33). The adverbial occurrences of ὀπίσω are matched with the adverbs vŭspetŭ (more frequently) or zadi: ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω - obrati se vŭspetŭ 'she turned back' (J 20:14), καὶ σταῖσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ - i stavŭši zadi pri nogu jęgo 'and standing behind [him] near his feet' (L 7:38). The only instance of ὕστερον+Gen corresponds to poslědŭ+Gen: ὕστερον δὲ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἡ γυνή - poslědŭ že vŭsěxŭ umrětŭ i žena 'and after all, the wife (OCS: also) died' (M 22:27). Πέραν+Gen does not find an exact prepositional equivalent in OCS. Its meaning is rendered with the help of a form of onŭ polŭ 'that side' in combination with a preposition, the choice of which depends on the kind of spatial notion that πέραν+Gen designates in a specific construction (this function of the Greek phrase is sometimes altered in OCS). Possibilities include *na*, *po*, *ob*, or *sŭ*: μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης - po sixŭ ide Iisusŭ na onŭ polŭ morja 'after this Jesus went to the other side of the sea' (J 6:1), ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου - pride vŭ předěly Ijudeisky po onomŭ polu Iordana 'he went into the area of Judea and onto (OCS: along) the other side of the Jordan' (Mk 10:1), ὁ ἐστηκὼς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης - iže stojaaše ob onŭ polŭ morja 'who stood on the other side of the sea' (J 6:22), καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας... καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου - i po njemŭ idŭ narodi mŭnodzi otŭ Galilěje... i sŭ onogo polu Iordana 'and many people went after him from Galilee... and (OCS: from) the other side of the Jordan' (M 4:25).

Ἐξω+Gen, the only improper preposition connected with the source notion, is matched with vŭn izŭ+Gen: ἐξεπορεύοντο ἐξω τῆς πόλεως - isxoždaaše vŭnŭ iz grada 'they (OCS: he) went out of the city' (Mk 11:19). In two instances this phrase is translated with *kromě*+Gen: ἵνα μὴ αὐτὰ

ἀποστείλῃ ἔξω τῆς χώρας - da ne posūljetū ixū kromě strany ‘that he not send them out of the country’ (Mk 5:10). Its adverbial occurrences correspond to the adverb *vŭn* (*vŭnĕ*): Μαρία δὲ εἰστίκει πρὸς τῷ μνημείῳ ἔξω - Marija že stojaaše u groba vŭnĕ ‘and Mary was standing outside near the tomb’ (J 20:11).

Ἔως+Gen, *μέχρι*+Gen, and *ἄχρι*+Gen, all of which are connected with the temporal notion ‘till’, are translated with the only preposition that can have this function in OCS – *do*+Gen: καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Ἡρώδου - i bě tu do umřítija Irodova ‘and he was there until the death of Herod’ (M 2:15), ἔμειναν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον - přebyly bŏ do dñišinajego dñe ‘they would have remained until the present day’ (M 11:23), ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν - do njegože dñe vŭnide Noje vŭ kovičegŭ ‘until the day when Noah went into the ark’ (L 17:27). *Do*+Gen also covers directional usages of *ἔως*+Gen: ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἕως τῶν πρώτων - načiŭ otŭ posłědñiixŭ do prŭvyixŭ ‘beginning from the last ones up to the first ones’ (M 20:8).

The meaning of the four constructions *ἄτερ*+Gen, *ἄνευ*+Gen, *πλὴν*+Gen, and *χωρίς*+Gen is covered in OCS by *bez*+Gen and *razvě*+Gen. We find *ἄτερ*+Gen and *ἄνευ*+Gen corresponding to *bez*+Gen only: τοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν ἄτερ ὄχλου αὐτοῖς - da imŭ předastŭ i bez naroda ‘to betray him to them apart from (=without) the crowd’ (L 22:6), οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν - ne padetŭ na zemli bezŭ otica vašego ‘it will not fall onto the ground without your Father’ (M 10:29). *Πλὴν*+Gen is matched with *razvě*+Gen: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ - i něst inogo razvě jego ‘and there is no other except him’ (Mk 12:32). *Χωρίς*+Gen is translated with *bez*+Gen and *razvě*+Gen: καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν - i bez njego ničitože ne bystŭ ‘and nothing was without him’ (J 1:3), οἱ δὲ ἐσθίοντες ἦσαν ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ πεντακισχίλιοι χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων - jadŏštiixŭ že běaše jako pětŭ tisŏštŭ rasvě ženŭ i dětŭ ‘and those who ate were about five thousand,

without women and children’ (M 14:21). In passages where *πλήν*+Gen, and *χωρίς*+Gen are used as free adverbs they are rendered with free adverbs: *πλήν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις* – obače gore vamŭ bogatyimŭ ‘but woe to you, to the rich ones’ (L 6:24), *ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἐντετυλιγμένον εἰς ἓνα τόπον* - nŭ *osobĭ sŭvitŭ na jedinomĭ městě* ‘but it is rolled up separately in one place’ (J 20:7).

8.19 Correspondences with nominal phrases

Most instances where a nominal phrase is matched with a prepositional construction or another nominal phrase (different from the expected one) occur for one of two reasons: an independent rephrasing is made or the corresponding construction expresses the meaning of a preverb present in the Greek passage: *ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νῶε* - jakože bo bystŭ *vŭ dĭni Nojevy* ‘for just as [were] (OCS: it was in) the days of Noah’ (M 24:37), *προήρχετο αὐτούς* - *prĕdŭ nimi* idĕaše ‘he was going before them’ (L 22:47). But we also find examples where a case is rendered with a prepositional phrase or a different case because they have similar semantic roles. Several such correspondences are limited to a particular construction.

The Greek accusative is sometimes matched with *vŭ(n)*+Loc, *vŭ(n)*+Acc, and *na*+Acc, all of which share a temporal function: *ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων* - bĕ že *vŭ dĭne* uĉe vŭ *crĭkŭve* ‘and by day he was teaching in the temple’ (L 21:37), *ὅτι ἐχθὲς ὥραν ἐβδόμην ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ὁ πυρετός* - jako vŭčera *vŭ godino sedmojo* ostavi i ognĭ ‘that yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him’ (J 4:52), *καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν χρόνους ἱκανούς* - i otide *na lĕta mŭnoga* ‘and he went away for many years’ (L 20:9). The pair Acc : *na*+Acc sometimes indicates the direction ‘upon’ (often in combination with the verb ‘look’) or manner (with a distributive connotation): *καὶ οὐ λαμβάνεις πρόσωπον* - i ne *na lica* zĭriši ‘and you do not look upon the face [i.e. show favoritism]’ (L 20:21), *καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλιθῆναι πάντας συμπόσια συμπόσια* - i povelĕ imŭ posaditi vĭse *na spody na spody* ‘and he ordered them all to sit in groups’ (Mk 6:39). The correspondence Acc : *vŭ(n)*+Loc

consistently occurs in combination with the verb ‘wear’, but in such instances these constructions are not true counterparts. While the Greek phrase marks a patient, the OCS variant refers to the location ‘in’: περιβεβλημένον στολήν λευκήν - oděnu vŭ odeždō bělo ‘wearing (OCS: dressed in) a white garment’ (Mk 16:5).

Occasionally, the accusative, designating topic, is matched with *o*+Loc, the genitive, or the dative: ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ γὰρ λόγον - vŭprošō vy i azŭ jedinogo slovese (ms. Ni: o slovesi) ‘I also will ask you about one word’ (L 20:3), μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο - ne divite se semu ‘do not be amazed about this’ (J 5:28). In combination with speech verbs the accusative sometimes marks source. Some such instances are rendered with *otŭ*+Gen and *u*+Gen: τι ἂν αἰτήσητε τὸν πατέρα - da jegože koližido prosite otŭ otŭca ‘so that whatever you ask from the Father’ (J 15:16), τῷ αἰτοῦντι σε δός - proseštjujem u tebe dai ‘give to the one asking you’ (M 5:42). We also find two occurrences where the accusative indicates means and is translated with the instrumental, for which this function is regular: ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν - zaklinajō te bogomŭ ‘I adjure you by God’ (Mk 5:7).

Just as in the case of the accusative, the temporal function of the dative is sometimes rendered with *vŭ(n)*+Loc, *vŭ(n)*+Acc, and *na*+Acc: ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ σαββάτῳ - vŭskrŭsŭ že Iisusŭ za utra vŭ prŭvyi sobotě ‘(OCS: Jesus,) arising early on the first day of the week’ (Mk 16:9), καὶ γὰρ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ - i azŭ vŭskrěšō i vŭ poslědñii dñi ‘and I will raise him up on the last day’ (J 6:54), καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Βηθανίας - i na utrŭja išidŭšemŭ imŭ otŭ Viθanŭje (ms. Ga) ‘and on the following day when they came from Bethany’ (Mk 11:12). The temporal function of the dative is also shared by *otŭ*+Gen and the accusative: πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις συνηρπάκει αὐτόν - otŭ mŭnogŭ bo lětŭ vŭsxyštaaše i ‘for many years it had seized him’ (L 8:29), καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι - i tretii dñi vŭstati ‘and on the third day to be raised (OCS: to

rise up)’ (L 9:22). Less frequently, the correspondence Dat : *νῦ(n)*+Loc specifies means: καὶ πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης - i padq̃tũ vũ ostrĩi meča ‘and they will fall by the edge of the sword’ (L 21:24). We find a few instances where the pair Dat : *νῦ(n)*+Acc refers to topic and the set Dat : *na*+Acc denotes either patient or manner: ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν τῷ υἱῷ - a iže ne věrujetũ vũ syna ‘and who does not believe in the Son’ (J 3:36), ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ - jako všjakũ gněvajei se na bratra svojego ‘that everyone who is angry with his brother’ (M 5:22), καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν - i na ime jego języci upřuvajq̃tũ ‘and in his name the Gentiles will hope’ (M 12:21).

Several instances where the dative marks a recipient (in combination with speech verbs) or has a directional value are matched with *kũ*+Dat: ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος - otũvěšravũ že kũ njemu gospodĩ (ms. Ma) ‘and the Lord answered him’ (L 13:15), καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ κωφὸν - i privěse kũ njemu gluxa ‘and they brought to him a deaf man’ (Mk 7:32). Most occurrences of the correspondence Dat : *sũ*+Ins involve the semantics of preverbs either in both or in one of the versions. But there is one rare instance where this correspondence still has a comitative value without engaging any preverbs: καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι - i xoteštju jemu sqdũ prijeti sũ tobojo ‘and to the one wanting to litigate with you’ (M 5:40). It is also possible that in this passage the Greek version does not have a comitative value and just marks a patient.

The dative regularly occurs in combination with the verb ‘follow’, and such instances are sometimes matched with *po*+Loc and *vũ slědũ*+Gen: ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ - po njemĩ xoždaaxq̃ ‘they went after him’ (Mk 15:41), καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ - i Petrũ iděaše iz daleče vũ slědũ jego ‘and Peter at a distance went after him’ (Mk 14:54). The correspondence Dat : *o*+Loc designates topic or agent: καὶ μεμαρτύρηκεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ - i sũvědětelĩstvova o istině ‘and he testified about the truth’ (J 5:33), οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ - ničĩtože dostoino

sǔmrĭti sǔtvoreno jestǔ o njemĭ ‘nothing worthy of death has been done by him’ (L 23:15). The dative is occasionally matched with the instrumental where it indicates topic, means, or manner: μη μεριμνάτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν - ne pĭcĕte se dušejō vašejō ‘do not be concerned about your soul’ (M 6:25), καλύπτει αὐτὸν σκεύει - pokrývajetǔ jeho sǔsōdomĭ ‘he covers it with a vessel’ (L 8:16), καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν - i tvoimĭ imenĭmĭ běsy izgonixomǔ ‘and in your name we cast out demons’ (M 7:22).

Rare spatial functions of the Greek genitive are sometimes rendered with a prepositional phrase. Thus, we find *na*+Loc where the genitive denotes the location ‘in place of’ (metaphorically of price) and with *vǔ(n)*+Loc where it marks the location ‘in’: διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη τριακοσίων δηναρίων; - česo radi xrizma si ne prodana bystǔ na trĭxǔ sǔtĕxǔ pĕnĕdzĭ? ‘why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii?’ (J 12:5), ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος - da omočitǔ koničĭ přĭsta svojego vǔ vodĕ ‘in order that he dip the end of his finger in water’ (L 16:24). The correspondence Gen : *vǔ(n)*+Loc can also express means: ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου - da imořtǔ i vǔ slovese ‘that they might catch him by word’ (L 20:20). The more common temporal function of the Greek genitive is occasionally translated with *vǔ(n)*+Acc, the dative (dative absolute construction), the instrumental, or a free adverb: νηστεύω δις τοῦ σαββάτου - pořtō se dǔva kraty vǔ sōbotō ‘I fast twice in the week’ (L 18:12), καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου - i byvǔši sōbotĕ ‘and when it was sabbath’ (Mk 6:2), καὶ εἰς ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς σὲ - i ařte sedmoricejō dĭnĭmĭ sǔgrĕřitǔ vǔ te ‘and if he sins against you seven times in the day’ (L 17:4), τῇ δὲ μὲν τῷ σαββάτων ὀρθρου βαθέως ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἦλθον - vǔ jedinō že sōbotǔ dzĕlo rano pridō ženȳ na grobǔ ‘and on the first day of the week, very early they (OCS: the women) came to the tomb’ (L 24:1).

The correspondence Gen : *otŭ*+Gen expresses partitive or possessive semantics; these functions are common for both the Greek genitive and the OCS construction: ἐμβὰς δὲ εἰς ἐν τῶν πλοίων - vŭlězŭ že vŭ jedinŭ otŭ korabicju ‘and getting into one of the boats’ (L 5:3), ἔλαβον τὰ βᾶτα τῶν φοινίκων - priješę vaja otŭ finikŭ ‘they took the branches of palm trees’ (J 12:13). The possessive role of the genitive is sometimes rendered with an adjective accompanied by a possessive suffix: ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ - xlěbŭ bo božii jestŭ sŭxodei sŭ nebese ‘for the bread of God is the one coming down from heaven’ (J 6:33). In several instances where the genitive denotes topic it is matched with *o*+Loc, *po*+Dat, or the instrumental: εὐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούση - ašte že i o crĭkŭvi ne roditi vŭčĭnetŭ ‘and if he does not care about the church’ (M 18:17), οὐχὶ δηναρίου συνεφώνησάς μοι; - ne po pĕnędzju li sŭvēštaxŭ sŭ tobojŭ? ‘did you not agree with me (OCS: did I not agree with you) on a denarius?’ (M 20:13), ἡ γὰρ αὐρίον μεριμνήσει ἑαυτῆς - utrĭnii bo đĭnĭ sobojo pečetŭ sę ‘for tomorrow will take care of itself’ (M 6:34).

8.20 Correspondences with other constructions

A number of adverbs are rendered with the help of prepositions. Many of them are associated with the notion of manner or have temporal semantics and are translated with *vŭ(n)*+Acc: ἔτρεχον δὲ οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ - tečaašete že oba vŭ kupě ‘and they both ran together’ (J 20:4), ὁψέ δὲ σαββάτων... ἦλθεν Μαριάμ - vŭ večerŭ že sŭbotĭnyi... pride Marija ‘and in the evening of the Sabbath... Mary came’ (M 28:1). Source adverbs with the suffix *-θεν* are often matched with prepositional phrases for which source meaning is primary. Among such constructions are *izŭ*+Gen, *otŭ*+Gen, and *sŭ*+Gen: ἔστησαν πόρωθεν - iže stašę iz daleče ‘who stood at a distance’ (L 17:12), καὶ παράγων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν - i prĕxode Iisusŭ otŭ todu ‘and when Jesus was passing from there’ (M 9:9), εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἄνωθεν - ašte ni bi ti dano sŭ vyše ‘if it had not been given to you from above’ (J

19:11). Correspondences between Greek adverbs and other prepositional constructions are less frequent. Thus, we find a few instances where an adverb is translated with *kū*+Dat or *za*+Acc: ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν - jako kū tomu ne vŭměštati sę ni pri dvířixŭ ‘so that there was no longer room not even near the door’ (Mk 2:2), ἔρχεται πρωῖ - pride za utra ‘she came early’ (J 20:1).

In several passages the semantics of a Greek verb are translated with a more complex construction involving not only a verb but also a prepositional phrase: καὶ γονυπετῶν - i na kolěnu padaję ‘and kneeling’ (Mk 1:40). Occasionally, a prepositional construction in the OCS version addresses the semantics of a Greek preverb: διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τοὺς συνανακειμένους ἐκέλευσεν δοθῆναι - kletvŭ že radi i vŭzležeštiixŭ sŭ nimĭ povelě dati ‘but because of his oath and guests (OCS: those sitting with him) he commanded it to be given (OCS: [someone] to give [it])’ (M 14:9). Similar types of correspondences occur with some Greek adjectives: καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται - i bes ploda byvajetŭ ‘and it becomes fruitless’ (Mk 4:19).

8.21 Conclusions

Greek-Old Church Slavic correspondences have much in common with those between Biblical Greek and Gothic on one side and Biblical Greek and Classical Armenian on the other. We find equivalents that are expected owing to their common origin (e.g. *ἐν*+Dat : *vŭ(n)*+Loc) or the primary function that they share (e.g. *ἐπί*+Acc : *na*+Acc, *μετά*+Gen : *sŭ*+Ins). A number of counterparts occur regularly and share several semantic roles (e.g. *εἰς*+Acc : *vŭ(n)*+Acc), but there are also those that are rare and are usually associated with only one meaning (e.g. *μετά*+Gen : *po*+Dat is rarely used to mark direction; *ἐκ*+Gen : *o*+Loc and *ἀπό*+Gen : *o*+Loc are only found in the construction ‘by oneself’). A few equivalent sets occur only once (e.g. *περί*+Gen : *vŭ(n)*+Loc and *περί*+Gen : Acc). Several correspondences are limited to particular constructions (e.g. *κατά*+Acc is repeatedly matched with *vŭ(n)*+Loc in the phrase ‘in a dream’) or express a certain function only in a

specific combination (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $\nu\check{u}(n)$ +Acc can mark topic only in combination with the verb ‘believe’). The situation where Greek prepositions governing different cases correspond to the same OCS constructions (that also often become their primary counterpart) is common (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat, and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Gen are mainly matched with na +Acc(Loc)).

While interpreting a less common function of a Greek phrase, OCS translators sometimes do not choose its common counterpart that can also express this meaning. Rather, they prefer another construction which is not a regular correspondent of the Greek phrase but is primarily used in OCS to render this meaning. Examples of such instances are $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc: o +Loc and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Acc : o +Loc designating topic. An interesting case is presented by those instances where a secondary function of a Greek construction coincides with a secondary role of an OCS phrase, thus giving rise to such unusual correspondences as $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $ot\check{u}$ +Gen and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ +Dat : $s\check{u}$ +Gen.

A narrow semantic range of a Greek construction does not seem to restrict the number of counterparts that it may have. Thus, $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ +Acc mainly designating reason finds a number of equivalents in OCS. It is rendered with $radi$ +Gen, po +Acc, za +Acc, the instrumental, and the conjunction $zane$. Greek proper prepositions rarely have only one counterpart (e.g. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}$ +Acc : $pod\check{u}$ +Ins(Acc)). This situation is more common for constructions with improper prepositions (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ +Gen : $bliz$ +Gen, $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\acute{\upsilon}$ +Gen : $me\check{z}d(j)u$ +Ins). One of the specifics of the OCS prepositional system is that it matches $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ +Gen, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ +Gen, and $\alpha\chi\eta\iota$ +Gen only with do +Gen, since this is the only phrase in this language that expresses the temporal notion ‘till’.

Rephrasing plays an important role in translation from the Greek version and increases the number and variety of possible counterparts. The significance of the rephrasing is already seen in the titles of the gospels: $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \text{Μαθθαῖον}$ - $ot\check{u}\ \text{Mat}\theta\check{e}\alpha$ ‘according to Matthew (OCS: from Matthew)’, etc. In several passages the directional value of a Greek construction is reinterpreted as indicating location, leading to correspondences like $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ +Acc : $\nu\check{u}(n)$ +Loc and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc : na +Loc. Occasionally,

the semantics of an OCS preposition (or an adverb) allow for formal simplification of a Greek construction (e.g. εἰς ὑπάντησιν : *protiv*ϑ, ἐξ ἐναντίας : *prěmo*, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον : *nicī*). On the other hand, there are instances where an OCS prepositional phrase has to be supplied with an additional means in order to address the exact semantics of a Greek counterpart (e.g. in many occurrences of κατά+Acc : *po*+Dat the distributive meaning is expressed with a form of the pronoun *vīsī* ‘every, all’ or the adjective *vīsjakŭ* ‘each’).

Nominal phrases are less regular counterparts of prepositional constructions and often occur in (but are not limited to) passages where a Greek equivalent expresses semantics typical for a given case (e.g. δία+Gen : Ins designating means or agent). But most correspondences with OCS nominal phrases because of rephrasing.

In a number of occurrences a Greek prepositional or nominal phrase is rendered with an adverb and the semantics of the Greek counterpart are reflected with the help of a prefix or a suffix (e.g. ἀπό+Gen : *iskoni*, ἐν+Dat : *nebesīskyi*). We also find opposite instances where a meaning of a Greek suffix is rendered with an OCS adverb (e.g. the source adverbs with the suffix *-θεν* are translated with *izŭ*+Gen, *otŭ*+Gen, and *sŭ*+Gen).

Variation is a significant characteristic of the translational technique of the OCS version. A number of constructions are rendered in multiple ways (e.g. ἀντί+Gen is translated with *za*+Acc, *vŭ(n)*+Acc, or *vŭ mĕsto*+Gen). The situation gets more complicated when the Greek version already has different ways of expressing a certain meaning. Thus, in combination with the verb ‘believe’, Greek employs ἐν+Dat, εἰς+Acc, ἐπί+Acc, ἐπί+Dat, πρὸς+Acc, and the dative to designate topic. These passages are rendered in OCS with *vŭ(n)*+Acc, *vŭ(n)*+Acc, and the dative.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

9.1 The division of semantic space in prepositional systems

The prepositional systems of Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic have approximately the same range of semantic functions. Each system includes proper and improper prepositional phrases that regularly alternate with each other as well as with nominal ones. Postpositions are rare and found only in Classical Armenian (*handərj*) and Old Church Slavic (*radi*). The complexity of these systems arises from the manner in which the four languages employ their constructions. Even though all four prepositional systems share the same semantic load,²⁷ they vary as to the kinds and numbers of phrases that can designate a particular notion. For example, Gothic uses only three prepositional phrases and one nominal one to express the location ‘in’ (*in*+Dat, *ana*+Dat, *and*+Acc, and Dat), while the other languages have a greater set of means to express this function (Biblical Greek has seven different constructions that cover this meaning, Armenian – nine, Old Church Slavic – six).

The semantics of most prepositions in each of the languages under consideration are closely connected with spatial notions. This is especially common for improper prepositions. But we encounter rare examples where a prepositional construction is more frequently used to articulate a secondarily developed abstract meaning than a spatial value. Thus, Gk *ὑπό*+Gen and Goth *in*+Gen primarily have causal functions, while Arm *ənd*+Loc and OCS *sŭ*+Ins are mainly used to express a comitative notion.

²⁷ See §§ 2.20, 3.21, 4.9, and 5.16 for tables summarizing the division of semantic space in each language.

Although it is customary for a proper prepositional phrase to be dominant in a certain semantic field, we find instances in all four languages where a construction with an improper preposition prevails. Biblical Greek, Gothic, and Classical Armenian primarily employ improper prepositions to express the location/direction ‘before’²⁸. In addition, Old Church Slavic employs *prězde*+Gen to denote the temporal notion ‘before’. All four languages designate absence by constructions with improper prepositions, filling in this way a semantic gap left by proper prepositions.

Despite the fact that numerous notions are frequently expressed by a variety of prepositional and nominal phrases, there are instances where a concept is indicated only by one construction. Such instances are less common in Biblical Greek than in the other three languages and are limited to those constructions expressing spatial or temporal semantics. Thus, Biblical Greek, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic reserve only one prepositional phrase to indicate a period of time marked by somebody’s lifespan. There is a group of spatial notions that is more likely to have such a limited means of expression, including the concepts ‘under’, ‘before’, and ‘after, beyond’.

Frequent alternation is an important characteristic of the prepositional systems we have discussed, and we find numerous examples of it: e.g., Greek alternates $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ +Dat, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ +Acc, and $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc to designate the location ‘in’, Gothic shows a particularly high variation in the means which it uses to denote beneficiary. Alternations extend even to passages with constructions that become formulaic in the New Testament. Thus, the idea ‘in the name of somebody’ is expressed in Greek by $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ +Dat, $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat and Dat, in Gothic by *in*+Dat and Dat. Variation is particularly frequent in instances where more abstract notions (e.g. causal concepts or manner) are designated, since many prepositional constructions increase the number of their semantic functions through metaphorical and metonymic extensions.

²⁸ In the case of Old Church Slavic the preposition *prědŭ* that is used in this value has an intermediate position. It developed at a later stage but is already incorporated into the prepositional system as a proper preposition. See § 5.13.

Occasionally, the usage of prepositional and nominal phrases differs among the canonical gospels. For example, Greek *πρός*+Acc is used repeatedly in the Gospel of Luke to designate recipient (113 occurrences), but it is used in this function in the Gospel of Matthew only twice. Gothic *uf*+Acc(Dat) and *and*+Acc are not found in the Gospel of John, although they are employed in the rest of the canonical gospels. Armenian *aṙ*+Ins is repeatedly employed in the Gospel of Mark, but it occurs only once in the Gospel of John. Old Church Slavic *o/obŭ*+Loc, referring to means, is a common construction in the Gospel of John, while we find only two such occurrences in the Gospel of Mark.

9.2 The relation between case systems and prepositional systems

The languages we have treated are particularly interesting in this aspect since all of them have different case systems. Even though Biblical Greek and Gothic share the same number of cases their genitives are historically different, since the Greek genitive comprises the IE ablative and genitive. Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic are closer, since both show more distinctions in their case systems. But once again the IE genitive is merged with the ablative in Slavic. The importance of cases, their number, and their semantic capacity is especially seen in Classical Armenian, where prepositions have to be combined with a great number of cases in order to compensate for the paucity of proper prepositions. Armenian proper prepositions can take up to six cases while in Greek, Gothic, and Old Church Slavic the maximum number of cases governed by one preposition is three. Owing to such conditions Armenian is capable of using the same preposition with virtually all semantic functions.

In general, in all four languages many nominal phrases, although less frequent in the text, share the semantic functions of prepositional constructions. Furthermore, a few concepts are primarily signified by nominal phrases. Thus, in all four languages patient and partitive notions are

repeatedly marked by the accusative and the genitive, respectively, despite the fact that some prepositional phrases are also used in these functions.

The languages we have discussed also share another tendency. Generally, when a preposition governs several cases, the different constructions signify distinct semantic notions. But we find a number of instances where a preposition takes different cases while denoting essentially the same notion. In Biblical Greek $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Acc, $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Gen, and $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ +Dat have similar temporal functions. Gothic *ana*+Acc, *ana*+Dat, and *ufar*+Acc, *ufar*+Dat are employed to indicate the location ‘on’. Armenian *ənd*+Loc, *ənd*+Ins, and *ənd*+Dat can have comitative semantics. Old Church Slavic *vŭ(n)*+Acc, *vŭ(n)*+Loc, and *na*+Acc, *na*+Loc express the time ‘during’.

9.3 The comparative study of prepositional systems

The comparative analysis of the translations of the New Testament from Biblical Greek into Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic shows that there are no absolute prepositional equivalents in these languages, but different types of correspondences can be established. Constructions that become regular counterparts often share origins and/or primary semantic functions or have approximately the same semantic loads (e.g. the cognates $\epsilon\nu$ +Dat : *in*+Dat : *i*+Loc : *vŭ(n)*+Loc mainly denote the location ‘in’; $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Dat : *du*+Dat : *ā*+Acc : *kŭ*+Dat are not etymologically related, but for all of them the notion of direction is crucial). At the same time there are many correspondences that seem sporadic or occur only once (e.g. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ +Dat : *faura*+Dat, $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon\rho}$ +Gen : *i*+Acc, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ +Gen : *vŭ(n)*+Loc). The semantic load of correspondences also differs. Some equivalents can have a variety of functions; others are restricted in their usage and can designate only a few or one notion. In this light it is interesting to observe the development of prepositions like IE **en* that remains dominant in its spatial fields in all four languages.

The translation of Greek proper, improper, and nominal phrases varies among prepositional and nominal constructions, free adverbs, and even conjunctions or clausal structures. Occasionally, a

correspondence occurs only as part of a certain phrase (e.g. *εἰς*+Acc : *i*+Acc has a temporal role only in the expressions ‘forever’ and ‘till the end’). It is common for a nominal phrase to be matched with prepositional or adverbial constructions that are chosen to express the semantics of a preverb used in a Greek passage. Because of the small number of prepositions in Classical Armenian, Greek prepositional phrases correspond to nominal constructions in Armenian more often than they do in Gothic or even Old Church Slavic.

The range of semantic functions that a certain preposition may have does not influence the number of counterparts it may have. For example, *ὑπέρ*+Gen has a limited semantic load, nevertheless it has a number of renditions in Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic. On average, Greek improper prepositions demonstrate less diversity in translation than do proper ones. For instance, Gk *ὅπισθ*+Gen has two means of translation in Gothic, three in Armenian, and three in Old Church Slavic. On the other hand, the rendition of Greek nominal phrases is highly variable. The accusative case finds ten counterparts in Gothic, nineteen in Armenian, and fourteen in Old Church Slavic.

Frequently, atypical semantic roles of Greek prepositions are matched by constructions for which these functions are regular in Gothic, Armenian, and Old Church Slavic (e.g. *ἐν*+Dat : *miþ*+Dat indicating a comitative meaning, *πρός*+Acc : *o*+Loc designating topic).

Since in all four languages there are concepts that are designated by only one construction it is not surprising that we find instances where a group of Greek prepositional constructions, connected with one of such notions have only one counterpart (e.g. *ἔμπροσθεν*+Gen, *πρό*+Gen, *κατέναντι*+Gen, *ἐναντί(ον)*+Gen, *ἐνώπιον*+Gen : *aṙaṙ*+Gen designating the location/direction ‘before’, *ἕως*+Gen, *μέχρι*+Gen, *ἄχρι*+Gen : *do*+Gen indicating the temporal notion ‘until’).

Sometimes, translations depend on factors other than the semantics of a given prepositional phrase. Semantic and grammatical characteristics of verbs and nouns are also at play here,

demonstrating either conceptual/grammatical distinctions between languages or different emphasis that translation put on a certain construction. Thus, Gk $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ +Dat is repeatedly rendered by *ana*+Dat(Acc) and *na*+Loc(Acc) in combination with nouns connected with the concept of surface. The Greek verb ‘kiss’ requires a direct object that is normally expressed by the accusative, but in Armenian it is followed by a construction with *ənd*, articulating a comitative concept.

Rephrasing is an important factor influencing translation into Gothic, Armenian, and Old Church Slavic. Translators often use this technique, thereby increasing the number of possible counterparts. Sometimes, a language lacks an exact equivalent and rephrasing (periphrasis) is used to fill in this gap (e.g. in Gothic the distributive meaning of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ +Acc is often rendered with the indefinite pronoun *has*, since none of the Gothic prepositional phrases can express this meaning; see §6.8.1). In other cases a passage is simply interpreted in a different way by a translator. Such instances are common in Classical Armenian, e.g. in L 1:61 $\epsilon\acute{\kappa}/\epsilon\acute{\zeta}$ +Gen is translated with *i*+Loc only because the Greek version is changed. The Armenian construction designates location while the Greek passage articulates the notion of source (see §7.4.1). Occasionally, such transformations lead to a reduction of the semantic load covered by a Greek construction (e.g. in one passage $\epsilon\acute{\zeta}\omega$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ +Dat is translated with *artak* ‘*oy*+Gen in Armenian and a more elaborate meaning ‘outside near’ is reduced to ‘outside’; see § 7.18). Another translational technique, characteristic of Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic, is the doubling of a noun, a numeral, or a prepositional phrase in order to express a distributive meaning.

Variation between prepositional and nominal phrases inside the system of each language complicates translational matters, increasing the quantity of possible correspondences. Semantic broadening (metaphoric and metonymic) also results in a greater number of equivalent pairs.

In addition, the frequency of correspondences differs among the gospels, some of which are found only in a particular canonical gospel. This supports the belief that it was a group of scholars

who worked on the translation of the New Testament in each language (and as mentioned earlier, this is problematic for the history of the Gothic variant).

In conclusion, although we find differences among the prepositional systems of the four languages we have treated, they are minor and arise as a consequence of structural and semantic peculiarities of these languages. For the most part, the translation of prepositions is so complicated not because some concepts do not find means of expression; on the contrary, translators in each language have a complex apparatus at their disposal, and they use it accordingly.

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